

# TIBETAN PAINTED SCROLLS

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THE TRANSLATION OF HISTORICAL  
DOCUMENTS AND AN APPENDIX  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

II





GIVSEPPE TVCCI

TIBETAN  
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SCROLLS

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PART THREE

DESCRIPTION AND EXPLANATION  
OF THE TANKAS



## NEPALESE SCHOOLS

TANKA n. 1 (Plate E).

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

The painting is not difficult to interpret: The Buddha Rin c'en ḅyün gnas is the principal personage, attended by two acolytes: including the two couples above and the two smaller figures in both of the lower corners, we have the group of the eight Bodhisattvas.<sup>1)</sup>

TANKAS nn. 2, 3 (Plates 1, F).

They represent rDo rje sems dpa', that is Vajrasattva, the visible symbol of cosmic consciousness in its absolute and incorruptible essence. His name, indeed, means adamant being, because, as the diamond is incorruptible, so this first principle of all things is not subject to any decay. He is the substantiality of things itself, *dharmānairātmya-sambhūta* (*Jñānasiddhi*, p. 12), the being who is of himself, *svayambhūrūpa* (*Samputodbhavakalparāja*, fol. 56, 14th), the dharmakāya himself (*ibid.*).

He is then above the pentad because he is undifferentiated and, in the schools of the *anuttara-yoga*, the sixth Buddha, i. e. a moment of being preceding any evolution into the multiple: he is therefore identical with the Sarvatathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra, the

adamantine essence of the physical, verbal and spiritual plane of all the Tathāgatas (*Gubhyasamāja*, p. 111), he who has neither beginning nor end (*anādinidāna-sattva*, *Jñānasiddhi*, p. 84). He is always represented with a bell and a rdo rje, the former in his left hand and the latter in his right; these instruments, essential to every esoteric Buddhist liturgy, are symbols: the first of the emptiness of all things and of the awareness of such emptiness, the second of the meditative process which translates into psychological experiences and spiritual realizations that same awareness. So when Vajrasattva is represented, as in the present tanka, embracing his śakti, that same symbolism is expressed by human figures: god = rdo rje, śakti = bell; that is, the synthesis of the two elements from which supreme enlightenment is derived: gnosis and compassion.<sup>2)</sup>

When he assumes forms, he reveals the Law, as *Bhagavān Vajrasattva*, to the choirs of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (*Gubhyasamāja*, p. 111); he may then be alone or with his śakti, who is gnosis connumerated with him (*sahajā prajñā*, *Samputodbhavakalparāja*, p. 50). Sometimes he is white, sometimes, as in the present case, blue, Akṣobhya's very colour; he, in reality, in his aspect as sambhogakāya, is often confused with Akṣobhya, who is his first emanation (*akṣobhyo 'pi vajrasattvena mudryate*, *Advavajrasaṅgraha*, p. 42). Therefore in the Bar do, on the sixth day, when the deities of the pentad appear to the deceased's conscious principle, Akṣobhya's name is substituted with Vajrasattva's. Akṣobhya, one of the five manifestations of cosmic consciousness in its creative principle, also has the rdo rje as a symbol; his name means "the unshakeable,, namely the adamant state of being, its quintessential nature, beyond all becoming.

On Plate 1 the god is represented with his female counterpart, wearing a diadem and necklaces. Above and below, figures of deities belonging to his cycle and masters initiated into his mysteries. Above: aBhi ma la (Vimala), Lotsāva Rin c'en mc'og, Gye re mc'og skyon, the Buddha Rin c'en gžon nu, rGyal ba yon tan, sGrub pa sañs rgyas sems pa, Na ston mc'og.<sup>3)</sup> Then come two figures of Kun tu bzañ po, of a dark blue colour, in samādhimudrā: on each side of rDo rje sems dpa' two Buddhas dressed as monks, Lhai sruñ ba and Lha ma goñ gyi sruñ ba. Underneath rDo rje gžon nu, rDo rje rnam ajoms, rDo rje (bžad pa?), mK'a' agro ma Señ ge gdoñ ma, mGon po lcags pa, Re ma ti, bLa ma Śā kya byañ c'ub.

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

#### TANKA n. 4 (Plate 2).

It represents Akṣobhya (cfr. n. 12). The god is seated, in the attitude belonging to him, with his right hand in bhūmisparśa-mudrā, Gotama Buddha's usual *mudrā*, which alludes to his victory over Māra, in the night of Bodhgayā, when, after long meditation, the truth was revealed to him in all its splendour and he became at last the Enlightened. The repetition of the same *mudrā* is not surprising: there seems to be no doubt that Akṣobhya originated as a symbol of the unchangeableness of a Buddha's condition. When supreme enlightenment has been achieved, he who has partaken of it can never loose possession of it: enlightenment has transferred him to a spiritual plane which is the kingdom of the absolute, symbolically

called "the diamond sphere", because it is incorruptible and unailing.

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

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

#### TANKA n. 5 (Plate G).

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

#### TANKA n. 6 (Plate 3).

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

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

Above, Heruka, with two arms, embracing his *śakti* and grasping the bell and the vajra; he is surrounded by four gods, i. e. Ḍākiñi, Lamā, Khaṇḍarohā, gZugs can ma (Rūpiñi): they all have four arms and on the left they hold the *kapāla* and the *khaṭvāṅga*, and on the right the knife and the magical tambourine.



Below, four K'ro mo, i. e. Kv'a gdoñ ma, 'Ug gdoñ ma, K'yi gdoñ ma, P'ag gdoñ ma (*Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 32). Then the cycle of the four above-mentioned goddesses is repeated (on the left). Below, near the donor's image, terrific deities, among which we can identify Jambhala, dPal ldan lha mo, Bya rog gdoñ, Señ ge gdoñ etc. On the first row, above, two Siddhas, rDo rje aç'añ, rDo rje sems dpa', mGon po. Around them unfolds the series of the masters connected with this cycle.

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

#### TANKA n. 7 (Plate 4).

This tanka comes from the monastery of Ñor: the identification of the personages represented offers no difficulty, because even if iconographic tradition did not help us, the inscription at the bottom of the painting would supplement it; it leaves no doubt that this is a portrait of the Sa skya c'en po, Kun dga' sñiñ po, mentioned more than once in the present work: *rje btsun rnal abyor dbañ p'yug agran zla t'ams cad abral žiñ rig pa adsin pai sa la gnas pa dpal ldan sa skya pa c'en po kun dga' sñiñ po rgyal mts'an*, "the venerable lord of ascetics, who has no rivals, the *vidyādhara* residing on earth, the glorious great Sa skya pa Kun dga' sñiñ po ,,"

His hands are in the mudrā of the preaching of the Law, and from them issue two lotus flowers, which blooming on delicate tendrils uphold a little bell and a rdo rje. The lama is thus represented with the symbols of the *vajrasattva* or *vajradhara*, i. e., as substantiated with supreme reality. Around him 16 figures of masters develop: on the right and left two images of Virūpā, the initiatic master of the Sa skya pa school and Mañjuśrī. Below, within curves coiling in a parallel manner to the right and left, like leaves of a plant growing out of a vessel of ambrosia, the seven

symbols of kingship and, completing the vase, also the eight well-omened signs. The ornaments on the throne are, as in the tanka n. 4, in relief, and obtained by the same technique.

The background of the painting is dotted here and there with floral patterns. The tanka certainly belongs to a Nepalese school. Indeed it is possible to be more definite: this tanka is part of a series of similar paintings, representing as many lamas and hierarchs of the Sa skya pa school; they are to be found in the Ñor or Evam c'os sde monastery, often mentioned in the present work, founded in 1429 by rGyal ba rdo rje aç'añ Kun dga' bzañ po. On this occasion the latter invited many Nepalese artists to adorn the chapels of the new convent he had caused to be built with the help and contribution not only of the gTsañ nobles, but also of devotees from remote provinces, among whom, for instance, were princes of Ladakh, Purang and mÑa' ris.<sup>5)</sup>

Among the other sacred objects he ordered, his biography mentions "bris sku,, , i. e. "paintings of the *gsuñ ñag gi bla ma brgyud*, masters of the transmission of the verbal plane,, (p. 44).

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

#### TANKA n. 8 (Plate 5).

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

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

The arabic numeral sometimes written near the Siddha's name refers to the lists studied above. As we shall see, the tanka does not represent the 84 Siddhas' traditional

list as contained in bsTan agyur LXXXVI, 1, but rather it follows the other text of the bsTan agyur LXXII, 52, *Grub t'ob bgyad cu rtsa bzii gsol qdebs* which as we saw, was specially popular among the bKa' gdams pa.

ROWS	corresponding number in the list n. III 6)
1st	
1. lohita . . . . .	3
2. [m]ts'o skyes rdo rje . . .	6
3. [m]ts'o skyes rdo rje (but a different iconography)	
4. šan [ti pa]	
5. dom bi he ru ka . . . . .	7
6. rdo rje dri[l] bu pa . . . .	10
7. ra len dra o ( <i>sic</i> ) for: na len dra pa . . . . .	11
8. illegible	
9. name missing	
10. ditto	
2nd	
1. ap'ags pa t'ogs med . . .	78
2. name missing	
3. klan (?) bu pa	
4. na t'a pa . . . . .	16
5. ti lo pa . . . . .	23
6. dpal ldan sa ra ha . . . . .	5
7. tog tse . . . . .	17
8. la ba pa . . . . .	19
9. mar me mdsad . . . . .	22
10. illegible	
3rd	
1. šaṅ ti pa . . . . .	21
2. name missing	
3. nag po spyod pa . . . . .	14
4. p'ag ts'ad pa	
5. bzaṅ po ston pa . . . . .	26
6. sa ba ri . . . . .	27
7. name missing	
8. illegible	
9. aje tu pa (jetāri pā?) . .	32
10. name missing	

ROWS	corresponding number in the list n. III
4th	
1. ka ri pa . . . . .	53
2. sprin gyi [šugs can] . . . .	52
3. mig [gciḡ pa] kā ne ri . .	18
5. name missing	
6. ki la pa (nilapa?) . . . . .	48
7. illegible	
8. ts'em bu pa . . . . .	69
9. abu su ku pa . . . . .	7
10. nag po spyod pa . . . . .	24
5th	
1. sa ra ha c'uṅ ba . . . . .	81?
2. si ha li . . . . .	71
3. aḡsa' lan da ri . . . . .	46
4. ša kya gšes gñen . . . . .	64
5. bhi na so	
6. name missing	
7. ts'aṅs dbyaṅs k'a ra	
8. rdo rje (c'uṅ) k'am	
9. name missing	
10. name missing	
6th	
name missing everywhere	

CENTRAL PORTION				
sagara pa (sāgara)	ba ra	central figure	ka na la (=ka mala) (37)	gser gliṅ pa (38)
[indra] bhu[ti] (15)	kon ka pa (konkana) (40)		ap'ags pa [lha?] (2)	stam... [ka la?] (18)
name missing	name missing		zla ba grags pa (59)	kun dga' sñiṅ po (58)
illegible	bhi na pa (23)		a nanta pā (55)	aḡsa ri pa (54?)

TANKA n. 9 (Plates 6, 7).

This tanka is one of the most interesting and ancient: although it is not accompanied by any inscription, there is no doubt whatever

that it represents Śākyaśrī and, all around the large central figure, the most important events of his life, as they were imagined by believers and told by his more or less legendary biographies. Śākyaśrī, better known to Tibetans, from the country of his birth, as *K'a c'e paṅ c'en*, "the paṅḍita of Kashmir", was one of the most remarkable figures of late Buddhism. The author of some notable works on dogmatics and liturgy, he may be considered one of the most active personages in the late period of the preaching of Buddhism in the Country of Snows.

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

He has been mentioned more than once in the present work; for greater clearness, it will now be well to add an extract from the *Dam pai c'os kyi byuñ ts'ul bstan pai rgya mts'or ajug pa gru c'en*, p. 146b, which contains a brief summary of the Kashmiri master's life, well furnished with dates.<sup>7)</sup>

"In the year wood-mouse (1204), 3337 after the Buddha's nirvana, the Kashmiri Paṅḍita Śākyaśrībhadrā, with some lesser pandits, came to Tibet. These pandits, forming his retinue, were Sugataśrī, learned in the Mādhyamika and in the Prajñāpāramitā, Jayadatta learned in the Vinaya, Vibhūticandra versed in grammar and in the Abhidharma, Dānaśīla in logic, Saṅghaśrī in the Candravayākaraṇa both ancient and recent, Jivagupta in the laws of Maitreya, Mahābodhi in the Bodhicaryāvatāra, Kālacandra in the Kālacakra.<sup>8)</sup> This paṅḍita was born in Dsaśobharā, in K'ri stan of Kashmir in the year wood-ox (1145).<sup>9)</sup> At the age of ten he studied grammar under the Brahman Lakṣmīdhara<sup>10)</sup> (in the text: lakṣandhīra); from

nine to 22 he led the life of a pious layman, devoted to study. At 23 he was ordained as a monk by the abbot Sukhaśrībhadradeva and was given the name Subhadra. He remained in Kashmir up to the age of 29; at 30 he went to Magadha, where he obtained the first initiation at the hands of Śāntākaragupta, who was acting as an abbot (*mk'an po*), of Daśabala, and of Dhavaraka (*sic*)<sup>11)</sup> as esoteric master. When he was already 60, the lotsāva of K'ro p'u, who was then 33, in the year of the mouse, in the month of *magha*, set off to invite him, got to the Indian market Vaidūrya,<sup>12)</sup> and sent him, with gifts, a letter which began: "In the teachings of Śākya a son of Śākya has been born, whose name is Śākya", and met the paṅḍita in Vaneśvara...

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

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

"In the year of the elephant (1205) he passed the summer retreat in sLas mo c'e, and at the end of the retreat he came to C'u mig riñ mo; in rGyan goñ he conferred the vows upon rDo rje dpal: then he went to gZu sñe

mo. Through mTs'ur p'u he came to sTod luñ, where he honoured the two images of Jo bo. Then, in the year of the tiger (1206) he passed the winter retreat in Srin mo ri, expounding the Law of Byams pa and various other subjects (*rig ts'ogs*). In the year of fire and of the hare (1207) he came to Sol nag t'añ ... Then, on his way to Ra sgreñ, in the North, he was invited by (the abbot) of aBri k'uñ; thus having been prevented from going there, the bKa' gdams pa could not meet him. In the year earth-dragon (1208) he came to gTsañ; in rGyan goñ in sÑañ smad he conferred the perfect initiation upon the Sa skya pañdita; on this occasion Byañ c'ub 'od of Lhasa acted as esoteric master; being born in the year wood-mouse, this was then 65 years old. In the year of the serpent (1209) he spent the summer retreat in Rin c'en sgañ and in the year of the horse (1210) he spent it in Sa skya.

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

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

The tanka considers not so much these episodes of his life, which we may call external, as his revelations and the interior events. The scenes it represents, however, would remain all but impossible to decipher, if we were not aided, not so much by the K'a c'e pañ c'en's biography, as by a litany which, in the form of mystical invocations, sums up the main events of the saint's life. This litany was actually written by his Tibetan disciple, the

lotsäva of K'ro p'u Byams pa dpal;<sup>14)</sup> its title is *Pañ c'en ša kya śrīi rnam t'ar k'ro p'u lo tsa bas mdsad pa*. It contains, besides a few introductory and closing verses, 36 invocations, to each of which corresponds a scene. These litanies were used as a foundation by a *rnam t'ar*, who explained them and completed them, mostly by a paraphrase; the title of this work is: *Sai steñ na agran zla dañ bral ba k'a c'e pañ di ta ša kya śrīi bha drai rnam t'ar* written by bSod nams dpal bzañ po on the base of the rNam t'ar composed by the lotsäva of K'ro p'u and by the lotsäva of dPal (to be corrected dPyal).

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

1. Honour to him who was born in Dsa so dha ra as the son of the merchant Samaya-sum bha ka, in the sacred village dBañ p'yug c'e in Pra ba pu ra,<sup>15)</sup> in the peerless K'ri bstan, lofty city of Kashmir.

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

3. Honour to him who, after having studied grammar and logic according to the Buddhist system and the other treasures of the sacred scriptures and of the other schools under Rat na sri etc. in Bhrin gi bhi ha ra,<sup>16)</sup> saw (explained) in letters (emanating) like the circle of a rainbow from his lamp, the difficult points of the mystical sciences.

4. Honour to him who, favoured by his protecting deity, frequenting scholars and perfect men like La li ta trid etc. in Sa mi and in Sa tra bhi ha ra,<sup>17)</sup> progressed in the study

of various treatises of dogmatics, and then on the way to salvation.

5. Honour to him who, having become a great treasure-house of the sacred scriptures, abandoned the life of a layman and was ordained as a monk at the age of 23; by the grace of the Victorious, the bodhi tree (having appeared to him in a dream) bent its branches before him (as an act of homage) and Byams mgon stretching out his arms (over his head) taught him the way of ascetic purity.<sup>18)</sup>

6. Honour to him who in Dsa ya pu ri,<sup>19)</sup> having heard for a long time (the explanation of) the Mother of the Victorious (gnosis) was instructed in the Law by Mi p'am,<sup>20)</sup> who had appeared to him among the clouds: later he attained a condition of supreme ecstasy, (inspired) by the deep sound (of thunder) and lightning, as he saw in a dream.

7. Honour to him who, after having received instruction upon many of his (Maitreya's) books in the presence of masters like Ži abyuñ, dByaṅ snañ, Blo gros sbas, aByor ldan šes rab bkod pa,<sup>21)</sup> placing himself in a vase full of oil of sesame, learnt by heart hundreds of thousands (of verses).

8. Honour to him who in 16.000.000 of famous cities was the most celebrated among hundreds of pandits, both Buddhists and belonging to opposite schools, and having become at the same time a miraculous incorporation of the threefold science, founded a large number of wonderful me'od rten.

9. Honour to him who in the temple of Sun bha ku ṭa, in a dream caused by the noble (Tārā), received the prophecy that he would be able to answer back in all debates concerning gnosis, grammar and logic, and became as a birch-tree for the ravens who had received from K'ro gñer can the gift of eloquence.<sup>22)</sup>

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

to him, he obtained the revelation of the sixfold magic formula.

11. Honour to him who, having reached the age of 30, was consecrated as a monk (by a ceremony in which took part) San ta ka ra gup ta as first officiant, Da sa bha le (as master of the liturgy) and Dha na ka ra (as master of the formulas).<sup>23)</sup>

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

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

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

15. Honour to him who, in the peerless temple of Bhi kra ma,<sup>24)</sup> having been baptized as the first among thousands of monks, became the point (where are collected) all the virtues, causing the rain of ambrosia represented by beautiful maxims to rain uninterruptedly.

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

17. Honour to him who in O dan pu ri,<sup>25)</sup> that lofty place, was greeted by 12.000 monks, who came to meet him while the most important persons of all the four classes into which the Buddhist community is divided,<sup>26)</sup> bowed

before the lotus of his feet. There he had two marvellous visions.

18. Being in Ka ni ka and in Zla ba bkram, in a place called the well-omened forest of U si,<sup>27)</sup> he had a vision of the Buddha who, together with two Auditors, who followed him as attendants, begged alms of the lord of the Klu.

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

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

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

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

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

24. Honour to him who had the vision of Byams (pa), sGrol (ma) and T'ub dbaṅ on the tips of the flames of the votive lamps; he

who before this, when he abandoned the lay life and was consecrated as a monk, had taken them as the holy patrons of the four laws.<sup>28)</sup>

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

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

27. Honour to him over whom, in the temple of Dsa ha dha la,<sup>29)</sup> which protects the world, four goddesses of the class of Rig aḍsin, namely Tog can, Ñe bai tog can, gSer p'rei can and Lo ma gos can, in the first hours of the day, held parasols.

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

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

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

31. Honour to him who, in the land celebrated as the centre of the Country of Snows, caused the good of infinite creatures, by appearing like a sun of the world, which moved

from South to North; through this apparition he did good, whether he was seen or whether he was spoken about or whether he was remembered or touched (in the books where he is mentioned).

32. Honour to him who, according to the prediction of the rṣi in Bya rkañ, of the Śiñ skyoñ in O rgyañ and of the arhat in Siñ ga gliñ, perfected himself until he became in the future a third Buddha; up to that time he took refuge in the dGa' ldan.

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

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

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

TANKA n. 10 (Plates 8-12).

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

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

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

The series of the pictures begins above the central image, at the top, to the right, with a scene in which two lamas are seen kneeling in front of an image of aJam dbyaṅs; it then unfolds on the band on the right, it is resumed

on the left and joins the first picture, over the head of the central figure. Another two pictures are on both sides of the head. Below, in the scene on the left, the following inscription can be read in praise of Tsoñ k'a pa:

1. *de bdag cag gi bla ma dam pa šar tsoñ*
2. *k'a pa blo bzañ grags pai dpal žes mts'an*
3. *yoñs su grags pa gro ba ma lus pai*
4. *spyii gñen gcig bu rgyur pai rgyal ba*
5. *t'ams cad t'ugs kyi sras mc'og dam pa*
6. ... *t'ugs rje dañ mk'yen rab ts'an bai*
7. ... *mñā' bdag dam pa ādi la mk'yen pa*
8. ... *rtso bai dañ p'rin las la sogs pa*
9. *dpag tu med pa... rgyal bai bstan*
10. *pa la rgyal ba ñid dañ aṣt'uñs<sup>30)</sup> šin k'yad par*
11. *du sdig pai dus kyi gro ba dam... ādul ba*
12. *la rgyal ba gñis pas kyañ... mts'an c'e*
13. *ba ni ādir bkod pa la sogs pai rnam t'ar rñams*
14. *mt'oñ pa šes par gyur ro.*

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

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

Is it possible to identify the source of the painter's inspiration? Among the complete works of Tsoñ k'a pa and of his two foremost disciples (Lhasa edition) there is a pamphlet entitled: *rJe rin po c'ei gsañ bai rnam t'ar rgya mts'o lta bu las c'a šas ñuñ du žig yoñs su brjod pai gtam rin po c'ei šñe ma*, written by another of his pupils bKra šis dpal ldan<sup>31)</sup> in aBras spuñs, which, as the title shows, is a secret biography of the founder of the Yellow sect. Therefore, to illustrate the tanka, it will be enough to read and translate the inscriptions which accompany

each single painting; thus each event, which the painter has represented according to the source he has taken as a model, will clearly appear. We have also noticed that often the inscriptions follow the text of the biography to the extent of using the same words: in these cases the correspondence I have noticed has not been printed in italics.

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

*A – blo ñes nam mk'e' sgrib gži (?) sdig dañ sña (?) las ... rgya lha min gyal pas rgyal... grags pai gsal ādañs srid žii mun pa ajoms blo bzañ grags pai žabs la p'yag ts'al lo skye ba kun du rjes su gzuñ du gsol.*

*B – To the right: ādul ba ādsin pa grags pa rgyal mts'an*

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

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

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

*C –* Dar ma rin c'en, lord of science.

*ka – bdag cag gi dbañ bla ma dam pa ādi šñon sañs rgyas (mdun) du byon nas (?) byañ c'ub sems dpa' mos pai blo gros ādi dañ ājal (sic, always) (biogr., p. 4).*

*k'a – ādi yañ bla ma dam pa ādi sku skye ba ādi la gsuñ rabs rab ābyam kyi don mt'a' dag t'ugs su c'ud cñ bslab pa 3 la ñes skyon rdul tsam (?) yañ mi mñā' k'yad par du bla ma dbu ma pa dañ ājal ājam dbyañ la dri ba mañ du mdsad<sup>32)</sup> (biogr., p. 2 b; in gTsañ roñ).*



*ga* – *yañ* skyi šod *kyi* dga' ba gdoñ du dpon slob gñis sku ts'ams mdsad nas *ajam* dbyañs sgrub pas *adi* lta bui skui snañ ba dños su byuñ riñ, dbu ma pas lo ts'ts'a ba mdsad pas *dri* ba la gdams pai gnad gsuñs pa dpag tu med (biogr., p. 4 b); dbu ma pa c'os rje.

*ña* – *yañ* de ltar du bla mas lo ts'a mdsad nas *ajam* dbyañs p'yi nañ gsañ gyi dbañ dañ las gñin gyi rjes gnañ gsan pas dpa' gcig gi rjes gnañ mdsad dus *adi* lta bui rnam par snañ ba byuñ gda' (biogr., p. 5 a).

*ca* – *yañ* nañ sgrub gsañ sgrub rnames *kyi* skabs su ajigs byed dños su gzigs...

*c'a* – *yañ* las gñin gyi rjes gnañ gi skabs su *adi* ltar du las gñin bka' sgo ba la sogs pai rnam p'rul dpag tu med gzigs pa yin gda' (biogr., p. 5 a).

*ña* – under the images of the two lama (*dbu ma pa c'os rje*): *yañ* lha sai dpon slob 2 *kyis* *ajam* dbyañs la gsol ba drag du btab pas rje btsun gyis ñams len gyi gnad sdus pai ts'igs bead bka' žig gsuñs pa c'os rje pas zin ris su bris yod pa gda'o (biogr., p. 5 b).

(no letter) – rgyal ba sman gyi lha bla gos ser po can byams pa rin po c'ei rgyan dañ ldan (biogr., p. 5 b).

(no letter) – mgon po ts'e dpag med byams pa rab byuñ gi c'a rnames can bla ma rtogs ldan *ajam* dpal rgya mts'o.

*ta* – *yañ* *ajam* dbyañs *kyis* bka' yi... *yañ* (yod?) bskul ba la rtags slob ma bryad dañ bcas pa bya bral la byon nas 'ol ka c'os luñ du p'eb's t'ams cad bsag sbyañ la abad pas abris... rnames... (biogr., pp. 5, 6).

*t'a* – *yañ* dei dbyid ts'e la rje btsun gyis dmu rgod gdul dkai sems can *adi* rnames la bšad pas p'an t'ogs c'en por ga la agyur de bas sgrub [pa lhur blañ dben ruñ pa ste rañ gžan gñis ka a'ts'ams] pai lam riñed snam ces sogs gsuñs so (biogr., p. 6 a).

*da* – *yañ* rdsiñ ji jo bo la ajal nas rgyal sog p'ur byon t'ugs dam šin tu p'el de dus *ajam* dbyañs sku šin tu c'e ba gzi brjid p'un sum ts'ogs pa žig la sañs rgyas dañ byañ c'ub sems dpa' dpag tu med pas bskor ba dañ klu grub, arya de ba, sañs rgyas skyañs, klu byañ, zla sgrags (*sic* for grags), t'ogs med

sku mc'ed, cogs (*for* p'yogs) glañ, c'os grags, yon tan ('od), sa kya 'od, lha dbañ blo, rgyan mk'an po ka ma la ši la, a bhyas (pañdita), rgyal po Inda bodhi. bram ze saraha, lu hi pa, dril bu pa, nag po spyod pa la sogs pa rnames dños su gzigs ñams snañ yin par... dgoñs pas, *ajam* dbyañs *kyis* ñams snañ rañ dga' ba min pas gsol drag po t'ob *adi* rnames rañ gžan la p'an t'ogs rgya c'en po 'on bai rten abrel yin žes gsuñs so (biogr., p. 6 a-b).

*na* – *yañ* gnas der bcom ldan ađas rdo rje ajigs byed žal p'yag yoñs su rdsogs pa šin du (*sic*) c'e ba gzi brjid bzod pa dka' žig žal gzigs (biogr., p. 6 b).

*pa* – *yañ* gnas der rje btsun sku sñar dañ ađra ba žig gzigs pai t'ugs k'a na p'ar ral grii yu va zug ciñ dei t'ugs k'ar rtse mo zug pa la ral k'ri steñ gis bdud rtsi dkar ser šin du snum žig byuñ nas rjei t'ugs k'ar t'im pas bde ba mañ du ađug... (biogr., p. 6 b).

*p'a* – de nas rje btsun gyi gsuñ gis skul nas rdsiñ jii tsug lag k'an žig gsos mdsad pa la sogs dañ *yañ* rje btsun gyi gsuñ gis skul nas byams pai bstod rin c'en gsal bai gron me žes bya ba mdsad (biogr., p. 7 a); *yañ* dei ts'e *ajam* dbyañs *kyi* žiñ bkod bžeñs nas rab gnas mdsad pas ye šes pa dños su t'ims soñ ba gzigs gžan *yañ* rab gnas mdsad pa la de dañ ađra bai rnam pa de la t'un pa med gsuñ ba yin gda'o dei p'yir rten de rnames dañ rje btsun gi (m)c'od pai žiñ du... k'yad par med lta bar gyis žig (biogr., p. 7 a-b).

*ba* – *yañ* rgya gar šin gi ri la byon pai bšed pai skabs su rje btsun gi gsuñ gis rdsiñ jii jo bo la rab byañ gi rtags ts'an mai skyes abul dañ bcas bstod... ciñ gsol ađebs ts'igs ts'an's pai bead (*for* cod) pan... žes bya ba *adi* ltar gyis la p'ul dañ bsag la sogs žig p'yis p'an pa abyuñ ba rten abrel yod gsuñs rten nas *adi* ltar mdsad (biogr., p. 7 b).

*ma* – de nas ts'a ri nas dmyal (*for* gñal) la byon pai lam du mo lai rtsa k'ar žag bžugs mdsad par nub la rje btsun byams mgon gyi sku šin tu c'e ba lhun po ltar mñon par brjid ciñ, ñi ma ltar gzi brjid abar ba žig gis rigs *kyi* bu kyod *kyis* sañs rgyas ajig rten du byon pa

ltar cig 'oñ ba yod pas šes par byos šig ces dbugs p'yuñ ba *dños su byuñ*. de bas na skyes bu dam pa ađi sañs rgyas dañ k'yad par med lta bur kyis šig (biogr., p. 7 b).

*tša* – yañ myal (= gñal) smad siñ ge sgañ na bžugs dus su dpal dus kyī aḱ'or lo dpa' bo gcig pa žig nar mar gzigs šiñ nub gcig rnal (= mnal) lam du k'yod kyis dus kyī aḱ'or lo *zla ba* bzañ po dañ ađra ba žig 'oñ ba yod do gsuñs (biogr., p. 8 a).

*t'sa* – yañ dmyal (= gñal) smad du bžugs dus snal (= mnal) lam du dbyaṅs can mai gsuñ gis dguñ lo lña bcui rtsa bdun t'ub de bar rañ gžan gyi don dpag tu med ađrub gsuñ rje btsun ma rnam rgyal ma la sogs pa (la) gsol btag ciñ bsñen sgrub byas (mañ du byas)... bas riñ žig t'ub par mi ađyur ram žes žus pas de t'ams cad sñon gyi smon lam gyi šugs su t'ugs ađun gyi gnad kyis blo gros goñ nas goñ du aḱ'el bai rgyu soñ nas sku ts'e la c'er ma byuñ ces gsuñ ba gcig byuñ (biogr., p. 8 a).

*dsa* – yañ dmyal (= gñal) nas dvags po lha sdiñs su p'ebś bla ma dkon la gsol ba drag po btab pas klu grub yab sras lña rañ bžin yod med kyī gnad rnamś la aḱrel rtam (= gtam) gyis bka' sgo (= bgro) ba mdsad kyī ađug pai nañ nas sañs rgyas *bskyaṅs yin zer pai ...*

*va* – yañ sman luñ gi rgya sog p'ur ts'o aḱ'ruł c'en po žag bco lñai *bar du mc'od* p'un sum ts'ogs *p'uł mc'od pa* ciñ p'yogs bcui de bžin bšegś pa spyān ađren pai dmigs pa dañ ađun pa drag po mdsad pa na *šar p'yogs de bžin gšegś t'ams cad rnam snañ gi rnam pa can dañ de bžin du p'yogs lña la de bžin gšegś lñas gañ po mc'od pa bžes par gzigs* (biogr., p. 9 a).

*ža* – yañ 'ol ka bsam stan (*for gtan*) gliñ du bsañ (*for gsañ*) bdusgyi rdsogs rim gsal bai sgron me mdsad pai p'yir bla ma dañ dkon mcog la gsol ba drag po ađebs pa mdsad pai nub gcig rje btsun ađam pai rdo rje lha bcu dgur dkyil aḱ'or yoñs su rdsogs na dkyil aḱ'or tso (*for gtso*) bos bum pa gcig rje la ster rtsis *mdsad ciñ de dus byams pa dañ ađam dbyaṅs kyaṅ snañ ño* (biogr., p. 10 a-b).

*za* – yañ dbyen (*for dben*) gnas dga' ldan p'ebś nas *c'ad brtsod rtsom gsum gyis bstan pai*

rmañ ts'ugs *par mdsad do: de* nas dguñ lo lña bdun pai *dus su sku k'ams* (b)śñel bai ts'uł (b)stan pa la sku (m)ts'ams mdsad nas... Under the image of the god: *p'yag drug pa*.

rdo rje slob ma bdun gyis žabs druñ du *bžugs nas* p'yir zlog *sogs la aḱad ciñ* rje rin po c'e *ñin ni* bde stoñ dben dbyer med *sogs la bžugs pai skabs* bcom ldan ađas t'ub pa *ño mts'ar* pa ldan pa gcig gzigs *de rañ la stim pai dmigs* pa mdsad pas t'im (biogr., pp. 11 b, 12 a).

*ba* – ... *p'yag drug pas sna drañś las bšin* (*for gšin*) *gyis gnod byed kyī ađrin* (*for mgrin*) *pa nas k'rid k'yi* (*for kše*) *ta* (*for tra*) *pa las ded ciñ byuñ ba nas mgo gri guḱ gis bcad nas, aḱrub k'uñ de lta bu gcig na cug* (*for bcug*) *pa gzigs pa dañ ñams du* (*for mñan du*) p'yi rol na nag poi p'yogs kyī gza' klu ša za rgyal po ste bži po sde dañ beas pa dmag p'am mo žes pa c'o ñes (*for c'o ñes*) pa gzigs de nas riñ po ma soñ bar sku k'ams sañs par gyur ro (biogr., p. 12 b); yañ ts'e ađi ñin rin po c'ei k'ri gcig gi steñ na bu ston yin zer pai bla mai rnam pa can gcig pa bžugs ađug pa des gsañ ađus rtsa rgyud kyī glegs bam žig gnañ nas ađii bdag po gyis gsuñ ba dañ p'yag gñis kyis glegs bam bteg nas hūm vajra uttiṣṭha ces gsuñ žiñ lan gsum dbu t'og du bšag de dños su gzigs (biogr., p. 11).

*ya* – *De nas sku k'ams sañs pa dañ ađam* dbyaṅś kyis da p'yin c'ad gtso bor bskyed rdsogs kyī t'ugs *ñams su bžes* pa na sñags bla med kyī sgo nas rtogs pa k'yad par can rgyud la k'ruñś šiñ slob ma skal ldan du ma la rtogs pa k'yad par can re skye *bar ađyur* ro žes gsuñś (biogr., p. 13).

*la* – *yañ rje ađi sku śñel... dka' t'ub du ... byañ c'ub semś dpa' śñin... bar... gđa'.*

*ka* – "This holy master of ours in past times, while going to meet the Buddha, met the bodhisattva Mos pa blo gros,," This scene therefore deals with Tsoñ k'a pa's first incarnation, concerning which many stories are told in the tradition which soon became widespread in the dGe legs pa schools. He is said to have been the son of a Brahman who met, in Śākyamuni's times, a Bodhisattva called Mos pa blo gros, was led by

him to the Buddha, was immediately touched and decided to follow the paths of wisdom, presenting the ascetic with a rock-crystal necklace.

*k'a* – “This holy master, in this (his last) birth, learned all the infinite subjects of the holy scriptures in such a manner, that not even a speck of the dust of deficiency remained, as regards the threefold instructions;<sup>33)</sup> particularly, he met the master dBu ma pa and addressed several questions to aJam dbyaṅs .”

This, according to the biography, happened in gTsañ roñ.

*ga* – “Then while the two, master and disciple, were meditating in dGa' ba gdoñ, in the environs of sKyid šod, as he attained the mystical experiences connected with aJam dbyaṅs, manifestations of bodies similar to the one of this (god) occurred; dBu ma pa acting as interpreter, (aJam dbyaṅs) (answered) questions, making numberless speeches, in which he revealed the fundamental meaning of the secret instructions.,”

*ña* – “Then in such guise, the master dBu ma pa acting as interpreter, he listened to (the doctrine) of aJam dbyaṅs' three baptisms: the exoteric baptism, the esoteric one and the secret one, and Las gšin's instructions (*rjes gnañ*); when he followed dPa' gcig's instructions, many visions appeared under this god's likeness.,”

Las gšin is another of gšin rje's names, or, as the biography says, p. 5 a. bKa' sdod gsuñ rje c'os kyī rgyal po, whom, in this circumstance Tsoñ k'a pa is said to have evoked with the help of his master. dPa' gcig, Ekavīra, is one of the forms of aJam dbyaṅs.

*ca* – “Then, when he attained the mystical experiences connected with that god, both the exoteric and the esoteric ones, he actually saw many images of aJigs byed.,”

*ca* – “Then, when he practised Las gšin's instructions, he saw endless apparitions, according to the evocations of this Las gšin.,”

*ña* – “Then, in Lhasa, these two, master and disciple, having earnestly prayed to aJam dbyaṅs, rJe btsun (= aJam dbyaṅs) recited a

few verses containing a summary of the meaning of the mystical experiences, and the C'os rje wrote them down.,”

Without a numbering letter:

“The Victorious, god of medicine, with a yellow outer garment. Byams pa with precious ornaments.,” These visions are said to have taken place, according to biography, in 'Ol ka.

“Ts'e dpad med and Byams pa, with some objects needed for consecration (*rab byuñ*),,”; as it is said in the same work, this refers to visions which appeared in the same place and under the same circumstances.

*ta* – “Then, reflecting upon aJam dbyaṅs' admonitions, he went to Bya bral with eight disciples, and having got to C'os luñ in the environs of 'Ol ka, they being very zealous in the exercise and in the accumulation [of religious merits ...] and the scriptures (or paintings?)...,”

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

*ta* – “Then, during that same spring, rJe btsun said to him: If you will explain the Law to demons and to creatures who are difficult to convert what great profit will you be able to obtain? Therefore apply yourself earnestly to mystical experiences, retire into solitude, and thus you will attain a path profitable to yourself and to others.,”

*da* – “Then, having visited in rDsiñ ji Jo bo's image, he went to rGyal sog p'u, and his aptitudes for meditating developed greatly. In those times he saw in its actual form an

image of aJam dbyaṅs, very large and of supreme splendour, surrounded by innumerable Buddhas and Bodhisattvas: he actually saw Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Buddhapālita, Nāgabodhi, Candrakīrti, Asaṅga and his brother, Diṅnāga, Dharmakīrti, Guṇaprabha, Śākya-prabha, Devendramati, rGyan mk'an po, Kamalaśīla, Abhayākara the paṇḍita, king Indrabodhi, the Brāhmaṇa Saraha, Luhipā, Ghaṇṭāpā, Kṛṣṇācārya, etc. As he thought them to be hallucinations, aJam dbyaṅs said to him: Hallucinations do not produce any joy, therefore pray earnestly: these prove that you have the omen of producing great good for yourself and for others ,,,

The passage and the enumeration of gods and masters literally corresponds to the text of the biography.

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

*pa* – “Then in that same place, in the heart of rJe btsun's image, which had appeared to him in the same way as its preceding manifestations, a dagger was stuck, with its point into the heart and its hilt outside; an extraordinarily oily current of white and yellow ambrosia appeared above the dagger and disappeared into the saint's heart ,,.<sup>34)</sup> According to the text we may supplement “(all his body was filled) with great bliss (so that he could not speak) ,,.

The correspondence to the text is once more literal.

*p'a* – “Then, urged by rJe btsun's words, he restored that part of the temple of rDsiṅ Ji<sup>35)</sup> which had been destroyed; then again urged by rJe btsun he composed the hymn of Byams pa, called: the precious, sparkling lamp ,,.

“Then in that time, having caused the (painted) heaven of aJam dbyaṅs to be made, and having celebrated its consecration, he saw that the divine spirit<sup>36)</sup> had really penetrated therein; further, during the consecration he

said: It will not happen that (the spirit of the god) does not penetrate here;<sup>37)</sup> therefore do not think that these images and the god's venerable heaven are different ,,.

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

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

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

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

*t'sa* – “Then, while he was dwelling in Seṅ ge sgaṅ in gÑal smad, he continually saw Dus kyi ak'or lo in visions, and one night, in his sleep, the latter said to him: You are like Zla ba bzaṅ po of Dus kyi ak'or lo come (on earth) ,,.<sup>38)</sup>

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

*dsa* – “Then, having gone to gÑal Lha sdiṅs in Dvags po, he addressed an earnest prayer to the precious master Klu grub and to his four disciples; then this master explained

to him in a speech the doctrine concerning (the problem, whether) things have an essence of their own or not: among them Sañs rgyas bskyañs (Buddhapālita) (handed him a Sanskrit book of the Mādhyamika system),,,

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

*ža* – “Then, being in bSam gtan gliñ, in the environs of ‘Ol ka, with the purpose of writing the dPal gsañ adus gsal bai sgron me, one night he addressed an earnest prayer to the master and to the (three) gems, and then (in that same night) the complete mañḍala of the 19 gods of rJe btsun aJam pai rdo rje, and the principal divinity of the mañḍala offered him a vase... and in that time Byams pa and aJam dbyañs also appeared to him,,,

*za* – “Then having gone to the retreat of dGa’ldan, he laid the foundations of his teachings, with the explanations, the discussion and the composition of treatises; then at the age of 57 he showed in what manner the body becomes diseased; then, having shut himself up in the retreat... and his seven disciples in the vajra having placed themselves near him, performed the exorcisms with great zeal; and the precious saint himself, during the day, began to meditate upon the non-diversity of beatitude and of the void;<sup>39</sup>) then, he had the vision of the blessed and wonderful Ascetic, then he saw him as if resting into his own self, and so disappearing into himself,,,

*ba* – “Being invited by P’yag drug pa, Las gšin (=gŠin rje gšed c’os rgyal) dragged the demon (gNod byed) by the neck, and

the kṣetrapāla, attacking the (demon) with a knife, cut off his head, and it seemed to him (i. e. Tsoñ k’a pa) as if he were dwelling inside a pit, and at the same time outside (the pit) the gza’, the klu, the ša za and the rgyal po, namely the four orders (of demons) ruling over the black actions, with their retinue lifted up the lament called: defeat in battle,,,

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

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

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

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

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

*la* – “The saint’s body having become diseased... penances... aByañ dbyañs, ... and the bodhisattva,,,

All round the central image, small images of masters follow one another, representing the *sampradāya*, the series of Indian and Tibetan doctors through whom the doctrines of initiation, the particular methods and the interpretation of the holy scriptures were transmitted to Tsoñ k’a pa and by him to his principal disciples. They thus follow one another, beginning from the right of the figure of Amitabha which is, in fact, in the centre of the external frame encircling the painting.

In the centre:

<i>ajam dbyaṅs pa</i>   <i>bdag gtso</i>   <i>byams pa</i>
<i>t'ogs med</i> <i>rnam grol sde</i>
<i>dbyig gñen</i> <i>btsun pa grol sde</i> <sup>40)</sup>

On the row to the right:

<i>... ni (or mi) sde</i>	<i>gser gliṅ pa</i>
<i>dul bai lba</i>	<i>ṅ ti sa</i>
<i>rnam snaṅ mdsad</i>	<i>abrom ston pa</i>
<i>seṅ (?) bzaiṅ</i>	<i>dpal ldan ḍgon pa pa</i>
<i>ku su li c'e ba</i>	<i>bśes gñen sne zur pa</i>
<i>ku sa (sic) c'un ba</i>	<i>byaṅ sems t'og ma pa (?)</i> <sup>41)</sup>
	<i>nam mk'a' seṅ ge</i>

Below:

<i>nam mk'a' rgyal po.</i>	<i>rtsa bai bla lta ... ga'o</i>
<i>ye śes rgyal po</i>	<i>yin</i>
<i>nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an</i>	<i>k'yi tra ba la (kṣetra-</i>
<i>t'ams cad mk'yen blo bzaiṅ</i>	<i>pāla)</i>
<i>grags pa</i>	<i>las gñin.</i>

“The vision of the principal masters,,:

*adi brgyad pa adi daiṅ po bya bral*  
*la byon dus k'rid pas bslob ma ajam dbyaṅs kyis adi*  
*rnams luṅ stan pa de rnams yin.*

“These are his first eight disciples whom he took with him to Bya bral and who received a prophecy by aJam dbyaris,,.

To the left, from the bottom to the top, beginning from the fourth image:

<i>byaṅ sems ṅag dbaṅ grags</i>	<i>ye śes rgyal po</i>
<i>pa</i>	<i>nam mk'a' rgyal po</i>
<i>t'ams cad mk'yen blo</i>	<i>nam mk'a' ye śes</i>
<i>bzaiṅ grags pa</i>	<i>dbu ... ma pa</i>
<i>... rgyal mts'an</i>	<i>sne zur pa</i>
	<i>abrom ston pa</i>

On the top:

<i>a ti śa</i>	<i>rig pai k'u dbyaṅs pa</i>
<i>k'u dbyaṅ kra (?) pa</i>	<i>zla ba grags pa</i>
	<i>klu grub.</i>

The tanka has been discovered in the monastery of Toling: we find therefore in this list the name of ṅag dbaṅ grags pa, the first apostle of the *dGe lugs pa* in Western Tibet and himself a disciple of Tsoṅ k'a pa.<sup>42)</sup>

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

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

TANKA n. 11 (Plate 13).

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

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

Below, the donor attended by his family.

The free space round the central figure is strewn with small flowers, according to the manner of Nepalese miniature-painters and of the wall-paintings which are their reflection and continuation.

# GUGE SCHOOL

TANKA n. 12 (Plates 14-22).

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

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

There seems to be no doubt that the scenes here reproduced represent Akṣobhya's celestial glory and his heaven. Saints in monastic robes and angel-like Bodhisattvas surround him, amid groves of trees loaded with gems and precious bands, warbling birds and red flowers. The painter has taken

his inspiration from the traditional models describing the Buddhas' heavenly kingdoms; in reality there is no such detailed description of the Abhirati (i. e. of Akṣobhya's heaven) as we have, for instance, of the Sukhāvati, Amitābha's heaven. It is therefore difficult to tell whether in this case the painters have followed a tradition handed down by some literary text, or whether they have drawn this paradise after their own imagination, looking for an inspiration to the most famous and popular heavens, and following the usual *cliché* which describes the marvels of these celestial abodes. But there is no doubt that one scene at least was inspired by a famous book of the Mahāyāna: I allude to those ladders, placed on high, to the right and left of Akṣobhya's figure, on which different figures of gods or men (the former wearing diadems, the latter not) mount and descend; the stair of the gods is made of lotus flowers, the invariable symbol of every spiritual nature. It is clear that in this case the painter had before his mind's eyes the brief description of the Abhirati found in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, when Vimalakīrti, taking hold of that heaven as if it were a wreath of flowers, and laying it upon our earth, shows it to the community to reveal its glories and to exalt the boundless bliss which the Buddha's Law has in store for its devotees: "Now I, seizing it, from the element of water (on which it rests) up to the Akaniṣṭha, and accurately cutting all around it, like the potter's wheel, and lifting it with my right hand and holding it like a wreath of flowers, I will lay such a heaven upon this universe *mi mjed (śabāloka)*, and thus I will show it to this assembly, without rising from this throne. I will show this Abhirati heaven, with several hundreds of thousands of Bodhisattvas and gods and

Nāgas and Yakṣas and Gandharvas and Asuras, surrounded by the mountain which encircles it (*Cakravāla*); and waterfalls, ponds, sources, lakes, oceans, Sumeru, mountains, hills and knolls, and the moon, the sun and the constellations, with gods, Nāgas, Yakṣas and Gandharvas, and Brahmā's seat, and villages, cities, countries and regions, and kingdoms and monks and women; Bodhisattvas, listeners, and the Tathāgata Akṣobhya's bodhi tree, and the Tathāgata Akṣobhya explaining the Law, seated amid an assembly vast as the ocean; and lotuses (scattered) in the ten points of space, (seated on which he shows) the actions proper to a Buddha, and a threefold ladder, wrought with gems, going from the Jambudvīpa up to Trayastriṃśa's heaven, and on that noble ladder the Trayastriṃśa gods descend into the Jambudvīpa to see the Tathāgata Akṣobhya and to do him homage and worship him to hear the Law. And all the men of the Jambudvīpa ascend to the Trayastriṃśa's heaven to see the Trayastriṃśa gods (BKA' AḠYUR, *mdo*, vol. p'a, p. 365, chap. II = Chinese transl., chap. 12; Taishō, p. 555).<sup>43)</sup>

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

This is a literature adding nothing new to the traditional patterns according to which the devotees see these heavens in their imagination; moreover there seems to be no doubt

that certain details on which it dwells are inspired by pictorial compositions representing heavenly bliss as suggested by a fervid imagination; we find there cool and shady gardens, trees from which scented tissues or divine food come down, according to the secret wishes of the inhabitants, tents ornamented with all manners of precious things and ponds whose banks are sprinkled with gold dust, and lotus flowers miraculously springing up at every step.

TANKA n. 13 (Plates 23, H).

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

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

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



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

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

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

"... if the measure of the life of the beings in that Buddha country of mine should be liable to be measured except by their own

power of prayer, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge, ...

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

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

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

Hence there are good reasons for admitting that the division into Ts'e dpag med and 'Od dpag med, although it gives back its value to an original difference between the two types, was the work of Tibetan masters. But they, avoiding as usual to take upon themselves any new departure in the religious field, state that the cult of Ts'e dpag med, as a distinct entity, goes back to Indian masters, namely to Ti p'u (Te p'u) who taught

its revelation to Ras c'uñ grags pa, who in his turn spread his worship in Tibet. This Ts'e dpag med is called Ts'e dan ye šes dpag med, "infinite life and gnosis"; the theological opinions of the schools are reflected upon him. On one side he remains sambhogakāya, and then he has royal draperies and ornaments, a diadem and a vase of ambrosia, *kalāśa*. His heaven is not stated: it is said in a general manner that those who have been initiated into his mysteries will obtain his *go ap'an*, the same mystical sphere whose visive symbol he is. But his other aspect is a *sprul sku*, *nirmanakāya* (*dPal ldan sa skya pai gser c'os lugs kyī ts'e dpag med sprul skui sgrub t'abs bum c'o ga rjes gnañ dan bcas pai skor rnams*, GT, *Ka*). He then carries the vase for alms (*sprul skui c'a lugs mt's'an dan ldan*, GT, *ka*, p. 181) and he rules over the bDe ba can (*gSum abum sa skya pa*, vol. *p'a*, p. 338). This last aspect is therefore identified with 'Od dpag med (*ibid.*) and then, as a *sprul sku*, the monastic dress is well adapted to him: the bDe ba can, besides being a heaven, still remains one of the numberless worlds in infinite space, where a Buddha analogous to the historical Buddha preaches the Law; he therefore repeats Śākya-muni's aspects, and is accordingly represented under the bodhi tree.

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

The rÑiñ ma pa gave a greater theological discipline to these doctrines, placing above the two hypostases, sambhoga and *nirmāṇakāya*, their essential aspect, the principle from

which they draw the reason of their existence, namely, as we have said, the dharmakāya, (GT, *ka*, p. 180: "without abandoning the essential body sNañ ba mt'a' yas,, ... hymn by aP'ags pa, written in the year *sa rta*, 1258), clarifying what the other schools had hinted at here.

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

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

We cannot tell whether these representations of Amitābha's heaven have ever been very popular in India, at any rate we have no trustworthy documents on the subject; but in Tibet, where Amitābha's cult met with the

greatest fortune, the Sukhāvātī is a subject very frequently treated by artists in their paintings and frescoes. The Sukhāvātī is the heaven where through the ceremony of *p'o ba*, the dying man's conscious principle is transferred, in order to escape the painful vicissitudes of transmigration. But in these representations the Tibetans followed Chinese, or perhaps, more exactly, central-Asian models (called Ping hsiang, in Japanese Henso-zu). They reproduce, through the devices of design and colour, the descriptions of these celestial places given by religious literature; in our case, besides the canonical works already alluded to, these descriptions are to be found particularly in the *Kuan wu liang shou fo ching shu* 觀無量壽佛經疏 (Taishō, 1753) and other works by Shan tao, 善導 (cf. tanka n. 20).

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

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

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

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

This *tanka* may be considered typical of the western Tibetan manner of painting, which I have called the Guge style; it represents

Śākyamuni between his two disciples Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra. The Buddha is touching the ground with his right hand, to invoke the goddess of the earth as a witness of the enlightenment he has attained; with his left hand he holds the pot in which to collect alms (*pinḍapātra*, *lbuñ bzed*). On a level with his head, in the halo there are: rJe btsun Byams pa and rJe btsun aJam dbyañs.

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

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

The halo, as in the preceding tanka, is perfectly circular and, according to the manner of bronze statues of the Pāla age, protects not only the Buddha's head, but all of his chest.

All around, tiny paintings are displayed: the most important are those to the right, to

the left and under the Buddha's figure, representing the principal incidents of his life and preachings.

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

A – First stripe:

1. a) *dga' ldan na bžugs pai dam pa tog dkar po*: "Śvetaketu in the Tuṣita heaven,, Śvetaketu is the name of the Bodhisattva who will descend upon earth from the Tuṣita heaven, to be incarnated as the son of Śudhodana and, at the end of his long spiritual preparation, will attain Buddhahood.

2. b) *rje btsun rgyal ts'ab du skos*: "He establishes rJe btsun as his successor,, The Bodhisattva, before descending upon earth, establishes as his successor Maitreya, who will be the Buddha of the next age.

B – Second stripe:

3. *dga' ldan gnas nas glañ poi gzugs kyis lbums su žugs pa la lha rnam kyis mc'od pa ap'ul*: "From the Tuṣita heaven, entering into his mother's womb in the likeness of a white elephant, he is worshipped by the gods,,

C – Third stripe:

4. a) His birth, represented in the traditional manner.

b) *sku ltam pas no mts'ar pai ltas mañ du byuñ ba yin*: "after his birth many marvellous signs appear,,

5. c) In the third picture: *Lha yi bus sku k'rus*: "He is washed by the gods,,

D – Fourth stripe:

6. a) *p'yogs bžir gom pa bdun bdun bor bas me tog pad ma bdun bdun byuñ ba*: "moving for every point of space seven steps, seven lotus flowers are born in every direction,,

7. b) (in the middle of the central figure): *ma mo brgyad kyis mc'od*: "he is honoured by the eight mothers,, In the tanka they are only four.

8. c) *drañ sroñ nag pos mts'an bstan pa*: "the ascetic Asita reveals the omens,,

E – Fifth stripe:

9. *de nas šiñ rtai ak'or lo dañ bcas nas lha k'añ ajal* (for *mjal*) *du ap'ebś pas lha rnam kyis p'yag byas pa*: "then, going in a chariot to visit a temple, he is honoured by the gods,,

F – Sixth stripe:

10. On the edge: *ser skyai sgor na ba gzigs*: "by the gate of Kapilavastu he sees a sick man,,; *ak'or lo bsgyur (z) šiñ rta drañś*: "The Cakravartin drives a chariot,,

G – Seventh stripe:

11. ... *yiđ rtsis slabs*: "he learns mathematics,,; the incident represents his mathematical contest with Arjuna.

12. *gžon nus rol rtsed mt'oñ ba*: "the young prince is present at games,,: the black figure is Devadatta's.

From now on the scenes follow one near the other.

13. *lha sbyin kyis t'al mo snun nas gsad*: "Devadatta strikes (the elephant) with his hand and kills it,,

(To the right, above):

14. *byañ c'ub semś dpai žabs kyis(s) ap'añś*. "The Bodhisattva flings the elephant (over the wall) with a kick,, Under the throne: *glañ po gžoñś*: he removes the elephant.

15. *kyal ađrar pa*: "He contends in jest (with his friends),,,

16. *k'ab tu btsun mo bžes pa*: "he marries,,

17. *dga' ba bya*: "His amusements,,

18. *žiñ rmo ba gzigs*: "he sees the peasant (at work),,,

19. *lho sgor rgas pa gzigs*: "by the southern gate he sees an old man,,

20. *mts'an moi c'as rnamś*: "customs of the night,,

21. Above: *nub sgor ši ba gzigs*: "by the western gate he sees a corpse,,

22. *byañ sgor (rab tu) byuñ ba gzigs*: "by the northern gate he sees a monk,,

23. The scenes which follow show his exit from the city with the horse Kañthaka, whose hoofs are supported by "the gods of the four points of the compass,,: *rgyal c'en bžis brtseg pa*.

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

Next:

25. *p'yag dar gyi k'rod ... (kyi) c'os gos ap'ul ...* "offering of the monk's tunic, made of rags,,

Still below:

26. *rgyal po gsal rgyal spyan drañ:* "king Prasenajit's invitation,, then, in the following square, above:

27. *drañ sroñ rnam lhan cig tu ... (sgom?) mdsad:* "he meditates in the soothsayers' company,, To the left of a river's course:

28. *c'u bo ne rañ dsa rar dka' t'ub ma:* "he practises asceticism on the bank of the Nairāñjanā,,

Underneath, to the left:

29. *legs skyes mas zo p'ul:* "Sujātā offers curdled milk,,

From a lake the figures of two nāgas emerge:

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

Next:

31. *k'ye'u bkeras (bkera śis) rtsa du rbba? ap'ul.* "Young Svastika offers him *dūrvā* grass (on which to sit) ,,

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

Above:

32. *mt'o rañs mñon par rdsogs pai sañs rgyas rgyal c'en bzis lbuñ bzed bži ap'ul ba gcig tu byin gyis rlabs:* "in the morning, when he had attained perfect enlightenment, the gods of the four heavenly regions offered him four bowls for alms, which by his grace became a single bowl,, To the right the figure of the Buddha under the Tree of Enlightenment.

33. *sum bcu rtsa gsum du yum la c'os gsuñs kyis sa la p'eb:* "having been to the heaven of the Trayastriṃśa to preach the Law to his mother, he descends again upon earth,,

On the same line, to the right:

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

35. *yul ba ra sar ak'or lña sde sogs c'os ak'or bskor:* "in Benares he preaches to the five disciples ,,

36. *rigs kyi bu grags pa rab tu byuñ:* "the ordination of that son of a noble race, Yaśas,,

37. To the right: *btsun mo rnam kyañ rab tu byuñ:* "women too take vows,,

Above, to the left:

38. *rdsu ap'rul ya ma zuñ nas c'os la bkod:* "by the miracle of the multiplication of the images, he converts (those present) to the Law,,

In the middle:

39. *bya rgod p'uñ po rir c'os bskor:* "he preaches on the Gṛdhrakūṭa ,,

To the right: *'od mai ts'al:* "the garden of the Veṇuvana ,,

Above, to the left:

40. *mu tegs ston pa drug po ts'o ap'rul c'en stan nas, ts'ar bcaḍ pas ts'or lbun:* "the six masters of the heretics, after he had displayed great miracles, are annihilated, and then, hurled into a lake ,,

41. *gžan yañ t'eg pa sna ts'ogs la c'os kyi ak'or lo bskor:* "then he preaches the Law to followers of various schools,,

Above, to the left:

42. *groñ k'yer bsod sñoms la ap'eb:* "he returns to the city to beg ,,

To the right:

43. *rgyal po k'ab tu glañ c'en sñon pa btul:* "In Rājagṛha he subdues the infuriated elephant,,

Above, to the left:

44. *Yañs pa can du spreus sprañ rtsi ap'ul ba ac'i ba dus byas pas lhar skyes:* "In Śrāvastī an ape, after having offered honey to him, is reborn among the gods ,,

To the right:

45. *sñuñ bai ts'ul bstan:* "He falls ill,,

Above, to the left:

46. *bcom ldan aḍas dañ ñañ t'os la rañ me aḍar ba:* "the Blessed One and his hearers burn in a self-created fire ,,

To the right:

47. *riñ srel c'a brgyad du sgos pa:* "the division of the relics in eight lots,,

Above:

The eight mc'od rten:

48. *sgo mañs; byañ c'ub; rnam rgyal; pad spuñs; dben stam* (for *gtam?*); *ts'o ap'rul, lha abab; k'añ rsegs*.

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

But Śākyamuni's life appeared so eventful that it could not be reduced to these twelve essential moments. The vastness of canonical literature concerning the Buddha's life, the accounts which are sometimes irreconcilable, even the fact that many incidents are to be found scattered through different works, as in the case of the Vinaya, which is precisely

one of the richest sources for reconstructing the Buddha's legend, all these circumstances induced Tibetan writers also to sum up the master's life in a systematic form. This necessity was all the more keenly felt because Śākyamuni's *mśad pas* were a favourite subject with painters and temple decorators. Just as in China, to supply the same need, the *Shih chia ju lai ying hua lu* 釋迦如來應化錄 had been compiled, so in Tibet one of the greatest polygraphists, Tāranātha, summed up the legend in an original form: he summarized it in 125 episodes, in his work entitled *bCom ldan ādas t'ub pai dbaṅ poi mśad pa mdo tsam brjod pa mt'ön bas don ldan rab tu dga' ba dañ bcas pas daḍ pai ñin byed p'yogs brgyar ac'ar ba*. Later he treated the same subject on invitation of P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal cutting down the episodes of the Buddha's life to a hundred, with the well-defined aim of furnishing a guide to artists; so we have the *sTon pa śa kya dbaṅ poi mśad pa brgya pai bris yig rje btsun kun dga' sñin gis mśad pa*, which, having divided the subject-matter into a hundred scenes, illustrates concisely the various episodes grouped in each scene.

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

Hinayāna in harmony with those of Mahāyāna. In order to obtain material for a comparison, it will be well to give a summary of Tāranātha's 125 stories.

1. The Buddha was, in dGa' ldan, Dam pa tog ḍkar po, Śvetaketu.

2. History of the Śākya family, a lofty family.

3. The five looks.

4. The descent from dGa' ldan and the entrance into his mother's womb.

5. Sojourn in his mother's womb.

6. His birth in the garden at Lumbinī.

7. Entrance into the city of Ser skya (Kapilavastu).

8. Prophecy of the soothsayer Ñon moñs med (Araṇa).

9. He learns various arts.

10. He shows his skill.

11. He marries Grags ḍsin ma (Yaśo-dharā).

12. Story of the tree *dge bai sñiñ po* (*udumbara*) born when the Buddha appeared.

13. He marries Sa ḍts'o ma (Gopā).<sup>46</sup>

14. The three meetings: old man, sick man and corpse.

15. Meditation in the field and vision of the cemetery.

16. Story of Ri dvags skyes (Mṛgajā) who, having seen him from a window, threw a pearl necklace to him.

17. The palace is guarded by sentries, lest the prince should go out.

18. Flight from home.

19. He assumes a monk's apparel.

20. The quest for truth in the company of heretics.

21. The seven asceticisms.

22. He abandons asceticism and restores his body to health with milk-soup.

23. He starts for Bodhgayā.

24. He brings Māra into subjection.

25. He obtains supreme gnosis.

26. He rests in the forest.

27. On Brahmā's and Indra's request, he goes to Benares.

28. Sermon to his first five disciples.

29. Yaśas and four others are converted.

30. From Benares to Magadha.

31. Conversion of Mahākāśyapa and other ascetics.

32. Meeting with Bimbisāra.

33. Śāriputra's and Maudgalyāyana's conversion.

34. The serpent Elāpatra's conversion.

35. Kātyāyana sent to convert the king (Pradyota) of aP'ags rgyal (Ujjayin).

36. Story of Me skyes btsas pa (Jyotiṣka).

37. The Buddha, in the midst of flames, preaches to Indra and other gods.

38. Anāthapiṇḍada's conversion to truth.

39. Anāthapiṇḍada builds the Jetavana.

40. The Buddha is invited to Śrāvastī.

41. King Prasenajit believes in the Buddha.

42. Meeting of the Buddha with his father Śuddhodana on the former's return to Kapilavastu.

43. Sermon to the Śākya women.

44. Nanda's ordination.

45. Gautamī and other women are admitted into the order.

46. Story of Pūrṇa.

47. Maudgalyāyana goes into the 'Od zer can (Prabhāvati) world, to find his mother who had been reborn there, in order to convert her.

48. Sermon to the Brahman Pad ma sñiñ po (Padmagarbha).

49. Story of the two boys, a Kṣatriya and a Brahman, the first of whom, through his wisdom, obtains good luck and is converted.

50. The Buddha sends Maudgalyāyana to convert the Nāgas Nanda and Upananda.

51. The Buddha protects Prasenajit from the Nāgas' attacks.

52. Conversion of the yakṣa ḍBrog gnas (Āṭavaka).

53. Lag rgyud (Hastaka) is taught the truth.

54. Story of Utrāyana (Rudrāyana) and Rauraka (*ṣGra sgras*).<sup>47</sup>

55. Submission of the lion Ral pa can, (Keśarin).

56. Birth of Ser skya (Kapila) as a sea-monster.
57. The Brahman Nya gro dha skyes (Pip-palāyana) marries a woman resembling the golden statue he had made, lives with her chastely and is ordained as a monk by the Buddha.
58. The Buddha invites Mahākāśyapa to sit with him on the same seat.
59. Ānanda has a part in each of the Buddha's acts.
60. An ape offers honey.
61. Story of the great Śrāvastī miracle.
62. Conversion of 500 ascetics.
63. Reconciliation between the two kings of Pañcāla (*lña len*).
64. Conversion of a thousand *piśāca*.
65. The great assembly in Kapilavastu; on this occasion demons and creatures of all kinds came together.
66. Conversion of five hundred Śrāvastī merchants saved from a storm.
67. The descent from heaven (the fifth miracle).
68. Entry into the city of bZaṅ byed (Bhadramkara).
69. dPal sbed's (Śrīgupta) conversion.
70. Ordination of Me skyes (Jyotiṣka).
71. Story of ṅP'rog ma (Haritū).
72. King Kapina of gSer gyi sa (Suvarṇabhūmi) in the South becomes an arhat.
73. He reveals the truth to gDaṅs can (Ghoṣila) of Kauśāmbī.
74. gDaṅs can invites the Buddha to Kauśāmbī; the king's conversion.
75. Story of Mu tig can (Mālikā) daughter of the king of Siṃhala.
76. Mā ga dha bzaṅ mo (Sumāgadhā) invites the Buddha to Bu ram šin ṅp'el (Puṇḍravardhana).
77. Magic of Lhas byin (Devadatta).
78. Purification of the monks.
79. Sins of king Ma skyes dgra (Ajātaśatru).
80. Lhas byin attempts in vain to hurt the Buddha.
81. The elephant Nor skyoṅ, (Dhana-pāla) subdued.
82. The truth is revealed to ṅTs'o byed (Jīvaka).
83. The rGyal c'en and a thousand rṣi see the truth.
84. Submission of Sor mo p'reṅ (Aṅgulimāla).
85. Story of ṅP'ags pa legs 'oṅs (Svāgata).
86. The Buddha passes the summer on the mountain C'u srin byis pa gsod (Śiśumāra).
87. King Prasenajit honours Mahākāśyapa.
88. He prophesies that a poor woman will become a Buddha.
89. He pacifies king Prasenajit's ambitious pretensions.
90. He restrains Ma skyes dgra from offending.
91. He induces king Ma skyes dgra to believe in the faith.
92. Story of Lhas byin.
93. Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana visit the sick.
94. Events on the way to Vaiśālī.
95. The inhabitants of Vaiśālī are induced to do good.
96. He visits Mithilā and other places.
97. He subdues the Malla.
98. He starts for the village of Nyagrodha.
99. In the Brahmans' village.
100. Conversion of the Northern populations.
101. Visit to bCom rlag (Mathurā).
102. Visit to O ta la (Story of Kajaṅgalā).
103. He passes the summer retreat in dGra mt'a' (Parāntaka).
104. Events on the way to lña len (Pañcāla).
105. The story of the poor Brahman.
106. The prophecy on the course of works.
107. He guides the Śākya towards liberation.
108. He prophesies to the Brahman Gaṅ po (Pūrṇa) that he will attain enlightenment.
109. List of the seven indefectible causes (*mi ṅams pai rgyu*).



110. What happened when he was on the way to Vaiśālī.

111. Sojourn in the wood of *śiñśapa* trees, to the North of 'Od ma can (Beluva).

112. Story of Nor can (Dhanika).

113. Renouncement of the vital *samskāra*.

114. On the way to rTsa can (Kuśa).

115. Events in rTsa can.

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

117. Rab bzan (Subhadra) becomes an arhat.

118. Parinirvāṇa.

119. The relics.

120. The relics are divided into eight lots.

121. Account of the first council.

122. 'Od sruñ c'en po's nirvāṇa.

123. Ordination of Śā ṅai gos can (Śāṅā-vāsin).

124. Kung dga' bo's last work.

125. The second council.

It is clear that the above outline has been used as a guide and an inspiration for larger and later pictorial representations of the Buddha's life: the artists may have known Tāra-nātha's very book (this is far from unlikely, as it is extremely popular in Tibet to this day), or they may have used some other work akin to it; in any case there is no doubt that, in its general lines, the series of tanka in the Musée Guimet, published by Hackin, fits into this scheme.<sup>48)</sup> It is a late series, its composition and style show it to be a contemporary of the great series of the AKL and of the woodcuts representing Tsoñ k'a pa's life, perhaps it is even more recent. Our tanka, much more ancient, is an altogether different case: the events it represents are essential, they are those in which the Buddha is really an actor, indeed the principal character; the moments it represents are the decisive events of his life as a master, accessories are neglected. The painter could do without the Dulva for this work; the data to be found in Aśvaghōṣa or in the Lalitavistara were enough for him.

But let us go back to our tanka.

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

The cycle of the *ltuñ bśags* is also simply called the cycle of the 35 Buddhas.

This is not an innovation of the Tibetans but it goes back to well known canonical books, the oldest reference being the *Chüeh ting p'i ni ching* 決定毘尼經 *Vinayaviniscaya* (*Upālipariṣcchā*) (Taishō, XII, n. 325, p. 38) which Śāntideva quotes with its list of the 35 Buddhas in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (p. 169).

How is this number 35 reached? Evidently by the insertion of intermediate points in the spatial diagram of the maṇḍala: viz. the 4 fundamental directions, then the following 4 secondary points, then 24 intermediate points + centre + zenith + nadir = 35. They are therefore a synthesis of the space. In fact the *Upālipariṣcchā* says: "all the perfect Buddhas, the Tathāgatas beginning with those above named who stay, exist, live in all spheres of existence, may protect one etc.," (quoted in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 168). In Tibet this cycle evolved from that formula enjoyed a great popularity and therefore a vast liturgical literature deals with it, out of which are worth quoting, for instance, the *Saṅs rgyas sum cu so lñai mts'an gyi p'an yon* written by rGyal ts'ab, and particularly the *Saṅs rgyas so lñai mñon rtogs dan lha skui p'yag ts'al*, of Tsoñ k'a pa, important also from an iconographical point of view. This second work is especially interesting, because it describes in detail the characters of the cycle (see table in next page).

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

Under the Buddha's image are represented the donors: the principal personage is a woman, followed by two youths and three girls. They are all seated in the Tibetan

	colour	mudrā
1. Śākyamuni	yellow	left hand in bhūmiśparśa, right in samādhi
2. rDo rje śiñi po rab tu ajoms pa	yellow	dharmavyākhyāna
3. Rin c'en 'od ap'ro	red	samādhi
4. Klu dbaṅ	blue up to his neck white above the neck	holding the rdo rje upon his heart with both hands
5. dPa' boi sde	yellow	right hand in abhaya
6. dPal dgyes	yellow	dharmavyākhyāna
7. Rin c'en me	red	like Śākyamuni
8. Rin c'en zla 'od	white	as above
9. mT'on ba don yod	green	like dPa' boi sde
10. Rin c'en zla ba	white	dharmavyākhyāna
11. Dri ma med pa	blue	samādhi
12. dPal sbyin	yellow	as above
13. Ts'aṅs pa	yellow	like Śākyamuni
14. Ts'aṅs pas sbyin	red	dharmavyākhyāna
15. C'u lha	white	samādhi
16. C'u lhai lha	white	dharmavyākhyāna
17. dPal bzaṅ	yellow	like dPa' boi sde
18. Tsan da na dpal	white	like Śākyamuni
19. gZi brijid mt'a' yas	red	dharmavyākhyāna
20. 'Od dpal	blue	as above
21. Mya ṅan med dpal	pale red	samādhi
22. Sred med kyi bu	yellow	dharmavyākhyāna
23. Me tog dpal	yellow	like dPa' boi sde
24. Ts'aṅs pai 'od zer	yellow	like Śākyamuni
25. Pad mai 'od zer	red	like Śākyamuni
26. Nor dpal	blue	samādhi
27. Dran pai dpal	yellow	samādhi
28. mTs'an dpal śin tu yoṅs grags	white	right hand in dharmavyākhyāna, left in samādhi
29. dBaṅ poi tog gi rgyal mts'an	blue	a flag in his right hand, left hand in samādhi
30. Śin tu rnam par gnon pa	blue	a sword in his right hand, left in samādhi
31. gYul las śin tu rnam par rgyal ba	blue	holds a yellow shield with both hands
32. rNam par gnon pas gṣegs	blue	both hands in bhūmiśparśa
33. Kun nas snaṅ ba bkod pa	red	left in samādhi, right in abhaya
34. Rin c'en pad mas rnam par gnon pa	red or yellow	as above
35. Ri dbaṅ gi rgyal po	yellow	a mountain upon both hands in samādhi

manner, and all turned towards an altar, upon which, as if evoked by the donors' piety, appears Jambhala, the god of wealth, who requites their devotion with his graces. In front of the donors we see the gifts offered to the temple: gold and vases of *c'añ* prepared for the occasion, with a threefold lump of flour kneaded with butter applied on the rim. It is the ever-present *rten abrel*, the invocation of a good omen, which is never missing in any ceremony.

As to style, this tanka is not unique, it finds its counterpart in the frescoes of some temples in Western Tibet, representing the same subject, which can be dated with certainty. I allude to the representations of the Buddha's life decorating the red temple of Tsaparang (*Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 130 ff. and Plates CXXV, CXXXV). The parallelism is such that there can be no doubt the tanka is a contemporary of those frescoes and issued from the same school: in both cases we find the same scenes reproduced with the same details. It is clear that the manner is one and the same, and that a great space of time cannot have passed between the frescoes and the tanka (compare particularly Sujātā milking a cow, the scene of the first sermon, that of the division of relics). The painter of the tanka, even if he does not attain the same grace and refinement as the author of the frescoes, breathes the same artistic atmosphere. The red temple of Tsaparang, as we learn from the history of the Yellow Sect, written by Sañs rgyas rgya mts'o, was built by the wife of Blo bzañ rab brtan, king of Guge. The latter was a contemporary of Nag dbañ grags pa, the apostle of the dGe lugs pa in Western Tibet and a disciple of Tsoñ k'a pa (1357-1419).<sup>49</sup> This allows us to assign the construction of the red temple to the end of the XVth century; therefore our tanka must be a little later.

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

Under the tanka is written:

*Pun ts'ogs dge legs bya bas skruñ pai sku  
mt'a' yas agro bai re ba skon pai gsuñ  
ma lus šes bya ji bžin gzigš pai t'ugs  
ša kyai gso bo de la mgos p'yag ats'al  
mañ ga lam; dge'o.*

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

TANKA n. 15 (Plate 29).

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

Here then is represented the heaven of the *bbadrakalpa*, i. e. the Buddhas of the cosmic age in which we are living; it is one of the most frequent motifs in Tibetan iconography and decorates with tiny frescoes the walls of many ancient temples which I have illustrated more than once in *Indo-Tibetica* (on the Bhadrakalpa see: Taishō, vol. XIV, p. 1; WELLER, *Thausend Buddhanamen des Bhadrakalpa*).

In this painting is found an uncommon arrangement of the central figure's frame: instead of the usual spaces and the choirs in a circle, the whole design is contained in a hexagram, which on the sides of the Buddha's head develops through geometrical levels. Consequently the throne on which the Buddha is regularly seated and which serves as a background, is in the present case reduced to a mere ornamental motif. The small pillars on the sides, following a pictorial tradition which appears in several other Guge paintings, are used by the painter to contain delicate miniatures; the upper part of the throne disappears with its Garuḍa and its Nāgas, making room for the representation of eight *mc'od rten*; on top, instead of the Garuḍa, another image of the Buddha. The painter has stylized the throne to such an extent, that it has lost all its character, becoming but an ornamental pretext which, developing in a geometrical sense, gives this central part of the tanka the appearance of the rose in the centre of some Persian carpets. When our eyes, from a certain distance, encompass the entire tanka, this likeness to a carpet is so striking, that we naturally think of a conscious intention on the artist's part.

TANKA n. 16 (Plates 30, 31).

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

On the pillars flanking the throne, eight on each side, sixteen figures: eight Bodhisattvas below and eight Buddhas above. On

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

Hence it is clear that the two Bodhisattvas on the god's sides can only be Sūryavairocana and Candravairocana, the chief Bodhisattvas

among the eight of his cycle. These eight Bodhisattvas appear in front of the dying who have invoked the god with a burning faith, and obtain for them too what is granted to Amitābha's devotees, rebirth on a lotus flower in the Vaiḍūryanirbhāsa heaven. These then must be the eight Bodhisattvas represented, four on each side, on the pillars flanking the throne; the other four figures above them are the eight Buddhas, i. e. the cycle of the seven gods of medicine, to whom was added Śākyamuni. The *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhāsūtra* is not yet acquainted with the list of the seven Buddhas, but the list is in I Ching's translation; it was born perhaps out of the multiplication of the god, invoked for seven days running with seven images; each image, in its turn, is surrounded by seven lamps. Thus we have seven times seven, forty-nine, as the book must be recited forty-nine times, according to the Bodhisattva Trāṇamukha's prescriptions, contained in the same sūtra, while a seven days' fast is recommended. These numbers, seven and forty-nine, perhaps put us on the right way to understand the meaning of the cycles. In fact, according to dogmatics, the state of intermediate existence, *antarābhava*, *bar do* lasted seven or forty-nine days (*Abhidharmakośa*, transl. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, vol. III, p. 51). And the sūtra does confirm our hypothesis, for it teaches that one of the main objects of its recitation is precisely to recall the conscious principle of the deceased from Yama's kingdom, where it has been led by the Yamadūta and where he has a direct vision of the rewards and punishments for the good and evil deeds done during his life (*tasya vijñānam punar api pratinivartteta svapnāntaragata ivātmānam samjānīte*). To this essential purpose, in course of time another was added which at the end gained the upper hand, namely the desire to be freed from disease and untimely death. Thus the purpose of being freed from incumbent peril and of reviving those already dead by one

of the nine untimely deaths, has overshadowed what seems to me the initial character of this cycle, I mean the desire of obtaining the protection of the conscious principle during the intermediate existence. This is shown by the fact that the book must be recited and the Buddha invoked after death, near the corpse (*yamapuruṣair ākarsamaṇasya ca tasya kalevare mañcaśayite vijñānam yamasya dharmarājasyagrataṁ upanīyate*, p. 14). If this interpretation of mine is correct, some connection should exist between the cycle of the seven Buddhas of medicine and the Tibetan *Bar do t'os grol* (concerning which see tankas nn. 116-117).

TANKA n. 17 (Plates 32-35).

It represents one of Tibet's commonest and most venerated divinities: this special aspect of sPyan ras gzigs, having eleven heads, generally goes by the name of *bCu gcig žal*, *Ekādaśamukha*; it is very often identified with its other similar form called *p'yag stoñ spyan stoñ* "a thousand hands and a thousand eyes,, which also has eleven faces and whose multiple hands are almost certainly desumed from the first type.

This plurality of heads, arms and eyes naturally has its meaning; it is the translation into visible symbols of the omnipresence of the god's compassion; in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* the god is already called *samantamukha*, "he whose face is turned towards every point,,. And in reality what do eleven heads symbolize except the four points of space, the four intermediate points, the centre, nadir, zenith, namely the synthesis of space?<sup>50</sup>

Hence we must not see in Avalokiteśvara's eleven heads an influx of Rudra;<sup>51</sup> we must rather admit that both iconographic types are derived from the same conception and from the same intention to translate into visible forms the omnipresence of a divine force.

In Japan the Shingon sects makes a clear distinction between Avalokiteśvara, with a thousand hands, coming in the first place, and Avalokiteśvara with eleven faces, the fourth

of the six kinds of Avalokiteśvara, each of which is related to one of the six kinds of beings that can be saved by him in a particular manner (see H. B. CHAPIN, *A study in Buddhist iconography*, OZ, 1932, p. 37, n. 4).

The liturgy dedicated to this god is very rich and complex, the greatest Tibetan masters having written about him; I quote for instance: *ḡP'ags pa t'ugs rje c'en po žal bcu gcig pa p'yag ston spyan ston grub brñes dge sloñ dpal mo lugs kyi dkyil ak'or c'en por ajug cin dbaň bskur bai c'o ga bde legs kun abyuň; ḡP'ags pa ... lugs kyi sgrub t'abs smyuň bar gnaň bai c'o ga dan bcas a p'an bdei snaň ba*, both of Blo bzaň bskal

bzaň rgya mts'o, seventh Dalai Lama (complete works, vol. ca).<sup>52)</sup>

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

3 faces symbol of ži, pacifying rites	{	central	white	covetousness pacified
		right	green	every mental perturbation pacified
		left	red	anger pacified
3 faces symbol of <i>rgyas pa</i> rites intended to develop good qualities	{	central	green	development of good intentions
		right	red	development of concentration
		left	white	development of gnosis
3 faces corresponding to rites intended to get powers, <i>dbaň</i>	{	central	red	baptism in supreme praxis
		right	white	baptism in supreme gnosis
		left	green	baptism in supreme capability
1 terrific, symbol of terrific rites, <i>drag po</i>	—		blue	free from all obstacles and dangers
1 on the top	—		red	symbol of the <i>c'os sku</i> , <i>dbarmakāya</i>

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

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

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

The principal figure, served by his acolytes, is surrounded on his shoulders by the circle of his thousand arms which take the place of the luminous halo; the throne has become flat, has lost all relief, and is turned into an ornamental background, all

except its lateral pillars, on which are painted, eight on each side, sixteen figures of deities. Almost certainly these images represent as many shapes and hypostases of the same god: for instance in Blo bzaň bskal bzaň rgya mts'o's second work, fourteen of them are listed as follows, together with other similar deities:

1. sPyan ras gzigs, 2. ḡP'ags pa seň ge sgra, 3. Yid bžin nor bu, 4. Padma gar dbaň p'yug, 5. T'ugs rje mi gšol, 6. Don yod žags pa, 7. Ha la ha la, 8. Pad ma rgyan, 9. rDo rje c'os dbaň p'yug, 10. Ha ri ha ri la žon pa, 11. mGrin sňon, 12. sGrol ma, 13. Vai đū rya' 'od (sman bla), 14. ḡJam dpal.

Around, above, below and in the corners are arranged and displayed figures of masters (*rgyud pai bla ma*) and divinities.

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

TANKA n. 18 (Plate 36).

Tanka n. 18 represents a Buddha in *bhū-misparśamudrā* and beggar's bowl.<sup>53)</sup> The god is assisted on either side by Byams pa and aJam dbyaṅs. Around them, unfolding on four sides like a frame, the cycle of the 35 gods of the confession of sins; the 17 Arhats, concerning whom I refer the reader to what will be said on tankas nn. 126-131 the six-armed mGon po, rNam t'os sras and Jambhala. Above, on each side, Tsoñ k'a pa between his two chief disciples, and other lamas, also between two disciples.

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

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

TANKA n. 19 (Plates 37, 38).

In the centre of the tanka towers a vast golden figure of Ts'e dpag med, "the god of endless life"; he wears a necklace, a diadem and a bracelet; a large red scarf,

moved by the wind, plays round him like a luminous halo. He is seated on a throne covered with a green cloth dotted with golden stars. The throne rests on a lotus flower, which winding and multiplying its stalk in flexible curves, emerges from the primordial waters. Above, on the same axis, the figure of 'Od dpag med, "the god of endless light", escorted on both sides by two standing Bodhisattvas.

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

This riot of colours, bright yet so cleverly blended that the eye delights in them without becoming tired or dazzled, is the greatest merit of the present tanka; as to drawing, there are many other paintings more delicate. Nevertheless the figures of the monks and ascetics, radiant in their rich draperies, or naked after the Yogin's manner, are full of a nervous life, some being represented in a motionless state of ecstasy, others in the violent poses of exorcism, all intent on defeating that elemental world out of which evil and sin spring with a sudden terror. The inscriptions accompanying the figures are largely obliterated; we can only read the names of the two first lamas below, on the right of the onlooker: aJam dbyaṅs c'os rje, and above brTogs ldan pa.<sup>54)</sup> Above, two on each side of 'Od dpag med, four Indian ascetics may be recognized by the topknot which Sādhus, and in Tibet Yogin of the bKa' brgyud pa sect, wear to this day, and by the red band they wear across their chest; that band is called *sgom t'ag* (*yogapatta*) and is used to hold the limbs firmly, for in some difficult postures of yoga they are distorted and contracted to such an extent that, if they were not confined it would be impossible to hold the pose continually for a certain time.

On the upper left-hand corner of Ts'e dpag med, all blue inside a halo red as a burning fire, stands gSañ ba ḅus pa (Cuhyasamāja) clasping his śakti, Akṣobhya's esoteric and secret form; his mystical meaning and the liturgy which, wisely practised, leads up to him, are explained in the tantra bearing precisely the title of Cuhyasamāja.

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

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

I have no doubt that the personage seated on the throne is a king of Ladakh: the umbrella and the fly-whisk, used in the Indian manner, point him out as such. Who this

king may be, it is not easy to tell, as there is no inscription: the tanka has been found in the monastery of Ba sgo, which was enlarged and enriched by Señ ge rnam rgyal. For this reason I think that precisely this king may be represented; in this case the three personages seated on his right would be his three sons bDe ldan rnam rgyal, Indra bhūti rnam rgyal, bDe mc'og rnam rgyal. This takes the tanka back to the XVIIth century, as this king lived between 1590 and 1645.

#### TANKA n. 20 (Plate 39).

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

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

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



I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge., (SBE, vol. XIX, pp. 15, 45).

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

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

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

(*bDe ba can gyi žiñ du t'ogs med par ajuḡ pai myur lam* of the Pañ c'en Blo bzañ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an).

Of course when the believer dies, it is thought, also in Tibet, that by virtue of his *prañidhāna* the god, as it is written in the *Sukhāvativyūha*, appears before him to lead him to salvation. But the episode of the god's descent occupies a subordinate position in art as well as in all Tibetan hagiographical

literature, mostly derived from esoteric texts of late Mahāyāna. This literature is also broken up into different trends, the most important of which, or at least the one most extensively followed, is perhaps that of the Yellow sect, which boasts its descent from Jetāri (to whom in the bSTan ḡgyur are attributed four *sādhana* and hymns of Ts'e dpag med, CORDIER, *Cat.*, LXVIII, pp. 6-8), whence, through the Lotsāva of Ba ri and the Sa skya pañḡita, it finds an outlet in Tsoñ k'a pa's treatise (*bDe ba can gyi žiñ bkod kyī žiñ mc'og tu ḡbyed pa*) which codifies, by developing the theories of the *Sukhāvativyūha*, Tibetan ideas on the wonders of this heaven. It is therefore not improbable that the iconographic type of this episode, as represented in the tanka, may have been inspired by Chinese models.

TANKA n. 21 (Plates 40, 41).

Žañ pa rdo rje<sup>55</sup>) is represented in the centre of the painting, his right hand on a level with his ear, in the attitude iconography assigns to the poet and mystic Mi la ras pa; this attitude is peculiar the bards of the bKa' bgyud pa school. On the palm of his left hand he carries a skull-cap, an indispensable implement of tantric liturgies. The apparel most becoming to Žañ pa would be that of the *ras pa*, the rough cotton tunic proper to ascetics addicted to meditation and to the exercise called *gtum mo*, that is belonging to schools which cultivate a certain practice of Haṭhayoga: this practice aims at producing a voluntary increase of the body's temperature, as a sign of having attained a revulsion from the plane of phenomonic existence to the fire of cosmic light. On the contrary Žañ pa is represented not as a *ras pa*, but wearing a rich mantle with embroidered hems; the ascetic's band, however, is not missing.

One also notes the difference in the apparel of his two disciples: one of them wears the ascetic mantle, the other a lama's draperies and cap, perhaps to mark the different trends

they followed. In this case also, the throne has become a mere background, its place is taken up by two disciples, although the Garuda remains on the heights and the *makara* are still represented on the headings of the two capitals on the sides. All this unfolds like an alien decoration, almost like tapestry ornamented with arabesques, serving as a background to the lama's figure.

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

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

Images above, to the left:

*P'ag mo grub pa (for gru pa)*  
*U rgyan padma abyun gnas*  
*sPyan ras gzigs*  
*'Od dpag med*  
*Grub pai rgyal mo*  
*Ti p'u pa*  
*sK'yob pa ajig rten gsum mgon po*

To the right:

*Yar dgon c'os rje*  
*Zur rus pa*  
*Saṅs rgyas bsod dbaṅ*  
*mk'as grub Saṅs rgyas dpal bzaṅ*  
*p'rul sku Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an*

To the left:

*spyam miṅa' Grags pai abyun gnas*  
*spyam miṅa' Rigs ldan*  
*skyes mc'og rGyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ*  
*lo c'en Nam mk'a' grags pa*  
*p'a rgod bSod nams bzaṅ po*  
*mk'as btsun Nam mk'a' bsam agrub*

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

P'ag mo gru and Grags pa abyun gnas I have mentioned more than once in the course of this book.<sup>56)</sup>

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

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

The inscription reads as follows:

*rnal abyor gyi dbaṅ p'yug / gžān pa rdo rje*  
*yab sras / gsum la ts'e k'rid rgyud pai bskor ba la*  
*bdag nam mk'a' dpal mgon ak'or bcas pa p'yag ats'al*  
*ziñ skyabs su mc'i 'o skye ba nas ts'e rabs / t'ams*  
*cad du rjes su bzuñ du gsol.*

"I Nam mk'a' dpal mgon with my relatives do homage and take refuge in the lord

of ascetics, gZaṅ pa rdo rje together with his two disciples, surrounded by the masters who have handed down the initiatic secrets concerning life (*Ts'e dpag med*). I pray that, from this birth, they may be favourable to each incarnation „,

TANKA n. 22 (Plates 42, 43).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TANKA n. 23 (Plate 44).

This tanka represents Avalokiteśvara, four-armed, in his well known form as Ṣaḍakṣarāvalokiteśvara, patron of Tibet; he is the merciful god who went down into hell to save the beings hurled therein for their sins. Moved by boundless pity, the god redeemed them and led them to salvation, as the

*Kāraṇḍavyūha* relates. He is seated on a lotus, emerged from the waters of the samsaric plane, and is surrounded by six Buddhas, standing, each with a special symbol. It is easy to recognize them as the Buddhas who preside over the six forms of existence (*ṣaḍgati*). The reader is referred to tanka n. 115.

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

TANKA n. 24 (Plate 45).

It belongs to the same school and is also a late and provincial echo of the Guge manner: it also comes from Bashahr. It represents a *ḍākinī*, dancing to her own accompaniment with a *ḍamaru* and the human tibia, *rkañ gliñ*, used as a flute; she is the goddess presiding over the practices called *gcod*, i. e. the meditative technique leading the mystic to experience in the "void", of all that appears (see above p. 92). Round the *ḍākinī* unfolds the choir of secondary deities belonging to the same cycle and of masters particularly addicted to the

*gcod* practices. Below, on the left, the donors; on the right the god of death, which *gcod* precisely defeats and annihilates. Above, assemblies of worshippers, in the act of listening to the preaching Buddha. In the first assembly on the left, below, the listeners are all monks, except one who may be a god; on the other scenes the personages in monastic dress are replaced by Bodhisattvas; in the last picture on the right, below, the Buddha's place is taken by the *ḍākinī*. This entitles us to suppose that in these scenes the painter wished to represent the Buddha's successive preachings, beginning from the Benares sermon, in which Hīnayāna was revealed, up to the one on the *Gṛdhrakūṭa*, when Mahāyāna was proclaimed, and so forth, up to the successive revelations of the Vajrayāna, the "Adamantine Vehicle", culminating in the secrets of the *gcod*, expounded to the initiated by the *ḍākinī*.

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

# COMPOSITE STYLE

## I - SA SKYA PA AND RÑIN MA PA

TANKAS nn. 25-27 (Plates 46-48).

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

The Sa skya pa school maintains that its revelation descends from rDor rje aç'añ, first

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

In tanka n. 25 the principal figures are:

1. rDo rje aç'añ, Vajradhara, on the left, above, divine master.
2. bDag med ma, Nairātmyā, on the right, above / to whom the former revealed the wisdom which sets men free.
3. Virbapa / Virüpā, on the left, below, the Indian siddha, first earthly master.
4. Nag po pa, Kṛṣṇācārya, on the right, below.

In the centre of the tanka Pad ma abyuñ gnas, Padmasambhava's figure, with both his wives.

Above, in the centre, the Buddha: on the left the small figures represent; A la abad jar (Abalavajra?), Gar bar ri pa (Garbharipā).

On the right: Nag k'rod (Nags k'rod), dPa' bo rdo rje.

Below: illegible, Lu hi pā, Klu grub, Āryadeva.

In tanka n. 26 the principal figures are:

1. rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mts'an, to the left, above.

2. Sa skya paṇḍita, to the right, above.
3. C'os rgyal ṅP'ags pa, to the left, below.
4. Žaṅ po dpal (for bŽaṅ po dpal), to the right, below.

Small figures on the left:

rTsa skya pa.

Can li.

To the right:

Ša kya bšes gñen.

Gagana.

In the centre:

T'a ga pa; sGra... d... žab(s).

Below:

Kotali, Tsa pa li, Vimati, Ńi ma sba pa, Ńag gi dbaṅ p'yug.

In tanka n. 27 the principal figures are:

To the left:

1. rGyal ba grag(s) (rgyal mts'an) pa, to the left, above.

2. Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mts'an, to the right, above.

3. dPal ldan ts'ul k'rims, to the left, below.

4. Buddhaśrī, to the left, below.

Small figures to the left:

Ki la pa.

Ku bu tsa.

Seṅ ge pa ba.

To the right:

Flying monk.

Ka la laṅ ka.

Cliṅ bu mk'an.

Below:

Ma to pa, Ka lan ka, Bha ya ni, Ga na bha da, Ha ya si.<sup>56)</sup>

What one notices in these tankas is their unusual shape: they are long and narrow, with cloth only above and below, through the evident influence of China, with which the Sa skya school had long contacts, both political and cultural. Chinese influence is perceptible also in the seats or thrones on which the masters are represented, in a sort of dignified simplicity which neglects to fill up empty spaces and only occasionally places the siddha's

figures against a faintly outlined landscape; rising clouds interrupt with their white masses the dark background of the paintings: the mountains, however, still show traces of the Indian manner.

TANKA n. 28 (Plates 49, 50).

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

The influence of the great Chinese compositions, rich in palaces, temples, gardens, has here almost completely disappeared; in its place are introduced long pageants of praying monks and Bodhisattvas, who slowly advance, serene and composed. The painter has drawn his inspiration from the *Sukhāvastīvūha*, in its most elementary scheme: on the upper left-hand corner a monk kneeling before a Buddha seated in a temple. The two inscriptions, one under the Buddha: *saṅs rgyas ajig rten dbaṅ p'yug* - Buddha Lokeśvara, and the other under the monk: *dge sloṅ c'os kyi abyuṅ gnas* - Dharmākara, leave no doubt as to the meaning of the scene: it is the vow, taken by Dharmākara in front of the Buddha Lokeśvara, to become one day a Buddha in the Western heaven. The scene on the right, where a Buddha also appears in a gathering of monks is accompanied by the inscription *t'u pa* (Ša kya t'ub pa - Śākyamuni), *kun dga'* (Ānanda) and *ajam dbyaṅs* (Mañjuśrī); this takes us back to the revelation made by the Buddha to the meeting gathered in the Gr̥dhra-kūṭa, when he told Dharmākara's story: how he had become the Buddha Amitābha, and described the glory of the Western heaven. In the pavilion to the left, under the scenes concerning Dharmākara, Byams pa (Maitreya), at the head of the Bodhisattvas who attended the revelation; to the right ṅJam dbyaṅs, further down, on a level with the throne on the left, Sai sñiṅ po (Kṣitigarbha), and on the right Nam mk'a' sñiṅ po (Akāṣagarbha); still lower down, almost on the lower corners, Kun tu bzaṅ po and sGribs rnam bsel. In the

centre of the tanka, below, we see a monk praying in front of the tree which, issuing from the cosmic waters, ascends towards the empyrean, passing through higher and higher spiritual planes, symbolized by an Indian master, then by Amitāyuh, next by Amitābha, assisted, on each side, by two acolytes; above, five on each side, adoring goddesses pay homage to the god, who is absorbed in deep meditation. The kneeling monk with his back to the spectator represents suffering humanity, who can find a possibility of redemption only in devotion to the god of infinite light. In the present case his salvation has already taken place; the monk is seated on the lotus flower which represents his spiritual rebirth, his revulsion from the plane of earthly existence. The waters representing the flow of thought and its bivalence have already yielded their fruit: the reborn turns towards the first revelation of gnosis embodied in the master who has pointed out the way and who, by his teaching, has lifted him from the samsaric to the celestial plane.

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

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

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

In these scenes we see almost a reflection of convent life: disciples gathered round the master, processions of psalmodizing monks; the painter has drawn his inspiration from the unpretentious life of convents, his idea of heaven is human and earthly, without any kingly pomp or glory, more composed and contemplating. Here we find greater serenity; in rich compositions whose inspiration is Chinese, our eyes are attracted first by one detail then by another, they pass from one pavilion to the next, they admire gardens and

ponds, or the Bodhisattvas' robes, and they become distracted. On the contrary, this tanka breathes an atmosphere of tranquil piety and of devout simplicity, emphasized by its light colours, mellowed by time.

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

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

#### TANKA n. 29 (Plate 51).

It takes us back to one of the principal esoteric schools of the "Diamond Vehicle". Surrounded by a flaming halo which gleams red all around him, Kālacakra performs his mystical dance, clasping his *śakti*, and tamples on Śiva's and Gaṇapati's corpses, which their respective mates vainly try to save from being cruelly crushed. The goddess is orange-coloured, the god blue and white, he has three faces and 24 arms, each grasps an instrument which is also a symbol. The Kālacakra is one of the last creation of the Tantric masters, always ready to express through new symbols the inexhaustible wealth of their inner visions; it represents a new aspect of the first principle: the Ādi-Buddha or primeval Buddha, the origin of the mystic pentad. It is therefore an equivalent of the Guhyasamāja and his experiences run parallel to those of that famous Tantra.<sup>59)</sup> This tantric system, having entered Tibet very early, branched off into many schools, and received its first great organization at Buston's hands; later came the Yellow school with Tsoñ k'a pa and his disciples: they centered their hopes of salvation from the samsaric plane round this symbol, which became still more popular. The rÑiñ ma pa and the bKa' brgyud pa, though they did not ignore this cycle,

studied it with less interest and depth, giving prevalence to bDe mc'og and to Heruka; the Sa skya pas, preferred the experiences of the Hevajratantra to it, while the dGe lugs pa saw in the Dus kyi ak'or lo, Kālacakra, almost the highest point of Tantric esoterism, and made it the object of a vast literature, both mystical and liturgical.

This tanka was painted by a Sa skya pa, as shown by Kun dga' sñiñ po's image; he is seen, in a white dress, on the right of the tanka, while on the left we see the Sa skya pas' master, Virūpā, of a dark colour, naked after the *siddhas'* fashion.

Above, on each side of a triad looming large in the centre, unfolds the choir of the *ts'ogs žiñ*, the masters to whom the revelations of the Kālacakra were handed down. Then, respectively under Kun dga' sñiñ po and Virūpā, gSañ ba aḍus pa and Mi k'rugs pa with his *śakti*; below, sGrol ma and Ts'e dpag med; still lower down, two mGon po and finally, on the lowest plane, the donor, a monk, in front of the altar, flanked by Jambhala riding on a lion, and by two more terrific deities, the last but one of them is the Žañ blon rdo rje bdud rnam aḍul.<sup>60</sup>

TANKA n. 30 (Plate 52).

This painting, rather damaged by age, is interesting because of its pleasing colours, in which red and gold predominate. The figure represents Bu ston. So I was assured by the lamas from whom I received it, in Ža lu, where his incarnations succeed each other; but when there are no inscriptions, such identifications always remain doubtful. Buston, often mentioned in this book, is seated on a throne, draped in the sacred robes; in front of him stands a table, also of Chinese style, on which rest the liturgical objects: bell, vajra, skull-cap, plate with ritual offerings (*gtor ma*), phial for consecrated water (*ril ba spyi blug, kuṇḍikā*) and other things. All around are reproduced images of Buston himself, with his hands in

various symbolical attitudes (*mudrā*). Below, the donors, doing homage to a lama seated inside a palace: perhaps one of Buston's incarnations; around, lamas kneeling and praying.

TANKA n. 31 (Plate 53).

It represents mT'iñ gi žal bzañ ma a goddess belonging to the retinue of dPal ldan lha mo (see tankas nn. 170/173 and p. 592).

TANKA n. 32 (Plates 54/58).

It was bought in Sa skya and represents, as was to be expected, the life of an abbot of this sect. His name according to the invocation written under the central figure is: Kun dga' bkra šis. There is no record of him either in the Sa skya genealogies published in that convent or in the large collections of the Sa skya monks' biographies, edited in Derge.<sup>61</sup> But his name is quoted in the biography of the fifth Dalai Lama (*c'a*, p. 42): *Sa skyar gduñ brgyud riñ po c'e ñag dbañ Kun dga' bkra šis* who was confirmed on his see in the year 1668.

Under the abbot's image we see two kneeling figures, representing the devotees who had the tanka painted; under their figure is written: *bdag šes rab rjes su bzun tu gsol* "I, Šes rab, pray to obtain the (Bla ma's) favour .. Above, on the left, near aDod ak'ams dbañ p'yug ma's figure: *shyin pai dbañ po ts'e bsam rjes su bzun tu gsol* "the donor Ts'e (riñ) bsam (grub) prays for (the Bla ma's) favour .. The abbot wears the typical Sa skya cap; to represent his spiritual descent, above, on the same axis, is painted Sañs rgyas rdo rje ač'añ "The Buddha rdo rje ač'añ (Vajradhara) .., and underneath the image of another Sa skya lama, who might be Kun dga' bkra šis' father, because in this school's office was handed down from father to son. Below we see Gur mgon, the protecting deity of the Sa skya pa schools, between aDod k'ams dbañ p'yug ma, to the



left, and dMag zor ma, a particular form of dPal ldan lha mo.

Above, on the left, gSer c'os aĵam nag. On the right rje btsun sGrol ma. Around, within well-defined squares, are represented some episodes of this abbot's life, which would acquire a greater relief if Kun dga' bkra ſis' biography had reached us. As it is, though each scene is accompanied by an inscription, it is very difficult to interpret it in a complete and satisfactory manner, and also to find out from which point one should begin to read the story. If we start from the left, the first scene we meet with represents a temple; squads of workmen are repairing the upper part; below monks in ceremonial robes seem to be consecrating it. The inscription leaves no doubts: *Kun bkraſ nas lha c'en ... ba drug la nams go mdsad ts'ul.* "Kun bkra ſis repairs the six ... of the great temple (Lha k'añ c'en mo) ,,. The Lha k'añ c'en mo, "great temple ,,, is the enormous monastery walled round and built in the middle of the plain to the left of the Grum c'u river which crosses Sa skya. Next, immediately underneath, we see a temple which, to judge from the inscription, is the P'un ts'ogs yañ rtse.

Below: *Kun bkraſ nas bſam brtiñ dgon pa nams go mdsad ts'ul.* "Kun dga' bkra ſis repairs the monastery of bSam brtiñ <sup>62</sup> ,,. Underneath, a colourful cavalcade is trotting, nimble and picturesque: the grand lama, surrounded by monks and laymen, follows the horses, led by the reins, which carry on their pack-saddles vases containing ritual objects. This is "Kun dga' bkra ſis, who with his retinue is going to Yañ rtse for a divine ceremony ,,: *Kun bkraſ žabs driñ* (for *ābriñ*) *pa dañ bcas lha mc'od yañ rtser p'ebſ ts'ul* ,,

Under Gur mgon's figure an empty shrine is seen; in the space in front of it the lama and the monks gesticulating: the inscription thus explains the scene: *C'os k'rir kun bkraſ nas rab ābyams mañ po la sgrogs gleñ mdsad ts'ul.* "On the throne of the Law Kun dga' bkra

ſis preaches the doctrine to many doctors ,,. "The Throne of the Law ,,, is the name of a temple near the banks of the river Grum c'u, before which a large courtyard opens: here, at the appointed times, the monks hold gatherings, to confer the title of doctor of theology and to hold examinations in logic. Next, on the right, we see a monk, in the apparel of Eastern Tibet; he is one of the donors, who had somehow contributed to the great work of reconstructing the decayed and ruinous temples, undertaken by Kun dga' bkra ſis. This donor's name is Ts'e riñ bſam grub, near him we see the *gñer* (*pa*), the manager or treasurer bſTan p'un. Below *Seſ rab p'un ts'ogs*, perhaps a son of the former. On the left, Kun dga' bkra ſis in the act of pouring out gems in front of Kubera. "*Kun bkraſ kyi žabs lha bžans mdsad ts'ul.* - Kun dga' bkra ſis has images of gods made ,,

The following scenes, representing various moments of the same episode, probably commemorate the construction of some temple by Kun dga' bkra ſis' order: "*mdsod pa nas bzo par bka' k'yab gnañ ts'ul* - The treasurer gives the order to build ,,. And then: *mdsod spel skya bas gzigs rtog* (= *gzigs rten*) *p'ul ts'ul* "The treasurer sPel skya offers gifts ,,. Next: *Kun bloi mdsod pa spel skya gser sku bzoñſ* (for *bžans*) *dgos ts'ul bka' sgyur ba.* "sPel skya, treasurer of Kun (dga') blo (gros), proclaims that a golden statue be made ,,

TANKA n. 33 (Plates 59-63).

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

Although legends concerning him have flourished in great abundance, there is no doubt whatever that he was one of the active propagators of Buddhism in K'ri ston lde btsan's times. The great master Śāntirakṣita then reached Tibet, and on his advice Padmasambhava was invited; he is probably identical with Padmavajra or Padmakara.

Since we have already discussed his personality and the reliability of the Tibetan tradition concerning him (see above p. 87) we cannot help referring to the things said above. A few facts must anyhow be recollected here which seem to have some historical consistency and can be taken as an introduction to the explanation of the tanka. Padmasambhava was born in Uḍḍiyāna, that is in the Swat Valley, and after a long sojourn in India, chiefly in Vikramaśīlā, which was the greatest Buddhist university, he went to Tibet. The Buddhism he preached was Tantric, certainly not in its noblest or highest form. Padmasambhava perceived that the Tibetan people, not yet refined, rude in its customs, lacked the intellectual maturity required to understand the subtle esoteric doctrines of the initiatic schools; on the contrary it appeared inclined to magic, indeed predisposed to it by the Bon, the native religion, mainly founded on exorcisms. Padmasambhava's principal task was to show that the miracle-working power of Buddhist formulas was much superior to the power of Bon. By thus ably adapting Buddhism to the Tibetan people's psychology, Padmasambhava contributed to its spread in the Country of Snows.

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

In his successive aspects he is a symbol of the emanation of the Buddha's three planes, namely the physical plane, the verbal plane and the spiritual plane (*Leu bdun ma*, p. 38 b). In Padmasambhava, thus identified with supreme reality, the schools distinguish four shapes: the external or exoteric appearance (*p'yi*) as it is seen by persons not yet purified to the point of discovering his essential nature: the vicissitudes of this manifestation

of Padmasambhava are to be found in his biographies, which tell how he came to Tibet, how he conquered the spirits and forces adverse to Buddhism; in this illusive shape he spent not more than twelve years in Tibet, then he went back to India. Under the esoteric aspect (*nañ*) he is supreme truth, incarnated in various countries: India, China, Khotan etc. It became embodied in various masters for the space of 3600 years; with the object of spreading the faith in Tibet he appeared miraculously out of a lotus flower in Uḍḍiyāna and achieved the conversion of Tibet, vanquishing its demons and living there 117 years; at the end of this period he hid his revelations (*gter ma*) which subsequently were brought to light by his later followers, whom he had inspired.

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

In his most secret aspect (*yañ gsañ*) Padmasambhava is the supreme essence, as it appears to the Buddhas.<sup>63)</sup>

The Yellow sect, on assuming power, tried to oppose the prestige of Padmasambhava, to whom the crowds turned with confidence, invoking his help and protection. The Yellow sect tried to sift tradition and to show its incongruities: Sum pa mk'an po refused to consider Padmasambhava as a second Buddha and wanted to restore his figure to moderate proportions, but he was immediately contradicted and browbeaten by the "red," bKa' rgyud pas, or rÑin ma pas, whichever they were. The dGe lugs pas were unable to demolist Padmasambhava's century-old prestige.

Padmasambhava's great popularity with all the schools and centres of Tibet explains why his images are so frequently to be found in temples and in private chapels. His legend, told in books which are very widely circulated, consists of the narrative of his miracles and it is full of thrilling tales about the battles between demons and miracle-working saints, which move the Tibetans to rapture and emotion; to this day these stories are very often sung in religious or social gatherings. Story-tellers, as we have seen in other cases, make use of paintings illustrating the saint's life: they recall to their wondering hearers its main incidents, summarizing his most celebrated biography, the *Pad ma t'añ yig*. But there is an intermediate passage between this bulky and unwieldy book and the pictorial representations or the verbal illustrations of story-tellers: those *gsol adebs* or invocations and jaculatories which I have very often mentioned, each of whose stanzas praises the divinity for one of his miracles or virtues; we have already met with a good instance of them when illustrating the tanka representing Śākyaśī's life. It will therefore be well to translate the best known and most widespread of these invocations,<sup>64</sup> of Padmasambhava, which is indeed a summary of his biography; we shall place at the end of each stanza the number of the corresponding chapter in the PTY.<sup>65</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8. Honour to him who, through emanations assumed wherever there are creatures to be converted, causes the rain of the Law to fall, which confers immortality and includes the two teaching (chap. VIII); he to whom, when he was born as the son of King Yul sruñ, the ascetic Nus ldan rdo rje foretold that he would be baptized by a thousand Buddhas.

9. Honour to him who for a long time converted, by teaching the canonical books and the esoterical formulas, the kingdom of sPrin ldan (chap. X) and who put into practice those esoterical formulas; when he was gTsub p'ud ris bzan's and Kun tu ac'an's son, the rivers of the four initiations rained down upon him (chap. IX).

10. Honour to the crowd of the mK'a' agro ma, thick as clouds, in the temple of Heruka which miraculously sprung up in the land of O rgyan, source of the esoterical formulas (chap. XII), to the West of that holy country which is the cradle of the just Law (chap. XI).<sup>67)</sup>

11. Honour to him who was born upon a mound of lotuses in lake Dhanakośa of immaculate splendour, after having reflected as an emanation of mT'a' yas (Amitābha) on the three (preliminary) looks upon the places he might be born in (chap. XIV), while king sPyan med, furnished with all (sorts of) riches, distributed his treasures (chap. XIII).<sup>68)</sup>

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

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

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

15. As the master rDo rje sems dpa' had foretold, with the object of being enabled to

abandon his kingdom he underwent various penances (*brtul žugs*). Honour to him who, having thus renounced the world, retired into solitude (chap. XII).

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

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

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

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

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

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

22. Honour to him who was celebrated under the name of Ńi ma 'od zer: when he,

by practising yoga, extended his task of converting all creatures, in Mañ t'os mc'og (Śrāvastī) he questioned (Ānanda) concerning the sūtras of the two teachings (chap. XXVII) and in the country of Potāli he dwelt in the cemetery sKu la rdsogs (chap. XXIX).

23. Honour to him who attained knowledge of the body of eternal ideas, after having obtained the name of lofty rDo rje ač'añ, because he had heard the spiritual doctrines (*sems sde*) of great perfection from the master Kun bzañ in the heaven 'Og min c'en po (chap. XXX).<sup>71)</sup>

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

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

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

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

28. Honour to him who was celebrated as rDo rje gro lod; having come to the cemetery of Lo ka brtsegs in the country of Li, he heard from the Rigs ldan c'en po the canonical books and the sGyu ap'ruł; then he

came to O rgyan (chap. XXXIII) in the (cemetery) Pad ma brtsegs.

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

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

31. Honour to him who increased good and joy in the world; manifesting himself as an incarnation of Ts'añs pa; as the saint sPyan ras gzigs had predicted, he heard from aJam dpal gžon nu c'e, on the five-peaked mountain,<sup>72)</sup> all the astrological Tantras (chap. XXXV).

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

33. Honour to the wonderful dPag yas snañ. He vanquished in Dha na ko ša the mK'a' a' agra ma (chap. XXXVII) and then, having come to the country of Za hor, obtained from Mandarā, mother of the absolute (*dbyiñs*), the supreme substance (human flesh) of one who will attain salvation within seven births (*skyes bdun*), produced by his power (chap. XXXVIII).<sup>73)</sup>

34. Desiring to consecrate the divine maiden (Lha lcam) (*Lha lcam rab abyuñ bdun par mk'a' nas gžegs*, where *bdun* is a mistake, for *adun*) he came by air (chap. XXXIX). As he had obtained her favour, the king's ministers conceived evil thoughts (chap. XL). Honour to him who caused a great faith to be born in all the people, when, by one of his

marvellous miracles, the flaming fire (into which those ministers had thrown him) was transformed into a lake (chap. XLI).

35. (The king) offered him (then) his kingdom, the maiden the flesh of a body of a person who will attain salvation within seven births, and he, by one of his (miraculous) means routed a great army which was on that country's frontiers (the country of Za hor);<sup>74)</sup> honour to him who, foretelling the ocean of the Law, synthesis of the sacred teachings, set free the subjects of that king and led them to (spiritual) maturity (chapp. XLII, XLIII).

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

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

38. Having come to the country of Be ta, he dwelt in the cemetery of gTsub dgu and, through Klu grub's favour, extracted the book of the gnosis (from the sea). Honour to him, who having come to Sim ha la, was miraculously born as ḍP'ags lha and (according to) the prediction, led the people to (spiritual) maturity and freedom (chap. XLVI).<sup>75)</sup>

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

40. Having assumed the name of Do mbhi, in the market of ḍBras ldan,<sup>76)</sup> he obtained the mystical revelations (with the body) of one

who will attain salvation within seven births; then, spiritually bringing to maturity and leading to liberation Vināsa, the liquor-seller, he stopped the course of the sun and cured the king (chap. XLVIII).

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

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

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

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

45. Still honour to him who spread the supreme teachings in Ka ma ru pa, in the countries of Li, Ma ru, La ṣa, Bru ṣa, Ṣam bha la, Žaṅ žuṅ, Ta žig, T'o gar, Ruk ma (chap. LII).<sup>77)</sup>

46. Honour to him who caused the teachings to prosper greatly when, rDo rje gdan having been occupied by a king of the heretics named Klui k'yab ḍjug, he miraculously manifested himself as bDe mc'og dus sṅiṅ, and restored again to its former condition all that had been destroyed by fire (chap. LII).

47. In those times, according to the persons to be converted, he assumed different adamantine (initiatic) names, and manifested various emanations (*bkod*) of his body. Honour to him who appeared as Pad ma agro mgon rtsal, dBaṅ p'yug mgon po and Grub pai blo gros.

48. Honour to Pad ma mc'og rtsal, to mK'a agroī dbaṅ, mGon po bir va pa, Nag po spyod, K'yeu c'uñ, mK'a' ldiñ rtsal, Sa ra ba, Pad ma mña' bdag rtsal.

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

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

51. Having come to Yañ le šod, he exorcised Śā kya de vī and the Vidyādhara Lhan gcig p'yag c'en mc'og, dispersed all obstacles and penetrated the lofty secrets of the *gter* (*ma*) of the 18 kinds (chap. LIII).

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

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

54. Honour to him (i. e. to the king) who granted his Tibetan subjects works, means and instruction, and wishing them to build a temple for themselves, ordered Bi rje to examine

the ground (on which the temple was to stand) (chap. LV, LVI) and then with great joy met the great scholar Ži ba ts'o, whom he had caused to come from Za hor (chap. LVII).

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

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

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

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

59. Honour to him who completed (the monastery of bSam yas) resembling a mirage, which had been built by men and non-human beings, working day and night; it was arranged (like a projection of the universe) with (mount) Meru, the four great continents, the

lesser continents, the sun and the moon, well surrounded by the outer wall and by the three temples designed for the nuns (*Jo mo*) (chap. LXII).

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

61. When, in the course of five years (that monastery) was completed, the great scholar (*Ži ba ts'o*) and particularly the master himself, in the maṇḍala of the rDo rje dbyiñs, threw flowers for its consecration. Honour to him who showed (how the wonderful monastery) of bSam yas (should be honoured) (chap. LXIV).

62. Honour to him who disseminated his infinite merits, by consecrating K'ra abrug<sup>79</sup>) Ra sa, and other places; he praised the fruitful karmic connexions deriving from the great monastery (of bSam yas) and enjoined that it should be worshipped (chap. LXV).

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

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

65. And then, honour to him who laid the foundations of the holy teaching, by propagating for the first time the word of the Ascetic, by assembling 108 lotsāva and by

consecrating seven "witnesses",<sup>79</sup>) and five monks (chap. LXXI).

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

67. And, above all, honour be to Vairocana, who having heard from Śrīsiṃhala the deep meaning (of the doctrine) which represents the essence of the perfect mind, and having realized the secret wisdom which makes men swift-footed,<sup>80</sup>) on the point of going back to Tibet told the story (of what had happened to him) in a song (chap. LXXIII).

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

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

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

71. Nam mk'a' sñiñ po<sup>81</sup>) and other five lotsāva were sent to the holy country and they heard from the master Hūm ka ra the perfect mystical science which causes spiritual maturity and leads towards liberation (by virtue of meditations upon) peaceful and terrific deities.



Honour to them who obtained mystical realization in that science (chap. LXXVIII).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

84. After having spoken about the impermanence of all things and revealed the

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

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

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

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

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

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

and vouchsafed an indestructible blessing (chap. XCVIII).

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

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

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

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

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

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

96. There the king and the ministers, who had come, together with the subjects, to accompany him, begged him to preach the Law to the assembled crowd. Honour to him who, beginning from the pain of the six forms of existence, incited them to follow

the safe Law and explained to them the inner sense of the deep path (chap. CVI).

97. Having gone to Lha Idan he placed there Jo Sā ka's<sup>82)</sup> statue. Honour to him who, attended by a crowd of king, ministers, priests, physicians, astrologers, scholars and disciples, went on to dPal mo dpal t'añ (chap. CVII).

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

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

100. The four groups of heroes (*dpa' bo*) looked at the mount he was riding. Honour to him who went to conquer the Srin in the rNa yab continent, to the South-West, through Simhala, as swiftly as the lightning on the path of the iridescent clouds<sup>83)</sup> (chap. CVII).

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

102. In this country of Tibet, in the three times, everywhere protected, Byaṅ can's incarnation<sup>84)</sup> reached the bottom of the summary of the teachings of that ocean of (the saint's) biographies (the *Padma bka' t'añ yig*) with veneration, respect and songs of sorrow. Honour to (this book) which extraordinarily increases karmic merit,,

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

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

In the centre Padmasambhava's solemn figure stands out, represented according to the traditional iconography: on either side, in different apparel, his two wives Mandāravā and Ye šes mts'o rgyal. The story begins above, from the summit of the axis of the tanka: Ts'e dpag med assisted by the usual two Bodhisattvas, a kneeling monk. Next, turning to the left: king In da ḅo ti (Indrabhūti) in a palace, in the attitude of listening to people who are presenting a request: his subjects, knowing his liberality, turn to him for help and assistance. Only a part of the inscription is visible: *rgyal po t'or cog can la na mo*: "Honour to king T'or cog can,,. On the right is represented Padmasambhava's miraculous birth from a lotus in the centre of the sea: *Sin dur rgyam ts'or* (for *rgya mts'or*) *Pad ma don* (for *sdon*) *la p'ruṅs* (for *k'ruṅs*) *pa rañ byuñ ño mts'ar can la na mo*: "Honour to him who was miraculously born from a lotus stalk in the middle of the sea,,. Then the child, on a chariot, is taken to town: *In da ḅo ti gṣan* (for *spyan*) *grāṅs*: "Indrabodhi leads him,,. People who have run up to see him, greet him reverently, while from the city spectators lean out. Next comes Padmasambhava dressed as an ascetic, in a cemetery, in the act of overcoming a demon, who is finally vanquished and kneels in front of him; around them, corpses and flowers: to the right the *khaṭvāṅga* and a

burning fire; the picture represents meditation in the cemetery of bSil ba ts'al.

*bsil ba ts'al du ga šod [dka' t'ub] mdsad rgyal srid spañs nas der an ter ra ki [ñi] ma 'od zer grags.* "In the cemetery of bSil ba ts'al in Ga šod (stanza 17, Gau šod) he performs ascetic practices: abandoning his kingdom, there... He is called Ñi ma 'od zer.

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

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

*Ts'ogs ..... dur p'rod (for k'rod) [spyod pa] mdsad rdo rje p'ag moi ž[al] [gzigs] mam pai va dsra rgyaṅ brañ (for rgya g'ram) du k'ol ts'al [rdo rje dra]g po du grags.*

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

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

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

*Brag dmar bya k'yuñ ts'al du lob pon (for slob dpon) sra (for pra) ba na ti (sic) nas señ ge sgra grags.*

"In the garden of K'yuñ ts'al in Brag dmar (he studies under) the master Prabhastin and (names) himself *Señ ge sgra grags* „

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

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

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

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

Then Padmasambhava in conversation with some monks.

*..... (s)mad du byuñ p'ru (m)ts'an pad ma sam bba[va] grags.*

"Wonderful... was celebrated as Padmasambhava „

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

*Brag p'ub ma ra ti ru ts'e [d]pag med žal gzigs c'i med c'u mños (for dños) grub t'ob.*

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

Immediately underneath, Padmasambhava embraced by a woman, is surrounded by flames springing up all around them. The inscription says: *Za hor yul byon me p'uñ ..... su sregs pa [me] p'uñ ts'o (for mts'o) ru gyur nas bzu (for rdsu) p'rul tan (for btsan).* "Having arrived in Zahor, and being burnt in the fire, he worked a miracle by turning the fire into a

lake,.. The story is told both by the RC and by the PTY (chap. XLI). These books say that once, during copulation with Mandāravā, his enemies excited the mob against him and induced the king to condemn Padmasambhava and Mandāravā to be burnt alive. After many days the fire became extinguished, the flames were changed into a lake, in the middle of which the master and his mate were embracing upon a lotus flower.

Let us turn backwards and slightly upwards: under the lotus sustaining Padmasambhava, we see four seated figures, of gradually decreasing size; their apparel leaves no doubt that the first two are men and the others women: in front of them two tables with crockery and offerings.<sup>85)</sup> This scene has nothing to do with the story and represents the donors, who had the tanka painted. Immediately next to them, the story goes on: some women are approaching a monk, who is represented in the act of speaking.

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

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

*In ta abo ti byañ p'yub (for c'ub) lam la kod (for bkod) [m]ts'an yañ pad ma rgyal po gsol.* "After having placed (his father) Indrabodhi on the path of enlightenment, he assumes also the name of Pad ma rgyal po,, (RC, pp. 12 b, 13 a, and PTC, chap. XLIX).

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

destroyed the heretics who wanted to kill him, and then burnt their city (RC, p. 14 c). A little further to the right is the figure of p'ur bu, whom Padmasambhava saw in a vision, when, having gone to Prabhāstīn, in India, he received from him the revelation of the Tantra which explained his mystical realizations (RC, p. 15 a). Next begins the story of K'ri ston lde btsan's invitation to him to come to Tibet to preach the Law; three messengers, a lama with a load on his back, and two laymen, approach Padmasambhava: *mi gsum* "three persons,,; this then is an allusion to Jñānakumāra's mission: accompanied by two servants, he was sent to bring the king's invitation to the saint, while the latter was in Nalandā (RC, p. 18 a, PTY, chap. LVII).

Above is represented the meeting between Padmasambhava and the king, both on horseback. Under the king the inscription: *rgyal po k'or (b)cas gsu (for bsu) ba la p'eb* "The king sets off to meet him, with his retinue,,; then a large building, with deities wearing a complete suit of armour; as the inscription says, it is *bSams yas* (in the tanka: *gsam yas*) and precisely *dPe kar gliñ*, for whose consecration the saint had been invited. To the right the master with two other lamas, one of whom is the Bodhisattva (Śāntirakṣita), explains the Law to the king and to a crowd which had collected around them.

*bod yul gsum (for bsam) yas su byon na rgyal po rje abañs k'or pa byas (for bcas) pa la t'eg pa rna (for sna) ts'ogs keyi c'os k'or [s]kor na bod yul c'os keyi sa aḍsad (for mḍsad) pad ma aḅyūñ su grags.*

"Having arrived in Tibet, after preaching to the king and his retinue the Law of the various vehicles, having made Tibet the country of the Law, he is celebrated as Pad ma aḅyūñ,,.

Further up, Padmasambhava in a palace is speaking to a woman; underneath: *Ka sta (?) bai c'os gsuñs* "explains the Law...,,. Then still further up, in a temple, Padmasambhava surrounded by monks, *sgra gyur*... "... translates,,.

This picture, then, commemorates the translation of the sacred texts which he undertook (PTY, chapp. LXXXIV-LXXXV).

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

*bsam yas c'in (= mc'ims) p'ur rgyal po rje abañs rnam la grub c'en ka (for bka') rgyurd kyī c'o (for c'os) bsuñs (for gsuñs) pa.* "Standing in the cave of mC'ims p'u, in bSam yas, he told the king and his subjects the Law of the great ascetic, ... this commemorates the preaching of the Law by the master, when princess Padma gsal died (PTY, chap. LXXXIX).

The figure in the act of exorcising, holding up a vajra with his right hand, is therefore the picture of a particular manifestation of Padmasambhava, known under the name of rDo rje gro lod. Follows a series of caves in which the master is seen in various attitudes. As a general gloss explains: *gnas brug rnam [g]ter c'en rbas (for sbas)*, "he hides the great gter ma in the rocks, ... The places are then mentioned where the miracle-worker, before leaving Tibet, stored underground the sacred books he had revealed. Here are the places named:

*ti se gañs [m]ts'o c'en bži la c'ag (p'yag?) rjes* "his marks in the four lakes of *Ti se gañs*, Kailāsa, *Lañ gsum* .... *agrus mo soñs* .... *kyid kyī bro ma (?) Mon señ [ge] rdsoñ* "Señ ge rdsoñ in the Mon country, *Yar (k)luñs šel brag p'ug la* "cave of Šel brag in Yar klun ... ,

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

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

*rje abañs la ts'e ... bžag pa.* "Where the desert begins... to the King and to his subjects life... , Finally, Padmasambhava in a temple, surrounded by two deities with many heads.

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

*U rgyan [pa bod] du byon pai t'añ ... yar rla zam bu [bs]tan ma cu gñis sogs bk'yis (for kyis) gyug (= bu yug) dañ rgyal [dañ?] t'og p'ab sogs rna (for sna) ts'ogs ... na ... lho pon (for slob dpon) kyis (b)tuñ nas ... gñer nas p'ebs so.*

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

On the lotus leaf upon which Padmasambhava is seated:

*Sin dur rgya mts'o rol pai mts'o gliñ du.*  
*klu rgyal l'og po gnas pai k'añ teñs (for steñs) su*  
*Pañ ma aḅar ma bdoñ (for sdoñ) poi rtse la p'ruñ (for k'ruñs)*

*ran aḅyöñ ño [m]ts'ar ... gsol ba aḅeb*

"In the island of the joyful lake in the ocean of carmine,

above the palace where dwells the supreme king of the nāgas

Padma aḅar ma is born on the top of a (lotus) stalk;

Prayer to him who wonderfully appeared by himself, ...

## II - OTHER SCHOOLS

TANKA n. 34 (Plates 64, 65).

It represents a Paṅ c'en bla ma, probably Blo bzañ ye šes dpañ bzañ po.

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

On the top of the painting and on its central axis, Ts'e dpaṅ med between the two Bodhisattvas who are his acolytes: next, two tantric deities: gSañ ba ḅudus pa and bDe mc'og.

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

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

TANKA n. 35 (Plate 66).

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

TANKA n. 36 (Plate 67).

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

But a more accurate determination is possible: Dīpañkara Atīśa, whom Tibetan tradition considers one of the foremost propagators of sGrol ma's cult in the Country of Snows, wrote a hymn dedicated to this

goddess and widely commented upon by Tibetan scholars (see, for instance, *Jo bo lugs kyi sgröl ma gñer gcig sgrub t'abs rjes gnañ dañ beas pa*, in *sGrub t'abs kun btus*, vol. ca, p. 882 ff.). In this hymn, containing brief descriptions of the goddess, she is always imagined in the same form, with her right hand in the attitude of presenting a gift and her left holding a lotus flower; however in her 21 different manifestations, which have different colours, the goddess carries on the palm of her right hand the *bum pa*, the vase, as in our tanka. Hence there is no doubt that the tanka represents Tārā, in her 21 forms, exactly as they are described in Aṭiśa's above-mentioned hymn.

In course of time Tārā became one of the most popular deities of Tibet, particularly after dogmatics had assimilated Tārā's two principal forms, the white and the green one, to the two wives of Sroñ btsan sgam po, himself the incarnation of sPyan ras gzigs. But Tārā's cult was widely diffused only in the period of the second propagation of the faith. Moreover, we have every reason of supposing this goddess to be of a comparatively late origin: for instance, in epics Tārā is Balin's and Brhaspati's wife, but has no divine character; she does not appear in Buddhist canonical literature; Hsüan Tsang mentions *Ta la Pu sa*, without alluding to the divinity's sex. The first mention we find of Tārā is in the *Ta jib ching* 大日經 *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, translated into Chinese by Śubhakarasiṃha (who arrived in China in 724 and died in 735) and commented upon by I Ching, a pupil of Śubhakarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi, who died in 727; in that text Āryatārā is said to be an emanation of Avalokiteśvara's (Taishō, XVIII, n. 868, p. 7a). Her compassionate nature is already alluded to in the commentary on chap. 5 (Taishō, vol. XXXIX, n. 1796, p. 632 a-b) where her name is related to: *tārā* "pupil, ..". The same conception is confirmed in the *Ta fang kuang man shu shih li ching* 大方廣曼殊室利經, Taishō, vol. XX, 1101, p. 430. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*,

vol. I, p. 65 calls her *āryāvalokiteśvarakarūṇā*, outright, and is probably right, because the Mahāyāna offers numberless instances of the process of deification undergone by acts and states of mind of the Buddha and the Buddhas. Avalokiteśvara is the Buddha's compassionate look, diffused over all the points of space to save suffering creatures;<sup>86</sup> it is the divine look, inspecting the world from the Tuṣita heaven, to find the most appropriate place for the accomplishment of his mission of redemption from sin and pain; it is the look turning down to explore the Hells and pouring out the solace of its pity every time the eyes are turned; thus the anonymous poet of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* exalts it. Tārā is the active power of this pity, the force of compassion saving (*tārāyati*) suffering creatures.

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



goddess gradually causing her primitive character to be forgotten. Such was for instance, the case with the Tārā introduced from Mahācīna; the serene strength of the compassionate goddess was lent to a gloomy deity of vegetation, worshipped by a tribe on the Indian frontier.

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

This also rules out Tārā's birth outside India, in Tibet or Ladakh, as H. Shāstrī suggests; the villages of Tar in Ladakh, or of Miru, have no relation whatever either with Tārā or with Mount Sumeru.

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

In this case we are confronted with a terrific deity, later assimilated with Ugratārā, one of the

goddesses of the Himalayan regions from which the Indians took for instance, the Lāmā and many other intuitions and liturgies as proved, for instance, by the Yamalatantra and other tantric texts.

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

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

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

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

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

Differently from other gods, Tārā has no authoritative text, whose development and fortunes may be followed. It is true that the legend mentions an extremely vast series of Tantra concerning sGrol ma, revealed to aJig rten dbaŅ p'yug in Potala, in the Bhadrakalpa's times, but in the presence of these fables, we can quote only one text really dedicated to the goddess and to her cult, the *De bžin gšegs pa t'ams cad kyi yum sgröl ma las sna ts'ogs abyun̄ ba*; then come some extracts, like the *sGrol ma la p'yag ats'al Ņi šu rtsa gcig gi bstod pa p'an yon dan bcas pa* (Tōhoku, *Cat.*, n. 438, bKa' aḡyur, Ņa) translated later into Chinese (*ibid.*, Taishō, n. 1108) by Ngan tsang of the Yüan, and a hymn like the *rJe btsun ma aḡ'ags ma sgröl mai mts'an bḡya rtsa bḡyad pa*, contained in the same collection (vol. p'a, cfr. Taishō, nn. 1105, 1106, translators Fa t'ien, T'ien hsi tsai) and a *aP'ags ma sgröl ma ajigs pa bḡyad las skyob pai mdo* (vol. Ņa, p. 473 - the perils are: lion, elephant, fire, nsake, robbers, water, epidemics, fiends).

The *De bžin gšegs t'ams cad kyi yum sgröl ma las sna ts'ogs abyun̄ ba rgyud* (vol. p'a) is a small tantra in 35 le u, revealed to dGa' ldan; in it Tārā is (as may be desumed from the title itself) the mother of all the Buddhas, she is therefore identified with the Prajñā.

All these works cannot be considered as very old; nor can it be the *Aryatārāmūlatantra* which had been the object of a diligent

study of M. Lalou. This text is in fact in its largest part a copy or an adaptation of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (a third of which has been inserted in it) or of another text from which both derived.

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

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

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

The image of the goddess has thus been formed very slowly in the religious consciousness of India: she first appeared, shyly and occasionally, in the *Vairocanasūtra*, and little by little she achieved such an individuality as to vie with sPyan ras gzigs. It is clear that her popularity and fortune are a consequence of her character as a merciful and benevolent comforter and helper of every soul in torment. In fact Tārā, in the literature of the *Sādhanas* and in India's hagiographic traditions, whose echo has reached Tārānātha's treatise, is invoked above all as the goddess who saves (*tārāyati*) from the perils threatening mankind. But in this case too a contamination has taken place between two different motives: these perils have been understood in a different manner according to the goddess's double nature, such as the Tantric schools were imagining it: on one hand she is *p'a rol tu p'yin pai Ņo bo* "the Prajñā's essential nature", (*Grub t'abs kun btus, ga*, p. 289 b), on the other hand she is

*Saṅs rgyas t'ams cas ap'rin las*, "representing the Buddha's active power,.. As the Prajñā' essence, it is her task to deliver from those perils which keep men away from the right understanding of the Law; hence her value is rather theological than esoteric: these then are the eight kinds of perils from which Tārā protects in the Tsaparang temple; I have illustrated them in *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 161. In fact such conditions of doubt represent as many obstacles, which preclude an understanding of the Law and are hence a cause of perdition, from which the goddess may guard us. They represent negative qualities like the eight perils (八難) listed in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*: birth among invalids, among lemurs, animals, Dīrghāyus gods, Uttarakuru, as a deaf or blind man, as a master of heretical schools, before or after the Buddha's appearance.

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

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

This list is a late one, the outcome of an elaboration which has passed through several moments. The intermediate moment is represented by the list of the eight perils which inspired many of the hymns to Tārā preserved in the bsTan ḡyur; the first moment is

in the list of the seven perils from which Avalokiteśvara, according to the XXIVth chapter of the *Saddābarmapuṇḍarika*, saves those who invoke him or utter his name: fire, rivers, ocean, rākṣasa, sword, demons, prison, thieves.

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

Passing then to liturgic literature proper, we find ourselves, beginning from Ravigupta, on much more solid ground. Indian tradition attributed sGrol ma's initiatic revelation to Guhyaśīla and to Hayaghoṣa, from whom it was transmitted to Nāgārjuna; hence the *sampradāya* develops according to the line: Āryadeva, Rāhula, Jayasena, Dharmapālabhadra the Kashmiri, Nāgamitra, Ravigupta, who himself a Kashmiri, is said to be a contemporary of Candragomin, Sarvajñamitra, Dhanamitra, Tathāgatamitra, Siṃhaladvīpin, Dharmamitra, Śīlarakṣita. The Tibetan school initiated into her mysteries begins with Atīśa (KLOÑ RDOL, *t's'a*, p. 35).

TANKA n. 37 (Plate 68).

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

The tanka was found in the Kaze monastery, Spiti; it evidently comes from some good artistic centre in Central Tibet.

It represents a monk touching the ground with his right hand, in the posture called *bhūmisparśamudrā*: on his left palm he carries the *bum pa*, a vase for holy water, the attribute of Ts'e dpag med. This is meant to signify the personage's quintessential identity with Ts'e dpag med, the god of infinite life. All around, in a great many pictures, the most important events of his life.

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

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

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

On the upper margin:

1. *sva* *hā*

*t'ams cad mk'yen par grags šiin grub /  
bla ma mc'og gi sprul pa sku //  
ak'ruñs rab mdsad pa rgya mts'o las /  
rnam t'ar bstan bśad mdo tsam bri // 1  
sñon ts'e ston (KA) pa u rgyan du /  
mt'a' yas rigs mc'og sprul pai skus //  
rgyal bu bstan pa adsin žes /<sup>87</sup>  
luñ bstan brñes pa k'yod p'yag ts'al // 2  
de bžin rgyal gi gnas c'en btab /  
t'ub bstan dar žiñ rgyas mdsad nas //  
slar yañ abyon par žal bžes te /  
dga' ldan lhai gnas su gšegs [nas] //  
rgyal ts'ab ajam pa dños dañ mjal /  
ap'ags mc'og nam mk'a' dri med pa // 3  
ajam dpal sñiñ poi bka' bžin du /  
dag pa mk'a' spyod gnas su gšegs //  
de nas bde ba can du byon /  
snañ ba mt'a' yas ak'or bcas (mjal) // 4*

2nd line:

*kun bzañ spyod pai dkyil ak'or gyis /  
žiñ k'ams rgya mts'o k'yab mdsad nas //  
rña yab gliñ gi yul mk'ar byon /  
(CA) sñin poi rgyal pos bsu ba byas // 5  
ajam mñen dar lam gos lam btañ /  
gos c'en lam nas byon pai ts'e //  
klags ts'ol sñin po mgo bži pa /  
k'o ñid 'og nas 'og tu lhuñ // 6  
bar c'ad bdud la rgyal ba k'yod /  
ston pa sañs rgyas dños dañ (C'A) mjal //  
rje dañ jo bos bskor ba des /  
dbu ma gsuñs šiin bsgom žes gdams // 7  
pad ma 'od kyī žiñ k'ams der /  
c'os skyoñ sruñ mas bskor bai dbus //  
rje dañ jo boi guñ gžugs pai /  
slo (sic) dpon c'en po pad mai bkas (JA) // 8  
mt'u ldan sruñs ma gñis btud nas /  
slar yañ bod (yul) dbus su soñ //  
sprul skus agro don mdsod cig ces /  
t'ugs dam rgyud bskul k'yod la bstod // 9*

3rd line:

*de nas rdsu p'rul yid mgyogs kyis /  
skad cig ñid la bod du byon //*

*abras spuñs (ÑA) dga' ldan p'o brañ du /  
sku gduñs mc'od sar žag gsum gžugs // 10  
bod yul na ri rab rtse na /  
lba rñams rjes su bzuñs (TA) slad gšegs //  
der yañ skye ba sprul pai skus /  
mi rñams myur du skyoñ bar dgoñs // 11  
de dag skabs su lba rñams kyis /  
sprul sku myur du byon no žes //  
luñ bstan dbugs abyuñ sgra dbyañs ni /  
sñan par sgrog pas sa gži gan // 12  
k'yad par du yañ yar luñs su /  
žal bži pa yis luñ c'en bstan //  
spyan ras gžigs kyis rta nag tu /  
dgos por dpal ldan lba mos so // 13*

Left hand border:

*rñal (for mñal) lam gyi bkod pa yin te / de yañ nub  
gcig k'añ pa mun nag can dkar k'uñ c'uñ du yod  
pa gcig gi nañ du p'ebś nas sus kyañ mi t'ar zer  
pai bug pa bye nas de nas yar byon pas dga' ldan  
du p'ebś / rje btsun ajam dbyañs dañ mjal / rten  
gsum mañ pos bug pa na mar byin brlabs gñañ  
de nas gžigs rtsa na, adsam bu gliñ ko ba tsam  
du adug gsuñ slar rdo skas riñ po cig la babs byon  
nas yar gžigs pas steñ gi k'añ bzañ de na druñ  
c'en adug pa la gyab yugs mdsad pas ap'ur nas  
byuñ ste // mc'od k'añ cig tu byon pas dbu  
mdsad bžes mc'od dbyañs ... gyur žiñ adug / de  
nas ñi 'od ak'yil par p'ebś byuñ ste smon lam  
c'en mo adi la lta ba cig yin pa adug gsuñ //*

Ibid.:

*yañ mts'an ldan ... t'od la gsol ba btab pai nub rñal  
(for mñal) lam du mi cig t'og ka' c'en po la snod ...  
c'e ba bkal nas me btoñ ba la ci byed dris pas  
sems can t'ams cad kyī ja t'ug bkol ba yin zer /  
de nas k'añ pa cig gi nañ du byon te t'og bug pa  
cig adug pa la p'yag yi tag mdsad pas steñ de nas  
su yin zer pa la de na su yod ña yoñs e c'og  
gsuñs pas adi na rdo rje p'ag mo gžugs te da lta  
abyon ma ruñ ño zer pa cig byuñ gsuñ ba sogs  
ño mts'ar c'e ba brjod kyis mi lañ ño.*

Upper right-hand inner stripe:

*(PA) ñi zla skar mas mdses rañ ñid ljoñ sdon lan cig  
ak'ruñs dgun lo gsum pa las ... c'os sder ...*

Right-hand outer border:

...c'e ru bžugs pai ts'e /  
 rje dan p'yogs bzii sañs rgyas gzigs //  
 re ma ti dan ... abral med /  
 gžis k'ar mi dbañ c'en po yis //  
 mc'od ciñ dad pas dñul gduñ bžeñs /  
 c'os der bu c'os ac'ad po la //  
 kva je c'o (for c'os) rje bsod grags pa /  
 ña yi rnam t'ar ac'ad dam žes //  
 gsuñs ts'e kun gyis abrom rjer ñes /  
 slar yañ k'añ gсар goñ du p'ebš //  
 ak'rul med ap'ags pai spyod pa mdsad /  
 sñon ... gсам (for bsam) mi k'yab //  
 t'ams cad ak'yen (for mk'yen) pai rnam sprul du /  
 kun la grags siñ yoñs su grub pa //

Ibid.:

... tu gnas pas rgyas par mdsad slar yañ dpal ldan  
 abras spuñs su p'ebš te dguñ lo rgyad pa la mk'an  
 po bsod namš grags pa dan slob dpon legs pa  
 don grub las dge ts'ul ñid du rab byon mdsad (TSA)

Lower outer edge:

k'yii loi dbyar ston zla drug tu /  
 dgon rtser sku mts'ams mdsad pai ts'e //  
 ts'e dpag med mgon rta mgrin sogs /  
 t'ugs dam žal gzigs dños grub brñes //  
 p'ag loi dbyar ston rgyal du bžugs /  
 rtag tu dam pai c'os c'ar p'ab //  
 (DSA) dgun dus rtseñ t'añ c'os gra c'er /  
 lña mc'od c'en moi ts'ogs pon (for dpon) mdsad //  
 kun kyi(s) dad pai sar bkod nas /  
 btsug (for gtsug) lag k'añ c'en k'ra abrug mjal //  
 agro rnams ... ig la ngod (for agod) bžin du /  
 dga' ldan p'o brañ ñid du p'ebš (VA) //  
 byi pai lo la abras spuñs kyi /  
 gdan sa c'en por mña' gsol te //  
 mi ajigs señ gei k'ri steñs na /  
 t'eg c'en c'os kyi ak'or lo bskor //  
 mk'yen pai stobs bcu kun mña' yañ /  
 t'un moñ gduñ byai dbañ mdsad nas //  
 mk'an slob rnams la mña' bai c'os /  
 mt'a' dag gsan bai ts'ul yañ bstan //

2nd line:

ts'ogs gñis rgya mts'o yoñs rdsogs kyañ / rtag tu mc'od  
 sbyin mdsad pa legs // rgyal du p'ebš des sñon ma

la nub cig rnam (for mnal) lam du žal bži pas  
 c'os ap'rul bstan ts'ul ni rje žal nas ... sñis na  
 adug sar gsuñ rab pa byuñ pa p'yi ađi na sñar  
 med pai du (for dur) k'rod cig adug zer bltar  
 (sic!) p'yin tsa na dur k'rod c'en pos bskor pai  
 mts'o nañ c'os abyuñ dmar po cig adug pai nañ  
 nas a tsa ra c'en po cig byuñ ba des nañ du k'rid de  
 a tsa ra c'uñ ba cig gis a rag dan c'e ba des bum  
 pa nas ja drañs te ña la ts'o ap'rul c'en po cig ston  
 rgyu yod de ajigs mi dgos zer nas žal bzii yoñs  
 rdsogs bstans ña bskul dgos pa yoñ ño gsuñ ba cig  
 rmi gsuñ / yañ nub cig me tog t'añ na lcags k'ar  
 sgo med mer abar ba cig gi bugs nas mi nag po  
 cig byuñ ... du byon zer p'yin pas dei nañ mi  
 ro c'en po k'a nas k'rag mdsag pai steñ na me  
 ajigs pa ruñ ba cig adug rmi ste / c'os rgyal kyi  
 ts'o ap'rul du adug gsuñ yañ nub cig dpal ldan  
 lba moi ts'o ap'rul žal nas 'od zer spros ste byed  
 pa cig byuñ ts'ul rgyas par gsuñs pa.

Lower Inscription:

1st line:

7. de nas dguñ lo bcu ... klan ... k'os (sic for tso) ap'rul  
 bla ... p'o brañ ... smon lam c'en moi mgon du  
 byon skal bzañ ... abum p'rag grañs med dge  
 adun ts'ogs pai dbus sañs rgyas kun gyi ap'rin  
 las ... gañs c'en ... bsod namš ... bsgrub pai ...  
 bstan nas ...

2nd line:

lbun gyis grub par ... kyi rlun ... mk'an ... 'od dan  
 lba rdsas ... c'ar gyis gañ ... rog dan (sic) ldan  
 mdsad ... zla ts'es ces p'ra yañ mk'yen brtsei  
 dkyil ak'or na gañ ba p'rin las ... mañ ... ts'od pa  
 bžes p'yag ađi ...

3rd line:

k'yod ... rje btsun ... skur grags ... bdag gyul c'en ...  
 rab ts'ogs bdag ... p'e pa la mi ajigs ... byin ...  
 guñ t'añ žiñ [mc'od] rten c'e ba dan gos skui  
 (ZA) rab gnas ... bkod bžin bstan ... c'os p'rul.

Left border, below:

(YA) stag lo la ... rgyal du p'ebš rten bžeñs nas sbyin  
 sregs mdsad (RA) dbyar dus ts'ad mdo byes gloñ  
 rje mt'a' dag bstan pa dan po ni srid ži dpal abyor  
 t'ams cad dan lban cig p'ebš siñ gžugs pa yis

*rab mdsed pad mai dga' ts'al la ñi 'od byug? pa lta  
bur gyur ... skar c'en btab nas gžugs brgya abul  
brgya p'rag skyes su p'ul t'ogs par gyed c'en dpal  
med dan mañ ja ...*

*de nas abras spuñs ñid du p'ebś /  
abul dpon nañ so ... //  
rgya abul bsam las adas pa p'ul /  
yos lo smon lam grol rjes su ston pai gos sku c'en  
po bžeñś /  
t'oñ (for m't'oñ) pai don ldan žes byar grags //  
rgyal gyi sñags k'añ gžal yas nas (šA) /  
bstan pai miñā' bdag spyan brañś (for drañś) te //  
dkyil ak'or kun gyi žal p'ye nas /  
dbañ gi c'u bo ma lus ... //  
ts'e dpag med mgon lha dgu ni /  
t'og mar dbañ bskur žal yañ gzigś //  
rje dag dbañ rim ño mts'ar žes /  
c'os skyoñ (?) sruñś mas legs so p'ul //  
yos loi nañ der žal gzigś dan /  
rnal (for mnañ) lam ya mts'an ... //  
.....  
... lo bco lña ru  
p'ebś pa abrug lo ts'o p'rul nas  
... rdo rje sa ...  
... las gsuñ bkod ...  
... spyan ras gzigś dbañ sprul pai sku  
bstan pai bdag par miñā' gsol nas /  
mi agyur rdo rje ... steñś na (sA) //*

On the upper margin:

“Svahā / (Here) is resumed the brief biography, shown to be explained (*bstan bśad*), of the incarnation of the supreme master, celebrated as the “all-knowing,.. It is taken from the work called “Ocean of his works and his successive lives,.. Homage to you who, in ancient times, received from the mT'a' yas rigs mc'og, in U rgyan, this prophecy: “O son of the Victors, you will be one of those who preserve the teachings,.. Thus he founded a great kingdom.

“Then, after having spread the teachings and caused them to prosper (in that place), he accepted to return once more and went to the dGa' ldan: there he met Byams pa in person, who takes the Buddha's place. He

then (under the name) of aP'ags mc'og nam mk'a' dri med, according to aJam dpal sñiñ po's order, went (to the country) Dag pa mk'a' spyod; next he went in the bDe ba can and saw sNañ ba mt'a' yas surrounded by his retinue (1-4).

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

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

“And the sound of this inspired voice pervaded all the world, echoing. Particularly Žal bži pa made a great prophecy in Yar kluñś, sPyan ras gzigś in rTa nag and dPal ldan lha mo in Dvags po (10-15)..

Left-hand border:

“Unfolding of his dreams.

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

Upper right-hand inner stripe:

“Himself beautified by the sun, the moon and the stars, on the trunk of the heavenly tree (*ljon sdon* = *ljon siñ*, see biogr., p. 16) once he was born. Since he was three years old ... in the temple...,,

Right-hand outer border:

“When he went to... c'e, he saw the master and the Buddhas of the four points of space, not severed from Remati; in gZi k'a the prince honoured him with faith and had a

silver mc'od rten made to keep relics. When in the temple, a (monk) was explaining the bKa' gdams pa's secondary texts (*bu c'os*), the Kva je C'os rje bSod namsgags pa ... asked whether he could explain the biography; then certainty as regards aBrom (ston) and Tsoṅ k'a pa's doctrine was born in all of them. Then he went to K'aṅ gsar goṅ and practiced the ascetics' (*ak'rul med*) noble discipline. With his incarnation, which knows all the infinite things to be known, he became famous among all,,

Ibid.:

“Staying in..., once more, enlarging he went to aBras spuṅ; at the age of eight he took monastic vows from bSod namsgags pa and the ācārya Legs pa don grub,,

Lower outer edge:

“In the year of the dog, in the sixth month summer-autumn, while he was shut up in the dGon rtse, meditating, he had a vision of Ts'e dpag med, rTa mgrin etc. and of his protecting deities. In the year of the boar and in the summer and autumn months, he resided in rGyal, always causing the rain of the Law to fall. In the winter month, in the great monastery of rTsed t'aṅ, he directed the ceremonies on the occasion of Tsoṅ k'a pa's birthday, and having disposed everyone in the faith, he visited the temple of K'ra abrug...<sup>88)</sup> the creatures according to the purpose. He then went to the palace of dGa' ldan; in the year of the mouse he was installed in the seat of dGa' ldan; on the throne of the dauntless lion revolved the wheel of the Great Vehicle.

“Possessing the scholar's twelve powers, he ruled over all creatures capable of being converted in the common manner and he showed how the endless parts of the Law are listened to at the masters' school. Although he had filled the ocean of the two accumulations,<sup>89)</sup> he continually made offerings (to the gods). Before arriving in rGyal, one night



he saw in a dream *Žal bži pa* doing many miraculous things: the *rJe* said: “in... *sdiñs* there is a master of the sacred scriptures, and away from here there is an extraordinary cemetery,,; so he said. And so he went and found there was a lake surrounded by a large cemetery, and in it there was a red triangle,<sup>90</sup>) in the middle of which a great *ācārya* was standing, who led him inside; a small *ācārya* brought alcohol and the big one some tea in a pot and said: “I can show great prodigies. There is nothing to fear,,. And he saw in a dream one who said: “It is necessary that I be instigated by *Žal bži pa*’s great teachings,,. One night, in *Me t’og t’añ* (he saw in a dream) a black man issuing from a hole in an iron castle without doors, blazing with fire, who said to him “come hither,,. Inside was a man’s corpse dripping blood from the mouth, and upon him a terrible fire. He said that this was one of the *C’os rgyal*’s prodigies. He further said that another night *dPal ldan lha mo* performed a great prodigy, shedding light from her face,,.

Lower inscription:

“Then at the age of ten, on the anniversary of the miracle of (the Buddha’s) multiplication ... in the palace ... went to the great feast of the vow ... 10.000 images of the *Bhadrakalpa* ... in the midst of innumerable monks ... the work of all the Buddhas ... the mountain ... merits ... accomplished ... having shown ,,.

Second line:

“Miraculous ... of the wind ... light of the sky ... divine objects ... filled by rain; he did it with ... in the day of the month

in the circle of the scholars ... works ... measure,,.

Third line:

“you ... *rJe btsun* so named ... in great battles ... lord of the circle; not fearing; ... in *Guñ t’añ* ... having consecrated the (*mc’od*) *ren* ... and the image on cloth,,.

Left border (first and second line):

Translation impossible.

Translation impossible.

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

“In summer...

“As regards the first teaching...

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

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

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

Above some figures in a small shrine among the clouds; “*mk’a’ spyod*,, “journey through the air,, , refers to the country

where he was incarnated. To the left, lower down, along the edge, a garuḍa, *ḡal gzigḡ kyi ye ṡes k'yuñ* "Ye ṡes k'yuñ seen in an apparition,.. Underneath a monk seated in front of a maṇḍala, to his right: *ḡal gzigḡ kyi lba dgu*,<sup>91</sup>) "the vision of the nine gods of the maṇḍala of Tse dpag med,.. To the right of the same scene a monk seated on a throne, "*sañs rgyas gñis pa snañ mdsad rdo rje*.., "sNañ mdsad rdo rje equal to a second Buddha,.. Above a Buddha in the midst of disciples and masters; *gos sku* "the tanka on stuff,.., alludes to the tanka on stuff which bSod nams rgya mts'o caused to be made; near these words the letter: *la* refers the reader to the corresponding paragraph of the inscriptions. To the right, below, monks working on a building. A seated monk among the lama perhaps represents the consecration. Above a Buddha amidst his disciples, in a palace: "*o rgyan yul*.., "Orgyan's country.., alludes to his preceding incarnations, like the scene which immediately follows on the right: *rgyal sras mt'a' yas dri med*, "the Bodhisattva mT'a' yas dri med,.. Above, in the centre, a pavilion with Byams pa: "*dga' ldan*..; the letter *k'a* refers to the corresponding paragraph of the inscriptions. Underneath, a monk kneeling in front of an apparition: "*yar luñ*.., refers to a vision which had appeared in Yar kluñs; lower down, a little to the left, a monk in a temple among his disciples, "*dga' ldan p'o brañ*.., "the palace of dGa' ldan.., refers to the paragraph *na* of the inscription. To the right of Byams pa's image, a bodhisattva kneeling in a pavilion: *dga' ldan ajam dpal sñiñ po*, Tsoñ k'a pa's incarnation. More to the right, above: bDe ba can "the Sukhāvati,.. In the right hand corner a monk between two disciples and the Buddha: the letter *c'a* refers to the corresponding paragraph of the inscriptions. Lower down, one under the other, two small pictures follow, which show the interior of two houses; above: *yab rnam rgyal grags pa*: below, under the figure of a person lying down, *yum dpal rgyal aḡsom bu*

*k'rid*, "The mother dpal aḡSom bu krid,.. Underneath: *bla ma spre bo*, "the master sPre bo,.. On the left side, between the two inscriptions, two temples; in the smaller one the eleven-headed sPyan ras gzigḡ, in the larger one an image of Śākyamuni, to which many monks are doing honour: *lba sa*. Underneath a procession of monks carrying "Byams pa's.., image on a chariot. Still lower down another temple, with monks in front of an image: *guñ t'añ*; the letter: *Ja* refers to the inscription.

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

Right side, between the two inscriptions: above, a view of aBras spuñs and his seminaries: *abras spuñs snaḡs k'añ - lba k'añ goñ; aḡu k'añ c'en po*.

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

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

Below, in a triangular frame, a seated lama, surrounded by images of deities; this refers to the vision described in inscription above. Further up, in a temple, two adoring monks on each side of an image of the Buddha of K'ra aBrug;<sup>92</sup>) then two monks on horseback; underneath the same in a temple, among many lamas; the letter: *ra* refers to the inscription. The scenes which follow represent episodes which have occurred in dGa'

ldan: *dga' ldan rtse rje sku rin po c'e*, "the precious image of the rJe Tsoñ k'a pa in dGa' ldan rtse,,; *rnam sras p'o brañ*: rNam t'os sras' palace; *dga' ldan p'o brañ*: dGa' ldan's palace.

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

We may surmise that it was painted when the spiritual ties between Western Tibet and the Yellow Church were still strong and the royal family had not ceased to hold its sway over the country; this in fact seems to be the conclusion to be drawn from the presence of a personage with royal insignia. We cannot help thinking of aJig rten dbañ p'yug pad ma dkar lde who in the year 1555 went to pay a visit to bSod nams rgya mts'o. So there are good reasons for supposing that the tanka was made by order of that prince or of his sons K'ri nam mk'a' dbañ p'yug who was another supporter of the Yellow Church.<sup>93</sup>)

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

TANKA n. 39 (Plates 73, 74).

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

*ajigs ruñ stag c'ibs btsoñ k'a rnal abyor ts'ul.*  
 "Manner in which Tsoñ k'a pa, riding a terrible tiger, practised yoga ,,"

This means that Tsoñ k'a pa is identified with the terrific manifestation (*k'ro bo*) of that mystical plane whose earthly manifestation or projection he is. Besides the terrific manifestation, other liturgies are known, which also meditate upon Tsoñ k'a pa in the form of an ascetic: so, for instance, in the *Bla mai rnal abyor zab k'yad can c'os keyi rgyal po tsoñ k'a pa c'en pos mk'as grub t'ams cad mk'yen pa la gcig brgyud keyi ts'ul du gnañ ba* Tsoñ k'a pa is meditated upon as an ascetic of a golden-red colour, like copper, upon a throne drawn by eight lions; he carries besides the usual attributes, the sword and the book, a skull-cap, as in the present painting; he is imagined with an ascetic topknot, after the yogin's fashion, while the masters of the various kinds of Tantra emanate from him.

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

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

It is clear then that the painter alludes to this particular vision, which on the other hand seems to have been treated fairly often in Tibet: in reality at least two instances of this kind of painting are known; one already published by S. CH. DAS, the first to make known the legend illustrating it (*Buddhist Text*

Society, Journal and text, 1893, Part II, App. II, p. 4) and another one by GRÜNWEDEL (*Weg nach Sāmbhala*, p. 90).

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

Most of the Siddhas represented on this tanka can be identified, because every figure is accompanied by an inscription which gives his name. It appears that the painter was inspired by the biography n. II<sup>94</sup>) of the Siddhas, to which we referred above and which, as we saw, was very popular among the Yellows. The tanka is therefore a pictorial reproduction of that booklet. Beginning from the first line on top, the inscriptions full of mistakes succeed one another as follows:

1st line:

*glañ po la c'ibs btsoñ k'a pa.* – “Tsoñ k'a pa riding an elephant...,”

*ña lto za žiñ [dños] grub brñes lu ba pa.* – “Lu ha pā (Luhipā) who feeds on fishes and obtains his realization (*Edel.*, p. 21)...,”

*pad mar rdsus k'ruñs or gyan pai žabs.* – “Uddiyānapāda miraculously born from a lotus...,”

*nags [kyi] lba mos bdud rtsi p'ul klu sgrub ... žabs.* – “Nāgārjunapā gets ambrosia from a forest goddess...,”

*[dka' t'ub mdsad] byams pa žal gzijs t'ogs med pa.* – “Asaṅga made penances and had the vision of Byams pa...,”

*byo (sic for jo bo) rje ati šai pa mar me mdsad.* – “The c'os rje Atiśa Dīpaṅkara...,”

*lham mk'an dur gnas su ... ma ri pa.* – [Ku, as in the text for: Cā] “ma ri pā the shoemaker, in the cemetery...,”

*señ ge c'ibs btsoñ k'a pa.* – “Tsoñ k'a pa riding a lion...,”

Line 28:

*c'u c'en gyen zlog ñi gzuñ bir va pā.* – “Bir vā pā (Virūpā) causes a great river to flow uphill and stops the sun...,” (*Edel.*, pp. 28/29).

*dom bbe hi ru stag gžon gdañ btiñ brgal.* – “Dombhehiru, (Dombhiheruka) mounted on a tiger, crosses the (Ganges) spreading a carpet...,”

*bram ze rigs la (m)gar (for gar) mk'an sa ra ba.* – “Saraha the dancer, born of brahmanic parentage...,”

*pad ma vajra ... gzugs šin [tog za ba] ... žabs.* – “Padmavajra eats fruits...,”

*dge ts'ul rje mo k'ur gšegs ts'em bu ...* – “The novice Ts'em bu pa who walks carrying a nun...,” (*Zauberer*, p. 204).

*... dge bsñen ts'añs spyod.* – “[Nilapa] the devout layman as a Brahmācārin...,”

*sta (for lta) steñs mdsad pra (p'ra?) nag po spyod žabs ...* – “Kṛṣṇācārya casting the exorcist's look...,”

*dge sloñ lus can sañs rgyas ye šes žabs.* – “The incorporated (?) monk Buddhajñānapāda...,”

*gdol rigs yum bcas ku ku ri pa žabs.* – “Kukkuripā, by caste a caṇḍāla, with his śakti...,”

*mts'o skeyes rdo rje.* – “Padmavajra...,”

*adsu (sic) su ku pa mk'a' gšegs.* – “Bhu su ku walking on air...,”

*ral gri k'yer nas mk'a' gšegs na le ntra.* – “Nalendrapā who walks on air, carrying a sword...,”

*srin poi k'a gnon pad ma ka ra.* – “Padmākara overcoming the Srin po...,”

*šan pai rigs señ žon sin hi pa.* – “Sin hi pa, (Simhapā) the butcher riding on a lion...,”

*ña pai rigs dge sloñ mi na pa.* – “The monk Mīnapā, of a race of fishermen...,”

*ka (?) mk'as mk'a' gšegs rba sa ra žabs.* – “Rhasarapā... walking on air...,”

4th line:

*žiñ pa p'yag rgya da(ñ) (b)cas t'og tsi pa.* – “The peasant Tog rtse pa with his mudrā...,”

*na ro pa žes rañ gi [bu mo] bsten.* – “Naropā uses his daughter (as his śakti)...,”

*bu smad dañ bcas rdo rje dril bu pa.* – “Vajraghaṅṅapā with a woman...,”

*rgyal rigs lcam bcas in dra bbo di žabs.* – “Indrabodhi of royal lineage with his mate...,”

*rgyal rigs mk'a' lbas.* – “Ākāśadeva of royal lineage...,”

*t'e ts'om sel sprin šug(s) can.* – “sPrin šugs can solving doubts,, (v. SP, p. 142).

5th line:

*t'a ru rigs las srid brgal ka ru pa.* – “Karu-pā born in the borderland, who crosses [the ocean] of existence,,

*bram ze rigs rnam t'og brag a na ri ta.* – “Anarita of brahmanic descent,,

*bum t'ogs c'os dri ma bkru señ [ge].* – “Señ ge holding a vase washes the stains...,,

6th line:

*rgyal rigs dman spyod abras adru (d?) kan ta pa.* – “Kantapā, of royal descent, who lives like those of a low caste, grinding corn,,

*ts'od (for rtsod) rgyal sgröl skyabs can tra go mi žabs.* – “Candra-gomin protected by sGrol ma, overcomes in debate (the heretics),,

*dge sloñ spros med aĵag spyil bu pa.* – “The monk sPyil bu pa, ... a quietist,,

*zla ba bzañ po bram rigs rnal abyor lus.* – “Candrābhadrā, of brahmanic descent, in an ascetic's body,,

*sgrol dkar byin rlabs rnal abyor kun dga'.* – “The yogin Ānanda(vajra) who has sGrol ma's blessing,,

*klu grub dgoñs t'ugs la c'ud mk'as zla ba grags.* – “The learned Candrakīrti who learns the meaning of Nāgārjuna's works,,

7th line:

*bram ze rgyal mjal dge bsñen p'ab c'as pa.* – “The devout layman P'ab c'as pa, a brahman, who meets the king,,

... *spyod mdsad.* – “... practices,,

*til bduñ (for brduñ) sañs rgyas žal mjal te lo pā.* – “Telopā who grinds seeds and sees the Buddha,,

*šin t'un t'eg c'en ša kya bšes gñen žabs.* – “Šākyamitra the wood picker, the mahāyānist,,

*ña pai rigs la geer bu ts'am dha li.* – “Caṇḍāla the naked, of fisher parentage,,

8th line:

*smad ats'oñ lina brgyar mk'a' gšegs dha ri ka.* – “Darika walks on air with 500 harlots,, (Edel., p. 22).

*ba lañ skyoñ pa na ga bo dbe žabs.* – “Nāga-bodhipā the herdsman,,

*gar mk'an lcam... ša ba ri žabs...* – “Šabari with his mate, the dancer,,

*mk'a' gšegs dge sloñ bzañ po pa.* – “Bhadra, the monk walks on air,,

*bram rigs dge sloñ bbe pa le ne žabs.* – “The monk Bhe pa la na? of brahmanic extraction,,

*t'ug[s] dam žal gziġs ma [mk'a'] gšegs gur dbyañs mk'an ri k'rod ma.* – “Ri k'rod ma who sings songs and has had the vision of his protecting deity walking on air,,

*[mai] tri pa rgyud aġsin sgra mk'an žabs.* – “Sgra mk'an belonging to the school of Maitripā,,

*mt'ar aġro t'ob ts'ogs brkob kon ta la.* – “Kontala going in the borderland digs,,

*rta [mgrin] gziġs gduġ aġul [nam mk'a'] gšegs? tsa[pa] ri.* – “Tsa[pa]ri who gets the vision of rTa mgrin and subdues a poisonous snake,,

9th line:

*t'ugs dam žal gziġs sa ra ha žabs.* – “Saraha sees his protecting deity,,

*ġtam gi ts'od pa las rgyal Je ta ri.* – “Jetāri victorious in logic,,

*smad ats'oñ lna brgya mk'a' aġro spyod ldiñ bbi pa...* – “Bhi pa with 500 har lots goes in the air,,

*rgyan drug gsol dur [k'rod la] mar me lba.* – “Mar me lha... in the cemeteries prays to the six ornaments,,<sup>95)</sup>

*dur k'rod ša c'en gsol ba si ya li.* – “Siyali eats human flesh in the cemetery,,

*aġrol gziġs luñ bstan t'ob pa ñi ma sbas.* – “Ravigupta has a vision of sGrol (ma) and obtains from her a prediction,,

*[ñi ma zer] la gšegs ñag gi dbañ p'yug rgyal.* – “Ñag gi dbañ p'yug, Vagīśvara,<sup>96)</sup> going on the rays of the sun,,

*ats'o byed rigs dge sloñ si ha la.* – “The monk Siṃhala of a family of physicians,,

10th line:

*gdol rigs mar mk'an yum ldan bhir ba pa.* – “Bhir-bapā, of the caṇḍāla caste, makes butter with his śakti,,

[sgra] ts'ad luñ rigs la mk'as k'a ma la. – “Kam(b)ala, learned in logical sciences and grammar,,

rgyal rigs aduñ adsin snag(s) ac'an šan ti pa. – “Śāntipā of royal lineage, master in the disciplinary rules, exorcist,,

t'abs šes [rab dgoñs pa rdsogs] gser gliñ pa. – “Suvārnadvīpin (having realized the meaning) of gnosis and praxis,,

k'a ko gliñ žon (for gžon) mk'a' la spyod. – “K'a ko (for: Koñ ha na) riding the ox, travels through the air,,

bde mc'og žal gžigs sbrul rgyan ku bu tsa. – “Ku bur tsa<sup>97</sup>) has a vision of bDe mcog and is decorated with a snake,,

dpal gyi ri skor dka' spyod tan da pa. – “Tāntipā practises asceticism round the Śrīvaparvata,,

rgya mts'o gliñ la dka' t'ub señ ge pa. – “Simhapā practises asceticism in an island in the sea,,

pi wañ gliñ sgrog mk'a' gšegs bhi na pa. – “Vināpada walks on air playing the flute and the viṇā,,

bram rigs zañs mgar rkañ mgyogs rtam pa ga. – “rTam pa ga, of brahmanic caste, a copperworker, swift-footed,,

rgyal rigs sbyañ mdsad sa ga pa. – “Sagapā, of royal lineage, who purifies himself,,

rgyal rigs yum bcas mk'a' gšegs kar ma ka. – “Karmaka of brahmanic lineage, goes through the air with the śakti,,

...byin rlabs... la li lha žabs... – “Lalideva... blessing,,

dgyes pa rdo rje byin rlabs gliñ bu mk'an. – “By the blessing of Hevajra Gliñ bu mk'an,,

ša ba ri pa [rdo rje gdan du] t'ugs dam gžigs. – “Śābari pa (in the text: Sa ra bu) living in Bodhgayā sees his protecting deity,,

u rgyan dur gnas pa rus sbal pa. – “Kacchapā who is in the cemetery of Uddiyāna,,

p'ag mo byin brlabs dsa lan dha ra. – “Jalandhara who obtains P'ag mo's blessing,,

gdol rigs t'ags mk'an pa yum bcas t'a ga pa. – “T'a ga pa the weaver of caṇḍāla caste, with the śakti ...,,

Last line near the donor:

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

mts'an mc'og mk'a' gšegs dharmakīrti žabs. – “Dharmakīrti, of great renown, goes through the air,,

dkar spyañ ... gžigs lha ... – “white wolf... sees,,

gžigs lta gi bye po mk'an gru rje. – “mK'an grub rje had the vision,, This refers to the story alluded to above.

... par du byed po sgom c'uñ ... (rgya) mts'o ... pai gžigs ... a lña. – “He who did ... was the sGom c'uñ ... rgya mts'o ... saw ...,,

žiñ bkod [bris] par mk'an rdo [rje]. – “The painter was rDo rje ...,,

škod rgyal sral bal po t'ug(s) rje c'en po. – “sKol rgyal sral, the Nepalese, the great compassionate,,

TANKA n. 40.

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

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

TANKA n. 41 (Plate 75).

This tanka represents a four-armed deity; his two principal hands are in the mudrā called *hūm mdsad*; the right hand brandishes the vajra and the left grasps a noose. He is trampling on a lifeless corpse, and emerges from a flaming halo; he has a terrific aspect; his head is crowned with skulls; a large snake is wound round his neck and shoulders as a scarf. This image corresponds to GRÜNWEDEL's BM, fig. n. 136, and is there called Nilāmbara. But P'yag rdo rje gos can, Nilāmbara Vajrapāṇi is regularly represented with two hands, according to a celebrated sādhana of Atīśa's. The aspect here reproduced is that of P'yag na rdo rje aḅyūṅ po aḅul byed, Bhūtaḅāmara, also called gDul dka' aḅyūṅ po aḅul mdsad pai mt'u stobs aḅ'rul byūṅ gsaṅ bai bdag; "he is of a blue colour, with one face and four hands; his two principal hands are in the mudrā called *hūm mdsad*, in his other right hand he brandishes the rdo rje of lightning, to strike his enemies and the demons; his left hand threatens enemies and demons, in the threatening mudrā, and holds a noose. He is gnashing his three round and rough-hewn teeth... ,,

His ornaments are eight snakes, Nor rgyas etc.; round his waist a tiger-skin belt. With legs wide apart, he tramples on gZan mi t'ub and other aḅyūṅ po (see *dPal p'yag na rdo rje aḅyūṅ po aḅul byed sgrub t'abs*, in *sGrub t'abs kun btus*, vol. ga; cft. *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, p. 138, p. 1). (Cft. on this god: B. BHATTACHARYA, *The cult of Bhūtaḅāmara*, Proc. and Transact. Vith All India Or. Conference, 1933, pp. 349-370).

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

On the first line above, rNam par snaṅ mdsad.

TANKA n. 42 (Plate 76).

It represents the cycle of the Arhats, accompanied by the kings of the four points

of the compass. We shall speak at greater length about this cycle when illustrating tankas nn. 126-131 and we refer our readers to that part of this work.

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

TANKA n. 43 (Plate 77).

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

TANKA n. 44 (Plate 78).

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

The goddess is seated on a lotus, resting in its turn on a throne; throne and image are placed in the interior of a heavenly palace. Above, to signify the goddess's spiritual descent and the mystical plane to which she belongs, there is a small figure of Amutābha: this form of Tārā is his emanation. Along the outer edges of the tanka, various manifestations of the same goddess or images of kindred deities. Six figures below, and two more on a level with her shoulders, signify the Tārā's eight forms, invoked by devotees to ward off the eight deadly perils: fire, water, thieves, etc. (see tanka n. 36). The goddess, always in the same mudrā, touches with her right hand the head of a man who has run to her for aid; behind her, symbols of teh

perils: the elephant, the tiger, the demon etc. Above, on the left, Kurukullā, red, six-armed, between two attendants which are Tārā's secondary forms (see BHATTACHARYA, *loc.*, p. 58), on the right other feminine deities, eight-armed, attended by two acolytes, perhaps Yoñs su smin par byed ma; *Indo-Tibetica*, II, part II, p. 158. Below Vasudharā, six-armed.

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



# THE GREAT TIBETAN MONASTERIES OF THE YELOLW SECT

TANKA n. 45 (Plate 79).

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

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

*tsañ* (sic, for *gtsañ*) *dbus su byon*. – “He goes to gTsañ and to dBus,,,

*c'os luñ du bla dam pa ajal* (for *mjal*). – “In C'os luñ he meets the holy master,,,

*byams c'os gsan*. – “he hears the Law of Byams pa,,,

*gsañ p'ur grva skor*. – “The seminary of the gSañ p'u,,,

*rtse roñ du grva skor mdsad*. – “in rTse roñ he teaches in the seminary,,,

*rtse c'en du re ada'* (for *nida'*) *pa mdo mañ po san* (for *gsan*). – “in rTse c'en he hears from Re mda' pa many sūtras,,,

*a dkar brag... san* (for *gsan*). – “in A dkar brag he listens ...,,,

*yar kluiñ ts'ul k'rims par brsñen par rdsogs*. – “in Yar kluiñ he receives the full vows from Ts'ul k'rims,,,

*Ža lur...* – “in Žva lu,,,...

*gdoñ du dbu mar ajam dbyañs san* (for *gsan*). – “in gDoñ he hears the precepts on aJam dbyañs, under dBu ma pa,,,

*rdsiñ aji žig sos*. – “in rDsiñ aji he repairs ruined temples,,,

*rtsa rir ts'o* (for *ts'ogs*) *k'or*. – “the *ts'ogs ak'or* (*ganacakra*) in Tsa ri,,,

To the right:

*sku ts'e rjes ma dga' ldan ru k'ruñs*. – “his last incarnation in dGa' ldan,,,

*dga' ldan btab nas der c'os mañ du gsuiñ bdud kyi gyul las rgyal nas mya nañ las adas ts'ul bstan*. – “after having founded dGa' ldan and having much preached there, having vanquished the demons, it seemed as if he were entering nirvana,,,

*tsoñ k'a pa dge adun grub 'on sde steñ k'ar...* – “Tsoñ k'a pa and dGe adun grub in 'On sde steñ,,,

*bu ston rin po c'e la rtsa rgyud gsan*. – “From Buston he hears the fundamental Tantras,,,

*Ra reñ* (for *rva greñs*) *dgon du lam rim c'en mo sogs mañ du gsuñ*. – “In the monastery of Rva greñs he explained the *Lam rim* and other laws,..  
 ... *t'añ du re ada'*. – “In ... *t'añ Re mda'* ..  
*ra k'a brag legs bšad sogs rtson* (for *brtsom*). –  
 “In *Ra k'a brag* he composes the *Legs bšad* ..  
*zañs por lam rim žus*. – “in *Zañs po* he questions concerning the *Lam rim* ..

Round the central figure are gathered the principal masters and disciples:

*mK'as aḡrub*, *Šes rab sen ge*, *aJam dbyañs c'os rje*, *dGe adun grub*, *aJam dpal rgya mts'o*, *Graḡs pa rgyal mts'an*, *rGyal ts'ab*.

TANKA n. 46 (Plates 80, J).

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

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

The Dalai Lama's policy has always undoubtedly been hostile to the “Ancients”, and although it gave an official stamp to

Padmasambhava's biographies, it did not neglect to touch up and manipulate them. Only one Dalai Lama was favourable to the rñiñ ma pa and particularly devoted to Padmasambhava: the fifth Dalai Lama, a member of the princely family of aP'yoñ rgyas, bound by long tradition to the bKa' bḡgyud pa school. Among his works, mystical treatises abound, inspired by the rñiñ ma pa, and biographies of lamas belonging to this sect: an able attempt to bring the Reds and the Yellows together. There is no doubt that the tanka represents precisely the fifth Dalai Lama, *Ñag dbañ Blo bzañ rgya mts'o*, known in Tibet simply as *rgyal ba lña pa* “the fifth victorious” .. Under him, a *Ḍākinī* performs a mystical dance, while all around ambassadors and envoys of different countries, Indians, Chinese, Mongols, each in his typical apparel and with well defined features, bring gifts and offerings to symbolize the fifth Dalai Lama's great fame, which had overstepped the boundaries of Tibet, spreading over distant lands.

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

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

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

These two paintings interpret, in a rather different manner, the same subject. They are certainly inspired by the dogmatics of the “Yellow school”, which little by little, through theological subtleties, by painstaking and strained recourse to the scriptures, set

out to prove its founder's divinity. Tsoñ k'a pa was considered the incarnation of a Bodhisattva who, in past ages, took the vow of attaining supreme enlightenment, and for the good of suffering beings was repeatedly embodied, constantly perfecting and refining his nature and his virtues. Thus Tsoñ k'a pa's followers, as soon as his school had firmly taken root, maintained that he was a Bodhisattva, on the same spiritual plane (*l'ugs rgyud gcig pa*) as Mañjuśrī, and in fact he is actually represented with this Bodhisattva's symbols: the book of gnosis on his right and the sword which cleaves ignorance on his left.

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

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

Thus dogmatics, which had laboured and toiled to increase Tsoñ ka pa's prestige and

to prove by documents his divine nature, found its expression in art.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Below, the *sruiñ k'or* "the protectors," with gŠin rje, mGon po p'yag drug, Beg tse and a bTsan.

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

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

In the present tanka the symbolology is different and uses the tree-motif, which we have already mentioned.<sup>98</sup> The personage to whom the tanka is dedicated is of course *Tsoñ k'a pa Blo bzañ grags pa*, in the form known as *Blo bzañ rdo rje ac'añ*, under

which the supreme truth accessible to the initiate was revealed through the symbol of *rDo rje ac'añ*; in fact in liturgy the mantra used to invoke the master is: *om guru vajradharasumati-kirti siddhi hūm hūm* (OBERMILLER, *Journal of Greater India Society*, July, 1935, p. 128).

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

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

Above, over *Blo bzañ rdo rje ac'añ*'s head and under *rDo rje ac'añ*'s image, is the figure of *rDo rje ac'añ* with his *śakti*; all around Indian and Tibetan masters. The small inscriptions of the Tashilunpo woodcut are difficult to read. To the left, first and second line, nothing is visible; 3rd line: *Blo bzañ don grub*; 3rd line, from right to left: *Blo bzañ ajam dbyañs*; 7th line: *rDo rje rgyal mts'an*.

To the right above, from left to right; 1st line: .....; 2nd line: *mK'as grub rje, C'os*

rdo rje; 2nd line from left to right: 1) Blo bzañ ye šes, 2) Blo bzañ, 3) Ye šes rdo rje, 4) Sañs rgyas ye šes; 3rd line: Naḡ dbañ byams pa, 2) Blo bzañ bzod pa.

The construction of this tanka is very interesting. To begin with, we had better leave aside the images on the right and left upper corners; they represent some incarnations of the Pañ c'en lama of Tashilunpo, which we shall meet with later and other supreme masters of Buddhist esoterism. They have an episodical value and have been placed there to fill up empty space, because the convent where the tanka was drawn is the see where those masters succeeded one another. But the whole painting tends towards the tree and the choirs which develop around it. The Hindu gods and the keepers of the four points of space are outside the heaven which forms the centre of the painting, its true theme; they are outside spiritual life, on the samsaric plane, there is no room for them in the tree of life. The latter opens with the image of the Buddha Śākyamuni among the Arhats, because this revelation of truth, in a form accessible to human beings and proportioned to their limitations, has opened up and pointed out to us the way leading from the samsaric to the nirvanic plane. Out of the central rosette, i. e. above, is rDo rje ač'añ, Vajradhara, represented in a double aspect, with his *śakti* as the Tantras of the superior class imagine him, and alone, on the apex of the tanka, as a symbol of the supreme plane, dharmakāya. The rosette represents paradise proper, the spiritual plane where Tsoñ k'a pa teaches the most secret truths of the adamantine Vehicle to the chosen few ascending to those spheres. They are, as we have seen, purely ideal spheres, which cannot be localized in any part of the universe, outside time and space, in the same manner as the preacher himself is no longer Tsoñ k'a pa but the Dharmakāya in person, who according to the spiritual maturity of the initiate as if evoked by them, reveals the eternal

truth, namely his own self, the identity of Essence and of Word. Tsoñ k'a pa carries the vase for alms and stands in *dharmavyākhyānamudrā*, because he shall appear thus one day, on becoming the Buddha Señ gei ña ro " of a green colour, with his right hand in the posture of the explanation of the Law and on his left hand the *piṇḍapātra* full of ambrosia „ (*Vai dūr ya ser po*, p. 7, reproducing the theories which dGe lugs pa theology, beginning with aJam dpal rgya mts'o, had elaborated in order to place Tsoñ k'a pa on the same level as the most celebrated figures of Mahāyāna).

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

*Na mo gu ru blo bzañ rdo rje p'yañ gyis rnal abyor rim gañ gyis bris ku skon c'ogs brgyal mts'an la bžeñ pai dge ba agro kum ma lus pai blo bzañ rdo rje p'yañ gi sa t'ob šog.*

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

*blo bzañ rdo rje acañ gi rnal abyor rim gañ gi bris sku dkon mc'og rgyal mts'an lugs bžeñs pai dge bas agro ba ma lus pa blo bzañ rdo rje ač'añ gi sa t'ob par šog.*

“Honour to the master.

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

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

TANKA n. 51 (Plate 85).

It is another interpretation of the *dGe ts'ogs žiñ*, the dGe lugs pa's spiritual congregation: in the centre Śākyamuni, on the axis,

above, rDo rje ac'añ, below Tsoñ k'a pa. All around unfolds the wheel of the protecting gods, in the extreme edges. They are represented in their terrific aspect.

Beginning from the lower left-hand corner – Žaň loñ (i. e. Žaň blon) rdo rje sdud (for: bdud) mam ađul; on the lower edge, to the right P'un ts'ogs rgyal mts'an, who is the donor in front of an altar with gifts; next the seven gems. In the centre, going upwards towards the Buddha's image, one above and over the other, Yul mk'or (for: ak'or) bsrui, rDo rje ajigs byed, Rin c'en rtsa bai bla ma, Zla med rje (Tsoñ k'a pa), between Pañ c'en Blo bzañ ye řes and rGyal dbaň skal rgya mts'o (the seventh Dalai Lama). On the left the following names can be read: Sañs rgyas ye řes, Nam mk'a' seň ge, Ži ba mts'o (for: ats'o), Seň ge bzañ po, a second Seň ge bzañ po, rJe dge legs rgya mts'o, Nor bu bzañ po, C'os dpal bzañ, Ye řes rgya mts'o, Sri ... t'ai mts'an.

On the right: bSod rnam (for: nam) rgya mts'o, sPyil bu pa, Sañs rgyas dbaň, Dam c'os rgyal mts'an, dGe adun rgya mts'o, Byams pa c'os ldan, rGyal dbaň blo bzañ rgya mts'o.<sup>99</sup>)

Then in the upper part, beginning from the Buddha's seat on the left and proceeding upwards, the following names or fragments of names can be read: dGe ... t'og(s) med ađul bai sde, řes rab seň ge, ... rgon, Craggs pa rgyal mts'an, Jo bo c'en po, gSer gliñ pa, Sa skya rje.

To the right, always from below upwards: Ts'ul krims ađar, dGe ađun ... mK'as grub, mTs'o rna ba, sKar ma rin c'en, aGro mgon, Dri med luñ pa.

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

Among the protecting deities we see, to the left: Mi gyo ba, Ma gcig slab sgrol ma, dPal gsañ ba ađus, Dus kyi ak'or lo, gSañ bdag p'yag dor, C'os rgyal gsañ ... C'os rgyal.

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

TANKA n. 52 (Plate 86).

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

On the left, beginning from the top and going downwards:

1. rab abyor, Subhūti.
2. mgos lo (= aGos lo) the lotsāva of aGos.
3. dbyoñ ton? (gYuñ ston).
4. so nam ts'ogs blañ (bSod nam) p'yogs glañ).

On the right:

1. rigs ldan, (Kulika Mañjuřrikirti).
2. no name, but almost certainly Sa skya Pañđita.
3. Mk'as bru (mK'as grub).
4. rGyal ba don grub.

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

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

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

Both are by the same hand and can be classed among the most sumptuous specimens of Tibetan art, renewed by its contact with





FIG. 90

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

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

The comparison with the woodblocks of sNar t'añ, then, enables us not only to identify the place where these tankas were painted and their inspiration, but also to understand their meaning.

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

As almost always is the case, this artistic representation is derived from a literary source: I am not acquainted with the *sKu p'reñ rim pa ltar byon pa* mentioned by WADDELL, p. 236, but I know the biographies of some of these incarnations, contained in the works of rJe btsun Blo bzaiñ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an, pañ c'en of Tashilunpo (complete works, vol. Ka). They are metrical avadāna and are concerned only with:

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

A literary source, probably the one quoted by Waddell, has served as a base for an article by S. Ch. Das, where the main events in each of these incarnations are summarized.<sup>100)</sup>

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

#### INDIAN INCARNATIONS

S. Ch. Das	Tashilunpo series
1. Subhūti	Rab abyor c'e
2. Mañjuśrī-kīrti	aJam dpal grags
3. Legs ldan Jad	Legs ldan
4. Abhayakaragupta	Abhayakarai žabs



S. Ch. Das	Tashilunpo series
5. Khug-pa-lhas-tsi 6. Saskya Paṇḍita Kungaḥ gyal-tshan 7. Yun-ton-rdo rje 8. Kha-dub-Geleg-pal-ssan 9. Sonam-chho kyi Lanpo 10. Gyal-wa-Ton-Dub 11. Gedundub 12. Pan-chhen Lo-ssan Chhokyi rgyal-tshan 13. Lo-ssan Ye-še-pal-ssan-po 14. Panchhen Lo-ssan Paldan-ye-še	rTa nag agos lo Sa skya pa gYun ston rdo rje mK'as grub dGe legs bSod nams p'yogs glañ Grub pañ dbaṅ p'yug Blo bzañ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an Blo bzañ ye šes Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye šes (two types) bsTan pai ñi ma p'yogs las rnam rgyal

In the Tashilunpo blocks each tanka is explained by a metrical invocation:

Indian incarnations:

1. Svasti

*bla ma t'ub pai dbaṅ poi spyan sna ru  
 rab tu byuñ nas dgra bcom mñon sum mdsad  
 rgyal c'en bži yis bka' bsgrub rdsu aṅ'gul gyis  
 rgya mts'oi klu rnamś aduñ mdsad rab aḅyor c'e*

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

2. *c'os kyi rgyal po lha yi dbaṅ yi ldan gyis  
 dpal ldan dus kyi ak'or loi dkyil ak'or du  
 dbaṅ skur rdo rje šugs kyis bka' sgrub pai  
 rigs ldan kun gyi t'og ma aḅam dpal grags*

“Jam dpal grags lofty among all the Kulikas, carried out the command of the adamantine forces, and was initiated into the maṇḍala of the Kālacakra by Lhai dbaṅ ldan, the king who ruled according to the Law,, (fig. 91).

3. *slob dpon klu grub žabs la legs gtud nas  
 lho p'yogs yul du mu stegs ts'ar bcad de  
 gsañ bdag mñon sum žal gzigš bya rog mts'an  
 bran ak'ol slob dpon c'en po legs ldan žabs*

“The great master Legs ldan žabs bound to his allegiance the god who is called Bya rog,

had a vision of gSañ bdag and in Southern India put an end to heretics and met the master Klu grub žabs,, (fig. 92).

4. *rin c'en aḅyuñ gnas...*

*... akyil ... mñon sum gzigš  
 gtum c'en ma hā ka las dran mdsad pai  
 rdo rje gdan pa abhya ka rai žabs*

“Abhayākara of rDor tje gdan, made aware by Mahākāla, had a vision of the maṇḍala ... owing to Rin c'en aḅyuñ gnas,, (fig. 93).

Tibetan incarnations:

5. *a tī ša yi gtsañ gi slob mai gtso  
 gsañ ba kun adus (bsgrub?) bšad gtan la p'ab  
 c'os kyi bstan sruñš gri gug mgon po bsten  
 bstan pa rgyas mdsad rta nag agos loi žabs*

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

6. *rje btsun c'en po grags pa rgyal mts'an dan  
 yi dam brtan pai ak'or loi t'ugs rjes las  
 mu t'egs ts'ar bcad drag po gdoñ bži las  
 p'rin las grogs mdsad sa skya pañ di ta*

“Sa skya paṇḍita accompanied by his virtues of action, which were derived to him from Drag po gdoñ bži (the four-faced) put an end to

the heretics with the help of his protecting deity brTan pai ak'or lo and of the (master), the venerable Grags pa rgyal mts'an,, (fig. 95).

7. zur dbaṅ [byams pa] seṅ gei žabs btud ciṅ  
 aJam dpal gšin rje gšed kyi tiṅ ḡdsin kyis  
 mgon po legs ldan ak'or bcas bran du ak'ol  
 dregs pa zil gnon gyuṅ ston rdo rje dpal

“gYuiṅ ston rdo rje dpal overthrew the Dregs and meditating upon aJam dpal gšin rje gšed, bound to his allegiance mGon po legs ldan with his retinue and bowed at the feet of Byams pa seṅ ge Zur dbaṅ po,, (fig. 96).

8. rje btsun c'os kyi rgyal po tsoṅ k'a pas  
 rdo rje ajigs byed dbaṅ daṅ gdams [pa] gnaṅ  
 p'yag drug mgon po bšien sgrub baun la  
 lhan žugs bsal mdsad mk'as grub dge dpal

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

9. mk'a' agros luṅ bstan bsod noms rin c'en las  
 nur smrig rtags bžas (for bžes) aJam pai rdo rje  
 bsgrubs  
 dpal ldan lha mos mñon sum žal gzigs nas  
 bka' bsruiṅ mdsad pai bsod noms p'yogs glaṅ žabs

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

10. ...kyi rdo rje žabs rdul legs bsten nas  
 k'or lo c'en poi dbaṅ daṅ gdams (sgrub?)  
 ...kyi gšin rje byin brlabs  
 mñon sum bran ak'ol grub pai dbaṅ p'yug c'e

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

11. mk'as grub c'en po saṅs rgyas ye šes žabs  
 legs bsten be ru ka yis byin brlas žiṅ  
 rnam t'os sras kyis ap'rin las ts'ul bžin du  
 bsgrub mdsad blo bzaṅ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an žabs

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

12. mk'an c'en rdo rje ḡdsin pai bka' drin las  
 rdo rje ajigs byed dbaṅ daṅ gdams pa t'ob  
 ḡdod k'ams dbaṅ mo c'os kyi bsruiṅ mar bsten  
 blo bzaṅ ye šes ḡdul byai bsod noms žiṅ//  
 de ltar skyes rabs ṅi ma graṅs ldan pai  
 snaṅ brñan par du slob ak'or p'yi ts'ogs kyis  
 dad pas bsgrub pai dge ts'ogs gaṅgai rgyun  
 kun kyaṅ rjes su ḡdsin pai rgyur gyur cig// maṅ ga lam

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

13. pad dkar ac'aṅ dbaṅs rigs kyi cod pan daṅ  
 rdo rje ajigs byed lhaḡ pai lhar bsten ciṅ  
 ḡdod k'ams dbaṅ mos rnam bžiiṅ las sgrub pai  
 rje btsun blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye šes žabs maṅ ga lam

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

14. blo bzaṅ aJam dpal rgya mts'o rigs bdaḡ can  
 dpal ldan rdo rje ajigs byed mñon sum gzigs  
 lha pe ka ts'aṅs pa p'yin dkar bran du ak'ol  
 bstan pai ṅi ma p'yogs las rnam rgyal žabs// maṅ  
 ga lam



FIG. 91



“bsTan pai ñi ma p’yogs las rnam rgyal who had the realization of rDo rje ajjigs byed and belonged to the lineage of Blo bzañ ajam dpal rgya mts’o, made obedient to his will lha Pe ka[r], Ts’añs pa and P’yin dkar., (fig. 105).

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

The scheme of the tankas is the same as that of the Tashilunpo drawings although the painter has broken away from it in some slight detail: in these case he has not copied, rather he has taken his inspiration from his

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

Tanka n. 54 on the contrary representing the Sa skya pañḍita, follows very closely the Tashilunpo model, which it faithfully reproduces: the lama is in the act of performing

an exorcism; evidently the figure of a dark-skinned Indian yogin, in the lower right-hand corner, alludes to the conversion of the Shivaite ascetic Harinanda, which the Sa skya paṇḍita accomplished in sKyiḍ sroñ near the Nepalese frontier.<sup>101</sup> Above, a lama's figure perhaps represents Grags pa rgyal mts'an, and to the left a Jam dbyaṅs ak'or lo brtan pa, Sthiracakra (Mañjuśrī), whose incarnation the Sa skya pa are generally believed to be. Below Drag po, with four faces and four hands, dancing his terrific dance.

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

These tankas represent Tsoñ ka pa's life, thus they too are pictorial biographies, the representation of a *rnam t'ar* according to the scheme of certain traditional invocations. Ts'oñ ka pa's life, apart from the biographies written by his disciples, already mentioned elsewhere, is known to us even through some summaries like: *rJe btsun tsoñ k'a pai rnam t'ar c'en moi zur aḍebs rnam t'ar legs bśad kun aḍus*, which preceds his biography in the edition of his complete works (vol. *Ka*) and through many litanies (*gsol aḍebs*).

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

Before examining each tanka in detail and identifying the scenes represented, it is necessary to point out that they are bound one to the other and form a series. As we have seen in similar cases, these pictorial biographies are inspired by some well known model. Is it possible to identify the model of the present series or to establish where it comes from? For

tankas nn. 63-64 our certainty is absolute: in this case the painter has done nothing but copy his model and colour the drawing with great skill and a most delicate touch. I allude to the Tashilunpo woodcuts, consisting of a series of 15 tanka, one in the centre and seven on each side (figg. 106-120); the tankas contain 203 episodes altogether.

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

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

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

This is proved by a passage of the above mentioned biography, alluding precisely to the

Tashilunpo series, which must therefore be earlier than the book; indeed this passage is even more interesting because it contains the name of the artist who drew the woodcuts. In this passage of the biography, Tson k'a pa's meeting with the mk'an c'en C'os skyabs is discussed, and as the sources disagreed on the circumstances of this visit, the author of the biography clears up the difficulty as follows:

"Concerning the meeting with the mK'an c'en C'os skyabs bzañ po, the great biography (by mK'as grub rje) is not explicit, but other parallel biographies speak clearly about it. According to the chronological order followed in the pictorial biography painted on canvas by aJam dbyaṅs bžad pa, Tson k'a pa, after he had met the great ascetic, met him once more and then went to Lo ro. After having drawn the scene in which (the master) sees the bsTan rim, by the scholar P'rin las and explains this work, in the first tanka on the left the painter shows how the master, in the mK'an c'en C'os skyabs' school, listened to explanations of the scriptures of the Vinaya, of the Abhidharma, of the Mādhyamika of the Lam rin, of Śa ra pa's instructions on the Bodhicaryāvatāra, on the Blo sbyon's treatises, etc., on other sūtras and Tantric works, (op. cit., p. 132 b).

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

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

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

aJam dkar po	Byaṅ sems.
rGyal ts'ab rje	aJam dbyaṅs rje
rje dGe aḍun grub	aDul aḍsin pa;

on the right:

rTogs ldan aJam	Šes rab seṅ ge
dpal rgya mts'o	dPal skyoṅ
mK'as grub rje	Byaṅ sems rdo rje
Šes rab grags	Ts'a lo.

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

1. *ñion ajig rten k'ams aḍir nañ bai (?) 'od du gyur dus rgyal ba dbaṅ poi tog gis rje aḍi luñ bstan pa.*
2. *ñion bram ze padmai nañ ts'ul du gyur dus rdo rje gdan du t'ub pa la šel p'reñ p'ul te.*
3. *mts'o ma aḍros pai agram du ston pas c'os gsuṅs dus klus ts'ogs duñ p'ul ba.*

Right:

4. *ston pa gaṅs te ser bžugs dus dbaṅ p'yug lba klu rnams la c'os gsuṅs pa.*

Left:

5. *bya rгод p'un po ston pas rje luñ bstan ciñ ts'ogs duñ (?) skur ba.*
- 5 a. *ston pas ts'ogs duñ skur ba gaṅs can c'u mts'ams su sbas pa.*

1st tanka: Right (Biogr. from p. 54 up to p. 72):

6. *mdo smad btsoñ k'ar yab klu aḍum dgei mnal lam du aJam dpal rgya ban glegs bam can dañ lcañ lo can nas p'yag na rdo rjes rdo rje aḍar ba sku la t'im rmis yum šiñ mo a c'os la me t'og t'añ du šel gyi k'yeu dañ nub kyi mk'a aḍros k'rus byas pa rmis.*
7. *jo bo rin po c'e gdan drañs pa dañ ñi zla skar gsum šar pa rmis.*
8. *c'os rje don rin c'en mnal lam du ajigs byed žal gzigs šiñ rje aḍi luñ bstan pa.*
9. *yum gyi mnal lam du skeye bo rnams kyi(s) rol (mo) mc'od rdsas k'yer nas spyān ras gzigs bsu žes nam mk'a gser sku ri bo tsam pa ak'or bcas bžugs pa lus la t'im pa rmis pa.*





FIG. 92

10. yum gyi t'ugs k'ai šel sgo bye žiñ mk'a' agros k'rus  
gsol ba rmis rje t'o reñs ltams par lte k'rab las  
tsan dan sdon po ak'ruñs pa.
11. c'os rje don rin ajam dbyañs ril bu gnañ ba.
12. dguñ lo gsum par rol pai rdo rjes druñ du dge bñen  
sdom pa bžes ciñ luñ bstan pa.
13. c'os rje don rin pai druñ du dge ts'ul gyi sdom pa  
bžes pa.
14. c'os rje don rin pai druñ du dbañ skur žus pa.
15. mnan lam du p'yag dor dan jo bo rje dan njal.
16. ... bñen mdsad (biogr., p. 96 a).
17. abri guñ pai p'rin las pa dan agroggs dbus gtsañ la  
p'ebs pa.
18. c'ab mдор žag bžugs skabs gnas bcu drug dan mgon  
po žal gžigs pa.

2nd, Right (Biogr. from p. 72 to p. 75):

19. dguñ lo bcu bduñ par abri k'uñ (sic) du spyan mña'  
rin po c'e la t'eg c'en sems bskyed dan p'yag  
c'en lña ldan gsan ciñ rdo rje p'reñ kyañ  
gsan pa.
20. ts'al pai bla rje dkon mc'og skyabs kyi druñ du...  
dpyad la sbyañs pa.
21. sñe tañ du gnas dag skor par c'os gsan pa.
22. bde ba can du bla ma yon ... gñis la p'ar p'yin  
gsan pa.
23. klog pai slob dpon gñis kyi druñ du mñon rtogs  
bryyan sogs sbyañs pa.
24. ajam rin la byams c'os kun gsan pa.
25. gsañ p'ur grva skor mdsad pa.
26. bde ba can du grva skor mdsad pa.
27. ža lu lo c'en rin rnam la bde mc'og mi tri bcu gsum  
gsan pa.
28. snar t'añ du ma ti pañ c'en la c'os gsan pa.
29. sa skyar grva skor mdsad.
30. bzañ ldan du grva skor mdsad pa.
31. (dga') roñ du grva skor mdsad.
32. nam riñs du grva skor mdsad.
33. jo nañ du p'yogs legs par dus ak'or sbyor drug rje  
k'rid sogs gsan pa.
34. spyi lhas sar lam rim sogs gsan pa.
35. er grva skor mdsad pa.
36. snar t'añ du lo c'en don bzañ la mñon par mdsod  
gsan pa.
37. gnas rñiñ du sgrva skor mdsad pa.
38. ña dbon kun dga' dpal la p'ar p'yin gsan pa.

3rd, Right (Biogr. from p. 75 to p. 87):

39. rtse c'en du re mda' par mñon mdsod k'rid du c'os  
gsan pa.
40. ñañ stod bsam gliñ du rje re mda' pas ajug rtsa grel  
gsan pa.
41. po ta lar lo c'en byañ rtser c'os agrel gsan pa.
42. skyor luñ du mk'an c'en blo gsal la rgya c'er bgrel  
gsan pa.
43. ts'ogs su rab moi t'iñ adsin la bžugs.
44. sku stod la sñuñ gži drag po byuñ bstod (for stod)  
luñ p'ur bñen sgrub mk'as žig gi gram du byon  
man ñag ñams su bžes kyañ ma p'an pa.
45. ñur smrig p'ui la la p'ebs pa.
46. gnas rñiñ du mñon pa kun btus kyi c'os ak'or skor ba.
47. sa skyar re mda' par kun btus sogs gsan pa.
48. bla mai rdo rje rin c'en druñ du rtog gñis gsan pa.
49. sa skya bla brañ šar pai dge bšes las man ñag blañs  
te ... ba adon mdsad pas sñuñ dvañs pa.
50. nam riñs su re mda' pa rnam grel gsan pa.
51. sku mts'ams gnas rnam agrel la gžigs rtogs k'yad  
par can k'ruñs pa.
52. mał gro lha luñ du bla ma bsod grags las sñags kyi  
t'abs sbyoñs gñan ba.
53. bde ba can du po ti mañ por gžigs.
54. snar t'añ du c'os gsan ciñ grva skor mdsad.
55. po doñ du bla ma rje btsun pa c'os gsan pa.
56. lo tsā va rnam bzañ la sñan dñags sogs gsan ciñ  
dbyañs can bsgrub pa.
57. sa skyar mdo...
58. sos guñ t'añ la bžugs pa.
59. druñ du dbyañs can gžigs rje... (sa?) pan c'en.

4th, Right (from p. 87 to p. 100):

60. rtse t'añ du grva skor mdsad nas sñan pai grags  
pas k'yab pa.
61. yar kluñs ts'ogs pai mk'an po bka' bži ts'ul k'rims  
pai druñ du bñen par rdsogs.
62. gdan sa t'el du spyan mña' grags byañ dan njal  
legs bšad kyis skyes p'ul p'ag grui bka' abum  
sogs gsan ciñ lo c'en nam bzañ la sgrai rig pa  
gsan pa.
63. lha k'añ ke 'ur dpon po la c'os mañ du gsuñs pa.
64. ts'al du bka' dan bstan bcos (gyur) ro cog gžigs  
legs bšad gser ap'reñ (rtso)ms pa.
65. lha sar t'ugs rje c'en po druñ du dge bñen ces dan  
... rtags gnañ pa.



66. bde ba can du sde snod mañ du gsuñs pa.  
 67. dbus stod bya yul du p'ar ts'ad [dbu] gsum sogs c'os mañ du gsuñs pa.  
 68. slar ts'al du legs bšad gser p'reñ gi ap'ro mdsad pa.  
 69. bde ba can du legs bšad ser ap'reñ rdsogs par mdsad pa.  
 70. skyor luñ du ts'al pa mk'as mc'og ye rgyal la dus ak'or agreł c'en bšad pa ri mo sogs mk'as pa sbyañs c'os kyañ gsuñs.  
 71. dbyar c'os gsal rgya mts'oi ts'ogs la sde snod kyì bšad pa gsuñ pa.  
 72. stod luñ mts'o smad du dus ak'or lo sbyañs šiñ sde snod kyañ gsuñs pa.  
 73. bde can du sde snod ađsin pa mañ po la gžuñ c'e c'uñ mañ poi bšad pa gsuñs pa.  
 74. goñ dkar du yañ dus ak'or lo sbyañs šiñ sde snod mañ du gsan pa.  
 75. rigs lña (lha) k'añ du sde snod ađsin pa bdun cu lhag tsam la p'ar ts'ad sogs c'os mañ du gsuñs pa.  
 76. yar kluiñ smon mk'ar du dbañ dañ rjes gnañ sde snod kyì c'os mañ du gnañ ba.  
 77. mon mk'ar bkra šiñ gdoñ du sde snod ađsin pa rnams la po ři bcu bdun bšad pa mdsad pa.  
 78. [yar kluiñ dkar brag] bde mc'og gi [bsñen sgrub] sku mts'ams.  
 79. po ta lar rje re mda' par dañ lhan du agro ba mañ por legs bšad gsuñ ba.

sth, Right (from p. 100 to p. 117):

80. skyor luñ brag tu dus ak'or sogs mañ du gsuñ ba.  
 81. rtai lor snubs c'os luñ du mk'an po grags řes la bka' ci rigs gsan pa.  
 82. bla ma dbu ma par dbyañs can rjes gnañ skabs ajam dbyañs gsum la gzigs skor.  
 83. stag ts'añ rdsöñ k'ar lo c'en skyabs mc'og grags rgyan don bzañ ajam dbyañs rnams kyis p'ar rtag gñis rnam par greł (?) sogs gnañ ba.  
 84. abau aba' gñer du re mda' par gsañ ađus kyis bšad pa gsan pa.  
 85. c'os luñ bla ma dbu ma pas lo tsās mdsad ajam dbyañs la c'os gsan pa.  
 86. ñañ mk'ris rtsa k'añ yo ga pa mgon bzañ la rdo rje dbyiñs gar t'ig dbyañs gsum gsan rmi lam k'yad par can rmis pa.  
 87. ñañ stod du bu la agreł c'en bcu bdun gsan pai c'od dpal la dus ak'or gsan pa.

88. ñañ stod bde c'en du rin po c'es c'os dpal rje ap'reñ bai dbañ luñ bšad pa t'ig dbyañs sogs gsan pa.  
 89. žva lur k'yuñ lhas pai t'ugs kai sñags ap'reñ rmis pa.  
 90. žva lur k'yuñ lhas par yo gai dkyil ak'or bcu gñis sogs rgyud sde bžii dbañ bka' mt'a' dag gsan pa.  
 91. pa gnam p'ag pa rir rin po c'e c'os dpal la yo gai skor gsan pa.  
 92. bla ma dbu ma dañ lhan du dga' ba gdoñ du bžugs pa.  
 93. grol ... lhan du bžugs pa ... slar yañ (?)  
 94. gzims k'añ so sor sku mts'ams gnañ ba.  
 95. dga' ba gdoñ du bla ma yi dam la gsol ba byer med du (byed pas) rje btsun dañ yi dam c'os rgyal p'yi nañ gsañ gsum sogs gzigs šiñ ts'e skyoñ bka' sdod du kyur pa (?)  
 96. lha sai t'og steñ gis lhoi rgya ap'ugs kyì 'og tu mc'od pa mdsad par rje btsun gyis luñ (bstan pa).  
 97. lha sai smo (or sgo?) ... steñ du bla ma dbu ma pas gsañ ađus kyì dbañ rdogs par gnañ ba.  
 98. skyor mo luñ du c'os mañ du gsuñ pa.

6th, Right (from p. 117 to p. 123):

99. dpon slob dgu nas bya bral p'ebbs pa.  
 100. dpon slob t'ams cađ kyis bšags sbyañ la agrus pa mdsad pas sañs rgyas so lña byams mgon sman blo sogs kyì(s) žal gzigs pa.  
 101. yañ 'ol k'ar bšag sbyañ dañ p'al po c'ei nañ gi rgyal nas kyì spyod par slobbs ts'e ajam dbyañs sañs rgyas so lña sogs kyì skor ba gzigs.  
 102. rdsiñ řii byams mgon ajal (for mjal) mc'od pa smon lam mdsad pa.  
 103. dvags po sman luñ p'ur bžugs dus ajam dbyañs la sañs rgyas byañ sems kyì(s) skor ba dpag tu med pa žal gzigs.  
 104. yañ dvags po sman luñ p'ur ajigs byed žal p'yag yoñs rdsogs dañ ajam dbyañs la pan grub du ma dañ grub c'en brgyad cus bskor ba gzigs pa.  
 105. ajam dbyañs la sañs rgyas byañ sems kyis skor bai ajam dbyañs kyì t'ugs k'ar ral grii yu ba dañ rjei t'ugs k'ar ral grii rtse mo jug pas bdud rtsii rgyun babs pai 'od zer ak'or rnams gyì agro ba dañ mi agro ba mañ po gzigs pa.  
 106. dvags po sman luñ du ts'o ap'rul mc'od la smon lam rlabs c'en mdsad par p'yogs kyis sañs rgyas nam mk'a' gañ ba žal gzigs pa.

7th, Right (from p. 123 to p. 132):

107. 'ol k'a rdsiñ jir rje btsun gyis gsuñ ltar žig gos gyis gsuñ bar rnams la ap'rin las btsol ba.
108. rdsiñ jii žig gos rab gnas sogs rgyas par mdsad dus sañs rgyas so lña gžigs pa.
109. rdsiñ jii byams stod bde smon sogs rtsoms pa.
110. lho brag bra 'o dgon par mk'an c'en p'yag rdor dañ ajal so sor ajam dbyaṅs p'yag (bži pa) snañ byuñ ba.
111. bla mai rnal abyor gsañ skabs p'yag rdor rje la t'im ciñ mk'an c'en la gsañ bdag gis luñ bstan pa.
112. byams pa la bslab btus žus gsuñs ba ltar rjer žus pa.
113. mk'an c'en la lam rim sogs sñan rgyud kyis dbaṅ rjes gnañ gsañ ciñ lba dga' gis žal gžigs byin gyis rlabs pa.
114. ajam dbyaṅs žal gžigs ciñ stod pa ts'añs cod pan dañ c'os gos sogs rdsiñ jii byams par skur te gñal du byon.
115. gñal lor p'rin las pai bstan rim spyān drañs par bsu ba mdsad pa.
116. ... bstan rim ts'a gcig gsuñs pa.

Donor:

C'os rgyal bsod nams stobs rgyas zuñ vañ la na mo

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

117. gñal gura skor du mk'an c'en c'os skyabs la dul mñon dbu ma sogs kyī luñ dañ bka' gdams kyī gdams (pa) ... rdsogs par gsañ pa.
118. gñal gsal rje yar adren du ajam dbyaṅs dañ rnam sras žal gžigs pa.
119. rtsa ri ma c'en la p'eb pa.
120. rtsa rir bde mc'og gs... ajug ts'ogs ak'or mdsad pa.
121. mo lai rtsar byams mgon žal gžigs ciñ luñ bstan pa.
122. gñal señ ge rdson du dus ak'or sbyor drug sogs la sbyaṅs siñ dus ak'or gyi žal gžigs luñ bstan pa.
123. gñal du dbyaṅs can ma dañ ajam dbyaṅs žal gžigs nas luñ bstan pa.
124. gser gyi abum par mc'od abul sogs ajam dbyaṅs kyī žal gžigs luñ bstan pa.
125. gñal gsañ c'uñ skya ser rnams la c'os gsuñ pa.
126. ts'a ts'a abum t'eñ mañ po btab.

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

127. gñal stod ra groñ du rgyal ts'ab dar ma rin c'en dañ ajal... adus pai c'os ak'or gñal luñ ra c'en mor adsugs pai mdsad.
128. dvags po lha sdiñs du ap'ags pa yab sras lñai žal gžigs siñ du nañ nas sañs rgyas skeyaṅs gyis dbu mai rgya dpe dbu la žug pa.
129. sñon 'ol dgai mk'ar p'ug du bžugs c'os mañ du gsuñ pa.
130. ei ti 'ur c'os gsuñs pa.
131. 'ol dgai brag gdoñ du dgon bžugs pa.
132. rdsiñ jii rjes mc'od pa abul dus rgyal rigs lña nam mk'a' k'ams gañ gžigs pa.
133. rgyal ts'ab rje la sogs [la] c'os mañ du gsuñ ba.
134. zam k'a nas dbu pañ c'ur ltañs par ñañ po sañ siñ dgon luñ bstan pa.
135. ñañ po mda' mdor dge adun duñ skeye bai ts'ogs la c'os gsuñ pa.
136. po ta lar sde snod adsiñ pa brgya p'rag du ma la lam rim adul ba sogs c'os mañ du gsuñ pa.
137. dga' ba gdoñ du snags byaṅ sems kyī slabbya gsuñs pa.
138. dga' ba gdoñ du rje btsun re mda' pa dañ mjal ba.
139. rje btsun yab sras gñis kas c'os mañ du gsuñs pa.

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

140. rva sgreñ la p'eb pa.
141. rva sgreñ du yab sras gñis bžugs ste c'os mañ du gsuñs pa.
142. abri k'uñ la p'eb pa.
143. abri k'uñ du spyān mña' rin po c'er p'yag c'en c'os drug sogs dge adun rnams c'os gsuñ pa.
144. gnam rtser steñ gi gtsug lag k'añ du c'os rje rnam pa gsum kyī bstan pai dag t'er mdsad bslab pa bstan bcos mdsad pa.
145. gži bcu bdun dañ rnam abyed las gsuñs pai ltuñ pa rnam bšags sdom sogs rgyas par gsuñ pa.
146. rva sgreñ du p'eb mc'od pa p'uñ smon lam btab pas ston pa nas mk'an c'en por žal gžigs jo bos dbu la p'yag bžag luñ bstan lam rim c'en mo brtsoms t'añ lha sogs dbus p'yogs gži bdag rnams adud pa.
147. rva sgreñ du sde snod adsin pa mañ por lam rim gsuñ ts'e ap'uñ kyī mc'od pa dañ smon lam mdsad pa.
148. lha sar dgon gsar du ts'ad ma rnam agreñ gyi gžuñ don ... gsuñ.



FIG. 93

149. 'on bde c'en steñ du sbyar bžug sde snod ađsin pa du ma la lam rim sogs gsuñ pa.  
 150. 'od de guñ rgyal lha žol byams gliñ du lam rim dañ (b)skyed rdsogs mañ du gsuñs dpon slob rñams sku mts'ams dam par bcađ rje btsun gyis žal gžigs luñ bstan pa.  
 151. dam pa mañ pos gsol ba btad par rten rgyud sdei (bžii lam) lus yoñs rdsogs ston pai bstan bcos rtsams, gsañ sñags lam rim sogs kyañ gsuñs.

4th, Left (from p. 169 to p. 216):

152. byañ c'ub luñ du dgun bžugs sde snod ađsin pa mañ por lam rim sogs gsuñ pa.  
 153. ser c'os sdiñ su ye řes ngon po žal gžigs abral med du gyur mk'as grub rje dañ ajal ba.  
 154. ser c'os sdiñ kyis nam mk'ar stoñ ñid ñi řui agreł rkañ gi yi ge gžigs pa.  
 155. ser c'os sdiñ su rgya nag t'ai miñ rgyal poi abul skyal byuñ ba.  
 156. se rar (...). řes sogs mdo sñags kyi c'os mañ du gsuñ pa.  
 157. skyid smad grum bu luñ du lam rim dañ sñags kyi c'os mañ du gsuñ pa.  
 158. lha sar žig gsos smon lam mc'od abul bsam mi k'yab mdsad pa žal gžigs sogs ts'ad las ađas ciñ dga' ldan ađebs pai rtag pa žus pa.  
 159. ri bo dga' ldan žabs kyis ... pai bskor.  
 160. ser c'os sdiñs su sde snod ađsin pa mañ por rtsa ře dañ ts'ul k'rims leu lam rim sogs mañ du gsuñ pa.  
 161. zañs ri p'u c'iñ du spyan miña' bsod bzañ la lam rim sogs c'os mañ du gsuñ pa.

5th, Left (from p. 216 to p. 229):

162. 'ol dga' bsam gliñ du c'os gsuñs žiñ abul dañ ltas ño mts'ar can byuñ ba.  
 163. glañ lor ajams dbyañs dkyil ak'or sogs žai gžigs luñ bstan rñis pa.  
 164. t'ams cad mk'yen bu ston gyi gsañ ađus glegs bam gñañ ba rñis pa.  
 165. mar pai bsre ap'ro t'ugs ñes byuñ ba.  
 166. c'os drug (?) sprul gsum gyis bsre ba skor dgu la ñes pa brñes pa.  
 167. gñid dañ rmi lam bsre bai bskor la ñes pa mañ po brñes pa.  
 168. rta lo dga' ldan du lam rim sgron gsal sogs c'os mañ gsuñs pa.

169. yos lor byams bžugs (nas) sgom dus sañs rgyas sogs žal mañ du gžigs pa.  
 170. sañs rgyas t'ams cad dañ mc'og gi (?) dños sgrub ster bai lha gsum... gi lha gñis... žal gžigs pa.  
 171. abrug lo sku mts'ams dus sañs rgyas nam mk'a' k'yab pa rab gžigs dañ a va dbu ti yañ gžigs.  
 172. slob ma bdun bcas bzlab sgom la ađad par gñod byed kyis dam bca' p'uł ba.  
 173. bzañ po bžugs stañs kyi bžugs par ston par rje la t'im ciñ bdud ađul bai tiñ ađsin la bžugs pa.  
 174. ri bo dga' ldan gyi dgon pa ađebs par mdsad pa.

6th, Left (from p. 230 to p. 328):

175. 'on bkras řis do k'ar dge ađun grub pa dañ ajal bai skor.  
 176. dga' ldan du bde mc'og gi bskyed rdsogs sogs mañ du mdsad ciñ ajam dbyañs kyis luñ bstan pa.  
 177. rtoqs ldan pai gñal (for mñal) lam du mc'od rten la mk'a' agros... k'rus gsol ba.  
 178. dga' ldan yañs can gyi lha k'añ dañ rten bžeñs mdsad dus bde mc'og gi lha ts'ogs žal gžigs.  
 179. btsug lag k'añ de rab gñas skabs ajigs byed nam mk'a' gañ ba lder sku la t'im pa gžigs pa.  
 180. dga' ldan du c'os kyi ak'or lo rgyun c'ađ med par skor ba.  
 181. ajug pai rnam bśad brtsams řiñ gsuñs pa.  
 182. sde snod ađsin pa mt'a' yas la bde mc'og rtsa rgyud la sogs pa c'os mañ du gsuñ t'ika mdsad pa.  
 183. c'os bsruñs la gtor abul dañ dbyañs riñs sogs gñañ ba.  
 184. sde snod ađsin pa mt'a' yas gsuñs dus ak'or ajigs byed sogs gsuñs pa.  
 185. dga' ldan nas lha sa p'ebs pa.  
 186. lha sai jo bo mc'od pa dañ smon lam mt'a' yas mdsad pa.  
 187. stod luñ c'ab ts'an la p'ebs ser sku mañ po c'os dañ byin rlabs gñañ ba.  
 188. c'u mig luñ gi c'os grvar gsañ ađus lha ts'ogs t'im pai gžigs snañ byuñ žiñ luñ bstan pa.

7th, Left (from p. 328 to p. 370):

189. abras spuñs su p'ebs skabs ađo lii snar aja' gžugs pa.  
 190. abras spuñs sñags k'añ du rab gñas mdsad.  
 191. abras spuñs su c'os gsuñs skabs c'os sgrvar aja' gžugs pa.  
 192. lha sar jo bo rin po c'ei druñ du luñ bstan pa yuñ riñ gñas pai rten abral smon lam mdsad pa.



193. *c'os sdiñs su gso (sbyon) mdsad žiñ c'os gsuñs skor.*  
 194. *brag đkar rdson dpon la sñags grva đdsugs pai žal*  
*lta gnañ ba.*  
 195. *gsañ sñags mk'ar du rab gnas rgyas par gnañ.*  
 196. *de pas brag đkar du byon ba.*  
 197. *grub bžir p'ebs nam mk'a' nas ... i sgra c'en po*  
*byuñ ba.*  
 198. *abras spuñs nas p'ebs dus sa gyo žiñ aja' gzugs pa.*  
 199. *đga' lđan yañ pa can du smon lam rgya c'er gnañ*  
*ciñ c'os skor la ap'rin las btsol ba.*  
 200. *ts'ogs k'añ dbus p'ebs nas bde can smon lam žis*  
*brjod rgyas par mdsad pa.*  
 201. *gzims k'añ du sñuñ ts'ul bstan pas žva dañ gos ber*  
*rgyal ts'ab par gnañ žiñ ts'ogs ak'or dañ rdo*  
*rje bzlas mdsad pa.*  
 202. *mñam bžag 'od gsal c'os skur myañ ñan đdas rđsu*  
*p'ruł bstan ciñ aja' ts'on dañ me tog gi c'ar*  
*babs ciñ dag žiñ du gšegs.*  
 203. *đpa' bo mika' đgros spyan drañs.*

Without number:

*bde ba can du rgyal sras kyi ts'ul byuñ ba bde*  
*ba can du ajam đpal sñiñ por ak'ruñs pa.*

1. In ancient times, in this world, when he was Nāñ bai 'od, he received from the Buddha đBañ poi tog a prophecy concerning his future destiny (*Vai đū rya ser po*, p. 9; biogr., p. 18 ff.).

2. In ancient times, when he appeared as the Brahman Pad ma ñañ lđan in rDo rje gđan, he offered the Buddha a rock-crystal necklace.

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

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

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

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

6. In Tsoñ k'a, in the lower mDo, his father Klu abum dge saw in a dream aJam đpal as an Indian *bandbe* with a book; from the lCañ lo can heaven (it seemed to him that) P'yag na rdo rje flung a rdo rje and that it disappeared into his body. His mother Šiñ mo a c'os saw in a dream a (white as) rock-crystal child in the Me t'og t'añ, and some đākinī, come from the West, who were bathing him.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17. Accompanied by an officer of aBri guñ, he went to gTsañ.

18. While living for one day in C'ab mdo, he had the vision of the 16 Arhats and of the mGon po.

19. At the age of 17, in aBri guñ, under the precious *spyan śāa*, he listened to the method of framing the thought of enlightenment according to the Great Vehicle and the great mudrā with its five divisions; he also heard the rDo rje ap'reñ (*Vajrāvalī*).

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

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

22. In bDe ba can he listened to the Praj-ñāpāramitā under Yon (tan) rgya (mts'o).

23. Under the two masters of reading (Yon tan rgya mts'o and Śar c'os pa) he applied himself to the study of the *mÑon rtogs rgyan*.

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

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

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

27. In Ža lu, at the school of the great lotsāva Rin c'en rnam rgyal, he listened to bDe mc'og's cycle, according to Maitrīpā system and comprising 13 gods.

28. In sNar t'añ he listened to the Law at the school of the Pañḍita Mati.

29. He studies in the Sa skya seminary.

30. He studies in the bZañ ldan seminary.

31. He studies in the dGa' roñ seminary.

32. He studies in the Ñam riñs seminary.

33. In Jo nañ, at P'yogs legs pa's school (but the master's name was P'yogs las rnam rgyal) he learns the traditional commentaries on the sixfold yoga of the Dus kyi ak'or lo etc.

34. In sPyi lhas he listened to the *Lam rim*.

35. He studies in the seminary in E.

36. In sNar t'añ he listened to the *mÑon par mdsod* (Abhidharmakośa) at the school of the great lotsāva Don (grub) bzañ po.

37. He studies in the seminary in gNas rñiñ.

38. At the Ña dbon Kun dga' dpal's school (in rTse c'en) he listened to the Praj-ñāpāramitā.

39. In rTse c'en, at Re mda' pa's school, he listened to the traditional interpretation of the *mÑon mdsod*.

40. In bSam gliñ in Ñañ stod, at Re mda' pa's school, he studied the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, text and commentary.

41. In Potala he listened to the Law and to its commentary under the great lotsāva Byañ c'ub rtse mo.

42. In sKyor mo luñ, at the great abbot Blo gsal's school, he listened to the *rGya c'er* (*vinaya*) together with its commentary.

43. During the holy office he fell into deep meditation.

44. Having contracted a serious illness in his chest (*sku stod* = the upper part of the body) he went to (O rgyan pa), a learned master who meditated in the cave of sTod luñ; although he received instruction from him, he did not improve.

45. He goes to the Nur smrig p'u pass.

46. In gNas rñiñ he preaches on the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*.

47. In Sa skya he listens to the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* from Re mda', etc.

48. Under the master rDo rje rin c'en he listens to (the explanation) of the *br Tag gñis*.

49. From a scholar who was in the bLa brañ śar pa of Sa skya he obtained the explanation of the Tantric formulas, and reciting (the mantra) on the syllable "ha,, he was healed.

50. At Re mda' pa's school in Ñam riñs he learns the *Pramānavārttika*.

51. During a period of meditation, while he was looking at the *Pramānavārttika* an extraordinary knowledge of its intuitive sense was born in him.

52. In Lha luñ, in the environs of Mal gro, he applies himself to the study of Tantric formulas, at the school of the master bSod (nams) grags pa.<sup>102)</sup>

53. In bDe ba can he sees many books.



FIG. 94



54. In sNar t'añ he listens to the Law and studies in the monastery.

55. In Bo doñ, under the noble's lama, he listened to the Law (at C'os dbañs school).

56. At the school of the lotsāva Nam mk'a' bzañ po,<sup>103)</sup> he learns rhetoric and obtains the realization of Sarasvatī.

57. In Sa skya he [explains] the Sūtras.

58. He resides in Sos (ka) guñ t'añ.

59. Near ... he had the vision of Sarasvatī the noble ... pañḍita.

60. Having explained the Law to the monks in rTse t'añ, his fame spread abroad.

61. In Yar kluñs he obtains the complete vows from the Ts'ul k'rim (rin c'en) who presided the ceremony (Šes rab mgon po took part in it as moral preceptor, *las dpon*, and bSod nams rdo rje as esoteric teacher, *gsañ ston*).<sup>104)</sup>

62. In gDan sa t'el he met the *spyan śāa* Grags pa byañ c'ub; he gave him "the collection of the beautiful words,, and he heard the explanation of P'ag mo gru's works; then, at the school of the great lotsāva Nam mk'a' bzañ po he heard (in the biogr., p. 95 b, *Kalāpa* and *Candravyākaraṇa*).

63. Next he explained the Law to the dPon po of Lha k'añ ke 'ur (biogr., p. 96 b, Ke rur).

64. In Ts'al (of sKyid šod) he saw the (Tibetan) translations of the bKa' agyur and of the bsTan agyur, and began to write the *Legs bśad gser apr'eñ* (a commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, written at the age of 32).<sup>105)</sup>

65. In Lhasa, in front of the (image) of the Great merciful.

66. In bDe ba can he explains many sacred books.

67. In Bya yul, in the upper dBus, he explains many aspects of the Law, the Prajñāpāramitā, logic and the Mādhyamika.

68. Once more in Ts'al, he continued the *Legs bśad gser apr'eñ*.

69. In bDe ba can he completed the *Legs bśad gser apr'eñ*.

70. In sKyor mo luñ, at the school of the great scholar of Ts'al, Ye šes rgyal mts'an,<sup>106)</sup>

he became versed in the Kālacakra, in its commentary, in the drawing (of the maṇḍala), and he preached the Law.

71. During the summer retreat, in the gathering of monks convoked by Blo gsal rgya mts'o, he explains the sacred books.

72. In mTs'o smad of sTod luñ he applied himself to the study of the Kālacakra and preached the Law.

73. In bDe ba can he explained many major and minor texts to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.

74. In dGoñ dkar he applied himself again to the study of the Kālacakra and explained many sacred scriptures.

75. In the temple dedicated to the five mystical families he explains the Prajñāpāramitā, logic, etc. to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.

76. In sMon mk'ar in Yar kluñs he imparts baptism and instructions (to the monks) and preaches on many sacred scriptures.

77. In bKra šis gdoñ, in the environs of sMon mk'ar he explains 17 volumes to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.

78. Then in Yar brag in Yar kluñs he retires to meditate on bDe mc'og.

79. Having gone to Potala together with Re mda' pa, he utters many beautiful maxims.

80. In sKyor mo luñ he preaches many sermons on the Kālacakra and other texts.

81. In the year of the horse (when he was 34, 1390) he listens in sNubs c'os luñ to all sorts of texts of the sacred scriptures, at the abbot Grags pa šes rab's school.

82. Under the master dBu ma pa, while receiving instruction on Sarasvatī, he sees three figures of aJam dbyañs (corresponding to his three bodies).

83. In sTag ts'añ rdoñ k'ar the great lotsāva sKyabs mc'og (dpal bzañ po), Grags pa rgyal mts'an, Don (grub) bzañ po and aJam dbyañs instruct him on the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the *rTag gñis* and the *Pramāṇa vārttika*.<sup>107)</sup>



84. In aBau aBar gñer he hears from Re mda' pa the commentary on the gSañ aḍus (lacking in the biography).

85. In C'os luñ he hears the Law from aJam dbyaṅs, dBu ma pa acting as interpreter.

86. In the temple of mK'ris rtsa k'añ (on the frontier between) Ñañ (stod and Ñañ smad) at the school of the master of Yoga mGon bzañ, he learnt to dance, the manner of drawing the maṇḍalas and the songs (*dbyaṅs*) connected with the maṇḍalas of the Vajradhātu and he dreamt many dreams.

87. In Ñañ stod he listens to the Kālacakra at the school of C'os dpal, who had heard the great commentary in 17 chapters from Buston.<sup>108)</sup>

88. In bDe c'eñ in Ñañ stod the Rin po c'e C'os dpal explained the rDo rje ap'reñ and he heard from him the way of drawing maṇḍalas, the songs etc.

89. In Ža lu he dreamt of a necklace of mantras in the heart of K'yuñ lha.<sup>109)</sup>

90. In Ža lu, at K'yuñ lha' school, he heard (the method) of initiation and many instructions on the four kinds of Tantras and on the 12 sorts of maṇḍalas.

91. In P'ag pa ri, in the environs of Pa gnam (biogr.: Pa nam) he heard at the Rin po c'e C'os dpal's school (teachings) concerning the Yogas.

92. Together with the master dBu ma pa, he lives in dGa' ba gdoñ.

93. ... abides together again ...

94. In their cells they meditate separately.

95. In dGa' ba gdoñ he invokes his master as his protecting deity and meditates on him as not different from his own self: then he had the vision of rJe btsun (Mañjuśrī) and of the protecting deity, the C'os rgyal in his exoteric, esoteric and secret form and ... Ts'e skyoñ and bKa' sdod (gŠin rje c'os rgyal).

96. Making an offering under the South-ern dome of the upper storey in the temple in Lhasa, he obtained the prophecy from rJe btsun.

97. Over the gate ... of Lhasa the master dBu ma pa conferred on him the complete baptism of the gSañ aḍus.

98. In sKyor mo luñ he explains a large part of the Law.

99. The master and his disciples, nine in all, having ... went to Bya bral.

100. The master and his disciples (in 'Ol k'a) having put great zeal in the ceremony of purification through confession, (Tsoñ k'a pa) had a vision of 35 Buddhas of the confession of sins, of Maitreya-nātha, of Bhaiṣajya guru, etc.

101. When he in 'Ol ka, having accomplished the purification through confession, studied the bodhisattva's practice according to the Avataṃsaka (*p'al po c'e*) he had a vision of aJam dbyaṅs surrounded by the 35 Buddhas invoked during the confession of sins.

102. In rDsiñ ji he visits Maitreya-nātha's image and performs the sacred ceremonies and utters the vow.

103. While living in the cave of sMan luñ in Dvags po, he had a vision of Mañjuśrī, surrounded by numberless Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

104. And again in the cave of sMan luñ in Dvags po he had a vision of aJigs byed with all his arms and faces, and of aJam dbyaṅs surrounded by many paṇḍits and siddhas and by the 80 great Siddhas.

105. He had a vision of aJam dbyaṅs surrounded by Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and saw that the hilt of a sword was in the heart of aJam dbyaṅs, but the point of the sword was stuck in his heart and a flow of ambrosia was falling from it, whose great light now reached and now did not reach the mouth of the beings present in the assembly.<sup>110)</sup>

106. While he was performing the ceremony of the feast of the great miracle in sMan luñ in Dvags po, he took a great vow, and then he had the vision of the Buddhas in all points of space (hastening there, in such a great number) that they filled up space.

107. In the temple of rDsiñ ji in 'Ol dga', according to rJe btsun's words "repair ruined things", he began to act.

108. When he performs, in rDsiñ ji, the ceremony of consecration and other rites he has the vision of 35 Buddhas invoked during the confession of sins.

109. In rDsiñ ji he composes the hymn to Byams pa and the treatise on the manner of framing the vow in order to be reborn in the bDe ba can.

110. (At 39, in the year 1395) he goes to Lho brag in the Monastery of Bra 'o to meet the great abbot P'yag na rdo rje, and then he had the vision of Byams pa and of four-handed mGon po.

111. While he was hearing (from his master) the method of meditating on the identity between himself and the master, it seemed to him that he was reabsorbed into P'yag rdo rje and the Lord of secrets (gSañ bdag) made a prophecy for the great scholar (P'yag rdor pa).

112. When (his master) told him to ask Byams pa for summary instructions, Tsoñ k'a pa, according to this advice, questioned (the god).

113. He heard from that great scholar the method of meditation (*Lam rim*) and the instructions on the baptism of the Tantras, to be orally transmitted, and then he received the grace of seeing the god who was pleased.

114. Having had a vision of aJam dbyañs, he offered to Byams pa's image, in rDsiñ ji, the hymn beginning with the words "Brahma's diadem,, and apparel for the liturgical ceremonies etc., then he went to gÑal.

115. In gÑal and in Lo ro he made the commentary upon the bsTan rim (biogr., p. 132) of the dGe bñes P'rin las pa.

116. For the first time he explained the bsTan rim.

117. In gÑal, in the seminary, he hears the instructions on the theory and practice of the Vinaya, the Abhidharma, the Mādhyamika at the school of the great abbot C'os skyabs.<sup>117)</sup>

118. While residing in the (monastery of) Yar adren in gSal rje in gÑal he had a vision of aJam dbyañs and of rNam t'os sras.

119. He goes to rMa c'en in Tsa ri.

120. In Tsa ri he performs the *ganācakra* after (the method of) bDe mc'og (tantra).

121. By the Mo la he had the vision and the prophecy of Byams mgon.

122. In Señ ge rdsoñ in gÑal, applying himself to meditation on the Dus kyi ak'or lo and on the sixfold yoga, he had the vision and the prophecy of the Dus kyi ak'or lo.

123. After having had the vision of dByañs can ma and of aJam dbyañs, he received their prophecy.

124. Having made offering to gSer (bye) gyi abum, he had the vision and the prophecy of aJam dbyañs.

125. In sGañ c'un in gÑal he preaches to monks and laymen.

126. (In the same place) he makes several tens of thousands of *ts'a ts'a*.

127. In Ra groñ in upper gÑal he met rGyal ts'ab Dar ma rin c'en and in gÑal luñ ra c'en mo he held a great gathering of monks.

128. In Lha sdiñs in Dvags po he had a vision of the holy master and of his four disciples (Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Buddhagupta, Candrakīrti, Bhaviveka); among them Buddhagupta placed on his head the Indian manuscript of the Mādhyamika.

129. First, residing in the castle of 'Ol dga' he preached on many points of the Law.

130. He preached in E ti 'ur (biogr.: E te 'ur).

131. He passes the winter in Brag gdoñ in 'Ol dga'.

132. When Tsoñ k'a pa presented an offering in rDsiñ ji, he saw the sky full of Buddhas of the five mystical families.

133. He preaches to rGyal ts'ab and to many others.

134. When his cap fell from the bridge into the water, he prophesied the foundation (in that place) of the monastery of Sañ siñ in Ñañ.

135. In mDa' mdo of Ñañ po he preached to a gathering of monks and laymen.

136. In Potala he preached to many hundreds of monks, versed in the scriptures, upon various parts of the Law, the *Lam rim*, the Vinaya, etc.

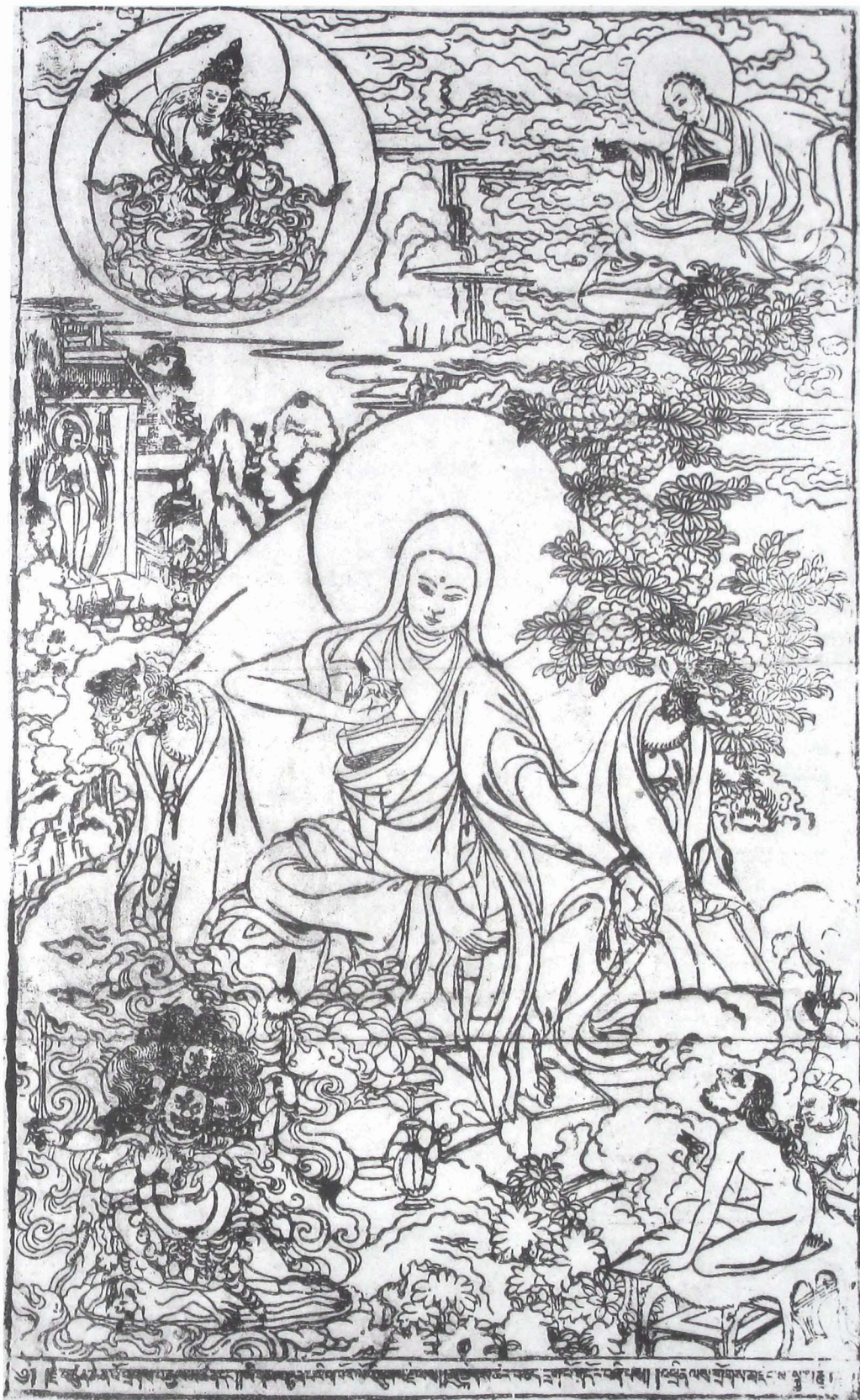


FIG. 95

137. In dGa' ba gdoñ he preaches on the rules for achieving the thought of enlightenment, and on the mantra.

138. In dGa' ba gdoñ he met Re mda' pa.

139. Tsoñ k'a pa preaches on the work of Atiśa and of his disciple ṅBrom ston.

140. He goes to Ra sgreñ.

141. The master and his disciple Dar ma rin c'en dwell in Rva sgreñ and preach on many aspects of the Law.

142. He goes to ṅBri guñ.

143. In ṅBri guñ he preaches to the precious *spyān śāa'* on the Mahāmudrā and on Nāropā's six laws, and to the monks on the Law (in general).

144. In gNam rtse, in the upper temple, he composed the book of purification of the Law according to the precepts of the three lords of the Law sKyabs mc'og dpal bzañ etc. and also wrote the treatise on practical instructions.

145. He preached amply on the confession of sins, as it is told in the book of the 17 foundations and in the explicative books (*prakaraṇa*).

146. Having entered Rva sgreñs, made his offering and uttered his vow, the master had a vision of the Great Abbot Jo bo (Atiśa), who put his hands on his head; he began to write the method of studying the teachings, and was then venerated by T'añ lha and by all the Sa bdag of dBus (at the age of 46, year water-horse 1402).

147. While in Rva greñs he explained the *Lam rim* to many monks versed in the sacred scriptures, he made a great offering and uttered a vow.

148. (At the age of 48, year wood-monkey 1404) in Lhasa, in dGon gsar he explained the meaning of the *Pramāṇavarttika*.

149. In bDe ba c'en steñ, in 'On, he spent the summer retreat, and explained the *Lam rim* etc. to many monks versed in the sacred scriptures.

150. In Byams pa gliñ (of 'Ol k'a) near 'O de guñ rgyal lha žol,<sup>112</sup>) he explained the *Lam rim* and the double method: the evocative one and the perfect one; the master and

his disciples, having then retired to meditate (during the winter), had rJe btsuns' vision and prophecy.

151. By virtue of the prayers of some excellent persons (like mC'og dpal bzañ po and others) he composed the *rGyud sde bžii lam kyilus yoiñ rdsogs ston pai bstan bcos*, and explained the method of the secret formulas.

152. Being in Byañ c'ub luñ in winter, he preached about the *Lam rim* etc., to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.

153. In C'os sdiñ in Se ra he had a vision of Ye šes mgon po and became identified with him; then he met mK'as grub rje.

154. On the sky above C'os sdiñs in Se ra he had a vision of the letter: a, the foundation of every explanation of the twenty kinds of void.

155. In C'os sdiñs in Se ra arrived those who brought gifts offered by the Emperor T'ai miñ of China.<sup>113</sup>)

156. In Se ra he preaches on many sūtras and Tantras.

157. In Grum bu luñ in sKyid smad he preached on the *Lam rim* and on the Tantras.

158. In Lhasa (in the year earth-mouse 1408) he repaired sacred buildings in ruins, made offerings and founded the feast of the sMon lam; he had incalculable visions of works beyond human thoughts, and asked for omens which encouraged him to found dGa' ldan.

159. The lord of dGa'ldan regarding...

160. In C'os sdiñs of Se ra he explained the fundamental texts of the Mādhyamika (*rTsa še*), the moral rules, the *Lam rim* etc. to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures.

161. In Zañs ri p'u c'iñ he explains to the *spyān mña'* bSod nam the *Lam rim*, etc.

162. In bSam gliñ of 'Ol dga' he explains the law for the offerings and has some marvellous visions.

163. In the year of the ox (1409) he had the vision of ṅJam dbyañs' mañḍala and received its prophecy in a dream.

164. He saw in a dream the omniscient Bu ston giving him the book of the *gSañ ba ṅdus pa*.



165. By reflecting, he acquired certainty concerning Mar pa's treatises on the *bsre*<sup>114</sup>) and the transfer of the conscious principle.

166. He obtained certainty on 9 subjects concerning the *bsre*, derived from the three miraculous manifestations of the six laws.

167. He obtained great certainty concerning sleep, dreams and the *bsre*.

168. In the year of the horse (but in the biogr., p. 220 rightly: tiger 1410) he explained in dGa' ldan the *Lam rim* and the *sGron gsal* (Candrakīrti's commentary on the *Gūhysasamāja*).

169. In the year of the hare (1411), while meditating in front of Byams pa's image, he had many visions of the Buddha etc.

170. He has a vision of two gods... of three gods giving him the supreme realization and of the Buddhas.

171. In the year of the dragon (1412), while he had retired to meditate, he saw the Buddha's figure pervading the whole space, and also saw Avadhūti (pā).

172. While he zealously gave himself up to meditation together with seven disciples, (the demons) who had hindered him, promised (to protect him).

173. While he was seated in the *bhadrāsana* posture, the Buddha penetrated into him, and he remained absorbed in that meditation which subdues demons.

174. He found the monastery of Ri bo dga' ldan.

175. In bKra šis do k'a of 'On he met dGe ḍun grub.

176. In dGa' ldan he wrote the treatises on the evocative and perfect method, which are connected with bDe mc'og's cycle, and other treatises, and he received the prophecy from ḍJams dbyans.

177. The blama rTogs ldan pa sees in a dream some mK'a' ḍgro washing a mc'od rten.

178. While he was having chapels and sacred images made in Yañs pa can of dGa' ldan, he had a vision of bDe mc'og and of the deities of his heaven.

179. When he consecrated the temple, he had a vision of images of rDo rje ḍjigs byed, so plentiful that they filled up space and were penetrating into the earthenware images (placed in the temple itself).

180. In dGa' ldan he preaches uninterruptedly.

181. He accomplishes the explanation of the *Mādhyamika-avatāra* and explains it (to the monks).

182. He preaches to numberless monks proficient in the sacred scriptures, on bDe mc'og's fundamental Tantras and on other parts of the Law and he writes the commentaries.

183. He dedicates offerings and songs to the C'os bsrūns.

184. To numberless monks, versed in the sacred scriptures, he explains the Dus kyi ḍk'or lo, ḍJig byed's cycle etc.

185. He goes from dGa' ldan to Lhasa.

186. In Lhasa he dedicates endless offerings and makes vows.

187. Having gone to C'ab ts'an in sTod luñ, he gives many gilded images, preaches and bestows his blessing.

188. In the C'u mig monastery he had a vision of the gods of gSañ ḍdus' cycle, which disappeared into him and he received their prophecy.

189. While he was going to ḍBras spuñs a thunderbolt stuck on the edge of his palanquin (*ḍdo li = mdo li*, hindi *ḍūli*).

190. He consecrates the Tantric temple of ḍBras spuñs.

191. While he is preaching in ḍBras spuñs, a thunderbolt enters into the monastery.

192. In front of the Jo ho of Lhasa's image he uttered the vow, that conditions favourable to a long duration of the Law might prevail.

193. In C'os sdiñ he made his confession and preached.

194. He assisted the prefect of Brag dkar for the construction of the Tantric temple.

195. He performed the consecration of gSañ sñags mk'ar and amply contributed to it.

196. Then he goes to Brag dkar.

197. Having gone to Grub bži, a great voice was heard from the sky.

198. While he was leaving aBras spuñs, the earth trembled and thunderbolts fell.

199. In Yañs pa can of dGa' ldan he amply contributed to the feast of the sMon lam and in his sermon he conferred spiritual powers (on his hearers).

200. Having gone to the centre of the assembly-hall, he repeatedly uttered the blessings of the Sukhāvati.

201. Having gone into his room, he showed how men fall ill; then he left to rGyal ts'ab his cap and his vest, he assembled an esoteric gathering and recited the adamantine invocations.

202. Being in samādhimudrā, he seemed to enter in the nirvanic state of the absolute of the pure light, and he displayed miracles: thunderbolts fell along with a rain of flowers, and he entered the pure land.

203. Heroes and ḍakini invite him.

Without a number:

He appears in the bDe ba can as a bodhisattva.

He is born in the bDe ba can, as aJam dpal sñiñ po.

The two scenes refer to the identification with aJam dpal admitted by Tsoñ k'a pa's school.

A comparison of tankas nn. 55-56 with tankas nn. 57, 58, 59 and 61 shows that the latter, although they follow the same biographical patterns and adopt a similar artistic expression do not reproduce the Tashilunpo woodcuts with the same fidelity. This version is more concise, reduced to a smaller number of tankas; therefore in each tanka a greater number of episodes is condensed. Thus, for instance, in tanka n. 58 is represented Tsoñ k'a pa's incarnation in Śākyamuni's time, when, born as a Brahman's son, he offered the Buddha a rock-crystal necklace; this scene was represented, together with other past lives of the master in the central tanka of the Tashilunpo series. For the other episodes, the tankas follows the latter, omitting some incidents or putting several of them together.

On the left mK'as grub rje, on the right rGyal ts'ab.

On the right-hand corner we see Tsoñ k'a pa's house in mDo smad, where the reformer was born, from the Da ra k'a c'e Klu abum dge and from Šiñ mo a c'os or Šiñ bza' a c'os; his father and mother conversing; we read: *mdo smad tsoñ k'ar.* in "In Tsoñ k'a in mDo smad,,"

Immediately underneath, in the centre of a temple, the Buddha's figure and opposite an altar of Tibetan style: on each side two donors in the apparel with which Tibetans represent Brahmans; *rje aḍi ... bram ze k'yeu k'ruñs nas ston pa la šel ap'reñ p'uł,* "born as a Brahman's son, he offers the Buddha a crystal necklace,," this represents the incarnation of Tsoñ k'a pa mentioned above. In the small picture which follows, his parents offer the master a scarf, to represent the meeting with Kar ma pa Rol pai rdo rje, which happened when Tsoñ k'a pa was three years old; on the occasion of this meeting he received the name of dGa' sñiñ po. The inscription says: *Kar ma pa rol par dge bsñen kyi sdon;* above, his first meeting with the great lama Don grub rin c'en, who taught him to read and introduced him to the study of some tantric cycles, at the age of three.

We then pass to his seventh year, when he was consecrated as a monk by Don grub rin c'en and gŽon nu byañ c'ub and was called Blo bzañ grags dpal.

Tsoñ k'a pa on horseback, accompanied by other horsemen, goes to dBus and gTsañ at the age of sixteen. The first place where they stopped on their way to Central Tibet was the monastery of aBris guñ, where at the age of 17 (*c'u glañ*, 1373) he met the lama who was then at the head of the sect, the spyan sña rin po c'e C'os rgyal, from whom he learnt some texts (Tashilunpo, n. 14); then, continuing his journey, he went to a famous physician, dKon mc'og skyabs of Ts'al, at whose school he studied the various systems of medicine (Tashilunpo, n. 20). This period



FIG. 96

of his life is recalled in the picture immediately above the figure of mK'as grub rje.

Immediately above, we see Tsoñ k'a pa in the act of doing homage in front of two masters whom he had met in bDe ba can (Tashilunpo, 2nd tanka to the right, inscript. 22). Follows the long interview with aJam skya, better known as Nam mk'a' dpal, a disciple of mDo sde dpal (biog. of mK'as grub rje, p. 73 b); next, as the inscription says, Tsoñ k'a pa, in the C'os rdsin hermitage, meets the dPal ldan bla ma bSod nams rgyal mts'an, considered an incarnation of aJam dpal dbyañs. (Biog. of mK'as grub rje, p. 73 b). Tanka n. 59 corresponds, generally speaking, to the second right-hand Tashilunpo tanka. The pictures begin to unfold immediately under the central image and particularly recall Tsoñ k'a pa's visits, while still young, to the most celebrated monasteries of Tibet: Sa skya, Ža lu, and sNar t'añ (Tashilunpo, nn. 27, 28), Jo nañ (in the left-hand corner, recognizable by its famous sKū abum, the gigantic mc'od rten mentioned elsewhere), Roñ, sPyi bo lhas (Tashilunpo, n. 34), gNas rñiñ, nn. 36, 37, rTse c'en where the meeting with Kun dga' dpal happened (Tashilunpo, n. 38).

Above, almost in the centre of the painting, an ascetic probably recalls Re mda' pa's vision of Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, who revealed the secret doctrines of gnosis to him; follows the explanation of the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, made to him by the same master in bSam gliñ of Nāñ stod: under Nāgārjuna's figure, the meeting with Blo gsal, which happened in sKyor mo luñ (Tashilunpo, n. 42).

With these last two scenes we have entered into the subjects which the Tashilunpo series represents in the three right-hand tankas. Then, to the left of the lotus on which the central figure is seated, the visit to the old lama in the Šar pa palace in Sa skya (Tashilunpo, n. 49), next to Nam riñ.

I have spoken about the main episodes, leaving out the small intermediate scenes; the correspondence with Tashilunpo, as may be

seen, is perfect, but here the action is swifter, many events have been suppressed.

The inscriptions, though they relate the same incident, do not entirely correspond to the Tashilunpo gloss; misspelt words are frequent and prove that the painters did not copy a model, but wrote from memory.

Tanka n. 57 represents episodes partly corresponding to those of the 2nd left-hand Tashilunpo tankas.

*Se ra c'os sdiñs su bžugs gsuñ... mañ du mdsad rgya nag t'ai miñ abul skyal dañ rgya yul du spyan adren pai ...*

"While he resided in C'os sdiñs he preached much and ambassadors of the T'ai miñ Emperor from China came to invite him to China,, (= Tashilunpo, n. 155).

*dvags po lha sdiñ su p'ebś der klu grub yab sras ...*

"In Lha sdiñ of Dvags po (he had a vision) of Klu grub and of his disciples,, (= Tashilunpo, n. 128).

To the right of the central image:

*Po ta lar p'ebś* "he goes to Potala,,

*Lha p'ebś sde snod ađsin mañ po la c'os gsuñs pa.*

"He goes to Lhasa and preaches the Law to many monks proficient in the sacred scriptures,,

Underneath: *bla ma rje btsun lha rigs nas p'ebś* (for p'ebś) *pa aja* (for mjal) *ba ađsad* (for mdsad). *rgyal sras gñiś dañ lotsāva skyabś mc'ogs* (sic) *dpal bzañ po dañ gsum rnam rtse du p'ebś.*

"He meets the prince of divine descent,,

"The two sons of the Buddha with the lotsāva sKyabś mc'og dpal bzañ, go to rNam rtse,, (Tashilunpo, n. 83).

*sde c'en steñ du dbañ grags pa rgyal mts'an pa ...*

Above sDe c'en he [meets] dBañ grags pa rgyal mts'an (Tashilunpo, n. 81).

Also in this case, then, the tanka concentrates and resumes. But the analogy with the Tashilunpo models is self-evident.

TANKAS nn. 61, 62 (Plates 95-98).

These also belong to a representation of Tsoñ k'a pa's life, analogous to those already illustrated, but of a different composition.



To begin with, the great reformer does not occupy the centre of the tanka, but is displaced towards one of the sides; further, he is not represented, as is regularly the case, with solemn draperies and cap, but in the simplest monastic apparel, and bare-headed. Although the two tankas represent the main events in Tsoñ k'a pa's life, the painter, on this occasion too, condenses and summarizes.

The pattern he follows, however, is the same which inspired the author of the Tashilunpo woodcuts, as can be readily seen by comparing the inscriptions explaining the different episodes, in the Tashilunpo specimens, to which I refer the reader in the brief description I am giving here.

In tanka n. 61 the central figure, whose heart is stabbed by a sword issuing from a Jam dpal's heart, alludes to inscription n. 105.

The other principal pictures are:

On the upper right-hand corner, near Tsoñ k'a pa offering a scarf (*gtags*) to Byams mgon of 'Ol ka: *steñ abrel* (sic for *rten abrel*) *k'yad par bean* (for *can*) *rjiñ jir jo bo la dag spyod kyi btag* (for *gtags*) *ts'an mai skyel abul gyi stod pa 'o*, inscriptions nn. 107-108 of Tashilunpo.

Below:

*rjiñ jir mt'un skyen* (for *rkyen*) *žig gyur dus...*  
 "in rDsiñ ji when there was favourable moment, ... *lho brag p'eb*s" goes to Lho brag, ..

Below, on the left:

*Señ ge rdsoñ du dus ak'or dpa' geig žal gzigs cin lja* (sic) *bzañ sta* (sic for *lta*) *luñ stan* (for *bstan*) *no*, inscription n. 122.

Higher up on the left:

*gser bye bum pa la mc'od pa p'ul žin der adul bai c'os mañ du gsuñs te*, inscription n. 124.

Under the central figure:

*mñal stod rab groñ dbyar žugs mdsad rgyal ts'ab t'ams cad mk'yen dan ajal bar p'eb*s, inscription n. 127.

The conditions of tanka n. 62, where almost all the inscriptions are erased or can only be read with difficulty, prevent the same comparison between the scenes represented and the glosses of the Tashilunpo woodcuts.

TANKA n. 63 (Plate 99).

It comes from the Ki monastery, in Spiti (see FRANCKE, *Antiquities*, I, pp. 44, 47; TUCCI-GHERSI, *The Secrets of Tibet*, p. 38). This monastery is the usual seat of a lama, considered an incarnation of Rin c'en bzañ po, the great translator who gave Buddhism a new impulse in Western Tibet and who enjoyed the king of Guge's favour. I have considered him and his works elsewhere at some length, and therefore shall not take up his life once more now.<sup>115)</sup> But short of any inscription, this identification remains doubtful, neither do I find any scene which might somehow recall similar episodes related in his biography; however in some pictures we notice the presence of Indian ascetics.

TANKAS nn. 64-94 (Plates 100-130).

This series of 31 tankas is the representation in painting of 108 stories contained in one of the most famous books of Tibetan Buddhism, the *Byañ c'ub sems dpai rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam gyi ak'ri šiñ*, or more briefly *dPag bsam ak'ri šiñ*. This is the title of the Tibetan translation of Kṣemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā*.<sup>116)</sup>

This work was written by one of the most famous Kashmiri polygraphists of the XIth century, and completed by the author's son, Somendra, who wrote the last chapter in order to reach the sacred number 108. We shall not dwell on it unduly, as the histories of Indian literature have already dealt with the subject.<sup>117)</sup>

Neither need we go into details here as to Kṣemendra's sources; it is enough to point out that, in the majority of his poems, he follows very closely the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Aśokāvadānamālā* and other similar collections of edifying tales, mostly from the *vinaya* of the various schools. The aim of these tales - *avadānamālā* - is to illustrate, through the adventures of Buddha, of his disciples

and of other characters, in their last life or in preceding lives, the unescapable nature of the law of karma, as well as to justify the injunction of some disciplinary precepts. The story sometimes concerns one of Buddha's former lives, one of those endless incarnations through which he passed, in his hard task of self-discipline, enduring pain and undergoing purification, now as a man, now as a beast and now as a god, with the object of one day attaining supreme enlightenment. In these cases the story cannot be distinguishable from a *Jātaka*; in any case, the ideal link between different episodes is always the figure of the Master, who draws moral conclusions from the tale, whether its hero be himself or another.

Kṣemendra is not an original writer, he does not bring any personal contribution to the poem; indeed the colophon of the book mentions sources used by the author and drawn from India, Kashmir, Nepal, Khotan and China (see CORDIER, *Cat.*, p. 420); in several cases he simply transcribes his models with slight changes. This he does for the tales taken from the *Aśokāvadāna-mālā* (for instance, I may quote the Padmakāvadāna, as ZINKGRÄF has shown: *Von Divyāvadāna zur Avadāna-Kalpalatā*, Heidelberg, 1940, p. 110) and might be shown for other episodes, for instance the one about Dharmaruci (*Avadānakalpalatā*, vol. II, p. 781 and *Divyāvadāna*, p. 234).<sup>118)</sup>

Living in a period when the light of Buddhism was flickering out in Kashmir, Kṣemendra, instigated by some of his Buddhist friends like Nakka and assisted by the ācārya Vīryabhadra, passed from the metrical summaries of the greatest Indian poems to Buddhist hagiography, thus expressing in his new work that religious syncretism into which the most varied currents of thought flowed and often intermingled, until Buddhism finally vanished therein. But the present poem, finished in 1052, is not a work of faith; it is rather a touchstone of the author's

abilities as a versifier. He has summarized, in a great variety of metres, but with no intimate feeling, the pious tales used by the great collections of the "Discipline", to prove and convalidate the injunction of rules and precepts. Sometimes he sums up his originals in such a hurried manner that the clearness of his work is impaired; in other cases the same episode is repeated more than once; for instance the Avadāna I and CVII: it reappears with slight variants in CI; the XXXI is a repetition of the story of Kṣāntivādin (XXXIX) (cf. LXXVI and XCVII); the XLVI is the same as the one about Pāpamkara, XXXII; cf. also III and XXIV; XXXV and XLVII.

The present collection lacks a logical link; that is to say that the tales are not used to illustrate, one after the other, the six or ten perfections (*pāramitā*) observed by the Bodhisattva, as a gradual preparation to that moral purity which will make him worthy of supreme enlightenment; nevertheless the author specially dwells upon the perfections of liberality and patience.

The stories generally follow each other in a haphazard manner; the attempt is but rarely noticed to group together cycles centering round the same person or the same event. This is the case for a schematic biography of Buddha or of Devadatta and Yaśodharā; but outside these few instances the author follows no plan.

Nearly always his poems glorify the spirit of self-sacrifice, in a general sense; but the glorification is so exaggerated and out of all human proportion, that it lacks any educational value. It causes surprise, or wonder, but no emotion; it may fire our imagination, but does not reach the heart. For this reason the book, eloquent and baroque as it is, leaves the reader cold and does not thrill with any religious emotion.

The incongruities of the poem, however, cannot rob it of all merit; even though his muse is generally jaded, poetry does sometimes well



FIG. 97



up in soft verses, vibrating with a warm feeling for nature; they are but flickers which suddenly appear and vanish, but they are sufficient to make up for the carelessness and indifference to poetry of many other pages.

In any case the *Avadānakalpalatā* has had a great importance in Tibet. Translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan by the lotsāva of Šoñ<sup>119</sup>) at the heyday of Sa skya pas' power, and precisely in aP'ags pa's times, it had a great influence upon Tibetan literature; it represented an unsurpassed model of the poem (*mahākāvya*) for all lengthy poetical works, thus pointing out the way to many Tibetan imitators, who were educating their taste and moulding their works on the rules of the Indian rhetorical treatises and their schemes.

The book was therefore revised and corrected more than once upon the Sanskrit text; it was printed for the first time by C'os skyoñ bzañ po of Ža lu,<sup>120</sup>) inserted into the *bsTan agyur, mDo*, vol. 93, then newly edited by order of Blo bzañ rgya mts'o, fifth Dalai Lama in Lhasa, both on the base of the preceding editions and after an accurate collation with the most authoritative copies existing in Tibet. This collation was made by the lotsāva of aDar, N'ag dbañ P'un ts'ogs lhun grub, the translator of *Pāṇinivyākaraṇa*.<sup>121</sup>)

But the *dPag bsam ak'ri śiñ* is no less important for its influence on pictorial art; its narrative, being rather schematic and divided into easily recognizable episodes, was well suited to a pictorial representation.

Once more the Tibetans did nothing but follow the example of India, where the Jātaka or the Avadāna had inspired the corresponding pictorial versions of the same tales, precisely because, as a documentation of the unfailing karmic law, they were fitter than other texts to be easily understood and visibly represented. These *avadānamālā* or *Jātakamālā* (such was the name these collections had in the Mathurā canon and kept in the latest versions) soon became a favorite theme with preachers (*dharmabhāṇaka*); so they passed,

at a very early date, from a literary form to the pictorial representation on the walls of convents, according to a custom which the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins states to go back to the times of the Buddha himself;<sup>122</sup>) in fact on the authority of this text, we know that on the cloister walls the "garland of birth-stories", (*Jātakamālā*) had to be represented. As many of the paintings of Ajantā are inspired by such collections and according to some scholars directly by the Vinaya tales, so the pictorial representations of the Buddha's former life go back, in Tibet, fundamentally to Kṣemendra's poem: the *Avadānakalpalatā* is represented in the most ancient mural paintings of Tibet, opened up to a new light of culture in the times of the Sa skyas and of the P'ag mo gru pas; it inspires great compositions in rGya, sNar t'añ and Jo nañ. The Kashmiri poet's book is therefore the text that schools of painting illustrate with greatest accuracy.

The series of the tankas which follows is the point of arrival of a tradition which had worked for centuries on the same theme, translating into its lively scenes the brahman writer's canvas.

Our series is derived from woodcuts on 31 wooden blocks, made by the printing-press of sNar t'añ (see f. i. fig. 121); the model became so authoritative that the various representations of *dPag bsam ak'ri śiñ*, diffused in Tibet, are nearly always inspired by this theme and reproduce it with unvarying fidelity.

Painters added nothing to it, they copied the drawing and only put in the colours; their ability, as usual, is displayed in arranging, combining and matching colours, but the composition and the architecture are based on the scheme of the sNar t'añ woodcuts.

The scenes, once the order of succession of the tankas has been determined, are not difficult to identify, because each episode is accompanied by a brief label which contains the number of the *pallava* (*yal adab*), that is of the chapter of the *Avadānakalpalatā* in which the story occurs. On the woodcuts each

episode is explained by a brief inscription which makes identification its easy; these inscriptions are lacking on our paintings. The series is composed of 31 tankas, the first of which is in the centre, and the others unfold around it, fifteen on each side.

It would be impossible to understand the description of each of the tankas, in which the 108 chapters of the *Avadānakalpalatā* are successively represented, if I did not refer every time to the text of the great poem which is pictorially represented in those scenes; therefore, before beginning to identify the different episodes, it is well to give a brief summary of them. By so doing, we conform to the purpose of these narrative tankas, which, as pictorial tales, are used in the first place to put before the listener's eyes the tales that itinerant lamas tell in fairs and assemblies. Such tales are inspired not by Kṣemendra's work, but by a prose version which, rid of long-winded poetical ornaments, sums up, in its essential elements, the subject of the poem. This prose summary is called (*C'os rgyal dge bai dbaṅ pos byas pai*) *Byaṅ c'ub sems dpai rtogs pa brjod pa mdsad brgya dpag bsam ak'ri śiṅ blun rmoṅs byis pa raṅ ṅid go bde ba*.

The present series then also belongs to the types of pictorial *ṅam t'ar* we have already spoken about.

We may now ask when it was drawn. The personalities by whose munificence it was engraved in the convent of sNar t'aṅ are not unknown; one of them at least, Gyur med ye šes rtse brtan, is known. He was the son of P'o lha bSod nams stobs rgyas who died in 1747; we have mentioned him in connection with Tson k'a pa's life which he caused to be cut in wood in the same convent and we shall meet him again when dealing with the 16 Arhats cycle.

For this reason it is well to place the date of the original drawing of the tankas within the last decade of the first half of the XVIIIth century.

The different stories all unfold around a central figure of a Buddha which is different

on each tanka; the difference appears not so much in the dress and symbols, as in the attitude of the hands (*mudrā*).

## CENTRAL TANKA n. 64 (Plate 100).

(*gtso t'aṅ*)

The Buddha is seated on a lotus flower encircled by a rich halo, with a great *nāga* and *kinnara*. Lower down the figures of two standing monks; they represent Śāriputra on the left and Maudgalyāyana on the right. On the right side of the former, Brahmā (*T'saṅs pa*) accompanied by his followers and, on the right side, Indra, also with his followers; lower down, to the left, king Bimbisāra (*gZugs can sṅiṅ po*) and on the right Prasenajit (*gSal rgyal*); underneath, beginning from the left, king Udayana (*Utrayana*), king Suddhodana (*Zas gtsaṅ*), Māyā (*Yum sgyu ap'rul ma*) and finally Anāthapiṇḍada (*mGon med zas sbyin*). The triad up above, flanked by deities floating in the sky, consists of Śāntirakṣita (*mGon c'en Ži ba aṅs'o*; on the tanka erroneously *mts'o*), the famous Indian paṇḍita who came to Tibet in the times of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan and, according to tradition, advised the king to invite Padmasambhava. On his left rje bla ma Tsoṅ k'a pa, on the right aGro mgom c'os rgyal, that is to say aP'ags pa, the Sa skya abbot, Qubilai's chaplain. Below Ži ba aṅs'o: Kun mk'yen lña ba c'en po, that is to say Blo bzaṅ rgya mts'o, the fifth Dalai Lama. Two more triads follow on each side; on the left Žo lo [rDo rje] rgyal mts'an, the lotsāva of Šoṅ (so it should be corrected) the translator of the *Avadānakalpalatā*, underneath C'os rgyal dGe bai dpal, and on the right slob dpon Blo gros bzaṅ po (Sumati); on the right: Ža lu lo c'en C'os skyoṅ bzaṅ po, the great translator and grammarian of Ža lu, on the left slob dpon Ni ma dpal<sup>123</sup>) and on the right Zla bai bzaṅ po, that is to say the C'os rgyal Sucandra king of Šambhala, the place where the revelation of the Kālacakra is supposed to have taken place.<sup>124</sup>)

TANKA n. 65 - I right (Plate 101).

AVADĀNA n. 1

### THE STORY OF PRABHĀSA

Prabhāsa (*Rab gsal*), a wise and powerful king, ruled in Prabhāvati (*'Od ldan*). The overseer of the royal chase having showed him a wonderful elephant, captured in the woods, Prabhāsa ordered it to be tamed, and this having been done, wished to mount it on a hunting-party. But the elephant, carried away by lust, rushed into the forest and no longer obeyed the goad and his driver's voice. The king angrily complained to the tamer, who answered: "When a man has fallen a prey to the passion of love, he forgets precepts, discipline and kindness (41). We tamers are experienced in training animals to bodily labour, but not even ascetics can yet train man's mind to be disciplined,, (43).

Meanwhile, the trainer advised the king to cling to the branch of a tree and to let the elephant go, "because the sinner, when he falls, will surely drag others along with him in his ruin,, (45). The king and the tamer were thus saved, but after seven days the elephant, his fury now over, came back to his chains of his own free will. This caused the king to meditate; he wished to know whether anyone has ever succeeded in mastering his own mind to such a point, that he can turn a deaf ear to the allurements of his senses. As soon as the tamer answered that this is exactly what the Buddhas teach, Prabhāsa, simply on hearing the Buddha's name, remembered his former life, acquired a divine intuition, untrammelled by the laws of time and space, became a bodhisattva and set forth on the long path which would lead him to the supreme enlightenment. He was to be in fact Śākyamuni.<sup>125)</sup>

In the tanka we see at the bottom the tamer, who is presenting the white elephant to the king, seated in his palace; then, the same in the act of taming the elephant and of leading

it once more to the king. The king and the tamer on the furious elephant, and then both of them hanging from the branches of a tree and followed by a few persons on horseback. The elephants in the forest. The rest of the story follows on the right side: the king and the tamer return to the royal palace on horseback; the tamer, kneeling before the King, explains that it is easy to tame the body, but much more difficult to master the mind, while persons in the act of receiving gifts represent the generosity of the King, who has vowed to achieve enlightenment and therefore begins to practice the first perfection, which is charity.

AVADĀNA n. 2

### THE STORY OF ŚRĪSENA

King Śrīseña (*dPal gyi sdé*), famous for his generosity, reigned in Ariṣṭa; nothing was asked of him that he was not happy to grant, wherefore his ministers greatly feared that his matchless virtue might in the end bring him enemies and misfortunes, because "when we see that another is full of the virtues we lack, who does not become a slave to envy?,, (17). But the king would take no advice "Of what use is life to people destitute of virtue and lacking pity, who can listen with unmoved mind to the tale of other people's sufferings? (28). Only for this reason the body, which is nevertheless an evil, may be dear to good men; because, somehow, it can sometimes be of use to somebody,, (29).

One day the queen Jayaprabhā (*rGyal bai 'od*) whom the king loved exceedingly, walking in the woods, was seen by an ascetic, who fell in love with her and, well knowing that the king would not deny him, got one of his disciples to ask her for himself of king Śrīseña. Mastering his extreme grief, but keeping faith with his resolve never to deny anything that might be asked of him, the king consented. The disciple took the queen to his master, who, his passionate desire being quenched, became conscious of his sin and



FIG. 98



prepared to return the queen to Śrīsenā. In the meantime Indra, King of the gods, who always wants to make sure of the sincerity of men who display marvellous virtues, assumed the likeness of a brahmin whose belly had been mauled by a tiger. His six sons, in tears, brought him before the king. Fighting for breath, he said that only Śrīsenā might restore him to life, by substituting his own abdomen for the brahmin's gashed and wounded belly. The king gladly consented, because "fortunate is the man who gives up his body for another's benefit; this body of ours, which every moment is subject to decay, cannot avoid death, even if well protected," (89). His ministers, overcome with grief, protested in vain: the king ordered two of his men to cut off the lower half of his body. And the men, seizing a saw, began to cut the body in two, while the king made no complaint. Having thus had a proof of the king's firmness, Indra, assuming his real form, healed his wounds, and the brahmin returned his wife to the king.<sup>126)</sup>

On the tanka this tale is represented immediately next to the other one, in the upper part, and it is explained by a brief title, which points out that the subject is the second avadāna. In the first scene the young brahmin goes to the king and asks him for the queen in his master's name; higher up the king leads his wife to obey. The figure on high represents the prince on his throne, taking leave of his wife and entrusting her to the brahmin, while the ministers listen, aloof and grieved. The brahmin departs with the queen. The scene then shifts to the second episode. Indra assumes the appearance of a brahmin whose belly has been mauled by a tiger, and is taken by his sons into the king's presence; having laid down the stretcher, one of them asks the king's help, while the others attend to their father. Two servants cut off the lower half of the king's body. Proceeding to the right, the applauding gods, in the midst of clouds,

admire the bodhisattva's force of character. Turning backwards, the painting shows a conversation between the brahmin and his disciple. On the same plane, but on the left of the central figure, the queen's return.

The small figure of the Buddha, always on the left, represents, according to the title, the revelation, on the Buddha's part, of the story.

TANKA n. 66 - II right (Plate 102).

AVADĀNA n. 3

### STORY OF MAṆICŪḌA

In the city of Sāketa a son was born to king Hemacūḍa (*gSer gyi gtsug p'ud*) and to his queen Kāntimatī (*mDses ldan*), both devout followers of Buddha's word. They named him Maṇicūḍa (*gTsuḡ na nor bu*), because he had at the centre of his head a gem by whose light all things were changed into gold. He grew up so generous that no one ever appeared before him without his wish being granted. On advice of the brahman Bhavabhūti (*Srid abyor*) he married Padmāvati (*Pad ma ldan*), who bore him a son called Padmacūḍa (*Pad ma gtsug*). While bloodless sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods on the birth of his son were being celebrated, Indra to prove the King's virtues, appeared to him in an ogre's form and asked him to appease his hunger; but as an ogre he could only eat flesh and blood.

Maṇicūḍa was confronted with a terrible dilemma: if he offered the ogre an animal, he would break his vow never to kill a living being; if he refused, he would break his other vow of charity, which he had pledged himself to keep at the cost of his life. Not finding another way out, he offered himself as food to the ogre. Having proved the king's firmness, Indra resumed his own form and praised his unshakeable virtue. But this was not the end of the king's virtuous deeds. Knowing that Maṇicūḍa had presented a brahman with a rare elephant, the greatest defence of



his power, king Duṣprasaha (*Šin tu bzod dka'*) planned to attack him and deprive him of his kingdom. Moreover a disciple of Mārīci, called Vāhiha, asked of him his wife and son, that they might take care of his old master, and the king unhesitatingly consented, while Duṣprasaha attacked the city to become possessed of the elephant. Mañicūḍa grieved for his friend's treachery: "affection for good people ends in affection, for the mediocre in disaffection, for evil people in cruel enmities, which ravish life,, (97). Rather than accept war and its painful sacrifice of human life, he went into exile, encouraged to do so by four Pratyekabuddhas, who had appeared in the sky.

"Alas, the mind of those who crave for power is indifferent to another's sufferings and, inclined to do evil, runs only after its own pleasure! How could a drop of pity be found in the cruel hearts of those who, clad in the armour of success, obtain in warfare a glory ending in blood?,, (102).

When Mañicūḍa had gone into the forest, his ministers went in search of his son Padmacūḍa, who was placed on the throne and succeeded in vanquishing Duṣprasaha. The latter, to expiate his evil actions, underwent endless misfortunes: epidemics and famines afflicted his kingdom. At a loss for remedies, he was reminded of the miraculous gem which flashed on Mañicūḍa's head; Duṣprasaha, certain that he would not be refused, sent his ministers to ask him for it. In the meantime Mañicūḍa, roaming in the forest, found his wife picking fruit and herbs for the venerable Mārīci, and arrived just in time to deliver her from savages who were trying to carry her off. Repressing any display of love, he comforted with sober words his afflicted mate, who was about to faint on seeing him thus deprived of his kingly splendour:

"For mortals whose life is unstable as the waves, love with the beloved one is uncertain as a drop of water, slipping from the tip of the leaves of a tremulous lotus,, (144).

"Such glories are as impermanent as a play; they dance for an instant, like lightning that flickers on storm-clouds, tongues of that serpent which is the cycle of births and deaths,, (145). "Enjoyment, in an instant, is subject to the malady of parting; power, like a wedding-feast seen in a dream, fortune and happiness like the flame of a lamp shaken by the wind: thus life goes by in its dance of madness,, (146). "Pity, not fortune, is the prop of all things; religious law is eternal light, not the lamp; glorious actions are beautiful, not youth; good works last, not life,, (147). In the meantime Duṣprasaha's messengers arrived and asked Mañicūḍa for his miracle-working gem. He unhesitatingly drew his sword and cut it off from the middle of his brain, while all around him wept and implored. While Mañicūḍa was lying there at death's door, the ascetic Mārīci asked him the reason of his prodigious strength of character and of his boundless love for all created beings: is it because he hopes for a reward in some future life?

"I, o ascetic, the king answered, have no desire of obtaining some reward for myself: I ardently desire one thing only, to be able to help in this life the creatures sunk in the awful sea of existence, so that they may reach the shore,, (181). "If what I say is true, may my body become scatheless as it was before,, His wound was miraculously healed, and the king was brought back by his ministers to his radiant city.<sup>127)</sup>

As we see, the tale is more or less a duplicate of Viśvantara's story. Half of the second tanka is concerned with this tale, which begins in the lower portion, at the centre. In a palace surrounded by a wall stands the throne; on the right the brahman Bhavabhūti offers Padmāvati in marriage to the youthful king; in the middle the king, happy with his bride, while in front of him his ministers are pouring out alms to beggars; on the left, within the same enclosure, a brahman is asking the king for his wife and his son;

immediately next we see the queen and her son ministering to the ascetic Mārīci, huddled up in a cave. To the right the scene of the sacrifice: Indra, in the shape of an ogre, comes out of the sacrificial fire asking for blood and victims; the king offers himself up, while the queen faints; further up Indra is kneeling before the king, who has come back to life.

Turning again to the right, we see Maṇicūḍa receiving the news that the King of Hastinapura is ready to attack him; four Pratyekabuddhas appear and, having extolled the ascetic way of life to him, vanish in the sky. At the bottom, always on this same side, a minister brings the king's son home, that he may assume command of the army and beat back Duṣprasaha. Battle and victory; in the royal palace, represented on the right, peace has been restored. On the left, in the forest, the king finds his wife and lives with her as an ascetic in the hermitage. A little further up we see the arrival of Duṣprasaha's five ministers, who ask the king for the miracle-working gem. The scene of the extraction of the gem follows; the queen swoons, while from the sky the gods admire and applaud.

His ministers and subjects invite the King to return to his kingdom.

#### AVADĀNA n. 4

### STORY OF MĀNDHĀTAR

King Upoṣadha (*gSo sbyon ap'ags*) wandering one day in the forest for his own pleasure, met some ascetics; they offered him consecrated water which conferred the power of begetting offspring. After some time a child, divinely beautiful, issues from the king's cranium; he is named Māndhātara (*Ña las nu*). A more fortunate person was never seen on earth. The seven gems which form the prestige and ornament of the Cakravartin (the emperors ruling over all the world) never left him. Having vanquished the Jambudvīpa, he proceeded to conquer the remaining continents,

into which the earth is divided according to Buddhist cosmography; nevertheless he kept a humane and merciful heart. One day, for instance, having gone into a forest, he noticed with wonder that all the birds there had their wings cut off. Being told by his ministers that this was caused by the curse of some ascetics, whose meditations had been disturbed by the fluttering of their wings, he would not allow such wrathful hermits to dwell in his kingdom, and exiled them. After having conquered all the earth, he proceeded to conquer the skies and his army advanced through space.

The dung of his horses and elephants fell precisely on the ascetics he had exiled. One of them flung a curse which for a moment stopped the army on its way to the conquest of the skies. But Māndhātara appeared and the spell was broken. In this wise the heavens and the gods were brought under his rule, and he reigned over the world seated on Indra's very throne. After many years Māndhātara grew tired of sharing the rule of the world with Indra, and wished to reign alone.

"Lack of exercise kills wisdom, pride fortune, hatred kindness, covetousness glory," (110). Thus, by his wicked and ambitious wish, he was hurled down from the sky. What caused his good fortune and what caused his downfall? His lot had been so fortunate because in the times of the Buddha Vipasyin, in olden times, he had given this saint a handful of beans; great is the power of gifts presented to the Buddhas, but carelessness also bears unwelcome fruits; while making his gift he had absent-mindedly dropped some of the beans on the ground; therefore, the fruits of his good act being exhausted, he fell from the sky and his luck vanished.<sup>128)</sup>

This legend is represented very clearly on the tanka; beginning on the left, immediately after the story of Maṇicūḍa, we see first of all a Brahman who offers water to the king in the forest; then, following the line of the trees, we see in the king's palace Māndhātara's



FIG. 99

birth: first he is inside his father's body, later he is represented seated near the king; a little lower down follows the episode of the birds who had lost their wings through a curse and roam in the forest; on the right, nearly above the head of the central figure, are painted the seven gems, symbols of kingship, which miraculously appear on Māndhātār's forehead. Higher up, the conquest of the earth and of the sky; the latter is represented by lofty Mount Sumeru, divided into successive tiers; troops of gods, guided by the four rGyal c'en, kings of the four points of the compass, vainly oppose the King's victorious advance. On the top of Mount Sumeru, Māndhātār sits near the King of the gods. On the right of Sumeru, a brief reference to the gift offered to the Buddha Vipaśyin, which had brought Māndhātār such glory. The scene of the fall from the sky is missing.

AVADĀNA n. 5

#### STORY OF CANDRAPRABHA

In the town of Bhadrāsīlā (*bZaṅ poi brag*) north of Kailāsa, with the assistance of two brave ministers, reigned Candraprabha (*Zla 'od*), who placed liberality above all virtues. Envyng his glory, Rudrākṣa (*Drag poi mig*) conceived the idea of asking him for his head as a gift: if the king refused he would break his vow; should he give it, he would be done away with forever. The city's protecting goddess vainly tried to overcome the impending doom; the king ordered Rudrākṣa to be brought into his presence, and since "only for this the lives of the well-born are honoured, that no beggar who comes before them is disappointed of his hopes," (43), he unhesitatingly consented to the other's request, because "only what has been given in alms is lasting," (56). He then went into the forest uttering the wish that through the good resulting from his sacrifice all created beings might overcome the cycle of their births and deaths, and then cut off his own head to offer it to Rudrākṣa.<sup>129)</sup>

The main incidents of this story are represented in the tanka, on the upper quarter of the right side. We see the gate of Bhadrāsīlā, from which people come out, who have received of the king's bounty the gifts they desired; hence, according to the order of the narrative, we pass directly to the small picture in the centre, where King Candraprabha is seen ruling his kingdom; underneath, people distributing gifts to a brahmin and other beggars; from a thicket the figure of an ascetic appears; it is evidently Rudrākṣa, on his way to the king's palace to ask for his head. Exactly underneath a minister offers the brahman a golden image of the King's head, as an inducement to withdraw his request. We go back to the upper part: the King, granting Rudrākṣa's request, takes off the golden diadem from his head and goes towards the garden, where he ties his head to a branch and lops it off with his sword. Rudrākṣa then departs with the king's head wrapped up in a cloth; higher up, in heavenly glory, Candraprabha is born again as dBaṅ byed lha.

TANKA n. 67 - III right (Plate 103).

AVADĀNA n. 6

#### STORY OF THE JOURNEY TO VADARADVĪPA

Once the Buddha, having left Magadha with a caravan, met some highwaymen, who let him pass, with the object of robbing the caravan about to arrive. Understanding their intention the Buddha, mysteriously causing a treasure to appear, gave them riches corresponding to the value of the caravan, since they told him that, were they to abandon their calling, they would be unable to subsist. This was repeated six times. At last the Buddha, being invited by them to share their meal, accepted and enlightened their minds to such an extent that they were converted. This offered the Buddha an opportunity of telling them the story of their past lives. In the times of King Brahmadvāpa



(*Tsa'ns byin*), a rich merchant lived in Benares, called Priyasena (*dGa' bai sde*). After his death, his son Supriya (*Šin tu dga'*) made up his mind to collect riches so great that poverty would disappear from the face of the earth; however he perceived that his purpose was quite hopeless, because "fortune is one and those who ask are many, neither is it possible to obtain enough riches to satisfy all who ask", (45). Having set off for the Country of Gems, to gather great treasures, he met some robbers who were preparing to attack his caravan; he ransomed it six times running, without obtaining, much to his regret, that they should give up their robberies. "Many times I have declared that I would fill up this world with my riches, and now I cannot even satisfy these unfortunate savages (54); cursed be my birth, badly born that I am, lacking as I do the required energy; I know not what to answer and I have broken my pledge", (55). As he thus lay grieving, a goddess appeared to him in a dream and comforted him: "Nothing exists in this world, not even that which seems difficult to achieve in the fancies of our dreams, which may not be obtained, through perseverance, by strong and resolute men", (59). The goddess advised him to go to Vadaradvīpa, an island lying beyond seven seas, seven mountain ranges and seven continents. She described the way to it and taught him to avoid the dangers, ogres, and demons which he would meet on his travels. If he is strong and pure, above all pure, he will get to Vadaradvīpa, where he will find treasures enough to fulfill his vow. He followed the advice of the goddess and, loaded with riches, came back in the end to Benares, where he was elected king in the place of Brahmadata, who had died in the meantime.

The robbers who had invited the Buddha to share their meal were the very same robbers who had stopped and robbed him six times running, on his way to the Country of Gems.<sup>130)</sup>

The story is represented on the tanka in a rather fragmentary manner, but two scenes, the

one giving occasion to the Buddha's tale, and the one concerning events of former times, are clearly distinguishable. On the level of the lotus flower on which the Buddha's figure rests, we see, on the onlooker's right, the Buddha preaching; next to this the Buddha followed by monks, distributing gifts to persons with bare busts; evidently the scene alludes, in its main features, to the caravan of merchants travelling in the Buddha's company, which he ransomed six times. On the left, the same robbers doing homage to Śākyamuni and being converted. Under these two scenes, on the sides, the narrative of their past life unfolds. The small picture in the centre, in the lowest part of the tanka, represents, in the interior of a house, the merchant Priyasena with his son Supriya, to whom the story refers. Immediately to the right there is an allusion to the young merchant's generosity. Passing on to the central space, where the sea is represented, we see Supriya asleep and further upwards, in the midst of a cloud, the goddess who, out of pity, shows him the way to Vadaradvīpa and the means of reaching it. Next the adventurous sea voyage is briefly depicted: a victorious encounter with demons and dragons, the mountain on which Supriya, climbing with the aid of a ladder, comes to four cities, where the Kinnarī offer him the desired riches. Going backwards, we see Supriya returning to his country on the miraculous winged horse Bālāha.<sup>131)</sup> The story closes with the small picture on the right, on top of the scene, where the returning merchant is seen generously distributing his treasures.

#### AVADĀNA II. 7

#### THE STORY OF MUKTĀLATĀ

The Buddha, having come to Kapilavastu, preached the redeeming truth to his own people; Mahānāman (*Min c'en*) was present, and when he got home he praised the Buddha's virtues to his wife; she complained that the holy Śākya should be so unfair to women,

only men being admitted to hear his word. Her husband rebuked her, because "equal, everywhere, are the sun's rays; equal the rain from the clouds; equal the look of the Buddha who pities all creatures,, (10), and he took his wife to hear another of Śākyamuni's sermons. She was led into the saint's presence; Ānanda reproached her for having come richly dressed, loaded with jewels; she sent her jewels home and began to listen to the Buddha. While he was speaking, she could not keep her thoughts steady; she saw with envy a shining necklace hanging from the neck of another prince's wife, and, unwilling to cut a poor figure, she ordered her handmaid called Rohitā<sup>132</sup>) to bring her jewels back. The handmaid, missing half of the Buddha's sermon, went away against her will, but the Buddha, who sees everything, caused her to be killed on the way by a mad cow, so that she died in a state of grace. The handmaid was reborn as Mukṭālatā (*Mu tig ak'ri śin*), the king of Simhala's daughter, dowered with every virtue and beauty. When she had grown up, merchants from Śrāvastī arrived in Simhala; she heard them talking about the Buddha, and sent a letter to the Śākya saint. The merchants went home and, having given the Buddha the letter, received in exchange, for Mukṭālatā, a portrait of himself, mysteriously created by his magic will. Having looked at the image, Mukṭālatā obtained the omniscience of a holy person and sent the Buddha, as a gift, a great treasure of gems. The Buddha told the merchants who had come to Śrāvastī, Mukṭālatā's former life: she had been a handmaid to Mahānāman's wife and had been reborn as a King's daughter in Simhala because in a past existence she had honoured a *stūpa* containing holy relics; but as, through pride, she had neglected, during another birth, to accomplish the religious rites, her preceding life had been that of a slave. "Whatever act, good or bad, man sows on the earth of his life, he shall taste of its corresponding fruits when it is ripe,, (85). This story is represented in the left quarter of

the tanka. At the bottom, on both sides of the label containing the progressive number of the tale, the Śākya prince is telling his wife about the Buddha's sermon; skipping two scenes, we see Śākyamuni in an enclosure representing his convent (*saṅghārāma*); he is preaching to monks and women. Exactly underneath this scene, Rohitā is being killed by the mad cow; we then pass to the central picture on the highest part of the tanka, which represents Mukṭālatā's birth as the daughter of the king of Simhala; on her left three small pictures: a boat on the high seas carries the Śrāvastī merchants; we then see them worshipping an image of Buddha, of the same type as the Tibetan tankas; next, on the extreme corner, Mukṭālatā who, having sent for the merchants, questions them concerning the Buddha; lower down she is giving the merchants a letter and gifts for the Buddha. The caravan is represented by the picture of a horse and of men carrying loads on their backs. Still lower down, the Buddha having his portrait painted to send it to Mukṭālatā.

AVADĀNA n. 8

### STORY OF ŚRĪGUPTA

Śrīgupta (*dPal sbas*) lived in Rājagṛha; instigated by a Jaina master, who hated the Buddha, he plotted to kill the Śākya saint, and invited him to his house, pretending he wished to do him honour.

"Vile people, haters of virtue, cannot bear that others should praise the virtuous; what makes good people happy is a cause of wrath to the wicked,, (20). The Buddha would not hear the advice of his monks, who insisted that he should not accept Śrīgupta's invitation. "When a man's mind is sprinkled with that ambrosia, spiritual peace, when he is refreshed by the absence of anger, what harm can fire and poison do to him who hates any tie of the senses?,, (24). Thus, as the Buddha entered Śrīgupta's house, the fire that should have blazed to kill him is extinguished. Śrīgupta, tortured by remorse, begged forgiveness, and



FIG. 100

the Buddha, smiling in divine compassion, revealed his past lives to him. Once upon a time, king Brahmadata lived in Benares; walking in the forest with the queen, he heard through a thick group of trees the mournful voice of a peacock. The queen wished to see the bird, and he commanded his men to capture it at any cost and to present it to her. But all efforts were vain and as the men feared to come into the king's presence empty-handed, the peacock, out of pity for them, gave himself up to the king of his own free will. Taken into the royal palace with great rejoicings, he was admired and honoured by all. One day the king went off on a military expedition, and the queen gave herself up to unlawful pleasures. Then, fearing that the peacock, who was endowed with speech, might reveal her guilt to the king, she decided to kill him and gave him poison. But the bird, who was a bodhisattva, did not die and became even more lovely and bright-hued, so that the queen, at the end of her resources, took her own life.

"Passion is poison, a troubled mind is poison, hatred is the supreme poison, but the Buddha, the law, the church and truth, these are sublime ambrosia,, (73). The wicked queen was Śrīgupta.

His past life being thus evoked before him, Śrīgupta repented and was converted: "The sight of good men becomes a cause of great merits, of bliss and of joy,, (77).<sup>131</sup>

On the tanka the scene occupies the upper right-hand quarter and unfolds starting from the bottom, almost on a level with the lotus on which the central figure is seated. We see Śrīgupta visiting the Jaina ascetic, who advises him to take the Buddha's life; skipping the scene which should immediately follow, a monk speaking to the Buddha with clasped hands represents the attempt of some disciples, who had discovered Śrīgupta's plot, to turn the Buddha from his intention of accepting the invitation. Going back to the picture which is immediately underneath, we see the Buddha who, by his miraculous powers, has

turned the fire into a lotus flower; around him his disciples are praying, full of wonder. Above, Śrīgupta, repentant, asks the Buddha to forgive him. The peacock coming back to life, immediately on the left, recalls the story of Śrīgupta's past life.

TANKA n. 68 - IV right (Plate 104).

AVADĀNA n. 9

### THE STORY OF JYOTIṢKA

In the city of Rājagṛha lived the merchant Subhadra (*Rab bzan*), who preferred the Jainas to the Buddhists. The Buddha once happened to enter his house, and predicted that his wife Satyavati (*dDe ldan ma*) would soon give birth to a son of great virtues, who, grown in years, would take holy vows and become a Buddhist monk. This was related to the Jaina masters, who, although they knew that the Buddha had spoken the truth, persuaded Subhadra, in order to harm the rival community, that his son would be the cause of his ruin. For this reason Subhadra, full of fears, tried by all means to bring about his wife's miscarriage; as all attempts seemed vain, he led her to a graveyard and there beat her to death. But from the funeral pyre a child came forth; being born out of the flames he was called Jyotiṣka (*Me skyes*). According to the Jainas' advice, Subhadra refused to take the child into his home; king Bimbisāra had him reared, and only later, being threatened by the child's uncle on the mother's side, who was aware of his evil deeds, Subhadra decided to take his son home. On Subhadra's death, Jyotiṣka inherited his great wealth. Bimbisāra was informed of this because the wind brought him by chance some precious stuffs, hoarded in Jyotiṣka's house; they were so rare that the King had never even imagined such tissues could exist. Ajātaśatru murdered Bimbisāra, and hearing about Jyotiṣka's rich treasures, wanted to possess them. Jyotiṣka gave him half his treasures, but as the king insisted, he gave him



seven times over all his wealth, which miraculously reappeared seven times. Jyotiṣka regretted the happy reign of Bimbisāra, comparing his virtues with Ajātaśatru's cruelty: "Truly the wicked man is, against his will, a friend to the good men who have gone before, because the latter's glory shines forth in contrast to the life of the former., (67). Reflecting in such way on the wickedness of men and on the vanity of all things, he wished to embrace the ascetic life. "Pain is a cause of trouble to fools, but it opens the intelligent man's eyes., (79). Having divided his riches among the poor, he went to the Buddha and was admitted into the order. The Buddha then told the monks Jyotiṣka's past life; in the times of the Buddha Vipāśyin he was called Anaṅgana (*Ma bsdams*). The Buddha having come to his city, he grieved extremely because his poverty forbade him to receive and honour him with regal celebrations; but Indra, pitying him, put at his disposal through a miracle boundless wealth, by means of which he was able to honour the Buddha as his devotion prompted him to do.<sup>134)</sup>

On the tanka the story begins at the bottom, on the right: we see the Buddha, accompanied by his disciples, predicting Jyotiṣka's birth to Subhadra; in the small pictures immediately above, Subhadra's conversation with the Jaina masters, and lower down Satyavati beaten by her husband; on the opposite side (on the left) Jyotiṣka's birth out of fire, while his mother is lying in the graveyard all around, the Jaina masters, overwhelmed with wonder; they are also to be seen in the preceding scene, on the right above, where Subhadra is seen carrying his wife's swathed corpse on his back; guided by the Jainas he goes towards the graveyard. Under the picture of a sea-monster, belonging to another story, we notice two figures walking towards the left: they represent Subhadra taking Jyotiṣka home, after the latter had been brought up by king Bimbisāra. The scene which follows immediately

to the left represents Jyotiṣka adoring the Buddha and the community, for the benefit of his mother's soul; this episode is to be found in the prose version, but is lacking in Kṣemendra's original; on the opposite side is painted the interior of a palace, with many figures; inside the enclosure we see first Jyotiṣka with his wife (?), next Bimbisāra speaking to Jyotiṣka; carried by the wind, Jyotiṣka's precious stuff has rolled itself up round one of the columns of the palace, to the onlookers' great wonder. Follows the gift of Jyotiṣka's riches to Ajātaśatru, and, in the distance, Jyotiṣka, kneeling in front of the Buddha, is admitted into the community. To the right, in smaller proportions, a brief sketch of Jyotiṣka's past incarnation, when with Indra's favour he had offered endless riches to the Buddha Vipāśyin.

#### ĀVADĀNA n. 10 REBIRTH

The sanskrit text of the tenth tale is missing in S. Ch. Das and Vidyābhūṣana's edition: it is not a story, but a real sermon, preached by the Buddha in the environs of Campaka. Its subject is the unfolding of life: how the conscious principle migrates from one existence to the next, going through the grim experiences of pain, disease and death, until the truth which ends the saṃsāra for ever is known and meditated upon. This avadāna then is a concise handbook of asceticism, which breaks up, in a certain sense, the continuity of the tales, as it does not belong to some particular life of the Bodhisattva, but is a general treatise on renunciation. It is difficult to represent it in pictures. To the right of the great image of the Buddha, in the centre of the tanka, we see Śākyamuni; some monks are seated in front of him, in adoring attitudes: thus is represented Ānanda's request to the Buddha at Campaka for an explanation of how rebirth comes about. Around this picture, man's childhood and maturity.

STORY OF SUNDARANANDA

This avadāna tells one of the best-known tales of Buddhist hagiographic literature, the story of Nanda (*mDses dga' bo*), sung by Aśvaghōṣa in a long poem.<sup>135</sup> When the Buddha came back to Kapilavastu and began to beg in his own city, in the midst of a great crowd of people, his nephew Nanda, ardently enamoured of his young and lovely wife, followed him on the invitation of Buddha himself; indeed he used to hold the pot in which the alms were collected. Nanda followed the Buddha with his body, but his mind was always fixed on his wife and he longed to get home. Having arrived before the others in the hermitage, he wished to take leave of the Buddha, who on the contrary detained him with praises of an ascetic's serenity.

"The ornament of age is virtue: of virtue judgement: of judgement serenity: of serenity victory over passion,, (22). In the end he advised Nanda to become a monk. Nanda, in order not to disappoint the Buddha, rather than through heartfelt conviction, put on a monk's robe, but instead of meditating on renouncement, his thoughts were always with his beloved. "We know not through what path passion enters into the mind; like the colour of a piece of glass, even if you wash it, it does not go,, (36). His one desire was to go back to her and in the meantime he broke two promises: the promise he had made her, to come back soon to her arms and the one he had made the Buddha, to lead an ascetic's life. Instead of meditating, he painted his wife's portrait, seriously shocking the monks and being much reproved by the Buddha. But Nanda, heedless of all reproaches, more than once set out for his home, and was always detained in time by the Buddha, who took every opportunity to show him the advantages of renunciation and salvation. The Buddha carried him up, flying through the air, to the mountain Gandhamādana, showed

him an old, blind she-ape, and told him that "neither what is good nor what is evil exist: it is only passion which discovers an object to be pleasing. Each one, in this world, is pleasing to those who love him,, (99). Then he asked Nanda if by chance he did not prefer the she-ape to his wife. The young monk was astonished and could not understand what the Buddha meant by such a question, but the Buddha next took him to Paradise, where the Apsaras were disporting themselves. Seeing them so divinely beautiful, Nanda forgot his wife and had no thought but for them; Buddha assured him that the Apsaras would be his when, having observed chastity in this life and kept his vows, he would be reborn into that Paradise. Nanda, then, descends once more upon earth with the Buddha and hoping to obtain those celestial joys, he follows an exceedingly strict way of life, but one day he sees a burning land, inhabited by demons, and from them he learns that their lot will be his own, because he has not had the strength to keep his ascetic vows with heartfelt firmness. Panic-stricken, he repents and obtains enlightenment.

"As we meditate on the unsubstantiality of all things, the activities of the mind no longer benighted (by sin) are set at rest,, (138). Nanda, obtaining supreme salvation, gathered the fruits of his past virtues: in a former existence he had adorned a *stūpa*, built to honour the Buddha.

The story is represented in the upper left-hand corner, briefly sketched in its most important moments; the scenes do not follow one another in the order of the text. The first small picture represents two persons, one confronting the other, as if in conversation: evidently Nanda and his wife. Immediately above, the Buddha preaching in Nanda's house; lower down, on the right, the Buddha leading Nanda away, while someone tries to retain him and he turns back to look on his wife for the last time. Above, the Buddha preaching and Nanda who, regretting his wife, tries to leave the community, but is stopped by



FIG. 101



Śākyamuni at the door. The Buddha takes Nanda to view the torments of Hell, reserved to those who do not keep their vows: the sinners are seen crowded into a chest and surrounded with flames; a demon is poking the fire. As a contrast, higher up beyond the clouds, a brief sketch of Nanda's former life and of the construction of the *stūpa* which was the first cause of his rebirth into a prosperous existence.

AVADĀNA N. 12

### STORY OF VIRŪDHAKA

This story is mixed up with several other tales, about characters often brought together by events. One of the slaves of a prince of the Śākyas was an extremely beautiful and virtuous maiden called Mālikā (*aP'reñ can ma*). While the Buddha was passing through the city, she piously gave him alms, hoping that this small bounty might deliver her from slavery. As an astrologer had foretold to her, king Prasenajit, brought to her dwelling by his runaway horse during a hunting-party, fell in love with her and, having obtained her from the prince of the Śākyas, took her to his palace and married her. Mālikā became very intimate with the king's first wife Varṣākārā (*dByar gyi rnam pa*), who was, like her, divinely beautiful: her mere touch produced a sensation of superhuman delight. The Buddha explained that the virtues and good fortune of both women were derived from karma accumulated during their preceding lives. When they were respectively Kāntā (*mDses ma*) and Śirīṣikā (*Ši ri śa ka*) they had covered their brother with gifts on his return to his native city after becoming Pratyekabuddha.

To go back to the tale, Mālikā bore Prasenajit a son called Virūdhaka (*aP'ags skyes*); he was brought up with the son of the court priest Duḥkhamātrika (*Ma la gnod*). One day the two young men entered the city of the Śākyas, and Virūdhaka was insulted and called son of a slave. To revenge himself, encouraged by his young friend, he attempted

to seize the kingdom, trusting to the intrigues of the minister Cārāyaṇa (*Riñ spyod*), ably induced to side with him and taking advantage of the absence of Prasenajit, who had gone to hear the Buddha preach, a long distance away. Virūdhaka, consecrated as king by the faithless ministers, seized the throne. Prasenajit was informed of these events by the two queens, who had fled to bring him the news, and he took refuge with Ajātaśatru, broken and forlorn. "Who can taste uninterrupted joy, or obtain a long life? Whose luck has not been seen to perish suddenly, at the moment of his greatest fortune?," (63).

Ajātaśatru, unable to help him, went to the Buddha, to find out the causes of Prasenajit's disaster. "Pleasures are like the waves of the sea - said the Buddha - they tremble like the eyes of a gazelle. Good fortune in an instant disappears, like lightning which flickers in the midst of a cloud; youth, in this lotus-flower of the body, is like the short-lived colour of the rising sun; the drop of life soon dries up in the desert of existence," (76). Prasenajit, in a former existence, had been an ascetic called Suśarman (*Rab bde*). One day, before going to his bath, he gave his sister some roots, to be kept for his meal, but she gave them away to a Pratyekabuddha, who had come to the hermitage in the meantime. Suśarman was left fasting and cursed his guest; for this reason, born again as Prasenajit, he was paying for his wrath. Meanwhile Virūdhaka planned to destroy the Śākyas; a first time the Buddha restrained him, but encouraged by Duḥkhamātrika he attacked the city. The Śākyas, whom the Buddha's preaching had rendered mild, had vowed they would not resist; all except Śāmpāka (*Šam pa ka*) who made havoc with Virūdhaka's troops; later he also was converted by the Buddha's words; he left the fight, settled in Vākuḍa and built a *stūpa* there.<sup>136</sup> Virūdhaka then entered the city and destroyed it, taking away a large number of male and female slaves. The Śākyas, the Buddha explained, were in a former life

fishermen who caught and tortured two fishes; in another life they had been robbers who murdered the chiefs of two families; for this reason they were now undergoing disaster, while the two fishes and the two heads of families were no others than Virūḍhaka and Duḥkhamātrika. In the meantime Virūḍhaka cut off the hands of the Śākya's female slaves, who spoke to him about the unescapable law of karma; Buddha healed them and they ascended to heaven. It was meanwhile foretold that Duḥkhamātrika, within seven days, would be burnt in hell-fire; vainly, for seven days, he sought refuge in the water; on the seventh day, struck by a ray from the sky, he was burnt and hurled into Hell.<sup>137)</sup>

On the tanka the scenes of the hero's past existences and the episodes of the lives told in the avadāna, are placed fronting one another.

Beginning from above, on the right, we see the meeting of Prasenajit and Mālikā, their return to the capital on a white elephant. Underneath, on the right, the alms Mālikā offered the Buddha, which caused her elevation. On the left, Prasenajit's former devotion, which caused his fortune as a king. The two pictures almost on top of the great figure of the Buddha, represent Virūḍhaka's birth and coronation. The scene which follows above, on the left, is difficult to interpret, because the accompanying inscription, in the woodcut, can hardly be deciphered. From what little can be read, it seems to represent the Buddha trying to turn Virūḍhaka from his plan of destroying the Śākya. The picture that follows, immediately below, represents the Buddha's prophecy concerning the fatal destruction of the city of the Śākya, and their decision not to resist attack. The Buddha is then seen looking on while the city burns; the fire is schematically represented immediately to the left. In the middle, Prasenajit on a chariot, seeking refuge with Ajātaśatru, immediately after being deprived of his reign by his own son. As can be seen, the pictures go backwards, without following the succession of events.

Next Virūḍhaka's army is represented on its way to destroy the city of the Śākya. The story closes with a picture of Śampāka receiving the Buddha's sacred relics in order to build a stūpa over them, and the scene of the young Śākya women, whose hands had been cut off by Virūḍhaka and who, through the Buddha's grace, are born again into heaven.

TANKA n. 69 – V right (Plate 105).

AVADĀNA n. 13

### STORY OF HĀRĪTĪ

Under Bimbisāra's reign, endless and violent calamities suddenly broke out in his kingdom, particularly a great mortality among infants. His subjects, harassed and sorrowful, begged the king to find out the cause of such misfortunes and to procure a remedy. Bimbisāra finally discovered that the ogress Hārītī (*aP'rog ma*) was devouring the children; the only redress he could think of was to invoke the Buddha's aid. The Buddha went to Hārītī and in her absence carried off her favorite son Priyaṃkara (*dGa' byed*). On her return Hārītī missed Priyaṃkara, and sought for him everywhere, with tears and sorrow. All in vain; she then went in despair to the Buddha, who asked her why she was grieving thus for the loss of a child, since she had so many. "Because Hārītī answered there is nothing dearer than children; what pain can be greater than their loss? (40). Only those who have children know the grievous sufferings caused by that poison, a parent's love. To cherish one's children is an inborn instinct „ (41). The Buddha, then, asked her why, knowing this, she had stolen the children of others, and promised to return Priyaṃkara to her when she has sworn to take the threefold Buddhist refuge. She did so, and the Buddha evoked her former life before her. A young woman, being pregnant, met some youths in the marketplace; listening to their blandishments, she took her pleasure with them, and miscarried. But

having met a Pratyekabuddha, she devoutly offered him a wreath made of 500 mango leaves; she was therefore reborn as an ogress, because she had brought about her own mis-carriage through thoughtlessness and lewdness; she had 500 children from the 500 leaves of the wreath presented to the Buddha, and having done him homage, was enabled to meet the Buddha and to enter into his Law.<sup>138)</sup>

The story is represented on the right side of the tanka, next to the label which bears the number of the corresponding chapter in Kṣemendra's poem. First we see the people of Rājagṛha going to ask the king's aid against the calamities which trouble the country; next the Buddha, whose help Bimbisāra is soliciting against Hārīti; the latter, in the queen's presence, seems about to pounce furiously upon her prey. On the margin the ogress among her children. Above, her vain search for Priyamkara by land and by sea, even into the Paradises which mount in terraces on the slopes of Sumeru; next the Buddha who returns the child to its mother, once he is sure of Hārīti's repentance and conversion. At the bottom, Hārīti's past history, her meeting with the merry party of young men and her sin.

#### AVADĀNA N. 14

#### STORY OF THE MIRACLE

The heretics of Rājagṛha could not bear to see the Buddha in great favour with the king and the people; intending to shame him, they asked king Bimbisāra's permission to engage the Śākya saint in a contest of miracles. Bimbisāra refused and they went to Prasenajit, who revealed everything to the Buddha. The latter was reluctant, because "That person, deserving of blame, who covers the virtues of other men with his own virtues, slays the Law itself,, (23). "The man who, although he be virtuous, is not serene to others, is like one who carries a lamp in his hand, but walks in darkness, obscured by the shadow cast by the lamp,, (25). Finally the Buddha consented,

not to prove his power of working miracles, but in order to convert unbelievers. The contest was fixed at the end of seven days.

In the meantime, as the king's brother crossed the palace courtyards, a wreath of flowers belonging to the queen was dropped upon him; slanderers falsely accused him to Prasenajit, who ordered his hands and feet to be cut off. While the prince was in this painful condition, his friends and relatives vainly begged the Jaina masters to help and comfort him. But Ānanda, arriving by chance, restored his limbs to him in a moment, through the power of *satyavacana*, that is of truth. When the day of the contest arrived, the Buddha projected out of his divine body sheaves of light, which pervaded the three worlds and caused wonderful lotus-flowers to shoot from the earth; seated upon them he preached to the crowd.

"Abandon evil, water the seeds of good, renounce enmity, enjoy the pleasures of lowliness, drink the ambrosia of knowledge: all these are antidotes to the poison of death. This body of ours is not, in the long run, a friend of good acts,, (53). "Luck is inconstant, youth is followed by age; as to the body, it is the abode of all infirmities; the vital spirits walk only for a moment in the house of the body. Be zealous in pursuing the eternal (truth) which is the very essence of the law,, (54).

While the Buddha was speaking, Vajrapāni raised up a great wind, which swept the heretics away and flung them down into the earth's centre. But the Buddha pitied them and by the power of his word restored them to safety and converted them.<sup>139)</sup>

On the tanka this story is represented immediately after the other. The first scene, under the great central figure, represents king Prasenajit asking the Buddha to vanquish the heretics by his miracles. Then, immediately underneath, the story of the prince accused by slanderers and punished by the king; his vain appeal for help to the heretical masters; his maimed limbs are restored by Ānanda. Next, further up, the miracle of the Buddha





FIG. 102

multiplied in thousands of luminous rays: gods men and all creatures worship him. Underneath, the heretics are swept away by the tempest. The scene immediately following, to the right, ought logically to be the first one, representing as it does the Buddha's refusal of the heretics' request, before they turn to Prasenajit. Above, the Buddha preaching in the midst of his disciples.

This episode of the Buddha's legend is very important in the Tibetan tradition, because it is commemorated every year, as one of the greatest festivals in the religious calendar.

AVADĀNA N. 15

STORY OF THE DESCENT  
FROM HEAVEN

It is called the descent from heaven, but the name has not much to do with the story - or rather stories - concerned, and it is justified only because they were told by the Buddha on that famous occasion. Kṣemendra's story goes that Śākyamuni, after having preached the Law in heaven, descended upon earth in Saṅkāśya (*Śaṅ kā śya*), where a jubilant crowd received him. A nun was there, anxious to approach him and to do him homage, but finding it impossible to approach the Buddha because of the crowd, she decided to use a stratagem.

"Virtue has no prestige, people love power,, (11). "Through an inborn habit, without reasoning, people allow themselves to be drawn by riches, unsteady like a leaf of grass or a piece of cloth, tasteless and unsubstantial,, (12).

The nun therefore disguised herself as a king and could thus approach the Buddha, who rebuked her because she had wanted to prove her ability to work miracles; later she was recognized by Udayin as his mate in a past life. The Buddha then told her her past birth: once upon a time a rich merchant's wife lived in Benares; her name was Dhanavati (*Nor ldan ma*) and she was about to bear a child. For this reason she tried to dissuade her husband

from an adventurous journey, but all in vain: greed for gain urged him towards new adventures. "Even the ocean is but as a pot to be held in the hands, to those who are seized with a strong desire for gain,, (34). The pair set off together, but they were shipwrecked; with great difficulty they reached the island of Kaśeru (*Ka se ru*), inhabited by gigantic birds. Their god Sumukha (*bžin bzai*), after the merchant's death, received Dhanavati with kindness; she bore a son, and later, out of fondness for Sumukha, gave herself to him. A son, Padmamukha (*Pad ma bžin*), was born; as soon as he reached manhood, Sumukha left him his kingdom. Dhanavati begged Padmamukha to take her son by her first husband to Benares and to place him on the throne; the enterprise was successful and Padmamukha, after having made his step-brother a king, returned to Kaśeru. In Benares a pregnant she-elephant was brought to the new king, and fortune-tellers assured him that she could not be delivered unless a pure woman touched her. All the women of the country and many others were vainly put to the proof; at last a young shepherdess was found, at whose touch the elephant brought forth her young. The king then married her daughter called Sośumbā (*So šum ba*). Later Padmamukha came to see his step-brother, and the king gave his wife into his keeping; he had to guard her in Kaśeru in the daytime and bring her to him at night.

In the meantime a young Brahman of Benares had met a Kinnarī in the forest and fallen in love with her; they lived together and a son was born whom they named Śighraga (*mGyur agro*). Grown to manhood, he advised his father to return to Benares: "No man can leave his country, as he cannot leave his own body,, (88). Father and son, in the Kinnarī's absence, fled taking with them a lyre, which Śighraga could play on wonderfully; a friend of his mother had taught him music, warning him never to touch the first string of his instrument. The young man met some



merchants on a sea voyage and began to play; he forgot the prohibition and touched the forbidden string; thereupon the sea swelled up, and their ship was swallowed by the waves. The youth landed in Kaśeru and fell in love with Sośumbā. She could not resist his wooing and touched by his entreaties, took him with her to Benares, charging him not to open his eyes while flying through the air with Padmamukha. He disobeyed and became blind. She left him, sad and forlorn, in the king's garden, meaning to take him back with her in the evening. The king, by chance, went down into the garden, and the blind man, smelling the scent from the king's robes, took him for Sośumbā and began to lament his fate, thus revealing his secret love. The king, disappointed because "a pure woman, like a wreath of flowers grown in the air, is absolutely not to be found," (129), banished his unfaithful wife and her lover. On the way they were captured by robbers, who murdered the man and raped Sośumbā. Finally the king forgave his wife and took her back. Udayin was at that time Śiṅhraga and the nun was Sośumbā.<sup>140)</sup>

The pictures on the tanka are somewhat different from Kṣemendra's version, which is in fact rather unequal and full of long-drawn-out details. At the top, on the left, the Buddha is seen sitting in the Tuṣita, preaching the law; he then descends upon earth at Maudgalyāyana's invitation, in the midst of a crowd of worshippers; the nun appears in the garb of a Cakravartin king, attended by an elephant and other symbols of his regal state. The next scene, on the left, is the story, told by the Buddha to the assembled monks, concerning the past lives of Udayin and the nun Utpalavarṇā, while on the right, near the great figure, an episode lacking in Kṣemendra is outlined: the monks beg Maudgalyāyana to ascend to heaven and to bring the Buddha back upon earth. In the picture below, the main points of the story of the Benares merchant and his wife are outlined.

AVADĀNA n. 16

### THE THROWING OF THE STONE

The Buddha had announced that he would go to the city of Kuśinagara, on a visit to the Mallas, who had invited him. The latter were preparing to receive him worthily, smoothing and cleaning the road on which he would pass, but they could not by any means remove a huge stone which barred the way at a certain point. As soon as he got to it, the Buddha flung the stone up to an extraordinary height, then catching it on the palm of his hand, he blew upon it, turning it to dust; then remoulded it as it was before and shifted it to another place. The Buddha took this opportunity to remind his hearers of the Buddha's incomparable power.

On the tanka we see above, on the right, the Mallas' vain efforts to move the stone, and in the following scene the Buddha throwing it up into the air and turning it to dust; next the crowd gathered round him to listen to his word.

TANKA n. 70 - VI right (Plate 106).

AVADĀNA n. 17

### MAITREYA'S PROPHECY

One day the Buddha, as he was crossing the Ganges on a bridge the snakes had made for him by stretching out their crests, showed his disciples a sacrificial pole of precious stones, which could be perceived at the bottom of the river, and told them its story. A god, descending upon earth at the term of his heavenly life, was born as king Mahāpraṇāda (*Mañ pos bkur ba*) and asked Indra for a sign which should remind him and his subjects of the splendours of the divine law. Indra gave him the sacrificial pole, but the people admired it so much that they used to neglect their work and the finances of the kingdom greatly suffered thereby. Mahāpraṇāda, for this reason, flung it into the bottom of the

Ganges. One day a king named Śaṅkha (*Duñ*) will be born, who will give the pole to Maitreya, the son of his Purohita; Maitreya will break it in pieces and give them to the poor and he will subsequently become a Buddha, while the king will take vows. Śaṅkha will thus gather the fruits of a vow made in one of his past lives when, in the times of the Buddha Ratnaśikhin (*Rin c'en gtsug*), putting an end to a long enmity with a rival king called Vāsava (*Nor lhai bu*) he had begun to practise the Buddhist law.<sup>141</sup>

The story is represented to the right of the great figure. The order of the scene is the following: first the Buddha about to cross, with the aid of the snakes, a river in the middle of which a stūpa is seen. Immediately above, the Buddha, in the midst of his disciples, is telling them the story and the prophecy. Still lower down, the same stūpa, honoured by a great crowd, and above, to the left of the preaching Buddha, king Mahāpraṇāda, who is throwing the monument into the river. All allusions to Maitreya's prophecy are lacking. The story of Śaṅkha's past life, in the times of the Buddha Ratnaśikhin, is briefly described in the picture under the great figure of the Buddha. We, then, see king Śaṅkha adoring Maitreya, and lower down the division of the precious stūpa among the King's subjects, while the people go home loaded with riches.

AVADĀNA II. 18

### THE STORY OF ĀDARŚAMUKHA

While the Buddha was staying at Śrāvastī, in the Jetavana, Kāśyapa (*'Od sruñ*), having gone into a nearby forest, met a leprous woman, who would also have wished to offer the saint her alms, but was ashamed to do so because of her disease. Kāśyapa, guessing her thoughts, handed her the bowl; in that same instant she died and was born into the Tuṣita heaven. Indra, to reward Kāśyapa, filled the bowl with ambrosia, but Kāśyapa, poured it out again, lest a heavenly reward

should contaminate his sincere pity for sufferers. In the meantime Prasenajit offered a banquet to the Buddha and to the community; he had been born a king because in one of his previous lives, as a poor man, he had offered a Pratyekabuddha the only scrap of food he possessed. He asked the Buddha whether it would be possible for him to achieve supreme enlightenment by this act of generosity. "Supreme enlightenment is softer than the stalks of a lotus flower, heavier than the planets, deeper than the sea; it is not to be easily conquered," (26). "Even I did not obtain it through the many gifts I had made in my past lives; they say that it comes of a conscience purified by serenity of mind," (27). Out of the many past lives in which he had performed great and wonderful acts of renouncement, without achieving supreme enlightenment, the Buddha recalled his life as Ādarśamukha (*Me loñ bžin*), fifth son of Nanda (*dGa' bo*), who was called by his father's will to succeed him on his throne; Ādarśamukha was an able wrangler, and successfully provided for his subjects' needs during a famine which lasted twelve years.<sup>142</sup>

The picture directly underneath the great figure of the Buddha represents Śākyamuni seated in the Jetavana, in the midst of his disciples. Higher up on the left we see the Buddha, to whom Prasenajit sends presents and offerings; to the king who is thus doing him homage, he announces that gifts and bounty do not suffice to attain supreme enlightenment; such has been his case as Ādarśamukha. In the left corner of the tanka are recorded the great gifts made by Prasenajit to the people, with the hope of attaining bodhi; then, right under the large picture of the Buddha in the Jetavana, is represented an episode of Prasenajit's former life, when he gave a cake to a Pratyekabuddha; next, up to the enclosure of the same scene, on the left, the leprous woman offering alms to Kāśyapa.





FIG.-103

AVADĀNA n. 19  
STORY OF ŚĀRIPUTRA

When the Buddha was in Kalandakani-vāpa, the sermon he preached to the assembled monks touched Śāriputra's soul so deeply, that he immediately achieved arhatship. Full of wonder, the monks asked the Buddha what merits Śāriputra had acquired in his preceding existence. The Buddha told them this story: once upon a time there was a woman, Sūrpikā (*Sur pi ka*), wife of the Brahman Agnimitra (*Me yi gros po*). A brother of her husband's, who had become Pratyekabuddha, happened to come to the house; she received him with great honour and took the vow to obtain supreme enlightenment in the future. Therefore Sūrpikā had become Śāriputra in her present existence. The monks however still had a doubt: if his merit was so great, why had he been born into a family of actors, who in India are despised and belong to the lowest caste? Another time the Buddha answered Śāriputra was the prince Mahāmati (*Bo gros c'en po*) who wanted at all costs to take vows and be admitted into the order, but his father's wishes and his obligations as a king stood in his way. One day, having seen a poor man who could not become a monk because he lacked the means of procuring a tunic and a bowl, he furnished him with what was needed, taking the vow that he would be reborn as a man of low caste.<sup>143)</sup>

The story begins in the upper, outer right-hand corner; we see the Buddha preaching among his disciples, while Śāriputra at that very moment attains gnosis; immediately underneath is represented Sūrpikā's story; next the meeting with the old man and the promise to furnish him with what he needed to enter the order; further up, the picture of Mahāmati who has become a king; next the gift of a tunic and a robe to the old man; higher up the old man has become a Pratyekabuddha and displays various miracles to

the prince; immediately to the left Śāriputra is initiated for the first time, in the Buddha Kāśyapa's days.

TANKA n. 71 - VII right (Plate 107).

AVADĀNA n. 20  
ŚROṆAKOṬĪKARŪA

In the village of Vāsava (*Nor las byuñ ba*) lived a bountiful lord called Bālasena (*sTobs kyī sde*); his wife, under the Śravanā constellation, gave birth to a son who, being born with miraculous earrings, was called Śroṇakoṭikarṇa (*Gro bžin bye ba rna ba*). Grown in years, urged by a greed for gain, he undertook an adventurous expedition into distant lands, but on the way he lost his caravan and found himself alone, tortured by hunger and thirst. Thus wandering through sun-parched deserts, he came to an iron city, whose gates were guarded by terrible watchers; having asked in vain for water, he entered the city and discovered that he had fallen among lemures, like him tormented by thirst and hunger, who were there atoning for their past sins.

Śroṇakoṭikarṇa was frightened and fled; at last he found refuge in a cool and shady forest; when night set in, he saw a heavenly chariot and upon it four women, divinely fair, and a kingly youth, who fed and comforted him. But at dawn the chariot disappeared, the young man fell to the ground in a swoon and was torn asunder by ravenous dogs. Night returned, and with it the same vision appeared once more. Śroṇakoṭikarṇa asked the reason of this and was told that the young man had been in the habit of eating meat; the monk Kātyāyana vainly tried to change his ways, at last he could only persuade the young man to avoid forbidden food at night. For this reason, the youth was happy during the night, but dogs devoured him in the daytime. Śroṇakoṭikarṇa resumed his journey and saw another heavenly chariot bearing a man and a bevy



of celestial women; when night arrived, the youth fell down in a swoon and a centipede gnawed his brain. At dawn the man came to life and the heavenly chariot returned. He had been a Brahman who loved his neighbour's wife; as he could not master his passion, in obedience to Kātyāyana, he decided to keep chaste by day; for this reason he was happy in the daytime and tortured by night. Koṭīkarna again set out on his journey, and met a fair lady seated on a heavenly chariot resting on four lemures. He pitied them and asked the reason of their torment; he was told that the woman had once offered generous alms to Kātyāyana, reverently and devoutly. Her husband, her son, her daughter-in-law and her handmaid had been sorely vexed; now, changed into lemures, they were paying for their sin.

Finally Koṭīkarna returned to his country and found his parents who, believing him to be dead, had become blind through much weeping. He then meditated on the impermanence of all things, was admitted into the community and in a short time became an arhat. Having gone to the Buddha, who was in the Veṇuvana, he heard from him the story of his own past adventures. In Kāśyapa's times, king Kṛkin built a precious stūpa in that Buddha's honour. He died before it was finished, and his son, out of niggardliness, had the work suspended. But a merchant came, who gave the gold needed to finish the stūpa. This merchant was Sroṇakoṭīkarna; owing to his act of devotion, he was reborn bearing miraculous earrings, but he had to endure the hardship of a long travel, because, when about to start on one of his journeys, he had spoken unkindly to his mother.<sup>144)</sup>

This avadāna occupies the lowest part of the tanka, beginning on the right; the three pictures on the right margin, one under the other, represent Koṭīkarna's three principal meetings: with a goddess on a heavenly chariot supported by four lemures, with the sinner who by night enjoyed the society of celestial maidens and in the daytime was devoured

by dogs, with another man happy in the daytime and tormented by night. The stūpa just visible on high, to the left of the first scene, is a reminder of the meritorious acts performed by Koṭīkarna in his past life. Next Koṭīkarna's arrival in the city of the lemures, his fatigue, the boat on which he travelled; in the centre, lower down, the return to his native city, the attainment of sanctity in the midst of an adoring crowd, the visit to the Buddha.

AVADĀNA n. 21

### STORY OF ĀMRAPĀLĪ

A king lived in Mithila, named Jalasattva (*C'u yi sems dpa'*); he prospered through the wise advice of his minister Khaṇḍa (*Dum bu*). The other ministers, envying their colleague's wisdom and favour, slandered him in every manner. Khaṇḍa became aware of this and, taking the advice of his sons, he fled.

"Affection, once broken by slander, cannot be welded together again, as a gem is no longer an ornament when it has become a piece of stone," (13).

Time passed, and his son Siṃha became the father of two daughters, Cailā (*Tsai lā*) and Upacailā (*Ñe bai tsai lā*); according to the fortune-tellers, Cailā's son was destined to murder his own father. Khaṇḍa died and his son Siṃha was made minister in his place, while the second son Gopa, vexed that such an honour had not been bestowed upon him, took refuge with Bimbisāra in Rājagṛha. Bimbisāra's wife died, and the king wished to marry Upacailā. Gopa tried by every mean to carry off the maiden, but as she was well guarded, he brought the king Cailā in her place, without concealing from him that fortune-tellers had made an evil prophecy concerning her firstborn. In the meantime the head of a certain community found a maiden in the forest; he named her Āmrāpālī (*Ām ra skyoṅ ma*) and when she was grown wished to find her a husband, but the community objected, maintaining that she must be kept for the

members of the community and not given in marriage to a stranger. Āmrapālī succeeded, by a strategem, in eluding the desires of the community and, as she had become famous for her great beauty, princes of many lands sent her their portraits and asked for her hand. She chose Bimbisāra and had intercourse with him; having borne a child, when he was grown up, she sent him to his father with the ring which the king had left with her when they parted. The story does not proceed as far as Bimbisāra's end, because it was known to all that he had been slain by his son Ajātaśatru; it evokes Āmrapālī's former life, when as Mālatī (*aP'reñ ba can*) she had honoured a Pratyekabuddha, expressing the wish to be born again as a king's wife.<sup>145)</sup>

The story is represented to the left, immediately under the central figure.

Under the lotus can be seen the chariot upon which the minister carried off Cailā; lower down, exactly in the centre, Āmrapālī's love for Bimbisāra. Above the picture with the chariot, Āmrapālī's son brought before his father and recognized by means of the ring; more to the left, the King receiving Āmrapālī. Underneath, Khaṇḍa with Cailā and Upacailā: still lower down, to the left, Khaṇḍa with his sons.

AVADĀNA n. 22

### STORY OF THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE JETAVANA

The rich merchant Sudatta (*sByin pa*) of Śrāvastī was called by the people Anāthapiṇḍada (*mGon med zas sbyin*) because of his charity and generosity. Wishing to give his son a wife, he sent a Brahman, Madhuskandha (*sBrañ rtsii p'uñ pa*) to Rājagṛha to seek for a bride. The Brahman found her and after having consented to pay the dowry asked by the maiden's family, he fell ill; his host cast him out of the house, fearing infection. Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana arrived, and the Brahman, full of earnest faith in the Buddha, died in their presence and was reborn in heaven.

Meanwhile Anāthapiṇḍada received the letter sent by the Brahman before his death; he took the dowry with him, set off for Rājagṛha and got to his future brother-in-law's house where a great banquet in the Buddha's honour was being prepared. The Buddha arrived, in the midst of a crowd of disciples, and Anāthapiṇḍada had thus the opportunity of hearing one of his sermons. Touched by his words, he invited him to Śrāvastī, where he built a monastery in the Jetavana. This incensed the heretics, who led by Raktākṣa (*Mig āmar*) tried to prevent the construction of the vihāra. Raktākṣa, by his magic arts, caused a pond to appear on the spot, and Śāriputra dried it up, using an elephant, created by his power. Raktākṣa then brought forth from his person a seven-headed serpent, and Śāriputra caused it to be subdued by Garuḍa: the other evoked a ghost, but the saint turned it against its maker, whereupon all the heretics were converted. Anāthapiṇḍada could thus finish his monastery, which he richly adorned. Anāthapiṇḍada, the Buddha explained, had also acquired great merit in his former lives, when he had given many gifts to the Buddhas Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Krakucchanda and Kāśyapa.<sup>146)</sup>

On the tanka the episode is represented in the upper right-hand corner, where the construction of the vihāra in the Jetavana is clearly visible. Underneath, the contest between Śāriputra and Raktākṣa, the Garuḍa seizing the seven-headed serpent, the pond dried up by the elephant. Above, the ghost.

TANKA n. 72 – VIII right (Plate 108).

AVADĀNA n. 23

### STORY OF THE ŚĀKYAS

Śuddhodana wished at any cost to see his son, who having renounced his kingdom and his home, had become the Buddha. He sent many devoted friends to beg him to return to Kapilavastu, but not one of them had come





FIG. 104



back; they had all taken vows and forgotten their promise.

“Each desires his own good, and has therefore become cold to the interests of others,, (6). Finally, much to the king’s joy, Udayin came back announcing the Buddha’s approaching arrival. The Buddha miraculously came through the skies; father and son met again, and hoping against hope to bring him back to earthly ties, Śuddhodana asked him how he had been able to exchange his untroubled wealth for the hardships of an ascetic’s life. Let him now return to the care of his kingdom and the love of his family. These words were naturally vain. “If life were not unstable as a wave, if it were not troubled by old age and disease, who would not continually desire pleasure, dripping the ambrosia of contentment?,, (34). But life is made of partings, impermanence and pain. “Wealth is attended by the regret of being separated from one’s property, the beauty of women is over in a moment, there is no satisfaction in enjoyments. How can there be any enjoyment, capable of satisfying us, in those things wherein misfortune always lies in ambush?,, (42).

All the Śākya’s, hearing the Buddha’s words, were converted, to the exclusion of Devadatta, who declared that the Buddha’s majesty, which overpowered them all, was only some magic power; Maudgalyāyana, then, displayed miraculous prodigies and the Buddha ascended to heaven, to preach the Law to the gods, while Śuddhodana vainly tried to reach his son and listen to his word. He then renounced his kingly dignity, offering it to his kinsmen, but no one wanted to accept the cares of a kingdom; princes give it up, one in the other’s favour: all together, from Bhadraka, (*bZaṅ ldan*) the youngest of all, to Devadatta, they took vows. But, almost as though forecasting the sad fate of Devadatta, whose heart was not pure, a vulture tore off a ruby he had in his diadem.

To enter the order, it is necessary to get one’s hair shaved; the novice Bhadraka had to

kneel before Upālin the barber, who was already an important member of the community. The young Śākya’s pride, not yet subdued, shrank before such a humiliation. However, after a moment’s uncertainty, he bowed before the monk, who had once been his servant and barber. Thereupon the earth trembled: pride, one of man’s inborn qualities, the most difficult to uproot, was vanquished. The monks wished to know why the earth should have trembled, and the Buddha explained the reason and reminded them that in his former life Bhadraka had already humbled himself before Upālin.

Once upon a time there was a poor youth who had fallen in love with a harlot, Bhadra by name. She, at a loss how to get rid of him, used to send him off into the forest to pick flowers. One day king Brahmadata found him there; hearing him sing and prizing his wisdom, he took the youth with him as a confidant and friend, and went so far as to offer him half his kingdom. After a moment’s hesitation the youth, as though enlightened, refused his offer. “Power is like a poisonous berry: it causes men to quake, to fall into a stupour, prostrates them, envelops them in darkness; as soon as he has tasted it, man dies of it,, (94).

Having perceived the vanity of all things, Bhadraka became a Pratyekabuddha, and the king, on meeting him again, bowed before him. The King was then Bhadra.<sup>147)</sup>

The tanka represents this episode on the right of the central figure; immediately above the label containing the name and number of the avadāna, king Śuddhodana is seen sending messengers to beg the Buddha to come back. One of these messengers is near the palace door, about to set off. Passing immediately to the great scene on the left of the Buddha, we see Udayin asking Śākyaṃuni to heed his father’s prayer. Turning back to the right, Udayin’s arrival; he is admitted into the king’s presence and announces Śākyaṃuni’s approaching arrival. Hence we must pass

to the upper margin, where the Buddha's miraculous arrival by air is represented: to the admiration of all present, the Buddha seated on a throne, surrounded by his disciples, preaches the Law to the Śākya, who can be easily recognized by their turbans and their mundane dress; they take vows and have their hair cut off by Upālin. The scene which follows, immediately to the right, shows the Buddha preaching to the heavenly assembly, while his father vainly tries to enter Paradise, kept back by the guards at its four gates.

Under the label which announces this story, we see Devadatta and the vulture tearing off the ruby from his diadem.

AVADĀNA n. 24

### STORY OF VIŚVĀNTARA

This is the tale of Viśvāntara, one of the most celebrated of all Buddhist legends, still a subject for sacred art in different Eastern lands. The Avadāna is so well known that Kṣemendra only gives a brief summary of it, without taking advantage of its dramatic plot, which had inspired pages of the highest poetry to Āryaśūra.

Viśvāntara (*T'ams cad sgröl*) was the son of Saṃjaya (*Kun tu rgyal ba*) and gave himself up entirely to practising the virtue of charity; no one had ever turned to him without having his prayers and requests immediately granted. He began by giving away a war-chariot which was one of the props of his kingdom, causing the king and the ministers great anxiety. When he gave to a Brahman, sent by an enemy king, the elephant which was the defence of the State, the king saw no remedy, but to send his son into exile. The prince departed with his wife and two children; on the road he gave away his chariot and all his property, because "the spirit of great-hearted men is the same, in good and bad fortune,, (29), then he gave away his children and in the end even his wife - but this time it was Indra himself who, taking the form of a Brahman,

had asked him for his wife to prove his firmness in keeping a vow. In the end Indra appears in all his divine splendour and returns his wife to him. The prince also found his children, who had been sold to Viśvāmitra and obtained his kingdom.<sup>149)</sup>

The story is represented in the lower part of the tanka; it begins with the bottom picture, to the onlooker's right, which represents the preaching Buddha; this gave occasion to the avadāna, when the Buddha told the assembled monks the story of his former life as Viśvāntara. In the centre the royal palace, where prince Viśvāntara is seated to receive the needy; on the right a smaller scene is added: he appears with his wife seated on the throne to receive the homage of his people, having returned to his reign after undergoing an exceedingly hard ordeal. On the first plane, below, the beggars depart, happy and loaded with gifts. On the left, the elephant given away to the enemy King; next, under the Buddha's central figure, Viśvāntara exiled by the king. Having given away his horse, Viśvāntara with his wife, bearing his children on his back, meets Indra who has taken the form of a Brahman and asks him for his children. Viśvāntara consents, to the great grief of his wife, who swoons. He then gets back his two children and returns to his kingdom.

TANKA n. 73 - IX right (Plate 109).

AVADĀNA n. 25

### THE ABHINIṢKRAMAṆA

This is a summary of the Buddha's life; although schematic, as is always the case with Kṣemendra, it contains fragments and episodes which are not to be found in other most celebrated biographies.

But it is not necessary to dwell on the Buddha's life, which is known to all.

In this tanka the life of the Buddha is represented in a summary manner; the scenes are more than usually huddled together in the

lower part; beginning from the left we see his birth in the park of Lumbini, the seven steps taken by the child and marked by lotus flowers, miraculously springing from the ground at every footstep; Yaśodharā's return to the city of Kapilavastu with her son; the royal palace in Kapilavastu, three stories high, in which the main events of Śākyamuni's life took place; the prophecies concerning his future, his studies, his life in the women's apartments, his exit from the city, and at the bottom, the young prince's exercises, Devadatta's rivalry, the shooting of the arrow which pierced seven palm-trees; the fall of the elephant, flung to a great distance to clear the way for the Buddha; the first meditation on work in the fields; the four walks outside the city and the four meetings which caused his decision to abandon the world; the Buddha taking a penitent's robe; asceticism; the Buddha's deep concentration, so profound that the shepherds take him for a statue; his meeting with his first five disciples; the shepherd maidens who offer him food on the banks of the Nairāñjanā; the gods' offering of a bowl with which to beg for food.

AVADĀNA n. 26

### THE VICTORY OVER MĀRA

This may be considered the continuation of the preceding avadāna, as it tells the life of the Buddha, up to the victory over Māra and the attainment of enlightenment.<sup>149)</sup>

Such is the scene depicted on the right of the central Buddha; we see Māra's violent attack, and above it the saint's collected calm, after he has vanquished the king of evil and overcome his temptations.

AVADĀNA n. 27

### THE GENEALOGY OF THE ŚĀKYAS

Rather than an avadāna, this is a brief genealogy of the Śākya family; it begins with the formation of the earth, the descent of the Ābhāsvara gods, the election of the first king

Mahāsammata (*Kun gyis bkur ba*), until, through his descendants, we reach Virūdhaka who, out of affection for his youngest son, sent his eldest sons into exile. They took refuge with the ascetic Kapila and later founded Kapilavastu. Thus, through endless generations, the line reached Śudhodana and his brothers Śuklodana, Droṇodana and Amṛtodana.

This genealogy is represented on the upper part of the central section, on the left of the same tanka: immediately above the head of the central figure, the Buddha, surrounded by his disciples in the Nyagrodhārāma, telling the story of the Śākyas' origin. Above, on the left, Mahāsammata; further up, always on the left, Virūdhaka who exiled his sons; the latter set out to sack Kapilavastu.

AVADĀNA n. 28

### STORY OF ŚRONAKOṬIVIMŚA

A very rich merchant called Potala (*Gru aḍsin*) lived in Campā; he had a son named Sronakoṭivimśa (*Gro bzin bye ba ñi lu*). When the boy grew up, he met Maudgalyāyana, and having heard him speak about the Buddha, a deep faith in the Śākya saint sprung up in his heart. He sent the Buddha a present of food so exquisite, that king Bimbisāra, having tasted it, wondered at its excellence and wished to know who the fortunate mortal was that could send such a present. Being told, he desired to visit him, but Potala feared the king's unexpected favour.

"Excessive good fortune becomes hateful even to servants; what then of kings, who have only pride in their souls?," (24). "Amongst people made of hatred, my son, men live by hiding their virtues; the lotus flower, whose virtues are hidden, is beloved even of the sun," (26).

Potala therefore advised his son to go himself to Bimbisāra; Śronakoṭivimśa set off to meet the king and offered him precious gifts; then he went with him to the Buddha, and on the way he obliged his numberless servants to





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FIG. 105

lay down their rich clothes on the ground. The Buddha instructed him in the law and he took vows. In a short time he advanced a great way on the road to sanctity. The monks asked the Buddha what merits Śroṇakoṭivimśa had accumulated in his past life; they were told that in the times of the Buddha Vipāśyin, he was the poor Brahman Indrasoma (*ĀBāñ poi zla*), who offered the former a little food, collected with great labour.<sup>150</sup>

Always in this same tanka the story occupies the uppermost quarter on the right. It continues with memories of the saint's past life; Indrasoma does homage to the Buddha Vipāśyin; lower down we see the birth of Śroṇakoṭivimśa; he sends food to the Buddha; he visits Sākyamuni with his retinue and bids them change their clothes.

TANKA n. 74 - X right (Plate 110).

AVADĀNA n. 29

### STORY OF DHANAPĀLA

This is another episode of the Buddha's life. While the saint was in the Kalandakanivāpa, near Rājagrha, Devadatta advised king Ajātaśatru, whose friend and confidant he was, to serve his own interests by having the Buddha murdered.

"What is the use of friendship when it does not help to destroy enemies, to obtain glory and to increase esteem?," (80). The deed was to be accomplished by the elephant Dhanapāla (*Nor skyon*); next day the elephant-tamer incited the furious animal against the Buddha who, knowing everything in his omniscience, had approached near Rājagrha to beg. The monks all except Ananda, fled in terror but the Buddha, by his love, subdued the animal, who knelt at his feet and immediately died, to be born again amidst the Caturmahārājā-kāyika gods. In his new incarnation he descended from Paradise to worship the Buddha and to listen to his preaching. When the monks asked what Dhanapāla's former life had

been, Sākyamuni answered that in the times of the Buddha Kāśyapa he had already taken vows, but without observing the rules of discipline; for this offence he was born again as an elephant, and because he had nevertheless entered the holy community, he obtained the reward of listening to his sermon. That Ānanda alone should stand by the Buddha in the hour of peril, had happened before, when both had been born as swans. King Brahmadata wished to capture one of them, who was the Buddha; the other swan, Ānanda, let himself be caught likewise, so as not to leave his mate.

Another time, when the Buddha was King of Tuṭṭi,<sup>151</sup> he was vanquished in battle, and everyone abandoned him except his elephant, who was Ānanda. On still another occasion, being born as a lion and having fallen into a well, all left him except a jackal. Finally, being a gazelle, fallen into the huntsman's nets, another gazelle offered herself to the men, to be killed in the other's place; the man's heart was touched and he let them both go.<sup>152</sup> The story which occupies the lowest part of the tanka, begins at the extreme left corner, where the Buddha is represented in the Kalandaka park, telling his monks Dhanapāla's story: it continues in the right-hand corner, where Devadatta is represented inducing Ajātaśatru to murder the Buddha by inciting the furious elephant against him; between these two pictures is the rest of the story: Dhanapāla's attack, the flight of the monks, the conversion.

AVADĀNA n. 30

### STORY OF KĀŚISUNDARA

As he expounded the law to Kaunḍinya, the Buddha told him his past life. Brahmadata had two sons, Kāśisundara (*Kā śi mdes pa*) and Kālabhū (*Dus kyi sa*). The first found nothing to attract him in the world, perceived the vanity of all things and asked permission of his father to take vows. The father tried to turn him from his purpose by all means. "(Even the life) of kings is asceticism without

a forest, since they must always act according to good advice, follow good men's counsel and continually control their senses,, (23). Man is never satisfied with his lot. "The passionate man aspires to continence; the chaste one remembers love's delights; when a man is gorged, he revels in the harshest vows, when he is hungry he wishes to eat; those who are alone seek company, if the crowd annoys them, they desire the forest; when men have renounced a thing they run after it, and when they have obtained it, they despise it,, (32). But the father's advice and entreaties are vain; Kāśisundara retired into a hermitage and cultivating the virtue of patience, was known to all as the saint Kṣāntivādin.

In the meantime Brahmadata died and Kālabhū became king; his soul was harsh and cast out kindness. Once, in the springtime, he went into the forest to disport himself with his women; as he slept, tired out with love-making, his comrades discovered Kṣāntivādin in the forest and were so struck with his beauty, emaciated as he has by the ascetic life, that they stopped short to admire him. Kālabhū woke up and finding the women rapt in adoration of Kṣāntivādin, was incensed with jealousy and anger; he insulted the ascetic and cut off first his hands and then his feet, while the victim did not protest nor complain. But through the revenge of the gods, a drouth destroyed all the wealth of the king's land; he repented and ran to beg forgiveness of the saint; the latter called upon the gods to witness that he had never felt any resentment against the king, even in the instant of his most bitter tortures and his body was miraculously made whole. Kṣāntivādin was then the Buddha and Kālabhū the monk Kauṇḍinya.<sup>153)</sup>

The narrative on the tanka begins under the central figure, where the Buddha is seen telling the monks, who have gathered around him, the story of Kauṇḍinya's past. The developments that follow are clear: king Brahmadata tries to turn Kāśisundara from his purpose of embracing an ascetic's life; Kāśisundara,

who has become Kṣāntivādin, in the midst of his disciples. Above, Kṣāntivādin surrounded by the king's women, kneeling in worship; in the middle his martyrdom.

AVADĀNA n. 31

### STORY OF SUVARṆAPĀRŚVA

This story is told by the Buddha concerning Devadatta. In the times of Mahendrasena (*dBaṅ poi sde c'en*), king of Benares, a golden-haired gazelle lived in the forest; her name was Suvarṇapārśva (*gSer gyi logs*) and her beloved comrade was a raven. One day, walking in the forest, she heard moans and calls for help, and seeing a man who had fallen into a pond, she saved him, turning a deaf ear to the raven's preceding advice:

"The wicked, in time of misfortune, are like flowers; when they have obtained their wish like lightning. They do not heed past benefits, and are only the friends of their own good,, (15).

The gazelle recommended the man she had saved to keep her secret and not to reveal her hiding-place to anyone. In the meantime queen Candraprabhā (*Zla 'od*) dreamt that a golden-haired gazelle was preaching the holy law and confided her dream to Mahendrasena, who ordered the ablest huntsmen to search the whole forest for the prodigious animal. They went, and came back without having found her; the king insisted and promised a great prize to anyone who should bring him the animal he desired. So the man Suvarṇapārśva had saved, lured by gain, became the huntsmen's guide; he discovered her and showed her to them, as the gazelle was coming forward of her own accord, to save her comrades from the arrows. The ungrateful man's hands fell off, as if he had been struck by lightning; the king took the wonderful animal to the queen and the gazelle preached the law to her. The gazelle was the Buddha, and the ungrateful man was Devadatta.<sup>154)</sup>

The legend is represented immediately above the preceding avadāna, it begins with the figure of Mahendrasena distributing gifts in order



that the gazelle may be brought to him; hence we must pass to the picture on the top of the tanka: in its lower portion the gazelles are seen grazing, and the man being saved by Suvarṇapārśva; then the hunt, the capture and finally Suvarṇapārśva in the royal palace, preaching the holy law to the king and queen. In the extreme right-hand corner the Buddha telling the monks this former incarnation of Devadatta.

AVADĀNA n. 32

### STORY OF KALYĀNAKĀRIN

King Purandara (*aByer ajig*) had two sons, one called Kalyānakārin (*dGe byed*) and the other Akalyānakārin (*Mi dge byed*), the former adorned with every virtue and the latter wicked. Kalyānakārin was so charitable that the treasures of the kingdom were soon exhausted. When king Puṇyasena (*bSod nams sde*) offered him his daughter Manoramā in marriage, he asked his father's permission, before celebrating his nuptials, to go on a long journey to Ratnadvīpa, in order to restore the finances of the State, which he had ruined with his bounties. His brother went with him. Having got to Ratnadvīpa and loaded their ship with great treasure, they were about to reach their country, when shipwreck cast them on an unknown land. While Kalyānakārin was asleep, his brother put out his eyes, stole the gems he kept tied to his person and returned to his native city. Kalyānakārin was taken home by a shepherd, and passed his time playing the *viṇā*; the shepherd's wife fell madly in love with him, she confessed her passion, but being rejected and blamed for her wickedness, she accused him to her husband of an attempt to seduce her. Turned out by the shepherd, Kalyānakārin came back incognito to Puṇyasena's kingdom, where he learnt that his father was dead, and the kingdom in the hands of Akalyānakārin. Manoramā, who had been informed of Kalyānakārin's blindness, asked her father to let her choose her husband and refusing the offers of other young

princes, she chose the blind man. The latter was reluctant, but she protested that not all women are as bad as he thinks: if it is true that she loves him with purest love, let one of his eyes be healed. By the force of truth, his right eye regained its sight. And he said in his turn: "If it is true that I feel no hatred for my brother for the wrong he has done me, let my other eye be restored,.. And the miracle came to pass."<sup>155</sup>)

Kalyānakārin was the Buddha and the wicked brother was Devadatta. The beginning of the story is found in the small picture representing the Buddha in the act of speaking to some monks, above the head of the central figure, a little to the right; then king Purandara in his palace and Kalyānakārin's generosity. Passing over the central episode, we see lower down the prince's voyage, his brother putting out his eyes, Kalyānakārin's life among the shepherds; Kalyānakārin playing the *viṇā* and, coming back to the scenes in the middle, Kalyānakārin's eyesight restored and his meeting with Manoramā.

AVADĀNA n. 33

### STORY OF VIŚĀKHA

Aśoka had four sons and sent them into exile. Wandering in the forest at the end of their resources, they decided to kill their wives; only one of them, Viśākha (*K'yad par lo ma*), fled with his wife, and when she fell down in a swoon, worn out with fatigue, he gave her his blood to drink to restore her and then fed her with his own flesh, cutting it off with his word. One day, while resting on the bank of a river, they saw a man carried along by the current; his hands and feet had been cut off and he was about to be drowned. Viśākha saved him and confided him to his wife's care and she, as their familiarity grew, fell in love with the man.

"Women, who enjoy sexual intercourse to their hearts' content, are not touched by affection, they are not bound by virtue, they are not attracted by nobility,, (21). Lying with her lover and considering her husband an obstacle to her passion, the woman sought to get



FIG. 106

rid of him. Feigning a headache, she begged him to get her a medicine from the bottom of a deep gorge and let him down with a rope she held; when he was hanging in mid-air, she let go and he fell into the abyss. His good karma saved Viśākha, who got back to Puṣkarāvātī and was put on the throne in the dead king's place. He ruled wisely, while his wife continued to live with the cripple and, bearing him on her back, roamed from place to place, admired by all as a model wife. Thus wandering, she came to Puṣkarāvātī, where the court priest informed the king of a saintly woman's arrival. Viśākha was skeptical; "That woman should be capable of attachment, is a vain word; that she is without self-interest, only one whose mind is numb can say; to meet a woman devoted to her husband is like finding a flower grown in the void: woman is bad beyond all doubt., (45). Nevertheless, to please the priest, he went to see her; they recognized each other and the woman fled, ejected by the population.

In that life Viśākha was the Buddha and his wife Devadatta. <sup>156)</sup>

The legend is illustrated beginning from the lower left-hand corner. King Aśoka is seen in the royal palace, sending his sons into exile with their wives; then, proceeding upwards, their decision to abandon Viśākha; his wife throwing him into a gorge; a merchant who recognises him; higher up Viśākha seated on his throne, speaking with his ministers, while his wife wanders about the city carrying her husband on her back; next, near the central figure, the Buddha telling the monks about Devadatta's past incarnation.

TANKA n. 75 - XI right (Plate III).

AVADĀNA n. 34

### STORY OF NANDOPANANDA

While the Buddha was in the Jetavana, some monks who lived at the foot of Mount Sumeru arrived; they were pale and wan owing

to the bad influence of two Nāgas, Nanda and Upananda, whose poisonous breath scorched even the stones. The Buddha sent Maudgalyāyana to pacify the two Nāgas; the monk, by his magic power, took the shape of a serpent and enveloped Nanda and Upananda in his coils so tightly, that they turned themselves into men and fled in a fright. Maudgalyāyana then resumed his normal shape and advised them to go to the Buddha and be converted. They obeyed and became faithful worshippers of the Śākya saint.

Questioned by his monks, the Buddha told them the nāgas' past history: in the times of king Kṛkin they had been two ministers; though they did not rule justly, they had given a monastery to Kāśyapa, the Buddha of those times. By reason of this gift, they were enabled, in their new life, to hear the words of redemption from Śākyamuni's lips. <sup>157)</sup>

The legend represented in the tanka faithfully follows the text: the Buddha receives the ascetics from Sumeru; on high Sumeru enveloped in the coils of Maudgalyāyana, who has become a gigantic serpent; the two nāgas fleeing in human shape; next the story of the nāgas when they were king Kṛkin's ministers.

AVADĀNA n. 35

### STORY OF SUDATTA

While the two Nāgas mentioned in the preceding story were with the Buddha, king Prasenajit arrived; he was vexed that they should not have done him homage and decided to punish them, but having perceived his purpose, they caused a shower of swords to fall upon the earth; Maudgalyāyana succeeded in warding it off. Prasenajit begged forgiveness of the offended Nāgas and invited the Buddha to dinner. In the night a fire broke out, and the Buddha immediately extinguished it; hence the king forbade fires to be lit at night, threatening severe punishment. Some time before, Prasenajit had caused Sudatta's son to be put to death for a fault of which he was guiltless;

Sudatta, deeply devoted to the Buddha, bore this wrong with the utmost resignation, and distributed his treasures to the poor; thus impoverished, he was called no longer Sudatta, but Svalpaprada (he who gives little).

One night he lit a lamp to read the sacred scriptures and having thus disobeyed the king's orders, was arrested and cast into prison, but the gods visited him in his cell, and the city took fire, so that Prasenajit was forced to set him free. Sudatta went to do homage to the Buddha and met the king, to whom he did not pay his respects, because:

"In the presence of him whom all the world must worship, no one else may be adored," (24).

The king could not tolerate this insult to his majesty and ordered Svalpaprada to be exiled, but he had to call him back at once, because the gods, to punish him, had afflicted him with a most severe toothache.<sup>158)</sup>

The legend develops on the right side of the tanka, beginning on top with a representation of the preaching Buddha; king Prasenajit and the two Nāgas, seated on clouds, are listening; the shower of swords transformed by Maudgalyāyana into a rain of flowers. On the right of the central image's head, the Buddha receiving gifts from Prasenajit, who is next represented in the act of forbidding lamps to be lit; after his son's execution Sudatta is reading the sacred scriptures by the light of a lamp; his liberality; he is sent into exile and goes to the Buddha.

AVADĀNA n. 36

### STORY OF GHOṢILA

Under Udayana's (*gC'ar byed*) reign a rich merchant named Sudhana lived in Kauśāmbī, who had accumulated great wealth. One day the king asked him whether what was said concerning his huge riches were true and he wisely answered that all was due to the king's merits:

"The rich become poor, the poor go to their death, if the king becomes like a tiger, pitiless, bent upon seizing his prey," (9).

Satisfied with the merchant's answer, the king made him his minister and confidant; then, to put him to the proof, he commanded him to perform unlawful acts—but Sudhana, rather than execute such orders, preferred to be imprisoned. When he was freed, he distributed his riches to the needy. At that time some ascetics, who had come from the South, lost their way in the forest; they suffered great thirst and, in the utmost despair, implored help; a deity appeared in the sky and miraculously gave them water to drink. That god, in his past life, had been a citizen of Śrāvastī, who pointed out to the beggars Anāthapiṇḍada's house, where help and comfort were to be found. For this reason he had been reborn as a god. Continuing their journey, the ascetics felt extremely hungry and having invoked help, they were assisted by another god, who miraculously appeared. He had been a Brahman in his past life; after feeding the community, he had taken the vow to fast; though unable to keep it to the end, he had been reborn as a god through the merit thus acquired. The ascetics went to Sudhana, next to Anāthapiṇḍada and at last to the Buddha; they heard his sermon and took the path to sanctity.

Sudhana built in Kauśāmbī a monastery, known by the name of Cundavihāra; a maid-servant of the temple, called Rādhā (*mGu byed*), gave the Buddha a dress, hoping to be delivered from servitude in a future existence.

On the monks' request, the Buddha told them Sudhana's past life: once upon a time, he said, a very rich and charitable person lived in Benares, called Sundhāna (*gZugs byed*); Padmākara was his agent and friend, Dharmadūta (*C'os kyī p'o ña*) his counsellor and helper in assisting the Pratyekabuddhas and the community; when they forgot to perform their duties at the proper time, a dog they kept admonished them by his bark. Sundhāna was the Buddha, Padmākara was Anāthapiṇḍada and Dharmadūta was king Udayana; the dog was Sudhana, also called Ghōṣila (*gDañs can*).<sup>159)</sup>



The pictures are rather badly arranged: in the largest scene, at the bottom, the king is seen choosing Sudhana to be his minister; on the left the same Sudhana refusing to perform reprehensible actions; on the right his liberality; further to the left, the ascetics receiving water from a forest deity and, above, the same receiving food from another divinity. The Buddha seated in the temple, in the midst of a crowd who offers him gifts. Under the large image, Sudhana founding the Cundavihāra; then to the right the ascetics with Anāthapiṇḍada; next the same, guided by him, going to hear the Buddha's sermon.

TANKA n. 76 - XII right (Plate 112).

AVADĀNA n. 37

### STORY OF PŪRṆA

In the city of Śurvāra (*Slob ma lta bur*) lived a rich merchant, who had three sons. Being seriously ill and at death's door, he was abandoned by his wife and children; only a handmaid called Mallikā took care of him. He was miraculously cured and the maid bore him a son, whom he called Pūrṇa. While his three brothers were at sea, amassing riches, Pūrṇa, grown in years, remained with his father and, by his abilities, made more money than the former by their voyages.

"Through the coming to maturity of a good karma, the riches of those who seek for riches are multiplied;

They fall from the hands of one, and another picks up what has fallen,, (14).

Feeling his end approaching, the father recommended his sons to stand by one another after his death: "Fortune abandons a house divided, as water leaks from a vase,, (18).

But as soon as he was dead, his sons hastened to divide his property and disinherited Pūrṇa, because he was a slave's son. Pūrṇa quickly restored his fortunes and crossed the seas seven times. On the seventh, as he was returning home, he heard some merchants

singing Buddhist hymns and at once desired to see the Buddha; he went to his friend Anāthapiṇḍada in Śrāvastī, saw Śākyamuni, took vows and became famous for his sanctity. He was sent to the savage Sroṇāparānta and converted them by his humility and resignation. In the meantime his brother Bhavila (*aByor len*), who had lost all his property and had gone to sea once more, happened to enter a forest of precious sandal-wood and with his comrades began to cut down the trees. The yakṣa who protected the forest caused a great storm to break out, which endangered their lives. Feeling lost, they all invoked the saint Pūrṇa, on Bhavila's advice and the saint, miraculously appearing in the air, saved them from danger. The pacified yakṣa allowed them to carry off the sandal-wood; Bhavila, once home, used it, on Pūrṇa's advice, to build the Candanamālā palace, which he offered to the Buddha. The Buddha arrived miraculously by air, moving to great devotion some women who had seen him: they built in his honour the stūpa called Paurāṅganacaiṭya; Śākyamuni accepted the gift of the palace and consecrated it. Having gone back to the Jetavana, he told the monks Pūrṇa's past life: Pūrṇa had been the provost of a monastery, and had insulted the people whose duty it was to clean it; after passing many lives in various hells, he had been born again as a slave's son. But the good he had done and his past virtues having matured, he had attained salvation in his present existence.<sup>160</sup>

The legend occupies the bottom of the tanka; the scenes encroach one upon the other, without following the story as told in the text; the stūpa Paurāṅganacaiṭya is seen on the left of the central image; above the stūpa, to the right, the Buddha's miraculous arrival by air; under the lower image on this side, towards the left, the conversation of some ascetics. Descending along the left margin, a temple in the city of Śurvāra being offered to the Buddha, and the sandal-wood brought by Bhavila; to the right, in the centre of the tanka, Bhavila in the Jetavana is performing the ceremonies

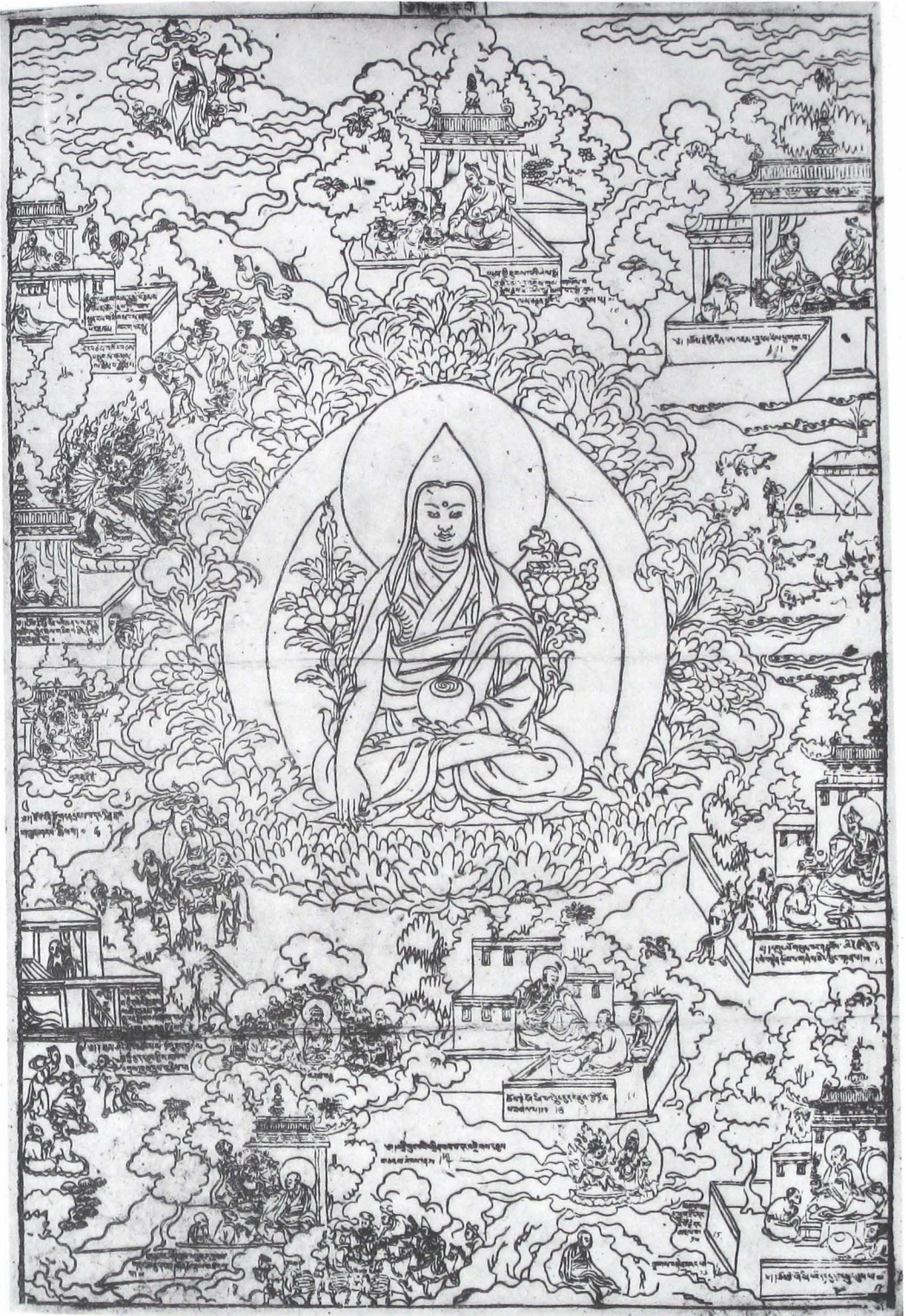


FIG. 107



of expiation; exactly above, the Buddha in the act of preaching to Kṛṣṇa and Gautama; further above, some horses and a boat in the sea represent Pūrṇa's journeys; still to the left, Bhavila's voyages, the storm and Pūrṇa's miraculous apparition. Going back to the left, his father's illness and the handmaid ministering to him; proceeding to the right, Pūrṇa's birth and in the furthest left-hand corner the division of his property, Pūrṇa's and Anāthapiṇḍada's visit to the Buddha; in the right-hand corner the Buddha's arrival in the Jetavana and the converted Bhavila doing him homage.

The past story must be looked for, strange to say, in the little scene in the extreme right-hand corner on top.

AVADĀNA n. 38

### STORY OF UDAKA

The Buddha was grieved to see that the Śākya, although they had taken vows, liked to wear monkish tunics that were too rich; he therefore withdrew for three months and did not allow anyone to approach him, but he received Upasena, who dressed according to the rules, much to the monks' wonder: in this manner they realized their fault. Then they all went to the Buddha, who told them their past history: once in Benares lived king Brahma-datta, whose wife Brahmavati bore him a son called Udaka (*C'u skyes*); at the same time the sons of 500 ministers were born. Udaka, grown in years, feeling no attraction for the things of this world, wished to become a monk and fearing that his father would not give his consent, he pretended to be dumb and lame. Physicians advised that he should be made to experience some violent emotion, which might cure him, and feigned to lead him to the scaffold, hoping that fear would restore his speech. Many times, having uttered sentences full of a secret meaning, Udaka had fallen back into silence. Finally his father promised to grant him anything he asked for, if he would only speak. Udaka

then asked to be allowed to take vows; the king, having tried to dissuade him to no purpose, consented and Udaka started for his hermitage, accompanied by the 500 ministers' sons, who took vows with him. But Udaka, grieving because they dressed too richly, retired into solitude and allowed nobody to approach him, except a gazelle and an ascetic who had sworn to imitate the gazelles' way of life. Then his comrades understood their error. Udaka was then the Buddha, and the 500 ministers' sons were the Śākya.<sup>161)</sup>

The legend is represented in the upper part of the tanka, above the Buddha's image. The palace in the centre, with figures inside it, represents Udaka's obstinate silence; the preaching Buddha to the right is telling the Śākya, in the Jetavana, the sin they had committed in their past life; to the left of the same palace, below, Udaka, followed by the ministers' sons, is going towards the hermitage; above, he has taken vows in the midst of his disciples; he has retired into solitude and allows only gazelles to approach him.

AVADĀNA n. 39

### STORY OF KṢĀNTI

After the Buddha had converted the yakṣa Udumba, Indra went to do him homage. The Buddha smiled, remembering what had happened to him in that same place, during his past life.

Once upon a time there was an ascetic named Kṣānti, who practised the virtue of patience. The king of the country was then Kali (*rTsod ldan*), of an angry and cruel disposition; one day, walking in the forest with his women to disport himself, he came to Kṣānti's hermitage. The women were struck with admiration of the ascetic's serene beauty, but the king, in a fit of violent jealousy, had the saint's hands and feet cut off. The saint showed no anger and gave no moan. Other ascetics, Kṣānti's comrades, arrived; moved to indignation, they were about to curse the king

but the saint checked them and recommended them to be patient and resigned. "If it is true, he said, that when Kali caused me to be maimed in this manner I did not feel any resentment against him, may the limbs he has cut off be restored,, and immediately so happened. The Buddha was then Kṣānti and Kali was no other than Devadatta.<sup>162)</sup>

The avadāna is represented to the left of the central image; the first scene, near its head, represents the smiling Buddha; near him the Yakṣa and Indra, the latter asking him why he smiles. Underneath, the king in his palace with the queen; above, the women surrounding the ascetic and his martyrdom.

AVADĀNA n. 40

### THE STORY OF KAPILA

While the Buddha was in Vaiśālī, fishermen drew from the river Valgumati (*Yid 'oñ ldan pa*) a great fish, so large that they could not land it. The Buddha came up and spoke to the fish, asking him if he remembered his past life. The fish said he did and listened to the Buddha's sermon.

The people wished to know about the fish's past life and the Buddha told them. In the times of the Buddha Kāśyapa, Kṛkin, a just and charitable king, ruled in Benares. One day the Brahman Vādisiṃha (*sMra bai sen ge*) asked the king to find him a rival, with whom to engage in a philosophical debate, in order to show his ability as a wrangler.

"The intelligence of good men is ashamed to boast of its own virtues. Nevertheless, those desiring a noble debate are talkative,, (31).

And he called another great master, begging him to accept Vādisiṃha's challenge. The latter was vanquished. The other went back to his country, but at the point of death he told his son Kapila, even wiser than himself, to avoid any debate with the Buddhists, and to do only good deeds.

"Man causes life to flow by all manner of industry and doctrine; he hoards treasures,

which give him pleasure for a moment; a disciple of error, he takes delight in cattle and sons; but at the moment of parting from his body, everything becomes alien to him and he to those things,, (51).

Kapila vanquished all those who wrangled with him, but obeying his father's advice, he avoided the Buddhist monks. His mother, however, urged him to challenge the Buddhist masters and to demolish the structure of their dogmas with his logical arguments. He went to the Buddha Kāśyapa, but on the way he met a monk who answered his criticism with one simple verse, which he was unable to refute. Thus disappointed, he returned to his mother, who, incensed with passion, obliged him to persist. He took vows and mounting the preacher's chair, taught the doctrine in a wilfully false manner; the monks were astonished and fled from him. He then repented, but to atone for his sin he was born again as a fish and his mother was flung into Hell.

After the Buddha had revealed this story, the fish died and was born again among the gods; thus he did homage to Śākyamuni in heavenly glory.<sup>163)</sup>

This story is represented to the right of the central image; beginning from the bottom, the scenes of the fishermen and the Buddha's sermon; above the debate in king Kṛkin's times, the conversation between Kapila and his mother; Kapila's admittance into the order; almost on the extreme right-hand corner, the monks' wonder and indignation.

TANKA n. 77 - XIII right (Plate 113).

AVADĀNA n. 41

### STORY OF UDRĀYAṆA

The king of Rauruka (*sGra sgrogs*) was a great friend of Bimbisāra; his name was Udrāyaṇa. The two kings often exchanged letters and gifts as tokens of friendship. Once Udrāyaṇa sent Bimbisāra a superb armour and the latter did not know what return to make for

the present; he took counsel of his faithful ministers Hiruka and Bhiruka, and decided to send him a portrait of the Buddha. Udrāyaṇa, informed in time by his friend's letter, went to meet the image and ordered great celebrations, while the gods rained flowers from heaven. The king was converted, and Bimbisāra sent him Kātyāyana and the nun Śailā.

After Kātyāyana's sermon two merchants, Tiṣya and Puṣya, were converted and entered nirvana; on their tombs two stūpas were built, worshipped through the centuries. Śailā preached the law to the queen, who hearing from an astrologer that she would die in seven days, took vows and on the appointed day expired. She was reborn in heaven, descended upon earth to do homage to the Buddha and then appeared to her husband in a dream. King Udrāyaṇa, acting upon her advice, abdicated in favour of his son Śikhāṇḍin (*gTsug p'ud can*), went to Bimbisāra in order to be introduced to the Buddha and took vows.

His son Śikhāṇḍin, little by little, forgot his father's advice; he discharged Hiruka and Bhiruka and took for his ministers Daṇḍa (*aByug pa*) and Mudgara (*T'o ba*) who, encouraging his sinful life, brought the kingdom to its ruin.

Udrāyaṇa met a merchant who told him about his son's misrule; the king decided to return to his country to preach the law, but the wicked ministers heard from the merchants that he was on his way; they were troubled and poisoned his son's mind against him with groundless misgivings.

"Those who have taken vows prematurely become more than ever attached to the things they had abandoned too early,, (86).

The king is coming dressed as a monk to regain his kingdom; let him be slain.

Udrāyaṇa took leave of the Buddha and set out for Rauruka, but his son's men murdered him on the way; Śikhāṇḍin, seeing his father's blood-stained garments, repented, called back his former ministers Hiruka and

Bhiruka and deprived Daṇḍa and Mudgara of office. Nevertheless they succeeded in persuading the queen that reasons of state had inspired their conduct, and to regain the king's confidence they put two cats into the stūpas built over Puṣya's and Tiṣya's remains and having accustomed them to live there, they showed the cats to Śikhāṇḍin, telling him that the sanctity Buddhism preaches about is a vain boast: the two monks had not passed into nirvana, they had been born again as cats. Śikhāṇḍin let himself be convinced and when Kātyāyana and Śailā, sent by the Buddha, got to Rauruka, he forbade them to enter the city. Once the king went out for a walk; he saw Kātyāyana in the distance and, acting on the advice of the two wicked accomplices, he had him buried under a heap of sand. The two good ministers, having seen the scene, were troubled and grieved that the good monk should thus be insulted; Kātyāyana foretold the impending ruin of the city and advised them to flee for safety with their treasures.

The ministers followed the monk's advice; Hiruka entrusted his son Śyāmāka (*sNo bsans*) to Kātyāyana and Bhiruka put his daughter Śyāmavātī (*sNo bsans can ma*) into Śailā's hands. Now a great wind began to blow; on the second day there was a rain of flowers, on the third a rain of garments, on the fourth of silver, on the fifth of gold, on the sixth of gems, on the seventh of sand, which covered and destroyed everything. Rauruka's protecting deity shifted her abode to Khara-vatī, where she built a stūpa in Kātyāyana's honour. The latter, having departed by air, carried Hiruka's son to Lambaka (*aP'yan ba*), where he was crowned king. Continuing his travels, the ascetic got to Bhokkānaka, where he preached the holy law to his mother; she asked her son for a stick and she built a stūpa upon it. He then came into the Buddha's presence and was told Udrāyaṇa's past history. He had once been a hunter and having set his toils to catch game, he found that the animals were no longer



FIG. 108



attracted by his traps, because a Pratyekabuddha had settled in the neighbourhood. Blind-ed with anger, he slew the saint. Later he repented and built a stūpa over his remains. There was also a man named Nanda; his daughter Madalekhā (*rGyags pai ri mo*) once covered a Pratyekabuddha with ashes: she was Śikhāṇḍin; the two friends who had tried to prevent the outrage were king Udrāyaṇa's two ministers.<sup>164)</sup>

In the picture the scenes surrounding the central figure do not follow one another in an order corresponding to the plot of the legend. Immediately to the right of the central figure, a little lower down, are represented the two regal friends, in two different palaces; above, along the outer margin, Udrāyaṇa is led by Bimbisāra to the Buddha and takes vows; higher up a painter paints the Buddha's portrait. The coronation of Hīruka's son; Kātyāyana's arrival in Bhokkānaka and the building of the stūpa of the stick; next, under the central figure, Udrāyaṇa's murder; the picture sent to him by Bimbisāra carried on an elephant and the king going to meet the image; passing to the left, at the height of the central figure's head, two flying figures represent Kātyāyana and Śailā; underneath Tiṣya's and Puṣya's stūpa; along the outer margin the queen's conversion; the Buddha's picture as an object of worship; the two ministers Hīruka and Bhiruka trying to advise king Śikhāṇḍin; they entrust their children to Kātyāyana and Śailā; the good ministers are deprived of office; rain destroys the city. Then, at the bottom, Udrāyaṇa's former life is represented, briefly as usual: he kills the Pratyekabuddha and then, conscience-stricken, builds a stūpa over his relics.

AVADĀNA n. 42

### STORY OF PAṆḌITA

In Śrāvastī lived Paṇḍita, the son of Dhīra, an immensely rich man; he was devout and charitable. A terrible famine broke out and

he exhausted his treasures in helping the needy. One day, while going to visit the Buddha, he met on the way some rogues, who knowing that he had vowed not to refuse anything to those who sought his aid and seeing him loaded with jewels, asked him for them. He was at a loss what to do; if he gave them the jewels, he would have nothing to offer the Buddha; if he refused, he would break his charitable vow. While he was thus doubtful and uncertain, the earth opened up and the serpent Śeṣa appeared, who gave the beggars what they wanted. Later they repented and went with Paṇḍita to the Buddha, who preached the law and urged Paṇḍita to provide sustenance for one thousand three hundred and fifty monks and to distribute his riches to the needy. Paṇḍita gladly consented and having gone home, gave away his treasures, which became coals in the hands of those who had accumulated a bad karma in their past lives. Paṇḍita then comforted the sinners and advised them to go to the Buddha. They went and when they had done homage to the community for a day, the coals turned into jewels. Endless treasures appeared again in Paṇḍita's house; according to the law, he gave the sixth part to king Prasenajit, but for the same reason they became coals, and the king, feeling unworthy, returned them to Paṇḍita. The latter finally asked his father's permission to take vows and, joining Śāriputra, soon progressed on the road to sanctity. One day the Buddha had gone out to beg, and Paṇḍita had remained alone in the hermitage. He began to meditate and Indra, perceiving that he was about to reach supreme enlightenment, ordered the kings of the four points of the compass to watch over him, lest anybody should disturb him. The Buddha himself, fearing that Śāriputra, entering the hermitage, might trouble Paṇḍita, miraculously appeared to his disciple and kept him engaged until Paṇḍita attained the fruits of his meditation. The Buddha then told Paṇḍita's past life. In the times of the Buddha

Kāśyapa there was a poor man named Durgata (*dBul po*), so poor that he had never been able to offer a gift to any monk; when at last Indra made him a present of some exquisite food, he was unable to find a monk he could offer it to and, at the height of despair, wanted to take his own life. But at that very moment Kāśyapa appeared before him and accepted his alms, while Durgata took the vow to obtain great treasures, in order to give all those who were in need what they desired. This actually came to pass, and during seven days he continued to honour Kāśyapa. Durgata was precisely Paṇḍita.<sup>165</sup>)

The avadāna is represented on the lower margin of the tanka, beginning from the right, immediately after the scenes belonging to the preceding story; in the enclosure of a monastery the Buddha charges Paṇḍita to give alms regularly to one thousand three hundred and fifty monks; on the right Paṇḍita is taking vows. Underneath Śāriputra comes forth from the hermitage, leaving Paṇḍita alone, and the latter, under Indra's protection, becomes an arhat. In the last small picture in the right-hand corner, Paṇḍita is going to Śāriputra. The riches he has distributed, which had become coals, are again changed into gems when the recipients of his charity turn their thoughts to the Buddha. The gift of a sixth part of his treasures to the King. Then the work of the fields, meditating upon which he attains supreme enlightenment. At the bottom his birth and in the corner his past life.

AVADĀNA n. 43

### STORY OF KANAKAVARṆA

One day, in Śrāvastī, the Buddha thus spoke to the monks: In ancient times there was in Kanaka (*gSer*) a king called Kanakavarṇa (*gSer mdog*), wise and charitable. A great drought broke out, and the people were dying of hunger. He then assembled his ministers and took counsel with them, how he might relieve the people's misfortune.

"A king who does not help his people when a great danger has come upon them, wears his crown like a play-actor,, (11).

He then opened up his store-houses to the poor, so that what was left to him sufficed but for one repast; a Pratyekabuddha arrived, and he stinted himself of the last morsel of food and offered it to him. The skies then rained garments, gems and victuals. King Kanakavarṇa was the Buddha.<sup>166</sup>)

On the tanka the story begins in the centre of the upper part, above the head of the central figure; the Buddha in the Jetavana tells the Kanakāvadāna to the assembled monks; to the left the famine, the distribution of the royal treasures; the offering of food to the Pratyekabuddha, the rain of gems.

AVADĀNA n. 44

### STORY OF HIRAṆYAPĀṆI

While the Buddha was in the Jetavana, Devasena (*Lba yi sde*) lived in Śrāvastī; he had a son called Hiraṇyapāṇi (*gSer gyi lag*), from whose hands twenty thousand silver coins miraculously fell every day; he distributed them to the needy. He was weary of life, because:

"The life of men is ephemeral, youth still more so; these our riches the most impermanent of all, like a gleam of lightning,, (12). He went to the Buddha, took vows, and in a short time attained perfect sanctity.

The Buddha told the admiring monks Hiraṇyapāṇi's past life: in the times of king Kṛkin, when the Buddha Kāśyapa entered nirvana, a stūpa was built above his remains by the king's order; then a craftsman placed on the pinnacle of the stūpa two pieces of silver; he was Hiraṇyapāṇi.<sup>167</sup>)

Immediately to the right of the scene in the Jetavana, Hiraṇyapāṇi is represented in the act of being ordained as a monk by the Buddha; towards the right-hand corner his birth and the miracle of his hands; underneath his deserving deeds in the Buddha Kāśyapa's times.



TANKA n. 78 – XIV right (Plate 114).

AVADĀNA n. 45

### AJĀTAŚATRU KILLS HIS FATHER

When the Buddha was in the Gṛdhra-kūṭa, Ajātaśatru, instigated by Devadatta, had his own father arrested, cast him into a dungeon with the purpose of letting him die of starvation and had his feet cut off. Bimbisāra invoked the Buddha, who appeared to him twice, recommending him to be patient and long-suffering. No help could avail: he was gathering the fruits of his past conduct:

“This is the road of evil deeds. The fruits of what you have done, good or bad, are not exhausted if first they have not been atoned for,, (18).

Bimbisāra died peacefully and was born again among the gods, but Ajātaśatru, prey to heart-rending remorse, ran to the Buddha to learn if it would ever be possible for him to escape the inexorable consequences of his crime.

The Buddha advised him to give himself up to good works, and told him Bimbisāra's past life: once upon a time there were four young men, who were seen by a Pratyekabuddha while secretly drinking and enjoying themselves. Furious at having been discovered, they wanted to kill him, each in a different manner; one of them, called Kandara, said that the best way to get rid of him would be to slay him: he was Bimbisāra, who had now paid for his wicked intention.<sup>168)</sup>

The legend is represented to the right of the lotus flower on which the central figure is seated; it begins at the top, with Bimbisāra seated in the interior of his palace, receiving the news of Ajātaśatru's birth and the festivities which followed. Ajātaśatru in conversation with Devadatta. Bimbisāra in prison; the Buddha appears to the captive king; the Buddha, from the Gṛdhra-kūṭa, flies through the air to the king who has invoked him; the Buddha's sermon; Ajātaśatru, repentant,

seeks refuge with the Buddha and asks his aid; at the bottom, exactly in the centre of the tanka, Bimbisāra's past life and his sin.

AVADĀNA n. 46

### STORY OF KṚTAJŪNA

Devadatta had decided to murder the Buddha at any cost, because:

“Until the sun has set, no other light shines,, (4).

He steeped his nails in poison and approached the saint humbly, as if to do him homage, intending to scratch him and to inject the poison into him. But before he could succeed in his intent, the earth opened and swallowed him up; he was hurled into Hell. The Buddha then told his past history. King Ratisoma (*Yid bzan*) had two sons, Kṛtajña (*Bya ses*) and Akṛtajña (*Bya ma ses*); the former charitable and virtuous, the latter of a wicked disposition. When they reached marriageable age, king Matighoṣa (*Blo gros dbyaṅs*) wished to give his daughter to Kṛtajña, who in order to regain the riches he had given to the poor and needy, went to sea, followed by his brother. On the way back the boat was shipwrecked, but the two brothers were saved; while Kṛtajña was sleeping, overcome by fatigue, Akṛtajña put out his eyes and got possession of the treasures he had with him. Kṛtajña, after long wanderings, reached king Matighoṣa's court by chance and, his blindness notwithstanding, was chosen as a husband by his daughter. He reproached her for her unfortunate choice, but she assured him that her love was eternal: if it was true that she loved him sincerely, let his right eye be restored. And the eye was miraculously made whole. Then Kṛtajña assured her that when his brother had blinded him, he had not experienced any resentment. And through the power of truth, his other eye was healed as well.

He went back to his father, was received with great celebrations and made a partner to the throne; Akṛtajña, feigning to beg his

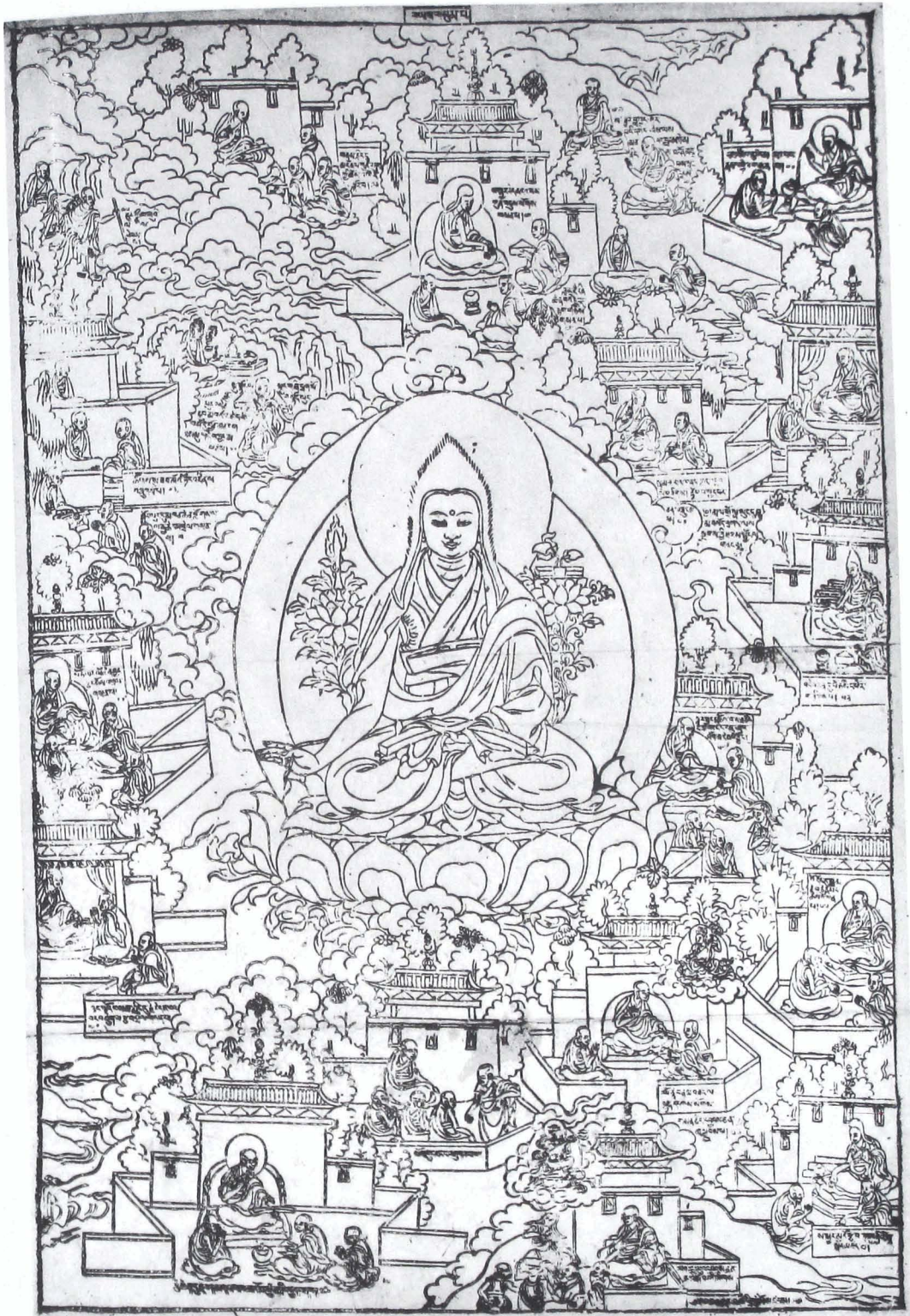


FIG. 109

forgiveness, attempted to murder him in the same way as Devadatta had done with the Buddha. But he was hurled into Hell. Akṛtajña was Devadatta. <sup>169)</sup>

With this story we pass to the left of the central figure, almost on a level with the Buddha's shoulders; Devadatta is seen approaching the saint, but before he can carry out his plan, he sinks into Hell. Passing now to the upper right-hand corner, we see King Ratisoma with his wife and sons; underneath Maṭiḥoṣa giving his daughter in marriage to Kṛtajña; the upper space is occupied by the two brothers' voyage; next, near the central figure, the meeting of Maṭiḥoṣa's daughter with the blind prince; his eyes miraculously healed; in the centre Kṛtajña on his throne.

AVADĀNA n. 47

#### STORY OF THE BUNCH OF RICE

While the Buddha was preaching the law, four Nāgarājas came to hear his words with great devotion; king Prasenajit arrived and all greeted him except the nāgas. The king was incensed and wanted to be revenged; in vain the Buddha advised him to subdue his pride:

"On the troubled mirror of a mind covered with the dust of hatred, the image of the teachings of the law cannot adhere., (15).

The king's guards chased the two nāgas, who in their flight through the paths of heaven, brought down hail and whirlwinds on Prasenajit's kingdom. To put an end to the people's wretchedness, the Buddha sent Maudgalyāyana, who changed the hail into a rain of victuals. Prasenajit returned to thank the Buddha, and the monks asked what good karma the king had accumulated in his past life. The Buddha told them this story: one upon a time a cultivator of sugar-cane offered some sweet viands to an ailing Pratyekabuddha, who was thus restored to health: that farmer was Prasenajit.

Prasenajit came back to the Buddha and asked him if, through all the merits he had

acquired by honouring him and the community, he might hope to attain salvation. The Buddha smiled: he too had done much good, nevertheless he had not been able to escape rebirth for long ages. Once there was a charitable and high-souled man, Dhanika (*Nor can*), who in times of great famine had fed five hundred Pratyekabuddhas and then another two thousand; he was rewarded with great riches, not with salvation. Dhanika was then the Buddha.

The legend is represented immediately to the right of the last small picture of the preceding story: the Buddha's sermon to the king of the Nāgas; the rain brought down by the Nāga king; Maudgalyāyana's miracle; then, always proceeding towards the bottom, the king offering food to the Buddha and asking him if his liberality is sufficient to attain salvation; finally, near the beginning of Aṅgāśattu's avadāna, the king is seen thanking Maudgalyāyana and doing him homage.

AVADĀNA n. 48

#### STORY OF SIDDHĀRTHA

Once upon a time the Buddha told his monks in Śrāvastī there was a prince named Siddhārtha (*Don grub*), pious and high-souled. Walking one day in the forest, he met a poor beggar, and was so troubled by the sight that he took a vow to put an end to poverty on the face of the earth and decided to ask Sāgara (*rGya mts'o*) the King of the Nāgas, for the gem *cintāmaṇi*, which miraculously brings forth all the riches man can desire. He accordingly set out on a long and perilous journey, overcoming all obstacles by his firmness and piety: he travelled through the land of venomous serpents, through the land of the Yakṣas and Rākṣasas and finally reached Sāgara's home. Sāgara welcomed him cordially and was glad to give him the gem *cintāmaṇi*, on condition that he should bring it back after having accomplished his vow. Siddhārtha again embarked to return to his country; during the voyage a jealous

god obtained the gem from him under a pre-  
text and dropped it into the sea. In vain  
Siddhārtha begged and prayed him to return  
it. He then decided, at the height of despair,  
to dry up the sea with a vase that Viśvakarman  
had offered him. But the gods being on  
his side, he got back the gem, returned to his  
kingdom and accomplished his vow.<sup>170)</sup>

The story begins on the left of the tanka,  
under the story of Kṛtājñā, with the scene of  
the Buddha surrounded by monks: he is telling  
them about Siddhārtha's adventurous jour-  
ney. Along the margin, descending towards  
the bottom, the incidents of the journey, the  
gem lost and found. Under the central image  
we see once again the distribution of riches,  
and under the Buddha, the meeting with  
Sāgara, king of the Nāgas.

TANKA n. 79 - XV right (Plate 115).

AVADĀNA n. 49

### STORY OF HASTAKA

In Śrāsvatī a son was born to Suprabud-  
dha (*Legs par rab sad*), named Hastaka (*Glan  
po can*); at the same time a marvellous ele-  
phant with golden tusks came into the world.  
Hastaka once met king Prasenajit's daugh-  
ter and the two young people fell in love.  
His father felt much anxiety on account of  
this dangerous passion, because: "Wise men  
who wish to be esteemed do not undertake  
things impossible to be carried out, they do  
not desire what is obtained with difficulty,  
they do not say what should not be said,, (28).

Hastaka in the meantime asked the ele-  
phant for his golden tusks and took them  
to the king, who was delighted with the  
gift and would have liked to reward him at  
any price: Hastaka accepted neither riches  
nor honours, but finally, obliged by the  
king's insistence to declare what he desired,  
asked for the hand of the princess. Prase-  
najit took counsel with his ministers: he  
did not want to break his word, but neither

did he wish to give the youth his daughter.  
The Ministers suggested that he give this  
answer: the princess would be his, when he  
had brought the elephant whose golden tusks  
he had presented to the king. They believ-  
ed that, to get the tusks, he must have killed  
the elephant. But to their great wonder, the  
young man appeared with the elephant,  
whose tusks had already grown again. The  
king could not help giving him his daughter;  
then he went to the Buddha to learn the  
merits that his son-in-law had surely accumu-  
lated in his past life. Śākyamuni told him  
that in ancient times the Buddha Vipasyin,  
while he was begging in king Bandhuman's  
(*gÑen ldan*)<sup>171)</sup> capital, had met in the street  
two boys playing with a wooden elephant;  
having nothing else to offer the Buddha, they  
gave it to him, taking the vow that they  
would always be united in their future life.  
This came to pass and the elephant too was  
brought to life and received a blessing through  
the miraculous touch of the Buddha's feet.

The scene is represented in the lowest pic-  
ture to the left of the tanka. Under the central  
image the Buddha is telling the monks Hastaka's  
story; immediately to the right king Prasenajit  
is going to the Buddha with Hastaka; above,  
Hastaka's past life and that of the elephant;  
below, the young man's education and his  
exercises; going back to the centre of the tanka,  
the offering of the elephant's tusks; the king's  
refusal and then his acceptance of Hastaka's suit.

AVADĀNA n. 50

### THE TEN SINS

(*DAŚAKARMAPLUTI*)<sup>172)</sup>

Once some women, prompted by the  
heretics' wicked advice, tried to tempt the  
Buddha and for this sin they were damned  
to Hell. Then, near Lake Anavatapta,  
Śākyamuni spoke to the assembled monks  
about the karma he had accumulated in his  
past lives, whose last consequences he was  
bearing in his present life. He then sent



Maudgalyāyana to call Śāriputra, who was at that moment on Mount Ḡḍhrakūṭa, busy sewing his monk's tunic; the two monks vied with each other in displaying their magic powers; Śāriputra won the contest, and the Buddha told the story of his past. Once upon a time there were two ascetics, who quarrelled for some trifling reason, and became so furious that one of them called Śāṅkha (*Duñ*) kicked the other, Likhita (*Bris pa*); the latter then laid this curse upon his comrade: his head, at sunrise, would be blown to pieces. Śāṅkha then stopped the sun's course. Finally Likhita repented and made a clay image of Śāṅkha's head; when the sun rose, the clay head crumbled into fragments and the curse came to an end. Śāṅkha was then Maudgalyāyana and Likhita was Śāriputra.<sup>173</sup>)

But, owing to the ripening of his karma, the Buddha too, in his last life upon earth, had undergone various misfortunes. 1) His thumb was crushed by a stone, 2) his foot was pierced by a *khadira* thorn, 3) having gone begging, he had obtained nothing, 4) he had been slandered by women, 5) he had been insulted by some young Brahmins, 6) he had eaten rotten wheat (*koḍrava*), 7) during seven seasons he endured penances, 8) he was taken ill, 9) his head ached when the Śākya clan was destroyed, 10) his body suffered fatigue.

"The ties of his karma are to a man like servants ready for a journey, who follow him when he is in motion, and stop in front of him when he stops,, (31).

*1st Story.* – Once a rich man called Kharvaṭa (*K'ar ba ṭa*) had in his house a step-brother called Mugdha (*Mug ḍha*). A woman friend of his named Kālikā (*Nag mo*) repeatedly urged him to kill Mugdha and get the whole family heritage for himself. At first Kharvaṭa refused, thinking that:

"It is not reasonable that people attached to riches should harbour sinful thoughts with the object of (getting) those treasures; all property, even when well guarded, is lost in a moment,, (44).

At last, pressed by his friend, he gave in and finally committed the crime. This man was an ancient incarnation of the Buddha; after having atoned for his sin in Hell, in his last incarnation he had wounded his thumb on that account.

*2nd Story.* – Arthadatta (*Don byin*) was coming back from Ratnadvīpa loaded with riches; one of his comrades, who had lost everything, through envy tried to bore a hole in the ship in order to sink it. Arthadatta, unable to turn him from his purpose, finally slew him. Arthadatta was the Buddha; for this act he had committed his foot was wounded by a thorn.

*3rd Story.* – When the Pratyekabuddha Upāriṣṭa (*Uparima*, in the prose text: *U pa rin*) came to Kāśī to beg, Capalaka (*gYo ldan*) upset his bowl; Capalaka was the Buddha; for this reason the Buddha's bowl had not been filled.

*4th Story.* – Vasiṣṭha (*Ba si ṣṭha*) and Bharadvāja (*Bha ra dvā ḍsa*) were brothers; the former being honoured by all as a saint, his brother, envying his fame, borrowed his clothes and gave them to a harlot, in order that she might accuse Vasiṣṭha of having made her a present of them in exchange for her favours. Bharadvāja was then the Buddha, and through the ripening of that karma, he had been insulted in his present life.

*5th Story.* – In Benares a certain Mṛṅgāla (*Paḍ mai rtsa*, in prose *P. rtsa lag*) loved the courtesan Bhadrā (*bZaṅ mo*) and to reward her services he gave her clothes and jewels. Another suitor appeared and Bhadrā, after long hesitation, listened to the advice of her handmaid Makarikā (*C'u srin ma*) and gave herself to the newcomer. Makarikā disclosed everything to Mṛṅgāla who, blinded with jealousy, killed the courtesan. Then, fearing punishment, he fled into the forest and placed the gory dagger near a Pratyekabuddha, but no sooner had the latter been arrested and brought before the judge, that he confessed his sin; owing to a remainder of

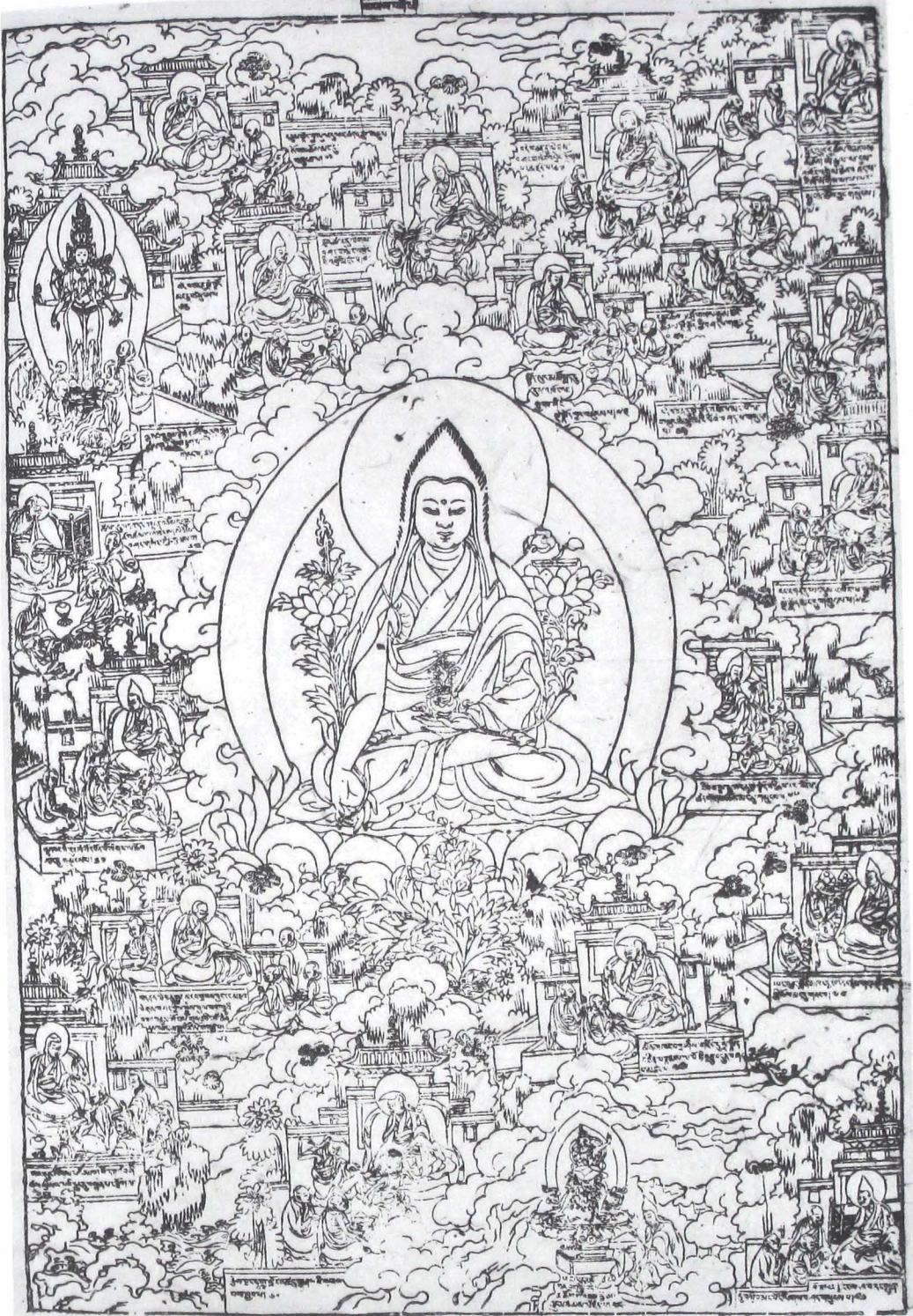


FIG. 110



STORY OF RUKMAVATĪ

this evil deed, which he had long atoned for in Hell, the Buddha had now been slandered by heretical women.

*6th Story.* – While the Buddha Vipasyin was received with great festivities in Bāndhumatī (*gNen ldan*) the Brahman Māthara (*Mā tha ra*) tried to dissuade the people from honouring him. Māthara was then the Buddha who, for his sin, had to eat rotten wheat in this life.

*7th Story.* – In another life Śākyamuni had been Uttara (*Ut ta ra*), who insulted the Buddha of those times; for that sin he now had to do penance for six years before attaining enlightenment.

*8th Story.* – Once a rich lord named Dhānavān (*Nor ldan*) had a son Śrīmān (*dPal ldan*) who was always sickly; the physician Tiktamukha (*K'a bai bzin*) healed him by an appropriate cure, but received no reward from the boy's miserly father; as the case was often repeated, the physician finally poisoned his patient, who died. The physician was the Buddha who, through a remnant of that crime, was subject to illness in this life.

*9th Story.* – When the Buddha was a fisherman's son, he was delighted to see that two fishes had been caught in the net; for this sin he was punished in this life by a headache.

*10th Story.* – In one of his past lives, the Buddha had been a Malla prince who killed his rival and cut him in two; because of a remnant of this crime, he was affected with a disorder of the wind humour.

The legends are represented beginning on the left of the central figure; first Śāriputra's miracle, then, underneath, the Buddha seated on a flower emerging from the Anavatapta; next the old contention between Śaikhā and Likhita, then the story of Tiktamukha, the story of the fisherman's son, of Mugdha and Kālikā; to the right the Malla prince's story, the story of the courtesan Bhadrā, of the bowl turned upside down; underneath, the story of Vasiṣṭha and Bharadvāja, the story of Māthara, of Uttara; I cannot find Arthadatta's story.

The Buddha, having converted some fishermen, went to his hermitage, and when he got there he smiled. Indra asked him the cause of his smile and the Buddha told him about one of his preceding incarnations, which had come to pass in that place. In the city of Utpalavatī (*Ut pa la ldan*) lived a maiden named Rukmavatī (*gSer ldan ma*). One day she met a woman so poor that, unable to resist the pangs of hunger, she was about to kill her own child and eat it. Rukmavatī then cut off one of her breasts to save both their lives. Indra, at the sight of such a prodigy, appeared to her and asked if her act had been prompted by the expectation of some reward; she answered: "If I have accomplished this sacrifice with a pure heart, may I be turned into a man," and through the power of truth, this actually came to pass: Rukmavatī became Rukmavān. When the king of Utpalavatī died, Rukmavān was elected in his place, and having died in his turn, was born again as Sattvavara (*sNin stobs me'og*). He was such a compassionate man that one day he lay down on the ground, so that the birds might eat of him to their hearts' content. In a short time only his bones were left. He was then born again as Satyavrata (*bDen pai brtul zugs*). Once he met a tiger who, frantic with hunger, was about to eat its whelp; Satyavrata spontaneously offered himself to the tiger. Such were the Buddha's incarnations.<sup>174)</sup>

In the tanka the order of the stories 51 and 52 is inverted; Rukmavatī's avadāna is n. 52, and the following avadāna, about Adinapunya, is n. 51.

Rukmavatī's story occupies the upper right-hand corner of the tanka; above, the Buddha in the midst of his disciples, about to tell the story; immediately to the right Sattvavara's sacrifice; the following scene belongs to Adinapunya's story. Underneath

Rukmavati: who has become Rukmavān, is placed on the thrones. The gift of her breast is represented above, on the central axis of the tanka. Follows Rukmavān's liberality, and, in two scenes, Satyavrata's story.

AVADĀNA n. 52

### STORY OF ADĪNAPUṆYA

Another time the Buddha smiled, and answering Indra's question, he spoke as follows: In the city of Madhūdaka (*Ma dhū da ka*) lived king Adinapūya (*bSod nams mi dman*), bountiful and compassionate towards all creatures. When Brahmadata declared war upon him, his ministers, knowing his objection to violence in any form, began to wage war on his behalf without letting him know. The king found it out; he then abandoned his kingdom and embraced the life of an ascetic. In the meantime, in Kośala, king Hīraṇyavarman (*dByig gi go c'a*) had imprisoned all Kapila's (*Ser skya*) sons and relatives and seized their property. Kapila sought for money to ransom them with: "there is no misfortune in the world which cannot be overcome by money,, (26). Riches, whose ways are devious, are as wayward as harlots; they flee when we desire them, unsought they come of their own accord (27).

Thus reasoning, the Brahman reflected that only Adīnapūya could give him what he wanted; he was unaware of the king's fate and going in search of him, met him in the street in the garb of an ascetic. He told him his purpose and the king, though poor and abandoned, tried to find a way of helping Kapila. He ordered him to cut off his head and offer it to Brahmadata and as the Brahman refused, he had himself taken to the enemy in chains, in order to receive the promised reward. But Brahmadata, touched by so rare a virtue, presented Kapila with great treasures and restored his kingdom to Adīnapūya. The latter was then the Buddha.<sup>175)</sup>

Above the central figure king Adinapūya in his palace; to the left incidents of the war against Brahmadata and on the left corner the Brahman Kapila leading king Adinapūya a prisoner; next the meeting of the two kings. Kapila's story, as we have seen, is briefly inserted in the centre of Rukmavati's avadāna.

TANKA n. 80 - XVI left, 1 (Plate 116).

AVADĀNA n. 53

### STORY OF SUBHĀṢITAGAVEṢIN

Once more the Buddha smiled and Śāka asked him the reason; he then told the story of king Subhāṣitagaveṣin (*Legs bśad ats'ol ba*) who spared no labour or money to collect maxims glorifying virtue. He was told that in a forest lived a cruel hunter, who knew many a beautiful saying full of great wisdom; he went to see him and promised him a precious necklace if he would tell them to him. But the hunter thought that the king's guards could easily force him to return the gift, so he consented to tell the king his verses provided the latter, as soon as he had heard them, agreed to leap from the top of a mountain. The king accepted and heard the stanza he wished to know, which goes: "(Let man) never touch the sins and vices which bring bitter repentance in their wake, if he desire happiness; but let him frequent the palace of good deeds, whose floor is morality, whose lotus flowers are merits. And this mind of ours, which is always eager for the enjoyment of impermanent objects, let him empty it of all desires and cause it to be contented with the unrestrained (spiritual) satisfaction it covets,, (49). Having heard this stanza, the king leaped from the cliff as he had promised, but was saved by a yakṣa. The hunter went to sell the necklace and was arrested, but the king, who revered him as his master, had him immediately set free.

The avadāna it begins below, to the right of the central figure: the Buddha telling his

story, the king in Benares the king's liberality, the beautiful maxims are disclosed to him; he greets the hunter, brought before him as a prisoner. Then, proceeding towards the left and upwards, the king's meeting with the hunter and the king leaping from the cliff.

AVADĀNA n. 54

### STORY OF SATTVAUṢADHA

As soon as the Buddha had converted Puṣpilā (*Me tog can ma*), he smiled; he then explained the cause of his smile to Śakra. A prince named Sattvauşadha (*Sems can sman*) once lived in Mahendravatī (*dBañ c'en ldan mo*); he had the gift of healing all the sick who came to him. When he died, his remains kept this miraculous virtue and crowds of people continually visited them, in search of healing. A time will come when the Buddha preached when king Aśoka will build a stūpa over those relics.<sup>176)</sup>

The story is represented to the left of the central figure; above, the Buddha telling the story; then Sattvauşadha in his palace; his miraculous cures, and below the stūpa built by Aśoka over his mortal remains.

AVADĀNA n. 55

### SARVANDADA'S STORY

Following another of his smiles, the Buddha told Indra that a high-souled king called Sarvandada (*Kun ster*) had once lived in Sarvāvātī (*T'ams cad ldan*). One day, while he was on the terrace of his palace, a dove with broken wings alighted on his hands. While he was wondering how he could help the bird, Indra, to put the sincerity of his feelings to the proof, took the form of a hunter, and coming into the king's presence, asked him to give the dove back to him: he had to live on game, and the king could not let him starve in order to save the bird. "Good men, who are impartial towards all creatures, do not feel compassion for some of them

only,, (19). In vain the king admonished him that it was not right to kill living beings: "The sustenance that some obtain by depriving others of life is avoided by good men, because it brings in its wake the penalties which follow sin,, (24).

But the hunter insisted, and the king, bent on saving the dove, gave him as much of his own flesh as the bird weighted, nor did he draw back from his bond when, through Indra's cunning, the bird's weight increased out of all measure: finally only the king's bones were left. Then Indra resumed his normal form and asked the king whether his spirit had ever been troubled in the throes of such pain. The king answered that he had accomplished his sacrifice with a glad heart and by virtue of the usual *satyavacana* his body was miraculously made whole.<sup>177)</sup>

The story is represented above the central figure and on its right: king Sarvandada, then the Buddha telling his story, then the scene of the king sacrificing his flesh.

TANKA n. 81 - XVII left, 2 (Plate 117).

AVADĀNA n. 56

### NĀGA GOPĀLA CONVERTED

The Buddha had come to the city of Hīṅgumardana (*Hīṅ gu mar da na*) where the citizens entreated him to protect them against a terrible serpent called Gopālaka (*Ba glañ skyoñ*), which was destroying the flocks and the crops.

The Buddha went to the shore of the lake where the serpent was hidden, sat there in meditation and by a prodigy of his miraculous power, turned the storm which the serpent had caused into a rain of flowers. Then Gopālaka was converted and the master, in Vajrapāni's presence, related the events which had happened in that place in the times of former Buddhas and expounded the law to a hunter, who built on the spot a stūpa called *Mrgādhipa*.<sup>178)</sup>

The legend is represented on the lower left-hand corner of the tanka; the Buddha is



FIG. III



seen seated; people, kneeling, offer him gifts and beg him to vanquish the terrible nāga; to the right, a little higher up, the rain of flowers falling on the Buddha, who is telling the past history of the place; to the left the stūpa built by the hunter.

AVADĀNA n. 57

### THE STORY OF THE STŪPA

This is not a tale like those we have so far summarized; it is a list of the various stūpas built at the Buddha's suggestion and to commemorate his miracles in various parts of India.

The avadāna is represented in the lower right-hand half of the tanka; above, the five stūpas, the three stūpas of the preceding Buddhas, the one built by Śākyamuni and the fifth made by the gods; then below, to the right, Bāloka's stūpa, and finally the Pāṭala stūpa.<sup>179)</sup>

AVADĀNA n. 58

### THE STORY OF PUṆYABALA

Once, in Puṣkalāvati (*Paḍ mo lān pa*) the Buddha smiled and being questioned by Indra, related one of his ancient incarnations, which he had remembered at that moment. King Puṇyabala (*bSod nams stobs*) lived in his capital of Puṇyavati (*bSod nams lān*); he was extremely charitable and compassionate. One day, having gone to town for pleasure, he saw a sick man and immediately touched by his sufferings, ordered hospitals to be built all over the kingdom and gave the attendants accurate directions concerning their duties, reminding them nevertheless that the best remedy for those who suffer is the Buddha and his preaching:

"The Buddha is a faultless serene physician and the teaching of the Law is the highest medicine.

"This elixir of serenity is a solace for those who are exhausted by the long fever of the saṃsāra ,, (16).

To put his virtue and firmness to test, Indra appeared to him as a blind man and asked him for his right eye.

We find this story on the left side of the tanka: beginning from above, the Buddha is seen in Puṣkalāvati; then, underneath, king Puṇyabala in his palace, the meeting with the sick; below, Indra asking for his eye.

AVADĀNA n. 59

### THE STORY OF KUṆĀLA

This is one of the most celebrated and touching Buddhist legends; Kṣemendra has treated it in a very personal manner, evidently wishing to ennoble the figure of Aśoka, clearing him from the stain which ancient tradition had not been able to obliterate.

Kuṇāla (*Ku ṇa la*) was Aśoka's (*Myan med*) son by Padmāvati (*Paḍ ma lān*); he had been given that name because his wonderfully beautiful eyes resembled those of the Himalayan swan. Grown in years, he had married princess Kañcanamālikā (*gSer gyi ap'reñ lān ma*). One day an old ascetic warned him of his impending doom.

As his destiny matured, Kuṇāla, at the spring festival, met his step-mother Tiṣyarakṣā (*sKar rgyal bsruñ ma*), who fell so violently in love with him that, forgetting all reserve, she fell on his neck and confessed her shameful passion. In vain he tried to make her realize the madness of her love:

"Pride, thoughtlessness, coveting the riches of others, lust followed by sin, these are for men, at the moment of their fall, the doors opened to disaster ,, (39).

"What is the use of riches to those who are not bountiful, what is the use of wisdom to those swayed by wrath, what is the use of beauty to those who lack the virtues of good men, to what purpose a high birth, when one offends against morals ? ,, (40).

But all his words and his advice were vain. Finally Tiṣyarakṣā, scorned and humbled, decided to revenge herself.

In the meantime Aśoka sent the prince to Takṣāśilā, whose king had rebelled, and immediately afterwards he sickened of a disease that no physician could cure. At last Tīṣyarakṣā found the right remedy and Aśoka, on his recovery, promised to grant her every wish. Tīṣyarakṣā asked that she might rule in his stead for seven days, and, the king having consented, she sent the governor of Takṣāśilā a letter bearing Aśoka's seal, in which she commanded that Kuṇāla's eyes should be put out. The governor hesitated to execute so cruel an order, but Kuṇāla encouraged him to carry it out immediately; then, attended by his wife, he wandered from one country to another as a beggar. He thus reached Pāṭaliputra, where nobody recognized him except his favorite elephant; he passed the night in a stable, singing a song about the impermanence of human fortunes. This sad melody awakened the king and reminded him of his son, whom he believed to be in Takṣāśilā. He ordered the beggar to be brought before him; as soon as he saw him, he knew his son, notwithstanding his horrible scars and his grief was such that he swooned. Having heard from his son what had happened, he wanted to punish Tīṣyarakṣā at once, but Kuṇāla through the serenity of his soul, untroubled by any feeling of hatred for his step-mother, recovered his eyesight, and his father made him a partner to the throne.

Thus Kuṇāla atoned for two sins he had committed in his past life, when, as a hunter, he used to feed on the flesh of animals, and when, as Mugdha (*Mug dha*) he had put out the eyes of a statue of the Buddha, and then, immediately repentant, had put them back in their place, piously honouring the image.<sup>180)</sup>

The legend is represented above, on the right side; it begins with the top scenes, almost immediately above the central figure: inside a palace, Aśoka, the queen and the prince; to the left, probably Kuṇāla with Kañcanamālikā, then, still to the left, Kuṇāla's meeting with the ascetic who foresees his

fate; passing to the right of the first scene, a stūpa above refers to Kuṇāla's past life; then, in the corner, Aśoka's illness and Aśoka, after his recovery, granting Tīṣyarakṣā's request. Underneath, Tīṣyarakṣā killing a person to find the cause of the king's illness; to the right, Aśoka's recovery. Below, in the small scene next to central figure, the sending of Tīṣyarakṣā's letter; then, Kuṇāla's departure at the head of his army and the Takṣāśilā prince doing him homage. Below, to the left, Kuṇāla made a partner to his father's throne; to the right Aśoka listening to his son's song; the latter is represented with a viṇā, attended by his wife; underneath Tīṣyarakṣā, during her regency, has the letter written ordering Kuṇāla's martyrdom; to the right Kuṇāla playing the viṇā.

As may be seen, here also the scenes are huddled together irrespective of the succession of events.

TANKA n. 82 – XVIII left, 3 (Plate 118).

AVADĀNA n. 60

### THE STORY OF NĀGAKUMĀRA

On the seashore lived a serpent called Dhana (*Nor*) with his family; they were all suffering agonies, because of the hot sands upon which their past karma obliged them to live. His son Sudhana (*Nor bzañ*) asked his father the cause of such a punishment, and why the other nāgas did not share it.

When he was told that the nāgas lived happily because they believed in the Buddha, Sudhana, having picked some heavenly flowers, went to Śākyamuni in the Jetavana, heard his preaching, was converted and built convents for the monks. The Buddha announced that at the end of many lives Sudhana would attain perfect enlightenment.

The story is on the lower right-hand corner; exactly in the corner the nāgas' abode and Nāgākumāra's interview with his father; above on the left, the other nāgas worshipping



the Buddha; above, to the right, Nāgaku-  
māra, having gone to Śākyamuni, listens to  
his preaching, and further to the left the  
offerings for the construction of temples;  
underneath, almost in the centre, the Buddha  
preaching to the nāgas.

AVADĀNA n. 61

### THE STORY OF THE PEASANT

There was once in Śrāvastī a poor Brah-  
man named Svastika (*bKra śis*) who eked out  
a life of want by tilling a small field. One  
day the Buddha came to see him, and he  
lamented his poverty, which forbade him to  
present the master of men with liberal offerings:

“No pain is comparable to the pain of  
poverty, because it destroys even the merit  
born of liberality,, (5).

“The poor man passes (from a state of  
poverty) to new poverty, having been un-  
able to practise the virtue of giving; then,  
urged by the desire for acquiring riches, he  
becomes wicked; the poor man is like a  
corpse that draws breath,, (10).

The Brahman nevertheless was able to  
offer the Buddha what scraps of food he  
could collect in his poverty and he uttered  
the wish that, through the sincerity of his  
intentions, he might improve his most wretch-  
ed fate. The Buddha accepted his gift,  
and when Svastika returned to his little field,  
he saw with wonder that his ears of rice had  
been transformed into gold. King Prase-  
najit, having recognized this miracle as a sign  
of the Buddha’s grace, refused to exact the  
portion that the law assigned to him. Sva-  
stika meanwhile advanced on the path of  
sanctity, because, as the Buddha said to his  
disciples, he had already accumulated merits  
in past ages, at the time of the Buddha  
Kāśyapa.<sup>181)</sup>

The scene follows immediately to the left  
of the preceding, below: first of all Svastika  
tilling his field, then he and his wife in the  
act of inviting the Buddha and offering him

the food they had collected. In the furthest  
corner king Prasenajit renouncing his share;  
above, a little to the right, Svastika takes  
vows and obtains enlightenment. Above  
this, Svastika in an adoring attitude, oppo-  
site to the Buddha. Then, above and to the  
right, almost under the central figure, an  
allusion to Svastika’s preceding life, when  
Kāśyapa foretold his future destiny.

AVADĀNA n. 62

### THE STORY OF YAŚODA

While the Buddha was in Benares, Supra-  
buddha (*Legs par rab sad*) an extremely  
rich man of the same city, grieved deeply  
because he had no children. His relatives  
advised him to address his prayers to a *nya-  
grodha* tree, where a spirit lived who might  
grant him the longed-for grace. Suprabud-  
dha was not convinced, because he only  
believed in the effects of karma:

“Each of us becomes a sharer in what he  
has himself accumulated; only the fool in  
his ignorance thinks that this is done by  
that,, (16).

Nevertheless, in obedience to his relatives,  
he went into the wood, armed with an axe,  
resolved to worship the tree or to cut it down  
at the root, according to whether his wishes  
were granted or denied. The divinity which  
lived in the tree and had become fond of his  
abode, knowing that it was not in his power  
to grant Suprabuddha’s wish, feared the im-  
mediate destruction of the tree and sought the  
Buddha’s protection:

“Because to leave a (beloved) place is for  
a person like leaving his own body,, (33).

The Buddha, from whose divine omni-  
science nothing remained hidden, comforted  
him, announcing that a divinity about to  
come down from heaven, due to the exhaus-  
tion of his past merits, would be born as a  
human being from Suprabuddha’s wife.

The yakṣa went back to his tree and an-  
nounced to Suprabuddha that he would



FIG. 112

soon beget a child, foretelling at the same time that his son would one day renounce the world.<sup>182)</sup> In course of time a son was born and called Yaśoda (*Grag's byin*); grown in years, his only wish was to take vows.

Sheltered by his father in every manner, the young man nevertheless found his way to Śākyamuni, who preached to his monks Yaśoda' approaching glory. Yaśoda, distressed at the sight of a woman's corpse, which induced him to meditate on human impermanence and saddened by the sight of his harem, where the sleeping women lay sprawling and relaxed, came out of his palace wearing miraculous slippers, which carried him away, unseen. The Buddha was waiting for him on the other side of the river, and Yaśoda ran to listen to his word. His father searched for him in vain; he found the slippers, but they gave no clue to his son's whereabouts. At the height of despair, he went to the Buddha, but blinded by anguish, he did not see his son, who was listening with him to the saint's sermon. Little by little the gloom of his mind was dispelled, light broke into his soul and he honoured the Buddha. Together with Yaśoda, Gavampati (*Ba glai' bdaḡ*)<sup>183)</sup> and another four of his comrades were converted and attained arhatship in his company. Thus was matured the karma accumulated in a past life, when Suprabha (*'Od' bzañ*) having seen the Buddha Śikhin, tired out, taking a little rest, had protected him from the burning sunlight with his own parasol. Śikhin had then foretold to him the accomplishment of his karma in the Buddha Śākyamuni's times. On another occasion, having been born as king Kṛṣṇin's third son, he had put a jewelled parasol on the stūpa the king had built over the remains of the Buddha Kāśyapa.<sup>184)</sup>

The story is represented on the left side of the tanka; it begins under the central figure and shows Suprabuddha with an axe in his hand; on the left the same shooting an arrow against the nyagrodha tree; next Yaśoda meeting the

Buddha for the first time. Immediately underneath, a woman's corpse troubles the young man's mind for the first time; returning, above, to the scene of the tree, Yaśoda's birth; his father, fearing lest the prophecy be fulfilled, watches over him. Still in the upper part, the women asleep, in their apartments; then the Buddha receiving Suprabuddha's hospitality; Yaśoda and his five comrades obtaining arhatship; the crossing of the river. Above the central image are represented the merits acquired by Suprabuddha in his preceding lives, when he sheltered the Buddha Śikhin from the sun and when he did homage to the stūpa built by king Kṛṣṇin. The story closes with a picture of king Kṛṣṇin on his throne.

AVADĀNA II. 63

### STORY OF MAHĀKĀŚYAPA

Nyagrodhakalpa (*Nya gro dhai rtog*) lived in Magadha; his wife gave birth to a son under a *pippala* tree (*ficus religiosa*). The child was encircled by a luminous band, like gold, and had been called Pippalāyana (*Pi spal skyes*). Grown in years and completely absorbed by his spiritual life, he refused to marry. As his father continued to press him, he made a golden statue, of marvellous beauty, and promised that he would marry if a woman resembling the image were found. A friend of his father's called Caturaka<sup>185)</sup> began to wander about, and finally, in Vaiśālī, he met a maiden called Bhadrā (*bZañ mo*), the daughter of Kapila (*Ser skya*) who was even fairer than the statue. Kapila promised to give her in marriage to Pippalāyana as soon as the latter should have got her dowry ready, because:

"A quarrelsome wife, a daughter given in marriage without a dowry and a son who has taken to evil ways, are like pins stuck into a man's mind,, (24).

Pippalāyana in the meantime, having heard that the maiden had decided to embrace

an ascetic life, made his intentions known to her and advised her not to reject a marriage which would make their parents happy and enable the pair to fulfill their vocation. So they were married and lived together in the utmost purity. One night, while Pippalāyana lay awake near his sleeping wife, he saw a scorpion about to sting her and shook her violently to ward off the danger. But thinking that her husband, forgetting his pledge, had been suddenly tempted by lust, Bhadrā bitterly reproached him:

“Mountains may renounce the boundaries of their steadfastness, sages never,, (43).

The misunderstanding having been cleared up, they continued their way of life, until Nyagrodhakalpa died and Pippalāyana succeeded him in the management of the family estate. Once the handmaids who, according to Bhadrā’s orders, were grinding seeds, perceived with horror that many insects had been drowned in the oil, a fearful infringement of the precept of the respect of life (*abimsā*). They made Bhadrā responsible for the sin, for she had given them the work to do. Bhadrā freed herself from all earthly passions and together with Pippalāyana took vows and went to the Buddha Kāśyapa; in a short time Pippalāyana became an arhat and Bhadrā a saint. This happened, as Kāśyapa explained, through the ripening of karma accumulated during preceding lives, when Pippalāyana, in time of famine, furnished food to the Buddha Śikhin; another time he had set a parasol upon a stūpa built by king Kṛkin.<sup>186</sup>

The avadāna is represented on the right side of the tanka; above, Pippalāyana’s preceding life is briefly outlined: born as a poor man, he had ornamented a stūpa built by Kṛkin, notwithstanding his scanty means. In the upper corner, Bhadrā’s handmaids grinding seeds to make oil; on the left Bhadrā’s arrival in her bridegroom’s city; a maiden resembling the golden statue is discovered in Vaiśālī; then, to the right, the

marriage celebrations; below, various scenes of the couple’s pure married life, including the incident of the scorpion about to sting Bhadrā; still lower down, Pippalāyana’s refusal to marry until a maiden is found resembling the golden image he had made; Caturaka’s departure with the statue, the meeting with the Buddha Kāśyapa.

TANKA n. 83 - XIX left, 4 (Plate 119).

AVADĀNA n. 64

THE STORY OF SUDHANA  
AND THE KINNARA

When the Buddha went back to his city after having attained enlightenment and vanquished the gloom of error for ever, Yaśodharā, seeing him pass, serene and collected in his monk’s robes, overwhelmed by her great love for him who was no longer hers, flung herself down from a terrace; but Śākyamuni miraculously caught her in his arms and saved her. He then told the story of one of her past lives. Long ago, in Hastinapura (*Ha sti na yi groṇ*), lived the wise king Dhana (*Nor*), who ruled with the assistance of his virtuous son Sudhana (*Nor bzan*). Dhana’s enemy, king Mahendrasena (*dBaṅ c’en sde*) was cruel and faithless; hence all manner of calamities afflicted his kingdom and his subjects fled into Dhana’s territory, because:

“When a king considers his subjects as his own children, they live in his country as though in their father’s house,, (23).

Mahendrasena grew more and more bitter against his virtuous rival, and sought to harm him by every means. He found out that in Dhana’s country lived the nāga Citra (*Tsi tra*), whose power guaranteed the king’s prosperity, and he decided to do away with the nāga, because:

“The wicked, incapable of accumulating virtue themselves, contrive to harm others,, (37).

With promises of abundant lucre, the king sent Vidyādhara (*Rig ḍsin*) to look



for the nāga; by means of magical formulas, he imprisoned it in a forest; Citra, having become aware of his danger before falling completely a prey to the magician's arts, invoked the help of a hunter friend called Padmaka (*Pad ma can*). The spell had already begun to work and the nāga felt himself irresistibly overpowered by Vidyādhara's magic, when Padmaka set him free by killing the enchanter. Citra then took his friend into his dwelling and showed him a miraculous noose, capable of binding all created beings; Padmaka, refusing any other gift, desired to have only that noose; on his deathbed he left it to his son Utpala.

The latter, as he was wandering in the forest one day, heard a marvellous song: it was the voice of Manoharā, a Kinnarī, Drumma (*IJon pa*) king of the Kinnara's own daughter. As only the unerring noose his father had left him was capable of drawing Manoharā into the world of mortals, Utpala used his prodigious weapon and bound the divine maiden. She requested him to let her go him with touching persistence and gave him a gem; Utpala assured her of his kind intentions and put her in the hands of prince Sudhana, who had come into the forest on a hunting-party. After they had been married two ascetics arrived in king Dhana's court, Kapila (*Ser skya*) and Puskara (*Pu ska ra*); both seeking for the king's favour, they finally quarrelled, and Kapila, who did not succeed, decided to take revenge on the prince, who had begun to protect his rival.

When Sudhana was sent to wage war against a rebel prince named Megha (*sPrin*), Kapila took this opportunity to vent his wrath upon the patron of his rival. The misfortunes impending over Manoharā and all the royal family were announced to the king by an evil dream; for an explanation of its secret warnings, he went precisely to Kapila, and with the pretext of warding off an approaching disaster, the ascetic advised him to sacrifice his daughter-in-law:

"To our own life we sacrifice our country and our children, for in this world of the living nothing is dearer than life,, (180).

Thus incited, the king was about to commit the abominable deed, but his queen returned to Manoharā the gem her son had left her, and through the gem's virtue Manoharā mysteriously disappeared into the air. After having purified herself with a bath, to efface all traces of her contact with the human world, the Kinnarī went to the ascetic Valkalāyana (*Šin sun can*), confessed her love for Sudhana to him, and begged him to let the prince know that she was waiting for him; the way was long and terribly hard and dangerous, but she left him a ring and directions whereby to overcome the perils of his journey.

Sudhana came back and his mother told him the sad news; a prey to deepest sorrow, he wandered in the forest, telling the trees and the wild animals his woes; he thus arrived to Valkalāyana's hermitage and the ascetic comforted him and told him Manoharā's words. Sudhana set off on his long journey; he crossed the Himālaya, vanquished the demons who tried to stop him, overcame deadly perils and finally reached the Kinnara's country; there he received tidings of his beloved from a handmaid of Manoharā, who had come to get water, and dropped into her jar the ring his bride had left him. Manoharā then led Sudhana to her father, who submitted him to difficult ordeals, to gauge his virtues and make sure that he was really worthy of his daughter. Sudhana was successful and had his reward: Manoharā was restored to him for ever, and he took her back to his city. Sudhana had been one of the Buddha's most ancient incarnations.<sup>187)</sup>

The story begins on the left, almost at the height of the lotus on which the figure is seated and it develops through several detached scenes, which do not follow one another in a logical order. The first group of soldiers on horseback refers to the



FIG. 113



expedition against king Megha, out of which Manoharā's sad adventure began; the other group above recalls king Mahendrasena's expedition, while the small picture to the right represents the same king calling upon the enchanter to capture the nāga, to which king Dhana's country owes its prosperity. The scene immediately above shows the prince and Manoharā together in the palace, after their happy home-coming; still further above, Sudhana's and the Kinnarī's arrival on a coach drawn by horses, and the wedding celebrations. Above, towards the top, Manoharā bathing to purify herself before returning to her country; she is taking leave of Sudhana's mother and receiving the marvellous gem from her; on the left corner the incident which gave the Buddha an occasion for telling the story: Yaśodharā throws herself from the top of a house and the Buddha tells his monks his preceding karmic relations with her. Next Manoharā flying through the air alone; further to the right, Manoharā and Sudhana descend by heavenly paths to Hastinapura. The three small scenes which follow underneath show the ascetic Valkalāyana giving Manoharā's ring to Sudhana; to the right the same ascetic's meeting with Manoharā, and next his conversation with the hunter Utpala, to whom he is showing how to capture the Kinnarī with the miraculous noose. Underneath the capture of the nāga, the nāga set free and the gift of the noose to the hunter. Then, exactly above the central figure, the hunter giving the Kinnarī to Sudhana; proceeding towards the top, the hunter leading away the bound Kinnarī; along the upper border of the tanka, still proceeding towards the right, the king of the Kinnara, with a horse's head, between Sudhana and Manoharā; Manoharā's interview with her father; Sudhana admitted into the presence of the king of the Kinnaras. Underneath, proceeding from left to right, the Kinnarī going to draw water, the meeting with Manoharā, husband and wife again united.

In the city of the Śākya, the Buddha related the events of another existence, when he had been bound to Yaśodharā by deep affection. In Kāśī lived king Kāśya (*Ka śya*), who had a daughter called Nalinī (*Paḍ ma lān*) but no sons; fearing that his line might become extinct, he took counsel of his ministers, to find a worthy husband for his daughter:

"People cannot keep their daughters like the wick of a lamp burning in their hand; girls of good family are only a cause of anxiety, and should be handed over to others, like property given in trust," (13).

Reasoning thus, he thought of Kāśyapa's son, born out of the ascetic's seed: it had dropped to the ground in the forest and a gazelle had chanced to drink it. The young man, named EkaśṚṅga (*Rva gciḡ pa*) was as pure as a maiden. The king sent Nalinī into Kapila forest, and the two young people met, to the great joy of EkaśṚṅga, accustomed to the solitude of his hermitage, who was delighted to find a new comrade. He had no knowledge of the other sex and took the princess for a pleasant boy friend. Nalinī invited him to come with her, but seeing a chariot drawn by horses, he was frightened and hesitated. The princess came back and induced him to get into a boat upon which an impromptu garden had been arranged; she took him to her father, who received him with great joy, and united him to his daughter in marriage.

The pair then went back to the hermitage, where EkaśṚṅga's mother, who had assumed a human form by Kāśyapa's will, explained to her innocent son the meaning of marriage and sent him back to the king with his bride. The king, who was an old man, gave his kingdom into his son-in-law's keeping and took vows.

Yaśodharā was Nalinī and EkaśṚṅga the Buddha.<sup>180)</sup>

The story unfolds on the right side of the central figure; the scene begins at the height of the lotus flower on which the Buddha is seated; Śākyaṃuni, returned to his native city, is seen telling the monks about his former karmic connection with Yaśodharā; then, immediately to the right, higher up, king Kāśya taking vows; to the left, the celebrations on Ekaśṛṅga's arrival in the city of Kāśī; above, preparations for the reception of Nalinī and the young ascetic; further up, Ekaśṛṅga coming to the islands arranged in the form of a hermitage; further on, Nalinī offering the ascetic some fruit; Ekaśṛṅga asking his father to come to the city of Kāśī; his interview with his mother; then, to the left, his reluctance to mount the coach; next, to the left, his conception and his birth.

AVADĀNA n. 66

### STORY OF KAVIKUMĀRA

When the Buddha's foot was wounded by a stone which Devadatta had dropped upon him, his monks marvelled that even he should be subjected, like an ordinary mortal, to the law of karma. Then the Buddha told them that, in past epochs, king Satyarata (*bDen par dga'*) ruled in Kāmpilya (*Ka pi lya*); he had no children by queen Lakṣaṇā (*mT's'an űid can*), so, on her advise, he married a second wife called Sudharmā (*C'os bzah*). Later on, however, Lakṣaṇā gave birth to Alohamaṅtra (*Ma űud pa*),<sup>189)</sup> who on his father's death was elected King. Sudharmā also bore a son: according to the astrologers, he was destined to kill the King. The latter ordered the minister Goviśāna (*Ba glaṅ rva*) to do away with the child, but the minister put a little girl in his place and entrusted Sudharmā's son to some fishermen, giving him the name of Kavikumāra (*g'Zon nu sñan dñags mk'an*). Kavikumāra grew up wise and clever, but one day he was recognized by the astrologer as Sudharmā's son. The king was furious and

ordered Goviśāna to kill the boy at any cost, because:

"When an effort is not made at the right moment, only repentance will ensue," (28).

The boy's mother, informed of the king's designs, gave her son a miraculous gem and advised him to flee immediately. Kavikumāra took refuge with a nāga, who hid him, but Goviśāna discovered the boy's hiding-place through a spy and threatened the nāga, who thereupon abandoned his guest. The fugitive was found later in the house of a washerman, next in a potter's house; finally, as he was fleeing with the king's guards at his heels, he fell into a gorge; the gem his mother had given him stuck to the boughs on the brim of the precipice.

Goviśāna, convinced of his death, took the gem and went back to the king, believing that he had carried out his mission. But Kavikumāra was safe. Wandering through a frightful forest, he came upon a man's corpse cut in two, and learnt that he had been murdered by a caṅḍāla, a most cruel brute which lived in that forest; its name was Sudāsa (*Su da sa*) and the dog Śaṅkhamukha (*Duñ gi k'a*) never left it: no one could escape the pair. They arrived and Kavikumāra went up a tree for safety; he would certainly have been murdered, if the ascetic Māthara (*Mā tha ra*) had not rushed to the spot through the air and killed Sudāsa and his dog. Māthara took the boy to his hermitage and taught him most powerful spells. Kavikumāra brooded continually on his revenge; finally he returned to Kāmpilya and, disguised as a dancing-girl, he danced so gracefully in front of the royal palace, that the king fell in love with him. That night the king invited Kavikumāra to the women's apartments; while he was about to lie down, his step-brother disclosed his real identity, killed him and seized his kingdom. Kavikumāra was no other than Śākyaṃuni; he had been condemned to Hell for his brother's murder, and even in his present life was still bearing the consequences of his guilt.<sup>190)</sup>

In this instance also the story is represented by in irregular jumble of scenes, which do not follow the plot of the legend, represented in the lower part of the tanka. Beginning from the right edge, various scenes are pictured in the interior of the same palace: the king with his two wives; the recognition of the prince who had been left with the Kaivarta; the astrologer's prediction: to the left, Lakṣaṇā's son placed on the throne; the minister showing the king Kavikumāra's gem as a proof of the latter's death; underneath, on the left corner, the minister goes to a Kaivarta tribe to kill the prince; his mother gives him the gem; always to the right, Kavikumāra being traced to the nāga's dwelling and to the Kaivartas; above, Kavikumāra disguised as a dancer enters the royal palace and kills the king. To the left, he becomes king. Underneath, he is followed to the washerman's and to the potter's house; above, the man murdered by Sudāsa and his dog, the meeting with Sudāsa, the flight up a tree; persecuted, Kavikumāra leaps from a mountain top. In the lower left-hand corner, the Buddha telling this story to his disciples.

TANKA n. 84 - XX left, 5 (Plate 120).

AVADĀNA n. 67

### STORY OF SAṄGHARAKṢITA

In Śrāvastī lived a devout layman named Buddharakṣita (*Saṅs rgyas sruñ*) whom Śāriputra had taught the law. Remembering a vow he had made, he ordered his son Saṅgharakṣita (*dGe ḍun bsrñ*) to put himself at his master's service. Saṅgharakṣita obeyed; later he followed some merchants into distant lands; a violent storm broke out and a voice was heard from above, ordering Saṅgharakṣita to be cast into the sea. Although the merchants objected, he willingly sacrificed himself, but was miraculously saved by the nāgas, to whom he preached the law. In their gratitude, they

placed him once more on the ship, much to his comrades' wonder. During the voyage, they landed on a coast, and when they again set sail, they left Saṅgharakṣita behind by mistake, while he was asleep on the beach. He roamed through the wilderness and finally came to a monastery; it was meal-time and the monks sat quiet and collected partaking of their frugal pittance. As soon as they had finished, the bowls were turned into clubs, and they began to fight and were all killed, dashing out one another's brains. When meal-time came round again, they had all resumed their usual appearance. Saṅgharakṣita learnt that the karma they had accumulated in their preceding life had matured in this manner, because formerly they used to pass their time in never ceasing quarrels. He left the place and came to another monastery, which was suddenly seen to catch fire and burnt to ashes with all its inmates; thus they atoned for their ancient sins: consumed with hatred, they had burned their rivals' convent.

Continuing to wander, Saṅgharakṣita came to a hermitage where 500 ascetics lived; they knew him for a Buddhist and decided not to speak to him and not to offer him hospitality; fortunately one of them, moved to pity, gave him a hut to spend the night in, on condition that he should observe the most complete silence. As soon as night came on, the tutelary deity of the convent appeared to him and begged him to preach the law to those ascetics. He then began:

"Ascetic vows do not avail to purify the body, neither do solitary forests avail to purify a mind accustomed to human desires, even though men wear the ascetic's topknot and are clothed in sheepskins,, (4).

The ascetics were eager to gain a better knowledge of the Buddha's doctrine, and Saṅgharakṣita explained to them the lengthy process through which the dialectics of karma develop. While he was thus expounding the doctrine, he realized arhatship; then, leading with him the 500 ascetics,



FIG. 114



already converted, he went to the Buddha, who, by his persuasive word, guided them all to salvation.

The monks asked what merits Saṅgharaksita had accumulated in his past lives, and the Buddha told them that a vow made in Kāśyapa's time had now matured.<sup>191)</sup>

The story begins near the lower right-hand margin. Śāriputra's arrival; Buddha-raksita orders his son to serve the saint. Above, under the Buddha's figure, on the right corner of the lotus, Saṅgharaksita's past life in Kāśyapa's time; underneath, he throws himself into the sea; he preaches to the nāgas; underneath he is asleep and the merchants return to their country. Then, always below, but proceeding towards the left, in two different scenes, the monks at meals, the massacre and the fire; above, on the left margin, the meeting with the ascetics; the ascetics carried through the air by his magic power, and the Buddha's sermon.

AVADĀNA n. 68

### THE STORY OF PADMĀVATĪ

During the six years the Buddha spent in deep meditation, awaiting supreme enlightenment, Yaśodharā gave birth to his son Rāhula. Śuddhodana, doubting his daughter-in-law's chastity, ordered the child to be killed and his command would have been executed if the Buddha, from whom nothing was hidden, had not saved her; the infant was placed on a stone, which was thrown into the river; it did not sink, but floated on the water.

The monks asked the Buddha why Yaśodharā should have been so unjustly accused by Śuddhodana, and he told them the story of both their past lives.

Once, in the city of Kāmpilya (*Kam pi la*) lived king Brahmadata who, having gone hunting, met in the heart of the forest Padmāvati (*Pad ma can*), the ascetic Śāṅḍilya's (*Śāṅ ḍi lya*) daughter; her beauty was

marvellous and, through the miraculous maturing of her karma, at every step she took a lotus flower sprang up. The king fell in love with her and invited her to his palace and Padmāvati, returning his love, asked her father's permission. Śāṅḍilya consented, but advised the bridegroom to spare the maiden any motive of ill-feeling. The couple lived happily, but the other women of the palace were incensed with jealousy; when Padmāvati was about to be confined they bound her, took her twins and threw them into the river. Then they smeared her mouth with blood and told the king that, showing her true nature as a witch, she had devoured her own children. Brahmadata believed their story and ordered Padmāvati to be killed, but in the meantime the tutelary deity of Śāṅḍilya's hermitage appeared and disclosed the truth. The women confessed their guilt and some fishermen brought back the twins, who were floating in a basket on the river.

The queen was thus restored to safety, but the king's injustice had so humbled and distressed her, that his repentance did not touch her.

"Truly, o king, I have no spite against the women who wronged me, because enmity is appeased by patience and grows through hatred. Our enemy, by himself, cannot vanquish us, nor our friends aid us: all the pain we mortals suffer is created by acts done in our past lives," (87).

Padmāvati therefore went back to her father, and seeing the hermitage deserted and her father dead, she took the garb of an ascetic and sought refuge in Benares, where king Kṛkin vainly urged her to marry him.

But Brahmadata discovered her retreat, he came before her in the guise of an ascetic, was recognized and forgiven and brought Padmāvati back to his palace.

Thus a karma matured which had accumulated in their past lives, when Padmāvati, after giving presents to a Pratyekabuddha,



had wanted them back again: through her offering, lotus flowers bloomed at every step she took, but because she had asked to get back her presents, she had to suffer humiliation.<sup>192)</sup>

The story is represented on the left of the tanka: to the left of the lotus on which the Buddha is seated, Brahmadata and Padmāvati make peace; to the left, Padmāvati's children cast into the river; above, the palace women deceiving the queen; Padmāvati set free while the executioner is about to slay her; then to the right, near the Buddha's halo, Brahmadata's return with Padmāvati; immediately above, the scene of their meeting; to the left, near the outer margin, the maiden asks her father's permission to go off with the king; Padmāvati slandered and despairing; above, in the corner, the Buddha in meditation saves Yaśodharā's child; in the middle the Buddha surrounded by monks, telling Padmāvati's story. Above this last scene, an allusion to her past life.

AVADĀNA n. 69

### DHARMARĀJIKĀPRATIṢṬHĀ

This story is rather fragmentary: during the consecration of the many stūpas he had built over the Buddha's relics, collected even from among the nāgas, Aśoka offered the community gifts and food. After the ceremony, attended by arhats who had come through the air, an old monk arrived, and having been told that after the banquet the king would ask him to preach the law, he was much troubled: he was ignorant and had never attempted to preach. The queen suggested a stanza to him, and when the king heard it, he was delighted and made him a present of a monk's tunic. The monk himself, meditating on that stanza, became an arhat.

On another occasion the same monk went back to Aśoka wearing a dress which gave out a divine fragrance: he had spent the rainy season in heaven under a *parijāta* tree. The king, hearing this, was once more deeply edified.<sup>193)</sup>

Above the head of the central image, the monks entertained and fed by Aśoka; further up, the building of the stūpas, while arhats hasten to the spot through the air, bearing bands, in an adoring attitude; to the right, the monk is asked to preach and the king gives him a rich tunic. Next, a boat on the sea, which represents the search for relics among the nāgas.

TANKA n. 85 - XXI left, 6 (Plate 121).

AVADĀNA n. 70

### THE STORY OF MĀDHYANTIKA

The monk Mādhyantika (*Ñi guṇ*) went, by Ānanda's order, to Kashmir, where he learnt that the country belonged to the nāgas. He then decided to subdue them; the nāgas were frightened and hurled down stones and hail, which were turned into a rain of flowers. Conquered by Mādhyantika's sanctity, the nāgas agreed to give him a space of earth sufficient for him to sit upon in meditation, but the monk became miraculously dilated, and on the space his person had occupied was able to build cities and villages, where he settled 500 monks.<sup>194)</sup>

This tale also is barely outlined, almost unfinished. The prose version, if not more extensive, is at least more coherent.

On the tanka we see Mādhyantika taking possession of his territory; the founding of the Paryāṅka temple in the midst of a circle of arhats; the nāgas, after having hurled a shower of hail and stones, seeing that the storm is changed into flowers, give the ascetic a place where to sit in meditation; then, in the last picture, below, to the right, the spread of the Law in Kashmir.

AVADĀNA n. 71

### THE STORY OF ŚĀṆAVĀSIN

On the way to Mathurā, where he was going to profess the Buddha's holy teaching and to perfect his knowledge thereof, the

monk Śāṇavāsin (*Śā nai gos*) met two Mallas who were quarelling and quoting his name as that of a monk whose opinion carried great authority. He was recognized and questioned concerning his merits and he told them that in one of his past lives he had attended a sick Pratyekabuddha and had presented him with a very beautiful dress, which the former had refused, because luxuries are not meant for ascetics. When that Pratyekabuddha entered nirvana, he had made a vow, which was now maturing in his present life. Śāṇavāsin proceeded to Mathurā where, after having tamed two nāgas which were causing great damage by raising up storms, he founded, with the help of two merchants named Naṭa and Bhaṭa, a monastery which became famous under the name of Naṭabhāṭavihāra.<sup>195)</sup>

The legend is represented in the lower picture on the right. The central scene shows Śāṇavāsin's meeting with the Mallas and the narrative of his past life. In the picture to the right and in the lower picture, the founding of Naṭabhāṭa's monastery and the preaching of the Law; above, victory over the nāgas and Śāṇavāsin's past life.

AVADĀNA n. 72

### THE STORY OF UPAGUPTA

Upagupta (*Ñer sbas*) lived in Mathurā (*bCom brlag dag*); since his birth his father had placed him at Śāṇavāsin's service.

Being inclined, from his earliest childhood, to detachment from the world, when he had grown in years he was able to resist the courtesan Vāsavadattā's (*Nor lhas byin*) blandishments. She often invited him, but he always refused to meet her, saying that the time had not yet come for him to visit her. Now it came to pass that while Vāsavadattā was entertaining in her palace a young man madly infatuated with her, a rich merchant tried to win her favours with the offer of many gifts. The courtesan, thinking that "a lover, when he has had his wish, is no

longer bountiful", (13), at a loss how to get rid of the young man, murdered him and accepted the merchant's love. The dead man's relatives discovered his corpse; Vāsavadattā was condemned, taken to the scaffold and executed. Then Upagupta went to her and at the end of her life she felt her former love revive:

"Love, once it has entered the hearts of men, by whatever path, either through habit or by the predisposition of karma, never, under any circumstance, abandons them", (25).

Upagupta showed her how vain it is to cling to the fleeting pleasures of the body, and touched her so deeply that Vāsavadattā repented, died with a purified soul and was born again in heaven. Śāṇavāsin then received Upagupta in his hermitage, where in a short time he became an arhat. One day, while he was preaching, Māra, to distract the monks' attention, caused a rain of precious objects to fall, then turned himself into a charming dancing-girl. Upagupta, by a spell, bound corpses and carrions round Māra's body, which he could not get rid of. He begged the monk to have mercy on him and Upagupta promised to undo the spell, on condition that Māra, through his magic power, should show him the Buddha's image. Māra consented and assumed the form of Śākyamuni's earthly body, deeply touching Upagupta, who fell on his knees adoring, because:

"In artificial images we honour the Buddha's body: not that saints bow before pieces of wood and metal", (68).<sup>196)</sup>

The story unfolds underneath the central image; on the left of the two pictures under the lotus on which the Buddha is seated, the first, on the left, represents Upagupta's birth; to the right, the king orders Vāsavadattā to be executed; underneath, to the left, her execution, while Upagupta explains the Law to her; to the right, Vāsavadattā's handmaid is inviting Upagupta; underneath, the young lover is poisoned and buried; to the left Māra as a dancer tries to perturb the monks; further



FIG. 115

to the left Māra granting Upagupta's prayer, appears as Śākyamuni. Above, on the left margin, Upagupta becomes an arhat.

AVADĀNA n. 73

THE MESSENGER SENT  
TO THE NĀGAS

The fame of Aśoka's virtues and liberality spread throughout the world to such an extent, that anyone needing help turned to him, certain of receiving gifts and solace. Thus it happened that some merchants who had undergone great losses came to him for aid. Nothing could be done for them as the nāgas, after spoiling them of their treasures, had hidden them at the bottom of the sea. The monk Indra (*dBaṅ po*) suggested that a written request be sent to the nāgas, but they refused to grant the king's wish. A divinity then appeared in the air and advised Aśoka to approach the Buddha; the king earnestly prayed to him, and immediately 600 arhats appeared in the sky. The monk Indra had two golden statues made, one representing Aśoka and the other the king of the nāgas; the latter grew, while the former became smaller and smaller, but when Aśoka began to do good deeds, his statue grew larger and the nāga king's diminished. The nāgas came of their own accord to return the merchants their treasures. Aśoka sent for Upagupta, that he might preach the Law.<sup>197)</sup>

The story begins on the left, at the height of the central figure: Aśoka's liberality; the nāgas robbing the merchants of their treasures; the king restores their treasures to them; the arhats' arrival through the sky; they are received and entertained by Aśoka; in the centre, above, and on the upper margin to the right, Upagupta's sermon.

AVADĀNA n. 74

THE GIFT OF THE EARTH

Aśoka had covered the whole world with his gifts, he had given food and hospitality to innumerable monks. But as in this world:

"Only good deeds, not bodies, endure," (6) even the king approached the moment which closes every mortal life. Perceiving that his last hour had come, he decided to give his whole fortune to the monks. His nephew Sampadin (*P'un ts'ogs can*) however opposed his will and contrived intrigues with the ministers of finance; thus the king had nothing left to dispose of, except the mango which his physicians had prescribed for him.

Later, on the advice of his counsellor Rādhāgupta (*mGu byed sbas*) he left the community as a heritage the whole earth, which his nephew was obliged to ransom for a huge sum of money.<sup>198)</sup>

The avadāna is represented along the edge of the tanka, to the right. To the left the sick king is giving the mango to those who solicit gifts. To the right the king, his gift of the earth; underneath the ransom.

AVADĀNA n. 75

THE CAUSAL LAW

This chapter does not contain a story, it sums up the connexion of the twelve causes (*Pratītyasamutpāda*) which, according to Buddhist dogmatics, regulate the process of karma.

This process is represented by several small symbolic pictures in the right corner: death by a corpse; the sensorial spheres (*āyatana*) by a door in a house; attachment (*upadāna*) by a man picking fruit (near the centre); the thirst for life (*trṣṇā*) by two persons drinking (further to the right), old age (lower down) by a man leaning on a staff, the conscious principle (*vijñāna*) by a tree on which a monkey is leaping; underneath, nescience (*avidyā*) by a blind man; contact (*sparsā*) on the right margin, by a man and a woman kissing; the forces of karma (*saṃskāra*) by a woman preparing a soup (below); the individual (*nāmarūpa*), to the right, in the very first plane, by a kneeling figure which is extracting an arrow from its body; then to the left, almost hidden by a tree, two figures embracing,



which represent sexual union. Under the central image, the Buddha preaching in the Jetavana.

TANKA n. 86 – XXII left, 7 (Plate 122).

AVADĀNA n. 76

### THE STORY OF VIDURA

One day, while the Buddha was in Śrāvastī, he saw near the river Ajiravatī (*K'yams ldan*) a misshapen creature, whose body (according to the prose version) resembled that of a bull, covered with verminous sores. Through his miraculous omniscience, the Buddha discovered the incidents of its past life and the monster immediately acknowledged its sins. The Buddha, to satisfy his monks, told them that long ago king Vidura (*Vi du ra*) had lived in Ujjayin (*aP'ags rgyal dag*); one day he had gone into the palace garden to disport himself with his women; as they were roaming happily through the woods, the maidens met a Pratyekabuddha and, enchanted by his serenity, they gathered round him and listened to his preaching of the Law. The king, blinded by anger, killed the saint; for this sin he had been born again as a yakṣa; he had dwelt, for countless ages, in the deepest Hell, and at last he had been born as a misshapen creature, that the Buddha's virtues might set him free from the weight of karma.<sup>199)</sup>

Under the lotus of the central figure, to the left, the Buddha is seen in Śrāvastī, surrounded by his monks; lower down the meeting with Vidura; above, Vidura's women in adoring attitudes before the Pratyekabuddha; the Pratyekabuddha murdered.

AVADĀNA n. 77

### KAINEYAKA'S STORY

While the Buddha was meditating in a cave, the protectors of the four points of the compass, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa

and Kubera, came to do him homage. Śākyamuni spoke edifying words to them; they were comforted and returned to their abodes. The Buddha then told the monks their preceding lives, when two of them, who had been born as nāgas, and the other two, born as garuḍas, had been converted by the Buddha Kāśyapa. The ascetic Kaineyaka, while he was listening to the Buddha's words, became an arhat and Śaila likewise; thus was matured the merit they had both acquired in their preceding lives, in the times of Kāśyapa.<sup>200)</sup>

The story begins almost at the height of the Buddha's head, on the left, and is concluded with a few scenes: the Buddha preaching to the kings of the four points of the compass, who are seated with other persons behind the monks; their preceding lives as nāgas and garuḍas, can be seen on the left.

AVADĀNA n. 78

### STORY OF ŚAKRA'S FALL FROM HEAVEN

As the fruits of his past merits approached exhaustion, Indra saw on his own person the signs that announced his impending downfall from Heaven. His mate Śacī advised him to go to the Buddha; he came down upon the earth in Benares, where Śākyamuni was meditating. Indra, then, told the gandharva Pañcaśikha to awaken the Buddha with his music and to announce his visit. As soon as he was admitted into the presence of the Śākya saint, the king of the gods felt his mind clearing at the sight and the signs portending his approaching downfall disappeared. Having taken refuge with the Law, he married Pañcaśikha to Tumburu's daughter and returned to Paradise.

This happened because in one of his preceding lives Indra had built a stūpa in the Buddha's honour.<sup>201)</sup>

The story unfolds in the centre and in the left-hand corner, above: beginning on this side we see Indra in his heavenly abode; next, proceeding towards the left, his descent from



heaven, the meeting with the monks, and, going back to the right, the Buddha awakened by Pañcaśikha. Then the stūpa built in Indra's preceding life. Almost above the Buddha's head, Tumburu's daughter being married to Pañcaśikha.

AVADĀNA n. 79

### MAHENDRASENA'S STORY

A Brahman named Jīvaśarman (*aTś'o ba bde*) lived in Śrāvastī; being already advanced in years, he became madly infatuated with the youthful Taralikā (*gYo ldan*) and married her.

But "women are devoted to those who betray them, and estranged from those who love them,, (5), and Taralikā sought by all means to send her old husband away.

"The man who, detesting all enterprise, cleaves obstinately to idleness, why on earth does he marry, since married life brings with it a multitude of expenses?,, (13).

"In families where an enterprising husband is engaged in business away from home, while his wife attends to household tasks, all sorts of good will be found,, (15).

Thus urged by his wife, old Jīvaśarman went to sea in search of riches, but on his way back, when he had almost reached home, highwaymen deprived him of all his treasures, leaving him poorer than before. Utterly discouraged, he was about to take his own life, but the Buddha, whom nothing escapes, restrained him and restored his lost treasures. His wife, however, was not satisfied, and little by little he perceived that all attachment to earthly fortune is quite vain.

"What pain greater than poverty can be endured in the world? But acquiring riches is a pain still greater. The enjoyment of riches, smeared with a few drops of pleasure, causes at every step hundreds of pangs,, (29).

The Brahman then took refuge with the Buddha, and in a short time became an arhat. Thus the merit he had acquired in a former life was matured.

Once upon a time there was a king, Mahendrasena, who hated all violence, to the extent of preferring exile to war. His ministers, disapproving of his renouncement, abandoned him, but this did not gain them the new king's confidence when they offered him their services. While Mahendrasena lived in the forest, a Brahman acquainted with his liberality came to solicit his help. Mahendrasena grieved that his present poverty should prevent him from showing his former generosity to the needy, but as he could not bear anyone to leave empty-handed, he told the Brahman to lead him as a captive to the enemy king, in order to receive the price that had been put on his head. The Brahman did so, but the rival king, touched by Mahendrasena's generosity, set him free and loaded the Brahman with gifts. Mahendrasena was the Buddha, and Jīvaśarman the Brahman.<sup>202)</sup>

The avadāna is painted on the right side of the tanka; in the upper part is represented the Brahman's former life: Mahendrasena's adventures, his interview with the Brahman in the forest, he is taken to the new king in chains and is set free. Underneath the Buddha, telling the assembled monks Jīvaśarman's story; still lower down, the latter is robbed by highwaymen bearing swords; then his return to the city: underneath his married life with Taralikā and her petulant demands.

TANKA n. 87 – XXIII left, 8 (Plate 123).

AVADĀNA n. 80

### SUBHADRA'S STORY

Sarvāthasiddha, the future Buddha, having been born, Purandara (*aByin ajig*) went to the Gandharva Supriya (*Rab dga'*) and invited him to join him in doing homage to the divine child. But Supriya, absorbed in music, paid no heed to his words. Later on the ascetic Subhadra, who was meditating near Kuśa, on the banks of a pond, saw the *udumbara* tree covered with buds, and as that



FIG. 116

tree blossoms only when a Buddha is about to attain supreme enlightenment, he interpreted it as a sign of his own approaching omniscience.

In the meantime Indra returned to Supriya to announce that the Buddha's light was spreading all over the universe and that he ought to tarry no longer. But Supriya did not leave his music and the *udumbara* tree bloomed to show that the times were ripe for the preaching of the Law.

Subhadra gloried in this thought, but the magic power of the monk Cuṇḍa overpowered him and he was left dismayed.

Meanwhile the Buddha was approaching nirvana; he had converted innumerable creatures: only Subhadra and Supriya were left; out of pity for them, he went himself to the Paradise of the Gandharvas and having challenged Supriya to a musical contest, he vanquished him; Supriya was converted and the light of truth touched his heart.

Subhadra saw the *udumbara* tree lose its flowers; the spirit dwelling in the tree bereft him of his delusion that the prodigy had anything to do with his own destiny. He then thought that in a short time the Buddha would no longer inhabit the earth, and that he would be unable to listen to his word; he hastened to go to him, but arrived when the Buddha, already wasted by sickness, was resting, and Ananda kept him away with all sorts of excuses. By the Buddha's intercession, Subhadra was at last admitted into his presence; he listened to the saint's words, the truth was at last revealed to him in all its splendour, and he became an arhat and was lost in nirvana.

The monks asked through what merits Subhadra had thus suddenly escaped from the circle of deaths and births, and the Buddha answered that in the Buddha Kāśyapa's times, when a monk named Aśoka had entered nirvana, a god who was present had taken the vow to partake of the truth in his future life: through the power of that vow, Subhadra had on that day attained nirvana. Another time he had been king Brahmadata,

while the Buddha was the horse that saved him from peril at the price of his life; on another occasion Subhadra had been born as a gazelle which, being pursued by hunters, was saved through the sacrifice of the chief of its herd, an incarnation of the future Buddha.

As to Supriya, in the times of the Buddha Kāśyapa he was Sudhi (*Blo bzai*) who had taken the vow to be born again as a great musician. Another time, in the city of Ajitodaya (*mC'od 'os*),<sup>203</sup> lived king Vijayanta (*rNam par rgyal*), just and generous. Indra, to put his virtue to the proof, appeared to him in the guise of a cruel person and asked him to sacrifice his own flesh; moved by his loving spirit, he consented without hesitation; hence Indra, acknowledging the purity of his soul, restored his limbs to him unscathed. Vijayanta was an ancient incarnation of the future Buddha.<sup>204</sup>

The story unfolds to the right of the central image; in a heavenly palace, Supriya intent on music; immediately to the right, the Buddha telling the monks Subhadra's adventures; underneath, Supriya's former life, when in Kāśyapa's times he took the vow to be born again as a great musician. Still further below, in two sections, Subhadra trying to be admitted into the Buddha's presence, prevented by Ananda, who closes the convent door in his face; above, he is led to the Buddha. Still further below, Subhadra taking vows. In the lower corner, to the right, he watches the *udumbara* tree in bloom; still underneath, the story of the gazelle pursued by hunters. Under the central figure of the Buddha, Subhadra near the stūpa where Gautama's remains are burning; underneath, the vow made in Kāśyapa's times.

AVADĀNA n. 81

### STORY OF HETŪTTAMA

In Śrāvastī the Buddha preached a sermon on the merits accruing from gifts made to teachers, or to the community or to the Buddha (*dakṣiṇā*).

“What men acquire for their own enjoyment is fruitless; on the contrary what is given to the arhat bears fruit,, (3).

Some Pāṭaliputra merchants had sailed to carry precious sandal-wood to India from distant countries; on their way back they were overtaken by a furious storm and about to be shipwrecked; one of them, named Puṇyasena (*bSod nams sde*) remembered the monk Dharmabodhi (*C'os kyī byañ c'ub*), a devotee of the Buddha Hetūttama (*rGyu yi me'og*); he, then, began to pray most earnestly, invoking that Buddha's help. The storm miraculously subsided and they got back to their country. At that time the Buddha Hetūttama fell ill; Puṇyasena, performing his vow, refused to sell his sandal-wood to the king, who was offering him a large sum of money for it, and presented it to the Buddha, that he might cure his fever with the precious wood. The rest of the sandal-wood, which had been lost at sea and then miraculously restored to him, he distributed to the community. The Buddha foretold that in a future existence he would attain supreme enlightenment.<sup>205)</sup>

The scenes unfold downwards, as usual, without absolute accuracy: the first at the bottom, almost in the centre, represents the Buddha preaching in the Jetavana and bearers of offerings who flock to hear him; then, proceeding upwards, to the left, navigation; then the storm, next the offering of sandal-wood and other treasures to the community; still above, to the left, Puṇyasena refusing to sell the sandal-wood to the king and, to the left of the central image, the gift of sandal to the Buddha.

AVADĀNA n. 82

### STORY OF THE SINNER WHO FELL INTO THE HELLS

Bhavavarman (*Srid pai go c'a*) was born, in Śrāvastī, of Śrutavarman (*T'os pai go c'a*) and Jayasena (*rGyal bai sde*). Grown in

years, after his father's death, he went one day for a walk in the city with a friend. A young woman saw him, became infatuated with him and by gestures invited him to visit her that night. His comrade, fearing he might be seduced, told his mother everything, and she lay down to sleep on the threshold, to prevent her son from going out. Blinded by love, his entreaties and wiles having proved vain, he killed his mother and ran to his tryst. He confessed his crime to the woman, who fled from him in horror, climbed on the veranda and began to cry out that there was a thief in the house, hoping he would be caught.

Bhavavarman fled; he accused thieves of his mother's murder and, finding no peace, went roaming through various countries, until he got to the Jetavana, took vows and became a preacher. But the Buddha arrived; he discovered his crime and foretold a bitter fate to him. After his death he was flung into the most horrible of Hells, but later, through the vows he had taken, ascended to one of the heavens.<sup>206)</sup>

Immediately above the representation of the preceding avadāna, to the left of the central Buddha, the scenes of this story follow one another: first of all, below, the torments of Hell; above, more to the right, the mother's murder; Bhavavarman on the veranda, accusing robbers of the deed; to the left, his meeting with the woman and the same calling for help; still above, the Buddha preaching and then, almost at the top, in the centre of the tanka, Bhavavarman who has become a monk and is expounding the doctrine.

AVADĀNA n. 83

### STORY OF RĀHULA

Invited by his father, the Buddha went to Kapilavastu; his son Rāhula recognized him among all the monks and asked him for sweetmeats. The monks asked why Rāhula



had remained six years in his mother's womb, and the Buddha told them that in ancient times king Puṣpadeva (*Me tog lha*) had two sons, Sūrya and Candra; being grown up and both desirous of embracing an ascetic life, for a long time they tried to foist the kingdom one upon the other, until Candra, gently pressed by his brother, consented to become king. Sūrya retired into the forest; one day, being very thirsty, he drank some water from a hermit's jar without asking his leave. He immediately repented of this breach of the rules of discipline and believing himself guilty of a serious offence, he asked his brother to lay a fitting penance upon him, for "Sin is purified by the king's punishment, as if by fire.", (23).

Candra comforted him and assured him that his misdeed was slight; nevertheless, yielding to his insistence, he begged him to retire into the park and to wait until he was free from the affairs of State and could join him there to suggest some atonement. Absorbed in the duties of his rank, Candra forgot all about his brother for six days; then he suddenly remembered him, begged his forgiveness, purified him and let him go most remorsefully. Sūrya was the Buddha and Candra was Rāhula, who had remained six years in his mother's womb owing to his past forgetfulness.

Yaśodharā endured great sufferings during her pregnancy because in a former life, having gone to market with her mother, she took the lesser burden for herself, leaving the heavier one for her mother to carry.<sup>207)</sup>

Above, over the central image, to the right, the Buddha preaching to the monks; in their midst the child Rāhula; in the right-hand corner Yaśodharā's selfishness with her tired mother; below Sūrya thirsting in the forest and drinking from the ascetic's jar; lower down, the two brothers' interview; next, various small scenes representing Sūrya's meeting with Candra and Candra's forgetfulness.

TANKA n. 88 – XXIV left, 9 (Plate 124).

AVADĀNA n. 84

### STORY OF MADHURASVARA

In Śrāsvatī Sudhīra (*Šin tu brtan*) had a son called Madhurasvara (*sBran rtsii dbyaṅs*) who, through merits acquired in his past lives, caused heavenly riches to rain down at his beck; hence in his native city there was no poverty. Grown in years, he gave hospitality to Ānanda, with whom he went to the Jetavana to meet the Buddha and invite him to his house. On this occasion he distributed endless treasures to the population, but the coins became coals in the homes of the wicked; when they wondered at the transformation, he advised them to make the Buddha a present of the treasures they had received. They followed his advice, and when they got home they found that the coals had again become gold. Madhurasvara entered the order; while he was dwelling in a lonely convent, some robbers, devotees of Durgā, arrived and asked for a monk to sacrifice to the goddess. Madhurasvara offered himself of his own accord as a ransom for the others' lives, was taken to the place of sacrifice and became an arhat; when the robbers undressed him, his garments were multiplied, and the goddess appeared in heaven, causing gems to rain down. The robbers were converted and, touched by his words, became arhats. Madhurasvara went with them to the Buddha in the Jetavana to hear him preach; at that same moment his father Sudhīra also arrived; he offered Śākyamuni a golden lotus flower, and the Buddha foretold that in a future existence he would become a Buddha.<sup>208)</sup>

The story is represented in the lower part of the tanka; near the right margin, in the upper scene, we see Madhurasvara going to invite the Buddha; underneath, the gifts given on that occasion; in the centre, below, Ānanda as Madhurasvara's guest, and above Sudhīra offering the Buddha a golden lotus, as in the last part of the miracle. In the left-hand corner,





FIG. 117

Madhurasvara in the hermitage, and to the right the robbers asking to carry him off; above, to the left, the robbers dragging him to the place of sacrifice and their conversion; more to the right, the Buddha's sermon.

AVADĀNA n. 85

### STORY OF HITAIŚIN

Once the monks asked the Buddha why he loved the sick above other men. He answered that this had also been the case in the past, for instance when he was king Śibi. One day a sick man came to him, whom no medicine could cure; physicians said the only thing would be to give him the blood of a person who had proved himself patient since his birth. Having examined his conscience and found himself free from the sin of wrath, Śibi offered his own blood. The sick man recovered, but left the king seriously ill. To restore his health, the physicians prescribed a medicine that it took twelve years to prepare, but when at last it was ready, he gave it to an infirm Pratyekabuddha; this time, however, by the saint's grace, both were miraculously healed. Śibi was the Buddha. The monks then asked him for what reason this had happened, and the Buddha told them that once in Benares, lived king Brahmadata, who had two sons, Nanda and Upananda; the former loved glory, the latter desired to rule. Upananda, who longed to occupy the throne, belonging by right to his brother, confessed his disappointment to the youngest of the court chaplains, saying that he wished to abandon the world for ascetic renouncement. But the chaplain gave Nanda a poison which deprived him of the use of his limbs; hence Upananda became king in his stead. After a short time, however, he repented and by a new drug restored his brother's health and gave his kingdom back to him; he honoured a Pratyekabuddha and then died together with the chaplain; later he was born as prince Śibi and the chaplain as

a Pratyekabuddha, but because they had caused Nanda's disease in their former lives, they were both afflicted with the same infirmity.<sup>209)</sup>

This avadāna is represented on the left of the central image; beginning from below, the principal scenes show Śibi's palace and sick people flocking to it; inside the prince is distributing medicines; above, the drug which will save the king is being prepared, further up, on the left margin, the drug is offered to the Pratyekabuddha; to the right, Upananda's intrigue with the chaplain; still further above, their repentance and Nanda's return to the throne. Almost on the extreme left corner above, Brahmadata with both his sons; to the right, the drugs prepared for Nanda.

AVADĀNA n. 86

### STORY OF KAPIÑJALA

In king Brahmadata's times, when all men were extremely just, a hare, a *kapiñjala*, an elephant and a monkey lived in the forest in great friendship. They thought it would be wiser to obey a chief, chose the *kapiñjala* as the oldest of the four and lived in great harmony and mutual respect. Brahmadata, seeing justice and order prevail in his land, though it was all owing to the merit of his own virtues and piety, but the Buddha bereft him of this bold opinion, by revealing the virtues of the four animals to him. The *kapiñjala* became in course of time Śākyamuni, the hare Śāriputra, the monkey Maudgalyāyana and the elephant Ānanda.<sup>210)</sup>

Above the head of the central image is represented the preaching Buddha, on high; to the left, the four animals mentioned in the story.

AVADĀNA n. 87

### STORY OF PADMAKA

In Śrāvastī a son was born to Mānasa (*Yid ces*), called Padmaka (*Paḍ mo can*). Grown in years and finding no pleasure in the world, he sought refuge in the order and

took vows. Having gone to beg in Mathurā, he happened to enter a courtesan's house; she fell madly in love with him and tempted him with wily words. Padmaka was not allured and fled, leaving his alms. But the harlot begged a witch to use her magic arts to touch the young ascetic's heart: the witch caused a fire to burn in front of him and commanded him to give way to love, or to leap into the flames. Padmaka, without a moment's hesitation, was about to plunge into the fire, but the witch repented and drew him back in time, so that Padmaka easily converted both women and went with them to the Buddha, to hear his peace-giving word.

The Buddha, solicited by his monks, told them stories of his past lives: in the Buddha Kāśyapa's times there was a merchant called Mitra (*bṣes gñen*) who took vows with his two wives. The latter once used hard words to the other nuns and for that sin were reborn one as a witch and the other as a courtesan. Mitra was Śākyamuni.

As to Padmaka, in another life he had been Puṣpasena (*Me tog sde*), who used to give flowers to anyone he met; once he offered them to a Pratyekabuddha and was therefore born again with the same kind disposition.<sup>211)</sup>

The story unfolds on the right side, and begins immediately above the story of Madhurasvara: first the legend of Puṣpasena is outlined, then proceeding upwards, Padmaka in his parents' house; he takes vows, meets the courtesan, the ordeal by fire, the two women's conversion and, on the upper right-hand corner, the Buddha's sermon; to the left, above, Mitra's story in the times of the Buddha Kāśyapa.

TANKA n. 89 – XXV left, 10 (Plate 125).

AVADĀNA n. 88

### STORY OF CITRA

In Bimbisāra's court an officer named Citra (*Nag pa*) was in charge of the elephants. Still young in years, he took vows and adopted

an ascetic's life. Having come back to his native city to beg, he went to his former home and was joyfully received by his wife. Wishing to recall him to his early ties of affection, she tried first of all to see if his mind were completely detached from all worldly objects: while bringing him his food, she dropped a plate; he was immediately roused and asked her what the noise was. She thus perceived that his spirit was not entirely at peace.

"When a man is troubled merely by the noise of a dish, what cannot be done with him, distracted as he is by his senses?," (16).

The woman then began to complain that she was forlorn and almost a slave to her servants; one of them, instructed by her beforehand, made a show of striking her. Citra sprang up and ran for a sword to kill the insolent fellow; restrained in time, he gave up asceticism and came back to family life and to his former office at court. The monks informed the Buddha of Citra's backsliding; the saint spoke to him and so touched his heart that he became an arhat.

Then the Buddha told him his past history. Because in a former life he had devoutly worshipped a Pratyekabuddha, he had become an arhat, but in another life he had been Hariśikha (*aP'rog rtse*), one of the two sons of Haridrāyaṇa (*aP'rog byed*), king Brahma-datta's chaplain. When the king left on a military expedition, he had ordered his daughter to take care of Hariśikha, an ascetic who was the country's glory. The two young people nevertheless fell in love. The king came back and honoured Hariśikha greatly, but in the midst of the ceremony he saw him betray his passion by a sudden gesture. Incensed with wrath, he was pacified by his daughter's prompt interference; Hariśikha's brother came flying through the air, reminded him of his previous vow and restored him to the path of sanctity. Hariśikha was then Citra and his brother was Śākyamuni.<sup>212)</sup>

The story unfolds on the lower part of the tanka from the right; Citra is seen in the

palace occupied with his office; to the left his family life, and further to the left, the sermon and conversion; underneath, in two scenes, his homecoming, his meeting with his wife, the servant's feigned blows, Citra's married life resumed; to the left the monks inform the Buddha; Citra is taken to the Buddha and hears him preach; Citra becomes an arhat. Above, briefly outlined, Hariśikha's story, his brother's arrival through the air and Citra's homage to the Pratyekabuddha.

AVADĀNA n. 89

### STORY OF DHARMARUCI

Once, while the Buddha was in the Jetavana, some merchants sailed for distant seas, in search of new riches. On their way back they suddenly saw an enormous monster appear in the sea; the boat was about to be swallowed into the gulf of his huge throat. The merchants invoked the Buddha, whose name pacified the monster; they reached their country safely, offered the Buddha their treasures and became arhats. As to the monster, he vowed to abstain from taking the life of any living being; in a short time he died of hunger and was born again in Śrāvastī as a Brahman's son. Grown in years, he took vows, and assumed the name of Dharmaruci (*C'os sred*). But he was always tormented by an insatiable hunger; once he was invited and ate up all the food prepared for the whole community, so that the host, fearing that he was an ogre in a monk's form, ran to tell the Buddha. The latter reassured him, took Dharmaruci with him and brought him through the air to the shores of the ocean, where the bones of the monster he had been in his previous incarnation lay like a huge white mountain. Dharmaruci became an arhat and in the presence of the assembled monks the Buddha recalled his preceding life, under so enigmatic a form that the monks understood nothing and only Dharmaruci knew what he meant. Then the Buddha told other preceding incarnations

of Dharmaruci's. In the times of the Buddha Kṣemaṅkara, lived a merchant called Dharmasīla, who built a stūpa in the Buddha's honour. The Jainas opposed its construction, therefore the king put an officer at Dharmasīla's disposal, to protect the workmen and keep off the heretics. The merchant took the vow to become a Buddha, and the officer to be one of his hearers. Dharmaruci was the officer and Dharmasīla was the Buddha.

In another cosmic era, Dīpa (*Mar me*) king of Dīpavati (*Mar me can*) greatly honoured the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, and sent messengers to Vāsava (*Nor lhai bu*) King of Benares, inviting him to come and to homage to the saint. After a great sacrifice had been offered, the tutelary deity announced to Vāsava that two ascetics, Sumati (*Blo gros bzah*) and Mati (*Blo gros*) were about to arrive, and ordered him to load Sumati with gifts. When the two saints came, Vāsava obeyed the divinity's order and would have given Sumati his daughter. Sumati refused, but the maiden had fallen in love with him. Being rejected, she went to Dīpavati, to offer flowers to the gods. As to Sumati, he gave his master the money he had received from the king and made ten dreams; an ascetic advised him to have them explained by the Buddha and so Sumati also went to Dīpavati. The city was decorated with flowers in expectation of the Buddha's arrival, but the maiden could not find a single flower to buy. Through Sumati's merits, some lotus flowers had grown in a garden; she bought them secretly, inducing the gardener to disregard the orders of the king, who was keeping all the flowers for the celebrations in the Buddha's honour. The maiden took the flowers, put them in a vase and went with the others to meet the Śākya saint. On the way, she came upon Sumati, who perceiving by his mystic powers that she was hiding flowers in her vase, asked her for a lotus to offer the Buddha. The maiden reminded him of their previous





FIG. 118



meeting and gave him the flower, on condition that he promise to become her husband in a future existence. Sumati consented and they went together to honour the Buddha. When they came into his presence, they both dropped flowers upon him, and Sumati bent down, undid his hair, which was tied up after the fashion of ascetics and spread it out for the Buddha to step on. Sumati's top-knot, mysteriously cut off, was lifted up to heaven, and the Buddha prophesied that Sumati would become Śākyamuni. Those present built a stūpa on the spot. Mati became envious of the honour conferred upon Sumati, but the maiden, who had taken vows with him, pacified him. Sumati was reborn as Śākyamuni, while Mati, by reason of his envy went to Hell. He was Dharmaruci.

Still another time, Aśvadatta (*rTas byin*), son of a rich merchant named Candanadatta (*Tsan dan byin*) lived in the times of the Buddha Krakucchanda. His father, sailing for distant seas, had left him to his mother's care; the latter, still very young and burning with sensual passion, asked her old nurse how she might gratify her appetites. The nurse advised her to seduce her own son: such a passion would never be disclosed outside the home. The woman consented and, through the nurse's intrigues, secretly met her son every night; he was told that a girl lay with him, who would not disclose her identity. Finally the mother revealed herself and Aśvadatta, little by little, was convinced by her arguments and her passion; so they lived together, and when his father came back, they poisoned him. Then they collected their riches and fled to another country, where they lived as husband and wife; one day a monk recognized them and Aśvadatta, fearing that his secret and his crime would be disclosed, killed the monk. Next the mother found another lover and Aśvadatta murdered her also. Expelled from the city, he wandered about, a prey to remorse, vainly attempting to be admitted into the order: for this reason, blinded

by anger, he set fire to a convent, causing the death of a great many monks. Finally a Bodhisattva taught him the formula of prayer "love for the Buddha," and he found peace. At the end of his life, he went to Hell and was born later as the sea-monster. He was Dharmaruci.<sup>213)</sup>

The story is represented on the left and above. It begins under the image of the Buddha, with a picture of Śākyamuni preaching; Dharmaruci's presence is suggested by the great quantity of collected food; above Dharmaruci's birth, his conversion, the meal prepared for the community and eaten by him alone; still further up, the merchants saved from the monster go to the Buddha and become arhats. Above, navigation and the sea-monster's appearance; the Buddha showing Dharmaruci the bones of his preceding incarnation. Still further up, to the right, the monks preparing to depart; above, to the left, the building of the stūpa and the officer charged with its protection. In the centre, above, Aśvadatta's story briefly represented by the image of the Buddha, telling it to the monks, and the inscription (in sNar t'añ wood-cut): *c'os sred kyis sñon rgyud gsuñs pa* "narrative of Dharmaruci's ancient adventures,". Underneath, a little to the right, Sumati and Mati at Vāsava's court.

AVADĀNA n. 90

### STORY OF DHANIKA

While the Buddha was meditating in Vaiśālī near the Lake of the Monkey, the citizens made a pact: the whole city would invite and honour him; if anyone invited him on his own initiative, he would be expelled from Vaiśālī. A rich merchant called Dhanika (*Nor can*), who knew nothing about the compact, invited the Buddha to his house; Śākyamuni accepted, and when the citizens came to bring him their invitation, he declined, being already engaged with Dhanika. The Buddha was sumptuously entertained by

Dhanika and his family and the citizens themselves, becoming convinced of his good faith, forgave him; Dhanika then went to the Buddha, heard his word and was saved.

Answering the monks' questions, Śākya-muni told them that in ancient times there was a gardener; during a great famine, coming back with his family from the king's palace, where he used to go every day to take flowers, he saw a Pratyekabuddha under a tree. The gardener and his family were so poor that they had only one dress, which they put on by turns when they went to the king; they only possession, they offered to the Pratyekabuddha. The gardener was Dhanika.<sup>214)</sup>

The avadāna is represented on the right; it begins at the height of the central figure's shoulders: the monks gathered round Śākya-muni; preparations for the banquet in Vaiśālī; above, Dhanika's invitation; the Buddha in Dhanika's house; in several pictures, still further up, the story of the gardener who honoured the Buddha.

#### AVADĀNA n. 91

#### STORY OF ŚIBI

In Benares the Buddha listened with pleasure to the edifying conversation of those monks who, purified by his preaching, had become arhats. He told them how in a preceding existence, when he was prince of Śibi, he had been equally devoted to good deeds; astonished by his virtues, Indra wished to put him to the proof and, appearing before him in the form of an ogre, he recited the first part of a verse in praise of virtue. The prince begged him to tell him the second part too, but Indra refused, rejecting the presents he was offered in exchange for the stanza: an ogre only needs fresh blood. Śibi then offered him his own body and on this condition the ogre told him the second part of the verse. While his body was being torn asunder according to the compact, he expressed the desire that all created beings might profit by

his sacrifice; hence, through the magic force of truth and the sincerity of his sacrifice, he got back his body unscathed.<sup>215)</sup>

Below, to the right, under the central figure, the Buddha in Benares telling Śibi's story to the assembled monks; underneath, the prince intent on distributing gifts; on the palace terrace the meeting with the ogre.

TANKA n. 90-XXVI left, 11 (Plate 126).

#### AVADĀNA n. 92

#### STORY OF MAITRAKANYAKA

In a sermon delivered in Benares, the Buddha recommended his hearers to love their parents and recalled the sufferings he had been obliged to endure because, in another life, he had been disrespectful to his mother. He was then Maitrakanyaka (*mDsa' poi bu mo*), the son of a merchant who, having gone to sea, had never come back to his country. His mother, fearing the same evil destiny might deprive her of her son, forbade Maitrakanyaka to follow his father's example. Maitrakanyaka provided for his mother by doing business in a small way until, grown in years, he decided to sail at any coast and, as his mother objected, he was vexed with her insistence and rudely shook her off. He went to sea, suffered shipwreck and was thrown by the storm on an island; in his wanderings he got to the city of Ramaṇaka (*rTse dga'*) where he met some fairies (*Apsaras*) and enjoyed their love for a long time. They admonished him not to leave the city and not to go southward, but Maitrakanyaka, yielding to curiosity, left Ramaṇaka and successively visiting the cities of Sadāmatta (*rTag tu myos*), Nandana (*dGa' byed*), Brahmottara (*Ts'ans pai mc'og*) he came at last to a fortress walled about with iron. As soon as he stood in front of its gate, the gate was miraculously opened; he entered and saw a man undergoing dreadful tortures: over his head a sharp-edged wheel revolved, and streams of blood issued from the horrible

gash. Maitrakanyaka was informed that the victim was atoning for wrongs done to his mother during his life, and that his punishment would last until another sinner came to take his place. Maitrakanyaka was frightened and wanted to flee, but a voice from the sky ordered that the culprit should be set free and the newcomer put in his place. The torment was to last 60,000 years; Maitrakanyaka, knowing that other sinners would replace him, was moved to pity for them and took the vow that the horrible wheel should batter his own head only. Then the wheel miraculously stopped and he was born again among the gods. Maitrakanyaka was the Buddha.<sup>216)</sup>

On the left side of the tanka: above, the Buddha telling his story; Maitrakanyaka at home; he prepares to depart; he strikes his mother who falls on the floor in front of the door; the voyage; some of the countries where Maitrakanyaka, in various palaces, enjoys the delights of love; he is born again as a god.

#### AVADĀNA n. 93

### STORY OF SUMĀGADHĀ

Anāthapiṇḍada asked the Buddha if he should give in marriage to Vṛṣabhadatta (*K'yu ni'og byin*) his daughter Sumāgadhā (*Ma ga dha bzan mo*), a zealous votary of the Buddha's. The latter gave his approval and Sumāgadhā started for Puṇḍravardhana, to join her bridegroom. One day her mother-in-law told her to get ready to receive some Jaina monks who were about to arrive. They came and Sumāgadhā, seeing them naked and fat, was much annoyed. Her mother-in-law asked her who it was that she used to honour in her home, and Sumāgadhā was loud in the Buddha's praise, and described him with such enthusiasm that the mother-in-law desired to see him. Sumāgadhā then, inflamed with faith, turned towards Śrāvastī and prayed earnestly to the Buddha; she dedicated to him a necklace of flowers, which, flying through the air, fell at his feet. The

Buddha then told Ānanda that the monks must get ready for the following day, as he had decided to go with them to Puṇḍravardhana by air. On this occasion Pūrṇa became an arhat. Sumāgadhā meanwhile, on the veranda of her house, was anxiously expecting the arrival of the Buddha and of his disciples; when they began to appear one by one, she pointed them out to her parents-in-law; at last the Buddha appeared with great splendour; honoured by Sumāgadhā, he told them through what merits, acquired in her preceding lives, the young woman had now obtained such a favour. In Benares lived the princess Kañcanamālā (*gSer ap'reñ can*), a zealous devotee of the Buddha Kāśyapa, who had been born wearing a marvellous necklace. Her father had dreams which he believed to be evil and his wicked counsellors, hating the princess, urged him to sacrifice the person most dear to him. But Kañcanamālā induced her father to go to Kāśyapa, who revealed the true meaning of his dreams: they foretold the future triumph of the Law. In another life Sumāgadhā had done homage to a stūpa, and through this merit she had been born wearing a precious necklace.<sup>217)</sup>

The avadāna is represented on the right side of the tanka. Almost on a level with the seat on which the central image is resting, Sumāgadhā in her father-in-law's house; preparations for the arrival of the Jainas; the Jainas worshipped; above, in the centre, the arhats arriving by air while Sumāgadhā, on the terrace, points out to her parents-in-law the various masters; inside the palace, the Buddha preaching; under the lotus of the central figure, briefly outlined in a few small pictures, the stūpa worshipped and Kañcanamālā's story.

#### AVADĀNA n. 94

### STORY OF YAŚOMITRA

Yaśomitra (*Grags pai bñes gñen*), the son of a merchant in Śrāvastī, took vows and soon became an arhat; purest water always



FIG. 119



flowed from his teeth, so that he never suffered thirst. The monks asked the Buddha the reason of this prodigy and Śākyamuni told Sundaraka's (*mDses pa*) story: he had taken vows and become an arhat in Kāśyapa's times and, owing to his past sins, he was always tormented by an unquenchable thirst. But as soon as he offered water to the Buddha, the curse was extinguished and, owing to this gift he was born again as Yaśomitra.

The avadāna is represented on the lower right-hand side; above, near the scene of the preceding avadāna, Sundaraka taking vows with Kāśyapa; the offering of water to that same Buddha; Yaśomitra's home life; below, in the corner, Yaśomitra with his parents; to the left, he meets the Buddha and is admitted into the order.

AVADĀNA n. 95

### THE STORY OF THE TIGER

A merchant named Arthadatta (*Don byin*) lived in Rājagṛha; on his death he left two sons who were brought up by their mother; at a loss how to provide for them, she taught the boys to steal. Having grown in years and in guilt, one day they were sentenced to death with their mother, but at the foot of the scaffold they were pardoned through the Buddha's intercession and became monks. Questioned by his monks, Śākyamuni told them that the two thieves had also been saved by him in former lives: their mother was then a tiger who, pressed by hunger, was about to devour her cubs; a Bodhisattva then offered himself to the tiger, if she would spare their lives. That Bodhisattva was the Buddha.<sup>218)</sup>

The story is represented on the lower left side. Beginning from above, the mother induced to steal; in the left corner the theft of some oxen; above, the scene of the execution; freed by the Buddha, the two thieves take vows. Higher up, on the left, the tiger's story.

TANKA n. 91-XXVII left, 11 (Plate 126).

AVADĀNA n. 96

### STORY OF THE ELEPHANT

One day, while King Udayana's women were disporting themselves in the garden, five hundred ascetics suddenly arrived by surprise and saw them. The king, furious that the privacy of his harem should have been intruded upon, condemned them to be cut to pieces, but the Buddha arrived and saved them. This had also happened in past times, he said, when king Brahmadata had sent 500 wicked councillors into exile. They wandered in the wilderness, about to die of thirst, but were saved by an elephant who brought them water with his trunk. The elephant was Śākyamuni.<sup>219)</sup>

The avadāna is represented in the lower left-hand corner of the tanka: under the lotus of the central figure, king Udayana's women go to meet the ascetics; further up, to the right, the king's anger and the Buddha's intervention; below, the Buddha preaching to the ascetics, who take vows; in the corner the king and his women; above, the older story: the elephant carrying water, the elephant's death and the stūpa built over his remains.

TANKA n. 91-XXVII left, 12 (Plate 127).

AVADĀNA n. 97

### STORY OF THE TORTOISE

When the Buddha was in Rājagṛha, Devadatta despatched some armed ascetics to murder him, but the Buddha protected himself by means of a magic spell and the ascetics, won by such a miracle, were converted and became arhats. In a former life, the Buddha said, they had been merchants in Benares, and when about to be drowned, they had been saved by the Buddha, who was then a huge tortoise. But when they landed on the beach, the merchants tried to kill the tortoise



and eat it. The tortoise, withdrawing into its shell, was safe for a long time, but at last it felt pity for the starving men, and freely offered itself to them. Later the merchants took vows with the Buddha Kāśyapa.<sup>220)</sup>

On the right side of the central figure, Devadatta's interview with the ascetics; ascetics and demons assaulting the Buddha; their conversion; underneath the older story: the merchants sailing; their voyage; they are saved by the tortoise; the tortoise withdrawing into its shell; death of the tortoise.

AVADĀNA n. 98

### STORY OF THE ASCETIC

During a famine the Mallas came to the Buddha, heard his word, took vows and became arhats. Seeing them thus honoured, the citizens were vexed, but the king heard about their miracles and the power they had of passing through the air from one continent to the other and held them in great reverence. The Buddha told how, in past eras, he had been an ascetic who had converted the Mallas; through this conversion they had become arhats, but because in former lives they had spoken insulting words, they had been born into a contemptible caste.

In the upper part, beginning from the right, the Mallas' conversion; above, they are flying from one continent to another; near the scene of the preaching, their conversion at the hands of an ascetic; to the left, the king's interview with the citizens, next the offering to a monk who represents the Mallas as arhats.

AVADĀNA n. 99

### STORY OF PADMAKA

Once in Śrāvastī the Buddha healed some sick monks and told them how, in a past life, he had been king Padmaka (*Pad ma can*). A great plague broke out and a high mortality among the population ensued. Physicians said that the fish *robhita* was the only cure for this

disease, but as the fish could not be caught in any river, Padmaka, taking the vow to be born again as a *robhita*, jumped from the palace tower. Immediately reborn as a *robhita*, he was able to save his subjects.

Above, to the left, the Buddha preaching to the monks who had been healed, below Padmaka's palace; he takes counsel of his ministers and monks; the plague; Padmaka born again as a *robhita*.

TANKA n. 92—XXVIII left, 13 (Plate 128).

AVADĀNA n. 100

### STORY OF PUNYAPRABHĀSA

When the Buddha was living in the Jetavana, king Prasenajit asked him when he had for the first time conceived the thought of enlightenment: Śākyamuni answered that in remote eras he had been king Prabhāsa (*Rab gsal*); one day the officer in charge of the elephants told him that one of his best elephants had come back, after running off into the woods in the rutting season. Punyaprabhāsa then asked if any passion is known to exist, which does not burn with a sensual fever, and the officer answered that such a passion is the one which leads to enlightenment. From that moment king Punyaprabhāsa took the vow to become a Buddha.<sup>221)</sup>

On the right side, below: the elephant's return; above, the Buddha telling Prabhāsa's story; above this, the scene of the furious elephant.

AVADĀNA n. 101

### STORY OF ŚYĀMAKA

When Śuddhodana died, the Buddha returned to Kapilavastu, his native city, and built a stūpa over his father's remains, honouring his memory. The monks asked whether it was just that the Buddha, detached from the world, should still be touched by affection, and Śākyamuni answered that parents must

STORY OF PRIYAPIṆḌA

be honoured by all, even by the Buddha. In another life, he said, he had been Śyāmāka (*sÑo bsans can*); his parents, having become blind, had retired into the woods, and Śyāmāka, refusing office at court, followed them and cared for them. As he was living with them in the hermitage, he went one day to draw water from the river, but he was mortally wounded by an arrow: king Brahmadatta, seeing a figure move behind the branches, had taken it for a gazelle and shot at it. Śyāmāka, serenely dying, did not curse the king, but recommended him to take the water to his thirsty parents at once. The king, in anguish, begged the old couple's forgiveness and took them where Śyāmāka's corpse lay. They invoked his pity, and Indra, as a proof of Śyāmāka's sincerity resuscitated him. Śyāmāka was the Buddha.<sup>222)</sup>

Under the central image, the Buddha near his father's great stūpa, to which other people are offering gifts. Brahmadata in his palace; higher up, on the left margin, Śyāmāka is killed; the king's sorrow; Indra appears in the midst of a cloud; Śyāmāka resuscitated; higher up, Brahmadata announces his death to his parents.

STORY OF THE LION

After the Buddha had converted Indra and Bimbisāra, he told the monks an ancient tale: once upon a time there were three merchants, who crossed the seas, eager for gain; on their way back, a huge dragon barred their path; they invoked the gods, and a lion, hearing their moans, ran to their help and, pouncing upon the dragon, killed it but was himself burnt up by its fiery breath. The merchants, having thus been saved, built a stūpa over his remains. That lion was Śākyamuni.<sup>223)</sup>

The scene unfolds above, to the left: the Buddha preaching to Indra and Bimbisāra; above, the fight between the lion and the dragon; the building of the stūpa.

For the monks' edification, the Buddha one day told of a good deed he had done in one of his past lives, when he had been born as the son of king Vajracāṇḍa (*rDo rje gtum po*) and of Rohiṇī (*sNar ma*) daughter of king Meru (*Lhun po*), whom Vajracāṇḍa had vanquished in battle. He grew up so wise and generous that he deserved the name of Priyapiṇḍa (*dGa' bai goñ bu*), and everyone loved him. Having become king, a wicked minister named Durmati (*Blo nan*) wrote to Meru, stirring up memories of his former defeat and urging him to get even with his enemy; Priyapiṇḍa, rather than involve his kingdom in a war, went to Meru with the object of pacifying him and Meru, having seen a miraculous necklace, which by divine favour hung on Priyapiṇḍa's neck, actually repented and made peace. Thus an ancient karma had matured, when a Brahman named Mūlika (*rTsa ba can*) had offered medicine to a Pratyekabuddha and sheltered him under his parasol. Priyapiṇḍa was Śākyamuni and Durmati was Devadatta.

Still to the right, near the preceding scene, an elephant and a horse, with seated personages, allude to the rape of Meru's daughter. Then Priyapiṇḍa in his palace, distributing treasures to Meru's soldiers, the Pratyekabuddha's episode; exactly above the central figure, the Buddha telling the story.

TANKA n. 93 - XXIX left, 14 (Plate 129).

STORY OF THE HARE

Haṃsa (*Nan pa*) became an arhat after many hardships, as he had never succeeded in detaching his thoughts from life; the Buddha, answering his monks who wished to know the cause of such an attachment to worldly objects, told them his disciple's ancient karma.

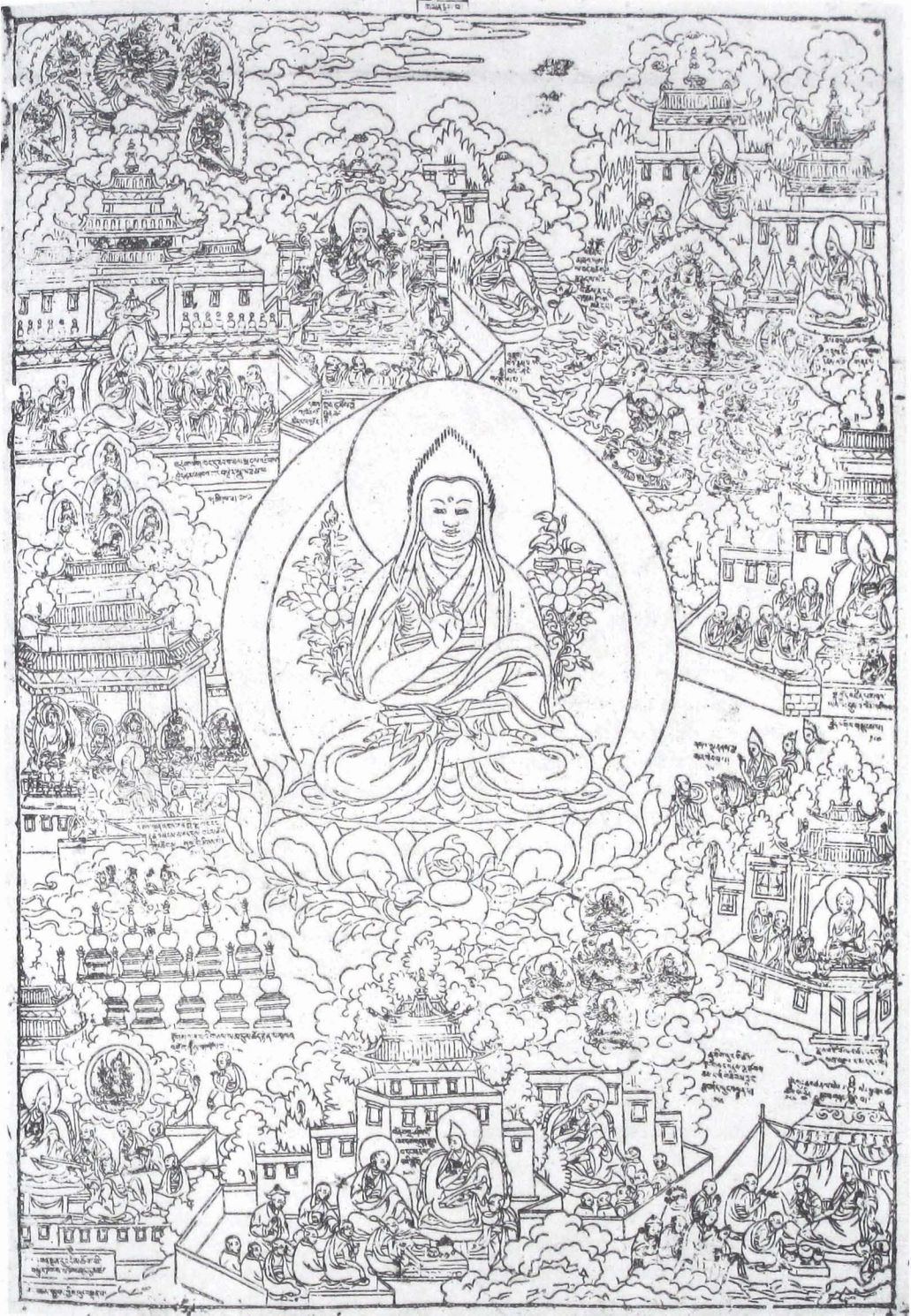


FIG. 120

Once an ascetic named Suvrata (*brTul žugs bžan*) lived in the woods; a talking hare followed him everywhere. A great drought broke out and life in the woods became difficult. Then Suvrata thought he would return to his village, but the hare advised him not to do so, saying she had rather jump into the fire than follow him on worldly paths. Suvrata repented and remained in his hermitage; a miraculous rain fell on the forest and quenched its thirst. Suvrata was Hamsa and the hare was the Buddha.<sup>224)</sup>

In the centre, below, the ascetic in a hut; near him the hare; the hare leaps into the fire and the ascetic tries to catch her.

#### AVADĀNA n. 105

#### STORY OF RAIVATAKA

Raivataka (*Rai va ta ka*) was a Kashmiri monk who lived in a hermitage; one day, while he was dyeing his clothes in a cauldron, a Brahman named Piśuna (*P'ra ma can*), seeking for his lost calves, came to him armed with a spade. As a consequence of wicked deeds done in a preceding existence by Raivataka, the dyed garments had assumed the appearance of meat and blood, so that Piśuna was sure he had found the thief, while Raivataka, certain of being the victim of evil arts, let the Brahman lead him unresisting to the king, who cast him in prison and forgot him there for twelve years. In the meantime Piśuna had found his calves, but said nothing to the king. One day the latter was awakened by a voice from heaven, he remembered Raivataka, acknowledged his innocence and set him free, regretting he had punished him so unjustly.

“Punishment falls on the just, when the king is at fault,, (30).

This had happened because in a preceding life Raivataka had been a cattle-thief; the herdsmen ran after him, but to put them off his tracks he had thrown shreds of meat at the feet of a Pratyekabuddha, so that the herdsmen,

supposing him to be guilty, had put him in prison and kept him there twelve days.<sup>225)</sup>

The avadāna is represented on the left side, below; the meeting of the Brahman with Raivataka; the monk dyeing his clothes; miraculous transformation of the clothes; the monk beaten; above, the monk is led into the King's presence; again below, the king apologizing for his error; monks flying through the air; above, the story of the slandered Pratyekabuddha.

#### AVADĀNA n. 106

#### STORY OF KANAKAVARMAN

In the town of Kanakavatī (*gSer can*) king Kanaka (*gSer*) had a son and a daughter Kanakavarman (*gSer gyi go c'a*) and Kanakaprabhā (*gSer 'od*). A minister's son fell in love with Kanakaprabhā and became her lover; the king was furious and condemned them both to death, but Kanakavarman, moved to pity, saved them both and his father sent him into exile. After long wanderings, one day he found his sister among the ruins of the city where she had taken refuge: demons had forced the population to flee. Kanakavarman vanquished the demons and destroyed them, all but one who made his submission. He got the citizens to come back, was elected king and ruled wisely, with his brother-in-law as minister. His father, being informed of his son's heroic courage and mercy, called him back and proclaimed him his heir. Kanakavarman was the Buddha.

Above the preceding story, to the left: below, the Buddha telling his monks his birth as Kanakavarman; above, to the right, the king and queen; to the left, the king orders Kanakavarman to have the minister's son killed; passing to the right, above the Buddha's head, the culprits, taken to the place of execution, are saved by Kanakavarman; the abandoned city; the yakṣas slain; returning to the left, on the upper margin, the sister and brother-in-law restored to the



throne; beneath, the seven gems, symbolizing kingship; Kanakavarman conversing with his minister in the royal palace.

AVADĀNA n. 107

### STORY OF ŚUDDHODANA

A rich merchant, called Śuddhodana, lived in Benares; he was a close friend of the king. One day, having gone to the royal palace, he heard a very fine maxim sung by the king's daughter and insisted that she should tell him another; the princess consented, on condition that he give her his treasures: to the king's great wonder, he accepted the pact. Śuddhodana was then the Buddha.

To the left of the image, Śuddhodana collects his treasures; lower down, the Buddha tells the story to the monks; below, in two more scenes, Śuddhodana's house, to which beggars flock; to the left, in various pictures, his friendship with the king and the gift of a necklace in exchange for a maxim.

TANKA n. 94 - XXX left, 15 (Plate 130).

AVADĀNA n. 108

### STORY OF JĪMŪTAVĀHANA

Jīmūtavāhana (*sPrin gyi bžon*) was the wise son of Jīmūtakeṭu (*sPrin gyi tog*) king of the Vidyādhara; his father, on becoming an ascetic, gave into his son's keeping, among other things, the heavenly tree which confers upon men all they good things they may desire. But Jīmūtavāhana could not live away from his father and followed him into the forest; the divine tree then returned to paradise. One day, by a spring of water, Jīmūtavāhana saw a divinely beautiful maiden and it was revealed to him that she was the king of the Siddha's daughter. The two young people fell in love; while they were talking an old man arrived, looking for the maiden, whom her father wished to give in marriage. Jīmūtavāhana, left alone with his love thoughts

was comforted by a friend, who announced that his marriage would soon take place. The wedding day approached, and in the Siddhas' city great festivities were celebrated, pending the arrival of the Vidyādhara's prince; he arrived on a celestial chariot and the nuptials immediately took place with great pomp. Six days later, in the forest, Jīmūtavāhana heard the piteous moan of a serpent, lamenting his son's approaching sacrifice: he was to be offered as a victim to a Garuḍa, according to an ancient custom. Jīmūtavāhana then decided to ransom the nāga by the sacrifice of his own life and having obtained by a pretext the red bands the victim was to wear, he went to the top of the mountain. The Garuḍa, flying in broad circles, pounced from the sky, tore Jīmūtavāhana to pieces with his claws and snatched the gem from his head. Jīmūtakeṭu, who had remained in the forest with his wife and daughter-in-law, was deeply grieved by his son's delay, being aware that on that same day the Garuḍa would descend; his trouble was much greater when the gem which had decked his son's head fell at his feet. He ran anxiously to the mountain, and got there just in time to hear the story of his son's sacrifice from the dying Jīmūtavāhana himself and from the serpent he had saved. The Garuḍa repented and swore to renounce forever the victims he had claimed up to that moment; meanwhile Jīmūtavāhana gave up his last breath and his wife prepared to die on his pyre, praying to be joined to her husband in their future life. But at that moment Pārvatī appeared and restored Jīmūtavāhana to life; the latter asked that the serpents killed by the Garuḍa in the past should also be revived. Jīmūtavāhana was Śākyamuni.<sup>226)</sup>

The scene is represented in the last tanka of the cycle; the scenes follow one another without an exact order. So, for instance, under the central image Jīmūtavāhana is seen going to the mountain on his coach; the scene of the meeting with his bride is on the right, on one side of the central image's head; here



is also represented the goddess Gaurī being propitiated; then Jīmūtavāhana and his bride. Going back to the left, near the first scene, we see the heavenly tree, from which all sorts of treasures are falling; underneath, the distribution of the treasures and the deity of the heavenly tree; Jīmūtakeṭu with his wife and son; still further above, to the left, the wedding celebrations, and to the right, in the palace, Jīmūtavāhana with his bride and attendants; to the left of the tanka, in two huts, Jīmūtavāhana's parents are preparing what is required for the wedding; underneath, processions of servants approaching the scene which represents the wedding, carrying gifts. In the square to the right, above, the bride ready to ascend the pyre; lamentations upon the corpse; Jīmūtavāhana revived, and in various scenes, the Garuḍa pouncing on the serpent, Jīmūtavāhana's interview with the serpent, the Garuḍa killing Jīmūtavāhana.

Underneath, after the scenes of the adoration of Gaurī, the Buddha telling the story to the monks.

Below, to the right, the donors of the pictures; above all the other figures towers that of Jambhala, the god of wealth, near whom are seated, in an adoring attitude, the two principal donors, a lama and a layman, followed by relatives and servants. The offerings are arranged in front of the god; according to the inscriptions, which can be read with great difficulty, the two princes are respectively called ṅGyur med ye šes ts'e brtan and ṅGyur med rnam rgyal rdo rje whom we already had the occasion to mention.

#### TANKA n. 95 (Plate 131).

This tanka belongs to a parallel series of the Buddha's preceding lives—not so ample and rich in episodes as the sNar t'an's series, illustrated above. In this tanka are represented the Buddha's sacrifice of his life, to save a tiger's cubs, which their hungry mother was about to devour, and the Viśvāntara Jātaka.

On the left of the central figure, near its head:

1. *stag mo krems nas spru k'u (for p'ru gu) rnams za bar brtsams byañ sems pa (for dpa') des sñiñ rje k'ro ... te stag moi ṅdun (for mdun) du bor te lus byin.*
2. *p'o brañ la rgyal bžugs pa.*
3. *rgyal k'ri... pa ci adod keyi... pa bter (for ster).*
4. *rgya byin ḡdan ts'ig (for bden ts'ig) rjod (for brjod) te spyan liar (for snar) ltar sos pa.*
5. *nor bu ts'ogs sbyin pa gter (for ster) pa.*
6. *rgya byin keyi[s] bram ze rgan mo sprul te, spyan loñ pa la sbyin...*
7. *gnod byin bžis ri dags la sprul te šin rta grañs (for drañs) pa.*
8. *dei ḡñen pa rgyal p'ran žig t'os nas bram ze žig rgan po de nañ (for btañ ?).*
9. *ḡlañ... bram ze ter... (for ster).*
10. *rgyal po de sbyin pa mi rig pa yab keyi[s] gtañ te yul.*
11. *šin rta kyañ bram ze la sbyin.*
12. *ris nas lugs (?)... stegs byin pai bžis... ts'ul sras dañ bcas te rna (for sna) ts'ogs keyi.*
13. *ri bo bañ grai nags sleb du rgya byin gyis šin k'añ sprul te bžugs pa bram ze žig gi[s] sras ḡñis ḡloñs pa sras laḡ ḡñis ḡgis (sic) ciñs te k'rid.*
14. *bram ze i... rab tu byuñ ba c'uñ ma.*
15. *btsun mo no... sleb nas... k'or te sras ḡñis min pas mya ñan gyi rgyal ba rgyal ba nas... drag pos loḡs su rgyud.*
16. *bram ze i gyon gyi btsun mo bzuñ te gyas pas... p'yag...*
17. *sems dpa' c'uñ mas nags... ṅdod dañ... p'yir.*
18. *ts'oñ ḡpon bka' t'ub bšad pai (for pas ?) c'uñ ma mya ñan gyi non pa.*
19. *ts'oñ ḡpon bka' t'ub la nags su c'os...*
20. *..... rgyal poi druñ du p'ebš c'uñ mai ma p'yin nas bu mo k'yim.*
21. *ka (for bka') t'ub la gžugs.*
22. *bstan la ... la gžugs mi sred la c'os bšruñs ts'ul.*
23. *bram ze yab yum sras.*

1. A hungry tiger about to eat her cubs: the bodhisattva, out of compassion, approaching the tiger offers her his own body.

2. The king in his palace stands.



FIG. 121

3. On the royal throne, what they desire he gives.
4. rGya byin, as he had sworn on the truth, restores the eye to him as a reward.
5. Riches he gives.
6. rGya byin transforms himself into an old Brahman, and (Viśvantara) gives a blind man his eyes.<sup>227)</sup>
7. Four gNod sbyin, transformed into gazelles, draw his chariot.
8. A petty rival king, having heard this (sends) an old Brahman.
9. The elephant to the Brahman (he gives).
10. Because the king believes that it is not right to give it, his father sends him into exile.
11. Also the chariot to the Brahman he gives.
12. Together with his son ... many ...
13. When he got to the forest of mount Bañ gra,<sup>228)</sup> rGya byin caused a wooden hut to appear; a Brahman who was in it asked for his two sons, and having bound them, led them away.
14. Of the brahman ... the wife as a novice.
15. His wife... arrived; because her sons were not there, she fainted away because of her sorrow; from hers swoon (being recovered) ... aside.
16. The Brahman with his left hand his wife takes, and with the right ... the hand ...
17. The bodhisattva's wife in the forest, because of the desire ...
18. When the merchant speaks of his penances his wife by grief is overcome.
19. The merchant for penances in the forest ... the Law.
20. ... having gone to the king, his wife's mother arrived ... the daughter in the house.

21. Performs asceticism.
22. Living in ... he observed the Law, free from desire.
23. A couple of Brahmans, a son.  
(Underneath Maitreya's figure, in the centre, above).  
"Ma p'am pa' miraculously born, does homage,,."

TANKA n. 96 (Plate 132).

It represents a *dGe lugs ts'ogs žiñ*, that is the world of the *dGe lugs pa* congregation.<sup>229)</sup> In the centre towers Śākyamuni in *bhūmi-sparśamudrā*; above, in the centre Ts'e dpag med from whom revelation proceeds through Atīśa, represented under him, between two disciples. Next, Tsoñ k'a pa and his two pupils. Below, in the centre, a Jigs byed between two forms of the mGon po, the *yi dam* of the Yellow Sect; on each margin, rNam t'os sras and dPal ldan lha mo: around, choirs of saints and masters unfold, whose identification cannot be ventured upon, as there are no inscriptions. Clearly the painter has wished to represent the *sampradāyas*, the various spiritual currents which, proceeding either from some revelations of the Buddha himself (as in the upper right-hand corner) or from those of other masters, are all finally gathered together and find a common outlet in the *dGe lugs pa* school.

This picture then is an abbreviated modulation of an artistic type whose other, more complex forms, are known to us: for instance the tables in the frontispiece of GNB or the more widespread type well represented by nn. 50-51 of the present collection.

# TIBETAN "SETTECENTO", VARIOUS SCHOOLS

TANKA n. 97 (Plate N).

This is an extremely delicate miniature, representing an ascetic: his white apparel shows him to be a *ras pa*, a *grub t'ob* of the bKa' brgyud pa school, one of those who have become experienced in the exercise called *gtum mo* (yoga practices producing voluntary hyperpyresis) and wear white robes. This ascetic is seated on an antelope's skin, according to the Indian yogins' custom. One might think of *Mi la ras pa*, but such an identification is ruled out, because the latter is regularly represented with his right hand on a level with his ear, in the attitude of one singing.

TANKA n. 98 (Plate 133).

This painting, though unaccompanied by any inscription, is not difficult to interpret: the person seated on the throne, wearing rich draperies, carries on his right hand lotus flowers and on his left a *cakra*, the wheel symbolizing royal rank; he has a diadem on his head. He can only be Sroñ btsan sgam po, the founder of Tibet's historical dynasty. Tradition considers him an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara; he is a fresh manifestation, in the Country of Snows of the "Great merciful," who, in the dawn of history, became its spiritual patron by getting himself incarnated into an ape with the intention of leading one day to salvation the beings who might be born of his union with the cruel witch, who before his epiphany ruled over Tibet. For this reason, in the upper right-hand corner of the tanka, sPyan ras gzigs' eleven-headed figure appears: precisely to represent by a symbol this relation between the two

manifestations, embodiments of the same divine essence. In front of sPyan ras gzigs there is the figure of an Arhat; in the background, in front of the king, a large landscape of Lhasa, or rather of its temples, unfolds; this is an allusion to the first construction of Lhasa's shrines, ordered by the king immediately after his conversion. He was converted, it is well known, by his two wives, the Chinese and the Nepalese; hagiography considers them two incarnations of sGrol ma, the green and the white Tārā; they are seen on each side of the throne. Below, between two figures of deities, the picture of a divinity which I am unable to determine.

Although the pictorial representation is reduced to its essential elements, there seems to be no doubt that, in the present case also, the artist has taken literary tradition for his starting-point; of course his literary source can only have been the *Ma ni bka' abum*, attributed precisely to Sroñ btsan sgam po; not only does it relate the king's legend, but it states his quintessential identity with Tibet's protecting god: sPyan ras gzigs.

TANKA n. 99 (Plates 134, O).

rDo rje ac'añ towers in the centre of the tanka - he is of a dark blue colour. He is the symbol of the supreme Being from whom all emanates: in his hands he clasps the rdo rje and the bell, well known symbols of Tantric gnosis. Above, on each side, two coupled figures, many-armed and many-headed, Kyai rdo rje and bDe mc'og. The most remarkable part of the tanka is the lower one, where the donors are represented, all in the typical costumes of Eastern Tibet and precisely of Mi ñag; they form an extremely lively picture, in which accurate design is joined to bright colours.



TANKA n. 100 (Plate P).

This tanka is very difficult to interpret: in the centre Lhai rgyal po, the king of the gods, is seated on a richly wrought throne, draped in kingly robes, a diadem on his head. Around him personages and episodes arranged in the following order beginning above, on the left: *rgyal po bde mc'og* / king bDe mc'og; bDe mc'og is the usual translation of Śamvara, a well-defined Tantric cycle, which has nothing to do with this figure.

In the halo: *sgrol ma ral gri gnañ pa*, "sGrol ma presenting a sword"; in the centre a figure in monastic apparel / *Señ ges* (sic) *sgron* / above: *dge sloñ bde ster*, "the monk bDe ster".

Below a hunter chasing an antelope, in the act of shooting an arrow: *rgyal po spyod med* "king sPyod med", and above the inscription: *t'og babs spyod med sdig las bzlog pa*. "A falling thunderbolt restrains (king) sPyod med from committing a sin".

Below the king of Tibet: *Mu k'ri bzañ po*.

Still below: *sPrul pai dge sloñ* / in the lower right-hand corner: *rañ lus gcan spyañ byin pa* "he gives his own body to wolves and beasts of prey".

The figure of the monk immediately following represents *dGe ʼadun ʼap'el*. In the centre of the tanka, the figure of an ogre, with eyes all over his body: ..... *steñ gdoñ btul ba* / ... *steñ gdoñ's* submission.

The figure in the left-hand corner represents: *p'o riñ ra dsa grags*, "the famous king of P'o riñ", and near him, in the interior of a house: *p'rul pai dge sloñ*: "the miraculous monk".

Above, the images of two young men: *kun tu bzañ po dañ spyan ras gzigs keyi sprul pai k'yeu gñis*, "two boys, incarnation of Kun tu bzañ po's and sPyan ras gzigs".

Above, a lion, a tiger and a snake. *klui ts'o ʼp'rul stag señ lto agro byuñ pa*: "the klu's miracle, a tiger, a lion and a serpent appearing". Still above, among the leafy branches, a parrot ... *ne ts'o ... smra* "the parrot speaks".

The meaning of this tanka can partly be made clear by comparing it with a chapter in the works of Kloñ rdol bla ma, the *Miñ gi grañs* which we have quoted several times in the course of this book. It gives a list of the Dalai Lama's past incarnations, beginning from sPyan ras gzigs.<sup>230</sup>

We have already seen, in the section on literary history, that the first attempt at reconstructing the spiritual pre-history of the Yellow Sect's supreme dignitaries is to be found in a work by Blon bzañ rgya mts'o: Kloñ rdol bla ma's booklet is the point of arrival; there is evidently an intermediate version from which Kloñ rdol bla ma has drawn his list, but this is not known to me; in it the legendary biographies of these incarnations were probably related at length. In the tanka we find records of: *Lo sgyu ma sprul pa šes pa lha yi rgyal po* (= N. 33) in the centre; *rGyal po bde mc'og* (= N. 22); *P'o riñ ra dsa* (= N. 26); *dGe ʼadun ʼap'el* (= N. 24); *Señ ge sgra* (= N. 21).

TANKA n. 101 (Plate 135).

It represents the celestial image of sGrol ma, seated on the symbolical lotus rising from the waters; on each side, according to the rule, 'Od zer can ma and Ral gcig ma, the former pacified and the latter with an angry mien. The divine pagoda lifts up its gilded roofs and is multiplied in galleries and pavilions of a Chinese design. In the interior of the palace mC'od pai lha mos play and sing in the goddesses' honour. Below, in the centre, the seven gems of the Caktavartin; to the left a man relaxed as if in illness and great suffering, leans back against a wall; a lion furiously rushing, an elephant, the same man in an adoring attitude; to the right a dragon in the midst of a turmoil of clouds. Thus are represented the eight perils from which the goddess saves those who invoke her earnestly and devoutly, according to the directions of famous litanies (see tanka n. 36).

Above, to the right, *rDo rje ʼajigs byed*, to the left *gSañ ba ʼadus pa* and *bDe mc'og*.



TANKA n. 102 (Plate 136).

Its subject is again sGrol ma, Tārā, the goddess of salvation. She is seated on a lotus, wearing rich draperies. As her colour is green, the picture clearly represents Khadī-ravaṇī Tārā, whom the Tibetans call sGrol ljañ as well, that is “green Tārā,.. Under the image is written in Tibetan and in Mongol:

*Namo ārya ta ra ye / ap’ags spyan ras gzigs dbaṅ p’yug t’ugs rje gter la p’yag ts’al lo / om rje btsun ap’ags ma sGrol ma la p’yag ts’al lo.*

“Honour to Ārya-tārā; honour to sPyan ras gzigs dbaṅ p’yug, treasure of mercy. Honour to the noble Tārā,..”

On each side of the goddess stand two figures; according to the inscriptions, also in Tibetan and in Mongol, which accompany them, they are ‘Od zer can, (Māricī)<sup>231)</sup> on the right and Ral gcig ma (Ekajātā) near whom are seen eight mC’od pai lha mos, holding fly-whisks and carrying gifts. Below, in the centre, aP’ags pa spyan ras gzigs; to the right Lha gcig Sroñ btsan sgam po and on the left aJig rten dbaṅ p’yug. Above, in the centre, aJam mgon Tsoñ k’a pa c’en po, T’ams cad mk’yen pa mk’as grub rgya ts’o and Pañ c’en bsTan pai ñi ma, who died in 1854. This date then is the *terminus post quem* of the tanka, which nevertheless follows the noblest artistic traditions of Tibetan painting. Although the tanka has been bought in Nepal, it is clear that it comes from some locality in Mongolia or in Tibet on the frontier of Mongolia.

TANKA n. 103 (Plate 137).

In a heavenly vimāna sits a female deity, wearing a crown of skulls; round her waist a band from which hang human heads freshly severed. She has eight arms, which bear the khatvāṅga, the skull-cap, *damaru*, and the *gri gu*, the trident and the noose, all symbols of the terrific deities, but the two principal hands have the same posture as those of sGrol dkar, and she is seated in the same

way as this goddess. For this reason there seems to be no doubt that this figure must be recognized as one of the many manifestations of sGrol ma, the goddess of salvation. I have not been able to ascertain which.

TANKA n. 104 (Plate 138).

A master rÑin ma pa, surrounded by lesser figures of personages, almost all belonging to the same school.

Above, in the centre, aJam dpal; on his left Žabs druñ<sup>232)</sup> and Padmasambhava, to the right other masters; only the last one’s inscription is legible: Sā kya c’en.

Below, rDo rje bdud ajom, K’ri sroñ lde btsan, then to the right, one under the other, three more figures: the first one’s inscription is illegible, the other two read: Gu ru C’os kyi dbaṅ p’yug and Gu ru C’os dbaṅ: to the right; C’os rgyal ral pa (can); bDe legs and Ñi ma ‘od. In the last row only the inscription belonging to the first figure on the left is legible: bKra sis stobs rgyas.<sup>233)</sup>

The central figure remains unidentified.

TANKA n. 105 (Plate 139).

In the centre of a circle of masters, a female deity of a dark blue colour is seated and violently shakes a tambourine in her right hand, while in the left she holds a skull-cap. On her left shoulder rests the *khatvāṅga*. The symbols, there is no doubt about it, show that the deity is a mK’a agro ma; it is difficult to say which. Above, as a symbol of the spiritual plane whose emanation she is, rDo rje ač’añ.

TANKA n. 106 (Plate 140).

It represents a lama on a throne in *vitarka mudrā*; above him an Indian master; on the edge the view of a great monastery at the foot of a mountain. The cap leaves no doubt that he belongs to the aBrug pa school; nothing more definite can be said.

TANKA n. 107 (Plate 141).

Padmasambhava according to traditional iconography. Above, two masters. Below mGon po p'yag gñis pa and mK'a agro ma señ ge gdoñ ma.<sup>234)</sup>

TANKAS nn. 108-112 (Plates 142-146).

These are dedicated to Padmasambhava (cfr. n. 33). Tanka n. 108, according to what we read from the remains of an inscription traced on the back, is the first of a series of twelve, only six of whom have come into my possession. The inscription tells us that the 12 tanka were painted by order of Kun dga' rnam rgyal, a merchant of mK'ar,<sup>235)</sup> with the object of reproducing the Buddhas of the past present and future surrounded by the arhats and Padmasambhava's eight aspects, on the base of the PTY; the monk who, at the moment of consecration, wrote the inscription on the back was called Pad mai miñ can:

*mk'ar ts'ön dpon kun dga' rnam rgyal gyi(s) dus gsum sañs rgyas la gnas bcus bskor ba dan slob dpon c'en po nits'an brgyad la t'an yig ltar rnam t'ar rgyas pas skor bai bris t'an bcu gñis žens pai skabs rgyab byañ bu rig pa adsin pa pad mai miñ can gyi(s) bris pa.*<sup>236)</sup>

Although the tanka are twelve, they are particularly dedicated to the Master's eight fundamental aspects, of which, in the six tankas of this collection, only the following four appear: Pad ma dbañ p'yug, Ņi ma 'od zer, Pa dma sam bha va, Sā kya señ ge; the fifth, represents Padmasambhava according to his traditional iconography. What the Master's remaining four aspects and names are, can be read in a famous hymn, extremely popular with the rŅiñ ma pa schools, contained in the PTY (p. 88): Pad mai rgyal po, rDo rje gro lod who is in tanka n. 112 under the central figure, Señ ge sgra sgrogs, Blo ldan mc'og sred.

The narrative begins from the top of tanka n. 108, with the five divine emanations of Amitābha's spirit. In the ancient age, when king bZañ mc'og reigned on earth, Amitābha,

although he remained in the bDe ba can heaven, projected on a lotus, miraculously born by his will in the centre of the milky ocean ('o ma can gyi mts'o) five of his emanations, which were the origin of the five mystical families called by the rŅiñ pa school: t'od ap'reñ rigs lña "the five mystical families crowned with skulls",

They also symbolize the five gnoses we have already mentioned. The scenes on the tanka follow the order of the chapters of the PTY summarized in the hymn I have translated; to explain the tanka we have only to read the inscriptions, which declare each episode. Leaving aside the central figure, which represents Padmasambhava according to traditional iconography and on each side of whom are kneeling his two wives, Lha lcam and mTs'o rgyal, let us pass to the lesser pictures. In the centre of the tanka, above, Ts'e dpag med sits enthroned in the bDe ba can heaven, easily identified by the figure of a lama, reborn in his presence upon a lotus (see tanka n. 33); the god is accompanied on each side by the two usual Bodhisattvas.

The inscription needs no commentary: dan(po) (bde ba) can nas sañs rgyas ts'e dpag med t'ugs keyi sprul.

"Above all, T'se dpag med's spiritual emanation (projected) from the bDe ba can, To the left the five mystical families' miraculous birth: five Buddhas seated on lotuses sprung from the milky sea:

*t'od ap'reñ rigs lña 'o ma can kyī mts'or ltams pa,* "the birth of the five mystical families, crowned with skulls, from the milky ocean," (chapp. I-II, stanza 5 of the hymn).

Still further to the left, on the extreme margin of the tanka, king bZañ po mc'og in his palace.

Underneath, the king with his retinue in front of five divine children who are taken to the royal palace on a chariot drawn by lions: t'od ap'reñ rigs lña groñ du spyān adreñ ba "the five mystical families crowned with skulls are taken into the city",

Here ends the second chapter of the PTY. Turning back, above, to the right, under Am itābha's figure, are represented Padmasambhava's manifold manifestations in various worlds and among different kinds of creatures, told in the third chapter of the PTY (stanza 6) as follows:

Master of the Gods, Lhai gu ru gSer t'ub  
ādsin;

Master of Men, Mii gu ru Šā kya señ ge;

Master of the Asura, Lha min gu ru  
rNam par rgyal;

Master of the Preta, Yi dags gu ru rNam  
snañ byañ;

Master of Infernal beings, dMyal bai gu ru  
rNam par gnon;

Master of Animals, Byol soñ gu ru Señ  
rab brtan.

Coming back to the right of the central figure, a scene follows in which a god is seen speaking with four personages seated in front of him: the inscription is almost illegible: (*rnam*) *par snañ byed...* "Vairocana,,; it very probably alludes to the birth of the five Buddhas, see chap. IV of the PTY.

The figure of a monk is seen immediately underneath; the inscription: *t'ub dka' gžon nu dañ t'ar nag skyes rgyud* shows that this figure introduces a new narrative, the one concerning T'ub dka' and T'ar nag, told in the 5th and 6th chapters of the PTY (stanza 7).

Once upon a time there was an ascetic, T'ub dka' gžon nu, famous for his wisdom and virtue. Kau kun dkris and his servant Brahmadeva addressed themselves to him to receive instruction in the Law. Having taken vows, one was named T'ar nag and the other Dan p'ag. The latter fully understood the hidden meaning of the doctrines and was able to follow the rules; the other, led astray by his self-conceit, broke the precepts and sunk to the extreme depths of evil. He expelled T'ub dka' gžon nu and became tainted with all kinds of sin; at the end of his earthly life he was hurled into Hell and successively migrated through an endless series of lives.

At last he was incarnated as Rudra, who at the head of his invincible army of demons, forced his rule on the world. But by the Buddha's will, T'ub dka' gžon nu and Dan p'ag, having assumed the form of a horse and of a boar, obliged the evil one to sue for grace and to make his submission.

The story, outlined on the right of the central figure, continues on the left with the following scenes.

*Ru tra skyes ts'ul*, "Rudra's birth,,; Rudra issuing from his mother's body, while three persons, three ogres, are looking on. (PTY, chap. VI).

*rTa p'ag gñis kyi(s) ru tra btul ts'ul*: "Rudra's submission at the hands of the horse and the boar,, that is, as we have seen above, of two monks who had been incarnated in those forms. Then Rudra is seen crushed by the mountains in whose caves he had sought refuge; he is dominated by a terrific deity whose head shows a horse's muzzle: this is rTa mgrin, alias the monk T'ub dka' gžon nu. The inscriptions runs: "*Ru tra sgral ba*, the crushing of Rudra,,. To the left the demon's blue figure, which seems to come out of the ground: *ma ro dur k'rod nams par skyes ba*, "He is born destroying the cemetery and his mother's corpse,, because the people, terrified by evil omens, had buried him with his mother, and he fed on her corpse until, having grown up by eating her flesh, he issued from the tomb to accomplish the havoc he had planned.

Immediately underneath "*btul ma*,,: "the conversion,,; an ogre is seen going with open arms towards a demon, on whose head is a boar's muzzle: this is Dan p'ag's incarnation.

Turning again to the right we see Padmasambhava's upbringing in his last incarnation; the episodes related in chapp. VII-XVIII are omitted. The child is seen respectfully kneeling in front of a master seated in a small shrine: *smān la sbyañ ba*, "he learns medicine,, (PTY, chap. XXIV).

*Sgra dañ yi ge la sbyañ ba*, "he learns grammar and writing,, (PTY, chap. XXV).

*sdsa* (= *rdsa*) *la sbyañ ba*, "he learns the potter's art", (PTY, chap. XXV).

*rtsis la sbyañ ba*, "he learns astrology", (PTY, chap. XXIV).

A little further to the left, on the axis of the tanka:

*dur k'rod bsil ba ts'al*, "the cemetery bSil ba ts'al",

bSil ba ts'al is the name of a cemetery near Bodhgayā, founded by Nandikeśvara; the latter is seen on the extreme edge of the tanka, riding on a lion. In this cemetery Padmasambhava performed terrible acts of asceticism: he fed on corpses, he converted the Dākiṇī and obtained great power to work miracles. This scene then precedes the others, and corresponds to chap. XXII of the PTY. The scenes which follow on the right are accompanied by the inscription: *sans rgyas ston la dbaṅ bskur žus ts'ul* "he asks the thousand Buddhas for initiation",. This scene refers to the taking of religious vows; there is another step backwards, as the story is told in chap. VII.

Tanka n. 109 immediately follows the preceding: the centre is occupied by the figure of another aspect of Padmasambhava: that of rig ḍsin mc'og sprul pai sku bskal bzaṅ Pad ma dbaṅ p'yug. Underneath is painted the figure of gNod sbyin rtsiu dmar po. Above, the highest manifestation of Truth, miraculously revealed to him, from which Padmasambhava learnt the secrets of the doctrine, that is the blue Kun tu bzaṅ po (chap. XXX); in the centre the white rDo rje sems dpa' (chap. XXX), to the right Kun tu ḅc'aṅ du gyur pa, Kun tu bzaṅ po (chap. XXXII) embracing his Śakti. To the spectator's left then begins a representation of the principal cemeteries where, according to the legend, Padmasambhava spent many years, meditating and attaining that power to work miracles which enabled him to rule over the forces operating in the cosmos. I have spoken at length about these cemeteries elsewhere, and it would be a needless repetition to go back

to them and to their meaning in the liturgy and mysticism of Buddhist esoterism; they are a sign of the corruption of everything born, and at the same time the symbol of victory over the attachment to life, and therefore they signify the uprooting of the eight kinds of consciousness, which represent a tie between ourselves and the world and keep us bound to the world.<sup>237</sup>)

They are always marked by a stūpa, a tree, a serpent, a lake, a mountain, each of which naturally has, according to the case, different names and aspects.

1. Dur k'rod bde ba can brdal (PTY, chap. XXX) in Kashmir.

2. Sku la rdsogs pai dur k'rod (PTY, chap. XXIX) in Baiddha, Videha.

3. dGa' bai ts'ul gyi dur k'rod (PTY, chap. XXXVIII).

4. Lo ka brtsegs pai dur k'rod, in Khotan (PTY, chap. XXXIII).

5. gSaṅ c'en rol pa (?) (PTY, chap. XXXIV) in Sā la.

Passing to the right:

6. Pad ma brtsegs near Oḍḍiyāna (PTY, chap. XXXIII, p. 145).

7. La (ṅka?) brtsegs pai dur k'rod near Za hor (PTY, chap. XXXIII, p. 141).

8. Lhun grub brtsegs pai dur k'rod, in Nepal (PTY, chap. XXXI, p. 139).

In the lower corner, to the left of the spectator, is a monk shaving a person who kneels in front of him: *Kun dga' la(s) rab tu byuṅ ba* "he is consecrated by Ānanda",. Here is recalled the story, summarized confusedly by PTY, chap. XXVII ff., according to which Padmasambhava, in the Buddha Śākyamuni's times, was no other than the Bodhisattva Sumitra, who received his initiation from Ānanda. A little above we see Padmasambhava kneeling in front of a master seated in a cave: this is, as we read in the inscription, his meeting with Prabhāstīn, which happened in Brag dmar bya skyibs ts'al (XXVII), although the name of this place is not found in the text. A little further

to the right, surrounded by purple clouds, a blue deity in front of whom Padmasambhava is kneeling:

*sprin adus pai dur k'rod du bde ba bzañ skyoñ,*  
“(apparition of) bDe ba bzañ skyoñ in the cemetery of sPrin adus pa ,,,

On that occasion a god thus named, who was a manifestation of Vajrapāṇi, revealed to the miracle-worker the Tantra of the most secret class, that is, of the Anuttarayoga.

In the last pictures to the right, figures of masters and deities, inside temples or houses: the first scene is not difficult to interpret: *rtse p'ruḷ rin c'en sgañ du dga' rab rdo rje dan' ajal ba* “The meeting with Lalitavajra in rTse p'ruḷ rin c'en sgañ ,,, This meeting is described in the PTY, chap. XXXII, from p. 142. The other scene immediately following leaves me in doubt.

In the tanka n. 110 the central figure represents Padmasambhava, no longer in his usual attitude as a miracle-worker, but according to the type of the Indian ācārya, the skull-cap in his left hand; his right hand in the mudrā of protection. Immediately underneath, seated on an extremely rich throne, another of his hypostases, namely Padma rgyal po.

The first scene above, to the left of the spectator represents an ascetic seated in a cave; he clasps a knife in his right hand; in front of him a demon appears among the flames, holding in his hand a skull-cap full of blood; higher up, a monk in an adoring attitude; the inscription explains: *šan pai groñ k'yer sdig c'en* “the city of executioners, called sDig c'en ,, (in the mss. of the PTY, *sdig can*); the picture therefore refers to the PTY, chap. XXXVI, in which is related how Padmasambhava, in the city of executioners, converted its inhabitants by adapting himself to their ways and pretending to lead, like them, a life of sin.

Proceeding to the right, Padmasambhava in a cave, speaking to four persons who are kneeling in front of him. As we read in the inscription: *Ya' ri goñ gi brag p'ug,* the

scene refers to the story related in the PTY, chap. XLV: how in one of his past lives he had spent twelve years in that cave in meditation, waited upon and venerated by king Nu ša ru pa. The wild beasts around him were about to die of hunger and as their karma had not matured and Hell would have swallowed them, he began to think out a way of saving them, and perceived that Nu ša ru pa's daughter, a reincarnation of king gTsug lag adsin, could accomplish the miracle; he sent for her, told her about the destiny which was in store for those wild beasts and induced her to sacrifice herself by predicting to her a new birth in Tibet as king Sroñ btsan sgam po. This episode related in the same chapter of the PTY, is represented in the following scene:

*man de bzañ mos lus sbyin par pa:* “Mande bzañ mo gives up her own body ,,, In the scene immediately to the left we see the master in front of an altar on which a maṇḍala appears; near the altar a kneeling person: *brag p'ug mā ra ti kar ts'ei dños grub sñed pa,* “In the cave of Maratika, in the rocky caverns, he obtained Ts'e's mystical realizations ,,, This alludes to the revelation he once had of Amitāyuh and of his mystical wisdom (PTY, chap. XLIV).

The scene painted on the right of the central image takes us back to other evocations: we see there a figure, in an adoring attitude, in front of the master: *ko ša tsan dan gliñ du dños grub sñed pa:* “he attains mystical realizations in the cave of Kośacandanadvīpa ,,, Kośacandana is in Nepal: in this place Vajrapāṇi appeared to Padmasambhava (PTY, chap. LIV). The picture which follows below is larger: inside a temple two kneeling figures on each side of the Buddha's image. The inscription reads:

*rdo rje gdan du bde mc'og dus sñiñ gi rgyal po klui k'yab ajuḡ btul ba,* “king Klui k'yab ajuḡ mc'og's submission at the hands of bDe mc'og dus sñiñ in Bodhgayā ,,,

The episode is related in the PTY, chap. LII, which says that, as Padmasambhava



did not wish to overcome himself the cruel king Klui k'yab ajug, who reigned in Bodhgayā, protecting heretics and persecuting Buddhism, he made use of De mc'og dus sñiñ po, who had miraculously arrived, of a Brahman's daughter and of a fish. That god easily prevailed over the king, while the city of Bodhgayā was destroyed by a fire, which is represented in the lower left-hand corner of the tanka.

To the left of the central figure is represented, summarily, K'ri sroñ lde btsan's invitation to the master to come to Tibet. In the first picture Padmasambhava, seated in the temple, receives four personages, who kneel before him: they are the four messengers sent by the Tibetan king with the proposal that he should come to the Country of Snows. The inscription reads:

*rgya gar rdo rje gdan du bod kyī ban c'en bži žu brten p'ul ba* "In Bodhgayā in India four Tibetan messengers bring him the invitation,,. Padmasambhava is then seen after his arrival in Nepal, taking leave of the messengers whom he sends on before him: "*bal yul p'ebś nas ban c'en rnams sñon la (btañ) ba* ,, , as it is told in the PTY, chap. LIX.

Next his arrival in Guñ t'añ of Mañ yul is represented, and his meeting with another three messengers, namely dPal rtsegs, rDo rje bdud ajomś and Klui rgyal mts'an. The scene represented in the right corner should precede the latter, because it refers to an event which happened in Nepal near lake Ņi ma k'ud, when the miraculous saint was joined by another seven messengers the king of Tibet had sent him (PTY, chap. LIX, p. 243).

*Bal yul Ņi ma k'ud du rgyal poi žog mi bdun dan ajal ba*, "In Nepal, near Ņi ma k'ud he meets another seven of the king's men, who repeat the invitation to him,,. Padmasambhava's coming to Tibet represents, according to Tibetan tradition, which is far from truthful, Buddhism's final triumph in the Country of Snows. Its miracle-working powers destroyed, expelled or converted

the fiendish forces which had prevailed there unopposed. Padmasambhava, on his arrival in Tibet, immediately waged war without quarter against the Bon po religion. His fight against the Bon po is certain, that he succeeded in overcoming them and spreading Buddhism throughout the country is quite another thing: it would be nearer the truth to say that finally the two religions came to an unspoken understanding: Bon was coloured with a tinge of Buddhism and Buddhism did not scorn to receive into its pantheon and its liturgy Bon po rites and deities.

Whatever Padmasambhava's action may have been, it is certain that it never succeeded in supplanting the ancient faith, which a century and a half after his departure was so strong, that it prevailed again, also in the political field. But in K'ri sroñ lde btsan's time there was strife and it was bitter; its memory survives in Padmasambhava's legend which, evidently exaggerating, assigns to the wizard an absolute and final victory over the genii, ghosts and fiends who ruled Tibet and Tibetan consciences before the advent of Buddhism.

Tanka n. III recalls the most important events in this religious triumph: the deity occupying the centre is always Padmasambhava, in the aspect called Ņi ma 'od zer: solar light. He is not represented in a terrific manner, but in the likeness of a Grub t'ob (*śiddha*). The figure immediately underneath represents, as the inscription says, Señ ge sgra sgrog, an exorcistic form of Padmasambhava. Tradition is not in complete agreement on this aspect of his: some sources, like the PTY say that he assumed that name after the penances he had sustained in the Lhun grub rtsegs cemetery in Nepal; others, like the biography of the RC (p. 13 and following) state that he received the name in Benares when, with the Dākinī's help, he succeeded in overcoming the heretics who meant to silence the Buddhist masters with their logical arguments and to convert them by force to their faith.

Beginning above, on the left, the scenes are in the following order:

1. *mañ yul guñ t'añ la mk'ar p'eb's pa*, "arrival in La mk'ar in Guñ t'añ in the country of Mañ yul,,"

Guñ t'añ is the name of highlands in the province of Mañ yul, on the frontier between Tibet and Nepal. La mk'ar, the castle on the pass, is a place-name, (see PTY, chap. LIX, RC, p. 21 a).

2. *Žaň žuň đgra bya*: according to the RC this should be *đgra bla*, a local deity called Mu tsa med, who wanted to crush Padmasambhava between two mountains as he was passing through their gorges with K'ri sroñ lde btsan's messengers; he stopped the rocks with his staff, and the divinity was converted and took the name of Yum c'en rdo rje gyu bun ma.

In the painting we see the divinity kneeling, while Padmasambhava towers above her, in the act of performing the exorcism with a rdo rje (RC, p. 21 a, PTY, chap. LX).

3. *Gaňs đkar řa med*. Padmasambhava is represented in the act of overcoming by the power of his spells a deity plunged into a lake on whom he has flung the vajra.

The deity, elsewhere, (PTY, chap. LX, RC, p. 21 a-b) is called: (*gaňs đkar*) gNam sman đkar mo<sup>238</sup>) and it is told that while the master was crossing gNam t'añ in the North, she had planned to strike him with a thunderbolt, but Padmasambhava, knowing her purpose, escaped the ambush and, retaliating, forced her to seek refuge in lake dPal mo dpal mts'o, which, in obedience to the wizard, began to boil, and the divinity's flesh was separated from her bones; next Padmasambhava deprived her of an eye, she then declared herself repentant and was converted, assuming the name of řa med gaňs đkar rdo rje spyang gcig ma.

The story then continues again on the left of the central image: Padmasambhava is represented in the act of exorcising twelve female figures, who turn to him, six on each side, imploringly, with clasped hands.

The inscription reads: *brtan bcu gñis btul* "he converts the twelve brTan ma,, malignant deities of ancient Tibetan mythology who were transferred to Buddhism and assumed the character of protectors of the Law and guardians of oaths. The PTY, chap. LX and the RC, p. 21 b relate that while the Master was passing beyond the 'O yug district, they had plotted to crush him under the huge rocks where they lived, but Padmasambhava caused the mountains to collapse, so that the brTan ma, vanquished and crushed turned in repentance to the miracle-worker and became the bKa' sruñ of Buddhism. The small picture which follows a little lower down bears the inscription *yar lha gřam bu*; this is the name of a god who assumed the shape of a terrible and vicious white yak and was conquered by Padmasambhava (PTY, chap. LX; RC, p. 22 b) with a leash and a magic chain. We now pass to the left side of the image; a large serpent uncoils threateningly while lower down a kneeling person offers Padmasambhava a dish full of gifts. The inscription says: *t'añ lha btul ba*, "submission of T'añ lha,,", told by the PTY, chap. LX, immediately after the tale we have just summarized (cf. RC, p. 22 a).

In the latter work the demon is called gÑan c'en t'añ lha, and is considered an incarnation of the yakřa Zur p'ud lña, Pañcika. Underneath we see an ogre in the act of rushing against the Master, who brandishing his vajra resolutely moves towards him; next, a small kneeling figure represents the same demon, who humbly asks forgiveness and is converted. The episode here represented then follows the one just related (PTY, chap. LX; RC, p. 22 a); the inscription entitles it: *tiñ t'iñ lo sman btul ba* "Tiñ t'iñ lo sman's submission,,. Tiñ t'iñ lo sman, together with sTag sman zor gdoñ ma and Byañ p'ug ma, were three deities of the frozen Northern winds; they had planned to freeze the master to death, but Padmasambhava, by a fire he had miraculously caused to blaze up, melted the snowy

mountains on which those fiends lived and forced them to submit (PTY, chap. LX).

The scenes which follow immediately below do not seem to be arranged according to a fixed order and are all related, more or less at length, in the literary sources: in the lower corner on the spectator's right we find the bTsan's submission, which happened in K'al brag (RC, p. 22 b), the submission of Ma sañs gya' spañs skyes lying on the ground at the feet of the master, who is touching him with a staff; the submission of the P'o rgyud and of the Mo rgyud; T'eu bran's submission.

It is therefore clear that this tanka is dedicated to the conversions of Tibetan demons, accomplished by Padmasambhava when he came from Nepal to Tibet. The representation is strictly founded on chap. 60 of the PTY. In the centre of tanka n. 112 towers the image of Śā kya señ ge, another of Padmasambhava's manifestations. Below rDo rje gro lod, riding a lion. All around are represented the main events of the master's residence in Tibet.

On the top of tanka 112, Padmasambhava touching a rock with his staff and water miraculously issuing from it. This recalls the prodigy that happened in gŽon: the spring retained the name of "divine water". The inscription is clear: *gŽon lha c'u* "divine water in gŽon". Still on the right a great temple, with three figures seated in the centre: in the middle Padmasambhava, on his right another master, Śāntarakṣita; on the left K'ri sroñ lde btsan. The inscription is largely erased: [*bsam yas mi*] *agyur lhun (grub) gtsug lag k'añ rab gnas mdsad*, "the consecration... chapel of Mi gyur lhun grub in bSam yas...". Underneath is seen Padmasambhava in the act of seizing the vajra and the magic dagger (*p'ur bu*) while four figures are kneeling round him asking for grace: *bas po rir lha adre la bka' bsgo mdsad pa*, "The order given to gods and ghosts in Has po ri". The scene then represents the miracle-worker's injunction to all the gods of Tibet, to protect and defend the new law he

had introduced, and particularly the temple of bSam yas (chap. LXII, p. 257).

Then we see a number of stūpas in a line, whose meaning is clear when we read the inscription: *sdig śags mc'od brten* (sic), "the stūpa built in expiation of sin". Of course this alludes to the stūpa erected by king K'ri sroñ lde btsan when he repented of his hesitation in doing homage to the master he had invited to Tibet and bent his knees only when the saint conquered him by the majesty of his power (chap. LXII of the PTY). We must now pass to the other side of Śā kya señ ge's figure to find an episode preceding the one we have recalled, which indeed was its cause: on a level with Śā kya señ ge's right shoulder Padmasambhava is seen, accompanied by his retinue: in front of him richly dressed personages bow and offer gifts, as the inscription says: *lo hi ta agram du rgyal po dan ajal ba* "meeting with the king on the banks of the Lohita", that is, the Brahmaputra, where, according to the legend, Padmasambhava and K'ri sroñ lde btsan are said to have met for the first time (PTY, chap. LXI). In the picture immediately above we see a convent and near the edge of the painting two lamas are sunk in meditation, seated in two caves; the inscription is illegible.

Above, in a temple, the images of three Buddhas; the inscription is largely erased; one can only read: *lha ldan ra sa k'rag*, "Lhasa, Ra sa and K'ra brug monasteries", which is enough to understand the painter's allusion to the consecration of some leading monasteries, symbolizing the consecration of a hundred chapels, opened at the same time to the Buddhist cult by Padmasambhava, as it is told in the PTY, chap. XCIX.

In most of the remaining small pictures, Padmasambhava is represented meditating in rocky caves, among snowy peaks and near blue water-courses flowing precipitously. Thus the painter has wished to represent the most celebrated localities where Padmasambhava deposited the sacred books that had been

revealed to him, which according to tradition were discovered later in miraculous circumstances by his distant disciples. These are the *gter ma*, the “hidden books”, which form the greater part of the rñin ma pas’ orthodox literature as stated in another part of this book.

To the left of the figures, one near the other, in succession:

mK’ar c’u PTY, p. 373 (381);

Yañ rdsoñ (in the inscription: *rdson*, perhaps Yañ p’ug riñ mo, PTY, p. 373);

Sel brag PTY, p. 373 (385);

Sams bu (šam po) PTY, p. 373;

rDo rje gro bo luñ;

Gau bzañ.

To the right we see:

Mon k’a señ ge rdsoñ (sdsoñ) PTY, pp. 373, 382, 398;

gYa’ ma luñ PTY, p. 392;

Yer pa zla ba p’ug PTY, (p. 375).

To the right, below, figures of the Yon gyi bdag po, that is the person who ordered the tanka and paid for its execution: a sheaf of light descends upon him from the heart of Padmasambhava, who is seated between his divine consorts, in a superb palace, a symbol of his heaven Zañs mdog ri.

#### TANKA n. 113 (Plate 147).

This was bought together with preceding series and is by the same hand, but it does not belong to the series; it represents bDe skyoñ ye šes skyoñ mdsad dbyiñs kyi yum, “mother of the absolute”, the gnosis which, according to a classical definition, by Diñnāga, is at the same time truth ontologically conceived and the revelation of truth. In this picture she is symbolized with four arms, which hold in the right the khaṭvāṅga and the skull-cap, in the left the sword and the curved knife called *gri gug*. She is surrounded by four mK’a’ aḡro ma. All together they compose the cycle of the dByiñs kyi yum lña.<sup>239)</sup> The entire cycle represents the five mystical families.

Above are represented three lamas who can be recognized by their typical cap as masters of the rñin ma pa school. As any inscription is lacking, it would be difficult to identify them.

Below P’yag na rdo rje (ācārya).

#### TANKA n. 114 (Plate 148).

This tanka is dedicated to Kurukullā.

Kurukullā is another of India’s many tribal deities. The fact that some *sādhana* call her Oḍḍiyāṇā-udbhavā, “risen in Uḍḍiyāna”, that another is attributed to In-drabhūti, that among the goddesses of her maṇḍala Vajragāndhārī is found, induces us to think that she may have originated in the North-Western regions of India. Having entered the Vajrayāna pantheon late, she was assimilated to Tārā, and hence some call her the red Tārā. She is particularly invoked in magic operations, to touch the heart of beloved or fear-inspiring persons.

Like Tārā, she also passed into Hinduism; so her name is found among the thousand epithets of the *devī*, see *Lalitāsahasranāma*, Nir-ṇayasāgara ed. fifth Śataka, v. 144. As may be deduced from the *Lalitāstavaratna*, quoted by Bhāskara Rāya, *ibid.*, she was inserted into the symbolology of the *śākta* schools.

The goddess stands dancing on a lotus which blooms in the middle of a mountain landscape, i. e. the Kurukullā mountain. She has four hands like Tārodbhavā and Uḍḍiyāṇa-Kurukullā; in the left she holds the bow and a red lotus flower; the right hand clasps an arrow and pulls the bowstring. She is of a red colour.

Above, a figure of Amītābha, whose incarnation the goddess is considered; on each side the white Tārā and mGon po, six-armed.

Below Uḍḍiyāṇa-Kurukullā, identifiable by her diadem of skulls, dancing on two corpses, Maheśvara’s and Śiva’s; on each side the figures of Saraśvatī and Mañjuśrī.

Putting aside Amitābha's and Kurukullā's images, in the upper and lower part of the tanka we have a group of 5 deities, who remind us of Kurukullā's maṇḍala, made of five gods, very common in Tantric iconography. But while this maṇḍala is easily identifiable and consists of Kurukullā amidst 5 dākini grasping a skull and a knife, (*rje btsun kurukullāi gsañ sgrub lha lñar byin rlabs kyi c'o ga gsal bai sgron me in Grub t'abs kun btus*, vol. ña), I do not find in the liturgical literature to which I have access any record of the group represented on this tanka.

TANKA n. 115 (Plates 149, 150).

It is dedicated to rTa mgrin yab yum, which is its central deity, but it is clear, from the scene represented around it, that in this case rTa mgrin is considered a manifestation of Padmasambhava, whom the rÑin ma pa school places on the same level with the supreme essence of all things. This relation is by no means arbitrary; indeed according to some liturgies rTa mc'og, that is rTa mgrin, is the sambhoga-kāya of the triad; dhar-makāya-Kun tu bzañ po, Samantabhadra, unalterable light, synthesis of all Buddhas; sambhogakāya = rTa mc'og; nirmānakāya = Padmasambhava; see, for instance, *Bla mai rnal abyor sogz bla mai rnal abyor gyi rim pa*, by Blo bzañ bstan pai dbañ p'yug aJam dpal rgya mts'o, vol. Ka, p. 24 b.

The scenes which the painter has represented all around illustrate in a summary manner some moments and aspects of the miracle-worker's life, according to the classical narrative of the PTY (see also tanka n. 33).

1. - Upper left-hand corner:

*Or gyan sman gyi lha dan dbyer med pa.*

"Or gyan (pa) identical with the gods of medicine,,"

2. - Upper right-hand corner:

*Or rgyan mk'a' agro nor lhai ts'ogs dan bcas.*

"Or gyan (pa) together with the mK'a' agro ma and the gods of riches,,"

3. - To the left of the central figure:

*Or gyan dpa' bo [br]gyad dan bcas.*

"Or gyan (pa) together with the eight dpa' bo,,"

4. - On the right:

*Or gyan yi dam lha dan dbyer med.*

"Or gyan (pa) identical with the protecting deities,,"

5. - Under n. 4:

*Dad can agro bai don du gter adon.*

"In the devout creatures' interest he extracts the hidden books,,"

6. - On the left, below:

*Or gyan dpa' bo giñ dan sruñ mar bcas.*

"Or gyan (pa) together with the dpa' bo Giñ and the bsTan sruñ ma,,"

7. - To the right, under n. 5:

*Or gyan bz'i (sic for gži) bdag gñan poi ak'or dan bcas.*

"Or gyan (pa) together with the gži bdag and the gñan po,,"

This means that the painter has wished to represent Padmasambhava's manifold manifestations, his appearing under this or that aspect and his identity with the greatest deities of the lamaist pantheon.

TANKAS nn. 116, 117 (Plates 151, 152).

These two paintings are dedicated to a well-defined cycle, namely to the deities governing the destinies of all created beings, during the intermediate existence called Bar-do. As it is amply told in the *Bar do t'os grol* (accessible to scholars in Evans Went's translation, and in one of my own, more complete, which is now being printed) when men die, their destinies vary. Those who, with a pure consciousness, recognize in the light shining before them at the moment of their agony the splendour of cosmic consciousness, plunge into that light, become consubstantiated with the body of the absolute, and are never born again. When a man is not ripe for such a destiny, after his death the



conscious principle, detached from the body, sees various lights appear, some attractive, others fearful, all symbolizing various forms of existence. By recognizing them for what they are, as projections of his karma, man can still set himself free. If this is not the case, deities, first beatific, then terrific, appear to him; if they are justly taken for what they are, creations of a faulty human consciousness, they dissolve, leading the dead man's conscious principle towards a good destiny. This drama unfolds in 49 days, at the end of which, if the deceased has not been sustained by the reading of the *Bar do t'os grol*, or by the memory of its teachings, he is born again into undesirable forms of existence and is once again incarnated in the samsaric cycle.

The theory of the intermediate existence is not a creation of Tibet; it goes back to the most ancient Buddhism, although some schools denied its possibility (Lokottaravādin, Mahāsaṅghika and Theravādin), it is certain that it is derived from beliefs found by Buddhism on Indian soil. Vasubandhu mentions it in the *Abhidharmakośa*<sup>240</sup> quoting the discordant opinions of the various masters on the duration of this *antarābhava*, which some state to be seven days, others 49, as in the Tibetan treatise. But on reading the *Bar do t'os grol* we see that, although some passages taken from the *Abhidharma* are occasionally inserted into it, on the whole it breathes an atmosphere different from that of the ancient schools: the atmosphere of the Vajrayāna. The essence, beyond phenomonic illusion, is the 'Od gsal, the universally luminous consciousness; its fulfillment in the deceiving world of forms is expressed through the symbols of the pantheon of the adamantine vehicle. Through the Vajrayāna India's folklore and her mythical world flow into it, with their monstrous and misshapen gods and goddesses, and some native beliefs, more or less tinted with Buddhism, also find access to it. The book's eschatological meaning soon ensured its fortune; the Tibetans, ever anxious to

know the mysteries of death, had faith in its description of the world beyond the grave and in the soteriological doctrines expounded in the book. The Bon po too were captivated by it and had their own *Bar do t'os grol*. We cannot say when the book was written. It is a *gter ma*, its chapters, called *Zab t'os zi k'ro dgoñs pa rañ grol*, were buried by Padmasambhava. Like all the *gter ma*, it is known in different versions, which differ both in the particular readings of some passages and in the order of the chapters. The book was later brought to light by Kar ma gliñ pa. In fact we read at the end of the 2nd chapter of the *Bar do t'os grol*: "The chief spiritual son of the ascetic Ni zla sañs rgyas, namely the ascetic Kar ma gliñ pa, drew out this book, hidden in a place called *Lha brañ gar byed pa qdra ba*, situated on mount sGam po brdar, on the bank of the river Ser ldan; it was then given to the disciple C'os rje gliñ pa and the secret instructions (which explain its meaning) were transmitted up to my master Sūryacandra. From him I, Gāyādharmadharma samud tra, (viz.: Dharma-samudra) with devotion asked for it,,"

Kar ma gliñ pa, i. e. he of Kar ma gliñ, is the name of a famous discoverer of sacred texts. We do not know when he lived, and we cannot say that much information concerning his life has reached us. It is true that there is a collection of biographies on the greatest gTer ston, but the allusions to Kar ma gliñ pa are extremely scarce; we desume from them that he was considered an incarnation of Klui rgyal mts'an, one of the most ancient and celebrated translators of the sacred texts of Buddhism from Sanskrit into Tibetan. Kar ma gliñ pa should then be a native of sTod k'yer grub in Dvags po. At the age of fifteen, according to predictions, he discovered in the above-mentioned place (sGam po gdar instead of brdar) the book "on spontaneous liberation, based on the understanding of the pacified and terrific deities,,"

Any chronological reference is lacking. But as, after him, T'añ ston rgyal po is mentioned, it is natural to think that Kar ma gliñ pa had preceded that famous ascetic, to whom tradition assigns the construction of the most famous bridges over the twelve rivers of Tibet. And as T'añ ston rgyal po flourished as we saw, in the XIVth and XVth centuries (he was born in 1385), we must conclude that Kar ma gliñ pa lived in the XIVth century.

The deities appearing in this state of Bar-do are distinguished in two groups, Ži and K'ro, that is beatific and terrific; our two tanka are dedicated respectively to each of these cycles.

Similar representations are already known: I refer for instance to those published by EVANS WENTS in his *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, pp. 118 and 136; they too come from Gyantse, where those of the present collection were also bought. The first tanka represents the deities appearing from the second to the sixth day; under rDo rje sems dpa', towering in the centre of the tanka, is seen rNam par snañ mdsad, embracing his śakti; around him, placed in the four corners, in the circle of as many mañḍala, to the West sNañ ba mt'a' yas; to the East rDo rje sems dpa', to the North Don yod grub pa and to the South Rin c'en abyuñ ldan. Each of these Buddhas of the supreme pentad clasps his own śakti and is attended by four acolytes:

sNañ ba mt'a' yas by aJam dpal, sPyan rasg zigs, Gi sti (= gitā), A lo (kā) (= apparitions of the 4th day, EVANS WENTS, p. 112 and following); rDo rje sems dpa' (= Akṣobhya) by Sa sñiñ (Kṣitigarbha) and Byams pa (Maitreya) and the two goddesses La se ma (Lasyā) and Pu spa ma (Puṣpā) (second day, *ibid.*, p. 108 and following); Don yod grub pa by P'yag na rdo rje Vajrapāṇi and sGrib rnam sel [Sarva]nīvaraṇa-viskambhin and Naivedyā and Gandhā. Rin c'en abyuñ ldan by Nam mk'a' sñiñ (Akāśagarbha) and Kun bzañ (Samantabhadra), and Dhupā and Mālā (fifth day, *ibid.*, p. 110). This whole

choir descends from the hypostasis of the Dharmakāya, plane of the absolute, represented by the symbol of Kun tu bzañ po embracing his śakti, at the top of the tanka; the figure of rDo rje ač'añ, represented under him, is the link between them.

Above and below, three on each side, six figures of standing Buddhas, symbolizing the six kinds of existence which open up before the deceased's conscious principle, when he is unable to free himself from them. They are: the Buddha of the world of devas, dBañ po rgya byin; the Buddha of the Asura, T'ag bzañ ris; the Buddha of men, Śākya-señ ge; the Buddha of the animal world, Sen ge rab brtan; the Buddha of Preta, K'a aḅar; the Buddha of Hell, C'os rgyal.<sup>241</sup> In the tanka each name, written under the figures, is accompanied by brief iconographical indications, for instance. *Sa kya señ ge, pu sti t'iñ* "Sen ge with the book, blue,, (*t'iñ* for *mt'iñ*), (*dBañ po*) *brgya byin pi wan dkar* "with the lute, white,, etc. *T'ag bzañ ris go ts'on* (for *go c'a; ts'on c'a*), "T'ag bzañ ris with a cuirass and arms,,. On the four corners of the corresponding picture, or on the four doors of the mañḍala, four terrific deities, coupled; they are, beginning from the upper left-hand corner and proceeding towards the right, bDud rtsi dkyil ba (but in the tanka *abyi gram?*) with Dril bzin (= *ad-sin*) ma, "she who hold a bell,, rTa mgrin with lCags grogs "she who bears a chain,, gŠin rje gšed with Žag pa ma, "she who holds the lash,,; rNam ma rgyal with lCags kyu, "she who carries a hook,,; below, in the centre, Ekajaṭā; to the left aDod k'ams [dbañ p'yug ma]; ..., Dam can rdo rje legs, to the right: Rāhu and Šan dmar gnod sbyin. On each side of Kun tu bzañ po, Śrīsiṃha and dGa' rab rdo rje. Thus is completed the mañḍala of the 42 deities who are precisely those described in the *Bar do t'os grol* (EVANS WENTS, p. 121).

The painting n. 117 represents the mañḍala of the terrific deities and of the Rigs aḅsin,

amply discussed in the same book (*ibid.*, p. 127 and following).

In the centre towers C'e mc'og Heruka's terrific figure, round whom are arranged, on the four points of the compass, his four hypostases, corresponding to the mystic families: Padmaheruka, Ratnaheruka, Buddhaheruka and underneath Vajraheruka.

This is a well known cycle, which the *Bar do t'os grol* treats at great length (pp. 137-140, cfr. *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part I, p. 137).

All around unfolds a terrific pageant of deities, monstrous in appearance: first of all the eight Keurima (or Gaurima) which appear as the conscious principle of the dead in the bardic state, on the thirteenth day after death; they are an expression of the karmic force produced by intellect, and therefore imagined as issuing from the brain. They are thus disposed according to the points of the compass:

East: Keurima; South: Tseurima; West: Pramoha; North: Petali; South-East: Pukasi; South-West: Ghasmari; North-West: Tsandhali; North-East: Smasani.

Arranged around the latter we find the eight P'ra men ma, each in a determined point of space and with an animal's head: East, lion's head; South, tiger's head; West, fox's head; North, wolf's head; South-East, vulture's head; South-West, cemetery-bird's head; North-West, raven's head; North-East, owl's head (*ibid.*, p. 143).<sup>242</sup>

On the four corners of the maṇḍala resulting from this assembly of deities are the four keepers of the gates: East, tiger's head; South, boar's head; West, lion's head; North, serpent's head. In the four corners are disposed, in circles of seven, the 28 deities of the extreme maṇḍala, described in detail in the same work, pp. 144-145. In the upper right-hand corner, the wind-goddess with a wolf's head; the ibex-headed goddess, the dragon-headed, boar-headed, raven-headed and elephant-headed goddesses, and the water-goddesses, with serpents' heads - the latter correspond to the North.

In the lower right-hand corner: the yak-headed goddess, Brahmaṇī serpent-headed, leopard-headed and brown bear-headed goddesses; Indraṇī white bear-headed; ape-headed to the East, in the lower left-hand corner, two goat-headed goddesses to the South; lion-headed to the West; serpent-headed to the North.

Above, the maṇḍala is completed by a triad of masters: Padmasambhava in the centre between his greatest disciple Vairocana and the no less celebrated discoverer of secret texts Or gyan gliñ pa. Underneath Ye šes mts'o rgyal, the miracle-worker's wife.

Below, another triad: dPal mgon ma ṇi between Ts'e riñ ma and Lha mo ma mo kun la butl. We will treat at length of the offerings to the terrific deities, skulls etc. when we come to tanka n. 177.

We have thus seen how the two tankas briefly described above sum up and illustrate pictorially one of the most celebrated books of Lamaism, the one from which dying men take comfort, evoking, as they read it, the awareness necessary to escape the danger of a new existence or to become free from unfortunate rebirths. The tankas are like a warning: as the eyes of the living rest upon them, memory absorbs and preserves a picture which, remembered in the hour of trial, casts out error and leads to salvation.

TANKAS nn. 118, 119 (Plates 153, 154).

They are two modulations of the same theme. The central deity represents, in both cases, sPyan ras gzigs in the shape known by the name of Śadaḥṣara-Lokeśvara: Lokeśvara of the six mystical syllables - *om mañi pad me hūm*.<sup>243</sup> In this hypostasis of his, he is always attended, as in our picture, by two acolytes, Mañidhara on his right and Śadaḥṣara Mahāvīdyā, symbol of the mystical six-syllable formula, on his left. These acolytes' iconography is identical with that of the central deity.

This is, among sPyan ras gzigs' shapes, the one most widespread in Tibet, placed, as we know, under his protection. The great king Sroñ btsan sgam po, during whose reign Tibet first heard of Buddhism, is his incarnation: now the Dalai Lamas impersonate him on earth. The palace where the Dalai Lamas reside in Lhasa is actually called Potala after the place where that god presides over the choirs of the blessed. There is a certain analogy of representation between the two pictures, hence it is clear that they reproduce an identical myth. From the way the figures are arranged and from the fact that sPyan ras gzigs is painted inside a large pavilion, one is led to infer that both tanks represent Avalokiteśvara's heaven. The celestial abode of this god is called precisely Potala and is imagined similar to the Sukhāvātī and Abhirati heavens. But while the position of Amitābha's and Akṣobhya's heavens is vague, Potala or Potalaka is imagined in Buddhist literature to be on the South or on the South-West of India. So that the difference between those two heavens and Potala consists chiefly in the fact that the former have no geographical reality, i. e. that they are the projection into an undetermined point of space of the expectation of eternal bliss, which mortals in all climes have always hoped for as a reward for their daily toil.

Potala, on the other hand, is less remote: Sudhanakumāra in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (ed. Suzuki and Idzumi, p. 209) was able to reach it. Hsüan Tsang also mentions it as a mountain near mount Malaya. To the North-East of Potalaka should be Seng ka lo, Simhala, Ceylon. The Chinese pilgrim describes it as a rocky mountain, extremely difficult to reach; on the top of the mountain there is a lake, from which a river issues and flows into the sea. Near the lake is Avalokiteśvara's palace.

To conclude, although a myth has grown up round Potalaka also, believers may still

hope that Potalaka can be reached (once they have overcome the difficulties precluding its access to such as are not pure) without waiting for death: men of flesh and blood thought they might walk upon that hallowed ground.

Indeed Tāranātha received this tradition from the master Buddhagupta, who had gone to look for Potalaka overseas, very probably in some island between India and the African coast. He says that various Indian Siddhas had penetrated its mysteries: Sāntivanman, by divine assistance, reached the top of the mountain, but found that Avalokiteśvara's palace had been abandoned; another saw the god's stone image, a third heard celestial music issuing from the mysterious spot. Hence Potalaka should not be linked up with the Sukhāvātī and the Abhirati, but rather (even if it has never possessed the same certain geographical reality) with localities transformed by religious tradition into sacred territories and mysterious abodes of divine beings, when it had become increasingly difficult or dangerous to get there. I refer for instance to Śambhala, where the Kālacakra was revealed and which, vaguely assigned to the environs of Turkestan, also had the same destiny.

The voyage to Potala became gradually mixed up with the perilous landings of many Ratnadvīpas, told and retold in an endless variety of folk-tales and hagiographical narratives. One of these itineraries, preserved in a Tibetan translation, is the *Po ta la kai gro bar lam yig*, *Potalakāgamanamārgapatrikā*, bsTan agyur, LXXII, p. 51, the same referred to by Tāranātha (SCHIEFNER, p. 142). It is attributed to Potalakabhaṭṭaraka, that is to Avalokiteśvara himself. It is a long list of places through which one has to pass in order to reach the god's palace, in his island paradise. To put it briefly, the road is through Sloñ pai yul (Kaṇāḍā?), aBraskyi p'uñ, (Dhānyakataka) Malaya, Udumbara forest, the river *Rigs ldan ma* (Kulikā), Dri med ldan (Vimala), lake Ts'an, fields

of thorns, *bilva* forest, lake bDag po med, (*Nairātmya*), Jambu forest, the Srin mos' lake, mountains, bands of apes, bands of boars, tigers, lions, huge forests, city of Kḷa klo (Mleccha), pleasure-gardens, ponds, Ketaka gardens, quicksilver lakes where girls of sixteen are found; then the way is beyond lake gSer ldan, in the realms aDod pai rgyal mo, Lha ma yin, Señ ge sgra, Nag po c'en po. Viṣṇu, dBañ p'yug c'en po, the līṅga, and at last a great cliff is reached, upon which stands the Potala. The treatise furnishes every time brief directions as to the mantras one must recite to avoid dangers, as to the acts which must be performed or left undone, the fruit to select in going through endless forests and the fruit that should not be eaten, the manner of resisting temptations and overcoming perils.

The description of Buddhagupta is more detailed and is here appended since, after it was made known by Tāranātha, it became popular in Tibet. "Thence he joined some merchants going to some small islands to the East and after one month of navigation he reached an island in which there was Potala, the King of the mountains. According to some this is the small Potala. Anyhow it is evidently the Potala on earth, accessible to men. There he visited a rock-crystal cave, the place sacred to Sudhanakumāra, then the place sacred to Bhṛkuṭī; the cave of the Asura of the golden door, the place sacred to Tārā and the places sacred to Brahmā; Viṣṇu; Mahendra, each one with a self-created temple in the mountain. Moreover he visited the place where it was possible to have the vision (of the god). He also made the *pradakṣiṇā* of the mountain. There was a celestial wood famous as the abode of Mañjurī and the water falling down from that place was really running there,,"

It is therefore evident that our tankas are based upon a literary tradition which in the form of popular tales was largely diffused all over Tibet so that everybody looking at

such-like tankas could easily understand their meaning.

In our picture we find the sea and the boat (tanka n. 119, extreme lower right-hand edge) and the image of Tārā mentioned by Tāranātha; the ape he speaks about in his itinerary, the cliff on which stood the Potala, the stone image, Bhṛkuṭī; we also find two goddesses stretching a scarf on which persons worthy of coming into the god's presence pass. In Tāranātha's description of Śāntivarman's journey, there is a serpent instead of a scarf.<sup>244</sup>) But in both cases, as in the Zañs mdog ri legend (see tanka n. 570) the scarf and the serpent are variants of a theme well known to eschatological literature: the bridge which, like the *Činvat* of Iranian visions, unfailingly distinguished sinners from the chosen few flinging the former into an abyss and leading the latter to salvation. Pilgrims follow one another in their journey facing Nag po, in the city of the Kḷa klo, who are represented in armour, and in the rākṣasī's palaces. In both tankas, within the enclosure where the god sits enthroned, are represented the gods Indra and Brahmā, Maheśvara, Viṣṇu, Garuḍa, as in the Lam yig and in Buddhagupta's account and choirs of Apsaras and Gandharvas.

In both pictures, in the centre and below, sGrol ma, the feminine hypostasis of that same spirit of mercy symbolized by sPyan ras gzigs.

In tanka n. 119, above, Padmasambhava between his two wives and Ts'e dpag med between mGon po and sGrol ma.

TANKA n. 120 (Plate 155).

This is one of the most recent in the collection, but also one of the most interesting, not so much for its artistic merits as for the subject represented. It is a Bonpo tanka, on which are pictured some of the most important deities of this religion prior to Buddhism. Although purchased in Western Tibet, the



tanka was certainly painted in Eastern Tibet, in K'ams. It was given to me by Nam mk'a' ajigs med rdo rje (concerning whom see TUCCI-GHERSI, *Secrets of Tibet*, p. 149, and TUCCI, *Santi e briganti*, p. 53) one of the most cultivated men I met in Tibet. In his first youth he had been educated in the Bonpo school, which is now nothing but an impure survival of Tibet's native religion largely mixed with Buddhism. Later he was converted to Buddhism entering into the rÑiñ ma pa sect of the rDsogs c'en, the most esoteric of the rÑiñ ma pa schools, whose doctrines and liturgy have many analogies with those of Bonpo. The two schools, having lived long one near the other, have exchanged their books and dogmatics, their rites and ceremonies. Nam mk'a' ajigs med rdo rje, having become rÑiñ ma pa, did not forget his former faith.

The tanka, painted according to the patterns and methods of Lamaistic tankas, is dedicated to a widespread Bonpo cycle, the one of Ts'e dbañ rig adsin, who in these schools corresponds to Ts'e dpag med, Amitāyuh of the Mantrayāna and symbolizes the god of infinite life.<sup>245</sup> Iconographically, he resembles a bodhisattva: he carries in his right hand a disc on which is written the letter "a,, and in his left the Bonpo svastika, whose limbs turn to the left. All around his retinue is represented,

namely, beginning from the first figure above on the left and proceeding towards the right:

1. Rin c'en ts'e dbañ  
gSañ ba adus pa  
Bon sku Kun tu bzañ po  
Dran pa nam mk'a'
2. Pad ma ts'e dbañ  
Ts'e dbañ rgya gar ma  
Ts'e dbañ bod yul ma
3. Ral k'ri ts'e dbañ  
mK'a' agro t'ugs rjes kun sgtol
4. gYun druñ rigs kyi ts'e dbañ
5. aK'or lo rigs kyi ts'e dbañ  
Bon skyoñ Rin c'en rgya mts'o  
Bon skyoñ A bse rgyal ba.

It is enough to glance at this list of names, besides the iconography of the deities, to perceive that we are in the presence of a pattern borrowed from Buddhism: here, as in Buddhism, there is a pentad, with its corresponding mystical families (15) symbolized by five corresponding deities: the family of gems, of the lotus, the sword, the svastika, the wheel.

The deities' very names bring us back to the latest Bon, to its contamination with, or rather its copy of, Buddhist theology and dogmatics: nothing is left recalling primitive Bon, which had an entirely different religious background and whose gods had nothing to do with these.

## K'AMS STYLE

TANKAS nn. 121-136 (Plates 156-170, Q).

These tankas belong to a well known series: they represent the cycle of the sixteen arhats, to whom the Buddha Śākyamuni entrusted the task of protecting the Law, of being present wherever a good deed was done and of rewarding virtue in various manners. Later, the gloom of sin, little by little, would envelop the world; men would continually have recourse to arms and slay one another; the average human life would decrease to ten years and the Law would be forgotten. After a long era, by the revival and the triumph of virtue, man's span of life would be extended up to a century. The arhats would then again appear on earth, while men's lives would become longer and longer, reaching 70.000 years. Next Śākyamuni's doctrine would be obliterated for ever from the face of the earth, in expectation of the new Buddha Maitreya's coming. With the disappearance of the Law, the arhats' task would be over, and they would all enter *nirvāṇa* together and for ever.

This is related in one of the most famous books about the arhats' cycle, the "Relation concerning the Duration of the Law, revealed by the Great Arhat Nandimitra",<sup>246)</sup>

The Indian tradition then was acquainted with a cycle of sixteen arhats, which probably developed, as Lévi and Chavannes have shown from an original nucleus of four. Sixteen has been, ever since Vedic times, the perfect number, the square of four; there are four quarters, which the arhats protect, together with the four Kings watching over the four points of the compass, the *dīkṣāla*, *rgyal c'en sde bži* who constantly accompany the arhats in every Tibetan painting. The series of the arhats symbolizes the diffusion of the

Law in a spatial sense; their quaternary division is related to the division of the world into the four orient of mythical panindian cosmology. But as the arhats will be precluded from *nirvāṇa* until Maitreya appears, their cycle also assumes a temporal meaning: namely, it represents the continuity of the Law in the period between the two Buddhas: the Buddha of the present era and that of the future era, in other words the spatial and temporal revolution of the Law.

In China the Indian tradition was altered by degrees: beside the list of 16 arhats we also have a list of 18 arhats, spreading in China about the IXth century: that is, two arhats were added to the sixteen of the Indian legend. The two new arhats are called by K'ien lung "the one who vanquishes the dragon," and "the one who tames the tiger,,". Tiger and dragon are animals well known to Chinese folklore: the former presides over the West and the latter over the East; the animals of the other two points of the compass being a bird and the tortoise, according to popular astrology. They again point at a spatial temporal revolution, as that of the sun.

Be it as it may, the dragon and the tiger, these two demons of Chinese astrology, were admitted into the Buddhist pantheon, in the company of two new personages, whose names waver between Piṇḍola Bharadvāja (a duplicate of the other Bharadvāja), Nandimitra or Kāśyapa and were imagined as being subdued by them.

Between the Indian tradition of 16 arhats and the Chinese tradition of 18, Tibet was unable to make a final choice, and followed now one model now another; the 16 arhats (*gnas brtan bcu drug*) have had, and still have today, a remarkable share in the lamaist cult; some sects, like the bKa' gdams pa,

have included them, since Ji tsaṃ and Po to pa's times (XIth century) among the principal *c'os skyoñ* (*bKa' gdams gсар rñiñ*, p. 16 a). A vast hagiographical and liturgical literature has therefore developed around them.

But Tibet is not unacquainted with the list of 18 arhats. I am not aware of any text which definitely mentions them, but their pictorial representations are well known, for instance the one reproduced by Oldenburg (*Sbornik izobraženii 300 burchanov*, Bibliotheca Buddhica, V°, nn. 209, 210)<sup>247</sup>) or the woodcuts of sNar t'añ where to the series of 16 arhats are added Hva šaṅ and Dharma-ta la.

These two names show, that the Tibetan list of the 18 arhats does not correspond to the Chinese list, the two supplementary arhats of the Chinese cycle being in Tibet replaced by two different personages.

Dharma-tala is the Tibetan transcription of the Chinese Ta mo to lo 達磨多羅 which, in its turn, is the usual transcription of the Sanskrit Dharmatrāta. This Dharmatrāta has been identified by Lévi and Chavannes with the compiler of the *Udānavarga*, but, as we shall see, the Tibetan tradition seems to turn him into a different person, who lived in the T'ang period.

Hva šaṅ is the Tibetan transcription of the Chinese Ho shang, which in its turn transcribes, through a Central Asian medium, the Sanskrit title: upādhyāya; this naturally recalls to our memory that Hva šaṅ who, in the times of king K'ri sroñ lde btsan, while Padma-sambhava's schools introduced currents of Indian thought from India, carried into Tibet echoes of Chinese Buddhism.

But, while Tibetan literary tradition follows the Indian one or draws its inspiration from it, the artistic representation of this cycle is under Chinese influence. And in reality this influence has been so strong, that it is almost invariably to be found in the pictorial or plastic representations of the arhats; only a few exceptions being known to this rule.

Tibetans themselves unanimously state that the most common pictorial type of

the arhats, is derived from China, but not all are agreed as to when or by whom it was introduced. A well informed historian, gŽon nu dpal, the author of the *Deb t'er sñon po*, vol. *ña*, p. 7, says, for instance, that the cult and the representation of the arhats were brought into Tibet (*gnas brtan bcu drug spyan adren pa po*) by princess Kon c'o, one of Sroñ btsan sgam po's two wives.

Too many things and events have been laid at the door of this lady, who was considered an incarnation of sGrol ma, so that the legend cannot be accepted with entire confidence, and we must be all the more cautious in accepting it, since another tradition, also based on good sources, attributes the introduction of that same cycle into Tibet to a much later epoch.

The briefest account is to be found in the history of the *bKa' gdams pa* (p. 16). Through the agency of a Ji tsaṃ t'on pa, the *bKa' gdams pa* accepted the 16 arhats as their *c'os skyoñ* and this came about in the following manner:

A King of China, who was an incarnation of a Jam dbyaṅs, had sent as his messenger the minister dBañ Hva šaṅ; the latter was invited to participate in the prescribed summer retreat; when it came to an end and each went his own way, the model of the 16 images, which he had caused to be painted on linen, was taken to Klu mes aBrom c'uñ, who had just then gone to China, and brought to Yer pa, whence it became diffused.

Another source, which I found in a manuscript of the monastery of Hemis<sup>248</sup>) relates the same event in greater detail. "The ten masters (*mi bcu*) who contributed to the revival of Buddhism after gLañ dar ma's great persecution, brought into Tibet proper from mDo smad, some painted tankas (*bris t'añ*) of the arhats, and placed them in four temples. Next Klu mes aBrom, having gone to China, took copies of the whole cycle from the temple where the arhats' images were kept, including Dhar ma ta la and the Hva šaṅ, getting a tanka made of each one,, Klu mes is said to have alluded to this fact in a

metrical treatise, preserved in the monastery of sNar t'añ. These paintings are stated to have been made by Klu mes, who took as models the images existing in a temple in China, where the 16 arhats had appeared in person in the times of a T'ang emperor; they left him their effigy, since they could not accept his invitation to remain there for ever themselves, for their duties required them to go elsewhere. It is not explained whether these images were statues or paintings, but the fifth Dalai Lama, in the treatise we shall presently mention, uses, in the case of the Chinese images, the word *sku* "body", while he calls the paintings by Klu mes *ābris sku* "painted bodies", "paintings".

Klu mes placed these paintings in the temple of Yer pa, and there they became the inspirers of the new cult, when Atiśa's disciples introduced from India a systematic liturgy meant for this cycle.

From the above accounts, then, we gather that Tibet already knew about the arhats, their cult and their iconographic representations, through China, before Atiśa's times. Tibetan tradition insists on the diffusion of that cult in China under the T'ang, relating various fables about the reasons of its favour, and then follows its development in bordering countries, for instance among the Mi ñag, one of whose kings is said to have been delivered from a disease by the arhats grace; these same Mi ñags, when attacked by the Hor, were saved through the intervention of one of the arhats, who showed the besieged where water could be found underground, after the Hor had changed the course of the river which brought water to the city. Moreover, in both the documents referred to above, the first who introduced the iconographic type of the arhats in Tibet from China is said to have been Klu mes, before Atiśa ever came to Tibet.

If this Klu mes is the brother of Klu mes ts'ul k'rims śes rab we know his approximate date, his elder brother being included among the ten masters, five from dBus and five from gTsañ, who, after gLañ dar ma was

killed (842) had revived the faith. Klu mes ts'ul k'rims was a disciple of dGoñs pa rab gsal; the latter came from dGoñs ka, near the rMa c'u, in the Southern part of Amdo, and was ordained as a monk by Rab gsal of gTsañ, who had fled from Tibet during gLañ dar ma's great persecution. Klu mes must therefore be placed in the first part of the Xth century; indeed, according to some Tibetan calculations, (which, if not absolutely accurate, cannot be very far wrong), in the year "water-bird", 853, or "earth-tiger", 858 he settled in bSam yas, where he became an active preacher (See BUSTON, OBERMILLER, pp. 201 ff.; PS, p. 178; DT, *Ka*, p. 28, *K'a*, pp. 5, 6).

Although information about Klu mes abounds, I have nowhere found references to his or his brother's journey to China, which was the occasional cause of the introduction of the 16 arhats into Tibet.

But this is not the only motive which induces us to suspect the Tibetan tradition which, when Lamaism penetrated into China, was accepted by learned Chinese circles, to whom Klu mes's name was then made known.<sup>249)</sup> Indeed no information is to be found in China concerning either Dharma-tala or the Hva śaṅ as supplementary figures of the 16 arhats cycle; on the other hand the Hva śaṅ's presence takes us back to a religious and cultural environment which is purely Tibetan. Furthermore, as we can gather from other tales inserted in the above-quoted book by Nag dbaṅ sÑan grags dpal bzaṅ, the stories about Dharma-tala and Hva śaṅ are assigned to two different periods: the Hva śaṅ, in fact, is supposed to be a monk who lived under the Ming dynasty; fleeing from punishment decreed by the Emperor, he arrived after a long journey to the sea; at that moment, out of pity for the Hva śaṅ and in order that the Emperor's merits should not be impaired, the arhats came out of the sea and entered the palace. As to Hva śaṅ's iconographic type, it is inspired by the "Maitreya of the big belly", of popular Chinese Buddhism.

Dharma-ta la, on the other hand, is supposed to have been a pious layman (*dge bsñen*) in charge of the temple where, in the times of the Emperor T'ang Jui Tsung) (710-713) the arhats images were placed. The arhats revealed themselves to him; once, while he was sweeping the temple, a tiger issued from his right knee. This legend is evidently an explanation of the tiger's presence in Dharma-ta la's image (see sNar t'ang woodcut, fig. 122).

Be it as it may, clearly two different traditions were current in Tibet: while one of them attributed to Klu mes the introduction of the whole iconographic cycle of the 18 arhats, with Dharma-ta la and Hva šaṅ, the other attributed the two latter arhats to two different periods; at first only Dharma-ta la was known, later Hva šaṅ also appeared. Anyhow these traditions, however confused, show that the cycle of the 16 arhats, with the addition of Dharma-ta la and Hva šaṅ, is an interpretation independent of the Chinese cycle of the 18 arhats. Therefore the Tibetan cycle of the arhats, as it appears in the sNar t'ang woodcuts and in Pander's Pantheon, has a long story behind it, which it is still very difficult to reconstruct.

That the Hva šaṅ's presence should take us back to a Tibetan religious and cultural environment and that neither Hva šaṅ nor Dharma-ta la should be found in the Chinese lists, does not mean that these new personages have been introduced by the Tibetans *ex novo*. Although in Chinese literary and artistic sources there is no allusion as far as my knowledge goes to a cycle of 18 arhats in which Dharma-ta la and a Hva šaṅ appear as two supplementary figures, it is certain that Dharma-ta la is found in the representations of the arhats which have come to light in Central Asia; I allude to the pictures published in A. STEIN'S, *The Thousand Buddhas*, Tav. XXXIII and in PELLICOT'S, *Les Grottes de Touen Houang*, vol. IV, tav. 3. In these instances the arhats is represented in a Central Asian costume, bearing a parcel of books on his back, with a tiger and a

vase for holy water.<sup>250</sup>) This figure was identified by its analogy with the reproduction of the same personage in the late pantheon published by Pander, but the likeness is much greater to some images of the same arhats which we have already met with in our tanka. I allude particularly to the tanka n. 11 (cfr. n. 22), where Dharma-tala is represented in a manner almost identical with the Central Asian painting (compare especially the way he holds his books), so that we are led to think that in this case the Tibetan pictorial tradition draws its inspiration directly from those models of Central Asian style, or has been deeply influenced by them.

More than one example proves that in Tibet, side by side with the classical list of 16 arhats and with the other list where they are 18, there was a third list of 17 arhats: this is their number in the tankas n. 11 and n. 18. Indeed this is confirmed by a late but extremely authoritative quotation. I allude to a book by the fifth Dalai Lama.

Blo bzaṅ rgya mts'o has written a book about the arhats, upon which, to this day, the prestige of its great author is reflected. This treatise, which is particularly concerned with the liturgy prescribed for the arhats' cult, and sets forth the advantages accruing to those who worship them, contains valuable information both about the penetration of the arhats' cult and of its literary sources in Tibet, and about the pictorial representations of the cycle. In this treatise, entitled *gNas brtan c'en po bcu drug gi mc'od pa rgyal brtan qdsad med nor bu*,<sup>251</sup>) the cycle of the *gnas brtan* is composed of the 16 original arhats, with the addition of Dharma-ta la and of the four *rgyal c'en*; as in the text of *Ṅag dbaṅ sṅan grags dpal bzaṅ po*, Dharma-ta la is placed in the times of the T'ang Dynasty.

Nor is the fifth Dalai Lama the only literary source which assures us of the existence of a Tibetan cycle of the 17 arhats, that is comprising the usual 16 personages with the addition of Dharma-ta la. I can quote a text earlier than Blo bzaṅ rgya mts'o, the





FIG. 122

*T'ub dbaṅ gnas brtan bcu drug ak'or dan bcas pai p'yag mc'od rjes gnañ dan bcas*, included in the great collection of *Sādhana Grub t'ab rgya mts'o*, sDe dge edition, vol. Ca. This brief treatise was written by the spyan sña C'os grags rgyal mts'an, and was corrected and revised by Sa skya pa snags ac'añ Nāg gi dbaṅ po Kun dga' rin c'en, whom we have mentioned elsewhere. This small book is thus specified in the colophon: *bsTan pai gtso bo t'ub pa c'en po ak'or gnas brtan bcu drug dge bsñen dbar ma ta la dan bcas pai rjes gnañ bya ts'ul gsal bar bkod pa* "clear explanation on the manner of imparting liturgical instructions on the Great Ascetic, surrounded by the 16 arhats and by the *dge bsñen* Dharma-ta la,..". It contains the iconographic indication of each personage and particularly dwells on Dharma-ta la's description.

Arhat	right hand	with both hands	left hand
1. Rāhula	diadem	—	—
2. Culla Panthaka	—	—	samādhimudrā
3. Piṇḍola Bharadvāja	book	—	pot for alms on his palms in samādhimudrā
4. Panthaka	—	—	dharma-vyākhyānamudrā
5. Nāgasena	vase	—	staff
6. Gopaka	—	book	—
7. Abhedā	—	stūpa	—
8. Aṅgaja	—	vase for perfume	fly-whisk under his left armpit
9. Ajita	—	samādhi	—
10. Vanavāsin	tarjanīmudrā	—	fly-whisk
11. Kālīka	—	earrings	—
12. Vajrīputra	tarjanīmudrā	—	fly-whisk
13. Bhadrā	dharma-vyākhyānamudrā	—	samādhimudrā
14. Kanakavatsa	—	precious noose	—
15. Kanakabharadvāja	—	samādhimudrā	—
16. Bakula	—	mongoose	—

These 16 Arhats are imagined on the petals of the lotus drawn in the maṇḍala, in the middle of which the Buddha is placed: "on the four doors of the maṇḍala are found the four Lokapāla and the dGe bsñen Dharmata la, who holds in his hand the fly-whisk and a vase; he wears his hair tied in a topknot and on his back he bears the burden of many books; in front of him, in the air, appears the Buddha sNañ ba mt'a' yas; he wears an ample silk dress. His left knee is uncovered; from the right one a tiger is miraculously issuing; he is together with many dGe bsñen ..".

This Dharma-ta la therefore has nothing in common with the Dharma-ta la of the Udānavarga.

This identification, which was proposed by Lévi and Chavannes, in the above quoted paper, is ruled out for two reasons: first of all, while the Dharmatrāta of the Udānavarga is called *bitsun pa, bhadanta*, Dharma-ta la is constantly called *dge bsñen, upāsaka*, which, as it is well known, is an appellative given to lay devotees. Moreover Dharmatrāta's name is in Tibetan *c'os skyob*, "Law-protection," (see for instance TĀRANĀTHA, p. 297), while the name of our Dharma-ta la is rendered by Blo bzañ rgya mts'o with *c'os ap'el* (*ap'el* corresponds to the root *vrddh*): "Law-growth..".

Moreover, as Waley has shown (*Cat.*, p. XLIII), there are in Buddhism many personages called Dharmatrāta or such-like names transcribed with the Ch. Ta mo ta lo.

1) the first Dharmatrāta Fa chiu 法救 is the compiler of the Udānavarga, generally called the Bodhisattva (LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Abhidharmakośa*, Introd., p. XLVII);

2) one of the masters of the Vibhāṣā, often called simply Bhadanta, although for others he was a Sarvāstivādin;

3) the author of the *Samyuktābhidharmabrādaya-sūtra* (TAISHŌ, XXVIII, p. 869);

4) a master of the *Satyasiddhiśāstra*;

5) the author of a Dhyāna book (TAISHŌ, XV, p. 300);

6) Dharma-to-lo, according to a Ch'ang (*dhyāna*) text, the *Li tai fa pao chi* 歷代法寶記 discovered in Tun huang, is identified with Bodhidharma, and indeed the latter is there indifferently called Bodhidharma-to-lo 菩提達摩多羅 or only Dharma-to-lo 達摩多羅 (TAISHŌ, LI, p. 180 a-b).

Is it possible that we have before us a list elaborated in *dhyāna* circles and enriched by one of their most famous patriarchs? It would be premature to come to a conclusion, but from the above text it appears that *dhyāna*, which had spread in Central Asia, knew Bodhidharma under the name of Dharma-to-lo; on the other hand *dhyāna* penetrated into Tibet in very early times, beginning with the epoch of the royal dynasty.<sup>252)</sup> It is not in the least unlikely that, through the same channel, a representation of the 17 arhats inspired by the types already ascertained for Central Asia, should have reached the Country of Snows.

Anyhow, if Dharma-ta la's iconographic type did not penetrate into the Chinese representation of the arhats' cycle (the personage having remained unknown to China), it was certainly adopted by Chinese portrait-painting, for instance in a celebrated picture of the Sung dynasty, which represents the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan tsang in the same dress and attitude as Dharma-ta la, carrying books.<sup>253)</sup>

As to the Hva šaṅ, he is quite unknown to Blo bzañ rgya mts'o's treatise; this silence may be explained either by supposing him to have been included in a list which Blo bzañ rgya mts'o did not consider authoritative, and therefore did not use, or by assuming that he was added on after Blo bzañ rgya mts'o's time. The latter hypothesis might be confirmed by the fact that some of the literary traditions we have quoted concerning the Hva šaṅ, attempt to make of him a late personage, of the Ming period, and there is no doubt that his modern representation (as it appears, for instance, in the tanka of sNar t'añ) is inspired, as already stated, by the type of the big-bellied Maitreya of popular Chinese iconography.

This late appearance of the Hva šaṅ in the Tibetan lists seems to be confirmed by the fact that he is missing in the tankas n. 11 and n. 18, which thus agree with Blo bzañ rgya mts'o's silence; hence we might be led to think that he has been introduced during the infiltration of Chinese ideas and models in the course of the XVIIIth century, when relations with China became more frequent, and Tibet finally passed under Chinese rule. However, against this hypothesis stands the well-established fact that some Guge tankas, which are evidently ancient, know the cycle of the 18 arhats, for instance the tankas nn. 13, 15 and 21. But the eighteenth arhats has nothing in common with the pot-bellied Hva šaṅ of the sNar t'añ series: in the tanka n. 21, for instance, this personage has a dark complexion and is represented after the manner of the Indian Siddha; although his belly is suggested in the tanka n. 13, he has not the appearance of a caricature, like the Hva šaṅ of late XVIIIth century representations, but conforms to the model of the Indian ascetics.

Moreover there is another detail: in the beautiful tanka n. 20, each arhats is given his name which, save for slight orthographical variations, corresponds to the traditional name. In the case of the 18th arhats, the name undergoes an odd deformation: instead of Hva šaṅ (a word which, although of Chinese origin, is commonly used in Tibet and frequently found in sacred scriptures) we find: *A bor ša*. Who may be hidden under this name I cannot say, whether the Hva šaṅ or a personage who has nothing in common with this; this anyhow takes us back to a Tibetan environment, and cannot presume to be on a level with his great comrades' ancient glory and memory.<sup>254)</sup>

Thus, when we sum up the literary data and the conclusions which may be drawn from our iconographical documents, the certainty is reached that the Tibetans knew a cycle of 16 arhats, a cycle of 17 in which Dharma-ta la was added to the list already known, and a cycle of 18 in which to Dharma-ta la is

added a second personage, called in an ancient tanka A hor śa and in later ones Hva śaṅ, whose images are characterized by the figures of one or more children.

Buston in the XIVth century seems, anyhow, to know as authoritative a cycle of 16 arhats only.

As to the iconography and to the styles, while the type of Dharma-ta la seems to take us back to Central Asian inspiration, some representations follow Indian types very closely.

Among the tankas we have published, there is one in which the cycle of the arhats displays traits which have nothing in common with its Chinese interpretation. I refer to the tanka n. 18 where, in the frame surrounding the central image on the right, on the left and below, the cycle of the 17 arhats is represented. They all except Dharma-ta la have the appearance of monks, and each is distinguished by his *mudra*; some of the symbols which used to characterize them in the pictures inspired by the Chinese manner, for instance the fly-whisk, are missing.

A third type, by far the most common, is the one which represents the cycle in the Chinese manner. Such a plurality of styles in representations of the arhats is recognized by our literary sources: the book quoted above mentions three manners of representing this famous cycle: the first is the Indian manner (*ap'ags yul gyi lugs*), introduced by one of the three pandits who accompanied Atiśa: he is supposed to have revealed it to rÑog Byaṅ c'ub ḅbyuṅ gnas, who, following his instructions, painted the series of the arhats on a tanka. The second is Chinese (*rgya nag lugs*) and the third Tibetan (*bod lugs*). "Wishing to represent the arhats' images according to the Indian system, one must draw them as monks, with the triple religious garment and with an outer dress of a blue, red and yellow colour; the symbols are those described in their birth-stories (*avadāna*): staff, bowl for collecting alms, water-jar, a jar for offerings (*gtor bum*). They sit on a jewelled throne of mats and blankets, they are surrounded by

monks, Indians and people of various countries, who bring them offerings of precious objects. Around them are broadly drawn fields, cities, huts, rivers, meadow and woods, as they are found in India.

"Wishing to represent them after the Chinese manner, the models are taken from the T'ang period: their clothes are of a sombre hue, like those of the Chinese scholars; they wear ample silken robes. Their main symbols are those of their birth-stories, the others may vary: for instance a staff made of a banana-stalk or of osier, a vase for perfume, porcelain cups, etc. They sit on jewelled thrones, surrounded by cliffs, animals, dragons, people of noble race, dressed in silk, Chinese scholars, men of various races carrying fans and different objects as offerings; around them are seen pleasure-grounds, fields with palaces ornamented with lattice-work and caves surrounded with grass and trees.

"Wishing to represent them in the Tibetan manner, the arhats with their attendants appear as monks, with the symbols as described in their birth-stories; they are clad in silk, wearing the ascetics' three garments, they are seated on a throne; around them are seen jewelled rocks, on which gifts given in homage have been placed; in the background fields, terraces and snow-topped mountains unfold..

Naturally these classifications have a literary origin and they are so schematic and definite that they cannot be believed to reproduce faithfully the crossing and overlapping of different artistic currents; neither do they contain a vestige of those Central Asian influences to which we have traced the model of Dharma-ta la; nor can we know the origin of the pictorial series which Klu mes placed in Yer pa. The term China is very vague, and it is far from unlikely that Klu mes and his collaborators, having lived for a certain time in the provinces to the extreme East of Tibet, in times of great political upheavals in Central Asia, where the cult of the arhats was widely diffused, may have become acquainted

with Central Asian rather than with Chinese representations. As regards the connection between Tibet and Li yul (Khotan) besides the facts stated in THOMAS, *Lit. Texts* and in *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, it is very important to remember that the masters of Klu mes, if our Klu mes is the younger brother of Klu mes ts'ul k'rims šes rab, seem to have had some relation with Central Asia which they reached in their flight from Tibet through upper mNa'ris and the country of the Garlok and in their attempt to take refuge among the Hor (see above, p. 83). Then they settled in Amdo, on the borders of Tibet and Khansu. On the other hand, we know that Rab gsal of gTsañ, the teacher of Klu mes, presented Gar ma Yon tan gyuñ druñ with an image of Byams pa made in Li yul, by the king Dharmika Zla bzai together with a wooden statue of Jo bo in sandal wood of one cubit and another image of Jo bo of one span. These images were then placed in the temple of 'Ol dga' (*Vai dū rya dkar po*, p. 155).

But this does not exclude that some monasteries in Tibet may have become acquainted with the pictorial cycle of the arhats issued from the school of Kuan Hsiu 貫休 (832-912), which inspired a long artistic tradition, alongside of that later tradition which draws its origin from Li Lung mien 李龍眠 (ca. 1040-1106) of the Sung period. The succeeding representations of this cycle are but modulations of these two manners. The arhats personality was emphasized by the first manner and the result was grotesque, almost a caricature, but extremely expressive: huge head, misshapen skulls, a frightful thinness. The second manner was more austere and dignified.

The tradition concerning the Indian manner is equally subject to caution, because while, according to the fifth Dalai Lama, the bKa' gdams masters took for their model the representations of Yer pa, according to the text of Hemis, the series of the arhats inspired by the iconography and the liturgy which one of Atiśa's disciples had introduced, was probably painted by rNog Byañ c'ub abyuñ gnas.

Be as it may, the Chinese influence, either direct or from Central Asian models, prevails over all the others, but this derivation must be understood very broadly: the inspiration came from China, the models always remained Chinese, the representation was always conceived in the Chinese manner, but this influence, however tenacious, could not but yield to the traditions of Tibetan painters and to their talent. Generally we are confronted not with the imitation of an original, which the artists copy over and over again, but rather with an initial impulse, derived from China or Central-Asia, which remained active through the centuries, though gradually much of its efficiency was lost.

The initial influence, in course of time, was toned down by the Indian manner, especially by the Nepalese manner, which ruled over Tibetan art throughout its development, as we have seen more than once. And if the Chinese influence is clear in the reproductions we are about to speak of, which go back to the XVIIIth century, this depends not so much from Klu mes' ancient tradition, as rather from that recrudescence of the Chinese style which is a distinctive character of the XVIIIth century in Tibet, and which was particularly conspicuous in the K'ams region.

For these reasons the distinction between the three styles mentioned in the above-quoted text is rather theoretic: practically it is next to impossible to make a distinction. Nevertheless in the present cycle, more perhaps than in any other, (except in the cycle of Vaiśravaṇa and, in general, of the Kings of the four points of the compass) the Chinese stamp prevails.

The tankas reproducing the sixteen arhats are very common in monasteries and can be reduced to three fundamental types: 1) the entire cycle in a single tanka (f. i. G. ROERICH, TP, pl. I); 2) the cycle divided between four tankas, with a certain number of figures, not more than four, in each, two supplementary tanka for the four *dīkṣāla*, and Hva šaṅ and Dharma-ta la and the central tanka, like the



series published by ROERICH (*Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, 1930), which comes from K'ams; 3) the series of the sNar t'an woodcuts, in seven tankas. The latter has acquired in a short time such a notoriety, as to prevail over any other composition on the same subject. The worshippers who throng to the convent get copies of this image printed on paper or linen, so that local painters, scattered throughout the Tibetan provinces, draw their inspiration from them or use them as models.<sup>255)</sup>

We can establish when it was that these woodcuts were engraved in the great monastery, because at the bottom of the first tanka is reproduced the image of a dignitary who devised the work and became its patron. This prince was the C'os rgyal bSod nams stobs rgyas of P'o lha, well known to us as the successor of the regent bSod nams rgyal po, murdered in 1727; the Chinese government had made him the political head of Tibet, with the title of viceroy. He had already been the patron of an edition of the Buddhist scriptures in that same convent of sNar t'an; from the colophon of the *bsTan aggyur* we know that the woodcuts were executed in that monastery in the year *c'u k'yi*, that is in 1742. In front of the king we see, with their typical fur hats, two Tibetans from K'ams, or more exactly from Mi ñag, who are being offered a banquet, while servants bring gifts and bags before the king. These Tibetans are surely the *sbyin bdag*, the actual donors, who, complying with the *c'os rgyal's* proposal, furnished the means whereby to carry out his pious purpose. They are aGyur med rdo rje rnam rgyal and Ye šes ts'e ldan bstan, namely the same persons who had the Avadānakalpalatā series cut in wood. They are the two sons of P'o lha nas, and aGyur med rdo rje rnam rgyal succeeded his father when the latter died in the year 1747.

By the side of these fundamental types, which vary greatly according to the greater or lesser liberties which local painters take when they draw their inspiration from the most

celebrated models, there exists another representation<sup>256)</sup> of this cycle, in which each arhat has a tanka all to himself, exactly as in the series we reproduce here. This series I bought from an officer of Central Tibet, in the environs of Gyantse, but it is clear that it comes from K'ams, that is from the Eastern province of Tibet.

The style of K'ams, as we have seen in the introduction, has deeply felt, also on account of geographical propinquity and continual trade relations, the influence of Chinese art: in the tankas we are studying, the Chinese stamp (even aside from those Chinese elements which, through the century-old tradition, had become characteristic of this cycle) is so very evident in the plan of the paintings, in their backgrounds and details, that it would be superfluous to dwell upon it. In the landscape, in the clouds which roam about in the sky, in the waterfalls, we find an echo of the Chinese manner, adapted, of course, to the Tibetan artist's abilities and limitations. I cannot tell when this series may have been drawn, but I do not think we would be mistaken in considering it a contemporary of the other series engraved at sNar t'an in the middle of the XVIIIth century.

From an iconographic point of view, the tankas are not in any way remarkable, as they faithfully follow traditional schemes.

The tankas of this series are not numbered, so that their succession cannot be ascertained. As they form a sequence, we are led to wonder according to what order the Tibetans used to arrange such a set of tankas and, in general, according to what standards they used to arrange, and consequently to represent, the series of the arhats. And as representations of sacred subjects are regularly modelled on the corresponding liturgical literature, to answer these questions is tantamount to establishing the liturgical sources, connected with the arhats cycle, from which Tibetan painters drew their inspiration.<sup>257)</sup> We know several lists of the arhats, from those contained in the Indian sources, like the *Maitreya-uyākarāṇa* and the *Nandimitravādāna*, to the

Tibetan sources. Let us then make a summary of these different lists, so as to see clearly the different literary classifications of this cycle. This will necessarily lead us to notice also the analogies and inconsistencies between different lists where the arhats geographical localization is concerned.

C - *Nandimitrāvādāna* - Tibetan translation, bsTan agyur, vol. 90, n. 272 <sup>258)</sup>

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Piṇḍola Bharadvāja,<br>bha ra dha dsa bsod<br>sñoms len | 9. Gopaka, ba lan<br>skyon                  |
| 2. Kanakavatsa, gser<br>be'u                               | 10. Panthaka, lam pa                        |
| 3. Bharadvāja, bha ra<br>dha dsa                           | 11. Rāhula, sgra gcan<br>ḍsin               |
| 4. Abhedā, mi p'yed  | 12. Nāgasena, klu sde                       |
| 5. Bakula, šin šun can                                     | 13. Aṅgaja, zur gyis<br>šes <sup>259)</sup> |
| 6. Bhadrā, bzañ po   | 14. Vanavāsīn, naḡs<br>gnas                 |
| 7. Kālīka, nag po  | 15. Ajita, mi p'am pa                       |
| 8. Vatsaputra, bad<br>sai bu                               | 16. Cūḍapanthaka,<br>gtsug gi lam           |

D - *Nandimitrāvādāna* - Chinese translation

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Piṇḍola bharadvāja  | CHAVANNES: Ka-<br>nakaparidvāja ?)                |
| 2. Kanakavatsa   |   |
| 3. Chia no chia po li<br>to she, Kanaka<br>bharadvāja (LÉVI- | 4. Su p'in t'o (LÉVI-<br>CHAVANNES: Su-<br>bindu) |

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 5. Nakula                                       | 11. Rāhula  |
| 6. Bhadrā                                       | 12. Nāgasena  |
| 7. Kālīka                                       | 13. Yin chieh t'o (LÉVI-<br>CHAVANNES:<br>Inḡada) <sup>260)</sup> |
| 8. Vajraputra                                   | 14. Vanavāsīn   |
| 9. Shu po chia (LÉVI-<br>CHAVANNES:<br>Śvapāka) | 15. Ajita   |
| 10. Panthaka                                    | 16. Cūḍapanthaka  |

E - *Nandimitrāvādāna* - Khotanese translation

- |                       |                                 |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Piṇḍola bharadvāja | 10. Rāhula                      |
| 2. Kanakavatsa        | 11. [Cūḍapanthaka]              |
| 3. Kanakabharadvāja   | 12. Nāgasena                    |
| 4. Abhijit            | 13. Aṅgiras (Aṅgila,<br>Inḡaṇa) |
| 5. Bakkula            | 14. Śaṇāvāsa (Vana-<br>vāsa)    |
| 6. Kāntha (Kāḍa)      | 15. Aśoka                       |
| 7. Bhadrā             | 16. Panthaka                    |
| 8. Vajraputra         |                                 |
| 9. Gaupāka (Gopaka)   |                                 |

F - Atiśa's Hymn and Poem by mC'mis ston  
Nam mk'a' grags

- |                                     |                          |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Aṅgaja                           | 9. Bakula                |
| 2. Ajita                            | 10. Rāhula               |
| 3. Vanavāsīn                        | 11. Cullapanthaka        |
| 4. Kālīka                           | 12. Piṇḍola              |
| 5. Vajriputra (rdo rje<br>mo gi bu) | 13. Bharadvāja           |
| 6. Bhadrā                           | 14. Panthaka (lam bstan) |
| 7. Kanavatsa                        | 15. Nāgasena             |
| 8. Kanakabharadvāja                 | 16. Gopaka               |
|                                     | 17. Abhedā               |

The geographical distribution of the world among the different arhats has varied with the schools and the times. According to the *Nandimitrāvādāna* they are distributed by localities as follows.

A - Chinese		B - Tibetan	
1. Piṇḍola Bharadvāja	Aparagodaniya	1. Piṇḍola Bhar.	Aparagodaniya
2. Kanakavatsa	Kāsmīra	2. Kanakavatsa	Pūrvavideha
3. Kanakabharadvāja	Pūrvavideha	3. Bharadvāja	Kāsmīra
4. Su p'in t'o	Uttarakuru	4. Abhedā	Jambudvīpa
5. Nakula	Jambudvīpa	5. Bakula	Uttarakuru
6. Bhadrā	Tāmradvīpa	6. Bhadrā	Tāmradvīpa
7. Kālīka	Samghaṭa	7. Kaḷīka (nag po)	Siṃhala
8. Vajraputra	Po la na	8. Vajriputra (bad sai bu)	Pa na sai gliñ

A - Chinese		B - Tibetan	
9. Svapāka	Gandhamādana	9. Gopaka	Gandhamādana
10. Panthaka	Trayastrimśa	10. Panthaka	Trayastrimśa
11. Rāhula	Priyaṅgu	11. Rāhula	Priyaṅgu
12. Nāgasena	Pan-tu-po	12. Nāgasena	sKya bo (Pāṇḍava)
13. Yin kie t'o (Ingaḍa)	Vipulapārśva	13. Zur gyis šes (Aṅgaja)	Vipulapārśva
14. Vanavāsin	K'o chu	14. Vanavāsin	Lus ap'ags (Videha)
15. Ajita	Gr̥dhra-kūṭa	15. Ajita	(gÑa šiñ [aḍsin]) Yugandhara
16. Cūḍapanthaka	Nemindhara	16. Cūḍapanthaka	Gr̥dhra-kṛṭa

C - Khotanese

1. Piṇḍola bharadvāja	Aparagodaniya	9. Gopaka	Gandhamādana
2. Kanakavatsa	Kāśmīra	10. Rāhula	Trayastrimśa
3. Kanakabharadvāja	Pūrvadvīpa	11. [Cūḍapanthaka]	Prabhaṅkaradvīpa
4. Abhijit	Uttarakuru	12. Nāgasena	Kailāsa
5. Bakkula	Jambudvīpa	13. Aṅgiras	Gr̥dhra-kūṭa
6. Kāntha (Kāḍa)	Siṃhaladvīpa	14. Śāṅāvāsa	Udayagiri
7. Bhadra	Tāmraparṇikadvīpa	15. Aśoka	
8. Vajraputra	Yamuṇāparṇikadvīpa	16. Panthaka	Vaidehagiri

D - K'ro lotsāva			E - According to the Paṅ c'en Blo bzai ye šes dpal bzai po		
1. Aṅgaja	Ti se	Kailāsa	1. Piṇḍola Bharadvāja	Lus p'ags gliñ	Videha
2. Ajita	Drañ sroñ ri	—	2. Kanaka- vatsa	Ka c'e	Kāśmīra
3. Vanavāsin	Lo ma bdun ri	Saptaparṇi	3. Kanaka Bharadvāja	Ba lañ spyod kyi ri bo	Aparagoda- niya
4. Kālīka	Zañs gliñ	Tāmradvīpa	4. Panthaka	Lhai gnas su sum cu rtsa gsum	Trayastrimśa
5. Vajriputra	Siṅgala	Siṃhala	5. Rāhula	Pri yan kui gliñ	Priyaṅgu
6. Bhadra	Ya mu nā	Yamuṇā	6. Nāgasena	Ños yañs ri bo	Vipulapārśva
7. Kanakavatsa	K'a c'e	Kāśmīra	7. Aṅgaja	Gañs ti se	Kailāsa
8. Kanakabha- radvāja	Nub gliñ	Aparadvīpa	8. Vanavā- sin	mÑan yod kyi lo ma bdun pai ri	Saptaparṇi (in Śrāvasti)
9. Bakula	sGra mi śñan	Uttarakuru	9. Ajita	U ši ra	Ušira
10. Rāhula	Pri yañ ku	Priyaṅgu	10. Abheda	Šambhala dan ñe bai rii rgyal po gañs can	Hi mā la ya, near Šam- bhala

D - K'ro lotsāva			E - According to the Paṅ c'e Blo bzañ ye šes dpal bzañ po		
11. Cullapantha- ka	Bya rgod ri	Gṛdhrakūṭa	11. Bakula	Byaṅ sgra mi ṅan gyi ri bo	Uttarakuru
12. Piṅḍolabha- radvāja	Šar gliṅ	Pūrvadvīpa	12. Bhadra	Ya mu nai gliṅ	Yamunā
13. Panthaka	Sum c' u gsum	Trayastrīṣā	13. Kālīka	ṅDsam gliṅ gi zaṅs gliṅ	Tāmradvīpa (in Jambu- dvīpa)
14. Nāgasena	Ños yaṅs ri	Vipulapārśva	14. Vajrīputra	Siṅ ga lai gliṅ	Siṃhala
15. Gopaka	Bhi hu la ri	Bhīhula	15. Gopaka	Bi hu la (ri)	Bhiula <sup>261)</sup>
16. Abhedā	Gaṅs ri	Himālaya	16. Cūḍapan- thaka	Bya rgod ri	Gṛdhrakūṭa

Nag dbaṅ sṅan grags dpal bzañ po's text attempts to classify and distribute the 16 arhats according to the scheme of the *maṅḍala*. Eleven are assigned to the ṅDsam bu gliṅ and the other five to other localities. Those of the ṅDsam bu gliṅ are thus distributed: five in the Madhyadeśa, <sup>262)</sup> the middle country, that is, the country which tradition connects with the Buddha's preaching, five in the border countries (*mi'a*), one not definitely placed: it is difficult to establish whether he was in Madhyadeśa or in barbarous countries.

We have then the following schema:

Madhyadeśa { Gṛdhrakūṭa in Magadha  
Ušira  
between Yamunā and Gaṅgā  
Vipulapārśva

on the frontiers { Kailāsa  
Śambhala  
Kāśmīra  
Priyaṅgu  
Tāmradvīpa

difficult to place: Bhi hu la

In other continents:

East: Videha  
West: Aparagodaniya  
North: Uttarakuru  
South-East: Siṃhala  
Zenith: Trayastrīṣā

We have, then, before us two different lists; one of them goes back to Nandimitra's prophecy, the other, handed down by Tibetan sources, to the tradition introduced in Tibet by Atiṣa.

What conclusion may we draw from these lists? First of all that though the catalogue of the arhats was subject to small variations, their localization in the various places progressed with the diffusion of Buddhism. We see, for instance, in the Khotanese redaction the Kailāsa appear; in the catalogue of the Paṅ c'en the Himālaya and then Śambhala, the mythic place of the Kālacakra are added to it. The various localities where the arhats were supposed to dwell changed according to the times and the places where the books concerned with the arhats circulated, with a freedom which does not affect the arhats themselves. The Tibetan author who arranges the arhats according to the diagram of the *maṅḍala* does not introduce anything new but clearly follows an ancient tradition. This is evident if we compare his arrangement with the catalogues of Nandimitra; here also a *maṅḍala* is at the basis of the list; the Trayastrīṣā, being gods, are on the top; they are the ideal centre round which the *maṅḍala* evolves; the Nemindhara on the other hand is the outer circle of the world, so is also the Yugandhara though there is a difference as

regards the sources, some of them considering the Neminhdara the inner and others the outermost of the seven rings of mountains encircling the world. Anyhow either of them is the limit of earth and an external circle of the maṇḍala. Then there is an inner circle in which four continents are placed: Pūrvavideha, Jambudvīpa, Aparagodaniya, Uttarakuru, then another circle referring to Jambudvīpa proper: Tāmradvīpa, Sīmhala, Gandhamādana, Kāśmīra; two localities Ḡḍhrakūṭa and Vipula near Rājagṛha are the very core of the maṇḍala since they represent the places where the Law was revealed, one of them, the Ḡḍhrakūṭa being changed into a kind of mythical paradise where the Buddha preaches the Mahāyāna from time immemorial.

The other remaining countries or continents are difficult to locate, being mythic continents encircling the Jambudvīpa.

The list according to Atiśa and to the lotsāva mC'ims ston, thanks to the authority derived from its authors and to the influence of their hymns upon the liturgy connected with this cycle, was substituted for the one contained in the Indian books (with some exceptions, as in the case of that of the Pañc'ēn) and was generally included in the litanies and prayers;<sup>261</sup> Pander's list (from which WADELLE's and GRÜNWEDEL's are derived) can be traced back to it:

Āṅgaja	Bakula
Ajita	Rāhula
Vanavāsin	Cūḍapanthaka
Kālika	Piṅḍolabharadvāja
Vajrīputra	Panthaka
Bhadra	Nāgasena
Kanakavatsa	Gopaka
Kanakabharadvāja	Abhedā

The Tibetan text, which I have often quoted, based upon good sources, follows, on the other hand, this succession:

Rāhula	Piṅḍolabharadvāja
Cūḍapanthaka	Panthaka

Nāgasena	Kālika
Gopaka	Vajrīputra
Abhedā	Bhadra
Āṅgaja	Kanakavatsa
Ajita	Kanakabharadvāja
Vānavasin	Bahula

The divergence, however, is only apparent: it is enough to read the second list beginning from n. 8, that is from Āṅgaja, and thence from Bakula to Abhedā, to realize that it is the same; there seems therefore to be no doubt (keeping in mind the exceptions pointed out by the fifth Dalai Lama) that we too should arrange these paintings in the same order, conforming to the general custom of liturgy and iconography.

The lists given above confirm what we have already said, that Dharmata la's and the Hva śan's names are alien to normal tradition and represent a late addition. They were certainly not used in the times of mC'ims, who was a great abbot of the sNar t'añ monastery, always considered one of the most noteworthy centres of the arhats cult, where Klu mes is believed to have placed copies of the Chinese paintings. This said, we may pass, without more ado, to the illustration of each single tanka.

The iconography of the arhats too was characterized very early: each of them has his own particular *mudrā* and his own symbol, which allows us to identify him at once and with certainty. On the other hand it is more difficult to establish with what event the personages who accompany the arhats in the series herein reproduced, are connected: the presence of some of them may be explained by the legends of hagiographic tradition concerning the arhats; others perhaps allude to the continents or localities where they exercised their spiritual protection; still others must remain doubtful until some text is found, dealing with this cycle more extensively than the treatises to which we now have access.



Plate n. 156. – Aṅgaja (*Yan lag abyuñ, Yan lag skyes, Mes skyes,*<sup>264</sup>) *Zur kyis šes*) carries a fly-whisk, resting on his right shoulder, and a vase for perfume in both hands. He is in the act of handing it to a monk who approaches him as if to present him with a censer. This happened, in accordance with the tradition, in the Gandhamādāna. According to the Tibetan text quoted above, a fly-whisk should be in the left hand. Below, a monk and a warrior.

Plate n. 157. – Ajita (*Mi p'am*); in front of him two figures offering gifts; below, an Indian ascetic and a divinity in the act of doing homage to him. Ajita has his outer garment (*bla gos*) pulled over his head and his hands, although covered, in the meditative attitude.

Plate n. 158. – Vanavāsin (*Nags na gnas*) is represented in the posture called *lalitakṣepa*; in his left hand he holds a fly-whisk, which is also an attribute of Aṅgaja. Near him a god; below, disciples and a tiger, to recall the woods in which he lived, near Mount Saptaparnā (*Lo ma bdum*).

Plate n. 159. – Kālika<sup>265</sup> (*Dus ldan, Dur k'rod pa, Nag po pa*) holds in his hands two large earrings (*rna skor*) which, according to the legend, were given him by the gods of the Kāmadhātu when, having ascended to their heaven, he preached the Law to them. Near him a monk, and below divinities in the act of offering gifts as a souvenir of that sermon.

Plate n. 160. – Vajrīputra (*rDo rje moi bu, Bad sai bu*) is represented seated on a wooden throne in the European fashion; he holds in his left hand, a fly-whisk (*rña yab, cāmara*) which according to the tradition was offered him by the gods. A monk is offering him a vase of perfume, while a person covered with leaves is in the act of presenting him humbly with some fruits; to the left, another monk brings gifts on a dish; below, a dancing Turkoman. The person covered with leaves is a *gandharva* (*dri za*), in whose territory Vajrīputra went to beg; the converted *gandharvas* offered him medicines and perfumes.

Plate n. 161. – Bhadra (*bZañ po*) is represented with his right hand in the attitude of the explanation of the Law, while the left is in the attitude of meditation, precisely as the Tibetan text says.

To his left a *garuḍa* is seen descending from the sky and astonishing the monks, one of whom tries to hide a person under his cloak.

Plate Q. – Kanakavatsa (*gSer bew*) is seated on a throne and holds in his hands a string on which gems are strung. This string was given him, according to the legend, by the *nāgas*, when he went down into their country to convert them to the Buddhist faith.

Plate n. 162. – Kanakabharadvāja (*Bha ra dva dsa gser can*) is represented with his hands resting one upon the other, in *samādhimudrā*.

Plate n. 163. – Bakula may be recognized by the ichneumon which he holds under his left hand; below, figures of *yakṣa*; the ichneumon (called *nakula* in Sanscrit) was the origin of the arhats name which is precisely Nakula in Nandimitra's relation, and then became Bakula and also Bakkula.<sup>266</sup> Lādakh and Zanskar claim the glory of having given hospitality to his incarnation, in the monastery of Ri rdsoñ.

Plate n. 164. – Rāhula (*sGra gcan aḍsin*) seated on a decorated seat of Chinese style; he holds in his hands a diadem, in remembrance of his visit to the Trayastriṃśa's heaven to preach the Law and of the gift of their own diadems, which those gods made him. By his side is seen the image of a *deva*.

Plate n. 165. – Cullapanthaka (*Lam ap'ran bstan* or: *Cūḍapanthaka, gTsuḡ gi lam*) is represented seated, with his hands in the meditative posture; by his side, gods in an adoring attitude. On either side, two *deva* and two monks.

Plate n. 166. – Piṅḍola<sup>267</sup> Bharadvāja (*Bha ra dva dsa bsod sñoms len*); his characteristic symbols are the book and the bowl for alms (*lbun bzed*) which should represent, according to the Tibetan tradition, his miraculous power of granting the wishes of those who pray to him.

Plate n. 167. – Panthaka (*Lam bstan*) is represented seated on a throne, cross-legged, holding a book in both hands.

Plate n. 168. – Nāgasena (*Klui sde*) is represented with the vase for libations (*gtor bum*) and the staff (*mk'ar bsil*). The former, according to the legend, was presented to him by the four kings of the points of the compass and is used to wash off the sins of created beings; the latter is used to heal sickness. Around him divinities and praying monks.

Plate n. 169. – Gopaka (*sBed byed, Ba lan skyon*) or, according to the Tibetan text quoted above, Gopati: he carries on his right hand the book which is considered his symbol. Below two lions between a monk and a barbarian clutching a monkey with his right hand.

Plate n. 170. – Abhedā (*Mi p'yed*) is represented holding in his hands a *stūpa* of that particular type called in Tibetan *byan c'ub mc'od rten*: the Buddha gave it to him when he went into the Northern countries to convert the *yakṣas*, in order that its magic power might appease the calamities stirred up by the *yakṣas*. A converted *yakṣa* is represented on the right of the arhats.

#### TANKA n. 137 (Plate 171).

A single figure, seated on a rock, stands out from the empty background, soft and slender. He holds with both hands a book in its envelope, after the Chinese fashion. The whole atmosphere of the painting is Chinese, as perhaps no other tanka in the collection: its light colours, the gay flower-patterns, the scope given by empty spaces, in which Indian artists are fond of heaping multiplied and overlapping figures. Two peacocks are strolling below, free and untrammelled. Above, lying on a mass of clouds, a meditating

Buddha: his solitude transforms him into a light and airy vision. I cannot tell who the personage may be: probably a bodhisattva, but he wears his hair long like an ascetic. A beatified ascetic or a god? We have every reason for thinking that the artist has followed a Chinese model, which he had before him or which was present to his mind's eyes.

#### TANKA n. 138 (Plate 172).

sGrol ma: on the upper part aJam dpal dbyañs between two lamas aBrug pa. Below, the Sruñ ak'or, a cycle of protecting deities: Ts'e riñ ma and two terrific deities riding in a circle of flames, Mohabhairavavajra on horseback (? CLARK, p. 54, n. 566).

#### TANKA n. 139 (Plate R).

This picture also can be considered an excellent specimen of K'ams art: its vastity of space, the animals' graceful and natural liveliness, the landscape and the very type of the monks represented, all takes us back to pictorial traditions akin to the Chinese school. In the centre of the tanka a female deity holds in her arms a musical instrument, the *vinā*; she is therefore no other than dByañs can ma, Sarasvatī, the goddess of eloquence. In Indian mythology she is Brahmā's bride, and in the Buddhist pantheon she has kept the same characters: she is the goddess of eloquence, learning, literary talent, therefore all masters are anxious to obtain her favour, that she may through her grace sharpen and stimulate their wit and ennoble their style. This explains why many *sādhanas* dedicated to her are to be found in the SM, and why Tibetan exorcists and masters should have been much concerned with her liturgy.<sup>268</sup>

## CENTRAL ASIAN STYLE

TANKAS nn. 140, 141 (Plates S, 173-177).

Vaiśravaṇa belongs to a very complex group of deities whose origins are various; they go under the name of Yakṣa and are earth-gods and gods of the woods; harmfully inclined, they were finally received into the Buddhist pantheon. Buddhism abounds in hagiographical legends relating their submission at the hands of Śākyamuni and of his disciples and their passing to the new faith. Every village had its protecting yakṣa or yakṣas; they were believed to live in trees or in certain stones placed at the feet of trees and were worshipped with regular offerings of flowers, libations and sacrifices. As soon as a deity takes a preeminent place over others of the same cycle, it assumes their names, virtues and qualities; its original character is thus enriched with new elements, becomes more and more complex, is transfigured. The same process took place with Vaiśravaṇa.

We do not presume, starting from this tanka, to write a monograph on such a complex subject as Vaiśravaṇa's figure; nevertheless it is necessary to establish what his essential characteristics are. Vaiśravaṇa is regularly considered the patronymic of Kubera, who in the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* already appears as the king of the Yakṣa and of wealth - *Kubero Vaiśravaṇo rājā*. The complexity of his figure appears from the very fact of his double paternity: now he is Pulastya's son, now the son of Viśravas: tradition solves the contradiction by a mythological device: the *Mahābhārata* (*Rāmopakhyāna*, III, p. 274) relates that Vaiśravaṇa was the son of Pulastya by a cow; one day he deserted his father to serve Brahmā, but the father created by himself another son, Viśravas, who became Vaiśravaṇa's rival; the latter, to appease his father,

made him a present of three beautiful Rākṣasī. Always according to the *Rāmopakhyāna*, he reigned in Laṅkā, whence he was expelled by Rāvaṇa, the son of one of those Rākṣasī he had given his father. On the other hand Brahmā, to reward his devotion, made him lord of the Yakṣas, gave him power over treasures and conferred upon him the office of lokapāla, protector of one of the four points of the compass.

Thus, already in Brahmanic tradition, some uncertainty appears concerning Vaiśravaṇa, Viśravas and Kubera. Vaiśravaṇa is not in all our sources the son of Viśravas: his abode is Laṅkā, later occupied by the ten-headed Rākṣasa, on the other hand Kubera's reign is in the North, in Sumeru or Kailāsa (*Kailāsanilaya*, as the *Mahābhārata* says). His wives were Rddhi and Bhadrā. According to the Buddhist tradition, he lives in the Himālaya, in Viśāṇā, citadel of Ālakamandā; indeed, according to the *Dīghanikāya*, III, p. 201, he owes his name not to his father Viśrava but to the name of his abode: "*Kuverassa... Viśāṇā nāma rāja-dhāni tasmā Kuvero Mahārāja Vessavaṇo ti pavucchati Vesavā*...". His wife's name is Bhuñjati. The name of the city where he resides varies: as Kubera's abode, it is called Alakā, (which is given as his residence even in the *Mahābhārata*) Ālakamandā, Alakavati; as Vaiśravaṇa's abode, Aṭānātā (thus already in the text and commentary of the *Dīghanikāya*, XXXII).

It is thus clear that different elements come together to form the Yakṣa's figure: Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa; but it is difficult to ascertain whether we should consider this a case of assimilation between parallel deities, or rather of a double form of the same deity. The problem is difficult because of the continual overlapping and blending of mythological

types which is a constant phenomenon in the development of Indian religion: local and tribal deities, when they are similar, melt one into the other, through the channel of certain predominating characters common to all; their original names survive as particular denominations which throw light on this or that aspect. However, in the present case, beside the process of convergence, we also notice, indeed we shall see it prevail, an opposite process of dissimilation.

Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa, who appear identified in the most ancient tradition (whether this identity be original or secondary), later become independent figures; for instance, already in the *Lalita-Vistara*, Kubera is different from Vaiśravaṇa: “*Śivaskandhanārāyaṇakuberacandrasūryavaiśravaṇa*”, p. 120. So also in the *Malāmāyūrī*, ed. Lévi, s. v., with the literary anticipation of a fact which we see documented by iconography. Later, at the height of Mahāyāna, we find by the side of Vaiśravaṇa the form Vaiśramaṇa.

The BÖHTLINGK-ROTH *Lexicon* considers the form Vaiśramaṇa an error for Vaiśravaṇa: but the real existence of the two forms is proved by Tibetan traditions, which have for Kubera: *lus nan* “bad body”, for Vaiśravaṇa: *nam t’os sras*, which is the most common form, and *nal bsos* “the reposing”, for Vaiśramaṇa. Chinese transcriptions prove it still more: P’i sha men 毘沙門, Jap. Bishamon.

The Kubera, Vaiśravaṇa, Vaiśramaṇa type’s initial complexity increased when, following its diffusion in Central Asia, Buddhism came in contact with local cults and, according to its custom, absorbed them, identifying certain gods and genii, extremely popular in the conquered regions, with those figures of its own pantheon with which they seemed to have some mythological or iconographic analogy. It is not improbable that some such contamination may have happened in the case of the deity from which the kings of Khotan believed themselves to be descended. According to the *Lii yul luñ*

*bstan pa* and to the *Li yul c’os kyi lo rgyus* (see THOMAS, *Literary Texts*, pp. 98-99, 307-308 and *Some notes on Central-Asian Kharoṣṭhī documents*, BSOAS, XI-3, p. 520), they descended from Beśa-ramaṇa; the same descent from Vaiśramaṇa, considered the protector of the country, is related by Hsüan Tsang who tells us that he enjoyed a special cult in Khotan, together with Śrī-devi. Anyhow, this god has two predominating characters: on one side he is the god of wealth, the Indian Pluto; speaking of a rich man, he is said to vie with Kubera, his house rivals Vaiśravaṇa’s in splendour. He is Dhanada, the dispenser of riches: Kubera guards treasures and helps his devotees to find them; he is therefore Nidhipati; by virtue of this character, he assimilates kindred deities, of different origin, for instance Jambhala, Jambhara who is also a Yakṣa.

On the other hand he is king of the Yakṣas, chief of their armies; together with Virūpākṣa, Dhṛtarāṣṭhra, Virūdhaka, he is one of the kings of the points of the compass, a Lokapāla, one of the four Caturmahārāja.

The latter were taken over very early by Buddhism as defenders of the faith: hence their protective character. They protect the Law against harmful forces; therefore their active character finally became predominant. In ancient Buddhism they had merely been faithful followers and guardians of the Buddha; later they became active custodians of religion. Thus already in the *Mahāvastu* Vaiśravaṇa appears between Śiva and Skandha, the god of war, in the list of devas. Mhv. III, p. 68; Ch. I, p. 399. *senāpatirūpeṇa vaiśravaṇarūpeṇa cakravartī-rūpeṇa*.

In the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* the Caturmahārāja reveal and accomplish the *raṅkṣā* or defences of the faithful: the same task is attributed to them in the *Mahāsābasrapramardani*.

This explains how, little by little, a warlike character was added to their primitive one. This double aspect favours the splitting up of asingle god into two gods, which is

revealed by Sino-Tibetan iconography, where Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa-Jambhala as Pluto is distinguished from Vaiśravaṇa as Lokapāla.<sup>269)</sup>

The first is represented, like almost all Yakṣas, fat and half naked, through successive iconographic modulations, which go from the Kubera of Mathurā and Lahore to the Kubera-Jambhala figure of Buddhist art in the Middle Ages: his symbols are, as in the Lahore statue, the lance, which appears once more in Japanese iconography, and the money-bag, in the ritual of the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* (commentary by KARMAVAJRA, bsTan agyur, ju. XVII, p. 17, sword and arrow), or, generally, the mongoose pouring out riches from its mouth or the lemon (*jambhara*) or the gem. In a sādhana of Vaiśravaṇa with four arms (bsTan agyur, LXXXVI, 47, p. 163) his symbols are club (Kubera's weapon in the Epic) sword, *varada* and mongoose.

In Hindu iconography, if he has two arms, is in *varada* and *abhaya-mudrā*, or he carries a club in his left hand; if he has four arms, with the first two he embraces his *śakti* and with the others he clasps a club and an arrow (RAO, *Hindu iconography*, II, p. 537).

The Lokapāla's type has quite a different evolution: from the simplicity of the image in Gandharic art, where the four lokapāla are represented according to the *devas'* pattern (and there is nothing to distinguish them, except the scenes in which they appear) up to the Central Asian, Chinese and then Tibetan tradition.

Here a new iconographic type appears, which is not represented in India: this type preserves the treasure-pouring mongoose of Kubera-Jambhala and therefore is connected by this symbol with the original character of the god of riches, but in his other hand he brandishes the flag (*dhvajā*); he rides on a lion, while in the ancient tradition Kubera is: Naravāhana, "sits on naras,, or is carried by horses or birds; he is usually dressed as a warrior, wearing a cuirass of Iranian pattern (STEIN, *Serindia*, p. 874). This warlike

character, predominating in Vaiśravaṇa's type, as a Lokapāla, is not to be explained only as the emphasizing of an aspect already belonging to Vaiśravaṇa in ancient Buddhist tradition, according to which he is a chief of the yakṣas and a defender of the faith; it is the consequence of new orientations, and perhaps of contacts with other mythical types, which ended by transforming Vaiśravaṇa into a god of war. In some Tantric texts like the *Mahāmāyūrī* or the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, Vaiśravaṇa is always the protector of the faith, the possessor of the *rakṣas*, the lord of the Vidyādharas, but he has not yet assumed that character of god of war which transpires, for instance, in some works included in the Chinese canon, T. 1247, *Pei fang p'i sha men t'ien wang sui chün hu fa ii kwei* 北方毘沙門天王隨軍護法儀軌; T. 1248, *Pei fang p'i sha men t'ien wang sui chün hu fa chen yen* 北方毘沙門天王隨軍護法真言; T. 1249, *P'i sha men ii kwei* 毘沙門儀軌 (2126). In these texts the god, represented in a terrific aspect, with a lance and stūpa, is greeted as "he who follows the armies to protect the Law,,. Being invoked by Amoghavajra when, in 742, Tibetans, Arabs and Sogdians attacked Ngan hsi, he caused the troops of his own son Naḍa to appear before the Emperor Hiu-en-tsung, who had gone into the temple with the Indian monk; at the same time (as it was later reported from the attacked city) a fearful army suddenly appearing amid a great earthquake put the enemy's troops to flight and delivered the city. Equally, in Balkh, he was supposed to have saved a great monastery from a Turkish attack.

These texts, in which the god's warlike aspect and attire are emphasized, are not based on an Indian tradition: Vaiśravaṇa, in India, is eclipsed by Kubera and Jambhala: in the Sādhanamālā he appears in fact as an acolyte of the latter god and has no independent life (in SM, p. 566, in the maṇḍala of Jambhala's eight gods, he is to be found

in the South, on p. 562 on the West). In the *bsTan agyur* only two *sādhana* are dedicated to him: *rGyud LXXII*, p. 29 and *LXXXVI*, p. 47, and one *Kalpa LXXII*, p. 30. On the other hand he has a preeminent place with respect to the other three *lokapālas* in the literature of the *Pañcarakṣā*, according to which he is represented with four arms, an arrow, a sword, mongoose and vase (*KARMAVAJRA*'s commentary, *bsTan agyur*, LVII, p. 17).

From what precedes, I should be inclined to assign a non-Indian origin to this new type of *Vaiśravaṇa* in a warrior's attire.<sup>270</sup> It was probably formed in Central Asia, through a contact with other mythic cycles. This hypothesis is confirmed by the god's apparel, by his hat which STEIN, *Serindia*, p. 874 and MATSUMOTO (*Tonkō-ga no kenkyū*, p. 463 ff.) justly connected with the Sassanid kings' crown MATS. compares the figure of Khusraw II, in the famous dish of the *Bibliothèque Nationale Survey Persian Art*, vol. IV, pl. 214, and we can also add *ibid.*, p. 218, and above all the *Naqsh-e-Rustam* reliefs, representing Shapur's triumph, *ibid.*, p. 155 a whose crown has a great analogy with that of our *tanka n. 140*.

For his armour, with figures of lions on the shoulders, see STEIN, *ibid.*, LE COQ, *Bilderratlas*, p. 65, fig. 91.

In Tibet this warlike character, which Central Asian and Chinese traditions were introducing, must have favoured the fortunes of the god and of his myth, for his quality of protector of the North, so represented in a warrior's costume, would fatally approach him to Gesar, who is also a god of war and in the division of the world is assigned, among the four Kings, precisely to the North. This is confirmed by a tradition sufficiently ancient, contained in the *Pad ma bka' t'añ* (PKT, chap. II, THOMAS, *Literary Texts*, p. 266). According to this text, Gesar king of the Hor is the king ruling the North, while to the East is the king of China, to the West

the king of Ta zig (Persia) and to the South the king of India.

It is thus quite probable that, in some Central Asian environment, two different orders of ideas again should have melted one into the other, meeting upon the type of *Vaiśravaṇa*: on one side the *Lokapāla*, keeper of one of the four points of space, and on the other the "king of horses,, one of the four kings among which the rule over the *Jambudvīpa* is divided. The "king of horses,, was in the North, and in some Buddhist traditions he is already identified with the Turks, *Ge sar's Hor*, as in the Tibetan echo of the same legend mentioned above. We are led to the same consideration by the presence of the eight *aśvapati, rta bdag*, "lords of the horses,, who accompany *Vaiśravaṇa* in Tibetan iconography.

The Buddhist gnosis, changing the character of the *Yakṣas* and *Guhyakas* of whom *Vaiśravaṇa Kubera* was the overlord into faithful attendants of the Law transformed, then, this god into a *Vidyādhara*, the emperor of the *Vidyādharas*; and this made him akin to *Vajrapāṇi* equally assumed to the rank of *Guhyādhipati*.

It was necessary to premit all this in order to understand the singularity of *Vaiśravaṇa's* Tibetan type as it appears on two of our *tankas*; it points as its models to the Central Asian and Chinese *Lokapālas* and has no relation with the Indian iconographical tradition of *Kubera-Jambhala* (see, for instance, GNB, plate XLIII d). Indeed, according to the tradition concerning the *aP'yon rgyas* family's origin, and its relations with the *Bhata Hor*, (see p. 643), the Tibetans attributed the prototype of *rNam t'os sras*, *Vaiśravaṇa's* image to an artist from *Ijañ*, on Tibet's extreme Eastern frontiers, when, during the war between Tibet and China, *Vaiśravaṇa*, surrounded by eight horsemen, his brothers, led the Tibetan troops to victory. Chroniclers of *aP'yon rgyas'* family thus repeat a story which does not differ much from the one told by *Taishō n. 2126* though located in a different place.



Vaiśravaṇa's iconographic representation preserves in Tibet its Central Asian character through the centuries. While the other deities are nearly always represented according to the patterns of the sādhana, fundamentally inspired by Indian models, the Tibetan Vaiśravaṇa has nothing to do with India: armour, accoutrement, cuirass, apparel of the god and of his acolytes, point beyond discussion to a Central Asian origin.

There are naturally some differences between one tanka and another: this variety consists in a greater or lesser adherence to models more decidedly Chinese, as in tanka n. 141, or rather to Central Asian interpretations in which Iranian reminiscences are not rarely perceived. Moreover, tanka 141 n. is richer in personages representing the complex cycle connected with Vaiśravaṇa.

Tanka n. 140, Pl. S offers no difficulty of interpretation. In the centre rNam t'os sras, wearing an armour; he is seated on a lion, which instead of being white, according to the most common iconography, is of a blue colour. In his right hand he holds the flag (*dbuāja*) and in his left the mongoose, from whose mouth jewels and precious stones issue rather like a cascade. The acolytes surrounding him are easily identified. Eight are on horseback: therefore they are the eight rTa bdag, whose list I will give later.

The two figures in Chinese costume on the god's right represent a man and a woman: the man carries a sceptre and the woman a bowl, as if to make an offering to the god. This attitude of both personages makes it impossible to consider them rNam t'os sras' parents: they are rather the king and queen of the nāgas, who come to do him homage after having been conquered. The painting much resembles the one in the *Thousand Buddhas*, Pl. XXVI (WALEY, *Cat.*, p. 41) which bears an inscription saying that it represents Vaiśravaṇa "crossing the ocean,, in relation with the nāgas' and the nāginis' submission, accomplished by the

Mahāsāhasrapramardanī-vidyā (see *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, p. 14).

Each of the other three smaller figures represents perhaps one of Kubera's sons, who, according to the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, p. 10, are: Sañjaya, Janaka, Mahāgraha, Kalaśodara.

The second tanka is more complex; it represents, under the form of a maṇḍala, the whole of Vaiśravaṇa's heaven, i. e. the celestial city where he resides, Aḷakavātī, lCañ lo cañ. The city is built according to a fixed pattern, which is found in all iconographic representations of Vaiśravaṇa's maṇḍala: in the centre stands a palace with three roofs one over the other, of Chinese style (*gya p'ibs*): the god is seated inside it. On the four sides of the palace we see four smaller dwellings with only one roof, four more stand at the intermediate points: all around run three corridors (*ak' or sa*) in which various deities are placed.

According to the system of the Lotsāva of Zañs dkar, which seems to have enjoyed great diffusion and authority in Tibetan schools and which the painter of this tanka has generally followed, in the eight images regularly arranged on the four sides and in the four corners we must recognize the eight rTa bdag "the horsemen,,. As to the identification of the other personages of rNam t'os sras' cycle, we can rely on a vast Tibetan liturgical literature, where the first place is occupied by a treatise of Buston: rGyal po c'en po rnam t'os sras kyī bstod pa rgyal poi t'ugs rab tu mñes byed.

Naturally this pamphlet summarizes the Indian tradition, which has its centre above all in the literature of the Pañcarakṣā: the *Mahāmāyurī*, and particularly the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, which completes and develops the elements already contained in the *Āṭānā-tiyasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* and in the *Āṭānāṣūtra*, being enriched by new elements.

In this literature is contained a description of Aḷakavātī, considered as a heaven where the pious go (*Mahāsāh.*, p. 7), and lists are made of the groups of deities considered as Vaiśravaṇa's acolytes. To these treatises must

be added the *Mahāsabhāsrāpramardanīsūtrāṭīkā* by Karmavajra, bsTan agyur, LXVII.

The rTa bdag are:

	to the right	to the left	colour
to the East: Jambhala	symbol gem	M O N G O O S E	yellow
to the South: Gañ ba bzañ po	vase		yellow
to the West: Nor bu bzañ po	gem		white
to the North: Kubera	sword		blue
to the S. E.: Yañ dag šes	scimitar		yellow
to the S. W.: aBrog gnas	lance		yellow
to the N. W.: lNa rtсен	pagoda of gems		pale yellow
to the N. W.: aJam po aḳ'yil pa	sword and shield		white

The names correspond respectively to: Jambhala, Pūrṇabhadrā, Mañibhadra, Kubera, Sañjaya, (on him see *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* chap. 12, Sañjñeya) Āṭavaka, Pañcika, Mṛdukuṇḍalin.

Thus we see that the list only in part corresponds to that of Vaiśravaṇa's eight brothers and hence of the Yakṣas, which is given by other sources, for instance by Taishō, 1796, 1 and is quoted on this base by the Hōbōgirin (Mañibhadra, Pūrṇabhadrā, Pañcika, Sātagiri, Haimavata, Viśakha, Āṭāvaka, Pañcāla).

In the third corridor are placed the eight nāgas, accompanied by their various retinues.

The second corridor is divided into two orders (*rim pa*). In the first are represented the following 28 gōvenors (*sde dpon*) of the Yakṣas (their list is also in KARMVAJRA'S treatise, p. 14):

To the East:

Riñ po      Gañ po  
Mig bzañs      Ser skya

To the South:

Señ ge      Duñ can (or Dus can,  
Karmavajra)  
Ñe bai señ ge      dGa' bo

To the West:

Señ ge      Bla ma  
Señ gei ral pa can      Ser skya

To the North:

aDsin pa      brTson skyon  
aDsin dga' (adsin pa K'yab ajug  
dag, Karmavajra)

To the South-East: Ts'ig(s) lña ser po

To the South-West: Ri mñam

To the North-West: Ser c'en

To the North-East: lNa skyon (lNa spyod  
Karmavajra)

and further on the zenith: Sa pa: Šin tu sa pa; Nag po; Ñe nag po. Then, in the intermediate space: Ñi, Zla, Me, rLuñ.

Iconographically, they are all alike; they clasp a sword in their right hand and hold a shield in their left.

In the third order are found the 32 *sTobs c'en* (mahābala), called by the *Mahāmāyūri* the Dharmabhṛtṛ, Vaiśravaṇa's brothers according to the Law, listed according to the *Āṭānātikasūtra*, ed. Hoffman, pp. 72 and 100, and Karmavajra, p. 14 ff. (cfr. *Mahāmāyūri*, ed. OLDENBURG, *Zapiski*, 1897-98, pp. 236-237):

To the East:

dBañ po      Indra  
Zla ba      Soma  
C'u lha      Varuṇa  
sKye dgui bdag po      Prajāpati  
brDol pai rgyal mts'an (in the *Āṭānātikasūtra*  
and in Bustoñ: Bha-  
radvāja)

dBañ ldan      Išana  
Tsan da na      Candana  
aDod pai gtso      Kāmaśreṣṭha

To the South:

mGrin ñan	(Kunikaṅṭha, in <i>Ma- bāsābasrapr.</i> : Maṅi- kaṅṭha)
mGul ñes	Nikaṅṭha
Bha ti (Baḍi)	( <i>Āṭānātikasūtra</i> : sTobs Idan = Balin)
Nor bu spyod pa	Maṅicāra
sGra rab	Praṇāda
Ñe rtser lña	Upapañcaka
Ri mñam	Sātāgiri

To the West:

gSer can	Haimavata
Gaṅ po	Pūrṇaka
Señ ldeñ	Khādira
gYon can	Kovida
Ba lañ skyoñ (Bu- ston: ba glañ)	Gopāla
ṅBrog gnas	Āṭāvaka
Mii rgyal po	Nararāja
rGyal bai k'yu mc'og	Jinarṣabha

To the North:

Ts'igs lña ser po	Pañcālaganḍa
bŽin bzañ	Sumukha (in <i>Āṭānā- tikasūtra</i> : Yid dga', Sumana)
Riñ po	Dirgha
sNa ts'ogs sde	Citrasena (Karmavajra: Nags ts'ogs sde Citravanasena)
Dri za	Gandharva
ṅBras bu gsum pa	Triphalin
mGul pa gsum pa	Trikaṅṭha
lCags mduñ riñ po	Dirghaśakti
(lha las ṅbyuñ bai)	Mātali
Ma ldan	

They are all equally dressed as warriors, hold a lance in their right hand and the sword in the left; they are attended by their retinue. In the outer corridor are the ten P'yogs skyoñ, the eight planets (gZa'), the 28 constellations, gods, nāga, Dri za, Yakṣa.

Then a list of protectors of the big places follows, which is similar to that contained in the *Mabāsābasrapr.* (p. 15).

places	deities
1-2. The sun and the moon surrounded by constellations	—
1. Pūṣpa	gSer gyi yan lag (but in the <i>Mabāsābasrapr.</i> Suvarṇavarna)
2. Magadha	ṅJigs byed (Rabheyaka)
3. gSo bai mt'a' (Bharukaccha)	Mi t'od can (Kāpalin)
4. Ko śa la (Kośāla)	Rab tu dkar (Prapuṇḍaka)
5. Bzañ poi yul (Bhadra, Madra)	K'a spu can (Śuciloma)
6. Gyad kyi yul (Malla)	Grags pa ṅdsin (Yasōdhara)
7. lNa ṅdsin pa (Pañcāla)	sKrag byed pa (Vibhiṣaṇa)
8. rTa skye ba (Aśvaja)	Mig dmar (Lohitākṣa)
9. Sruñ byed pa (Avanti)	Ser skya (Piṅgala)
10. Sems dpa' (?)	Mig ser po (Kapilākṣa)
11. Beu las (Vatsa)	Bum pai lto (Kumbhodara)
12. dGa' bai yul (Sūrata)	Riñ por skyes (Dirghila)
13. Ba lan ṅdsin (Gandhāra)	Rab tu ajoms (Pramardana)
14. Duñ yul (Kambu)	Ñi mai gñen (Sūryamitra)

Then many other yakṣa are displayed in the maṇḍala of Vaiśravaṇa, as protectors of minor places, according to a catalogue very similar to that of the *Mahāmāyūri*.

This, then, is another scheme of India's geographical division among various deities, less ample than the one of the *Mahāmāyūri* but equivalent to it and reduced to its essentials.

Vaiśravaṇa as king of the Yakṣas accepts as his acolytes numberless local gods that, as *naivāsika*, were supposed to rule over a certain space upon earth. The plan of their catalogues is always the same: the four principal points of the compass, four intermediate points, nadir and zenith viz., the spacial expansion of the world with special regards to the earth inhabited by men.

Through these geographical catalogues, extremely common in Vajrayāna (besides this one, from the *Pañcarakṣā*, we can quote another, of the 24 divisions of the Vajrakāya, projected upon the earth according to bDe mc'og's cycle), Buddhism definitely included

in its pantheon stubborn survivals of India's native and primitive religions, which the masses, though converted to new and loftier doctrines, could never forget. Vaiśravaṇa's cycle, from this point of view, is one of the most interesting, because in it this process of assimilation, accomplished by Buddhism in India and then outside India, is revealed in its clearest and fullest form, by transferring into Vajrayāna that manifold world of the Yakṣas, with which India's religious experiences begin their history.

This character of Vaiśravaṇa by which he absorbed non-Buddhist gods explains his popularity in Tibet; his acolytes showed great analogies with the aboriginal deities; the *naivāsika* gods introduced in his cycle had the same nature as the *Sa bdaḡ* and the gÑan. In this way the *Pañcarakṣā* and its allied texts gave the Tibetan masters an opportunity to give a Buddhist garb to aboriginal gods so rooted in the souls of the people that it was impossible definitely to dispose of them.

TANKA n. 142.

An undefined deity: male or female? It has six arms and seems to be represented as an ascetic, with long hair and earrings. Above, on each side, rDo rje ṅc'añ yab yum and the Buddha; on each side and below, the donors.

TANKA n. 143 (Plate T).

It is one of the most beautiful *ser t'añ* in the collection. On the golden background the lines traced in black develop, clear-cut and flexible; the uniformity of the gold is interrupted by short red flames, blazing up and playing all round the deities of the *sruñ k'or* and by the flowers. On the throne very slight touches of blue.

The painting represents an aBrug pa master, perhaps the actual founder of the sect. Above, in the centre, Śākyamuni, on the left Ts'e dpag med, on the right, another master of the same school. Below, Beg tse and a bTsan.

TANKAS nn. 144-147 (Plates 178-180, U).

They are all by the same author and also numbered so as to form a cycle.

Tanka n. 144 represents Heruka; this god's manifestations are multiplied in small figures surrounding the central image; they only differ in this, that the latter is represented with 16 arms and eight heads, while the former represent him with only two arms and one head. Among the figures of the lower plane, mixed with other patterns, the seven gems.

Below the inscription:

*Om svasti  
ādi bskrun (sic) dge ba gañ žig t'ob pa des  
dpal ldan bla ma rñams kyī žabs brten ciñ  
bdag dañ mk' a' mñams sems can ma lus pa  
be ru ka gi go p'an t'ob p'yir bsno*

"May the merit born of this (work) be devolved to the spiritual welfare of beings infinite as space, in such a manner that they, adoring the foot of the glorious masters, may obtain Heruka's spiritual condition .."

As the other tankas have no inscriptions, it is clear that this one is the centre of the cycles; the others develop round the deity as its acolytes and emanations. For Heruka see what I wrote in *Indo-Tibetica*, II, part II, p. 6; cfr. J. PRZYLUCKI, *Heruka-Šambara* in *Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies*, I, 1937.

Tanka n. 145 (Plate U) represents the white Tārā; she has already been mentioned in *Indo-Tibetica* and in the present book; there is no need of dwelling on her.

Tanka n. 146 represents aJigs byed; on his buffalo's head, the head of aJam dpal, whose terrific emanation he is; this god's image is also represented in the centre of his breast, to signify the essential identity of the two divinities.

Tanka n. 147 represents rNam par rgyal ma, with six arms, according to traditional iconography (see, for instance, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 201).

She is better known by the name of gTsongtor mam par rgyal ma, Uṣṇīṣavajayā, and as such, various sādhana of the SM are dedicated to her. She has two, or eight arms, and in Tibet there is a liturgy, dedicated to her, which goes back to Maitrīpā. In our times, with the Yellow school, wide circulation is being given to a handbook of the Pañ cen bsTan pai ñi ma, called *bCom ldan qdas rñam par rgyal mai sgrub dkyil ṅc'i med bdud rtsii bum byuñ*.

TANKA n. 148 (Plate 181).

It represents rDo rje gžon nu, i. e. rDo rje p'ur ba. We shall come back to this picture when illustrating tanka n. 167.

TANKA n. 149 (Plate 182).

This tanka, representing multiplications of the god pictured in the centre, is dedicated to rNam par snañ mdsad, that is to Vairocana, in the aspect proper to the Durgatipariśodhana's heaven (*Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 119 ff.).

As I have discussed this god at length in *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 106 ff. I am now dispensed from saying anything further about him.

TANKAS nn. 150, 151 (Plates 183, 184).

These two tanka belong to the same series: on the red background the figures are drawn in gold. In tanka n. 150 the lesser ones develop round the central figure, representing rDo rje sñiñ pos rab tu ajom pa, surrounded by a choir of other personages; beginning from the first one above on the left, they are:

N. 150. Tsan dan dpal, Candanaśrī  
C'u lhai lha, Varuṇadeva  
'Od dpal, Prabhāśrī  
Tsañs pai 'od zer, Brahmajyotir  
mTs'an dpal śin tu yoñs grags, Supra-  
kīrtitanāmaśrī  
Mi aḅ'rugs pa, Akṣobhya  
rNam par gnon pas gšegs pa, Vikrān-  
tagāmiśrī  
Śin tu mam par gnon pa, Suvikrāntaśrī  
Nor dpal, Dhanaśrī  
Sred med kyi bu, Nārāyaṇa

N. 151. In the centre: Śa kya t'ub pa  
dPa' boi sde, Vīrasena  
Rin c'en 'od aḅ'ro, Ratnārcih  
dPal dgyes, Śrīnandin (CLARK, LP,  
p. 246, n. 87: Vikramanandin; dpa'  
for dpal)  
Rin c'en zla 'od, Ratnacandrārabha  
Rin c'en zla ba, Ratnacandra  
Ts'añs pas byin, Brahmādatta  
Ts'añ pa (=Ts'añs pa), Brahmā  
Dri ma med pa, Vimala  
dPal sbyin, Śrīdatta (CLARK, LP: Śura-  
datta; dpa' for dpal)

Thus we see represented here those Buddhas we have very often found before as a secondary subsidiary cycle; they belong to the group of the lTuñ bšags, the Buddhas invoked during the confession of sins. We have already spoken about them above.

TANKA n. 152 (Plate 185).

This painting, of an extremely accurate design, is not precisely a *gser t'añ*, because the gold is deftly blended with silver; this gives the picture a fascinating sheen and subtlety. The figures, drawn with an exquisitely accurate touch, emerge, willow-slender, out of the diaphanous background, like a landscape just awakened, breaking loose from the night-mist, kissed by the sun's first rays. In the centre Mi skyod pa, Akṣobhya, stands out, his right hand in bhūmisparśamudrā, his left, the palm outstretched, supports the vertical rdo rje. The god, encircled with light by a double halo, is seated in the centre of a pavilion of Chinese style; under him unfolds a pageant of praying monks, nine on each side; the number eighteen would suggest the 18 arhat, and in this case we should infer that the painter, neglecting all the particular symbols which belong to each of the 18 keepers of the Law, has wished to represent them all together, as a uniform group. Then eight bodhisattvas represent Byañ c'ub sems dpa' brgyad's well known cycle. They are (see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, pp. 101 and 149, cfr. *sTon pa ñe bai sras brgyad aḅ'or dan bcas dkyil aḅ'or gcig tu mc'od ciñ bšags sbyoñ bya bai c'o ga rgyal sras dgyes pai lam ajuḅ in sGrub t'abs kun btus*):

1. aḅJam dpal gžon nur gyur pa
2. sPyan ras gzigs dbaṅ p'yug
3. rDo rje aḅsin pa
4. Byams pa mgon po
5. Sai sñiñ po
6. sGrib pa t'ams cad rnam par sel ba
7. Nam mk'ai sñiñ po
8. Kun tu bzañ po



In *Indo-Tibetica* (*ibid.*) their meaning is explained.

In the two lower edges, two small temples with figures; in the interior, four on each side, eight figures of praying deities; there is no doubt that they represent the eight mC'od pai lha mo. On the right and on the left of the central figure, inside two pagodas, two images of the same god. The tanka represents, reduced to its essential lines, Akṣobhya's heaven, of which we have seen a much more remarkable specimen, from the iconographical point of view. Above, over Akṣobhya's head: rDo rje sems dpa' yab yum. Then, on each side and above, on the upper frame, eight images of

Akṣobhya resting on clouds which unfold their soft coils in the sky, perhaps to represent the multiplication of the god's images, which are offered to the contemplating devotee's meditation, when he is born again in the heaven presided over by Akṣobhya.

TANKA n. 153 (Plates 186, V).

Amitābha in the center; above, Amitāyuh. Gods, Bodhisattvas, monks and heavenly places are represented round the central figure. Probably the tanka is connected with the revelation of some book which I am not in a position to determine.

# TANKAS OF THE MGON K'ANS

TANKA n. 154 (Celesia di Vigliasco collection) (Plate 187).

This tanka represents the C'os rgyal p'yi sgrub, i. e. the king of Death in his exoteric form.<sup>271)</sup> He is also commonly known as gŠin rje c'os kyi rgyal po. He has the face of a buffalo and two hands; in the right he brandishes the *t'od dbyug*, the club surmounted by a skull; the left, in the threatening mudrā, grasps a noose: he has three eyes, blazing like the fire that will consume the universe at the end of the cosmic aeons. On his left is represented Cāmuṇḍī, black, with red and yellow hair: she wears an elephant skin on her shoulders and grasps a trident and a skull-cap. They both ride buffalo. In the centre of the tanka, above, is represented a Jam dpal, on whose right stands Tsoñ k'a pa; next other masters. Round the god, who lifts his club, a crowd of terrific creatures hovers weirdly; they brandish weapons, they twist their muscular bodies in violent contortions, as if swept away by a hellish fury; they rush off as though a hurricane scattered them about. But it is their inner fierceness which moves them and flings them into space with a sort of devouring frenzy. Some of them are female figures, although their monstrous aspect all but abolishes any distinction of sex: all the images are mingled in the same horror. But they can be recognized by their foul, pears-shaped breasts, hanging down huge and flabby. The female deities represent some of the 12 *ma mo c'en mo*, the King of Death's messengers, "the great mothers", described in liturgical literature as: gŠin rjei p'o ña mo, black, with a hook, Dus kyi žags pa ma, black, with a noose; gŠin rje dam sri ma nag mo, with a club; gŠin rje sreg ma, black, with a tooth; Dus mts'an ma,

gSod ma, Nag mo, Nam gru, Ša ga li, gŠin rje p'eb's ma, gŠin rje mts'an mo, black. Some ride a three-legged mule, some an ass, another rides the wind, or a black bird; some carry a mirror on which are reflected the deceased's works and sins, some a bag containing diseases, or they carry a dagger, or a *bduñ kyi k'ram šin*, the club with which demons are executed. Male figures also belong to the interminable retinue of the God of Death, supreme judge of those who have passed into the next world. These male figures belong to the troop of *dam can* who "take their joy of flesh, wallow in blood, are lacking in pity", (*gŠin rje c'os kyi rgyal po p'yi sgrub la brten pai gtor c'en drug cu pai rnam gžag lag len dga' don gyi rim pa* of Blo bzañ dpal ldan bstan pai ñi ma, Pañ c'en of Tashilunpo, complete works, vol. *Ta*, p. 5).

The god then is surrounded, in our tanka, by other demons of his numerous retinue: according to the most widespread liturgies, the C'os rgyal rules over an innumerable troop of creatures, among whom the following are the most eminent, and dwell around the central god, in eight iron castles: they are the eight great Yama: Yayāti, carrying a club; P'yva bsañs, carrying a cakra; rMig pa, carrying a pole on which criminals are impaled (*gsal šin*); Ral pa mts'ar dgu can, carrying a spear, dressed as a king, or as a minister or a general; gŠin rje mig dmar, carrying a pole on which criminals are impaled; Tel pa, with a wheel; Glan mgo can, with a noose.

Hence it is clear that this cycle is a composite one, in the sense that it does not draw its inspiration from Indian sādhana, but has been elaborated in Tibet, by joining Indian intuitions to native religious traditions. Thus side by side with Yayāti, the first ancestor according to some Indian myths, we find

p'yva bsañs,<sup>272</sup>) who is a Bon po god; (a p'yva sañs 'ol la aṭ'en is mentioned in the *Bon rgyal rabs*). rMig, "the hoof,, seems to have the same origin, and Ral pa mts'ar dgu can, "the god bearing nine wonderful manes,, too. The title *ral pa can* is common in the pre-Buddhist mythology of Tibet: we should remember, for instance, the lion having a turquoise mane, who mounts watch over glaciers, in the Ladakh wedding-songs.

With the eight iron castles, in which the eight Yama rule, the Indian influence is again evident; they are modelled on the eight hells of the most ancient Buddhist traditions.

In a second external circle, in 12 iron castles, the 12 great Ma mo' described above.

In 15 more iron castles, fifteen P'yogs skyoñ.

Then the eight Lha c'en, the eight Klu, the four Jig rten skyoñ, the 28 Nakṣatra, the 9 aḅjigs byed c'en po, the 75 bTsan.

TANKA n. 155 (Plate 188).

This tanka represents the C'os rgyal p'yi sgrub, like tanka n. 154, whose explanation may be consulted. Above, aḅJam dpal, on the right Mi gyo ba; on the left figures of a lama; below on the left, a bTsan on horseback, belonging to the god's retinue.

TANKA n. 156.

It represents the God of Death aC'i bdag nag po gšin rje, who emerges from the seventh circle under the earth, in the South. He, unlike the p'yi sgrub form we have already met, has no śakti; his symbols too are different: he does ride a buffalo and has a buffalo's head and two hands, but in his left hand he carries the noose he uses to seize and tie the bGegs, and in his left he brandishes a club (*abyug pa*) (see *dPal rdor rje aḅjigs byed rnal abyor dan aḅebs drug cu rtsa bžii gtor c'og gi dga' don k'ams gsum zil gnon*, by TĀRANĀTHA, complete works, vol. t'a, p. 16).

Round the figure flitter p'o ña and p'o ña mo, male and female messengers of the god of death.

TANKAS nn. 157-160 (Plates 189-193).

These tankas represent various modulations of the same theme and contain the same type, rendered according to different iconographical patterns: rDo rje aḅjigs byed, Vajrabhairava, Mañjuśrī's terrific manifestation expelling and suppressing the forces adverse to law and goodness. He triumphs even over death, because when passions are extinguished and the darkness of error is dispelled, continual rebirths come to an end and nirvana is achieved. In *Indo-Tibetica* (III, part II, p. 76 ff.) I have already dealt with this god and his meaning according to the esoteric schools of Tantrism; I shall refer the reader to those pages.

The liturgical literature concerning him, which is extremely vast, is divided into two groups: in one of them Vajrabhairava is represented alone, according to the type of the *ekavīra*, the "lonely hero,,; the other type shows him with his śakti (i. e. *yab yum*). Tankas nn. 159, 160 (Plates 192, 193), belong to the latter current, nn. 157, 158 (Plates 189, 191) to the former. I will add that tankas nn. 159, 160, come from dGe lugs pa schools and probably from Tashilunpo; indeed one of them, n. 160 is copied from a woodcut engraved in the Tashilunpo monastery.

Tanka n. 157 does not represent the most common cycle of his acolytes, the one described in detail by the Lotsāva of Rva, preferred by Lamaist liturgy up to this day. Round the flaming halo which encircles him on every side and frames the god's black bulk with red, are painted the eight cemeteries symbolizing the eightfold conscious activity which keeps us bound to life and hence to death: indeed, they are the kingdom of death, which gnosis, impersonated by rDo rje aḅjigs

byed, annihilates and destroys. Next, framed by a sinuous design of twining climbers and tendrils, we see the figures of lamas: the masters who have been initiated into this god's mysteries and have handed on his secret experiences. In the centre, above, two small figures of rDo rje ač'añ, one white and the other black, on the very axis of the tanka, to represent the essential relation binding the various divine emanations together; below, under the throne, donors and bearers of offerings, kneeling round a lama and minor deities: Jambhala the dispenser of wealth, Bya rog gdoñ can, the four-armed mGon po, dPal ldan lha mo, gŠin rje and various figures of Tārā, the goddess of compassion / Uṣṇiṣavijayā.

In tanka n. 159 (Plate 192) we see, above, Tsoñ k'a pa between two disciples: on the left of the spectator rDo rje sems dpa', on the right aJam dpal. Below, on the left, slob dpon bsTan p'el, and on the right rje btsun Blo bzañ ye šes dpal bzañ po, Pañ cen of Tashilunpo. On each side of the god sGrol ma and Ts'e dpag med. Below, Tra kšad nag po, mGon po p'yag bži, C'os rgyal, rNam t'os sras.

In tanka n. 160 (Plate 193) in the centre, above, a lama who, as he carries a wheel on the palm of his hand, can only be a Dalai Lama, and precisely the fifth Blo bzañ rgya mts'o (see tanka n. 46). On the spectator's right, dPal ač'or lo sdom pa, on the left gSañ ba adus pa; on the god's four sides: to the right, Yid bžin nor bu dkar po, mGon po p'yag bži pa, on the left mGon po p'yag drug pa and Gur mgon. Below the C'os rgyal between another aspect of mGon po p'yag bži pa and dPal ldan lha mo. Below rNam t'os sras, Beg tse between two deities on horseback; the one on the right is lNa yi dge bsñen c'en po (fig. in lNa yi dam c'os bsruñs rnamis la brten pai bka' bsgo byed ts'ul dañ lha srin sde rgyad klu sogs la c'ab šog bka' bsgoi rim pa p'yogs gcig tu bsdebs; see also tanka n. 120).

Below, in the centre, Mahākāla, two-armed; his right hand brandishes the *gri gug* in the left a skull-cap; on his left dPal ldan lha mo and on his right one of his messengers.

TANKA n. 161 (Plate 194).

It represents rNam par ajoms, as K'ro rgyal, i. e. rDo rje sems dpa's angry form, with his typical symbols, the vajra and the bell. Around, images of lamas and terrific deities; below, in the first row, various aspects of Lo ma gyon ma, (Paṇṣavari), in the second row, sGrol ma, rNam par rgyal ma, dPal ldan lha mo, rDor rje sems dpa', aJigs rten dbañ p'yug, mGon po with six arms.

TANKAS nn. 162, 163 (Plates 195, 196).

These are two representations belonging to different schools and different epochs, but to the same cycle. Both represent the six-armed mGon po po p'yag drug or Ye šes kyi mgon po p'yag drug; one of them, Tanka n. 162, comes from Western Tibet, belongs to the Guge school and may be placed between the XVth and the XVIIth centuries; the second was bought in Gyantse, but from Tashilunpo monks; it cannot be earlier than the XVIIIth century. The mGon po p'yag drug is one of the *yi dam*, protecting deities, most widespread in Tibet; although his popularity is greater with the Sa skya school and the dGe lugs pa, he is not ignored by the other sects. His omnipotence, whose help is invoked against the powers of evil, is acknowledged by all, and everyone bows in awe before him. In fact the mGon po p'yag drug is a symbol of the warlike (*k'ro bo*), power of Mi bskyod pa which reduces to dust demons (*bduñ*) and forces adverse to the Law (p. 1).

The origin of this cult must be sought in India: as we read in the *Grub t'abs kun btus* (vol. Ta: dPal ye šes kyi mgon po p'yag drug pai sgrub t'abs rjes gnañ dañ bcas pai skor rnamis) it is derived from a vision of this god, seen by

Śavari-pā in the cemetery of bSil pai ts'al in Southern India; he then wrote on his vision a *sādhana*, called precisely *Adiṣṭhānamahākāla-sādhana* (bsTan agyur XXVI, p. 79 and LXXXII, p. 95, cfr. SM, II, p. 590). The method of meditating which leads to the god's epiphany in the evocative process based upon him, was transmitted by Śavari-pā to Maitri-pā, who then revealed it to Abhiyuktapāda, and the latter to Advayavajra, this to K'yuñ po rnal abyor: with this master its penetration and diffusion in Tibet begins.

This god, commonly known also by the name of Myur mdsad in the liturgical literature which concerns him, is hardly ever alone: rather he is the centre, the essential deity, *gtso bo*, of a cycle of other deities which surround him: he cannot be considered separately from these acolytes, to whom he is joined in the unity of the maṇḍala. In fact the present two pictures are also maṇḍala, one more the other less complete, of the tantric cycle dedicated to Ye šes mgon po p'yag drug.

When we remember Ye šes mgon po's popularity in Tibet, it will not be surprising to find that the liturgical literature concerning him is very rich: I shall select some of the most significant and widespread sādhanas, which will enable us to understand in all its details the symbolism of these two paintings and thence to determine the sects which inspired them. I will quote, to begin with, two works by Tāranātha: *dPal ye šes kyi mgon po p'yag drug pai sgrub t'abs gtor c'o ga dañ bcas pa* (complete works, vol. ma) and: *dPal ye šes kyi mgon po p'yag drug pai sgrub t'abs gtor mai c'o ga dañ bcas pai ap'rin las gter mdsod*. Next the: *Myur mdsad ye šes kyi mgon po p'yag drug pa la mc'od bstod t'ugs dam bskañ pai rim pa*, by the Pañ c'e lama Blo bzañ dpal ldan bstan pai ñi ma. The difference between the construction of the maṇḍala in either text is of the slightest, as both are derived from the sādhanā already quoted by Śavari-pā.

The mystic, in the evocative process, or the painter who starts from it in painting his

tanka, begin from the pedestal on which the god is standing; this pedestal symbolizes a cemetery, the Mi bzad dur k'rod, from which a lotus springs, issuing from the syllable *pam*; on the lotus, from the syllable *ram*, the sun will rise; from the sun a white elephant, will be born viz. Ts'ogs bdag po, Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa). Above Gaṇapati, the black bulk of Myur mdsad ye šes kyi mgon po p'yag drug's body, corpulent and monstrous, like those storm-clouds which, at the end of aeons, will cover the world to dissolve it in the cosmic waters. He is represented with a face, three eyes and six hands. His hair is standing on end; on the top of his head he carries Mi bskyod pa's image, his hands on the right clasp the *rdo rje gri gug*, i. e. the crooked knife whose hilt has the form of a *rdo rje*, a crown of skulls, a *damaru*; his hands on the left side hold a skull-cap filled with the flesh and blood of the demons he has annihilated, a trident and a noose. He wears a *dhōṭi* (*sam t'abs*) made out of a tiger's skin, bound round his waist by a green girdle (*ske rags*); his ornaments are the eight serpents, one of which binds his hair; he wears a garland made of skulls, yellow earrings (*snan c'a*), armlets (*dpun rgyan*) proper to terrific deities, white necklace (*mgul rgyan*), yellow bracelets (*lag gdub*), green scarf (*do šal*), white rings on his toes (*rkañ gdub*); on his arms and legs bells hanging from chains. Round his waist he wears a band from which are suspended 50 human heads, freshly struck off; he wears the *rus rgyan*, i. e. the apron made of human bones. Around him, as his acolytes, are placed:

To the left: *dPal ldan lha mo adod k'ams dbaṅ p'yug ma*, two-armed; in her right hand she clasps, shaking it in the air, the *bdud kyi k'ram šin*, in her left the bag containing diseases: (in the second treatise she has four arms; on the right sword and *gri gug*, on the left a flag and a skull-cap). She rides a wild ass (see tankas nn. 170-173).

Opposite: the Yakṣa Kṣe tra pā la,<sup>273</sup> black: in his right hand he clasps and shakes the *gri*

gug, terrifying gods and Asuras, in the left he holds a skull full of blood, lifted on a level with his heart. He rides a black bear.

To the right: dBaṅ p'yug dsi na mi tra, (Jinamitra)<sup>274</sup> dark red, he has the aspect of an angry yakṣa: from his mouth issue smoke and fire, in his right hand he holds the *damaru* and a flame starts from the palm of his left hand in *tarjanī mudrā*.

Behind: gṢin rje Ṭak ki rā dsa,<sup>275</sup> black; in his right hand he clasps a noose made with guts, in the act of flinging it towards his enemies; his left hand is in the threatening *mudrā* (*tarjanī mudrā*).

To the left: bDud mgon Tra kṣad,<sup>276</sup> black; in his right hand a trident with which he pierces the hearts of his enemies, in his left a skull-cap full of blood; he wears a black silken cloak with a train (*ajol ber*) and leather boots (*sag tir lham*); he rides a black horse.

Around, the ten keepers of the ten regions:

East. – rGya byin, yellow, on an elephant, with rdo rje.

South-East. – Me lha on a goat with a rosary.

South. – gṢin rje, blue, on a buffalo, with a club (*dbyug r'o*).

South-West. – Srin po, dark, on a ghost, with a sword.

West. – C'u lha, white, on a *makara*, with a serpent-noose.

North-West. – rLuñ lha, green, on a stag, with a banner.

North-East. – Byuñ po, white, on an elephant, with a trident, embracing Gau rī ma.

Above. – Ts'anis pa, yellow, on a swan, with a vase.

Below. – Sa bdag, black, on a boar, with a flaming gem.

The comparison between the present liturgical pattern and the two tanka clearly proves the close dependence of the latter from the ritualistic pattern.

It is therefore clear that the tankas are inspired by traditional liturgy—the most ancient with a wealth of details, the other more concisely.

In tanka n. 162 (Plate 195), the god's frightful figure towers darkly in the centre, enveloped by a smoky halo: on his left the four-armed dPal ldan lha mo, on his right gṢin rje Ṭakkirāja below, in the centre, on a black bear, the yakṣa Kṣetrapāla, on the left dBaṅ p'yug Jinamitra and on the right, on a black horse, bDud mgon Tra kṣad; on each side of Kṣetrapāla a blama and rNam r'os sras; the yakṣas at the god's feet are evidently his messengers. To the right and to the left, the 10 P'yogs skyoñ unfold according to the iconography described by Tāranātha. Above, on each side, four coupled figures probably represent four mK'a agro ma, according to a cycle represented, for instance, in the Tsaparang frescoes (*Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, Plate LVII). On the flaming halo arranged round his head, small figures representing Mi k'rugs pa, on the top, a white rDo rje sems dpa', P'yag rdor with skull and rdo rje, mK'a agro ma with one head and two arms (small drum / *can te'u* / and skull). Above, in the centre, the symbol of supreme reality. On each side of rDo rje ac'añ the *bla ma rgyud*, i. e. the series of the masters through which the initiatic transmission took place. According to Tāranātha, the masters invoked in the liturgical ceremonies are: Śavari, Maitrī, Rāhula, K'yuñ po rnal ḅbyor, Ratnavīrya, Dharmasimha, Dharmavajra, Vīryasimha, Śaṅ ston c'os rje, etc. This means that here is repeated, briefly summarized, the *bla ma brgyud* mentioned in the colophon of bsTan agyur LXXXII, p. 95: Śavari, Maitripā, Abhiyuktapāda, Advayavajra, K'yuñ po rnal ḅbyor, Rin c'en brtson grus (Ratnavīrya), C'os kyi señ ge (Dharmasimha), C'os kyi šes rab, brTson grus señ ge (Vīryasimha), Ts'ul k'rims ḅbum, rGyal mts'an ḅbum, Byams pai dpal, dPal bzañ po, Grub c'en, C'os ḅbyuñ rin c'en, Kun dga' dpal bzañ po.

On the second tanka (Plate 196) are represented only dPal ldan lha mo on the right, but with two arms, according to Tāranātha's first treatise, on the left Kṣetrapāla, in



the centre Tra kṣad, above on the left dBañ p'yug Dsi na mitra, on the right Ṭakkirāja. Around, cemetery scenes, which not only are explained by the relation of identity between this manifestation of sPyan ras gzigs and Mahākāla, but are also meant to remind the spectator of that cemetery bSil pa ts'al where he revealed himself to the great ascetic Śavara-pā.

Above on this tanka Tsoñ k'a pa's figure between his two principal disciples, shows to which sect this picture must be assigned.

From an artistic point of view, tanka n. 162 is very important because in it we notice two different styles displayed side by side; the painting, as we have said, comes from Guge; the representation of the central deity, of the masters, of the Tantric deities below and on the upper edges, is similar to other paintings of this same school and does not differ from the Tsaparang frescoes, but the 10 P'yogs skyoñ, the protectors of the 10 points of space, are represented according to artistic patterns which have little to do with India.

In Tsaparang, the capital of Western Tibet, a great art centre, I have discovered other representations of this same cycle: they all follow Indian models, although sometimes the imitations attempted by Tibetan craftsmen have become somewhat stiff. But in the present painting, there is no trace of India. As in Vaiśravaṇa's cycle, the model followed by the painter can only be Central Asian. Why, in representing this cycle of 10 P'yogs skyoñ, has he introduced this motive, which disagrees artistically with the general tone of the tanka? The only reason we can give is that the painter, or the school to which he belonged, had at their disposal a model derived from Central Asian originals. Of course it is a question of stylistic difference, of a different manner, which appears above all in the armour, in the type of apparel, in the features of the face, certainly not in the symbols, which remain those fixed by iconographic tradition.

TANKAS nn. 164-166 (Plates 197, 198, X).

These tankas represent two aspects of rTa mgrin, Hayagrīva. This god, common to the Hindu and to the mahāyānic pantheon, has travelled all over Asia, with Buddhism. A Dutch orientalist, Van Gulik, has written a fine monograph about him; anyone wanting further information concerning this divinity's vicissitudes and fortunes, should read it.<sup>277)</sup> The second aspect represented in these two tankas however is not described in the *sādhanas* published by Van Gulik, but it corresponds to formulas for meditation, followed in Tibet to this day. I allude, for instance, to the *rTa mgrin yañ gsañ k'ros pai sgrub t'abs dañ yañ gsañ gi smon agrel* of the Pañ c'en lama Blo bzañ dpal ldan bstan pai ñi ma, complete works, vol. *ta*.

In this liturgical treatise is described K'ro boi rgyal po rta mgrin's image (p. 11), of a red colour, with three faces and six arms; the central face is red, the left one green, the right one red: over the three faces issue three horse's heads, of a dark green colour. The hands on the right hold respectively a rdo rje, a trident and a sword; the first hand on the left is in the threatening mudrā, the other two brandish an arrow and a noose made of human guts. He has eight feet, which trample on eight snakes. He wears the usual ornaments of terrific deities. As we see, the Pañ c'en lama's sādhana corresponds to the figure represented in the tanka n. 160 (Plate 197), with a small difference: in the second hand on the right the trident is replaced by a *khatvāṅga*; in the second hand on the left an arrow replaces the trident. Above, standing, two bodhisattvas: P'yag rdor and P'yag na pad ma.<sup>278)</sup>

Tanka n. 165 (Plate 198) represents the same god in *yab yum* form. This aspect too has three faces and six arms; the face on the right is white, the central one red and the left one green. His hands on the right grasp a lotus, a hook, a club (*be con*). In his hands, on the

left a skull-cap full of blood (*ban dmar*), a noose made of guts and a sword. Apparel and ornaments are those of the wrathful deities. On his shoulders, rDo rje k'yun's wings.

He embraces the Yum c'en Pad ma gar dbaṅ, of a dark blue colour, with one face and two hands: her right hand grasps a heart dripping blood, her left a skull-cap (*duñ c'en*) full of blood.

Above the god sGrol ma, surrounded by monks in various attitudes. Below mGon po, four-armed, the C'os rgyal, dPal ldan lha mo, then two mK'a' aḡro ma on a wolf(?), rNam t'os sras and lCam sriñ.

Tanka n. 166 (Plate X), reproduces the same type represented in tanka n. 164. Only the acolytes in the lower portion are different. In the centre lCam sriñ (see tanka n. 175), with bTsan rgod on his left and Rig pai lha mo on his right (*ibid.*). Above dPal ldan lha mo and a particular aspect of mGon po.

#### TANKA n. 167 (Plate 199).

This tanka represents the same god which we have seen in tanka n. 148, rDo rje p'ur bu, the deification of the *pur bu*, the magic nail, *kila*, with which the exorcist nails to a given surface the hostile forces, after having vanquished them and rendered them harmless by virtue of the *mantra*. rDo rje p'ur bu is thus another instance of the deification of liturgical instruments or of ritual formulas. Mantrayāna Buddhism offers some extremely remarkable examples of this. The rÑiñ ma pa, particularly devoted to exorcistic rites, contributed to the great diffusion of rDo rje p'ur bu's Tantric cult, next the Sa skya pa followed. The dGe lugs pa could not remain indifferent to a deity which the other schools had included among the most powerful and awe-inspiring C'os skyon and mGon po: therefore they too became interested in his liturgies: in fact tanka n. 114 comes from the Yellow School, while the other is

assigned by Padmasambhava's image to the rÑiñ ma pa sect. This form of rDo rje p'ur bu is also known by the name of mT'ar byed rdo rje gžon nu, or simply rDo rje gžon nu (Vajrakumāra), as to whose liturgy it is well to read, for instance, the dPal rdo rje gžon nu *dkyil aḡ'or gyi c'o ga bdud aḡjoms rol pa*, by Tāranātha (complete works, vol. ja).

As to the god's essence, the Vajrayāna states this god to be an aspect of Heruka K'ro boi rgyal po.<sup>279</sup> He is represented with three heads, six hands and four feet, the face on the right white, the left one red, the central one dark blue and bearing three eyes. He has six hands: the first pair on the left clasp the nine-branched rdo rje and the five-branched rdo rje, the first hand on the left is in the threatening mudrā, the second brandishes a trident. In the last pair of hands he grasps the *p'ur bu* - embracing his *śakti* or *yum*. With his legs wide apart, he tramples upon two *rudra*, male and female.

He wears a tiger-skin on the lower part of his body and an elephant skin above. On his back he has diamond wings; his *śakti* - called aK'or lo rgyas aḡdebs ma - is dark blue, with one face and two hands: in the right she holds a bell marked with a *rdo rje* and in the left a skull-cap full of blood, which she offers to her mate. Around them unfolds the cycle the cycle of the 10 Krodha, summarized in the table on following page.

It is clear then that tanka n. 167 condenses the cycle of this god, reducing the k'ro bo of the retinue to five; however, Tra kšad, on a black horse and other deities, are added in the lower part of the tanka.

This iconographic pattern varies somewhat as to the symbols of the hands; thus, for instance, in the liturgy dedicated to this god: *rDo rje p'ur pai sgrub skor*, and *rDo rje p'ur pai mñon par rtogs* of Grags pa rgyal mts'an, one of the first Sa skya pa abbots (works, vol. ña), the god carries in his last pair of hands a bell and a *p'ur bu*; in tanka n. 114, instead of the bell, he grasps a wheel, *aḡ'or lo*.

Point of space	Name	Faces	Symbols of the two central hands, the others all holding the same instruments: the first two <i>rdo rje</i> and skull, the last two the <i>p'ur bu</i>	<i>śakti</i>	Tramples upon
above	K'ro bo hūm mdsad	3	garland, bow and arrows	Lha mo rdo rje sgra sbyin	Ts'añs pa and Ts'añs ma
East	rNam rgyal	3	rdo rje and ak'or lo	rDo rje sgeg mo	Rudra and Indrañi
South-East	aByug sñon po	3	club	rDo rje sder mo	Agni and his <i>śakti</i>
South	gŠin rje gšed	3	club and ax	rDo rje dur k'rod ma	Yama and <i>śakti</i> ma
South-West	Mi gyo	3	sword and lance	rDo rje gtun	Srinpo and Srinmo
West	rTa mgrin dmar	3	lotus and dragon	rDo rje gtum mo	Varuṇa and <i>śakti</i>
North-West	gŽan gyis mi t'ub	3	hand, fly-whisk	rDo rje mda'	Wind god and goddess
North	bDud rtsi k'yil	3	double rdo rje and club	rDo rje rluñ abyin	Yakṣa and Yak- ṣiñi
North-East	K'ams gsum rnam rgyal	3	rdo rje and trident	rDo rje gsod byed	dBañ ldan and <i>śakti</i>
below	sTobs c'en	3	hammer, stake to stab criminals ( <i>gtam šin</i> )	rDo rje skul byed	Sa bdag

In tanka n. 148 Padmasambhava's figure has at his side P'yag na rdo rje, another form of rDor rje gžon nu. Below dPal ldan lha mo, an undefined deity, rNam t'os sras and Jambhala.

#### TANKA n. 168 (Plate 200).

This tanka too takes us back to religious intuitions preceding Buddhism: surrounded by a flaming halo, which blazes and flares up, as if urged by a furious conflagration, a monstrous creature, on horseback and wearing a warrior's complete armour, seems to be flung against invisible enemies. This demon, as his apparel and his iconographic type clearly show, is a bTsan, i. e. one of the Bon gods, accepted by the tolerant catholicity of Buddhism.

Very probably this creature is bTsan rgod, concerning whom see appendix two.

We shall meet him in tanka n. 175, as Beg tse's comrade; this is an independent

iconographic interpretation, which in its turn does not even coincide with that of the most ancient Bon po tradition; see *bTsan rgod bskan mdos drag rtsa ba gter spuñs.*<sup>280)</sup> In his right hand he holds a lance, the left, in the threatening mudrā, carries a noose. Above, in the centre, Tsoñ k'a pa and his principal disciples. Under the terrible pageant accompanying the fiend, dPal ldan lha mo, gŠin rje, rNam t'os sras. Below, mT' in žal bzañ mo, Ma gcig dpal lha mo and other bTsan.

#### TANKA n. 169 (Celesia di Vigliasco collection, Plate 201).

A monstrous creature, with four heads and four arms, whirling in its cosmic dance, looms gigantic in the centre of this tanka. A bruised human body writhes in the pitiless grip of its huge mouth. The weight of the monster's awful bulks crushes a demon,

twisting in the throes of atrocious pain. The god wears a wreath of skulls, his ornaments are snakes, curling and twining in threatening coils. Thus Tibetan iconography represents Mahākāla, Nag po c'en po,<sup>281</sup> and precisely the form known by the name of Nag po c'en po žiñ skyoñ stobs ap'rog dbañ po. He is usually represented with four heads; the central one is blue and chews a human body, the one of the left, white, is smiling grimly; the red head on the left has a most fierce expression and a fourth dark head is on top. The first right hand brandishes a *gri gug* with a rdo rje-shaped handle and cuts with it a skull, supported by the corresponding left hand; it is used as a cup, in which the demons' blood will be poured.

In the other hand on the right side the god holds a sword (according to other iconographical treatises, a small lance). In the last hand on the left, a lance ending in a trident. Under his left armpit a golden vase full of ambrosia. He tramples on a body symbolizing the demons *bGegs*. Each head has three eyes, and the garland crowning two of the heads is made of skulls; the girdle (*do šal*) is strung with human heads freshly severed. The figure stands out horribly from a flaming halo which dances all about him in the flickering fury of its fiery tongues.

Below, in a vortex of fire, four witches whirl; they are naked, with breasts withered and flabby and they brandish the *gri gug* in their right hands and grasp a skull-cap in the left. They are the four Las byed rnal abyor ma, i. e.: Yum c'en gyuñ mo, black, who in the maṇḍala is on the gods' right hand; Las mdsad gtum mo, green, on the left; Srin mo c'en mo, dark red, in front; Siñ ga gliñ ma dark yellow, behind.

In the centre, below, Mahākāla, in a Brahman's aspect (Bram ze gzugs can dpa' bo) playing the *rkañ gliñ*, a flute made out of a human thigh-bone, while his right hand frantically shakes the magic tambourine (*damaru*) (see *Žiñ skyoñ bži ldan dbañ p'yug gi gtor c'en po*

*sgrub ap'en gyi lag len c'o ga las bži lbun grub by* Tāranātha, complete works, vol. ma).

On the top of the tanka rDo rje ac'an with *śakti*: between images of saints and one Buddha.

TANKAS nn. 170-173 (Plates Y, 202-204).

They are all related to the same mystical cycle, i. e. to dPal ldan lha mo: what has been said concerning this goddess in *Indo-Tibetica* (III, part II, p. 99 ff.) dispenses me from repetition. Here I need only recall that her name corresponds to that of Śrī-devī, one of the many appellatives of the Magna Mater, the cosmic force which, at one and the same time, nourishes life and kills, in a perpetually alternating rythm. This goddess has a prevailingly terrific aspect: Buddhism, when it received her in its pantheon, transfigured her mystical meaning and interpreted her as a beatific power, vanquishing and suppressing opposite forces. Implicitly, according to the new psychology instituted by Buddhism, such forces are those psychical activities which keep us in bondage to life and consequently to death.

Dogmatically dPal ldan lha mo is considered by Tibetan mythographs as the terrific and combative aspect of dByaṅs cañ ma, whom the Hindus consider Brahmā's daughter, while, according to the Buddhist tradition, she is the voice of a Jig rten dbañ p'yug. She is accordingly identified with the spirit (*t'ugs*) of that pacified deity, but often assumes a terrific aspect in order to fight evil powers. Her story is related in the *mK'a' agro ma me lce abar bai rgyud* (TŌHOKU, *Cat.*, p. 842; see above p. 218 f.).

Her cult was introduced into Tibet by the paṇḍita U rgyan gSañ ba šes rab, also known under another name as Lva va pa dmar pa; he communicated her liturgy to ICei snaqs ac'añ abyuñ gnas bzañ po, who transmitted it to gNubs rgyal ba ye šes.<sup>282</sup> From that time the goddess was included among the C'os

*skyon* of the gNubs school, and was considered an acolyte of P'ur ba. Later she was taken as Sruñ ma by Prajñāguru, another exorcist of the Žaiñ school, and was placed under the *yi dam* dGra nag, then the Sa skya pa placed her under the *yi dam* gŠed dmar.

From the Sa skya school she passed to the dGe lugs pa thanks to dGe ḅdun grub, who made her the principal deity of the cycle of the bsTan sruñ of Ri bo dGa' ldan. Her cult and her liturgy were then finally settled by this school which gave her greater and greater prominence, thanks both to dGe ḅdun rgya mts'o and to fifth Dalai Lama; both of them in their works treated amply of her rites and cult.

From that time the diffusion of this goddess increased; she was received as a Sruñ ma wherever the Yellow Sect spread, not only in Tibet but also in Mongolia, both in temples and in noblemen's chapels (see *dPal ldan dmag zor rgyal moi gdams skor mk'a' agro žal luñ las las bži spyi bsgriñ gsañ sgrub dan bcas pai ap'rin las bklağs c'og tu bkod pa žar byuñ a p'yi dpal lha drag rgyal ma gyu sgron ma de mo rnam kyī gsol mc'od dan bcas pa rin c'en nor bui do šal*, etc., by Blo bzañ dpal ldan c'os kyī grags pa bstan pai dbañ p'yug).

The goddess is manifested under manifold hypostases: Dus mts'an ma, the Kālī of Hinduism, Remati i. e. Revatī, Dus bži lha mo, ḅDod k'ams dbañ p'yug ma, Dud sol ma, Rab bran ma, the Earth. When dPal ldan lha mo entered Tibet, her mystical reality developed a new complication; she became assimilated to the native deities which in some manner recalled her character and her fundamental aspects: the endless number of gÑan, Sa bdağ and bsTan sruñ offered, from this point of view, an inexhaustible source of mystical figures, having all the qualities needed to melt into the type of the dPal ldan lha mo. Consequently the goddess's Tibetan aspect is very important, on account of the survival of primitive Bon religious intuitions which appear under a Buddhist disguise. She, in fact, is called gÑan rgyal mo, and as I

have proved in a just-quoted chapter of *Indo-Tibetica*, she is identified with the most ancient native deities of Tibet. The latter, in the form of 12 bsTan sruñ, form a circle around her.

This composite character of dPal ldan lha mo, as a centre of attraction for other native deities of a kindred nature, explains why the goddess's mañḅala is so complex. If, for instance, we peruse one of the most important works concerning her liturgy in the Yellow Sect, like the *dPal ldan dmag zor rgyal moi gdams skor* it clearly appears that many of dPal ldan lha mo's acolytes have scanty relations with India: many gods of the mañḅala dedicated to her in Tibetan liturgy do not reproduce Indian sādhana faithfully, but have been elaborated in Tibetan surroundings, attracting therein the most notable native deities which triumphant Buddhism was unable to eradicate.

dPal ldan dmag zor is described as follows: "the body is of a dark blue colour; she has one face and two hands; in her right hand she bandishes a club, surmounted by a rdo rje, over the brains of those who have broken their promise; in the left, on a level with her heart, she holds a skull-cap full of blood and of substances used in exorcism (*t'un*). Her wide mouth, gnashing its sharp teeth, gnaws a corpse; her joyous yelps resemble roaring thunder. She has three red, round eyes, gleaming like lightning. Her yellowish hair stands on end, eyelashes and beard blaze like the fire which flames up at the end of cosmic aeons. As earrings, she wears in her right ear a lion and in her left a snake; a diadem made out of five skulls, a scarf of 15 freshly-severed heads, dripping blood. On her blood-sprinkled body she has many marks made with ashes gathered in cemeteries and greasy finger-prints. On the top of her head the moon and on her navel the solar disc, a scarf (*lhab lhub*) made of pieces of black silk; instead of an antelope-hide, humans skins. The upper part of her body is covered with drapery made of a fresh tiger-skin, held together by two snakes; a

*k'ram šin*<sup>283</sup>) is stuck in her belt. She has a scarf made of dice (*šo rdo*) white and black; on her head a peacock-feather umbrella „

Her maṇḍala, according to the above-quoted treatise, is conceived as follows:

### I. *aP'rin las bži ma mo*

Behind the goddess, in the centre of the maṇḍala (*gtso bo*) *Ži bai lha mo*, a white mirror in her right hand, on a mule; on the right, on a yellow mule, *rGyas pa kyī lha mo*, yellow, with one face and two hands; in her right hand she holds a vase of ambrosia, in her left a gem.

On the left, on a red mule, *dBañ kyī lha mo*, red; one face, two hands, in the right a hook, in the left a noose.

In front, *Drag poi lha mo* on a black mule, one face two hands; in the right the *k'ram šin* and in the left the staff (*dbyug*) with noose.

### II. *aK'or ma mo bži*

*Rematī gsañ sgrub* (esoteric), one face, two hands, on a corpse; in her right hand a sword, in the left a human head freshly severed.

*Srog bdud ma*, black on a black horse; right hand: a human heart, left: a hook.

*T'og ap'en ma drag ma*, red, trampling the sun and moon, holds in both hands a bag full of lightning and hail.

*Nad gtoñ ma*, black with a scorpion's head; right hand open, in the left a bag of diseases; riding a camel. All four with pendant breasts and snake necklaces (*ga šal*).

### III. *Dregs pa bži*

*K'yab ajug c'en po*, ten-headed; the three on the right white, the three on the left red, the three in the centre dark like the rest of the body, the one above is a raven's head, in the first two hands bow and arrow, in the other two, a banner with the image of a *makara* (*makaradbhvaja*) and noose.

*bTsan rгод*, red, wearing cuirass and helmet; in the right hand a lance, in the left a noose; riding the red horse peculiar to the *bTsan*.

*bDud mgon*, black, with a lion's head; right hand bearing a lance with a military banner (*ru mts'on*), left hand throws at his enemies pieces of the victims sacrificed (*dmar gtor*).

*rGyal po li byin ha ra*, pink, a *rdo rje* in the right hand, a skull-cap in the left.

*C'u srin gdoñ can*, dark blue; a noose in the right hand; in the left she holds the end of the rein (*tur sna = t'ur mt'a'*).

### IV. *Bran gyog mc'ed bži*

*bDud mo Rematī*, dark blue, a sword in the right hand, a skull-cap full of blood in the left, riding an ass with a white blaze on his forehead (*gva pa*).

*Nad kyī bdag mo*, dark blue; dice (*šo rdo*) in the right hand, in the left a red silk band (*byañ dmar*<sup>284</sup>); riding a mule.

*sKye mt'in ma*, black; grasps a human heart in her right hand; her left hand in threatening *mudrā*; riding a stag.

*K'ri sman sa le ma*, white, holding in her hands a *makara's* skin; rides a black bird.

### V. *Dus bži lha mo*

*dByid kyī rgyal mo*, dark blue: in the right hand a razor, in the left a skull-cap; riding a mule.

*dByar kyī rgyal mo*, dark red; in her right hand a hook, in the left a skull-cap; riding a stag.

*sTon gyī rgyal mo* yellow; in the right hand a weapon (*zor*) and in the left a skull-cap.

*gDun gyī rgyal mo*, dark blue; in the right hand *khatvāṅga* and skull-cap, riding a camel.

### VI. *Ts'e riñ mc'ed lha*

1. *bKra šis ts'e riñ ma*; with *rdo rje* and vase, riding a lion.

2. *mT'in gi žal bzañ ma*, blue; with banner (*ba dan*) and mirror, riding a *rkyan* (cf. *tanka* n. 31).



3. Mi gyo blo bzañ ma, yellow; with mon-goose, riding a tiger.

4. Cod pan mgrin bzañ, red; with gem and bag, riding a stag.

5. gTad dkar ṅro grass bzañ; green, his attributes are the *durva* grass and a snake-noose; riding on a dragon.

## VII. Cycle of the 12 *bsTan srui*

rDo rje kun grags ma, blue, wearing a cloak (*t'ul pa*) made of a thousand snakes and a yak-skin belt; riding the blue dragon (of thunder) (*gyu abrug*).

rDo rje gya' ma, blue; dressed in yak-skins, with a belt of k'yuñ wings, holds the *p'ur bu* and rides a three-legged mule.

rDo rje kun bzañ ma, white, with rdo rje; riding a lion.

rDo rje bgegs kyi gtso, blue; wearing an elephant-skin and a belt of k'yuñ wings, with *p'ur bu*, on a yellow stag.

rDo rje spyang gcig ma, white, carrying a cup full of blood; standing on a white stag (*duñ śa*).

rDo rje dpal gyi yum, yellow, with an arrow, riding a k'yuñ.

rDo rje klu mo, white; with a staff (*dbyug*), riding a boar.

rDo rje drag mo, green; has a belt of k'yuñ wings and brandishes the *p'ur bu*. Rides a nine-horned white yak.

rDo rje dpal mo, black; with vase full of blood, riding on a Koñ horse (*koñ rta*).

rDo rje sman gcig ma, red, with *p'ur bu* of leather (*bse*); riding a black mule with a yellow muzzle.

rDo rje gya' mo, dark red; carries a *p'ur bu* made of *khadira* (*señ lden*), rides a wild sheep (*rna ba yu mo = gna' ba*).

rDo rje dril bu gzugs legs ma, blue, with tambourine and flute (*gliñ bu*); riding a turquoise-coloured lion (*gyui señ ge*).

Naturally the maṇḍala summarized above is only one pattern out of many possible maṇḍalas of the goddess; her hypostases being many,

the maṇḍala changes as her aspects and her names vary, and her acolytes' number and character are multiplied accordingly. So, for instance, the *dPal ye śes kyi lha mo dud sol mai gsañ bsgrub ap'rin las kyi adod ajo* by Pad ma dkar po (complete works, vol. *ta*) is centred round that aspect of the goddess known by the name of Dud sol ma, which is represented with four arms, a sword, skull-cap, arrow, trident, riding a rkyañ; around her: Nag mo, naked, carrying a human heart and a skull, on a red ass. Next four Rigs *bzii lha mo*, white, yellow, pink and green. In their right hands the *gri gug*, and in the left a skull-cap. Then: *Señ ge gdoñ can*, *sTag gi gdoñ can*, *sPyañ ki gdoñ can*, *P'ag gi gdoñ can*, *Bya rḡod gyi gdoñ can*, *sKyuñ ka gdoñ can*, *Dur bya gdoñ can*, *Bya rog gi gdoñ can*, *Kaṅkali gdoñ can* riding a tiger, another *Kaṅkali gdoñ can* riding a stag, a third riding a monkey, a fourth on a black mule.

These maṇḍalas, which I have chosen out of many one might quote, thus allow us to identify the deity represented on the tankas as *dPal ldan lha mo*, *Rematī* who always holds a club (*be con*). The absence of a sword should mean that the artist did not intend to represent that aspect of hers which is called *Rematī ṅDod k'ams dbañ p'yug ma*, symbolized by a sword; conversely the attribution would be confirmed by her earrings, which in this case must be a lion and a snake, as is clearly seen in tankas n. 171 and n. 173.

In tanka n. 173 the lower group represents *Ts'e riñ ma*, with her four sisters.

In tanka n. 172 the figure near the central deity is Nag mo: the other figures, emerging in flaming halos from the black terrors of the abyss and riding furiously on their misshapen mounts, are the four Rigs *bzi lha mo*. In the upper part of tanka n. 173, a serene image of *dByaṅ can ma*, playing the *viñā*.

On the contrary *Dud sol ma*, another name for *ṅDod k'ams dbañ p'yug ma* is certainly recognizable in tanka n. 170 (Plate Y) one of the most beautiful in this collection for the

suggestive power of its images, which stand out with a hellish glimmer on the gloomy background of cosmic night. Here the goddess is represented according to Pad ma dkar po's model, quoted above.

Before closing, it will be well, as the subject is akin to these tankas, to mention tanka n. 41 also. It represents precisely gZal mt'iñ bzañ po, whom we have just met as one of the goddesses included in the Ts'e riñ ma's cycle, which surround dPal ldan mo. But in this tanka, as in the one reproduced in *Asiatic Mythology*, p. 182, she has been promoted to the dignity of an independent goddess: she is the gTso bo of the group of divine and fiendish beings which unfolds round her; indeed among her retinue we find in this case precisely dPal ldan lha mo, two-armed and four-armed, represented on the lower edge of the tanka. Immediately below comes the group of the Ts'e riñ mc'ed lña. On the sides bsTan rgod and bsTan sruñ. Above, Padmasambhava, between two rÑiñ ma pa masters. In the lower left-hand corner the seven gems. The donors are behind the mounts' legs.

TANKA n. 174 (Barluzzi collection, Plate 205).

The tanka represents *Señ ge gdoñ ma*, *Simhavaktrā*, an aspect of *Ye šes mk'a' agro ma*. Her cult was introduced into Tibet by the Lotsāva of Ba ri, to whom it was revealed by rDo rje gdan pa;<sup>285</sup> the Lotsāva had turned to him on the advice of sPyi t'er the Nepalese, when he overcame in a philosophical debate the heretic sKal ldan rgyal po (see, for instance, *dPal sa skya pai gser c'os mk'a' agro señ ge gdoñ mai rjes gnañ las ts'ogs mñon rtogs šin tu zab pai gdams pa in sGrub t'abs kun btus, ña*). Then the goddess appeared to him and revealed the secrets of her liturgy. The goddess may be represented either alone or in a threefold group: *Ye šes mk'a' agro ma*, with a lion's head, in the centre; another with a tiger's head on her right, a third one

with a bear's head on the left. See *Señ ge gdoñ sñon mo gter ak'or gsum nañ sgrub t'abs rjes gnañ las ts'ogs dan bcas rdo rjei sprin c'ar in sGrub t'abs kun btus, ña*. But her iconography, some of her rarest esoteric forms excepted, is the same. In her right hand she brandishes a *gri gug* whose hilt has the form of a rdo rje; in her left she holds, on a level with her breast, a skull full of blood; under her right armpit she has a *kbatvāṅga*.

The goddess's image is repeated in the two small figures on the right and on the left: in the centre, below, rNam t'os sras, on the left P'yag rdor, on the right rDo rje sems dpa'. On the sides, five on each side, the ten P'yogs skyoñ. Above, rDo rje ac'añ in the centre; on the right rDo rje sems dpa' and other Buddhas, Rin c'en abyuñ ldan on the left, rNam par snañ mdsad and Byams pa.

TANKA n. 175 (Plates 206-208).

This tanka represents a fiendish creature; he wears a scaly cuirass and furiously brandishes a sword, which blazes like burning fire. He is a bTsan, i. e. a survival of those native deities which Buddhism, unable to suppress them, absorbed.

This demon, usually called lCam sriñ "brother and sister,, like all the indigenous terrific deities, was received into the lamaist pantheon as a custodian of temples and sacred things and above all as a watchful defender of the faith. He ruthlessly punishes those who break their vows or offend against the sanctity of the Law and he belongs to rDo rje ajigs byed's retinue, indeed he is the chief of the bsTan sruñ. His task is to "destroy and exterminate all those who offend against the Victorious's teachings, according to the orders he has received from the Buddha ,,. Thus says a liturgy dedicated to him, *bsTan bsrñ kun gyi rje bo c'os skyoñ dregs pa lcam sriñ gi gtor bsrub pa ji ltar bya bai ts'ul yid bžin dbañ gi rgyal po*, by the Pañ c'en blama

Blo bzañ dpal ldan bstan pai ñi ma (complete works, vol. *ta*). He is represented in this tanka as iconography directs: his colour is red, because his abode is a mountain of copper; he has two arms; the right one brandishes the copper sword, ready to slay whoever breaks his vow, the left is bent and carries to his mouth the heart of his enemies; he tightly clasps under his arm a bow and arrow. He has a diadem of skulls and three eyes; his body is covered with a copper cuirass (*beg tse*), hence another name he is known by: Beg tse.

His waist is girdled with a string of heads; on his left stands his sister, Rig pai lha mo, her face is red and her body blue: with her right hands she brandishes a copper sword and in her left she holds the *p'ur bu*, with which she nails *dregs* to the ground; she is riding on a lioness which tramples a human body.

On lCam sriñ's right is the red Srog bdag, with one face and two hands; his right hand shakes a lance, in the left he holds the b'Tsan's noose (see tanka n. 120). Below and around him, his eight acolytes, in frenzied agitation, brandish copper swords in their right hands; in the mañḍala they should occupy a well-defined place; to the East Mi of a red or variegated colour; to the South a red Ri rtsi mi; to the West a red Kro dhi mi; to the North Srog bdag Ko šaṅ; to the South-East red Om kri mi; on the South-West red Ro kri mi; on the North-West red Haṃ šaṅ mi; to the North-East Srog bdag t'al ba. They form a group called of the eight "gri t'ogs", "those who hold daggers",.

A Mongol legend, related by Grünwedel,<sup>286</sup> says that when bSod nams rgya mts'o went to Mongolia to convert Altan Khan, Beg tse caused a troop of demons to appear before him, under the form of various animals, with the aim of frightening him and turning him from his purpose. Then the Tibetan monk assumed the appearance of Avalokiteśvara, having four hands and the hoofs of his horse left everywhere imprints of the

six-lettered mantra: *on ma ni pad me hūm*. Beg tse acknowledged that he was unable to compete with the new religion and its apostle and he became converted.

It may be seen that here the story of the b'Tsans's submission, effected by Padmasambhava, as told in the rÑiñ ma pa scriptures, is repeated. This would allow us to suppose that Beg tse was originally one of the Mongol gods, later transformed, due to his popularity, into Sa bdag or b'Tsan; it is a process of which we will quote in the appendix other interesting instances, all desumed from the hagiographic literature of the dGe lugs pa, as a consequence of the penetration of Buddhism among the Mongols, which they had brought about.

The late origin of this god seems to be confirmed by the fact that no trace of him is found in the most ancient liturgical handbooks; indeed it seems that the Yellow Sect excepted Beg tse is not very popular. Evidently the triumph of the Yellows may have spread his cult, but he always remained a *yi dam* of the dGe lugs pa, who have given him a well-defined iconographic type, together with his sister; the two beings cannot be separated. They are called by the collective name of lCam sriñ, brother and sister, on the model of lCam dral; in the same way Miñ sriñ, brother and sister, belonging to the cycle of the Gur mgon.<sup>287</sup> Although introduced into Tibet in much older times, this god shows the same connections with local cults, so typical of these cycles of terrific deities.

The god's very name (it is not a goddess, as S. CH. DAS says, s. v.) also seems to be of foreign origin. Beg tse means "hidden shirt of mail", and must hence be compared with the Mongol *bāgdār*, *cotte de mailles cachées* (KOWALEWSKI, p. 1125), Jagatai: *bāktār*, Persian: *bagtar*. The comparison had been already made by LAUFER, *Loan words*, n. 199 (*Sino-Iranica*, p. 575) but it is difficult to explain the divergence of the second syllable, particularly if the loan took place in late

times. Probably the word *beg tse* in the sense of "hidden shirt of mail," is an older loan, and it is not certain that the god, although he was a god of war, owed his name to his cuirass. In Mongol demonology there is a fiend Bug, MOSTAERT, *Textes oraux Ordos*, s. v.

Above, two deities: Mañjuśrī and rDo rje ʼjigs byed. Under Mañjuśrī: sGrol ma on the left the C'os rgyal.

TANKA n. 176 (Plate 209).

This is an astrological tanka: in the centre, a little towards the bottom, a monstrous figure of sGra gcan ʼdsin, or better of K'yab ʼjug sgra gcan ʼdsin, Rāhu's personification, or perhaps K'yab ʼjug c'en po, Mahāviṣṇu. He has nine faces, and above them all a raven's head.

Above Tsoñ k'a pa, and under him a figure of the Buddha, with serpents on his head, to be identified with Klui dbañ.

Under sGra gcan ʼdsin k'yuñ, the Ga-ruḍa which, having entered Tibet together with Buddhism, was assimilated to the k'yuñ, a mythological animal of Bon po tradition, symbolizing the sun.

In the two upper edges, two figures of K'ro bo; below mGon po, with six arms, accompanied by his śakti and Señ ge sgra, one of ʼJam dpal's manifestations; on the two lower edges gŠin rje, god of death, and a mK'a' agro ma.

On each side of the god, astrological symbols: the eight *par k'a* which Tibetan astrology has borrowed from the Chinese, and the Me ba dgu (concerning which see WADDELL, p. 457).

TANKA n. 177 (Plate 210).

On the black background are drawn, in flexible gilded lines, figures of animals and, less frequently, of persons: in the centre, on a Chinese cup, a symbolical offering, *gtor ma*, containing seven gems (see above,

p. 302). Lower down the *gtor ma* proper to terrific deities: it is represented by a skull resting upon three smaller skulls, full of red blood and grey fat: above, a heart and two eyes torn from the body of a slain enemy: on each side two more skull-caps with blood still warm and smoking; below, the altar with more offerings and ritual objects. Hanging from above, like a canopy, the skin of a flayed man. The environment is one proper to terrific deities. The figures represented probably point to the deity to whom the tanka is consecrated: in it we find, besides a man, a camel, an ass, a *rkyan* (?), an elephant, a yak, a lion, a wolf, a dog, a goat, a fox; many of these animals, in fact, are placed in rDo rje ʼjigs byed's maṅḍala: camel, dog, sheep, wolf (fox), owl, raven, lion, hawk, eagle, hen. See f. i. *bCom ldan ʼadas gšin rje gšed poi dkyil ʼak'or rab ʼbnyams keyi sgrub t'abs ʼq'rin las keyi ñi ma ʼbum gyi gzi brjid* of Tāranātha, complete works, vol. t'a, p. 47.

These animals refer to gŠin rje gšed's various messengers, *p'o ña*, which have animals' faces or ride on animals, later taken as their symbols: man, buffalo, *garuḍa*, ass, camel, black dog, sheep, wolf or fox (*lce spyañ*), the mounts of the eight gšin rje; vulture, owl, hawk, raven, parrot, grouse, falcon, eagle, the mounts of the eight *p'o ña mo* (see *dPal rdo rje ʼjigs byed keyi rnal ʼbpor dan ʼbul ba drug cu rtsa bžiü gtor c'og gi dga' don k'ams gsum zil snon*, by the same author, p. 10).

On the other hand a black bird to the right, a black dog to the left, a black fox (*lcags spyañ = lce spyañ*) on the back, a black man in front, a black eagle on the top are the acolytes of rDo rje nag po (TĀRANĀTHA, *gTor c'o ga rgyun*, vol. Na).

But a more detailed description of these offerings, proper to the terrific deities, is found in another work by the same author: *mGon po ʼzal bži pai sgos bskans pa* (complete works, vol. ma). "In the skull the *arghya* is made of human blood, instead of flowers the five senses, fat instead of incense, man's

liquid fat is used to (feed the) lamps, perfume is human bile, flesh is the offering of food, flutes made of human thigh-bones and skulls are used to make music, guts instead of bands, hanging draperies (*ap'yañ ap'ru*) are heart and lungs, hair taken from corpses are used as fly-whisks, human skins (*žin c'en*) as canopies (*ap'an gduqs*), then a black yak, a black sheep, a black dog,.

But the greatest correspondence with the images of the tanka is found in the lists of the *dPal mgon tra kšad kyi ap'rin las bskañ gso sog*s *ñer mk'o aga' žig* by Tāranātha, vol. *ma*: black

horse, camel, wild yak (*abron*), black sheep, black dog, tiger, leopard (*gzig*), lion, brown bear (*dom*), mule, wolf, hawk, *k'yun*, dragon, buffalo, snake, raven, little flags of black stuff, dagger, sword.

Concerning these symbols, as used in exorcistic rites, see also *Pad ma t'añ yig*, transl. TOUSSAINT, p. 310.

On the tanka are also drawn the seven gems; the general, the minister, the woman, the horse, the elephant, the wheel, the gem; but also the house and then the other symbols of good omen.

# MANDALA

TANKA n. 178 (Plates 211-213).

It might apparently be taken for a maṇḍala, but if carefully examined the maṇḍala scheme is discovered to be purely external and the meaning of the picture quite different: we see a multiplication of houses and temples, and on the interior side small figures of deities inside palaces: in front of the central image two maṇḍala. Above in the centre rDo rje ṅc'añ / underneath, a standing *yab yum* figure, viz. that determined aspect of Dus kyi ṅk'or lo which is known as Zuñ ṅjug dus ṅk'or lo.<sup>288</sup> On the left: in a palace, rDor rje ṅc'añ, on his left gŠin rje gŠed, and on the right other *yab yum* figures.

Next, on the left, eight figures of kings; two more on the right, under the palace just described. These images are accompanied by inscriptions.

On the left, 1st row above:

*C'os rgyal bla ma zla ba bzañ po, C'os rgyal lha yi dbaṅ p'yug, C'os rgyal gzi brjid mt'a' yas.*

2nd row:

*C'os rgyal zla ba šbyin, C'os rgyal lha yi dbaṅ p'yug, C'os rgyal sna ts'ogs gzugs, ... Lha yi dbaṅ ldan, Rigs ldan ajam dpal dbyaṅs.*

On the right:

*Rigs ldan drag po ṅkor lo ... las rnam rgyal.*

Underneath, a representation of a battle, in which a warrior on horseback stands out: Drag po ṅk'or lo, who is piercing with his lance an enemy fallen on the ground: the inscription declares him to be *Byas pai blo*.

Near Drag po ṅk'or lo, above, a warrior on a black horse, in the act of shooting an arrow against enemies on the opposite side; his name is: *Hanumanda*.

We are now in a position to identify the subject of this picture. It is the Kālacakra's story and the victory of King Drag po ṅk'or lo over the Kla klo, i. e. the Moslems.

The smaller circle in which temples and lesser figures are seen, represents therefore Kalāpa: the *Kulika's (rigs ldan)* royal palace, built in the country of Sambhala, which tradition places vaguely in the North: an old itinerary, inserted in the bsTan ṅgyur mDo, CXXX, 12, *Ka la pai ṅjug pa*, shows the way to this place, to be sought in some part, not yet clearly defined, of Central Asia.<sup>289</sup> Śambhala, round like an eight-petalled lotus flower, has become, in the tradition, a heaven consecrated to the Kālacakra's glories. Like the country of the Dākinī, U rgyan (Uḍḍiyāna), Śambhala is a place the devout try to reach, in order to be redeemed from sin; it was later transfigured into a distant heaven. The houses filling the second tier represent the 96 minor kingdoms surrounding Kalāpa. The maṇḍala seen on the middle of the tanka represents the maṇḍala of the Dus kyi ṅk'or lo, which Zla ba bzañ po caused to be built.

As to the personages represented, there is no doubt that they are some of the C'os rgyal and other Rigs ldan, Kulika; among the first is Rigs ldan ṅJam dpal grags (Mañ-juśrī-kirtī). All this will become clearer when we shall have translated the tradition concerning the Kālacakra and its origins, as it is summarized by Buston in the *Dus ṅk'or c'os ṅbyuñ rgyud sdei zab don sgo ṅbyed rin c'en gces pai lde mig*, complete works, vol. *na*, p. 28 a.

“As to the diffusion of the Kālacakra in India and next in Tibet, (it is necessary to know that) the fundamental Tantra was revealed by the Buddha to Zla ba bzañ po: the latter, then, made a summary of it; he composed an explicative commentary in 60.000 *grantha*



and wrote it in a book, revealing its meaning to the people of Śambhala etc.; he dedicated a maṇḍala of the Kālacakra, made with various precious stones (evidently the painting refers to this), and, after having displayed many miracles, he entered nirvāna. After him came: Lha dbaṅ gzi brjid can / Zla bas byin pa, Lhai dbaṅ p'yug, sNa ts'ogs gzugs, Lhai dbaṅ ldan, each of whom, for 100 years, taught the Law. Then aJam dbyaṅs grags pa, for a hundred years preached the fundamental Tantra. After him the explanation of the fundamental Tantra and of its commentary (continued) to be explained and listened to. ... Next, after Grags pa had preached on the fundamental Tantra for a hundred years, Ņi mai šiṅ rta and others were awakened, and the ři asked for baptism and for a summary of the Tantra, already summarized before. Then, at the full moon of the month of Citrā (*nag pa*, March-April) he initiated the ři with the maṇḍala dedicated by Zla ba bzaṅ and wrote in three thousand verses a summary of the fundamental Tantra, called *bsDus pai rgyud me tog p'reṅ aḍsin gyi ts'igs bcad* ...; next, in the day of the full moon of Saga (*Vaiśakha*), April-May) the ři obtained the perfect realization of the mahāmudrā. Then Grags pa, after having explained the Tantra to Pad dkar, enjoined him to write the commentary and then he too entered nirvāna. Then Pad dkar made the commentary in 12.000 verses and explained the Law: after him came bZaṅ po, rNam rgyal, bŠes gñen bzaṅ po, P'yag dmar, K'yab ajug sbas pa, Ņi ma grags, Šin tu bzaṅ, eight in all, who preached the Law, each for a hundred years. In this time certainly the law of the Kla klo was installed in Ma k'a. So said Grags pa's son, predicting that after eight generations the Kla klo's law would be established, that is, eight hundred years after Grags pa had entered nivāna. "Certainly,, means: beyond all doubt the Kla klo's law will be established in Ma k'a ... Then rGya mts'o rnam

rgyal and rGyal dka' too, for a hundred years each, taught the Law. One hundred and eighty-two years after the Kla klo's (power) had begun, rGyal dka' began to calculate the cycle of the Kālacakra.

"Then Ņi ma sna ts'ogs gzugs, Zla bai 'od, mT'as yas, Sa skyoṅ, dPal skyoṅ seṅ ge, rNam gnon, sTobs po c'e, Ma agag pa, Mi yi seṅ ge, dBaṅ p'yug c'en po, mT'a' yas, rNam rgyal, Drag po aḳ'or lo can who broke the power of the Kla klo ,,,

Tibetan tradition assigns to Drag po aḳ'or lo can, with the aid of the gods, victory over the Kla klo and the restoration of the Buddhist Law; therefore in this school he corresponds to the puranic figure of Kalkin, to whom indeed Kloṅ rdol bla ma compares him (see *Daṅ po saṅs rgyas dpal dus kyī aḳ'or loi lo rgyus daṅ miṅ rnam graṅs*, complete works, vol. ca, p. 14) "(King Drag po aḳ'or lo can) with an innumerable army of soldiers set out, and to the South of the Sitā river he fought a great battle, in the country of Rum pa C'a rgyal of the Kla klo, and the Kla klo's master, Byis pai blo gros, was vanquished. The commander-in-chief (of Drag po aḳ'or lo can) overcame the master (of the Kla klo) Zla bai bu, and the heroes of his army, famous archers, the Kla klo troops; his *sa skyoṅ* (overcame the *sa skyoṅ* of the former), and his elephants their elephants, and his horses their horses, and the 12 great gods the Kla klo's impious protecting deities, and the latter were destroyed,,. Thus wrote Kloṅ rdol bla ma, copying from Blo bzaṅ dpal ldan ye šes, see *Weg*, pp. 58, 79.

TANKA n. 179 (Plate 214).

Four maṇḍalas of Kyai rdo rje. In the centre of the tanka the figures of two lamas, fronting each other; as can be read in the inscription underneath, they are Abhayā- (karagupta) and dPe med (Anupama). Below, Kun mk'yen pa, on each side: Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an and bSod nams (rdo rje);

above a mK'a' aḡro ma. In the first row above, various figures of masters: Klu grub, Āryadeva, Lohipā, Saraha, mTs'o skyes rdo rje, Ḍombiheruka, Birvapā, Byis pa pa, Dril bu pa, Nalendrapā, Kukuripā, Ye šes žabs, Nag po spyod pa. Below, between the two upper maṇḍalas, Kyai rdo rje.

The maṇḍalas are all dedicated to the same god Hevajra, in different aspects and attitudes, but each consists of nine figures, including the central deities, i. e. besides Hevajra, the 8 lha mo, of which we have already given a list in *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 54.

Below:

*slob dpon rdo rje a mañ (?) c'en kun dga' bzañ po yab sras rgyud pa dañ bcas pa rnams kyis ... dgoñ (sic) pa k'yad par can ... (rdogs) par gyur cig ...*  
*... rnams kyi byañ c'ub sañs rgyas ... aduñ bya rnams kyis (sic) dge' ... abad med. ...*

"The master's thought... the great Kun dga' bzañ po and of his disciples and of his... may be exhauled. All... enlightenment, the merits of all those who may be converted by the Buddhas ... without effort, ..

This enables us to fix the date of the painting: it must be a little later than Kun dga' bzañ po, who as we have seen founded the Nor monastery in 1429. This is therefore one of the oldest tankas in the collection.

TANKA n. 180 (Plate Z).

The three maṇḍalas present no special difficulties, except the third; the first above represents Ts'e dpag med's novenarian cycle, with Ts'e dpag med in the centre, surrounded by eight acolytes.

The second below on the left, is the maṇḍala of rDo rje sems dpa', surrounded by four rGyal c'en sde bži.

The last maṇḍala represents rDo rje sems dpa' between the eight Lha c'en, the gods of Hinduism. On each side, three divinities, one riding on a bird, perhaps Ts'añs pa, the other on a black horse and the third with a lion's head, perhaps Señ ge gdoñ ma.

Outside the real maṇḍalas, the images are disposed haphazard, without a logical order between them. In the first row rNam par snañ mdsad; rNam par snañ mdsad, yellow; Śākyamuni; rDo rje sems dpa'; a king, probably K'ri stroñ lde btsan; two Indian ācārya.

In the second row: P'yag na rdo rje, sMan bla, rDo rje sems dpa', Ts'e dpag med; above: the Buddha.

In the third row: rTa mgrin, four manifestations of sGrol ma, P'yag na rdo rje.

The cycle of rNam t'os sras and of the eight rTa bdag, Mi gyo ba (Acala), white; P'yag na rdo rje, rDor rje sems dpa'; more to the right Mi bskyod pa, blue.

The inscription in *dbu med*, under the tanka, reads:

*ak'yil ak'or bcuñs (= bcu gñis) dge bai ... a c'os rje lña ri ... c'en ts'ul kr'im (sic) 'od zer gyi t'ug (sic) kyi dgoñ (sic) ... don du yon su rdsog (sic) par gyur cig degi (sic) tus (sic) rje dañ byin rlabs la rtens (i. e. rten nas);*

*bdag rgyan (i. e. rgyal mts'an) 'or (i. e. 'od zer) gi p'a mai gto so byas sems can sdig sgr'i(b) dag nas sañs rgyas t'ob par gyur cig.*

"Through the merit derived from having had these twelve maṇḍalas made, may C'os rje lña ... (Rin) c'en ts'ul k'rims 'od zer's thought be exhauled. By virtue of the blessing of his mercy may I, rGyal mts'an 'od zer, together with my father and my mother and all creatures, purify the stains of sin and obtain the condition of a Buddha, ..

There were, then, twelve maṇḍalas, but in this tanka they are only three; if we count as a maṇḍala also rNam par t'os sras and the eight rta bdag's cycle, they are four at the most; therefore there was a series of three or four tankas, which rGyal mts'an 'od zer had caused to be painted for the spiritual welfare of his parents and according to the wish of the C'os rje Ts'ul k'rims 'od zer.

Who this lama was it is impossible to say, probably some abbot of the Nor monastery, from which the tanka came.

This is a maṇḍala dedicated to one of the principal deities of Tantric esotericism, Kyai rdo rje, Kye rdo rje, Hevajra, particularly venerated as the *yi dam*, or protector of the sect, by the Sa skya pa.

He is another of Heruka's and Akṣo-bya's hypostases, like Saṃvara: his experiences go back to a famous Tantra of the Vajrayāna, which was also introduced into China.

The god being identified, the maṇḍala would be easy to read if we knew what liturgy has inspired the painter. Ritual treatises dedicated to this god abound, naturally, in the Sa skya pa, Nor pa and Jo nañ pa sects, from the *Kyai rdo rje mñon par rtoḡs* by bSod nams rtse mo (*Sa skya pa* works, vol. *ca*) to the *dGyes pai rdo rjei lag len gsal bar byed pa dpal he ru ka dgyes pa* by Tāranātha (complete works, vol. *Ta*). In these books the construction of the maṇḍala is identical: after the *me ri* or halo of fire, which turns to the right and surrounds the maṇḍala, we have in the first circle the representation of the eight cemeteries, according to the traditional patterns. I have studied them elsewhere. Each of them is marked by its P'yogs skyon, klu, mountain, mc'od rten, tree, clouds, ascetics, fire, water, which symbolize them. Then comes the square city of the maṇḍala, inside which are arranged eight deities in a first circle, six in a second circle and another two, one to the North and the other to the South, sixteen in all; they are alike inasmuch as they brandish the *gri gug* in their right hand and hold on the palm of the left a skull-cap, while the *khatvāṅga* leans on their left shoulder.

Hence they are mK'a' ṅro ma; this means that the model followed by the painter departs from the liturgy laid down in the treatises we have quoted above, according to which the maṇḍala is composed of 9 deities, i. e. a central deity and eight lha mo.

Point of space	name	colour	hands	
			right	left
East	Gauri on Tsañs pa	black	<i>gri gug</i>	<i>robita</i> fish
South	Gauri on Lhai dbañ po	btsod	dāmaru	boar
West	Ro lañs ma on K'yab ṅjug	yellow	tortoise	lotus
North	Ghasmañi on dbañ p'yug c'en po	green	serpent	skull
S. W.	Pukkasi on gŠin rje	blue	lion	axe
N.W.	Ri k'rod ma on Nor bdag	white	monk or fox	fan
N. E.	gDol ma mon ma (Caṇḍali) on Srin po	blue	wheel	skull-cap
S. E.	gYun mo on T'ag zañs ris	various colours	rdo rje	threatning mudrā

In the centre towers Kyai rdo rje's figure, according to traditional iconography, with 8 heads and 16 arms; in the 8 right arms he carries as many skull-caps, on which are respectively a white elephant, a green horse, an ass with a white blaze on its forehead, a yellow ox, a grey camel, a red man, a blue stag, a black cat. On his left hands: the earth-goddess, yellow; the water-god, white; the fire-god, red; gŠin rje, blue; Nor sbyin, yellow, etc. He embraces bDag med ma, black, who grasps in her right hand the *gri gu* and holds a skull-cap in her left.

The gods surrounding the maṇḍala have no direct connection with it; the liturgies we have mentioned know no deities participating in these rites, beside the five supreme Buddhas in their esoteric form, with eight faces and 16 hands (see *dPal kye rdo rjei dkyil ṅk'or du slob ma sñin poi byed pai c'o ga dbañ gi c'u bo c'en po*. *Sa skya pa*, complete works, vol. *ca*, p. 39).

That horror of a void, which artists used to Indian schools of painting cannot overcome, has induced the author of this tanka to fill up every empty place with the images of an extremely vast pantheon, taken from

the most different liturgies, not only of this cycle but of the kindred cycles belonging to Heruka, Guhyamāja and Saṃvara.

TANKA n. 182 (Plate 216).

This tanka too refers to a cycle well known to us, both because we have studied it thoroughly in *Indo-Tibetica*, II, part III, and because we have already met with it in the present collection: I allude to rDo rje ajigs byed's cycle. But which liturgical system does the maṇḍala here represented reproduce? This maṇḍala in fact has nothing to do with the commonest cycle of 13 deities; the *rDo rje ajigs byed lha bcu gsum dkyil ak'or*, which we have seen in Tsaparang.

Here the cycle is different: in the maṇḍala are represented 8 deities which seem to be mK'a'agro ma, besides the central deity which is without his śakti, like the dPa' bo gcig, *ekavīra* in the tanka we have already studied. But besides these figures, we see on the four quarters a head, two feet, two hands and a design of floral patterns. What is the meaning of all this? The explanation is found if we turn to the *dPal rdo rje ajigs byed lha bcu p'yag mts'an sum cu rtsa gnīs dan'bcas pai dkyil ak'or kyī c'o ga rab gsal snañ ba*, by dKon mc'og lhun grub, founded on a tradition going back to P'ags pa of Sa skya, to Rvā lotsāva and to Kun dga' bzañ po of Nor, i. e. to a *sampra-dāya* of a prevailing Sa skya pa character.

According to this liturgy, in the centre of the maṇḍala should be placed rDo rje ajigs byed, as the intellective body (*ye šes sku*) of all the Buddhas; around him must be drawn the 32 symbols (*p'yag mts'an*):

to the East: a head; to the South: the hands; to the West: the guts; to the North: two feet; to the S. E.: a skull-cap; to the S.-W.: a skull; to the N.-W.: a rag picked up in a cemetery; to the N.-E.: an impaled man (*skyes bu gsal šiñ gis p'ug ba*).

Hence in the first inner edge (called *lha snam*), to the East: *gri gug*, spear, club (*gtun*

*šiñ*), knife (*c'u gri*), vajra, hook; to the South: axe, arrow, stick, *kbatvāṅga*; to the West: five-pointed vajra, tambourine, shield, bow, bell, flag; to the North: threatening mudrā, trident, elephant's skin, hammer lance...

In the intermediate points the eight *ro lañs*, black, their tongues projecting from their mouths. In the inner corners, eight vases full of ambrosia. In the outer circle, as usual, the eight cemeteries.

Out of the maṇḍala's surface the seven gems, various aspects of gŠin rje, Nag po c'en po and the donors. Above, some masters: (Jñā)nakumāra, Gaganagarbha, Ananta(?), Padmavajra, Lali(ta)vajra, Vajra... Anatadhvaja.

TANKA n. 183 (Plate 217).

This tanka is dedicated to the same god, but based on a different liturgy.<sup>290</sup>

TANKA n. 184 (Plate 218).

This tanka represents the maṇḍala of P'yag na rdo rje ak'or lo c'en po, a divinity we have already met with (concerning which see *Grub t'abs kun btus, ga*, p. 129).

The god brandishes a five-pointed rdo rje in his right hand; the left is in the threatening mudrā to kill fiends, with the other two he embraces the sakti mDañs ldan ma, clapping his hands; the last two hold the king of snakes tightly.

A description of this maṇḍala, as it is represented on the tanka, is found in a treatise by Tāranātha: *dPal p'yag na rdo rje ak'or lo c'en poi dkyil c'o ga srid gsum adul byed*. From this liturgical text we learn that the deities arranged around the maṇḍala are the following:

to the East: K'ro bo c'en po bdud las rgyal byed, white, four-handed; in his first right and left hands a rdo rje and a trident with a *ak'or lo* under the three points. He embraces the śakti 'Od zer can, white, with razor and skull-cap;

to the South: K'ro boi brgod mt'a' yas, yellow, four-handed; in his first right hand rdo rje, in his first left hand a vase containing gems. With the other two he embraces mDañs ldan ma, yellow, with rdo rje and skull-cap;

to the West: rNam pai sgra sgrog, red, with rdo rje and snake-noose; a lotus in his first two arms. With the other two arms he embraces sGra dbyañs can, with axe and skullcap;

to the North: bDud rtsii ak'yil ba, green, rdo rje and club marked with a *viśvavajra*; with the other two he embraces rLuñ abyin ma with wheel and skull-cap.

On the four doors of the maṇḍala:

to the East: rDo rje lcags kyu and lCags kyu ma, white, two-handed: the symbol is the hook;

to the South: rDo rje zags pa and Žags pa ma, yellow; the symbol is the noose;

to the West: rDo rje lcags sgrog and lCags sgrog ma, red, two-armed; the symbol is the chain;

to the North: rDo rje dril bu and Dril bu ma, green, two-armed; the symbol is the bell.

Around, the cemeteries; above Grub t'ob and masters; on the four corners rDo rje sems dpa', rNam par rnam ajoms, 'Od dpag med, Klui dbaṅ po. And further: below two rTa mgrin, red and blue, Indra and Śiva. Above, two P'yag na rdo rje. Below the donors; more to the right rNam t'os sras, Cur mgon, dPal ldan lha mo, Bram ze gzugs nag po c'en po, two Jambhala; to the right two K'ro bo, Ts'ogs bdag; two sGrol ma.

TANKA n. 185 (Plate 219).

As the inscription says, this tanka represents a Vajradhātumaṇḍala, symbol of the adamantine plane, the sphere of the absolute. But we know several Vajradhātumaṇḍalas: they are especially taken from the literature of the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, of the *Vairocaṅābhīsamboḍhi* and

of other Tantric texts, almost all centering round the symbol of Vairocana. Concerning this maṇḍala and that literature, I refer the reader to what I have written in *Indo-Tibetica*.<sup>291)</sup>

But the Vajradhātumaṇḍala is found in other Tantric cycles as well: the presence, in this tanka, of Kyai rdo rje, Hevajra's figure might suggest, for instance, that the painter has wished to represent here the Vajradhātumaṇḍala according to the *Samputatantra*, a text akin to the *Kyai rdo rje rgyud*: but the structure of this maṇḍala, of which we have an ample description, for instance, in the *gSuñ abum* by Kun dga' bzañ po of Nö (complete works, vol. *k'a*), has no relation with the pattern of this tanka.

Above, in the centre: rDo rje ac'añ with his śakti, Dus kyi ak'or lo and Kyai rdo rje; below: Mi gyo ba in the centre, with his śakti, rDo rje mk'a' a'gro ma and Kurukullā.

TANKA n. 186 (Plate 220).

It represents the maṇḍala of bDe mc'og, Śaṃvara, concerning whom I have written at length in *Indo-Tibetica*, II, part III.

The cycle here reproduced is different from the one studied in all its details in *Indo-Tibetica*. The latter was based on Lūi pā's liturgy, this one centres rather on Nag po pa's ritual.

Above, grub t'ob and masters, below figures offering gifts to a lama: black Jambhala, Bya rog gdoñ mgon po, mK'a' a'gro ma etc.

TANKAS nn. 187, 188 (Plates 221-224).

These tankas too belong to Padmasambhava's cycle and their principal subject is the heaven over which he presides, *gzans mdog sprul gyis no bo cittai dbyibs t'ogs kyi don*, as we find written in tanka n. 187. This heaven, which tradition has imagined and the paintings represent on a mountain in the middle of the sea, is called Zañs mdog dpal ri, the copper-coloured mountain: according to the

rÑiñ ma pa traditions it is in the country of rÑa yab lañ kai gliñ, to the N.-W. of rDo rje gdan, Bodhgayā. Roerich<sup>292</sup>) has already spoken of this fabulous place, publishing a painting very much later and less elaborate than the one given here. Describing his tanka, Roerich has also translated a chapter of a famous book which speaks of this heaven. The book is entitled *gSol qdebs leu bdun ma*, and we have often mentioned it. On page 22 there is a description of Padmasambhava's heaven which it will be well to repeat although it has been already translated by Roerich, because it helps the interpretation of the tanka.

“1. The happy-omened mountain (*Śrīgiri*),<sup>293</sup>) copper-coloured, has the form of a heart (*citta*); its base rests on the nāga king's country; its miraculous (*lbun cags = lbun grub*) slopes are flung into the sphere of the ḍākinī - the top reaches Brahmā's land.

2. On the sparkling top of the happy-omened mountain, the Western side is of the colour of crystal (white), the Southern side of the colour of beryl (blue), the Western side of the colour of ruby (*rāga = padmarāga*), the Northern side of the colour of emerald (*indranīla*). This heavenly palace is translucent, with no outside and no inside (no interior and no exterior).

3. The four sides, the intermediate sides, the upper and lower parts of this heavenly palace, are made of precious stones. The verandas and the quadrangular projecting parts (*glo bur*) are each of the colour of the four mystical families and of the four magical works.

4. Its walls, its ramparts (*adod snam*), its tiles, its staircases, its bannisters, its balconies, are made of the five kinds of gems. The arches over its four doors, the emblem of the wheel of the Law, all the friezes, are beautifully ornamented with great gems of various kinds.

5. Outside and inside it is thick with heavenly trees, fountains of ambrosia and

rainbows of the five colours. The scent of blooming lotus flowers pervades the atmosphere; by simply recalling such a place to memory, great peace is obtained.

6. On the octagonal lunar seat made of gems, within that great palace, Pad ma abyuñ gnas is found; his body is an accumulation (of the essence of all the) Sugata.

7. Although the colour of his body, his symbols, his ornaments are not unchangeable, but vary according to the intentions (of those who meditate upon him) and (of the four) magical actions, reciprocally meant to pacify, to cause to prosper, to submit and to offend, his splendour is greater than the light of a thousand suns.

Its supreme majesty is that of the king of the mountain (Sumeru).

8. The manifestations of the (Guru's) spirit penetrate the world; he gazes, turning his pupils all around, like the sun or the moon. The deeds of his mercy are swifter than lightning in the sky. His intentions are deep as the vastity of space.

9. Through compassion towards the world, he accomplished the good of the universe. His smiling face has a fair appearance; the sound of his voice is stronger than the roaring of a thousand thunderclaps; the sound of the deep Law, contained in secret formulas, echoes.

10. On the four sides and on the eight intermediate points of the great mystical body (*sprul sku*), on thrones pressing down upon demons lying face downwards (*log pa*) sit the Tathāgatas belonging to the five mystical families and the terrific deities which conquer demons; these deities represent the activity of the physical plane, a corporeal and active symbol.

11. On thrones resting on lotus flowers placed in the four points of space and having five petals each, are the Giñ<sup>294</sup>) of the four mystical families and four troops of mK'a'agroma; they are all furnished with ornaments taken from cemeteries and stand in graceful postures, playing on musical instruments.



12. On the four sides of the great palace, the central verandas and the projecting corners are full of Rig ḁsin and of mK'a' agro ma, and (crowded) with gods and goddesses like clouds; they present offerings of all kinds exoteric, esoteric and secret.

13. On the bridge of the precious palace, goddesses bearing offerings, filling the world with their offerings, are crowded thick as clouds of the six kinds of desirable things, and by Kun tu bzan po's offering they honour Sugata.

14. At the four doors on the four sides of the great palace, four kings of the four quarters mount guard (*bka' gñen*) at the door.

The eight troops of Lha min, acting as servants and messengers, overthrow fiends and heretics as if they were dust.,,

The authority enjoyed by the *Leu bdun ma* explains how this description of Padmasambhava's heaven recurs in almost all the sMon lam, i. e. in the formulation of the vow to act according to the Law, so that the devotee may be rewarded by rebirth in the heaven where the great miracle-worker sits. Thus, for instance, the *Zaṅs mdog ḁpal rii smon lam rig ḁsin gsañ lam*, which passes for a gTer ma, adds nothing to the description in the book translated above.

We know besides that this heaven, imagined as a great mountain, is surrounded on the right by the *Rig ḁsin*, the masters of esoterisms, and on the left by the doctors (Paṅ c'en) and ascetics, while all around are arranged the gTer ston, discoverers of those sacred books which Padmasambhava was believed to have hidden in caves in the mountains, in order that they should be taken out when men's minds were mature enough to understand their secret meaning.

Thus this image of Padmasambhava's heaven, placed on earth, in a vaguely South-Western direction, is a Tibetan creation, in which are mixed together traditions on the famous Indian Śrīparvata (*ḁPal ri*), the Mahāyāna's sacred citadel, and the Western

heaven; fancies are blended with it, concerning paradises and far-away worlds, difficult of access, where the Law is handed down, spotless, undefiled by impure contacts and choirs of blissful beings sit in contemplation, precisely as it was in the Sukhāvati or in Śambhala, the supreme heaven of the Kālacakra system.

The tanka is inspired by this idea, but it is evidently based on a literary tradition describing the road to this heaven and the manner of reaching it. There is no other explanation, for instance, of the bridge on which the devotees pass and of the fiends guarding it. The existence of a literature which dealt with travels to the Zaṅs ri, in the same way as others offered information on the way to reach Potala, Avalokiteśvara's abode, is proved by some allusions to it, which I have found in the biography of the third Dalai Lama bSod nams rgya mts'o. This book, describing this lama's ancient incarnations, mentions a journey the master made to the rŅa yab country, Cāmara, as we have seen from the allusions to it in tanka n. 33.

"When I went to rŅa yab, the Srin mo's land, in a frontier country, a one-headed Srin po appeared and asked me where I was going. 'I am going to the Srin's country: where is the road leading to the Zaṅs mdog ḁpal ri?'. 'From here on he answered a large frontier land is there whose access is difficult on every side'. Then a two-headed Srin po appeared; he had four huge teeth in each mouth. He told me that the road leading to the Srin po's country was there and a sort of road appeared, made of silken stuff stretched out and he went towards that road, but was unable to pass, neither could I pass. Then a Srin po came, eleven-headed, whose tallest head was that of a horse. He scattered flowers all around, and said: "He who protects against the sufferings of the saṃsāra has arrived here as if by virtue of meditation, through which one may go everywhere. In the middle of this

country of the Srin po, by this road, go before the spiritual preceptor ... Then a road appeared, made of silken stuff. Walking on it I had covered half of it, when a four-headed Srin po appeared, who pulled me by one foot. But then out of that country two Sruñ ma appeared, who threatened to strike him, and then he fell. Thus I arrived happily ... (Complete works, na, p. 8).<sup>295</sup>)

On the other hand the *Pad ma t'añ yig*, chap. 97 says that the *Zañs mdog dpal ri* lies between *Lañkāpuri* to the East, *dGa' ba* can to the South, *Ko ka t'añ dmar gliñ* to the West, *Byañ lag* to the North.

All around the scenes represent fanciful itineraries to the *Zañs mdog ri* heaven, the places to be crossed, the dangers which must be overcome, the gods met on the way; we find there the cemeteries of *rÑiñ ma pa* tradition, but also allusions to *Padmasambhava's* life and to his masters.

The inscriptions, not always legible, begin on the right, above and unfold as follows round the image of the heavenly palace where *Padmasambhava* is seated:

1. *rgyal du sprul.*
2. *c'ur ... nub stod ša mk'ar can gyi gliñ na groñ k'yer abum c'a dgu sa bdag klu dur k'rod gñan ... pad-ma rtsegs.*
3. *dur k'rod bde c'en brdal ba.*
4. *nañ grol.*
5. *šar byañ rluñ nag k'rig gliñ sems can kyī k'rag.*
6. *rin po c'ei ... byuñ mañ po.*
7. *rgyal po lag na rts'o rdsus sprul nas drag sñags kyī c'os ston pa.*
8. *nor ... dañ abras la ...*
9. *dur k'rod pad ma rtsegs.*
10. *klui rgyal poi gnas.*
11. *rgyal po gtsug na me abar ba sprul nas c'os ston pa.*
12. *mu le ap'ruł gyi ...*
13. *dur k'rod ajig rten rtsegs rigs adsin ša nti gar bba.*
14. Near the bridge: *srin po agro bai bla srog ...*
15. *dbañ gi lha mo mc'ed dgu.*
16. *slob dpon c'en por ... mc'og rgyal sogs lho nub mai.*
17. *deb ra dsar sprul nas sku ap'ruł.*

18. *šar lho dra tii nags gliñ srin groñ abum c'a ñer gcig.*
19. *rigs adsin hūm kara ... t'añ yan lag.*
20. *smra bai señ ge sprul nas ajam dpal skui ston pa.*
21. *šar smad na ban ... gliñ na gliñ p'ran bye ba gsum.*
22. *šar lho bar bai gliñ na abri gyag ri lug la.*
23. *rigs (for rig) adsin vi ma la mi tra.*
24. *dur k'rod lbun grub brtsegs.*
25. *srin po grul abum rigs lag pa brgya ston gis mts'on adebs šin ri dags la ... ston pa. rigs adsin ajam dpal gšes gñen.*
26. *lho zañs t'al k'a ri groñ k'yer ... bcu drug dur k'rod ku la rdogs rgyal po ... ap'reñ du sprul nas dur k'rod gson c'en rol pa rigs adsin dha na sam skri ta.*
27. *rgyal po ra kša t'od p'reñ du sprul nas k'yab ajug rtog pa.*
28. *lho nub ra kša ... mi rta k'yi gsum za ba.*

1. He appears as a king.
2. In the water ... to the West, in the upper part, in the island of *Ša mk'ar* can there are 90.000 cities, *Sa bdag*, *Klu*, *gÑan* of the cemeteries. (The cemetery) *Pad ma rtsegs*.
3. The cemetery *bDe c'en brdal* (see tankas nn. 33 and 109).
4. In the interior [*s*]Grol (ma?).
5. To the North-West (in the) island *rLuñ nag k'rig* (black wind) the blood of created beings.
6. ... precious ... are born many ...
7. Miraculously appearing as king *Lag na*, he teaches the law of the violent exorcisms.
8. ... riches and fruits ...
9. The cemetery *Pad ma rtsegs* (in *Uddi-yāna*, see tankas nn. 33 and 109).
10. The king of the *klu's* abode.
11. Miraculously appearing as king *Tsug na me abar*, he teaches the Law.
12. Appearing miraculously in *Mu le*.<sup>296</sup>
13. The cemetery *ajig rten rtsegs* (see tankas nn. 33 and 109), the possessor of mystical wisdom *Sántigarbha*.
14. The *Srin po*... the life of created beings...
15. The 9 sisters goddesses of the magic power.

16. The great master ... the lofty, king etc. to the South-West.

17. He is miraculously born, appearing as a Devarāja.

18. On the South-East in the island Dsa tii nags there are 21.000 cities of Srin.

19. The possessor of mystical wisdom Hūm kara ... a part of T'añ.

20. Miraculously appearing as sMra bai señ ge he shows aJam dpal's body.

21. To the East, in the lower part, in the island ... millions of lesser islands.

22. To the South-East in the intermediate continent, to the sheep in Mount aBri gyag ...

23. The depository of mystical wisdom Vimalamitra.

24. The Lhun grub brtsegs cemetery (in Nepal, see tankas nn. 33 and 109).

25. The Srin po of the lineage of the Grul abum (Kumbhāṇḍa) called "the 10.000 handed ,, flings weapons and shows to the gazelles ...

26. To the South in Zañs t'al ka ri sixty... city the cemetery sKu la rdsogs ... (see tankas nn. 33 and 109) miraculously appeared as king [T'od] aṗ'reñ ... the gSon c'en rol pa cemetery (see tankas nn. 33 and 109) ... the depository of mystical wisdom Dhanasamskṛta.

27. Having miraculously appeared as king Ra kṣa t'od aṗ'reñ, he reflects on K'yab ajug.

28. To the South-West the rakṣa ... eats a man, a horse, a dog.

## PRINTED TANKAS

TANKAS nn. 189-193 (Plates 225-229).

They all belong to one cycle; they are printed on linen and the colour is then applied, light, prevailingly grey, pale pink and yellow. The tankas were purchased in Gyantse, but the blocks must have been engraved in a place where the Chinese influx was deeply felt: in the drawing of the figures, the seats, the apparel of certain personages, for instance the one visible in tanka n. 192, below, in the accuracy of design, Chinese influence transpires quite clearly.

But if the style of the blocks from which these pictures are derived leaves no doubt whatever, the interpretation of the subject they represent is uncertain; this is always the case when masters, not gods, are represented and when inscriptions are lacking.

There seems to be no doubt that a cycle of masters is here represented, but the school to which they may have belonged is quite uncertain: the personages represented in tankas n. 189 and n. 191 are perhaps two Paṅ c'en lama of Tashilunpo; the one in tanka n. 192 is very probably a Brom ston, to judge from his layman's apparel; the one in tanka n. 190 represents a king, very probably K'ri sroñ lde btsan - the deity appearing above his head is perhaps a Jam dpal's, whose incarnation that king is considered. To the gods' and masters' figures are added those of some acolytes, who evidently have here a symbolical value: in picture n. 190 a bird resembling a raven, and a hare above, almost certainly symbolize the sun and the moon: the raven is an animal who lives in the sun, according to an old Chinese belief and the hare lives in the moon in folklore common to China and India. But in the picture n. 192 we see in their place a horse and a parrot; the latter often used to symbolize the lotsāva, i. e. the translator. The meaning of some small scenes escapes me

altogether, for instance the scenes in tanka n. 192, below, which probably represent episodes in the life of some saint. The images drawn at the bottom of tanka n. 189 represent 6 arhats: focere others on the top although they are here represented in a manner which differs in some cases from the traditional iconography.

TANKA n. 194 (Plate 230).

This is printed and then painted; it represents Padmasambhava according to the usual iconography. He wears the *snags pa* or exorcist's hat; with his right hand he clasps the vajra, on a level with his heart; on the palm of his left hand he holds a skull-cap. On his left shoulder rests the *khatvāṅga*, a sceptre on which three heads are stuck: one just cut off, the other putrefied and the third a bare skull. The master is wearing a monk's robe (*c'os sgos*) and silk cloak (*zab ber*) like those of kings. Below, in the centre, mGon po p'yag drug; on the right dPal ldan lha mo dmag zor ma; in the left a deity attired as a knight, wearing a cuirass; he pierces with his sword a nude personage lying on the ground, perhaps dGra lha.

Of the three figures above, the central one represents Ts'e dpag med, Padmasambhava's essential body; on his left Ts'e rin ma and on his right sTag ts'añ ras pa, the famous bKa' brgyud pa ascetic, who enjoyed the favour of the kings of Ladakh and particularly of Señ ge rnam rgyal; through their patronage he founded the monastery of Hemis in Ladakh. He was a celebrated yogin and visited even the Swat valley, in his time entirely in Moslem hands, to look for traces of Buddhism and come into physical contact with that land, blessed with the *ḍākini's* presence. He wears across his breast the bandages for meditation (in Tibetan: *sgom t'ag, yogapatta*).

## EMBROIDERED TANKAS

TANKA n. 195 (Plate 231).

This is a *gos sku*, i. e. a tanka made out of a piece of many-coloured material, cut up and sewn again into a sort of patchwork, composing a given figure. The work is so accurate that from the photograph one would think this tanka too was painted.

It represents a standing Buddha as he is pictured when descending from heaven, where he had gone to visit his mother; such, at least, is the Indian iconographic tradition, but in Tibet the personage thus represented is usually Dīpaṅkara, a Buddha of past cosmic ages.<sup>297)</sup> On each side of him, also standing on lotus flowers, Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi.





# NOTES

1. More common is the cycle of the 16 Bodhisattva (see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, pp. 235, 243, 250).

2. See above, chap. on Vajrayāna.

3. Vimala is Vimalamitra, but two Indian pandits have borne this name (see above, n. 159 on Part first), hence it is difficult to say which of them is here represented. Rin c'en mc'og is a well known lotsāva; see M.lle LALOU's indexes.

4. *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 17 ff.

5. The Nor eulogy quotes, for instance, among the monastery's patrons the C'os rgyal of Guge, the King of rDson ka (rDson k'ul of Zanš dkar?) in mNa' ris (p. 36, b); this rCyal po is mentioned by name on p. 37 b; aBum sde mgon, and he is said to be a descendant of the kings of Tibet. The king of Guge was called (p. 38, b) K'ri nam mk'a' dbaṅ po.

6. See above p. 227.

7. Śākyāśī's biography is also contained in the DT, *ba*, p. 1 ff. and substantially agrees with the one translated here; the DT, however, places his birth in the year *me lug*, 1127, instead of the year *ññ glān*, i. e. he must have come to Tibet at the age of 78 which seems rather improbable. The date of his arrival in Tibet is confirmed by a tradition which is said to go back to him directly. He went back to Kashmir in the year 1214. He died at the age of 98 in 1225, *ññ bya*, that is, the date of our biography must be reduced by seven years, allowing only twelve years for his sojourn in India after his return, instead of 29.

According to the DT, the first place where the K'a c'e paṅ was received with supreme honours by the Tibetans was P'ag ri; his itinerary continued through Gyan ro, Gur mo, Ts'oñ adas, C'u mig, K'ro p'u.

8. Concerning Vibhūticandra see DT, *t'a*, p. 20. Sugataśī is met with as a translator in M.lle LALOU's indexes.

9. Instead of Dsaśobhara we read in the litanies: Dsaśodhara = Yaksodara on the Vitastā? See STEIN, *Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir*, II, pp. 403, 420. K'ri stan, in the eulogy K'ri bstan, perhaps to be related to K'ri te, concerning whom see THOMAS, JRAS, 1933, p. 560; 1934, p. 282, and to K'ri te near Guge found in some Tibetan sources (see n. 36 to part first). This expression again appears in Hsüan Tsang's *ki li to*, namely the *K'rita*, an invading population, poorly educated and adverse to Buddhism; they conquered and sometimes governed the country. See RONHOW, *Kirata*, Le Monde oriental, vol. XXX, 1936, p. 132 ff.

10. On which see above.

11. Concerning Śāntīkaragupta see M.lle LALOU's indexes, Dhavaraka, or Dhānākara, as in the litanies, perhaps stands for Dharmākara.

12. In DT, *t'a*, pp. 3, 6 "Ve dur...", in Eastern India.

13. rKyan adur is now Samada, see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 92.

14. His biography is in *Dam pai c'os*, etc., p. 145 and in DT, *ba*, p. 1.

15. Perhaps Pravarapura = Śrinagar. See STEIN, *Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmir*, I, p. 84.

16. Viz. in Bhrṅgavahāra in the Brīng (Bhrṅga)-pargaṇa, STEIN, *ibid.*, II, p. 468.

17. Sa mi = Avantisvāmin? Instead of Satra, *s* and *p* being easily exchanged in Tibetan manuscripts, we may also think of an original *patra*, a corruption of Pattana (= Śāntkarapura).

18. Viz. he had the revelation of Maitreyānātha, who explained his doctrines to him directly.

19. Jayapura is Andkrōth. STEIN, *ibid.*, II, p. 479.

20. Ajita, Maitreyānātha.

21. Ži abyūñ is Śāntkaragupta, Blo gros sbas is Maitrīgupta.

22. Sum bha ku ta is Śūmbhakūta, "Sumbha's peak...", unknown to me: K'ro gñet can, Bhrēkuṭi is a terrific hypostasis of Tārā. See B. BHATTACHARYA, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 59 ff.

23. On these names see above, n. 11.

24. Vikramaśīla has been located at Pātharghātā, JRASB, 1909, pp. 1-13. Cfr. V. A. SMITH, *Early history of India*, p. 399; S. K. DAS, *The Educational system of the Ancient Hindus*, Calcutta, 1930, p. 373. It was founded according to Tāranātha by Dharmapāla (end of VIIIth cent.).

25. Odantapuri, Otantapuri, perhaps Uddāṇḍapura in Bihar, founded by Gopāla (about 765).

26. *upāraka*, *upāsikā*, *bhikṣu*, *bhikṣuni*.

27. Kanika is perhaps Kanīskapura, Kanispor in Kashmir. STEIN, *ibid.*, II, p. 482. *Zla ba.bkram* = moon + scattered, perhaps a mistake for: *Za glam, ardhacandra*. Usi, doubtful.

28. Sūtra, vinaya abhidharma, manura? Or rather: teaching, argument, action, fruit?

29. The sanscrit names of the four goddesses seem to be Stambhini, Upastambhini, Suvarṇamālā, Parnaśavarī; but except the last one, I do not remember to have found them anywhere. As to Jagaddala, which seems to be the original of the Tibetan name, it is another famous Vihāra in Bengal, founded by Rāmapāla (c. 1084-1126): it was the seat of Vibhūticandra, Dānaśīla, Mokṣākaragupta, Dharmākara, etc. N. N. DAS GUPTA in *Indian Culture*, vol. I, n. 2.

30. For *mis'uns*.

31. bKra śis dpal ldan is mentioned by Sum pa mk'an po, p. 287.

32. In the inscriptions the part not in italics corresponds literally to the text of the biography.

33. On the three *śikṣā* see, for instance, LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Abhidharmakośa*, chap. VI, p. 225.

34. This is the meaning of the scene represented in the tanka published by M.lle LALOU, *Trois aspects de la peinture Bouddhique*, Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales, t. III, 1935, p. 235.

35. The spelling of this temple in 'OI k'a always wavers between rDsin ji, rDsin p'yi.

36. *Jñānasattva*, concerning whom see above, p. 313. In the present case it is the *jñānasattva* of aJam dbyāns.

37. In the inscription we must suppose two negations to be present, as in the text: *shan ba ma byuñ ba med*.

38. See above, p. 598.

39. Viz. identity between *sunyā* and *mabārukba*, the intuitive moment called *yuganaddha*.

40. Viz. the chief interpreters of Mahāyāna and particularly of the Prajñāparamitā: Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Bhadanta Vimuktisena, Ārya-vimuktisena, whose continuator is Sen(ge) bzāñ (po), i. e. Haribhadra, named in the list which immediately follows.

41. The list on the right contains the *sampradāya* of the bKa' gdams pa: Suvarṇadvipin, Aśīśa's master, Aśīśa, aBrom ston pa (concerning whom see above), dPal ldan dgon pa pa (*me abrug*, 1016; *c'u k'yi*, 1082), sNe (or sNeu) zur pa (*c'u rta*, 1042, died at 77 in the year of the dog, *sa k'yi*, 1118) (*bKa' gdams c'or abyūñ*, p. 8 a).

42. Biography in bKa' gdams c'os abyūñ, p. 98. The king of Guge contemporary of Nag dbaṅ grags pa was C'os rgyal Blo bzāñ rab britan who with his wife Don grub ma built some temples of Tsapatang. He was the father of Sa kya 'od and Sa kya rin c'en and the grandfather of a jig rten dbaṅ p' yug pad mai dkar lde, a contemporary of dGe adun rgya mtsh'o. *Vai dūr ya set po*, p. 219. On this see n. 91 on Part one.

43. While on the stair on which the gods are descending, we see lotus flowers in the place of rungs, because the lotus is the normal support of supernatural beings (see p. 330), men not yet sanctified, though drawing near to bliss, ascend on a common ladder. On the ladder and the Buddha's descent cfr. COOMARASWAMY, *Svayamātṛṣṇā-Januu corli* in Zalmoxis, 1939, p. 27, n. 8.

44. It should be remembered that in India the yearning to obtain a long life, indeed life eternal, is one of the prevailing motifs of vedic religion: *mamāyur amṛtam*, *Kausitaki-up.*, III, 2, *āyur bopasate mṛtam*, *Bṛhadār. up.*, IV, 4, 16, while upanisadic speculation already understands the ātman, the Being, as light: *amṛtaśas*, *Kausitaki-up.*, I, 3, *antah śarīre jyotirmayah*, *Mundaka*, III, 1, 5, in the same way as Buddhism will define the *citta* as *prakṛtiprabhāvavara*; cfr. "Wenn ich zum Hause des Lebens emporsteige und zur lichten Wohnung hingeh...", Thus the Mandaean hymns, REITZENSTEIN, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe*, p. 70.

45. OBERMILLER, *The sublime science of the great vehicle to salvation*, p. 254.

46. It must be kept in mind that according to the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvastivādīn, the Buddha had three wives: Yaśodharā, Gopā and Mrgajā. See PERI, BEFEO, 1918.

47. In Tibetan the spelling of this name wavers between Ru-drāyana and Utrāyana, evidently a confusion with Udayana, in CHAVANNES, *Cinq Cent Contes*, III, p. 127, Udasena.

48. Les scènes figurées de la vie du Bouddha d'après les peintures tibétaines, in *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, Tome II. Other reproductions of Tibetan lives of the Buddha, in E. WALDSCHMIDT, *Die Legende vom Leben des Buddha*.

49. See above, n. 42.

50. On the symbolism of statues and space see Part second, p. 319 and note 33.

51. This is the opinion of A. GETTY, GNB, pp. 67, 68.

52. The *Grub t'abs kun btus*, vol. 9a, contains many sādhanas concerning this god: they are largely based on that of dPal mo, Lakṣmīkāra and on that written by Ts'ul k'rim rin c'en which gives a list of the masters, Indian as well as Tibetan, who dealt with the sādhanas of this deity.

53. The identification is doubtful, but very probably the central figure represents Śākyamuni in the act of revealing or preaching some text of Mahāyāna: it is not unlikely that the painter may have had in mind the *Saddharmapundarīka*: when it was preached, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, first among the Bodhisattvas, were present. That paradises were often painted in relation to some sūtra, is known; so, for instance, in Lhasa the fifth Dalai Lama had Śākyamuni's heaven executed according to the *P'al po c'e*, *Avatamsaka*. Biogr. of the fifth Dalai Lama, vol. ca, p. 352.

54. A Jam dbyans c'o rje born in bSam yas in the year *sa lug*, 1379, was a pupil of Tson k'a pa (*bKa gdams c'os abhyūn*, p. 55 E). rTogs ldan pa was born in Tson k'a pa in the year *me spreu*, 1356, viz. one year before the birth of Tson k'a pa, and died in the year *sa spreu* 1428. He also was a pupil of Tson k'a pa (*Ibid.*, p. 31 b). The tanka is therefore connected with the dGe lugs pa, with whom Señ ge rnam rgyal was in good relations.

55. Viz. Žaṅ rin po c'e, whose biography may be read in DT, II, n. p. 136. He was born in the year *water-bare*, 1123, and he died in the year *water-ox*, 1193.

56. On rGyal mts'an dpal bzān po see above, p. 159. The other persons are, for the present, unknown to me.

57. Here what has been said above, on p. 303 should be recalled.

58. Most of these masters appear again in the list of the siddhas given on p. 227, to which we refer the reader. Concerning the other personages, it will be well to consult GRÜNWÄDEL, *Edel.*, and the indexes of the bStan agyur, by M. LE LAUOU.

59. On the Kālacakra, what has been said on p. 212 should be kept in mind, together with what we shall say when illustrating tanka n. 178.

60. Žaṅ blon rdo rje bdud rnam adul is a Tibetan creation; in the PTY (Toussaint, p. 141) we find as a dākini rDo rje bdud rnam bdud; the word *žān blon*, minister, shows that this god is part of a cycle in which a king or a queen, in fine a divine Court, was found. Instances of this are not lacking; see Appendix two.

61. See above, p. 157.

62. The monastery of bSam brtīn probably is the same as bSam ldiñ near Pa snam (cf. *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 69).

63. *gSol adebs leu bdun mai lo rgyus dmigs rim p'an yan don bcas*, p. 4.

64. *O rgyan guru rin po c'i rnam t'ar bkai t'an yig gi don bsdus gsol adebs no mst'ar*, in RC, ka.

65. For greater details the reader can see the translation of the PTY by Toussaint.

66. An allusion to the various epiphanies of Padmasambhava; they correspond to eight different aspects, and to his six apparitions as a Buddha, each one destined to convert a particular class of beings in the various worlds. So, there being eight manifestations of Padmasambhava corresponding to the eight points of the space, in each of the six worlds, there are, as a whole, 48 aspects of the Guru (see TOUSSAINT, p. 12). This is stated in detail in the IIIrd chapter of the PTY and in the rNīn ma pa apology, p. 4 ff.

67. This is the mountain called Dharmagañja by sTag ts'an ras pa (see TUCCI, *Travels of Indian pilgrims in the Swat Valley*, p. 81).

68. Or Dhanakośa (see *Ibid.*, p. 81).

69. Even the dākīnis are divided into five families *kula*, *rigs* (see above part I, p. 222).

70. The three revelations in Benares, on the Gṛdhrakūṭa and in Vaiśālī.

71. This refers to a spiritual ascent like that which takes place during the samādhi.

72. The Wu t'ai shan in China.

73. Viz. one initiated into the Tantric schools, leading to salvation in one, seven or sixteen lives, according to the neophyte's pledge.

74. Concerning Za hor, see Appendix two.

75. In PTY Baidha, perhaps Vidarbha, Bērā; Videha suggested tentatively by Toussaint (p. 490) seems to be out of place. aP'ags pa is Āryadeva, the pupil of Nāgārjuna.

76. aBras ldan is most probably aBras spuñs Dhānyakataka, on which see Part I, p. 212 and n. 274.

77. Li is Khotan. Ma ru is perhaps the same as Ma ru tse. According to S. Lévi, Maru is Chital, but Tibetan tradition places it in the environs of Kulu; see TUCCI, *Travels of Tibetan pilgrims in the Swat Valley*, pp. 41-42, n. 6.

La ṣa is perhaps a mistake for Gar ṣa, dKar ṣa, Lahul; Bru-za is Gilgit; Śāmbhala is the place where the Kālacakra was revealed, see p. 212; Ta zig (sTag gzig) is Persia, (cf. Chinese 大食 Arabs, Muslims in Iran); T'o gar is Tokharestan; Ruk ma for Rūm, the Western world.

78. K'ra abrug, monastery in Yar lung.

79. The seven *sad mi*, on which see Part IV, n. 174.

80. On these practices see DAVID NEEL, *Mystiques et Magiciens du Tibet*.

81. On Nam mk'a' snīn po, Ākāśagarbha see note 252.

82. Viz. the Buddha's statue, taken to Tibet in Sron tbsan sgam po's times.

83. On the *dpā' bo*, *vīra*, see *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 42 ff. rŅa yab = Cāmara see p. 605 and note 295.

84. Viz. Ye se mts'o rgyal, the incarnation of Śārasvatī.

85. On the bags containing offerings were written the names of the contents; now we can only read *hor ja*, Mongol tea.

86. The origin of the name Avalokiteśvara and the meaning of the word have been often discussed by scholars. The various opinions have been reviewed by STAEL-HOLSTEIN, *Avalokita and apalokita*, HJAS, 1936, p. 350 ff., who is inclined to derive the name *avalokita* from *loka* to save, to free (vedic: *lokavindu*, *lokasani*; *lokakṛt*, befriend). He supports his view with a passage of the *Saddharmapundarīka*, pp. 438-439 (SBE, pp. 406-407) in which it is said that the god is called *Avalokita* because those who hear his name will be released from any trouble and with the sentence: *tāraya mām* (in the text: *mām*) *avalokiteya* of a *dhāraṇī* and with some passages of the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 439). I am not fully convinced of this explanation and am rather inclined to believe that the meaning of saviour was secondary, in the sense that it was attached to the deity after the latter had acquired some consistency, and had become an independent entity. The origin of *Avalokita* is according to me, to be found in a personification of the four *mahāvīlokīṇī* which the Bodhisattva *vilokayati* before descending from the Tuṣita heaven upon earth; *Lalitavistara*, ed. LEFMAN, p. 19, *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 197; five *vilokita* in *Nidānakathā*, pp. 48, 49, etc. The same idea underlies the passage of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* quoted by BURNOUR, *Introduction* (2nd ed.), p. 201, in which it is said that *Avalokiteśvara* is so called because "il regarde avec compassion les êtres souffrant des maux de l'existence...". The four *vilokita* (*ava-lokita* looks from above) later became the compassionate looks of the deity upon suffering mankind and chiefly upon the infernal beings. I therefore think that the god is the deification of an action of the Buddha, of one of the moments of his career.

87. Verse defective: a syllable missing.

88. See above n. 78.

89. Namely, moral and intellective (*puṇya-jñāna-sambhāra*).

90. *C'os abhyūn* is the technical word for triangle, *trikoṇa*, symbol of the womb of all things; it is represented by the letter *e* in the vowels of the mantra.

91. On Ts'e dpag med's maṇḍala, comprising nine gods, see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, p. 161, n. 3.

92. Viz. the name of the famous temple.

93. See notes 5 and 42.

94. See above, Part II, p. 227.

95. The "six ornaments", are the great masters of the Madhyamika Nāgārjuna, Rāhula, Āryadeva, Candrakīrti, Bhāvaviveka, Buddhapālita.

96. Viz. Vāgīśvaragupta.

97. Wrong spelling?

98. See above, Part II, p. 302.

99. Viz. Indian and Tibetan masters are represented together (Señ ge bzān po = Haribhadra), Ži ba t'o (Śāntirakṣita), a lama

of the Yellow Sect, Byams pa c'os ldan, sPyil bu pa, and the Dalai Lamas.

100. *The lives of the Panchen Rinpoches or Tasi Lamas*, JRASB, 1882, p. 15, with 13 plates.

The Tashilunpo series is reproduced in figg. nn. 90-105.

101. See, later, the Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama, translation, p. 626.

102. bSod nams grags pa, the master of Tson k'a pa. See Life, p. 85.

103. Nam mk'a bzan po, another master of Tson k'a pa; DT, *ñā*,

p. 129 a. So also C'os dban, the master of Bo-don.

104. On Ses rab mgon po see DT, *ñā*, p. 129 a. Like Nam mk'a' bzan po he was a bk'a' brygyud pa. On the other masters see Life, pp. 87 b, 94 a.

105. On this book see above p. 118.

106. On Ye ses tgyal mts'an I have no information.

107. On sKyabs me'og dpal bzan po and Don grub bzan po I have no information.

108. C'os dpal, the master of Tson k'a pa for the Kālacakra.

109. Namely, in the heart of K'yuñ lha he sees, disposed to form a wreath, the letters completing the *mantra* of the *ādiguṛa*, the primeval master, present in the earthly master K'yuñ lha.

110. See above.

111. C'os skyabs, p. 344.

112. On this mountain see Appendix two.

113. The Chinese mission which came to invite Tson k'a pa is mentioned in dGe legs dpal bzan po's biography, p. 43, in the following terms: "At that time, as the Emperor Ta min had great faith in this lama, he sent him diplomats (*lun*) and numberless gifts, insistently asking him for this favour, that he should fill with the holy Law persons well-deserving of China and all created beings. Thus he sent several hundreds of persons, headed by four Ta žin, as ambassadors. In the beginning, as he had entered his hermitage a short time before, he refused to meet the ambassadors. Later, some go-betweens having been informed, first of all the Goñ ma Grags pa tgyal mts'an, together with the dPon nam mk'a' bzan po, as the ambassadors did not come to him, but greatly insisted (to see him), he went to Se ra and met them, accepting their offerings. As to his journey to China, having diligently taken counsel and considered the motives of his disinclination, the ambassadors went back, giving up their invitation."

Concerning this invitation and the letters exchanged on this occasion see a good article by Ju Dawchuyun entitled 釋註 明成祖遣使召宗喀巴紀事及宗喀巴禮成祖書 in *Studies presented to Ts'ai Yuan p'ei on his sixty-fifth birthday*, Part II, Peiping, 1935, p. 439.

114. The *bṛe* is a complex Hathayoga practice; see EVANS WENTZ, *Tibetan Yoga*, pp. 167, 230.

115. *Indo-Tibetica*, II.

116. Edited by S. Ch. Das and H. M. Vidyabhushana, voll. 2, Calcutta.

117. See for instance WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 293.

118. The Sanskrit text of the X pallava *mNaI nas abyun ba* is missing; it is not even inserted in the summary of the work written by Somendra. On the other hand the latter lists as the forty-ninth pallava the *Ṣaḍ-dantajāta* (*saddānto 'bbud dūipo yas ca*), which does not appear in the Tibetan translation. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the forty-ninth pallava was lacking in the text on which the Tibetan translation was based; for this reason the editors, namely the dDar lotsāva Nāg dban p'uñ ts'ogs lhun grub and the Indian paṇḍita who was his master, compiled the Garbhāvākrānti; so they could reach the prescribed number of 108 cantos, as many as the poem had, after Somendra wrote the last one to complete his father's work, which had reached the 107th pallava: *septottaram iā tam etat tena kṛtam*.

119. On the lotsāva of Ṣon see above, p. 103.

120. See above, p. 123.

121. See above, p. 74.

122. *Notes sur la décoration des monastères bouddhiques*, Revue des Arts asiatiques, vol. V. See pp. 183-185. FOUCHER, *The beginnings of Buddhist art*, p. 204, n. 1.

123. Viz. Raviśrījāna, on whom see Tātānātha-Schiefner, p. 252, or Raviśrībhadrā, *ibid.*, pp. 253, 255.

124. See above p. 212 and down below Tanka n. 178.

125. Cfr. HUBER, *Sūtrānlankāra*, p. 358. In the following notes the chief references only are given.

126. Cfr. the story of the king of Śibi.

127. L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, JRAS, 1894, pp. 297-319 (*Svayam-bhīpurāna*); CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, n. 6.

128. *Divyāv.*, pp. 210-228; *Jātaka* (ed. Fausböll), n. 258; RALSTON, *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 1-20; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 40 and IV, p. 107 ff.; *Mahākarmāuḥāṅga* (Lévi), p. 36.

129. *Divyāv.*, p. 320; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, pp. 17-19, III, pp. 406-408 and p. 88; SCHMIDT, *Der Weise u. d. Thor*, pp. 174-183.

130. *Divyāv.*, p. 99.

131. On the horse Bālāha, *BEFEO*, p. 120 ff.; *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 73; GOLOUBEV, *Le cheval Balaka*, BEFEO, 1927, p. 223 ff.; FINOT, in *Études Asiatiques*, I, p. 229, n. 3. The *Karandavyūha* deals at length with it.

132. The name of the handmaid in the sanscrit text is Rohikā, in Tibetan Rohitā.

133. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 39; cfr. HUBER, *Sūtrāl.*, pp. 361-186; *Bhadrāmāyākāra*, ed. Régamy; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 262, 434 a (?).

134. *Divyāv.*, p. 271; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 37 and IV, p. 153; HUBER, *Sūtrāl.*, pp. 361-386; BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, III, pp. 319-331; for Anāgana's story cfr. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 27; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 258-260.

135. The story of Nanda, Sundarānanda is well known through ASVAGHOŠA's poem (ed. Johnston, Lahore, 1928). BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, I, pp. 217-223; LONGHURST, *Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, p. 177, Pl. XXXV a; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, I, pp. 464-473, figg. 234-238; VOGEL in RAA, XI, p. 115 ff.

136. On the Vākūda, Vakkula, Varkula stūpa see PRZYLUCKI, *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, p. 258.

137. SCHIEFNER, *Leben*, p. 288; ROCKHILL, *Life*, p. 666 CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 263. For the story of Mālikā cfr. *Jātaka*, p. 415; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 214; BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, II, p. 36; HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 96.

138. SCHIEFNER, *Leben*, p. 97; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 115; PERI, in BEFEO, 1907, p. 32; HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées* etc., p. 99.

139. HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 56 ff.

140. The descent from heaven is a very common subject in art. Cfr. LONGHURST, *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, Pl. XI d; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 264-265.

141. In the text the *yupa* of the legend has become a *stupa*, *Divyāv.*, p. 61 ff.; LÉVI, *Maitreya le consolateur in Mélanges Linossier*, p. 355.

142. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 336.

143. On Śāriputra see MALALASEKERA, *Dictionary of Pali proper names* s. v.

144. *Divyāv.*, p. 3 ff.; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 237 ff.

145. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 325 and IV, p. 246. Cfr. VOGEL, *La sculpture de Mathura*, Pl. XX a.

146. *Jātaka*, I, p. 92; COOMARASWAMY, *Bodhgayā*, Pl. 51, 2; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 233, 240; HACKIN, *Vies figurées*, p. 31; VOGEL, *ARS. An. R.*, 1907-1908, p. 81 ff.

147. *Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 92, 181. For the story of Brahmaddata paying homage to Bhadrā cfr. *ibid.*, III, p. 190; HUBER *Sūtrāl.*, p. 225; LONGHURST, *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, p. 36, Pl. XXXIV, 6; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 230-233.

148. Bibliography in LAMOTTE E., *La somme du grand vibicūle d'Arāṅga*, II, 2, p. 43; cfr. also BENVENISTE, *Vessantara Jātaka*, Texte sogdien, Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, IV; *Jātakamālā*, n. IX (transl. by Speyer in the *Sacred Books of the Buddhist*, vol. I); in Tibet WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 543; BACOT, *Trois Mystères Tibétains*.

149. These events are so common that references are useless.

150. Hsüan Tsang, cap. X (WATTERS, *On Yuan Chwang travels*, II, p. 180); HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 67.

151. In the sc. text *Tutti*; in the Tibet. *Ata*.

152. SCHIEFNER, *Leben*, pp. 281-282; ROCKHILL, *Life*, pp. 43-44; LONGHURST, *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa*, Pl. XXXII, 6; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 267-269; HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 71.

153. *Jātakamālā* (Kāśānāvādin-av.); CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 220.

154. *Jātaka*, n. 482; *Jātakamālā*, p. 26; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 220 and IV, p. 122 ff.; LALOU, *Trois réclis du Dilva*, JA, 1925, pp. 333-337.

155. SCHMIDT, *Der Weise u. d. Thor*, pp. 261-262; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 589 and IV, p. 190; PELLIOU (version ouigure), TP, 1914, pp. 225-227.

156. *Jātaka*, n. 193; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 49 and IV, p. 93; TAWNEY, *Ocean of stories*, II, p. 10 and note.

157. These two nāgas are regularly said to have bathed the Bodhisatva, cf. VOGEL, *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 95 ff.; *Divyāv.*, pp. 307, 329, 395.
158. Cf. story n. 47.
159. Ghosila is connected with the story of Śyānavatī, *Divyāv.*, p. 528. See HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 53; BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, I, p. 280. The vihāra of Kauśāmbī was known as Ghositā-rāma, see N. N. GOSH., *Early history of Kauśāmbī* p. 75 ff.
160. *Divyāv.*, p. 26 ff. *Ajanta* (Yazdani), Part II, pp. 45-48, Pl. XLII, XLIV a; HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 72.
161. The title of the avadāna is *Mukapāṇu, Cariyāpīṭaka*, III, p. 6; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 126 and IV, p. 206.
162. *Kṛānti-jātaka*, p. 313; *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 357; *Jātakamālā*, n. 28; BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, I, p. 241; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 161 (different redactions); LÜDERS, *Bharbut*, pp. 119-121.
163. BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, IV, p. 215.
164. *Divyāv.*, p. 544 ff.; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 127; HUBER, in BEFEO, 1906, p. 12 ff. In the text the two forms Rauraka and Rotuka are met, LÜDERS, *Philologica-Indica*, p. 643 ff.; LÉVI, *Mahā-karmavibhāṅga*, p. 58, n. 7; HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 43 ff.
165. BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, II, p. 184.
166. *Divyāv.*, p. 291 ff.
167. *Avadānasātaka*, n. 83.
168. In verse 18 I correct *na bhuktam* in *nābhuktam*, HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 69.
169. Cf. the story of Kalyāṅkārīn.
170. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 30.
171. gNen Idan, but in the Tibet. text gNan Idan.
172. Cf. *Apadāna*, I, pp. 299-301, where, as a matter of fact, eleven results of a former karma are listed. In the *vinaya* of the Mū-lasarvāstivādins Taishō, n. 1448, vol. 18, pp. 94-96. ten karmas.
173. On Sankha and Likhita see CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 288. The Buddha's foot wounded, HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 71.
174. *Divyāv.*, p. 470: the heroine is called here Rūpavati.
175. *Mahāv.*, III, p. 350; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 59 and IV, p. 155; HUBER, *Sūtrāl*, p. 471.
176. Cf. DEMIÉVILLE, *Les versions du Milindapañha*, BEFEO, XXIV, p. 36.
177. *Lankavatāra*, p. 250. Cf. the story of the king of Śibi, HUBER, *Sūtrāl*, p. 330; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 42; VOGEL, *Matbura*, pl. XX c.
178. JULIEN, *Mémoires sur les contrées occ.*, II, p. 99; DEMIÉVILLE, *Ibid.*, p. 36; VOGEL, *Excavations at Nāgārjunikonda*, An. Bibliogr. Ind. Arch., 1930, pp. 5-6; FOUCHER, R.A.A., V, p. 15, pl. VIII, fig. 1.
179. On this avadāna see DEMIÉVILLE, *Ibid.*, p. 37.
180. *Divyāv.*, p. 403 ff.; BURNOUF, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, pp. 359-370; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 106; JULIEN, *Mémoires sur les contrées occ.*, II, p. 154; PRZYLUCKI, *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, p. 281.
181. Cf. BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, XVII, p. 3 a.
182. In the *Hatthipālajātaka* (n. 509) the sons were four, not one. Their father was a king called Esukārī, king of Benares.
183. On Gavampati see PRZYLUCKI, *Le Concil de Rājagṛha*, p. 6 ff.
184. For the first part of this story see CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 14 ff., D, p. 151. The two stories 62-63 are connected *Mahāv.*, III, p. 402; HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 25.
185. But in Tib.: *Tsa tsa kar*.
186. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, II, p. 16, D, p. 151. The title *Ma-hākāyapa* in the Avadāna is to be explained because in the *vinaya* of the Mū-lasarvāstivādins, Pippalāyana is called Pippalakāyapa. In this redaction the character of Bhadrā is different.
187. *Divyāv.*, pp. 435-611. *Mahāv.*, II, pp. 93-115; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, pp. 292-304; VOGEL, R.A.A., XI, p. 109 ff.; CUNNINGHAM, *Mahābodhi*, Pl. VIII, fig. 10; ID., *The stupas of Bharbut*, Pl. XXVII, fig. 12.
188. Bibliography in WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 208 ff., p. 520 f. and II, p. 147, p. 244 ff.; LÜDERS, *Philologica Indica*.
189. There is no relation between Alolamantra and *ma nid pa* -- no weeping.
190. Cf. *Dafakarmapluti* above.
191. *Divyāv.*, p. 330 ff.
192. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 80, III, p. 136 and IV, p. 97.
193. So begins a cycle of avadānas concerning Aśoka. PRZYLUCKI, *Légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, p. 260 ff.
194. Usually *Madhyāntika* or *Madhyandina*. PRZYLUCKI, *Ibid.*, p. 341; VOGEL, *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 232 ff.
195. PRZYLUCKI, *Ibid.*, p. 343. In the *Avadānakalpatā* Malla instead of Mahallaka.
196. *Divyāv.*, p. 352 ff.; PRZYLUCKI, *Ibid.*, p. 354 ff.
197. PRZYLUCKI, *Ibid.*, p. 426.
198. PRZYLUCKI, *Ibid.*, p. 225; HUBER, *Sūtrāl*, p. 143; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 255, 256; LONGHURST, *Nāgārjunikonda*, XXXV, p. 6.
199. Cf. the story of Ksāntivādin.
200. The episode of the offering of the four bowls is well known. Tibetan interpretation and sources in HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 20. On Kaineyaka, Keneya see *Majjhima N*, II, p. 146 and *Suttantapāṇā*, p. 104-201. CUNNINGHAM, *Mahābodhi*, Pl. XLVII, fig. 1; ID., *The stupas of Bharbut*, Pl. XXVIII; VOGEL, *La sculpture de Matbura*, Pl. VII, LI b, LIII b; LONGHURST, *Nāgārjunikonda*, Pl. XLIV a, b.
202. Cf. the story of Adinapunya.
203. mC'od 'os corresponds to *arciōdaya* rather than to *Arijitodaya* as in the text.
204. *Divyāv.*, p. 202, *Digba-nikāya*, II, p. 148 ff.
205. Cf. the story of Purṇa.
206. Cf. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 269.
207. *Mahāv.*, III, p. 172; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 197.
208. Cf. above, avadāna n. 42.
209. On a parallel theme and its representation see LALOU, *Trois récits du Dulva*, JA, 1925, p. 336; *Trois aspects de la peinture libanaise*, Ann. de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientale, 1925, p. 249 ff.
210. Cf. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 273.
211. Many arhats are called Padma, Paduma for having offered a Buddha some flowers. See Malalasekera's Dictionary of Pali proper names.
212. Cf. the story of Cittahattha, BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, II, p. 12.
213. *Divyāv.*, p. 236 ff. For the story of Sumati see CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 366 and IV, p. 134; *Divyāv.*, p. 246 ff.; *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 232 ff. In the text Kakucchandra for Krakucchanda. LONGHURST, *Nāgārjunikonda*, Pl. XXXIV a; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 139-141.
214. No reference is, at present, known to me.
215. Cf. the avad. of Subhāsītageśin.
216. *Jātaka*, n. 439; *Divyāv.*, p. 589; *Avadānasātaka*, n. 36; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 630.
217. *Jātaka*, n. 77; BURLINGAME, *Buddhist Legends*, XXI, p. 8; TOKIWAJ, *Studien zum Sumagādhavand*. WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 293. In the text Puṅḍavardhana for Puṅḍarāvardhana. HACKIN, *Les scènes figurées*, p. 100.
218. *Jātakamālā*, n. 1; *Divyāv.*, p. 32; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 15; SCHMIDT, *Der Weise u. d. Thor*, pp. 21-26.
219. Cf. *Jātakamālā*, n. 30.
220. HUBER, *Sūtrāl*, p. 383; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 192 and IV, p. 226.
221. Cf. Avadāna n. 1.
222. *Jātaka*, n. 540; *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 209; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 156; FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, figg. 142-143.
223. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, III, p. 69 and IV, p. 130.
224. *Jātaka*, n. 316; *Jātakamālā*, n. 6; *Avadānasātaka*; CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, pp. 52, 76, 77, 411 and IV, p. 95.
225. Cf. CHAVANNES, *Contes*, I, p. 395.
226. WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 293; ID., *Geschichte d. Indisch. Literatur*, III, p. 228 ff.
227. This is the story of the Śibi King, *Jātakamālā*, 2, etc.
228. I. e. the mountain Vanka. *Jātakamālā* (Speyer, pp. 81, 83, 93). For the gift of the eyes see the story of the Śibi king, *Ibid.*, p. 8 ff.
229. See above, p. 408.
230. See above, p. 134.
231. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 174 ff.
232. *Žabs* drun is merely a title: the name is not legible.
233. Well known rNin ma pa masters. On C'os dbān, C'os dbān p'yug, see above, p. 259. C'os rgyal ral pa may be, beside RaI pa can, also Nān ral, on whom see above, *Ibid.* Ni ma 'od and bDe legs are unknown to me.
234. On this goddess see Tanka n. 174.
235. I cannot locate this place which, meaning "Castle", is very common in Tibetan toponymy.
236. "These twelve Tanka represent the Buddhas of the three times surrounded by the 16 arhats and the eight aspects of the great acārya surrounded by (the representation) of his life narrated in the

large redaction of the T'an yig; they have been made by commission for Kun dga' rnam rgyal a merchant of mK'at. On this occasion the inscription on the back was made by the Rig ḍsin, Padma miñ can (or: having the name of Pad ma),...

237. The cycle of the eight cemeteries is sufficiently known; see the *Smañānāvāḍī*, edited by FINOT, in the JA, 1934. The list contained in the *Vojrapradipitipāṇī*, by Suratavajra (Sanskrit text) and the *Astaḥaṇāna* from the Tibetan text we have published in *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 173 (pp. 180-181, correct "cemeteries,, instead of "Hells,,). The list of the rNin mas, as may be seen, is different from the traditional one of Indian Tantric literature, but the cemeteries are equally arranged so as to form the symbolic lotus. Each of these cemeteries has a protector, a tree, a mountain, a cloud, a *stūpa* and a *nāga*, proper to it. As may be seen there is a plan underlying this conception and it is parallel, in its essential elements, with that of the pure earths. The *clichés* describing the latter contain the Buddha ruling over them, the miraculous trees made of gems, the precious mountains, the *stūpas* or *vimāna*, the gods surrounding the Buddha as he meditates or preaches. In fact these cemeteries, which are eight (as many as the mental states representing the samsaric being to be overcome, five sensation / sensorial / one intellectual, *mulaḥvijñāna*, *alayavijñāna*; *Lañkāvatāra-sūtra*, pp. 314 v, 386, *Vijñaptimātrataḥsiddhi* ed. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, vol. I, passim), are the contrary of the pure earth, but by virtue of the bivalence of thought, mentioned above, they at the same time may undergo a revulsion, *parāvṛtti*, through which, by a sudden change, they become the exact contrary of what they were: in the same way tainted thought (*kliṣṭa*) regains its nature as luminous thought: *prabhāvāraḥcitta*.

238. On these deities see Appendix two.

239. The five dākīni correspond to the five gnoses or to the five kulās rigs. In the Saṃvara cycle they are ten, known as the 10 *k'ro mo*.

240. *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* trad. et annotée par L. de la Vallée Poussin, vol. III, pp. 36-50. See what we have said above, p. 360f.

241. See above, p. 377 f.

242. Keurimā, etc. These eight goddesses appear in the cycle of the Na rag don sprugs, *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part I, p. 123 and p. 191 ff. Their names, in Tibetan translations, are extremely corrupt; as I have shown in the above-quoted work, they are:

Gaurī	mDsoḍ lkan
Caurī-(ma)	C'om rkan
Pramohā	Rab rmongs
Vaitālī	Ro lañs ma
Pukkasi	sBos mo
Ghasmari	Dred mo
Smañāni	Dur k'rod ma
Čandālī	gTum mo

The Sanskrit name of the first goddess is certain (see JA, 1934, vol. CCXXXV, p. 29): the Tibetan translation *msoḍ lkan*, "she who owns a store,, is difficult to explain. Evans Wentz's *Keyuri ma*, "she who wears a bracelet,, is out of question.

P'ta men ma is the global name given to this class of goddesses.

On this cycle, cfr. *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part I, p. 126.

243. *om mañi padme bum*, viz. the *śaḍakṣara mantra*, the mantra in six letters, sacred to Avalokiteśvara. The formula's most probable meaning, ruling out the exoterisms which theologians believe may be seen in it (for instance *Mañi bka' abum*), is Om, Manipadmā, hūm. Cfr. THOMAS J. W., JRAS, 1906, p. 464.

244. On this scarf, used as a bridge, see Appendix two. As to Buddhagupta's description see TUCCTI, *Sea and Land travels of a Buddhist Śāḍhu*, IHQ, 1931, p. 683.

245. On Bon po iconography see I. VAN MANEN, *Concerning a Bon image*, JRASB, XVIII, n. 2, p. 196; ROCK, *The birth and origin of Dto-mba shi-lo*, Artibus Asiae, vol. VII, p. 5; HOFFMAN, *La religione Bon po*, Roma, 1941.

246. Translated by S. LÉVI, E. CHAVANNES, "Les seize arhats protecteurs de la Loi,, JA, 1926. The text is also included among the avadānas of the bsTan agyur mDo, CX, p. 19. In Mlle Lalou's catalogue, it is missing in the list of works, but may be found under the name of its author, Nandimitra.

247. Cfr. PANDER, *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*.

248. *gP'ags pai gnas brtan rgyal bai bstan skyon c'en po rnam kyī rtags bñjod pa dñan bui sñe ma*, written by Nag dbañ sNañ grags dpal bzañ po.

249. LÉVI-CHAVANNES, article quoted above, p. 144. Chinese 喀魯梅 (Ka-lu-mei) corresponds to Klu mes.

250. On literary precedents and parallels see MATSUMOTO EICHI, *Tonkō-ga no kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1937.

251. The work was written in the year *me brug*, 1676.

252. The inclusion of Dharmata-la and of the Hva śān in the list of the arhats takes us back to the penetration of Ch'an or dhyāna into Tibet, which took place in K'i rson lde btsan's times.

Antagonism between the Hva śān Mahāyāna and Kamalaśīla, recorded in Tibetan tradition (for instance *rGyal rabs*) and which was so strong as to induce Kamalaśīla to write a refutation of his opponent, i. e. the *Bhāvānākrama* (see OBERMILLER, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, 1935, vol. II, p. 1) may have hindered the introduction of this personage in the arhats' cycle, or at least it may have favoured his exclusion from the same cycle, on the part of some sects. But that he belonged to the Ch'an, *bsam gтам*, school, is proved by a rather important passage in the *bKa' t'an sde lña*, ca. *Blo po bka'i t'an*, p. 19 ff., in which he is recognized as the last descendant of the *sompradāya* of a school going back to Bodhi-dharmottara, Bodhi-dharmottara, Dharmottara. There is no doubt at all that this Dharmottara is the original of the name Dharmata-la, the seventeenth arhat. It is equally certain that he was identified by rNin ma pa tradition with Bodhidharma, of the Ch'an school, (who came to China from Persia about before 479 d. D. Cfr. HU SHIS, *P'u t'i ta mo k'ao* 菩提達摩考, in the third volume of his *Literary Essays*). Concerning him it is said, on p. 19, that having crossed the Eastern ocean, he arrived in Li kun, in China, where he met the Chinese prince (rGya rje) Sa' u yan and an abbot. Having recognized that they did not understand the true Law, he went to a castle depending from that country (*mk'ar lag*) called C'ui; but the local monks K'a' si, Liu rto, Kan rdor, and others, were jealous of him, and attempted to poison him six times. Seeing that he was unable to become the apostle of the Law, he apparently entered nirvāna, but appeared again in the upper regions (*stod p'yags = mNā' ris*).

A merchant called Bun (evidently 宋 宋 Sung Yün) of the Chinese sources) met him and saw that he held a single shoe in his hand. Having gone back to China, the merchant wished to verify what he had been told and, the tomb where Bodhidharma was buried being opened, he found but one shoe there.

It may be seen that this Tibetan tradition corresponds to the Chinese legend recorded, for instance, by Tao yüan 道原 in his 景德傳燈錄 *Ching te ch'uan teng lu* (Taishō, 2076, p. 219). This Bodhidharmottara is considered the first of the seven apparitions in China (*ibid.*, p. 19 a) *rgya nag sprul bdun*: the last (*t'ama*) being the Hva śān mahāyāna.

This explains the title it bears in a Tun huang manuscript: *bdun rgyud dan po bo dhe diar ma ta las bñad pa* (LALOU, *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen huang*, n. 116, p. 40), which must be understood not as the name of a book bDun rgyud, as Mlle Lalou proposes, but as "first of the lineage of the seven masters,,. In the same *bKa' t'an sde lña* we find other Ch'an works quoted, for instance the *cig c'ar gñug pa*, probably the same as the *t'eg pa c'en por cig c'ar gñug pa*, Tun huang (LALOU, *ibid.*, n. 813, p. 178).

Moreover, another Ch'an master is quoted in that chapter of the *bKa' t'an sde lña*, ending with a summary of the Ch'an doctrines; I allude to the mK'an po a dhan her, in which it is not difficult to recognize A rdan hver of Tun huang's texts (LALOU, *ibid.*, n. 116, p. 40, and *Documents Tibétains sur l'expansion du Dbyāna Chinois*, JA, 1939, p. 506, A-rtan hver).

All this proves that the authors of the *bKa' t'an sde lña* knew the translations, and in part also the texts (A rtan hver's sayings are quoted) of the Ch'an schools, which had penetrated into Tibet from Central Asia and from Tibet since the times of the kings. This also proves, once again, that very often the compilers of these texts have used authentic materials and, on the other hand, that in some schools, particularly among the rNin ma pas, remarkable survivals should not be lacking of the Ch'an school, whose chief representative in Tibet was Nam mk'a' sñin po of gNubs clan (or sNubs).

253. Cfr. KÜMMEL, *Die Kunst Chinas, Japans und Korea*, Tav. V.

254. This may have happened when it was recalled that the dhyāna masters referred to above were seven from Dharmata-la to the Hva śān as the seventh (see n. 252); the presence of the first caused the last to be added to the cycle.

255. In the centre Sākyamuni Lhar bcas skyes dgui ḍden me'og bzas gtsañ sras, between Śāriputra and Maudgalāyāna-Angaja, Bakula.

Tankas on the right:

- 1) Ajita, Kālika, Vanavāsini;
- 2) Kanakavatsa, Vajraputra, Kanakabharadvāja, Bhadra;
- 3) Hva śān.

Tankas on the left:

- 1) Rāhula, Cūdapanthaka, Pindola Bharadvāja;
- 2) Panthaka, Nāgasena, Abhedā, Gopaka;
- 3) Dharmata la.

The figures of Hva śān and Dharmata la are each accompanied by those of two *dikpāla*.

256. Of course many other combinations are possible; see for instance GORDON, *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, fig. fronting p. 104.

257. But Blo bzän rgya mts'o, in the book already quoted, says that the list may begin with any arhat whatsoever, according to the wish of those who pray, viz. that each particular beginning from a name on the list corresponds to a particular purpose of prayer. This is probably meant to justify the different order of the arhats in the literary or liturgical lists.

258. Although the Chinese and Tibetan text of the *Nandimitrāvadhāna* is the same, it is clear that the two originals on which the Chinese and Tibetan translators based their versions had their own peculiarities as to the spelling of the names; but it is not unlikely that the Chinese translation became altered in its turn, as to the characters used to transcribe the Sanskrit names. In the Chinese list I have left, in doubtful cases, the Chinese transcription. In the Tibetan lists the transcription is given only in the first, or when there are differences or abnormal forms. For the Khotanese texts see *Mélanges Linossier*, p. 374. LEU-MANN, *Nordrische Lebergedicht des Buddhismus*, p. 252; *Nebenstücke*, p. 164.

259. Most commonly *Yan lag ābyūni*; instead of Āngaja it presupposes Ingitājña; cf. *Mahāvīryapattī*, *zur tsam gyis go ba*.

260. See preceding note.

261. Perhaps for Vipula, a double of Vipulapārśva, like Pūrvavideha and Videha.

262. (*Vinayapitaka*, I, p. 197; *Divyāv.*, p. 21) dBus is so called because it is included between *Li k'a ra śin ap'el* (Punḍhravardhana, Mahāsthān Gad IHQ, 1934, pp. 57-66) to the East, *aDsam bu c'u klui* (= Setakannika of *Vinayap.*, I, p. 197; *Divyāv.* Sarāvati) to the South. *Ka ba* and *Ne ba ka ba* (Sthūna and Upasthūna, in Kosala, Lévi, *Catalogue des Yaksa*, 13, p. 59; MALALASEKERA, *Dictionary*, s. v. Thūna) to the West, Usita to the North.

263. See for instance *T'ub dbān gnas brtan bcu drug dai beas pa la m'ed cin grol la gdaḥ pai t'e'ul grub bstan rgyas byed yid bžin nor bu*, by Ye šes rgyal mts'an (Potala edition), WADDELL, *op. cit.*, p. 376; GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, p. 37; A. K. GORDON, *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, p. 104.

264. This form supposes a Sanskrit original Agnija.

265. Not Kāliki (ROERICH, TPT, p. 92). The Tibetans derived the name from *kāla* time or *kāla* black.

266. From (*rikta*), *valkala* cinnamon? In Tibet, as we have seen, its name is translated *šin šin cin*.

267. On Pindola see Lévi-CHAVANNES, *op. cit.*, and PRZYLUCKI, *La Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, pp. 68-69.

268. On Sarasvatī and the Chinese sources see the article *Ben-zaiten in Hōbōgirin*.

269. FOUCHER's beautiful pages, in *Art G. B.*, II p. 102, should be read again in this connection. The data of Chinese sources concerning Vaiśravaṇa are collected in *Hōbōgirin*, art. *Bisāmno*. Recently M. le LALOU has published in *Artibus Asiae*, vol. IX, p. 97, a very interesting article on Vaiśravaṇa's Central-Asian iconography. Nevertheless I do not think that the crescent-shaped motif represents two elephant-teeth as a symbol of riches; the representation of these symbols is to be found, that I know of, only in Tibetan art and is not confirmed by ancient instances. Moreover, elephant-teeth are a sign of riches only because they are associated with a precise series of precious objects.

The motif, I believe, cannot be dissociated from the small flat wings on the epaulettes of cuirasses, a characteristic symbol of Vaiśravaṇa, nor from the moon-motif, an emblem of royalty. For the flames on the Buddha's shoulders see FOUCHER, *Art G. B.*, II, p. 463.

270. It is interesting to notice how in canonical literature Vaiśravaṇa, like all the Lokapāla, is assigned the usual drapery, while his cuirass, in never mentioned, for instance *Savarṇaprabhāsa* (ed. Idzumi), p. 57, *alva kbalu Vaiśravaṇo mahārāja*, etc. *utbhāyāsambhvo ekāniēna civarāni pāvṛtya*... Also notice that in the same text *Vaiśravaṇa* is, in one

place, quoted apart from the four mahārājas: p. 148, v. 31: *Srii ca Vaiśravaṇas caiva tatbā Caturmahādhipāi*. That Vaiśravaṇa's warlike character (as a Lokapāla distinct from Kubera, in whom the chronic element and hence the quality of a god of riches persist) should have developed, as I have said, from the *rakṣā* or protecting vigilance attributed to the Lokapāla and particularly to Vaiśravaṇa, is clearly proved by careful perusal of the *Savarṇaprabhāsa*, which alludes to their functions as protecting custodians, p. 58, as "victors in battle... taking the part of those who believe in the *Savarṇaprabhāsa* (p. 61); their office is to oppose their obstacle (*vighna*) against enemies of the Law, p. 65; where the *Savarṇaprabhāsa* is preserved and worshipped, they will come with their victorious armies (*ibid.*). It is clear that this canonical tradition contains a justification of the Central Asian legends to which we have alluded. In Tibet the legend of rNam t'os stas, evidently in connection with the story of Pe dkar (see Appendix two), was represented in some dances. Biogr. of the fifth Dalai Lama, *ca*, p. 228. In Bhārhat Kubera sits on a dwarf, *naravāna* in the traditional attire of the Yakṣas. On Vaiśravaṇa in Ceylon see P. WIRZ, *Exorzismus und Heilkunde auf Ceylon*, pp. 30-32 and passim.

271. This in the translation of *č'os rgyal p'yi sgrub*. I do not think the translation "Ministre des affaires extérieures", given by LINOSSIER, *Mélanges Linossier*, is acceptable.

272. The *p'yva* are real classes of Bon priests. See Appendix two.

273. The Kṣetrapāla are very ancient deities of the Indian religion surviving in Shivaism. See CH. H. CHAKRAVARTI, *The Saivaita Deity Kṣetrapāla*, IHQ, IX, p. 237.

274. Jināmītra, who appears very often in Tantric liturgies, is a mythological figure whose origin and meaning are not clear. Cf. Jinarābha of the Vaiśravaṇa cycle.

275. Takkirāja is another *naivāsika* god, of whom we have met many instances; he is the *naivāsika* of Takki, corresponding to the region near Sialkot; STEIN, *Kalhana's Chronicles of Kashmir*, p. 150 and notes; cf. D. CH. SIRCAR, *Text of the Purāna list of peoples*, IHQ, XXI, p. 297. The Takkadēsa of some sources is placed together with the Balhika, another population of Panjab. See PRZYLUCKI, *Un peuple du Panjab, Les Udumbara*, JA, 1926.

276. Tra kṣad, another mythological type whose origin and meaning are unknown; certainly a form of Mahākāla; in Tib. he is also called Drag śad "ferce power".

277. *Hayagrīva*, in Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Supplement zu Band, XXXIII, 1935.

The problem of Hayagrīva is very complex: it must be related to horse worship and to the belief of some tribes concerning the existence of beings with horse faces: Ghormuḥa. Cf. BODDING, *Santal Folktales*, II, pp. 281 and 375; *Id.*, *Studies in Santal Medicine and connected Folklore*, Mem. As Soc. Bengal, X, n. 2, pp. 132-43; HEINE-GELDERN, *Orissa and die Mundavölker in Periplus der Erythräischen Meeres*; *Geograph. Jahrbesber. aus Österreich*, XIV-XV, 1929, p. 171; PRZYLUCKI, *Études indiennes et Chinoises*, I, *Les unipèdes*, *Mélanges Chinois et Boudhiques*, II, p. 307 ff.

278. The Nepalese inscription ending with the usual sanscrit formulas was written in the year 936 = 1815.

279. Most probably the Tantic counterpart of the Śivaite Skandhakumāra.

280. He resides in a bTsan mk'ar, whose doors are guarded by an iron wolf and a copper fox. His body is red, his red eye is fixed on enemies; on his ears hangs a red *srin* of the rocks. He wears a leather helmet and carries a leather shield; in his right hand he grasps a red spear with flaming flags; in his left hand a freshly severed head; his mount is a horse of the bTsan.

The god represented in fig. III of *Tibetan Temple Paintings* by J. C. VAN MEURS, 1924, very similar to that described by LINOSSIER, *Mélanges Linossier*, p. 4, seems to me to be a bTsan, perhaps Beg tse, whose symbols he has (lance and bow), rather than Sroṅ btsan sgam po. The eight knights show a contamination with the *rtā bḍag* of Vaiśravaṇa's cycle.

281. Even *Vaiśravaṇa* was called *Mahākāla*, because he was "blackened by offerings", (I Ching transl. by TAKAKUSU, p. 38). But evidently it is here a case of an epithet given to a god who has no relation with Mahākāla the god of death.

282. Unknown.

283. On this word *k'ram śin*, R. STEIN has written in JRAS, IV, p. 320. *K'ram śin* is the attribute of the *č'os rgyal*; according to the *Bar do t'os grol* when the dead man is led before him, the king of the



next world examines the *k'ram ūn* and sees at once how many sins the deceased has committed in his life-time. Hence it would seem to be a "record," according to WADDELL, *Lamaism, k'ram ūn* is "a tree picture... S. CH. DAS, s. v. *k'ram k'a* has "a club-like implement carved with lines, representing the attributes of a god and containing mystic figures in them..." Cfr. STEIN, *ibid.* But *k'ram ūn* is also "a board on which the body of a culprit is stretched to flog him on the back..." (*ibid.*). The *k'ram ūn* is reproduced in tanka n. 172 as an attribute of dPal ldan lha mo. There is no doubt that it is a sort of club; as much may be deduced from the picture of Sa bdag se bdud, reproduced in the *Vai dū rya dkar po* (Lhasa edition, p. 466). But this club is called *k'ram ūn* precisely because signs are traced on it; these signs may be magical, but they may also have a mnemonic value, almost a writing to count and enumerate, and to preserve records. Indeed besides the *k'ram ūn*, a *k'ram žags* is also known, a noose with *k'ram*, and in this case *k'ram* can only be a knot. See Appendix two, p. 718. In both cases, then, we have symbols of terrific deities, charged with some punishment; the sins to be punished are marked on them by notches or knots.

284. *Byan dmar*: this may also come from *byan bu*, a tablet with a red inscription.

285. *rDo tje gdan pa* is generally the epithet of Ratnākara Gupta, but is also said of other masters; see Mlle Lalou's indexes.

286. *Mythol. des Buddhismes*, p. 81.

287. Concerning *Min stin* see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 129 f.

288. Viz. Kālacakra as symbol of the supreme unity realized by yoga.

289. Besides the text here quoted and included in the *biTan agyur* and the *Sambhala Lam yig* edited by Grünwedel, I know another itinerary to this country which, although it originally had a geographical reality, has become, as we have said, a mythical country. This itinerary, known to me through a manuscript copy, is entitled *Sambhala lam yig*, without the author's name. This itinerary starts from the mC'od rten dkar po, on the Chinese frontier, Pai ta to the SW of Liang Chou continues eastward in Chinese territory: hence it imagines Sambhala to be in the North-West, in the direction of Northern Asia.

290. The central image of *rDo tje aṅṅs byed* is surrounded by 52 small figures of gṣin rje.

291. Vol. IV, part I, p. 110 ff. The year in the inscription is almost effaced.

292. TPT, p. 76.

293. Śrīgiri, Śrīparvata, one of the chief centres of late Buddhism. It corresponds to Nāgārjuni-kūṇḍa, in the Guntur district, where the famous stūpa stands. See *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, n. 54, pp. 5, 6; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XX, p. 1 ff.; RAHULA SĀNKRTVĀYANA, *Recherches Bouddhiques*, JA, 1934, pp. 208, 212.

294. The Gin are the fiends of Bon mythology, which Lamaism however has accepted like all the rest. GRÜNWEDEL supposed them to be the same as the Jinn of the Arabs, but there is no foundation for such a view.

295. Reigning in this *Zaṅs mdog ri*, Padmasambhava, by his own essence or through his emanations, protects the beings of Jambudvīpa from the harmful influences of the mKa' agros and the Srin po; he remains there until the end of saṃsāra.

So says the *rNin ma pa* apology, which we have quoted more than once; it contains a description of this heaven, which helps us to understand the symbolism of the tanka. This *Zaṅs mdog ri* is in *rNa yab*, Cāmara, one of the lesser continents which according to Buddhist cosmogony are on either side of Jambudvīpa; the other one is called *Avaracāmara* (see *Abhidharmakośa*, transl. by LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, vol. III, p. 147; McGOVERN, *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 55). When Vasubandhu was writing his book, this continent was not unanimously reserved to the *rākṣasa*, and some schools maintained it was inhabited by men (*ibid.*), but *rNin ma pa* tradition, indeed

Tibetan tradition generally, has turned it into those demons' own home; a mythical geography had developed around it and I am unable to determine in what proportion it is derived from Indian traditions, and what part has been elaborated by Tibetan masters. According to these theories, its centre is occupied by the Śa k'rag za byed glin, whose central portion is a sea out of which a mountain rises; the Srin po's palace is on the top of the mountain. It is surrounded by seven walls, *legs ri*; in the last three internal wings are three *torāṅa* (*rta babs*); round this palace, on its four sides, are four assembly-halls, *ts'ogs k'aṅ*; on its Eastern side the C'o's ts'ogs k'aṅ, in which the guru explains the sūtras; the South the Loṅs spyod ts'ogs k'aṅ where, under T'se dpag med's aspect, he reveals the tantras; to the West the Pad ma dban gi ts'ogs k'aṅ, where under rTa mgrin's aspect he teaches the most secret Tantras (*yan gsaṅ*) and the baptisms; to the North, in the sByor sgröl p'rin las ts'ogs k'aṅ palace, he explains, under guru Drag po's aspect, the acts which bind to existence and those which set free. The Palace proper, standing in the centre, has five storeys; in the lower one, a gigantic figure of the guru is seated, together with Ye ṣes mts'o rgyal, under a terrific aspect; on the other two storeys, he is surrounded by Rig adsin, Ye ṣes mk'a' agro ma and C'o's skyon; in the intermediate one, the eight-named guru, (*mts'an bgyad*), viz. his eight aspects mentioned above, and in the upper storey, T'od pa rtsal's five families. To the East of this palace, on the rDoi t'aṅ, flows a river; to the South there is a sandal-wood forest; to the West a garden, *Nams su dga' bai skyed mo ts'al*; to the North the mountain whose cliffs are gems and a mC'od rten. Then to the East of the upper part of the rNa yab glin there is another small continent called Dsa ti nags glin, with 2.100.000 cities of Srin po; an emanation of the Guru, called De va ra dsa, reigns there. In the lower part, always towards the East, is the Bun t'ig pa glin, with 300.000 cities of Srin po, where another emanation called sMra bai seṅ ge reigns; to the South the Zaṅs t'al ke ri rtses, with 1.600.000 cities, and Gyal po 'od pai ap'ren; to the West Śa mk'ar can glin with 26.000.000 cities, and another emanation of the Guru, viz. K'yuṅ c'en abar ba; still to the West, lower part, the K'rag mts'o k'ol ma (boiling blood lake) with 200.000 cities and gTum po me dpal as its incarnation; to the North Nor bu glin, with rDo tje rgyal po as his emanation; to the South-East Bar bai glin, with Zil gnon mC'od as his emanation; to the South-West Rāk ṣa ak'rug pai glin with Rāk ṣa t'od ap'ren; to the North-West rLunag ak'rugs glin, with Seṅ ge sgra sgrto; to the North-East Mun nag ak'rugs with gT'ug na me abar (*op. cit.*, p. 92 ff.).

296. Mu le, viz. *mu le ldiṅ*, a lake on the North-West of bSe. See *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 102.

297. In this image it is surprising to see the central figure wearing monastic draperies, but also the diadem on its head, like the Sambhogakāyas or the Bodhisattvas. This expresses the personage's double nature, or the epiphany of a Buddha who from the plane of *sambhogakāya* passes on to the active moment of the preaching of the Law, or even a Bodhisattva assuming the aspect of a Buddha. This is proved, for instance, by the *Suddhāraṇapūṇḍarīka* in the case of Avalokiteśvara (transl. KERN, SBE, p. 403).

Besides Avalokiteśvara we may also think of Mañjuśrī, represented in China too as a Buddha (see MUS, *Barabudur*, p. 506).

The monastic robe, in this case, represents the aspect of revealer of the Law, assumed to convert living beings who are ripe for conversion, while the diadem reminds us of the Bodhisattva's nature.

The two Bodhisattvas on both sides are the same ones standing on Mañjuśrī's sides in the famous aJam ma li group, adored in Kejar-nath. See note n. 72 to Part four. As the tanka has been found in Nepal, it is not unlikely that it may represent precisely that same triad, a divine court, in fine.



PART FOUR

SOURCES AND DOCUMENTS



# UN RESCRIT MONGOL EN ECRITURE «'PHAGS-PA»

PAR PAUL PELLIOT\*)

Le rescrit mongol en écriture 'phags-pa retrouvé au Tibet par le professeur Tucci est facile à dater. On lit en effet à la ligne 3 que le document émane de "Hay-šan, prince de γuay-ning". Il s'agit certainement du personnage que les textes chinois appellent 海山 Hai-chan, qui, né le 4 août 1281, accéda au trône impérial le 21 juin 1307 et mourut le 27 janvier 1311; son titre impérial mongol est Kü-lük-qa'an, et on le désigne souvent sous son titre chinois posthume de 武宗 Wou-tsong. Avant son avènement, Hai-chan commandait en Mongolie, et c'est lui qui, en 1301, était à la tête des troupes impériales dans la campagne qui aboutit enfin à la retraite et la mort de Qaidu (cf. GROUSSET, *L'Empire mongol*, p. 332); ceci explique que Hai-chan ait pu décider de questions intéressant le Tibet. C'est le 9 novembre 1304 que Hai-chan fut nommé prince de 懷寧 Houai-ning (au Ngan-houei), le "γuay-ning", du texte 'phags-pa (cf. *Yuan che*, 21, 7 a; 108, 1 b); son quartier général était à la colonie agricole et artisanale de 稱海 Tch'eng-hai, dans le Nord-Ouest de la Mongolie. Forcément antérieur à l'avènement impérial de Hai-chan, le rescrit se place donc entre le début de 1305 et le milieu de 1307. Comme il est daté du 30<sup>e</sup> jour du dernier mois d'automne de l'année du serpent, laquelle correspond à 1305, sa date exacte est le 18 octobre 1305. Le lieu de la promulgation, Jiramutu, n'est pas encore identifié.

Ce texte me paraît apporter la solution d'une question au sujet de laquelle on a accumulé les erreurs, à savoir la vraie forme du nom même de Hai-chan."

Les commissaires, qui, sous K'ien-long, ont "réformé", les transcriptions originales du *Yuan che* ont substitué à Hai-chan une transcription 哈昌 Ha-chang qui représente le mongol *qašang*, "paresseux", (*K'in-ling Yuan che yu kiai*, 1, 2 b); c'est indéfendable. Il ne vaut pas de s'arrêter non plus à la restitution "Kaisun", adoptée dans Giles, *Biogr. Dict.*, n. 933, et qui est évidemment basée sur le mongol *qayisun* > *qaisun*, "casserole"; <sup>2)</sup> *-sun* ne peut répondre à *-chan* (= *-šan*) de Hai-chan.

La seule forme donnée pour le nom de Kü-lük-qa'an dans le dictionnaire mongol de Kowalewski (II, p. 708<sup>3)</sup> est Qayisang, identique au mongol *qayisang* "parapet", "rempart". On a de même Hayisañ, donc Hayisang (< Qayisang), dans une source tibétaine tardive (HUTH, *Gesch. des Buddhismus*, I, p. 24<sup>4)</sup>; II, p. 35). Cette forme à *-ng* final, au lieu du

*-n* de Hai-chan, semble appuyée dès l'époque mongole par Rašidu'd-Din, chez qui on trouve *خيسنگ* Haisang dans l'édition de Blochet (*Hist. des Mongols*, II, p. 607). Bien que cette forme soit obtenue par une correction (les mss. ont *حسنگ* et *جيسنگ*), il s'agit bien de Hai-chan. Le texte de Rašid est, dans ce passage plein d'erreurs et de confusions. Mais, M. A. Topchibachy, qui prépare une étude sur les généalogies du précieux *Mw'izzu'l-Ansāb* de 1426, me fait obligeamment savoir que, dans les tableaux, le mss. de Londres de cet ouvrage (p. 56 a) donne *خيسنگ*, celui de Paris (p. 55 a) *خيسنگ*; en outre la notice accompagnant le nom, et qui connaît le nom de "Külük-qa'an", les quatre ans de règne et la mort le 15 ramadān 710 (5 février 1311; l'erreur n'est que de neuf jours), écrit *حسنگ*; il n'est pas douteux qu'on doive lire partout *خيسنگ* Hāisāng.

Mais il est vraisemblable que, dans ce cas comme dans bien d'autres, le *Mw'izzu'l-Ansāb* suivie une tradition qui remonte à Rašidu'd-Din ou à son entourage, et cette tradition n'était pas générale même en Perse. En effet, Waṣṣāf, qui a tout un paragraphe sur l'avènement de Hai-chan (cf. d'OHSSON, *Hist. des Mongols*, II, p. 525), écrit toujours *خيشان قاآن* Hāisān-qa'an (éd. de Bombay, pp. 501-502). C'est bien une forme en *-n* et non en *-ng* qu'on attend en effet en face de la forme chinoise Hai-chan. En fait, c'est Qayisan que Schmidt a rencontré en mongol même, dans le *Jirükān-i toltā*, généralement attribué à Chos-kyi 'Od-zer, et qui remonterait par suite au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (cf. SCHMIDT, *Gesch. des Ost-Mongolen*, p. 398). Un texte parallèle et non moins ancien, publié naguère par L. LICETI (*T'oung pao*, 1930, p. 131), écrit Qayisa; vu le caractère quiescent de *-n* final mongol, Qayisa est finalement acceptable si on part de Qayisan, mais non de Qayisang. Mais, même en partant de Qayisan, il reste que le Hai-chan du chinois ferait supposer \*Qayisan, non Qayisan. Schmidt a dit (*loc. cit.*, p. 399) et Howorth a répété (I, p. 290) que Qayisan était la forme mongole correcte, altérée en Hai-chan par les Chinois. Je crois qu'il faut renverser la proposition.

Qayisan, ou Qayisa, n'offre pas de sens en mongol.<sup>3)</sup> Supposons au contraire que ce prince, comme tant d'autres, et à commencer par son grand-père 眞金 Tchen-kin, ait reçu à sa naissance un nom purement chinois, à savoir Hai-chan, mot-à-mot "Mer et Montagne"; ce nom s'expliquera comme un

\*) This document should have been published together with the others, translated in *Sources and Documents*. But as an homage to the memory of that great Master, whose untimely end has been an irreparable loss to sinological studies, I have thought it fitting to publish it as a chapter by itself.

Once more I express my gratitude for this collaboration, which comes to light after his death, and I thank Dr. L. Hambis, who has kindly corrected the proofs of his great Master's article.

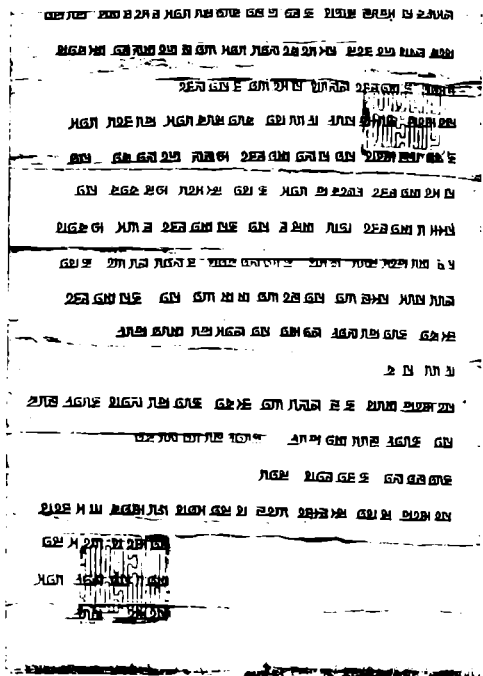
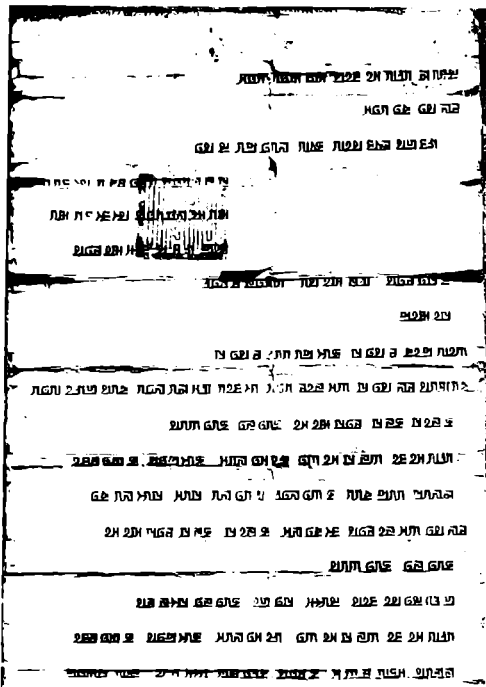


FIG. 123

souhait que l'enfant ait un bonheur ou une longévité comparables à l'Océan oriental ou au mont T'ai-chan: c'est ainsi, par exemple, que deux Mongols cités dans le *Yuan che* s'appellent 海壽 Hai-cheou, "Longévité océanique," (cf. *San che l'ong-ming lou*, 20, 4a-b). En écriture mongole ordinaire, un nom chinois Hai-chan sera forcément représenté par Qayışan; si on a Qayışan dans le *Jirikän-ü tolta* et Qayisa dans le colophon publié par M. Ligeti, nous pouvons l'attribuer à l'omission fréquente, dans les mss. mongols, des deux points additionnels qui distinguent le *h* du *s*; l'écriture arabe offre souvent pour les même lettres une amphibologie analogue. Mais ce nom Qayışan, d'origine chinoise, n'offrait pas de sens en mongol, et c'est pourquoi il s'est altéré, "mongolisé", dans le Haisang de Rašidu'd-Din et du *Mu'izzu'l-Ansáb* et dans le Qayisang (Hayisang) de la tradition mongole moderne.

Le rescrit découvert par M. Tucci (fig. 123) lève ici tout les doutes. C'est un document original émanant de Hai-chan lui-même, et écrit dans une écriture où *h* et *s* ne peuvent pas se confondre; or, il a incontestablement Hay-šan. Mais il y a plus, et une particularité de l'orthographe *'phags-pa* montre qu'il s'agit bien d'un nom chinois. Si le mot était primitivement mongol, la forme *'phags-pa* correspondant à \*Qayışan serait \*Khayışan. Ici, au contraire, nous avons Hay-šan, avec simple *h* initial. Tout comme dans les transcriptions en écriture arabe, ce *h* initial n'apparaît en *'phags-pa* au début des

mots mongols que lorsqu'il s'agit du *h* du moyen mongol, non noté par l'écriture ouigouro-mongole et aujourd'hui amui; autrement dit, si Hay-šan représentait un nom primitivement mongol, nous devrions le trouver, en écriture mongole ordinaire, sous la forme \*Ayišan et non Qayışan < \*Qayışan. Au contraire, *h* était employé en *'phags-pa* pour rendre le *h* initial de toute une classe de mots chinois, et c'est précisément sous les formes *hay* et *šan* que les deux mots chinois *hai* et *chan* du nom *Hai-chan* apparaissent dans les textes chinois transcrits phonétiquement en syllabaire *'phags-pa* (cf. DRAGUNOV, *The b'phags-pa Script and ancient Mandarin*, dans *Izv. Ak. Nauk SSSR*, 1930, 784, 786). La conclusion s'impose. Ce n'est pas, comme l'a cru Schmidt, Hai-chan qui est altéré de Qayışan, mais c'est Qayışan qui est incorrect pour \*Qayışan, transcription mongole normale du nom chinois Hai-chan.

L'écriture et l'orthographe sont en général conformes à celles des autres documents mongols en *'phags-pa*; mais, comme il arrive souvent, il y a quelques négligences ou inadvertances en mongol même; en outre, les transcriptions tibétaines sont parfois aberrantes. Dans la transcription du texte, j'ai adopté, provisoirement au moins, une partie du système de M. Dragunov, en particulier pour *'u*, qui répond à *w* initial du chinois *wang* par exemple. Le *'q* (ou *'ä*) marque une voyelle non écrite, qui ne fait pas syllabe; en réalité, *khä'an* est peut-être presque \**khän*. J'ai gardé une même notation *kh*



pour les deux séries, palatalisées et non palatalisées. Mais l'écriture 'phags-pa a en réalité deux signes différents, et peut-être le signe de la série non palatalisée devrait-il être transcrit *q* ou *γ*.

Je n'ai pas entrepris de discuter ici tous les détails philologiques du texte. Quant au commentaire historique, je le laisse au professeur Tucci; qu'il suffise d'indiquer ici que le rescrit a été donné en faveur du célèbre monastère tibétain de Śa-lu, dans la région de Tashilumpo.

1. Moṅkha denri-yin khučhun-dur
2. khā'anu su-dur
3. Hay-šan γuay-ning 'uañ 'ügä manu
4. balakhad-un darukhas-da noyad-da
5. čhari'ud-un noyod-da<sup>4)</sup> čhä
6. rig haran-a yorčikhun
7. yabukhun 'elčhinä dā'ulkhakhue<sup>5)</sup>
8. bičhig
9. Jīngis-khan-u ba 'Ögädäe-khan-u ba
10. Säčhän-khā'an-u ba jarlikh-dur doйд 'erkhā'ud sänšhinud
11. aliba alba khubčhiri<sup>6)</sup> 'ülü 'üjän
12. denri-yi jalbariju hiru'är 'ögun athukhāyi
13. khā'ägdägsäd äju'ue. 'edu'ä bär bö' äsu
14. khā'an-u jarlikh-un yosu'ar aliba alba khubčhiri
15. 'ülü 'üjän
16. Sakyamuni mör buši 'ülü bölkhan
17. denri-yi jalbariju hiru'är 'ögun athukhāyi
18. khā'an rČhañ khājar-a akhun sku-žan Dor-rji 'Uañ-bēhug
19. Khras-ba rGyal-mchan akhu Śa-lu sümä-dur khariyathan gäcu
20. nis γuan-ši-yim bodisi'ud-dur žula šithā' akhu thosun
21. darun athukhāyi khā'an bariju yabu'ayi
22. bičhig 'ögbäe. 'edän-u sümäs-dur gäyid-dur
23. anu 'elčhin bu ba'uthukhāyi ulā'a šī'usu bu
24. barithukhāyi kžis-ga-dur anu morid žmsun bu
25. bordathukhāyi čhañ thamkha bu abthukhāyi khājar usun
26. baq tägirmäd haran adu'usun ya'ud khāji anu
27. khäd bär böljū buliju thathaju bu abthukhāyi
28. yosu 'ügä'ue khučhu bu khurgäthugäe
29. edä basa
30. bičhig-thän ala khā'ädju yosu 'ügä'un 'üeläs
31. bu 'üelädthugäe 'üeläsdu'äsu
32. 'ülü'u ayukhun mud
33. bičhig manu mokhöyi žil namur-un häčhus zara-yin
34. khučhin-a žiramu

35. thu-da bukhuc-dur
36. bičhibäe.

1. Dans la force du Ciel éternel,
2. dans la Fortune du *qa'an*,
3. Hay-šan, prince de Houai-ning; notre parole.
4. Aux gouverneurs et commandants des villes,
5. aux commandants de l'armée, aux
6. hommes de l'armée, aux envoyés qui
- 7-8. vont [à cheval] ou marchent à pied,<sup>7)</sup> lettre<sup>8)</sup> à [leur] notifier.
- 9-12. Dans les édits de Jīngis-khan,<sup>9)</sup> de Ögödäi-khan et de Säčän-qa'an,<sup>10)</sup> il a été dit: "Que les bonzes, les religieux chrétiens et les prêtres taoïstes ne paient aucune taxe, et que, priant le Ciel, ils attirent [sur nous] les bénédictions... Les choses étant ainsi,
- 13-17. [j'ai dit]: "Que, conformément aux édits du *qa'an*, ils ne paient aucune taxe, et que, ne faisant rien en dehors de la voie de Säkyamuni, ils prient le Ciel et attirent [sur nous] les bénédictions..."
- 18-21. Et [j'ai dit]: "Que, conformément aux édits du monastère de Śa-lu<sup>11)</sup> qui se trouve au pays de gCañ<sup>12)</sup> et qui est [celui du] sku-žan<sup>13)</sup> rDo-rji dBañ-phyug<sup>14)</sup> [et de]<sup>15)</sup> Grags-pa rGyal-mchan<sup>17)</sup> pressent l'huile pour allumer des lampes au bodhi-sattva<sup>18)</sup> Avalokitešvara<sup>19)</sup>; et ce disant, j'ai donné [cette] lettre pour qu'ils la prennent et l'emportent.<sup>20)</sup>
- 22-23. Que dans leurs temples et leurs chapelles, les envoyés ne descendent pas, qu'ils n'y prennent ni bêtes de somme ni rations.
- 24-25. Que, dans leurs domaines,<sup>21)</sup> on n'engraisse pas les chevaux ou les yak(?)<sup>22)</sup> et qu'on ne lève ni redevances en nature,<sup>23)</sup> ni taxes commerciales.<sup>24)</sup>
- 26-27. [En ce qui concerne] leur terre, leur eau,<sup>25)</sup> leurs jardins,<sup>26)</sup> leurs moulins, leurs gens, leurs bêtes, quels qu'ils soient,<sup>27)</sup> que nul ne les prenne en les ravissant et les enlevant,
28. ni n'emploie la force contrairement à la règle.
29. Que ceux-ci [= les moines] d'autre part,
- 30-32. sous prétexte qu'ils ont un rescrit,<sup>28)</sup> ne commettent pas d'actions contraires à la règle; s'ils en commettent, sont-ils bien sans crainte?<sup>29)</sup>
- 33-36. Notre rescrit. Ecrit le trente du dernier mois d'automne de l'année du serpent, quand nous résidions à žiramu.<sup>30)</sup>

Un cachet en écriture 'phags-pa sigillaire est apposé trois fois sur le document. Je le lis: *γuay-ning 'uañ yin*, "sceau (印 *yin*) du prince de Houaining..."

## NOTES

1. Cf. mes premières remarques dans *Asia Major*, IV [1927], p. 379, et *T'oung Pao*, 1930, p. 14.

2. Elle remonte au moins à Klaproth; cf. aussi ABEL-RÉMUSAT, *Recherches sur les langues tartares*, p. 35.

3. Le *γi* (ou *γi*) du mongol est tantôt l'aboutissement d'un groupe à initiale explosive ou spirante (le plus souvent *γi* ou *γi*), tantôt une simple notation graphique de *i* (ou *ii*), si bien qu'on

pourrait transcrire aussi \*Qaisan et \*Qaisa. Dans POPOV, *Mön-gu-yu-mu-zi*, p. 159, il est question d'un "prince de Tong-ning de la dynastie précédente des Yuan, appelé Khaisan-Deši, mais cette forme est due à une mauvaise lecture et à un contresens. Le texte (*Mong-kou yeou-mou-ki*, I, 1 b) parle en réalité de "茶奚 Ta-bi ("Daki), fils du feu prince de Tong-ning 海撒 Hai-sa de la dynastie des Yuan... Je manque de renseignements sur ce prince Hai-sa, qui devait vivre au



# FROM THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA'S CHRONICLES

## THE SA SKYA PA

(53 b) Of the three heavenly brothers lCe riñ, gYu riñ and gYu bse,<sup>11</sup> the youngest became the lord of men;<sup>12</sup> from gYu bse byi<sup>13</sup> four brothers were born. Enmity arose between them and the great eighteen aDon clans,<sup>14</sup> but gYu riñ (who had remained) in heaven helped them, hence they vanquished those clans and brought them into subjection. gYu riñ married rMu's<sup>15</sup> daughter, whose name was dMu sa ldem, and his sons were the seven Ma sañs;<sup>16</sup> the six eldest, together with their father, went into the country of the gods. The youngest son (among these seven brothers was called) T'og ts'a dba' bo stag<sup>17</sup> and married mTs'o mo rgyal, of a Mon family, from whom was born gYa' spañ.<sup>18</sup> The latter slew the ogre sKya reñs k'rag med, then he ravished gYa' grum bsil ma<sup>19</sup> and married her; he had from her a son who, having been born while he was fighting the ogre, was named aK'on; this is the meaning of the name of the aK'on clan...

(54 a) He who had been born during the struggle married two wives, lCe<sup>20</sup> and sMan, of the bTsan family,<sup>21</sup> from whom he had a son dPal po c'e.<sup>22</sup> The latter was sent by his father to investigate which country possessed happy omens (in order to appropriate it) and having seen that the territory of Ya ts'añs in Se t'ar of gNan, in La stod<sup>23</sup> was furnished with signs of good omen,<sup>24</sup> he took possession of it. Taken into the presence of the mNa' bdag K'ri sroñ lde btsan,<sup>25</sup> he married Lhas k'rim bu, daughter of the lotsäva of rLais<sup>26</sup> and had the following sons: K'ren mdses, Lha legs, Ts'e la dbañ p'yug, aK'on klui dbañ po and Ts'e ađsin; of these Klui dbañ po took ecclesiastical vows with the precious abbot, the Bodhisattva,<sup>27</sup> and on his heart lay the ambrosia of the great master's (Pad-masambhava's) grace. rDo rje rñe c'en, the son of the youngest of these brothers, was spiritually matured by the great master in the mysteries of the mañđala of the adamant VEHICLE.

This great lord of mystical realization had six sons; up to the fifth the lineage was greatly propagated.<sup>28</sup> The youngest of the two sons of the sixth, Ses rab yon tan, who had gone to Grom pa,<sup>29</sup> was born in Byañ hence the aK'on family spread in the higher and lower part of this region. The eldest Yon tan aByun (gnas) had three sons, the second of them was Ts'ul k'rims rgyal po; he had three sons, the eldest of whom was rDo rje gtsug tor řes rab; the latter begot seven sons; the youngest of them was dGe mt'on, who settled in Zab; from him was born Bal po,<sup>30</sup> who went to meditate on the rock of Ts'a mo ron,<sup>31</sup> where he had a vision of rDo rje p'ur pa, his ancestors' protecting deity. His son Sä kya blo gñon founded aJam gñons in gYa' lun; the latter had two sons, the eldest was Ses rab ts'ul k'rims of Rog, of the aK'on family, who also had in the beginning a vision of the deities

protecting his lineage and (54 b) belonged to the school of the holders of the vajra,<sup>32</sup> who have obtained the mystical realizations of the highest planes of meditation.

The younger son was aK'on dKon cog rgyal po,<sup>33</sup> who placed on the top of his head the lotus of the feet of various lofty masters, like aBrog mi, the great lama, the lotsäva of the new school of the mantra,<sup>34</sup> the lot-säva of Ba ri,<sup>35</sup> the lotsäva of Pu rañ<sup>36</sup> and the gNam k'au's brothers, and he tasted the ambrosia of their words. He founded a monastery in Gro bo lun pa (whose ruins) are therefore called to this day "ruins of the Sa skya monastery, .. In those times, looking from the top of the mountain, he saw that on the slopes of the dPon po ri<sup>37</sup> there was white and fatty earth, and recognizing that the place possessed all the signs of good omen, he bought the area from its owners with the price of a precious necklace and with other (money) and founded the monastery of the glorious Sa skya.<sup>38</sup> aK'on dKon cog rgyal po married Ma gcig Žañ mo, from whom was born the great Sa skya Kun dga' sñiñ po, supreme in knowledge, in reflection and in meditation of the various aspects of the Law set out in the sūtras and in the esoteric doctrines. As the well-omened vase of his heart was filled by a continual flow of the ambrosia of the three secret planes<sup>39</sup> of aJam dbyañs A ra pa tsa na, all intelligent men considered him with certainty an incarnation of the noble lord aJam dpal dbyañs and the Sa skya pa were celebrated as the family of the aK'on (incarnation) of aJam dbyañs. Above all he became the master of the adamant VEHICLE, the great esoteric doctrine...

(55 a) To this lofty father three sons were born; the eldest aK'on Kun dga' aBar, having gone to India, died there of a fever. The second, Mi t'ub zla ba's incarnation,<sup>40</sup> was aK'on bSod nams rtse mo, who after having listened it, meditated on the vehicle which contemplates the fruit of the Law, handed down by his ancestors and next, in gSañ p'u, with the monk of C'a,<sup>41</sup> on the vehicle contemplating the cause. The third son aK'on aGrags pa rgyal mts'an ruled the realm of the law of those who possess the vajra; this great lord of mystical experience, trusting to the boat of wisdom, of reflection and of the meditation of the Law, went into the precious reign of mystical union with supreme reality; the nature of his virtues was beyond what can be spoken in words; when the Kashmiri pañđita<sup>42</sup> predicted an eclipse of the sun and the moon, rJe grags, by inducing a break in the equilibrium of nervous centres and of breathing<sup>43</sup> (= having recourse to yoga) obtained that the eclipse should not take place...

The fourth son aK'on dPal c'en po had two sons, the eldest of whom was aK'on dPal ldan don grub, who in his twenty-fifth incarnation was reborn in the world of men. That drop of camphor which

is the grace of aJam dpal dbyañs having refreshed his heart, he put away from himself the pain of that fever (which afflicts) those who are ignorant (of the Law); in various manners he stimulated his karmic propensities so that from an early age he was able to speak Sanskrit and to write *lantsa* and *vartula* characters.

He took vows as a novice at the school of rJe aGrags pa and assumed the name of Kun dga' rgyal mts'an ...

(55 b) He became learned in technical sciences, in medicine, grammar, logic, spiritual disciplines, i. e. in the major five arts and then in poetry, lexicography, prosody, dramatic art and astrology, in brief in all the arts.

Being celebrated as the Sa skya paṇḍita, his fame became an ornament of the vajrāsana of the central region.<sup>34)</sup> And if the habit (of study) of the five sciences grew up in this country of Tibet, it was through his merit...

He received the rules of perfect investiture with the great Kashmiri paṇḍita Śākyaśrībhadrā, and adding the abbot's title to his name of Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, he put: dpal bzañ po after this (name).<sup>35)</sup> Although some heretics like aP'rog byed dga' bo (Harinanda) were like elephants, whose vast physical force was represented by knowledge of grammar and logic, he nevertheless felled them with the sound of his invincible confutation. But, as aP'rog byed dga' bo, having recourse to magic powers, flew through the air, he invoked the help of the ācārya aDar p'yar;<sup>36)</sup> hence the former (being vanquished) promised to enter into (the Paṇḍita's) teachings. Although he had asked to be ordained as a monk, he would not abandon the signs of the heretics: the Tibetans, out of surprise, flocked to him (56 a), but owing to the magical power by which the ācārya mTs'o skyes rdo rje<sup>37)</sup> had brought under his command the 12 bsTan ma, (a power now invoked by the Sa c'en), aP'rog byed poured blood out of his mouth and when he died the diadem of his ascetic topknot (was hung as an) ornament on one of the pillars of the Sa skya (convent)<sup>38)</sup>...

Next, according to the king of the Mongols' command, he went into the reign of the Hor in China,<sup>39)</sup> and by various works performed with his body, his words and his spirit, difficult to calculate, he enlightened endless barbarous kingdoms (with the light of) the perfect Law and gave the king, lord of the earth a supreme blessing, almost as a protecting guarantee which delivered him from the affliction of illness. He died<sup>40)</sup> in sPrul pa sde.

The C'os rje's younger brother Zañs ts'a bSod nam rgyal mts'an had eight children, between sons and daughters. From Ma gcig Kun dga' skyid he had bla ma aP'ags pa and P'yag na.

Of these two last sons, aP'ags pa rin po c'e, the last incarnation of the lotsāva of sKa dPal brtsegs,<sup>41)</sup> from his earliest years applied himself to hearing and reflecting upon those sacred scriptures; then, when he departed towards the Hor's kingdom, he was ordained as a monk in the dBus region and received the name of Blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po. After the lord of the Law (C'os rje) Sa skya paṇḍita and the

Chinese Emperor, united by the bonds of chaplain and patron,<sup>42)</sup> had died, the king Se c'en<sup>43)</sup> ascended the throne of China (56 b) and aP'ags pa rin po c'e, at the age of nineteen,<sup>44)</sup> was made Ti śri of the king, who gave him a jade<sup>45)</sup> seal<sup>46)</sup> investing him with the dignity of *gān dān gu Śrī*,<sup>47)</sup> a drapery ornamented with gold and pearls, a tunic<sup>48)</sup> embellished with precious stones, a precious ceremonial hat,<sup>49)</sup> a golden parasol, a stool and various other extraordinary objects, and moreover a measure (*bre*) of gold and a measure of silver, and all desirable things: horses, camels, silken clothes and articles for his personal use. Then, going to mDo k'ams to the abbot Grags pa señ ge,<sup>50)</sup> he received the rules concerning the seven abandons, with the supplementary prescriptions. Next he returned to the imperial palace and as he had submitted a specimen of an alphabet representing a new method of learning the Mongol writing,<sup>51)</sup> the king conferred upon him the supreme diploma of "ban de progeny of Manu (*śed skyes*)". Three were the occasions in which the great feast of (the gift of) the ambrosia of the Law of the adamantūne Vehicle took place; on the first the king gave him the thirteen myriarchies of Tibet,<sup>52)</sup> on the second he gave him the three partitions of Tibet and on the third he offered him the Tathāgata's relics,<sup>53)</sup> which had belonged to Ajātaśatru and the great *mi yur* of China.<sup>54)</sup> As the king was about to order all ecclesiastics of Tibet that, outside the Sa skya sects, no one should be allowed to practice another system, aGro mgon aP'ags pa asked that each should practice his own particular system, and the king, according to what the bla ma had asked, published an edict in which he said that they should (continue to) behave according to their system, but that they should pray for him.

With the material sent to dBus and gTsañ the dPon c'en Sa skya bzañ po had a *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (copied); then he had a great statue of the Buddha made, to be worshipped in the interior of the temple (*nañ rten*) and as a sacred external receptacle the gSer abum.<sup>55)</sup> A short time later the bLa ma too arrived in Sa skya and built the stūpa gSer abum bkra sis, with many doors, (57 a) and the golden wheels of the parasol in the sKya abum bdun,<sup>56)</sup> which was outside the monastery and a golden pinnacle for the gSer abum<sup>57)</sup> of the Sa skya paṇḍita; he also caused to be written in golden letters a collection of the Buddha's words in more than two hundred volumes. Then, as ambassadors sent to him by the Emperor repeatedly arrived to take him (to China), (he started) and having come, during his journey, to the temple of Gye re, he proposed to visit it. Taking occasion from the circumstance that one pupil (called) Mi la had said: "A (thing) well made like this (temple) will come into existence one day", the dPon c'en Sa skya bzañ po taking as a base the measure of the Gye re temple<sup>58)</sup> founded the great temple (Lha k'añ c'en mo),<sup>59)</sup> calling upon thirteen districts to contribute to it. When the protector of the world (aGro mgon) arrived in the king's palace, the king conferred upon him the right of assuming new titles,

like "divine son (Devaputra) of India below the sky and upon the earth, inventor of the alphabet, incarnated Buddha, maintainer of the kingdom's prosperity, source of rhetoric, Paṇḍita ṅP'ags pa, master of the Emperor (Ti śri)..."<sup>60</sup> And every time he offered him great gifts: two thousand great measures (bre) of silver and 5940 bolts of silk for clothes.

When Kar ma ba śi<sup>61</sup> performed various miracles, gliding upon water, soaring in the air, reducing stones to dust, the king said: "This our imperial master ṅP'ags pa is an apparition, in human form, of the Buddha sNān ba mt'a yas; however as to miraculous powers and possession of mystical intuitions, this bearded one is superior..." Then the queen C'a'u<sup>62</sup> went to the lama and told him how things were and asked him to work miracles too, because if the ba śi be elected court chaplain, damage might ensue to the Sa skya race. Then he, standing amidst the king and his ministers, cut off with a sword (57 b) his head, hands and feet and through the favour of the five mystical families he offered all eyes<sup>63</sup> an agreeable show consisting in marvellous apparitions as an evidence of his sacred teachings. He then went back to his abode in the glorious Sa skya and gave an extraordinary feast,<sup>64</sup> in which he rendered perfect service to about 100,000 men and which was known as the preaching of the Law of C'u mig.<sup>65</sup> At that time an underling slandered the dPon c'en Kun dga' bzañ po to king Se c'en, saying that he harboured ill-will towards the lama; therefore a Mongol army came up to the fortress of Bya rog and killed the dPon c'en. This was the time in which what had been foretold happened: "In the fortress of Bya rog the drum of military law will be struck and cowards will swell up in the river of the golden sands..."<sup>66</sup> The preceding year the lama ṅP'ags pa had died in the Lha k'añ bla brañ; some say that one of his assistants, fearing that the lama would find out that he had called the Hor army, secretly killed him. In these times, owing to some dPon c'en,<sup>67</sup> in Tibet there was no peace as it was prophesized: "The rope of the nose will be taken away by the Earth and the Mongols will come. Even in the Hell there is not such a pain..."

The younger brother of the protector of the world P'yag na<sup>68</sup> went to China as an attendant on the lord of the Law; he was invested with the dignity of dPon for Tibet and adopted the Hor's customs. From Jo ṅGrom of Śab, Zañs ts'a's other wife, were born the ācārya Rin c'en rgyal mts'an<sup>69</sup> and his sister ṅDo le;<sup>70</sup> the elder of them learnt many tantras, scriptures and mantras; when the ṅP'ags pa rin po c'e came to the Hor,<sup>71</sup> he ruled his see in his place. Then he ordered a (religious) service, which consisted in having the monks read the words of the Victorious (throughout Tibet) from Nepal to mDo k'ams.

(58 a) Then he brought to the great see the three supreme venerable brothers of aJam ma li, on the frontiers between India and Nepal,<sup>72</sup> next he founded the monastery of Lhun grub sdins in gSer glin. From the ācārya Zañs ts'a's other wife, namely Lha gcig

mdses ma of Guñ t'añ, were born the ācārya bSod nams ṅbum and Ni ma ṅbum;<sup>73</sup> from the latter's handmaid rJe roñ ma rDo rJe ldan was born the ācārya Ye śes ṅbyuñ gnas, who became the chaplain<sup>74</sup> of king Humkāra<sup>75</sup> of the country of aJañs. From the ācārya Zañs ts'a's other wife, namely lCam Hor mo, was born the ācārya Rin c'en ṅbyuñ gnas,<sup>76</sup> who died young. From Ma gcig mk'a' ṅgro, wife of the agro mgon P'yag na was born Dharmapālaraksita.<sup>77</sup>

The ācārya Ye śes ṅbyuñ gnas' son was the bDag űid c'en po, bZañ po dpal, born in Bo don er.

After the ṅP'ags pa rin po c'e's death, P'yag na, by an act of authority, caused his son Dharmapālaraksita to administer the see. Being falsely slandered to the Emperor, as if he had not been a member of the Sa skya family, the bDag űid c'en po bzañ po dpal,<sup>78</sup> on the King's order, was obliged to go to a small island, more than twenty days' distance in the ocean. Meanwhile, Dharmapālaraksita and his son,<sup>79</sup> having died, the dpon c'en<sup>80</sup> and other authoritative counsellors repeatedly sent several messengers to the Emperor, asking that the bdag űid c'en po might be allowed to come back; but to no purpose. Then the venerable Kun dga' grags of Gya a śian happened to come (to China); he was a disciple of the mystical instructions concerning the mGon po, hailing back to the two lords of the Law, uncle and nephew.<sup>81</sup> And as a hailstorm<sup>82</sup> had fallen on the royal palace, (58 b) and a raven had been seen, the size of a small mountain, with an iron beak and claws, which shrieked beating its wings, the venerable Kun grags told the Emperor the reasons why the bla ma bdag űid c'en po, being a noble<sup>83</sup> Sa skya, should be indemnified for the insult he had received.

Thus the bDag űid c'en po was taken to the palace and was then once more placed on the throne of the great see with all sorts of honours. In the meantime, as the prince of the Sa skya pa was in difficulty,<sup>84</sup> the Śar pa ruled over the thirteen myriarchies of Tibet. The lama bDag űid c'en po's son, namely bSod nams bzañ po, died in mDo K'ams.<sup>85</sup> In dBus and gTsañ he married seven wives;<sup>86</sup> the son of Kun dga' ṅbum Kun dga' blo gros, having gone into the Hor's country, was the Ti śri of king Bu yan, of king Gi gan and of king Ye sun t'e mur.<sup>87</sup> Of Ma gcig Yon bdag's sons, the eldest died as a child.

Kun dga' legs ṅbyuñ went to the Hor's country as the master (Ti śri) of Ye sun T'e mur, and Kun dga' rgyal mts'an as master of Ratnaśri<sup>88</sup> and T'o gan T'i mur. From Ma gcig Nam mk'a' rgyal mo he had three sons, namely Nam mk'a' bśes gñen, Nam mk'a' legs and Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an; of them Nam mk'a' legs sat on the throne of the great see. Of the three sons born from Ma gcig gZon nu ṅbum, i. e. Kun dga' űi ma, Don yod rgyal mts'an and the glorious holy lama bSod nams rgyal mts'an, this latter lama, Lord of the Law, attained the extreme limit of all the sciences and having obtained (mystical) power from the great Sa skya who had realized the adamantine plane, he became almost the diadem of all those who possess the teachings; he became particularly eminent

because he had been the sDe srid P'ag mo gru pa's spiritual guardian.

(59a) Ma gcig Ņi ma rin c'en bore three sons: Ņi ma dpal, Kun dga' legs rgyal<sup>(60)</sup> and Kun dga' rgyal mts'an. Kun spañs lcām mo bore Blo gros rgyal mts'an, and K'añ gсар dpon mo bore bSod nams blo gros and Grags pa rgyal mts'an. The Ti śri Kun dga' blo gros<sup>(61)</sup> allotted and gave to each of his younger brothers one of the four palaces. The venerable Nam mk'a' legs had as his son Ta dben<sup>(62)</sup> Kun dga' rin abyuñ. The latter had two wives; the eldest bore Gu śri Blo gros rgyal mts'an and the youngest bore the ācārya Grags pa blo gros and Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an and a daughter. Grags pa blo gros begot Blo gros dbañ p'yug; these two, father and son, were celebrated as the bDag c'en of C'u mig.

The son of Kun dga' blo gros was Kun dga' dbañ p'yug. This branch was called (the branch) of the bŽi t'og palace.<sup>(63)</sup> The elder brother of the holy lama,<sup>(64)</sup> namely Don yod rgyal mts'an, had two sons: Ņi ma rgyal mts'an and Žla ba rgyal mts'an; the latter's son was the great lama Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, who begot aJam dbyañs nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an and bSod nams rgyal mts'an of Ža lu, beside two sisters. The sons of Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an were rGya gar Ses rab rgyal mts'an, bDag c'en rdo rje aс'añ and four sisters six children in all. The Ža lu pa's son was the ācārya Grags pa rgyal mts'an. This is the branch known by the name of branch of the Rin c'en sgañ palace, which had teachers who mastered the deep meaning of the (esoteric) doctrine of the glorious Sa skya pa sect; they were interpreters of great secrets. The sons of Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, the younger brother of the Ti śri Kun dga' legs abyuñ were (59b) the Ta dben C'os kyi rgyal mts'an and the Ta dben Blo gros rgyal mts'an. The former had three wives; the first bore the "King of the Law of the Great Vehicle"; the second bore Dharmadhvaḡa and Rin c'en rdo rje, and the third bore the ācārya bSod nams bkra śis. The latter's son was the ācārya bDe legs bkra śis, whose sons were: bSod nams rgyal mts'an, Sa kya señ ge bSam grub rgyal mts'an and Don grub rgyal mts'an; Sā kya señ ge's first wife bore Kun dga' bkra śis, Kun dga' rgyal mts'an and Kun dga' sñin po; the second of these, in K'ams, begot two sons, C'os kyi rgyal mts'an and Kun dga' blo gros legs pai abyun gnas. This branch was known as the branch of the Lha k'añ palace. The ācārya Ņi ma dpal's younger brother namely Kun dga' legs pa, married two wives; from the eldest he had the ācārya bSod nams abum and from the younger he had the great lama bSod nams blo gros, another son who died young and dBañ rNam sras rgyal mts'an. The latter married two wives, the first bore Kun dga' legs pai blo gros and dBañ rNam sras rgyal mts'an; the second bore C'os kyi rgyal mts'an. dBañ rNam sras married two wives; the first bore Kun dga' blo gros, the second bore dBañ Nam mk'a' legs pa and five daughters. Nam mk'a' legs pa also married two wives; the first bore two

daughters, the second bore dBañ Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an. The latter married three wives; the first bore a daughter, the second bore Nam mk'a' rin c'en, the third bore Nam mk'a' bkra śis. The latter's sons were the omniscient Sa skya pa the translator,<sup>(65)</sup> (60a), the bDag c'en Nag gi dbañ p'yug, aJam dpal grags and Nam mk'a' don grub. The latter's sons were Kun dga' bsam grub and the great exorcist (sñags pa) Kun dga' rin c'en; the former's son was the bDag c'en Kun dga' bde legs, who begot bSod nams lhun grub, Kun dga' lhun grub, aJig rten dban p'yug. The latter's sons were bSod nams blo gros, Byams pa bsod nams lhun grub and Ņag dbañ bSod nams lhun grub. Kun dga' rin c'en married three wives; the first bore two daughters, the second bore Ņag dbañ bSod nams dbañ po<sup>(66)</sup> and three daughters, the third bore Grags pa blo gros, who had six children, male and female; the first two sons died young, the youngest were Kun dga' dbañ rgyal, mT'u stobs dbañ p'yug,<sup>(67)</sup> then Nag dbañ Kun dga' bsod nams.<sup>(68)</sup> This precious gem of the Sa skya pa race descended from aK'on, its teachings concerning the interpretation of the sūtras and tantras still lives. As to the fortune of the temporal power, beginning from the aGro mgon, the king of the Law, aP'ags pa, up to the aGro mgon bSod nams,<sup>(69)</sup> the dPon c'en including in the list those elected twice and up to the twentieth (of the series) appointed by imperial order were invested with power over the three districts (c'ol ka) into which the great Tibet was then divided, i. e. dBus and gTsañ province of the Law, upper mDo, province of men, lower mDo, province of horses. As regards the authority to punish evil and to reward good in the thirteen myriarchies constituting Tibet, namely, to specify them, six myriarchies in gTsañ:<sup>(70)</sup> Lho and Byañ of La stod, Gur mo, C'u mig, Sañs, Ža lu; six myriarchies in dBus: rGya ma, aBri guñ, Ts'al pa, T'añ po c'e, P'ag gru, gYa' bzañ and one myriarchy of Yar a brog on the frontier between dBus and gTsañ, (60b) after the dPon c'en Sā kya bzañ po, whom we have already mentioned, and Kun dga' bzañ po, the office was assumed by Žañ btsun and Ban dkar; after them Byañ c'ub rin c'en was invested with authority; although he had the seal (dam k'a) conferring the office of *so vin si*<sup>(71)</sup> upon him and the rock-crystal seal he was killed by one of his underlings in sDoñ mo t'añ in the environs of Sañs.

Then, in Kun gžon and gŽon dbañ's times there was inspection<sup>(72)</sup> and severe application of the law. After them the commander-in-chief Byañ rdor, later Añ len,<sup>(73)</sup> who built the external wall of Sa skya, the wall of the Pon po ri<sup>(74)</sup> and the K'añ gсар gliñ;<sup>(75)</sup> then, as disagreement between the Sa skya and the aBri guñ pa had begun, Añ len, with the thirteen myriarchies' troops, marched against aBri guñ and burned the convent, causing the famous destruction of aBri guñ; then he wrote Añ len's name on a rock on the frontier of the lands to which he had led his army such as Dvags po. So great was this dPon c'en's force. After him, gŽon dbañ was once more



invested with power but died on the way. Then Legs pa dpal, Sen ge dpal, 'Od zer sen ge, who had the seal which invested him with the office of *svon jin dhen*,<sup>105</sup> then Kun rin, Don yod dpal, Yon btsun, again 'Od zer sen ge, rGyal ba bzañ po,<sup>106</sup> dBañ p'iyug dpal, bSod nams dpal, again rGyal ba bzañ po, dBañ brtson.

In the times of these two, the Sa skya pa having disagreed with the P'ag mo gru pa / as it befalls in natural manifestations of the order of things that (for instance) while the childhood of springtime prospers, protected by the spring months as by a nurse, the whole rigour of winter is dissolved through its own force / thus, through the will of Brahmā, forefather of the universe, (61 a) the sde srid P'ag mo gru took possession of the fourfold fortune.<sup>107</sup> After him, although some dPon c'en are quoted, like Nam mk'a' brtan pa etc., nevertheless their power over the three districts was not equal to that of the first dPon c'ens.<sup>108</sup>

### TS'AL PA

(61 b) King Mon gor<sup>109</sup> separately chose as his chaplains the (lama) aBri guñ pa; king Se c'en chose the Ts'al pa, Hu la gu<sup>110</sup> chose P'ag mo gru, i. e. the Tibetans were divided and ruled over up by the various kings, who allotted to the various chaplains (a part of) the land, following the example of territories which were under the authority of the P'ag mo gru, Hu la gu's vassals. These lands beginning from Mon lug mgo steñ, upper and lower gÑal, Gru šul, Lo ro white and black, Byar po, lesser E in greater E, T'añ po c'e, aP'yoñ rgyas, aP'yoñ, Mon mk'ar, mK'ar lhag do po, Sregs lte, 'On sna, Nam žal lña, down to Sar sgo gdon of bSam yas, and to the East of Lho brag mC'od sde bži, the two groups of Tibetans and aBrog pa of Ba si and beginning from Ko ron mdo in mNa' ris up to La rtsa in sPu rig.<sup>111</sup>

The aBri guñ pa and the Ts'al pa also had similar authority; hence, as gYa' bzañ, although it was counted among the thirteen myriarchies, was in fact as if it belonged to the P'ag mo gru pa, and the region of sNa dkar rtse was under the authority of the aBri guñ pa, all the other myriarchs, as regards political and religious authority, could not vie with the P'ag mo gru pa, the Ts'al pa and the aBri guñ. For this reason these three became the most powerful of all the myriarchs.

To come back to the Ts'al pa, by virtue of the white umbrella spread over all the earth<sup>112</sup> and of the immaculate<sup>113</sup> works of the aGro mgon (protector of the world) of Žañ, this family became a myriarchs' family. Dar ma gžon nu, his assistant (*ñe gnas*) celebrated as an incarnation of Indra, king of the gods, was the spiritual son of the world's precious protector and offered excellent services on the occasion of the construction of the monastery of Guñ t'añ. When the protector of the world died, (62 a) he was appointed lord of the country and of the monastery; then he had the lower outer veranda and the mGon k'añ built; inside he had a reliquary made

called the bKra sis 'od aBar, and he accomplished the remotion of the great sKu aBum. His nephew aByuñ gnas brtson agrus received the office of dpon and accomplished several far from humble deeds in the field of lay and religious life.<sup>114</sup> His true-born nephew, Ye šes aByuñ gnas, brought under his rule the territory of the lower sKyid, which comprised several inhabited centres and which is known by the name of Srid ma bži bu rgyad. Concerning his successor, the dPon Sañs rgyas don grub, this is said to be his origin: mGar<sup>115</sup> Ts'e nam ts'a aBrug from heaven descended among men; then, after him came in succession the lama of mGar, that great wise man, and mGar sToñ mes k'ri c'ags, the latter's son mGar sToñ btsan yul became the Minister of the holy king Sroñ btsan sgam po; with his activity in lay and religious fields he served the king and acquired great merits towards his Tibetan subjects. His son was bTsan po Yon tan rgyal bzuñ, next came in succession Lha gcig śñan ldem bu, K'ri zañs dum bu, K'ri gñer k'ri lcags; the latter's sons were sToñ mes k'ris snañ, K'ri stoñ stag gzuñ, the great master C'as pa sgo drug; the latter's sons were rMu bza' and aP'ags gzigs; then, in succession, mGar T'og dar rgyal, rGyal le, mGar rgyal ba aByuñ gnas; between the latter and the Žañ rin po c'e the relations were as between chaplain and patron; according to the prophecy that he would beget a perfect son, he begot the dPon Sañs rgyas dños grub, who was invested with the office of dPon and laid the foundations of the teachings of the dGe ađun ts'al pa;<sup>116</sup> his son, the dPon c'en Rin rgyal, assumed the office of dPon and went to the Chinese court; Se c'en gave him a diploma (62 b) investing him<sup>117</sup> with authority over the lay communities, with the task of reconstructing the temples which had been destroyed in lower and upper sKyid šod, in sTod luñ, Gra dol, aP'yoñ po, rGyal sman and in the three countries of E, Dvags po and gÑal. Having gone to Guñ t'añ he built the small private Eastern palace and the large "seminary of the veranda". He had three sons. The eldest Ni ma šes rab, as a follower of the aGro mgon aP'ags pa, went to Chinese court and also received a diploma. The second son, the dPon dGa' bde mgon po, is celebrated as an incarnation of Bya rog gdon can<sup>118</sup> and on behalf of the monastery or of the community of Ts'al pa, he went seven times to the Chinese Court.

He was subject to the constant watching of a servant of a great dignitary Zam k'a lha pa and to many accusations brought against him. Once when he had put under his garment a dress adorned with the figure of a dragon with five claws given to him on the occasion of a secret interview with the king he was taken over to the tribunal by Zam k'a. He then took off his upper garment and Zam k'a seeing the dragon with five claws, on the royal dress, was afraid. Afterwards, when a heavy disgrace befell Zam k'a, dGa' bde drank to his full satisfaction and sang the following song:

Between us both there is a great difference.  
I am from dGe ađun ts'al  
dGa' bde dpal.

I have the fortune of a happy mind  
 I have the fortune of peace  
 Now the Ts'al pa has the fortune of being happy.

Then, together with many skilful Chinese artists, he made endless extraordinary receptacles for sacred things and objects of worship, like the printing-press, the dome in Chinese style,<sup>119)</sup> the golden "pot",<sup>120)</sup> (of the mc'od rten) and after having founded the C'os ak'or gliñ he placed there a school for the explanation of logic, and in the dBus gliñ a school for the study of the Tantras; and because of these good works of his of vast proportions, the Chinese Emperor was extremely pleased. His younger brother Rin c'en dbaṅ p'yug took monastic vows. Of dGa' bde's sons, the eldest was Rin c'en seṅ ge (63 a), the youngest sMon lam rdo rje, who built the road encircling Lhasa, the dome in Chinese style of the Brag lha klu sbug and the golden pinnacle in the chapel of the upper floor<sup>121)</sup> of the temple of the Jo bo and the temple of the "Great merciful", the *gañjira* of the aBum mo c'e, and he founded the temples called of the bKa' agyur, and the 'Od gsal ap'ruḷ in the dBus gliñ. Many were his lofty and spotless works (in the field of the Law) and his fivefold authority towards political power seemed to reach the edges of heaven.<sup>122)</sup> His eldest son was the dPon Kun dga' rdo rje, who became extremely learned in the religious disciplines and in the sciences which his father and grandfather had been versed in; on his return from China he accomplished works far from humble in the field of religion and of lay life, as the construction of several receptacles for physical, verbal and spiritual relics and the foundation of the Ri bo dge ap'el; then he confided the myriarch's office to his younger brother Grags pa šes rab and, having taken monastic vows, was celebrated by the name of the extremely honourable, all-knowing, dGe bai blo gros. He invited in Ts'al Bu ston, the prince of the learned ones, for the consecration of a bKa' agyur...

The account made by the Lord of the Law bSod grags concerning the foundation of the C'os ak'or gliñ at the hands of the most honourable sMon lam rdo rje and the separate quotation made by himself of the Si tu dGe bai blo gros and of the great honourable Kun dga' rdo rje (as if they were two distinct persons) is a narrative casually related, because he had not accurately ascertained the contents of documents ...

(63 b) The son of the great honourable Kun dga' rdo rje was the Si tu dGe legs bzañ po; the latter's sons were Tre pos<sup>123)</sup> dPal abyor bzan po, Legs pa rgyal mts'an and Legs ldan bzan po; the first had two sons, Tre pos dGa' bde bzan po and dNos grub rgyal mts'an; all the descendants of this family successively received the order of investiture and high offices from the Chinese court and accomplished noble deeds, both in the lay and in the religious field. Furthermore the dPon Kun dga' rdo rje became associated with the dPon c'en of Sa skya rGyal bzañ po and dBaṅ brtson<sup>124)</sup> and with the dPon

of gYa' bzañ, and contrived many wicked intrigues against the sDe srid P'ag mo gru pa, like a common bird who striving to overtake an eagle causes only his own fatigue; he lost many subjects who had been assigned (to the Ts'al pa) by an imperial diploma in the times of the dPon dGa' ba bde and of the great honourable sMon lam pa.

#### ABRI GUÑ PA<sup>125)</sup>

According to the *dPal p'ag mo gru pai p'rin las kyi rgyan*, the sKyu ra rin po c'e was the one who caused the monastery in which the precious doctrines of the initiatic schools were handed down to prosper in the continual diffusion of its teachings. Up to the fourth generation, out of the zeal for the supreme Law (possessed by him and by his descendants) neither political power nor the Emperor's recognition accrued to them, as it is told in the *bKa' c'ems deb t'er* of the Si tu rin po c'e: "The lama of those times was the precious sPyan sna: and sGom pa was Ša ka rin c'en; but you, who are Bla dpon, you did not obtain any (imperial) seal, you were not even appointed the Emperor's Ti šri ..."

In the times of the first spread of the doctrine, an exorcist from sKyu ra married sNa nam bza'<sup>126)</sup> (64 a) who belonged to the dākini's race and became a master of many kinds of superhuman magic. Now she is called aBri guñ A p'yir. They had a son called Nam mk'a' dbaṅ p'yug, from whom the family was descended up to A mes dbaṅ p'yug. The latter's fourth son, rDo rje by name, married rJe btsun ma, who bore the aBri guñ rin po c'e;<sup>127)</sup> having heard, from the aGro mgon rin po c'e,<sup>128)</sup> how the vase of the vast and deep Law is filled, he was celebrated under the name of Rin c'en dpaḷ. After the aGro mgon's death, although he administered the see after the lama of Žaṅ sum t'og<sup>129)</sup> (the aGro mgon's successor), as his activity did not correspond to his wishes, he went northward and a disciple come to offer him the monastery of the enlightened sGom rin of Mi ñag; he caused it greatly to prosper and obtained supreme eminence in that diadem of Tibetan mystical schools called aBri guñ t'el. The uncle of the precious defender of the faith was dKon cog rin cen, the latter's son was called A mes grags rgyal; he had three sons, the eldest was the dPon rin po c'e;<sup>130)</sup> the second rDo rje seṅ ge, called of the dBon brgyud, i. e. of the nephews' lineage, the youngest, "the youngest brother's gem", rDo rje grags pa. This was celebrated as an incarnation of Tili pa.<sup>131)</sup> In his times, the sGom pa<sup>132)</sup> received his diploma naming him a myriarch; being also invested with power by an imperial edict, up to Byar and Dags, the fortunes of his riches and of his power were extremely great. They say that, having these things in mind, the sGom pa of aBri guñ addressed these haughty words to the Si tu rin po c'e: "Now the Sa skya pa are the ones who rule, but formerly we, the aBri guñ pa, were the rulers ..."

In the times of the third and of the fourth sGom pa, as they were warring with the Sa skya pa, after the son of the second of the three above-mentioned brothers, Rin cen seŋ ge of T'og k'a, (64 b) and after the sPyan sna mT'sams bead,<sup>133</sup> they dwelt in the see of gNubs; and when the destruction (of the convent) took place and the assembly-hall<sup>134</sup> was devoured by fire, about 10,000 monks flew to heaven out of the windows. The hierarch (Zal ŋo) then fled to Koŋ po and his prestige was to a certain extent impaired. After him rDo rje rin cen, rDo rje rgyal po and the precious Ner gñis pa<sup>135</sup> Don grub rgyal po succeeded one another; during the latter's rule the sPyan sna's dignity and the doctrines of the esoteric school prospered greatly. As to civil authority, the sGom pa of aBri guñ were the counterpart of the Sa skya pa dPon c'en; their succession was as follows: the sGom pa rDo rje seŋ ge, Sā kya rin cen, Byañ še, Byañ c'ub, sPan ras, C'os seŋ ge, Rin cen seŋ ge, sGom pa dBon po, sGom pa Sā kya dar, Rin cen grags, Ye ses dpal. When the latter died, the Si tu rin po c'e came to aBri guñ for an interview and met the Rin po c'e in bKra šis ljoŋs.

The Si tu rin po c'e conferred the office of first sGom pa upon Rin c'en rdo rje and by investing Kun rin with the dignity of second (sGom pa)<sup>136</sup> he gave him a proof of his good (feelings). Then, after Rin rdo rje's death, although Kun rin had not received the decree of his appointment from the Court, he had him fully invested by the *svon vi si* office of dBus and of gTsañ; in brief, although the two sees (of aBri guñ and P'ag gru) were joined one to the other and although the Si tu had done a great deal for the sGom pa, nevertheless as the ācārya Kun rin was preparing some evil intrigues against the sDe srid P'ag mo gru, the aBri guñ's temporal power declined. Then Sā kya bzañ po assumed the office of sGom pa. Then, although apparently power passed into the hands of the rDsoñ ji bSod rin<sup>137</sup> and of the sku žaŋ Ts'ul rgyal etc. the holy king Rin c'en dpal bzañ (65 a) received an imperial diploma<sup>138</sup> conferring civil and religious authority upon him and became *bla dpon*. The youngest of his sons, "the precious bCo lña, ,, both through religious merit and temporal authority, reached extremely high offices. He had three sons; the eldest went to P'ag mo, the second was the Lord of the Law Kun dga' rin c'en, who remained in the see. In these times internal revolts broke out against the hierarch (Zal ŋo) and although between the two systems that of the aBri guñ pa of sna T'og and that of the dGa' ldan pa, there were close relations, the dGe lugs pa monasteries which were subject to these aBri guñ pa and depended from them changed their caps;<sup>139</sup> troops were employed also in the other convents and revolts broke out; after this, the aBri guñ bka' brgyud's doctrine not having gained many advantages, he died. The youngest son (whom the holy king had from sPu luñ bza') was the dPon Rin c'en p'un ts'ogs, who had a clear remembrance of his former births in India and in Tibet as a doctor and as an ascetic; he was raised to the abbatial throne and according to the prophecy

which said "one who will bear the name of Ra tna shall rule the world ,, during his times the power of the aBri guñ pa reached its fullest development."<sup>140</sup> After him the dPon Rin po c'e of P'ag mo came to this see. The *nañ so*<sup>141</sup> of T'og k'a took command of an army of Koŋ po; as he had conquered aBri guñ and gTsañ and caused a revolt of his subjects against the Goŋ ma the sDe srid<sup>142</sup> very grievous times followed. After him came the son of the Zur pa, the lord, holy king P'un ts'ogs rgyal po, who was celebrated as an incarnation of king gTsong lag aḍsin;<sup>143</sup> after his son, the lord bKra šis p'un ts'ogs, Yan lag gi sprul sku, the lord dKon mc'og rin c'en, the lord dKon mc'og p'un ts'ogs: of these four the Lord of the Law Rin po c'e dKon mc'og p'un ts'ogs now rules the see, continuing the political and religious power (65 b) (of the family). Thus none of the myriarchies mentioned above could vie in riches and power with the aBri guñ pa and with the Ts'al pa; nevertheless the lord of sNa dkar rtse received the imperial decree and the seal of myriarch of the aBrog pa; Añ len, dpon c'en Sa skya, he who destroyed the monastery of the aBri guñ pa, the incarnation of the Gur mgon and who was known to have the signs of a hero, was a hierach (Zal ŋo) of this family.<sup>144</sup>

The sde pa bsTan aḍsin, instead of building as his karmic premises required, a mc'od rten of nirvāṇa, out of the eight mc'od rten of the Tathāgata, made of precious substances, prepared, a series of sacred offerings and performed various meritorious works of this kind; then (the temple of) bTsan rdsoñ of sTag luñ in Yar aBrog having been built in his times, he acquired great fame, both for his religious merits and for his political power; above all he greatly honoured the Sa skya pa and the doctrine of Bo doŋ pa, Lord of the Law. Then, because he was munificent towards all systems and did not commit sinful actions, he obtained a lasting name and prestige; this race of princes, through the ample doorway of knowledge and by actions well advised in the choice of means, holds power up to our days, uninterruptedly, up to the present *sa skyoŋ*, Kun dga' dbaŋ c'en p'un ts'ogs and his brother.

## BYAÑ

As regards the bdag po of Byañ, in the seventh generation after Si 'u, king of the Mi ñag, who had obtained the investiture through a heavenly decree of him who sat on the throne (of the emperors of) China,<sup>145</sup> whose power is derived from a glory of perfect merits, lived rGyal rgod of the Mi ñag, from whose descendants Mi ñag seŋ ge was later derived. His son rDo rje dpal met rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mts'an.<sup>146</sup>

(66 a) This was the beginning of the successive relations between (his family and) the glorious Sa skya pa family. His son was dKon cog, who had three sons; of these aBum sde was particularly devoted to the Lord of the Law Sa skya pañḍita; he had

six sons, among them Grags pa dar; the latter, according to the decree of Se c'en, emperor of China, received the office of Si tu and the precious seal and also founded the monastery of Byan Nam riñ. <sup>147)</sup> The son of the dpon c'en Grags pa dar, celebrated under another name as Yon btsun, was rDo rje mgon po, who like his father and his grandfather, had the office of dpon c'en of the Sa skya and greatly honoured the four kinds of assemblies. <sup>148)</sup> He had six sons, among whom Nam mk'a' brtan pa, who went to China and received from the Emperor the gem of the third (degree) ornamented with a tiger's head, the title of *gui guñ* and the rock-crystal seal; <sup>149)</sup> he also received the name of Ta dben gu śri and the rock-crystal seal. He performed many good deeds both in the religious and in the lay field and in particular he greatly honoured monasteries, beginning with those of Sa skya and Nam riñ. Of his two sons, Rin c'en rgyal mts'an and Nam mk'a' rin c'en, the eldest received from his father the dignity of C'en po and was celebrated as an incarnation of sPyan ras gzigs. His son by his first wife, <sup>150)</sup> Gui gun C'os grags dpal bzañ, obtained the office of Si tu C'añ gu; his son by his second wife was Zla ba rgyal mts'an; he also had a daughter who married bSod nams, the master of the aK'on <sup>151)</sup> race. His younger brother was called aJam dbyaṅs rje btsun and remembered his birth in the Sa skya pañḍita's times, as one of his followers; having an intelligence which amply penetrated all that it is possible to know, he was invested with the office of *kva diñ gu śri*; then, according to his father's and his elder brother's command, he was ordained as a monk; he had three children, male and female.

(66 b) The eldest son of the Gui guñ C'os grags pa, namely the bDag c'en rNam rgyal grags bzañ, received the office of Si tu and the youngest dKon cog legs pa the office of *srii ii dre bos*; <sup>152)</sup> he enjoyed great political authority. He particularly tasted the ambrosia of the sayings of Byan c'ub rtse mo, the great lotsāva of gCen and of other lofty personages and heard many teachings of the vast and deep Law, at the school of Śāriputra, <sup>153)</sup> the abbot of Bodhgayā in India and of P'yogs las rnam rgyal of Bo doñ. <sup>154)</sup> In a particular manner he became extremely well versed in the Kālacakra. The learned rDo rje rgyal mts'an and C'os grags bzañ po of Mi ñag were disciples of this holy king and heard from him the commentary of the Kālacakra; Sans rgyas lhun grub of rTse t'an heard thoroughly from this noble master the Kālacakra commentary, then he learned the different sciences from the pañḍita Byams pa gliñ pa, in dBus... (67 b) After him came Nam mk'a' ts'e dbañ rdo rje, who had three sons, Nam mk'a' rin cen, bSod nams rgyal mts'an, and Kun dga' legs pa; the second was ordained as a monk, the youngest became lord of the whole of Lho byañ and became famous as a terrible hero. From the three brothers' family were born Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an, Kun dga' rin c'en, bKra śis stobs rgyas, dBañ poi sde; the latter received the revelation of the deep laws of the great ācārya... <sup>155)</sup>

(68 b) According to what is told in the *Po ti hse ru*, <sup>156)</sup> concerning human generations:

"From the essence of the five elements a large egg issued; <sup>157)</sup>  
 from the shell of the external part of the egg the divine white rock was created;  
 from the liquid inside the egg a lake, white as a shell fluid and winding (emanated);  
 in the front side, in the middle parts of the egg, the six kinds of creatures issued;  
 from the yolk of the egg (another) eighteen (eggs) were born;  
 these eighteen eggs, of a middling size, were conglomerated into an egg (white) as a shell,,"

From that egg (white as a) shell was born a graceful child, with the five organs of the senses and limbs each one well formed, like one (obtained) in answer to a prayer; therefore he was called Ye smon rgyal po. <sup>158)</sup> From his wife C'u leag rgyal mo, a miraculous son dBañ ldan was born to him. He married Duñ bza' dñul mo from whom sKye gcig was born.

Of his three sons, belonging to the human lineage, the youngest sTag ts'al 'Al 'ol married aTs'ams bza' k'yad k'yud, from whom were descended the four brothers mGur lha. The six Yab lha were the sons of the youngest; the youngest of them, 'O de guñ rgyal had the nine Lha c'en brothers from his wife Lha mo; and from his other wife gNan mo the nine gNan ts'a <sup>159)</sup> brothers; from his third wife rMus mo the nine rMu ts'a brothers; from his fourth wife Klu bza' the eight Klu ts'a brothers; altogether he thus had thirty-five sons. The youngest of them sNe k'tom lag k'ra married Lhalcam, who bore La k'a rgyal po; the latter's wife Luñ k'a hril mo bore three sons; the eldest of them was mT'in gi, whose wife Lha lcam dkar mo bore Bod ajons; the latter married rMu bza' mT'in bsgriñ of Brañ, who bore rGya k'ril žaṅ; his sons were three Kings, great and small; thus there were eight families; <sup>160)</sup> the youngest son's wife, mT'in mo (69 a) bore three sons, one of whom was K'ri rje gñan t'añ; his son was dPal lha; the latter's son was A mi mu ji k'ri do; of the latter's wives, gNan bza' Śa mig bore him three sons, rMu bza' one son and Srin bza' two sons, six in all, from which the eighteen great kindred clans were derived:

"The aBras are of three kinds: black, white and particoloured.  
 (The story of) the origin of human races in Tibet is (told) in extremely different manners, (nevertheless), concerning the nine aBras dkar brothers of the high region, it can be said (that they were): Bal po, Bal mo, Bal srid, Ma stoñ, Bal stoñ, Con stoñ, Mar ba, Žaṅ c'uñ, Pu rains, namely nine,,"

As we read (in this quotation) there are many kinds. bTsan bza' dGe ldan ma, wife of bSe k'yun abras, bore aBras the particoloured; his wife Sruñ

bza' k'ra mo bore him four sons, the eldest of whom married Hor bza' abum mo, who bore K'yuñ ru dkar po; the latter's son was aBum re šel mig, from whom Ar rje gtsug gsum was born. The fifth of the eight gNam lha brothers, being miraculously incarnated as his son, was called Mañ ldom stag btsan; his wife was Roñ bza' K'ye lcām. As he had no children by her, grieving sorely, he went to heaven and, having questioned his elder brothers there, so he was told by them:

"We are eight brothers, divine sons, but you are an incarnation descended among men; if you grieve because you have no issue, practice asceticism for thirteen months: meditate on your protecting deity and recite secret formulas; on the thirteenth day<sup>161</sup>) of the first month of the new year

go on the divine mountain gÑan po can, offer incense and sacred service and pray; Brahmā's daughter, conquered by your asceticism, will come.

Thus from a divine son a human race will be born and will descend from him an extremely eminent progeny,

up to the seventy-third generation, in an uninterrupted series of masters and princes. (69 b) This will lead men; and a hero will conquer the world and his fame will cover all the earth,,<sup>162</sup>)

Thus they said and, obeying their words, he returned to the world of men and practised asceticism, and on the first month of the first year he went to the top of the divine mountain and offered sacred service. Then a five-coloured rainbow appeared in the sky and many wonderful events took place in the sky, like sounds of rejoicing and he saw Brahmā's daughter descend, surrounded by her retinue of eight attendants. He sought her in marriage, the retinue disappeared and Brahmā consented. Having washed the bride's body with baptismal water of rDo rje ajoms, he went back to his land. A long time went by, but the son was not born. Once a voice was heard in the sky, saying:

"Mañ ldom stag btsan! Go and fight, China's armies wish to approach Tibet. If China's armies approach Tibet, nobody will be able to vanquish them except yourself,,<sup>163</sup>)

Mañ ldom went forth, riding on a white duck with turquoise wings; he put on a cuirass of shell, white as silver<sup>164</sup>) and put on his head a helmet of white rock-crystal and girded on his shining weapons; through the paths of the sky the armies of the gods and through the paths of the waters armies of serpents began to march and all came; the Chinese fled and he won. In those times Duñ gyi mdso mo (the

zo,<sup>165</sup>) white as a shell) who had been led away from heaven by sMan btsun, fled; but she was retained by Mañ ldom; when he saw that sMan btsun had come seeking for the mdso mo, he tied her with the magic seal which did not allow her to move, let her go into a stone that was like a tent, closed the door and began to spy from a corner. (He saw that sMan btsun) was offering milk, which the mdso mo had milked, as a sacrifice to the three gems and to the protecting divinities of Mañ ldom.

(70 a) Then she threw all the rest (of the offering) into the water, framing a vow that an extraordinary race might be born out of it. sMañ ldom was pleased; a moment later a voice was heard in the sky, saying:

"The divine race shall prosper; in the beginning of next year a divine son shall be born,,

Mañ ldom, going near sMan btsun, went to sleep and in the morning a white man and a white horse miraculously appeared; so what his seven brothers had said happened. To answer the question, how the child was born, they say:

"the human progeny of divine descent is divided into three branches;

the first is the lamas' progeny and guides created beings; the other will become lord of Tibet and rule over all the lands of Tibet, another will be the family of heroes,,<sup>166</sup>)

Then, when the seventh month was accomplished, he said to the goddess, as an experiment "This is not my son,," when the child was about to be born, sMañ btsun went to the place where she had slept (with her husband) and dreamt of a golden mc'od rten, ornamented with precious substances; within it there were numberless steps, on which were gathered above, below, in the middle, lamas, gods and goddesses, one after the other; when she awoke and the child was born, she carried it on the divine mountain and put it in a chest made with slabs of stone, framing this vow "if he is Mañ ldom's son, may human progeny be stronger than the gods; if he is not, may he be eaten by birds and wild beasts,,. Owing to the impurity derived from her contact with a man, she could no longer soar to heaven; she therefore returned to her former place and told Mañ ldom the whole story; then father and mother together went to the top of the divine mountain, and there they saw (70 b) a child having a turquoise-coloured topknot, from the nape of whose neck a white steam arose; a turquoise-coloured dragon stood before him pouring out water; a lioness was giving him suck, a vulture covered him with his wings, wild animals and gazelles surrounded him, the rainbow protected him like a tent. His father was very glad and said three times "he steams, he steams,, (rlañs); this was the origin of this clan's name rLañs.<sup>167</sup>) Sometimes

we find (the spelling) Ga gla, but it is certain that this is a mistaken tradition of the copyists.

The latter's wife was lDoñ bza' K'ri sgron, who bore him dPa' bo; his wife was lCog ro bza' Lha gnam, who bore him sToñ t'o; the latter's son was C'e c'e and his son was rGod ldiñ, so named because (a bird) like a vulture rose and circled above him when he was born. His son was sToñ dge; his son was sToñ k'ri; his son was P'ag ts'añ; his son was lNañ ra; his son was gTsub gñen rdsoñ k'on; his son was bTsan pa adab ñon; his son was sNañ gñan k'oñ sleb; his son was Mañ po c'e sgro k'a; his son was sTag po c'e dar dpal; the latter, on the bank of the Ma p'am<sup>166</sup> turquoise lake made a golden image of Śākyamuni and offered shining turquoise and made many gifts for the religious services, like coral which has a reflection of good omen and he invited the *Siddha* Señ ge for the consecration. On this occasion his wife sGañ bza' lha mo bore him a son and the Siddha, thinking that the lake was of good omen and that the child was looking with a divine eye, said that he should be named mTs'o bzañ lha gzigs.<sup>169</sup> He consented and (the child) was (later) celebrated as rLañs lha gzigs.

The latter's son was A mi byañ c'ub adre ak'ol,<sup>170</sup> who at the age of eight went into the country of O rgyan where (71 a) he vanquished the witches and having come again (to Tibet) he had a vision of his protecting deity, and then, twice, was invited by Ge sar to Glin; the last time, riding a rock as if it was a horse, he conquered the fiends of the four points of the compass and accomplished other miracles without end; first he was called Byañ c'ub rdo rje, then they named him: adre ak'ol because he had subdued the witches. Padma (sambhava's) prophecy alludes to him:<sup>171</sup>

"An extraordinary man will come  
called Byañ c'ub;  
He is my spiritual son, ..

Or, in the same Byañ c'ub adre ak'ol's words: "In the thirteenth generation from today, (my lineage) will take possession of Tibet, ... Such was this (man) who was seen and heard of by all people noble and humble up to the palace of the Emperor of China.

From his wife sKal ldan ma he had three sons, dPal gyi señ ge, gNan t'og a k'rom and sTag ts'ab. His second son gNan t'og a k'rom had a son, gNan po ña mog k'ri; the latter's son was the master of rLañs, Bya zu nag po; the latter's son was A señ, his son A ser. His sons were seven sKyabs, dPal as the eight, bTsan as the ninth. The eldest of them all was Yon c'en rgyal ba skyabs, who was *spyi dpon*<sup>172</sup> of T'o in rLañs stod; mGo rum señ ge<sup>173</sup> vanquished rGya and rTse at'on conquered the four terrible (*drag po*) brothers: lDoñ stras conquered the country of aDan and became extremely eminent in the world, as far as men's power is concerned; as regards the supreme divine Law, Byañ c'ub adre ak'ol, whom we have mentioned, and his three sons performed endless miracles.

(71 b) rLañs k'ams pa Go c'as was celebrated as the middle one of the seven *sad mi*<sup>174</sup> who took vows; rLañs dPal señ ge was the great acārya's spiritual son and obtained the mystical realization; Ye šes rdo rje conquered Ni ma ltoñ and Ye šes señ ge disciplined the robbers in dPal t'añ, dPal gyi abyun gnas exorcised the Lha and the aDre; Dar ma señ ge went to the cemetery bSil bs'tal<sup>175</sup> and dPal gyi rdo rje made the sun to wear the monastic tunic.

These are some of the measureless miracles they accomplished (by virtue of the) force derived from the mystical power they had obtained ...

That Yon c'en<sup>176</sup> rGyal ba skyabs had three wives; aBro ldog bza', De gu ma and aBro bza' Ye šes mts'o; the sons of the first were the precious *spyan śña*,<sup>177</sup> the dpon Sañs rgyas bskyabs and the dpon Šes rab rgyal; the son of the second was the dpon mGon po rgyal mts'an; of the third rGyal ba rin po c'e and the *bcu gñis pa gTer rgyab pa Rin c'en rdo rje*. (72 a) Of all these the precious *spyan śña* applied himself to the study and meditation of the holy words of the Victorious, (vast) as the ocean and particularly the law of the bKa' bryud and that which his father and grandfather had taught him, mastering the doctrines concerning mystical realizations. Then having pacified by his miracles Dor rta nag, who by the king of the East's command had accumulated terrific deeds, killing all who saw him and frightening those who heard of him, he acquired much merit with the Tibetans. After him came rGyal ba rin c'en,<sup>178</sup> who took monastic vows, assuming the name of Grags pa brtson agrus; having then gone to dBus, through the grace of the *spyan śña* he obtained the enlightenment of the identity of all things. Having acquired the highest virtues of scholars and ascetics, he wound round his tunic<sup>179</sup> a thunderbolt fallen from the sky. Great was the fame of his magical power, (which gained him the name of) Bodhisattva, the Conqueror of lightning. When he went back to his see, the kings of Siñ gha glin, Ti ra hu ti, Ya rtsé,<sup>180</sup> gave him numberless objects of all kinds, such as to vie with the gifts (offered by) rNam t'os sras. This was the time when this see of T'el bzañ<sup>181</sup> became famous in Tibet because it possessed sacred articles made out of all kinds of gems, to begin from the one known as Sog po rBad agyel.

Although, before the *spyan śña*, the members of this family had no diplomas at the Chinese court, in his times they depended from Hu la gu; but although sGom brtson lDan ma was *spyi dpon* and possessed the imperial diploma investing him with his authority, as he did not behave honestly, rGyal ba rin po c'e called the dpon rDo rje dpal dpon of rKañ b'zi<sup>182</sup> and conferred the office of myriarch upon him; he then went three times to the Emperor and founded twelve feuds:<sup>183</sup> P'o brañ sgan, (72 b) Ts'on adus brag k'a, sNeu gdon, sNa mo, Ha la sgañ, gLin smad in T'añ po c'e, the feud of P'yos, bKra šis gdon in Mon mk'ar, rGyal t'añ, Gri k'u in lCags rtsé, mC'od rten glin, C'ad dkar and his power grew greatly. They say that even the dPon used to wear an ascetic's



cap on his head and a threefold monastic tunic; as he appreciated venerable persons and acted according to the principles of religious and civil life, he was esteemed greatly by all; thanks to the great strength he displayed in curbing his dependants,<sup>184)</sup> all his subjects, in the dPon's presence, could not be arrogant.

What bSod nams grags pa says, namely that "in the times of the precious *bcu gñis pa*, (the family) obtained a diploma and on the fourth day of the month the dPon rDo rje rin c'en was appointed myriarch, etc.," is an error, presumably written without consulting the original scriptures...

The precious *bcu gñis pa* Rin c'en rdo rje was an incarnation of the precious *āGro mgon*<sup>185)</sup> and had endless virtues, both regarding religious instructions and mystical illumination. Having come to his see, praying to dGra nag, the lesser lotsāva of Pu rañs's<sup>186)</sup> protecting deity, he pacified a revolt of the Southern populations, he obtained omniscience from which nothing is precluded and he accomplished other marvellous deeds leading to salvation.

In his times the myriarch rDo rje dpal died and he conferred the myriarch's office on the latter's younger brother, gZon nu rgyal mts'an, who used to wear a hat made of bamboo and a Mongol dress and Mongol shoes on his feet; half the night he used to sing mundane songs and dance, half the day he slept. Passing his time in such a dissipated life he (73 a) greatly damaged the P'ag mo gru pa's prestige. After his death the *spyan sña* conferred the office to Rin rgyal, abbot of gSōn sde in Lho brag and asked for the diploma. After him, he appointed myriarch Byaṅ gZon of Yar ṅbrog, who through his predecessor's influence, became a slave to the same dissipated life. The dPon mGon po rgyal had four sons: Rin c'en šes rab, Grags pa ye šes, Grags pa rin c'en and Rin c'en skyabs... After the myriarch Byaṅ gZon, gZon nu yon tan occupied the myriarch's office for six years; but caring only for drink and women,<sup>187)</sup> the government derived no prestige from him. His younger brother Grags rin c'en was supreme for learning, wisdom and meditation; while living in his see, he received from Ti šri Grags 'od and from T'e mur bog<sup>188)</sup> the diploma with a tiger's head. To avoid that a myriarch should be appointed temporarily, he was jointly bla ma and dpon and he redeemed with his own money Do sñon, rGyul t'añ, sMon mk'ar, Sa ṅ'on, Byi c'uñ, Za ra t'o t'añ, lDiñ gsum gYu sriñ and other lands which had passed to Zon rgyal 'od, *du dben ka*, to the dPon c'en Legs dpal, to the ācārya Ācāra, to the dPon c'en A Blon and to the Sa skya pa; he acquired great merits as regards the P'ag mo gru myriarchy...

(73 b) The dPon Rin c'en skyabs had two wives: Žaṅ lcam and K'ti smon aBum skyid. From the first he had three sons: rGyal mts'an dpal bzañ, Grags pa rgyal mts'an and Grags pa bzañ po. From aBum skyid he had Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an appointed Tai si tu by the Chinese court, Grags pa šes rab and bSod nams bzañ po, namely six brothers, the sons of different mothers. Grags pa rgyal mts'an applied

himself greatly to learning, wisdom and meditation; he had, in a special manner, the revelation of the mystical doctrine of the mGon po and dwelt for a long time in the see. In his time the ācārya rGyal mts'an bzañ po went to the imperial court, but although he was a myriarch and also had the imperial decree with its seal,<sup>189)</sup> owing to his thoughtlessness there was not much order in the administration of civil and religious affairs.<sup>190)</sup> After him, although rGyal mts'an skyabs held the office of myriarch, his influence was scanty, he was held in slight esteem by everybody and the prestige of the P'ag mo gru government greatly decayed. After him the myriarch's office passed into the hands of the Tai si tu,<sup>191)</sup> alluded to in the prophecy contained in the *Pad ma t'añ yig*:<sup>192)</sup>

"In Yar kuṅ a king will be born, begotten by karmic maturation...

the boars (*p'ag*) will turn the earth up down and the Hor will eat the earth of K'ams and one hundred and eight fortresses will then be built,...

(74 a) He was born in the year water-tiger.<sup>193)</sup> When he was three years old he became proficient in reading and writing. At six, having heard the esoteric instructions concerning the C'os skyoñ Bya rog gdoñ c'en, he understood them thoroughly. At seven he took vows as a devout layman with the *spyan sña* C'os bži pa,<sup>194)</sup> and received the name of Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an; at nine he took monastic vows with the great abbot Ts'ul dar and the Ācārya of Pu rañs; having dedicated himself to the cult of bDe mc'og and of the mGon po, he obtained extraordinary signs of the realization he had attained. At fourteen,<sup>195)</sup> in the seventeenth day of the month Caitra (March-April) he prepared to go to Sa skya. In the first fortnight of the fourth month he departed from sNeu gdoñ, ... and subsequently arrived in Sa skya. The dpon c'en 'Od zer señ ge was impressed<sup>196)</sup> and said to the bDag c'en rin po c'e "if this nobleman of the P'ag gru family becomes a disciple, so much the better; if he does not become one, I propose that he should receive a charge<sup>197)</sup> among the officers depending from the bŽi t'og, ... Following these words he appointed him keeper of the seal (*dam gñer*).<sup>198)</sup> But as the bDag c'en po had a violent temper and was in the habit of suddenly using bad language to his *dam gñer* and house-stewards, he asked for leave and stayed there privately, without holding any office. In the year of the snake,<sup>199)</sup> while (the bDag c'en) was going to C'u mig for the spring religious ceremonies, among the persons of his retinue, among which were some holy friends (*kalyāṇamitra*) like the master of logic aJam dpal and the master of Tantric formulas Kun dbaṅ, with other assistants and the dPon c'en dBaṅ p'yug dpal, the dPon po of Sañ ye, the dPon po of bDe luñ pa, the dPon po of sTag luñ, he called the Si tu dPon po of P'ag gru, and thus the latter became greatly respected among all the other dpon po...<sup>200)</sup>

(75 a) Then, in the first month of the year of the horse,<sup>201)</sup> he went to Rin c'en sgañ, to the dpon c'en Rin

c'e señ ge; but having sickened with small-pox, he remained three or four months in Grag pa and in aJad. Then, about to start for dBus, he went to the bDag c'en rin po c'e to offer him the gifts of leave-taking, and then the learned and venerable lama and the Si tu shook hands and assured the lama that he would be the *mgo gñer* (guardian)<sup>202</sup> of the Si tu, and the Si tu that he would remain the lama's servant.

(75 b) Then, when he returned to dBus, the Emperor of China conferred upon him the myriarch's office, together with the third gem, the one with the tiger's head. In the eighth month of the year of the dog<sup>203</sup> rGyal mts'an skyabs was myriarch, but his authority was scanty as regards both religious and civil affairs; because, to take sGrol ma skyid away from him, he had killed rGyal dpal, who had thrice gone to visit the Emperor at the Chinese<sup>204</sup> court with the object of being entrusted with a mission, and had then spread abroad various slanders concerning the Si tu; hence when the great lama Kun blo<sup>205</sup> came to Sa skya from the Chinese court for the perfect ordination and the Si tu Rin c'en grags was granted the seal of a glorious *ju dben bun dpon* with penal jurisdiction, the Si tu went to meet him and had rGyal mts'an skyabs called to judgement and removed from his post. In the ninth month of the year of the dog, in the ninth day, the order was notified;<sup>206</sup> in the fourteenth day he took possession of sNeu gdoñ.<sup>207</sup> Although gZon nu 'od had been named by him administrator, he did not prove accurate (literally: "as he did not turn out after the fashion of a sieve,") in distinguishing friends from enemies, so he did not confer upon others<sup>208</sup> the exaction of tributes.

Then, in the year of the snake,<sup>209</sup> he appointed as administrator Hor gZon nu bzan po of aP'yoñ rgyas, a nephew of Ts'ul dar, the abbot from whom he had taken vows.

(76 a) Then he attended to land-reclaiming the feuds, in different regions; he planted trees, built a great bridge on the river's lower course; he enlarged the palace of sNeu gdoñ rtse, so that it seemed as if had transplanted the *Vajrayanta*<sup>210</sup> upon earth. Then, a short time later, much strife broke out with the chief of gYa' bzan. This gYa' bzan, as regards religion, belonged to the same spiritual descent as the P'ag gru pas, having had the same masters; but as to his temporal relations (with the Si tu) notwithstanding the fact that he had been obliged to submit to P'ag gru, who (in his turn) was under Hu la hu, he was carried away by the force of his karma, so that the example of him who "took a road opposite to the one followed by intelligent people, became a master of heretics, and followed the crazy systems of penances enforced by dBaṅ p'yug ,, became applicable to gYa' bzan. In fact several times he attacked P'ag gru with his soldiers; as the Ts'al pa who was in rGyab p'ugs and the dPon c'en were crafty and hostile, this time gYa' bzan prevailed. Nevertheless, as the root of discord was not yet cut off, there was fighting in Par t'an between gYa' and P'ag and P'ag gru was defeated. About thirteen notables were killed, beginning

from gZon 'od, and nearly all the others fled, with the exception of about fifteen men headed by gZon nu bzan po, together with the Si tu. Then the dpon c'en dBaṅ p'yug dpal called gYa' bzan and P'ag mo gru pa to be tried before him. But although P'ag gru was in the right, nevertheless gYa' bzan pa was victorious, owing to the dPon Kun rdor's double dealings. After a short time he was called by the dPon c'en dBaṅ brton to attend a festival in Dog lum pa, and in a deceitful manner they tried to induce to give up his seal with the tiger's head<sup>211</sup> and was kept in prison in Guñ t'an for nineteen days. (76 b) Nevertheless, as they say:

" the intelligent man, even when deceived,  
does not lose his head and seeks out what he can do;  
the ant, although eyesless,  
is swifter than other (insects) provided with eyes ..

As he was wise and brave, the dPon was not able to do him any wrong; so he escaped scot-free. Then when the Si tu Dar ma rgyal mts'an<sup>212</sup> came to make an inspection<sup>213</sup> upon the thirteen *C'ol k'a* and to pacify<sup>214</sup> the country outside mNa' ris, he was unable to bring him to judgement either in aDam or in the market of Gur mo; nevertheless when he came back to Yar kluns and, after his tour in mNa' ris, saw his documents, as the diplomas of investiture<sup>215</sup> of king Se c'en, the Si tu Dar rgyal was astonished.

Although the disagreement between gYa' (bzan) and P'ag (mo gru) had been settled, nevertheless Ts'ul aḅum 'od of gYa' bzan levied soldiers from E and gNal and passed through rDog po; they engaged in battle and P'ag gru was the victor; twenty persons were killed, beginning with dGra dags; gYa' bzan in aBras mo attacked the dpon gZon nu bzan po together with his followers, but the Si tu with his men delivered him and gYa' bzan's soldiers withdrew in flight. He then levied tributes from the convents and the feuds of gYa' bzan. Then, in Sa skya, the lama Kun spans pa and the dPon c'en rGyal bzan started ill-advised intrigues to kill the Si tu and to take tribute of sNeu gdoñ; but when, on account of the intimate relations between the Sa skya and the P'ag mo and above all in consideration that the Si tu had been one of the officials in the retinue of the bDag ñid c'en po bZan po dpal, it was calculated that all this might turn into an evidence against the dPon c'en, the dPon c'en came to dBus and (77 a) successively arrived in Yar kluns. The day following (his arrival) having been fixed as the one in which gYa' (bzan) and P'ag gru should have been called to judgement, the Si tu gave the following directions to his ministers, beginning from gZon nu bzan po: "To-morrow I and gYa' bzan will have to appear in judgement in the myriarch's presence; it is not unlikely that if the dPon c'en catches me, I will be flayed, nevertheless I recommend that sNeu gdoñ be not handed over .. Next day, although the Si tu was taken by the dPon c'en, as the letter had been burned,<sup>216</sup> the former could not take possession of get any reply. Then the dPon c'en besieged<sup>217</sup>

sNeu gdon, but all the dignitaries (of sNeu gdon) said that the *sde srid* was worth more than their own self (*žal no*), and they did not hand over (the city). Then the dPon c'en ordered that the Si tu should receive 135 blows,<sup>216)</sup> he put on his head a hat with a tail, like those prisoners wear, and had him led by the soldiers of Ts'al as far as sKyi nag, where he covered him with insults and otherwise violently persecuted him... In C'os rdoñ in Nug he remained a month and a half and in Ko spel one month. Then, while in Bo doñ judgement was being held,<sup>219)</sup> the dPon c'en dBañ brtson, with the diploma (investing him with office) arrived in mT'oñ smon;<sup>220)</sup> hence, while the dPon c'en rGyal could do nothing<sup>221)</sup> against the Si tu, the latter returned to dBus and induced the ministers who were in sNeu gdon, beginning from gŽon nu bzañ po, to desist from their purpose of becoming ascetics,<sup>222)</sup> until this contention should be settled. The dPon c'en dBañ brtson in the meantime had gathered the soldiers of the myriarchy and had arrived in Dog luñ pa, (77 b) but then the news came that the Si tu too had collected the contributions and the soldiers of his strongholds, and that in front of Byañ la, Lha btsun of K'rom po, with a hundred men of his retinue and the dPon c'en's soldiers together with Lha btsun of T'ug, had been reduced to the height of a hand (= had been killed). Next day gŽon nu bzañ po, having been appointed general, guiding the army<sup>223)</sup> of the P'ag gru myriarchy, arrived near Lhum in full daylight... The dPon c'en attacked the myriarchy's army which had arranged its wings in battle order; the battle began under Mon mk'ar and all the soldiers of the myriarchies of dBus and gTsañ commanded by the Sa skya pa were routed...

Beforehand, when the dPon c'en rGyal bzañ had arrested the Si tu, Hor gŽon nu bzañ strenuously<sup>224)</sup> resisted in the great palace; with his methods of attack, which put down revolt and overcome the intrigues of the thirteen myriarchies' armies, contrived by dBañ brtson of Na lam, he was like the root of the P'ag mo gru pa's prestige...

(78 a) Then the Si tu, having taken command of the army, took most of the land, fortresses and feuds of the South, like Gra p'yi, aP'yoñ rgyas, etc. and got rid, here and there, of all the causes of strife already existing, or that might develop. Then the holy Lama<sup>225)</sup> ordered the dPon c'en to gather the troops, and then, though there were various attempts to reach an agreement, the dPon c'en, letting others influence him, would not come to an agreement. The Si tu retaliated by taking Goñ dkar. Then, when the dPon c'en's army took the field, as many men were killed or imprisoned or drowned and much (unrest) of this kind followed, the Si tu became victorious. He took from rTa rnig the Lho abrug, included in gTsañ, outside K'a rag; then he met the dBen pa,<sup>226)</sup> as the latter had told him to go to the Chinese court or to send two men, as he preferred, conforming to this advice he sent dBañ p'yug and Ses rab rdo tje, who came back without injury. Thus he obtained

his diploma<sup>227)</sup> and the silver seal required for the conferment of a myriarchy's office. Then, as Kun rdo rje sgom pa of aBri guñ did not recognize the benefits he had received in various circumstances, much ill-feeling and many struggles followed between P'ag mo gru and aBri guñ. Above all it came to pass that aBri guñ pa, Nam grags pa and gYa' bzañ, having plotted together, attacked P'ag gru.

(78 b) He placed choice troops<sup>228)</sup> of the Upper sTod, commanded by gŽon nu bzañ po, to defend aBras mo; the Si tu in person, having levied a great army in Byañ k'ar, defeated the aBri guñ pa, hence gYa' bzañ too fled. While the P'ag mo gru soldiers were reaching gSañ mda', as the Ts'al pa and Nam grags<sup>229)</sup> had built a fortress on the K'ron pa ri and at gYu rse brag, (the Si tu), learning that aBum grags (xyl: p'rag) 'od of gYa' bzañ with the gÑal soldiers had reached Lhun po rtse, turned back.

A battle was engaged and aBum grags 'od was besieged in Lhun po rtse, with some nine hundred of his men. Then the gÑal soldiers who had arrived were killed and their arms and equipment taken. Then aBum grags 'od and all his dependants promised to submit and P'ag gru sent a rdoñ dpon into all the feuds of gÑal, like Sel mk'ar, etc. and established settlements there. On that occasion the Lord of the Law, the holy Lama, acted as a go-between,<sup>230)</sup> and a meeting was arranged between the Si tu and the dPon c'en rGyal bzañ, in Goñ dkar. In the very moment in which the dPon c'en was apologizing to the Si tu, Nam grags attacked mT'oñ smon in Sañs. The P'ag gru pa troops having departed to help the dPon c'en, under the *c'en po's*<sup>231)</sup> command, there was fighting in Lho k'ar of Šab c'u and the Nañ pa's<sup>232)</sup> army was defeated. Then, although the P'ag gru soldiers had decided to go to Sa skya, as the dPon c'en was induced by others to change his mind, the army went back. The dPon c'en having then gone to Sa skya, he was imprisoned by the lama Ti šri's two sons; then the Si tu sent (79 a) a great army to gTsañ and by various means, peaceful and violent, he had the dPon c'en delivered from prison and nearly all the land of gTsañ fell into his power. On his way back he ordered that the feud of Rin spuñs should be founded. Precisely at this time the various Sa skya hierarchs had been divided into four palaces; owing to the various internal discords which had cropped up, (Sa skya) political prestige<sup>233)</sup> ended by passing under the P'ag's domination; thus was fulfilled the prophecy which says "the earth (*sa*, i. e. allusion to Sa skya) will be internally mutilated and a boar will lay it waste. From Yar klunñ will appear a P'yag rdo tje's incarnation, ..." <sup>234)</sup>

Then the Emperor of China accorded to P'ag gru credentials<sup>235)</sup> as a Da ra k'a c'e and the title and seal of a Si tu. Next, as aBri guñ had gathered a large army against P'ag gru, the Si tu levied troops in Goñ dkar and arrived in Brag dkar; about that time an internal revolt had broken out in Sa skya and the lama Kun spañs had been killed. The Si tu set off for gTsañ to ascertain (the causes of) discord and

called for the dPon c'en rGyal bzañ;<sup>796)</sup> while the latter was coming to Lha rtse to confer with him, it is said that the dPon c'en dBañ brtson and the abbot Nam mk'a' ye šes gave him poison; others say that he drank a large quantity of alcohol; anyhow the dPon c'en died.

(79 b) Then the Si tu took the letters<sup>797)</sup> on which the dignitaries,<sup>798)</sup> beginning from the Sa skya, (founded their authority), and having come to Sa skya definitely to establish (law and order)<sup>799)</sup> in case there were dissent between (the powers those dignitaries had assumed) and those (specified in the) letters of investiture, he established the punishment (they would incur). About a hundred soldiers,<sup>799)</sup> were settled in the great temple with Rin c'en 'od at their head. According to the history of Sa skya, in this time marvellous signs appeared, due to the magical practices which the rDson c'un pa was performing against the Si tu with the excellence of his dhāraṇī and magical formulas. Then, after the Si tu had returned in dBus, he of Lha rtse and he of Byañ<sup>741)</sup> waged war; so to punish them, on the base of what had been established in the letters of investiture,<sup>742)</sup> he sent his army, commanded by the c'en po.<sup>743)</sup> When they got to sNi ts'ar, having heard that the dPon c'en dBañ brtson had besieged the great temple of Sa skya, the troops went from sNi ts'ar to Sa skya<sup>744)</sup> and many were killed in battle; the dPon c'en was captured and about four hundred persons were punished according to the law. Then the Ti šri Kun dga' rgyal mts'an,<sup>745)</sup> the ācārya bSod nams blo gros,<sup>746)</sup> the myriarch of Ts'al pa and others submitted to the Emperor false charges, saying that the Si tu had destroyed Sa skya with army and was persecuting the other myriarchs. For this reason, with the object of effacing any suspicion from the Emperor's mind, he sent the most honourable Šes rab bkra šis<sup>747)</sup> to His Majesty the Emperor with many gifts, beginning with a white lion's skin whose four paws were intact; so he obtained the imperial diploma, transmissible from generation to generation, and the imperial decree ...

(80 a) He founded thirteen fortresses at the points where the highways met, in the centre of the regions of dBus and gTsañ, as in Goñ dkar, T'ag dkar, sNeu, sTag rtse in 'Ol k'a, bSam agrub rtse, Lhun grub rtse, Rin spuñs etc.<sup>748)</sup> In his palace in sNeu gdoñ rtse he had three orders of royal doors, inner and outer. Beyond the inner doors the use of women and c'aiñ were forbidden; the Si tu lived according to monastic rules, taking no food at dawn and at sunset and he was like the gem *cintāmaṇi* on the diadem placed in the head of all the laymen and monks. Beforehand, although the glorious family of the Sa skya pa had taken possession not only of the kingdom of Tibet, but also of the kingdom of great Tibet,<sup>749)</sup> the princes of this family were drawn hither and thither by their desires, and the dPon c'en too, without any rule, were greatly infatuated; even Chinese customs were corrupted,<sup>750)</sup> as result of the cruelty of the Mongols. For this reason and because severity and condescension, perspective between noble and vile things and, above all, the justice of Mongol

laws, characterized by the fact that, if a man is slain, a life is sacrificed for his life, were all tainted by sin, the Tai Si tu wished to take as a fundamental law the judiciary system of the ancient, saintly Kings of Tibet, founded on the fourteen moral rules.<sup>751)</sup> So he arranged the laws under fifteen headings ...<sup>752)</sup>

(81 a) Then, regarding the school of the bKa' bryud pa of the Dvags po sect,<sup>753)</sup> with the purpose of renewing the school explaining the sūtra, whose tradition had been lost, he founded the great monastery of rTse t'añ...<sup>754)</sup>

(81 b) On his death he was succeeded by aJam dbyaṅs Gu šri c'en po,<sup>755)</sup> regarding whom it should be known that bSod nams bzañ po had two wives, Ni ru ma and Mañ ñam; the first bore this one (we are speaking about) and the bdag po, Sā kya rin pa; the second bore the dPon Rin c'en rdo rje. aJam dbyaṅs learnt to read and write from the lama Klu luñ grags pa and received the rules of laymen from the C'os bži Grags pa rgyal mts'an; being then ordained a monk by the ācārya g'Zon brtson, he took the name of Sā kya rgyal mts'an. As in his see he explained the *brTag gñis* and in rTse t'añ the four sections of the scriptures,<sup>756)</sup> he obtained fame as a wise man ... With the Lord of the Law the saintly lama he took complete vows; for thirteen years he protected the predication of the Law in Lhasa and the community of rTse t'añ.

After a short time, having again ascended his throne in the palace of sNeu gdoñ, the Emperor of the Mongols gave him the diploma of *Si tu* and *Tai si tu C'aiñ gu* and the office and seal of *Kva adin gu šri* and the diploma of investiture over three c'ol k'a of Tibet with all the people, so that he became the loftiest chief in the Tibetan realm of king sPu rgyal.<sup>757)</sup> When he got an army ready against some persons bribed<sup>758)</sup> by Kun dga' bkra šis, who had rebelled in gTsañ, owing to the power of the C'os skyon Bya ro gdoñ can,<sup>759)</sup> his soldiers went as far as gTsañ po without meeting with any obstacle. (82 a) Having turned back, he held a religions meeting, doing great honour for ten days to many ten thousand of monks gathered together, with the glorious saintly Lama at their head, and he obtained great prosperity for his subjects.

As to Rin c'en rdo rje, he had married Zin bkra šis skyid and Do brag ma Rin c'en ats'o; the first bore him rGyal sras Grags pa rin c'en and the Lord of the Law C'os bži pa.<sup>760)</sup> When the latter was a child, the great abbot Señ ge rgyal mts'an was invited (to meet him), who prophesied his future, saying he had seen a light issuing from the heart of the palace of the sMan bla and disappearing into his body. Having asked rGyal sras Grags rin for instructions concerning the *brTag gñis*, he applied himself to studying them thoroughly. He took vows as a devout layman with the *spyan sna* Grags šes rab<sup>761)</sup> and assumed the name of Grags pa byañ c'ub. Although aJam dbyaṅs gu šri ordered him to marry and to continue his line, he refused and took complete vows with the Lord of the Law, the glorious lama.<sup>762)</sup> Then dwelling in his see and assuming its supreme

dignity, through the vast and deep law he caused to mature (in goodness) many beings, capable of being converted due to their adequate karmic preparation. Having ascended the throne of sNeu gdon after the great Gu šri, he was proclaimed Bla dpon and held temporal and spiritual rule at the same time. The second Buddha of the corrupt times in which we live, bTson k'a pa, met him and felt an incomparable faith in him, which never fell short.<sup>263</sup> He composed a book on rhetoric, known by the name of *rTogs brjod dpag bsam lhun po*, deriving (its subjects) from the works of that prince of scholars who was Danđin.<sup>264</sup>

(82 b) His younger brother, the Lord of the Law bSod nams grags was the son of Do brag dpon mo; he took vows with the great abbot gZon dbaŋ... and complete vows with the great lotsava Byaŋ c'ub rse mo; later he ascended the throne of the palace.

The *Sa skyoŋ* Ša kya rin c'en married Zin rin c'en adsom...<sup>265</sup> who bore him the lord of men Grags pa rgyal mts'an, the honourable Byaŋ c'ub rdo rje, the *spyan śāa* dPal ldan bzaŋ po, the *spyan śāa* bSod nams rgyal mts'an,<sup>266</sup> the honourable Saŋs rgyas rgyal mts'an. Among all of them, the lord of men Grags pa rgyal mts'an, ... ordained as a monk by the abbot gZon dbaŋ po, heard completely the secret explanations of the Law with the *spyan śāa* Grags pa byaŋ c'ub, and then obtained the name of Grags pa rgyal mts'an dpal bzaŋ po ...

(83 b) His father, the *sa skyoŋ* Ša kya rin c'en, had obtained a decree of appointment from T'o gan T'i mur and therefore assumed power (lit. came to the palace), (84 a) as a myriarch. In T'o gan T'i mur's times Gru t'a la gru was sent to collect the tribute in a district of China. Having made an agreement with a Chinese official (on the way back), he had many carts made, he put into them soldiers below and gems and silk dresses on top, as if he was transporting tributes. When they arrived near the palace, the soldiers surrounded it; but the king went out from a secret door and Gru t'a la gru became master of everything.<sup>267</sup>

His son was Kyen cun,<sup>268</sup> and the latter's son was Yung lo ta min,<sup>269</sup> in whose times Grags pa rgyal mts'an received the golden seal, and also the rock crystal seal and the diploma conferring command upon him...<sup>270</sup> To the notables residing in the great rdson he gave the rock crystal seal and the hereditary diplomas<sup>271</sup> so that everyone noble and humble called him the saintly king, the Goŋ ma.<sup>272</sup> The Šar k'a pa of Nān stod Rab britan kun bzaŋ ap'ags pa<sup>273</sup> of rGyal mk'ar rse, who had the office of *gzims dpon* of these last two Goŋ ma, although his power had been increased by the grace of this regent, somewhat forgetful of benefits received, offended<sup>274</sup> the Goŋ ma; twice he levied<sup>275</sup> troops in Nān stod, while the Šar k'a pa of Nān stod was said to be an enemy of those of Yar kluŋs; nevertheless, remembering (the past), (the Goŋ ma) did not take tribute from rGyal mk'ar tse.

These events excepted, there was peace in dBus and gTsaŋ; as he did not wish to commit sinful deeds, like the use of armies, (84 b) while this saintly king's

sun of justice rose, those night-lotuses whose leaves are the hatreds of wicked men, amply spread out, through his strength, were closed.

Upon Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an of Rin spuŋs, a Minister able in managing the affairs of a heroic, wise and intrepid king, he conferred the offices of rdson dpon of Rin spuŋs and dpon c'en of the great temple of Sa skya,<sup>276</sup> and to Hor dPal abyor bzaŋ po of aP'yoŋ rgyas he gave the office of rdson dpon of bSam agrub rse and of commander in chief; then Nam mk'a' bzaŋ po of sNeu and Rin c'en dpal of Brag dkar made a name for themselves. The circle of his retinue was extremely numerous and consisted in men (versed) in civil and religious affairs, well-born, having virtue and power. He established the order of ornaments and dresses corresponding to the office they occupied and above all he distributed the special ornaments, after having founded the festival of the first day of the new year, called "time of precious ornaments,, and ordered, to give lustre to men's ears, the use of earrings wrought with gems, to be worn always...<sup>277</sup>

As to what is contained in the history of the Lord of the Law bSod nams grags pa, namely the insertion of Šes rab bkra śis of Brag dkar<sup>278</sup> among the Ministers of this saintly king, it must be noticed that Šes rab bkra śis when he went, in the Goŋ ma T'ai si tu's times, to the Chinese court to ask for the imperial edict, he had reached the gate of his forty-seven years, and that between the Si tu rin po c'e and this Goŋ ma some generations intervene; therefore to speak in this connection of Šes rab bkra śis has no sense. (85 a) Thus also, Nam mk'a' rgyal po of Rin spuŋs being the son of Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an, by quoting him before Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an, he (behaves) like a blind man walking alone; this is one of the many subjects (to be found in his writings) differing from what all the others say ...

His younger brother Saŋs rgyas rgyal mts'an married a Rin spuŋs princess,<sup>279</sup> who bore him two sons: Grags pa abyuŋ gnas and Kun dga' legs. As to Grags pa abyuŋ gnas, ... after the great and saintly king's death, being very young and the Ministers not being of the same mind as to whether the father or the son should succeed him on the throne of the palace, the *spyan śāa* bSod nams rgyal mts'an, whose advice had been asked for, (85 b) ordered that the son should be named and it was done accordingly. But after the *spyan śāa*'s death, as the father wished to occupy the throne himself with the pretext that his son's accession was unjust, a revolt broke out in Yar kluŋs: the father, the C'e sa<sup>280</sup> (of T'el monastery) together with his disciples, resolved to go to Yar rgyab ... Then the Emperor of China, aJam dbyaŋs Goŋ ma Kyen t'ai<sup>281</sup> gave him a diploma investing him with power and he was then proclaimed dBaŋ grags pa abyuŋ gnas. Although the two sees of T'el and rTses t'aŋ were not neglected, he preached his most important sermons within the palace... He had the C'e sa<sup>282</sup> come from Yar rgyab to rTse t'aŋ, he pacified the internal strife which had troubled the chiefs, hence their minds (again) were in harmony.

To watch over the Northern frontiers,<sup>289</sup> he built the stronghold of 'U yug gliñ dkar. Nor bu bzañ po of Rin spuñs and Hor dKon cog rin c'en of aP'yoñ rgyas, disciples of the saintly king, in the times of this Goñ ma, were Ministers of Justice.

His younger brother Kun dga' legs pa, having studied the sacred scriptures thoroughly (86 a) went to the see of rTse t'an and married a Rin spuñs princess, who bore him Rin c'en rdo rje dbañ gyi rgyal po; the Emperor of China C'en han<sup>284</sup> gave him the diploma of dBañ ...

Then, as the Goñ ma, the fourth pillar,<sup>285</sup> and the latter's brother, listened to all what people said to them serious disagreement broke out between he and his wife.<sup>286</sup> The sde pas of Yar, of Goñ, of Bya<sup>287</sup> and of bSam sided with the princess, those of sNeu, 'Ol and dGa'<sup>288</sup> with the Goñ ma and so extremely troubled times followed. Nevertheless, as he of aP'yoñ rgyas rDo rje ts'e brtan had sided with neither party, he brought about a reconciliation. And since this had increased internal peace, there was obedience to the sde srid. After his wife's death, mTs'o skyes rdo rje of Rin spuñs took mK'ar c'og. All this is related according as it is written in the *Deb t'er sñon po*. "Then the bDag po Kun dga' legs pa and the C'e sa Sañs rgyas rgyal mts'an held counsel; in the tenth day of the eleventh month of the year wood/dog, the precious Lord of the Law Nag dbañ po, who was sixteen years old, was invited to occupy the abbatial throne...<sup>289</sup> In the interval the see of T'el had remained empty; some say that the *spyan sña* Nag gi dbañ, who dwelt there again, had for his father the C'os lña Rin po c'e<sup>290</sup> Grags pa abyun gnas and other deny this, because the precious C'os lña kept his monastic vows all his life... Also *spyan sña* Nag gi dbañ succeeded (literally: came) as *spyan sña* of the great see (T'el). Meanwhile, owing to the appointment<sup>291</sup> of the Goñ ma, much internal discord had developed; then, in the course of time, when peace was restored (between them), Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuñs led the gTsañ armies against dBus and took some feuds, which were the dependencies<sup>292</sup> of the feud of sNeu. The *spyan sña* was invited to return to the royal palace<sup>293</sup> on the Ministers' advice: dPal abyor rgyal po of sNeu, Rin c'en rgyal po of Yar rgyab, bKra šis dar rgyas of Byar, having at their head mTs'o skyes pa of Rin spuñs and Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuñs and Hor Ts'e dbañ rnam rgyal of aP'yoñ rgyas, together with his brother Hor Rin c'en. A short time later, the Žal no and the Goñ ma<sup>294</sup> having died, no one remained to continue the divine rLañs family, except the *spyan sña*...<sup>295</sup> Therefore the Ministers, (87 a) insistently begged the *spyan sña*<sup>296</sup> Goñ ma and offered to him in marriage the daughter of rDsoñ k'a pa and obtained that the good ancestral rules should shine like the moon in the fortnight of its increase.

A son was born, famous under the name of Nag dban bkra šis; after a short time, the *spyan sña* being about to die, as his son was still a child, he was greatly grieved, owing to the strong attachment he felt for

him. Then the *spyan sña* C'os kyi grags accepted to assume the burden (of the office of) *spyan sña* of T'el, until the heir<sup>297</sup> should be grown up and to occupy the office of sDe srid, with authority to issue orders and confer offices,<sup>298</sup> together with the Ministers, counsellors and superiors of T'el and rTse t'an.

Meanwhile, according to the wishes of some and without taking counsel with the other ministers, mTs'o skyes rdo rje of Rin spuñs had contrived to be appointed as a regent;<sup>299</sup> but as other sDe dpon did not want him, a revolt broke out. Nevertheless, as aP'yoñ rgyas, inclined to the maintenance of the office of sDe srid was extremely resolute,<sup>300</sup> the disturbances did not assume vast proportions.

Then the Emperor of China gave the *spyan sña* the diploma of dBañ; but after the *spyan sña*'s death the ambassadors left all their gifts with the treasurer and went back. Then the ministers, headed by him of Rin spuñs and him of aP'yoñ rgyas, having held a counsel, placed on the palace throne Nag dban bkra šis grags, of the precious lineage... (87 b) In his times it came to pass, as it had been said in the prophecy: "A man bearing the great name of Grags abyun will take sNe gdoñ, and by nine men like poisonous serpents the P'ag will be deceived like a hare...<sup>301</sup>

Nag dbañ rNam rgyal of Rin spuñs, leading his army against E and gNal, offended the Goñ ma. Then the fourth Žva dmar<sup>302</sup> said to him: "This regent of P'ag mo gru loves the whole realm in general, the governors of provinces in particular, but in a special manner he loves you of Rin spuñs, therefore we must be cautious... But his wish was not considered..."

At that time the Emperor of China gave him the title and diploma of dBañ and then on the mirror of all the three worlds shone the dance of the name of Žabs druñ, Goñ ma c'en po, dPal nag gi dban p'yug bKra šis grags pa rgyal mts'an, victor over all the points of space, *kwa din gu šri bo van*. A short time later he of Rin spuñs, with his sinful mind, practicing austerities but following the works of Māra, (89 a) instigated a rebellion: however as when the Asura, envying the power of the Gods,<sup>303</sup> took up arms against them, and through the power of the celestials' merits only the name of those fiends was left, thus also the sDe srid's prestige<sup>304</sup> prevailed. Nevertheless, Žva dmar C'os grags pa having interfered, he of Rin spuñs, who had been in prison three years, was freed, but he caused another revolt to break out.

While he was marching towards rGyal mk'ar rtse, a great army of the Goñ ma led by him of aP'yoñ rgyas and by Rin c'en rgyal mc'og,<sup>305</sup> advanced on Nañ stod. The general of dGa' ldan, bSod nams rgyal po, leading the troops of sKyid and of aP'an, marched on Sañs, and in an instant the accumulated fruits of that cause which could not be eliminated ripened, namely the revolt of the subjects of the feud of Rin spuñs. That vain and ambitious man was left like him who wanted to beat his head against the mountain; he was reduced to such straits that he no longer knew what to do; anyhow he asked that the lands of rGyal rtse and bsNams, which he had



lost, should be given back to him, and apologizing to the Court he begged the office of rdoñ dpon be conferred upon him, making many promises that in the future he would renounce any unlawful plan. Nevertheless, due to the times, as the merits of created beings were scanty and the power of the fruits of fiendish acts (derived from) minds perverted by evil were difficult to repress, he of Rin spuñs, the chief with his Ministers, caused a new great revolt to break out, but the sDe srid's prestige suffered no harm ...

(88 b) In his times, although there were internal rebellions, instigated by him of Rin spuñs, by the dPon and by the ministers, in his court a numerous and very important retinue of ministers and officials is recorded, like Nag dbañ rNam rgyal of Rin spuñs, who had the rank of Minister of the external seal,<sup>306</sup> and his son Don grub rse brtan rdo rje, and Hor Rin c'en rgyal mc'og of aP'yoñ rgyas, together with his brother and his son Hor bSod nams mgon po, with his two brothers and the latter's son Hor bSod nams dar rgyas and aJam dpal ts'e rin rgyal po of Brag dkar and Rin c'en bkra šis of Yar rgyab and bSod nams rgyal po of dGa' ldan and Nor bu bkra šis of Bya.

This Goñ ma married a daughter of him of Rin spuñs and had two sons, the Goñ ma aGro bai mgon po and the *spyān śāa* Grags abyuñ pa. The Goñ ma aGro bai mgon po, having gone to Goñ dkar, married the princess<sup>307</sup> of aP'yoñ rtse, who (89 a) bore him the Žabs druñ Nag dbañ grags pa, who, on the Goñ ma's death, made in the palace Goñ ri dkar a reliquary studded with gems, to contain his relics. The *spyān śāa* Grags abyuñ pa then went in the T'el residence. Since he was not well, he particularly insisted on a prayer for being in excellent condition. He was specially efficient in the evocation of the cycle of gSed, Ma mgon and Bya gdoñ can. When the *sde pa* of 'Ol k'a was preparing intrigues in order to provoke a revolt in the fiels depending on the monastery of T'el, seeing that there was a good omen in the fact that the omniscient bSod nams rgya mts'o resided in 'Ol k'a, he went to rGyal; a short time after the *sde pa* fell and died; the people of T'el say that when he fell a raven appeared in the sky and took him off his hand, which, they say, can even now be seen in the mGon k'añ of T'el. When the Žabs druñ Nag dbañ Grags pa dwelt in Goñ dkar, as in the palace of (sNeu gdoñ) rtse there was a brother of his from a different mother, a slanderous rumor<sup>308</sup> spread abroad that dPon sa aP'yoñ rtse ma had not properly provided for the appointment (of a successor). Those of Rin spuñs and he of dGa' ldan began to equip an army against (sNeu gdoñ) rtse at the service of Žabs druñ Nag dbañ grags; then although there was no sign<sup>309</sup> that Hor bSod nams dar rgyas and the other ministers were inclined to resort to arms, nevertheless the Goñ ma c'en po remained there until he of bKra šis rtse was elected Nañ blon; then, as the Goñ ma did not wish the palace of sNeu gdoñ rtse to be besieged, he came to 'On rgyal bzañ and invited the Žabs druñ nag grags to occupy the throne.

(89 b) Nevertheless Padma dkar po,<sup>310</sup> the incarnation of aBrug pa, says that he explained the motives<sup>311</sup> of his conduct to all the *sde dpon*; anyhow, the Goñ ma, without delay, went back to the palace. When the Žabs druñ Nag dbañ grags was in Goñ dkar and preparations were made for the siege an ordinance of the Goñ ma reached him in which it was said "Goñ dkar is the junction between dBus and gTsañ and if it is not in our hands great damage will come to Tibet; therefore the fort should not resist ... This ordinance came into the hands of the besieged and all were happy and peace was made.

This Žabs druñ Nag dbañ grags pa performed innumerable good works, both in the civil and in the religious field. He was particularly a devotee both of the dGe lugs pa and of the aBrug pa and heard (from them) many holy teachings. As his thoughts had been purified, because he was bound to the omniscient bSod nams rgya mts'o by the links which pass between a chaplain and a giver of oblations, similar to those uniting the moon to the sun, the Chinese Emperor's court was constantly sending offerings to Goñ dkar.

The great Goñ ma's sons, the Zur pa etc., dwelt on the throne of the palace of sNeu gdoñ, but owing to the activity of nine brothers,<sup>312</sup> fiendish men of dBus and gTsañ, the demons of revolt repeatedly broke out. During the rebellion, in the years of the mouse and of the ox,<sup>313</sup> there was a great change. The Žabs druñ Nag dbañ had two sons: bKa' brgyud rNam par rgyal and rNam rgyal grags pa...

The eldest son's son was the invincible bSod nams dbañ p'yug grags pa nram rgyal dpal, now living in the palace of sNeu gdoñ.<sup>314</sup>

## RIN SPUÑS

Now, among those who guided the great chariot of the Goñ ma sde srid's government, let us begin from him of Rin spuñs.<sup>315</sup> (The lineage) begins with dPal ldan legs 'od of sGer, descended from a son of Ma sañs, in the times of the king of Tibet Śa k'ri bzañ po, whose name was K'ar k'ye 'u. Of the three branches descended from him, up to the twenty-fifth generation, namely P'yi sger, Nañ sger and Grub t'ob kyi sger, (90 b) Ral pa aḍsin of Nañ, brought with him from the country of Gru gu<sup>316</sup> in seven boats merchandise of turquoises. By virtue of a magic formula, having conquered a demon who bore on his gory body five heads and from which a thunderbold voice issued, he acquired fame as a most powerful person and behaved like Pad ma pa ñi, turned into a lord of men. He became *nañ blon* of Sroñ btsan sgam po; after him Zla ba rgyal mts'an, who possessed a great talent, became *C'os blon* of the mNa' bdag K'ri sroñ lde btsan: these offices were held (by him and his descendants) up to the end of the twentieth generation. sGer Śā kya aḅum's son, named Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an, was a contemporary of the Goñ ma sde srid dbañ grags pa rgyal mts'an, who appointed him

rdsoñ dpon of the Rin spuñs feud and myriarch of C'u mig and dPon c'en of the great Sa skya temple. His son was Nam mk'a' rgyal po... The latter's son Nor bu bzañ po, a contemporary of the Goñ ma, received from the latter a myriarch's diploma and the investiture over the rdsoñ which his grandfather and his father had received before him.

Employing an army, he took the rdsoñ of rTa gyag and vanquished many petty kings like that of lCag t'ag mgo sbrel, and he was appointed rdsoñ dpon of bSam agrub rtse, in Nān smad... Then he founded the monastery of Roñ byams c'en,<sup>317</sup> and on the sides of the (91 a) old monastery of Brag dmar he built over one hundred cells...<sup>318</sup> What the Lord of the Law bSod nams grags pa states, namely that the Lord of the Law Nor c'en po is believed to have told Nor bzañ of Rin spuñs to prevent the lord dGe ḍun grub from founding the monastery, is a false account written according to an unverified tradition. While the all-knowing dGe ḍun grub was founding the monastery of bKra šis lhun po, the rdsoñ dpon of bSam agrub rtse was Hor dPal ḅyör bzañ po of ḅP'yoñ rgyas; that dGe ḍun's main patron was precisely the latter, is clearly stated in the genealogy of bSod nams rnam par rgyal mts'an of Byams pa gliñ in Yar rgyab, who is known to have been not a scholar in name only, but a pañḍita in the full meaning of this word.

The sons of Nor bzañ of Rin spuñs were: Upa-sika, Kun bzañ po, Don grub rdo rje, mTs'o skyes rdo rje and Sā kya rgyal mts'an; the first of these five died young.

Kun bzañ po met dBañ Grags pa ḅyüñ gnas and his brother, from whom he received the diplomas and the charges conferred upon his grandfather and his father; he was appointed rdsoñ dpon of Rin spuñs. He was bound by the relation of donor to master with the all-knowing Sañs rgyas ḅel of the Sa skya pa school and with bSod nams señ ge of Go rams; he founded the school for the explanation of sacred texts in sKyed mos ts'al in ḅBras yul and provided what was necessary to build the monastery T'ub brtan rnam rgyal in rTa nag. Don grub rdo rje received the office of rdsoñ dpon of the feud of bSam agrub rtse. (91 b) Ma sañs<sup>319</sup> mTs'o skyes rdo rje took the rdsoñ of mK'ar t'og in Yar klunñ and after the death of the *spyān śāa* dPal Nāg gi dbañ p'yug, as the heir was a child, he was entrusted the regency of sNeu gdoñ.<sup>320</sup> While Sā kya rgyal mts'an resided in a feud belonging to the rdsoñ of Nān k'og, the bDag po of rGyal mk'ar rtse became known for his skill in hostile deeds of violence, etc.<sup>321</sup>

Kun bzañ po had two sons: rDo rje rtse brtan and Don yod rdo rje. The latter, exalted by the office (he had received, of ruling) two great rdsoñ, leading his army against Nor ḅsñ in dBus, wrested from the authority of sNel the feuds of Brag dkar and Lhun po rtse of C'u šul.<sup>322</sup> A little later he invited the *spyān śāa* Nāg gi dbañ p'yug, subservient to the advice of his other Ministers like those of ḅP'yoñ rgyas, to take possession of the throne of sNeu gdoñ. Having led several military expeditions against the

regions of La stod and Lho, he was always victorious. A short time after the *spyān śāa*, the Goñ ma also died; until the precious heir<sup>323</sup> had grown to such an age that he was qualified to become his successor... as someone changed his mind, he led the army into sKyid šod, but his troops, due to adverse circumstances, were twice beaten back from the great see of dGa' ldan rNam par rgyal gliñ, inasmuch as that prince of scholars and ascetics, the all-knowing sMon lam dpal ba, had recourse to the rite of the great offering to the six-armed mGon po. Then, after (92 a) the news of the all-knowing sMon lam dpal ba's death came, he took up arms once more, and as the prince Nam mk'a' rgyal po of dGa' ldan<sup>324</sup> and other vassals<sup>325</sup> had caused still more violent trouble, he took tribute from the feud of sNeu. Nevertheless, having supported the opinion of the other Ministers, who thought that the great Goñ ma should be put on the sNeu gdoñ throne, he dressed himself in meekness, on the advice of Žva dmar C'os kyi grags pa, with whom his relations were those of patron to master. He furnished the materials needed to found the temple of Yañs pa can, with the nearby monastery. According to the advice of the honourable Lord C'os grags rgya mts'o, he founded a convent near Lha ldan, but due to hindrances caused by the force of his karma's fruits, (this monastery) lacking the power to resist, did not last long.

The son of mTs'o skyes rdo rje Nāg dbañ rnam rgyal, met the *spyān śāa*, the Goñ ma, who conferred upon him the office of rdsoñ dpon...; but as he led his troops against E and gNal, hurting the feelings of the great Goñ ma by his haughtiness, since he did not preserve the pure principles of equitable hierarchy between a lord and his subjects, the rdsoñ and feuds of sNeu,<sup>326</sup> etc. slipped out of his hands and his power was substantially reduced. Nevertheless Señ ge rtse ba in the region of gTsañ and La stod and Lho and other localities remained subject to him...

He had three sons (92 b) the eldest of whom died young; the second, Don grub ts'e brtan rdo rje took possession, which had not been taken in his fathers' and grandfather's time, of the rdsoñ of Lhun grub rtse in sNams, with all its dependencies; according to the words of the honourable lord, Mi bskyod rdo rje, he founded the gSun rab gliñ monastery and in the blama bKra šis dpal bzañ's school he learnt the mystical instruction of the (*Vajra*)*yānaśikhara*.<sup>327</sup> The youngest son Nāg dbañ ḅjigs grags... composed several treatises, representing the best that has been written on rhetoric, to begin with the one entitled "*Dañ ḅii ḅgoñs rgyan ḅjigs med señ gei rgyud kyi űa ro ...*". He was excellent as regards both religious and temporal affairs; but this was the time when the prophecy was to be realized that "the boats will be counfounded by the hare...". Žin gšag rebelled and his son Pad ma dkar po was killed. "This was the time when in the Rin c'en spuñs there will be strife...". Towards the end of his life, his power to a large extent slipped from his hands. The issue of his son Zla ba bzañ po lasts to this day.

As for Hor gZon nu bzañ po, the Goñ ma's minister, they say that he belongs to the royal family of Za hor.<sup>340</sup> In the city of Siñ t'abs can, king Siñ rta bcu pa had as his son the saint Mya ñan med,<sup>340</sup> who by virtue of his truthfut word built one million mc'od rten.

His son was King Dsa; (93 a) through the power of his vow, a rain of books (revealed by) rDo rje sems dpa', fell on his palace; but the *Za ma tog* was carried off by the wind and fell on Yom bu gla sgañ's palace, and was called "the secret demon", of King Lha t'o t'o ri sñan žal.<sup>340</sup> His son was Indrabodhi,<sup>341</sup> king of Zahor who, although he had obtained two books by P'yag na rdo rje's grace, was unable to understand their symbolic meaning; but having invited the ascetic Ku ku rā dsa pa,<sup>342</sup> he was made spiritually mature (for their understanding). He had a daughter: Go ma de vi and a son Śa kra<sup>343</sup> who realized the condition of the vidyādhara. The latter's son was king gTsong lag ḍsin, who was inspired<sup>344</sup> by the deep Law and instructions of the great master.<sup>345</sup> He had three children: Dharmarāja, the great abbot Ži ba t'so and princess Man da ra vā...<sup>346</sup> the first of whom ruled over his father's kingdom and had three sons: Dhar ma pā la, Śā kya de va and Ma hā de va. When in Tibet the great ācārya<sup>347</sup> enjoined the "five-crested nāga",<sup>348</sup> to be the keeper of the bSam yas temple, built by king K'ri sroñ lde btsan, (that Nāga) said: "This is not fitting for me, but in the kingdom of Za hor there is a descendant of the Nāga in the dMu family; he is called king Hu,<sup>349</sup> in a single day he can walk as far as a vulture in eighteen days, in pursuit, of any (stolen) property, were it (as small as) a needle. This is the one who must be appointed (keeper of bSam yas) ... He (the ācārya) then evoked rNam sras of the blue lion and the eight knights and caused them to disappear into the flags<sup>340</sup> on which their figures were painted; then he made his camp in Gyer ma t'añ in K'ams.

(93 b) The great ācārya then called Pe dkar by the force of his meditation. He came for the first time to Tibet, but as there were exceedingly great calamities, the abbot, the master and the saintly king<sup>341</sup> again despatched messengers to Za hor; they brought back king Dhar ma pā la and a statue of Śākyamuni, made of turquoise, miraculously wrought, and a leather with the image of a face and a rock-crystal lion as a mount; then, Pe dkar having mounted a wooden bird decorated with many gems, all the fiends came into Tibet; but as the ācārya placed the vajra on the top of his head, they promised to protect the Law. Even today, when the god takes possession of the king,<sup>341</sup> the imprint of the vajra appears on his head. Here two stories seem to coincide:<sup>343</sup> the one of *rNam sras sprin gseb ma*<sup>344</sup> and the story of Pe dkar's tribulations (*ar gñad*).<sup>345</sup>

Dhar ma pā la became the master of king K'ri sroñ lde'u btsan and obtained in the dPal c'u bo ri the intuitions of the deep experiences of the supreme

vehicle. He married P'o yoñ bza'<sup>346</sup> of the race of the mK'a' agro ma and had two sons: dPal gyi rdo rje and Rin c'en rdo rje. The youngest went to India and became proficient in learning, reflection and meditation; in the city of Si tā, without abandoning his body, he passed away flying into the sky. dPal gyi rdo rje married a wife of the Pa ts'ab race and had three sons: rDo rje grags, Rin cen grags and C'os kyi grags. The youngest was ordained as a monk; the son of the eldest... was Zla ba grags pa; the latter's son Rig pa señ ge; the latter's sons: Śā kya blo gros, Yon tan blo gros, and Grags pa ye šes, who went to Yar klunz, which is the centre of the land of gYon ru. The eldest resided in gYu srid smon mk'ar, near K'ra ḅbrug in gYon ru. (94 a) The second son was the master of gNam lde 'od sruñ<sup>347</sup> and founded mK'ar t'og; the youngest dwelt in a temple in the region, ruled by his (wife) Lha sman Jo mo;<sup>348</sup> some say that it was the temple of Byes. Yon tan blo gros had two sons: rDo rje gsal ba and rDo rje rin c'en; in their time their clients, descended from the great clans of rGya, Śar ga bya, rNog k'u and dBus dgar, increased; the son of the eldest was Ye šes rdo rje, who married K'u mo skyid of Nam mk'a' ri, in gYo ru and having had but one daughter of her, he gave mK'ar t'og and gCag gnas to rGya; hence the palace took the name of rGya mk'ar t'og. Rin c'en rdo rje was called by king dPal ḅ'or btsan, who said to him that<sup>349</sup> P'u luñ had not been conquered even by exorcists as famous as "the seven of gTsañ", nor by Nan lam rgya mts'o,<sup>350</sup> and offered him a golden staff,<sup>351</sup> two cubits long. A ceremony in the master's honour<sup>352</sup> having been performed, the gods and demons of P'u luñ were conquered and he founded there the monastery of sTegs k'a mo; he married mC'il mo and had two sons: rDo rje grags and rDo rje ḅar. The father and both sons went to Hor pa sar<sup>353</sup> and founded a palace called sGañ k'a spel; according to the Indian custom he allotted K'añ p'yi ma<sup>354</sup> to his eldest son; hence this son was known by the name of K'añ pa p'yi ma; to rDo rje ḅar he allotted Klu sdiñs; hence this son was known as lCañ ldu; the two brothers, after having learnt geomancy from Kun dga' ba of gYu srid, went away (each to his own see). The name conferred on their father after he had taken complete vows was rDo rje rgyal po. rDo rje ḅar's son was Hor Da dar, who was a great lord of the power of secret yoga. The king of the Mongols Se c'en, having heard him spoken about, sent ambassadors to him and invited him to court; nevertheless he (94 b) by skilful means converted him but did not go (to him). Of his two sons, namely Hor bKra šis ḅum dar and the great scholar Ts'ul dar ba, the latter learned the rules of *pratimokṣa* from the *spyān śā*, the precious *bcu gñis pa* of the lineage of the glorious rLañs; he heard from him many deep doctrines of the precious bKa' brgyud pa school, he became a lama and was called the diadem of the *spyān śā* Grags pa šes rab and of the Tai si tu Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an. Hor bKra šis ḅum had two sons: gZon nu bzañ po and bKra šis bsam grub, who met the Goñ ma Si tu;

the eldest especially occupied many offices, from tea-pourer<sup>353</sup> to councillor. When the Si tu was taken prisoner by the dPon c'en rGyal bzañ pa, although he was under the menace of the besieging (enemy)<sup>356</sup> he strenuously resisted in sNeu gdon rtse; then, when the dPon c'en dBaṅ brtson led the army gathered from the thirteen myriarchies against Yar kluñs, but was overthrown like a butterfly plunging into the cosmic fire, by humiliating<sup>357</sup> the dPon c'en of Sa skya, who had gone mad from presuming on his own power, he was almost the root from which the prestige of the sDe srid P'ag mo gru pa took shape. On that occasion the Si tu said that gZon nu was the heart and all the others were as the limbs. Moreover if the country from Sa skya in the extreme limits of gTsañ, up to lower aJañ,<sup>358</sup> together with Lho mon<sup>359</sup> were conquered, this was through gZon nu bzañ po's merit.

The sons of his younger brother bKra bsam grub were: gZon nu rgyal mts'an, Kun dga' dpal bzañ, Nam mk'a' rin c'en, dBaṅ p'yug rin c'en, who met the precious *spyān sñā* and the Goñ ma, the Si tu, and according to the aims (95 a) of the Goñ ma, acted as ministers of the kingdom. Kun dga' dpal bzañ had four sons: dPal aḅyor bzañ po, bSod nams dpal ldan, Sañs rgyas skyabs, dKon cog rin cen; dPal aḅyor bzañ po met the C'os bži gzar ma and received the office of rdson dpon of bSam aḅrub rtse in lower Nāñ; later he was made a general...<sup>360</sup> He had relations with the all-knowing dGe aḅdun grub, being joined to him by the links of patron to master,<sup>361</sup> and he had faith in the teachings of that second Buddha who was Tsoñ k'a pa... His three younger brothers met the protector of the earth Grags pa rgyal mts'an; particularly Nāñ so dKon mc'og rin cen was the *mañ blon* who caused endless civil and religious affairs to prosper... and he founded bTsan rdson of sTag rtse, which is pleasant as a heavenly city descended upon earth. In that time, his progeny being in danger,<sup>362</sup> he invited the Lord of the Law Legs pa rgyal mts'an of Ža lu from the great see of rINam par rgyal bai gliñ in dGa' ldan. Having accomplished the ceremony of the multiplication of the race according to gSed dmar's<sup>363</sup> propitiatory method, Hor rDo rje ts'e brtan was born...

(95 b) Hor rDo rje ts'e brtan having met dBaṅ Grags pa aḅyuñ gnas and his brother he became minister of Justice; then on the flanks of the mountain of sTag rtse, resembling an elephant, he built the temple of Ri bo bde can and placed there all the images, with the necessary objects for worship. Having invited bSod nams rnam par rgyal ba of Byam pa gliñ, most learned in the five sciences,<sup>364</sup> a descendant of T'on mi sam bho ta and Mi p'am dga' ba's spiritual preceptor, he had him perform the consecration... The sons of these brothers<sup>365</sup> were: Ts'e dbaṅ rnam rgyal and Rin c'en rgyal mc'og; the eldest became learned in the 18 sciences and in the 64 arts.<sup>366</sup> As to Rin c'en rgyal... he became the first of the ministers most dear to the great Goñ ma. In the diploma with the seal<sup>367</sup> of the great Goñ ma,<sup>368</sup> it was said: "You have been sent to

examine the state of things concerning the pacification of dBus and gTsañ, and now for everything that is to be done there, great or small, there is nothing better than asking you: deal with every important decision... In this manner the king elected him<sup>369</sup> Prime Minister.

(96 a) In the feud of Stoñ btsan he invited Žva dmar C'os kyi grags and applied to the government<sup>370</sup> for the necessary contributions for the Yañs pa cen monastery such as the abbatial feuds assigned for regular religious services.<sup>371</sup> Having acted as a peacemaker<sup>372</sup> between dBus and gTsañ, he received as a reward<sup>373</sup> Gram pa šar and rMad in sTod luñ...

His sons were: bSod nams mgon po, Ts'e dbaṅ bkra šis, Rin cen ts'e brtan; the eldest, being in the Goñ ma's good graces, was appointed general; he gave dPal aḅyor lhun po in sKyid šod to T'ab skyoñ as a gift. The second brother was a prince of the fearless heroes and being expert in the art of war as king Rā ma he became chief of a fourfold (army): the third brother was like the image of the antelope of science in the moon of discernment. All these brothers had as their wife Don yod sgröl ma, the daughter of bKra šis dar rgyas of Bya, who bore two sons: Hor bSod nams dar rgyas<sup>374</sup> and Don grub rdo rje. The eldest perfected the study of the common sciences with the lotsāva of dPal k'añ<sup>375</sup> and invited the all-knowing bSod nams rgya mts'o...

(96 b) The second married Ts'e dbaṅ rgyal mo, the sister of bKra šis rab brtan, prince of dGa' ldan, who bore three sons: bSod nams stobs kyi rgyal po, Ts'e dbaṅ bsod nams bstan aḅsin and Kar ma Nag dbaṅ Grags pa, the eldest of whom... submitted the rdson of T'ob rgyal lha rtse, together with its dependencies, and trusting to the advice of Šes rab 'od zer ti šri, the discoverer of hidden books, an incarnation of the ācārya Vairocana's spirit,<sup>376</sup> who belonged to the mystical tradition of mTs'o skyes rdo rje, the all-knowing of the three times, he founded on mount dPal gyi ri the T'eg mc'og sgrub pai aḅus sde; he had the *Prajñāpāramitā* in three hundred stanzas, the *Šel brag gi r'añ yig*<sup>377</sup> and the *Sems nīd nāl gso*,<sup>378</sup> printed and did much honour to the all-knowing, the incarnated, Nag dbaṅ Nor bu the aBrug pa...<sup>379</sup> Having invited the Lord of the Law Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an Šar pa<sup>380</sup> of the great see of Ri bo dga' ldan, who knew the five sciences so that nothing remained obscure to him, he restored pure conduct in the monastery of Ri bo bde c'en, in which the monks could no longer be distinguished from those sects whose members are in the habit of marrying.<sup>381</sup> The second showed a marvellous devotion generally towards religion and specially towards the king of the Law Tsoñ k'a pa: the third was an open eye of learning in the science of astrology.

(97 a) These brothers took to wife Don grub, daughter of prince Byams pa rab brtan, of the divine lineage of 'Od gsal and they had two sons: Nag gi dbaṅ po bSod nams grags pa aḅjig rten dga' bai rgyan and Lhai dbaṅ p'yug, besides a daughter.

(97 b) As regards the most honourable Grags pa bzañ po, the Tai si tu's minister, he was descended from the lineage of Tiñ adsin bzañ po of Nañ, prince of ascetics, a disciple of the Abbot and of the Master in the saintly king K'ri sroñ ldeu btsan's times. In the Eastern part of bTsan t'añ Nañ grags pa bzañ po was born; he took service with the Goñ ma Tai si tu who appointed him rdson dpon of the rdson of sTag rtse in 'Ol k'a; his sons were bTsan t'añ sGom grags and sGom še, who took to wife bkra šis skyid mo,<sup>383)</sup> the daughter of mGo nag of Yar kluñs, from whom they had three sons, the most honourable Šes rab bkra šis, Kun grags pa and Kun dbañ pa; the second of them was the prefect of the rdson of sTag rtse in 'Ol k'a; the youngest studied in rTses t'añ, Šes rab bkra šis took service with the Goñ ma. As the lama of Sa skya, Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, the Ts'al pa and he of gYa' bzañ and others accused him (the Goñ ma) falsely to the king of the Mongols, Šes rab bkra šis,<sup>384)</sup> to prove the purity of his intentions, taking no thought for his own life, went to T'o gan T'i mur's court, and having been able in justifying the former's conduct, obtained the imperial diploma, useful for the present and in the future; judging that it would have served the *sde srid*, (the Emperor) gave him a diploma in which it was said: "I invest you, Šes rab bkra šis (98 a) and all the descendants of your family, with the feud of Brag dkar, ... He had two sons: the honourable Rin cen dpal and another who became a monk; the eldest was invested by the saintly king, the Goñ ma, with the office of rdson dpon and was one of the main patrons of the gallant bTsoñ k'a pa, and at various times gave offerings for the construction of Ri bo dga' ldan. He married Sañs rgyas ma, of the family of aP'yoñ rgyas; she bore him Rin cen lhun po, Lhun grub pa, Grags pa rgyal mts'an, dNos grub, Kun dga' adsom pa. The eldest was invested by the Goñ ma with the office of rdson dpon, and was one of the main munificent donors of Ri bo dga' ldan. The second received the office of *gsol dpon* of the Goñ ma. The third was ordained as a monk, and became proficient in the sacred scriptures; he lived in his see, the T'eg c'en gliñ in Se ra. The fourth received the office of *gsol dpon* with the C'e sa Sañs rgyas rgyal mts'an and the fifth was invested by the Goñ ma Kun dga' legs pa with the office of rdson dpon. All these brothers took to wife Lha mo c'os skyoñ, daughter of the feudal vassal of Rin spuñs, from whom they had two sons: the Nañ so dKon mc'og pa and Sri c'od rgyal po. The eldest was ordained as a monk; the youngest was invested by the C'os gñis rin po c'e with the office of rdson dpon and he learned the holy law with Kun dga' bde legs of gNas riññ and with the Lord of the Law sMon lam dpal.<sup>385)</sup> The latter married Bu k'rid, the daughter of the prince of rGya ma, who bore six children: the Nañ so aJam dpal ts'e riñ; bDud adul rgyal po, Ma žig pa, bSod nams rgyal po and two daughters; aJam dpal married Ts'e riñ dpal ajom of

the Yar rgyab family, from whom he had a son, (98 b), Ts'e brtan rdo rje, who was invested with the office of rdson dpon and held the government (of his land).

## sNEL

As regards the feud of sNel pa, the C'en po Rin cen bzañ took service with the Goñ ma Si tu, and when war was waged against Sa skya, as the soldiers of the P'ag gru myriarchy said: the C'en po<sup>386)</sup> must be honoured, the Si tu appointed him vice-dpon. At that time he had great successes,<sup>387)</sup> like the capture of the dPon c'en etc. and brought into dBus the extraordinary riches of all kinds (given by the Emperor) when the Sa skya lamas and the Hor kings were bound by the relations between chaplain and patron; he, for the space of thirteen days, tried in court the rebels,<sup>388)</sup> headed by the dpon c'en and about five hundred persons, placed on the criminal lists,<sup>389)</sup> groaned and trembled because of the violent manner of applying the law.

In sGam po groñ he held the office of commander of the feud's stronghold and founded sGer gru in Bya sa; he had three wives, bDe skyid, the daughter of the Yon bdag Blo bde, K'ams mo and dPon mo dpal ldan abum. The first bore rGyal ba rin c'en and the honourable Nam mk'a' bzañ po; the second dPon šag pa; the third dPal ldan c'os skyoñ and bSod nams bzañ po. dPal ldan c'os skyoñ was for some time rdson dpon of bSam agrub rtse in Nañ smad; the most venerable dPon Grags pa met the Goñ ma: the *spyian sha* Grags pa byañ c'ub<sup>390)</sup> and rGyal mts'an bzañ po of rDsoñ p'yi, taking counsel with their generals and ministers, conferred upon him the office of rdson dpon of sNeu rdson. When the army led by the abbot of Pa sde and by the devout layman of rTse t'añ, the saintly king's younger brother who had rebelled against Goñ dkar, reached mTs'o sna gdoñ, the dPon Grags pa, having assumed command, defeated them in battle and threw upon the road of death nearly sixty men, beginning from the abbot of Pa sde.

(99 a) He then led the army against sToñ pa aJam dpal and in gNa' gnan he founded the feud of sMon mk'ar;...<sup>391)</sup> the most honourable Nam mk'a' bzañ po, by the Gon ma's order, was made rdson dpon of sNeu and had Tsoñ k'a pa and his disciples as his principal masters... He married lCam Rin cen sgrol ma, who bore Nam mk'a' dpal abyor, invested by the Goñ ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an with the office of rdson dpon...

(99 b) The dPon Grags pa married a princess of Ts'al and his son was the most honourable Grags pa dpal bzañ, who took service with the Goñ ma Grags abyun, and was successively the administrator of the garrison<sup>392)</sup> of sTag sna, judge and *gsol dpon*; he married sKal bzañ ma of rGyal mk'ar rtse; nevertheless on account of some difficulties he was ordained as a monk; then having turned into Hor a the Emperor of China gave him the office of *du dben* š; <sup>393)</sup>

and conferred upon him the office of dpon of aT'en ts'ad in Byan sgra t'ag; having inflicted a severe defeat<sup>394)</sup> on him of Rin spuñs in mDso ri, he obtained great fame as a hero. His son was the most honourable dPal abyor rgyal po, who received from dBaṅ Grags abyuñ gnas and his brother<sup>395)</sup> the office of rdsoñ dpon... As his power increased greatly, it is said that he issued passports for the territory beginning below rDo t'am of aBri guñ, as far as the region above rDo bug pa can in K'a rag up to K'ra abrug in Yar klun̄s. His sons were Nag dbaṅ dSod nams rgyal po, Nag dbaṅ bSod nam lhun po and Nag dbaṅ bSod nams rnam rgyal; the first of them died young. In the times of the other two, owing to Don yod tdo rje of Rin spuñs' army, their power vanished.

### RGYAL MK'AR RTSE

As regards the clan of rGyal mk'ar rtse, it was descended from dGra rgod ldan btsan, in upper K'ams. He wore a coat made out of a hundred tiger-skins, he took away the red bear's claws and he was the son-in-law of Ge sar, king of K'rom.

(100 a) The son of the Yon bdag aBum ñeg was the ācārya Nam mk'a' byaṅ c'ub, who obtained the mystical realizations according to the adamantyne Vehicle of the esoteric doctrines; his son was the ācārya Nam mk'a' lhun grub; the latter's son the ācārya Nam mk'a' bzaṅ po, who had three sons: brTson aḡrus rdo rje, Grags pa brtson aḡrus and gZon nu aḡ'ags pa; the eldest was consecrated as a monk in sNar t'añ; the youngest was Ti śri Grags 'od pa's secretary. The son of the second, rGyal mts'an, was very proficient in writing and drawing. He copied (lit. composed) some sections of the sacred scriptures.<sup>396)</sup> Between him and the Lord of the Law Kar ma pa<sup>397)</sup> relations were friendly... He married Lha gcig Lha sman, who bore three sons: dPal ldan bzaṅ po, dPal ldan rin cen, Ma zañs dar po. On the road to sNon mo luñ riñs in Lhan yul,<sup>398)</sup> a district West of aDul c'uñ<sup>399)</sup> river in Nañ stod, they met aḡ'ags pa rgyal, of the lCags pa<sup>400)</sup> clan, and they asked him to give them a name. He baptized the two elder ones, respectively by the names of aḡ'ags pa dpal bzaṅ po and aḡ'ags pa rin c'en;<sup>401)</sup> aḡ'ags pa dpal bzaṅ occupied a post with the glorious Sa skya pa, consisting in composing, writing and reckoning. From Sa skya he received the insignia<sup>402)</sup> and the diploma<sup>403)</sup> of rgan po<sup>404)</sup> to subdue Sar duñ and Lho duñ and of valiant archer; then he assumed the office of assistant to the bZi t'og. Having sent the *ba śi da ra k'a c'e*<sup>405)</sup> to the Emperor in the East, the latter gave him a diploma, conferring upon him<sup>406)</sup> the territories from aBri mts'ams up to Gañs dkar po;<sup>407)</sup> while he was going to the Goñ ma Si tu, the ācārya rNam rgyal, Ses rab bzaṅ, Ba śis dKon mc'og, who encamped<sup>408)</sup> in Rin spuñs, (100 b) led him to Grva Ts'oñ aḡus; but he managed to escape and returned; then the Hor Emperor gave him the diploma of a Nañ c'en. He founded the rdsoñ of rTse c'en and

P'ag ri rnam rgyal and laid the foundations of the rGyal rtse and sNa bo rdsoñ palaces in the same day. He also founded the fortress of K'yuñ, and others besides.<sup>409)</sup> He also built the rTse c'en temple. Although the dDag c'en aḡ'ags dpal had many sons, among others, he had, from his wife Ma gcig dPal mo, the Nañ c'en Kun dga' aḡ'ags pa, who had several sons and daughters, like the dPon mo mgon po etc. Among these was the bDag c'en Rab brtan kun bzaṅ aḡ'ags pa, who went to the Goñ ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an in the palace of sNeu gdoñ. The Goñ ma having said to the bdag c'en Rab brtan to take the one of the sacred objects of the three kinds,<sup>410)</sup> to be found in sNeu gdoñ and in dGa' ldan, which he liked best, he asked for the small image of the Lord of ascetics, seated in vajrāsana, which became famous under the name of "great spirit,"<sup>411)</sup> and is to be found to this day in the Li ma k'añ in rGyal rtse. Having gone back to gTsañ, in Gtogs po rgya rtsa, he put to flight the army of Nam mk'a' rgyal po of Rin spuñs, thus acquiring much prestige. Being linked with mK'as grub rje<sup>412)</sup> by the relations uniting a donor to a master, he founded the great monastery of dPal aḡ'or c'o's bde c'en with the monks' residence.<sup>413)</sup>

(101 a) His son was Rab brtan bkra śis aḡ'ags.<sup>414)</sup> Beginning from the latter's son Don grub aḡ'ags pa, up to the bDag po P'un sum (ts'ogs) pa (the family's) power lasted; but in the meantime some calamities befell, due to the vicissitudes of the times, and when they were elected rgyab gñer<sup>415)</sup> by the Goñ ma the sDe srid they committed several errors.

### 'OL K'A<sup>416)</sup>

As regards the sde pa of 'Ol k'a, the most honourable bKra śis rgyal mts'an received from the sde srid Goñ ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an the office of rdsoñ dpon; he then became the main donor for the construction of the temple of Ni ma gliñ, undertaken by the Lord of the Law bZaṅ skyon.

During the first part of his life he ruled according to the Law and had the sacred scriptures of the teachings of the Tathāgata copied, which had already been translated in Tibet,<sup>417)</sup> causing them to be written with a precious liquid; then with the son of the noble lineage,<sup>418)</sup> who had grown in years, and with the Lord of the Law, the rGyal ts'ab, he learnt the base of all the doctrines, which is the *pratimokṣa*, and was called by all the virtuous 'Ol k'a. After him came Nor bzaṅ pa and rGya mts'o, two brothers who governed when the Goñ ma c'en po conferred upon the sde pa rGya mts'o the office of a general; it is said that he possessed a valiant capacity for putting down revolts.<sup>419)</sup> Then Don yod rnam rgyal rdo rje...<sup>420)</sup>

(101 b) Then, when his son P'un ts'ogs rab brtan died, the lineage of these princes did not last long and became identified with that of the princes whose progeny was descended from 'Od gsal lha.



## YAR RGYAB

As regards the family of Yar rgyab, it is well known that there was a minister of the saintly king Sroñ btsan sgam po, who was called T'on mi sam bho ṭa,<sup>429</sup> who was an incarnation of aJam dbyañs. As, before him, the use of letters was unknown in Tibet, he was like a great chariot who arranged the fifty letters of India in the thirty letters of the Tibetan alphabet; that family was derived from him. Some say that "bhoṭa," is not correct, and prefer *sambhadra*; but *sambhoṭa* is to be found in the *Za ma tog*, a book on grammar, written by C'os skyoñ bzañ<sup>430</sup> po of Za lu, the lotsāva and corrector who has no rival in the knowledge of the divine language, rightly used in this land of snows. (In that book) it is said "the supreme master of Tibet, the most famous Sambhota," The son of this great minister was Mahāsattva, and his son was Ye nag; his son was Ni ma kloñ gsal, his son was Ber nag can, his son was Mon mo, his son was gTso bo lha sras; these occupied about one hundred years. The son of the last one was bSod nams rgyal po, his son was rGyal po dga', his son rTa mgrin rgyal mts'an; his son rDor rje bkra śis. The latter, in glorious Sa skya, met the Ti śri Kun blo<sup>431</sup> and was sent by him (102 a) to the Hor Emperor who conferred upon him the weighty office of *du dben śa*. His son was the dPon bži adsom, who was invested by the Goñ ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an with the office of rdoñ dpon of the feud of Goñ dkar. His son was rGyal ba śes rab, his son was the dpon c'en Gral lña, to whom, in the first part of his life, the Goñ ma Grags pa aḅyūñ gnas conferred the office of dpon c'en of Yar rgyab and of rdoñ dpon of Goñ dkar; nevertheless, being an incarnation of extraordinary quality, in the second part of his life was ordained as a monk and founded the great monastery of the esoteric doctrines in Goñ dkar, known as Goñ dkar rdo rje gdan. His post of dpon was taken by his son and the family's power was much increased, up to the *sde pa* rNam rgyal and his brother.

## BYA BA<sup>434</sup>

As regards the myriarch of Bya ba (it is related) that on one side of the territory of Ma yul, in the lower part of Yar klunš, many brothers having been born from the descendant of the king of birds gSog bzañ and from aDab bzañ, they were called Bya...<sup>435</sup>

In that place the youngest of the two brothers, Bya C'os kyi ka ba and T'od pa gyui smin ma can had two sons: the abbot Yon tan mc'og and Bya Śa ka. The eldest of the two was ordained as a monk with aBriñ sde; from E he took Klogs; from Byar, Śar mda'; from Dvags po, Grom mda'; from gNal, Srin mo mig.

Bya Śa ka's sons were: rDo rje legs and rDo rje dbañ p'yug, who having gone in the gNal region, founded there the castle of rGya mts'o gron. The youngest brother's son was the lama Bya Nag c'en

po Rin cen 'od, who having met the Kashmiri pañḍita, asked him (to be initiated into) the twelve maṅḍalas of the Tantras of the *caryātantra*<sup>436</sup> class and then (102 b) frequenting many lamas like rGyal ba T'og rdugs pa,<sup>437</sup> sKyo 'od aḅyūñ, aJad rTa mig pa, etc., he profited as to learning, reflection and meditation.

As he was extremely experienced in meditation on the C'os skyoñ and on his own protecting deity, which was sPu gri<sup>438</sup> with his two acolytes, the temple of Yañ rtse also shared his fame. When he founded this temple, the miracle of the three gigantic animals took place: a tiger, an ape and a weasel.<sup>439</sup> The tiger's and the weasel's stuffed carcasses are said to be among the "spyan gzigs,"<sup>440</sup> in the mGon k'añ of Yañ rtse. If it had been possible to kill the ape, the cause of those evils which tormented dBus and gTsañ in general, and the Southern region in particular, would have been pacified. But by virtue of the karma of created beings, that ape fled and later became very powerful.

He had four sons in the religious sense:<sup>431</sup> in lower Byar, Ts'al sgom c'os la dga'; in Lo ro, Rab dga' ba c'en po; in Dvags po, Rab ts'o ras pa and in gTsañ, 'U yug pa c'en po; he had four monasteries: C'os grva gron mk'ar in gNal, Se po in E, Nags mo 'od in Dvags po, rGya mts'o blug gañ in Bya. His son according to the flesh was Bya Jo sras; the latter's son was mNa' bdag, his sons were dGe loñ pa, Bya Rin c'en and C'os rgyal dpal bzañ. The former's sons were Rin cen dpal, dBañ p'yug rin cen, Rin cen bzañ po and Dvags po pa, who founded several feuds in Dvags po, gNal and Lo ro. Bya Rin cen, having levied troops<sup>433</sup> in E, gNal, Byañ, Dvags po, Lo ro and beaten back the Hor's army, was invested by all with the office of dpon.<sup>433</sup> His son Kun dga' rin c'en met the dPon c'en of Sa skya Kun dga' bzañ po. Bya C'os rgyal dpal bzañ po went to the Protector of the World, aP'ags pa and having chosen as his master the Śar pa, Kun bsod, he perfected himself in the study of three Tantras, together with their esoteric formulas...

(103 a) His sons were Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, mK'añ c'en sPyil bu pa, mNa' bdag C'os señ 'od and Bya T'ub dpal. The first of them went to the dPon c'en 'Od zer señ ge and asked him to be sent to aDam; in his time it also came to pass that (the family) obtained the administration of Gya in rTeu ra. As mNa' bdag C'os señ ge 'od was aBri guñ pa's nephew, aBri guñ appointed him dpon of Byar and Dvags. His son, the great abbot Ts'ul k'rims bzañ po, was abbot of Zañs mo c'en; then he returned to the dignity of myriarch of Yañ rtse. His son was dKon mc'og bzañ po; the latter's son bKra śis dpal bzañ, went as a disciple to rTse t'añ and was named a professor (*bḅad ston*); later the Goñ ma, *de srid* Grags pa rgyal mts'an invested him with the office of myriarch. His sons were rGyal mts'an bkra śis, Śa kya dpal mgon and T'ub pa rgyal mts'an; the first went to sNeu gdoñ, belonged to the Goñ ma de srid's retinue and was invested with the office of myriarch of Bya. His sons were Bya bKra śis dar rgyas, Pad ma rta mc'og rgyal po, Bya Ts'e dbañ rgyal po, sKal

bzañ c'os kyi rgya mts'o, Bya Nor bu rgya mts'o and Sā kya dpal mgon. The youngest, having been ordained a monk with the great abbot Yon tan dban p'yug, reached great excellence in learning, reflection and meditation and became abbot of Zañs mo c'e; sKal bzañ c'os kyi rgya mts'o composed many books like the *mDsad pa ak'rul med* (103 b) and was celebrated as extremely learned in the sacred scriptures. Bya bKra śis dar rgyas was appointed myriarch of rTse t'añ in the country of Lho by rDo rje rin cen dban gyi rgyal po, dPon of rTse t'añ.<sup>434</sup> Then the Goñ ma Nag gi dbañ p'yug, from sNeu gdoñ, offered him rich gifts to celebrate his investiture.<sup>435</sup> He was the most famous of the princes of Bya who received the office of myriarch. He felt great devotion for the Lord of the Law Kar ma pa, honourable lord C'os grags rgya mts'o. He married rDo rje dgos dkar mo, who bore two sons: Bya Nor bu bkra śis and Grags pa rgyal mts'an. He is the same concerning whom, according to some, it was foretold in rDo rje gliñ pa's Prophecies:

"gNal luñ pa will be conquered by a king, and an incarnation of sPyan ras gzigs will descend there as king .."

Of the two brothers, aJam dbyañs c'os grags, who was an incarnation of aBrug pa, in the first part of his life acted as governor of the State, with his parents' consent.

His sons were bsTan aḍsin nor bu and mTs'o skyes rdo rje. The latter's sons were Goñ ma c'en po Mi p'am Ts'e dbañ and the general sTag rdo rje whose sons were Kar ma Ts'e dbañ grags pa and Gañs dkar mam rgyal.

#### DGA' LDAN

As regards the general of dGa' ldan, bSod nams rGyal po, he was descended from Mi c'uñ Don rgyal, residing in Yar p'yogs gliñ, in sKyid śod, who was in the service of Tre hos dGa' bde bzañ po, the one who was myriarch of Ts'al pa and a descendent of mGar clan, king Stroñ btsan sgam po's minister. Later, as the times changed,<sup>436</sup> he became officer for sNel pa, a feud depending from the rdoñ dpon of P'ag mo gru pa; and having been invested with the office of mi dpon of Ñañ bran dGa' ldan, he took the name of dGa' ldan pa.

(104 a) He had three sons, bSod nams rgyal po, dBañ dar and rNam sras; the eldest was very dear to dPal aḅyor rgyal po of sNel and therefore having become known by the name of dByi nag bsod rgyal, he obtained (from him) the diploma investing him with the territories beyond sNa gdoñ in Lo sgreñ, beginning with Klan ka and P'ud rjes, belonging to (the chief) of Byañ P'yi c'os luñ and to the Nañ so of Yañ dgon. His second brother was the bDag po of Bon grol in sNams. When the younger was in the rdoñ of aBroñ ri sñon, owing to the fact that the catapults<sup>437</sup> were out of order, surrendered the fortress when the Rin spuñs armies besieged it.

Then he resided in Ts'al where he had built a castle. The son of dByi nag bSod rgyal and of his brothers<sup>438</sup> was the Nañ so Nam mk'a' rgyal po, who in the meantime took Luñ po rse of C'u śol.<sup>439</sup> Nevertheless, when internal disturbances<sup>440</sup> troubled sNel pa and the Rin spuñs troops reached sNe t'añ, C'u śol held out.

Nam mk'a' rgyal po's sons were: Ts'e brtan rgyal po and bSod nams; the eldest was ordained as a monk. As to his younger brother, since he was not in good terms with the lord of sNel and his brother, when Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuñs brought his troops to sKyid śod, he joined<sup>441</sup> the troops siding with Rin spuñs so that sNeu and Po ta fell into the hands of Rin spuñs; as a reward he was given diploma investing him with the lands beyond rÑiñ k'uñ, as far as C'u so k'a of sNe mda'.<sup>442</sup>

After a short time, when the troops of the sDe srid Goñ ma c'en po reached gZuñ po ra, Rin cen bkra śis of Yar rgyab having come to an agreement, he of dGa' and he of Śag offered the Goñ ma their services; the latter then gave him of Śag the office of ru dpon of sKyor mo luñ and of gYas ru in sKyid śod; to him of dGa' ldan he gave the office of rdoñ dpon of the territories North and South of the river, included in bDe c'en, and to him of Yar rgyab the office of rdoñ dpon of sNeu gdoñ. Having passed into the Goñ ma's service, (104 b) he was elected minister of Justice in the sKyid śod luñ territory, having at its head that *vajrāsana* of Tibet which is the temple of aP'rul snañ; the decree of his appointment was made valid by applying the rock-crystal seal.

The latter's son was Ra nu lha bsrūñ; while the Goñ ma was in C'u śol, the Rin spuñs troops, which were about to attack the palace, were put to flight, particularly thanks to him; therefore the prince<sup>443</sup> gave him the title of general bSod nams rgyal po.

When the descendance of Byi ri stag rse came to an end, the dGa' ldan pa and altogether six children, male and female were born; two of them died young. Ts'e dbañ rgyal mo became the wife of Hor bSod pa or aP'yoñ rgyas and Duñ dkar became the wife of the sde srid; the fourth was the Nañ so Don grub rgyal po, who was invested by the Goñ ma with the office of rdoñ dpon. After a short time, when internal strife arose in the sde srid's family,<sup>444</sup> he marched with the dGa' ldan troops against rDsoñ dmar in sKyor mo luñ and conquered many a rdoñ in sTod lun and in aP'an yul. Having become the mainstay<sup>445</sup> of the army, which blamed (the adverse party's conduct, beginning with) the sovereign and up to the abbot of C'u śol, he came to C'u śol and paid homage to the Žabs druñ of Goñ dkar Nag dbañ grags pa, who had gone to sit on the throne of his palace. The sixth was the sde pa bkra śis rab brtan; when Yar rgyab lost favour with the prince, he sent the sKyid śod troops against Lho k'a, passed into the sDe srid's service and thus became rdoñ dpon of the feud of Brag dkar. When in the castle sGrub mc'od gliñ of rNam rgyal sgañ, in Lower sKyid, the Southern armies i. e. those of sNe gdoñ, Yar rgyab etc. met this

sDe pa, bKra šis, being elected chief, fell upon them and (105 a) succeeded in beating back, after having annihilated them, the troops of rGyal bzañ in Lho brag, Dvags po and Koñ po; through the fame of heroism displayed against his enemies, he humbled the king of the ogres Daśagrīva of Lañkā. Then he made, in the dÑul gduñ rin po c'e of dGa' ldan the ornaments on the doors and the golden pinnacle in the temple of aP'rul snañ; he also founded the school for the explanation of the sacred scriptures according to the system of Rig pai dbañ p'yug C'os kyi grags pa in Rin cen sgañ. Through the moonlight these good works, the lotus garden of his good karma greatly prospered; he put himself into the hands of Lhai btsun pa bSod nams dpal bzañ po, lofty through the many virtues of his family, and the prince of the learned, the Sar pa Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an and other such like Ti šri and he honoured them greatly. His son was the sDe pa gYul rgyal nor bu, who was most excellent in religious and civil affairs; his sons were bSod nams rnam rgyal, Yid bžin nor bu and the Lord of the Law; the two eldest ones, from their wife who was the sister of the Goñ ma of rTse (r'añ) had three sons: mGon po rab brtan, rDo rje rnam rgyal and the Lord of the Law mTs'o skyes rdo rje...

#### LHA RGYA RI

(105 b) As regards the prince of Lha rgya ri, he was lord upon the earth, without awaiting decrees and diplomas from the sovereign. His lineage is derived from the six gTsañ ts'a brothers, 'Od skyid a-bar's sons; the latter was descended from 'Ol lde, one of the three sons of K'ri bKra šis brtegs, offspring of the mNa' bdag dPal a'k'or btsan, son of the immaculate gNam lde 'od sruñ.<sup>446)</sup> Under the residence of T'el, in the times of the glorious P'ag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po, lived an officer<sup>447)</sup> named C'ad po Ts'a ba roñ pa. Later the Nan so of mDa' smad, at C'u ts'an k'a žabs, in Upper E, on a pass where grass grew abundantly, founded a feud called rGya ri; here, in progress of time, there was a succession of princes from Lha c'os kyi bšes gñen, until Lha dgra las rnam rgyal settled in rGya ri rdsoñ; he was in the relation of a patron to dGe a'dun rgya mts'o and established the custom of the great offering at the beginning of the year in rGya ri lcoğ mk'ar. Lha dgra las, having arrived in E c'en ri sgo, (106 a) saw in that place many signs of good omen; the men of the region offered him each a measure of barley; he became the lord of the land and bKra šis c'os rdsoñ of Ri sgo was the centre of his palace. After Lha ajig rten dbañ p'yug ascended the throne, the two brothers Lha byams pa rab brtan and Lha yul a'k'or dbañ p'yug were born; in their time, according to the incarnate of bDe c'en gliñ's words:

"Within E a lake of blood will boil thrice,  
and a king will be born, who will be called Byams pa  
and the teachings of this king will spread,,

the family's power grew. Particularly Lha yul a'k'or conquered, with all its dependencies, bTsan rdsoñ, and sTag rts'e of 'Ol k'a which was like the city of Lañkā, descended upon earth from the celestial regions. Then, of Lha bsod nams rab brtan and of the other two brothers, bSod nams rab brtan ascended the throne.

In the neighbourhood of C'ad dkar rdsoñ the latter founded a monastery and managed religious and temporal affairs equally. Then, Lha dga' ldan dpal a-bar having ascended the throne, the latter was extremely respectful of Buddhist teachings in general, and particularly of the doctrine of the king of the Law, the great Tsoñ k'a pa. Having vanquished in Rog pa rtsa, in such a manner that only their name remained, certain indomitable people only intent on putting into practice the advice which might lead to their ruin, he put on the heroic helmet of the victorious, with a courage which feared no taint from cutting off the gory heads, hands and (limbs of his enemies). After him the throne was occupied by the saintly king Blo bzañ mt'u stobs; moved by great compassion, he caused revolt to subside. Nevertheless there were some rebellions, abutting into wars, because coventousness had reached the necks of some persons, descended from apes,<sup>448)</sup> overcome by the violent waves of their own wicked deeds; (106 b) but bSod nams rab brtan, who had assumed the function of a dispenser of justice, and others too, in different manners, now peaceful and now violent, suppressed them. This great lord showed extreme moral energy in all good deeds, and he profited particularly in the deep practice of esoteric doctrines. After him Lha Nag dbañ p'yug dGa' ldan rab tu brtan pa mi agyur rnam par rgyal ba ascended the throne; the splendour of his perfect power prospered without hindrance...

#### CONCLUSION

This Tibet, country of snows,<sup>449)</sup> and the great Tibet, all of it, by the order of aJam dbyams Goñ ma Se c'en gan, the great king invested from heaven,<sup>450)</sup> was offered to the glorious Sa skya pa, and they (the Mongol Emperors and the Sa skya pa) like the sun and the moon in the sky, jointly, were known the former as patrons and the latter as chaplains; then as the seventieth year since this had happened approached, that Brahmā on earth who was the Tai si tu Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an whose army's merits had since long eliminated every possibility of being vanquished by anybody, took possession of Tibet in all its vast extension, and for a long time only the white umbrella of the law of the glorious sDe srid P'ag mo gru spread over his subjects, precisely in the manner related above.

(107 a) Nevertheless, after the žabs druñ Goñ ma passed away,<sup>451)</sup> the name of P'ag gru did not run at the same pace as the reality of things, and this was the precise moment of the appearance of a king who sprang up suddenly (Glo bur rgyal po), as it is found in the prophecy of T'ugs rje c'en po pad ma dbañ

p'yug (brought to light) by the discoverer of secret texts of aP'reñ mgo Ses rab 'od zer...<sup>453)</sup>

(107 b) When Zin (gSags),<sup>453)</sup> Rin spuñs's Minister, was rdson dpon of bSam agrub rtse, having become allied to those of sNar t'añ, of Nor k'yun, of brGya ts'o, etc. and other dPon of the North and South, he revolted against the sDe pa of Roñ;<sup>454)</sup> hence anarchy was multiplied and spread.

But the supreme glory of power which had gradually brought dBus and gTsañ into subjection to the king of Upper gTsañ (vanished) like the orb of the sun, devoured by Sinihikā's son.<sup>455)</sup>

He who accomplished the complete conquest of all, princes and subjects, was the saintly King, depository of the teachings, bsTan adsin c'os kyi rgyal po,<sup>456)</sup> he who was universal monarch in the time of discord... He.... was, as it had been prophesied, Guhyapati P'yag rdo rje, dancing in the world of human existence. Due to the noble compassion proper to the Bodhisattvas and through the power of a vow previously made, to accomplish the good of created beings, he, according to his purpose, was born in the guise of a king of men, and diffused throughout the ten points of space the sunlight of his benefits, and safely scattered far away the darkness of those delusions followed to their own ruin by the created beings belonging to the lowest species.

To the North of the Hor Sog's territory, among numberless great provinces, there is one, that of the Orod, divided into four clans; here Ha nai, chief of the Ho šod, had five sons from his wife A hai ha t'un; the third of them was the king we are speaking of,<sup>457)</sup> who was born in the year water-horse<sup>458)</sup> and was (108 a) called T'o rol pai hur. At the age of thirteen he attacked at the head of his troops several tens of thousands of mGo dkar,<sup>459)</sup> and became famous because in one single moment he caused the entire army of the enemy to taste the spectacle of the next world; he was a second competitor of the ten-headed king of the ogres, king of Lankā, descended into the world of men...<sup>460)</sup>

At the age of twenty-five, in the year fire-horse,<sup>461)</sup> his mother having died, he distributed to all created beings, nobles and humble men, all sorts of desirable things...

At that time (108 b) owing to the conflict which was being prepared, with great waves of war, between K'ar k'a and Orod, he was overcome by a supreme compassion, (*nirupalambha-kāruṇā*)<sup>462)</sup> as regards those who placed their efforts in works which (due to the violent action of sin caused by taking the lives of others) become transformed into the thickly wooded valley of interminable evil existences. But when no possibility of an agreement was left between K'ar k'a and Orod, he, donning the heroic armour of courage which unhesitatingly puts itself in another's place,<sup>463)</sup> marched against the territory of K'ar k'a and it happened as when out of great difficulties one gets to the shore of happiness. The C'os rje of sToñ ak'or<sup>464)</sup> and the king and Ministers of K'ar k'a were glad and they gave him the title of Dai gu sri.<sup>465)</sup> Then he returned to his country...<sup>466)</sup>

In the time of the disturbances which happened when the unity which formerly had ruled among the six tribes<sup>467)</sup> of the Sog po, was broken by the king of C'a dkar,<sup>468)</sup> some fugitives arrived in the city of K'ar k'a. As the chiefs were contending with one another, the K'ar k'a C'og t'u was expelled from the city and came to mTs'o k'a<sup>469)</sup> and it came to pass, as in the tale, that a rain of gems fell in the country of sinners.<sup>470)</sup>

Meanwhile the latter's power increased, but as his mind was now possessed by the black<sup>471)</sup> fiend, he plotted offences against the holy Law in general, and particularly against the teachings of the victorious Tsoñ k'a pa; (109 a) this king, who had only the holy Law in his heart, marched with a complete army from his country and in the first month of the year of the fire and of the ox<sup>472)</sup> he arrived in mTs'o k'a. As when the powerful Rāmaṇa<sup>473)</sup> sent the king of Lankā into the next world, thus only the name of the C'og tu and of his forty-thousand soldiers survived. He brought the earth under his rule up to the Eastern sea, and happily protected the princes and subjects who had submitted to him, according to the rules of religious and political life.

The sun<sup>474)</sup> progressively came into the territory of dBus and produced a festival which greatly favoured the development of the merits (of the created beings dwelling there).

In the temple of aP'rul snañ,<sup>475)</sup> vajrāsana of Tibet, the name and deeds of this great king were exalted, as he rested from the fatigue of placing his feet<sup>476)</sup> on the diadems of all the kings (he had subdued).

On his way back, having come into the rNam par rgyal gliñ of dGa' ldan, although it was the twenty-seventh night of the month, nevertheless in the twilight the darkness became so clear that pebbles could be seen; thus good omens were had concerning the clear and delicate manner in which the teachings and matters of State would be treated.<sup>477)</sup> At that time there were good omens that Tibet and Great Tibet would pass under his rule. During the winter of the year of the ox<sup>478)</sup> he came back to mTs'o k'a. In the meantime Be ri Don yod, in the Middle K'ams, caused great damage to the followers of the All-knowing of the race of Ikṣva-ku,<sup>479)</sup> letting only the Bon's teachings prosper; for this reason, in the fifth month, according to the Mongol calendar, of the year earth-hare,<sup>480)</sup> he led his armies against Be ri and conquered almost all his kingdom.

(109 b) In the eleventh month of the year iron-dragon,<sup>481)</sup> the dpon of Be ri and the others fled to a prince of the frontier; nevertheless, by virtue of the sharp hook of their actions,<sup>482)</sup> in the same manner as the iron filings are drawn to the magnet, they were (caught and) put in prison.<sup>483)</sup> All those who had been the major cause of the calamities were expelled from the country, but the Sa skya, the dGe lugs pa, the Kar ma pa, the sTag luñ pa and other chief blamas, who had been imprisoned, were set free and sent back to their places. All creatures, beginning from the king of aJañ, offered tributes and began to venerate him.

As regards his decision to get armies ready against dBus and gTsañ...<sup>484)</sup> he prepared for war several

hundreds of myriads of soldiers and conquered the land up to the extreme limits of the kingdom of gŠin rje, which is in the South.

On the twenty-fifth day of the second month of the year water-horse,<sup>485)</sup> also the king and ministers of Tibet<sup>486)</sup> bent their haughty heads and inclined to the practice of constant devotion and deference. During the day of the full moon in the month Caitra<sup>487)</sup> (110 a) he became king of the three C'ol k'a of Tibet and the white umbrella of his justice overshadowed (litt. turned round) as far as the top of the world.

Notwithstanding his great devotion, respectful and deferent towards the various religious systems, provided they were not sectarian, as the Kar ma pa and the (De) srid did not know how to behave, he proceeded with the force of his armies as far as the Eastern Koñ po territory. The discoverer of secret books aJa' ts'on pa, admits in his book that he was an incarnation of the great ācārya. King Ra k'o šin of India and the king of Yam bu<sup>488)</sup> in Nepal and all the kings of the frontiers like the king of mNa' ris and others, each according to the custom of his country, sent him gifts ...

## FROM THE DAM PAI C'OS KYI ABYUN TS'UL

(166 a) The saintly King aP'ags pa was a lama of the king of the Mongols Se c'en Go be lai: the latter offered him the three c'ol k'a of Tibet; 25 dpon c'en having been successively appointed, the lamas managed religious matters and governed the world according to the Law. The dpon c'en managed civil matters. When aP'ags pa was twenty years old, Tibet was offered to him, and he ruled over it for forty-six years. From the year iron-dragon (1280), during seventy-two years, up to the year earth-ox (1349) the Sa skya pas held the see and governed thirteen K'ri skor in the following way: the ācārya Dharma-pāla<sup>489)</sup> for seven years, the Sar pa aJam dbyañs gŽi t'og pa for eighteen years, the lama bDag ñid c'en po<sup>490)</sup> for nineteen years, then a three years' interval, the great mK'as btsun<sup>491)</sup> for nineteen years, the saintly lama<sup>492)</sup> for three years. Then, in the year fire-boar (1346), Ta dben<sup>493)</sup> Blo gros rgyal mts'an came into the see. After three years, in the year earth-ox (1349) the Tai Si tu Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an took possession of dBus and gTsañ.<sup>494)</sup> Then six years after the year wood-horse (1354) the Si tu Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an took possession of most of the land of gTsañ. From the year earth-ox (1349) for eighty-seven years, up to the year wood-hare (1435) most of the more important regions of dBus and gTsañ were ruled by the P'ag mo gru pa. Byañ, rGyal mk'ar rtse and other countries were particularly governed by their own dpon. In the year wood-hare (1435) Nor bzañ

of Rin spuñs took bSam agrub rtse; beginning from that time the greatest part of the government of gTsañ was held by those of Rin spuñs. The sde pa Don yod rdo rje of sGar took the government of dBus.

A hundred and five years after the year wood-hare, in the year wood-ox (1565)<sup>495)</sup> bSam agrub rtse was taken by the gTsañ pa Žin gšag Ts'e brtan rdo rje, the father, and by his son, who took possession of the greatest part of the government of gTsañ. Forty-five years after the year wood-dragon (1604) Kar ma pa bstan sruñ marched with his army against aP'an yul; then for six years, up to the year iron-dog, (1610) Kar ma pa P'un ts'og rnam rgyal held the government of Yar rgyab. From the year water-mouse (1612) he took possession of Byañ and rGyal mk'ar rtse and of other places of gTsañ. From the year earth-horse (1618), having taken possession of all of dBus and having repeatedly beaten back the other troops from his frontiers, he conquered all of Tibet. His son was Kar ma bsTan skyoñ dbañ po. Then the King of the Sog po of the North, the king of the four clans of the Orod, known under another name as bsTan ašin C'os kyi rgyal po, took possession of the whole of Tibet. He offered the chaplain's office to rGyal dbañ t'ams cad mk'yen pa ñag dbañ Blo bzañ rgya mts'o, the incarnation of the noble lord P'yag na pad ma, who took possession of the palace of dGe ldan from the year water-horse, (1642) and governed the world according to the Law.

## FROM DPAG BSAM LJON BZAN'

(p. 158) (Beginning from) the year earth-boar (1179), that is 337 years after the year water-dog (842), when the government of the kings of Tibet ended, the Sa skya and the Ts'al pa separately established relations of vassalage<sup>496)</sup> with Se c'en, the aBri guñ pa<sup>497)</sup> with Mun k'e, and the P'ag gru pa with Hu lu hu,<sup>498)</sup> and those Hor (princes) became their particular patrons.

Among them, through the grace of the Sa skya pañdita, and of aP'ags pa uncle and nephew,<sup>499)</sup> the Sa skya pa, keepers of the doctrine which teaches the way and the fruit,<sup>500)</sup> spread; trusting to the grace of the Žañ rin po c'e, the lama keeper of the doctrine of Tantric realizations, the Ts'al pa Dar ma grags became myriarch by virtue of the works of the "protector of

the world ,, P'ag mo gru pa, the main master of the bKa' bgyud pa and a disciple of Dvags po; sGyur<sup>501</sup> Rin cen dpal enlarged (the fortunes of the) aBri guñ (pa); by the grace of the *spyan sha rin po c'e* rGyal ba Grags brtson, beginning from P'ag gru rdo rje rgyal, who had become dPon c'en, the foundations of the P'ag gru pa's power were laid.<sup>503</sup>

As regards the manner in which the Sa skya pa received the dPon's office from the Emperor, (it is said that) in the year iron-mouse (1240) in the times of king Gun tan, who was a nephew of C'in gis, the dPon Don rta<sup>503</sup> nag and rGyal sman, marched with an army against Tibet, and near Sog c'u,<sup>504</sup> in the lower part of upper mDo, they slew many Tibetans and conquered the territory to the East, as far as Koñ, that to the West as far as Bal po and that to the South as far as the Mon; in Rva bsgren they killed five hundred monks and they destroyed<sup>505</sup> rGyal lha k'añ; then five hundred persons, between monks and laymen, met their death together with the So ston.<sup>506</sup> Then the two (Mongol chiefs) sent messengers<sup>507</sup> to the royal palace to ask which of the lamas of Tibet it was advisable to take to the Emperor. As, regarding religious communities, the greatest was that of the bKa' gdams pa, while as to prestige the Lord of the Law of sTag luñ was the most learned, and as to splendour the *spyan sha* of aBri guñ<sup>508</sup> loomed large, but the most learned in the Law was the Sa skya pañḍita, the Emperor said that the latter should be taken to him, and thus it was done. On his death (the Emperor) gave the nephew<sup>509</sup> (of the Pañḍita) aP'ags pa the diploma of Gu śri and the seal and the three *col k'a*:<sup>510</sup> that of the Law, that of men and that of horses, and the thirteen myriarchies, as it is said in detail in the chronicles (*Yig ts'añ*): "aBri, P'ag, gYa' bzañ and Ts'al pa, Bya yul and Lho abrog,<sup>511</sup> taken together form the myriarchies of dBus; mÑa' ris, La stod, Lho byañ, C'u mig, Ža lu, Byañ abrog taken together form the six myriarchies of gTsañ; these (twelve myriarchies) together with that of Yar abrog, which is included neither in dBus nor in gTsañ, form the thirteen myriarchies .."

aP'ags received this land and the Sa skya pas became dPon. Besides the two Bla dpon,<sup>512</sup> the office of dPon was conferred upon the following: Ša kya bzañ po, Kun dga' bzañ po, Žañ btsun, P'yug po sgañ dkar po,<sup>513</sup> Byañ (c'ub) rin c'en, Kun (dga') gžon (nu), gŽon (nu) dbañ, Byañ (c'ub) rdo (rje), Añ len,<sup>514</sup> again gŽon dbañ, Legs dpal, Señ ge dpal, 'Od zer señ ge, Kun dga' rin c'en, Don yug dpal, Yon btsun, again 'Od zer señ ge, rGyal bzañ po, dBañ p'yug dpal, bSod nams dpal, again rGyal bzañ, dBañ brtson, Nam mk'a' bstan pa, Grags pa rgyal mts'an, dPal abum, Blo c'en, Grags dbañ. Tibet was given to aP'ags pa in the year water-ox of the fourth cycle (1253),<sup>515</sup> and he was its master from that year up to the year wood-dog (1274). Then, from the year wood-boar (1275) the three princes<sup>516</sup> of the bŽi t'og, of Sar pa and of K'an gsar (ruled); then in that twenty-fifth year (beginning from the time in which aP'ags had Tibet) the 22 dpon

became kings of the whole of Tibet, beginning with Sa kya bzañ po up to dBañ brtson. Nevertheless Kun bzañ was killed by the Hor and Byañ rin by a servant, and in the times of gŽon dbañ, Byañ rdor<sup>517</sup> and Añ len, during the wars against the aBri guñ pa,<sup>518</sup> great harm ensued for them, for others, for the teaching and for all creatures. In the times of the dPon rGyal bzañ of Sañ and of dBañ brtson, the armies of the 13 myriarchies were led against Yar kluñ and fought against the myriarchies of P'ag gru ma. P'ag gru won and the Sa skya pas' power over the three C'ol k'a vanished. Concerning the Lamas of Ts'al pa, brTson grags of Žañ built the temple of Guñ t'añ and the four lower steps of the aBum po c'e;<sup>519</sup> at the point of death he appointed Dar ma grags<sup>520</sup> chief of the territory (*side*) and of the temple, and thus he performed an extremely profitable act. After him the dPon Byuñ gnas brtson agrus, who was his nephew, and the latter's nephew Ye abyuñ, were successively invested with the office of dPon. Later the son of mGar rGyal ba abyuñ gnas, called Sañs rgyas dnos grub, took the office of dPon and planted the good roots of the Ts'al pa. His son was the dPon Rin rgyal, and the latter's eldest son was Ni ma šes rab, who obtained the diploma from Se c'en.<sup>521</sup> In the time when the office of dPon was held by the second son, dGa' bde, the domes in Chinese style etc. were built by Ts'al, and the schools for the explanation of the sacred scriptures and the school for esoteric doctrines were founded. In the times of the son sMon lam rdo rje, the middle veranda of circumambulation was built in Lhasa, and the golden pinnacle was made for the upper chapel of the temples destined to Jo bo and to the great merciful. His son was the Druñ c'en Kun dga' rdo rje, who founded the Ri bo dge ap'el; then he conferred the office of myriarch on his younger brother Grags (pa) šes (rab), and took monastic vows, assuming the name of Si tu dge sloñ.<sup>522</sup> His son was dGe legs bzañ po; the latter's son was Tres Hor dPal abyor bzañ po.<sup>523</sup> Although (the Ts'al lasted) up to the times of the latter's son dGa' bde bzañ po, in the times of sMon lam pa most of their subjects had already escaped from their hands and Kun rdor joined rGyal bzañ dpon of the Sa skya pa. Then, having quarrelled with P'ag gru, he was greatly harmed; this entire family held the office dPon for about 140 years.

The aBri guñ pa laid their foundations since the sKyabs pa aJig rten mgon po took possession of aBri guñ mt'il,<sup>524</sup> but for four generations of lamas they did not receive the office of dPon. Then the son of dKon rin, the sKyabs pa's uncle, namely A mes grags rgyal, had a son named rDo rje grags (an incarnation of Til li pä); the latter received from king Mun k'e a myriarch's diploma; the sGom pa, who held the office of dPon one after the other were: rDo rje señ ge, Ša kya rin c'en, Byañ c'ub,<sup>525</sup> sPañ ras, C'os señ, Rin (c'en) señ (ge), sGom pa dpon po, Ša kya dar, Rin (c'en) grags, Ye (šes) dpal, Rin (c'en) rdo (rje), Kun (dga') rin (c'en), rDsoñ<sup>526</sup> ji pa bsod



(nams) rin (c'en), sKu žaŋ Ts'ul (k'rims) rgyal (mts'an). After him the saintly King dPal bzañ<sup>577</sup> took office, assuming the title of bla dpon; his son, the bCo lña rin po' c'e, later took his place. In the times of his son, the Lord of the Law Kun dga' rin pa, the deep connections heretofore existing between aBri guñ and dGe ldan were broken, and various revolts took place, like the one due to the fact that they did not wish to change the colour of the dGe ldan's protector's cap. After him the dPon Rin c'en p'un ts'ogs jointly assumed the office of Bla dpon, and later aBri guñ was taken by the P'ag gru. Nevertheless in those times aBri guñ was in peace.

sNa skar rtse took his investiture from the king of the Hor and became zur dpon; Añ len, who had relations with the Sa skya, was prince of that locality; then the sde pa<sup>580</sup> brTan ađsin founded bTsan rdsoñ and greatly honoured Bo doñ.

Furthermore Nar sen<sup>580</sup> of Byañ in gTsañ, of the lineage of rGod of Mi ñag and his son rDo rje dpal had relations with the Sa skya pa; the latter's son was dKon mc'og; his son was aBum sde; his son was the prince of Byañ, the dPon Grags dar who received from Se c'en the investiture and the seal. In his times the monastery of Nam rin<sup>580</sup> in Bya was founded. His son was rDo rje mgon po, who was dPon c'en of Sa skya; his son Nam mk'a' brtan pa received the title of *Gui guñ*, with seal, and that of *Ta dben gu sri*, from the Hor Emperor. His son was Rin c'en rgyal mts'an.<sup>581</sup> The latter's son was C'os grags dpal bzañ, who received the office of *Si tu c'añ gu*; the latter's son was rNam rgyal grags bzañ, a scholar and writer of many works. He received the office of Tai si tu,<sup>582</sup> and his younger brother dKon mc'og legs pa the office of śrii zii Tri sa hos<sup>583</sup> etc. and he also became zur dpon.

As to the P'ag gru, at first they dwelt in T'e'l, which was the abode chosen by rDo rje rgyal po,<sup>584</sup> and later in the seat of the dPon,<sup>585</sup> which was the dwelling of various sde srid. The sons of the Yon c'en rGyal ba skyabs, namely the *spyan śha* Sañs rgyas skyabs and the rGyal ba rin po c'e t'og rdugs<sup>586</sup> successively prospered. When T'og rdugs<sup>587</sup> assumed the dPon's office, as sGom brtson of lDan ma, who had been invested with that office by the Hor, did not rule according to good conduct, he elected as myriarch rDo rje dpal, the dPon of rKañ bži, and founded twelve feuds, and his power spread greatly. After the latter, his younger brother gŽon (nu) rgyal mts'an and Byañ (c'ub) gŽon (nu) of Yar ađrog and gŽon nu yon tan (were myriarchs).

Then his younger brother<sup>588</sup> Grags rin pa assumed the title of bla dpon and ransomed the religious communities<sup>589</sup> and the feuds which had passed to the Sa skya pa. After him the office was conferred on the son of his younger brother Rin (c'en) skyabs, whose name was rGyal bzañ<sup>589</sup> then to rGyal mts'an skyabs, then to the Tai Si tu Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an. Then, though he had been defeated several times by him of gYa' <sup>591</sup> bzañ in battle and in court, later, waging war against the Sa skya pa dBañ brtson, through the good services of his Minister<sup>590</sup> Hor gŽon

bzañ, P'ag gru was victorious; then fighting against the troops of the dPon of aBri guñ, of the Ts'al pa Nam grags, of gYa' bzañ and of gNal, P'ag gru was once again victorious and conquered dBus of Tibet. The Si tu, having gone to gTsañ beginning from the year wood-horse of the sixth cycle (1354) conquered the greatest part of gTsañ; by giving the investiture to him of Rin spuñs, the Si tu founded thirteen fortresses, and while residing<sup>593</sup> in sNeu gdoñ rtse he established the penal law in fifteen articles, and his power was greatly increased. After him aJam dbyañs gu śri Sa ka rgyal mts'an and C'os bži Grags byañ (c'ub), Ts'oñ ka pa's master, and bSod grags and then Sa ka rin (c'en) and the saintly king dBañ grags rgyal mts'an, father and son together, with the help of T'e mur of the Hor and of Yuñ lo of China, ruled over the monastery and the religious community. But at that time, the Sar k'a of Nañ stod Rab brtan of rGyal rtse, although he was the *gzims dpon* of (P'ag gru), revolted and became lord of rGyal mk'ar rtse. After him came the C'os lña grags abyuñ, his son rDo rje ñag pa dbañ po<sup>544</sup> bKra śis grags pa. To their times belong the Minister Nam (mk'a') rgyal mts'an of Rin spuñs, Hor gŽon (nu) bzañ and dPon Grags of the feud of sNel, and Nam abyor of rGyal mk'ar rtse, and the sDe pa of 'Ol k'a bKra (śis) rgyal mts'an and bŽi ađsom<sup>545</sup> of Yar rgyab, the myriarch of Bya bKra (śis) bzañ and bSod (nams) rgyal (mts'an) general of dGa' ldan and others. At that time Lha rgya ri pa etc., having obtained the diploma from P'ag gru and others, became lords of several small territories. In their times Nor bzañ pa, mTs'o skyes rdo rje, Don yod rdo rje, Nag dbañ rnam rgyal etc. of Rin spuñs, successively quarrelled with the P'ag mo gru pa, and revolts took place in dBus and gTsañ. Thus when the Sa skya pa government was over after five years of strife, beginning with the year wood-horse (1354), in which P'ag gru assumed power, and for 82 years up to the year wood-hare (1435), the (P'ag gru) increased their prestige in dBus and gTsañ. At that time, in the year water-ox (1433) the council of Yar klunñ took place.

In brief, in the year earth-boar of the fourth cycle (1239), the Sa (skya pa), the aBri (guñ pa), the P'ag gru pa, the Ts'al pa, each became the vassal of different Hor kings. In the following year<sup>546</sup> (1240), (the invasion of) Hor rDo rta took place; after the destruction of Ra sgrinñ and rGyal lha k'añ in the year wood-dragon (1244) the Sa skya pañđita went to the Hor; in the year following his death, which took place in the year iron-boar (1251), the army which the king Go tan of the Hor had sent into Tibet in the same year iron-boar (1251) overthrew the mGon po gdoñ of Mon mk'ar and killed many men; then rGyal C'o Jo ađar was murdered; in the year wood-hare (1255) Kar ma pa kši<sup>547</sup> came to the Hor and became king Muñ k'e's lama, and in the year wood-mouse (1264) he returned to Tibet. In the year fire-hare (1267) of the fourth cycle the Hor armies killed the chief of aDan ma ri; in the year iron-ox (1277) that of Zañs c'en; in the year iron-snake (1281) following the year of the aP'ags pa's death, they killed

the dPon Sa skya pa Kun dga' bzañ po and destroyed Bya rog rdoñ. Then, after five years, in the year wood-bird (1285) the aBri guñ pa army burnt the monastery of Bya yul and the gTsañ stoñ was killed; then again the aBri guñ pa led a Hor army against Sa skya. Nevertheless T'i mur, Se c'en's son, with the armies of Lho k'a and of gTsañ (led) by Añ len, who was dPon Sa skya, took aBri guñ; then the armies of the myriarchies were pushed as far as sGam po in Western Dvags and in the year iron-tiger (1290) the temple of aBri guñ was set on fire; when aBri guñ was destroyed, about 10,000 men were killed. Byar, Dvags, Kon, E, gNa', Lho, Brag, Ya and Mon were conquered by the force of arms and dBus and gTsañ became like the owl and the raven.<sup>548</sup>

The Tai si tu Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an of P'ag gru, from the year earth-ox (1349) of the sixth cycle, conquered the greatest part of dBus and then in the year wood-horse (1354) also gTsañ. After more than 80 years had gone by, the Minister of Rin spuñs in gTsañ revolted; beginning from the year wood-hare (1435) of the seventh cycle, one of the sons of Nor bzañ of Rin spuñs, called Kun bzañ took the feud of Rin spuñs and the other Don grub rdo rje took<sup>549</sup> bSam agrub rtse, and both took possession of gTsañ. In the year earth-tiger of the eighth cycle (1458) a conflict took place between Southern and Northern<sup>550</sup> dBus, and those of sNeu gdoñ took possession of the P'ag mo gru see. Then Kun bzañ's son Don yod rdo rje of Kar ma, sDe pa of Rin spuñs, was solicited by Žva dmar, Kar ma C'os grags rgya mts'o, and beginning from the year earth-ox, (1481) he led about 10,000 soldiers against dBus; having driven out the dGa' ldan's patron, who was in charge of the fort of sNeu, although he had conquered dBus, nevertheless he was twice beaten back by K'ri sMon lam pa, by means of great liturgical offerings.<sup>551</sup>

Then, to the East of Lha sa, with the purpose of oppressing Se (ra) and aBras (spuñs), the Kar ma pa<sup>552</sup> founded two monastery, the black and the red,<sup>553</sup> and desired to destroy by his strength those two convents; with this aim he took command of the Kar ma pa and aBrug pa army; some small monasteries of dGe lugs changed (sect) and he took possession of some feuds, assigned for the upkeep of religious services in the Se ra and aBras spuñs monasteries, so that relations between the Kar ma and the dGe lugs were like those passing between the bat and sunlight. Beginning from the year earth-horse (1498) up to the year earth-tiger (1518) of the ninth cycle, although the monks of the Se ra and aBras spuñs monasteries could not take part in the festivities of the yearly vow<sup>554</sup> in Lhasa, nevertheless from the year fire-dog (1526) the sNeu gdoñ pa, lord of dBus, had a certain power.

Then in the year fire-bird (1537), while the Lord dGe aḍun rgya mts'o was in rGyal me 'o'og t'añ, he of aBri guñ took command of the Koñ army, with the purpose of destroying him of dGe' ldan. While they undertook the destruction rDsiñ p'yi<sup>555</sup> in 'Ol k'a rdoñ, Don yod, *nañ so* of Gro mda', pitted his troops against them; so they were not able to destroy

it; nevertheless the aBri guñ pa took 18 temples and convents of the dGe ldan, like Klun šod, 'Od sna, etc., and the latter changed their caps, dress and system. In the year water-ox (1553) the Nañ so of dGa' ldan led the army against sKyor luñ; in lesser Tibet, in dBus and gTsañ, beginning from Glan dar ma, the rules of religious and civil life little by little decayed, and a factious spirit spread violently in every direction ...

Then, in the year wood-ox (1565) Ts'e brtan rdo rje of Rin spuñs in gTsañ roñ and his son Pad ma dkar po, took bSam agrub rtse, and having become lords of upper gTsañ, were known as the kings of upper gTsañ. Then, in the year iron-horse, of the tenth cycle (1570) aBri guñ and sTag (luñ) fought one another. In the year water-ape (1572), in sKyid šod, a revolt broke out against P'ag gru, and although a reconciliation was attempted by bSod nams rgya mts'o,<sup>556</sup> once more, in the year wood-boar (1575) the armies of him of Rin spuñs came to sKyid šod and, having caused some damage, turned back; then in the year iron-snake (1581) there was an internal revolt in aBri guñ. When the Lord Yon tan rgya mts'o came from the country of the Sog po in Tibet, having misunderstood the meaning of an epistle in verse which Žva dmar ñag dbañ c'os grags had presented to him in homage, the Rab abyams pa of gŽu<sup>557</sup> k'ar dGe legs lhun grub, with others, answered the epistle with insults; for this motive the ancient (clash of) cymbals between the Kar (ma pa) and the dGe legs pa was revived. Kar ma Žiñ [gšags], who had formerly been Minister to the king of gTsañ, then dPon of the feud of bSam agrub rtse, allying himself with some lesser dPon of Lho and Byañ, caused a revolt of Na ba roñ pa, and became lord of the greatest part of gTsañ; in the year wood-snake (1605), P'ag mo gru pa and Žo dkar<sup>558</sup> levied troops and dispersed the sDe pa of sKyid šod's<sup>559</sup> camp and killed many officials. Then the disease of the preceding insult was revived and the Žva dmar, in the city of Lhasa, wrote (the following) new insults<sup>560</sup> on the (statue's) votive scarf;<sup>561</sup> and offered the scarf to the Jo bo of Lhasa.

"In the cities of Brag ti and Žag (or in the city of Brag ti<sup>562</sup> from three vapours?) there are inside black (animals) with pointed horns (yak); with the noble lions of the plane of the absolute the (animals) having sharp horns (now) blunt contend in every manner. That this may not happen, only you, o Lord, can know ...<sup>563</sup>

Then in the times of bSod nams rnam rgyal, sde pa of sKyid šod, the Sog pos, as an answer, carried off<sup>564</sup> the horses and mules of the sGar pa.

In the year iron-dog (1610) Kar ma pa P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal<sup>565</sup> and his son Kar ma bstan skyoñ dbañ po led the gTsañ army against dBus, but being frightened by the Sog po army, they turned back.<sup>566</sup> After having taken<sup>567</sup> Yar rgyab, in the year water-mouse (1612), they conquered all of gTsañ, with Byañ and rGyal mk'ar rtse, and were known as kings of gTsañ. Having once more come with an army to

dBus, they took sNeu rdsön and the feud of Sa ca' rdsön was punished.<sup>568</sup>

In the year earth-horse (1618) the fruit of evil deeds ripened. That king (of gTsañ) and his son, their mind infatuated by Māra, through their devotion to the Kar ma pa, unable to tolerate that sun of the good law which is the school of the Yellow caps, lofty everywhere as it represents the essence of the Buddhist teaching, has no rival and is not contaminated by the least stain of sin, wished to destroy them; in the seventh month according to the Hor calendar they sacked Se ra and aBras spuñs and the community was obliged to take refuge in sTag luñ. But although many thousands of men were killed in the mountains between Lhasa and aBras spuñs, by virtue of the power of prayer and of a vow to gS'in rje, lord of the Law, their desire was not realized...<sup>569</sup>

Then, not long after, in the year iron-bird (1621) (the troops of the king of gTsañ) were defeated in brGyad t'añ sgañ in gTsañ by the Mongol troops. Then, when the latter were besieged in the lCags po ri, the precious Pañ c'en and others saved the lives of nearly one thousand soldiers. The monasteries<sup>570</sup> and religious communities of gSañ snaqs etc. and of other places belonging to the dGe lugs pas which had been taken from them, unable as they were to resist fear when confronted with the ascetic's power and the military force of the Mongols, his patrons, were given back and obliged to do reverence and homage to them once more. And courage, which had formerly been repressed, as if shut up into an empty box, was now restored.

Nevertheless, as the root of sin had grown<sup>571</sup> in his wicked mind, the king of gTsañ meditated evil designs, and the peace (once) prevailing between the six great Sog po clans having been troubled by Legs ldañ king of C'a kar, various internal struggles broke out. Then many fugitives repaired to the Hal ha; as a consequence of mutual disagreement between the chiefs, C'og t'u was expelled from Hal ha; he came to the banks of lake K'rig gSog rgyal mo and took possession of Ho so t'se of the Tu' med, with its dependencies, and dwelt there. He listened to the Rab abyams pa of the Red Cap sect, and wished to overcome the schools of the dGe legs; in the year wood-boar (1635)<sup>572</sup> he sent against dBus and gTsañ his own son Ar sa liñ, with more than ten thousand soldiers. But as the latter did no damage to the dGe ldan, the Rab byams of the Red Caps again sent a letter to his father,<sup>573</sup> who was near the Blue Lake and as in the answer to this letter it was written that he<sup>574</sup> should be killed, the Rab byams murdered him as directed; after this the Sog po army was beaten back like a rainbow.

King Legs ldan Ku t'ug tu of the Jiñ ger family, had also wished formerly to become allied to the king of gTsañ, but while going to C'a kar he died on the way, at a distance of five days from T'a la, to the East of the Blue Lake.<sup>575</sup> Then in the interval king Don yod rdo rje of Be ri, of Middle K'ams, together with his subjects, having efficiently overcome all the Buddhist

schools, Sa skya pa, dGe legs, Kar ma pa, aBrug pa, wished to spread the Bon po doctrine. While he was about to open hostilities against dGe ldan, as among the many clans of Hor, the king of the Ou lod, in many former births, had taken the vow that, wherever he were reborn, he would accept the Bud-dha's teachings and repel any harm (which might threaten it), the third among the five sons of Ha nai, prince of Ho soñ, one of the four clans of the Orod, emanation of gS'in rje C'os rgyal, was in fact called Tso ral p'e hu,<sup>576</sup> in Tibetan bsTan aḍsin C'os rgyal and by the Sog po Gu śri han or Ge ken han; at the age of thirteen he vanquished the mGo dkar, at twenty-five he reconciled the Ou lod and the Hal ha who were quarrelling; then at thirty-five,<sup>577</sup> by virtue of the action of the dPon sDe strid bSod nams c'os ap'el and others, he recognized that the time had come when it was necessary to protect the teaching in this country (of the Tibetans), and therefore with a great army, in the year fire-ox (1637) in the first month according to the Mongol calendar, he came to mTs'o k'ar and with scarcely one thousand soldiers,<sup>578</sup> in U lan ho so, in one day he annihilated about forty thousand soldiers of Hal ha C'og tu and killed their general.

Then, having come to Tibet, on the way back to dGa' ldan, in the evening twilight, as all space was lit up by a white light, this was considered as a good omen for the bsTan aḍsin.<sup>579</sup>

In that winter he returned to mTs'o k'ar, and having pacified the kingdom, in the year of the hare (1639) he almost entirely conquered Be ri in the K'ams territory, and on the 25 day of the eleventh month of the following year he took that same (king of) Be ri and imprisoned him; and the lamas of the Sa skya school, Dge lugs pa, dKar brgyud pa, aBrug pa, sTag luñ pa, who had been imprisoned, were set free by him; he then brought into subjection all the princes, up to the land of the king who rules over the country of aJañ. Then, through Tibet and dBus, with a great army, he came to gTsañ and in the year water-horse (1642) in the eighth day of the first month he took thirteen fortresses, like dSam agrub rtse, and on the twenty-fifth day, when the moon was in the constellation of dBo,<sup>580</sup> he took as a prisoner the king of gTsañ himself, and although at first he did not intend<sup>581</sup> to kill him, having heard that he had founded a Kar ma pa monastery on the slopes of the hill of bKra śi lhun po, and that, having built at the back a high tower on the wall enclosing it, he had named it *bKra śis zil gñom*,<sup>582</sup> he became angry and had him put into a leather sack (and thrown into the river). Then began the foundation of the thirteen famous theological schools, and then, beginning from the day of the full moon of Caitra, at the beginning of the year according to the Kālacakra system, he became the supreme lord of the three C'ol k'a of Tibet. As the Kar ma pa religious communities on the frontiers of Tibet were hostile towards the dGe lugs of K'on po, he took possession of them with an army, and was invested on the throne with the office of a king governing according to the Law; hence the princes of India, Nepal and

mNa' ris and others too, sent him many gifts, and the Tibetans greeted him as an incarnation of the *ācārya* Padmasambhava.

Thus this king who governed according to the Law and who had no rivals in his manner of protecting the Law and of regulating civil conduct, seemed almost to renew in this country the agreeable, perfect spectacle thanks to which men of religion and laymen, under his rule, were enabled to enjoy a glorious bliss.

(Some prophecies follow).

Then, after the death of this king who ruled according to the Law, his son Da yan Han for fourteen years ruled over Tibet; he was succeeded on his death by his son Da lai Han, also called Rat na rgyal po, who was succeeded for a short time by his eldest son bsTan ḡdsin dbaṅ rgyal. In their times, to begin with the year iron-dragon (1640), the following *sde srid* succeeded one another: the dpon bSod nams c'os ap'el for seventeen years; aP'rin las rgya mts'o for ten years and Blo bzaṅ mt'u stobs for nine years, and Blo bzaṅ sbyin pa for three; then the layman Saṅs rgyas rgya mts'o held the office of *sde srid* for twenty-five years, beginning from the year earth-sheep (1679), and founded the red palace of Potala, which had nine stories. In the year fire-tiger (1686), the Hal ha and the Ou lod having started a quarrel, the K'ri pa Blo gros rgya mt'so acted as peacemaker. Then Rat-na's youngest son, called Lha bzaṅ, succeeded to the throne after having poisoned bsTan ḡdsin rnam rgyal. He used violence against the bla ma of dGa' ldan and his benefactor the king of the Hor. Lha bzaṅ started from Nag c'uṅ,<sup>583</sup> and after having collected about five hundred Sog po soldiers, he came to gYon (ru) and, like a vulture with a flock of small birds, he dispersed a great army of the thirteen *kri skor* of K'oṅ po etc. and killed the great *sde srid* in the year śiṅ bya, 1705, and reigned again for thirteen years.

In these circumstances the king dGa' ldan huṅ t'ai ji, who did not patronize any special system, these events having come to his knowledge and due to some incidents which moved him to faith, led an army into Tibet and in the year fire-bird (1717) he defeated Lha bzaṅ and the pacified Law shone forth.

Then from the Blue Lake<sup>584</sup> the Chinese generals and soldiers led from the sKu ḡbum into Tibet in the year iron-mouse (1720) rGyal dbaṅ sKal bzaṅ rgya mts'o, and China again conquered Tibet. Žaṅ k'aṅ c'en po was elected *sde srid*, and for seven years dBus and gTsaṅ again enjoyed happiness. Then the Tibetan Minister Lon pa, of a fiendish race, and others, rebelled and killed the *sde srid*. In the year fire-goat (1727) P'o lha t'ai ji of gTsaṅ, having gathered soldiers of gTsaṅ and mNa' ris, defeated the six *kri skor* of dBus and of Koṅ po in separate battles and took possession of those mainly responsible for the murder of Žaṅ k'aṅ pa; Chinese soldiers having joined him, they were killed. Hence, beginning from the year earth-ape (1728) P'o lha assumed the office of *sde srid*. Meanwhile the lofty lama sKal bzaṅ rgya mt'so who had been led to the monastery of K'ams ka t'og, after eight years, on an order of the Chinese Emperor Yoṅ t'ūn, in the year wood-hare (1735) was led back to Tibet by Ye šes bstan pai sgron me, the precious incarnate of lCaṅ skya and by Nag dbaṅ C'os kyi grags pa of K'ams. Tibet was again at peace, P'o lha governed Tibet for twenty-one years, and endless *smoṅ lam* festivals were celebrated, which vied with those held in Tsoṅ k'a pa's times. In dGa' ldan and in sKu ḡbum of Tsoṅ k'a pa, the gSer t'og and the gSer rgyag were made, and in aBra spuṅs the great assembly-hall of the Sam bloi rgyud k'aṅ, which due to their antiquity had fallen into ruin. In the year earth-dragon of the thirteen cycle (1748)<sup>585</sup> P'o lha dsun vaṅ died and his son Ta lai ba dur ruled dBus and gTsaṅ with great severity.

## FROM THE GENEALOGIES OF ŽA LU

(5 b) The lords of the great monastery, the glorious gSer k'aṅ of Ža lu, are descended from the noble family of lCe. From lCe, like thunder on the thirteen steps of the sky, and from his wife like muddy earth,<sup>586</sup> a son was born called Lha gen rtse;<sup>587</sup> the race which was descended from him was named lCe. The son of Lha gen rtse and his wife, (she was a klu mo of the klu clan), was the miraculous king lCe ṅi zer.

(6 a) He had seven sons; the six eldest ones, together with their father, protected the top of the sky; the youngest descended from a rock-crystal ladder<sup>588</sup> and with a great retinue he went into the country of the sTag gzigs and became their king, taking possession of every desirable thing.

(6 b) He was named C'e bai p'reṅ king of the sTag gzigs. He had three sons, Bar lo, Naṅ lo, Dar

gan.<sup>589</sup> Bar lo, together with his Minister, went into the Hor country and obtained (the office of) great za gon<sup>590</sup> of the Hor, and also had great authority. Naṅ lo went to China; he conquered the Chinese kingdom and became famous under the name of lCe me lo, king of China. The youngest, king lCe (Dar) rgan (7 a) pitched his white tents near the palace of the king of Žaṅ žuṅ,<sup>591</sup> and the latter dreamt that the king of the sTag gzigs had come and would wrest his power from him. Getting up in the morning preoccupied, he looked and (saw) that the mountain pastures and the steppes were covered with white tents. Then the king of the sTag gzigs went to the king of the Žaṅ žuṅ, and contended with him in majesty, strength and counsel (7 b) and the king of Žaṅ žuṅ was defeated, and offered homage to lCe.

The latter married two daughters of the king of Žaň žuň: gYU sa lug rdsi ma and Ne mar lug rdsi ma;<sup>592</sup> he conquered mK'ar c'uň luň and dNul dkar rtse;<sup>593</sup> he obtained the turquoise letters<sup>594</sup> and became king of Žaň žuň. He came riding into Tibet: Bran bu, Li and Hor<sup>595</sup> sent him...<sup>596</sup> hundred boars and two pieces of steel.<sup>597</sup>

He successively arrived in Yar klüň (8 a) and founded there the palace called: mNa' t'aň yaň rgyas mc'ed pa, which measured 66 *adom* on each side; a veranda ran round it, below.

This lCe king was called lCe baň c'en; he became Naň blon of king sroň btsan sgam po. He had five sons: the eldest was Nag la c'an gyu k'ri; the second sMon te ri nu mda',<sup>598</sup> the third Grags pa, the fourth, as he owned the salt lakes and the salt mines, was called Ts'a ba; now (these mines) are in La stod.

(8 b) The youngest was the Lotsäva of lCe K'yi abrug; he was Naň blon of the kings K'ri sroň lde btsan and Sad na legs. He was the lotsäva who translated the Prajñäpärämittä<sup>599</sup> and composed treatises like the sGrañ gnas bryag etc. They had five sons each and were called the five lCe p'a (lCe fathers).

lCe sMon te re nu mda' was known later as the lotsäva of the lCe Jñānasiddhi. He was king K'ri sroň lde btsan's Minister. In this king's times, wicked ministers having opposed those who practised religion, (9 a) he obtained the king's confidence and was sent to invite the abbot Bodhisattva<sup>600</sup> and the ācārya Pad ma ābyuň gnas to Tibet. As he had brought back the ācārya, the king was delighted and elected him Naň blon; he also obtained the golden credentials.<sup>601</sup> He was a lotsäva who translated many books of the Law.

(9 b) lCe sMon te ri nu pa married K'uň bzaň Nad steň, who bore him two sons: lCe sTo re na<sup>602</sup> ta nu and lCe bZaň sto re nu ñe. The former led an army to China and conquered the kingdom of China. And he obtained the king's esteem and many gifts.<sup>603</sup> bZaň<sup>604</sup> sto re nu conquered the four Southern regions. Both were Naň blon of king (Sad) Na legs<sup>605</sup> and obtained many official documents and credentials.

bZaň sTo re nu married Dus ma of the mNa' nam clan, who bore him (10 a) lCe K'ri bzaň lha sbyin, to whom the king gave C'u spubs su luň pa, rKyen rigs in Naň ro, Ha 'u gaňs bzaň<sup>606</sup> up to the junction between Yug pa and Yu ba gdoň pa, and he obtained credentials. The king ordered him to found 108 temples: when these 108 temples had been built, to draw up a reckoning of those he had built, he constructed the temple of rTsis gNas rñiň;<sup>607</sup> Biň dmar<sup>608</sup> of rTsis gnas rñiň, who wears shield and cuirass was the C'os skyoň of the lCe.

(10 b) lCe K'ri bzaň lha sbyin was Naň blon of king K'ri ral pa can. He married Šes za mo, who bore him six sons; the eldest was the great Žaň ston (11 a)<sup>609</sup> aP'aň to re; then lCe K'ri snaň, lCe rGyal k'ri bzuň, lCe Maň ts'an stobs bzaň, lCe K'ri skyes, Maň po rje k'ri. They occupied various offices, which served to increase their power: they were generals of the king,

they built temples, they were counsellors<sup>610</sup> of the king of Žaň žuň and ministers of mDo sMad in K'ams.

Žaň ston c'en po's son was lCe gTsug pa dpal, his son was lCe bZaň k'ri bzaň; his son was lCe sTag bžer brtan k'ri; (11 b) his son was K'rom bžer brtan k'ri; the latter had two sons, lCe stag gi rgyal mts'an and sKyes ts'ul ač'o k'ri. sTag gi rgyal mts'an had four sons: the eldest had no issue, the second was gYU t'og sgra gser bzaň, the third dPal sgra, the fourth rDo rje k'ri btsan po. lCe sTag gi rgyal mts'an and lCe sKyes ts'ul ač'o k'ri had three sons,<sup>611</sup> namely Bya k'ri rdo rje dbaň,<sup>612</sup> (12 a) dGaň ra gTsug tor rin c'en and lCe gYU ābum; gYU ābum had two sons, the eldest was lCe bTsun šes rab ābyuň gnas, the youngest Šes rab ye šes. In this time, rebellions<sup>613</sup> of their subjects against the lCe family having occurred, the lCe were nearly all killed. lCe bTsun took refuge, to embrace a religious life,<sup>614</sup> with the Lo ston, rDo rje dbaň p'yug; having been ordained by him as a monk, he became his disciple.<sup>615</sup>

In the year fire-bird,<sup>616</sup> initial year of the second diffusion of the Law, he was the principal assistant in the foundation of the temple of rGyan goň,<sup>617</sup> in the environs of rGyan goň, (12 b) and he received his complete ordination about the age of thirty. In the year of the hare<sup>618</sup> he proposed to found Žva lu.

(13 b) Then lCe bTsun was the author of the Žva lu temple, of the chapels on the South and North of the Western dBU rtse, of the other two chapels, the one above in the Eastern dBU rtse,<sup>619</sup> dedicated to the Yum c'en mo,<sup>620</sup> the one below, which is now the mGon k'aň, but in those times, there being no mGon k'aň, was an open circumambulation.<sup>621</sup> He also made, with precious substances, an image of sPyan ras gzigs.

(14 a) The lCe bTsun went to Bodhgayā in India, and from the great ācārya of Bodhgayā,<sup>622</sup> Abhayākaragupta, he learnt the rules of discipline and many other doctrines and brought into Tibet an image of sPyan ras gzigs Ka sar pa űi.

(15 b) Then Ye šes dbaň po, who had been mk'an po when lCe btsun šes rab ābyuň gnas had taken vows, founded (16 a) the monastery of mK'an luň in Šaň and then Klāň ra in Ge re, and Ro sñam of Šaň in Eastern gYas ru. Then Ts'ul āpags of Žaň, a disciple (mk'an bu) of lCe bTsun, took possession of Bya kyus. His other disciple T'ar rin c'en had (in his turn) four disciples: aP'ags grags the master of gZugs took sGrei lCe mts'ams and rGya mk'ar stag luň. His brother was gZugs c'e. lCe dkar po took possession of Aň yig, P'yug ston of Dsa k'a ri spa gor and he founded Šab lha mk'ar in Šab rtse. All these were called those of Koň.

(16 b) lCe bTsun's principal disciple, Ye šes gyuň druň, took possession of the temple of rTsis,<sup>623</sup> the other disciple Yon tan ābyuň grags founded sKur bu, from which were propagated aDul c'uň<sup>624</sup> and the other monasteries to the East of Žva lu. From sPag ts'al pa, (a disciple of) lCe bTsun, were propagated those of Yag. In those times the lord of Žva lu had four motives of greatness: because his authority extended

to the four pillars,<sup>629</sup> because his patrons were rulers,<sup>626</sup> because his monastic rules were derived from India, because his family was the lCe family.

(17 a) Beginning from K'ro gzer gdon k'ri (the family) was divided into two branches, the black and the white one. One of them was that of lCe bTsun, lama of Sriu c'uñ. As to the branch descended from lCe gYu aBum, a rebellion of his subjects having occurred, they came to La ra in K'yim mk'ar; hence La ra and rGyan k'yim belonged to the lCe. In course of time, a child who wept, crying a' a', appeared by the side of a lame woman; the lCe bTsun took care of him, and he became famous by the name of king 'A žva.<sup>627</sup> Then, after the lCe bTsun had founded the temple (of Žva lu), gYu t'og sgra gser bzañ, son of sTag gi rgyal mts'an and gYu aBum's elder brother, met lCe bTsun and asked to become his disciple in order to embrace a religious life. The see of Žva lu, which had passed to (lCe bTsun's) younger brother Šes rab aByuñ gnas, was taken by gYu t'og sgra gser bzañ who, acting against his teachings, passed on to temporal power and handed over the abbatial see to K'yuñ po Grags pa señ ge. He became dpon and he exercised power .... He waged war against rGyan goñ; K'yuñ po, thinking that this monastery was like the mother of the others, tried to detain him; but gYu t'og sgra gser bzañ did not listen to him and waged war, and he carried all the sacred objects of that convent to Žva lu (gloss: the sacred objects of rGyan goñ are those now to be seen in the ancient bTsan k'añ). As he had fought against K'yuñ, he went to Lhasa.

(20 b) In those times, as there was great turmoil due to quarrels between C'u (mig)<sup>628</sup> and Žva (lu),<sup>629</sup> those of C'u mig stole and carried off the Jo bo's image (which was in Ri spugs),<sup>630</sup> but a nun of Ri spugs bound the thieves (with magic formulas) and they were unable to go any further.

In those times Indians, Nepalese and those of dBus and gTsañ made many gifts, and in a special manner (21 a) the Nepalese were munificent. The Nepalese, making a confusion between rGyan ri and Žal ri, built under the mountain of Žva lu a mc'od rten which is known to this day by the name of mc'od rten of the Nepalese. Then those of Ri p'ug and those of Žva lu held counsel and saying that from Jo bo's (image) greater benefits would have accrued to created beings if it had been placed in Žva lu, they took it to Žva lu, where it became the main object of cult in the chapel of the South of the two which are on the Western side of the dBu rtse.

gYu t'og sgra gser bzañ's son was lCe aBum pa; his sons were lCe aBum mi and lCe aBum ađar. In those times Žva lu had not yet a myriarchy's name, but its power was equal to a myriarchy's. When the law of the kings of Tibet was over, (22 a) the country having adapted itself to the Mongol law, the four pillars of Žva lu and its eight beams, which were nine with the lion having a mane, to the North, and the 70 rafters, each detaining its own power, became famous.<sup>631</sup>

The four pillars were: dGa' ba gdoñ, pillar of the holy Law, sKu ri bya skyus k'a rag, pillar of the clan, gYus sgyu ma pillar of riches, Ni gsor pillar of strength. The eight beams: to the East Gru ža and Byar ts'añ, to the South 'Ar lug and aBri mts'ams, to the West sDog and Za skañ po, to the North mÑam rdis abañs (22 b) and Cog to span na. As to the lion having a mane of brGya p'ug to the North, it is the valley of Gos sñon, home of 'U yug.

The son of l'Ce aBum me was A mes dGe ađun bzañ po; the sons of lCe A mes aBum dar were: A mes aBum bstan and his brother. A mes aBum bstan married mÑam mo grol c'añ, who bore A mes c'en po Sañs rgyas ye šes and Sa kya blo gros.

(23 a) After A mes c'en po Sañs rgyas ye šes, under rTag dmar rñam, there were lands reserved (as pastures) for the horses and fields for collecting the dung of animals destined to nomads and residents in the villages. As an agreement was not reached upon one (of the sections) destined to the collection of dung, a conflict broke out between those od C'u (mig) and those of Žva lu; as they had fought more than once and it had to be decided who was about to win or lose, this (image of) rTa mgrin which is in the bTsan k'añ, neighed thrice and those of C'u mig were defeated. Then, the boundaries having been defined, strife (between them) came to an end but 'A žva rebelled and carried off a large part of the Žva lu pa's power.

(23 b) At that time the king 'A žva was famous.

A mes c'en po Sañs rgyas ye šes (escaping from the domination of) him of C'u mig, the (lord of) Žva lu took possession of C'u mig,<sup>632</sup> and the revolt of his subjects was put down. After having beaten back the army of the 'A žva, against which he had marched, he established the Hor law; without any longer fighting the rebels, he distributed them in the myriarchies and chiliarchies.

(24 a) A mes c'en po Sañs rgyas married Ts'a ts'a btsun, who bore him the sku žañ rñA sgra, the sku žañ mGo po dpal and the sku žañ Kun dga' aBum and three daughters mK'a' agro aBum, Jo bo stag aBum, Jo bo šes aBum, six children altogether. Ma gcig mK'a' agro aBum (25 a) became the wife of P'yag rdor of the glorious Sa skya pa,<sup>633</sup> and as her price the latter presented to A mes c'en po sixty horses, and the A mes c'en po gave him of C'u mig thirty horses. The latter also gave to the A mes c'en po the rGya skor<sup>634</sup> of Šab dge ldiñ.<sup>635</sup>

All this was given as a dowry<sup>636</sup> for the ma gcig mKa' agro aBum. From ma gcig mK'a' agro aBum Dhar ma pā la rak šita was born;

(25 b) by order of the king,<sup>637</sup> Dharma pā [la] was invited to China. He desired to continue his lineage,<sup>638</sup> but as the land did not suit him, no son was born to him. By order of the king, Jo bo sTag gi aBum of Žva lu was invited (to China) in order to become Dharmapāla(rakṣita's) wife; she married him and bore Ratnapālarakṣita, who died young.

25 b) The bDag rñid c'en po, elected lama by the Emperor of China, had brought from the country



of sMan rtse many riches; when he came to Tibet (the Emperor) ordered him to propagate his lineage and to take seven wives, and invested him with power by a diploma.

If that lineage was propagated up to our days and if those royal lamas (of the Sa skya clan) are lords of the earth, this is the Žva lu women's merit.

(26 a) Later Ma gcig mk'a' agro ābum was called Ma gcig c'en mo, (26 a) Byaṅ sems, Byaṅ sems c'en mo; A mes was called A mes c'en po, the sku žaṅ, or the sku žaṅ c'en po; this means that they both obtained the epithet of c'en po, due to their connection with the aGro mgon P'yaṅ na. To A mes c'en po, in the last period of his life, king Se c'en gave the chiliarchy of sMon agro. As the sku žaṅ was the root of all the family, he gave Bri mts'ams to the sku žaṅ rNa sgra, and to the sku žaṅ mGon po dpal (26 b) the decree and the diploma conferring upon him lordship over the Žva lu myriarchies, with their religious communities. After the sku žaṅ rNa sgra, the sku žaṅ mGon po dpal, who built the Northern wing of the temple (called) of "the three doors",<sup>639</sup> was dPon of Žva lu. Inside the "Three Doors", in the chapel dedicated to his father A mes c'en po Saṅs rgyas ye šes, he built a statue of the great ascetic (the Buddha), with its throne and halo.

(27 a) As regards the genealogies of the abbots, K'yun po sgra seṅ ge conferred the see to the abbot mNon pa pa (sNon pa pa).<sup>640</sup> By him the abbatical see was conferred upon Žva lu bžon pa pa; then Va c'os byaṅ pa (became abbot). At the time of A mes c'en po Saṅs rgyas, the great scholar Bu ston seṅ ge 'od was (abbot); at the time of the C'u mig council there sat the four great scholars: Bu ston Seṅ ge 'od, the Lord of the Law, aJam gsar pa, the all-knowing one of Šar, the learned bSod rgyal, who were (27 b) all called the "precious Lords of the Law".

The son of the sku žaṅ sNa sgra was the sku žaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an; the children of the sku žaṅ mGon po dpal were the sku žaṅ rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug, ma gcig gžon nu ābum, ma gcig Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an, Jo bo rDo rje ābum, Jo bo bTsun mo ma, five brothers and sisters. Ma gcig gžon nu ābum became the wife of the Lama bDag ṅid c'en po: her sons were Ta dben Gu šri Kun dga' (28 a) ṅi ma, aJam dbyaṅs don yod rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po, the Lord of the Law bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po, namely the three great Lords of the Law and great princes.<sup>641</sup> Ma gcig Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an became the wife of the Šar pa, her children were the lama Rin c'en rgyal mts'an and his two sisters. Jo bo rDo rje ābum became the wife of the Ts'al pa sMon lam<sup>642</sup> and of the *du dben ša* Bod rgyal 'od. Her sons were Svi tu Kun dga' rdo rje and the *du dben ša* mGon po ap'el.

(28 b) After the sku žaṅ mGon po dpal, the sku žaṅ rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug was dPon for three years; the king of the Law gave him, as he had given his father, the decree and the diploma of investiture over the Žva lu myriarchy. After the sku žaṅ rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug, the sku žaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an

became dPon of Žva lu. He married the daughter of the Ts'al pa dPa' mo ādsum ābum dpal šis. In the series of the abbots were then recorded the abbot aDul ādsin dpal and the abbot Grags pa gžon pa.

The children of the sku žaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an were the sku žaṅ Kun dga' don grub, (29 a) the dPon po Rin c'en rgyal mts'an, the sku žaṅ Ye šes kun dga', the dPon mo Jo bo K'yed ādren dpal, the dPon mo mGon, the dPon mo dpal ldan ābum,<sup>639</sup> seven children between brothers and sisters. The sku žaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an went to China; king Ol ja du,<sup>644</sup> having filled with *c'ān* a crystal cup<sup>645</sup> decorated with peacocks,<sup>646</sup> gave it to him, saying: "As you are the uncle of all the clans, you are also my uncle", and he appointed him Hu šri<sup>647</sup> (29 b), *du dben ša* of dBus, gTsaṅ and mNa' ris skor gsum, judge with (the badge of the) second gem with a tiger's head, and he issued a decree, the equivalent of a diploma, (conferring upon him the authority of a judge) over the three C'ol ka of Tibet up to Šiṅ kun. The king of China gave him an edict and a diploma which made him Lord of the lay and religious communities of the Žva lu myriarchy up to this side of the T'on la, on the frontiers between the land of Ts'al and that of the dPon mo Buddha-šriheru[ha]. At that time the lands below gNam lha lo t'og, on this side of the Gam pa pass up to Yul la spaṅ c'e, the lay and religious communities, the monasteries,<sup>648</sup> and the households beginning with those of Kun dga' ra ba, (30 a) gNas gži C'or bu skor, together with Ru c'a, sMon gro, rTa mc'og k'ab byed gliṅ, Ra stog and rGya mts'o; to the North many (places), beginning with Dar rgan ru ba, sTag blon ru ba, dBus p'u ru ba, K'an gsar of Rin c'en sgaṅ, Bya sgaṅ, rGyal 'og of dGe sdiṅs, gSer lag, the feud of lCaṅ ādral, etc.<sup>649</sup> After this he conferred upon him the charge of *t'on ji du dben ša*<sup>650</sup> and he gave him the diploma with a tiger's head, which invested him with power over the myriarchy of Žva lu, (30 b) and appointed him *dBaṅ hu*<sup>651</sup> bSod rgyal, Nam mk'a' dmar po, dBaṅ hui k'rims la dbaṅ and myriarch. This myriarch, who delighted in administering justice, and had received from the Emperor of China a judge's office, did not boast of his office. Later he made the leather door on the Southern wing, the temple of intermediate circumambulation, the mGon k'aṅ in the entrance temple to the East, the four great ways of access to the entrance temple on the present Northern side, the paintings within projecting arches,<sup>652</sup> the frames of turquoise enamel,<sup>653</sup> the tiles<sup>654</sup> decorated with a golden *ganjira*, on the gSer k'aṅ, the three-storied domes of Chinese style,<sup>655</sup> the two-storied ones of the other temples; inside he placed numberless images of the Tathāgatas, variously decorated with a hundred and one kinds of colours, and (31 b) particularly on the leather door 108 Buddhas of the three times. With the purpose of spreading the communities of monks, he established (the division between) married monks<sup>656</sup> and regular monks;<sup>657</sup> he established for the former religious rules (to be observed) continually; he assigned to the monks three of small coins<sup>658</sup> each, taken from the taxes (paid) by the lay communities;

he also promised to give the monks the clothes they needed, and established feuds for the great religious ceremonies, to be performed in the first four months of the four seasons.

(34 a) In the year iron-ape<sup>659</sup> the lord of the Law Bu ston rin po c'e, who was then 31 years old, came to Žva lu.

(35 a) In that year that same lord of the Law (Bu ston) built a temple with dwellings for the monks, centering it round a hermitage which was in Ri p'ug of Žva lu, blessed because a mc'od rten stood there, in which some ts'a ts'a were placed, with the image of the protecting deity of Jo bo rje Lha gcig (Atiśa) who had resided there.

(35 b) Then, the sku žaṅ Kun dga' don grub having furnished the necessary means, the Lord of the Law (Bu ston) traced the outlines, together with the explicative inscriptions, of the paintings on four sides of the temple of Žva lu; i. e. to the West the global maṅḍala of rDo rje dbyiṅs, to the South the global maṅḍala of dPal mc'og rigs, to the North the global maṅḍala of the Kun rig, to the East the maṅḍala of the mystical families, globally expressed, of aJam dpal,<sup>660</sup> lord of the verbal plane of the absolute, and dedicated in the temple of the bsTan agyur all the śāstra already translated in Tibet.<sup>661</sup> He translated those which had not yet been translated, completed<sup>662</sup> those which were not complete and also put there his own works.

(38 a) After the Lord of men, incarnation of rNam t'os sras, the sku žaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an, his son, the sku žaṅ Kun dga' don grub, became dPon of Žva lu. (The Emperor) gave him the diploma of t'on ji du dben śa and made him judge of the three c'ol k'a of Tibet: he took the diploma with the tiger-headed seal, investing him with the Žva lu myriarchy. The Emperor successively gave him all the dignities and offices his father had had; indeed he became more powerful than his father. He had paintings made on the (38 b) pavillion, above, on the four corners (of the upper story), the temple of Ts'e dpag med, the temple of the bsTan agyur; the walls<sup>663</sup> of the temple of the sixteen Arhats, together with the temple Naṅ poi bDe ldan.<sup>664</sup> His sons were dKon mc'og rgyal mts'an and the great ācārya dNos grub rgyal mts'an (39 a) who died young; his daughters: Jo mo pad ma, Jo bo dar ra, Jo bo rdo ra etc. Then, before going to (the Hor country), the sku žaṅ Kun dga' don grub left his authority to the son of dPon mo dkar aḅum, namely to the sku žaṅ Ye šes kun dga', to whom he confided the regency of Žva lu; recommending him to rule in a pure manner, he gave him the diploma of his office together with the imperial letters; he also gave him the authenticated<sup>665</sup> imperial edicts, by which his father had been invested with the offices of T'on ji du dben śa and of m'un gon.<sup>666</sup>

(40 a) Among the sisters<sup>667</sup> of the sku žaṅ Ye šes kun dga', Jo bo K'ye ādren<sup>668</sup> dpal married aJam dbyaṅs Don yod dpal bzaṅ po and bore the Lama Kun dga' rgyal mts'an; dPon ma dpal ldan married the si tu Kun dga' rdo rje,<sup>669</sup> dPon mo dGon<sup>670</sup> married

rGyal bzaṅ po (40 b) Yin ši ri; dPon mo dPal ldan aḅum married the Śar pa<sup>671</sup> and had children from him; dPon mo rdo ra (daughter of Kun dga' don grub) married dPon 'Od zer seṅ ge<sup>672</sup> and also had a son who obtained the myriarchy of Lho. Jo bo pad ma married Si tu aP'ags pa dpal; dPon mo... [dar re]<sup>673</sup> married ṅag dbaṅ Grags pa rgyal mts'an.<sup>674</sup> Ye šes kun dga's sons were the sku žaṅ Legs pa don grub, and rNam rgyal dpal bzaṅ po.

(41 a) After him the sku žaṅ Legs pa don grub became dPon of Žva lu. The Emperor of China gave him the diploma investing him with an office equivalent to that of Go t'o ji du dben śa<sup>675</sup> and with the miliarchy of Žva lu. He ruled well. Also the second (son) du dben śa rNam rgyal dpal bzaṅ po took the office of (du) dben śa and governed. rNam rgyal dpal bzaṅ po had no son, but a daughter bDag mo bsTan aḅsin rgyal mo, whom he gave in marriage to the Si tu of rTse c'en<sup>676</sup> (41 b) and a son was born: the bDag po, P'o rgod k'yuṅ rgyal. The sku žaṅ Legs pa don grub had five children, between those he had from the first and second wife. Of those he had before, the eldest was the monk, abbot of rTsod, the second was the sku žaṅ rGyal la ba and the youngest the monk who resided in mT'on smaṅ of Žva lu. From the sku žaṅ rGyal la ba to the sku žaṅ rNam rgyal dpal bzaṅ there were one or two dPon of Žva lu. The sku žaṅ rDo rje dpal bzaṅ and (42 a) rDo rje rgyal mts'an [text corrupt]; these two brothers had three sons: the sku žaṅ dPal aḅyor ba, the Lord of the Law C'os rgyal ba and the sku žaṅ Rig pa pa. These also had no male issue. By the king of rGyal mk'ar tse, the lineage of the sku žaṅ rTse ṅiis pa was interrupted. As to Legs pa don grub's second issue, born from sÑe mo t'on pa's daughter, the eldest was the sku žaṅ Don rgyal, the second was the sku žaṅ incarnation of Rigs ldan, the precious Lord of the Law bKra śis (42 b) rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po. The youngest was the ṅag dbaṅ po. The sku žaṅ Don rgyal ba had three sons; the eldest was the sku žaṅ Saṅs rgyas pa, the second the Lord of the Law Rin c'en aJam dbyaṅs, the youngest sku žaṅ rGyal c'en pa. Saṅs rgyas's sons were the sku žaṅ Rin c'en bzaṅ po pa, the Lord of the Law Dus aḅ'or ba, Saṅs rgyas dpal aḅyor ba, the sku žaṅ Legs pa pa, the Lord of the Law Kun dga' sñiṅ po pa and the sku žaṅ lÑa aJam pa. The son of the sku žaṅ Rin c'en bzaṅ po (43 a) was the sku žaṅ Rin c'en pa.

The sons of rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug<sup>677</sup> were the sku žaṅ sLob dpon Rin c'en and Nam mk'a' mc'og grub dpal bzaṅ po. The latter, before becoming a monk, had had relations<sup>678</sup> with the daughter of mTs'al pa dPon ka ra, who bore him a daughter and two sons, Slob dpon Blo gsal pa and the ācārya P'yog las rnam par rgyal ba. He gave his daughter in marriage to aBrag ram, and she bore him the gÑer c'en A mo gha pa. (43 b) This sku žaṅ Lord of the Law, when he was still young was firm in the thought of the Law, and although his father's elder brother,<sup>679</sup> the sku žaṅ Ye šes kun dga', invited him to help him to rule, he refused. On that occasion he asked the Lord of

the Law Bu ston rin po c'e to bestow upon him the vows of devoted layman, and from him he heard the dPal dus kyi ak'or lo and other instructions. (44 b) He met the glorious Lama dam pa and many other noble beings. (45 b) As to the sku žaň Blo gsal pa, at the age of seven he took monastic vows with the all-knowing Bu ston, and up to 15 years of age he was comprised among the four (masters) of Žva lu.

(46 a) The sku žaň P'yogs las rnam par rgyal ba married dPon mo Lha lcam from aBroň rtse, and she bore him the sku žaň dPal abyor, who married dPon Saňs rgyas ađsom, the daughter of the Sa skya pa mGon po, and they had five sons; the sku žaň precious Lord of the Law and supreme scholar mC'og sgrub dPal bzaň po, (46 b) the Lord of the Law P'un t'ogs pa, the sku žaň rGyal ba rnam sras, the sku žaň Legs pa bkra šis.<sup>(66)</sup> The sku žaň rGyal ba rnam sras married the mK'ar k'a pa's daughter, who bore him the sku žaň, the precious Lord of the Law bSod nams mc'og sgrub dpal bzaň po.

This clan of the lCe had lCe Blo ldan sgom pa and lCe mDo sde seň ge and other keepers of ascetic methods and many lotsāvas like the lotsāva of lCe dGa' bai dpal, the lotsāva lCe bKra šis rtsegs, the lotsāva lCe Klu mes, ect.

(47 b) If now one wishes to know which were the Bla dpon of Žva lu, we can answer that three were known as such: (48 a) lCe bTsun Šes rab abyuň gnas, his younger brother Šes rab ye šes and P'o po gYü t'og sgra gser bzaň. gYü t'og sgra, having left the religious rules, became dPon (48 b) and left the see to K'yuň po grags seň ge. The latter entrusted it to the abbot mNon pa pa.<sup>(68)</sup> In the latter's times lived lCe aBum. In the times of lCe aBum and of aBum dar, gŽon nu brtson pa of Žva lu was abbot;<sup>(68a)</sup> in the second part of aBum dar's life and at the time of aBum brtan, Va c'os byaň pa; (48 b) at the time of A mes c'en po Saňs rgyas, Bu ston seň ge 'od. At the time of Sa skya blo gros and of the sku žaň rNa sgra, the abbot aDul ađsin.<sup>(68b)</sup> At the time of the sku žaň mGon po dpal, and for three years of the sku žaň rDo rje dbaň p'yug, the abbot Grag gžon pa. In the second part of the life of the sku žaň Grags pa rgyal mts'on, Kun dga' don grub and in the first of Ye šes kun dga' the all-knowing Buston. In the second part of Ye šes kun dga's life and in the first part of Legs pa don grub's life (49 a) (Buston's) spiritual disciple, rNam rgyal.<sup>(68c)</sup> In the second part of the sku žaň Legs pa don grub's life and in the first of rNam rgyal dpal bzaň, aJam dbyaňs grags pa rgyal mts'an.<sup>(68d)</sup> In the second part of the sku žaň rNam rgyal dpal bzaň's life and in the first of the rGyal la ba, mK'as grub Saňs rgyas rin c'en pa.<sup>(68e)</sup> In the second part of the sku žaň rGyal la ba's life the precious aK'ruľ žig Ts'ul k'rims rgyal mts'an. Nevertheless all the abbots began to be dated when the all-knowing Bu ston took possession of the see; as to these dates and to the dates of his death, Bu ston the all-knowing was born in the year of the tiger<sup>(67)</sup> and arrived in the see at the age of 31, in the year iron-ape<sup>(68)</sup> and for 37 years he ruled the see. When this

all-knowing was 67 years old, his spiritual son, the Lord of the Law, who was born in the year of the horse<sup>(66a)</sup> and was 39 years of age, in the year of the ape<sup>(66)</sup> (50 a) in the fourth day of the first winter month came to the see and ruled it for 33 years. The all-knowing (Buston) at the age of 75, in the year wood-dragon<sup>(66b)</sup> in the month of the constellation C'u stod,<sup>(66c)</sup> in the twenty-first day passed away.

(50 b) The Lord of the Law, his spiritual son, at the age of 71, in the year of the dragon,<sup>(66d)</sup> in the tenth month according to the Mongol calendar, the second day, at sunset, passed away.

(51 a) The Lord of the Law Grags pa rgyal mts'an, who was born in the year of the serpent,<sup>(66e)</sup> in this same year<sup>(66f)</sup> came to the see and ruled it for 16 years. In the interval the see was entrusted to the mK'as grub Saňs rgyas dpal rin pa.<sup>(66g)</sup>

(51 b) The latter ruled the see for eight years, then he went to La stod. He died in his year, the year of the dragon (52 a); then again the see was ruled by the Lord of the Law, Grags pa rgyal mts'an, for 36 years, which summed up with the former years are 52 years (1451).

After him the see was entrusted to the great lama, the aK'ruľ žig, the venerable Lord, the mK'yen rtsse mNa' bdag, aJam dbyaňs grags pa rgyal mts'an dpal bzaň po,<sup>(67)</sup> who at the age of 84, in the year of the dragon,<sup>(66h)</sup> in the tenth month of the Mongol calendar, in the month of sMig drug,<sup>(66i)</sup> in the fifteenth day, passed away.

(52 b) aK'ruľ žig Ts'ul k'rims rgyal mts'an dpal bzaň po, who was born (lit.: had as the year of his birth) the year of the hare,<sup>(700)</sup> at the age of 42, in the year of the ape,<sup>(701)</sup> in the month rGyal,<sup>(702)</sup> came to the see and ruled it for 27 years; (53 a) at the age of 75, in the year of the snake,<sup>(703)</sup> in the tenth month according to the Mongol calendar, on the twenty-seventh day, he passed away.

(53 b) The all-knowing mC'og grub bzaň po,<sup>(704)</sup> born in the year of the horse,<sup>(705)</sup> at the age of 53, in the year of the dog,<sup>(706)</sup> in the month rGyal, on the tenth day, came to the see and ruled it for seventeen years. At the age of 69, in the year of the tiger,<sup>(707)</sup> on the first day of the month of T'a skar,<sup>(708)</sup> at sun-down, he passed away.

(54 a) aJam dbyaňs bšes bšeň bzaň po rgyal mts'an, born in the year of the horse,<sup>(709)</sup> at the age of 69, in the year of the hare,<sup>(710)</sup> in the month rGyal, on the fifteenth day came to the see and ruled it for eleven years, and at the age of eighty, in the year of the ox,<sup>(711)</sup> in the month C'u stod, on the tenth day, he passed away.

The peerless Lord of the Law Rin c'en rigs ađsin<sup>(712)</sup> rgyal po, born in the year of the snake,<sup>(713)</sup> at the age of 59, in the year of the tiger,<sup>(714)</sup> in the month Sa ga,<sup>(715)</sup> on the eighteenth day, came to the see and ruled it for twelve years.<sup>(716)</sup>

dKon mc'og ts'ul k'rims, born in the year of the ox,<sup>(717)</sup> in the year fire-hare,<sup>(718)</sup> in the eleventh month according to the Mongol calendar, came to the see and ruled it for eight years.<sup>(719)</sup> The Lord of the Law

bSod nams rgyal mts'an pa, born in the year of the ox,<sup>720</sup> at the age of 31, in the year water-sheep,<sup>721</sup> in the month C'u stod, on the seventeenth day came to the see and ruled it for eleven years.<sup>722</sup> After him Lhai btsun po blo bzañ bstan pa, born in the year fire-hare<sup>723</sup> (55 a) at the age of 67, in the year fire-bird,<sup>724</sup> in the month sNron,<sup>725</sup> on the seventeenth day ascended the see.

All these things<sup>726</sup> according as they are in the guide of the most holy T'ugs rje c'en po,<sup>727</sup> taking as a base the list of its abbots, the old people's narratives, Don grub rgyal mgon's philological works, written according to the method of the all-knowing master<sup>728</sup> of Kaliyuga, and above all extracting

information from the biographies whose consultation is useful, like those of the two most ancient sku zañ and of the Lord of the Law, the sku zañ Rin c'en mk'yen rab me'og grub dpal bzañ po,<sup>729</sup> and that vajra of corrupted times, who were dGe ap'el of sÑe mo, etc., he who is called Mañgala-amogha-siddhi, i. e. (in Tibetan) bKra šis don grub, rightly disposed (all these things) in writings (which preserve those memories), in an indestructible manner; this he did for the good of all future beings and for the advantage of the great progeny of the sku zañ, the lamas lords of that Bodhgayā of Tibet which is the glorious gSer k'an of Žva lu. May good increase.

## FROM THE CHRONICLES OF GYANTSE

(1 a) The *yon bdag* aBum ñeg was descended from Gra rgod ađon btsan<sup>730</sup> of upper mDo k'ams; he wore an armour made of a hundred tiger skins, he seized brown bears by the paws and the was the son-in-law of king Ge sar of K'rom. Trusting to the Sa skya pa's glorious teachings he settled in the gTsañ region and got to sNar rñam, and followed the sect of the ancient school of esoteric formulas. His son was the ācārya Nam mk'a' byañ c'ub, the latter's son was the master Nam mk'a' lhun grub; the latter's son was the ācārya Nam mk'a' bzañ po. He had three sons: the eldest was the dPon brTson agrus rdo rje; the second the ācārya Grags brtson, the youngest gŽon nu ap'ags. The eldest was one of the four masters (magicians) (of his time), like Nam mk'a' grags of the mC'ims clan of sNar t'añ. The youngest was the secretary of the Ti śrī Grags 'od of the Bla brañ k'añ gzar.<sup>731</sup> The second went into the upper country, depending on the great (Sa skya) residence etc. While he was in the great feud<sup>732</sup> of sTag t'og, he had from Šes rab ma a son who was named dPon rGyal mts'an bzañ po. As he was of good birth and fine appearance and proficient in writing, the Žva lu pa<sup>733</sup> elected him mi dpon of Eastern Ra dsa. He married Lha mo dpal<sup>734</sup> and had three sons; in the year *po ña*,<sup>735</sup> according to the Indian calendar, Dpal ldan bzañ po saw the light.<sup>736</sup>

The latter was lofty through the glory of his merits, he had an unbreakable faith in the teachings of the Victorious, was excellent among all the scholars of the world, the diadem of all those who overthrow the opposers of religion and he had several heavenly virtues; with his wisdom he enlightened the darkness of the world, pervading it with a great glow. In the year iron-ape (1320) his younger brother dPal ldan rin c'en pa was born; the roots of faith were extremely firm in him and the branches of his munificence spread over the ten points of space; (2 a) he possessed the splendour of the king of the Ya kša.<sup>737</sup> In the year fire-tiger (1326) the honourable sTag dar po was born.<sup>738</sup>

The eldest, when he was thirteen or fourteen, went to sTe po in lDan yul,<sup>739</sup> to learn the scriptures according to the lDan system. As the place pleased him,<sup>740</sup> he built a dwelling there and had the vision of lDan ma dbañ rgyal, his family's protecting deity.<sup>741</sup> At the age of sixteen, in the year water-bird (1332), he went to Sa skya, the great see. By virtue of the karmic connection derived from a vow he had made in a preceding life, and thanks to his deeds, which had determined relations of lord and protégé between the Sa skya pa and himself, he met the master of K'añ gzar and became his officer.<sup>742</sup> Soon he asked him to be appointed<sup>743</sup> in the bŽi t'og. In that same year he went back (to his lands). Then at the age of seventeen, in the year wood-dog (1334), he went back to the (Sa skya pa's) residence; he was employed by the K'añ gzar pa as an official in the bŽi t'og's palace. Being very capable in writing, he became first secretary. Then he invited from Rol skam to lDan yul the great master of dPyal ap'ags rgyal ba,<sup>744</sup> who consecrated his dwelling. His mother with her two elder sons asked to take the eight vows of lay devotees; he added to his first name the name of his master, being called from that time ap'ags pa dpal bzañ po; the younger brother assumed the name of ap'ags pa rin c'en; their mother, in the same way, that of Ma cig Lha mo sman. At this time ap'ags pa rin c'en had a vision of Ts'ogs kyi bdag po (Gaṇapati) gNod sbyin dbañ po. At the age of eighteen, in the year of the boar (1335), he went back once again to the residence (Sa skya). In the Lha k'añ bla brañ he met the master C'os kyi rgyal mts'an pa.

Having become his intimate<sup>745</sup> and having attended to the most important affairs, he urged that dGe bšes dGe ađun rgyal mts'an of Roñ po might accept him in his retinue in the expedition against the Lho duñ,<sup>746</sup> (which he was preparing). At the age of twenty-three, in the year iron-dragon (1340), he went as a lay companion<sup>747</sup> (in the retinue) of dGe bšes, and in Lho duñ the enemies<sup>748</sup> were destroyed. In the seventh month of the year water-horse (1342)

he went back to the see to present propitiatory offerings for the deceased<sup>710)</sup> dGe bśes. Then, while the bDag c'en Don yod rgyal mts'an was residing in the gZi t'og, he gave propitiatory gifts to all, beginning with those honourable (lords). When he asked to occupy the place of the dGe bśes, the bDag c'en said to him: "Although you are worthy of being a *nañ c'en*, it is necessary that you go to conquer the Lho duñ ,, (4a) and therefore he gave him the badges,<sup>750)</sup> diplomas and letters<sup>751)</sup> appointing him to replace the dGe bśes. At the age of twenty-five, in the year water-horse (1342), he went to bZaŋ yul. Among the four offices<sup>752)</sup> corresponding to the (four) sections in which Sa skya was divided, the dGe bśes dGe aḍun rgyal mts'an had that of Sar k'a; as he was appointed in his place he was exalted as the glorious Sar k'a pa.<sup>753)</sup> Having conquered the Dun reñ,<sup>754)</sup> as the clergy and laymen were pacified, the Sa skya pa hierarch too had a high opinion of him;<sup>755)</sup> in the year water-sheep (1343), when he was twenty-six, he founded the monastery of Sol bla tsam, where the excellent scholar, the mK'an c'en Rin c'en bsod nams bzañ po resided. Next he provided for a summer retreat for C'os luñ ts'ogs pa.<sup>756)</sup>

At the age of thirty, in the year fire-boar (1347) (the Sa skya pa lama) of bZi t'og gave him the investiture with the annexed letters-patent as administrator of Western Lho brag.

At the age of thirty-one, in the year of the mouse (1348) (4b) he obtained from the chief of dBus and from the Sar k'a pa that they should have sincere intentions<sup>757)</sup> towards each other. At thirty-three, in the year iron-tiger (1350), he married the dPon mo Pad ma, daughter of the sku žaŋ of Ža lu Kun dga' don grub, descended from the Hor; she was sixteen, having been born in the year wood-boar (1335), and the sku žaŋ gave him as his daughter's dowry the feud of lCañ ra, with its temple and sacred objects. And he named his younger brother aP'ags pa rin c'en administrator.<sup>758)</sup> Then he provided for the C'os luñ ts'ogs pa, which was the monastery chosen as the chief see by the great scholar Rin c'en gžon nu. In the year of the mouse (1360) he founded the temple of Lha rgyal dkar po in P'ag ri. In some writings we find that in the year of the dragon he founded Lhun grub rdson in Gam pa.<sup>759)</sup> As the various traditions differ, the question is difficult to solve for those whose intelligence is scanty, but the wise, by comparing the indications of time and examining the dates (identify) those two (incomplete) references with the years iron-mouse and water-dragon (1352). If the eldest (of the two brothers) aP'ags pa, at the age of thirty-four and fifty-two really built (those two temples) it is befitting that the discernment of intelligent people should later investigate. (5a) In the year water-dragon (1352) when he was thirty-five, he put his trust, as if they had been his chaplains, in the so-called four sections (of the Law), i. e. in the glorious lama of C'os luñ ts'ogs, in that of Ts'ogs c'en, in that of dGe aḍun sgañ and in that of Bye rdsi ts'ogs, who preserved unaltered the tradition of the Kashmiri paṇḍita's<sup>760)</sup> teaching. He presented them, as a sign of homage, with many

offerings. In that year he destroyed the Lho duñ in Rin c'en sgañ and in the environs of P'ag ri.

In the following year the Sar duñ<sup>761)</sup> led by Don grub dar, having vanquished the Gur minister of Grum pa and having asked to make an act of submission, it is said that he let them remain in his retinue. In the year wood-horse (1354) his younger brother aP'ags pa rin c'en pa went to Lho brag and conquered the Lho duñ and hence deserved well of dBus. In the year wood-goat (1355) he asked the lama of the Lha k'an bla bran to appoint him administrator of mDol byuñ,<sup>762)</sup> and he did so. When the eldest brother was forty, in the year fire-bird (1357), called according to the Indian system *gser ap'yañ*,<sup>763)</sup> the lord of men Kun dga' ap'ags pa was born to him of Ma gcig pad ma, then twenty-three years of age, in lCañ ra.

(5b) bDe yañs sbyaŋs's consecration was made in lCañ ra, in an ample manner, by masters at whose head was the all-knowing Buston rin po c'e; he asked for initiation and offered a maṇḍala in which had been employed nine *stras* of gold in all. In the year earth-dog (1358), to obtain permission to found a temple on the mountain of Sam bu rse dgu, he sent (to the Chinese court) the dPa' si Mig pa Kun dga' dpal ba,<sup>764)</sup> father and son, from lCañ ra, both retinue of Kar ma pa Rañ aḅyuñ rdo rje, who was then going to the Chinese Emperor,<sup>765)</sup> and with him C'os 'od.<sup>766)</sup> In the year earth-boar (1359) Ma gcig Pad ma pa who had reached her twenty-fifth year, giving birth to a son, her karmic causes having matured, passed from this life. Hence he dedicated a statue of rJe btsun sgröl ma, made of silver according to the Indian style, its proportions having as their unity of measure the (dead woman's) thumb, decorated with all sorts of gems. When the elder brother reached the age of forty-three, that is in the year iron-mouse (1360) the T'ai dben (6a) Blo gros rgyal mts'an conferred an office upon him and appointed him Nañ c'en of the bZi t'og palace; hence he was called the Nañ c'en aP'ags pa dpal bzañ po. He took upon himself the offices of greater trust<sup>767)</sup> in the bZi t'og, in Lha c'en and in Lha rse and great spiritual and material peace accrued to all men. In the year iron-elephant (1361), when the Nañ c'en was forty-four, he married the daughter of the dPon c'en dBaŋ p'yug dpal, named dPal ldan bSod nams aḅum, celebrated under her other name of dPon mo c'en mo, from whom in the year of the hare (1363) was born the honourable Grags pa.<sup>768)</sup> In the first month of the year wood-dragon (1364) the Tai dben Blo gros rgyal mts'an passed from this life and bDag po Kun dga' rin c'en of the bZi t'og charged him to bring presents to sNeu gdon<sup>769)</sup> saying that the *bsvi tu* Byaŋ (c'ub) rgyal (mts'an) and the Nañ c'en aP'ags pa were on good terms due to preceding relations; hence in the fourth month he set off. But the ācārya of gZis k'ab rNam rgyal and C'en po Šes rab bzañ and the dPa' ši of Zad, dKon mc'og<sup>770)</sup> plotted evil plans, and they told him that the *bsvi tu* Byaŋ rgyal<sup>771)</sup> was ill.<sup>772)</sup> The Nañ c'en aP'ags pa together with his followers was surrounded in Rin spuñs, then led to aGrva p'yi ts'oñ

ādus, and his saintly behaviour which had been profitable to dBus and gTsañ was slandered.<sup>773</sup>

Although some people devoid of any religious or civil decorum (tried to do him harm), through the grace of the Sa skya clan, beginning from the C'os rje, the glorious bla ma lofty bSod nams rgyal mts'an, through the mercy bestowed upon him by the three precious gems, through the merits of (his wife) the princess<sup>774</sup> and the regard he had shown for the ācārya of C'os luñ ts'ogs and for the lama of Sa dbyuñ, due also to the unerring truth of the connection between cause and effect, to the cuirass of moral energy of his elder brother aP'ags pa rin c'en and of his other relatives residing in their fiefs and to the attachment<sup>775</sup> of his soldiers<sup>776</sup> for their chief (like the devoted layman of Yar klunis, etc.) and to the performance of his duty, in which he had shown a perseverance beyond all imagination, through the combination of all these causes and good omens, on the fifteenth day of the ninth month, without receiving any damage, like a lotus flower issuing from the mud untouched by any sin, as if drawn by a silken rope,<sup>777</sup> he arrived through Roñ po, rDsa rgyab, P'o ma and rGyañ ro, etc.

In that same year, in the ascending fortnight, the dPa ši C'os 'od<sup>778</sup> arrived in sNa rims, bearing from the Mongol emperor T'o gan t'i mur, together with gifts, the diploma of Nañ c'en and the permission to build the temple on the Šam bu rtse dgu mountain. When the Nañ c'en reached the age of forty-eight, in the year, according to the Indian calendar, sNa ts'og dbyig,<sup>779</sup> that is in the year wood-snake (1365), he in accordance with good astrological conjunctions founded rTse c'en, mK'ar k'a, Lhun grub rtse in Pa snam, and particularly he laid the foundations of the great palace called rGyal mk'ar<sup>780</sup> rtse, which in ancient times was (the royal palace) of the mNa' bdag c'en po.<sup>781</sup>

(8 a) In this same year, from his marriage with the dPon mo c'en mo, was born he who is celebrated by the name of: great ascetic Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzai po, at the same time the son of the Nañ c'en aP'ags pa and of his brother. In the year fire-horse (1366) the Nañ c'en aP'ags pa dpal, who had reached his forty-first year, laid the foundations of the temple of rTse c'en and repaired the enclosure and the turret.<sup>782</sup>

When the Nañ c'en aP'ags pa was fifty, in the year fire-goat (1367) he met in brGya groñ the daughter of the chiliarch of sMon agro dGe sñen pa and of bSam grub ādsom, whose name was Byañ sems bzai mo dpal, and as she was an uncommon being, as a sign that a bodhisattva would be born as her son, in that year the dpa' ši dGon c'en arrived from the (imperial) Court, bearing from the Mongol king T'o gan t'i mur the title of *gyuñ lo ta ho t'ai svi tu*,<sup>783</sup> greater than that of *svi tu*, a crystal seal and the third gem with a golden tiger's head, the round golden patent,<sup>784</sup> gifts of foodstuffs and flasks,<sup>785</sup> the royal diploma investing him with the office of *t'u gon*,<sup>786</sup> from sKu ril t'og upwards and from Gañs ba bzai po downwards, and on this side of aBri mts'ams<sup>787</sup> Gañs dkar po as his apanage,<sup>788</sup> soap<sup>789</sup> for the queen

and *shel ka*<sup>790</sup> for the prince and *zam dkon*<sup>791</sup> for the minister, and the diploma of *du dben ša* of mNa' ris<sup>792</sup> for the younger brother aP'ags pa rin c'en.

When the C'os rje, the glorious, lofty blama bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal,<sup>793</sup> went to dBus, he begged him to perform the consecration of lCañ ra, and having invited those of the monastery of gNas rñiñ, the announcement of the diploma he had received was given. In that same year Hora bSod nams dpal was born.<sup>794</sup>

(9 a) In the year earth-monkey (1368) Kun dga' dpal da ra k'a c'e<sup>795</sup> arrived; he had been invited by the Emperor, who had given him the diploma of "strengthened",<sup>796</sup> of the teaching, buttons<sup>797</sup> and cloth for his clothes, together with good presents of foodstuffs. In that same year he completed the temple of rTse c'en, the veranda with thirty-six pillars and the chapel with eight pillars. This bDag c'en t'ai bsvi tu died in his fifty-third year, in the year iron-dog (1370) on the fifth day of the first month, in his private room K'ra mo in rTse c'en.

After him his younger brother, aP'ags pa rin c'en *du dben ša*, with the purpose of accomplishing his elder brother's pure wishes as regards religion, offered many gifts to the monks of the monasteries of the upper and lower part of the gTsañ region, beginning with those of the great see (Sa skya).

(9 b) In the fifth month he founded the palace and the assembly-hall in the rTse c'en temple. In his fifty-second year, in the year iron-boar (1371) in the eighth month, he invited to the great monastery of rTse c'en the incomparable *ña dpon* Kun dga' dpal,<sup>798</sup> master and disciples, about six hundred persons in all; he begged him to become its abbot and he founded the school for the explanation of the Law, collecting there almost all the spiritual preceptors (*kalyāṇamitra*) of dBus, gTsañ and K'ams.<sup>799</sup> aP'ags pa *du dben ša*, at the age of fifty-three, in the year earth-mouse (1372) together with the dPon Kun dga' ap'ags pa, went on a visit<sup>800</sup> to the master's great residence, the glorious Sa skya, where he did perfect honour to all the family, beginning with Kun dga' rin c'en of the bZi t'og and the four classes of dignitaries of the various palaces.<sup>801</sup>

(10 a) The dPa' ši C'os 'od returned once more to the Chinese court; the king of the Mongols had (meanwhile) conferred upon him (viz. aP'ags pa) the office of *bsvi tu*, with the seal belonging to it.<sup>802</sup> He notified the diploma appointing him aP'ags pa rin c'en; hence his name was changed into that of aP'ags pa rin c'en *du dben ša druñ tai bsvi tu*. Having given to the honourable Kun dga' ap'ags pa (his nephew) the office of Nañ c'en and the diploma of *t'u gon*, he went back. In the year wood-hare (1375) in brGya groñ, Byañ sems bzai mo dpal<sup>803</sup> bore aP'ags pa rin c'en's son; he had no rivals as a warrior and was the right honourable dBañ rgyal ap'ags pa.

(10 b) The *bsvi tu* aP'ags pa rin c'en, in the year fire-dragon (1376) at the age of fifty-seven, in the seventh month, passed away.

(11 a) The bDag c'en (Kun dga' ap'ags pa) at the age of twenty-three, in the year earth-sheep (1379) founded



the sPel mo c'e in mDol byun and appointed as administrator gNas brtan ap'el ba. At the age of twenty-eight in the year wood-mouse (1384) he made a census<sup>804</sup> of the laymen and men of religion, of the families,<sup>805</sup> of the Tibetans and of the aBrog pa, which was called "P'yi rabs p'an pai deb gter nag leb tu sñad pa grub",<sup>806</sup>

At twenty-nine, in the year wood-elephant (1385) in the third month, the fiend of madness entered the brain of some men, but although there were insults and slander against the bDag c'en, nevertheless as the rays of the sun of his merits hurt the eyes<sup>807</sup> of the evil birds living in the gloomy spaces, he blinded them. In the year fire-ox (1397) when he was forty-one, through the right honourable Hen du c'en po of Yar abrog, (those who had injured him) asked for his grace and through his great compassion (10 b) they obtained it. This great lord of men, who caused the lotus garden of the created beings which are upon earth to prosper, completed the lofty temple of rGyal mk'ar rtsé, called bSam ap'el rin po c'e.

(12 a) Having now to speak of the great saintly king's birth, we will say that he was conceived by his mother in the year earth-dragon (1388), and was born in the sixth month of the year earth-serpent (1389).

(13 b) From the master of dPyal Kun dga' rgya mts'o he obtained the name of Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa.

(14 b) At twenty, in the year earth-mouse (1408) called according to the Ind an system Kun aḍsin,<sup>808</sup> on an order from his father, the saintly Nañ c'en Kun dga' ap'ags pa, he performed the ceremony prescribed by the religious calendar, to satisfy the wish of the bDag c'en and of his brother, and on this occasion, having assembled a great number of monks and laymen, honoured them by distributing (gifts) to each of them.

(16 a) In the year iron-hare (1421) in the ninth month, on the fifteenth day there was a great earthquake and Rin spuñs was destroyed; of many other towns and villages not even the name was left. In the year water-dragon (1412) when the bDag c'en (i. e. his father) was fifty-six, (16 b) in the second month he came to sBad gcod to give a feast<sup>809</sup> for the arrival of the ambassadors who had come to invite the king of the Law of the great Vehicle on the king of China's part,<sup>810</sup> headed by Ta bžin; having offered great gifts to the Ta bžin and to his retinue of about five hundred persons, he went back. In the fifth month the saintly king of the Great Vehicle moved from his seat; he then went to meet the right honourable bSod nams dam pa and his nephew and offered great gifts, as it was fitting, and also said that his opinion concerning the teaching of the glorious Sa skya was (unchanged) as before, and advised him to take the Lha k'añ c'en mo.<sup>811</sup> In this same year the bDag po c'en po (17 a), who was considered an incarnation of Gañs bzañ gnod sbyin, began to sicken, and although he received the grace of the blessing of the sku žañ the Lord of the Law<sup>812</sup> and other masters, on the fifth day of the ninth month he passed from life in rGyal rtsé in the Eastern hall.

After him, in the year water-dragon (1412) in the first month, in a well-omened astrological conjunction of planets and stars, the saintly lord of men, liberal towards the Buddhas' holy teaching, whose name was Kun tu bzañ, ascended his father's throne. (17 b) At the age of twenty-five, in this same year called rNam rgyal<sup>813</sup> according to the Indian calendar, he founded the feud of lCan ra whose revenue were assigned to temples;<sup>814</sup> on this occasion he invited from Byañ his former lama, the Lord of the highest scholars, the Lord of the Law, the c'os rje dGe legs dpal, considered an incarnation of the ancient master, the great scholar and ascetic, Lhai dbañ po;<sup>815</sup> he was the chief of four hundred scholars, who had a thorough knowledge of the revelation and the sciences. Therefore he begged him to preside the religious ceremonies.<sup>816</sup>

(18 a) Above all in this year (water-snake, 1413) in the fifth month, eighth day, five Ta bžin, departed from the great royal palace,<sup>817</sup> with a retinue of about five hundred persons, having at their head the Ha ho ta bžin<sup>818</sup> and the gSuñ ta bžin sent by the king of China, king Ye wañ, to invite the Lord of the Law the pañḍita Śrīśāriputra;<sup>819</sup> they were also directed to proclaim the (imperial) orders to many dignitaries of dBus and gTsañ, that is to give presents to the Lord of the Law T'eg c'en<sup>820</sup> and to the Kar ma pa,<sup>821</sup> to erect (in the monastery of) mTs'ur pu<sup>822</sup> the golden pinnacle, to confer upon the bDag po of the bŽi t'og<sup>823</sup> the title of Tai šri, to the bDag po dBañ pa the diploma of dBañ,<sup>824</sup> to his younger brother that of *gu šri*, to the great abbot of sNar t'añ and to the great abbot of gNas rñin the brief appointing them *gu šri*, to bSod nams dpal and to Grags pa dpal of Lho the diploma of *bsvi tu*, and what was necessary to whitewash the mc'od rten ap'ags pa šin k'un<sup>825</sup> and the diploma authorizing him of dBus to reside in the great temple.<sup>826</sup> At this time, in the twelfth month, they arrived.

(18 b) The saintly king with his brother, to receive the imperial edict, went into the palace,<sup>827</sup> and he had the Ta bžin escorted from Ts'on aḍus. On the fifteenth day the diploma was notified to him and he assumed the name of *gYun lo ho ta bsvi tu*.<sup>828</sup> Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa. They gave him many gifts, beginning from the seal, made of a great silver *bre*;<sup>829</sup> the use of red stamps<sup>830</sup> began in this year.

The younger brother Rab abyor bzañ po had the seal investing him with the office of *nañ c'en*. After having distributed other gifts also, the Ta bžin went to invite the lord of the Law, the pañḍita residing in Byañ.<sup>831</sup> Although in some documents it is said that the edict quoted above was proclaimed in the year of the horse (1414), in the second month, these (data) of ours seem exact.

At the age of twenty-six, in the year wood-horse (1414) the saintly king built on the great river Nañ c'u an extraordinary bridge, having in the centre six arcades<sup>832</sup> and mc'od rten of the type called of the Bodhisattva, through whose middle the road passed.

(19 a) To meet the pañḍita famous under the name of Śākyasī Śāriputra mahāsvāmin,<sup>833</sup> who was coming, invited by the Ta bžin, the saintly king

went to aDol c'ün; the monks residing in the various monasteries of lower Nān went to meet and honour that master with great ceremonies and processions.<sup>834)</sup> He then invited him into the temple of lCan ra where, as above, he was greatly honoured by the monks of upper (Nān) beginning with those of gNas rñin.

(20 a) In that year the saintly king of the Great Vehicle came from China and the notable<sup>835)</sup> uncle and nephew from the upper and lower palace, came<sup>836)</sup> to the palace (of Gyantse). He invited the C'os rje to rGyan gon<sup>837)</sup> and honoured him with the greatest homage and veneration, and the latter, extremely satisfied, returned to the great see (of Sa skya).

(24 a) In the year earth-boar (1419) when the saintly king was thirty-one, in the month Caitra, on the day of the great feast established by the fundamental tantra of the Kālacakra, he consecrated a tanka on woven stuff, made of twenty-three bolts of light golden silken material.<sup>838)</sup>

Having been begged by the notable Nān c'en Rab aByor bzañ po to consecrate the most important objects of cult, the bDag po dBañ Nam mk'a' legs came to sTag rtse and on that occasion spoke thus to the saintly king: "I want you to become the chief<sup>839)</sup> of my second see Lha rtse rdson . . . Therefore in the third month of the year wood-dragon (1424) he departed<sup>840)</sup> and in the great see (of Sa skya) having informed the Lord of the Law of the Great Vehicle of the matter, he took possession of Lha rtse; the great temple (Lha k'an c'en po) was also entrusted to him.<sup>841)</sup>

(26 a) In the year wood-snake (1425) when the saintly king was thirty-seven years old, he consecrated in the centre of this great monastery<sup>842)</sup> the lama's vast palace, filled with sacred emblems of the verbal spiritual and physical plane; on the upper floor of the convent he built his private cell, called gSer po mk'a' spyod; outside the temple a wall encircling it, which measured two hundred gZu<sup>843)</sup> on each side, ornamented with sixteen turrets, round which ran the circumambulation with great gates on the North and South, and a couple of gates both on the East and West, namely six gates in all.

(27 a) At the age of thirty-nine, in the year fire-sheep (1427) on the tenth day of the *purvāṣāda* (July), the constellation *rgyal* and the planet *pur bu'*<sup>844)</sup> being in a perfect and extraordinary conjunction, in a well-omened day he consecrated the bKra sis sgo mañ.<sup>845)</sup>

(28 a) When the saintly king was forty-two, in the year sheep-dog (1430) in the eleventh month, the honourable slob dpon Kun dga' rgyal mts'an pa,<sup>846)</sup> having abandoned the heap of his particular desires, died.

(30 a) In the year of the mouse (1432) in the summer the saintly king consecrated an image of this protecting deity, made of woven material, representing a great figure of the Buddha, which as soon as created beings see it, frees them from the pain of evil destinies. Its back was also made of woven material. (30 b) In the year earth-horse (1438) in the fourth month, on the day of the full moon (in conjunction) with the constellation *sa ga*,<sup>847)</sup> being the thirteenth day of the month, as the great feast came round which commemorates

Śākyamuni's attainment of supreme enlightenment, the ceremony of consecration, in its three moments: preparation, essential liturgy and conclusive liturgy, was performed by the sku žañ, the c'os rje Nam mk'a' mc'og grub dpal bzañ po's chief disciple that is by the C'os rje P'yogs las rnam rgyal<sup>848)</sup> and by the great lama Tsan ta pa etc.

In Rin c'en rtse she who was known by the name of Byañ sems bzañ ña pa,<sup>849)</sup> in the year wood-hare (1435), in the eleventh month passed from life.

(33 a) The great Lord of the earth, the saintly king Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa,<sup>850)</sup> at the age of fifty-one, in the year earth-sheep (1439), i. e. according to the Indian calendar, in the year called *Don grub*,<sup>851)</sup> as the crops had been damaged by the weather, renewed the blocks of the *dbārañi* included in the four great Tantras, which had been collected by that second omniscient, Bu ston, in whose essential nature all virtues are united, the greatest among all scholars, corrected them and put them together in the form of books; then of the *dbārañis*, which were not included therein, but were to be found in the original Tantras, he made a new collection, called of the hundred-thousand *dbārañi*, and that the gem of the teaching might endure and prosper for a long time, he had them cut in *kālpadruma* wood.

(34 a) This king, extremely generous towards the sacred teaching, at the age of fifty-two, in the year iron-ape (1440) built chapels<sup>852)</sup> in the centre of the great monastery of dPal aḳ'or sde; he built the mc'od rten, he erected turrets and encircling walls, he consecrated religious objects, dedicated to the three planes: physical, verbal and spiritual; he further built dwellings for the monks who explain the Law and who give themselves to ascetic practices, nevertheless he did not oppress his subjects. To let them breathe or to comfort them, he published an exemption from any new tax<sup>853)</sup> for three years, as follows: (34 b) "Be it well. By the king's order<sup>854)</sup> (this) is the word of the *tai sui tu* Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa: to lay officers, to administrators of the interior, to married people, to young and old, to officials, to ecclesiastical communities, to nobles,<sup>855)</sup> to the lay community, to the lower classes it is proclaimed. Since last year the supply of labour<sup>856)</sup> for the construction of the monastery has continued without interruption. Those who have worked on it, as regards good deeds, have obtained an exceedingly great merit. (35 a) Although the compulsory supply of work (as a service) to the State, the requirements of the Government<sup>857)</sup> and its defence are very important, nevertheless it is also true that you have been afflicted for a long time with various sorts of work, and I am grateful to you for it. Then you have suffered greatly from the tax-collectors.<sup>858)</sup> Therefore, beginning from New Year's day, there will be a three years' exemption. As the happiness derived from the propagation of the Buddha's teaching depends upon those who have it in their keeping, the works of spiritual preceptors (*kalyāṇamitr.*), the energy displayed in hearing, reflecting, explaining, realizing the doctrine, the fact that zeal

for the study (of that same doctrine) is considered fundamental, all these have a great value.

"This is so by virtue of the safe rules which define the acts that must be performed and those that must be shunned by a person consecrated into the order; such a person must not follow a way of life like that of common people, who only think about eating and drinking. Those who honour the various convents and the holy hermitages, both the summer and the winter ones, and the three Gems in general and those who respect the ten rules or do homage to the monks and those who to temples of their own land, (35 b) to the mc'od sten and to the walls on which the prayer, "om mani padme hūm", is written<sup>859</sup> etc., make presents of clothes, give offerings to whitewash them,<sup>860</sup> lamps<sup>861</sup> and little flags and perform the religious services prescribed by the calendar, let them be diligent. Let hunting be always forbidden in the mountains and valleys; on the three feasts of the first and second fortnight of each month<sup>862</sup> and in the first, third, fourth and eighth month according to the Mongol calendar, from the first to the fifteenth day, as the great festivals of the Buddha then take place, be it forbidden to kill animals. Let no fresh meat be introduced into the kitchen, nor shall the aBrog pa, on those dates, come to do business in meat.<sup>863</sup> Let poachers catch no antelopes in mountains and valleys and let hunters<sup>864</sup> not kill any living creature; let no one fish.

"To families, lay and religious communities, taxpayers,<sup>865</sup> foreigners,<sup>866</sup> tributes, excepting these new taxes for war and defence, to be paid in the autumn, called "the flesh tax", and those recorded in the book of government taxes, and the minor tithes<sup>867</sup> fixed according to the calendar, all other sorts of taxes are condoned.

(36 a) "The yearly contribution called "contribution on tea and condiments",<sup>868</sup> due to the palace,<sup>869</sup> which is a new imposition of my (reign), this year let it be reduced by one third, next year by one half and from the year of the dog (1442) let it be completely abolished and let it not be exacted by the chief treasurer.<sup>870</sup> Not more than a small bag<sup>871</sup> of butter of the first quality,<sup>872</sup> due to the palace,<sup>873</sup> or more than a measure of one *ñag*<sup>874</sup> of butter for each *srañ* of wool shall be exacted. Let there no longer be anyone who takes wool after having taken butter; the books<sup>875</sup> of the government taxes and also the lists<sup>876</sup> of the escorts to be supplied from time to time by laymen, let them be passed on to the administrator (*gñer pa*). As there were some who arbitrarily seized the village people and the servants attached to the horses of the great stables,<sup>877</sup> let the *gñer pa* now set aside two men.<sup>878</sup> They should not be taken<sup>879</sup> at random; exactions of oil for the night, bridles, halters, leather saddles<sup>880</sup> should be ordered by the first or second *gñer pa*, but cannot be exacted directly from private people.

"Officials who travel on their own account,<sup>881</sup> let them not force people (to serve them) on a long journey; let not victuals, supplies of meat, enforced labour on stages or stages over (what is necessary) be taken.<sup>882</sup>

"Let the collection of taxes<sup>883</sup> not be delegated to (one's own) *gñer pa*.<sup>884</sup> Let herds of yak belonging to

private persons, either Tibetans or aBrog pa, which have already been subjected to enforced labour, not be employed;<sup>885</sup> if anyone does so, denounce him<sup>886</sup> and lead him to the palace.

"Let the various officials and *mi dpon* and centurions control what has been given by the lay community to the two *gñer pa*, one of the first and one of the second rank.

"Let officials not accept bribes;<sup>887</sup> when collecting taxes let them not collect new taxes at their own pleasure, nor let collectors be delegated different (from those officially charged with the collection of taxes).

"Among all the *gñer pa*, those of the first and second rank (excepted those appointed to look after government taxes, and taxes on meat), the various *gñer pa* of the *rdson* and the feuds, the *gñer pa* of remote countries and all the nobles,<sup>888</sup> are not authorized to make use of the (government) seal.<sup>889</sup> If they do so, let officials and lay communities pay no attention (to their orders).

"All the loads coming from P'ag ri, Gam pa, Lha rtse, Rin c'en rtse etc., let them be distributed on the various stages, as it is written on the letters accompanying them, stamped by the *gñer pa*. All these loads (37) must not be deposited untidily to the right and left of the open space near the royal palace. Let the man who walks behind the loads see that nothing is wrong. Let the *gñer pa* not send loads at their own pleasure, or to do favours.<sup>890</sup> Those who have (on their land) sources of warm water, let them not plant (hedges of) thorny plants uphill;<sup>891</sup> let them not take tips.

"Those who go to (gather) green forage and wheat, and all the horsemen who come and go, according to the number of horses stated in the letter issued from this (palace),<sup>892</sup> let them not exact more esquires than those thus prescribed, as more than one esquire every two horses is not allowed. Do not let them take corn<sup>893</sup> and flour,<sup>894</sup> let them lead the horses on the highroad and not through pathways.<sup>895</sup> Let those who accompany the horses not take (pay over what is owed to them) for the (established) stages,<sup>896</sup> according to what has been written on the letter. Let them not take either supplies in kind or the pay of those who go on foot. All the horses on the up-hill road, going upwards, let them stop for one day in *Soñ nañ*<sup>897</sup> and on the way back, under *Glañ lun*; let them not stop in other places at their pleasure. In *K'yal k'yil mo* do not send for people to look after horses or to attend to sheep. Beyond that place, let no more than three servants for horses and one for mules be obliged to serve; let nobles and helots not become collectors of taxes one for the other; let the government tax<sup>898</sup> not be exacted from the houses and fields to which there is an heir, when the master is dead.

"Roving dogs, highwaymen, armed quarrels, be not a motive for offence. If there be a man who seriously breaks the rules of good conduct, let him be taken and led to the *Nañ so*, and let him be punished<sup>899</sup> according to the Mongol law. Let rich

laymen and monks, up to this year, not take more than four or five measures.<sup>900</sup> Know how to ask<sup>901</sup> for loans of more than three years' standing and how to take them. Do not be envious<sup>902</sup> of those who are above you. Those who have been invested with government offices and have been entrusted with golden letters, let them not be bribed<sup>903</sup> with money; let the *mi dpon* not exact from lay communities yaks and asses for transport. Let the offerings of tea for governors, on their arrival and departure, and the use of free compliments<sup>904</sup> requested by the various officials, like stuff and condiments, be reduced.

(38 a) "On the death of an official, let his heirs<sup>905</sup> not succeed to the post he occupied; let tolls not be paid to anyone according to old custom, under the pretext that they were formerly paid, and let no contributions of foodstuffs<sup>906</sup> be paid which are not prescribed by the law (lit.: arbitrary).

"Those who have gone elsewhere in order not to pay tribute,<sup>907</sup> let them be called back, and let their houses and fields be given back to them; if the house is ruined,<sup>908</sup> he who remains to live in it must repair it. The fields of lay communities must not be taken by anyone, neither by laymen nor by priests nor by anyone of the free subjects.<sup>909</sup> To those who have emigrated and have then been called back, let taxes be condoned for one year, and in the following year let one half be condoned to them. This is the rule to be followed; be diligent in various manners in performing the duties proper to those who stay in this country. Let village elders not impose taxes without reason. Let government taxes be impartial as regards men, beasts and land. As it is written in the inscription on the main gate, let asses<sup>910</sup> not be requisitioned for transport for a longer time daily than that laid down before. All the Bande and the exorcists and the Bon, let them be zealous, each in the virtues of his own religion: do not be greedy of flesh and animals' blood. Do not harbour the false opinion that it is not a sin to eat the flesh of slaughtered animals. In the banquets given for being restored to health and on the occasions of deaths do not kill animals. Know how to give and how to receive alms and try to keep to a just measure. If any of the free subjects<sup>911</sup> goes against the present ordinance, let them think that they have taken no account of me. Through compassion for the three Gems with which we all take refuge, let every other merit be accomplished according to our wish.

"This order of exemption will meet with success; so that your bodies and spirits may be in perfect condition, be zealous in the two sorts of acts, civil and religious.

"Written in rGyal rtshe, on the fifth day of the first month according to the Mongol system, of the year iron-ape (1440). May it be good and well-omened, ..

(40 a) When the saintly king was fifty-three, in the year iron-bird (1551) he obtained the supreme realization of the glory of his merits; in fact, so that the two accumulations of good, moral and intellectual, might be strengthened in the spirit of his father, the noble Nañ c'en Kun dga' ap'ags pa, and of his mother bZaṅ mo dpal, and of his younger brother the Nañ

c'en Rab ḅyör bzaṅ po, and to purify the stains and the karmic propensities in the spirit of Byañ sems Kun dga' rgyal mo, Byañ sems Rin c'en pa and Byañ sems bzaṅ pa,<sup>912</sup> so that all of them might finally obtain supreme enlightenment, and with the purpose that all the monks should have uninterrupted honours, he assigned (as a lasting endowment) for the ceremony he had established, the feud of Gar spe in rGyaṅ ro, with land sufficient for eighty-five measures of seed, and a hundred and fifty sacks of butter of the first quality,<sup>913</sup> made in the pastures of upper and lower Nañ, the territories belonging to the religious community of 'U brag and the aBrog pa of dGe gsar; he made the census of the crops of the feud of gYe dmar;<sup>914</sup> furthermore he assigned from sGo gsum in P'ag ri a hundred and fifty small bags of molasses,<sup>915</sup> and from Rin c'en rtshe and from K'a spe all that was needed for three days; all this was recorded in his registers.<sup>916</sup>

(43 a) To cleanse the stains that might have remained on the spirit of his father the Nañ c'en Kun dga' ap'ags and of his mother, and in brief with the object that all created beings might complete the double accumulation of merit, he vouchsafed protection and safety (to all) for the time (of his life) and forever in the future (taking the following measures):<sup>917</sup>

"For subjects, it is generally and severely forbidden to hunt in mountains and valleys; it is particularly forbidden to fish in any manner;<sup>918</sup> the fishes of the Sel mgo source are protected; it is forbidden to build dykes on lake dKar la.<sup>919</sup>

"Particularly let the prohibitions existing for K'a stod in aBri mts'ams and the prohibition to hunt in the valleys (of the same place) (be restored), let the dykes of mTs'o mo dri mt'un<sup>920</sup> be repaired. Furthermore, let all monks be held in veneration; let fishes be ransomed from fishers.<sup>921</sup> The single ordinances hereby issued to forbid hunting on the mountains are particularly valid for the present and must be considered valid forever in the future. Let the spiritual advisers, the lamas of the different monasteries, the various responsible dPon, married people, the old and the young, merchants, centurions etc. have faith and be zealous to observe these orders, ..

(45 a) This king, as famous as the sun and the moon, both in China<sup>922</sup> and in Tibet, Tai bsvi tu Rab brtan kun bzaṅ ap'ags pa, in the year water-dog, 1442, beginning from the first day of the second month according to the Mongol calendar, showed in what manner one falls ill.<sup>923</sup>

(45 b) On the twelfth day of the fourth month, at noon, when there was a conjunction with me bži<sup>924</sup> (46) he showed in what manner perfect nirvāna is entered.

(47 a) The great lord of men, the celebrated Nañ c'en Kun dga' ap'ags pa, at the age of thirty-three, in the year of the water and the ape, (1392) married from K'aṅ gsar's family in Ža lu the venerable rGyal mts'an rdor ba,<sup>925</sup> and in the year wood-boar (1395) on the first day of the first month, was born the great protector of the earth, who grew by virtue of infinite well-omened (*bkra yis*) auspices, and was the lord of marvellous and noble (*ap'ags pa*)<sup>926</sup> riches; being

possessed of the virtues of heroism, skill and wisdom, he freed his regency from the fear of enemies.

Without transgressing, even for a moment, the orders of his saintly father, who with his elder brother, protected the earth according to the law, at the age of twenty-four, in the year earth-dog (1418) he married *Byañ sems c'en mo Ñi ma k'ye dren*, who possessed all the prefections proper to one born into a noble family. In the first part of the year fire-sheep (1427) in a perfect conjunction represented by the well-omened meeting of planets and stars, in *Nor bu k'yuñ rtse*, which was like a second royal palace, the great lord of men possessing lasting glory (*Rab tu brtan pa dpal ldan*) was born.<sup>927</sup> (48) His father (*bKra šis ap'ags pa*), at the age of forty, in the year wood-tiger (1434) in the third month, with a great army, went North of *gTsañ po* and passed into the gorge of *Bya bzañ*, guided by *āBrog dbur*. In the fourth month he took the *rdsoñ* of *Gro bdud la*, then having crossed the river he arrived in *sNa dkar*. Then through *gNam, Ka pa, brTsig pa* etc. he returned. In the seventh month he led the army in *dBus*, to help the lord of *Goñ mk'ar*, and defeated the lord of *rTse t'añ*. The army of the myriarchy of the prince of *sNe gdoñ* arrived close to *Lhun grub rtse*, in the environs of *Dol*, and placed two large cannons in *sPe dkar*. At the moment when that place was to be conquered he, possessing the virtues of heroism and firmness, attacked the camp and set fire to the myriarch's cannons. The camp, since morning, was about to flee:<sup>928</sup> beaten on every side, the men were completely destroyed. After this most of the *sNel* officers<sup>929</sup> were sent back. He with his followers went back through *Goñ mk'ar* and on the 25th of the eleventh month he returned to *rGyal mkar' rtse*. Those who resided in his feuds, from *ap'ran rin* to the palace, went to meet him with many processions, and blessed him, carrying (outside the temple) the great image worked on woven material. Briefly, the great army of him of *dBus* had formerly come to *gTsañ* to meet him, then it went back, so that if there was anyone who obscured the *P'ag gru* armies with the majesty of his fourfold army, it was precisely this prince.

(49 a) Also when he was forty-two, in the year fire-dragon (1436) in the second month he founded the temple of *K'añ gсар in sPeu*,<sup>930</sup> and in the year earth-horse (1438) when he was forty-two, in the autumn, he took *dGuñ mk'ar*.

(50) At the age of fifty, in the year wood-mouse (1444) and at fifty-one, in the year wood-ox (1445), he again made a survey<sup>931</sup> of the lands belonging to the officers, the families, the nobles, the monasteries, of the territory under his sway, the upper and lower part (of *Ñan*). To the feuds belonging to convents he added other lands, to complete those already assigned by the saintly king. Furthermore he separately laid down the partition of those feuds from which requisitions for the war<sup>932</sup> should be drawn. At the age of fifty-three, in the year fire-hare (1447) he placed his son, who was twenty-one, on the throne and invested him with power.

(51 a) The son of this great lord of men was celebrated all over the earth under the name of *bKra šis rab brtan bzañ po* and was like another saintly king (i. e. like *Kun bzañ ap'ags pa*).

(52) When this great protector of the earth was twenty-six, in the year water-ape, (1452) in the eleventh month according to the Mongol calendar, on the top of the chapel where the great *bodhisattva* is, he consecrated a large flag called *bkra' šis dpal ābar*.

(55 a) When this representative of the saintly king was forty-four, in the year water-dragon (1437), the wife of this protector of the world<sup>933</sup> touched the immaculate lotus (of the feet) of many supreme *blamas*, learned, venerable and able, headed by the great ascetic *Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po*.<sup>934</sup> On the top of the chapel of the saintly king, the Eastern chapel, in this great monastery (of *Gyantse*), he offered a *gañjira* made of precious substances, in the Indian style, ornamented with three iron chains; according to the saintly king's wish he had painted, with delicate colours, the heavens<sup>935</sup> adorning this chapel.

(62 a) ... He who, uniting in his person every sort of well-omened quality (*bkra šis*), and persevering in them (*rab brtan*), had the name of *dPal ābyor bzañ po*,<sup>936</sup> like the miraculous gem which realizes every desire, possesses the capacity of granting the wishes of the beings subject to him. He is the one who firmly places his feet on the glory of my merits and the merits of all his subjects.

(64) So I have collected together all that could be gathered concerning the narrative of the deeds of the saintly king: incalculable deeds, accomplished (for the glory) of the Victorious's teaching and brought to an end according to his precepts. Although it is not easy to relate them, nevertheless, to tell at least a part of them a distinction must be made between a) the introduction on his manner of practising the precepts of the Law, and b) the subject proper, i. e. his biography (so that) the mind may understand it. The latter consists in setting down a summary, after having gathered in their appropriate place the subjects to be treated. Lastly c) the conclusion, consisting in that final ornament of the vow, that the merit thus acquired may benefit other created beings. Having obtained reflections, so wonderful that they go beyond the thought, of some waves of the saintly king's deeds, like the biography entitled "*rNam par t'ar pa rin po c'e p'reñ ba skyes dgu mdsad par byed pai mgul rgyan*...", setting out the eighteen perfect main narratives, the eighteen secondary perfect narratives of the enterprises of the prince who governed by force, the great *Tai bsvi tu Rab brtan kun bzañ ap'ags pa*, now the *Sa kya* monk, *āJigs med grags pa*, he of great doctrine, known by the title of *P'yogs t'ams cad rnam par rgyal ba*, has set forth in a new form his deeds and words.

Furthermore, he took as his foundation authoritative documents<sup>937</sup> of all times, relating the king's great virtues, and also the works of the reverend, right honourable *Nam mk'a' mgon* and of others who obtained reflections of intelligence and in the second place (the memory) of various aspects of perfect works,

as his were, aiming at a double purpose, religious and moral, particularly the guide of the great temple and the guide of the mC'od rten dedicated to his protecting deities, the sKu ḅum which liberates those who simply see it.

As to the things which might not be contained in those sources, or might be there with an admixture of error, after having well considered and examined documents deserving<sup>937)</sup> of belief, he arranged them in such a manner that they might be accepted.

As to the way of relating the series of deeds, everything that has appeared to his mind or that he has reflected upon, is free from exaggeration or

disparagement, and has been put into a proper order with the purpose of serving, some day, to obtain supreme enlightenment. This book *Dad pai lo t'og rgyas byed dños grub kyi c'ar ḅebs*, was begun in the year earth-boar (1479) in Nor bu k'yuñ rñse, which is a second royal palace, and its composition was ended in the year iron-ox (1481) in which no calamities of any kind, like maladies or conflicts, took place; in the eighth month according to the Mongol calendar, when fruit trees ripen and prosper, on the fifteenth day of the full moon, in the month of *bbadra*. The copyists were rDor rje ts'e brtan and bSod nam bkra śis. May it be well.

## ŽA LU DOCUMENTS

### I

By the King's order,  
the words of Ye śes rin c'en Ti śri,<sup>938)</sup>  
to the officers and elders<sup>939)</sup> of village communities  
formerly subject to mGon po dpal, a command:

As mGon po dpal has been appointed over you, the Emperor having conferred upon him the golden letter and the diploma, you all must obey mGon po dpal.

Without fleeing elsewhere and without subjecting yourselves to others,<sup>940)</sup> but remaining in your countries, you must execute at the fitting time the various injunctions prescribed by the law

mGon po dpal too, due to the fact that he has been invested by me must not do anything against custom and, without thinking whether they are near or far, he must protect the people. Thus having commanded, this official document has been issued.

The letter has been written in the palace of Śaṅ to in the year of the tiger, on the first day of the seventh month.<sup>941)</sup>

### II

By the King's order,  
the words of Grags pa 'od zer Ti śri<sup>942)</sup>  
to the chiliarchy centuries and decurionates of the lay communities subject to Western Ža lu, namely to the lay communities included in the territories of Ra sa, Ma riṅ, lCegs luñ pa, sMon agro ḅGre ts'al, Ra sog, Bye liñ, lCan ra, Yan, sGrol,<sup>943)</sup> a command:

The Emperor of China has given to mGon po dpal both the golden letter and the diploma (*gja' sa*) so that he was invested with power over you. He has also been invested by me with the same office; hence you must execute, at the fitting time, the various injunctions of the royal law, according to mGon po dpal's words.

mGon po dpal too, due to the fact that he has been invested by me, must protect the lay communities,

without thinking whether they be far or near,<sup>944)</sup> without asking the advice of *svon bu si* officials, beginning with Ag len and Ya vas o k'ol<sup>945)</sup> and without doing anything contrary to custom.

Written in the royal palace of Śaṅ to, in the year of the sheep, on the eighteenth day, in the second part of the fourth month.<sup>946)</sup>

### III

By the King's order,  
the words of Rin c'en rgyal mts'an Ti śri;<sup>947)</sup>  
to the officials of the *son bu si* class of gTsañ and dBus, to the generals, soldiers, to district-guards, to judges, to tax-collectors, to those who go and come, to the myriarchs, to dignitaries, to those who fatten zoos and horses, to the *gho luñ pa*<sup>948)</sup>, to the religious and to the lay communities a command:

According to the previous diplomas do not abuse your authority nor cheat the religious and lay communities included in the territory of rGya mts'o gñis subject to rDor rje dbaṅ p'yug, the families, chiefs (*sde pa*), wings officials (*ru ḅpon*), wing men,<sup>949)</sup> let no taxes be collected nor any foodstuff and forced labour be exacted which did not formerly exist; let no zoos and horses be fattened at anyone's will. Exercising violence against religious and lay communities, do not seize what you want. All that has been taken before, let it be restored. Let not false charges be brought by force.<sup>950)</sup> According to the Emperor's command let there be no quarrels concerning old taxes, old affairs<sup>951)</sup> and old cases. Thus having been commanded this official document was issued.

If any one will act otherwise than it is written in this letter, he will be led to justice; and he (rDor rje dbaṅ p'yug) also, because he has the letter, let him not act against the law. In the year of the dragon on the twenty-third day of the fifth month, in Śaṅ to this letter has been written.<sup>952)</sup>

#### IV

By the King's order,  
the words of Sañs rgyas dpal Ti šri<sup>953)</sup>  
to generals, soldiers, judges, to those having golden letters, to district officers, to district guards, to dignitaries, interpreters,<sup>954)</sup> tax collectors and those who go on horseback, to all the lay communities, a command:

From the religious communities subject (to the territory) of Western Ža lu, who officiate to heaven<sup>955)</sup> and persist in (practices) according to custom, by the Emperor's order, let no taxes for military purposes,<sup>956)</sup> foodstuffs, compulsory labour be levied, and let the taxes (paid by) other religious communities not be collected.

Let no contributions in nature or commercial taxes<sup>957)</sup> be collected. Let temples and houses not be requisitioned as hostels.<sup>958)</sup> Let zoos and horses not be fattened.

Let pack-horses not be taken for compulsory service. Let there be no mass requisition (by exaction of sheep and flocks) of cattle, and let no loans be exacted violently.<sup>959)</sup> Let no agricultural implements and asses be carried off.

From the feuds, which were under its authority<sup>960)</sup> before, let nothing whatever be carried off, neither water, nor earth, nor grass, etc.<sup>961)</sup> Let not duties be exacted, let false charges not be brought and let power not be used to excess; let them be at peace.

Thus having commanded, this official document was issued. If, having seen the letters, anyone should act otherwise, I will tell the Emperor and he will be led to justice. He also, let him not act against the law because he has the letters. This letter was written in the great monastery of the Tai tu royal palace, in the year of the sheep, on the nineteenth day of the seventh month.

#### V

By the King's order,  
the words of Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzan<sup>962)</sup> po Ti šri,

to officials of the *svon vi se* class of gTsañ, dBus and mNa' ris skor gum, to the generals, soldiers, holders of golden letters, monks and laymen who go and come<sup>963)</sup> to tax-collectors, to the dignitaries,<sup>964)</sup> to those having a seal, to the treasurer, to those who fatten zoos and horses, to officials of the territory, to the lay community, I command:

Let subjects perform the ceremonies in the Emperor's honour, offer lamps and pay taxes in an appropriate measure, as they have been fairly fixed by the *svon vi svi* officials with 'Od zer señ ge<sup>965)</sup> at their head and to stay at ease according to custom. Let none of you abuse his power,<sup>966)</sup> let him not collect taxes greater (than the established sum), let him not fatten zoos and pack-horses (*ra ma*), let him not hunt gazelles or catch fishes,<sup>967)</sup> but let him leave them in peace. Thus having commanded, this official document was issued. If, once the letter has been seen, anyone acts otherwise, I will tell the Emperor and you will be led to

justice.<sup>968)</sup> And this man too ('Od zer señ ge) because he has the letter, let him not act against the law.

In the year of the dragon, on the eighth day of the fourth month, in the great monastery of the Tai tu royal palace.<sup>969)</sup>

#### VI

By the King's order,  
the words of Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po Ti šri:

to the officials of *svon vi svi* rank, to generals, soldiers, administrators of the *n-ñ so*, to judges, holders of golden letters, chiefs of districts, laymen and monks who collect taxes and go and come, to myriarchs, to dignitaries, a command:

From the religious communities dwelling on this land and from the lay communities, the wing officials and the wing men, existing in the territory formerly subject to Ža lu, namely sMon gro rje mc'od, Gya pa, Ru ats'ams, rGya ts'o gñis, sGrol, Yan, Mon k'añ Ts'cs lde, sNo ser, Kun dga' ra ba, Tse' ts'a btsad po, Se mts'ur, aT'on bu mda', mTs'ur p'u, aDo' dgon pa, according to the order (contained) in the imperial diplomas, let no taxes be collected, nor any foodstuff and forced labour, which did not formerly exist. Let nothing be stolen by force, let no duties be exacted, let anger not (be given way to) to the point of bringing false charges,<sup>970)</sup> let no violence be done, let herds of cattle not be requisitioned, let zoos and horses not be fattened. Let mills (where roasted barley is ground) not be compelled to work by force.

According to the Emperor's command, let there be no quarrels concerning old taxes, old affairs<sup>971)</sup> and old cases. Let religious and lay communities belonging to this (territory of Ža lu) not be carried off by force, into subjection<sup>972)</sup> and slavery.

Do not take possession (by force) of what you need. All that has been taken before, let it be restored so that the territorial division in centuries and chiliarchies may not be infringed; do not misabuse your authority,<sup>973)</sup> or cause grievances,<sup>974)</sup> let (all) be in peace. Thus having been commanded, this official document was issued. After having seen this letter, will you not fear to do anything against it? Let him also not do anything against the law.

This letter has been written in the great monastery Me t'og ra ba, in the Tai tu royal palace, in the year of the bird, on the twelfth day of the fourth month.<sup>975)</sup>

#### VII

By the King's order,  
the words of Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po Ti šri to all the officials of the *svon vi si* class, to the generals, soldiers, chiliarchs, centuries, decurions to the lay community of Ra ts'a ma ñag, Mon k'a Lugs t'an abrog, C'os stan ma, lCags pan, sGrol, Ra svogs, Ji liñ, lCan ra, mK'ar p'ug, Kun dga' ra ba, Ru ats'ams, rNames gal lde, Gya ba, aTs'ur p'u, Ts'e ts'a btsad po, subject to Western Ža lu,  
a command:

The great golden letter and the diploma have been given by the Emperor to rDo rje dbañ p'yug; so tha



he has been invested with power over you; accordingly he has also been invested with the same office by me too, hence you must execute, at the fitting time, the various injunctions of the law, according to rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug words.

Furthermore let rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug, due to the fact that he has (thus) been appointed by me not act against the law, but let him well and justly protect the religious and lay communities.

Thus having commanded, this official document was issued.

Shall you not fear, if you act in an opposite manner?

In the year of the ox, on the 10th day of the 30th month. In the royal palace of Tai tu this letter was written.<sup>973)</sup>

### VIII

By the King's order, the words of Kun dga' rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po Ti šri's<sup>977)</sup>

to the officials of *Svon vi si* of gTsaṅ and dBus to the administrators of the *nañ so*, to the assistants of the various palaces,<sup>978)</sup> to the C'a tao so officials,<sup>979)</sup> to the Da ra k'a c'e,<sup>980)</sup> to the judges,<sup>981)</sup> holders of golden letters, monks and laymen who go and come, myriarchs, to the abbot of T'ar pa gliṅ and to his disciples,<sup>982)</sup> to the chiliarchs, to all those in office, a command:

The religious communities included in the rGya ts'o gñis territory, formerly, according to an edict (*aja sva*) and a written order (received) in Za lu, performed ceremonies in the Emperor's honour and services in favour of monasteries and temples. This turned to their benefit. Now too, according to the past manner, it is established that none of you shall steal (what belongs to monasteries), nor exact duties nor bring false charges, nor quarrel, but all shall pray to a good purpose. Will you not fear to act against the present command?

This letter was written in the great Me t'og ra ba monastery, in the Tai tu royal palace, in the year of the mouse, on the sixteenth day of the fourth month.<sup>983)</sup>

### IX

To the power [of long-lived] Heaven.

To the merits (of the King)... by order of...<sup>984)</sup>

To the good preceptor Bu ston Rin c'en grub.

I (being) here, have gradually heard that for a long time, with great energy, you have applied yourself to the study (*sbyaṅs*) of the three baskets of books containing the Buddha's revelation, to revealed knowledge, to the instructions concerning the science of the four kinds of Tantras;<sup>985)</sup> hence great benefit has accrued to religious teaching in those parts (where you are, i. e. Tibet); hence, although I sent for you, (that you should come) to this country, you were not pleased (to accept my invitation). Now things being thus, having settled there, do as you like,<sup>986)</sup> explain (the Law), debate, write books, meditate and in the same manner as before be zealous as

regards teaching. And I too, what else do I think of, except the Buddha's teachings?

To the Sa skya counsellors who are there, to the officials charged with different offices, give instructions (inspired) by good thoughts; I from here will help you.

In the year of the sheep, on the eleventh day of the first month, when he resided in Tai tu, it was written.<sup>987)</sup>

### X

To the power of Heaven; to the merit of the king; the words of C'os dpal cin svi 'u tsiṅ dbaṅ;<sup>988)</sup> to the officials of the *Svon vi si* class residing in dBus, gTsaṅ and mNa' ris skor gsum, to the generals, soldiers, officials of the C'a 'o tau si class, the Da ra k'a c'e, to tax collectors, to monks and laymen who go and come, the assistants of the various palaces, myriarchs, religious communities, to the officials of the class... of the great dignitaries, to the lay communities, to the wing officers, to the wing men, a command:

The Emperor has given to the sku žaṅ Kun dga' don grub<sup>989)</sup> the order and the diploma investing him with the power of *Svon vi si*. Accordingly he has also been invested by me with the same power. Therefore you must execute at the fitting time the various injunctions of the law, great, intermediate or small, beginning with those regarding the military stages and the duty to furnish contributions in nature (to patented officials)... None of you should interfere with feuds, religious and lay communities, men of the wings and temples possessed from previous times by the Ža lu pa; thus having commanded, this official document has been issued. The *sku žaṅ du dben Źa* too must be zealous in protecting the religious and lay communities, without thinking whether they are near or far. This letter is written by me in the year of the bird on the eleventh day of the seventh month while residing in [Nān] ro.<sup>990)</sup>

### XI (Tibetan text)

Order of him who is King through the power of his veneration for Heaven: I believe that the Buddha's road, accomplishing the good of others with charity and compassion and setting in the first place spiritual purity and serenity, helps the government above and converts beings benighted by ignorance below; (hence) he who is capable of spreading this teaching (of the Buddha's), is certainly praised by the Emperor. You, rDo rje rin c'en;<sup>991)</sup> have been faithful (lett.: have remained in) heretofore to the Buddha's teaching, and you have firmly respected, according to fitness, disciplinary precepts, inserting into the way of good the living beings having converted them by appropriate means; you therefore deserve praise. I now invest you with the office of *P'uuu gñen yi kyau goi šri*; in the future also do you practise the instructions of the holy Law and spread its teaching; be always zealous in virtuous works, perform such deeds and make manifest this favour (of mine), which is a proof of my affection for you. Be respectful.

## XI (Chinese text)

Having received from Heaven the mission of continuing the imperial destiny, the Emperor says: I believe that the Buddha's road makes charity and compassion its instruments, and peace and nirvāna its main doctrine; above it secretly helps the Imperial law, and below it eradicates the error of the masses. Hence the Imperial court has always praised and honoured him who follows that religion. You, To-eth-chih-ling-chan, have always been obedient to the Buddhist

teaching, you have scrupulously followed its disciplines and you have directed people towards what is good; hence you truly have sufficient merit to receive praise. Now I appoint you "Fu-shan-i-chiao-kuo-shih", and you must spread abroad the marvellous doctrine and greatly uplift the wind of the Buddhist religion; you must also always devotedly observe the pure principles, and shed lustre on this appointment (conferred upon you) which is (a proof of) my favour towards you. Be welcome!

On the fourth day of the twelfth moon of the fourth year T'ien-shun.<sup>922</sup>

## BUSTON'S REQUEST TO THE MASTER BYAÑ C'UB RGYAL MTS'AN <sup>933</sup>

Your letter with presents was delivered to me by (your) official gZon nu bzañ po.<sup>924</sup> And I have its meaning well in mind. From a general point of view it must be (said first of all) that this sku žaň<sup>925</sup> comes of a good lineage. In the times of the king of bSam yas K'ri sroň lde btsan, when wicked Ministers opposed the practice of religion, Jñānasiddhi of lCe, who had entered into the King's favour,<sup>926</sup> was sent to invite the master Bodhisattva and the master Pad ma abyuň gnas, and he (Jñānasiddhi) belonged to this family. As he was the king of Tibet's chief collaborator,<sup>927</sup> he was invested with lordship over the territory of Naň ro. In the intermediate period (between the old and new diffusion of the faith) although there were various ups and downs of fortune and decline, (this clan) did nothing wrong. Then, at the time of the second diffusion of faith, this district <sup>928</sup> was founded and the temple was built; it was the womb of the 100 chapels having at their head K'yuň.<sup>929</sup> Great sees like those of sNar t'aň were branches which spread only out of the teaching of this clan which ruled over this monastery with the succession of its bla mas. In a second period, when the Mongols became patrons of the Sa skya pa doctrines, (its members) collaborated<sup>1000</sup> as dpon pos of Sa skya pa and as dpon pos of king Se c'en. Thus the precious family had an abundant series of sku žaň. Now you, o peerless *čos rje*, you who have no rivals on the face of the earth, you well know that this is the sku žaň's (progeny). Now you also know that he is a prince possessing, by imperial command, the second-class gem with a tiger's head; he is of good lineage and has an office. If we commit errors, it is no use glorying that we come of a good family. Nevertheless he of such a family, in the past, committed no acts (against) good behaviour. Lately, when the Sa skya pa and the aBri guň pa vied for supremacy,<sup>1001</sup> although the Ža lu pa of the Sar pa branch had sided with the aBri guň pa, this (sku žaň) followed the Sa skya pa's fortunes and although, through various events, difficulties ensued, he kept faith<sup>1002</sup> with the Sa skya pa; then, when the (Sa skya pa) bla ma and the

dpon c'en<sup>1003</sup> disagreed, although the C'u mig myriarchy, the Byaň myriarchy and the Ža lu pa of the Sar pa branch sided with the dpon c'en Kun bzaň, he (the sku žaň), with all his influence, used his triple energy in the Bla ma's favour. At that time the Mongol king and the chief were in (good) harmony,<sup>1004</sup> and as a recognition of his deeds (the King) gave (the prince) sMon agro;<sup>1005</sup> later the hostile excitement of the Eastern and Western regions<sup>1006</sup> grew greatly, but he (the sku žaň) was partial towards none. Last year, great excitement having arisen due to the wars waged by the dpon 'Od zer seň ge against the bŽi t'og,<sup>1007</sup> the sku žaň Grags rgyal fled to aDam and was not mixed up in any bad enterprise. Then, when the Tai situ D'ar ma rgyal mts'an<sup>1008</sup> arrived, in his letter he said that all the members of the families should be sent into exile, except those addicted to religious life (mk'as btsun). And even when the chiefs were deprived of power, the sku žaň Kun dga' don grub was not mixed up with any bad counsel. Since last year, times have not been quiet; there has been no possibility of access to justice. As his dependants were not straight, there was no one who had less authority than he, (hence) he became the lowliest of the low. Being so unassuming, even if they insulted him, meditating on the virtue of patience he adapted himself to his humble condition. For this reason the religious and lay communities (under him) were taken from him by those whose hands were longest,<sup>1009</sup> and he was left with scanty influence. Nevertheless it is clear from official documents that he had no part at all in the plots of K'aň gsar<sup>1010</sup> and the others, and even those who sided with him of K'aň gsar did not intend to commit any special iniquity towards him. Sometime back<sup>1011</sup> Ma gcig pa<sup>1012</sup> etc. fled, but before this, motives for adverse anticipations having arisen, the officers though in secret, quite willingly<sup>1013</sup> rendered him service; this they know. In brief, as regards this sku žaň, not the least trace of guilt can be found; nevertheless, although he was guiltless, persons actuated by a revengeful spirit caught him, and it was impossible to set him free without his suffering reprisals.

But even if he had been flayed, the sku žaṅ would in no wise have moved even the tip of a hair. Whether he of Rin c'en sgaṅ<sup>1014)</sup> kept his promise or not, you know. Last year, when bTson of K'ams came to loot, [you] said "collect your servants"; when he had gathered a group of ragged peasants,<sup>1015)</sup> after the Bla ma was caught, and it was said that it was necessary to go for troops to mK'ar riñ, then there was no shepherd<sup>1016)</sup> who did not say that the servants ought to be gathered, to meet there bTson. The sku žaṅ said he would go to speak, and he went; after this, being driven out of control by the nañ pa Rin rgyal and by the dpon po Ne' tso,<sup>1017)</sup> he came to (your) door. Besides the damage resulting to himself, no one else was harmed. This (fact) and the necessity of the troops going to Yar klun were both provoked by a man out of his power. But when a powerful person enjoins something, those less powerful cannot but go. An aide de camp<sup>1018)</sup> appointed

by the Tai Situ came to meet him in Ts'on adus; he did not refuse to come into his presence and offered him explanations. It was as when there is no choice between drinking poison or swallowing dust. But in all those works of theirs the sku žaṅ did not interfere. I beg you, o peerless, precious lord of the Law, to carefully see that a thorough absolution<sup>1019)</sup> be met from the officers of the palace; the sku žaṅ is like a son of yours, o precious lord of the Law; I ask you, o lord, that, thus considering the state of affairs, you reflect on the circumstances; you heard from me the facts as they are, but you, incomparable lord of the Law, will decide. As the things of the Law are now declining, according to the saying "where I go, it is not fit for you to go", I beg you to consider whether it is not therefore a case for stopping. (I offer) a white kerchief, as a gift accompanying the letter; presented on the eleventh day of the year of the horse.<sup>1020)</sup> May it be well-omened.

## INSCRIPTIONS

### SNAR T'AÑ

#### I

#### *On the wall paintings*

This poem of 108 half-verses (pāda), a good hymn in honour of the master of the world, treasure of every sort of jewels, together with a poem of 75 half-verses, hymn in honour of ..... perfect law of the king of medicine and of all the gods, with the Victorious at their head, who are in the chapels placed on every side of the upper and lower stories of this (mc'od rten); they constitute the guide of the great and wonderful mc'od rten; it was composed by the supreme translator aJam dbyañs who carries the burden represented by intelligence. There was the all-knowing of the mC'ims Blo gros bzañ po,<sup>1021)</sup> the scholar with whom none can vie in the three spheres of existence. He, gathering into himself the three planes, physical, verbal and spiritual, of the Buddhas of the three times, accomplished the good of all beings, the gods included, and became most excellent for his meritorious deeds. The essence of his corporal relics was completed by the imposition of miraculous formulas.<sup>1022)</sup> His younger brother mC'ims sNan grags bzañ po dpal, blessed by his indestructible faith towards that supreme master of the mC'ims, who had passed into the sphere of the Buddhas, out of moral energy, devotion and virtuous practice, decided to build this mc'od rten bKra šis sgo mañ, with the object of fulfilling his brother's wishes, so that peace and happiness might accrue to the whole universe, and this temple might reach perfect completeness, like the waxing moon. This guide, called "necklace of wonders", was written in the great

temple of sNar t'añ, glorious residence of many scholars and ascetics, who have abandoned any sense of jealousy, by the translator aJam dbyañs, poet of the Country of Snows, in such a way as to be easily understood by everyone. The one who wrote was K'o bo zer dpon. May it be well with all beings.

#### II

Ša kya mu ni be honoured. Honour to the mC'ims pa, the glorious lord, precious treasure from which all draw life; his marvellous deeds are like the heavenly tree, not lacking all sorts of desirable fruits; as a large tree (attracts) wreaths of bees, so he carries upon himself the weight of numberless virtues. He is a great boat which bears men to safety from unstable existence, unscathed as it is from the violent waves of moral infections. This mass of azure, a glorious spectacle for the eyes, is not the (Buddha's) beautiful body, it is a golden mountain on which a wreath of clouds of ascetic isolation plays. This deep (voice), pleasant to listen to, fraught with 60 sounds, is not a word, it is a lotus used as an ornament for the ears of the heavenly maidens of the four regions of space. This (spirit) impartial towards all, deep as the ocean and bright as the sky, is not a spirit, but like a cloud laden with rain gathered from that ocean of ambrosia which are perfect deeds. You are not Suddhodana's son, pervading the ten points of space with the grace of his love, but you are a garden of lotuses sucked by the bees of your deeds since immemorial time.<sup>1023)</sup>

The glorious mC'ims, the master of the world, shaking the waves of the ocean of meritorious deeds, arose like the disk of the sun lighting up the points of space by the light of his virtue; like the heavenly tree

dropping a rain of gems, he accomplished for a long time the good of created beings. After having satisfied on this earth the wishes of living beings in a new manner, he went to heaven. His younger brother, who possesses the virtues of devotion, having caused the ocean of ambrosia of the merits to overflow with the twofold river of the two accumulations he had well realized<sup>1024</sup> in preceding lives, as if desiring to vie with the glories of the god protecting riches,<sup>1025</sup> pervading the three worlds in their innermost parts with the rays of that sun which are his pleasant words and having (thus become) the ornament of the ears of others, he increased in a new manner the desire for liberality proper to his family.<sup>1026</sup> As if desiring to ravish the glory of the heavenly tree, resembling a firm mountain, unshakable even by a violent wind like (the one which) at the end of ages (destroys the world and is aroused) by evil actions causing men to turn back (from the way of salvation), or like an ocean of glory, quite still due to the violent force of an unshakable faith in the three (Gems) or finally like a flash of lightning, (exploding) in the white clouds of moral energy tending to the attainment of all sorts of virtues, this is the master of the mC'ims sNan grags dpal bzañ po; he, blessed by the practice of marvellous virtues, in his great temple of sNar t'añ resembling the city of the gods on the top of Mount Sumeru, amusing himself with the spectacle of those songs and dances which are the fair expounding of the Law, protected like Indra the crowd of persons thus gathered, for days and nights without interruption; causing the rain of the four kinds of gifts<sup>1027</sup> to fall upon them according to the Law. With the object of fulfilling the wish of his elder brother, (Blo gros bzañ po), he founded this mc'od rten, which is the receptacle of the Victorious's three planes; the physical, the verbal and the spiritual planes. This mc'od rten is splendid like the sacred golden tree,<sup>1028</sup> of a smiling effulgence, issued out of the waters of the ocean formed by the twofold plane of the accumulations of the merits attained by men of good family. The eyes, on seeing it, are as if invited to a banquet in which ambrosia is served; an emanation of the power of sMan pai rgyal po and of Sañs rgyas žal gyi gdenś can bdag po, embellished through the marvellous unfolding (of the paintings contained in this monument), it causes the new ears of corn of good deed to grow, through the rain of the good words of the law dropped out of the white cloud which is this house, possessing a threefold virtue. The precious golden book of the mother of the Buddhas ... like the sun in the cloudless ether; its marvellous splendour spreads over the ten points of space. The power of the Victorious, vouchsaffer of the Law ... this cannot be realized.

Like one who has manifested himself with the purpose of accomplishing that great good which are the merits of created beings, he founded for his faith this palace of the Victorious, the (mc'od rten) bKra śis sgo mañ. When one has seen this virtuous and blessed work, which not even a Cakravartin can rival, all other good works become indifferent and look

like the stars in the sky when the sun shines. An ocean of precious umbrellas, of fluttering flags, of drums whose handle is wrought with gems, of scented incense, of flowers moved by the wind, of garlands, of lamps ravishing the sun's light, of the sound of cymbals proclaiming the perfect Law, ... of adoring clouds emanating from Kun tu bzañ po, continually do it homage, together with the Buddha's sons. The consecration was performed together with the six well-omened ingredients;<sup>1029</sup> embellished by the glory of joyous spectacles, it reached perfection as regards the gifts and festivities aiming at delighting the crowd of artists (who had been invited to build it). As long as that garden of lotus flowers which is the earth, surrounded by the ocean, is beautified by the stalk of Mount (Sumeru), for all this time may its fame, being, as it were, the ornament of the points of space, firmly set its foot on this monastery, glory of the Buddha's teaching. This eulogy was made by the learned poet, the translator aJam dbyańs, who according to his wish has milked the word: he causes the hairs of scholars to stand on end with joy, as the moon, while it rises, causes the sea to ripple. He is like an enjoyment of delight exciting men's minds in spring-time, full of desires and resounding with the pleasant voices of wine-flushed maidens in the depths of a forest of scented sandal. May this art of the venerated master bKra śis bzañ po be seen by the eyes of all, gods and men; the copyist was Blo ldan bkra śis. The good acquired through this work, may it become a boat on which created beings may be ferried over the ocean of discord; and may it be a ladder on which they may ascend to the noble palace of liberation. May it be well with all beings.

### III

May it be well with all. We bow before that ambrosia which is the shining name of mC'ims, the glorious master of the world. With the glory of his knowledge of the sphere of the knowable he scorns the deep power of the ocean. His nature, unscathed by any taint, is like a lake in autumn. His experience of the three sciences (*śikṣā*) is incomparable in the three spheres of existence. With the rays of his compassion, aiming at no rewards, he pervades those worlds which are the minds of created beings, the gods included.

May this global glory of the prince of ascetics (the Buddha) bestow upon us his grace; his body, bright like a mass of pure gold, disports itself in a garden, as a show for the eyes of gazelles; with his pleasant voice emitted from the lotus of his neck as fair as the sky, he has the power of conquering in a new guise the arrogant; the streams of rain emitted from that garland of clouds which is his compassion gathered from the ocean of ambrosia of his fair deeds, bow over the regions of space. He is surrounded by twice eight golden cliffs;<sup>1030</sup> this chapel of the Arhats which is the palace of the prince of ascetics, was

founded by the great master sÑan grags bzañ po. The painter was dPon btsun of dBus. These few words are by the translator aJam dbyañs.

#### IV

Hommage to Jina Maitreya.

When the time had been ripened by the efficiency of the good deeds of created beings and gods, he descended on earth to fulfil the hopes of the desirous; he adorned himself with the lofty fruits of hundreds of meritorious deeds; the thick shadow of his compassion gave breath to created beings, tormented by desire, stimulated by the springtime of moral infections. As the heavenly tree of the gods of the mÑon brtsen,<sup>1031</sup> may he, Blo gros bzañ po grags pai dpal produce our good. This graceful body of yours, which is like the golden tree of illumination, pleasant to the soul, placed in the midst of precious mountains, ravishing its colour from lapislazuli, is pervaded by the scent of yellow sandal (*haricandana*).<sup>1032</sup> The diadem of your knotted and scented tresses is like a dark<sup>1033</sup> swarm of bees flying upwards when touched by the sun falling on a garden of golden lotuses, planted in a blue and clear lake. You have arranged the miraculous landscape of good deeds in the garden of the persons capable of being converted. May you place your feet right firmly, o noble Mother, on the garden of our spirit. This temple of the Mother of the Victorious, adorned with pictured life of Nor bzañ, was made by the Slob dpon Rin c'en dpal, possessing the eye of wisdom (expert) in the sacred doctrines and in the theoretical knowledge. The painter was Ses rab dpal. These few words are by the famous translator of this place.

Honour to Śakyamuni. Hail to the master of the mC'ims. He (the Buddha) is like a tree, spreading the tremulous shadow of his compassion, with the purpose of freeing the threefold existence from the affliction of pain; he is a heavenly tree, pouring out the candid scent of moral perfections, beginning with liberality, and is adorned with the flowers amply blossomed out of virtue; its branches, spreading over all the points of space, are bent by the weight of those excellent fruits, the knowledge of how to accomplish the good of others. He offers a shelter to herds of hundreds of persons endowed with a brilliant intellect. May the lord of ascetics protect us; on the slopes of a cliff which is a heap of precious stones thick with graceful heavenly trees, blue and green, resounding with the piping voices of homing birds, his body surrounded by antelopes, he stands near a cascade whose waters resound with an agreeable murmur, while gods, ascetics and holy spirits praise him with extremely graceful hymns; he the ... This chapel of the Lord of ascetics surrounded by the heavens of the Victorious was founded with faith by the great master sÑan grags bzañ po. These four heavens on the right of the Victorious, were painted by rGyal po dar of Grañ bo luñ, according to the method of the

learned dGe adun rgyal mts'an, the wise painter, famous throughout the aDsam glin; the writer was K'o bo ze dpon.<sup>1034</sup> May happiness be.

#### V

*The same as the above text.*

These four heavens, on the right of the lord of ascetics, with the acolytes who are gathered there, pervade space with crowns of sparkling golden mountains; they are variously embellished by the rays of that sun and that moon which are the six ornaments.<sup>1035</sup> They were made by brTson mc'og bdag, in the interior of the mc'ed rten having many doors. May it be well.

#### VI

Honour to Samantabhadra.

Hommage to the all-knowing of mC'ims, who is like a tree varied by the scented flowers of good behaviour, bent under the weight of its fruits of every desired virtue, and spreading the lovable shadow of compassion, which is extended to all alike. May incorruptible merit be derived to all from this Kun tu bzañ po here represented together with his four acolytes; his body is seated in a playful posture on a crouching elephant, decorated with pearls; a tinkling necklace of gems is arranged round his waist, he has a bright smiling aspect, with the purpose of ingratiating wise beings. This temple is adorned with thousands of Buddhas... It was founded by the master of the mC'ims sÑan grags bzañ po; by the merit derived from this work, may created beings obtain Buddhahood.

#### ŽA LU

*Inscription over the door.*

The sku zañ Grags pa rgyal mts'an, the father with his son, with the purpose of spreading the teaching of the Buddha, ordered many roofs of Chinese style to be made, enamelled<sup>1036</sup> and of a blue colour. This door of *khadira*<sup>1037</sup> wood was made by Nam mk'a' bzañ po; these iron bars of the door which please the eyes and have the colour of silver have been made by the skillful Blo bran bzañ po of sNar t'añ.

#### K'RO P'U

*On the club of the lotsäva*

Om svasti.<sup>1038</sup> The craftsman of this (club) was aBe<sup>1039</sup> aGar rdo rje. The master of Šans has respectfully offered 53 srañ of iron. The master Ts'ul señ ge has offered 250 srañ of copper and bronze, 5 srañ of gold and 3 srañ of silver. The craftsman was satisfied with the gifts and the offerings<sup>1040</sup> made to him as a recognition of his work. This (club) was offered to the lotsäva by the master Ts'ul señ ge. May

those who have faith and delight in the precious (master) reach perfect completeness in the (twofold) accumulation of merits.<sup>1047</sup>

## NOR

### *On a silver lamp*

In this chapel of the bKa' agyur of the glorious Evam c'os ldan, this silver lamp placed in front of the silver mc'od rten containing the relics, called Yid bzin nor bu and spreading light over all the heavens,<sup>1012</sup> was offered in the year *sa sbrul* by the Śar pa Ses rab abyun gnas to fulfil the wish of the Śar pa Kun dga' dpal bzai.

## GNAS GSAR

### *On the wall paintings*

In the aDsam bu gliñ, unfolding under the high blue sky, in the south, there are 360 different varieties of languages; among them there is the Indian language, from which translations were made into Tibetan. By the grace of the bTsan po<sup>1043</sup> and the Bodhisattva, happiness was displayed in the kingdom of Tibet. In Tibet are included 4 wings. In the fields of Myan ro, the good lotus of Ru lag,<sup>1044</sup> the things that men who come and go may see are many; therefore eyes wish ...

This [Don] yod grub with his retinue, ... the blissful ... was painted by the Nan bzai of aBre,<sup>1045</sup> the least of painters.<sup>1046</sup> The brother Mañ rtsan rgyal

brtegs, fifth descendant of aBroñ t'og, had it made.<sup>1047</sup> Created beings, with the gods, may obtain supreme enlightenment.

The three noble Gems ... the gods of the maṇḍala of the rdo rje dbyiñs ... the gods who are in the maṇḍala ... three ... dpal ma hā [kāla] ... black mGon po with his śakti the great lay devotee rDo rje legs ... to the custody of the C'os skyoñ ... blazing power all the thieves dispersed surrounded ... eating ... letters ...

## NOR BUI K'YUÑ RTSE

### *On the wall paintings*

In this vast park of perfect sciences,<sup>1048</sup> is he not a wonder, Ñi mai dbaṅ p'yug, defender of the teaching, who, having sent that messenger which is virtue, has surpassed the extreme shore of the ocean of darkness, which consists in the practice of evil? Likewise the concomitant cause<sup>1049</sup> was the vast liberality of the *spyi nañ* of Sam ldiñ, the dPon gNas mc'og who resumes in himself the qualities expressed by his name.

The material cause<sup>1050</sup> was the dPon grub's ability.

## SPOS K'AN

### *On the handle of a conchshell*

This *m biñ aḍsa leñ*,<sup>1051</sup> embellished with all gems (and adapted) to the shell,<sup>1052</sup> is the work of a divine smith,<sup>1053</sup> the master rGyal mts'an.





# NOTES

1. But in the Sa skya Chronicles, pp. 3, 6 and in *aK'on rigs bla mai gduñ rabs kyil lo rgyus ndor bsdus* of Ye 'se c'os ap'el of Lha rtse (Works, vol. ja, p. 1) they are spelled sP'yi rin, gYu rin and U se. They are believed to have descended upon earth in mNa' ris stod. In the Sa skya Chronicles (which quote dKon mc'og lhun grub's history) the spelling *se* is followed. These three brothers are generally called gNam lha, celestial gods; on gNam and Se see Appendix two.

2. These Sa skya genealogies and legends are also repeated in the biography of the sNags ac'añ nag gi dbañ Kun dga' rin c'en (see *Srid pa gsum gyi bla ma dpal sa skya pa c'en po shags ac'añ nag gi dbañ po kun dga' rin c'en gyi rñan par t'ar pa ño mts'ar rgya mts'o*). With such genealogical claims, the Sa skya pa had the pretension of overruling the derivation from the four or six *rus*; precisely for this reason they were called Lha rigs, divine progeny (see Life of Kun dga' rin c'en, p. 7 b).

3. In the Chronicles and in the above-quoted biography (p. 3 b): *ras se byi li spun b'zir grags pa byun*: "Those who are known as the four Se byi li brothers were born as his sons,, (in the biography quoted, on p. 7, Si byi li are the first dwellers on earth).

4. But in the Chronicles: lDon; lDoñ is the name of one of the six primigenial tribes (see Appendix two).

5. On this name see Appendix two. gYu rin's wife's personal name cannot be dissociated from that of her clan.

6. In such a case the Sa skya Chronicles, which the fifth Dalai Lama follows almost *verbatim*, have: *ma bzau*, but they call the seventh son *Ma sañ spyi tje* (in the chronicles of dKon mc'og lhun grub, *ibid.*, p. 3 a, *ma bzau*). The reading *ma sañis* is preferable; in fact *ma sañis* was the name of a group of nine demons; see Appendix two and cfr. *Mu sañis* in the Bon po traditions: *mu sañis ta jig skad du* in the beginning of the *Klu abum dkar po*, p. 1. *bZau* (in the archaic spelling: *bzañis*) is a recent and learned form, adopted for the sake of homophony.

7. At this point the fifth Dalai Lama follows another source. According to the dKon mc'og lhun grub and the Sa skya pa Chronicles, T'og ts'a dpa' bo stag is supposed to be the son of Ma sañ spyi tje and T'og leam hur mo (the daughter of T'og lha 'od can, the god of lightning). T'og ts'a dpa' bo married a naga's daughter: Klu leam bram, from whom Klu ts'a stag po 'od can was born; the latter in his turn married mTs'o rgyal, of a Mon family.

T's'a, according to the dictionaries, means grandson, but it is necessary to specify "grandson on the mother's side,,; thus the mother caused her son to belong to her clan. There is no lack of instances in the course of history: the son of K'ri lde gtsug brtan was called aJan ts'a Lha dbañ of the name of his mother, aJan K'ri btson (see THOMAS, *Tibetan documents*, II, JRAS, 1928, p. 85). Sometimes the name of the grandfather on the mother's side appears also in the feminine names; see for instance Ma gcig lDan ts'a c'os abum, the wife of P'yang na rdo tje (cfr. note 70).

This usage, as Müller has noticed, is followed in the names of the most ancient kings of Tibet (see MÜLLER, *Tibet in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, in *Zeitschrift für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, vol. XX, p. 307).

8. *gYa' span* means "verdigris,,; the demon he fights is: sKya reñs k'rag med. *sKya reñs* is the name of the lake out of which the Yang use kiang is born (S. CH. DAS, *Dict.*, s. v.), and also means: dawn, but in the present case the name must be divided up into its component parts: *skya*, pale, livid; *reñs*, stiff, frozen; *k'rag med*, bloodless. The *stin po* is hence a fiend causing death, a disease which consumes and kills. His wife is called in the Chronicles: gYa' abrum Si li ma: *abrum* is the small-pox, gYa' abrum is: small-pox like rust (on the face), i. e. the name of another contagious disease. The struggle between gYa' spans and the ogre is perhaps a medical myth: the struggle between a disease and its medicine.

On the use of verdigris against leprosy in India, see *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya, Cikitsāsthāna*, XVIII, p. 67; XX, p. 16.

9. In the Chronicles and in the biography of Kun dga' rin c'en (p. 8): Si li ma, who is the ogre's wife herself. Between the two forms, Si li ma and Sil ma or bSil ma the latter is preferable, which we find in Tibetan mythology as the name of a class of princes who ruled over Tibet (see Appendix two).

10. lCe is also the name of a family, the one of Z'a lu; concerning mMan see Appendix two.

11. But the Chronicles assign to aK'on only one wife, lCam bu sgron of bTsan family (*bza'*). *bza'* (on this term see THOMAS and *Indo-Tibetica*, and *Bar do t'os grol*, vol. na, p. 8 b: *ñe ba dan gza'* [for *bza'*] *t's'o nu ba ml'on nas*) originally means "a family's female descendant,, as it was in these cases; then, in more recent times, "wife,,; *bza' mi* husband and wife (cfr. also STEIN, *Fiches de divination*, HJAS, IV, p. 313, n. 1). Concerning the bTsan see Appendix two.

12. His real name, according to the Sa skya Chronicles, p. 5 a, should be dKon (following assimilation with dKon mc'og) tje gun stag = dpal po c'e; it was given him after his meeting with King K'ri ston lde btan.

13. In the Sa skya Chronicles, p. 5 a: *La stod gñan rste t'ar*; in the same Chronicles, instead of *ya t's'ans*: *ya c'añ*. In the Life of Kun dga' rin c'en: *ya c'añs* (p. 8 a).

14. The eight well-omened signs, according to a quotation from the Sa skya Chronicles (p. 5 a) are:

the well-omened signs of the earth, when the soil, large or small, is good both for building houses on and as fields (to till);

the well-omened signs of water, when lakes or ponds (*mts'o mo*) are good both as drinking-water and as water to (irrigate) fields;

the well-omened signs of trees, when forests resisting winter and reddened by winter give timber good for building houses and as fire-wood (*bud jin*);

the well-omened signs of grass, when, until it has grown old, the grass is good both in pastures near at hand and in far away pastures. (Cfr. Biography of Kun dga' rin c'en, p. 8 a).

15. The Chronicles say he became *nañ blon*, Minister of the Interior, of that same king.

16. On this family, which is that of the P'ag mo gru, see what follows. But the Chronicles (p. 5 a) read: *glan k'ams pa lotsäva*. In the Chronicles the wife's name is not given; she is only "a girl,,; *Ne c'uñ ma (glan bza')*: from the text it appears that lCam mo (Chronicles) has also the meaning of *bu-mo* (fifth Dalai Lama). Instead of four children, the same Chronicles only mention two: aK'on lotsäva Klui dbañ po and aK'on rdo tje rin po c'e; the latter, according to the fifth Dalai Lama, is his grandson. But the chronicles of dKon mc'og lhun grub agree with the fifth Dalai Lama. Although dPal po c'e's wife's name is changed, the name of her clan is the same, *glan* being a homophone of *rlañs* (see these same Chronicles, p. 54 a). Instead of K'reñ mdes, the chronicles of dKon mc'og lhun grub read: K'ri mdes, which corresponds better with the names used in this period. Klu dbañ po = Nägendra, was dPal brtsegs's collaborator; he is also called Klui dbañ po brsun ba, Nägendraraksita (see Colophon to MDO CXXV, 7; CORDIER, III, p. 493; PTY, transl. TOUSSAINT, p. 80; BUSTON, transl. OBERMILLER, p. 190, where it may be seen that Nägendra is short for Nägendraraksita).

17. In fact he is recorded by tradition as one of the seven *sad mi*, i. e. the first seven Tibetans regularly ordained as monks. The Bodhisattva is Ži ba ts'o. Concerning the seven *sad mi* see further n. 174.

18. According to the Chronicles: p. 6 b, the descendants of the first spread in Ma yul of mNa' ris; those of the second in Guñ t'añ, those of the third in Srad, of the fourth in gNal lo ro, of the fifth in Nañ šab. Ma yul must be for Mar yul, approximately corresponding to present-day Ladakh, rather than *Man yul*, where Guñ t'añ is situated.

19. Precisely, the Chronicles say, in gYa' lun, which was also the seat of gTsong tor šes rab.

20. Or, as the Chronicles say, aK'on ston Bal po.

21. Chronicles: Ts'va mo ron.

22. *rDo tje dgin pa = rdo tje slob dpon*; this is the name given to those who have become at one with cosmic consciousness, symbolized, in liturgy, by the vajra. The deity which protects the clan is the *rDo tje p'ur pa*, Vajrakīla: while the *mgon po* or protector of the sect is *Gur mgon* (concerning whom see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 127 ff.) and the *yi dam* is Kyai rdo tje, Hevajra. See above p. 87.

23. Equally known by the name of aK'on Sa skya pa; he is supposed to have been born in the year wood-dog (= 1034).

24. The new school of the mantra is the one introduced at the time of the second diffusion of the Law, i. e. beginning from Atiā and Rin c'en bzañ po (see above p. 88 f.); the name of the Lotsäva of aBrog mi

is *Sā kya ye šes*. Information concerning him and his journeys to India is found in DT, *na*, p. 2. He was a disciple of Śāntipī.

25. The Chronicles have: the *lotsāva* of rMal.

26. *Purañ* or *sPu hrañs* in Western Tibet, between Guge and Mañ yul; the *lotsāva* of sPu hrañs is perhaps bSod nams blo gros.

27. It is the mountain overhanging the convent and the city of Sa skya. dPon po ri is perhaps a recent spelling for Bon po ri.

28. In the year water-ox (1073).

29. I. e. spirit, word and body.

30. Mi t'ub zla ba, Ajitacandra: on his works see for instance the indexes of Mlle Lalou to CORDIER's *Cat.*, and DT, *na*, p. 2.

31. The Chronicles explain (p. 26 a): Neu t'og in gSañ p'u; the monk of C'a is C'os kyi sen ge (see above n. 164 to Part one). gSañ p'u was the seat of Legs pai šes rab, better known as rNog lotsāva or rNog ston, born in the year *sa* 1059 (not 1058, as in S. Ch. Das' tables); the monastery was founded 1073 and became one of the chief centres for the study of the Prajñā and of the bKā' gdam pa doctrines; see DT, *ca*, p. 1 ff. Later it was divided into gSañ p'u glin smad and gSañ p'u glin stod. The latter comprised several schools: Ni ma t'añ, rNam rgyal gser k'añ etc. Glin smad on the other hand comprised: Ra ba stod, Ra ba smad, Nāg ron, P'ren ba zi ba, aP'an yul glan t'añ gnas sgo. The two schools were under two *žabs druñ*, four *druñ c'en* and ten *bla ma*; see Kloñ rdol's *bsTan ađin skyes bu*, etc., vol. 24, p. 4.

32. *Sākyasiñi*: his quartet with rJe grags is told, with ample details, in the Chronicles 32 b, 33 a; he has been dealt with above.

33. I. e. the science of the *rtsa rinñ* or nervous centres, and of the *prāna* or vital breath, cosmic breathing, which operates within ourselves: in other words, yoga and, more exactly, the Hathayoga.

34. I. e. in Central Tibet, but as Sa skya is in gTsañ, here dBus must be understood generally as Tibet. There is no lack of evidence that dBus and gTsañ are considered as a single region; hence gTsañ is called a part of dBus; so, for instance, we read in the guide of Sa skya (p. 3 a) that *Atiśa* was invited by aBrom ston in the gTsañ region, in dBus: "dBus su gTsañ gi p'oggs su spyan drān nas...".

35. There is extant a small biography of his, of no historical interest, entitled: *dPal ldan sa skya pañ dī ta c'en poi rnam t'ar*, by the aGro mgon Sa skya pañdita Kun dga' rgyal mts'an (vol. *na* of the Sa skya masters', complete works, ed. DERGE).

36. "slob dpon ađa' ap'yar rogs su sbran..."; in Huth (p. 77 of the text): "dpal ldan grub t'ob ađar ap'yar gyis rdu ap'ruñ gyis nam mk'ai dbyin m'eñ po nas bkug ste...". Huth takes *ađar ap'yar* as the ascetic's name, and proposes, as a Sanskrit equivalent of *grub t'ob ađar p'yar*: *Siddhaketu*. But one might object that *ketu* is rendered as *dar*, not *ađar*, and that the reading *ađar* is found both in the Chronicles and in aJigs med rig pai rdo tje. I think that this spelling is a mistake for *dar*, and in reality this ascetic's name, as we read in the DT was (*ca*, p. 8), *Dar p'yar* q'a btsan. Kloñ rdol bla ma, in his treatise on the bsTan sruñ, p. 36, quotes a grub t'ob aDar p'ya ru pa, as the author of special treatises on ICam sriñ ma. TĀRANĀTHA, *Jo nañ gi gnas bñad*, pp. 5, 6, *miñ dbañ dpal ldan grub t'ob ađar p'yar rin c'en bzañ po*. *Dar p'yar* is the flag on which the *slob dpon* caused the image of rNam stas to be painted and then put it in his place (compare n. 340).

*rogs su sbran* is the same as *ra mda' rogs su sbran*.

On the occasion of the conversion of aP'rog byed and other prominent Hindu masters, probably Shivaïtes, the Sa skya Pañ c'en wrote a brief poem included in his works (vol. *na* of the Sa skya pa works, p. 220): "In the middle of the market-place, in a land near Āryavāti's temple in the city of sKyid groñ in Mañ yul, aP'rog byed dga' ba with other masters of the Tirthikas, six in all, were defeated and made converts to Buddhism...".

37. Padmasambhava: literally Padmavajra. On the bsTan ma or bsTan sruñ ma see Appendix two.

38. This story is told in the Chronicles (p. 45) and in the History of Buddhism in Mongolia by aJigs med rig pai rdo rje (HUTH, pp. 76-77 of the text and pp. 123-124 of the translation). I find no mention of it in the Guide to Sa skya. Sa skya Pañdita, as we have seen, is known also as one of the incarnations of the Pañ c'en of Tashilunpo and therefore his biography is included in the story of this lama's incarnations.

39. The meeting with Godan (Ködön) is related extensively by aJigs med rig pai rdo tje: the dates too correspond. According to the Sa skya Chronicles (p. 53 a) Godan had gone to Mongolia for the investiture (*rgyal sar ston pa*) of Go yug gan (Güyük Qa'an), perhaps for the quriltai of 1246 in which Güyük was elected Qaghan. He returned in the

year *me lug* (1247), while the Sa skya pañdita had arrived in Lin c'u (i. e. Liang-chou, see n. 40) in the eighth month of the year *me rta* (1246). The Sa skya Chronicles, p. 49 b, give the text of the letter which Godan is supposed to have sent to Sa skya pañdita when the latter was 62, i. e. in the year of the dragon, *šin abrug* (1244). He set out in the following year, at 63. On p. 57 the Chronicles reproduce the proclamation which Sa skya pañdita, on his return from his visit to the Emperor, addressed to the lay and religious notables of Tibet, notifying his submission to the Mongol monarch. This letter has been translated above, on p. 10 f.

According to the Sa skya Chronicles, Godan was the son of T'o lo no yon (Tulu), Gengis Khan's son. This piece of information contradicts the all but universal statements of Tibetan sources, which say that Godan was Güyük's brother and hence Ögöđai's son. Thus the fifth Dalai Lama, Sayang Säcän and aJigs med rig pai rdo tje. The Bon po histories however say that he was Güyük's son (see LAUFER, *Über ein tibetisches Geschichtswerk der Bon po*, T'oung Pao, 1901, p. 34).

As a matter of fact he was Ögöđai's son (see PELLIOU, *Les Mongoles et la Papauté*, "Revue de l'Orient Chrétien", 1931-32, p. 195; cfr. HAMBIS, *Le Chapitre CVII du Yuan che*, 1945, p. 71).

Tibetan tradition itself erroneously states that on Güyük's death, in 1248 (not in 1233, according to aJigs med rig pai rdo tje, p. 20, and transl. p. 31, and Sayang Säcän, transl. SCHMIDT, p. 111), his brother Godan succeeded him on the throne; indeed we know that after Güyük the regency was taken over by his wife Oyuł Qaimi: (see PELLIOU, *ibid.*, p. 197 ff.).

40. Literally "he collected the unfolding (*bked pa*) of his body...". There is a pun between the epithet given to Sa skya Pañdita as a gatherer of magical capabilities *april sde*, and the sPrul pa sde where he died: the sPrul pa sde was the name of one of the four convents located near Liang-chou: sPrul pai sde, Sai dbañ gi sde, Pad mai sde, rGya mts'oi sde (as in aJigs med, pp. 85, 264, transl. pp. 136, 416). "This great lord, *blag nid c'en po*, had three sorts of seats: principal, middling and small; principal: the glorious Sa skya and in the North Lin c'u rse k'ab; middling: bSam yas, rKyañ t'ur in Nañ stod; and Sreg šin in Sañ; the small ones were very many in K'am, gTsañ and dBus.. (Chronicles, p. 62 a).

rKyañ t'ur is certainly rKyañ p'u, namely Samada, about which I have spoken at length in *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 93 ff.

41. One of the two famous *lotsāva* in the times of King K'ri sroñ lde btsan. See *Mahāvayupatī* (bsTan agyur, vol. 6a, and the authors based on it collected in FERRARI, *Arthaviniścaya*, Atti R. Acc. dei Lincei, S. VII, vol. IV, fasc. 13, p. 538 ff.); BUSTON, transl. OBERMILLER, p. 191.

42. *meod yon*: an abridged form of *me'od gnas*, chaplain, and *yan blag*, *dānapatī*, a patron giver of offerings.

43. Qubilai, in Chinese She tsu.

44. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 75, n. 2. On the date of aP'ags pa's birth Tibetan and Chinese sources differ; see *ibid.*, p. 74 and above, n. 43 to Part one; cfr. *Höbögirin*, Tables p. 146 (s. v. Pasupa) and later n. 515.

45. *gyañ ti*; in the Chronicles (p. 67 a) *gyañ kri'u*; in BELL, *English-Tibetan colloquial Dictionary*, *gyañ sri*; in S. CH. DAS, p. 1150, *gyañ sprun*. The uncertainty of the spelling suggests a foreign word: see LAUFER, *Loan words in Tibetan*, p. 130. Probably turkish: *yimñ*, pearl.

46. *Dam ka*, see note by PELLIOU, p. 622, n. 24.

47. *Gāñ dñi gu šri iñe* [𑎎𑎃𑎆𑎃] [𑎎𑎃] Kuan ting kuo shih "i. e. the master of the kingdom who has received the initiatic baptism..."; *madññi-abbisikta*; on p. 45: *kva dñi gu šri*. Concerning *gu šri* cfr. *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 74.

48. *p'yam tse*: in Huth the word is lacking; *p'yam ts'e* corresponds to *p'yam ts'a*, a transcription of the Mongol *čämča*. *P'yam tsa* is interpreted as 'og gos', "underclothing, tunic", (see KOWALEWSKI, *Dictionnaire Mongol-Russe-Français*, p. 2104).

In aJIGS MED RIG PAI RDO RJE, p. 148 (transl. 235) *p'yam rtsa* is erroneously understood by Huth as equal to the Sanskrit *kutapa*.

49. *Las žva*: aJigs med rig pai rdo tje (p. 95): *dbu žva*.

50. The Abbot of sNe t'añ; this initiation took place when he was 21, in the year *šin yas* (1255). On the seven abandons see f. i. *Mahāvāsanutrāṅkāra*, XI, p. 4.

51. On the alphabet introduced by aP'ags pa, see PELLIOU, *Les systèmes d'écriture en usage chez les anciens Mongols*, Asia Major, 1925, p. 287.

52. The list of the 13 K'ri skor and of the 3 C'ol k'a is found in many sources, which nevertheless, as may be seen in the schemes which follow, do not particularly differ and hence all go back to original documents.

from *Yig ts'an*  
(quoted by SP) *Eulogy of gNas riin*  
in *gTsan*

- 1. mNa' ris
- 2. La stod lho
- 3. La stod byan
- 4. C'u mig
- 5. Ža lu
- 6. Byan aBrog
- 7. Yar aBrog

- in *dBus*
- 8. aBri guñ
  - 9. P'ag mo gru
  - 10. gYa' bzan
  - 11. Ts'al pa
  - 12. Bya yul
  - 13. Lho aBrog

Fifth Dalai Lamas *KLoñ rdol, bTsan Dam pai c'os kyi ahyuñ*  
Chronicle, p. 60b *adsin min grains*, p. 50 *ts'ul*, p. 162

- in *gTsan*
- Lho La stod
  - Byan La stod
  - Gur mo
  - C'u mig
  - Šaṅs
  - Ža lu
  - Yar aBrog

- in *dBus*
- rGya ma
  - aBri guñ
  - Ts'al pa
  - T'an po c'c ba
  - P'ag gru
  - gYa' bzan

C'OL K'A

a)

- 1. c'ol k'a of the Law (= dBus and gTsan) from mNa' ris skor gsum up to Sog la skya'o (Sok gom pa on the Sog-chu) (according to S. CH. DAS from Guñ t'an in mNa' ris)
- 2. c'ol k'a of men (= mDo stod) from Sog la skya'o up to rMa c'u k'ug pa (the nook of the Huang-ho)
- 3. c'ol k'a of horses (= mDo smad) from rMa c'u k'ug pa up to rGya me'od rten (in the Chronicles erroneously mts'o rten) dkar po (see above p. 252, n. 38).

b)

- 1. c'ol k'a of the Law dBus and gTsan Fifth Dalai Lamas Chron.; *Dam pai c'os kyi ahyuñ ts'ul*, p. 163
- 2. c'ol k'a of men mDo stod
- 3. c'ol k'a of horses mDo smad

c) according to other sources quoted by *Dam pai c'os kyi ahyuñ ts'ul*, p. 163:

- 1. c'ol k'a mNa' ris skor gsum: Mal yul (for: Mar yul) mts'o, Cuge, Pu hrañs;

- 2. gYas ru and gYon ru in gTsan and dBus ru and gYo ru in dBus (i. e. four ru);

- 3. mDo k'ams { Ts'al sgañ  
Bo abor sgañ  
Mar k'ams sgañ

The slight differences are therefore due to the fact that in the writers' time a new name prevailed over the old one, or to changes of political horizon. So, for instance, Byan abrog, in the fifth Dalai Lama's writings, is replaced by Šaṅs, the country North of the gTsan po. Bya yul takes the place of rGya ma and Lho abrog of sTag luñ. Gur mo or Gur mo t'on adus is a place in the immediate environs of Ža lu; it is therefore difficult to understand how three myriarchies like Ža lu, C'u mig and Gur mo could be included in such a narrow territory.

The list of the territorial divisions of Tibet is also contained in the *Yüan shih* (chap. 87, p. 14), but the transcription of the myriarchies' names does not always permit a reconstruction of the Tibetan original.

In the Office of Hsüan wei shih (宣慰使) and Tu yüan shuai (都元帅), in the three zones dBus, gTsan and mNa' ris skor gsum, Na li su ku lu sun (納里速古魯孫) there are the following posts:

- Hsüan wei shih (宣慰使) 5;
- T'ung chih (同知) 2;
- Fu shih (副使) 1;
- Ching li (經歷) 1;
- Chen fu (鎮撫) 1;
- Pu tao ssü kuan (捕盜司官) 1.

To the said office also belong the following officers and officials:

- 2 Yüan shuai (元帅) in Na li su ku erh (兒) sun;
- 2 Tu yüan shuai (都元帅) in command of Mongol troops in dBus and gTsan;
- 1 Chao t'ao shih (招討使) in command of soldiers in Tan li (探裏);
- 1 Chuan yüñ (轉運) in the dBus, gTsan and other zones;
- 1 Wan hu (萬戶) governing the country population of Sha lu ssü (沙魯思);
- 1 Wan hu governing the country population of Ch'a li pa (察里八);
- 1 Wan hu governing the country population of dBus and gTsan;
- 1 Civil officer governing the country population of Su erh ma chia wa (速兒麻加瓦);
- 1 Civil officer governing the country population of Sa la (撒刺);

- 1 Wan hu in 出密 Ch'u mi;
- 1 Wan hu in 噶籠答刺 Ao lung ta la;
- 1 Wan hu in 思答籠刺 Ssü ta lung la;
- 1 Wan hu in Po mu ku lu (伯木古魯);
- 4 Ch'ien hu (千戶) in 湯卜赤八 Tang pu ch'ih pa (當布持巴);
- 1 Wan hu in 加麻瓦 Chia mu wa;
- 1 Wan hu in 札由瓦 Cha yu wa.

In the Office of Wan hu of Ya li pu ts'ang ssü pa 牙里不藏思八 there are 1 Ta lu hua ch'ih, daruyaci, 1 Wan hu and 1 Tan li t'o t'o ho sun (撥裏脫脫不孫).

In all these names only the equivalence of the following seems to me certain, although the transcription cannot be considered regular:

- Na li su ku lu sun = mNa' ris skor gsum
- Sha erh pa = Ts'al pa
- Sa la = Ža lu
- Ch'u mi = C'u mig
- Ssü ta ko lung la = sTag lun
- Po mu ku lu = P'ag mo gru
- Ya li pu ts'ang ssü pa = gYa' bzan (?)
- Chia mu wa is perhaps = rGya mo (pa)

We do not know whether, before the Mongol epoch, a census of Tibet existed, but to judge from passages of the *bKa' ts'an sde lha*, which THOMAS made known (cf. Appendix two), it appears clearly that a tradition exists concerning censuses taken since the times of the kings, when the country was divided into military chiliarchies and into districts, enumerating the population of each. It is not unlikely that census returns were inscribed on stone slabs, like those on which was recorded the peace between China and Tibet; these ought to be the *stis rdo riñs*, alluded to in the *bKa' ts'an sde lha* (sect. K'a, part I, chap. 17).

A geographical description of Tibet, containing some statistical data on the population and its groupings, is quoted by Klön rdol bla ma ('a, p. 4 ff.) and is assigned to aBrom ston's epoch (XIIth century). I do not see why this attribution should not be accepted, as far as its nucleus is concerned.

"The territory called, generally speaking, "Country of Snows,, is distinguished as to its parts into eight regions; dBus, gTsañ, K'amś, which are three, plus the four regions of Dvags, Koñ, Loñ po and Nān, to which is added, as a fifth, the country of the aBrog in Byan t'an on the frontiers. mNa' ris is also divided into three parts, and gTsañ in gYas ru and in gYon ru (and moreover gTsañ) comprises Zar, aBri t'al and Lho mun stad, Ru mts'ams, U yug, Šans, 203 minor valleys and passes; dBus is divided into dBU ru and gYo ru: dBU ru in its turn comprises Lho and Byan: Lho includes P'an yul and s'Tod lun; Byan includes Žo and Mal gro. In these regions there are 203 valleys, between larger and lesser ones; in s'Tod smad 4000, in K'amś 210. Altogether in Tibet there are 1500 large valleys, 12,000 ravines, 140,000 mountains, 2,500,000 minor mountains, 117 great highlands (l'an), 1,700,000 lesser highlands, 4 main rivers, 3,500,000 minor rivers, 4,600,000 sources, 90,000 cliffs (brag ri), 190,000 minor roads, . . . . .; 105,000 houses (on this term see n. 486) 2,400,000 felt tents, 55 monasteries. . . . .

"In Tibet there are 30 million (bye ba) men, 40 million women (za ma bud med = bza' ma bud med), 40,000 monks (c'os la spyod), 400 saints (yar agro c'os pa), . . . (yar agro lam, in the Bar do t'os sgorol, is the way leading to union with the absolute). In a Bon po treatise 'Od gal sems kyi me loñ, p. 8 b, there are those who go yar bzan t'al and those who go mar bzan t'al. za ma bud med ought to be a married or marriageable woman.

53. And in the first place the famous shell rgyan grags which is one of the most important relics preserved in Sa skya; according to the tradition accepted by the Chronicles (p. 66 a), the shell was given, together with other sacred relics, by Dharmapāla to king Devarāja of China, the two kings being fast friends, as a reward for the troops the Chinese king had sent to aid the Indian king, overwhelmed by a hostile army besieging Nālandā. Is it possible that this tale preserves some memory of Wang Hūen tse's expedition?

54. I cannot say what the "great mi yur,, of China, "rgyat mi yur c'en mo,, may be; it appears in the fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles, in aJigs med rig pai rdo tje and in the Chronicles (p. 66 a).

55. On these places see the Sa skya guide, which on p. 40 b mentions the gSer abum of aP'ags pa: it is p'yi rten, i. e. in the external part of the holy place, or a sacred building outside a temple, as might be the case with a mc'od rten, the opposite of the nah rten, a name given to the articles of cult proper, stored in the temple. In the present case the gSer abum c'en po is a gtsug lag k'añ founded by aP'ags pa, with gilden dome and keñjira.

Thus also the gSer abum bkra sis sgo man is a mc'od rten, which owes its name to the golden "wheels,, surmounting it.

56. On "umbrellas,, the technical name of a part of the mc'od rten, see *Indo-Tibetica*, I.

57. Šā kya bzan po (Chronicles, p. 74 a), to the West of the dBU rtsē riññ ma, founded the gSer t'og c'en mo.

58. To the South-West of Lhasa, along the Brahmaputra; S. CH. DAS, s. v.: and precisely in sKyid sod (see Klön rdol, vol. 'a, p. 13 b).

59. The Lha k'añ c'en mo stands in the plain, on the left of the river; walled round and girt with towers, it looks like a fortress; as it represented Sa skya's most important centre, its rivals, when the sect declined, tried to take possession of it or to garison it with their own men (see above, p. 22). I am not sure I have read correctly the sentence *bñul du žings pai žar byun du*.

60. Cf. for this title his biography in the *Yuan shih*.

61. This Kar ma ba kši is called rgya, and this word cannot stand for rgya nag, China, because this lama's Tibetan origin is not doubtful; neither can it be a place-name, because the adjectival form rgya pa would be necessary; hence it stands for rgya ba, "the bearded one,,. The fifth Dalai Lama nearly always uses the form ba ñ, but aJigs med rig pai rdo tje: pa kši (see LAUFER, *Loan words in Tibetan*, n. 157). Concerning this episode see aJigs med rig pai rdo tje, p. 95 (transl. p. 148). For Kar ma ba kši's biography, *ibid.*, p. 86 (transl. p. 136). The Kar ma pas who had their main seat in mTš'ur p'u of s'Tod lun, also called Kar ma kam c'añ, split up into two schools, called according to the colour of their caps, Žva dmar, red caps and Žva nag, black caps. The list of the patriarchs of each sect is preserved by Klön rdol bla ma, *bsTan adsin gyi skyes bu rgya bod du byon pai min gi grans*, za, p. 29 b);

Žva nag;

6. Po to pa; 7. Kar ma pa dus gsum mk'eny; 8. K. p. ba kši; 9. K. p. Rañ abyun rdo tje; 10. K. p. Rol pai rdo tje; 11. K. p. De bzin gtegs; 12. K. p. inT'oñ don ldan; 13. K. p. Mi bskyd rdo tje; 14. K. p. dBan p'yug rdo tje; 15. K. p. C'os dbyins r. r.; 16. K. p. Ye ses r. r.; 17. K. p. Byan c'ub r. r.; 18. Kar ma bDud adul r. r.

Žva dmar:

1. Ti lo pa; 2. Kun rig; 3. Ts'ul k'rims dpal bzan; 4. dGe slon Nam mk'a' a'od; 5. bKra sis grags pa; 6. rTogs ldan grags pa sen ge; 7. C'os rje mk'a' spyod dbañ po; 8. C'os dpal ye ses; 9. C'os grags ye ses; 10. C'os kyi don grub; 11. dK'on mc'og c'os kyi ñi ma; 12. Mi p'am C'os rgyan rgya mts'o.

We shall find some of these lamas mentioned in the course of the following pages. One Ha li ma, Kar ma pa is mentioned also in the *Ming shih*, chap. 331, p. 2 b, with much honour. "There was (then) a monk Ha li ma (哈立麻):<sup>a)</sup> the people of that country, as he possessed the gift of enlightenment, considered him supreme master. When Ch'eng tsu was "prince of Yen,,<sup>b)</sup> (燕王), he was informed of his name. In the first year of *yung lo*, 1403 he ordered the eunuch chief of ceremonies (司禮少監) Hū Hsien<sup>c)</sup> (侯顯) and the monk Chih kuang<sup>d)</sup> (智光) to take letters and gifts to him and to go and invite him. That monk (Ha li ma) first sent some envoys of his to offer the tribute and then himself came to court, following the imperial envoys. In the fourth year, 1406, in winter, while he was about to arrive, the Emperor ordered the *Fu ma tu wei* (駙馬都尉) (the Emperor's son-in-law) Mu Hsin (沐昕) to go and meet him. When he arrived, the Emperor received him in the palace Feng t'ien (奉天殿) and on the following day he offered him a banquet in the palace Hua kai (華蓋) and presented him with a hundred (ounces) of gold, one thousand of silver, twenty-thousand notes of paper money, forty-five silk dresses, religious articles, pillows, saddles, incense, fruit, tea, rice and various other objects. His retainers also received gifts.

"In the following year, in the spring, he presented the staves (to be carried in the processions), two ivory staves, a pair of staves with silver handles, a pair of bone staves, two lamps decorated with fish bones, two silk lamps, two boxes of scent, two fly-whisks, six warming-pans, an umbrella, a chair inlaid with silver, a silver stool, a silver table, a silver basin, a silver vase, a round green fan, a round red fan, a pillow, a mosquito-net, pails for horses, 48 standards, two saddled horses, four unsaddled horses.

"The Emperor, wishing a holy office to be celebrated for his deceased father's and mother's souls, ordered him to institute the ceremonies of fast and purification in the Ling ku temple (靈覺寺).

On the seventh day the Emperor himself went to offer incense in that temple. Then clouds of good omen, sweet dew, a green bird, white elephants, were seen by everyone for a whole day. The Emperor was extremely pleased; when the officials had presented poems and good wishes, the Emperor again presented (that monk) with a hundred ounces of gold and one thousand ounces of silver and two thousand notes of paper money and twenty silk dresses and nine horses.

"His disciples, the Kuan ting yüan t'ung shan hui ta kuo shih (灌頂圓通菩薩大國師) Ta shih pa lo ko lo ssü<sup>e)</sup> (答師巴囉葛羅思) and others, received great gifts. Then the Emperor appointed Ha li ma; "Wan hsing chü tzu shih fang tsui sheng yüan chiao miao chih hui shan p'u ying yü kuo yen chiao ju lai ta pao fa wang hsi t'ien ta shan tzu tsai lo,, (萬行具足十方最勝圓覺妙智慧善普應佑國演教如來大寶法王西天大善自在佛) entrusted him with the Buddhist teaching throughout the whole world, gave him the seal with its decree, and also gold, silver, paper money, embroidered silk, monastic dresses ornamented with gold and gems; gold and silver objects, saddles, and ordered that his disciple Po lun fu wa Sang eth chia ling chen - Sans rgyas rin c'en<sup>f)</sup> (李隆迪瓦桑兒加領真) should be named "Kuan ting yüan hsi ching hui ta kuo shih,, (灌頂圓通淨慧大國師), Kao jih wa ch'an<sup>g)</sup> po (高日瓦禪伯) should be named "Kuan ting t'ung wu hung chih ta kuo shih,, (灌頂通悟弘濟大國師), Kuo lun lo ko lo chien ts'ang pa li ts'ang pu<sup>h)</sup> (果鑾羅葛囉監藏巴里藏卜) should be named Kuan ting hung chih ching chieh ta kuo shih (灌頂弘智淨戒大國師).

"To all of them the Emperor gave seals with their dectee, silver, money and silk. He then ordered that Ha li ma should go to the Wu t'ai shan (五臺山) to perform a great function and the ceremonies for the souls of the deceased Emperor and Empress; then he distributed an abundance of gifts.

"In the fourth month of the sixth year 1408 (Ha li ma) took leave and went back. (The Emperor) again gave him gold, silk, images of the Buddha and ordered the eunuchs to accompany him. From this moment up to the end of the Chêng t'ung (正統) period (1436-1450) Ha li ma sent the tribute to court eight times.

"When the Fa wang died, tributes were not offered for a long time. In the eighth year of the Hung chih (弘治) period 1495, prince Ko li ma pa (朵里麻巴) (again) began to send envoys which came to offer the tribute. In the 12th year 1499 the tributes were offered twice: the Minister of rites said that it was not according to the rules to offer the tribute twice in a year, and begged (the Emperor) to diminish the gift (given in exchange). The Emperor accepted this proposal. In the first year Chêng t'ê (正德) (1506) they again came to offer the tribute, and again in the tenth year.

a) This Ha li ma pa (later Ko li ma pa) can be no other than the fifth, according to Klon rdol the eleventh, Kar ma zva nag De bzin gëgs, spoken of diffusely by ajigs med rig pai rdo rje (transl. p.171), Sayan Säcän (SCHMIDT, p. 291) WEI TSAN T'U SHIH, p. 120; SCHULEMAN, p. 103, HUTT and S. CH. DAS (in Sum pa mk'an po's tables). They give 1383 as the date of his birth, but the year *jin byi* is 1384. In 1403 he was then nineteen, but his fame had reached China, as an incarnation of Rol pai rdo rje. Sayan Säcän is mistaken when he states that Yung lé, immediately after ascending the throne, invited Rol pai rdo rje to China; he makes a confusion between him and his incarnation. Rol pai rdo rje had then been dead for several years having, passed away in the year *c'u p'ag*, 1383; Rol pai rdo rje on the other hand had been invited by the Yüan Toqön tämur (ajigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 179 transl.).

De bzin gëgs died in the year *me lug*, 1427, *ibid.*, p. 173, and DT, *na*, p. 46 ff.

b) to-day Ho pei.

c) *Ming shih*, chap. 304, pp. 4-5.

d) Concerning whom see below.

e) *Ming shih*, chap. 126, p. 20.

f) Ta shih pa lo ko lo ssr; almost certainly bKra sis dpal blo gros; I find no trace of him among the De bzin gëgs's disciples, upon whom the title of Gu sri was conferred; according to DT they were Sañs rgyas rin c'en dpal (see note g). Blo gros rgyal mts'an (see note i), Rin c'en dpal, Don grub 'od zer, C'os kyi rgyal mts'an, Śa kya bzän po.

g) This can be no other than Gu sri Sañs rgyas rin c'en; see DT, *na*, p. 47 a; po lun p'u wa must be a birth-place = spu lun p'u (Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 41).

b) This name is divided in two parts: Kao je wa perhaps a title; chan po is purely Chinese and means prince of meditation.

i) I. e., as we have seen, Blo gros rgyal mts'an; I find the first element of his name: kuo luan obscure.

62. In the Chronicles (p. 67 b) she is called C'a bu = Cambui Qatun in Sayan Säcän, p. 119 (SCHMIDT); in ajigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 91 (transl. p. 143) she is called mDses ma bzän mo. In the inscription dictated by aP'ags pa for a mc'od rten built by Qubilai's order: bTsun mo C'a'u (rGyal po yab sras kyis m'od rten bzëns pa la bsñags pai sdeb shyor, p. 2). In the *Yüan shih*, chap. 106, Ch'a pi huang hou hung chi lich 察必皇后弘吉烈.

63. *adren byed* = Sanscr. *nayana*: the five mystical families are the *pañcātathagata*, the supreme pentad, concerning which see above, part first, p. 222 f.

64. *dis ston*: i. e. one of the nine feasts fixed by the religious calendar, on which see S. CH. DAS, *Diction*, p. 624.

65. C'u mig was a great monastery, the centre of a myriarchy, according to the Mongol territorial division (see above n. 52); the old convent has been destroyed and nothing remains of the ancient city, except an unassuming Lha k'an to the S. W. of sNar t'an, almost on the crossways of the path leading from this monastery to that of Nor; it is seen on the right, descending from Gans can dgon pa. Huth did not understand that this was a place-name and translated (p. 145) "das C'os ak'or der Quelle des gTsan", (cfr. p. 158 "an der fernen Quelle des gTsan"). On this council, which took place in the year *me glan* (1277) see *Chronicles*, p. 95 a.

66. The same event is related in the DT, *na*, p. 79 a. "Grags pa ye žes (of aBri gun) ascended the throne in the year iron-snake (1280) and in that same year a Hor army invaded Tibet and the Hor army destroyed Bya tog rdson and the dPon c'en Kun dga' bzän po was killed by the Hor ...

The prophecy is contained in the PTY, chap. XCII; TOUSSAINT, p. 381, translates "Au Fort des Corbeaux une troupe battra le tambour

des édiis et enrôlera les fainéants pour recoler l'or de paille... The *ger p'ye c'u* is also the name of the Yang tsé kiang.

67. One of the chief reasons of the disturbances which covered Tibet with blood was the violent quarrel between Sa skya and aBri gun, which broke out in aP'ags pa's last years and became more acute under his successors. The aBri gun began by accusing the Sa skya pa to the Mongol court; it was then that the three most influential persons in the Sa skya court, namely the dPon c'en Śa kya bzän po of Grum (this locality must be in the Sa skya territory; the river passing through this place is called Grum c'u), the dGe c'os Rin c'en brson agrus of bTson k'a on Eastern sMad, and Hor C'e ston t'ul of Gon gyo in mDo stod, went to the Chinese court and stated the Sa skya pa case so ably that, notwithstanding the charges brought against them, they persuaded the court that their conduct had been correct, and any suspicion concerning the great monastery was dispelled. Thus the Sa skya took once more the upper hand to such a point that Ag len dpon c'en of Sa skya joined the troops of T'i mur Bokkha (Tämür-buqa). This general's biography is contained in the *Yüan shih*, chap. 132, but there is no allusion to his Tibetan campaign). He attacked and burnt in his turn the aBri gun monastery.

This is the information, desumed from the *rGya bod yig ts'an*, which the fifth Dalai Lama inserts in the biography of Blo gsal rgya mts'o grags pa rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po, p. 21 a. In this relation it is interesting to remark that this Rin c'en brson agrus, like Hor C'e ston t'ul, was a native of the extreme province in Eastern Tibet. This means that even at this comparatively late period, there continued to be in Tibetan aristocracy a prevalence of people coming from K'ams, who gradually supplanted the local nobility or infused their vitality into it. He was descended from the bK'a ma log, a tribe on the north-eastern frontier of K'ams. The fifth Dalai Lama inserts, in relation with this, a rather important legend on the origin of this family, which is bound up with Pe dkar's cycle:

"In ancient times, in the days of the C'os rgyal of Tibet, K'ri ston lde btan and of his fourth son K'ri sde ston btan, garrisons were placed to defend access to Tibet in the four regions of Tibet oppressed by barbarous soldiers. In particular (the king), leading several myriads of Tibetan soldiers, destroyed the hermitage of Bha ta hor. After victory, before going back, Tibetan soldiers having arrived to protect the access to those regions, he placed on the frontier between Tibet and Hor nine capable men with 900 soldiers.

"Then, when they asked him when they should come back, the king answered that they should not come back (*ma log*) without his order (*bka'*). Hence the descendants of those nine brave men were called bK'a ma log. And in that place there are many clans of Tibetans and aBrog pa, which belong to the bK'a ma log. A Minister of Se c'en's, named Sangha C'in sañ, belonged to that clan of bK'a ma log ...

68. P'yag na stands for P'yag na rdo rje, as in the Chronicles.

69. According to the Chronicles (p. 105 a) Zän's ts'a's second wife, who bore him Rin c'en rgyal mts'an dpal, was called Jo agro, a native of Sa skya c'u mdo. The spelling aGrom of the fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles is not correct, it should be aGro mo. The Sa skya Chronicles, as it is nearly always the case, are dependant on dK'on mc'og lhun grub, but they are not ignorant of the tradition accepted by the fifth Dalai Lama, which they attribute to the *gDun rab* of sTag t'añ.

70. In the Chronicles her name is mDo sde; she married a Mus pa and was the mother of the Mus c'en rGyal mt'san dpal bzän po, p. 105 a. These two names bSod nams abum and Ni ma abum suggest certain remarks on the onomastic type of female names in the period we are concerned with. While the first element may be one of the many appearing in men's names, like bSod nams or Ni ma, the final abum is generally (but we know of exceptions) characteristic of women's names: Jo mo abum, mK'a'agro ma abum, Kun dga'abum. Sometimes abum precedes the rest of the name: aBum skyid. According to another onomastic type, women's personal names are preceded by ma gcig, lha gcig, lha gcig mdsas ma, ma gcig mk'a'agro ma; at other times the name is followed by *lean*, and in this case *lean* usually has the same value as *bza'* and is preceded by the family name; the type with *bza'* is however more common: Hor bza', Cog ro bza'. In later times, particularly for women of a high rank, the name is accompanied by Byan sems, as in the Gyantse inscriptions. Sometimes the woman is mentioned, only with her own or her father's original name.

71. In the text we read: Bod, but it is evidently a mistake for: Hor, as in the Sa skya Chronicles, p. 150 a, with which the fifth Dalai Lama generally has literal analogies.

72. aJa ma li or Jo bo aJa ma li is an effigy of Avalokite:vara (in S. CH. DAS, *Dicit.*, s. v. jo bo ja ma li) on the frontier between Tibet and Nepal, in Kojarnāth.

Concerning aJam ma li me'ed gsum, the three aJam ma li brothers information may be gathered, though these two sources do not always agree, both in the guide to Kojarnāth, *Lhan bcas agro bai me'od sdon jo bo dmul sku me'ed gsum snon byuui gi glam dau brjod pai rin c'en vai du rya sion poi pi vai*, and in the *aJams bu gliñ rgyas bñad* (ms., p. 10, WASSILIEW, *Geographia Tibet.*, p. 9). The first text relates various traditions on the origin of the silver statues worshipped in the temple: according to a tradition, after King K'or re, i. e. Ye ʒe 'od, had long meditated on Jambhala, seven *ācārya* appeared to him, and each of them poured out before him a load of silver. He had six statues of aJam dpal made with it: the artists he employed were a Nepalese sculptor called Aśvadharmā and a Kashmiri artist Vañ ku la.

The statue represented aJam dpal ye ʒes sems dpa' and was placed on a block of alabaster.

According to another tradition seven Mongol merchants once went to king gNam mgon sde, also a devotee of Jambhala, and deposited with him seven chests, saying that if three years should pass before they came back to claim them, he might use their contents. Three years having gone by and the merchants not having come back, the king and his wife Jo ābum ma rgyal mo opened the chests and found there coins (*tan k'a*) of silver, on which the characters aDsam aDsam (i. e. Jambhala) were written. With the metal they had a statue of P'yag na pad ma made, and another of P'yag na rdo rje, to be placed respectively on the right and on the left of aJam dpal's image, dedicated in the times of aK'or re.

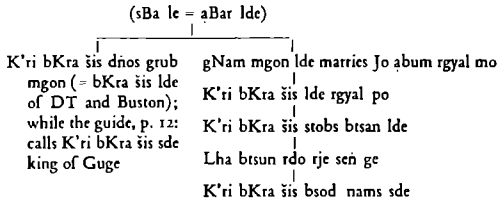
According to the *aDsam gliñ rgyas bñad*, the artists who made the statues came from aDsam lan, that is, from the district of Jumla in North-Western Nepal near the Tib. frontier (Biogr. of the gTer stons, p. 27: *Bod mts'an*).

The two sources we have quoted do not mention the fact that the statues were transported to Sa skya; anyhow, only copies were carried there, as the two statues remained in the temple of Kojarnāth, where they are still worshipped. See TUCCI, *Santi e Briganti*, pp. 38-43.

Kojarnāth is for Purang what mT'o gliñ was for Guge: the region's greatest sanctuary, founded by Ye ʒe 'od and by his son Byan c'ub 'od; it was periodically embellished by successive princes, who ruled over the district, more as vice-regents for the kings of Guge than as actual sovereigns. The same guide mentions the visits of bKra ʒis lde, the C'os rgyal of Guge, to Kojarnāth (p. 12), while it considers his younger brother, gNam mgon lde, as the head of the region. It is quite probable that the cadet branch of the kings of Guge or their younger brothers were called upon to rule over that district.

The biography of the founder of Nor Kun dga' bzañ po also mentions the monastery of aK'or c'ags as being under the rule of the C'os rgyal of Guge (p. 39).

The Guide we have quoted records the following succession:



73. That is, two women: the first, according to the Chronicles, founded the Jo mo gliñ monastery and continued to lead a religious life; the second married bKra ʒis rtsags pa dpal, lord of Guñ c'an (p. 105 b).

74. *rjei bla ma*, in the Chronicles (105 b): *blai me'od gñas*. The date of his death is uncertain; some sources place it in the year *c'u bya* (1273) at the age of 36, others, like the Chronicles, at 37, in the year *ñin k'yi*, 1274 (pp. 105 b, 106 a).

75. In the Chronicles (*ibid.*): Hu dkar c'e. On aJan see THOMAS, *Tibetan documents*, JRAS, 1928, p. 85.

76. In this text Rin c'en abyūn gnas is called slob dpon; but in the Sa skya Chronicles slob dpon ma, that is, he should be a woman (p. 105 b).

77. According to the Chronicles, p. 106 a, P'yag na (rdo rje) had three wives: Mam mgal, Godan's daughter (Godan is here called king

"rgyal po.,: the same as Ji big t'e mur, *ibid.*: rgyal po has therefore here the meaning of "royal prince.,); ma geig lDan t'a c'os abum and mK'a' agro abum the daughter of tNa sgra, sku ʒañ of ʒa lu, and Nañ blon of the king of the Hor. The latter was Dharmapālaraksita's mother. She had a son Ratnabhadrā, who died young and with whom this branch became extinguished. bZañ po dpal's mother was Jo mo abum (*Chronicles*, p. 107).

78. The first internal crisis of the Sa skya thus belongs to this period: although the Chronicles and the fifth Dalai Lama speak with the usual euphemisms, to cover any stain that might dim the good name of a clan of divine origin, it is clear that in the times of P'yag na rdo rje there were serious struggles between the various brothers born of ʒañ t'a, each aspiring to succession. From the narrative we may also infer that P'yag na rdo rje wished to secure supreme power for his own line, transmitting it to his son Dharmapālaraksita, who, dying young, left it in the hands of his son Ratnabhadrā. The early age at which these princes died is surprising: one at twenty and the other at five, so that we suspect these precocious deaths not to have been natural. In the meantime the son of Ye ʒes abyūn gnas, the bDag ʒid c'en po bZañ po dpal, following certain charges, unspecified by the Chronicles and by the fifth Dalai Lama, but casting doubts on his legitimacy, was called to the Mongol court to account for his activities, and then exiled. From the Chronicles it appears that the city where bZañ po dpal was confined was accessible by sea or by river. He was confined in a large castle (*mK'ar mig c'en po*) called Zo c'u, at twenty days' navigation (*c'u aJam*) from the bay (*rgya mts'o lag*) of the country of sMan rtsē, hence in Han c'u, which was seven days' journey from that place.

Thus in the Sa skya Chronicles (p. 106 b); the same account appears in Kun dga' rin c'en's biography, identical save for some orthographical variants, p. 33 b: *sMan rtsēi yul p'yi rgya mts'o'i lag c'u abyams* (in the Chronicles: *c'u aJam*: on the word *aJam* see above p. 13) *c'en po ʒi ʒu rtsa bgyan bgral ba na zo c'u zer pai mk'ar mig c'en por bZugs yan de nas lun gi mjal lan* (Chronicles: *aJa' lam*) *bñun bgyod pa na bam c'u* (Chronicles: *ban c'u*) *zer pai mk'ar mig c'en por bZugs*.

sMan rtsē 蠻子 corresponds to the name the Mongols used to give southern China, which had remained under the Sung's government; this word is derived from: man tse, a name the Chinese gave to the Southern barbarians. In Marco Polo the same name appears as Mangi, Manzi.

Zo c'u is perhaps Su chou and Ham c'u = Hang chou.

The Tibetan *sman rtsē* for *man tse* registered by S. CH. DAS, or rather *man tsi* (see LAUFER, *Loan words in Tibetan*, n. 280), is derived from the Chinese *man tse*, "thin silk.,; it is probably due to a contamination with the sMan rtsē mentioned above.

The bDag ʒid was called to China and consequently exiled at the age of 21 (1282). It is logical to see these events as a struggle for succession between pretenders to the Sa skya throne, which the Mongol Emperor (Qubilai) must have ended. In the meantime there was an interregnum, during which, as we can gather from the Chronicles, power was vested in the Šar pa aJam dbyaṅs rin c'en rgyal mts'an, who kept it not only until the bDag ʒid c'en po returned, in his thirty-fifth year, *sa k'yi* (1298), but until he attained the age of 45 (1306), because an order of the king forced him to study (we should say to remain confined) in the Lha bran's palace. So his exile seems to have lasted 16 years, but his actual absence from power 24 years. He was called back thanks to the intercession of the Šar pa and other dignitaries; from the Chronicles (p. 108 a-b) it appears that Grags pa 'od zer was one of those who had him restored to favour. Who is this T'i šri Grags pa 'od zer? One of the ordinances of ʒa lu I have published was issued in his name. As may be gathered from the Gyantse chronicles, he belonged to the Bla bran K'añ gzar. According to the information concerning him, contained in the Sa skya pa Chronicles, he was the bDag ʒid c'en po's chaplain (*me'od dpon*). When aP'ags pa died, he was chosen by the Sa skya to take the news of the Lama's death and his relics to Qubilai. He thus became extremely acceptable at court and stopped there a long time, enjoying great consideration, as may be deduced from the fact that Ag len and the others sought his intercession with the Emperor in the bDag ʒid c'en po's favour. He is included in the list of the T'i shih contained in the *Yüan shih* (cf. above p. 252, n. 47).

To close this long note, we should add, concerning the bDag ʒid c'en po, that he was not a lama; he was bDag ʒid c'en po, "great lord.,; was only invested with temporal authority and had no religious authority or rank up to the age of 52.

79. Ratnabhadra.

80. Ag len or An len, concerning whom see what follows. In this circumstance, to restore Sa skya's fortunes, he formed a council of Sa skya pa chiefs, following which this letter was sent to the Ti tri Grags pa 'od zer.

81. Sa skya Pandita and aP'ags pa.

82. K'ui rdo: but in the Chronicles (p. 108 b): *Nam mk'a' 'uh kyi rdoi 'ar pa babs*; in the text of the fifth Dalai Lama the raven is like a riu c'ün but in the Chronicles *ri bo ts'am*.

83. *Zal no*: from this and other passages of the texts used, it appears that *Zal no* means "chief, prince", insofar as he is also a hierarch, i. e. a religious chief: "monk official, ... The meaning assigned to the expression by S. CH. DAS, "an official in command of more than 50 soldiers but inferior to a captain, (centurion?) does not suit these and other cases. The plural *Zal no nams*, the chiefs or notables of a place, is often found.

84. *Nag ap'ra*: in the *Myan c'ün*, p. 224, *nag p'ran*; in the Chronicles, p. 105 a, *c'ün zad nög ap'ra tsam byün bar dus*. This sentence is not in the dictionaries, but the meaning is clear: to be in difficulties, in danger, in decline, but also: to be short of. Cf. *gdun rgyud nög p'ra bar byün pas* "the succession of the family being in danger", (Life of the Zur pa t'ams cad mk'yen, p. 24 a). *C'os nid gnis ka sin tu nög p'ra ba zig adug, Vaidurya ser* p<sup>o</sup>, p. 166 b.

85. Born of the wife he had married in China: Muñ gan.

86. Seven wives is an error: they are seven only if we include in their number the Chinese wife he married in sMan rse according to the Chronicles (p. 112). The latter was rather a concubine, the others wives of his own country. Concerning the bDag nüd c'en po's wives see my scheme, where some discrepancies between sources are noted. Some data seem doubtful. The uncertainty noticed on this point is not due to the fifth Dalai Lama, nor to the author of the DT: it already existed in the sources they used; this conclusion is reached through the continual allusions, in the Chronicles, to a variety of opinions among the various writers of Sa skya Chronicles. This is also due to the hardships of the times, troubled by warfare, and to the decay of the Sa skya family itself: it no longer kept its archives up to date and documents were consequently lost. All considered, the author of the Chronicles, who had many more sources at his disposal than the other compilers, seems worthier of our belief, also because he diligently sifts the information collected by his predecessors.

We notice that according to the Chronicles (1.109 b) the bDag nüd c'en po took religious vows at the age of 52, assuming the name of Amoghavajrasūpāla, and that all his sons were born before he was 52. Opinions differ also on the date of his death. Some sources, like the *gDun robs* of the *lotsava* of sTag ts'ans, of gTsañ byams pa, of Śes rab rdo rje, say that he died at 63, in the year *in byi* (1324). Others, like the one by Ni lde, say at 61, in the year *c'u k'yi* (1322). The Chronicles follow the first date.

87. He went to China at eleven (*sa bya*, 1309); he returned to Tibet at 24 (*c'u k'yi*, 1322). In the Chronicles, p. 112 b, only Gegan is mentioned. Notice how the spelling of the same name wavers between T'e mur and T'i mur, Gigan, Ge gan; Bu yan is Buyantu (Ayurbaribada), Jen huñ 1312-1320; Gegan is Gagan Qoñila, Ying tsung; Yesun t'e mur is Yāsūn Tāmūr (T'ai ting ti) 1323-1328. On these persons see HAMBIS, s. v.

88. Ratnāri, Rin c'en dpal, younger son of Qoñila; see HAMBIS, pp. 140, 141.

89. bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po and Kun dga' legs pa blo gros, when the Ming succeeded the Yüan, sent envoys to ask the new dynasty for the jade seal, but it was refused, with the excuse that it had already been given to another dignity. It is well to translate here the passage in the *Ming shih* concerning these events, chap. 331.

"In the beginning of Hung wu (1368) T'ai tsu fearing the disturbances (caused by) Tibet in the T'ang's times (should be repeated), decided to put these matters in order. Conforming to their customs, he made use of the monks and of their disciples to educate them and then guide them towards good. He also sent envoys with the order that they should submit. Moreover he arranged that Hsu Yün te 許允德, Yüan Wai lang 員外郎 of the provincial government of Shen-si, should go into that country, and he ordered that those who were invested with old offices conferred upon them by the Yüan, should come to court and be (again) confirmed in their posts.

"Then in dBus and gTsañ power was exercised by the Ti shih Nan chia pa ts'ang pu 喃恰巴藏卜 who began to send envoys to court

to offer the tribute. They arrived at court in the twelfth month of the fifth year. The Emperor was glad and sent (that monk) as a gift a red dress for meditation, of embroidered silk, with cap and shoes, money and other things.

"In the following year (1373), in the second month (the Ti shih) came to court personally to introduce (to the Emperor) those who had formerly been invested with official dignities; they were about 60 persons in all. The Emperor confirmed him in office and, as he already possessed the office (of a Ti shih), he appointed him "precious Ti shih Buddha of perfect knowledge, ... Chih sheng fo pao kuo shih, 熾盛佛寶國師 and again gave him the jade seal and clothes of coloured silk (綵幣), twenty suits of each kind.

"When the jade carver had finished the seal, the Emperor examined the jade, and as it was not handsome, he ordered it to be cut afresh. Thus he honoured him.

"Then the (Ti shih), having asked permission, returned to his country. (The Emperor) ordered the prefecture of Ho chou 河州 to send an official to escort him, commanding all the barbarians who had not yet submitted to make an act of obedience.

"In the winter (1373) the descendant of the Ti shih of the Yüan, So nan chien pa ts'ang pu 鈗術堅巴藏卜 and Yüan kuo [kung] 元國公 Kung ko lich ssü chien ts'ang pa ts'ang pu 公哥列思監藏巴藏卜 sent envoys to ask for the jade seal; the court officials said that it had already been conferred and could not be conferred anew, but they were presented with figured silks.

"In the seventh year (1374) in the summer, the Fo pao kuo shih sent his envoys to offer tributes. In the autumn the descendant of the Ti shih Pa ssü pa of Yüan, Kung-ko-chien ts'ang-pa ts'ang-pu 公哥監藏巴藏卜 and the monk of dBus and gTsañ Ta li ma pa la 答力麻八刺 刺 sent envoys to court to ask for investiture, and then the Emperor appointed the descendant of the Ti shih: "Yüan chih miao chiao hung chiao ta kuo shih 圓智妙覺弘教大國師 and the monk of dBus and gTsañ, Kuan ting kuo shih 灌頂國師 and together gave them jade seals.

"The Fo pao kuo shih (above mentioned) again sent his followers to offer the tribute, and presented at court five persons who had held official posts; the Emperor confirmed them all in their office.

"In the ninth year Ta li ma pa la sent envoys to offer the tributes. In the eleventh year he again sent an offer of tribute and presented at court sixteen persons who had formerly been invested with various dignities, like Hsüan wei shih 宣慰使 and Chao t'ao shih 招討使; the Emperor consented (to confirm them).

In the fourteenth year (1381) that monk sent a new tribute. At that time Nan chia pa ts'ang pu died.

a) Nam mk'a' dpal bzän po is a very common name in Tibetan onomastic, therefore it is not easy to identify the person here named. But in Sum pa mk'an po's chronological tables, p. 59, we find Nam mk'a' dpal, who died in 1378 (S. Ch. Das's dates, as we know, are unreliable); his death would not be distant from that of the personage mentioned in the *Ming shih*. According to the DT the date of his death is uncertain, some give *sa rta*, 1378, others *sa lug*, 1379; he was the spiritual guide of bKra śis dpal tseg of sTag lun (*ibid*, *Nā*, p. 104).

b) dPal ldan bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po 1312-1375.

c) in the Chinese text a 公 *kung* has fallen between his name and the title.

d) Kun dga' rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po (Zla ba rgyal mts'an) born in 1344; according to the Chronicles he was unable to return to China, due to disturbances on the Chinese-Tibetan frontier.

e) This name corresponds to Dharmapāla, but for chronological reasons he can be neither Dharmapalarākṣita, who was then already dead, nor Dharmapāla of Śa lu.

90. Kun dga' blo gros, possibly to avoid the strife which had occurred in the times of P'yag na and his father, made a division of the Sa skya property, allotting to each of his brothers a palace as his seat, so that the clan was actually split up into four groups, each of which took the name of the palace it resided in, forming in course of time a family to itself.

According to the Chronicles (p. 113 b) at the age of 26 "he gave his brother mK'as btsun Nam mk'a' legs pa rgyal mts'an the rock crystal scal (*śel gyi dam k'a*) and the bZ'i t'og palace. To the Ti śi Kun dga' legs



abyuñ gnas he gave the golden seal and the palace of the Lha k'añ, to aJam dbyans don yod rgyal mts'an a rock crystal seal and the palace of Rin c'en sgan, to dBan Kun dga' legs pa and his sister, a golden seal and the palace of Dus mc'od..

It should further be noticed that tradition made this distinction in the series of the Sa skya pa: the Sa C'en, Kun dga' snün po, the acārya bSod nams rste mo and rJe tsiun grags pa rgyal mts'an, as the three "white ones"; the Sa skya Pandita, Kun dga' rgyal mts'an, aGro mgon aP'ags pa and Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mts'an, who were dGe slon, as the three "red ones". Furthermore the three "white ones", with the Sa skya Pandita and aP'ags pa were called "gon ma lña", "the five ancient ones". After bSod nams rgyal mts'an, the Sa skya were propagated into another three monasteries, Goñ dkar, Nor and T's'ar (see KLOÑ RDOŁ, *bsTan adsin gyi skyes bu rgya bod du byuñ bai niñ gi grāns*, complete works, vol. 2a, p. 31 b).

91. On this word see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, table of the Sa skya abbots' genealogies, n. 8, which however should read "this Hor dynasty is called in Chinese *Tai dhen*..

In Desgodins' dictionary the word *Ta dhen* is recorded in the double form "*ta dhen*", "*ta rin*", as the equivalent of the Chinese 大人 *ta jen*. But *ta dhen* and *ta rin* correspond to two different terms: the equivalence between *ta dhen* and *ta yian* is established beyond all doubt by the evidence of the DT and by the fact that 大元 *ta yian* does in reality appear in the titles given by the Mongols to the great lamas, for instance to P'ags pa (see *Yuan shih* and *Ming shih*). *Ta rin*, *ta žin*, or, in the Gyantse chronicles, *ta bžin*, correspond, on the other hand, to 大人 *ta jen* "His Excellency", (cfr. LAUFER, *Loan words*, n. 296).

92. The *bži l'og*, "palace four stories high", is one of Sa skya's most imposing structures; it is in the centre of the sacred city, between the river Grum c'u and the mountain. Of course this is not the ancient palace, but the one reconstructed by Kun dga' rin c'en. The guide describes it at length, giving a list of the most interesting things it contains.

93. I. e. bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po. He was appointed T'eg c'en and was a contemporary of T'son k'a pa (Life of T'son k'a pa, p. 87).

Some of these hierarchs beginning with Kun dga' bkra sis are also mentioned by the *Ming shih* (chap. 331, pp. 5, 6); it transcribes the name of Kun dga' bkra sis faultily as *kung tsé shih pa*.

According to the Sa skya pa chronicles, he went to China in the year of the dragon 1412 and was appointed by the Emperor as T'eg c'en c'os rgyal, corresponding to the Chinese title *ta ch'eng fa wang*. He died in 1425.

"The king of the Law of the great vehicle was the monk dBus and gTsan K'un tsé sū pa 昆澤思巴. His disciples also called him supreme master. In the Yung lé period, the Emperor Cheng tsu invited Ha li ma, and having heard that K'un chai sū pa possessed the art of enlightenment, he ordered a eunuch to bring him letters with a seal, to present him with silk and silver and to invite him (to come to China). But that monk had already sent his envoys beforehand to offer (holy) relics and an image of the Buddha. Hence he came himself to court with the imperial envoys and in the second month of the eleventh year he came to the capital. The Emperor received him at once, gave him a collection of the sacred scriptures, silver, money, silk dresses, saddles, fruit and other things, and appointed him Wan hsing yüan yung miao fa tsui sheng chen ju hui chih hung tz'u kuang chi hu kuo yen chiao cheng chiao ta ch'eng fa wang hsi c'ien shang shan chin kang p'u ying ta kuang ming fo 萬行闡融妙法最勝真如慧智弘慈廣濟護國演教正覺大乘法王西天上善金剛普應大光明佛 and instructed him to guide the Buddhist teaching in all the world; he gave him a seal and a diploma, religious clothes, insignia and saddles, umbrellas and other implements. He honoured him as the second next to the Ta pao fa wang.

Next year (1414) he took leave and went back; the Emperor gave him larger gifts than those he had given him before and ordered that a eunuch should be his escort. After repeated times, he sent offerings of tributes. The Emperor several times ordered the eunuchs Ch'iao Lai hsi 喬來喜 and Yang San pao 楊三保 to take to him as a gift images of the Buddha, sacred objects and religious clothes, sacred draperies for meditation, velvets, coloured silk and other objects..

In the passages of the *Ming shih* immediately following are mentioned other pretenders to the title of Ta ch'eng fa wang, which as we have seen had been conferred upon the Sa skya patriarch, but I can

find no trace either of the personages or of the events in traditions and any exact identification escapes me.

"In the two periods Hung hsi (1425) and Hsüan te (1468), they came to offer tributes. In the fourth year Ch'eng hua (1468) prince Wan pu 完 卜 sent envoys to offer tributes.<sup>a)</sup> The master of rites said that the letters lacked the seal of the king of the Law. Neither was it in accordance with the rules that (the envoys) should have had access to T'ao chou 洮州<sup>b)</sup> (in Kan suh); the gifts (given in exchange) should therefore be decreased. The envoys said that the country where they dwelt was more than twenty stages distant from dBus and gTsan, and that they had arrived in the capital after a five years' [corr. months? ] journey; they offered many horses and asked to be given a complete gift. The Emperor ordered the gifts to be increased.

"In the 17th year (1476) they came to offer tributes. In the first year of the Hung chih period (1488) prince Sang chia 桑加瓦 sent his envoys to offer tributes. According to usage, when the king of the Law died, his disciple proclaimed himself his successor without awaiting the imperial order. In the third year (1490) the Fu chiao wang 輔教王 sent his envoys to offer tributes and asked the Emperor to be appointed the Ta ch'eng fa wang's successor.<sup>c)</sup> The Emperor received tributes, and having presented them with the (due) gifts sent them back, but did not allow him to succeed the Ta ch'eng fa wang.

"In the fifth year Ch'eng té (1510) he sent his disciple Ch'o chi wo hsiéh erh 絳吉我些兒<sup>d)</sup> and others (monks), who came to China from Ho chou 河州衛<sup>e)</sup> to offer tributes.

"As they had not followed the road of the tributes, the Minister begged the Emperor to reduce the gifts offered in exchange and also that the commander Hsü ching 徐經 should be punished. The Emperor accepted this proposal. Then Ch'o chi wo hsiéh erh obtained the Emperor's favour and was appointed Ta té fa wang 大德法王. In the 10th year the monk Wang pu so nan chien ts'an pa erh tsang pu 完卜鎖南堅參巴爾藏卜<sup>f)</sup> sent his envoys to offer the tribute and asked to be appointed Ta ch'eng fa wang. The Minister of rites imprudently did not thoroughly examine the case and allowed this.

"In the 15th year of the Chia ching period (1536) he, together with the Fu chiao and Chan chiao and other princes, sent offerings of tributes. The envoys amounted to about four thousand men. As the number of men was excessive the Emperor reduced the gifts, but he punished the Ssü ch'uan officials who had erred in allowing the men to pass.

"This happened when Cheng tsu appointed Chan hua and five other princes; each had his own particular lands.

Only the two Fa wang, as they were itinerant monks, had no fixed seat; therefore their tribute is not found in the list of those who had to pay tribute every three years. However, throughout the Ming dynasty, the presentation of tributes (on their part) was never interrupted..

a) Wang po corresponds to the Tibetan dbän po, but for chronological reasons we cannot think of dbän po Nam mk'a' legs pai rgyal mts'an of the Dus mc'od lha k'an of Sa skya, whom the Ming, according to the Chronicles, invested with the title of kyao wan, chiao wang "Lord of the teaching", and that of dbän, as we read in the Chronicles of Gyantse: probably these titles being transferable from father to son the person here alluded to is his son Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po. Cfr. n. 824.

b) Now Lin t'an 臨潭 in Kan suh.

c) He who proclaims himself the heir of the title of Ta ch'eng fa wang should be the successor of Kun dga' bkra sis, just mentioned, but I cannot find any name which might correspond to this; is san kia pa a faulty transcription of sa skya pa?

d) I. e. C'os kyi 'od zer, concerning whom I find no information.

e) Lin hsia 臨夏 in Kan suh.

f) This name certainly corresponds to dbän po bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po, namely bdag nid c'en po Sa lotsava aJam dbyans Kun dga' bSod nams grags pa rgyal mts'an, who died in 1533. The fact that his second mission reached China in 1536 affords no difficulty, since it may have been sent by his successor having the same title of Ta ch'eng fa wang. But I do not deny that this identification seems nevertheless to be contradicted by what is said immediately afterwards, that the two fa wang, i. e. C'os kyi 'od zer and bSod nams rgyal mts'an, were two itinerant monks and had no monastery. On the other hand it remains ascertained that the latter had the same title vouchsafed to the hierarchs, the Sa skya pa. It should also be remembered that on account of internal feuds and the struggle with dBus the Sa skya pas were compelled to leave their monastery for some time.

94. This is 2Jam dbyans Kun dga' bsod nams grags pa rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po, commonly known as the Sa skya lotsäva. See n. 91. A biography of his is known to me: "dPal sa skya lo tsä bai niem par t'ar no mts'ar gyal bai me loh dgos ädod k'un äbyün", which sNags ac'an näg dbän Kun dga' bsod nams summarized from an ample biography written by dKon mc'og lhun grub. This summary, composed in a fire year, has barely 19 pages and contains only a curriculum of the master's studies; it would be vain to look for historical information in it.

95. Whose biography exists. See p. 156.

96. In his time strife broke out between the Sa skya pa and the princes of sNeu gdon (see the Biography of Nän ston K'ra ts'an blo gros mc'og gi rdo rje, p. 35 b).

97. A biography of his is known to me: *Rigs pa rgyai cod pan sa skya pa c'en po sñags ac'an näg dbän kun dga' bsod nams grags pa rgyal mts'an dpal bzän poi rtogs pa brjod pa no mts'ar rgya mts'oi rba rlabz kyi ep'ros gleñ pa dad pai c'u rgyun*, pp. 1-68. It has no historical interest and is rather a eulogy than a biography.

98. This is the Ti t'ri bSod nams blo grs.

99. On these provinces and the myriarchies see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 84 ff. and above, p. 251, n. 35. The Chronicles, instead of 'öl k'a, write *p'yogs k'a*, trying to give a Tibetan appearance to the Turkish word *chölög, jölög*; it corresponds to the Chinese 路 lu (see PELLICOT, *Notes sur le Turkestan de M. W. Barthold*, TP, 1930, vol. XXVII, p. 78 ff.).

100. In the 2a lu ordinances, and in the Chronicles themselves, p. 39, more regularly: *Svon vi se* = 宣慰使 Hsüan wei shih. On this see further *Yüan shih*, chap. 86, p. 10 and above, p. 32 f.

101. *C'e gyal c'en mos*: to examine and judge quarrels, to pacify. In the Gyantse Chronicles *p'ye gyal* means also "census", (see note 804).

102. In the Chronicles, speaking of the return of the bDag rüid c'en po (p. 88), and in the DT, p. 61: Ag len. As this form appears in a contemporary document like the 2a lu document n. II, it must be considered the right one.

Concerning Ag len further information is to be found in the biography of the fifth Dalai Lama (p. 21 a) whose mother belonged to the sNa dkar rse clan, having among its ancestors Ag len. The fortunes of this family began with Su t'u A skyid, who was ordered to conduct, together with the rGya mi c'en po At mgon (Arghun) Do su nu gan, the census of Tibet in Qubilai's times. The son of Su t'u A skyid was Yon bdag Kun dga' bde skyid; he married aBum skyid who bore him Ag len rDo rje dpal (the etymologies of both names are legendary). When the aBri guñ pa, the Sa skya pa's rivals, invited the sTod Hor, Se c'en (Qubilai) sent an army commanded by T'i mur bho kha, Tämir-buqa. The latter and Ag len defeated the aBri guñ pa and their allies; both the sGom pa of the aBri guñ pa and the prince of the Hor were put to death. Ag len conquered Byar, Dvags and Koñ, E, gNal and Lo, Lho brag, advancing southward as far as the Mon country. Having called Chinese craftsmen, he is said to have introduced into Tibet the use of boats for ferrying. The K'ri skor of Yar abrog was assigned to the princes of sNa dkar rse. The information collected by the fifth Dalai Lama is taken from the *rGya bod yig ts'an*.

103. Better: dPon po ti (see above, n. 27), name of the mountain above Sa skya; here evidently a monastery.

104. K'an gsar glin, one of the Sa skya's minor temples. According to the guide, the temples in this place are divided into four major and fourteen minor ones. The four major ones are: sGo tum gzims rpyil dkar po, gZi t'og (for: bZi t'og), Rin c'en sgan, Lha k'an c'en po, on the left bank of the Grum c'u. The minor ones are: 2 ancient gZims k'an, K'an gsar c'en mo, including dKon k'an lha bran and Dus mc'od lha bran, Zan ts'ul lha bran (these last four together are the four palaces subsidiaries to the bZi t'og), Šin mk'ar lha bran, Sen ge sgan, 2a lu k'an gsar, which formed the three dependencies of Rin c'en sgan, Lha c'en lha bran, mT'on smon lha bran, depending from the Lha k'an c'en po, Zi c'an lha bran, C'u mig rdsin k'a, Šar glin c'en po (see *Guide to Sa skya*, p. 61).

105. *Svon jin dhen* is a transcription of the Chinese 宣正院 *Hsüan cheng yüan*, an office overseeing matters connected with the Buddhist religion (see p. 32).

106. The biography of the dpon c'en rGyal ba bzän po is contained in the rNam t'ar of Blo gsal rgya mts'o grags pa rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po, p. 22 ff. It is worth while to give a summary of it, for the information it contains and because it is certainly based on an authoritative source, like the *rGya bod yig yig ts'an*.

He was the son of Dhar ma dkon cog and the grandson of the dGe bies Rin c'en brton agrus, aP'ags pa's counsellor. His uncle was the Ban rgan Blo gros rin c'en, who, having gone to China, had obtained from Öljäidü an investiture over the land opposite Lha rгод, from rTse to Ra gyu mts'o (p. 22). Dhar ma dkon cog was invested with the office of myriarch of Bya yul; on his death he was succeeded in this office by the K'ri dpon dKon cog rgyal mts'an, son of the Du dben sa Kun dga' rdo rje, his brother. rGyal ba bzän po followed Kun dga' blo gros (1299-1327) to China and on his return he married Sreg sin dpon mo, assuming jurisdiction (*k'a ädsin*) over mT'on smon Lha k'an (in Šans), sPañ gron. From his marriage he had four sons: dPon po dKon cog 'od zer, who was K'ri dpon of Byan Ru t'og, dKon cog rin c'en, mK'an po bSod nams blo gros, rGod po rin c'en. He went back to China in the retinue of Kun dga' rgyal mts'an (1310-1358); he returned a second time to China, taking with him his son dKon cog rin c'en. He spent in China about 18 years altogether, during which he held the office of dPon c'en, which was the most important in the *Hsüan cheng yüan*, i. e. in the office for Tibetan affairs. In other words he was military commander, *Hsüan wei shih*, as it is mentioned in the *Yüan shih*, chap. 34, p. 2 (see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 9 and above p. 33). At the moment of departure, he asked the Emperor to give him a feud in Šans, and the Emperor assigned to him, in the region of gYe dmar sgan in Šans the territory comprising gYe c' bab lha gdon, T'ag ma dal gdon and other localities, as his own appanage (*rta sga abog sa* = *rta ngo* of S. CH. DAS, literally; land where one can deposit his house's harness), allowing him to build there anything he liked. Hence rGyal ba bzän, having seen that the place was fit for this purpose, built in mT'on smon a palace with a wall encircling it, turrets and a temple, on the model of the royal palace, called Myug rgyal k'an. The temple was given into the keeping of the Pandita of So ajigs med grags pa, and was appropriately endowed, because he doubled the taxes meant for the support of the religious community (*bsun k'ra*). And in the upper part of gYe dmar sgan he built, in memory of his parents, a great sKu abum, which he invited Bu ston to consecrate.

He was dPon c'en three times altogether, once in China, and twice in Tibet. One of his sons was Grags pa rgyal mts'an, who began by being *nani c'en* of Sa skya and ended as dPon c'en of dBus and gTsan; he resided almost always in mT'on smon.

Another son of his, very celebrated, was rGod po rin c'en, who served under bSod nams blo gros and his brother; he then went to China, and received from Toqön Tämir several offices, like that of Hu t'ri (i. e. *Gufri, Kuo shih*) in the *Hrin Svon jin dhen* 行宣政院 (see *Yüan shih*, chap. 87, p. 5); he was confirmed in all the privileges already granted to his ancestor, the Ban rgan Blo gros rin c'en (*ban rgan* stands for *Bandhe rgan po*, as may be deduced from bSod nams dhan po's biography, pp. 37-38: *bandhe rgan pos p'ul ba... ban rgan dji*). Having returned to Tibet, he became assistant to the *de pa* of sTag ts'an, a general in the Sa skya's service, and the princess (*dpon sa*) of sTag ts'an made him administrator of rT'a nag; he founded sNa dmar rdson, and having reached a great fame owing to his military and political abilities, he took sTag sna grub rse rdson in the year *me stag* (1386). All the members of this family were in good relations with the Mongols, from whom many of them received honours and titles; they are regularly called *Du dhen ša*.

107. *sde bz'i*: in this case it does not refer to the four divisions of Buddhism, but comprises the *caturvarga: dharma, artha, kama, mokṣa*: in other words all of the Sa skya's power, civil and religious, passed into the hands of P'ag mo gru pa.

108. Some verses follow, taken from C'os rje dKon mc'og lhun grub, on the world's vanity, and the final verses with which the fifth Dalai Lama closes each of his chapters.

109. Mongk'ä (Hien tung 1251-1259). Hence it would seem that before aP'ags pa, the lamas of other convents had thought of establishing relations with the Mongol court. That Se c'en favoured the Ts'al pa seems to be contradicted by the close relations between that Emperor and the Sa skya pa. But here only this was probably meant, that the family's power began with Se c'en, receiving from him the official investiture on their lands, as in fact we know concerning Rin c'en rgyal mts'an.

110. I. e. Külük (Qaisan), 1308-1311, concerning whom see below PELLICOT's article, p. 619.

111. The inclusion of mNä' ris in the list of the places under Mongol control must be understood as nominal rather than real; although, as we have seen, the Mongols claimed sovereign rights also over mNä' ris, there is no trace that they interfered actually in the administration of that country (see p. 252, n. 36). mNä' ris, on the other hand, is a vague expression:

it refers to the extreme Western provinces, Guge being of course excluded as it may have preserved its independence also at this time. The mention of sPu rig, the present district of Kargil, allows us to suppose that, at least in theory, the Mongol kings claimed their rights as far as Ladakh. La rtsa (or La rse) in sPu rig is unknown to me, unless it is to be identified with Lan dkar rse.

In this period the Ladakh Chronicles place Lha c'en dños grub, as the country's king; they say concerning him: "k'ya'd par du c'os ky'i rje gñig rten gsum gyi mgon poi drin du gser dñul zans byi ru mu tig la sogi pai brgya qbul, which Francke translates (p. 99) "but more important than this, he laid down before the prince of the faith, the lord of the three worlds, gold, silver, copper, coral, pearls, etc., all (presents numbering) one hundred . . . and Marx observes "the Lord of the three worlds is either Buddha or Avalokiteśvara. . . This interpretation is not so sure: *drin du* means a person's material presence; C'os rje corresponds to *dharmaśvāmin* and refers to monks famous for great sanctity or learning; so *ajig rten mgon po* is, as we have seen, a very frequent epithet of the greatest masters and dignitaries. Hence it is probable that the Ladakh chronicles here allude to a Lama, and this seems even more natural when we recall that immediately before the passage under discussion, it is said that this king sent monks for the ordination of dBus and gTsan. Who this Lama may have been, whether a Sa skya or belonging to another sect, it is difficult to say: *agro mgon, ajig rten mgon po* was an epithet of aP'ags pa; but *ajig rten mgon po* was also the epithet given to aBri guñ rin po c'en (1143/1217). But this last identification is opposed by chronological difficulties, if that king is really to be placed in the XIIIth century. Some of the names here quoted are well known: gNal to the south of Lho brag (WASSILIEV, *Geografia*, p. 37) E (*ibid.*, p. 36), T'an po c'e (Yarlung T'an po c'e; *ibid.*, p. 34), aP'yoñ rgyas (*ibid.*, p. 34), On sna (= On *ibid.*, p. 35).

112. *abyig dñin = vasudhārā*.

113. I. e. good. On aGto mgon of Žań see DT, *ñā*, pp. 136 a/138 a.

114. *lugs zui = lugs gñis = c'os and srid*.

115. The mGar family, with which the Ts'al pa connected their origin, is one of the most famous in Tibet. It is enough to recall the figure of mGar ston btsan yul zui, Sroń btsan sgam po's Minister, mentioned in these Chronicles, concerning whom, besides histories of Tibet in general, see BACOT, *Le mariage chinois du Roi Tibétain Sron btsan sgam po*, *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, Bruxelles, 1935.

The spelling of this name wavers between mGar, dGar and aGar (in DT, *Ka*, p. 24 a, aGar ston btsan). mGar may be the name of a locality, or it may be the same as *ngar*, blacksmith. In primitive civilizations those who wrought iron were believed to possess magic power and hence were particularly feared; in ancient Turkish tribes there was a constant relation between kingship and the blacksmith's art. mGar ston btsan is called *rig pa can*, the possessor of wisdom. *Rig pa* is the Sanskrit *vidyā*, which means not only wisdom but the magical formula.

Tibetans have a religious reverence and awe for the underground world: it is the reign of the Klu and the Sa bdag, jealous and easily incensed keepers of their dwellings and of the riches they protect and defend. The foundation rites mentioned in the *Klu abum*, the expiations to be performed on digging the ground or cutting down trees or causing water to spring from the earth, prove to what an extent the Tibetans were harassed by the suspicion that any relation they established with the underground world might offend the powers hidden therein; *geud*, the juice of the earth, lies there; hence they think, even at present, that it is dangerous to operate mines. So relations with the invisible underground powers must be left to experienced persons, knowing the appropriate rites and exorcisms which can pacify them. Metal workers, who handled riches drawn from underground, would necessarily be magicians.

Did the mGar owe their power to this characteristic of theirs? mGar ston btsan yul corresponds to mGar ston rtsan yul zui or sToń rtsan of the Chronicles (see BACOT, article quoted above, p. 10 and *Documents de Touen Houang*, pp. 29, 131).

116. Name of the monastery in Ts'al, founded in 1175 (see CSOMA DE KÖROS's list). Sum pa mk'an po briefly summarizes the events, but his text is extremely incorrect. SP, p. 309.

117. *řes su c'ug gi aja' sa*: cfr. in the Sa skya Chronicle, p. 177 b: *řes dam aja' sa, bod la řes su bcug pai luń bzaiń po gñan* and *passim*.

118. On which see *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part I, p. 96.

119. *řgya p'ibis*; see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 66, n. 2.

120. *p'ru, p'ru ba = bum pa*, part of the mc'od rten (see *Indo-Tibetica*, I, *passim*).

121. *dbu l'og dbu rse*. One Ts'al pa K'ri dpon is often mentioned as *dānapati* of many states in the Guide of the sPul pai gtsug lag k'an. See WADELLE, *Description of Lhasa cathedral*, JRASS, 1895, pp. 267, 269, 272, 274, 277, and GRÜNWEDEL, *Die Tempel von Lhasa*, Heideberg, 1919. The 'Os dga' bde bzaiń po of Waddell and Grünwedel is Tre pos (or, as written on other occasions Tre 'os) dGa' bde bzaiń po, mentioned later. Cfr. SP, p. 308.

122. As usual a double merit is distinguished: the one towards the Law and one towards political power. Royal authority, according to the Indian treatises, is based on seven elements, i. e.: *svāmin, anatyā, janapada, durga, danda, kośa, mitra, dharmā*; when we take away *dharmā*, already mentioned, and his own person, which is the *svāmin*, five elements are left.

123. *Tre pos*. In PS, transl. p. 652: *Tre hor*; in the Life of Tson k'a pa, p. 199: *Tre hor dPal byor bzaiń po* and *Tre hor pa rnam byin bdag byas*. dPal byor bzaiń po was one of Tson k'a pa's patrons. Tre po is a place or tribe name in Eastern Tibet (WASSILIEV, *Geographia Tibetica*, p. 47). See Tre po mgon po DT, *ju*, p. 6; cfr. *ca*, p. 38.

124. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 91, note, and above, p. 625.

125. The spelling of this place wavers between aBri k'un and aBri guñ; that of the SP, aBri gon, is an error.

126. sNa nam is one of the most ancient tribes of Tibet, concerning which see THOMAS, *Literary texts*, pp. 271, 279. It is found also in K'am, see above p. 258.

127. Concerning aBri guñ pa and his life see the PAD MA DKAR po's *C'os abyñi*, p. 169 ff. and DT, *ñā*, p. 85 a-b.

aBri guñ rin po c'e was born, according to the DT, in gTsođ (but in Pad ma dkar po: rTsođ) in lDan stod. His mother, according to the same text, was called sBas pai rnal abyor ma bTsun ma. Having met the aGto bai mgon po P'ag mo gru pa, he was ordained as a monk by Žań sum t'og pa, Ci luń pa and aDsin aduł of gNal, receiving the name of Rin c'en dpał. He was then called aJig rten mgon po and he founded the monastery of aBri guñ in gZo stod, in 1179. In the beginning, after the death of the lama of Žań, who had ruled P'ag gru from 1170 (*leags stag*) to 1177 (*me bya*) he passed to the abbatial seat of that convent, as aGto mgon aP'ag mo gru pa's second successor, and remained there up to 1179 (*sa p'ag*), in which year he founded aBri guñ. Rather than a foundation, we should speak of enlargement, because a monastery already existed in that place, founded by sGom rin of Mi űag, a disciple of aGto mgon: he was an ascetic rather than a lama; and could not even read (see DT, *ñā*, p. 84 b).

In Pad ma dkar po (p. 169) his clan is called sKyu ru (instead of sKyu ra). He also met the Kashmiri Pańđha Śakyaśi.

Other allusions to him may be found in the bKa' gdams c'os abyñi, p. 11.

128. This aGto mgon is not the Sa skya one, but the aGto mgon rin po' c'e, i. e. aP'ag mo gru (see DT, *ñā*, p. 66 a ff.; Pad ma dkar po, p. 163 b; brief mentions in the bKa' gdams c'os abyñi, p. 11 a). P'ag mo gru pa had been born in aBri luń ne řođ, in the southern part of mDo k'am. He belonged to the dBas Ve na ap'an t'og clan; his father's name was dBas Ve na A dar, and his mother's Ro abyā gza' btsun ne. He was born in the year *leags stag* (1110). His baptismal name, which he received at the age of nine from Lhin ne yan t'ub bu ts'ul k'rim and Lhin ne 'od zer tgyal mts'an, was rDo rje tgyal po. At the age of 19 he went in the dBus region settling in rGya dmar in sTod luń, where at 25 he received the complete initiation and finished his religious and theological education. Then he went to gTsan and met the monk of Brag dkar po, rNog mu ne, Bur sgom pa in Bur and the Sa skya abbot Sa c'en Kun dga' sñin po, Kumārabuddhi, Lotsāva of aByim, Byań sems zla ba rgyal mts'an, Myań sgom rgođ. In 1151 he met rJe sgam po pa, Mi la ras pa's disciple. In 1158 he transferred himself to P'ag mo gru and dwelt there in a small cell, which later became the famous monastery of that name. Among his first frequenters, sTag luń t'an pa is mentioned. There he stopped until 1170 (*leags stag*), the year of his death. Thus he is connected both with the Sa skya pa tradition, Sa c'en having been one of his principal masters, and with the bKa' bgyud pa tradition, represented by rJe sGam po pa's school. But he also had close relations with the bKa' gdams pa school; thus it was natural for the times he lived in, when the sects, as I have amply shown, were still undifferentiated.

129. Concerning whom see note 127.

130. I. e. dBon rin po c'e's descendants.

131. Nāropā's master. See above, p. 232.

112. sGom pa, as we saw, is the title of civil and military governors of the aBri guñ pa; their office was equivalent to that of the dPon c'en Sa skya pa, but originally, as may be deduced from note 177, their office consisted in administering convents, like the p'yang mñod. The religious heads of this sect regularly keep the title of *spyang sha*, like the P'ag mo gru abbots.

133. I. e. Grags pa bsod nams.

134. This alludes to the destruction of aBri g'uñ, which took place in 1290. (See below, p. 654 and DT, *na*, p. 108 b. The expression *glin log* is interpreted by S. CH. DAS as: revolution, internal discord, but this meaning is ruled out, for instance, by the use of the expression respecting Rva grñs, which was destroyed by the Mongol invasion, without any internal revolt. The meaning "destruction," is clear in the following sentence of Padma dkar po's (72 b): *Ag glen gyis rgyai dmay bor nas abri k'un glin log btan*: "Ag len having called Chinese soldiers, destroyed aBri k'un."

For a similar legend one may compare the story of Karuṇāśīra who, when his house was burnt by the approaching troops of Vaṅgala, embraced the lotus feet of Buddha and ascended to Heaven. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX, p. 299.

135. I. e. he who respects the 22 bKa' gdams precepts, namely the twenty teachings (c'os) of rNog lotsāva and the two teachings of K'u, that is K'u ston (see bKa' gdams c'os *abyūñ*, p. 17). These teachings are known as the Bu c'os, to distinguish them from the Yab c'os, Atiśa's teachings, which are 26 (see *dGe ldan rin lugs adzin pa gñon rgya c'en pa edod rnam* la p'an pai mts'an t'o, by Klon rdol bla ma).

136. There is then a distinction between the sGom c'en and the sGom c'un who was probably the former's vice-regent or successor.

137. I. e. bSod (nams) rin (c'en).

138. *Luh bzauñ* is regularly said of imperial edicts or diplomas (cf. p. 79 a-b). Instances are frequent in the Sa skya chronicles, where the titles conferred by the Mongol Emperors on abbots are called *min bzauñ*.

139. I. e. they abandoned the red cap and adopted the yellow one.

140. *gūñ du ap'el*. On the events which follow, see SP, transl., p. 652 f.

141. On this title of Nañ so see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 84 and above p. 35. In the *Ming shih*, chap. 331, relations are recorded with the monks *pi li kung wa*; this place can only be aBri guñ, but I have not found all the names of the dignitaries recorded in the *Ming shih* in the Tibetan sources.

"Shan chiao wang 闡教王 was the monk of Pi li kung wa 必力工瓦.

In the beginning of Cheng tsu (beginning from 1403) the monk Chih kuan, bearing the imperial diplomas, entered among the barbarians.

The kuo shih Tuan chu chien ts'ang 端竹監藏<sup>1)</sup> sent envoys to offer the tribute. In the first Yung lē year (1403) they came to court, and the Emperor was pleased and offered banquets and gifts; then they went back. In the fourth year they again brought tributes. The Emperor increased his gifts and also gave the kuo shih, great pandita, and Lü shih 律師, master of monastic rules, So nan ts'ang pu 鎖南藏卜<sup>2)</sup> dresses and silks. In the eleventh year he further gave him the title of Kuan ting ts'ü hui ching chieh ta kuo shih 灌頂慈慧淨戒大師, and on the monk Ling chen pa erh chi chien ts'ang 領真巴兒吉監藏<sup>3)</sup> he conferred the title of Shan chiao wang, making him presents of seals, diplomas and silks. From that time on they presented a tribute every year. Yang San pao, Tai Hsing 藏興 and Hou hsien were sent to him by the Emperor and they gave him gold, silks, images of the Buddha and sacred objects.

"In the fifth year Hsüan te (1429) that prince died. The Emperor ordered that his son Ch'o erh chia chien pa ling chan 絳兒加監巴領占<sup>4)</sup> should succeed him. After a certain time the latter also died. The Emperor ordered that he should be succeeded by his son Ling chan pa erh chieh chien tsan 領占兒結監參<sup>5)</sup>. In the fourth year Cheng hua (1468) according to the words of the Minister of Rites it was decided that once every three years they should come to bring tributes. In the following year (1469) that prince died. The Emperor ordered that he should be succeeded by his son Ling chan chien tsan pa erh ts'ang pu 領占聖參兒兒監卜<sup>6)</sup>.

"In the 20th year (1484) the Emperor sent the Tibetan monk Pan chu erh<sup>7)</sup> 班著兒 to carry letters and diplomas and to offer gifts. That monk was afraid of the journey, and having gone half the way he forged the seal and a letter of the prince's in the Tibetan language. The prince reported him to the Emperor, who ordered him to be judged.

In the 13th year Cheng te (1518) the Tibetan monk Ling chan ta pa 領占剌巴<sup>8)</sup> and others were sent to confer the investiture on the new prince. (This monk) Ta pa and the others asked for horses and for 30 swift boats, and that they might bring salt to pay for the expenses needed to enter Tibet.

"The Finance Department 戶科 Hu k'o and the Minister of Finance 戶部 Hu pu tried to prevent this, but the Emperor did not heed them.

"During their journey Ta pa and the others enforced taxes and tributes without ever being satisfied, and having arrived at Lü liang 呂梁<sup>9)</sup> they beat the Kuan hung chu shih 管洪主事, Li yü 李嶽 within an inch of his life. Such was their insolence.

"Up to the Chia ching period (1522-1567) Shan chiao wang continued uninterruptedly to send tributes."

- a) Don grub rgyal mts'an.
- b) bSod nams bzau po.
- c) Rin c'en dpal kyi rgyal mts'an, perhaps Rin c'en [rgyal mts'an] dpal bzau po, bla dpon mentioned by the fifth Dalai Lama.
- d) C'os tje ... dpal rin c'en.
- e) Rin c'en dpal kyi rgyal mts'an.
- f) Rin c'en rgyal mts'an dpal bzau po.
- g) dPal byor t
- h) Rin c'en grags pa.
- i) To the South-East of the present T'ung Shan Hsien, in Kang Suh.

142. I. e. the P'ag mo gru pa, see above.

143. gTsong lag adzin, a mythical king of Za hor, concerning whom see PTY, XXVII, Toussaint transl. p. 162 ff. (Aṣṭadhara), the fifth Dalai Lama's biography.

144. In the following sentences the fifth Dalai Lama inserts a brief account of the families of the myriarchs of sNa dkar rse, who, as we have seen, were his mother's ancestors. bsTan adzin is one of the sNa dkar rse myriarchs.

145. *rgya nag gon mai k'ri la gnam gyi lun gis; gnam = tāngri*.

146. I. e. the Sa skya pa Lama (1147-1216).

147. Nam tin and not Dan ma rin, as in SP, cf. n. 530. The genealogy of these princes is reproduced by Tāranātha in *Rigs ldon c'os abrug sgra kyi rgyal po rnam rgyal grags pa bzauñ poi rnam par t'ar pa rab bshags sñan pa*.

148. Four kinds of assemblies, i. e. of four kinds of Buddhists. Yon btson is included in the list of the dPon c'en Sa skya pa (see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 90). But in this list neither the father nor his son dDo rje mgon po are mentioned.

149. *t'o ō ō*, seal; *ñel gyi t'o ō ō*, *ñel gyi dam k'a*, that is, the equivalent of *t'e se, t'el se*.

*Gui guñ* corresponds to the Chinese *kuo kung* 國公.

The immediately following title of Ta dben gu ōñ corresponds to the Chinese *Ta yüan kuo shih* 大元國師.

150. *stas sna ts'ar*, *stas p'yi ts'ar*: son of the first wife and of the second wife; cf. DT, *ga*, p. 15 a. 1. a.

151. She was the wife of the sLob dpon c'en po bSod nams bkra ōñ, born in 1357, died in 1417.

152. *stii ji tre bos*. On Tre hos, Tre pos see n. 123.

153. See Gyantse Chronicles, p. 665; he arrived in Tibet in 1413.

154. See Gyantse Chronicles, p. 666.

155. In the biography of bSod nams dbau po, Sa skya pa lama (p. 18) one Nam mk'a ts'e dbau p'u'ongs mi dbauñ of Byan is mentioned, who lived towards the end of the XVIIth century and the beginning of the XVIIth.

156. Under this name, *Po ti se ru*, two books are quoted: one is the *rLauñ po ti bse ru*, mentioned by the fifth Dalai Lama in these same Chronicles, in a passage preceding this one; the other is the *Ruñ mñod po ti bse ru*, quoted by Sum pa mk'an po, unless the two works be identical. This family of P'ag mo gru is known by the name of Lha grigs gduñ rgyud or C'os rgyal sNe'u gdoñ pa (Klon rdol, p. 14 a).

157. On the egg in Tibetan cosmogony see Appendix two.

158. This name is of the Bon po type; the mythical names of this sect very often begin with the word *ye*, which represents perfection, completeness, primeval: for instance *Ye lha sems kyi sgron ma can*, *Ye mo bryud dkar po*, etc. It must be remembered that *Ce sar too* was born out of a white egg issued from a white vein on his mother's head (see A. DAVID NÉEL, *La vie surhumaine de Gutsar de Ling*, p. 48).

159. On the value of *ts'a* in these cases see above.

160. I. e. Luñ k'a hñil mo's three sons, Bod ajons the son of the eldest of them, rGya hñil žaň and his three sons.

161. Notice how the number 13 recurs; it is typical of Bon po classifications. See Appendix two.

162. These verses are fragments of ancient songs glorifying the noble and warlike families; Ge sar's epic is the only document which, so far, has reached us in its entirety. Notice that the Sa skya pa's story is repeated also for the P'ag mo gru pa: the clan is derived from a forefather of heavenly origin, descended upon earth, while his other brothers remain in heaven.

To pray the gods (in the present case, under the influence of ideas imported from India, Brahmā), the family's forefather goes on the mountain to offer a propitiatory sacrifice. The mountain is sacred to the gNan, indeed it is inhabited by them (gNan po can). The sacrifice is performed in the first month of the year and it is concluded by the theophany, in a rainbow-coloured light.

The song closes with the prophecy of Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an's birth, which may be either a later addition inserted into the song when he had firmly established his dominions, or it points to the date in which these songs were written down in a literary form.

163. An allusion to one of the many wars with China, fought at the time of the first kings, from Sroň btsan sgam po up to Ral pa can. In Ge sar's epic cycle the war against China is also mentioned. Concerning these armies of animals and monstrous creatures, defeating China, see also Appendix two, § 10.

164. On Ge sar's cuirass made of shells see DAVID NEBL, *La Vie surbumaine de Gutsar*, p. 114.

165. The *māso mo* is born from a yak and a cow.

166. An allusion to the division of the P'ag mo gru into three branches: the lamas on the abbatial see, the Gon ma and the *gdun rgyud qdün pa*, those who continued the lineage. See above p. 28.

167. Notice, concerning rLanś, that rLanś is also the name of a region.

168. Manasarovar.

169. The family took its name from him: Lha zgigs gdun rgyud.

170. *adre ak'ol* means: he who enslaves fiends, *adre*, and uses them as slaves, submits them to his will. The legend concerning this ancestor of the P'ag mo gru is connected with Ge sar's cycle, which is precisely an epic on the hero's struggle with fiends. On the *adre* see Appendix two.

171. I do not find this prophecy either in the KT, or in the PTY.

172. *spyi dpon*. In monasteries there is the office of *spyi pa*: see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, p. 277.

173. mGo rum sen ge is another brother. mGo rum recalls the name of the most ancient Sa skya temple, concerning which see above, p. 6.

174. This Go c'as rlanś k'ams pa is not in the list of the seven *sad mi* which the rGyal rabr has handed down to us (concerning them see LAUFER, *T'oung pao*, 1908, p. 9, n. 2; ID., *Der Roman*, p. 174), but in Bu ston's list (see OBERMILLER, p. 190). Ka ta na of gLanś is precisely the central one, between the first and the last three.

Let us compare the lists of the 7 *sad mi*:

KT (*sa*, p. 16):

gSal snaň of sBa  
dPal dbyaň of sBa  
La gsum rGyal mc'og  
dPal gyi rdo rje of Lha lun  
Rin c'en mc'og of rMa  
K'ri bžer of sBa  
Vairocana

BU STON (I list, complete works, *ya*, p. 127; OBERMILLER, p. 190):

Maňjuśri of sBa'  
Ramarakṣita of sBa'  
Kamutika of Bran (Obermiller's reading: Kumudika, is better)  
Nāgendra of aK'on  
Vairocana of sPa gor  
Devendra of rTsans (missing in Obermiller who substitutes for it: Rin c'en mc'og of rMa)  
Katana of Glanś

BU STON (II list, complete works, *ya*, p. 127; OBERMILLER, p. 190):

[Bya k'ri zgigs] snaň gsal

rGyal ba mc'og dbyaň of Nan lam (but Obermiller has the erroneous reading Ran la)

Rin c'en mc'og  
K'ri bžer of sBa'  
Vairocana  
Legs agrub of gTsaň  
Klui dbaň po bsrūn ba

rGyal rabr (p. 126 b):

Ratna the son of sBa saň ži  
Śākyaprabha the son of A nu of mC'ims  
Vairocana  
rGyal ba mc'og dbyaň of Nan lam  
Rin c'en mc'og of rMa  
Klui dbaň po bsrūn ba of aK'on (who, according to a gloss, is not considered by some texts as one of the seven)  
bTsaň legs grub

KT (*sa*, p. 67 a):

Vairocana  
Nam mk'a' sñin po  
rGyal ba mc'og dbyaň  
Ye šes dbaň po  
K'ri bžer  
Saň ži rat na  
rGyal ba byaň c'ub

From this comparison between the different lists it appears that the tradition on the first seven persons who are said to have received monastic ordination in Tibet, is far from sure and credible. It was established in later times, when some of the families who had increased their influence wished to be linked with the first glories of Buddhism, now triumphant, and to boast a priority of devotion as compared with other clans.

In the *Lo pan t'aň yig* (p. 67) K'ams pa go c'a is mentioned, without being designated as one of the seven *sad mi*. A little later also Glan dpal gyi sen ge, who according to the fifth Dalai Lama was his son, is mentioned.

175. Concerning cemeteries see *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part II, p. 173 and above, p. 542. A description of the *biñ ma ts'al* is to be found in the PTY, chap. XXII (transl. by TOUSSAINT, p. 110).

The *Lba* are evidently the gods of the Bon po pantheon, and the *qDre*, as we saw, a class of fiends. See Appendix two. All these brothers then preserve Byan c'ub adre ak'ol's character, that is, they are imagined by tradition as exorcists and wizards.

176. I. e. munificent donor: Yon bzag c'en po; but in the tradition this epithet is not separated from his personal name. The sPyan sna's biography is also to be found in Pad ma dkar po (p. 170 b).

After having taken vows at 13, he assumed the name of Grags pa abyun gnas, under which he is known in the DT (*sa*, p. 74 a and f.). In this work is related a contest of magic between him and a *Bruža* lama, which is very important because it proves the presence of wizards in Gilgit (on this equivalence Bru ža = Gilgit, see LAUFER, *Die Bruža-Sprache*, p. 3 reprint) and the survival of Bon po practices in the heart of Tibet up to late times. See Appendix two.

177. PAD MA DKAR PO (p. 170 b) and DT (*sa*, p. 75 a) explain the origin of this epithet *spyan sna* by saying that as *gzims gyog*, "footman", of the C'os rje of aBri guñ, sitting always in front of him (*spyan sna*) he was called *spyan sna*. Nevertheless the religious heads of the P'ag mo gru continued to bear this title.

The C'os rje of aBri guñ entrusted him with the monastery of P'ag mo gru, which he ruled up to his master's death, when he was invited to occupy the abbatial seat in aBri guñ itself. During this period rDo rta nag's invasion, which we have already mentioned more than once, took place; the DT (*sa*, p. 76) and *Pad ma dkar po* (p. 171) tell it almost in the same words: "During the seventh year (of his residence in aBri guñ), namely in the year iron-mouse 1240, the news came that the Hor soldiers had reached aDam, and all the monks of aBri guñ ač'el were preparing to flee; but he, saying there was nothing to fear, remained to inspire them with courage. In the beginning the Hor general was Mi li byi, who, as soon as he saw him, had faith in him and, the same feelings that bind a son to his father being born in him (towards the lama), he promised to present him with gifts, and without harming men or beasts he went back.

"Then, after 28 days, rDo rta, who had become a general (of the Hor) arrived. Having taken the sGom pa Śā kya rin c'en, he was leading

him away, when stones began to rain from the sky. He then asked what it was, and the sPyan sna said: "As you have taken the sGom pa of the holy son, the holy son (*dam bu*) is displeased. And the holy son being displeased, the sky is displeased, ..." He asked him what was to be done, and he answered: "The holy son does not till the fields, but by placing in this one's hands the offerings made by others, he protects the community, ..." Hence rDo rta, so full of sins, became extraordinarily serene. And the soldiers, more soft-mannered than peddlars, went back without doing any harm. (*k'u co med par log*)...

"The holy son, ... *dam bu*, is used instead of "I, ...". The reference to the sky shows that the lama adapted himself to and took advantage of the religious beliefs of the invader.

178. Whom the DT mistakenly calls the son of Yon c'en Sans rgyas skyabs, instead of rGyal ba skyabs; their mother was the same.

179. *sku c'os* is a honorific synonym of *c'os gos*, as we learn from PAD MA DKAR PO, who tells the same tale. According to the DT (*na*, p. 78 a), having heard of his fame, Hu la sent him rich gifts three times; Pad ma dkar po said: "He was appointed chaplain by Hu la, a chief (*i'u bo*) of Ji gir gan (Gengis Khan), who, believed to be an incarnation of heaven, heard the voice of thunder (i. e. conversed with thunder) and did other terrific things. Fearing lest he should seize the kingdom of China, he had been banished in the Sog po territory, and due to his great merits had taken possession of sTod Hor, also conquering K'a c'e'...".

180. In PAD MA DKAR PO: Bod ya rts; in DT: Ya t'e. Ya t'e is in Purang; see FRANCKE, *Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 169 (from Sum pa mk'an po). WASSILIEV, *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 8.

181. T'el bzan or gDan sa m'til, according to SP and Csoma de Korös's tables, was founded in 1158.

182. rKän bzi may be a place-name (but rKän bzi dpon is in the sense of aBrog pa; (cf. rKän bzi nor ldan, synonymous with aBrog pa in mNon bñod kyis bstan bcas mk'as pai rna rgyan, fol. 120).

183. *gziis ka*: that this is the meaning of such a word results from the context of the Chronicles and of the other documents published in the present book. This name is given to lands ceded to monasteries, that their revenue may be used to perform the prescribed ceremonies, and in this case they are called *c'os gziis ka*, *mc'od gziis ka*; or ceded to private persons who enjoyed their income. The *gziis ka* was often exempted from tributes. The spelling is uncertain; in the life of Kun dga' rin c'en we always find *gziis dga'*. The present-day meaning is "country house, ...", cf. *p'a gziis*, family property.

184. *drag zan* is a term that frequently recurs in the texts we have studied: *drag pa* is nobleman, *drag ris* nobility; *zan* vile, humble; hence *drag zan* must be understood as a collective name: nobles and plebeians. In the fifth Dalai Lama's biography (p. 66 b) we find; *drag ris dan dmanis pa*, nobles and plebeians; *ibid.*, p. 74 a: *zal no gtsois pai drag ris*, the nobles with the hierarchs at their head; in the life of bSod nams mc'og ldan, by the same author (p. 16 b): *drag zan gñrin*, the nobles, the plebeians and the middle classes. However, in the Gyantse chronicles, it is opposed to *mi dmanis*, i. e. to the populace, and in the same text we also read *drag btan*, which are synonymous. See above p. 39.

185. I. e. P'ag mo gru pa.

186. The same fact is alluded to in the DT, *na*, p. 78 a.

187. *c'an nag = c'an dan nag ma*.

188. Cfr. DT, *na*, p. 79 a. We have already spoken about Ti ši Grags'od zer in note 78.

For the intricate vicissitudes of the P'ag mo gru myriarchy see Appendix one.

189. *Lag rtags*: imprint of the hands; honorific form: *p'yag rtags*: legalization of a document or consecration of a sacred object, e. g. a painting, by pressing on it the inked hand or fingers. In this case perhaps it only means a seal.

190. See above p. 69.

191. Viz. Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an.

192. Prophecy contained in chap. 92 of the PTY (see Toussaint's translation, p. 379).

193. 1302.

194. Grags pa rgyal mts'an.

195. I. e. in 1315.

196. *ban rtsa byas nas*. Cfr. *ban zon byed pa*. The bDag c'en rin po c'e is bZan po dpal.

197. *las ts'an*.

198. *dam gñer*, i. e. *dam k'a gñer*, keeper of the seal which conferred authority on the decrees issued by the Sa skya chiefs. This was an office

of great trust; also from what follows it is clear that these officials lived in a great intimacy with the bDag c'en; they were in fact addicted to his private service; they poured out his drinks (*grol*), cared for his bedroom (*gzims*). Among the offices of which the *Yuan shih* gives a list, a ʼṢṢ [ʃ] *chib yin* is included. See above p. 33. Cfr. the *ramgāṭi* of the Turkish inscriptions of Orkhon.

199. I. e. in 1317.

200. Other episodes and prophecies concerning his career follow.

201. I. e. in 1318. Rin c'en sgan, as we have seen, is one of the Sa skya palaces. Rin c'en s'en ge is not on the list of the dPon c'en.

202. *mGo gñer* is not in the dictionaries: the sense "guardian, ..." is ascertained in the spoken usage; can it also be "master, ..." as opposed to *slob gñer*?

203. I. e. 1322.

204. On these two myriarchs see Appendix one.

205. He was, as we have seen above, p. 5 and in Appendix one, the son of the bDag fid c'en po; he came back to Tibet from China in his twenty-fourth year, namely in 1323. Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an denounced rGyal mts'an skyabs to Kun dga' blo gros, and the former was deposed from his office by the Sa skya dignity. Anyhow it was urgent to find a solution, because in the meantime there were two myriarchs in P'ag mo gru. His appointment was officially proclaimed on the ninth day of the ninth month.

206. *bka' iog bca' bu*, cfr. n. 353; *bcau tse*. In the Gyantse chronicles; *bca bu bca' tse*, from the Chinese 禮付 (札付) *ta fu* (*cha fu*); see for instance *Yuan shih*, chap. 84, p. 13.

207. *rtsis blans*: (cfr. 76 b, the Situ: *gYa' bzan dgon pa dan gziis kar rnamis rtsis blans*), to take a census, in the sense of taking possession of a territory. This expression is spoken of above.

208. *ca ra ma mdrad*. Or, reading *tsar* instead of *ca ra*; he did not allow other to investigate? Cfr. n. 968.

209. I. e. 1329.

210. I. e. the palace of Indra.

211. I. e. he was condemned to give back his diploma as a myriarch and the seal that went with it: on this occasion was perhaps elected myriarch, until power was resumed by the Si tu, alluded to in the summary by S. CH. DAS quoted in the Appendix one bSod nams rgyal mts'an.

212. Evidently appointed by the Yüan court.

213. *p'ye gsal*, cfr. p. 77, note 91, *dpye gsal*, to investigate, to pacify; *k'a mc'u adii dpye gsal ma byun bar*.

214. *ajags byed*.

215. *li ji bcua bu*.

216. This letter must be the letter of investiture which the deposed myriarch ought to have handed back, following judgement.

217. *bskor gyan byas pa*; or: intimation to surrender? In the fifth Dalai Lama's biography (p. 15 b): *druñ c'en rin po c'e la sgor bkylol zus nas*: invited to submit.

218. *ko sa*: it is not in the dictionaries, but the meaning is clear, from *ko ba* leather.

219. *dpañ lag gi t'og*.

220. I. e. there is a change of dPon c'en and dBan brton replaces rGyal ba bzan po. mT'on smon is the name of a palace to the North-East of the Lha k'an c'en mo of Sa skya (see *Guide*, p. 6b). But besides this temple there was a place of the same name in Sans (see above, n. 106), which perhaps, to judge from the present passage, was rGyal bzan's residence.

221. *dam sbrags ma byed par*: to force, to prevail over someone.

222. *k'as len bskor*, cfr. *k'a kor ba*, "to make one change his feelings, ..."; *c'os byed pa = c'os pa*, monk, *skad mi zer zer pa*, silent.

223. *dmag rnamis bteg*.

224. *ak'ra p'ur ts'ugs?*

225. bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzan po (1312-1375).

226. I am unable to identify this personage.

227. Concerning *bca' bu* see above, n. 206.

228. *dmag rags*: *rags = brags*, chosen; *go brags*, choice troops.

229. Read *gñis kyis* instead of *gñis kyi*.

230. The same bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mts'an thus tries to effect a reconciliation between his dPon c'en and the T'ai si tu; the agreement was reached, but from the Dalai Lama's account the conclusion seems to be suggested that the dPon c'en brTson agrus, now convinced of his former rival's power, passed on the latter's side; thus may be explained why his arrest was ordered by the T'i ši's sons, Ni ma rgyal mts'an and Zla ba rgyal mts'an, and caused the Si tu's punitive raid.

231. The *C'en po*, as may be seen on p. 130, was Rin c'en bzan, the c'en po of sNel.

232. The Nan pa is rNam rgyal grags pa of aBri guñ. Nan pa corresponds to *Nān so*.

233. *bstan jus*; *bstan jus mt'a dag pa'ag gru pai 'og tu sor ba*.

234. See PTY, chap. XCII (transl. by TOUSSAINT, p. 385).

235. *gser yig*. *Da ra k'a c'e*; it recurs also in the diplomas of Ža lu VIII (see LAUFER, *Loan words*, n. 158). Prof. Ettore Rossi, whom I have consulted concerning this word, adds to the bibliography: FISCHER, *Translation of the Turkish drama Rublār*, by ABDULHAQ HĀMĪD, Leipzig, 1942, p. 8, and BJÖRKMANN, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg, 1928, p. 166.

236. It is clear from this speech that the Sa skya's downfall was also due to internal discord. Not only the various branches of the family were jealous and suspicious of one another, but the dPon c'en began to betray them. We have seen that the dPon c'en rGyal ba bzañ po had passed on the Si tu's side; the other dPon c'en brTson agrus, who succeeded him, probably fearing his intrigues or his betrayal, took his life in Lha rse.

237. *bvva ts'e*; see above, n. 206.

238. *c'e gñan - c'e bstan*.

239. *jug bsdoms*.

240. Notice the use of *skor*, about, with numerals (*brgya skor* = about a hundred, etc.) very frequent in this text.

241. Lha rse on the bTsañ po, at small distance from Sa skya. Concerning Byañ see above.

242. In which it was forbidden to take up arms without the Si tu's order.

243. The C'en po of sNel already mentioned.

244. Garrisoned, as we can see, by the Si tu's troops.

245. Brother of the Bla ma Dam pa bSod nams rgyal mts'an (1310-1358).

246. Son of Kun dga' legs pai abyūn gnas (1332-1362).

247. Prince of Brag dkar (see pp. 94, 128). It is not correct, as S. CH. DAS says, that the Si tu himself went to China.

248. The rdoñ founded in dBus and gTsañ during the C'os rgyal dynasty of sNeu gdon, by them or their ministers, are mentioned in the following list by Klön rdol bla ma ('a, p. 14 b):

rTse t'añ sNe gdon rdoñ  
aP'yoñ rgyas P'yoñ byar sTag rse rdoñ  
'Ol dga' sTag rsei rdoñ  
dBus stod Byi ri stag rse rdoñ  
Brag dkar gSañ snags bde c'en rdoñ  
aP'an yul Lhun grub rdoñ  
sKyid sod smad Yar rgyab gon dkar rdoñ  
gZis k'a sneu rdoñ  
C'u iur rdoñ  
Yar abrog dPal sdei rdoñ  
Roñ Rin spun rdoñ  
Nān stod rGyal mk'ar stag rse rdoñ  
Nān stod Pa rnam lhun grub rdoñ

At the same time old rdoñ were reconstructed, namely:

bSam agrub rsei rdoñ of the sde pa of gTsañ  
gTsañ stod Lha rsei rdoñ  
sKyid sod gDon mk'ar rdoñ  
dMar po ri in Lhasa

sNeu gdon rse, the capital of P'ag mo gru (S. CH. DAS, *Journey ed. Rockhill*, p. 230), must not be identified with gZis k'a sNeu rdoñ, near rTse t'añ, on the Southern bank of the Brahmaputra (*aDsam bu gliñ rgyas bñad*, p. 41, of my mss., not in Wassiliev: *ap'yoñ rgyas rdoñ dan yar klün sne gdon rdoñ*). sNeu gdon rse is near sNe t'añ to the east of the sKyid c'u (WASSILIEV, *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 22) to the South of sTod lung (S. CH. DAS, *Rockhill ed.*, p. 145, Toilung). This feud belonged for several generations to a collateral branch of kings of sNe gdon, i. e. the P'ag mo gru pa, until their last descendants, the brothers Druñ Nāg dbañ bSod nams rgyal po and Nāg dbañ bSod nams lhun grub were deprived of their territory by Don yod sde srid of Rin spuñ. Bu k'rid dpal adsom, the wife of their grandfather Druñ Grags pa dpal bzañ and dPon mo Sañs rgyas, the wife of Druñ Nam mk'a dpal, took up their abode in the monastery of dPal abyor lhun po, behind the Potala, and contributed to the printing of the complete works of rGyal ts'ab dar ma rin c'en (see KLÖN RDOL, 'a, p. 15 a).

249. As we read in the *aDsam gliñ c'en poi rgyas bñad snod bcud kun gsal me lon* by sMin grol no mo han, known through Vassiliev's transcription

of Mincul Kutuku (p. 12 of my copy), some divided Tibet into two parts: Bod c'un and Bod c'en po, great and small Tibet, the first being dBus and gTsañ and the second mDo K'ams. But this division is not accepted by the author, not being based upon any plausible reason.

As LAUFER justly remarks, the *Bod c'en po* of the Lhasa inscription has no geographical value; it is modelled on the Chinese Ta t'ang.

250. *hai zom*.

251. or sixteen; according Klön rdol, in the *bsTan pa shyin bdag byun ts'ul gyi min gi grañis*, p. 7 a, which summarizes the rGyal tabs pp. 68-69 (cf. S. CH. DAS, *IRAS B. 1881*, p. 219).

- 1) you shall not kill, you shall not steal, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not bear false witness
- 2) faith in the three gems, and practice of the holy Law
- 3) you shall not be ungrateful to your parents
- 4) you shall honour virtue, nobility, old age
- 5) a kind heart towards kinsfolk
- 6) be helpful to your fellow-citizens
- 7) be unassuming, and straightforward in your speech
- 8) follow noble men and think upon future life
- 9) be moderate in eating and in accumulating riches
- 10) do not use rude language to your friends
- 11) pay your debts in due time
- 12) do not counterfeit weights and measures
- 13) be of an even temper with all and bear no envy
- 14) do not lend an ear to the words of wicked friends
- 15) speak kind words
- 16) be welcoming and generous

252. These laws are enounced in a schematic and symbolical form. They have been preserved, and will be studied by me in a work to be published shortly on ancient Tibetan law.

253. Dvags po rje, i. e. sGam po pa, Milarepa's disciple.

254. In the year 1351. Instead of rTse t'añ, the fifth Dalai Lama himself often uses the form rTse t'āñ, rTse t'āñ gi gduñ c'os. (Life of the Zur pa t'ams cad mk'yen, complete works, vol. Ta, pp. 36-37).

255. From now on the vicissitudes of the P'ag mo gru pa are followed in the *Ming shih*, Chapt. 231, p. 96 ff., to which we must refer for all the events concerning this family.

"Shan hua wang 關化王 was a monk of dBus and gTsañ. At the beginning of the fifth year Hung wu (1372) (the commander) of the garrison of Ho chou 河州<sup>1)</sup> said that in the country of P'a mu chu pa<sup>2)</sup> 伯木竹巴 in dBus and gTsañ there was a monk who was called Chang yang sha chia chien ts'ang<sup>3)</sup> 章陽沙加監藏, to whom in the Yüan's times, had been given the title of "Kuan ting kuo shih,, and to whom the barbarians had been entrusted. Now Shang chu chien ts'ang 賞竹監藏<sup>4)</sup> the chief of To kan 朵甘, fought against Kuan Wu erh 管兀兒.<sup>5)</sup> If that monk of P'a mu chu pa had been sent to persuade him, To kan would certainly have become a subject of the Chinese Empire. The Emperor accepted this advice, and again appointed that monk Kuan ting kuo shih, and sent envoys to him to give him the jade seal and coloured silk. In the following year (1373) this monk sent to the Emperor the chief So nan ts'ang pu,<sup>6)</sup> bringing tributes of images of the Buddha, Buddhist books and religious necklaces. Meanwhile the Emperor had already ordered Fo pao kuo shih to act in such a manner as to bring the barbarous peoples into submission, and then the monks of P'a mu chu pa, who gave themselves the name of Nien pu shé 掣卜<sup>7)</sup> sent envoys to bring their document of surrender and tributes of local articles. The Emperor gave them great gifts. Nien pu shé in that country means first monk. In the first month of the eighth year (1375) the Emperor ordered the myriarchy of P'a mu chu pa to be established, and entrusted this task to the chief of the barbarians. When Chang yang sha chia died (the Emperor) conferred on his successor, So nan chia ssü pa chien ts'ang pu 鎖南扎思巴 監藏<sup>8)</sup> the title of "Kuan ting kuo shih,,. In the 21st year (1388) he notified the Emperor that he was ill and suggested as his successor his cousin Chi la ssü pa chien ts'ang pa ts'ang pu<sup>9)</sup> 吉刺思巴 監藏<sup>10)</sup> 巴藏卜. Then (the later) was appointed "Kuan ting kuo shih,,.

Since that time, every three years he sent to offer tributes. When Ch'eng tsu succeeded to the throne (1403) he sent the monk Chih kuang 智光 to bring gifts. In the first year Yung-lé (1403) that monk sent his envoys who came to offer tributes. In the fourth year (1406) the Emperor conferred upon him the title of Kuan ting kuo shih shan hua wang and gave him the jade seal with the dragon-headed button, 500



ounces of silver, three silk dresses, flowered stuffs, 50 bolts of silk, 200 pounds of Pa shan (巴山) tea.<sup>1)</sup>

In the following year (1404) he ordered the two princes Hu chiao 護教 and Tsan shan 贊善 and Pi li kung wa kuo shih<sup>m)</sup> 必力工瓦圖師 and Pi li 必里,<sup>n)</sup> To kan 宋什, Lung ta 隴答 and other (commanders) of garrisons and the various tribes of Ssü ch'uan and Tibet, to establish once more stages for the post, so that communications by road should be easy.

In the eleventh year (1413) the eunuch Yang San pao 楊三保 who had been sent to dBus and gTsañ, came back. The Shan hua wang had sent in his retinue his son Ta chieh 割結<sup>o)</sup> and others to offer tributes to the court. In the following year San pao was sent again to that land. The Emperor ordered that (that land) with the three princes Shan chiao 關教, Hu chiao 護教, Tsan shan 贊善 and Chuan pu 川卜, Chuan Ts'ang 川藏, various places of Ssü ch'uan and Tibet together, should establish the post-stations, and that those which did not yet function should be newly established.

From that time on the roads were all practicable; envoys came and went; for several tens of thousands of li robbers and brigands were no longer feared. After this, tributes were much more frequent and plentiful. The Emperor was satisfied with his sincerity and again ordered that San pao should go to present him as a reward (for his services) images of the Buddha, sacred objects, monastic dresses, sacred draperies, velvets and coloured silks. He also ordered the eunuch Tai hsing 戴興 to go and present coloured silk to him.

In the second year Hsüan te (1427) he ordered the eunuch Hou hsien 侯顯 to go and present him with velvet and silk.

Once the envoys who had to carry the tribute had killed the son of the postal official. The Emperor, as they were ignorant, called them back and ordered the Fa wang to punish them. In the ninth year (1434) when the envoys who carried the (Emperor's) gifts and tea arrived in Lin T'ao 臨洮 the local authorities seized the tea and put the envoys in prison, asking instructions concerning them. The Emperor ordered them to be freed, and the tea to be returned to them.

In the fifth year Cheng t'ung (1440) that prince died and two Shan shih were sent as first and second envoy, that his son Chi la ssü pa yung nai chien ts'ang pa ts'ang pu<sup>p)</sup> 吉刺思巴永耐監藏巴藏卜 might be invested with the title of Shan hua wang; those envoys traded in silk and tea on their own account for many tens of thousands of measures and they ordered that the local officials should provide their transportation. For this reason the Minister of Rites made a petition that this should be forbidden. The Emperor, thinking that they were men from distant countries, ordered them to provide their own transportation, with boats and carts.

When that prince died he was succeeded by Sang erh chieh chien tsan pa ts'ang pu<sup>q)</sup> 桑兒結堅贊巴藏卜. In the first year Ch'eng hua (1465) the Minister of Rites said "During the Hsüan (te) and Cheng (t'ung) periods the men bringing tributes were not more than 30 or 40. In the Ching t'ai period they were ten times as many. Now when the envoys bringing tributes are about to arrive (the Minister of Rites) asks the Emperor to issue a proclamation to the Shan hua wang, ordering the ancient rules of Hung wu's times to be respected. That is, they come only once every three years to bring tributes."

Then in the fifth year (1469) that prince died. The Emperor ordered that he should be succeeded by his son Kung ko lieh ssü pa chung nai ling chan chien tsan pa erh ts'ang pu<sup>r)</sup> 公葛列思巴中奈領占堅參巴兒藏卜.

The latter sent monks to offer tributes; on their way back, having got to Hsi ning, 西寧<sup>s)</sup> they stopped at a monastery and did not go away; then, usurping that prince's name, they sent tributes and hid the gifts received from the Emperor and his letters. The (Tibetan) prince sent three of his men to investigate. But those monks shut them up in a room, and put out the eyes of two of them; one was able to escape and related the facts to Sun chieh 孫鑑 who was "Tu chih hui, 都指揮. The latter arrested them and put them in prison; he accepted bribes from their followers and then sent in a report to the Emperor. The Emperor ordered that the Hsün nan 巡按 (inspector of provinces) of Ssü ch'uan should make a through investigation of the matter, and four monks were condemned to death. Sun chieh was about to be punished, but the Emperor pardoned him, and he escaped trial.

In the 17th year (1481) as the barbarians of Chang ho hsi 帳河西<sup>t)</sup> often brought tributes under false names of Tibetan princes, the Emperor ordered the diplomas of the four princes, the Ch'an hua, Tsan shan, Shan chiao, Hu chiao, to be verified so as to avoid fraud.

In the 22nd year (1486) (new) envoys were sent; 460 men came to bring tributes. The officials on guard on the frontiers, according to the new rules, admitted only 150 persons. The Minister of Rites, as they had already entered the frontiers and it was difficult to send them back, begged the Emperor to grant their wishes. Hence they were admitted (into China), on condition that the tribute should be valid for two future tributes also.

In the eighth year Hung chih (1493) monks were sent and came to bring tributes. On their way back, having got to the Kuang ling 廣陵 post in the Yang chou 揚州 district, they met Ta cheng fa wang's envoys,<sup>u)</sup> who were also charged with bringing the tribute. Together with them, they killed animals and gave themselves up to drink. They did not move for three days. Seeing other envoys arrive in a boat, they hit them with stones and did not allow them to reach the shore. The prefect, T'ang K'ai 唐愷 got to the post and, crying out, he forbade the boatmen (to do so); the monks took up arms and staves and crying out and raising a tumult got inside (the post). K'ai fled. His minions fought stoutly and then fled, many were wounded. This matter came to the Emperor's ears and an inquest was ordered; the interpreter and his comrades were punished. The Emperor sent back his men to give the prince to understand that he must punish his envoys himself. But at that time the prince was dead and his son Pan a chi chiang tung ta pa 班阿吉江東刺巴<sup>v)</sup> asked the Emperor to succeed to him. The Emperor ordered two Tibetan monks, ranking as first and second envoy, to go and confer the investiture upon him. When they arrived, the new prince also had died. His son A wang ta shih ta pa chien tsan 阿往割失割巴堅參<sup>w)</sup> wished to receive the investiture. The two men, unable to act otherwise, gave it to him. He (the prince) prepared the usual objects, to express his thanks, and also showed as a proof (that his dignity was legal) the diplomas and seal he had received from his father. When they arrived in Ssü ch'uan the governor protested against that investiture and asked the Emperor for an inquiry (against the two monks), in order that they should be condemned to death. The Emperor changed the death penalty into an enforced residence (for the first envoy). (The others) beginning from the envoys of the second rank downwards, were pardoned. In the third year Cheng te (1508) as the envoys appointed to bring the tribute were above the prescribed number, the Emperor ordered that this should hold good also for the tributes of the succeeding years.

In the third year Chia ching (1524) the (prince) together with the Fu chiao wang 輔教王 and other 36 Tibetan tribes, between great and small, proposed that they should be admitted to pay the tribute. The Minister of Rites, as the name of the country and of the tribes was not stated, ordered the prefect of that territory to look into the matter thoroughly and to send in a report. In the 43rd year the Shan hua wang and other princes sent envoys to offer the tribute and to ask for investiture.

The Minister of Rites, following the ancient custom, sent 22 Tibetan monks as first and second envoys and an official of Rites (序班) Chu T'ing tui 朱廷對 was appointed to watch over them. When they had gone half their way, a great turmoil arose; (those monks) did not accept T'ing tui's orders, and the latter went back and reported the matter. The Minister of Rites begged that in future, when investitures were to be given to Tibetan princes, the diplomas should be entrusted to the envoys, that they might take them (to Tibet) and that the frontier prefect should choose a monk of the neigh bouring territories, to carry the gifts and investitures. From that time the custom began not to send any more monks from the capital to invest Tibetan princes. The Tibetans, continually coming to China to offer contributions, used to make great profits; although restrictions were often enforced, those who came (to court) increased every day.

In the third year Lung ch'ing (1569) it was laid down that the three princes Shan hua, Shan chiao, Hu chiao, should send their tribute every three years. Their envoys, appointed by each of them to bring the tribute, were 1000 men every time; the Emperor gave half of the gifts complete and the other half reduced. Those who had received complete gifts sent eight men to the capital. The others remained on the frontier. This was the rule.

In the seventh year Wan li (1579) the envoys appointed to bring the tributes begged that Cha shih ts'ang pu<sup>y)</sup> 札釋藏卜, the Shan hua wang's first son, should succeed his father. The Emperor granted their request.

After a long time the former died. His son begged the Emperor to (be allowed to) succeed his father. Shen tsung consented, and in the diploma he called him only Shan hua wang. (Then), according to

the words of the Cabinet Minister Shen Yi kwei 沈一 [17] he changed his title into that of Pa mu chu pa kuan ting kuo shih shan hua wang of dBus and gTsan 烏斯藏帕木竹巴灌頂國師闡化王. From that time on his successors offered tributes without interruption. The objects they offered were painted Buddhas, bronze Buddhas, bronze stūpas, coral, rhinoceros horns, Tibetan velvet, tassels for hats made of hair. The princes offered suchlike tributes.,,

- a) As we have seen above, Lin hsia in Kan suh.
- b) P'ag mo gru pa.
- c) aJam dbyanis śa kya rgyal mts'an.
- d) Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an, who has nothing in common with the P'ag mo gru prince of the same name; To kan is mDo k'ams.
- e) Kuan wu erh is unknown to me.
- f) bSod nams bzän po must be the father of aJam dbyanis gu śri; hence he is called the chief of the clan; he was gduñ rgyud gdsin "continuator of the lineage,,," but had neither civil nor religious authority.
- g) Rin po c'e.
- h) bSod nams grags pa rgyal mts'an, but the Chinese transcription supposes grags pai with the sign of a pronounced genitive and bzän po at the end [dpal] bzän po.
- i) Grags pa rgyal mts'an; notice the different transcription of grags pa; he is Sa kya rin c'en's eldest son.
- l) In Ssü ch'uan.
- m) I. e. the Kuo shih of aBri guñ pa.
- n) Biri or Beri. See above.
- o) bKra śis?
- p) Grags pa abyun gnas rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po who is not his son but the son of a younger brother.
- q) Sans rgyas rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po.

According to the Tibetan sources, the latter was the successor, on the rTse c'an throne of his son Kun dga' legs, who left that abbatial seat to ascend the sNeu gdon rse throne in the year sa abrug, 1448, without occupying the abbatial seat; he was nan so of rTse c'an up to the year of his death, me glau, 1457. The *Ming shih* seems to bring proofs of this chief's restlessness; he tried to obtain supreme power, wresting it from his own sons. He seems not to have recognized Kun dga' legs' pretensions and to have put himself forward as the successor of Grags pa abyun gnas, asking for China's recognition. He obtained it, for on his death Kun dga' legs' succession is spoken of. This proves, anyhow, that in this lapse of time internal discord troubled the P'ag mo gru pa family. The Chinese and Tibetan sources differ on the date of Sans rgyas rgyal mts'an's death: the *Ming shih* places it in 1469 and the *Deb t'er* in 1457 with a difference of a duodenary cycle.

- r) Kun dga' legs abyun gnas rin c'en rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po.
- s) Today the capital of Kōkō-nor.
- t) Western Ssü ch'uan, near Ta chien lu; see *Ming shih*, chap. 331, p. 19.
- u) I. e. The Sa skya pa abbot. See above.
- v) According to the chronological tables, the latter should be Nāg gi dbān p'yug, but there is no correspondence with the Chinese transcription.
- x) Nāg dbān bkra śis grags pa rgyal mts'an.
- y) This name seems to correspond to bKra śis bzän po, but I find no trace of it in the Tibetan sources.
- z) *Ming shih*, chap. 218.

256. The brTag gñis points out the *Hevajratantra*; from the sentence *bka' pot bži'* "the four sections of the sacred scriptures,, the meaning of the word *pot* is clear; it has nothing to do with *po ti, pustaka*, but is derived from the Chinese *pu* 部 section (see LAUFER, *Loan words*, p. 430, n. 2).

The four sections are perhaps: Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma and Tantra.

257. On whom see PETECH, *Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 20 ff. and Appendix two.

258. *log par gk'u bo*; Kun dga' bkra śis, a Sa skya pa lama (1349-1425).

259. One of the terrific forms of P'yag na rdo tje (see *Indo-Tibetica*, III).

260. His biography is also in the DT, *ñā*, p. 80. He is also known as C'os bži pa gzar ma.

261. The T'ai si tu's younger brother.

262. dPal ldan bla ma dam pa, a title under which bSod nams rgyal mts'an is known, the Sa skya lama we have spoken of and who enjoyed great prestige for his learning and sanctity.

263. According to the DT (*ñā*, p. 80 b) and other sources, Tsoñ k'a pa also learned from him Nāropā's six laws, on which he is known to have written a commentary.

264. See also the DT, *ibid.*

265. But according to the *bKa' gdams c'os abyun* (p. 94 a), he had from another wife, aDsom dpon rdot, another son, Rin po c'e Don grub rgyal po, who was abbot of T'el and received from the Emperor the title of Gu śri.

266. Before bSod nams rgyal mts'an, the DT (*ñā*, p. 81 b) places bSod nams bzän po, also mentioned by *bKa' gdams gzar rinñi gi c'os byun*, p. 92 (see Tsoñ k'a pa's life, which says he was the master's contemporary) correcting the date of his death, which is not exact: not *ñin spreu* (1404) but *me spreu* (1416). On bSod nams rgyal mts'an see *Ibid.*, pp. 92 and 93, which also contain allusions to Byañ c'ub rdo tje.

267. The story of the Yüan's fall is told more or less in the same manner also by aJigs med rig pai rdo tje (p. 28; transl. p. 41). But instead of Gru 'a la gru the name of the new dynasty's founder is *Ju ge*. Thus also in Sayang Sātān (p. 131 ff.).

268. Chien Wen (1399-1403).

269. Yung lé (1403-1425).

270. According to the *bKa' gdams gzar rinñi gi c'os abyun* (p. 936) this investiture on the Chinese Emperor's part took place when he was 44; but against his custom, the author gives neither the year of his birth nor that of his death. However, according to the *Ming shih*, the title and the investiture were conferred upon him in 1406, so that his birth would fall in 1364. But this contradicts the DT (*Ba*, p. 10) according to which he was born in the year *ñin stag*, i. e. in 1374. According to this same text, he died in 1440.

271. *mi brgyud dan bcas pa*.

272. Notice the title of Goñ ma, which was given to the Chinese Emperors: it was kept by the P'ag mo gru pa for a long time.

273. Concerning which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 79 ff., and above.

274. Literally: struck at his heart; *t'ugs la p'og = gnañ du p'og*.

275. *apun gi ajing sgo nidsad par*. Probably on this occasion the king of Gyantse was aided by the Sa skya pa, who were bound by ancient ties to the princes of Gyantse and still dreamt of their lost power. That there was war between Sa skya and Grags pa rgyal mts'an is proved by information contained in the biography of Blo gsal rgya mts'o grags pa rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po (p. 26 a); according to this source, when the Goñ ma, having gathered a large army, marched against sTag sna rdson, the K'ri dpon dKon cog 'od zer, son of the dPon c'en rCyal ba bzän po, resisted strenuously and did not give up the fortress; hence the Sa skya pa regained part of their former prestige. This took place in the year *me kyi* (1406).

276. Which was garrisoned, ever since the Tai si tu's times, by P'ag mo gru troops, to prevent any inclination to revolt on the Sa skya's part.

277. *Kar ni ka*, in the singular, because it is only one on the left. See S. CH. DAS, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, ed. ROCKHILL, p. 82, note.

278. Concerning which see above, p. 94 and note 199.

279. *bdag ma*.

280. *c'e sa* means: noble, notable; as a title of dignitaries it is very frequent in the literature of the period we are treating.

281. Ching t'ai (1450-1457).

282. According to the DT (*ñā*, p. 90 b) Grags pa abyun gnas for several years ruled over aBri gun also.

283. *bso k'a*: frontier. See: *so gdsin*, to occupy the frontiers of a region; *so stuiñ*, a sentinel on the frontier.

284. I. e. Ch'eng hua (Hsien Tsung) 1465-1488.

285. *ka bži pa* is an epithet of some lamas. See n. 625. The Goñ ma can be no other than the brother of Grags pa abyun gnas, to whom he had not yet succeeded. As will be seen later, Grags pa abyun gnas was also known by the epithet of C'os lña rin po c'e.

286. *yab yum*, father and mother, as said of the gods.

287. I. e. Yar rgyab, Goñ dkar, Bya, bSam agrub rtse.

288. sNeu gdon, 'Ol k'a, dGa' ldan.

289. This quotation is taken from the DT (*ñā*, p. 84 b). See above p. 29. All this proves that the tradition was not trustworthy and that the various sources differed. A comparison with the *Ming shih* is always necessary for this period.

290. C'os lña rin po c'e, like C'os bži pa.

291. *gnān bkod*, above: *gnān sgo*, appointment, succession; in these cases succession within the family; otherwise, it is said of the chief of a government, distributing offices and appointing officials.

292. *lag*. The feud of sNeu is sNeu rdson, concerning which see above n. 248 and not sNeu gdon.

293. Of sNeu gdon.

294. Grags pa abyun gnas and Kun dga' legs.

295. Who remained in the T'el monastery on the abbatial throne, but assumed temporal power also.

296. I. e. the sPyan sña of T'el who had assumed temporal power and had thus become *gon ma*.

297. *gdün rgyud*: heir (see p. 91 b, where these facts are again related), or better, according to Kloñ rdol's expression: *gdün rgyud adsin pa*: he who continues the lineage. See above.

298. *gnān bkod*, see above n. 291. According to the *bKa' gdams c'o abyun*, p. 94 b, the chief of T'el was called mK'an po and that of rTse t'an was called C'en po.

299. *dPon ts'ab t'el gñon byed pa*. See on p. 91b, same expression.

300. *T'ags k'og c't ba = blo k'og c't*. Umül Nag dbān bkra sīs came of age, the regency was practically held by his mother (*dpon sa*; concerning this expression see n. 307). She remained in good relations with the sPyan sña of gDan sa m'eil ('el). See Life of Nān ston K'ra ts'an pa blo gros mc'og gi rdo rje, p. 18 a.

301. I have not found this prophecy in the PTY.

302. C'o's grags rgya mts'o, died 1506 (see *Reu mig*, p. 69; cfr. SP transl., p. 654). On p. 67 of the *Reu mig*, instead of C'o's grags ye ies, should we read C'o's grags rgya mts'o'z bo wan = fo wang 佛王.

303. *legs bris pa rñams* = Sanscrt. *deva* according to the *mNgon brjod bstan bcas*.

304. *mts'an jus*, see above: *bstan ajus*.

305. Brother of Ts'e dbān rnam rgyal.

306. *p'yi rgyai blon c'en = p'yi blon* opposed to *nañ blon*.

307. For *dpon sa*, see above n. 300. I translate "princess", the term *dpon sa*: *dpon sa ap'yon rtsai drin k'ab tu bzēs*. For other instances of the value of *dpon sa*, see: *dPon sa stag lün ma*, Life of the Zur pa t'ams cad mk'yen, by Blo bzān rgya mts'o, p. 34; *lcām dpon sa rje btsun ma*, *ibid.*, p. 45; *dPon sa a ne drun yum*, Biography of the fifth Dalai Lama, I, p. 73; *dpon sa yar rgyab nar srīd abēs mdsad pas kar ma p'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal k'rūns*, *ibid.*, p. 24.

308. *gnān bkod ma legs pai zer bun blañis te = bun lon*: agitated, impure = slander?

309. *mñon ts'an can med na = ts'an for mts'an*.

310. I do not find this passage in the C'o's *abyun* by PAD MA DKAR PO.

311. *rgyu mts'an gnān*.

312. *Viz. Žin bñag* and his sons. See n. 453.

313. 1564/1565, when gTsan was entirely conquered by the Ts'e bran rdo rje and by Pad ma dkar po (see SP transl., p. 21).

314. Also according to Kloñ rdol ('a, p. 14 a) he is a contemporary of the fifth Dalai Lama.

315. This family's history is summarized by S. CH. DAS in *JRASB*, 1881, p. 243, where instead of Śa k'ri bzān po we read Na k'ri bzān po. See also: Kloñ rdol, 'a, p. 15 a; PETECH, *op. cit.*, p. 24. Rin spuñs or Rin c'en spuñs was, as we see in the fifth Dalai Lama's chronicles, one of the main rdson into which the Situ Byān c'ub rgyal mts'an divided his territory. It is included in the K'ri skor of Śans, according to the division into 13 k'ri skor made in aP'ags pa's time. Śans is in the Eastern part of gYas ru, which with Ru lag is one of the two ru into which gTsan is divided (see Life of bsTan pai rgyal mts'an dpal bzān po, by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 28 a-b, cfr. down below Appendix two).

316. Gru gu = Dru gu (concerning whom see PELLIER, *T'oung Pao*, 1920-1921, p. 330, and THOMAS, *JRASB*, 1927, I, p. 85 and lately PEBTCH, *RSO*, vol. XXII, p. 84). Judging from what is said later, this place should have had means of communication by river (Murussu?).

317. Or better, he was the *shyin bñag*, the one who gave the money to build this monastery, which the bla ma bKa' gdams pa gZon nu rgyal mc'og had wished to build (see Kloñ rdol, 'a, p. 15 a). On this place see WASSILIEV, *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 18.

318. *spyil po*: hut (often made entirely of straw) in the neighbourhood of monasteries, where the monks pass the time of their retreat. An instance can be seen in the environs of Gyantse.

319. Ma śans: the name of his family, from the divine ancestor from whom it claimed descent. See above n. 6.

320. *dpon ts'ab kyī t'el gñon mdsad; t'el = t'el tse i*. See above, n. 299.

321. This alludes to the exploits of the c'o's rgyal of rGyal rse, Rab brtan kun bzān ap'ags pa, in the times of Grags pa rgyal mts'an.

322. The same as C'u sul Lhan po rse of p. 648; from this last passage one would deduce that this place was regained by the *nan so Nam mk'a' rgyal of dGa' ldan*, causing the war mentioned in the following passage.

323. Nag dbān bkra sīs grags pa.

324. See p. 649.

325. Or vassals, *no bltas* (in S. CH. DAS, *no ltor*). See the Sa skya Pandita's letter, n. 22 on Part one.

326. From which his father had taken tribute, i. e. he had brought it under subjection, as it is said in the preceding page.

327. I. e. *Vajrasikbara* (*sikbara*), concerning which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part. I, p. 111.

328. See Appendix two.

329. I. e. here the fifth Dalai Lama, to glorify his own family, claims descent from Aśoka: Śin rta bcu pa is: Dāsartha. Instead of Dsa in the Life of the fifth Dalai Lama (p. 12 a) we find: Dsa or Indrabodhi; in the SP (II, p. 167): Dsa. But there is no contradiction, because, as it appears from the *rGyal po bka' t'an*, vol. k'a, p. 28, Dsa is another name of Indrabhūti: *rGyal po dās zes Indra bhu ti yin*. Dsa is the king to whom the Guhyasamāja was revealed (DT, *gs*, p. 20; cfr. *bsTan agyur, rGyud*, XXVI, p. 38 [pp. 119-121]). Instead of Śin t'abs can, in the same work, we read Śin t'ag can.

330. On the story of the *Zamatag, Karandavyūba*, besides the *rGyal rabs* (portion missing in the Ladakh Chronicles) see BUSTON, transl. OBERMILLER, p. 182. Instead of Yom bu gla sgañ, in the Life of the fifth Dalai Lama, the spelling is: Yum bu mk'ar, as in the SP (p. 167) which is derived from it; in Buston: Yam bu la sgañ; in the *rGyal rabs* (p. 52): Yan bu glañ mk'ar. The spelling of this king's name is two-fold: Lha t'o t'o ri śān zāl in BU STON, *rGyal rabs* (pp. 56-58), *rGyal po bka' t'an* (p. 20); or Lha t'o t'o ri gñān btsan in DT., *gs*, p. 3, SP (p. 166): *gnān pa gñān bu* is translated by Obermiller: mysterious helper, evidently reading: *gnān po*.

331. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Biography*, p. 12 b: Indrabhūti. The fictitious character of this genealogy is evident: it pays no attention to chronological data and, taking well known figures of Buddhist hagiography, it makes one out of two of them, or two out of one.

332. Kukurapā, Kukkutripā, one of the 84 siddha, concerning whom see GRÜNWEDEL, *Edelsteinmine*, p. 19, and *Die Geschichte der 84 Zauberen*, pp. 178-180. See above p. 229.

333. Instead of Śakra, the Life of the fifth Dalai Lama (p. 12 b) reads Śa kra pu ti.

334. *dbugs' gñyün*: on this king see PTY, transl. TOUSSAINT, p. 162 ff.

335. Śāntirākṣita.

336. Who, according to the tradition, should be one of Padmasambhava's two wives.

337. Padmasambhava.

338. I. e. Pañcaśūra, Pañcaśikha.

339. I. e., from the Chinese *bu 護*, "pāla", protector.

340. I. e. having evoked those deities (the eight rta bñag, on which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 200, part II, p. 158 and above, p. 575) together with rNam t'o's stas, Vaiśravaṇa, he put them into their respective images, painted on the flags, so that his army should be guided by their invincible power. The guru then performed the ceremony called *āvāhana* on the flags of his armies. On these episodes see Appendix two.

341. *mk'an, slob, c'o's = Śāntirākṣita, Padmasambhava and K'ri ston lde btsan (= c'o's rgyal)*.

342. *nes par brlams pa*. The rgyal po is the C'o's skyon of gNas c'un the State oracle, who utters his answers when possessed by the god (see WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 478).

343. *gñūn aggrī*.

344. *rnam stas sprin gseb ma* is the name of a story or a legend.

345. *ar gñad = ar la gñad pa*. See below p. 735.

346. A woman of the same clan, P'o yoñ za rgyal mo btsun, was the wife of K'ri ston lde btsan (see BU STON, transl. OBERMILLER, p. 189).

347. The name of Glān dar ma and the father of bkra sīs rtsags, who took possession of the ru lag in gTsan; see DT, *na*, p. 1.

348. On this name *Lha sman* see Appendix two.

349. Note the use *ts'ul*, Sanskrit *iti*, frequent in the fifth Dalai Lama's writings. On dPal ak'or btsan see *Indo-Tibetica*, part II, p. 17. Here Rin c'en rdo rje is used for rDjo rje rin c'en.

350. Nān lam rgya mts'o is unknown to me. BUSTON (OBERMILLER, p. 202) speaks of five masters of gTsan (See above, p. 84).

351. *p'yags n̄n* for *p'yag n̄n*.  
 352. *bla me'od du bkur pas*.  
 353. Hor pa sar was a feud from which the family took the name of Hor; this family is mentioned also in the Life of the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 15.  
 354. *sras c'e ba k'añ pa p'yi mar p'og pas* and next: *klü ldiñs su p'og* in the locative case. I. e. he divided his property between his sons, according to the Indian system.  
 355. *gsoł ja pa*.  
 356. *dmag gis bsdigs pai bskor gyañ mañ du byas pas*; on the sentence: *bskor gyañ* cfr. n. 217.  
 357. *spa agoñ*, Sanskrit *avasāda*: to be in a discouraged, depressed condition.  
 358. aJan is the country of the Moso; in the *aDsam bu glin rgyas b'ad* is placed between rGya nag and Mon (WASSILIEV, *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 3).  
 359. Lho mon, are the Mon of the southern region of Tibet.  
 360. According to the fifth Dalai Lama's Biography (p. 16) he began by being *gsoł dpon* of the sPyan sna bSod nams grags pa.  
 361. As we have seen above, being *rdson dpon* of bSam agrub rtse, he had bKra sis lHun po built.  
 362. In reality the two brothers dPal abyor bzän po and the Nan to dKon cog rin c'en had the same wife (this family was addicted to polyandry) dPal adsom skyid. On *sras niag p'ra ba* see above, n. 84.  
 363. gŠed dmar, Rakta-Yamāri is invoked in order to have children. See BUSTON, *rGyud sdei zab don sgo abyed rin c'en gees pai sde mig*, p. 30, where there is an allusion to the *rigs kyī bskriñs pai c'o ga*.  
 364. Grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, technique and medicine.  
 365. Viz. besides rDo rje ts'e bran; they had the same wife.  
 366. On the 18 vidyā see *Mahāvaiyupatti*, CCXVII. The list of the 64 kalā is well known. One may refer to Klion rdol, vol. pa.  
 367. On this subject see also S. CH. DAS, JRASSB, 1881, p. 248. *gon mai bka' tog bun rgya mai nan du*: *rgya ma* perhaps means a document having a seal (see JÄSCHEKE, p. 106); *bun* is the Chinese *feng* 封, to seal, seal.  
 368. I. e. Nag dbän bkra sis grags pa.  
 369. *glam p'yag len du mdsud*.  
 370. Goñ sar, i. e. to the prince of sNeu gdon rtse.  
 371. *me'od gziñs*, on which see above, n. 183.  
 372. *c'iñs b'dags*: *c'iñs* is also quarter, armistice, in the modern usage: *c'iñs rzig*.  
 373. Literally: as the price of pen and lips; *smyu gu me'u rin la b'zes*.  
 374. On which see Biography of fifth Dalai Lama, p. 18, b.  
 375. Great master Kar ma pa; according to the fifth Dalai Lama's Biography (p. 18 b) dPal sgañ and bSod nams dar rgyas, although extremely devoted to the Kar ma pa, also had relations with bSod nams rgya mts'o.  
 376. Vairocana is Padmasambhava's greatest Tibetan disciple. Concerning him see LAUFER, *Der Roman einer Tibetischen Königin*, passim. On Šeb rab 'od zer, known also by the name of aP'ran ago gter ston, see the following note.  
 377. Šel brag gi t'añ yig, the gTer ma deposited in Šel brag by Padmasambhava. See PTY, chap. XCI (transl. TOUSSAINT, p. 373). See above p. 231. S. CH. DAS transcribes according to the pronunciation She tag and erroneously translates Black crystal. Tag is the pronunciation of Brag, rock. But the fifth Dalai Lama's Biography, instead of Šel brag gi t'añ yig, has: *Pad ma bka' t'añ*.  
 378. *Sems n̄id n̄al gso*, i. e. *Sems n̄al gso bai t'ugs rje c'en poi sgrub t'abs*, n. 2748 (*Cittavivaraṇamabāhārūnikasādhana*).  
 379. See the autobiography of Pad ma dkar po, born in 1526; see above chap. 162.  
 380. Šar pa of dGa' ldan.  
 381. *ser k'yim*.  
 382. See S. CH. DAS, JRASSB, p. 1881, p. 250.  
 383. So polyandry was practised in this family too.  
 384. See above, p. 638.  
 385. Died in 1491.  
 386. On these events see above, p. 638.  
 387. *jus kyī agro k'yab c'e ba byuñ*, *jus* is the same as its homophone *byus*; *byus agro*, lit. to be lucky, successful. See the expression *bstan jus*, which we have met with more than once, above. *jus legs* is the same as victor (*mNgon brjod kyī bstan bos mk'as pai rna rgyan*, p. 116).  
 388. *gžan sde*, rebellion. The expression recurs several times with this meaning in the text. *k'rims ra bigyur*: to instruct a trial.  
 389. *hya k'ram ma*, list of the actions impu to (cfr. *k'ram n̄ñ*).  
 390. Known by the name of C'os bzi pa. The most venerable Grags pa is another name for dPon iag pa.  
 391. Follows a list of the works and paintings he caused to be executed in the monasteries of sPruł pai lha k'añ in Lha ldan, of C'os rdson, of bKra sis sgañ, of Brag nag and dBus glin.  
 392. *dmag res byes gñer*. *Byes* is a seat in a country not one's own; *res* means: alternated; hence I think that *res byes* should be understood precisely as a garrison, troops temporarily sent in some place, awaiting to be relieved.  
 393. Du dben si, but in other places: Du dben ša. Cfr. rGyal rtse Chron. and Ža lu, Geneal. It corresponds to 都元帥 *Tu yüan shuai*, military office. On the Tibetan transcription of *yuen fo dben*, see above, n. 91.  
 394. *jus n̄ies c'en po bi'añ bar*. *jus n̄ies* is the contrary of *jus legs* (where *jus* is mixed up with *byus*). See above, n. 387.  
 395. Kun dga' legs.  
 396. *bK'a' poli*: i. e. on religious subjects, scriptures, *bka'*; on pot see above, n. 256.  
 397. Rañ abyun rdo rje.  
 398. In the Gyantse Chronicles: lDan yul, which seems erroneous, as lDan is in K'ams.  
 399. On this place and its various spellings see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 67.  
 400. In the Gyantse Chronicles: dPal.  
 401. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 79.  
 402. *bikon c'a*, in the sense of ensign, coat of arms.  
 403. *beva ts'e*, as above, n. 206.  
 404. *rgan po*: old, aged, a title given to this day to village headmen.  
 405. I. e. Rañ abyun rdo rje. See Chronicles of Gyantse and n. 32, *ibid*.  
 406. *šes su btug* see above, n. 117.  
 407. On which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 57.  
 408. *bsgar nas?* Perhaps a mistake for *bsgor nas*: "having surrounded him ..."  
 409. On these places see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 65 ff.  
 410. *sku gsuñ t'ugs*.  
 411. I find no trace of this story and of this image in the *Myan t'uiñ*.  
 412. The disciple of Tson k'a pa, see above p. 120. But according to the *Vai du rya ser po*, p. 61 at a certain moment their relations were broken off.  
 413. Follows the narrative of the construction of the bKra sis sgo man and of the dedication of the large t'añ ka on woven material. The fifth Dalai Lama, on this occasion, does not speak of his rebellion against Grags pa rgyal mts'an, on which however see above, p. 27.  
 414. In this place Blo bzän rgya mts'o and the Gyantse Chronicles disagree. According to the latter, written by a contemporary, Rab bran bkra sis, as may be seen in the scheme I have reconstructed, is Rab bran kun bzän ap'ags pa's nephew, not his son.  
 415. This prince P'un sum ts'ogs is not known to me. *rgyab gñer*, perhaps the administrator of the frontier territories, of the land behind the lines; *rgyab sñon dmag* = auxiliary troops.  
 416. See S. CH. DAS, *op. cit.*, p. 351. The spelling of this place varies between the forms 'Ol k'a', 'Ol ka and 'Ol dga' (e. g. in the fifth Dalai Lama's Biography). For the name, compare 'Ol mo, a place celebrated in the mythological geography of Bon. Has this name any relation with the Turkish Ölgä, territory, province? The uncertainty of the spellings: 'Ol ka, 'Ol k'a, 'Ol dga', would seem to confirm the foreign origin of the word.  
 417. *K'a bas bskor bai ljonš*.  
 418. Namely Grags pa abyun gñas; rGyal ts'ab is Tson k'a pa's disciple on whom see above, p. 119.  
 419. *gžan sde*: see above, n. 388.  
 420. His religious merits are recorded. He was particularly attached to dGe adun rgya mts'o.  
 421. T'on mi is the name of the tribe; Bu ston in the dKar c'ag of the bsTan agyur (f. 117 a) writes T'u mi. But in the *C'os abyun*: T'on mi (transl. OBERMILLER, p. 183). In the *rGyal rabr* (p. 62): mT'o mi.  
 422. His biography is in the collection of the biographies of Buston's successors and abbots of Ža lu. See down n. 586.  
 423. *kyi* instead of *kyis*. Kun blo = Kun dga' blo gros, the son of bDag n̄id c'en po.  
 424. See S. CH. DAS, *op. cit.*, p. 249.  
 425. Follows a prophecy from PTY, chap. XCII (transl. TOUSSAINT, p. 385); but the quotations do not entirely correspond.  
 426. *Caryāntara*, i. e. the second of the four classes into which the Tantra are divided. See above, p. 220.  
 427. "The one struck by lightning"; see above, p. 634.  
 428. sPu grī, deity of the cycle of the mGon po.  
 429. *šon mon* for *stre mon*.

430. The word *spyon zgigs* is used for the skins of stuffed animals regularly hung up in the mGon k'an.

431. The relations between master and disciple are stated as relations of spiritual sonship: *č'os sras* opposed to *rigs sras*.

432. *sgo sduđ*. This seems to be the meaning, not the more usual "having collected the taxes..."

433. It must refer to one of the invasions of 1267, 77 or 81 (see p. 16).

434. Son of Kun dga' legs: he was not Goñ ma, that is, he had no royal power but he remained at the head of rTse č'an: his authority, however, cannot have been negligible, if he could elect myriarchs, but he lived in a period in which the P'ag mo gru family was undergoing a deep crisis.

435. *bsko ja*.

436. The T's'al pa, as we have seen, opposed the T'ai Si tu.

437. *rgyogs*, which may be a catapult or a gun; but in this case the usual form is *me rgyogs* (BELL: *me sgyogs*).

438. This proves that polyandry was practised in this family too.

439. Then taken by Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuns (see above, p. 112 and p. 254, n. 69). Above, instead of C'u šol, it is written C'u šul.

440. *sNel pa nan zlos*: I understand *nan zlos* as "internal contentions," (cf. *bzlos pa byuñ ba*, in S. CH. DAS, s. v.).

441. *sne btu mdsod*.

442. In an early period, then, dGa' ldan sided with Rin spuns; when this happened it is difficult to say, as any chronological reference is lacking.

443. *goñ sa = goñ ma*; on those events see pp. 44 and 642.

444. An allusion to the struggle between the Goñ ma č'en po Nag dbañ bkra šis grags pa and the Žabs druñ Nag gi dbañ grags pa.

445. *rKañ sa*. Notice the fifth Dalai Lama's periphrases in relating the conduct of the prince of dGa' ldan who sided with the Žabs druñ Nag grags against the Goñ ma č'en po (see above, p. 105). The dGa' ldan po had become the masters of the dGe lugs pa, and he tries most artfully to excuse their conduct and to place their exploits in a favourable light.

446. On this descent see *Indo-Tibetica*, II. It must be remembered that gNam lde 'od sruñ was gLañ dar ma's son.

447. *Mi dpon*.

448. An allusion to the war caused by the princes of gTsañ: the "apish race," are the Tibetans.

449. *K'a bai rdul man yons su brtsegs pai bod*. Bod is here considered distinct from the Bod č'en.

450. The usual formula: *gnam bskos, gnam gyis bskos pa* (ajig med rig pai rdo rje, p. 38; transl. p. 54).

451. *Žin k'ams gžan du agro bai ts'uñ bstan pa*. The Žabs druñ goñ ma is Nag dbañ bkra šis grags pa.

452. See above, p. 111.

453. Hence the kings of gTsañ do not belong to the family of the princes of Rin spuns: the same fact is repeated which we have always noticed in the course of this period of Tibetan history: ministers become independent of their masters, next they try to take their place.

It is surprising that the fifth Dalai Lama passes over the troubled period of struggles which caused the fall of the gTsañ kingdom, indeed gives almost no information concerning it. He does not even mention the names of the kings who succeeded one another on the throne of bSam agrub rse and who not only brought about the P'ag mo gru pa's decay, but also threatened and plotted against the Yellow Sect, as it spread and gained power. Without the brief information given by Sum pa mk'an po or gleaned from other works, whether Tibetan, European or Chinese, next to nothing would be known about this bold dynasty. The fifth Dalai Lama confines himself to the quotation of some prophecies, one of which says "in the gTsañ region a king will arise, bearing the name of Pad ma," clearly an allusion to Pad ma dkar po's son, Ts'e brtan rdo rje.

These princes assumed power when, with Nag dbañ ajigs med grags pa, the Rin spuns pa's authority came in reality to an end, terminated by them with a revolt (see above, p. 45). According to what is written in the MC (p. 286) their family belonged to the clan of gNags and boasted descent from the same lineage which had given birth to Jñānakumāra, a contemporary of Padmasambhava. Through various events, a branch of this clan had come to Rin spuns and belonged to the local nobility, as may be deduced from the office the Rin spuns had entrusted them with. Sources are very scanty concerning these military chiefs who tried to renew Tibet's former political authority. They were only three, and their attempt came to a tragic end with the third one.

What Klön rdol bla ma says when briefly summing up this family's ups and downs, is worth translating (complete works, vol. 'a, p. 15 b): "King Gu šri came to Tibet invited by the *p'yag mdsod* of the rGyal

ba lña ba i. c. bSod nams rab brtan. In bKra šis lhun po, in bSam agrub rse's palace, the last of the three *šde pa* of gTsañ was then reigning, namely Kar ma bsTan adsin, the son of P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal, himself the son of Kar ma Ts'e brtan, who was a subject of the *šde pa* of Rin spuns Nag dbañ ajigs med grags pa, learned in rhetoric. With the last of these three king Gu šri fought seven months, and finally, by the strength of his armies, he conquered Tibet, which he, Gu šri bstan adsin, gave as a gift to the Kun zgigs lña ba č'en po...

The *šde pa* of Ron, of whom the fifth Dalai Lama speaks, is precisely the chief of Rin spuns, usually called Nor Rin spuns.

From Blo bzañ rgya mts'o's narrative it appears that although the founder of the bSam agrub rse princes' military power was Pad ma dkar po, the family's ascent began with Žin gšag, formerly Minister of Rin spuns. This Žin gšag can be no other than the Žin gšags rdo rje of bSam agrub rse, patron of the Sa skya pa Lama pa Kun dga' rin č'en (1517-1584); while the son of Kun dga' rin č'en, bSod nams rnam rgyal, was protected by P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal.

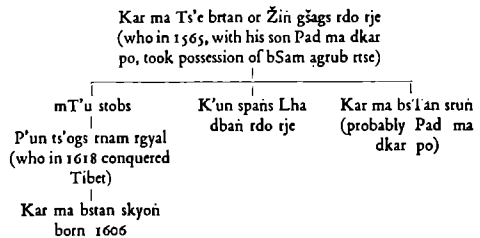
In Klön rdol bla ma there is no mention of either Žin gšags or Pad ma dkar po; however Kar ma Ts'e brtan's identity with Pad ma dkar po is excluded, because Sum pa mk'an po speaks of them as father and son, who were together when bSam agrub rse was taken in 1565. It is likely that Žin gšags rdo rje is also an epithet of Kar ma Ts'e brtan. The Kar ma bstan sruñ mentioned in the Nor chronicles is perhaps no other than Pad ma dkar po.

On the other hand P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal was the son of mT'u stobs, who would then be a brother or cousin of Pad ma dkar po. I desume this from what I read in the life of the Zur pa T'ams cad mk'yen Č'os dbyiñs ran grol (pp. 24 b25 a): "Zur Sa kya rdo rje űi ma dpal bzañ po settled in bSam agrub rse to perform the protective ceremony, and he made the talisman which should continue the lineage of the *šde pa* of gTsañ stod Kar ma pa mT'u stobs, and having caused existence to descend into the womb of princess (dPon sa) who was of Yar rgyab, Kar ma P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal was born..."

Fortunately a complete genealogy of these chiefs is contained in the *K'rimis yig žal lee ben drug pa* containing the code published by Kar ma bsTan kyoñ. According to this text (p. 6) the power of this family, descended from gNags [Jñāna]kumāra, began with gNam bskos lhai bu Žin bšag Ts'e brtan rdo rje (p. 6). He had nine sons the most famous being: Kar ma mT'u stobs rnam rgyal considered an incarnation of the Tibetan Č'os rgyal, Kun spangs Lha dbañ rdo rje, Kar ma bsTan sruñ dbañ po said to be an incarnation of Ge sar. They invited the sGar č'en lama father and son and had as their son Kar ma P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal.

The latter was born in the year *lcags k'yi* (mistake for *me k'yi*); when he was 25 years old, he attacked dBus, conquers Yar rgyab and submitted dBus Lho rgyud (Southern dBus) (1611). In the year *sa rta*, 1618, Hor Sog and Kla klo invaded Tibet and took the temples of Lhasa: he fights against them in sTod lün, wins, repairs the temples destroyed and offers presents to the Jo bo. Then Kar ma Č'os dbyiñs rdo rje elects him master of dBus and gTsañ and gives him the corresponding seal. His son was Kar ma bsTan kyoñ who was considered an incarnation of P'yag na rdo rje. He was born in the year *me rta*, 1606; when he was 15 year old, 1621 he is placed on the throne of bSam agrub rse. He repaired the temples of Lhasa where on account of the Mongol invasion for two years no service was held, Sa skya, and SaTag lün. He built the palace in bSam agrub rse and wrote down the code.

For the reasons I have stated, the family's genealogical table may be summarized as follows:



Nevertheless it is certain that it was precisely Kar ma P'un ts'ogs who brought the family to great power; in bSod nams dbañ po's biography

(pp. 28 and 30) he is called "cakraMartin, by virtue of his strenght... According to this work (p. 28) Kar ma p'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal's ascent began in the year 1607, when he succeeded, at the head of his troops, in dispersing a Mongol army, called in by the prince of sKyid šod. In 1612-1613 he had united under his rule, a large territory from Byañ in gYas ru to Ñaň stod, Lo stod and dBus, although he was forced to take up arms continually to maintain peace.

His son Kar ma bstan skyon, according to the fifth Dalai Lama's biography, was sixteen in 1621. It is true that this statement seems to be contradicted by Sum pa mk'an po, who says that in 1610 he led the campaign against dBus, together with his father P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal but even if we admit that this is not a slip of Sum pa mk'an po, we may suppose that the boy accompanied his father on his warlike exploits.

The same mistake is made by aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, who says that when Legs ldan (alias Lingdan), having changed his attitude towards the dGe lugs pa, prepared to march against Tibet, he had already contracted an alliance with the sDe srid P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal. But a short time later he died in Shiratala in 1635. That Blo bzän rgya mts'o's date is correct, is proved now only by the manuscript of the code but also by a letter of Cabral's (WESSEL, p. 334) according to which the King of Tibet, whose guests he and Caçella were in 1628, was 22 years old. The king's name according to Cabral was De bu Camba, i. e. sDe pa gTsañ pa.

454. See SP, transl., p. 654.

455. *ñi mai dkyil ak'or sen ge moi bui mgrin par c'ud*. Sinhikā's son is Rāhu, called for this reason Sainhikeya.

456. I. e. Gu śri khan.

457. On this see aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, who follows our Chronicles very closely, p. 43 (transl. p. 63) and p. 156 (transl. p. 248). For general references on this king, see: COURANT, *L'Asie centrale au XVII et XVIII siècles*, Paris, 1912 (*Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, N. S., II, fasc. 26), p. 18 ff.; HOWORTH, *History of the Mongols*, I, pp. 517-518; GROUSSET, *L'Empire des steppes*, p. 602 ff.

458. 1582, not 1581 as in Huth.

459. *mGo dkar*, viz. the Čahar. Legs ldan was called "bald head,, by the Mongols (cf. MOSTAERT, *Textes oraux ordos*, p. VIII). However *mGo dkar* or *mGo gar* designates Muslims (DESGODINS s. v.); but *mGo dkar* is also an appellative given to Westerners (see, for instance, GEORGI, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, p. 654, and DESIDERI, *An Account of Tibet*, ed. DE FILIPPI, p. 221).

460. At this point the author recalls the first introduction of Buddhism in the times of bSod nams rgya mts'o and Altan khan's conversion. The passage is reproduced, almost literally, by aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 157 (transl. pp. 249 and 250).

461. Year 1606.

462. *Nirupalambhakarauā*: everything being empty, created beings, the object of compassion, are considered non-existent.

463. Considering himself as an enemy and one giving offence, with the purpose of taking upon himself the evil done by others.

464. I. e. the sTon ak'or Qutuqu of Kūke Hoto.

465. *T'ai kuo shih*.

466. Follows the prophecy made by bSod nams rgya mts'o on the approaching diffusion of Buddhism in Mongolia, almost literally reproduced by aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 250.

467. I. e. Čahar, Halha and Urianggan, who formed the Western wing, and Ordos, Tūmāt and Iungciyebū who formed the Eastern wing. Dayan khan had assembled them under his rule; the first three depended directly from the Qaghan and the others from a jinong, chosen out of the Qaghan's sons or brothers.

468. Legs ldan (or Lingdan), concerning whom see Sa'yan Säcän, pp. 281, 287, 410, 411; HOWORTH, *History of the Mongols*, I, p. 379; COURANT, *op. cit.*, p. 22 and above, p. 60.

469. Kōkō-nor.

470. I. e. as a prelude of approaching misfortunes. An allusion to the destruction of Roruka see above, p. 482. On these events see aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, pp. 51, 250 and 251.

471. In a moral sense, unjust, the opposite of *dkar*: white, good.

472. Year 1637.

473. Always Rāmaña instead of Rāma, as in the Tibetan fragments of Turkestan (see THOMAS, *A Rāmāyana Story in Tibetan from Chinese Turkestan*, in *Indian Studies in honour of Ch. R. Lanman*, p. 193).

474. I. e. the king who dispels the darkness of heresy.

475. In Lhasa.

476. *bgrod byed*.

477. The same in aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 251, almost literally copied.

478. Year 1637.

479. The Buddha.

480. Year 1639, not 1638, as in Huth.

481. Year 1640.

482. I. e. of their karma.

483. *K'rimis kyi dor c'en par yonis su bcug*; but immediately afterwards: *k'rimis doñ*, which is the correct form: *doñ* means hole, pit. aJigs med rig pai rdo rje (p. 158): *k'ri moñ duñ*: in the *mNon brjod bstan bcos* (p. 54): *k'rimis mun*, like SP, p. 164.

484. Quotations of some prophecies follow.

485. Year 1642.

486. *Bod šin sgo can* must be understood as meaning Tibet, i. e. dBus and gTsañ, of which P'un ts'ogs rnam rgyal of gTsañ considered himself the king. To make this sentence clear I will quote, for instance, the following passage of Kloñ rdol bla ma, which is to be found immediately after his account of the division of Tibet into three C'ol k'a, in the times of Qubilai Khan (cf. n. 52): "Bod šin sgo can t'ams cad kyi dpon dan bla ma zaiñ abrel du bkos.": "He elected together both the dpon (c'en) and the Lama of the Bod šin sgo can., (vol. 4, p. 13 b).

In the fifth Dalai Lama's Biography, p. 106 b: "C'os kyi rgyal poi mma' og tu bod šin sgo can rnam s'ud pai gnas ts'u'ul.": "The manner by which the Bod šin sgo can came under the saintly king's power...

The meaning of *šin sgo can* may be determined by a passage of Kloñ rdol bla ma (*bsTan pai sbyin bdag byun ts'i gyi min gi gnans*, complete works, vol. 4, p. 4 b), already translated above, in which, quoting a conversation between aBrom ston and the king Sa yi sañ ga, a summary of Tibetan geography is contained: "In Tibet.... there are 105,000 *šin sgo*, 2,400,000 felt tents, communities, monasteries or temples... Above, n. 52, I have translated *šin sgo* as house. It is indeed clear from the context that *šin sgo* of the Tibetans is opposed to the aBrog's tents; *šin sgo*, literally translated, means: wooden door, i. e. house, because only a house can have a wooden door, not the nomads' huts. For this reason *Bod šin sgo can* means that part of Tibet where the population lives in villages, as distinct from the aBrog pa. Probably the expression *šin sgo* is imitated from the Chinese ch'ai men 柴門: poor house, hut. The sentence is to be found also in *aDsam bu glin rgyas bñad*: my lama glossed *k'an pa* (WASSILIEV, *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 26).

Hence it is a mistake to say that the fifth Dalai Lama was born in (Bod) šin sgo can, as we read in SCHULEMANN's *Geschichte der Dalai Lamas*, p. 129. The fifth Dalai Lama, as we have seen, came from aP'yoñ rgyas.

487. Caitrapūrñimā, day of the full moon in the month Caitra (March-April).

488. Yambu is Kathmandu (LEVI, *Le Népal*, I, p. 54). Ra ko šin is not identifiable; the king of mNa' ris is perhaps Sen ge rnam rgyal, king of Ladakh (on whom see PETECH, *A study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 137).

489. Or Dharmapālarakṣita.

490. bZan po dpal.

491. Nam mk'a' legs pai blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po.

492. bSod nams rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po.

493. Son of the Ti ſri Kun dga' rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po; in the woodcut, erroneously: *Ta dpon* instead of *Ta džen*.

494. In the woodcut: "of dBus and gTsañ,, and this is a mistake; first he conquered most of dBus and then only in 1354, he conquered gTsañ, i. e. he defeated Sa skya and its dpon c'en. All this corresponds to the dates of Sum pa mk'an po's Re'u mig, keeping in mind that they must always be checked and corrected (*Re'u mig*, p. 60).

495. This calculation is erroneous: from 1435 to 1565, there is a period of 130, not 105, years.

496. *no bñas... te so sor c'ad pas*: as in the Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama.

497. In the text almost constantly *aBri goñ*, instead of the usual *aBri gun* or *aBri k'wün*.

498. On this passage see the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 27. The form Hu lü hu, followed by SP, for Külüük Qa'an = Qaisan, although more correct, differs from the usual Tibetan transcription Hu la gu.

499. In the text *dpon* instead of *dbon*.

500. *lam gbras*, i. e. practising the rules, and the realizations derived therefrom.

501. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 630. Instead of aGyur it will be well to read sKyu ra.

502. Sum pa mk'an po is not clear. In the times of the rGyal ba rin po c'e Grags pa brtson agrus, command of the myriarchy was conferred upon rDo rje dpal, who was not from P'ag mo gru (see fifth Dalai Lama, p. 634 f.).

503. In the text Doñ rta.

504. Sog c'u; see S. CH. DAS, s. v.

505. *glin lag*, on which see note 134 to the fifth Dalai Lama's text.

506. Unknown. See above, p. 631.

507. The text is corrupt: *p'o bran nam nag ste*; I believe it should be corrected; *p'o bran la po na minags te* "they sent messengers to the palace ..."

508. I. e. sPyan sna Grags pa aByun gnas. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 614 and note 176.

509. In the text: *dpon* instead of *dbon*.

510. In the text: *c'ol ka*.

511. In the text: *Lho abrug*.

512. I. e. aP'ags pa and bDag nid c'en po bZañ po dpal.

513. In the text: *sgad dkar ba*.

514. In the text: *Yañ lon*.

515. On this date see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 85. It is also confirmed by the list in the *Vai du rya dkar po*, given by Csoma de Kőrös. But in 1253, according to the fifth Dalai Lama, he received the title of Gu št'i. The investiture of the 13 K'ri skor took place when he imparted to Qubilai the sacred initiations. Hence both the author of the *Vai du rya dkar po* and Sum pa mk'an po have placed the date of the investiture at that earlier date, in which he received the first title of Gu št'i. On the other hand we know from the DT po that the year in which he became Qubilai's bla ma, i. e. in which he imparted the sacred instructions to him, was the year *leags spreu*, when he was twenty six, i. e. 1260. Cf. n. 44.

516. *C'e mo*.

517. In the text: *bud rdor*.

518. The text has: *qbr'i gon pa don' at'ab pai ran gžan bstan agro kun la gnod cin*, where something is lacking; after *at'ab pai*, perhaps, *shobs dus*.

519. I. e.: sKu abum c'en po, the mc'od rten sKu abum, mentioned by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 629.

520. Fifth Dalai Lama, p. 629: Dar ma gžon nu.

521. In the text: Sa c'en.

522. Fifth Dalai Lama, p. 630.

523. Fifth Dalai Lama, p. 630: Tre pos. See note 123.

524. I. e. aBri gun c'el. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 37.

525. The fifth Dalai Lama has Byan še; he is Byan c'ub šes rab.

526. In the text rJod. On this sGom pa see fifth Dalai Lama, p. 631.

527. I. e. Rin c'en dpal bzañ po. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 631.

528. In the text: *sde*. For this passage see fifth Dalai Lama, p. 631 b.

529. Thus in the text, but perhaps it should be corrected: *Mi nag sen ge*, as in the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 631.

530. In the text, erroneously, *Dan ma rin*.

531. In the text, here and elsewhere: Rin rgyan (*rgyan* is an abbreviation, usual in mss., for *rgyal mts'an*).

532. Here and elsewhere in the text: *Tii si tu*.

533. But in the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 46: *Srii ji dre bos*.

534. I. e.: P'ag mo gru pa.

535. I. e. sNeu gdon' rtes.

536. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 640.

537. In the text: *sdug*.

538. If some words have not been left out, the passage is ambiguous: Grags pa rin c'en is the younger brother of Grags pa ye šes, etc. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 635.

539. In the text: *lha sna* instead of *lha sde*.

540. I. e.: rGyal mts'an dpal bzañ po.

541. In the text: *gyam*.

542. In the text: *blay* for *blon*.

543. In the text: *bsdor* for *bsdod*.

544. That Nag gi dbañ was the son of Grags pa byun gnas, was not admitted by all, as we saw. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 640.

545. In the text: *mdsod*.

546. I do not know the value of the sentence: *sil bu gyur pai p'yi lor*; one would expect the designation of a year of the Brhaspati cycle, but 1240 *leags byi* is a *pramoda* year, i. e. *rab myos*.

547. See aJigs med rig pai rdo rje, pp. 85-86 (Huth transl., pp. 136-137).

548. I. e. there was continual strife between them. On the *Kākolukanyāya* see, for instance, *Laukikanyāñjali*, by C. A. JACOB, II, p. 19.

549. Instead of "Don grub rdo rje bsum grub rtes bsrūn te...", correct: ... *rdo rtes* .... *bzūn te*. These vicissitudes are summed up rather inaccurately by S. CH. DAS: *Tibet under her last kings*, JRASB, 1905, vol. I, n. 6, p. 165.

550. I. e. as the glosses to SP say, between P'ag gru (South) and sNeu gdon' (North). P'ag gru is the ancient seat of the family and of the abbots in T'el.

551. See fifth Dalai Lama, p. 642.

552. Kar ma pa is the epithet that the Rin spuñs princes sometimes, and then the chiefs of gTsan always, used before their names. But in the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, p. 41 b, it is said that Don ydo rdo rje, instigated by Kar ma pa C'os grags rgya mts'o, founded the monastery mentioned below, after having taken possession of sNel.

553. But in the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, p. 41 b: Sa nag mar, the name of the convent, from the place where it was built. Was the name Nag [d]mar given as an allusion to the sects of the black and red caps?

554. The festival of the sMon lam, which takes place in the Ts'o ap'ru 2la ba.

555. In the text: rDsoñ p'yi. S. CH. DAS, article just quoted, translates: "the outer dsong...", but rDsoñ p'yi is a well known place in the 'Ol ka territory. *Chronology*, p. 71. Almost all dates given by S. Ch. Das are faulty.

556. In the text and in the article by S. Ch. Das it is written: dGe adun rgyas t'o, but this is evidently a mistake.

557. Thus the text, but in the fifth Dalai Lama's works always: bZu k'ar.

558. S. CH. DAS understands Zva dmar nag, but from the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, p. 41 b, it is clear that 'zo dkar nag is a family name derived from a place name. About this time in fact there was strife between the sde pa of sKyid šod and P'ag mo gru pa.

559. In the text: sKyid žon.

560. Answering the one from dGe legs lhun grub: correct *nan brtson* instead of *nan brtsom*.

561. sNan žal; in the life of Yon c'an rgya mts'o, p. 41 a: *snañ dar gyi k'a yig*. *K'a yig* is an envelope, or wrapper, of woven material or paper, containing a letter or an object for delivery to another person. The meaning of the words is clear, from the sentence that follows in the *Zur t'ams cad mk'yen pa c'os dbyins ran grol gyi rnam t'ar t'eg mc'og bstan pai žin rta*, p. 87: *mc'od k'añ nan du p'eb's dus steñ gi dar leag dan snañ žal rnamis gyo žin dhu t'og tu snañ dar žig babs*. They are those strips of Chinese silk hung up in temples. These verses are also quoted in the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, written by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 41. S. CH. DAS did not recognize that they begin with: *brag ti žag*.

562. Thus in the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, instead of *Brain ti žag*; in the last line, instead of *de me aByun* we must read: *de mi aByun*.

563. The translation of this verse is rather hypothetical: the city of Brag ti (*brag ti* is, perhaps, rock) of the three vapours (*žag* in the present instance cannot mean day, but: vapour, smoke) was understood by the dGe lugs pa as an allusion to their monasteries dGa' ldan, aBras spuñs and Se ra. S. CH. DAS' gloss: dGon, aBras, Se ra, should be corrected in: dGe, aBras, Se ra, as in the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, where we read that the dGe lugs were compared, in these verses, to the yak, and the Kar ma pa to the gazelles (in S. CH. DAS' gloss we must read: kar instead of dkar, and instead of *gya ka dge lugs*: *gyog dge lugs pa*; *rva rno* and *ru rnon* = "yak...").

564. *p'yog pa lor jag pa*; in the life of Yon tan rgya mts'o, p. 41 b: *p'yogs*. S. CH. DAS: 1609.

565. S. CH. DAS calls him: Karma hierarch, but in reality he is the chief of gTsan (see note 453 to the fifth Dalai Lama).

566. Read: *log te for log ŋe*.

567. Read *bzūn* for *bzur*.

568. This seems to me the meaning which should be given to *brad gra* (not *grva*, as in S. CH. DAS). In Yon tan rgya mts'o's biography; p. 42 a: *sa c'a rāson kyī bead gras don' c'ad las byun*.

569. The passage that follows alludes to a contest of magic between the representatives of the two rival schools. But the text is corrupt in several places, and some words, if not some lines, have been left out by the editor.



570. Correct *dgon* instead of *mgon*.

From the fifth Dalai Lama's, *Biography*, pp. 26, 26 b: "In the year iron-bird (1621) while Lha btsun Blo bzän bstan adsin rgya mts'o and Guru Hun t'ai ji, at the head of more than two thousand soldiers, were fighting against the troops of the king of gTsan, the Pan c'en Rin po c'e of bKra sis lhun po bLo bzän rgyal mts'an and the K'ri rin po c'e of dGa' ldan Ts'ul k'rim's c'os ap'el and the Žabs drün of gLin smad, together with the uncle's and nephew's representative (of the fifth Dalai Lama's house) acted as peacemakers and ordered that the territories should be established anew, beginning with the temple of Lhasa, subject to the dGa' ldan palace, that the feuds (for the upkeep) of Se ra and aBras spuins should be donated, that the temples of dGe lugs pa in dBus and in gTsan, which had changed their sect or had passed (to the Kar ma pa school) should be handed back, and that the sde pa of sKyid šod, instead of bDe c'en, should support aP'an yul, together with mK'ar rts'e...

571. Instead of *m'to bar*, correct *q'on pas*, as in the quotation of this same sentence, in S. CH. DAS' dictionary, s. v. *ke ya*.

572. Correct *šin p'ag lo la* instead of *šin p'ag ma*. These events are related at length in the fifth Dalai Lama's *Biography*, p. 79 a.

573. On Arsalän's death see the fifth Dalai Lama's *Biography*, p. 79 a. It is the source from which ajigs med rig pai rdo rje directly draws his information concerning these events.

574. Correct *Ar sa lin* instead of *Yar sa lin*.

575. Instead of "to the East of the blue lake,, it should read "to the North,, as in ajigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 36. *sar* perhaps stands for *ži ra*. See SCHMIDT, *Die Völkstämme der Mongolen, Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*, II, 1854, p. 454, and HOWORTH, *History of the Mongols*, I, p. 380. In the text of SP *Du t'ug tu* for *K'u t'ug tu*.

576. Fifth Dalai Lama's *Chronicles*, p. 16 b: *T'o ral pai bur*.

577. Read: *ro lhai* instead of *san lhai*.

578. In the fifth Dalai Lama's *Biography*, p. 84: 10.000. The first diplomas given by Gu šri khan to the various Tibetan princes, or rather to those who sided with the Yellow Sect, go back to this year 1637 (*Biography*, p. 85 b). To the Žal no he gave a diploma (*c'o lo*) of P'yag mdsod of the Dalai, and to the prince of Gron smad the diploma of Jai sañ sde pa, to bKra šis p'un t'sogs of Byañ that of Ul c'in sde pa, to the prince of gŽon that of the diploma of Mar gan o to c'i and to the prince of sTar sdon that of Jo rig t'u dar k'an (*Biography*, p. 85 b).

579. As in the fifth Dalai Lama's *Chronicles*.

580. The constellation dBo corresponds to the *nakšatra* Uttaraphalguni. The fifth Dalai Lama says "second month,,"

581. Read: *ma bžed* instead of *bžed*.

582. "He who overthrows bKra sis' majesty,, a name which must have sounded as an insult and a threat to the dGe lugs pa and their monastery.

583. The text is corrupt.

584. Something is lacking in the text: *de rjes mts'o šhon dan rgya nag gi dpon dan dngag gis*.

585. This is a mistake: both the biography of the seventh Dalai Lama, p. 334 b and Kloñ rdol bla ma, 'a, p. 16 a, put his death in the year *me yos*, 1747.

586. *Sa mer gyis bžu ba*.

On Ža lu and its abbots, who from Bu ston's times considered themselves as the successive incarnations of this great doctor of Lamaism, the following works may be particularly consulted:

*dPal ldan Ža lu pai bstan pa la bka' drin c'e bai skyes bu dam pa rnamis kyi rnam t'ar lo rgyus no mts'ar dad pai gjuigs dogs*, quoted in the present notes as ZNT;

Life of bSod nams mc'og grub bstan pai rgyal mts'an dpal bzän po, written by the fifth Dalai Lama (see above, p. 106).

587. In the *ms*. this time: *gan*, but in ZNT, p. 12, *Lba gen rts'e*.

588. It is known that ancient Tibetan legends speak of an original communication between the sky and the earth, by means of a rope or a ladder. See Appendix two.

589. *Dar gan*: officers. See LAUFER, *Loan words*, p. 158; BARTHOLD, *Turkistan down to the Mongol invasion*, p. 385.

590. *Za gon* may also be the name of a place; see on p. 11 *Za skoñ po*, one of the Ža lu pa's chief feuds; *škon* and *gon* get mixed up in the wavering spelling of inexperienced copyists, always undecided as to the transcription of place names.

591. Güge.

592. I. e. the shepherdess of gYU sa and the shepherdess of Ne mar.  
593. dNul mk'ar is a place celebrated in Bon po tradition, because it gave birth to Bon gŠen rab (see TUCCI, *Santi e briganti*, p. 135).

594. *gYU yi ge*, like *gser yi ge*, imperial investiture of some office, perhaps the same as the *kök tamya*, the blue seal vouchsafed only on rare occasions among the Turks (see BARTHOLD, *op. cit.*, p. 387 and n. 4; PELLIGOT, *T'oung pao*, 1930, vol. XXVII, p. 35).

595. Li is Khotan; Hor are Mongols. Bran bu is unknown to me; something seems to be missing.

596. Is *rog bu* the same as *grog šbu*: beetle, scarab?

597. *Yöns leags, k'a leags*.

598. But, below: *te re nu ma*.

599. See *bisTan ggyur, mDo*, CXXIV, I, p. 5.

600. This alludes to the opposition of Ma žan grom pa skye (see BUSTON, OBERMILLER, pp. 187-188). On this story cfr. Buston's letter to Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an, vol. *La*, p. 98 translated below.

The bodhisattva is Śāntiraksita. But here the author is mistaken, because Jñānasiddhi is mentioned among the messengers sent to invite Padmasambhava, but he has nothing to do with the preceding mission sent to Śāntiraksita headed by Jñānendra.

601. Literally, "golden letters,,"

602. But the spelling of the *ms*. varies between sTo re and sTo ru.

603. *Bya dga' brñan pa*.

604. *Mss.: gzan*.

605. *Mss.: rna legs*.

606. On these places see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 57, n. 1, and p. 48. In the MC: *ba'o* for *ba'u*.

607. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 142.

608. Bin, perhaps mGon po Ben, concerning whom see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 96.

609. Unknown

610. *bka' blon*.

611. This means that the three brothers had one wife between them.

612. *Bya K'ri* is also the name of one of Tibet's mythical kings; see PETECH, *Chronicles*, pp. 23-24.

613. *yo log = no log*, as in ZNT, p. 278, which corresponds literally to our text.

614. *bisun pa la*.

615. *ñe gñas (upāraka)*, assistant.

616. I. e. 997, but according to the most common calculations, and also according to ZNT, p. 278, the year of the new introduction of the faith was *c'u bya*, i. e. 973, as in Csoma de Kőrös' tables. According to ZNT, p. 178, in the year *c'u bya*, 973, when Lo ston made a survey of the earth to build the temple of rGyan gon, lCe btsun was born. As our chronicles say that, when this temple was built, he was about 30, they place his birth long before 973.

617. Near Ža lu. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 70.

618. I. e. 1039, if we read *sa yos*, a date corresponding to the one recorded in the *Reu mig* (ed. S. CH. DAS, p. 40). But according to ZNT, p. 178, this year should be *c'u yos*, i. e. 1003.

619. I. e. central upper floor.

620. I. e. to the *Prājñāpāramitā*; see above.

621. *rgyun lam*.

622. Leaving aGo ba ye šes gyuñ drün to care for the temple. See ZNT, p. 278 a.

623. *gNas rñin*.

624. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 67.

625. *bka' bži*: but it should be corrected according to ZNT, p. 178 b: *ka ba bži*, "the four pillars,, namely the four castles or territories over which the family exercised its authority, *las ka: las mñu'og gi yul sde c'en po ka ba bžir grags rnamis kyi bya ba* (on the four *Ka ba* see note 631).

The DT, *ga*, p. 8 b, speaking of the disciples of the lama rñin ma pa rGya po (Šes rab grags pa) refers to the same classification: they too are divided into *ka ba bži, gduñ brgyad, p'yan bcu dring, drol ma (- grol ma) bcu rtsa gñis*, eight pillars, eight beams, 16 rafters, 32 lesser rafters. Thus a master's school is compared to a house.

Many lamas are called *ka bži pa*; this means they were among the four chief disciples of some master. Cfr. SP, p. 179. The title of *ka bži pa* is also attributed to the Goñ ma of P'ag mo gzu (see *Chronicles of Blo bzän rgya mts'o*, n. 285).

626. *ritsad po bisan po*, v. JASCHKEB, s. v. In ZNT, p. 278 b: "because his patrons were kings (*ritsad pa*), like the king of Nepal, etc.,,"

627. 'A žva is well known as the name of a people out of place here: from page 23, b it appears that the A žva where bordering Ža lu; so A žva probably refers to gNas gsar whose chiefs were said to be of A žva descent.
628. On C'u mig see above.
629. In the text: Žal = Ža lu.
630. A hermitage near Žva lu, in a mountain gorge; the spelling wavers between Ri spug and Ri p'ug. (In ZNT *passim*). So down below in the text rGyan ri is for rGyan rgon and Žal ri for the mountain of Ža lu, viz. Ri p'ug.
631. This rather obscure passage will become clearer when we recall what has been said above on the census of Tibet ordered by the Mongols and the rules followed on that occasion. We have seen that a group of six persons, called *pillars*, was taken as the census unit. From this passage it seems that the same term was also applied to the nobility's property, when a census was taken of it: the family's whole property was represented as a house, and each single piece of property, or castle, or feud, or the various branches, according to their importance, took the name of *pillars*, beams or rafters.
632. C'u mig pa la btsun ies kyi 'og nas (1).
633. The Sa skya Chronicles do not mention this marriage; it took place when P'yag rdor, at the age of 23, returned home. "He of C'u mig," is perhaps the same P'yag rdor, to whom the feud of C'u mig had been assigned.
634. I. e. the country under a centurion's command.
635. Šab dge lđin is a monastery and a fortress in the valley of Shekar lung, on the right of the road P'un ts'ogs glün K'ro pu Tashilunpo.
636. *nor skal*.
637. Qubilai?
638. I. e. to have offspring.
639. rGo gsum, a symbol of the three *vimokṣamukha*, on which see *Mahāvayupatī*, p. 1341 ff.; *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 167.
640. The two forms alternate.
641. On him see above.
642. Two Ts'al pa brothers: sMon lam is perhaps sMon lam rdo rje mentioned in the fifth Dalai Lama's *Chronicles*, p. 33. The other is unknown to me.
643. I. e. six instead of seven as they are enounced: dPon ma dpal ldan is missing, on which see fol. 40 a.
644. Öljaidü.
645. 'on c'e; in the MČ (p. 256): 'on rtsē.
646. rMa bya ma. This story is reproduced, almost literally, in the MC, p. 256.
647. Instead of the more regular form: *gu ŋri = kuo shib*.
648. dGe ru.
649. Some of these places are mentioned in the letters I have discovered in Ža lu: sMon gro = sMon gro, Ra srog = Ra ŋog, Ru c'a perhaps = Ru mts'ams, rGya mts'o = rGya mts'o gñis (S. CH. DAS, *Journey*, ed. Rockhill, p. 72).
650. T'on ji du dben ša: it recurs in the present and other passages (Ža lu, pp. 22, 23). Du dben ša I have already explained: l'ong ji corresponds to 𑎧𑎡𑎣𑎤 l'ung chib. The T'ung chib was one of the officers depending from the Hsüan wei shih and from the tu yüan shuai's office (see *Yüan shih*, chap. 86, p. 10 and above, p. 33).
651. I. e. 𑎧𑎡𑎣𑎤 wan hu, myriarch.
652. blo bur mig in the sense of arch, frame in relief, also called *me'od rten*. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 150.
653. gyu c'u ba sgam: these frames in the shape of a lion's mouth still exist in Ža lu.
654. leb egan; see rdo leb, šin leb.
655. rgya p'ugs; see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 66.
656. bza' btsun: the expression is not registered in dictionaries.
657. l'us btsun.
658. sran.
659. 1320.
660. On which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, pp. 70, 71. These inscriptions are collected in a booklet by BUSTON, on which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 71, n. 1.
661. On the temple of the bšTan agyut see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 71.
662. bor k'oi (koiš) bsab = mts'an ba rnam k'a skons nas mdsad pa.
663. skya bzo.
664. Nan poi bDe ldan, or the chapel of bDe ldan which is in the interior.
665. *lag brtag*.
666. *m'un gan*: see note 786.
667. *me'ed zla*.
668. Above the archaic form *k'yed* with *da drag*.
669. On Si tu Kun dga' rdo rje see *Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama*, p. 630.
670. Above mGon.
671. I. e. a high Sa skya dignitary.
672. On 'Od zet sen ge, one of the Sa skya pa dPon c'en, see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 90 f. and above, p. 629.
673. So complete according to the list on fol. 39 a.
674. The name is too common to allow of an identification; perhaps he is the son of the dPon c'en rGyal ba bzan po (see note 106 to the fifth Dalai Lama).
675. *Go l'o ji* is obscure.
676. That is, of the kings of Gyantse's family.
677. Son of the sKu zan mGon po dpal.
678. l'abs su bzes pa, i. e. like *upāya*: namely, here, in the sense of *mudrā*.
679. He was really his cousin.
680. I. e. four and not five are enumerated in reality.
681. On mNgon pa pa see ZNT, p. 189.
682. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
683. I. e. Grags pa brtsun agrus, *ibid.*, pp. 189 and 191. In his time Šākyaśrī came to Tibet. With him ends the series of the mK'an po rñin ma, i. e. of the ancient abbots, preceding Bu ston.
684. Lotsäva Rin c'en rnam rgyal dpal bzan po, whose life is in ZNT, pp. 22 and 180.
685. His life *ibid.*, p. 51.
686. *Ibid.*, p. 51 b.
687. *leags-stag*, 1290.
688. *leags-spreu*, 1320.
689. *sa rta*, 1318.
690. *me spre'u*, 1356.
691. *šin obrug*, 1364.
692. *c'u stod*, *purvāśābha*.
693. *sa obrug*, 1388.
694. *šin sbrul*, 1365 (ZNT, p. 186).
695. Viz. in another serpent year: *sa sbrul*, 1389.
696. ZNT, p. 197. An incarnation of Mi la ras pa, the author of songs, but illiterate. He ascended the abbatial seat in 1404, *šin spreu*. Born 1376, *me obrug*, died 1422, *c'u obrug*.
697. His life in ZNT, pp. 70 a and 191.
698. *sa obrug*, 1448.
699. *Kortika*.
700. *sa yos*, 1399 (ZNT, p. 191).
701. *leags spreu*, 1440.
702. *Tiṣya*.
703. In ZNT: *c'u k'yi*; but the year must be *c'u sbrul*, 1473 (1399 + 75).
704. Life in ZNT, p. 82.
705. *šin rta*, 1414 (see ZNT, p. 191).
706. *me k'yi*, 1466.
707. *c'u stag*, 1482.
708. *Alvini*.
709. *šin rta*, 1414 (see ZNT, p. 192).
710. *c'u yos*, 1483.
711. *c'u glañ*, 1493.
712. ZNT, pp. 109 and 192.
713. *me obrug*, 1437.
714. *šin stag*, 1494; at the age of 58, as it is said in ZNT, p. 192.
715. *Vijābhā*.
716. I. e. up to the year *leags rta*, 1510.
717. I. e. *šin glañ*, 1445. On him and on this date see ZNT, p. 192.
718. *me yos*, 1507.
719. Up to the year *šin k'yi*, 1514. Between him and bSod nams rgyal mts'an ZNT placed Lotsäva Dharmapāla, the famous grammarian, born in the year *leags bya* of the seventh cycle, 1441, who died in the year *sa byi*, 1528, at the age of eighty-eight.
720. *c'u glañ*, 1493.
721. This is perhaps a mistake; it should read (as in ZNT, p. 192): at the age of 32, in the year *šin spreu*, 1524.
722. I. e. up to the year *me bya*, 1537.

723. If the date of his assumption to the abbatial seat, 1537, is correct and if he was then sixty-seven, the date of his birth must be *leags yos*, 1471, and not *me yos*; actually *leags yos* is the date we find in ZNT. The mistake is due to the fact that copyists left out *leags* in the sentence *leags mo yos*, and wrote *me* instead of *mo*.

724. *me bya*, 1537.

725. *Jyestha*.

726. The other mk'an pos are ignored, up to the Rin c'en mk'yen rab mc'og grub dpal bzän po, mentioned immediately after.

727. I. e. in the guide of the Ža lu temple, where *Avalokiteśvara*'s image, mentioned above, is worshipped.

728. Buston.

729. About whom see ZNT, p. 201. He ascended the abbatial throne of Ža lu, as the 23rd abbot, after rDo rje ac'an Rin c'en bsod nams mc'og grub (*ibid.*), who died in 1671.

This is the *terminus a quo* of the present chronicle.

730. In the fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles: dGra rgod ldan btsan: rGod gdon btsan means "the rGod-faced btsan, .. On the bTsan see Appendix two.

731. On Grags pa 'od zer see note 78 to the fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles.

732. *gZis = gZis ka*.

733. The Ža lu pa ought to be one of the bDag nid c'en po's sons, by his wife gZon nu abum.

734. In the fifth Dalai Lama: Lha gcig Lha sman. There is no contradiction: Lha sman or Lha mo sman is the name she assumed after her meeting with dPyal aP'ags rgyal ba.

735. *Dus kyi p'o ña - kālayukta*.

736. The name of dPal ldan bzän po he assumed later.

737. Vaiśravaṇa, king of riches.

738. In the fifth Dalai Lama: Ma zañs dar po.

739. According to the fifth Dalai Lama, Lhan yul, near dNul c'u, in Nāñ stod = Dolchu, on which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 67.

740. *T'ugs sön bas - t'ugs su gro ba*.

741. *Rigs la ago bai lba*: i. e. one of the five *ago bai lba*, on which see S. CH. DAS, s. v., and WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 374. The most important of them is the dGra lha.

742. Note *adi pai for adii*; *sgos mi*: employee, officer, holder of public office.

743. *rGrog dgos*, i. e. that he should have an official appointment with proper credentials and that he should be assigned to the Sa skya pa royal palace in that capacity.

744. Mentioned above. On this meeting and the change of name see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 83.

745. *ñe - ñe ba - ñe gnas*: he who stands by, the disciple; *ñe ba* is also a kinsman, but not in the present case. However the princes of Gyantse did become the Sa skya pa's kinsmen through the marriages both contracted with the house of Ža lu.

746. Such is the fifth Dalai Lama's spelling. In the mss. we find the forms: Lho duñ, Lho du, Lho dur. From p. 8 we may presume that these were Lho brag tribes; the Šar duñ should be other tribes of the same region and precisely of its Eastern portion.

747. *skya grogs*.

748. *skad pa* is not in the dictionaries, but the context seems to impose the meaning "enemies, rebels, .."

749. *gięgs* means both to go away and to die, hence the expression is ambiguous: in the sense of "to die, .. *sku* is generally premitted. But *skal* is not necessarily an offering for a dead person: see, immediately after, the same form used for living persons.

750. *brkon c'a*: clothes in the sense of uniform, a sign of the rank received. The fifth Dalai Lama uses the same expression.

751. *ba' bu*, *ba' tse*. On *ba' bu* see note 206 to the fifth Dalai Lama; *ba' tse* is its synonym.

752. On offices among the Sa skya see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 83 and above, p. 35.

753. A title which has remained to the family of the chiefs of Gyantse, often simply called *Šar k'a pa*.

754. *duñ ren - lho duñ?*

755. *t'ugs rtsis ñn tu c'e bar byün*.

756. The monastery of C'os luñ t'ugs'og pa was founded in 1255. See Csoma de Kőrös' list.

757. *bikal dgos bzän po*. The dBus pa is Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an, who had begun his movement against the Sa skya pa dominion.

758. *gñer, gñer pa*.

759. Now Kampa dsong.

760. Šäkyasi.

761. See above, n. 754.

762. Probably: dNul c'u.

763. Hemalamba.

764. Kun dga' dpal ba was from ICan ra, but he belonged to the house of Mig; hence his name Mig pa.

765. I. e. S c'en. On Karma baksi see a Jigs med rig pai rdo rje, p. 100 (p. 167 of the translation) and above, p. 61.

766. C'os kyi 'od zer? Not the creator of the mongol script (the last *mise au point* regarding this personage is by ROBRICH, JRASB, 1945, p. 53) but an abbot of aT'sur p'u, DT, na, p. 52, l.

767. *T'ugs k'ur m'i'i bñams pas*.

768. Grags pa is therefore his son by his second wife.

769. I. e. to the P'ag mo gru pas, whose capital was precisely sNeu gdon. This means that the family, without betraying the Sa skya pas, tried to gain the favour of this new power, which had arisen in the dBus territory.

770. The three personages mentioned here: Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an, Šes rab bzän po and dKOn mc'og, are not known to me from other sources. However on p. 7, b we find that in the tenth month of 1364, when a dBus army, led by rDo rje rin c'en, besieged ICan ra, the dPag si (ba kši) dKOn mc'og was struck by an arrow on his forehead and died. So there was a war between Gyantse and the P'ag mo gru pas.

771. Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an.

772. *sku k'ams bñiel*: it is to be excluded that here *bñiel* means "to forget, .. Below (p. 40, n. 923) *bñiel* is used in the sense of "to take to one's bed, .., i. e. for *snal* or *ñil*: to fall ill. *sku k'ams* means the physical person, and is used in polite conversation, to ask people about their health. That *bñiel* has this meaning is shown by the following passage in Tson k'a pa's biography, p. 222: *dguñ lo na dñun par sku k'ams bñiel ts'ul bstan pa*. His enemies, telling him that Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an was ill, prevent him from meeting the latter. One of his rivals, as we have seen, having been killed by the P'ag mo grus, it is not unlikely that the Sa skya pa officers disagreed: some, like the prince of Gyantse, being disposed to come to an agreement with the P'ag mo grus, others being hostile: the latter tried to prevent a meeting between aP'ags pa and Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an, and afterwards slandered him to the Sa skya generals.

All this covertly hints at aP'ags pa's attempt to pass over to the new power.

773. *bden med du bñan*.

774. On *dpon sa* see above n. 307; she was a Ža lu princess, then in good relations with the Sa skya pas.

775. *dpon žens*: attachment to their chief?

776. *bu rta?*

777. I. e. quickly; an allusion to the letting down of ropes, still practised in Lhasa and once a custom also on the Indian frontier. See MOORCROFT, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, I, p. 17; WADDELL, *Lhasa and its mysteries*, p. 389; FRANCKE, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Part I, p. 4.

778. See above, n. 766.

779. Viśvavasu.

780. *dkar for mk'ar* is evidently a mistake.

781. mNa' bdag c'en po is usually Ral pa can. Gyantse was considered by tradition dPal ak'or btsan's residence. See MC, p. 74 4.

782. *lcog - k'an t'og tu k'an c'ün*.

783. This title: *Tai bsui lu gyün lo ta bo* (above: *gYün lo ta ho*) corresponds to the Chinese *Yung lu tai fu* 榮祿太夫, a military title of the first rank (*Ming shih*, chap. 72, p. 15); on Situ and T'ai situ which is a title, often honorific, see RATCHENEVSKY, *Un code des Yuan*, p. 186, n. 2 and above, p. 34.

784. *gser byan sgor no*: *byan*, *byan bu*, *byan mo*, means inscription written on wood or metal, but *gser* may also mean "imperial, .. See LAUFER, *Loan words*, p. 445, n. 4. On *byan*, *byan bu*, in military use in the documents of Turkistan, see THOMAS, JRAS, 1933, p. 391.

785. *P'in* is lacking in the dictionaries: it corresponds to *qin* and *ja abin*, from the Chinese p'ing 瓶 "vase, flask, .. See LAUFER, *Loan words*, n. 216.

786. On T'u gon (in the MC: *T'ugs dkon*), see also Ža lu, p. 659: *mt'un gon*. It is not T'u kuan 十 官 of *Yüan shih*, chap. 29, p. 17; but Tu kang 都 綱, head of the office for the affairs of the Buddhist monks in a district. It was an office of the ninth rank. See *Ming shih*, chap. 75, p. 17.

787. On Gañs ba bzañ po see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 57; *ibid.* for aBri mts'ams.

788. *sdé gdsugs pai rta sgo abogs pa la*; for the same sentence see Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama, n. 106.

789. *i'c'*: from the Chinese I chih 異 斤 in BELL, *yi rtsé* = | 子.

790. *shel ka*, perhaps = *ber*, "cloak."

791. *zam dkon*: *zam* in Tibetan is a velvet cushion; *dkon* means rate, of the finest quality.

792. Although mNa'ris was practically independent, the Mongols, as may be seen, did not renounce their nominal sovereignty over those regions. See above, n. 111.

793. For whom see the genealogical list.

794. On Hor bSod nams dpal see fifth Dalai Lama, p. 644.

795. Kun dga' dpal is not the ña dpon of rTse c'en, see n. 798, but Kun dga' bkra šis rgyal mts'an, who later became T'eg c'en (see n. 73).

796. *śed skyed*.

797. *i' o' ltas*, perhaps for *i' o' le*.

798. Ña dpon is a title corresponding to mk'añ po. That lama's complete name is Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an. See MC, p. 142. Tson k'a pa, when still young, was also at his school (see *Biography of Tson k'a pa*, p. 75).

799. Here some masters, whom he honoured, are named: Šes rab ap'ags pa of Bye rdsin and C'os dpal mgon po, who were elected *c'en po*, bSod nams bzañ po of gNag p'u, Kun dga' rin c'en of Šaň, 'Od zer of Šeb, Blo gros yans pa, gZon nu blo gros of Re za (for Re mda', birthplace of the master of Tson k'a pa; see above, p. 118), Blo bzañ grags pa of bTson k'a (i. e. Tson k'a pa).

800. *agrul c'en mdsad*.

801. The four Sa skya palaces, already mentioned.

802. *dam rtags*. Note the various orthography of *Si tu, bsi tu, bsvi tu*.

803. Who had been married by his elder brother, and was now left to him.

804. *p'ye gsal*: in the fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles we have found *p'ye gsal* in the sense of inspection, investigation, pp. 76 b, 77 a. The transition is easy from this meaning to the one the word has here: a census, whose returns, as may be seen, were recorded in a book.

805. *bza' pa*: married person.

806. I. e. "the black book (*deb t'er*) useful for future generations, which records reports on tables,; here *leb* corresponds to *ñā leb*" wooden tables,; Compare with the *Kökö dābtār* on which were written the partitions of the population among the noblemen. See PELLIOT, *T'oung pao*, 1930, vol. XXVII, p. 39.

807. *gzugs dāsin dbaň*, "organ which perceives forms,; "

808. Sarvadhārin.

809. *ston mo žu ba*, to beg to be present at a spectacle.

810. This "Saintly king of the Holy Vehicle,; can be no other than the T'eg c'en c'os kyi rgyal po Kun dga' bkra šis rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po, born in 1349, died 1425. On these events see MC, p. 109.

811. Which, as we have said, was garrisoned by the P'ag mo gru pas' troops. It was then a question of recovering it and regaining possession of it.

812. sKu žaň c'os rje, is Nam mk'a' mc'og grub dpal, mentioned on p. 660. He cannot be mC'og grub bzañ po (1414-1482) on whom see Ža lu chronicles, p. 661.

813. Vijaya.

814. On C'os gži (*ka*) see above, n. 183.

815. Lhai dbaň po from Byaň and dGe legs dpal are at present unknown to me. Hon du c'en po seems a title of the chiefs of the aBrog pa of Yar abrog: a Hyen du Kun dga' rgyal mts'an of Yar aBrog is quoted in DT, *i'a*, p. 31.

816. C'os dpon.

817. Of the Emperor of China.

818. Ha ho ta bžin and gSuň ta bžin, perhaps names of ambassadors sent from China to Tibet; in 1403 and 1413, as may be inferred from the *Ming shih*, chap. 231 various ambassadors were sent to Tibet.

819. On Śāriputra, or Śāriputrasvāmin, or Śākyaśāriputra I found no information: except that he was the master of Nam mk'a' grags bzañ of Byaň. See Chron. of the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 632. A little after him Pañdit Nags kyi rin c'en, Vanaratna, came to Tibet

in the year 1426: since he did not find many disciples he went back to Nepal: then he was invited by the Si tu Rab bstan and therefore he went to rGyaň rtsé. It is possible that here the DT, *i'a*, p. 22, is mistaken and that we should read Si tu Rab bstan of rGyal ruse.

From the same text we gather that he was then invited by the C'os rgyal Grags pa abyun gnas, so that he spent his time partly in rTse t'an and partly in sNeu gdoň. Among his pupils the DT mentions the prince of Byaň who, as we saw, is said to have also been the disciple of Śāriputra. It is probable that Nags rin c'en and Śāriputra are the one and same person. The only difficulty concerns the date of his arrival which as we saw, is 1413 for the Chronicles of Gyantse and 1426 for DT. It is not impossible that DT instead of Grags pa abyun gnas meant Grags pa rgyal mts'an, who in fact is usually known as c'os rgyal; a title which the author of DT attributes in this passage to Grags pa abyun gnas. This pañdit was born in Gröň k'yet dam pa in Eastern India.

820. I. e. Kun dga' bkra šis rgyal mts'an who received from Ch'eng Tsu of the Ming dynasty the title of T'eg c'en c'os kyi rgyal po, mentioned above, p. 628.

821. I. e. De bžin grags pa. See n. 61.

822. A famous monastery of the Kar ma bk'a' bgyud pa sect, to the NW of Lhasa. See S. CH. DAS-ROCKHILL, *Journey to Lhasa*, p. 145 (Tsor pu).

823. The bDag pa of gŽi t'og is not the same lama Kun dga' bkra šis, because, as we have seen, the Sa skya pa family had been divided between four palaces. Kun dga' bkra šis belonged to the Bla braň of Lha k'aň. His contemporary, as the head of the gŽi t'og branch, was Gu šri Blo gros rgyal mts'an.

824. bDag po Nam mk'a' legs (1399-1444), mentioned on n. 593; the Sa skya chronicles say that the Ming Emperor appointed him Kya ho wan, i. e. Chiaow wang 欽 王. Probably the Wang pu mentioned in the *Ming shih* is his son (see *ibid.*).

825. This mc'od rten must be the same Sin k'un of Nepal alluded to above (Svayambhūnāth).

826. I. e. the handing over to the P'ag mo gru pas of the greatest Sa skya temple.

827. *P'o brāň rtsé*, i. e. to his residence to receive the Chinese officials. Ts'on adus is near Ža lu.

828. On this title see above.

829. The *bre* is a unit of capacity, subject to variations from one region to the other, on which see BELL, *Grammar of Colloquial Tibetan*, p. 138.

830. *P'yag dam*, honorific, instead of the more common *t'am k'a*.

831. I. e. Śāriputra; see n. 819.

832. *mi g*.

833. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 65, where "he seems to be a contemporary of Rab brtan kun bzaň ap'ags pa,; must be corrected: "he was a contemporary,; Hence the Emperor is Ch'eng Tsu.

834. *ser p'ren*.

835. *c'e sa*. Cf. *c'en po*, *c'e gñan* the upper and lower palace refers to two of the palaces of Sa skya. The uncle and nephew are the relatives of the Sa skya dignity.

836. *c'ags p'ab*, for *p'yag p'ab*, which is the precise honorific form (see *p'yag btegs* "to start,; life of Tson k'a pa, p. 71); *c'ag* and *c'ags* are false spellings for *p'yag*, derived by homophony. In Kun dga' rin c'en's life: *c'ag p'eb*, pp. 66 b-67 a; cf. *c'ag p'yi* for *p'yag p'yi* "servant,; *ibid.*, p. 100 a.

837. rGyaň goň is not the locality of the same name, near Ža lu, which at that time had already lost its importance: it is rGyaň dkar goň ma, i. e. the convent on the gŽi bdag mountain, East of Gyantse. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 61.

838. *Gan gos gser ma* = *gan dar gser ma*.

839. *C'en po*, which in this case must be the equivalent of rdson dpön.

840. *P'yag c'egs pa gnaň*, honorific. Compare: n. 836.

841. This means that as that time, on the occasion of strife which had broken out with Grags po rgyal mts'an of the P'ag mo gru pas, the Sa skya pa had escaped the yoke of the Goň ma of dBus and had once more taken possession of the Lha k'aň c'en mo, or more simply they were preparing to regain possession of it and did not renounce their rights over that temple.

842. Of Gyantse. For this consecration he invited mK'a' grub rje, thus establishing relations with the dGe lugs pa.

843. *gZu adom*: the measure of a bow *gZu*, *dbanu*, which corresponds to 4 cubits *k'ru*, *hasta*, and every cubit to 24 fingers, *sor mo*, *anguli*. See LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Abhidharmakośa*, III, pp. 86, 87.

844. The constellations *rgyal* is *Pusya*; *p'ur bu* is *Brhaspati*.

845. See *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, p. 286.

846. Kun dga' *rgyal mts'an*, i. e. Kun dga' *blo gros rgyal mts'an*, son, as we have seen above (p. 664) of aP'ags pa dpal bzän po, born in 1365.

847. *sa ga* = *visākā*, fourth month.

848. P'yogs las mam *rgyal* of Bo doñ. See *Chronicles of Blo bzän rgya mts'o*, p. 632, n. 54. He was one of the masters of Tsoñ k'a pa, who met him in Jo nal. See Tsoñ k'a pa's biography, p. 74.

849. I. e. Byan sems bzän po dpal, Rab brtan's mother.

850. *Rab brtan kun bzän ap'ags pai žal śna nas gñün lo etc.* Notice the affix *žal śna nas*, added on to the names of lamas and other officials, like "his Lordship, his Holiness, ...". Cfr. on p. 28 b, *Žal śna nas kyi gñün gi*. On this expression see also HUTN, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 240, n. 2.

851. *don grub*, *siddhārtbin*.

852. *gtsug lag rnam* s *bžugs pai kañ pa* = *gtsug lag kañ*.

853. *k'ral rigs sog* mi *abad pai da rgan*. *Da rgan* (in S. Ch. Das' dictionary, *dar ban*): "A Mongol word signifying a man who is exempt from the duty of furnishing labour etc. to those who travel under official authority, ...". But see LAUFER, *Loan words*, n. 158. The Tibetan text is given in appendix.

854. I. e. the Mongol Emperor recognized as the supreme sovereign, with whose command and approval orders were issued. See for this initial formula the *Ža lu* letters.

855. *drag btan*: but the most common formula is *drag žan*. See n. 184 to the fifth Dalai Lama: on *bza' pa* see above, n. 805. It is clear from the context that *mi sde* denotes the countrymen (cfr. *mi ser*), husbandmen, between them and the monks the officials then being the *drag žan*.

856. *mk'ar las*.

857. *l'es* from *l'e ba*, to look after something, to appertain: *bya ba*.

858. *sro nal* "those who sleep on the threshold, ...", tax collectors.

859. *abu manis* is not in the dictionaries: refers to those buildings called in English mani-walls. "Clothes, ... are the pieces of stuff hung there on sticks.

860. *sku dkar gsol ba*.

861. *dkar me*, lamp.

862. The first, the fifteenth and the eighth day of the month *zla ba byun* no cog = in all the sacred occasions recurring. Cfr. WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 501.

863. *dmag k'yr*.

864. *rñon pa pa*, for the simple *rñon pa*.

865. *'og ajal*, tax payers.

866. *spug seb?* See n. 895: *'oñ seb?*

867. *rTsa zug abebs c'ün*: *zug* for *gzug*. *gzug* is the tenth part of a slaughtered sheep; I should take *rsta* as the total revenue, what is subject to taxation: *abebs*, *qbab* tax. On *dus kyi g'yim ts'e* cfr. *g'yim ts'e* record, register, n. 937.

868. *ja sdor* = *mar*, butter to be used with tea, but is also said of condiments.

869. *rtse nas kyi lo dus* etc.: notice the use of *nas*, in this and other similar sentences, after the name of a place or a palace: *'Ol k'a nas sde pa*, Life of bSod nams rgya mts'o, by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 24 b; *'sNew gdon rtse nas*, ... Life of the Zur pa T'ams cad mk'yen, by the same author, p. 22 b; see above; that *lo dus* means tribute, annual tribute, seems to be clear in the context: but *dus* may be a mistake for *sdud*, taxes.

870. *sTen mdsod*.

871. *sProg ris* cfr. *sprog ma*; *sprog ris* is the name of the leather bag in which butter is generally kept in Tibet.

872. *dkon mar*.

873. *rTse zil gñon*: i. e. "the palace which humbled (the enemies') splendor, ...", this is the epithet of a part of the royal palace. But the translation is doubtful.

874. *ñag*: I believe that after *sran* the numeral must have been omitted: so many *ñag* of butter for so many *sran* of wool. *ñag* is a measure used for butter. See S. CH. DAS, p. 954.

875. *ñin bu* = *byan bu*, *byan ma*.

876. *yig ñin*: *bskul* in the sense of escort, *corvée* is not in the dictionaries.

877. I. e. the stable servants, addicted to postal services, hence under government supervision.

It must be kept in mind that at this time the Goñ ma, favouring Ming policy, was particularly careful of the roads. See *Ming sibih*, translated above, n. 255. *K'or yug* = *samantatas*; MVP 6494, used as plural.

878. *Mi rkan gñis kyi sa žin p'ye*; *rkan pa gñis pa* means man: *duipada*, but here the *mi* that precedes excludes this meaning: *rkan* is used as a numerative; the word has already been met with in this sense by THOMAS, in the Turkestan documents. See JRAS, 1927, p. 808.

879. *gNam l'eb* nas *ma bskul*. *gnam* for *nam*; whenever it happens.

880. *rTa gdan*.

881. *rañ žes*: cfr. the expression *žes su gtsug pa*: (on which see above note 117) to be invested with an office.

882. *sPo ril* = *spo re*, down below: *spo hril*, to change residence, stages; the meaning here should be: to oblige the countries one passes through to furnish forced labour up to the next stage of the journey. In Central-Asian documents *spo ba* = to be relieved THOMAS, JRAS, 1937, p. 387, but *so res* is: relay, *ibid.*, p. 391.

883. *bsDud*, on this term see also the *Ža lu* letters.

884. Here the administrator is not the government's but the officer's; it is well known that every lama or layman enjoying some prestige travels in Tibet accompanied by his servants, among whom the *gñer pa*.

885. *sKya rkan*, perhaps from *slya ba*, to carry elsewhere. The use of *rkan* in similar expressions is doubtful. See THOMAS, *Tibetan documents*, JRAS, 1927, p. 66.

886. "Let it be placed on record, ...". Cfr. *l'or c'ags*. *l'ob* is the imperative of *cdebs*; *la* is a final particle.

887. *za rkan*: also *ngyen za ba*. See BELL, *Colloquial Dict.*, p. 56.

888. *drag žan*: see above; but in this case, all officers being listed, the sense of "official, ... would seem preferable.

889. *l'el ts'e* = *l'se* - *l'el se* - *l'am ka*. See KOWALEWSKY, *Dict. Mongol*, p. 1730.

890. *aDod ho žor ajus*.

891. To prevent people from coming near the source.

892. *aDi nas kyi yi ge*, cfr. above: *rtse nas*.

893. *c'ag c'u*: *c'ag tse*.

894. *aDür* is flour prepared for horses: S. CH. DAS: *adur p'ye drag pa*.

895. *oñ seb* = *greb lam*.

896. *sPor hril* = stages, above, *spo ril*. I. e. let them not make any more stops than are necessary.

897. *žonnan* = Shomang of the maps; see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 63.

898. *mT'ül qebs*, means the claim of the state on property of families without heirs.

899. *rTsar byed pa* = *tsa ra*. The Mongol law, as may be gathered from the fifth Dalai Lama, was a law of retaliation.

900. I. e. of the wheat advanced to cultivators. On how large an area it is not said.

901. I. e. according to justice.

902. *mig ñe*.

903. *lKog sran* = *lkog rñan*.

904. *aDod ho k'a srol*, cfr. n. 890.

905. *mi ñil*.

906. But it could also be: bribe.

907. *K'ral mi gros adom ma son ba rnam*.

908. *c'ud zos*.

909. Here too *drag žan* (text: *gžan*).

910. Literally: camp asses.

911. *drag žan*.

912. These women were perhaps aunts or sisters, who had died.

Byan sems bzän pa is perhaps the same as Byan sems bzän mo dpal.

913. *rin mar*.

914. On *gYe dmar*, see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 135.

915. To be collected in the country bordering Sikkim and Bhutan.

916. The feast established by such endowments is celebrated in Gyantse to this day.

917. This is evidently a quotation from another ordinance.

918. *p'o mo*, literally male and female.

919. Kalatso of the maps.

920. In the gloss: Bre t'un. The gloss adds: "Up to this day five measures of wheat are offered to the keepers of the embankments for the protection of the Ban sten fishes, ...". So these embankments were a refuge for fishes, protected there by the prohibition to angle for them and placed in a *gñer pa*'s keeping. On the contrary their construction was forbidden in the Kalatso because there people perhaps used the embankment to collect the fishes rather than to protect them.

921. *Nā k'a bslu ba*. It is well known that in Tibet it is a meritorious act to ransom with money or presents the lives of animals otherwise destined to be killed. See WADDELL, *Lamaism*, pp. 265, 248. DAS (ed. ROCKHILL), *Journey to Lhasa*, p. 134.

922. *rCya* might also be India, but given its relations with Yüan, China is probably meant here.

923. *bs'Nel* (for *sñal* or *näl*: to fall ill; see above, n. 772). These expressions: "he showed the manner of taking to one's bed,,," "he showed the manner of falling ill, of dying,,," are typical of the Mahāyāna and are particularly used for Bodhisattvas; the latter, although they have transcended the various contingencies of phenomenal existence, nevertheless apparently submit to them, to teach and move others to *udvega*, the feeling which arises on experiencing that all things are transitory.

924. *Hasta*.

925. Gloss: "Byañ sems bzān mo dpal's younger sister,,"

926. Thus the name of this younger brother of Rab brtan kun bzān ap'ags pa's is alluded to; his name was then: bKra śis ap'ags (p. 175 b).

927. I. e. (bKra śis) Rab brtan dpal abyor bzān po.

928. *Žoge nas 'ur la k'ad par gyur*; see *bžugs 'ur byed pa*, DESGODINS, p. 896: s. v. 'ur. This is the story related by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 648.

929. *gyel bžes*: it is not in dictionaries; *gyel* for *gel*.

930. *sPeu dmar* in Samada, see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 104.

931. *P'ye gal*. See above n. 804.

932. *dMag a'e'en*.

933. Protector of the world (*sa skyoñ*) is the epithet given both to him and to his father: *yum*, as we already saw, means not so much mother, as wife (cf. *yab yum*): in any case here the allusion is to Byañ sems c'en mo Ni ma k'ye dren, bKra śis rab brtan's mother.

Ni ma k'ye dren is often mentioned in the inscriptions of the upper chapel of the sKu abum, in Gyantse. So we know now the epoch in which she lived (IInd half of the XVth century); hence the frescoes of those chapels must be assigned to this period. From this information we also deduce that the sKu abum begun by Rab brtan kun bzān ap'ags pa was not completed during his lifetime; work was continued on it for some scores of years after his death. On Ni ma k'ye dren see particularly *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, pp. 246, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272.

934. This is the Sa skya lama mT'u stobs kyi dbaṅ p'yug Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an, the son of mT'u stobs kyi dbaṅ p'yug bSod nams rgyal mts'an, who lived from 1450 to 1495. His frequent relations with bKra śis rab brtan of rCyal mk'ar rste are mentioned in the Sa skya pa Chronicles, p. 145.

935. I. e. the paintings: on this expression *ññ, ññ k'ams* see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, and above, p. 305.

936. So his entire name is given: bKra śis rab brtan dpal abyor bzān po.

937. *gyin tse = gyin ññ*; this word is given in S. CH. DAS, s. v., only as an equivalent for "musical instrument,,," *K'un's = k'un's tsuu*.

938. These documents were handed over to me for a few hours by the abbot and Ža lu: I made a copy of them and took a photo: the Mongolian doc. has been published above by Pelliot. Ye šes rin c'en is included in the list of the Tšist of the Yüan *shih* (see above, p. 15) which places his tenure of office between 1286 and 1295.

939. rGan po, elder.

940. *ajus k'or* = servant taken by force. This means that to escape mGon po dpal's government they made an act of vassalage to other persons.

941. mGon po dpal is mentioned also in letter n. II together with Ag Len. He was the father of rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug; this year of the tiger must be 1290, *leags stag*. Šan to is Shang tu.

942. On Grags pa 'od zer see p. 15 and note 78 on the Chronicle of Blo bzān rgya mts'o.

943. Ra sog and Bye lin are two localities near gNas gsar, on the Gyantse-Shigatse road. On these localities cf. letter VI and above n. 649.

944. In the sense not of space, but of kinship or friendship.

945. Ya vas 'o k'ol is unknown to me: he is not a Tibetan; probably a Nestorian?

946. Grags pa 'od zer, as we saw, is a contemporary of the bDag řid c'en po, whom he helped to return to Sa skya, and of Ag len; the year of the sheep must be 1295 (*ññ lug*).

947. On this Ti shih see above, p. 15, n. 6.

948. *Gbo lun pa* most probably as *rgan po*, the head of a village: *gbo* is for *ego*, *mgo*.

949. Ru dpon. Evidently here *ru* does not refer to the three Ru and to the Ru lag into which dBus and gTañ had been divided; perhaps it means the commander of a wing of the army. The difference between Ru dpon and Ru pa is that the former is the chief and the latter any officer, in a general sense: however it is not excluded that they may refer to a territorial division of Ža lu and its district, according to the lists of traditional Tibetan partitions.

950. *Dral po sñad gtag*.

951. *Brel*.

952. The year of the dragon is 1304, *ññ brug*.

953. This Sais rgyas dpal seems to be the eighth Ti shih of my list, p. 15. According to the Yüan *shih* he held the office for one year only, 1314, but the year of the sheep is 1307 or 1319. If the identity of this abbot with the Ti shih of the Yüan *shih* is admitted we must conclude that this source is inaccurate in this case too. Perhaps instead of first year *Jé yu* we should read: sixth year, 1319.

954. Interpreters appear in the list of officials. See above p. 33.

955. gNam me'od, heavenly sacrifice, sacrifice to heaven. I do not think it should be understood literally, as if the Buddhist community sacrificed to the Mongols' heaven. Then, either *gnam* is understood as *gnam bskos* (he who is exalted by heaven's command), the Emperor, or this sentence refers to Mongol communities, settled in Ža lu territory and holding shamanic beliefs.

956. *dMag k'ra*.

957. *T's'an dam ka*. On these expression see above, PELLIOU'S article, n. 23.

958. *ats'er*. It has this meaning today too: inn, hotel.

959. *bdal po*. Cf.: *dal tsoñ, dal btsoñ*, to oblige people to buy by compulsion.

960. I. e. in Western Ža lu.

961. *Svo = sog*.

962. Born in 1299, died in 1327; but see the note on the list of the Ti shih.

963. *aGrim agrul*. See the corresponding expression in the Mongol letter and the note 7 by Pelliot. *Sñud = sñud len*.

964. *aJa mo c'en; aja mo = aja sa = a diploma*, i. e. to those who have a diploma.

965. He is the XII Sa skya pa dpon c'en, on whom see also note 672. I. e. according to the two methods: *c'os* and *k'rim's*, religious and civil law.

966. *dbaṅ c'e še mon ma gts'oñ; gts'oñ = mts'an, ats'an*.

967. On the prohibition of hunting and fishing see also rCyal rts'e's document; to fatten "yaks and horses,, in order to save them from requisitions and transports.

968. *rTsar byed du ajug pa; rtsad gcod byed pa*, to investigate.

969. This letter, written in Peking, is earlier than the Ti šiti return to Tibet, which took place in 1322. The year of the dragon can only be the year fire-dragon, 1316. The Ti šiti's early age can be no objection, the authority of these Sa skya chiefs, as we have seen, being purely nominal.

970. *sñad bdags pai adod c'au. adod c'au = k'a m'au*, to open a lawsuit.

971. *aBrel* for *brel*.

972. *sKyab gab*, protection-hidden, insidious; for *ajus ak'or* see note 940.

973. See letter V where we read: *dbaṅ c'e še mon ma gts'oñ*.

974. From: *ats'er*.

975. I. e. in the year *leags bya*, 1321.

976. For the same reasons stated above, this letter must have been written in the year wood-ox, 1325. On rDo rje dbaṅ p'yug of Ža lu see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, tables on p. 90 and genealogical tables down below.

977. 1310-1338, but he is not in the list of the Ti šiti. See above p. 253, n. 53.

978. I. e. from the four chief palaces of the Sa skya pa family.

979. I. e. *chao tao shih*; see above p. 33 and Chronicles of Blo bzān rgya mts'o, note 52.

980. Da ru k'a c'e is *darugaci*.

981. *K'rim's gcod = k'rim's dpon*.

982. Great monastery on the South-West of Ža lu.

983. Years 1336 or 1348, if the person, as it seems, is the one I have stated.

984. The beginning of this letter is illegible.

985. I. e. *Kriyā, caryā, yoga, anuttara*. See above p. 220.

986. *Blo p'ob*.

987. It is difficultes to establish the date of this letter; 1319, earth-sheep, is excluded, because at that time Buston would have been too young to

have reached such fame, and we must confine ourselves to 1331, iron-sheep, or rather to 1343, water-sheep, or 1355, wood-sheep. I would incline to this last date, because in the biography of Buston and of his successive incarnations, referred to above n. 586, there is an allusion to an invitation to go to China, which he received from T'o gan t'e mur after 1351: "above all the king of China T'o gan t'e mur sent ambassadors to him to invite him to go to China; however, considering the time had not yet come to convert the people of that country, he did not go... Mention of the same fact is in the biography by Rin c'en nram rgyal, p. 23. Another prince who invited him was Punyamalla of India (*ibid.*). This biography is inserted in the complete works of Buston, vol. 3n.

988. This is C'os dpal, mong, Čosbal prince of Chen hsi Wu ching 鎮西武靖 transcribed in our document as Cin svi 'u tsin. See HAMBIS, pp. 120, 122, n. 8 and p. 159 and PELLIOU, *ibid.*, n. 145.

989. On Kun dga' don grub see genealogical tables.

990. 1321 or 1333? If the reading Nan ro is exact the prince was in Tibet at that time.

991. I find no trace of him in the list of *kuo shih* mentioned in the *Ming shih*, nor in the Tibetan documents.

992. I. e. 1460. The *nien bao* is transcribed in Tibetan T'en sun.

993. I. e. to the T'ai si tu P'ag mo gru pa. The letter is contained in Buston's works, vol. La, p. 98.

994. On whom see above.

995. On this term see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 71. Though *žan* in *žan blon*, a name for minister since the royal times, may be based on Ch. *shung* 帥 (LAUFER, *Loan words*, p. 105), the meaning of uncle on the mother's side is supported by the fact that even in royal times ministers were often chosen from the mother's clan. This is the case with *sku žan* for instance, in a passage of the biography of Kun dga' bzan po', the founder of Nor, p. 3, stating that Klu rgyal mts'an of C'og ro was *sku žan* of the rGyal po c'en po. (The Sa skya - Ža lu intermarriages are known). Cf. BUSTON, *biTan agyur gyi dkar c'ag yid bžin nor bu dban gi rgyal poi p'ren*, p. 5 a: dPal ldan sa skya poi gduñ rgyud dri ma med pa pa rnam kyī skui žan par agyur pa. Later it was changed into a mere title.

*sku žan* is not a title belonging exclusively to Ža lu princes, see above p. 43. We know, for instance, *sku žan rin po c'e* Kun bzan rse pa, C'os kyi dban p'yug. Kun bzan rse is the name of the rTse t'an palace. (*Tse t'an gi kun bžan rterer bžugs pa*. Biogr. the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 47 b; *ibid.*, p. 66 b).

996. rGyal poi blo t'ub tu byas nas.

997. gNen dod.

998. sDe in the sense of territorial division.

999. K'yün Grags pa señ ge is the master alluded to above, p. 658.

1000. gNen dod byas.

1001. See above.

1002. Sided with, k'a bltas adug.

1003. This refers to the events mentioned f. i. by the fifth Dalai Lama.

1004. *Šes pa can yod par adug*.

1005. Mentioned in the Ža lu letters, VI and VII.

1006. Viz. the war between gTsañ (Sa skya) and dBus (Pag mo gru).

1007. Xylogr: gži.

1008. On this person see Blo bzan rgya mts'o's Chronicles, p. 636.

1009. Lag riñ.

1010. K'an sar la sogs kyī gros la ye t'e reg don gsum med: don gsum i. e. words, body, spirit.

K'an gar was a branch of the Sa skya pa; as we see in Blo bzan rgya mts'o's Chronicles, they killed a dPon c'en.

1011. Ka sañ de dus na; k'a sañ for k'a siñ.

1012. Unknown.

1013. Blo t'ub byas nas.

1014. One of the Sa skya pa branches. See p. 628.

1015. *Mo dben bral brul ts'an geig bsags yod pa*. *mo dben* is not in the dictionaries. But cf. *mo yan* (pr. *mo yen*) = tenant = *mi ser* in BELL, *English-Tibetan Colloquial dictionary*, and B. GOULD and H. E. RICHARDSON, *Tibetan-Word Book*. *Hrul* is ragged: troops badly equipped.

1016. rDzi bri doubtful. The meaning seems to be that everybody was ready to talk but nobody to act.

1017. Ne tso is a place-name or a personal name; see, for instance, DT, ja, p. 11.

1018. *Drim pa*, the T'ai siñ can be no other than Dar ma rgyal mts'an.

1019. *Na te dan te te med par gtsan*.

1020. Probably 1354, the date of the conquest of gTsañ by Byan c'ub rgyal mts'an.

1021. See above p. 188.

1022. Viz. the consecration took place by adding dhāraṇas to the relics of the Saint.

1023. In these verses the author employs the rhetorical figure called by Indian treatises *tattvāpahnavaarūpaka*. See DAÑḌIN, *Kavyādarśa*, II, p. 95.

1024. Moral and intellectual merit, action and gnosis.

1025. Vaiśravaṇa

1026. I. e. that of the mC'ims.

1027. A list of eight gifts is also known. Cf. *Abhidharmakosa*, transl. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, Ch. IV, p. 239.

1028. *mc'od sdon* is the bodhi tree.

1029. Probably: water, clothes, lamp, incense, flowers, *naivedya*.

1030. The 16 hills are the 16 aṭhat.

1031. For the most common mNon dga' ba = Abhirūti, Akṣobhya's paradise?

1032. In this case also the poet draws his inspiration from painting, as in the preceding poem.

1033. sNon po, like the Sanskrit *nīla*, means: dark blue, almost black.

1034. But in the first inscription: *zer dpon*.

1035. Śaḍābhāraṇa. Viz. Nāgārjuna, Aśaṅga, Āryadeva and other mahāyāna masters.

1036. *gYu c'u can*, literally with "turquoise water..."

1037. *acacia catechu*.

1038. The inscription is on a heavy club which, according to tradition, was used by the Kro p'u lotsāva.

1039. Ertoneous, for *aBre*, the name of a gTsañ family?

1040. For *glañ rag*.

1041. The formula which follows in the text is a mantra.

1042. Viz. the painted walls.

1043. I. e. Kri ston lde btsan; the Bodhisattva is Śāntiraksita.

1044. See below Appendix two.

1045. Doubtful: perhaps Don bzan?

1046. Pir t'og. On this word see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 31.

1047. aBrōñ t'og, perhaps prince of aBrōñ rse.

1048. I. e. the monastery.

1049. This alludes to the patron and donor.

1050. I. e. the artist.

1051. Šar pa Šes rab aḅyūñ gnas was in charge of Sa skya monastery, while Sa skya pañdita had gone to meet Godan. So this lamp was brought to Nor from Sa skya and therefore the year *sa sbrul* is probably 1269. But how can this agree with the date of foundation of Nor? Is the first part of the inscription a later addition?

1052. This should be the silver casing of the shell, but the meaning of the word is unknown to me; *c'u cin* is probably a mistake for *c'u srin t'og*; this word is not to be found in dictionaries, which as a synonym of shell, give, beside *žan k'a* and *gdun*, also *c'u srin gñed*.

1053. *Lba agar* for *lba mgar*; *pun mo ts'a* for *dpon mo c'e*, on which see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part II, p. 140.



# GENEALOGICAL TABLES

TABLE I - SA SKYA PA

dKon me'og rgyal po (DT, *ñā*, fol. 4) b. in the year *ñin k'yi*, 1034;  
founds the monastery of Sa skya in the year *c'u glañ*, 1073; † *c'u rta*, 1102

Sa c'en, Kun dga' sñin po, b. *c'u spreu*, 1092; † *sa stag*, 1158

Kun dga' abar, † in India      Slob dpon (Rin po c'e)<sup>1)</sup> bSod nams  
rtse mo, b. *c'u k'yi*, 1142; † *c'u stag*, 1182      rTse bisan rje btsun Crag pa rgyal  
mts'an, b. *me yos*, 1147; † *me byi*, 1216      dPal c'en 'od po, b. *lcags*  
*rta*, 1150; † *c'u pag*, 1203

C'os rje Sa skya Pañ c'en Kun dga' rgyal mts'an (KLOÑ RDOL, II, p. 12 a), b. *c'u stag*, 1182; in the year *ñin obrug*, 1244, meets Go dan;<sup>2)</sup> † *lcags p'ag*, 1251. While he was in China the government was in the hands of Sar pa Ses rab abyun gnas, 'U yug pai rig pa señ ge, Šā kya bzañ po (Chronicles, p. 48 a ff.)

Zaṅs ts'a bSod nams rgyal mts'an, b. *ñin obrug*, 1184; † *sa p'ag*, 1239

5 wives

Kun sñin (Buston); (5th Dalai Lama: Kun [dga'] skyid)

Jo mo aBro; (5th Dalai Lama: Grom; Chronicles: aGro ma)

Lha gcig mdzes ma of Guñ t'an br

Ma ma aGro mgon aP'ags pa, b. *ñin lug*, 1235; when his father was 52 years old, *lcags spreu*, 1260, title from Qubdai (Se c'en); *ñin glañ*, 1265, back to Tibet; *sa sbrul*, 1269, in China; *me byi*, 1276, to Sa skya; *me glañ*, 1277, gathers a council; † *lcags obrug*, 1280

P'yag na (rdo rje), b. *sa p'ag*, 1239; 6 years old goes to China; † *me yos*, 1267

sLob dpon Rin c'en rgyal mts'an (dpal bzañ po), b. *sa k'yi*, 1238; † *sa yos*, 1279;<sup>3)</sup> regent of the see while his brother was away

sLob dpon ma bSod nams abum

Dharmapālarakṣita, b. *sa obrug*, 1268; † *me p'ag*, 1287  
After him Šar pa aJam dbyaṅs c'en po on the see (Chronicles, pp. 107 b, 109 a)

sMan rtse ma  
a son dies young  
(Chronicles, p. 112 a)

Mod gam; (or Mu dgan: uncertain reading) sister (nam)

Ma geig dañ po (from Mañ mk'ar sog spe, p. 113 a)

Nam mk'a' rgyal mo<sup>5)</sup> from Glañ mts'oi na spe ma (p. 114 b)

Kun dga' nan

dBan bSod nams bzañ po

Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po, born *sa pag*, 1299; † *me yos*, 1327; when 11 years old (*sa bya*, 1309) goes to China; at 24 (*c'u k'yi*, 1322) back to Tibet. Is Tisri

ñŽI-TOG BRANCH (later on called c'u mig): mK'as bts'un c'en po Nam mk'a' legs pai rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po, b. in Lha rtse, when his father was 44 (*ñin sbrul*, 1305); from Ku ša la yo t'ug (HAMBIS, p. 136) gets the rock-crystal seal and the title of *Kuan tin gu šri*; he marries dGe aḍun abum daughter of a K'añ gzar pa

Nam mk'a' bies güen, dies young

Gu šri Nam mk'a' rgyal mts'an dpal bzañ po, b. *c'u byi*, 1312; goes to China; elected chaplain; † at 20 (p. 115 a)<sup>6)</sup>

Ti šri Kun dga' leg rgyal mts'an dpal bz 1308; † at 34; born as his brother of the founder of Dus

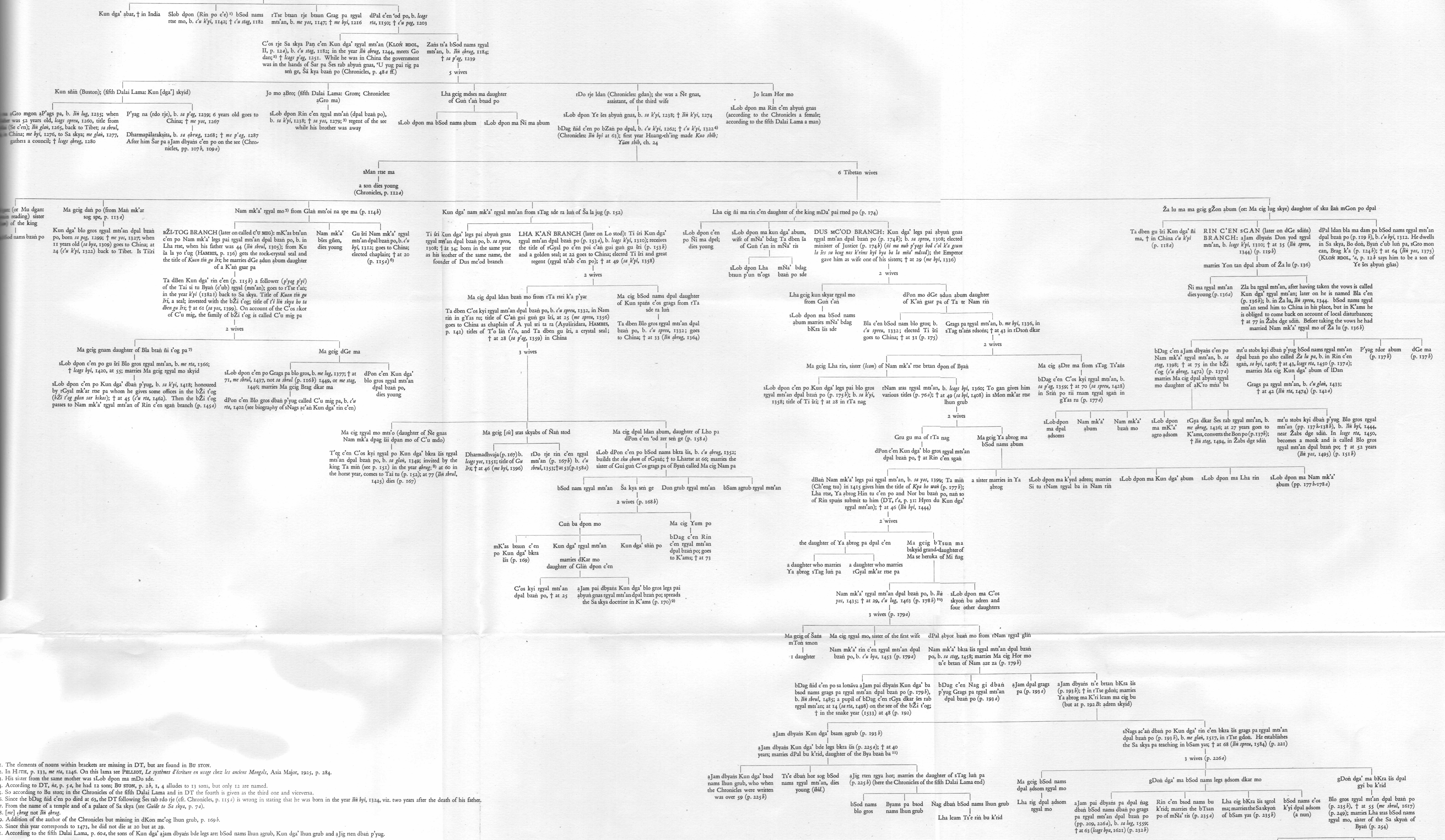
Ta dBen Kun dga' rin c'en (p. 115 b) a follower (*p'yag p'yi*) of the Tai si tu Byaṅ (c'ub) rgyal (mts'an); goes to rTse t'an; in the year *k'yi* (1382 i) back to Sa skya. Title of *Kuan tin gu*



TABLE I - SA SKYA PA

dKlon me'og rgyal po (DT, III, fol. 4) b. in the year *sh'nyi*, 1034; founds the monastery of Sa skya in the year *c'u glan*, 1073; † *c'u rta*, 1102

Sa c'en, Kun dga' shün po, b. *c'u spreu*, 1092; † *sa stag*, 1158



1. The elements of nouns within brackets are missing in DT, but are found in BU STON.
2. In HIRTH, p. 133, me rta, 1246. On this lama see PELLIOU, Le systéme d'écriture en usage chez les anciens Mongols, Asia Major, 1925, p. 284.
3. His sister from the same mother was sLob dpon ma mDo sde.
4. According to DT, III, p. 54, he had 12 sons; BU STON, p. 23, 1, 4 alludes to 13 sons, but only 12 are named.
5. So according to BU STON, in the Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama and in DT the fourth is given as the third one and viceversa.
6. Since the bDag nid c'en po died at 63, the DT following Sen rab rdo rje (cf. Chronicles, p. 1154) is wrong in stating that he was born in the year *sh'nyi*, 1324, viz. two years after the death of his father.
7. From the name of a temple and of a palace of Sa skya (see GUILLE, p. 70).
8. [sic] *sh'nyi* not *sh'nyig*.
9. Addition of the author of the Chronicles but missing in dKlon me'og lhun grub, p. 169 b.
10. Since this year corresponds to 1473, he did not die at 20 but at 29.
11. According to the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 604, the sons of Kun dga' aJam dbyāns bde legs are: bSod nams lhun grub, Kun dga' lhun grub and aJig rten dban p'nyug.





TABLE II - TS'AL PA

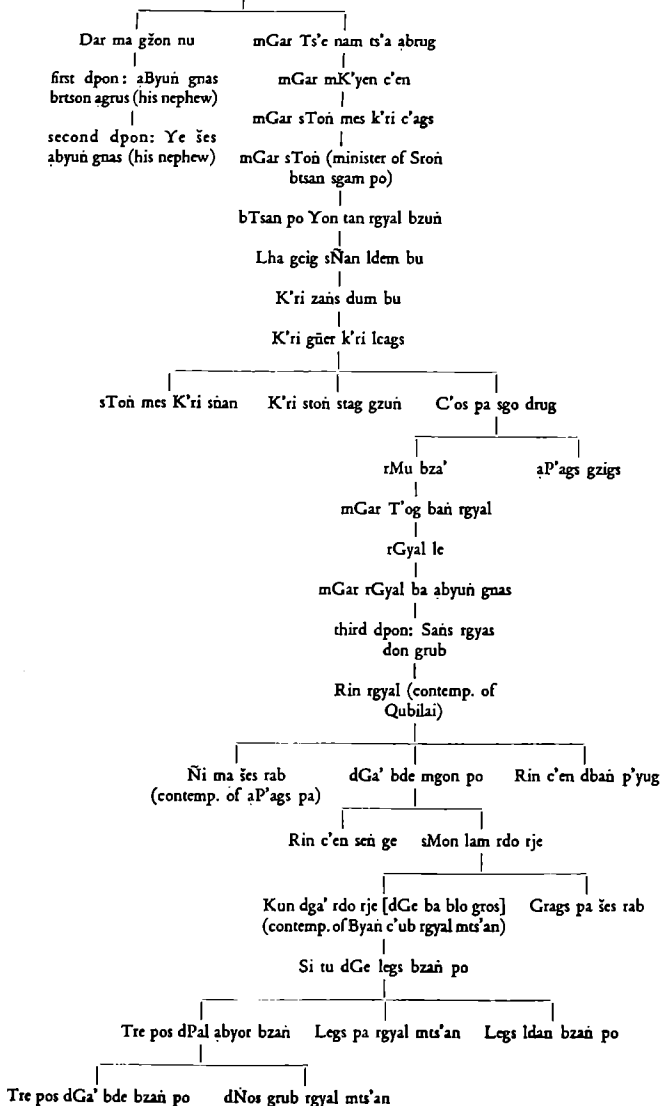
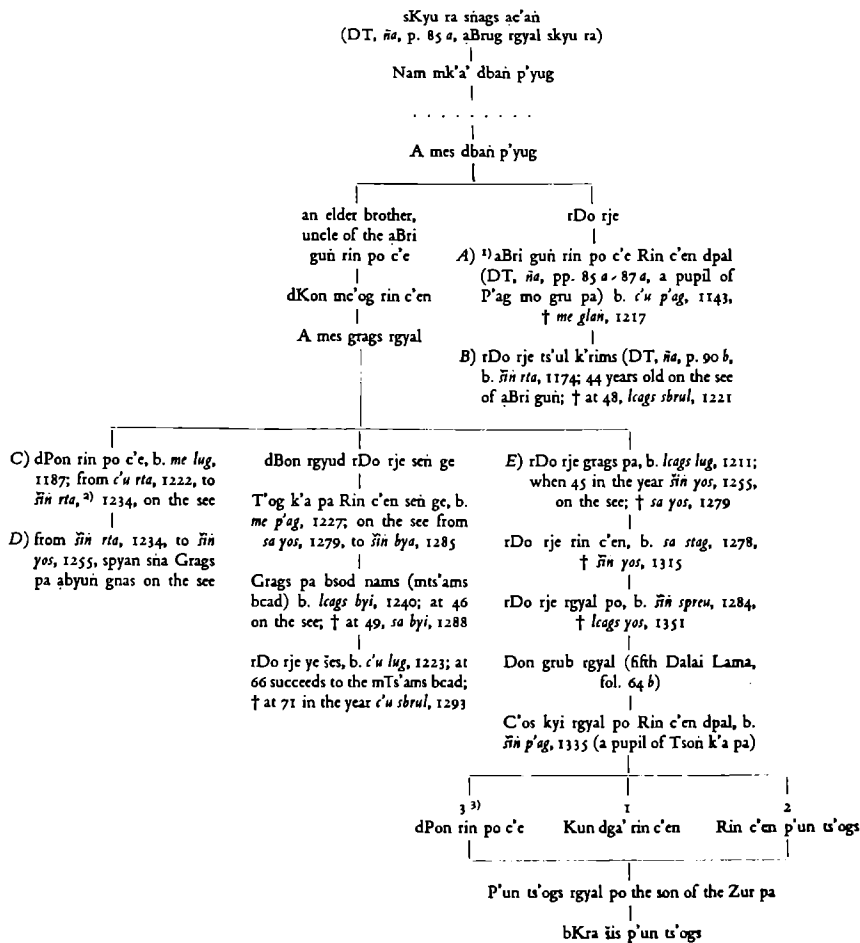
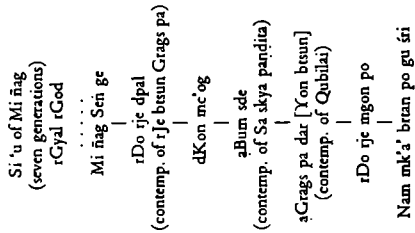


TABLE III - ABRI GUN PA



1. Letters indicate order of succession. - 2. *šin k'yi* of the text seems to be a mistake. - 3. The numbers show the order of succession.

TABLE IV - BYAN



Rin c'en rgyal mts'an Nam mk'a' rin c'en

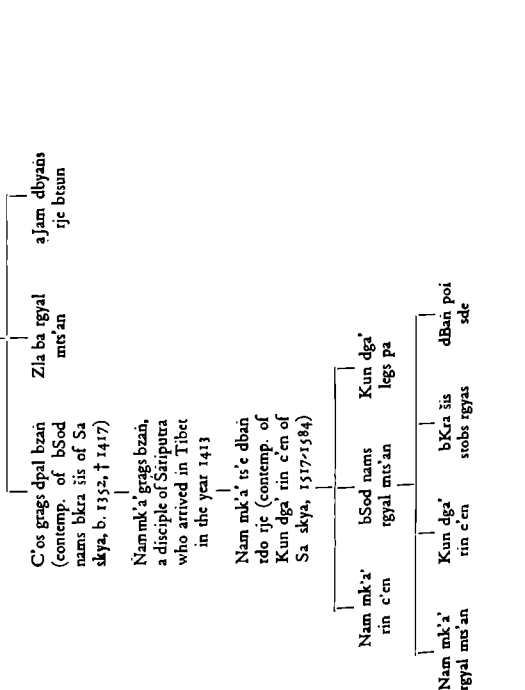


TABLE V - RIN SPUNS

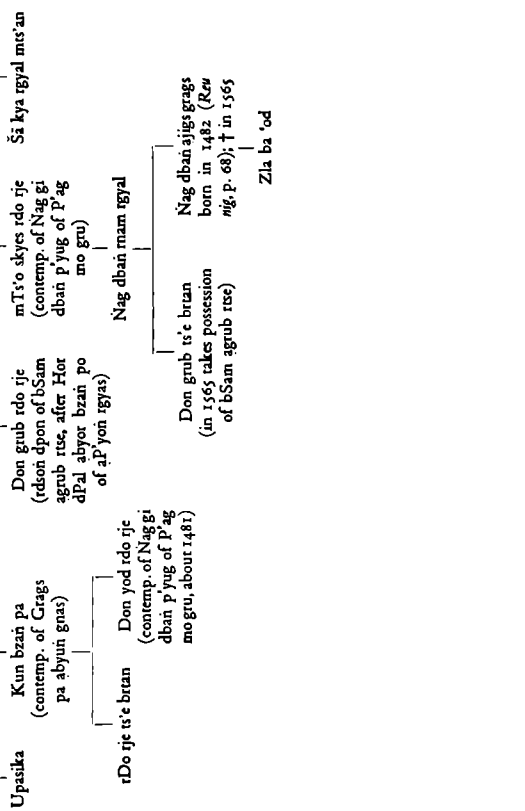
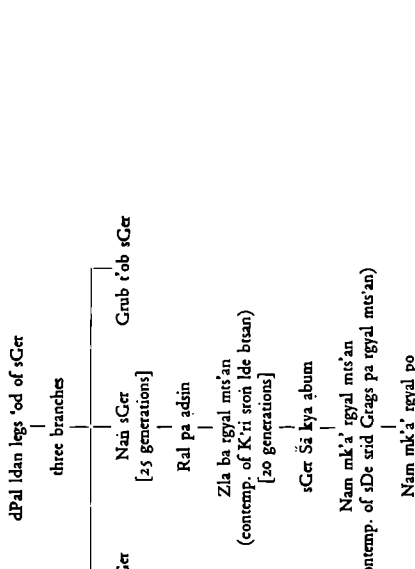
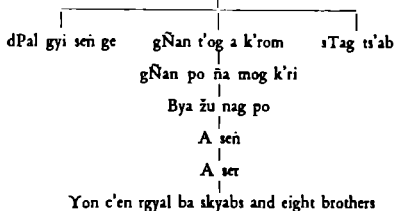


TABLE VI - P'AG MO GRU PA

Byañ c'ub rdo rje (adre ak'ol) marries sKal ldan ma



1st wife: aBro ldog bza'

2nd wife: De gu ma

3rd wife: aBro bza' Ye ses mts'o

Spyan sna Grags pa abyunñ Sañs rgyas rgyal  
 gnas, b. ññ lug, 1175; † ññ  
 yu, 1255, 81 years old (DT,  
 ña, pp. 74a, 77 b) [1]

rGyal ba rin po c'e, b. c'u pag, 1203; in the  
 year ññ lug, 1235, comes to the see (= Grags  
 pa brtson agrus [DT, ña, p. 78 a]); founds  
 T'el bzañ [2], † 1267

bCu gñis rgyal ba Rin c'en rdo  
 rje, b. sa stag, 1218; † leags abrug,  
 1280, 63 years old (ñsa, p. 78 a-b) [3]

Spyan sna Grags pa ye ses (contemp. of aP'ags  
 Rin c'en pa) b. leags byi, 1240; comes to the see  
 in the year leags sbrul, 1281; † sa byi,  
 1288, 49 years old (DT, ña, p. 78 b) [4]

Grags pa rin c'en [gñis mc'od pa] elected Ti  
 řri by Tämür; he is Bla dpon, b. leags k'yi,  
 1250, comes to the see in the year sa glan,  
 1289; † leags k'yi, 1310 (DT, ña, p. 79 a) [5]

Rin c'en  
 skyabs [7]  
 2 wives

Žañ lcām ma

K'ri smon abum skyid

rGyal mts'an Grags pa rgyal mts'an, b. c'u sbrul, 1293,  
 dpal bzañ po comes to the see in the year leags k'yi;  
 [6] † leags byi, 1360, 68 years old; known as  
 C'os bži pa rñin ma (DT, ña, p. 79 a-b)

Grags pa T'ai si tu Byañ c'ub rgyal mts'an  
 bzañ po [8] 1st Lha btsun, b. 1302; my-  
 riarch in 1334; in the year 1351  
 founds the monastery of rTse t'an

Grags pa ses rab (bcu gñis  
 gsar ma), b. leags k'yi, 1310;  
 † leags k'yi, 1370 at 61  
 (DT, ña, pp. 79 b-80 a)

bSod nams  
 bzañ po [a]<sup>1)</sup>  
 2 wives

Ñi ru ma

Mañ ñam

aJam dbyañs gu řri (Ša kya rgyal mts'an) [9]  
 (contemp. of Bu ston) 2nd Lha btsun: is  
 made Kuo shih by the Yüan; same title by  
 the Ming in 1372

Ša kya rin pa [c]  
 [10 a]

Rin c'en [b] rdo rje  
 2 wives

Zin bKra řis skyid

Do brag ma rin c'en ats'o

Grags pa rin c'en, b. 1349,  
 † at 19 in the year 1367,  
 me lug (DT, Ba, p. 10 a)

C'os bži pa (gsar ma) (Grags  
 pa byan c'ub) 3rd Lha btsun,  
 b. me spreu, 1356; † me stag,  
 1386 no mention in the Ming  
 shih. Probably he died soon  
 after the election [10]

bSod nams grags 4th Lha btsun, b. sa p'ag,  
 1359; comes to the see sa spre, 1368; then  
 he goes to T'el me stag, 1386; † sa byi, 1408  
 (DT, ña, pp. 80 b-81 a; ba, p. 10 a); made  
 kuan ting; in the year 1388, abdicates in  
 favour of Grags pa rgyal mts'an (Ming shih)

marries Zin rin c'en adsom

Goñ ma Grags pa rgyal mts'an (dpal bzañ  
 po) 5th Lha btsun (according to Ming shih  
 † 1440), b. ññ stig, 1374 (DT, ba, p. 10 a);  
 in the year leags bya, 1381, on the see of  
 rTse t'an; in ññ glun, 1385, goes to the  
 capital [11]. He is called: C'os rgyal

Byañ c'ub rdo rje (bKa' gdams pa c'os  
 abyunñ, p. 93 b),  
 b. me sbrul, 1377;  
 † sa spre, 1428

sPyan sna dPal ldan  
 bzañ po (Grags pa  
 blo gros), b. c'u pag,  
 1383, † me p'ag, 1407,  
 at 24 (DT, ña, p. 81 a)

bSod nams bzañ  
 po, b. leag spreu,  
 1380; † she (in the  
 text ññ) spreu,  
 1416, at 36 (DT,  
 ña, p. 81 a-b)

sPyan sna bSod  
 nams (rgyal mts'an),  
 b. me stag, 1386;  
 † ññ stag, 1434 (DT,  
 ña, pp. 81 b-84 a)  
 1st gDun rgyud  
 adsin pa according to Ming shih

Goñ ma Grags pa abyunñ gnas  
 [12], b. ññ rta, 1414; † in the  
 year ññ byi, 1444, 6th Lha btsun

Kun dga' legs [c] from the year ññ byi, 1444, is  
 nañ so of rTse t'an, in the year sa abrug, 1448,  
 goes to the capital (DT, ba, p. 10 b), † 1457

Rin c'en rdo rje dbañ gyi rgyal po [f] (or rgyal  
 mts'an) (second adun rgyud adsin pa) in the  
 year me p'ag, 1467, on the see of rTse t'an

Nag gi dbañ p'yug [g] b. 1439 (DT, ña, C'os kyi grags pa  
 p. 84 b); † about 1495 [14] Lha btsun

Nag dbañ bKra řis grags pa [b] first mi rje,  
 b. about 1480; in 1537 he is in relation  
 with dGe adun rgya mts'o, † 1564

Gro bai mgon po [i] second mi rje, goes to Goñ dkar sPyan sna Zur branch  
 Branch of dGoñ ri Grags pa abyunñ of sNeu gdon

Goñ ma Nag dbañ grags pa rgyal mts'an  
 third mi rje (contemp. of bSod nams rgya  
 mts'o who meet him in 1569) [l]

bKa' brgyud rnam par rgyal fourth mi rje [m] rNam rgyal grags pa  
 bSod nams dbañ p'yug grags pa rnam rgyal  
 fifth mi rje [n] in 1600-1601 sends envoys  
 in Mongolia to meet Yon tan rgya mts'o

<sup>1)</sup> With the letters *a-n* the adun rgyud adsin pa are marked;  
 according to Klön rdol, 'a, p. 14: bSod nams bzañ po; Rin c'en rdo  
 rje; Ša kya rin c'en; Sañs rgyas rgyal mts'an; Kun dga' legs pa; dbañ  
 gi rgyal po; Nag gi dbañ po; bKra řis grags pa; aGro bai mgon po;  
 Nag dbañ grags pa; bKa' brgyud rnam rgyal; bSod nams dbañ p'yug.



TABLE VII - AP'YON' RGYAS

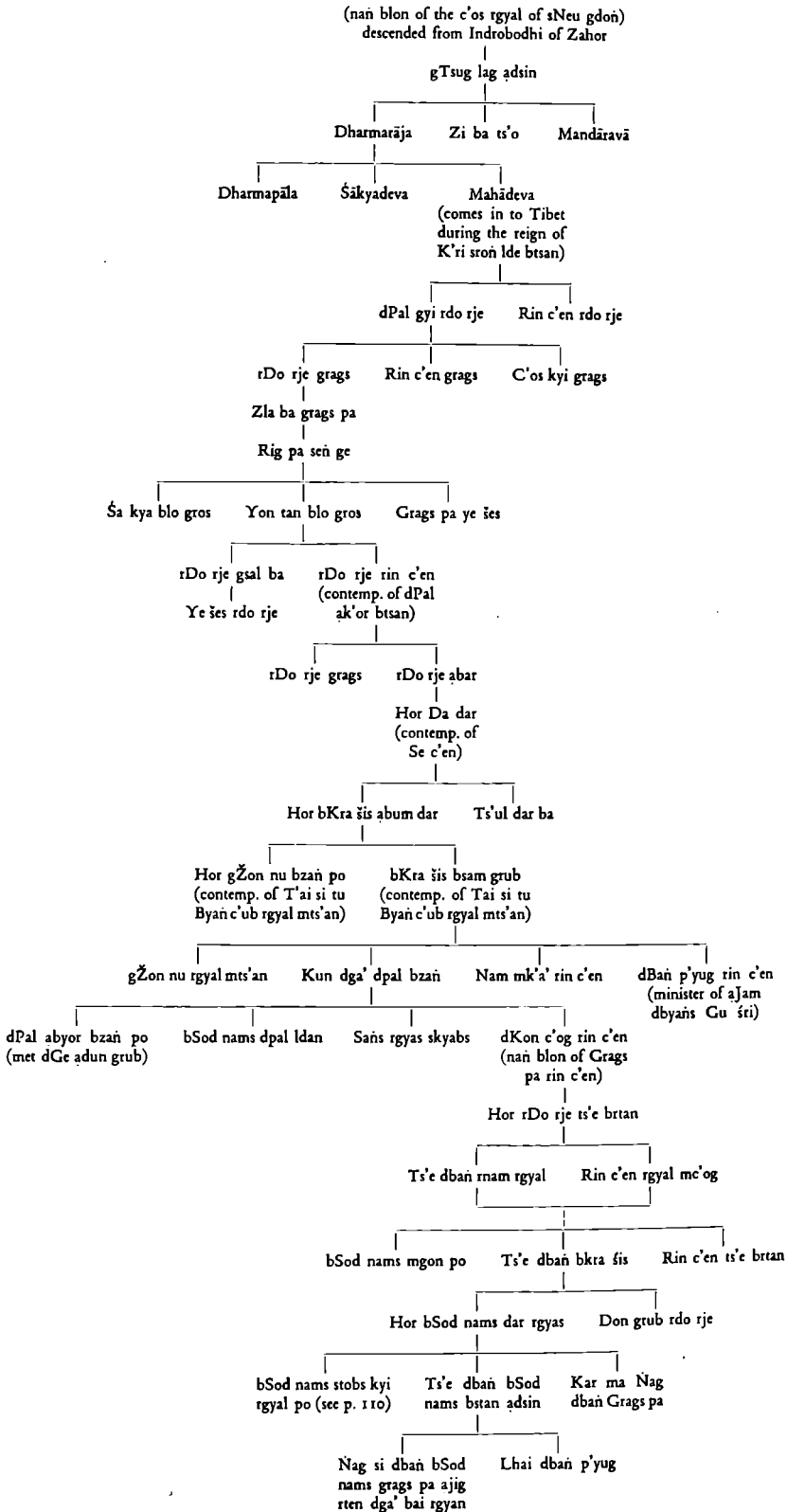






TABLE XIII - BYA BA

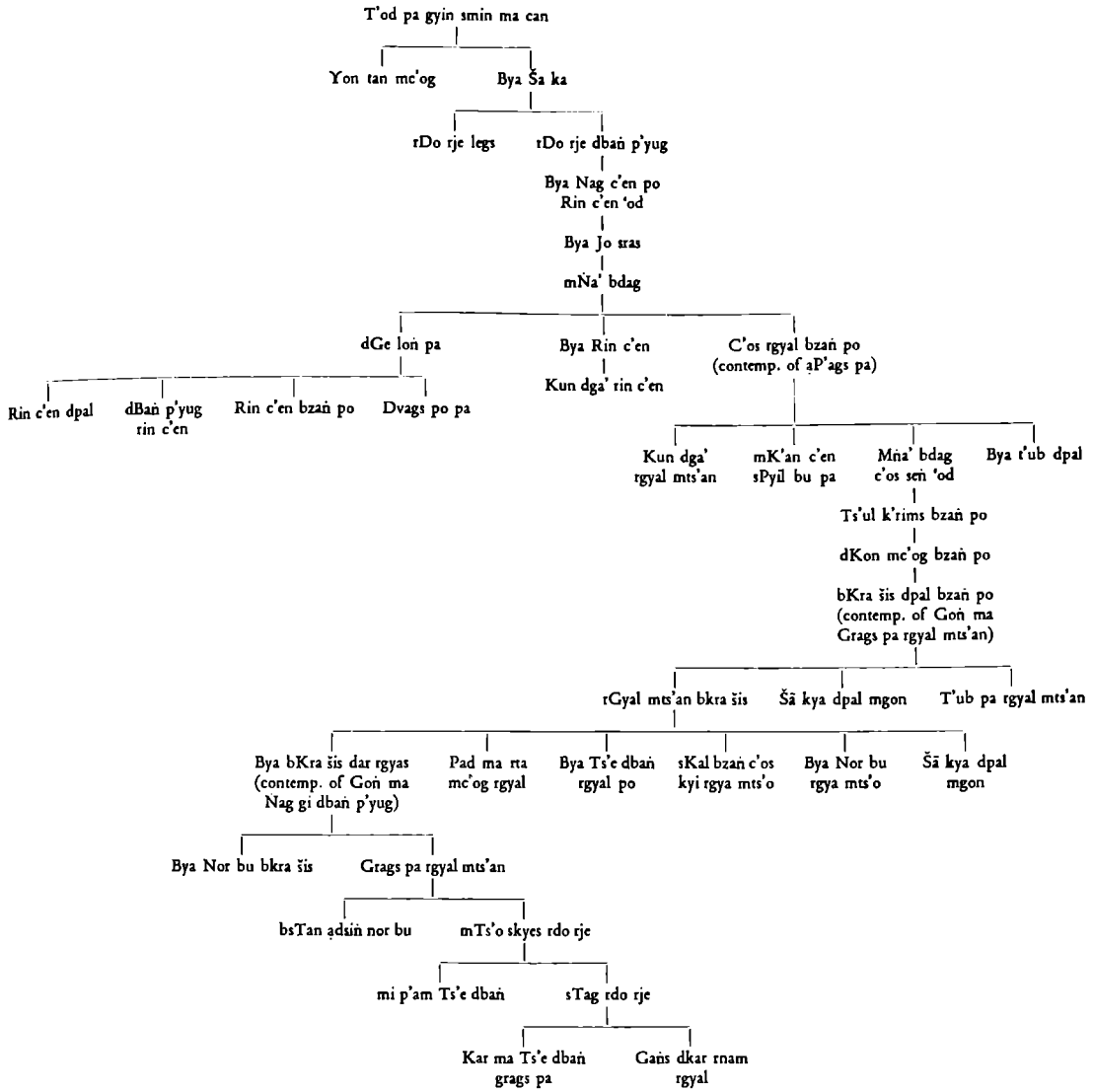


TABLE XIV - DGA' LDAN

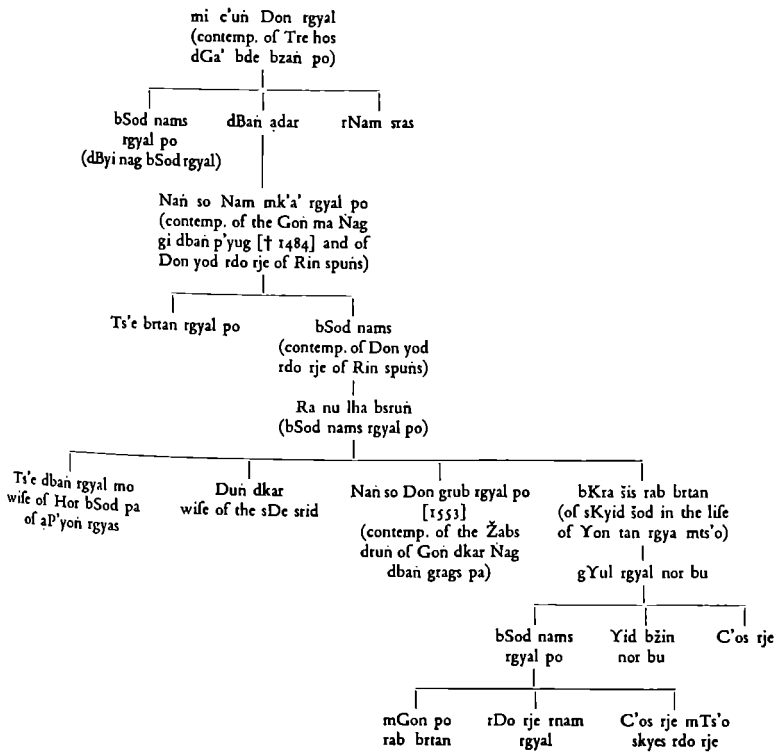
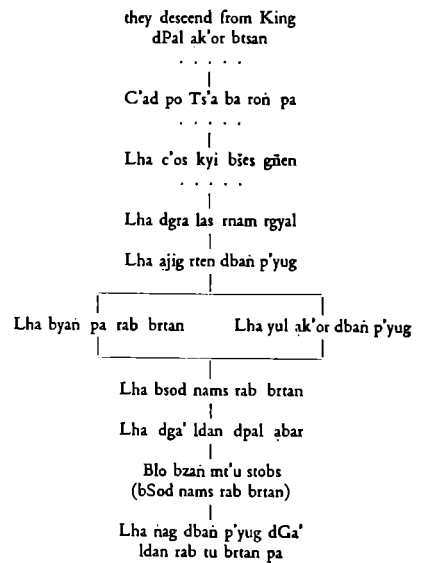


TABLE XV - LHA RGYA RI





## A) DPON C'EN SA SKYA PA

Ša kya bzañ po  
Kun dga' bzañ po  
Žan btsun  
P'yug po sgañ (fifth Dalai Lama:  
dBan) dkar po  
Byañ c'ub rin c'en  
Kun dga' g'zon nu  
g'Žon dban  
Byañ c'ub rin c'en  
Ag len  
g'Žon dbañ again  
Legs pa dpal  
Sen ge dpal  
'Od zer señ ge  
Kun dga' rin c'en  
Don yod dpal

Yon btsun  
'Od zer señ ge  
rGyal ba bzañ po (*Xuan sbib*,  
chap. 32, year 1333 elected  
*Hsuan wei sbib*)  
dBan p'yug dpal  
bSod nams dpal  
rGyal ba bzañ } against Byañ  
po again } c'ub rgyal  
dBan brtson } mts'an  
Nam mk'a' rab brtan  
Grags pa rgyal mts'an  
dPal abum  
Blo c'en  
Grags pa dbañ po

## B) THE SGOM C'EN OF ABRI GUÑ

rDo rje señ ge  
Ša kya rin c'en  
Byañ ie  
Byañ c'ub  
sPañ ras  
C'os señ ge  
Rin c'en señ ge

Ša kya dar  
Rin c'en grags  
Ye šes dpal  
Rin c'en rdo rje  
Kun dga' rin c'en  
Ša kya bzañ po

## C) ABBOTS ON THE SEE OF RTSE T'AN' (cfr. DT, ba, pp. 9b-10b)

1351, the monastery is founded. aJam pai dbyañs Ša kya rgyal mts'an at 13 on the see, at 26 goes to the palace of sNeu gdon.  
1365 (*šin sbrul*), Grags pa rin c'en at 17 on the see.  
1367 (*me lug*), he dies.  
1368 (*sa spre*), sLob dpon aJam sñon pa.  
1368 (about the end), bSod nams grags pa, at 10 on the see.  
1381 (*leags bya*), he goes to the palace. Grags pa rgyal mts'an at 8 on the see.  
1385 (*šin glañ*), he goes to the palace. Byañ c'ub rdo rje on the see.  
1428, Grags pa abyun gnas at 15 on the see.  
1432 (*c'u byi*), he goes to the palace.  
1444 (*šin bya*), Kun dga' legs abyun gnas becomes *nai so* of rTse c'añ.  
1448 (*sa abrug*), he passes to the palace. Sañs rgyas rgyal mts'an, as *nai so*, rules on rTse c'añ.  
1457 (*me glañ*), he dies.  
1467, rDo rje rin c'en dbañ gi rgyal mts'an on the see.

## D) ABBOTS OF DGA' LDAN

(from *Vai ñi rya ser po*, p. 58 ff.)

1. Tsoñ k'a pa.  
2. Dar ma rin c'en, rGyal ts'ab, b. *šin abrug*, 1364, on the throne in year *sa p'ag* of the seventh cycle, 1419, † *c'u byi*, 1432.  
3. dGe legs dpal bzañ po, b. *šin glañ* of sixth cycle, 1385,<sup>1)</sup> † *sa rta*, 1438.  
4. Ža lu pa Legs pa rgyal mts'an, b. *šin yos*, 1375, † *leags rta*, 1450.  
5. Blo gros c'os skor, b. *sa sbrul*, 1389, † *c'u lug*, 1463.  
6. C'os kyi rgyal mts'an, b. *c'u rta*, 1402, † *c'u sbrul*, 1473.  
7. Blo gros brtan pa, b. *c'u rta*, 1402, † *sa k'yi*, 1474.  
8. sMon lam dpal, b. *šin rta*, 1414, opposes Don yod rdo rje of Rin spuñs, † *leags p'ag*, 1491.  
9. Blo bzañ ñi ma, b. *sa lug*, 1439, † *c'u byi*, 1492.  
10. C'os rje Ye šes bzañ po, b. *šin lug*, 1415, † *sa rta*, 1498.  
11. aDar ston Blo bzañ grags, b. *sa bya*, 1429, † *leags lug*, 1511.  
12. aJam dbyañs šes rab dan legs pai blo gros, b. *leags rta*, 1450, in the year *leags lug* of the ninth cycle, 1511, on the see, † *leags stag*, 1530.

13. C'os rje C'os kyi bšes gñen, b. *c'u bya*, 1453, † *leags byi*, 1540, *zur bžug viz.* as supplementary abbot.  
14. Rin c'en 'od zer, b. *c'u bya*, 1453, † *leags byi*, 1540,<sup>2)</sup> *zur bžug*.  
15. Pañ c'en bSod nams grags pa, b. *sa k'yi*, 1478, † *šin stag*, 1554, *zur bžug*.  
16. C'os skyon rgya mts'o, b. *c'u sbrul*, 1473, † *sa p'ag*, 1539.  
17. rDo rje bzañ po, b. *leags p'ag*, 1511, in the year *me rta*, 1546, on the throne, † *šin stag*, 1554.  
18. rGyal mts'an bzañ po, † *sa spreu*, 1548.  
19. Nağ dbañ c'os grags, b. *leags bya*, 1501, in *sa spreu*, 1548, on the see, † *leags p'ag*, 1551.  
20. C'os grags bzañ po, † *sa lug*, 1559.  
21. 'Ol dga' Cyañ gsaar dGe legs dpal bzañ, b. *šin glañ*, 1505, † *me yos*, 1567.  
22. dGe adun bstan pa dar rgyas, b. *c'u glañ*, 1493, † *sa abrug*, 1568.  
23. Ts'e brtan rgya mts'o, b. *leags abrug*, 1520, † *me bya*, 1576.  
24. Byams pa rgya mts'o, b. *me byi*, 1516 on the see in the year *šin p'ag*, 1575, † *leags stag*, 1590.  
25. dPal abyor rgya mts'o, b. *me k'yi*, 1526, in *sa glañ*, 1589, *zur bžug*, in rGyal mk'ar rts'e, † *sa p'ag*, 1599.  
26. Dam c'os dpal abar, b. *c'u lug*, 1523, in the year *sa glañ*, 1589, on the see, † *sa p'ag*, 1599.  
27. Sañs rgyas rin c'en, b. *leags byi*, 1540, † *c'u byi*, 1612.  
28. dGe adun rgyal mts'an, b. *c'u abrug*, 1532, † *me lug*, 1607, *zur bžug*.  
29. bŠes gñen grags pa, b. *me rta*, 1546, † *sa rta*, 1618.  
30. Blo gros rgya mts'o, b. *me rta*, 1546, † *sa rta* 1618.  
31. Dam c'os dpal, b. *me rta*, 1546, † *leags spre*, 1620.  
32. Ts'ul k'rims c'os ap'el, b. *leags bya*, 1561, † *c'u p'ag*, 1623.  
33. Grags pa rgya mts'o, b. *šin yos*, 1555, † *me yos*, 1627.  
34. Nağ dbañ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an, b. *šin p'ag*, 1575, on the see in *me yos* of 11th cycle, 1627, † *sa sbrul*, 1629.  
35. aJam dbyañs dkon mc'og c'os ap'el, b. *c'u bya*, 1573, † *me k'yi*, 1646.  
36. Koñ po bstañ adsin legs, † *šin abrug*, 1664.  
37. dGe adun rin c'en.  
38. bsTan pa rgyal mts'an.  
39. dKon mc'og c'os bzañ.  
40. dPal ldan rgyal mts'an.  
41. Blo bzañ rgyal mts'an.  
42. Blo bzañ dar, † *sa rta*, 1678.  
43. Byams pa bkra šis, b. *rta*, † *šin byi*, 1684.  
44. Blo gros rgya mts'o, b. *šin pag*, 1635.  
45. aJam dbyañ ts'ul k'rims dar rgyas, b. *c'u spre*, 1632, in the year *šin glañ* on the thone, 1685.  
46. bSam blo bbyin pa rgya mts'o, b. *spre*.

1. In the text wrongly seventh cycle.  
2. Evidently there is a mistake, the dates of C'os kyi bšes gñen being attributed to Rin c'en 'od zer.

## E) ABBOTS OF ABRAS SPUNŠ

(*Vai ñi rya ser po*, p. 85)

1. aJam dbyañs c'os rje bkra šis, b. *sa lug* of sixth cycle, 1379, † *sa sbrul*, 1449.  
2. dPal ldan señ ge.  
3. Rin c'en byañ c'ub.  
4. Blo bzañ ñi ma.  
5. Blo bzañ grags pa.  
6. Ša kya rin c'en.  
7. Smon lam dpal legs pai blo gros.  
8. Les pa c'os abyor.  
9. Yon tan rgya mts'o, b. *c'u p'ag*, 1443, † at 79.  
10. dByans can bžad pa dGe adun rgya mts'o dpal bzañ, b. *šin lug*, 1475, † *c'u stag*, 1542.  
11. bSod nams grags pa, the same as n. 15 of dGa' ldan.  
12. bSod nams rgya mts'o.  
13. Yon tan rgya mts'o.  
14. Blo bzañ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an, b. *leags rta*, 1570, † *c'u stag* of the eleventh cycle, 1662.  
15. 'Od zer kem ap'ags dpal brtogs rgyal po (fifth Dalai Lama).  
16. Ts'ans dbyañs rgya mts'o (sixth Dalai Lama).

F) ABBOTS OF SE RA  
(*Vai dū rya ser po*, p. 112)

1. Byams c'en c'os rje Śa kya ye ũe.
2. Śa kya ts'ul k'rimś.
3. C'os rje rgyal mts'an bzañ po, b. *c'u p'ag*, † *leags rta*.
4. bKra ũis rgya mts'o.
5. Rin c'en blo gros señ ge.
6. C'os rje aduľ adsin pa.
7. Lha p'u c'os rje.
8. dPal abyor lhun grub, b. *me lug*, † *ññ k'yi*.
9. Mañ t'os dPal ldan blo gros, b. *leags glañ*, 1421, on the see, † *ññ byi*, 1444.
10. aJam dbyańs don yod dpal ldan, b. *ññ glañ*, 1445, † *ññ spre*, 1524.
11. dGe adun rgya mts'o.
12. C'os kyi rgyal mts'an.
13. bSod nams grags pa (dGa' ldan).
14. C'os grags bzañ po.

15. bSod nams rgya mts'o.
16. sTon ak'or c'os rje.
17. Yon tan rgya mts'o.
18. dBen sa pañ c'en Blo bzañ c'os kyi rgyal mts'an.
19. Bla ma lña pa.
20. Tsañ dbyańs rgya mts'o.

G) DALAI LAMAS

1. dGe adun grub pa, 1391-1474.
2. dGe adun rgya mts'o, 1475-1542.
3. bSod nams rgya mts'o, 1543-1588.
4. Yon tan rgya mts'o, 1589-1616.
5. Nlag dbań blo bzañ rgya mts'o, 1617-1682.
6. Ts'ans dbyańs rgya mts'o, 1683-1706.
7. sKal bzañ rgya mts'o, 1708-1757.



# APPENDICES



## BYAN C'UB RGYAL MTS'AN'S PREDECESSORS

The P'ag mo gru pa myriarchy was one of the largest in Tibet and moreover it ruled over those places which had been the cradle of Tibetan history. According to the census contained in the *rGya bod yig ts'ān*, the P'ag mo gru myriarchy comprised 2438 families; according to S. CH. DAS (*A short history of the House 'Phagdu*, JRASB, 1905, p. 202) it included also Taglung and the land North of the environs of Tengri nor. I am not in a condition to verify the accuracy of S. Ch. Das, but it is certain that sTag lun appears as an independent *k'ri skor*, although the small number of families it contained (500 in all) may have induced the Chinese administration to incorporate it with P'ag mo gru. S. Ch. Das's information is perhaps taken from the *rGya bod yig ts'ān*, or from some source which followed that text very closely; as this information is quite confused, it must be put in order in the light of the sources I have collected.

First of all those relations, as between colleagues, which for a long time closely bound the ḡBri guñ abbots to those of P'ag mo gru, clearly appear: both were the heads of great monasteries hailing back to the same mystical currents; united by the same spiritual descent, they left political power respectively in the hands of the sGom pa and of the myriarchs.

The religious supremacy of the ḡBri guñ convent over that of the P'ag mo gru also stood, in an early period, for political superiority. While the P'ag mo gru abbots followed one another, beginning with Grags pa ḡbyuñ gnas, according to the succession mentioned by the fifth Dalai Lama, political power was entrusted to various myriarchs who, like the dPon c'en Sa skya pa and the sGom pa of the ḡBri guñ pa, were elected anew every time, chosen among the local aristocracy or the families related to it, under influences it is not easy to identify now.

The first myriarch whose memory has come down to us is the one elected, with the consent of Tibetan lay and religious communities, by the sGom pa Sa kya rin c'en (S. Ch. Das: Gompa Shagrin); he is sGom brTson, that is sGom pa brTson ḡgrus (S. Ch. Das: Gom tson); hence it is clear that the first P'ag mo gru myriarchs had the same title as those of ḡBri guñ.

sGom pa brTson ḡgrus, with the Mongols' favour, would have built the myriarchal house (*k'ri k'ān*) of Ts'ōn ḡdus brag k'a (S. Ch. Das: Tshongdu-tāgkhar); but his administration having proved unsatisfactory, rGyal ba rin c'en had him discharged and elected in his place rDo rje dpal, a native of rKañ bži in K'ams. According to Das, rDo rje dpal was sent to China by the abbot before being appointed a myriarch; indeed he is said to have taken

advantage of his journey to China to obtain the Mongol court's favour and receive his diplomas of investiture. According to S. Ch. Das, in the year wood-tiger he returned from his Chinese mission, we do not know which (according to the fifth Dalai Lama rDo rje dpal went to China three times). Perhaps this was the mission during which he received his official investiture. What is the date corresponding to that year? S. Ch. Das says that the year wood-tiger corresponds to 1192, but this is a double error: in the first place the year wood-tiger falls in 1194, not 1192, and moreover the event is later than rDo rta's invasion in 1240 which took place when Grags pa ḡbyuñ gnas, the uncle of rGyal ba rin po c'e, was sitting on the abbatial throne of P'ag mo gru. Therefore the year wood-tiger can only be 1254, while Grags pa ḡbyuñ gnas was still ruling the P'ag mo gru monastery. rDo rje dpal built the myriarchal palaces of Yar klun and established twelve feuds.

As S. Ch. Das's transcription is often arbitrary, I think it useful to compare his list of those feuds with the fifth Dalai Lama's list:

<i>fifth Dalai Lama</i>	<i>S. Ch. Das</i>
P'o brañ sgañ	Zangri (Zaṅs ri) Pho-dang-gang
Ts'ōn ḡdus brag k'a	Tshong-dui-tag-kha
sNeu gdoñ	Ne dong-tse
sNa mo	Namo
Ha la sgañ	Halayang
gLñ smad in T'añ po c'e	Thangpo-chin-ling-me
P'yos (gži ka)	Choi Slukka
bKra šis gdoñ in sMon mk'ar	Monkhar, Tashi-dong (considered as two places)
rGyal t'añ	Gyathang
lCags rtse gri gu	Chag-tse-tugu
mC'od rten glñ	Khortog-cha?
C'ad dkar	Kardo?

When rDorje dpal died, the bCu gñis pa Rin c'en rdo rje appointed to the office of myriarch the former's brother, gŽon nu rgyal mts'an, who governed against the P'ag mo gru's interests and was deposed; in his place the office was conferred, pending the imperial approval, to Rin c'en rgyal mts'an, the abbot of gSon sde in Lho brag; this is Khampo Ringyal, according to S. Ch. Das, who places him, however, after sGom brtson; I do not know whether this transposition is in the source used by Das or must be attributed to an error on his part, as seems more probable; after two myriarchs had turned out badly, it is logical to think that the chief

of P'ag mo gru tried to confer that office on a new person who, to judge from his title of mk'an po was already at the head of a monastery. After a few years the latter was succeeded by Byaṅ (c'ub) gžon nu (of the Kya-ya dag-cu, family according to Das). During his administration friction between the aBri guṅ pa and the Sa skya pa became sharper, and it was in his times that aBri guṅ was destroyed by the dPon c'en Sa skya pa, Ag len. What the P'ag mo gru pa's attitude may have been in this circumstance is not known. According to S. Ch. Das's source, it would appear that Byaṅ c'ub gžon nu did not side with the Sa skya, but he probably did not keep up this attitude long, if Ag len condemned him to be burnt alive. The sentence, however, was not carried out.

Byaṅ c'ub gžon nu was succeeded by gžon nu yon tan (Shon-nu Yontan according to S. Ch. Das), a nephew of gžon nu rgyal mts'an. He did not turn out to be any better than his predecessors, and after holding office six years he was deposed, as a consequence of complaints made to the abbot's brother by a Mongol prince, a pilgrim in Tibet. S. Ch. Das transcribes this prince's name as Thumer Bukhoi; he is no other than Tāmūr Buqa, commander of the Mongol army which Ag len had called to his aid to defeat aBri guṅ, as we have seen above (see above p. 16). And perhaps the pilgrimage alluded to by Das is nothing but this military expedition.

gžon nu yon tan's deposition implied a new beginning: the myriarch was replaced by a regency council. The situation was evidently very difficult, not only because of the myriarchs' misrule, but also because the abbots had already cast their eyes on the myriarchies. But as the aBri guṅ pa were, for the time being, weakened, and old ties with that monastery had become slacker, the ambitions of both sects being in contrast, the Sa skya pa did not wish to give up control over this part of Tibet. Hence in this regency council we see: a Sa skya pa abbot, Rin c'en bkra šis (S. Ch. Das: Rin chen Tashi), brTson agrus dpal (? Tson dui Pal according to S. Ch. Das) a kinsman of the abbot of P'ag mo gru, Jo bo Grags pa rin c'en (S. Ch. Das: Jo bo Tagpa Rin) and a second cousin of gžon nu Yon tan, whom S. Ch. Das calls Tagpa Pho zer; the latter is perhaps Grags pa 'od zer or Ti šri Grags pa 'od zer, who was in China at the Mongol court and whom we have seen interceding that the Sa skya pa prince bDag ṅid c'en po bZaṅ po dpal might be sent home from exile. From this point S. Ch. Das becomes inextricably confused:

"In the meantime, with the sanction of the Emperor of China, Taišri Tagpa-hod pa became governor. By bringing Gyavo, the brother of Chyan ṅa Rin-poche over to his side, he also assumed spiritual power... On the death of Gyavo, the elder brother of Chyan ṅa Rin-poche, named Gyal Shonpal, proceeded to Peking and with the sanction of Lhaje Phagmodu (Phag-du hierarch) assumed the office of t'hi pon. Shortly after he was deposed by the Saskya authorities, who placed his

younger brother in charge of the government. From him the office descended to Gyal-tshan Kyab, the son of Shon-nu Gyal-tshan. When Disri Kun tob-pa proceeded to China, Gyal-tshan Kyab was discharged from the governorship. Ritsi Wang Gyal po then became t'hipon and received the title of Tai Situ. He was succeeded by Sonam Gyal tshan, the grandson of Gyal-tshan Kyab, who performed the duties of T'hipon. He was very popular with his subjects. He was so very resolute that no one could oppose his views or outdo him in anything. He brought all Tibet under his sway. Situ Chyan tshan from his early age, became skillful in war, literature and religion....

This summary of S. Ch. Das's contains not a few inaccurate statements. To begin with, I doubt that he has interpreted his sources correctly, when he states that the Taišri Grags pa 'od zer (which he transcribes once Tagpa Phozer and once Taisi Tagpa-hod-pa) became governor, and next assumed also spiritual power. Evidently here he means to recall the same event alluded to by the fifth Dalai Lama, namely the union of temporal and religious power in the hands of Grags pa rin c'en, who became bla dpon and was invested with political authority through the intercession of prince Tāmūr and of Grags pa 'od zer.

Grags pa rin c'en is thus the same person whom he calls Gya bo, at whose death power passed not into the hands of Gyal shonpal, as S. Ch. Das states, but into those of rGyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ po, who was precisely the elder brother of the C'os bži pa Grags pa rgyal mts'an, and went to China on a mission to the imperial Court (as the fifth Dalai Lama records on p. 635). Nevertheless he was no luckier than his predecessors, and giving way to Sa skya pa intrigues, he retired from his function. The myriarch's office was then assumed by rGyal mts'an skyabs (Gyal-tshan Kyab, according to S. Ch. Das), a son of gžon nu rgyal mts'an. But he occupied office for a short time, being unable to hold out against the open ambitions of young Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an. The latter in the meantime had succeeded in getting himself appointed myriarch by the Emperor of China, obtaining an official investiture from Kun blo, i. e. Kun dga' blo gros, a Sa skya pa lama, the son of bDag ṅid c'en po bZaṅ po dpal, who was coming back to Tibet to receive his ordination, but also as a bearer of imperial orders. He is the Disri Kun tob pa mentioned by S. Ch. Das; his Ritsii Wang Gyalpo, who received the title of Tai situ, can be no other than Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an.

To sum up this long discussion, it is now clear that the P'ag mo gru's political history was, in the beginning, greatly troubled by strife between the heads of the monastery and the political authorities, who, as it had already been the case in Sa skya with the dPon c'en and in aBri guṅ with the sGom pa, sought not only to become independent, but to overrule ecclesiastical authority.

## ON THE GENEALOGIES OF THE TIBETAN NOBILITY

## I. THE COSMIC EGG

In another part of this work we have shown that the aristocracy of Tibet seems to have possessed family records, not very different, in their scheme, from the *vamśavalis* of India. In these records pedigrees were handed over to posterity and the principal events of the families magnified. Some of the most important historical works of Tibet are but chronicles of the leading families fighting for supremacy when, Tibet being under the rule of the Yüan empire, each one of them tried to have some appointment from the Mongol emperors and then, after the collapse of that dynasty, to get the upper hand over their rivals. The importance of these documents for the history of Tibet has been discussed in Part one. In this appendix I want to investigate the mythic contents of the family records of the P'ag mo gru pa which boasted of being Lha rigs, viz. of divine descent; these records are summarized in the Chronicles of Blo bzañ rgya mts'o, translated above.

This section of the work of the fifth Dalai Lama was chiefly based upon the *Rus mäsod po ti se ru* or better the *rLans kyi po ti bse ru p'ag mo gru pai sde srid byuñ ts'ul*<sup>1)</sup> of which I could not find any trace in Tibet.

It is not my purpose to solve all the questions which are laid before us by the investigation of the family records of Tibetan aristocracy, but rather to point out their importance as sources of information about prebuddhistic Tibet. In fact though these Chronicles are late and compiled in Buddhist times, they preserve many a tradition which has nothing in common with Buddhism and rather betrays Bonpo ideas. In other words in these records we can get glimpses of an ancient world which little by little gave way to the new religion and left small traces in classical literature.

First of all it appears that they have handed down to us fragments of ancient and forlorn cosmogonies: as evidenced, for instance, by those passages dealing with the creation of the world from the cosmic egg. The cosmic egg appears frequently in the prebuddhistic legends of Tibet and the old cosmogonic myths which have been inserted in later Bon scriptures, for instance in the largest redaction of "the 100,000 *klu*,". This is a huge compilation which has nothing to do with the text published by Schiefner or Laufer. Its title runs thus: *gTsañ ma klu abum* and it is divided into three sections: *Klu abum dkar po*, *Klu abum nag po*, *Klu abum k'ra bo*.<sup>2)</sup> The compilation is late and shows a great influence of Mähâyana dogmatics; in fact it contains long lists of the *bon*, viz. *dharmas*<sup>3)</sup> of the qualities of the *gyuñ druñ sems dpa'* (corresponding to *byañ c'ub sems dpa'* of Buddhism), of

the virtues of the *gSen rab* analogous to those of the Buddha; all these things are literally taken from the manuals of Buddhism. But at the same time the text has handed down to us a great many ancient legends which go back to prebuddhistic traditions, as the following summary of the most important passages concerned with the origin of the world will easily show.

(117 b) From the uncreated being a white light originated and from the essence of that very light a perfect egg came out: outside it was luminous, it was all good; it had no parts, no hands and no feet, but it was possessed of the power of motion; it had no wings but could fly, it had neither head, nor mouth, nor eyes, still a voice came out of it. After five months this miraculous egg broke and a man came out. This man gave himself a name. He called himself in Žañ zuñ language: *Mig can bu ts'a rdsu ap'rul can*; in Sum pa language: *bsKos mk'an*, in Tibetan: *Srid pai mk'yen*, in Bon language *Klu*. His abode was in a continent in the middle of a great ocean. He sat on a golden throne. The *klu* came to pay homage to him and he ordered the universe, regulated the course of time, invited gods to the protection of created beings and overcame demons. Once he jumped into the sea and he was caught in a net by a fisherman; thence great calamities befell men. *gSen rab* suggests the appropriate expiation. It is clear that *Mig can* born from the cosmic egg is a demiurge: it is he who disposes everything in order: therefore he is called *bskos mk'an* "he who arranges and appoints charges,". He is the same as the *bsKos* of the Bonpo text published by Laufer:<sup>4)</sup> it is from him that civilization begins.

(126 a) In the beginning there was naught; from the void *sToñ pai gyuñ druñ sems dpa'* abiding in the *gyuñ druñ* originated; from him a light of all colours permeating the universe emanated. Then a wind called *yos* (sic, for *gyos*) *kyi du ba tsam*, and in succession one above the other, the wind *rdo rje rgya gram*, the circle of fire: from fire and wind water and wind, then the sea; from this a kind of tent of foam; from this a tortoise was derived; it was all of gold; it begot six eggs: one white, of rock crystal, one yellow of gold, one blue of turquoise, one red of copper, one dark of bronze, one black of iron. From each egg a special family of *klu* derived:

from the golden one: *rgyal rigs* = royal family;  
from that of turquoise: *dman rigs* = low caste;  
from that of iron: *bram ze rigs* = brahmanic caste;  
from that of bronze: *gdol rigs* = untouchable caste;  
from that of copper: *byol soñ* = animals;

there is no word about the rock-crystal egg.

(132b) From the void a blue light was derived; from this the three worlds were covered: a rainbow came out of it and from it a vapour: from this vapour a subtle splendour emanated; then a wonderful egg; from the vapour of this egg vapour and heat; from its skin seven golden mountains; from the cream (*spris*) space, from its heat fire, from the watery element in it water and the ocean; from the interior of this egg a *klu* was born:

(138a) *lha dbal mt'oh gi rgya mts'o bdag med* turned into the void; from this, through gradual mutations, the wheel of vacuum emanated; successively the wheels of wind, fire and heat were derived; and then wind again; the nine continents situated in the ocean were formed from the cold; from the vapour of the ocean a kind of foam emanated, from this an egg was born; this broke and a being came out of it with numberless limbs and nine heads. This was called in Zhan zuñ language: *Bye ba sa ya*, in Sum pa language: *las dbai* "the master of action", in Tibetan *Srid pai klu mo ngo dgu*, "the Klu mo of the world with nine heads", in the middle of her nine heads there was a head of crystal upon which a hood grew; from this a light emanated which permeated space; from the left eye the sun was born; from the right eye the moon, from the nose the wind and the four seasons; from his eyelids the rays of the sun and of the moon; from the teeth the eight planets and the constellations, from the viscous matter of the eyes ambrosia.

These passages of the *Klu abum* which I have chosen contain therefore different modulations of the same myth concerning the origin of world. Four ways of the cosmic creation are here alluded to:

1. white light / egg / primeval man who arranges the Universe;
2. void: primeval being / light / elements / tortoise / eggs as the origin of different classes of *klu*;
3. void / blue light / egg / the Universe;
4. a primeval being / elements (water) / egg / a monster from whose limbs the world is created.

So, in all cases the egg represents an intermediate stage, and, except n. 3, it is the cause of a particular creation, either of men, or of Klu or of special parts of the world.

In some cases, as in n. 4, the real cause of the Universe is the primeval being from whose limbs the world and its parts are derived.

The same story is also preserved in other sections of the same work (*k'a*, p. 341 b).

There we read of a Klu mo born from the vacuum: she was called *Klu rgyal mo srid pa gtan la p'ab pa* "the queen of the klu who arrayed existence"; from the top of her head sky (*gnam*) emanated, from the light of her right eye the moon, from the light of the left eye the sun, from the upper teeth four planets. When the Klu mo opened her eyes it was day, when she shut them it was night, from the other 12 lower and upper teeth the lunar mansions (*skar ma*) arose. From her voice thunder came out, from her tongue lightning, from her breath clouds, from her tears rain, from the fat of her tongue hailstorm; from the holes of her nose wind, from her blood the five oceans, from her veins rivers, from her flesh earth, from her bones mountains and so on.

Though the redaction contained in the *Klu abum* does not mention any sacrifice of the Klu as the cause of the universe, as in the case of the Indian *purusa* or the Chinese Panku, Western Tibetan legends are more explicit on this point. These narrate how a hero named Doñ gsum mi la snon killed a monster with nine heads, just like the klu already referred to; with his body he built the castle of *Glin* and all the *Glin* country, with his head, bones, ribs and arms the castle; with the lungs the golden mountain, that is the Sumeru, with his stomach the valley of Go ma, with the intestines rGyu ma; with the eyes the spring Ts'an ya and so on.<sup>5)</sup> We are therefore confronted with cosmogonic legends, probably connected with ancient vegetation rites in which the victim offered to the gods was cut into pieces.

In the same way, the Manasarovar and the lakes bordering it are derived, according to the ancient Bonpo mythology, from four eggs: the lake Gur rgyal lha mo from an egg white as a conch-shell, the lake Ma p'am gyu mts'o (Manasarovar), from an egg blue as turquoise; the La nag bsil mo (Rakastal) from a golden egg, the lake *Gün c'u dñul mo* from a white egg.<sup>6)</sup>

Other Bonpo legends, contained in the *Dra ba nag poi bsgrub t'abs drag po gnam lcags t'og abebs* (p. 2), relate how there was in the beginning 'Od gsal lha from whom all creation derived: Lha, Gar, bsTen; dMu, bDud, gTs'ams; P'ya, Srod, sKos; aDre, Srin, Byur; Mi, sMra, gSen. From gNam gas dbyins, gYui byel 'u lug rdsi mo was born, who came down from heaven upon earth; from the syllables *ba* and *bu* uttered by that god the essence of the five elements was emanated, from these the rainbow *gža'* (= *gža' ts'on*) and the existence, *srid*; from the very essence of this, an egg which begot *Srid pa aþyün ba srid pai rgyal po*; from his spirit four emissions of seed flowed out, from which four syllables derived; these were again absorbed in those four emissions of seed and were therefore condensed into four eggs: from the first, dMu srid pai rgyal po was born, from the second sTag adud ge ta, from the third Rin po c'ei kyed srid rgyal po, from the fourth bTsan gyi rgyal po Hur pa gsod rkyen.

A similar tradition as regards the cosmic eggs is preserved in the nuptial songs of Western Tibet which mention the world tree.<sup>7)</sup> It has three points (*rise mo*) and six branches; on each branch there is a bird with a corresponding egg: 1) a *k'yuñ* and a golden egg; the *k'yuñ* is called *bya c'en*, the great bird; 2) the king of the birds, *rgod po*, the vulture, and a turquoise egg; 3) the vulture *go po* with white head (*ldad dkar* [*ldad = glad*]), and an egg of the colour of the conch-shell; 4) an eagle (*glag*) with a white neck and a silver egg; 5) a divine bird, the white grouse, and a coral egg; 6) a white falcon (*k'ra skya*) and an iron egg. This tree evidently signifies the *axis mundi* and the birds upon it are the guardians of the six points of the compass, viz. the four cardinal points and the centre which is double: the one ideally placed on the top and the other at the bottom, the conjunction of the two points by a line being the world axis.<sup>8)</sup> The correspondence of the four cardinal points with four of these eggs

is also proved by the fact that the colours of the eggs agree with the colours of the four quarters. In fact in another song, where the doors of heaven are mentioned, the colour of each of them is thus given:

East: king of the birds, vulture *bya rgyal rгод po*,  
conch-shell, white;  
South: gold, golden *sbal*, frog, yellow;  
West: turquoise, *rma bya*, peacock, blue;  
North: iron, *p'o rog nag po*, black raven, black.

These few quotations from old Tibetan traditions show that these legends on the origin of the world are far from being simple; this complexity seems to indicate that they have not been preserved in their primitive shape, but that they underwent a long process of elaboration by which elements of various origin and age were blended together. In fact, little by little, to the myth of a cosmic egg other speculations were added; they postulated, for instance, the existence of a primeval vacuum which seems to betray Buddhist or generally Indian influences; other legends contain a hint at the primeval light in which we are perhaps justified in seeing a reminiscence of Manichaean theories: the hypothesis will not appear so far-fetched when we recall a set of stories of Iranian origin to which we shall refer in the course of this study. In other places the tortoise is considered as a kind of intermediate stage between the primeval being or the vacuum and the universe; in a few myths, as we saw, the worlds are said to have derived from the limbs of a primeval being.<sup>9)</sup>

It is worthy of notice that these cosmic legends introduce as a rule the expiation revealed by gŠen rab mi bo and meant to appease the wrath of the *klu* offended, at the very beginning of civilization, by some mythic being, who taught men to build houses, to construct bridges, to cross rivers and seas, thus violating the abode of the *klu* and of the *sa bdag*. It is also interesting to see how in these legends the ocean (*rgya mts'o*) plays a prominent part: we are never confronted with rivers but rather with big seas in which continents are situated.

The general outlook of these legends does not betray any Buddhist origin, though occasionally some names of *klu* or *klu mo* (*k'a*, p. 56, *ago ri ma = gau ri ma = Keurimā*) may even appear as a corruption of Indian names; they rather point to some other source, to be traced out most probably in the direction of Indochina in the proximity of big seas. These mythologies migrated therefore into Tibet as the cosmologic lore of some tribes: but were later combined with stories of different derivation.

## 2. THE SIX OR FOUR ORIGINAL TRIBES OF TIBET

The same variety of legends we find as regards the origin of the Tibetan people and of its tribes. A well defined set of legends speaks of a certain number of tribes from which the inhabitants of Tibet came

successively into being. The different clans are said in fact to have descended from the four or six tribes which, at the dawn of human life, populated the country or rather from their respective primeval ancestors. It is out of place to refer here to the orthodox tradition according to which the forefathers of the Tibetan people were a monkey and an ogress. The legend is related with many a detail in the *Ma ni bka' abum*, chap. 34<sup>9)</sup> and in the *rGyal rabs*, chap. 7. But it can also be found in the *Pad mai bka' t'aii sde lia* (*blon poi bka' t'aii*, p. 4), where this account of the origin of the Tibetan people is said to be the orthodox one (*cos lugs*) as opposed to the eterodox, viz. Bon po (*hon lugs*), according to which Tibetans are stated to have been derived from the *Klu*.

This statement of the ancient and authoritative text *rNin ma pa* therefore clearly shows that as regards the origin of the Tibetan race two traditions prevailed in Tibet: one was peculiar to the Buddhist schools, the other to the Bon po communities. This is true for older times, because in later times, when a great intercourse between the two religions took place, the Bonpos did not esitate to accept many a story from the rival sect, as documented for instance by the *rGyal rabs bon gyi abyun gnas*.

But the fact that the descent of the Tibetans from the monkey is generally accepted by Lamaist tradition, and that the monkey plays a great role in Indian mythology and folklore, cannot be considered as a proof that this legend was introduced into Tibet from India along with Buddhism, as Köppen was inclined to believe. First of all, as shown by Laufer, it is no reason to bring forward in this particular case the non-existence of monkeys in Tibet as an argument in favour of the Indian origin of this myth, because in Tibet and chiefly in South and South-East Tibet monkeys are well known; we may add that some tribes between Tibet and China, for instance the Chiang, ethnically related to the K'iang, boasted to be descended from a monkey;<sup>10)</sup> so did the Chiao yao of South West of the Chiang who equally considered the monkey as their ancestor.<sup>11)</sup> A *gser byi spreu* "golden monkey", is included also among the gNan, aboriginal gods of Tibet that will later be discussed.

There is therefore no ground for supposing that the Tibetans borrowed from India this story of their ancestry, though Buddhism, speaking of previous incarnations of Śākyamuni as a monkey or of a monkey as a devotee of the Teacher and the acquaintance that, through Buddhism, Tibetans acquired of the Rāmāic legends<sup>12)</sup> may have given a wider popularity to this mythic ancestor of some tribes.

Anyhow, though orthodox tradition generally admits of this descent of the Tibetan folk from sPyan ras gzigs incarnated as a monkey, still there is a great diversity as regards the names of the tribes said to have derived from him and their number as well; in some cases we hear of four fundamental tribes, in others of six.<sup>13)</sup> Sum pa mk'an po has written a resumé of all these traditions and since many of the texts which he quotes appear to be lost or, at least, are



at present of difficult access, it is necessary to start from the lists given by him. According to one theory the six sons of the primeval monkey and implicitly the forefathers of the Tibetan clans were: Se, rMu (dMu) lDoñ, sToñ, Gra, Bru or according to the *Bod mi k'ri t'o c'en po*:<sup>14</sup> dGra aBru, lDoñ, aGa' (in the text: lag), Nu bo, dPa' mda' (in the text: dPal mña'). On the other side, the *bKa' c'eins ka k'ol ma* commonly attributed to Sroñ btsan sgam po, states that the ancestors of the Tibetans were only four: Se, rMu, lDoñ; sToñ. Their father gave each a territory to rule over, where they and their sons settled; each clan was thereafter divided into twelve branches.

A close investigation of the names of these six or four tribes shows that they are most probably related to the names of gods or demons; this implies that these tribes claimed to have a special deity as their particular ancestor, whose cult was reserved to the members of the tribe itself and who was consequently worshiped as the presiding god of the group. dMu is the name of a tribe and of a class of gods as well. The dMu are malignant; they are placed between the bDud and the bTsan; in the *gZer myig* (*Asia Major*, III, p. 333; I, p. 338) is said that dMu and bDud from heaven and all the bTsan are inclined to harass and frighten men. On earth, the clan rMu and dMu rules over Šam po lha rtse in 'Ol mo luñ riñs and their king is dMu rgyal lan gyi t'em pa skas. So also in the Bon po manual quoted above, (p. 2): dMu, bDud, mTs'ams (where mTs'ams is one of the thirteen classes of gods).

The *Po ti bse ru* includes the dMu, (sMu) among the gÑan and the Klu; so also the *Bar do t'os grol bon* po called *lTuiñ bšags dri med mc'og byañ bžugs pai dbu p'yogs* (p. 158 b).

A special teacher is allotted to them by the Bon po tradition: lJib duñ p'yur, while K'a ste agreñ yug was the one reserved for the bDud, dByar sñe grim bu for the Klu and T'añ t'añ k'rol pa for the gÑan (*sNañ srid mdsod p'ugs kyi gžuiñ dañ agreñ pa qp'rul gyi sgron me*, p. 66 a).

The dMu are said to dwell in the K'to c'u dMu lug mk'ar<sup>15</sup> which is located in the dMu yul brañ lcags apran; their king is dMu dbud kam po ša zan (flesh eater). In a Bonpo hymn, in which the favour of the terrific deities is invoked, he is said to be the son of Mi bdud aByams po and of dMu lcām mGrin sñon ma the daughter of Mu rje btsan po. Iconographically he is represented with a dragon's head and a human body: from his mouth he vomits hailstones. T'añ ña dMu mo t'añ is one of the eight messengers (*p'o ña mo*) of gŠen rab; she rules over the armies of the dMu; the other goddesses of this group are: T'añ ña lha mo t'añ, T'añ ña dog mo t'añ, T'añ ña bdud mo t'añ, T'añ ña dmu mo t'añ, T'añ ña klu mo t'añ, T'añ ña gñāñ mo t'añ, T'añ ña srin mo t'añ, T'añ ña p'ya mo t'añ, T'añ ña bged mo t'añ, (*dPal gśas rham pa sku gśuñ t'ugs kyi sgrub gžuiñ*, p. 50 ff.). According to the *Ri rab brtsegs mdos* they are divided into two groups: rMu rje and dMu btsan and are equally considered as bTsan.

As demons the dMu are included in the eight classes of the *lha srin sde brgyad* (see down below). Perhaps some diseases like dropsy were considered to be caused by the dMu and in fact dropsy is called dMu c'u "the water of the dMu". Even drought is caused by them (*rGyal mdos dkar drug mdos kyi bea' t'abs lāem bskyed*, RC, p'i, p. 4). These traditions show therefore that the dMu were a class of beings who may be noxious to men. They did not reside in the subterranean world, but in some heaven; they in fact belong to the *steñ*-class of beings, viz. to those who stay in high spheres (*Asia Major*, III, p. 33); in their place there was a lake of molten metal; this was the abode where the deceased went after death with the help of a ladder or a rope. Upon earth there was a class of priests who boasted of having the power to lead the deceased there because they held the ladder or the rope; these were the dMu, who perhaps claimed a descent from dMu rgya lan t'em skas, one of the ancestors of gŠen rab.

Se, bSe is, in the same way, the name of a tribe as well as of a class of demons: Se ap'añ nag po is in fact the name of Mal gro gzi can, one of the most famous *klu* of Tibetan demology; he is also called Srog dkar rgyal po (*bKa' t'añ sde lha, ca*, p. 39). He is represented with the head of a dragon, the trunk of a man and the lower part of the body interlaced like a snake. Under him are placed: Ts'oñ dpon nag po, white, with five heads of snakes, the leader of the right wing, K'ams kyu bya t'ul, yellow with two dragon heads, the leader of the left wing; the other attendants were Giñ, sPa gro skyer, the god of the waters, K'a rgyal žva 'od, with a bull's head and so on, from which it appears that the army of these demons led by Mal gro gzi can is conceived on the pattern of the Turco-mongol army divided into two wings.

The *Vai dū rya dkar po*, the great astrological work by the sDe srid Sañs rgyas rgya mts'o contains a long list of *Sa bdag* and demons connected with the various months, days and the periods of the year. Some of these *sa bdag* belong to the class of the "Se", as the following examples will show.

(p. 444) Se ba bla mk'yen rtsi mk'an; (p. 445) rgyal poi nor sruñ (viz. custodian of the treasure of the king of the year T'e se) se byi; sKu sruñ mi gśod se šar; Se ba rañ, the horse of the king; (p. 446) Se bu rta k'tid; Dus ađsin se bya; (p. 462) T'ab lha se šar; (p. 466) Se bdud; and so on.

Some of them, according to the theriomorphism prevalent in Bonpo iconography, are represented like monsters with animal heads. This name "Se", can hardly be separated from the names of other gods which are to be met with in old mythology or in the Bonpo tradition; such are for instance the names of Ti se-Kailāsa (where *ti* is probably Kanawri: *ti water*), and of Gyu bse the ancestor from whom the aK'on, viz. the Sa skya pa claimed to have descended. If the information of S. CH. DAS, that *se bya* is the name of a sorcerer connected with the cult of the Sa bdag, were true we should find here the same relation as in the case of the dMu, between a God, a tribe and certain

priests; but probably the statement of S. CH. DAS is wrong, being based on a false interpretation of the passage of the *Vai dū rya dkar po* already referred to.

The existence of *bSve* as a class of wizards *sñags pa nag po*, real black exorcists (the distinction between white and black Bon po is well known and reminds us of the white and black shamans, concerning whom see B. HARVA, *Religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker*, p. 482) is proved by our sources, for instance by the *gSan bdag dregs pa gdul byed las ts'ogs dam srii glud mdos*, which mentions a *bsve žva*, a hat of the *bSve*. Probably the name of these *Se*, *bSe*, *bSve*, should be linked with the Hsi hia word: *szü* 卮 which, according to the Chinese sources, corresponds to 巫 *wu*, wizard, shaman.<sup>16)</sup> (LAUFER, *The Si-hia language*, TP, 1916, p. 68, n. 138).

According to the biography of *mK'a's grub rje*, *Se* was also the name of a clan of *ICaṅ ra* in *Li*, viz. *Khotan*. This is perhaps due to the fact that in *Li yul*, called in the Bonpo books *bTsan gyi gnas mc'og* "supreme place of the *bTsan*," the castle *bSve* 'od *abar* abode of *Yaṅ ni ver*, a king of the *bTsan* was located (*Dam can rgya mts'oi mk'a' la rañ bžin gyi mñā' gsol*, p. 3). In the chronicles of *Ladakh* the *Se* are put together with the *Ha ža*; Francke wrongly considers *Se ha ža* as the name of a single people which he locates in *Lahul*.

As to *lDoñ I* know a mountain of this name and a demon who is supposed to dwell there (S. CH. DAS s. v.). In the chronicles of *Ladakh* they are a class of ministers. The name of another tribe, that is *dGra*, reminds us of one of the most popular Gods of *Tibet*, *dGra lha* (sometimes wrongly spelled *dGra bla*): according to some texts (*Apology rNñi ma pa*, p. 34) he is the *btsan* of *Žaṅ žuñ*.

We come to the same conclusion examining the legends concerning the origin of the four leading clans said to be descended from these six or four tribes. These four clans are:

*Ye sañs dkar po*, *Ye smon nag po*, *sPyan k'rig ye šes*: *Mon rdsu nag po* or according to the chronicles of the fifth *Dalai Lama* (p. 10): *Ye sañs dkar po gnam aju t'ag can*; *Ye smon nag mo k'ro c'ui p'a boñ ađra ba*; *sPyan k'rig ye šes lhai sgron me*; *Mon rdsu nag po k'yi rña ljañ can*. There are reasons for assuming that this divisions into four clans, which recalls that of the *Bon po* gods into four *ru* "wings," had a sacral character.<sup>17)</sup>

We may surmise that these four tribes correspond to four different classes of priests, each class being specialised in a particular method of liturgy connected with certain categories of gods and therefore each exercising a special function. This suggestion is confirmed by two passages of the *gZer myig*; in the first four classes of *Bonpo* are enumerated: *sna mc'og pai bon*, *gyañ ldon bai bon*, *dmu t'ag dogs pai bon*, *žal srod pai bon*; in the second passage, when narrating the events of the marriage of the parents of *gSen rab*, it is said that the gods chanted *smoñ lam*, the *klu* did the *žal bsro*, the *dMu* plan ed the *dmu t'ag*, the *p'ya* made the *p'ya gyañ*.<sup>18)</sup>

From these two passages it is clear that there existed four classes of *Bon* priests each related to a certain class of gods and implicitly specialized in the appropriate ritual.

Gods	actions of the Gods	Bon and their function
dMu	dMu t'ag ađogs	dMu t'ag ađogs pai bon "Bon planting the rope dMu,"
Klu	žal bsro	žal srod pai bon <sup>19)</sup>
P'ya	P'ya gyañ	gYañ ldon pai bon, fo- retelling future
Lha	sMon lam	sNa mc'og pai bon <sup>20)</sup>

This fourfold classification of *Bonpo* priesthood is confirmed by a passage of the *Gyal rabs* in which we read (p. 54 of my manuscript):

"*sPu* de *guñ rgyal* took possession of the kingdom and his minister was *Ru la skyes*. During the rule of this king and his minister, the *Bon* of the *gYuñ druñ* was originated. The teacher *gSen rab mi bo* was born in 'Ol moi luñ riñs in the country of the *sTag gzig*. The law of the *Bon* consisting of the eight *K'a'ms* was derived from the country *Žaṅ žuñ* and spread all over the country.

"There are nine kinds of *Bon*; four are concerned with people interested in the cause of realization, and five with those aiming at the results of the doctrine."<sup>21)</sup> These last five are represented by the followers of the supreme vehicle of the *gYuñ druñ*. They desire to obtain a body in a happy heaven.

"The four kinds of persons practising that part of the doctrine which is the cause of realisation are:

- snañ gSen* who wear tufts of wool on their forehead.
- ap'rul gSen*, who wear coloured threads of wool.
- c'a gSen* (for *p'ya*, *p'yva gSen*), who cast lots with threads of different colours (*aju t'ag can*).
- dur gSen*, who have weapons.

The first class summon good luck, pray to *Lha* and *sMan* causing prosperity and glory; they increase the wealth of men. The second class throw *mdos* and *yas*, erect templs (*sriid*) and sacred symbols (*rten*) and expel calamities, present and future.

"The third class teach the path of what is good and what is bad and dismiss all sorts of doubts as regards being and not being, and destroy all sinful ideas.

"The fourth class expel all sorts of hindrances of the living and establish the cemetery for the *gSen*, subdue the infant-devils (*sri*), observe the stars in the sky, smash the *ađre* upon earth.

"All of them used to beat the drum (*rña žan*): as regards power it was of the *sgruñ* and *lde'u*,"

The classification of the *rGyal rabs* finds a parallel in a passage of the *bKa' t'añ yig*, in which, after giving the list of the nine *Bon po* vehicles (*t'eg*), the character of each is separately stated.

To confine ourselves to the four classes we are interested in, the data contained in the two books may be summed up as follows.

<i>bKa' t'añ sde lña</i>		<i>rGyal rabs</i>	
name	function	name	function
p'ya gñen	<i>lto</i> , on which see what follows, and <i>dpnyad</i> , the examination of signs	snañ gñen	<i>p'ya</i> and <i>gyañ</i> , prayers to Lha and sMan
snañ gñen	<i>gyer</i> , song <sup>22)</sup>	ap'rul gñen	<i>mdos</i> and <i>yar</i> ; they found <i>srid</i> and sacred objects. See what follows
ap'rul gñen	beings possessed by a god <i>sbas gas rñam</i> (see S. CH. DAS, <i>rñam bñas</i> , p. 389 a) <sup>23)</sup>	p'ya gñen	<i>ju t'ig</i>
srid gñen	cemeteries and funeral rites	dur gñen	cemeteries

Barring some changes of names, although the function remains identical, as in the case of *srid g'ñen* and *dur g'ñen*, and a different order of the names within the list, the correspondence between the two lists is remarkable; but it is surprising that *p'ya* and *gyañ* should be attributed to snañ gñen by the rGyal rabs, when we should expect to find these functions assigned to the P'ya gñen; thus the *bKa' t'añ sde lña* seems more accurate when it describes the character of the *ap'rul gñen*, the beings possessed by a god, for such seems to be the meaning of *sbas gas rñam*, the mysterious presence of a god, causing the person it is possessed of to become restless and to breathe heavily. In other words the *ap'rul gñen* is the real shaman, while the others have specified liturgical, sacred and exorcistic functions.

There is no doubt that a certain analogy exists between the classifications of the *gZer myig* and that of the *rGyal rabs*, although the two texts refer to different epochs.

This appears when we compare the two lists, but in an inverted sense; it will then be noticed that the first class of the *rGyal rabs* dealing with the Lha corresponds to the *sna mc'og pai bon* of the *gZer myig*. In the same way the functions of the second class correspond to those of the *gYañ ldon pai bon*.

But the analogy with the other two classes is not clear, for instance in the *rGyal rabs* there is no trace of the dMu t'ag adogs pai Bon; its place is occupied by the *ju t'ig*, attributed to the *p'ya g'ñen*, and *ju t'ig*, as Jäschke says, is "a way of drawing lots by threads of different colours...". In short the dMu t'ag, with which we shall deal in greater detail further on, is replaced by the *ju t'ag*, *ju t'ig* (*ju t'ig* perhaps as a contamination with *t'ig*, the rope used to draw the mañḍala or to compose the *lto*, *mdos*). This rope was used in divination, and to judge from a passage

of the *bKa' sruñ ba sa ga rñhai sgrub t'abs šin tu bsgrub pa rnal abyor pa rañ don rten abrel nan na rñams bzlog pa gdams bzab mo* (RC, p'i, p. 7 b) it was a sign of ill omen when the cord broke; hence the gods were invoked lest this should happen and lest evil signs should be announced (*aju t'ag c'ag zlog*). It therefore appears that in course of time the rope which united heaven and earth and led the deceased into the kingdom of dMu, with the help of the dMu clan's liturgies, was replaced by a divinatory cord.

It is difficult to say what this dMu t'ag originally was, but it is highly probable that its survival is to be found in the strips of cloth called Ha pi zhi used by the Nakhi and so well described by ROCK. They represent a "bridge for the soul to reach the realm of the gods," (ROCK, *Studies in the Nakhi literature*, BEFEO, vol. XXXVII, p. 41). The Bon pos have now a *Bardo t'os grol* containing the rituals and the prayers intended to guide the soul to an after-life of happiness. But this book, which is called *Zi k'ro bar do t'os grol* after the pattern of the famous "Tibetan book of the dead",, does not contain any allusion to the dMu t'ag and strictly follows the rNin ma pa text, of which it evidently is a late imitation.

To sum up this lengthy discussion, the classification of the rGyal rabs, based on a fourfold division of the Bon priests, refers nevertheless to a stage of this religion more recent than the one alluded to in the *gZer myig*. It takes us back to a late epoch, when many of the ancient beliefs began to be forgotten and overcome by new ones (the *Grub t'ab legs bñad šel gyi me loñ*, ed. S. CH. DAS, JRASB, 1881, p. 190, only knows three classes of aK'yar Bon). As to the *sgruñ* and *lde*, they are apart (*rGyal pai bka' t'añ*, p. 19 b, see GR, p. 150, l. 17, *sgruñ ldeu* [in the text, erroneously, *lieu*] *bon gsum* and *ibid.*, l. 10, *sgruñ ldeu bon gñen po c'e byuñ*); their office was political rather than religious (*c'ab srid*, says the *rGyal rabs* concerning them).

Naturally, the Bon po priestly class must have been divided into groups even more numerous. This is proved by a description of the Bon po sacrifice, made in honour of K'ri sroñ lde bñan and described in the *Jo mo gliñ gsum*, p. 62 ff. During these ceremonies deer and many other animals were sacrificed, and a group of nine Bon mk'as took part in the sacrifice: they stood in the middle of the place chosen for the sacrifice, having on their right and their left nine *mi mt'u c'en*, men possessing great strength. In front of them stood the *mc'od gyog*, executors of the sacrifice, grasping the *gri ri*, knife. Next the K'ru bon, with golden ladles (*gsar skyogs*) brought water to wash the victims with (*ak'rus*). The Žu bon questioned and answered, i. e. probably sang, alternatively, songs explaining the purpose of the sacrifice and invoking the gods. At this point the gSen bon came forward, seized the animals by the horns and cut their throats. Next the bŠig bon cut the victims to pieces, the bSe bon arranged their flesh for distribution; the Grañ bon counted the pieces of flesh, filled up copper vessels with ladlefuls of blood, and placed them on the skins of the

slaughtered animals, while the flesh was placed on other skins. Then, as if possessed, they all cried out loudly.

Although the book from which this description of a Bon po sacrifice is taken is rather a late one, (see p. 258, n. 202), there seems to be no doubt that it preserves an ancient tradition, and anyhow it shows us the complexity of Bon po rites and the multiplicity of its priests.

The names of its four classes are as we saw, at the same time the names of mythical ancestors from which they pretended to be derived. (The case of Ye smon nag po is evident). They moreover contain a hint at the symbols by which their members were characterised as an indication of the deities supposed to be in relation with them and implicitly of their functions.

This is undoubtedly clear in the case of Ye sañs dkar po gnam gyi aju t'ag can "possessing the heavenly rope,,. They are evidently the same as the dMu t'ag adogs pa. The sMon nag mo K'ro c'ui p'a boñ adra ba "similar to a lump of melted bronze,, evidently claimed their descent from Ye smon rgyal po, who even in the genealogy of the P'ag mo gru pa is considered as the first king. As to K'ro c'ui p'a boñ, its being a weapon or a symbol is clearly shown by a legend to which exorcists even now refer in some ceremonies intended to control certain demons supposed to harass men. These ceremonies consist in <sup>24)</sup> catching the offender, viz. his will or power, and imprisoning it in the horn of a yak, placed upon a Lha t'o. The exorcist evokes the fight which in the beginning of human civilization took place between Ye smon rgyal po and bDud rñam rje btsan po.

"bDud rñam rje btsan po resisted as an enemy against Srid pa Ye smon rgyal po (who ruled) in the beginning of human civilization. He rode a black fiendish horse with long cheeks. He headed a host of many jackals who followed him. He fought with the men of aDsam gliñ. This king Srid pa ye smon had as his teacher the Slob dpon dGu t'um and caught hold of the Lha rdo of bDud rje btsan po. He struck at him with the rdo rje k'ro c'u p'a boñ (a lump of melted bronze of in the shape a rdo rje) and hit his feet, arms and head. Then he bound him with an iron chain and put him inside the left horn of a yak and he placed the horn of the yak with the devil inside upside down, in a place where three roads meet,,. From this passage it is clear that the K'ro c'ui p'a boñ is a mythic weapon, or a symbol probably corresponding to the rdo rje of the Buddhist ritual.

In the *gSen rab snañ par rgyal ba yid bžin nor bu rin po c'e*, p. 34, it is called *k'ro c'ui gyad rdo* "the giant stone of melted bronze,,; it is the weapon of one of the four deities presiding over time. It was a weapon made with the melted bronze of the K'ro c'u lake which, as we saw, was supposed to be in the celestial country where the dMu dwell. As to Sryan k'rig ye šes lhai sgron me, "the divine lamp,, and to "Mon rdsu nag po k'yi rña ljañ can,, "having the dog with green ears,, (or "the dog with green ears,, as an apposition of Mon rdsu nag po) nothing definite can be said, except that the wolf and the dog

play an important part in the old legends of Tibet. In the lists of Tibetan demons in fact frequent mention is made of the heavenly dog which is most probably a guardian of some heavens, as the heavenly wolf T'ien lang, guarding the entrance to the Palace of Shang ti in early Chinese cosmology.

### 3. ATTEMPTS AT CLASSIFYING EARLY GODS

Little by little the four priestly clans above referred to lost their authority and came under the sway of other rulers. The chronological succession of the events as recorded in later literature is the result, so to say, of an official redaction, a combination of myths and traditions not only of various origin, but also peculiar to different tribes. This redaction was made when a certain unity of the Tibetan people was reached; the most prominent ancestral records of the leading clans contributed to this redaction with their ancient lore. The traditional accounts preserved in the genealogies of the nobility were then arranged in a new synthesis, in which the different strata were amalgamated so as to form an organic whole which claimed to be an authoritative story of the growth of Tibetan civilization. The *Ts'al pa deb dmar*, for instance, states that upon the descendants of the four ancestors born from the primeval monkey, gradually ruled the nine brothers Ma sañs, the 25 and 12 kinglets, *rgyal p'ran (koṭṭarāja) the 40 sil ma*. The nine brothers Ma sañs are: gNod sbyin, bDud, Srin po, Klu, bTsan, Lha, dMu, aDre, aGoñ po. <sup>25)</sup>

This is one of the many attempts of Tibetan learned circles at classifying the extremely rich pantheon of their people. Demons and gods were numberless, but since they generally possessed certain characters in common with others, they could easily be divided into classes and groups in which the entities of lesser individuality slowly disappeared. One of the lists which enjoyed a large popularity in later Buddhist theology was that which considered eight classes of gods. I mean the list of the eight *Lha srin sde brgyad*; it officially introduced into Buddhism a host of popular demons which the new religion did not succeed in cancelling from the experience of the people. The *Lha srin sde brgyad* are so enounced by Kloñ rdol bla ma complete works, *ya*, p. 12).

white	lhai sde
red	btsan
black	bdud
variegated	gza'
brown	dmu

<i>srin poi sde</i>	cannibals
<i>rgyal poi sde</i>	custodians of the treasure of the temples
<i>ma moi sde</i>	cause of diseases

This is the official Buddhist list, but the one contained in the *Deb dmar* seems more ancient; it is certainly of Bonpo origin, as even the number of its

components shows. Let us examine in detail these 9 classes of gods, which, we may presume, represent the most prominent classes of prebuddhistic divine entities.

1. GNOD SBYIN. These, as known, usually correspond in Lamaism to the Indian Yakṣas who certainly belong to the oldest religious lore of India. But all gNod sbyin are not necessarily Indian; in their class on the contrary many aboriginal demons are included, who appeared to the Tibetans as having the same character as the Yakṣas. They were equally harmful (hence their name), the cause of epidemics and diseases. They wanted bloody sacrifices. Like the Yakṣas they were turned into faithful guardians of the temples.

2. The BDUD, as stated above, are demons, though like the dMu originally located in the upper spheres: they can be obnoxious to men as regards places (*gnas*), body (*lus*) and action (*las*).

Their king resides in the black castle of the bDud, bDud mk'ar nag po. It has nine stories or pinnacles. He is surrounded by the bDud of water, C'u bdud, those in the shape of birds, Bya bdud, of fishes, Na bDud, herbs, Tsa bdud and of stones, rDo bdud. In his retinue there are the four kings, the four sisters lCam mo, the Dregs, the Rol po, the four Ge ta, the seventy Rol mo, the guardians of the doors, sGo sruṅs, the officers, Las mk'an. This king is called Mi byams pa k'rag mgo "the merciless with bloody face"; he has four sons and four daughters, Lus gcig mgo dgu "one body nine heads", bDud kyi rñab pa (for: rñabs pa = to stretch out the hand, to catch), Lag riñ (Lag riñ is also a gNan who fought against gSen rab; see *sNan rgyud a dkar sems kyi me loñ* by Blo gros rgyal mts'an, pp. 5, 6, and ROCK, *op. cit.*, p. 49), T'an gyag btsan po, dGra bdud t'an po sler, T'in ril ma t'og ap'an ma, bDud za gser mgo ma, K'a lcam gdug pai dug mc'u ma. The vehicle of a special aspect of this king is the abrug k'yuñ, the k'yuñ of thunder. His weapon is *nad kyi k'ram žags* (the leash with knots causing diseases) and a *bka' zor* like a thunderbolt. Mounted on a white lion he went to the castle of the dMu (k'ro c'u dmu lug mk'ar) and he married dMu lcam mGrin snoñ (blue neck), the daughter of the ruler of the dMu; from this marriage dMu bdud k'am pa ša zan was born, having a man's body and a dragon's head, out of whose mouth hail issues. It is evident that these demons are not chthonian forces, but rather hypostases of various aspects of the stormy sky, as their abode in the sky suggests. This king of the bDud made an egg called *k'ro c'u dbal* to emanate from a whirl wind and a gigantic iron bird was born: the skyuñ ka, with copper beak and copper claws, the enemy of the offenders of the Bon; he becomes the mount of the king of the bDud, of his four sons sitting on his right wing, of his four daughters sitting on the left wing, and so on. He was exorcised by gSen rab and was directed by this master to fly against the castle of the enemies of the Bon and to devour their men and their riches.

This skyuñ ku is evidently an aspect of the K'yun and represents the storm as a fiendish force

which, aptly employed by the magician, turns into a defender of the community. This shows that the bird K'yuñ is not only a solar symbol but also a symbol of the stormy cloud (*Dra ba nag poi bsgrub t'abs drag po gnam lcags t'ogs bebs*). In fact according to other texts the egg from which this bird comes out was created in the darkness of a cloud agitated by a storm: *rluñ sprin ak'rug pai mun rum na*; see *Gra ba* (for *Dra ba*) *bdud kyi bya nag dbañ rgyal gyis bskañs mdos*, p. 21.

3. The SRIN PO are ogress. They correspond to the Indian Rākṣaṣa, though this equivalence is quite secondary and the result of the acquaintance by the Bonpos of Buddhist and generally Indian ideas.

4. The KLU will be dealt with later on.

5. BTSAN (and T'E) were some of the most powerful aboriginal deities of Tibet, though many of them disappeared after the spread of Buddhism, occasionally they survive, being included either in the class of the gNod sbyin or in that of the bTan sruñ "protectors of the Law", whose chief duty, after their conversion to Buddhism, is to punish the offenders of the Buddhist Law. As a rule, they are located in the *bar snañ viz.* in the intermediate space: *bar snañ mi agyur dkeyil ak'or nas btsan rigs* (*lJan gliñ*, p. 25). Their sphere coincides therefore with that of the gNan; the only difference being that the bTsan are the most prominent of the gNan, their rulers; this is confirmed by a statement of the legend of Ge sar: *gñan bdag btsan gyi sde ts'ogs* (*ibid.*, p. 28). They are innumerable; it is impossible to give a list of them; each place may be the abode of a bTsan: some attempts have been made at classifying them according to the place where they reside. So the *bTsan gyi mdos p'ran bklag c'og tu bsdebs*, RC, p'i, p. 3, shows them divided into the following groups: gnam (sky) bTsan aP'rul bu; gañs (glaciers) bTsan Rum bu; nags (woods) bTsan rNam pa; Sul ri gya "ravine slates", (no name); klu bTsan drag po; *snañ aBar te Ag se se btsan*; brag (rocks) bTsan aBar rje, Tsa tsa ram ram, bTsan tin pa, Ye btsan rñam pa.

It is evident that the bTsan can hardly be distinguished from the gNan. Anyhow, Kloñ rdol bla ma, in a treatise upon the bTan sruñ ma (*bsTan sruñ dam can rgya mts'oi min grāns*, p. 14) gives the name of the few bTsan who prevailed over the others. One of them is: gTsañ gi U yug gre mon reputed by some Tibetan scholars to be the same as gTsañ bTsan rdor legs or Ko loñ gtsañ btsan. Then, gNod sbyin tsi'u, red; sKyid šod rdson btsan; Sum riñ gri btsan; Kañ ka nag gi klu btsan; rTsa la t'og rgyug giñ btsan; He ña bod kyi rje btsan; sKu la žal gyi btsan. These are the so-called 7 bTsan rgod aBar ba. But according to other lists, the most important bTsan were dKar po spyan gcig; gZa' t'e, green; Bye ba guñ rin; gNam t'e, white, Yam šud, red; T'e se, black; Le gu lag riñ. The characters of these last bTsan are different from those of the previous ones. Some of these seven deities betray an astrological aspect; such is the case for instance of T'e se, known, as we shall see, as the god of the year, gZa' t'e, the t'e of the planets, gNam t'e, t'e of the sky, but of course we cannot yet say that their number had any connection with the seven planets.

Be it as it may, we meet here a new class of gods, though later included among the bTsan, who are also alluded to in a passage of the *bKa' t'añ sde lña*, upon which we shall come in another section of this paper, with the only difference that in the text *rñiñ ma pa* they are not seven, but nine.

We are here evidently confronted with another group of gods which, with a few exceptions, (for example *t'e se*), seem to have lost ground in the course of time, or to have been identified with the more popular gÑan and bTsan so that it almost disappeared. But generally, as shown by many passages of the legend of Gesar, the T'e were located in the three regions of the universe: sky, intermediate space and underworld. When Sa t'am the king of Ijañ is urged by his ancestral gods to wage war against Ge sar, gNam t'e white, Sa t'e black, and Bar t'e many-coloured appear to him in a dream. The first, as his name suggests, dwells in the sky, the second upon earth, the third in the intermediate space, (*Ijañ gliñ*, p. 2); while the first and the third dwell in a palace among the clouds, shining in the case of the gNam t'e and black in the case of Bar t'e, Sa t'e came forth from the great ocean. Again (p. 34) we read: *yar mk'yen gnam t'e dkar po mk'yen: mar mk'yen sa t'e nag po mk'yen; bar mk'yen bar t'e k'ra bo mk'yen*. It is clear from such passages that these T'e are in these cases the supreme lords of the three spheres into which the universe is divided; this makes them the counterpart of the bTsan.

But under these supreme T'e, there were smaller deities: the T'eu rañ, which, in fact, the *bKa' t'añ sde lña* mentions in the passage quoted above. The T'eu rañ resided in the lower spheres of heaven, in the atmosphere (*gNam lha dkar po man c'ad nas rgyal po t'eu rañ yan c'ad kyī/snañ srid lha adre* "the lha and adre of the atmosphere from the gNam lha dkar po down to the rGyal po t'eu rañ (may be satisfied with this sacrifice) (*Ri rab brtsegs mdos*, p. 15, published in RC, vol. p'i).

Their character is not defined, but they seem to have been above all inclined to do harm, like the gÑan and the gZa' (planets): their action can particularly be exercised against life, causing premature death: *t'eu rañ ts'e la rku ba zlog*, this prayer is found in some texts (*rGyal mdos dkar po drug mdos kyī bca' t'abs mdun bskyed*, p. 14, RC, pi). The PTY clearly states (TOUSSAINT, transl. p. 402) that they harm children.

The connection of the T'eu rañ referred to by the *bKa' t'añ sde lña* with the atmosphere is also evidenced by the astrological character of their names and chiefly from their being the sons of sPu yul mo Guñ rgyal: Guñ rgyal is the god of heaven, gNam. gNam is distinct from the mT'o ris, the paradise or rather paradises in which the various gods dwell; nor should gNam be taken as a synonym of Nam mk'a', the space where the stars and planets are located. gNam like the Tängri of the Turks and of the Mongols is the God of heaven, 天神 as it is called in the *T'ang shu*, ch. 196: Heaven here, as with the Turks, indicates the deity as well as the highest celestial sphere, above all other planes and heavens and their very center (*guñ*). This celestial

god is also simply called gNam gyi guñ rgyal (*Klu abum*, p. 103); probably his wife was A p'yi (the grandmother) gnam gyi guñ rgyal who by the fifth Dalai Lama (life of bSod nams rgya mts'o, p. 181) is identified with dPal ldan lha mo: her weapon is thunder; she therefore symbolizes the stormy sky.

Along with these gods the Bon po knew of another goddess, of the sky: Nam mk'a' gyu mdog snañ srid mdsod: she is called *snañ srid mdsod* because she is the origin of the worlds: *snañ srid, gjig rten t'ams cad kyī abyūñ gnas* (see *sNañ srid mdsod p'ags kyī gZuñ dan agrel pa ap'rul gyi sgron me*, p. 8). Her ornaments are sun, moon and stars; she is the cause of lightning, hailstorms, thunder and clouds.

The atmosphere is like a tent pitched upon the universe: "the wheel of the sky is a tent with eight ribs,, (*Ijañ gliñ*, p. 7 and *passim*). The pole of this tent is mount Te se, T i se, the equivalent of Sumeru. On the top there is a hole through which the summit of this mountain-pole passes. This is the centre of the higher plane of the atmosphere. It is a window (*dkar k'uñ*) and a center, *guñ*.

This seems to imply that above heaven there is the infinite luminous space from which, through that very hole, sun moon and stars receive the light; this is probably the sPu yul.

Down below in the shape of a lotus there is the earth: while the sky in the vertical division of space corresponds to *sten*, below earth is the underworld (*'og*). The first realm is white, the last is black. The intermediate space, *bar*, is of many colours, *k'ra bo*, since it partakes of either nature. Each realm is divided into different planes: 13 planes for the sky and 9 for the underworld (*gnod byed dam sri t'ams cad ni rim dgu sa yi'og tu soñ* "all harmful Dam sri went below the 9 storeys of the earth,, *gSañ bdag dregs pa adud byed las ts'ogs dam sri glut mdos*, p. 18, RC, p'i. This intermediate space encircles the pole of the cosmic tent, viz. the *gyuñ druñ* mountain with nine superimposed planes: *ri gyuñ druñ dgu brtegs* (*gSen rab nam par rgyal ba yid bžin nor bu rin po c'e*, p. 2). This mountain is guarded by four custodians, similar to the four Lokapālas of the Buddhist cosmology presiding over a corresponding point of the compass: their names change according to the different strata of the legend: in some texts (*gSen rab* etc.) these guardians ruling over the four directions (*p'yogs la mk'os pa*) are a tiger, a yak, a dragon, a k'yuñ (but in some texts the latter is on the top of the world: *snañ srid rtse la*; see *sNañ srid mdsod p'ugs kyī gZuñ dan agrel pa*, etc., p. 9). In the nuptial songs of Ladakh as well as in the Gesar saga (western recension) these custodians are: *Señ ge dkar mo gyu ral pa can*, the white lioness with turquoise mane, *Bya rgyal rgod po*, the royal wild bird, probably the k'yuñ; *rGya stag k'ra bo*, the piebald Chinese tiger, *Na mo gser mig*, the fish with golden eyes (FRANCKE, *Hochzeitslieder*, p. 35). Then, under the influence of Chinese astrology these four guardians became definitely: a tiger, a dragon, a bird, a tortoise.

There was a tendency among certain classes of Bon to emphasize the importance of gNam, which

once so prevailed that these Bon were called gNam Bon (SP, p. 150, Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 11 b) as opposed to other sects; but it is difficult to say if we have to see here a chronological evolution of the religion itself, as the account of some Buddhist historians would make us to believe (SP, p. 150), or if we are confronted with contemporary and coexisting forms.

6. LHA. After the introduction of Buddhism the Lha have been assimilated with the Devas of Indian mythology: but this assimilation is of no help in unveiling the essential character of the gods which the Tibetans, before Buddhism, called by this name. Generally they seem to have been especially celestial beings, and more benevolent than other classes of demons: they are white as opposed to the black *bdud* (Klon rdol, *op. cit.*, p. 12); but this statement cannot be taken as having an absolute value: the two deities presiding over man's destiny and located upon the two shoulders, the right and the left, are in fact called Lha.

Many other spirits, which have nothing to do with the sky, are equally called Lha, but it cannot be excluded that this denomination was partly due to the influence of Buddhism and of Indian terminology, viz. that it came about through an analogy with the mythical types Buddhism had made known, both through the *devas* of Indian sources and through the *t'ien* 天 of Chinese translations and of popular experiences connected with them. A treatise (*dNos grub rgya mts'oi c'a lag bsañ brñan adod dgu'i rgya mts'o*, RC, pi, p. 18) gives a list, for instance, of the following Lha: P'rag lha, gods presiding over men's shoulders, their vehicle is a k'yuñ; Ma lha, mother's gods wearing an ornament set with gems; T'ab lha, god of the hearth (translated: 灶君 *tsao chün*, the kitchen-god, in 四體合璧文鑑, chap. 19); K'yuñ lha on a white bull; Nor lha (Kubera); T'son lha, market-god; mGron lha, god of banquets; Lam lha, road-god; Zas lha, the god of food; P'yi lha, god of the outside; Nañ lha, god of inside; aGo lha (see S. CH. DAS, s. v.); P'o lha, dGra lha, Ma lha, Zan lha (the Uncle), Srog lha (god of life). (*bSañs me'od gnam sa snañ brgyad bdud rtsii sprin p'uñ dgos adod c'ar rgyan*, p. 3).

Nor are Lha so characteristic of the Bon and so dominating over other classes of gods as to give its name to the Bon religion. This was the opinion of Francke who considered Lha c'os as equivalent of Bon c'os. The expression Lha c'os is met, there is no doubt, in the *rGyal poi bk'a' t'ai*, p. 19 a, in the sense of Bon, but Lha c'os also indicates the bKa' gdams pa and their doctrines, as shown, for instance, by the following passage of SP, p. 198. *Lha ya kya t'ub, spyan ras gzeigs, sgröl ma, mi gyo ba b'zi dan c'os sde smod gsum ste lha c'os bdun gyi bka' gdams gon mai lugs bzañ*. Anyhow we may surmise that, in a general way, and with the exceptions and limitations referred to above, Lha are generally supposed to reside in the sky; they correspond to heavenly phenomena: such is the case f. i. of T'og lha or T'og lha 'od can and T'og lcam 'ur mo. It is clear that the first is lightning itself; the second,

said to be his daughter, is thunder which accompanies lightning. In other cases, as in the Sa skya genealogy, Lha are deities of an indefinite character who descend from heaven upon earth as ancestors of certain clans.

In general we may state that celestial phenomena had a great part in Bonpo mythology: besides the gods referred to above and the divine mother alluded to in the previous paragraph, we know that goddesses of clouds were worshipped: f. i. sPrin gyi lha mo, Na ro can (the roaring), Grags pa can (the noisy), C'ar pa can (the rainy), the four Nam nam (the goddess of day-break?), the five Lhañ lhañ, the eight lCe ts'ar, fourteen sPrin p'uñ (heaps of clouds), Glog gi sgron bk'yang (lightning), aBrug gi lce rdeb (thunder), T'og gi mda' ap'en (thunderbolt), Ser bai sna k'rid (hailstorm). (*bSañs me'od gnam sa snañ brgyad bdud rtsii sprin*, p. 4).

It is impossible at present to draw a distinction, if any ever existed, between Lha and gNam t'e. The Lha were certainly many, divided into many classes as many as the spheres of heaven, Bon po texts speaking, as a rule, of 13 celestial regions and therefore of as many groups of gods. Connected with Lha are the sMan. It is difficult to say what really was their nature: *sman* means either medicine or woman. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication that these sMan were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed. This seems to be the view of R. Stein: but generally sMan may be a honorific form indicative of the feminine gender and applied to ladies. Studying the evolution of the Tibetan onomasticon we find different ways of addressing goddesses or the wives of the nobility: lcam, jo mo, ma geig ma, abum, btsun mo. sMan had the same meaning. It is true that often, as in a passage of the *rGyal rab* (p. 54) we read: *lha dan smen*: "Gods and sMan,, as if they were two separate classes of beings: but nothing prevents us from understanding "Lha and their wives viz. Lha mo, ..

So in the legend of Ge sar Ne ne is called Lha sman rgyal mo, while in the *gSen rab rnam par rgyal ba yid b'zin nor bu rin po c'e* reference is often made to the Klu sman and to eight sMan mo; these are the eight *klu mo* and are therefore also called *klu lcam*, pp. 194-195.

The equivalence of sMan and lCam is proved by another passage of the same text in which mention is made of the goddess of lightning T'og sman, also called T'og lcam (*ibid.*).

So sMan is the female of any class of gods or demons: there are Lha sman in which the heavenly character is predominant; they are goddesses of light; the most important of them is gNam sman dkar mo whose four emanations are: Lha dkar po, Lha stas rgyal, 'Od kyi lha mo mdañ ldan ma, 'Od kyi lha mo rab tu ts'im byed ma (*sNañ srid mdsod p'ugs ky' g'z'uñ dan agrell pa* etc., p. 11). But, as I said, there are also eight Klu mo called the eight lcam mo, who are the younger sisters of the *klu*: they are also called mts'o sman (*ibid.*, p. 12; on mTs'o sman in the Gesar saga see STEIN, *Trente trois fiches*, p. 312). Sa sman



are also known: they are the same as the Sa bstan ma, i. e. sa brtan ma, goddesses of earth (*gNam sa snañ brygyad*, p. 16 b). But there was a separate class of sMan mo, perhaps identical with the Ma mo (*Klu mo, sman mo, dañ klu sman. Klu abum*, p. 43).

In Lamaism they lost this character, as it happened with all Bon po deities, and were included in the group of the bsTan srün. (Kloñ rdol, *op. cit.*, p. 5. *bstan ma bcu gñis ni: bdud mo bži, gnod sbyin mo bži, sman mo bži dañ bcu gñis*) or in that of the mK'a' agro ma "gtso mo yun drug man c'ad nas ajiḡ rten dman mo (= sman mo) yan c'ad keyi mk'a' agro t'ams cad ma lus kyis bskoñ,.. "All mK'a' agro ma, from gTso mo yun drug down to the dman mo of the world, be satisfied with this sacrifice,, (*Ri rab brtseḡ mdos*, RC, p'i, p. 15). The fierce aspect which is then attributed to them is but the result of their originally being Bon po goddesses: we saw in fact that the harmful character is inherent in all sorts of primeval Bon po deities.

7. DMU; see above.

8. ADRE. These are spirits of malignant character. Five classes of them at least are known: a) Za adre (on which see WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 494, n. 4 and R. STEIN, *Trente-trois fiches de divination Tibétaine*, HJAS, p. 354); b) God adre, demons causing loss; c) gSed adre, executors; d) C'u adre, who according to the printed edition of the story of Gesar, p. 13, are nine: c'u adre spuñ dgu; e) gSon adre said to cause material loss, to rob men of their wealth, (*Ner mk'oi gter p'ran man nag be bum* RC, p'i, p. 1). All these demons are considered the cause of mortal diseases: they are in a certain sense the messengers of death: some of their names, as Za adre, C'u adre, seem to imply that they were supposed to be the cause of all sorts of troubles: if it was discovered that food (za) or water (c'u) were the origin of a particular disease harassing a person, it was thought that that food or that water had become harmful on account of the presence in them of a adre; the latter was also named after the thing to which it imparted that obnoxious character. Everything harmful is a adre, is a partaker of a adre. So in the *gSañ bdag dregs pa adul byed las ts'ogs dam srii glud mdos* (RC, vol. p'i) it is written: "Dam srii abyuñ po and gSon adre began to run over Tibet: during the day they ran over the cemeteries, during the night they obstructed the vital air of all sorts of beings. Their shape was like that of a sorcerer. Their voice was like the voice of the animals of prey.,<sup>26)</sup>

9. AGON ADRE are equally harmful, though it is difficult to specify in what way they differed from the adre.

This list is an attempt at a summary classification of the divine world; under its nine items entire classes and cycles of divine beings were recorded. The expression "divine beings,, is not exact; we are in fact confronted with vague forces and entities, of whose power and agency men are greatly afraid: some of them are well disposed, others prevalently malignant. But the danger is always impending that even a peaceful deity, on account of some involuntary distraction of the believer, turns harmful, because,

as a passage of the Ges 1 saga says (*Ijañ gliñ*, p. 17, quoted also by R. STEIN, *Trente-trois fiches*, p. 310 n.); *Lha yañ bdud rañ yin pas* "gods are also demons,,

Another classification of deities quite independent of Buddhist ideas divides gods and demons into three fundamental classes. gÑan, Sa bdag, Klu. This division is based upon the three regions of the world upon which they rule: viz. *snañ, bar, 'og*: the space above, the intermediate space and the underworld, already referred to.

I. GÑAN Generally it is said that the gÑan reside in the space above: the Sa bdag in the *bar snañ*, the Klu under the earth. But this demarcation is far from being so rigid.

As a matter of fact the gÑan have no fixed place; they are to be found everywhere, they dwell in the supreme spheres, in the intermediate space and upon earth. We read in the *Klu abum*, p. 38: "the foremost of the gÑan of the supreme sphere is sPar ba duñ mgo gyui t'or tsug; but it is not said that he does not stay in places other than heaven; sTeñ gñan white, gÑan of the sun, gÑan of the moon,<sup>27)</sup> gÑan of the stars, gÑan of the planets, gÑan of the rainbow, gÑan of the clouds, gÑan of mud, gÑan of the wind, and many others endless as space; on earth they stay in the intermediate space; they are endless as the sky, they dwell in the mountains, snowy mountains, in the rocks and slates, in trees, woods, in the soil, in waters,.. Moreover in the text published by Laufer the difference between gÑan, Sa bdag and Klu is chiefly based upon the difference of the elements, or objects in which they dwell. The tripartite division of the *Klu abum* is here forgotten: we find there Klu living in springs, Sa bdag in four kinds of earth and gÑan in stones and trees (LAUFER, p. 33). In the nuptial songs of Ladakh (n. XX) published by Francke, there are four classes of gÑan: gÑan of sun and moon in the blue zenith, gÑan of wind in high rocks, the hurting (mss. *ldab* or *brdabs*) gÑan, in the ocean, the roaring gÑan of running water. The *Klu abum* contains a list (p. 75 b) of gÑan which betrays its composite character and points therefore to a later date of compilation. It has certainly been arranged when Bon po had already been influenced by Buddhist ideas, as shown by such names as Ratnaketu, Keturatna, rTse lña (Pañcaśikha). Other gÑan are fictitious like those corresponding to the four elements. Their chief is sPar ba duñ mgo gyui t'or t'sugs.

Ra tna ke tu (gÑan rgyal po).

K'ra bo ru skyogs (gÑan rgyal po).

'U sdoñ dgras po (gÑan rgyal po).

Duñ lus mgo man (gÑan rgyal po).

Gon sñon (gÑan rje).

A adred de (gÑan rgyal po).

aBrug rgyal sman gcig (gÑan rgyal po).

Miñ po (three, five, fifteen brothers) (gÑan rgyal po).

Sriñ mo (three, five, fifteen sisters) (gÑan rgyal po).

K'yuñ nag ral c'en (gÑan rgyal po).

Bya nag k'a sprod (gÑan rgyal po).

dBañ brygyad (gÑan rgyal po).

gZu bzi (gÑan rgyal po).  
 rTse lña (gÑan rgyal po).  
 rTse gu (*sic*, for dgu) (gÑan rgyal po).  
 Mar rin lham pa.  
 rDo sñin rin pa.  
 Grags can dar rgyal.  
 T'og t'og ser spyan.  
 Na k'ri abyams sleb.  
 K'a sbyan rgyal.  
 Ya ts'a t'og abebs.  
 Ke tu ra tna.  
 sToñ dal c'en.  
 K'ri rje srog gcod.  
 rLun gñan north (green).  
 C'u gñan west (red).  
 Me gñan south (blue).  
 Siñ gñan east (white).  
 Ni gñan }  
 Zla gñan } east  
 gZa' gñan }  
 sToñ gsum kun k'yab.  
 gÑam gñan white  
 Bar gñan many-coloured C'u gñan mor ba  
 Sa gñan yellow Gañs gñan  
 Brag gñan žag pa gYa' gñan  
 Sa gñan stoñ c'en Nags gñan

According to some texts (*bSañs me'od gnam sa snañ bryad bdud rtsii sprin*, RC, pi, p. 3), there are four kinds of big gÑan and 3000 of minor gÑan.

Their principal classes are: gÑam gÑan (of the sky) gYu abrug; Gañs g. (of the snowy mountains) Dun señ (the lion white as a conch-shell); mTs'o g. (of the lakes), lCoñ mo (the frog); Brag g. (of the rocks), gSer spreu (the golden monkey); Siñ g. (of wood), gZi brjid (the resplendent); Lam g. (of the roads), gSer sbrul (the golden snake); 13 kinds of aBrog gñan, gÑan rje Goñ sñon; Šar g. (of East) Byi ba stag rtse; Lho g. (of South) gYu rtse; Nub g. (of West) lCags rtse; Byañ g. (of North) gSer mgo; gÑan rGan de pa; Ma sañs g.

The general character of the gÑan is harmfulness. They are the cause of diseases: many of them are therefore called *nađ kyī rgyal po*, *nađ kyī rgyal mo* "kings or queens of diseases", (*bdud mo k'rag ral can gyi mdo*, RC, p'i, p. 2). Their name is connected with *ñes pa*, "offence, evil", *non pa* ( $n + ya$  tags = ñ; for examples see LOEBER, *Morphology of the Tibetan language*, p. 123). But gÑan is homophone with *giñ* "friend and helper"; this fact permits the name gñan to be pronounced with no danger of evoking the spirit it designs.

II. SA BDAC. It is difficult to draw a distinction between the gÑan and the Sa bdag, because while the place upon which the Sa bdag rule is the earth, the gÑan, as we know, can dwell everywhere. The immateriality of the abode of the gÑan suggested the idea that they can change their dwelling, or that they can easily shift from one place to another; on the contrary the Sa bdag are bound to that particular piece of soil over which they preside. Moreover while in the gÑan the harmful and malignant aspect

predominates, the Sa bdag are rather indifferent, in the sense that they can equally be good or bad. They become dangerous only when offended or when a mistake has been committed in the performance of the liturgy intended to propitiate them. They have therefore the same character as the *Klu*. There is no place upon earth which is not presided over by them: they are the masters of the soil: man is therefore their subject: every human work is accomplished in their domain.

They rule over the mysterious connection which binds men to a special part of the soil, be it the village, the house or a part of the house. When one changes one's dwelling-place the propitiation of the new Sa bdag is the most important act to be performed: no work in the fields can be undertaken, no building begun without the consent of the Sa bdag of the place. It is therefore evident that these Sa bdag are numberless. Still, certain books like the *Klu abum* (p. 76 a), contain an attempt at enumerating the most important of them.

Four kings of the Sa bdag.  
 Four ministers (*blon*) of the kings of the Sa bdag.  
 rGod mjug the officer (*sa bdag gi sna*).  
 Lag c'en.  
 rTsañ rtsañ (*sa bdag gi rgyal po*) (LAUFER, *Sühngedichte*, p. 32).  
 Lha mo bstan ma (called *rgyal po*, but she is the goddess of earth).  
 rTsañ kun p'ye bo.  
 gSer gyi rus sbal.  
 Lo lha T'e se.  
 mDeu t'uñ ma (*sa bdag btsun mo*).  
 gTsañ kun (*sa bdag blon po*) (LAUFER, *ibid.*, rTsañ kur).  
 Hal k'yi nag po.  
 gÑam k'ri brtan.  
 sToñ k'ri gtsug.  
 sToñ gsum kun k'yab.  
 Lus dños po med par lag pa p'yogs bžir rkyon pa.<sup>28</sup>  
 sToñ c'en k'yab pa.  
 sTag, tawney (Sa bdag of the East).  
 gYu abrug, blue (Sa bdag of South).  
 aP'ran, black (Sa bdag of West).  
 Bya, red (Sa bdag of North).

If we have to judge from this list it seems that some of these *Sa bdag* were something more than the *gZi bdag* supposed to rule over a limited area, a rock, a ford, a mountain pass, the land were a village or a house are built. Though, nowadays, the word Sa bdag is generally taken in the sense of *gZi bdag*, lord of a particular spot, the list of the *Klu abum* gives the Sa bdag a higher rank; in fact it includes among them some gods of Indian or Chinese origin, thus betraying its later age of compilation. In fact we meet here the cosmic tortoise *gser gyi rus sbal*, the T'e se, god of year, and rTsañ kun of which we shall speak later on: sToñ gsuñ k'yab seems to be imagined after the Tibetans became acquainted with Indian

cosmology (*trisāhasra-lokadhātu*); even Ts'añs pa = Brahmā is included among the Sa bdag (LAUFER, *Sihngedichte*, p. 32). In later times, after the victory of Buddhism, these great Sa bdag fell into oblivion or were given the rank of bTsan or gÑan: only the Sa bdag = gži bdag remained.

III. The KLU do not present a great difficulty: their element is water: therefore they abide in springs, wells, rivers, oceans, but generally their home is the underworld. Like the Sa bdag they are generally indifferent: or rather some classes of them are good and others bad. One should know how to avoid their wrath and how to propitiate them. Since Buddhism gave a large part to *nāga* worship, through Buddhism a great many Indian ideas about *nāgas* crept into the Bon cult of the Klu. It is therefore not always easy to distinguish what is purely Tibetan and what is due to Buddhist influence.

Lamaism could not in fact dispense with the cult of those entities; they were so deeply rooted that any attempt at opposing them would prove ineffective; it would have been even unconceivable, since Buddhism could not disregard those powers in which people believed, to whose agency calamities befalling men and cattle were attributed and the control of whose will it was a duty of Lamaism to ensure; it therefore happened that, though belonging to religious ideas for which Lamaism had no sympathy and which on the contrary it fought, they became the object of a complicated liturgy.

The consequence was that these cycles of Sa bdag, gÑan and Klu were never closed in Lamaism. The cycle of Sa bdag and Klu is, in fact, always open to new recruits. It was enriched by continuous acquisitions according as Lamaism came in contact with other peoples, became aware of their religious experiences and tried to adapt them to its conceptions: in this way, prebuddhistic cults were given a garb of orthodoxy which allowed the maintenance of deities and demons who in fact had nothing in common with Buddhism or were even repugnant to it. We may consider here two interesting instances of this kind: first the introduction into the Sa bdag cycle of astronomical gods taken from China, secondly the acceptance of Mongolian deities when the Yellow Church spread in Mongolia after the conversion of Altan Khan by bSod nams rgya mts'o. When Chinese astrology entered Tibet, some Chinese astrological gods crept into the cycle of the Sa bdag and on the other hand many of the Sa bdag were given a place in the new astronomical scheme. This fact is clearly pointed out by the fifth Dalai Lama (see above p. 136) who states that Chinese astrology, introduced at the times of the Tibetan Kingdom, was chiefly concerned with the cult of Sa bdag. The pictorial representation of the cyclic evolution of time was in fact imagined in the figure of a tortoise, the golden tortoise (*gser gyi rus sbal*), upon which the twelve animals and the 12 series of the five elements are located, as the symbol of the rotation of the sexagenary periods: along with the 12 animals and the elements,

a series of Sa bdag figures in this scheme, which is accepted by the learned treatises on astrology (f. i. the *Vai đur ya dkar po*) and by their popular interpretations as well. The scheme in which the prominent elements are the tortoise and the king of the year, *t'e se*, can be summarized in the following table.

	N	
	Beu abyin	
	yellow tortoise	
NW		NE
Drañ pai mi bo		gSer ña bo
(hrad pai mi bo)		
W		E
Hañ p'an		T'e se
red bird		tawny tiger
SW		SE
Grub sñen		p'i lin
(lag pa can)		p'ar ma
	S	
	gTsan kun	
	blue dragon	

This scheme is taken from a booklet even nowadays much used by the popular rTsis pa or astrologers called also *dbon po* (but see also *Vai đur ya dkar po*, p. 442, and *bSañs me'od gnam sa snañ brgyad būd rtsii sprin*, RC, pi, p. 3). This book which is contained in the mDo mañ (M. LALOU, *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain*, N. 149) bears the following title: *rgya nag skad du ar ya pa ra yañ rgyad rta. Bod skad du ap'ags pa gnam sa snañ brgyad ces bya ba t'eg pa c'en poi mdo.*<sup>29)</sup>

It is apocryphal; the title was already discussed by LAUFER, *Tibetan loan words*, p. 428 ff. and by BANG, GABAIN and RACHMATI, *Türkische Turfantexte*, Berlin, SBAW, 1934, who came to the conclusion that *ārya* is evidently sanscrit *ārya*, *para* is a mistake for Chinese pa 八 eight and *yañ* for Chinese yang 陽. As to the contents, this booklet has nothing in common with the other text translated by HUTH and then from the Turkish by BANG and his collaborators. It contains (side by side with a purely Tibetan, more probably, prebuddhistic, list of gods) clear influences of China: In some cases this influence is quite evident; f. i. the list of the eight Pa kua. In other cases the Chinese origin of some astrological deities is less evident but equally certain. Let us begin with the four animals located in the four directions of the compass: tiger, dragon, bird, tortoise: these correspond to the green dragon, spring: red bird, summer; white tiger, autumn: black tortoise, winter (in the Turkish text: black snake) of Chinese folklore. The influence of Chinese astrology is clear: the k'yun or the yak of the aboriginal and older group of four celestial animals have disappeared. The position of the animals differs between the two texts: in the Turkish document we have: East-dragon, West-tiger,

South-bird, North-snake, but in our text the cycle begins with the tiger East and continues with the dragon South, as in the list of the Sa bdag (given above) etc. The names of the principal Sa bdag of the cycle seem to point to the same Chinese influence. We have a central deity, T'e se, which we have already met; but on eight points of the compass other beings are placed.

The astronomical character of T'e se is clearly shown by the designation of "god of the year,, *lo lha t'e se* which appears not only in such a late book as the *Vai dūr ya dkar po* but also in the Bon po book *Klu abum dkar po* (p. 76 etc.). He cannot be dissociated from the 360 Gi k'od who represent the rotation of the 360 days of the lunar year round the axis of the world. That we must speak of 360 Gi k'od<sup>30)</sup> and not of one Gi k'od as Doctor Hoffman seems to believe, is proved not only by the verbal statement of a learned lama, Nam mk'a' a'jig med rdo rje, a Bon po priest lately converted to the rDsogs c'en sect, whom I met twice in Tibet, but also by the fact that our sources often speak of a cycle of 360 gods: f. i. *P'yag len ltar gsañ snags spyi spuñs agro lugs zin ris k'a bskañ*, p. 5a: *Ge k'od sum brgya drug bcu bsañ*, "be the 360 Ge k'od purified,,. Then Kloñ rdol bla ma in his treatise on the bsTan sruñ (p. 14) refers to "the 360 mc'ed ak'or, the 360 brothers,,. These 360 brothers can only be the 360 lunar days whose chief, Dam can rdo legs, was subdued by Padmasambhava PTY, chap. 90 (p. 245 of the transl. by Toussaint); (so also Francke, *Lower Ladakhi Version of the Gesar Saga*, Calcutta, 1905-1941, p. 489).

The fact that T'e se is the god of the year and that astrological gods are subordinate to him, points to his being himself an astronomical deity, and the center of a cycle. We cannot help thinking of Jupiter presiding over a cycle of 60 years in India, as well as in China: one might be even inclined to presume that there is a connection between T'e se and 太歲 *t'ai sui* "the great year,, a name given to Jupiter ruling over the cycle of 60 years, but the existence in Tibetan mythology of T'e, t'eu rañ, as a well-defined class of gods, or of the Se, so common in Tibetan demonology, might suggest that T'e se was an aboriginal god upon which later astrological ideas, hailing from China, were grafted, with the result that he was identified with Jupiter. Subsequently T'e se, the god of the year, was identified with Te se, Ti se, Sumeru the cosmic mountain, since this also is the pole round which the rotation of the stars takes place (cfr. PTY transl. Toussaint, p. 247). As regards the other names of the Sa bdag represented on the wheel of Time, we are on a surer ground. Tsañ kun is Chinese 將軍 Chiang chün, the general, a name for 太白 Venus. Hañ pan is Chinese 黃幡 "the yellow banner,, in which Bang proposes to see Saturn; according to the Chinese, the yellow colour in fact corresponds to Saturn. Beu abyin is Pei ch'ên 北辰 the North star. Of the same origin is another god Gap<sup>31)</sup> referred to in the same book. Gap is Chinese chia<sup>4)</sup> or 大甲, according to SCHLEGEL, *Ouranographie*, p. 532, the "6 étoiles dans Céphée et la giraffe,,<sup>32)</sup>

As to the second point, viz. the gradual increase of the cycle of the Sa bdag, in course of time, when Lamaism spread among provinces other than Central Tibet, some of the booklets employed by the exorcists and dealing with the worship of Sa bdag and gÑan clearly point to the easternmost parts of Tibet as the places of their written compilation; from that country therefore these cults were introduced into official Lamaism.

I refer, out of the many examples which I could quote, to the *Dam sri gyag ru dgra ajom*, of which mention has been made above. It teaches how to subdue malignant spirits and to imprison them in a yak-horn to be then placed upon those cairns frequently seen on the mountain passes. In this book the geographical area is evidently limited to K'ams: in fact in the East it locates rGya (nag), China, in the South Ijañ, in the West Tibet, in the north Hor. K'ams is therefore the country where the liturgy connected with Sa bdag was expounded in that treatise was elaborated. To the same country we have to look for the original place of many local gods there referred to, even if a Lamaistic turn has been given to them by the half Buddhist, half Bon po compilers of this booklet.

Moreover, from a passage of PTY we presume that the T'eu rañ, often mentioned in the course of this work, were deities of Eastern Tibet, K'ams, where Padmasambhava, in his apostolic tour, forced them to embrace Buddhism (PTY, chap. LX, Toussaint's translation, p. 406).

When bSod nam rgya mts'o advised Altan Khan to give up many of the traditional shamanic beliefs of the Mongols, he realized that an uncompromising repudiation of the ancient gods of the Mongols would have greatly hampered the diffusion of Buddhism: he therefore opened the doors of Lamaism to the most important shamanic gods and allowed them to enrich the class of the gÑan and Sa bdag.

A good example of this process is afforded by a liturgic book written by the third Pañ c'en lama of Tashilunpo Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye šes, which boldly includes shamanic gods in the scheme of Lamaistic orthodoxy: *Yul lha gži bdag-ak'unis sogs la mc'od gior abul ts'ul gyi skor ba*. Though this work seems to be a general treatise upon the *gži bdag* dealing with some of the most famous Tibetan entities of this class, such as T'añ lha, it is clear that its chief purpose is to ratify the acceptance of the shamanic deities in the lamaist Pantheon. Even worship is influenced by shamanism: kumis for instance, peculiar to the Mongol libations, is reserved for these gods: it is called: *rita mc'og 'o mai cañ or rta c'añ*:

Bloody sacrifices (*ža dmar*), an evident survival of early cults, are tolerated (p. 26).

It is also interesting that among the offerings are included the *spyan zigs* which, as we know, are the stuffed skins of animals suspended in the mGon k'añ of the Tibetan temples and which remind us of a similar practice of the Turco-Mongol tribes.

These *gži bdag* include the largest variety of local gods: *Hal hai yul gyi yul lha kun*, p. 8; and even

Gengis khan, the glory of the Mongols, is included among them: *gnam gyi ye moñ btsan po yis/dbañ bsgyur stobs ldan cin k'ir sogs/yul lba gži bdag ma lus pa/gnas adir spyan adren g'legs su gsol*, p. 27.

#### 4. RITES INTENDED TO SAVE FROM THE INFLUENCE OF THE SA BDAG

The obnoxious character of these Sa bdag and gÑan implies a series of practices and prayers intended to appease them: there is no act in life, no work in the fields, no building of a house, no fording of a river which potentially may not result in an offence, even involuntary, to the Sa bdag and gÑan.

These beliefs are a survival of the prelogical conception of primitive Tibetans which attributed disease, death and the various accidents of life to the agency of mysterious forces, connected with special classes of demons.

Since they are everywhere, potentially there always exists for men the impending danger of incurring their wrath. Civilisation, as related in the stories of the *Klu abum*, is nothing but a continual offence to the Sa bdag and gÑan: and therefore it implies the knowledge of appropriate rites intended to appease them.

In former times, we read for instance in that work (p. 39 a), when Srid rgyal bu t'en ge po took possession of earth and was invested by Ye mk'yen with power over the country, there were reasons of enmity and struggle.

"When stones in which gÑan had their abode were quarried in order to make pillars and build castles, there was strife with the gTod, lords of stones: when trees in which gÑan had their abode were cut down with the hatchet, there was strife with the gÑan, lords of the trees. When the sickle cut the branches of the fruit-trees in which the gÑan had their abode and those branches were placed upon the roofs of the huts, there was strife with the gZed, the lords of the fruit-trees. When in order to build castles the hoe dug up the earth where gÑan had their abode, there was strife with the spirits of the soil and of the earth (*ts'on*).

"When the hair of the black wild yaks, the Sa bdag, was cut in order to make tents, there was strife against the Sa bdag, who are the four guardians of the door. When upon earth the pure surface was delimited wherein to erect sacred buildings (*me btsa'*) or when the earth was bled (in order to make fountains or irrigation works), there was enmity (with those spirits). When those pure surfaces wherein to erect sacred buildings were delimited, viz. when mc'od rten, temples (lit.: castles for the gSas), tombs (*mnan pa*) were built, there was enmity with the Klu, the gÑan and the Sa bdag. When the earth is bled, viz. a pond is dug up in order to draw water, enmity is caused; when water is collected in a ditch and it is led into the canals for irrigation, enmity is caused with the same spirits,,"

Even to-day the exorcists ask the Sa bdag to forgive the offences committed by men against them in their daily works; the sins whose remittance is invoked are almost the same as those spoken of in the passage of *Klu abum* translated above (cf. Sa bdag *b'lag abum*).

The wrath of these spirits must then be placated by having recourse to appropriate prayers, regular offerings, exorcisms, immolation of victims, dedication of scape-goats and so on. These ideas gave birth to a vast literature, largely apocryphal and very often said to have come from China. I refer here to a few of these treatises still very popular in Tibet: they are generally employed by the *nags pa*, *rtsis pa*, *dbon po*, exorcists or astrologers.

1. *U rgyan pad mas mdsad pai lba mo brygad kyī ts'es grañs rtags pa.*

2. *aP'ags pa ajam dpal gyi gsuñ pai lto nag mts'an mai dgra zor.*

3. *Ma moi mdos.*

To these texts the small treatise published by LAUFER, *Sühngedichte der Bon po* should be added, since it belongs to the same kind of liturgical literature.

From these booklets it appears that the two chief ways of diverting the danger caused by these gÑan and Sa bdag and generally by all obnoxious forces are the *mdos* and the *lto*: though the pronunciation of the two words is almost similar, they refer to two different things. Sometimes, instead of *lto*, the form *gto* is used (for instance S. CH. DAS, JRASB, 1881, p. 194, l. 11). Another similar rite is the one called *yas* (the same related by S. CH. DAS, p. 190, l. 3, *ya stag*) which we have already seen to be the special occupation of some particular Bon priests. The *mdos* are sufficiently known: a description of them can be found in WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 464.<sup>33</sup> (Cfr. also STEIN, *Trente-trois fiches de divination*, p. 318; a picture of them is seen in FRANCKE, *Tibetische Hochzeitslieder*, fig. 14; RIBBACH, *Drogpa Namgyal*, p. 161). As regards the *lto*, a word which is not found in our dictionaries, the fact that some texts, as for instance the *Lha mo brygad kyī ts'es grañs*,<sup>34</sup> refer to *mdos* and *ltos* separately, shows that they are quite different, as can be seen from the following table.

Days in which the goddess is obnoxious	Name of the goddess	Way to avert the danger	
		<i>mdos</i>	<i>lto</i>
1, 9, 17, 25	'Od zer ma	<i>btsan mdos, lba gsol, rnam ajom, rgyal mdos</i>	<i>nar glud gtsañ</i> or black sheep to the North
2, 10, 18, 26	bsTan ma	<i>rgyal mdos</i>	<i>nar glud</i> black surrounded by <i>at'eb kyu</i> : <sup>35</sup> the image of a stag or of a sheep on which one's own clothes and shoes must be hung is thrown in a place where four roads meet
3, 11, 19, 27	dKar bsal ma	<i>rgyal mdos</i>	<i>s nar glud, s c'an bu</i> , <sup>36</sup> <i>s at'eb skyu</i> with urine of the deceased person thrown in a place where four roads meet

Days in which the goddess is obnoxious	Name of the goddess	Way to avert the danger	
		<i>mdos</i>	<i>lto</i>
4, 12, 20, 28	gDönis ldan ma	<i>rgyal mdos</i>	<i>ñar glud</i> on which one's own clothes and shoes have been hung
5, 13, 21, 29	C'ar ap'eb's ma	—	Applying black stripes upon a black sheep, this must be carried towards the South
6, 14, 22	gYo byed ma	—	Image of a bullock to which one's own clothes and shoes must be appended; making the image of a horse of the cyclic year ( <i>lo rta</i> ), it should be led to a place when four roads meet
7, 15, 23	'Od c'an ma	( <i>ñar glud</i> ) o' the same number as one's own years must be offered to the bTsan	Image of an ass on which one's own food must be hung and then thrown towards the South
8, 16, 24 full moon	sKyon byed ma	<i>rgyal mdos</i>	Image of a bullock, etc., to be thrown towards the South

It is clear that a *lto* is an exorcism meant to avoid an impending calamity or to remove a disease which has befallen a man. Occasionally it may be a mere formula and in that case the *mantra* is called a *lto*. But generally it denotes a complicated ceremony whose essential character however is to be a *glud*, viz. a substitution by means of which the calamity or the disease is transferred into some other things, in other words, a ransom paid to the obnoxious demons and accomplished by substituting something else for one's own self. This something else is called *ñar glud*: the expression is not found in the dictionaries. S. Ch. Das under *ñar* registers *ñar glud* but he gives it, probably erroneously, the meaning of: hoarseness and phlegm. But the comparison of the passages where this expression occurs leaves no doubt as to its real meaning. This *ñar glud* is in the shape of a man (*mi glud*), the man who wants to get rid of that dangerous influence himself. Logic here gives may to magic: that image becomes a mediator between the diseased person and the Sa bdag supposed to be the cause of his illness. During the ceremony the image assumes a personality: it becomes the *ñar mi*, *ñar mi bo c'e*, "the ransom man, . . . He comes to ask for the *glud* (ransom): and this is given him according to his request; not the very things he wants but their symbols, which according to the magic mentality amounts to the same end. In place of the diseased person twenty-one small images of him made of barley flour and butter are offered and placed upon the *ñar glud*. His requests are in this way satisfied: and then the *lto*, as it is now called, can be taken over by the Sa bdag of the various quarters: they are compelled to do so because, if they refuse, their head or their body, by the curse of aJam dpal splits into small pieces.

The *lto* therefore does not consist in a mere *glor ma*, but in a ceremony which in some cases turns into a short dramatic performance where a dialogue takes place between the exorcist, *lto mk'an*, and the *ñar mi*; this implies that an assistant of the exorcist impersonates the *ñar mi* and replies for him. This ceremony is described in some manuals, as for instance in the *Ban bon shags pa la sog's pa p'a rol ky'i bod stod byad k'a p'ur k'a bzlog pai lto* (mss. sto) attributed to Pad ma aByuñ gnas.<sup>37</sup>

But in former times a *lto* as practised by the Bon pos could also consist in the transfer of the impending calamity from one man to another man as his substitute. The demons wanted their victim, and the ability of the exorcist consisted in substituting the man in danger with some other person who might be one of his relatives or anybody else. An instance of this kind is recorded in the DT and is attributed to a Bon po priest hailing from Bru ža, viz. from Gilgit. DT, *ña*, p. 75 a:

There was in bSam yas a story runs a prince called Ži ba 'od, whose son fell ill: an exorcist from Bru ža was then called who employing his mother as a *lto* caused him to escape the impending danger. Six years later the boy was sick again and then the exorcist said that the only way to save him was to employ as a *lto* a famous monk the spyan śña Gags pa aByuñ gnas. When he came, the *lto* was carefully prepared by the Bon po, but it proved unsuccessful and the exorcist as well as the prince of bSam yas died.

### 5. GREAT VARIETY OF GODS AND DEMONS

To sum up this investigation of the various attempts of the Tibetans at enclosing in some frames the fluctuating world of their religious intuitions, it appears that these classifications do not cover at all the great variety of spirits, ghosts, demons, gods in which Tibetans believed. The character of these beings was in many cases so vague that it was very difficult to establish a demarcation between them.

They were equally supposed to possess some mysterious powers on account of which they were able to interfere with the life of men and to influence the course of nature. They were generally malignant, inclined to do harm; the most important element connected with their cult was therefore an expiation or a ransom.

Even the place where they were supposed to dwell is not enough to establish a clear distinction between the various classes of gods: for lack of individuality these divine groups tended to blend together. This explains how, little by little, many categories of spirits came under the general designation of Sa bdag or gNan. But there is evidence enough to surmise that originally there was a far greater variety of spirits, gods, demons, than these lists of eight, nine or three groups could make us imagine.

Here are some other classes of demons, record of which is made in the Bon po literature or in the manuals of the exorcists.<sup>36)</sup>

*aByuñ po*: they certainly are the same as the *bbūta* of Indian mythology.

*Gri po* and *gri mo* male and female, probably supposed to kill by means of a *gri*, a knife, or to be armed with that weapon.

*Sri*: they were of various classes; we know for instance male and female *sri*: *p'o sri* and *mo sri*; also *c'uñ sri*, viz. those who cause the diseases of children: the baby killed by them, in so far as it is identified with the *sri* itself, is called *sri'u*. *P'uñ sri* is the *sri* abiding in the stones heaped up on a tomb: *Dur sri* is generally the *sri* living in the cemetery; *xi sri* causes death. *Dam sri* is of a dubious character (cf. STEIN, *Trente-trois fiches de divination*, p. 331 and foll.). There were also *sri* of animals: a *rta sri* f. i. is known (*Klu bsans bla sel c'en mo dan klu t'ebz p'an yon bcas*, p. 4).

Then we know that the *gZed* were a special class of *gÑan* dwelling in the fruit-trees, while the *gÑan* presiding over stones were called *gTod*.

But be it as it may, the conclusion seems to derive from this excursus on Tibetan demonology, that the gods about whom we hear in some Tibetan works as being the leading gods of the Bon po are far from belonging to the primitive strata of Bon po religion. Such are for instance those alluded to by S. CH. DAS in *Journal of Buddhist Texts Society*, 1893, part III: the five Lha mo *gZi brjid mt'a' yas ma*, *aGra dbyaṅs mdaṅs ldan* etc., the five Lha *c'en po*, the five *gŠen rab* and so on and those referred to by me when explaining *tanka n. 120*. There is hardly any doubt that these deities were given a shape after the Bon religion had greatly been influenced by triumphing over Buddhism and are therefore far less interesting for getting a glimpse of the primitive religious ideas of Tibet than the demons and gods referred to above.

The Bon po religion underwent a long evolution; its original shamanic ideas and rites, which were floating and vague and did not represent a homogeneous unity, but had infinite local varieties according to the different tribes, were first given a dogmatic elaboration by a *gŠen rab* of *Žaṅ žuṅ gŠen rab mi bo c'e*, which is a title not a personal name, just like *muni* in Buddhism.

His was probably an attempt at codifying the religious and magic lore of the Bon po in a written corpus. Later, when Buddhism definitely triumphed and its philosophical superiority was generally acknowledged, many Buddhist ideas crept into Bon po. The authors of the new changes of the Bon were two *gter ston* who, anticipating that in future the Bon po religion would spread, gave a Buddhist shape to the Bon (*c'os bon du sgyur ba yin*; *Apology rÑin ma pa*, p. 48). One of them was *Ku sa sman pa*, a contemporary of *Mi la ras pa* (*ibid.*). Another *gTer ston*, who discovered new Bon po texts and evidently with the same purpose, was *Bon po Lha abum* (*ibid.*) recorded also by PTY (p. 377, transl. Toussaint) who is supposed to have divulged many *gter ma*

concerning medicine, astrology, Buddhism and Bon. This does not mean that all Bon po texts were handled in that way; many certainly go back to the ancient times, though it is very likely that they were revised so as to satisfy the new spiritual situation. Many Bon po books, just like the *gTer mas* of *rÑin pa ma pa*, are said to have been buried in the times of *K'ri sroñ lde btsan*, when this king definitely accepted Buddhism. On that occasion some great Bon po teachers as *gŠen Drañ pa nam mk'a'* were exiled to the frontier, but the Bon po specialised in expelling impending calamities (*ajig rten ap'ral rkyen zlog*) buried the books of the nine vehicles. The story goes that after seven royal generations they were discovered by three *ācāryas* near *bSam yas* and then sold to *Bru ža gŠen Šes rab 'od*, *aDar Ša kya mu ne* and *'O mati byaṅ c'ub* who thought that those books were Buddhist. Two of these masters then recognized them as Bon po and threw them away; but *aDar* elaborated them and handed them over to his descendant *gZa' skyur*. In this way the *aDar* bon school originated, which branched off in four sections named after their founders: *K'ra ts'aṅ abrug bla*, *sNe byed ne gu*, *Tsaṅ* and *Na ro bon c'uñ* the contemporary of *Milaraspa* (*Apology*, p. 57).<sup>37)</sup>

These things are here told to show once more the complexity of the Bon po problem and to bring in a few new data which may give some hints to future research.

## 6. EARLY GODS AND MOUNTAINS

The *bTsan* deserve special mention among the primitive gods of Tibet. We saw that they are said to be lords of the *gÑan*: somehow or other they prevailed over the infinite number of *gÑan*. Their preminence in the world of spirits brought as a consequence their prominence in the consideration of men. They appear in fact as tribal gods. They were deities located in a particular place, generally a mountain, in some cases a whole country, over which they were considered to preside. The *bTsan* was the all powerful spirit under whose sway other demons and entities were supposed to be. He therefore was the patron of the ethnical groups living in that very country: he was a ruler, the spiritual ruler over a district and its inhabitants. This means that there is a connection between *bTsan* (*gÑan bdag*, as we saw) and *bTsan po* (or *bTsad po*), the title given to the first rulers of Tibet; the *bTsan po* (*p'o*), king, was the reflection upon earth of the divine *bTsan*, his representative in the human world, the mediator between him and his subjects. That explains why in the titles of the kings of Tibet the elements *bTsan* and *ldeu*, a name peculiar to a class of Bon po (see p. 715), are always met with.

The story of the favours bestowed by *K'ri sroñ lde btsan* upon Buddhism and the building of *bSam yas* have therefore a wider implication. The king, i. e. the intermediary between the country and the *bTsan*, the controller of the forces ruling all-powerful, though



unseen, upon Tibet, having accepted Buddhism, the country remained helpless against those demons; this is one of the chief reasons of the hostility which Buddhism found in its beginnings. This is also the reason why there was strife between the old and the new religion; the aboriginal deities overran Tibet with all sorts of diseases and epidemics. It was therefore necessary first of all to placate the national demons and this is hinted at by the rÑin pa ma legend which tells us the real *digvijaya*, the triumph of Padmasambhava over the local demons. This meant that the country had changed its patrons; Buddha took the place of the bTsan, but the ruler equally remained the intermediary between his people and the new religious world. That is why bSam yas was built; it was built as a cosmos, with its four great continents, *gliñ bži*, and its minor continents, *gliñ p'ran*, it was surrounded by a *lcags ri*, the *cakravāla*, as in that projection of the universe which is the mañḍala. It was a new world substituted for the old one; it was a rebuilding of the universe which did not exclude, but contained as subordinates, the ancient gods. It centered round the king who was newly invested by a baptism with water miraculously procured by Padmasambhava.

The localization of the bTsan is clearly shown by the names of some of them and by certain survivals which Buddhism could not completely cancel. We saw that some of the most famous bTsan are connected with certain parts of Tibet.

The twelve bTsan srūn ma referred to above and who inherited the characters of the bTsan were equally supposed to be the patrons of twelve partitions of Tibet. They were local deities so deeply rooted in the religious experience of the Tibetans that they survived the decline of Bon. In spite of the variety in names and iconographic aspect, they have many characters in common, so as to appear as different forms of the same fundamental intuition; as it happened in India with the manifestations of the Great Mother, Durgā, Kālī, Āmbā, etc., these Tibetan goddesses are generally considered to be different aspects of dPal ldan lha mo, the Tibetan form of Kālī. Like this goddess they are supposed to appear in two different aspects one peaceful and the other wrathful. Their list according to Kloñ rdol (*op. cit.*, p. 5 b) is:

rDo rje kun grags nam mk'a' p'yug mo localized in gNam mts'o p'yug mo in the North;  
 rDo rje gya' ma skyoñ localized in Lha ri in Southern Tibet;  
 rDo rje Kun bzañ localized in La p'yi gañs kyi ra va;  
 rDo rje bgegs kyi gtso bo localized in Yar abrog mts'o;  
 rDo rje spyān gcig ma localized in Lha p'u gañs ri;  
 K'a rag k'yuñ btsun localized in Jo mo k'a rag (between dBus and gTsan);  
 rDo rje klu mo localized in Byān stod and dMar mts'o;  
 rDo rje drag mo rgyal localized in rMar ti byams or rMa ri c'en spom ra;<sup>40)</sup>  
 Koñ btsun de mo rdo rje, Bod k'ams skyoñ, localized in Bres na ri gdoñ in Koñ;<sup>41)</sup>

bTsan rol pai rdo rje sMan gcig ma in gÑal lo ro;  
 sMan btsun rdo rje gyar mo sil localized in Jo moñs rgyal in gTsañ stod;  
 rDo rje gyu sgron ma localized in K'ams gyu ri.<sup>41)</sup>

The same localization is found for the first kings of Tibet, divided, as known, into different classes. Leaving aside the *sTeñ*, let us consider the seven *K'ri* and the six *Legs*. The official lists of these have been studied by dr. L. Petech,<sup>42)</sup> but it is now necessary to examine them in the light of the Bon po traditions.<sup>43)</sup> These, though considering the two lists separately, include *K'ri* and *Legs* in a whole class, probably in order to reach the sacred number 13. The seven *K'ri* of the orthodox tradition of the *rGyal rabs* are the seven celestial kings of the Bon po (*gnam skos lha*), while the six *Legs* are said to be the six kings ruling on earth, (*sa la dbañ po*). These kings are connected with special localities of Tibet as shown by the following correspondence:

gnam skos gña k'ri btsad po	} descended upon Lha	
" " t'in " " "		ri rgyan t'og in Koñ
" " mi " " "		po
gnam skos so k'ri btsad po	} descended upon Po rta	
" " bya " " "		la ri of Lhasa
gnam skos lde k'ri btsad po	} descended upon Šam	
" " gri gum " " "		po la in Yar kluns

These seven kings are therefore divided into three groups, each one of which descended upon a particular region or, to be more exact, a mountain. Some of these mountains are known to us from other legends: Šam po la is the same where gNa t'o t'o ri descended (or gSen rab according to the *rGyal rabs* was born); so is Lha ri sacred to the bsTan srūn ma rDo rje gya' ma skyoñ.

In the same way 'O de guñ rgyal (see below, p. 733) evidently the same as 'O de spu rgyal, the god who descended from heaven upon earth is said in the same sources to be the *gži bdag* of Nan po 'ol pa. Another text identifies him with Yar lha šam po, the mountain near Yar kluns (*dÑos grub rgya mts'o c'a lag bsañ brñan adod dguñ rgya mts'o*, RC, pi, p. 6). This means that there is a very strict relation between this god considered as the forefather of the Tibetan kings and the mountain where his terrestrial epiphany took place. He never lost his original character of a *gži bdag*.

It is interesting to note in this connection that though the mountains in the region of Gyantse (*Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 53) are now considered to be holy places of Buddhism, their original character of sacred places of the Bon po is proved not only by their number (they are thirteen), but also by some of their names and by the tradition according to which Padmasambhava was the author of this change; it means therefore that even in this part of Tibet, local records have been inspired by the theme, so common in the legend of Padmasambhava, of the subjugation by this exorcist of the Bon po deities, mostly demons, ruling over mountains.

These stories are preserved in the PTY, to whose translation by Toussaint we may refer (p. 244 ff.). Their fundamental traits should here be recollected and compared with other redactions of the same legend. Near the Don la in Mañ yul the goddess dGra lha Mu tsa med of Žan žun tries to kill Padmasambhava;<sup>41</sup> changing therefore her body into two mountains she tries to squeeze the Indian magician between their rocks, but the exorcisms of the guru subdue her and she is converted to Buddhism and assumes the name of Gañs kyi yum c'en rdo rje gyu bun ma. In gNam t'añ in Byañ the goddess gNam sman dkar mo hits Padmasambhava with lightning, then she flies in the dPal mo dpal mts'o (RIBBACH, *dpal mo dai dpal*); but this lake is dried up by Padmasambhava, the ogress loses an eye and her flesh is eaten up by a magic fire. She is converted to Buddhism and assumes the name of Ša med gañs dkar rdo rje spyan gcig ma.

Near 'U yug the brTan mas try to press him under the mountains, but these remain motionless on account of the exorcisms of Padmasambhava. The rocks of 'U yug are rolled down upon him, but he send them up again to their original place; then all slates (*gya' ri*), the rocky mountains, the snowy mountains, all places where the brTan ma dwell are destroyed; at the end the 12 brTan ma, the 12 sKyoñ ma, the 12 Gya' ma were subdued and became the bKa' sruñ ma.

In 'U yug bye ma rdsoñ, rDo rje legs with his 360 brothers came to meet him; in lCe pu Šam po luñ and in Yar lha Šam po that demon turned into a white yak, huge as a mountain, emitting flames and lightning from his mouth; then he changed his body into that of a boy with a white ribbon and was subdued. The image of gNan c'en t'añ lha described by STEIN, *art. cit.*, p. 305, is on a mountain.

These deities are therefore generally connected with mountains, being either the mountain itself or the spirit dwelling in it. This shows the sacred character which mountains had in the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet; in their inaccessible rocks, in the shining solitude of their snowy peaks unapproachable entities were supposed to reside. The mountain was therefore a place where sacrifices were rendered to the god, who in many cases was the ancestor or the patron of a clan dwelling in the district. The ancestor of P'ag mo gru pa, as we saw, ascended the mountain sacred to a gNan po and offered a sacrifice to the god abiding there. The sacrifice is concluded with the theophany of the spirit in a rainbow of light; this sacrifice was celebrated in the first month of the year. Though it is attributed to a mystic ancestor, it is evident that the legend was inspired by a usual practice of the clan, shifting to the distant past a normal feast of the religious calendar of the P'ag mo gru pa.

Though the archaeological exploration of Tibet is still in its very infancy, from the few facts noticed by travellers it appears that on the mountain passes there exist occasionally megalithic monuments of evident sacral character. Some interesting examples

have been recorded by G. ROERICH.<sup>42</sup> I also noticed traces of them in the Kanzam la on the border of Spiti<sup>43</sup> and on the top of a mountain towering over the road from Doptra to Saska. Megalithic monuments, usually called *rdo riis*, are occasionally found in other places: one of them was photographed by me in Doptra (rDo k'ra in south western gTsan) another one is the center of a great festival yearly celebrated at Po<sup>44</sup> in Bashahr state bordering Tibet. In this case the ritual known to us through the songs which are chanted during the festival (*dGra lha glu*) shows that the surface enclosed within a circle of stones with the monolith in the center is the symbol of cosmos and that the ceremony is intended to assure a regular course of the season.

"On the top of the eastern mountain, the king mountain,  
there are sun, moon and stars.  
May the sun not be covered by a storm,  
may the moon not be caught by the eclipse,  
may the stars not vanish!.."

There is hardly any doubt that the *lha t'o*s usually seen on the mountain passes and to which flags are appended by travellers are connected with this primitive cult of the local deity now turned into a Buddhist Sa bdag. The prayer still recited after having placed a stone upon the *lha t'o*, when the pass is crossed, refers to a Lha: *lha so so lha rgyal lo*.

After so many centuries of Buddhist rule things have not changed very much: the only difference is that the mountains are now said to be ruled over or to be the abode of a Buddhist god or of a Sa bdag converted into a faithful bsTan sruñ. The Gurla Mandhata in Western Tibet is considered to be the paradise of gSañ ba adus pa (Guhyasamāja); the Kailāsa, on the other hand, is the heavenly palace of bDe mc'og (Śaṃvara); the Jomolhari is presided over by a goddess called Jo mo, a form of dPal ldan lha mo.

So when Buddhism triumphed, these primitive deities did not disappear: some remained as the ancestors of the nobility, as for instance in the case of the family of Yar kluñs or of the P'ag mo gru pa. Others turned into Buddhist gods and by an ideal conversion were given the charge of protecting the temples or of presiding over the sanctity of vows. The example of Padmasambhava was followed by other saints of Tibet whose prominent work consisted in the conversion of the aboriginal deities. Their biography relates in detail how they subdued these aboriginal gods, thus showing that the struggle between the old and the new religion lasted for a long time and that the aboriginal cults had a great vitality. This struggle was often very hard and the contending parties, the Bon and the Buddhists, vied with each other in magic and thaumaturgy. The fight between Padmasambhava and Pe kar was the model upon which other legends were exemplified and, as it happened in this case, the story gave birth to poetical narrations, which are real attempts at epic

literature. I may quote the conversion of Brañ k'a by Añiśa, of sKar c'uñ rgyal po by the bKa' brgyurd pa master sKyer sgañ pa from Sañs, of Ka rgyal by Rin c'en bzañ po, of T'añ lha by Šab kyi ba ra pa nag po of Ko brag pa.

## 7. THE ORIGIN OF MANKIND AND SOME IRANIAN INFLUENCES

Let us now come back to the origin of mankind and to the stories of the early peopling of Tibet according to the Tibetan tradition.

While the Buddhist official texts speak of the descent of the Tibetan people from the primeval monkey, other legends trace out the origin of celestial and human beings from Ye smon rgyal po (whom we met) born in his turn from the cosmic egg. In this way they linked together very complicated genealogies which have been summarized by the fifth Dalai Lama in a passage of his chronicles and by SP in the following way:

dBañ ldan;  
sKyes gcig;  
the three brothers of the human generation (*mi rabs mc'ed gsum*);  
the four brothers: mGur lha;  
the six classes of Yab lha; from the four wives of 'O de guñ rgyal, the youngest of these gods, the following gods derived:

### 35 brothers

from Lha mo: 8 lha c'en (including their father 9)	from gÑan mo: 9 gÑan	from rMu mo: 9 rMu	from Klu bza': 8 Klu
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from the youngest of these 35 brothers, sNe k'rom lag k'ra, La k'a rgyal po was born. He married Lun k'a hril mo; mT'in gi was born: he married Lha lcam dkar mo; Bod ajoñs was born (in SP po erroneously Por ajod): he married rMu bza' mT'in bsgril; she bore: rGya k'ri lo žaň (SP la zan); the three royal brothers and their descendants and K'ri rje gñan t'añ. The latter's son was A mi mu ji k'ri do: he married

gÑan bza' ša mig three sons	rMu bza' one son	Srin bza' two sons
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in all six sons are born to him; they are called Bod miu gdon drug, the six ancestors from whom eighteen clans derived.

In this catalogue there is no mention of the six tribes as being descended from the monkey: the monkey is here ignored. We are confronted with a different cycle definitely Bon po. The six tribes in this list are given as the result of a long evolution in which, without apparent logic, we see human beings

alternate with gods or demons; the Mi rabs mc'ed gsum for instance come first and are followed by the mGur lha. In this genealogy which is a theogony as well, are also included well known legends like that recording the origin of the kings of Yar kluñs, as narrated in the orthodox chronicles. According to these chronicles the ancestor of the princes who were to become the rulers of Tibet, is 'O de guñ rgyal; but he forms with his sons a group of nine entities (*srid pa c'ags pai lha dgu*):

Yar kluñs yar lha šam po	Še u mk'a' ri
Byaň gi gñan c'en t'añ lha	sKyid šod žog lha
rGa stod jo bo agyog c'en	p'yug po
	gNod sbyin gaň
	ba bzañ po
Šar gyi rma c'en spom ra	—
Jo bo gyul rgyal	—

(*bsTan sruñ ma dam can rgya mts'or miñ grañs*, p. 14 b). So 'O de guñ rgyal, who already appears in the Lhasa edicts as the ancestor of the Tibetan kings, is in fact a god, the prominent god of a whole cycle, from whom the Yar kluñs princes as well as the P'ag mo gru pa claimed their descent.

Moreover we notice the same fact above stated: these nine gods are connected with particular places: the sacred mountain Yar kluñs šam po the birthplace of the dynasty, Byaň the northern planes, sPom ra in K'ams, Šeu mk'a' ri also in the eastern part of Tibet, sKyid šod near Lhasa; gNod sbyin gaňs bzañ was also located in a mountain between dBus and gTsaň (*Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 48).

These 9 Lha c'en cannot be separated from the 4 mGur lha with which they form a group of 13 deities; the four mGur lha being: Jo bo mc'im lha, Jo bo nes sum, Jo bo gya' spañ and Jo bo lha bcas. Beside these gods the twelve sDe dpon sbas kyi stog are named, that is the chiefs of the various armies of demons and gods.<sup>49</sup> There is no trace of the later attempt at dividing gods into three different categories: kings, queens and ministers, as it certainly happened after the establishment of the dynasty. At that time, perhaps under Chinese influence, the divine world was imagined after the pattern of the human. This was the case of the T'e se and his court; the same happened with the gods connected with bSam yas: five gods: Pe dkar, Mon bu pu řa, dGra lha skyes gcig, (see preceding genealogy), brGya sbyin rgyal po, gNod sbyin šin bya can; five *yum mo*: bDud mo ro lañs, mDses byed, Pad ma skyes, San ti ro zan, gSer gyi spu gri ma, bDud bza' smin dkar; five ministers (*blon po*): Bya k'ri mig gcig, rDo rje grags ldan, Stog bdag bka' yi bya ra ba, Bya rgod T'añ nag, Pu tra nag po (*ibid.*, p. 13).<sup>49</sup>

Other stories concerning the origin of mankind certainly show foreign influences other than Indian. We read for instance in that work (p. 106): "In the beginning, existence did not exist; there was nothing which could be perceived as existent and there was no appearance of which one could say that it was or that it was not. From that principle a man was miraculously

born: he called himself, the master of the existence (*Srid pai bdag po*) Yañ dag rgyal po. He became the master of all things; neither the revolution of sun and moon nor the rotation of seasons were yet known; there were no houses, no huts, no bad influence caused by demons infested the earth; diseases were unknown, there were no colours, day and night were not yet distinguished. Suddenly two lights were born, one was white and the other black: they were not greater than a grain of sesame. From these two lights two men came out: a black man from the black light and a white man from the white light. The black man was armed with a spear and he was the master of non-being, of non-eternity, of killing and of destruction; his name was Myal ba nag po "the black pain,,". He caused the noxious influences to abide in the constellations, he created the demons, he was the cause that the rain does not fall in its proper time, he made lightning and thunder and with them all sorts of calamities caused by fire, wind, water, and the 84,000 kinds of diseases; he inspired hatred which moves man against man. Then the sickle cut the herbs, the hatchet cut the trees down, gods knew unbelief and the mischief done by the aDre, the Srin, the aByur the gDon. He caused sudden death and harvest was destroyed by winds; horses, yaks, cattle were killed by the epidemics which he created.

"The white man was born from the white light; he called himself sNañ srid sems can yod par dga' bai bdag po (in Žañ žuñ language: 'Od zer ldan; in the Sum pa language: sNañ srid gsol aByor; in that of Tibet the country of sPu rgyal: Yod par dga' bai srid pai bdag po). He mitigated the heat of the sun, gave the moon the brightness of its light and regulated the revolution of the seasons. He taught men the path of virtue and advised them to build temples, to copy the sacred texts, to make bridges and roads, to respect masters etc. Gods were then honoured again, aDre, Srin, aByur, Lha ma yin were subjugated. Epidemics of cattle disappeared together with the diseases of men: trees were not cut down,"<sup>30)</sup>

The importance of this legend is clear. It has nothing to do with India: the parallelism with Iranian ideas concerning the creation of the god of evil and of the good god is so evident that we need not dwell upon it. The principle of evil is anterior to the good one, as in the mazdaic tradition; both spirits are also derived from a being anterior to them, as in the zervanic conceptions.

## 8. THE FIRST KING OF TIBET

Let us now pass to the origin of kingship in Tibet: in this case the relation with India is more evident. Of course many a tradition spoke of a first king as being the first man, like Ye mk'yen rgyal po, Ye smon rgyal po, sPu rgyal of whom mention has been made.

But with the diffusion of Buddhism another legend spread among the Tibetans and connected the

origin of kingship and civilization in Tibet with India. Since this story gave higher prestige to the Tibetans, it enjoyed great popularity and little by little superseded more ancient and aboriginal myths. It is therefore not surprising to find it even in the orthodox literature of the Bon. That the legend was of Indian origin is proved by the fact that it is contained in an Indian book, the commentary upon the *Devātīśayastotra* by Prajñāvarman (*bs Tod, ka*, p. 52). Buxton took the same story from that text. The legend goes back to the war between the Kauravas and the Pāndavas fought in Kurukṣetra. The king Rūpati fled from the battle with a part of his army and disguised as a woman took shelter in Tibet. In Buxton and in other historical works<sup>31)</sup> this legend is opposed to the Tibetan tradition (*Bod kyi gtam rgyud*) of the descent of the Tibetans from the monkey. This story of Rūpati with all probability is a learned attempt at connecting Tibet with India after the contacts with Indian civilization had increased; it was certainly patronized by the Indian pandits. The lamas who concocted the genealogies of the early kings of Tibet inserted in the old lists, composed under Bon po influences, the mention of an Indian ancestor in order to substitute for the native 'O de guñ rgyal an Indian prince. But in spite of their efforts, 'O de guñ rgyal was not completely cancelled from historical records.

As to the person of this Indian ancestor different theories were held by the Tibetan historians. Some of them stated that he was the fifth son<sup>32)</sup> of Prasenajit; others the fifth son of the younger son of Bimbisāra; others the son of Udayana king of Vatsala.

In the chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama (p. 10 b) he is said to be the son of dMag brgya (Śatānika SP, p. 149: dMag rgya pa a'ar byed, Udayana). Since the boy was ugly, his father afraid lest the prophecy of the astrologers turn true, put him in a basket which he threw into the river; but the boy was saved by some shepherds. When he was grown up, he crossed the Himalaya and came to the country of Yar klūñs. The Bon pos seeing this newcomer thought that he was descended from heaven and saluted him as their king. He was gNa k'ri btsan po, the ancestor of the kings of Tibet.

This legend survives in the Bon po tradition which tells that Pāṇḍu and his wife Kaśṇā having no sons offered a sacrifice to heaven according to the advice of an ascetic. A son was then born to them of very ugly aspect: he had the mark of the svastika on his ears, the eyes of a bird, hands like those of the goose. His father was ashamed of him and shut him in a box and threw it into the Ganges. But he was rescued by the inhabitants of Vaiśālī. Once, when he was grown up, hearing that Duḥśāsa, who meanwhile had ascended the throne after the death of his father, was approaching with a great army, he fled into Tibet, where, in accordance with an ancient prophecy, he was elected king.<sup>33)</sup> This legend belongs evidently to a later period of the Bon religion, when, after many contacts with Indian culture, it had been influenced by Indian lore, in the same way as the ritual was greatly affected by

the Buddhist and Hindu *pūjā*. The Bon po legend of the Indian origin of the king gÑa k'ri btsan po, which betrays a knowledge of the Mahābhārata cycle, is parallel to the Buddhist tradition; the only difference being that the ancestor of the royal family is no longer a descendant from a family in a certain way connected with Buddhism, or much spoken of in Buddhist legends, but a hero of the Indian epics anterior to Śākyamuni. But either redaction of the legend, the Buddhist as well as the Bonpo, is an encroachment upon the aboriginal story; in it gÑa k'ri btsan po has no connection whatever with India, but descends from heaven, quite in keeping with the usual scheme of the genealogies of other families equally boasting a divine ancestor. In the *bKa' t'añ sde lña* very important references are contained to the first king of Tibet. These references having recourse to the well known Buddhist theory of the double meaning, the literal and the esoteric, clearly betray the two different elements of the story, the aboriginal kernel and the subsequent, Buddhist loans; according to this book there is in fact a triple account concerning gÑa k'ri btsan po, the one Buddhist or esoteric (born from a king) the other commonly accepted or exoteric (*sgrag*s), and corresponding to the Bon po theories (*Bon lugs*; born from a Lha) and a third extremely secret (born from the T'eu brañ). According to the last tradition gÑa k'ri btsan po descended from heaven and is therefore called gÑam lha babs "he who came down from the heavenly gods,,". He resided in the fifth celestial plane gÑam sa rim pa lña.<sup>54</sup> From the fifth celestial plane gÑa k'ri btsan po descended upon earth invited by the Tibetan kinglets (*rgyal p'ran*) who were harassed by the four kings of the four parts of the world: China, India, sTa zigs and Ge sar. This is therefore a theophany provoked by the prayers of the oppressed; but upon this story the theme is added of the redemption of the world overcome by darkness and sin, frequently met also in Bon po hagiography and chiefly in the legend of gŠen rab who came upon earth to spread the teaching of the *vastika* and to expell sin.

KT, ca, p. 7: "sPu yul mo btsun Guñ rgyal gave birth to the 9 T'eu brañ. The youngest was U pe ra; from the latter he was born. It is difficult to tell the heavy task he undertook. gÑa k'ri btsan po was the son of K'ri rgyal and of Dri dMu tri btsan. He was born in a day of full moon (*ñā*) and was therefore also called Ña k'ri btsan po. At that time Tibet was ruled over by some kinglets and could not resist to the great kings of the four points. Two clever men among the three Žaṅ, the four ministers (blon), the six clans of male subjects (*yab abais*) went to search for a lord. But rJe skar ma yol sde said: "There is a divine son called gÑa k'ri btsan po who dwells in the fifth storey of heaven."<sup>55</sup> He is the chief of the dMu and therefore invite him to come,,".

"gÑa k'ri btsan po said that (in Tibet) there were six causes of fear: fear of theft, fear of hatred, fear of enemies, fear of yaks, fear of poison, fear of curses. But rTsisbs lha skar ma yol sde said: "Against theft there are reprisals, against hatred love, against enemies

expedients, against yaks weapons, against poisons medical herbs, against curses means by which one can be freed,,". Then (gÑa k'ri btsan po) came upon earth with the ten things of the dMu,<sup>56</sup>

The same story is narrated in another chapter (*rGyal po bka' t'añ*, p. 18) of the same work: "In Tibet, the mountainous country of the nine peaks, before sPur rgyal, there were six kinds of princes: first of all the country was possessed by the black ogre gNod sbyin nag po; the country was then called the country of the demon (bDud) k'a rag mgo dgu; it was characterized by the gÑan po and bTsan. Then it was possessed by demons, bDud, and by witches Srin mo, and was called the country of the gods and of the witches; it was characterized by the cannibal demons, Ša za, the red gDoṅ. Then it was possessed by the Klu and bTsan and was called Bod, the country of the nine parts (*glin*); it was characterized by a white child who walks upon the water (*dkar bu c'u la spyod pa*). Then it was possessed by the nine brothers Ma saṅ and was called Bod k'ams gya' drug; it was characterized by the origin of arrows, spears and weapons. Then it was possessed by the six Za ram skyes and was called the country of the 18 chiliarchies; it was characterized by the art of riding horses and by wearing earrings. Then it was possessed by the 12 kinglets and was called the eight Sva ka. It was characterized by the art of greeting and uttering honorific expressions. Then it was possessed by sPur rgyal rgyal po and was called the country of the four wings (*ru bži*). That bTsan po of Tibet 'O de spur rgyal came down from the heavenly sphere as a master of men. From the hand of Ts'aṅ pa derived the nine T'en celestial gods, viz. the T'en of heaven, the T'en of clouds, the T'en of rain, the nine T'en; it was characterized by the four brothers, the sons of Val val. One of these princes was the father of the six bDal. From them the seven sons, seven excellent brothers, were born; one of them, Bar lha offended his brother, the seventh, and his wife; therefore he was sent into exile by those two in the country of sKor Bon Žaṅ po. This is the genealogy of the Srid lha up to the time when gÑa k'ri, the son of dMu bzas (gza') IDa me btsun and gSos pa was born,,".

"This prince gÑa k'ri btsan po came into Tibet in order to benefit the black-haired people and all sorts of beings. While he was in Dog he procreated the sons of the royal lineage: the seven gods on heaven, the six Legs upon earth, the seven Sil ma and the five bTsan po,,".

To sum up gÑa k'ri btsan po is called in these legends dMu yi dbaṅ po, the lord of the dMu. He resided in the fifth heaven from whence he descended upon earth accepting the invitation of sKar ma yol sde and taking with him the ten things of the dMu.

As regards the first king of Tibet there are therefore many traditions; some of them are aboriginal, others betray an Indian origin and are naturally later than the spread of Buddhism. No universal agreement as regards the first ruler was reached in national records;

this chiefly depends on the fact that the leading tribes or families had each their own ancestor whom they could not forget and therefore, when political unity was reached, different persons were considered as being identical, as various aspects of the same entity; others did not find a place to be inserted in. The primeval king in the Lhasa inscription (cfr. DT, *ña*, p. 108 *a-b*) is 'O lde spur rgyal; this is the same as 'O de spur rgyal who according to the *rGyal po bka' t'añ*, p. 18, descended from heaven upon earth and became the lord of men. Evidently he is the same as 'O de guñ rgyal mentioned above. The chronicles of Ladakh place as first ancestor sPu rgyal who is evidently the same person. On the other hand the fifth Dalai Lama as well as the *Šā kya rnams kyi rgyal rabs* begin their list with Na k'ri btsan po and the fifth Dalai lama states that 'Od lde is the same (*don gcig*) as Na k'ri btsan po. On the other hand sPu guñ rgyal is by the same author identified with Bya k'ri which is implicitly the opinion of the author of the *Šā kya rnams kyi rgyal rabs rigs* since he knows a single *ldeñ* (for the usual *steñ*), while Ladakh chronicles and Buston distinguish between them. This sPu rgyal can hardly be separated from sPu yul mo btsun guñ rgyal whom we already met and is probably related, so far as his entity is concerned, with gNam gyi guñ rgyal the heavenly space. As regards this name I think that sPu is the same as *p'u* viz. the upper part i. e. of the sphere of existence.

It therefore corresponds to *guñ*, this being the middle, but the middle, as we saw, of the cosmic tent, viz. the top of existence.

## 9. THE HEAVENLY ROPE AND THE ROYAL TOMBS

This descent from heaven upon earth whence gNa k'ri btsan po was called gNam lha bab is accomplished by means of the rope rMu t'ag or the ladder rMu skas.<sup>57)</sup> This was the normal communication between earth and heaven and the means by which the deceased of the nobility, kings and notables ascended to heaven. That is why the old kings of Tibet were called *ai'en ba* (see S. CH. DAS s. v.) though the name *ai'en ba* appears as that of a special class of gods.

It is therefore evident that there is a certain similarity between these Tibetan ideas and those of the early Chinese who also thought that there was a bridge between sky and earth (see MASPERO, *Légendes mythologiques*, JA, 1924, p. 94) and those of the black Tai tai (*ibid.*, p. 95); it is worthy of notice that also in Gilgit, viz. in a country where Bon flourished for a long time, the story of a golden chain linking heaven and earth has been handed down up to modern times, in spite of the conversion of the country to Islam.<sup>58)</sup>

As the link between earth and heaven in the ancient Chinese cosmology was cut by Chung li, so also in Tibet the rope or ladder joining the two worlds was once cut in some way and then the two worlds were definitely separated. As to the reason why it was

cut, there were different legends; according to the *bKa' t'añ sde lña (ka, rGyal poi bka' t'añ*, p. 19) the king sToñ ri stoñ btsan married two wives rMu bza'<sup>59)</sup> and Klu bza' and therefore there was a struggle between the king and his subjects; then the rope between heaven and earth was cut and tombs were built. This story seems to imply a struggle between two religious currents.

But according to the *rGyal rabs gsal bai me loñ* (p. 52) the story runs quite differently. King Gri gum btsan po (in *Šā kya rnams kyi rgyal rabs: K'ri gum*) - it says - was possessed by a gDon: he then proposed to his minister Loñ nam (fifth Dalai Lama, p. 11 b Lo nam), custodian of horses, to fight with him. The latter obeyed and the day was fixed for the duel. The king sent to his minister his faithful dog in order to know what were his intentions, and the minister, in order to deceive his master, said that if the king wanted to kill him, Loñ nam, he should have tied a black turban on his head, placed a mirror on his forehead, hung the corpse of a fox on his right shoulder and that of a mouse on the left, whirled his sword, placed a bag full of dust on a red bull. Next morning, which was the day of the fight, the king did so: the bag broke and the eyes of the king were blinded by dust. On account of the impurity caused by the two corpses placed on his shoulders, the two gods presiding over him, the dGra lha and the P'o lha, disappeared and thus blindly whirling his sword the king cut the dMu t'ag, while the minister aimed with an arrow at the mirror upon his forehead. Gri gum btsan was killed and the heavenly rope was cut.

This story certainly has a meaning; most probably it has preserved the record of a solar myth and of a popular feast akin to those of ancient China in which an image or rather a man was hit with arrows in order to bring down the sun, possibly at the end of winter. The symbolic value of the mirror placed on the forehead and of the black bandage is so evident that it need not be emphasized.

But according to other stories the rope was cut as a result of the jealousy of a husband; so we read in the genealogy of the family of gYu t'og, the famous physician of king K'ri stoñ lde btsan. This genealogy shows a blending of ancient Bon po traditions with legends of Indian origin, which, following the example of the kings of Yar kluns, the nobility introduced in their family records. But Indian influences were not able to cancel out completely the primitive strata of the legend.

In a country - so runs the story - called Pad ma sñiñ po, corresponding to the lotus in the middle of the nine lotuses forming the surface of India, a *devaputra* called Dam t'og descended upon earth. He was seen by the wife of a shepherd who, admiring his beauty, fell in love with him and had from him two children: rDo rje t'og abebbs and Ses rab gyi ral gri. Once, when they were grown up, she left her sons to look after the cattle and went to pay a visit to her lover in heaven by means of the *rmu t'ag*. She spent seven days there and on coming down she brought

to her sons two golden vases. This she often did, but once her husband got jealous and cut the rope. The lineage of that god spread over India and later on, in order to fulfil its mission, it came into Tibet.

The blending of aboriginal legends with the new Indian element is not very clever; not only one perceives that the rMu t'ag has nothing to do with India, but the names of the god and of one of his sons point to the old Tibetan deity of lightning: *t'og*.

This rope was a kind of umbelical cord, perhaps the rainbow, as SP himself admits, stating that one ascended to heaven by becoming *gja' lus*, that is assuming a body like the rainbow.

Anyhow, as already stated, the cutting of the rope implies not only a revolution in religious ideas, most probably a sect being superseded in prestige by another, but also a change in the disposal of the dead in the aristocracy. The story of the cutting of the rmu t'ag coincides in fact with the first erection of royal tombs.

Formerly before Gri gum btsan po, the kings pulling the rmu t'ag dwindled away in the sky like a rainbow and their tombs were stated to be in the sky; they assumed a celestial body leaving no corpse upon earth. But after Gri gum btsan funeral customs changed and tombs were built (*rGyal rabs*, p. 52).

A description of these royal tombs is contained in some ancient documents, abstracts of which are preserved in later works, such as the *rGyal rabs* and the *gTam gyi ts'ogs t'eg pai rgya mts'o* (p. 124 foll.). This text relates: "According to the *Yig ts'an rñin pa*, when Sroñ btsan sgam po died:

In the middle of the tomb they made a round hole; they placed the body of the C'os rgyal on mud to which silk and paper were joined; Then, carrying the corpse on a carriage, they deposited the body inside the tomb with accompaniment of music;

the hole inside was then filled with riches of every kind and on the four sides walls were erected ..<sup>63</sup>

The same facts are narrated with greater particulars by the *dKar t'ag* (of bSam yas) attributed to the minister mGar; it is there said that the tombs of the seven K'ri were in the sky, where they dwindled away like a rainbow, leaving no corpse. The tombs of the two sTeñ were in the abysses and in pitchers; of the six Legs near slabs of slate; of the eight lDe in the rivers.

The last eight kings erected the tombs in the country itself. Sometimes, as in the case of the tomb of aBron gnan sde, record is found of three living servants being placed inside the tomb itself: that tomb was therefore called *gSon bcad ldem po* (the tumulus where living beings had been killed).

These tombs are said to be made according to the rMu lugs, the system of the rMu, which proves again our surmise that the rMu were a class of priests or a clan claiming to be connected with the gods of the dead; they were therefore in charge of funeral ritual.

If it were necessary we could also quote a passage of the PTY (Toussaint transl., pp. 311-312) from

which it appears that the Bon as stated above (p. 715) were specialised in building tombs.

So also the fifth Dalai lama: "all the seven gNam gyi k'ri dwindled away in the sky with the help of Mu t'ag and therefore there were no tombs... When Gri gum cut the rMu t'ag the corpse was put in a copper box (*gau*) with iron nails; then they threw it in the water, but the river Koñ swelled up (*rlag tu byuñ ba*) and the *c'u srin* Bye ma lag riñ took it and offered it to the Jo mo; then he took (the corpse) out of that box and built a tomb in Dar t'añ in P'yin yul. This was the beginning of the construction of the tombs. At the time of the two sTeñ, tombs (*gTam gyi ts'ogs t'ig pai rgya mts'o*, p. 125) were built in slates and clay; at the times of the six Legs' in places between slates and meadows; at the times of the eight lDe in the valleys along the rivers (cf. *Chronicles*, pp. 11, 12).

But the account of the rGyal rabs does not mean that tombs were reserved to kings only. The existence of a class of Bon priests whose work was required, as we saw, for building tombs seems to point to a large use of funeral monuments of the same type as those illustrated by Roerich; but this does not exclude the contemporary existence in Tibet of the exposal of the corpse to animals, as now generally practised, by other classes.

## 10. FAMILIES OF HOR DESCENT

Some families claimed descent from countries other than Tibet. One of the most conspicuous examples is that of the princes of aP'yon rgyas in whose family Blo bzañ rgya mts'o was to be born. Their genealogy is contained both in the *Chronicles* by the same Blo bzañ rgya mts'o and in his biography. The first has been translated above. I shall translate here that contained in the last work since it is an ampler redaction and therefore easier to be understood, the difficulties of the text consisting in allusions to facts not sufficiently known.

(Complete works of the Fifth Dalai Lama, vol. *ca*, p. 12 *b*): "In the old records of the family is written that Dharmapāla himself came into Tibet from China and that the hermitage where Pe kar resided is located in the country of Za hor. On the other hand the statement contained in the *rNiñ mai rtsod* by the bla ma Sog bzlog, viz. that: the lineage of Za hor of the princes of sTag rtsé is not from Za hor of India, implies that there is another Za hor in China. But both stories are a foolish talk with no foundation at all (because Za hor is not in China but in India, while Dharmapāla of Pe kar did not come into Tibet from India).

"If one admits that the hermitage of Pe kar was in India, one would contradict the story of the image of rNam t'o' sras in the country of lJan; in the records there is no mention of the story of another Za hor in China different from Za hor of India. Bhangal in Eastern India and China are strictly connected and there are many travellers such as merchants etc. who cross the ocean with boats. Therefore even Dharmapāla



having gone in China settled in the hermitage of Bha ra hor. Then, after some generations, during which his descendents increased, one Dharmapāla was contemporary with K'ri sroñ lde btsan, king of Tibet, the same who invited the Abbot (Śāntirakṣita) and the ācārya (Padmasambhava). This king built in bSam yas the temple Mi agyur lhun grub, on the pattern of that of Otantapuri. Since a guardian for this temple was necessary the great ācārya asked the king of the Klu, Zur p'ud lña for advice. The latter said: 'We sleep in winter and during that time we remain unconscious; but there is a king called Hu who descends from a Klu, in the family dMu. He can pursue anything as small as a needle, covering in a day the space for which a vulture employs 18 days. Such is the guardian you should appoint'. Shortly after the prince Mu rug btsan po<sup>61</sup> killed the son of Žaŋ rgya t'sa lha snañ. Then since the great minister aGos rgan tried the case<sup>62</sup> he went to guard the northern boundaries. Then the great ācārya evoked rNam t'os sras with his eight horsemen and actually showed them to the king and the ministers and gave him orders. Then a barbarian (litt. a man living in the boundary) called mGon brtson painted that god on a flag as he had appeared, and into that flag rNam sras really sank with his acolytes. The prince then with the army went to gYar mo t'añ; Žaŋ lha<sup>63</sup> bzañ klu dpal counted his army which had appeared in rGya zam: there were 100.000 soldiers with hawk heads in the East, 100.000 soldiers of Grul bum rkañ rtsē (with the point of their feet like that of the Grul bum = kumbhāṇḍa) with feet of horses and asses, 120.000 soldiers with human body and the tail of a mouse, 130.000 with human body and the ears of an ass. With such a numberless army he plundered China, Hor and Gru gu. The king Pe kar was afraid and fled away changing his body into that of a vulture. But a gNod sbyin hit him with an arrow on his wing; so he fell down and was caught by rNam t'os sras and led to bSam yas. At that time the prince saw numberless ugly beings, viz. the messengers created by magic by rNam t'os sras and taking them as a model he drew them: this was the image of rNam t'os sras of lJañ.,,

"Since Pe kar caused by magic madness and epidemics, the great ācārya compelled him to fly away ... Be it as it may, the Abbot, the ācārya and the king agreed in sending a messenger in order to invite Dharmapāla of the royal lineage of Za hor, so that he might come from his hermitage of Hor. Pe kar was very affectionate to him: he therefore took a self-made image of the ascetic made of turquoise, a mask called *se abag* ("the leather mask",<sup>64</sup>) and a lion of rock crystal and said: 'You are invited as a guardian of bSam yas; I as a god will go with you, a man'. So he went to bSam yas riding a wooden bird."<sup>65</sup>

All this story does not only show the pretension of the aP'yoñ rgyas family to be of Hor descent but also, as rightly suggested by prof. Thomas, Literary text, p. 296 it points to a foreign origin of the cult of Pe dkar, dPe kar, dPe har. The story concerning his flight from bSam yas, of his changing himself into a

bird and of his having been shot down by a *yakṣa* belonging to the retinue of rNam t'os sras was contained in the legend of rNam t'os sras as it circulated in the lJañ country.

This story is very interesting; it is a point of contact, as rightly pointed out by the Tibetan writers, between the Vaiśravaṇa cycle and that of Pe dkar. We are here confronted with a theme not rarely met in Central-Asian paintings. I refer f. i. to the famous Vaiśravaṇa crossing the ocean of Tun huang (*Thousand Buddhas*, plate XXVI) in which we see an archer of the retinue of Vaiśravaṇa preparing to shoot a bat-like demon in the air (*Serindia*, p. 875). The theme is also a frequent motif in the Turfan frescoes (GRÜNWEDEL, *Alt buddh. Kultstätten*, p. 583 and index). This bird is here taken as a Garuda. It is difficult to say if the legend is but an interpretation of a painting more or less akin to that published in *Serindia*; the thing is highly probable since the Tibetan story, as we saw, definitely speaks of a tanka of Vaiśravaṇa painted at the time of the expedition of Mu rug btsan po, which was then brought in Tibet and preserved in the temple of C'os luñ t'sogs. But this does not prevent us from supposing that a blending between the Vaiśravaṇa cycle and a local deity of unknown origin and character had effectively taken place in Central Asia where Vaiśravaṇa was assumed to the rank of a patron god. This would again point to a Central-Asian origin of Pe dkar.

We are therefore again confronted with cultural elements originated in the North-Eastern marches of Tibet.

In later times a real epic cycle was formed, of the same type as the one concerning Gesar, which had a literary formulation of its own; in fact the Tibetan tradition knows a *dPe dkar ar gtañ lo rgyus*, the story of dPe dkar's tribulations. It is a gter ma, discovered by Grva bsgon c'os kyī rdo rje (*rNiñ ma pa Apology*, p. 70). It is an epic cycle, which finds its counterpart in a local tale *lJañ yul mai lo rgyus*, connected with rNam t'os's sons; both of them have their centre in two cycles of parallel legends, equally celebrating rNam t'os sras's victory over dPe dkar and relating the origin of a celebrated representation of rNam t'os sras, who succeeds in overcoming his rival and antagonist.<sup>66</sup>

The story told of the fight between a tribal god Pe dkar and rNam t'os sras, from which this god came out victorious. Pe dkar appears there as a foreign tribal god later imported into Tibet and compelled by Padmasambhava to accept Buddhism. But he was always considered a *bGegs* (*srog bdag rgyal po man c'ad nas, dpe dkar rgyal po yan cad kyis, bgegs rigs ston p'rag bgyad t'ams cad; gSañ bdag dregs pa dul byed las t'sogs dam srii glud mdos, RC, p'i*). He remains connected with the North: *byañ p'yogs p'rin las rgyal po*; his wife is bDud gza' smin dkar "the white pupil of the demon planet", (cfr. *Pe dkar c'os kyī rgyal po bskañ gso dregs pai sde dpon mñes byed zla ba gzar sad mñams dgra dpuñ gjom byed dan dga' gdon yon tan rgyal poi sprul pad dan bka' sdog bzañ moi btsan rгод kyī gsol m'od, n. 960*).

I cannot say whether the connection of Pe dkar with this goddess goes back to the early times of the legend

and if therefore it represents a primary character of the myth; in that case one should feel inclined to consider dPe dkar as a planetary god and then, following the suggestion of Thomas that Pe dkar is probably derived from a Chinese 白帝, meaning white, as Tib.: *dkar*, "dPe, the white", to suppose that it may correspond to *Pai ti* 白帝 "the white emperor", viz. the planet Venus which from ancient times was considered as a symbol of warriors.

But it is also probable that under the name Pe har, dPe dkar, Pe kar, may be hidden the Turkish *Bäg* or its derivatives. However, according to other traditions, independent from the one recorded by the fifth Dalai Lama, which has become orthodox (Indexes of the bka' agyur, SP, p. 172, etc.) Pe kar, dPe har, is the son of gNam gyi dkar po and Šug lcam rgyal mo; he was also called brGya sbyin dkar po, and settled among the Hor, garrisoning the temple of Bha ta hor and assuming different names: gNam lha dkar po, the white god of heaven, Srog bdag dkar po, the white lord of life. From his father's name and from his own name, the god's heavenly character is clear.

The princes of aPyon rgyas claimed, then, a descent from Za hor of India through a provisional settling in Bha ta hor. Za hor in India has been differently located. The Tibetans held different opinions regarding this place: European scholars on the other hand are inclined to identify Za hor with Mandi (see LAUFER, *The Bruža Sprache*, p. 29, n. 8, where the old bibliography is given) JÄSCHKE s. v. and FRANCKE, *Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 65 were of the same idea. On the contrary B. BHATTACHARYA, *Introduction to Sādhnamälā*, p. XXXVII, identifies Za hor with Sabhar in East Bengal. The Tibetans seem to hold two different views. The dGe lugs pa consider Za hor as the birth-place of Atiša and on the basis of a very authoritative source, contemporary with that teacher, place Za hor in Eastern Bengal, in the Vikrampur district.

Tsoñ k'a pa in his *Lam rin c'en mo* (*Tasbilunpo* ed., p. 3<sup>o</sup>, vol. *pa* of his works) quotes from a hymn in honour of Atiša, written by the great lotsāva Nag ts'o. This was the Tibetan sent to India to invite the famous pandit to come to Tibet. He therefore was very well acquainted with the biography of Atiša. In this hymn is written: "In Eastern India in a famous place called Za hor there is a great town called Za hor; in this place there is a royal palace called gSer gyi rgyal mts'an (*Suvarnadvaja*)". The same information is contained in the biography of Atiša: *Jo bo rje lba geig āpal ldan rnam t'ar bla mai yon tan c'os kyī abyūn gnas sogs bka' gdams rin po c'ei glegs bam*, p. 1 (see also the *bKa' gdams gsar rñiñ gi c'os abyūn yid kyī mdses rgyan* by the C'os rje bSod nams grags pa, p. 3 a). Even the fifth Dalai Lama places Za hor five months to the East of Bodhgayā in a place called Bhaṅgala.

So the opinion of the dGe lugs pa is well founded since it can be traced to the times of Atiša himself. On the other hand the rÑiñ ma pa and, depending on them, the bKa' brgyud pa placed Za hor near

Uḍḍiyāna on the basis of what is written in chap. 37 of the PTY, "Near the North-Eastern boundaries of Uḍḍiyāna, in the center of the capital of Za hor".

But from this passage no definite conclusion can be drawn. Uḍḍiyāna (= Swāt) being in the legend of Padmasambhāva a great kingdom, it is imagined to extend to the extreme ends of India. In chapter XI, that same text locates Za hor to the South-east of Bodhgayā while Kāmarūpa (Assam) is placed to the North-East; in this case Za hor would roughly correspond to Orissa. But this division of India has no great geographical value: India is for this text a *maṅḍala* whose center is Bodhgayā; it is a kind of miracolous lotus, four leaves corresponding to the four cardinal points (Uḍḍiyāna = West, Bengal = East, Kashmir = North, Baidha = Vaideha = South) and four other leaves to the intermediate points.

So there is hardly any doubt that the dGe lugs pa placing Za hor in Bengal are right. The Tibetan tradition does therefore fully support the identification Za hor = Sabhar of B. Bhattacharya. As to Bha ta Hor I agree with Thomas that Bhaṅga Hor is = Bhadrā Hor, a sanskritization of the name of some nomadic tribe located near lake Baikal (p. 299).

Anyhow it appears that the fifth Dalai Lama tries his best to connect his family indirectly with India establishing a link between Za hor = Sabhar and Bha ta Hor through an early migration of a royal prince from India. But the pretended connection with Bha ta Hor was not less ambitious: this people in fact settled according to the Mongol tradition near the Burqan Qaldun, the mountain sacred to the family of Gengis Khan. So the princes of aPyon rgyas boasted of descent from two places, one of which was in the holy country of Buddhism and the other the birth-place of an ancestor whom all Mongols, then bestowing their favours upon the Dalai Lama, most revered. There are also some indications which seem to show that this legend was given a shape by learned circles which had some knowledge of Chinese sources. The name of the Klu whom Ts'ur p'ud lña advises to appoint as guardian of bSam yas is *Hu*: this word is evidently Chinese: 護 to protect, viz. *pāla*. Though all this legend may be fanciful and concocted in order to increase the reputation of the family, it is quite possible that the aPyon rgyas had not lost the memory of an ancient nomadic origin to be sought for outside the border of Tibet proper.

The example of this family was followed by many others which elaborated their genealogies in such a way as to claim a descent either from India, the country of the Holy Law, or from those parts of the world which might prove the relationship of that nobility with the leading powers of the time. To quote a few instances: the Zur pa, a family in which many great religious personalities were born, boasted to be descended from bDe byed gžon nu (Saṅkarakumāra) who, on the occasion of the war between the Gods and the Asura came down from a corner (*zur*) of the heavenly palace, won the battle against the Asura and then became the ancestor of a family

which settled in India and then from India migrated into Tibet.

The *Ža lu pa*, as we saw, left in the background their pretended origin from a Bon po god, possibly thunder, and emphasized their connection with two sons of that god who ruled over Persia and China. So it appears that little by little the primitive records of the aristocracy which connected the human lineage of the leading families with Bon ideas, were modified according to the new religious and political situation. In this way many old myths and legends referring to particular families and places were definitely forgotten.

## II. THE MIGRATION OF TIBETAN ARISTOCRACY SOUTHWARDS AND WESTWARDS

Another important conclusion can be drawn from the study of the genealogical legends of the leading families of Tibet, at least of those which survived after the collapse of the royal dynasty and came to the foreground during the period of the second introduction of Buddhism, being the builders of the medieval history of Tibet; these families as I anticipated above (p. 6) generally hailed from North-Eastern Tibet. In the records of these families we therefore find the memory of a wave of migration of nomadic aristocracy coming from the East or the North and little by little spreading southwards and westwards, subduing the aboriginal population and imposing upon it their language. This fact is clearly evidenced in Ladakh where the Dardic and the Mon element and their language, were ruled out by the Tibetan invaders and settlers. The same thing happened in Spiti and in high Bashahr where Kanawri dialects slowly disappeared or in Guge where the *Žaṅ zuṅ* language, used as a literary language by the Bon po, was equally cancelled by Tibetan.

This nomadic population was divided into clans called *rus* "bones"; it is the same as the division into *yasun* which we find among the Mongols.

The names of some of the most prominent clans have been preserved. They are contained in a list of the *bKa' l'aṅ sde lha*, ca. p. 7; this text, referring to the five kinds of ministers, records the following clans:

- gNubs – bla ma k'yen maṅ btsan pa  
btsan po de ri maṅ btsan  
k'ri do re mt'on po  
skyes to re maṅ snaṅ  
sBas – k'ri gzigs žaṅ gñan  
k'ri gsum rje stag sna  
žaṅ bžer bla btsan  
ap'ags te re bži c'e ba  
rgyal rta ra stag snaṅ  
aBro – aBro c'uṅ bzaṅ űo ra ma  
k'ro ma gsum rje stig snaṅ  
gtsug sba lha snaṅ  
btsan pa stag ts'ab  
k'ri rje ne šam

- gNags – gñags k'yim bu bdud kyi rje  
bal gsum sgra ya mdsad  
t'aṅ pa ya t'aṅ rje  
gñags rgyal lto ri gal  
K'yuṅ – yu yar zuṅ ts'e  
yuṅs rta riṅ po  
mi riṅ sos dkar  
mGar – mgar sroṅ (corr.: stoṅ) btsan yul gzuṅ  
k'ri aβriṅ btsan grol  
btsan sña sdom bu  
k'ri t'og rje a nu  
k'ri sgra zin luṅ  
mC'ims – mar bžer nan pa po  
btsan bžer legs gzigs  
rgyal gzigs šud t'oṅ  
rdo rje spre c'uṅ  
sNa nam – rgya ts'a lha snaṅ  
maṅ sña bse btsan  
ma žaṅ k'rom pa skyabs  
btsan pa 'u riṅ  
aGos – k'ri bzaṅ yab lha  
yaṅ goṅ bla ma  
lha gro  
C'og ro – skyes bzaṅ rgyal ma 'og  
legs sgra lha ldoṅ  
c'og ro p'o goṅ  
Myaṅ – myaṅ smon to re rtse gu  
myaṅ mc'og rab gžu 'o  
myaṅ maṅ po žaṅ snaṅ  
T'u – aβriṅ to re a nu  
c'u mi rgyal mts'an snaṅ  
t'u mi klu maṅ dted  
Ts'e spoṅ – na gad  
se

A second catalogue has been preserved in another passage translated by Thomas, *Literary Texts*, p. 277 ff. in which the territorial and military division of Tibet at the times of K'ri sron lde btsan is contained.

## BANNERS (RU)

### GTSAN

Supplementary banner:

	FAMILY	CHILIARCHY	COMMANDER
upper side	aBro	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ Maṅ gar} \\ 2 \text{ K'ri dgoṅs} \\ 3 \text{ Grom pa} \\ 4 \text{ Lha rtse} \end{array} \right\}$	aBro
lower side	aDre	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 5 \text{ Naṅ ro} \\ 6 \text{ K'ri t'a} \\ 7 \text{ Gad bktram} \end{array} \right\}$	aDre

Under-chiliarchy of sGro.

Right wing:

	FAMILY	CHILARCHY	COMMANDER
upper side	K'yuñ po	1 Upper Yoñs high	K'yuñ
		Šañs	
lower side	Pa ts'ab	3 Lañ mi	
		4 P'od dkar	
	Lañs	5 Drañ	
		6 gÑen dkar	
		7 Yel rab	
		8 high Zom	
	ḡGos		

Under-chilarchy Rin sle bya of Šañs.

DBUS

Central wing:

	FAMILY	CHILARCHY	COMMANDER
upper side	Cog ro	1 aBrin	sNa nam
		2 P'yug	
		3 bCom pa	
		4 Upper Zom	
lower side	rMa and Ka ba	5 Dor de	Skos
		6 sTe ajam	
	sBas	7 UppersKyid	
		8 Lower sKyid	

Under-chilarchy Bran k'a: Yel žabs.

Left wing:

	FAMILY	CHILARCHY	COMMANDER
upper side	gNags Ts'e spon Myaň sNa nam	1 Yar kluñs	Myaň
		2 P'yi kluñ	
		3 lJaň kyaň	
		4 Luñ pa	
lower side	mC'ims Sñi ba lDoň mC'ims	5 gÑal	mC'ims
		6 Lho brag	
		7 Nāñ	
		8 Dags po	

Under-chilarchy Spraň ston Ri bo.

From the last catalogue it appears that Tibet was once divided into four *ru*: in these there were 17 families ruling over the 34 (at the end of the chapter erroneously 44) *ston sde viz.* chilarchies.

This fact is very important because it shows that at the times of the royal dynasty, there was in Tibet a military administration akin to that of the Turks and the Mongols. The territory was a military

entity which was bound to supply, in case of war, a certain number of warriors under the responsibility of the clan settled in it.

The army was divided, just as with the Turks and the Mongols, into sections of 10,000, 1000, 100, 10.

This army, so to say, was facing south. In fact I would suggest that in the above-quoted catalogue "*ru*," does not mean, as translated by Prof. Thomas "brigade," but "wing,": dBus and gTsaň were divided into 4 wings, one in the centre, one to the right and one to the left, to which a supplementary wing (*ru lag*) was added. References to these *ru* are often met with in Tibetan literature. I quote here some of these references taken from old sources, even if some of them are found in modern compilations:

<i>bKa' t'añ sde lña k'a, chapter 17</i>	<i>Id., ca, chapter ka, p. 8 ff.; k'a, chapter 47, p. 65 b</i>
gTsaň { gyas ru gyon ru	gyas ru (f. i. sTag nag, Šañs) ru lag (f. i. ḡBri mts'ams, Nāñ stod)
dBus { gyon ru dBus	dBu ru (f. i. Mal gro, sTod luñ) gyon ru (f. i. Dwags po, gÑal, Lo ro)
gTsaň { gyon ru ru lag	
dBus { dBu ru gyas ru	

Kloñ rdol bla ma (*g, p. 4 b*)

gTsaň { gyas ru gyon ru	gYon ru (Nāñ c'u) ru lag (Šab ḡyed)
dBus { dBu ru gyon ru	dBu ru (sKyid šod) gYas ru (Nāñ šod and Lho k'a)

Biography of Blo gsal rgya mts'o grags pa, (Works of the fifth Dalai Lama, vol. *ta*, p. 19 *b*): dbu ru, gyon ru, gyas ru, ru lag.

From these lists it appears that gYon ru was in eastern dBus and gYas ru in gTsaň; for *ru lag* of gTsaň in some catalogues is substituted gYon ru in imitation of dBus. But this is certainly due to a mistake of later sources because gTsaň and dBus form a unity and it would be impossible to speak of a central wing (dBus) without taking the territory of the two provinces as a whole. Moreover the explanation of Kloñ rdol bla ma on the second list leaves no doubt on this subject; it is therefore evident that, as I said, we are here confronted with a southward direction of the 4 wings, as we find among the Turks or the Mongol tribes.

1. See above p. 689, n. 156.
2. S. CH. DAS, *Dictionary*, p. 51. I possess two editions of this book one from Derge (sDe dge); the other bears no indication of the press. The real title of the work, as it appears from the colophons added to some sections was: *Bon rin po t'e ap'ru'ng nag bden pa gtsain ma klu abum dkar po (nag po, k'ra bo) gyün drün t'eg pa c'en poi mdo*. The references in this paper are to the Derge edition.
3. The equivalence Bon = Dharma is shown by the following examples which I choose out of the many: *bon t'ams cad ston pa nid etc.*, p. 39, *ak'or bai bon dan t'ar pai bon etc.*
4. *Süßgedichte der Bon po*. It is from him that civilisation begins.
5. FRANCKE, *A lower Ladakhi version of the Kesar saga*. Prelude n. 5. 6. *aDsam gliñ gant ti sei dkar c'ag ts'ans dbyanis yid ap'rog dgos adod*, p. 6 a.
- Gur rgyal lha mo* is the small Kurgyal-tso lagoon under the Pundigopna in the plain to the north of the Manasarovar.
- Guñ c' dñul mo* is the Gunchu-tso, a salt-water lake without outlet to the east of the Manasarovar. Kawaguchi spells this name *Kon-gyu-tso* and the guides of Sven Hedin (*Southern Tibet*, II, n. 264) *Kunkyu-tso*. The Gunchu-tso had been identified by Atkinson (*Himalaya Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Allahabad*, 1882, II, p. 285) with the Arunoda lake of Indian cosmology. According to the Shui tao ti kang (*Outlines of Hydrography*, chap. 22; compiled in 1762; translated in Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, I, p. 121) the Gunchu-tso has an underground outlet into the Tage-tsang po, and hence into the Manasarovar. But according to Sven Hedin (*Southern Tibet*, II, p. 50) it is impossible that in 1762 the Gunchu-tso could have belonged to the Satlej basin. On the lake issued from an egg, see J. F. ROCK, *The birth and origin of Dto-mbas Shido*, *Artibus Asiae*, VII, p. 15.
7. FRANCKE, *Tibetische Hochzeitlieder*, Darmstadt, 1923, nn. VII and XV. The Tibetan text of these songs is being edited by me and Doctor Petch along with other popular songs collected in Ladakh, Spiti and Western Tibet.
8. Such a myth was not unknown to the Manichaeans; see REITZENSTEIN, *Weltuntergangsvorstellungen*; Kyrkoh. Årskrift, Upsala, 1924, p. 197; HARVA, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker*, p. 110 ff.
9. WENZEL, *The legend of the origin of the Tibetan race in Festgruss Roth*, pp. 70-172. On this subject see LAUFER, *Über ein Tibetisches Geschichtswerk der Bon po*, T'OUNG PAO, 1901, p. 27, n. 11.
10. EBERHARD, *Kultur und Siedlung der Rand-völker Chinas*, p. 79.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 144, cfr. pp. 330 and 332.
12. THOMAS F. W., *A Rāmāyana story in Tibetan*, *Indian studies in honour of Ch. R. Lanman*, p. 193.
13. In fact the *rGyal po bka' t'an* says: "each clan has its own account..."
14. I follow the spelling adopted by the fifth Dalai lama in the biography of bSod nams mc'og ldan rgyal mts'an; there was a great variety of spellings of these names in the sources, as it is proved by the quotations from the *Yig ts'an* of sPyan sña Lha gziqs contained in the biography of bSod nams mc'og ldan: *dga', ldoñ, abru gsum: dgra dan bzi, nu bo dpa' mda' gñis ste drug tu gsuñ*. To resume, the various spellings of the names of these tribes are as follows: se; mu, rmu, dmu; ldoñ; ston; gra, dgra; bru, abru; dpa rda, mda'; nu bo.
- These same stories are contained in a long inscription written by Blo bzang rgya mts'o for aBras spuñs (vol. 15a, p. 136) (but *dpa' rda* for *dpa' mda'*). This author says that according to the *Ka k'o' ma* there are four clans: according to the *Bod k'ri t'o c'en po* six according to the *Ts'al pa deb dmar* 9 Ma sans, 25 and 12 rGyal p'ran, 40 Sil ma.
15. But *k'ro c'u* is also the water which instills hatred in the soul of the gods when fighting against the Asura. See: *mK'a agro me lee abar, bKa' agyur*, vol. 2a, p. 330.
16. According to J. F. ROCK the Ssu is the "ancient ancestor of a family whose spirit has joined the realm of the gods, and who has himself become a demigod", among the Mo so (art. cit., p. 45, n. 2).
17. *Asia Major*, vol. I, p. 397, *dpal gyas, a'or gyas, lha ak'or, sman ak'or*. Francke translated: "clan", but if there is no mistake in the text (rus instead of ru) the meaning of ru is: wing.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 267 and 270 text (pp. 321-323 transl.).
19. Francke translates: consecration; more probably *žal stod, žal boro* means an offering of warm food.
20. Bon who introduced the service? Cfr. *sna bon* S. CH. DAS, s. v. and the *Snañ gDen* of the *rGyal rabs* quoted below.
21. A reference is here contained to the nine vehicles of the Bonpo. See HOFFMAN, *Zur Literatur der Bonpo* (reprint), p. 171, n. 4, *bKa' t'an dhe lha, ca*, p. 45. But the doctrine of a division of the Bon into a part considered as the cause and a part considered as the effect is evidently based upon the classification of Buddhist Tantras into *betu-Tantras* and *pbalu-Tantras* (anuttara class).
22. "A man able to chant", is a man able to "perform a ceremony to suppress demons", according to the Mo so (J. F. ROCK, art. cit., p. 38).
23. But *gyas rnam pa* is a god of terrific nature; his voice are thunder and hailstorm, *Zi k'ro dgonz pa kun adus t'os c'og ran grol c'en mo yid bžin nor bui gter mšod*, p. 23.
24. *Dam sri gyag ru dgra ajom* attributed to Padmasambhava.
25. Quoted in the biography of bSod nams mc'og ldan written by the fifth Dalai lama, p. 6 a. *spren dan srin mo las mc'ed pa ma sans spun dgu rgyal p'ran ni šu rsta lha bcu gñis sil ma bži bcus rim kyis dñan byas*. Cfr. Chronicle of the same author, p. 76 b.
- In Sum pa mk'an po, p. 148, it is written: *de lar ap'el bai ma sans spun dgu rgyal p'ran ner lha doñ bcu gñis sil ma bži bcus dñan byas zer*; "it is said that their subjects were ruled over by the nine brothers *ma sans*, the 25 and the 12 kinglets and the 40 sil ma...". The paraphrase of S. Ch. Das of this passage is untenable.
26. The aDre are the Dsa<sup>4</sup> of the Mo so. See the article already quoted of J. F. ROCK, p. 33, n. 1.
27. According to Western Tibetan traditions, the gNan of sun and that of moon were imagined in form of birds: *Bya k'yuñ dkrün ni ma, Bya ni ma k'yuñ ruñ*, for the sun; *Bya mo dkar mo* for the moon. But in some parts of Tibet they believed, as in China, in the existence of more than one sun. In the Ladakhi nuptial songs 9 suns are recorded. Cfr. FRANCKE, *Tibetische Hochzeitlieder*, p. 35.
28. Viz. without a body, stretching the arms in the four directions.
29. In the book itself the title is interpreted in the following way: *gnam* means that on the four sides of the Sumeru situated in the middle of the ocean the light of the ocean coming up reaches the sky; *sa* means that in the middle of the ocean there is an island; from the middle of this big ocean on the four sides four islands burst out and appear; *sNan* means the beings dwelling between *gnam* and *sa* and there born, moving, living; *brygad* means the eight classes of Lha ma stin ruling over them.
30. On the Gi or Ge k'od I know one book included in the sacred lore of the Bon po: it bears the title *Lha rgyal bdud adul*. According to this book Ge k'od is said to protect the believer from the Dri za in the East, from the gNod sbyin in the North, from the Klu in the South, from the bDud in the space above, from the Sa bdag, Klu and gNan underneath. This Ge k'od is the stormy weather, the storm; his weapon are in fact hail, snow storms etc. In the said liturgical text he is called: *Žan žün smad gyi lha* "the god of lower Žan žün...". But it is clear from many passages that the Ge k'od are also cycle: at p. 11 we read of the *dGe k'od rsta ba lha*, "the primary god dGe k'od... of dGe k'od lha ts'ogs", "the cycle of dGe k'od...". On the number 360 cfr. also ROCK, *op. cit.*, p. 39 ff.
31. Gap is not equivalent in this case with the first letter of the cycle of the ten stems; in this meaning we meet in the astrological works the expression *gab tse* 甲子. The Tibetan form shows that this word was borrowed by the Tibetans in early times when the final labial of 甲 was still pronounced, thus confirming the statement of the fifth Dalai Lama on the introduction of *Nag rtsis*, Chinese astrology, at the times of the Tibetan kings.
32. I take this opportunity to give a short resumé of the most important passages of this book; they are, as a rule, interesting in so far as they show the blending of religious idea of various origin: side by side with astrological gods introduced from China, there are occasional

references to Indian deities, for instance Viśvakarman, brGya byin (Indra), Kartika etc., though, as a whole, these are in the background; the prominent part is played by the purely aboriginal pantheon gNan, Sa bdag etc. The fact that a king of blacksmiths viz. mGar yug pa is invoked deserves special mention.

The genealogy of the mGar ministers of the first emperors of Tibet is not known to me except by the short resumé given by Blo bzän rgya mt'o and therefore I cannot say if this family of the oldest aristocracy of Tibet had any connection with metal work. This invocation anyhow seems to prove that in some parts of ancient Tibet metallurgy was the privilege of some tribes supposed to be patronized by special gods as was the case in ancient China and among the Turks.

We find in this book the invocation of the 8 *spar k'a* (*pa k'wa*) and of the twelve animals of the cycle of the year combined with the five elements.

The sa bdag T'e se rgyal po, T'e k'yim btsun mo, Han (in the xyl. han ni han) p'an (=Han p'an), the son rTen so, the minister gTsañ kun, the great lama Se šar, the custodian Se lo "sweeping the earth,, Se'u spreading the carpet, Bya ra ba taking care of the horses and riches, Hal k'yi keeper of the time, dKar šam, sBal e', the blue dragon on whose body there are yellow and black lines, the white tiger Han bu skyañs can; the heavenly executioner, Gap pa god of thunder, Byi lam with pig's head, the god of the moon and that of wind, Bla sdos, the king of earth (Sa rgyal); then Sa sman Sa yi bstan ma, Nan lha, rCan rgon the sa bdag; Sa zor, Byi lam with a sMan mo, the gNan aP'ar ma with nine heads, the nine gods, the five gods kings of earth (cf. BANG GABAIN, RACHAMATI, op. cit., etc., pp. 60-92-97, n. 7, but in the text published by LAUFER, *Sühngedichte*, p. 32, *sa bdag gi rgyal po ni | sa sna lha la gnas*, the king of the Sa bdag, abiding in the earth of five kinds). "On account of this great *lto* (on this word see later) of heaven and earth may everybody be happy: you, Sa bdag, be satisfied; the great gNan of the rocks may not try us, the great Sa (bdag) may not tear us asunder; the great Sa (bdag) of water may not overflow us; erratic stars may not roll upon earth; flames of fire fall not upon earth; violent hailstorm fall not upon earth. Do not send (you spirits) diseases to men, diseases to cattle, epidemics; do not send hail and famine. May the red K'yun shake not his wings (and cause wind); may the blue dragon close not his mouth (and cause draught); may the yellow monkey dance not (and cause earthquake). May the white fish not shake his tail. The turquoise mouse may not bark as a dog; may not the many-coloured boar be agitated; may not the black snake shake his tongue. May the brownish yak sharpen not his horn. May the young bullock through the hatchet perish not..."

The list of astrological Sa bdag beginning with T'e se is the same as that contained in the *Vai du rya dkar po*, p. 442 (I. hasa edition) which is but a catalogue of the household and the retinue of T'e se loi rgyal po. The differences are chiefly in spelling; rten so in one text instead of te so of V. K., se lo sa ap'ar instead of the faulty se lo sa ac'ar of V. K., dkar šam in V. K. is called daughter of T'e se, sBal e' e is the bridegroom.

33. The *mdos* can be of various kinds (*p'a, rus, spyi, sgos* are the four fundamental classes: *gTsig lag snañ srid spyi skoñ gi mdos c'o ga*, p. 1) and have different names according to the deities under whose protection they are placed or the kind of demons which they are supposed to expel or the purpose for which they are meant. The RC contains some dozens of treasures dealing with this subject. As a rule the *mdos* in placed upon four square *bañ rim*, basements, made of straw and grass in decreasing order; then on the upper basement a mast is placed which is crossed by a transverse bar: threads of various colours are then interlaced between the arms of the cross so formed.

This is the *žal yas k'añ*, the palace, where the gods invoked are supposed to reside. In a second moment images of various Sa bdag and of the deities presiding over the cycle of the 12 years are made out of the *zampa* by means of the *zan apar*, a piece of wood upon which these deities are engraved so as to form a mould. These images are then placed in the lower basement facing the exorcist.

From the symbolic point of view it is interesting to notice that this *mdos* is supposed to represent the world: and the mast or *mdos šin* is the *ri rab*, Sumeru, the mountain (called also *ri rab rgya mdud* consisting in knots disposed in form of a cross), supporting the sky. The four basements are said to be the four continents. "On the top of the *mdos* there is the canopy of the *mdos* which represents the sky of the celestial tent with eight ribs,.. It is surmounted by sun and moon, *Glin bži spyi mdos kyi zin bris rā ga a syas mdos*, RC, p'i, p. 2. In other cases it is called

*ri rab hum pa*, the pot, the Sumeru (*mK'a' agro glin bži srid pai spyi mdos c'en mo*, RC, p'i, p. 3). The pot is the Sumeru in which the gods are invited to descend (*gTsig su gsol*). It is therefore a cosmos which is here built and upon which the exorcist makes the gods or demons to dwell so that he might controll them. (In fact if they do not comply with his orders their heart will split in many pieces). The construction of the *mdos* cannot therefore be separated from that of the *mc'od rten*, the *stupa*: the scheme of the *mdos* and of the *stupa* being determined by the same symbolism. This is a fact which may contribute to the evolution of the *stupa* so well investigated by P. Mus in his work on Barabodur. The *mdos* go certainly back to prebuddhistic times: in *gTsig lag snañ srid spyi skoñ mdos c'o ga* the invention of some of them is attributed to P'yva gien Bon po T'od dkar of Žañ žun. The book contains some parts which are purely Bon po and belong to the *p'yva* section of the Bon scriptures.

34. These goddesses have nothing in common with those of the *Kumāratantra*. On the *Rāvāna-tantra* and the eight *ma mo, mātrkā*, see FILLIOZAT, *Le Kumāratantra de Rāvāna*, Paris, 1937.

35. *a'e'eb k'yu, a'e'eb sk'yu* = S. CH. DAS *mt'eb k'yu* "A symbol resembling a finger which is placed with the torna,.. Cf. VAN MANEN, *Minor Tibetan texts*, p. 19; in the text instead of *gzugs*, image, as in the following cases there is *gzug* (= the tenth part of a slaughtered animal).

36. *c'an bu* "the dough of barley-flour squeezed or pressed within the hand coming out between the fingers given to the ghosts,.. S. CH. DAS s. v.

37. This ceremony is very interesting from many points of view: first of all it shows the vitality of prebuddhistic beliefs and practices and secondly it sheds a new light upon the relation which Tibetan magic established between men and the much dreaded world of their primitive mythologic lore. It is therefore worth while to summarize the various moments of the ceremony itself in order to get a glimpse of the ritual by which the Sa bdag and their bad influences are warded off.

I. Preparation of the *nar mi*. This *nar mi* can be of three sizes: great, one cubit (*k'ru*), intermediate, a span (*mt'o*), small, a *k'yud*. It is made with grains of five sorts: its head should be red, the upper part of the body black, the lower part yellow; on its head 25 small images of a man made of dough are placed and other 25 in each hand and on the back; the 12 animals of the cycle of the year should be placed round him: a hundred of *mt'eb k'yu* (see above), *k'on bu, c'an bu* (see above), offerings of food; on the right hand 10 white dots (*nam mk'a'*) should be put then on the head 11 yellow dots, on the right hand 10 white, on the left hand 10 black, 10 blue on the back. The same as regards the *rgyañ bu*.

II. Invocation to aJam dpal so that he may favour with his blessings the ceremony of the *lto* and impart power to the exorcist *lto mk'on*. Then many gods are invoked. Lha c'en, Ts'ans pa (Brahmā) on the Sumeru (*ri rab c'en po*), sPyan ras gzigs (Avalokitevara) on Potala, P'yag na rdo rje on lCan lo can, Kon tse rgyal po on the Ri bo tse lna (Pañcākūta, T'ai shan) of China, the men of China (rgya) and Tibet, (spirits) abiding in red cliffs, in the depth of the ocean, on the snowy peaks, in temples, houses, cross-roads, caves, springs - the golden turquoise, the 12 animals of the cycle, the 12 gods of the earth years, the 12 gods of the iron years, the 12 gods of the wood years, the 12 gods of the fire years, old *mk'en* (𠄎 ch'ien, heaven) the father, old *ak'on* (𠄎 k'un, earth) the mother; the eight *spar k'a* 八卦. They are called after their Chinese name: *k'yen* (𠄎 ch'ien), *kam* (坎 k'an), *gin* (艮 ken), *zin* (震 chen), *zon* (兌 sun), *li* (離 li), *k'on* (坤 k'un), *dva* (兌 tui); the nine *zme ba* (on which see WADDELL, *Lamasim*, p. 457); the seven stars of the East, the seven of the South, the seven of West, the seven of North; the 28 mansions; the eight great planets, T'e k'yim btsun mo, the black dog of the sky, the black dog Hal sa bdag, the eight Lha c'en, the eight Klu, the four rGyal c'en; the great *bkor bdag* (dPe dkar), rDo rje legs, the Lha srin sde brgyad.

III. The exorcist addresses the *glud kyi mi c'en, glin bži nar mi*: he asks him to accept the 25 small figures of men placed upon the image as ransom for the life of the noble man (*mi ya rab*) in whose favour the ceremony takes places, the 20 dots as substitutes for his clothes, the 20 *rgyañ bu* as ransoms for involuntary causes of misfortune.

IV. Invocation to the effect that there be no mistake either on the part of the *lto mk'an* in presenting nor on the part of *nar mi* in accepting the offerings.

V. The *nar mi* replies to the exorcist. He calls himself a *nar gyi mi bo c'e*, "the great *nar mi* .., he states that he has come to take a ransom from the man for whose benefit the ceremony has been undertaken.

VI. The exorcist replies: "In your right hand there is the ransom for the consciousness (i. e. the vital principle) which you want; they are eight dots made of precious copper: I offer them to you as a ransom for the life of the religious (c'os byed) man; the yellow *rgyan bu* I offer to you as a ransom for the life of the great man. These 25 images of men I offer to you as a ransom for his wealth... Then prayers follow to the effect that all bad influences may be warded off by the *nar mi*, after he has accepted the afore said offerings.

VII. Reply of the *nar mi*: he says that having come in order to get the ransom for that man, he wants the *rgyan bu* with white dots and *gtor ma* of flesh.

VIII. Reply of the exorcist: "Now you have come in order to get a ransom for that man, take for his ransom the 25 images of men placed in his left hand, the 25 *rgyan bu* as ransom for his clothes..."

IX. The *nar mi* answers that he wants nine kinds of pure seeds, nine kinds of food, 20 small red men, 20 dots of precious copper. If he gets all these things he can go.

X. The exorcist offers all these things, begs the other to accept them and expresses the wish that everything turns out well, and every action is successful. In this way the exorcist of *lto* is efficient.

XI. A litany of ghosts pernicious to men and to their limbs and a list of the corresponding parts of the *gtor ma* intended as equivalent ransom follow: Nag pa t'an yan, Ma bdud p'un sri, Dri mo lag dkar, Srin mo t'an yan, Šes rgyal strog geod, b'Tsan rgyal ya ma, K'rag rgyas dmar po, Nag po miñ srin, gSer mo strog geod, K'ram bdud nag po; each one of them causes a particular disease; prayer to the effect that disease of the father, mother and sons, all troubles to the house and to the fields, ominous signs such as that of the crow crying in the night, etc., evils produced by exorcists of India, of Zan zun, brahmins, heretics, all sorts of diseases, all dGegs, Drag po, P'o ña may in this way be expelled.

XII. The Sa bdag of the four points of the compass who want to take their *lto* are requested to take it and to go away, if they do not want it. The gods enumerated in n. XI are notified that if they do not take this *lto*, their head, by the power of aJam dpal will split in 7 pieces and their bodies in a thousand pieces.

It is clear that the text published by Laufer is a *lto* - treatise in which the efficacy of the rite is emphasized having recourse to an old story. At the beginning of mankind the king sKos, the author of civilisation, offended Klu, gNan and Sa bdag when he built castles and houses, and taught people the works of the fields. Those demons were therefore angry and caused many diseases. A woman expert in casting lots was called by the king and she explained the cause of those epidemics sent by the irritated Klu, gNan and Sa bdag; the *lto* was therefore made. In some places the text uses the same expressions as our treatise: Laufer did not always catch the proper meaning; p. 35, vv. 137-151, it is always the sorceress who speaks: (You) have been bound by Klu, gNan and Sa bdag; you have been bound by diseases. You must be liberated from the bounds of the Klu, gNan and Sa bdag; so she said. v. 154, *lto mk'an bon po sired*; does not mean, "so viele essende Bon po da sind...," but "there are here many Bon po who can make the *lto*...," v. 162 "Da sprechen die essende T'an po und die Geflügelten...," then the maker of the *lto* T'an po gšog po said... At page 36 the preparation of the *lto* is described very often with the same technical terms as in our treatises. v. 257, *namis kyi gun rgyal* is gNam gyi gun rgyal, the god of heaven.

This text gives an idea of the composite character of these *rtsi* books used by the astrologers and exorcists; local aboriginal intuitions and practices are blended with foreign ideas. China has certainly exercised a great influence on this literature introducing into Tibet many principles and gods of her astrology. In the *Dag pa gter gyi mdo t'ig rgya nag skad du: gšog lag ap'ruñ gyi agyur rtsis srid pa* which is not a transcription but a translation: *Lhai skad du* (a compromise with the Bon po): *kon tsi lin tsi mir ma rol ma: bod skad du: gza' skar gšan bai zu rtsi bskol gyi mdoš* side by side with aboriginal gods like Srin po, b'Tsan, rMu rje, rMu btsan etc. we find the *lha lha*, "the five gods of the five elements," according to Chinese geomancy: East wood, South fire, West iron, North water intermediate point earth; turquoise heaven (*gyu' yi gnam*) is the father of all and the golden earth is the mother of all (different from *lha mo brTan ma*); the tortoise upon which the universe rests is a magic body of aJam dpal; the book is attributed to Kon tse lha yi rgyal po: there is mention of the nine vehicles of the Bon po, but the seven planets and the 28 nakšatra are according to the Indian system.

38. Cfr. f. i. U *rgyan Pad ma abyun gnas kyi mdsad pai dam sri gyag ru dgra ajom*.

39. This Bon corresponds to the bGyur Bon of the *Grub m'a' žel gyi me loñ*, JRASB, 1881, p. 191: but the names of the masters are different.

40. The image of this god can be seen in J. F. Rock, *The birth and origin of Dto-mbas Shi-lo the founder of the Mo-so shamanism*. *Artibus Asiae*, VII, p. 85.

41. The list of the twelve brTan ma (bsTan ma) is found also in the Bon po Bar do c'os grol; *Zi k'ro t'os c'og ran grol c'en moi dban gi las byan*, p. 11, but it is slightly different: gYun drun kun grags ma, gYun drun ma skyol; gYun drun kun tu bzam mo (gšan bai yum c'en); gYun drun bGer kyis gied (abrog c'en ak'or adul); gYun drun srid gcig ma (ša med gans dkar); gYun drun dpal gyi yum (k'a rag k'un btsun); gYun drun rlun mo tgyal (gter cen mk'a' ldiñ); gYun drun rlun ma gyogs ma (rma ri rab byams); gYun drun bod k'ams skyaon (rkon btsun sde mo); gYun drun sman gcig ma (btsan la rol pa), gYun drun dbyal moi bsil (ma btsun k'ug c'os), gYun drun lo sman (Byan gi tin tin).

42. *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

43. *aDsam glin gans ti sei dkar c'ogs dbyaivs yid ap'rog agos adod*, p. 30 b. Perhaps the fact that the K'ri are seven has an astrological meaning.

44. This mention is very important since it shows that the mythology of the dGra lha is very complex. There are dGra lha male and dGra lha female; in other words we should speak of dGra lhas and not of a dGra lha. In fact there is a group of nine dGra lhas; their names are preserved by Klon rdol bla ma in his treatise upon the bsTan sruñ ma, p. 14 b: dPa' britan dmag dpon c'en po, sNan grags abrog ldit (roaring thunder), Drag rtsal c'og abebis (lightning), sDan bai strog geod, sKyes bu ran c'as, Bya k'a rta snon mi, dGra sman šog rtsal. The last one is evidently a female. We notice also that some of these gods represent atmospheric phenomena; others have the aspect of birds. As to their number nine it is well known that Bon po deities are often divided into groups of nine: f. i. aGoñ po spun dgu, T'eu ran me'ed dgu, Ma sans dgu etc. See *rGyal mdoš dkar po drug mdoš kyi bcid t'abs mdun bskyed*, RC, p'1, p. 4.

45. *The animal style among the nomad tribes of Northern Tibet in Sky-tshika*, n. 3, Praga, 1930.

46. TUCCI-GHERSI, *Secrets of Tibet*, p. 22 ff.

47. FRANCKE, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, p. 21 ff.

48. These gods are classified by Klon rdol bla ma according to the five-fold division of Buddhism: *sku* (body), *gsun* (words), *t'ugs* (spirit), *yon ton* (virtue), *ap'rin las* (activity). But it is evident that this is an addition of the learned Buddhist commentators dealing with the old folklore of their country.

49. So also the 13 mGur lha have 32 blon po, ministers.

50. This legend is followed by the story of the building by the same man of a castle and of the epidemics which ensued on account of the offences done by the artisans to the Klu; it introduces therefore a myth on the rites of foundations.

51. *Ru pa ti zes bya ba rgyal po dpon gi t'ogs gcig dan bcas pa gyul ap'gyed* (*agyed*) *pai t's'e, bud med kyi c'a lugs su byes te broš nas ri k'a ba can gyi ri k'rod du žugs la gnas pai rigs las dri gan na yon bod c'es bya bar grags pa yin*. Cfr. fifth Dalai Lama, Life of Zur t'ams cad mk'yen pa c'os dbyiñs ran grol, p. 7. In *Mani bka' abum*, p. 18, the same story is narrated, but there is no name of the prince; he is said to be the son of a king of the last of the three clans: Šäkya, Licchavi and Ri dvags.

52. BUSTON, p. 123 a: *sras lha t's'igs; rGyal rabs*, p. 51: *brgyud lha t's'igs*. Obermüller translates *gzugs can šiñi pos sras c'un stobs c'un gi sras lha t's'igs* as "the fifth descendant of the youngest, feeble son of Bimbisära...," but I believe that *stobs c'un* is a proper name *Ksudrabala*. According to Pad ma dkar po the king who came into Tibet and was called there gNa Kri bzän po was a Licchavi prince. The various theories have been summarized SP, p. 149. On the value of *t's'igs* "number of a generation," (Jäschke) cfr. this following passage DT, da, p. 5 b, *dam pa šgor ni yob dan yum gñis kyi sras sna t's'igs su c'en po stag la k'ruñs*. In the *Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 29, *sras lha mña' pai bar pai* "the middle of the five sons..."

53. In the *T's'al pai deb dmar* quoted in the biography of K'ra ts'an pa blo gros me'og, p. 67 he is said to be an incarnation of sPyan ras gzigs; for the benefit of Tibet he descends in the family of dMag brgya. The place where he appeared is called in different ways by the various sources: according to Pad ma dkar po "Lha ri gyan...," so also in the *rGyal rabs bon gyi abyun gnas*, LAUFER, T'oung Pao, 1900 (*Chronicles of fifth Dalai Lama: Lha ri gyan c'om*); in the *rGyal rabs*, p. 32, "Gar lha šam po...," in the *Mani bka' abum*: Yar klun lha ri yol pa; in Buston (OBERMÜLLER, p. 182) Lha ti yol ba; in the *T's'al deb dmar* Yar lha šam po.



This place is, in spite of the contrary opinion of Klaproth (КОРПИЕН, *Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*, p. 50) is in Yar klün as one may deduce from the rGyal rabs itself the Chronicles of Blo bzañ rgya mts'o and S. CH. DAS, *Journey*, p. 231. But if we are to follow the fifth Dalai lama there are three different mountains or peaks of the same range corresponding to three different moments of the descent; the reason is either to reconcile the different traditions or rather to comply with local legends considering those places as particularly sacred: "from the top of the Lha ri gyañ t'o where he had arrived, he looked down and saw that the country of Yar klün appeared so pleasant as if the qualities of Heaven were descended upon earth and that the Yar lha sam po ri was so beautiful as the mount Sumeru embraced by the full moon, the lord of *caṇḍakānta*. He therefore went on the top of the Lha ri rol pa and then descended by the heavenly ladder," (p. 11).

54. gNam sa means regularly heaven-earth; but it seems to me that sa should be taken in this case as *bhumi*: stage and that it refers to the heavenly spheres

55. Out of the nine storeys. Even in ancient Chinese mythology the celestial planes were 9. V. MASPERO, *Legendes mythologiques dans le Chou king*, J. A., 1924, p. 29; so also among the Turks, THOMSEN, *Alttürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei*, ZDMG, 1924, p. 31.

56. Cf. BUSTON, p. 123; OBERMILLER, p. 182, wrongly translates "The Böṅ po priests who came from the Mut-hag and Mu kâ declared that he was a god,,". The right translation is: "the Böṅ po priests thinking that he was descended by the dMu t'ag or the dMu skas said that he was a god,,".

57. rMu t'ag, rMu skas are equivalent, cfr. the passage of Bu ston quoted above.

58. CROOKE, *Folklore*, XXV, 1914, p. 397.

59. In the text wrongly: sMa gza'.

60. This passage is also quoted in the rGyal rabs, p. 122.

61. Another name of Mu tig btsan po; on this story, cfr. rGyal rabs, p. 134; PETECH, *A study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 74; THOMAS, *Tibetan literary texts*, p. 268.

62. *Zal gso qdar gsum dan dga' gsum bcaḍ*. This obscure sentence refers to the able way by which aGos rCan na so rgad avoided a dangerous resentment among the subjects as a consequence of the murder committed by the prince, at the same time giving satisfaction to the ministers and saving the life of the prince. He put the same questions twice viz. if a prince guilty of the murder of a subject was punishable and by whom; each time the question was formulated in three different ways so that the king, the ministers and the subjects in turn trembled (*qdar*) and rejoiced (*dga'*). Mu ru btsan po had killed the son of the minister because the latter had forbidden him from entering the room where the king was having a council with his father (Apology rñiñ ma pa, p. 54).

63. On that occasion, according to the Apology Lha bzañ klu dpal went to subue K'yi tan viz. the Kitan of China. The history of the submission of the frontier by Mu rug btsan po was written by lDan ma tse mañ (*So k'a l'ams cad mu rug btsan pos btul pai lo rgyus*. *Ibid.*, p. 54).

64. Viz. the leather mask of gNod sbyin brTse dmar. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

65. This same story is contained in the introduction to the sNar t'añ edition of the bK'a agyur, the link between the two texts being the legend of Pe dkar, which appears in either cases. This introduction has been translated by F. W. THOMAS (*Tibetan literary texts*, p. 300); this dispenses me from giving it again. In a few cases I would suggest a different rendering: "basis and superstructure,,"; *rten dan brten*; *rten* is the temple itself and *brten* the images and other religious objects placed in it.

"A council of teachers, disciples and the religious was held,," *mk'an slob c'os*. This sentence is abbreviated for *mk'an po, slob dpon, c'os rgyal* viz. Santiraksita, Padmasambhava and K'ri ston lde btsan. "a retinue of eight horses,," it refers to the *ria bdag* the eight acolytes of sNam t'os sras mounted on horseback. "soldiers of various services,," *ngo brñen* is "of monstrous aspect,,". Instead of "The turquoise-sage himself arrived,," read: "the image (of the Buddha) made of turquoise miraculously created,,"; *rañ byon* is the usual term for things created by the agency of the gods.

"The ice tadpoles,," *ñel* is not "ice,," but: crystal, p. 302.

"This being the first time that the names 'Dbas, race and 'Outer aBrog regiment, came to be known, according to a received tradition Dbas Šes-phrug came to be pronounced as the race name,," rather: "this family originally belonged to the clan dBas: these being distinguished for having received by royal order the investiture (on this technical expression see above p. 688, n. 117) upon the external aBrog, that clan was called aBas šes ap'tug,,".

66. It is noteworthy that the title of the book dealing with Pe dkar, *Pe dkar ar gtaḍ* should contain a word: *ar gtaḍ*, or *la gtaḍ pa* (Jäschke, quoting Schiefner) "to be reduced to extremities, to extreme misery,," which is most likely Turkish. This word seems to me to be connected with the Turkish *arta* (verderben), *artat* (vetrachten), GABAIN, *Grammatik*, s. v.

Anyhow, it is clear that Pe dkar too is fundamentally a fiend who took the form of a bird, evidently the same one appearing in the Central Asian pictures quoted above. In the rNiñ ma pa Apology we have often quoted and in the Dalai Lama's account, translated above, he is transformed into a vulture *Bya rgoḍ*, and as such he fights against rNam t'os sras's army and is laid low by the latter. One of his symbols is the *Šin bya*, "the wooden bird,," which was preserved in bSam yas. In fact he is often called *Šin bya can*, "he who holds a wooden bird,," (*Padma abhyūñ gnaḥ skyer rab dri ma med*, mss., p. 97).

# TIBETAN TEXTS



༡༡། ། ཡོ་སྤུ་མྱི་སྤྱི། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལུང་གིས། རབ་བཏན་ཀུན་བཟང་འཕགས་ཏའི་སི་དུའི་གཏོ། དཔོན་སྐུ། རང་གཉེར་བཟའ་  
 པ་རྒན་གཞིན། ལས་འཛིན། ལྷ་མྱེ། དྲག་བཅན། མི་མྱེ། མི་དམངས་ལ་སྒོ་བ། ར་འོང་ནས། ཚོས་མའི་མཁར་ལས་རྒྱུ་རིང་བ། དགེ་  
 ལས་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་སྤྱུས་པ་རྣམས། བསོད་ནམས་ཚེར་ཐོབ་ཅིང། རྫོང་གཞིས་ཀྱི་མཁར་ལས། མྱེ་སྤྱང་གྱི་ཐོས་དང་། འཇིགས་སྤོབས་  
 གལ་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན་ནའང། ། རྒྱུད་རྣམས་ལས་དཀའ་ལྷུ་མངས་ཀྱི་མཚར་ཡུན་རིང་བ་ཤིན་ཏུ་བདེན་པར་ཡོད་པའི་རྒྱན་བཟོ་དང་། གཞན་  
 ཡང་ཁྲལ་རིགས། རྫོ་ཉལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་གཅེར་༡ འདུག་པས། ཡོ་གསར་པ་འདི་ནས། ད་རྒན་ལོ་གསུམ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན་ཞིང། བདེ་སྤྱིད།  
 སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བལྟན་པ་དར་བ་ལས་འབྱུང་བ། བལྟན་འཛིན་རྣམས་ལ་རག་ལས་པས། རྒྱེ་བའི་བཟའ་བདུང་སྤྱོད་ལམ་དང་ཁྱད་མེད་  
 དུ་མ་ཚོར་བའི། རབ་བྱུང་གི་སྤང་དོར་ངེས་པའི་སྒོ་ནས། བསྐབ་པ་ལ་གཅེས་སྤྱུས་གཙོ་བོར་འདོན་པ་དང་། ཐོས་བསམ་བཤམ་  
 རྒྱལ་ལ་བཙོན་པ། དགེ་བའི་བཤམ་གཉེན་གྱི་མཛེད་པ་གལ་ཆེ། དགོན་པ་སོ་སོ་རྣམས། དབྱར་མཚམས་། དགུན་འཚམས་དམ་པ།  
 བྱིངས་ཀྱིས་༡ ཀྱང་དགོན་མཚོག་གསུམ་ལ་དད་གསུམ་དང་དགེ་འདུན་ལ་བཀུར་བལྟེ་དང། དགེ་བཅུ་ལ་གནས་པ། རང་རང་གི་ས་  
 ཆ་ན་བཞུགས་པའི་གཅུག་ལག་ཁང་། མཚོད་རྟེན། དབྱ་མངས་རྣམས་ལ་ན་བཟའ་སྐུ་དཀར་གསོལ་བ་དང་། དཀར་མེ། ཙོད་པན་  
 སོགས་དུས་དུས་ཀྱི་མཚོད་པ་འབྲལ་བ་རྣམས་བཙོན་ཞིང། རྒྱན་གཏན་༡ གྱི་རི་རྒྱ་སྤངས་རྒྱ་དམ་པ། རྒྱ་བ་བྱུང་ངོ་ཅོག་གི་དུས་བཟང་  
 གསུམ་དང། རོར་རྒྱ་དང་བོ། གསུམ་པ། བཞི་པ། བརྒྱད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་གཅིག་ནས་བཙོ་ལའི་བར་སངས་རྒྱལ་མ་འགོ། རྒྱི་  
 ར་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། རི་སྤངས་ཀྱི་རི་དྲགས་མ་དོན། རོན་པ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སོག་མ་གཙོད། ཉ་མ་འདོན། བཟའ་པ། ལྷ་མྱེ། མི་མྱེ།  
 འོག་འཇལ། རྒྱག་སེབ་རྣམས་ལ། དམག་དང་བསྐྱུང་བ། གསར་ཁྲལ་༡ ལྷོན་འཇལ་དུ་འགྱུར་བལ། འགྲལ་དུ་མིང་བཏགས་པ་  
 འདི་དང། ཙ་བའི་གཞུང་ཁྲལ་དེབ་གཏོར་དུ་འཆར་བ་དང། ཙ་རྩལ་འབབས་རྒྱང། དུས་ཀྱི་གྲིས་ཚོ་གཞིར་བཞག་པ་མ་གཏོགས། །  
 གཞན་ཁྲལ་རིགས་གསར་པ་རྣམས་འཆག་ཏུ་བཅུག་པ་ཡིན་ཞིང། ཙ་ནས་ཀྱི་ལོ་དུས་རྩ་ལྔ་༡ འདི། རང་གྱི་ཐོག་གི་གསར་  
 འཕར་ཡིན་པས། ད་ལོ་གསུམ་ཆ་འཆག་དང། སང་རེད་ལྷེད་འཆག་བྱིན་ལ། རྒྱུ་ལོ་ནས་གཙང་མར་༡ འཆག་ཏུ་འཇུག། ལྷེང་  
 མཛེད་པས་མ་འདེད། ཙ་ཟེལ་གཞོན་གྱི་དགོན་མར་དེལ་༡ བལ་སྤོག་༡ རིས། བལ་སྤང་གི་མར་ཉག་རེ་ཕུལ་ལ་དེ་བས་ལྷག་པ། མ་  
 འདེད། མར་རྗེས་སུ། བལ་ལེན་གིན་ཡོད་འདུག་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་མེད་དུ་ཇུག། གཞུང་ཅན་འབབ་པའི་ཤིང་བ། མི་མྱེས་ཀྱང་དུས་  
 དུས་སུ་སྤྱེལ་བཅུག་བའི་ཡིག་ཤིང་གཉེར་བ་ལ་ཇུག། ཏར་ཆེན་མའི་རྟ་གཡོག་ཁོར་ཡུག་འདིའང་། མི་མྱེ་བ་རྣམས་སྤོང་བ་ཅིག་  
 འདུག་པས། གཉེར་པས་མི་རྒྱུ་གཉེས་ཀྱི་ས་ཞིང་དེང་སང་ཕྱེ་ལ། གནམ་ཐེབས་ནས་མ་བསྐལ། ལྷུ་མ་མཚན་ཐུབ་རེ་དང། ཚེབས་  
 པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཐུར་མདའ་དང། མཐུར་མགོ་རྟ་གདན་དང་བཅས་པ། གཉེར་གོང་འོག་གི་སྤོང་ལ། མི་མྱེ་ལ་མ་འདེད། རང་ཤེས་ཀྱི་  
 ལས་རིང་མ་བསྐལ། ཟ་མ་ཤ་རྒྱབ་དང། སྤོ་རིལ་མ་ལེན། བསྐྱུད་གཉེར་བ་ལ་མ་མངག། མི་མྱེ་བོད་འབྲོག་གི་གསར་བསྐལ་གཡག་  
 པའི་སྐུ་རྒྱུང་མ་འབྲིམ། འབྲིམས་༡ པ་བྱུང་ན། ཐོར་ཐོབ་ལ། ཙེར་ཁྱེར་ཤོག། མི་མྱེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང། གཉེར་གོང་འོག་ལ་འཕྲོད་  
 པའི་དོ་དམ་མི་དཔོན་དང། བརྒྱ་དཔོན་ཐ་དད་ཀྱིས་གྲིས་ཤིང། མི་དཔོན་གྱིས་ཀྱང། བསྐྱུད་ཀྱི་ཟ་རྒྱུང་མ་ཟ། འདོད་ངོ་འི་ཁྲལ་རིགས་  
 གསར་པ་དང། རྫོ་ཉལ་སོགས་ཐ་དད་ནས་མ་མངག། གཉེར་ཆང་ནས། ཤ་ཤས་ཀྱི་འབབས། གཞུང་ཁྲལ་སྤོལ་ཅན་བྱེད་པ་མ་

1. Ms. ttset - 2. Ms. kyji - 3. Ms. bstan - 4. Ms. agrel - 5. Ms. edor - 6. For: ts'añ mar - 7. Ms. gril - 8. Ms. spro tis - 9. Sic: abrim.

གཏོགས་གཉེར་གོང་འོག་དང་། རྫོང་གཞིས་ཐ་དང་གྱི་གཉེར་པ། བྱིས་གཉེར། དྲག་ཞུག་༡ ། ཀྱུན་གྱི་ཐེལ་ཚེ་མ་འགྲིམ། གལ་ཏེ་བྱུང་  
 ན། མི་དཔོན། མི་སྤེལ་ཀྱང་མ་ཅི་༡ ། སྐྱ་ཅེ། གས་པ། ལྟ་ཅེ། རིན་ཚེན་ཅེ་སོགས་ནས་དོས་ཡོང་བ་རྣམས། གཉེར་པའི་དོས་ཡིག  
 ཐེལ་ཚེ་འབྱུང་བ་བཞིན་ས་རིམས་གྱི་འགྲིམ་ལ། དོས་རྣམས། ཞོལ་གཡས་གཡོན་འབྲོག་དུ་མ་བཅུག། གལ་ཇེས་གྱི་མིས་སྦྱོར་བཟུང་  
 བའི་ཅིས་སྤྲོགས་། གཉེར་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་འདོད་ངོ་ཞེར་འཇུས་གྱི་ཁལ་པ་མ་བཅད། རྩ་ཚན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། ཡུལ་སྤྱོད་གྱི་སར་  
 ཚོར་མ་འདེབས། ཟ་མ་མི་ཟ་བ་གྱིས་ཤིང། ལྡང་པ་དང་གྲོ་བོ་ལ་འགྲིམ་པ་སོགས། ཚིབས་པ་ཡར་མར་འགྲོ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། འདི་  
 བས་གྱི་ཡི་གེར་གསལ་བའི་དྲ་བུངས་ལ། གཉེས་པར་དུ་དྲ་འབྲིད་མི་རེ་མ་གཏོགས་དེ་བས་རྩལ་པའི་དྲ་མཐོང་མ་བསྐུལ། ཚག་ཅུ་  
 འདུར་མ་ལེན། དྲ་གཞུང་ལས་ལ་འགྲིམ་ལ་འོང་སེབ་དུ་མ་བཅད། དྲ་ཇེས་ཡི་གེར་གསལ་བ་ལས་རྩལ་པའི་སྤོར་བྱིལ་མ་ལེན་བཞིན།  
 ཟ་མ་དང་། ཀྱང་སྒྲིའི་བསྐྱེད་མ་བྱེད། དྲ་རྣམས་ཡར་ལས་ཤོང་ནང་ཡམ་དུ་ཞག་རེ་དང་། བྱིར་ལས་སྐང་ལྷང་འདར་ཞག་རེ་སྤོང་ལ།  
 གཞན་གང་དྲ་དུ་ཞག་སྤོང་མ་བྱེད། གྲལ་གྱིལ་མོར་དྲ་གཡོག་ལྷག་ཇེ་ལ་མ་བཅད། དེ་བྱིན་དྲ་གཡོག་གསུམ་དང་། དེལ་གཡོག་གཅིག  
 ལས་མ་བསྐུལ། དྲག་ཞུག་མི་དམངས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང། གཅིག་གི་གཅིག་ལ་སྒོ་ཉལ་མ་འབེབས། གཤིན་པོ་ཇེས་འཛོན་ཡོད་པའི་  
 ཁང་ཞིང་ལ་མཐོལ་༡ འབེབས་མ་ཞུ། ལས་ཀྱི་དང་། ཀྱུན་མ་། མཚོན་རྫོལ་བའི་འཐབ་ཅོད། གོན་དཔ་པར་འགྲོ་བ་མ་བྱེད། བྱིས་མ་  
 འགལ་ཚེན་བོ་བྱེད་མི་བྱུང་ན། ཟུང་ལ་ནང་སོར་སྦྱོལ། རོར་ལྷགས་གྱི་ཅར་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན། བྱུག་པོ་སྐྱ་སེར་རྣམས་གྱི་ལོ་དུས་འདིའི་བར་  
 བཞི་ལྷ་གོ་༡ ལས་རྩལ་པའི་མ་ལེན། ལོ་གསུམ་པན་གྱི་བྱ་ལོན་རྙིང་རྣམས་ལ། ཞུ་ཤེས་དང་ལེན་ཤེས་གྱིས་ལྷེང་པ་ལ་མིག་ཉེ་མ་བྱེད།  
 ཇེ་པའི་བྱ་ལས་པ་རྣམས་དང་། གསེར་ཡིག་ལ་མངགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། རྒྱུག་སྲུན་མ་ཟ། མི་དཔོན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། མི་སྤེལ། རྣམ་  
 གཡག་དང་། རྣམ་བོང་མ་འདེད། ཇེ་པ་བྱོར་གཤེགས་གྱི་ཇ་ཞལ། ལས་ཚོན་གྱི་འདོད་ངོ་ཁ་སྤོལ། གོས་རྒྱ། རྩ་སྤོར་༡ རྣམས་འཆག  
 དུ་ཆུག་ཅིང། གཉེར་པར་དང་བཟོ་རིགས་པ། ལས་རྒྱབ་པ་རྣམས་གྱི་མི་འབྲལ་མ་འདེད། ལྡར་སྤེར་དགོས་ཡོད་པའི་ཁ་སྤོལ་༡ རྙིང་  
 པ་ཀྱང་སྐྱ། ཟ་མ་འདོད་ངོ་སྤུ་ལའང་མ་བྱིན། གྲལ་མི་གྲོས་འཛོམས་སོང་བ་རྣམས་ཐ་དང་ནས་ཁྱག་ལ། རང་རང་གི་ཁང་ཞིང་དང་  
 སྤོང། ཁང་པ་ཅུད་༡ ཟོས་ལ་སོང་བ་འདུག་ན། བའལལ་༡ མི་སྤེལ་ཡིན་གྱིས་༡ གསོར་༡ ཅུག། མི་སྤེལ་ས་ཞིང། ལྷ་བཅུན་དྲག་ཞུག  
 སུས་ཀྱང་མ་འཛོན། ཡུལ་ཐོན་༡ ཁྱགས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ལོ་གཅིག་གི་གྲལ་རིགས་ཅ་འཆག་དང་། ལོ་དྲིང་མ་བྱེད་འཆག་བྱིན་ལ་སྦྱངས་  
 སུ་འགྲོ་བ་གྱིས་ཤིང། ཡུལ་འཛོན་པའི་བྱ་བ་ལ་ཐ་དང་ནས་འབད་པ་ཐོན། ས་ཡུལ་གྱི་གན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། དགོས་མེད་གྱི་གྲལ་  
 རིགས་མ་འགལ། གཞུང་གྲལ་རྣམས་མི་བྱུགས་ཞིང་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤེངས་སུ་སྦྱོམས་པར་ཁྲོལ། རྒྱ་སྒོ་ཚེན་མོ་ན་སྤོལ་ཡིག་སྤུར་ཡོད་  
 པ་བཞིན་རྣམ་བོང་རྣམས་ཀྱང། ལྡར་༡ དགོས་གྱི་ཉེ་ཚད་ལས་རྩལ་པ་མི་བསྐུལ། བན་དེ་ཀུན་དང་། ལྷགས་བོན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་  
 ཀྱང་རང་རང་གི་ཚོས་ལྷགས་དགོ་བར་འབྱུར་བ་རྣམས་ལ་བཅོན་པར་གྱིས་ལ། དུད་འགྲོའི་ཤ་ཁྱག་ལ་མ་ཅམ། བསད་ཤ་ཟོས་  
 པ་ལ་སྤིག་པ་མེད་པའི་ལོག་ལྷ་མ་སྤུ། གསོན་གཤིན་གྱི་དགོ་བ་ལ་དུད་འགྲོ་མ་བསོད། བསོད་སྦྱོམས་ལ་འབྲལ་ཤེས། ལེན་ཤེས་  
 བྱེད་པ་དང་། རིས་གྲོ་ལ་འབྱུང་བ་གྱིས། གལ་ཏེ་འདི་ལས་འགལ་བ་དྲག་༡ ཞུག་༡ སུས་བྱས་ཀྱང་། ཇིང་ལ་མ་བསམ་པ་ཡིན་པ་༡  
 གོ་དགོས། ལྷབས་གནས་གྱི་ཐུགས་ཇེས་དགོ་བ་གཞན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་བསམ་པ་བཞིན་འབྲལ། ད་ཀྱན་འདི་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡོང། ལུས་  
 སེམས་བདེ་བར་བྱིས་མ་གཉེས་དང་མཐུན་༡ པའི་བྱ་བ་ལ་འབད་པ་ཐོན། ལྷགས་པོ་སྤྲེལ་ལོ་ཞོར་སྐྱ་དང་པོའི་ཚོས་ལྷ་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཅེར་  
 བྱིས་པ་དགོ་ཞིང་བྲག་ཤེས། །

1. Ms. gzan - 2. Ms. t'il - 3. Ms. agro - 4. Ms. rdor - 5. Ms. sroñ - 6. Ms. c'ug - 7. Ms. biu - 8. Ms. kyi - 9. Ms. sor - 10. Ms. mt'on -  
 11. Ms. sñā - 12. Ms. grag - 13. Ms. gzan - 14. Ms. yin pas - 15. Ms. at'un.

I (fig. 124)

༡། ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལྷང་གིས། ། ཡེ་ཤེས་རིན་ཆེན་དེ་གི་འཕྲིན་གཏམ། ། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་སྲུང་ནས་ཤེས་པའི་མི་དཔོན་དང་། །  
 མི་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ལྷན་པ་དང་། མི་སྲིད་རྣམས་ལ་བརློབ་པ། ། ། རྒྱུད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མགོ་ལྷང་ལ་གོང་ནས། ། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གསེར་ཡིག་དང་།  
 ། འཇའ་ས་གནང་ནས་བསྐྱོས་པའི་ལྷགས་བཞེན། ། རྒྱུད་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས། ། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྱི་དགའ་ཉལ་ཉམ་ལ། ། བྱོས་མཐོར་དང་འཇམ་  
 ། འཁོར་མ་བྱེད་པར། ། རང་རང་གི་ལྷལ་དུ་སྦྲོད་ལ། ། བྲིམས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་རྣམས་དུས་ལ་སློབ་པར་བསྐྱབས། ། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་།  
 ། རྒྱུད་བསྐྱོས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས། ། ལྷགས་མེད་པའི་བྱ་བ་མ་བྱེད་པར། ། ཐམས་ཅད་ཉེ་རིང་མེད་པའི་སྐོ་ནས་ལེགས་པར་སྦྱོངས་བརླམས་  
 ། མས་འཛིན་རྒྱའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན། ། ལྷག་ལོ་རླ་བ་བདུན་པའི་ཚོས་གཅིག་ལ། ། པོ་བྲང་ཆེན་པོ་ཤང་ཏོར་བྲིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ།

II (fig. 125)

༡། ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལྷང་གིས། ། རྒྱགས་པ་འོད་ཟེར་དེ་གི་འཕྲིན་གཏམ། ། ལ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤེས་པའི་མི་སྲིད་ར་ས། ། མ་དག། ལྷགས་  
 ། ལྷང་པ། ། སྐོན་འགོ་སླེ་ཚལ། ། ར་སོག་བྱི་ལིང་། ། ལྷང་ར། ། ཡན། ། སྐོལ། ། འདི་པ་ལ་གཏོགས་པའི་མི་སྲིད་སྤོང་སྐོར། ། བརྒྱ་སྐོར་བཅ་  
 ། སྐོར་རྣམས་ལ་བརློབ་པ། ། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གོང་ནས། ། གསེར་ཡིག་དང་། ། འཇའ་ས་གནང་ནས། ། རྒྱུད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་དུ་བསྐྱོས་  
 ། འདུག་པའི་ལྷགས་བཞེན། ། ། རྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་བསྐྱོས་པ་ཡིན་པས། ། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྱི་དགའ་བཞེན། ། རྒྱུད་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་བྲིམས་  
 ། ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་རྣམས་དུས་ལ་སློབ་པར་བསྐྱབས། ། མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་། རྒྱུད་བསྐྱོས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས། ། ཡག་ལེན་དང་། ། ཡ་ལྷན་ཨོ་  
 ། ཁོལ་གྱིས་མགོ་བྱས། ། ལྷན་རྒྱ་སའི་མི་དཔོན་རྣམས་ལ་གྲོས་མེད་པར། ། ལྷགས་དང་མི་མཐུན་པའི་བྱ་བ་མ་བྱེད་པར། ། ཉེ་རིང་མེད་  
 ། པའི་སྐོ་ནས་མི་སྲིད་རྣམས་ལེགས་པར་སྦྱོངས། ། ལྷག་ལོ་རླ་བ་བཞི་པ་ཕྱི་མའི་ཚོས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ལ། ། པོ་བྲང་ཆེན་པོ་ཤང་ཏོར་ཏི། ། །

III (fig. 126)

༡། ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལྷང་གིས། ། རིན་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དེ་གི་འཕྲིན་གཏམ། ། གཅོང་དང་དབྱུགས་ཀྱི་སོན་བྱ་སའི་མི་དཔོན། ། དམག་དཔོན།  
 ། དམག་མི། ། ལྷལ་སྤུངས། ། བྲིམས་གཅོད། ། སྤྱད་དང་འགྲོ་ལོང་བྱེད་པ། ། བྲི་དཔོན། ། འཇ་མོ་ཆེ། ། མཛོད་གསལ་མ། ། རྫོ་ལྷང་བ། ། ལྷ་  
 ། སྲི་མི་སྲིད་རྣམས་ལ་བརློབ་པ། ། རྗེ་ཇི་དབང་ལྷུག་གིས་སྲུང་ཤེས་པའི་བརྒྱ་ཚོ་གཉིས་ལ་གཏོགས་པའི་ལྷ་སྲིད། ། མི་སྲིད། ། གཟའ་འཁོར། ། སྲི་  
 ། པ། ། རུ་བ། ། རུ་དཔོན་རྣམས་ལ། ། སྲུང་གི་འཇ་སའི་ལྷགས་བཞེན། ། དབང་ཆེ་དང་རྫོ་བསྐོར་མ་བྱེད། ། སྲུང་མེད་པའི་ཁྲལ་ཟ་མ་བྱ་  
 ། ལག་མ་ལེན། ། རང་སེམས་ཀྱིས་མཛོད་མ་གསལ། ། ལྷ་སྲིད། ། མི་སྲིད་ལ་སོགས་སྤྱ་ཁབ་འཇམ་ཁོར། ། དགོས་བདེ་དུ་མ་ལེན། ། སྲུང་བརྒྱང་  
 ། བ་ཡོད་ན་ཕྱིར་གཏོད། ། གདལ་པོ་ད་སྤྱད་བཏགས་པའི་འདོད་མཚུ་མ་བྱེད། ། ལྷང་བཞེན། ། ཁྲལ་རྫིང་འབྲེལ་རྫིང་དང་། ། ཁ་མཚུ་རྫིང་  
 ། པ་མ་བཅོད། ། བརླམས་ནས་འཛིན་རྒྱའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན། ། ཡི་གེ་ལ་ལོག་པ་བྱས་ན་ར་ར་བྱེད་དུ་འཇུག་པ་ཡིན། ། འདི་པས་ཀྱང་ཡི་  
 ། གེ་ཡོད་ཟེར་ནས། ། བྲིམས་དང་སྤྱལ་བའི་བྱ་བ་མ་བྱེད། ། འདུག་གི་ལོ་རླ་བ་ལྷ་པོའི་ཉེ་བྱ་གསུམ་ལ་ཤང་ཏོར་བྲིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ།



FIG. 124

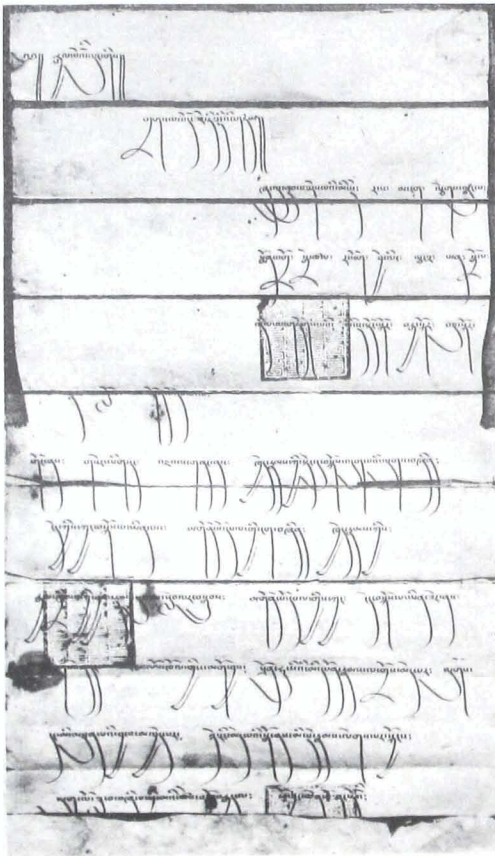


FIG. 125

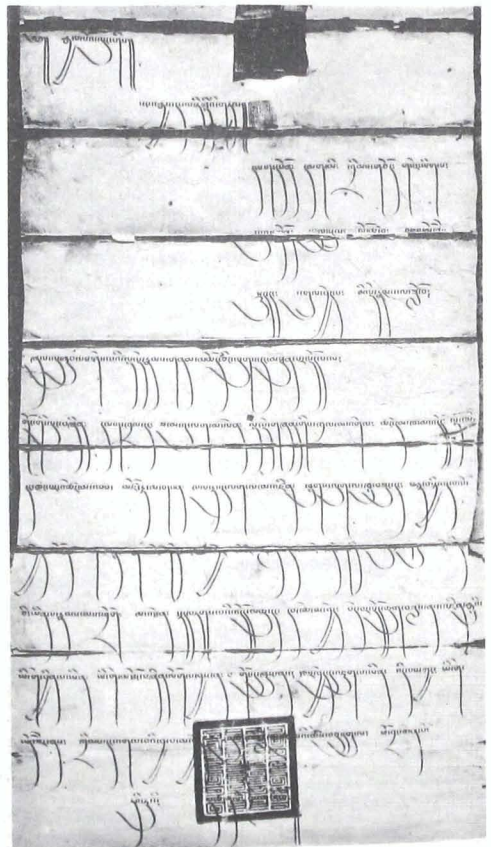


FIG. 127



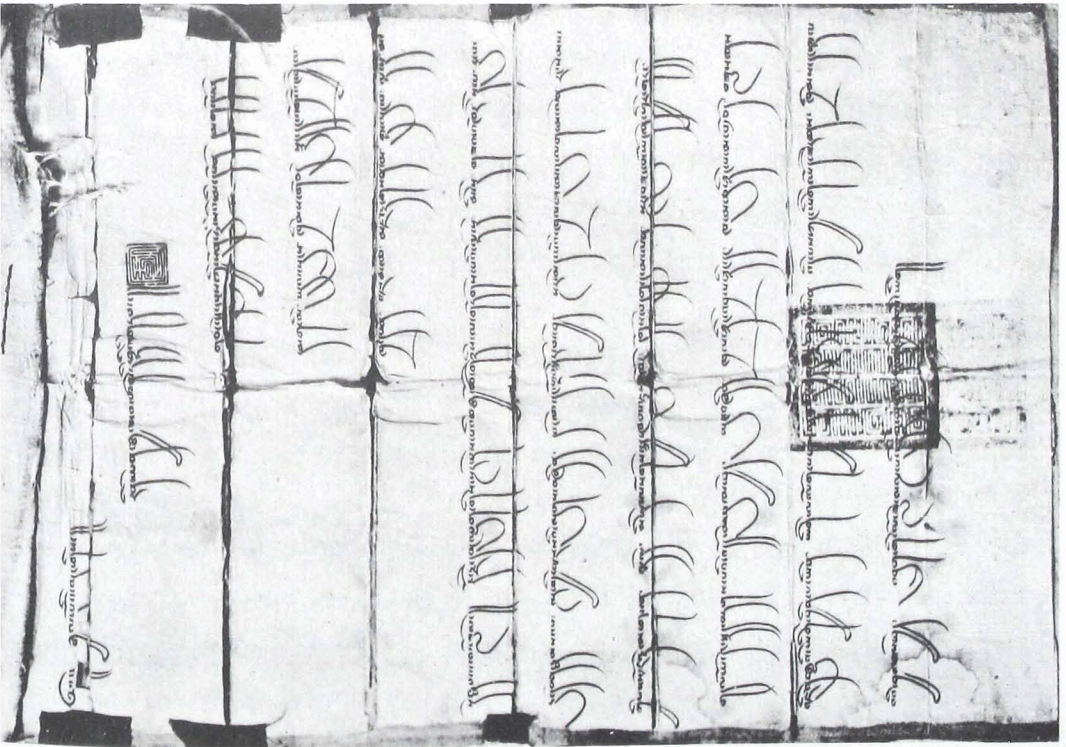


FIG. 126

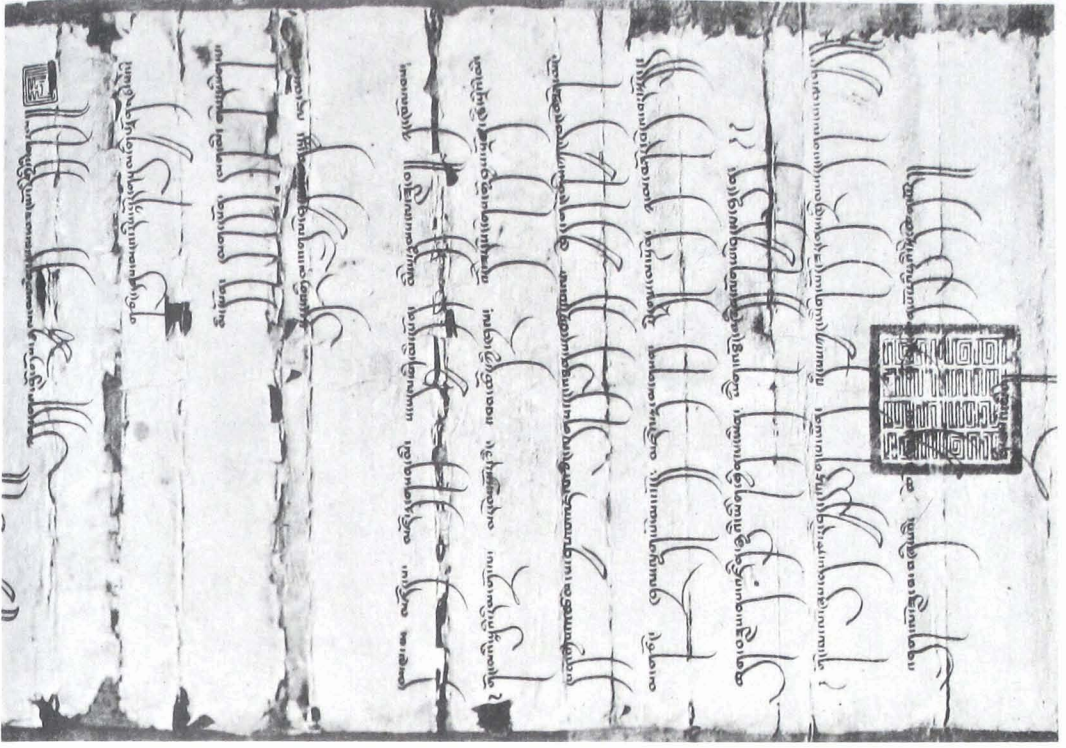


FIG. 128

༡༡ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷང་གིས། ། སངས་རྒྱལ་དཔལ་དྲི་བྱིའི་གཏམ། ། དམག་དཔོན། དམག་མི། འབྲུག་གཙོད། གསེར་  
 ཡིག་པ། ཡུལ་དཔོན། ཡུལ་སྤངས། ཡོ་ཚ་བ། འཇམ་མོ་ཆེ། སྤྲུང་དང། འབྲུལ་བྱེད་པ། མི་སྡེ་རྣམས་ལ་བརློབ། ཞལ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་པས་  
 ཤེས་པའི་ལྷ་སྡེ་རྣམས་གནས་མཚན་ཅིང་ལྷགས་དང་མཐུན་པར་སྤོང་པ་ལ། ཞོང་གི་ལྷང་བཞིན། དམག་ཁྲལ་དང། ཟ་ལུ་ལག་མ་  
 ལེན། ལྷ་སྡེ་གཞན་གིས་ཁྲལ་མ་འགལ། ཚང་དམ་ཁ་མ་འདོད། ལྷ་ཁང་དང་ཁང་པར་འཛོལ་མ་འབབ། མཛོད་མ་གསན། ཁལ་  
 ཏུ་ལྷག་ལ་མ་འཛིན། ལྷགས་ལྷག་ལ་བྱ་བ་བྱུང་དང། བརྟ་བརྟུ་བདལ་པོ་མ་བྱེད། མོ་ནམས་ལག་ཆ་དང། སྤལ་བོང་གཏོང་བར་མ་  
 བྱིར། ཁོ་རང་སྤར་ནས་དབང་བའི་ཞིང་གཞིས། ས་རྒྱ་རྩ་གསུམ་ལ་སྤྲོ་ཅི་དང། ཅི་ཡིན་བ་རྣམས་མ་འཕྲོག། མ་འཕྲོན། སྤྲུང་  
 བདགས་པའི་འདོད་མཚུངས་དང། དབང་ཆེ་མ་བྱེད། བདེ་བར་སྤོང་རྒྱལ་བརླམས་ནས་འཛོལ་རྒྱུའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན། ཡི་གེ་མཐོང་བཞིན་  
 ལོག་པ་བྱས་ན་གོང་དུ་ལྷས་ནས་རྩ་རྩ་བྱེད་དུ་འཇག་པ་ཡིན། འདི་པས་ཀྱང། ཡི་གེ་ཡོད་ཟེར་ནས། འབྲུག་དང་འགལ་བའི་བྱ་བ་  
 མ་བྱེད། ལྷག་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་བདུན་པའི་ཚོས་བརྟུང་དགུལ། སོ་བྱང་ཆེན་པོ། ཏའི་དུའི། སྡེ་ཆེན་པོར་བྲིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ།

༡༢ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷང་གིས། ། ཀུན་དགའ་རྫོགས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་དྲི་བྱིའི་གཏམ། ། གཙོད་དབྱུག་མངའ་རིས་  
 རྫོང་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤོན་ལྷེ་སའི་མི་དཔོན། དམག་དཔོན། དམག་མི། གསེར་ཡིག་པ་སྤྲུང་དང་མགྲིས་འབྲུལ་བྱེད་པའི་བན་སྤ། འཇམ་  
 ཆེ་དམ་ཁ་བ། མཛོད་པ། མཛོད་ཏུ་གསན་མི། ས་ཡུལ་གྱི་མི་དཔོན། མི་སྡེ་རྣམས་ལ་བརློབ། ཉང་ཁོལ་བས། ཞོང་མའི་སྤུའི་  
 རིས་གོལ། མར་མེ་སྤོར་ཅིང། འབབ་ཚད་ཀྱི་ཁྲལ། འདྲེ་ཟེར་སེདྤུ་སྤོ་བྱས་སྤོན་ལྷེ་སྤུའི་མི་དཔོན་གྱིས་འཚས་པ་བྱས་པ་འཇལ་  
 ཅིང་ལྷགས་དང་མཐུན་པར་བསྤོང་པ་ལ། བྱིད་གང་གིས། ཀྱང་དབང་ཆེ་ཤེ་མོང་མ་གཙོང། ཁྲལ་རྣམས་པོ་མ་འདོད། མཛོད་ཏུ་མ་མ་  
 གསན། རི་དུགས་མ་སྤོན། ཉ་མ་བཞོར་བདེའ་བར་སྤོང་དུ་རྒྱལ་བརླམས་ནས་འཛོལ་རྒྱུའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན། ཡི་གེ་མཐོང་བཞིན་ལོག་  
 པ་བྱེད་པ་བྱུང་ན། ཞོང་མ་ལ་ལྷས་ནས་རྩ་རྩ་བྱེད་དུ་འཇག་པ་ཡིན། འདི་པས་ཀྱང་ཡི་གེ་ཡོད་ཟེར་ནས་འབྲུག་དང་འགལ་བ་མ་  
 བྱེད། འབྲུག་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་བཞི་པའི་ཚོས་བརྟུང་ལ། སོ་བྱང་ཆེན་པོ་ཏའི་དུའི་སྡེ་ཆེན་པོར། བྲིས་བའི་ཡི་གེ།

༡༣ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷང་གིས། ། ཀུན་དགའ་རྫོགས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་དྲི་བྱིའི་གཏམ། ། སྤོན་ལྷེ་སྤུའི་མི་དཔོན།  
 དམག་དཔོན། དམག་མི། བང་སའི་གཏེར་པ། འབྲུག་གཙོད། གསེར་ཡིག་པ། ཡུལ་སྤུང། སྤྲུང་དང་འགྲིས་འབྲུལ་བྱེད་  
 པའི་བན་སྤ། འབྲུག་དཔོན། འཇམ་མོ་ཆེ་བྱ་བ་བྱེད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་བརློབ། སྤར་ནས་ཞལ་ལྷ་ལ་ཤེས་པའི་ས་ཆ་སྤོན་གྱོ་ཇེ་མཚན། བྱ་པ་ཅ་  
 འཚོམས། རྒྱ་ཚོ་གཏེས། སྤོལ། ཡོན། མོན་ཁ། ཚོས་ལྷེ། སྤོ་སེར། ཀུན་དགའ་ར་བ། ཆེ་ཆ་བཙན་པོ། ཤེ་མཚུར། འཕྲོན་  
 བྱ་མདའ། མཚུར་སྤ། འདོའ་དགོན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ས་ཆ་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་ལྷ་སྡེ། མི་སྡེ། ཅུ་དཔོན། ཅུ་བ་རྣམས་ལ། ཞོང་གི་འཇམ་སྤུའི་

1. For: agrul.



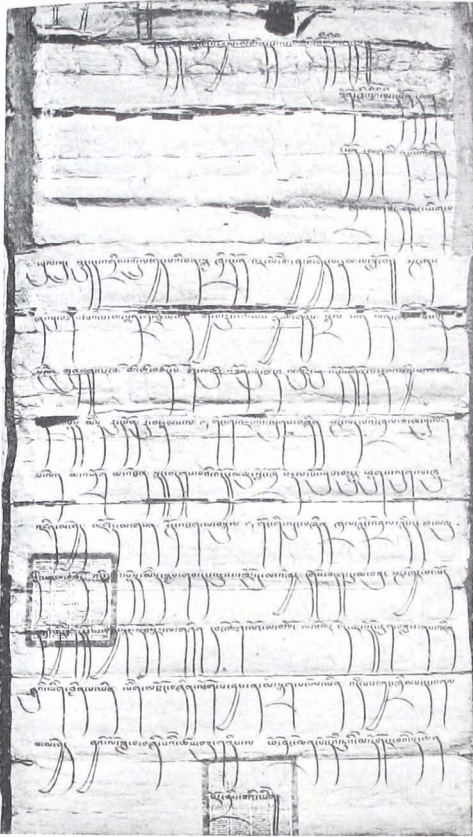


FIG. 129

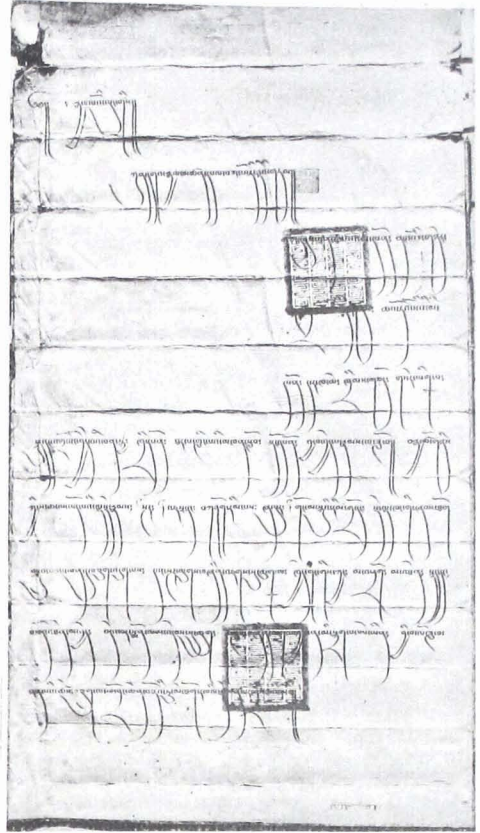


FIG. 131

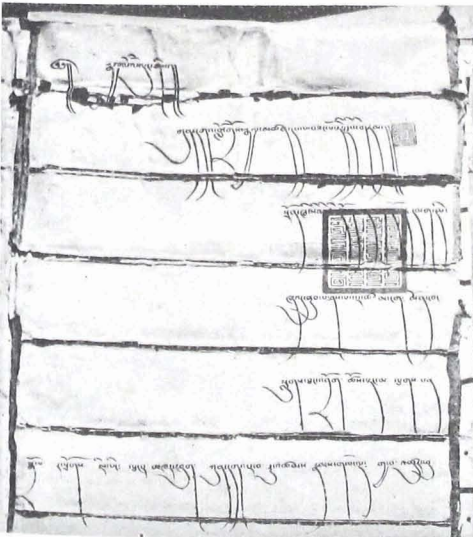
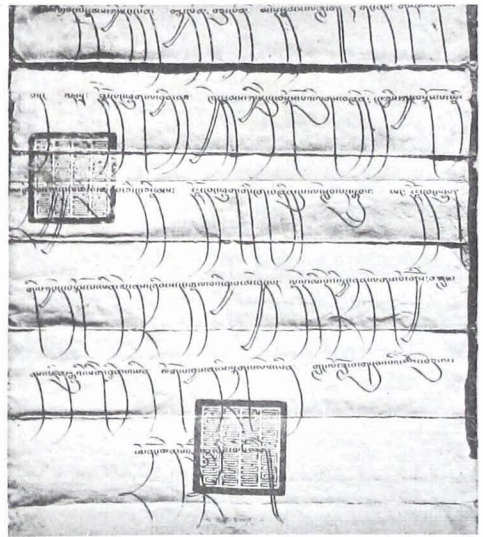


FIG. 130



ལྷགས་བཞེན། ལྷར་མེད་པའི་བྲལ་། ཟ་མ་འཁྲུག་མ་ཡིན། མ་འཕྲོག། མ་འཕྲིན། ལྷ་དང་བཅས་པའི་འདོད་མཚུ་སྤོང་བྱོ་  
 བཅུ་པོ་ལྷས་བསྐྱར། ལྷགས་ལྷགས་ལ་བྱུ་འཛིན་མ་བྱེད། མཛེ་དྭ་མ་གསལ། རྡོ་འཕགས་མ་བསྐྱལ། ཞོང་གི་ལྷང་བཞེན་བྲལ་  
 རྩེང་འབྲེལ་རྩིང་ཁ་མཚུ་རྩིང་པ་མ་བཅོང། འདི་པའི་རྩ་མེ་མི་མེ་སྐབ། གཤམ་དང་འཇུས་འཁོར་དུ་མ་འཕྱེར། དགོས་བདག་དུ་མ་  
 བཟུང། ལྷར་བྱིར་བ་ཡོད་ན་འད་ལྷིར་གཏོད་ལ་བཟུ་སྐར་སྤོང་སྐར་མ་གཤམ། ། དབང་ཆེ་ལེ་མོང་མ་བཅོང། མ་བཅེར། བདེ་  
 བར་སྤོང་ཚུག། བརྒྱས་ནས་འཛིན་རྒྱའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན། ཡི་གེ་མཐོང་བཞེན་ཡོག་པ་བྱས་ན་མི་སྐྱག་པ་ཡེ་ཡིན། འདི་པས་ཀྱང་  
 ཁྲིམས་དང་འགལ་བ་མ་བྱེད། བྱའི་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་བཞི་པའི་ཚེས་བཅུ་གཉིས་ལ། སོ་བུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཏའི་དུའི་མེ་འོག་ར་བའི་སྤེ་ཆེན་པོར་  
 བྲིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ། །

VII (fig. 130)

། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལྷང་གིས། ཀུན་དགའ་རྫོ་བོས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ཉི་ཤེདི་གཏོ། སྤོན་གྱི་སིའི་སི་དཔོན་དམག་  
 དཔོན། དམག་མི། ལ་ལྷ་རྒྱབ་པ་ཤེས་པའི་ར་ཚ་མ་ངག། མེན་ཁ་སྐྱགས་ཐང་འབྲོག། ཚེས་ལྷང་མ། ལྷགས་པན། རྒྱལ། ར་  
 སྤོགས། རི་ལིང་། ལྷང་ར། མཁར་ལྷག། ཀུན་དགའ་ར་བ། ཅུ་འཚམས་རྣམས་གལ་ལྡེ་བྱ་བ། འཚུར་ལུ། ཚོ་ཆ་བཅོད་པོ་  
 རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤོང་དཔོན། བཟུ་དཔོན། བཅུ་དཔོན། མི་སྤེ་རྣམས་ལ་བརྫོོབ། ། ཞོང་ནས། གསེར་ཡིག་ཆེ་བ་དང་། འཇུ་སྤེ། རྡོ་རྩེ་  
 དབང་ལྷག་ལ་བྱིན་ནས། བྱིད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤོང་དུ་བསྐོས་པའི་ལྷགས་བཞེན། རང་གྱིས་ཀྱང་བསྐོས་པ་ཡིན་པས་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་ཆེ་བ་  
 རྩེང་པ་ཅི་དང་ཅི་རྣམས་རྡོ་རྩེ་དབང་ལྷག་གི་ངག་བཞེན་དུས་ལ་སྐོབ་པར་སྐྱབས། ཡང་རྡོ་རྩེ་དབང་ལྷག་གིས་ཀྱང་རྡོ་བསྐོས་པ་ཡིན་  
 ཟེར་ནས་ཁྲིམས་དང་ལྷལ་བྱའི་བྱ་བ་མ་བྱེད་པར། ལྷ་མེ་མི་སྤེའི་སྤོང་བྲམ་ཡོགས་པོ་གྱིས། བརྒྱས་ནས་འཛིན་རྒྱའི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིན་པ་ཡིན།  
 ཡོག་པ་བྱས་ན་མི་སྐྱག་པ་ཡེ་ཡིན། རྒྱང་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་གསུམ་པའི་ཚེས་བཅུ་ལ། སོ་བུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཏའི་དུའི་བྲིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ། །

VIII (fig. 131)

། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལྷང་གིས། ཀུན་དགའ་རྫོ་བོས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ཉི་ཤེདི་གཏོ། གཅོང་དབུས་སྤོན་གྱི་སིའི་སི་དཔོན།  
 བང་སེའི་གཉེར་པ། རྒྱ་བྲང་སོ་སེའི་ཉེ་གནས། ཆ་ཏའོ་སེའི་སི་དཔོན། ད་ར་ཁ་ཆེ། ཁྲིམས་གཅོད། གསེར་ཡིག་པ། ལྷ་དང་འགྲོ་  
 འོང་བྱེད་པའི་བན་སྐ། ཁྲི་དཔོན། ཐར་པ་རྒྱིང་པའི་མཁར་སྐོབ། སྤོང་དཔོན། བྱ་བ་བྱེད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་རྫོོབ། རྒྱ་ཚོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་  
 ཆ་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་རྩ་མེ་རྣམས། ལྷར་། འཇུ་སྤེ་དང་། བཀའ་ཤོག་རིམ་པས། ལ་ལྷར། ཞོང་མ་སྐྱའི་རིམ་གོ་དང་། སྤེ་རྩ་ཁང་གི་  
 ལམས་ཐོག་བསྐྱབས་པ་ལ་ཡན་དུ་བཅུག་འདུག་པས། དཔལ་སྤེར་ལྷགས་བཞེན་འཇགས་སུ་ཚུགས། བྱིད་གང་གིས་ཀྱང་། མ་  
 འཕྲོག། མ་འཕྲིན། ལྷ་དང་བཅོད་འཕྲིན་མ་བྱེད། བདེའི་བར་སྤོན་ལམ་འདེབས་སུ་ཚུགས། བརྒྱས་བཞེན་ཡོག་པ་བྱས་ན་མི་སྐྱག་པ་  
 ཡེ་ཡིན། བྱི་བ་རྒྱ་བ་བཞི་པའི་ཚེས་བཅུ་དུག་ལ་སོ་བུ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཏའི་དུའི་མེ་འོག་ར་བའི་སྤེ་ཆེན་པོའི་བྲིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ།

IX (fig. 132)

། ། ..... གནས་གྱི་ལེ་མོང་པ། ..... ཀྱི་ལྷང་། དགོ་བའི་བཤེས་  
 གཉེན། བྱ་སྤོན་རིན་ཆེན་གྲུབ་ལ། རྡོ་བྱིས་འདིར་རིམ་པར་ཐོས་པ་ལ། བྱིད་གྱིས་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་གསུང་རབ་སྤེ་སྤོང་གསུམ་དང་།



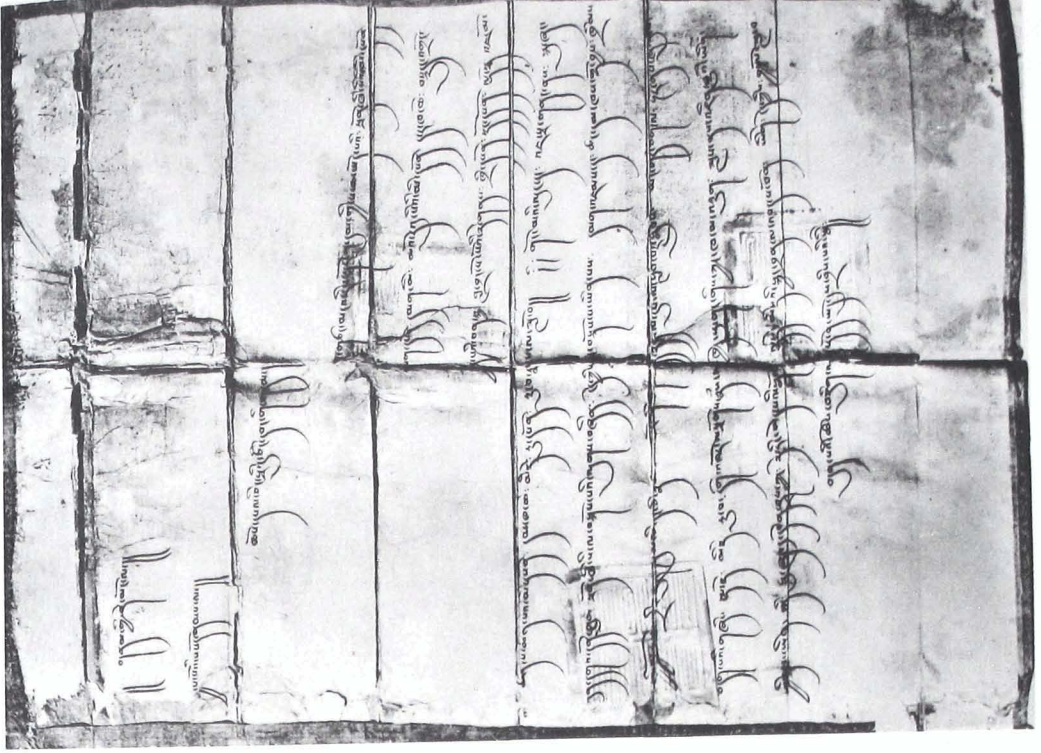


FIG. 133

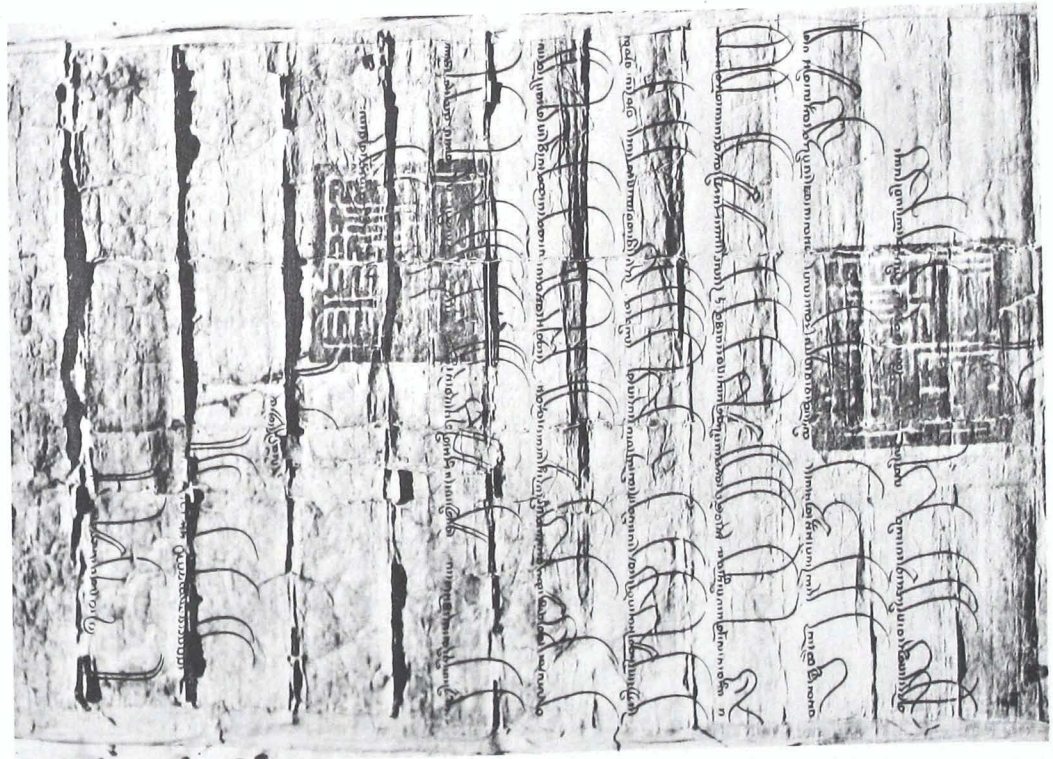


FIG. 132



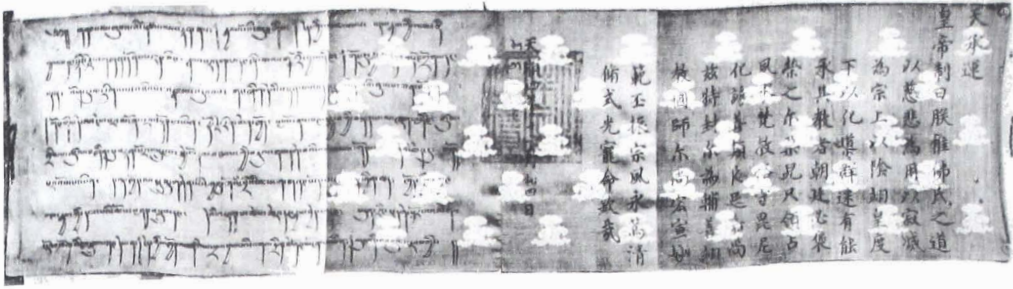


FIG. 134

XIb (fig. 134)

天												皇	天	
順												帝	承	
四	脩	範	教	茲	化	夙	榮	承	下	為	以	制	運	奉
年	式	丕	國	特	誘	承	之	其	以	宗	慈	曰		
十	光	棖	師	封	善	梵	尔	教	化	上	悲	朕		
二	寵	宗	尔	尔	類	教	朵	者	導	以	為	惟		
月	命	風	尙	為	良	恪	兒	朝	群	陰	用	佛		
初	欽	永	宏	輔	足	守	只	廷	迷	翊	以	氏		
四	哉	篤	宣	善	嘉	毘	領	必	有	皇	寂	之		
日		清	妙	翊	尙	尼	占	褒	能	度	滅	道		



I

༄༅། | དེ་ལྟར་འགྲོ་བའི་སྐྱེ་མ་རིན་ཆེན་གཏེར།  
 ལེགས་བསྟོད་སྟུན་ངག་ཀྱང་པ་བརྟེན་བརྟེན།  
 བམ་རིམ་སྟེང་འོག་ཕྱོགས་དང་ཕྱོགས་བཞིན།  
 བཞུགས་པའི་པོ་བྱང་རྒྱལ་བའི་གཙོ་ནམས་དང།  
 སྟུན་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དམ་ཚེས་.....།  
 བསྟོད་པའི་སྟུན་ངག་ཀྱང་པ་བདུན་བརྒྱུ་བཅས།།

ངོ་མཚར་མཚོན་རྟེན་ཆེན་པོའི་དཀར་ཆག་འདི། རྫོང་གྲོས་ཁུར་ལུ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ལོ་རྒྱུ་སྐྱོད་ཞེས་པ། དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་སངས་  
 རྒྱལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི། སྐྱེ་བུ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་ཅེག་ཏུ་བསྐྱེས་པས་རྣམ་བཅས་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་མཛད་པ་ལ། ཡིན་ལས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་མ་ཕུན་ཕུན་  
 ཚོགས་པར་གྱུར་པ། ས་གསུམ་གྱི་འགྲུན་རྒྱ་དང་བྲལ་བའི་མཉམ་མེད་ཀྱི་མཁའ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་མཆིམས། ཐམས་ཅད་མཚེས་པ་སྐོ་  
 གྲོས་བཟང་པོ་གྲགས་པའི་སྐྱེ་བུ་གདུང་རིང་བསྐལ། གྱི་སྟེང་པོ་ཅན་ལ་ངོ་མཚར་པའི་གཟུངས་བཞུགས་དུ་མས་བལྟམས་ཏེ། དེ་ཉིད་  
 ཀྱི་གཟུང་པོ་མཆིམས་སྟུན་གྲགས་བཟང་པོའི་དཔལ་ཞེས་པས། བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་མཆིམས་སྟུན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་མི་ཕྱིད་པའི་  
 དད། | བརྩོན་དང། ལྷག་བསམ་དགེ་བའི་སྟོན་པ་བརྒྱབས་པོ་ཆེ། དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གྲགས་དགོངས་ཚོགས་པར་བྱ་བའི་སྐྱོད་དང།  
 ཡངས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཆེན་པོ་བདེ་ཞིང་སྐྱོད་པར་བྱ་བ་དང། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱང་ཡར་ངོའི་རྒྱ་ལྟར་ཕུན་ཕུས་  
 ཚོགས་པ་བཀྱི་བའི་སྐྱོད་དུ། བཀྱ་ལེས་སྐོ་མང་གི་མཚོན་རྟེན་ཆེན་པོ་བཞེངས་སུ་གསོལ་བའི་གདུང། དཀར་ཆག་ངོ་མཚར་གྱི་སྟེང་བ་  
 ཞེས་བྱ་བ་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་ཁོང་གི་སྟུན་ངག་པ། འཇམ་དབྱངས་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བས་ཀྱུན་གྱི་གོ་སྐྱེ་བས་ཕྱིར། | སང་སྟོན་སྐྱངས་ཏེ་མཁས་  
 གྲུབ་དུ་མའི་བསྟེ་གནས་དཔལ་ལྡན་སྐྱར་གདུག་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཆེན་པོར་སྐྱར་བའོ། | ཡི་གེ་པ་ནི་ཁོ་བོ་ཟེར་དཔོན་ཡིན། །ལུ་མྱོ་  
 ཡ་ཕུ་ས་བ་ཇོ་ག་ཏུ།

II

༄༅། | ཀ་ས་འཁྱུ་སྐྱེ་མ་ལེ། མཛད་པ་མཛད་བྱུང་དཔག་བསམ་གྱིང་བཞིན་མངོན་འདོད་འབྲས་བུས་མི་དམན་ལ།  
 གཉིས་འབྲུང་ཆེ་ལ་བྱང་བའི་སྟེང་བཞིན་དཔག་ལས་ཡོན་ཏན་ཁུར་ཁྱིར་གྱིང།།  
 ཉོན་མོངས་འཁྱུགས་ཆེན་རྒྱབ་བྲལ་གཡོ་བའི་སྲིད་ཅེ་ལས་སྟོལ་གྱུ་བོ་ཆེ།  
 ཀྱུན་གྱི་ཉེར་འཚོའི་རིན་ཆེན་གཏེར་མངའ་དཔལ་ལྡན་མཆིམས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལོ།།  
 མཐོན་མཐོང་མིག་གི་དགའ་སྟོན་དཔལ་འདི་མཛོས་སྐྱེ་མ་ལགས་ཐུན་མཚམས་སྐྱིན་སྟེང་རོལ་པའི་གསེར་གྱི་རི་བོ་ལགས།

ཟབ་སྐྱེན་རྗེས་ཚགས་དྲུག་བཅུར་ལྡན་འདི་གསུང་དབྱངས་མ་ལགས་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ན་རྒྱུ་ན་བའི་རྒྱན་གྱི་ལྷན་པལ་ལགས། །  
 ཀུན་ལ་རབ་སྐྱོམས་སྐབས་མཚོ་ལྷར་ཟབ་གསལ་བའི་ཐུགས་སྦྱིན་ཕྱིན་ཚོགས་བདུད་ཅིའི་ཚུ་མདལ་གྱིས་དུད་ཚར་སྦྱིན་ལགས། །  
 བྱམས་པའི་བཀའ་རྒྱུ་ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་སྦྱོ་མཛད་ཟམ་གཅོད་སྲས་མིན་ལེགས་བྱས་བྱང་བས་རིང་ནས་བདུང་པའི་ཚུ་སྦྱིས་ཚལ། །  
 བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་བོ་རྒྱ་བས་རབ་གཡོ་འགྲོ་བའི་སྒྲ་མ་དཔལ་ལྡན་མཚིམས། །  
 དགེ་བའི་འོད་ཀྱིས་ཕྱོགས་ཀུན་གསལ་མཛད་ཉི་མའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ལྷ་བྱ་བྱང། །  
 དཔག་བསམ་གྱིང་བཞེན་རིན་ཆེན་ཚར་པའི་དུ་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་མཛད་དེ། །  
 ས་འདིར་མངོན་འདོད་གསར་པས་ཡོངས་བཀའ་དུས་ཀྱིས་མཐོ་རིས་གཤེགས་པར་གྱུར། །  
 དེ་ཡི་གཞུང་པོ་རྣམས་བསམ་དགེ་བ་ཅན། །  
 སྦྱོན་རབ་ཚོགས་གཉིས་ཚུ་བོས་ལེགས་བསྐྱབས་པས། །  
 བསོད་ནམས་བདུད་ཅིའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་རབ་ཕུར་བ། །  
 རོར་སྤོང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དཔལ་ལས་འགྲན་པ་བཞེན། །  
 རྣ་བའི་རྒྱན་གྱིར་གསུང་སྐྱེན་འོད་བརྒྱའི་ཟེར། །  
 སྦྱིད་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཁོངས་ལ་རབ་འདལ་ཞིང། །  
 ཀྱུ་ལའི་སྦྱིན་པའི་མངོན་འདོད་གསར་སྦྱིལ་བ། །  
 དཔག་བསམ་གྱིང་གི་གྲགས་པ་ཕྱོགས་པ་བཞེན། །  
 ལེག་བསྐྱབ་དུས་མཐའི་རྒྱུང་གིས་མི་བསྐྱལ་བརྒྱུང་བ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རི་བོ་དང། །  
 གསུམ་ལ་སྦྱི་བྱེད་དད་པའི་ཤུགས་དྲག་བདུན་པའི་དཔལ་གྱིས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དང། །  
 དོན་ཀུན་དགེ་ལ་སྦྱོ་བའི་བཙོན་འབྱུས་སྦྱིན་དཀར་ནང་ན་སྦྱོག་འབྱུ་བཞེན། །  
 འོ་མཚར་དགེ་བའི་སྦྱོད་པ་རྒྱ་བས་ཆེན་མཚིམས་སྦྱོན་སྐྱེན་གྲགས་དཔལ་བཟང་པོས། །  
 ལྷུན་པོའི་ཅེ་ལ་རྩ་དབང་གྲོང་བཞེན་སྐར་མཐུང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཆེན་འདིར། །  
 ལེགས་བཤའ་བྱུང་དགར་དགའ་སྦྱོན་གྱིས་ཅེད་ལྷ་བརྒྱའི་དཔལ་བཞེན་འདུས་པའི་ཚོགས། །  
 སྦྱིན་པ་རྣམས་བཞེད་ཚར་གྱིས་ཚོས་བཞེན་ཉིན་མཚན་གཡེལ་བ་མེད་པ་སྦྱངས། །  
 གཅེན་གྱི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་རྗེས་སྤྲད་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐྱེ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་བཞེདས་པ། །  
 རིགས་ལྡན་སྦྱོ་བའི་ཚོགས་གཉིས་ཚུ་མཚོ་ལས་འོངས་གྱིང། །  
 འཇུགས་པའི་མདངས་གསལ་གསེར་གྱི་མཚོད་སྤོང་ལྷར་བཞེད་པ། །  
 དེ་མཐོང་མིག་ནི་བདུད་ཅིའི་མགྲོན་ལ་བོད་པ་བཞེན། །  
 འོ་མཚར་བཀོད་པས་རབ་མཛོས་སྐྱེན་པའི་རྒྱལ་བོ་དང། །  
 སངས་རྒྱས་ལལ་གྱི་གདོངས་ཅན་བདག་པོའི་མཐུས་སྦྱུལ་ཞིང། །  
 དགེ་བ་གསུམ་ལྡན་ཁང་པའི་སྦྱིན་དཀར་གྱིས་བཏོར་བའི། །  
 ལེགས་བཤའ་ཚར་གྱིས་དགེ་ལེགས་སྦྱོ་མ་གསར་སྦྱིལ་བ། །  
 རྒྱལ་བའི་ཡུམ་ཆེན་རིན་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་སྦྱོགས་བས་དང། །

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སྤྱིན་གྲུལ་སྐུལ་ལ་ ཉིན་བྱེད་ཇི་བཞིན་ངོ་སུའོ་གཟེ་འོད་ལྷོགས་བཅུར་འཕྲོ།  
ཚོས་སྤྱིན་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐུ་ཅུལ་གང་.....།

..... འདི་སྐུལ་པར་མི་ལུས་པ།  
.....

འགྲོ་བའི་བསོད་ནམས་དོན་ཚེན་སྐུལ་སྐྱད་གང་ཉིད་མངོན་སུམ་བྱོན་པ་བཞིན།  
རྒྱལ་བའི་ཕོ་བྲང་བཀུ་ཤིས་སྐོ་མངས་མཚོད་དོན་ཚེན་པོ་དད་པས་བཞིངས།

འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱར་རྒྱལ་སྐོབས་ཀྱིས་མི་སྐྱུན་པའི།

རྒྱབས་ཚེན་དགོ་བའི་སྤྱོད་པ་འདི་མཐོང་ནས།

དགོ་བ་གཞན་ཀུན་བདང་སྒྲོམས་གྱུར་པ་འཕ།

ཉིན་འབར་སྐུལ་ལ་སྐར་མ་བཞིན་དུ་སྐྱང།

རིན་ཚེན་གདུགས་མཛོས་གཡོ་བའི་བ་དན་ང་ཡབ་མོར་བྱའི་ཡུ་བ་ཅན།

དྲི་ཞིས་སྤོས་དང་མེ་དོག་ཆལ་ཚལ་ཉིན་བྱེད་མདངས་འཕྲོག་མར་མེའི་སྤོང།

དས་ཚོས་སྐྱ་འབྱིན་སིལ་སྐྱན་.....།

ཀུན་བཟང་རྣམ་འབྲུལ་མཚོད་སྤྱིན་རྒྱ་སུའོས་རྒྱལ་བ་སྤྲུལ་བཅས་དྲག་མཚོད་ཅིང་།

དགའ་སྤོན་བཟང་པོས་དཔལ་གྱི་རབ་བརྒྱན་པའི།

བཟང་པོ་དུག་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་རབ་གནས་དང་།

བཟོ་རིག་སྐུལ་པོའི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་སུ་ཉེས་པའི།”

སྤོན་མོ་ཡོན་ཚོགས་ལ་སོགས་སུ་ཚོགས་བསྐྱབས།

ཇི་སྲིད་རྒྱ་སུའོས་ལོས་ཅན་པདྨའི་ཚལ།

དེ་ནས་ལྷན་པོའི་ཟེ་འབྲུའི་མཛོས་གྱུར་པ།

དེ་སྲིད་ལྷོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་གྱུར་སྐྱན་པའི་མཚན།

སྤེ་ཚེན་བལྟན་པའི་དཔལ་དུ་ཞབས་བདུན་མཛོད།

དྲི་ཞིས་ཅན་དན་ནགས་ཀྱི་ཁོང་པར་སྤོས་པའི་ཁ་རྒྱང་བྱ་མོ་དག།

སྐད་སྐྱུན་རབ་སྤོགས་འདོད་ལྡན་དབྱིད་དེ་ཡིད་སྐུལ་དགའ་བའི་ཙུ་དགར་གྱུར་།

ལྷ་ཤར་ར་འོ་སུའོ་བཞིན་སྐུལ་རྣམས་དགའ་བའི་སྐུ་ལོང་རབ་གཡོ་བ།

ངག་གི་འདོད་འཛོ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ལོ་ཙུ་སྐྱུན་ངག་སྐུལ་པོས་དཀར་ཆག་བསྐྱི།

དཔོན་གཞུན་བཀུ་ཤིས་བཟང་པོའི་བཟོ་རིག་འདི།

སྐྱུན་ལྡན་ལྷ་མི་ཀུན་གྱི་སྤྱན་གཟིགས་མཛོད།

ཡི་གེ་པ་ནི་སྐོ་ལྡན་བཀུ་ཤིས་ཏེ།

1. Verse defective; one syllable missing.

དགེ་བས་འགྲོ་ཀུན་སེལ་བའི་ཚུ་གཏོར་ཚེར་འགྲོ་བའི་གྲུ་དང་ཐར་པའི་ཁང་བཟང་མཚོག། འཛོག་པའི་ཐེམ་སྐམ་ཉིད་དུ་གྱུར་པར་  
ཤོག། འུ་སྐམ་སྐུ་སའ་ཇ་གཏོ།

III

༡༡། ། ཀ་མཆ་སི་རྩི་ར་ལུ། ། ཤེས་བྱའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་མཁྱིམ་པའི་དཔལ་གྱིས་ཚུ་བདག་ཁོས་པའི་གཏོར་མཐའི་མཐུ་ཚལ་  
ཉམས་བྱས་ཤིང་།

སྣོན་ཀའི་མཚོ་ལུ་བྱུར་རྩོག་བྲལ་རང་བཞིན་སྐབ་པ་གསུམ་སྲིད་གསུམ་དཔེ་མཐུད་དང་བྲལ་བ་།  
ལན་ལ་ལྷ་སྲིད་ཐུགས་མཛེད་ཟེར་གྱིས་ལྟར་བཅས་འགྲོ་བའི་ཡིད་ཀྱི་རི་སྲིང་ཀུན་བྱབ་པ་།  
འགྲོ་བའི་སྐྱོ་ས་དཔལ་ལྡན་མཚེས་སེལ་ཡི་གེ་འགྲིགས་འབར་རྣ་བའི་བདུད་ཚི་དེ་ལ་འདུད།  
བཅོམ་གསེར་གྱི་རྩུན་པོ་ལྟར་བཞེད་རི་དུགས་མིག་ཟུང་དགའ་སྣོན་འཚལ་དུ་རོལ་པའི་སྐྱ།  
མཐོ་རིས་མཛེས་པའི་མཁྱིམ་པར་གྱིས་གཏོར་དབྱངས་སྟུན་སྐྱ་ཡི་ཁེངས་པ་གསར་དུ་འཛོམས་རུས་ཤིང་།  
ལེགས་བྱས་བདུད་ཚིས་ཚུ་མདལ་གྱིས་དུད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་མཛེད་སྲིན་ལྷིང་ཚུ་རིས་ལྷོགས་སུ་གཡོ་བ་ཅན།  
བརྒྱད་གཉིས་གསེར་གྱི་རི་བོས་ཡོངས་བསྐོར་བྱབ་དབང་རྩུན་པོའི་དཔལ་དེ་བདག་ལ་བཀའ་རྒྱན་མཛོད།  
བྱབ་དབང་པོ་བྱང་གནས་བཅུན་ལྷ་ཁང་འདི།  
སྲོབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོ་སྟུན་གྲགས་བཟང་པོས་བཞེངས།  
ཚོན་རིག་མཁས་པ་དབྱས་པ་དཔོན་བཅུན་ལྷེ།  
བཅུང་ཟད་བཞོད་འདི་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ལོ་རྩུ་བ།

༡༢། ། ཀ་མོ་ཇི་ཀ་མ་ཏུ་ལ། ། ལྟར་བཅས་འགྲོ་བའི་ལེགས་བྱས་དགེ་བའི་མཐུ་ཚལ་གྱིས་བསྐྱེད་དུས་ཀྱི་ས་ལ་འོངས་གྱུར་ཅིང་།  
མངོན་བར་འདོད་པའི་རི་སྐོང་སྐད་དུ་བསོད་ནམས་བརྒྱ་ཕྱག་འབྲས་བུ་མཚོག་གིས་རབ་སྐྱ་བ།  
ཉོན་མོངས་དཔྱད་གྱིས་གདུང་བའི་ཉམས་ཐག་སྐྱེ་འགྲོའི་དབྱགས་འབྱིན་ཐུགས་མཛེད་གྱིབ་བསེལ་སྐྱག་པོ་ཅན།  
མངོན་བཅེན་ལྷ་ཡི་དཔག་བསམ་སྡོན་པ་སྐོ་གྲོས་བཟང་པོ་གྲགས་པའི་དཔལ་དེས་བདེ་ལེགས་མཛོད།  
ཨིན་ཏུ་མི་ལའི་མདངས་འཕྲོག་རིན་ཚེན་བྲག་རིའི་ཚོས་ན་ཡིད་འོང་གསེར་གྱི་མཚོད་སྲིང་ལྟར་མཛེས་སྐྱ་དེ་ནི།  
གསེར་ཅན་དན་རྩི་ཞིས་གྱིས་བགོས་རྩོག་བྲལ་མཐིང་ཀའི་མཚོར་ངོགས་གསེར་གྱི་པད་ལྗེན་ཚལ་དུ་རབ་འགྲོ་བའི།  
ཚོམ་སྲིང་གི་རིག་པ་ལས་འོངས་བྱང་བསྐོན་པོ་དཀྱུ་བཞེད་རྩི་ཞིས་རལ་པའི་ཅོད་པན་རབ་བཅིངས་པ།  
འདུལ་བྱའི་འཚལ་དུ་ངོ་མཚར་དགེ་བའི་དོག་པ་བཀོད་མཛོད་འཕགས་མ་བྱིད་ཞབས་བདག་སྐོའི་འཚལ་དུ་ཞབས་བཅུན་མཛོད།  
གྱལ་ཡུམ་ལྷ་ཁང་མོར་བཟང་རྩོགས་བཞོད་གྱིས་བཀྱ་བ།  
ལུང་རིགས་སྐྱན་ལུ་སྲོབ་དཔོན་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ་གྱིས་བཞེངས།  
ཚོན་རིག་མཁས་པ་ཤེས་རབ་དཔལ་གྱི་འདུ་བྱེད་དེ།  
བཅུང་ཟད་བཞོད་དེ་འདི་ཁའི་མིང་ཅན་ལོ་རྩུ་བ།

1. For: sdud.

༄། །ན་ས་ཤུ་ལྷ་མུ་ན་ཡེ། སྲིད་གསུམ་སྲུག་བསྐལ་གདུང་བལ་སྲུང་དུ་སྲིང་ཇིའི་གྲིབ་བསེལ་གཡོ་བ་ཅན།  
 སྲིན་སོགས་དཀར་པོའི་སྲོས་ཀྱི་ཤིང་ལྗོན་དགོ་བའི་མེ་དོག་རབ་རྒྱས་པ།  
 གཞན་དོན་དམ་པའི་འབྲས་བཟང་གིས་དུད་ཡལ་འདབ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སྐྱང་གུར་པ།  
 རྫོང་གསལ་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་སྐང་པོའི་བལྟེ་གནས་མཚེསས་སྲོན་ལྗོན་པ་རྒྱལ་གུར་ཅིག།  
 སྲོན་ལྗང་མཛེས་པའི་ལྗོན་ཤིང་གིས་དཀྱིགས་རིན་ཚེན་བཅེགས་འདྲ་བྲག་རིའི་ངོགས།  
 བྱ་ཚོགས་འཕུར་ཤིང་སྐད་སྲུན་རྫོགས་ལུ་མཛེས་སྐུ་རི་དུགས་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་།  
 ཆབ་སྐྱ་སྲུན་རྫོགས་འབབ་ཚུའི་དྲུང་གནས་ལྷ་དབང་གྲུབ་པ་རིག་འཛིན་ཚོགས།  
 ཅེ་གཅིག་སྲུན་པའི་སྐུ་དབྱངས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་གྲུབ་དབང་དེ་ཡིས་བདག་ཅག་སྐྱོངས།  
 རྒྱལ་བའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་གྲུབ་དབང་ལྷ་ཁང་འདི།  
 སྲོབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོ་སྲུན་གྲགས་བཟང་པོས་དད་པས་བཞེངས།  
 རྒྱལ་བའི་གཡོན་ཕྱོགས་ཞིང་ཁམས་བཞི་པོ་འདི།  
 དེར་འཛིན་མཁས་པ་འཛམ་སྐྱིང་གྲགས་པའི་དཔོན།  
 དགོ་འདུན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་མཁས་པའི་ལྷགས་བཞིན་དུ།  
 བྱང་པོ་ལྷང་པ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དར་གྱིས་བྲིས།  
 ཡི་གེ་པ་ནི་ཁོ་བོ་ཟེ་དཔོན་ཡིན།  
 མི་གཡོ་ཀུ་ཅུ།

IV

༄། །ན་ས་ཤུ་ལྷ་མུ་ན་ཡེ།  
 སྲིད་གསུམ་སྲུག་བསྐལ་གདུང་བལ་སྲུང་དུ་སྲིང་ཇིའི་གྲིབ་བསེལ་ཅན།  
 སྲིན་སོགས་དཀར་པོའི་སྲོས་ཀྱི་ལྗོན་ཤིང་དགོ་བའི་མེ་དོག་རབ་རྒྱས་པ།  
 གཞན་དོན་དམ་པའི་འབྲས་བཟང་གིས་དུད་ཡལ་འདབ་ཕྱོགས་བརྒྱར་གུར་པ།  
 རྫོང་གསལ་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་སྐང་པོའི་བལྟེ་གནས་མཚེསས་[སྲོན་ལྗོན་པ་རྒྱལ་གུར་ཅིག།  
 སྲོན་ལྗང་མཛེས་པའི་ལྗོན་ཤིང་གིས་དཀྱིགས་རིན་ཚེན་བཅེགས་འདྲ་བྲག་རིའི་ངོགས།  
 བྱ་ཚོགས་འཕུར་ཤིང་སྐད་སྲུན་རྫོགས་ལུ་མཛེས་སྐུ་རི་དུགས་ཚོར་གྱིས་བསྐོར་།  
 ཆབ་སྐྱ་སྲུན་རྫོགས་འབབ་ཚུའི་དྲུང་གནས་ལྷ་དབང་གྲུབ་པ་རིག་འཛིན་ཚོགས།  
 ཅེ་ཅིག་སྲུན་པའི་སྐུ་དབྱངས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་གྲུབ་དབང་དེ་ཡིས་བདག་ཅག་སྐྱོངས།  
 རྒྱལ་བའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་བསྐོར་གྲུབ་དབང་ལྷ་ཁང་འདི།  
 སྲོབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོ་སྲུན་གྲགས་བཟང་པོས་དད་པས་བཞེངས།  
 གྲུབ་དབང་གཡས་ཕྱོགས་ཞིང་ཁམས་བཞི་པོ་འཁོར་བཅས་འདི།

ལོན་ལྡན་གསེར་རིའི་སྤོང་བས་མཁའ་ལ་བྱབ་གུར་ཉེ།།  
 རྒྱན་དུག་ཉེ་སྒྲིབ་ཟེར་གྱིས་སྤེལ་མར་སྤྲད་འདྲ་འདི།  
 བརྟོན་མཚོག་བདག་གིས་སྐོ་མང་ནང་དུ་བཟུབས་པའོ། །མེ་ག་ལི་ཀུ་ཅུ།

V

༄༅། །ན་ས་ས་ས་ན་ཏ་སྒྲ་ཏ་ཡ།  
 རི་ཞིས་རྒྱལ་བྲིམས་མེ་ཉོག་བཀྲ།  
 མངོན་འདོད་ཡོན་ཏན་འབྲས་བུས་དུད།།  
 མཉམ་པར་གྲགས་རྗེའི་གྲིབ་བསེལ་བཏན།  
 ཀུན་མཁྱེན་འཆིམས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།།  
 ལྷ་ཉོག་དྲ་མངོས་གཉིས་འཁྲུང་དབང་པོ་འགྲིངས་པའི་ཕྱིང་ན་རོལ་པའི་སྐུ།  
 རིན་ཆེན་སྤོང་བ་སེལ་སེལ་སྐུ་འབྱིན་སྐུའི་བར་མཚམས་[ལ་]རབ་བཀོད་པ།།  
 རིག་ལྡན་སྐུ་པོ་རྗེས་སུ་བཟུང་སྤྲད་འཇུག་པའི་མདངས་གསལ་བཞིན་རས་ཅན།  
 ཀུན་བཟང་རྒྱལ་སྤུས་གཙོ་འཁོར་ལྷ་ཡིས་དགོ་ལེགས་གཡོ་བ་མེད་གྱུར་ཅིག།།  
 སངས་རྒྱས་ལྟོང་གི་རབ་བཀྲ་བའི།  
 ..... ལྷ་ཁང་འདི།།  
 མཆིམས་སྣོན་སྣོན་གྲགས་བཟང་པོས་བཞེངས།  
 དགོ་བས་སངས་རྒྱས་སྤྲར་ཐོབ་ཤོག།།

ŽA LU

༄༅། །སྐུ་ཞང་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཡབ་སྤུས་ཀྱིས།  
 སངས་རྒྱས་བཏུན་པ་དར་བར་བྱ་བའི་དོན།།  
 གཡུ་རྩ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཕྱིགས་མང་དུ་བཞེངས།  
 སང་ལྗང་གི་སྐོ་མོ་ནས་མཁའ་བཟང་པོས་བཟོས།།  
 ལྷགས་ཤན་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མདོག་འདྲ་མཐོང་དགའ་འདི།  
 ལྷར་ཐང་མཁས་པའི་སྐོ་བཏན་བཟང་པོས་བཟོས།།  
 དགོའོ།།

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༄ | ། ཡོ་སྤྱི། བཟོའ་རྒྱང་རོའི་འབེའ་འགར་རྩོ་རྩོ་ཡིན། སློབ་དཔོན་གངས་པས་སྤང་ལྷགས་ལྲ་བཅུང་གསུམ་སོལ་པ་  
བདང། སློབ་དཔོན་རྩལ་སེང་གེས་ཟངས་ར་གན་སྤང་ཕྱེད་དང་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་གསེར་སྤང་ལྲ་དུལ་སྤང་གསུམ་བདང་ཡོན་དང་རྟར་  
རག་ལ་བཟོའི། མག་སྐར་སྐར་ར་བི་མ་ན་སྐར་མ་ན་པ་ཚ་ནི།

༄ | ། སློབ་དཔོན་རྩལ་སེང་གེས་ལོ་ཚ་བ་ལྟལ། ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་དང་དང་སློབ་རྣམས་ཚོགས་རྫོགས་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག །།

NOR

༄ | ། དཔལ་ཡོ་ཤོ་ཚོས་ལྡན་གྱི་བཀའ་འགྲུར་ལྟ་ཁང་དུ་དུལ་གདུང་ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་བུའི་དུང་དུ་དུལ་སློང་ཞིང་  
ཁམས་ཀུན་གསལ་འདི་ཉིད། ། གར་ཆེན་ཀུན་དགའ་དཔལ་བཟང་གིས་ཐུགས་དགོངས་རྫོགས་པའི་ཕྱིར་དུ། ། གར་པ་ཤེས་རབ་འབྱུང་  
གནས་ཀྱིས་ས་སོ་སྤལ་གྱི་ལོ་ལ་ལྟལ །།

GNAS GSAR

I

དགུང་སྤོན་མཐོན་གྱི་ལོག་ལྗོ་འཇམ་སྤྱིང་བཀོད་ལེགས །།  
སྤད་རིགས་མྱི་མཐུན་སུམ་བརྒྱ་དུག་ཅུ་ལ།  
རྒྱ་གར་སྤད་ཀྱི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤད་དུ་བརྒྱར །།  
གཙང་པོ་བྱང་རྩབ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྤྱི་དྲིན་གྱིས །།  
བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་བདེ་ལགས་བཀོད་པ་ལགས།  
བོད་ཀྱི་རིས་སུ་གཏོགས་པའི་ཅུ་བཞི་ལགས །།  
ཅུ་ལགས་ངོས་བཟང་ . . . . .  
མུང་རོ་སྤྱངས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་གཤེགས་བཞུད་གཟིགས་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བས་སྤོན་ཕྱིག་དགོངས་བས་ཀྱི་ . . . . .  
བཅོས་ལྡན་དམི་ . . . . . ཡོད་གྲུབ་འཁོར་འདི།།  
པིར་ཐོག་ཐ་མ་འབྲེ་འན་བཟངས་པོས་བྱིས།།  
འབྲོང་ཐོག་ལྡོ་ཚོགས་མང་ཅན་རྒྱལ་བཅེགས་སྤོན་གྱིས་བཞེངས།  
འགོ་བཅས་སྤྱི་མེད་བྱང་རྩབ་ཐོབ་པར་ཤོག།།







# I N D E X



All words are listed according to the order of the English alphabet. Also Sanskrit and Tibetan words are entered according to this principle. Prefixed letters (printed small) in the initial syllable of Tibetan names are disregarded; e. g. *rDo rje* is to be found under D, *gYun druñ* under Y, etc. Numbers refer to pages.

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