SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA LXXVI

## ERNST STEINKELLNER <br> $=$

## SUDHANA'S MIRACULOUS JOURNEY IN THE TEMPLE OF TA PHO

The inscriptional text of the Tibetan Ganḍavyūhasūtra edited with introductory remarks


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R OMA
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To Geshe Sonam Wangdu, Abbot of Tabo

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It was Deborah Klimburg-Salter who first aroused my interest in the inscription edited below. Her long experience in studying the art of Ta pho has always been helpful, too. Her own study of the paintings in the Sudhana frieze to which the inscriptions belong will appear later. The present work, apart from its intrinsic philological interest, is intended to complement her study of the paintings.

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Wien, November 1993
Ernst Steinkellner

## INTRODUCTION

1.1. Presenting a general outline of the inscriptional panels in the Sudhana (Nor bzañ) frieze of the Ta pho 'Du khan' and an edition of the text they contain has two main purposes: one of art-historical, the other of philological import. In its art-historical context, this study is necessary for an investigation of the nature of the relation between the individual inscriptional panels and the individual paintings for two reasons: firstly, the panels defined in their contexts can serve to additionally identify the paintings and their scenes, and once their relation to the paintings is ascertained, the overall structure and artistic arrangement of the frieze becomes clear. Even more important is the second reason. While the narrative paintings of the frieze clearly belong to the 'transformation tableaux' (pien-hsiang)-type tradition as defined, analysed and traced to Central Asian and Indian origins in several painstakingly detailed studies by Victor H . Mair ${ }^{2}$, the function and status of the accompanying inscriptional text is not yet clear. In order to form an appropriate idea for the function of the textual part of the frieze, it is necessary to see what it consists of, to analyze its actual contents, and to ascertain in what way the text is related to the content of the paintings. Only then will it be possible to formulate a hypothesis on the function of this inscription. ${ }^{3}$

The import of the Ta pho Gandavyūhasūtra inscription for Tibetan philology is manifold and can hardly be overestimated. First of all, of course, the edition is intended to preserve major parts of this unique text as known in 1989-1991 for posterity at a time when the general deterioration of antiquities, their restoration, and their new accessibility to the many expected visitors will certainly contribute to changes in their features more quickly than in the centuries gone by since the creation of these treasures. Secondly, the edition is necessary for a survey of the contents of the panels and the methods of redactional abbreviations applied in order to form an idea of the sūtra text's function as an integral

[^0]part of the whole frieze. Thirdly, it is to make the oldest extant Tibetan translation of this sūtra known and available, and to demonstrate its nature as a new witness, independent from the canonical vulgata versions, for this particular Kanjur text. Finally, to present it as an example signalizing the value of the still to be investigated treasures of other early West Tibetan manuscripts as hitherto hardly recognized independent witnesses for the early period of Kanjur literature in general. It is for all these reasons that I have tried not only to edit the text of all inscriptional panels which still preserve a large amount of continuous text, but also to gain from those panels that are more or less destroyed at least decisive clues for their probable contents.
1.2. In his report on his visit to Ta pho, July 29th to 30th 1909, A.H. Francke refers only sweepingly to the inscriptions as "explanatory inscriptions in ancient Tibetan characters and orthography" (1914:40) and failed to recognize the contents of the painting and the text.

In 1933, G. Tucci inspected both more closely. "§ 18. Gli affreschi" of his description of the 'Du khan (in Tucci "gTsug lag khan"") is devoted to the two fresco friezes on the left ("the legend of Nor bzan"), and on the right ("the twelve deeds of the Buddha") (Tucci 1935:75-78). Tucci saw the name of Nor bzañ, Sudhana, in the inscriptions, but wrongly identified the hero in his explanations first with the hero of the same name in the famous story of the Divyāvadāna. ${ }^{5}$

Nevertheless, he also realized that the paintings accompanying the inscriptions do not illustrate the story of the "prince Nor bzañ" (chos rgyal Nor bzañ ma), but that of the "merchant's son Nor bzañ" (tsoń dpon gyi bu Nor bzañs). Since Tucci was not able to take photographs of the inscriptions, he finally states that he could not identify the story (1935:77).

The identification of the contents of this frieze seems to have been made by Lokesh Chandra who says, when introducing the reproduction of

[^1]two Chinese works on Sudhana's pilgrimage, that "it was painted even in the murals of the Tabo monastery (India) in the tenth century" ${ }^{6}$.

However, the final identification of the contents of the inscriptions was made by the Thartse Khenpo Rinpoche (Nor Thar rtse mkhan po) who "found portions of the Avatamsakasutra" in the inscriptions." This identification was made on the basis of the photographs taken by D . Klimburg-Salter during her visit to Ta pho in 1978. She subsequently identified the contents of the narrative correctly as that of the Gandavyūhasūtra. ${ }^{8}$

However, it was on the visit she made together with Helmut Tauscher in 1989 that all legible inscriptions were photographed, including the more fragmentary ones. H. Tauscher's photographs of the inscriptions are of high quality and are the main source of the present edition. Finally, during our stay in Ta pho in 1991 I was able to copy some remaining fragments that were not photographed in 1989, the texts from insets, and to read some of the additional identifications by later hands.

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION ${ }^{9}$

The redactional text of the Tibetan translation of the Gandaryūhasūtra as partly edited below from its fragmentary remains, is contained in the inscriptional panels of the Sudhana (Nor bzañ) frieze in the 'Du khan at Ta pho. ${ }^{10}$

[^2]2.1. Starting from the left of the entrance to the 'Du khan, the lower part of the entire east, south, and west walls up to the ambulatory of the cella is covered by a continuous painted frieze. This frieze is roughly 105 cm high and its lower rim is approximately 50 cm above the ground. Thus it can best be seen from a kneeling position. ${ }^{\text {11 }}$ Directly above the frieze are the clay sculptures of the manḍala. A total of 15 figures, starting with No. $1^{12}$ to the left of the entrance, are situated above the frieze and they will be used to indicate the location both of the paintings and the inscriptional panels within the frieze. The total length of the frieze is approximately 20 metres.

The frieze consists of complex narrative units structured by the steps taken by the hero, Sudhana (Nor bzañ) ${ }^{13}$, on the path towards his goal of ultimate realization, and mostly relates Sudhana's visits to various spiritual friends (kalyanamitra) in the pursuit of his quest. ${ }^{14}$ These units combine both paintings, some of which are identified by small insets ${ }^{15}$, and adjacent framed inscriptional panels which contain the appropriate portions of the sūtra text.

699 for a first hypothesis on the meaning and function of the Sudhana frieze, 1990:152 for a report on the situation at Ta pho in 1989, and 1994a:28ff. for a report on the situation in 1991, cf. also 1994b. In these last papers Klimburg-Salter proposes that the painting of the Sudhana frieze now - i.e. after the discovery of an earlier pre-Kashmiri artistic phase attributable to the founding date 996 under Ye śes 'od in the old Go khan - be classified as the "third phase" of painting in the temple. The painting of the Sudhana-frieze will be the subject of a special study by Klimburg-Salter to appear in Rome. For a more general introduction to this Gandavyühasūtra inscription which proposes a different hypothesis on its religio-political meaning and function cf. my paper 199?.
"As noted already in Francke 1914:41.
${ }^{12}$ Cf. Naritasan 1987:16-19. Tucci counted the central statue of Vairocana as No. 1 and starts to count the sculptures with No. 2 (Tucci 1935:26).
${ }^{13}$ Although everything involved here, the paintings as well as the inscriptions, is thoroughly Tibetan in vision, sentiment and purpose, I shall use the original Sanskrit names and terms in my descriptions to facilitate comparison and cross-references with other non-Tibetan materials.
${ }^{14}$ The literary and religious import of the sūtra was surveyed and explained in two long chapters by Suzuki 1953:75-106, and 107-166. For a more recent exposition of the sūtra's spiritual meaning and its particular novel interpretation of Mahāyāna doctrines cf. Gómez 1977:224ff. Cf. also Gómez 1967:LXXVI ff., the introductions in Cleary 1987 and 1989, Williams 1989:120-127, and Arguillère 1993.
${ }^{15}$ Additional identification is available from later small inscriptions scribbled on the paintings, their rims, or on the rims of the inscriptional panels.
2.2. In the present state of the frieze (1991), a total of 42 inscriptional panels can be distinguished. They are of rectangular form, most are horizontal, some are vertical, some are L -shaped. Their size varies. The largest are $22.5 \times 131.5$ (XXXIX) or $24 \times 83.5$ (XXXVIII), small ones are $11 \times 14$ (XVIII) or $15.5 \times 22.5$ (XXXI). All panels are framed by a dark, mostly bluish band of varying breadth depending on its setting. The surface of the panels is glossy, and they are of a dark ebony colour. The script is a dark sepia colour. Many panels bear signatures, first in red (the last in XXIII), then in black ink. ${ }^{16}$
2.3. A number of inscriptional panels and some of the insets in the painted scenes are empty. All these panels have been well grounded for receiving their inscriptions, in some cases even ruled lines are clearly visible. Since the paintings - inasmuch as these are still extant - are complete, this can only mean that writing of the inscriptions was executed last. Why was this work not finished? Did the scribes have to move out before the first heavy snows? And was there a reason why they did not come back the next year, or why nobody else continued their work? Was the original motive for adding the inscription in the first place lost immediately after the painted frieze was finished? Whatever the reasons may have been, it seems justified to conclude that the work was carefully started with elaborate preparations, continued with some falling off in terms of quality, e.g. of the colours in the paintings, adding of insets, and ended in haste, leaving unfinished the last task, that of writing the inscriptions on panels and insets.
2.4. That the inscriptions were written simultaneously in different parts of the frieze can be inferred from the fact that these empty panels occur in different parts of the frieze, not only towards the end. This also coincides with the fact that, in spite of the beautiful and regular writing that does not display obvious differences on first glance, different hands were at work. The writing of panel I, for example, differs in its na ro, where both parts are written in a horizontal line, while in other panels (e.g. IV,

[^3]VII, XI, XXIX, XL) the left stroke begins higher up and the right one ends lower down. Panel I also differs in its 'gren bu which is flat, while that of others (e.g. XXXIX) is executed at a steeper angle. Also its na differs in that it swoops down more to the right than that of others (e.g. XXXIX, XL), which tend to be more vertical. I have not been able to pursue this comparison of the hands any further, but it is clear that different hands were at work. But just how many, and where, I did not ascertain.

The text on the first remaining inscriptional panel (I) is related to painting 3 (Mañjuśrī). It does not have any kind of formal beginning. Thus it can be safely assumed that this panel was not the first panel of the frieze originally. The original beginning of the frieze is, therefore, irretrievably lost, the preceding part of the frieze having been overpainted, or rather replaced by new unrelated paintings on new plaster.
2.5. A number of remaining insets in the first few paintings (up to 12, and again in 22) which contain short inscriptions identifying the respective kalyänamitra and the locality, reveal that the original plan of providing all the paintings with a title had to be abandoned due to the lack of space.
2.6. Additional identification of the paintings must have been desirable to later interpreters of the frieze, for in many cases we find short inscriptions in $d b u$ med script, also by different, sometimes very clumsy hands, with the names of the kalyanamitras and their localities. These additional titles sometimes bear signatures whose system, however, is beyond my grasp.

### 3.1. General remarks

The following edition of the fragmentary text at Ta pho is not a critical edition. On first comparing the Ta pho version ${ }^{17}$ with the Peking edition I found a number of 'significant variants'. ${ }^{18}$ Their sometimes considerable originality prompted further comparison, and it soon became clear that the Ta pho version has a character of independence in relation to the common vulgata ${ }^{19}$ tradition of Kanjurs hitherto only known from the late Kanjur of Phug brag ${ }^{20}$ and recently also attested for other Kanjurs of 'local ${ }^{21}$ tradition. ${ }^{22}$

Then the task given was to establish the relation of the Ta pho text to the Tshal pa and Them spanis ma traditions of Kanjur versions, in order to be able to connect it with either of them, or to establish its independent character. Ultimately the latter proved to be the case, and it is now possible to say, that the Ta pho version of this part of the Avatamsaka (Phal chen) collection did not enter the 'mainstream' tradition of the Tibetan Kanjur transmission as originating from the 'Old Narthang Kanjur manuscript', but can best be described as the earliest example extant of a 'local' Kanjur text. Its relation to an assumed 'West Tibetan' tradition of a cumulative and independent kind ${ }^{23}$, i.e. whether it can be connected as is highly probable - with the 'proto Kanjur ${ }^{\prime 24}$ materials in Ta pho, and with further remnants of this 'local' tradition, remains to be esta-

[^4]blished. For the time being, this earliest representative of the Tibetan translation of the Gandaryūhasūtra can be considered on a par with the manuscripts and fragments of sūtras from Tun-huang where, however, no manuscript of this particular sütra seems to have been found.

On the basis of the recent serious and - due to the fact that a host of Tibetan versions of the Kanjur have recently become available - successful efforts made towards clarifying the relationship between these versions, ${ }^{25}$ the task of placing the Ta pho-version among these traditions has now been much simplified. Following Harrison's succinct and valuable advice on collating the "right witnesses", ${ }^{26}$ I chose as witnesses for the Them spanis ma, or Western group the London ( $\mathbf{L}$ ) and the Tog Palace Manuscript ( $\mathbf{R}$ ) Kanjurs, and for the Tshal pa, or Eastern group the Peking Kanjur (P). The Narthang Kanjur (N) was also collated, but since only the significant variants of the Ta pho text ( $\mathbf{T}$ ) were collated with the other versions, it cannot be decided on the basis of these partial collations whether Narthang belongs to the Tshal pa or the Them spanis ma lineage in this case. It would have been useful to include the Phug brag Kanjur too, for it is the only independent Kanjur available and, being of West Tibetan origin, it would have been interesting to see whether it displays any connections with Ta pho, possibly the earliest testimony for such a local West Tibetan tradition. But this text does not seem to exist in the Phug brag Kanjur. ${ }^{27}$

In accordance with this basic task of my edition I collated the following versions of the Tibetan text:

[^5]L Manuscript Kanjur in the British Library, London: Phal Chen, Ca, Cha (Or.6724, Phal chen, Vols. 86,87). ${ }^{28}$
N Narthang Kanjur: Phal chen, Ca, Cha (Vols. 45,46). ${ }^{29}$
P Peking Kanjur: Phal chen, Si, Hi (The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition, Tōkyō-Kyōto 1955-1961, Vol. 26).
R Reprint of the Tog Palace Manuscript Kanjur: Phal chen, Ca, Cha (Leh 1975-1980, Vols. 33,34). ${ }^{30}$
T Inscriptional text at Ta pho.

### 3.2. On the edition of the text

Because of the poor general state of preservation and the limited need for a complete recording of the remains, not every legible fragment of the inscription has been edited. Only the better preserved panels from which data as to the character of this textual version, e.g. its relation to the vulgata versions, and as to the type and methods of abbreviation can be gathered, have been edited in full. Of other panels where no fairly complete text has been preserved, only those passages are edited which can serve as an argument for assigning the inscription to a specific painting. Once identification has been achieved, no further effort to rescue parts and pieces of the more badly damaged, or nearly vanished textual fragments has been made.

With a view to preserving - within these limitations - the inscription as visible in 1988 and 1991, and in order to make it available in its idiosyncratic nature for further research, I present here a diplomatic transliteration. That means, I have not changed anything by editing. All orthographic peculiarities are carefully retained, while the palaeographic peculiarities are not specially marked. The sad are unchanged, while the tsheg is not given, since this inscription is not a quickly written manuscript where the loss of a tsheg may be indicative of linguistic tendencies.

The following typographical marks are used in the text for easier orientation: bold type to mark the possibly significant variants of $\mathbf{T}$ (on

[^6]variants cf. below); italics to mark syllables, words and phrases which do not belong to the text but to the redaction for the particular purpose of shortening the text to adjust it to the available space; names are underlined.

### 3.3. On the variants selected

The orthography of the inscription (cf. below) displays all the peculiarities that are typical of the 'irregular' orthographic style of early West Tibetan inscriptions and manuscripts. None of these orthographic variants are therefore considered here. ${ }^{31}$ I have, rather, made an attempt to determine only those variant readings which are significant in the Ta pho text in the sense that they seem to belong to this particular recension. This basically means that only variants in words and phrases as well as in syntactic particles are noted. Although I have tried to ascertain already the share of deviation due to the inscriptional redaction, I am almost certain to have failed to make this decision in every case.

Only after the variants isolated have been subjected to detailed study, will the real core of significant variants in $\mathbf{T}$ be determined. For the time being, the variants noted are nothing but material identified for further investigation. However, they also serve the present task, i.e. that of establishing the independent character of this inscriptional version as compared to the 'vulgata' versions.


[^7]indicating the amount of text, e.g. 1 'folio ${ }^{\cdot 33}, 1$ line, 1 syllable, left out in $\mathbf{T}$ as compared with the text in $\mathbf{P}$. In these cases the inscriptional text has probably been shortened. bracketing editorial remarks inverted gi gu
bindu
m additions below the line

I refer to the text edited by the panel-number and line of the inscription, e.g. I, 7 .

## ORTHOGRAPHY AND PALAEOGRAPHY

4.1. The text edited below retains all orthographic features as far as is possible given its often difficult legibility. Because of the large degree of uncertainty in the case of some readings and the fragmentary state of the whole, I refrain from giving a cumulative survey of the orthographic peculiarities. Moreover, I have not been able to establish the exact share of the different hands involved in the writing of the inscriptions. Thus I cannot distinguish their individual idiosyncrasies, and it would be quite misleading to create the impression of a common orthographic attitude in these different panels. A few general notes will therefore have to suffice to give an idea of the orthographic nature of the inscriptions.

Most of the orthographic features known from Tun-huang ${ }^{34}$ or Turfan ${ }^{35}$ materials occur in these inscriptions, a characteristic they share with other inscriptional materials from West Tibet. They thus essentially represent a preclassical stage of orthography. As in other preclassical writing, there is no consistency, particularly not in the presence or absence of aspiration in certain consonants, or in the usage of superabundant 'a chuñ. Palatalisation of ma before $i$ and $e$ by means of ya btags is regular, while the da drag after final $n, r, l$ is fairly regular. Strikingly

[^8]enough the hero's name is written Nor bzans throughout the texts (with the exception of XXI, 1 and XXXIX, 10).
4.2. The writing is the clear and regular $d b u$ can script that is also a distinctive feature of the more ancient manuscripts found in the Ta pho library. ${ }^{36}$ Reverted gi gu is rare, and when used ( $\mathrm{I}, 6,7,8$ ) it is for graphic reasons. A tsheg is always present, even before sad and after nas, ste, 'o. Only single śad is used, even after sentence finals in -'o. Occasionally a bindu ( $\underset{\text { m }}{ }$ ) for $m$ is used [XXXVIII, 5, 6, 7, 16]. Regular are the ra mgo can in its full form before $t s a$, the horizontal $s-p, s-t, s-t s$ ligatures and the oblique vertical $s-m^{37}$ ligatures that were recently pointed out as typical of Tsaparang manuscripts in Eimer 1991:251.

## The redaction of the ta pho text

5.1. The following observations are based on the inscriptions on those panels which are more or less undamaged, i.e. XI, XXXVIII, XXXIX, $\mathbf{X L}$. The inscriptional text of the sūtra at Ta pho is a redaction of the sūtra text. The wish to reproduce the complete sūtra text on the one hand (cf. below) and limited space on the other hand demanded some form of abbreviation. The solution arrived at was a redaction of the text which did not change it in any way, merely abbreviating it by means of omission. This was done by simply omitting words and phrases within syntactical units, or by omitting long paragraphs and series of verses with the help of redactional remarks. ${ }^{38}$ In general it can be said that this redactional text was prepared by a person or team who had an excellent grasp of the sūtra's contents, who judiciously tried to preserve the main points of the chapters, and by applying only such means of abbreviation that left the retained sūtra text untouched was remarkably expert in fulfilling the task of translating the complete Gandaryühasütra onto the small allotted space on the walls of the 'Du khan.

[^9]5.2. That it was intended to reproduce the complete text of the sūtra, is evident from the fact that the inscriptions contain the beginnings and the end of the relevant chapters, as well as text from the paragraphs of major importance.
5.3. As a rule the text of the specific chapter would be shortened to fit in the available panel space. The redactional devices are many and varied. Those applied in the inscription on panel XXXIX, the largest panel in the frieze, may serve as an example. By means of these devices the 15 lines of the panel were sufficient to receive a large chapter that takes 53 foliopages of the Peking and 50 pages of the Sanskrit edition.

Unmarked omissions: these range from omitting 1 syllable to nearly 12 folios ${ }^{?}\{6\}$. These omissions are a running device mainly for omitting all kinds of attributes, synonyms and long chains of repetitions with small variations.

Marked omissions: either by substituting a summarizing or collective word or phrase, or by indicating the beginning and continuation of an omission, sometimes with reference to the content, or by a summarizing phrase, e.g.
a. substitution of: la stsogs pa $\{1\}\{10\}$, thams cad $\{12\}$, the genitive particle $\{12\}\{15\}$, a demonstrative such as de ñid $\{4\}$, de'i $\{9\}\{15\}$, de' $\{10\}$, or can $\{13\}$, dañ $\{13\}$,
b. marking the beginning of omissions by: nas $\{5\}\{12\}\{13\}$, zes pa nas $\{3\}\{6\}$, źes bya ba' $i===$ brjod nas $\{4\}$, żes bya ba $==$ $==$ pa brjod nas $\{4\}$, zes bya ba la sogs pas $\{11\}$, with reference to the content: zees sems bskyed pa'i yon tan rgyas par bstan nas $\{12\}$, continuing the text by gi bar brjod pa yan' 'di ltar $\{6 \mathrm{f}$.$\} ,$ bar mthoñ ño $\{14\}$,
c. changing smras so to smras pa $\{10\}\{11\}\{12\}$ to facilitate the shortening of the following speech,
d. using summarizing expressions: rgyan rnam pa sna tshogs kyis brgyan pa \{13\}, khañ myig brgyan stoñ myig yañs ris su $==p a$ \{13\}.
5.4. Another, more drastic form of shortening was chosen, but only once, in the case of panel XIX. The inscription contains the redactional text of chapter 23 (Sarvagāmin), but jumps after the beginning of its final
paragraph in line $\{8\}$ to the end of chapter 25 (Vaira). Thus panel XIX bears supposedly the contents of three chapters.

However, of the corresponding paintings which one would expect, only that of Sarvagāmin is given space, while the kalyānamitras of chapters 24 (Utpalabhūti) and 25 (Vaira) are entirely absent. While this may be understood as a drastic device for shortening in case of the inscription, the lack of paintings for Utpalabhūti and Vaira in this otherwise quite well preserved part of the frieze probably must be attributed to a mistake in the organisation of the available space.

This is even more likely in view of the fact that the following chapter 26 (Jayottama) is represented neither by an inscriptional panel ${ }^{39}$, nor by a painting. Under this circumstance, I am rather inclined to assume that a mistake in counting the panels had been made at the beginning, that the frieze below figure $\mathbf{S 8}$ had already been worked upon, and that the absence of paintings for three kalyänamitras, absence of an inscriptional panel for one, and the contraction of three kalyānamitras into one, XIX, was a feasible, if not very pious solution for this problem. It certainly is not typical for the redactional method applied elsewhere.

## The possible source of The TA pho redactional text

6.1. Although comparison with representative versions of the Tshal pa and the Them spanis ma Kanjur traditions demonstrates the independent status of the Ta pho version, the textual basis of the inscriptions is doubtless the same Tibetan translation of the Gandavyühasūtra. The only difference is due to the various redactional devices for shortening the text of the sūtra's chapters to a size that could be handled within the panel space available. These redactional changes in the text can be distinguished clearly from the otherwise untampered text of the sūtra. Thus, notwithstanding the lack of a colophon in the Ta pho text, it can be stated that the text represents the translation which, in the Kanjur versions, is attributed to the team of translators consisting of Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Ye śes sde and others, ${ }^{40}$ which was active at the beginning of the 9 th century

[^10]A.D. and also took part in the great revision ${ }^{41}$ of the terminology intensified under Khri IDe sroñ btsan, alias Sad na legs, confirmed by a royal edict in 814/815 A.D. and continued under Khri gTsug Ide btsan, alias Ral pa can. ${ }^{42}$
6.2. The objective of this great revision, which was started in 795 A.D. and reconfirmed in 814 A.D., was the determination and codification of the Tibetan terminology used for translating the terms of the Indian language, Sanskrit. ${ }^{43}$ The sGra sbyor, when completed, was added to the edict of 814 A.D., enforcing this codification of the Tibetan terminology. The Mahāryutpatti and the lost "Ksudravyutpatti or "Alpavyutpatti" must have been compiled at about the same time "as they were indispensable for the implementations of the Great Revision." ${ }^{45}$

As far as I see, the edict makes no mention of the orthographic form of the established terms, but we can take this orthographic form to be covered by the edict, when the lists of the terms were provided at approximately the same time. The list that was transmitted under the name of Mahäryutpatti for instance contained the terms in a particular orthogra-
${ }^{41} \mathrm{Cf}$. sGra sbyor 1,9 and 12 .
${ }^{42}$ Cf. Uray 1989:17. In the light of new evidence from the manuscript collection in the Ta pho 'Du khan (Panglung 1994) this revision was not the first one. The first one can be assigned - on the basis of the short edict found among the Ta pho fragments - already to 795 A.D. within the reign of Khri Sron Ide btsan (Cf. Panglung 1994:167), and the Tanjur version of the edict, the only one hitherto known, "must be taken as a confirmation by Khri IDe-sroni-bcan of the earlier edict of his father" (Panglung 1994:171).

The fact that a list of terms for numbers from the translation of the Gandavyühasūtra was included in the Mahāvyutpatti (MVy 7779-7911) is a strong indication for the synchronism between the sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa, the Mahāvyutpatti, and the translation of the Gandavyühasütra by Jinamitra and his team. Since there is no indication as to the latter's work having been of revisional character, the inclusion of this word-list means that not only were such terms compiled for the lists, for which there existed already older ones to be exchanged, but also such that were determined for the first time. Within a larger frame of 'synchronism' among these three works, the Gandavyühasūtra translation would seem to have been finished first. The same holds true in case of the other lists in the Mahävyutpatti which are derived from specific texts (e.g. Avatamsaka, Lalitavistara) translated by the same people in slightly different combinations.
${ }^{43}$...miñ btags pa rnams gtan la phab ste | bkas bcad pa \| sGra byor 2,13f.: cf. Uray 1989:16 and note 57 (literature).
${ }^{44}$ Uray 1989:3.
${ }^{45}$ Uray 1989:16f.
phic form. And one would assume that the terms prescribed were accepted along with their orthography as given in this list. But we do not actually know what the orthographic forms of the terms looked like at the time of the compilation of this list. What we have are the later Tanjur versions. However, we can see from the few fragments of the sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa from Tun-huang ${ }^{46}$, as well as from Ta pho, ${ }^{47}$ that ya btagspalatalisation of $m$, the da drag, stsogs, and irregular change between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants, are significant in these fragments. In other words, the term lists of the great revision period were of course not written in the classical orthography of a much later period.

Then we may be justified in assuming that both the term and its orthographic form were codified around 814/815 A.D., but all we really know from the Vyutpatti treatises are the terms. We cannot know what their orthography was like. All the inscriptional and manuscript materials that we have from the period before the compilation of the Tibetan canon display more or less of the preclassical irregularities. Thus the conclusion that suggests itself is that the terminological treatises composed in connection with the great reform must also have displayed these preclassical features.

An important consequence of this deliberation is that the orthography cannot be used as an indication for the beginning of a manuscript tradition at a time before or after the great revision, nor can it be stated on the basis of orthography whether a text was revised or not. Only the terminology can serve in deciding questions such as these. All this seems a matter of course, but one is not always sufficiently aware of the obvious.
6.3. This translation by Jinamitra and his collaborators must be the one mentioned in the catalogue of IHan kar $^{48}$ under no.24: "'phags pa sdoñ

[^11]po bkod pa'i mdo, 9000 śloka, 30 bam po". ${ }^{49}$ Since the title of the sūtra differs in the later canonical editions, which have sDon po(s) (b)rgyan pa, de Jong thinks that the two translations cannot be the same. ${ }^{\text {si }}$ But this argument is not very strong, for the lHan kar title could well have been the sūtra's title before it was revised by a Vairocanaraksita ${ }^{51}$. There are several titles in the lHan kar catalogue that differ from the ones in the later editions, and to assume a difference in translations just on account of the difference in the names would hardly be useful in all these cases. Finally,- and strangely enough -, the word bkod pa used in the IHan kar title is actually more frequently used to translate vyüha than the (b)rgyan $p a$ of the later editions. ${ }^{52}$

Incidentally bkod $p a$ is also a translation for vyūha found in the Ta pho version of the text against rgyan in all other versions (cf. I, 7). This fact is, I think, suggestive. It shows that the old title of the sūtra with bkod pa - extant in the Mahāryutpatti, the lHan kar ma and (possibly) Ta pho - must have been the original title of the same translation that we have in the vulgata versions, and that bkod pa was changed to rgyan at a time when a revision was made, perhaps that by Vairocanaraksita. The Ta pho text, then, may be a copy of the text before this revision took place. This later revision, of course, must have been of a different kind to the great revision when bkod pa was determined to be the appropriate trans-

[^12]lation term. Only then the title of this last part of the Avatamsaka collection must have been changed, but definitely before the time of the canonical collections. ${ }^{53}$
6.4. The translation mentioned in the lHan kar ma which can be identified with the one extant in the later Kanjur editions is the only one we know of. No texts or fragments of this sütra are known from the Tunhuang treasures belonging to the collections in Paris and London. However, it is possible that another translation existed that was made even earlier than the one by Jinamitra and his team.

Imaeda has investigated a Tibetan text from Tun-huang, ${ }^{54}$ the "sKye si chos", ${ }^{55}$ the second chapter of which is largely based on the Gandavyühasūtra. Irrespective of the considerable differences in the content of the Tibetan story, the inspiration drawn from the Gandavyūha is considerable. For our purpose two facts are important: the names of the kalyānamitras and their localities differ in many respects ${ }^{56}$ both from those in the Kanjur editions and the text of Ta pho, and a number of sometimes obscure words and terms as well as phrases and formulaic expressions can be compared with the text of the Tibetan translation of the Gandavyūhasütra. ${ }^{57}$ Before a final decision can be made, the text of the "sKye śi chos" needs to be compared in detail with the main Kanjur versions in order to see whether it is really possible to relate its linguistic material in part to this translation, and if so, what the differences consist of. However, the differences in the names have already been established. And on that basis we can assume that the "sKye śi chos" presupposes a different translation of the Gandaryūha to the one we have. However, that the "sKye sí chos" presupposes a merely oral knowledge of the

[^13]Ganḍavyūhasūtra can be ruled out, because it copies words and phrases of a clearly textual kind.

Whether such an earlier translation was revised by the team of Jinamitra and others, or whether it was lost, leaving only its traces in the "sKye śi chos", we have as yet no way of knowing. The extant information on the translation by Jinamitra etc. does not hint at such a work of revision at all. We may therefore see the latter as an original work of translation, while considering the possibility of an earlier translation which has been lost.
6.5. The inscriptional text of the Ta pho 'Du khan, with the exception of those aspects due to the redaction, can therefore safely be derived from the translation attested to the early 9 th century A.D. by the lHan kar catalogue. The Ta pho document, then, is the earliest hitherto known fragmentary version of the Tibetan translation made two centuries earlier in central Tibet.
6.6. This Tibetan translation of the Gandavyūhasūtra which, in the canonical versions, covers no less than two volumes is certainly flawed in terms of syntax and the coordination of sentences, but it reflects the linguistic units of the Sanskrit original quite faithfully. And it is the rather mechanical character of this translation which makes comparison between the Vulgata versions and the Ta pho text all the easier and its results reliable.

## The relation between paintings and inscriptions

7.1. The introductory description given of each inscriptional panel will serve as a final verification of the art-historical interpretation with regard to the contents of the paintings. There is no exact correspondence between these two major components of the frieze. The paintings display the concrete facts that can be made visible; they are selective on spatial grounds; and they are allusive on the same grounds. The inscriptions transport a text that is concrete only in its setting, its main part being mostly abstract and not easily visualized, and a considerable part of the content of the chapters they are meant to represent is not actually present on the panels due to the redactional abbreviation of the text.

In order to facilitate an impression of the volume of the original text in relation to what is actually written on the panels, I divided the chapters roughly into paragraphs. These paragraphs are also used to divide the inscriptional text. It can be easily seen, then, that not all of a chapter's paragraphs need to be represented in the inscriptional text. ${ }^{58}$

The paintings use various pictorial techniques in order to depict the movement which is an essential feature of the narrative: ${ }^{59}$ division of paintings into separate scenes, multiplying the hero, etc. In order to allude to more abstract contents, various mudräs have been employed which, however, often cannot be seen very clearly, and when clearly seen, are difficult to understand. ${ }^{60}$
7.2. Since only a few inscriptions are more or less complete, or still display at least textual remains of all the paragraphs in their chapters, the following observations are only specifically related to the examples available. It can be assumed, however, that the relation between the inscriptions and the paintings was basically of the same loose kind, due to the varying range in representability of the contents, but not to any substantial deviation of the paintings from the text.
a. While inscription $\mathbf{V}$ contains text from all four paragraphs of the chapter, the impressive painting 9 depicts only the content of § 2 , Säradhvaja seated in concentration in the centre and filling the cosmos with projections of a variety of beings. § 1, Sudhana's arrival, and § 3, Sāradhvaja's explanation of his practice, as well as § 4, his sending forth of Sudhana, can be understood as being implied in the painting ( $\S \S 1$ and 3 ) or in the sequence ( $\$ 4$ ). Only § 2 was rightly judged necessary for the pictorial representation of this chapter.

[^14]b. Inscription VII, again, has text from all four paragraphs, and painting 11, Bhiṣmottaranirghoṣa with three companions, would cover the contents of $\S \S 1$ and 2 , as well as the decisive moment in $\S 3$, when the seer reaches out for Sudhana. The effect of this contact on Sudhana, however, is not depicted, although extant in the inscription.
c. Inscription XI has text from all four paragraphs, while painting 15 seems to only depict Indriyeśvara playing on a river bank with other boys, the content of $\S 1$. The rather abstract value of his teaching (writing, mathematics, etc.) may have been alluded to somehow, but nothing can now be seen.
d. Inscription XII has text from all five paragraphs. Painting 16 centers on $\S \S 2$ and 3 , implying § 1 and 5 . Prabhūtā's vessel is explained in § 4. Surprisingly Prabhūtā's appearance differs from the textual description.
e. Inscription XV possibly contains no text from § 3 of the four paragraphs. Painting 19, Samantanetra with spectators, may cover the contents of $\S \S 1$ and 2 , but his mudrä is not understood. § 3, where the "ball of fragrance" is explained, may not have been considered suitable for representation.
f. Inscription XIX has text from $\S \S 1,2,4 ; \S 3$ is redactionally omitted. Painting 23 covers § 1 by means of two scenes, the city and Mount Sulabha with Sarvagāmin, thus concentrating on the chapter's setting only. The fact that the end of the inscription jumps to the end of the chapter on the visit to Vaira is not reflected in the frieze.
g. Inscription XXIII has text from all five paragraphs (§ 4 being doubtful). Painting 27 concentrates on an impressive depiction of Avalokiteśvara with attendant bodhisattvas on Mount Potalaka covering §§ 1 and 2 , and perhaps implying $\S 3 . \S 4$ is of redundant contents, and instead of representing §5, the next kalyānamitra Ananyagāmin appearing on Cakravāla, the artist found a solution for including painting 28 in Avalokiteśvara's entourage.
h. Except for § 6, redactionally omitted, inscription XXXVIII has texts from all ten paragraphs. Painting 44 contains several scenes, the upper ones covering $\S \S 1,2$ and $\S 10$; they will also be taken as implying the instructions delivered in §§ 3-9. But the two lower scenes are of questionable content and have no correspondence in the text of the chapter at all.
i. Except for § 10, metaphors for bodhicitta terms, and §§ 14-17, the further experiences of Sudhana in the tower, all redactionally omitted, inscription XXXIX has texts from all eighteen paragraphs. Painting 45 is in two parts: the left shows scenes still outside the tower ( $\$ 1$, and implying §§ 2-4), and the arrival of Maitreya (§5); the centre represents the tower of Vairocana filled with dāna scenes from Maitreya's former existences. These scenes depicting various forms of giving which correspond functionally to $\S 12$, Sudhana's vision of the former deeds of Maitreya and other enlightened beings, have as such no correspondence in the text. Rather they must have been chosen for their evident value in the representation of the great variety of deeds related in the text. They are thus an original invention of the painting.
j. Inscription XL contains the whole text of the chapter with only minor omissions. Painting $\mathbf{4 6}$ depicts Mañjuśri's extending his hand from afar as the chapter's main theme, and the remaining scenes cannot be related to the text at all.
7.3. In conclusion, it is only natural that the more abstract contents of the chapters, even if partly present in the inscriptions, did not lend themselves to pictorial representation. The paintings try to give a clear impression of the chapter's settings, even including major steps of movements within the specific visits. Only occasionally do we meet with either signs of artistic freedom (e.g. 16) or the choice of a subject not directly based on the text, probably for reasons of greater public suitability (e.g. 45).

In other words, the two components of the frieze are closely related, because they both faithfully represent one and the same subject, each of them, however, in its own specific way. The paintings do this by depicting the different settings of the hero's visits to the many kalyānamitras, often indicating by subordinate scenes the stages in the hero's wanderings, and alluding by more subtle means, like mudrā, tools, equipment, dress and ornament, etc., to more abstract contents of the narrative. The inscriptions, on the other hand, contain nothing but the sūtra itself, even if in a redactionally abbreviated form. They are not related to the paintings directly. That is, they neither explain the paintings directly nor contain a redactional version of the sūtra such as could be recited as a reasonably continuous tale, either by themselves, or in connexion with a simultaneous contemplation of the paintings.

The inscriptions cannot have a function, then, as an integral part of the narrative character of the paintings, representing the textual side of the narrative depicted. Rather we must look for another reason for their being there on the frieze combined with the narrative painting.
7.4. These arguments and a new hypothesis on the function of the sūtra inscription in Ta pho will be discussed in detail elsewhere. ${ }^{61}$ Here, I would merely like to summarize: The inscriptions, although containing a good part of the narrative, do not support the narrative nature of the frieze which is borne by the paintings alone, either by explaining the paintings, or by presenting a narrative of their own as a separate narrative text. The purpose of the inscriptions is of an entirely different and more fundamental kind: they serve as a proof. They prove as a document of revelatory scripture that what is depicted in the painting is truly authentic Buddhist teaching. They have been added to the frieze for the purpose of authorization: here is the sūtra which contains the pilgrimage of the young Sudhana whose efforts and progress are depicted here, and whose aims are an example to be followed.

## SYMBOLS AND CONVENTIONS FOR THE FRIEZE ${ }^{62}$



3, etc.

3a, etc.
$8 a$, etc.
west, east, south walls
sculpted figure above the frieze (e.g. W1, E5)
painting (the number of the painting is the same as the number of the chapter in Vaidya's edition; in the map of the frieze the number of the kalyanamitra is added in round brackets after his name)
inset panel, e.g. in painting 3
additional (later) identification attached to paintings or inscriptions, e.g. to painting 8.

[^15]I, etc.
(13a), (VI), etc.
((3a)), ((XXV)), etc.
inscriptional panel
illegible additional identification, inscriptional panel
empty inset, inscriptional panel

Measurements are given in cm ., height x length. In case of L-shapes two measurements are given in the sequence left to right and above to below. The measurements are taken from inside the panel frames, the latter being variable in form and breadth.

## Structure of description

The total of 52 still recognizable panels of the frieze which contain - or were meant to contain - the sūtra inscription are the subject of the description. Its purpose is to define the panel and its inscription, to relate the inscription to the painting and to the original contents of the sūtra's chapters, and to give information on additional features related to each combination of panel and painting. Where inscriptional text is extant, the inscription is edited diplomatically, followed by a list of significant variants. The numbered paragraphs are the same throughout the description, and denote the following:

1. Position, size, and shape of panel; lines of inscriptional text.
2. Note on panel signature.
3. Relation of inscription to painting; short description of the painting.
4. Note on inset in the painting; edition of text in the inset.

4a. Note on later additional titles.
5. Identification of the inscriptional text with reference to the versions of Narthang, Peking, Tog Palace, London, and the Sanskrit text of Vaidya's edition.
6. Summary of the content of the chapter.
7. Edited text of the inscription with a list of significant variants.
8. Additional remarks.

## ABBREVIATIONS

| AOH | Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum <br> Hung. |
| :--- | :--- |
| EW | East and West <br> A Critical Edition of the sGra sbyor bam <br> po gñis pa. An Old and Basic Commenta- <br> ra on the Mahāryutpatti. Ed. Mie Ishi- <br> kawa. Tōkyō 1990. |
|  | Journal Asiatique <br> A New Critical Edition of the Mahāvyut- <br> patti, Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian Dictio- <br> nary of Buddhist Terminology. (Ed.) Y. <br> Ishihama, Y. Fukuda. Tōkyō 1989. <br> MVy <br> Proceedings of the Sixth Seminar of the <br> International Association for Tibetan |
| PSIATS, Fagernes | Studies, Fagernes 1992. Ed. Per Kvaerne. <br> 2 vols., Oslo 1994. <br> Gandavyūhasūtra. Ed. P.L. Vaidya. Dar- |
| Skt. | bhanga 1960. <br> Zentralasiatische Studien. |
| ZAS |  |

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# THE INSCRIPTIONAL PANELS OF THE SUDHANA FRIEZE 

DESCRIPTION, EDITION OF THE TEXTS, AND VARIANTS

## Panel I

1. E wall, the uppermost panel below figure E1. A horizontal rectangle of $14 / 18 \times 37$ with 13 lines and 5 further lines in the extension on the right-hand side. As the text of the short line 14 continues from the end of line 13, it seems that no major part of the inscription has been overpainted.
2. No panel signature is visible on the frame and no space for such a signature is extant within the panel.
3. The inscription is related to painting 3, which shows Mañjuśrī with his retinue ( 1 god, 2 bodhisattvas, 4 monks) at the side of the ancient stūpa, preaching to the people of the town Dhanyākara, represented by 2 men, 2 women, the boy Sudhana and another boy with an umbrella.
The remaining right-hand side of painting $3^{\prime}$ below is difficult to interpret. Town houses adorned by a flag and streamers, with rectangular and rhombic windows, suggest Dhanyākara. The figure in the lower right-hand corner is possibly Sudhana with his left arm raised. To his right is another, slightly smaller figure with long curly hair in light-coloured robe with a red collar. Another person looks out of a window. The inset 3 'a is empty. The text of the Sūtra does not contain anything that can be associated with this scene. It could be imagined that it represents Dhanyākara just before its people leave to visit Mañjuśrì who is preaching outside their town.
4. The inset 3a in the upper right corner of $\mathbf{3}$ contains no inscription.
5. The inscription contains in a considerably abbreviated form the beginning of the story of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrí; lines 1-14 correspond to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca}) 86 \mathrm{~b} 3-89 \mathrm{~b} 1, \mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si}) 85 \mathrm{~b} 2$ - 87b2, $\mathrm{R}(\mathrm{Ca}) 75 \mathrm{a} 2-$ 77bl, L(Ca) 61a7-63a7, (Skt. 36,3-37,14); the end is not ascertainable.
6. Summary:
§ 1. Mañjuśrī stays in his tower together with various deities and chiefs (indra). He comes forth, circumambulates the Buddha in the Jeta grove, is granted leave and goes south on a journey in the human realm.
§ 2. Śāriputra wishes to go with Mañjuśrī and is also given permission by the Buddha. Together with 60 monks he follows Mañjuśrī.
§ 3. Sāriputra reveals to the monk Sagarabuddhi the great purity and beauty of Mañjuśrī, afterwards revealing the arrays of his qualities to the monks so that their minds are purified and they wish to see Mañjuśrí.
§4. Mañjuśrī explains the ten indefatigable determinations and establishes the monks on the path towards highest enlightenment.
§ 5. Mañjuśrī travels to Dhanyäkara, where he preaches near the stūpa. Dragons and townspeople gather, a man, a woman, the boy Sudhana, a girl, and their company.
§ 6. Mañjuśrī observes Sudhana (S.) and expounds the teaching to him.
§ 7. S., wishing to achieve supreme and perfect enlightenment, utters verses requesting guidance.
§ 8. Mañjuśrī exhorts S. to attend to spiritual friends and to find out the practice of bodhisattvas. He refers S. to Meghaśrī and $S$. leaves.
7. Inscription:
§ 1. $\{1\}$ de nas 'jam dpal gźo' nur gyur̃ pa | gnas myed pa'i
khañ pa (2s) na 'dug 'dug pa las | skal ba mthun ba'i byañ chub sems dpa' $\operatorname{deg}\{2\} \underset{\underline{d}}{\mathrm{~d}}=\mid$ rtag tu phyi bźin 'brañ ba lag na rdo rje dag dañ $\mid$ (24s) lus kyi ris gtogs pa'i lha dag dan | snion gyi smon lam gyis rjes su 'brañ ba'i rkañ gis $\{3\}$ 'gro ba'i rigs su gtogs pa'i lha dag dañ $\mid$ chos ñan pa la mñon par mos pa_三 i sa'i ilha dag dañ | sñinِ rje chen po la brtson pa'i lu ma dañ $\{4\}$ mtsho' dañ $\mid$ mtshe'u dañ $\mid$ rdziñ bu dañ -ron pa dan $\mid$ chu kluñ gi lha dag dañ $\mid$ (10s) de bžin tu mye (2s) dañ (7s) rluñ gi lha dag dañ $\mid(41,10 \mathrm{~s}) \mathrm{klu}(3 \mathrm{~s})$ dañ (11 s) gnod sbyịn (4s) dañ $\mid$ ( 17 s ) dri za ( 3 s ) dañ (13s) grul $\{5\}$ bum ( 5 s ) $==(15 \mathrm{~s})$ nam $\mathrm{ka}^{\prime}$

Idiñ (4 s) dañ $\mid(24 s)$ lha ma yin (4s) dañ (34 s) lha (3s) dañ (13 $s$ ) tshañs pa las stsogs pa'i dbañ po dag dañ lhan cig du (32s) rañ gi gnas nas byuñ ste $\mid$ bco $\{6\}$ ldan $\underline{\underline{\prime}}$ das la g.yas phyö- - su bskor ba lan rgya phrag du ma žig byas nas $\mid$ mchod pa rnam pa du mas mchod de | bcom Idan 'das kyï spyan sña nas $\{7\}$ phyïr byuñ nas | lho phyog- = logs su yul rgyu źin soñ ño | < > |
§ 2. de nas (7s) tshe dań Idan pa śa ra dwa ti bus 'jam dpal gżo nur gyurd pa (8s) bkod pa (4s) de 'dra bas $\{8\}$ 'dzi ta'ï 'tshal nas byun nas | lho phyogs logs su 'gro ba mthoñ nas | de 'dï sñam du sems te $\underline{\underline{1}}$ bdag kyañ 'jam dpal gźo nur gyurd pa dañ lhan $==\{9\}$ tu yull rgyu $\underline{\underline{\underline{z}} i n}$ 'gro'o sñam nas | (2l) dge sloñ Ihan cig spyod pa rab tu byuñ nas riñ po ma lon $==$ gsar du źugs pa (3s) | (31, 19s) 'jam --al gźo' nur gyurd $\{10\}$ pa'i ${ }^{\prime}$ i chos bstand pas 'dul = śa stag -r-g -cu tsam dañ 'grogs śiñ mdun du byas te (4s) $\mid$ 'jam dpal gźo nur gyurd pa gan na der doñ $\{11\}$ no \|
§ 3. de nas (4s) śa ra dwa ti'i bus $\mid(9 \mathrm{~s})$ dge s -oñ de deg la kun la bltas nas | dge s-oñ rgya m-o 'i blo la stsogs pa dge slon drug bcu la smras pa $\mid$ (3s) byañ $\{12\}$ chub sems dpa' 'jam dpal $==\mathrm{s}$ mtshand $\mathrm{da}=$ dpa' byad $==$ ñ pos (2s) brgyan $=(51,2 \mathrm{~s})$ pa la ltos źes
bya ba (2s) la stsogs pa (7s) | 'jam dpal \{13\} gźo nur gyurd pa lam du źugs $==$ yon tan gyi rg-an tshad myed pa dag $\mid$ dge sloñ de dag la (2s) bstand to $\mid(23 \mathrm{~s})$ śa ri bus ( 8 s ) ji ltar ji ltar $==\{14\}======$ $=======$ tapam du dge slon de dag sems $(4 \mathrm{~s})==$ to $\{15\} \rightarrow$ $\rightarrow \rightarrow\{16\} \rightarrow \rightarrow\{17\} \rightarrow \rightarrow\{18\} \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow$

## Variants:

1 gnas $T$ : gnas pa $L N P R$
2 ris $T$ : rigsu $L N$ : ris su $P$ : rigs su $R$
$3 \quad$ rigs su $T$ : rigsu $N$ : ris $P$ : ris su $R$ : risu $L$
5 rañ $T P$ : rañ rañ $L N R \quad$ źig $T$ : źig tu $L N R$ : źig du $P<>$ : bam po $109 N$, bam po $7 P$, bam po $89 L R \quad$ bkod pa $T$ : rgyan LNPR
8 nas $T$ : ste $L N P R$ sems $T$ : gyur $L N P R \quad$ lhan cig $T$ : lhan cig tu $L N P R$
10 -r-g -cu tsam $T$ : om. $L N P R$
11 śa ra dwa ti'i bus $T P$ : śa ri'i bus $L N R$ de deg (!) la $T$ : de dag $L N P R \quad$ la stsogs pa dge slon drug bcu $T$ :om. $L N P R$
12 dpa' $T$ : dpe $L N P R$ ltos źes bya ba $T$ : Itos źig ces $N P$ : Itos śig ces $L R$
13 ji ltar ji ltar $T$ : ci (ji $L$ ) tsam du $L N P$ : ji tsam ji tsam du $R$
14 de dag $T$ : de dag gi $L N P R$

## Panel II

1. E wall; the inscriptional panel in the middle to the right of figure E2. A horizontal rectangle of c $23 / 14 \times 75$ with 10 lines and 4 or more lines in the lower extension on the left. An overpainting af-
fects the first third of the inscription starting with line 7.
2. Signature " $g a$ " in red in the upper left-hand corner.
3. Corresponds to painting 4, the visit to the monk Meghasrii. The town house to the left is empty, doors and windows are closed, nobody can be seen. S. climbs Mount Sugrīva which is inhabited by mountain sheep, antelopes and musk-deer, and finds Meghaśrī only on the seventh day on another peak.
4. To the right of the house, inset $\mathbf{4 a}$ with $\mathbf{4}$ lines in $d b u$ med script identifies the painting: $\{1\}$ yul myi mo gya nom $\{2\}$ mchog źun | ri 'gul $\{3\}$ legs $==-y-===\{4\}-i-$ dge sl-ñ sbr-n gyi dpal ("The monk Meghaśrī.... Mount Sugrīva...the country Rāmāvarānta").
5. The inscription contains the visit to the monk Meghaśrī on the mountain Sugrīva.

It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 102b2-107b6, $\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si}) 96 \mathrm{~b} 8-100 \mathrm{~b} 8, \mathrm{R}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 89a1-93b4, L(Ca) 73a1-77al, (Skt. 48,2-50,20).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. proceeds to Rāmāvarānta and climbs mount Sugrīva to look for the monk Meghaśrí. When he finds him on another peak S. asks for instruction.
§ 2. Meghaśri's answer: to seek the practice of bodhisattva, etc., is difficult. He can see the buddhas in all buddhalands.
§ 3. He has attained mindfulness (anusmrti) of the buddhas, but how is he to know the practice of the bodhisattvas?
§ 4. He refers S. to Sāgaramegha in Sāgaramukha.
7. The inscription is so badly damaged that only the first line is worth presenting:
$\{1\}$ de nas tshoñ dpon g-i b- nor bzañs mthar gyis yul myi mo gya
nom mchog $==-$ ya $====$ ste $\mid$ phyin nas yul myi mo gya nom mchog nas rnam pha $=$ rgyus te $\mid$ snon gyi dge $====$ byuñ źiñ las $===$ pos byin kyis brlabs pa'i loñs spyod yid du 'oń ba la yońs su spyod cin $\mid$ ri 'gul legs gañ na ba der phyind $\{2\}$

Variants:
1 pos TNPR:om. $L$

## Panel III

1. E wall; the inscriptional panel in the middle under figure E3. A horizontal rectangle of $14 / 19 \times 61$ with 10 lines on the left and 13 lines on the right-hand side of an overplastered part of the wall, which accounts for the loss of nearly one third of each line.
2. Signature "cha" in red in the upper left-hand corner.
3. Corresponds to painting 7: Megha sits on a lion throne as second person in a house resembling steps. To his right is a bodhisattva, to his left the head of a god in the clouds. In front of the throne are cowering auditors. Sudhana kneels on the right-hand side.
4. The inset 7a in the upper left-hand corner of $\mathbf{7}$ is without any inscription.
5. The inscription contains the visit to Megha. It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 121a6-127b3, P(Si) 110b6-115a6, R(Ca) 105b6-111b1, L(Ca) 87a892a2 (Skt. 59,2-64,4).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. proceeds to Megha in the Dravidian city of Vajrapura and
asks for instruction.
§ 2. Megha prostrates himself before $\mathbf{S}$. and praises the bodhisattvas.
§3. Flames issue from his mouth and the beings are attracted to Megha by the light and listen to his teaching.
§ 4. Megha explains his attainment, but does not know the practice of the bodhisattvas and refers $S$. to the noble Muktaka in the region of Vanavāsin.
7. Since a considerable part of the inscription is lost and the rest is heavily cracked and faded, only the parts necessary for identification are given below.
§ 1. $\quad\{1\}$ de nas tshoñ dpon gyi bu nor bzañs chos $[=\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si}) 110 \mathrm{~b} 6]$ $\rightarrow \rightarrow$ rdo rje groñ khyer du phyind nas $\mid$ dra bi la'i sb-in yons su tshol $\{2\}$ tshol ba las | [ $=\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 111a2f.]
§4. $\{12\} \rightarrow \rightarrow$ nas $\mid$ yañ dañ yañ Itas te | phyag 'tshal źin dra bi la sprin $\{13\}[=\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 115a6]

Variants:
1 bi $T$ : byi $\operatorname{NPR}(L$ ?)
12 yañ $T P$ : yañ du $L N R \quad$ bi $T$ : byi $N P R(L$ ?)

## Panel IV

1. E wall; the last lower inscriptional panel in the corner to the right of figure E3. An upright rectangle of $40 \times 34$ with c 28 lines. The lower right-hand side is lost and the whole of the lower part heavily faded.
2. Signature " $j a$ " in red in the upper left-hand corner.
3. Corresponds to painting 8. S. kneels in a house suffused with light before 2 lay people, the first in a long-sleeved robe and with a round, flat hat, the second behind him in a white robe has a hat with two points.
4. No inset in the preserved part.

4a. In the right-hand part of the band above the house in dbu med script after a signature "cha": yul nags tshal na gnas pa na tshon dpon btan brjod yod ("In the region Vanavāsin there is the master Muktaka").
5. The inscription contains the visit to the master Muktaka in the southern region of Vanavāsin. It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 127b3138b4, P(Si) 115a7-123a3, R(Ca) 111b2-121b3, L(Ca) 92a2-100a7, (Skt. 63,2-67,28).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. proceeds to the master (śresthin) Muktaka and asks for instruction.
§ 2. Muktaka practices a concentration by which all buddhas etc. become visible in his body.
§ 3. He sees various buddhas in various worlds.
§4. But he has no answer to S .'s request and sends him to Sāradhvaja.
7. Inscription:
§ 1. \{1\} de nas tshon dpon gyi bu nor bzañs | byañ chub sems dpa'i gzuñs snañ ba dbyañs dañ ldan pa'i rgyan de $=$ ñid $=$ rjes su bsam pa $\{2\}$ las stsogs pa nas $\mid(41,11$ s) byañ chub sems dpa'i yi dam chen po de ñid $==$ phyind par byed cin $\mid$ tshoñ dpon gyi bu nor bzañ yi dam $=(?)\{3\}$ brtan $p a(14 \mathrm{~s})$ dań ldan pa nas $\mid(91,19 \mathrm{~s})$ mion par bsgrub pa la brtson pa'i bar dañ ldan pa de mthar kyis soñ soñ ste | lo
cu gñis kyi -u- $\{4\}$ nags tshal na gnas par phyin nas $\mid$ des tshon dpon btañ briod de btsal btsal te mthon no | mthon -as kyan lilus thams cad kyis $\{5\}$ phabs te $\mid$ phyag 'tshal nas -dun $=-$ dug ste $\mid$ thal mo sbyar nas 'di skad ces smras so | | 'phags pa bdag de riñ dge ba'i - -śes $\{6\}$ gnen dañ mja- bar 'gyur ba $=$ bdag gis thob par bgyi ba legs par thob po |

 pa de rini bdag gis thob par gyurd pa ni $==========$ $=$ sans rgyas thams cad $===$ [lines $\{9\}$ and $\{10\}$ illegible] $\{11\}==$ thos na [P 117b8] | 'phags pa ciltar byan $==$ sems dpas $=$ $=$ byañ chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la brtson par bg $-\rightarrow \rightarrow\{12\}===$ $====$ dpag tu spyod pa'ị dkyil 'khor rnam par dag par 'gyur ba bdag $\underline{\underline{1}}$ a $=$ stand du gs- $\underset{\underline{l}}{ } \rightarrow \rightarrow$
§ 2. $\{13\}=======$ kyis de'itshe | byañ ch-b sems dpa'i tíin nee $==$ gyi sgo sañs rgyas kyi $\rightarrow \rightarrow[\{14\}$ to $\{24\}$ mostly illegible]

Variants:
1 bzañs | $T$ : bzañs $L N P$ : bzañs la $R \quad$ de $=T R$ : de $L N P$
$4 \quad$ des $T L N R$ : de nas $P \quad$ btsal btsal $T L N R:<\quad>$ btsal $P$
7 dka' ba'o TLNR : dka'o $P$
12 dpag tu $T$ : byan chub sems dpa'i $L N P R$

## Panel V

1. S wall; the uppermost panel on the left-hand side below figure $\mathbf{S 4}$. A horizontal rectangle of $37 / 36 \times 53 / 52$ with 22 lines.
2. Signature " $\bar{n} a$ " in red in the upper left-hand corner.
3. Corresponds to painting 9: Sāradhvaja seated in concentration in the centre emanates various beings from parts of his body.
4. No inset in the painting.

4a. In the upper right-hand blue field of painting 9 in $d b u$ med script: $' j a m \rightarrow$ go -gebs pas rgya mdzod $\{2\} \rightarrow=$ tsho'- rgyal $\rightarrow$ ("Milaspharaṇa on top of Jambu[dvīpa] - Sāradhvaja").
5. The inscription contains in a considerably abbreviated form the complete visit to the monk Sāradhvaja. It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 138b4-159b3, P(Si) 123a3-138b2, R(Ca) 121b3-141b3, L(Ca) 100a8-116a4, (Skt. 68,2-78,18).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. proceeds to the monk Sāradhvaja in Milaspharaṇa.
§ 2. He finds him by a retreat, sitting in concentration, and sees inconceivable numbers of bodhisattvas coming forth from every part of his body. Sāradhvaja fills the whole cosmos with endless varieties of projections for the karmic maturation of all beings, etc.: from his feet, crowds of grandees; from his knees, scholars and teachers; etc.
§ 3. S. stands for a long time before Sāradhvaja who, after rising, explains the character and range of his specific concentration.
§ 4. S. is sent south to Ásaa.
7. Inscription:

The inscription is heavily damaged, but sufficient remains are legible to find the entire chapter represented in its major parts. Abbreviation seems to have been achieved mainly by omission.
§1. $\{1\}====$ i bu nor bzañs tshoǹ dpon btañ brjod kyis bstan pa de la rjes su sems $=========$ brjod kyi gdams nag la nan tan tu bya ba dañ $\mid(4 \mathrm{~s})======$ bsam gyis myi khyab pa de'i rjes su $\{2\}==========(51,2 \mathrm{~s})$ gliń gi mgo 'gebs pas rgyas par 'geñs pa źes bya ba gan na ba der phyind nas | dge slon rgya mtsho' $\mathrm{i}=$-tshan tsho la $==========$ gi 'chag $==$ mthar 'thug ste $\{3\}$ tin ne $\rightarrow \rightarrow$ myi khyab pa spyi gtsug $===$ myi mthoń ba $\mid$ kha tog du ma'i lus dañ ldan pa $\mid$ sems = skad cig re re la kha dog rnam pa tha dad pa tshad myed $\{5\}$ pa yons su ston ruñ no ||
§ 2. de $==$ mñam bar bźag ciñ zab ḷa źi ste $\mid \mathrm{g}==$ me $=-\mathrm{i}-$ dmyigs pa myed la $=$ dga' bas $l=$ mtho bar gyurd pa $\mid$ de'i ba spu'i sgo thams cad nas byań chub sems dpa'- rnam par thar bas rnam par $\{6\}=$ $======$ gyis myi khyab pa $==$ tu 'gyed cin 'dug pa mthon no
§3. \{15\} des nas nor bzañs kyis smras pa | 'phags pa tiñ ne 'dzind 'di de ltar zababla $\rightarrow$ lat $\{18\}$ soñ rigs kyi bu lho phyogs kyi $\rightarrow \rightarrow$
§4. $\{19\}$ dge sloń rgya mtsho'i rgyal mtshan gyi druñ nas son ño \|

1 nan $\tan$ tu (du $P$ ) $T P$ : nan $\tan L N R \quad$ khyab pa de'i $T$ : khyab pa'i LNPR
5 ruñ no $T$ : pa de $P R$ : pa | $L N$
6 'gyed cin $N T$ : 'gyed par (pa $L$ ) byed cin $L P R$

## Panel VI

1. S wall; the lowest inscriptional panel on the right-hand side below figure S 4 . A horizontal rectangle of $16,5 / 17 \times 59,5$ with 11 lines and the beginning of a twelfth line.
2. Signature " $t a$ " in red in the upper left-hand corner.
3. Corresponds to painting 10: On the left in a garden surrounded by a wall, kneels $S$. ; in the background is a pavilion; outside the wall there are many trees.
4. No inset in the painting.
$4 a$. On the right, below scene 10 at the upper edge of panel VII in $d b u$ med script after a signature "ña": =gi gnas rgya mtsho ("place Samudra[vetāḍī").
5. The inscription would contain the Visit to Āśā.
6. Summary:
§ 1. Description of the Samantavyūha park and the laywoman Āśā seated on a throne with innumerable living beings approaching her.
§ 2. S. pays his respect to Āśā and asks for instruction. Āśā explains her achievement and the path that led to it.
§ 3. Āśā also explains her attitude towards supreme and perfect enlightenment.
§ 4. Āśā admits her limitation and sends S. forth to Bhissmottaranirghoṣa in Nālayu.
7. The inscription is illegible.

## Panel VII

1. S wall; the highest inscriptional panel on the right-hand side below figure S4. A horizontal rectangle of $13 \times 55 / 54$ with 9 lines.
2. Signature "tha" in red in the upper left-hand corner.
3. Corresponds to painting 11: the seer with matted hair on a "seat of bark etc." stretches out his right hand towards S.; he is accompanied by 3 seers, in a retreat with "countless" trees and plants.
4. The inset 11a to the left contains no inscription.
$4 a$. The painting is identified in the upper frame after a signature "na" in dbu med script: $\underset{\text { yul chu tsañ ma na du drañ sron 'jigd (?) }}{\text { (? }}$ mchog | ("the seer Bhissmottaranirghoṣa in the region of Nālayu").
5. The inscription contains the visit to the seer Bhissmottaranirghoṣa in his retreat. It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca}) 175 \mathrm{~b} 2-181 \mathrm{~b} 3, \mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 150a6154b4, R(Ca) 159b2-163b3, L(Ca) 128a4-132b5, (Skt. 87,2-89,29).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. makes his way to the seer Bhissmottaranirghoṣa. The seer, who is sojourning in his pleasant retreat, receives S.'s request for instruction.
§ 2. The seer and the people surrounding him receive $S$. enthusiastically.
§ 3. The scope of the seer's liberation "of undefeated banner": the seer takes $S$. by his right hand and $S$. sees innumerable

Buddhas with himself at their feet in innumerable Buddhalands.
§ 4. For an answer to his question S . is sent on to Jayoṣmāyatana.

## 7. Inscription:

§1. $\{1\}$ de nas tshoñ dpon - $\underline{\underline{\underline{x}}}$ bu nor bzañs | byan chub sems
 dpa'i spyod pa yons su dag par bya ba'i rjes su soñ ba'i sems dañ ldan
 'thub par dka' ba'i sems dañ ldan pa | de mthar gyis yul chu b- gtsañ $\underline{\text { ma ga }}=(2 \mathrm{~s})$ phyind nas $\mid$ drañ sron '-i- i -s dbyañs tshol tshol ba las de' i tshe drañ sroñ 'jigs mchog dbyañs dge' ba spyad pa'i gnas \{3\} śiñ dañ śin ph-an sna $===$ grañs myed pa'i $===(31,36 s)$ stoñ phrag bcus bkor cinِ (34s) 'dug pa mthoñ nio | mthoñ $====-y-========$ bśes g-en da- phrad pa'i bsam pas $\{4\}$ (5s) yañ dag pa'i lam ston pas thams cad mkhyend pa ñid byuñ pa'i sgo yin $\mathrm{pa}=(3 \mathrm{~s}) \underline{\underline{l} \mathrm{ta}}$ pa nas (11) thams cad mkhyend pa ñid (1s) dge ba'i bśes gñen (3s) la rag las par $==$ nas (61) phyag byas te lañs nas (12s) bskor ba byas $\{5\}$ te (21s) 'di skad ces smras so | |
 sems dpa's byan chub sems dpha'i --yod pa la slab par bgyi ba dañ | ci ltar nanِ $\underline{\underline{\underline{t}}}$ an du bgyi ba (11, 10s) bdag la bśad $\{6\}$ du gsol | de nas srañ sroń $=======$ kyis bram ze'i byis pa ston phrag bcu bo de de dag la bltas $=$ 'di skad cas smras s- $\mid$ byis pa bdag rig kyi bu (121, 25s) 'dị ni -es bya ba bas stsogs pas | nor bzañs kyi yon tan rgya cher \{7\} bstan nas
§ 2. nor bzañs la 'di skad ces smras so | rig kyi bu kho bo ni byañ chub sems pa'i rnam par thar pa gźan gyis myi thub pa'i rgyal mtshan thob pa'o |
§3. nor bzañs kyis smras pa | (13s) 'di'i yul -i lta bu źig mehis de nas srañ sron des lag pa g.yas $\{8\}$ pa brkyañ ste | (4s) nor bzańs kyi mgo la pyugs nas | lag pa g.yas pas bzuñ ño | (17s) bzun ma thag tu de'i -od la (4s) nor bzañs gyis phyogs bcur sañ rgyas kyi źin brgya stoñ phrag bcu'i rdul ś- - tu phra pa sñed kyi sañs rgyas (2s) mthoń bar 'gyur te (2f, 2l, 27s)
§4. \{9\} des 'di kyanِ de dañ de'i źab- = = d- 'dug par sés so \|| de [no further writing is visible]

Variants:
1 ba'i TLNR : ba dañ $P$
2 dbyañ $T$ : mchog dbyans $L N P R$ spyad pa'i $T P$ : spyans pa'i $N R$ : sbyañs pa'i $L$
4 las $T$ : lus $L N P R \quad$ te $T$ : nas $L N P R$ nas $T$ : te (ste $L$ ) $L N P R$
5 te $T$ : nas $L N P R \quad$ dpa's $T$, dpas $L N R$ : dpa' $P$
6 srañ $T$ : drañ $L N P R$
7 srañ $T$ : drañ $L N P R$
8 kyi TLNR : kyis $P$
9 śes so $T$ : śes par gyur to $L N P R$

## Panel VIII

1. S wall; the highest inscriptional panel on the left-hand side below figure $\mathbf{S 5}$. A horizontal rectangle of $13 \times 56$ with 11 lines.
2. Signature " $\underline{=} a$ " in red.
3. Corresponds to painting 12: To the left of Jayoṣmāyatana is S. with 2 gods above him. To the right $S$. jumps from a cliff into the fire. Below S. sits in concentration with Jayoṣmãyatana on his right again.
4. Inset 12a to the left in the painting contains no inscription.

4a. In the upper left-hand border of the inscriptional panel in $d b u$ med script after signature " $\underline{\underline{c} a}$ ": yul yonns- tshol = bram ze drod -kye mched | ("the brahmin [Jaya]Uṣmāyatana in Īṣāna").
5. The badly damaged inscription contains the visit to the brahmin Jayoṣmāyatana in the region of Īṣāna. The last lines correspond to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 191a6-192a1, P(Si) 161b7-162a8, R(Ca) 172a4-172b4, L(Ca) 139b7-140a8, (Skt. 94,23-95,4). The very end of the inscription, possibly a twelfth line seems to have been painted over by the lower frame.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. proceeds to the brahmin Jayoṣmāyatana in the region of İsāna. The brahmin practices the ascetic exercise of the five fires.
§ 2. The brahmin tells him to jump into the fire. While S. hesitates, innumerable gods etc. speak for the brahmin and $S$. is convinced.
§ 3. S. climbs up the mountain cliff and throws himself into the fire. In falling and on contact with the fire he attains 2 con-
centrations and is sent on to Maitrāyaṇi.
7. Inscription:
§ 3. $\{9\} \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow$ de nas (4s) nor bzañ kyis $======$ lam $=============$ phuñ po chen (1s) por mchońs $==$ mchoñ pa'i $========$ źes bya ba thob $==$ gyur $=======$ nas kyañ (4s) tiǹ ǹe $\{10\}$ 'dzind rab tu $===$ bde pa mrion bar $===$ thob (2s) nas smras $p a=======$ $=\underline{\underline{d e}}$ ni nio mtshar ch- 'o | des smras pa -igs $==$ kho $==$ byañ chub sems pa $\rightarrow \rightarrow\{11\}$ groñ 'khyer señ ge rna-bar $==$ ñs źes bya ba $==$ $=======$ mo lna brgya'i 'khor

## Panel IX

1. S wall; the lowest inscriptional panel on the left-hand side below figure S5. A horizontal rectangle of $15 / 16 \times 63$ with eight lines and the beginning of a ninth line.
2. No signature visible.
3. Corresponds to painting 13: A palace with windows. S. appears twice in the left-hand part. 4 ladies in white cloaks.
4. No inset in the painting.

4a. In the upper border of the panel illegible traces of $d b u$ med script.
5. The inscription, almost lost except for a few words, contains the visit to the girl Maitrāyaṇī in the city of Simjavij!̣mbhita. Remaining words in lines 3 to 5 correspond to $\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 163b6-164a2, (Skt. $96,26-31$ ), the beginning of $\S 2$.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. finds Maitrāyaṇī teaching many people in a palace of radiant jewels.
§ 2. S. sees all the Buddhas in the cosmos reflected in all parts of her palace and Maitrāyaṇi explains her achievement and its causes.
§ 3. Indicating her limitation, the girl sends $S$. forth to the monk Sudarśana in Trinayana.
7. The inscription is badly damaged, but what remains is sufficient for identification.

## Panel X

1. S wall; the lowest inscriptional panel on the right-hand side below figure S5. A horizontal rectangle of c $15 \times 52$ with the lower and the right-hand part lost, with c 10 lines.
2. Signature "pa" in red in the upper left-hand corner.
3. Corresponds to painting 14: Sudarśana is seated under a tree with a big bird in its crown. Below a house on the right, the remains of 2 heads. S. on the left (only his foot recognisable).
4. No inset in the painting.
$4 \alpha$. In the last line of the panel in dbu med script: yul myig gsum pa na $\rightarrow$ ("in the land Trinayana").
5. The inscription would contain the visit to the monk Sudarśana.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. finds the monk Sudarśana walking around in a wood, surrounded by deities, and asks for advice.
§ 2. Sudarsana explains his former practices and the nature of his achievement.
§3. He declares his limitation and sends $S$. forth to the boy Indriyeśvara in Sumukha.
7. The inscription is illegible.

## Panel XI

1. S wall; the highest inscriptional panel on the right-hand side below figure S5. A horizontal rectangle of $12,5 / 13 \times 57$ with 9 lines.
2. Signature "pha" in red in the upper left-hand corner.
3. Corresponds to painting 15: S . kneels to the left. Indriyeśvara is in the centre; to the right are 6 boys, also a house with a window and 2 spectators. The blue background has wavy edges (depicting river and sandy bank).
4. No inset in the painting.

4a. In the lower blue background of the painting illegible traces of $d b u$ med script following a signature "tha".
5. The inscription contains the visit to the boy Indriyeśvara. It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 204b2-211a2, $\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 170b8-175a3, $\mathrm{R}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 182a7187a5, L(Ca) 149a7-153b6, (Skt. 102,2-104,32).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. proceeds to the city of Sumukha in the land of Śramanamandala and finds the boy Indriyeśvara playing in the sand with other boys.
§ 2. Indriyeśvara reports on the various sciences, writing, mathematics, etc., he was taught by Mañjuśrí and that he
teaches them to people.
§ 3. He presents the bodhisattva's method of reckoning and reveals the limits of his knowledge.
§ 4. He refers S. to the lay devotee Prabhūtā. S. pays his respects and leaves.
7. Inscription:
§ 1. $\{1\}$ de nas tshoñ dpon gyi bu nor bzañs ( $21,21 \mathrm{~s}$ ) de- mthar gyis yul dge spyod gi dkyil 'khor gyi sgo gron khyer sgo bzañ $===$ $===-$ in tell $\mid$ ( 5 s ) -un tu tsholl tshol ba na (1s) sten (3s) nas lha nas (6s) drị za bar gyis $=$ pa $\mid$ rigs $\underline{\underline{\underline{k}}} \boldsymbol{y}$ bu khye'u dbañ po $\{2\}$ 'i dbañ $==$ $= \pm$ chu -uñ gi chu 'dus pa dañ ñe ba źig na byis pa stoñ phrag bcus (2s) bskord $=$ te $\mid$ bye ma la rtse $=========$ (11) -thon ño $\mid==(8 \mathrm{~s})$ gañ na bar (1s) so- ste $\mid$ (5s) de'i rkañ pa gñis $=(2 \mathrm{~s})=$ $==$ 'tsha- te | (31s) 'di ska- --s smras pa || 'phag- $\{3\}=====$

§ 2. smras pa rigs kyi bu kh- bo ni $=$ = m dpal gźonur gyurd pas yi ge dañ grañ la stsogs ( 9 s ) $====$ mñon par $\underline{\underline{\underline{s}}}$-s pa dañ ldan pa źes bya ba'i $\{4\}==========$ (1f,21s)
§ 3. (14s) rtsis dań grañs tshul śes pa gañ źe na || brgya stoñ phrag bgya na bye ba'o | bye ba bye ba na | khod khod do | khod khod khod khod na tha -gu'o $\mid====$ dgu na khrig khrig $==$ khrig khrig khrig $====\mathrm{ms}$ sthams $=\mid$ thams $\{5\}-$-s thams thams na $==$ $==$ do $\mid$ my-d myid my-d myid na gañ ya'o | gañ ya gañ ya na pan pun | pan pun pan pun $====$ phyar phyur ro | phya phyur phyar $=======$ lacag Içig $===(2 \mathrm{~s})$ lcig na $\mid$ byañ b-in $-\underline{\underline{o}}==$ $===$ byañ $==\{6\}$ (3f) --jod du myed pa la bsgres pa śin tu bstand pa bar du'o | de'i id dun na bye ma'i (4s) ri dpag tshad du ma yod
pa grañs $=====$ sñed cig yod (1s) ces pas $===\mid$ rgyaspar
$======\mathrm{ba}==$ pa na pañㅂ $\rightarrow \rightarrow\{7\}$ (1f, 2l) thams cad ses par bya ba'i bzo' mñon bar śes pa dañ ldan $p a====$ gar zad na $\mid$ (2s) byañ chub sems dpa' 'gro ba thams çad gyi grañ la źugs $\rightarrow \rightarrow\{8\}==$ $===(31,20 s)$
§ 4. (5s) lho phyogs $===-$ di ñid na gron khyer rgya m-o b-tan ba źes bya ba yod de | de nas dge b-ñen ma phuld du byuñ ba źes bya ba 'dug gis $\mid$ de- $\rightarrow \rightarrow(41,27 \mathrm{~s})\{9\}$ phyug la (1s) $\mathrm{b}-\mathrm{ya}======$ $=-\mathrm{o}$ - bskor ba byas na- $=========\mathbf{d u}$ soñ no \| Variants:

1 sgo groñ $T$ : groñ $L N P R \quad-u n \underline{\underline{n}}$ tu $T$ : yons su $L N P R$
4 rtsis dañ grañ $T:$ rtsis $L N P R$
5 pun $T$ : pun (bun $L R$ ) no $L N P R \quad$ phya $T$ : phyar $L N P R$
8 nas $T$ : na $L N P R$
9 du $T$ : nas $L N P R$

## Panel XII

1. S wall; the highest inscriptional panel on the left-hand side below figure S6. A horizontal rectangle of $13 \times 50$ with 9 lines.
2. No panel signature left.
3. Corresponds to painting 16: S. enters through the door, kneels before Prabhūtā (with red cloak, short hair, no ornaments): behind her are 2 ladies. Above are a large vessel on a tripod and 2 men watching from a window.
4. No inset in the painting.

4a. In the lower blue band of the painting illegible traces of $d b u$ med script following a signature " $b a$ " or " $m a$ ".
5. The inscription contains the visit to the laywoman Prabhūtā. It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 211a2-220b1, $\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 175a3-181a7, $\mathrm{R}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 187a5-194a5, L(Ca) 153b6-160a7 (Skt. 105,2-109,13).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. proceeds to the city of Samudrapratiṣthāna where Prabhūtā lives in a house in the centre of town.
§ 2. S. stands before the large house with doors on all four sides. Entering he sees Prabhūtā sitting in a jewelled chair, with no ornaments on her body, clothed in white garments.
§ 3. Only a vessel (pitharika) stands before her, with 'ten thousand' ladies in celestial clothing in attendance.
§ 4. Prabhūtā explains her achievement and ability to give food and drink to all beings from the vessel before her.
§ 5. She admits to the limits of her achievement and refers S. to Vidvant in the city of Mahāsaṃbhava.
7. Inscription:
§1. $\{1\}=$ nas tshon $===$ gy- bu nor bzañs $(1 f, 43 \mathrm{~s})===$ $====$ tu ${ }_{\underline{\prime}}$ byun ba (2s) tshol tshol ba las $\mid$ de la skye bo mañ pos (12s) $==$ groñ khyer gyi dbus kyi rañ gi khyịm na 'dug go źes bstand
§2. (11s) $====$ gnas gañ $=========$ $\{2\}=================(11,41 \mathrm{~s}) \mathrm{la}$ $===$ gzugs mñon $\underline{\underline{n g}}^{\underline{n}}===$ sdug pa kha dog dam pa $\mid$ brii $==$ śsin tu rgyas par dañ Idan pa $\mid$ skra phye ma- gźag pa $\mid$ lus la rgyan myed $==-$ s $\{3\}================$ $=$
 tu 'phags pas byañ chub sems dpa'i las kyi rnam par smyind pas yoñs su
grub pa bye ba $======$ btin ba $\{4\}=========$ = $=$ = $=$ = $=$ = $=$ = $=$ = $=$ = $=$ = $=$ = $=$ $=====(1 \mathrm{f}, 9 \mathrm{~s})$
§ 4. (25s) 'tshal te $======$ (12s) bskor ba byas nas (11s) smras pa |'phags ma bdag gis (9s) byañ chub tu sems $===\{5\}$ $===========$ bgyi $=-$ dag la $b======$ $====$ kh- mo nị byañ chub sems $===$ rnam par thard pa bsod nams kyi mdzod myi zad ma'i rkyen ce bya ba thob ste | (6s) phru ba cig po -di las (43s) ph-u $===\{6\} \ldots \ldots\{7\} \ldots\{8\} \ldots$
§ 5. $\{9\}=======$ zées bya ba 'dug gis

## Variants:

2 par $T$ : pa $L N P$ : źin $R$
3 pas $T$ : pa $L N P R \quad$ kyi $T P$ : om. $L N R$
5 ma'i rkyen $T$ : pa'i rgyan $L N P R$ ste TLNP : pa $R$

## Panel XIII

1. $S$ wall; the lowest inscriptional panel on the left-hand side below figure S6. A heavily damaged horizontal rectangle of $17 \times 55$ with more than 6 recognizable lines.
2. No panel signature visible.
3. Corresponds to painting 17: Vidvant sits in a house under a golden baldachin with 3 male attendants. S. kneels on the left. Vidvant extends his right hand above $S$. towards a figure reaching out towards him.
4. No inset in the painting.

4a. In the lower blue band of the painting illegible traces of $d b u$ med script.
5. The inscription contains the visit to the householder Vidvant in the city of Mahāsaṃbhava. It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca}) 220 \mathrm{~b} 1-228 \mathrm{~b} 4, \mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 181a7-186b5, R(Ca) 194a5-201a1, L(Ca) 160a7-165b8, (Skt. 110,2$113,19)$.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. finds Vidvant at a crossroads in the middle of the city, on a high pedestal, a golden parasol held over him.
§ 2. S. pays his respect and asks for instruction.
§ 3. Vidvant explains how he provides everything to those in need.
§4. Innumerable beings gather. Vidvant gathers food and drink from the sky and teaches.
§ 5. He explains his achievement and his limitation and sends S . forth to Ratnacūḍa in Siṃhapota.
7. Inscription:

Only traces of the inscription are legible, but are sufficient for identifying the visit to Vidvant.
§ 1. $\{1\}$ de nas tshoñ dpon gyi bu nor bzañ- (1f, 2l) $=\mathrm{m}$ dag mkhas pa (2s) tshol $==$ ba las $\rightarrow \rightarrow\{2\} \rightarrow(6 \mathrm{l})$ stoń phrag bcu (40s) $=$ dań myi'i gzugs las śin tu $\rightarrow$
§ 2. $\rightarrow(61,16 \mathrm{~s})$ don du bla na myed $\rightarrow\{3\} \rightarrow(11,24 \mathrm{~s})$ ci ltar (11s) bslab par $==$ dañ $\mid$ ci ltar $\rightarrow$
§ 3. (1f, 31, 34s) mur ba (6s) dañ | gos (5s) dañ | mye tog (6s) dañ $\mid$ (9s) spos (5s) dañ $\mid(39 \mathrm{~s})$ rin po che (7s) dañ $\mid$ gser $\{4\} \rightarrow(61)$ rnam- $\rightarrow=$ s kyi bu yu- $=====$ dañ $\mid$ de'u re -ṅon sum
§4. $\quad\{5\} \rightarrow(11,5 s)$ yul tha dad nas (?) - on 'das lkags te (?) khyim bdag mkhas pas $\{6\} \rightarrow$

## Panel XIV

1. S wall; the inscriptional panel at the bottom below figure S6. A horizontal rectangle of $13 \times 56$ with 6 lines.
2. No panel signature visible.
3. Corresponds to painting 18: A palace maṇala with eight doors and with 2 lions above. S. and Ratnacūḍa meet at the left-hand opening. In the centre $S$. kneels before Ratnacūḍa, who is seated on a tripod. Above the centre 2 small Buddhas on lotuses. Around 18 Bodhisattvas, the inhabitants of the upper stories of this house.
4. No inset in the painting.
5. The inscription would contain, in logical sequence, the visit to the religious master Ratnacūḍa.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. finds the master Ratnacūḍa in the market place. S. is taken to his house, ten stories high, with eight doors, a lion throne and a lotus pond.
§ 2. S. sees supplies to be given away in the first four stories, and gatherings of Bodhisattvas and finally Buddhas in the upper stories.
§ 3. Ratnacūda reveals how he once planted the roots of goodness which resulted in this attainment.
§ 4. He refers S. to Samantanetra in Samantamukha.
7. The inscription is illegible.

## Panel XV

1. S wall; the uppermost panel on the right-hand side below figure $\mathbf{S 6}$. An upright rectangle of $37,5 \times 18 / 16$ with 27 lines.
2. Signature "tsha" in red in the upper left-hand corner.
3. Corresponds to painting 19: On the left S., in the centre Samantanetra under an umbrella, his right hand extended (mudrā not understood). 4 male and 3 female spectators on the right and 2 watching from windows. On the left-hand side is a naked boy (later to receive clothing?).
4. No inset in the painting.
$4 a$. In the middle below the painting following a signature "tsa": $y u l=$ $===$ po źes bya ba tshọn dpon spos bg $\underline{\underline{n}} a \rightarrow z e s==d u-$.
5. The inscription contains the visit to the merchant of perfumes Samantanetra in the city of Samantamukha. It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 233b5-240a1, P(Si) 190a5-193b5, R(Ca) 205a2-209a4, L(Ca) 169a7172b4, (Skt. 117,2-119,11).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. finds Samantanetra in his shop in the city and asks for instruction.
§ 2. He informs S. of his cures and achievements,
§ 3. tells of his knowledge of the ball of fragrance,
§ 4. admits his limitation, and sends $S$. on to king Anala in the city of Tāladhvaja.
7. Inscription:
§ 1. $\{1\}<>===$-oñ dpon gyi bu nor bzañs $(41,24 \mathrm{~s})=$
$=$ kyis yul spa'i $==\{2\}$ (3s) phyin nas $\mid(31,9 \mathrm{~s}) d e^{\prime} i$ dbus źig na $g$-on khyer kun nas sgo tshon 'dus kyi rdal stoñ phrag bçu $\{3\}$ ' $\mathrm{i}===$ su gyurd pa (25s) mthon ste | de'i deñ na spos tshon kun tu lta ba yan | spos tshoñ gi $\{4\}=\mathrm{s}$ źig $====$ mthoñ nas ( 8 s ) der phyind te ( 12 s ) $==$ btsal nas (4s) thal mo sbyar $==\{5\}$ (3s) smras pa $\mid$ 'phags pa bdag gis (9s) $==$ chub tu sems - skye na $=(6 s)$ byań chub sems dpa'i $\{6\}$ spyod $==$ ci ltar $\underline{\underline{\text { bslab }}}$ bar bgyi ba dañ $\mid$ (2s) nan tan du bgyi ba $=$ ma 'tshal to |
§ 2. smras pa $\{7\}$ rigs kyi bu de letar (14s) sems bskyed pa legs so legs $====$ ni sems can $\{8\}$ thams cad kyi nad $\mathfrak{c}$ s-s $=$ rilun ( 3 s ) dañ 'khrigs pa nas (30s) $==$ 'thuñs pa dañ (2s) mtshon dañ $\{9\}$ ( 8 s ) me (?) $\mathrm{la}===(5 \mathrm{~s})$ las $===(14 \mathrm{~s})$ yañ źes (!) so $==\mathrm{de} \mathrm{dag}(2 \mathrm{~s})$ źes (!) pa bya $==$ n śes te $\mid$ 'di $\{10\}==$ snun par $========$ skyu- $====$ dañ $\mid$ bkr-ba dañ $\mid$ brta (?) ba dañ $\mid\{11\} \mathrm{g}===$ $=$ sna' $\mathrm{i}=\mathrm{o}=$ dañ $\mid$ ña ra dañ d-gs dañ $\mid===$ dañ $\mid$ byu- = dañ -g $\{12\}$ gso ba dañ | 'byuñ = = gdon my-d par bya ba dañ | -cud dañ -u$=$ dañ $\mid \underline{g}=\{13\}$ ba dañ $\mid$ bskyed pa dañ | kha dog byar ba dañ | ñams bstod pa 'añ rab $=$ śes $=(3 \mathrm{~s})$ phyogs $\{14\}$ bcu nas sems can $==$ ci s -ed $\underline{\underline{\underline{c}}} \boldsymbol{i g}$ kho bo'i druñ du 'on ba de dag thams cad kyi nad $\{15\} \mathrm{m}=$ $==$ tu ź- bar $=$ ed de $=====$ (13s) byas $==$ dañ $(?)====$ $===$ nas (?) $=\underline{\underline{c i}\{ }\{16\}$ rigs pa'i gos (2s) bskon $=======$ $====r$ byas nas $\mid$ (?) (30s) 'dod chags $\{17\}========$ $==(9 \mathrm{~s})$ ba dan $\mid$ (?) źze sdan $\mid=====(3 \mathrm{~s})$ gti mug $==\{18\}$ chos rnam par $\rightarrow \rightarrow\{19\}$ dañ $\rightarrow \rightarrow\{20\} \rightarrow \rightarrow$
§4. (3s) $\{21\}$ kho bos ni $\mathrm{s}-\mathrm{ms}$ can thams $\mathrm{cad}===-\mathrm{u}$ tshim par $=\mathrm{e}=========(17 \mathrm{~s})\{22\}=$ 'di śes $==$ zad na $\mid$
kho bos $====$ sems dpa' sman gyi rgyal $===r\{23\}$ gyurd pa (41, 40s) de dag g- spyod pa $=====$ yon tan brjod par nus re skan $\mid$ son $\{24\}$ rigs $===$ phyogs kyi $======$ rgyal mtshan źes bya ba yod $\{25\}$ de $\mid$ de na rigyal po mye źes bya ba 'dug gis $\mid$ de' $^{\prime}-====$ byañ chub sems dpa'- $\{26\}$ spyod $==$ ciltar bslab par bya ba (8s) dris śig | de nas tshoñ dpon g-i bu nor bzañs (7s) $d e ' i$ rkañ ba $\{27\}$ gñis la (2s) phyag 'tshal te | [no further writing visible]

Variants:
3 deñ $T$ : nañ $L N P R$
5f. byañ chub sems dpa'i spyod $==$ ci ltar $T:$ ji ltar $\ldots \ldots$ byañ chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la $L N P R$
8 'khrigs $T$ : mkhris $L N P R$
10 snun $T P$ : snum $L N R \quad$ brita ba $T L N R:<\quad>P$
14 cig TLNP : om. R
17 gti mug $==$ chos rnam par $T$ : chos rnam par (dbye ba'i bye brag bstan ciñ) gti mug (spañ ba'i phyir) LNPR
25f. byañ chub sems dpa'i spyod $==$ ci ltar $T$ : ji ltar $\ldots \ldots$ byañ chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la $L N P R$

## Panel XVI

1. S wall; the central panel in the middle below figures S6 and S7. A horizontal rectangle of $11,5 \times 79 / 78$ with 8 lines.
2. No panel signature visible.
3. Corresponds to painting 20: S. on the left-hand side standing before a boy(!) who holds him back. In the centre, S. kneels before Anala
with a canopy above; on the right are 8 attendants ( 2 female, 6 male), above are 5 boys. 4 scenes with various tortured criminals and bodies, accompanied by torturers (creatures of hell?) in blue; 1 scene in the upper left-hand corner outside the palace.

The logical sequence of the composition would be: 1 . S. meets Anala outside (canopy), 2. S. perceives the scenes of torture, 3. S. is held back by a god (boy), 3. Anala takes $S$. into his palace and explains his method (centre) of turning his people ( 5 boys?) away from evildoing.
4. No inset in the painting.

4a. In the lower band of the upper frame: $=====l_{a} a^{\prime} i$ rgyal mtshan $===$ rgyal po mye źes bya ba 'dug ("[Tā]ladhvaja...lives a king named Anala").
5. The inscription contains the visit to king Anala in the city of Tāladhvaja. It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 240a1-246a7, P(Si) 193b5-199a3, R(Ca) 209a5-226a2, L(Ca) 172b4-177b8, (Skt. 120,2-123,28).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. finds king Anala sitting on a lion throne.
§ 2. He also sees numerous ministers, torturers and criminals, and how the king deals out punishments.
§ 3. Observing these dreadful tortures and killings S. doubts that the king is a spiritual friend, but is strengthened by celestial beings.
§4. The king explains his practice of having illusory tortures kill and maim illusory criminals in order to turn his people away from evildoing.
§ 5. He declares his limitation and sends S. forth to king Mahāprabha.
7. The inscription is nearly illegible in the photograph, but identification is provided by a few syllables shortly after the beginning of line 5 : de la rgyal po mye.

## Panel XVII

1. S wall; the inscriptional panel to the left below figure $\mathbf{S 7}$. A horizontal rectangle of $10 \times 73,5$ with probably 6-7 lines.
2. Signature " $\underline{\underline{d z}} a$ " in red in the upper left-hand corner.
3. Corresponds to painting 21: S. enters on the left; S. kneels in the centre of a palace in front of Mahāprabha under an umbrella; on the right are 3 female and 7 male attendants; on the upper left-hand side a bird, and 2 figures below.
4. No inset in the painting.
5. The inscription would contain the visit to king Mahāprabha.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. proceeds to the town of Suprabha and looks around.
§ 2. Description of the king's palace. S. finally sees the king at a crossroads sitting on a throne.
§3. S. pays his respect and the king explains his particular practice.
§4. The king enters his particular concentration which appeases all fears, etc.
§5. Emerging from his concentration he declares his limitation and refers S. to Acalā in Sthirā.
7. The inscription is illegible.

## Panel XVIII

1. S wall; the lowest inscriptional panel to the right below figure $\mathbf{S 7}$. A horizontal rectangle of $11 \times 14$ with 10 lines, 2 of which in the panel frame.
2. Signature " $r a$ " in red in the upper left-hand corner.
3. Corresponds to painting 22: On the left, above inset 22a, S. crying (?) with 2 gods above and a figure in white on the right-hand side. In the main scene $S$. (traces) kneels in front of Acalā (traces) in her house; on the right 3 male attendants.
4. Inset 22a contains no inscription.
$4 a$. In the upper blue field of the painting illegible traces of $d b u$ med script.
5. The inscription would contain the visit to the laywoman Acalã in the kingdom Sthirā.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. sets forth weeping as he thinks of his visits and is inspired by celestials.
§ 2. He finds Acalā in a house lit up with golden light and asks for instruction.
§ 3. Acalā tells of her past experiences and resolve.
§ 4. She offers S. to witness her achievements, declares her limitation and sends S. forth to Sarvagāmin in Tosala.
7. The inscription is illegible except for a few words which are sufficient for identification:
§ 1. $\{1\} \rightarrow$ nas $==$ po 'od cen po $[\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 209a3] $\rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow$
§ 2. $\{7\} \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow=\mathrm{ms}$ dri myed $=========$ $=====$ brtan pa $\{8\}$ rdo $=========\mid$ ri (1s) 'i
rgyal $\rightarrow \rightarrow$ bsñ̄nen $==$ g.yo bar (12s) smras pa $\mid[\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 212a4-6]

## Panel XIX

1. S wall, the central panel on the right-hand side below figure S7. A horizontal rectangle of $13 / 12 \times 65 / 66$ with 8 lines.
2. No signature visible.
3. Corresponds to painting 23: On the left S. enters the city (= house) where he is seen again between 3 other inhabitants. On the right Mount Sulabha with S. at its foot on the left and, again, above in front of Sarvagāmin seated on top of the mountain with 2 attendants (brahmin gods?).
4. No inset in the painting.
$4 a$. In the lower band of the upper frame following a signature "źa" dbu med writing: yul dga' 'dzin tshad myed pa na | groñ khyer dga' ba $====$ kun tu rgyu $==s$ cad du 'gro ba gnas | ("In the land of Amitatosala, [in] the city of Tosala lives Sarvagāmin").
5. The inscription contains the visit to the mendicant Sarvagāmin in the city of Tosala. It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 271b4-276a3, $\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 217b4221a4, R(Ca) 236a7-240a5, L(Ca) 195a2-198a1, (Skt. 137,2-13,10), its end corresponds to the end of the visit to Vaira, $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 283b6, P(Si) 227b1, R(Ca) 247b2, L(Ca) 203b3f., (Skt. 144,28f.).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. finds Sarvagāmin on a mountain peak north of the city and asks for instruction.
§ 2. Sarvagāmin explains his various ways of working for the benefit of sentient beings throughout all worlds.
§ 3. He assumes the forms of men etc. to expound the doctrine according to their dispositions everywhere.
§4. He declares his limitation and sends S. forth to the merchant of perfumes Utpalabhūti.
7. Inscription:
§1. $\{1\}<\quad>$ de nas tshonn dpon gy- bu nor bzañs dge bsñen ma myi g.yo ba mrion tu byas te | (5s) de'i gdam nag rjes = -ran žin byed cin | (5s) des bstan pa (1s) | yañ dag par bstand pa nas (21) mñam par bya $=$ by-d $p a^{\prime} i$ bar bye- $-\mathrm{i}-===$ ky-s gnas na- $=====$ yul du $=\mathrm{s}-\{2\}=$ ń soñ soñ nas yul dga''dzin tshad myed pa gań na ba der phyin nas gron khyer dga' ba 'dzin pa tshol $=1$ te ñi ma nub d- = ba źig na (6s) der srañ (2s) nas srañ $=s(13 \mathrm{~s}) \mid$ groñ ph -ag nas groñ ph-ag $=$ kun tur rgyu thams cad du 'gro $==\{3\}===1$ rmye- rmyed pa dañ $\mid$ mtshan mo myi ñal tsam $===$ groñ khyer de (4s) 'i byañ phyogs logs na $\mid$ ri śin tu pad ma źes bya ba źig yod pa de'i (2s) mth-ñ ño | (11) de nas groñ khyer de nas byuñ $=$ (21s) ri'ị rise $=$ $=\dot{n}$ ba chen $\mathrm{po}=\mathrm{n}$ gañ na ba der phy-n $=\{4\}=====$ žig nas kun $====s$ cad du 'gro $=(19 \mathrm{~s})$ tshañs pa stoñ phrag bcus kun nas bskor te 'chags na 'chag pa 'dug pa mth-in nas | de'i drun du phyin -e $==$ pa gñis la spyi bos phyag 'tshal $=(22 \mathrm{~s})$ 'di skad $=\mathrm{s}$ smras so $\mid$ 'phags pa bdag $\{5\}$ gis $=$ na mye- pa yañ da- $===$ gs pa'i byañ chub tu sems bskyed na $\downarrow$ ji -tar byań chub sems dp= byañ chub sems dpa'i
$=$ od pa la $=$ slab par bgyi pa dañ | ji ltar nan tan du bgyi ba ma $==$ nas (1l, 7s) ji ltar nan tan du bgyi ba bdag la bśad $=\{6\}$ gsol $\mid$ < >
§2. smras pa rigs kyi bu -e =r khyod bla na myed pa yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i byañ chub tu źu $=$ s pa leg $=$ so legs so $\mid(4 f, 11,4 s)$ źes bya ba la stsogs pa rgyas par bstand nas | yañ
§ 4. rigs kyi bu kho bos ni byan chub sems dpa'i spyod $\{7\}$ pa thams cad -u -gro ba thams cad kyị rjes su spyod pa 'di śes par $\underline{\underline{\underline{z}}} \underline{\underline{\underline{z}}}$ ad na | kho bos ni byañ chub sems dpa' 'gro ba thams $\underline{\underline{\underline{c}} \text { ad gi minam pa'i lus dañ }}$ ldan pa nas $(41,23 s)$ d- dag gi spyod pa'i bar śes pa 'am | yon tan brijod
 $\mathrm{o}^{-}==$dga' ba'i 'ph-ñ ba źes bya ba $=(7 \mathrm{~s})-\mathrm{o}=$ dpon rgyal ba' $\mathrm{i}=\underline{\underline{m}}$ pa źes bya ba 'dug gis | de'i gañ du s-ing źig (11, 34s) $=====$ $=====\|[\mathrm{cf} . \mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si}) 227 \mathrm{~b} 1]$

Variants:
1 -ran źin $T$ : dran par (bar $L$ ) $L N P R$
2 tshol $=1 T$ : med (rmed $L R$ ) cin tshol tshol $L N P R$-nas su $T$ : nañ du $L N R$ : gnas tu $P$
$3=1$ rmye- $T P$ : tshol śin med $L N R \quad$ pad ma $T:$ pad mo $P: \bmod$ pa $L N R$
4 pa $T$ : cin $L N P R$
7 spyod pa $T$ : bya ba $P$ : soñ ba $L N R$ ni $T: o m . L N P R$ gi $T$ : dañ LNPR

[^16]8. Additional remarks:

The contents of the painting 23 are limited to Sudhana's visit to Sarvagämin. The inscription of panel XIX, however, while representing in the usual abbreviated form the complete Sarvagāmin chapter, jumps from the beginning of its concluding paragraph in line 8 to the end of the concluding paragraph of the Vaira chapter. In this way a new kind of abbreviation, and one which has not yet been applied, is being attempted. While up to this point, every panel contained the visit to one kalyānamitra only, in panel XIX three seem to be covered. Although only Sarvagāmin (21) and Vaira (23) can be attested from the text, it can be reasonably assumed that Utpalabhūti (22) is also implied here, if only by omission.

This case of omission may be different from that which immediately follows: neither painting 24, nor the illegible panel XX give us any clue as to whether the visit to Jayottama (24) was either abbreviated in a like manner, or simply overlooked. Indeed, it cannot be excluded that with the onset of a method of gross abbreviation such as occurs in panel XIX, the entire omission of a chapter resulted from a certain diminution of organizational control.

## Panel XX

1. S wall, the upper inscriptional panel on the left-hand side below figure S8. A horizontal rectangle of $13,5 / 13 \times 56$. The number of lines is unclear.
2. No signature visible.
3. Corresponds to painting 24: S. arrives on the left and meets 2 male persons before the town. Inside S. and 2 female, 3 male inhabitants above. On the right-hand side, outside the town, a park with 4 different trees and 2 clouds. S. on the left in front of the nun; to the right 4 nuns in attendance.
4. No inset in the painting.

4a. In the lower band of the upper frame after a signature " $z a$ " in $d b u$ med script: yul śu ma phyi ma'i mtha'i gro- khyer ka lin ga'i nags tshal na dge lonं (!) sén ge rinam par bskyiñ- par 'dug ("In the town of Kalingavana of the country of Śroṇāparānta lives the nun Siṃhavij̣̣mbhitā").
5. The inscription would contain the visit to the nun Siṃhavij!̣mbhitā.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. finds Siṃhavij̣̣mbhitā in a miraculous park sitting in various lion seats teaching to various audiences.
§ 2. S. asks for instruction, and she explains her achievements, declares her limitation, and sends S. forth to Vasumitrā in Ratnavyūha.
7. The inscription is illegible.

## Panel XXI

1. S wall, the lowest panel on the left-hand side below figure S8. A horizontal rectangle of $13 / 13,5 \times 67$ with 12 lines, 2 of which are in the frame of the panel.
2. No signature visible.
3. Corresponds to painting 25: S. seated on the left in front of 3 female and 3 male people. Vasumitrā in the centre in a house seated under a baldachin; behind her 3 female, 3 male attendants; below 3 persons.
4. No inset in the painting.
$4 a$. In the upper frame of the inscription after signature " ' $a$ " in $d b u$ med script: $\rightarrow \rightarrow$ bźes gñen ma ["(Vasu)mitrā"].
5. The inscription contains the visit to the venerable Vasumitrā.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. is directed by people to Vasumitrā and finds her in a decorated house.
§ 2. S. asks for instruction, Vasumitrā explains her achievements and their causes.
§ 3. Declaring her limitation, she sends S. to Vesṭhila in Subhapāraṃgama.
7. The inscription is illegible except for a few words which are sufficient for the purpose of identification:
$\S 1 .\{1\}$ de nas tshoñ dpon gyi bu nor bzañ (51, 33s) mthar gyi $\rightarrow$ $\rightarrow \rightarrow[\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 239a8-b6] $\{3\} \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow=\overline{\mathrm{n}}$ ma na groń khyer $[\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 240a8] $\{4\}$ khyim che $[\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si}) 240 \mathrm{bl}] \rightarrow \rightarrow$ rgya che ba rin po che $\rightarrow \rightarrow$ [rest not identified]

## Panel XXII

1. S wall, the lowest inscriptional panel on the right-hand side below figure S8. A horizontal rectangle of $16,5 \times 52$, most of which damaged.
2. An illegible signature in the upper left-hand corner.
3. Corresponds to painting 26: On the left $S$. meets a person in white with a white hat. In the centre, $S$. seated on the left in front of Veșthila in white with a red hat and 2 male, below which are 6 female attendants. Under Vesṭhila's seat 2 lions walking to the right.
4. No inset in the painting.
5. The inscription contains the visit to the householder Vesthila in Śubhapāraṃgama. The last lines correspond to $\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 245a6-b7, (Skt. 158,9-23).
6. Summary:
$\S$ 1. S. goes to Vesṭhila and asks for instruction.
§ 2. Vesṭhila explains the scope of his concentration.
$\S 3$. He declares his limitation and sends S . forth to Avalokiteśvara on Mount Potalaka.
7. The inscription is almost completely lost, but remains of the last lines suffice for identification.
§ 2. $\{6\}$ gcig tu brgyud pa tham- $\rightarrow \rightarrow[\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 245a6] $\{7\}$ s-ad cig $\mathrm{gc}=\underline{\underline{l}} \mathrm{a}(1 \mathrm{~s})$ sañs $\rightarrow \rightarrow[\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si}) 245 \mathrm{a} 6 \mathrm{f}].\{8\}=\mathrm{s}$ kyi źin brjod du myed pa $\rightarrow \rightarrow$-thon ste $\mid \rightarrow \rightarrow[\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 245a7f.]
§ 3. $\{9\} \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow$ zad na $\mid \rightarrow \rightarrow$ par rab tu thob pad $\rightarrow \rightarrow$ [ $\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$

245b2] \{10\} 'dzin ces bya $\rightarrow \rightarrow$ po źes bya ba $=-\mathrm{n}=\rightarrow=$ is śig $\rightarrow$ nor bzañ $\rightarrow \rightarrow[\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 245b6-7]

## Panel XXIII

1. S wall, the middle panel on the right-hand side below figure $\mathbf{S 8}$. A horizontal L-shaped panel of $24 / 12 \times 29 / 17$ with 8 lines in the upper part and 4 short lines in the lower part.
2. Signature "śa" in red in the upper left-hand corner.
3. Corresponds to painting 27: S. arrives on the left. On Mount Potalaka $S$. seated in front of Avalokiteśvara with Amitābha in his hair, and 14 crowned bodhisattvas in attendance. At the foot of the mountain a pond with aquatic animals.
4. No inset in the painting.

4a. Above the painting in dbu med script: $\rightarrow \rightarrow$ na 'phags pa spyan $\rightarrow$ gnas | ("On ... stays the noble Avalokita[îvara]").
5. The inscription contains the visit to the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara on the Potalaka mountain. It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca}) 307 \mathrm{~b} 5-314 \mathrm{~b} 7$, P(Si) 246a3-251a5, R(Ca) 270b3-277a6, L(Ca) 222a5-227b4 (Skt. 159,2-164,23).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. finds Avalokiteśvara on Mount Potalaka teaching to a group of bodhisattvas.
§ 2. Avalokiteśvara addresses S., who asks for instruction.
§3. Avalokiteśvara lays his hand on S.'s head and explains his specific practice and limitation.
§ 4. A series of verses with the content of § 1 to § 3 .
§5. The bodhisattva Ananyagämin appears on top of the Cakravāla range and $S$. is sent to ask for advice from Ananyagāmin.

## 7. Inscription:

§ 1. $\quad\{1\} \quad \mid$ de nas tsho- $==n$ gyi bu nor bzañ $(31,14 s)$ mthar gyis yul gru 'dzin gan na ba der 'ońs nas $\equiv=$ gru 'dzin g-i $==$ du phyin te | byañ chub sems dpa' spyan ras gzigs ( 4 s ) rmed cin tshol tshol
 $s-===-o-l t a b u(?)(25 \mathrm{~s}) \underline{\underline{z z}} \mathrm{ig}$ na rin $=\underline{\underline{c h}}{ }^{\prime} \underline{\underline{i}}(2 \mathrm{~s})$ rِdolon stens źig $==$ $=\underline{\underline{\mathrm{m}}}$ - krun $\underline{\underline{\underline{b}}}$ cas te 'dug cin (11s) $====$ sems dpa'i tshogs dpag tu
 dga' rañs $\{3\}$ te $\mid(51,40 \mathrm{~s})$ de ganِ $\underline{\underline{n}}$ na bar phyin te $\mid$
§ 2. de nas byañ chub sems dpa' spyan ras gzigs kyi dbañ pos tshoñ phon $=\underline{\underline{i}}=(2 s)$ rịn źig nas tshur 'oñ ba mthoñ nas smras pa $\mid$ tshur sog dpe' myed pa'i theg pa chen po yañ sti= bsam gyis myi khyab $==$ $====(71,18 \mathrm{~s})\{4\}$ nor bzañ kyis (30s) de la (2s) phyag tshal te (19s) bskor ba byas nas (4s) thal mo sbyar te (3s) smras pa | 'phags pa bdag gis (9s) byañ chub sems $=$ sky- $=s$ ci ltar (11s) bslab par bgyi ba dañ (2s) nan tan tu bg-i ba ma $===n a$ 'phags pa (11, 1s) bdag la bśad du $==$
§ 3. $\{5\}$ de $\underline{\underline{\underline{e}}}$ nas ( 4 s ) spyan $\mathrm{r}=$ gzigs $k y i(2 \mathrm{~s}) \mathrm{s}(6 \mathrm{~s})$ gser gyi mdog can (21s) lag pa (44s) nor bzañs kyi spyi bo la bźag te (3s) smras pa | rigs kyi bu (13s) byañ chub tu sems bskyed pa legs sole legs so |rig- $==$ $===\underline{\underline{n}} \mathrm{i}$ byañ chub sems dpa'i spyod pa'i g - sñiñ rje $===\{6\}$ sgo thogs pa myed pa źes bya ba śes te | ri $==$ kyi bu náa'i byañ $\underline{\underline{n}}^{\text {chub }}$ sems
$===$ (2s) sgo sñin rje chen po'i sgo thogs $===$ pa de ni 'gro ba thams cad la dbye ba myed pa sems can yoñsu sm-ị = par bya ba dan | 'dul ba la źugs pa sgo kun nas thos śin rnam par \{ 7 \}
 $=(27 \mathrm{~s})$ źabs ky̌i druñ nas (1s) my- g.yo $=$ sems can (2s) gyi dgos pa la

 $=====\mathrm{g} \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow\{9\}$ [the following lines are short with c 28 letters] $\rightarrow \rightarrow\{10\} \rightarrow \rightarrow$
§ 5. [The beginning of $\S 5$ is unclear.] (4f) $\{11\}======$ $\underline{\underline{\text { mthoñ }}} \underline{\underline{\underline{n}}}$ nam smras pa (2s) mthoñ no $\mid$ des smras $\mathrm{pa}==(11 \mathrm{~s})$ gan $=$ $\{12\}====\mathrm{c}-\operatorname{ltar}(3 \mathrm{~s})$ bya ba dris śig | de nas (4s) nor bzañs kyis (4s) -pyan ras $\{13\}====(5 \mathrm{~s})$ la (2s) phyag 'tshal te (40s) soñ no \| Variants:

1 yul $T$ : ri $L N P R \quad==\operatorname{gru} T:$ ri gra $L N P R \quad$ kyi $T N: o m . L P R$ 2 kruñ $T L N(?) R$ : druñ $P$ cin $T$ : pa $L N P R$
3 te $T$ : to $L N P R$
4 te $T$ : nas $L N P R$ tu $T(\mathrm{du}) L N R$ : om. $P \quad$ ba $T L N R$ : bar $P$ 5 mdog can $T$ : kha dog tu $L N P R$
6 thos TLNR : thogs $P$

## Panel XXIV

1. S wall, the inscriptional panel in the middle on the left-hand side under figure 9. A horizontal rectangle of $17,5 / 17 \times 24 / 23,5$ with 13 lines.
2. No signature visible.
3. Corresponds to painting 28: The last bodhisattva of Avalokiteśvara's entourage turns to the right and holds his hand over the kneeling S .
4. No inset in the painting.
5. The inscription contains the meeting with the bodhisattva Ananyagämin. It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Ca})$ 314b7-317a7, $\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Si})$ 251a6-252b6, R(Ca) 277a6-279a6, L(Ca) 227b4-229a7, (Skt. 165,2-166,12).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. proceeds to Ananyagāmin and asks for instruction.
§ 2. The bodhisattva explains his achievement and limitation.
§ 3. He sends S. on to the god Mahädeva in the city of Dvāravatī.
7. Only traces of the inscription's first lines are legible, but are sufficient for identifying the chapter.
§1. $\{1\}===(3 \mathrm{~s})$ nor bzañs (38s) byañ chub $====$
$=$ gžan du mi 'gro ba gañ na ba der $=====\{2\}=====$
$=(25 \mathrm{~s}) \mathrm{sm} \underline{\underline{m}}$-as $p a$ 'phags pa bdag g-s (9s) byañ chub tu sems $===$
$======\{3\}========$ bgyi ba ma 'tsha- $=$ 'phags

## Panel XXV

1. S wall, the inscriptional panel in the middle below figure S9. A horizontal rectangle of $14 / 13 \times 54$. The panel is empty.
2. No signature visible.
3. It would have corresponded to painting 29: $S$. arrives at the left and meets a bodhisattva or god; above 5 spectators. In the centre $S$. kneels in front of a huge Mahādeva with 4 arms; his upper left hand brings water; to the right 2 gods, below 5 spectators.
4. No inset in the painting.

4a. Above the painting in dbu med script: $\rightarrow$ gron khyer $===n a=$ lha chen po ("In the town ... ... Mahādeva").
5. The inscription would have contained the visit to Mahādeva.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. finds Mahādeva teaching in a giant body and asks for instruction. Mahādeva extends four arms in four directions.
§ 2. He explains the scope of his concentration.
§ 3. He declares his limitation and sends S. forth to Sthāvarā in Magadha.

## Panel XXVI

1. S wall, the uppermost inscriptional panel to the right below figure S9. A horizontal rectangle of $\mathrm{c} 15 \times 27$. The badly damaged panel seems to have been empty.
2. No signature visible.
3. It would have corresponded to painting 31: in an architectural structure S. to the left, Vāsantī in the centre with 6 attendants (only their halos visible).
4. No inset in the preserved part.
5. The inscription would have contained the visit to the night goddess Vāsantī.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. finds Vāsantī in a tower in the sky over Kapilavastu and asks for instruction.
§ 2. Vāsantī explains her attainments and practices.
§3. She tells of her earlier striving and admits to her limitation.
§ 4. She sends S. forth to Samantagambhïraśrívimalaprabhā in Magadha. S. praises the goddess with verses and leaves.
7. Additional remarks:
8. According to the sequence of the paintings up to this point, Vāsantī should be expected to the right of painting $\mathbf{3 0}$ at the bottom of the frieze. Assuming the same sequence to have been kept later, among the 6 lost paintings of night goddesses, and retracing this sequence from the next painting that can be determined as certain, Vāsantī would be represented in the upper painting.

Thus it seems that the regular sequence was not followed between paintings $\mathbf{3 0}$ and $\mathbf{3 1}$.

Christian Luczanits finds a possible motif for this irregularity in the fact that both goddesses, Vāsantī (32) and Samantagambhīraśrīvimalaprabhā (33), belong to the same locality, while only Vāsantī is said to stay in a jewelled tower "in the sky over Kapilavastu". This arrangement of the two settings would constitute a sufficient reason for the painters to have changed the hitherto regular sequence and shifted to the upper part to depict Vāsantī in her tower "in the sky over Kapilavastu".
2. The frieze below figure S10 has been destroyed and has been overpainted with new unrelated paintings. It could have contained the inscriptional panels and paintings related to the 6 following night goddesses (34) - (39).

## Panel XXVII

1. S wall, the upper inscriptional panel to the left below figure S11. A horizontal rectangle of $12,5 \times \mathrm{x} 55$.
2. No signature, since the left-hand side is lost.
3. It would correspond to painting 33: The right-hand side of "a tower made of encircling branches of trees" remains of the goddess' location with 2 rows of 4 forest goddesses to each. On the left, the remains of the painting seem to begin with traces of a lion supporting the goddess' seat. Above, to the right, 2 does entering in from painting 36. On the upper branch 2 birds.
4. No inset in the painting.
4.a In the upper frame of the inscriptional panel illegible traces of $d b u$ med script.
5. The inscription would contain the visit to the goddess of the Lumbini grove Sutejamaṇalalaratiśrī.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. finds the goddess seated on a throne in a tower made of encircling branches of trees surrounded by forest goddesses and asks for instruction.
§ 2. She explains the ten kinds of birth for bodhisattvas.
§ 3. She tells of her achievement, the signs and miracles connected with the birth of the Bodhisattva.
§ 4. She tells of earlier similar experiences.
§5. She declares her limitation and sends $S$. forth to Gopā in Kapilavastu.
7. The remains of the inscription may be legible, but are illegible on the available slide.

## Panel XXVIII

1. S wall, the lower inscriptional panel to the left-hand below figure S11. A horizontal rectangle of $\mathbf{c} 55 \mathrm{x}$ ?
2. No signature, since the left-hand side is lost.
3. It would correspond to painting 34: The painting probably contained 2 scenes: on the left-hand side, the meeting with the goddess Asokaśrì (?), which is lost, and on the right-hand side, "in the hall of bodhisattvas", S. kneels before a standing Gopā in Tibetan dress,
behind whom are 2 or 3 ladies in attendance.
4. No inset in the preserved part.
5. The inscription would contain the visit to the Sākya girl Gopā.
6. Summary:
§ 1. On his way to Kapilavastu S. meets Aśokaśrī, goddess of the hall of bodhisattvas.
§ 2. S. enters the hall and finds Gopā surrounded by royal maidens and asks for instruction.
§ 3. Gopā explains the 10 conditions by which bodhisattvas fulfill their practice,
§ 4. her achievement and its scope,
§ 5. her earlier achievements and experiences,
§6. finally she declares her limitation and sends $S$. forth to Māyā.
7. The panel seems to show illegible traces of an inscription.

## Panel XXIX

1. S wall, the lower inscriptional panel to the right below figure S11. A horizontal rectangle of c 20 x ?. The panel does not seem to extend to below the right-hand side of painting 35 .
2. Signature "nini" in black in the upper left-hand corner.
3. It would correspond to painting 35: The painting is divided into 4 scenes: 1 . On the upper left-hand side S . kneels, in front of a goddess in the air above and a standing goddess below with her arm raised. 2. Below 2 goddesses $S$. "thoughtfully" (?) sitting crosslegged, his head propped on his left hand. 2 unrelated pigs below. 3. S. kneels in front of the rākṣasas (remains of two heads visible).
4. The main part of the painting, which seems to extend to the bottom of the frieze. On the right-hand side the remains of a large lotus and therein the remains of the tower.
5. No inset in the preserved parts.
6. The inscription would contain the visit to Māyā, the mother of the Bodhisattva.
7. Summary:
§ 1. S., turning to Māyā in deep thought, is addressed by the city goddess Ratnanetrā, touched by the light rays of a further goddess Dharmapadmaśrīkuśalā, and directed on by the rāksasa Sunetra.
§ 2. S. then sees Māyā sitting on a lotus throne in a tower and asks for instruction.
§ 3. Māyā tells of her achievement and the birth of the Bodhisattva,
§ 4. and of her earlier achievement.
§5. She declares her limitation and sends S . forth to $\mathrm{Su}-$ rendräbhā.
8. The inscription is illegible.

## Panel XXX

1. S wall, the upper inscriptional panel in the centre below figure $\mathbf{S 1 1}$. A horizontal rectangle of $15,5 / 16 \times 24,5 / 24$.
2. Signature "cil" in black in the upper left-hand corner.
3. It would correspond to painting 36: S. kneels on the left-hand side; in the centre the goddess with 1 attendant.
4. No inset in the painting.
5. The inscription would contain the visit to the goddess Surendräbhā.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. approaches Surendrābhā and asks for instruction.
§ 2. She tells of her achievement and earlier experiences.
§ 3. She declares her limitation and sends S. forth to Viśvāmitra.
7. The inscription is illegible.

## Panel XXXI

1. S wall, the upper inscriptional panel to the left below figure S11. A horizontal rectangle of $16 / 15,5 \times 22,5 / 23$.
2. No signature visible.
3. It would correspond to painting 37: On the left-hand side, with a spectator looking out of a window above, S. kneels in a house in front of Viśvāmitra with a flat red hat and 1 attendant to the right.
4. No inset in the preserved parts.
5. The inscription would contain the visit to the young teacher Viśvāmitra.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. descends from the heaven to Kapilavastu, where he meets Viśvāmitra and asks for instruction. The teacher states that he learned what he knows from Śilpābhijñā and sends S. to him.
7. The inscription is illegible.

## Panel XXXII

1. S wall, the upper inscriptional panel in the centre between figures S11 and S12. A horizontal rectangle of $15 \times$ ?
2. No signature, since the left-hand side is lost.
3. It would correspond to painting 38: In the centre traces of the teacher, to the left traces of S., to the right of the attendants (?).
4. No inset in the preserved parts.
5. The inscription would contain the visit to the young Śilpābhijña.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. goes to Śilpābhijña and asks for instruction.
§ 2. He explains his knowledge of the phonemes (arapacana, etc.),
§ 3. declares his limitation and sends S. forth to Bhadrottamā in Vartanaka.
7. The inscription is illegible.

## Panel XXXIII

1. S wall, the upper inscriptional panel to the left below figure S12. A horizontal rectangle of $12 \times 35$. Either the inscription is totally effaced or the panel is empty.
2. No signature visible.
3. It would have corresponded to painting 39: In a house faint traces of S. on the left, and of Bhadrottamā in the centre dressed in a white cloak with blue lapels. To the right 1 male and 1 female attendant.
4. No inset in the painting.
5. The inscription would have contained the visit to the laywoman Bhadrottamã.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. goes to Bhadrottamā and asks for instruction. She explains her achievement, declares her limitation, and sends S. forth to Muktāsāra in Bharukaccha.
7. The inscriptional panel is probably empty.

## Panel XXXIV

1. S wall, the lowest panel below figure S12. A horizontal rectangle of $19 / 17 \times 23,5$. The panel is empty but lines have been ruled in preparation.
2. No signature visible.
3. It would have corresponded to painting 40: In the centre traces of Muktāsāra seated, dressed in a blue dhoti; on the right 1 male and 1 female attendant similarly dressed in Indian style.
4. No inset in the painting.
5. The inscription would have contained the visit to the goldsmith Muktāsāra.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. goes to Muktāsāra and asks for instruction. He explains his achievement, declares his limitation, and sends S. forth to Sucandra in the same city.
7. The inscriptional panel is empty.

## Panel XXXV

1. S wall, the lower inscriptional panel in the centre between figures S12 and S13. A horizontal rectangle of $17 \times 77$. The panel is empty but lines have been ruled in preparation.
2. Signature " $\underline{\underline{d} i "}$ in black in the upper left-hand corner.
3. It would have corresponded to painting 41: On the left a questionable scene: a householder with 2 male attendants and 1 spectator in a separate house looks towards the centre of the town (filling surplus space?). In the main scene: $S$. on the left kneeling in front of Sucandra, who is seated. To the right are 5 male attendants. Above the town is a group of 3 gazelles.
4. No inset in the painting.

4a. Below the inscriptional panel in dbu med script: $\rightarrow$ groñ khyer rgyas pa'i 'gram na khyim bdag zla ba bzañ po $\rightarrow$ ("In the city of Bharukaccha...the householder Sucandra.")
5. The inscription would have contained the visit to the householder Sucandra.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. goes to Sucandra and asks for instruction. Sucandra indicates his achievement and limitation, and sends S. forth to Ajitasena in Roruka.
7. The inscriptional panel is empty.
8. Additional remarks:

The identification of paintings $\mathbf{4 1}$ and $\mathbf{4 2}$ is based on the secondary
titles attached to painting 42 and panel XXXV. The wild animals above the town in painting 41 may indicate that this is a depiction of Roruka. But this contradicts the titles. The reading of the panel signature is very uncertain.

## Panel XXXVI

1. S wall, the upper inscriptional panel to the right-hand below figure S12. A horizontal rectangle of $13.5 / 14 \times 34$. The panel is empty but lines have been ruled in preparation.
2. Signature "tit" in black in the upper left-hand corner.
3. It would have corresponded to painting 42: on the left $S$.; in the centre Ajitasena; on the right 3 male attendants.
4. No inset in the painting.

4a. In the blue ribbon above the scene after a signature "ti"" in dbu med script: groñ khyer ri dags gnas na khyim bdag mi pham sde $==$ ("In the city of Roruka...the householder Ajitasena.")
$4 \beta$. In the lower right-hand corner of the inscriptional panel after a signature "ña" in rough dbu med script: $\underline{\underline{r i}}$ (??) $===$ na khyim bdag $==$
5. The inscription would have contained the visit to the householder Ajitasena.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. goes to Ajitasena and asks for instruction. Ajitasena indicates his achievement and sends $S$. forth to Śivāgra in

## Dharmagrāma.

7. The inscriptional panel is empty.

## Panel XXXVII

1. S wall, the upper inscriptional panel to the right below figure S13. A horizontal rectangle of $13,5 \times 60,5$. The panel is empty but lines have been ruled in preparation.
2. No signature visible.
3. It would have corresponded to painting 43: In a house $S$. standing before an Indian lady in white who refers S . to the centre; there, S . kneeling in front of Śivarāgra enriched and sitting on an elaborate seat; on the right 1 male, 1 female attendant. Above the first lady a dove.
4. No inset in the scene.

4a. In the blue band above the scene after a signature "tha" in dbu med script: yul chos kyi yul gru na bram ze gzzi' 'dzin mchog 'dug | ("In the region of Dharmagrāma lives the brahmin Śivarāgra.")
5. The inscription would have contained the visit to the brahmin Sivarāgra.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. goes to Śivarāgra and asks for instruction. Śivarāgra indicates his achievement and limitation, and sends S. forth to Śrīsambhava and Śrīmati in Sumanāmukha.
7. The inscriptional panel is empty.

## Panel XXXVIII

1. S wall, the lowest panel under figure S13. A horizontal rectangle of $24 \times 83.5$ with 17 lines. Only the first two lines are partly overpainted.
2. In the upper left-hand corner of the panel is the signature " $p a$ " in black. In addition "śa" in black begins the first line.
3. Corresponds to painting 44: on the left $\mathbf{S}$. in front of the door; in the centre S. kneeling in front of Śrīsambhava with 17 male listeners; on the right $S$. kneeling in front of Śrimati with 1 male, 16 female listeners. 2 large curtains frame the kalyanamitras. To the right $S$. leaving the city. Below these scenes two further scenes of doubtful meaning; on the left, the 2 children seem to be leaving the town, and in the centre, Śrīmati engages her hands while bowing forward, and Śrīsambhava kneels to the right.
4. No inset in the scene.
$4 a$. In the lower blue band of the scene after a signature " $d a$ " in $d b u$ med script: yul gyi $\rightarrow$ groǹ khyer bzañ po źes $\rightarrow$ ("The city Su[... ...?] of the region...").
5. The inscription contains the visit to the children Śrisambhava and Śrīmati in the city of Sumanāmukha and corresponds to N (Cha) 214a5-229a7, P(Hi) 173a4-183a4, R(Cha) 198b6-212a2, L(Cha) 157a4-167b7, (Skt. 360,2-367,9).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. visits the boy Śrisambhava and the girl Śrīmati in the city of Sumanāmukha and asks them for the method of learning and practising the practice of bodhisattvas.
§ 2. The children inform S. of their particular achievement and its characteristic effects, but cannot answer his request.
§ 3. They refer S. to the bodhisattva Maitreya who lives South, in the tower Vairocanavyūhālañkāragarbha.
§ 4. S. is to ask Maitreya for the method of seeking the practice of bodhisattvas,
§ 5. because Maitreya has entered into all these practices and will act as a spiritual friend.
§ 6. S. should not develop just one virtue, etc., but infinite roots of goodness, etc.
§ 7. ${ }^{2}$ The necessity of seeking spiritual friends. Why S. should not tire of seeking spiritual friends: from them bodhisattvas learn their practice, etc.; sustained by them bodhisattvas do not fall into bad existences, etc.
§ 8. S. is to continue to approach spiritual friends with a mind like a servant, doing whatever is bidden, etc.
§ 9. S. is to think of himself as sick, of spiritual friends as physicians, etc. With this in mind he should approach them.
$\S 10$. S. is delighted, pays his respect to the boy and girl and leaves.
7. Inscription:
§1. $\{1\}|<>|$ de na $-\underline{\underline{\underline{t s h}}}===n$ gy--u $[\rightarrow \rightarrow$ covered $]=\underline{\underline{r}}$ soñ ste | khye'u dpal 'byuñ ba dan | bu mo dpal gyi blo gros ma gañ na pha deñ phyin nas | de gñis kyi rkañ pa la spyi bos phyag 'tshal te mdun du 'dug nas thal mo sbyar te 'di skad ces smras so $\ddagger$ 'phags pa bdag gis (9s) byań chub tu s-ms $\{2\}$ bskyed na ci lar (11s) bsla $==r$ bgyi pa dan (2s) nan tan du bgyi ba ma 'tsha $[\rightarrow \rightarrow \mid]$-tsald tu sol |
§ 2. de nas khye'u dpal 'byuñ ba dañ bu mo (2s) blo gros mas

[^17](10s) smras pa rigs kyi bu bdag cag gñis kyis ni byañ chub sems dpa' rnam par thard pa s-yu ma'i rnam pa zes bya ba thob pa ste mnion tu byas so | \{3\} rigs kyi *bu* de ltar kho b- cag rnam par thard pa 'di dan Idan pas 'jig rten thams cad sgyu ma'i mam pa rgyu rkyen sgyu ma las byun ba mthoñ no | Żes pa nas (61) sañs rgyas dañ byañ chub sems dpa' thams cad kyi dkyil 'khor (1s) yañ sgyu mar mthoń ba'i bar du'o | rigs kyi bu bdag cag gñis kyis ni (4s) rnam par thard $=$ sgyu ma'i $\{4\}$ rań bžin bar śes par zad na kh- $=$ cag gis. (5s) sgyu ma mtha' $====$ rnam par bsgrubs (6s) pa rnams kyi spyod pa śes pa 'am | yon tan brjod parg nus re skan de nas khye'u (3s) dañ bu mos (11s) smras pa | rigs kyi = rge ba'i rtsa ba sugs drags po bsam gyis myi khyab pas mnion bar brlan nas rañ gi rnam par thard pa'i yul $\{5\}$ bstand te | 'di skad ces smras so |
 sgo'i gnas rgya mtsho'i 'gram źes bya ba de na | bza' śiń ra ba rgyan chen po $\underline{\underline{\underline{e}}}=\underline{\underline{s}}$ bya ba yod de | de 'i nañ na khań pa brtsegs pa ch-n po mam par snañ mdzad kyi rgyan gyis brgyand pa'i sñin po źes bya ba byañ chub semps dpa'i dge ba'i rtsa ba rnaṃ par smyin pa las mñon bar $\{6\}$ grub pa byań chub sems dpa'i sems dañ yid (3s) las 'byuń ba la stsogs pa (21, 23s) rgyan kyis brgyan pa yod de | de na byañ chub sems dpa' seṃs dpa' chen po byams pa źes bya ba skye ba'i sa la gnas pa'i myi rnams rjẹs su bzuñ ba dañ pha dañ ma dañ gñen du gyurd pa rnams yonisu smyin par bya ba dañ (41) żes = ba la stsogs pa'i yon tañ dañ ldan pa de 'dug gis $\perp$
§ 4. $\{7\}$ de'i gan du soñ la ji ltar byañ chub sems dpas byañ chub sems dpa'i dpyod pa (33s) la bslab par bya ba dañ | nan tan du bya ba (31, 14s) dris sisg dañ |
§ 5. de ci'i phyir źe na | (3s) byañ chub sems dpa' byams pa (3s) de na byañ chub seṃs dpa'i spyod pa thams cad la źugs pa'o | de ni sems can thams cad kyi sems dañ bsam pa rtogs par khon du chud pa nas | (21, 32s) de ni de bźin gśe-s $\{8\}$ pa thams cad kyis thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye śes kyi yul la (5s) dbañ bskur ba'o | rigs kyi bu dge ba'i bśes gñen de khyod la dge pa'i rtsa ba thams cad kyis ni mnion bar brlan bar byed do | (3s) sems bskyed pa (3s) phel bar byed do | lhag pa'i bsam ba (5s) brtan bar byed do | (5f, 6l, 37s)
§ 7. de ci'i phyir źe na | rigs kyi bu byañ chub sems dpa' rnams kyi $\underline{\underline{\underline{s}}-\underline{y}-\mathrm{d}}$ pa $\{9\}$ thams cad thos pa ni | dge ba'i gśes gñen la rag las pa'o | (4s) yon tan yoñs su - dz-gs par bya ba kun -i dge ba'i bśes gñen las byun ba'o | (4s) smon lamp gyi rgyan thams cad ni | dge ba'i bśes gñen las byuñ ba'o | (4s) dge ba'i rtsa ba thams cad ni dge ba'i bśes gñen gyis bskyed pa'o |(4s) tshogs thams cad ni dge ba'ị gyis bsgrubs pa'o | $(21,28 s)$ sems bskyed pa brtan ba thams cad ni dge ba'i bśes gñen las skyes pa'o | $(31,11 s)$ gsañ ba'i gnas thams cad ni dge ba'i bsís gñen gyi mdzod na 'dug pa'o | (4s) chos thams cad ni dge ba'i bśes gñen gyi 'byuñ gnas nas 'byuñ ba'o | (11, 23s) bsod nams bsags pa thams cad ni dge ba'i gñe $\{11\}$ gyis bssruñs pa'o | (23s) chos ñan pa'i sprin tham- $=\mathrm{d}$ ni $d e^{\prime} i$ kha nas byuń ba'o | (22s) sañs rgyas (2s) kyi by̌añ chub ni dge ba'- bśes gñen la rim gro bya bas thob pa'o | (11) chos kyi (2s) rjes su 'brañ pa thams cad ni dge' ba'i gśes gñen gyis yoñsu bstan pa'o | (31) rigs kyi bu dge ba'i bśes gñen gyis yan dag par zin pa'i gañ zag ni nan $\{12\}$ son du myi ltanún no $\mid$ ( 15 s ) theg pa chen po las phyir myi Idog go | (4s) des bsruñs pa ni byañ chub sems dpa'i bslab pa dañ | 'gal

des (3s) zin pa (5s) ni so so'i skye bo'i sa las yoñsu 'da'o (2f, 2l) zes rgyas par sbyar te |
§ 8. (11, 24s) dge ba'i bśes ñen la ni ci dga' bar bka' ñan pas $\{13\}$ bran lta $\underline{\underline{b}} u^{\prime} i$ sems dan de'i niag ma bcag pas $===$ pa lta bu'i sems dañ | (11, 1s) de la ña rgyal (5s) spañs pas phyag dar = bu 'i sems dañ | (11, 25s) de la myi khro bas khyi lta bu'i (2l, 13s) sems kyis dge ba'iِ bśes ñen la bsñen bkur bya'o |
§ 9. (11, 6s) khyod kyis bdag la ni 'dron pa'i 'du śes bskyed par bya'o | dge ba'i bśes ñeñ la ni lam ston gyi 'du śes dań $\mid$ gd-- nag \{14\} $=-\underline{\underline{I}}$ lam gyi 'du śes dan | ñan tan la ni phyogs b-- bar 'gro ba'i 'du śes (3s) dañ | (5s) bdag la ni ipha rol tu 'gro ba'i 'du śes (3s)dań | (18s) dge ba'i bśes (1s) la ni ded dpon gyi 'du śes dañ | bstan pa'i chos la ni mu stegs kyi 'du śes dan | nan tan la ni gru'i 'du śes (3s) dañ | (3s) khyod kyis bdag la ni žin gi 'du śes (3s) dañ | dge ba'i bśes ñen la ni klu'i bdag po'i 'du \{15\} ses dañ | gdams nèg la ni char gyi 'du śes dañ | na--n la ni thog grub pa'i 'du śes (3s) dañ | (2l, 10s) khyod kyis bdag la ni 'jigs pa'i 'du śes (3s) dañ | dge ba'i bśes la ni dpa' bo'i ' 'du śes dañ | gdam nag la ni mtshon cha'i 'du śes dań| nan tan la ni dgra' sel ba'i 'du śes bskyed pas (41, 15s) dge ba'i bśes ñen rnams la ñe bar bsñen bar gyis śig | de ci phyir źe na $\underset{1}{\underline{1}}\{16\}$ (15s) dge ba'i $===$ nen la (2s) bsam pa yoñsu dag pas (8s) bsñen pa'i (8s) --ñs kyi ri la sten pa'i ri dañ | gel ba dañ sman dań | nags tshal dañ 'dra' bar gañ zag de'i dge ba'i rtsa ba thams cad rnam par 'phel lo |
§10. (1f, 7l) de nas tshon phon gyi bu nor bzañs kyis rnam pa de

nas dga' rañs te (5s) tshim źin yid bde ba skyes nas $\mid\{17\}$ khye'u $--\underline{\underline{-l}}$ byuñ ba dañ | bu mo dpal gyi blos gros ma gñi- = la (2s) phyag btsal te (21s) bskor ba byas nas (12s) de dag gi druñ nas soñ ño |<>| Variants:

1 pha deñ phyin nas $T P$ : ba der soñ (son $R$ ) nas $L N R$ rkañ pa la $T L N R$ : rkañ pa gñis la $P$
4 bar $T$ : 'di $L N P R$
$6 \quad$ smyin (smin $N R$ ) par bya ba $T L N R$ : smin par byed pa $P$
7 dris śig dañ $T$ : dris śig $L N P R$
8 dpa' rnams kyi $N T$ : dpa'i $P$ : dpa' rnams kyi byañ chub sems dpa'i LR
9 kun $T$ : thams cad $L N P R$
10 gñe $T$ : bśes gñen $L N P R$
11 gañ zag $T$ : byań chub sems dpa' rnams $L N P R$
13 n्nag ma bcag $T$ : nag thams cad mi gcig $L N P$ : nag thams cad mi $g \operatorname{cog} R \quad$ bsñen bkur bya'o $T$ : bsñen par bya'o $L N P R$ 'dron pa'i $T$ : 'gron po'i $P R$ : 'dron po'i $L$ par bya'o $T P$ : pa'o $L R$ ston gyi $T$ : mtshon pa'i $L N P R$
14 ded pon gyi $T$ : mñan pa'i $L N P R$ bstan pa'i chos la ni $T$ : rjesu bstan pa la ni $L N$ : rjes su bstan pa la $P R$ źin gi $T$ : źiǹ ba'i $N$ : źi ba'i $P$ : źińn pa'i $L R \quad$ bdag po'i $T$ : dbań po'i $L N P R$
15 char gyi $T$ : char ba'i $N P$ : char pa'i $L R$ thog $T: \operatorname{lo} \operatorname{tog} L N P R$ bśes $T$ : bśes gñen $L N P R$
16 ri $T$ : rtswa $L N P R$ sman dañ nags tshal dañ 'dra' bar $T$ : sman nags tshal lta bur $P$ : sman dan nags tshal lta bu $L N R$ thams cad $T$ : thams cad kyis $L N P R$

## Panel XXXIX

1. At the beginning of the W wall the lowest panel under figure W14. A horizontal rectangle of $22,5 / 22 \times 131,5$. with 15 lines.
2. No signature visible ${ }^{3}$.
3. Corresponds to painting 45: Below on the left S. standing, his left arm raised, before the 'tower'. Above S. kneeling before Maitreya accompanied by 8 bodhisattvas and gods; to the right above a god on a cloud. Mañjuśri's hand in a cloud in the upper left-hand corner, and again in the right-hand corner, prepares for the central scene of painting 46.

The centre is filled by scenes from Maitreya's former existences, carrying out all the practices of bodhisattvas. S. is always present as spectator. He seems to be also depicted below scene (3.) as the subject of his visions. These scenes seem to concentrate on various forms of giving away (pradāna).

The first row, from left to right, depicts
(1.) M. seated with a full bowl in his left hand, the right extended to?
(2.) M. seated puts a naked man something in a bag. Inscription: nor sbyin pa ("giving of wealth"). Cf. Viśvāntarajātaka.
(3.) M. seated gives two children away to a naked ascetic. Inscription: bu sbyin pa ("giving of children"). Cf. Viśvāntarajātaka.

[^18](4.) M. seated gives two (!) women to a brahmin. Inscription: chuñ ma sbyin pa ("giving of wife"). Cf. Viśvāntarajātaka. Of the second row only traces are left:
(5.) Below (2.) 4 small seated figures, above $S$.'s head.
(6.) Below (4.) to the right M . kneeling holds his head in his right hand (the present head is a later addition).

The third row is lost except for the left-hand corner. The last row shows
(7.) in the left-hand corner traces of a head and something black above.
(8.) a bird on a scales, to the right the legs of a seated naked man and 4 male spectators (Śibijātaka?).
(9.) 2 birds, white and blue, flying towards $M$. seated in the centre, with 2 spectators.
(10.) M. seated gives something white to a brahmin.
(11.) M. seated gives something (his hand?) to a seated naked man; his left arm is mutilated. Inscription: lag pa sbyi= ("giving of hand").
4. No inset in the preserved part.

4a. In the panel, above the inscription in dbu med script: phyogs kyi sgo rgya mtsho'i $===$ ogs glin gi gnas $=o==$ bza, źin gi rab rgyan chen po źes bya pa yod de | de nas = khañ ba brtsegs pa chen po rnam par snañ mdzad kyi rgyan gyi $\rightarrow$ po żes bya ba de na byams $p a \rightarrow$ ("A place Samudra[kaccha] ... ... (?) there is a park called Mahāvyūha. Then a great tower called Vairocanavyūhālañkāragarbha ... (?); there Maitreya ... ...") [cf. P(Hi)
5. The inscription contains Sudhana's meeting with Maitreya and his entering the tower Vairocanavyūhālañkāragarbha.

It corresponds to $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{Cha})$ 229b1-314b7, $\mathrm{P}(\mathrm{Hi})$ 183a4-236a8, R (Cha)
212a2-286b7, L(Cha) 167b7-228bl, (Skt. 368,2-418,32).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. goes to Samudrakaccha contemplating these instructions etc. and with these thoughts, faith, admiration, etc., and prostrates himself at the door of the tower Vairocanavyūhālañkāragarbha,
$\S 2$. in the same way before all beings and objects throughout the cosmos. The manner of his prostration.
§ 3. After a long time, S. rises and circles the tower thinking: "This is the abode of those who dwell in the state of emptiness, etc."
§ 4. Then S. speaks these verses: "Here is Maitreya ... at the stage of coronation, etc."
§ 5. Maitreya with a great retinue is seen coming from another place and S. prostrates himself before Maitreya.
§ 6. Maitreya eulogizes the qualities developed by $S$. in verses: "Look at S., pure in mind, etc." Finally Maitreya refers S. to Manjuśrī. S. wishes to meet Mañjuśrì soon.
§ 7. S. begs Maitreya to tell him how a bodhisattva is to learn and carry out the practice of bodhisattvas.
§ 8. Maitreya points out the untiring aspiration of S. to his retinue. It is hard even to hear the name of such a one as S., etc. He surveys the various aims of such a person.
§ 9. After this eulogy Maitreya explains to $S$. the reason for his aspiration to supreme enlightenment: it is his spiritual determination for enlightenment (bodhicitta). Similes of bodhicitta.
§ 10. Metaphors for various bodhicitta-terms and paraphrases. Finally Maitreya enjoins $S$. to enter the tower.
§ 11. Maitreya opens the door and S. enters. He sees it as immensely vast, adorned with countless ornaments. Inside the
tower, he sees other towers as infinite as space, each one mutually distinct.
§ 12. S. bows in all directions, perceives himself in all the towers and sees various miraculous scenes: the works of Maitreya, bodhisattvas, Tathāgatas.
§ 13. The central tower is the biggest. Here S. sees numerous Jambudvīpas and Tuṣita heavens. He sees Maitreya's life acts in these worlds and himself always at his feet.
§ 14. He hears many voices articulating infinite varieties of the teaching.
§ 15 . He sees in the mirrors infinite reflections of buddhas, bodhisattvas, etc., in the jewel squares, Maitreya carrying out all the practices of a bodhisattva, and even the spiritual friends who were visited by Maitreya are mirrored.
§16. S. sees the endless scenes in Vairocana's tower like in a dream, etc.
§ 17. Maitreya enters, too, and asks S. "Did you see ...?" S. confirms and asks for an explanation of these miracles as well as of Maitreya's origin. Maitreya complies: Ten lands as native lands of bodhisattvas, wisdom (prajñā) as their mother, etc.; bodhisattvas do not fail to live in the world. He states that he came to the South to help develop to maturity those who practised the same practice before, but have lost the aspiration to continue towards enlightenment. After his death he will be born again in Tuṣita.
§ 18. Maitreya enjoins S. to go back to Mañjuśrī in order to find the answer to his question for learning and practising the bodhisattva practice. He is the true spiritual friend. S. pays his respect to Maitreya and leaves.
7. Inscription:
§1. $\{1\}|<>|$ de nas tshoñ phon gyi bu nor bza- $-=$ ba'i gśes gñen gyi gdams ñag gis sems m-n par brlan pa de byañ chu$===$ dpa- spyod $\mathrm{pa}==\mathrm{su}$ bstan ba de ni rjes su (2s) sems pa la stsogs pa (3f, 10s) yul rgya mtsho'i 'gram $=====\underline{\underline{r}}-\underline{\underline{y}}$ in te $\mid$ de ltar tshon dpon gyi $==-\underline{\text { bza-- }}$ rim $=--\mathrm{o}==$ phu dud dań ( 5 s )
phyag bya ba dañ Ita ba'i byin kyị rlabs (14s) kyi yid dañ Idan pa dañ | (13s) $===$ kyi myig gis khañ ba b-ts-gs par -e po rnam par snañ m-d kyi rgyan gyis brgyand pa'i sñin $\mathrm{p}==\mathrm{s}=\mathrm{s}====$ cad kyis phab te phyag byas so
§ 2. $\{2\}<>$ des rnam pa de lta bu'i mnion bar $===$ tshul yud tsam (1s) rnam par dpyad de $\mid$ mos pa $d a=d=$ pas las byun ba'i (2s) -sam pa dañ = smon lam gyis mñon bar bsgrub pa'i mthus $\mid$ de bźin gśegs pa thams cad kyi źabs (1s) druñ du bdag =d rgyun myi chad par byin gyis rlabs so $=======$ sems dpa' thams cad (4s) nas (13s) mchod rten (2s) dañ (4s) sku gzugs (2s) dañ (11, 1s) sbyin (1s) gnas dañ | bla ma dañ pha ma thams cad kyi -r gyi ${ }^{\prime}===(5 \mathrm{~s})=\underline{n}$ myi chad par (33s) byin kyis rlabs so | khan $==$ rtsegs pa chen $\mathrm{po}==$ (13s) Ita ba (1s) bźin g-ñ du brjod (2s) pa thams cad la \{3\} la (!) yań (9s) gdud cin phyag bya bar byin kyis rlabs so | (2f, 27s)
§ 3. $=====$ te $\mid$ lus dañ sems śin tu tshim bar gyurd pa (1s) | khañ pa br-e-- $==={ }^{\prime} \mathrm{i}===\mathrm{s}$ lañs nas yud tsam źig tu khan pa brtsegs pa (13s) de la myig myi 'geneis par bltas nas thal mo sbyar $=$ lan brgya stoñ (2s) g.yas phyogs = -skor ba byas nas | de lta bu 'i 'du śes dañ yid la bya bas bskul ba'i sems dañ ldan bas tshig $====$ $=$ 'di gnas 'di ni stoñ ( 2 s ) = 'di mtshan ma $====$ smon pa myed pa'i gnas pa $==$ pas dpyo- $=$ rnams kyi gnas so źes pa nas | (5f, 11, 31s) yon $\tan$ gyi gnas thams cad la rnam $\{4\}$ par spyod pa rnams kyi gnas so | źess bya ba'i $===$ brjod nas $\mid$
§ 4. (6s) nor bzañs de ñid kyis (2s) tshigs su bcad (1s) de smras $p a \perp$

- $\underline{\underline{\text { d}}}$ - la thugs rje che- $=$ brñes pas rnam dag pa $\mid$
byams pa bśes ñen dpal chen 'jig rten phan brtson pa
dbañ bskur $===$ rgyal ba'i sras kyi thu bo $=1$
$(6 f, 11)$ żées bya $b a====$ pa brjod nas
§ 5. de na- (4s) nor bzañs kyis khañ pa brtsegs pa (11s) ni 'khod pa'i bya- $=====$ mams la (7s) bstod pa de dag $==\mathrm{n}$ tshad myed pa de dag gis kyañ (2s) bstod de | (27s) khañ pa brtsegs pa'iِ (13s) sgo na (8s) byams pa $=\mathbf{l t a}$ mos pa dañ $\mid$ (20s) phrad par dga' źin $\{5\}$ sdod pa las | des byañ chu- sems dpa' b--- = khañ ba brtsegs pa de'i phyi rol gyi phyogs (1s) gcig nas sriog chags brgya ston du ma'i '----ńn | lha dań klu nas (18s) Ito phye chen po dpań po'i du ma'i par gyis mdun tu byas te | g.yas na g.yos nas brgya byin dañ tshañs pa dan | 'i-g rten gyi $====$ rnams kyis phyag byas $\underline{\underline{\underline{s}} \text { in }} \mid$ yul de na gnas pa gñen du 'oń ba'i bram ze brgya stoń $\underline{\underline{\underline{m}}}======$ cinin mdun du byas ter $\mid$ kha- pa -rts-gs (11s) pa' $i$ phyogsu 'oñ ba mthoñ nas dga' $=\mid$ de 'gu sta (!) bde ba skyes nas byañ chub sem- dpa' byams pa gañ na ba de $\{6\}$ logs su minon bar blta ste $\mid====$ po nas (4s) byams pa $=$ (6s) phyag byas so |
§ 6. de nas (4s) byams pas (4s) nor bzañs la blta ste 'khor kun $=$ $=\mathrm{g}$ pa g.yas pas bstan nas (6s) bsnags pa'i tshigs su bcad pa (2s) smras pa |

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Itos śig bsa- ba (2s) dag (1s) 'di } \\
& \text { nor bzañs nor rnams }====\text { 'i bu } \\
& \text { byañ ch-b spyod pa dam pa yonns su tshol źin | } \\
& \text { mkhas pa na'i druñ du ñe bar 'ons | } \\
& \text { leg- par 'ońs sa- siñ-n rje byams byun khyod } \downarrow \\
& \text { byams pa'i dkyil '-oro yañs pa legs 'ons sa- }
\end{aligned}
$$

'di 'dra'i rjes su bstan pa dam pa dañ
gi bar brjod pa $\{7\}$ yañ 'di ltar |
gdams niag de $====$ bzañs thos 'gyur nas |
dga' ba'i śugs kyi dbañ po mñon brlan $==$

dga' ba'i ñams chen nams su myoñ par 'gyur |
dbañ po tshim nas śugs kyi dbugs kyañ phyun |

byams pa de la bskor ba rab tu pyas |
nor bzañs lag tu 'jam -pal sems dbañ gis

byań chub sems dpa'i smon pas mnion mthoñ ba |
yid du 'oñ ba mañ po byuñ ba- gyurd |
nor bzañs de tshe rab tu $\{8\}$ dga' gyurd nas |
dga' $b====$ byams pa de la gton |
de tshe de'i mgo la byugs
byams pas tshigsu $========$
rgyal ba'i sras po nor bzañs legs so legs so |
de ltar khyod ni yoñsu myi skyo bas
ǹa dañ 'ja= = =l ji 'dra de bźin du |
yon tan snod d- khyod ni smyur $====1$
thos nas nor bzañs dga' ba'i tshig brjod pa |
'di 'dra'i dge' bśes phrad pa ni |
srid pa brgya phrag 'grañs par śsin tu $\mathrm{d}==$
$==\mathrm{g}$ de rin 'dir phyin śsin tu legs $\mid$
yon tan kun gyi pha r- - phyin gyurd pa | 'jam dpal khyod kyi byin rlabs $\{9\}$ bzañ po 'is bdag $===$ śes $-\underline{\underline{1}} \mathrm{en}$ 'di dag dkon pa rñed khyod dañ bdag tu myur du 'grogs par -o |
§ 7. de nas $=========(28 \mathrm{~s}) l a$ smras $==$ 'phags pa bdag gis (9s) byañ chub tu yanṇ dag par źugs na $\mid$ ci ltar ( 8 s ) $d e^{\prime} i$ spyod pa la bslab pa- = y- ba dan | (2s) nan tan tu bgyi ba ma 'tshal te | 'phags pa byams pa (1s?) de bźin gśegs pa tham- $====$ sku tshe cig gis thogs par bla na myed (5s) pa'i byañ -u- -u lun bstan pa ste | gan (13s) tshe gcig -s thogs pa de ni byan chub sems $\mathrm{d}===\mathrm{m}$ par dgoñ pa thams cad las yanِ dag par 'das pa lags | de ni (4s) skyon myed par $\{10\}==$ źugs pa la- $==$ s ni pha rol tu phyin pa thams cad yonsu rdzogs pa ( $\sim 1 \mathrm{f}, 6 \mathrm{l}$ ) la sogs $p a=\mathrm{gs}===========$ $\underline{\underline{c h}}$-b sems dpa- ( 6 s ) $\underline{\underline{d}} e_{=}^{\prime}$ bslab par bya ba dañ $\mid(2 \mathrm{~s})====$ bya ba (31) bdag la $\mathrm{b}=======$
§ 8. de nas (4s) byams pas | 'khor kyi dkyil 'khor de dag thams cad la bltas te | (4s) nor bzañs ñe bar bstan nas $==(3 \mathrm{~s})$ smras pa rigs kyi bu dag ñor bzañ 'di nị -di ltar na la byan chub sems dpa' spyod pa dañ | yon tan yoñs su bsgrub $=-$ dri ba la ltos $\mid$ bzod pa can dag nor $\underline{\text { bzañs ' } \mathrm{di}}$ ni brtson 'grus (2s) 'di lta bu da- -o- -u $\{11\}$ gñer ba ${ }^{\prime}===-$ ta -us | (21, 9s) bsñen bkur ba byed cin | 'jam dpal gźo nur gyurd pas btañ nas | groñ khyer skyid pa'i 'byuñ gna- $==$ bar $===\mid \underline{\underline{\text { lho }}}$ phyogs kyi rgyud thams cad du rgyus nas dge ba-i $\underline{\underline{\underline{i}}}======$ bcu la dri ba myed cin | tha ma na'i drun 'di'i bar du skyob (2s) dañ bral ba'i (2s) bsam pas phyin te (4f, 11, 31s)
§ 9. źes bya ba la sogs pas nor bzañs kyi yon tan rgyas par briod
nas | de nas byams pas nor bzañs la (3s) smras pa (41, 16s) rigs kyi bu byań chub sems ni sañ rgyas kyi chos thams cad kyi sa bon lta bu'o | chos dkar po thams cad rnams par 'bye \{12\} byed pa- ź-ṅ lta bu'i (!) | (30f, 21) źes sems bskyed pa'i yon tan rgyas par bstan nas | rigs kyi bu khyod na re | ii ltar byañ chub sems dpa'i spyod $==-$ yad par bya (6s) źes ze- $==$-igs kyi bu khañ pa brts $=======(21 s!)!-$ os śig dañ $\mid$ der khyod kyis (13s) bslab par bya ba (15s) thams cad ses par 'gyur ro |
§ 11. (6s) nor bzañis kyis (17s) smras pa | (2s) pho brañ brtsegs pa'i chab sgo dbye' du gsol | nañ du mchi'i (!) | de nas (4s) byams pas khañ pa brtsegs (10s) pa'i s-o druñ du phyin te (4s) se go- (2s) gyi sgra $=$ $=\underline{\underline{b}}$ dañ $\mid$ ( 2 s ) sgo de (1s) rañ bye nas (24s) nor bzañs (11s) de'ị nañ du (3s) phyin ma thag tu sgo $-\mathrm{e}====\mathrm{d}$ par gyurd to $\mid$ (3s) khan pa $\{13\}=====(10 \mathrm{~s})$ brgya stoñ can (21s) yańs pa | (2f, 17s) rgyan rnam pa sna tshogs kyis brgyan pa (4s) de'i nañ na (31) khañ myig brgya storin myig yañs ris su=$=p a \mid$
§ 12. (6l, 14s) khañ $\mathrm{pa}===\mathrm{s}$ pa la lar ni (4s) byams pa thog
 sdañ no | (?) ( ~ 41) la lar ni sbyin pa sna tshogs gtoń ba dañ | la lar ni tshul khrims | la lar ni bzod pa nas (11, 17s) = = lar ni (14s) luń bstan pa (1f, 71, 11s) la lar ni ñan thos kyi 'khor na | la lar ni rañ $===$ kyi 'khor na | la lar ni tshe gcig $g$-s thogs $=\dot{\underline{n}}==-s-$-r ba rnams kyi bar (26s) mthoñ no | (2f, 7l)

[^19]§ 13. khañ pa brtsegs pa (13s) de'i $====$ ñ pa brtsegs pa (2s) gźan $\{14\}==-$ s. yañ śiñ (40s) stoñ gsum gyi (3s) 'jig rten gyi khams | dug pa mthoñ no | (10s) de na yañ gliñ bźi' bye ba ph-ag brgya'i 'dzam bu gling $=(3 \mathrm{~s})=-\mathrm{ga}$ ' $\operatorname{ldan}=(2 \mathrm{~s})=$ phrag $\mathrm{b}-$-ya nas 'phe-dañ (?)| (21s) pad ma'i nañ nas skye ba dañ | (3s) tshañs= $=$ $=x======\mid$ gom pa bdun du 'gro ba dań $\mid$ (16s) gźo n-'i ri- pa (?) yoñs su ston pa dañ | btsun mo'i ' 'khor kyi nañ = 'dug pa dañ | (21s) rabe -u -yu-ba dañ | dka' ba spyod pa (4s) dañ | mya ñan las 'das $==(31,24 \mathrm{~s})^{5}$ riñ srel bgo pa'i bar mthoñ no $\mid(22 \mathrm{f}, 7 \mathrm{l}, 8 \mathrm{~s})$
§ 18. soñ rigs kyi bu da du- yañ ' $=\underline{m}$ dpal (3s) gyi gañ du soñ la $(11,32 \mathrm{~s})$ dris dañ (4s) de khyod $\underline{\underline{\underline{l}}}$ a ston par 'gyur ro $\mid$ ( 5 s ) de (4s) 'jam $\{15\}$-pal (6s) gyi mrion par sgrub pa (3s) smon lam gyi khyad par ni byañ chub sems dpa' bye ba khrag khrig brgya (1s) -t- -- la yañ myed do | (1f, 31, 13s) de nas (4s) nor bzañs $===(9 \mathrm{~s})===$ spyi bos phyag 'tsha- te (8s) skor ba byas nas (10s) $d e^{\prime} i$ druñ nas $-\underline{\underline{\underline{o}}-}<\gg \mid$ Variants:

1 rgya $T P R$ : om. $L N$ kyi rgyan $T L N P$ : om. $R$
2 yud TLNR : yid $P$
3 bya bar $T$ : bya ba $L N R$ : bya ba'i $P$ nas $T$ : te $N P$ : te $\mid L R$ myig(mig $L N R$ ) myi (mi $L N R$ ) 'gens ('gebs $L R$ ) TLNR : mi dmigs 'gog $P$ bu'i $T L N R$ : ba'i $P$ tshig $======$ 'di gnas $T$ : tshig du brjod pa $L N P R \quad$ pa'i gnas $\mathrm{pa}==$ pas $T:$ pa'i gnas la rnam par $L N P R$
4 de $T$ : 'di dag $L N P R$ (sñin po) na 'khod pa'i $T P$ : om. $L N R$ bstod pa de dag $T$ : bstod pa $L N P R$ de dag $T$ : dag $L N P R \quad$ lta mos pa dañ $T$ : blta bar ni mos $L N P R$ par $T P$ : par ni $L N$ : pa ni R

[^20]$5 \quad$ sdod pa $T P$ : sdod sdod pa $L N R \quad$ po $T$ : po'i $L N P R \quad$ po'i $T$ : po $L N P R$ du ma'i par gyis $T$ : du mas $L N P R$ tu $N T$ (du $L R$ ) : bu $P \quad$ g.yas na g.yos nas $T$ : g.yas g.yos nas $L N: g$ yas phyogs nas $P$ : g.yas g.yon nas $R$ byas śin $T$ : bya źin $L N P R$ du $T$ : bśes su (bśesu $L$ ) $L N R$ : gśes su $P$ phyogsu $T: \operatorname{logsu} L N: \operatorname{logs}$ su $P R \quad$ dga' $=\mid$ de 'gu sta $T$ : dga' rañs te $\mid$ mgu źin ñams pa de la tshim źin yid $N P$ : dga' rañs te mgu źiñ ñams bde la $\mid$ tshim źin yid $L R$
6 bar $T$ : du $L N P R$ pa'i $T$ : te $N P$ : te $\mid L R \quad$ bu (bu $\| L R$ ) $T L N R$ : du $P$ yons su $T$ : yons $L N P R$
7 tshim $T P R$ : tshigs $L N$ nor bzañs $T$ : de'i $L N P$ : de yi $R \quad$ po TLNR : pa $P$
8 byugs $T$ : kun nas byugs $L N P R$ so $T P$ : om. $L R$ na $T L N R$ : de . $P \quad$ de $T$ : ci $L N P:$ ji $R \quad$ phrad $T$ : bdag dañ phrad $L N P R$
9 bdag gis $T$ : bdag LNPR LN have a diplography before de
10 bya $T$ : bgyi $L N P R \quad$ bya $T$ : bgyi $L N P R \quad$ nor bzañ $T$ : tshon dpon gyi bu $L N P R \quad$ 'di nị $T$ : 'di'i $L$ : 'di $N P R$
11 -us | $T$ : bu $L N P R$ skyid pa'i $T$ : dpal gyi $L N P R$ nas $T$ : te $N P$ : te | $L R \quad$ dri ba myed $T$ : yoñ (yons $L$ ) su dri ba byed $L N P R$ druñ $T L N R$ : druñ du $P$ chos dkar po thams cad rnams $T$ : 'gro ba thams cad kyi chos dkar po rnams $L N P R$ 'bye $T$ : phel bar $N$ : 'phel bar $L P R$
12 bu'i $T$ : bu'o $L N P R$ khyod na re $T L N R$ : khyod de $P$ dbye' du $T$ : dbyer $L N P R \quad$ mchi'i $T$ : mchi'o $L N(?) P R$
13 pa $T$ : pas $L N P R$
14 bźi' $T$ : bźi pa $L N P R$ brgya'i $T$ : brgya dañ $L N P R$ nas $T L N R$ : du $P$ ri- pa (?) $T$ : sa thams cad (thamd $L$ ) $L N P R \quad$ 'dug $T$ : gnas $L N P R$ da du- (da duñ $L R$ ) $T N R L$ : om. $P$ dris $T$ : dris śig $L N P R$ par TLPR: pa $N$

## Panel XL

1. W wall; the last of the panels with text, the lowest under the lefthand side of figure W15. An upright rectangle of $14 \times 26 \mathrm{~cm}$. with 12 lines which do not cover the whole panel.
2. Signature " $h a$ " in black in the upper left-hand corner.
3. The inscription is related to the central part of painting 46 : Mañjuśri'is lower arm extending from a cloud approaches, as shown by four repetitions of the arm beginning at the upper left-hand corner of 45 , and the hand touches the head of $S$. seated in the centre. The architectural structures would belong to the city of Sumanāmukha. The scenes above, a nobleman with 2 kneeling persons, the one on the left holding out a vessel, and below, 3 women watched by 2 men and 3 men in the background to the right, and at the bottom, a pig, have no relation to the text and seem to be merely there to fill the space.
4. No inset in the scenes.

4a. In the panel, above the inscription two lines of $d b u$ med script which I did not notice in Ta pho and cannot make out on the photograph. They were probably written before (!) the first line of the inscription which seems to cover some of the syllables.
5. The inscription relates how Mañjuśrī extends his hand to $S$. and establishes him in his own place. It corresponds to N(Cha) 314b6315b3, P(Hi) 236a8-236b8, R(Cha) 286b7-287b4, L(Cha) 228b1229a3, (Skt. 419,2-14).
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. goes to Sumanāmukha and stays there thinking about and wishing to meet Mañjuśrī. Mañjuśrī extends his hand "over a hundred and ten leagues" and lays it on S. 's head. Having caused S. to see, etc., having established him in his own place, Mañjuśrī leaves $S$.
7. Inscription:
\{1\} | | de nas tshoñ phon gyi bu nor bzañs gron khyer brgya rtsa bcu (2s) rgyas te | phyogs kyi gnas yid bde $\{2\}=-$ nion tu 'g-ur ba źes bya ba źig na | 'jam dpal (4s) la sems śin rnam par lta ba dañ (6s) mthoń bar $\{3\}=$ ons śin $\mid$ (2s) phrad pa- -ga' bas sdod c-inin -u- 'dug $\mathrm{pa}==$ de nas 'jam dpal (4s) gyis dpag tshad brgya $\{4\}==$ cu'i pha rol nas $===$ brkyañ ste $\mid$ (4s) nor bzañs (11s) kyi sbyi bor bźag nas 'di skad ces smras so $\mid\{5\}===\mathrm{k}$-i b- legs so legs so $\mid$ dad pa'i dbañ po dañ myi Idan ba sems skyo ba $\mid$ (9s) brtson 'grus Idog pa $\{6\}$
 par gnas pa $\mid=\mathbf{m}=\mathbf{m a b} \underline{\underline{\mathbf{b}}}-\mathbf{- u}-\{7\} \mathrm{pa}=\mathrm{la}(29 \mathrm{~s})$ ni 'dilta bu'i chos ñid yoñsu śes par bya ba dañ $\mid$ ( 5 s ) spyod yul 'di lta bu dañ | gnas 'di lta $\underline{\underline{\text { bu }}}\{8\}$ (2s) śes par bya ba (18s) 'a- yid - -s par bya ba 'am | (5s) rtogs par bya ba 'am | thob par myi nus so | źes $\{9\}$ te des de la chos kyi $\mathrm{g}==(1 \mathrm{~s})-\dot{\mathrm{n}}$ dag par bstan pas $\mid$ (15s) chos kyi sgo grans myed pa dañ Idan par $\{10\}$ byas nas $\mid$ ye śes dañ | (15s) zuñs dañ | spobs pa dañ | tiǹ ne 'dzind dań | minon bar śes pa $\{11\}$ (3s) mtha' yas pa'i byin kyis byin tu bslab par bya ste | kun (1s) bzan po'i (2s) dkyil 'khor $=$-źag nas $\mid\{12\}$ bdag gi yul la yañ rab tu bźag ste $\mid$ tshoñ phon gyi bu nor bzañs kyi g - = nas soñ so \|

## Panel XLI

1. W wall, the lower inscriptional panel below figure W15. A horizontal L-shaped panel of $13.5 / 41 \times 26 / 92.5$. The panel is empty.
2. No signature visible.
3. Corresponds to painting 47: The realm of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra is depicted as the open gate to a tower. Samantabhadra seated below on a four-legged seat in front of the Buddha Vairocana on a lotus throne supported by a small telamon. On his left S. kneeling; Samantabhadra extends his right hand towards S. Surrounding them are bodhisattvas on the left, monks on the right, demons, animal gods, nāgas, gods and men. To the right 4 spectators with 4 shields and 4 horses. Below the seated person on the left is an inscription: ra mo mkhan dum bu. ${ }^{6}$

[^21]4. No inset in the painting.
5. The inscription would have contained Sudhana's final meeting with Samantabhadra.
6. Summary:
§ 1. S. contemplates the realm of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra; signs and lights appear.
§ 2. S. sees Samantabhadra on a lion seat in front of the Buddha Vairocana, numerous emanations from his every pore, multiplying in other Buddhalands, and attains the ten states of the perfection of wisdom.
§ 3. Samantabhadra extends his right hand and lays it on S.'s head. S. shares the vision of the bodhisattva's creations and attains equality with Samantabhadra, etc.
§ 4. Samantrabhadra's vow.
§5. The Buddha confirms the delight of the bodhisattvas, the monks, of gods and of men.

## Panel XLII

1. W wall, the upper inscriptional panel to the right below figure W15. A horizontal rectangle of $17.5 \times 29$. The panel is empty but lines have been ruled in preparation.
2. No signature visible.
3. The inscription intended would not be related to any painting, the sūtra being concluded with painting 47.

## APPENDICES

CONCORDANCE OF TEXT, INSCRIPTIONS, AND PAINTINGS

| Sũtra chapter <br> (ed.Vaidya) | (Nr. of kalyāṇamitra) | inscriptional panel | panel signature $(r=r e d)$ | painting | inset | additional identification | signature of add.id. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Nidānaparivarta |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Samantabhadra |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mañjuśrī (1) | I |  | 3,3' (?) | $\begin{aligned} & ((3 a)), \\ & \left(\left(3^{\prime} \mathbf{a}\right)\right) \end{aligned}$ |  |  |
|  | Meghaśrī (2) | II | gar | 4 | 4a |  |  |
| 5 | Sāgaramegha (3) |  |  | 5 |  |  |  |
| 6 | Supratisṭhita (4) |  |  | 6 |  |  |  |
| 7 | Megha (5) | III | cha ${ }^{\text {r }}$ | 7 | ( 7 ( ${ }^{\text {a }}$ ) |  |  |
| 8 | Muktaka (6) | IV | $\mathrm{ja}^{\text {r }}$ | 8 |  | $8{ }^{\text {a }}$ | cha |
| 9 | Sāradhvaja (7) | V | ña ${ }^{\text {r }}$ | 9 |  | $9 a$ |  |
| 10 | Āśā (8) | (VI) | $\mathrm{ta}^{\text {r }}$ | 10 |  | 10a | ña |
| 11 | Bhissmottaranirghoṣa (9) | VII | tha | 11 | ((11a)) | 11a | ja |
| 12 | Jayoṣmāyatana (10) | VIII | da ${ }^{\text {r }}$ (? | 12 | ((12a)) | 12a | ca |
| 13 | Maitrāyanị (11) | IX |  | 13 |  | (13a) |  |
| 14 | Sudarśana (12) | (X) | $\mathrm{pa}^{\text {r }}$ (?) | 14 |  | 14a |  |
| 15 | Indriyeśvara (13) | XI | phar | 15 |  | (15a) | tha |
| 16 | Prabhūtā (14) | XII |  | 16 |  | (16a) | $\mathrm{ba} / \mathrm{ma}$ (?) |

signature
of add.id.

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panel signature
$(r=\mathrm{red})$
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(XX)
(XXI)
XXII
XXIII
XXIV
((XXV))((XXVI))

| Nr. of <br> Sūtra chapter <br> (ed.Vaidya) | Titel <br> (Nr. of <br> kalyāṇamitra) |
| :--- | :--- |
| 17 |  |
| 18 | Vidvant (15) |
| 19 | Ratnacūḍa (16) |
| 20 | Samantanetra (17) |
| 21 | Anala (18) |
| 22 | Mahāprabha (19) |
| 23 | Acalā (20) |
| 24 | Sarvagāmin (21) |
| 25 | Utpalabhūti (22) |
| 26 | Vaira (23) |
| 27 | Jayottama (24) |
| 28 | Siṃhavjṛmbhitā (25) |
| 29 | Vasumitra (26) |
| 30 | Vesṭhila (27) |
| 31 | Avalokiteśvara (28) |
| 32 | Ananyagāmin (29) |
| 33 | Mahādeva (30) |
| 34 | Sthāvarā (31) |
|  | Vāsantī (32) |


| Nr . of Sūtra chapter (ed.Vaidya) | Titel <br> (Nr. of kalyāṇamitra) | Nr . of inscriptional panel | panel signature (r = red) | painting | inset | additional identification | signature of add.id. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 35 | Samantagambhīraśrīvimalaprabhā (33) |  |  | 32 |  |  |  |
| 36 | Pramuditanayanajagad virocanā (34) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 37 | Samantasattvatrāṇojah śrī (35) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 38 | Praśāntarutasāgaravatī (36) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 39 | Sarvanagararakṣāsambhavatejaḥ̂rī (37) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 40 | Sarvavṛkṣāpraphallana sukhasaṃvāsā (38) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 41 | Sarvajagadrakṣā-prāṇidhānavīryaprabhā (39) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 42 | Sutejomaṇalalaratiśrī (40) | (XXVII) |  | 33 |  | (33a) |  |
| 43 | Gopā (41) | (XXVIII) |  | 34 |  |  |  |
| 44 | Māyā (42) | (XXIX) | nii (?) | 35 |  |  |  |

signature
of add．id．
additional
identification告
$\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{0}$


 XXXVIII
XXXIX
XL （（XLI））
（（XLII））

## CONCORDANCE OF INSCRIPTIONS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

| inscriptions | photographs, black and <br> white $^{\prime}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
|  |  |
| I | 89, I, 1-7 |
| inset 4a | 89, I, $8-9$ |
| II | 89, I, 10-17 |
| III | 89, I, 18-20 |
| IV | 89, I, 21-23 |
| V | 89, I, 25-29, 31,32 |
| VII | 89, I, 34-36 |
| VIII | 89, II, 1-3 |
| XI | 89, II, 4-6 |
| XII | 89, II, 7-9 |
| XV | 89, II, 10-12 |
| XVI | 89, II, 13-16 |
| XIX | 89, II, 17-20 |
| XXIII | 89, II, 21-24 |
| XXIV | 89, II, 25 |
| XXXVIII | 89, II, 26-34 |
| XXXIX | 89, II, 35-36, 89 III 2-12 |
| XL | 89, III, 13 |

' Taken by H. Tauscher in 1988 and property of the Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, University of Vienna.

## DIAGRAMS OF THE FRIEZE

Symbols and conventions:
$\mathbf{W}, \mathbf{E}, \mathbf{S}$
$\mathbf{W}, \mathbf{E}, \mathbf{S}+\mathbf{1}$, etc.

3, etc.

3a, etc.
$8 a$, etc.

I, etc.
(13a), (VI), etc.
((3a)), ((XXV)), etc.
west, east, south walls
sculpted figure above the frieze (e.g. W1, E5)
painting (the number of the painting is the same as the number of the chapter in Vaidya's edition; in the map of the frieze the number of the kalyanamitra is added in round brackets after his name)
inset panel, e.g. in painting 3
additional (later) identification attached to paintings or inscriptions, e.g. to painting 8.
inscriptional panel
illegible additional identification, inscriptional panel
empty inset, inscriptional panel





$\overbrace{-}^{S_{10}^{10}}$




XXXIII. - Takasaki J., A study on the Ratmagotra-vibhäga (Uttaratantra) being a treatise on the Tathagatagarbha theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism.
XXXIV. - Ruegg D.S., The Life of Bu ston Rin po che, with the Tibetan text of the Bu ston rNam thar.
XXXV. - Soper A.C., Chinese, Korean and Japanese bronzes. A catalogle of the Auriti collection donanod to IsMFO and preserved in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome.
XXVI. - Orientalia Romana. 2, Essays and Lectures by V.S. Agrawala, P. Beonio-Brocchieri, P. Corradinj, L. Lanciotti, Namkhai N. Dewang.
XXXVII. - PEnSa C., L'Abhisamayālankāravrtii di Ārya-vimuktisena. Sanskrit text.
XXXVIII. - Boyce M., The Letter of Tansar (Literary and Historical Texts from Iran, 1).
XXXIX. - Orientalia Romana. 3, Ghalib. Two essays by Ahmed Ali and A. Bausani.
XL. - Zahiruddin Ahmad, Sino-Tibetan relations in the seventeenth century.
XLI. - MoLE G., The T'u-yü-hun from the Northem Wei to the time of the Five Dynasties.
XLII. - Wylle T.V., A Tibetan religious Geography of Nepal.
XLIII. - Tucci G., Minor Buddhist Texts. Part III: Third Bhävanäkrama.
XliV. - Orientalia Romana. 4, Essays by W. Heissig, A. Tamburello, R. Beviglia, L.P. Mishra.
XLV. - PETECH L., Aristocracy and Government in Tibet (1728-1959).
XLVI. - Conze E., The Gilgit manuscript of the AstādaSasāhasrikäprajñāpāramitã. Chapters 70 to 82 corresponding to the 6th, 7th an 8th Abhisamayas.
XLVII. - Richardson H.E., Ch'ing Dynasty Inscriptions at Lhasa.
XLVIII. - The Tärikh-e Sistän. Translated by Milton Gold (Literary and Historical Texts from Iran, 2).

XLIX, 1-2 - Gnoli R., The Gilgit Manuscript of the Sanghabhedavastu (2 vols.).
L.

- Gnoli R., The Gilgit Manuscript of the Sayanäsanavastu and the Adhikaranavastu.
LI. - Ретech L., The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D.
LII. - Orientalia Romana. S. Iranian Studies. Edited by G. Gnoli, Essays and Lectures by J. Duchesne-Gullemin, J. Kellens, P. Lecoq, G. Widengren, I. Gershevitch, Ph. Gignoux, W. Sundermann, G. Gnoli.
LIV. - Petech L., Mediaeval History of Nepal (c. 750-1482). Second, thoroughly revised edition.
LV. - Gnoli R., Ricordo di Giuseppe Tucci. Con contributi di L. Petech, F. Scialpi, G. Galluppi Vallauri.
LVI, 1-3 - Orientalia losephi Tucci memoriae dicata. Edenda curaverunt G. Gnoli et L. Lanciotri.
LVII.
- Orientalia Romana. 6, The First European Colloquium of Iranology (Rome, June 18th-20th, 1983). Edited by G. Gnolı.
LVIII. - Gnoli R., Il commento di Abhinavagupta alla Parātrimśikā (Parātrimśikătatlvavivaranam). Traduzione e Testo.
LIX. - Forte A., On the Significance of the Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock.
LX. - Petech L., Selected Papers on Asian History.
LXI. - Gans ti se'i dKar c'ag. A Bon-po Stony of the Sacred Mountain Ti-se and the Blue Lake Ma-pan. Edited by Namkhai Norbu. Revised, collated and completed by R. Prats.
LXII. - Gnoli G., The Idea of Iran. An Essay on its Origin.
LXIII. - Oman Studies. Papers on the Archaeology and History of Oman. Edited by P.M. Costa and M. Tosı.
LXIV. - Atti del Convegno sul tema: Mircea Eliade e le religioni asiatiche. A cura di G. Gnolı.
LXV. - Petech L., Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan - Sa-skya Period of Tibetan History.

LXVI, 1-2 - South Asian Archaeology 1987. Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, held in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Island of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice. Edited by M. Taddel, with the assistance of P. Callieri.
LXVII, 1-2 - Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies held in Turin, 7th-1/th September 1987 by the Societas Iranologica Europaea. Edited by G. Gnoll and A. Panaino.
LXVIII, 1-2 - Panaino A., Tistrya. Part I: The Avestan Hymn to Sirius. Part II: The Iranian Myth of the Star Sirius ( 2 vols).
lXIX. - Emmerick R.E. and Pulleyblank E.G., A Chinese Text in Central Asian Brahmi Script.

LXX, 2 - Arabia Antiqua. Hellenistic Centres around Arabia. Edited by A. Invemizzi and J.F. Salles.
LXXI. - Torella R., The İśvarapratyabhijnäkārikā of Utpaladeva with the Author's Vrtti.
LXII. - Orofino G., Sekoddesa. A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translation.
LXXIII. - Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies held in Bamberg, 30th September to 4 th October 1995 by the Societas Iranologica Europaea. Edited by B.G. Fragner, C. Fragner, G. Gnoli, R. Haag-Higuchi, M. Maggi and P. Orsatti.
LXXIV. - Maggi M., The Khotanese Karmavibhanga.
LXXV. - Cereti C.G., The Zand i Wahman Yasn. A Zoroastrian Apocalypse.
LXXVI. - Steinkellner E., Sudhana's Miraculous Jourmey in the Temple of Ta pho.


[^0]:    ' The proper old spelling of modern Tabo and the etymology of the name are unclear. Several differently etymologized spellings such as lta, rta, sta can be found, and the variations po/pho/bo are also attested in inscriptions and manuscripts. For convenience sake, I follow the proposal of Klimburg-Salter (1987:fn.9). For the present-day village, I keep to the spelling Tabo.
    ${ }^{2}$ Mair 1983, 1986, 1988a, 1988b, 1989, and Wu Hung 1992.
    ${ }^{3}$ For an attempt of this kind cf. Steinkellner 199?.

[^1]:    ${ }^{4}$ Following the definition in Klimburg-Salter 1994a:21, the gTsug lag khan is the entire structure in which the 'Du khan (assembly hall) is located. The gTsug lag khan then includes the old sGo khan, the 'Du khan and the cella with its ambulatory.
    ${ }^{5}$ For this story and its various versions cf. Schlingloff 1973.

[^2]:    ${ }^{6}$ Lokesh Chandra 1975:7. Cf. also his remarks in 1979:51, 1993:65, and in the preface to the English translation of Tucci 1935, New Delhi 1988 (XXXIV f.).
    ${ }^{7}$ Klimburg-Salter 1982:158. The Thartse Khenpo also identified the contents of the inscription XXXIX (belonging to ibid., fig.54) and translated a part of the inscription XXXVIII (belong ing to ibid., fig.54a). The "complete transcription" mentioned ibid.. note 7 has, however, not been undertaken because the Khenpo had died (Klimburg-Salter, oral communication).
    ${ }^{8}$ Some errors in her description notwithstanding (1982:158f.), she evidently means the right thing. Correct "south wall" : "north wall", "Gaṇ̣̣avyūha" : "Gandhavyūha", and "the merchant's son Norzang" : "the young prince" or "Prince Norzang".
    ${ }^{9}$ For the symbols and conventions used in the description of the frieze cf. below.
    ${ }^{10} \mathrm{Cf}$. Klimburg-Salter 1982:157-164 for a general description of the 'Du khañ, 1985:18ff. for a relative chronology of its painting and 1985:23 for a dating "c. 1042 or later" of the narrative paintings, 1987:691f. for a general description of the two narrative paintings ('The Life of the Buddha Sākyamuni' and 'The Legend of Sudhana'), 1987:696-

[^3]:    ${ }^{16}$ As first noted by Tauscher in 1989 (cf. Klimburg-Salter 1990:152). These signatures are placed in the upper left-hand corner of the panels. They are alphabetically regular up to $\mathbf{X V}$, but after that the sequence seems to be in disorder. However, their reading is not always clear. Cf. the general concordance in the appendix.

[^4]:    ${ }^{17}$ Strictly speaking, this means of course only those parts of the text which do not belong to the redactional treatment.
    ${ }^{18}$ Of the kind that Harrison 1992:XXVf. calls "recensional" as distinct from "transmissional".
    ${ }^{19}$ Cf. Eimer 199?:1.
    ${ }^{20}$ Hahn:1988: Harrison 1992:XXXII-XXXVII; Samten 1992:XIff. The Phug brag Kanjur was written between A.D. 1696-1706 (Samten 1992:IV).
    ${ }^{21}$ Kunst 1947:127-128. Kunst's remarks on local editions of the Kanjur were brought to recollection by Jonathan Silk (Silk 1994:6f.).
    ${ }^{22}$ Like the Kanjur from Batang in the Newark Museum, New Jersey (Skilling 1994:769); the Kanjur of O rgyan glin in Tawang (Samten 1994) in two copies, that illuminated in gold and silver being earlier than the handwritten copy of A.D. 1699-1700; and possibly the Kanjur described in Nor chen's catalogue which was finished in A.D. 1447 (Eimer 1994).
    ${ }^{23}$ Cf. Eimer 1991:245-247; Steinkellner 1994:133.
    ${ }^{24}$ Harrison 1994:309.

[^5]:    ${ }^{25}$ Eimer 1992 (the reprint of his articles relevant to this subject is introduced by a summary "Zum Stand der Kanjurforschung", IX-XL); Harrison 1992:XVI-LVIII; Silk 1994:6ff.; Harrison 1994.
    ${ }^{26}$ Harrison 1992:XLIX-L.
    ${ }^{27}$ According to the catalogue (Samten 1992), the end of the Phal chen section, seemingly from before the beginning of the Gandavyūhasūtra, is lost. In place of this sūtra the Karaṇ̣avyūhasūtra and the Maitreyavyäkaraṇa were substituted (Nos. 29, 30) together with another sūtra (Tōhoku 353) translated from Chinese (No.31). This Kanjur is to be edited in microfiche by the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, New York. but is not accessible to me at this time.

[^6]:    ${ }^{28}$ Again I would like to thank Michael O'Keefe and his staff in the India Office Library for their great help during the task of collating in early July 1993.
    ${ }^{29}$ Microfiche copy produced by the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, New York.
    ${ }^{30}$ I am grateful to Dr. Günter Grönbold for providing a xerox copy of the volumes in the Staatsbibliothek München.

[^7]:    ${ }^{31}$ However, I tried to note the confusion of homophones, e.g. 'dron: 'gron.
    ${ }^{32}$ I differentiate 'letter', which means any combination of letters in the Tibetan alphabet that occupy, in vertical arrangement of the letter sequence, the space of a single grapheme, from letter which refers to the single sign for consonants or vowel modification only. This differentiation allows one to preserve those parts of a ligature that are legible.

[^8]:    ${ }^{33}$ 'Folio' in these indications means single 'folio-pages'.
    ${ }^{34}$ Cf. Terjék 1969:292-304.
    ${ }^{35}$ Cf. Taube 1980:12-16.

[^9]:    ${ }^{36}$ Cf. Eimer 1991:252f., and the samples fig. 4-7 in Steinkellner 1994.
    ${ }^{37}$ Cf. Taube 1980:11.
    ${ }^{38}$ The latter are indicated by italics in the edition.

[^10]:    ${ }^{39}$ Since the next inscription on $\mathbf{X X}$ is illegible, a possible 'abbreviation' like that in XIX cannot be excluded, however.
    ${ }^{40}$ According to the colophon of the Derge Kanjur (cf. Taipei edition Vol.8, 443-2-6).

[^11]:    ${ }^{46}$ Cf. Ishikawa's edition of the sGra sbyor, 4ff., and Scherrer-Schaub 1992:214f.
    ${ }^{47} \mathrm{Cf}$. Panglung 1994:168ff.
    ${ }^{48}$ I follow Géza Uray in assuming this spelling to be the correct one for the name of the palace, usually given as IDan kar or lDan dkar in the literature. For the spelling lHan cf. Pelliot tibétain 1085 (M. Lalou, Inventaire des Manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale II, Paris 1950, 56, and Choix de Documents Tibétains II, Paris 1979, 17 and plate 432); this spelling is also to be found in most of the prints of Bu ston's catalogue attached to his Chos 'byun (cf. Nishioka 1980-83:I. 65, note 12; 68, note $64 ; 72$, note 126 ). The spelling $d k a r$ is to be taken as an attempt at etymologizing.

[^12]:    ${ }^{49}$ Lalou 1953:320.
    ${ }^{50}$ de Jong 1985:10.
    ${ }^{51}$ Mentioned in the colophon of the Lhasa Kanjur (Vol. 46, 34la4-6) according to Gómez 1967:XXX, in the Tog Palace Kanjur (Cha. 310a7), in the Narthang edition (Cha, 340a7), and in Bu ston's catalogue (cf. Nishioka 1980-83:no.127). At the moment it is not possible to ascertain which Vairocanarakșita is meant. He would belong to the 11th century if he is the author of commentaries on the Sişalekha and Bodhicäryävatära (cf. Seyfort-Ruegg 1981:116). Another translator of this name who is responsible for a number of translations of Tantras and commentaries is perhaps the same scholar who translated the Vinayasañgraha (P 5606) together with Śilendrabodhi and Śākyaprabha. Since ŚIlendrabodhi belongs to the period around the beginning of the 9th century, it is possible that Vairocanarakṣita revised the translation by Jinamitra and his collaborators just after their translation was finished in order to make it conform to the new rules.

    However, all this is very hypothetical. Bu ston's remarks, as well as the long second colophon of the Derge edition, need to be investigated first, before more can be said about the revision of this translation and its probable date.
    ${ }^{52}$ bkod $\rho a$ is also the translation for vyūha of the title in the Mahāvyutpatti (MVy 1345, 7779).

[^13]:    ${ }^{53} \mathrm{Bu}$ ston has already sDoñ po rgyan pa (cf. Nishioka 1980-83:I, 69).
    ${ }^{54}$ Imaeda 1981.
    ${ }^{55}$ This is the title of the work proposed by de Jong (1984:8). For other deliberations regarding the title cf. H. Eimer in ZAS 15, 1981, 561f.
    ${ }^{56} \mathrm{Cf}$. the list in Imaeda 1981:28f.; the name of the hero does not differ, Rin chen legs (: lags) being the earlier Tibetan translation of Sudhana following the Chinese rendering (cf. Stein 1983: 177).
    ${ }^{57}$ Examples have been collected by de Jong (1984:11-23) who compared the Tunhuang text with the Peking edition. Imaeda proposed translations for terms and phrases of this kind. But only de Jong succeeded in interpreting the many oddities in the "sKye si chos" by providing the textual parallels from the translation of the sūtra. This, then, is a piece of practical evidence of the dependance of the latter on some kind of textual source.

[^14]:    ${ }^{58}$ This is, however, certain only in XXXVIII and XXXIX where the redactor's hand had to make more extensive cuts than elsewhere.
    ${ }^{59}$ For a more detailed commentary cf. the interpretation by Klimburg-Salter (in preparation).
    ${ }^{60}$ As far as I know, no canon for mudrās has been established so far that can be applied to the period and place of these paintings. Aside from mudräs that belong to the "mainstream" tradition and can be understood, there are a number that are unique and would merit an analysis of their own. The mudrās of the sculptures have been analyzed in Chandra L. Reedy and Terry J. Reedy, "Statistical Analysis in Iconographic Interpretation: The Function of Mudras at Tapho, A tibetan Buddhist Monastery", American Anthropologist 89, 1987, 635-649.

[^15]:    ${ }^{61}$ Cf. Steinkellner 199?.
    ${ }^{62}$ They are used for itemizing and referring to the different single parts of the frieze. For a comprehensive table cf. the diagram of the frieze in the appendix.

[^16]:    ' The visit to Sarvagāmin which ends here is concluded by the end of the Vaira chapter that introduces Jayottama instead of Utpalabhūti who should be next.

[^17]:    ${ }^{2}$ The transition from the particular kalyānamitra Maitreya in $\S 5$ to the kalyānamitra in general of $\S 7$ in the Ta pho text is somewhat odd, but still acceptable.

[^18]:    ${ }^{3}$ Tauscher, however, notes "ma/ba; tsa (black)" in his photographic inventory.

[^19]:    ${ }^{4}$ This sequence is either not extant in the canonical versions, or - more likely - a substitute for la lar ni gañ du pha rol tu phyin pa yoñs su rdzogspar byas pa dañ | ( P 220b5).

[^20]:    ${ }^{5}$ mya nan las 'das $==$ seems to represent the following life stages of P 223b5-8

[^21]:    ${ }^{6}$ This is only legible on a photograph of the Archaeological Survey of India $(2504 / \mathrm{NR})$ of c 1964/65. Today only traces remain ( $=$ mo $\underline{\underline{m}}$ 的han $\rightarrow$ ). If this can be read as ri mo mkhan, this inscription would transmit the name of the master painter as Dum bu.

