GYANTSE REVISITED

Erberto Lo Bue - Franco Ricca

Casa Editrice Le Lettere
Erberto Lo Bue - Franco Ricca

GYANTSE REVISITED

Casa Editrice Le Lettere
GYANTSE REVISITED
Volume pubblicato con il contributo del CNR.

Copyright © 1990 by Casa Editrice Le Lettere - Firenze / Cesmeo - Torino

ISBN 88 7166 062 5
PRESENTAZIONE

L'Assessorato ai Beni Culturali della Regione Piemonte che aveva accolto con interesse il progetto di una missione di ricerca rivolta ai grandi monumenti dell'arte tibetana nell'area di Gyantse, è lieto di presentare il libro che di quella missione è un significativo risultato.

«Gyantse Revisited» è in primo luogo un omaggio al grande tibetologo italiano Giuseppe Tucci, che quei monumenti aveva studiato cinquant'anni or sono, e arricchisce considerevolmente la messe di documentazione da lui raccolta e il patrimonio di acute interpretazioni pubblicate nel suo «Indo-Tibetica».

Nella tradizione degli studi piemontesi di orientalistica l'opera di Erberto Lo Bue e Franco Ricca si colloca sicuramente come un prezioso contributo alla conoscenza dell'arte e della cultura del Tibet, verso le quali la Regione Piemonte ha già in passato dimostrato interesse, organizzando la mostra sulla pittura buddhista tibetana.

ENRICO NERVIANI
Assessore ai Beni Culturali e Ambientali della REGIONE PIEMONTE
PREMESSA

Nel 1987, a cinquant'anni dalla memorabile spedizione che il grande Orientalista Giuseppe Tucci compì nel Tibet con Fosco Maralni, il CESMEO concepì il disegno ambizioso di celebrarne la ricorrenza promuovendo e finanziando una propria spedizione nel Tibet, perché ravvisava in essa la via più coltante per ricollegarsi idealmamente alla grande tradizione tibetologica italiana. I risultati delle ricerche condotte dal Tucci furono pubblicati quattro anni dopo la spedizione, nel 1941, a cura della Reale Accademia d'Italia, come IV volume di Indo-Tibetica, e oggi, esattamente a quattro anni dal suo compimento, continuando un parallelo cronologico che ci pare emblematico, il CESMEO è fiero di poter presentare i risultati della propria missione in un'opera di grande respiro che conta più di 500 pagine e circa 200 illustrazioni.

Il CESMEO ha avuto la fortuna di poter affidare la propria missione a due valenti studiosi: l'uno, Erberto Lo Bue, tibetologo formatosi alla School of Oriental and African Studies dell'Università di Londra e Professore a contratto presso le Università di Torino e di Milano, l'altro, Franco Ricca, professore di Chimica Teorica presso l'Università di Torino, laureato in Indologia e uno dei principali promotori della costituzione del CESMEO.

Il volume Gyantse Revisited raccoglie i risultati della loro spedizione, coronata, come si ha modo di vedere, dal più ripagante successo.

Gli Autori hanno studiato due monumenti di grande interesse storico e artistico, che risalgono al secondo quarto del quindicesimo secolo e che si trovano a Gyantse, nel Tibet centro-meridionale: il tempio principale di un recinto sacro e il grande stupa che gli è affiancato. Fu, probabilmente il diretto interessamento di Chu-en-lai
a salvare entrambi questi monumenti dai guasti irreparabili operati dalle Guardie Rosse negli anni della Rivoluzione Culturale Cinese, che ha purtroppo distrutto tutti gli altri edifici sacri di quell'area.

Il presente lavoro è contributo di grande rilevanza scientifica: questa nuova ricerca a Gyantse ha infatti consentito di aumentare il numero delle cappelle esplorate e documentate, di arricchire il materiale iconografico fino ad oggi disponibile, di integrare precedenti lacune, di interpretare meglio i criteri di distribuzione dei diversi cicli tantrici del Buddhismo tibetano fra le oltre settanta cappelle inserite nel sKu-'bum.

L'interesse che presentano i monumenti di Gyantse è singolare: l'epoca nella quale essi vennero costruiti è segnata sul piano storico da grandi fermenti innovatori, individuabili propriamente nella crisi del sistema monastico-feudale, nei tentativi di unificazione del paese sotto la guida dei principi laici e nel consolidarsi di una struttura ecclesiastica che condurrà allo stato teocratico. È il momento in cui, sul piano artistico emerge e, grado a grado, si afferma, soprattutto a Gyantse, un'arte tibetana che definì la propria personalità riplastrandosi su rinnovati piani creativi ed estetici la sintesi delle grandi tradizioni artistiche indo-nepalese, centro-asiaatica e cinese, e imprimendovisi, soprattutto nella raffigurazione delle divinità pacifiche o irate che affollano il pantheon del Buddhismo tibetano, il segno di una originale e vigorosa inventiva.

Il prezioso libro di Erberto Lo Bue e di Franco Ricca, frutto di una acuta, dotta e documentata «letture» dei monumenti di Gyantse, aggiunge ulteriore prestigio alla ormai affermata «Collana di Studi Orientali» diretta da Irma Piovano, Collana nella quale il CESMEO riconosce, a giusto titolo, una delle più significative e brillanti espressioni della propria attività.

Oscar Botto
CONTENTS

PREFACE. ............................................. p. xi

CHAPTER ONE.
Cultural and artistic trends in Tibet up to the 15th century.
1.1 The artistic and cultural role of India. ................ p. 1
1.2 The Newar artistic influence. ......................... p. 11
1.3 The Chinese and Central-Asian influence. .......... p. 36

CHAPTER TWO.
The sKu-'bum of Gyantse.
2.1 The historical and artistic role of the Gyantse dynasty. ............................................. p. 57
2.2 Physical description of the sKu-'bum. ................ p. 75
2.3 The ideal structures of the sKu-'bum. .............. p. 97

CHAPTER THREE.
On some chapels of the sKu-'bum. Complements to Tucci's work.
3.1 Chapel 1/13 (mGon-po-stag-žon). .................... p. 174
3.2 Chapel 1/17 (rNam-thos-sras). ...................... p. 179
3.3 Chapel 1/18 (rGyal-po chen-po sde-bži). .......... p. 191
3.4 Chapel 1/19 (Gur-mgon) .......................... p. 196
3.5 Chapel 2/13 (Mi-'khrugs). ......................... p. 204
3.6 Chapel 2/14 (bSruñ-ma lña). ..................... p. 210
CHAPTER FOUR.

The lineages of Tibetan Buddhism as represented by the statues and paintings in the sKu-'bum.

4.1 The chapels of the fourth floor and the topmost temple in the spire. ........................................... p. 259
4.2 Chapel 4/1 (mKhyen-rab-lha-khañ). ......................... p. 262
4.3 Chapel 4/2 (Lam-'bras-lha-khañ). ........................ p. 266
4.4 Chapel 4/3 The lha-khañ devoted to the Prajñāpāramitā system. ........................................... p. 275
4.5 Chapel 4/4 (Ži-byed-lha-khañ). ............................ p. 279
4.6 Chapel 4/5 (dKar-brgyud-lha-khañ). ..................... p. 288
4.7 Chapel 4/6 (Rigs-ldan-lha-khañ). ........................ p. 298
4.8 Chapel 4/7 (Chos-rgyal-lha-khañ). ....................... p. 307
4.9 Chapel 4/8 (sGra-sgyur-lha-khañ). ....................... p. 324
4.10 Chapel 4/9 (Rig-'dzin-lha-khañ). ........................ p. 333
4.11 Chapel 4/10 (mKhan-brgyud-lha-khañ). ................. p. 341
4.13 Chapel 4/12 (Jo-bo-lha-khañ). .......................... p. 351
4.14 The topmost temple. .................................... p. 357

CHAPTER FIVE.

The main chapels of the upper storey of the gTsug-lag-khañ.

5.1 gNas-brtan-lha-khañ. ..................................... p. 377
5.2 Lam-'bras-lha-khañ. ....................................... p. 411
5.3 gŽal-yas-khañ. ............................................. p. 460

FIGURES AND PLATES. ........................................... p. 507

BIBLIOGRAPHY. ................................................ p. 515

INDEXES. ....................................................... p. 523
PREFACE

With his expedition of 1937 Giuseppe Tucci shifted his research from western Tibet to central and southern Tibet and for the first time undertook the study of the great monuments of Gyantse. The results of that expedition were published in 1941 by the Royal Academy of Italy as the fourth volume (in 3 parts) of *Indo-Tibetica*, entitled “Gyantse e i suoi monasteri”. Professor Tucci himself believed that the importance of those results surpassed those achieved during his previous travels, and their permanent value is confirmed by the recent English translation of *Indo-Tibetica*, published in India by Lokesh Chandra.

Tibetan studies have progressed considerably in all fields, but little research had been carried out on the dPal-'khor-chos-sde, the monastic enclave of Gyantse, and Tucci's study with its detailed description of the temples and translation of their inscriptions had long been out of print, when in 1987, on the fiftieth anniversary of his expedition, CESMEO entrusted us with an explorative mission aimed at surveying the monuments of Gyantse and other important sites after the disasters brought upon Tibet by the Cultural Revolution. Our mission, which sadly bore witness to the awful destruction and irreparable damage in all the major centres of Tibetan culture and civilization, nevertheless ascertained the good state of preservation of the two chief monuments in Gyantse, the sKu-'bum and the gTsug-lag-khan. These were spared the fate of the other buildings in the monastic enclave and thus saved to the world apparently because of Zhou Enlai's direct intervention. So they still stand today among the ruins of the dPal-'khor-chos-sde.

An accurate survey of those two monuments, particularly the sKu-'bum with its vast range of iconography, which probably pro-
provides the most complete visual representation of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, enabled us to integrate, update and, in a few instances, correct Tucci's remarkable work. We have studied these monuments within the wider context of Tibet's cultural, artistic and religious historical developments up to the 15th century, while relating the rich symbolism of the temples and chapels to the specific tantric cycles of which they are the artistic expression.

We were able to make available to CESMEO a photographic documentation in colour of the wall paintings and statues in the sKu-'bum which is virtually complete, albeit carried out in rather difficult circumstances and with limited technical resources. We also surveyed those chapels which had been neglected by Tucci, possibly because of merely accidental reasons, and in some instances we also enriched the already vast collection of inscriptions published in *Indo-Tibetica*, to which we constantly referred throughout our survey. In particular we made a detailed study of the twelve chapels on the fourth floor of the sKu-'bum, which afford an extraordinary record of the major figures in the Tibetan Buddhist historical tradition through the reconstruction of the spiritual lineages which characterized the spread of the various tantric cycles in Tibet. With regard to the gTsug-lag-khañ again we were able to supplement the information and analysis afforded in *Indo-Tibetica*, with particular reference to the chief temples located on the upper floors, which Tucci could not study in detail, especially the Lam-'bras-lha-khañ, with its gallery of portraits of the lam-'bras lineage of the Sa-skya-pa tradition, and the gZhal-yas-khañ, with its large mañḍalas related to the anuttarayogatantras.

It seems to us that the material we collected during our fieldwork in Tibet and subsequently studied for over two years deserves to be brought to the attention of scholars. The progress made by Tibetan studies during the last thirty years allowed us to provide new historical information and to suggest interpretations and draw comparisons which could not be afforded fifty years ago, but Professor Tucci's formidable undertaking was always a fundamental reference and starting point.

CESMEO, which has inherited in northern Italy the academic and scientific tradition of IsMEO, has included our work in its programme of publications. We wish to express our gratitude to
CESMEO, particularly to its President, Professor Oscar Botto, and to its Director, Dr. Irma Piovano, for supporting our expedition to Tibet as well as the publication of its results.

In the transliteration of Sanskrit words we have adopted standard international conventions which, for obvious reasons of homogeneity, we have also kept in the transliteration of Tibetan words, a field where disagreement among scholars seems to persist. Chinese terms have been transliterated according to the pin-yin system, occasionally followed by the transliteration according to the Wade-Giles system.

This volume consists of a series of contributions produced individually, but we have endeavoured to integrate them in the best possible way in order to achieve a comprehensive view of the subject matter through constant comparison and the closest collaboration in dealing with problems as they arose. Erberto Lo Bue is the author of sections 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 2.1, 3.4, 4.2, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.9, 4.11, 4.13, 5.1 and 5.2. Franco Ricca is the author of sections 2.2, 2.3, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9, 3.10, 3.11, 4.1, 4.3, 4.7, 4.8, 4.10, 4.12, 4.14, and 5.3. Erberto Lo Bue is also responsible for copying, editing and translating the inscriptions and captions which were not reported by Tucci. The plates reproduce the black-and-white prints that Mr. Gabriele Mariotti obtained from the colour slides taken by Mr. Ernani Orcorte at Gyantse. We gratefully acknowledge the valuable contribution afforded by those two photographers.

The Authors.

Turin, Christmas 1989.

In passages describing the position of images the terms “right” and “left” do not refer to the right and left of the viewer as he enters a temple. Instead they refer to the right and left of the image itself, from the latter’s point of view, following the Tibetan custom. Life spans have been calculated according to the Western system of reckoning age, that is subtracting one year from the figures given in Tibetan texts, which traditionally count both the initial and the final year.
Chapter One

CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC TRENDS IN TIBET UP TO THE 15TH CENTURY

1.1 The artistic and cultural role of India

The role of India in the formation of Tibetan culture was extremely important particularly in the sphere of religion, which became an integrant part of Tibetan life. The activity of Indian and Tibetan scholars during the early and later propagation of the Buddhist doctrines in Tibet is very well documented in Tibetan historical sources. However, we know relatively little of the role of Indian artists in Tibet, particularly as far as painting is concerned. In fact, whereas fine examples of Bengalese and Kashmirian statues were noticed by Tucci and can still be admired today in Tibetan monasteries, no examples of Indian painting have been so far identified in Tibet except for the collections of Pāla illuminated manuscripts once kept in their libraries, for instance at Žwa-lu and Ǹor. The Pāla style painted scrolls produced in Tibet during the 12th and 13th centuries are not regarded by scholars as Bengalese, while, on the other hand, there is no evidence that the murals painted at Alchi from the 11th to the 13th century were the work of Kashmirian artists.

During the monarchic period Indian artists played a limited role in central and southern Tibet. Indian carpenters worked on the three top floors of a nine-storied temple built by the Tibetan king Khri-lde-sroñ-brtsan (alias Sad-na-legs, b. 776, reg c. 805-815), the successor of Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan, at sKar-chuñ (or

---

dKar-chuň²), near Ra-ma-sgaň, about two miles south-west of Lhasa, on the west bank of the sKyid-chu river³. The old temple (lha-khaň) devoted to the Vajradhātu (rDo-rje-dbyiňs), and the inscribed pillar recording Khri-lde-sroň-brtsean’s renewal of his father’s vow to maintain the Buddhist faith⁴ have disappeared from the site after the Cultural Revolution⁵. His successor Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsean (alias Ral-pa-can, b. 776, reg 815-c. 838) summoned artists from India, Kashmir and other countries to help Tibetans to build the monastery (gtsug-lag-khaň) of dPe-med-bkra-sis-dge-’phel, at ‘U-saň-rdo (or ‘On-can-rde’u), near Lhasa. Also that building was nine storeys in height⁶, but apparently it was never completed⁷.

During the second diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet, Kashmirian artists seem to have played there a more direct and important role than their Bengalese colleagues. Under the sponsorship of the kings of Western Tibet, the scholar Rin-chent-bzaň-po (958-1055) travelled twice to Kashmir and once to eastern India to study, collect and translate Buddhist texts. His second stay in Kashmir, where he had been sent by the divine monk (lha bla-ma) Ye-šes-’od with the specific request of bringing back books and skilful artists (lha-bzo-ba mkhas-pa-rnams), lasted six years⁸. Around 1019 Rin-chent-bzaň-po returned to Western Tibet with thirty-two artists and set them to work at a number of places. These artists were probably all Kashmirian and certainly contributed to form a school of art which thrived in Western Tibet and found its highest expression at Alchi, while no examples of it have survived in Kashmir proper. Fine paintings in Kashmirian style can be admired still today in the assembly-hall established there in the mid-11th century by the monk sKal-lidan-šes-rab, and in the gSumbrtsegs temple founded perhaps a few decades later by another

⁵. Dowman, 1988: 140.
master, Tshul-khrims-'od. The wall paintings of the New Temple in the same religious enclave were produced at a later date, 12th-13th century, probably by local artists working in the Kashmirian style.

No such migration of Bengalese artists to Tibet seems to have ever occurred during the same period, although several eastern Indian scholars travelled and sometimes spent long periods there. Mention is made of an Indian sculptor, the ācārya Manu (rGya-gar lha-bzo a-tsa-ra Ma-nu) who erected Atiśa's sepulchre (sku-gduṅ) at sNe-thaṅ. An early inscription at the 11th-12th century site of Samada, south of Gyantse, mentions the name of another artist, Mati from Pancora, belonging to a Brahmanical family. Notwithstanding his old age, he was allured by gZon-nu-’od to work in that monastery, in spite of the fact that many other foreign artists (sku-mdkhan) were already available in central and southern Tibet. Mati may have been either Indian or Newar, for we do not know to which place the name Pancora corresponds.

Tradition attributes a statue at Chu-mig to the Indian master Smṛti (11th century) and another at ‘Bri-mtshams, later transferred to the monastery at rTse-chan near Gyantse, to the Kashmirian master Śākyaśrī, who was in Tibet from 1204 to 1214. Indian or Newar artists possibly carved the wooden panels on the door of the Gayadhara chapel, a small cave near lHa-rtse so called after the famous Indian master who met there the Tibetan scholar ’Brog-mi (992-1074). These panels, whether carved on the spot or brought from India, are reminiscent of those on the doors of the monasteries erected at Ta-pho and mTho-ldiṅ, in the kingdom of Western Tibet, during the 11th century and,

---

12. Tucci, 1941a: 36, 105.
14. On this master see the sections dealing with the Lam-’bras chapel of the sKu-bum in Chapter Four, and with the Lam-’bras-lha-khaṅ of the main temple in Chapter Five.
according Tucci, they cannot be later than the 13th century\textsuperscript{16}. In might be suggested that, like those at Ta-pho and mTho-ldin, they were the work of Kashmirian or other Indian artists. However, if we compare the panels and the decoration on the door-posts of the Gayadhara chapel with the panels and decorative framework of the door at Kojarnath (‘Khor-’chags) (another 11th century site in Western Tibet, on the border with Nepal) we notice similar elements in the conception of the frame, with a succession of vases, columns and floral motifs which will later find their final expression in the decorative frames surrounding many images in the religious enclave at Gyantse. Whereas the doors at Ta-pho and mTho-ldin reveal Kashmirian stylistic elements, the door of the assembly-hall (‘dus-khañ) of the temple at Kojarnath was carved in a style which is closer to the Pala tradition, either by Indian or by Newar artists\textsuperscript{17}. The wooden door of the Gayadhara chapel may therefore belong to the eastern Indian or Newar tradition, rather than to the Kashmirian one, as implied by Tucci.

By the end of the 14th century no vital artistic influence came to Tibet from India, where monastic universities and Buddhist centres lay in ruins. The Nepal Valley provided by then all the artists required by southern and central Tibetan monasteries, where Tucci noticed a number of Newar sculptures\textsuperscript{18} and where Newar paintings must have been a common sight, although few examples of that period have survived. This particular situation is acknowledged by Tibetan scholars, and ‘Jam-mgon Kon-sprul (1811-1899) could write that before the foundation of the sMan-(b)ris school of painting in lHo-brag during the first half of the 15th century, the Newar tradition “was the only one to be greatly widespread” in Tibet\textsuperscript{19}. In fact it is conceivable that the minor role played by Pala artists during the later diffusion of Buddhism there was merely due to the presence of an important Kashmirian

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16.} Tucci, 1949: 205. Mortara Vergari (1987: 303; 318, fig. 139) connects the style of the figures of this door to the Newar rather than to the Kashmirian tradition.
\item \textsuperscript{17.} Tucci, 1949: 205, fig. 84; Tucci, 1937: 42, figs. between pp. 48 and 49.
\item \textsuperscript{18.} Tucci, 1952: passim.
\item \textsuperscript{19.} Kon-sprul, 1970: 571.
\end{itemize}
school near the kingdom of Western Tibet, and of an equally im-
portant Newar school in the proximity of southern and central
Tibet.

The Nepal Valley started playing an important cultural as well
as artistic role from the very beginning of the second propagation
of Indian Buddhism in Tibet. Buddhism flourished especially in
the monasteries of Pātan (Ye-rañ) and Svayambhū (Śiñ-kun),
where Indian scholars travelled, first as pilgrims and later to find
shelter. It should be pointed out that, if India largely contributed
to the formation of Tibetan culture during the second diffusion of
Buddhism in Tibet, the Nepal Valley mediated all contacts be-
tween the two countries, except those taking place directly be-
tween Kahsmir and Tibet. In fact Tibetan historical sources record
the names of several Newar scholars who taught Tibetan trans-
lators both in the Nepal Valley and Tibet.

Historical and geographical reasons made of the Nepal Valley
an obvious halting and meeting place for Indian, Tibetan and
Newar scholars and translators. The holy places of the Valley had
long been popular with both Indian and Tibetan Buddhists and,
according to tradition, the Indian philosopher Vasubandhu visited
it and died there in the 4th century\textsuperscript{20}. But from the 11th century
onwards the visits of Indian scholars to the Nepal Valley, some-
times on their way to Tibet, became longer and more frequent.
One of the earliest and certainly the most famous visitor of that
period was the great scholar Atiśa (982-1054), who was invited by
the emissaries of the kings of Western Tibet, the translator Nag-
tsho Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba (b. 1011) and brTson-grus-señ-ge of
rGya. Before leaving Vikramāśila to proceed to Tibet, Atiśa deci-
ded that he wanted to visit the famous stūpa of Svayambhū rising
on a hill 2 km west of Kathmandu.

Atiśa spent the year 1041 in Nepal, first at 'Ol-kha, then taking
up residence at Svayambhū, where he found waiting for him the
envoys of the monk-prince of Western Tibet with the means neces-
sary for the journey, and where he was warmly welcomed by the
king and aristocracy, by local scholars, and by his own brother:

\footnotesize{20. Snellgrove, 1987: 101.}
After brTson-grus-señ-ge’s death, Atiśa spent most of the time at Nuvakoth, but returned to the Nepal Valley to preside over the funeral ceremonies for his Tibetan friend and to ask permission to build a monastery there, before returnign again to Nuvakoth with the Tibetan envoys. The monastery was built by Atiśa in a northern area of present-day Kathmandu known as Thamel, which is a corruption of Tham-Bahil, the ancien Newāri name of the monastery, also called Vikramaśila Mahāvihāra. The Indian scholar must have found many Newar protectors for, even after he left for Western Tibet the following year, he was the guest of a Newar at Khab Guñ-thaṅ. There is no evidence that Atiśa brought any Indian artists to Tibet, although, as we have seen, the stūpa erected to house his remains after his death at sNe-thaṅ was built by an Indian.

Atiśa’s stay in the Nepal Valley and Tibet is a good example of the important role played by Newars in supporting Indian Buddhism and in favouring its propagation to Tibet from the beginning of the 11th century. Contacts between Tibetan and Buddhists, particularly those who had established themselves in the Nepal Valley, continued even after the destruction of the great monastic universities of India at the end of the 12th century. We know for example that in the early 14th century Indian patrons along with Newar and central Tibetan donors made many gifts to the monastery of Žwa-lu, southern Tibet 21.

Also in the 15th, 16th and early 17th centuries there was a limited flow of Indian scholars to central and southern Tibet. Mention is made of the abbot of Bodhgaya, Śākyasri Śāriputra, who was invited by the Chinese emperor in 1413 and spent two months at lCan-ra in 1414 as a guest of the prince of Gyantse22. But the most famous Indian Buddhist scholar travelling to Tibet during that period is undoubtedly Vanaratna. He was born at Sadnagara in the Chittagong district of present-day Bangladesh, in 1348. Vanaratna had journeyed to southern India and Śri Lanka and visited the sacred places of Buddhism in India, such as the great stūpa of Śri-Dhānyakaṭaka (dPal 'Bras-spuṅ-gi mchod-rten chen-po)23, mee-

ting many famous scholars and yogins, sometimes in visions. Following a prophecy he decided to go to Tibet, but first proceeded to the Nepal Valley, where he obtained the bodhicittotpāda according to the method of the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra from the great scholar Śilasagāra. He arrived in Tibet in 1426, but when he visited Lhasa and the Yar-kluṅs Valley on that first occasion few people showed interest in him and he returned to the Nepal Valley. He was residing at the monastery of Śāntapurī at Svayambhū when he received the invitation of the prince of Gyantse, the si-tu Rabbstan-pa (sic), namely Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ.

Vanarataṇa belonged to the Kālacakra lineage and apparently “the best of the initiations and precepts of Śrī Kālacakra” originated from him. The importance of the Kālacakra cycle in the general conception of the skū-'bum, the construction of which started at Gyantse in 1427, may accordingly reflect not only Bu-ston’s particular interest in that tantra, but also Vanaratna’s. The Kālacakra includes an important chapter, the fifth, dealing with iconometry, where the standing Buddha is said to be “a bit more” than 120 aṅgulas (sor; finger), which is the measure set forth in the Pratirāzalakṣana literature and in the Mahāsaṃvarodayatantra (sDom-'byuṇ). That has been generally interpreted by commentators as meaning 125 aṅgulas, and in Tibet this interpretation gave rise to a different iconometric tradition following the latter measurement and co-existing with the former one. Bu-ston and Vanaratna may have been influential through their sheer interest in the Kālacakra, indirectly encouraging the adoption of the 125 aṅgula measurement, but their contribution to the development of Tibetan iconography was probably more important than any influence they may have had on iconometry. While Bu-ston was very active at Žwa-lu, which was decorated according to the instructions set forth in his iconographic descriptions of tantric deities (lha-'bum) and which was later described in volume tsa of

24. gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 934.
his gSuñ-'bum, Vanaratna brought to Tibet a manuscript of the Sādhanasāgara including over 300 sādhanas\textsuperscript{28}.

Vanaratna was the author, translator and revisor of a number of texts included in the bsTan-'gyur, sometimes under his Tibetan name of Nags-kyi-rin-chen\textsuperscript{29}, which incidentally confirms that work on that part of the Tibetan Canon continued well after Bumston’s death (even Taranātha’s new translations of sādhanas were included in it). Vanaratna performed an extensive religious activity in Tibet, and his role in the southern part of the country must have been especially important\textsuperscript{30}. After leaving Gyantse he went to Lhasa and then to the monastery of rTse-thaṅ, where he spent some time and bestowed initiations upon its prince, the chos-rgyal Grags-pa-'byuṅ-gnas, and his ministers. Then the master and his new protector proceeded towards Goṅ-dkar. About that time the prince of rTse-thaṅ received from him an initiation at the monastery of Srin-po-ri (Semori on maps)\textsuperscript{31}.

Then the Bengalese master and his disciples proceeded to the sPa-gro Valley, in present-day Bhutan. In 1436 he went to sNe'u-gdoṅ, the political capital of the Phag-mo-gru-pa order, and shortly afterwards he took up residence in rTse-thaṅ, where he gave a great deal of teachings. There, the following year, he bestowed the complete initiation of the Vajramāla, having divided it into forty-five maṇḍalas. He returned to the Nepal Valley via sKyi-ron, escorted by a retinue sent by the chos-rgyal of rTse-thaṅ, of whom he had by then become the spiritual master. In the Nepal Valley Vanaratna erected a beautiful five-span golden statue of

\textsuperscript{28} That text must be substantially identical with the Sādhanasamuccaya including 312 sādhanas, whose original Sanskrit text had already been transmitted to the monastery of Sa-skya and translated by one of its abbots, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216). That extraordinary collection, subsequently complemented by the work of Taranātha and of the 4th Pan-chen Lama (1781-1852/4), was the basis of the Rin-lshan or Rin-'byun, which was illustrated by Mongol artists at the beginning of the 19th century and became one of the most important iconographic collections of sādhanas in Tibet, including almost five hundred deities. It is generally known to western scholars under the name of “sNar-thang Pantheon” (Chandra, 1986: 23, 323, 44-47).

\textsuperscript{29} Cf. Lalou, 1933: 163, 193.

\textsuperscript{30} Roerich, 1976: 804.

Vajradhara and a slightly smaller one of Tārā to be placed in the copy of the Gandhola of the Vajrāsana in the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodhgayā, which was erected in the Śāntapuri monastery.¹²

Vanaratna returned to Tibet for a third and last time. He must have seen the sKu-'bum completed, travelled to the Yar-kluṅs Valley, rTse-thaṅ, gSaṅ-phu (Ne'u-thog) and Guṅ-thaṅ, a monastery four miles east of Lhasa.¹³ He was also invited to gDan-sa-mthil, the chief religious centre of the Phag-mo-gru-pa order, founded in 1158 east of rTse-thaṅ by mGon-po Phag-mo-gru-pa.¹⁴ He translated several texts with 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal, the lo-tsā-ba of rTse-thaṅ and author of the Blue Annals, where his life is told in some detail.¹⁵

Vanaratna finally returned to the Nepal Valley and settled at Gopicandra, a hermitage which had been offered to him by the king of Pātan apparently after his second journey to Tibet. The place grew into a monastery and is known today under its Newāri name of Pintu Bahi. There he continued to teach to Tibetan scholars, such as the translator bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho (1424-1482), who went there to visit him, and in the Newar Samvat 575 (A.D. 1455) and N.S. 588 (1468), the year of his death, he gave lavish donations to hosts of ascetics and people. We gather the latter information from the dated inscription on two painted portraits of the Bengalese scholar once preserved in that monastic foundation, one executed one year after his death, the other being a copy of the same made in N.S. 982 (A.D. 1862). Vanaratna died in the month of Mārga of N.S. 589, corresponding to November/December 1468 and was cremated at the Ramadoli burial ground, situated either between Kathmandu and Pātan or near Svayambhū.¹⁹

35. Lalou, 1933: 207.
Although other Indian scholars were to visit Tibet in the following century, Vanaratna is regarded as the last one (miha'-ma) by Tibetan tradition. He found in the Nepal Valley a kind of Buddhist society which fitted him better than the type of culture which had evolved in his country of origin. His life has been told here in some detail for it exemplifies the crucial role played by Newars in supporting Buddhism through their religious institutions and in giving hospitality to the last representatives of Indian Buddhist culture. Whatever Indian cultural and artistic influence may have reached Tibet in the 14th and 15th centuries, it was always mediated by the Newar Buddhist monasteries and workshops in the Nepal Valley. Furthermore, whereas Tibetan historical sources record the presence of Indian scholars in the Nepal Valley from the 8th century onwards, no reference to the presence of Indian artists there has been found so far. Even when art works in Indian style were produced in Tibet, the artists were either Tibetan or Newar. That probably applies to the paintings in the Amitāyus chapel at Iwang, which will be discussed in the third section of this chapter, and is certainly true of the silver statue of Tārā and of the roof finial (gañjira) made in Indian style in 1359 and 1437 respectively for the princes of Gyantse, as well as of the statue of Jambhala which Tāranātha commissioned Newar artists to make “in the Indian style”.

These latter instances have the flavour of a rediscovery of the Indian style, a revival due to the taste or whim of refined aristocrats and scholars, and it is significant that Newar artists are mentioned in that connection. In fact, by the 15th century, the Newar style had completely replaced in Tibet the Indian style as it had been interpreted by Newar and Tibetan artists until the 12th century. It is true that during the Licchavi period (4th-9th century) and again from the 17th century onwards Newar artists borrowed heavily from contemporary Indian styles, but Pal has convincingly argued that the Newar style of painting was a style of its own, based on local schools which do not seem to have been influenced

41. Tucci, 1949: 278.
by the Bengalese tradition "as strongly as it has been believed hitherto." During the whole early Malla period (1200-1482) and the first part of the late Malla period (1482-1769) Newar art developed along individual lines both in painting and in sculpture, the latter being in fact even more independent of the Indian style than the former. For the above reasons we shall speak of a Newar and not of an Indian style in the artistic monuments at Gyantse.

1.2 The Newar artistic influence

The Newars, the ancient inhabitants of the Nepal Valley, played a crucial role in transmitting the cultural heritage of India as well as their own aesthetic and artistic experience to southern and central Tibet. By the 4th century the Licchavi kings, the rulers of the Valley, had established formal relations with the Gupta empire, and the name of their country appears in a list of vassal states on an inscribed pillar in praise of the emperor Samadra Gupta (335-376) at Allahabad. It is almost certain that at the same time the Licchavi dynasty had trading connections with Tibet, before that country became a recognized political power. There were two main routes connecting the Nepal Valley to southern Tibet, one via Kuti (Na-lam) which entered the Valley at Banepa, 24 km east of Kathmandu, and the other via sKyi-ron (or sKyi-d-gron) which entered the Valley from the north, through Nuvakoth (Bal-po-rdzo-n), 70 km north-west of Kathmandu. From the 8th century onwards Tibetan translators, Indian scholars and Newar artists travelled along those routes, besides the usual traders.

After the death of the Newar king Aṃśuvarman (reg c. 605-621) there was struggle for power in the Nepal Valley and in c. 641 a Newar princess, Bhrukuti (Sa-khri-btsun), was married to the Tibetan king Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po (b. 609, reg c. 627-649). Two years later Narendradeva, possibly her father, joined her after fleeing to Tibet. Thanks to the support of the Tibetan ruler, he

became the king of Nepal and in return the Valley became a vassal kingdom of Tibet.

Bhrukuṭi, who was escorted to skyi-roṅ by a retinue of Newar noblemen, proceeded to Lhasa carrying Buddhist images and texts with her. One of these images was a statue of Śākyamuni, portrayed as he was at the age of eight, according to an old Buddhist iconographic tradition reported by 'Jam-mgon Kōn-sprul. This statue, apparently of Indian origin, came to be known as jo-bo Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (Lord Akṣobhyavajra) and according to tradition the Jo-khaṅ (Temple of the Lord) was especially built for the Newar queen to house it. This temple was founded by Sron-brtsan-sgam-po, to whom it is ascribed in several ancient inscriptions and historical records under its ancient name of Phrul-snaṅ of Ra-sa (Lhasa). The Jo-bo occupied the central position in the Jo-khaṅ, but during the reign of his successor, Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-brtsan (or Khri-maṅ-sroṅ), it was transferred to the Ra-mo-che, another ancient temple, which was built by Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po’s Chinese queen Wencheng Kongchu (Wun-śiṅ Koṅ-jo). The suggestion that Newar architects, builders and artists were especially sent from the Nepal Valley to build the Jo-khaṅ is given strength by the presence of a number of carved columns and beams in the most ancient part of the building which, like those in the Ra-mo-che, appear to represent Newar workmanship of the 7th century (Pls. 1-4).

In the Jo-khaṅ there should be another very early Newar image made of copper (li-dmar; red alloy), which was kept in a stūpa in a chapel on the southern side of the building’s ground floor. Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po himself apparently commissioned a famous Newar artist, Khre-ba, to have eleven images of Avalokiteśvara made, which were to be of the same size of the king.

47. Tucci, 1952: 77.
Plate 1. Wooden pillar in the Jo-khaň. Lhasa.
himself. According to another tradition, the king commissioned a Newar artist to model the statue of an eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, an image particularly sacred to Tibetans, which occupied a chapel on the northern side of the Jo-khari and was badly damaged during the Cultural Revolution\(^\text{51}\). Furthermore he commissioned Newar sculptors (Iha-bzo) to make reliefs ('bur-du brkos) of the chief deity, Thub-pa-brag-lha mGon-po, flanked by Śariputra and Maitreya (on his right), and by Maudgalyāyana and Avalokiteśvara (on his left), inside the cave-temple known as Brag-lha-klu-sbug (or: -phug) on the side of the lCags-po-ri, to the south of the Potala\(^\text{52}\).

Around 705 the Nepal Valley rebelled against its Tibetan overlords and threw off its vassalage\(^\text{53}\), but this did not put an end to the commercial and cultural relations between the two countries. The minister and scholar gSal-snañ, of the sBa family, who promoted the construction of bSam-yas (767-779), the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet, and who wrote the original version of the sBa-bzad (a historical work), visited the Buddhist centres in India and the Nepal Valley and was very well acquainted with their religious and artistic cultural traditions. He became a follower of the famous Indian master Śāntarakṣita, from whom he received the religious name of Jñānendra and with whom he apparently founded temples in Mañ-yul, the south-western Tibetan district west of sKyi-roñ, on the present border with Nepal, of which he was the governor\(^\text{54}\). Eventually he recommended Śāntarakṣita to his king, Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan (742-800, reg c. 755/756-797), who invited the Indian master to his court. Following this visit, Śāntarakṣita returned to the Nepal Valley in order to invite Padmasambhava, the famous yogin from Swat, at the time residing in the Pharphing area, to go to Tibet at the request of Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan, and help in the construction of bSam-yas. Newar artists certainly contributed to the decoration of that monastery,

\(^{51}\) Dāyāb, 1977, 1: 36; Richardson, 1977: 174-175, pl. 5
\(^{54}\) Snellgrove, 1987: 429-430.
although nothing of it was left after the fire which damaged it in 986 and the disasters of the Cultural Revolution except for some stone and wood carvings (Pl. 5-7).

The sBa-bḏed (the "Account of sBa", with reference to the author’s clan’s name) mentions a Newar artist discussing with a Chinese colleague, Padmasambhava and the Tibetan king on the choice of a style for the construction of an extension on the southern side of bSam-yas, namely of the temple of Āryāpalo Khasarpana, a form of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The discussion concerned the adoption of one of three styles: Indian, Chinese or Tibetan. No mention is made of the Khotanese style (Li-lugs) or of the Newar style (Bal-lugs), which was still heavily dependent on the Indian schools. In fact Indian (rGya-dkar) and Kashmirian (Kha-che) master craftsmen (gzo-bo mkhas-pa) were summoned to build temples in the early 9th century by king Khri-lde-sroṅ-brtstan and by his son and successor Khri-gtsug-lde-brtstan, as mentioned in the previous section. But it is significant that a Newar artist, not an Indian, was consulted over stylistic matters concerning the extension of the royal monastery of bSam-yas. The artist is qualified as phywa-mkhan, a term having several meanings, including those of “carpenter” and “potter." As the discussion concerned the style of images, one is led to guess that the artist in question was a wood-carver or perhaps a clay sculptor, bearing in mind that still nowadays Newar metal statuary is produced by the lost-wax process by artists who are equally at ease modelling either clay or wax.

From an early date Newar artists were commissioned to make images also by Tibetan pilgrims and scholars travelling to the Nepal Valley. That must have been the case when the famous Tibetan translator, Vairocana, a direct disciple of Padmasambhava and one of the first six or seven monks (sad-mi) who were ordained at bSam-yas, offered a golden image at Sankhu, in the Nepal Valley. This episode is related in canto 74 of the Padma thaṅ-yiṅ, in its

---
Plate 6. Stone sculpture of Vaiśravaṇa. bSam-yas.
14th century version by O-rgyan-gliṅ-pa, which is generally known as Šel-brag-ma. The same poem relates the presence of the Newar consort of Padmasambhava, Śākyadevi, in western Tibet, and gives us the names of the first Newar scholars mentioned in Tibetan literature in connection with Tibet: Śīlāmañju and Vasudhara were both invited to Tibet during the reign of Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan and helped the famous Tibetan translator sNubs Saṅs-rgyas-ye-śes (b. 772) and others to translate the tantra entitled 'Jam-dpal-gśin-rje-zla-gsān-nag-po (cantos 59, 82, 84). Saṅs-rgyas-ye-śes himself travelled to the Nepal Valley, besides visiting India and Gilgit, which was then part of the Tibetan empire58.

Newar sculptors, particularly expert in stone-work (Bal-po rdo-mkhan) were invited by king Ra-lpa-can to contribute to the construction of his own temple, the dPe-med-bka-sis-dge-'phel at 'U-saṅ-rdo, along with artists from several other countries, including India, as we have already seen59. After the collapse of the Tibetan empire following the murder of king Glaṅ-dar-ma in 842, cultural and artistic intercourse with the Nepal Valley came to a virtual halt, but trading connections must have contributed to keep the recollection and to some extent the practice of Buddhism alive especially in central and southern Tibet, at least at an individual level, since no monastic life is recorded until the renaissance of Buddhism in the kingdom of Western Tibet around the year 1000. Though Kashmirian artists were chiefly responsible for the decoration of the monasteries built in Western Tibet following Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po's activity there, it is likely that also Newar artists contributed to it. Bengalese or Newar artists educated in the Pāla taste were responsible for carving the previously mentioned wooden panels at the monastery of Kojarnath, which was founded by the Western Tibetan king 'Khor-re in the sPu-hraṅ area, on the present Nepalese border, and was later taken over by the Sa-skya-pa school60.

There is evidence of the collaboration of Kashmirian and

60. Tucci, 1937: 42, figs. between pp. 48 and 49; 1956: 61.
Plate 7. Wooden relief. bSam-yas.
Newar artists in Western Tibet. A Newar sculptor, Aśvadharma, helped a Kashmirian Vañ-ku-la in making the gilded silver triad of a 250 cm Mañjuśrī flanked by 200 cm images of Śaḍakṣarī and Vajrapāṇi in the Translator’s Temple of the same monastic compound. A silver statue of the Jo-bo at the same site is attributed to a silversmith from Jumla, western Nepal. The activity of Newar artists at Kojarnath was possibly patronized by the Sa-skya-pas when they were at the peak of their power (13th-14th century), and it should be noted that, after a big fire destroyed the two side statues in the Translator’s Temple as late as in 1899, they called Newar sculptors to restore them. In the 12th and 13th century Newar artists may have contributed to some extent to the spread of an international Pala style of painting in the kingdom of Western Tibet and even beyond, as is suggested by the case of the Newar sculptor and painter Aniko (1245-1306) who will be referred to shortly. Newar artisans established themselves in areas such as Chiling, in Zangskar which, like Ladakh, was then part of the Western Tibetan kingdom, and where their descendants still carry on their activity today. In 1625 the Jesuit missionary de Andrade met four Newar artisans at Tsaparang, the capital of the kingdom, and even commissioned them to make a cross for himself. Indeed many metal images in western Tibetan temples seem to be made in Newar style.

Whereas western Tibet looked more at Kashmir than at the Nepal Valley as a suitable Buddhist cultural model because of historical and geographical reasons, central and southern Tibet found in the Nepal Valley a handy reservoir of scholars and artists to help in re-establishing Buddhism in those regions. From the

11th century onwards a number of Tibetan scholars and translators travelled to the Valley, often on their way to India and sometimes spent long periods of study there. It was natural that they should resort to Newar artists when the need of decorating new monasteries arose in the neighbouring areas of southern Tibet. During the period of predominance of the Sa-skya principality, teams of Newar artists were invited there by the abbots of the Sa-skya-pa school. While Newar scholars, such as Saṅghaśrī69, assisted Tibetan scholars and translators in transferring the Indian Buddhist heritage into Tibet, Newar artists played an even more crucial role in establishing the Pāla aesthetic experience and their own artistic tradition in central and southern Tibet. Sometimes it is impossible to say whether images were commissioned in the Nepal Valley and then carried to Tibet, or produced by Newar artists in Tibetan monasteries. That applies, for example, to the fine images of Newar origin abounding in the assembly-hall and top floor chapel (dbu-rtse; literally “top of the head”) of the bZi-thog palace, in the southern monastery of Sa-skya70, where whole collections of statues are arranged on shelves. But in several instances the presence of Newar artists working in Tibetan monasteries is proved by historical records and inscriptions. The most famous case is undoubtedly that of Aniko, who directed the work of eighty Newar artists in building a golden stūpa at Sa-skya, where he had been especially invited by its prince-abbot ‘Phags-pa in 1260. His life, which has been summarized elsewhere71, shows that the activities of Newar artists in Tibet ranged from sculpture and painting to architecture. Newar artistis were probably responsible for the introduction of new iconographic types and iconometric rules upon which all subsequent artistic production was modelled in Tibet. There is the case of a Newar sculptor (Bal-po bzo-bo) who went to Tibet and erected images of eighty mahāsiddhas which were subsequently drawn72, and such draw-

69. Saṅghaśrī was particularly learned in Sanskrit grammar and abhidharma philosophy and even taught the Great Abbot Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga‘rgyal-mtshan (Obermiller, 1986: 223; Templeman, 1981: 69, n. 158).
71. Lo Bue, 1985: 265-266.
Clartural artistic trends in Tibet up to the 15th century

trings may have contributed to form the iconography of the siddhas in Tibet.

Because Tibetan artists copied the models provided by their Newar masters, the earliest scrolls and wall paintings in the monasteries of southern Tibet were produced in Newar style to such an extent that in some cases it is difficult to establish whether they are Newar or Tibetan. Indeed some early wall paintings in Tibetan monasteries may provide a rich source for the study of 13th and 14th century Newar wall painting of which, owing to climatic reasons, no examples are known to survive in the Nepal Valley. That is the case for some wall paintings in the monastery of Žwa-lu, an early 11th century foundation to which Newar patrons were especially munificent, erecting also a stūpa (Bal-po mchod-rten). In the main temple at Žwa-lu, the gSer-khañ, which was restored in the early 14th century by the sku-žañ (prince) of Žwa-lu, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, one finds “rows of saints enclosed in the usual frames”, that is in the rectangular registers characteristic of Newar scroll painting of that period. In the deambulation corridors around the ancient group of chapels surrounding the assembly-hall (tshogs-khañ) on the ground floor, and especially around the 11th century temple devoted to the goddess Prajñāpāramitā on the first floor, there are paintings in Newar style. In some of them there seems to be the anticipation of motifs to be found later in Rajput art, but a recent study has shown that, like the other paintings on the ground and middle floor of the gSer-khañ, they were painted by artists following Aniko’s school at the Yuan court.

The Newar influence is also apparent in the various sku-bum built in southern Tibet previous to the construction of the one at Gyantse. The Newar manner is discernible, for example, in the

73. Tucci, 1949: 700, n. 618.
77. Ibidem: 657; 700, n. 618.
78. Ibidem: 178; 180, fig. 24.
ninth chapel on the first floor of the sku-'bum mthon-grol which was built in the mid-14th century at Jo-nañ. Its wall paintings go back to the period of construction of that particular sku-'bum, which was restored twice by Taranātha at the beginning of the 17th century, the last time in 1621. Paintings in a clearly discernible Newar style were once found in the immense sgo-man mchod-rten now reduced to a great ruined pile at rGyañ, on the eastern side of the lHa-rtse plain, an area which was administered by the princes of Gyantse since 1360 and from which many painters and sculptors were summoned to work on the sKu-'bum at Gyantse. The sku-'bum at rGyañ was built in the early 15th century by the Sa-skya-pa abbot bSod-nams ·bkra-sis (1352-1417) with the help of the famous saint and engineer, Thañ-ston rGyal-po (1385-1464). The legends illustrated on the walls were enclosed in registers and small rectangles, wherein the figures were drawn in the vigorous manner characteristic of so much Newar painting, with broad and well defined outlines, while all the space was filled up with flowers, small trees and leaves, where blue and dark red colours prevailed. Some figures in the painting of Newar inspiration were reminiscent of western Tibetan painting and suggest the existence of a Himalayan style which extended well beyond the Nepal Valley.

Whereas the sku-'bum at rGyañ precedes that at Gyantse of a couple of decades, the sku-'bum once standing at sNar-than, which was completely destroyed in 1966 during the Cultural Revolution, was built virtually in the years when the decoration of the sKu-'bum at Gyantse was under way: the names of bKra-śis-bzañ-po and Śes-rab-dpal, two painters who worked at both sites, are found in the inscriptions of both buildings. Both artists worked in the chapels on the first floor of the sKu-'bum at Gyantse, the former in

83. Tucci, 1949: 663.
Cultural and artistic trends in Tibet up to the 15th century

chapel 1/10, the latter in chapel 1/18. It is conceivable that Śes-rab-dpal is the same as Śes-rab-dpal-bzaṅ-pa dpon-slob (master and disciples) mentioned in the inscriptions of chapels 2/5, 2/6, 3/12, and as the Śes-rab-dpal-bzaṅ-po mentioned in the inscription of chapel 3/13.

Some of the wall paintings at sNar-than betrayed the usual Newar inspiration, but others were regarded by Tucci as excellent examples of the “Tibetan manner” which, according to him, reached “its full maturity of expression” in the Gyantse school. In fact Tucci places the first examples of the “mature Tibetan manner” in the sKu-'bum at Gyantse and further defines this manner as “the synthesis and meeting-point of several styles which before that time had long coexisted on Tibetan soil without attaining unification”.

Tucci’s statement ought to be understood in the sense that by the early 15th century Tibetan artists had completely assimilated the Newar manner and made it theirs. But that does not necessarily mean that the Newar and Chinese influences had by then amalgamated into a national style. On the contrary, in the sKu-'bum at Gyantse images executed in the Newar and Chinese style may coexist in the same chapel, without combining in an independent Tibetan style, as is well illustrated by the hybrid decoration of chapel 3/17.

According to Tibetan tradition the Newar school of painting was widely spread in Tibet until sMan-bla Don-grub-rgya-mtsho (b. 1409) from sMan-than in lHo-brag, an area then controlled by the princes of Gyantse, founded a national school of painting in gTsāñ (southern Tibet), where he had emigrated following troubles with his wife. Don-grub-rgya-mtsho, who is also known as 'Jam-dbyaṅs

86. Tucci, 1941b: 20.
88. Ibidem: 30, 31, 60.
Don-grub-rgya-mtsho, or simply sMan-thaṅ-pa (the one from sMan-thaṅ), travelled extensively in gTsang (southern Tibet), went to Sa-skya, and finally found a master in rDo-pa bKa-sis-rgyal-po⁴⁴. The name of neither of these artists is mentioned in the inscriptions at Gyantse. While Don-grub-rgya-mtsho's stay at Sa-skya firmly connects him with the Newar artistic tradition, historical sources make it clear that at some stage in his career he was deeply influenced by Chinese tapestry work and that the art works he produced during that period received the name of ldan-lugs⁹⁵, perhaps referring to his "talented", or "gifted" in the sense of "accomplished", style. It was from this style of painting, which amalgamated the Newar and Chinese influences into an original Tibetan style, that the sMan-bris, the first national school of painting, originated.

This suggestion is supported by both stylistic and historical circumstantial evidence. A careful examination of a group of painted scrolls which Tibetan scholars regard as belonging to the sMan-bris, meaning sMan(-thaṅ-pa)'s painting⁹⁶, shows that the Newar influence has been absorbed there in a new style and survives only in some landscapes and natural elements, such as the motif of green rolling hills and the shape of the leaves, as well as in the predominance of green and red colour schemes. This style is distinctly different from the style of the paintings at Gyantse. Even taking into account the fact that this group of paintings regarded as sMan-bris is relatively late, as well as the fact that the sMan-bris style underwent some changes in the course of time⁹⁷, it appears that the paintings at Gyantse represent the stage immediately preceding the birth of the first Tibetan school of painting. In fact the Newar style at Gyantse is betrayed not only by the colour schemes and by the lively manner in which are drawn figures such as the siddhas of the Lam-'bras-lha-khaṅ, built in 1425 on the first floor.

---

⁹⁷. Representatives of that school, such as Chus-khyer sPrul-sku Tshe-riṅ of lHo-brag, were still active in the first half of the 17th century (Dagyab, 1977, 1: 37) along with artists of other schools, including the sMan-gsar (New sMan-bris).
Plate 8. Avalokiteśvara. gTsug-lag-khañ. Gyantse.
of the gTsug-lag-khaṅ, but also in the architectural elements of the niches surrounding many images.

These niches, framing large figures (chapels 1/2, 2/4, 2/6, 2/7, 2/8, 2/9, 2/14, 3/2, 3/4) and statues (chapels 3/1, 3/4, 3/7, 3/20) as well as rows of small figures (chapels 1/9, 2/5, 2/7, 2/8) in the sKu'-bum, are already visible in the two side temples in the wings of the ground floor of the gTsug-lag-khaṅ, decorated in 1422 and 1423, as well as in the central triad of the gNas-brtan-lha-khaṅ, which was built on the first floor in 1425 (Pls. 8-11). The architectural elements of these niches, ultimately of Indian origin, are already apparent in 10th century Newar manuscript illumination 98: pairs of columns, sometimes piled on with two up to three columns on each side, rise as stems tapering towards the bottom from vases and are crowned by lotus capitals. These stem-like columns support an archway formed by three, more rarely five, lobes, sometimes replaced by an intricate decoration formed by stylized tendrils and birds' or makaras' tails.

The conception of a deity framed by a window or gate is characteristic of Newar temple architecture 99, while trilobate arches are still very commonly encountered in both religious and secular buildings in the chief towns of the Nepal Valley. Examples of columns rising from vases are frequent, too, and there are also instances of pillars tapering towards the top 100. While these stylistic elements survive in Newar architecture and painting, notably in scrolls dated from 1400 to 1488 101, they are totally missing in Tibetan architecture, and are found as decorative elements only in Tibetan painting and sculpture from the 15th to the 17th century, sometimes associated with the red-and-blue or red-and-green colour schemes of the Newar tradition 102.

99. See for example Slusser, 1982, 2: fig. 137; Macdonald, and Stahl, 1979: 14, fig. 11; 85, fig. 67.
100. Deo, 1968-69: pl. VIII, fig. 1.
The suggestion that the paintings in the sKu-'bum of Gyantse represent just the beginning of what may be regarded as the full maturity of Tibetan art and the creation of a national style is further supported by circumstantial chronological evidence. As we have already hinted to, at the time of the erection of the sKu-'bum, Don-grub-rgya-mtsho had not yet created the sMan-bris school of painting. The Newar style still predominated, as one may expect from painters coming mostly from lHa-rtse, on the main trade route to the Nepal Valley. Furthermore the interaction between the Nepal Valley and southern Tibet became even closer in the 15th century, when the princes of Gyantse eventually took over lHa-rtse in 1424 and the Newar king Jayayakṣa Malla (reg 1428-1482) apparently occupied nearby Śel-dkar-rdzori, then an important trade-mart on the main route between the Valley and lHa-rtse. These closer links between the Nepal Valley and southern Tibet coincided with a period in which the decadence of Newar Buddhism following the disappearance of Buddhism in India was accelerated by the introduction of a caste-system, whereby monkhood became a hereditary preserve putting an end to any vocational criterion. Śaivism was the official creed of the monarchy and in the late 14th century there was even an upsurge of Vaiṣṇavism. No persecution of the Buddhist faith was actually sanctioned, but from 1382 onwards the Malla kings exerted pressure on the Buddhist community, started interfering with the internal organization of monasteries and, in the main, favoured Hinduism.

It is clear that the slow decay of Buddhist monasteries in the Nepal Valley meant that some communities could no longer afford to employ artists on the same scale as before. In that situation invitations to work in Tibet must have been especially welcome and thus Newar influence continued to be felt in Tibetan painting during the first half of the 15th century, not only in southern Tibet, but also in central and eastern areas. During their tours in eastern

Plate 11. Detail of the preceding plate.
Tibet the 5th Black Hat *Karma-pa* hierarch De-bzin-gsegs-pa (1384-1415) and his successor mThon-ba-don-ldan (1416-1453) founded several new monasteries whose wall paintings were executed in the Newar style\(^{107}\). In 1429 Kun-dgal-bzan-po (1382-1444), the founder of the *Sa-skya-pa* monastery of Ňor, south-western Tibet, called Newar artists to decorate its temple (*lha-khan*)\(^{108}\), but it should be noticed that these were sculptors, like those commissioned to make statues for the 1rst and 2nd Grand Lamas of the newly founded *dGe-lugs-pa* order in the second half of the 15th century\(^{109}\). In fact Newar influences on Tibetan statuary has continued until the 20th century\(^{110}\). In contrast it may be said that Newar influence on Tibetan painting started decreasing from the 16th century onwards.

The painting style of the sKu-'bum at Gyantse, however firmly based upon the Newar tradition of painting of the late 14th and early 15th century, merely announces the birth of a national style as subsequently embodied in the *sMan-bris* school, in which Newar and Chinese elements were fused in an original Tibetan interpretation. That southern Tibetan painters were by then accomplished artists utterly capable of absorbing foreign influences and producing masterly works is proved by the Newar painter Jivarama who, in April 1435 (N.S. 555), compiled a sketchbook including drawings made during a stay at a place possibly in southern Tibet\(^{111}\). The majority of these drawings are executed in Newar style and bear Newari inscriptions, but some of their details may be regarded as Tibetan, particularly in the treatment of clouds and flowers. Besides the expressive portraits and heads of Tibetan lamas and Indian *siddhas* remindful of the lively figures drawn in the upper and lower registers of Newar painted scrolls, one finds the Tibetan interpretation of Chinese iconographic types in the portraits of the *sthaviras*\(^{112}\) bearing inscriptions both in

---

110. Lo Bue, 1985; 1985-86.
112. On the *sthaviras* see the first section of Chapter Five.
Newāri and Tibetan, along with elements of outright Chinese origin, such as the dragon and the peony flower.

1.3 The Chinese and Central Asian influence

One of the first Chinese images to reach Lhasa was probably a statue of the Buddha Śākyamuni as at the age of twelve, which according to tradition was part of the dowry of the Chinese princess Wencheng, who had the Ra-mo-che temple at Lhasa especially built to house that image. Sometimes between 641 and 676 the statue was transferred to the Jo-khaṅ, while the image of the Jo-bo Akṣobhya-vajra, which had been placed there by the Newar queen, was moved to the Ra-mo-che. The Chinese statue is known as Jo-bo Śākyamuni, Jo-bo Rin-po-che or Jo-bo Yid-bzin-nor-bu. According to the sBa-bzad a Chinese (or Indian? the text has simply “rGya”, which might mean either) called mTshan-ma-can from Hen-pan-dpe-har, was invited to work at bSam-yas. He was the one who raised the issue of whether the images there should be painted in the Chinese or in the Indian style, discussing the matter with a Newar artist in the presence of king Khri-sron-lde-brtshan and Padmasambhava, as already mentioned. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-'phreṅ-ba's mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston reports the same episode giving different spellings of the artist’s name (rGya mTshal-bu-can or rGya mTshal-na-mkhan) and place of origin (Hen-khaṅ-ba-hir).

Chinese artistic influence during the monarchic period was closely connected with the important role then played by Chinese Buddhist masters in Tibet, which was subsequently underestimated in the ecclesiastical historiography produced during and after the second diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet. The presence of Chinese artists in Tibet during the monarchic period is attested by contemporary historical sources, including inscriptions. Chinese bells hang at the entrances of the earliest monastic foundations such as bSam-yas (Pl. 12) and Brag Yer-pa, and an inscription on

---

Plate 12. Bell at the entrance of the monastery of bSam-yas.
one such bell at Khra-'brug, in the Yar-kluñ Valley, mentions that the man who melted it was the abbot, the Chinese master Rincen116. The decoration of some elements in the early monastic foundations, such as those to be found at Khra-'brug and bSam-yas (Pl. 13a), is reminiscent of contemporary Tang motifs. Chinese craftsmen from Be-chu worked on the nine-storied temple built by Khri-lde-sroñ-brtsan at sKar-chuñ, while Chinese master craftsmen worked on the dPe-med-bkra-śis-dge-’phel, a similar monastery commissioned by king Ral-pa-can at ’U-śaṅ-rdo (both foundations have already been referred to in the previous section). The stone lion still standing at the site of that king’s tomb at ’Phyon-rgyas117 and the tortoise at the foot of the inscribed pillar near the tomb of Khri-lde-sroñ-brtsan (Pl. 13b), which is reminiscent of a similar Tang pillar in Sichuan118, confirm the important role played by Chinese art and artists in Tibet during the monarchic period. (One must notice, however, the presence of a pillar supported by a tortoise in the 5th century temple complex at Changu Nārāyaña, Nepal Valley).

Vaiśravaṇa and the Four Guardian Kings

Among the most revered objects kept at the monastery of Chos-luñ Tshogs-pa, an institution which, as we shall see, was supported by the founder of the Gyantse dynasty, in the neighbourhood of Gyantse119, there were two banners portraying rNam-sras-ser-chen (the Great Yellow Vaiśravaṇa) surrounded by his brothers, the rTa-bdag brgyad (the Eight Masters of the Horses) who form his retinue. According to tradition one of the standards was carried by prince Mu-ne-brtsan-po (reg c. 800-804) on his way to fight in eastern Tibet via g.Yar-mo-thaṅ in A-mdo120. The other

118. Hong-lu’u-khu’e, 1988: 17.
standard was commissioned by the same prince following a vision and was executed in Chinese style. In fact Tibetan tradition attributed the prototype of the image of Vaiśravaṇa to an artist from lJān, or lJān-mo, a district in Li-thaṅ, eastern Tibet, who produced it during the war between Tibet and China, when the god, surrounded by his retinue of eight horsemen, led the Tibetan troops to victory. According to another tradition Padmasambhava himself evoked the god rNam-sras of the blue lion (on whom see chapel 1/17 in Chapter Three) and his eight fellow knights, and had them painted on the banners. Then he made his camp at Gyer-ma-thaṅ (or g.Yar-mo-thaṅ) in Khams. This tradition seems to be a legendary version of the same episode, which links the Tibetan iconography of Vaiśravaṇa with eastern Tibet and with a period, 799-803, when Tibetan forces were continuously fighting the Chinese.

Originally a yakṣa in the Hindu tradition, Vaiśravaṇa became the protecting deity of Khotan, and the kings of that city-state were supposed to be descending from him. His connection with Khotan may explain why he came to be regarded as the Guardian King of the north in both Indian and Tibetan Buddhist tradition. Vaiśravaṇa, along with his other fellow Guardian Kings, was very popular all over Central Asia, and images of the Four Guardian Kings were found at Dunhuang and Kharakhoto. The iconographic tradition of these cycles was inherited at Gyantse, where beautiful paintings of the Four Guardian Kings were painted on the western wall of the gNas-brtan-lha-khaṅ on the first floor of the gTsug-lag-khaṅ. One of the Eight Masters of the Horses, namely Gaṅ-ba-bzan-po, was supposed to be the divine ruler of Mount gNod-sbyin-gaṅ-bzaṅ (meaning yakṣa Gaṅ-ba-bzaṅ-po). Kun-dga’ Phags-pa

Cultural and artistic trends in Tibet up to the 15th century

(1357-1412), Great Lord (bdag-po chen-po) of Gyantse and Prime Minister (nañ-chen) of Sa-skya, was regarded as an incarnation of Gañ-ba-bzan-po. A 15th century gilded bronze portraying Gañ-ba-bzan-po may have been produced in Gyantse during the rule of that prince or shortly afterwards.

Although the iconographic origin of the Four Guardian Kings may be Central Asian, their portraits in Central Asia and Tibet are stylistically Chinese, or at least strongly influenced by Chinese style. They represent a meeting point of the Central Asian tradition and of the Chinese tradition as exemplified by Chang Sheng-wen's long handscroll of Buddhist images painted in the period 1173-1176, where the Four Guardian Kings “look as if they had been transmitted, without much change, from the Buddhist art of the T'ang dynasty.” It is quite significant that the earliest known stone statue of Vaiśravaṇa in Tibet, at the entrance of bSam-yas (Pl. 6), and the earliest paintings portraying the god, which were kept at Chos-lun Tshogs-pa, were both executed in Chinese style, possibly at the end of the 8th century. The fact that some elements in the attire of the Guardian Kings in Tibetan iconography appear to be of Iranian origin is likely to be due to the penetration of Western motifs from Persia, first during the Tang dynasty, and possibly later, under the Mongol rule. From U-rgyan-pa (1230-1309), we know in fact that the door-keepers of Qubilai Khan's palace at Shangtu were from Ta-zig (a Tibetan corruption of the name Tajik, by which Persia and the Persians were known to Tibetans). That circumstance ought not to surprise, since the Mongols established an empire in that area under Hulagu during the mid-13th century and Chinese scholars were at

131. Tucci, 1949: 572-579; cf. the discussion under chapel 1/17 in Chapter Three.
the capital, Tabriz, in the early 14th century\textsuperscript{136}. But the Iranian motifs were expressed in Chinese terms, as is apparent from the examples produced in Tibet during the Yuan period, both in painting\textsuperscript{137} and in statuary, for example in the Jo-khañ at Lhasa, where the four almost lifesize Guardian Kings standing on the right and left of the entrance-hall are exact copies of statues made by Chinese artists in China, possibly during that period\textsuperscript{138}. That by the 15th century the iconographic tradition of the Four Guardian Kings had become bound to Chinese models is also proved by the drawings copied by the Newar painter Jivarama somewhere in southern Tibet in 1435\textsuperscript{139}, which are in Chinese style.

\textit{The so-called Khotanese style}

The role played by Khotan in Tibetan art seems to be virtually limited to the monarchic period, when Khotanese artists were summoned by Khri-lde-sroñ-brtsan and Ral-pa-can to build the two nine-storied temples mentioned above\textsuperscript{140}. Khotan and other Central Asian city-states were controlled by Tibetans for periods from c. 665 to 851\textsuperscript{141}, and in 866 their last forts in the northern Tarim basin and Dzungaria were captured by the Uighurs\textsuperscript{142}. Although Tibetans may have later succeeded in raising an effective, however occasional, barrier between Khotan and the Chinese court until 938, it appears that in the second half of the 9th century only bits and pieces of the once powerful Tibetan empire remained under Tibetan control. In the following century Khotan started undergoing the onslaught of Muslim invaders and Buddhism lost its cultural and political prestige. After 971 no

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{136} Gray, 1977: 25.
\item\textsuperscript{137} Béguin, 1977: 13; 117, fig. 88.
\item\textsuperscript{138} Dagyab, 1977, 1: 36; Liu Yisi, 1957: pls. 56-58; Richardson, 1977: 176-177, fig. 6; Jisl, n.d.: pl. 61; Sis and Vaniš, n.d.: pl. 132.
\item\textsuperscript{139} Lowry, 1977: 103, 112, figs. A2-A3, A30.
\item\textsuperscript{140} Karmay, 1975: 5; sBa, 1961: 71-72.
\item\textsuperscript{141} Beckwith, 1987: 34, 171.
\item\textsuperscript{142} \textit{Ibidem}: 171-172.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Buddhist monks are mentioned as Khotanese envoys to the Chinese court. By 1006 Khotan was held by a Muslim Turkish dynasty and the population converted to Islam. Marco Polo, who visited the town between 1271 and 1275, could write that the Khotanese were all worshippers of Mahommet. By then almost every recollection of Khotan as a Buddhist centre had been lost in Tibet and the Tibetan word for Khotan, "Li", as attested in documents of the monarchic period, was often referred to the Nepal Valley, to which the Tibetans transferred several Khotanese legends.

The expression Li-lugs, literally meaning Khotanese style, is found in an inscription copied by Tucci in a chapel devoted to Amitāyus in an ancient temple at a site known today as Iwang, which is referred to as g.Ye-dmar in the Myaⁿ-chuⁿ, south of Gyantse. The style of the paintings corresponding to the inscription is thus contrasted to that of the paintings in the central chapel of the same temple, which are described as being executed in the rGya-gar lugs, namely in Indian style. The temple is an undoubtedly ancient foundation, as is proved by the presence of the reversed gi-gug vowel sign in the inscription there. It was certainly built before the Kashmirian scholar Śākyāṇa arrived in Tibet in 1204, although probably not before Atiśa's arrival in 1042. However, no Khotanese Buddhist art seems to have been produced after the Muslim final conquest of Khotan and the latest specimens of Central Asian Buddhist art which may be regarded as "Khotanese" were in fact produced at sites much farther east, such as Bāzāklik, east of Turfan, on the northern branch of the Silk Route, in the late 9th or early 10th century.
a different style to the one found in the Amitāyus chapel and are closer to the style to be found at Dunhuang, an area which Tibetans called bDe-blon-ris, farther east, where Chinese influence prevailed.

Although the images in the Amitāyus chapel at Iwang are undoubtedly old, some of them seem to relate stylistically to paintings executed in Central Asia in a manner which is strongly reminiscent of the Pāla style, as found in the Tangut kingdom of Xixia (Hsi-hsia, 1035-1277), known to Tibetans as Mi-ñag. In fact one of them is very similar to another one portraying the Buddha in the central chapel, which is supposedly painted in the Indian style. On the other hand the statues in both chapels betray strong Chinese influence, besides Central Asian influence. But again they cannot be related to the Khotanese style proper for both historical and stylistic reasons. Indeed the prominently square chin characterizing some of these images points to a different Central Asian style, as well as to specific racial traits, such as those of some eastern Tibetan tribes, like the Na-khis, who live in the area known to Tibetans as lJañ-mo. That region was part of the Tibetan empire and is mentioned as lJañ-mo in historical records relating events of the period of Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan. Prominently square chins appear both in religious paintings and in human types in that area.

The posture, gesture and style of some painted attendant bodhisattva figures of the Amitāyus chapel at Iwang are closely related to those of a group of Tibetan painted scrolls which

152. Tucci, 1941c: figs. 49, 51-53.
154. Tucci, 1941b: 139-140.
156. Ibidem: figs. 45 and 53.
157. Tucci, 1941a: 137, 139-140; 1941c: fig. 50.
158. Tucci, 1941c: figs. 46-52.
159. Rock, 1972: pls. XXX, XXXV, XXXIX-XLV, XLVII-XLIX.
161. Tucci, 1941c: fig. 51.
seem to represent a Central Asian version of the Pāla style, to which the appellation of "international Pāla style" may be suitably applied. This style is apparent in paintings found in Kharakhoto, the ancient Edzine, a border town in the kingdom of Xixia, some 50 miles north-east of Dunhuang. There we find the same type of prominently square chin characterizing the images executed in the "Li" style at Iwang. Thus it may be suggested that the Central Asian influence in Tibetan art after the 11th century came no longer from Khotan, but from the Tibetanized state of Xixia, which had already been a haven for Tibetan Buddhists after the fall of the Tibetan monarchy until the 10th century.

The Tangut state was founded by a people formed by a mixture of Tibetan and Turco-Mongol elements in present-day Gansu, and included the important site of Dunhuang, which had been controlled by Tibetans until 851 and where a colony of Tibetans must have been residing until later, since documents written in Tibetan and referring to events of the 10th century were found there. Tibetans have always had connections with that area, and 200,000 of them still live in a Tibetan district which is part of the province of Gansu. In 1226, when Jingis Khan took Kharakhoto with great slaughter, there was apparently a strong Tibetan garrison to defend it. Six monks of the 'Bri-guṇ-pa school of the bKa'-brgyud-pa order led by Duñ-khur-ba of gTsan (southern Tibet), a pupil of Žaṅ Rin-po-che (1123-1193), were in Xixia in 1222. In 1255-1256 the 2nd Karma-pa Žwa-nag (Black Hat) incarnation, Karma Pakṣī (1206-1283), travelled to Xixia and founded a monastery on the Hor Mi-ṇag border. The fact that Buddhism survived in that area after Jingis Khan's terrible massacre, which left only ten percent

164. Cf. in particular Béguin, 1977: 81, fig. 23 (reproduced also in Karmay, 1975: 18, fig. 7) with Tucci, 1941c: fig. 51.
of the population alive, is confirmed by Marco Polo, who noticed the presence of Buddhist and Christian communities besides Muslim ones, not only at Suchou and at Kanchou, which was then the capital of the Tangut province, but also at Kharakhoto itself\textsuperscript{171}. Furthermore, seventy years after the fall of Xixia, a re-edition of the entire Xixia Buddhist Canon was carried out under the orders of the Mongol emperor Qubilai Khan\textsuperscript{172}.

The art produced at Kharakhoto, like that of Dunhuang and Khotan, shows the co-existence of two different styles, which never seem to have merged: Chinese and Indian, whether of Newar, Tibetan or other Central Asian origin\textsuperscript{173}. The ultimately Pāla origin of this seems to justify the appellation of "international Pāla style" which has been suggested above and which applies well to images such as the stucco Śākyamuni and attendant bodhisattvas found in ancient Buddhist cave temples at Madisi (Ma-ti-ssu), south of Kanchou, in Gansu, published by Stein\textsuperscript{174}. That probably applies also to the statue of Maitreya made in "Li-yul" which was presented in the 10th century to Gar-ma Yon-tan-g.yuñ-druñ by Rab-gsal of gTsaiñ, the teacher of Klu-mes-'brom-chuñ\textsuperscript{175}. On the other hand any Central Asian images which may have found their way to Tibet after the fall of Khotan and before that of Xixia were produced in a style which, strictly speaking, could no longer be called Khotanese. Since the expression Li-lugs found in the early inscription at Iwang cannot refer to Khotan for obvious chronological reasons, and the style of the actual images has nothing of specifically Khotanese, it becomes more and more apparent that the term "Li", having lost its geographical connotation by the 12th century, could be used also with the general meaning of "Central Asian", as in these paintings at Iwang, where the stylistic source could only be Xixia or some other neighbouring area in northeastern Tibet, certainly not Khotan. Many masters from Xixia are

\textsuperscript{171.} Ponchiroli, 1979: 50-52.
\textsuperscript{172.} Karmay, 1975: 35.
\textsuperscript{173.} Cf. Béguin, 1977: 77 ("indo-tibétain") with Karmay, 1975: 12 ("Tibeto-Nepalese").
\textsuperscript{174.} Stein, 1982: fig. 115.
\textsuperscript{175.} Tucci, 1949: 563.
referred to in the Blue Annals, the most famous being the translator from Mi-ñag, Buddhakirti. In 1227 the descendants of the royal family of Xixia found shelter in southern Tibet and at Nam-rinš they founded a dynasty 176.

Although the presence of a Central Asian style at Iwang and at gNas-gsar (north-west of Gyantse) 177 seems to imply that Tangut or other Central Asian artists, or even Tibetan artists educated in that style, imported it to southern Tibet, it should be pointed out that as early as 836 the Pāla-Sena style in its Newar expression had been carried to Xixia by Tibetans 178. This kind of transmission may have been renewed at a later period, from the 13th century onwards, when the Newar manner was fully absorbed by Tibetan artists. Even after the fall of the Tangut kingdom, the Newar manner may have penetrated to Xixia with the foundation of new monasteries such as that of 'Phrul-snañ-sprul-pa'i-lha-khañ established on the Hor Mi-ñag border by the bKa'-brgyud-pas, to which reference has already been made. But in the main the Central Asian style which is regarded as Indo-Tibetan or Tibeto-Newar represents a common Indian Buddhist heritage which was transmitted from Bengal to the Nepal Valley and from Kashmir to Central Asia and Western Tibet 179.

The sthaviras and their representation

Not far from Iwang on the way to Gyantse, about half a kilometre down the valley after crossing the village of Samada, there is a monastery known as 'Dre-gun ('Bras-khud in the Myan-chun), whose mgon-khañ was the earliest surviving part at the time of Tucci’s visit there. It was devoted to Gur-mgon, the protector of the Sa-skya-pa school; and the artists who portrayed the terrific

177. Ibidem: 201; 203, fig. 78.
deities belonging to his retinue followed very closely Central Asian models of Chinese inspiration, or rather purely Chinese models both in drawing and in colouring, especially in the figures of a Chinese master, perhaps Hwa-šaṅ, of a horse and of a lion\textsuperscript{180}. But as a rule the Chinese manner is found in certain fixed cycles, such as the group of the Four Guardian Kings (\textit{dikpāla; rgyal-chen sde-b Dzi}) which in Tibet was always bound with the Chinese stylistic pattern, and the cycle of the \textit{sthaviras} (\textit{gnas-brtan}), which was generally represented after the Chinese manner, the models being taken, according to Tibetan tradition, from the Tang period\textsuperscript{181}. Even though the cycle of the \textit{sthaviras} may have partially derived from Central Asian sources\textsuperscript{182}, its inspiration came from China, its models remained Chinese and its representation was always conceived in the Chinese manner.

According to Tibetan historical sources the ten men who contributed to the survival of Buddhism in Tibet in the second half of the 9th century and during the following century brought some painted scrolls portraying the \textit{sthaviras} from mDo-smad (Qinghai) into Tibet proper\textsuperscript{183}. When Klu-mes-'brom-chuṅ visited China, he had a set of eighteen scrolls painted, which included the Buddha, the \textit{kalyanamitra} Dharmatāla and the Chinese Buddhist Hwa-shang besides the sixteen \textit{sthaviras} of Indian tradition. Klu-mes copied the whole cycle from a set of statues which were kept in a temple there. Although no information is to be found in China concerning the two supplementary figures of Dharmatāla and Hwa-shang, it should be pointed out that the iconography of the former is inspired by the "Maitreya of the big belly" of popular Chinese Buddhism\textsuperscript{184}, while Dharmatāla's iconographic type is found in Chinese portraiture, for instance in a famous picture of the Song dynasty which represents the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (Hsüan-tsang) in the same dress and attitude\textsuperscript{185}. Indeed Tibetans

\textsuperscript{180} Tucci, 1941a: 122-123, 131-132; 1941c: figs. 34-35.
\textsuperscript{181} Tucci, 1949: 199, 557, 563.
\textsuperscript{182} See the first section of Chapter Five.
\textsuperscript{183} Tucci, 1949: 556.
\textsuperscript{184} \textit{Ibidem}: 557.
\textsuperscript{185} \textit{Ibidem}: 561.
may have been acquainted with the pictorial cycle of the sthaviras issued from the school of Guan Xiu (Kuan Hsiu, 832-916) and later from that of Li Longmian (Li Lung-mien, c. 1040-1106)\textsuperscript{186}.

Klu-mes-'brom-chun took his set of scrolls to Tibet and housed it in the monastery of Brag Yer-pa\textsuperscript{187}, a meditation centre founded during the reign of Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan in a pleasant valley some 20 kilometres north-east of Lhasa, where Klu-mes and his disciples erected a temple in 1011 or 1020\textsuperscript{188}. This early 11th century cycle of sthaviras spread to other parts of Tibet: Se sPyil-bu-ba, a dge-bses of the bKa'-gdams-pa order, took as his models the paintings at Brag Yer-pa to commission another set of sthaviras. On the other hand dBaṅ-phyug-brtson-grus, a dpon-chen (regent) of the Sa-skya principality, commissioned a set of statues of the sthaviras and the Buddha which was copied from a set belonging to the emperor of China\textsuperscript{189}. This must have occurred after 1249, when the abbots of Sa-skya were appointed viceroys of a substantial part of southern Tibet by the Mongols, an appointment which was confirmed when the 7th abbot, 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, received the title of ti-śri from Qubilai Khan.

An interesting set of fine and extremely expressive statues of the sthaviras in Chinese style was found by Tucci\textsuperscript{190} at the monastery of Nor-bu’i-khyun-rtse, which was controlled by the princes of Gyantse. Tibetan artists continued to copy traditional Chinese images of the sthaviras as is apparent from three paintings belonging to a set of scrolls executed during the Yuan period, now at the Los Angeles County Museum\textsuperscript{191}, and from other paintings found at Zhigatse and belonging to the early 15th century\textsuperscript{192}, that is to the period in which the monuments studied in this book were erected at Gyantse. That by then the iconography of the sthaviras had be-

\textsuperscript{186} Tucci, 1949: 563.
\textsuperscript{187} Ibidem: 556.
\textsuperscript{188} Roerich. 1976: 74.
\textsuperscript{189} Dagvab, 1977, 1: 62.
\textsuperscript{190} Tucci, 1949: 206-207, figs. 87-89.
\textsuperscript{191} Beguin, 1977: 76-77; 116, figs. 84-86; Pal, 1984: pls. 56-57.
\textsuperscript{192} Beguin, 1977: 112; 115-116, fig. 83; Pal, 1984: pl. 58.
come fixed in its prevalently Chinese form is proved by the drawings in the sketchbook produced by the Newar painter Jivarama in 1435, of which mention has already been made 193.

Mongol contacts and Ming influences

The strong bonds which were established in the 13th century between the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty, which ruled China from 1279 to 1368, and the representatives of the various Tibetan monastic orders were of paramount importance in the development of both Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist art. Mention has been made of the Newar sculptor and painter Aniko, who worked in Tibet from 1260 to 1265, was then invited by the emperor to China, and eventually became the general director of all metal-works and later supervisor of the imperial manufacturers at the Mongol court. Tibetan works of art, hitherto produced mainly in Newar style, started reaching the Mongol court, sometimes by order of the emperors, and apparently a Mongol emperor sent to Tibet for images of the goddess Guanyin in the 14th century 194. On the other hand Chinese works of art were sent to Tibet as gifts from the emperors, and Yuan statues were noticed by Tucci at Sa-skya 195. At the beginning of the 14th century a team of skilled artists (bzo-bo mkhas-pa-bo) from Šar rGya-hor-gyi yul 196, “the land of the Mongols of eastern China” (namely the Yuan dynasty) 197, were summoned to build and decorate the gSer-khaň temple at Žwa-lu, which Tucci regards as a very important temple for the history of Tibetan painting 198. Its roofs are covered with glazed blue tiles, and the topmost cen-

196. Myañ-chuoi, 1983: 168. On the rGya-hor people, in modern Qinghai, see Wylie (1962: 112; 200, n. 812) and Nebesky-Wojkovitz (1975: 442, 470). In the context of the construction of Žwa-lu it may be also understood as “Mongol (namely Yuan) Chinese”.
Cultural and artistic trends in Tibet up to the 15th century

Central ridge-pole is covered with square panels bearing floral patterns, fruits, animals and deities in relief, and decorated with mythological animals in bright enamel in Chinese style. Chinese models were closely followed in a statue standing in the mgon-khañ, portraying possibly a bodhisattva figure. The Chinese manner co-exists with the predominantly Newar style in the wall paintings of the deambulation corridors around the tshogs-khañ on the ground floor and around the Prajñāpāramitā temple on the first floor.

During the same period, the lord (dpon) dGa'-'bde-mgon-po, the second son of the myriarch of the Tshal principality, went seven times to the Mongol court in China on behalf of his monastery, Tshal Guñ-thañ, located on the left bank of the sKyid-chu river, nearly in front of Brag Yer-pa. This foundation was established in 1175 by Tshal-ba Bla-ma Žañ-brtson-grags who, in 1187, built the monastery and started the construction of a four-storey stupa (gtsug-lag-khañ-dañ 'bum-po-che'i bañ-rim bži), which was completed by his successor. With the avail of many skilful Chinese artists, dGa'-'bde-mgon-po made a great number of stupas and images, besides establishing a printing press which was one of the earliest, if not the first, in Tibet. This myriarch seems to be the same khri-dpon who opposed Byañ-chub-rgyal-mtshan (1302-1364) when the latter was in his twenties, and is probably the same as the Tshal-pa khri-dpon who is often mentioned as a donor in the guide to the Jo-khañ in Lhasa. The works commissioned by the Tshal-pa khri-dpon in the Jo-khañ at Lhasa were executed in Chinese style and include the statue of the Buddha called Sañ-rgyas-mthoñ-ba-don-yod and of Sroñ-brtson-sgam-po with his Newar and Chinese queens. It should be pointed out that the

---

204. Tucci, 1949: 688, n. 121.
205. Dagyab, 1977, 1: 36; Jisl, n.d.: pl. 60; Sis and Vaniš, n.d.: pl. 133; Richardson, 1977: 172, fig. 4.
latter is not the only set of images of Sron-brtsan-sgam-po and his two foreign queens to be found in the Jo-khañ. In fact that set may be based on an older one said to be kept in the underground cells of that temple\textsuperscript{206}. Other known sets are in chapel 11 on the ground floor and in chapel 1 on the first floor\textsuperscript{207}.

dGal-bde's youngest son, sMon-lam-rdo-rje, founded and embellished a number of religious buildings, including the Jo-khañ at Lhasa. He built the dome in Chinese style at the site of Brag-lha-klu-phug, a shrine enclosing a cave sacred to the nāgas, situated on the side of the lCags-po-ri\textsuperscript{208}. This may have taken place in the second quarter of the 14th century, before 1351 when he invited Bu-ston to Tshal Guñ-thañ for the consecration of the bKa'-'gyur\textsuperscript{209}.

By the 15th century also the bKa'-brgyud-pa order had established strong ties with the Chinese court, and images were exchanged between the emperor Chengzu and the representatives of both the Sa-skya-pa order and the various bKa'-brgyud-pa schools. In 1402 Chos-dpal-rgyal-mtshan, who belonged to the Gliṅ-tshañ branch of the bKa'-brgyud-pa order, sent images to Chengzu (Yongle), and the following year the 5th Black Hat incarnation of the Karma-pa school, De-bzin-bsogs-pa (1384-1415) was invited to China. In 1406, before travelling there, he sent envoys with presents of images for the emperor\textsuperscript{210}. A large scroll measuring some 15 metres in length and 75 cm in height, with inscriptions in Chinese, Tibetan, Arabic, Mongol and Uighur, was painted in the “meticulously elegant Ming style”\textsuperscript{211} to record the miracles performed by De-bzin-bsogs-pa during the ensuing visit. This painting was kept at mTshur-phu, the seat of the Æwa-nag Karma-pas, where it was photographed and studied by Richardson in 1949. Ming works of art such as that, or such as the Buddhist images which were included among the presents given to the 5th

\textsuperscript{206} Richardson, 1977: 178-179, fig. 8; Jisl, n.d.: pls. 54-57.
\textsuperscript{207} Richardson, 1977: 173, 181.
\textsuperscript{209} Cf. Ruegg, 1966: 26b, 28a-28b; Tucci, 1949: 629-630.
\textsuperscript{210} Karmay, 1975: 75-76.
\textsuperscript{211} Richardson, 1958: 148.
Karma-pa on his departure from Nanjing in 1408\(^{212}\), started exerting an influence upon Tibetan artists from the time sMan-thaṅ-pa founded the Tibetan national style during the first half of the same century.

In 1407 the 5th Phag-mo-gru-pa ruler, the chos-rgyal (dharma-raja) of sNe'u-gdoṅ, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, sent copper images and paintings to the emperor Chengzu\(^{213}\). Even the founder of the dGe-lugs-pa order, Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa, better known as Tsoṅ-kha-pa (1357-1419), was invited by Chengzu to the imperial court in 1408: he declined the invitation, but sent images to him. In reply to a second invitation, in 1414 he sent an envoy, Śākya-ye-šes (1354/7-1435). The latter arrived in Nanjing in 1415 and received images and texts from the emperor upon his departure from China the following year. In 1417 envoys from Śākya-ye-šes arrived at the imperial court with horses for Chengzu and were given images in return\(^{214}\).

In 1412, 1417 and 1419, he was welcomed by dignitaries of Sa-skya at the palace of Gyantse\(^{216}\). That this master, who received the title of Theg-chen chos-kyi rgyal-po (Mahāyānadhammarāja) from the emperor Chengzu\(^{217}\), was a great Sa-skya-pa authority of the time and that he had a privileged relationship with the princes of Gyantse, is also suggested by the fact that two lifesize portraits of him are found at Gyantse: a statue in the Lam-'bras-lha-khaṅ, built on the upper floor of the gTsug-lag-khaṅ the very year of his death, in 1425; and a painting in chapel 4/2 of the sKu-’bum.

The strong ties of Tibetan orders, particularly Sa-skya-pa and bKa'-brgyud-pa, with the Ming court during the Yongle period (1403-1424) would be sufficient by themselves to account for the presence of the Chinese stylistic elements found in the sKu-’bum and in the gNas-brtan-lha-khaṅ, not only in the cycles of the sthaviras and Guardian Kings, which are traditionally portrayed

---

after the Chinese fashion, but also in the details of several wall paintings in the sKu-'bum. The artists who worked at Gyantse may have been influenced also by the Chinese stylistic suggestions to be found in previous sKu-'bums. Tucci noticed a Chinese influence in some mandalas of the cycle of Vaiśravaṇa in the second chapel on the ground floor of the sKu-'bum at rGyaṅ, in the lHa-rtse area, which was controlled by the princes of Gyantse. He also noticed undeniable Chinese influence in the second chapel on the second floor, whose paintings showed to which extent Tibetan painters were “capable of assimilating the spirit of the Chinese schools”, not only in the architectural elements, such as those of Amitābha’s paradise, but also in the “apparel, ornaments, chariots, pageants, small trees, choirs of praying figures”, as well as in the softness of figures, which were “slender and light, enveloped in rich gilded draperies”.

Chinese stylistic elements could be found also in the sKu-'bum of Jo-mo-naṅ, founded by Śes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (1292-1361) on the bank of the gTsan-po river, north-east of lHa-rtse, which was severely damaged during the Cultural Revolution, its wall paintings being beyond restoration. Finally mention should be made of the Chinese style wall paintings in the corridors of the sKu-'bum at Byams-pa-glin, built by Chos-rje bSod-nams-rnam-pargyal-ba (1401-1075) and by Vanaratna’s interpreter, Lo-chen bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho (1424-1482), on the premises of the dGe-lugs-pa monastery of Byams-pa-glin in Grwa (or Gra), southern Tibet, founded in 1472 by Thu-mi lHun-grub-bkra-śis. The construction of this bkra-śis sgo-maṅ mchod-rten, measuring 32.5 fathoms (’dom) in height and 22 in width, seems to be largely due

---

220. A painter from Jo-naṅ, dKon-mchog-bzaṅ-po, worked extensively in the sKu-'bum at Gyantse (though not in chapels showing a particular Chinese influence) as is revealed by the inscriptions there (Tucci, 1941b: 29, 53, 114, 121-122).
to bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, who completed the *stūpa* in eighteen months and the 57 span high Maitreya inside it in fourteen months.\(^{225}\) It was said to be the most famous of all *dharmacakra stūpas* in Tibet\(^{226}\) and was apparently destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.

Chinese influence is manifest also in ancient buildings in the Gyantse area, for example in the main hall (*tshogs-khaṅ*) of the monastery of sPos-khaṅ (or sPos-tshogs-chos-sde), in a valley east of the Myan-chu, on the road from Gyantse to Zhigatse. The monastery was founded in 1213 by Byaṅ-chub-dpal-bzaṅ-po, a disciple of Śākyāśrī, who is portrayed in chapel 4/10 in the sKu-'bum at Gyantse, and was subsequently decorated by the chos-rgyul Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ 'Phags-pa. On the left wall of the main hall several deities surround an eleven-headed form of Avalokiteśvara, “standing out in delicate colours against a brown background”, in the middle of fluttering clouds. The style of the painter mentioned in the inscription, dGe-legs-bses-gšen, was inspired by Chinese models.\(^{227}\)

The presence of Chinese stylistic elements at Gyantse should not mislead into overseeing the overwhelming predominance of the Newar style in the sKu-'bum and gTsug-lag-khan, where Chinese influence is generally confined to precise iconographic themes, such as the related cycles of the *sthaviras* and Guardian Kings. In fact the exchanges of art works between Tibet and China created a particular situation, whereby eventually Newar influence reached the Chinese court and affected the production of Buddhist art works there from the second half of the 13th until the early 16th century. We have seen that Newar influence upon the Buddhist art of China started with Aniko, the great Newar sculptor and painter who worked at the Mongol court from 1265 until his death, in 1306.\(^{228}\) Some Buddhist statues and paintings produced during the Yuan period in China seem to belong to the stylistic

\(^{225}\) gŽon-nu-dpal, 1984: 961.
\(^{226}\) Sum-pa mKhan-po, 1984, 2: 320.
\(^{227}\) Tucci, 1949: 204-205, fig. 83.
\(^{228}\) Cf. Lo Bue, 1985: 265.
tradition founded by him. Newar features are obvious in a group of images bearing the marks of the Yongle period, which have been studied in some detail by Karmay. One may assume that the statues presented by Chengzu to the Tibetan monks were of the same style and materials as the large Amitāyus now kept in Tibet House, New Delhi, bearing an inscription stating that it was presented to the “rulers of Tibet”, a reference perhaps to the Phagmo-gru-pa dynasty which in the early 15th century deprived the Sa-skya-pas of all political power in southern Tibet. These images, along with the woodcuts produced for the 1410 edition of the bkā'-gyur in Beijing, show that some artists working in China during the Yongle period closely followed the contemporary Tibetan style as represented by the artistic monuments at Gyantse, a style which was still heavily influenced by Newar art. Direct Newar influence upon Buddhist images produced in China during the Ming period is obvious in a group of painted scrolls bearing dates ranging from 1474 to 1513 and confirms the important role played by Newar artists not only in Central Asia but also in China, well after the period under consideration.

Chapter Two

THE SKU-'BUM OF GYANTSE

2.1. The historical and artistic role of the Gyantse dynasty

A detailed analysis of the chronology of the monuments at Gyantse and its area is of crucial importance to establish a historical framework to enable the dating of southern and central Tibetan paintings and sculptures, of which few dated examples are known to exist. This is even more necessary because stylistic analysis alone is often misleading, owing to the persistence of styles dictated by iconographic tradition and iconometric canonical rules, as well as by the artists’ habit of copying earlier images.

The starting point of the present analysis will be the earliest known contemporary text dealing with the Gyantse dynasty, the Dad-pa’i lo-thog rgyas-byed dnos-grub-kyi char-'bebs (henceforth: Char-'bebs), which was translated by Tucci and partially included in his monumental *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* under the title “From the Chronicles of Gyantse”¹. This historical text was written in praise of the princes of Gyantse between 1479 and 1481 by a monk, 'Jigs-med-grags-pa, at Nor-bu-khyun-rtse which, according to the author himself, “was like a second royal palace”². This site,

---

1. Tucci, 1949: 662-670. Tucci’s translation has been compared with the rGyal-rtse chos-rgyal-gyi mam-par thar-pa dad-pa’i lo-thog dnos-grub-kyi char-bebs, a manuscript in the Tucci Fund at IsMEO, kindly provided by Prof. Petech, which contains more information than the text translated by Tucci.

located as it was on the left bank of the river Myaṅ (or ṇaṅ) at a strategic point of the Gyantse-Zhigatse road, was often disputed on account of its important position.3

The clan of rGyal-mkhar-rtse (Peak of the Victory Castle), the full name of Gyantse (rGyal-rtse), descended from upper Khams4 and thus boasted eastern Tibetan origins. The true founder of the Gyantse dynasty, dPal-lidan-bzaṅ-po (sometimes shortened in dPal-bzaṅ; 1318-1370), was the son of an officer of the princes of Žwa-lu, a dynasty of Sa-skya-pa allegiance. At the age of about thirteen, dPal-lidan-bzaṅ-po went to lDan-yul5 to learn the scriptures according to the lDan system. This may have been a local rNiṅ-ma-pa school, since we know from the Blue Annals that in the second half of the 14th century a monk known as Byaṅ-sems-bsod-nams-blo-gros, expert in the sNiṅ-thig doctrine, took up residence at a hermitage in lDan-yul. dPal-lidan-bzaṅ-po liked the place and around 1331 he built a dwelling there, the first in a series of buildings erected by him and his successors in Myaṅ. After starting his career at the monastery of Sa-skya, where he was at first secretary at the bXi-thog palace, dPal-lidan-bzaṅ-po invited 'Phags-pa rGyal-ba, a great master of the dPyal family, to consecrate the dwelling he had built in lDan-yul. On that occasion he took the upāsaka vows and the name of his master, and was known from that time on as 'Phags-pa dPal-lidan-bzaṅ-po.

In 1343, after leading two military campaigns on behalf of his Sa-kya-pa masters in the lHo-brag area, north and north-west of present-day Bhutan, 'Phags-pa dPal-lidan-bzaṅ-po founded the

---

5. According to the 5th Dalai Lama, lDan-yul (or lHan-yul) is near dŃul-chu, a place in upper Myaṅ (Naṅ-stod) that Tucci identifies with Armo-'dul-chuṅ (or 'Dul-chuṅ, sometimes 'Dul-byuṅ; Drojung-Dzong on maps), which however, according to the Myaṅ-chuṅ, is located in central Myaṅ (Naṅ-bar) (Tucci, 1949: 662; 702, n. 739; Tucci, 1941a: 67, n. 2).
7. It may be interesting to notice that the inscription of chapel 3/1 in the sKu-'bum mentions that the donors of the paintings on the walls were the yogs of the rdzogs-pa chen-po, master and disciples, dwelling at the hermitage of dGon-pa lDan-yul (Tucci, 1941b: 45).
monastery of Šol-lha-tsam, where the scholar Rin-chen-bsod-nams-bzañ-po resided. Next he provided for a summer retreat for the monastery of Chos-luñ Tshogs-pa, founded in 1255. That was the seat of one of the Four Congregations following the teachings of the great Kashmirian scholar Šākyaśribhadra, for which he provided after his marriage with the dpon-mo Pad-ma, the daughter of the prince (sku-žañ) of Žwa-lu, in 1350. Pad-ma's dowry consisted in the feud of lCañ-ra, a place immediately west of Gyantse, on the other side of the river Myañ, with its temple and sacred objects. These acquisitions substantially increased 'Phags-pa dPal-lldan-bzañ-po's power and prestige in the Gyantse area. In 1352, obviously with the aim of getting wider support from the local clergy, which was not always of the Sa-skya-pa allegiance, he offered his official support to the abbots of the Four Congregations, namely the monasteries of Chos-luñ Tshogs, Tshogs-chen, dGe-'dun-sgan and Bye-rdzin Tshogs. In the same year he apparently founded a temple at lHun-grub-rdzoñ in Gam-pa, on the route leading directly from Zhigatse to Gangtok.

In 1354 his younger brother, 'Phags-pa Rin-chen-pa, led a victorious campaign against the lHo-duñ in lHo-brag and was appointed administrator of mDol-byuñ in upper Myañ, by the lHa-khañ-ch'en-po of Sa-skya.

In the earth-dog year (1358), 'Phags-pa dPal-lldan-bzañ-po sent three envoys in the retinue of the 4th Black Hat Karma-pa hierarch, Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1340-1383), who was leaving for China, to ask permission to the last Mongol emperor Togon Temür (1333-1370; reg 1338-1368) to found a temple in the Šam-bu-rtse-

---

8. On this master see Chapter Three. He may be the same as the translator of Šol-po, whose school is mentioned in an inscription in chapel 2/8 of the sKu-bum (Tucci, 1941b: 33).
11. Cf. gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 1248. See also chapel 4/10 and n. 274 in Chapter Three.
dgu area, which was probably placed under direct imperial administration.

'Phags-pa dPal-ldan-bzañ-po also founded the first nucleus of the dPal-'khor-bde-chen, the religious enclave where the sKu-'bum was erected in the following century, and which later came to be known as dPal-'khor-chos-sde. This is revealed by an inscription in the gTsug-lag-khañ, the main temple in the enclave, stating that the 125 images of the Bhadrakalpa cycle painted on the eastern wall of the assembly-hall were commissioned by the chos-rgyal (dharmarāja) dPal-ldan-bzañ-po. Tucci translated the inscription, noting that this was the grandfather of the builder of the sKu-'bum, Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa. The fact that elsewhere he attributes the whole of the gTsug-lag-khañ to 'Phags-pa dPal-ldan-bzañ-po is obviously a slip: Tucci was aware of the circumstance that the main temple as it stands today was rebuilt with its extensions by Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa. This is confirmed by the Myan-chuñ, a local historical guide from which Tucci drew much valuable information for volume 4 of Indo-Tibetica, and which in a recent printed edition has been attributed to the famous Tibetan scholar Tārānātha (1575-1634). According to the Myan-chuñ, since the gTsug-lag-khañ previously built was small in size (gTsug-lag-khañ sīnar brtsigs-pa khyon chuñ 'dug-pas), in 1419 Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa renovated the main assembly-hall with forty-eight pillars (khyams ka-ba bži-bcu-że-brgyad), and built the main sanctuary (gandhakūṭa) with eight great pillars (gtsaṅ-khañ ka-

15. Tucci, 1941a: 147.
18. Tucci, 1941a: 149.
19. The full title of the Myan-chuñ, Myaṅ-yul stod smad bar gsum-gyi inomshar gjam-gyi legs-hṣad mkhas-pa'i 'jug-iṅogs žes hya-ba bzugs-so, may be translated as "The Ford of the Learned: the Elegant Writing of the Marvellous Account of the Upper, Lower and Middle Country of Myaṅ", sometimes spelt Naṅ, a place name covering a large part of gTaṅ, as far as bSam-sgrub-rtse (Zhigatse) (Tucci, 1941a: 42). The short title suggests the existence of a larger version, Myaṅ-chen (?), which has not come to light so far, also because the dGe-lugs-pa governments tried to eradicate the recollection of the independent past of Myaṅ by withdrawing as many extant copies of the text as they could lay their hands on (Tucci, 1941a: 41) for obvious political reasons.
chen brgyad), an eastern and western extension with six pillars each (glo-'bur šar nub ka-ba drug re-dan ldan-pa), and the deambulation corridor (mda'-g.yab-kyi khor-yug) around the main sanctuary on the ground floor 20.

On the occasion of his wife's death, in 1359, 'Phags-pa dPal-ldan-bzañ-po dedicated a statue of Tārā made of silver in Indian style. The following year he was appointed nañ-chen (i.e. nañ-so-chen-mo, seldom nañ-so-chen-po), that is Prime Minister, at the bŽi-thog palace of Sa-skya, and founded the temple of lHa-rgyal-dkar-po in Phag-ri, the southernmost part of Tibet, between present-day Bhutan and Sikkim, where he had previously fought.

In 1364, after a troublesome period during which he was kept prisoner by a Phag-mo-gru-pa faction for some time, one of his envoys to the last Mongol emperor brought back gifts, the patent of nañ-chen and the permission to build the temple on the Sam-bu-rts-e-dgu mountain. There 'Phags-pa dPal-lidan-bzañ-po was to erect a temple and a monastery at rTse-chen, a site of prehistoric importance 21, besides founding mKhar-kha (or 'Khar-dga' 22, the birth-place of the author of Mi-la-ras-pa's biography, gTsañ sMyon Heruka) north of Gyantse, as well as lHun-grub-rtse, east of Žwa-lu, on the other side of the river, in Pa-snam. He also laid the foundation of the palace on the top of the Gyantse hill, which in ancient times apparently was a castle of King Ral-pa-can 23 (Pls. 14-15). The following year 'Phags-pa dPal-lidan-bzañ-po laid the foundations of the temple at rTse-chen, and in 1366 he repaired the enclosure and turret already existing at that site.

In 1367 the chos-rgval received more gifts and titles from the emperor, and the following year he completed the temple at rTse-chen, the assembly-hall with thirty-six pillars and the inner sanctuary with eight pillars. Work was continued after 'Phags-pa dPal-lidan-bzañ-po's death in 1370 by his brother and successor

---

'Phags-pa Rin-chen-pa (1320-1376), who was already administrator of lCañ-ra and had received the diploma of du-dden-sa of Western Tibet from the emperor of China, although that was a purely honorific title, since Western Tibet was in fact independent of the Sa-skya-pa or Mongol control, as in that period the Yuan dynasty was agonizing.

'Phags-pa Rin-chen-pa founded the abbatial palace with its assembly-hall at rTse-chen in 1377, thus completing his brother's undertaking. The attention devoted by these two princes to rTse-chen seems to betray their intention to establish a royal monastery there. The institution was entrusted to the mahāsiddha Kun-dga'-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, Bu-ston's first reincarnation, who became its resident abbot with the title of ṇa-dbon. The monastery of rTse-chen is mentioned in the pilgrim's guide to the holy places of central and southern Tibet written by the rNin-ma-pa scholar Kun-gzigs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbañ-po (1828-1892), from mDo-khams (which is part of A-mdo), possibly after he moved to sMin-grol-glin in 1840. It was used as a fortress against the invading British in 1904 and heavily damaged. Although it was subsequently repaired, the site was in ruins at the time of Tucci's expedition there over half a century ago.

'Phags-pa Rin-chen-pa's nephew and successor, the son of the great 'Phags-pa dPal-lldan-bzañ-po, was Kun-dga' 'Phags-pa (1357-1412), Prime Minister of Sa-skya and Lord (bdag-chen) of Gyantse. He founded the sPel-mo-che in mDol-byun, of which his uncle 'Phags-pa Rin-chen-pa had been appointed administrator since 1355. He then turned his attention to Gyantse where, in 1390, he built the palatine temple of bSam-'phel-rin-po-che-gliñ in the castle erected by his father in 1365. The badly damaged paintings in the inner courtyard of that temple, hidden away among the ruins of the citadel, appear in fact to belong to the late

---

24. Tucci, 1949: 664. Cf. the manuscript mentioned in n. 1 (pp. 39, 44).
Plate 14. The castle of Gyantse.
14th century. There was once kept a large silk scroll, which had been embroidered by order of Rab-brtan-kun-dga' 'Phags-pa, possibly the same as Kun-dga' 'Phags-pa. It was the latter's son and successor, the chos-rgyal Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa (1389-1442) who created the dPal-'khor-chos-sde by enlarging the gTsug-lag-khañ and building the sKu-'bum, an achievement which made him famous at the time.

During that period the political situation in southern Tibet was changing, and the princes of Gyantse were trying to cope with it at the best of their ability. Following the struggles between Sa-skya-pas and Phag-mo-gru-pas, in 1388 Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, one of Byan-chub-rgyal-mtshan's most remarkable successors, became the effective ruler of Sa-skya. He resided at the Phag-mo-gru-pa capital, sNe'u-gdoñ, where he ruled with the title of gon-ma (emperor), while his younger brother remained in the monasteries of rTse-thañ and Thel. Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa held the office of gzim-dpon (personal attendant) to the Phag-mo-gru-pa ruler and bore the title of sar-kha-pa of upper Myañ. His relationship with Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan was apparently good. The latter even made him the gift of a small metal image of the Buddha, which ought to be kept in the Li-ma-khañ, the storage-room of metal images at Gyantse. However, Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa was eager to get rid of the Phag-mo-gru-pas' rule and in 1406 revolted against Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, becoming Lord of Gyantse. According to the 5th Dalai Lama, Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa levied troops against the Phag-mo-gru-pa ruler twice, the second occasion being probably

---

31. His life is variously placed between 1364/1374 and 1432/1440. The Blue Annals (Roerich, 1976: 1083) give 1374 as his date of birth. Following the Mingshi Tucci suggests 1364-1440 (Tucci, 1949: 694, n. 270). Shakabpa states that he died in 1432, at the age of fifty-nine (Shakabpa, 1984: 86).
32. Tucci, 1949: 646.
the nine months' military campaign led by his step-brother bKra-sis 'Phags-pa (b. 1395) against the Phag-mo-gru-pas in 1434\textsuperscript{35}. Such rebellions were certainly approved of by the Sa-skya-pas who, taking advantage of their traditional bonds with the princes of Gyantse\textsuperscript{36}, aimed at shaking off the Phag-mo-gru-pas' grip on their principality. On the first occasion, in 1406, dKon-mchog-'od-zer, the khri-dpon (myriarch) of Sa-skya and son of the Sa-skya dpon-chen (regent) rGyal-ba-bzañ-po, resisted successfully the large army gathered by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan by holding strenuously the fortress of sTag-sna-rdzon\textsuperscript{37}.

These episodes contributed to restore power both to the princes of Gyantse and to the Sa-skya-pas. In fact the fall of the Yuan dynasty and the subsequent decline of the Sa-skya-pas, besides a successful military opposition to the Phag-mo-gru-pas, enabled the princes of Gyantse to enjoy a period of almost thirty years of total independence, peace and prosperity, during which both the gTsug-lag-khañ and the sKu-'bum were erected as part of an extensive building activity. In 1414 Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa had a six-arcade bridge built across the river Myañ, which flows near Gyantse, separating it from the main route which links Lhasa to the Nepal Valley. A stūpa was erected in the middle of the bridge, through which the road passed\textsuperscript{38}. To the same period may belong the decoration of the monastery sPos-khañ-chos-sde, in a valley north-west of Gyantse\textsuperscript{39}.

In 1418 Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa went to Sa-skya, where the patents of ta'i-bwsi-tru, Prime Minister and thu-gon, which his grandfather had already received from the Mongol emperor, were publicly conferred upon him (Sa-skyar phebs-nas rta'i-si-tu, nañ-chen, thus-dkon-mams-kyi 'ja'-sa bsgrags)\textsuperscript{40}. Of course the Mongol dynasty had collapsed fifty years before, and one is under the im-

\textsuperscript{35} Tucci, 1949: 669.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibidem: 27.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibidem: 21; 694, n. 275.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibidem: 202. This monastery is identical with Chos-kuñ, one of the Four Congregations (Roerich, 1976: 1073).
\textsuperscript{40} Myañ-chuñ, 1983: 52.
pression that the prince-abbots of Sa-skya were just trying to keep in good terms with the princes of Gyantse, the only rulers in southern Tibet who were capable of opposing successfully the Phag-mo-gru-pas, by showering them with titles. This ceremony was probably a sort of consecration of the chos-rgyal of Gyantse, who then decided to enlarge the gTsug-lag-khaṅ previously built in the dPal-'khor-chos-sde. At the centre of the newly erected gTsug-lag-khaṅ he had a statue of the Buddha (Byan-chub-chen-po; Mahābo-
dhisattva) made out of one thousand khal of copper and eight hundred зо of gold, the same size as the gigantic statue of the Buddha in the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodh-gaya. Gilded copper statues of Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, along with their nimbuses, were placed to the right and left of the central image (that is left and right looking towards it) respectively. Right and left of these, the chos-rgyal had statues of Dipamkara and Maitreya, the Buddhas of the Past and of the Future, placed on thrones with nimbuses (khri rgyab-yol).

The consecration ceremony of the main sanctuary was performed by 'Jam-dbyangs Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po41, the same as the 'Jam-dbyaṅs Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan who later consecrated the chapel in the eastern extension42. No date is apparently given for the consecration of the main sanctuary in the gTsug-lag-khaṅ, but the building activity in the dPal-'khor-chos-sde is detailed in the Myan-chuṅ after the description of a scroll woven with twenty-three bolts of golden silk material, which was consecrated on the day of the Kālacakra festival, in 141943. It may be suggested that the renovation of the structures on the ground floor, and the decoration of the main sanctuary were carried out in the period 1420-1421.

The decoration of the western wing of the gTsug-lag-khaṅ, namely the Vajradhātu temple (rDo-rje-dbyiṅs-lha-khaṅ), with its mandalas related to the yogatantra literature was carried out in 142244. The images of the Five Cosmic Buddhas, with Vairocana at

the centre, are modelled and painted with their family bodhisattva attendants: thus Akṣobhya is surrounded by his Vajra Family including Vajrasattva, here obviously in his role of bodhisattva. These images were consecrated by the sku-zaṅ chos-rje of Žwa-lu, Nam-mkha’i-mtshan-can⁴⁵.

In the same water-tiger year (1422) Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ ’Phags-pa attended to the decoration of the extended assembly-hall and deambulation corridor (phyi’i rim-pa khyams bskor-khaṅ-dan bcas-pa), with images including those of Maitreya surrounded by the sixteen sthaviras. The consecration ceremony was performed by the mkhan-chen (mkhan-po chen-po; great abbot) of gNas-rniṅ, ’Jam-dbyaṅ Rin-chen-rgyal-ba⁴⁶, who might be the same as the one mentioned above in connection with the consecration of the main sanctuary (gtsan-khaṅ).

The monastery of gNas-rniṅ (or gNas-sniṅ) was founded by rGya ’Jam-dpal-gsaṅ-ba, a monk of bSam-yas and chaplain of king Ral-pa-can. It was for a long time an important rNiṅ-ma-pa centre, but all schools of thought developed there aside the rNiṅ-ma-pa tradition, and that monastery became one of the most flourishing centres of Buddhist studies in Tibet, well deserving the name of rDo-rje-gdan (as a new Bodhgaya)⁴⁷. gNas-rniṅ is situated near the road leading to Gyantse from Phari, and the Char-’bebs tells us that the monks of that monastery were first among those who went to lCaṅ-ra to honour Śāriputra when the abbot of Bodhgaya was invited by Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ ’Phags-pa⁴⁸.

In 1423 Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ ’Phags-pa decorated the Chos-rgyal-lha-khaṅ, on the eastern side of the gTsug-lag-khaṅ. This temple was dedicated to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who is portrayed on the main eastern wall surrounded by images of his parivāra. The clay statues at the foot of the painted walls are, starting from the Tibetan “right” (left looking towards and starting from the central image) Mañjuśrī, the Great Abbot Bodhisattva

(Śāntarakṣita), the ācārya Padmasambhava, Kamalaśīla, Atiśa, and from the "left" (right, always starting from the central image) Vajrapāṇi, the Kashmirian scholar Śākyāśrī, with whose lineage, as we have seen, the princes of Gyantse had important connections, and finally the three "religious kings" (chos-rgyal) of the Tibetan tradition: Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po, Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan and Ra{l-pa-can. The presence of Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi at the sides of the painted image of Avalokiteśvara immediately recalls the fact that the three religious kings were regarded as manifestations of those three Bodhisattvas. The name Chos-rgyal-lha-khaṅ, given by the Myaṅ-chuṅ to this chapel, possibly hints to Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ 'Phags-pa's wish of ideally connecting his dynasty with the monarchical period, when Tibet was an independent nation, and of viewing himself as a new chos-rgyal, as he is often called in the inscriptions of the sKu-'bum at Gyantse. This kind of political understatement certainly encouraged the production of images portraying the three famous chos-rgyal of the monarchical period from the time Tibet started shaking off the Mongol yoke under the leadership of Byan-chub-rgyal-mtshan (1302-1364). The centre of the chapel is now occupied by a huge statue of Byams-pa (Maitreya), by whose name the chapel is known today. That statue is not mentioned in the Myaṅ-chuṅ and was erected there at a later date, possibly after the 5th Dalai Lama took over the Gyantse district, perhaps with the subtle political aim of obscuring the glorious past of southern Tibet after his victory against the king of gTsāṅ.

In 1424 Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ 'Phags-pa took possession of lHa-rtse, an important centre during the Sa-skya-pa period, which provided a dozen out of the thirty-four painters and four out of the nine sculptors who worked on the sKu-'bum. He was also entrusted with the lHa-khaṅ-chen-po, the great monastic fortress of Sa-skya, still standing with its massive walls on the left of the Grum river, which had been recovered by the Sa-skya-pas after being lost to the Phag-mo-gru-pas in 1358, when Byan-chub-rgyal-mtshan

50. Tucci, 1949: 22; 703, n. 841.
marched on the monastery, dethroned the ruling abbot, replaced four hundred court officials with his own followers and garrisoned it with his own troops\textsuperscript{51}.

The year 1425 coincides with the completion of the gTusg-lag-khaṇ with the erection of not less than three chapels: the gZal-yas-haṇ, namely the "palace temple", on the topmost part of the building (\textit{dbu-rtsa}), the gNas-brtan-lha-khaṇ and the Lam-'bras-lha-khaṇ, respectively on the eastern and western sides of the upper storey\textsuperscript{52}. Rab-brtan-kun-bzān 'Phags-pa erected (bzin) the gZal-yas-khaṇ with its eight pillars and walls decorated with a number of mandalas which are all listed in the \textit{Myaṅ-chuṅ}. The gNas-brtan-lha-khaṇ was devoted to the cycle of the \textit{sthaviras} and the Lam-'bras-lha-khaṇ was devoted to the lineage of the Path and Fruit doctrine. The latter of the two, according to the \textit{Myaṅ-chuṅ} and to the caption pasted onto the wall, was erected in 1425 by Rab-brtan-kun-bzān's brother and Prime Minister, the \textit{naṅ-chen} Rab-byor-bzān-po\textsuperscript{53}. The Rin-po-che Chos-dpal-bzān-po of bSam-ldiṅ, in Pa-snam\textsuperscript{54}, made the consecration ceremony\textsuperscript{55}.

The Char-'bebs tells us that in 1425 the chos-rgyal consecrated the "lama's vast palace, filled with the emblems of the verbal and spiritual plane" and on the upper floor of the monastery he built his private chapel, called gSer-po-mkha'-spyod. He also erected a wall encircling the temple and ornamented with sixteen turrets along which the circumambulation passage ran, with six gates opening in it: two larger ones, on the northern and southern sides, and two smaller ones for each of the eastern and western sides\textsuperscript{56}. These walls must have undergone several changes at the time the Chinese built the later fortifications\textsuperscript{57} and after their final takeover of the country in 1959. The construction of the encircling

\textsuperscript{51} Shakabpa, 1984: 81; Tucci, 1949: 22.
\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Myaṅ-chuṅ}, 1983: 58-64.
\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Ibidem}: 62-63.
\textsuperscript{54} On this monastery see Tucci, 1941\textsuperscript{a}: 69.
\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Myaṅ-chuṅ}, 1983: 63.
\textsuperscript{56} Tucci, 1949: 666.
\textsuperscript{57} Cf. Tucci, 1941\textsuperscript{a}: 146.
wall and turrets of the religious enclave most probably was not completed until 1440, for below in the Char-'behs we read again that in that year Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa "erected turrets and encircling walls" of the dPal-khor-chos-sde. The same sort of repetition in the text seems to indicate respectively the foundation and the completion of the sKu-'bum, whose building was consecrated in 1427, but whose decoration lasted until at least 1440. In fact we read in the same text that in that year Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa built the mhchod-rten and other monastic foundations in the religious enclave, besides the turrets and encircling walls.\(^58\)

Authoritative sources of the 17th and 18th century, such as the regent Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho and the historian Sum-pa mKhan-po, give the year 1440 as the date of construction of the sKu-'bum.\(^59\) Tucci himself, noting that the name of Ni-ma-khye-'dren, the mother of bKra-sis-rab-brtan-dpal-'byor-bzañ-po (b. 1427), is often mentioned in the inscriptions of the upper section of the sKu-'bum, suggested that the stūpa was completed after Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa's death.\(^60\) In fact the inscriptions in the upper storey of the harmikā qualify that queen as "the mother of the moon of the lineage sitting on the throne", a reference to her son, bKra-sis-rab-brtan, who succeeded his father to the throne as late as 1447. The date 1427 may have been given emphasis by the author of the Char-'behs, who was a contemporary of bKra-sis-rab-brtan-dpal-bzañ and praises him to a great extent in his chronicle, with the aim of providing an ideal link between his lord's birth and the consecration of the building of the bKra-sis-sgo-man, namely the "auspicious (stūpa) with many doors". Besides the recurrence of the same term bkra-sis (good luck) in the name of the prince and in that of the stūpa, we find in the text similar well-omened astrological considerations both for the birth of the prince, in the first part of the year and for the construction of the building in July 1427.

59. Tucci, 1941b: 287.
The artistic activity promoted by the princes of Gyantse was paralleled by an equally intense effort to patronize religious culture in their dominions. We have mentioned in the first section of Chapter One that in 1414 they invited the Indian scholar Śāriputra to lCaṅ-ral. Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ 'Phags-pa also sponsored the Them-spans-ma edition of the bKa'-'gyur based on the old sNar-than edition, which was produced under the editorship of the translator Thugs-rje-dpal and completed in 1431. Sometimes between 1426 and 1436, that is during the period of construction of the sKu-'bum, Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ 'Phags-pa invited to Gyantse Vanararātna, the last great Buddhist scholar from India, who was later welcomed as master by his rival Grags-pa-'byun-gnas, the chos-rgyal of rTse-thaṅ. This must be the same prince whom Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ's step-brother, bKra-sis 'Phags-pa, defeated in the course of his nine months' military campaign against the Phag-mo-gru-pas in 1434, although the latter made use of cannons.

In 1440 Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ 'Phags-pa renewed the wooden printing blocks of the dhāranis collected by Bu-ston and made a new collection of those which had not been included in the previous set, having them cut in kalpadruma wood. That year coincided with the completion of the religious enclave, the consecration of images and books, and the erection of dwellings for the monks. The chos-rgyal seems to have been an enlightened ruler, as is apparent from his edict giving permission to everybody, whether monk, exorcist or Bon, to practise his religion. At that time he was the virtual ruler of south-western Tibet, extending his dominions as far as the Phag-ri area, in the south, and lHa-rtse, in the west. Gyantse never reached again the golden age enjoyed with Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ 'Phags-pa under his successors, who finally yielded to the Phag-mo-gru-pas in the strife for the control of southern Tibet.
Rab-brtan-kun-bzan 'Phags-pa died in 1442 and was succeeded by his younger step-brother, bKra-sis 'Phags-pa (b. 1395). The Char-'bebs records the foundation of only one temple under his name in the year 1436, namely that of Khan-gsar in sP(r)e'u (-dmar), the ancient name of Samada. In 1447 he placed his son bKra-sis-rab-brtan-dpal-bzañ-po on the throne of Gyantse, investing him with power. This prince, whom the author of the Char-'bebs compares with his great uncle, the “saintly king” Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa, must have been his contemporary and is the last one whose building and artistic activity is recorded by him. In 1452 he consecrated a large flag called bkra-sis-dpal-'bar on the top of the sanctuary where the Mahābodhisattva is, a reference to the large image of the Buddha placed in 1418 by Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ in the gTsug-lag-khañ at Gyantse. In the water-dragon year this chos-rgyal offered a gañjira (a Buddhist ornamental finial usually made of gilded copper and placed on the roofs of monasteries and sacred buildings) in the Indian style to be placed on the top of the eastern chapel of the “saintly king”, probably the Chos-rgyal-lha-khañ erected by Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ in 1423, or perhaps his private chapel, which he decorated.

This is the last embellishment in the dPal-khor-chos-sde to be recorded in the Char-'bebs, and it is conceivable that by then the power of the Gyantse dynasty was already over-shadowed by the powerful Rin-spun family, which had moved its capital to Zhigatse in 1435; no major innovations were made in the religious enclave after the end of the 15th century. In 1485 the princes of Rin-spun unsuccessfully attacked the Gyantse district, which was already administered by Phag-mo-gru-pa ministers from sNe'u-gdön. They succeeded in another attempt three years later and Gyantse lost its independence, eventually falling into the bKa'-brgyud-pa fold.

From 1612 the Gyantse district was under the control of the rulers of gTsāñ, who strongly supported the Karma-pa school,

---

68. The year 1472, not 1437 as in Tucci, 1949: 669.
until 1642, when the 5th Dalai Lama defeated Karma bsTan-skyon-dbañ-po, the last prince of gTsam, and enforced the dGe-lugs-pa rule upon the whole of Tibet. Several districts all over the country soon rebelled against the Dalai Lama, and his officers fled from Gyantse while the supporters of Karma bsTan-skyon-dbañ-po took over the district which, however, was quickly recovered by troops from Lhasa[71].

Although the Gyantse dynasty was no longer extant in the 5th Dalai Lama’s days, its religious enclave continued to play an important cultural role, and we know that Taranātha went there to collect ancient manuscripts[72]. The rule of the 5th Dalai Lama meant that by the end of the 17th century the dGe-lugs-pa colleges of the monastery outnumbered the Sa-skya-pa ones. At that time there were seven dGe-lugs-pa, four Sa-skya-pa, four Dus’khor-pa (the school of the Kālacakra) and one Žwa-lu-pa (or Bu-ston-pa, the school of Bu-ston at Žwa-lu) colleges, plus the gSar-khon’og-pa college, which was common to dGe-lugs-pas and Sa-skya-pas. At the beginning of the 19th century there were also two bKa’brgyud-pa colleges, one of the Karma-pa and the other of the ’Bri-guñ-pa school. By the end of the 19th century the colleges were sixteen[73] mostly dGe-lugs-pa, and the four Sa-skya-pa colleges were still extant. After the Cultural Revolution only the dGe-lugs-pa, Sa-skya-pa and Žwa-lu-pa schools have survived, with one college each. The present abbot Blo-bzañ-bstan’dzin belongs to the dGe-lugs-pa order, in accordance with a tradition which must go back to the mid-17th century.

Gyantse suffered no major political changes between the dGe-lugs-pa take-over and the Chinese invasion followed by the Cultural Revolution, except for the British occupation in the summer of 1904. After storming the monastic fortress of rTse-chen on June 28, the troops of Colonel Younghusband occupied the outskirts of Gyantse and on the night of July 5 they attacked the fort. The shelling of July 6 was followed by the blowing up of the main

[71] Shakabpa, 1984: 111.
gateway four days later\textsuperscript{74}. The British eventually succeeded in establishing a Trade Agency at Gyantse, but the palace of the princes of Gyantse never recovered from their artillery attack. It suffered further damage after 1959, but it has been partially restored in recent times, and the main chapel has been refurbished\textsuperscript{75}.

In 1959 a team of Chinese archaeologists visited the dPal-'khor-chos-sde and declared that the sKu-'bum was unique in the Peoples' Republic from the point of view of artistic value\textsuperscript{76}. Restoration work was undertaken in 1964 only to come to a halt the following year, with the advent of the Cultural Revolution, which caused havoc and destruction in the religious enclave until 1967. The sKu-'bum, the gTsug-lag-khañ and two other temples were spared, probably because of top level political intervention. Some restoration work is presently being carried out on the sKu-'bum, not always with satisfactory results.

2.2 Physical description of the sKu-'bum

The great stūpa of Gyantse belongs to a type known in Tibetan as bkra-sis sgo-maṅ mchod-rten (the auspicious stūpa with many doors), one of the eight basic types of stūpa which Tibet derived from Indian tradition. Tucci dealt with this subject in the first volume of \textit{Indo-Tibetica}\textsuperscript{77} to which the reader may refer for the historical genesis and symbolic value of the mchod-rten.

The particular type of stūpa taken here into consideration is linked in the Indo-Tibetan tradition to the stūpa which Brahmaddata apparently edified near Benares to celebrate the setting into motion of the wheel of the law (dharmacakrapravartana) by the Buddha's first exposition of the doctrine in the Deers' Park at

\begin{flushright}
\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{74} Landon, 1905, 2: 58-59, 68-78.  \\
\textsuperscript{75} Dowman, 1988: 269.  \\
\textsuperscript{76} Karmay, 1975: 27.  \\
\textsuperscript{77} Tucci, 1932: \textit{passim}. See also the English translation recently published in India by Lokesh Candra.
\end{flushright}
Sarnath. It is therefore a stūpa “of the preaching”, which somehow combines the fundamental visual representation of the dharma-makāya characterizing all stūpas with the Mahāyāna symbol of the Bodhisattva’s vow to liberate all sentient beings through the propagation of the doctrine.

The latter function possibly accounts for the fact that this specific type of stūpa became particularly important in Tibet between the 14th and 15th century, when the countless tantric texts had achieved a doctrinal codification that made it possible to expose them as an organic body of revelation which, along with the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Noble Path, opened up the way to the overcoming of samsāra.

The many doors of this kind of stūpa fit well with the multiplicity of tantric cycles. The complex architectural structure in which the building is articulated provides a number of internal surfaces which allow for the pictorial representation of the various deities and for their display in the maṇḍalas through which the path towards the gnosis is drawn for the practitioner. Because of the full exploitation of these surfaces and spaces, the stūpas of the bkra-śis sgo-maṅ type are an invaluable source of information for the study of both Buddhist iconography and Tibetan art. For these reasons they are often called sku-’bum, which literally means “one hundred thousand images”, but may be also understood as designating the totality of the images of the Buddhist pantheon, a true visual summa of the tantric experience.

In a recent publication the sku-’bum of Gyantse has been recognized as the point of arrival of the long process of evolution undergone by the bkra-śis sgo-maṅ mchod-rten, which had been long introduced into the Tibetan cultural area and of which several important examples were extant in the gTsaṅ region before the Cultural Revolution. Among these, the sku-’bum of Khro-phu, Jo-naṅ, rGyaṅ and sNar-thaṅ are particularly worthy of mention.

The first of these was built in the early 13th century by Tshul-khrims-šes-rab (1173-1225), also known as Khro-phu lo-tsā-ba.

78. Cf. the term gsun-’bum designating the totality of the works by one author (opera omnia).
(Khro-lo), the scholar who invited Kha-che Pañ-che Śākyaśrībhadra to Tibet in 1204 and acted as his interpreter for ten years, translating many texts with him. The stūpa was built in a rocky gorge on the road linking Jo-nañ to Zhigatse, near a temple where in 1212 he had erected a big statue of Maitreya (from which his other name of Byams-pa-dpal probably derives). This was the temple of Byams-chen-chos-sde, which should not be confused with the Byams-chen-chos-sde founded by Sems-dpa'-chen-po gZon-nu-rgyal-mchog (1311-1390) in 136780, which is also known as Roñ Byams-gliñ and where a similar image was to be found. The stūpa at Khro-phu was restored in Tāranātha’s times.

The second stūpa rises in the upper part of the monastic compound of dGal-ladan-phun-tshogs-gliñ, generally called Jo-mo-nañ, the residence of Šes-rab-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po (1292-1361), also known as Kun-mkhyen Dol-bu-pa (or Dol-po-pa), the founder of the Jo-nañ-pa school, of which this stūpa somehow represents the ideal centre81. According the Chos’byun written in 1608 by Kun-dga’-sñin-po (Tāranātha), the construction of this stūpa, which is known as sKu-’bum-mthoñ-grol-chen-mo (the great sku-’bum which releases by its sight alone), was started by Šes-rab-rgyal-mtshan himself82. Since the Blue Annals state that after this stūpa was erected, it produced a new kind of meditation in its builder83, one must conclude that it was completed before 1361, the year of his death. It was, however, radically restored by Tāranātha in the 17th century, so that different styles of painting were found in its murals. The stūpa is only briefly described in Tāranātha’s Jo-nañ-gi gnas-bṣad84 and in his autobiography85, but the various cycles to which the paintings are inspired are described in detail by Tucci86.

82. Tucci, 1949: 190.
84. Tucci, 1949: 164.
The ruins of the third _sku-'bum_, also known as _rGyaṅ Bum-mo-che_, rise to the north of the ancient temple of _rGyaṅ_. This huge _mchod-rten_ was built in the late 14th or early 15th century by Sa-skya Slob-dpon-chen bSod-nams-bkra-sīs (1352-1417) assisted by the famous master and bridge-builder Thaṅ-ston rGyal-po. According to Tucci the paintings in this _stūpa_ revealed a lack of artistic maturity, especially when compared with the earlier ones at Žwa-lu, but it should be pointed out that their provincial standard possibly corresponded with the decline of the _Sa-skya-pa_ power in that period.

The fourth _stūpa_ belonged to the monastery of sNar-thaṅ, a great centre of the _bKa'-gdams-pa_ school and a seat of important doctrinal studies founded in 1153 by gTum-ston Blo-gros-grags-pa (1106-1166). The _sku-'bum_ was built by sNāṅ-grags-bzaṅ-po-dpal in the last quarter of the 14th century in memory of his brother, Blo-gros-bzaṅ-po-grags-dpal, the abbot of that monastery, who died in 1376. A structure of two storeys only, it was not particularly significant from an architectural point of view, but of great interest for its wall paintings, which were almost contemporary with those in the _sku-'bum_ of Gyantse, which it effectively announced. As we have previously seen, even this _stūpa_ was completely destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, together with the whole of the monastery of sNar-thaṅ.

The _SKU-'bum_ of Gyantse represents the highest point in the Tibetan evolution of an Indian model. That process in particular involved the structural modification of some parts of the _stūpa_, with the adoption of a few technical and aesthetic solutions borrowed from Newar and Chinese architecture.

The whole masonry is typically Tibetan. It was executed with load-bearing walls made of green bricks set against a full core and tapering slightly towards the top, with wooden pillars and frames, and with complex string-courses jutting out. The jambs and

---

90. Tucci, 1949: 188.
portals in the main temples are reminiscent of the decorations of the early foundations of Western Tibet, but on the other hand they prelude to the stūpa openings of the Qing type. The corbels are characterized by double-lever arms which can be found in Yuan and early Ming buildings, while the denticular profiles of the covering are of obviously Newar inspiration. The building is oriented along a north-south axis (with a southern entrance) according to the Chinese tradition, as opposed to the general east-west orientation (with an eastern entrance) which is typical of the Indian tradition.

The fundamental elements of the sKu-'bum are the basement (sa-steg), the "throne" (khri-'degs), the four steps (bañ-rim), the dome (bum-pa), the turret (bre) and the spire. The basement and the four steps of the bkra-sis sgo-man mchod-rten are characterized by the fact that each side is divided into five faces (gdon), with the central one jutting out and the side ones progressively receding, so as to realize the structure with twenty corners (vinśatikona) prescribed by the Kriyasamgraha for the "stūpa of the preaching." The dome, which in Indian and Newar models generally has the classical nearly hemispheric shape which has earned it the name of anḍa (egg) and which in the Tibetan version generally took the shape of a jar convex at the top and tapering towards the bottom (kumbha; bum-pa), is here rendered as a cylindrical tambour. The pavilion above (harmikā; pu-śu), generally known in Tibetan literature as bre (dronā), connects the tambour with the spire. It has taken here the typical Newar shape of a turret with square section, on whose four faces as many pairs of eyes have been painted. These have been variously interpreted, but most probably they represent a symbol of the all-embracing vision of the Buddha.

Finally the conical spire, whose inner structure in the biggest Tibetan stūpas is made of masonry with a series of steps tapering towards the top, is here covered by a series of thirteen large gilded

92. Cordier, rGyud: LVII, 16. The text was translated in the Nepal Valley.
93. For a discussion on this term see Irwin, 1979: 823, n. 23.
copper rings ('khor-lo), surmounted by the ceremonial umbrella (chattrā; gdu-gs), one of the attributes and symbols of the universal monarch (cakravartin; 'khor-lo-sgyur), which in turn is topped by the vase (kalaśa; bum-pa) containing the elixir of immortality (āmrta; bdu-d-rtsi) The harmikā and metal spire are strongly reminiscent of those of the famous stūpa at Svayambhū. This shall not be surprising since the ties between Tibet and the Nepal Valley which had such a large impact on the development of Tibetan painting and sculpture, certainly exerted their influence, though to a lesser extent, also on Tibetan architecture.

The general structure of the building, which is easily discernible in the illustrations of this book (Pls. 16-19) and was cursorily drawn by Tucci94, has been surveyed by Wang Yi95, whose plan has been partially reproduced in the above mentioned publication96. An accurate survey of the sKu'-bum is beyond the scope of the present publication, and we shall be satisfied with providing a plan as clear as possible of the quite intricate layout and relationship of the various chapels, of their shape and symmetrical arrangement in relation to the temples located at the cardinal points, and of the system of communication between the different floors. In particular we aim at enabling the reader to identify easily the position and orientation of individual chapels and to single out immediately the walls which are referred to in the description of the paintings and sculptures, furthermore allowing for a rough evaluation of the relative dimensions and general scheme in which they are placed. That accounts for the inclusion of simplified plans corresponding to each floor of the building, placed in a general layout allowing immediate identification. These plans also allow to identify both the position of the access doors and the location of the statues contained in each chapel or temple.

Fig. 1 shows the plan of the first floor of the sKu'-bum, which makes it immediately apparent its maṇḍala layout. This obviously recalls the close connections linking the maṇḍala (dyil-'khor) to the stūpa (mchod-rtsen), long ago pointed out by Tucci96. Here,

94. Tucci, 1941a: 169.
however, one should bear in mind the complex conception of the sKu-'bum, which makes its architectural structure a framework for a whole universe of mandalas.

Fig. 1. Plan of the first floor of the sKu-'bum.
Going through each floor and ascending from one to the other, one actually proceeds towards the centre-summit to meet the highest expression of the divinity, but within each stage are placed the *maṇḍalas* as represented by the individual chapels, whose ideal centre is represented by a statue or group of statues. The paintings surrounding this centre are in turn conceived of as *maṇḍalas*, one or more for each wall, even when the painting does without a too rigidly geometric collocation of the various figures on the surface. In order to find something similar to the complex structures of the *bkra-šis sgo-maṅ mchod-rten* one must refer to the so-called “great *maṇḍalas*” such as those belonging to the *Kālacakraka* cycle, whose many encircling walls, each with its doors and guardians, enclose various minor *maṇḍalas* regularly distributed within the intervening surfaces. There are, however, several differences, two of which are particularly important. Firstly, the *stūpa* of Gyantse cannot be actually reduced to an individual *maṇḍala* however complex, because it cannot be referred to a particular tantric cycle but, on the contrary, is meant as a *summa* of all tantric cycles. This incidentally raises the specific issue of the layout of the *maṇḍalas* belonging to the various cycles within the overall structure. Secondly, although the temples placed at the cardinal points on the plan formally conjure up the gateways of the *maṇḍala*, the actual doors giving access from one floor to the other in the SKU-'bum are all placed at the southern end of the eastern sides. Again this requires a specific analysis of the solutions adopted within the structural conditioning imposed by the very architecture of the *stūpa*.

Turning again our attention to Fig. 1, it should be pointed out that the four temples at the cardinal points differ from the chapels in the building not only because of their larger size and more articulated shape, but also because of the different height of the two sections in which they are built. Whereas the wider outer section (which forms the central projecting part of the side of the *stūpa*) belongs entirely to the first floor and shows the same height as the other chapels placed on that floor, the inner section, which contains large size statues (indicated in black in the figure), raises up to include the whole height of the second floor, thus reaching a height which is about the double of that of the other chapels. The
groups of statues in the chapels (also marked in black in the figure) are placed against one of the minor walls, and precisely that which is closer to the temple at the centre of the same side of the sKu-'bum to which the chapel belongs.

It is worthwhile pointing out the solution adopted for the chapels meeting at the corners along the main diagonals of the plan. Here the builders employed a system of joints creating a corner wall jutting out inside four of the sixteen chapels on this floor. We do not know whether this was done because of structural reasons (wooden or stone corner pillars?) or merely in order to avoid differences in the extension of the wall surfaces made available in each chapel. The layout of these inside projections at the four corners of the sKu-'bum is not rigidly symmetrical.

The interior of the chapel placed at the eastern end of the northern side shows a difference in the floor level which is covered by a short flight of steps. This difference in level may be possibly due to a protruding rock, owing to the uneven surface of the dPal-’khor-chos-sde.

In the cell placed at the southern end of the eastern side, the wall facing the door shows an entrance giving access to an inner room through which one climbs to the upper floor. This kind of vestibule plays the role of gateway.

The plan of the second floor is illustrated in Fig. 2. The solution of continuity in correspondence with the main axes is only apparent: the room corresponding with this gap is in fact occupied by the upper portion of the inner sections of the four temples on the first floor. The external symmetry of the openings on the various sides of the bkra-sis sgo-maṅ mchod-rten is ensured by the presence of a window opening up in correspondence with that space. That window obviously has the important function of giving light to the face and trunk of the large statue inside the temple.

One may notice here the same jointed layout of the chapels at the corners which has been noticed on the first floor. Again the cell placed at the southern end of the eastern side plays the role of vestibule. A masonry staircase rising from the inside room mentioned in the description of the first floor gives direct access to it. A door opening in the outside wall of this cell gives access to the open passage surrounding the chapels on this floor, correspond-
Fig. 2. Plan of the second floor of the sKu-bum.

...ing to the ceilings of the chapels of the first floor, according to a pattern which is repeated at each floor. An opening in the opposite wall of the same cell gives access to an inner room with stairs leading to the third floor. The statues are placed according to the
same symmetrical layout which has been noticed for the first floor, with one exception: in the first western chapel on the southern side of the building the statues, five images of the Buddha Amitāyus, are placed with their backs to the main wall (namely the

Fig. 3. Plan of the third floor of the sKu'-bum.
northern wall facing the entrance) rather than to the eastern wall.

Fig. 3 illustrates the plan of the third floor. Here one finds again a layout similar to that of the first floor, though on a slightly smaller scale: four two-storied temples at the points of the compass and sixteen rectangular chapels with the usual jointed layout for those at the corners of the building. The vestibule at the southern end of the eastern side plays the usual role of gateway, connecting this floor with the other ones.

The location of the statues inside the temples and chapels rigidly fits with the same symmetrical scheme previously mentioned.

The fourth floor, whose plan is illustrated in Fig. 4, differs in its structure from the three floors below, because the progressive reduction of the perimeter forced the builders to reduce the number of chapels, to abandon the jointed layout scheme at the corners and to introduce angular cells having outside walls of equal length. These corner cells, however, were not built on a square plan, because the need to keep the inner core large enough to support the tambour above required the cutting of the inner angle along a plane perpendicular to its bisecting line. The resulting plan has the shape of an irregular pentagon, with two shorter walls perpendicular to the outside walls. The access door is opened southwards for the south-western chapel, westwards for the north-western one, and eastwards for the north-eastern chapel and the south-eastern vestibule. Dummy doors are placed along the other outside wall of each corner chapel in order to ensure the intended external symmetry of the sKu-'bum.

On the whole the structure of this floor is characterized by four projections at the points of the compass, each divided into two rectangular chapels of the usual type and approximately usual size, and by four pentagonal chapels in the intermediate directions. The south-eastern vestibule is obviously connected with the other staircases of the building and has the function of gateway to this floor. The inner wall opposite the corner shows an opening which admits into an inner room with stairs leading to a new vestibule inside the tambour above.

The rectangular chapels are occupied by clay sculptures, gen-
erally a group of three but sometimes flanked by smaller figures, placed along the main wall facing the entrance. This kind of layout, which has been noticed as an exception in the chapel devoted to Amitāyus on the second floor, becomes a rule on the fourth
floor. Only in the western chapel of the northern projection two more statues are added, along the shorter walls of the chapel.

The group of the main statues in each of the pentagonal chapels is placed along the wall opposite the outside corner, but is flanked by two more statues, each with its back to the narrow walls next to it.

Inside the *bum-pa* above the fourth floor there are the four main temples in the sKum-'bum, placed at the points of the compass, each opening on to a wide terrace with recesses which follow the layout of the floor below, as is seen in Fig. 5.

The floor of the *bum-pa* is accessible through the already mentioned south-eastern vestibule, which is bare of paintings or inscriptions and has no direct access without. A small door opens into the southern temple, while the other temples are accessible from without through the terrace which has been mentioned above. However, there is another door, normally locked, which admits from the same vestibule into the eastern temple, from which a wooden staircase leads to the *harmikā*. This door seems to provide a sort of shortcut to gain access to the topmost part of the building, rather than an alternative way to the pilgrim.

In each of the four temples of the tambour the main wall, opposite the large entrance from the terrace, is occupied by statues of imposing dimensions. In the southern temple the two side walls are almost entirely covered by clay statues of the *sthaviras* and of the Buddhas of the ten directions.

The *harmikā* is not accessible from the vestibule in the *bum-pa*, for the reduction of the available space as one proceeds towards the top did not allow the builders to cling to the same criterion so far followed, which allocated a room especially designed as a vestibule to each floor. As already mentioned, wooden stairs are placed for that purpose in the eastern temple, concealed behind the large statue of Vairocana and its flamboyant nimbus.

The turret of the *harmikā* is divided into two floors and is occupied for the most part by a solid square core in the centre. The available space is therefore narrowed down to a small corridor to which one arrives coming up from the eastern temple in the tambour (Fig. 6a). The two floors of the turret communicate through a little wooden staircase which is placed in the north-
eastern corner. Since the inside core of the building narrows down as one proceeds from the first to the second floor, the corridor of the upper floor is relatively larger than the one of the floor below (Fig. 6b).
Fig. 6. Plan of the first (a) and second (b) floor of the *harmikà* and of the topmost temple inside the spire (c).
The outside walls of the harmikā show openings in correspondence with the main axes of the building, giving light to the corridors. These openings divide into two the surface of the outer walls of the corridors, each being devoted to the pictorial representation of an individual tantric cycle, except for those covered by the wooden structure of the stairs on the lower floor. Also the surfaces of the inner core are covered with similar paintings.

Another narrow wooden stair in the south-western corner of the upper floor of the turret leads at last to the octagonal temple placed inside the spire (Fig. 6c).

The overall layout of the various temples in the sKu-'bum is shown in Fig. 7, providing a vertical section of the building along the south-north axis.

Fig. 7. Vertical section of the sKu-'bum along the south-north axis.

The adoption of a south-north orientation for the sKu-'bum may reflect the criterion adopted in China for temples and important public buildings during the Yuan and Ming periods, although it may have been here favoured by the orientation of the rocky ridge
enclosing the dPal-khor-chos-sde from three sides in a sort of natural enclave looking southwards.

The fact that this orientation differs from the Indo-Tibetan traditional one, centred along the east-west axis with an eastern entrance, may cause some confusion in descriptions. The cursory drawing published by Tucci⁹⁷, for example, numbers the various projections of the stūpa and the corresponding temples and chapels starting from the east, although in the text the numbering starts from the southern temple. However, in the description of the bum-pa, which Tucci entrusts entirely to the inscriptions existing within the temples⁹⁸, the sequence starts from the eastern temple, thus altering the criterion followed in the four floors below. Even on those floors, the sequence number written on the manuscript sheets recently copied from the guide-book (dkar-chag) and pasted onto the walls of individual chapels, starts from the northern end of the eastern side, which seems to reveal the reassertion, in the course of time, of the general custom over the particular rules followed in the creation of this monument⁹⁹. In reality the order according to which the temples and chapels of the sKu-'bum should be visited is explicitly dictated not only by the main gateway giving access to the first floor, but also by the position of the flights of stairs linking the various floors of the building. Since the vestibules and the stairs are located in the south-eastern corner of the stūpa, the normal ritual course (pradaksīṇā; 'khor-skor) which is followed clockwise along the outside passages necessarily begins from the southern side and goes on accordingly to the western, northern and eastern sides.

Having made this point clear, we shall briefly review the possible conventions for numbering the chapels. With regard to the first floor, for instance, the above mentioned dkar-chag starts from the central temple of the southern side and then proceeds to de-

---

⁹⁷. Tucci, 1941a: 160.
⁹⁹. These sheets are in fact a recent addition and Tucci does not mention them. In fact he himself revealed to the local monks the existence of the Chos-rgyal sku-'bum chen-po'i dkar-chag (Tucci, 1941a: 46), the guide from which they were subsequently drawn.
scribe first the two chapels east of it and last the two chapels west of it, always on the same southern side. The same rule is adopted for the western side (first the central temple, then the two chapels south of it, and finally the two chapels north of it) and so forth for the other sides and floors. On the other hand Tucci, starting from the same temple at the centre of the southern side, proceeds immediately to number in succession all the following chapels according to the sequence of the pradaksinä and uses the same criterion, starting every time from number one, for each of the other floors. For the second and fourth floor he gives the number one to the first chapel met proceeding clockwise from the middle of the southern side, which is occupied by the upper part of the temple belonging to the floor below: thus number one corresponds to the chapel placed in the western portion of the central projection of the southern side.

Although the latter system of numbering temples and chapels shows some inconsistencies which were pointed out by Tucci himself, it will be maintained here to make easier the comparison of our notes with Tucci's text. Chapels, temples and vestibules will be merely marked with two figures separated by an oblique stroke: the former will refer to the floor and the latter will provide the number of the chapel corresponding to that adopted in Indo-Tibetica. For instance 2/9 will refer to the ninth chapel (following Tucci's numbering) belonging to the second floor. The numbering of the chapels is also reproduced in the plans of Figs. 1-4.

2.3 The ideal structures of the sKu-'bum

The inscription in chapel 4/8, devoted to the great Indian masters and Tibetan translators, introduces the bkra-sis sgo-maṅ mchod-rtön with the following words: "In the middle of the great monastery of dPal-'khor-chos-sde, in the divine territory of rGyal-mkhar-rtse, which was the abode of the king (chos-rgyal mña-bdag)
dPal-khor-btsan\textsuperscript{102} who was honoured by many, in a land which is
the birth-place of knowledge (rig-pa'i 'byuṅ-gnas-kyi sa'i char),
Ūna-stod (Upper Myaṅ), in the Land of Shows, the great stūpa of
the dharmakāya (chos-skū'i) of the Sugatas (bDe-bar-bṣegs-pa'i)
which releases by its sight alone (mchod-rten mthon-grol chen-po)..."\textsuperscript{103}.

This definition effectively sums up the twofold significance of
the sKum-'bum, as it conjures up both its fundamental symbolic
value of chos-skū (embodiment of the Law, physical representation
of the dharmakāya, the essence of all the Buddhas) and of its
saving role, which is played through the visual syntesis of all the
ways offered by the tantras to achieve release.

Tucci explored the former meaning in his volume "\textit{mC'od rten}" e "\textit{ts'a ts'a}"\textsuperscript{104} by analysing in depth the symbolism built up
by the schools of Hīnayāna Buddhism about the architecture of the
stūpa, and his results will be briefly summed up here\textsuperscript{105}. The whole
building rests upon a basement known as "moon lotus"\textsuperscript{106}
symbolizing the union of means (upāya; thabs) and wisdom (pra-jñā; šes-rab). The basement supports the throne symbolizing the
four imperturbabilities (caturvaiśāradya; mi-'jigs-pa bṛzī) of the
Buddha, which in turn supports four terraced steps. In the sKu-
'bum these are represented by the four floors along which the
various chapels are distributed.

The first floor symbolizes the four coefficients of full awareness
(catuḥśmṛtyupasthāna; dran-pa ņe-bar gẑag-pa bṛzī) relative to body
(kāya; līs), perceptions (vedanā; tshor-ba), mind (citta; sems) and
doctrine (dharma; chos). The second floor symbolizes the four renunciations and resolutions (catusprahāṇa; yaṅ-dag-par spoṅ-ba
bṛzī), that is the renunciation to sinful actions already undertaken,
the renunciation to any future sinful action, the resolution to per-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{102} Glaṅ-dar-ma's grandson (Tucci 1933: 17).
\item \textsuperscript{103} Tucci, 1941b: 82.
\item \textsuperscript{104} Tucci, 1932: 39.
\item \textsuperscript{105} Further information may be drawn from relevant texts by the Tibetan scholars Padma-dkar-po (1526-1592) (1973: 320-321) and Klaṅ-rdol Bla-ma (1719-1805) (1973: 760-761).
\item \textsuperscript{106} Tucci, 1941a: 170.
\end{itemize}
fect good actions already undertaken, and the resolution to apply oneself to perform good actions in the future\textsuperscript{107}. The third floor symbolizes the the four coefficients of the miraculous powers (\textit{caturrdhipāda}; \textit{rdzu-'phrul-gyi rkañ-pa bži}), literally “the four legs of miracles”\textsuperscript{108}, that is firm aspiration, deep meditation, effort and perseverance, investigation and analysis. The fourth floor symbolizes the five faculties or powers (\textit{pañcendriya}; \textit{dbaî-po li}), namely power of faith (\textit{śraddha}; \textit{dad-pa}), of effort (\textit{virya}; \textit{brston-'grus}), of mindfulness (\textit{smṛṭi}; \textit{dran-pa}), of concentration (\textit{samādhi}; \textit{tiṅ-ne-'dzin}) and of wisdom (\textit{prajñā}; \textit{ṣes-rab}).

The \textit{bum-pa} is a symbol of the seven coefficients of supreme enlightenment (\textit{saptabodhyaṅga}; \textit{byaî-chub yan-lag bdun})\textsuperscript{109}, literally “the seven limbs of enlightenment”: mindfulness (\textit{smṛṭi}; \textit{dran-pa}), perfect examination of the doctrine (\textit{dharmaaprabhucaya}; \textit{chos rab-tu rnam-'byed}) effort (\textit{virya}; \textit{brston-'grus}), joy (\textit{priti}; \textit{dga-'ba}), pure exercise (\textit{praśrabdhi}; \textit{šin-sbyaîs}), concentration (\textit{samādhi}; \textit{tiṅ-ne-'dzin}) and equanimity (\textit{upekṣā}; \textit{btaî-sñoms}). The \textit{harmikā} symbolizes the Eightfold Noble Path (\textit{aṣṭāṅgāyamārga}; \textit{'phags-pa'i lam yan-lag brgyad-pa}). Finally the spire, where is placed the statue of Vajradhara, the adamantine symbol of the Absolute in its essential unalterability, is surrounded by thirteen rings, the first ten symbolizing the ten powers of the Tathāgata (\textit{daśatañgatatabala}; \textit{De-bzin-gsugs-pa'i stobs bcu}) and the last three symbolizing the supports of the absolute awareness (\textit{tryāvenikasmṛtyupasthāna}; \textit{ma-'dres-pa'i dran-pa ņe-bar bzag-pa gsum}) which characterizes the Tathāgata.

The second aspect of the symbolism of the \textit{sKu-'bum}, that is the more specifically tantric one, was also pointed out by Tucci: “To the progressive climbing step by step there corresponds also an ascending to more and more secret and subtle truths. By way of climbing, one eventually passes from a group of tantric cycles to another: one starts with the \textit{krivātantra} and reaches the \textit{anuttaratanttra} at the top of the building. In a short while thus one went
through the whole Mahāyāna mysticism and esoteric liturgy”\textsuperscript{110}. This cursory hint, however, deserves to be followed by a survey examining as closely as possible the articulated structure of the various tantric cycles in the complex architecture of the sKu-
‘bum.

The transition from the earlier Buddhist beliefs to the later Vajrayāna conceptions is made obvious from the very role assigned in this structure to the four central temples on the first floor. In fact the role of these temples is primarily a restatement of the traditional function of the bkra-šis sgo-man mchod-rten as a stūpa of the preaching of the doctrine. The southern temple, which is immediately reached through two short flights of steps overcoming the tall basement of the sKu-‘bum, is aimed at celebrating the promulgation of the doctrine among mankind: on the big throne opposite the entrance sits the Buddha Śākyamuni in dharmacakramudrā, namely in the conventional gesture symbolizing the first turning of the wheel of the doctrine (dharmacakra-pravartana; chos-kyi 'khor-lo bskor-ba). This is the Buddha in his human form, whose historical aspect is emphasized by the two disciples flanking him, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, and whose role as saviour, as physician of the mind, is recalled by the two statues flanking the central triad: the Medicine Buddhas Bhaisajyaguru Vaiḍūryaprabhārāja (sMan-gyi-bla Bai-dur-ya-'od-kyi-rgyal-po) e Suparikīrtita Nāmaśrī (mTshan-legs Yoṅs-grags-dpal).

But the promulgation of the doctrine is not limited to our age, for it extends to the past and the future. Thus the two other central temples on the first floor are devoted to the Buddha of the Past, Dipamkara (Mar-me-mdzad), on the northern side, and to the Buddha of the Future, Maitreya (Byams-pa), on the eastern side. Here the historical evolution becomes obviously manifest. Dipamkara appears in early Buddhist scriptures and iconography as a guide and inspirator of Prince Siddharta himself in his previous lives, and the one who prepared him to the future achievement of Buddhahood\textsuperscript{111}. Ajita Maitreya is a later creation, akin to Mithra-

\textsuperscript{110} Tucci, 1941a: 170.

\textsuperscript{111} Xuanzang refers to and Asokan stūpa in the district of Nagarāhāra (Jala-
Sol Invictus, part of the great movement of messianic hope which crossed the East at the end of the ancient world\textsuperscript{112}. However, he was tied up with Buddhist tradition through the tale of the "persecution" by Puṣyamitra, at the end of the Maurya dynasty. The Śāriputraparipṛcchā, a test of Mahāsāṃghika origin translated into Chinese in the 4th century, relates how, after Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Suṅga dynasty, set fire to the towers of the sutras (sūtrakutāgāra), Maitreya seized the sutras and took them to the Tuṣita heaven, whence later the arhats brought them back to mankind\textsuperscript{113}.

Maitreya became a central figure in Mahāyāna Buddhism with the Saddharmapundarika and the Sukhāvatīvyūha. But the paradise of Maitreya (the Tuṣita heaven), which in particular inspired many scenes painted on the walls of the eastern temple on the first floor of the sKu-'bum, still belongs to the kāmaloka as one of the devalokas and it thus remains part of the traditional Buddhist cosmology\textsuperscript{114}. In that paradise, however, there is an aspect foreshadowing future developments. In fact the masters of the doctrine may rise, in the state of saṃādhi, to the Tuṣita heaven to receive from Maitreya the teachings necessary to overcome their difficulties and doubts. This is a concept forerunning a large part of the ways of the later "revelations" typical of tantric Buddhism, and this concept gave rise to the attribution of many works to a historically non-existent Maitreyanātha\textsuperscript{115}.

The full transition to Mahāyāna is exemplified by the western temple of the first floor, which is devoted to the preaching of the doctrine by the Buddha Amitābha (‘Od-dpag-med) in the western paradise, the Pure Land called Sukhāvatī (bDe-ba-can). Here the

---

\textsuperscript{112} Lamotte, 1976: 784-785.

\textsuperscript{113} Lamotte, 1976: 427-429.

\textsuperscript{114} Thanks to Xuanzang's witnessing, as related by his disciples Daoshi and Kuiji, we know that the aspiration to the paradise of Maitreya was common to the followers of both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism, whilst only the Mahāyānists believed in Sukhāvatī, the paradise of Amitābha (Lamotte, 1976: 787).

\textsuperscript{115} Demieville, 1954: 376-395.
preaching of the doctrine is no longer confined to mankind, nor is it merely addressed to the gods and blissful creatures of the bDe-ba-can, but it eternally emanates from the kingdom of Infinite Light and Infinite Life as a manifestation of the dharma on the verbal plane¹¹⁶.

Furthermore, the evolution towards tantric Buddhism is clearly witnessed by the northern temple where, although the central image portrays the Buddha of the Past, the wall paintings depict the paradise of Āryamañjuśrī ('Phags-pa 'Jam-dpal) and preaching scenes centred not only around Dipamkara, but also around Śākyamuni and Maitreya, alternate with cycles of Bodhisattvas drawn from the Mañjuśrimulakalpa ('Phags-pa 'Jam-dpal rtsa-ba'i rgyud).

The transition to Vajrayāna becomes apparent in its fullest manifestation in the rows of chapels and temples which display the universe of the mañḍalas belonging to the various tantric cycles in the first three floors, in the tambour and in the turret of the sKu-'bum. Their position and sequence correspond to an accurate plan which reflects the canonical arrangement of the large amount of tantric texts collected in the bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-'gyur.

Because of the crucial role played by Bu-ston in arranging that material, Tucci was able to base most of his precious work of identification of the various mañḍalas and deities in the sKu-'bum on the works of that outstanding Tibetan scholar. Also the chapels of the fourth floor, which are not devoted to the tantras in themselves, but to the lineages through which they were transmitted, are likely to refer to Bu-ston's history of Buddhism in India and Tibet (Chos-'byun). Indeed the whole sKu-'bum may be in a sense regarded as a monument celebrating the colossal work undertaken by that great scholar. It is significant that the monks belonging to one of the three religious orders still present in the dPal-'khor-chos-sde call themselves Bu-ston-pas (or Žwa-lu-pas, from

¹¹⁶. One should bear in mind that, when in kriyātantra and caryātantra literature the several Mystic Families are reduced to three, the Karma Family is included in the Lotus Family, whose head is indeed Amitābha, and together they form the vāgāvajra, the word diamond.
the name of the monastery where Bu-ston carried out his remarkable task).

The criteria for the classification of the *tantras* which were adopted by Bu-ston, and later became traditional in tantric exegesis, were first stated in Tibet by the Sa-skya-pa master bSod-nams-rtse-mo (1142-1182) who collected the Indian exegetic tradition and wrote a *rGyud-sde spyi'i rnam-par-bzag*, a general classification of *tantras*. In Tucci's words that "is a strict and detailed classification" arranging the *tantras* "not by formal and external standards, but on the base of the experience they suggested and prepared"\(^ {117} \). These criteria were clearly put forward not only by Bu-ston in his own work *rGyud-sde spyi'i rnam-par-bzag rgyud-sde rin-po-che'i mdzes-rgyan*, but also by the dGe-lugs-pa scholar mKhas-grub-rje in his fundamental work *rGyud-sde spyi'i rnam-par gzig-pa rgyas-par brjod*\(^ {118} \) and by Blo-bzaṅ-bstan-'dzin-'phrin-las (b. 1642) in his *Thob-yig gsal-ba'i me-loṅ*\(^ {119} \). These works sanction the fundamental distinction in the four great classes of *kriyātantra* (*bya-ba'i rgyud*), *caryātantra* (*spyod-pa'i rgyud*), *yogatantra* (*rnal-'byor rgyud*) and *anuttarayogatantra* (*rnal-'byor bla-med-kyi rgyud*), and furthermore they order the individual *tantras* within each class according to criteria which are peculiar to the class itself. The *kriyātantras* were classified in Families (*kula; rigs*), subdivided in *laukika* (*'jig-rten-pa*) and *lokottara* (*'jig-rten-las 'das-pa*). The *tantras* of the *lokottara* Families were further divided in groups (*gTso-bo, bDag-po, Yum, Khro-bo, Pho-ña, etc.*) whose number varies according to the Family. The *caryātantras* were merely classified in Families and grouped in the three fundamental *kulas* of the Tathāgata (*De-bzin-gšegs-pa'i rigs*), Lotus (*Padma'i rigs*) and Vajra (*rDo-rje rigs*), without any further subdivisions. The *yogatantras* were classified by differentiating the root-*tantra* (*mūla-tantra; rtsa-ba'i rgyud*) from various types of explanatory *tantras*. Finally, nearly all the *anuttaratantras* were classified in the two

---

118. Lessing and Wayman, 1983.
large groups of Father tantras (pho rgyud) and Mother tantras (ma rgyud), which were further subdivided into subgroups according to the six Families characterizing this class of tantras: Heruka (Aksobhya), Vairocana, Vajraprabhā (Ratnasambhava), Padmanartesvara (Amitābha), Paramāśva (Amoghasiddhi) and Vajradhara.

These different criteria are in fact a contrivance reflecting an exegetical practice which for the “revelation” of the Buddha could not accept a historical method capable of accounting for the evolution of tantric Buddhism in a systematic manner. There is no question of dealing here with that problem, rather of recognizing in the layout of the sKu-'bum a visual display of the treasure of tantras accurately ordered according to their canonical classification. Bearing that in mind, we shall examine the relationship of the chapels and temples in the sKu-'bum with the various tantric cycles to which they are inspired and try to point out any correspondence between their particular position in the building and their canonical classification.

**Kriyātantra and Caryātantra cycles**

Starting from the southern side of the first floor one finds that all the statues and paintings in these chapels correspond to the various cycles of the kriyātantras and the very image of Śākyamuni sitting in the central temple appears like that of the Lord (gTso-bo) of the Tathāgata Family.

Chapels 1/2 and 1/20, which are located respectively to his right and left, are in fact devoted to 'Od-zer-can-ma (Mārīci) and to gTsug-tor-nam-par-rgyal-ma (Usñīśavijayā). Mārīci, ray of light and symbol of the irradiation of the doctrine, is the chief deity of the maṇḍala drawn from the 'Phags-ma 'Od-zer-can žes bya-ba'i guṇis Áryamārīcināmadhāraṇī, a tantra of the Tathāgata Family belonging to the group of the Mother of the Family (rigs-kyi Yum), translated by the Indian paṇḍita Amoghavajra and by the
Tibetan lo-tsa-ba Rin-chen-grags-pa. Uṣṇiṣavijayā, she who is victorious through the uṣṇiṣa (a symbol of the Enlightenment) and as such mother of all the Buddhas, is the chief deity of the gTsug-tor-nam-rgyal lha dgu'i dkyil-'khor, a maṇḍala found in the gTsug-tor-gyi rgyud, which belong to the tantras of the Tathāgata Family, and is drawn from two of them in particular: the 'Phags-pa ŋan-'gro thams-cad yön-su sbyoṅ-ba gTsug-tor-nam-par-rgyal-ba ŋes bya-ba'i gzuṅs (Āryasarvadurgatiparīśodhanyuṣṇiṣavijayanāmadhāraṇī)\textsuperscript{121}, translated by the Indian upādhyāyas Jinamitra and Surendrabodhi and by the famous lo-tsa-ba sNa-nam Ye-ses-sde during the second half of the 8th century; and the gTsug-tor-nam-rgyal-ma'i gzuṅs ŋes bya-ba'i rtor-pa (Uṣṇiṣavijayanāmadhāraṇikalpa)\textsuperscript{122}, translated by the lo-tsa-ba Ňi-ma-rgyal-rtshan-bzaṅ-po.

At the two ends of this first side are chapels 1/19 and 1/3, devoted to Gur-mgon (Pañjara Mahākāla) and to 'Byun-po-'dul-byed (Bhūtaḍāmara) respectively. Pañjara Mahākāla should be understood, as shown by Tucci\textsuperscript{123}, as a god of the cemeteries helping symbolically to destroy the bodily cage with keeps us prisoners, and is connected with the Tathāgata Family, in the group of the gNas-gtsaṅ lha rgyud (the tantras of the gods of the Pure Lands), which include the dpal Nag-po-chen-po'i rgyud (Śrīmahākālatantra)\textsuperscript{124} and the 'Phags-pa dpal mGon-po-nag-po ŋes bya-ba'i gzuṅs (Āryasrimahākalarājanāmadhāraṇī)\textsuperscript{125}. Bhūtaḍāmara is a manifestation of Vajrapāṇi, perhaps deriving originally from a deity of the Himalayan area assimilated by Buddhism with the role of well-meaning fierce god. This deity and the several other forms of Vajrapāṇi in this chapel are chiefly related to the 'Byun-po-'dul-ba ŋes bya-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po (Bhūtaḍāmaramahātantrarāja)\textsuperscript{126}, translated by Buddhākaravarman and by Chos-

\textsuperscript{121} Toh. 597.
\textsuperscript{122} Toh. 598.
\textsuperscript{123} Tucci, 1941a: 125.
\textsuperscript{124} Toh. 667.
\textsuperscript{125} Toh. 668.
\textsuperscript{126} Toh. 747.
kyi-šes rab, and to the 'Phags-pa rdOrje-sa'-og-gi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po (Āryavajrapātālanāmatantrarāja)\textsuperscript{127}, translated by the Indian scholar Sugataśrī and by Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzan. Both these tantras belong to the group of the bDag-po'i rgyud (the tantras of the Master) in the Family of the Vajra. The maṇḍalas painted on the walls of this chapel have been in fact drawn from the commentaries to these tantras, which were mostly included in the great collection of the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho (Sādhana-sāgara)\textsuperscript{128}.

Whereas Māricī and Uṣṇīṣavijaya symbolize the irradiation of the doctrine promulgated by the Buddha, Mahākāla and Bhūtadāmarā symbolize the conditions required to obtain its fruit: the detachment from the delusions of the phenomenal world and the vigorous application to extinguish evil tendencies.

Let us now consider the western section of the first floor leaving aside the central temple devoted to 'Od-dpag-med, the head of the Lotus Family, which has already been referred to. To its right we find chapel 1/7, devoted to Ri-khrod-lo-ma (Parṇaśabarī), where are displayed the maṇḍalas related to the 'Phags-pa Parṇaśabarī rtog-pa\textsuperscript{129} and to the 'Phags-pa Ri-khrod-lo-ma-gyon-ma źes bya-ba'i gzüns (Āryaparṇaśavarināmadhāraṇī)\textsuperscript{130}, belonging to the Khro-mo rgyud of the Lotus Family. These maṇḍalas are drawn in particular from the Ri-khrod-ma-lo-ma-can-gyi sgrub-thabs (Parṇaśabarīsādhana)\textsuperscript{131}, translated by the lo-tsā-ba Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

Chapel 1/5, which is symmetrical with the previous one with respect to the central temple, is devoted to gZan-gyis-mi-thub-ma gDugs-dkar-mo-can (Aparājīta Uṣṇīṣasitātaprā), whose various manifestations are displayed in the central statue and in the wall paintings. The maṇḍalas to which they belong are drawn from a group of tantras belonging to the gTugs-tor-gyi rgyud of the Tathā-

\textsuperscript{127} Toh. 744.
\textsuperscript{128} Cordier, \textit{rGyud}: LXXI, 95-340 bis.
\textsuperscript{129} Toh. 735.
\textsuperscript{130} Toh. 736.
\textsuperscript{131} Cordier, \textit{rGyud}: LXXI, 234-235.
gata Family, and in particular from the 'Phags-pa De-bzhin-gség-pa'i gtsug-tor-nas byuñ-ba'i gDugs-dkar-po-can gŽan-gyis-mi-thub-pa phyir bzlog-pa chen-mo mchog-tu grub-pa žes bya-ba'i gzuñs (Āryatathāgatosnīśasitātatāpatrāparajitamahāpratyāṅgiraparamasiddhīnāmadvāraṇi)\textsuperscript{132}, edited by the pañāśita Parahitabhadra and by the lo-tsa-ba gZu-dga'-rdo-rje, and from the 'Phags-pa De-bzhin-gség-pa'i gtsug-tor-nas byuñ-ba'i gDugs-dkar-mo-can gŽan-gyis-mi-thub-ma žes bya-ba'i gzuñs (Āryatathāgatosnīśasitātatāpatrānāmāparājitadhāraṇī)\textsuperscript{133}, translated by the Kashmirian scholar Mahājñāna.

Chapel 1/8, at the northern end of this side, is devoted to rTa-mgrin (Hayagriva). The bKa'-gyur contains only one kriyātantra text devoted to this deity: the 'Phags-pa sPyan-ras-gzigs-dban-phug Hayagrīva'i gzuñs (Āryāvalokiteśvarahayagrīvadhāraṇi)\textsuperscript{134} placed in the group of the Khro-bo'i rgyud of the Lotus Family. However, several sādhanaś referring to Hayagrīva are included in the commentaries of the bsTan'-gyur. Among the latter mention can be made of the rTa-mgrin-gyi sgrub-thabs (Hayagrīvasādhana)\textsuperscript{135}, which is part of the Sādhanaśāgara, written by Candragomin and translated by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, and of two sādhanaś by Śrīdipamkarajñāna, that is the great Atiśa (Jo-bo-rje): the 'Phags-pa rTa-mgrin-gyi sgrub-thabs (Āryahayagrīvasādhana)\textsuperscript{136} and the dPal rTa-mgrin-gyi sgrub-thabs (Śrīhayagrīvasādhana)\textsuperscript{137}. To these one should add the Padma-spyan-ras-gzigs-dbañ-phug-gi padma-dra-ba'i rim-pas bCom-ldan-'das dkyil-khor-du mchod-pa'i cho-ga (Padmāvalokiteśvarasya padmajālakramaṇa bhagavanmanḍalapujāvidhi)\textsuperscript{138} by Jayasrijñāna, translated by the Kashmirian pañāśita Sumanahśribhadra and by the lo-tsa-ba Rin-chen-grub, to which the inscription in this chapel explicitly refers.
Chapel 1/4, at the southern end of the same western side, is devoted to rMe-brtsegs (or sMe-brtsegs), whose statue is flanked by those of Khro-mo-rme-brtsegs and mKha'-gro-ma-rme-brtsegs. Four other manifestations of the chief deity are painted on the walls. Tucci\(^{139}\) identifies rMe-brtsegs with Ucchusma, an angry form of Jambhala, obviously belonging to the Mani Family, one of the laukika Families in the kriyātantras; however, this identification is not supported by iconographic evidence. In fact, the iconography of the deity in this chapel strictly corresponds to the woodcuts of the Rin-'byun\(^{140}\) referring to Dhūmavāraṇakrodhabhurkūṃkūṭa (Khro-bo-sme-brtsegs-dud-kha) and to Śyāmakrodhabhurkūṃkūṭa (Khro-bo-sme-brtsegs-ljaṅ-khu), where the former is explicitly related to a text in the bKa'-gyur, namely the Khro-bo'i rgyal-po sMe-brtsegs-la bstod-pa'i snags (Krodhabhurkūṃkūṭarāja-stotramantra)\(^{141}\). This text does not appear in Csoma de Körös's analysis of the sNar-thaṅ bKa'-gyur\(^{142}\), but is included in the sDe-dge edition as well as in the sTog bKa'-gyur\(^{143}\) which seems to be derived from the Them-spāṅs-ma bKa'-gyur prepared at Gyantse in 1431 by order of Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ 'Phags-pa, hence particularly significant in this context. Both mKhas-grub-rje (who quotes it with the title Bhurkūṃkūṭadharani)\(^{144}\) and Blo-bzaṅ-'phrin-las\(^{145}\) place this tantra in the group of the bDag-po'i rgyud in the Family of the Vajra, whereas in the list published by Tucci\(^{146}\), which is drawn from Bu-ston's rGyud-sde spyi'i rnam-par bṣag rgyud-sde rin-po-che'i mdzes rgyan, it is included in the group of the bKa'-gnaṅ rgyud. In any case this tantra is assigned to the Family of the Vajra, which is consistent with the fact that the main wall in the chapel houses the manḍala of rDo-rje-rnam-par-

\(^{139}\) Tucci, 1941a: 179; 1936: 105.
\(^{140}\) Chandra, 1988: 279, Nos. 733-734.
\(^{141}\) Toh. 756.
\(^{142}\) Csoma de Körös, 1982.
\(^{143}\) Skorupski, 1985: 308, No. 708.
\(^{144}\) Lessing and Wayman, 1983: 131, 340.
\(^{145}\) Wayman, 1973: 233, 238.
\(^{146}\) Tucci, 1949: 261.
The SKU’hum of Gyantse

109

'joms-pa (Vajravidāraṇa), a manifestation of Phyag-na-rdo-rje which is dealt with in the root-tantra rDo-rje-rnam-par-'joms-pa žes bya-ba'i gzuṅs (Vajravidāraṇānāmadhārāṇi)\textsuperscript{147} translated by Jina-mitra and Dānāśila with the lo-tsā-ba Ye-šes-sde, and in the explanatory tantra 'Phags-pa rdo-rje ri-rab chen-po'i rtse-mo'i khaṅ-pa brtsegs-pa'i gzuṅs (Āryamahāvajraverusīkharakūṭāgāradhārāṇi)\textsuperscript{148} translated by the same lo-tsā-ba with the assistance of Śilendrabodhi and Jñānasiddhi. Also these tantras belong to the group of the bDag-po rgyud.

It should be pointed out that, whereas the bsTan-'gyur includes various texts devoted to Vajravidāraṇa, such as the rDo-rje-rnam-par-'joms-pa'i dkyil-'khor-gyi cho-ga (Vajravidāraṇī-mandalavidhi)\textsuperscript{149}, the rDo-rje-rnam-par-'joms-pa žes bya-ba'i khrus-kyi cho-ga'i 'grel-pa (Vajravidāraṇīnāmasnānāvidhīvṛtti)\textsuperscript{150} and the rDo-rje-rnam-par-'joms-pa žes bya-ba'i sgrub-thabs (Vajravidāraṇī-nāmasādhana)\textsuperscript{151}, it does not devote any commentary or sadhāna to rMe-brtsegs. This is probably explained by mKhas-grub-rje’s remark\textsuperscript{152} that the Bhurkumṅkūṭadhārāṇi was held in high esteem by Sa-skya Panḍita, but Bu-ston “hesitated to declare it either a pure or an impure Tantra”. The attention paid by the Sa-skya-pa school to the cycle of rMe-brtsegs is confirmed by the fact that several sadhanas devoted to him are contained in the sGrub-thabs kun-btus, the collection of Sa-skya-pa inspiration edited by 'Jam-dbyaṅs-mkhven-brtse'i-dbaṅ-po Kun-dga'-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan (1820-1892) and printed at sDe-dge in fourteen volumes. On the other hand the para-canonical character of this cycle seems to be confirmed by the fact that commentaries and sadhanas related to it are included in the great rNūn-ma-pa collection of the Rin-chen gter-mdzod. In this respect the inscription in the chapel, declaring that deities are painted according to the treasury of the gter-ma
tradition is particularly significant\textsuperscript{153}.

Let us now proceed to the northern side of the first floor. We have already pointed out that the central temple 1/11, housing the statue of the Buddha of the Past, Dipaṅkara, places him in the paradise of Mañjuśrī and surrounds him with paintings illustrating bodhisattva cycles drawn from the 'Phags-pa 'Jam-dpal rtisa-ba'i rgyud (Āryamañjuśrīrimūlatantra)\textsuperscript{154}, translated by Kumārakalasā and by the lo-tsa-ba Śākya-blo-gros, which both Bu-ston and mKhas-grub-rje regarded as the main text of the bDag-po rgyud in the Family of the Tathāgata. From the point of view of the classification of the tantric cycles, temple 1/11 must therefore be assigned to that Family.

This temple is flanked by chapels 1/10 and 1/12, which are devoted respectively to gZa'-yum-chen-mo (Mahāgrahamārka) and to Nor-rgyun-ma (Vasudhārā). To the former, also known as Rig-pa-chen-mo (Mahāvidyā), is associated the gZa'-rnam-kyi yum Žes bya-ba'i gzüns (Grahamārkaṇāmadhāraṇī)\textsuperscript{155}, a tantra belonging to the group of the gNas-gtsan-lha'i rgyud of the Family of the Tathāgata, translated by Ye-ses-sde assisted by Śilendrabodhi, Jnānasiddhi and Śākyaprabha. To the second deity are associated the 'Phags-pa Nor-gyi-rgyun Žes bya-ba'i gzüns (Āryavasudhārāṇāmadhāraṇī)\textsuperscript{156} and the bCom-lтан-'das-ma Nor-rgyun-ma'i rtog-pa\textsuperscript{157}, both belonging to the same Family and group as the previous tantra. Several sādhanas in the bsTan-'gyur are devoted to Nor-rgyun-ma, including the Nor-rgyun-ma'i sgrub-thabs (Vasudhārāsādhana)\textsuperscript{158} translated by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and belonging to the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho, as well as the dPal Nor-rgyun-ma'i

\textsuperscript{153} “Khro-bo-rme-rtsegs sku-mdog dud-kha zal gsum phyag drug-pa me-ri'i dbus-na bzung-pa'i / g.yas-na mKha'-gro-rme-rtsegs sion-mo phyag gnis-ma / g.yon-na Khro-mo-rme-rtsegs sku-mdog nag-mo gter-ma lugs-rnams lde skur bzung...” (Tucci, 1941b: 11).

\textsuperscript{154} Toh. 543.

\textsuperscript{155} Toh. 661.

\textsuperscript{156} Toh. 662.

\textsuperscript{157} Toh. 663.

\textsuperscript{158} Cordier, rGyud: LXXI, 300, 301.
sgrub-thabs-dan bstod-pa (Śrīvasudhārāsādhana-stotra)\textsuperscript{159} translated by Blo-gros-brtan-pa.

Some of the minor figures painted on the walls of chapel 1/12 belong to the cycle of the Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po chen-po'i rgyud (Mahāganapatitantra)\textsuperscript{160} and of the 'Phags-pa Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po'i sniin-po (Āryaganapatihṛdaya)\textsuperscript{161}, both included in the same group of the \textit{gNas-gtsaṅ-lha-i rgyud} of the Tathāgata Family. Other refer to the cycles of \textit{gNod-dzìn} (Jambhala) and of the \textit{gNod-sbyin} (Yakṣas)\textsuperscript{162}. These cycles belong to a tantra of the Family of the Mani (Nor-can rigs), one of the laukika Families which we know to have been absorbed in the Family of the Tathāgata during the process of progressive reduction of the many original Families of the kriyātantras.

Chapel 1/9, which is placed at the western end of this side of the sKu-'bum is devoted to Mi-g.yo-ba (Acala). Its inscription explicitly refers to the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho for the group of the statues, whereas for one of the manādala painted on the walls it mentions the 'Phags-pa Mi-g.yo-po 'ze bya-ba'i gzuins (Āryācala-nāmadhāraṇī)\textsuperscript{163}, a kriyā tantra belonging to the bKa'-gñan group of the Family of the Tathāgata, translated by the Indian upādhyāya Dharmaśrimitra and by the Tibetan lo-tsa-ba Chos-kyi-bzan-po. There appears to be some inaccuracy in the former reference, because Prabhākirti's Mi-g.yo-ba'i sgrub-thabs (Acalasādhana) as found in the \textit{bsTan-'gyur}\textsuperscript{164} was translated into Tibetan by Rin-

\textsuperscript{159} Cordier, \textit{rGyud}: LXXI, 401-404.
\textsuperscript{160} Toh. 666.
\textsuperscript{161} Toh. 665.
\textsuperscript{162} The inscription specifically mentions that the figure of the Yellow Jambhala with three faces and six arms painted on the northern wall is drawn from the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho (Tucci, 1941b: 20). Three works in the Sadhanasāgāra are in fact devoted to Jambhala (Cordier, \textit{rGyud}: LXXI, 310, 311, 315) and are probably related to the 'Phags-pa gNom-gnas-dbaṅ-po'i ji-ltar 'byin-ba'i rtog-po (Ārvajambhalalalendrayathālabdhakalpa) (Toh. 770), a kriyā tantra of the Mani Family which teaches how to evoke the Yellow Jambhala (Lessing and Wayman, 1983: 133). The cycle of the gNom-sbyin-chun-po brgyad includes Gaṅ-ba-bzan-po (Tucci, 1941a: 194); on this yakṣa see the third section of Chapter One.
\textsuperscript{163} Toh. 631.
\textsuperscript{164} Cordier, \textit{rGyud}: LXXI, 52.
chen-grags, the lo-tsā-ba of Ba-ri (1040-1111) and therefore ought to be placed in the Sādhanaśataka (Ba-ri sgrub-thabs brgya-rtsa) rather than in the Sādhanasāgara, which was translated by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

Finally it should be pointed out that the maṇḍala painted on the southern wall of this chapel is drawn from the 'Phags-pa khro-bo'i rgyal-po chen-po Mi-g.yo-ba De-bzin-gšegs-pa thams-cad-kyi stobs dpag-tu med-pa rtul-phod-pa 'dul-bar gsuṅs-pa žes bya-ba'i rtog-pa (Āryācalamahākrodhasya sarvatathāgatasya aparimitabala-parākramasya vinayabhāṣitanāmakaḷa)\textsuperscript{165}, a tantra translated by Chos-kyi-blo-gros under the guidance of the Indian upādhyāya Uśmarakṣita, which still belongs to the Family of the Tathāgata, but in the class of the cariyātantras\textsuperscript{166}.

At the eastern end of the northern side of this first floor there is chapel 1/13, devoted to the various manifestations of mGon-po-nag-po-chen-po (Mahākāla). A great number of sādhanas in the bsTan-'gyur are dedicated to the Black Mahākāla, but the badly defaced dkar-chag pasted onto the wall specifically refers to two aspects of this deity, one according to the naṁ-sgrub (esoteric sādhana) and the other according to the gsaṅ-sgrub (secret sādhana). The former may probably be related to the dPal mGon-po'i naṁ-sgrub (Śrimahākalāntarasādhaṇa)\textsuperscript{167}, whose author is unknown, while the translators were the paṇḍita Abhayākaragupta and the lo-tsā-ba Saṁs-rgas-grags. The latter should be referred to Nāgabodhi's Byin-gyis brlabs-pa'i Nag-po-chen-po'i gsaṅ-ba'i sgrub-thabs (Adhiḥśīnāmahākālāguhyasādhaṇa)\textsuperscript{168}, or else to the Nag-po-chen-po'i 'phrin-las gsaṅ-ba'i sgrub-thabs (Mahākālakarnāguhyasādhaṇa)\textsuperscript{169} written by Krṣṇavararuci and translated by the siddha Rāhula-dmar-po with Gyi-ljaṅ lo-tsā-ba Bla-ma dBu-dkar. These sādhanas and several others found in the bsTan-'gyur are related to

\textsuperscript{165} Toh. 495.
\textsuperscript{166} Wayman, 1973: 237; Tucci, 1941b: 18 ("spyod-pa'i rgyud" is erroneously translated "krivātantra" in Tucci, 1941b: 151).
\textsuperscript{167} Cordier, rGyud: XXVI, 77.
\textsuperscript{168} Ibidem: LXXXII, 96.
\textsuperscript{169} Ibidem: LXXXII, 71.
The dPal Nag-po-chon-po'i rgyud (Śrimahākālatantra)\textsuperscript{170}, the 'Phags-pa dPal mGon-po-nag-po žes bya-ba'i gzuṅs (Āryaśrimahākā- lanāmadhāraṇī)\textsuperscript{171} and the 'Phags-pa Nag-po-chon-po'i gzuṅs rims-nad thams-cad-las thar-par byed-pa\textsuperscript{172}, translated by Ye-ses-sde assisted by the upādhyāya Prajñāvarman. All these tantras belong to the group of the gNas-gtṣan lha'i rgyud of the Family of the Tathāgata in the class of the kriyātantras.

The central temple 1/16 in the eastern side of the sKu-'bum is devoted to Byams-pa (Maitreya) and its walls are decorated with scenes illustrating Maitreya’s past life or the Tuṣita heaven where he resides. These scenes are not drawn from tantric cycles but from the descriptions provided by sūtras, particularly the Dam-pa'i chos Padma-dkar-po žes bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo (Saddharma-puṇḍarīkanāmamahāyānasūtra)\textsuperscript{173} and the 'Phags-pa Byams-pa žus-pa žes bya-ba theg-pa chen-mo'i mdo (Āryamaitreyaparipṛcha-nāmamahāyānasūtra)\textsuperscript{174}. The statues in the centre of the temple and some maṇḍalas on the walls, however, may refer to the 'Phags-pa Byams-pa'i mthanal brgya-rtsa-brgyad-pa gzuṅs-snags-dan bcas-pa (Āryamaitreyanāmāṣṭottaraśatakadhāraṇimantarāhita)\textsuperscript{175} and to the 'Phags-pa Byams-pa'i dam-bcas-pa žes bya-ba'i gzuṅs (Āryamaitreyapratiṇānāmadhāraṇi)\textsuperscript{176}, texts belonging to the group of the Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpa'i rgyud of the Family of the Tathāgata, in the class of the kriyātantras.

Always on this side the three chapels 1/14, 1/15, 1/17 illustrate various tantric cycles, whereas cell 1/18, at its southern end, has the function of a vestibule giving access to the flights of steps connecting the various floors of the sKu-'bum.

Chapel 1/14, at the northern end of the this side, is devoted to sTobs-po-che and is related to the 'Phags-pa sTobs-po-che žes bya-ba
theg-pa chen-po'i indo (Āryamahābalanāmamahāyānasūtra)\textsuperscript{177}, a kriyātantra also know as stObs-po-che'i guṇis (Mahābaladhāraṇī) and belonging to the bKa-'gñan group of the Family of the Vajra. The majority of the maṇḍalas in this chapel is drawn from various sādhanas in the bsTan-'gyur, including the stObs-po-che'i sgrub-thabs (Mahābalasādhana)\textsuperscript{178}, translated by Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan, and two more sādhanas bearing the same title, one of which translated by Amogha-vajra and by the lo-tsa-ba of Ba-ri Rin-chen-grags\textsuperscript{179}, and the other translated by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and included in the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho\textsuperscript{180}. On the western wall there is the maṇḍala of 'Jig-rten-gsum-las-rnam-par-rgyal-ba (Trailokyavijaya) in his wrathful form, which is also drawn from a maṇḍala in the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho\textsuperscript{181}, but cannot be related to a kriyātantra, for it refers to the 'Jig-rten-gsum-las-rnam-par-rgyal-ba rtog-pa'i rgyal-po chen-po (Trailokyavijayamahākalparāja)\textsuperscript{182}, a tantra belonging to the Family of the Vajra which is explanatory of the second section of the Tattvasamgraha, the root-text in the yogatantra class.

Chapel 1/15 is devoted to rGyal-mtshan-rtse-mo (Dhvajāgrā), who is placed at the centre of the group of statues along the northern wall and of the maṇḍala painted on the opposite wall, drawn from the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho and in particular from the rGyal-mtshan-rtse-mo'i dpuñ-rgyan-gyi sgrub-thabs\textsuperscript{183}. These sādhanas are related to the kriyātantra 'Phags-pa rgyal-mtshan-gyi-rtse-mo'i dpuñ-rgyan ces bya-bal guṇis (Āryadhvajāgrakeyūrānāmadhāraṇī)\textsuperscript{184}, which was translated by Ye-ses-sde assisted by Jinamitra and Dānaśila, and which belongs to the group of the Khro-mo'i rgyud of the Family of the Tathāgata. The two largest walls in this

\textsuperscript{177} Toh. 757.
\textsuperscript{178} Cordier, rGyud: LXX, 153.
\textsuperscript{179} Ibidem: LXXI, 83.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibidem: LXXI, 331.
\textsuperscript{181} Ibidem: LXXI, 320.
\textsuperscript{182} Toh. 482.
\textsuperscript{183} Cordier, rGyud: LXXI, 288.
\textsuperscript{184} Toh. 612.
The chapel are decorated with mandalas devoted to Ha-mo Ral-gcig-ma’i sgrub-thabs (Ekajatakaśadhana) and from Phags-ma Ral-gcig-ma’i sgrub-thabs (Āryajataśadhana). These sādhanas, also included in the Grub-thabs rgya-mtsho, are related to the Phags-pa Don-yod-žags-pa’i cho-ga žib-mo’i rgyal-po (Āryāmoghapāsakalpa-rāja), a kriyātantra belonging to the bDag-po’i rgyud of the Family of the Lotus, which was translated by Bu-ston.

Finally chapel 1/17 is devoted to Nam-thos-sras (Vaiśravaṇa) in his peaceful form as Ji-ba-bde-byed and in his wrathful forms as Nam-sras-drag-byed, as indicated by two captions on the southern and western walls. In the Pañcarakṣa literature Vaiśravaṇa occupies a prominent place with respect to the other lokapālas, especially in the Toñ-chen-mo Rab-ta’-joms-pa žes bya-ba mdo (Maḥāsahasrapramardanasūtra) and in the Rigs-sṇags-kyi-rgyal-mo rMā-bya-chen-mo (Maḥāmāyūrividyārajñi), which was translated by Ye-šes-sde with the assistance of the upādhyāyas Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi and Śākyaprabha. Both are kriyātantras of the group of the Yum-gyi rgyud belonging to the Family of the Tathāgata. These tantras are the source of the Nam-thos-kyi bu’i sgrub-thabs (Vaiśravanāśadhana) and of the Nam-thos-sras-kyi sgrub-pa’i thabs, with the same Sanskrit title, written by the master Śuramgavarman and translated by the paṇḍita Tejadeva and by the lo-tsa-ba of Zaṅs-dkar Phags-pa-šes-rab (Āryaprajñā), to which the mandalas in this chapel may be more particularly referred.

We may conclude that all the chapels on the first floor of the sKu’-bum are devoted to cycles belonging to the kriyātantras. Only two of them, 1/9 and 1/14, include also mandalas related to the caryātantras and yogatantras, respectively. In both instances, how-

185. Cordier, rGyud: LXXI, 210, 211, 213, 214.
188. Toh. 558.
189. Toh. 559.
190. Cordier, rGyud: LXXXVI, 47.
never, the statues of the deities representing the ideal centre of the
chapel are drawn from cycles belonging to *kriyātantras*. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that these two “intrusions” don’t
break up the unity of the Family to which the deities belong: in
chapel 1/14 the cycle of Trailokyavijaya (which is dealt with in a
*yogatantra* belonging to the Family of the Vajra) is associated with
the cycle of Mahābala, which is dealt with in a *kriyātantra* belong-
ing to the same Family; while in chapel 1/9 there are references to
*kriyātantras* and *caryātantras* both devoted to the same deity,
namely Acala. It may be therefore suggested that such combi-
nations are in the main due to spontaneous associations in ritual,
which exceptionally do not fit with the later scholarly classifi-
cation, although they leave it basically unaltered.

The series of chapels devoted to the illustration of the various
cycles of the *kriyātantras* continues on the the second floor of the
SKU-'bum, whose southern side is almost entirely consecrated to
the Family of the Lotus, except for chapel 2/15, which is located at
the eastern end and contains various *maṇḍalas* drawn from the
"Phags-pa 'Jam-dpal-gyi rtsa-ba'i rgyud (Āryamañjuśrimūlata-
tra)"², belonging to the group of the *bDag-po'i rgyud* of the Family
of the Tathāgata. Along the western wall of this chapel there are
the statues of 'Jam-dbyaṅs-smra-ba'i-seṅ-ge (Vādisimhamañju-
ghoṣa) and of his retinue, drawn from the "Jam-dbyaṅs-smra-ba'i-
seṅ-ge'i sgrub-thabs (Vādisimhamañjuḥghoṣasādhana)"³ written by
the founder of the Ži-byed-pa school, the Indian master Ratnapara-
masvāmin (d. 1117), better known as Dam-pa-saṅs-rgyas (Parama-
buddha) and also as Pha-dam-pa (Paramapitr), and translated by
Ža-ma Seṅ-rgyal (1289-1325).

The other three chapels are decorated with *maṇḍalas* belong-
ing to the three main groups of the Family of the Lotus, the *gTso-
bo'i rgyud*, the *bDag-po'i rgyud* and the *Yum-gyi rgyud*.

Chapel 2/1 is devoted to Tshe-dpag-med (Amitāyus). Its statues
and the majority of the wall paintings are based on the *Jetāri'i lugs-
kyi Tshe-dpag-med lha dgu'i dkyil-'khor*, which is drawn from texts

---

192. Toh. 543.
by the āryapāṇḍita Jetāri included in the bsTan-'gyur: the Tshe-dpag-med-la bs iod-pa (Aparimitāvuhstotra)\textsuperscript{194}, the 'Phags-pa Tshe-daṅ-ye-ses-dpag-tu-med-pa'i sgrub-thabs (Aparimitāyurjñānasādhana)\textsuperscript{195} and the Tshe-daṅ-ye-ses-dpag-tu-med-pa'i cho-ga (Aparimitāyurjñānavidhi)\textsuperscript{196}. The latter was translated by Śrīmaṇju and by the lo-tsā-ba dGa'-ba'i-dpal of ICe. Other maṇḍalas are drawn from Jñānasākārī Siddharājñī's Tshe-daṅ-ye-ses dpag-tu med-pa ūs bya-ba'i sgrub-thabs (Aparimitāyurjñānanāmasādhana)\textsuperscript{197}, translated by the Indian paṇḍita Candrabhadra together with the lo-tsā-ba of Glaṅ, Dharma-tshul-khrims, and from the Tshe-daṅ-ye-ses-dpag-tu-med-pa'i sgrub-thabs (Aparimitāyurjñānasādhana) and the bCom-l Dan-' das Tshe-daṅ-ye-ses dpag-tu med-pa'i dkyil-khor-gyi cho-ga (Bhagavadaparimitāyurjñānamamanna maṇḍalavidhi) by the same authoress\textsuperscript{198}. Both sādhanas can be related to two tantras, the 'Phags-pa Tshe-daṅ-ye-ses-dpag-tu-med-pa ūs bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo (Āryaparimitāyurjñānanāmamahāyānasūtra)\textsuperscript{199} and the 'Phags-pa Tshe-daṅ-ye-ses-dpag-tu-med-pa'i sīnī-po ūs bya-ba'i gzunīs (Āryaparimitāyurjñānahdayanāmādhārāni)\textsuperscript{200}, which was translated by the Indian upādhyāya Puṇyasambhava and by the lo-tsā-ba of Pa-tshab, Įi-ma-grags. All these tantras belong to the group of the gTso-bo'i rgyud of the Lotus Family, in the class of the kriyātantras.

Chapel 2/16 is devoted to spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita), the Great Compassionate (Thugs-rje-chen-po; Mahākāruṇīka). The maṇḍalas in this chapel mainly refer to the Padma dra-ba, namely the 'Phags-pa spyan-ras-gzigs-dbaṅ phyug-gi rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po padma dra-ba (Āryāvalokiteśvarapadmajalālamātanastra-rāja)\textsuperscript{201}, which was translated by the maṇḍita Somaśīrbhava

\textsuperscript{194.} Cordier, rGyud: LXVIII, 6.
\textsuperscript{195.} Ibidem: LXVIII, 7.
\textsuperscript{196.} Ibidem: LXVIII, 8.
\textsuperscript{197.} Ibidem: XLIV, 50.
\textsuperscript{198.} Ibidem: XLIV, 48, 49.
\textsuperscript{199.} Toh. 674, 675.
\textsuperscript{200.} Toh. 676.
\textsuperscript{201.} Toh. 681.
and by Tshul-khrims-od-zer, and to the 'Phags-pa Don-yod-żags-pa'i cho-ga žib-mo'i rgyal-po (Āryāmoghapāṣakalparāja)202 together with the 'Phags-pa Don-yod-żags-pa'i rtog-pa'i rgyal-po'i cho-ga (Āryāmoghapāṣakalparājavajī)203, which was translated by the paṇḍita Maṅjuśrīvarman and by the lo-tsa-ba Blo-Ildan-šes-rab. These are kriyātantras belonging to the group of the bDag-po'i rgyud of the Family of the Lotus. To the same group of tantras are related the sādhanas mentioned in the inscription, including Nāgārjuna's 'Phags-pa sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbañ-phug-phyag-ston sgrub-thabs (Āryasahasrabujāvalokiteśvarasādhanā)204, which was translated by Rin-chen-bzañ-po under the guidance of Atīśa, and the 'Phags-ma mKha'-spyod-kyi sgrub-thabs (Āryakhasarpanasādhana)205 which, together with the dPal-ldan mKha'-spyod-kyi sgrub-thabs (Śrikhasarpanasādhanā)206, is included in the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho.

Finally chapel 2/2 is devoted to rJe-btsun-ma Señ-lden-nags-kyi-sgrol-ma (Khadiravaṇī), a manifestation of Tārā. The statue along the eastern wall is drawn from the description in the 'Phags-ma Señ-lden-nags-kyi-sgrol-ma'i sgrub-thabs (Āryakhadiravatīrāsādhanā)207, which belongs to the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho. Also the maṇḍalas painted on the walls are drawn from sādhanas belonging to the same collection, and precisely from the Don thams-cad grub-par rab-tu sbyin-ma'i 'phags-ma sGrol-ma'i sgrub-thabs (Sarvarthaśādhanāryaprasannatārāsādhanā)208, the mChog-sbyin-sgrol-ma'i sgrub-thabs (Varadatārāsādhanā)209 and the Ṇan-soi-las-sgrol-ma'i sgrub-thabs (Durgatyuttārināśādhanā)210. All these sādhanas are related to the De-bzin-gšegs-pa thams-cad-kyi

203. Toh. 689.
204. Cordier, rGyüd: LXVIII, 40.
yum sgrol-ma-las sna-thogs 'byuṅ-ba  žes bya-ba'i rgyud (Sarvatathā-gatamārtāravaiśvākarmabhavatantra)\textsuperscript{211}, the chief tantra of the Yum-gyi rgyud group of the kriyātantras, which was translated by the paṇḍita Dharmāsrimitra and by the lo-tsā-ba Chos-kyi-bsaṅ-po.

Also the chapels on the western side include maṇḍalas drawn from tantras which belong to the Family of the Lotus, and are more specifically devoted to various forms of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā.

The statues in chapel 2/3 refer to the Seṅ-ge-sgra'i rgyud (Śimha-nādatantra)\textsuperscript{212}, which was translated by the paṇḍita Prajñākara and by the lo-tsā-ba Khug-pa Ḵa-btse-s, and to the 'Phags-pa sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbaṅ-phug-seṅ-ge-sgra'i gzüns (Āryāvalokiteśvarasimha-nādanāmadhāraṇī)\textsuperscript{213}, which was translated by Śes-rab-byuṅ-gnas. The maṇḍalas painted on the walls of this chapel are largely drawn from the Padma dra-ba (Padmaśāla) and from the 'Phags-pa Don-yod-zaṅs-pa'i cho- ga žiṅ-po'i rgyal-po (Āryamoghaśakalpa-rāja) which have already been met in chapel 2/16, as well as from the 'Phags-pa Don-yod-zaṅs-pa'i siiṅ-po 'bya-ba iheg-pa chen-po'i mdo (Āryamoghaśahrdayanāmahāyānasūtra)\textsuperscript{214}, translated by the upādhyāya Amoghaśvara and by the lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen-grags-pa. All these texts, as well as the two previously mentioned, are kriyātantras belonging to the bDag-po'i rgyud of the Family of the Lotus. A series of minor maṇḍalas in this chapel may be referred to a group of five commentaries relating to the same tantras and sharing an identical title, Padma-gar-gyi-dbaṅ-phug-gi sgrub-thabs (Padmanarteśvarasādhana). Two of these sādhanas\textsuperscript{215} were translated by the mahāpaṇḍita Ratnakara and by the lo-tsā-ba Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan, and two others\textsuperscript{216} by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. The fifth one, due to the ācārya Candragomin\textsuperscript{217}, was translated by Amoghaśvara and Rin-chen-grags.

\textsuperscript{211} Toh. 726.
\textsuperscript{212} Toh. 702.
\textsuperscript{213} Toh. 703.
\textsuperscript{214} Toh. 682.
\textsuperscript{215} Cordier, rGyud: LXX, 21, 22.
\textsuperscript{216} Ibidem: LXXI, 118, 119.
\textsuperscript{217} Ibidem: LXXI, 30.
Chapel 2/4 is devoted to Don-ţags (Amoghapāśa) and its ideal centre is occupied by a group of statues which can be related to mandalas drawn from tantras already met in chapel 2/3, as well as from the Phags-pa Don-yod-ţags-pa'ī sniṅ-po Žes bya-ba'i gziṅs (Āryāmoghapāśahṛdayanāmadhāraṇī)\(^{218}\). The walls of the chapel are painted with figures drawn from the Mahākaruṇāgarbhamanḍala, the first of the three manḍalas described in the Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi, whose full title is rNam-par-snaṅ-mdzad-chen-po mignon-par rdzogs-par byaṅ-chub-pa rnam-par sprul-pa byin-gyis-rlob-pa śin-tu rgyas-pa mdo-sde dbaṅ-po'i rgyal-po Žes bya-ba'i chos-kyi rnam-graṅs (Mahāvairocanābhisambodhivivākṣādvāipulyasūtrarājanāmadharmaparyāya)\(^{219}\). That text does not belong to the kriyātantras, on the contrary it is the fundamental text in the class of the caryātantras. Furthermore it does not belong to the Family of the Lotus (no caryātantra of that Family has been included in the Tibetan Canon), but to the Family of the Tathāgata. It should be pointed out, however, that the Lord of the Mahākaruṇāgarbhamanḍala is described as looking westwards\(^{220}\). It is therefore likely that its collocation on the western side of the sKu-'bum is by no means accidental.

Chapel 2/5 is devoted to the various forms of rTa-mgrin (Hayagrīva), chiefly drawn from the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho, which includes the lHa so-so'i sgrub-thabs rim-graṅs-las rTa-mgrin-gyi sgrub-thabs rim-pa (Devāntarasādhanakramapade Hayagrivasādhanakrama). Three different sādhanas are grouped under that title\(^{221}\), the first being Candragomin's rTa-mgrin-gyi sgrub-thabs (Hayagrivasādhana). The third, to which the inscription in the chapel specifically refers, is Prabhākara's rGyud thams-cad-kyi sniṅ-po phyi-ma'i rTa-mgrin-gyi sgrub-thabs (Sarvatrantrahṛdayottararāhayagrivasādhana). The manḍala painted on the western wall of this chapel is drawn from the rTa-mchog-gi sgrub-thabs (Paramāsvasā-

\(^{218}\) Toh. 683.

\(^{219}\) The Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi (Toh. 494) describes three different manḍalas which are related to the three kavacūcita components of the Tathāgata: the Mahākaruṇāgarbhamanḍala refers to the physical plane (Tucci, 1941a: table 36).

\(^{220}\) Cf. bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, 1983: No. 20.

\(^{221}\) Cordier, rGyud: LXXI, 317-319.
The existence of these and many more sadhanas dedicated to Hayagriva shows the importance of his role in Tibetan Buddhist ritual, although the tantric literature devoted to him has been translated only to a limited extent: the bKa’-gyur includes only the 'Phags-pa sPhyan-ras-gzigs-dba’-phyug Hayagriva’i guinis (Aryavalokiteśvarahayagrivadhāraṇī)}, a very limited selection from the {Hayagrivasaptati), which is a kriyātantra of the Family of the Lotus belonging to the Khro-bo’i rgyud.

Finally, chapel 2/6 is devoted to the several forms of Rig-byed-ma (Kurukullā), both as manifestations of Amitābha and as emanations of the Five Jinas taken as a whole. The aspect illustrated by the statue which represents the ideal centre of the chapel is related to the sGrol-ma’i rtog-pa-las byuṅ-ba’i Ku-rul-kulle’i sgrub-thabs (Kalpoktatārodbhavakurukullāsādhana), to Nāgārjuna’s sGrol-ma’i rtog-pa-las byuṅ-ba’i Rigs-byed-ma’i sgrub-thabs (Muktakena Tārākalpodbhavakurukullāsādhana), and to the sGrol-ma-las ‘byuṅ-ba’i Ku-rul-kulle’i sgrub-thabs (Tārod-bhavakurukullāsādhana). The various forms of Kurukullā painted on the opposite wall are drawn from various sadhanas, among which Tucci mentions the dPal Kye’i-rdo-rje’i rgyud-kyi rim-pa-las bdag byin-gyis-brlab-pa Ku-rul-kulle’i sgrub-thabs (Śrihevajratantrakramena svādhīṣṭhānakurukullāsādhana) and the dGyes-pa’i rdo-rje-las byuṅ-ba’i Ku-rul-kulle’i sgrub-thabs (Hevajrod-bhavakurukullāsādhana), to which more sadhanas included in the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho may be added. The other walls show the mandala of Kurukullā according to king Indrabhūti’s sādhana, Rig-byed-ma phyag brgyad-ma’i sgrub-thabs (Aṣṭabhujakurukullāsādhana) and the mandala of Māyājalakurukullā, drawn from

---

222. Cordier, rGyud: LXXI, 322.
223. Toh. 733.
225. Tucci, 1941a: 210, n. 2.
Kānhapāda’s Ku-ru-kulle’i sgrub-thabs (Kurukullāsādhana)\(^{230}\), whose full title as reported in the colophon is dpal-ladan sgyu-'phrul dra-ba rnal-'byor-gyi rgyud chen-po ston-phrag-bcu-drug-pa-las byuṅ-ba'i Ku-ru-kulle’i.

This great wealth of aspects and the high number of sādhanas found in the bstan-'gyur are in contrast with the existence in the bkā'-gyur of a single tantra devoted to this deity, the 'Phags-pa sGrol-ma Ku-ru-kulle’i rtog-pa (Āryatārākurukullākalpa)\(^{231}\), which was translated by Kṛṣṇapāṇḍita and by Tshul-khri-mgs-rgyal-ba. The latter text belongs to the anuttarayogatantras, to which can be referred also the sādhanas devoted to Kurukullā and related more or less directly to the Hevajratantra\(^{232}\). Furthermore the sādhana of Māyājālakurukullā appears to be obviously related to a yogatantra.

From this point of view chapel 2/6 is clearly anomalous with respect to the other chapels of the first two floors, which are chiefly devoted to cycles belonging to the kriyātantras and to the caryātantras. Its collocation seems to be rather dictated by a need for symmetry intended to contrast the peaceful and wrathful aspects of Amitābha’s chief emanations through the two pairs Avalokiteśvara/Hayagrīva and Tārā/Kurukullā. The wrathful manifestation in the latter pair may draw from a vast wealth of sādhanas which had deep-rooted and widely spread ritual basis. In particular it should be pointed out that a large portion of those sādhanas is included in the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho, which is a basic text in the Sa-skya-pa school.

Proceeding to the northern side one comes across chapel 2/7 devoted to 'Jam-dbyais-rgyal-po-rol-pa, whose statue seems to be modelled according to the iconography prescribed by the 'Jam-dpal-rgyal-po-chen-po-rol-pa’i sgrub-thabs (Mahārājalilāmaṇjuśrī-sādhana)\(^{233}\), which is included in the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho. The maṇḍalas painted on the walls can be largely related to four texts

\(^{230}\) Cordier, rGyud: LXXI, 272.  
\(^{231}\) Toh. 437.  
\(^{232}\) Snellgrove, 1980, 1: 16.  
\(^{233}\) Cordier, rGyud: LXXI, 158.
in the bsTan-'gyur: the 'Jam-dpal-chos-dbyiṅs-gsun-dbaṅ-gi dkyil cho-ga (Dharmadhātu-vāgiśvaramaṇjuśrīrāmaṇḍalavidhi)\(^{234}\), which is attributed to the ācārya Maṇjuśrīkirti and was translated by Rinchen-bzan-po assisted by the paṇḍita Śraddhākaraśvarman; the Sems-can thams-cad dpaṅ-du byed-pa'i tiṅ-ne-'dzin (Sarvasattva-
śikaraṇaśamādhi)\(^{235}\) which was translated by the lo-tsā-ba Grags-
pa-rgyal-mtshan; the 'Phags-pa'Jam-dpal-ye-ses-sems-dpa'i de-kho-
na-nid ces bya-ba'i sgrub-thabs (Āryajñānasattvamaṇjuśritattvavanā-
masādhana)\(^{236}\) by the ācārya Advayagupta, which was translated by
the upādhyāya Dharmaśrimitra and by the lo-tsā-ba Chos-kyi-
bsaṅ-po; and the 'Jam-dpal-ye-ses-sems-dpa' Dān-po'i-saṅs-rgyas Žes
bya-ba'i sgrub-thabs (Jñānasattvamaṇjuśrīdibuddhanāmasādha-
na)\(^{237}\) by Avadhūtīpa, which was translated into Tibetan by the same
translators of the previous sādhana. We are obviously dealing here
with maṇḍalas and sādhanas chiefly related to the Maṇjuśrīnāma-
saṃgītī, a text which does not belong to the classes of the kriyātan-
tras and caryātantras. In that respect we are faced here by a simi-
lar case as in the previous chapel.

We go back to the kriyātantra cycles in chapel 2/8, which is
devoted to the various manifestations of Vajravidāraṇa drawn from
the rDo-rje rnam-par 'joms-pa Žes bya-ba'i gzuni (Vajravidāraṇa-
madhārāṇi)\(^{238}\), translated by Ye-šes-sde assisted by Jinamitra and
Dānāśila, and from the 'Phags-pa rDo-rje'i-ri-rab-chen-po'i rtse-mo'i
khaṅ-pa-brtsegs-pa'i gzuni (Āryamahāvajrameruṣikharakūṭāgāra-
dhārāṇi)\(^{239}\), translated by the same lo-tsā-ba assisted by Śilendrab-
dhi and Jñānasiddhi. Both texts belong to the bDag-po'i rgyud of
the Family of the Vajra. The statues as well as the maṇḍalas pain-
ted on the walls were executed according to the systems of the
lo-tsā-ba of Šol-po, of the lo-tsā-ba of Ba-ri, and of Mitra\(^{240}\). The

\(^{234}\) Cordier, rGyud: LX, 50.
\(^{235}\) Ibidem: LXXI, 152.
\(^{236}\) Ibidem: LXI, 12.
\(^{237}\) Ibidem: LXI, 14.
\(^{238}\) Toh. 750.
\(^{239}\) Toh. 751.
\(^{240}\) Mi-dra in the inscription; a 12th century mahāsiddha who travelled to
sadhanas related to those various schools include Ratnakirti’s *rDo-rje-rnam-par-'joms-pa'i sgrub-thabs* (Vajravidaranisadhana)\(^{241}\) and *rDo-rje-rnam-par-'joms-pa'i khrus-kyi cho-ga* (Vajravidarani-snānavidhi)\(^{242}\), which were translated by the Newar Mahāpāna, as well as other texts by the mahāguru Savari, two of which were translated by the Newar upādhyāya Devapunyamati and by the lo-tsa-ba of 'Gar, Chos-kyi-bzañ-po\(^{243}\).

Chapel 2/9 is devoted to 'Od-zer-gtsug-tor (Vimalaśniśa) and its ideal centre is provided by the statue of Thub-chen (Mahāmuni). The latter as well as all the *maṇḍalas* painted on the walls are drawn from the *Kun-nas sgor 'jug-pa'i 'Od-zer-gtsug-tor-dri-ma-med-par snañ-ba De-bzin-gségs-pa thams-cad-kyi sini-po dañ dam-tshig-la rnam-par lta-ba žes bya-ba'i guñs (Samantamukhapraveśaraśnīṣaprabhāsasavatathāgataḥriṣayamayavilokita-

\[\text{tanāmadhāraṇī}\]\(^{244}\), which was translated by Ye-ses-sde, assisted by the upadhyāyas Jinamitra and Śilendrabodhi. That tantra, which belongs to the *gTseg-tor-gyi rgyud* of the Family of the Tathāgata in the class of the *kriyātantras*, is explained by two commentaries to which the above mentioned *maṇḍalas* are more directly related. These commentaries, bearing the identical title of *gTseg-tor-dri-

\[\text{ma-med-pa'i guñs-kyi cho-ga (Vimalaśniśadhāraṇīvidhi)}\]\(^{245}\), were produced by Atiśa who also translated them with the *lo-tsa-ba* Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba.

Chapel 2/10, which is located at the eastern end of the northern side, is devoted to sGrol-ma-dkar-mo (Sitātārā), to sGrol-ma-ljān-mo (Śyāmatārā), and to other forms of Tārā, all related to the *Yum-gyi rgyud* of the Family of the Lotus in the class of the *kriyātantras*. Statues and maṇḍalas are drawn in particular from the basic tantra in this group, the previously mentioned *Sarvatathāgatamātrātārvāśvakarmabhavatantra* and from the re-

---

Tibet and who is extensively dealt with in the *Blue Annals* (Roerich, 1976: 709, 1030-1034, 1041-1043, 1065).

244. Toh. 599.
lated commentaries in the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho: the sGrol-mdkar-mo'i sgrub-thabs (Sitatārāsādhanā) and the sGrol-mdkar-mo phyag drug-ma'i sgrub-thabs (Ṣādabhujaskatārāsādhanā)\(^{246}\). The maṇḍala of the Green Tārā is drawn from the tantras rJe-htsun-ma 'phags-pa sGrol-ma'i mtshan bgrya-rtsa-brgyad-pa (Āryatārābhadrā-nāmāṣṭāṣataka)\(^{247}\) and lHa-mo sGrol-ma'i mtshan bgrya-rtsa-brgyad-pa (Tārādevināmāṣṭāṣataka)\(^{248}\) as well as from Candragomin's commentary lHa-mo sGrol-ma'i sgrub-thabs bgrya-rtsa-brgyad-pa (Tārādevyaṣṭāṣatasādhana)\(^{249}\), which was translated by Atiśa and Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba and was later revised by the paṇḍita Dānasīrī and by the lo-tsa-ba Blo-gros-grags-pa.

The first chapel on the eastern side of the second floor of the sKu-'bum, that is chapel 2/11, is devoted to Kun-tu-bzān-po (Samantabhadra) and to the other Great Bodhisattvas. The statue and the maṇḍalas painted on the walls may be related to the group of kriyātantras in the Family of the Tathāgata listing the 108 names of the Eight Bodhisattvas, and in particular to the 'Phags-pa Kun-tu-bzān-po'i mtshan bgrya-rtsa-brgyad-pa guṇs-snags-dan bcas (Āryasamantabhadrāṣṭottarāṣatakanāmadhāraṇīmantrasahita)\(^{250}\) and to the kindred tantras devoted to Vajrapāṇi Maṇjuśrīkumārabhūta and Avalokiteśvara\(^{251}\). The inscription in the chapel also relates the cycles of Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara to the rNam-par-snañ-mdzad mignon byañ-chub rgyud (Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhi-tantra)\(^{252}\), which belongs to the Family of the Tathāgata in the class of the caryātantras. The cycle of Maṇjuśrī is related both to the latter tantra and to the rDo-rje sñīn-po rgyan-gyi rgyud\(^{253}\).

Chapel 2/12 is devoted to the group of the bDag-po'i rgyud of the Family of the Vajra in the class of the kriyātantras.

---

246. Cordier, rGyud: LXXI, 193, 194.
247. Toh. 727.
248. Toh. 728.
249. Cordier, rGyud: LXXI, 362.
250. Toh. 637.
251. Toh. 634, 638, 639.
252. Toh. 494.
253. Tucci, 1941b: 37.
It illustrates various forms of Vajrapani, particularly the aspect transmitted in Sugatagarbha's 'Phyag-rdor-'gro-bzañ lugs dkyil-'khor and the other forms drawn from the 'Phags-pa rDo-rje-sa-'og-gi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po (Aryavajrapātālanāmatantrarāja)\textsuperscript{254}, which was translated by Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan.

The inscription mentioning the system of Nāgārjuna possibly refers to Nāgārjuna's and Sugatagarbha's Phyag-na-rdo-rje dkyil-'khor-gyi cho-ga (Vajrapāṇīmanḍalavidhi)\textsuperscript{255}.

Chapel 2/13 is the last one on this side, for cell 2/14, which is located on the south-eastern corner of the building, plays the usual role of vestibule giving access to the other floors. This chapel is devoted to Aksobhya (Mi-'khrugs) and the statue placed along the northern wall corresponds to the centre of the manḍala of the nine deities of Aksobhya according to Atiśa system, whose root-tantra is the 'Phags-pa las-kyi sgrub-pa thams-cad nam-par sbyon-ba žes bya-ba'i guṇs (Aryasarvakārāṇavāraṇaviśodhanināmadhāraṇī)\textsuperscript{256}, which is a gTso-bo rgyud of the Family of the Vajra in the class of the kriyātantras. The scenes illustrating the paradise of Abhirati which are painted on the walls are drawn from the same tantra. The other forms of Aksobhya in the manḍalas of this chapel are chiefly drawn from Atiśa's Mi-'khrugs-pa'i sgrub-thabs (Aksobhyaśādhana)\textsuperscript{257} and bCom-ldan-'das-mi-'khrugs-pa'i sgrub-thabs (Bhagavadaksobhyaśādhana)\textsuperscript{258}, which were translated by Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba assisted by the author himself. These two sādhanas belong to the series of commentaries to the cha-mthun rgyud explanatory tantras dealing with single sections of the Tattvasamgraha, hence they must be related to the class of the yoga-tantras.

Also the chapels of the second floor are therefore chiefly devoted to the cycles of the kriyātantras. In two of them (2/4 and

\textsuperscript{254} Toh. 744.
\textsuperscript{255} Cordier, rGyud: LXVIII, 198.
\textsuperscript{256} Toh. 743.
\textsuperscript{257} Cordier, rGyud: LXIII, 26.
\textsuperscript{258} Ibidem: LXIII, 27.
however, an important role is played by mandalas drawn from the Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi, a basic text in the class of the caryātantras. The innovation with respect to the first floor is represented by chapels 2/6 and 2/7, which are devoted respectively to Kurukulla and to Mañjuśrī, whose mandalas, whether painted or modelled in the shape of statues, must be all referred to cycles not belonging to the first two classes of tantras. Those mandalas are chiefly drawn from the class of the yogatantras and, in the case of Kurukulla, they are also related to that of the anuttaratantras. It has already been pointed out that the deities in those two chapels play a very important role in the Sa-skya-pa tradition. In that context the fact that both Mañjuśrī and Kurukulla (Rigbyed-ma; She who gives knowledge) are important depositaries and transmitters of knowledge does not seem to be merely accidental. The presence of many sadhanas related to them in the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho, from which the builders of the sKu-'bum drew so much of their iconographic information, may have further contributed to soften and smooth away the barriers which the editors of the Canon had created between the different classes of tantras.

Considering now the overall layout of the first two floors, leaving aside the four central temples of the first one as well as the two vestibules and the two chapels 2/6 and 2/7 which have been discussed just above, we find a total of twenty-eight chapels which are essentially devoted to cycles of the kriyātantras. Only three of them, one on the first and two on the second floor, include also mandalas related to the caryātantras, all belonging to the Family of the Tathāgata. It can therefore be suggested that, in the first place, the structure of the sKu-'bum is not specifically aimed at emphasizing the distinction between the two first classes of tantras, but rather at viewing them on the whole as introductory and preparing to the superior classes.

Secondly, it should be pointed out that no chapels seem to be specifically devoted to the laukika Families. The fact that Vaiśra-
vaṇa is placed at the centre of chapel 2/17 is only an apparent exception, since here this central deity represents the Great King of the north, i.e. one of the deities related to the Tathāgata Family (De-bžin-gšegs-pa'i rigs-la brten-pa), even if some of the forms painted on the walls can possibly be related to the gNod-'dzin of the Maṇḍ Family. In this cell as in chapel 2/12 (Vasudhārā surrounded by gNod-sbyin and Jambhala cycles) we are facing visual evidence of the process whereby the laukika Families came to be absorbed into the fold of the lokottara Families. On a mere canonical level this had already been sanctioned with the transition from the kriyātantra to the caryātantra class.

Within the lokottara Families, one observes a respect for the canonical hierarchy, whereby the Tathāgata, Padma and Vajra Families are ordered according to a criterion of decreasing importance. In fact, out of the twenty-eight chapels taken here into consideration, thirteen are devoted to the Family of the Tathāgata, nine to the Family of the Lotus (which is to some extent also represented in chapel 1/15, devoted to a deity belonging to the Tathāgata Family), and six to the Family of the Vajra.

The Family of the Tathāgata is chiefly represented on the first floor, with ten chapels out of fifteen, and the Family of the Lotus on the second floor, with seven chapels out of thirteen. The chapels devoted to the Family of the Tathāgata are generally laid following the south-north axis, whereas those devoted to the Family of the Lotus are in the main arranged on the western side

Laukika. Works of a general character, not belonging to any of the above Families, such as the 'Phags-pa dPuṅ-bzan-gis žus-pa žes bya-ba'i rgyud (Aryasubāḥupariprcchānāmatantra, Toh. 805), are also included in the kriyātantras. A commentary to this tantra (Cordier, rGyud: LXVI, 4) explains these Families as follows: the Family of Wealth (Maṇikula; Nor-bu'i rigs) means the dispelling of poverty; the Family of Prosperity (Paṇṭikakula; rGyas-pa'i rigs) ensures issue of sons and increase of wealth; the Family of the Wordlings (Laukikakula; Jigs-rti-men-pa'i rigs) consists of devas, asuras and so forth, excepting those in the five preceding Families (Lessing and Wayman, 1983: 102, n. 5). It is well known that other Families were originally recognized in Tantric Buddhism, as is shown for instance by the Maṇjuśrīmulakalpa where, however, many errors in the Tibetan translation reveal that both paṇḍitas and lo-tsā-bas were no longer familiar with the names and functions of some of them (Macdonald, 1962: 46-47).

(though some are also grouped on the southern side of the second floor). The chapels devoted to the Family of the Vajra do not seem to respond to a specific directional scheme.

All the groups of tantric cycles making up the Family of the Tathāgata are represented in the chapels of the sKu-'bum, with a clear prevalence of two of them, gNas-gtsaṅ lha (four chapels) and gTsug-tor (three chapels). The bKa'-gnān-pho group is missing from the Family of the Lotus, where the two groups bDag-po and Khro-bo play a prominent role, with three chapels each. Finally the Yum and Khro-bo groups are missing from the Family of the Vajra, where the group of the bDag-po largely prevails, with four chapels out of six.

It might be of some interest to compare the layout of the tantric cycles as observed in the sKu-'bum at Gyantse with the statistic weight of the various cycles in the bKa'-'gyur and bsTan'-gyur in order to identify any historical and cultural trend or pattern of evolution within the rigidly defined structure of the Canon itself.

**Yogatantra cycles**

The third floor of the sKu-'bum is devoted to the maṇḍalas of the yogantra class, whose layout appears to be ordered in accordance with the canonical classification, by grouping together the cycles belonging to a same explanatory tantra (or to the root-tantra).

The root-tantra (rtsa-rgyud) in the yogatantra class is the Debžin-gšegs-pa thams-cad-kyi- de-kho-na-ñid bsdus-pa žes bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo (Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgrahanāmaṇamahā-yānasūtra)\(^2\), which was translated into Tibetan by Rin-chen-bzan-po. The Tibetan version of this basic tantra divides the text into nine sections which, however, merely represent a partial subdivision of the five sections found in the Sanskrit original\(^2\). The first four original sections (corresponding to the first seven in the

\(^2\) Chandra and Snellgrove, 1981.

---

261. Toh. 479.
Tibetan text) are called mahākalparāja and accordingly they mainly contain ritual instructions. These four kalpas are related to the four kulas of the Tathāgata, Vajra, Dharma-Padma and Karma-Ratna, and are based respectively on the Vajradhatumandala, on the Trailokyavijayamanḍala, on the Sakalajagadvinayamahāmanḍala and on the Sarvārthasiddhimahāmanḍala. The fifth section (corresponding to the eighth and ninth of the Tibetan version), shows the characteristics of a true sūtra, and gives its name to the whole tantra.

The many explanatory tantras can be divided into bṣad-rgyud (ākhyātantras, explanatory of the root-tantra in general) and cha-mthun rgyud (bhāgīyatatantras, explanatory of particular sections of the root-tantra).

The chapels of the third floor are all related to the bṣad-rgyud group. In the five chapels of the southern side we thus meet the maṇḍalas drawn from the dPal-mchog (Paramādyā), whose full title is dPal-mchog-daṅ-po žes bya-ba theg-pa’i rto-ga’i rgyal-po (Śriparamādyanamamahāyānakalparāja)\(^{263}\), which was translated by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po under the guidance of the Kashmirian ācārya Śraddhākaravarman. Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, who is responsible for introducing the system of interpretation of the y rogatantras into Tibet, also translated the dPal-mchog-daṅ-po’i ’grel-pa (Śriparamādiśātti)\(^{264}\) and the dPal-mchog-daṅ-po’i rgya-cher bṣad-pa (Śriparamādiṭīkā)\(^{265}\), two fundamental commentaries by the ācārya Ānandagarbha.

The bKa’-’gyur closely associates the dPal-mchog with another tantra, the dPal-mchog-daṅ-po’i snags-kyi rto-ga’i dum-bu (Śriparamādyamantrakalpakhaṇḍa)\(^{266}\), whose translation was started by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po and completed by the royal monk (lha-btsan-pa dge-sloṅ) Ži-ba’i-od, under the guidance of the mahāpaṇḍita upādhyāya Mantrakalaśa, at mTho-ldiṅ.

\(^{263}\) Toh. 487.
\(^{264}\) Cordier, rGyud: LIV, 1.
\(^{265}\) Ibidem: LIV, 2.
\(^{266}\) Toh. 488.
In the Paramādyā, like in the Tattvasaṅgraha, there are four different sections corresponding here to the four Seals\(^267\): the Great Seal (mahāmudrā; phyag-rgya chen-po), showing the nature of deities through their image; the Symbolic Seal (samayamudrā; dam-tshig phyag-rgya)\(^268\) releasing the mind through mantras; the Law Seal (dharmanudrā; chos-kyi phyag-rgya), having the nature of the speech of deities, and the Action Seal (karmamudrā; las-kyi phyag-rgya), having the nature of the conduct of deities, whose miraculous actions pervade the practitioner who conjures them up.

The maṇḍalas painted on the walls of the central temple 3/1 belong to the first section of the dPal-mchog. They are the five maṇḍalas making up the great maṇḍala which is the synthesis (bsdus-pa) of the Five Families, together with the four exoteric (’jig-rten-pa) maṇḍalas associated with it.

In the next chapel eastwards both the group of statues and the maṇḍalas painted on the walls still belong to the first section of the dPal-mchog. Also in chapel 3/2, adjoining the central temple on the opposite side, the maṇḍalas painted on the walls, which are related to the Five Families taken individually, have been drawn from the first section of the dPal-mchog, whereas the statues correspond to a maṇḍala drawn from the second section. More precisely, the latter maṇḍala is drawn from the section called rTog-pa thams-cad bsdus-pa rtsa-ba’i rgyud (Sarvakalpasamuccayamūlatantra)\(^269\), generally known as Sarvakalpasamuccaya.

Also the two chapels located at both ends of this side include maṇḍalas drawn from both the first and the second section of the dPal-mchog. All the maṇḍalas painted on the walls of chapel 3/3 and on the eastern and southern walls of chapel 3/19 belong to the first section. The statues and the maṇḍala painted on the northern wall of chapel 3/19, which are centred on rDo-rje-me-ltar-rab-tu-bar-ba, as well as the statuary group of Me-ltar-bar-ba-phra-mo in

\(^{267}\) Lessing and Wayman, 1983: 228-229, nn. 22-25.

\(^{268}\) The term “Symbolic Seal” is here introduced by Wayman instead of the usual translation “Seal of the Pledge”.

\(^{269}\) Tucci, 1941a: table 34.
chapel 3/3, both belong to the second section, and are drawn from the Sarvakalpasamuccaya.

Proceeding to the five chapels of the western side, one comes across manḍalas largely drawn from the 'Jam-dpal-ye-šes-sems-dpa'i mtshan yaṅ-dag-par brjod-pa (Mañjuśrījñānasattvasya paramārthanāmasaṅgiti). That tantra was regarded by its commentators either as an anuttarayogatantra, or as a yogatantra explanatory of the Tattvasamgraha, and is here viewed as belonging to the latter class. The text was translated by Rin-chen-bzañ-po with the assistance of the Indian paṇḍita Kamalagupta, and his Tibetan version was subsequently revised by Blo-gros-brtan-pa.\(^{270}\)

Part of the manḍalas painted on the walls of the central temple 3/6 refer to the 'Phags-pa mtshan yaṅ-dag-par brjod-pa'i rgya-cher 'grel-pa mtshan gsāṅ-siags-kyi don-du rnam-par lia-ba (Āryanāmasaṅgitiṭikānāmantrantrārthāvalokini)\(^{271}\), a commentary to the Nāmasaṅgiti by Lilāvajra (also Vilāsavajra; sGed-pa'i-rdo-rje), who is also known as Varabodhi (Byan-chub-mchog) and Viśvarūpa (sNa-tshogs-gzugs-can). That commentary was translated into Tibetan by the upādhyāya Smṛtiśrīnānakirti and by the lo-tsā-ba Śes-rab-brtsegs (Prajñākūṭa). The other manḍalas painted on the walls of this temple are related to the 'Phags-pa 'Jam-dpal-gyi mtshan yaṅ-dag-par brjod-pa'i rgya-cher bṣad-pa (Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṅgitiṭikā)\(^{272}\), a commentary by Mañjuśrīkirti which was translated by Rin-chen-bzañ-po with the assistance of the Indian masters Śraddhākaravarman and Kamalagupta.

Chapel 3/5, the first south of the central temple, is decorated with paintings and statues all corresponding to manḍalas drawn from the mTshan yaṅ-dag-par brjod-pa'i 'grel-pa (Nāmasaṅgiti-vṛtti)\(^{273}\), the great commentary by Mañjuśrimitra, who was the earliest student of the Nāmasaṅgiti\(^{274}\). Also the translation of this vṛtti

\(^{270}\) Toh. 360; Wayman, 1985: 36.

\(^{271}\) Cordier, rGyud: LVIII, 2.

\(^{272}\) Ibidem. LVIII, 3.

\(^{273}\) Ibidem: LVIII, 1.

\(^{274}\) Mañjuśrimitra, who lived towards the mid-8th century and according to tradition was the master of Lilāvajra, viewed the Nāmasaṅgiti as central to the ritual practice of the whole Vajravāna. He virtually consecrated his life to the study
was made by Rin-chen-bzan-po under the supervision of Śraddhākaravarman.

The maṇḍalas in chapel 3/7, adjoining the temple northwards, are all drawn from the 'Phags-pa 'Jam-dpal-gyi mtshan yaṅ-dag-par brjod-pa'i 'grel-pa (Āryamaṇjuśrīnāmasaṃgitīvṛtti)\(^{275}\), a commentary by U-rgyan-gyi slob-dpon chen-po (the mahācārya of Uḍḍīyāna), Avadhūtīpa, also known as Advayagupta and Advayavajra. That commentary was translated by Dharmāśrimitra and by the lo-tsa-ba Chos-kyi-bzan-po. The statues in this chapel probably belong to a maṇḍala drawn from the 'Jam-dpal-ye-śes-sems-dpa'i Daṅ-po'i-saṅs-rgyas ṛes bya-ba'i sgrub-thabs (Jñānasattvamaṇjuśrīādibuddhanāmasādhana)\(^{276}\) by the same author, which is again related to the Nāmasaṃgiti and was translated by the same translators of the above mentioned vṛtti.

The maṇḍalas in the two chapels placed at both ends of the western side of the sKu-'bum are still related to the Nāmasaṃgiti, but partly also refer to other tantras explanatory of the Tattvasaṃgraha. In fact the southernmost chapel 3/4 contains the statue of Prajñāpāramitā (Yum-chen-mo), the centre of a maṇḍala described in the Guhyālaṃkāraśvyāha, whose full title is De-bzin-gšegs-pa thams-cad-kyi sku-daṅ gsun-daṅ thugs-kyi gsan-ba rgyan-gyi bkod-pa ṛes bya-ba rgyud-kyi rgyal-po (Sarvatathāgatākāyavākcittaguhyālaṃkāravyūhatantrarāja)\(^{277}\), a tantra which was translated by Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan. On the eastern wall there is a maṇḍala drawn from the dPal rdo-rje sīni-po rgyan ces bya-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po (Śrīvajramaṇḍalālaṃkāranaṃmahātantrarāja)\(^{278}\), which was translated by the lo-tsa-ba Blo-gros-brtan-pa. All the other maṇḍalas painted in this chapel are related to one or the other of the already mentioned commentaries to the Nāmasaṃgiti.

[^275]: Cordier, rGYud: LX, 1-20
[^276]: Ibidem: LXI, 14.
[^277]: Toh. 492.
[^278]: Toh. 490.
The northernmost chapel 3/8 is again decorated with a mandala drawn from the rDo-rje sniin-po on the western wall, whereas the statue of Bya$n-chub-sems-dpa'-rdo-rje flanked by his retinue corresponds to the centre of the mandala described in the dKyil-'khor cho-ga yon-tan 'byuin-gnas, a chapter in Lilavajra's commentary to the Namasamgiti. Also the mandalas painted on the other walls are related to the same commentary.

The chapels on the northern side of the sKu'-bum are almost entirely devoted to mandalas drawn from the Sarvadurgatipariso-dhana. In the bKa'-gyur there are two versions of this tantra, whose full title is De-bzin-gségs-pa dgra-bcom-pa ya$n-dag-par rdzogs-pa'i Sais-rgyas ian-so'n thams-cad yo$n-su sbyon-ba gzi-brjig-kyi rgyal-po'i brtag-pa phyogs gcig-pa (Sarvadurgatipariso-dhanatejorājasya tathāgatasya arhataḥ sāmyak-ambuddhasya kalpa-kadeśa)279. The first version280 was produced in the second half of the 8th century by the famous lo-tsā-ba Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs with the assistance of the Indian upādhyāya Śāntigarbha and was soon afterwards revised by an equally famous translator of the monarchical period, Rin-chen-mchog of rMa281. The second version282 was produced in the 13th century by Chos-rje-dpal (Dharmasvāmiśri) under the guidance of the Indian masters Devendra-deva and Mānīkaśrijñāna from a different Sanskrit text.

This tantra is made up of a first section regarded as the root-tantra (rtsa-bā'i rgyud), a second section known as supplementary tantra (rgyud phyi-ma), and a third section called “supplement to the supplementary tantra” (rgyud phyi-ma'i phyi-ma). The traditional interpretation is generally traced back to Atiśa, and the iconographic description as established by the Sa-skya-pa school is followed by Bu-ston in his Kun-rig dkyil-'khor-gyi bkod-pa283.

280. Toh. 483.
281. Rin-chen-mchog of rMa was one of the seven Tibetans (sad-mti) who were ordained at bSam-yas. He was killed in the turmoil following the assassination of Ral-pa-can, so that the above revision must have occurred sometime before 836 (Skorupski, 1983: xxiv).
282. Toh. 485.
The many maṇḍalas painted on the walls of the central temple 3/11 are all drawn from one or the other of the three above mentioned sections. The innermost part of the temple is devoted to the Kun-rig cycle proper, and is in the main drawn from the root-tantra, while the maṇḍalas of the outward section are drawn from the supplementary tantras.

In chapel 3/10, adjoining the central temple westwards, the statues and paintings of the largest wall correspond to maṇḍalas again related to the root-tantra and to the supplements of the Durgatipariśodhana respectively, whereas the maṇḍalas painted on the western and northern walls refer to two different manifestations of Prajñāpāramitā (one of which wrathful, Khro-mo Yumchen-mo) and are drawn from the Guhyālaṃkāravyūha, a tantra explanatory of the Tattvasaṃgraha which we have already met in chapel 3/4.

Chapel 3/12, adjoining the central temple on the opposite side, is decorated with maṇḍalas exclusively drawn from the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana. The statues and the maṇḍala painted on the wall next to them, to the right of the entrance door, are drawn from the root-tantra, whereas the maṇḍalas painted on the main wall opposite the entrance and on the eastern wall are drawn from the supplementary tantra.

Chapel 3/13, located at the western end, has a maṇḍala drawn from the supplementary section of the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana on the main wall, whereas the statues and maṇḍalas on the other walls all belong to the root-tantra. Finally the statues and maṇḍalas of chapel 3/13, at the eastern end of this side of the sKu-'bum, all belong to the phyi-ma of the same tantra.

The chapels on the eastern side of the third floor of the mchod-rten are devoted to a tantra explanatory of the Tattvasaṃgraha known as rDo-rje rtse-mo, whose full title is gSan-ba mPal-'byor chen-po'i rgyud rdo-rje rtse-mo (Vajraśikharamahāguhyayogatantra). That tantra was translated in the 11th century by the Indian mahopādyāya Karmavajra and by the lo-tsa-ba of Zaṅs-dkar, gZon-nu-tshul-khrims, who should not be confused with

284. Toh. 480.
the later master gŽon-nu-tshul-khrims of sKar-chuń, also known as sKar-chuń-riṅ-mo. The maṇḍalas painted in these chapels seem to be largely drawn from the iconographic description of the deities provided by Bu-ston in his bŚad-rgyud rDo-rje-rtse-mo'i dkyil-khor bkod-pa.

The walls in the central temple 3/16 mainly display the rTog-pa thams-cad byuṅ-ba rigs-bsdus-pa'i dkyil-khor, the great maṇḍala of the synthesis of the Families which is the chief maṇḍala in the Vajraśikharā. The two walls at the sides of the door are devoted to the deities of the outside belt in the maṇḍala of the Vajra Family which is drawn from the same tantra.

The statues and maṇḍalas on the walls of chapel 3/15, next to the central temple on its northern side, are all related to the Vajraśikharā, to which can be referred also those in chapel 3/17, adjoining the southern side of the temple, where in fact one finds some maṇḍalas already met in the two previous chapels. The same applies to chapel 3/14, which is located at the northern end of this side of the building and is the last one to be taken here into consideration, because the cell placed symmetrically at the southern end is in fact the vestibule giving access to the flights of steps connecting the various floors of the sKu'-bum.

The series of maṇḍalas drawn from the yogatantras is not confined to the chapels on the third floor of the sKu'-bum, but extends to the four temples located in the bum-pa. Tucci observed that on the walls of these temples one finds maṇḍalas already largely met on the preceding floors “with the only difference that, while in the chapels of the latter the images follow in free sequence, without always obeying to the layout which the liturgy imposes upon the maṇḍalas, here the maṇḍalas are scrupulously executed according to the rigid layout imposed by liturgical rules.” However, the maṇḍalas in these temples are other than those met in the previous floors of the sKu'-bum: they are drawn either directly from

---

Plate 23. Śākyasimha. Western temple of the hum-pa.
Plate 24. Vajrasattva. Western temple of the bum-pa.
Plate 25. Maitreya (?). Western temple of the bum-pa.
the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, the great root-tantra of all the yogatantras, and therefore have not been met so far, or else from explanatory *tantras* which are different from those illustrated in the previous chapels\(^{289}\).

In the southern temple, which is devoted to the rDo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana, the Diamond Throne), with a statue of Thub-pa-chen-po (Mahāmuni) similar to the image of Mahābodhi at Bodhgaya in India\(^{290}\) (Pls. 20-22), there are painted on the walls the great *manḍalas* of the Prajñāpāramitā cycle, drawn from the *Śes-rab-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa’i tshul rgya-liṅa-bcu* (Prajñāpāramitānayaśatapāniṃśatākṣaṇika)\(^{291}\) and from the *De-bzin-gšegs-pa thams-cad-kyi sku-dan gsuṅ-dan thugs-kyi gsaṅ-ba rgyan-gyi bkon-pa ṣes hya-ba rgyud-kyi rgyal-po* (Sarvataiḥāgataākāavyākcittaguhāśālaṃkārayuhā-tantra-ājā)\(^{292}\), whose short title is *Guhyālaṃkāravyāhā*. The former belongs to the *cha-mthun rgyud* and refers to the section of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* dealing with the Law Seal and devoted to the Prajñāpāramitā. The latter is included in the *bṣad-rgyuṅ* and is explanatory chiefly from the point of view of the *prajñā* (*śes-rab*).

The walls of the western temple, whose centre is occupied by the statue of Śākya-seṅ-ge (Śākyasimha) (Pls. 23-25), are entirely covered with *manḍalas* drawn from the first three sections of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, particularly according to the description contained in the *’Jig-rten-gsum-las - rnam-par rgyal-ba’i sgrub-thabs (Irailokyaviyayāduḥhana)*\(^{293}\).

---

289. The inscription in the eastern temple refers not only to the various types of explanatory *tantras*, but also specifically to the root-tantra:


"The statues of the Jinas modelled in relief / which are placed in the centre of the celestial palace / in the four directions inside the *bum-pa* of this (mchod-rten) / and the series and well painted layouts / of the great *mandalas* on the surfaces / which are revealed by the root-tantra / the bṣad-rgyud, the mthun-rgyud and the like / of the *yogatantra* (class), are like this...". (Cf. Tucci, 1941b: 90-91).

290. Tucci, 1941b: 100.

291. Toh. 489.

292. Toh. 492.

293. Cordier, r*Gyud*: LXXI, 320.
Ten of the manḍalas decorating the walls of the northern temple are drawn from the fourth section of the Tattvasamgraha, whereas the centre is occupied by the statue of Yum-chen-mo (Prajñā- pāramitā, the Great Mother of all the Buddhas of the three times) (Pl. 26). The other eleven manḍalas in this temple are drawn from the dPal rDo-rje s ينبغي nyi-po rgyan ces bya-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po (Śrīvajramaṇḍalaṇāmānakṣāmanamahātantrarāja)\(^{294}\), another tantra explanatory of the same root-tantra, which was translated by Blö-gros-brtan-pa and, like the Guhyālaṇākāravyūha, is chiefly centred on the praṇā.

Finally in the eastern temple, whose centre is occupied by a statue of rNam-par-snaĩ-mdzad (Vairocana) (Pl. 27), there are the Vajradhātumaṇḍala, a fundamental manḍala to which the first section of the Tattvasamgraha is devoted, and the manḍalas of the Four Seals in the second section of the same root-tantra, besides other manḍalas which are drawn, like in the previous temple, from the rDo-rje s⌧n-po rgyan.

It appears that all the manḍalas drawn directly from the Tattvasamgraha, as well as the manḍalas drawn from those explanatory tantras of the same class which are devoted to the Prajñāpāramitā, are concentrated in the bum-pa and laid out in a rigid canonical form.

The ideally central position of Vairocana in the whole yogatantra system seems to be underlined by the exceptional quality of the statue placed in the eastern temple of the bum-pa, the only one out of all the statues met so far to be embossed in copper and gilded, the others being all modelled in clay. To that ideal centre of the bum-pa may be related the four statues of the Jinas which are placed in the four temples located at the centre of each side and occupying the third and fourth floor of the sKu- bum. Those statues, along with that of Vairocana in the bum-pa, represent the supreme pentad as defined by the Tattvasamgraha, the basis of all the complex philosophical and ritual system proper to this class of tantras. It should be pointed out, however, that on the third floor of the sKu-bum Amitābha and Ratnasambhava are

\(^{294}\) Toh. 490.
placed on the southern and western side respectively (Pls. 28-31), thus inverting their usual position within the manḍalas of the Tattvasaṃgraha.

This apparent inconsistency may be accounted for by what has already been stated concerning the criteria followed in distributing the various tantric cycles within the structures of the sKu-'bum. We are not confronted here with the representation of a single and unitary manḍala, but with a summa of the manḍalas which can be drawn from all tantric cycles, according to a well defined canonical rule. Now, the Buddhas usually assigned to the four directions, however often represented as heads of their respective Families, do not correspond to the layout put forward by the Tattvasaṃgraha concerning the division into Families. The first four sections of theroot-tantra correspond in fact to four Families only (one of which is the Vairocana Family) and provide instructions concerning both the construction of the respective manḍalas and the performance of the corresponding rituals. On the other hand the manḍalas and rituals themselves are arranged in the general fivefold scheme. The overall arrangement of the various series of manḍalas is laid out according to the first four sections of the Tattvasaṃgraha, namely according to the four Families of the Tathāgata, Vajra, Padma and Ratna/Karma, while the positioning of the deities within the individual manḍalas refers to Five Jinas, corresponding to the centre and the four directions. The difference between the two schemes is due to the fusion of the two Families of the Gem and of the Action into one Family in the fourth section of the tantra.

The placing of the huge statues of the Jinas in the central temples of the third floor does not follow the usual fivefold scheme of the manḍala, but reflects the succession of the kalpas in the arrangement of the Tattvasaṃgraha, according to a hierarchy where the Family of the Tathāgata, which is anyway given a preeminent position in the bum-pa, comes first and is followed by the Families of the Vajra and Lotus, and finally by the composite Ratna/Karma Family, in that order. The composite character of the latter and the availability of four temples on the third floor which is offered by the symmetrical structure of the sKu-'bum, enabled the erection of two separate temples, one for Ratnasambhava and
one for Amoghasiddhi, while their belonging to one single Family imposed their contiguity. Within such scheme the usual association of the Jinas with the directions in the *maṇḍala* played an obvious role in assigning Aksobhya (Pls. 32-34) to the eastern temple and Amoghasiddhi to the northern one (Pl. 35), thus producing the deceitful appearance of a directional *maṇḍala* with an inexplicable inverted sequence of the Buddhas of the west and south.

The gap between the two groups of cycles belonging to the *kriyātantras* that are placed on the third floor and in the *bum-pa* respectively, is bridged by the chapels of the fourth floor which illustrate the spiritual lineages and the schools of thought characterizing the diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet. While leaving the detailed description of these chapels to later, we shall point out here the symbolic value of their position in the very middle of the *mchod-rten*, being preceded by the three floors of the steps below and followed by the three floors of the *bum-pa* and the *harmikā* above. Placed as they are in the heart of the body of the *yogatantras*, these chapels, telling us the historical development of Tibetan Buddhism and the religious experiences of its masters and saints, obviously represent a restatement of the guru's necessary and irreplaceable role in Buddhist practice. In this way the upper section of the *sKu-'bum*, which illustrates the highest and boldest tantric paths towards Buddhahood, stands on the basis provided by the teachings of the masters.

The fourth floor also marks the end of the series of vestibules connecting the various steps of the *sKu-'bum*. We can now turn our attention to these vestibules, whose symbolic role within the structure of the *bkra-šis sgo-maṅ mchod-rten* has been previously hinted to.

The deities and symbols in the vestibules share a common feature: they all play the role of those guardians and protectors that are normally met in the sphere of protection (*rakṣacakra*) of
Plate 27. Gilded copper statue of Vairocana. Eastern temple of the bum-pa.
Plate 28. Clay statue of Amitāyus. Southern temple of the third floor of the sKu-'bum.
Plate 29. Vajradharma. Southern temple of the third floor.
Plate 30. Vajrahetu. Southern temple of the third floor.
Plate 33. Vajrasattva. Eastern temple of the third floor.
Plate 34. Vajrasadhu. Eastern temple of the third floor.
Plate 35. Amoghasiddhi flanked by Vajrakarma and Vajrasandhi. Northern temple of the third floor.
the maṇḍalas. We find in fact the Four rGyal-chen on the first floor, the five bSruṅ-ma (Pañcarakṣā) on the second, and the Ten Khro-bo (Krodha) on the fourth. The presence of the Eight Stūpas (mchod-rten brgyad) in the vestibule of the third floor may appear inconsistent with this kind of interpretation, since we know that they are normally employed as symbols of the main events in the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni and of the spread of the dharma in our time. However, they may well be conceived of as custodians of the inner and more precious part of the sKu-'bum. What Tucci wrote concerning the erection of stone pillars (rdo-rin) by Tibetan kings is particularly significant in this connection: “The pillar was there in the centre of the consecrated area which was thus ideally and magically changed into a centre of the universe; at the four corners, as custodians of the holy space, were built four mc’od rten according to a plan which we find in the most important temples built by these kings: bSam yas, Ramagan, U šaṅ rdo. They were of four different colours according to the different corners which they were meant to protect; but being on the border, as a protection of the four corners, just like the lokapālas or the c’os skyoṅ were requested to do on the surface of the mandala, they were built not by the king, but, each of them, by one of his ministers”296.

Considering now the guardians in the other three vestibules, we find that the Pañcarakṣas and the Lokapālas (which are part of the same Pañcarakṣā literature, particularly as attendants of Mahāmantrānusarini297) have been appropriately related to the first and second floor, which are devoted to the kriyātantras. In a similar way the Daśakrodhas, as Guardians of the vestibule of the fourth floor which gives access downwards and upwards to the two great cycles of maṇḍalas belonging to the yogatantras, have been suitably related to them, since they usually appear in the rakṣacakra of all the mahāmaṇḍalas of that class, and particularly in the maṇḍala of Dharmadhātuāgiśvaramaṇjuśrī298.

296. Tucci, 1950: 35 (italics in the quotation are ours).
The four vestibules in the sKu-'bum mark the passage to innerer and innerer temples in the building, leading to higher and higher stages in the symbolic progress of the pilgrim visiting the chapels of the mchod-rient in their correct sequence. They have thus the same function as the gates (sgo) that, looking towards the four directions and garrisoned by the related guardians, open up along the successive concentric walls which surround the divine palace (vimāṇa; gžal-yas-khaṅ) inside the mahāmaṇḍalas. On the other hand, these vestibules differ from those maṇḍala gates as they offer a single approach instead of a fourfold entrance to the inner sections. The gap between these two different structural situations is nevertheless bridged by arranging the protecting deities inside each vestibule according to the canonical directional scheme, as will be better shown in the next chapters discussing the individual layout of each vestibule.

Anuttarayogatantra cycles

We have seen that above the bum-pa, which encloses the series of maṇḍalas originating from the four sections of the Tattvasaṃgraha, hence representing the heart of the whole yogatantra system, stands the harmikā, the turret connecting the bum-pa with the spire containing the image of the Ādibuddha Vajradhara, which is the summit of the whole ideal construction of the sKu-'bum. This role of immediate connection with the only eternal source of the dharma is reflected by the display of maṇḍalas drawn from the anuttarayogatantras, which are regarded as the supreme instrument for the realization of Buddhahood.

In the canonical classification, the anuttarayogatantras show a specific structure based on the distinction between Father tantras (mahāyoga-, dāka-, or upāya-tantras), mainly devoted to the means (upāya; thabs), and Mother tantras (yogini-, dākini-, or prajñā-tantras), mainly devoted to wisdom (prajñā; şes-rab). Both are further divided into groups referring to the different Families of this class of tantras. Only the great Kalacakratantra and, to some extent, the Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti are placed without those two fun-
damental categories. The overall conception which guided the builders of the sKu-'bum seems to acknowledge a degree of hierarchy between the two categories of anuttarayogatantras, marking a sort of progression from the first to the second, since it places the maṇḍalas belonging to the Father tantras in the lower floor of the harmikā, and the maṇḍalas belonging to the Mother tantras, as well as the Kālacakra maṇḍala in the upper floor.

In the section devoted to the Father tantras the main role is played by maṇḍalas related to the Families of Akṣobhya and Vairocana, the former referring to Guhyasamāja and Vajrapāṇi, the latter to the various manifestations of Mañjuśrī-Yamāntaka. The walls of the first floor of the harmikā illustrate the maṇḍalas of gSaṅ-ba-'dus-pa Mi-bskyod-pa (Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya) and 'Jig-rten-dbañ-phyug (Lokeśvara), which are both drawn from the De-bzhin-gshags-pa thams-cad-kyi sku-gsuñ-thugs-kyi gsañ-chen gsañ-ba 'dus-pa žes bya-ba brtig-pa'i rgyal-po chen-po (Sarvatathāgatakāya-vākcittarahanaguhyasamājanāmamahākalparāja)299, translated by Rin-chen-bzañ-po with the assistance of the Indian acārya Śraddhākara-varman. We also find here the maṇḍala of gSañ-ba-'dus-pa 'Jam-pa'i-rdo-rje (Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra), which is related to the same mahātantra, but more specifically refers to the dPal gSañ-ba-'dus-pa'i 'Jam-dpal-gyi sgrub-thabs (Śrīghyasamājasya Mañjuśrisādhana)300, a commentary by Śrīsamantabhadrapāda, translated by the paṇḍita Sugata-kirti and by Mar-me-mdzad-bzañ-po and included in the bsTan-'gyur.

Besides these maṇḍalas and still connected with the Family of Akṣobhya, there is the maṇḍala of Phyag-na-rdo-rje-khor-lochen-po (Mahācakravajrapāṇi) drawn from the 'Phags-pa Lag-na-rdo-rje-gos-sion-po-can drag-po gsum 'dul-ba žes bya-ba'i rgyud (Āryanilāmbaradharavajrapāṇirudratrivinayatantra)301, which was translated by the Newar paṇḍita Devapūryamati (or Devapūrṇamati) and by the lo-tsā-ba dge-sloṅ Chos-kyi-bzañ-po (Dharmabhadra), and in particular from the gNod-sbyin-gyi sde-dpon chen-po Lag-na-rdo-rje-gos-sion-po-can 'Khor-lo-chen-po'i

299. Toh. 442.
300. Cordier, rGyud: XL, 8.
301. Toh. 454.
dkyil-'khor-gyi lha-tshogs-la bstod-pa (Mahāyākṣasenāpatinilāmbaradharavajrapānimagacakraṇadaladevaganaṇastotra)\textsuperscript{302}, a commentary by Śrīmad Ajāpālipāda (Jābari; Dzābari-pa), which was translated by the same translator of the above tantra.

The other maṇḍalas painted on the walls of this floor are drawn from tantras belonging to the Family of Vairocana. In particular the maṇḍala of rDo-rje-jigs-byed (Vajrabhairava) is related to two important texts in the bKa'-gyur: the dPal rDo-rje-jigs-byed-chen-po'i rgyud (Śrīvajramahābhairavanāmatantra)\textsuperscript{303}, which was translated by the Newar nobleman (New. bharo) and paṇḍita Phyag-rdum and by rDo-rje-grags (Vajrakirti), the lo-tsā-ba of Rwa; and the dPal rDo-rje-jigs-byed-kyi rtog-pa'i rgyud-kyi-rgyal-po (Śrīvajrabhairavakalpatantrarāja)\textsuperscript{304}, which was translated by the Tibetan lo-tsā-ba Mar-pa Do-pa Chos-kyi-dbaṅ-phug with the assistance of the mahāpaṇḍita Amoghapāda, and was subsequently revised by the mahāsiddha Karṇaśrī and by the lo-tsā-ba of Tharpa, Ñi-ma-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po (Pl. 36).

Besides the maṇḍala of Vajrabhairava there are those related to the various manifestations of Yamāri, such as the maṇḍala of gŚin-rje-gśed 'Jam-pa'i-rdo-rje (Yamāri Maṇjuvajra) and of gŚin-rje-gśed-dgra-nag (Kṛṣṇayamāri), both drawn from the dGra-nag-gyi rgyud, whose full title is De-bzhin-gšegs-pa thams-cad-kyi sku-gsun-thugs gŚin-rje-gśed-nag-po žes bya-ba'i rgyud (Sarvatathāgata-kāyavākṣikakṛṣṇayamārināmatantra)\textsuperscript{305}, which was translated by Atiśa and Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba. Next there are maṇḍalas of gŚin-rje-gśed-dmar-po (Raktayamāri) (Pl. 37) related to the dPal gŚin-rje-gśed-dmar-po žes bya-ba'i rgyud-kyi-rgyal-po (Śrīraktayamārītan- trarāja)\textsuperscript{306}, which was translated by the Kashmirian paṇḍita Rāhu-laśribhadra and by the lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-brtan-pa. These maṇḍalas are based on Virūpa’s gŚin-rje-gśed-dmar-po'i sgrub-thabs (Raktayamārīsādhana)\textsuperscript{307} and gŚin-rje-mthar-byed-dmar-po'i sgrub-thabs

\textsuperscript{302} Cordier, rGyud: XLIV, 71.
\textsuperscript{303} Toh. 468.
\textsuperscript{304} Toh. 470.
\textsuperscript{305} Toh. 467.
\textsuperscript{306} Toh. 474, 475.
\textsuperscript{307} Cordier, rGyud: XLIII, 96.
Plate 36. Vajrabhairava. Lower floor of the harmikā of the sKu-bum.
Plate 37. Raktayamāri. Lower floor of the harānikā.
(Rakatayamāntakasādhana)\textsuperscript{308}. The former was translated by the eastern Indian Dānāśila, the latter by Chos-rje-dpal under the guidance of the Indian master Ravindraprabha.

The section devoted to the Mother tantras, on the second floor of the ḍharmikā, is almost entirely devoted to tantras related to the various Herukas, that is still to the Family of Akśobhya. Here we find the maṇḍalas of dPal 'Khor-lo-sdom-pa (Śrīcakrasaṃvara) which are drawn from the rGyud-kyi rgyal-po dpal bDe-mchog-նն-ն (Tantrarājaśrilaghusaṃvara)\textsuperscript{309} according to the systems of Kṛṣṇācārya and Lūipa. The first system is described in Kṛṣṇācārya's bCom-ldan-'das dpal bDe-mchog-'khor-lo'i dkyil-'khor-gyi cho-ga (Bhagavacchricakraśambaramanḍalavidhi), which corresponds to two distinct texts in the bsTan-'gyur: the first of them was translated by Rin-chen bzan-po with the assistance of Buddhaśrīśānti\textsuperscript{310}, and the second one by the same lo-tsā-ba with the assistance of Dharmaśribhadra\textsuperscript{311}. Lūipa’s tradition is represented by siddhācārya Kambalāmbara’s dPal 'Khor-lo-bde-mchog-gi mṅon-par rtogs-pa'i 'grel-pa (Śrīcakraśambarābhīsaṃayatikā)\textsuperscript{312}, bearing the subtitle bDe-mchog Lūyi-pa'i tikā, which was translated by Chos-rje'i-dpal under the guidance of the mahācārya Ravindraprabha, also known as Raviprabha.

Besides these there is the maṇḍala of Kye'i-rdo-rje (Hevajra) related to the Kye'i-rdo-rje ņes bya-ba rgyud-kyi rgyal-po (Hevajra-tantrarāja)\textsuperscript{313}, which was translated by the great 'Brog-mi Śākya-yešes with the assistance of Gayadhara. This maṇḍala is drawn from the dPal Kye-rdo-rje'i sgrub-pa'i-thabs (Śrīhevajrasādhana)\textsuperscript{314}, which was translated by Vanaratna and by the lo-tsā-ba of rTse-thaṅ, gŽon-nu-dpal, on the basis of the Kye-rdo-rje'i sgrub-pa'i thabs-kyi dka'-'grel (Hevajrasādhanapañcikā)\textsuperscript{315}, a commentary by

\textsuperscript{308.} Cordier, rGyud: XLIII, 97.
\textsuperscript{309.} Toh. 368.
\textsuperscript{310.} Cordier, rGyud: XII, 27.
\textsuperscript{311.} Ibidem: XII, 28.
\textsuperscript{312.} Ibidem. LXXIII, 58.
\textsuperscript{313.} Toh. 417, 418.
\textsuperscript{314.} Cordier, rGyud: XXI, 14.
\textsuperscript{315.} Ibidem: XXI, 15.
the Kashmirian Rûpyakalaśa translated by the same scholars. There follow the *mandalas* of Vajraḍāka, Buddhaheruka and Buddhakapāla, all belonging to the same group of *tantras* centred on Heruka.

*rDo-rje-mkha'-gro* (Vajraḍāka) is the central deity of the *Pañcaḍākākamaṇḍala*\(^{316}\) (Pls. 38-39) related to the *rGyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po dpal rDo-rje-mkha'-gro* (Śrīvajraḍākanāmanahātantra-rāja)\(^{317}\), which was translated by the mahāpandita Gayadhara and by the *lo-tsā-ba 'Gos lHa(s)-btsas*, and drawn from Atiśa’s *rDo-rje-mkha'-gro rnal-'byor-ma'i sgrub-thabs* (Vajraḍākayoginīśā-dhana)\(^{318}\), which was translated by the yogin Prajñāśrījñānakirti, the initiatic name of Dam-pa-skor (or sKor-chun-ba) (1062-1102)\(^{319}\).

Sāṁs-rgyas-he-ru-ka (Buddhaheruka) is the Lord of a *mandala* related to the *sGyur-'phrul-chen-mo'i rgyud* (Mahāmāyātantra)\(^{320}\). The *bsTan-'gyur* contains a number of commentaries and sādhānas devoted to this *tantra*\(^{321}\), which was translated by the upādhyāya Jinapara and by the *lo-tsā-ba mGos-lha-btsas* (or 'Gos lHa(s)-btsas).

Sāṁs-rgyas-thod-pa (Buddhakapāla) is the Lord of a *mandala* drawn from the *dPal Sāṁs-rgyas-thod-pa žes bya-ba rnal-'byor-ma'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po* (Śribuddhakapālanāmayoginitantrarāja)\(^{322}\), which was translated by the upādhyāya Gayadhara and by the *lo-tsā-ba* of Gyi-jo, Zla-ba'i-od-zer. The *bsTan-'gyur* includes some important commentaries on this *tantra* which are attributed to Saraha: the *dPal Sāṁs-rgyas-thod-pa'i rgyud-kyi dka'-’grel ye-šes ldan-\_

---

316. Tucci’s identification of this *mandala* with the cycle of Gur-mgon and his dākinis does not seem to be justified even by the inscription appearing on the figure published by him (Tucci, 1941a: 299; 1941c: fig. 394). That inscription gives in fact the name Sāṁs-rgyas-mkha'-gro yab-yum (Buddhadāka and his female partner), which corresponds to one of the Five Đakas of this *mandala* (Pl. 38).
317. Toh. 370.
320. Toh. 425.
322. Toh. 424.
Plate 38. Vajradāka. Upper floor of the harmikā.
Plate 40. Kālacakra. Upper floor of the harmikā.
Plate 41. Avalokitapadmajāla. Upper floor of the harmikā.
pa (Śrībuddhakapālatantrasya pañcikajñānavatī)\textsuperscript{323}; the dPal Saṅs-rgyas-thod-pa'i sgrub-thabs (Śrībuddhakapālasādhanā)\textsuperscript{324}; and the dPal Saṅs-rgyas-thod-pa žes bya-ba'i dkyil-'khor-gyi cho-ga'i rim-pa gsal-ba (Śrībuddhakapālanāmamāṇḍalavidhikramapradyotana)\textsuperscript{325}. These three commentaries were all translated by the same translators of the root-tantra.

On the same floor, besides the various maṇḍalas drawn from the Mother tantras and devoted to the various manifestations of Heruka-Akṣobhya, there is the already mentioned maṇḍala of Dus-kyi-'khor-lo (Kālacakra) related to the mChog-gi Daṅ-po'i-saṅs-rgyas-las byuin-ba rgyud-kyi rgyal-po dpal Dus-kyi-'khor-lo (Paramā-dibuddhoddhṛtāśrikālacakranāmatantrarāja)\textsuperscript{326}, which was translated by the Kashmirian paṇḍita Somanātha and by the lo-tsā-ba of 'Bro, Žes-rab-grags (Pl. 40).

Finally there is a last maṇḍala which Tucci identifies as the maṇḍala of sPyan-ras-gzigs-padma-dra-ba (Avalokiteśvarapadma-dājakāla) which is described by Bu-ston in the Thugs-je-chen-po padma-dra-ba'i sgrub thugs-rje'i 'od-zer 'byuin-ba\textsuperscript{327}. sPyan-ras-gzigs is shown here in a dancing attitude, resting on his left foot and clasping his prajñā (yab-yum) just like many herukas from whom, however, he differs because of the light colouring and benevolent expression (Pl. 41)\textsuperscript{328}. This maṇḍala should be related to the 'Phags-pa sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbaṅ-phyug-gi rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po padma-dra-ba (Āryāvalokiteśvarapadma-dājakāla)\textsuperscript{329}, translated in Kashmir by the lo-tsā-ba Tshul-khrim-'od-zer under the guidance of the paṇḍita Somaśribhadra.

A problem arises at this point, since the above tantra does not

\textsuperscript{323} Cordier, rGyud: XXIV, 4.
\textsuperscript{324} Ibidem: XXIV, 7.
\textsuperscript{325} Ibidem: XXIV, 9.
\textsuperscript{326} Toh. 362.
\textsuperscript{327} Tucci, 1941a: 299, n. 1.
\textsuperscript{328} Some differences exist with respect to Bu-ston's description as quoted by Tucci: in the wall painting sPyan-ras-gzigs shows four heads on the same plane, respectively red, green, white (the central one) and pale-blue, instead of three, and the figure of 'Od-dpag-med above the heads is missing.
\textsuperscript{329} Toh. 681.
belong to the anuttaratantras to which the maṇḍalas in the harmikā are devoted, but to the kriyātantras: it is in fact the great fundamental tantra in the group of the bDag-po rgyud of the Padma Family. However, the sādhanas to which this maṇḍala should be referred is the Padma-dra-ba 'byun-ba'i sgrub-thabs (Padmajalod-bhavasādhanā), which belongs to the anuttara section of the bSton-'gyur (Toh. 1750) and is assigned to the group of the Mother tantras. This explains its collocation in the upper floor of the harmikā.

The above sādhana, together with the Padma sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbañ-phyug-gi padma-dra-ba'i rim-pas bCom-ldan-'das dkyil-khor-du mchod-pa'i cho-ga (Padmāvalokiteśvarasya padmajālakramena maṇḍalapujāvidhi), was composed by Jayaśrījñāna, also known as Padmavajra, and was translated by Bu-ston under the guidance of the Kashmirian paññita Sumanaśrībhadra, who transmitted to Bu-ston the Padmajāla cycle as a part of the Thugs-rje chen-po'i skor (Mahākāruṇīka cycle), during his stay at Žwa-lu in 1337. It is of interest to note that the above quoted work by Bu-ston was re-edited by Blo-gter-dbañ-po in the rGyud-sde kun-btus of the Sa-skya-pa school; from it the bDe-mchog sPyan-ras-gzigs Padma'i-dra-ba lha bži-bcu-że-līna'i dkyil-khor was drawn, which is included among the maṇḍalas of the anuttarayogatantra section in the Nor collection.

Apart from this only apparent inconsistency of the last maṇḍala, the overall layout of the maṇḍalas belonging to the anuttarayogatantras in the harmikā is clearly identified. Starting from the mahāyogatantras, which are more directly connected with the body of the yogatantras, and proceeding to the yoginitantras which are centred on the herukas (the supreme vehicles of wisdom) one reaches the Kālacakra tantra, the most complete and complex tantra.

---

331. Cordier, rGyud: XXVI, 70.
333. Cordier, rGyud: XXVI, 71.
335. bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, 1983: No. 93.
tra of the anuttara class, where the notion of Ādibuddha is fully and definitely codified and which suitably introduces the pilgrim to the ineffable mystery of Vajradhara, hidden inside the topmost temple of the sKu-'bum.
Chapter Three

ON SOME CHAPELS OF THE SKU-'BUM
COMPLEMENTS TO TUCCI'S WORK

The extraordinary wealth of information concerning the SKU-'bum published by Tucci in the three parts of volume four of *Indo-Tibetica* and his so far unmatched survey of the huge iconographic material therein contained, do not include the photographic documentation of a small number of chapels in the first three floors of the building. There seems to be no apparent reason for this omission which may be due to accidental causes, such as their temporary inaccessibility, relatively poor state of preservation, or mere lack of time or of available equipment, rather than to the application of some deliberate criterion of exclusion.

Therefore it seems reasonable to supplement Tucci's work with some of the material which we collected during our fieldwork at Gyantse in the summer of 1987, and which has enabled us not only to complete the iconographic documentation of the SKU-'bum, but also to extract a few new elements of interpretation and further investigation from our own data.

We shall here take into consideration chapels 1/13, 1/18, 1/19, 2/13, 2/14, 3/5, 3/7 and 3/18, whose description has not been complemented with photographs in *Indo-Tibetica*, and chapels 1/17, 3/8 and 3/20, whose photographic documentation appears inadequate to their importance. We also provide the inscriptions in chapels 1/19 and 2/14, which were not reproduced by Tucci possibly because they were badly defaced or incomplete.
3.1 Chapel 1/13 (mGon-po-stag-żon)

Chapel 1/13 is located in the north-eastern corner of the sKu-bum, whit its entrance facing north. This is the only chapel not having its floor at level with the external deambulation passage. As soon as one enters, one faces a platform rising about 120 cm from the floor, possibly due to a crag emerging from the ground, which is made accessible by five stone steps rising immediately to the right of the door.

No inscriptions are visible in the chapel and Tucci\(^1\) gives a short description drawn from the dkar-chag, without supplying any illustration.

The statue placed with its back to the western wall (Pl. 42) portrays mGon-po-stag-żon (the Protector who rides on a tiger), one of Mahākāla’s manifestations. The description of this deity provided by the 4th Pan-chen Lama in his *Rin-'byuṅ\(^2\)* seems to apply very well to this sculpture: the god, with two arms and one head, showing a fierceful mien, is stout and heavily built, black “like the cloud which appears at the end of time”; he has three eyes, four copper fangs, and beard, eyebrows and hair glowing like fire; he wears high boots and a black cloak with nine folds fastened at his waist by a golden belt. According to the sādhana included in that collection, the god’s right hand should be brandishing a sandalwood club, while his left hand should lift a vessel filled with human blood towards the mouth, and in that way he is portrayed in the illustrated version of the *Rin-'byuṅ*, which is included along with two appendices in what came to be known to Western scholars as “The Five Hundred Gods of Narthang”. But here the hands (unfortunately badly restored during the early 1960s) presently show only one attribute, the kapāla (*thod-phor*), which is held in the right at the height of the god’s chest.

There is no trace of the image of dPal-ldan-lha-mo, which Tucci says to be clasped by the god\(^3\), while the poor conditions of

---

1. Tucci, 1941a: 194.
the two stumped figures placed on each side at the feet of the main image do not allow to establish their identity. In spite of the conspicuous restoration work, one cannot help appreciating the high aesthetic quality of the statue of mGon-po-stag-zon, whose vigour and strength can be better seen in the detail of the head (Pl. 43), showing also a great delicacy in the execution.

The paintings on the walls are in very poor conditions. However utterly undecipherable on the northern wall, they are just about clear enough to allow the identification of the two main figures on the southern and eastern walls. The sheet of the dkar-chag pasted onto the wall lists two manifestations of mGon-po, one according to the esoteric sādhanā (nañ-sgrub), the other according to the secret sādhanā (gsañ-sgrub), besides minor figures, such as the Three gSod-byed-kyi-mon-pa, the Three Legs-Idan-mched, and so forth.

The figure painted on the southern wall (Pl. 44), which should portray one of these two manifestations of mGon-po, corresponds perfectly with the description provided in the Rin-'byun⁴ for mGon-po-beñ-dka'-ma, also known as Legs-Idan-nag-po-srid-med-kyi-bu: black (or dark blue), with two arms and one face with three eyes and a fierce mien, he wears high boots and a heavy silken cloak fastened at the waist by a golden belt. His right hand holds a big bejewelled club (gadā; beñ, be-chon) of sandalwood with two vajra ends, whereas the left hand holds a metal bowl next to the god's waist.

The figure painted on the narrow eastern wall seems to portray Myur-mdzad-ye-šes-kyi-mgon-po-phyag-drug-pa, the Mahākāla with one head, three eyes and six arms, who is one of the main protecting deities of Tibetan Buddhism, particularly venerated by the Sa-skya-pa school. His bare, stout black body stretches towards the right on the short and powerful legs in a militant posture, wearing a coronet of skulls and a garland made of severed heads, while the fangs show threateningly through the god's big wide-open mouth. His moustache, beard and flaming eyebrows, just as his coronet, collar and armlets, show a close resemblance

---

Plate 42. mGon-po-stag-žon. Chapel 1/13 of the sKu-'bum.
Plate 43. Detail of the preceding plate.
Plate 44. mGon-po-beṅ-dka'-ma. Chapel 1/13.
with the Mahākāla of a tān-ka published by Tucci⁵, placed by him between the 16th and the 17th century. It is interesting to notice here that Pal⁶ anticipates this tān-ka to the 15th century, considering that it should be attributed to a Gyantse workshop because of stylistic connections with an image of Vajrapāṇi among the wall paintings at Gyantse; such possibility is also pointed out by Béguin⁷.

Unfortunately the attributes are not easily discernible, except for those held by the two central hands: a kapāla full of blood in the right one raised up to chest level, and a golden metal vessel in the left one brought near the hip. The upper right hand holds a barely discernible vegetable element.

3.2 Chapel 1/17 (rNam-thos-sras)

Out of the paintings of this chapel which, notwithstanding their bad state of preservation, Tucci rightly ranks as one of the finest in the sKu-'bum, only one detail is illustrated in Indo-Tibetica⁸. These paintings are important also because they allow some considerations on the different styles adopted in the sKu-'bum, sometimes by the same school of painting or even by the same artist.

The chapel opens along the eastern side of the sKu-'bum. On the right as one enters, with its back against the northern wall, there is the statue of the Yellow Vaiśravaṇa (rNam-thos-sras-ser-chen) with a golden face, sitting on the snow-lion, his right hand holding the banner of victory (dhvaja; rgyal-mtshan) adorned by a wish-fulfilling gem (cintāmaṇi; yid-bzhin-nor-bu), his left hand clutching the jewel-spitting mongoose according to the usual iconography (Pl. 45). There is no trace of the two attendants, the Father Drāṇ-sroṅ-rnam-ba and the Mother lHa-mo-dpal-

---

8. Tucci, 1941c: fig. 206.
chen-mo, which according to the inscription⁹ should flank the god on the throne, surrounded by the nimbus. The statue is not aesthetically rewarding also because it has been roughly repainted in recent times. The inscription does not mention the name of the sculptor.

Tucci has already illustrated the complexity of the type Kuberā-Vaiśravaṇa, in which several characteristics belonging to kindred Central Asian gods and godlings were integrated because of mythological or functional similarities¹⁰. Out of that complex process of assimilation two main features seem to characterize Vaiśravaṇa: the original one of a yakṣa, a deity of the earth and trees, guardian of treasures and dispenser of wealth, and the acquired one of a lokapāla and protector of the dharma. With reference to the latter aspect, the Pañcarakṣā literature develops particularly the god’s royal function, attributing to him the title of King of the Horses, one of the Caturmahārājas (rGyal-chen sde-bzī) who rule upon each one of the quarters of the Jambudvīpa continent. Other texts included in the Chinese Buddhist Canon underline especially his role of active and warlike defender of the dharma, making of him a sort of god of war. It was that warlike character of Vaiśravaṇa which favoured its diffusion in Tibet, where his role of Protector of the north approached him to Ge-sar, the mythical hero of the Tibetan national epic. As we have seen in Chapter One, the Tibetan type of Vaiśravaṇa seems to follow Chinese and Central Asian models (perhaps with Iranian reminiscences¹¹), thus preserving in the course of time an iconography only remotely related to the Indian tradition of Kubera-Jambhala, from which it retains for instance the mangoose as well as the round eyes of the yakṣas.

The outcome of these complex developments is well illustrated by the wall paintings in this chapel of the sKu-‘bum. Vaiśravaṇa is portrayed on the eastern wall as Lord of the Horses, surrounded by the Eight Masters of the Horses (rTa-bdag brgyad) mak-

---

⁹. Tucci 1941b: 23.
ing the central group of his retinue, and by a crowd of other figures. These include rNam-sras-dmar-po-gsaṅ-sgrub-mdun-dmar-can (the Red Vaiśravaṇa with the red spear according to his secret śādhanā)\textsuperscript{12} and rNam-sras-dmar-po-gar-mkhan-mchog (the Red Vaiśravaṇa excellent dancer) with sixteen arms, besides two forms of Vajrapāṇi\textsuperscript{13}. rNam-thos-sras is painted in the centre of the wall, sitting on a lion, not the usual snow-lion, white with a green mane, but a dark blue lion which seems to characterize this form of Vaiśravaṇa, as is shown by an ancient painted scroll found at Karakhoto\textsuperscript{14} and a later one which was published by Tucci\textsuperscript{15}.

The inscription specifically refers to the Chinese style (rGya-nag lugs) of this painting. That style is apparent not just in the execution of individual figures, in the fashion of their garments and in the drawing of the horses (Pls. 46-48), but even more so in the overall conception of the painting, because of the freedom with which the figures themselves are distributed on the surface, and because of the details emerging from the background, such as the little growling dog or the big tree with a beautiful contorted trunk.

The western wall is painted with the palace of Alakavati (lCaṅ-lo-can) on Mount Meru, where Vaiśravaṇa resides as a Great King, according to the Pañcaraksā literature. The god is portrayed sitting in a kiosk with a roof in Chinese style (rGya-phibs) at the centre of the palace (Pl. 49), whose three floors are an interesting architectural transposition of the three concentrical corridors which appear in the maṇḍala usually showing his celestial abode: the Eight rTa-bdag, the Twenty-eight sDe-dpon and the Thirty-two sTobs-chen of his retinue are in fact regularly arranged on the three floors of the palace.

\textsuperscript{12} Also rNam-sras-yaṅ-gsaṅ-phyag-ṃtshan-bzi-pa (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975: 73).

\textsuperscript{13} Tucci, 1941b: 24.

\textsuperscript{14} This than-ka, now at the Ermitage Museum in Leningrad and described by Diakonova and Greck (Bèguin, 1977: 80; 84, fig. 31), was produced before the fall of the Xixia kingdom in 1227.

\textsuperscript{15} Tucci, 1949: pl. S. The striking similarities of this than-ka with the wall painting in the sKu-'bum suggests a 15th century date for the former.
What strikingly differentiates the painting on this wall from the one on the opposite wall is the contrast between the upper section (crossed by the wavering streams of the fivefold rainbow lights often met in painted scrolls), where isolated conventional figures of masters seem to hover, and the lower section illustrating the royal palace with a rigid division in compartments which, however, include a number of figures drawn in a very lively manner and painted with a palette rich in bright and brilliant colors. In this lower section of the painting we find the sometimes remarkably happy co-existence of different styles within the same scene or the same motif. In the compartments into which the space is divided the Newar tradition is apparent through backgrounds finely decorated with ornamental motifs, chiefly vegetable scrolls, where different shades of red, green and orange predominate. These backgrounds offer an excellent support to the figure in Chinese style standing out against them. The horses raising their legs and stretching out their muzzles, and the fluttering edges of the horsemen’s cloaks, beautifully break up the barriers and divisions meant to keep the various figures isolated (Pl. 50).

The comparison of the Newar and Chinese styles on this wall is completed by its southern end, where a projection partially isolates a large figure of rNam-sras-drag-byed, which suitably exemplifies the independent Tibetan interpretation of the yi-dam and mgon-po figures. rNam-sras-drag-byed is a wrathful manifestation of Vaiśravaṇa (Pl. 51), black and surrounded by flames, with three eyes, brandishing the vajradāṇḍa (rdo-rje’i dbyug, a club with a vaira end) in his right hand, and holding a large black mchod-rten in his left hand raised at the height of the chest. In the registers below there are arrays of great nāgas (klu) belonging to his retinue, black or dark blue, with their faces grinning fiercely, each bearing a big gem. It may be interesting to compare these ferocious nāgas with the delicate figures of Pl. 52, where the king of the nāgas subdued by Vaiśravaṇa pays homage with his consort offering him the sceptre and a bowl full of jewels.

Plate 45. rNam-thos-sras. Chapel 1/17.
Plate 46. One of the rTa-bdag brgyad. Chapel 1/17 (eastern wall).
Plate 47. Detail of the paintings on the eastern wall in chapel 1/17.
Plate 48. A r'Ta-bdag. Chapel 1/17 (western wall).
Plate 49. rNam-thos-sras in the lCañ-lo-can palace. Chapel 1/17 (western wall).
Plate 51. rNam-sras-drag-byed. Chapel 1/17 (southern projection of the western wall).
Plate 52. The king of the nāgas with his consort. Chapel 1/17 (western wall).
The clear-cut differences in style in the same chapel and on the very same wall shed more light than one may hope for on the very close link between style and iconography in Tibetan art. The canonical realization of the visual representation of the deity (certainly not only the concrete one in painting and sculpture, but also the mental one of the utpattikrama), implies the adoption of a stylistic norm. An artist, like any other practitioner, must be initiated into the different iconographic traditions drawn from the various texts or corresponding to the various oral traditions. The full command of the different styles adopted by the Tibetan artistic tradition and the ability to reach a high aesthetic level in each of them become a necessary requisite for the artist as well as a criterion to judge the value of his work. It is significant that the paintings in this chapel were executed, according to the inscriptions\textsuperscript{18}, by dPal-phel-ba and his brother, the same painters who were entrusted with the decoration of the upper floor of the harmikā with the large istadevas (vi-dam) of the anuttarayogatantras by Byaṅ-sems Ni-ma-khye-'dren, wife of bKra-śis 'Phags-pa from 1418 and future queen of Gyantse. This artist is praised in the inscriptions in the upper section of the harmikā\textsuperscript{19} as “glory of the experts” in painting, “topmost of the experts in that science, the highest of disciplines”. A native of gNas-rniṅ, in upper Myāṅ, south of Gyantse and part of that principality, this painter suitably represents the high standards of proficiency achieved by Tibetan artists in the first half of the 15th century.

3.3 Chapel 1/18 (rGyal-po chen-po sde-bzi)

Rather than a proper chapel, this is a vestibule (sgo-khaṅ in the dkar-chag pasted on the wall) through which the upper floor can be reached by means of stairs lit through a small window opening in the eastern wall, to the right of the entrance door.

Opposite the entrance door, with their back against the west-

\textsuperscript{18} Tucci, 1941b: 24.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibidem: 126-127.
ern wall, there are the statues of 'Phags-skye-bo (Virûḍhaka, the Guardian of the south), and Mig-mi-bzañ (Virûpâkṣa, the Guardian of the west) (Pl. 53). Along the northern wall there are the statues of rNam-thos-sras (Vaiśravaṇa, the Guardian of the north) and of Yul-'khor-sruñ (Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the Guardian of the east). The two pairs of Guardian Kings are thus placed on both sides of the stairs, which start from the north-western corner of the chapel. The statues, however marred by recent repainting with dull synthetic enamels, still reveal some of their original value in the drapings of the cloaks beautifully winding against the background of the walls.

The dkar-chag refers to the painted images of rTa-mgrin (Hayagriva), g.Yu-sñon-can (a misspelling for dByug-sñon-can\textsuperscript{20}) (Niladana, the blue mGon-po with the stick\textsuperscript{21}), Beñ-stag-žon (wrongly gñon in the inscription) and fifteen Phyogs-skyon.

The eastern wall, immediately to the right of the entrance, is painted with a blue wrathful deity with one head, two arms and three eyes, against a background of red flames (Pl. 54). With his large and stout bare body, the god stretches towards the right, bending his right leg. He wears a tiger skin and his right hand brandishes a long stick (danḍa; dbyug) terminating with a vajra end while displaying the karaṇamudrā. The vajradānḍa is adorned with ribbons, while the vajra final placed a its top is quite big and reminiscent of a trident. The god's left hand displays the pāśatarjani (sdigs-mdzub) gesture. His sacred thread consists of intertwining snakes, and another snake winds through his flaming hair, which is crowned with a five-pointed coronet. The figure, adorned with earrings, armlets, anklets, and with a large bejewelled golden breastplate, may be identified as Niladana.

The southern wall of the chapel is painted with another wrathful deity, red in colour, with one head, two arms and three eyes. The bluish-green head of a horse emerging through his hair identifies him as rTa-mgrin (Hayagriva), another name for Padmāntaka

\textsuperscript{20} Tucci, 1941a: 200.

\textsuperscript{21} A similar manifestation of this Krodha is illustrated also in the Mongolian bKa'-gyur (Chandra, 1988: 156, No. 323).
Plate 53. Virūḍhaka and Virūpākṣa. Chapel 1/18 (western wall).
Plate 55. Hayagriva, Chapel 1/18 (southern wall).
who, like Niladanda, is one of the Ten Krodhas (Pl. 55). The figure painted here, with its stout body and sagging belly, stretching towards the left and decorated with the five-pointed coronet and all the other ornaments, fully corresponds to the description provided by the Sādhanamālā: three wide-open eyes bulging out of their sockets, reddish moustache and beard, dishevelled hair, waist girded by a tiger skin, and a sacred thread made of snakes. The only minor difference from the description in the Sādhanamālā is the attribute held in the god’s right hand displaying the karana- mudrā. This is again a sort of vajra dhāra with an end terminating in a lotus flower from which a half-vajra emerges, while according to the Sādhanamālā it should be a lotus stem.

Whereas the horse head (apparently a Tibetan iconographic feature which was not borrowed from India) seems to differentiate this form of Hayagriva from the traditional one attributed to Padmāntaka, the vajra dhāra seems here to relate him to Niladanda and, along with the mudrās displayed by both hands, to be a sort of common mark characterizing their role as mahākrodhas. Thus, the two figures of deities of the sgo-khaṅ painted on both sides of the entrance are the Protectors of the maṇḍalas which are displayed on the various floors of the sKu-'bum.

3.4 Chapel 1/19 (Gur-mgon)

This chapel is located at the eastern end of the southern side of the sKu-'bum and is chiefly devoted to the cycle of Gur-mgon. The paintings, already dark as it happens in all mgon-khaṅ, are very damaged and hardly decipherable. Their interpretation must therefore rely on the inscriptions, which were not published by


23. This is not an unusual feature: the lotus stem of Hayagriva is often portrayed as a stick with a lotus flower at the end (Cf. Chandra, 1988: 135, No. 241; 137, No. 248), while the god is shown with a plain stick in the iconography of the Mongolian bKa'-gyur (ibidem: 122, fig. 189), or with a stick topped by a vajra-end in the system adopted by Atiśa, as illustrated in the Rin-'byun (ibidem: 259, fig. 672; 261, fig. 679).
Tucci, perhaps because of their bad state of preservation or incompleteness, and which are here reported in note 24.

The partly defaced inscription running in two lines underneath the paintings of the northern wall informs us that below the image of Phyag-na-rdo-rje 'Byuñ-po-'dul-byed, namely Bhūtaḍāma, a form of Vajrapāni which is portrayed in the upper section of the southern wall of the mgon-khañ, there is the minor dharmapāla mGon-po Bram-ze'i-gzugs-can (with a Brahman's body)25, accompanied by his four attendants. Furthermore, on the surface of the northern wall, the Eight Cemeteries surround the following groups of deities: the four aspects of the dhantzapala Gri-gn~gn-po~~; the father and mother of the Mon-bu Putras with their attendants, namely their two sons and daughter, five in all27; Citi-pāti (Dur-khrod-kyi-bdag-po), the two Guardians of the Area (Ziń-skyon), male and female28; the white dKar-mo-ni-zla with her partner, the black bDud-rgyal holding his rosary made of human skulls29; the host of Ru-'dren, “the Leaders of the wings (of the

24. Northern wall: mGon-khañ-gi lho-phyogs-gi stod-na Phyag-na-rdo-rje 'Byuñ-po-'dul-byed de'i 'og-na / chos-skyon chuñ-ba Bras-ze'i (=Bram-ze'i) sku giso- 'khor lña / bvañ-phyogs-kyi nos-la chos-skyon Gri-gug (the inscription is interrupted here by the socket drilled to fix the wooden rail protecting the statue) ...zi / Pu-tra yab yun sras 'khor lña Du-khrod-kyi-bdag-po (=Dur-khrod-kyi-bdag-po) Ziń-skyon pho mo giis / dKar-mo-giis-zla (= dKar-mo-ni-zla) / dDud-rgyal-thod-phrei-can / Ru-'dren-gyi chogs (=tshogs)-dañ Phyogs-skyon bcu-du du-khrod (=dur-khrod) chen-po brgyad-kyis bskor-ba-dan / de-rmnas-kyi stei- phyogs-rnams-su rgyud-pa'i bla-mnams-kyis bskor-ba-dan bcas-pa bçugs (=bçugs-so) // 'di ... s-kyi dgos-kyi spyin-bar (=sbyin-par) // de'i dge-ba'i mthu-stobs chen-po-vis // gian-dan bstan-pa 'dzin-pa'i gan-zag-la // gnod ce ... 'ts ... par tshar. Eastern wall: sNod-'dzin-pa 'gro-ba man-po'i dren-pa theg ... po bla-ma Yo ... sen-pa'i (sic) druñ-gvis spo blais-ma thus-pa-rnams nain-so cheno-mo-nas mdzad-de legs-par bsgrubs-so ... / ... pa dpon-mo-che dKon-mchog-bzai-po / ... bcad-nas // 'gro kun byan-chub lam-la 'god-par sog // manghala (= marga). Southern wall: ...mgon-par (?) bdu-gpa tshar-gcod 'di'i E-ka-dza-ti ... gyo ... dbañ-phyugs-rnams (the inscription is interrupted here by the other end of the wooden bar of the railing mentioned above) ...bab dbus-na bçugs ... giso- 'khor gsum bçugs / 'di'i dgos-kyi spyin-bdag (=sbyin-bdag) nañ-so-cheno-mo-nas mdzad / Ide sku mkhas-pa dpon-mo-che lHa'i-rgyal-mtshan-pa yab sras-kyis bzabs / maghala (=marga).

army)" (or a corruption of the Sanskrit Rudra)\textsuperscript{30}; and the Ten Phyogs-skyoṅ-bal, the Guardians of the directions who reside in the Cemeteries\textsuperscript{31} (Pls. 56-57).

This host of deities is surrounded by the masters of the tradition of this particular form of Vajrapāṇi, to which the Bhūtadā-maramahātantrarāja is devoted. Śādhanas describing this deity are found in the bsTan-'gyur, and Bu-ston wrote on the subject, too, whereas Zu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen of sDe-dge (b. 1697) devoted to it a text which was later included as chapter cha in mkhyen-brtse's sGrub-thabs kun-btus\textsuperscript{32}.

The badly defaced inscription on the eastern wall informs us that the paintings were commissioned by the naṅ-so chen-mo, namely by the Prime Minister. This title, often shortened in naṅ-chen in the Char-'bebs, was conferred to the princes of Gyantse when they held office at Sa-skya\textsuperscript{33}, and in the Char-'bebs it is still used with reference to the founder of the dynasty, the naṅ-chen 'Phags-pa dPal-lidan-bzaṅ-po\textsuperscript{34}. Here, however, it must refer to the Prime Minister of the Princes of Gyantse, who are called chos-rgyal (dharmarāja) in the inscriptions. The title appears in the inscriptions in chapel 4/8 and in the bum-pa: in the eastern temple (where the full name of the Prime Minister, Rab-'byor-bzaṅ-po 'Phags-pa in given); in the southern temple (where the title is preceded by the place name 'Khar-dga' (mKhar-kha); and in the western temple\textsuperscript{35}. It always seems to refer to Rab-brtan-kun-dga' 'Phags-pa's younger brother, who is also referred to as naṅ-so in the Char-'bebs itself\textsuperscript{36} and who has been dealt with in the first section of Chapter Two. He was also the donor of the Lam-'bras-lha-khaṅ, the chapel on the first floor of the gT sus-lag-khaṅ, on which see below, Chapter Five.

\textsuperscript{30} Tucci, 1941a: 130.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibidem: 102, 131.
\textsuperscript{33} Tucci, 1949: 35.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibidem: 663.
\textsuperscript{35} Tucci, 1941b: 29, 83, 95, 101, 115, 116, 120.
\textsuperscript{36} Tucci, 1949: 666, 667.
Plate 56. Detail. Chapel 1/19 (northern wall).
Plate 57. Detail. Chapel 1/19 (northern wall).
Plate 59. 'Dod-khams-dbañ-phyug-ma. Chapel 1/19.
Also the name of the painter dKon-mchog-bzañ-po is mentioned in connection with the cycle on this wall. This artist must be the same dKon-mchog-bzañ-po from Jo-nañ who worked in chapel 2/4 for the same patron, the nañ-so chen-mo Rab-byor-bzañ-po ’Phags-pa, as well as in chapel 3/7, in the eastern temple of the bum-pa, and on three walls in the lower floor of the har-mikå, where he painted the Gur-mgon underneath the mañdala of the Red Yamâri, the mañdala of sPyan-ras-gzigs in his tantric form of ’Jig-rten-dbañ-phyug, and the mañdala of Yamântaka Mañjuvañ-ja, at the request of the prince of Gyantse, Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ ’Phags-pa”.

We find again mention of the Prime Minister in the inscription on the southern wall of this mgon-khañ, referring to the group of three statues, Gur-mgon flanked by Umâ Ekajatå and ’Dod-khams-dbañ-phyug-ma, along the western wall (Pls. 58-59).

Gur-mgon, the name of a mgon-po who was adopted as a special tutelary deity in the Sa-skya-pa order, is often translated as “Protector of the Tent” because the Tibetan gur stands for “tent”. Noticing that the Tibetan translators adopted the term gur to translate the Sanskrit pañjara in the ’Phags-pa mkha’-gro-ma rDo-rje-gur, a canonical tantric text describing experiences as symbolized by the five dâkinis, and that pañjara properly means “cage”, sometimes “skeleton”, Tucci argued that Gur-mgon was the god of Cemeteries, symbolically helping to destroy the bodily cages in which people are kept prisoners. The main attribute held by Gur-mgon is by no means the pole of the tent: it was originally a gañdi, a wooden instrument traditionally used to strike the hour in Buddhist monasteries, which slowly took over the meaning of a mace used by the god to punish perjurers. An indigenous deity akin to Mahâkâla, Gur-mgon is associated, not only here, but also in the mgon-khañ of ’Dre-gun”38, with the three Putras and the other deities portrayed on the northern wall of this chapel. The same cycle is found again in the mgon-khañ of the main assembly-hall at Gyantse”.

37. Tucci, 1941b: 29, 53, 114, 120.
38. Tucci, 1941a: 122.
The sculptors commissioned by Rab-'byor-bzañ-po 'Phags-pa to model these images were the two lHa'i-rgyal-mtshan-pa, father and son, with their assistants. The father also worked in chapels 1/14, 2/2, 2/15, 2/16, and in the southern temple of the bum-pa. An artist with the same name worked as a painter in chapel 4/1 of the sKu-'bum with his father, Rin-chen dPal-'byor of gNas-rñin.

3.5 Chapel 2/13 (Mi-'khrugs)

This is the southernmost of the two central chapels on the eastern side of the sKu-'bum, adjoining the vestibule giving access to the other floors. It is devoted to Aksobhya, whose statue is placed at the centre of the northern wall, surrounded by a retinue of four female deities with bodhisattva ornaments, whom Tucci identifies as lHa-mo Pad-ma-can, gDoñ-can-ma, rNam-rgyal-ma and mDañs-lDan-ma. This mañdala is drawn from Atiša's Aksobhyaśādhana⁴⁰, whose root text is the Āryasarvakarmāvaranāvimsūdhanānāmadhāraṇī⁴¹.

Aksobhya is shown sitting on a lotus in vajrāsana and bhūmi-sparśamudrā, with a big five-pointed golden vajra placed vertically on the palm of his left hand, which rests on his lap (Pl. 60). However spoiled by recent repainting, the good workmanship of the statue is revealed not only by the proportions and stateliness of the central image and by the harmony in the overall composition of the group, but also by the unusual elegance of the flaming nimbus and aura. The inscription refers to the group of statues in the following terms: sKyo-pa khyod-kyi sku-gzugs 'bur-dod-pa / rGyal-sras sens-dpa' sens-mas yoñs bskor-ba'i / ūn-bkod rmad-byuṅ rmam-bkra bkod legs 'di / ... (This proper layout, the excellent, marvellous layout of the Abode, / the (bodhi)sattvas, sons and daughter of the Jina, surrounding completely / the statue modelled in relief of you, Protector...). The text goes on to explain that this group of statues was made by the master bTsan, from g.Yag-sde, in sNe-

---

⁴¹. Toh. 743.
Plate 60. Āksobhya with four bodhisattvas. Chapel 2/13 (eastern wall).
Plate 63. The Abhirati paradise. Chapel 2/13 (southern wall).
mo\textsuperscript{42}, with his son and disciples\textsuperscript{43}.

Another \textit{maṇḍala} of Akṣobhya drawn from the \textit{yogatantras} is painted on the eastern wall, to the right of the entrance door (Pl. 61). The central images, blue and in the usual attitude of this Jina, holds the \textit{vajra} in the right hand, while displaying the \textit{bhūmisparśamudrā}. The interesting decoration behind the nimbus, with floral and vegetable motifs on a golden background, conjures up the \textit{bodhi} tree and the shower of flowers following the Buddha's Enlightenment.

The rather damaged paintings on the other wall illustrate scenes of Akṣobhya in his eastern paradise (Abhirati; mÑon-par-dga'-ba). The centre of the main western wall is again painted with a large figure of Mi-bskyod-pa in his monk's habit, without the \textit{bodhisattva} crown, his right hand diplaying the \textit{bhūmisparśamudrā}, with the \textit{vajra} resting vertically on the palm of his left hand. He is surrounded by a radiating variegated nimbus, flanked by two \textit{bodhisattvas}, with the Tree of Enlightenment overhanging him (Pl. 62). The rest of the wall is painted with rows of deities and ecstatic beholders crowding around him, and with mountains, lakes, waterfalls, trees and flowers illustrating the delights of Akṣobhya's paradise as described in the \textit{Sukhāvatīvyūha}\textsuperscript{44} or in the \textit{Vimalakīrtinirdesā}\textsuperscript{45}.

These scenes extend to the remaining walls of the chapel, namely the southern wall, opposite the group of statues, and to the narrow strip of eastern wall to the left of the entrance door. Within beautiful pavillons placed among marvelous hanging gardens, Akṣobhya, surrounded by \textit{śravakas} and \textit{bodhisattvas}, calls the Earth to witness his Enlightenment for ever, while the faithful ascend his abode by climbing the ladders afforded by the teachings of the doctrine (Pl. 63).

\textsuperscript{42} On the way between mTshur-phu and Gyantse (Ferrari, 1958: 161, n. 621).

\textsuperscript{43} Tucci, 1941b: 41.

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Āryasukhāvatīvyūhanāmaḥāvyānasūtra} ('Phags-pa \textit{bDe-ba-can-gyi bkod-pa žes bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo} (Toh. 115).

\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Ārya\textit{vimalakīrtinirdesā}nāmaḥāvyānasūtra} ('Phags-pa \textit{Dri-ma-med-par-grags-pa-bstan-pa žes bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo} (Toh. 176).
The names of the painters are unfortunately defaced in the inscription\(^{46}\) which, however, indicates the Mongol Chancellor \((dpon-yig \text{ Hor-sog})\) as the donor of all the statues and paintings in the chapel. Tucci's suggestion that this was a special envoy of the Mongol dynasty\(^{47}\) cannot be taken into consideration, since the Yuan overlordship over Tibet ended in 1368. The expression here merely indicates the nationality of the Chancellor, or perhaps a hereditary title.

3.6 Chapel 2/14 (bSruñ-ma-liña)

This vestibule, which is placed in the south-eastern corner of the sKu-'bum with its entrance facing east, gives access to the stairs leading to the first and third floor and does not contain any statue. There are, however, several paintings which, even if seriously damaged, still reveal their fine quality and appear to be highly representative of the influence of the Newar school on the painting of southern and central Tibet.

The main deities represented here are the Pañcaraksās \((bCom-ldan-'das-ma bSruñ-ma liña, in the inscription), the Five Protectorress personifying the great dharanis. The inscriptions below the paintings along the southern, western and eastern walls are partly defaced and incomplete, and that may be the reason why they were not included in \textit{Indo-Tibetica}. They are here reported in note\(^{48}\).

---

46. Tucci, 1941b: 40.
47. \textit{Ibidem}: 179, n. 2.
48. Southern wall: \textit{Na-mo Pañca-ra-kṣa de-ba-la} / \textit{'di'i lho-phyogs-daṅ mub phyogs-kyi nos-la bCom-ldan-ma bSruñ-ma liña'}/ gtsom-po Rig-snags-kyi-rgyal-mo rMa-bya-chen-mo-daṅ / bCom-ldan-'das-ma gSañ-snags-rjes-su-'dzin-ma-chen ...sañ... la ba... tshal che... r phyogs.
Western wall: \textit{...mgon lCam-dral sTag-ṣon (=sTag-ṣon) Beñ Gra-gug-ma (=Gri-gug-ma)-rnam-kyi (=kyi) bskor-ba'i... chen-po 'di'i / dgos-kyi sbyan-b (=sbyin-bdag?) -la... chuñ mi-dpon / dpon-po A-dhe-ra-bas lhang-bsam-rnam-dag // Nam-nkha'i mthas glas... guur... 'gro-ba-rnam // Srid zi'i rgyud-pa mtha'... (here the inscription is interrupted by the socket drilled to fix the railing to the wall) Sa-rgyas (=Sans-rgyas)
The maṇḍala of these deities refers to a group of five tantras in the bKa’-’gyur⁴⁴. These texts were all translated by the greatest Tibetan translator, revisor and commentator (ţi-chen-gyi lo-tsā-ba) of the monarchical period, Ye-ses-sde, assisted by the famous Indian scholars Śilendrabodhi, Jñanasiddhi, Jinamitra, Dānasila and Śākyaprabha. They were therefore introduced into Tibet during the first propagation of Buddhism, and their spread is closely connected with the prestige enjoyed by the Pañcarakṣāsūtra in northeastern India and in the Nepal Valley, where its popularity was second only to that of the Prajnāpāramitā⁵⁰.

The northern wall in the Pañcarakṣā chapel is the nearest to the centre of this side of the sKu-’bum and would normally house the statue representing the ideal centre of the maṇḍala in the other chapels. Since here there are no statues, but only paintings, it may be suggested that the figure painted on the northern wall plays the same ideal role. On this wall we find So-sor-’brai-ma (Mahāpratisarā), who protects from sin. She is of a light complexion with four go-’phais (=go-’phaṇ) myur tho (=thob) sog // mamghala (=maṅgala) Bhavanu // Subha // Na-mo... pa... ...da-vi-ya // ‘Di... byan-phogs-kyi ņos-daṅ sar-phogs-kyi ņos-la gtso-mo bCom-lan-’das-ma So-sor-’brai-ma-chen-mo-daṅ // sTon-chan-mo (Rab)-tu-’joms(s)-ma gnis bzugs-so // ’di gnis-kyi dgos-kyi shvin-bdag da... a ston-pa dpon-po... daṅ // rta-dpon O-lo dpon-łtsun-pa nnam-pa gnis-kvis rāb dkar dge-ba’i bsm-pas legs-par bsgrubs //

Eastern wall: ‘Di i sbo tshar-daṅ / ’ag (=’og) tshar-daṅ / sgo’i bar-mams-la / Phyog-skyoṇi (=Phyogs-skuyo) bcu / gZa’-chen-po dgu / RNam-thos-sras... sguu...i ’i bha tshags (tshogs?)... z... n... dgra’... sar-ba(?) rgyal-nas // zag-med bde-ba’i dpal-lal(?) dbaṅ-byor-pa’i(?)) // Kun-mkhyenchos-kvy-rgyal-po myur tho(b)-i(s)og // mamghala (=maṅgala).

49. Toh. 558-563. These tantras correspond to the last six titles in volume na in the sTog bKa’-’gyur (Skorupski, 1985: 265-266, Nos. 517-522), namely: 517) sTon-chan-mo-rab-tu-’joms-pa čes bya-ba’i indo; 518) Rig-siṅags-kyi-rgyal-mo rMa-bya-chen-mo; 519) Phags-pa Rig-siṅags-kyi-rgyal-mo rMa-bya’i- ’van-sniṅ; 520) ’Phags-pa Rig-pa’i-rgyal-mo So-sor-’brai-chen-mo; 521) bSil-ba’i-’tshal-chen-po’i indo; 522) gSan-siṅags-chen-po rjes-su ’dzin-pa’i indo. The same tantras are placed first in volume pa of the sNar-than bKa’-’gyur (Cosma de Körsös, 1982: 212-213, Nos. 1-5) where their number is reduced to five by considering the very short Toh. 560 (sTog 519) together with the preceding one, both being devoted to Mahāmāvūri. The first three of them show a few minor changes in their titles: 1) sTons-chan-pa Rab-tu-’joms-pa indo; 2) Rigs-siṅags-kyi-rgyal-mo rMa-bya-chen-mo gezuis; 3) Rig-pa’i-rgyal-mo So-sor-’brai-ba-chen-mo.

faces and eight hands, and with a stūpa on the top of her headgear. Her right hands hold a sword, an arrow, a vajra and a cakra respectively, while her left hands hold a paraśu, a bow, a triśūla and a pāśa (Pl. 64).

On the eastern wall there is sToñ-chen-mo (Mahāsahasrapramardani), who protects from demons, storms and earthquakes. Of blue colour, with four faces and eight hands, she has a fierce mien, showing her canines, and dishevelled red hair. Her first three right hands hold a sword, an arrow, an elephant hook (aṅkuśa), and the fourth holds a vajra while displaying the varadamudrā; her left hands hold a lotus stem, a bow, an axe (paraśu) and a noose of ropes (pāśa) respectively (the last with the hand displaying the karanamudrā).

On the southern wall there is rMa-bya-chen-mo (Mahāmāyūrī), who protects from snakes’ bites. Of a pinkish-white colour, with three faces and eight hands, she sits in the sattvaparyaṅka posture on a moon throne. Her first three right hands hold a sword, a mirror and a vase topped by a jewel, while the fourth displays the varadamudrā; her left hands hold a banner of victory (rgyal-mtshon), a vase, a peacock’s feather and a bowl (patra) containing a small image of the Buddha (Pl. 65).

On the western wall, which is the largest in the vestibule, there are the two remaining deities of the Pañcarakṣas: gSan-snags-chen-mo (Mahāmantrānasārinī), who preserves from disease, in the southern section; and bSil-ba’i-tshal-chen-mo (Mahāsitavatī), who protects from wild beasts, insects and poisonous plants, in the northern section which here replaces the northern wall occupied by the ideal centre of the maṇḍala. Mahāmantrānasārinī is red, with three faces and twelve hands, two pairs of which display the dharmacakramudrā and the dhyānamudrā. The first two right hands hold an arrow and a vajra, while the other two display the abhaya- and varada-mudrā. The remaining four left hands hold a bow, a twig, a vase and a pāśa. Mahāsitavatī is green, sits in sattvaparyaṅka and has three faces and six hands, the right ones holding an arrow and a vajra and displaying the abhayamudrā, the left ones holding a bow, a banner of victory and a pāśa.

The position of the five goddesses on the walls corresponds precisely to their collocation in the different directions in the
Plate 64. So-sor-'brañ-ma (Mahāpratisarā). Chapel 2/14 (northern wall).
Plate 65. rMa-byā-chen-mo (Mahāmāyūrī). Chapel 2/14 (southern wall).
Plate 66. The Pañcarakṣās. Chapel 2/14 (above the entrance door).
mandala described in the Sādhanamāla. Their colours are those of the corresponding Jinas, except for Mahāmāyūrī who is pinkish-white rather than yellow. There is also an almost complete correspondence of the various attributes, a correspondence which becomes perfect in the central figure of Mahāpratisarā. The Pañcarakṣās appear again below figures of masters in the strip of wall above the entrance door (Pl. 66).

From the inscription we understand that the donor (or one of the donors) of the paintings on the southern and western walls, which include several other protecting deities besides three of the Pañcarakṣās, was the lord A-dhe-ra-ba (or A-dhi-ra-ba), perhaps a foreigner. One of the two donors of the two other Pañcarakṣās was the cavalry officer (rta-dpon) O-lo, another name which appears to be of foreign origin, but which was also used to designate the director of the smon-lam chen-mo in Lhasa.

3.7 Chapel 3/5 (rNam-par-snañ-mdzad)

This chapel is part of a group placed on the western side of the sKu-’bum which is largely devoted to the cycle of the Nāmasamāgitti.

The Mañjuśrījñanasattvasya paramārthanāmasaṁgiti is revered and recited by all schools of Tibetan Buddhism perhaps more than any other tantric text. It probably dates back to the 7th century and was translated into Tibetan by Rin-chen-bzañ-po with the assistance of the Indian pañḍita Kamalagupta, with the title of ‘Jam-dpal-ye-śes-sems-dpa’i don dam-pa’i mtshan yañ-dag-par brjod-pa. The text was later revised by Šoñ Blo-gros-brtan-pa, but the revision appears to have been bound to a few expressions peculiar to Rin-chen-bzañ-po.

The great importance of the mTshan-brjod (as the Tibetan title

52. Toh. 360.
is usually shortened) is revealed by its very collocation in the bKa'-gyur, where it opens the tantra section (rgyud 'bum), and is confirmed by the great number of commentaries devoted to it, such as Mañjuśrimitra’s Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgitiśīkā, Candrabhadraṅgiti’s Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgitiśīnavṛtti, Smṛtiñāna’s Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgitiśīlaksambhāsya, Puṇḍarika Jñānavajra’s Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgitiśīkāvimalaprabhā and Narendrakīrti’s Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgitiśīvyākyānam, which were all translated into Tibetan and included in the bsTan-'gyur. It should be pointed out that Narendrakīrti’s commentary interprets the mTshan-brjod according to the anuttarayogatantra view and is itself placed in the anuttara group in the bsTan-'gyur, whereas all the other above-mentioned commentaries are included in the yogatantra group.  

Along the northern wall of the chapel there is the statue of rNam-par-snañ-mdzad-chen-po (Mahāvairocana) in his role as cen-

55. Bu-ston classified the Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgiti as a mahāyoga-upāyatantra and placed its commentaries into three groups according to the system they followed, namely: the Kālacakra, the other anuttaratantras, and the yogatantras (Davidson, 1981: 15). The Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgiti is generally regarded as kindred with the Māyājālamahātantra, of which many consider it to be a part, as giti (so in Narendrakīrti’s and Avadhūtīpa’s commentaries), but also the collocation of the Māyājālamahātantra is uncertain, because the root-tantra (which was translated by Rinchen-bzang-po) is included in the anuttara section of the bKa’-gyur, whereas two of its commentaries (one of which by Anandaśīrī) belong to the yogatantra group.

Wayman suggests an explanation for such inconsistencies by pointing out how the Nāmasaṃgiti, which is the very first text in the rgyud section of the bKa’-gyur, is immediately followed by the fundamental texts of the Kālacakra cycle, with a sequence which betrays the connection between the two texts as seen by Bu-ston, who arranged them. In fact in Bu-ston’s interlinear notes to the Paramādibuddhodhartāśrikālacakranāmatantraratāja, a fundamental text in the Kālacakra cycle, the Ādibuddha is identified with Mañjuśrī, which leads to believe that Bu-ston used the mTshan-brjod as a source for his comments (Wayman, 1985: 7).

On the other hand the mTshan-brjod was regarded as closely kindred with the Tattvasaṃgraha, a fundamental text in the yogatantra group. Its fifth chapter is entirely devoted to the Vajradhātumandala, which corresponds to the fifth section of the Tattvasaṃgraha. Furthermore, it is rather significant that in the second chapter of the Nāmasaṃgiti the Buddha Śākyamuni, fulfilling the request addressed to him by Vajrapāṇi in the previous chapter, enunciates as the object of his explanation topics which are characteristic of the Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra and of the Trailokyavijavatatantra, two tantras explanatory of the Sarvatathāgatagarbhasūtra.
tral deity of the Nam-mkha' dri-med chuñ dkyil-'khor, drawn from Mañjuśrimitra's commentary and included in the third group of manḍalas described by Bu-ston in his mTshan-brjod-kyi dkyil-'khor-gyi bkod-pa56. This form of Vairocana is white, with four heads and two arms, sitting in vajrásana on a lotus throne. As it generally happens in the statues of the sKu-'bum when the images are placed with their backs to the wall, the head looking backwards is not portrayed and must be imagined, while in the wall paintings, where the back head should be indeed invisible, it is painted in profile, generally to the right of the other heads, which are obviously visible. Vairocana's hands display the bodhyagrimudrā (byan-chub-mchog phyag-rgya) expressing the fullest and most complete realization of the bodhi.

The statues of two Bodhisattvas are placed at the sides of the central figure: to Vairocana's right there is Vajrasattva (rDo-rje-sems-dpa'), white, sitting in ardhaparyāṇa (but with the left foot brought up on the right thigh), his right hand holding a five-pronged vajra at the height of the heart, and his left hand holding a ghanṭā while resting on the hip; to Vairocana's left there is a red figure sitting in the posture symmetrical to the previous one (vā-mārdhaparyāṇa), which might be identified as Vajrārāga (rDo-rje-chags-pa) although Tucci identifies him as Vajradhara (rDo-rje-'chañ)57. A positive identification is hindered by the absence of the attributes and even of the left hand, but the right hand is modelled in the attitude of holding the arrow which, along with the bow in the other hand, ought to characterize Vajrārāga (Pl. 67).

A similar manḍala is illustrated in a more extended form on the eastern wall, the largest one, opposite the entrance door: Mahāvairocana, white and with four white faces, sits in vajrásana on a lion throne in the centre, with the hands displaying the bodhyagrimudrā as in the statue described above58. The other four Jinas are placed around him, and the whole group is surrounded by the

57. Tucci, 1941a: 231.
58. This deity is erroneously described by Tucci as in samādhimudrā with a vajra resting on the palms (Tucci, 1941a: 232).
Sixteen Vajrabodhisattvas, painted on a background decorated with beautiful floral motifs (Pl. 68).

In the centre of Vairocana’s chest there is a white figure with five heads and eight arms, brandishing swords with the four right hands and holding the Prajñāpāramitā in the four left hands. Tucci describes this image of Vairocana in the following terms: “In the centre of his chest one sees another image with four (sic) faces, that is Dañ-po’i-sañs-rgyas, who holds the sword symbolizing mystical wisdom in the four right arms, and the book of the supreme gnosis in the four left hands”\(^59\). Since the name Dañ-po’i-sañs-rgyas (Ādibuddha) does not appear in the inscription\(^60\) or in the relevant captions in this chapel, nor in the inscriptions in any other chapel where figures of this kind may be found, and moreover because of the rarity of this iconographic type, which is met only in the chapels of the third floor, it seems appropriate to provide the reader with some information on the subject.

The figure identified by Tucci as the Ādibuddha has four heads with the four canonical colours on the same level, surmounted by a fifth white head. We are therefore in front of a fivefold representation of Buddhahood where Vairocana unifies and merges the other four Cosmic Buddhas, that is of a synthesis of the Five Families as represented by Mahāvairocana. That Vairocana’s white head, surmounting the other four, represents a synthesis rather than a fifth distinct deity seems to be underlined by the fact that the arms are eight (4×2) and not ten. The hands, however, do not display the mudrās traditionally attributed to the individual Jinas, but all hold the swords and the books, right and left respectively. These attributes, which are typical of Mañjuśrī, qualify the Tathāgatas as embodiments of wisdom. We are facing here a particular form of Mañjuśrī which may be referred to the Nāmasamāgiti\(^61\).

---

60. Tucci, 1941b: 49-50.
61. There is no trace of this form of Mañjuśrī in Bhattacharyya’s The Indian Buddhist Iconography, in de Mallman’s Introduction à l’Iconographie Bouddhique, in Lokesh Chandra’s Buddhist Iconography, or in Clark’s Two Lamaistic Pantheons. On the contrary one finds a Mañjuśrī with five heads and eight arms, holding four pustakas and four khadgas in Getty (1914: 113), and Gordon (1988: 70), under the
In fact, in the rehearsal of the names of Mañjušrī, we find Sāṁs-rgyas sku līa'i bdag-ñid-can / khyab-bdag ye-ses līa-yi bdag (Pañcakāyātmako buddho pañcājānātmako vibulḥ; Buddha with five-body nature, pervading lord with five-wisdom nature), as well as Sāṁs-rgyas-kun-kyi sku 'chaṅ-ba (Sarvabuddhātmabhāvadhrk; maintaining the embodiment of all Buddhas), and also Sāṁs-rgyas kun-gyi thugs-la gnas (Sarvabuddhamanogatih; dwelling in the heart-mind of all Buddhas). Mañjuśrī is present in the heart of all the Buddhas both as gnosis embodiment (sniṅ-la gnas / ye-ses sku bdag Sāṁs-rgyas-te / Sāṁs-rgyas dus gsum bţugs-rnams-kyi'o; sthito hrdi / jñānamūrtir aham buddho buddhānāṁ tryadhva-vartināṁ; stationed in the heart of the Buddhas abiding in the three times, I am the Buddha, gnosis embodiment), and as Primordial Buddha under the two aspects of Sāṁs-rgyas thog-ma tha-ma med / Daṅ-po'i-sāṁs-rgyas rgyu-med-pa (anādinidhano buddha ādibuddho niranvayāḥ; Buddha without beginning or end, the Primordial Buddha without preceding cause), and of Sāṁs-rgyas tham-cad skyed-pa-po (janakah sarvabuddhānāṁ; progenitor of all the Buddhas).

Tucci is right in identifying the figure painted in Mahāvairocana's heart as the Ādibuddha, even if he does not provide explicit explanations on this point. However, a further problem remains to be solved, since at the centre of the Ādibuddha-Mañjuśrī there is again a smaller figure, white, with six heads and two hands, sitting on a six-petalled lotus and displaying the saṃādhimudrā.

It should be pointed out that the figure of Mañjuśrī emerged from darkness during the first centuries of our era, was later identified with Prajñāpāramitā and eventually ascended to the rank of Ādibuddha, a later conception which can be regarded as accom-

---

odd title of “Archaic Mañjuśrī”. That deity, however, should support a sakti on the left knee according to the Indian fashion, which is not our case.

63. Ibidem: 95 (VIII, 30).
64. Ibidem: 95 (VIII, 32).
plished only with the *Kalacakra* cycle. Now, *Prajñāpāramitā* is explicitly recognized as Great Mother (Yum-chen-mo) of the Buddhas inasmuch as she represents the Tathāgatas’ omniscience. But Mañjuśrī is said to be father and mother of all the Buddhas, and if the mother must be recognized as *prajñā* (*śes-rab*), wisdom which is necessarily unique and identical to itself, the father must on the other hand be identified as *upāya* (*thabs*), namely the means, which are by their nature differentiated: various means characterize the various Buddha Families and as such they may be conceived of as various forms of Ādibuddha (understood as father-progenitor) by which the different Families are generated.

If we look at the examples of the above inconographic type among the various Jinas found in chapels of the sKu’-bum, in all instances we find the same figure of the Ādibuddha at the centre of the Buddha’s chest; the only variants are provided by the orientation of the five heads of the eight-armed Ādibuddha-Mañjuśrī and by the features of the miniature deity appearing in his heart. The Ādibuddha shows in fact the central face with the colour proper to the Family taken into consideration (always blue in the various forms of Vairocana and Vajrasattva) and the innerer deities are again different forms of Mañjuśrī. In the directional Jinas the latter have one head and two arms and show the colour of the corresponding Family, just like the four-petalled lotus upon which they sit. One can easily recognize the *jnānasattvas*: the red Vajratikṣṇa (rDo-rje-rnon-po) in Amitābha’s heart, the yellow Vāgīśvara (gSuṅ-dbaṅ-phyug) in Ratnasambhava’s heart, the green Jñānakāya (Ye-śes-sku-can) in Amoghasiddhi’s heart, the white Arapacana in Vajrasattva’s heart. In the various forms of Vairocana the innerer deity is ‘Jam-dpal-ye-śes-sems-dpa’ (Mañjuśrijnānasattva) with six faces and two hands, that is the lord of one of the *maṇḍalas* drawn from the Nāmasaṃgiti according to Lilāvajra’s system which inspired Mañjuśrikirti’s commentary (cf. chapel 3/7).

---

68. Wayman, 1985: 3.
69. Cf. chapter 12 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.
Plate 68. Mahāvairocana. Chapel 3/5 (eastern wall).
In conclusion, the following picture seems to emerge: the Ādi-buddha is in the heart of all the Buddhas as progenitor and as unborn gnosis; he receives the name and shape of Mañjuśrī as gnosis embodiment. By emanating the various Jinas and their maṇḍalas he shows the different aspects of his universal wisdom through the jñānasattvas who, according to the Nāmasaṃgiti are the Mantra Kings belonging to the Master of Speech\(^{71}\). The various jñānasattvas in the heart of the Ādibuddha show that any possible manifestation of reality is contained in him\(^{72}\). This attempt to explain out this particular iconographic type obviously requires further research on the basis of the several commentaries which flourished around the Nāmasaṃgiti, but it is quite clear that the available iconographic literature is inadequate to explain exhaustively the wealth of images of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, of which the sKu-'bum of Gyantse represents an invaluable source.

Going back now to the other paintings in this chapel, we find in the centre of the southern wall the image of Amoghasiddhi (Don-yod-grub-pa in the caption painted underneath the figure), bearing the image of the Ādibuddha-Mañjuśrī in his heart and surrounded by the Sixteen Vajrabodhisattvas. His right hand displays the abhayamudrā while holding on the palm a four-coloured viśva-vajra, whereas his left hand rests palm upwards on his lap.

The narrow western wall to the right of the entrance door is

---

71. Wayman, 1985: 66 (IV, 1).

72. One can quote on this subject Mañjuśrimitra's Upadeśa (Mañjuśrīnāma-saṃgityupadeśa; Cordier, rGyud: LIX, 5), according to which the mantra visualizes Mahāvairocana Samantamukha (Kun-tu-zal). Visualizing the Ādibuddha-Mañjuśrī in Mahāvairocana's heart, in the heart of the Ādibuddha he contemplates the six-spoked prajñācakra (Wheel of Insight) and above that wheel he visualizes the jñānasattva (Davidson, 1981: 45). This description may be connected to a passage in 'Jam-mgon Koṅ-sprul's rGyud thams-cad-kyi bdag-po 'Jam-dpal-mtshan-brjod rigs bsdus-kyi sgrub-thabs ve-śes 'bar-ba'i ral-grī: "...among the six spokes, on the eastern spoke, homage to Thee, blue Duhkhas'acceda. On the southern spoke, homage to Thee, yellow Vāgīṣvara. On the western spoke, homage to Thee, red Vajraidñasna. On the northern spoke, homage to Thee, green Jñānakāya. On the eastern upper spoke, homage to Thee, white Prahājnānānāmūrti. On the eastern lower spoke, homage to Thee, white Arapacana" (rGyud-sde kun-btus, 1971, vol. X: No. 456 as quoted in Wayman, 1985: 67).
painted with the images of Amitābha, red, displaying the samādhisamudrā while holding a vase with flowers; of Vairocana, white, displaying the bodhyagrimudrā; and of the goddesses of the offerings.

The same wall, to the left of the entrance door, is painted with an image of Vajrasattva (called ...rDo-rje-dbugs-dbyuṅ-ba in the inscription73 and Byan-sems-rdo-rje in the caption underneath the figure) with his right hand supporting a five-pronged red vajra standing vertically at the height of the chest, and his left hand resting on the hip while holding a bell with a red half-vajra handle. Also this deity bears the figure of the Ādibuddha-Mañjuśrī in his heart (Pl. 69).

3.8 Chapel 3/7 ('Jam-dpal-ye-šes-sems-dpa')

Like the chapel previously examined, also this chapel opens on the western side and is set symmetrically with respect to the east-west axis of the sKu-'bum. Its statues are therefore placed with their backs to the southern wall, adjoining the central temple. In the centre of the group there is 'Jam-dpal-ye-šes-sems-dpa', the form of white six-headed Mañjuśrī which we have met above as ādiñānasattva of the Ādibuddha according to Lilāvajra’s system (Pl. 70).

The four lower heads reproduce four Jinas: the central face is blue and the others are placed according to the usual canonical colours and directions, although the rear one, which ought to be red, is as usual missing in the statue and must be merely imagined. These four heads are surmounted by two white heads, the lower one representing Vairocana, while the top one probably refers to Vajrasattva as the supreme synthesis of the Five Cosmic Buddhas. Mañjuśrījñānasattva, who sits in vajrāsana and samādhisamudrā, is flanked by the Bodhisattvas rDo-rje-sems-dpa' (Vajrasattva), white, holding the vajra and ghanṭā, and rDo-rje-ñi-ma (Vajratejas), yellow, holding the sun's disk with both hands. Two more deities,

73. Tucci, 1941b: 50.
sitting in lalitasana and holding fly-whisks (camara; rña-yab) or banners, are placed in the upper corners of the floral decoration surrounding the nimbus enclosing the three statues.

The eastern wall, to the right of the group of statues, illustrates the deities of the mandala which symbolizes the synthesis of the various Families of the Vajradhātu (rDo-rje-dbyin) according to the 'Phags 'Jam-dpal-gyi mtshan yan-dag-par brjod-pa'i 'grel-pa74, the commentary to the Nāmasamgiti by the acārya Avadhūtipa of U-rgyan75 who, following Candrabhadraṅkirti's vṛtti, considers that important tantra as the giti (glu) of the Māyājālamahātātantrarāja76 and interprets it as a yogatantra77. Besides the Five Jinas (Pl. 71), there appear the goddesses of offerings (rDo-rje-'phren-ba-ma, rDo-rje-bdug-pa-ma, rDo-rje-me-tog-ma, rDo-rje-gar-ma, etc.) and a series of masters initiated in this tantric cycle (Khri-ston Kun-du-ga'-od(zer), sKal-lđan-dbaṅ-phyug-blo-gros, etc.). Among the latter Bla-ma Chos-skū'-od-zer (the name received on ordination by bDag-med-rdo-rje, b. 1214), one of the gNal-zig-gi bu dgu (the nine "sons" of gNal-pa-zig-po), deserves a special mention. He belongs to the Kālacakra lineage, whose teachings he received from 'Jam-gsar-šes-rab-od-zer and transmitted to 'Phags-od. His biography, written by Kun-spaṅs Žaṅ, illustrates the extraordinary intellectual gifts and prodigious memory which won him the epithet of kun-mkhyen (omniscient) and caused him to be regarded as an incarnation of Kha-che Paṅ-chen Sākyāśrībhadra78.

The northern wall, opposite the group of statues, is painted with the mandala of 'Od-dpag-med-dbugs-dbyun which, according to the inscription79, refers to the 'Jam-dpal sgyu-'phrul dra-ba dkyil-
'khor⁸⁰', drawn from Avadhūtipa's commentary. The chief deity, red, sits in vajrāsana on the peacock throne displaying the samādhimudrā while holding a vase with flowers. He bears the image of the Ādibuddha in the middle of his chest and is surrounded by a torana with large scrolls issuing from the tails of makaras resting on the two columns, and with a top made by a figure of Garuḍa holding two snakes in his beak (Pl. 72). The throne of 'Od-dpagmed is surrounded by the Sixteen Vajrabodhisattvas and by the other four Jinas on the adjoining walls. Two of them are painted to the right of the main figure, on the narrow strip of western wall to the left of the entrance door: above, Rin-chen-'byun-lidan, yellow, his right hand displaying the varadamudrā while holding a flaming jewel in the palm; below, Mi-bskyod-pa, blue, his right hand displaying the bhunzisparśamudrā while holding a five-pronged vajra (Pl. 73). The other two Jinas are painted symmetrically on a section of the eastern wall, to the left of the main figure: rNam-par-snañ-mdzad above, and Don-yod-grub-pa below. Radiant nimbuses surround all these four Jinas.

The western wall, to the right of the entrance door, is painted with the image of rNam-par-snañ-mdzad-dbugs-dbyun, white, with one head, displaying the bodhyagrimudrā (Pl. 74), which again refers to the 'Jam-dpal sgyu-phrul dra-ba dkyil-khor. The figures of two masters are painted above the maṇḍala: sKu-zañ Chos-rje and Kun-mkhyen 'Phags-'od. The latter is the already mentioned disciple of Chos-sku-'od-zer who transmitted many teachings of the Guhyasamājā and Kālacakra cycles to Bu-ston. The former will be discussed in the section devoted to chapel 4/1. This painting, like the one on the opposite wall, is finely executed: the details of the ornaments and of the garments are painted with care and the halo and nimbus are surrounded by beautiful scrolls, with shoots of flowers on a background of foliage and branches arranged with a certain amount of freedom, which somehow seems to prelude to the freer treatment of landscape elements in later Tibetan painting.

⁸⁰ Tucci, 1941a: table 35, No. 276.
⁸¹ The expression 'Jam-dpal sgyu-phrul dra-ba (Manjasrimavajala) may be related to chapter 4 in the Nāmasaṅgiti (Wayman, 1985: 66-67).
Plate 70. Mañjuśrīñānasattva flanked by Vajrasattva and Vajratejas. Chapel 3/7 (southern wall).
Plate 71. Two of the Jinas in the Vajradhātu mandala. Chapel 3/7 (eastern wall).
Plate 73. Ratnasambhava and Aksobhya. Chapel 3/7 (western wall, to the left of the entrance door).
Concerning the chief deity painted on this wall Tucci writes: “The god is represented in the aspect called dbugs dbyuṅ, that is with the image of the Ādibuddha (five faces, eight arms) at the centre of the chest”\(^{82}\). It is here that for the first time Tucci explicitly establishes a connection between the term dbugs-dbyuṅ and the particular representation of deities bearing the image of the Ādibuddha-Maṅjuśrī at the centre of their heart\(^{83}\). That definition is restated with reference to the maṇḍala painted on the eastern wall of the following chapel, 3/8: “The central figure represents rNam-par-snaṅ-mdzad, white, with four faces and his two hands displaying the mudrā called byaṅ c’ub mc’og; he is shown in that particular form called dbugs dbyuṅ, that is as a moment of the absolute in which the ādibuddha depicted at the centre of his heart is already contained as infinite power”\(^{84}\). This latter statement is all the more assertive since the term dbugs-dbyuṅ does not appear in the inscription or in the captions of that particular chapel, but is used by Tucci to label this particular iconographic form.

However, Tucci’s reading of the term dbugs-dbyuṅ does not appear to be supported by lexical evidence. It seems difficult to establish a connection between the meaning of the term dbugs (cedha, śvasa; respiration, breath) and the function which ought to be attributed to it in this context, that is of designating the manifestation of the Ādibuddha in the heart of the deities taken into consideration. This difficulty was probably obvious to Tucci himself, who did not attempt a translation of the expression dbugs-dbyuṅ.

The Tibetan text in the inscription of chapel 3/7 gives the forms dbugs dbyuṅ-ba and dbugs dbyuṅs-pa\(^{85}\), where the verbal nominalizing particle pa/ba is used with its participial/relative function. In fact dbyuṅ-ba is a form of the verb ‘byin-pa (pf. and imp. phyuṅ; fut. dbyuṅ), meaning “to take out”, “to cause to come

\(^{82}\) Tucci, 1941a: 243.

\(^{83}\) Concerning the image of Nam-mkha’-dri-med-kyi Rin-chen ‘byuṅ-ltan-dbugs-dbyuṅ found in chapel 3/4, Tucci (1941b: 190, n. 2) refers to this same definition.

\(^{84}\) Tucci, 1941a: 244.

\(^{85}\) Tucci, 1941b: 52.
forth”, “to release”. The expression *dbugs dbyuṅ-ba* means “to be 
glad, to be satisfied”, but also “to give protection”. The kindred 
expression *dbugs phyuṅ* means “to be in good health”, but also 
“salvation” in a Buddhist context. The same expression *dbugs 
phyuṅ-ba* is currently given the two meanings of *dbugs phyir 
phyuṅ-ba* (to give life to, to restore to health) and of *sdugs-bsṅal-las 
grol-bar byas-pa* (to release from affliction). Also the related 
forms *dbugs dbyuṅ-no* and *dbugs 'byin-pa* by which the *Mahāvut-
patti* translates the Sanskrit expressions *āśvāsayema* and 
*āśvasta* in a Buddhist context.

It is in the sense of “giving protection”, “leading to salvation”, 
that the expression *dbugs dbyuṅ-ba* ought to be read here. It may 
be therefore suggested that it is an epithet of the deity (or of the 
*maṇḍala* to which the deity belongs) rather than the designation of 
a specific iconographic type. This conclusion is further supported 
by the analysis of the cases to which the expression is applied in 
the inscriptions of the *sKu-'bum*: Rin-chen-'byuṅ-ltan (3/4), Byan-
sems-rdo-rje (3/5), rNam-par-snaṅ-mdzad (3/7), 'Od-dpag-med 
(3/7) and rDo-rje-sems-dpa' (3/20). Now, in the case of *rDo-rje-
sems-dpa'-dbugs-dbyuṅ-ba* in chapel 3/20, the deity does not show 
any image of the Ādibuddha at the centre of his chest. On the other 
hand the various forms of Vairocana in chapels 3/5, 3/6 and 3/8, 
as well as the image of Amoghasiddhi in chapel 3/5, all having the 
Ādibuddha in their heart, are not given the attribute *dbugs 
dbyuṅ-ba* in the inscriptions.

Furthermore one must consider that the *maṇḍala* of *rDo-rje-
sems-dpa'-dbugs-dbyuṅ-ba* in chapel 3/20 is drawn from the *dpal-
mchog*, whilst all the deities bearing the Ādibuddha in their heart, 
being or not possessed of the epithet *dbugs dbyuṅ-ba*, are related.
Plate 74. Vairocana. Chapel 3/7 (western wall, to the right of the entrance door).
to \textit{mandalas} drawn from the \textit{Nāmasamgiti}. This seems to be the real point, since only \textit{Nāmasamgiti}, among the \textit{yogatantras}, introduces the Ādibuddha-Mañjuśrī.

Going back now to the painting on the western wall, we must point out its fine execution and good state of preservation, allowing us to see very clearly the position of the hands and fingers in the \textit{bodhyagrimudrā} (byaṅ-chub-mchog phyag-rgya), which is the fundamental element of distinction between the central deities in the \textit{Vajradhatumandala} and those in the \textit{mandala} of Sarvavid (Kun-rig) Vairocana\footnote{Tucci, 1941a: 106-107. Tucci observes that the \textit{bodhyagrimudrā} is relatively rare in Tibet, where the \textit{Kun-rig} cycle, with its eschatological function, eventually overwhelmed the \textit{Vajradhātu\textit{manḍala}}.}. This \textit{mudrā} is described by Bu-ston with reference to a four-headed white Vairocana holding a five-pronged yellow \textit{vajra} in the \textit{dKyil-’khor gsal byed ūi-ma’i ‘od-zer Žes bya-ba’i skabs dañ-po-las rtsa-rgyud de-ñid bsdus-pa’i dkyil-’khor bkd-pa, as follows: “...the \textit{bodhyagrimudrā}, the \textit{vajra}-fist (of) the left hand raising the fore-finger (or: finger), the \textit{vajra}-fist of the right holding it and placed with the opening showing upwards at (the height of) the heart...”\footnote{Bu-ston, 1969, \textit{tsa}: 63 (8a).}

The pictorial rendering (and also the plastic one, as exemplified by the statue of Mahāvairocana in chapel 3/5) is, however, rather different, and anyway quite far from the stiffness characterizing for instance the Japanese statues and paintings of Dainichi Nyoray in the \textit{Vajradhātu\textit{manḍala}} (Kongokay) of the Shingon school of esoteric Buddhism\footnote{Takaaki Sawa, 1976: 25, fig. 14; 45, fig. 39; 92, fig. 104.}. The left hand is not really clenched in a fist because, like the forefinger, also the little finger is extended, while the two central fingers are clenched. The hand is turned outwards in such a way as to show part of the palm. On the whole this attitude does not seem to be too far off the \textit{karaṇa-mudrā}, while lacking the latter’s tension and showing on the contrary a great suppleness. In a similar way, the right hand, which is turned inwards in such a way as to show its back, does not really clench the forefinger in a fist, but encircles it with the thumb and
the forefinger forming a ring, while the middle and anular fingers are slightly bent, and the little finger is stretched out.

The painter of this chapel is the same dKon-mchog-bzañ-po of Jo-nañ whom we have met in chapel 1/19. The paintings were commissioned by Byañ-sems-bdag-mo, on whom see the following chapel.

3.9 Chapel 3/8 (Byañ-chub-sems-dpa'-rdo-rje)

This is the last chapel of the western side, placed as it is at its northern end, and it is closely related to the cycles illustrated in the chapels preceding it on the same side, so that it has been deemed useful to include it in our survey in spite of Tucci’s own description, in order to supplement his iconographic documentation, which in this case is limited to one picture.

The inscription in this chapel relates the group of statues on the southern wall to the dKyił-'khor cho-ga yon-tan 'byuñ-gnas which Tucci locates in the Manträrthävalokini, a commentary to the Nāmasaṅgiti following Lilāvajra’s system. In the centre there is Vajrasattva, white, with one head, sitting in virāsana with his trunk slightly bent and his head graciously leaning to the left, ornated with all the bodhisattva’s apparel. In his right hand, raised at the height of his chest, he holds a five-pronged vajra, standing vertically, while his left hand, resting on the hip, holds the bell, with its half-vajra end pointing outwards (Pl. 75). He is flanked by two Vajrabodhisattvas, whom Tucci, possibly following the dkar-chag, identifies as rDo-rje-sgra (Vajrabhasa) and rDo-rje-chos (Vajradharma). Bu-ston’s elucidation of the mandalas of the Nāmasaṅgiti (mTshan-brjod-kyi dkyil-'khor-gyi bkod-pa) includes rDo-rje-chos, light red (dkar-dmar), and rDo-rje-smra-ba, with a copper

94. Tucci, 1941a: 244-245.
95. Tucci, 1941c: fig. 304.
96. Tucci, 1941b: 195, n. 3.
97. Cordier, rGyud: LVIII, 2.
colour (zañs-kyi mdog-can), in the list of the Sixteen Vajrabodhisattvas belonging to this mandala, but does not mention rDo-rje-sgra. It is likely that rDo-rje-smra-ba is another name for Vajrabhasa, who can be recognized in the red figure to the right of the central statue, however badly repainted and deprived of its specific attributes. The attitude of this Vajrabodhisattva’s hands is in fact compatible with the description provided in the Nispannayogâvali⁹⁹, according to which he should hold a one-pronged vajra (symbolizing the Buddha’s tongue) in his right hand and the Conch of the Doctrine (dharmaśaṅkha) in his left hand.

The other Vajrabodhisattva cannot be identified with Vajradhāra, who should be of a pink or light red colour and make the petals of a pale red lotus (kamala) bloom in his right hand while holding its stem with the left. The Vajrabodhisattva modelled here is painted white, holds a five-pronged vajra in his right hand brought up towards the chest, while his left hand displays the śrāmanamudrā, with the arm stretched along the body and the hand extending outwards horizontally, palm downwards: this might be a form of Vajrasattva with an unusual mudrā.

The main wall, which is the eastern wall foreshortened in the picture in Indo-Tibetica and mistakenly indicated by Tucci as the northern wall, is painted with the maṇḍala of the synthesis of the Five Families (Rigs bsdus-pa’i dkyil-khor), which is also related to the dKyiil-khor cho-ga yon-tan ’byuñ-gnas. The main figure represents Mahāvairocana (Pl. 76), white, with four faces, sitting in vajrāsana and displaying the bodhyagrimudrā, against a background of rainbow-like rays. He bears at the centre of his chest the figure of Ādibuddha-Mañjuśrī and is surrounded by the other four Jinas, by the Four Mothers, by the Sixteen Vajrabodhisattvas, by the Eight Uṣṇīṣas and by a crowd of minor deities extending also to the two narrow walls of the prominence shown in this cell by the north-eastern corner (Pl. 77).

The opposite wall, to the right of the entrance door, is painted with the maṇḍala of Vairocana according to the Śrivajramaṇḍalālāmāṅkāranāmamahātantrarāja (dPal rdo-rje
Plate 75. Vajrasattva flanked by two Vajrabodhisattvas. Chapel 3/8 (southern wall).
Plate 76. Mahāvairocana displaying the bodhyagrimudrā. Chapel 3/8 (eastern wall).
sni-po rgyan ces bya-ba'i rgyud-kiyi rgyal-po chen-po), an explanatory yogatantra which, in its essential part, parallels the dPal-mchog in its comments on the Vajradhātu section of the Tattvasaṅggraha. At the centre of this maṇḍala there is the figure of Vairocana, white, with one face and two hands in samādhimudrā, surrounded by the other four Jinas, by the Four Mothers and by the Eight Uṣṇīṣas (Pls. 78-80).

Finally, the narrow northern wall enclosed between the door and the north-eastern prominence is painted with the Seven Precious Items of the Universal Monarch (cakravartin).

The paintings of this chapel were commissioned by the same Byaṅ-sems-bdag-mo who has been met in the previous chapel and who appears to be the donor of most chapels on the third floor of the sKu-'bum, except for the four temples placed at the point of the compass. She is the only donor of the paintings in chapels 3/3, 3/4, 3/7, 3/8, while together with her son (yum sras) she commissioned the paintings in chapels 3/2, 3/9, 3/10, 3/13, 3/15100, 3/17. She also commissioned the great statue of Prajñāpāramitā in the northern temple of the bum-pa surmounting the fourth floor of the sKu-'bum.

The full title of this munificent donor, as can be gathered from the inscriptions in various chapels101, is Byaṅ-sems bDag-mo-dpal-chen rGyal-mo. She is one of the most important figures in the history of the principality of Gyantse, of which she was the queen for many years. She was called Byaṅ-sems bZaṅ-mo-dpal (she was also known as Yum Ma-gcig-bzaṅ-mo and Byaṅ-sems-bzaṅ-ña-pa) and belonged to the Žwa-lu family, being the daughter of the chiliarch of sMon-gro102. In 1367 she met and married the great naṅ-chen 'Phags-pa dPal-lidan-bzaṅ-po103, the founder of the Gyantse dynasty, who was then forty-nine. On the latter's death she became, according to the Tibetan custom, the wife of his younger

---

100. Here also her husband is mentioned: Byaṅ-sems bDag-mo-dpal-chen rGyas (= rGyal) -mo yab yum sras (Tucci, 1941b: 63).
102. Cf. Tucci, 1949: 664, 666, 668, and Genealogical Tables, table X.
brother, 'Phags-pa Rin-chen. In 1375 she gave birth to dBaṅ-rgyal 'Phags-pa, who later pursued a successful military career.

The marriage of Byaṅ-sems bZaṅ-mo-dpal into the Gyantse family seems to have further strengthened their alliance with the Žwa-lu family, which was also in the fold of the Sa-skya-pa sphere of influence. Tight bonds between the two houses had already been established in 1350 through dPal-lidan-bzaṅ-po’s marriage to dPon-mo Padma, the daughter of the sku-żan of Žwa-lu, Kun-dga'-don-grub.

After 'Phags-pa Rin-chen’s death in 1376, Byaṅ-sems bZaṅ-mo-dpal married his successor, the bdag-chen Kun-dga’ 'Phags-pa, who was 'Phags-pa dPal-lidan-bzaṅ-po’s son from is first wife, and in 1389 she bore him a son, Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ 'Phags-pa. The mention of “mother and son” in the inscriptions of the sKu-’bum almost certainly refers to the son from this third marriage, the builder of the sKu-’bum, Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ 'Phags-pa. Since Byaṅ-sems bZaṅ-mo-dpal died in 1435, that date obviously represents a terminus ante quem for the completion of the bum-pa in the sKu-’bum.

Like Ma-gcig, a common epithet for ladies belonging to the Tibetan aristocracy, the title Byaṅ-sems seems to apply to aristocratic ladies, particularly of the Žwa-lu dynasty. From the Žwa-lu genealogy published by Tucci, it appears that it was first used in that dynasty for the daughter of the sku-žan A-mes-chèn-po Saṅs-rgyas-ye-ses, Ma-gcig mKha’-’gro-’bum who, after marrying ‘Gro-mgon Phyag-na-rdo-rje of the Sa-skya principality, was also known as Ma-gcig-chèn-mo, then as Byaṅ-sems and Byaṅ-sems-chen-mo104.

The same epithet was applied to another queen: Byaṅ-sems-chen-mo Ni-ma-khyê-’dren, who in 1418 became the wife of Kun-dga’ ‘Phags-pa’s son, bKra-sis ‘Phags-pa, the successor of Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ ‘Phags-pa to the throne of Gyantse105. Also Ni-ma-khyê-’dren patronized the decoration of the sKu-’bum, in particular commissioning paintings in the upper section of the harmikā,

On some chapels of the sKu-'bum

devoted to the deities of the anuttarayogatantras, thus contributing to the completion of the great mchod-rt'en.

3.10 Chapel 3/18 (mChod-rt'en cha-brgyad)

This cell, placed in the south-eastern corner of the sKu-'bum, with its door looking eastwards, is the vestibule (sgo-khaṅ) giving access to the other floors and itself contains two short flights of steps lit through a small window opening in the eastern wall. There are no statues and the two-line inscription running along the southern and western walls is so badly defaced that we have not deemed it worthwhile reproducing it here. The only interesting information which can be drawn from it refers to the fact that it was planned (bkod-pa) according to the explanations ('grel-pa-dan mthun-pa) of the omniscient Bu-ston.

Although the paintings are in a bad state of preservation, as Tucci had noticed already in 1937106, they still retain some interest. In fact they illustrate the eight types of stūpa celebrating the most important events in the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni and in the preaching of the dharma. Tucci pointed out the existence of a treatise on the stūpa translated by Bu-ston (mChod-rt'en-gyi mtshan-ñid ston-pa Bu-ston lo-tsā'i 'gyur) and included in the Co-ne bsTan-'gyur107 and of another treatise on the same subject in the Vaidūrya g.ya-'sel, the commentary to the Vaidūrya dkar-po written by the sde-srid Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho108. Other Tibetan scholars, such as Padma-dkar-po and Kloṅ-rdol Bla-ma wrote to some length on this topic and several texts referring to the stūpa can be found in the bsTan-'gyur109.

Two stūpas are found to the left of the entrance door, on the southern wall (Pl. 81). The first is the Mya-ñan-'das mchod-rt'en (Stūpa of the Parinirvāṇa) which, according to tradition, was built

---

106. Tucci, 1941a: 284.
at Kāśa (or Kuśinagara) by a king of the local Malla dynasty to mark the place where the Buddha entered the final nirvāṇa. In this stūpa the bum-pa rests on a corolla of lotuses placed directly on the basement, without any steps. The second one is the Chos-phrul mchod-rt'en (Stūpa of the Great Miracle) which was built by the Licchavis at Śrāvastī.

Three stūpas are painted on the western wall, which is the largest one: the Byaṅ-chub-chen mchod-rt'en (Stūpa of the Great Enlightenment), the rNam-rgyal mchod-rt'en (Stūpa of the Victory), and the Pad-spun mchod-rt'en (Stūpa of the Heap of Lotuses). According to tradition, the first was built by Bimbisāra, the second by the citizens of Vaiśāli to remember Buddha's consent to prolong his life in order to complete the exposition of the doctrine, and the third by Śuddhodana at Kapilavastu to remember the birth of the Buddha.

Two more stūpas are painted on the southern wall: the 'Odzer-can mchod-rt'en (the Resplendent Stūpa), built by Jeta at Rāja-grha to remember the reconciliation of the saṅgha, and the bKraśis sgo-maṅ mchod-rt'en (the Auspicious Stūpa with Many Doors) which was built by the first five disciples of the Buddha at Benares to celebrate the moment of the first Preaching of the Doctrine (dharma-cakrapravartana).

Finally, at the northern end of the eastern wall, there is the Sum-cu-rtsa-gsum lha'i mchod-rt'en (the Stūpa of the Thirty-three Gods), which was built by the citizens of Śaṅkaśya to remember the descent of the Buddha from the Tuṣita heaven (Pl. 82).

The Eight Stūpas are surrounded by the Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession and by a number of bodhisattvas.

3.11 Chapel 3/20 (rDo-rje-sems-dpa')

This chapel adjoins the central temple on the southern side of the sKu-'bum. It is symmetrical to chapel 3/2 and similarly devoted to Vajrasattva and to the dPal-mchog (Paramādi-tantra) cycle.

The central position in the group of statues placed along the western wall is occupied by rDo-rje-sems-dpa', white, sitting in vi-
Plate 81. The stūpas of the parinirvāṇa and of the Miracle of Śrāvasti. Chapel 3/18 (southern wall).
Plate 82. The stūpa of the Thirty-three Gods. Chapel 3/18 (eastern wall).
rāsana, with his head slightly reclined towards the left, and holding his usual attributes. The right hand shows the palm turned outwards, in an attitude reminiscent of the abhayamudrā, but with the ring finger bent downwards, while the vajra stands vertically on the tip of his middle finger (Pl. 83). The inscription tells us that this is the chief deity of the secret maṇḍala of Vajrasattva according to the system of the synthesis of the Five Families, drawn from the dPal-mchog daṅ-po žes bya-ba theg-pa'i rtog-pa'i rgyal-po (Śriparamādyanāmamahāyānakalparāja). Vajrasattva is flanked by two images, one red, holding the vajra and ghanṭā in the hands crossed at the height of the chest, and the other blue, leaning on the seat with the left and displaying the abhayamudrā with the right hand. Tucci identifies them as rDo-je-ki-li-ki-la-ya-ma and rDo-je-dran-ma respectively.110

The artist who made these statues was Nam-mkhal-bzan-po of lHa-rtse, who also made the statues in chapels 2/12, 3/14, 3/15, 3/16, 3/19 and in most chapels of the fourth floor. The paintings are due to Thar-pa-ba (sic in the inscription), master and pupils, also from lHar-rtse.

The painting on the northern wall, opposite the entrance door, is dedicated to the 'Dod-chags-kyi gñen-por rDo-je-sems-dpa'-dbugs-dbyun-ba'i dkyil-khor, namely the maṇḍala of rDo-je-sems-dpa' which is a remedy against passions. It should be, therefore, a maṇḍala drawn from the fundamental tantra as interpreted in the second section of the dPal-mchog, which is devoted to the esoteric formulas (mantra; śīnags). The central deity is Vajrasattva, white, sitting in virāsana, holding vajra and ghanṭā precisely in the same mudrā which has been described for the statue. Both the vajra and the half-vajra of the ghanṭā are red (Pl. 84).

The four Jinas surrounding Vajrasattva show different characteristics from the usual ones: Aksobhya, in bhūmisparśamudrā, is white (Pl. 85); Amitābha, red, holds in his two hands brought to the height of the heart a white lotus from which a red vajra emerges; Amoghasiddhi’s face and feet are white, and the right hand raised in abhayamudrā bears a four-coloured viśvavajra on

---

110. Tucci, 1941a: 289.
its palm (Pl. 86); Ratnasambhava is of a blue colour and displays the varadāmudrā. The many figures surrounding the main deities include: rDo-rje-gnod-sbyin, rDo-rje-ro, rDo-rje-dri, rDo-rje-sgra, rDo-rje-gzugs, Nam-mkha'-mdzad, rDo-rje-bād-ma, Glu-chen-ma (to the right of Vajrasattva), and rDo-rje sku-tshur, rDo-rje -'khor-lo, 'Jig-rten-dbañ-phyug, Phyag-na-rdo-rje (to his left).

The eastern wall, which the inscription does not distinguish explicitly from the northern one, is painted with the Yellow Vairocana, with one head and two arms, sitting in vajrāsana and displaying the bodhya grī mudrā (Pl. 87). This is the central deity of the De-bzin-gšegs-pa-dbugs-dbyuñ-gyi dkyil-khor, a supramundane ('jigs-rtend las 'das) maṇḍala which is drawn from the first section of the dPal-mchog, and is a remedy against the mental states deriving from negative karmic traces accumulated from previous lives. Above this figure we find again Aksobhya, white, and Amitābha, red, holding the lotus and vajra, as already met in the previous maṇḍala. Furthermore, eight Buddhas of the directions \(^{111}\) are painted on two narrow stripes of the two adjoining walls.

On the southern wall, to the left of the entrance door, there is the maṇḍala of Trailokyavijaya (Khams-gsum-rnam-rgyal), which is used as a remedy against wrath. It is drawn from the first section of the dPal-mchog, which is related to the Prajñāpāramitā (Šes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa). The central deity is Vajrahūmākara in his wrathful manifestation, blue, with one head and two arms, stretching to the right in a militant posture (pratyālīḍha), threading on Uma and Maheśvara. He displays the vajrahūmkāramudrā which is proper to him and is surrounded by the Ten Krodhas and other minor deities (Pl. 88).

The statues and paintings in this chapel were offered by the supreme chief of the army (dmag-dpon chen-mo) and Prime Minister (blon-chen) of the great chos-rgyal.

\(^{111}\) The inscription mentions the eight sattvas of the eight directions (bṛgyad phyogs-mtshams-kyi sems-dpa' bṛgyad) (Tucci, 1941b: 69), while the captions underneath the eight figures define them as Buddhas (Saṅs-rgyas). The paintings portray the Buddhas in monk attire.
Plate 87. The Yellow Vairocana displaying the bodhyagrimudrā. Chapel 3/20 (eastern wall).
Chapter Four

THE LINEAGES OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM AS REPRESENTED BY THE STATUES AND PAINTINGS IN THE SKU-'BUM

4.1 The chapels of the fourth floor and the topmost temple in the spire

As already mentioned, the fourth floor of the sKu-'bum is made up of eleven chapels, of which eight are rectangular and three pentagonal, and of a vestibule which is five-sided, too. It is difficult to establish if the two different types of chapels must be assigned a different degree of importance, although some indication in that sense seems to emerge from the fact the donor of the three corner chapels, of a larger size, was Rab-brtan-kun-bzan 'Phags-pa himself.

The chapels of this floor, as well as the topmost temple in the spire, are devoted to the different spiritual lineages of Tibetan Buddhism, that is to the uninterrupted series of masters who transmitted tantric texts, rituals and practices belonging to any one particular body of teachings. These lineages may coincide with the great schools of Tibetan Buddhism, like that of the Saska-pas, masters of the lam-'bras doctrine, but may also go through different schools and monastic traditions.

The state of preservation of the paintings in the chapels of the fourth floor is worse than in the lower floors and in the upper section of the sKu-'bum. In fact the greater extension of the surface above, which is the terrace surrounding the cylindrical structure of the bum-pa, has favoured the formation of cracks and caused a greater number of leakages, which in many points have irreparably damaged the paintings.

Tucci seems to be right in his opinion that the artistic value of
the paintings in these chapels does not match, and anyway never surpasses, that of the paintings of the floors below, but their specific value lies in the fact, which was pointed out by Tucci himself, that “the history of Buddhism is visibly reproduced through the images of its most important figures: monks and kings, ascetics and doctors multiply on the walls. The statues of the saints and deities to whom the chapels are devoted can be seen surrounded by painted screens reproducing the age-old continuity of the doctrine perennially enlivened by new and most faithful interpreters”¹. Indeed this is a unique display of the greatest figures in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, the result of a major effort to systematize and organize the religious history of the country. It can be compared in its importance with the mighty compendium of tantric cycles displayed on the first three floors of the sKu-'bum, and was perhaps inspired by the same need of rigour and orthodoxy which fostered Bu-ston to write his precious and authoritative Chos-'byun along with the explanation and comment of the great tantras. For these very reasons we have deemed it useful to fill the gap left by Tucci concerning these chapels.

No inscriptions are detectable in the topmost temple within the spire, besides the captions giving the names of the painted figures. On the contrary, seven out of the eleven chapels on the fourth floor (4/1, 4/2, 4/5, 4/6, 4/8, 4/10, 4/12) are provided with inscriptions, chiefly containing praises to the people portrayed there, but also the names of painters, sculptors and donors. The painters quoted in the inscriptions are: Rin-chen dPal-'byor from gNas-rniṅ and his son in chapel 4/1²; Don-grub-skyabs from mKhar-kha in chapels 4/2, 4/8, 4/10³; Thar-pa-ba from lHa-rtse in chapel 4/5⁴; and the brothers Blo-gros-rab-gsal and dGe-ba from bDe-chen⁵ in chapel 4/6⁶. According to the inscription, chapel

---

1. Tucci, 1941a: 290.
2. Tucci, 1941b: 70.
5. A well-known place near lHa-rtse (Tucci, 1941b: 205, n. 1).
4/12 was painted by the brothers, the upāsakas (dge-bsä snack) from lHa-rtse⁷, possibly a reference to the same two brothers. The paintings in chapels 4/2 and 4/12 were executed following the instructions given by Rin-chen-dpal-grub⁸, a scholar who obviously was an acknowledged expert in the tradition of the two important lineages, Sa-skya-pa and bKa'-gdams-pa, to which the chapels are devoted. The painter Rin-chen dPal-'byor of gNas-rñiän mentioned along with his son in chapel 4/1 is probably identical with the dPal-'byor Rin-chen of gNas-rñiän mentioned in chapel 2/15, devoted to 'Jam-dbyaës-smra-ba'i-señ-ge (Vadisimha Mañjughoṣa)⁹, of which Tucci acknowledges the “remarkable artistic value”¹⁰. The painter dGe-ba from bDe-chën, near lHa-rtse, and his brother also executed the beautiful paintings in chapels 2/2 and 2/3, which are devoted to Señ-Iden-nag-kyi sGrol-ma (Tārā Khadira-vaṇḍi)¹¹ and to Señ-ge-sgra (Lokeśvara Siṃhanāda)¹². Finally Thar-pa-ba of lHa-rtse is the author of the paintings decorating the walls of several chapels on the three floors below. In fact he is mentioned in the inscriptions of chapel 1/5, devoted to gŽan-gyis-mi-thub-ma gDugs-dkar-mo-can (Aparajitā Uṣṇīsa-tātapatrā)¹³, 2/16, devoted to sPyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita)¹⁴, and 3/20, devoted to rDo-rje-sems-dpa' (Vajrasattva)¹⁵. Above all he is the painter who decorated the walls of the western temple on the first floor, 1/6, devoted to Tshe-dpag-med (Amitāyus) and his Sukhāvati¹⁶, to which Tucci paid special attention, regarding these paintings as “a great composition in which a wind of reaction against iconographic patterns blows”¹⁷.

---

8. Ibidem: 72, 89.
10. Tucci, 1941a: 217; 1941c: fig. 254.
11. Tucci, 1941b: 26; 1941c: figs. 209-212.
15. Tucci, 1941b: 69.
The statues in chapels 4/5, 4/6, 4/8, 4/10 were modelled by the same artists Nam-mkha'-bzan-po from lHa-rtse\textsuperscript{18}, who also made statues for several other chapels of the sKu-'bum: 2/12, 3/14, 3/15, 3/17, 3/19, 3/20\textsuperscript{19}. The artist who made the statues in chapel 4/1 seems to be lHa'i-gyal-mtshan, who is mentioned along with the painter Rin-chen dPal-'byor and his son in the inscription of that chapel (\textit{Rin-chen-dpal-'byor-da\textsuperscript{n} de'i sras-da\textsuperscript{n} lHa'i-rgyal-mtshan})\textsuperscript{20}. In fact lHa'i-rgyal-mtshan is the chief artist who modelled statues in chapels 1/14, 2/4, 2/15, 2/16. The statues in chapel 4/12 were made by mThu-bri from mKhar-kha\textsuperscript{21}, who does not seem to have worked elsewhere in the sKu-'bum. In spite of the skill of some of the artists, the statues of this floor do not seem to be particularly significant for their aesthetic value. Their interest may rather lie in the fact that they seem to set the iconographic patterns which in the 15th century were being established for the representation of the most important figures in the religious history of Tibet.

The chapels of the fourth floor and the topmost temple in the spire will be all described below one by one, reporting their name as written in the \textit{dkar-chag} or on the door, when available.

\textbf{4.2 Chapel 4/1 (mKhyen-rab-lha-khan)}

This chapel is placed in the western section of the southern projection and is devoted to the \textit{mKhyen-rab} (wise; supreme knower), an epithet which seems to apply to Bu-ston, the great knower of all \textit{tantras}, together with his disciples. The central image of the group of the three statues along the northern wall of this chapel is in fact the image of the \textit{kun-mKhyen} (all-knowing) Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290-1364), flanked on his right by his spiritual son, the translator Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal-dpal-bzan-po,

\textsuperscript{18.} Tucci, 1941b: 76, 79, 83, 84-85.
\textsuperscript{19.} \textit{Ibidem}: 38, 62, 64, 66, 68, 69.
\textsuperscript{20.} \textit{Ibidem}: 70.
\textsuperscript{21.} \textit{Ibidem}: 87.
Plate 89. Buston flanked by Rinchen namgyal dpal-bzan-po (to his right) and by Sku-za'n-chos-rgyed (to his left). Chapel 4/1.
and on his left by a monk who is qualified as sku-žaṅ chos-rje by the dkar-chag pasted onto the wall (Pl. 89).

The extraordinary career of Bu-ston started in 1320, when he first arrived at Žwa-lu and built a temple on the Ri-phug\textsuperscript{22}, establishing a strong relationship with the sku-žaṅ Grags-pa-rgyalmtshan, who belonged to a family which became related to both the abbots of Sa-skya and the princes of Gyantse. When the sku-žaṅ's son and successor Kun-dga'-don-grub built a large shrine devoted to the yogatantras at Žwa-lu, Bu-ston himself drew the plan of five hundred maṇḍalas belonging to various tantric cycles and the related lha-'bum ("one hundred thousand deities", a term employed with reference to the iconographic instructions concerning them), besides composing a general religious history of yoga (Yo-ga'i spyi'i chos-'byun). He also gave instructions for a great temple with images of the sixteen sthaviras (gnas-brtan) and made several drawings illustrating the previous lives of the Buddha, his Twelve Deeds and so forth, as well as the plans of the assemblies of the deities of tantras. Furthermore he made the designs for cast images of various deities, for a three-dimensional Vajradhatu maṇḍala, and drawings of eighty siddhas. In Śaṅs, central Tibet, he designed stūpas, images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas and many maṇḍalas of the caryātantras, making their lha-'bum as well as the lha-'bum of the maṇḍalas of the kriyātantra class\textsuperscript{23}. Through a process of discarding all that was uncertain and selecting all that was based on sound tradition, Bu-ston not only systematized the Tibetan canonical literature, but also standardized the symbolic representations of the deities therein described.

As we are here mainly concerned with the relationship of that outstanding scholar with the Gyantse area and with the sKu-'bum in particular, we may notice that Bu-ston was called in 1357 by the prince of Gyantse, 'Phags-pa dPal-ldan-bzaṅ-po, to perform consecrations and confer bodhisattva vows at lCaṅ-ra\textsuperscript{24}, a feud in

\textsuperscript{22} Ruegg, 1966: 15a, 17b; Tucci, 1949: 660.

\textsuperscript{23} Ruegg, 1966: 21a-22a.

\textsuperscript{24} Ruegg, 1966: 35b; Tucci, 1949: 663.
upper Myan which was in the dowry of the king's first wife, Padma. Obviously he could not dictate the inscriptions of the sKu-'bum of Gyantse (built in the 15th century) as he had done at Žwa-lu; however, the inscriptions in the eastern, southern and northern temples in the bum-pa state unequivocally that the deities of the maṇḍalas of the yogatantra class painted on their walls were drawn according to Bu-ston's lha-'bum. Bu-ston is again mentioned in the inscriptions and portrayed in the paintings of chapels 1/9, 1/15, and 2/20 on the first floor of the sKu-'bum.

The translator sGra-tshad-pa Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal-dpal-bzañ (alias: Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal-ba), who is portrayed on Bu-ston's right, compiled the first section of Bu-ston's biography, up to 1355, at Sa-skya, and the second section at Ri-phug in 1366. A master of the Kālacakra, he was regarded as Bu-ston's spiritual successor. He may be the same abbot who occupied for twenty-two years the seat of gSan-phu Ne'u-thog, an originally bKa'-gdams-pa monastery which was founded south of Lhasa by the translator of rNog, Legs-pa'i-šes-rab.

The title sku-žaṅ chos-rje that the inscription assigns to the statue on Bu-ston's left has already been met with reference to a portrait in Chapel 3/7 and probably refers to Nam-mkha'-mchog-sgrub-dpal-bzañ-po, the son of the sku-žaṅ of Žwa-lu, rDo-rje-dbañ-phug. He refused to help his elder brother, the sku-žan Ye-šes-kun-dga', to rule and devoted himself to religious life. Before becoming a monk, he received the upāsaka vows and the kālacakra teachings from Bu-ston Rin-po-che. Like Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal-ba, he became a master of the Kālacakra.

The figure of another master of the Kālacakra, painted on the eastern wall, is identified by a caption as the mahāsiddha Gruben-chen Rin-po-che (1230-1309), better known under his epithet of U-rgyan-pa (the One of U-rgyan) with which he is referred to in the

dkar-chag, by virtue of a famous journey which he made to U-rgyan (Uḍḍiyāna, in those days corresponding to the upper valley of the Swat)\textsuperscript{30}. U-rgyan-pa also travelled to Bodhgayā, where he was given the title of Supreme Master of the Mystic Assembly by the local Buddhist prince Rāmapāla, and to China, where he met the Mongol emperor Qubilai Khan, who conferred upon him the title of bla-ma chos-kyi rgyal-po (Master King of the Doctrine)\textsuperscript{31}. U-rgyan-pa was a disciple of rGod-tshaṅ-pa\textsuperscript{32} and belongs to the bKa’-brgyud-pa tradition. He is surrounded here by lamas of the Saṃvara and Kālacakra traditions.

The white-haired figure painted on the western wall, bearing the caption 'Jam-pa’i-dbyaṅs Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan is referred to as Chos-rje 'Jam-dbyaṅs Rin-rgyal in the inscriptions\textsuperscript{33}. Mention of this master, who performed the consecration ceremonies of the main sanctuary and of the Chos-rgyal-lha-khaṅ in the gTsug-lag-khaṅ at Gyantse in 1421\textsuperscript{34} has already been made in the first section of Chapter Two, to which the reader may refer. Here his image is surrounded by masters of the Guhyasamājā tradition.

4.3 Chapel 4/2 (Lam-’bras-lha-khaṅ)

The chapel devoted to the lineage of the lam-’bras occupies the south-western corner of this floor of the sKu-'bum, with the entrance facing south.

The term lam-’bras is used to designate both the methods and the doctrinal texts of the Sa-skya-pa school which show the way (lam) leading to release, which is the fruit (’bras) resulting from it. This tradition rests on the notion of reality understood as the union of clarity and emptiness and of the inseparability of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa. Its teachings are based both on the sūtras (according

\begin{itemize}
  \item Roerich, 1976: 696-702.
  \item Tucci, 1971a: 373; Tucci, 1949: 159.
  \item Tucci, 1971a: 372.
  \item Tucci, 1941b: 70
  \item Myan-chuṅ, 1983: 55-57.
\end{itemize}
The lineages of Tibetan Buddhism

The lineages of Tibetan Buddhism (belonging to Nāgārjuna and Maitrinātha’s traditions) and on the tantras according to various cycles, especially those of Hevajra and Saṃvara\(^{35}\). The tantric methods of the *lam-'bras* are in fact aimed at realizing that the union of clarity and emptiness is the true nature of the mind, a kind of practice allowing the spontaneous emergence of natural wisdom, thus revealing the presence of universal awareness in ourselves\(^{36}\).

The central statue in the triad placed along the south-eastern wall portrays the siddha Virūpa (Bir-wa-pa), lord of the yogins who, according to tradition, was entrusted by bDag-med-ma (Nairātmyā) with the *lam-'bras* teachings emanating from Vajradhara, so that he might propagate them among mankind (Pl. 90). The *lam-'bras* lineage extends from Virūpa to a series of Indian siddhas and masters including Kṛṣṇācārya, Damarūpa, Avadhūtipa and Gayadhara. The latter went to Tibet and was invited by 'Brog-mi to Myu-gu-luṅ, a monastery founded by 'Brog-mi in 1043, where he spent five years transmitting all his precious teachings to him.

mKhyen-brtse’s guide to the holy places of central and southern Tibet describes the Mañ-mkhar Valley, where there is a series of thirteen caves, mentioning the one placed at the foot of Gram-pa lHa-rtse, where 'Brog-mi apparently met Gayadhara for the first time, the gSun-ña-g-lam-'bras-phug, where the *lam-'bras* was explained, and the sGra-bsgyur-lo-tsā-phug, where the texts were translated into Tibetan\(^{37}\).

'Brog-mi (literally: the Man of the Steppe), originally a follower of the old tantras, later obtained the teachings of the new tantras in the western Tibetan kingdom of Gu-ge. After studying Sanskrit in the Nepal Valley under the Newar scholar Śāntibhadra, he paid a visit to Śāntipa at Vikramaśila and then proceeded to Bengal, where he met Prajñā-Indraruci, who gave him the first

\(^{35}\) In this connections it should be pointed out that a large three-dimensional *mandala* of bDe-mchog is placed at the centre of the Lam-'bras-lha-khaṅ built on the upper floor of the gTsug-lha-khaṅ, to which the following chapter is devoted.

\(^{36}\) Cf. Tucci, 1949: 91.

teachings of the lam-'bras. After thirteen years 'Brog-mi returned to Tibet, where he translated three great tantras, including the Hevajratantra, and several other minor tantric texts. He had many disciples, among whom, for a short spell, the great Mar-pa lo-tsā-ba, the guru of Mi-la-ras-pa. 'Brog-mi Šākya-ye-ses (992-1072), also known as Bla-chen 'Brog-mi, was therefore the true founder of the lam-'bras school in Tibet. He handed the tradition down to 'Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po (1034-1102), who built the monastery of Sa-skya and founded the Sa-skya-pa order. It may therefore appear strange that in this chapel the statues of 'Brog-mi and of dKon-mchog-rgyal-po should not appear at the sides of Virūpa, who is flanked instead by Chos-rje Sa-chen Kun-dga'-sniṅ-po (also known as Sa-chen Kun-sniṅ, or simply Sa-chen) (1092-1158) on his right and by the latter's eldest son, rJe-btsun bSod-nams-rtse-mo (1142-1182), on his left.

However, it should be pointed out that Kun-dga'-sniṅ-po, dKon-mchog-rgyal-po's son, was himself a great siddha and, according to tradition, received the lam-'bras doctrine directly from Virūpa, who miraculously appeared at Sa-skya and taught for a whole month there. Sa-chen was only ten years old when his father died in 1102, and did not succeed immediately to the throne of Sa-skya. The seat was occupied in fact by Ba-ri lo-tsā-ba (aged sixty-two at that time)²⁹, whom Sa-chen succeeded at his death, in 1111.

Also bSod-nams-rtse-mo and his younger brother, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216), became great siddhas and were both included in the group known as Sa-skya goṅ-ma rnam-līṇa, the Five Supreme Ones of Sa-skya, including Sa-skya Paṇḍita, Sa-chen, bSod-nams-rtse-mo, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and 'Phags-pa. The slob-dpon (ācārya) bSod-nams-rtse-mo wrote bulky treatises on the tantras, which represent the very foundation of the Sa-skya-pa esoteric tradition, and undertook the difficult task of systematizing

³⁹. Roerich, 1976: 211. The Blue Annals, which count the years in the usual Tibetan way, give 'aged 63': thus Ba-ri-pa was born in 1040 according gZon-nudpal. This date is confirmed by the Sa-skya lorgyus, giving the dates 1040-1111 (Lo-rgyus, 1987: 16-17).
Plate 91. 'Gro-mgon Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa. Chapel 4/2 (eastern wall).
the many texts then circulating by means of his rGyud-sde spyi'i nmam-par-bzag. He also compiled a compendium of the Buddhist doctrines, the Chos-la 'jug-pa'i sgo (the Door of Access to the Doctrine)\textsuperscript{40}.

Two more statues are placed in this cell, with their backs to the two narrow walls adjoining the central one: that of Sa-skya Paññita to the north and that of 'Phags-pa to the east (Pl. 91). Both Sa-skya Paññita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1181-1251) and 'Gro-mgon Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa (1235-1280) are too well-known and important figures in the history of Tibet to be dealt with here.

The western wall of this chapel is painted with two figures facing each other, rJe-btsun-chen-po Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and Chos-rje bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po, surrounded by the noble progeny of 'Khon, the clan which always controlled the Sa-skya principality and its monastic institutions. The first name corresponds to two different masters. One is rJe-btsun Rin-po-che Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1217), who succeeded to the abbatial seat of Sa-skya in 1172. He wrote commentaries on the cycles of Samvara and Mahākāla and on other tantric cycles, and he also dealt with problems of tantric literature in general\textsuperscript{41}. The other is Rin-po-che Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, a mkha~?-chen of the 'Khon clan, who performed the consecration ceremonies at rTse-chen in 1368. The latter master was a contemporary of the figure facing him in the painting\textsuperscript{42}.

Chos-rje bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po, as he is called in the caption painted below his portrait, is referred to as dPalldan- Bla-ma Dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po in the long inscription in this cell\textsuperscript{43}. Tucci refers this figure to No. 15 in his list of the abbots of Sa-skya\textsuperscript{44}, corresponding to the name of slob-dpon bSod-nams-bzañ-po, the eldest of the twelve sons of the

\textsuperscript{40} Tucci, 1949: 100.
\textsuperscript{42} See the manuscript mentioned in note 1 of Chapter Two (p. 37).
\textsuperscript{43} Tucci, 1941b: 72.
\textsuperscript{44} Tucci, 1941a: table between pp. 72 and 73; 1941b: 215, n. 3. Cf. Tucci, 1949: Genealogical Tables, table I.
bdag-ñid-chen-po (or bdag-chen) bZaṅ-po-dpal (1262-1322)\textsuperscript{45}), 'Phags-pa's nephew and 11th abbot of Sa-skya from 1306. He was born at the Imperial Court in Beijing from dBaṅ-yum rGya-mo (the Mighty Chinese Mother) and died in mDo-khams on his way to Tibet\textsuperscript{46}. The Blue Annals do not provide the dates of his birth and of his death, which possibly took place at an early age, or any other indications which may justify the important place assigned to the figure painted in front of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan on the western wall of the chapel. Furthermore he is not mentioned as abbot of Sa-skya in the Lo-rgyus or in Amipa's account. Our figure portrays in fact a brother of his, born at Khan-gsar, in Žwa-lu, from Žwa-lu-ma Ma-gcig gZon-nu-'bum, the fifth wife of the bdag-chen bZaṅ-po-dpal, and corresponds to No. 24 in Tucci's list in Indo-Tibetica. Chos-rje Bla-ma Dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375) was the 14th abbot of Sa-skya and belonged to the Rin-chen-sgan branch\textsuperscript{47}. He was also an important master and, according to the Chronicles of the 5th Dalai Lama, he "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 the diadem of all those who possess the teachings..."\textsuperscript{48}. The spiritual lineage of Tshar-pa, one of the two Sa-kya-pa sub-schools, descends from him\textsuperscript{49}. He was the chaplain of the emperor Ying-zong during the brief period of his reign (1320-1323)\textsuperscript{50}, the sde-srid Phag-mo-gru-pa's spiritual guardian\textsuperscript{51} and, for a short spell before his death, he taught Tsŏn-kha-pa, then still a boy, who was a student at sNe-thaṅ\textsuperscript{52}. He encouraged Bu-ston to write a manual on

\textsuperscript{45} 1324 (šiṅ byi-ha) according to the Lo-rgyus, 1987: 50.
\textsuperscript{46} Roerich, 1976: 214.
\textsuperscript{48} Tucci, 1949: 627.
\textsuperscript{49} Ferrari, 1958: 119, n. 180; 152, n. 518.
\textsuperscript{50} See No. 24 in the list of Sa-skya abbots given by Tucci (1941a: table between pp. 72 and 73).
\textsuperscript{51} Tucci, 1949: 628.
\textsuperscript{52} Ferrari, 1958: 165.
the *Pañcakrama* of the *Guhyasamājatantra*\(^53\). His great tomb (*gduñ-'bum chen-po*) was placed below the sNe-thaṅ-'or (or sGrol-ma-lha-khaṅ), together with the statue of Atiśa, who spent his last days at sÑe-thaṅ\(^54\).

The importance attributed to bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po in the sKu-'bum is perhaps also linked with his particular relationship with the princes of Gyantse. In fact, according to the *Char-'bebs*\(^55\), 'Phags-pa dPal-Idan-bzaṅ-po, the founder of the Gyantse dynasty, was taken prisoner in 1364 at Rin-spunś and taken to 'Grwa-phyi-tshoṅ-'dus, but was released unhurt thanks to the intervention of his wife, who belonged to the Žwa-lu dynasty, and of the Sa-kyas-pas, particularly in the person of the glorious *dharlnasvāmin*, the holy *bla-ma* bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan. Possibly in order to strengthen the particular tie which had thus been created, when bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po went to central Tibet in 1367, 'Phags-pa dPal-Idan-bzaṅ-po begged him to perform the consecration ceremony of the temple of lCaṅ-ra, the feud which he had received as his wife's dowry from the *sku-žaṅ* of Žwa-lu when, in 1350, he married his daughter, dPon-mo Ma-gcig Pad-ma.

On the southern wall, to the right of the entrance door, there is the long inscription published and translated by Tucci and another important portrait which the caption identifies as *Thegchen chos-kyi rgyal-po* (King of the *Mahāyāna* Doctrine) (Pl. 92). This is the title which in 1412 the emperor Chengzu (often called Yongle after his reign period\(^56\)) conferred to Kun-dga'-bkra-śis-rgyal-mtshan, also known as Chos-rje Kun-bkra (1349-1425)\(^57\), the

---

\(^53\) Roerich, 1976: 424, n. 5.


\(^55\) Tucci, 1949: 663-664.

\(^56\) Karmay, 1975: 73.

\(^57\) *Ibidem*: 55, 79. Karmay identifies Kun-dga'-bkra-śis-rgyal-mtshan with the 32nd abbot of Sa-skya, while the *Sa-skya lo-rgyus* mentions one Kun-dga'-bkra-śis as 30th abbot, but does not include in its list the *Thegchen chos-kyi rgyal-po* Kun-dga'-bkra-śis-rgyal-mtshan. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that, during the latter's life time (1349-1425), the abbots of Sa-skya were the following: the *lde-bshen* Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1332-1364), of the lHa-khaṅ branch, 14th Grand Lama from
son of the ta-dben Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po. Although we do not know much about Chos-rje Kun-bkraś, he seems to have played an important role in the struggle against the Phag-mo-gru-pas and it is quite significant that he is placed first among the Sa-skya-pa dignitaries mentioned in the Mingshi, which gives much room to his visit to the Imperial Court, where he stayed from 1412 to 1414. In the inscription reported by Tucci this master is credited with having been the spiritual guide of the Ming emperor.

The walls of the chapel surrounding the statues and main figures described above are painted with a number of images (116 according to the dkar-chag) portraying the divine progeny of the 'Khon clan starting from Nam-lha, the main mahasiddhas and Sa-skya-pa masters initiated in various tantric cycles, particularly those of Hevajra and of Sañvara according to Lüipa's method.

4.4 Chapel 4/3 (The lha-khan devoted to the Prañāpāramitā system)

This chapel, the first one in the western projection of the fourth floor, is devoted to the Indian masters and commentators of the Prañāpāramitā literature and to their Tibetan spiritual successors, who diffused most of the commentaries which explain the hidden meaning of the Prañāpāramitā following Asaṅga's and Haribhadra's works.

The figures of these two great Indian scholars, who are par-

1337; the ta-bden Kun-dga'-rin-chen (1339-1399), 15th Grand Lama from 1364; the slob-dpon Gu-sri Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1366-1420), of the bZi-thog branch, 16th Grand Lama from 1399; and Jam-dbyaṅs-nam mkha'-rgyal-mtshan (1398-1472), of the Rin-chen-sgnañ branch, 17th Grand Lama from 1420 (Lo-rgyus, 1987: 54-56).


60. Tucci, 1949: 686, n. 93; Karmay, 1975: 79-80, 98-99. For the exchange of images between Chos-rje Kun-bkraś and the emperor Chengzu, the reader is referred to the first section of Chapter Two.

61. Tucci, 1949: 89.
particularly favoured for study by Tibetans, are painted on the walls of the chapel. On the northern wall is portrayed Asaṅga (Thogs-med), the founder of the yogācāra/viśṇavāda school. Born in Peshawar (4th/5th century), he was a leading exponent of the cittamātra (sems-tsam; "mind only") doctrine, according to which all elements of existence have a common foundation called ālayavijñāna, meaning "store of consciousness". Though Asaṅga's works were not included in the bKa'-gyur, they enjoyed enormous prestige for, according to tradition, he was inspired by the Bodhisattva Maitreya, the Buddha to come. The scheme of the three main types of Buddha-body (dharmakāya, sambhogakāya and nirmāṇakāya), which had important consequences on the development of northern Buddhist iconography, is generally credited to him and his works, which include the treatises on the Yogacāryābhumi, the Abhidharmasaṃcaya and the Mahāyānasamgraha, occupy a relevant portion of the mDo section of the bsTan-'gyur. On the southern wall a painted caption identifies the acārya Haribhadra (slob-dpon Señ-ge-bzan-po), a great scholar in the Prajñāpāramitā system who, like Asaṅga, was known to have had a vision of Maitreya and who wrote a commentary on Asaṅga's Abhisamayālaṃkāra which was in turn commented upon by Tibetan scholars. In particular he is considered the author of the version of the Prajñāpāramitā in twenty-five thousand verses contained in the bsTan-'gyur, which is partially different from the one in the bKa'-gyur.

According to the dkar-chag pasted on the wall, the central

---

64. Stcherbatsky, 1962, 1: 173.
66. Cordier, mDo: XLIX-LIII; LIV, 1-3.
71. Cordier, mDo: VI.
72. Ibidem: III-V.
Plate 93. rGyal-ba'i-sras-po Thogs-med-bzaṅ-po with Kun-spaṅ Sems-dpa'-chen-po Chos-kyi-rin-chen (to his right) and Gaṅs-can-ma-lus-dbaṅ-po Kun-dga'-dpal (to his left). Chapel 4/3.
statue in the group along the eastern wall of this chapel portrays rGyal-ba'i-sras-po Thogs-med-bzaṅ-po-dpal (Jinaputra Asaṅgabhadraśrī) (Pl. 93), who is possibly identical with Bodhisattva Thogs-med-bzaṅ-po, a teacher of scripture and logic, especially of the bKa'-gdams-pa tradition, who composed the rGyal-sras lag-len sobs-djun-ma (Thirty-seven Bodhisattva Practices) in a cave near the town of dNul-chu'i-rin-chen73. He seems to be the same as the rGyal-sras Thogs-med (1295-1369) who had his residence in bZad dNul-chu-chos-rdzoṅ74 and was a disciple of Bu-ston75 and a specialist of the tantric cycle of Mahākarunika.

The dkar-chag also mentions the names of the statues flanking this master, namely Kun-spaṅ (the Ascetic) Sems-dpa'chen-po Chos-kyi-rin-chen and Gaṅs-can-ma-lus-dbaṅ-po (Lord of the Whole of the Land of Snows) Kun-dga'-'dpal76. Little can be said of the former of the two, except that he may be identical with Chos-kyi-rin-chen, an abbot of the famous monastery of gNas-rniṅ who founded the monastery of lHa-do, in upper Myaṅ77. Gaṅs-can-ma-lus Kun-dga'-'dpal is in all likelihood the same as Ṉa-dbon-po Kun-dga'-'dpal (also called Ṉa-dbon Kun-dga', or simply Ṉa-dbon), a disciple of Dol-po-pa78 renowned as a great scholar79, a mahāpāṇḍita expert in the Prajñāpāramitā80 whom the Blue Annals include in the list of the masters who propagated in Tibet the teachings of Asaṅga's Abhidharmasamuccaya (mNon-pa kun-btus)81, which had been first exposed in Tibet by the wandering scholar Sṛti at the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century82. The same list

---

76. Gaṅs-can-ma-lus(?) in the dkar-chag.
79. *ibidem*: 780.
81. *ibidem*: 345.
82. *ibidem*: 346-347.
also contains the name of Bu-ston and that of Bo-don Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1308-1386), another disciple of Dol-po-pa and a great scholar who taught the pitakas, in particular the Prajñāpāramitā system, and logic. The na-dpon Kun-dga’-dpal is also referred to in the Char-bebs and Tucci identifies him with Kun-dga’-blo-gros-rgyalmtshan of rTse-chen, who is mentioned in the Myan-chuṅ as the na-dpon of rTse-chen, the mahāsiddha immediate reincarnation of Bu-ston who taught the Prajñāpāramitā to Tson-kha-pa. The great scholar Na-dpon Kun-dga’-dpal, along with six hundred disciples, was invited in 1371 to act as abbot by ’Phags-pa Rin-chen, who had built the abbatial residence with its assembly-hall in the great monastery of rTse-chen.

4.5 Chapel 4/4 (Zi-byed-lha-khaṅ)

This is the northern chapel in the western projection of the fourth floor of the sKu-bum and is devoted to the zi-byed and other lineages. The central statue in the triad placed along the main wall, the eastern one opposite the entrance door, portrays the Indian yogin Dam-pa-saṅs-rgyas (Pl. 94).

A native of southern India, the “father” (Pha)-dam-pa-saṅs-rgyas studied under famous teachers such as Tilopa, Virupa, who taught him the tantras belonging to the Mother class (ma rgyud), Maitripa and Saraha, who taught him the mahāmudrā doctrine.

84. Tucci, 1949: 664.
87. He should not be confused with Kun-dga’-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po (1299-1327), who received the title of ti-še (ti-šri; Master of the Emperor) from the Mongol dynasty in 1316, or with the ti-še Kun-dga’-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (alias: Kun-dga’-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po (1310-1358), who took over Samada (Tucci, 1941a: 95, 120-121) and conferred the cittotpāda to Bu-ston (Ruegg, 1966: 109).
88. Tucci, 1949: 664. Cf. the manuscript mentioned in note 1 of Chapter Two (p. 40). See also the first section of Chapter Two.
Pha-dam-pa spent four years at Svayambhū⁸⁹ and visited Tibet on many occasions, travelling as far as lower Khams and western Tibet, finally settling in 1097 with his followers at Diñ-ri, southwestern Tibet⁹⁰, where he died twenty years later, in 1117⁹¹. His tradition has continued until now among Tibetan exiles in Shar (Solo, Nepal)⁹². He is famous for introducing into Tibet the gcod and ži-byed teachings, which are both derived from the Prajñāpāramitā literature.

The practice of ži-byed, whose tradition has been handed down through many lineages, is supposed to bring immediate relief to those who suffer from disease, poverty, assaults by demons, as a consequence of their previous lives, and for this reason it is called sdug-bsnal ži-byed (pacification of afflictions). The first ži-byed lineage started shortly after Atiśa’s death (1054), on Pha-dam-pa’s first visit to Tibet (sna-gyi-skabs). Its doctrine included the sadhana of Yamantaka and the three cycles of Ži-byed sGrol-ma. After returning to India, Dam-pa-saṅs-rgyas visited Tibet again around 1080⁹³, giving origin to the intermediate lineage (ži-byed brgyud-pa bar-pa), including an upper lineage, a lower lineage, and several minor lineages. According to tradition he then proceeded to China, where he spent twelve years before returning to Tibet and finally settling in Diñ-ri. The ži-byed teachings of this later period (phyi-gyi skabs) made up the doctrine of the last lineage, which was called phyag-rgya chen-po dri-med thigs-pa phyag-bžes-kyi skor (cycle of the methods of drops of the immaculate mahāmudrā)⁹⁴.

All the methods of these various lineages have their doctrinal basis in the Prajñāpāramitā, but make use of typically tantric rituals. The transmission of the teachings often occurred following the application of the ži-byed practice by a master to people turn-

Plate 94. Dam-pa-sain-rgyas flanked by Phags-po-gru-pa (to his right) and Mags-scig Labs-sgron (to his left). Chapel 4/4.
ing to him to be relieved from serious illnesses. In a way patients penetrated into their own minds through the experience of illness: the suffering itself was used as a practice. Only the lower lineage was not based on this kind of experience as a means of spiritual progress, and transmitted the teachings merely through the practice of meditation.

Also the gcod doctrine is based on the Prajñāpāramitā, as is clearly indicated by the fact that its system was also known as Pha-rol-tu phyin-pa bdud-kyi gcod-yul. The practitioner is supposed to remove the contamination originating from the erroneous consideration of external objects. gcod-yul seems to mean literally “sphere of cutting” and Roerich translates it as “act of cutting asunder”\(^95\): the basic practice is to purify the defilement by completely cutting off grasping at self, which is the root of samsāra. Through a complex process of meditation practised in burial and cremation grounds, the yogin must produce the image of deities “out of his own conscious principle”\(^96\) and then reabsorb it, and become aware of the fact that everything, even deities, are devoid of substance.

The gcod teachings were transmitted through two lineages: one originated with Ma-gcig Lab-sgron-ma, and is called mo-gcod; the other originated with sKyo bSod-nams Bla-ma and rMañ-ra-ser-po, to whom Dam-pa-sañs-rgyas also transmitted his own method of Vajravārāhī, and is called pho-gcod\(^97\). In both lineages a prominent role was played by masters who recovered from serious illnesses, such as leper and tuberculosis, through the practice of gcod.

The statue of Dam-pa-sañs-rgyas is flanked by those of Ma-gcig (to the master’s left), and of (Hla) ’Gro-ba’i mGon-po (to his right). The epithet Ma-gcig, often met in Tibetan religious and historical literature, applies to several yoginis and women of rank\(^98\). The

---

\(^{95}\) Roerich, 1976: 981. Cf. Gyatso (1985: 321): “that which is to be severed”.

\(^{96}\) Tucci, 1949: 92.

\(^{97}\) gZon-nu-dpal: 1984: 1141.

\(^{98}\) See for example the indexes in the Wine Importer in Tibetan Painted Scrolls.
Blue Annals give two different accounts of female disciples of Dam-pa-saṅs-rgyas bearing that nickname, calling one Ma-gcig Ža-ma and the other Ma-gcig Labs-sgron.

The former, also known as Ža-chuñ-ma and lHa-rje-ma, was born in 1062. She had at least two brothers, one of whom was the famous chos-rgyal 'Khon-phu-ba, and married at the age of fourteen. She then decided to take up religion, left her husband and acted for five years as the sexual tantric partner (mudrā) of a famous master, the translator of rMa (1044-1089). rMa lo-tsā-ba took as attendant also Ma-gcig Ža-ma’s brother, the siddha ’Khon-phu-ba. He was then poisoned to death in Šab, a district between Sa-skya and Zhigatse. In 1101 Ma-gcig Ža-ma and her brother went to Byañ to listen to the exposition of the lam-’bras doctrine. After being afflicted by various troubles, Ma-gcig Ža-ma met Dam-pa-saṅs-rgyas and was restored to health. Dam-pa-saṅs-rgyas introduced her and her brother to the main text of the dohās and the dohās according to the method of Ža-ma were then bestowed to others. She and her brother played an important role also in transmitting the lam-’bras doctrine in Tibet. Ma-gcig Ža-ma “pretended” to pass away at the age of eighty-seven.

Ma-gcig Labs-sgron was born at g.Ye-labs and was apparently the sister of the translator Khe’u-gaṅ ’Khor-lo-grags. She was an expert reader and for a considerable time acted as reader of the Prajñāpāramitā for the kalyāṇamitra Grwa-pa-mñon-šes. About that time she met Dam-pa-saṅs-rgyas and he bestowed on her the secret precepts of the gcod-yul system. Though she had received the ordination in her childhood, she had intercourse with a master, Thod-pa-‘ba’-re, from whom she had two daughters and three sons. Later she dressed again as a nun, shaved her head and obtained the initiation of the cycle of Māyā from sKyo bSod-nams Bla-ma. She filled the country of Tibet with the hidden precepts of
E. Lo Bue - F. Ricca

gcod and passed away at the age of ninety-four\textsuperscript{104}.

The only common feature in the two biographies is that both women were nicknamed Ma-gcig (One Mother) and were disciples of Dam-pa-saṅs-rgyas. A perusal of the biography of Ma-gcig-labs-sgron translated by Allione\textsuperscript{105} reveals that it is entirely different from the first account in the \textit{Blue Annals}, whilst it corresponds almost in every detail with the second account\textsuperscript{106}. We are apparently confronted with two different female disciples of Pha-dampa, even if later Tibetan tradition and Western scholars tend to conceive them as one and the same person. Now the question arises: which of the two Ma-gcig under consideration is the statue meant to portray? The account in the \textit{Blue Annals} concerning Ma-gcig Ża-ma is included in the chapter on the propagation of the lam-'bras doctrine to which chapel 4/2 has already been shown to be devoted, while the account concerning Ma-gcig Labs-sgron is included in the chapter dealing with the gcod-yul system, which is more specifically connected to the Pha-dam-pa’s teachings in Tibet. That was probably the reason why the dkar-chag pointed to the latter with a quite reasonable choice.

As far as ‘Gro-ba’i-mgon-po is concerned, it is an epithet (Lord of living beings) which was applied not only to the great chos-rgyal ‘Phags-pa, the abbot of Sa-skya, but also to rDo-rje-rgyal-po Phagmo-gru-pa, one of the founders of the bKa’-brgyud-pa school. It is indeed to the latter that the dkar-chag seems to refer when applying that epithet to the third statue in the chapel. According to the \textit{Blue Annals} Phag-mo-gru-pa was born in mDo-khams in the dBas clan\textsuperscript{107}, but according to the bKa’-rgyud gser phren-ba he was born in the Glaṅs lHa-gzigs family, descending from Glaṅs Khams-pa

\textsuperscript{104} Roerich, 1976: 984; gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 1143.

\textsuperscript{105} Allione, 1985: 155 ff.

\textsuperscript{106} Some uncertainty subsists concerning her life span: ninety-four years (ninety-five according to the Tibetan system) in gZon-nu-dpal (1984: 1143), and ninety-eight in Ma-gcig’s biography as translated by Allione (1985: 184). However, a life span of ninety years results from the dates 1055-1145 reported by Allione herself (1985: 155). For other dates (1031–2; 1055-1143) see Gvatso (1985: 330, n. 38), who also rejects Roerich’s identification of Ma-gcig Labs-sgron with Ma-gcig Ża-chuň-ma (Gvatso, 1985: 329, n. 34).

\textsuperscript{107} Roerich, 1976: 553.
Go-cha, who was nañ-blon of King Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan\textsuperscript{108}. He learnt the smon-'jug from the bKa'-gdams-pas and the lam-'bras doctrine from Kun-dga'-sniñ-po at Sa-skya, as well as from Ma-gcig Ža-ma\textsuperscript{109}.

He also studied the rdzogs-chen teachings of the rNiñ-ma-pa tradition, but in particular he was one of the chief disciples of the great sGam-po-pa, also known as Dwags-po lHa-rje (the Physician from Dwags-po), since in his youth he studied medicine and became an expert in that science\textsuperscript{110}. That master had succeed in merging Mar-pa's and Mi-la-ras-pa's tantric teachings with the bKa'-gdams-pas monastic traditions, giving birth to the Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa, which also represents the lineage of the meaning (don) of the mahāmudrā, i.e. the “lineage of understanding of the immaculate Great Seal”\textsuperscript{111}. sGam-po-pa realized his comprehension of the mahāmudrā by means of the Prajñāpāramitā system, but also basing himself upon the anuttarayogatantra, and transmitted those teachings to Phag-mo-gru-pa, who in his turn handed them down to 'Bri-guñ-pa.

Phag-mo-gru-pa had a number of disciples and, along with Tsoñ-kha-pa and Žañ Rin-po-che, he is known as one of the “Three Jewels of Tibet”. He founded the Phag-gru bKa'-brgyud order, but only after his death did his disciples build a monastery at Phag-mo-gru. The Phag-gru bKa'-brgyud school subsequently spawned eight minor sub-schools (chuñ-brgyad)\textsuperscript{112}. It is likely that the collocation of his statue in this chapel, flanking that of Dam-pa-sañs-rgyas, corresponds to a view somehow unifying various lineages (like those of the ˙i-byed, gcod-yul and mahāmudrā) transmitting tantric teachings which, as far as doctrine is concerned, are founded on the Prajñāpāramitā.

A quite specific link between the lineages of this chapel and the princes of Gyantse is provided by the presence of a caption

\textsuperscript{108} Tucci, 1971b: 67a; 203.
\textsuperscript{109} Roerich, 1976: 226, 555-557, 1008.
\textsuperscript{110} Guenther, 1974: ix.
\textsuperscript{111} Roerich, 1976: 724. This expression is very similar to the one used to define the Pha-dam-pa’s third lineage.
painted on the southern wall, referring to the portrait of the translator of dPyal, Chos-kyi-bzaṅ-po, also known as dPyal Chos-bzaṅ. Another lama of the school of dPyal, unfortunately unidentified, is painted on the northern wall.

Chos-kyi-bzaṅ-po was a pupil of Ko-brag-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, who taught the lam-'bras doctrine according to the system of Ma-geg Ža-ma. He also met the great Kashmirian scholar Śākyaṇḍa, who bestowed upon him the commentary on the Hevajratantra composed by Nāropa. He even travelled to India. With Thar-pa-ba he taught Dam-pa-dbus-pa the six doctrines of Vārahī according to the system of dPyal, as well as the gŠed-dmar brgyud-pa, the tradition of the Red Yamārī to which the dkar-chag in the chapel specifically refers, along with many other texts. He founded the monastery of Thar-pa-glin, a place beyond a pass a few miles south of Žwa-lu, on the way to Gyantse.

Chos-kyi-bzaṅ-po belonged to an old family claiming descent from Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan and connected with the rNiṅ-ma-pa tradition. Most of the early descendants were kalyāṇamitras and one of them, dPyal 'Byuṅ-gnas-rgyal-mtshan, freed out the Indian wandering scholar Smṛti who, travelling from Nepal to the kingdom of Western Tibet at the time of the royal monk Ye-ses-'od, had ended up as a shepherd in rTa-nag. The nephew (dbon-po) of (dPyal) 'Byuṅ-gnas-rgyal-mtshan, Se-tsha bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, travelled to the Nepal Valley, where he learnt from Pham-thiṅ-pa (the One from Pharphing) the cycle of Hevajra and other tantric cycles according to Nāropa’s system. He also composed a commentary of the Hevajratantra, the study of which continued.

---

117. Tucci, 1941a: 70.
119. Ibidem: 395; Obermiller, 1986: 214-215. A statue of this famous Indian scholar kept at Chu-mig, southern Tibet, has been mentioned in the first section of Chapter One.
for a long time in the dPyal tradition. His nephew, Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, also studied with Newar masters in Tibet and Nepal, receiving the six doctrines of Vārāhi from the Newar Hā-mu dKar-po (Hamu the White), who taught that doctrine to several other Tibetan scholars

The dPyal family thus seems to be particularly connected with the cycle of Vajravarahi, whose precepts they taught to a number of masters, including Bu-ston, who spent over four years at Thar-pa-glin studying Sanskrit grammar and various texts, and learning the skill of translating from a very renowned translator of the time, the great Thar-pa lo-tsā-ba. Five different lineages rose within the dPyal tradition, but all derive from dPyal Kun-dga'-rdo-rje. Bu-ston belonged to the second lineage, while Chos-kyi-bzaṅ-po is included in the fourth one.

The princes of Gyantse must have had a special connection with the dPyal family, and the founder of the dynasty, 'Phags-pa dPal-lidan-bzaṅ-po, added the epithet of 'phags-pa (ārya; noble) to his personal name in order to honour and remember his master dPyal sTon-chen-po (the Great Teacher of dPyal) 'Phags-rgyal-ba. Later the builder of the sKu-'bum obtained his name, Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ 'Phags-pa, from a master of dPyal, Kun-dga'-rgya-mtsho. The relationship between the princes of Gyantse and the dPyal family also links the former with the rNiṁ-ma-pa tradition and somehow with the royal family of Tibet. One should be reminded that, according to local tradition, the palace of Gyantse was a residence of King Ral-pa-can, who founded a number of religious buildings in the area, and later of dPal-'khor-btsan, a grandchild of Glaṅ-dar-ma.

120. gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 476-477.
123. Tucci, 1941a: 83.
This chapel, which is placed at the north-western corner of the sKu-bum, is devoted to masters belonging to the bKa-brgyud-pa tradition. The inscription published by Tucci and the dkar-chag inform us that the statues are meant to portray Tilopa (at the centre), Nāropa (on his right), Mar-pa (on his left) (Pl. 95), Mi-la-ras-pa (along the eastern wall) (Pl. 96), and the Rin-po-che of Dwags-po, sGam-po-pa (along the southern wall). The northern and western walls are painted with the images of bDe-bṣegs Phagmo-gru-pa, Gliṅ-ras-pa and gTsaṅ-pa rGya-ras-pa, surrounded by the threefold lineage of the sahajamahāmudrāprayoga (phyag-chen lhan-cig-skyes-sbyor)\(^\text{129}\), by the lineage of the symbol of the mahāmudrā, and by the lineage of the lamas of the grub-sṇīṅ, a term which may be understood here as referring to Saraha’s tradition of the dohākoṣa\(^\text{130}\), namely the precepts contained in the tantric songs from Bengal imported to Tibet by the first masters of the bKa’-brgyud-pa tradition.

The sahajamahāmudrāprayoga is a mahāmudrā tradition taught by sGam-po-pa (1079-1153)\(^\text{131}\), one of Mi-la-ras-pa’s chief disciples and the true founder of the bKa’-brgyud-pa order, who combined the tantric teachings transmitted by his lay master with the already existing monastic tradition of the bKa’-gdam-pas. The text of the inscription refers to sGam-po-pa’s tradition as “tripartite” (brgyud-pa cha gsum), perhaps in connection with the three different periods in which the mahāmudrā system itself was translated, namely: the early dohā tradition transmitted by Atiśa; the intermediate one taught by the Indian Vajrapāṇi, who spent a long time in the Nepal Valley before going to Tibet, as well as by the Newar Asu, who spent most of his life in central Tibet; and the later one, transmitted by the western Tibetan Nag-po-ṣer-dad\(^\text{132}\).

---

128. Thus in the dkar-chag. The inscription calls it “dBaṅ-rgyal-lha-khaṅ” (Tucci, 1941b: 76).
sGam-po-pa had an excellent understanding of the *mahāmudrā* doctrine, bestowed it on a number of pupils and became a leader in that tradition. He produced a book of instructions called *lHan-cig-skyes-sbyor*\(^{133}\) and transmitted those teachings to 'Gro-ba'i mGon-po dPal Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po (1110-1170)\(^{134}\). He founded a monastery in Dwags-po (central-eastern Tibet) and his disciples established not less than six sub-schools based upon his teachings, one of which was founded by Phag-mo-gru-pa himself at the bDe-gšegs (Tathāgata) cave, where he had gone in 1158\(^{135}\).

Phag-mo-gru-pa lived in a grass hut until his death, but in the course of time this grew into the first important *bKa'-brgyud-pa* monastery, gDan-sa-mthil\(^{136}\). This master, who is portrayed not only in a painting on the northern wall of this chapel (Pl. 97), but also in a statue of chapel 4/4, provides a link between the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* tradition of the *mahāmudrā* and the *Sa-skya*-*pa* tradition of the *lam-'bras*.

Phag-mo-gru-pa’s disciple Gliṅ-ras-pa Padma-rdo-rje (1128-1188) is portrayed next to him on the same wall, surrounded by masters and *siddhas* (Pls. 98-100). Though, as a rule, Phag-mo-gru-pa disliked married *yogins* such as Gliṅ-ras-pa, he bestowed instructions upon the latter, who spent at least three months with him. Gliṅ-ras-pa learned the system of Vārāhi from a native of central Tibet, Žaṅ Bla-ma, who had been a disciple of both the translator of Rwa and of dPyal Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, the greatest master of the dPyal tradition who has been previously mentioned with reference to chapel 4/4\(^{137}\).

Gliṅ-ras-pa’s disciple, the *mahāsiddha* gTsāṅ-pa rGya-ras Ye-

---


Plate 95. The mahāsiddha Tilopa, flanked by Nāropa (to his right) and Mar-pa (to his left). Chapel 4/5.
Plate 96. Mi-la-ras-pa. Chapel 4/5 (eastern wall).
Plate 99. The *siddha* Maitripa. Chapel 4/5 (western section of the northern wall).
Plate 100. A dancing siddha. Chapel 4/5 (western section of the northern wall).
Plate 101. gTsaṅ-pa rGya-ras Ye-šes-rdo-rje. Chapel 4/5 (western wall).
The lineages of Tibetan Buddhism

śes-rdo-rje (1161-1211) is portrayed and identified by a caption on the western wall (Pl. 101). He was the founder of the monastery of 'Brug (c. 1189, or 1205-1207) in central Tibet, deriving its name from the appearance of a dragon/thunder ('brug) at the site where it was built. The 'Brug-pa school, nowadays chiefly important in Bhutan (which is called after it 'Brug-yul) and to some extent in Ladakh and Zangskar, has as its spiritual master Gliṅ-ras-pa. This master established his residence at a site which he called Rwa-luṅ, on the road from Gyantse to Lhasa, which was already in existence when rGya-ras was in his early twenties and became his own residence at a later time. Besides founding the monastery of 'Brug, rGya-ras is credited with the foundation of Kloṅ-rdol, a monastery in the vicinity of Lhasa.

Of the five branches of the 'Brug-pa school, three are called dKar-brgyud-pa, meaning White Lineage, because of the colour of the cotton cloth worn by its main masters, like Mi-la-ras-pa and rGya-ras-pa himself, in their practice of gtum-mo, a kind of heat-generating yoga. This term should not be confused with that of bKa'-brgyud-pa, standing for bKa'-babs bzi'i brgyud-pa, meaning Lineage of the Four Commands and referring to the four groups of teachings of that tradition as transmitted by Tilopa: the Guhyasamāja and Catuḥpiṭha tantras and the illusory body and transference yogas; the cycle of Mahāmāyā and the dream yoga; the Cakrasaṃvara tantra and the luminosity yoga; and the Hevajra tantra and the heat yoga. The fact that the dkar-chag names this

141. Tucci, 1941a: 58. It may be interesting to note here that at Rwa-luṅ stood a large sku-'bum, a bit smaller than the one at Gyantse, but with many chapels decorated with paintings which were commissioned by Pho-lha-nas bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas (Tucci, 1952: 55-56) either during his regency (1729-1735) or during his reign (1735-1747). Pho-lha-nas repaired the sku-'bum, where he was portrayed in a wall painting (Petrich, 1972: 197).
142. Roerich, 1976: 668
143. Stein, 1972: 78.
chapel after the dKar-brgyud lineage is owing partly to the virtual identification of that term with the homophonous expression bKa-brgyud at a later period (especially in a dKar-brgyud-pa environment) and partly to the circumstance that masters belonging to that tradition are represented in the chapel.

4.7 Chapel 4/6 (Rigs-lidan-lha-kañ)

This chapel, the first on the northern side of the sKu-bum (or more exactly "west of the northern projection"), is devoted to the masters of the Kālacakra lineage. The inscription refers to it as bla-ma lha-khañ bde-chen (that bliss which is the chapel of the masters), but the dkar-chag calls it Rigs-lidan lha-khañ (the chapel of the Kulikas), where Kulika (the One who bears the lineage) is the epithet given to the eighth mythical King of Śambhala, Mañjuśrīkirti (Rigs-lidan 'Jam-dpal-grags-pa), and to his successors.

Along the southern wall, opposite the entrance door, there is the statue of Kun-mkhyen-chen-po Šes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, flanked by those of his two disciples mKhas-grub-chen-po Phyogs-las-nam-rgyal, on his right, and mKhas-mchog Na-dpon Kun-dga'-dpal (mKhan-chen Na-dpon in the dkar chag and mKhas-mchog Na-dpon in the inscription), on his left (Pl. 102).

---


146. According to tradition, the Kālacakra-ratantra was brought to Śambhala by King Suchandra. Kulika Mañjuśrīkirti composed a condensed version of it (bsdus-rgyud; laghutantra) which is the only version now extant (Toh. 362). His follower, Kulika Pundarika (Rigs-lidan Padma-dkar-po), composed the Great Commentary known as the "Stainless Light" ('Grel-chen dri-med 'od; Vimalaprabhā) (Cordier, rGyud: I-II). The introduction of the Kālacakra from Śambhala into Madhyadesa is usually attributed to Celuka and placed in 966, but gZon-nu-dpal, the author of the Deb-ther sṅāṇ-po, argued that it must have been known in India long before that time. Present lineages, however, start with Celuka, probably the same as Kālacakrapāda the Elder (Dus-žabs Chen-po), who is credited with having obtained the Kālacakra teachings from Kulika Pundarika and transmitted them to Kālacakrapāda the Younger (Dus-žabs Chuñ-nu), probably the same as Nāropa (Roerich, 1976: 753 ff.; Tucci, 1949: 598-599, Hoffmann, 1961: 125 128. See also J. Hopkins’s Introduction to Tenzin Gyatso (1985: 59-61).

147. Tucci, 1941b: 78.
The dharmasvāmin Kun-mkhyen-chen-po (1292-1361), generally known as Dol-po-pa (the One of Dol-po, an area now in western Nepal), is the famous master of the Jo-nañ-pa school who in 1326 occupied the abbatial seat of the monastery of Jo-mo-nañ. He is the author of two fundamental texts in the doctrine of that school, the Ṇes-don rgya-mtsho (the Ocean of the Ultimate Truth) and the bKa'-bsdus bži-pa (the Fourth Council), putting forward the theory that Buddhahood is inherent to all living beings (rañ-bžin saĩs-rgyas), which were later proscribed by the dGe-lugs-pa school\textsuperscript{148}. At Jo-mo-nañ he obtained from mKhas-btsun Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho the transmission of the Vimalaprabhā along with the secret teachings of the Kālacakra, and in 1334 he ordered a revision of the translation of the Kālacakratantra to two disciples of his: Ma-ti Pañ-chen and the lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-dpal. On the basis of that new translation he then wrote an abridgement (bsdus-don) of the Vimalaprabhā (rGyud-'grel chen-mo). His two chief disciples, mKhas-grub-chen-po Bo-doñ Phyogs-las-nam-rgyal and Ńa-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal spread the Kālacakratantra and the ṣaḍaṅgayoga in dBus and gTsañ. The latter has already been mentioned in the section on chapel 4/3. The former, also known as Jigs-med-grags, was one of the most famous scholars in Tibet. He was born in 1306 in Western Tibet and studied also under Bu-ston. Dol-po-pa first entrusted him with the monastery of Ŋam-riñs\textsuperscript{149}, where he spent a long time gathering a number of excellent disciples around himself. In 1354 he became the abbot of Jo-mo-nañ, where he spent five years. He finally took up residence at Se-mkhar-chuñ, where he died in 1386. He transmitted the whole Kālacakra, the exposition of its Great Commentary and the ṣaḍaṅgayoga precepts to Saĩs-rgyas-rin-chen-pa (1336-1424), the master of 'Gos lo-tsā-ba gŢon-nu-dpal (1392-1491), the author of the Deb-ther siñon-po\textsuperscript{150}. Two more statues are placed in this chapel with their backs to

\textsuperscript{148} Roerich, 1956: 777.  
\textsuperscript{149} Near Iltumis (Roerich, 1956: 78). Also known as Byañ Ŋam-riñ (Ferrari, 1958: 153, n. 836).  
\textsuperscript{150} Roerich, 1956: 770.
the narrow eastern and western walls respectively. Neither is men-
tioned in the inscription published by Tucci\textsuperscript{151} and the two statues,
which have rather different thrones and pedestals from those
placed along the southern wall, appear to be a later addition. In
fact they seem to be superimposed to the large painted figures of
two masters of the Kālacakra tradition, which are totally different
from the small figures generally making up the parivāras which
are placed behind the statues in the chapels of this floor. To
strengthen the suggestion that those statues are later additions, it
may be pointed out that, out of the eight rectangular cells of the
fourth floor, this is the only one having statues placed along the
short side walls. The dkar-chag pasted onto the wall mentions the
names of the two figures as being Chos-rje dPal-lidan-legs-pa (on
the eastern wall) (Pl. 103) and 'Jam-dbyaṁs-dkon-mchog-bzañ-po
(on the western wall).

The former is repeatedly mentioned in the inscription as the
donor of this very chapel and is extolled as virtuous master, glory
of his lineage, accomplished in samādhi, expert in secret mantras
and, finally, as a yogin of the glorious Kālacakra\textsuperscript{152}. It might be
suggested that the dPal-lidan-legs-pa mentioned in the inscription,
an expert of the Kālacakra and a prominent figure in the ecclesias-
tical circles at the court of Gyantse during the building of the
sKu-'bum, was included after his death among the masters of that
tradition, along with his own master, whose vow he apparently
fulfilled by decorating the Rigs-ldan-lha-khañ and to whom might
correspond the other name mentioned in the dkar-chag, namely
'Jam-dbyaṁs-dkon-mchog-bzañ-po. However, it appears strange
that, whereas the title chos-rje attributed to him in the dkar-chag
and the epithet dpal-lidan bla-ma in the inscription seem to point
to a great scholar in the Kālacakra tradition, the names dPal-lidan-
legs-pa and 'Jam-dbyaṁs-dkon-mchog-bzañ-po are not found other-
wise in the volumes of Indo-Tibetica, nor are they mentioned in the
sections of the Char-’behs published by Tucci in Tibetan Painted
Scrolls.

\textsuperscript{151} Tucci, 1941b: 77-80.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibidem: 78-79.
Plate 102. Dol-po-pa flanked by Bo-doṅ Phyogs-las-mam-rgyal (to his right) and Na-dbon Kun-dga’-dpal (to his left) Chapel 4/t (southern wall).
According to the *Char-'bebs*, however, Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa, the builder of the sKu-'bum, invited from Byañ the *chos-rje* dGe-legs-dpal, his former master and "chief of four hundred scholars" to preside the religious ceremonies on the occasion of the endowment of a feud to the monastery of lCañ-ra, in 1413\(^{153}\). In the lack of other evidence, the mere assonance of the names of the two *chos-rje*, dGe-legs-dpal and dPal-lidan-legs, appears somehow significant, and encourages us to suggest that they might refer to the same person.

As to the lords of Byañ, who had close links with the Sa-skya-pa rulers and among whom several powerful *dpon-chen* emerged, the Chronicles of the 5th Dalai Lama mention one dKon-mchog-legs-pa, who received many teachings at the school of Śāriputra and of Bo-don Chos-rgyal Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1375-1450) and who in particular became "extremely well versed in the Kālacakra" and transmitted the commentary of the *Kālacakra* to rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan and Chos-grags-bzañ-po of Miñag and to Sain-rgyas-lhun-grub of rTse-thaň\(^{154}\), so as to become fully entitled to be included in this chapel. The *Deb-ther dmar-po gsar-ma* relates that dKon-mchog-legs-pa built a temple with a Kālacakra made of silver\(^{155}\) and that, besides the great Sa-skya-pa lamas, he honoured the Jo-nañ-pa and the Bo-don-pa lamas as his own masters.

He gave hospitality to the abbot of Bodhgaya, Śākyasrī Śāriputra Mahāsvāmin, during the latter’s stay in Tibet on his way to China, where he had been invited by the emperor\(^{156}\). This establishes a connection, however weak, of dKon-mchog-legs-pa with Gyantse, as it is known that in 1414 Rab-brtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa


\(^{154}\) Tucci, 1949: 632. dKon-mchog-legs-pa was the youngest son of Gu’i-guń Chos-grags-dpal-bzań (1352-1417), but we have been unable to find the date of his death, which should shed light on the introduction of his statue in the sKu-'bum. Only his older brother, the *bdag-chen* rNam-rgyal-grags-bzañ, appears in the genealogy provided by Tucci (1949: Genealogies, table IV), but the Chronicles inform us that he enjoyed great political authority and received the office of *srii ji dre hos*.

\(^{155}\) Tucci, 1947b: 58. dNuł-las grub-pa'i *Dus-kyi-khor-lo'i gčal-yas-khań*.

\(^{156}\) Tucci, 1949: 637. 665
went to 'Dol-chuñ to meet with great ceremonies and processions the mahāpañḍita Śākyasrī, who was then in all likelihood residing in Byañ as a guest of dKon-mchog-legs-pa, and invited him to lCañ-ra, where he was greatly honoured by the monks of upper Myañ and gNas-rñiñ. A second link can be seen in the fact that in 1438 the other great teacher of dKon-mchog-legs-pa, Bo-doñ Chos-rgyal Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal, was called to perform in Gyan-tse the ceremonies commemorating Śākyamuni's Enlightenment.

If an identity could be established between the dPal-ldan-legs-pa mentioned in the dkar-chag and in the inscriptions, the dGe-legs-dpal mentioned in the Char-'bebs, and the dKon-mchog-legs-pa mentioned in the Chronicles of the 5th Dalai Lama and in the Deb-ther dmar-po gsar-ma, it might be suggested that the master of the donor referred to by the inscription was Bo-doñ Chos-rgyal Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal and that the second of the two statues, portraying 'Jam-dbyangs-dkon-mchog-bzañ-po refers to another disciple, either of Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal or of dPal-ldan-legs-pa himself.

The western wall of this chapel is painted with the figure of Kun-mkhyen 'Phags-pa-'od Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho, the master who transmitted the Kālacakra teachings to Dol-po-pa, surrounded by the masters of the initiatic tradition of that cycle according to the systems of 'Bro and of Šoñ. It should be pointed out that the inscription published by Tucci reads 'Brom instead of 'Bro, which led him to refer to 'Brom-ston, the great disciple of Atiśa who founded the monastery of Rwa-sgreñ and the bKa'-gdams-pa order. However, neither Atiśa nor 'Brom-ston are mentioned in the Kālacakra lineages. On the other hand the Blue Annals relate how Dol-po-pa and Bu-ston studied that tantrā according to the tradition of 'Bro lo-tsā-ba' and include him with his name of 'Bro Šes-rab-grags in a list of translators of the Kālacakratantra. In

158. Tucci, 1941b: 79.
his Chos-'byun Bu-ston relates that 'Bro Śes-rab-grags went to Kashmir to invite the pandita Somanātha, brought him to Tibet and translated with him the detailed instructions for the Kālacakra and the great commentary entitled Vimalaprabhā\(^{162}\).

The Blue Annals list the masters of the Kālacakra tradition according to the 'Bro school as follows: Rigs-l丹 (Kulika), Dus-žabs-pa Chen-po (Kālacakrapāda the Elder), Dus-žabs-pa Chuṅ-ṅu (Kālacakrapāda the Younger), Zla-ba-mgon-po (Somanātha), sGom-pa dKon-mchog-bsruṅs, sGro-ston gNam-la-brtsegs, Yu-mo Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (also known as Bla-ma-chen-pa, the founder of the Lo-naṅ-pa school), his son Darmeśvara, Khaṅ-gsar-pa Nam-mkha'-od, Se-chen (Se-mo-che-ba) Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan, Chos-rje 'Jam-dbyaṅs-gsar-ma, Kun-mkhyen Chos-sk'u-od-zer, Kun-spaṅs Thugs-rje-brtson-’grus, Byaṅ-sems rGyal-ba-ye-ses, Kun-mkhyen Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho, Chos-rje Kun-mkhyen-chen-po (Dol-po-pa)\(^{163}\). 'Bro Śes-rab-grags is not explicitly mentioned in this succession, but he was the one who, through his translation work with Somanātha, transmitted the commentary on the Kālacakra along with all its secret teachings to dKon-mchog-bsruṅs. That is why the latter used to list the masters of his lineage inserting 'Bro lo-tsa-ba between Somanātha and himself\(^{164}\).

The system of Šoṅ refers to Šoṅ lo-tsā-ba, namely Šoṅ-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, who studied under sTag-bde-ba Seṅ-ge-rgyal-mtshan (1212-1294), a disciple of Bo-don Rin-po-che Rin-chen-rtse-mo from whom he obtained the complete initiation in the Kālacakra. He obtained from 'Phags-pa to be sent to India to learn the job of translator and spent five years in the Nepal Valley, attending on the pandita Mahendrabhadra and studying especially the science of grammar. After returning to Sa-skya he prepared a new translation of the Kālacakratantra and of the Vimalaprabhā (the latter was later revised by Bu-ston at Žwa-lu), which 'Phags-pa judged superior to the previous ones. He taught the work of trans-


\(^{164}\) ibid., 755.
lator to his younger brother, Šoň Blo-gros-brtan-pa, and the two are sometimes referred to as the Šoň Brothers 165.

The northern wall, to the left of the entrance door, is painted with the figure of Kun-spans Thugs-rje-brtson-’grus, who also belongs to the Kālacakra lineage according to the followers of ’Bro lo-tsā-ba, surrounded by other masters of that tradition. Kun-spans was born in 1243 (1242 according to the Re’u-mig) and soon became famous as a proficient debater. He received the Kālacakra initiation from Chos-sku-’od-zer and founded the monastery of Jomo-naň 166, after which the Jo-naň-pa school (founded by Bla-machen-pa Yu-mo-mi-bskyod-rdo-rje) was later called.

The eastern wall, behind the statue of Chos-rje dpal-lidan-legs-pa, is painted with the figure of Bla-ma Roň-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, surrounded by the masters of the Kālacakra lineage belonging to the tradition of Rwa lo-tsā-ba.

The Deb-ther sňon-po 167 lists their names as follows: Rigs-lidan (Kulika), Tsi-lu-ba (Celuka), Biňto-ba (Piñdopa; bSod-sňoms-pa), Dus-zabs Che-ba and Chuň-ba (the two Kālacakrapāda), Maňjušri-kirti, the Newar Samantašrī 168, Rwa Chos-rab, Rwa Ye-šes-seň-ge, Rwa ’Bum-seň, rJe-btsun rGwa-lo, Roň-pa Šes-rab-seň-ge, Bla-ma rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, who transmitted this tradition to Bu-ston, sKyi-ston ’Jam-dbyans and Kun-mkhyen-chen-po (Dol-po-pa). The lo-tsā-ba of Rwa giving the name to that Kālacakra tradition is dBon-po (the Nephew) Rwa Chos-rab, who translated the Kālacakratantra and its commentary with the Newar Samantašrī, whom

167. gŽon-nu-dpal, 1984: 887-888.

Before the Gorkha conquest of the Nepal Valley in 1768-1769, the Tibetan term Bal-po exclusively referred to the Nepal Valley and its original inhabitants, the Newars. It is with the Newars, and not with other Nepalese ethnic groups, that the Tibetans had and have continued to maintain cultural and social relations, including intermarriage. Cf. Snellgrove (1978: 339) and the abundant literature quoted by Lo Bue (1988: 91 ff.) on the issue. The circumstance that Newars often bore, as they still do, Sanskrit names, is a consequence of the Sanskritization of Newar culture from an early period.
he had invited to Tibet. He was the nephew of the great Rwa lobs- tsā-ba rDo-rje-grags-pa, who had studied in Nepal with the Newar Mahākaruṇa and provided to the reconstruction of the circular terrace of bSam-yas which had been burnt in the fire of 986. Chos-rab himself acted as superintendent on that occasion.

Ron-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, whose portrait is painted in the central portion of the wall, was born in 1283. He obtained the instructions relative to the initiation in the Kalacakra from Šes-rab-seṅ-ge-ba, whom he succeeded as the abbot of the monasteries of Šambhar and dBen-dmar. In 1310 he went to the Yuan court, where he had been invited by the emperor. He died in 1325.

4.8 Chapel 4/7 (Chos-rgyal-lha-khaṅ)

The chapel devoted to the dharmarājas, those who are regarded by tradition as the great Buddhist kings of Tibet, is placed in the western section of the northern projection of the fourth floor. The statues of the three Tibetan kings are placed along the main wall: Sron-brtsan-sgam-po in the centre, Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan on his right and Ral-pa-can on his left (Pl. 104).

These images can be compared with those of the same set, also known as mes-dpon gsum (the three ancestral rulers), which have already been met in the Chos-rgyal-lha-khaṅ (now known as Temple of Maitreya) in the gTsug-lag-khaṅ (see the first section of Chapter Two). Those statues, which were erected in 1423, were possibly a term of reference and comparison to the artist who reproduced the same subject in the chapels of the sKu-ˈbum. The two sets show remarkable differences, notwithstanding the many formal analogies imposed by an iconography which was probably fixed in the course of the previous century and in spite of several analogies, especially apparent in the looseness and smoothness of the folds of their garments, in the natural suppleness of their postures and in the elegant lightness of their thrones. The stateliness

---

of the statues in the sKu-'bum is related not so much to the superior serenity characterizing the look of the three statues in the gTsug-lag-khan, as to the stereotype inspired by the canonical models of the Buddha figure, including the length of the ear lobe, the shape of the chin, as well as the gilding of the face and hands. It should be pointed out that similar considerations may be extended to the whole of the statues on this floor, where a didactic and edifying concern seems to play a predominant role and to encourage hierarchic schemes rather than narrative compositions, achieving a stereotyped connotation of the individual figures, not only in their attitudes and attributes, but also in their physical traits and rigid physiognomies, sometimes betraying almost caricaturized features.

In this connection it seems significant that the historical sequence (Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po > Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan > Ral-pa-can), which in the gTsug-lag-khan is rendered by the regular sequence of the three figures from left to right, is replaced here by a layout placing at the centre the founder of the historical lineage of the Tibetan kings, namely Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po, flanked by his two successors, the first on his right and the second on his left. This is the same layout which is generally adopted on this floor of the sKu-'bum in the description of spiritual lineages, reflecting the recognition of the special role of the founder. The circumstance that this chapel is not devoted to a spiritual lineage, but to the dynastic lineage of the Tibetan kings possibly reflects the political and cultural influence exerted by the great Byaṅ-chub-rgyal-mtshan in retrieving and exalting the Tibetan glories of the monarchical period as opposed to the period of the Mongol domination.

The central triad is flanked, always along the same southern wall, by two smaller statues, which are modelled in a rather more ordinary way, of the two more famous wives of Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po: the Bal-bza', Newar consort, and the rGya-bza', Chinese consort, Wencheng (lHa-gcig Wun-šiṅ Koṅ-jo) who was granted to him in late 640 by the Tang emperor, Taizong. 171.

---

Plate 104. Srog-brten-sgam-po, at the centre, with Khri-srong-lde-brtan (to his right) and Ral-pa-can (to his left). At the ends, the Newar and the Chinese consort of Srog-brten-sgam-po. Chapel 4/7.
Plate 105. rJe gNa'-khri-brtsan-po, Chapel 4/7 (eastern wall).
Again, on the sides of these two minor images there are the statues of the two ministers, Thon-mi Sambhoṭa and mGar stōṅ-brtṣan. According to tradition Thon-mi Bṛṇ-po-rgyal-brtṣan-nu (*sic* in Miller, 1976: 3,18) was sent to India by Sroṅ-brtṣan-sgam-po to study Sanskrit and collect Buddhist texts, and upon his return he devised an alphabet for the Tibetan language and composed the first Tibetan grammar in eight volumes, two of which are extant.172 mGar stōṅ-rtsan is the minister who was sent to the Tang court by Sroṅ-brtṣan-sgam-po with five thousand ounces of gold and hundreds of presents to renew the Tibetan king's request for a marriage alliance.173 After Sroṅ-brtṣan-sgam-po's death, owing to the very young age of his grandson and successor, mGar stōṅ-rtsan became the virtual ruler of Tibet. In 655-656 he wrote the code of laws (perhaps the same which is generally attributed to Sroṅ-brtṣan-sgam-po) and then he undertook the conquest of the 'A-ža (Tuyuhun, T'u-yü-hun)174, a turco-mongol people from Manchuria who had settled in Qinghai.175 According to Tibetan sources mGar stōṅ-rtsan remained in 'A-ža from 663 to 665 and, after a successful campaign he returned to Lhasa in 666, where he died the following year.176 His family played a decisive role in the building up of the Tibetan empire during the 7th century.

In the centre of the eastern wall there is the figure of rJe gNa-'khrī-brtṣan-po (Pl. 105), surrounded by the kings of the Yar-

---

172. This tradition has been generally challenged by modern scholars on the basis of chronological and philological evidence.

173. According to Beckwith (1987: 23, n. 54), the Chinese queen (and possibly the Newar one as well) was obtained not for Sroṅ-brtṣan-sgam-po himself, but for his son Guṅ-sroṅ-guṅ-brtṣan (*reg* 641-646), born from his Tibetan queen, the Moṅ-brṣa' Khri-lcam. Upon his son's death, Sroṅ-brtṣan-sgam-po was again in power and married Wencheng (cf. Bacot, Thomas, Toussaint, 1940: 13; Beckwith, 1987: 23, n. 54; Shakabpa, 1984: 37). According to Bu-ston (Obermiller, 1986: 185) and to the Deb-tler dmar-po gsar-ma (Tucci, 1971b: 21a), however, the Moṅ-brṣa' Khri-lcam's son's name was Maṅ-sroṅ-man-brtṣan. He ascended the throne at the age of "thirteen" (twelve) and died at the age of "eighteen" (seventeen). He had a son called Guṅ-sroṅ-guṅ-brtṣan, but since he was not of age Sroṅ-brtṣan-sgam-po was obliged to take up the ruling powers again.


kluṅs dynasty who preceded Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po (the thirty-two prehistoric kings). The name gNa'-khri apparently derives from the fact that, after being acknowledged as a king, he was carried on a sedan-chair, that is on a throne (khri) carried on the neck (gña’). The Deb-ther sñon-po tells us that, before this king, there were only scattered principalities which, according to the Dunhuang Chronicles, were ruled by twelve petty kings (rgyal-phran).177

Concerning the origin of this first mythical king, Bu-ston refers to three different traditions, linking his lineage either to Prasenajit (gSal-rgyal, the king of Kosala and son of that king Brahmadatta who was born on the same day as Śākyamuni), or to Bimbisāra (gZugs-can-sīṅ-po, the king of Magadha regarded as belonging to the Śākya clan), or else to Udayana (Śar-ba, or ’Charbyed, the king of Vatsa, or Kauśāmbi).178 All three tradition, however different, connect king gNa'-khri-brtsan-po’s lineage to one or the other branch of the Śākya clan. In other terms the Buddhist version of the legend of the first king of Tibet, the ancestor of the Yar-kluṅs dynasty, links him with an Indian lineage, in such a way as to present him as directly or indirectly related to the Buddha. The Blue Annals add a further alternative, connecting this first ruler to the Licchavi lineage, on the grounds of a prophecy contained in the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra.179 The reason for this addition seems to be owing to the circumstance that the ancient Śākya states were relatively short-lived, while another Śākya branch, the Licchavi, became famous among the new dynasties which followed180.

177. gZon-nu-dpal, 1983: 59.
180. The reference to the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra appears anyway to be late and was possibly introduced by ’Gos lo-tsā-ba gZon-nu-dpal (1392-1481), the author of the Blue Annals (1476-1478), who artificially applied the post facto prophecy concerning the Licchavi kings as contained in the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra to the historical Yar-kluṅs lineage starting with Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po. This interpretation was made possible by some toponymic and onomastic ambiguities which were introduced into the Phags-pa lam-pdal-gyi rtsa-ba’i gnyod (Aryamanjusrīmūlatantra) by the Indian kalyā纳mitra Kumārakalasa and the Tibetan lo-tsā-ba Śākya-blo-gros, who translated this tantra at mTho-ldin by order of Byan-chub-od (Skorupski, 1985:...
According to tradition gNa'-khri settled at Sog-khar, in the Yar-kluṅs Valley, and there he built the castle of 'Um-bu-bla-mkhar (Yum-bu-bla-sgañ), the most ancient building in Tibet, for until his coming Tibetans are believed to have lived in caves. He was succeeded by the other six gNam-gyi Khri (the Celestial Thrones, the Kings from Heaven), the two sTod-kyi lTeiṅs (the Superior Ones of the Upper Sphere), the six Bar-gyi Legs (the Good Ones of the Intermediate Regions), the eight Sa'i lDe (the lDe of the Earth), the three 'Og-gi bTsan (the Mighty Ones of the Underworld). The son of the last of the three bTsan was king lHa-tho-tho-ri.

The first appearance of the dhamza in Tibet is associated with King lHa-tho-tho-ri-gían-brtsan, who is painted, along with his son Khri-gían-bzun-brtsan, among the figures surrounding the first mythological king of the dynasty. The two translators rendered the Sanskrit Nepaḷa with the metaphor lHa-ldan (Devavan; abode of gods), which was misunderstood by the author of the Blue Annals as referring to Lhasa; they rendered correctly Himādri (Himalaya) with Gañs-can-ri, which however was read by gZon-nu-dpal as Gañs-can-yul (Land of Snows, namely Tibet); and they mistranslated the name Mānavendra as Mi'i-lha, which actually corresponds to Mānadeva. gZon-nu-dpal's misinterpretation is inserted on this latter point, for he attributed that epithet to Sron-btsan-sgam-po. The rendering of lHa-ldan for Nepaḷa should not be understood as an intentional alteration of the text to transfer the scene to the Land of Snows, for at the time of the translation (11th century) that term could not refer to the capital of Tibet. Lhasa was called lHa-ldan only in later literature, indeed because of the great authority of the Blue Annals themselves. In practice this habit spread only with the 3rd Dalai Lama (1543-1588) and the same applies to the occasional adoption of the epithet Mi'i-lha with reference to Sron-btsan-sgam-po (Roerich, 1976: x-xi).
while the king was on the terrace of the 'Um-bu-bla-mkhar, a golden stūpa and two Buddhist texts fell from the sky. Although he was unable to understand the meaning of those presents, he worshipped them, which extended his life-span and the duration of his kingdom. The same tradition relates that the two texts treasured by Ha-tho-tho-ri were translated at a later date by Thon-mi Sambhota along with other Buddhist works during Sron-brtsan-sgam-po’s reign, but the colophon of one of these texts, the Karandavyūhasūtra, tells us that it was translated by Ye-ses-sde, assisted by Jinamitra and Dānaśila, famous translators and

Yar-kluṅs dynasty, in Bu-ston’s Chos-byun he appears to be the 26th king of that lineage. This discrepancy depends on the existence of two different traditions. The first of them has a total number of forty-two kings in the dynasty, counting five prehistoric groups and placing lHa-tho-tho-ri as the 28th king, while the second one has a total of forty kings, numbering only four prehistoric groups and counting lHa-tho-tho-ri as the 26th in the lineage. The fundamental difference between these two traditions concerns the group of the stod-kyi lTens gnis, whose inclusion seems to mark a change in the religious ideology as revealed by changes in the Tibetan burial customs (see Haarh, 1969: 116).

Although the list of forty-two kings appears to be the one officially recognized by the orthodox Buddhist tradition as fixed by the 5th Dalai Lama, one must consider that the Dunhuang manuscripts bear a list of forty kings only. That list, however, while omitting the stod-kyi lTens group as such, inserts the two lTens at the expenses of two kings of other groups.

185. According to the Blue Annals (Roerich, 1976: 38) these texts are the Tsinta-rna-ni’i gzuñs (Cintāmani dhārāṇi), also known as Tsindha-ma-ni skos-phor, a text that Haarh (1969: 441, n. 10) considers to be probably included in the Ma-ni bka’-bum (1984, ff. 140-185) with the title ‘Phags-pa byan-chub sems-dpa’ sPyan-ras-gzigs-dban-phug phyag-stoṅ spyan-stoṅ-duai ldan-pa’i Thugs-rje-chen-po’i sems rgya-cher yoṅs-su rdzogs-pa zhes bya-ba’i gzuñs, and the sPaṅ-bkōṅ phyag-rgya-ma, a text included in the mDo section of the bKa’-gyur (Toh. 267). According to Bu-ston’s Chos-byun (Obermiller, 1986: 183), they are the sPaṅ-bkōṅ phyag-rgya-ma and the Za-ma-tog bkod-pa, whose extended title is ‘Phags-pa Za-ma-tog bkod-pa zhes bya-ba theg-pa chen-po’i mdo (Āryakaranḍavyūhariṇamahāyānasūtra) (Toh. 116). According to the orthodox tradition as fixed by the 5th Dalai Lama in his rdzogs-ltan gzon-nu’i dga’-ston, three texts fell from Heaven: the sPaṅ-skōṅ phyag-rgya-pa, the Tsindha-ma-ni skos-phor and the Yi-ge drug-pa (Sātaksara; the Six Letters of the mantra OM MA-NI PAD-ME HŪM), i.e. the hṛdaya of the Sutrāntakarāṇḍa (Haarh, 1969: 85).

186. gZon-nu-dpal shares the opinion of Nel-pa Pandita, who said that those presents had been brought to Tibet by the pandita Blo-sems-tsho (Buddharakṣita) who returned to India because the king, being unable to read them, could not understand their meaning (gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 63-64).

The lineages of Tibetan Buddhism

315

scholars who lived at the time of King Khri-sroñ-lde-brtson and who have been frequently mentioned in the second section of Chapter Two.

The western wall is devoted to the kings and princes of the kingdom of Western Tibet, representing the continuation of the Yar-kluns dynasty after the fall of the Tibetan empire. According to Tibetan historians a first division took place at the time of king Glañ-dar-ma’s murder, in 842: the son of the latter’s younger queen, gNam-lde-’od-sruns, kept the throne of Lhasa, while the eldest wife’s adoptive son, Yum-brtan, founded a new dynasty. This tradition, as represented by the figures of the two kings painted on this wall and named in the list reported by the dkar-chag in this chapel, has been kept alive by Tibetan historians even in recent times 188, though it is not supported by the historical literature found at Dunhuang, where there is no trace of Yum-brtan, and only ‘Od-sruñs is mentioned.

As recently shown by Richardson, there was at that time an interruption in the descendancy of the Yar-kluns dynasty, for the king who ascended the throne after Glañ-dar-ma’s death with the name of ‘Od-sruñs was in fact the son of one of the queen’s brothers 189. This interruption in the lineage of the Tibetan kings


189. Richardson, 1971: 433-439; 1988, 1221-1229. Richardson based his researches particularly on the New Tang Annals (Xin Tang Shu, mid-10th century). These relate that Tamo (Glañ-dar-ma) had no sons and was therefore succeeded by Chilihu (Khri-’od?), a son of Shangyenli (possibly the same Zañ sNa-nam gNan-lod who is mentioned as witness in Khri-sroñ-lde-brtson’s edict of c. 812) (dPa’bo, 1962, ja: 130a), who was the brother of Queen Chen (possibly Chen-ma, the senior queen whom the Dunhuang documents call Jo-mo bTsao-mo ’Phan).

The earliest known mention of ‘Od-sruñs and Yon-brtan is found in the biography of Atiśa, attributed to his disciple ’Brom-ston (1005-1066), who describes both of them as sons of Glañ-dar-ma, and as such they are considered in the rGyal-rabs by Grags-pa-ngyma-mtshan (1147-1216). Bu-ston’s Chos-byañ (1322) regards Yum-brtan as adopted, but does not mention any struggle for succession or the division of the kingdom. Tshal-pa Kun-dga’rdo-rje’s Deb-ther dmar-po (or Hu-lan deb-ther), ascribed to 1346, is the earliest text mentioning any rivalry between the two princes. The struggles between them and the partition of the kingdom is found first in the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba’i me-lon by bSod-nams-ngyma-mtshan (1966: 194), a text which a recent study has dated to 1368 (Sørensen, 1986: 37-64). That version is followed by bSod-nams-grags-pa (1478-1554) in his Deb-ther dmar-po gsar-ma
was not acceptable for Buddhist historians, who wanted to connect the promoters of the religious renaissance which took place around the year 1000 with that very lineage. Since the recollection of the adoption, which actually took place, could not be easily forsaken, they partially removed it by the creation of a perfunctory adoptive son, since Yum-brtan is probably nothing else but a deformation of Glañ-dar-ma's original name 'U'i-dum-brtan. In fact Bu-ston's Chos-byuñ, which certainly influenced the conception of the chapels on this floor of the sKu'bum, is apparently the first Tibetan historical text relating the "adoption" of Yum-brtan. Yum-brtan was subsequently held responsible, as a scapegoat, of the decline and break-up of the empire, the latter being interpreted as the consequence of a dispute for the throne between himself and 'Od-sruñs.

'Od-sruñs's son, dPal-khor-btsan (c. 892-923), retained the power on most of central and southern Tibet. He was an active patron of Buddhism and is regarded as a "religious king" by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan in the Bod-kyi rgyal-rabs. His two sons were those actually responsible for originating a split: the elder, Khri-bka-šis-brtsegs-dpal, after losing his control over dBus, restricted his rule to gTsañ; the younger brother, sKyi-dle-ni-ma-mgon, whose figure is also painted on this wall, continued the ancient lineage in Western Tibet, in those territories that three centuries earlier had been the core of the ancient kingdom of Žañ-żuñ, which was forced into some kind of allegiance with Tibet by Sroñ-brtsan-sgam-po in 653 and was finally absorbed into the Tibetan empire in the following century. sKyi-dle-ni-ma-mgon placed his three sons at the head of the three western Tibetan kingdoms of Mar-yul, sPu-hrañ and Guge.

The king of sPu-hrañ, bTsan-po 'Khor-re ('Khor-lo-lde), the grandson of sKyi-dle-ni-ma-mgon, apparently entrusted the king-

---

dom to his younger brother, Sron-ne (Draň-sroň-lde) and took the monastic vows with the name of Ye-ses-'od. The respective role of the two brothers in this circumstance is actually rather uncertain, because of the contradictory accounts found in Tibetan historical sources. Whereas the above mentioned version is reported in Atiňa’s biography and in Bu-ston’s Chos-’byun, and is followed in the Blue Annals, the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba’i me-loň states that Sron-ne took the monastic vows with the name of Ye-ses-’od after having two sons (Nāgarāja and Devarāja), and the latter version was accepted by bSod-nams-grags-pa and by Padma-dkar-po.

It is quite clear that Ye-ses-’od, whose full title is Bod-kyi lha-btsan-po slob-dpon byaň-chub-sems-dpa’ lha-bla-ma (Divine Mighty One of Tibet, Ācārya Bodhisattva Divine Guru), aside of the issue of his identification with ’Khor-re or Sroň-ne, played a major role in the renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet. He sent to India young noblemen, such as the great lo-tsă-ba Rin-chen-bzana-po, to study the Buddhist doctrine, and founded the monastery of mTho-lldin. Finally he promoted the translation of Sanskrit texts and, being worried about the unorthodox and misleading practices of many tantrikas, he issued, possibly around 980, an ordinance (bkal-sog) aimed at eliminating them. Ye-ses-’od also repeatedly invited, however unsuccessfully, Atiňa so that the great Indian master might help him in his campaign aimed at purifying Buddhism.

197. Sic in Tucci, 1971b: 168, but mTho-lldin in the text reproduced at p. 38. Other forms are: mTho-gliň (Tucci, 1949: 76); stod-gliň (Snellgrove and Richardson, 1980: 141); mTho-mthiň (bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, 1966: 198).
198. This ordinance is very interesting because it lists those practices in its central part and reveals the interpretation which was given at that time in Tibet to old tantras such as the Gihvagarbha (gsan-ba sning-po), whose eleventh chapter, the Tshogs-kyi dkvil-khor concerning the mandala of the sacrificial offerings, illustrates the tantric practices called shvor-ba (sexual yoga) and mchod-sgrub, or sgrol-ba (ritual murder). The bka’-sog, which Karmay (1980a: 150-162) reconstructed on the basis of the quotations given by a rNin-ma-pa controversialist (Sog-zlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, 1552-1624), further defines the rdzogs-chen as a false doctrine.
from the deviances accumulated in the one hundred and fifty years following the breakdown of monarchical authority.199

Ye-ses-od’s nephew, IHa-sde (or IHa-lde), had three sons, the eldest of whom, 'Od-lde, succeeded him to the throne, while the other two, Byan-chub-'od and Zi-ba-od, both portrayed on this wall, were among the major supporters of the second propagation of Buddhism into Tibet. The royal monk Byan-chub-od eventually achieved the aim which had been vainly pursued by Ye-ses-od in obtaining that Atiśa went to Western Tibet. But it was above all his brother, Zi-ba-od, portrayed in the main figure at the centre of the wall (Pl. 106), who gave a specific trend to the developments of this crucial phase in the religious history of Tibet.

Also Pho-bran Zi-ba-od (Zi-ba-od of the Palace, with reference to the palace known as sKu-mkhar-ñi-gzuñs in sPu-hrañ) took the vows, and he is portrayed here wearing his monk’s habit. In the colophons of the works translated by him, he is explicitly called Šākya’i dge-sloṅ lha-bla-ma (Šākya Monk Divine Guru), or else dpal-lha-btsan-po, a title used by the early Tibetan kings, to stress his belonging to a royal family200. Here again we are facing one of those figures of royal monks who characterized this historical period of Western Tibet. Zi-ba-od spent most of his life at mTho-ldiñ, an institution which anticipated the cultural and political role of the great monasteries which were later built in southern and central Tibet, and his name is tied with two important undertakings: he promoted a great meeting of masters and translators at mTho-ldiñ in 1076201, and in 1092 he issued an ordinance banning a number of tantric works which were viewed as spurious202. Zi-ba-od himself was also regarded as a great translator

201. The meeting at mTho-ldiñ, which was organized by Zi-ba-od together with his nephew, King rTse-lde, was a true religious council (chos-khor) which greatly influenced the subsequent activity of selection and translation of Buddhist texts.
202. Zi-ba-od’s bka’-sog, which is ideally connected to Ye-ses-od’s ordinance, is a sort of index of texts which were regarded as either perverse or heterodox, and shows two interesting features: a reiterated condemnation of the
Plate 106. Pho-braṅ Ži-ba'-od surrounded by the kings of Western Tibet. Chapel 4/7 (western wall).
Plate 107. mGar sToṅ-rtsan and Thon-mi Sambhoṭa. Chapel 4/7 (northern wall).
(the first lo-tsā-ba belonging to the royal family). In particular he completed the translation of the Śrīparamādyatāntra (dPal-mchog)\textsuperscript{203}, translated Śāntarakṣita’s logical work, the Tattvasaṃ-grahakārikā, and had other works on logic translated, including the Pramāṇavārttikātikā, Śākyabuddhi and Prajñākaragupta’s commentary to Dharmakirti’s Pramāṇavārttikākārikā.

The northern wall, to the right of the entrance door, is painted with a large figure bearing the name Khri-btsan-po in a caption below it. This name, unless it is the result of drastic shortening, does not appear among those listed by Haarh in his systematic and thorough research on the names of the Yar-kluns dynasty. The epithet Khri-brtson-po represents the terminal part of the names of the first prehistorical kings, besides including some lexical elements which were essential to characterize Tibetan royalty. It seems to stand merely for “sovereign”. Any attempt to identify this figure as a specific king must therefore merely rely upon its iconographic characteristics and its position within the overall layout which was adopted for this chapel.

The northern wall is at the centre of a scheme in which a wall devoted to the prehistorical kings faces another devoted to the rulers and princes of Western Tibet, following the end of the Tibetan empire. There is therefore the possibility that this wall is devoted to the historical kings, who are also modelled in the statues of the opposite southern wall. On the other hand the portion of the wall taken into consideration is placed to the right of the entrance and adjoins the western wall, which is devoted to the Western Tibetan dynasty, and as such it might represent the latter’s link with the Yar-klüns dynasty.

As far as iconographic analysis is concerned, we must state beforehand that we face here a painting which is rather damaged and hardly decipherable in its lower portion, as well as showing stylistic features which are quite different from those characteriz-

\textsuperscript{rdzogs-chen} doctrine as heretical, and an imperative statement that the heretical doctrines (chos-log) must be altogether abandoned by the followers of the bKa’-gdams-pa tradition (Karmay 1980b: 17, 20).

\textsuperscript{203} Rostworowski 1959: 88.
ing the other paintings in this chapel. The absence of the minor figures which usually surround the main figures in the paintings of this floor, and the use of light green and blue colours which appear to be different from the usual darker ones, hint to the possibility that this may be a later (although not recent) painting, which was made necessary by damages caused by dampness, which this outside wall of the cell seems to have been particularly subject to.

The king is seated in lalitāsana, leaning on his right hand, which is placed backwards and hidden by the right leg, bent, while his left hand lightly rests upon the left knee, with the thumb and forefinger joined in a gesture reminiscent of the vitarkamudrā, with the palm facing downwards. On the whole this is an unusual attitude which immediately reminds us of the exactly specular one of the two statues of Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po, one in the Potala and the other in the Jo-khaṅ at Lhasa204, the latter also reproduced in a recent study by Rhie205. The possible representation of Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po (often called Khri-sron-brtsan in traditional Tibetan historical literature) on this wall would fit with the first of the two suggestions made above, and might be aimed at stressing in particular the role of the first in the historical series of Tibetan kings, who is credited by Buddhist tradition with having introduced the Doctrine into Tibet. This interpretation might be confirmed by the circumstance that the portion of the same northern wall to the left of the entrance is painted with the images of Thon-mi Sambhoṭa and the minister mGar (Pl. 107), whom we have seen to accom-

204. Topping, 1980: 64; Jigmei et al., 1981: 32-33; fig. 10; 221, fig. 170.
205. Rhie, 1988: pl. 1. Rhie’s study is based on the stylistic analysis of a statue of Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po in she Potala, which she attributes to the 7th-9th century (Rhie, 1988: 1216). That analysis is particularly interesting in that it identifies the unusual vitarka gesture displayed by the Tibetan king with identical gestures made by two bodhisattva figures painted on a Dunhuang scroll by a Tibetan artist in 836 (Karmay, 1975: 10-13, fig. 4). Rhie further identifies a similar mudrā in ancient Chinese images of the “moon water” Guanyin which are thought to portray Avalokiteśvara on Mt. Potala as described in the Gandhāvīyapha. This would make particularly significant the attribution of that gesture to Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po, who is regarded as a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, especially in the case of the statue in the Potala (Rhie, 1988: 1204).
pany Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po in the group of statues placed along the opposite wall, and whose names are so closely associated with his in Tibetan tradition.

However, an image published by Liu Yisi\textsuperscript{206} and reproduced by Rhie\textsuperscript{207} points to a second suggestion. It is a painting from the monastery of 'Bri-guṅ\textsuperscript{208} which portrays king Glaṅ-'od-sruṅs precisely in the same attitude as the painting here under consideration. In this case the postures and gestures of the two paintings are not mutually specular, but can be directly superimposed. Furthermore the two figures share other important features: their garments are rather loose and fall softly upon the belt so as not to mark the underlying body; a \textit{bodhisattva} coronet is placed in front of the kingly turban, and the pectoral, perhaps a reliquary box (\textit{ga'u}), hanging on the two figures’ chest has a similar rectangular shape. The similarity in the attitudes of the figure of 'Od-sruṅs at 'Bri-guṅ and of the statues of Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po in the Potala and in the Jo-khaṅ (notwithstanding the perhaps deliberate distinction introduced by the mere specularity) seems to point to the intentional adoption of an iconographic type meant to underline the role played by that king, whose history is otherwise rather obscure, in legitimizing Buddhism after Glaṅ-dar-ma’s “persecution”, thus in fact starting the second spread of the doctrine, which was warranted to Tibet by his progeny. This kind of interpretation might have led the planner of this chapel in the sKu-'bum to assign such an important role to this king.

The narrow northern wall to the left of the entrance, which has been mentioned above, is painted with the figures of two monks whose captions were left blank, just above the portraits of Thon-mi Sambhota and mGar sTon-rtsan. It seems reasonable to suggest that they may represent Thon-mi’s two Indian masters, the

\textsuperscript{206} Liu Yisi, 1957: fig. 24.
\textsuperscript{207} Rhie, 1988: pl. VI.
\textsuperscript{208} The attribution of this painting to the 13th century appears unacceptable on stylistic grounds. Furthermore it should be pointed out that the monastery of 'Bri-guṅ was burnt down in 1290 by the Sa-skya-pa general Ag-len aided by a Mongol army, and that both the building and the objects therein contained perished in the fire (\textit{Sharma}, 1944: 16; Roerich, 1976: 649).
bram-ze Li-byin (the brähmana Lipi Kara) and the paññita lHa'i-rig-pa-señ-ge (Devavidyasimha)\textsuperscript{209}, but they might also be identified with the two monks from Khotan (Li) who are mentioned by Bu-ston as the authors of Sroñ-brtsan-sgam-po's biography\textsuperscript{210}.

The figures of three dignitaries are painted above those monks, and the captions painted below identify two of them as Khri-mgon-spyod and Khri-(tsha-nal?)-ye-ses-rgyal-mtshan. Neither could be traced in the above mentioned historical literature.

4.9 Chapel 4/8 (sGra-sgyur-lha-khañ)

This chapel, placed in the north-eastern corner of the sKubum, is called Chapel of the Translators (sgra-bsgyur) in the dkar-chag, and dBañ-rgyal-lha-khañ in the inscription published by Tucci\textsuperscript{211}. It seems to be consecrated to famous scholars, masters and translators of the early and late spread of Buddhism in Tibet who cannot be easily classified as belonging to any specific school inasmuch as they did not found any particular monastic order.

The statue of Šantaraksīta (also known as mKhan-po Bodhisattva in Tibetan literature) is placed in the centre of the south-western wall, flanked by those of Padmasambhava and Kamalaśīla (Pl. 108). In the corners there are the statues of Rin-chen-bzañ-po and of Blo-ldan-šes-rab.

Around 763, after resisting successfully some ministers ill-disposed towards Buddhism, King Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan reorganized the Tibetan administration and government, and subsequently invited the famous Indian scholar Šantaraksīta to establish definitely the Buddhist faith in Tibet. Šantaraksīta's final arrival to Tibet may be dated some time before 767\textsuperscript{212}, but the great scholar had had long-standing contacts with Khri-sroñ-lde-

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{209} Tucci, 1971b: 18a; Shakabpa, 1984: 25.
  \item \textsuperscript{210} Obermiller, 1986: 185.
  \item \textsuperscript{211} Tucci, 1941b: 82.
  \item \textsuperscript{212} Snellgrove, 1987: 421, 440.
\end{itemize}
brtson’s minister sBa gSal-snañ. Because of difficulties met during the construction of bSam-yas, Šàntaraksita advised the king to invite the ācārya Padmasambhava, who at that time resided at Pharping, in the Nepal Valley. He personally carried to Nepal the king’s invitation, and the famous master from Swat accepted it and assisted in the erection of bSam-yas, which was modelled on the plane of the monastery of Odantapuri. He consecrated the monastery of bSam-yas and ordained the first Tibetan monks there\textsuperscript{213}.

Soon after the completion of the monastery, in 797, Šàntaraksita died in an accident and Padmasambhava was sent away from Tibet. Šàntaraksita’s activity in Tibet was continued by his famous pupil, Kamalaśīla, a leading representative of the Indian school in the controversies with the Chinese school which took place after the construction of bSam-yas\textsuperscript{214}.

Whereas the central group of three statues is representative of the early propagation of Buddhism in Tibet, the two statues of Rin-chen-bzañ-po (in the southern corner) and Blo-ladan-ses-rab (in the western corner) refer to the later propagation, which was supported by the kings of Western Tibet, particularly by the royal monks Byañ-chub-’od and Ži-ba-’od. They were responsible for sending the great translator Rin-chen-bzañ-po (958-1055) to India on three different missions. Along with the great Indian scholar Atiśa, Rin-chen-bzañ-po was the chief protagonist of the renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet around the year 1000. He spent a total of seventeen years in Kashmir, Bihar and Bengal, and upon his return to Tibet he founded a number of religious buildings with the help of a team of artists whom he brought from Kashmir. He was mainly interested in the Prajñāpāramitā literature and in the tantras of the yoga, mahāyoga and anuttarāyoga classes, of which he made very competent translations\textsuperscript{215}.

The translator of rNog, Blo-ladan-ses-rab (1059-1109), who is


\textsuperscript{214} Kamalaśīla commended the bodhisattva’s gradual path towards Enlightenment by quoting from a number of Mahāvāna sūtras, arguing against the “quietist” approach to Buddhism propounded by the Chinese masters at that time (see for instance Donzéville, 1987: 348 ff.).

\textsuperscript{215} Tucci, 1933: passim.
portrayed in the opposite corner, was chiefly concerned with logic and is regarded as the founder of a lineage known as "new logic" (tshad-ma gsar-ma). In 1076 he attended the religious council organized by Zi-ba'-od and by rTse-lde, the king of Western Tibet, in the company of leading scholars of the time, including Rwa lo-tsā-ba. Aged only 17, he travelled to Kashmir with the same translator, spent seventeen years studying there, and returned to Tibet in 1092. He also visited the Nepal Valley for a short period, learning tantric teachings from the Newar master Hamu the White. He was the abbot of the famous monastery of gSan-phu Ne'u-tshog, founded by a pupil of Rin-chen-bzañ-po, rNog Legs-pa'i-šes-rab in 1073, which was later taken over by the Sakyapas and the dGe-lugs-pas. According to tradition rNog lo-tsa-ba taught the doctrine to over twenty-three thousand students "possessing text-books". He travelled in central and southern Tibet and died on the road in the neighbourhood of bSam-yas.

Concerning his lineage gZon-nu-dpal states that one need not think of it as belonging to the bKa'-gdamspa school and this should not surprise us for the same may be stated about Rin-chen-bzañ-po. For not being regarded as the founders of any established monastic order, both Rin-chen-bzañ-po and Blo-Idan-šes-rab have generally been underestimated by Tibetan scholarship. But in the 15th century, in the eclectic cultural environment of the princes of Gyantse, the importance of such figures had not been forgotten. A small mandala with nine gods of the Mahāmāyā according to rNog lo-tsā-ba is painted in the gZal-yas-khaṅ, on the topmost floor of the gTsuglag-khan in the dPal-khor-chos-sde of Gyantse.

On the northern wall there is the portrait of Šāntigarbha, one of the eight ācāryas or vidyādhāras of the rNīn-ma-pa tradition.

---

Plate 108. Śāntarakṣita flanked by Padmasambhava (to his right) and Kamalaśīla (to his left). Chapel 4/8.
who was invited to Tibet by Khri-sroñ-lde-brtсан \textsuperscript{223} with a number of other Indian scholars \textsuperscript{224}. Śāntigarbha was a pupil of Padmasambhava and a teacher of the Tibetan monk and translator Vairocana \textsuperscript{225}. According to the Blue Annals he propagated the 'Jam-dpal-sku, a rNiñ-ma-pa tantra, and participated in the consecration ceremony of the monastery of bSam-yas \textsuperscript{226}. A master of rdzogs-chen \textsuperscript{227}, he also taught the gŚin-rje-gšed-kyi śníñ-thig, one of the Eight Pronouncements in the rNiñ-ma-pa tradition \textsuperscript{228}. His name appears among those of several Indian teachers, including Vimalamitra and Buddhaguhya, who helped many Tibetan scholars in the translation of numerous canonical works \textsuperscript{229}. Śāntigarbha is occasionally represented in association with the great Tibetan translator Ka-ba dPal-brtseg \textsuperscript{230}.

A caption identifies the other large figure painted on the same northern wall as the ācārya Buddhaguhya (740-802), who played a crucial role in the introduction of the yogatantras in Tibet (Pl. 109). The Myañ-chuñ \textsuperscript{231} tells us of the invitation made by Khri-sroñ-lde-brtсан to Buddhaguhya, who declined it, explaining the reasons of his refusal in a long letter which is preserved in the bsTan-'gyur \textsuperscript{232} and has been translated by Snellgrove \textsuperscript{233}. He sent the Yoąvạtārạ (Starting Yoga) and all the explanations and instructions “for both external and internal practice” concerning the mNọn-par byañ-chub-pa-yi tantra (the tantra of Manifest Enlightenment), identified by Snellgrove \textsuperscript{234} with the Mahāvairocanaḥbhisam-

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{223} Dargyay, 1979: 6, 36.
\item \textsuperscript{224} O-rgyan-glin-pa: canto 82, f. 165b.
\item \textsuperscript{225} Tarthang, 1978: 548.
\item \textsuperscript{226} Roerich, 1976: 106.
\item \textsuperscript{227} Tarthang, 1978: 548.
\item \textsuperscript{228} Dargyay, 1979: 33; Tarthang, 1977: 276.
\item \textsuperscript{229} Obermiller, 1986: 190.
\item \textsuperscript{230} Tarthang, 1978: 436, Pl. 30.
\item \textsuperscript{231} Myañ-chuñ, 1983: 131-132.
\item \textsuperscript{232} Cordier, mDo: XCIV, 39.
\item \textsuperscript{233} Snellgrove, 1987: 446-449.
\item \textsuperscript{234} Ibidem: 447, n. 123. The full title of this tantra is Mahāvairocanaḥbhisambodhitvivūtādhisvānavaipulyāvasūnārendrasaṃsattvadhānaparyaya (Toh. 494).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
bodhitantra, which was translated by Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs assisted by Śilendrabodhi.

At that time Buddhaguhya resided near Mount Kailāsa\textsuperscript{235}, and among the people sent by Khri-sron-lde-brtsan to invite him there was the translator Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan of the spPa-tshab clan, also known as Tshul-khrims-bzān-po and Tshul-khrims-rgyal-po\textsuperscript{236}, who acted as Buddhaguhya's interpreter and translator when the ācārya was teaching at Mount Kailāsa. Whereas there is no evidence that Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan and Buddhaguhya collaborated in the translation of texts, and no translation of Buddhaguhya's texts by the lo-tsā-ba of spPa-tshab appears in the index of the Beijing bsTan-'gyur, the Myan-chuṅ states that Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan's monastery, dGa'-sdoṅ in the district of Pāsnam, southern Tibet, played a crucial role in diffusing Buddhaguhya's teachings\textsuperscript{237}.

Buddhaguhya was a disciple of Jñānapāda and a master of Vimalamitra\textsuperscript{238}. In canto 77 of the Padma-thaṅ-yig\textsuperscript{239} we are informed that Buddhaguhya and Vimalamitra acted as bla-mchod-pa (chaplains) to king Indrabhūti at Ser-skya (Kapila; Hardwar?), India. Vairocana advised Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan to invite the two Indian masters, who were regarded as "the most learned of five hundred great scholars", and the king of Tibet sent three emissaries, including sKa-ba (sic) dPal-brtsegs, who brought Vimalamitra alone to Tibet\textsuperscript{240}. That Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan summoned Buddhaguhya to Tibet is confirmed in canto 82, though we know from the letter in the bsTan-'gyur\textsuperscript{241} that on that occasion the

\textsuperscript{235} Myaṅ-chuṅ, 1983: 132; Tarthang, 1977: 204.
\textsuperscript{236} Cf. Lalou, 1933: 205; Myaṅ-chuṅ, 1983: 132.
\textsuperscript{237} Myaṅ-chuṅ, 1983: 131.
\textsuperscript{238} Roerich, 1976: 170.
\textsuperscript{239} O-myen-ḥin-pa: canto 77, f. 156b.
\textsuperscript{240} lbulun: canto 80, f. 163b.
\textsuperscript{241} Snellgrove, 1983: 347.
Indian master did not travel to Tibet. According to the *Padma thar-yig*\(^\text{242}\) Buddhaguhya and Vairocana translated several texts, including the *sGyu-'phrul sde-brgyad rdor-dbyin s'goins-'dus* and the *Anu'i mdo bzi dems lla*, possibly in India.

Buddhaguhya was interested in a number of subjects related to the *yogatantras* as is shown from a passage in the *Vairocanabhisambodhimahātantrabhāṣya* where he discusses the colour of the Green Tārā\(^\text{243}\), or in the detailed description of the various types of *maṇḍala* in one of the works which he devoted to that subject, the *Dharmamaṇḍalasūtra*\(^\text{244}\). In a long inscription in the eastern temple of the *bum-pa* in the *sKu-'bum*, he is quoted as the author of one of the four different methods of explanation of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (*De-nid bsdud*), the fundamental *tantra* of the *yoga* class\(^\text{245}\) upon which Buddhaguhya wrote a very important commentary. He also wrote an important commentary on the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*, another famous *tantra* of the *yoga* class. Buddhaguhya is again mentioned in the inscription and portrayed in chapel 3/15\(^\text{246}\).

On the eastern wall a painted caption identifies the translator dKa'-ba *(sic)* dPal-brtsegs, one of the leading Tibetan scholars during the reign of Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan and of his successor, Khri-lde-sroṅ-brtsegs (Pl. 110). Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs was one of the two compilers of the catalogue of the lDan-dkar, the translation office and library set up by Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsean, as well as one of the chief editors of the *Mahāvyutpatti*, the Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary compiled during the reign of Khri-lde-sroṅ-brtsegs (Sad-na-legs)\(^\text{247}\).

---

\(^{242}\) O-rgyan-glin-pa: canto 84, f. 173b.


\(^{244}\) Lo Bue, 1987: 795-796, 809.

\(^{245}\) Tucci, 1941b: 92.

\(^{246}\) Ibidem: 63.

\(^{247}\) It should be pointed out that, although this work is traditionally attributed to the reign of Ral-pa-can, it certainly goes back to the time of Khri-lde-sroṅ-brtsegs (Tucci, 1950: 14-15) and it can be assumed that it was already conceived at the time of Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsegs, when translators were first confronted with the problem of standardizing the Tibetan renderings of the sophisticated Buddhist terminology (Snellgrove, 1987: 441, n. 110).
According to traditional accounts Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs was sent to India along with rMa Rin-chen-mchog and Cog-ro Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan to invite the best of Indian scholars to Tibet\textsuperscript{248}. For that reason he is mentioned along with Vairocana in Buddhaguhya's letter to Khri-sroñ-lde-brt~an\textsuperscript{249}. Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs translated Buddhaguhya's \textit{Dharmamana\d{d}alas\Upar{utra}} besides a number of canonical texts\textsuperscript{250}, as well as two \textit{tantras} belonging to the \textit{rdzogs-chen} tradition and collected in the \textit{r\ddot{n}i\ddot{n}-ma rgyud-'bum}, one of which at bSam-yas, in collaboration with Vimalamitra and Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan\textsuperscript{251}.

The \textit{dkar-chag} informs us that the other figures include Thon-mi Sambhoţa and Ka-Cog, an abbreviation of the names of the two above mentioned famous translators of the monarchic period: Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs and Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan of Cog-ro. Of the three places bearing the name of Cog-ro, in dBus, in Šaṅs and in Myañ, the last one was Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan birth-place, which must have had a special relevance for the people of southern Tibet and Gyantse in particular\textsuperscript{252}.

4.10 \textit{Chapel 4/9 (Rig-'dzin-lha-khañ)}

This chapel, occupying the northern part of the eastern projection of the sKu-'bum, is called by the \textit{dkar-chag} Rig-'dzin-lha-khañ (Chapel of the Vidhyādharas). The expression \textit{rig-'dzin brgyad} (the Eight Knowledge-Holders) applies to the eight great \textit{ac\`arya}s of the Šitavana cemetery who, according to tradition, originated the doctrine of the Eight Pronouncements (\textit{bka' brgyad}) which Padmasambhava brought to Tibet\textsuperscript{253}. The very title of one of the

\textsuperscript{248} O-rgyan-gli\-ņ-pa: canto 80, f. 163a; Tarthang, 1977: 193, 204.
\textsuperscript{249} Cordier, \textit{mdo}: XCIV, 39.
\textsuperscript{250} Cf. Lalou, 1933: 196.
\textsuperscript{251} Tucci, 1986: 372-373.
\textsuperscript{252} Tucci, 1941a: 68. Those two translators were still alive during Ral-pa-can's reign (Tucci, 1971b: 30).
\textsuperscript{253} Eight great \textit{ac\`arya}s of India had a vision of the eight Particular \textit{Tantras} (\textit{bye-brag-gt rgyud}) concealed by the \textit{dakini} Las-kyi-dbañ-mo-che in the bDe-byed-
texts belonging to this group of teachings, which are fundamental for the *rNin-ma-pa* school, reads *Rig-'dzin bla-ma'i sūn-thig*.

In the group of three statues with their backs to the western wall of the chapel, Guru Rin-po-che occupies the central position and is flanked by his chief tantric partners: the Tibetan *dākini* Ye-šes-mtsho-rgyal on his right, and the Indian princess Maṇḍāravā on his left (Pl. 111). He wears his characteristically shaped hat with the lappets turned upwards, similar to a tiara, bearing the symbols of the sun and moon, and topped by a peacock feather. He holds the *vajra* in his right hand raised at the height of the chest and a *kapāla* surmounted by the vase containing the elixir of life in his left hand, resting on the lap. The *khatvāṅga* leans on his left shoulder.

His Tibetan consort, wearing a *bodhisattva* crown, holds a *kapāla* in her left hand, put out towards the master, while Maṇḍāravā, wearing long black hair loose on her shoulders and a garland of flowers on her head, holds the *amrtakalaśa* surmounted by the Buddha of Long Life, Amitāyus. The triad has been unfortunately spoiled by recent repainting with dull enamels which have eliminated all patina and play of light on the surfaces. A small figure of Maṇjuśrī is painted within a circle in the upper right corner of the same wall.

The northern wall is painted with a figure of sPyan-ras-gzigs Phyag-bzi-pa (the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in his four-handed form, known as Lokeśvara Śaḍakaśari), the Great Lord of Compassion (Thugs-rje-chen-po) which is the manifestation of the Absolute in the *sambhogakāya* (Pl. 112). His two central hands are joined in front of the chest, while of the other two hands the right holds a rosary and the left a lotus flower in full bloom.

\[\text{brtsegs-pa mchod-rten in the Sitavana charnel ground. They assembled at that cemetery and the *dākini* handed over the eight \textit{tantras} as follows: the *Yamarāja* to Maṇjuśrīmitra, the *Hayagriva* to Nāgārjuna, the *Yaiñ-dag* to Humkara, the *Che-mchog* to Vimalamitra, the *Vajrakīla* to Prabhadhasti, the *Ma-mo* to Dhanasamskrta, the *mChod-stod* to Guhyadevacandira, and the *Drag-sūṅgs* to Sāntigarbha. Guru Rin-poche received the \textit{tantras}, \textit{sādhanas} and instructions from all the \textit{ācāryas} and diffused them through Tibet (Thondup, 1984: 17-18; Tarthang, 1977: 276; Dargyay, 1979: 31-38). For further information on this cycle see Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1975: 320-323) and Prats (1982: 30-31, n. 8).}\]
Plate 111. Guru Rin-po-che flanked by Ye-šes-mkha'-gro-ma (to his right) and by Princess Maṇḍāravā (to his left). Chapel 4/9.
The southern wall is painted with the figures of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana flanking the Jina Śākyamuni (rGyal-ba Śākya-thub-pa) displaying the bhūmisparśamudrā which marks the moment of his Enlightenment, taken here as a symbol of the dharma-kāya.

Around Avalokiteśvara and Śākyamuni, as well as on the narrow stripe of wall to the right of the entrance, there is a crowd of disciples displaying gestures which are typical of the exposition and argumentation of the doctrine. In this connection the dkar-chag refers to the two schools (lugs) of mNa-'bdag and Chos-dbaṅ, originating from two major gter-ston (discoverers of treasures) of the "short transmission" in the rNiṅ-ma-pa tradition.

The hidden treasures (gter-ma) which they brought to light, and which make up the system of the earlier rig-'dzin, are based on the meditation on Padmasambhava, on the rdzogs-chen and on Avalokiteśvara. These three components, indicated synthetically as bla-rdzogs-thugs gsum, imply the gter-ston’s acquisition of the practice related to the Bla-ma'i sgrub-pa chos-skor, rDzogs-chen sde-gsum, and Thugs-rje-chen-po skor (a tantric cycle designed to perform the meditation on the various forms of that Bodhisattva).

The founder of the first school is mNa-bdag ųaṅ-ral ųi-ma-’od-zer, who is regarded as the first of the gter-ston rgyal-po līna (the five kings of the discoverers of treasures) as well as the first of the mchog-gi sprul-sku rnam-gsum (the triad of the most excellent incarnations in the rNiṅ-ma-pa tradition). According to the hagiography published by Dargyay, which is largely based on chapter 6 of bDud-'jom Rin-po-che’s rNiṅ-ma’i chos-byuṅ, ųi-ma-’od-zer lived from 1124 to 1192, although other sources mentioned by the author tend to shift these dates slightly forwards. In fact the Zab-mo’i gter-dan gter-ston sgrub-thab ji-ltar byon-pa’i lo-rgyus mdor-bsdus bkod-pa rin-chen vaiḍurya phreṅ states that ųi-
ma'od-zer died in the wood-mouse year (1204). This date fits with the account that Pan-chen Śākyamūri participated in the ceremonies performed on the occasion of the gter-ston's death, since his stay in Tibet is placed between 1204, the year of his arrival at bSam-yas, and 1213.

Ni-ma-'od-zer was born at Jed-sa-ser-dgon, in the lHo-brag gTam-šul area, the son of Īnan-ston Chos-kyi-khor-lo, and from his father he received the initiation in the cycle of Hayagrīva (who is specifically referred to in the dkar-chag), whose figure appeared to him in the course of meditation. When still a child he apparently had visions of Śākyamuni, Avalokiteśvara and Padmasambhava and according to tradition he received his name directly from Ye-šes-mkha'-gro. He married Jo-'bum-ma, herself regarded as an incarnation of the dākinī Ye-šes-mtsho-rgyal, who bore him two sons. Among the texts discovered by him there are the tantra, the explanations and the instructions (rgyud lbum-man-nag) of the bKa' brgyad bde-gšegs 'dus-pa cycle.

His chief disciple was his son 'Gro-mgon Nam-mkha'-dpa-l-ba, who was regarded as a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara. To him he transmitted all the teachings and initiations relative to the Eight Pronouncements. Nam-mkha'-dpa-l-ba's son, mNa'-bdag Blo-idan, was regarded a manifestation of Mañjuśrī, and the latter's son, mNa'-bdag bDud-'dul, was in turn regarded as a manifestation of Vajrapāṇi. Like the three traditional religious kings of Tibet, these three gter-ston are therefore connected with the early set of Bodhisattvas who, as manifestations of their three Families (rigs gsum sprul-ba) lead sentient beings towards release.

Besides the "lineage of the sons" (sras brgyud), there was another lineage of the same school, called of the "five sons" (bu lna), which has continued to our day.

Chos-dbañ's school started with Chos-kyi-dbañ-phyug (1212-1270), generally known as Guru Chos-dbañ, who was one of Nam-mkha'-dpa-l-ba's disciples. He was the second of the gter-ston rgyal-po lna and of the mchog-gi sprul-skū mnam-gsum, and his

---

coming is prophesied in the *Padma thān-yig* under the name of ṇañ-ral. In his boyhood he studied the *bka'-ma* and the *gter-ma*, particularly those discovered by Ni-ma-'od-zer, and also a number of treatises on the chief Bon teachings, besides hearing the teachings of the *mahāmudrā, rdzogs-chen, ži-byed* and *gcod-yul*. He composed four tomes on the *rDo-rje phur-pa* (*Vajrakīla*) cycle. One night he dreamt that he was going to the Wutai Shan, where he saw Mañjuśrī, who initiated him in the knowledge of reality as such (*chos thams-cad*, literally "all dharmas"). On another occasion he had a vision of being led on a white winged horse to the pure sphere of the *rNa-yab-dpal-ri* mountain, where Padmasambhava conferred upon him the empowerment of the Eight Pronouncements. His consecrated consort was Jo-mo-sman-mo (1248-1283), to whom Vajravarāhī had transmitted all the instructions of the cycle of the ākāśīṃa and who, according to tradition, joined the crowd of the ākāśīṃa on the *Zhais-mdog-dpal-ri* mountain in Uḍḍīyāna without forsaking her body.

Guru Chos-dban discovered altogether nineteen *gter-ma* which he summarized in as many works. He performed many miracles, which made him acknowledged as a *siddha* (*grub-thob*) not only by the *rNiin-ma-pas* but also by Kun-mkhyen 'Phags-pa-'od, Chos-'od of the *Jo-nal-pa* school, and Bu-ston himself. He built the temples of Tshoṅ-dus-'gur-mo and *bSam-grub-bde-ba-can,* and had a number of disciples, including his eight spiritual sons (*thugs-sras*). The main branch of his uninterrupted lineage is represented by an authority on *gcod*, Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje of the sMan-luṅ-pa family, and above all by gTsug-'dzin, the Tibetan name of a Newar *bharo* from Yam-bu, in whom pure understanding (*rtogs-pa*) arose on his hearing Chos-dbaṅ's very voice.

---

262. Kathmandu (see the second section of Chapter Two).
4.11 Chapel 4/10 (mKhan-brgyud-lha-khaṅ)

The chapel of the “Lineage of the Abbot” is devoted to the great Kashmirian scholar (Kha-che Pan-chen) Śākyasribhadra (1127-1225)\(^{264}\), the last abbot of Vikramaśila, who went to Tibet in 1204, after the Muslim conquest of Bengal, and spent ten years there before returning to Kashmir.

He had been invited to Tibet by the lo-tsā-ba of Khro-phu Tshul-khrims-ses-rab (b. 1173), also known as Byams-pa’i-dpal\(^{265}\). During the Kashmirian scholar’s long stay in Tibet Byams-pa’i-dpal acted as his interpreter. He also wrote a kind of biography of Śākyaśrī, consisting of an introduction, thirty-six invocations corresponding to as many events in the life of the master, and a verse close. This biography is possibly the earliest biographical account by a Tibetan writer having survived to our day without undergoing later editing work.

Śākyaśrī, whose statue occupies the centre of the western wall in this chapel (Pl. 113), travelled extensively in central and southern Tibet, visiting Lhasa, bSām-yaś, Rwa-sgreñ and Sa-skya, and was also invited by the inmates of the monastery of Srin-po-ri\(^{266}\).

\(^{264}\) These dates should be 1145-1243 according to a biography quoted in Tibetan Painted Scrolls (Tucci, 1949: 335-336). This biography is contained in the Dam-pa’i chos-kyi ’byun tshul legs-bsad bstan-pa’i rgya-mtshor ’jug-pa’i gru-chen žes bya-ba rtso-m-phro kha-skon-dan bcas, which is a chos-’byun of the Nor-pas, a branch of the Sa-skya-pas. The first part of this text is due to the abbot of Nor, dKon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557), but the brief summary of the life of Kha-che Pan-chen is contained in a supplement written by Saṅs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, probably in the 18th century (Tucci, 1949: 145).

\(^{265}\) Roerich, 1976: 708-710; Naudou, 1980: 244-245. Byams-pa-dpal had gone to Nepal at the age of 24 to learn the skill of translator (Roerich, 1976: 1064). There he studied extensively the tantras and sūtras with the great scholar Buddhaśrī whom he subsequently invited to the monastery he had founded at Khro-phu, west of Zhigatse. He built monasteries and large images, making his disciples work on the erection at Khro-phu of a gilded image of Maitreya measuring eight cubits (Khro-phu Byams-chen). Byams-chen is viewed as one of the eight branches of the Phug-mo-gru-pa school (Stein, 1972: 7; Thinley, 1980: 24).

\(^{266}\) Semori, also known as Yar-stod-brag, is the name of the mountain dividing, like the head of a ship, the Skyid-chu from the gTsān-po, and of a village near it (Tucci, 1952: 102).
He spent a summer retreat\textsuperscript{267} there, translated the commentary to Jñānamitra's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* and bestowed the *vajramāla* consecration\textsuperscript{268} teaching a number of texts. He was the last Indian master in the transmission of the ritual of Tārā\textsuperscript{269} and also interested himself in the *Kālacakra* and *Nāmasamgiti* cycles\textsuperscript{270}.

Śākyasri had an important connection with Sa-skya, where he virtually exerted the functions of superior and where he had the great Sa-skya Pañ-chen as a student and ordained him\textsuperscript{271}.

Although Śākyasri did not found an order, many leading religious figures of the time, from all traditions, seem to have been pupils of his. His lineage was continued by Byams-pa'i-dpal, by the latter's son\textsuperscript{272} and by a series of masters one of whom, Yaṅ-rtsse-ba Rin-chen-seṅ-ge, was a teacher of Bu-ston\textsuperscript{273}. The teaching of Śākyasri gave origin to the four schools known as *Tshogs-pa sde-bzii-pa* (the Four Congregations), namely *Chos-luṅ Tshogs, Tshogs-chen, dGe'-dun-sgaṅ* and *Bye-rdziṅ Tshogs*\textsuperscript{274}.

The statue of Śākyasri is flanked by those of the *mkhan-chen* Byan-chub-dpal-bzan-po and of *Jam-dbyaṅs Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan.*

Byan-chub-dpal-bzan-po was one of Kha-che Pañ-chen's two chief disciples, the other being rDo-rje-dpal-bzan-po\textsuperscript{275} who is por-

\textsuperscript{267} According to the biography quoted in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, he spent the "winter" retreat at Srin-mo-ri in 1206, expounding the doctrine of Maitreya and various subjects (Tucci, 1949: 336).

\textsuperscript{268} Roerich, 1976: 1069; Obermiller, 1986: 223.

\textsuperscript{269} In the monastery of rTse-chen, which was founded by the prince of Gyantse 'Phags-pa dPal-dan-bzan-po, was kept a statue of Tārā made by Śākyasri, previously kept at the monastery of 'Bri-mtshams (Tucci, 1941a: 65).

\textsuperscript{270} Naudou, 1980: 247.

\textsuperscript{271} Roerich, 1976: 34; Naudou, 1980: 245.

\textsuperscript{272} Roerich, 1976: 710.

\textsuperscript{273} Cf. gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 832.

\textsuperscript{274} Tucci, 1949: 663. Cf. gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 1248. These names are partially different in Ferrari (1958: f. 10a): sNe'u-gdoṅ-rtsce Tshogs-pa, Grwa-phyi Tshon-'dus Tshogs-pa, Grwa-nai rGyal-ghiṅ Tshogs-pa and gTsaiṅ Chos-luṅ Tshogs-pa.

\textsuperscript{275} Perhaps identical with the Western Tibetan rDo-rje-dpal who obtained the *samuccaya* initiation in Pātan (Roerich, 1976: 1045-1046). However, Roerich seems to believe that both Byan-chub-dpal and rDo-rje-dpal were Indians (1976: 1071-1072).
trayed in the painting on the southern wall of the chapel, as indicated by the caption painted under that figure.

'Jam-dbyaṅs Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan, whom we have already met in chapel 4/1, is probably the same as the Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan who is found in the list of the abbots of the congregation of Chos-luṅ sPos-khaṅ, belonging to the lineage of Šākyaśri. In fact Chos-luṅ Tshogs-pa, founded in 1255 by bBu-mdzad bSod-nams-stobs, is very near Gyantse and for a long period was placed under the direct protection of its princes. In particular, after his marriage with dPon-mo Pad-ma in 1350, 'Phags-pa dPal-ldan-bzan-po “provided for the C'os luṅ ts'ogs pa, which was the monastery chosen as the chief see by the great scholar Rin c'en gžon nu”[279]. The tight links so established between Chos-luṅ and Gyantse are explicitly recognized in the Char-'bebs, which attributes the liberation of 'Phags-pa dPal-ldan-bzaṅ-po after his capture at Rinpun also to “the regard he had shown for the ācārya of C'os luṅ ts'ogs”[280]. The fact that in 1352 the prince of Gyantse “put his trust” in the Four Congregations, presenting them with many offerings, seems quite significant in that light, especially when considering that the Four Congregations had been under the sphere of influence of the Phag-mo-gru-pas[282]. So it appears quite natural that in 1421-1422 Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ 'Phags-pa entrusted the first consecration ceremonies in the dPal-'khor-chos-sde to 'Jam-dbyaṅs Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan, possibly the mkhan-po of Chos-luṅ

278. On the uplands to the north of Gyantse and some three miles away, according to Das (1970: 87). On the southern slope of the the Po-gzi-bdag hill, north-east of Gyantse and east of Ri-khrod dGa'-ldan, according to a notice by Peter Aufschnaiter quoted in Ferrari (1958, 124, n. 231).
282. In particular sNe'u-gdoṅ Tshogs-pa was placed at the foot of sNe'u-gdoṅ Kun-brtan, the site of the former castle of sDe-srid Phag-mo-gru-pa (Ferrari, 1958, 124, n. 228).
at that time\textsuperscript{283}. The Deb-ther sinon-po further mentions the great abbot of Chos-lun Tshogs-pa, Rin-rgyal-ba (who must be the same as before, since no other similar name occurs in the list of the Chos-lun abbots) in as many as three out of the five lineages of the Vajravarahi cycle (the Six Treatises of Vajravarahi), deriving from dpYal Kun-dga'-rdo-rje\textsuperscript{284}. This again establishes a link with Gyantse, as we know of the relationship existing between the princes of Gyantse and the school of dpYal. In one of the three lineages above, we also find a segment connecting Rin-rgyal-ba to Bu-ston Rin-po-che through Brag-nag-pa gZon-nu-bsod-nams.

Finally, the dkar-chag informs us that also the sthavira Yontan-blo-gros is portrayed in a painting of this chapel, surrounded by the lineage of the congregation of dGe-'dun-sgañ, of which he was the abbot\textsuperscript{285}.

4.12 Chapel 4/11 (dBan-rgyal-lha-khañ)

This cell, which is located in the south-western corner of the sKu-'bum, is not a chapel (lha-khañ) in the strict sense of the word, but a vestibule (sgo-khañ) introducing to the chapels of the fourth floor. The stairs leading up from the lower floors emerge in the south-eastern corner of the cell, whereas a door letting out to the outside passage opens in the eastern wall. A small window giving light to the room opens in the same wall.

\textsuperscript{283} In the first section of Chapter Two we suggest the possible identity of 'Jam-dbyangs Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan with the abbot of gNas-rniñ, 'Jam-dbyangs Rin-chen-rgyal-ba, on the basis of the occurrence of these two names (Myan-chun, 1983: 55, 57-58) concerning different consecration ceremonies performed at Gyantse in the same span of time (1421-1423). As the place given to 'Jam-dbyangs Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan in the lineage of Sakyasri and Byams-pa-dpal here leads us to identify him with the abbot of Chos-lun, we are confronted with two possibilities: either the same master was in charge of both gNas-rniñ and Chos-lun (perhaps at different times), or else two different masters, bearing the same name and living in the same period, were both linked to the Gyantse dynasty.

\textsuperscript{284} gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 478-479.

\textsuperscript{285} Roerich, 1976: 1072.
Plate 114. Uṣṇiṣacakrin. Chapel 4/11 (eastern wall, to the left of the entrance door).
Plate 115. Yamāntaka. Chapel 4/11 (eastern section of the southern wall).
Plate 116. Prajñāntaka, Chapel 4/11 (western section of the southern wall).
There are neither statues nor inscriptions, but the walls bear paintings of a good quality, although rather damaged, devoted to the Krodhas of the ten directions (phyogs-bcu). The Ten Krodhas are assigned the role of protecting the heart of the stūpa and of removing the obstacles hindering from Enlightenment those who have access to it. They are alternatively standing in pratyālīḍha (stretching towards to the right) and in ardhaparyāṅka (supported by their left leg with the right leg bent): the former posture characterizes the Krodhas of the main directions, the latter those of the intermediate ones. They have many arms and heads, all with three eyes, dishevelled hair, flaming beard, moustache and eyebrows, and gaping mouths with protruding fangs. Their stocky and sturdy bodies are girdled on their waists with tiger skins or coloured loin-cloths, and wreathed with garlands of snakes. Their svābhapaṃjaṅgas are not painted in maithuna with them, but separately, within small circles in the upper section of the wall, with many heads and arms, holding the same attributes as their partners. Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub is also painted in one such circle.

The most clearly discernable Krodha figures correspond in almost every detail with the iconography described in the Nispan-nayogāvali for the rākṣasacakra of the mandala of Dharmadhātuvgīśvaraṃjañusri\textsuperscript{286}, except for the sequence of the colours of the various heads.

On the eastern wall, to the left of the entrance door, one can easily recognize Uṣṇiṣacakrin (zenith, of a light peach colour, with four heads and eight arms (Pl. 114). Proceeding from his central hands upwards, his attributes are the cakra (wheel), aṅkuśa (hook), khadga (dagger) and śara (arrow) in the right ones, and the ghanṭā (bell), pāśa (noose), akṣamāla (rosary) and cāpa (bow) in the left ones.

Yamāntaka (east), Vajravālānalārka (south-east), Prajñāntaka (south) and Herukavajra (south-west) are lined up on the southern wall, from east to west. Yamāntaka, of a dark blue colour, with six

\textsuperscript{286} Bhattatīrtha, 1972: No. 21, 54 ff. (Skr).
arms and six heads (five on the same level surmounted by a sixth one in the middle) holds the aṅkuśa, khāḍga and śara in his right hands, and the pāśa, cāpa and ghanṭā in the left ones (Pl. 115). Vajrajvalānalārka, of a black-blue colour, with four heads and eight arms, threads upon Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī while holding the vajra, khāḍga, śara and cakra in his right hands, and the ghanṭā, pāśa, cāpa and khaṭvāṅga in the left ones. Prajñāntaka, of an orange-yellow colour, with four heads and eight arms, holds the pāśa, vajra, khāḍga and śara in his right hands and the aṅkuśa, ghanṭā, śakti and cāpa in the left ones (Pl. 116). Herukavajra, of a dark blue colour, stretches rightwards while threading upon Brahmā and Sarasvati. He has four heads and eight arms, six of them holding the kapāla, śara and vajra on the right, and the khaṭvāṅga, cāpa and an undiscernible attribute on the left, while the last pair of hands upholds a human skin stretched behind the god's back.

Padmāntaka (west) and Paramāśva (north-west) are just discernible on the narrow western wall, in pretty bad conditions, the latter having been badly repainted in parts. Padmāntaka, red, with four heads and eight arms, holds a chain of vajras with the central pair of hands, while the other hands hold the vajra, khāḍga and śara, on the right, and an undistinguishable attribute, pāśa and cāpa on the left. Paramāśva, green, has eight arms and four heads surmounted by the small head of a neighing horse which emerges out of his dishevelled and flaming hair. One may notice a difference from the Nispannayogāvali, where this Krodha is described with three ordinary heads surmounted by a big horse head in the middle. The first two right hands display the rather rare tripatākamudrā (the hand is raised with three fingers stretched out), while the two others bear a khāḍga and a śara. The attribute (or the mudrā) of the first left hand is not discernible; the other left hands hold the aṅkuśa, daṇḍa and cāpa.

Finally the figure of Trailokyavijaya (north-east) is clearly identifiable on the narrow northern wall. This Krodha, of a blue
colour, stretches rightwards while threading upon Śiva and Parvati. He has four heads and eight arms, the two central hands displaying the vajramukramudrā while holding the vajra and ghanṭā. The other hands hold the śa高标准八a, aiṣkūṣa and khaḍga on the right, and the cāpa, pāṣa and vajra on the left (Pl. 117).

The dkar-chag tells us that the Ten Krodhas were painted according to the Nam-mkha’ dri-med che-ba, which is actually the name of a maṇḍala described in Maṇjuśrikirti’s Great Commentary to the Nāmasamgiti, to which Bu-ston refers in his mTshan-brjod-kyi dkyil-khor-gyi bkod-pa. These wrathful deities of the rakṣācakra, the sphere of protection of the maṇḍala, are accompanied by the four guardians of the doors (sgo-ba bṣi).

4.13 Chapel 4/12 (Jo-bo-lha-khaṇḍ)

This chapel is devoted to the great Bengalese scholar Atiśa (982-1054), also simply known as Jo-bo (the Lord), who along with the Tibetan translator Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po played a leading role in re-establishing orthodox Buddhism in Tibet at the beginning of the 11th century. Having studied at the Indian monastic universities of Bodhgaya, Odantapuri and Vikramāśila, where he was the head disciplinarian monk for a time, Atiśa was probably the most famous Buddhist scholar in India at the turn of the 10th century. He was invited by the rulers of Western Tibet to reassert the value of the Buddhist doctrine and of the respect of vows at a time when Buddhism had degenerated at the hands of unscrupulous practitioners, more intent on the practice of magic for individual purposes than on that of the monastic rule.

After spending the year 1041 in the Nepal Valley, where he visited Svavambhū and founded a monastery (gtsug-lag-khaṇḍ) known as Sthāmb Vihāra in Kathmandu, Atiśa proceeded to Western Tibet the following year. He stayed three years there, meeting

---

Rin-chen-bzañ-po at mTho-l dön, and spent the year 1045 at sKyioñ, south-western Tibet\textsuperscript{291}. He then proceeded to gTsañ, where he was well received by the local people in the Šel-dkar-rdzoñ area, and visited a number of places there, establishing his residence at sNe-thañ, where a temple was built after his death\textsuperscript{292}.

Atiśa’s image, at the centre of the northern wall of this chapel, is flanked by the statues of his two most famous pupils, the translator of Nag-tsho, Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba, and the teacher of ’Brom, namely ’Brom sTon-pa rGyal-ba’i-byuñ-gnas (Pl. 118)\textsuperscript{293}.

Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba (b. 1011)\textsuperscript{294}, a monk native of Guñ-thañ, Western Tibet, was sent to India to invite Atiśa by the monk-prince Byañ-chub’-od, who wanted Atiśa’s help to refute and remove the wrong practices which had spread in Tibet after the fall of the monarchy\textsuperscript{295}. He accordingly proceeded to Vikramaśila, where he studied for some time before Atiśa decided to leave for Western Tibet. Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba attended on the great Indian master for nineteen years and obtained from him most of the secret precepts, including the Guhyasamāja according to the system of Nāgārjuna and the cycle of Yamāntaka\textsuperscript{296}. With him he translated a number of texts\textsuperscript{297}, besides translating more texts with the assistance of other scholars, including the Newar Šāntibhadra\textsuperscript{298}. He

\textsuperscript{291} Roerich, 1976: 255.

\textsuperscript{292} gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 263. This was the original monastic building. The bDe-ba-can monastery and school attached to the temple were actually built as late as 1205 by rGya-chiñ-ru-ba (Ferrari, 1958: 165, n. 668).

\textsuperscript{293} Roerich, 1976: 262. An identical triad is to be found in a chapel at sNe-thañ (Tucci, 1952: 62), which was saved from the Red Guards by order of Zhou Enlai (Downman, 1988: 134).

\textsuperscript{294} Roerich, 1976: 247.

\textsuperscript{295} gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 300-301.

\textsuperscript{296} Roerich, 1976: 261, 364, 374.

\textsuperscript{297} Ibidem: 30, 86, 258, 271, 324, 374. Cf. Lalou (1933: 193, 205) and Chattopadhyaya (1967: 445 ff.).

\textsuperscript{298} gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 320. On this master, who had also taught ’Brog-mi, see Lo Bue (1988: 88). He helped Sākya-’od to translate the Pancavimsatisahasrikāvivatiḥbisamayālayāśravati at the request of Byañ-chub-’od, and Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba to translate the Pancavimsatisahasrikā at Yam-bu (Kathmandu) (Cordier, mDo: II, 1; III-V).
Plate 118. Atiśa with Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba (to his right) and 'Brom sTon-pa rGyal-ba'i-byuṅ-gnas (to his left). Chapel 4/12.
Plate 119. sPyan-sňa-ba Tshul-khrims-‘bar. Chapel 4/12 (eastern wall).
Plate 120. Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal. Chapel 4/12 (western wall).
was also a disciple of the Indian master Vajrapāṇi, who was invited to Tibet and preached extensively to Tibetan scholars the maha-
mudrā doctrine, including the dohā tradition\textsuperscript{299}.

'\textquote{\textbf{Brom sTon-pa rGyal-ba'i-'byun-gnas (1004/5 - 1063/4)}}\textsuperscript{300}, the chosen disciple of Atiśa, played a crucial role in convincing his master to stay in Tibet longer than he intended and to travel to southern and central Tibet. He also asked him to refrain from laying too much stress on tantric practices, hence encouraging teachings chiefly based on the Prajñāpāramitā literature. In line with his attitude, austere in matters of religion and hostile to the debased teachings which Atiśa had been especially called to counter, 'Brom-ston established the first order of Tibetan Buddhism, known as bKa'-gdams-pa (Bound by Command), by founding a monastery at Rwa-sgreñ\textsuperscript{301} in 1056. The order's strict application of the monastic rule, enforcing abstension from sexual intercourse, intoxicants, travel and possession of money, and the practice of the "entire teaching" of the Buddha (namely of both sūtras and tantras), were probably two of the reasons why it had little following\textsuperscript{302}. The bKa'-gdams-pas were responsible for diffusing chiefly the Prajñāpāramitā literature.

The eastern wall is painted with the figure of sPyan-sña'-ba\textsuperscript{303} Tshul-khrims-'bar (1038/43 - 1103)\textsuperscript{304}, one of the first monks to join Rwa-sgreñ and to receive the appellation of bKa'-gdams-pa (Pl. 119). He obtained many of Atiśa's tantric teachings from 'Brom-ston and, having faith in him, remained at Rwa-sgreñ. He was regarded as one of the "Three Brothers" (sku-mched ram-pa gsum), the three foremost disciples of 'Brom-ston, and became known as sPyan-sña-ba (the Attendant)\textsuperscript{305}. Towards the end of his

\textsuperscript{299} Roerich, 1976: 857.
\textsuperscript{300} Sin-sbrul corresponds to 1005 and not to 1003 as in Tucci (1949: 89).
\textsuperscript{301} Roerich, 1976: 263.
\textsuperscript{302} Snellgrove and Richardson, 1980: 131; Roerich, 1976: 264.
\textsuperscript{303} sPyan-mña'-ba in the caption painted below the figure.
\textsuperscript{304} Roerich, 1976: 263-264, 284 ff. Chu-lug corresponds to 1043 and not to 1063 as in Tucci (1949: 89).
\textsuperscript{305} gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 322.
life, Tshul-khrims-'bar spent six years at Lo, the monastery which he founded in 1095 to the north of the sKyi-d-chu river, opposite dGa'-ldan.  

Another of the Three Brothers was the kalyanamitra Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal (1031-1106), the founder of the monastery of Po-to, who is also identified on the western wall by a painted caption (Pl. 120). The date of his birth is given twice by the Blue Annals as being 1031, thus contradicting the statement that he was twelve at Atiśa’s death in 1054. Although he apparently was one of the disciples of Atiśa, his name does not appear in the list of Atiśa’s Tibetan disciples in the Deb-ther snon-po. We merely find one mahāpandita Pi-to-ba (Pitopa) among the names of the five special Indian disciples of Atiśa who precede the list of the Tibetan ones. Po-to-ba joined Rwa-sgren in 1058 and acted as its abbot for three years. He declared that he was an incarnation of the sthavira Āṅgaja (Yan-lag-byun). According to tradition “the renowned name of bKa’-gdamgs became famous from his lifetime.  

4.14 The topmost temple

This chapel, occupying the cavity in the spire of the sKu-bum, is not described by Tucci, who oddly refers to no longer discern-
ible wall paintings\textsuperscript{314}, whereas in fact the walls display a series of relatively well-preserved figures, mostly with captions bearing readable names (Pl. 121).

The rather dark octagonal chapel is accessible through a staircase coming up to the western side, behind the altar where the gilded copper statue of Vajradhara is placed looking eastwards. The Ādibuddha sits in vajrāsana and holds the vajra and ghanāṭā in his hands crossed in front of the chest. He wears the five-pronged crown and ornaments of a bodhisattva, and a finely carved wooden nimbus is placed behind. The details of the statue are almost entirely hidden by a number of ceremonial scarves (kha-btags) with which it is covered and by the photographs and statuettes laid on its lap, or at its feet (Pl. 122).

The shape of the chapel is given by the mighty beams placed at 45 degrees with respect to the sides of the square floor, corresponding to the harmikā below. The beams appear to be fitted in the narrow walls making up the faces of an octagonal prism which determines the basic layout of the chapel.

Two distinct series of figures are painted on two horizontal and virtually uninterrupted rows, covering the upper section of the chapel. Most of the figures of the upper row wear the turban characterizing the traditional iconography of Tibetan kings and sit in lalitāsana. They can be identified by the captions painted below. Starting from the eastern side, opposite the statue of Vairadhara, and proceeding clockwise, one finds: Zla-ba-btsan-po (east); (lHa-dbañ-)gzi-brjid-can, Zla-sbyin, lHa’i-dbañ-phyug, sNa-tshogs-bzañ-sa (sic) (south-east); bZañ-po, rNam-rgyal, bŠes-gيمن-bzañ-po, Phyag-dmar-ba (south-west); ŉi-ma-grags, ſin-tu-bzañ-po, rGya-mtsho-rnam-rgyal, rGyal-kha’-dus-pa (west); sNa-tshogs-gzugs, Zla-ba’i-’od, mTha’-yas, Sa-skypoř (north-west) (Pls. 123-125). Although this list is manifestly incomplete because of the gaps caused by those portions of the walls where neither figures nor inscriptions are discernible, it obviously represents the series of the mythical kings of Śambhala according to the Kālacakra tradition as accepted and laid down by Bu-ston in his Dus-

\textsuperscript{314} Tucci, 1941a: 299.
Plate 121. The spire of the Skiu-bum.
Plate 122. The statue of Vajradhara. Topmost temple of the sKu-'bum.
The lineages of Tibetan Buddhism

The lineages of Tibetan Buddhism

'khor chos-'byuñ rgyud-sde'i zab-don sgo-'byed rin-chen gces-pa'i lde-mig (Collected Works, vol. 1a) and referred to by gŽon-nu-dpal in his Blue Annals\textsuperscript{315}. Precisely in the order set by such tradition, the paintings on the walls of this chapel portray those bodhisattvas who, in the guise of kings, succeeding each other to the throne of Šambhala and each preaching the doctrine for a period of a hundred years, ensured the transmission of the Kālacakratantra which, according to tradition, King Suchandra (Zla-ba-bzañ-po) received directly from the Buddha Śākyamuni at Dhānyakaṭaka\textsuperscript{316} within a great stūpa with many storeys.

Some important figures in that tradition are missing from the above list, first of all Kulika Puñḍarīka (Rig-l丹 Pad-ma-dkar-po, or simply Pad-dkar), the supposed author of the Vimalaprabhā, the great commentary to the Kālacakratantra\textsuperscript{317}, but we have already said that such omissions correspond to gaps in the paintings, while the sequence appears so regular as to allow the suggestion that Kulika Puñḍarīka ought to occupy the western end of the southern wall.

The place given to the tradition of the kingdom of Šambhala in the spire of the mchod-rten fully reveals the pre-eminent role assigned to the Kālacakra cycle within the complex ideal structure of the sKu-'bum and in the conception of the Ādibuddha as understood at the beginning of the 15th century in Tibet.

Also the figures of the lower row are closely connected with the Kālacakra cycle and specifically refer to the various lineages through which it spread and asserted itself in Tibet. Proceeding once again clockwise, starting from the south-eastern side one meets first the figure of Byan-sems-rgyal-ba-ye-ses (1257-1327), whose biography was written by Chos-rje Rañ-'byuñ-rdo-rje. He belongs to the 'Bro lineage, received the Kālacakra teachings from Kun-spans Thugs-rje-brtson-'grus (or simply Kun-spans-pa) and

\textsuperscript{315} Roerich, 1976: 753.

\textsuperscript{316} Near Amaravati. See Beal, 1983, 2: 220-221.

\textsuperscript{317} The Vimalaprabhā, the first of the texts included in the rGyud-'grel section of the bsTan-'gyur, is often called Byan-chub-sems-dpa'i 'grel-pa because Kulika Puñḍarīka is regarded as a manifestation of Avalokitesvara (Roerich, 1976: 756). Avalokitesvara himself appears directly as the author of the text in the Beijing edition of the bsTan-'gyur (Cordier, rGyud: I, II).
transmitted them to Kun-mkhyen Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho, who in turn handed them down to the great Chos-rje Kun-mkhyen-chen-po Śes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (Dol-po-pa).

Byan-sems-rgyal-ba-ye-ses originally followed the *Karma-pa* teachings, but later he went to Jo-mo-nañ, where he became one of the Four Sons of Kun-spans-pa, whom he succeeded to the abbatial throne in 1313. Among those who received the full exposition of the *Vimalaprabhā* from him, one must include the *dharmaśvāmin* Rin-chen-'byuñ-gnas.

The second figure on the south-eastern wall portrays the 13th century master Bo-doñ Rin-po-che rTse-mo (Bo-doñ Rin-rtse) (Pl. 126), who should not be confused with the two Bo-doñ masters called Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal who have been mentioned in the section devoted to chapel 4/6. His name derives from Bo-doñ-e, the monastery which was founded by the *kalyāṇamitra* Mudrā-chen-po in 1049, south-east of Jo-mo-nañ. He was one of the *gNal-žig-gi bu dgu* (gNal-žig’s Nine Sons) and, more precisely, he belonged to the middle group along with 'U-yug-pa bSod-nams-señ-ge and gTsañ-pa Jo-nam, who was responsible for introducing *gNal-pa-žig-po*’s teachings at Žwa-lu, where also Bu-ston received them, thus becoming part of that spiritual lineage, too.

Bo-doñ Rin-rtse obtained the exposition of the *Kālacakra* and all its secret precepts from the *bla-ma* Se-mo-che-ba Nam-kha’-rgyal-mtshan, who belonged to the ‘Bro lineage, since he had received the transmission from Kahn-gsar-pa Nam-mkha’-’od. He also erected a big statue which was known as Bo-doñ Rin-rtse’s Dus-khor lHa-m-čhe. He had several disciples and in particular he transmitted the whole *Kālacakra* cycle to the famous *mahā-siddha* Señ-ge-dpal, better known as U-rgyan-pa.

On Rin-rtse’s left, painted on the same wall, there is the portrait of his disciple, sTag-bde-ba Señ-ge-rgyal-mtshan (1212-1294), who received from him the initiation in the *Kālaca*

---

Plate 123. Zla-sbyin and lHa'i-dbañ-phyug. Topmost temple (upper portion of the south-eastern wall).
Plate 124. bZaṅ-po, rNam-rgyal and bŚes-gśen-bzāṅ-po. Topmost temple (upper portion of the south-western wall).
Plate 125. rGya-mtsho-rnam-rgyal and rGyal-kha-'dus-pa (above) and sGro-ston-gNam-la-brtsegs (below). Topmost temple (northern section of the western wall).
Plate 126: Bo-o-ki Rin-po-che Tse-mo and Sla-ga-ba Sen-ge-ragjal-mi-tham. Topmost temple (lower portion of the south-eastern wall).
kra together with all the secret precepts, and who after his death was in charge of several monasteries, among which Log-groñ, where he preached the doctrine322.

The last figure on this south-eastern side portrays Šoñ-ston (or Šoñ lo-tsā-ba) rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan who, with his younger brother dPañ Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1276-1342), is one of the founders of philological studies in Tibet. He received the complete initiation into the Kālacakra together with the exposition of the tantra and the commentary according to the 'Bro tradition from sTag-bde-ba Señ-ge-rgyal-mtshan323.

The series of figures painted in the lower row of the south-western wall is particularly interesting because it seems to bear witness to the influence exerted in Tibet by the Indian pandita Vanaratna, who went to Gyantse on the occasion of his second journey to Tibet, sometimes between 1426 and 1436, that is during the period of construction and decoration of the sKu-'bum. Whereas half of the first figure and the corresponding caption are no longer extant, all the others are in fact recognizable as important masters in the spiritual lineage of the sbyor-ba yan-lag drug-gi gdams-pa (śaḍāṅgayoga) according to the system of the ācārya Anupamarakṣita, whose precepts were the main object of Vanaratna’s teachings during one of his stays at rTse-thañ. According to gZon-nu-dpal, who personally received some initiations from Vanaratna, the śaḍāṅgayoga lineage is as follows: Avalokiteśvara, Anupamarakṣita (dPe-med-kyis-bsruñs-pa, dPe-med-'tsho), Śrīdharanandanda (dPal-'dzin-dga'-'ba), Bhāskaradeva ('Od-byed-lha), the siddha Śūryaśrijñāna (grub-thob Ňi-ma-dpal-ye-ses), Dharmaśānti (Chos-'byuñ-zi-'ba), Ratnarakṣita, Narendra Bodhi (Mi dbañ-blo), Muktipakṣa (Phyogs-grol), Śākyarakṣita, Sujata (rJe-legs-skyes), Buddhaghoṣa (Sañs-rgyas-dbyaṅs), and last Vanaratna324.

The captions on the wall identify as many as five figures with

---

323. Šoñ-ston has already been discussed in chapel 4/6. On this great translator and his brother see also Le Bœuf, 1988: 90-91.
324. gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 90-91.
Plate 127. dPal-'dzin and 'Od-byed-lha, Topmost temple (lower portion of the south-western wall).
The lineages of Tibetan Buddhism

the names of dPal-'dzin, 'Od-byed-lha, Chos-'byun-ži-ba, Ni-ma-dpal-ye-ses and Rin-chen-mchog ("mcho" in the caption). The names in the list of the Blue Annals correspond perfectly with those in the captions, except for the partial difference concerning the last one (Rin-chen-mchog corresponds to Ratnottara or Ratnāgara, and not to Ratnaraksita) (Pl. 127).

The western wall, behind the statue of Vajradhara, includes five figures, out of which two only have been identified, both belonging to the 'Bro school: sGom-pa dKon-mchog-bsruñs and sGro-ston gNam-la-brtsegs. The first one received the teachings of the Kālaçakra from the Kashmirian Somanātha and handed them down to the second one, who in turn transmitted them to Yu-mo (Bla-ma-chen-pa) 325. From Somanātha dKon-mchog-bsruñs also received the secret precepts of the sGron-ma gsal-bar byed-pa ŋes bya-ba'i rgya-cher bṣad-pa (Pradipoddhyotananāmaṭikā), Candrakīrti's commentary to the Guhyasamājatantra.

The figure of Bu-ston appears twice on the following walls, in both cases portrayed with the attitude and attributes recalled by Ruegg 326, who refers to the xylographic edition of the great master's biography (Chos-rje thams-cad mkhyen-pa Bu-ston lo-tsā-ba'i rnam-par thar-pa / sNi-m-pa'i me-tog) as well as to a than-kā published by Tucci 327: the paniñitas' pointed hat (pan-žwa) with two long lappets falling aside, a vajra on the right shoulder and a ghanṭā on the left shoulder, and the hands displaying the dharma-cakramudrā.

The twofold presence of Bu-ston does not seem to be aimed at underlying his role and importance as much as to point out the place he occupies in two specific Kālaçakra lineages. On the north-western wall (Pl. 128), where the caption refers to him as Chos-rje Bu-ston Thams-cad-mkhyen (pa) (the omniscient dharma-mava/min Bu-ston), he is preceded by the figure of Thar-lo Ni-margyal-mtshan (Ni-ma-mtshan-dpal in the caption), through whom he initially received the secret precepts of the űdāṅgavayoga ac-

326 Ruegg, Puste bs, n. 1.
According to Anupamaraksita's lineage\textsuperscript{328}, while on the north-eastern wall he follows the figure of Bla-ma dPal-ldan-señ-ge whom he approached to obtain the exposition of the \textit{Kalacakra} according to the Rwa school. There the caption designates him as Chos-rje Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa Bu-ston Rin-po (-che) (Pl. 129).

The \textit{mkhan-ch}en Thar-pa lo-tsā-ba, a disciple of Šes-rab-señ-ge, who instructed him in the \textit{Kalacakra}\textsuperscript{329}, was renowned as the greatest Sanskrit scholar of his time. Bu-ston, who had a special veneration for him, went to Thar-pa-glin and studied the text and commentary of Candragomin’s \textit{Candravyākarana}, as well as the text and commentary of the \textit{Kalāpa} grammar, in order to learn Sanskrit\textsuperscript{330}. He spent fourteen months with the lo-tsā-ba, and later visited him on many an occasion for shorter periods, in the span of over four years. From him he received the highest \textit{abhiśeka} of the \textit{Kalacakra} before being given the precepts of the \textit{ṣaḍaṅgayoga}.

Four figures follow those of the translator of Thar-pa and of Bu-ston on the same north-western wall: the first and the fourth are indicated by the captions as IHa-rje dPal-gyi-rgyal-mtshan and Rab-tu-bzañ-po, neither of whom we have been able to identify; the second and the third bear no captions.

The figures painted in the upper row of the northern wall are indecipherable. The first figure painted in the lower row is Mañjuśrī-gnīs-pa (the second Mañjuśrī), to be possibly identified with 'Jam-dbyaṅs-gsar-ma (the new Mañjuśrī) belonging to the 'Bro lineage of the \textit{Kalacakra}, whose teachings he received from the \textit{siddha} Se-mo-che-ba Nam-mkha’-rgyal-mtshan transmitted to Kun mkhyen Chos-sku-’od-zer\textsuperscript{331}. A native of upper Myan, 'Jamt-dbyaṅs-gsar-ma (his name appears also in the forms 'Jam-gsar, Chos-rje 'Jam-gsar, 'Jam-gsar Šes-rab-’od-zer) is reputed to have

\textsuperscript{328} Roerich, 1976: 793.
\textsuperscript{329} Ibidem: 792.
\textsuperscript{330} Ruegg, 1966: 11a.
\textsuperscript{331} His name was bDag-med-rdo-rje, but on ordination he received the name of Chos-kyi-’od-zer, and ’Gro-ba’i mGon-po ’Phags-pa (1235-1280) gave him the name of Chos-sku-’od-zer. He was a teacher of ’Phags-’od, who in turn taught Bu-ston (Roerich, 1976: 422). He is perhaps the same \textit{lo-nan-pa} scholar Chos-’od who is mentioned in chapel 4/9 in connection with Guru Chos-dbaṅ.
gone to the Wutai Shan$^{332}$ which is believed to be the abode of Mañjuśrī, and his epithet is possibly derived from that event. He first followed gNal-zig’s teachings, and came to be part of the last group of the gNal-zig-gi bu dgu, who have already been referred to in this section, along with rGya-’chiṅ-ru-ba and sKyil-nag-grags-señ$^{333}$. He later became an eminent scholar of the Kālacakra and had Roṅ-pa rGwa-lo among his students$^{334}$, thus becoming one of the main points of contact between members of the two lineages of ’Bro and Rwa. From ’Jam-dbyaṅs-gsar-ma the lo-tsā-ba of rGwa received in particular the Tārā cycle, which he handed down to Śes-rab-señ-ge, who in turn transmitted it to dPal-ldan-señ-ge$^{335}$.

The following figure portrays Bla-ma ’Phags-’od, also known as Kun-mkhyen ’Phags-’od, ’Phags-’od-pa, and Bla-ma ’Phags-pa. He was a disciple of Chos-skū-’od-zer, who was regarded as an incarnation of the Kashmirian scholar Śākyaśrībhadra and whose extraordinary gifts are illustrated in a biography written by Kun-spaṅs-pa, his immediate successor in the ’Bro lineage$^{336}$. Many of the secret precepts of the saḍaṅgayoga which Bu-ston obtained from ’Phags-pa-’od derived in fact from Kun-spaṅs-pa$^{337}$. Bla-ma ’Phags-’od was also a disciple of the lo-tsā-ba of rGwa$^{338}$ and an expert not only in the Kālacakra, but also in the Guhyasamāja according to Nāgārjuna’s system (his school is known as gSaṅ-’dus ’Phags-lugs), and also in the yogatantras, which he taught for a long time at Žwa-lu, in the presence of Bu-ston$^{339}$.

On the same northern wall there is also the figure of Bla-ma Śes-rab-señ-ge (1251-1315), also known as Roṅ-pa Śes-rab-señ-ge, the successor of rGwa lo-tsā-ba in the Kālacakra lineage according to the tradition of Rwa. He occupied the abbatial seat of dBen-

---

333. gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 407.
dmār, where he was succeeded by his nephew Bla-ma rDo-rje-rgyalmtshan (1283-1325). When Bu-ston went to Roṅ to practice the Kālacakra, Bla-ma Śes-rab-seṅ-ge was already dead and dBon-po rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, an expert in the exegesis summing up the opinions of the lo-tsa-bas of Rwa and of 'Bro, was the one who provided him with the exposition of the Kālacakra and of the Vimalaprabhā. This Bla-ma rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan should not be confused with the lo-tsa-ba Šoṅ-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan who translated the Vimalaprabhā and who is portrayed on the southeastern wall of this very chapel.

Both rows on the north-eastern wall are devoted to the Kālacakra lineage according to the Rwa tradition. The Indian masters Kālacakrapāda and Mañjukirti are portrayed in the upper row, followed by the Newar paṇḍita Samantaśrī and the Tibetan lo-tsa-ba Rwa Chos-rab, rDo-rje-grags-pa’s nephew, who invited Samantaśrī, assisted him during his stay in Tibet and escorted him back to Nepal.

The first figure met in the lower row is that of Bla-ma dPal-ladan-seṅ-ge, who received the exposition of the Kālacakratantra and of the Vimalaprabhā as translated by Rwa Chos-rab. Like Bu-ston later on, he obtained the transmission of the same texts also in the translation of Šoṅ lo-tsa-ba. dPal-ladan-seṅ-ge was famous for mastering the Tshad-ma sde-bdun (the Seven Treatises of Logic) and is quoted in Bu-ston’s biography as one of the greatest scholars of the time who were attracted by the width and depth of Bu-ston’s knowledge when the latter, just twenty years old, made a tour studying and debating at the chief religious institutions of central and southern Tibet. When Bu-ston was engaged in re-alizing the synthesis of the traditions of the lo-tsa-bas of Rwa and 'Bro on the Kālacakra, he requested dPal-ladan-seṅ-ge to perform the practice (phyag-len) chiefly according to the method of Rwa.

---

He possessed many other tantric cycles, and was the one who handed down to Bu-ston the cycle of Samvara according to the system of Luipa as transmitted by the school of Mar-pa Do-pa (Mar-do).  

The figure of Bu-ston is painted next to that of dPal-l丹-ся-γe, and is in turn followed by that of Thugs-sras lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal (1318-1388), Bu-ston’s spiritual son, who continued the lineage and made the Kālacakra the main object of his teachings. In 1377 he was invited to perform consecrations at rTse-chen. Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal wrote the biography of Bu-ston known as sNim-pa’i me-tog (corresponding to the Sanskrit kusumañjali: the “handful of flowers”). The first part of this biography, covering Bu-ston’s life up to his visit to Sa-skya in 1355, was written in that monastery on that very same year. The second part was compiled in 1366 at Ri-phug, near Žwa-lu, from the time Bu-ston renounced the abbatial seat of Žwa-lu in 1356. In the colophon of the second part Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal is mentioned under his epithet of sGra-tshad-pa, perhaps referring to his knowledge in grammar and logic along with the dge-sloṅ dge-ba’i bśes-gñen bSod-nams-grub who assisted him in the compilation. 

The last figure on this wall and in the series of the masters painted in this chapel is that of the sku-γa-n chos-rje Rin-chen Nam-mkha’-mchog-grub-dpal-bzañ-po, the disciple of Bu-ston already met in Chapel 4/1.

---

345. Bu-ston was the holder of seven different lineages of empowerments in the cycle of Sambara (bDe-mchog-gi dpañh brgyud mi-’dra-ba bdun) and composed an exposition of it according to the system of Luipa (gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 466-467).

346. See the manuscript mentioned in note 1 of Chapter Two (p. 44).


348. ibidem, 175.

349. ibidem, 176.
Chapter Five

THE TEMPLES ON THE UPPER STOREY OF THE GTSUG-LAG-KHAN

The upper storey of the gTsug-lag-khan is made up by a large terrace corresponding to the covering of the assembly-hall below, surrounded by a porch on three sides and culminating northwards with the topmost structure of the building (dbu-rtse), which contains an extraordinary series of maṇḍalas.

Two trenches open along the eastern and western side of the terrace, giving access to two temples devoted to the cycle of the sthaviras (eastwards) and to the cycle of the lam-'bras (westwards), placed respectively upon the Chos-rgyal-lha-khañ and the Vajra-dhātu temple of the ground floor.

Although these three temples have been described by Tucci in the fourth volume of Indo-Tibetica, they deserve a more thorough analysis with regard both to the identification of the figures portrayed in the statues contained in two of them, and to the correct reading of the scheme followed in the succession of the maṇḍalas painted on the walls of the third one.

5.1 gNas-brtan-lha-khañ

The gNas-brtan-lha-khañ (temple of the sthaviras) was established (bkod) in the same female wood-snake year as the gŽal-yas-khañ and the Lam-'bras-lha-khañ, that is in 1425¹. It contains the well-known cycle of sixteen arhats (“worthy”, a term mistakenly

¹ Tucci: 1939, 63-64.
understood by Tibetans as *ari-hat*, “striker of foes”, and translated accordingly as *dgra-bcom-pa*), who are almost invariably accompanied by the Four Guardian Kings. The *sthaviras* ensure the continuity of the doctrine in the period between the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, and the Buddha of the Future, Maitreya. With the help of the Four Guardian Kings they also ensure the diffusion of the doctrine in a spatial sense, each of them being assigned to a particular area within each of the four quarters in which the world is divided according to Indian cosmology, under the protection of the corresponding King.

In Indian and Tibetan religious literature this cycle of *arhats* is referred to as the sixteen *sthavira* (or *sthāvira*), referring to the “elder” disciples of the Buddha, although the term seems to have been understood by early Tibetan translators in the sense of *sthāvara* (firm) since they rendered it as *gnas-brtan*, meaning literally “firm in his place”. All these *sthaviras* have attained arhatship, and in texts they are described as being surrounded by large gatherings of *arhats*. Although this cycle was also brought into Tibet by Atiśa, Tibetans were already acquainted with it during the monarchical period through their contacts with China and Central Asia. The cycle is therefore generally represented in Chinese fashion, with the *sthaviras* placed in stylized rock caves, like in this chapel as well as in the southern temple in the *bum-pa* of the sKu-'bum.

Tibetan tradition insists on the diffusion of the cult of the *sthaviras* in China during the Tang dynasty, and relates its development in bordering countries such as Mi-ña, the future Xixia kingdom north-east of Tibet. During that period Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan sent as envoys Sañ-śi and sBa gSal-snañ to invite several learned Buddhist monks (*hwa-śaṅ*) from China, including a *hwa-śaṅ* native of Me-ña (sic), who became the king’s official priests (*mchod-gnas*).2

The title *hwa-śaṅ* became the epithet of one of the two figures which were added during the Tang dynasty, when the Indian cycle of sixteen *sthaviras* spread to China, to form a group of eighteen.3 The Tibetans adopted the Indian tradition of sixteen *sthaviras* and

---

2. gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 924-925; Orgyan-glin-pa: canto 82, f. 165b.
The temples on the upper storey of the gTsug-lag-khān

added to it two masters who are apparently different from the two included by the Chinese tradition\(^4\), but who bear Chinese names: Dharmatāla, the Tibetan transcription of the Chinese Damoduole, a name drawn from the Chinese genealogies of patriarchs of the chan (dhyāna) school of Buddhism founded by Bodhidharma\(^5\); and Hwa-ṣaṅ, the Tibetan transcription of the Chinese hoshang, which in turn transcribes the Central Asian rendering of the Sanskrit term upādhyāya, referring to a religious master. Indian authors apparently knew of both Dharmatāla and Hwa-ṣaṅ, since the former is mentioned in the gNas-brtan phyag-mchod by the Kashmirian scholar Śākyaśrī\(^6\), while the latter is mentioned in Bhāvaskandha's gNas-brtan spyan-draṅ-ba (Sthaviropimantrāṇa; the "Invitation of the sthaviras")\(^7\) as the envoy sent by the Tang emperor to invite and escort the sthaviras to China\(^8\).

Tibetan literary sources, such as the text by the 5th Dalai Lama\(^9\) and the Vaiḍūrya g.ya'-sel by the regent Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, omit Hwa-ṣaṅ altogether while including Dharmatāla in the cycle, thus reaching a number of seventeen masters, although they retain in their titles the figure sixteen (bcu-drug) corresponding to the Indian tradition. Tibetan iconographic sources, on the other hand, generally include Hwa-ṣaṅ in the cycle, thus obtaining a total of eighteen masters, accompanied by the Four Guardian Kings. The conflict between religious literary tradition and traditional iconography concerning the exclusion or inclusion of Hwa-ṣaṅ in the Tibetan pantheon possibly reflects a much earlier conflict, between Indian and Chinese Buddhist factions at the court of Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan, which supposedly ended with the defeat of Hwa-ṣaṅ Mahāyāna, the chief propounder of the chan doctrine known as Spontaneous Enlightenment\(^10\). Indian masters

\(^4\) Tucci, 1949: 556.
\(^5\) Demievile, 1987: 12, n. 4.
\(^6\) Dagyab, 1977: 112, n. 2.
\(^7\) Cordier, mDo. XCVI, 43.
\(^9\) Tucci, 1949: 558-564.
in Tibet complained that such system did not correspond in any way to what was taught by the Buddha, and there followed debates between the two factions, which according to later Tibetan ecclesiastical historiography ended with the condemnation of Hwa-sama Mahāyāna as a teacher of heretical doctrines. But it is quite clear from earlier sources found at Dunhuang or included in the bKa'-thain sde-lñana at a later date, that the Chinese formulation of Buddhist teachings continued to receive official approval and to exert its influence in Tibet, so long as Tibetans had easy access to Buddhist centres such as Dunhuang. The recollection of the chan tradition from Bodhidharma to Hwa-sama was kept in rNinma-pa religious literature, notably in the Ministers' Scroll, the fourth part in the bKa'-thain sde-lñana, and the connections between rdzogs-chen and chan have been pointed out by Tucci in Minor Buddhist Texts, as well as by other scholars. As to Hwa-sama Mahāyāna, a remarkable scholar and author of several works, he took over the legendary role attributed to him in connection with the cycle of the sthaviras.

The first statue found along the northern wall, on the left as one enters the gNas-brtan-lha-khañ, portrays Mañjuśrī surrounded by four attendant figures (a group which Tucci wrongly places against the central wall of the chapel). It shows the Bodhisattva sitting on a lion, in the form known as Vādisimhamañjughoṣa ('Jam-dbyañs-smra-ba'i-señ-ge) with his usual attributes, the sword and the book, resting on flowers rising at his sides. His presence in this chapel might be explained by taking into account the tradition reported by a bKa'-gdam-pa text, according to which the Chinese emperor who sent for the sthaviras was an incarnation of Mañjuśrī. In fact the four figures surrounding the main image seem to be lay people, one of them wearing a turban (Pl. 130). According to Tibetan tradition the name of the emperor who in-

---

13. Tucci, 1941a: 166.
Plate 130. Vādisimhaṃhammañjughoṣa, gNas-brtan-Iha-khañ (northern wall).
Plate 131. Śākyamuni with two bodhisattvas. gNas-brtang-lha-khaña (centre of the eastern wall).
vited the sthaviras to China was Thañ-hu’i or Thañ Dzu’i-dzuñ15, a name corresponding to the Chinese Ruizong (Wade-Giles: Jui Tsung) (710-712). This seems to connect the cult of the sthaviras with China just before Tibet was exposed to renewed Chinese and Central Asian cultural influences through the highly successful policy of conquests undertaken by King Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan. His brother, IHa, was apparently married to the Chinese princess Jincheng (Wade-Giles: Chin-ch’eng), who arrived at Lhasa in 710 and is likely to have supported both Chinese and Central Asian forms of Buddhism16 until her death in 74017.

Next to the Bodhisattva-emperor there is the statue of his envoy, the minister Hwa-san who not only invited the sthaviras to China, but, according to the bkA’-gdam-pa text mentioned above, also participated in the prescribed summer retreat and, before the sthaviras left again, had their portraits painted on cloth18.

Hwa-san does not appear along with the traditional set of sthaviras and Dharmatāla in a beautiful painted scroll published by Tucci19, which is heavily influenced by the Newar style and may well be the work of a Newar painter, or of a Tibetan painter following the Newar school. This style, which has already been discussed in the section dealing with the Newar influence, is characterized by the presence of a central niche surrounding the main image with arches or floral patterns resting on column-like stems surmounted by flowers and rising from pots placed at their basis, as may be seen around the central image of the Buddha in this very chapel (Pl. 131)20. The absence of Hwa-san from that scroll does

15. gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 271; Dagyab, 1977, 1: 61, n. 9; 113. Cf. Tucci, 1949: 558. The name of this Tang emperor is connected with that of the Khotanese prince Ye-tu-la (Sum-pa mKhan-po, 1984, 2: 330), who seems to have invited and met the sthaviras before the Chinese emperor did.
18. According to another version (Dagyab, 1977: 61), the first portraits of the sthaviras were statues, which were subsequently copied on scrolls and brought to Tibet by Klu-mes, obviously at a later period (Tucci, 1949: 556-557).
20. Also the background of the scroll published by Tucci, dark and dotted with small ellipses is typical of early 15th century Newar painting, and may be
not mean that his iconographic type was unknown to Newar artists, since he appears in Jivarama’s sketchbook dated 1435\textsuperscript{21}. It only suggests that in the Tibetan tradition there is uncertainty concerning this character, who in an ancient western Tibetan painted scroll\textsuperscript{22} is portrayed in the guise of an Indian siddha, in another is called A-hor-ša\textsuperscript{23}, while some literary traditions try to make of him a character of the Ming period\textsuperscript{24}. There is no uncertainty, however, about the secondary role which he plays within the cycle of the sthaviras on a ritual level. Since he does not share their supernatural attributes, no prayers or worship are offered to him within a Tibetan Buddhist ritual context\textsuperscript{25}. In fact at a popular level he was eventually reduced to the rank of a jester appearing in nearly all performances of Tibetan monastic dance\textsuperscript{26}.

Hwa-šaṅ does not appear in the illustrations of the Mongolian bKa’-’gyur in 108 volumes, whose woodcuts were completed in 1720\textsuperscript{27}, and he does not seem to be mentioned in Śākyasri’s gNas-brtan phyag-mchod. But as a rule he accompanies the cycle of the sthaviras in the majority of Tibetan iconographic sources, almost invariably portrayed as the big-bellied Maitreya common in popular Chinese Buddhism\textsuperscript{28}. As such he is represented here in the gNas-brtan-lha-khaṅ, where he sits comfortably in the lalita posture, holding two flowers, one of which still in bud, in his left hand and a rosary in the right, surrounded by three children, including a novice. He is portrayed surrounded by children, some of whom climbing upon him, both in the Three Hundred Icons, printed during the late 18th or early 19th century, and in the 20th century found in a paubhā published by Pal (1978: pl. 83) dated 1400-1425, as well as in the background of the paintings in the Lam-‘bras-lha-khaṅ opposite this temple.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{21} Lowry, 1977: 116, fig. A 40.
  \item \textsuperscript{22} Tucci, 1949: pl. 40.
  \item \textit{Ibidem}: pl. 39.
  \item \textit{Ibidem}: 561.
  \item \textsuperscript{23} Ibidem: 561.
  \item \textsuperscript{24} Dagyab, 1977, 1: 61, 113-114.
  \item \textsuperscript{25} Snellgrove, 1987: 436.
  \item \textsuperscript{26} Chandra, 1988: 21.
  \item \textsuperscript{27} Tucci, 1949: 556, 561.
\end{itemize}
Lhasa edition of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* in Jivarama’s sketchbook, which has been mentioned above, no children appear around the master, who is portrayed in a specular manner to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* woodcut, sitting in lalitāsana, making the same gesture (possibly a teaching one) with the right hand, and holding a purse full of money with the left.

The kind of iconographic variation to be found in the images portraying Hwa-saṅ also characterizes the whole cycle of sthaviras, as will appear from the following comparative analysis.

Iconographic uncertainty makes the task of identifying some sthaviras difficult in the absence of inscriptions. Such is the case of the two images sitting next to Hwa-saṅ (Pls. 132-133), Gopaka (sBed-byed) and Panthaka (Lam-brtan) who hold as attribute a book, one with both hands, the other with the right hand only, while the left rests on his left knee. These different attitudes and ways of holding the book are not sufficient to identify them because of variations in iconographic and textual references.

Gopaka is described as holding a book with both hands by Śākyasri and in the *Vaiḍūrya g.ya’sel*, and is portrayed accordingly in the Mongolian *bKa’-gyur* and in the Lhasa *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. But in the *Three Hundred Icons* Gopaka is shown holding the book with his left hand while displaying the *hariṇa* gesture with the right. In a series of 18th century painted scrolls illustrating the cycle of the sthaviras published by Tucci he is portrayed holding the book with the right while displaying a teaching gesture with the left. In Jivarama’s sketchbook Gopaka is drawn holding

---

29. In the former he holds the rosary with both hands and has no flowers (Chandra, 1988: 754, fig. 2413; Olschak, 1973: 163, fig. 210). The name which is given to him in the latter is Tshogs-gnīs-sgo-‘byed-’phags-tshogs-sbyin-bdag-che, the Great Benefactor of the Noble Assembly Opening the Doors of the Two Accumulations (of merit and meditational practice) (Chandra, 1988: 666, fig. 2140).
32. *Ibidem*: 665, fig. 2136.
34. *Ibidem*: 665.
the book with the left and making the vitarkamudrā with the right.

In Jivarama’s same sketchbook Panthaka is drawn holding a small book with his right hand, while the left is raised in vitarkamudrā. In Śākyasrī’s text Panthaka is described as holding a book in his left hand and displaying the teaching gesture called chos-'chad (dharmadeśana) with the right, and in the Three Hundred Icons he is portrayed making the vitarkamudrā with the right hand. In the Lhasa Aṣṭasāhasrikā Panthaka is shown holding the book with his left hand and displaying the gesture of absence of fear (abhayamudrā) with the right. In the Vaiḍūrya g.ya'-sel, however, he is described as holding a book with both hands and he is portrayed accordingly in the Mongolian bKa'-'gyur and in the series published by Tucci.

Along the narrow eastern wall, following Gopaka and Panthaka, there is the image of Cudapanthaka (Lam-phran-brtan) or Cullapanthaka (gTsug-gi-lam), sitting in a meditation posture with his legs crossed and the hands joined with the thumbs touching each other (Pl. 134), in a gesture called samāhitamudrā (mīmam-gṣag-gi phyag-rgya) by Śākyasrī and merely referred to as mīmam (sama) in the Vaiḍūrya g.ya'-sel. This standard iconographic type is found in the Three Hundred Icons, in the Lhasa Aṣṭasāhasrikā and in the series published by Tucci. In Jivarama’s sketchbook Cudapanthaka is drawn in the same manner, but with an alms bowl resting on his hands. In the Mongolian bKa'-'gyur he is

36. Lowry, 1977: 114, fig. A 34.
40. Ibidem: 664, fig. 2132.
41. Ibidem: 110, fig. 140.
42. Tucci, 1949: pl. 167.
45. Ibidem: 663, fig. 2128.
Plate 132. Gopaka(?). gNas-brtan-lha-khañ (northern wall).
Plate 133. Panthaka(?). gNas-brtan-lha-khañ (northern wall).
Plate 134. Čudapanthaka, gNas-brtan-lha-haṅ (eastern face of the indentation in the northern side of the temple).
Plate 135. Kālika. gNas-brtan-lha-khañ (northern wall in the narrower section of the temple).
The temples on the upper storey of the gTsug-lag-khaṅ portrayed according to the standard iconographic type, but with the outer garment pulled over his head.48

Following Cūḍapanthaka, on the second northern wall, there is the statue of Bakula, sitting with both legs hanging down in the Western fashion known as “beautiful posture” (bhadràsana; bza'n-poi 'dug-staṅs49), holding a mongoose vomiting jewels in his right hand and displaying the kaṭakahasta gesture50 with the left. Although neither Śākyāśri’s text51 nor the Vaiḍūrya g.ya’-sel specify the posture and gesture which hand should be holding the mongoose, this sthavira is more often portrayed sitting with his legs crossed and holding the mongoose with his left hand. He is portrayed accordingly in the Mongolian bKa’-gyur52, in the Three Hundred Icons53, in the Lhasa Aṣṭasāhasrikā54, in the series published by Tucci55 and in Jivarama’s sketchbook, where a basket or some other container held by the sthavira holds the jewels vomited by the mongoose and two monkeys are drawn in the act of offering him jewels56. Bakula has a living manifestation in Ladakh. This is the abbot of the dGe-lugs-pa monastery of Spituk, just north of Leh.

Next to Bakula there is the statue of Kālika (Dus-ladan) (Pl. 135), portrayed as in the Mongolian bKa’-gyur and Lhasa Aṣṭasāhasrikā57, holding two large golden earrings, with his left boot resting on the ground. Kālika is portrayed cross-legged in a meditation posture in the Three Hundred Icons58, in the series pub-

---

54. Ibidem: 662, fig. 2124.
55. Tucci, 1949: pl. 163.
57. Chandra, 1988: 109, fig. 137: 663, fig. 2129.
lished by Tucci\textsuperscript{59}, and in Jivarama's sketchbook, where he is drawn holding one earring in his left hand raised while keeping his right hand under his garment.\textsuperscript{60}.

Following Kalika, in the north-eastern corner of the chapel, at an angle, there is the statue of Vajriputra (rDo-rje-mo'i-bu), sitting in bhadrāsana, holding the fly-whisk in his right hand and making what appears to be a gesture of admonishment with the left (Pl. 136). The Vaidūrya g.ya'-sel describes him as displaying the gesture of admonishment called sdigs-mdzub (tarjani) and Śākyaśri specifies that this gesture is made with the right, while the fly-whisk is held in the left hand\textsuperscript{61}. That iconographic type is the more common one, as may be seen in the illustrations of the Mongolian bKa'-gyur, where he is portrayed sitting in bhadrāsana\textsuperscript{62}, in the Three Hundred Icons\textsuperscript{63}, in the Lhasa Aṣṭasāhasrika, where he sits in a meditation posture with the left leg across the right\textsuperscript{64}, and in the series published by Tucci\textsuperscript{65}. In Jivarama's sketchbook Vajriputra is drawn cross-legged, making a warning gesture with the right, with the fore-finger pointing upwards, and holding the fly-whisk in his left hand\textsuperscript{66}.

Along the central wall, following Vajriputra, there is the image of Vanavāsin (Nags-na-gnas) in sattvaparyāṅka, holding a fly-whisk in his right hand which displays the vitarkamudrā, while the left points the forefinger outwards (Pl. 137). In the description of this sthavira given in Śākyaśri's text and in the Vaidūrya g.ya'-sel the left hand holds the fly-whisk while the right points the forefinger in the gesture of peaceful admonishment (ţi-ba'i sdigs-mdzub)\textsuperscript{67}. Vanavāsin is portrayed accordingly in the Mongolian bKa'-gyur\textsuperscript{68}, in

\textsuperscript{59} Tucci, 1949: pl. 159.
\textsuperscript{60} Lowry, 1977: 115, fig. A 37.
\textsuperscript{61} Dagyab, 1977, 1: 82.
\textsuperscript{62} Chandra, 1988: 110, fig. 135.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibidem: 750, fig. 2400 (cf. Olschak, 1973: 161, fig. 197).
\textsuperscript{64} Ibidem: 664, fig. 2131.
\textsuperscript{65} Tucci, 1949: pl. 160.
\textsuperscript{66} Lowry, 1977: 115, fig. A 37.
\textsuperscript{67} Dagyab, 1977, 1: 78.
\textsuperscript{68} Chandra, 1988: 109, fig. 135.
the *Three Hundred Icons*\(^{69}\), in the painted scroll published by Tucci\(^{70}\), in Jivarama’s sketchbook\(^{71}\) and in the Lhasa *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, where the *sthavira* is represented sitting comfortably in the posture called *lalitakṣepa*\(^{72}\).

Next to Vanavāsin, always proceeding clockwise towards the centre of the eastern wall of the chapel, there is the image of Aṅgaja (Yan-lags-‘byun), sitting in *bhadrasana*, with a fly-wisk resting on his right shoulder and the hands joined in the *namaskāramudrā* holding an object which may possibly be a flask of perfume or an incense bowl, rather than the more usual censer (Pl. 138). In Tibetan religious literature Aṅgaja heads the lists of the cycle of the *sthaviras* and in this chapel too he is accorded a pre-eminent position, as he sits to the right of the triad of the Buddha with his two attendants. The *sthavira* is described as holding an incense bowl and a fly-whisk both in Śākyānti’s text and in the *Vaidūrya g.ya’-sel*, without any further specifications\(^{73}\). He is portrayed holding a censer with his right hand and the fly-whisk with his left hand raised in Jivarama’s sketchbook\(^{74}\) and in the Lhasa *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* where, however, the censer seems to be replaced by an incense bowl\(^{75}\). In the *Three Hundred Icons* Aṅgaja is portrayed sitting in *bhadrasana*, holding the censer with the left and the fly-whisk with the right hand\(^{76}\). In the Mongolian *bKa’-gyur* the *sthavira* holds a lion-shaped censer with both hands and the fly-whisk leans on his left shoulder\(^{77}\), while in the series published by Tucci he is shown holding a vase for perfume in both hands, with the fly-whisk leaning on his right shoulder\(^{78}\). In both

---


\(^{70}\) Ibidem: 663, fig. 2127.

\(^{71}\) Tucci, 1949: pl. 158.

\(^{72}\) Lowry, 1977: 114, fig. A 36.

\(^{73}\) Dagyab, 1977, 1: 72.

\(^{74}\) Lowry, 1977: 114, fig. A 35.

\(^{75}\) Chandra, 1988: 662, fig. 2213.

\(^{76}\) Ibidem: 749, fig. 2398 (cf. Olschak, 1973: 161, fig. 193).
Jivarama’s sketchbook and the painted scroll mentioned above he is portrayed as a very old man.

The centre of the main wall of the gNas-brtan-lha-khañ is occupied by a large-size statue of the Buddha Śākyamuni flanked by two standing bodhisattvas, rather than by the usual mchog-zuñ (the Two Best), Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, who are regarded as his main disciples in the tradition of this cycle (Pl. 131)79.

The latter are not arhats in the sense of the sthāvira, for they have passed away, while the sthāvira are supposed to be alive. The suggestion that they are portrayed here in the guise of bodhisattvas cannot be supported by iconographic evidence, for neither of the bodhisattvas holds the mchog-zuñ’s traditional attributes, the mendicant staff and the alms bowl. Both statues are portrayed standing and displaying the vitarka and varadamudrā, in a specular way.

Proceeding clockwise from the central triad along the same wall there is the image of Ajīta (Ma-pham-pa) (Pl. 139), who generally comes next to Aṅgaja in the lists of the cycle of the sthāvira and is placed on the other side of the triad80. He is portrayed in a meditation posture and gesture, with the garment covering his head, according to the standard iconography as described in Śākyaśrī’s text81 and in Vaidūrya g.ya’-sel, which state that the sthāvira’s hands display the meditation gesture of equipoise known ad mīn-m-gzag (sāmāhita), with the thumbs joining at their tips. In Jivarama’s sketchbook Ajīta is drawn with excessively long eyebrows falling down along his face82. In the Mongolian bKā’-gyur the sthāvira’s head is uncovered83.

Next to Ajīta there is the image of Kanakavatsa (gSer-be’u), seated in a meditation posture and holding a string of precious stones with both hands, in conformity with the descriptions and iconographic sources taken into consideration in this chapter (Pl. 139).

---

79. There is no evidence of the image of Mañjughaṇa mentioned by Tucci in Indo-Tibetica having ever been located at the centre of this wall.
80. Dagyab, 1977, 2: 64, pl. 92.
81. Dagyab, 1977, 1: 76.
82. Lowry, 1977: 114, fig. A 36.
Plate 136. Vajraputra. gNas-brtan-lha-khaṅ (north-eastern corner).
Plate 137. Vanavāsin. gNas-brtan-lha-khañ (eastern wall).
Plate 138. Aṅgaja. gNas-brtan-lha-khañ (eastern wall).
The temples on the upper storey of the gTsug-lag-khañ

140). No reference is made to the posture of this sthavira in Śākyāśrī's text or in the Vaiḍūrya g.ya'-sel. In the Mongolian bKa'-gyur and in the series published by Tucci he is portrayed sitting comfortably in lalitakṣepa, with the left foot touching ground.

The following statue is placed at an angle in the south-eastern corner of the chapel (P. 141). Although the characteristics of this figure do not correspond with any of the traditional textual or iconographic sources taken into consideration here, a criterion of exclusion suggests that this statue ought to portray Bhadra (bZaṅ-po). He is shown sitting in bhadrāsana, with his right hand raising up opened and the left holding on to the arm of the throne. Bhadra is generally portrayed sitting in a meditation posture while displaying the dharmadeśanā gesture with the right and the samāhita gesture with the left hand.

Following Bhadra along the southern wall of the chapel there is the image of Kanakabharadvāja (Bha-ra-dwa-dza-gser-can) seated in a meditation posture in accordance with textual and iconographic sources (P. 142). In the Lhasa Aṣṭasāhasrika this sthavira is portrayed with the right hand held by the left, in a gesture which he displays also in the series published by Tucci.

Next to Kanakabharadvāja there is the statue of Rāhulabhadra (sGra-gcan-'dzin-bzaṅ-po) seated in lalitakṣepa, holding a diadem with both hands. Rāhula heads some lists of the cycle of the sthaviras, including the descriptions contained in the Vaiḍūrya g.ya'-sel and in the Thub-dbaṅ gnas-brtan bec-drug 'khor-daṅ bcas-pa'i phyag-mchod rjes-gnaṅ-daṅ bcas, a text by sPyan-sṅa Chos-grags-rgyal-mtshan, which was corrected and revised by the Sa-skya-pa sṅags-'chaṅ (mantrin) Ṇag-gi-dbaṅ-po Kun-dga'-rin-chen (1517-1584), the great abbot of Sa-skya who undertook the reconstruction of that monastery. The importance attributed to Rāhula

---

84. Chandra, 1988: 111, fig. 143.
85. Tucci, 1949: pl. Q.
86. Dagyab, 1977, 1: 86.
89. Ibdem, 156. According to Tucci (1949: 560) that text was included in volume 60 of the sDe-dee edition of the sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho (Sādhanasāgara).
possibly derives from his being the son of Śākyamuni and of his chief queen Yaśodharā, who conceived him before the prince renounced his worldly life. This sthavira is shown sitting in a meditation posture in Jivarama’s sketchbook, in the Three Hundred Icons and in the Lhasa Aṣṭasāhasrikā, but sitting in bhadrāsana in the Mongolian bKa’-gyur. No indications concerning Rāhula’s asana are contained in Śākyasrī’s text or in the Vaiḍūrya g.ya’-sel.

Along the northern wall, following Rāhula, there is the image of Piṇḍolabharadvāja (Bha-ra-dwa-dza-bsod-sñoms-len) (Pl. 143), sitting with the right foot touching the ground and the left drawn up and resting on the throne. The right hand is raised palm upwards as if to support an object, while the left holds what appears to be a small alms bowl. Also the attendant in the foreground holds an alms bowl in his left hand. The descriptions in Śākyasrī’s text and in the Vaiḍūrya g.ya’-sel allow to suggest that the attribute which this sthavira must have once held in his right hand was a book. In the series published by Tucci, Piṇḍolabharadvāja is portrayed in a similar though specular sitting posture, holding the book with the right and the alms bowl with the left. However, this sthavira is generally portrayed sitting in a meditation posture. In the Mongolian bKa’-gyur his right hand makes a gesture of admonishment just above the book, which rests upon the corolla of a flower beside the sthavira’s right knee. In the Lhasa Aṣṭasāhasrikā Piṇḍolabharadvāja is shown holding the alms bowl in the right and

Neither the author nor the title appear in Lalou’s Repertoire du Tanjur and one is under the impression that that text was rather included in the sGrub-thabs kun-btus, a collection of sādhanas reputed to be of Sa-skya-pa inspiration which was printed in fourteen volumes at sDe-dge (Chandra, 1988: 46).

93. Ibidem: 662, fig. 2126.
Plate 140. Kanakavatsa, gNas-brtan-lha-khaṅ (eastern wall).
Plate 141. Bhadra(?). gNas-brtan-lha-khaṅ (south-eastern corner).
Plate 142. Kanakabharadvāja. gNas-brtan-lha-khaṅ (southern wall in the narrower section of the temple).
Plate 143. Pindolabharadvaja. gNas-brtan-lha-khañ (eastern face of the indentation in the southern side of the temple).
the book in the left hand. Neither Śākyasrī's text nor the Vaiḍūrya g.ya'-sel specify which of the sthavira's hand should be holding which attribute. According to the latter text Piṇḍolabharadvāja "took the path of collecting alms in the world / for the sake of pure altruism, and lived permanently / on the holy food of intense contemplation". Thus the bowl becomes an attribute of fundamental importance in the iconography of this sthavira.

Following Piṇḍolabharadvāja, along the second southern wall, there is the image of Nāgasena (Klu'i-sde) holding a mendicant staff (khakkhara; 'khar-gsel) in his left hand, comfortably sitting in lalitakṣepa with his left leg hanging down the throne (Pl. 144). In Śākyasrī's text and in the Vaiḍūrya g.ya'-sel this sthavira is described as holding a vase and the mendicant staff, one of the articles prescribed by Śākyamuni for all monks. Here Nāgasena does not appear to be holding a vase, but that attribute is shown on the sthavira's left, resting on the rocks forming his cave. In the iconographic sources taken here into consideration this sthavira is shown sitting in lalitakṣepa, holding the mendicant staff with the left hand and various types of offering vases (gtor-'bum) with the right. In Jivarama's sketchbook Nāgasena is drawn sitting in a meditation posture and holding the vase in his left hand, while the right does not hold any attribute and seems to display a teaching gesture.

Next to Nāgasena there is the statue of Abheda (Mi-phyed-pa), sitting in bhadrāsana, displaying the gesture of fearlessness with his right hand and holding a stūpa with the left. In Śākyasrī's text and in the Vaiḍūrya g.ya'-sel he is described as holding the byān-chub mchod-rten (the Stūpa of Enlightenment) without any further specifications. Consequently Abheda's postures and gestures are allowed a wide range of variations. He can be portrayed holding the stūpa with both hands, kneeling, as in the Mongolian

98. Chandra, 1988: 109, fig. 138; 663, fig. 2130.
101. Lowry, 1977, 114, fig. A 34.
bKa'-'gyur\textsuperscript{103}, or sitting in bhadrasana as in the series published by Tucci\textsuperscript{104}, or even with the right foot tucked under the left thigh and the left leg hanging down the throne, as in the Lhasa Aṣṭasāhasrikā\textsuperscript{105}. Otherwise he is shown sitting in meditation postures, holding the stūpa with the left hand and displaying different gestures with the right, as in Jivarama’s sketchbook\textsuperscript{106} and in the Three Hundred Icons\textsuperscript{107}.

Next to Abheda there is the statue of Dharmatāla (alias Dhar- 
matrāṭa; Chos'-phel or Chos-skyoṅ), who is placed by Tibetan tradi-
tion during the Tang period. According to Tibetan literary 
sources he was in charge of the temple where the images, 
probably statues (sku)\textsuperscript{108} of the sthaviras were placed by the emperor 
Ruizong. It is interesting to notice that Śākyasrī’s text, that is an 
Indian source, defines Dharmatāla not as a sthavira but as an upā-
saka (dge-bsñen), while the Vaidūrya g.ya’-sel, a much later Tibetan 
source, qualifies him as a sthavira. In either case he is accorded 
the same worship and prayers as the sixteen sthaviras for, even as an upāsaka, he is regarded as a manifestation of the Bodhisattva 
Avalokiteśvara\textsuperscript{109}. The uncertainty concerning the status of 
Dharmatāla is paralleled by some problems of identification, since 
there are no less than six masters bearing that or similar names\textsuperscript{110}. 
As in the case of Hwa-šaṅ, who sits just opposite along the nor-
thern wall of the chapel and with whom he forms a couple in tra-
ditional Tibetan textual and iconographic sources, such 
uncertainties reflect conflicting attitudes towards Chinese 
Buddhism during and after the monarchic period. In fact 
Dharmatāla is another name for Bodhidharma, the founder of the 
chan school of Buddhism which was opposed by the Indian

\textsuperscript{103} Chandra, 1988: 111, fig. 146.
\textsuperscript{104} Tucci, 1949: pl. 170.
\textsuperscript{105} Chandra, 1988: 665, fig. 2138.
\textsuperscript{106} Lowry, 1977: 114, fig. A 35.
\textsuperscript{107} Chandra, 1988: 754, fig. 2411 (cf. Olschak, 1973: 163, fig. 208).
\textsuperscript{108} Tucci, 1949: 557; Dagyab, 1977, 1: 61.
\textsuperscript{109} Dagyab, 1977, 1: 112.
\textsuperscript{110} Tucci, 1949: 560.
The temples on the upper storey of the gTsug-lag-khan

scholars in Tibet. His presence in the cycle of the *sthaviras* confirms what has already been suggested, that during the monarchic period *chan* Buddhism was held in great consideration whatever later Tibetan historiography may tell us. It is likely that both Hwasañ and Dharmatāla were added to the original Indian cycle of sixteen *sthaviras* during the same period. Later the *dGe-lugs-pas* apparently concocted the story that those two characters were introduced as supplementary members into the cycle during the Ming period\(^{111}\). This device was meant to eradicate completely any recollection that *chan* was ever accepted along with the Indian schools of Buddhism during the monarchic period, and to solve the contradiction raised by the late historical view that *chan* was banished by the kings of Tibet as opposed to the presence of two representatives of that school in the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon.

Dharmatāla is portrayed in this chapel sitting in *bhadrāsana* as if resting for a while, with his heavy load of books surmounted by a parasol on the back, and the right foot forwards as if ready to start again. He wears tall boots fastened with a strap and holds a fly-whisk with the right hand and a vase with the left. His hair is gathered in a chignon. A tiger can be seen near his right leg and a rainbow stream stems from his right side, terminating in a cloud in the shape of a flower surmounted by the Buddha Amitābha (Pl. 145). He is described sitting before an image of Amitābha in the *gNas-brtan phyag-mdod*\(^{112}\), and receiving instructions from Sukhāvatī, the heaven where that Buddha abides, in the *Vaiḍūrya g.ya'-sel*. Both texts mention his attributes, the fly-whisk and the vase which he uses in his worship of the *sthaviras*, as well as the bundle of books which he carries on his back. Neither text, however, makes any reference to the tiger which usually accompanies Dharmatāla. In the Lhasa *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* Dharmatāla is portrayed in a very similar way, but sitting in a western fashion, with the right foot across the left. He holds the fly-whisk with the right and the vase with the left hand, while receiving instructions from Amitābha, who sits on a corolla in a rainbow in the shape of a


\(^{112}\) Dougah, 1977: 112.
stream stemming from Dharmatâla’s left side. In Jivarama’s sketchbook Dharmatâla is drawn sitting in *lalitaksepa*. He holds the vase with the right hand and the fly-whisk with the left, while a tiger stands on his right. He is completely bald, like Hwa-šañ, who is drawn next to him, in the left portion of the same sheet. In a fine British Museum painted scroll Dharmatâla is depicted sitting with the left foot touching the ground and the right resting on the left knee, holding the fly-whisk with the right hand and supporting the vase with the left, while looking at a small standing Buddha. In the Newar style painted scroll published by Tucci and mentioned earlier in this section, he is portrayed walking, carrying his stack of books, holding the fly-whisk in the left hand and what appears to be a ritual vase in the right. He is preceded by a tiger turning the head towards the master. Tucci noticed the similarity between that figure and those on the same subject found at Dunhuang, and concluded that the Tibetan iconographic tradition in this case had been drawn directly from Central Asian models, or at least had been heavily influenced by them. The style of that figure, however, is Newar, as one might expect in a painted scroll executed in that style, possibly in the first half of the 15th century. Although Dharmatâla’s iconographic type may be of Central Asian origin, the style in which he is portrayed obeys to that adopted for the cycle of the *sthaviras* as a whole, whether Chinese or, as in this case, Newar.

The statuette of an attendant wearing a long-sleeved dress and covering his eyes as if to protect them from the infinite light of the Buddha Amitâbha is placed on Dharmatâla’s left. No such attendants appear in Jivarama’s sketchbook, in the Lhasa *Aśṭasāhasrikā* or in the Newar style painted scroll just mentioned.

The last statue on the southern wall, opposite Vādisimha-mañjughoṣa, portrays the Green Tārā. Although a Green Tārā is shown along a White Tārā in the Newar style painted scroll mentioned

---

113. Chandra, 1988: 666, fig. 2139.
115. Snellgrove and Skorupski, 1980: 82, fig. 74.
Plate 144. Nāgāsena. gNas-brtan-lha-khañ (southern wall).
Plate 145. Dharmatála. gNas-brtan-lha-khañ (southern wall).
above\textsuperscript{117}, the reason for the presence of this goddess in this chapel in connection with the cycle of the \textit{sthaviras} is not obviously clear. Tārā's cave is surrounded by eight smaller grottoes, each containing one of the Eight Tārās, all green, four on each side, and is surmounted by a statuette of the Buddha Amitābha who, in his turn, is placed within a grotto supported by a cloud. The statue of the Green Tārā, as well as those of Vādisimhamañjughoṣa and of the central triad, are executed in a style which still depends upon the Newar tradition, as opposed to the Chinese style in which the images surrounding them are rendered. As in some chapels of the sKu-šbum, the two styles co-exist side by side without amalgamating.

However derived from Indian textual sources, the iconography of the \textit{sthaviras} in Tibet, as a rule, has remained Chinese until this century. This seems to give some substance to the suggestion that in Tibetan art style often coincides with the choice of one iconographic tradition at the expense of another, and cannot always be explained in regional, let alone chronological, terms. The choice having been made, there may be a certain degree of freedom in the collocation of the attributes and even in the choice of some gestures and postures, on the condition that the texts do not provide enough specifications.

The question of the particular iconography of the statues contained in this chapel is possibly related to the choices made by Bu-ston for the great temple which he built after 1320 at Žwa-lu, where he gave the instructions for the execution of a number of images, including the statues of the sixteen great \textit{sthaviras}\textsuperscript{118}. Indeed the importance of that great scholar in establishing the iconographic canons presiding over the whole construction of the dPal-škhor-chos-sde at Gyantse cannot be possibly overstated.

5.2 \textit{Lam-bras-lha-khañ}

The temple of the \textit{lam-bras}, opposite the gNas-brtan-lha-khañ,
is meant to portray the main Indian and Tibetan masters of the lam-'bras (Path and Fruit, or Path as Goal) teachings, which are fundamental in the Sa-skya-pa school, and to which chapel 4/2 in the sKu-'bum is entirely devoted (Pl. 146).

The temple represents an outstanding specimen of 15th-century Tibetan painting (Pls. 147-155). It includes some of the most interesting paintings and statues to be found in the gTsug-lag-khaṅ. The lower section of the walls is occupied by paintings and realistic statues of masters of the Sa-skya-pa school and of their predecessors. The upper section illustrates the realm of the eighty mahāsiddhas (grub-chen brgyad-cu'i žeṅ-kham) in the inscription painted on the walls¹¹⁹, to which the figures of the 'Brug-pa siddha Gliṅ-ras-pa and of the abbot of Bodhgayā, Pañ-chen Śrī-Śāriputra (who visited Gyantse in 1414) are added. The portrait of a white-haired Tibetan master painted without caption in the upper register of the western wall cannot be easily identified.

The dkar-chag pasted on the wall explains that this temple was built in 1425 by Rab-'byor-bzan-po, that is Rab-brtan-kun-bzan 'Phags-pa's younger brother and Prime Minister (gcun naṅ-chen), whose title we often find in the inscriptions in the sKu-'bum. But the one-line inscription running underneath the paintings along

¹¹⁹. The inscriptions read:
Žeṅ-kham 'di'i dgos-kyi sbyin-bdag gnyer-chen rNam-sras-pa sku-mched-rnams-khyis dpon-drūn rGya-gar mgon sku gsegs-pa (...) bžeis /

dGe-bas sams-can thams-cad-khyi // sgrīb gnis byan žiṅ tshogs rdzogs-te // Chos-khyi rgyal-po'i (...) žabs drun-du // rnam-mkhyen Saṅs-rgyas thob-par sogs / Ri-mo mkhas-pa gNas-rniṅ-pa dpon-mo-che dPal-'byor-ba dpon-slob-khyis gzabs-nas bris-so /

Grub-chen brgyad-cu'i žiṅ-kham 'di'i dgos-kyi sbyin-bdag gNas-rniṅ(-pa) dpon-btsun dPal-'byor Rin-chen-gyis // dran-can (?) 'ha-ma'i (?) thugs-dgon rdzogs phyir-du // dadan gus-pa'i sgo-na (s) sams-can thams-cad-khyi // sgrīb gnis byan žiṅ tshogs gnis myur rdzogs-te // rdzogs-pa'i Saṅs-rgyas myur-du thob / naṣ-kyan // sams-can-mams-la phan-bde byed-par sogs /

Žiṅ-kham la phye-d po 'di'i dgos-kyi sbyin-bdag dbu-mdzad dPal-mchog-pas mdzad. (Ri-mo) mkhas-pa gNas-rniṅ-pa dpon-mo-che dPal-'byor-ba dpon-slob-khyis gzabs (nas bris... bžeis?) s / dGe-bas sams-can thams-cad Saṅs-rgyas myur thob sogs

Neither Tucci (1941a: 155), who mentions eighty-four siddhas, nor the author of the Myān-chuṅ (1983: 62), who mentions as many as eighty-eight, seem to be aware of the fact that, as indicated by the inscription, only eighty siddhas are painted in this temple.
the southern, northern and western walls specifies that the donors of the first portion were the storekeepers, the rNam-sras-pa brothers, that the benefactor who offered the second portion was the noble master of gNas-rñin, dPal-'byor Rin-chen, and that the last portion was chiefly sponsored by one dPal-mchog-pa. The figures were all painted by the expert master of gNas-rñin, dPal-'byor. For at least one part of the work the name of the donor and that of the artist seem to coincide: we know that a painter from gNas-rñin, called dPal-'byor Rin-chen and Rin-chen dPal-'byor respectively in the inscriptions, worked in chapels 2/15 and 4/1 of the sKu-'bum. The temple was consecrated by the Rin-po-che of bSam-ldiñ, Chos-dpal-bzañ-po.¹²⁰

The centre of the temple is occupied by a three-dimensional mañḍala (blos-bslañs) devoted to bDe-mchog (Śambara) according to the system of Lűipa. In the bDe-mchog-gi skabs, the section of the seventh chapter in the Blue Annals where gZon-nu-dpal deals with the Śambara tradition, Lűipa is placed after Saraha and Savari dBañ-phuyug. However, the same author states elsewhere that Lűipa received the Śambara empowerment (dbañ) directly from the ḍākinī Ye-šes, who obtained it from the Buddha. To that particular lineage belong Tilopa, Nāropa, the Newar Bhadhanta, Mar-pa Do-pa and Bu-ston, who composed an exposition of the system of Lűipa.¹²¹ Thus Lűipa belongs to at least two lineages of the Samvaratantra, but it is because of the second lineage, also known as Mar-do school (Mar-do lugs) that Lűipa is placed first in the traditional accounts of the lives of the eighty-four siddhas.

Out of the half dozen texts devoted to the siddhas in the bsTan-'gyur, the most famous seems to be the Grub-thob brgyad-bcu-rtsa-bži'i lo-rgyus (History of the eighty-four siddhas) which, according

¹²¹ gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 460, 466-467. Dowman suggests that, although Lűipa was born after Saraha and although his master was Saraha’s disciple, their life-times probably overlapped. According to the Sa-skya-pa account of his life, Lűipa was a scribe at the court of Dharmapāla (770-810) and since also Saraha lived during the lifetime of that great Pāla emperor, both can be placed in the second half of the 8th century and beginning of the 9th (Dowman, 1985: 36-37, 71-72).
to the colophon\textsuperscript{122}, was set forth by Abhayaśrī from Magadha, and narrated by Abhayadattaśrī from Campara, in India, to the monk sMon-grub-śes-rab, who translated it into Tibetan. This text was probably written in the 12th century, after the death of Nāropa, who is included in it. But that is not the only set of siddhas known to Tibetan tradition. From another title in the bsTan-'gyur, the Grub-thob līna-bcu'i rtogs-pa\textsuperscript{123} there appears to be a series of fifty. Tāranātha relates the lives of some fifty-nine siddhas\textsuperscript{124}, some of whom are not even mentioned in Abhayadatta’s text. An important text found in the Nepal Valley, the Varṇanaratnākara, contains a list purported to include eighty-four siddhas, whereas in fact the names of only seventy-six occur\textsuperscript{125}. Schmid collates the Grub-thob brgyad-cu'i mṇon-par rtogs-pa, a text in the sDe-dge edition of the bsTan-'gyur mentioning only eighty siddhas in the title but containing in fact eighty-four, with another edition (sNar-thān?) of the same text, bearing the title sGrub-thob brgyad-cu-rtsa-bzi’ cha-lugs ’dzin-tshul. Both texts seem to correspond to the Caturaśitisiddhānepathyagrahaṇaśila which was written at Bulonkho, in the Nepal Valley, by the Newar bhikṣu Śrīsena in N.S. 251 (A.D. 1131)\textsuperscript{126}. It appears that Tibet inherited the cycle of the siddhas, as well as the uncertainty concerning their numer, through the Nepal Valley. There Tucci found a palm-leaf fragment on the siddhas and Schmid refers to a list of eighty-four which was provided to her by a Newar priest of Pātan\textsuperscript{127}. The section on the Nepal Valley included in the ’Dzam-gliṅ rgyas-bšad, written at Beijing in 1820 by the north-eastern Tibetan master Bla-ma bTsan-po, known as sMin-sgrol sPrul-sku ’Jam-dpal-chos-kyi-bstan’ ’dzin-’phrin-las (1789-1838), mentions the grotto of the eighty-four siddhas near Sankhu\textsuperscript{128}. But a less well-known, though longer and earlier guide

\textsuperscript{122} Cordier, \textit{rGyud}: LXXXVI, 1; Robinson, 1979: 259, 391.
\textsuperscript{123} Cordier, \textit{rGyud}: XLVIII, 104.
\textsuperscript{124} Templeman, 1983: ix.
\textsuperscript{125} Gupta, 1969: 202-203; Locke, 1980: 421.
\textsuperscript{126} Schmid, 1958: 155, 169.
\textsuperscript{128} Wylie, 1970: xvi; 25, n. 63.
Plate 146. Entrance door to the Lam-'bras-lha-khañ.
Plate 152. Lilapa and Lüipa. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (western wall).
Plate 153. Tilopa and Ba-ta-pa. Lam'-bras-lha-khañ (northern wall).
Plate 155. Lam-bras-lha-khan (eastern face of the indentation in the northern side of the temple).
Plate 156. Ka-ki-la. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (as in plate 155).
to the Nepal Valley written by the 4th Khams-sprul Rin-po-che, bsTan-'dzin-chos-kyi-ni-ma (1730-1779), refers to the same place as the abode where all the eighty *siddhas* spent some time in their life, and in this connection mention should be made of the famous mountain cave of the eighty *siddhas* at Brag Yer-pa, one of the earliest monastic foundations in Tibet. That a tradition of eighty *siddhas* was known in the Nepal Valley besides that of eighty-four is confirmed in a chapter of the *dPag-bsam ljon-bzan* dealing with the later diffusion (*phyi-dar*) of the *rNin-ma-pa* school in Tibet, where mention is made of a Newar sculptor who went to Tibet and there erected statues of the eighty *siddhas*. That seems to be the earliest mention of images portraying those Indian masters, and firmly connects their iconographic tradition with the Nepal Valley.

As a matter of fact, texts dealing with the *siddhas* generally contain scanty iconographic information. For that matter the reader may refer to a comparative study made by Robinson on the basis of three painted scrolls, from which it appears that there is a great amount of variation in the iconography of each *siddha*. This is surely owed to the variety of descriptions contained in different texts. Thus, for example, Lūipa is portrayed holding a fish in his right hand while pulling out its entrails with the left in a scroll preserved in Stockholm, and that is indeed the most common way that *siddha* is portrayed. But in a painted scroll belonging to the American Museum of Natural History of New York, Lūipa is shown holding a skull-cup filled with blood in his left hand and pulling a coil out of the cup with his other hand. The texts collated by Schmid tell us that Lūipa has a smoke-coloured skin and is in the company of a man. As in the case of the *sthaviras* there is a certain amount of freedom in the choice of *siddhas*.

---

132. Schmid, 1958: pl. II.
attributes, gestures and postures, when they are not specified in the texts.

As noticed by Tucci, some of the inscriptions are inaccurate and their misspellings complicate the problem of identification. For instance, is Ka-gi-la (Pl. 156) a misspelling for Kakipa, one of Mahipa's alternative names? There are several other names, like Ka-ta-ra, Dra-nu-ri, Ma-ri-pa, Te-ru-ša, So-dra-bo-dhi (Pls. 157-160), Gor-kha-pa, Sa-rba-de, Tse-rañ-ki, which do not appear to be mere misspellings or secondary names of siddhas belonging to the well-known set of eighty-four. Even taking into account that the same siddha may be called by different names, one is under the impression of being in front of a particular cycle of siddhas, adopted by the Sa-skya-pa school in connection with the lam-bras tradition, perhaps as received through Glin-ras-pa, who is added to the cycle. This cycle of siddhas numbered eighty masters and it is quite significant that both the set drawn by Bu-ston for the monastery of Žwa-lu after 1320 and the two sets commissioned by the princes of Gyantse for the monastery of rTse-chen in 1368 were made up of eighty and not eighty-four images.

These paintings are drawn in a very lively manner, typical of the best 15th century Newar school of painting, of which few examples have survived, and are slightly reminiscent of the siddhas drawn in Jivarama's sketch-book in 1435, as well as of those painted in the upper register of a 15th century Newar scroll. The figures are drawn and sometimes heavily outlined to give the illusion of depth with a technique which became typical of Tibetan painting, against a blue background filled with small corollas.

134. Tucci, 1941a: 156.
135. One of these names, Caurangi (Tse-rañ-ki in the inscription), though not found in Abhavadatta's text, is included in a famous Indian work on the siddhas, the Hatavogapradiptika, which does not seem to belong to the Tibetan Buddhist tradition (Gupta, 1969: 203, n. 2).
136. Grub-chen brgyud-bcu in Ruegg (1966: 21b) and in the manuscript mentioned in note 1 of Chapter Two (pp. 35-37). A more systematic study of the whole of the inscriptions of the paintings at Žwa-lu and of the captions on the walls in this chapel may cast more light on the problem.
which can be found in Newar painting of the period. Trees and large flowers, the latter with the function of separating one figure from the other, fill the background along with female and male attendants and various Buddhist symbols. The clouds are generally stylized lengthwise in stripes, with flattened, oblong curls.

On the southern wall of the chapel are illustrated episodes from the life of the great abbot of Sa-skya, Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251), better known as Sa-skya Pañ-chen (sometimes shortened in Sa-pan), the Great Scholar who confirmed the submission of Tibet to the Mongol prince Köden (Godan Khan) in 1247, thereby being appointed viceroy of several districts in central and southern Tibet. One of the inscriptions relates that, at the time of visit to sKyi-roñ, the famous miraculous image of the Jo-bo Avalokiteśvara appeared clearly to him in a dream and was the object of his praises. On a previous visit Sa-skya Paññita was accompanied by his nephew and successor, Bla-ma 'Gro-mgon Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-rtshan-dpal-bzan-po (1235-1280), who is portrayed just opposite, on the northern wall.

On the eastern wall Vaiśravana is painted in his palace besides various defenders of the doctrine, including the chief protector of the Sa-skya-pa school, Gur-mgon, surrounded by his retinue of wrathful deities.

The statues placed along the southern, western and northern

---

142. 'Phags-pa, as this prince-abbot of Sa-skya if often referred to, transformed the monastery of Sa-skya into a fortress and increased the power of his principality receiving more titles from the Mongol emperor Qubilai Khan, who appointed him Imperial Preceptor. He spent most of his life outside Tibet as chaplain to various Mongol princes, and even invented an alphabet for the Mongolian language. A detailed account of over one hundred episodes of 'Phags-pa's life, including second visit to sKyi-ron, is illustrated in twenty-five painted scrolls still extant from a set of thirty, recently published in China (Yang Shuwen et al., 1987: 152).
The temples on the upper storey of the gTsug-lag-khan walls represent and outstanding gallery of portraits. Whereas the few figures of Indian mahāsiddhas reproduce in three-dimensional terms the tensions and expressiveness of the cycle painted on the walls, those of the Sa-skya-pa masters strike because of the strongly individualized characterization of the physiognomies, which is obtained within a highly dignified and sober figurative scheme. Whereas the former are still related to the prevalent Newar iconographic models, the latter seem to reveal the surfacing of a national Tibetan style of portraiture, where also Chinese elements have been assimilated.

The central image of Vajradhara presides over the cycle of siddhas and masters who transmitted the lam-'bras doctrine according to tradition. Vajradhara is flanked by standing images of Vajrasattva, to his right, and of the yum brDa-sña-ma (sic in the dkar-chag) to his left, following the Tibetan custom of giving the location of images as if from their point of view (Pl. 161). This central triad is again flanked by the two chief transmitters of the lam-'bras teachings. To their right is the statue of rDo-rje-bdag-med-ma (Vajranairatmyā) (Pl. 162), the dākini who according to tradition transmitted the lam-'bras teachings to Virūpa, appearing to him in the form of a blue woman at a time when the master had decided to forsake meditation. To their left there is the statue of the mahāsiddha Virūpa (Pl. 163), a name which refers to at least two different masters. The Elder was a contemporary of king Dharmapāla, hence of Lūipa. A monk at the university of Nālandā, of which he later became the abbot, he was very learned in the yoga-tantras, and received the empowerment and oral teachings of the Cakrasaṃvara cycle from the abbot Vijayadeva. The Younger

145. Amopa, 1976: 14. A legendary account of his life, which involved a great deal of travelling, even as far as Wutai Shan, in China, is reported in Tāranātha's hagiography included in chapter 2 of The Seven Instruction Lineages (Templeman, 1983: 15-17: 108, n. 78). Travels of Indian masters to China during the monarchic period are also amply proven, as is proved by the biographies to be found in the Blue Annals and the Biographies (Bentivegna, 1987: 376-377, n. 1). Even the famous Kālachakra in 1261, colors travelled to the Five Holy Peaks (Wutai Shan,
Plate 161. Vajradhara flanked by Vajrasattva (to his right) and brDa-sña-ma (to his left). Lam-'bras-lha-khaṅ (centre of the western wall).
Plate 162. Vairaniratmyā. Lam-'bras-lha-khari (western wall).
Plate 163. Virūpa. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (western wall).
taught Maitripa (c. 1010-1089)\textsuperscript{146} and may be identical with the Virūpa belonging to the lineage of the Six Treatises of Vārāhi\textsuperscript{147}.

Virūpa is credited with having transmitted the \textit{vajra} verses (\textit{dohā; rdo-rje mgur} of the \textit{lam-'bras} teachings to Nag-po-pa\textsuperscript{148}, the \textit{siddha} who is portrayed to the right of Vajranairātmyā (Pl. 164). Nag-po-pa, also known as Kṛṣṇācārya and Kāṇṭhapa, is a name applying to two 10th century \textit{siddhas}, the master and his disciple\textsuperscript{149}. Tāranātha was aware of the existence of an Elder and Younger Kṛṣṇācārya\textsuperscript{150}. The master was the student of Virūpa\textsuperscript{151} and the likely author of the sixty-four works found under his various names in the \textit{bsTan-’gyur}\textsuperscript{152}, including a famous commentary on the \textit{Hevajratantra}. The disciple is possibly the \textit{siddha} who practiced the \textit{Ṣaṃvaratantra} at Nālandā\textsuperscript{153}. Neither of them is identical with the Kṛṣṇācārya (alias Balinācārya) who learnt the \textit{Ṣaṃvaratantra} from Nāropa, or with the brahman Kṛṣṇapāda, a disciple of the Newar scholar Dza-hūm (Jahūm), alias Śāntibhadra\textsuperscript{154}.

There follows, always proceeding anticlockwise, the statue of Damarūpa (Pl. 165), who received the Šaṃvara initiation from Virūpa the Younger\textsuperscript{155}, obtained magical powers from Kṛṣṇācārya,

\begin{itemize}
\item 3058 m), a famous pilgrimage site sacred to Mañjuśrī, in Shanxi (Dargyay, 1979: 59; Tarthang, 1977: 195).
\item 146. Dowman, 1985: 244.
\item 147. \textit{Ibidem}: 52.
\item 148. Trichen, 1983: 12.
\item 149. Dowman, 1985: 131.
\item 150. Templeman, 1983: 44.
\item 151. Trichen, 1983: 11.
\item 152. Robinson, 1979: 295-297.
\item 153. Dowman, 1985: 131. It is not clear who of the two masters taught the famous \textit{maha}siddha Tilopa the Šaṃvara system according to Lūpa’s method.
\item 154. On Balinācārya see Dowman, 1985: 1460. The identity of Dza-hūm and Śāntibhadra is clearly stated in the \textit{Deb-ther sion-po} (gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 1005; cf. Roerich, 1976: 261, 860). This Newar scholar taught the Tibetan translator Mar-pa Do-pa Chos-kyi-dbang-phug (c. 1042 - c. 1136) (cf. Roerich, 1976: 383-384), also known as Man-du-la, a great scholar who seems to have been obscured by the more famous Mar-pa-Drung-rgya-pa, the master of Mi-la-ras-pa.
\end{itemize}
Plate 165. Damarupa. Lam-'bras-lha-khaṅ (western wall).
Plate 166. Avadhūtīpa (Maitrīpa). Lam-'bras-lha-khāṇ (southern wall in the narrower section of the temple).
Plate 167. Gayadhara. Lam'-bras-lha-kha'n (as in plate 166).
and transmitted his teachings to Avadhûtîpa, a king of central India\textsuperscript{156}.

Avadhûtîpa (Pl. 166) is also another name for Maitrîpa, a famous master who received the initiation and method of Vajravarâhi from Viṟûpa the Younger\textsuperscript{157} and learnt the Saṃvara-tantra from Nâropa\textsuperscript{158}. Like Lûipa, Kâñhapa, Tilopa and Nâropa, he belongs to the Saṃvara lineage adopted by 'Phags-pa\textsuperscript{159} and identified in the Blue Annals as Saraha's Saṃvara lineage of Mar-pa Do-pa\textsuperscript{160}.

Next to Avadhûtîpa there is the portrait of the great Indian scholar Gayadhara\textsuperscript{161} (Pl. 167), who was invited to Tibet by 'Brog-mi Śâkya-ye-śes\textsuperscript{162}. On his first visit, Gayadhara spent five years teaching the gsun-nag rin-po-che (the Precious Word), an honorific expression designating the lam-'bras doctrine, before returning to India\textsuperscript{163}. He went to Tibet on two more occasions, and on his third and last visit he travelled to Western Tibet before proceeding to the southern part of the country, where he arrived after 'Brog-mi's death\textsuperscript{164}. Gayadhara died at Kha-rag, in Tibet, and a large image of him is apparently preserved in the lHa-khaṅ-chen-po, the great walled monastery of Sa-skya\textsuperscript{165}.

According the dkar-chag the next statue (Pl. 168) should portray the translator Śâkya-seṅ-ge, but we have not found any master bearing that name in the literature dealing with the lam-'bras tra-
The temples on the upper storey of the gTsong-kha-pa

dition. This must be a mistake of the dkar-chag for Śākyayeva-ses: in fact the true transmitter of the lam-'bras tradition in Tibet was 'Brog-mi Śākyayeva-ses, who carried out a great deal of important translation work with Gayadhara at Myu-gu-lun, the monastery which he had founded in 1043, where they spent two years together, after the three it took Gayadhara to complete his teaching. Their collaboration as translators is witnessed by the colophons of several important tantric texts found in the bKa'-gyur, including the Sampuṭanāmaḥatātantra and the Hevajra-tantra, some of which are illustrated by the large maṇḍalas in the gZal-yas-khan of this very monastery.

The following statue portrays Se-ston Kun-rig (1030–1118) (Pl. 169), 'Brog-mi's main student, who received the complete lam-'bras teaching from him and may be identical with the ascetic of Se who met Gayadhara at Kha-rag. The portrait of this master is followed by that of his disciple Žaṅ-ston mDa'-sños-chos-'bar (Pl. 170), who was learned in all the essential instructions of the lam-'bras and taught the whole of that doctrine to Kun-dga'-sniṅ-po over a period of four years. Žaṅ-ston Chos-'bar was also learned

166. A famous master bearing this name is Zur Śākyayeva-sen-ge, also known as mNa'-mtsha' Hor-po, or IHa-rje sGo-leg-pa, (1074–1134) (Roerich, 1976: 122, 125), who is alleged to have raised a snowstorm to destroy the Tibetan and upper Hōr amies raised by the monastery of 'Bri-guñ, which was eventually defeated by the Mongol troops aided by the Sa-skya-pas in 1290 (Tucci, 1949: 16). This display of magical powers is obviously chronologically inconsistent.

171. One should not confuse the famous translator 'Brog-mi Śākyayeva-ses, who is qualified as dge-lugs-pa (bhikṣu) in the bKa'-gyur colophons, with Žaṅ Rin-poche's successor, the abbot Śākyayeva-ses (1147–1207) (Roerich, 1976: 716). The span of years in which the latter lived excludes him from the regular chronological succession which can be consistently observed in the sequence of the statues.

in the *Kalacakra* system\textsuperscript{176}.

The following teachers in the *lam-'bras* lineage as portrayed in this chapel are all *Sa-skya-pa* masters\textsuperscript{177} and are arranged in a sequence proceeding clockwise from the central pentad. The first of them is the 3rd abbot of Sa-skya, the Sa-skya Chen-po (Sa-chen, the Great Sa-skya-pa), Kun-dga'-sni-po (1092-1158) (Pl. 171), who urged ŽaN-ston Chos-bar to teach him the *lam-'bras*. Kun-dga'-sni-po, who received his religious education from Indian and Newar masters, is also connected with the Western Tibetan community founded by Rin-chen-bzan-po, since he glossed the commentary on the *Hevajratantra* by the *bla-ma* of mNa-ris (Western Tibet), dGe-mdzes-byaⁿ-chub, who is mentioned in the *bK'a'-gdams chos-'byun*. Kun-dga'-sni-po is especially renowned for his work on the *Hevajra* and *Samvara* cycles, upon which he wrote two large commentaries. He is regarded as the first of the Five Supreme Ones of Sa-skya (*goṅ-ma lṭa*), learned scholars whose works in the sDe-dge edition consist of fifteen volumes\textsuperscript{178}. He is portrayed here with a bald head, as in the central triad of chapel 4/2 in the sKu-'bum.

There follows the portrait of the 4th abbot of Sa-skya, bSod-nams-rtse-mo (1142-1182) (Pl. 172), the second of Kun-dga'-sni-po’s four sons and second in the *goṅ-ma* succession, an expert not only in the *lam-'bras* doctrine\textsuperscript{179}, but also in tantric literature in general. As already mentioned, he wrote a *rGyud-sde spyi'i rnam-par bzag* (General analysis of the categories of *tantras*), where he divided tantric literature into the four categories in which it is still broadly classified today: *kriyā*, *caryā*, *yoga* and *anuttara*, further dividing them into Father and Mother *tantras*\textsuperscript{180}. He is portrayed

\textsuperscript{176} Roerich, 1976: 97.

\textsuperscript{177} Although 'Brog-mi had many disciples, “as to those who became the great masters of both the basic texts and the precepts (of the *lam-'bras* teachings), they are the *bla-mas* of the glorious Sa-skya” (gZon-nu-dpal, 1984: 262).

\textsuperscript{178} Tucci, 1949: 257, n. 174.

\textsuperscript{179} Lo-rgyus, 1987: 19. This text omits this master from the succession of the abbots of Sa-skya. He ruled with the title of *goṅ-ma* from 1159 to 1172 (cf. Amipa, 1976: 71, where the dates 1159-1162 are given). In the water-dragon year (1172) he was succeeded by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

\textsuperscript{180} Tucci, 1949: 100.
Plate 168. Brog-mi Śākya-ye-ses. Lam·bras-lha-khañ (as in plate 166).
Plate 169. Se-ston Kun-rig. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (western face of the indentation in the southern side of the temple).
Plate 170: Zaṅ-ston mDa'-sños-chos-'bar. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (southern wall).
Plate 171. Sa-chen Kun-dga'-sni-po, 3rd abbot of Sa-skya. Lam-bras-lha-kha'i (western wall).
Plate 172. bSod-nams-rtse-mo, 4th abbot of Sa-skya. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (western wall).
Plate 174. Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga’-rgyal-mtshan, 6th abbot of Sa-skya. Lam’bras-
Plate 175. 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, 7th abbot of Sa-skya. Lam-'bras-lha-khaṅ (as in plate 173).
Plate 176. Zaṅ dKon-mchog-aa. Lam-'bras-lha-khaṅ (western face of the inden-
Plate 178. Chos-rje bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, 14th abbot of Sa-skya, Lam-'bras-lha-mtshan.
Plate 179. Kun-dga’-bkra-sis-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po. Lam’bras-lha-khaṅ
(northern wall).
with curly hair, just as in the central triad of chapel 4/2 in the sKu-bum.

There follows the image of bSod-nams-rtse-mo’s brother, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147 - 1216/1217/1219)181 (Pl. 173), the 5th abbot of Sa-skya and 3rd goñ-ma, who also set out to analyze tantric literature as a whole, besides writing commentaries on individual tantras, such as those on the Hevajra, Sañvara and Gur-mgon cycles. He also wrote a topical outline of the Đākinivajrapañjaratantra bearing the title rNam-bśad ŋi-'od182. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan is the author of the rDo-rje- mgur rgyan or mGur-gyi bsdus-don, a commentary on those mystical songs (doha) of Bengalese origin which influenced Mar-pa’s and Mi-la-ras-pa’s poetry, and taught that tradition to his students183. Finally he wrote on the subject of history and medicine. According to tradition he received the lam-'bras doctrine from Kun-dga'-sñīṇ-po, who appeared to him in a vision184.

Next there is the portrait of Sa-skya Paññita Kun-dga’-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251)185, the 6th abbot of Sa-skya and 4th goñ-ma (Pl. 174). One of the most remarkable and prolific writers of his school, he had many and various interests, ranging from tantric literature to grammar, from painting to music186, but above all he was a great master of logic (tshad-ma)187. As a young man he studied under masters from Kashmir, the Nepal Valley and eastern India. His most popular work is the Legs-par bśad-pa rin-po-che'i gter (Legs-bśad), a collection of nine groups of maxims and aphorisms which are condensed in four verses of seven syllables each, and which are sometimes so allusive and obscure as to require the aid of commentaries for their understanding. Sa-skya Paññita conceived them as a treatise of moral, social and political

---

precepts aimed at the Mongol princes, in particular Köden. According to tradition Sa-skya Paṇḍita was born with some of the physical marks of a Buddha, including the usṇiṣa, a protuberance on the top of the head. He is portrayed accordingly both here and on the northern wall of chapel 4/2 in the sKu-'bum, where he also displays a teaching gesture.

The next image portrays Sa-pan's nephew and successor, Bla-ma 'Gro-mgon Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280), the 7th abbot of Sa-skya and 5th goṅ-ma (Pl. 175), sitting in meditation posture, holding his forearms across the chest, just as in the statue placed against the eastern wall of chapel 4/2 of the sKu-'bum. A student of tantric literature, especially of the Hevajra, Samvara and Kalacakra cycles, 'Phags-pa wrote two important commentaries of the Hevajratantra, one of which was completed by a list of the tantras translated into Tibetan up to his times. For Qubilai Khan he wrote an epistle in verses in which he summed up the essential points of the Buddhist doctrine. 'Phags-pa fostered the foundation of a Tibetan literary tradition based upon Indian classical models by sponsoring or encouraging the translation of Āśvaghosa's Buddhacarita, Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, Dāṇḍin's Kāvyādarsa and Kālidāsa's Meghadūta.

The following statue (Pl. 176) portrays Žaṅ dKon-mchog-pa (b. 1240), who held the lineage of 'Phags-pa's teachings, particularly the revelation of the oral instructions, which he probably transmitted to Brag-phug-pa bSod-nams-dpal (1277-1350) (Pl. 177), who is portrayed next to Žaṅ as in several painted scrolls depicting Sa-skya-pa line ages.

The last two figures of Sa-skya-pa masters are placed at the two ends of the southern and northern walls. On the southern wall, there is Chos-rje bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375) (Pl. 178) who, when still a child, was initiated by Ses-rab-seṅ-ge

(1251-1315). A member of the Rin-chen-sgāṅ branch of the Sa-skya principality, he occupied the abbatial seat of the gŽi-thog palace from 1343/1345 to 1347/1349, in his capacity as 14th abbot of Sa-skya. He is mentioned in the Blue Annals, in the chapter dealing with the lam-'bras doctrine, as being born at Žwa-lu Khanggsar, a circumstance which connects him with the Žwa-lu dynasty. This famous master, to whose name the appellation of dPal-bzan-po is often affixed, was invited by the prince of Gyantse, 'Phags-pa dPal-Idan-bzan-po, who, as we know, had married into the Žwa-lu family, to perform a consecration at lCaṅ-ra in 1367.

This bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan is regarded by Kuznetsov and Sørensen as the author of a famous historical work, the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ (1368), which Tucci, however, argued on linguistic and historical grounds to have been written in 1508.

At the end of the northern wall, opposite bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, there is the portrait of a famous Sa-skya-pa dignitary, Kun-dga'-bkra-sis-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po (1349-1425) (Pl. 179). As we have seen, this master, also mentioned in the 4th chapter of the Blue Annals in connection with the lam-'bras lineage, received the title of Theg-chen-chos-kyi-rgyal-po from the Ming emperor Chengzu after the fall of the Yuan dynasty, when the Sa-skya-pa power was already declining. He taught the lam-'bras doctrine as far as the bKa'-gdams-pa monastery of Rwa-sgreṅ, where he gave the initiation rite of the fifteen goddesses of Nairātmyā. He died the very year in which the Lam-'bras-lha-khaṅ was erected and his portrait may well be close to nature. It is conceivable that the very

199. Ibidem: Genealogical Tables, table I.
idea of devoting this chapel to the lineage of the lam-’bras doctrine was occasioned also by the disappearance of this great Sa-skya-pa master. His role in connection with the exchange of images between the Imperial Court and southern Tibet has already been mentioned in Chapter One, in the section dealing with Chinese influence on Tibetan art. He is again portrayed in a lifesize figure painted in chapel 4/2 of the sKu-'bum.

5.3 The gZal-yas-khaṅ

The gZal-yas-khaṅ, rising above the inner sanctuary in the dbu-rtse of the gTsug-lag-khaṅ, is defined by Tucci as “the most secret and important part of the temple”, a sort of “gallery of Mahāyāna esoterism”, bearing painted on its walls the maṇḍalas of the best-known tantric schools, in which the most advanced initiation rites must have originally taken place. However, when Tucci visited this exceptional temple, big rough shelves hid the sight of a large part of outstanding wall paintings, except for the maṇḍalas placed symmetrically at the sides of the entrance and exit doors on the southern wall and for those painted on the first portion of the western wall.

Tucci had therefore to confine himself to publish those maṇḍalas he could see and to integrate the few data which were available through direct observation with those which he could gather from the description in the Myaṅ- chuṅ. However, the conciseness of the relevant passage in that next coupled with the impossibility of visual control make of his description in Indo-Tibetica one of the very few in which his usual clarity of exposition leaves room to a certain amount of obscurity and inaccuracy. It is therefore worthwhile taking up the whole subject once again, first of all to illustrate the distribution of the various maṇḍalas, and then to examine the main ones in some detail.

Plate 180 provides the picture of the front of the chapel (a)

---

202. gTsaiṅ-khaṅ steṅ gZal-yas-khaṅ che-mo (Myaṅ-chuṅ, 1983: 58).
203. Tucci, 1941a: 158.
Plate 180. a) The front of the gŽal-yas-khañ. b) Plan of the temple with the positions of the different mandalas.
and a plan of the same (b), with the indication of the positions occupied by the various *maṇḍalas*.

The southern wall, where the two above-mentioned doors open at the top of two steep stairs, is largely occupied by a vast central glass window, so that only the portions of wall at its two ends are left available for the paintings. But the other three walls are entirely covered with paintings illustrating large *maṇḍalas* which adjoin each other and whose diameter occupies the height from the floor to the ceiling, except for a narrow band at the bottom bearing a sequence of partly defaced inscriptions in *dbu-can* characters distributed on two lines. Five of these *maṇḍalas* are placed on the northern wall, and four more on each of the eastern and western walls. The size of the two large *maṇḍalas* placed on the southern wall is obviously limited by the smaller width of available surface.

Two series of small *maṇḍalas* are obtained in the curvilinear triangles drawn above and below by the adjoining circumferences of the large *maṇḍalas*. Because the space available in correspondence with the corners of the walls is shared by two perpendicular surfaces, there one finds pairs of slightly smaller *maṇḍalas* adjoining along the edge. The remaining interstices resulting from this regular geometric layout are again occupied by small figures of deities and masters, who are in turn enclosed in circles.

The *Myaṅ-chuṅ* provides a first general clue for decoding the layout of the *maṇḍalas*. After first introducing the *maṇḍala* of the *Kālacakra*, which occupies the centre of the large northern wall and is indicated as No. 0 in Pl. 180b, the text lists the succession of all the great *maṇḍalas* (labelled in the plan with Nos. 1R to 7R) on its right as far as the entrance door, and then all the great *maṇḍalas* on its left (Nos. 1L to 7L). It then proceeds to list with the same criterion the small *maṇḍalas* of the upper (Nos. 1r to 10r) and lower (Nos. 1r' to 10r') sequences anticlockwise, and of the upper (Nos. 1l to 10l) and lower (Nos. 1l' to 10l') sequences clockwise. There are on the whole fifteen large *maṇḍalas* in the central row and forty in the upper and lower rows.

---

As a matter of fact the Myan-chuṅ does not mention maṇḍala 10l explicitly, and also the reference to maṇḍala 10r is entrusted to its being together with maṇḍala 9r through the mere resort to the use of the plural in the text. However, a final check of the overall plan is made possible by the total figure given at the end of the list: sogs yoṅs sdoms lha-bcu-rtsa-liṅa (“in brief, a full fifty-five altogether”).

All the maṇḍalas in this chapel, except for maṇḍala 9l on which more will be said below, refer to the anuttarayogatantras, and with their rigidly canonical and ritual pattern they somehow integrate the splendid yi-dam figures painted in a freer manner in the harmikā of the nearby sKu-'bum. The distribution of the maṇḍalas with reference to the various tantric cycles is not accidental, on the contrary it reveals a rather systematic application of the same criteria of classification which have already been discussed in the second section of Chapter Two.

The large maṇḍalas of the central band which are placed to the right of the Kālacakramṇaṇḍala are in fact devoted to the Father tantras, here called “mahāyogatantras of the Means” (rnal-'byor chen-po thabs-kyi rgyud), with the one exception of maṇḍala 7R, which belongs to the group of the Mother tantras, in the Family of Amitābha (the paintings of the southern wall show a partially different character, as we shall see below). The maṇḍalas placed to the left of the Kālacakramṇaṇḍala are all related to tantras belonging to the Mother group, i.e. dākinītantras (mkha'-gro-ma'i rgyud) or yogītantras (rnal-'byor-ma'i rgyud). Furthermore, within this distribution, the maṇḍalas related to the main tantras belonging to each of the two groups, namely those referring to the cycles of Guhyasamāja and Saṃvarṇa respectively, are placed first starting from the centre of the northern wall.

These criteria are explicitly stated by the Myan-chuṅ in the sentences introducing the two groups of maṇḍalas. Of the former of such groups it says: g.yas-phyogs rnal-'byor chen-po thabs-kyi rgyud gtso-bor ston-pa'i dkyil-'khor-ni dañ-por dpal gSaṅ-ba-'dus-pa Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (“on the right, regarding the maṇḍalas which explain chiefly the mahāyogatantras of the upāya, firstly (there is) Śri-Guhyasamāja-Aksobhyavajra”). Of the latter it says: goin-du bṣad-pa'i Dga'-ldan-'khor-lin'i gyon ŋos-la šes-rab gtso-bor ston-pa He-
ruka'i rigs-rnams bzugs-te ("to the left of the Kalacakra mentioned above, there are the Families of the Herukas explaining chiefly the prajñā").

The same criterion is basically followed also in the sequence of small maṇḍalas, apart from few exceptions in the low row on the right, as it includes two maṇḍalas devoted to Śaṃvara and Vajrapāni in the north-eastern corner and a maṇḍala devoted to Vajrapāṇiśaṅḍa close to the centre, all three obviously related to the Mother tantras. Furthermore it should be pointed out that a number of maṇḍalas placed in the two rows to the right of the Kalacakramaṇḍala, however devoted to cycles belonging to the Father tantras, are in fact laid out according to the instructions of those chapters of the Kalacakratantra which can be regarded as explanatory of all tantras.

Because of the high number of maṇḍalas and of the texts to which each must be related, we shall here consider in some detail the central band, which includes the most important maṇḍalas, while we shall bound ourselves to a few hints for each of the minor series, however introducing any consideration which may be regarded as relevant also to the latter.

Maṇḍala 0, which is placed at the centre of the northern wall and is devoted to Kalacakra, is related to the mChog-gi-dan-po'i-saṅs-rgyas-las byuṅ-ba rgyud-kyi rgyal-po dpal Dus-kyi-khor-lo (Paramādibuddhdhīrtāśrikālacakramatāntarāja)\(^{205}\), which was translated by the Kashmirian paṇḍita Somanātha and by 'Brolotsā-ba Śes-rab-grags, as well as to the supplementary tantra Dus-kyi-khor-lo'i rgyud phyi-ma (Kālacakratantrottara)\(^{206}\), translated by gNan-chuṅ Dar-ma-grags.

Two commentaries have been enormously important for the explanation of that tantric cycle. The first, which is attributed to Kulika Puṇḍarīka who is regarded as a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, bears the title bsDus-pa'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po Dus-kyi-khor-lo'i 'grel-bṣad rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi rjes-su 'jug-pa ston-phrag-

\(^{205}\) Toh. 362.
\(^{206}\) Toh. 363.
The temples on the upper storey of the gTsug-lag-khaṅ

bcu-gnis-pa dri-ma med-pa'i 'od (Vimalaprabhanāmūlatantra-anusārīṇīdāsāsāhasrikālaghukālacakraśtantrarājaśīkā) and is generally known as Vimalaprabhā. Like the basic tantra, it was translated by Somanātha and Śes-rab-grags. The second commentary is Nāropa's dBaṅ mdor bstan-pa'i 'grel-bṣad don dam-pa bsdus-pa (Paramārthasamgrahānāmāsakeśottāṇi)208, which was translated by the Kashmirian Dharmadhara and by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

The central position occupied by the Kālacakramaṇḍala in the chapel possibly reflects not only a need to differentiate through symmetry the two groups of Father and Mother tantras within the larger class of the anuttaratantras, but also the fundamental role which the cycle of the Kālacakra had taken on in the doctrine and in the ritual practice of Tibetan Buddhism. After spreading into Tibet through various ways and branching out into various schools, this cycle was first systematized by Bu-ston, who placed the Kālacakraśtantra at the beginning of the rGyud section of the bKa'-gyur together with the Nāmasaṅgiti, just as he placed the Vimalaprabhā at the beginning of the bsTan'-gyur, and who summed up the tradition of the Kālacakra and of its origins in the Dus'-khor chos-'byün rgyud-sde'i zab-don sgo-'byed rin-chen gces-pa'i lde-mig (Collected Works, vol. 11a).

Furthermore the years during which the dPal-'khor-chos-sde was built up correspond to the period of activity of the great mKhas-grub-chos-rje (1385-1438), a subtle interpreter of the Vimalaprabhā, who composed various treatises concerning the ritual and maṇḍalas of the Kālacakra cycle, and in particular wrote down the ritual of initiation in the Kālacakra which is still followed by the dGe-lugs-pa school209. According to Tucci mKhas-grub-chos-rje was invited to consecrate the gTsug-lag-khaṅ in 1425210, the very year when the gZal-yas-khaṅ was completed.

The Kālacakramaṇḍala in the dbu-rtse is unfortunately badly

207. Cordier, rGyud; I. II.
208. ibid. m. III. 4.
damaged by water leakages and rough restoration patches, and the
two-line inscription below it is hardly readable. However, the manḍala is clear enough to confirm the indication provided by the 
Myaṅ-chuṅ, which describes it as realized in its fullest form of 
Kāyavākcittamaṇḍāla (dPal Dus-khor sku-gsuns-thugs yoṅs-rdzags-
kyi dkyil-khor). As far as we can make it out, this extraordinarily 
complex manḍala appears to correspond basically to the descript-
ion provided in the Niśpannayogāvalī\textsuperscript{211}.

Manḍala 1R, the first to the right of the Kālacakramaṇḍāla, is
devoted to Śrī-Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra. That is the chief manḍala of the Guhyasamāja cycle, and is related to the De-bzin-
gšags-pa thams-cad-kyi sku-gsun -thugs-kyi gsaṅ-chen gsaṅ-ba-
dus-pa žes bya-ba brtag-pa’i rgyal-po chen-po (Sarvatahāgatakāya-
vākcittarahasyaguhyasamājanāmāmahākalparāja)\textsuperscript{212}, which was 
translated by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po assisted by the upādhyāya ācārya 
Śraddhākaravarma. The manḍala painted here corresponds 
extactly to the description provided in the second chapter of Abha-
yākaragupta’s Niśpannayogāvalī\textsuperscript{213}, which was translated by the Indian master Sarvajñānaśrībhadra and later revised by the famous Indian scholar Ratnarakṣita, assisted by Ravindra and by 
the Junior lo-tsā-ba of Chag, Chos-rje-dpal, also known as dPal-gyi-
 mkha’-can (1197-1264)\textsuperscript{214}.

In his introduction to the Niśpannayogāvalī\textsuperscript{215} Bhattacharyya 
refers to the description of this manḍala as provided in the Piṇḍi-
krāmapatantra, but Mallmann\textsuperscript{216} remarks that, since there is no trace of a tantra with that name, it is likely to be the description supplied in Nāgārjuna’s Paṇcakrama\textsuperscript{217}, which was translated into Tibetan by the same translators of the Guhyasamājaṭantra. The first chap-
ter of the Paṇcakrama, subsequently rehashed by Ravindra and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{211} Bhattacharyya, 1972: 76-86; Skr. 79-93.
  \item \textsuperscript{212} Toh. 442.
  \item \textsuperscript{213} Cordier, rGyud: LXX, 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{214} On the relationship among these three masters see Lo Bue, 1988: 90.
  \item \textsuperscript{215} Bhattacharyya, 1972: 35, N. 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{216} Mallmann, 1975: 43.
  \item \textsuperscript{217} Cordier, rGyud: XXXIII, 7.
\end{itemize}
Chos-rje-dpal (namely the same revisors of the *Nispannayogâvali*), appears in fact as an independent text in the *bsTan-'gyur* under the title *bsDus-pa'i rim-pa'i sgrub-thabs* (Pinḍikramasādhana)218.

The second *mandaṇaṇa*, 2R, houses in its centre Vajrabhairava, with nine heads, thirty-four arms and sixteen legs. It is related to the *dPal rDo-rje-'jigs-byed chen-po'i rgyud* (*Śrivajrabhairavanâma-tantra*)219, which is included in the second group of the *mahâyogatantras* belonging to the Family of Vairocana and mainly devoted to the various forms of Yamāri. This texts was translated by the *lo-tsâ-ba* of Rwa, rDo-rje-grags, under the supervision of the Newar nobleman (*bharo*) Phyag-rdum, the mûlaguru of Rwa who gave him the Yamāri cycle220. It is divided into seven *rtog-pa* (*tarka*) and the first section is devoted to the explanation of its *mandaṇaṇas*.

The *Myaṅ-chen* refers to this *mandaṇaṇa* as *sKu'i rigs rDo-rje-'jigs-byed sKyod (= sKyo) -lugs lha bcu-gsum-pa'i dkyil-'khor* and attributes thirteen deities to it, whilst Tucci speaks of seventeen deities221. As a matter of fact the *mandaṇaṇa* painted on the wall of the gZal-yas-khaṇ counts as many as forty-nine deities, of which one at the centre, eight in the first circle, four in the corners, four at the gates, and thirty-two in the galleries on the walls of the palace (eight for each side). This seems to correspond exactly to the Žaṅ-lugs dkyil-'khor as transmitted by Žaṅ *lo-tsâ-ba* Šes-rab Bla-ma, from Cog-ro, published in the Nor collection222, where it is pointed out that the thirty-two deities in the galleries are personifications of the thirty-two symbols which are often found in the various *mandaṇaṇas* devoted to Vajrabhairava.

The *sâdhanaṇa* related to Vajrabhairava in his various forms (Mahâvajrabhairava, Yamântaka, Raktayamâri, Krśṇayamâri) can be grouped into three main traditions, each named after a famous translator223. The first refers to the *lo-tsâba* of Rwa, rDo-rje-grags,

219. Toh. 468.
221. Tucci, 1941: 61.
whom we have seen to be the translator of the main *tantra*; the second refers to the *lo-tsa-ba* of sKyo, 'Od-zer-'byuṅ-gnas, who, among other things, was entrusted with and transmitted the *Phags-pa rDo-rje-'jigs-byed-kyi gzun s (Āryavajrabhairavadhāraṇī)*; the third one refers to the *lo-tsa-ba* of Žaṅ, Šes-rab Bla-ma, who translated two texts devoted to Vajrabhairava which are included in the *bsTan-'gyur*. Among the *maṇḍalas* in the Čor collection, we find one *sKyo-lugs rDo-rje-'jigs-byed lha bcu-bdun-gyi dkyil-'khor*, transmitted by sKyo *lo-tsa-ba* 'Od-zer-'byuṅ-gnas, which contains seventeen deities (as indicated by Tucci, but not by the *Myān-chuṅ*). This *maṇḍala*, however, also includes as an essential part a set of thirty-two symbols, those very same symbols which are personified in the Žaṅ-lugs *dkyil-'khor*. A possible suggestion is that the *maṇḍala* in the gŽal-yas-khaṅ, corresponding to the Žaṅ-lugs *dkyil-'khor*, ought to be understood as a version of the *maṇḍala* according to the *lo-tsa-ba* of sKyo, in which such personifications have been introduced. The initial qualification as *sku'i rigs* as given in the *Myān-chuṅ* should in that case characterize the *kāyamaṇḍala* made of images of deities as opposed to the *cittamaṇḍala* made of symbols. The indication of the *Myān-chuṅ* ought to be understood accordingly as referring to the *maṇḍala* of sKyo *lo-tsāba* in the version in which all symbols are converted into figures of deities.

The third *maṇḍala*, 3R, is the first on the western wall always proceeding anticlockwise. It is the *gSaṅ-'dus 'Jam-pa'i-rdo-rje lha bcu-dgu'i dkyil-'khor*, namely the *maṇḍala* of the nineteen deities of Guhyasamāja-Manjuśrīvajra (Pl. 181). The *Myān-chuṅ* specifies that this *maṇḍala* belongs to the Family of Aksobhya and refers it to the school of Ye-šes-zabs (Jñānapāda). This is not the version described in the *Ni-spannayogāvali*, which leaves virtually unaltered the *maṇḍala* of Guhyasāmāja-Aksobhyavajra just replacing Aksobhya with Mañjuvajra at the centre. It seems to be more specifically related to another *tantra* of the *Guhyasamāja* cycle.

---

226. bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, 1983: No. 56.
namely the dpal rDo-rje-snīñ-po rgyan-gyi rgyud (Śrivajrabhairavā-laṁkāratantra)\textsuperscript{227}, which was translated by the upādhyāya Kamalagupta and by the Tibetan lo-tsa-ba lHa-ye-ses-rgyal-mtshan.

The number of the deities appearing in this maṇḍala is actually twice the figure indicated in the title, because each is shown clasping his prajñā. The maṇḍala itself corresponds to the one described in Nag-dbaṅ-legs-grub’s dpal gSaṅ-ba’ dus-pa ’Jam- pa’i-rdo-rje’i dkyil-khor-gyi cho-ga si-ta’i kloṅ-chen ’jigs-bral sen-ge’i kha-’babs which is included in the rGyud-sde kun-brus, the Sa-skya-pa collection compiled by ’Jam-dbyans-blo-gter-dbaṅ-po upon which the above mentioned collection of maṇḍalas is based\textsuperscript{228}.

Number 4R corresponds to the maṇḍala of Vajrabhairava with thirteen deities according to the tradition of Rwa, that is of the lo-tsā-ba of Rwa, rDo-rje-grags, whom we have already met as the translator of the Śrivajrabhairavanāmatantra. Its layout is akin to the one of maṇḍala 2R and it houses in its centre the same figure of Vajrabhairava with thirty-four arms, sixteen legs and nine heads, the central one being a buffalo head of the same blue colour as the body, whereas the head of Maṅjuśrī at the top is of a saffron colour (Pl. 182). In the first circle surrounding the god there are eight more wrathful yab-yum deities with three heads and six arms, four bigger ones in the main directions and four smaller ones in the intermediate directions, all corresponding to various manifestations of Yamāri. The colours of the former are canonical (white for the eastern one because the central one is blue), whereas those of the latter are: white (south-east), blue (south-west), red (north-west) and green (north-east). Four more similar figures are placed at the gates of the maṇḍala, this time the eastern one of a blue colour and the southern one of a white colour, whereas the colours of those of the other two directions are left unchanged. There are thirteen deities in accordance with the figure mentioned by the Myaṅ-čhin, provided that the yab-yum deities are counted as one.

This maṇḍala virtually coincides with the one included as

\textsuperscript{227} Toto, 481.  
\textsuperscript{228} bSod-nams rgya-mtsho. 1983. No. 44.
Rwa-lugs rDo-rje'-jigs-byed lha bcu-gsum-gyi dkyil-khor in the collection of the mandalas of Ṇor\textsuperscript{229}, except for the presence in the latter of four vetālas in the corners and of twenty-four symbols in the galleries on the walls of the palace. Such symbols, however, are among those held by the chief deity in thirty-two of his thirty-four hands, the other two bearing the kartṛka and the kapāla at the height of the chest.

The following maṇḍala, 5R, is that of gŚin-rje-gśed-dmar-po (Raktayamāri) with thirteen deities, according to the method of Śridhara (dPal-dzin) (Pl. 183). Its root-tantra is the dPal gŚin-rje-gśed-dmar-po žes bya-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po (Śrīraktayamārī tantrarāja)\textsuperscript{230}, which was translated at the monastery of Sa-skya by the Kashmirian paṇḍita Rāhulaśrībhadra and by the Tibetan lo-tsāba Blo-rtan. This tantra includes nineteen chapters (le'u) and the twelfth is specifically devoted to the dkyil-khor chen-po\textsuperscript{231}.

Śridhara was apparently a brahman mahāsiddha, who received the secret precepts of the ṣadāṅgayoga directly from the ācārya Anupamarakṣita, and occupies a key position in that lineage\textsuperscript{232}. He wrote several texts belonging to the cycle of Yamāri which were included in the bsTan-'gyur, and in particular, as far as we are here concerned with, the dPal gŚin-rje-gśed-dmar-po'i sgrub-thabs (Śrīraktayamārīsādhana)\textsuperscript{233} and the dPal gŚin-rje-gśed-dmar-po'i dkyil-khor-gyi cho-ga (Śrīraktayamārīmaṇḍalopayikā)\textsuperscript{234} which were both translated by Ni-ma'i-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po.

The maṇḍala in the gŽal-yas-khaṅ is wholly consistent with the one still preserved in the Ṇor-pa tradition of the Sa-skya-pa school, whose rGyud-sde kun-btus includes a work by Bu-ston specifically devoted to it: the gŚin-rje-gśed-dmar-po'i sgrub-thabs nag-'gros-su bkod-pa rnal-ʰyor bzi gsal-bar byed-pa\textsuperscript{235}. It may be

---

\textsuperscript{229} bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, 1983: No. 55.
\textsuperscript{230} Toh. 474.
\textsuperscript{231} Skorupski, 1985: 231-132.
\textsuperscript{232} Roerich, 1976: 474, 795, 1046.
\textsuperscript{233} Cordier, rGyud: XLIII, 103, 104.
\textsuperscript{234} Ibidem: XLIII, 107, 108.
\textsuperscript{235} bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, 1983: No. 51.
pointed out that the foundation of Nor E-wam by Kun-dga'-bzañ-po took place in 1429, that is four years after the erection of the dbu-rtse of the gTsol-lag-khañ; both foundations belong to the same period and to the same religious and cultural environment.

A characteristic of this mandala is the inclusion of Raktayamâri, surrounded by a square frame of vajras, in the centre of a viśvavajra within whose four endings four other forms of his are placed. These five deities are all portrayed in prayâlida, each clasping his prajñâ with the left arm and holding a kapala in the left hand, while the right hand is raised upwards in karaṇamudrâ, holding different attributes. Four dâkinîs are placed in the corners of the first wall and four guardians with their prajñâs are painted in the four gateways.

The last mandala on the western wall, 6R (Pl. 184), is defined in the Myâi-chuñ as sKu'i-rigs-kyi Khro-bo gSin-rje-gshed-'jam-dpal žal drug-gi gdoñ drug lha bcu-gsum-pa'i dkyil-khor. This description of the mandala of Krodha-Yamântaka-Mañjusri does not correspond perfectly with the painting under consideration, firstly because the deities number twenty-one and not thirteen, and also because the central deity has six heads (as well as six arms and six legs), whereas all the others only have one head and two arms. The number of the heads of the chief deity and the circumstance that the first circle of his parivâra is placed upon the blades of an eight-pointed cakra, rather than on the usual lotus petals, suggest that this may be the mandala described in Devâkacandra's gSin-rje-gshed-nag-po gdoñ drug-pa'i 'khor-lo'i sgrub-thabs (Ṣaṅmukhakrṣṇayamāricakrasādhana)\(^{236}\), which was translated by the author with the already mentioned lo-tsâ-ba of Cog-ro, Ses-rab Bla-ma. This sâdhana, which is inspired to the root-tantra De-bzin-gzugs-pa thams-cad-kyi sku-gsuñ-thugs gSin-rje-gshed-nag-po žes bya-ba'i rgyud (Sarvatathâgatakâyavâkecitakrṣṇayamārinâma tantra)\(^{237}\) was translated by Atiśa with his disciple, Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba, and later revised by the lo-tsâ-ba of Rwa, rDo-rje-grags.

rDo-rje-grags's role in the revision of the translation of this

\(^{236}\) Cordier, *Rig-tshis*, XLIII, 93.
A tantra might justify the name assigned to a very similar *maṇḍala* in the Nor collection, the *Rwa-lugs ′Jam-dpal-gšin-rje gdoṅ drug lha ṇi-ṣu-rtsa-gcig-gi dkyil-khor*\(^238\), a title in which, besides the identity in the number of deities and of the heads of the chief one, one finds also the name of Mañjuśrī, which is explicitly mentioned in the *Myaṅ- chuṅ*. The difference between the Nor *maṇḍala* and the one at Gyantse is limited to the absence in the former of the *praṇās* for the four manifestations of Yamārī occupying the main directions in the first circle and for the four guardians of the doors.

*Maṇḍala 7R*, which is painted on the portion of the southern wall to the left of the entrance door, is not contemporary with the decoration of the *gZal-yas-khaṇ*, as already noticed by Tucci in his expedition of 1937. The inscription besides the *maṇḍala* tells us that it was repainted on the model of the previous one in the year fire-rat, which may correspond either to 1876 or to 1936\(^239\) (Pl. 185).

This *maṇḍala* continues the series of the large *maṇḍalas* placed in succession to the right of the *Kālacakramaṇḍala* and as such it comes seventh in the *Myaṅ-chuṅ*, but is not related to a Father tantra. In fact this is a *maṇḍala* devoted to Khro-bo dPal-rdo-rje-gžon-nu (Śrivajrakumāra), also known as rDo-rje-phur-pa (Vajrakila), and related to the *rDo-rje-phur-pa rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi dum-bu* (Vajrakilamūlatantrakhaṇḍa)\(^240\), which belongs to the group of the *yoginītantras* referring to rTa-mchog (Paramāśva), namely to Amoghasiddhi. This tantra represents a fragment of a root-tantra which is included in the *rDo-rje khros-pa rig-pa mchog-gi rgyud-kyi le'u*, an important collection of ritual texts of the *Sa-skya-pa* school\(^241\), and was translated by Sa-skya Paṅ-

\(^{238}\) bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, 1983: No. 53.

\(^{239}\) Tucci merely says that it was made in a period “very close to us” (1941a: 159). The inscription reads: “Phur-pa (r) tsa dum- ( = rDo-rje-phur-pa rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi dum-bu) -gyi rgyud 'byun-ba rdo-rje rigs-kyi khro-bo dpal rDo-rje-gžon-nu'i dkyil-'khor chen-po sñon yod ltar me-byi gsar bzeins skabs yun tshal ( = tshad) ldan bzung-so”.

\(^{240}\) Toh. 439.

\(^{241}\) Stein, 1977: 57, n. 23.
The temples on the upper storey of the gTszug-lag-khañ

This circumstance alone may account for its attribution to the Sa-lugs in the Myaiñ-chuñ, to which one may add that the diffusion of the tantric cult of the phur-pa, which was initially promoted in Tibet during monarchical period and later taken over by the rNiñ-ma-pa school, was also favoured by the Sa-skya-pas, as is shown for example by the existence of a rDo-rje-phur-pa'i sgrub-skor and of a rDo-rje-phur-pa'i miñon-par rtogs, both written by the 5th abbot of Sañkya 243, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan 244, while no sadhana devoted to Vajrakila seems to be included in the bStan-'gyur. The very basic tantra does not appear in the sNar-thañ edition of the bKas'-gyur, although it is listed in the classification supplied by Bu-ston in his rGyud-sde spyi'i rnam-par-bdag rgyud-sde rin-po-che'i mdzes-rgyan (Collected Works, vol. ba).

The cult of the phur-pa continued among the Sa-skya-pas also at a later period, as is shown by the inclusion in the Ñor collection of mandalas of one rDo-rje-phur-pa'i stod-las byañ-chun bsgrub-pa lha bcu-dgu'i dkyil-'khor 245, which is related not only to the above mentioned tantra, but also to the dPal rDo-rje-gzön-nu'i sgrub-thabs bkIaIg-pas don-grub and to the rDo-rje-phur-pa'i dkyil-chog yid-'oñ blo-gros kha-byed bzin-las rin-chen do-śal-du žal 'phañ-pa-rnas-kyis rtoqs-par sla-ba yid-kyi mun-sel, both written by Sa-skya-pa  NEWLINE Nag-dbañ-kun-dga'-bsod-nams. This was the grandson of the great exorcist and 22nd abbot of Sa-skya,  NEWLINE Nag-dbañ-kun-dga'-rin-chen (1451-1524), and son of the 24th abbot of Sa-skya, Grags-pa-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1503-1557) 246. His full name was A-mes Nag-dbañ-kun-dga'-bsod-nams Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. He was born in 1537, became the 27th abbot of Sa-skya in 1560 and died in 1549 247. In his Chronicles as translated by Tucci 248, the 5th Dalai Lama (1617-1682) states that the teachings concerning the in-

244. A portrait of this master is found in the Lam-'bras-lha-khañ.
245. bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, 1983: No. 95.
terpretation of the sūtras and tantras by that “precious gem” of the Sa-skya-pa lineage, descended from the ’Khon family, still lived in his time.

The maṇḍala of the Nor collection quoted above is very close to the one in the gZal-yas-khañ, at least its central portion, depicting Vajrakumāra blue in colour, with three heads, six arms and four legs, clasping his pra Jainā and surrounded by the Ten Krodhas, who are placed on the blades of a cakra, each with his own pra Jainā and flanked by a pair of attendants with animal heads. All these eleven deities are provided with the wings of a garu ḍa.

Maṇḍala 1L (Pl. 186), which appears first to the left of the central one devoted to the Kālacakra, refers to Đākārṇava (mKha’-’gro-rgya-mtsho) and is related to the dPal mKha’-’gro-rgya-mtsho rnal-byor-ma’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po (Śrīdākārṇavamahāyogita-nitrantrarāja)²⁴⁹. This is a fundamental tantra of the cycle of Samvara, a cycle which originated first in the lineage of Rin-chen-bzañ-po and was later taught by Mar-pa Do-pa and others²⁵⁰. The version of this tantra included in the bKa’-’gyur is due to Sum-pa lo-tsa-ba of Roñ, Dharma-yon-tan, who translated it in the Nepal Valley under the guidance of the mahopadhyaya Jayasena (rGyał-ba’i-sde). The latter, also known to Tibetans as Dam-pa Khañ-gsar-pa, later went to Tibet, where he was assisted in his activity of master and translator by the already mentioned Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, the 5th abbot of Sa-skya²⁵¹. Dharma-yon-tan further proceeded, together with Jayasena, to translate the instructions of the sādhana composed by the same master, namely the dPal mKha’-’gro-rgya-mtsho’i rgyud-kyi dkyil-khor-gyi ’khor-lo’i sgrub-thabs rinpoché padma-ra-ga’i gter (Śrīdākārṇavatantramanḍalacakraśā-dhanaratnapadmarāgavidhi)²⁵². This maṇḍala displays a huge number of deities, who are distributed in a highly complex structure involving four large maṇḍalas placed in concentrical circular

---

²⁴⁹. Toh. 372.
²⁵². Cordier, rGyud: XIV, 1.
The temples on the upper storey of the gTug-lag-khan

bands around a central maṇḍala (tilacakra). The centre of the latter is occupied by the blue-green figure of bCom-ldan-rdo-rje-mkha’-gro (Bhagavadvajraḍāka) with seven heads and seventy-six arms, clasping Vajravārāhi, red, with one head and two arms. The divine couple is surrounded by the forty-eight petals of a large lotus, on which twenty-four dākinis and twenty-four vases surmounted by kapālas are placed alternately.

The first of the maṇḍalas encircling the tilacakra includes three bands (vajracakra, cittacakra, guṇacakra), each made up of thirty-six dākinis, and two more bands where two hundred and forty-nine Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa are placed. The second, third and fourth maṇḍalas all show a layout similar to the first one, each including three bands of dākinis and two hundred and forty-nine Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa. In the second maṇḍala such bands represent the ākāśacakra, the vāyuacakra and the bhūmi-cakra, in the third one the jvālacakra, the vāricakra and the jñānacakra, whereas in the fourth one they represent the Mind, Speech and Body of the Buddha (cittacakra, vākcakra, kāyacakra).

Except for the varying colours of the dākinis, the only difference consists in the fact that in the outer maṇḍala the Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa are not arranged in circular bands, but occupy the galleries on the walls of the square palace which includes the whole maṇḍala. That this is a great synthesis of several different maṇḍalas is underlined by the gates separating them, with their appropriate guardians, and by the bands showing the Eight Cemeteries which surround each of the intermediate maṇḍalas.

Maṇḍala 2L, the second to the left of the Kālacakramanḍala, always on the northern wall, is devoted to Śambara with sixty-two deities, according to Lūipa’s interpretation. The text to which this maṇḍala is chiefly inspired is the rGyud-kyi rgyal-po dpal bDe-mchog-ñuṅ-ri’u (Tantrarājaśrīlaghushamvara) which, according to mKhas-grub-rje, is the chief of the yoginitantras. That tantra was translated by Padmākara and Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, and was later re-
Plate 186. The centre of the Dākārṇava maṇḍala (1L).
vised by Prajñākirti and Mar-pa Do-pa Chos-kyi-dbañ-phyug on the basis of a manuscript belonging to Nāropa.

The reference in the Myan-chuṅ to Lūipa (Lo-hi-pa in the text) with regards to the Śambara cycle is not merely connected with an oral tradition, for the bsTan-'gyur includes, the dPal rDo-rje-sems-dpa'i sgrub-thabs (Śrivajrasattvasādhana), which in the colophon is given the subtitle bDe-mchog-gi sgrub-thabs (Śambarasādhana) and is attributed to that master. This tradition of interpretation in the cult of Śambara is well-rooted in the Sa-skya-pa school, where the 5th abbot, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, wrote a bDe-mchog Lu'i-pa'i lugs-kyi mnon-par rtogs-pa'i bsgom-pa'i rim.

Also this maṇḍala, however far from the complexity of the preceding one, is laid out in four cakras, of which the central one (mahāsukha-cakra) houses the figure of 'Khor-lo-bde-mchog (Cakrasamvara), blue, with four heads and twelve arms, clasping Vajrāyogini, red, and surrounded by four dākinis in the canonical colours of the four directions. The central maṇḍala is encircled by the ciṭṭa-cakra, vāka-cakra and kāya-cakra in succession, each being made up by a band housing eight divine couples of blue, red, and white colour respectively.

The first maṇḍala on the eastern wall, 3L in the figure, is devoted to the Five Families of dākas (Pañcādākakula) together, according to the scheme of the Dākinivajrapaṇjara. This mahā-maṇḍala includes five distinct maṇḍalas with square enclosures, each housing one of the Pañcādākas in the form of Hevajra, surrounded by eight dākinis. The five maṇḍalas are laid out so as to form a Greek cross and are housed in their turn in a larger enclosure to make up one synthetic maṇḍala (Pl. 187).

The central maṇḍala, devoted to the Family of Vajrasattva, houses at the centre Thugs-kyi-mkha'-'gro-kye-rdo-rje (Cittadāka-hevajra), blue, with eight heads and sixteen arms, clasping Māmāki, of the same colour, but with one head and two arms. The same structure is adopted for the other four maṇḍalas which are

---

The temples on the upper storey of the gTsug-lag-khan

devoted respectively to the Families of Vairocana (rNam-par-sna-mdzad), Ratnasambhava-Vajrasūrya (rDo-rje-ñi-ma), Amitābha-Padmanartesvara (Padma-gar-gyi-dbañ-phyug) and Amoghasiddhi-Paramāśva (rTa-mchog-rol-pa). The centre of each mandala is occupied by a dāka with the same number of heads and arms and in the same dance posture characterizing Hevajra, namely in the order: rTag-pa-kye-rdo-rje (Nityahevajra) with Sañs-rgyas-spyan-ma (Buddhalocanā), white; Rin-chen-rgyal-po-kye-rdo-rje (Ratnarāja-hevajra) with Rin-chen-sgrol-ma (Ratnatārā), yellow; rTa-mgrin-kye-rdo-rje (Hayagrīvahevajra) with Gos-dkar-mo (Pāṇḍarā), red; rTa-mchog-kye-rdo-rje (Āśvahevajra) with Dam-tshig-sgrol-ma (Śāmayatārā), green.

This mahāmaṇḍala refers to the 'Phags-pa mKha'-'gro-ma rDo-rje-gur žes bya-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po'i brtags-pa (Āryadāki-nivajrapañjaramahātantrarājakalpa)\(^258\), which belongs to the cycle of Hevajra and immediately follows the Hevajrantātra in the bKa'-gyur, but can be related more specifically to two sādhana included in the bsTan'-gyur. The first is the dPal mKha'-gro-ma rDo-rje-gur-gyi dkyil-'khor sgrub-thabs-pa žes bya-ba'i rjes-su 'grañ-ba'i sgrub-thabs (Śriḍākinivajrapañjaramaṇḍalasaṃḥaranāmārasārīnāmasādhana)\(^259\), by the mahācārya Devavrata, which was translated by Mar-pa Chos-kyi-blo-gros. The second is Durjayacandra's mKha'-gro-ma rDo-rje-gur-gyi mkha'-gro nnam-pa līna'i sgrub-pa'i thabs (Ḍākinivajrapañjarapañcaśākhāsādhana)\(^260\), which was translated by the upādhyāya Lilāvajra and by the lo-tsa-ba bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan.

The following maṇḍala, 4L, is rather damaged and its central figure is partially defaced by a clumsy restoration (Pl. 188). It is the fundamental maṇḍala with nine deities drawn from the Kye'i-rdo-rje žes bya-ba rgyud-kyi rgyal-po (Hevajrantarāja)\(^261\) also known as hrTag (-pa) giṅs (-pa) because of the two parts that make

\(^{258}\) Pokrovsky, XIX, 419

\(^{259}\) Gendun-rdo-rje, XXII, 30.

\(^{260}\) Gendun-rdo-rje, XXII, 30.

\(^{261}\) Gendun-rdo-rje, XXII, 30.
it up, which was translated by 'Brog-mi under the guidance of Gayadhara.

The centre of the *maṇḍala* houses Hevajra, dark blue, with eight heads, sixteen arms and four legs, his sixteen hands holding *kapālas* supporting eight figures of animals and as many *ḍākinis*. The central pair claps Vajranairatmyā, also of a blue colour, with one head and two arms. The eight lotus petals surrounding the divine couple support as many variously coloured *ḍākinis*.

Mention has been made elsewhere of 'Brog-mi’s meeting with Gayadhara\(^{262}\). Suffice it to point out here that they worked together on the translation of several *tantras* and commentaries related to the cycle of Hevajra, and in particular on Saroruha’s commentaries\(^{263}\). Saroruha’s texts translated by 'Brog-mi and Gayadhara include the *Kye’i-rdo-rje’i dkyil-khor-gyi las-kyi rim-pa’i cho-ga* (Hevajramaṇḍalakarmakramavidhi)\(^{264}\), the *dPal Kye’i-rdo-rje’i mar-mei’i rtse-mo lta-bu’i gams-pa* (Śrīhevajrapradipaśūlopamāvavādaka)\(^{265}\), and the *rJe-btsun dpal Kye’i-rdo-rje’i bha-ttā-ra-ka’i bstod-pa* (Bhaṭṭarākasrihevajrabhaṭṭarākastotra)\(^{266}\). On his own 'Brog-mi translated the *Kye’i-rdo-rje’i de-kho-na-nid rnam-par phyeb-daṅ / Kye’i-rdo-rje’i bṣad-pa’i rgyud yan-dag-par sbyor-ba-daṅ / rDo-rje-mkha’-gro-las rtsa’i ’khor-lo’i skabs* (Hevajratattvavibhaṅga /Hevajranāmatantrasampūta /Vajradākamālacakrakāṇḍa)\(^{267}\). Furthermore, again with Gayadhara, he translated a *sādhana* by Dombiheruka devoted to Nairātmyā.

*Maṇḍala* 5L, the third on the eastern wall, is again a *mahā-maṇḍala*, which gathers in the *ḍākinis’* blissful net the Buddhas of the Six Families that are the basis of all *yoginitantras*. Each of the

\(^{262}\) See chapel 4/2 and the second section of this Chapter.

\(^{263}\) This *siddha* is also known as Padmavajra (*mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje*), whom the *rNiṅ-ma-pa* tradition identifies with Padmasambhava (Roerich, 1976: 389, n. 1). This confusion probably derives from the fact that there are at least two masters known as Padmavajra, who are also called Saroruha, the elder being identified with Padmasambhava, the younger with our translator, who lived in the second half of the 9th century (Dowman, 1985: 345).

\(^{264}\) Cordier: *rGyud*: XXI, 2; XXII, 1.

\(^{265}\) *Ibidem*: XXI, 3.

\(^{266}\) *Ibidem*: XXI, 7.

\(^{267}\) *Ibidem*: XX, 12.
six deities dwells in his own \textit{mandala} (kūtāgāra), surrounded by a first circle of eight ḍākinīs, with four more ḍākinīs placed in the corners along with four goddesses of the offerings, while four more female deities are placed to guard the gateways.

The central \textit{mandala} houses Heruka clasping Īśvarī (dBan-phyug-ma), while the other five \textit{mandalas}, placed symmetrically around it, house Vairocana with Locanā, Vajrasūrya with Māmāki, Padmanarteśvara with Paṇḍarā, Paramāśva with Tārā, and Vajradhara (rDo-rje-’chaṅ) with Šambarā.

This \textit{mandala} refers to the \textit{dpal Saĩs-rgyas thams-cad-dañ mثنam-par sbyor-ba mkha’-gro sgyu-ma bde-ba’i mchog ces bya-ba’i rgyud phyi-ma} (Śrisarvabuddhasamayogāḍākinijālasaṃvaranā-mottaratantra)\textsuperscript{268} and to the \textit{rTog-pa thams-cad ’dus-pa žes bya-ba Saĩs-rgyas thams-cad-dañ mثنam-par sbyor-ma mkha’-’gro-ma sgyu-ma bde-ba’i mchog-gi rgyud phyi-ma’i phyi-ma} (Śarvakalpasaručayanāmasarvabuddhasamayogāḍākinijālasaṃvarottarottaratantra)\textsuperscript{269} translated by Śrītiṣṭiṇānākīrti, who also translated the related \textit{ṭīkā} by the ācārya Ānandagarbhapāda\textsuperscript{270}. It should be pointed out that Śrīti even preceded Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po in the diffusion of the \textit{gsaĩs-sĩnags gsar-ma} (“the new secret mantras”, with reference to the new tantric literature) in Tibet.

The \textit{tantras} to which this \textit{mandala} is related belong to the \textit{sTon-pa} group of the Mother \textit{tantras}. The latter in fact consist of the same six groups in which the Father \textit{tantras} are distributed plus this \textit{sTon-pa} group dealing with all the Buddhas on the same level, so that, strictly speaking, it does not actually represent a specific Family. The term \textit{sTon-pa} (deśaka) designates the Master par excellence, the Buddha as teacher of the dharma.

The commentaries of the \textit{bsTan-’gyur} referring to the \textit{sTon-pa rgyud} group include Indrabhūti’s \textit{dpal Saĩs-rgyas thams-cad-dañ mثنam-par sbyor-ba žes bya-ba’i rgyud-kyi dka’-’grel} (Śrisarvabuddhasamayogānāmatantarpanćikā)\textsuperscript{271} and Praśāntamitra’s Saĩs-
Plate 187. The Pañcadākakula mahāmanḍala (3L).
Plate 188. The centre of the fundamental Hevajra mandala (4L).
Plate 189. The centre of the Vajrasattva maṇḍala (7L).
rgyas thams-cad-daṅ mṇam-par sbyor-ba'i dka'-'grel (Sarvabuddhasamayogapañcikā)\(^{272}\), both translated by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po with the assistance of the ācārya Śraddhakaravarma, as well as Indrabhūti’s dPal Sains-rgyas thams-cad-daṅ mṇam-par sbyor-ba mkha’-’gro sgyu-ma bde-ba mchog-gi don rnam-par bṣad-pa (Śrīsarvabuddhasamayogādaṅkīnaśāmbaratantrarāthaṅtikā)\(^{273}\) and Hūṃkāravajra’s dPal Sains-rgyas thams-cad-daṅ mṇam-par sbyor-ba’i dkyil-khor sgrub-pa’i rim-pa (Śrīsarvabuddhasamayogamaṇḍalasādhanakrama)\(^{274}\), both translated by the upādhyāya Vidyākarasimha and by lHa’i-rin-po-che.

The partly defaced inscription below the maṇḍala tells us that it was drawn by rDor-grub-rin-chen from gNas-rnin and his pupils, according to the instructions of the glorious bla-ma bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po, the 14th abbot of Sa-skya (on whom see also chapel 4/2)\(^{275}\).

Maṇḍala 6L, placed at the southern end of the eastern wall, is devoted to the deities of the Catuhpitha (gDan-bzi), who are related to the Mother tantras of the Vairocana group. The fundamental tantra in that group is the rNal-byor-ma’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po dpal gDan-bzi (Śrīcatuhpithhamāyogimahayogatantrarāja)\(^{276}\), translated by Gayadhara and by ’Gos lo-tsa-ba lHas-btsas, which is closely connected with two other tantras, the dPal gDan-bzi-pa’i bṣad-pa’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po snags-kyi cha (Śrīcatuhpithakhayāta-

---

\(^{272}\) Cordier, rGyud: XXV, 3.

\(^{273}\) Ibidem: XXIV, 11.

\(^{274}\) Ibidem: XXV, 17.

tantrarājamāntraṁśa)\textsuperscript{277}, translated into Tibetan by the same translators of the previous one, and the \textit{dpal gDan-bzi-pa'i mnam-par-bśad-pa} (Caturpiṭhavikyāta)\textsuperscript{278}, translated by Smṛti and also known as Śricatuḥpiṭhamahāyoginīgūṇasvarvatantrarāja.

With reference to this \textit{māṇḍala} Tucci\textsuperscript{279} mentions Bu-ston's \textit{rDo-rje gDan-bzi'i dkyil-'khor rgyas-pa'i sgrub-thabs mi-brjod-par dran-byed} (Collected Works, vol. \textit{ja}), which describes it in some detail, placing \textit{rNal-'byor-nam-mkha'} (Yogāmbara) in its centre. It should be pointed out that fig. 2273 in Lokesh Chandra's \textit{Buddhist Iconography}\textsuperscript{280}, drawn from the \textit{Three Hundred Icons}, represents Vajracatuhpitha with characteristics largely corresponding to those of Yogāmbara as represented in the \textit{Rin-'byun}\textsuperscript{281}. In fact the \textit{māṇḍala} in the gZal-yas-khaṅ is in the main akin, at least in its central part, to the 14th \textit{māṇḍala} described in the \textit{Nispānayogāvalī}\textsuperscript{282} and also to the \textit{Nam-mkha'i-rnal-'byor lha bdun-bcu-don-bdun-gyi dkyil-'khor} drawn from Nag-dbaṅ-yon-tan-rgya-mtsho's \textit{bCom-ldan-'das gDan-bzi yab bka'i sgrub-thabs rnal-'byor sīṅ-gi thig-le} and included in the Nor collection\textsuperscript{283}.

The heart of the \textit{māṇḍala} houses Yogāmbara, blue, with three heads and six arms, clasping Ye-ses-mkha'-'gro-ma (Jñānaḍākini), white, with one head and two arms. The divine couple is surrounded by eight \textit{dākinis}: rDo-rje-mkha'-'gro-ma (Vajradākini), Drag-mo-mkha'-'gro-ma (Ghoraḍākini), Ro-laṅs-mkha'-'gro-ma (Vetālaḍākini) and gDol-pa-mkha'-'gro-ma (Caṇḍalaḍākini) in the main directions, and four animal-headed \textit{dākinis} in the intermediate ones. Four more \textit{dākinīs} are placed at the gateways, whereas the corners are occupied by four \textit{viśvavajras}. The outside circle houses female deities who are grouped in triplets and couples in the main and secondary directions respectively. Both at the gates

\textsuperscript{277} Toh. 429.
\textsuperscript{278} Toh. 430.
\textsuperscript{279} Tucci, 1941a: 160, n. 1.
\textsuperscript{281} \textit{Ibidem}: 371, fig. 997.
\textsuperscript{282} Bhattacharyya, 1972: 48-51.
\textsuperscript{283} bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, 1983: No. 87.
and at the corners of this second enclosure there are dākas mounted on animal vāhanas, each flanked by two dākinis.

The bsTan-'gyur includes several texts belonging to this cycle, such as the 'Phags-pa gDan-bzi-pa'i rnam-par-bṣad-pa (Āryacatuḥpīṭhātikā)²⁸⁴, partially written and entirely translated by Smṛti. The Myaṅ-čuṅ explicitly relates this maṇḍala to the interpretation of the Indian mahācārya Bhavabhadra, who wrote the rGyud-kiyi dPal gDan-bzi-pa'i 'grel-pa dran-pa'i rgyu-mtshan (Śrīcatuḥpīṭhātantrarājasya ātiksāmr̥tinibandhana)²⁸⁵ and the dPal gDan-bzi-pa'i sgrub-pa'i thabs (Śrīcatuḥpīṭhasādhanopāyikā)²⁸⁶, both translated by Gayadhara and 'Gos lHas-bsal, as well as the dPal gDan-bzi'i chu'i sbyin-sreg (Śrīcatuḥpīṭhājālaha)²⁸⁷, which was translated by Tshul-khrims-gzön-nu.

Maṇḍala 7L (Pl. 189), the last on the central band to the left of the Kālacakramaṇḍala, was painted anew on the portion of the southern wall to the left of the exit door in the fire-rat year (1876 or 1936), like the maṇḍala which has already been met at the opposite end of the same wall. According to the inscription this is not the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, as indicated in the dkar-chag of the monastery followed by the Myaṅ-čuṅ, but the maṇḍala of bDe-mchog-rdo-rje-sems-dpa'-zi-ba-dkar-po (Vajrasattva-Śambhara)²⁸⁸.

The maṇḍala includes thirty-seven deities, as indicated in the Myaṅ-čuṅ, and the chief one (a form of Heruka according to that text), white, with three heads and six arms, clasps his svabhapa-dharma while dancing in ardhamahāyānka, with the right foot resting on the moon's disk which is placed upon a kapāla supported by a lotus flower. This figure can be recognized as the lord of the Vajra-
sattvamāṇḍala as described in the Nispannayogāvalī²⁸⁹, and does not seem to correspond perfectly with the Vajrasattva-Śambhara referred to in the above mentioned inscription. The latter, in fact, however sharing the colour, number of heads and number of arms with the deity at the centre of the maṇḍala painted here, is supposed to sit in sattvaparyāṇa rather than to assume a dancing posture, and should hold partially different attributes²⁹⁰.

The correspondence with the Vajradhātumāṇḍala is not bound to the central figure, but applies almost perfectly to all the other figures appearing here, except for the four dākinīs placed at the intermediate directions of the second circle, who show only one of the two colours indicated by the Nispannayogāvalī. Furthermore, the Vajrasattvamāṇḍala of the Nispannayogāvalī is drawn from the Yaṅ-dag-par sbyor-ba žes bya-ba’i rgyud chen-po (Sampṭanāmamahātāntara)²⁹¹ which is mentioned in the Myaṅ-chuṅ. This tantra was translated by ’Brog-mi and Gayadhara, and the bsTan’gyur includes a few important commentaries devoted to it, such as Indrabhūti’s dPal kha-sbyor thig-le žes bya-ba rnal-byor-ma’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po’i rgya-cher ’grel-pa yaṅ-dag-par lta-ba’i dran-pa’i snaṅ-ba (Śrisampṭatilakanāmayoginātantrarājasya tīkāsmṛti-sanḍarśanāloka)²⁹², which was translated by the upādhyāya Śrī-Vajrabodhi and by the lo-tsā-ba of Gyi-jo, Zla-ba’i’od-zer, as well as Abhayakaragupta’s dPal yaṅ-dag-par sbyor-ba’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po’i rgya-cher ’grel-pa man-ṅag-gi sīne-ma (Śrisampṭatantarājātiḵā-āmnāyamanājari)²⁹³ and Kha-sbyor dbye-ba (Sampṭavibhaṅga)²⁹⁴, which were translated by Saṅs-rgyas-grags-pa²⁹⁵, the former at Nālandā.

The Sampṭatantra is a Mother tantra of the Heruka-Akṣobhya group, and is regarded as a bṣad-rgyud, and is a tantra explanatory

²⁹¹. Toh. 381.
²⁹³. Ibidem: XIX.
²⁹⁵. Buddhakirti, a native of Mi-ṅag (cf. for instance Cordier, rGyud: XIII, 4).
of the anuttarayogatantras in general. It is closely associated with the rGyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po dpal yan-dag-par shyor-ba'i thig-le296, which is listed by Bu-ston as an ordinary explanatory tantra (thuin-mo'i-ba'i bṣad-rgyud)297. That tantra was the source of the Vajrasattvamanḍala (Sampaṭa-rdor-sems lha sum-cu-so-bdun-gyi dkyil-khor) included in the Nor collection298, which, however, differs from the maṇḍala in the gZhals-khaṇ not only because rDo-rje-sems-dpa' is depicted clasping Vajravārāhī, red, but also because of the different layout of the dākinīs in the outer circles. The Vajradhātumanḍala (rDor-dbyi'ins sampuṭa lha sum-beu-so-bdun-gyi dkyil-khor)299 houses in its centre Akṣobhya with his svāhāprajñā in an attitude which is very similar to that of the lord of our maṇḍala, but of a blue colour. Indeed the close resemblance of our painted maṇḍala with the Vajradhātumanḍala leads us to suggest that the inscription on the wall is chiefly directed to underline the fact that this maṇḍala, however related to the Sampuṭatantra and made up by thirty-seven deities arranged as in the Vajradhātumanḍala, is not devoted to the blue Heruka-Akṣobhya, but to the white Vajrasattva. It should be pointed out that the Vajrasattva of the Nispannayogāvalī is indeed associated with the Family of Akṣobhya.

Let us now turn our attention to the smaller maṇḍalas, starting from the series painted on the upper part of the walls of the gZhals-yas-khaṇ, to the right of the Kālacakra maṇḍala:

1r) Maṇḍala of Raktayamāri (gŚin-rje-gṣed-dmar-po), with five deities, according to the system of the mahāsiddha Virūpa, related to the dpal gŚin-rje-gṣed-dmar-po ʿes bya-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po (Śrīraktayamāritantrarāja)300.

2r) Maṇḍala of Guhyasamāja-Avalokiteśvara (gSaṅ-ʿdus-ʿjig-
rten-dbañ-phyug), with nineteen deities\textsuperscript{301}, according to the system of Atiśa, related to the \textit{dPal\ rDo-rje-sńiñ-po\ rgyan-gyi\ rgyud} (Śrīvajrhrdayālāmākāratantra)\textsuperscript{302}.

3r) Mandala of Mahāvajrabhairava (rDo-rje-'jigs-byed-chen-po) with eight vetalas, according to the tradition of the Sa-skya-pa school, related to the \textit{rDo-rje-'jigs-byed-chen-po'i\ rgyud} (Śrīvajra-mahābhairavanāmatantra)\textsuperscript{303}.

4r) Mandala of Guhyasamāja (gSañ-'dus) with nine deities as explained in the Six Families of Guhyasamāja, drawn from the Kālacakratantra\textsuperscript{304}.

5r) Mandala of Mahācakravajrapāni (Phyag-rdor-'khor-chen), with eighteen deities\textsuperscript{305}, drawn from the 'Phags-pa Lag-na-rdo-rje gos sion-po-can drag-po gsum 'dul-ba žes bya-ba'i rgyud (Āryan-lṁbaradharavajrapāṇirudratrivinayatantra)\textsuperscript{306} (Pl. 190).

6r) Mandala of Guhyasamāja with twenty-five deities, as explained in the Six Families of Guhyasamāja drawn from the Kālacakratantra (Pl. 191).

7r) Mandala of Māyājala (sGyu-'phrul-dra-ba) with forty-three deities, part of the Three Families of Māyājala as expounded in the Kālacakratantra (Pl. 192).

8r) Mandala of Amṛṭa-Heruka (bDud-rtsi-he-ru-ka), drawn from the rNal-'byor chen-po'i rgyud rDo-rje-'phren-ba mwiązan-par brjod-pa rgyud thams-cad-kyi sńiñ-po gsāñ-ba rnam-par phye-ba (Śrīvajramālābhīdhānamahāyogatantrasarvatatantrahrdayarahasyabheda)\textsuperscript{307}, the tantra explanatory of the Guhyasamājatantra, which is generally known as Vajramālā (Pl. 193).

9r; 10r) Two of the mandalas devoted to Amṛṭa (bDud-rtsi) as explained in the Vajramālā\textsuperscript{308}.

\textsuperscript{301} Nine according to the \textit{Myaǐ-chuǐ} (1983: 60).
\textsuperscript{302} Toh. 451.
\textsuperscript{303} Toh. 468.
\textsuperscript{304} Toh. 362.
\textsuperscript{305} Twenty-five according to the \textit{Myaǐ-chuǐ}.
\textsuperscript{306} Toh. 454.
\textsuperscript{307} Toh. 445.
\textsuperscript{308} Mandala 10r is hardly visible, being hidden by the wall hangings above the entrance door.
Plate 192. The Mayajāla maṇḍala (7r).
Plate 194. The Vajra-Hevajra mandala (41).
The following *mandalas* make up the series of the lower row starting again from the northern wall of the temple:

1r') *Mandala* of Vajrapāñcika (Phyag-rdor-gtum-po), with five garudas (khyu{n), drawn from Karmavajra's *rDo-rje-gtum-po'i sgo-nas phyir bzlog-pa'i 'khor-lo* (Vajracanḍānusārena prṣṭyacakra)\(^{310}\), which was transmitted by Bhadracandra to rDo-rje-grags-pa, Mi-la-ras-pa's disciple better known as Ras-chu{n-pa. That text refers to the *dPal gTum-po-khro-bo-chen-po'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po* (Śrīcanḍamahāroṣanatantrarāja)\(^{311}\), a Mother tantra of the group of Vairocana.

2r') *Mandala* of the thirteen deities of Kṛṣṇayamāri (dGra-nag) according to the tradition of Rwa, related to the *De-bzin-gšegs-pa thams-cad-kyi sku-gsun-thugs gSin-rje-gsed-nag-po žes bya-ba'i rgyud* (Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcīttakṛṣṇayamārināmatantra)\(^{312}\).

3r') *Mandala* of Buddhakapāla (Saṅs-rgyas-thod-pa), drawn from the Vajramālā.

4r') *Mandala* of the twenty-five deities of Vārāhi (Phag-mo), drawn from the *rDo-rje-phag-mo mni-on-par 'byu{n-ba* (Vajravārāhi-abhidhāna)\(^{313}\), which belongs to the cycle of Saṃvara in the Mother tantras.

5r') *Mandala* of Śambara (bDe-mchog) with thirteen deities\(^{314}\), drawn from the *dPal bDe-mchog-sdom-pa-'byu{n-ba žes bya-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po* (Srisamvarodayanāmamahātantra-rāja)\(^{315}\), an explanatory tantra belonging to the cycle of Saṃvara in the Mother tantras.

6r') *Mandala* of Maṇjuśrī-Śrījñālā ('Jam-dpal-sgyu-'phrul-dra-ba), with forty-five deities, as explained in the *Kālacakratantra*.

---

\(^{309}\) This *mandala* is in a very bad state of preservation and almost indecipherable.

\(^{310}\) Cordier, *rGyud*: LXXXII, 21.

\(^{311}\) Toh. 431.

\(^{312}\) Toh. 467.

\(^{313}\) Toh. 377.

\(^{314}\) Ten according to the *Myau{n-chu{n* (1983: 60).

\(^{315}\) Toh. 373.
7r') *Maṇḍala* of Guhyasamāja with thirty-two deities, as explained in the *Kālacakratantra*.

8r') *Maṇḍala* of Guhyasamāja with thirteen deities, again as explained in the *Kālacakratantra*.

9r') *Maṇḍala* of the twenty-one deities of Vajrāmṛta. According to the *Myan-chuṅ* this should be the *maṇḍala* of Amṛta-hūṃkāra, drawn from the threefold *maṇḍala* of Amṛta as described in the *Vajramālā*.

10r') This *maṇḍala* which, like the previous one, has been repainted together with *maṇḍala* 7R, is described by the caption as *rDo-rje-hūṃ-mdzad-lha n'er-dgu'i dkyil-khor* (*maṇḍala* of the twenty-nine deities of Vajrahūṃkāra). It is probably drawn from the *rDo-rje-hūṃ-mdzad-kyi sgrub-thabs* (*Vajrahūṃkārasādhanā*) which is part of the *Sādhanasāgara*. Therefore it does not correspond to the description of the *Myan-chuṅ*, which places here a *bDe-mchog-reg-tshig-rnams-kyi dkyil-khor*.

In the upper row to the left of the *Kālacakramāṇḍala*, there are the following *maṇḍalas*:

1l) *Maṇḍala* of Śambhara with sixty-two deities, according to the system of Krṣṇācārya, related to the *rGyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po dpal rDo-rje-mkha'-gro* (*Śrīvajradākanāmamahātantrarāja*)

2l) *Maṇḍala* of Śambhara with thirteen deities, according to Maitripa and related to the *mNon-par brjod-pa'i rgyud bla-ma* (*Abhidhānottaratrantra*)

3l) *Maṇḍala* of Kāyavajra-Hevajra (sKu Kye-i-rdo-rje), with one head and two arms, with nine deities, as explained in the *Hevajratrantra*.

4l) *Maṇḍala* of Vāgvajra-Hevajra (gSuṅ Kye'i-rdo-rje) (Pl. 194), drawn from the same *tantra*.

---

316. This very damaged painting has partly been roughly restored.

317. Thus according to the caption painted on the wall.


319. Ibid. 370.

320. Ibid. 342.

321. 1. *Manḍala* of Śambhara (1983: 61) mistakenly attributes three heads and six arms to the lord of the *maṇḍala*. **
5l) *Mandala* of Hevajraśastra (Kye'i-rdor-mtshon-cha-can), with seventeen deities (Pl. 195), as drawn from the *Yan-dag-par sbyor-ba žes bya-ba'i rgyud chen-po* (Samputanāmamahātantra)\(^{322}\).

6l) *Mandala* of Hṛdaya-Hevajra (sNiṅ-po Kye'i-rdo-rje) with eight heads and sixteen arms, sitting on a throne, with nine deities, still related to the Hevajratantra.

7l) *Mandala* of Buddhakapāla (Saṅs-rgyas-thod-pa), with twenty-five deities, drawn from the *dPal Saṅs-rgyas-thod-pa žes bya-ba rnal-'byor-ma'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po* (Śribuddhakapālanāmamahāyoginitantrarāja)\(^{323}\) (Pl. 196).

8l) *Mandala* of Kurukullā, with fifteen deities, as described in the *Vajramālā*.

9l) *Mandala* of Bla-med Thugs-rje-chen-po Padma-dra-ba (Anuttaramahākāruṇikapadmajāla), as Bu-ston heard it at Žwa-lu from Sumanaśrī\(^{324}\).

10l) This *mandala*, which is not explicitly mentioned in the *Myan-chuṅ*, simply depicts the Eight Auspicious Symbols around a central vajra.

In the lower row, to the left of the *Kālacakramāṇḍala*, there are the following *māṇḍalas*:

11') *Mandala* of Śambara-Vajrākā (bDe-mchog-rdo-rje-mkha'-gro) with sixty-two deities, related to the *rGyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po dPal rDo-rje-mkha'-gro* (Śrivajrākanāmamahātāntararāja)\(^{325}\), according to the *Jo-naṅ-pa* tradition\(^{326}\).

---

\(^{322}\) Toh. 381.

\(^{323}\) Toh. 424.

\(^{324}\) Although this *māṇḍala* was repainted like the others on this section of the southern wall, it does correspond to the indication in the *Myan-chuṅ* (1983: 61). As far as its collocation among the Mother *tantras* of the *anuttara* class is concerned, see the discussion at the end of Chapter Two.

\(^{325}\) Toh. 370.

\(^{326}\) bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, 1983: No. 73. The extreme conciseness with which the *Myan-chuṅ* refers to this *mandala*, merely providing the name of its chief deity, points to a great familiarity of its author with that tradition. In this connection it may be pointed out that the foreword to the edition of the *Myan-chuṅ* employed by us gives the *Jo-naṅ-pa* Tāranātha as his author. To this it may be added that Tāranātha himself composed the *dPal 'Khor-lo-sdom-pa bsdus rgyud rtsa-ba'i*
21') Manḍala of Šambarā with five deities, according to the ācārya Ghanṭāpāda, related to the mNon-par brjod-pa’i rgyud bla-ma (Abhidhānottaratantra)327.

31') Manḍala of the five deities of Mahāmāyā according to the school of rNog, with Buddhaheruka and Buddhāḍākini at its centre, related to the same tantra as the previous manḍala.

41') Manḍala of Cittavajra-Hevajra (Thugs Kye’i-rdo-rje) with nine deities, related to the Hevajratantra. In the centre of this manḍala, Cittavajra-Hevajra, with three heads and six arms, is depicted clasping Vajraśrīṅkala (Lu-gu-rgyud-ma).

51') Manḍala of Nairatmyā (bDag-med-ma), with fifteen goddesses (lha-mo), according to the Hevajratantra.

61') A manḍala irreparably damaged and utterly indecipherable which, according to the Myaṅ-chuṅ, should be devoted to sGrol-ma-bla-ma (Anuttaratārā).

71') An almost completely defaced manḍala, which the Myaṅ-chuṅ attributes to the thirteen Ye-šes-mkha’-gro-ma (Jñāna-ḍākinis), as described in the Sampuṭatantra.

81') Again a manḍala which is indecipherable owing to its very bad state of preservation. The Myaṅ-chuṅ names it rDo-rje-sgrol-ma lha-gcig-ma’i dkyil-khor, i.e. manḍala of the Unique Deity Vajrāṭāra as explained in the Vajramālā328.

91') Like the other manḍalas on this portion of the southern wall, this manḍala was repainted at a later period. The inscription on the wall329 refers it to the sādhana of Ye-šes-mkha’-gro-ma with thirteen deities drawn from the rNal-b′yor-ma’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po dpal gDan-bzi-pa (Sricatuḥpiṭhamahāvogini tantrarāja)330. The structure of this manḍala confirms that attribution, in con-

327. Toh. 369.

328. The surviving traces of painting seem to reveal the original presence of the eight aspects of the goddess on lotus petals.

329. Toh. 369.

330. The surviving traces of painting seem to reveal the original presence of the eight aspects of the goddess on lotus petals.
trast with the indication provided by the Myan-chuñ, which places here the following mañḍala 10l'.

10l') According to the inscription painted on the wall331, this is the mañḍala of the Eleven Krodha-Hūmkāras (Hūm-mdzad Khro-bo bcu-gcig) drawn from the Abhidhānottaratantra332. The Myan-chuñ places here the mañḍala of Vajramahākāla (rDo-rje-nag-po-chen-po) as described in the rDo-rje-gur, namely the 'Phags-pa mkha'-gro-ma rDo-rje-gur Žes bya-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po-chen-po'i brtags-pa (Āryaḍākinīvajrapaṇjaramahātantrarāja-kalpa)333.

The uncertainties concerning the last series of mañḍalas are noticeable and there is disagreement with the Myan-chuñ, which up to that point reveals itself highly reliable.

Leaving aside the possibility of a limited number of mistakes in the Myan-chuñ (a not altogether unlikely possibility since the poor conditions of some of these mañḍalas probably go back to an early period), it might be suggested that, after the almost total disappearance of mañḍala 7l', devoted to Jñānadākinī, this was intentionally repainted in the place of 9l', shifting the mañḍala of the Eleven Krodha-Hūmkāras, which was previously placed there, to the place of the 10l', thus eliminating the last mañḍala, devoted to Mahākāla. On the other hand, it has been previously pointed out that mañḍala 7L, devoted to Vajrasattva-Śambhara, probably replaced a Vajradhātumanḍala originally painted on this same wall.

In all likelihood the disagreements occurring between the inscriptions painted on the southern wall and the indications found in the Myan-chuñ merely reflect the circumstance that the text, composed long before the wall was repainted, lists the mañḍalas as they were originally painted.

331. rGyud A-bhi-dha-nas bsad-pa'i Hūm-mdzad Khro-bo bcu-gcig gi dkhyil-'khor
332. Toh. 369.
333. Toh. 419.
LIST OF FIGURES AND PLATES

Fig. 1. Plan of the first floor of the sKu-'bum, p. 85
Fig. 2. Plan of the second floor of the sKu-'bum, p. 88
Fig. 3. Plan of the third floor of the sKu-'bum, p. 89
Fig. 4. Plan of the fourth floor of the sKu-'bum, p. 91
Fig. 5. Plan of the bum-pa, p. 93
Fig. 6. Plan of the first (a) and second floor of the harmikā, and of the topmost temple inside the spire (c), p. 94
Fig. 7. Vertical section of the sKu-'bum along the south-north axis, p. 95

Plate 1. Wooden pillar in the Jo-khaṅ. Lhasa, p. 13
Plate 2. Wooden pillars in the Jo-khaṅ. Lhasa, p. 14
Plate 3. Wooden lintel in the Jo-khaṅ. Lhasa, p. 15
Plate 4. Wooden lintel in the Jo-khaṅ. Lhasa, p. 16
Plate 5. One of the two stone elephants at the entrance of the monastery of bSam-yas, p. 19
Plate 6. Stone sculpture of Vaiśravaṇa. bSam-yas, p. 20
Plate 7. Wooden relief. bSam-yas, p. 22
Plate 8. Avalokiteśvara. gTsug-lag-khaṅ. Gyantse, p. 29
Plate 9. Vajrasattva. gTsug-lag-khaṅ. Gyantse, p. 30
Plate 10. Bodhisattvas of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in the gTsug-lag-khaṅ. Gyantse, p. 33
Plate 11. Detail of the preceding plate, p. 34
Plate 12. Bell at the entrance of the monastery of bSam-yas, p. 37
Plate 13. a) Stone element. bSam-yas. b) Stone tortoise at the foot of the pillar near the tomb of Khri-lde-sroṅ-brtsan. Yar-klun's Valley, p. 38
Plate 14. The castle of Gyantse, p. 63
Plate 15. The dPal-khor-chos-sde. Gyantse, p. 64
Plate 16. The sKu-'bum and the gTsug-lag-khaṅ. Gyantse, p. 81
Plate 17. The sKu-'bum. Gyantse, p. 82
Plate 18. The upper storeys of the sKu-'bum, p. 83
Plate 19. Details of mouldings in the sKu-'bum, p. 84
Plate 22. Avalokiteśvara. Southern temple of the *bum-pa*, p. 139
Plate 23. Śākyasimha. Western temple of the *bum-pa*, p. 140
Plate 24. Vajrasattva. Western temple of the *bum-pa*, p. 141
Plate 25. Maitreya (?). Western temple of the *bum-pa*, p. 142
Plate 26. Prajñapāramitā. Northern temple of the *bum-pa*, p. 147
Plate 27. Gilded copper statue of Vairocana. Eastern temple of the *bum-pa*, p. 148
Plate 28. Clay statue of Amitāyus. Southern temple of the third floor of the sKu-*bum*, p. 149
Plate 29. Vajradhāra. Southern temple of the third floor, p. 150
Plate 30. Vajrahētu. Southern temple of the third floor, p. 151
Plate 31. Ratnasambhava. Western temple of the third floor, p. 152
Plate 32. Akṣobhya. Eastern temple of the third floor, p. 153
Plate 33. Vajrasattva. Eastern temple of the third floor, p. 154
Plate 34. Vajrasadhu. Eastern temple of the third floor, p. 155
Plate 35. Amoghasiddhi flanked by Vajrakarma and Vajrasandhi. Northern temple of the third floor, p. 156
Plate 36. Vajrabhairava. Lower floor of the harmikā of the sKu-*bum*, p. 161
Plate 37. Raktayamari. Lower floor of the harmikā, p. 162
Plate 38. Vajradāka. Upper floor of the harmikā, p. 165
Plate 39. Buddhādāka. Upper floor of the harmikā, p. 166
Plate 40. Kālacakra. Upper floor of the harmikā, p. 167
Plate 41. Avalokitapadmajā. Upper floor of the harmikā, p. 168
Plate 42. mGon-po-stag-ion. Chapel 1/17, p. 176
Plate 43. Detail of the preceding plate, p. 177
Plate 44. mGon-po-beṅ-dka'-ma Chapel 1/13, p. 178
Plate 45. rNam-thos-sras. Chapel 1/17, p. 183
Plate 46. One of the rTa-bdag brgyad. Chapel 1/17 (eastern wall), p. 184
Plate 47. Detail of the paintings on the eastern wall in chapel 1/17, p. 185
Plate 48. A rTa-bdag. Chapel 1/17 (western wall), p. 186
Plate 49. rNam-thos-sras in the lCaṅ-lo-can palace. Chapel 1/17 (western wall), p. 187
Plate 50. Detail of the paintings on the western wall in chapel 1/17, p. 188
Plate 51. rNam-sras-drag-byed. Chapel 1/17 (southern projection of the western wall), p. 189
Plate 52. The king of the nāgas with his consort. Chapel 1/17 (western wall), p. 190
Plate 53. Virūdhaka and Virūpākṣa. Chapel 1/18 (western wall), p. 193
Plate 54. Niladanḍa. Chapel 1/18 (eastern wall), p. 194
Plate 55. Hayagrīva. Chapel 1/18 (southern wall), p. 195
Plate 56. Detail. Chapel 1/19 (northern wall), p. 199
Plate 57. Detail. Chapel 1/19 (northern wall), p. 200
Plate 58. Gur-mgon. Chapel 1/19, p. 201
Plate 59. 'Dod-khams-dba~i-phyug-ma. Chapel 1/19, p. 202
Plate 60. Akṣobhya with four bodhisattvas. Chapel 2/13 (eastern wall), p. 205
Plate 61. Akṣobhya. Chapel 2/13 (eastern wall), p. 206
Plate 62. Mi-bskyod-pa under the Tree of Enlightenment. Chapel 2/13 (western wall), p. 207
Plate 63. The Abhirati paradise. Chapel 2/13 (southern wall), p. 208
Plate 64. So-sor-bran-ma (Mahāpratisāra). Chapel 2/14 (northern wall), p. 213
Plate 65. rMa-bya-chen-mo (Mahāmāyūri). Chapel 2/14 (southern wall), p. 214
Plate 66. The Pañcaraksā. Chapel 2/14 (above the entrance door), p. 215
Plate 68. Mahāvairocana. Chapel 3/5 (eastern wall), p. 223
Plate 70. Mañjuśrīnānasattva flanked by Vajrasattva and Vajratejas. Chapel 3/7 (southern wall), p. 229
Plate 71. Two of the Jinas in the Vajradhatumāndala. Chapel 3/7 (eastern wall), p. 230
Plate 72. Amitābha. Chapel 3/7 (northern wall), p. 231
Plate 73. Ratnasambhava and Aksobhya. Chapel 3/7 (western wall, to the left of the entrance door), p. 232
Plate 74. Vajrocan. Chapel 3/7 (western wall, to the right of the entrance door), p. 235
Plate 75. Vajrasattva flanked by two Vajrabodhisattvas. Chapel 3/8 (southern wall), p. 239
Plate 76. Mahāvairocana displaying the bodhyagrimudrā. Chapel 3/8 (eastern wall), p. 240
Plate 77. Ratnasambhava. Chapel 3/8 (eastern wall), p. 241
Plate 80. The Vajrabodhisattvas rDo-rje-bsruṅ and rDo-rje-las. Chapel 3/8 (western wall), p. 244
Plate 81. The stūpas of the parinirvāṇa and of the Miracle of Śrāvasti. Chapel 3/18 (southern wall), p. 249
Plate 82. The stūpa of the Thirty-three Gods. Chapel 3/18 (eastern wall), p. 250
Plate 83. Vajrasattva. Chapel 3/20, p. 253
Plate 87. The Yellow Vairocana displaying the bodhyagrimudrā. Chapel 3/20 (eastern wall), p. 257
Plate 89. Bu-ston flanked by Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal-dpal-bzan-po (to his right) and by sKu-zaṅ-chos-rje (to his left). Chapel 4/1, p. 263
Plate 90. The mahāsiddha Virūpā flanked by Chos-rje Sa-chen Kun-dga’-sniṅ-po (to his right) and by rJe-bsun bSod-nams-rtses-mo (to his left). Chapel 4/2, p. 269
Plate 93. Thogs-med-bzan-po with Kun-spaṅ Sems-dpa’-chen-po (to his right) and Gans-can-ma-lus-dbaṅ-po Kun-dga’-dpal (to his
Plate 94. Dam-pa-saṅs-rgyas flanked by Phag-mo-gru-pa (to his right) and Ma-gcig Labs-sgron (to his left). Chapel 4/4, p. 281
Plate 95. The mahāsiddha Tilopa, flanked by Nāropa (to his right) and Mar-pa (to his left). Chapel 4/5, p. 290
Plate 97. Phag-mo-gru-pa. Chapel 4/5 (eastern section of the northern wall), p. 292
Plate 99. The siddha Maitripa. Chapel 4/5 (western section of the northern wall), p. 294
Plate 100. A dancing siddha. Chapel 4/5 (western section of the northern wall), p. 295
Plate 102. Dol-po-pa flanked by Bo-don Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (to his right) and Na-dbon Kun-dga-dpal (to his left). Chapel 4/6 (southern wall), p. 301
Plate 103. Chos-rje dPal-ldan-legs-pa, the donor of Chapel 4/6, p. 302
Plate 104. Sroṅ-brtsestan-sgam-po, at the centre, with Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsestan (to his right) and Ral-pa-can (to his left). At the ends, the Newar and the Chinese consorts of Sroṅ-brtsestan-sgam-po. Chapel 4/7, p. 309
Plate 105. rJe gNa-khris-khris-brtsestan-po. Chapel 4/7 (eastern wall), p. 310
Plate 106. Pho-bran zi-ba-od surrounded by the kings of Western Tibet. Chapel 4/7 (western wall), p. 319
Plate 107. mGar sToṅ-rtsestan and Thon-mi Sambhoṭa. Chapel 4/7 (northern wall), p. 320
Plate 108. Sāntarakṣita flanked by Padmasambhava (to his right) and Kamalaśila (to his left). Chapel 4/8, p. 327
Plate 111. Guru Rin-po-che flanked by Ye-ses-mkha-’gro-ma (to his right) and by Princess Maṇḍārava (to his left). Chapel 4/9, p. 335
Plate 113. Kha-che Pan-chen Śākyasrībhadra flanked by mKhan-chen Byaṅ-chub-dpal-bzaṅ-po (to his right) and by Jam-dbyaṅs Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan (to his left). Chapel 4/10, p. 340
Plate 114. Uṣṇiṣacakrin. Chapel 4/11 (eastern wall, to the left of the entrance door), p. 345
Plate 115. Yamāntaka. Chapel 4/11 (eastern section of the southern wall), p. 346
Plate 118. Atiśa with Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba (to his right) and Brom sTon-pa rGyals-pa'i-byuṅ-gnas (to his left). Chapel 4/12, p. 353
Plate 119. sPyan-sla-ba Tshul-khrims-'bar. Chapel 4/12 (eastern wall), p. 354
Plate 120. Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal. Chapel 4/12 (western wall), p. 355
Plate 121. The spire of the sKu-bum, p. 359
Plate 122. The statue of Vajradhara. Topmost temple of the sKu-bum, p. 360
Plate 123. Zla-sbyin and IHa'i-dbaṅ-phyug. Topmost temple (upper portion of the south-eastern wall), p. 363
Plate 124. bZaṅ-po, rNam-rgyal and bŚes-gñen-bzaṅ-po. Topmost temple (upper portion of the south-western wall), p. 364
Plate 125. rGya-mtsho-rnam-rgyal and rGyal-kha′-dus-pa (above) and sGro-ston-gNam-la-brtsegs (below). Topmost temple (northern section of the western wall), p. 365
Plate 126. Bo-don Rin-po-che rTse-mo and sTag-bde-ba Seṅ-ge-rgyal-mtshan. Topmost temple (lower portion of the south-eastern wall), p. 366
Plate 127. dPal′-dzin and 'Od-byed-lha. Topmost temple (lower portion of the south-western wall), p. 368
Plate 130. Vādīsīmha-njūg-hoša. gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (northern wall), p. 381
Plate 131. Śākyamuni with two bodhisattvas. gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (centre of the eastern wall), p. 382
Plate 132. Gopaka(?). gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (northern wall), p. 387
Plate 133. Panthaka(?). gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (northern wall), p. 388
Plate 134. Cūḍapanthaka. gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (eastern face of the indentation in the northern side of the temple), p. 389
Plate 135. Kālīka. gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (northern wall in the narrower section of the temple), p. 390
Plate 136. Vajrīputra. gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (north-eastern corner), p. 395
Plate 137. Vanavāsin. gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (eastern wall), p. 396
Plate 138. Anīgaja. gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (eastern wall), p. 397
Plate 139. Ajīta. gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (eastern wall), p. 398
Plate 140. Kanakavatsa. gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (eastern wall), p. 401
Plate 141. Bhaṭḍra(?). gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (south-eastern corner), p. 402
Plate 142. Kanakabharadvāja. gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (southern wall in the narrower section of the temple), p. 403
Plate 143. Pindolabharadvāja. gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (eastern face of the indentation in the southern side of the temple), p. 404
Plate 144. Nāgasena. gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (southern wall), p. 409
Plate 145. Dharmatāla. gNas-brtan-lha-khaň (southern wall), p. 410
Plate 146. Entrance door to the Lam′bras-lha-khaň, p. 415
Plate 147. Mahāsiddhas. Lam′bras-lha-khaň (southern wall), p. 416
Plate 149. Mahāsiddhas. Lam′bras-lha-khaň (western wall), p. 418
Plate 150. Mahāsiddhas. Lam′bras-lha-khaň (northern wall), p. 419
Plate 151. Saraha and Śāvari. Lam′bras-lha-khaň (western wall), p. 420
Plate 152. Līlāpa and Lūipa. Lam′bras-lha-khaň (western wall), p. 421
Plate 153. Tilopa and Ba-ta-pa. Lam′bras-lha-khaň (northern wall), p. 422
Plate 155. Sa-ra-na. Lam′bras-lha-khaň (eastern face of the indentation in the northern side of the temple), p. 424
Plate 156. Ka-gi-la. Lam′bras-lha-khaň (as in plate 155), p. 425
Plate 157. Ka-ta-ra. Lam′bras-lha-khaň (as in plate 155), p. 426
Plate 158. Dri-mun. Lam′bras-lha-khaň (as in plate 155), p. 427
Plate 159. Ma-ri-pa and Te-ru-sa. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (western wall), p. 428
Plate 160. Dril-bu-pa and So-dra-bo-dhi. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (southern wall), p. 429
Plate 161. Vajradhara flanked by Vajrasattva (to his right) and brDa-sña-ma (to his left). Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (centre of the western wall), p. 434
Plate 162. Vajranairatmya. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (western wall), p. 435
Plate 163. Virūpa. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (western wall), p. 436
Plate 164. Kṛṣṇacārya. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (western wall), p. 438
Plate 165. Damarūpa. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (western wall), p. 439
Plate 166. Avadhūtipa (Maitripa). Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (southern wall in the narrower section of the temple), p. 440
Plate 167. Gayadhara. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (as in plate 166), p. 441
Plate 168. 'Brog-mi Šākya-ye-ses. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (as in plate 166), p. 445
Plate 169. Se-ston Kun-rig. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (western face of the indentation in the southern side of the temple), p. 446
Plate 170. Žaṅ-ston mDa'-šnos-chos-bar. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (southern wall), p. 447
Plate 171. Sa-chen Kun-dga'-sniñ-po, 3rd abbot of Sa-skya. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (western wall), p. 448
Plate 172. bSod-nams-rtses-mo, 4th abbot of Sa-skya. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (western wall), p. 449
Plate 173. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, 5th abbot of Sa-skya. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (northern wall in the narrower section of the temple), p. 450
Plate 175. 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, 7th abbot of Sa-skya. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (as in plate 173), p. 452
Plate 176. Žaṅ dKon-mchog-pa. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (western face of the indentation in the northern side of the temple), p. 453
Plate 178. Chos-rje bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, 14th abbot of Sa-skya. Lam-'bras-lha-khañ (southern wall), p. 455
Plate 180. a) The front of the gZal-yas-khañ. b) Plan of the temple with the positions of the different mandalas, p. 461
Plate 181. The centre of the Guhyasamāja-Mañjuvajra mandala (3R), p. 470
Plate 182. The centre of the Rwa-lugs Vajrabhairava mandala (4R), p. 471
Plate 183. The centre of the Raktyamāri mandala (5R), p. 474
Plate 184. The centre of the Krodha-Yamāntaka-Mañjuśri mandala (6R), p. 475
Plate 185. The centre of the Śrīvajrakumāra (Vajrakila) mandala (7R), p. 480
Plate 186. The centre of the Dākarnava mandala (1L), p. 481
Plate 187. The Pañcādākakula mahāmanḍala (3L), p. 486
Plate 188. The centre of the fundamental Hevajra mandala (4L), p. 487
Plate 189. The centre of the Vajrasattva mandala (7L), p. 488
Plate 190. The Vajrapāṇi-Mahācakra mandala (5r), p. 495
Plate 191. The Guhyasamāja mandala (6r), p. 496
Plate 192. The Mavajāla mandala (7r), p. 497
Plate 193. The *Amṛta-Heruka maṇḍala* (8r), p. 498
Plate 194. The *Vāgdevajra-Hevajra maṇḍala* (41), p. 499
Plate 195. The *Hevajraśastra maṇḍala* (51), p. 500
Plate 196. The *Buddhakapāla maṇḍala* (71), p. 501
BIBLIOGRAPHY

TIBETAN SOURCES


dPA'-bo GTSEG-LAG-'PHREN-BA, 1962, Chandra, Lokesh, ed., Chos-'byin mkhas-pa’i dga’ston. Part Four (ja), New Delhi.

sBA gSAL-SNAñ, 1961, Stein, Rolf, ed. Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas: sBa-bzêd, Paris.

—, 1982, sBa-bzêd, Beijing.


Mañi bka’-bum, 1984, (Grub-thob-dnos-grup, Nañ-ral Ni-ma’od-zer and Säkyabzañ-po, eds.). Mañi bka’-bum, Dharamsala.


_E. Lo Bue - F. Ricca_

—, 1982, _rgyal-rabs-gsal-ba'i me-loṅ_, Beijing.

WORKS BY MODERN AUTHORS


AMIPA, SHERAB GYALTSEN, 1976, _A Waterdrop from the Glorious Sea_, Rikon.


AZIZ, BARBARA NIMRI, 1980, “The work of Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas as revealed in Ding-ri folklore”, in Aris, Michael and Aung San Suu Kyi, eds., q.V.

AZIZ, BARBARA NIMRI and KAPSTEIN, MATTHEW, eds., 1985, _Soundings in Tibetan Civilization_, New Delhi.


—, 1986 repr. _The Life of Hiuen-tsiang by Shaman Huwi Li_, Delhi.


BUSSAGLI, MARIO, 1963, _La peinture de l'Asie Centrale_, Genève.


Bibliography


GYATSO, JANET, 1985, “The Development of the gcod Tradition”, in Aziz, Barbara Nimri and Kapstein, Matthew, eds, q.V.


IRWIN, JOHN, 1979, “The Stûpa and the Cosmic Axis: The Archaeological Evidence”, in Taddel, Maurizio, ed, q.V.

JACKSON, DAVID, 1983 ed., *Notes on Two Early Printed Editions of Sa-skya-pa
KARMAY, SAMTEN, 1980 (a), “The Ordinance of lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes’od”, in Aris, Michael and Aung San Suu Kyi, eds., q.V.
KIRKPATRICK, WILLIAM, 1975 repr., *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, Being the Substance of Observations Made during a Mission to That Country, in the Year 1793, Delhi.
—, 1987, “The Dharmamandala-sūtra by Buddhaguhya”, in Gnoli, Gherardo and Lanciotti, Lionello, eds., q.V.
—, 1977, “A Fifteenth Century Sketchbook (Preliminary Study)”, in Macdonald, Ariane and Imaeda, Yoshiro, eds., q.V.
MACDONALD, ALEXANDER and VERGATI STAHL, ANNE, 1979, Newar Art. Nepalese Art during the Malla Period, Warminster.
MORTARI-VERGARA, PAOLA, 1982, Architettura in "stile tibetano" dei Ch'ing, Roma.
NAUDOU, JEAN, 1980, Buddhists of Kaśmir, Delhi.
DE NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ, RENÉ, 1975 repr., Oracles Demons of Tibet. The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities, Graz.
NORBU. THUBTEN and TURNBULL, COLIN, 1972, Tibet, Its History, Religion and People, Harmondsworth.
OBERMILLER, E., ed. 1986, The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet by Bu-ston, Delhi.
OLSCHAK, BLANCHE CHRISTINE and THUPTEN WANGYAL, 1973, Mystic Art of Ancient Tibet, London.
—, 1983, Art of Tibet (catalogue), Los Angeles.
—, 1984, Medieval History of Nepal (c. 750-1482), Roma.
PETTESEN, KATHLEEN, 1986, "Sources of Variation in Tibetan Canons of Iconography", in ARTS, Michael and AUNG SAN SUU KYI, eds., q.V.
PETTERSON, JACOB, 1939, Il libro di Marco Polo detto Milione. Nella versione...
PRANAVANANDA, SWAMI, 1939, Exploration in Tibet, Calcutta.
PRATS, RAMON, 1982, Contributo allo studio biografico dei primi gter-ston, Napoli.
RHEE, MARYLIN MARTIN, 1988, “The Statue of Songzen Gampo in the Potala, Lhasa”, in Gnoli, Gherardo and Lanciotti, Lionello, eds., q.V.
—, 1977, “The Jo-khang ‘Cathedral’ of Lhasa”, in Macdonald, Ariane and Imaeda, Yoshio, eds., q.V.
—, 1988, “The Succession to Glang Darma”, in Gnoli, Gherardo and Lanciotti, Lionello, eds., q.V.
RUEGG, See Seyfort Ruegg.
SAKAKI, ed., 1916, Mahāvyutpatti, Kyoto.
SCHMID, TONI, The Eighty-Five Siddhas, Stockholm.
VON SCHROEDER, ULRICH, 1981, Indo-Tibetan Bronzes, Hong-Kong.
SIS, VLADIMÍR and VANIŠ, JOSEF, n.d. On the Road through Tibet, London.
SNELLGROVE, DAVID and RICHARDSON, Hugh, 1980, A cultural History of Tibet, Boulder.
SNELLGROVE, DAVID and SKORUPSKI, TADEUSZ, 1977, The Cultural Heritage of La-
SØRENSEN, PER K., 1986, A Fourteenth Century Tibetan Historical Work: rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-lo'n, København.
—, 1977, “La gueule du makara: un trait inexpliqué de certains objets rituels”, in Macdonald, Ariane and Imaeda, Yoshiro, eds., q.V.
—, 1983, Tāranātha’s bKa’babs.bdzun.ldan. The Seven Instruction Lineages by Jo-nang. Tāranātha, Dharamsala.
TENZIN GYATSO (XIV Dalai Lama), 1982, Four Essential Buddhist Commentaries, Dharamsala.
THONDUP TULKU, 1984, The Tantric Tradition of the Nyingmapa, Marion.
TREICHEN, CHHOJAN, 1983. The History of the Sakya Tradition, Bristol.
TRENDEL, CATHARINE, 1973, Visual Dharma. The Buddhist Art of Tibet (catalogue),


Wang, Yi, 1960, "Xizang wenwu jianwen ji". Wenwu, 6 and 8-9 (1960).


INDEXES
PERSONAL NAMES

Aṃśuvarman: 11.
Aṅgaja: 357; 393, 394, 397*.  
Ajita: 394, 398.
Atiśa: 3, 5, 6, 43, 69, 107, 118, 124,  
 125, 126, 134, 160, 164, 204,  
 288, 304, 315n, 317, 318, 325,  
 351, 353, 356, 357, 357n, 378.
Advayagupta: 123, 133.
Advayavajra: 133, 227n.
Anupamarakṣita: 367, 370, 472.
Abhayadatta: 414, 431n.
Abhayadattaśri: 414.
Abheda: 405, 406.
Amoghapāda: 160.
Amoghavajra: 104, 114, 119.
Avadhūtipa: 123, 133, 217n, 227,  
 227n, 228, 267, 440, 442.
Aśvaghoṣa: 458.
Aśvadharma: 23.
Aṣaṅga: 275, 276, 278.
Aṣaṅgabhadrasṛi: 278.
Ānandagarbha: 130, 217n.
Ānandagarbhapāda: 485.
Āryaprajñā: 115.
Indrabhūti: 121, 331, 485, 489, 492.
Udāvana: 312.
Uṣmarakṣita: 112.
Kakipa: 431.
Kanakabharadvāja: 399, 403.
Kanakavatsa: 394, 401.
Kapila: 331.
Kamalagupta: 132, 216, 469.
Kamalāśila: 69, 324, 325, 325n,  
 327.
Kambalāmbara: 163.
Karnaśri: 160.
Kānḥapa: 437, 442.
Kālacakrapāda: 374.
Kālacakrapāda (the Elder): 298n,  
 305, 306.
Kālacakrapāda (the Younger):  
 298n, 305, 306.
Kālika: 390, 391, 392.
Kālidāsa: 458.
Kumārakalasa: 110, 312n.
Kulika: 298, 305.
Kulika Maṇjuśrīkirti: 298n.
Kulika Puṇḍarika: 298n, 361, 361n,  
 464.
Kṛṣṇapāda: 437.
Kṛṣṇavararuci: 112.
Kṛṣṇācārya: 163, 267, 437, 438,  
 503.
Kṛṣṇācārya (the Elder): 437.
Kṛṣṇācārya (the Younger): 437.
Kṣemendra: 458.
Gayadhara: 3, 4, 163, 164, 267, 441,
526  E. Lo Bue - F. Ricca

442, 443, 484, 489, 491, 492.
Guhyadevacandra: 334n.
Gopaka: 385, 386, 387.
Gorkha: 306n.
Ghañtapāda: 505.
Candrakīrti: 369,.
Candragomin: 107, 119, 125, 370.
Candrābhadrā: 117.
Candrābhadrakīrti: 217, 227.
Cullapankha: 386.
Cūḍapankha: 386, 389, 391.
Celuka: 298n, 306.
Caurāngī: 431n.
Jayayakṣa Malla: 32.
Jayasrījnāna: 170.
Jayasena: 478.
Jābāri: 160.
Jinapara: 164.
Jinaputra Āsanigbhadrāśrī: 278.
Jinanmitra: 105, 109, 114, 123, 124, 211, 314.
Jeta: 248.
Jetāri: 117.
Jñānadākinī Siddharājī: 117.
Jñānapāda: 331, 468.
Jñanamitra: 342.
Jñānasiddhi: 109, 110, 115, 123, 211.
Jñānendra: 17.
Tāranātha: 10, 26, 74, 77, 414, 433n, 437, 504n, 505n.
Tilopa: 279, 290, 288, 413, 422, 437n, 442.
Tejadeva: 115.
Dāndin: 458.
Damarūpa: 267, 437, 439.
Darmesvara: 305.
Dānasīla: 109, 114, 123, 163, 211, 314.
Dānasīri: 125.
Durjayacandra: 483.
Devapunyamati: 124, 159.
Devapūrṇamati: 159.

Devarāja: 317.
Devavidyasimha: 324.
Devavrata: 483.
Devākacandra: 473.
Devendradeva: 134.
Dombiheruka: 484.
Dhanasamskrta: 334n.
Dharmakīrti: 321.
Dharmadharma: 465.

Dharmatrāta: 406.
Dharmapāla: 413n, 433.
Dharmabhadrā: 159.
Dharmasrībhadrā: 163.
Dharmasrimitra: 111, 119, 123, 133.

Dharmasvāmiśri: 134.
Dharmākaraśānti: 367.
Narendrakīrti: 217, 217n.
Narendradeva: 11.
Narendrabodhi: 367.
Nāgabodhi: 112.
Nāgarāja: 317.
Nāgārjuna: 118, 126, 267, 334n, 352, 373, 466.
Nāgasena: 405, 409.
Nāropa: 286, 288, 290, 298n, 413, 437, 442, 482.
Padmavajra: 170, 484n.

Padmākara: 479.
Panthaka: 385, 386, 388.
Paramapitr: 116.
Paramabuddha: 116.
Parahitabhadra: 107.
Pindopā: 306.
Pindolabharadvāja: 400, 404, 405.
Pitopa: 357, 357n.
Pundarika Jñānavajra: 217.
Puṇyasambhava: 117.
Puṣyamitra: 101.
Prajñā-Indraruci: 267.
Prajñākara: 119.
Indexes

Prajñākaragupta: 321.
Prajñākīrti: 482.
Prajñākūta: 132.
Prajñāvarman: 113.
Prajñāśrīrijñānakīrti: 164.
Prabhahasti: 334n.
Prabhākara: 125.
Prasāntamitra: 485.
Bakula: 391.
Balinācārya: 437, 437n.
Bimbisāra: 248, 312.
Buddhakīrti: 47.
Buddhadhāyya: 328, 330, 331, 331n, 332, 333.
Buddhadhagoṣa: 367.
Buddhakaravarman: 105.
Buddharaśika: 314n.
Buddhaśri: 341n.
Buddhaśrīśānti: 163.
Brahmadatta: 75, 312.
Bhadra: 399, 402.
Bhadracandra: 502.
Badhanta: 413.
Bhavabhadra: 491.
Bhaskaradeva: 367.
Bhāvakandha: 379.
Bhrukūṭi: 11, 12.
Maṇjuśrīkīrti: 374.
Maṇḍujī: (the Second): 370.
Maṇḍuśrī (the New): 370.
Maṇḍuśrīmitra: 132, 217, 218, 225n, 334n.
Maṇḍuśvarman: 118.
Maṇḍāravā: 334, 335.
Mati: 3.
Manu: 3.
Mantrakalāśa: 130.
Malla: 11, 32, 248.
Mahākāvana: 307.
Mahānāma: 107.
Mahānāma: 107.
Mānasa: 324.
Mānakaśřīrijñāna: 134.
Mānadeva: 313n.
Mānavendra: 313n.
Mitra: 123.
Muktipakṣa: 367.
Maitrīnātha: 267.
Maitripa: 279, 294, 437, 440, 442, 503.
Maudgalāyana: 17, 100, 337, 394.
Yaśodharā: 400.
Ratnakīrti: 124.
Ratnaparamāśūmī: 116.
Ratnaraksita: 367, 369, 466.
Ratnākara: 119.
Ratnāgara: 369.
Ratnottara: 369.
Raviprabha: 163.
Ravīndra: 466.
Ravīndraprabha: 163.
Rāmapāla: 266.
Rāhula: 399, 400.
Rāhulabhādra: 399.
Rāhulaśrībhādra: 160, 472.
Rūpyakālaśa: 164.
Licchavi: 10, 248, 312.
Lipi Kara: 324.
Lilapa: 421.
Lūipa: 163, 275, 375, 413, 413n, 421, 430, 437n, 442, 479, 482.
Vajrakīrti: 160.
Vajrapāṇi: 288, 356, 442n.
Vajrīputra: 392, 395.
Vanaratna: 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 54, 72, 163, 367.
Vanavāsin: 392, 393, 396.
Varabodhi: 132.
Vasudhara: 21.
Vasubandhu: 5.
Vijayadeva: 433.
Vidyākaraśimha: 489.
Vimalamitra: 330, 331, 333, 334n, 433n.
Virūpa (the Elder): 433.
Virūpa (the Younger): 433, 437, 442.
Vilāsavajra: 132.
Viśvarūpa: 132.
Vairocana: 18, 331, 332, 333.
Śavari: 124, 413, 420.
Śākyadevi: 21.
Śākyaprabha: 110, 115, 211.
Śākyabuddhi: 321.
Śākyarakṣita: 367.
Śākyasribhadra: 59, 77, 227, 340, 341, 373.
Śākyasri Śāriputra (Mahāsvāmin): 6, 303.
Śāntarakṣita: 17, 69, 321, 324, 325, 327.
Śāntigarbha: 134, 326, 330, 334.
Śāntipa: 267.
Śāntibhadra: 267, 352, 437, 437n.
Śāriputra: 17, 68, 72, 100, 337, 394.
Śilāmaṇju: 21.
Śilasāgara: 7.
Śilendrabodhi: 109, 110, 115, 123, 124, 211, 311, 331n.
Śuddhodana: 248.
Śuramgavarman: 115.
Śraddhākaravarman: 123, 130, 132, 133, 159, 466, 489.
Śrīdipamkarajñāna: 107.
Śrīdhara: 472.
Śrīdharanandana: 367.
Śrīmaṇju: 117.
Śrīmad Ājapālipāda: 160.
Śrī-Śārabodhi: 492.
Śrī-Śāriputra: 412.
Śrīsamanantabhadrapāda: 159.
Śrīśena: 414.
Śāṅgasri: 24.
Samadra Gupta: 11.
Samantaśri: 306, 374.
Saraha: 164, 279, 288, 413, 413n, 420, 442.
Saroruha: 484, 484n.
Sarvajñānaśāribhadra: 466.
Sugatakirti: 159.
Sugataśri: 106.
Sugatigarbha: 126.
Suchandra: 361.
Sujata: 367.
Sumanasri: 504.
Sumanahśāribhadra: 107, 170.
Surendrabodhi: 105.
Śūryaśrijñāna: 367.
Somaśrībhadra: 169.
Somaśāribhava: 117.
Smṛti: 3, 278, 286, 485, 490, 491.
Smṛtiṇāna: 217.
Smṛtijñānakirti: 132, 485.
Haribhadra: 275, 276.
Hūṃkāra: 334n.
Hūṃkāravajra: 489.

NAMES OF DEITIES

Aksobhyavajra: 12, 36.
Anuttaratāra: 505.

Anuttaramahākāruṇikapadmajāla: 504.
Aparājitā Uṣṇisasitātapatrā: 106, 261.
Amitābha: 54, 101, 104, 121, 122, 144, 222, 226, 231, 251, 252,
Indexes

256, 407, 408, 411, 463, 483.
Amitāyus: 10, 43, 44, 56, 89, 91, 116, 149, 261, 334.
Amṛta: 494, 503.
Amṛtahūṃkāra: 503.
Amṛta Heruka: 494.
Amoghapāsa: 120.
Amoghasiddhi: 104, 146, 156, 222, 225, 234, 251, 256, 476, 483.
Arapacana: 222, 225n.
Avalokita: 117, 271.
Avalokitapadmajāla: 168, 169.
Avalokiteśvara: 12, 17, 18, 29, 55, 67, 68, 69, 119, 122, 125, 139, 334, 337, 338, 361n, 367, 406, 464 (See also Lokeśvara, Lokeśvara Śādaksari, Lokesvara Simhananda, Śaḍaksari).
Aśvahevajra: 483.
Ādibuddha: 171, 220, 221, 222, 225, 226, 228, 233, 234, 358, 361.
Ādibuddha Maṇjuśrī: 221, 222, 225, 225n, 226, 233, 236, 238.
Ādibuddha Vajradhara: 158.
Āryāpalo Khasarpana: 18.
Āryamaṇjuśrī: 102.
Īsvari: 485.
Ucchusma: 108.
Umā: 252.
Umā Ekajatā: 203.
Uṣṇīṣa: 238, 243, 245.
Uṣṇīṣacakra: 345, 349.
Uṣṇīṣavijaya: 104, 105, 106.
Ekajatā: 115.
Kāvavajra Hevajra: 503.
Kubera: 180.
Kurukullā: 121, 122, 127, 504 (See also Māvajālakurukullā).
Kṛṣṇavāmanā: 160, 467, 502.
Krodha Yamantaka Maṇjuśrī: 473.
Krodha Hūṃkāra: 506.
Khāditrāvana: 118.
Guhyasamaja Aksobhya: 159.
Guhyasamaja Aksobhyavajra: 463, 468.
Guhyasamaja Avalokiteśvara: 493.
Guhyasamaja Maṇjuvajra: 159.
Guhyasamaja Maṇjuśrivajra: 468.
Ghoradākini: 490.
Cakrasamvara: 433, 482.
Caṇḍāladākini: 490.
Caturmahārāja: 180.
Citipāti: 197.
Cittādaśakahevajra: 482.
Cittavajra Hevajra: 505.
Jñānakāya: 222, 225n.
Jñānadākini: 490, 505, 506.
Dākārnava: 478.
Tārā: 10, 118, 122, 124, 373, 411, 485 (See also Anuttaratañāṇa, Ratnatañāṇa, Vajratarāṇī, Śyāmatārāṇī, Samayatārāṇī, Sitatārāṇī).
Tārā Khadiravanī: 261 (See also Khadiravanī).
Daśakrodha: 157, 196, 252, 349, 351, 478.
Dipamkara: 67, 100, 102, 110.
Duḥkhacceda: 225n.
Dharmadhatuvāgīśvaramaṇjuśrī: 157, 349.
Dhūmavarṇakrodhabhurkūṃkūta: 108.
Dhṛtarāṣṭra: 192.
Dhvajāgrā: 114.
Nityahevajra: 483.
Niladanā: 192, 194, 196.
Nairātmā: 267, 459, 484, 505 (See also Vajranairātmyā).
Pañcadākā: 482.
Pañcaraksā: 157, 210, 211, 212, 215, 216.
Pañjara Mahākāla: 105.
Padmanaratesvara: 104, 483, 485.
Padmāntaka: 192, 350.
Parṇaśabari: 106.
Pāṇḍarā: 483, 485.
Prajñāpāramitā: 225n.
Prajñāntaka: 347, 349, 350.
Prajñāpāramitā: 25, 51, 133, 135, 144, 147, 221, 222, 245.
Buddhakapāla: 164, 502, 504.
Buddhaḥādāka: 164n, 166.
Buddhaḥādākinī: 505.
Buddhalocana: 483.
Buddhaheruka: 164, 505.
Brahma: 350.
Bhagavadvajraḥāda: 479.
Bhūtaḍāmara: 105, 106, 197.
Bhaisajyaguru Vaidūryaprabhārāja: 100.
Maṇjuvajra: 468.
(See also Āryamaṇjuśrī, Vādi-
simhamāṇjuḥghoṣa).
Maṇjuśrīkumārabhūta: 125.
Maṇjuśrīkāṇāśattva: 222, 226, 229.
Maṇjuśrī Māyājāla: 502.
Maṇjuśrī Yangāntaka: 159.
Mahākārūṇika: 117, 278 (See also Anuttaramahākārūṇikapada-
jāla).
Mahākāla: 106, 112, 174, 175, 179, 203, 271, 506 (See also Paṇija-
ra Mahākāla, Vajramahākāla).
Mahācakravajrapāṇi: 159, 494.
Mahāgrahāmārākā: 110.
Mahāpratisarā: 211, 213, 216.
Mahābala: 116.
Mahābodhi: 143.
Mahābodhisattva: 67, 73.
Mahāmanḍrānusārinti: 157, 212.
Mahāmāya: 326, 505.
Mahāmāyūri: 212, 214.
Mahāmuni: 124, 137, 143.
Mahāvajrabhairava: 467, 494.
Mahāvīdhya: 110.
Mahāvairocanā Samantamukha: 225n.
Mahāsahasrapramardanā: 212.
Mahāsitavati: 212.
Mahēśvara: 252.
Māmāki: 482, 485.
Māyājāla: 494.
Māyājalakurukullā: 121, 122.
Mārici: 104, 106.
Yakṣa: 111.
Yamāntaka: 280, 346, 349, 467 (See also Krodha Yamāntaka Maṇjuśrī).
Yamāntaka Maṇjuvajra: 203.
Yamāri: 160, 467, 469, 472, 476
(See also Kṛṣṇayamāri, Rakta-
yamāri).
Yamāri Maṇjuvajra: 160.
Yogāmbra: 490.
Ratnatārā: 483.
Ratnarājahevajra: 483.
Rudra: 198.
Lakṣmi: 350.
Lokesvara: 159.
Lokesvara Śadākṣarī: 334, 336.
Lokesvara Śimhanāda: 261.
Locanā: 485.
Vajrakarma: 156.
Vajrakila: 476, 477.
Vajrakumāra: 478.
Vajracatuhpītha: 490.
Vajrājvalanalārka: 349, 350.
Vajradāka: 164, 165 (See also Bhagavadvajradāka).
Vajradākinī: 490.
Vajratārā: 505.
Vajratikṣṇa: 222, 225n.
Vajratejas: 22b, 221.
Indexes

360, 369, 433, 434, 485.
Vajradharma: 150, 237, 238.
Vajranairātmyā: 433, 435, 437, 484.
Vajrapāṇi: 23, 69, 105, 125, 126, 159, 179, 181, 197, 198, 217n, 338, 464 (See also Mahācakra-vajrapāṇi).
Vajraprabhā: 104.
Vajrabodhisattva: 220, 225, 228, 237, 238, 239, 244.
Vajrafourai: 160, 161, 467, 468, 469 (See also Mahācakrabhairava).
Vajraprabha: 104.
Vajrabodhisattva: 220, 225, 228, 237, 238, 239, 244.
Vajrabhairava: 160, 161, 467, 468, 469 (See also Mahāvajrabhairava).
Vajramahākāla: 506.
Vajrayogini: 482.
Vajrarāja: 218.
Vajravārāhi: 282, 287, 339, 344, 442, 479 (See also Vārāhi).
Vajravidarana: 109, 123.
Vajraśriikala: 505.
Vajrasattva: 30, 68, 141, 154, 218, 222, 224, 226, 229, 237, 238, 239, 248, 251, 252, 253, 254, 261, 433, 434, 482, 493.
Vajrasattva Śambara: 491, 492, 506.
Vajrasadhu: 155.
Vairasandhi: 156.
Vajrasūrya: 483, 485.
Vajraśīlimha: 140, 143.
Vajrasākāra: 485.
Vajrakumāra: 23, 69, 105, 125, 126, 159, 179, 181, 182, 192, 432.
Śākyasimha: 140, 143.
Śāmbara: 413, 479, 482, 502, 503, 505 (See also Śamvarā).
Śambara Vajradāka: 504.
Śambara: 485.
Śyāmakrodhabhurkumkūta: 108.
Śyāmatāra: 124, 125, 408, 411.
Śrīcakrasaṃvara: 163.
Śrīvajrakumāra: 476.
Śadakṣarī: 23.
Śaṃvara: 271, 275, 437, 437n, 442, 458, 463, 464, 478, 502 (See also Śaṃbara, Caṇḍaśaṃvara, Śrīcakrasaṃvara).
Śaṃvatāra: 483, 484.
Śaraśīträ: 350.
Śaṃvarā: 236.
Sitaśātra: 124, 408.
Sūparikirti Nāmaśri: 100.
Hayagrīva: 107, 120, 121, 122, 192, 195, 196n, 338.
Hayagrīvahevaṭjra: 483.
Hṛdaya Ṣaṃvara: 504.
Heruka: 104, 485, 491.
Heruka Akṣobhya: 169, 492, 493.
Herukavajra: 349, 350.
Hevaṭjra: 163, 164, 275, 286, 458, 482, 483 (See also Aśvahevaṭjra, Kāvaṭjra Ṣaṃvara, Cittaṛa Ṣaṃvara, Cittavajra Ṣaṃvara, Rathaevaṭjra, Vagiṇaṭjra Ṣaṃvara, Hayagrīvahevaṭjra, Hṛdaya Ṣaṃvara).
Hevrajāstra: 504.
GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES (REAL AND MYTHICAL)

Abhirati: 126, 208, 209.
Amaravati: 361.
Alakavati: 181.
Uddiyāna: 339.
Odantapuri: 325, 351.
Kapila: 331.
Kapilavastu: 248.
Kāśa: 248.
Kuśinagara: 248.
Kailāsa: 331.
Kosala: 312.
Kauśāmbi: 312.
Gopicandra: 9.
Campara: 414.
Jambudvīpa: 180.
Tusita: 101, 113, 248.
Dhānyakataka: 6, 361.
Nālandā: 433.
Pancora: 3.
Potala (Mount): 322n.
Bodhgaya: 9, 67, 68, 143, 266, 303,
351.
Brahmaputra: 357n.
Magadha: 312, 414.
Madhyadeśa: 298.
Rājaśgra: 248.
Ramadoli: 9.
Vatsa: 312.
Vikramaśīla: 5, 341, 351, 352.
Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra (Kathmandu): 6.
Vaiśāli: 248.
Śambhala: 298, 358, 359.
Śāntapuri Vihāra (Svayambhū): 7, 9.
Śītavana: 333, 334n.
Śrāvasti: 248, 249.
Śaṅkaśva: 248.
Śvayambhū: 5, 9, 80, 280, 351.
Himādri: 313n.

TITLES OF TEXTS

Aksobhyaśādhana: 126, 204.
Acalasādhana: 111.
Adhiśṭhānamahākālalaguhyasādhana: 112.
Aparimitayurjñānanāmasādhana: 117.
Aparimitayurjñānavidhi: 117.
Aparimitayurjñānasādhana: 117.
Aparimitayuḥstotra: 117.
Abhidharmasamuccaya: 276, 278, 342.
Abhidhānottaratantra: 503, 505, 506.
Abhisamayālāmkiṣṭa: 276.
Aṣṭabhujaśīrṣavācumāraśādhana: 121.
Aṣṭasāhasrika: 385, 386, 391, 392, 393, 399, 400, 406, 407, 408.
Aṣṭasāhasrikaprajñāpāramitā: 222n, 385.
Āryakarandavyūhanāmamahāyānasūtra: 314n.
Āryakhadivaranītārasādhana: 118.
Āryakhasarpasādhana: 118.
Āryaganapatihrdaya: 111.
Āryacatuḥpithatikā: 491.
Aryajambhalajalendrayathālabdhakalpa: 111n.
Aryajñānasattvamaṇjuśrītattvanāmasādhanā: 123.
Aryadākinivajrapāṇijaramahātāntarājaka kalpa (see also Ṣaḍākīrṇaṇa): 483, 506.
Aryatatāṅgajosoṣṭisātapatrānāmāparājitadhāraṇī: 107.
Aryatārākurukkullākalpa: 122.
Aryatārābhadranāmaśaśataka: 125.
Aryadhāvajgrakeyūrānāmadhāraṇī: 114.
Aryanāmasaṃgitiṭikānāmamamāntrārthāvalokini: 132.
Aryanilāmbaradharavajrapāṇijirudratrückinayatana: 159, 494.
Aryaparṇasavariṇāmadhāraṇī: 106.
Aryamaṇjuśrīnāmasaṃgitiṭikā: 132, 217.
Aryamaṇjuśrīnāmasaṃgitiṭikāvimalaprabhā: 217.
Aryamaṇjuśrīnāmasaṃgitiṭiṇānāvṛtti: 217.
Aryamaṇjuśrīnāmasaṃgitiṭivṛtti: 133.
Aryamaṇjuśrīnāmasaṃgitiṭivyākyanam: 217.
Aryamaṇjuśrīriṃulatantra (see also Maṇjuśrīriṃulatantra and Maṇjuśrīriṃulakalpa): 110, 116, 312n.
Aryamahābalanāmaṃmahāyānasūtra: 114.
Aryamahāvajrāmeruṣikharakūṭagārādhāraṇī: 109, 123.
Aryamāricināmadhāraṇī: 104.
Aryamaitreyaṃmāṣṭottarāṣatakadhāraṇīmantrasahita: 113.
Aryamaitreyaparipṛcchānāmamahāyānasūtra: 113.
Aryamaitreyapratijñānānāmadhāraṇī: 113.
Aryavajrapāṭalānanāmatantrāja: 106, 126.
Aryavajrabhairavadhāraṇī: 468.
Aryavasudhānāmadhāraṇī: 110.
Aryavimalakirtinirdesānāmamahāyānasūtra (see also Vimalakirtinirdeśa): 209.
Aryavācāraṃmahākālanāmadhāraṇī: 105, 113.
Aryavasamantabhadrasaṭottarāṣatakanāmadhāraṇīmantrasahita: 125.
Aryavasavakarmāvaranāvisodhanānāmadhāraṇī: 126, 204.
Aryavasavāgatipariśodhanānusṣāvajyānāmadhāraṇī: 105.
Aryvasahastrabhujāvalokitesvarasādhana: 118.
Aryavācāraṃmahāyānasūtra (see also Sukhāvatīvyūha): 209n.
Aryavasahastrabhujāvalokitesvarasādhana: 118.
Āryāmoghapāśakalparāja: 115, 118, 119.
Āryāmoghapāśakalparājavidhi: 118.
Āryāmoghapāśahrdayanāmadhāraṇī: 120.
Āryāmoghapāśahrdayanāmamahāyānasūtra: 119.
Āryāvalokiteśvarapadmaśīlamūlaśīlantarāja: 117, 169.
Āryāvalokiteśvarasimhanādanāmadhāraṇī: 119.
Āryāvalokiteśvarahayaṁgrīvadhāraṇī: 107, 121.
Āryaikajātāsādhanā: 115.
Uṣṇiṣavijayanāmadhāraṇīkalpa: 105.
Ekajātāsādhanā: 115.
Karaṇdvvyūhasūtra: 314.
Kalāpa: 370.
Kalpoktatārodhavakurukullāsādhanā: 121.
Kāvyādarsa: 458.
Kālacakratantratrottara: 464.
Kurukullāsādhanā: 122.
Kriyasamgraha: 79.
Krodhabhurkumkūṭarājastotramantra: 108.
Gandhavyūha: 322n.
Guhyagarbha tantra: 317n.
Guhyasamājatantra: 274, 297, 369, 466, 494.
Guhyālambkāravyūha: 133, 135, 143, 144.
Grahamātrkānāmadhāraṇī: 110.
Cakrasamvaratantra: 297.
Caturśūtisiddhanāpathyagrahaṇaśīla: 414.
Catuprathavikyāta: 490.
Catuhprāhatantra: 297.
Cintāmanidhāraṇī: 314n.
Jñānasatīvamaṇjuśriādibuddhanāmasādhanā: 123, 133.
Dākinīvajrapāṇījara(tantra): 457, 482.
Dākinīvajrapāṇījarapancaḍākasādhanā: 483.
Tattvasamgraha: 114, 126, 131, 132, 133, 135, 143, 144, 145, 158, 217n, 245, 332.
Tattvasamgrahakārikā: 321.
Tantrarājaśrilaghunāmavara: 163, 479.
Tārādevināmāṭasataka: 125.
Tārādevyāṣṭasatakasādhanā: 125.
Tārodhavakurukullāsādhanā: 121.
Trailokyavijayanattra: 217n.
Trailokyavijayavahākalparāja: 114.
Trailokyavijayasādhanā: 143.
Durgatiparipōḍhodhana: 135.
Durgatyuttarinisādhanā: 118.
Devāntarasādhanakramapade Hayagrīvasādhanakrama: 120.
Indexes

Dharmadhātuvāgīśvaramañjuśrīmaṇḍalavidhi: 123.
Dharmamandalasūtra: 332, 333.
Nāmasaṃgītivṛtti: 132.
Niśpannayogāvalī: 238, 349, 350, 466, 467, 468, 490, 492, 493.
Pañcakrama: 188, 466.
Pañcaraksāsūtra: 211.
Pañcavimsātisāhasrikā: 352n.
Pañcavimsātisāhasrikāvītābhhisamayeśākāravṛtti: 352n.
Padmājāla: 119, 131, 170.
Padmājālodbhavasādhana: 170.
Padmanartheśvarasādhana: 119.
Padmāvalokitesvaraśva padmājālakramena (bhagavan)maṇḍalapūjavidhi: 107, 170.
Paramādītantra: 248.
Paramādyā: 130.
Paramārthasamgrahanāmasekoddeśātikā: 465.
Paramāśvasādhana: 121.
Parnaśabarīsādhana: 106.
Pindikramatantra: 465.
Pindaśkrasādhana: 467.
Prajñāpāramitā: 144, 211, 252, 275, 276.
Prajñāpāramitānāyasatapāñcāsātikā: 143.
Pradīpoddyotanaṇāmaṣṭikā: 369.
Pramāṇavārttikakārikā: 321.
Pramāṇavārttikāṭikā: 321.
Buddhacarita: 458.
Bodhisattvavādānkalpalata: 458.
Bhagavacchācakrasambaramaṇḍalavidhi: 163.
Bhagavadākṣobhasādhana: 126.
Bhagavadaparimitayurjñānanaṇamaṇḍalavidhi: 117.
Bhaṭṭārakaśrihevajrabhaṭṭārakastotra: 484.
Bhadraṇa: 479.
Bhūtaḍāmaramahātāntrarāja: 105, 198.
Mañjuśrījñānasattivasva paramārthanāmasaṃgīti (see also Nāmasaṃgīti): 132, 216.
Mañjuśrīmaṇḍalavidhi: 123, 158, 217n.
Mañjuśrīmaṇḍalavidhitilakṣaṇabhāṣya: 217.
Mañjūśrīśrīmāṇḍalavidhitilakṣaṇabhāṣya: 225n.
Mahākaraṇi (cycle): 170.
Mahākālakarmaguhyasādhana: 112.
Mahāgaṇapatitantra: 111.
Mahābaladhāraṇi: 114.
Mahābalasādhana: 114.
Mahāmāyātantra: 164.
Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī: 115.
Mahāyakṣasenāpatinīlāmbaradharavajrapāṇīmaḥācakramaṇḍaladevagāṇa-stotra: 160.
Mahāyāناسamgraha: 276.
Mahārajaśilāmaṇjuśrisādhana: 122.
Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi(tantra): 120, 125, 127, 330.
Mahāvairocanābhīsambodhīvīravīrtāhāṃsavaipulyāsutrendrārājanā-madharmapārāyāya: 120, 330n.
Mahāvyutpatti: 234, 332.
Mahāsahasrātrapramaranāsūtra: 115.
Māyājalamahātantra(rāja): 217n, 227.
Muktakena Tārākalpodbhavakurukullāsādhana: 121.
Meghadhūta: 458.
Yamaraśajantana: 334n.
Yogacaryābhūmi: 276.
Raktayamāntakasādhana: 163.
Raktayamarisādhana: 160.
Vajrakīlantantra: 334n.
Vajrakīlamulatantrakhaṇḍa: 476.
Vajracandāṇusāreaṇa prṣṭyacakra: 502.
Vajradākayoginisādhana: 164.
Vajrapāṇīmaṇḍalavidhi: 126.
Vajramālā: 494, 502, 503, 504, 505.
Vajravārāhyābhidhāna: 502.
Vajravidaraṇānāmadhāraṇi: 109, 123.
Vajravidaraṇisādhana: 124.
Vajravidaraṇīnānavidhi: 124.
Vajrāśikhara: 136.
Vajrāśikharamahāguhyāyogatantra (see also Vajraśikhara): 135.
Vajrāṃkārasādhana: 503.
Varadatārāsādhana: 118.
Vasudhārāsādhana: 110.
Vādisimhaṃjughoṣasādhana: 116.
Vimalakirtinirdeśa: 209.
Vimalaprabhānāmadulatantrāṇusariniṣvadāsāḥmahātārābhūkālacakra-tantrarājaṭīkā, 465.
Vimaloṣiṣadhirāṇīvidhi: 124.
Vairocanābhisamābhimahātantrabhāṣya: 332.
Vaiśravaṇasādhana: 115.
Śāṃbarasādhana: 482.
Śāriputraparipṛcchā: 101.
Śrīkhasarpanāsādhana: 118.
Śṛgughyasamājasya Mañjuśrīsādhana: 159.
Śrīcakraśambarābhīsamayaṭīkā: 163.
Śrīcandamahāroṣanatantrarāja: 502.
Śrīcatuhṛthakhyāsatatantrarājamantrāṃśa: 489.
Śrīcatuhṛthajālaḥoma: 491.
Śrīcatuhṛthatantrarājasya tīkāsmṛtinibhandana: 491.
Śrīcatuhṛthamahāyoginīgūhyasarvatantrarāja: 490.
Śrīcatuhṛthamahāyoginītantrarāja: 489, 505.
Śrīcatuhṛthahasadhanopāyikā: 491.
Śrīdākarnavatantramanḍalacakrasādhanaratnapadmarāgavidhi: 478.
Śrīdākarnavamahāyoginītantrarāja: 478.
Śrīdākinivajrapaṇjaramanḍalasamharaṇānusārināmasādhana: 483.
Śrīparamādiṭīkā: 130.
Śrīparamādivṛtti: 130.
Śrīparamādyatantra: 321.
Śrīparamādhyānamahayānakalparāja (see also Paramādyā): 130, 251.
Śrīparamādyamantrakalpakhaṇḍa: 130.
Śrībuddhakapālaṭantrasya pāncikajñānavatī: 169.
Śrībuddhakapālanāmamanaṃḍalavidhikramapradhyotana: 169.
Śrībuddhakapālanāma(mahā)yoginītantrarāja: 164, 504.
Śrībuddhakapālasādhana: 169.
Śrīmahākālanatra: 105, 113.
Śrīmahākālantarasādhana: 112.
Śrīraktaṭamāritantrarāja: 160, 472, 493.
Śrīraktaṭamāritanḍalopayikā: 472.
Śrīraktaṭamārisādhana: 472.
Śrīvajrādakānamahamahātantrarāja: 164, 503, 504.
Śrīvajrabhairavāvanāmatantra: 467, 469.
Śrīvajrabhairavakalpatantrarāja: 160.
Śrīvajramanḍalalāmākāranāmamahātantrarāja: 133, 144, 238.
Śrīvajramahābhairavanāmatantra: 160, 494.
Śrīvajramālābhidhānamahāyogatansarvatantrahṛdayarahasayabhedaka (see also Vajramālā): 494.
Śrīvajrasattvasādhana: 482.
Śrīvajrāhṛdayālaṃkāratantra: 469, 494.
Śrīvasudhārāsādhanastotra: 111.
Śrīsamputatantrarājaṭīkāmānymaṇjari: 492.
Śrīsamputatiṭhikānāmavoginītantrarājasya tīkāsmṛtisamdarśanāloka: 492.
Śrīvyavogadākinijālāsambaratantrārthaṭīkā: 489.
Śrīsarvabuddhasamayogadākinijālasaṃvaranānāmottaratantra: 485.
Śrīsarvabuddhasamayogāvanāmatantrapañcikā: 485.
Śrīsarvabuddhasamayogapañcikā: 489.
Śrīsarvabuddhasamayogamanḍalasādhanakrama: 489.
Śrīhayagrīvasādhana: 107.
Śrīhevajratakrakramena svādhiṣṭānānakurukullāsādhanā: 121.
Śrīhevajrapradipasūlopamāvadaka: 484.
Śrīhevajrasādhanā: 163.
Śādhbhujasuklatārāsādhanā: 125.
Śanmukhaṅkṛṣṇayamāricakrasādhanā: 473.
Śamvaratāntra: 413, 437, 443.
Śaddharmapuṇḍarīka: 101.
Śaddharmapuṇḍarikānāmamaḥdṛyānāsūtra: 113.
Śamputa(nāmamaḥ)ṭāntra: 443, 492, 493, 504.
Śampūtāvibhaṅga: 492.
Śamvaratāntra: 413, 437, 442.
Śarvakalpasamuccaya: 131, 132.
Śarvakalpasamuccayamūlāntarāntra: 131.
Śarvakalpasamuccayānāmasarvabuddhasamayogadākinijālasaṃvarottaratantra: 485.
Śaratathāgataścakāyavāccittāgūhyālāmākāravyūhatantrarāja (see also Guhyalamākāravyūha): 133, 143.
Śaratathāgataścakāyavāccittarāhasyaguhyasamājanāmamaḥdṛyākalparāja: 159, 466.
Śaratathāgataścattvāmānīṣvānsuṣāmaḥdṛyānāsūtra (see also Tattvasamgraha): 129, 217n.
Śaratathāgataścattvāmānīṣvānsuṣāmaḥdṛyānāsūtra (see also Tattvasamgraha): 129, 217n.
Śaratathāgataścattvāmānīṣvānsuṣāmaḥdṛyānāsūtra (see also Tattvasamgraha): 129, 217n.
Śaratathāgatamātrīrāvīśvākarmabhatvāntaraṇa: 119, 124.
Śarvantraḥdāyottarāhayagrīvasādhana: 120.
Śarvadurgatipariśodhana(tantra) (see also Durgatipariśodhana): 134, 135, 217n, 332.
Śarvadurgatipariśodhanatejorājasya tathāgatasya arhatas tasyaṃkṣamasādhanayoga kalpaikadesa: 134.
Śarvasattvaśīkaraṇasamādhi: 123.
Śarvārthasādhanyāryaprasannatārāsādhanā: 118.
Sādhanamāla: 196, 216.
Sādhanaśatakā: 112.
Sādhanaśāgara: 106, 107, 111n, 112, 399n, 503.
Śamantamukha-pravesarāṣṭiramāloṣṇīṣaprabhāsasarvatathāgataḥpādayasamayavilokitanāmādharaṇi: 124.
Śampuṭa(nāmamaḥ)ṭāntra: 492, 505.
Śimhanādatantra: 119.
Śitārāsādhanā: 125.
Sukhāvatīvyūha: 101, 209.
Śthaviropimantraṇa: 379.
Śayagrīvāntarāntra: 334n.
Hayagrīvasaptāti: 121.  
Hayagrīvasādhanā: 107, 120.  
Hevajratabhivibhangā Hevajranāmatantrasampūṭa Vajradākamulacakракāṇḍa: 484.  
Hevajratantra(rāja): 122, 163, 268, 286, 437, 443, 444, 458, 483, 503, 504, 505.  
Hevajramandalakarmakramavidhi: 484.  
Hevajrasādhanapañcikā: 163.  
Hevajrodbhavakurukullāsādhanā: 121.
PERSONAL NAMES

Ka-gi-la: 425, 431
Ka-Cog: 333 (see also Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs and Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan)
Ka-ta-ra: 426, 431
Ka-na-kha-ya: 423
Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs: 134, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333
Karma Pakši: 45
Karma-pa (5th): 52-53
Kun-mkhyen Chos-sku-'od-zer: 228, 305, 370 (see also Chos-sku-'od-zer)
Kun-mkhyen 'Phags-pa-'od Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho, Kun-mkhyen 'Phags-pa-'od: 227, 228, 304, 305, 339, 361, 373 (see also 'Phags-pa-'od, mKhas-btsun Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho and Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho)
Kun-dga' 'Phags-pa: 40, 62, 65, 246
Kun-dga'-'bkra-šis: 274n
Kun-dga'-'bkra-šis-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po: 273, 274, 275, 459
Kun-dga'-'rgya-mtsho: 287
Kun-dga'-'rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ: 106, 133, 457 (see also Sa-skya Pañḍita)
Kun-dga'-'rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po: 279n
Kun-dga'-'sniñ-po (Sa-chi): 268, 269, 285, 443, 444, 448, 457
Kun-dga'-'sniñ-po: 77 (see also Tāra-nātha)
Kun-dga'-'don-grub: 246, 264
Kun-dga'-'rdo-rje: 315n
Kun-dga'-'dpal, Kun-dga'-'blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan: 62, 277, 278, 279, 298, 299, 301
Kun-dga'-'blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan: 279n
Kun-dga'-'blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po: 279n
Kun-dga'-'bzañ-po: 35, 473
Kun-dga'-'od-zer: 227
Kun-dga'-'rin-chen: 275n
Kun-spañ Ţang: 227
Kun-spañ Sems-dpa'-'chen-po Chos-kyi-rin-chen: 278 (see also Chos-kyi-rin-chen)
Kun-gzigs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbañ-po: 62 (see also mKhyen-brtse'i-dbañ-po)
Ko-brag-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan: 286
Klu-mes-'brom-chuñ: 46, 49, 383n
Indexes

Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan: 333
Klu'i-sde: 405
Kloṅ-rdol Bla-ma: 98n, 247
dKa-ba dPal-brtsegs: 332 (see also Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs)
dKon-mchog-rgyal-po: 268
dKon-mchog-pa: 453, 458
dKon-mchog-bzañ-po: 54n, 203, 237
dKon-mchog-legs-pa: 303, 304
dKon-mchog-bsruns: 305, 369
dKon-mchog-lhun-grub: 341n
bKra-sis 'Phags-pa: 72, 73, 191, 246
bKra-sis-bzang-po: 26
bKra-sis-rab-brtan-dpal-'byor-bzari-po: 71, 73
sKa-ba dPal-brtsegs: 134, 331 (see also Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs)
sKor-chun gZon-nu-tshul-khrims, sKor-chun-rin-mo: 136
sKal-ldan-dbañ-phyug-blo-gros: 227
sKal-ldan-shes-rab: 2
sKu-zañ Chos-rje: 228, 263, 375 (see also Nam-mkha'-mchogsgrub-bzañ-po)
sKor-chuñ-ba: 164
sKyi-ston 'Jam-dbyañ: 306 (see also 'Jam-dbyañ)
sKyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon: 316
sKyil-nag-grags-ñen: 373
sKyo Lo-tsa-ba 'Od-zer-'byuñ-gnas: 468
sKyo bSod-nams Bla-ma: 282, 283
Kha-che Pan-chen: 77, 227, 340, 341, 342
Khaṅ-gsar-pa Nam-mkha'-lod: 305, 362
Khams-sprul Rin-po-che (4th): 430
Khe'u-gan 'Khor-lo-grags: 283
Khug-pa dHa-btasa: 119
Khri-bka-sis-brtsegs-dpal: 316
Khri-mngon-svod: 324
Khri-mngon-dan
bKhri-sna-bstan: 313
bKhris-pa dPhug-po-bzang-gter: 227
Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan: 383
Khri-lde-sron-brtsegs: 18, 38, 39, 42, 332 (see also Sad-na-legs)
Khri-maṅ-sron: 12 (see also Mang-rong-mang-brtsegs)
Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsegs: 18
Khri-btse-pa, Khri-btso-pa: 321
Khri-thsa-nal-ye-ses-rgyal-mtshan: 324
Khre-ba: 12
Khrö-phu Lo-tsa-ba, Khrö-lo: 76, 77, 341
mKha'-re (clan name): 343n
mKhan-chen Na-dpon, mKhas-mchog Na-dpon, mKhas-mchog Nambo Kun-dga'-dpal: 299 (see also Kun-dga'-dpal)
mKhan-po Bodhisattva: 324
mKhas-grub-chén-pa Bo-don Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal: 298 (see also Bo-don Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal)
mKhas-grub-chos-rje, mKhas-grub-rje: 103, 108, 109, 110, 465, 473
mKhas-btson Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho: 299 (see also Kun-mkhyen 'Phags-pa-'od Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho)
mKhyen-brtse'i-dbañ-po: 62, 109, 198, 267
mKhon (clan name): 268, 275, 478
mKhon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po: 268
mKhon-phu-ba: 283
mKhor-re, 'Khor-lo-lde: 21, 316, 317
mKhor-lo-grags: 283
Gāns-chen-ma-lus-dbañ-po Kun-dga'-dpal: 278 (see also Kun-dga'-dpal)
Gar Lo-tsa-ba: 124 (see also Chos-kyi-bzañ-po)
Gar-ma Yon-tan-g.yun-druñ: 46
Gu-stri-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan: 275n
Gun-sron-gun-brtsan: 311n
Ge-sar: 180
Gu'i-guṅ Chos-grags-dpal-bzaṅ: 303n
Guru Chos-dbaṅ: 338, 370n (see also Chos-kyi-dbaṅ-phyug)
Guru Rin-po-che: 334, 335
Gor-kha-pa: 431
Gyi-jo Lo-tsa-ba: 164, 492
Gyi-ljan Lo-tsa-ba Bla-ma dBu-dkar: 112
Grwa-pa mNu-šes: 283
Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (sku-zaṅ of Žwa-lu): 25, 264
Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (mkhan-chen of the 'Khon clan): 271
Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (chos-rgyal of sNe'u-gdoṅ): 53, 65
Grags-pa-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan: 477
Grags-pa-'byun-gnas: 8, 72
Grub-chen Rin-po-che: 265 (see also U-rgyan-pa)
Glaṅ-dar-ma: 21, 98n, 287, 315, 316, 323
Glaṅ-'od-sruṅs: 323 (see also 'Od-srungs)
Glaṅs Kham-pa Go-cha: 284-285
Glaṅ lHa-gzigs (clan name): 284
Glan Lo-tsa-ba Dharma-tsul-khrims: 117
Gliṅ-ras-pa Padma-rdo-rje: 288, 289, 293, 297, 412, 431
dGa'-bde-mgon-po: 51, 52
dGa'-ba'i-dpal: 117
dGe-ba: 260, 261
dGe-mdzes-byaṅ-chub: 444
dGe-legs-dpal: 303, 304
dGe-legs-bses-gñen: 55
mGar sToṅ-rtsan: 320, 322, 323
mGon-po Phag-mo-gru-pa: 9
'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal: 9, 299, 312n (see also gZhon-nu-dpal)
'Gos lHa(s)-btsas, mgos-lha-btsas: 164, 489, 491
'Gro-mgon Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa, 'Gro-ba'i mGon-po 'Phags-pa: 271, 370 (see also 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan)
'Gro-mgon Nam-mkha'-dpal-ba: 338 (see also Nam-mkha'-dpal-ba)
'Gro-ba'i mGon-po: 282, 289 (see also Phag-mo-gru-pa)
RGwa Lo-tsa-ba, RGwa-lo: 306, 373
RGod-tsaṅ-pa: 266
RGya 'Jam-dpal-gsaṅ-ba: 68
RGya-'chiṅ-ru-ba: 352n, 373
RGya-mtsho-rnam-rgyal: 358, 365
RGya-ras-pa: 288, 289, 296, 297
RGyel-kha-'dus-pa: 358, 365
RGyal-ba-ye-ses: 305, 361, 362
RGyal-ba'i-sde: 478
RGyal-ba'i-'byun-gnas: 352, 356 (see also 'Brom-ston)
RGyal-ba'i-sras-po Thogs-med-bzaṅ-po-dpal, RGyal-sras Thogs-med: 278 (see also Thogs-med-bzaṅ-po)
SGam-po-pa: 285, 288, 289
SGed-pa'i-rdo-rje: 132
SGos-sbug-pa: 443n
SGom-pa dKon-mchog-bsruṅs: 305, 369
SGran-can-'dzin-dbaṅ-po: 399
SGra-tshad-pa Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal-dpal-bzaṅ: 265, 375 (see also Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal-dpal-bzaṅ-po)
SGro-ston gNam-la-brtsegs: 305, 365, 369
Nag-gi-dbaṅ-po Kun-dga'-rin-chen: 399
Nag-dbaṅ-kun-dga'-rin-che: 477
Nag-dbaṅ-kun-dga'-bsod-nams: 477
Nag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mtsho:
Indexes

313n
Nag-dbañ-yon-tan-rgya-mtsho: 490
Nag-dbañ-legs-grub: 469
dNos-grub: 313
mNa’-bdag Nañ-ral Ni-ma’-od-zer: 337 (see also Ni-ma’-od-zer)
mNa’-bdag BuDud’-dul: 338
mNa’-mtsha’ Hor-po: 443n (see also Zür Śākya-señ-ge)

rNog Blo-Iidan-šes-rab, rNog Lo-tsa-ba: 325, 326 (see also Blo-Ildan-šes-rab)

rNog Legs-pa’i-šes-rab: 265, 326, 505 (see also Legs-pa’i-šes-rab)
Cog-ro Klu’i-rgyal-mtshan: 333 (see also Klu’i-rgyal-mtshan)

ICh Lo-tsa-ba dGa’-ba’i-dpal: 117
Chag Lo-tsa-ba Chos-rgi-dpal: 446 (see also Chos-rje-dpal)

Chos-khyer sPrul-skun Tshe-riñ: 28n
Chos-kyi-khor-lo: 338
Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po: 275
Chos-kyi-blo-gros: 112
Chos-kyi-dbañ-phyug: 338 (see also Chos-dbañ)

Chos-kyi-bzañ-po (lo-tsa-ba): 111, 119, 123, 124, 133, 159
Chos-kyi-bzañ-po (of the dPyal clan): 286, 287 (see also dPyal Chos-kyi-bzañ-po)
Chos-kyi’od-zer: 370n (see also Chos-sku’-od-zer)
Chos-kyi-rin-chen: 277, 278
Chos-sku’-od-zer: 227, 228, 305, 306, 339, 370, 373
Chos-skyoñ: 406 (see also Chos-’phel)

Chos-grags-rgyal-mtshan: 399
Chos-grags-dpal-bzañ: 303n
Chos-grags-bzañ-po: 303
Chos-rje Kun-bkra: 274, 275 (see also Kun-dga’-bka-sis-rgyal-mtshan)

Chos-rje Kun-mkhyen-chenpo Șes-rab-rgyal-mtshan: 305, 362 (see also Dol-po-pa)
Chos-rje ’Jam-dbyañs Rin-rgyal: 266 (see also ’Jam-dbyañs Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan)

Chos-rje ’Jam-dbyañs-gsar-ma, Chos-rje ’Jam-gsar: 305, 370 (see also ’Jam-dbyañs-gsar-ma)
Chos-rje Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa Bu-ston Rin-po-che, Chos-rje Bu-ston Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa: 369, 370 (see also Bu-ston)
Chos-rje dPal-Iidan-legs-pa: 300, 306 (see also dPal-Ildan-legs-pa)
Chos-rje Bla-ma Dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan: 272 (see also bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po)
Chos-rje Rañ’-byuñ-rdo-rje: 362 (see also Rañ’-byuñ-rdo-rje)
Chos-rje Sa-chen Kun-dga’-sniñ-po: 268 (see also Kun-dga’-sniñ-po)

Chos-rje bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po: 271, 455, 458 (see also bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po)
Chos-rje bSod-nams-rnam-par-rgyal-ba: 54 (see also bSod-nams-rnam-par-rgyal-ba)
Chos-rje-dpal: 134, 163, 466, 467
Chos-dpal-rgyal-mtshan: 52
Chos-dpal-bzañ-po: 70, 413
Chos-’phel: 406
Chos-dbañ: 338, 339, 370n
Chos-’bar: 443, 444 (see also mDa’-sños-chos-’bar)
Chos-’byuñ-zi-ba: 367, 369
Chos-’od: 339, 370n (see also Chos-sku-’od-zer)
Chos-rab: 306, 307 (see also Rwa Chos-rab)

’Char-byed: 312a
Jo-nam: 362
Jo-bo-rje: 107, 351
Jo-'bum-ma: 338
Jo-mo sMan-mo: 339
Jo-mo bTsan-mo 'Phan: 315n
'Jam-mgon Koen-sprul: 4, 12
'Jam-pa'i-bya'ns Rin-chen-rgyalmtshan: 266 (see also 'Jam-dbya'ns Rin-chen-rgyalmtshan-dpal-bza'ns-po)
'Jam-dpal-chos-kyi-bstan-'dzin-'phrin-las: 414
'Jam-dpal-gsa'ns-ba: 68
'Jam-dbya'ns: 306
'Jam-dbya'ns mKhyen-brtse'i-dba'ns-po Kun-dga'-bstan-pa'i-rgyalmtshan: 109 (see also mKhyen-brtse'i-dba'ns-po)
'Jam-dbya'ns Don-grub-rgya-mtsho: 27-28 (see also Don-grub-rgya-mtsho)
'Jam-dbya'ns Rin-chen-rgyal-ba: 68, 344n
'Jam-dbya'ns Rin-chen-rgyalmtshan-dpal-bza'ns-po, 'Jam-dbya'ns Rin-rgyal: 67, 266, 340, 342, 343, 344n
'Jam-dbya'ns-dkon-mchog-bza'ns-po: 300, 304
'Jam-dbya'ns-nam-mkha'-'rgyalmtshan: 275
'Jam-dbya'ns-blo-gter-dba'ns-po: 469
'Jam-dbya'ns-gsar-ma, 'Jam-gsar Ses-rab-'od-zer: 227, 305, 370, 373
'Jig-rten mGon-po: 285
'Jigs-med-grags-pa: 57
rJe gNa'-'khri-brtsan-po: 311 (see also gNa'-'khri-brtsan-po)
rJe-btsun rGwa-lo: 306 (see also rGwa Lo-tsa-ba)
rJe-btsun bSod-nams-rtse-mo: 268 (see also bSod-nams-rtse-mo)
rJe-btsun-chen-po Grags-pa-rgyalmtshan, rJe-btsun Rin-po-che Grags-pa-rgyalmtshan: 271 (see also Grags-pa-rgyalmtshan)
rJe-legs-skyes: 367
Na-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal, Na-dbonpo Kun-dga'-dpal: 278, 279, 298, 299 (see also Kun-dga'-dpal)
Na'n-ston Chos-kyi-'khor-lo: 338
Na'n-ral Ni-ma-'od-zer: 313n, 337 (see also Ni-ma-'od-zer)
Ni-ma-khye-'dren: 71, 191, 246
Ni-ma-grags (king): 358
Ni-ma-grags (Pa-tsbab Lo-tsa-ba): 117
Ni-ma-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bza'ns-po, Ni-ma-mtshan-dpal: 105, 160, 369, 472
Ni-ma-dpal-ye-šes: 367, 369
Ni-ma-'od-zer: 337-338 (see also Na'n-ral Ni-ma-'od-zer)
gNa'-'khri-brtsan-po: 310, 311, 312, 313
gNa-n-chun Dar-ma-grags: 464
gNa-lod: 315n
gNa-l-pa-žig-po, gNa-žig: 227, 362, 373
sNa-ns-grags-bza'ns-po-dpal
gTum-ston Blo-gros-grags-pa: 78
sTag-bde-ba Señ-ge-rgyal-mtshan: 305, 362, 367 (see also Señ-ge-rgyal-mtshan)
sTod-kyi ITeñas: 313, 314n
bsTan-'dzin-chos-kyi-ni-ma: 430
Tha'n Dzu'i-dzu'i, Tha'n-hu'i: 383
Tha'n-ston Rgyal-po: 26, 78
Thar-pa Lo-tsa-ba, Thar-lo: 160, 287, 369, 370 (see also Ni-ma-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bza'ns-po)
Thar-pa-ba (master): 286
Thar-pa-ba (painter): 251, 260, 261
Thu-mi lHun-grub-bka'-šis: 54
Thugs-rje-dpal: 72
Thugs-rje-brtson-grus: 305, 306, 361 (see also Kun-spa'ns-pa)
Thugs-sras Lo-tsa-ba Rin-chen-nam-rgyal: 375 (see also Rin-chen-nam-rgyal)
Theg-chen Chos-kyi-rgyal-po Kundga'-bkra-sis-rgyal-mtshan: 273, 274 (see also Kundga'-bkra-sis-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po)

Thogs-med: 273

Thogs-med-bzang-po: 277, 278

Thod-pa 'Ba'-ri: 283

Thon-mi Sambhota, Thon-myi

Briin-po-rgyal-btsan-nu: 311, 314, 322, 323, 333

mTha'-yas: 358

mThu-bri: 262

mTho-ba-don-ldan: 35

Dwags-po Rin-po-che Dwags-po lHa-rije: 285, 288 (see also sGam-po-pa)

Dam-pa Khan-gsar-pa: 478

Dam-pa-skor: 164

Dam-pa-dbub-pa: 286

Dam-pa-sans-rgyas: 116, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285

Dar-ma-grags: 464

Dus-ldan: 391

Dus-za-b Chui-ri, Dus-za-b Chui-ba: 298n, 305, 306

Dus-za-b Che-ba, Dus-za-b Chens-po: 298n, 305, 306

De-bzin-gseg-pa: 35, 52

Don-grub-skyabs: 260

Don-grub-rgya-mtsho: 27, 28, 32 (see also sMan-than-pa)


Dra-nu-ri: 427, 431

Dra-n-sro-n-je: 317

Dharmatshul-khrims: 117

Dharmayon-tan: 478

BDag-med-rdo-rje: 227, 370n (see also Chos-skul-'od-zer)

bDe-bseg Phag-mo-gru-pa: 288 (see also Phag-mo-gru-pa)

bDun-ge Rin-po-che: 337

sNub-Sans-rgyas-ye-ses: 443, 447 (see also Chos-skul-bstan-bis-bshang-pa)

rDo-rje-grags-pa (Rwa Lo-rtse-ba): 307, 374, 467, 469, 473

rDo-rje-grags-pa (Ras-chu-ri-pa): 502

rDo-rje-rgyal-pa Phag-mo-gru-pa: 284, 289 (see also Phag-mo-gru-pa)

rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan: 303, 374

rDo-rje-dpal: 342n

rDo-rje-dpal-bzang-po: 342

rDo-rje-dbang-phyug: 265

rDo-rje-mo'i-bu: 392

rDor-grub-rin-chen: 483

lDe: 313

Nag-nag-nas: 392

Nag-po-pa: 437

Nag-po-ser-dad: 288

Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba: 5, 352 (see also Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba)

Nags-kyi-rin-chen: 8

Nam-ka'-rgyal-mtshan: 305, 362, 370

Nam-ka'-mchog-sgrub-dpal-bzang-po: 263, 265, 375

Nam-ka'-dpal-ba: 338

Nam-ka'-bza-pa: 251, 262

Nam-ka'-od: 305, 362

Nam-ka'-i-mtshan-can: 68

Nam-la: 275

Nel-pa Pa-nida: 314

gNam-gyi Khri: 313

gNam-lDe-'od-sruus: 315 (see also 'Od-sruus)

gNam-la-brtsegs: 305, 369 (see also sGro-ston gNam-la-brtsegs)

rNam-rgyal: 358, 364

rNam-rgyal-grags-bzang: 303n

sNa-nam gNa-lod: 315n

sNa-nam Ye-ses-sde: 105 (see also Ye-ses-sde)

sNa-tshogs-bzang-sa: 358

sNa-tshogs-gsugs: 358

sNa-tshogs-gsugs-can: 132

sNubs Sans-rgyas-ye-ses: 21

Pa-tshab, sPa-tshab (clan name):
Pa-tshab Lo-tsa-ba Ňi-ma-grags: 117
Pad-dkar: 361 (see also Rigs-ldan Padma-dkar-po)
Pad-ma: 59, 246, 265, 274, 343
Padma-dkar-po: 98n, 247, 317
Padma-rdo-rje: 289 (see also Gliṅ-ras-pa)
Pan-chen Bla-ma (4th): 8n, 174
Pan-chen Śākyāśrī: 228 (see also Kha-che Pan-chen)
Pan-chen Śrī-Śāriputra: 412
Po-to-ba Rin-ch’en-gsal, Pu-to-ba, Pi-to-ba: 355, 357 (see also Rin-ch’en-gsal)
dPa’bo gTsug-lag-phreñ-ba: 36, 316n
dPañ Blo-gros-brtan-pa: 367 (see also Blo-gros-brtan-pa)
dPal-kyi-rgyal-mtshan: 370
dPal’khor-btsan: 98, 287, 316
dPal-gyi-mkha’-can: 466 (see also Chos-rje-dpal)
dPal-ldan Bla-ma Dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzan-po: 271 (see also bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzan-po)
dPal-ldan-bzan-po: 58, 60, 246 (see also Phags-pa dPal-ldan-bzan-po)
dPal-ldan-legs-pa: 300, 302, 303, 304, 306
dPal-ldan-señ-ge: 370, 372, 373, 374, 375
dPal’phel-ba: 191
dPal’byor Rin-ch’en: 261, 413
dPal’dzin-dga’-ba: 367, 368, 369, 472
dPe-med-kyis-bsruñs-pa: 367
dPe-med’thso: 367
dPon-mo Pad-ma, dPon-mo Ma-gcig Pad-ma: 246, 274, 343 (see also Pad-ma)
dPyal (clan name): 58, 286, 287, 289
dPyal Kun-dga’-rgya-mtsho: 287
dPyal Kun-dga’-rdo-rje: 287, 289, 344
dPyal Chos-kyi-bzan-po, dPyal Chos-bzan: 286, 287
dPyal sTon-chen-po ’Phags-pa-rgyal-ba: 287 (see also ’Phags-pa rGyal-ba)
dPyal ’Byuñ-gnas-rgyal-mtshan: 286
sPa-tshab Lo-tsa-ba Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan: 331 (see also Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan)
sPyan-sña Chos-grags-rgyal-mtshan: 399 (see also Chos-grags-rgyal-mtshan)
sPyan-sña Rin-po-che bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzan-po: 343n
sPyan-sña-ba Tshul-khrims’bar: 356 (see also Tshul-khrims’bar)
sPyil-bu-ba: 49
Pha-dam-pa-saṅs-rgyas: 116, 280, 284, 285 (see also Dam-pa-saṅs-rgyas)
Phag-mo-gru-pa (rDo-rje-rgyal-po): 281, 284, 285, 288, 289, 292 (see also lHa ‘Gro-ba’i mGon-po)
Phag-mo-gru-pa (sde-srid): 272, 343
Pham-thin-pa: 286
Pho-brañ Ži-ba’-od: 318 (see also Ži-ba’-od)
Pho-lha-nas bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas: 297n
Phyag-rdum: 160, 467
Phyag-dmar-ba: 358
Phyogs-grol: 367
’Phags-pa rGyal-ba: 58, 287
’Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan: 24, 49, 268, 270, 271, 272, 284, 305, 370n, 442, 458
Indexes

Phags-pa Rin-chen-pa: 59, 62, 279, 246
Phags-pa Šes-rab: 115
Phags-pa-'od, 'Phags-'od-pa: 227, 228, 339, 370n, 373 (see also Kun-mkhyen 'Phags-pa-'od Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho)

Ba-ta-pa: 422
Ba-ri Lo-tsa-ba Rin-chen-grags, Ba-ri-pa: 112, 114, 123, 268
Bar-gyi Legs: 313
Biṅ-ko-ba: 306
Bir-wa-pa: 267
Bu-to-ba: 357n (see also Po-to-ba)

Bo-doñ Chos-rgyal Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal: 303, 304
Bo-doñ Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal: 279, 299, 301
Bo-doñ Rin-po-che rTse-mo, Bo-doñ Rin-po-che Rin-chen-rtse-mo, Bo-doñ Rin-rtse: 305, 362, 366

Byaṅ-chub-rgyal-mtshon: 51, 65, 69, 308
Byaṅ-chub-mchog: 132
Byaṅ-chub-dpal-bzaṅ-po: 55, 340, 342
Byaṅ-chub-'od: 312, 318, 325, 352
Byaṅ-sems rGyal-ba-ye-ses: 305, 361, 362
Byaṅ-sems Ni-ma-khye-'dren: 191 (see also Ni-ma-khye-'dren)
Byaṅ-sems bDag-mo dPal-chen rNam-rje, Byaṅ-sems bZaṅ-ña-pa, Byaṅ-sems bZaṅ-mo-dpal: 237, 245, 246
Byaṅ-sems-chen-mo: 246 (see also Ni-ma-khye-'dren and Ma-gcig mKha'-gro-bum)
Byaṅ-sems-bsod-nams-blo-gros: 58
Byams-pa'i-dpal: 77, 341, 342, 344n (see also Khro-phu Lo-tsa-ba)
Brag-nag-pa gZon-nu-bsod-nams: 344
Brag-phug-pa bSod-nams-dpal: 454, 458
Bla-chen 'Bro-mi: 268 (see also 'Bro-mi Sākya-ye-ses)
Bla-ma 'Gro-mgon Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshon-dpal-bzaṅ-po: 432, 458 (see also 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshon)
Bla-ma Chen-po Rin-chen-gzön-nu: 343n
Bla-ma Chos-sku-'od-zer: 227 (see also Chos-sku-'od-zer)
Bla-ma Dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshon-dpal-bzaṅ-po: 271, 272 (see also bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshon-dpal-bzaṅ-po)
Bla-ma rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshon, Bla-ma Roṅ-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshon: 374 (see also rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshon)
Bla-ma dPal-Idan-señ-ge: 370, 374 (see also dPal-Idan-señ-ge)
Bla-ma 'Phags-pa, Bla-ma 'Phags-'od: 373 (see also Kun-mkhyen 'Phags-pa-'od Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho)
Bla-ma dBu-dkar: 112
Bla-ma bTsan-po: 414
Bla-ma Roṅ-pa Šes-rab-señ-ge, Bla-ma Šes-rab-señ-ge: 306, 373, 374 (see also Šes-rab-señ-ge)
Bla-ma-chen-pa: 305, 306, 369
Blo-gros-grags-pa: 78, 125
Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshon: 274n
Blo-gros-brtan-pa: 111, 132, 133,
144, 160
Blo-gros-dpal: 299
Blo-gros-bzan-po-grags-dpal: 78
Blo-gros-rab-gsal: 260
Blo-ter-dba-po: 170
Blo-ldan-ses-rab: 118, 324, 325, 326
Blo-bza-grags-pa: 53 (see also Tsőn-kha-pa)
Blo-bza-bstan-’dzin-’phrin-las: 103, 108
Blo-sems-’tsho: 314n
Bha-ra-dwa-dza-gser-can: 399
Bha-ra-dwa-dza-bsod-snom-len: 400
dBan-rgyal ’Phags-pa: 246
dBa-phyug-brtson-grus: 49
dlBa-yum rGya-mo: 272
dBas (clan name): 284
dBu-mdzad bSod-nams-stobs: 343
dBon-po rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan: 374
(see also rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan)
dBon-po rWa Chos-rab: 306 (see also rWa Chos-rab)
’Bum-sen: 306
’Byun-gnas-rgyal-mtshan: 286
’Bri-guñ-pa: 285
’Bro-mi Sákya-ye-šes: 3, 163, 267, 268, 352n, 442, 443, 444n, 484, 492
’Brom-ston, ’Brom-ston-pa rGyal-ba’i-’byuñ-gnas: 304, 315n, 352, 353, 356, 442n
sBa gSal-snañ: 17, 325, 378
sBed-byed: 385
Ma-gcig: 284 (see also Ma-gcig Ža-ma and Ma-gcig Labs-sgron)
Ma-gcig mKha’-’gro-bum, Ma-gcig-chen-mo: 246
Ma-gcig Pad-ma: 274 (see also Pad-ma)
Ma-gcig Ža-ma: 283, 284, 285, 286
Ma-gcig gZon-nu-’bum: 272 (see also gZon-nu-’bum)
Ma-gcig Labs-sgron-ma: 281, 282, 283, 284
Ma-ti Pan-chen: 299
Ma-pham-pa: 394
Ma-ri-pa: 428, 431
Ma-n-sron-ma-n-brtsan: 12, 311n
Ma-njuṣri-gnīs-pa: 370
Mar-pa Chos-kyi-blo-gros, Mar-pa rHo-brag-pa: 268, 285, 288, 290, 437n, 457, 483
Mar-pa Do-pa Chos-kyi-dba-phyug, Mar-do: 160, 375, 413, 437n, 442, 478, 482
Mar-me-mdzad-bza-po: 159
Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (of the sMan-lun-pa clan): 339
Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (Yu-mo Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje): 305, 306, 369
Mi-phyed-pa: 405
Mi-dba-ñ-blo: 367
Mi-la-ras-pa: 61, 268, 285, 288, 291, 437n, 457, 502
Mi’i-lha: 313n
Mu-ne-brtsan-po: 39
rMa Rin-chen-mchog: 134, 333
rMa Lo-tsa-ba: 283
rMac-ra-ser-po: 282
sMan-tha-pa, sMan-bla Don-rgya-mtsho: 27, 28, 53 (see also Don-rgya-mtsho)
sMin-sgrol sPrul-sku ’Jam-dpal-chos-kyi-bstan-’dzin-’phrin-las: 414
sMon-grub-šes-rab: 414
sMon-lam-rdo-rje: 52
Tsi-lu-ba: 305
Tsoñ-kha-pa: 53, 272, 279, 285
gTsān sMyon Heruka: 61
gTsān-pa rGya-ras-pa Ye-šes-rdo-rje: 288, 289 (see also rGya-ras-pa)
gTsān-pa Jo-nam: 362
gTsug-gi-lam: 386
gTsug-’dzin: 339
bTsān (artist): 204
bTsān (kings): 313
Indexes

bTsan-po 'Khor-re: 316 (see also 'Khor-re)
bTsan-mo 'Phan: 315n
rTse-than Lo-tsa-ba: 163 (see also gZon-nu-dpal)
rTse-lde: 318n, 326
brTson-grugs-seṅ-ge: 5, 6
Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje: 315n
(see also Kun-dga'-rdo-rje)
Tshal-ba Bla-ma Žaṅ-brtson-grags: 51
Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba: 122, 124, 125, 126, 160, 352, 353
Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan, Tshul-khrims-rgyal-po, Tshul-khrims-bzaṅ-po: 119, 331
Tshul-khrims-'bar: 354, 356
Tshul-khrims-gžon-nu: 491
Tshul-khrims-'od: 3
Tshul-khrims-'od-zer: 118, 169
Tshul-khrims-rin-chen: 198
Tshul-khrims-šes-rab: 76, 341 (see also Khro-phu Lo-tsa-ba)
Tshe-raṅ-ki: 431
Tshogs-gnis-sgo-'byed-’phags-tshogs-sbyin-bdag-che: 385n
(see also Hwa-saṅ Mahāyāna)
mTshan-ma-can: 36
mTshal-na-mkhan: 36
mTshal-bu-can: 36
mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje: 484n
Dza-hum: 437
Dzu'i-dzuṅ: 383 (see also Thañ Dzu'i-dzuṅ)
Waṅ-ku-la: 23
Wun-shiṅ Koṅ-jo: 12, 308
Ža-chuṅ-ma, Ža-ma: 283 (see also Ma-gcig Ža-ma)
Ža-ma Sêṅ-rgyal: 116
Žaṅ dKon-mchog-pa: 453, 458
Žaṅ sNa-nam gNam-lod: 315n
Žaṅ bTson grags, Žaṅ Rin-po-che: 45, 51, 288, 443n
Žaṅ Lo-tsa-ba Sersab Bla-ma: 467, 470 (see also Sersab Bla-ma)
Žaṅ-gstong Chos-ba 'Pam-ston mDa'-sños-chos-'bar: 443, 444, 447
Ži-ba-'od: 318, 319, 325, 326
Žu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen: 198
gZon-nu-rgyal-mchog: 77
gZon-nu-dpal: 3, 163, 263n, 298n, 299, 313n, 314n, 326, 358, 367, 413
gZon-nu-'bum: 272
gZon-nu-tshul-khrims (sKar-chuṅ-riṅ-mo): 136
gZon-nu-tshul-khrims (Žaṅs-dkar Lo-tsa-ba): 135
gZon-nu-'od: 3
gZon-nu-bsod-nams: 344
Žaṅs-dkar Lo-tsa-ba 'Phags-pa-šes-rab: 115
Žaṅs-dkar Lo-tsa-ba gZon-nu-tshul-khrims: 135
Zur Ṣākyā-seṅ-ge: 443n (see also Ṣākyā-seṅ-ge)
Zla-ba-mgon-po: 305
Zla-ba-btsan-po: 358
Zla-ba-bzaṅ-po: 361
Zla-ba'i-'od: 358
Zla-ba'i-'od-zer: 164, 492
Zla-sbyin: 358, 363
gZu-dga'-rdo-rje: 107
gZugs-can-sniṅ-po: 312
bZaṅ-po: 358, 364
bZaṅ-po-dpal: 272
'U-yug-pa bsod-nams-seṅ-ge: 362
'U'i-dum-brtan: 316 (see also Glaṅ-dar-ma)
'Up-gi bTsan: 313
'Od-lde: 318
'Od-byed-lha: 367, 368, 369
'Od-zer-'byuṅ-gnas: 468
'Od-srunās: 315, 316, 323
Yaṅ-rtse-ba Rin-chen-seṅge: 342
Yan-lag-'byuṅ: 393
Yu-mo Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje: 305, 306, 369
Yum Ma-gcig bZaṅ-mo: 245 (see also Byan-sems bDag-mo dPal-chen rGyal-mo)
Yum-brtan: 315, 316
Ye-tu-la: 383n
Ye-ses: 413
Ye-ses-kun-dga': 265
Ye-ses-mkha'-gro-ma: 338 (see also Ye-ses-mtsho-rgyal)
Ye-ses-rdo-rje: 288 (see also rGya-ras-pa)
Ye-ses-sde: 105, 109, 110, 113, 114, 115, 123, 124, 211, 314
Ye-ses-mtsho-rgyal: 334, 335, 338
Ye-ses-'od: 2, 317, 318
Ye-ses-señ-ge: 306
Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho: 299, 304, 305, 361
Yon-tan-blo-gros: 344
Rwa 'Bum-señ: 306
Rwa Ye-ses-señ-ge: 306
Rwa Lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje-grags-pa: 307, 374, 467, 469, 473 (see also rDo-rje-grags-pa)
Ran-'byun-rdo-rje: 361
Rab-'byor-bzañ-po 'Phags-pa: 70, 198, 203, 204, 412
Rab-tu-bzañ-po: 370
Rab-btbrtan-kun-dga' 'Phags-pa: 65, 198
Rab-btbrtan-kun-bzañ 'Phags-pa, Rab-bstbn-pa: 7, 55, 60, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 108, 246, 259, 287, 303, 343, 412
Rab-gsal: 46
Ral-pa-can: 21, 39, 42, 61, 69, 134n, 287, 307, 308, 309, 332n, 333n
Ras-chun-pa: 502
Rigs-Ldan: 305, 306
Rigs-Ldan 'Jam-dpal-grags-pa: 298
Rigs-Ldan Padma-dkar-po: 298n, 361
Rin-rgyal-ba: 344
Rin-ccen: 39
Rin-chen Nam-mkha'-mchog-grub-dpal-bzañ-po: 375 (see also Nam-mkha'-mchog-grub-dpal-bzañ-po)
Rin-chen dPal-'byor: 204, 260, 261, 262, 413
Rin-chen-grags-pa: 105, 112, 119 (see also Ba-ri Lo-tsa-ba)
Rin-chen-grub: 107 (see also Butson Rin-chen-grub)
Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan: 343
Rin-chen-mchog (rMa Lo-tsa-ba): 134, 333
Rin-chen-mchog (Ratnottara): 369
Rin-chen-dpal-grub-261
Rin-chen-rtse-mo: 305
Rin-chen-gzon-nu: 343
Rin-chen-bzañ-po: 2, 21, 118, 123, 129, 130, 132, 133, 159, 163, 216, 217n, 317, 324, 325, 326, 351, 352, 444, 466, 478, 479, 485
Rin-chen-señ-ge: 342
Rin-chen-gsal: 357 (see also Po-to-ba)
Rin-chen-bsod-nams-bzañ-po: 59
Rin-po-che Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan: 271
Rin-spun's (clan name): 73
Rin-rtse: 362 (see also Bo-doñ Rin-po-che rTse-mo)
Roñ-pa rGwa-lo: 373 (see also rGwa Lo-tsa-ba)
Roñ-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, 307 (see also Bla-ma rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan)
Roñ-pa Šes-rab-señ-ge: 306, 373 (see also Šes-rab-señ-ge)
Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje: 59
Lam-phran-btbrtan: 386
Lam-btbrtan: 385
Li-byin: 324
Legs-pa'i-šes-rab: 265
Ša-ba-ri dBañ-phug: 413
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sākya-blo-gros</td>
<td>110, 312</td>
<td>skya Pañḍita Kun-dga’-rgyal-mtshan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākya-’od</td>
<td>352n</td>
<td>Sa-rba-de: 431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākya-ye-عش</td>
<td>442 (see also 'Brog-mi Sākya-ye-عش)</td>
<td>Sa-ra-na: 424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākya-ye-عش (1147-1207): 443n</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sañ-ši: 378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākya-ye-عش (1354/7-1453): 53</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sañs-rgyas-grags-pa: 112, 492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākya-ye-Ses</td>
<td>443n</td>
<td>Sañs-rgyas-phin-tshogs: 341n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākya-ye-Ses</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>Sañs-rgyas-ye-عش: 246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sākya-ye-Ses</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>Sañs-rgyas-rin-chen-pa: 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ses-rab-dpal-bzan-po</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Sañs-rgyas-lhun-grub: 303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ses-rab-dpal</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Sad-na-legs: 1, 332 (see also Khri-lde-sron-brtsan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ses-rab-dpal-bzañ-po, Ses-rab-dpal-bbons-pa</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Sa’i lDe: 313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ses-rab-dpal-byun-gnas</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>Sum-pa mKhan-po: 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ses-rab-brtsegs</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>Sum-pa Lo-tsa-ba Dharma-yon-tan: 478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ses-rab-odzer</td>
<td>227 (see also Jam-dbyaños-gsar-ma)</td>
<td>Se sPyil-bu-ba: 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ses-rab-šen-ęé</td>
<td>306, 374</td>
<td>Se-chen, Se-mo-che-ba Nam-mkha’-rgyal-mtshan: 305, 362, 370 (see also Nam-mkha’-rgyal-mtshan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šoň Blo-gros-brtan-pa</td>
<td>216, 306</td>
<td>Se-ston Kun-rig: 443, 446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šoň-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, Žong Lo-tsa-ba</td>
<td>304, 305, 367, 374</td>
<td>Se-tsha bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan: 286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bŠes-ghen-bzañ-po</td>
<td>358, 364</td>
<td>Se-źen-ge-dpal: 362 (see also U-rgyan-pa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-skya Chen-po, Sa-chen Kun-dga’-sni-po</td>
<td>444 (see also Kun-dga’-sni-po)</td>
<td>Se-źen-ge-bzañ-po: 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-skya-pa Nag-dbañ-kun-dga’-bsod-nams: 477 (see also Nag-dbañ-kun-dga’-bsod-nams)</td>
<td>Sems-dpa’-chen-po gŽon-nu-rgyal-mchog: 77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-skvoi</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>So-dra-bo-dhi: 431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-khi-btsun</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sog-zlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan: 317n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa-chen Kun-sniśn</td>
<td>268 (see also Kun-dga’-sniśn-pa)</td>
<td>Sroñ-ňe: 317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāre</td>
<td>458 (see also Sa-Ser-be’u)</td>
<td>Sroñ-brtsang-sgam-pa: 11, 12, 51, 52, 69, 307, 308, 309, 311, 312, 313n, 314, 316, 322, 323, 324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gSal-rgyal</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>gSal-snań: 17, 325, 378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gSal-be’u</td>
<td>394</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bSod-sñoms-pa: 306
bSod-nams Bla-ma: 282, 283
bSod-nams-bkra-sis: 26, 77
bSod-nams-grags-pa: 315n, 317
bSod-nams-grub: 375
bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho (Lo-chen): 9, 54, 55
bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan: 483
bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzañ-po: 271, 272, 313n, 315n, 455, 458, 459, 489
bSod-nams-stobs: 343
bSod-nams-rnam-par-rgyal-ba: 54
bSod-nams-dpal: 454, 458
bSod-nams-rtse-mo: 103, 268, 269, 272n, 444, 457
bSod-nams-bzañ-po: 271
bSod-nams-señ-ge: 362
Ha-mu dKar-po: 287
lHa: 383
lHa 'Gro-ba'i-mgon-po: 282 (see also Phag-mo-gru-pa)
lHa-gcig Wun-shiñ Kon-jo: 308 (see also Wun-shiñ Kon-jo)
lHa-rgje sGo-sbug-pa: 443n (see also Zur Śâkya-señ-ge)
lHa-rgje dPal-kyi-rgyal-mtshan: 370
lHa-rgje-ma: 283
lHa-tho-tho-ri-gñan-brtsan: 313, 314
lHa-lde, lHa-sde: 318
lHa-dbañ-gzi-brjid-can: 358
lHa-ye-šes-rgyal-mtshan: 469
lHa'i-rgyal-mtshan: 204, 262
lHa'i-dbañ-phyug: 358, 363
lHa'i-rig-pa-señ-ge: 324
lHa'i-rin-po-che: 489
lHas-btsas: 489, 491 (see also 'Gos lHas-btsas)
A-dhe-ra-ba, A-dhi-ra-ba: 216
A-mes Nag-dbañ-kun-dga'-'bsod-nams Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan:
    477
A-mes-chen-po Sañ-rgyas-ye-šes: 478
A-hor-ša: 384 (see also Hwa-šañ Mahåyåna)
Ag-len: 323n
U-rgyan-pa: 265, 266, 362
O-rgyan-gliñ-pa: 210
O-lo: 216

NAMES OF DEITIES

Kun-tu-żal: 225
Kun-tu-bzañ-po: 125
Kye'i-rdo-ʁje: 163
Kye'i-rdor-mtshan-cha-can: 504
dKar-mo-ñi-zla: 197
sKu Kye'i-rdo-ʁje: 503
sKyid-roñ Wa-ti: 432n
Khams-gsum-rnam-rgyal: 252 (see also 'Jig-rten-gsum-las-rnam-par-rgyal-ba)
Khro-pho Byams-chen: 341n
Khro-bo dPal rDo-rje-gзон-nu: 476
Khro-bo sMe-brtsegs-ljåñ-khu: 108
Khro-bo sMe-brtsegs-dud-kha: 108
Khro-mo rMe-(b)rtsegs: 108
Khro-mo Yum-chen-mo: 135
mKha'-gro-rgya-mtsho: 478
mKha'-gro-ma rMe-(b)rtsegs: 108
'Khor-lo-bde-mchog: 482
'Khor-lo-sdom-pa: 163
Gañ-ba-bzañ-po: 111n
Gur-mgon: 47, 105, 164n, 196, 201, 203, 432
Gos-dkar-mo: 483
Gri-gug-mgon-po: 197
Glu-chen-ma: 252
dGra-nag: 502
mGon-po: 175, 192
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mGon-po</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mGon-po-stag-žon</td>
<td>174, 175, 176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mGon-po-nag-po-chen-po</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mGon-po-phyag-drug-pa</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mGon-po-beñ-dka'-ma</td>
<td>175, 178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rGyal-chen sde-bzi</td>
<td>48, 157, 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rGyal-ba Šakya-thub-pa</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rGyal-mtshan-rtse-mo</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sGyu-'phrul-dra’ba</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sGrol-ma-dkar-mo</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sGrol-ma-ljan-mo</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sGrol-ma-bla-med</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bCom-ldan-rdo-rje-mkha’-’gro</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jo-bo Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje, Jo-bo Yid-bzin-nor-bu, Jo-bo Šakyamuni</td>
<td>12, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Jam-dpal-rgyal-pa’-'phrul-dra’ba</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Jam-dpal-ye-šes-šems-dpa’</td>
<td>222, 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Jam-dbyaños-rgyal-po-rol-pa</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Jam-dbyaños-smra-ba’i-senge</td>
<td>116, 261, 380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Jig-rten-dbañ-phyug</td>
<td>159, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Jig-rten-gsum-las-rnam-par-rgyal-ba</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rJe-btsun-ma Señ-Iden-nags-kyi-sgrl-ma</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sNiñ-po Kye’i-rdo-rje</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te</td>
<td>313n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rTa-mgrin</td>
<td>107, 120, 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rTa-mgrin-kye-rdo-rje</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rTa-mchog</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rTa-mchog-kye-rdo-rje</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rTa-mchog-rol-pa</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rTa-bdag brgyad</td>
<td>39, 180, 181, 184, 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rTag-pa-kye-rdo-rje</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sToñ-chen-mo</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sToñ-chen</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sToñ-po-che</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The</td>
<td>313n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thugs Kve’i-rdo-rje</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thugs kyi-mkha’-’gro-kye-rdo-rje</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thugs-nag-po-chen-po</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thugs-nag-po-Padma-dra’ba</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thub-chen, Thub-pa-chen-po</td>
<td>124, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thub-pa-brag-la mGon-po</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dam-tshig-sgrl-ma</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dañ-po’i-saños-rgyas</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dur-khrod-kyi-bdag-po</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dus-kyi-'khor-lo</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dus-'khor lHa-mo-che</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don-žags</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don-yod-grub-pa</td>
<td>225, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drag-mo-mkha’-’gro-ma</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drañ-sroñ-rnam-maño-thos-pa</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gDol-pa-mkha’-’gro-ma</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bDag-med-ma</td>
<td>267, 505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bDud-rgyal</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bDud-rtsi</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bDud-rtsi-he-ru-ka</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bDe-mchog</td>
<td>267, 413, 502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bDe-mchog-rdo-rje-mkha’-’gro</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bDe-mchog-rdo-rje-šems-dpa’-zi-ba-dkar-po</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bDe-bar-bšegs-pa, bDe-bšegs</td>
<td>98, 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Dod-khams-dbañ-phyug-ma</td>
<td>202, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-ki-li-ki-la-yam</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-skub-tshur</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-mkha’-’gro</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-mkha’-’gro-ma</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-’khor-lo</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-gar-ma</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-grags</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-sgra</td>
<td>237, 238, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-chags-pa</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-chos</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-’jigs-byed</td>
<td>218, 485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-’jigs-byed-chens-pa</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-’jigs-byed-chen-pa</td>
<td>218, 485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-ni-ma</td>
<td>226, 483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-drang-ma</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-dri</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-bdag-med-ma</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-bdg-ma</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-nag-po-chen-po</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rDo-rje-gnod-šbyin</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
rgyal-po: 100
gTsug-gtor-rnam-par-rgyal-ma: 104
Tshe-dpag-med: 116, 261
mTshan-legs Yoñs-grags-dpal: 100
Zi-ba-bde-byed: 115
Zi-byed sGro-lma: 280
Ziň-skoyoň: 197
gZan-gyis-mi-thub-ma gDugs-dkar-mo-can: 106, 261
gZa’yum-chen-mo: 110
’Od-dpag-med: 101, 106, 169n, 228, 234
’Od-zer-can-ma: 104
’Od-zer-gtsug-gtor: 124
Ye-ses-sku-can: 222
Ye-ses-mkha’-gro-ma: 490, 505
Yum-chen-mo: 133, 144, 222
Yul-khor-sruň: 192
Ri-khrod-lo-ma: 106
Rig-pa-chen-mo: 110
Rig-bye-dma: 121, 127
Rin-chen-rgyal-poye-rdo-rje: 483
Rin-chen-sGro-lma: 483
Rin-chen-'byuň-ldan: 228, 234
Rin-chen-'byuň-ldan-dbugs-dbyuň: 233n
Ru’dren: 197
Ro-laňs-mkha’-gro-ma: 490
Las-kyi-dbaň-mo-che: 333
Lu-gu-rgyud-ma: 505

Legs-ldan-nag-po-srid-med-kyi-bu:
175 (see also mGon-po-beň-dka’-ma)
Šaky-a-thub-pa: 337
Šaky-a-seň-ge: 143
gšin-rje-gšed ’Jam-pa’i-rdo-rje: 160
gšin-rje-gšed-dgra-nag: 160
gšin-rje-gšed-dmar-po: 160, 472, 493
Saňs-rgyas-mkha’-gro: 164n
Saňs-rgyas-thod-pa: 502, 504
Saňs-rgyas-mthon-ba-don-yod: 51
Saňs-rgyas-spyan-ma: 483
Saňs-rgyas-he-ru-ka: 164
Seň-ge-sgra: 261
Seň-ldeň-nags-kyi-sGro-lma: 118, 261
So-sor-’braň-ma: 211, 213
gSaň-sňaš-chen-mo: 2/2
gSaň-dus: 494
gSaň-dus’-jig-rten-dbaň-phuyug: 494
gSaň-ba’-dus-pa ’Jam-pa’i-rdo-rje:
159
gSaň Kye’i-rdo-rje: 503
gSuň-dbaň-phuyug: 222
bSil-ba’i-tshal-chen-mo: 212
bSruň-ma lnga: 157, 210
IHa-mo Ral-gcig-ma: 115
IHa-mo-dpal-chen-mo: 179-180
Hüm-mdzad Khro-bo bcu-gcig: 506

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES (REAL AND MYTHICAL)

Kloň-rdol: 297
sKar-chuň, dKar-chuň: 1-2, 39, 136
sKyö-rön, sKyöd-groň: 8, 11, 12, 17, 352, 432
sKyöd-chu: 2, 341n, 357
Kha-rag: 442, 443
Khab Guň-thaň: 6
Khams: 40, 58, 280
Khro-brug: 39
Kö-a-ba: 7, 77, 341n

mKhar-kha, ’Khar-dga’: 61, 198, 260, 262
’Khor-chags: 4
Gaňs-can-vul: 313n
Gaňs-can-ri: 313n
Gam-pa: 59
Gu-ge: 267, 316
Guň-thaň: 9, 352
Gyer-ma-thaň: 40
Gra, Grwa: 54
Gram-pa I Ha-rtse: 267
Grwa-phyi-tsho-n-'dus Tshogs-pa: 274, 342
Grwa-nan-rgyal-glin Tshogs-pa: 342
Grum: 69
dGa’-ldan: 357
dGa’-ldan-phun-tshogs-glin: 77 (see also Jo-nañ)
dGa’-sdoñ: 331
dGe’-dun-sgañ: 59, 342
dGon-pa IDan-yul: 58
‘Grwa-phyi-tsho-n-’dus: 274 (see also Grwa-phyi-tsho-n-’dus Tshogs-pa)
rGya: 36
rGyan: 26, 54, 76, 77
rGyal-mkhar-rtse, rGyal-rtse: 58, 97
sGra-bsgyur-lo-tsa-phug: 267
rNam-rin, Nam-riñs: 47, 299
rNor E-wam: 1, 35, 170, 467, 468, 472, 476, 477, 490, 493
d’Nuł-chu: 58n, 59n, 278
rDo-rje-gdan: 68, 143
sDe-dge: 109, 198, 399, 414, 444
sDe-smad: 48
sDo-khams: 62, 272, 284
sDol-byun, Dul-chuñ, ‘Dul-chuñ, Dul-buñ: 58n, 59, 62
‘Dre-gun: 47, 203
rGyal-rtse: 58, 97
sGra-bsgyur-lo-tsa-phug: 267
sNe-thañ: 3, 6, 272, 274, 352
sNe-mo: 204-205
Ta-pho: 3, 4
Ta-zig: 41
rTa-nag: 286
sTag-sna-rdzoñ: 66
Thar-pa-glin: 160, 286, 287, 370
Thel: 65
mTho-glin, mTho-lđiñ, mThon-mthiñ, mThon-lđin, sTod-glin: 3, 4, 130, 312, 317, 318, 352
Dwags-po: 285, 288, 289
Din-ri: 280
gDan-sa-mthil: 9, 289
bDe-chen: 260, 261
bDe-ba-can (monastery): 352
bDe-ba-can (paradise): 101, 102
bDe-byañ-brtsegs-pa mchod-rten: 333-334
bDe-blon-riñ: 44
bDe-gšegs: 289
mDo-khaps: 62, 272, 284
mDo-smad: 48
mDol-byun, Dol-chuñ, ‘Dul-chuñ, Dul-buñ: 58n, 59, 62
‘Dre-gun: 47, 203
rDo-rje-gdan: 68, 143
lDan-dkar: 332
lDan-yul: 58
sDe-dge: 109, 198, 399, 400, 414, 444
Nag-chu-rdzoñ: 278
Nor-bu’i-khyun-rtse: 49, 57
gNas-rñiñ, gNas-sñiññ: 68, 191, 260, 261, 278, 304, 344, 413, 489
gNas-gsar: 47
gNod-sbyin-gañ-bzanañ: 40
sNar-thañ: 26, 27, 76, 78, 211, 414, 477
sNe’u-gdon: 8, 53, 65, 73
sNe’u-gdon Kun-bzañ-rtse: 343
sNe’u-gdon-rtse Tshogs-pa: 342, 343
Pa-snam: 61, 70, 311
Po-to: 357
Potala: 322, 323
Indexes

Po-gzik-bdag: 343n
dpal 'bras-spun-gi mchod-rten chen-po: 6
dpal-khor-chos-sde, dpal-khor-bde-chen: 60, 64, 65, 67, 71, 73, 75, 87, 96, 97, 102, 326, 343, 411, 465
spu-ru, spu-hra: 21, 316, 318
spel-mo-che: 62
spos-kha, spos-tshogs-chos-sde: 39n, 55, 66 (see also Chos-lun spos-kha)
spre'u-dmar: 73
Phag-mo-gru: 285
Phag-ri: 61, 72
'Phyo'i-rgyas: 39
'Phuril-sna'sprul-pa'i-lha-kha: 47
Bal-po: 306n
Bal-po-rdzo: 11
Be-chu: 39
bo-don-e: 362
Byan: 283, 303, 304
Byan Nam-ri, Byan Nam-ri'n: 299n (see also Nam-ri'n)
Byams-chen-chos-sde: 77
Byams-pa-gli: 54
Bye-rdzin-tshogs: 59, 342
Brag Yer-pa: 36, 49, 51, 430
Brag-lha-klu-phug, Brag-lha-klu-sbug: 17, 52
dBus: 299, 316, 333
dBen-dmar: 307
'Bras-khudson: 47
'Bri-gu: 323, 443n
'Bri-mtshams: 3, 342n
'Brug: 297
'Brug-yul: 297
Ma'n-mkhar: 267
Ma'n-yul: 17
Mar-yul: 316
Mi-na, Me-na: 44, 45, 47, 303, 378, 492n
Myan: 58, 59, 60n, 65, 66, 191, 265, 278, 304, 333
Mvu-gu-lun: 267, 443
sMan-tha: 27, 28
sMin-grol-glin: 62
sMon-gro: 245
gTsan: 28, 46, 60n, 61, 69, 73, 74, 76, 299, 316, 352
gTsan Chos-lun Tshogs-pa: 342n (see also Chos-lun Tshogs-pa)
gTsan-po: 54, 341n
rTse-chi, 3, 61, 62, 74, 271, 279, 342n, 431
rTse-tha: 8, 9, 65, 72, 163, 303, 367
Tshar-pa: 272
Tshal, 51
Tshal Gu'n-tha: 51, 52
Tshogs-chi, 59, 342
Tsho'n-dus'gur-mo: 339
mTshur-phu: 52, 209n
Zwa-lu: 1, 6, 7, 25, 50, 58, 59, 61, 68, 74, 78, 170, 245, 246, 264, 272, 274, 286, 305, 362, 373, 375, 411, 431, 459
Zwa-lu Kha'n-gsar: 459
Zang-zung: 316
b'Zad dNul-chu-chos-rdzo: 278
Za'n-dkar: 115, 135
Za'n-mdog-dpal-ri: 339
'A'za: 311
'U-sa'n-rdo, 'On-ca'n-rde'u: 2, 21, 39, 157
'Um-bu-bla-mkhar, Yum-bu-bla-sga: 313, 314
'Ol-kha: 5
Yam-bu: 339, 352n
Yar-klu'n: 7, 9, 39, 311-312, 313, 314n, 315, 321
Yar-stod-brag: 341n (see also Srin-po-ri)
Ye-ra: 5
g.Ya-sde: 204
g.Yar-mo-tha: 39, 40
g.Ye-dmar: 43
g.Ye-labs: 283
Ra-ma-sga: 2, 157
Ra-sa: 12
Rwa-sgre: 304, 341, 356n, 357, 459
Rwa-lu: 297
TITLES OF TEXTS

Ku-ruru-kulle'i sgrub-thabs: 122
Kun-rig dkyil-'khor-gyi bkod-pa: 134
Kye'-rdo-rje'i sgrub-pa'i thabs-kyi dka'-'grel: 163
Kye'i-rdo-rje' sgrub-pa'i thabs-kyi dka'-'grel: 163
Kye'i-rdo-rje'i dkyil-'khor-gyi la-skyi rim-pa'i cho-ga: 484
Kye'i-rdo-rje'i de-kho-na-nid rnam-par phye-ba-dañ / Kye'i-rdo-rje'i bsad-pa'i rgyud yañ-dag-par sbyor-ba-dañ / rDo-rje-mkha'-'gro-las rtsa'i 'khor-lo'i skabs: 484
Kye'i-rdo-rje' žes bya-ba rgyud-kyi rgyal-po: 163
dKyil-'khor cho-ga yon-tan 'byuñ-gnas: 134, 237, 238
dKyil-'khor gsal byed ni-ma'i 'od-zer žes bya-ba'i skabs dan-po-las rtsa-rgyud de-nid bsad-pa'i dkyil-'khor bkod-pa: 236
Indexes

bKa'-rgyud gser phreng-ba: 284
bKa'-thaṅ sde-lña: 380
bKa'-gdamschos-'byun: 444
bKa'-bsdubži-pa: 299
Kha-sbyor dbye-ba: 492
Khro-bo'i rgyal-po sMe-brtsegs-la bstod-pa'i sṅags-dan bcas: 108
mKha'-gro-ma-rdo-rje-gur-gyi mkha'-gro rnam-pa lña'i sgrub-pa'i thabs: 483
mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston: 36, 316n
Grub-thob brgyad-cu-rtsa-bzi'i cha-lugs 'dzin-tshul: 414
Grub-thob brgyad-cu'i mñon-par rtogs-pa: 414
Grub-thob brgyad-bcu-rtsa-bzi'i lo-rgyus: 413
Grub-thob lña-bcu'i rtogs-pa: 414
dGyes-pa'i rdo-rje-las byuṅ-ba'i Ku-ru-kullevi sgrub-thabs: 121
dGra-nag-gyi rgyud: 160
mGur-gyi bsdus-don: 457
'Grel-chen dri-med 'od: 298n
rGyal-rtsechos-rgyal-gyi rnam-par thar-pa dad-pa'i lo-thog dṅos-grub-kyi char-'bebs: 57 (see also Char-'bebs)
rGyal-mtshan-rtse-mo'i dpuṅ-rgyan-gyi sgrub thabs: 114
rGyal-rabs: 315n
rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ: 313n, 315n, 317, 459
rGyal-sras-lag-len so-bdun ma: 278
rGyu-'grel chen-mo: 299
rGyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po dpal rDo-rje-mkha'-gro: 164, 503, 504
rGyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po dpal yan-dag-par sbyor-ba'ai thig-le, 492
rGyud-kyi rgyal-po dpal bDe-mchog-nuṅ-nu: 163, 479
rGyud-kyi dpal gDan-bzi-pa'i 'grel-pa dran-pa'i rgyu-mtshan: 491
rGyud thams-cad-kyi sṅin-po phyi-ma'i rTa-mgrin-gyi sgrub-thabs: 120
rGyud thams-cad-kyi bdag-po 'Jam-dpal-mtshan-brjod rigs-bsdus-kyi sgrub-thabs ye-ses 'bar-ba'i ral-gri: 225n
rGyud-sde kun-btus: 170, 469, 472
rGyud-sdespyi'i rnam-par gzag-pa rgyas-par brjod: 103
rGyud-sde spyi'i rnam-par-bzag: 103, 271, 444
rGyud-sde spyi'i rnam-par-bzag rgyud-sde rin-po-che'i mdzes-rgyan: 103, 108, 477
sGyu-'phrul-chen-mo'i rgyud: 164
sGyu-'phrul sde-brgyad rdor-dbyins dgoṅs-dus: 332
sGrub-thabs kun-btus: 109, 198, 400
sGrub-thabs rgya-mtsho, 106, 110, 111, 114, 115, 118, 120, 121, 122, 125, 127, 399n
sGron-magsal-bar byed-pa žes bya-ba'i rgya-cher bṣad-pa: 369
sGrol-ma-dkar-mo phyag drug-ma'i sgrub-thabs: 125
sGrol-ma-dkar-mo'i sgrub-thabs: 125
sGrol-ma rtog-pa-las byuṅ-ba'i Ku-ru-kulle'i sgrub-thabs: 121
sGrol-ma-las 'byuṅ-ba'i Ku-ru-kulle'i sgrub-thabs: 121
sGrol-ma'i rtog-pa-las byuñ-ba'i tshig lhug-pa'i Rig-byed-ma'i sgrub-thabs: 121
Nan-son-las-sgrol-ma'i sgrub-thabs: 118
Nes-don rgya-mtsho: 299
mNon-pa kun-btus: 278
mNon-par brjod-pa'i rgyud bla-ma: 503, 505
mNon-par bya-n-chub-pa-yi tantra: 330
bCom-ldan-'das gDan-bži yab bka'i sgrub-thabs rnal-byor s{n-mgi thig-le: 490
bCom-ldan-'das dpal bDe-mchog-khor-lo'i dkyil-khor-gyi cho-ga: 163
bCom-ldan-'das-ma Nor-rgyun-ma'i rtog-pa: 110
bCom-ldan-'das Mi-khrugs-pa'i sgrub-thabs: 126
bCom-ldan-'das Tshe-dañ-ye-šes-dpag-tu-med-pa'i dkyil-khor-gyi cho-ga: 117
Char-bebs: 57, 68, 70, 71, 73, 198, 274, 279, 300, 303, 304, 343
Che-mchog: 334n
Chos-rje thams-cad mkhyen-pa Bu-ston lo-tsà-ba'i rnam-par thar-pa / sNim-pa'i me-tog: 369 (see also sNim-pa'i me-teg)
Chos-byuñ: 77, 102, 260, 305, 314n, 315n, 316, 317
Chos-la 'jug-pa'i sgo: 271
mChog-gi Dañ-po'i-sañs-rgyas-las byuñ-ba rgyud-kyi rgyal-po dpal Dus-kyi-khor-lo: 169, 464
mChog-sbyin-sgrol-ma'i sgrub-thabs: 118
mChod-stod, 334n
Jo-nañ-gi gnas-bśad: 77
'Jam-dpal-sku: 330
'Jam-dpal-rgyal-po-chen-po-rol-pa'i sgrub-thabs: 122
'Jam-dpal-chos-byĩns-gsuñ-dbañ-gi dkyil cho-ga: 123
'Jam-dpal-ye-šes-sems-dpa'i Dañ-po'i-sañs-rgyas žes bya-ba'i sgrub-thabs: 123, 133
'Jam-dpal-ye-šes-sems-dpa'i don dam-pa'i mtshan yañ-dag-par brjod-pa: 132, 216 (see also mtshan-brjod)
'Jam-dpal-gsīn-rje-zla-gsān-nag-po: 21
'Jam-dbyañs-smra-ba'i-señ-ge'i sgrub-thabs: 116
'Jig-rgten-gsum-las-rnam-par-rgyal-ba rtog-pa'i rgyal-po chen-po: 114
'Jig-rgten-gsum-las-rnam-par-rgyal-ba'i sgrub-thabs: 143
rJe-btsun dpal Kye'i-rdo-łje'i bha-ṭā-ra-ka'ĩ bstod-pa: 484
'rJe-btsun-ma 'phags-pa sGrol'ma'i mtshan brgya-ṛtsa-brgyad-pa: 125
rŅiñ-ma rgyud-'bum: 333
rŅiñ-ma'i chos-'byung: 337
sNim-pa'i me-tog: 369, 375
rTa-mgrin-gyi sgrub-thabs: 107, 120
rTa-mchog-gi sgrub-thabs: 121
rTog-pa thams-cad 'dus-pa žes bya-ba Sañs-rgyas thams-cad-dañ mṇam-par sbyor-ma mkha'-'gro-ma sgyu-ma bde-ba'i mchog-gi rgyud phyi-ma'i phyi-ma: 485
Indexes

rTog-pa thams-cad bs dus-pa r tsa-ba'i rgyud: 131
sToñ-chen-mo Rab-tu'-joms-pa žes bya-ba mdo: 115, 211
sTobs-po-che'i sgr ub-thabs: 114
sTobs-po-che'i gzuñs: 114
brTag(-pa) gnis(-pa): 483
Thugs-rje-chen-po padma-dra-ba'i sgr ub thugs-rje'i 'od-zer 'byuñ-ba: 169
Thub-dbañ g nas-br tan bcu-drug 'khor-dañ bcas-pa'i phyag-mchod rjes-gan-dañ bcas: 399
Them-spåns-ma: 72, 108
Thob-yig gsal-ba'i me-long: 103
Dad-pa'i lo-thog rgyas-byed dños-grub-kyi char-'bebs: 57 (see also Char-'
'hehs)

Dam-pa'i chos-kyi 'byuñ tshul legs-bṣad bstan-pa'i rgya-mtshor 'jug-pa'i
gru-chen žes bya-ba r tsom-'phro kha-skö-dañ bcas: 341n
Dam-pa'i chos Padma-dkar-po žes bya-ba theg-pa chen-po'i mdo: 113
Dus-kyi-'khor-lo'i rgyud phyi-ma: 464
Dus-'khor chos-'byuñ rgyud-sde'i zab-don sgo-'byed rin-chen gc es-pa'i ide-
mig: 358, 465

De-bzin-gsegs-pa dgra-bcom-pa yañ-dag-par rdzogs-pa'i Sañ-rgyas ŋan-soñ
thams-cad yoñs-su sbyoñ-ba gzi-brjíd-kyi rgyal-po'i brtag-pa phyogs
gcig-pa: 134

De-bzin-gsegs-pa thams-cad-kyi sku-dañ gsün-dañ thugs-kyi gsar-ba rgyan-
gyi bkod-pa žes bya-ba rgyud-kyi rgyal-po: 133, 143

De-bzin-gsegs-pa thams-cad-kyi sku-gsün-thugs-kyi gsar-chen gsar-ba
'dus-pa žes bya-ba brtag-pa'i rgyal-po chen-po: 159, 466

De-bzin-gsegs-pa thams-cad-kyi sku-gsün-thugs gSín-rje-gsé-dag-po-žes
bya-ba'i rgyud: 160, 473, 502

De-bzin-gsegs-pa thams-cad-kyi de-kho-na-ńid bs dus-pa žes bya-ba theg-pa
chen-po'i mdo: 129

De-bzin-gsegs-pa thams-cad-kyi yum sgrol-ma-las sna-thogs 'byuñ-ba žes
bya-ba'i rgyud: 118-119

Deb-ther snon-po: 9, 47, 58, 65n, 77, 124n, 268n, 272, 278, 283, 284, 298n,
299, 304, 305, 306, 312, 313n, 314n, 315n, 330, 344, 357, 361, 369,
413, 433n, 437n, 442, 459

Deb-ther dmar-po: 315n

Deb-ther dmar-po gsar-ma: 303, 304, 311n, 315n

Don thams-cad grub-par rab-tu-sbyin-ma'i 'phags-ma sGrol-ma'i sgrub-
thabs: 118

Drag-snags: 334n
gDan-bzi: 489
bDe-mchog-gi sgrub-thabs: 482
bDe-mchog Lu'i-pa'i lugs-kyi mnon-par rtogs-pa'i bsgom-pa'i rim: 482
bDe-mchog Lüyî-pa'i ŋi ká: 163
rDo-rje khros-pa rig-pa mchog-gi rgyud-kyi le'u: 476
rDo-rje-mkha': 'gro rnal-'byor-ma'i sgrub-thabs: 164
rDo-rje-gur: 506
rDo-rje-mgur rgyan: 457
rDo-rje-'jigs-byed-chen-po'i rgyud: 494
rDo-rje sǐnin-po rgyan-gyi rgyud: 125, 144
rDo-rje-gtum-po'i sgo-nas phyir bzlog-pa'i 'khor-lo: 502
rDo-rje gDan-bzi'i dkyil-'khor rgyas-pa'i sgrub-thabs mi-brjod-par dran-
byed: 490
rDo-rje-rnam-par-'joms-pa žes bya-ba'i khrus-kyi cho-ga'i 'grel-pa: 109
rDo-rje-rnam-par-'joms-pa žes bya-ba'i sgrub-thabs: 109
rDo-rje-rnam-par-'joms-pa žes bya-ba'i guṇs: 109, 123
rDo-rje-rnam-par-'joms-pa'i dkyil-'khor-kyi cho-ga: 109
rDo-rje-rnam-par-'joms-pa'i khrus-kyi cho-ga: 124
rDo-rje-rnam-par-'joms-pa'i sgrub-thabs: 124
rDo-rje-phag-mo mňon-par 'byuñ-ba: 502
rDo-rje-phur-pa rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi dum-bu: 476
rDo-rje-phur-pa'i dkyil-chog yid-'ön blo-gros kha-byed bźin-las rin-chen
do-šal-du žal 'phaṅ-pa-rnams-kyis rtogs-par sla-ba yid-kyi mun-sel: 477
rDo-rje-phur-pa'i sgrub-skor: 477
rDo-rje-phur-pa'i mňon-par rtogs: 477
rDo-rje rtse-mo: 135
rDo-rje-hûm-mdzad-kyi sgrub-thabs: 503
sDom-'byuñ: 7
bsDus-pa'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po Dus-kyi-'khor-lo'i 'grel-bšad rtsa-ba'i rgyud-
kyi rjes-su 'jug-pa ston-phrag-bcu-gñis-pa dri-ma med-pa'i 'od: 464-465
bsDus-pa'i rim-pa'i sgrub-thabs: 467
Nag-po-chen-po'i 'phrin-las gsaṅ-ba'i sgrub-thabs: 112
Nor-rgyun-ma'i sgrub-thabs: 110
gNas-brtan phyag-mchod: 379, 384, 407
gNas-brtan spyan-drañ-ba: 379
gNod-sbyin-gyi sde-dpon chen-po Lag-na-rdo-rje-gos-sǐnin-po-can 'Khor-
lo-chen-po'i dkyil-'khor-kyi lha-tshogs-la bstod-pa: 159-160
rNam-thos-kyi bu'i sgrub-thabs: 115
rNam-thos-sras-kyi sgrub-pa'i thabs: 115
rNam-par-snañ-mdzad mňon byaṅ-chub rgyud, rNam-par-snañ-mdzad-
chen-po mňon-par rdzogs-par byaṅ-chub-pa rnam-par sprul-pa byin-
gyis-rol-pa šin-tu rgyas-pa mdo-sde dpaṅ-po'i rgyal-po žes bya-ba'i
chos-kyi rnam-graṅs: 120, 125
rNam-bšad ni'-od: 457
rNal-'byor chen-po'i rgyud rDo-rje-'phreṅ-ba mňon-par brjod-pa rgyud
thams-cad-kyi sǐnin-po gsaṅ-ba rnam-par phye-ba: 494
rNal-'byor-ma'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-pa dpal gDan-bzi-pa: 489, 505
Padma-gar-gyi-dbañ-phug-gi sgrub-thabs: 119
Padma- than-yig: 18, 331, 332, 339
Padma-dra-ba: 117
Padma-dra-ba 'byuñ-ba'i sgrub-thabs: 170
Padma-spyan-ras-gzigs-dbañ-phyug-gi padma-dra-ba’i rim-pa’i bCom-ldan-das dkyil-khor-du mchod-pa’i cho-ga: 107

dPag-bsam ljon-bzañ: 430

dPal Kye-rdo-rje’i sgrub-pa’i-thabs: 163

dPal Kye’i-rdo-rje’i rguyd-kyi rim-pa-las bdag byin-gyis-brlab-pa Ku-ru-kulle’i sgrub-thabs: 121

dPal Kye’i-rdo-rje’i mar-me’i rtse-mo lta-bu’i gdmams-pa: 484

dPal kha-sbyor thig-le žes bya-ba rnal-’byor-ma’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po’i rgya-cher ‘grel-pa yañ-dag-par lta-ba’i dran-pa’i snañ-ba: 492

dPal mKha’-gro-ma rDo-rje-gur-gyi dkyil-khor sgrub-thabs-pa žes bya-ba’i rjes-su ‘grañ-ba’i sgrub-thabs: 483

dPal mKha’-’gro-rgya-mtsho rnal-’byor-ma’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po: 478

dPal mKha’-’gro-rgya-mtsho’i rgyud-kyi dkyil-khor-gyi ’khor-lo’i sgrub-thabs rin-po-che padma-ra-ga’i gter: 478


dPal mGon-po’i nañ-sgrub: 112

dPal-mchog dañ-po žes bya-ba theg-pa chen-po’i rtog-pa’i rgyal-po: 130, 131, 245, 248, 251, 252, 321

dPal-mchog-dañ-po’i ’grel-pa: 130

dPal-mchog-dañ-po’i rgya-cher bśad-pa: 130

dPal-mchog-dañ-po’i sṅags-kyi rtog-pa’i dam-bu: 130

dPal gTum-po-khro-bo-chén-po’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po: 502

dPal rTa-mgrin-gyi sgrub-thabs: 107

dPal gDan-bži-pa’i sgrub-pa’i thabs: 491

dPal gDan-bži-pa’i nmam-par-bśad-pa: 490

dPal gDan-bži-pa’i bśad-pa’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po sṅags-kyi-cha: 489

dPal gDan-bži’i chu’i sbyin-sreg: 491

dPal Dus-khor sku-gsun-thugs yoñs-rdzogs-kyi dkyil-khor: 466

dPal bDe-mchog-sdом-pa-’byuñ-ba žes bya-ba’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po: 502

dPal rDo-rje-’jigs-byed-kyi rtog-pa’i rgyud-kyi-rgyal-po: 160

dPal rDo-rje-’jigs-byed chen-po’i rgyud: 160, 467

dPal rDo-rje-sniñ-po rgyan-gyi rgyud: 469, 494

dPal rDo-rje sniñ-po rgyan ces bya-ba’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po: 133, 144, 238, 245

dPal rDo-rje-gzhon-nu’i sgrub-thabs bklangs-pas don-grub: 477

dPal rDo-rje-sems-dpa’i sgrub-thabs: 482

dPal-ldan mKha’-spyod-kyi sgrub-thabs: 118


dPal Nag-po-chen-po’i rgyud: 105, 113

dPal Nor-rgyun-ma’i sgrub-thabs-dañ bstod-pa: 110-111

dPal yañ-dag-par sbyor-ba’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po’i rgya-cher ‘grel-pa mnañ-gi sñe-ma: 492

dPal Sañs-rgyas thams-cad-dañ mnañ-par sbyor-ba mkha’-’gro sgyu-ma
bde-ba mchog-gi don rnam-par bshad-pa: 489
dPal Sañs-rgyas thams-cad-daṅ mňam-par sbyor-ba mkha’-’gro sgyu-ma
bde-ba’i mchog ces bya-ba’i rgyud phyi-ma: 485
dPal Sañs-rgyas thams-cad-daṅ mňam-par sbyor-ba žes bya-ba’i rgyud-kyi
dka’-’grel: 485
dPal Sañs-rgyas thams-cad-daṅ mňam-par sbyor-ba’i dkyil’khor sgrub-pa’i
rim-pa: 489
dPal Sañs-rgyas-thod-pa žes bya-ba rnal’-byor-ma’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po: 164,
504
dPal Sañs-rgyas-thod-pa žes bya-ba’i dkyil’-khor-gyi cho-ga’i rim-pa gsal-
ba: 169
dPal Sañs-rgyas-thod-pa’i rgyud-kyi dka’-’grel ye-ses ldan-pa: 164, 169
dPal Sañs-rgyas-thod-pa’i sgrub-thabs: 169
dPal gSaṅ-ba’ dus-pa ’Jam-pa’i rdo-rje’i dkyil’-khor-gyi cho-ga si-ta’i kloñ-
chen ’jigs-bre sgañ-ge’i kha’-’babs: 469
dPal gSaṅ-ba’ dus-pa’i ’Jam-dpal-gyi sgrub-thabs: 159
dPal gSin-rje-gsed-dmar-po žes bya-ba’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po: 160, 472, 493
dPal gSin-rje-gsed-dmar-po’i dkyil’-khor-gyi cho-ga: 472
dPal gSin-rje-gsed-dmar-po’i sgrub-thabs: 472
sPañ-bkon phyag-rgya-pa: 314n
’Phags-pa Kun-tu-bzaṅ-po’i mtshan brgya-rtsa-brgyad-pa gzuņs-snags-daṅ
bcas: 125
’Phags-pa khro-bo’i rgyal-po chen-po Mi-g.yo-ba De-bzìn-gsегs-pa thams-
cad-kyi stobs dpag-tu med-pa rtul-phod-pa ’dul-bar gzuņs-pa žes bya-
ba’i rto-pa: 112
’Phags-pa mKha’-’gro-ma rDo-rje-gur: 203
’Phags-pa mKha’-’gro-ma rDo-rje-gur žes bya-ba’i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-
po’i brtags-pa: 483, 506
’Phags-pa rgyal-mtshan-gyi-rtse-mo’i dpuṅ-rgyan ces bya-ba’i gzuņs: 114
’Phags-pa sGroł-ma Ku-ru-kulle’i rto-pa: 122
’Phags-pa ŋan’-gro thams-cad yoṅs-su sbyoṅ-ba gTsug-tor-rnam-par-
rgyal-ba žes bya-ba’i gzuņs: 105
’Phags-pa ’Jam-dpal-gyi rtse-ba’i rgyud: 102, 110, 116, 312n
’Phags-pa ’Jam-dpal-gyi mtshan yaṅ-dag-par brjod-pa’i’ grel-pa: 133, 227
’Phags-pa ’Jam-dpal-gyi mtshan yaṅ-dag-par brjod-pa’i rgya-cher bshad-pa:
132
’Phags-pa ’Jam-dpal-ye-ses-sems-dpa’i de-kho-na-nid ces bya-ba’i sgrub-
thabs: 123
’Phags-pa rTa-mgrin-gyi sgrub-thabs: 107
’Phags-pa sTobs-po-che žes bya-ba theg-pa chen-po’i mdo: 113-114
’Phags-pa De-bzìn-gsегs-pa’i gtsug-tor-nas byuṅ-ba’i gDugs-dkar-po-can-
gZan-gyis-mi-thub-pa phyir bzlog-pa chen-mo mchog-tu grub-pa žes
bya-ba’i gzuņs: 107
’Phags-pa De-bzìn-gsегs-pa’i gtsug-tor-nas byuṅ-ba’i gDugs-dkar-mo-can
gZan-gyis-mi-thub-ma žes bya-ba’i gzuņs: 107
’Phags-pa Don-yod-zags-pa’i cho-ga žib-mo’i rgyal-po: 115, 118, 119
Phags-pa Don-yod-zags-pa'i snin-po žes bya-bal theg-pa chen-po'i mdo: 119
Phags-pa Don-yod-zags-pa'i snin-po žes bya-ba'i gzuńs: 120
Phags-pa Don-yod-zags-pa'i rtog-pa'i rgyal-po'i cho-ga: 118
Phags-pa gDan-bzi-pa'i rnam-par-bṣad-pa: 491
Phags-pa Dri-ma-med-par-grags-pas-bstan-pa žes bya-bal theg-pa chen-po'i mdo: 209n
Phags-pa bDe-ba-can-gyi bkod-pa žes bva-bal theg-pa chen-po'i mdo: 209n
Phags-pa rDo-rje-'jigs-byed-kyi gzuńs: 468
Phags-pa rDo-rje ri-rab chen-po'i rtse-mo'i kha'na-pa brtsegs-pa'i gzuńs: 109, 123
Phags-pa rDo-rje-sa-'og-gi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po: 106, 126
Phags-pa Nag-po-chen-po'i gzuńs rims-nad thams-cad-las thar-par byed-pa: 113
Phags-pa Nor-gyi-rgyun žes bya-ba'i gzuńs: 110
Phags-pa gNod-gnas-dbañ-po'i ji-ltar 'byuñ-ba'i rtog-pa: 111n
Phags-pa Pārna-sābari rtog-pa: 106
Phags-pa dpal mGon-po-nag-po žes bya-ba'i gzuńs: 105, 113
Phags-pa dPun-bzañ-gis žus-pa žes bya-ba'i rgyud: 128n
Phags-pa sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbañ-phyug-gi rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po padma-dra-ba: 117, 169
Phags-pa sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbañ-phyug-phony-stōn sgrub-thabs: 118
Phags-pa sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbañ-phyug-señ-ge-sgra'i gzuńs: 119
Phags-pa sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbañ-phyug Hayagrīva'i gzuńs: 107, 121
Phags-pa byan-chub sms-dpa' sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbañ-phyug phyag-stōn sphy-gi-noon-dañ ldan-pa'i Thugs-rje-chen-po'i sms rgya-cher yongs-su rdzogs-pa žes bya-ba'i gzuńs: 314n
Phags-pa Byams-pa žus-pa žes bya-bal theg-pa chen-po'i mdo: 113
Phags-pa Byams-pa'i dam-bcas-pa žes bya-ba'i gzuńs: 113
Phags-pa Byams-pa'i mštshan brgya-rtsa-brgyad-pa gzuṅs-sṅags-dañ bcas-pa: 113
Phags-pa Mi-g.yo-bal žes bya-ba'i gzuṅs: 111
Phags-pa Tshe-dañ-ye-ses-dpag-tu-med-pa žes bya-bal theg-pa chen-po'i mdo: 117
Phags-pa Tshe-dañ-ye-ses-dpag-tu-med-pa'i sgrub-thabs: 117
Phags-pa Tshe-dañ-ye-ses-dpag-tu-med-pa'i sniṅ-po žes bya-ba'i gzuṅs: 117
Phags-pa Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po'i sniṅ-po: 111
Phags-pa mštshan yan-dag-par brjod-pa'i rgya-cher 'grel-pa mštshan gsaṅ-sṅags-kyi don-du rnam-par lta-ba: 132
Phags-pa Za-ma-tog bkod-pa žes bya-bal theg-pa chen-po'i mdo: 314n
Phags-pa Ri-khrod-lo-ma-gyon-ma žes bya-ba'i gzuṅs: 106
Phags-pa Rig-sṅags-kyi-rgyal-mo rMa-byai-yan-sṅiṅ: 211n
Phags-pa Rig-pa'i-rgyal-mo So-sor-'bras-chen-mo: 211n
Phags-pa Lag-na-rdo-rje-gos-sṅiṅ-po-can drag-po gsum 'dul-bal žes bya-ba'i rgyud: 159, 494
Phags-pa las-kyi sgrīb-pa thams-cad rnam-par sbyoṅ-bal žes bya-ba'i gzuṅs: 126
'Phags-ma mKha'-spyon-'khyi sgrub-thabs: 118
'Phags-ma 'Od-zer-can 'zes bya-ba'i gzuñs: 104
'Phags-ma Ra-l-gcig-ma'i sgrub-thabs: 115
'Phags-ma Señ-lde-n-nags-kyi-sgrol-ma'i sgrub-thabs: 118
Phyag-na-rdo-rje dkyil-'khor-gyi cho-ga: 126
Ba-ri sgrub-thabs brgya-rtsa: 112
Baidûrya dkar-po: 247
Baidûrya g.ya-sel: 247, 379, 385, 386, 391, 392, 393, 394, 399, 400, 405, 406, 407
Bod-kyi rgyal-rabs: 316
Byañ-chub-sems-dpa'i 'grel-pa: 361
Byin-gyis brlabs-pa'i Nag-po-chen-po'i gsañ-ba'i sgrub-thabs. 112
dBañ-mdor bstan-pa'i 'grel-bsdad don dam-pa bs dus-pa: 465
'Byuñ-po-'dul-ba 'zes bya-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po chen-po: 105
sBa-bzhed: 17, 18, 36
Ma-ni bka'-bum: 313n, 314n
Ma-mo: 334n
Mi-'khrugs-pa'i sgrub-thabs: 126
Mi-g.yo-ba'i sgrub-thabs: 111
Myañ-chen: 60
Myañ-chuñ, Myañ chos-'byuñ, Myañ-yul stod smad bar gsym-gyi ño-mtshar
gtam-gyi legs-bsad mkhas-pa'i 'jug-nogs 'zes bya-ba b'zugs-so: 43, 47,
58n, 60, 61, 67, 69, 70, 279, 330, 331, 460, 462, 463, 466, 467, 468,
469, 473, 476, 477, 482, 491, 492, 502n, 503, 504, 505, 506
Tsinta-ma-n'i gzuñs, Tsindha-ma-ni skos-phor: 314n
gTsug-tor-dri-ma-med-pa'i gzuñs-kyi cho-ga: 124
gTsug-tor-rnam-rgyal-ma'i gzuñs 'zes bya-ba'i rtog-pa: 105
Tshe-dañ-ye-ses-dpag-tu-med-pa 'zes bya-ba'i sgrub-thabs: 117
Tshe-dañ-ye-ses-dpag-tu-med-pa'i sgrub-thabs: 117
Tshe-dañ-ye-ses-dpag-tu-med-pa'i cho-ga: 117
Tshe-dpag-med-la bstod-pa: 117
Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po chen-po'i rgyud: 111
mTshan-brjod: 216, 217 (see also 'Jam-dpal-ye-ses-sems-dpa'i don dam-pa' 
mtshan yañ-dag-par brjod-pa)
mTshan-brjod-kyi dkyil-'khor-gyi bkod-pa: 218, 237, 351
mTshan yañ-dag-par brjod-pa'i 'grel-pa: 132
'Dzam-gliñ rgyas-bsad: 414
rDzogs-ldan gzon-nu'i dga'-ston: 314n
Za-ma-tog bkod-pa: 314n
Zab-mo'i gter-dañ gter-ston sgrub-thab ji-ltar byon-pa'i lo-rgyus mdor-
bs dus bkod-pa rin-chen vaidûrya phreñ: 337
gZa'-rnan-mi-yum 'zes bya-ba'i gzuñs: 110
Yañ-dag: 334n
Yañ-dag-par sbyor-ba 'zes bya-ba'i rgyud chen-po: 492, 504
Yi-ge drug-pa: 314n
Yo-ga'i spyi'i chos-'byuñ: 264
Indexes

Ral-pa-gcig-ma'i sgrub-thabs: 115
Ri-khrod-ma-lo-ma-can-gyi sgrub-thabs: 106
Rig-sňags-kyi-rgyal-mo rMa-by-a-chan-mo (gzuňs): 115, 211n
Rig-pa'i-rgyal-mo So-sor'-braň-bach-mo: 211n
Rig-byed-ma phyag brgyad-ma'i sgrub-thabs: 121
Rig'dzin bla-ma'i śnîń-thig: 334
Rin-chen gter-mdzod: 109
Rin'byuń, Rin-lhan: 8n, 108, 174, 175, 196n, 490
Re'u-mig: 306, 442n
Lo-rgyus: 272 (see also Sa-sky a lo-rgyus)
Sel-brag-ma: 21
Śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa: 252
Śes-rabpha-rol-tu-phyin-pa'i tshul rgya-lNaN-bcu: 143
gŚin-rje-gśed-kyi śnîń-thig: 330
gŚin-rje-mthar-kyed-dmar-poi sgrub-thabs: 160, 163
gŚin-rje-gśed-dmar-poi sgrub-thabs: 160
gŚin-rje-gśed-dmar-poi sgrub-thabs nag'-gros-su bkod-pa rnal'-byor bži
gsal-bar byed-pa: 472
gŚin-rje-gśed-nag-po gdoň drug-pa'i 'khor-lo'i sgrub-thabs: 473
bSad-rgyud rDo-rje-rtse-mo'i dkyil'-khor bkod-pa: 136
Sa-sky a lo-rgyus: 268, 274n (see also Lo-rgyus)
Saňs-rgyas thams-cad-daň mĹam-par sbyor-ba'i dka'-'grel: 485, 489
Seń-ge-sgra'i rgyud: 119
Seņs-can thams-cad dbaň-du byed-pa'i tiņ-ne'-'dzin: 123
gSaň-sňags-chen-po rjes-su 'dzin-pa'i mdo: 211n
gSaň-ba śnîń-po: 317n
gSaň-ba rnal'-byor chen-poi rgyud rdo-rje rtse-mo: 135
bSil-ba'i-tshal-chen-poi mdo: 211n
Hu-lan deb-ther: 315n
lHa-mo sGrol-ma'i sgrub-thabs brgya-rtse-brgyad-pa: 125
lHa-mo sGrol-ma'i mtsban brgya-rtse-brgyad-pa: 125
lHa so-so'i sgrub-thabs rim-graňs-las r'Ta-mgrin-gyi sgrub-thabs rim-pa:
120
lHan-cig-skyes-sbyor: 289
Anu'i mdo bži dems lNá: 332
OTHER LANGUAGES

NAMES OF PEOPLE AND PLACES

Alchi: 2.
Allahabad: 11.
Andrade (de): 23.
Aniko: 23, 24, 25, 50, 55.
Asu: 288.
Banepa: 11.
Bázäklik: 43.
Beijing: 56, 272, 331, 361n., 414.
Benares: 75, 248.
Bengal: 288.
Bhutan: 58, 61.
Bihar: 325.
Bulonkho: 414.
Chang Sheng-Wen: 41.
Changu Naráyana: 39.
Chilihu: 315.
Chiling: 23.
Damoduole: 379.
Dunuang: 40, 44, 45, 46, 314, 315, 315n, 322n, 380, 408.
Dzungaria: 42.
Edzine: 45.
Gansu: 45, 46.
Gilgit: 21.
Guan Xiu (Kuan Hsiu): 49.
Guanyin: 50.
Hamu: 287, 326.
Hulagu: 41.
Jingis Khan: 45.
Iwang: 43, 45, 46, 47.
Jincheng (Chin-ch’eng): 383.
Jumla: 23.
Kanchou: 46.
Kashmir: 2, 305, 325.
Khatmandu: 9, 11, 351, 352n.
Kham: 40, 280.
Kharakhoto: 40, 45, 46, 181.
Khotan: 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 324.
Köden (Godan Khan): 432, 458.
Kojarnath: 4, 21, 23.
Kuti: 11.
Ladakh: 23, 297, 391.
Leh: 391.
Li Longmian (Li Lung-mien): 49.
Madisi: 46.
Marco Polo: 46.
Ming: 52, 53, 56, 79, 275, 384, 459.
Na-khis: 44.
Nanjing: 53.
New Delhi: 56.
Nuvakoth: 6, 11.
Pâtan: 5, 9, 414.
Peshawar: 276.
Phari: 68.
Pharphing: 325.
Pintu Bahi: 9.
Qing: 79.
Qinghai: 48, 311.
Qubilai Khan: 41, 46, 49, 266.
    432n, 458.
Ramagan: 157.
Samada: 47, 73, 279n.
Śambhar: 307.
Sankhu: 18, 414.
Sarnath: 76.
Shangyenli: 315.
Shanxi: 437n.
Shar Solo: 280.
Sichuan: 39.
Sikkim: 61.
Spituk: 391.
Song: 48.
Suchou: 46.
Swat: 17, 266, 325.
Tabriz: 42.
Taizong: 308.
Tamo: 315n.
Tangut: 45, 46, 47.
Tarim: 42.
Togon Temür: 59.
Tsaparang: 23.
Turfan: 43.
Tuyuhun (T'u-yü-hun): 311.
Uighurs: 42.
Wencheng Kongchu: 12, 308, 311n.
Wutai Shan: 339, 373, 433n.
Xixia (Hsi-hsia): 44, 45, 46, 47, 378.
Xuanzang (Hsüan-tsang): 48.
Yongle: 52, 53, 56, 274.
Younghusband: 74.
Zanskar: 23, 297.
Zhigatse: 49, 55, 58, 60n, 73, 77, 341n.
FINITO DI STAMPARE
NEL MESE DI MAGGIO 1991
PER CONTO DELLA
CASA EDITRICE LE LETTERE
DALLA TIPOGRAFIA ABC
SESTO F.NO - FIRENZE