TIBETAN ART

AMY HELLER

Jaca Book

ANTIQUE COLLECTORS' CLUB

Amy Heller

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TRACING THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPIRITUAL IDEALS AND ART IN TIBET 600-2000 A.D.

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On the jacket:
Avalokiteśvara. Brass, silver and copper inlay,
Tibet, first half of the eleventh century,
Pritzker Collections.

Dedicated to the memory of Michael V. Aris,
Historian of Tibet and the Himalayas, 1946-1999

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Chapter one
THE ERA OF THE TIBETAN EMPIRE (630-850)

Tibet – a land whose unique topography and altitude create extraordinary palettes of colors, of subtle nuance and extreme contrast. Tibet – a land of giant white mountains beside turquoise lakes or vertiginous gorges, where wide deserts of knotty shrubs and pale sands border golden fields of wheat and barley, where yak or horses roam through high grass. The quality of the light can be crystaline, the skies of brilliant blue, intense and pure. The sense of open space, of complete freedom, is heightened by the distance which separates one town from the next. This creates a sense of relative isolation, giving an impression of vast expanses of completely uninhabited territory, in which an individual traveler is dwarfed by the sheer immensity of space surrounding him. Since time immemorial such shapes and hues inevitably influence the esthetic and spiritual sensitivities of the Tibetans (see color plates 1-14).

1. The atmosphere and ideals of the Pugyel dynasty

In this atmosphere, it is hardly surprising that the earliest traces of religious sentiment indicate deification of the natural elements of the landscape: glaciers and mountains rising to the clouds; the rivers, lakes and springs whose waters came from beneath the ground, while the human race resided in the space between the skies and the underworld. As of the early seventh century A.D., when historic records of Tibet begin, the Tsenpo, the Tibetan ruler, was believed to be a human manifestation of divine presence, having first appeared on earth as he descended from a sacred mountain. Tsenpo means "the mighty one", and his destiny was not only to rule, but also through his tremendous valor to conquer the lands laying in all directions, thus ensuring riches and prosperity for his subjects. The Annals of the Chinese Tang dynasty (618-907) also describe the tent of the Tibetan sovereign as immense and sumptuous, surrounded by pillars and lances, with statues of golden and silver animals as well as elaborate hangings with animal motifs[1]. But the most revealing source on the Tsenpo and his kingdom are ancient Tibetan manuscripts which describe the social customs and provide a year-by-year report of the life of the court[2].

The Tsenpo's personal guardian deity was identified with the mountain, even through successive generations, and this guardian mountain was considered the progenitor of his "divine right to rule" (see color plate 3). The link of the Tsenpo and the mountain persisted beyond death, when, after the funeral rituals and mummification, the Tsenpo was buried in a tomb identified as a mountain, in which he would be reborn to an afterlife of terrestrial paradise. During his life,

1. Silk fragment with Prancing Lions, fragment of a panel measuring ca. 160x230 cm in full, diameter of medallion ca. 65 cm, eighth to ninth century, Abegg-Stiftung, inv. nr. 4863b. Probably woven in Sichuan or Sogdiana, this fabric was imported to Tibet, perhaps to be used as a tent hanging. According to an ancient inscription written thereon, this fabric was placed in a Tibetan tomb as part of the offerings. The ground color of the fabric is deep red.

2. Stone lion from Dulan tombs, height 85 cm, eighth to ninth century, Dulan Archeological Institute. This is one of two lion statues discovered recently in northeast Tibet. Stone lion statues were placed prominently near the tombs of the Tsenpo and Tibetan aristocrats during the Pugyel dynasty. Similar statues have been found near tombs in west Tibet and central Tibet. The size of the statue and the lion's distinctive seated position are similar in all known examples.

there was public worship of the Tsenpo's guardian deity with offerings of gold, turquoise, curds, and fragrant juniper branches to please the deity and better enable the Tsenpo to ensure humanity's prosperity and good health. If the deity was not satisfied, the Tsenpo's "divine essence" would diminish, and he could die prematurely (before producing an heir) and all sorts of calamities – such as famine and plague – might occur. Upon death, the Tsenpo was reunited with his guardian deity through the act of being buried in the tumulus "mountain". The chambers of this tomb were as a palace, replete with all the elaborate furnishings and food supplies to be used in the "afterlife".

Archeologists have investigated more than 3000 tombs in all regions of Tibet, ranging in date from Neolithic times of the second millennium B.C. to the Pugyel dynasty (seventh to mid-ninth century A.D.). The Pugyel dynasty was centered south of Lhasa in the valley of the Yarlung river, where their principal necropolis remains, stretching over a vast region several kilometers square. The trapezoid-shaped mounds, remain impressive even today in their overgrown state due to their sheer dimensions, sometimes towering as much as 80 meters high, their stone stele, and pairs of stone lion statues symbolizing the Tsenpo's power (see color plates 1 and 14). Indeed the reverence these tombs inspired is such that they are still largely intact despite constant successive habitations, reconstructions, and agricultural development during the last millenium. The architecture of the tombs consistently display the same trapezoidal shape and construction techniques – using a combination of giant wood beams, cut stone and non-fired brick, whether they are built in a valley or high on a mountain spur.

In a valley, the tomb seems to represent a mountain in its own right, but when placed on a mountain ridge, the tomb is seen as an appendage of that particular mountain, increasing the height and volume of the mountain, and thus partaking in the sacred nature of the site. As described in ancient Tibetan manuscripts recovered at the beginning of this century, consecration ceremonies and splendid offerings further enhanced the spirituality of the tomb. The special category of funerary priests were known as Bonpo (literally "those with a sacred calling"), a name which today refers to a distinct religious movement[3]. Customary offerings included accoutrements of war, precious objects – such as silver cups and bolts of silk brocade, and also livestock and grains which were intended not only as personal property but also as a sort of "seed" from which new wealth and prosperity

3. Cup, partially gilt silver, height 10.2 cm, diameter 10.2 cm, Tibet, mid to late seventh or eighth century, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cup Severance and Greta Millikin Purchase Fund 1988.67.2. This cup has a Tibetan inscription which documents it as a personal possession of Tibetan royalty. The design of a prancing lion in the midst of honeysuckle vines again shows the importance of the lion as emblem during the Pugyel dynasty.

4. Vase, silver, height 17 cm, Tibet, seventh to eighth century (photograph courtesy of Rossi and Rossi, London). The design shows two phoenix in flight and peonies in repoussé technique.

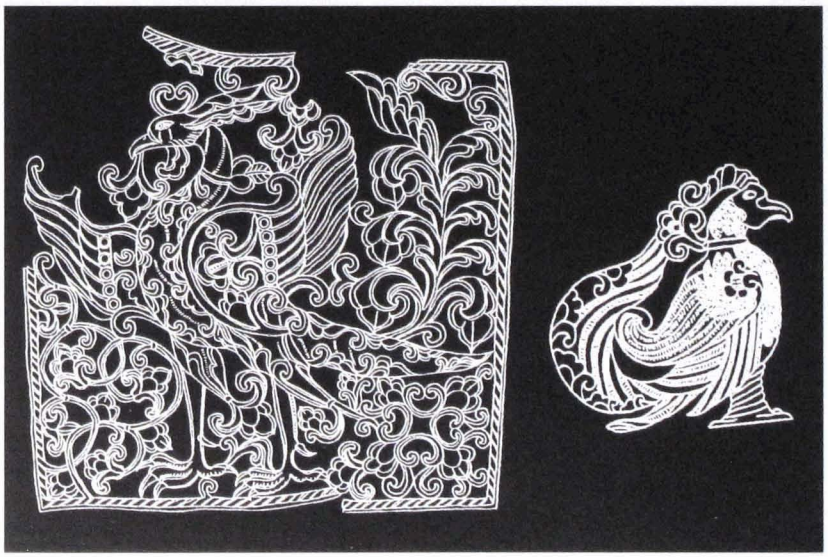
might derive for the benefit of the entire country[4]. The artefacts of consecration ceremonies from recently excavated tombs reveal much about Tibetan society and relations with neighbouring kingdoms during the dynastic period.

Indeed, in addition to the offerings for the guardian deities of the deceased, there were also offerings which document respect for Buddhism. Apparently the Tibetans combined practice of their native cults with Buddhist rituals. In front of a tomb of a Tibetan nobleman at Dulan, five large trenches were constructed, filled with sacrifices of 87 horses, designated as guides for the deceased to the afterlife. In the center of the first trench, a parcel-gilt silver reliquary was buried under a boulder. Similar reliquaries were frequent as consecration contents for Buddhist temples in India and China. The burial in front of the tomb indicates the religious syncretism of Buddhist and the non-Buddhist cult. The reliquary tells us much by its masterful craftsmanship and the choice of designs. The shape of the Dulan reliquary corresponds to Chinese sarcophagous shapes which along with square caskets were utilized for Buddhist relics (śarīra) containers in China since the mid-seventh century. However, in the opinion of Xu Xinguo, it follows a Sogdian model in several respects: the low relief-effect on the open metal-work plaques (as opposed to engraved designs on Tang reliquaries), and design exclusively of honeysuckle vines (almost all Sogdian metal articles feature honeysuckle, which also became popular in China but Xu considers Chinese design to show several floral varieties intermingled. Honeysuckle is not native to Tibet, so it seems likely that the Tibetans did adopt this motif from the Sogdians). The Dulan silver casket is unique for its inlaid turquoise, for the construction in which the metal plaques had been affixed to a wood base for assembly, and for the alloy of the metal which is a combination of silver and gold, which has then been been gold plated in a very distinctive technique (not mercurey gilding) which Xu likens to gold cladding as present in pieces attributed to Sogdian manufacture of seventh to eighth century[5]. However, it is possible that this reliquary is a product of Tibetan workmanship, especially when it is compared to the Tibetan silver vases, cup and rhyton which present similar low-relief honeysuckle design, a gilding technique unique to Tibet, and a similarly scaled and depicted phoenix and lions.

Tibetans were renowned at the time for exceptional skills in metallurgy, for base and fine metals. Ca. 700 A.D., they accomplished the feat of constructing of an iron chain bridge linking the two banks of the Yangzi, in order to facilitate conquest of western Sichuan. Such prowess made them more than a millennium

5. Fragments of the Dulan reliquary, wood inlaid with turquoise, length ca. 3 cm, Tibet, eighth to ninth century, Qinghai Archeological Institute. These bird heads were part of the decoration of the base of the Buddhist reliquary excavated from a trench in front of Dulan tombs. Small turquoises were inlaid to show the birds' eyes.

6. Base of the Dulan reliquary, partially gilt silver, length 9.8 cm, Tibet, eighth to ninth century. A reliquary such as this held a bone believed to be remains of the Buddha. The bone relic would have been placed upright in the center of this panel.



7. Drawing of the side panel of the Dulan reliquary, partially gilt silver, length 15,3 cm, Tibet, eighth to ninth century. The phoenix stands with wings extended in the midst of honeysuckle vines and flowers.

8. Drawing of the bird decoration of the base of the Dulan reliquary.

9-10. Guṇānka coins, diameter 2 cm, Nepal, minted ca. 625-641 A.D., courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. These coins are part of a series where elephants are represented in profile, standing or walking, draped in beaded garlands or caparison, inside a pearl surround. The stone elephant statue of Samye monastery (see color plate 19) may have been modeled on such designs. One face of the coin depicts a seated female deity holding flowers in each hand. Inscription in a form of Gupta script "Śrī Guṇānka" above her head. The activities in Tibet of Nepalese artists and Buddhist masters during the seventh to ninth century would account for the presence of such coins in Tibet.

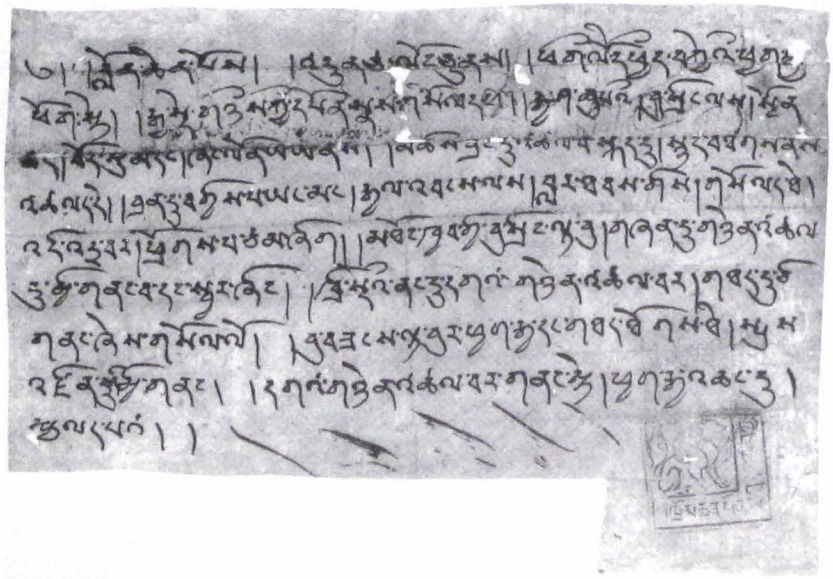
11. Sogdian coin, diameter 1.5 cm, casting indicates an early seventh century date, Collection of Nicholas Rhodes. The design represents a winged horse inside beaded circle. This coin is virtually identical with a Nepalese coin of Jiṣṇu Gupta, ca. 620 A.D. Winged horses appear in Nepalese coins, then appear in Buddhist iconography, such as the Nepalese book cover (see color plate 37).

ahead of their adversaries[6]. They were accomplished with refined objects as well, notably a goose shaped golden ewer, 2 meters high and capable of holding 60 liters of wine, fitted armour and saddlery, and large objects of gold, remarkable for their rarity and beauty. All are described by contemporary annals which also list Tibetan exports of musk, turquoise, salt and borax, silver and gold, and horses.

The earliest historic record of Tibet is for the year 608 A.D., and describes a mission from Tibet to China for purposes of improving conditions of the horse trade. Not long afterwards, in 629, the famous Buddhist pilgrim Xuan zang described Tibetans as regular traders in the town of Liang zhou, just north of the lake Kokonor[7].

Following the unification of the Tibetan state in early seventh century and gradual extension of Tibetan power beyond central Tibet to encompass the zone from the Hexi corridor to the Pamirs on the west and to Sichuan on the east, Tibet occupied a pivotal position linking the Indian subcontinent, Central Asia and China, criss-crossed by routes used by traders and Buddhist pilgrims. Tibet was haven to Nepalese factions fleeing coup d'état in Kathmandu ca. 624. Traditionally this is recognized by a Nepalese princess awarded as bride to the first historic Tsenpo, who also contracted a matrimonial alliance with a Chinese princess and three Tibetan ladies. Tibetan armies protected Chinese monks en route and into India in 648 to the Bengalese kingdom of Harṣa. Trade flourished in the politically stable atmosphere of the Tibetan Empire.

Buddhist teachers and pilgrims traveled along with the traders for safety, avoiding Central Asia for fear of Chinese-Arab military confrontation. For example, the famous Indian teacher Śubhakarasiṃha left Nālandā monastery in eastern India, traveled to Kashmir, and then crossed central Tibet to arrive at the Chinese capital of Chang an in 716[8]. Missions between Tibet and China alone were exchanged on the average of one mission (going either way) about every 16 months over a 200 year period. Through trade, proselytism and military campaigns, Tibet became linked with many cultures and kingdoms, principally those of Bengal, Nepal, Kashmir, Gilgit, Pakistan (Uḍḍiyāna), Persia (Iran), Sogdiana, Khotan, Uigur, Turk, Chinese (both Tang empire and Shu kingdom in modern Sichuan), Korea, Tuyuhun, Tangut, Nanzhao in modern Yunnan, and Burma. This international mêlée influenced the development of both esthetics and religious ideals in



Tibet, as well as bringing the Tibetans in contact with many products of foreign origin.

Chinese exports to Tibet were not only silks, but also paper, ink, and tea. Export of Tibetan musk to India (and then on to Rome) is documented during Tang dynasty. In general Tibet exported animals and animal products (horses, Tibetan parrots, yaktails, honey); textiles, salt, borax, silver and gold as well as metal objects. Tibet imported manufactured iron and steel products obtained in Kucha (part of the Tibetan Empire from 790-860), and also from Samarkand and Bukhara[9]. Sogdian silver might have been imported at this time because Tibetan armies were passing freely through mountains south of Ferghana. In A.D. 720 an allliance of Arabs, Tibetans, and Turks failed to capture the Tarim basin from the Chinese. This means that Tibetan troops were right in the midst of the area frequented by Sogdian merchants traveling from their cities Bukhara and Samarkand. Since the sixth century records document Sogdian colonies in the Chinese capital of Chang an, the Tibetans could have acquired not only silver but also Central Asian textiles during missions to the Tang court.

A sense of Tibetan esthetics in this early period of Tibetan history can be gleaned from the decoration of stone capitals and bases of extant stele and the carved Tibetan script thereon. In addition there are sculptures of lions placed as guardians for the tombs, and early ninth century Buddhist sculptures which have survived in eastern Tibet.

Furthermore, it is important to examine painted portraits of the Tibetan aristocracy in several Buddhist caves temples at Dunhuang (now in Gansu, China) commissioned during the Tibetan occupation of the Silk Route, 787-842, as well as early tenth century portraits from nearby Yulin caves, where mural paintings afford a glimpse of secular life, as well as excavated fabrics and silver which bear inscriptions whose letters and archaic orthography belie their use during the Pugyel dynasty. Scroll work is prevalent, derived from honeysuckle vines, visible in the stone capitals and the silver. In addition to vegetal designs, real and imaginary creatures were represented such as lions and phoenix, neither of which are native to Tibet. The lion was a symbol of power in Iran and India where Buddhism used the animal to symoblize the power of Buddha. Adopted as a symbol by the Tibetans, lions were used during the Tibetan empire on official government seals[10]

Opposite bottom:

12. Tibetan manuscript on paper recovered from Dunhuang (Pelliot Tibétain no. 1083), early ninth century, courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
This manuscript is a decree from Khrom chen provincial authority. It is terminated by a lion emblem seal, 3x3 cm, inscribed "khrom.chen.po.nas", "from Khrom chen". This document uses the seal of a seated lion in profile as an emblem of political authority, just as the seated stone lions guard the tombs of the Tsenpo and provincial authorities.

13. Vase, silver, height 22.9 cm, Tibet, mid to late seventh to eighth century, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J.J. Wade Fund 1988.67.1.
This partially gilt silver vase has elaborate grape vine designs which enclose a dragon, a lion, a phoenix, and a human figurine wearing a turban.

14. Rhyton, silver, height 30.5 cm, Tibet, mid to late seventh to eighth century, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Clara Taplin Rankin 1988.67.3.
The desing of this partially gilt rhyton features the rim of large beading juxtaposed with incised flowing vine scroll, while the body displays lion and bird inside elaborate vegetal motifs.

15. Scroll painting depicting the Tibetan minister Gar Tong Tsen (mGar.sTong.bTsan), attributed to Yan Liben (627-673), National Palace Museum, Beijing. The Tibetan minister is wearing a robe with design of birds inside small pearl medallions.

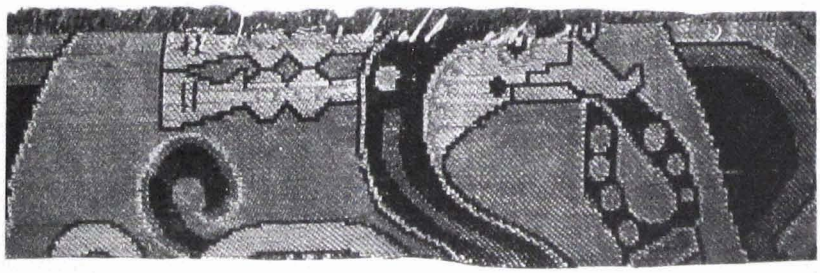
16. Tibetan Tsenpo wearing medallion robe, detail of mural painting in cave 158 Dunhuang, diameter medallion ca. 40 cm, painting commissioned during Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang 787-842. This portrait of the Tsenpo shows him leading a group of mourners of the Buddha's death. He is wearing the characteristic Tibetan garments of turban and robe, yet his robe corresponding to Tibetan esthetic and style was fashioned from imported fabric with a motif of Sasanian medallions.

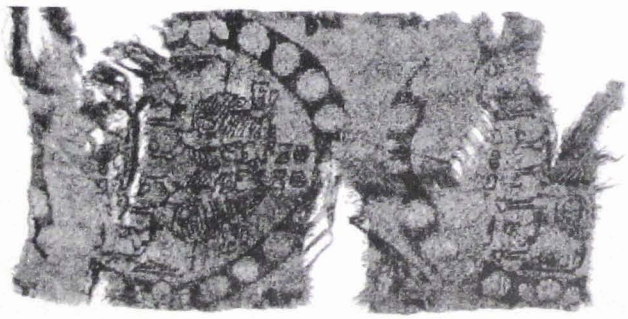
as well as in monumental stone statues for the tombs, and in fabric design. The phoenix as symbol was inherited from China, but there is no indication that the Tibetans associated the phoenix with rebirth and reincarnation as in Chinese treatises. Possibly the earliest examples are the silver objects now in the collections of the Cleveland Museum of Art, a cup, a rhyton and a vase. Inside the honeysuckle bud vines, the cup has a rampant lion, and the vase a standing phoenix, wings outstreched. The bottom of the cup has an inscription which links it to Tibetan royalty, probably of the late seventh century[11]. The twelve animals which designate the years of the Tibetan calendar cycle were represented in art and Tibetan historical literature.

Chronologically, the earliest representation of a Tibetan is a Sung dynasty copy of a painting made ca. 634 when an emissary from Tibet came to demand in marriage the hand of a Chinese princess for the Tsenpo. Small in height and build, he wore a robe woven with designs of a standing red duck inside small pearl medallions, with contrasting trim for border and hem.

This design is known in seventh-century Sogdian mural paintings from the Afrasiab Palace near Samarkand where royal robes have an almost identical standing bird with the royal emblem of the ribbon (*pativ*) emerging from the crest of the head[12]. The pearl medallion with a single stylized animal was typical of textiles woven in Sasanian Persia (226-651), while fabrics attributed a Sogdian provenance more frequently have medallion pattern showing pairs of confronted animals. Textile fragments bearing archaic Tibetan inscriptions have lions in medallions[13] (see fig. 1). On these textiles, there are two confronted pairs, prancing lions, and standing lions inside roundels 60 cm in diameter. The lion tails curve to rise behind the flank, which almost gives the mistaken impression that the lion has wings. Similar tail positions are used for all the stone lions sculptures from the tombs recovered so far, whether from central, western or northeastern Tibet. As we will see in many examples from this period, Tibetan esthetic preferences tend to enlarge the scale of design and to favor dynamic positions in representations of humans and animals.

The mural paintings from the Dunhuang caves which are attributed to the Tibetan occupation also reveal textiles with roundel designs for royal robes of the Tibetan sovereign and his court, while the patterns for decorative fabrics associated





with the Buddha have confronting animals in pearl surround, in keeping with the the Sogdian design. Such designs had come to represent Imperial status in China during the early eighth century, but then due to a wave of nationalism, they were banned in China as of 750 A.D. except for export to foreign markets. The Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang resumed ca. 780. In one of the most important caves decorated with mural painting by Tibetan patronage, the reigning Tsenpo leads the international crowd of mourners surrounding the Buddha, The Tsenpo is almost life-size, larger than many others. He is dressed in robes patterned with giant concentric medallions, perhaps 40 cm in diameter. The Buddha reposes on a couch where the fabric design of the pillow uses a device not seen previously – pairs of roundels are confronted, each having at center a duck facing the duck in the opposite roundel. The design is thus doubled as well as enlarged in scale. Tibetan appreciation of such fabrics apparently persisted, for other portraits of Tibetans in Dunhuang made during and after the Tibetan occupation still show similar robes[14].

In central Tibet, nobles wearing roundel patterned robes are still represented in eleventh century Tibetan mural paintings. Use of these textiles as part of the decoration of Buddhist caves indicates the attitude of reverence to the Buddha coincided with the veneration of royalty at this time. Let us now consider the ideals of Buddhism encountered by the Tibetans during the expansion of their territory beyond central Tibet as of the mid-seventh century.

Opposite bottom:

17. Textile fragment with bird in pearl-medallion design, excavated from Dulan tombs, probably woven in Sichuan or Sogdiana, seventh-eighth century, samite, diameter of medallion 38 cm, Qinghai Archeological Institute. This fabric was included among the offerings placed in the tomb during the burial ceremonies. The enlarged scale of the medallion and red ground of the fabric may link this fragment to Sichuan ateliers which adapted Sogdian designs.

18. Textile fragement with confronted winged horses in pearl-medallion design, excavated from Dulan tombs, probably woven in Sogdiana or Sichuan, seventh to eighth century, samite, length 7 cm, width 5 cm, Qinghai Archeological Institute. The winged horse as a motif on Sogdian coins was emulated as a design for fabrics.

2. The ideals of Buddhism

India was the land of origin where Gautama Śākyamuni, born as a prince of the Śākya tribe near modern Lumbini, Nepal, had founded a new philosophical movement during the sixth century B.C. Known by epithet as Buddha, "The Enlightened One", his teachings concentrated on the alleviation of the suffering inherent to the impermanence of life and man's unfulfilled desires. (We will later examine representations of the biography of the Buddha, see color plate 51). The ethical system proposed by Śākyamuni focused on the accumulation of good moral deeds and the development of a wise and disciplined mind. The goal of the accumulation of good deeds is to purify the mind and ensure a positive rebirth in which it will be possible to attain salvation. The world of saṃsāra including divine, human, animal and infernal realms, is conceived of as involving suffering in all of its aspects. To be born as a human is considered best because only man can aspire to Buddhahood. The doctrine of rebirth was common in India at the time. Śākyamuni opened the road to salvation for all, regardless of caste, who followed his precepts.

The Buddha's first teaching was encapsulated in the "Four Noble Truths": 1) Duḥkha (suffering), the fundamental nature of all conditioned existence is suffering 2) Samudaya (the cause and arising of suffering), the origin of suffering is unfulfilled desire coupled with karma accumulated in this and past lifetimes. Suffering and the origin of suffering are basic philosophical concepts of Buddhism. Suffering can be understood as the obvious suffering of daily life such as illness, loss and death, and, on a more profound level, as the suffering arising from the inevitable impermanence and interdependence of existence. It is this impermanence and interdependence on all other phenomena which is meant by the phrase "conditioned existence". After years of searching Śākyamuni finally discovered the state of unconditioned existence, which is 3) Nirvāṇa (the cessation of suffering), to be attained by eliminating desire and karma. 4) Mārga (the path), the way leading to nirvāṇa, is the "Noble Eightfold Path", symbolized by eight spokes of a wheel (see color plate 16). This consists of 1) Right understanding, 2) Right thought, 3) Right speech, 4) Right Action, 5) Right livelihood, 6) Right mindfulness, 7) Right concentration, and 8) Right views. To practice the Eightfold-path, Buddhists take refuge in the "Three Jewels": the Buddha, the Dharma (the Buddhist sacred philosophical and moral code) and in the Saṅgha (the community which upholds these values).

If one followed these principles, moral imperfections acquired in previous lifetimes could gradually be cleared and no further defilements would accumulate as the individual continued his course toward nirvāṇa.

According to the Buddha's explanations, everything is impermanent, composed of transient aggregates in a state of constant flux and mutual conditioning. Due to the intrinsic composite nature of everything, it is said that everything is void of inherent existence. this is the Buddhist doctrine of emptiness, or śūnyatā. Thus physical elements and mental attitudes, and the very ego itself, are all impermanent, but in the normal, everyday world (termed saṃsāra), these aggregates (including the perception of the self) are perceived by un-enlightened beings as real and constant. When nirvāṇa is realized, the transient nature of the aggregates is fully perceived, ignorance, craving and hatred are eliminated and enlightened awareness is achieved.

In the centuries after Śākyamuni's death, divergent interpretations of the nature of reality and of nirvāṇa led to the establishment of different sub-schools of Buddhism. Theravāda, an early school still practiced today in Śrī Laṅkā and Southeast Asia, maintains that nirvāṇa is distinct from the world as we know it. The Mahāyāna tradition (the "Great Way", founded ca. second century A.D.) postulates that nirvāṇa is attainable in this world, and is not, in the final analysis, different from saṃsāra. Nirvāṇa and saṃsāra are related like the two sides of a coin, all a matter of how we perceive the phenomenal world. If we are able to fully apprehend the doctrine of emptiness, which expounds the composite nature of the interdependent, impermanent elements constituting the phenomenal world, then we could live in a state of nirvāṇa even while we are in this physical body. But herein lies a fundamental distinction between Mahāyāna practice and Theravādin practice. The Theravāda school stresses the personal enlightenment of the individual, as epitomized by the Arhat, a Buddhist monk who achieves the highest state of perfection. By practicing monastic discipline in accordance with the discourses (Sūtra) of the Buddha and appropriate meditation on the impermanent nature of reality, the Arhat realizes nirvana and will no longer be reborn. In Mahāyāna teachings, the practitioner emulates the Bodhisattva striving for the collective salvation of all sentient beings. A Bodhisattva ("Enlightenment Being") delays his own nirvāṇa in order to assist others in their attainment of enlightenment.

As Mahāyāna developed, the concept of the nature of Buddha, The Enlightened One, became increasingly abstract. Śākyamuni, the historic Buddha of our age, came to be considered as one of over a thousand Buddhas which will appear in the course of this aeon (kalpa); Maitreya is the Buddha of the future aeon. The idea of a series of appearances in this world by successive Buddhas was extended further in India in the first to second centuries A.D. by the idea of a plurality of Buddhas in one time span. The idea of Buddhahood as a universal principle was reflected by five main Buddhas, Vairocana ("Resplendent") at the center, with Amitābha ("Infinite Light"), Akṣobhya ("Imperturbable"), Amoghasiddhi ("Infallible Success") and Ratnasambhava (Jewel born), radiating out as the four cardinal points. Each direction was conceived of as a Buddha family, with Bodhisattva attendants to the Buddha, and wrathful guardians as protectors.

By the seventh century, several schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism were already established in Central Asia and China. The proselytisation had been gradual but constant since the inception of the Mahāyāna teachings in approximately 100 A.D. Mahāyāna Buddhism spread from northern India to Nepal, Uḍḍiyāna (the Swat valley, Pakistan), Afghanistan, Gilgit, Kashmir, the southern Silk Route site of Khotan, the northern Silk Route oases of Dunhuang and Liang zhou (modern Wuwei) and into Sichuan and central China, then to Korea and by early ninth century, to Japan. Archeological investigations notably at Bamiyan (Afghanistan), Khotan, and Dunhuang have revealed the artistic remains and the liturgies then popular, derived from the Sūtra – the discourses attributed directly to the Buddha, pronounced in this world – and in some cases from the Tantra, discourses pronounced to a divine assembly, and then transmitted to the faithful.

(continued on p. 33)

THE LAND OF TIBET

1. *Lion at Royal Burial grounds*
Stone, height 150 cm, Tibet, early ninth century
This lion represents one of the earliest known free-standing Tibetan sculptures. Although lions are not native to Tibet, the lion was adopted as symbolic emblem of sovereignty by the Tsenpo and his government officials. The lion was a symbol of royalty in India, where the Buddhists associated the lion with the Buddha Śākyamuni's royal birth and used pairs of lions to decorate the base of his throne. In Tibet, beside the tombs of the Tsenpo and provincial aristocrats, two statues of lions were customary. This lion stood at the corner of a tomb dated 816 A.D. in the valley of the Yarlung river in central Tibet. Archeological excavations have revealed similar lion statues in southern Tibet beside tombs near Sakya and in northeastern Tibet beside tombs at Dulan, Qinghai, all dating from Pugyel dynasty period (640-866 A.D.) (fig. 2). Tent fabrics with lion designs have been recovered, also dating from the Pugyel dynasty (fig. 1). For administrative purposes, a seal with a lion emblem concluded Pugyel dynasty official documents (fig. 12). The lion with configuration of tail as in this statue was also adopted for Buddhist art in Tibet during the early ninth century (fig. 34). Even during the twentieth century when a new Tibetan national flag was designed, the national emblem was the snow lion, a mythical creature with white fur and turquoise mane.

2. *Chiu monastery*
The mountain passes throughout Tibet are highly strategic locations, facilitating communication, conquest and commercial trade since time immemorial. Situated in western Tibet in the region of the sacred mountain Kailash, the Chiu monastery in fact lies just beside lake Manasarovar, altitude 4558 m, which cannot be seen from this view. Looking to the south from Chiu, the five peaks of Mount Gurla Mandhata (7728 m) are the residence of Lhamo yang chen, the agricultural goddess to whom the farmers pray for rain.

3. *Yar lha shampo*
Altitude: 6636 m
According to ancient Tibetan tradition, the divine ancestor of the Tsenpo descended from the sky to the summit of the sacred mountain Yar lha shampo in central Tibet. This summit is regarded as the local mountain deity and simultaneously linked to the ancestors of the Pugyel dynasty who began their consolidation of power from their base in the Yarlung river valley. In profile, the snow-covered mountain is compared to the head of a yak which is also an important symbol in Tibet. The traditional hagiographies of Padmasambhava describe the deity Yar lha shampo, in the form of a great yak as big as a mountain, who tried to block the way of Padmasambhava en route to conquer the local spirits and introduce Buddhistm to Tibet.
However, in a later account describing the life of the ancient Tsenpo and their court, the deity appeared as a handsome man in the dream of a Tibetan queen, but when she woke up, she found that a white yak was lying near her. Later she gave birth to a prince, who is of course attributed a divine ancestry (Karmay 1996: 69).

4. *Pensi la*
Altitude: 4400 m
This pass is the Pensi la, leading to Zangskar from the Indus river valley in Ladakh. Yet such stones carved in relief with the letters Oṃ Maṇi Padme Hūṃ, the six syllable prayer of Avalokiteśvara, could be found at almost all mountain passes in Tibet, safeguarding the passage of lone travellers since time immemorial. The flags are printed with auspicious prayers, which are believed to circulate throughout the world with each gust of wind.

5. *Valley of Nejel chemo*
Altitude: ca. 4000 m
This plain lies in southern Tibet, in the valley of the Yeru Tsangpo river, in virtual isolation just north of the Himalaya. Yet this site is a place of pilgrimage. A short walk in the hills leads to a group of caves where some 800 years ago, 37 statues of a Vairocana maṇḍala were modeled in clay and affixed to the walls (fig. 82).

6. *Lamayuru village*
This village perched high in Ladakh still preserves the traditional constructions in stone and clay, such as the typical stūpas at the entrance to the town. The houses may have two or three stories, the ground floor used for animals, the middle floor for habitation, and the roof for drying grains.

7. *Grathang stūpa*
Non fired brick and stone, height ca. 10 m
This stūpa is located in the hills behind Grathang monastery in central Tibet. It was constructed beside tombs of local aristocracy dating from the Pugyel dynasty. Yet the initial function of this stūpa is not certain. Was it a stūpa for Buddhist worship as relics of Buddha or was this construction used as a burial stūpa? The nearby tombs are approximately contemporaneous with the construction of Samye monastery, in late eighth century. According to the earliest history of Samye, the first abbots were buried in stūpa (sBa bzhed 1980: 63). Today this stūpa of bricks is empty of ancient relics or human remains. The cavity now has vast quantities of *tsha.tsha*, small clay votive tablets. The tradition of offering *tsha.tsha* is archeologically documented during the Pugyel dynasty (figs. 29-31), but at Grathang, the *tsha.tsha* were as recently as 1990 molded and consecrated by the local lamas, placed here in pious devotion by the populace.

8. *South of Sakya*
These ruins are aligned near the road south of Sakya. Some structures are stūpas which were elaborate multi-chamber constructions, others were simple one chamber towers. The alignment and location on the heights suggest that perhaps these may have been part of a watch-tower complex.

9. *Tsaka*
This landscape shows a salt lake in northeastern Tibet. Such lakes are not only beautiful but an essential component in Tibetan traditional economy and that of the adjacent Himalayan kingdoms of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. Every spring, the nomads would camp several days at the salt lakes or salt flats where the salt looks like a field of crystaline snow, sometimes as much as a foot deep. Subsequent caravans used to bring the salt to towns, then beyond Tibetan borders.

10. *Lato*
High above the Tsangpo river across from Samye, this is a typical Tibetan altar for worship of the mountain deities regarded as clan or ancestral deities for the local population. At least once each year in a series of rituals the male villagers renew the arrows and prayer flags, piling the stones anew and making fire offerings of juniper branches and fumigations. Throughout Tibet, such rituals escape regulation from government officials. Their practice reinforces ties within the community and the individual's personal sense of Tibetan national identity (Karmay 1994, 1996).

11. *Tsaparang*
Now almost deserted, Tsaparang formerly was capital of the Ngari kingdom, one of the most important monasteries and settlements during the eleventh century, partially reconstructed in the late fifteenth to sixteenth century (figs. 118-122). The entire city was on the hill, thus its location was a source of natural protection from invasions. There was a town, a

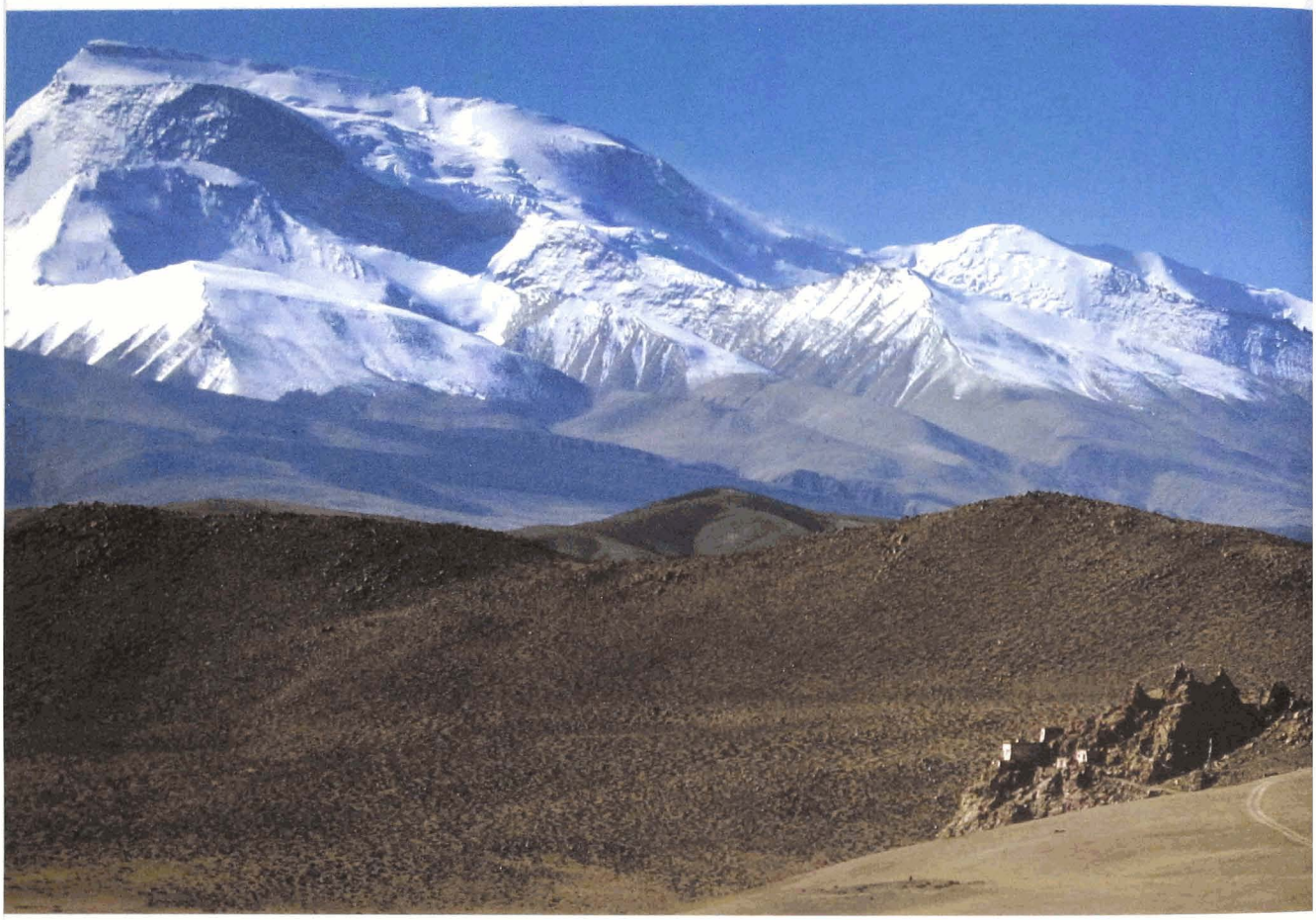
palace citadel and sanctuaries all on the natural spur. The levels of constructions spread over a 200 m change in altitude, on a plateau which is never more than 50 m wide. The terraces were arranged in pyramid fashion, taking advantage of the height, as they did when a long secret passage inside the hill was built to ensure access to water even in case of seige (Chayet 1994: 140).

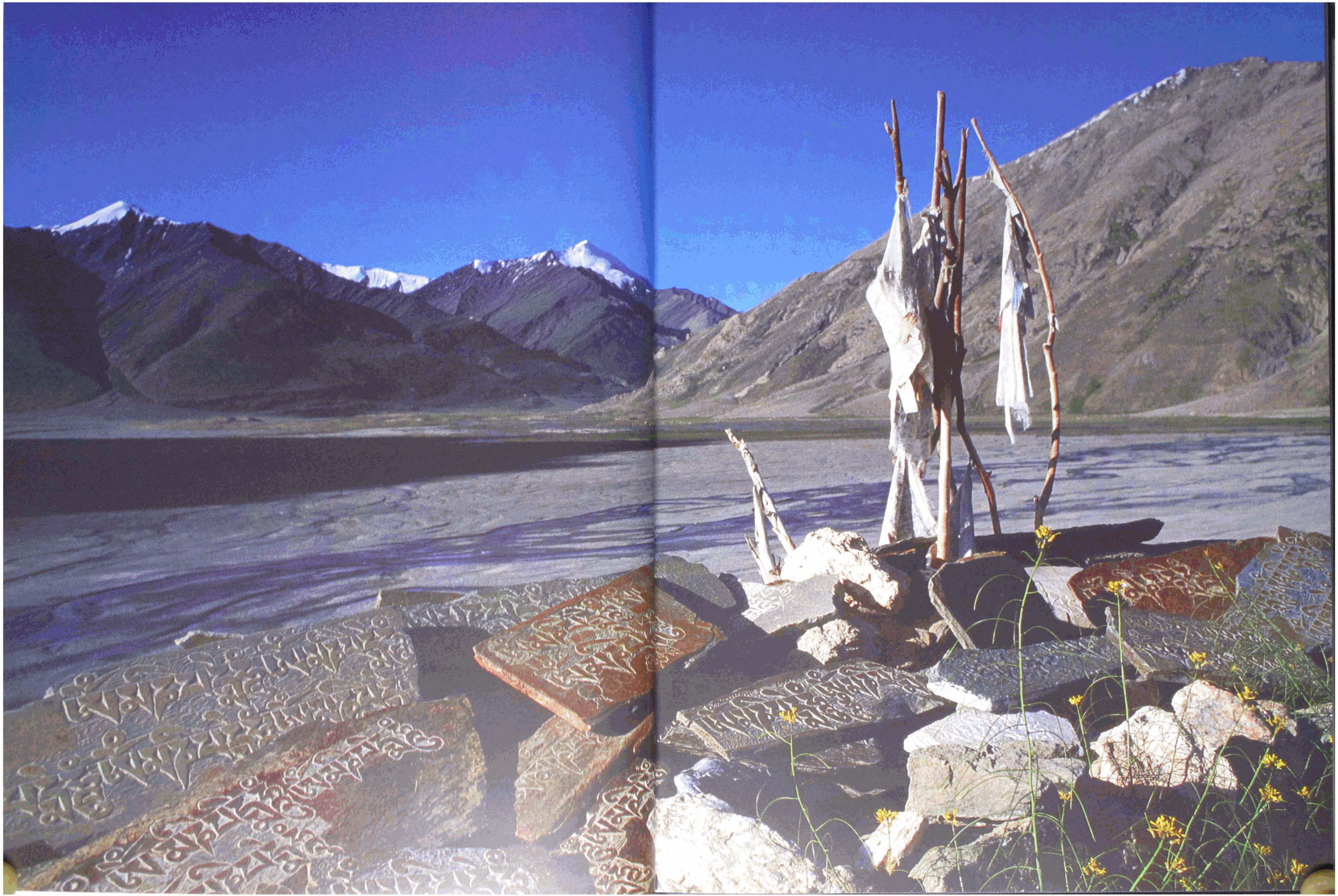
12. *Sakya*
Founded during the eleventh century, Sakya monastery is typical of the fortress (dzong) type of monastery which evolved from the earlier clusters of temples. The square exterior wall of protection was several meters thick at base, a section may be seen in this photograph. Constructed in a plain near a small river, the vulnerability of the site required an architecture to house the population as well as provide protection from invasions and from natural forces such as seismic shocks. Thus inclined walls, heavier at the lower levels to stablize in case of earth tremors. The Sakya monastery eventually had other divisions outside the surrounding wall of the dzong, such as the constructions against the hillside. The Sakya monastic school achieved political prominence during the thirteenth century to fourteenth century. Esthetically, the proximity of Sakya to the trade routes leading to the Kathmandu Valley lead to close ties between Sakya and Newar artists, evidenced by numerous commissions within the sanctuary (figs. 71-72).

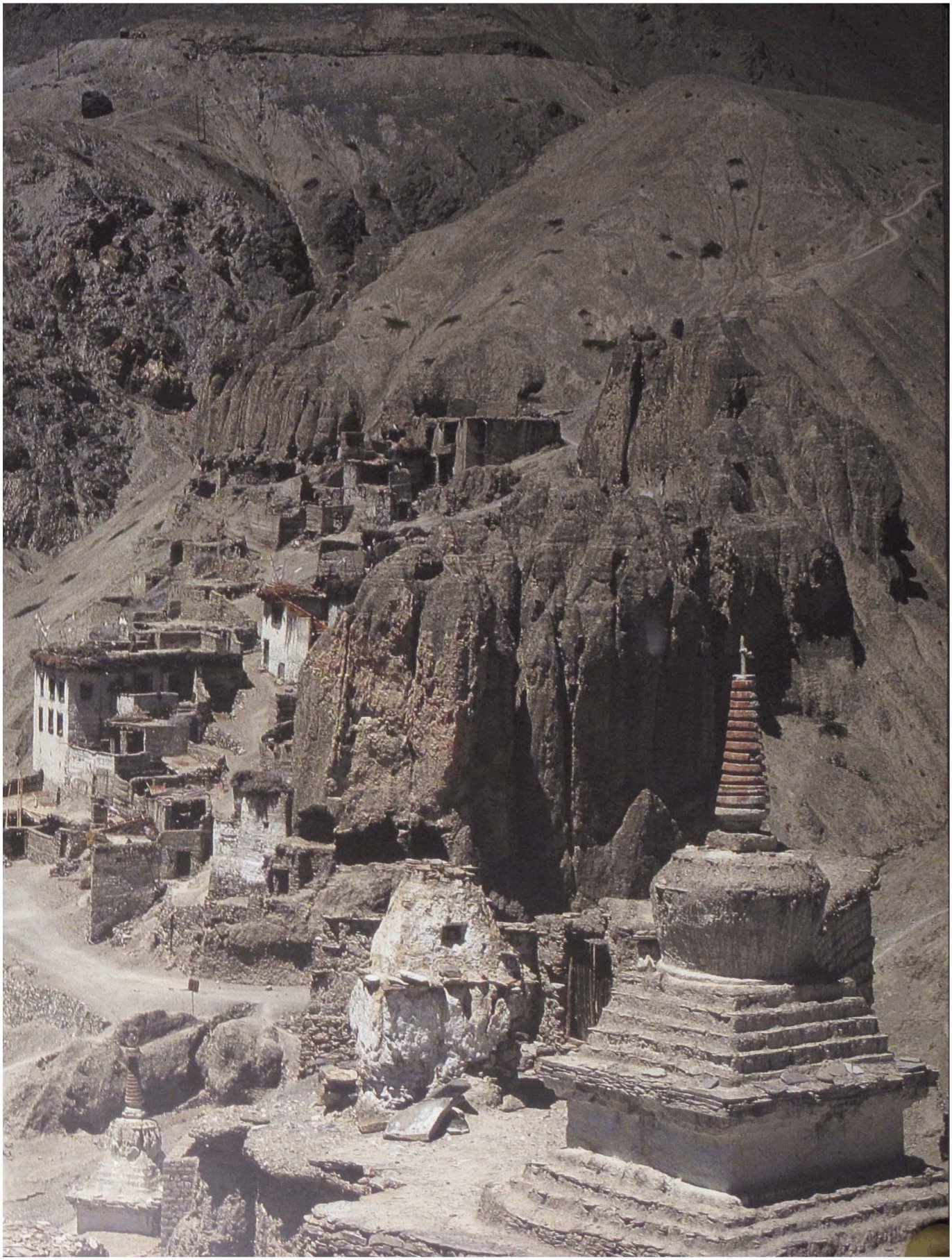
13. *Yarlung valley*
This field of barley in the fertile Yarlung valley lies near the royal necropolis. In 1986 during a period of resurgence of Buddhist practices in Tibet, the local populace were able to take white stones and arrange them in traditional manner. They organized piles into the shapes of the letters Oṃ Maṇi Padme Hūṃ, then took still more white stones and constructed the form of a stūpa draped with prayer flags. The prayer Oṃ Maṇi Padme Hūṃ is sacred to Avalokiteśvara, yet also to his avatar, H.H. the Dalai Lama, hence this large-scale mountain prayer was a political as well as spiritual exercise.

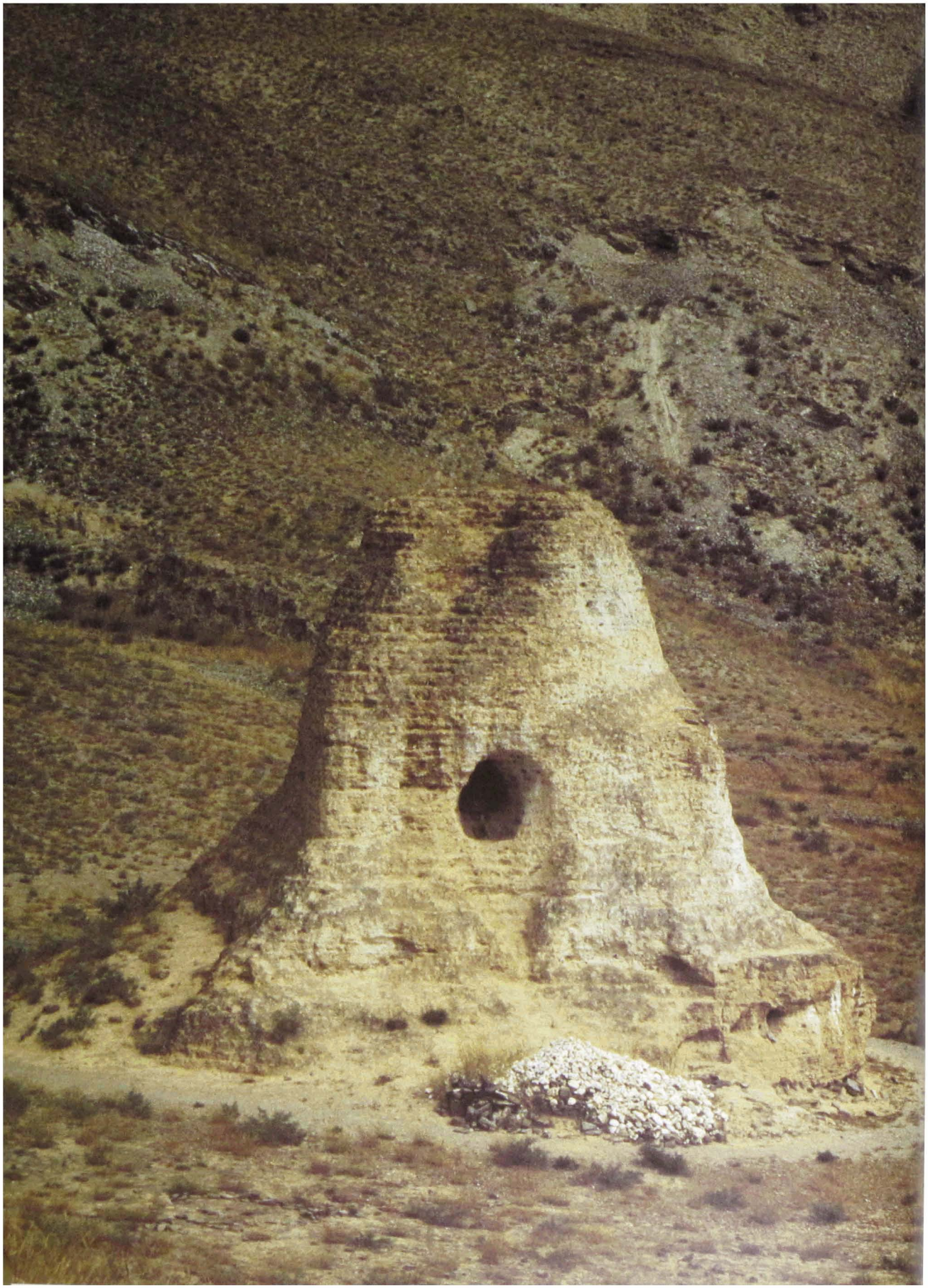
14. *Royal tomb*
Ca. 650 A.D., Yarlung valley
This tomb is revered as the tumulus of the first historic Tsenpo, Songtsen gampo (Srong.btsan.sgam.po) who lived during the seventh century. The tomb was square, 100 m per side, 15 m height (Caffarelli 1997: 241). Although pillaged in late ninth century after the fall of the Pugyel dynasty, it has never been archeologically investigated to date. The construction alternated utilization of slabs of stone and brick while large wood beams supported the roof construction. Ancient historical chronicles contemporaneous with the Pugyel dynasty described the elaborate burial ceremonies of the Tsenpo: along with great quantities of offerings for use in an after-life, the body mummified by repeated applications of salt and ash, was placed in one of several chambers within the tumulus. Offerings such as fabric and silver objects have been corroborated by recent excavations of tombs elsewhere in Tibet (figs. 17-18). In correlation with other tombs in the royal necropolis which stretches over two square kilometers of the valley (Caffarelli 1997: 239), a stele describing the merits of the Tsenpo's rule and two monumental lion statues were probably erected nearby, but these are now lost. These burial practices were all associated with the Tibetan cult of the Tsenpo which persisted during the long period of the introduction and implantation of Buddhism in Tibet during the seventh to ninth centuries. Syncretic rituals combining facets of the burial cult of the Tsenpo and Buddhist ritual practice have been documented by excavated ritual objects from Tibetan tombs of the Pugyel dynasty (figs. 5-8).

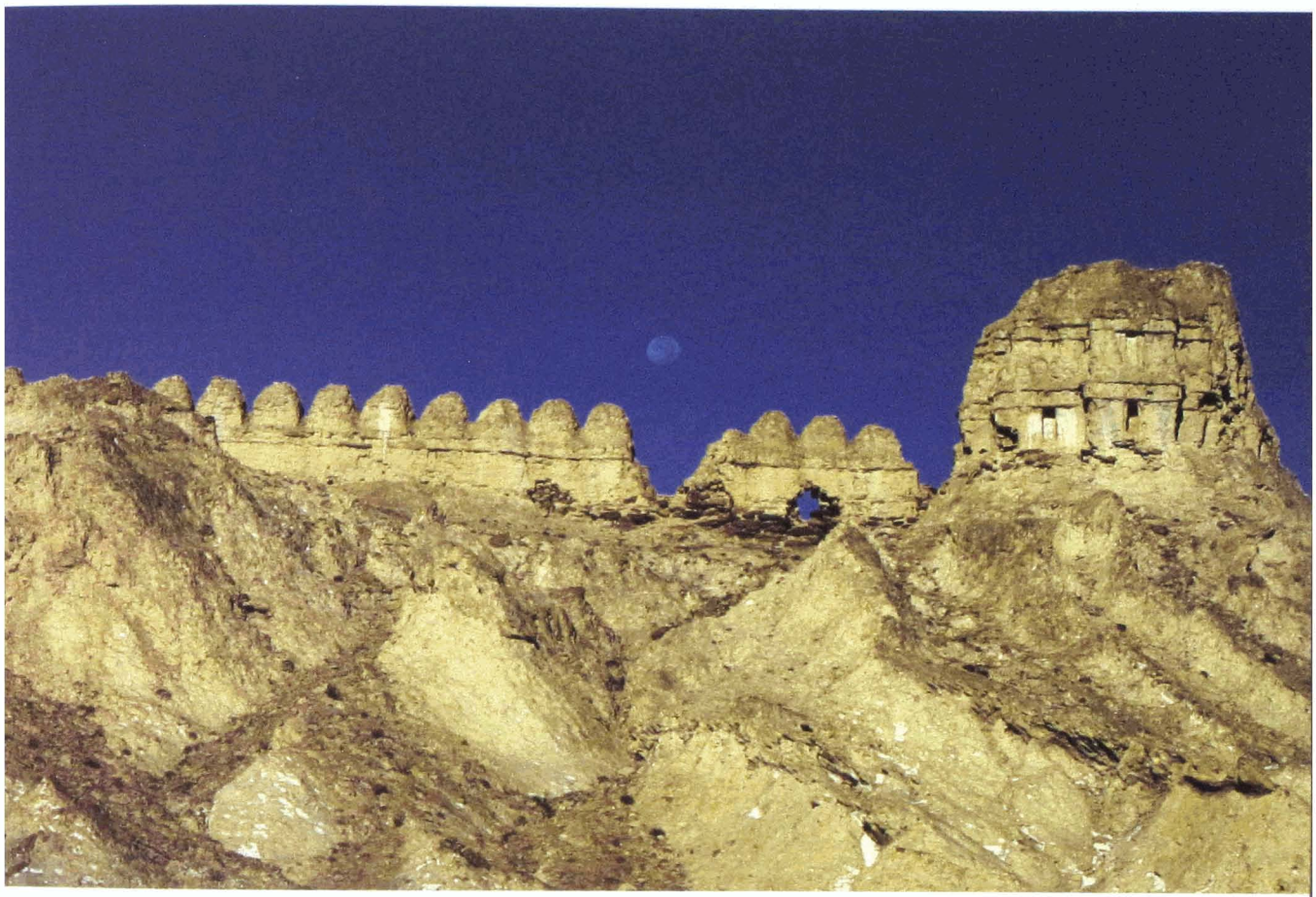
15. *Prajñāpāramitā book cover*
Pigments on wood, 72x23 cm, Tibet, late eleventh to twelfth century, private collection
Perhaps the quintessential factor in the transplantation of Buddhism from India to Tibet was the enormous labor of translation of scriptures. While the texts were in the hands of translation teams, already artists were working on the decoration of book covers. The format of Tibetan manuscripts varied considerably during this period of the first translation, but by the eleventh century, a characteristic Tibetan shape and format had been defined, relatively corresponding to this cover's dimensions. The central Bodhisattva may be identified as Prajñāpāramitā by virtue of her attribute of the book held in her upper left hand. This probably indicates that this cover was destined for a manuscript of the Prajñāpāramitā literature, one of the most important liturgical cycles first translated into Tibetan during the eighth and early ninth century. Prajñāpāramitā is surrounded by the Buddha of the Ten directions, and two Bodhisattvas in the gesture of reverence, añjali mudrā. The large leaf tendrils are rythmically alternated, in a simple motif, also found on inscribed Tibetan book covers of similar format and liturgical intention, attributed to the late eleventh to early twelfth century, where Tibetan inscriptions describe the style of representation as "Indian" (Stoddard 1998). This correponds to the style identified by inscription at Yemar, as "painting in the Indian manner made by [the Tibetan painter] Gyeltsen grags". The Buddhas of the Yemar mural paintings are represented with the head inside an ovoid halo, with high curved uṣṇīṣa, and small curls at the periphery of the hair (figs. 79, 81) (Lo Bue 1998; Tucci 1988). This distinctive shape of uṣṇīṣa and hairline were also used by painters at Grathang towards the end of the eleventh century (fig. 76 bis). Such examples allow us to understand what was the Tibetan perception of an Indian influenced style at the close of the eleventh century. The throne of Prajñāpāramitā, its animal supports, lobed arch draped with garlands of jewels, and the raised hoops at the edge of the ovoid halo are all noteworthy characteristics of the Pāla artistic vocabulary which persisted in Tibet long after the fall of the Pāla dynasty in India.
Lit.: Lo Bue 1998; Singer 1998; Stoddard 1998; Tucci 1988, IV.1: 137.

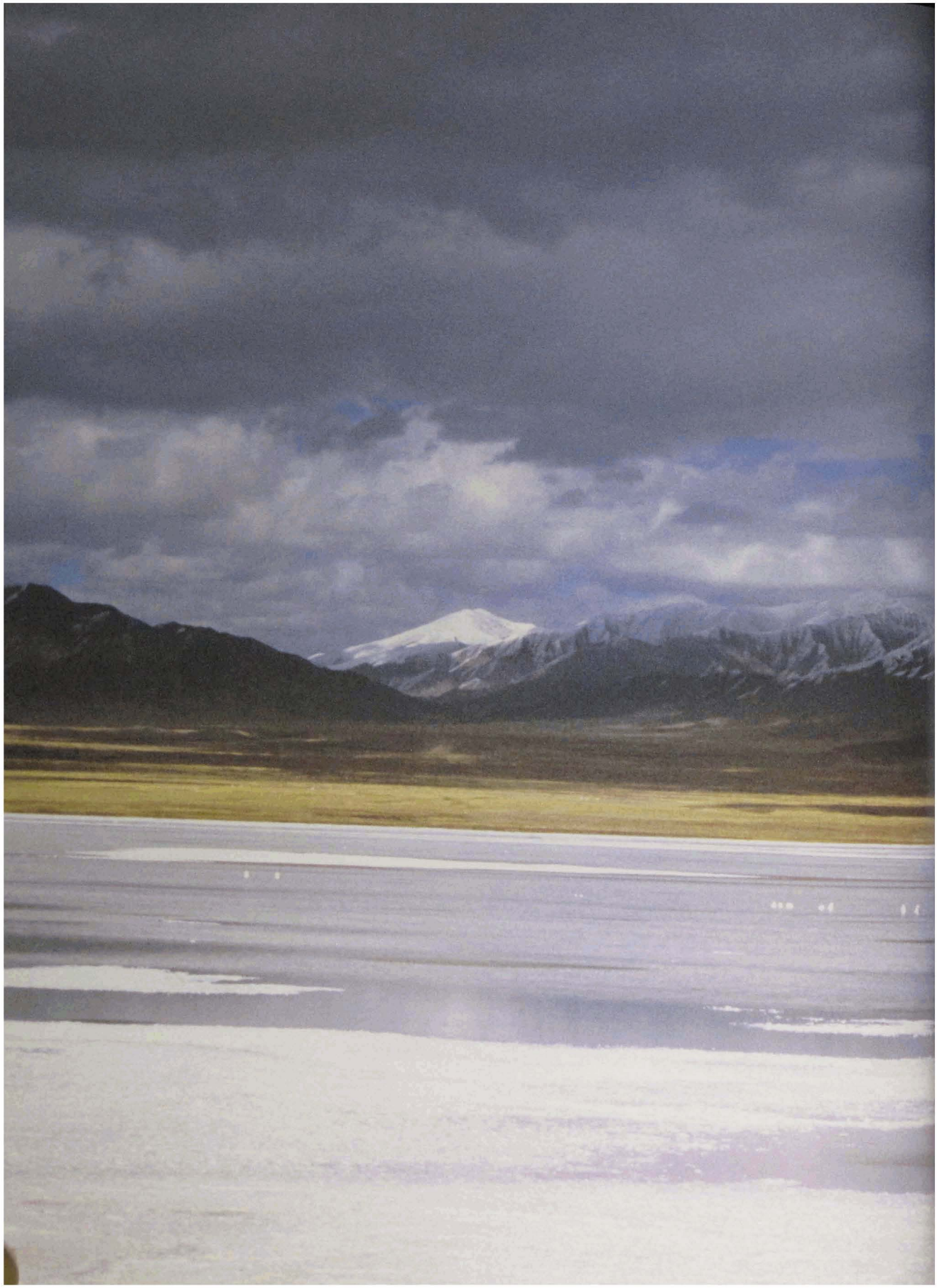


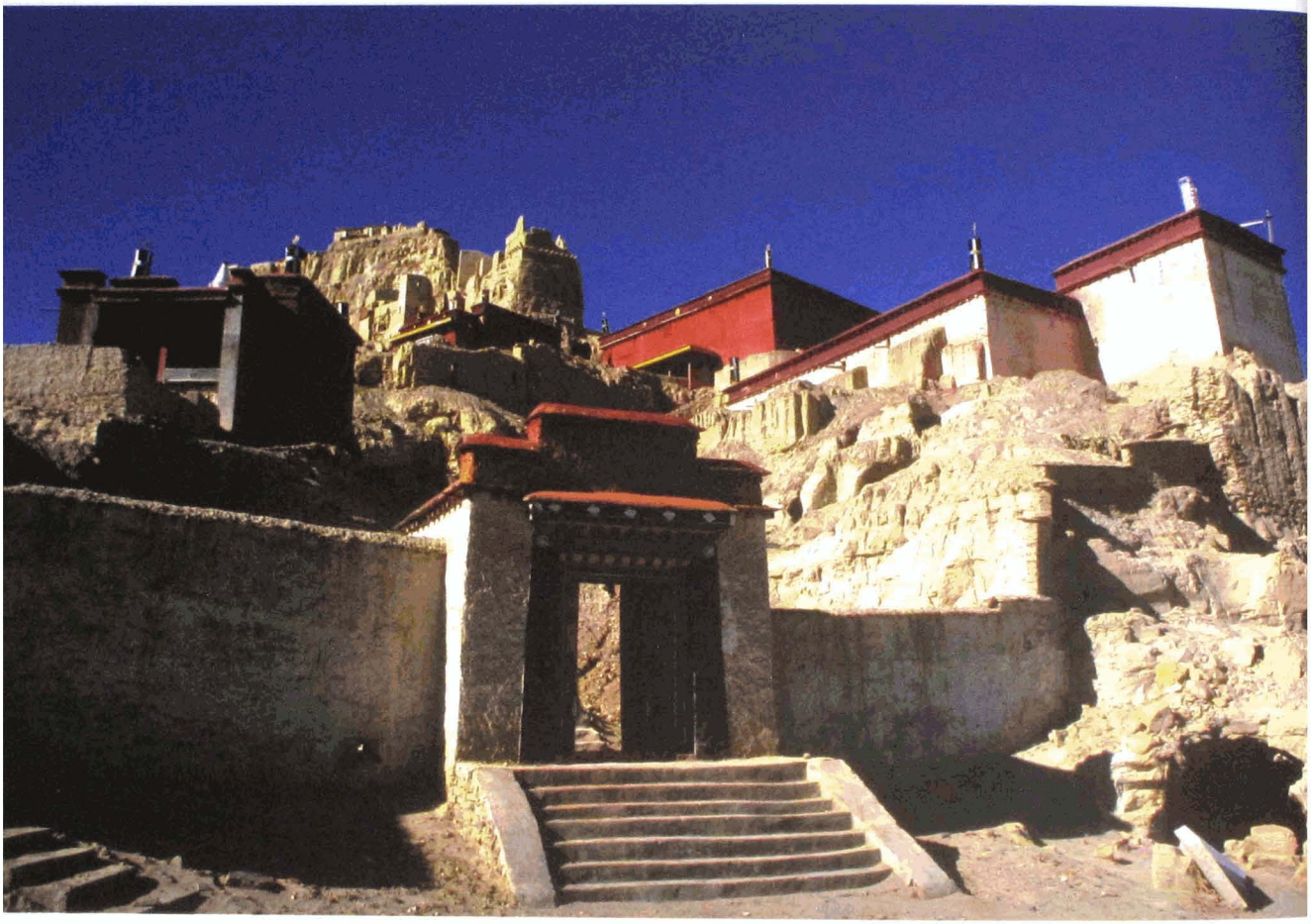


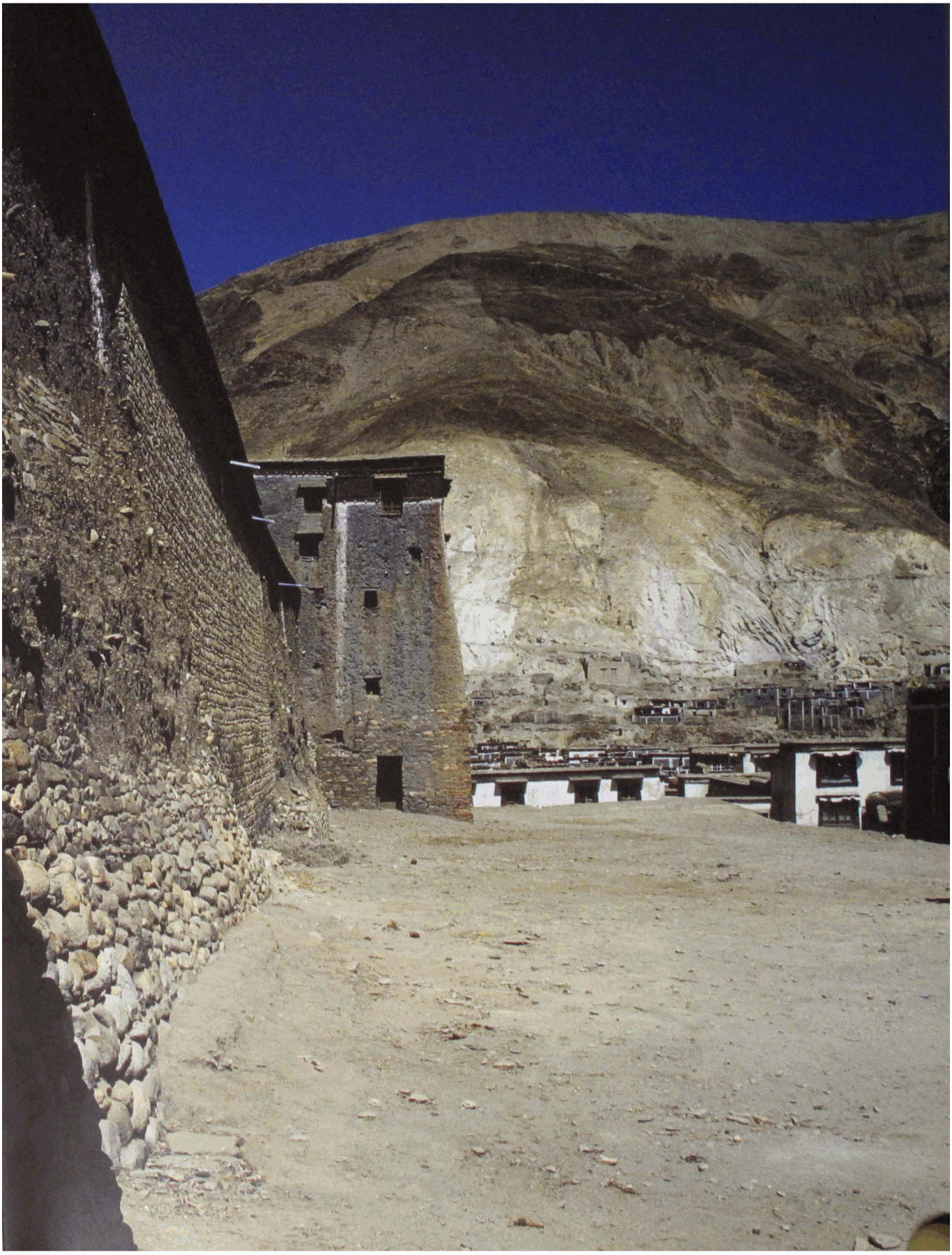


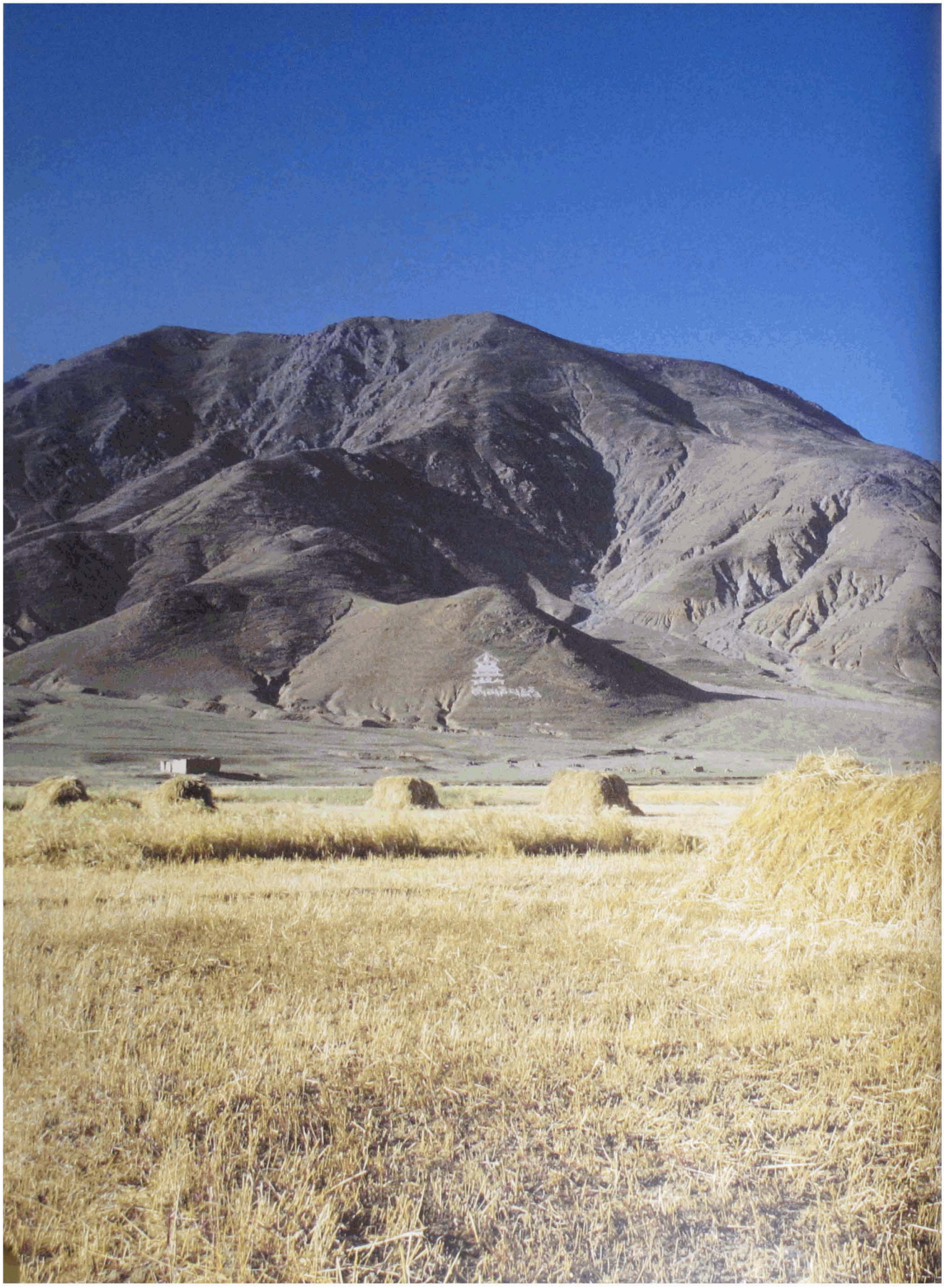


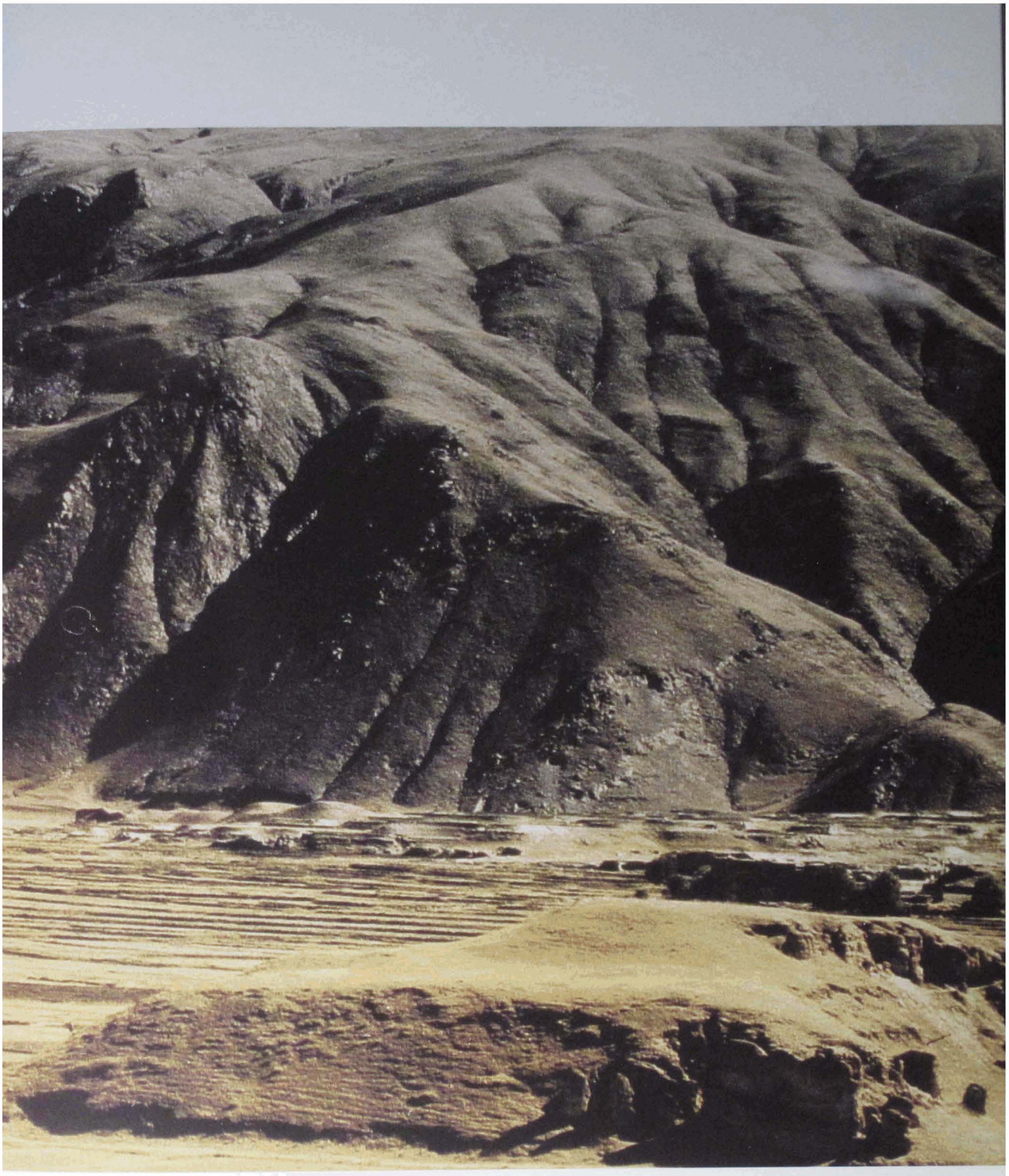












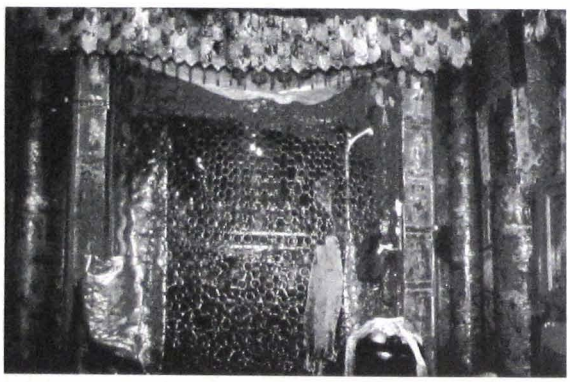
India was the matrix of Buddhism but it is probable that Tibetans first encountered Buddhism through trade with their immediate neighbours Nepal and China during the first half of the seventh century. The Buddhism then popular in Nepal emphasized the cult of the stūpa, a reminder of the reliquary holding the physical remains of Śākyamuni, the cult of Śākyamuni as a teacher as well as the cult of certain Bodhisattvas as saviours of Nepal and of all mankind. However, the Nepalese kings and their court officially practiced Hinduism, while supporting the coexistence of Buddhist temples within their dominion; individual kings even founded Buddhist monasteries. A famous example is the description of the King Narendradeva (ca. 650) wearing a gold belt with a Buddha, but ruling in the name of Hinduism[15]. To what extent did this provide a model which the Tibetans could follow? Their own royal cult was far too entrenched to now be dislodged by the foreign religion. Chinese traders and pilgrims expounded similar ideas, but rather than Hinduism, Buddhism coexisted in China with a strong cult of the ancestors and a cult of the emperor derived from the philosophy of Confucius stipulating the emperor as the center of the universe. There had been a wave of Indian masters in northern China during the seventh century who had actively promoted Buddhism at the Chinese court at the behest of the Emperor. Indian canons of esthetics are documented in some Dunhuang caves decorated during this period. Already in India, there was a conflation of three distinct concepts linking the nation-state, Śākyamuni and Vairocana Buddha: 1) Śākyamuni's discourse where he initially 'set the wheel of dharma in motion', 2) the Buddhist legend of the Cakravartin, whose name literally means "the wheel (cakra) turning ruler", whose very sovereignty serves to establish social harmony and ensures utopia, and 3) Vairocana, the "resplendent" central Buddha whose emblem s are the wheel and the lion (see color plate 16). The concept of the Cakravartin certainly coincided with the position attributed to the Tibetan sovereign according to Tibetan royal cults. Vairocana was also considered in some liturgy as source and regulator of the cosmos, again a parallel with certain beliefs about the Tibetan (and Chinese) rulers as guarantor of prosperity for society and human justice.

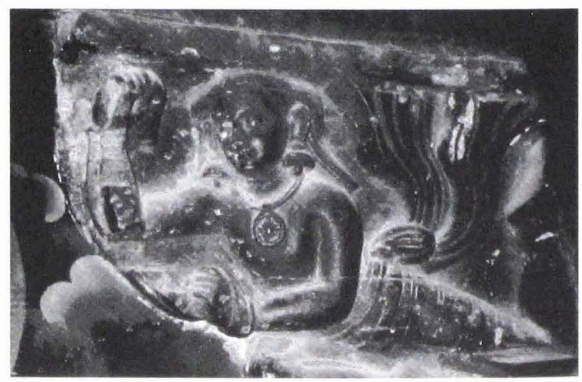
3. The esthetics of Buddhist art in Tibet during the Pugyel dynasty

Thus the Tibetan Tsenpo ruled in the guise of their ancestral religious cult, while simultaneously showing increasing support of Buddhism in central Tibet and in the extensive territories of the Tibetan Empire. The Lhasa temple traditionally is attributed to the mid-seventh century and to the influence of the Tsenpo's Nepalese wife. The carvings on ancient door lintels indeed reveal clear Nepalese esthetic influence. There is reason to believe a Nepalese colony lived in Lhasa during the seventh century, and conceivably some members remained in Tibet, for again in the eighth century Nepalese artisans are documented in Tibet. Were the wood carvings in the Lhasa temple made in the seventh century or early eighth century? For now it is not known. Likewise, we may never know whether this may be related to the presence of Nepalese artists working in Tibet or possibly due to Tibetan artists following Nepalese styles, learned during their excursions to India via Nepal. Indeed, there are also several ancient doorways in this Lhasa temple which closely recall Indian models, especially those of the cave temples at Ajantā, in western India near Mumbai. Certainly there were Indian teachers in Tibet, perhaps there were Indian artists as well? The Gupta style of clinging fabrics prevailed in sixth century India (see color plate 17) but fully arrived in Nepal about a century later, with similar factors intervening in the spread of this style to Tibet. If actual documentation is lacking for Buddhism in Tibet during the seventh century, by the eighth century, there is increasing evidence of foreign pilgrims passing through Lhasa, of practice of Buddhism in individual temples, translation of texts, and Buddhist images given as tribute to the Tsenpo in Lhasa. We have already mentioned Śubhakarasiṃha, the Indian Buddhist teacher who traveled from cen-

19. Ajantā cave temple doorway, fifth to sixth century, India.
The architectural model of the doorway as well as the iconography of standing couples of deities at the entrance to the temple influenced temple architecture far beyond the Ajantā region. Although no contemporary examples survive in Nepal today, the most ancient chapels of Lhasa Jokhang temple follow this model of doorway.

tral India to Kashmir and then crossed central Tibet to arrive in China in 716. Other Indian and Kashmiri teachers are traditionally believed to have settled in Tibet. At this time, among the brides of the Tsenpo, a Chinese princess actively promoted Buddhism in Lhasa and sheltered foreign pilgrims and teachers. Buddhism was flourishing in most of the territories occupied by the Tibetans. With each foreign matrimonial alliance, as local products were brought in tribute to Lhasa, so too were Buddhist icons. To cement peace with Gilgit, when a Tibetan princess was married to the ruler of Gilgit in 740, missions from Gilgit to Tibet transported Indian silks and spices as well as local saffron, silver and gold[16]. Although the Tibetan occupation of Gilgit was brief, small clay *ex-voto* found in recent excavations of Tibetan tombs reflect the influence of Kashmir or Gilgit – but again, possibly these were local production made from molds manufactured outside Tibet, in Kashmir, or perhaps in Khotan where an eighth century Kashmiri statue was recovered during archeological excavations[17] (see fig. 25). The Kashmiri kingdom was renowned for extensive commissions of both Buddhist and Hindu art. Although no paintings or manuscripts of this era have survived, the Kashmiri sculptors were highly accomplished in modeling and casting images, harmoniously sensuous and spiritually inspiring. The statues of Buddha from Kashmir emphasize





20. Gaṇa sculpted in wood as base of pillar opposite Lhasa Jokhang chapel, height 60 cm, seventh to eighth century. This pillar is probably contemporary with the original construction of the Lhasa temple.

21. Apsara-gandharva couple sculpted on wood lintel at entrance of central chapel of the Jowo Rinpoche, 25x12 cm, seventh to eighth century. These lintels are hidden behind the textiles above the doorway to the main chapel.

22. Carved wooden lintel depicting an episode of the Amitāyurdhyāna sūtra, 25x12 cm, seventh to eighth century.

23. Doorway entrance to chapel of the Jowo inside the Lhasa Jokhang, seventh to eighth century. The wooden doorway closely follows Indian architectural models sculpted in the rock at Ajantā.

24. Apsara on wood capital near Lhasa Jokhang chapel, 60x45 cm, seventh to eighth century. The Licchavi period Nepalese costume, jewelry, and body proportions are very pronounced in this capital.

personal fortitude and physical strength by athletic, muscular torso, while the variety of facial expressions, and lavish or gently rippling folds of the garments, display masterful workmanship (see color plates 22-23). Elaborate nimbus and bases of sculpture are characteristic, with attendants, animals, and offerings of tribute. In Kashmiri Buddhism of eighth to ninth century, the principal subjects were the male Bodhisattva, the Buddha Śākyamuni and Vairocana, the stūpa, all subjects with which the Tibetans were by then familiar (see color plate 16). The small group of Tibetans in Lhasa interested in Buddhism had been progressively increasing in size, to such an extent that in 779, the Tsenpo by official decree declared support for the Buddhist community upon the occasion of the consecration of Samye, the first Tibetan monastery.

The construction of Samye is an architectural expression of the ideal Buddhist universe. The monastery was designed on the model of the Odantapuri and Vikramaśīla temples in India. At the entrance, a stone elephant statue, the head and legs in sway (see color plate 19). The central temple of Samye represents Mount Meru, the mythical mountain at the center of the universe which is the axis mundi, surrounded by four continents, represented by four principal temples, for each of the cardinal directions. The intermediary directions are represented as well as the sun and the moon. The entire monastery is surrounded by a circular wall. The architects and artisans were Tibetan and Nepalese, but it is known that the first seven Tibetan monks were living under the guidance of Buddhist scholars from India, and later teachers from China, and Korea as well.

The style of construction of the center temple reflects these influences: the ground floor with statues of Śākyamuni Buddha surrounded by a group of Bodhisattvas was the Tibetan floor; the middle level was the Chinese floor, and the upper floor, dedicated to Vairocana Buddha and his eight Bodhisattva attendants was the Indian floor. The first abbot of Samye was an Indian Buddhist scholar, followed by a Tibetan of a noble family who traveled in Sichuan and upon his return, promoted and translated texts of the Korean Master Kim, whose followers had established hermitages near Chengdu[18]. The interest aroused by Chinese and Korean Buddhism resulted in the invitation to Samye of some Chinese masters from Dunhuang around 790. It is quite probable that these foreign monks left a strong conceptual imprint on the types of Buddhism then practiced at Samye, and probably in all of central Tibet. However, they were part of a much broader context of translation of Buddhist texts. It has now been proven that the translations accomplished during eighth to ninth century in Tibet amounted to a tremendous proportion of the full Tibetan Buddhist canon. The statistics of this initial period are im-

25. Kashmiri statue of Buddha, brass, height 42 cm, seventh to eighth century, excavated in Domoko, Khotan, and now conserved in the Khotan Museum. Earlier in this century, Sir Aurel Stein discovered small clay votive plaques (tsha.tsha) near Domoko, now in the collections of the British Museum (OA MAS 474). The Tibetan occupation of this region stretched from the late seventh on and off until the mid-ninth century.

26. Tibetan charm against evil recovered during excavations of a Tibetan sanctuary at Dulan, ca. 750-850. Ink drawing on camel skull, length ca. 40 cm, Qinghai Archeological Institute. The invocations are written in Tibetan language. In the center of the charm, the anthropomorphic demon is bound at the feet and hands to symbolize his submission. Such charms continue to be used in Tibetan Buddhist rituals to the present day, now drawn on paper.

27-28. Side view and front view of Tibetan Buddhist book cover, wood, 66x19.5 cm, Tibet, radio-carbon dated to mid-ninth century, Carlo Cristi Collection.
The front design of the book cover represents eight lotus petals forming three Wheels of the Dharma, while the side edge has a Buddha seated inside two columns of a temple archway, his hands carved in a mudrā specific to Vairocana Buddha. The Buddha is flanked by two animals, perhaps lions or vyāla creatures. The format of this cover corresponds to the shape of Indian books which the Tibetans adapted for their manuscripts, but enlarged the scale.

29-31. Votive tablets (tsha.tsha) *excavated from Dulan sanctuary, Tibet, ca. 750-850, Qinghai Archeological Institute.*
The small round amulets (diameter 2.5 cm) are molded and imprinted with Buddhist prayers. The script is probably Kharoṣṭi, an Indian alphabet used as of the third century in northwest India, yet also used on Bactrian, Indo-parthian and Indo-scythian coins which circulated widely in central Asia. The larger tsha.tsha *(ca. 7 cm) represent a seated male Bodhisattva beside a stūpa and a Buddha in samādhi mudrā. Probably made from an Indian mold imported to Dulan from central Tibet or Dunhuang, the ovoid halo, iconometry and āsana all reflect the imprint of India, late Gupta-early Pāla esthetics (cf. Huntington and Huntington 1990: plates 53-55), known in Tibet due to Nepalese artists and Indian Buddhist masters teaching and translating in Dunhuang and central Tibet during the eighth to ninth century.*

pressive: 900 texts translated, by 80 translators, of which at least 40 were foreign Buddhist scholars then in residence in Tibet[19]. While the majority were Indians, Nepalese, and Kashmiri masters translating Buddhist texts from Sanskrit, some Indian yogins may also have been orally transmitting Buddhist tantric tradition. In addition, a few Chinese Buddhist texts as well as Central Asian texts were translated and in some cases included in the Tibetan canonical compendia.

Early ninth century images of Vairocana from Eastern Tibet allow us to understand the esthetics and the liturgies then esteemed by the Tibetans.

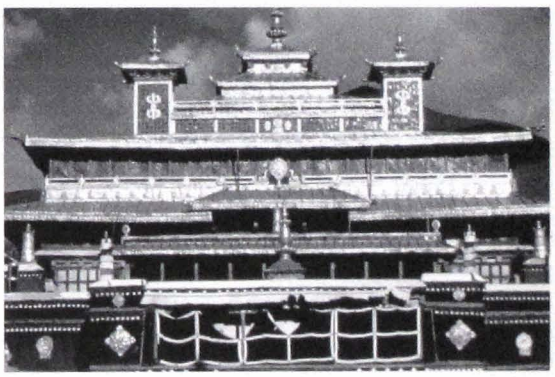
The Mahāvairocana-Sūtra was translated into Chinese ca. 724 and translated into Tibetan ca. 780[20]. This text proposed Vairocana as a central Buddha, with two Bodhisattva attendants. Vairocana is described as resplendent, brilliant gold in color, seated in a position of meditation with his hands in a gesture of equipoise. He wears a crown, jewelry, and robes. This description resembling that of a prince is related to the religious concept of the Body of the Buddha. The nature of Buddha is believed to be beyond form and beyond description; this is the Dharmakāya, the body of the sacred Dharma, the Buddhist teachings. To allow representation of the essence of Buddha, two other concepts were accepted: the body of Bliss, the Sambhogakāya, likened to that of a sovereign, and the body of Manifestation, the Nirmāṇakāya, the transformation into human scale as a monk. The Bodhisattvas were represented in the body of Bliss, as was the Buddha in specific circumstances. Vairocana is surrounded by a group of eight male Bodhisattvas in two of the earliest surviving Buddhist sculptures in Tibet, and in contemporary Tibetan Buddhist liturgies recovered from Dunhuang. This group of eight great Bodhisattvas may remind the faithful of the eight fold path leading to Enlightenment. Although it is not yet determined from which specific liturgy the Tibetans first translated their praises, ancient manuscripts document the cult of Vairocana and the eight Bodhisattvas[21]. Alongside this cult, very simple ideas about rebirth and karma were transmitted as shown by this prayer carved in the cliff beneath the sculpture of Vairocana (see fig. 34):

> "Concerning the sūtra of the Noble Dharma, all sentient beings possess a mind for remembering and knowing Buddha-nature. As for this mind, it was not made by a creator, or gods, and it is not born of a father and mother. Having obtained the human body, this mind was there from beginningless time. Likewise, it will not die at the end (of human life). If this mind practices virtue vastly, and does things favorable to all, giving noble Dharma and purifying itself, after having liberated itself from birth and old age, illness and death, it will attain supreme happiness, behaving as Bodhisattva and realizing Buddhahood. If there is practice of virtue and vice alternatively, there is birth in the realms of gods and men. And if the majority of activities are non-virtuous and sinful, there will be birth in hell with continuous

(continued on p. 49)

32. Samye monastery complex, consecrated in 779 A.D. Constructed according to the plan of an Indian temple, the monastery replicates the plan of a maṇḍala. The outer circumference is circular wall, the main building is in the center, and the four large differently shaped stūpas (mchod. rten) appear at the four directions, as do various subsidiary temples.

33. Samye, Utsé (main temple), consecrated in 779 A.D. The three levels of this temple are believed to be representative of three schools of Buddhist art present in Tibet when Samye was built. The iconographic scheme of the levels was Tibetan, then Chinese, and Indian style. Although the original building was destroyed by fire, it was restored several times over the centuries according to the original plan.



THE INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM TO TIBET (SEVENTH-NINTH CENTURY)

16. *Torana of the Wheel of the Dharma*
Brass, traces of red polychrome, height 22 cm, Kashmir, sixth to seventh century, private collection.
This is a torana, literally a ceremonial gateway, which would have been placed behind a small statue of the Buddha, and attached to the image at the level of the two rectangular openings of the back. The small stūpa at the apex of the torana, in which the Buddha's remains are enshrined, is a reminder of the Buddha's role as the physical presence on earth of the Dharma, the sacred teachings. The circle of flames and the the wheel with eight spokes are symbolic of the spread of the Dharma teachings which are encapsulated in the eight-fold path. The small human figure and the stūpa are eloquent signs of the sophisticated quality of Kashmiri works of art of the seventh century, and which are somewhat more diminutive than sculptures of the eighth to ninth centuries. Tibet subjugated Gilgit and Baltistan as of 710 A.D., and such objects perhaps first arrived in Tibet as part of diplomatic missions in the early eighth century. However, even if this statue was found in Tibet, it is possible that it was brought from Khotan, where a Kashmiri sculpture of a Buddha on lion-throne was excavated bearing an inscription datable to ca. 750 (fig. 25). Or possibly, this image traveled from Kashmir through several Tibetan oasis along the silk route such as Dulan, in northeast Tibet where small votive clay tablets (*tsha.tsha*) bearing inscriptions in a language used in Kashmir have been excavated from ancient tombs (fig. 29). At the base of the torana, the finely modeled female devotee, whose hands join in a gesture of reverence, is dressed in accord with Kashmiri women's costume of a lower garment wrapped like a skirt, and a scarf of light silk draped about the shoulders. Her piled chignon with high braids also reflects Kashmiri fashion. Her posture is distinctive. This very direct déhanchement, which divides the body in two, rather than three points, as in the later tribhaṅga position, point clearly to early Kashmiri origins, possibly sixth to seventh century.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Pal 1975.

17. *Buddha*
Brass, copper and silver inlay, ca. 20 cm, Kashmir, sixth-seventh century, private collection
This statue of Śākyamuni Buddha is a characteristic example of some early Kashmiri images of Buddha brought to Tibet via commercial and diplomatic missions during the Pugyel dynasty. The use of precious metals is believed to enhance the spiritual presence of the religious image, such as the silver inlay of the eyes, the copper inlay of the thin mouth, offer a concrete analogy of spiritual value, while the long ear lobes and uṣṇīṣa protuberance from the top of the head are among the 32 sacred signs of the Buddha body. The typical alloy in pre-eighth century Kashmiri metal sculpture was a kind of brass which gives the dull golden color. The hands' large proportions emphasize the varada mudrā (gesture of giving) of the proper right hand, and the delicate gesture of the left hand which clasps the upper edge of the garment. The almond eyes with black pupils are typical of a Kashmiri facial type for masculine deities even in later centuries. The robe clings to the body in concentric folds, emphasizing the fullness of the body. The treatment of the robe's hem panel as if concentric folds of a separate fabric panel is repeated in later Kashmiri statues, notably the Buddha of Nāgarāja now in the Cleveland Museum (Pal 1975: plate 26). The body proportions conform to an iconometric standard which may be regional, found in Kashmir and Gilgit. The incised and raised lines of the robe with a wide neckline are also quite typical of Kashmir at this time, following the Indian Gupta esthetic of the fourth to sixth century where the robes fall in parallel folds from the shoulders. The statue now has no base, showing how the Buddha was separately cast.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Pal 1975; Reedy 1997.

18. *Buddha*
Copper, height 30 cm, Nepal, eighth-ninth century, private collection
This small statue allows appreciation of the elegant tradition of Newar casting of the eighth and ninth centuries where a high proportion of copper in the alloy was employed. The slender build and pure lines of the garment and body are frequently found in Nepalese sculpture where the standing position of the tribhaṅga position (literally "triple bend", at shoulder, hip and knee) became quite popular. The gentle expression of the face with half-closed eyes reflects Newar interest during the Licchavi period in rendering the Buddha as an epitome of non-violence. The double layer of wide lotus petals with three incised lines is documented in many images of this period. At the neck, matte gilding is still visible, indicative that this image at one point was worshipped in Tibet. It was Tibetan practice to re-consecrate images under certain circumstances, at which time gold paint would have been re-applied periodically. Formerly, the image had an aureole which has been broken, fragments of the narrow struts of the aureole extend above the lotus pedestal.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Pal 1985; Reedy 1997: N226, N227.

19-21. *Samye monastery*
19. *Elephant*
Stone, height ca. 75 cm, base 20 cm, Samye monastery, ca. 779 A.D.
This elephant is one of two who stand at the gateway to Samye (bSam.yas). The elephant wears a caparison and is draped with jewels. Elephants were as symbolic in India of sovereignty consequently they were understood as an emblem of Buddhism. A swaying elephant was used as decoration for the base of an inscribed stone carved during the eighth century east of Samye (Heller 1998c: fig. 51). The model of this elephant may come from contemporaneous Nepalese coins (figs. 9-10). During the Pugyel dynasty, there was much commercial exchange with Nepal, where minted coins were decorated with lions or walking elephants, draped in caparison or garlands, as of 625 A.D. (Rhodes et al. 1989: plates 1-5, 79 different coins). The extant lion statues of the eighth to ninth century tombs certainly document a Tibetan tradition of stone carving at this time. Thus, although the earliest historical descriptions of the construction of Samye do not mention these elephants, this statue may have been part of the original decoration at the consecration of bSam.yas in 779 A.D.
Lit.: Heller 1998c; Rhodes et al. 1989.

20. *Samye stele (rdo.ring)*
Stone, height ca. 180 cm
21. *Roof of ceramic tile*
Stone pillars approximately two meters in height, with decorated base and capital, were used during the Pugyel dynasty to inform the public of the establishment of four possible events: construction of a royal tomb, decrees of treaty or of territorial grants to ministers or aristocrats, foundation of a temple or monastery, and as border markers between nations or defining limits of a principality and territorial rights thereon. Such stones are called in Tibetan literally "long stones", doring. Today there are perhaps fifteen examples known of such stele in central Tibet as well as in western Tibet and in the northeast near the Kokonor lake, in the extensive areas

which used to be part of the Tibetan empire. The letters on the doring demonstrate good carving skills, the words and syntax provide evidence of the Tibetan language and vocabulary in use from eighth to tenth century, while the decorative motifs of the capitals and bases document designs with cultural significance at this time. The Samye doring stands on an oval, lotus base, similar to that of many Buddhist images. It has a neat canopy, surmounted by a crescent and disc – the Buddhist symbols of air and ether, which appear together as a finial on many styles of Tibetan stūpas. However, the finial may have been restored after the initial carving of the doring at the foundation of Samye in 779 A.D. (Richardson 1998: 229, plate 11).
The shape of the doring canopy is echoed by that of the roof in a nearby chapel. These tiles were recently added as part of a restoration of the entire Samye monastery ca. 1986. Archeological excavations nearby have revealed shards of baked ceramic pottery and tiles dating from the Pugyel dynasty. For now, it cannot yet be determined precisely when Samye was decorated in this fashion, because during later periods, ceramic roof tiles were also imported from China to Tibet. The three storey architecture of Samye is held to represent Tibetan, Chinese and Indian styles of Buddhist art then practiced in Tibet. At the time of the initial construction, Samye was set inside a circular wall, resembling a maṇḍala, based on the plan of an Indian temple (figs. 32-33).
Lit.: Richardson 1998.

22. *Buddha*
Brass, silver inlay, height 34 cm, Gilgit or Kashmir, dated by inscription to early eighth century, private collection
This crowned Buddha is seated on his lion throne, as befitting the universal sovereign with whom the Buddha is identified. The inscription has been read to give the date of early eighth century (Fussman 1991). The letters are incised on the base beneath the lotus pedestal and beneath the cushion on the bench of the enthroned Buddha. The robe still bears the concentric rings and wide collar of the earlier models of robe. The full oval face by the eighth century presents a more stylized shape of the almond eyes, again with black pigment inlay at the pupil, yet even further delineated as if with kohl surrounding the eye. There is also a silver dot between the brows, the ūrṇā of the Buddha, a special tuft of hair between his eyebrows, one of the 32 lakṣaṇas, great characteristics, marking his physical nature. Yet the ūrṇā is ultimately symbolic of a third eye, which is sometimes symbolically interpreted as vision of the past, present and future. The crown and jewelry are the marks of the Body of Bliss, the Sambhogakāya, in which a Buddha or Bodhisattva is represented in royal apparel to further emphasize the supranormal qualities of divinity. The elaborate crown with silver beading recalls the historic description of the Kashmiri sovereign whose crown "was studded with lustrous pearls iridescent like the top of a row of hoods" (Pandit, Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, 1968: 206, quoted in Pal, 1975: 34). The floret at temples is characteristic of the Kashmiri crowns of this period. The small twists of fabric which extend from the crown and drape to shoulder level are derived from the *pativ*, a Persian emblem of royalty adapted by the Kashmiri Buddhists. The right hand makes the varada gesture of generosity and the left loosely clasps the edge of the monastic robe.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Fussman 1991; Pal 1975.

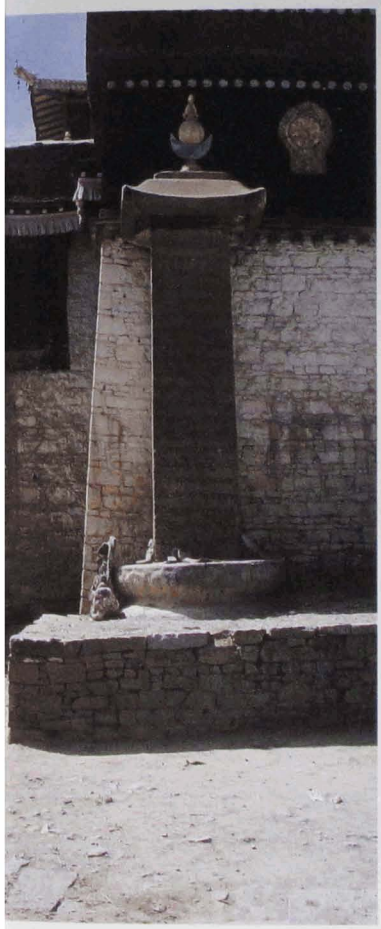
23. *Toraṇa*
Silver, with etched drawing on brass plaque, height 35 cm, Kashmir, eighth century, private collection
This intricately carved toraṇa would have been placed behind a sculpture, probably that of Buddha Śākyamuni who is represented in an etched carving in the cental panel of the toraṇa. Śākyamuni is represented seated in lotus position, his right hand in the bhūmisparśa gesture, where he called the earth to witness his complete equipoise. Śākyamuni had been meditating when evil Mārā transformed his daughters into beautiful dancing girls and sent them to entice the Buddha. Perceiving the illusion, the Buddha remained in perfect composure, completely disregarding their seductive advances. Lowering his hand to the ground, symbolic of the ground of enlightenment, he showed his victory over all the demons of illusion. The Buddha's hair is styled in small curls, the uṣṇiṣa very pronounced. His robes are rendered as if in ripples of fabric defined in concentric rings (also seen in plates 17 and 22). In this etching, Śākyamuni is seated on a bench underneath which two devotees kneel to present offerings. The clothing of the royal female devotee is typical of Kashmiri garments of a translucent blouse, a scarf draped over the shoulders extending to the wrists. Holding a flute, the male devotee wears the short dhoti with horizontally striped fabrics, and a scarf similar to his partner. Immediately beyond Śākyamuni and the devotees, the sculpted throne actually begins. The throne supports have small dwarfs climbing at the base, a kinnara (half-female, half-bird goddess) crouches at the top of the pillar and two royal devotees kneel in hommage to present offerings. Flowers surmount the ovoid halo defining the Buddha's head, then a row of curling leaf tendrils, then a row of flames, symoblic of the supernatural radiance of Śākyamuni's aura. At the apex, the leaves and branches of the Bodhi tree complete this composition.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Pal 1975.

24. *Maṇḍala of Avalokiteśvara*
Paint ink and colors on silk, 142.5x87 cm, eighth to ninth century, Musée Guimet MG 26466
This painting on silk represents a Tibetan style of painting as known in the oases of central Asia when under the sovereignty of the Tibetan empire. Esthetically, this painting bears a strong Indian imprint. Indian masters had been teaching in Dunhuang and the Chinese capital throughout the eighth century, their presence in central Tibet is also documented during the eighth century (Hodge 1994). Although the Tibetan manuscript which describes the maṇḍala of Amoghapāśa is very succinct, it allows identification of all nine deities represented. At center, an aspect of Avalokiteśvara, recognizable by two his right hands, one of which holds the lotus and the other forms the boon-bestowing gesture, the varada mudrā. The left hands appear to hold a noose and a fruit, both of which are usually attributes of the six-handed aspect of Avalokiteśvara named Amoghapāśa, he of the unfailing noose. As Avalokiteśvara-Amoghapāśa gazes upon the world with his eyes of compassion, he loosens the noose to save sentient beings from unfortunate rebirths. In the four corners, are the four offering goddesses. All four goddesses wear a translucent garment horizontally draped across their breasts, while the two white male deities wear a similar fabric draped diagonally across the torso, leaving one arm free. To the right of Amoghapāśa is Hayagrīva, a protective manifestation of the Lotus family, holding club and lotus, his head distinguished by the horse-head in his crown. The blue deity above may be Mahābala, he of great strength, dark in color, bearing club, sword and noose. The white deity to his right is probably to be recognized as a forerunner of the most popular Tibetan form of Avalokiteśvara, associated with the mantra Oṃ Maṇi Padme Hūṃ, holding the prayer beads and lotus. At the feet of Amoghapāśa, the rotund yellow guardian wields a vajra and an elephant goad, holding the noose and a lotus stem in his other hands. In his turban, there is a small head of an animal with pointed snout, quite possibly a mongoose which is emblematic of the Indian god of wealth, named Kubera alias Jambhala. In later iconographies, the god of wealth holds a mongoose which spits jewels from its mouth as symbol of prosperity. The ritual which corresponds to the exact configuration of this painting has not yet been identified. The veneration of all these deities was prevalent during the early diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet, according to titles of rituals in the royal catalogue of texts translated in Tibet during the eighth to ninth century, and

certainly, at least fragmentary descriptions of all of these deities are known among Tibetan manuscripts recovered from Dunhuang.

It may never be possible to establish a complete correspondence with rituals extant today. However, the juxtaposition of vibrant colors, richly patterned fabrics, the well-defined modeling and body types, the delicate jewelry and emphasis of attributes demonstrate great familiarity with artistic representation of Buddhist rituals. Although this painting may date from the incipient phases of translation of Buddhist texts into Tibetan, certainly the painters displayed accomplished skill. It is important to note the direct correspondence to Indian styles of costume and jewelry, such as the rings on thumb and little fingers of the two forms of Avalokiteśvara.

Previously published: *Sérinde, Terre de Bouddha*, Paris 1995: 402-403, plate on p. 312. Lit.: Heller 1997a; Hodge 1994; Lalou 1953; de Mallmann 1986.



suffering. Therefore, in one's mind, there is (the seed) of Buddhahood and that of the beings in hell. If the mind experiences the nectar of the noble Dharma, it will obtain this land of liberation from all suffering and the state of great joy. For this reason, cherish the Sacred words of the Buddha..."[22].

The carvings on this rock demonstrate accomplished artistic skill. The composition is harmonious, divided into three registers, having a central panel flanked by two groups of four Bodhisattvas, aligned vertically beside the much larger Buddha in centre. Other texts carved in the rock detail the names of the artisans, Tibetan and possibly some Chinese, as well as the circumstances of the commission. These sculptures were made to accrue spiritual merit during the beginning of negotiations which in 822 A.D. resulted in the most important treaty between Tibet and China. They were carved at the behest of a highly influential abbot of the Khri ga monastery some 300 kilometers north, near the Kokonor, a man whose teachings were known in Dunhuang, in Samye and in Chengdu, combining esoteric tantric Buddhism and the philosophical tendencies of Mahāyāna. In these carvings, very slender body proportions and a graceful pose are emphasized, thus revealing the influence of Nepalese artists by the physiognomy as well as the costume of the Buddha with dhotī as if translucent gauze clinging to his legs. The Buddha is seated inside a canopy, within an oval halo with pointed apex, which is a throne model known particularly in paintings and sculptures from Dunhuang. The lions beneath the throne follow the Tibetan models seen earlier in the tomb lion sculptures.

Further north, at Beedo near Jyekundo, a temple has been built encompassing the base of a cliff on which a large statue of a seated Buddha is surrounded by eight standing Bodhisattvas, a commission of the same influential abbot, dating from 804. The iconography again represents Vairocana, but this time he is dressed in the robe and boots of a the Tibetan Tsenpo, visually documenting the conflation of the concept of the sovereign and the nature of the Buddha (see figs. 35-36).

The Bodhisattvas here are dressed identically. The Tibetan costume is rendered in very thick fabric, the folds gently draped one over the other, as if quilted fabric. It is possible that the sculpture is carved in the round in the rock but supplemented with stucco, as this technique is documented in ancient treatises[23]. Again texts are carved in the rock to explain the circumstances of creation, as well as liturgy.

34. Maṇḍala of Abhisambodhi Vairocana and eight Bodhisattvas, stone, height 350 cm, carved in 816 A.D. to commemorate start of negotiations leading to treaty between Tibet and China in 822 A.D. The inscribed dedicatory prayers in Tibetan language are a simple exposition of the doctrines of karma and rebirth.

35-36. Maṇḍala of Vairocana and eight Bodhisattvas, stone with clay infill, height of Vairocana ca. 150 cm, Beedo temple, carved in 804 or 806 A.D. Vairocana Buddha is represented here in the robe and boots of the Tibetan Tsenpo; the Bodhisattvas surrounding him also wear Tibetan garments typical of the Pugyel dynasty, but the fabric pattern of the robes are later repainting, and probably do not reflect the original fabric designs.

Opposite:

38. Rock carving of Bodhisattva attendant to Abhisambodhi Vairocana at Leb khog, height ca. 75 cm, early ninth century. This group of carvings is probably contemporary with the foundation of the Beedo temple which is not far from Leb khog.

39. Rock carving of Vajrasattva Buddha at Leb khog (detail), total height of carving ca. 75 cm, early ninth century. This Buddha is identified by his attributes of the vajra and bell. The simple ovoid halo, delicate facial features and flowing garments make this one of the finest early carvings extant today.

40. Rock carving of a stūpa, height ca. 50 cm, Leb khog, ca. early ninth century.

41. Rock carving of Abhisambodhi Vairocana, ca. 130 cm, Leb khog, early ninth century. This Buddha is represented underneath a carved canopy, seated on a lion throne. The inscription describes Vairocana and his two principal attendants Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi as a consecration of the horse year.

37. Portrait of King Geluofeng, stone, height 137 cm, Shizhongsi, Jianchuan, Yunnan Province, ninth century. The Tibetans conquered the Nanzhao kingdom in the eighth century and influenced their administrative customs. The king is portrayed wearing robes with double lapel very similar to the Tibetan Tsenpo, and to the robes of the Vairocana sculpture in the Beedo temple.

Here the quotation is from a famous sūtra, the Gaṇḍavyūha, which recounts the pilgrimage of a young man, his miraculous journey to successive sages and lands which culminates in Enlightenment represented by Vairocana Buddha.

This sūtra was popular in India and almost all of northern Asia, wherever Buddhism spread, as well as Indonesia where it inspired some of the bas-relief carvings of the Borobudur stūpa. In central Tibet, this sūtra was listed among those translated first. The subject matter lent itself very well for inspiration, and it remained popular in Tibet (cf. chapter two). The prayers culminating this sūtra are called the "practice of virtue generating enlightenment". Thus the text represented particularly well the idea of the words of the Buddha, and served as a consecration text, while the images representing Vairocana served to reinforce the idea of universal Buddha-nature accessible for all, thus generating the thought of enlightenment in each individual who enters the temple. For Buddhists, this model of words, image and thought which simultaneously combine is believed to encourage their natural innate propensity towards realizing the Buddha-nature of humanity. Thus the liturgy and images of the Gaṇḍavyūha in particular provided a model, and even the earliest temple of Lhasa may bear traces of various episodes of the Gaṇḍavyūha in some of the most ancient wooden lintels. These lintels are reminiscent of narrative carvings in stone on temples in India of the great sagas of Indian sacred and secular literature, such as the Rāmāyaṇa. Although today no such ancient carvings survive in Kathmandu, where numerous fires have destroyed all the early wooden temples, the narrative scenes on extant wood lintels show how the Kathmandu artists emulated the Indian friezes.

In the Lhasa temple, the model of narrative panels for decoration of lintels reflects the genre adopted from Indian architecture while the treatment of the subject, particular jewelry modes and body proportions, seem to show direct Nepalese influence as known from contemporary stone statues in Kathmandu as well as Nepalese bronzes.

Despite the presence of Indian and Chinese religious masters, Nepalese esthetic influence seems to predominate in the incipient Buddhist art in Tibet during the Pugyel dynasty (see color plate 18). To such an extent that some art commissions during and after the Tibetan occupation of the Silk Route integrate characteristics derived from Nepalese esthetics. The terrain had been prepared by the presence of Indian masters translating in the major oases of the Silk Route earlier in the seventh and eighth centuries. Indian compositions, techniques of application of pigment for modeling body contours, also costume styles and vegetal decorative motifs were known in Dunhuang and had been highly esteemed, then had rather fallen in popularity replaced by Chinese styles of faces and costumes.

The caves commissioned during the Tibetan occupation renew the Indian esthetic but adapt it by change of scale, and integration of Tibetan people as donor figures. There is a new emphasis on the Bodhisattva, as individuals or as group, in some cases of almost equal size as the Buddha.

While the Buddha is represented in static posture, the Bodhisattvas are juxtaposed in dynamic movement by varying hand and body positions. This type of composition will recur later in mural paintings in monasteries as well as thangka (portable paintings). Perhaps due to the integration of the cult of the ancestors with Buddhism in China, in addition to emphasis on Vairocana, there was strong Chinese interest in Amitābha Buddha, and rebirth in his paradise. Many Dunhuang mural paintings commissioned during the Tibetan occupation represent Amitābha in his paradise with Bodhisattva attendants. Several doctrinal texts devoted to worship of Amitābha as well as Avalokiteśvara, attendant Bodhisattva of Amitābha, were translated into Tibetan at this time which accounts for Tibetan portable paintings on this theme (see color plate 24). Tibetan influence abroad was not limited to the Silk Route, but extended further east through military campaigns and trade with kingdoms situated in modern Sichuan and Yunnan. The transmission of Tibetan esthetics may be supposed as well, in the light of mid-ninth century stone sculptures in Yunnan for the modeling and design of these

42. Stele from gTsang grong, across the river from Samye, height ca. 200 cm, mid to late ninth century (photograph by C. Bell, courtesy of the British Library). Abhisambodhi Vairocana on lotus pedestal is carved in the upper section, beneath an inscription of the Buddhist creed written in Tibetan letters.

robes in Yunnan clearly relates to the Tibetan Tsenpo's robes as known from paintings in Dunhuang and the Buddhist sculpture in Beedo.

By the ninth century, the Tsenpo decreed taxation of the nobility to support the monastic clergy, and included a monk among his councillors. As the monks' privileges increased, their power eroded the position of local aristocracy. Social discontent gradually led to the downfall of the dynasty culminating in the assasination of the Tsenpo in 842 A.D.

Records of this period are scanty, but later Tibetan histories affirm civil disorder in central Tibet until the tenth century. The Kokonor area was prosperous due to proximity to the Silk Route and sufficiently far from central Tibet for monastic life to flourish unimpeded. The traditional histories of Buddhism have affirmed that uninterrupted transmission of Buddhist teachings and monasticism was maintained in eastern Tibet, while scions of the Pugyel dynasty emigrated to western Tibet where they founded a new kingdom. The revival of Buddhism in central Tibet in mid-tenth century may be seen as the centripetal force emanating from the two peripheral zones towards the center, leading to a new phase in the development of Tibetan art and spirtuality.

NOTES

1 Demiéville 1987: 203.

2 A cache of ancient Tibetan manuscripts was immured in caves of the monastic establishment of Dunhuang, the major commercial oasis of the Silk Road, long occupied by the Tibetans from ca. 675-700 and again from ca. 780 to 866. These manuscripts are the earliest sources in Tibetan language for data on the Pugyel dynasty. The sculptures and paintings of more than 60 caves decorated during the Tibetan occupation allow us to understand the doctrines of Buddhism and the esthetic tendencies then practiced.

3 Cf. chapter two.

4 Tucci 1950; Haarh 1969; Huo Wei 1995; Heller, 1998c: 58-65.

5 Xu Xinguo 1995.

6 Backus 1981: 172-173.

7 According to the Chinese historical source Sui Shu (Annals of the Sui dynasty), cited by Beckwith 1987a: 17-18.

8 Hodge 1994: 67.

9 Trade described by Beckwith 1977: 89-104.

10 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Tibetan manuscript PT 1083.

11 Carter 1998.

12 Ierusalimskaia and Borkoff 1996: 114; Karmay 1977.

13 Heller 1998b: 95-118.

14 Dunhuang caves, 9, 61, 98, 146, 158, 159, 196 (this dated 892-93), 231, 237, 359, 360, 454, visited by the author in 1997 and 1998.

15 Tang Annals, cited by Lévi 1905 (vol. I): 163-165.

16 Schafer 1963: 254-255.

17 I thank Peter Skilling for this reference.

18 Broughton 1983: 1-69.

19 Stanley, 1998.

20 Cf. Hodge 1994: 64.

21 Manuscripts from Bibliothèque Nationale, PT 7, 7a and 108; Heller, in press; cf. Macdonald 1962, for early eight Bodhisattvas group.

22 Translation by the author of a dedicatory prayer dated 816 A.D.; cf. Heller 1994a.

23 Pelliot 1923: 181-207.

Chapter two
THE FLOURISHING OF BUDDHISM IN TIBET (950-1300)

1. The survival of Buddhism in East and West Tibet

In the wake of the fall of the dynasty in central Tibet, there were two key zones where Buddhism and the scions of the dynasty survived: to the east, the monasteries of the Kokonor zone and to the west, the great-grandson of the former Tsenpo established his dominion, the Ngari kingdom based west of Mount Kailash[1]. The struggle between the nobility and the sovereign had resulted in the transfer of power from the dynasty to the older aristocracy, each family ruling its own fief, ending the centralization and stability which had characterized Tibet for almost three centuries. Although some members of the great noble families had become monks, after the Tsenpo nominated two monks among the royal councillors and decreed measures of taxation and allocation of land for their support, it was clear the privileges of the nobility were being usurped. When the assassination of the Tsenpo in 842 left no direct heir, the major clans clashed for territory, factions supporting one of two rivals for the throne. Civil strife persisted until the end of the ninth century. Samye came into the hands of one royal line, destitute of genuine authority, while the other royal descendents sought refuge first in Gyantse, then in the far reaches of western Tibet ca. 915[2].

The core of the eastern zone was situated in Tsong kha, the region southeast of the Kokonor Lake along the bends of the Yellow River. This region was the junction of several major trade routes – towards Lhasa, towards Dunhuang, towards Chang an, towards Chengdu. This accounted in part for the prosperity and eclecticism of the principal monastery Khri ga, whose ritual manuals have survived until today, demonstrating a combination of philosophical and esoteric Buddhism which was then taught and practiced in Dunhuang, in Sichuan, and in Lhasa. This monastery and its hermitage at Dan tig were providential for the survival of Tibetan Buddhism as translated prior to the fall of the dynasty, Their manuals were circulated in Lhasa, and Samye, and they likewise archived the fundamental texts, translated in Dunhuang and central Tibet. Khri ga probably served as a link among isolated schools of Buddhist activity throughout eastern Tibet[3]. The town of Khri ga, connected to the monastery became the administrative center of the region, where eventually a scion of the ancient dynasty established his capital of Tsong kha, ca. 1020. Khri ga retained this position as political center and spiritual resource until ca. 1250 when the Mongols invaded.

To the west, the region of Ngari which now comprises modern Ladakh, and the Indian area of Spiti, as well as the Guge district of western Tibet, had been conquered and integrated within the Tibetan empire since the seventh century. Bordering Kashmir on the west, India on the south, Nepal on the southeast, this region was a crossroads, both accessible to central Tibet and potentially linked directly with the

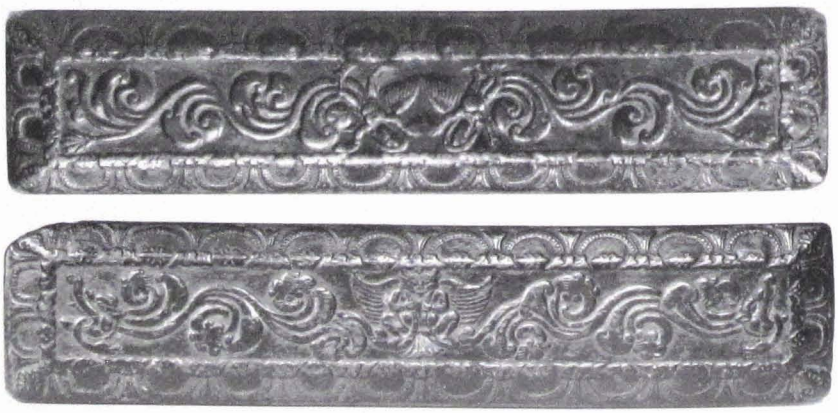
Silk Route via Kashmir and the Karakorum. Traditional accounts also refer to Iran as a more distant neighbour on the west, whose influence would have been conveyed by sages adhering to tenets of Zoroastrian religious cults who traveled in west Tibet. The historic links during the period of the Tibetan empire between Tibet and Iran have yet to be fully ascertained but specific concepts known from Iranian religious ideals may be found in ancient Tibetan legends about the creation of the world, royal insignia and burial customs[4]. By the tenth century, Iran had fully become an Islamic civilization.

Although much of the northwest of the Indian subcontinent was under growing pressure of Moslem influences since the eighth century, Kashmir remained an enclave of sure Hindu and Buddhist persuasion. At the time when the descendents of the Tsenpo were founding their new dynasty in these western territories (ca. 920), the northwest Indian regions of Uḍḍiyāna and Kashmir were reputed for Buddhist sages living as itinerant yogins rather than within monastic establishments[5]. Military campaigns were constant, some of which had already destroyed famous monasteries in Kashmir visited centuries earlier by Xuan zang. It is essential however to realize that Kashmiri artists were affected by such destruction and the consequent fragility of the economy; such factors led them to emigrate in search of patronage and an atmosphere more conducive to artistic creation.

During the first Lohara dynasty of Kashmir (1003-1101), there was a general decline in religious activity, due in part to repeated attacks by the Dards, while in the reign of Harṣa (1089-1101) there was rampant plunder of temples[6]. Therefore it is not surprising at all to find Tibetan biographies of lamas which recount the arrival of Kashmiri artists in western Tibet as of the late tenth century, accompanied by Kashmiri paṇḍitas to translate orthodox Buddhist teachings into Tibetan.

The rulers of the new Tibetan dynasty of western Tibet were exclusively Buddhist, officially, and it may safely be said that their promotion of the ancient cult of the Tsenpo was quite limited. Several royal edicts have survived which document their personal ideals and their desire to expurgate certain doctrines whose authenticity they questioned, in a religious climate lacking central authority since the fall of the dynasty. Still, the highest mountain Leo Pugyel bears the name of the former central Tibetan dynasty[7]. This cannot be pure coincidence and must reflect a certain adaptation of ancient beliefs and customs, linked henceforth to sowing and harvest festivals when the offerings to the mountains and rivers were celebrated. In addition, some Tibetan deities, having no precise counterpart in Indian Buddhist pantheons, are portrayed in mural paintings in monasteries founded towards the end of the tenth century. Such examples document persistence of native Tibetan cults.

The constitution of the three sections of territory of the Ngari kingdom was accomplished in several phases evolving over the reign of several kings. Initially the zones comprising Zangskar, Spiti and Kulu formed two provinces, Guge and Pu-



43. Wooden bookcover with kinnara, vine scrolls and characteristic Tibetan style Garuḍa, 9.53x42.55x1.59 cm, ca. ninth to tenth century, Collection of The Newark Museum 95.221. The dimensions and format of this cover correspond to those adapted by the Tibetans for their manuscripts as of the eighth century. The horned Garuḍa is an emblem frequently associated with the Bon religion, but it may also relate to the mythology of the cult of the Tsenpo, and such Garuḍa appear at the apex of many Buddhist thrones. The carving and iconography suggest a possible chronology of ninth to tenth century. Inside the cover, painted diagrams related to the cosmology of the Abhidharmakośa indicate that it may have been used to contain a manuscript of this treatise.

rang. From Purang, the capital moved west to Toling in Guge. Further north and west, the third province, Ladakh was only incorporated by conquest in 1024, whereupon a phase of foundation of temples was initiated in this region[8]. Much earlier, ca. 985, the Ngari rulers began actively promoting Buddhism within their kingdom. Rinchen zangpo (958-1055) was born near Toling and after ten years study in Kashmir, he returned to Guge as a highly capable translator. He assisted in founding the temple of Kha char in Purang, and shortly thereafter the Toling monastery in Guge (see color plates 26-27). Once the temples were consecrated, Rinchen zangpo was requested to return to Kashmir to train 15 local boys in Sanskrit and then to bring home the new team of translators as well as Kashmiri artists. In Kha char, already by 996, artists from Kashmir and Nepal collaborated to make a series of silver images; an artist from Magadha (now Bengal) was also present[9]. Due to the unrest in their own country, Kashmiri artists had arrived in Toling already before the beginning of the eleventh century. Subsequently, Rinchen zangpo returned with 32 Kashmiri artists in his sway. The Ngari sovereign Yeshe od (947-1024) had issued in 988 a law promoting the creation of local workshops to produce images for the temples, integrating the foreign works of art and assuring a local supply, exhorting the subjects of the kingdom to contribute religious works of artistic beauty (see color plate 25)[10]. The team was ready to set to work.

These excerpts from royal edicts explain the concepts and liturgies central to the ideals of Buddhism encouraged by the Ngari kingdom:

> "Formerly Buddhism came to Tibet. It saved (living beings) from taking evil births and led them to salvation. The early kings who were Bodhisattvas, pro-

Overleaf:

45. Kneeling attendant, Tabo sanctuary, mural painting, height ca. 80 cm, mid-eleventh century.
The thin almond eyes and rounded face with bud-shaped mouth, the massive shoulders of this attendant in monastic robe reflect the Kashmiri esthetic. The robe pattern of rectangles has deep red borders for each beige segment. The body is also outlined in red, subtly modeled to flesh tones.

46. Bodhisattva attendant of Vairocana, Tabo sanctuary, mural painting, height ca. 200 cm, mid-eleventh century.
The extremely fine painting of the Bodhisattva further documents aspects of the Kashmiri esthetic such as the hourglass body, the neck defined by three rings, the crown with floret at temples and diadem of triangles and beaded crescents. The Bodhisattva wears the two pairs of earrings, one on upper lobe as well as the disc earring in the lobe.

47. Avalokiteśvara Padmapāni, detail of head showing ear with two pairs of earrings, brass alloy, height 100 cm, mid-eleventh century (see color plate 34).

44. Drawing on silk, 53.5x54 cm, Tibet, radio-carbon dated to tenth-eleventh century, Zimmerman Family Collection.
A document such as this proves the antiquity of the Tibetan tradition of drawing. Protected within the footprints of the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and the five Buddhas. In the lower register, at right, Songtsen gampo, the first historic Tsenpo, Vajrapāni, and one of the Tsenpo's three Tibetan wives; at left, also in ancient Tibetan costume, the lightly-bearded donor, perhaps one of the ministers of the Tsenpo.

hibited false religion in accordance with the word of the Buddha, straightened up the views of the people and opened the doors of the noble births for them. Numerous beings entered the Highest path. Now, as the good karma of living beings is exhausted and the law of the kings is impaired, false doctrines are flourishing in Tibet, their views are false and wrong. Heretical tantra pretending to be Buddhist are spread in Tibet. As sacrifice has become popular, the goats and sheep are afflicted, as sexual rites have become popular, the different classes of people are mixed,... as the ritual of sacrifice has become popular, it happens that people get delivered alive... The gods of the mountains and the nāgas are offended. Is this the practice of Mahāyāna? All... must reject these erroneous views"[11].

The sovereigns sensed the need to clarify for the people which doctrines and which practices were appropriate. Not only did they issue decrees, but also actively invited foreign masters principally from Kashmir. They sponsored travel by translators to study in Nepal as well as the great monastic universities of central India to promote access to what they believed to be genuine ritual texts and meditation manuals of various schools of Indian Buddhism. There was a degree of uncertainty as to the accuracy of the texts already present in Tibet, and thus there was a need for, in some cases, clarification of these texts and, in others, confirmation of the authenticity of their contents. Despite the chaos of central Tibet and consequent destruction of organized monastic life there, the implantation of Buddhism had been strong, as evidenced by the vast amount of texts translated during the early ninth century. Isolated enclaves of Buddhist practice no doubt survived in central Tibet, albeit deprived of government support. Such conditions discouraged travel and teaching by Indian and Nepalese Buddhist masters in central Tibet during the tenth century. All these factors led to a religious environment where non-Buddhist rituals and beliefs were combined with Buddhist rituals. It is this atmosphere which was decried by the Ngari rulers. Kashmiri artists and Buddhist teachers were their immediate succor, yet many Kashmiri monks had themselves traveled to and from the great Buddhist monasteries of eastern India. It is relatively difficult to determine to what extent Kashmiri Buddhism was synchronized with the schools of other regions. By considering the pantheon of Kashmiri sculptures and the teachings translated by Rinchen zangpo and his Kashmiri collaborators, one can better understand the deities and teachings popular there.

Of the Kashmiri sculptures of the tenth to eleventh century that have survived, many come from Tibetan monasteries (see color plates 33-34). These most often portray Buddha Śākyamuni or Vairocana, wearing monastic robes and sometimes attributes of sovereignty, such as the royal mantle or a crown, seated on thrones supported by small lions, perhaps with small donor figures beside them, somewhat similar to those of earlier times (see color plates 16, 22, 23). The Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi are also depicted, respectively representing the ideals of compassion, wisdom and dynamic energy of the Buddha (see color plates 33-34). Inlaid silver is characteristic for the almond shaped eyes, often delineated with black outline; the design of garments may have copper inlay. If dressed in monastic robes, these are usually depicted as light fabrics, with distinctive, thin pleats in concentric or ovoid patterns. If dressed in dhotī, the fabric may be the same, with striations from waist to ankle, or medallion pattern fabrics. The body proportions are idealized and exaggerated. Typical is the male torso with a ripple of abdominal muscles and highly athletic broad shoulders, while the female torso has an hourglass shape with tiny waist, accentuating the prominent curves of the breasts and hips. In addition to texts describing the Perfection of Wisdom, monastic discipline and the ideals of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, texts translated from Kashmir emphasize devotion to the cult of chosen Buddha or deities. Some describe meditational deities in different aspects, peaceful or wrathful, individual male or female deities, or male-female couples, within the palace which is their residence, the maṇḍala (cf. Appendix on Maṇḍala). The cult of female goddesses had been less em-

phasized in the earlier translations, as had been the wrathful meditational deities, whose integration in the pantheon was reflected in texts translated during the tenth to eleventh century[12].

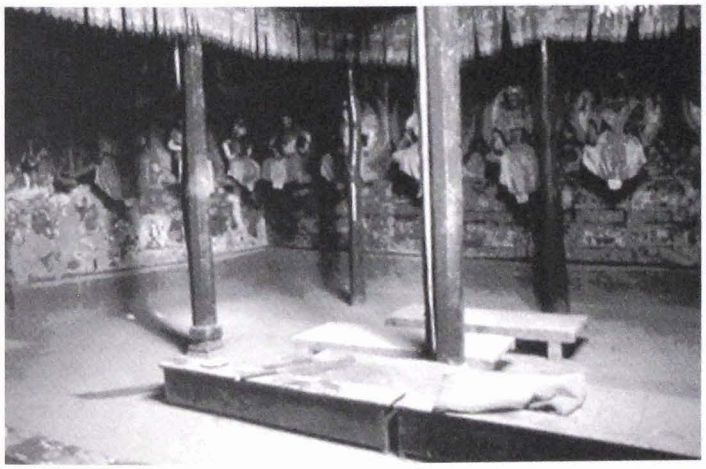
Principal among the liturgical innovations of this period is the focus on Vairocana Buddha as the subject of many rituals of evocation, to such an extent that his role at center of cosmos virtually eclipsed the Buddhas of other directions. As earlier in central Tibet, the emphasis on Vairocana as universal sovereign has a quality of legitimation of the newly founded kingdom in western Tibet. The three main texts on Vairocana 1) the Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha (All the Truths of the Buddha Assembled Together) as well as the 2) Sarvadurgatipariśodhana (purification of difficult rebirths), 3) Vairocana Abhisambodhi Tantra (the text of the perfect enlightenment of Vairocana) had already been translated into Tibetan during the late eighth century. The Vairocana Abhisambodhi Tantra emphasizes Vairocana, attended by two principal Bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara representing the Buddha family of Amitābha, the lotus family, and Vajrapāṇi, representing the Buddha family of Akṣobhya, the vajra family. The Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha utilizes instead the group of five Buddha families, with four-headed Vairocana at center in the gesture of perfect enlightenment, while the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana described Sarvavid Vairocana, four headed, in the gesture of meditation. Rinchen zangpo re-translated the Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha, as well as additional rituals of offerings linked to the Vairocana Abhisambodhi Tantra. He collaborated with masters of Indian as well as Kashmiri nationality.

Vairocana was the center and core, however, there was a gradual assimilation with Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom. Mañjuśrī's role as Bodhisattva of Wisdom leads to his association with eloquent speech, thus dissemination of teachings, symbolized by the book he holds. Therefore Mañjuśrī, rather than the Buddha, pronounces certain discourses, notably much of the literature of the category called Perfection of Wisdom, the Prajñāpāramitā. In this respect, Mañjuśrī became eligible to be the center of the maṇḍala. In this role, Mañjuśrī is assimilated with Vairocana, assuming a distinct iconography: rather than normal human body, Mañjuśrī has four faces, and eight arms, and many more attributes than the book and the sword which cuts through the clouds of ignorance. It is characteristic of this period and this region that many maṇḍalas of early temples and monasteries in Ngari reflect this aspect of Mañjuśrī as well as aspects of Vairocana.

The monastery of Tabo, founded in 996, has a temple whose actual architecture incorporates almost life-size statues to form the principal maṇḍala of Vairocana. It is known as the "Vajra realm" (Vajradhātu), because the Vajra scepter is symbolic of the Buddha's power. In this maṇḍala 37 deities reside: at center Vairocana, sur-

48. Tabo main assembly hall and sculpted Vairocana Vajradhātu maṇḍala, constructed in 996 A.D. The Bodhisattvas and attendants of the maṇḍala are aligned along the walls of the sanctuary.

49. Tabo assembly hall, Vairocana, stucco with wood armature, height including base 400 cm. In this representation of Vairocana, rather than four faces, there are four sculpted bodies, modeled in the round according to the Kashmiri esthetic. The lions beneath the throne are painted, the position is unusual with confronted raised haunches and heads glancing backward.



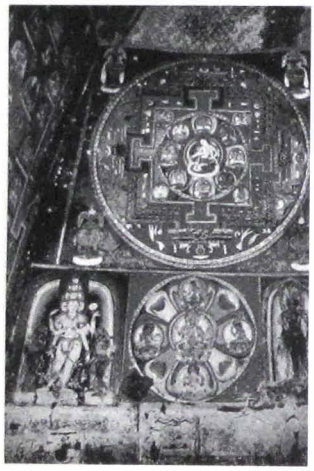
rounded by four goddesses who serve as the emblems of the Buddha families; then in each of the four directions, the Buddha Amitābha at west, Amoghasiddhi at north. Ratnasambhava at south and Akṣobhya at east, each surrounded by four Bodhisattva attendants; interspersed at regular intervals are eight offering goddesses and four guardian protector deities. In addition to the sculptural maṇḍala, Tabo also has narrative mural paintings which illustrate the Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra, describing the spiritual pilgrimage of a youth towards enlightenment, as well as the Lalitavistara sūtra, which tells the life story of the Buddha. Esthetically, Tabo can be seen as an expression of the contemporary Kashmiri esthetic (see color plates 28-31)[13]. There are many different maṇḍalas for Vairocana, as is visible in other early foundations of Ngari such as Nako, Sumda, Alchi and Dunkar (see color plates 32, 35, 36). The eventual substitution of the form of Mañjuśrī for Vairocana reflects the importance and relation of the three aspects of Buddha as Dharmakāya, Saṃboghakāya and Nirmāṇakāya, and also the assimilation postulated between a Buddha and a Bodhi-

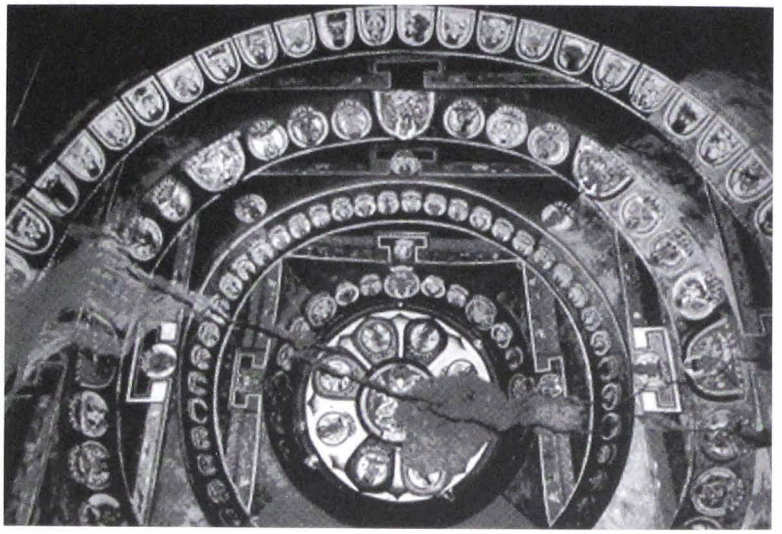
50. Maṇḍala of Lokeśvara, south wall, Dunkar, cave 1, mural painting, total height of wall ca. 500 cm, eleventh to twelfth century.

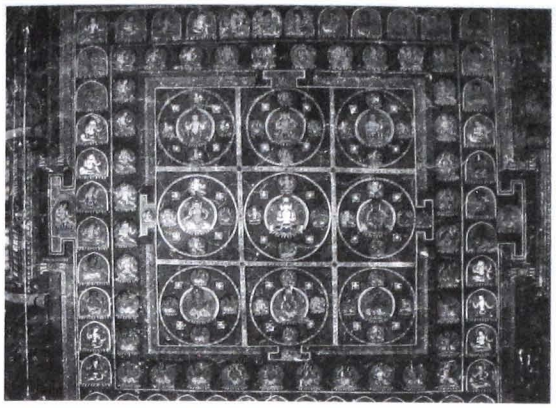
51. Maṇḍala of Mañjuśrī as Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara, ceiling, Dunkar, cave 2, mural painting, ca. 650x650 cm, eleventh to twelfth century.

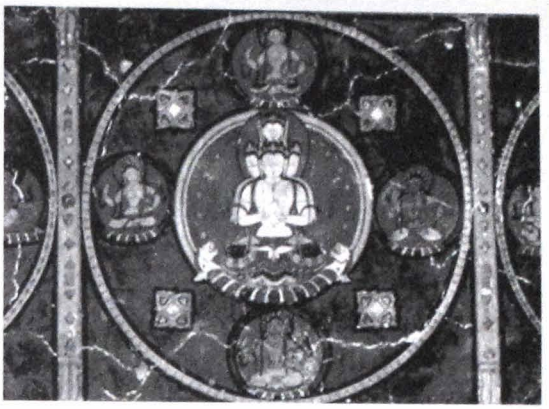
52. Avalokiteśvara, south wall, Dunkar, cave 1, mural painting, height ca. 100 cm, eleventh to twelfth century.

53. Ceiling paintings, upper panel of south wall, Dunkar, cave 1, mural painting, eleventh to twelfth century.



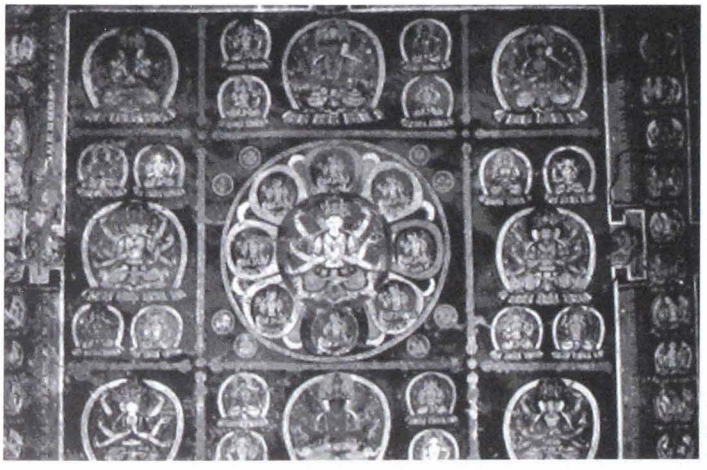






54. Maṇḍala of Vairocana, Alchi, Dukhang, ca. 350x350 cm, late eleventh century.

55. Detail of Vairocana and attendants at center of the maṇḍala, Alchi, Dukhang, late eleventh century.



56. Maṇḍala of Vairocana, Sumda, stucco statues with wooden armature, main image ca. 200 cm, late eleventh century.

57. Detail, attendants of mural painting of Vairocana maṇḍala, Sumda, detail ca. 25 cm, late eleventh century.

58. Maṇḍala of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara, Sumda, ca. 350x350 cm, late eleventh century.

sattva in certain cases. The new emphasis on the cult of Bodhisattva is reflected in many treatises translated and even composed by some of the foreign masters – Kashmiri, Indian and Nepalese – invited as collaborators of Rinchen zangpo.

2. The spiritual and artistic legacy of the Indian teacher Atīśa (982-1054)

Atīśa, a renowned Indian Buddhist scholar, was perhaps the most prominent guest in Toling. Atīśa had long taught at the Vikramaśīla university in eastern India after travels to Indonesia where he had visited the Buddhist sanctuaries, possibly the Borobudur maṇḍala dedicated to Vairocana[14]. Vikramaśīla had been founded in Bihar around 800; with many colleges and sanctuaries, it was renowned for tantric teachings, emphasizing ritualism and yogic practices related to the tantras. Atīśa journeyed to Nepal when he was over fifty years old, remaining in the Kathmandu valley for about two years. Then he traveled to Toling. According to his biography, he was not only accomplished in liturgical interpretation, composition and translation, but he was both a skilled artist and calligrapher as well[15]. Although this may be a literary cliché, it sheds light on the importance attached to works of art.

The manuscripts used as teaching tools had didactic illuminations, and mastery of modeling was used for ritual sculpture in butter or clay. It cannot be sufficiently stressed that consecration ensured that the deity or deities were embodied in their images. Atīśa's personal meditational devotions to Tārā, female Bodhisattva of the Lotus family of Buddha Amitābha, were consummated by the creation of icons of Tārā in which she was believed to dwell. Although monks were not supposed to be engaged as artists – which was a profession for laymen –, the participation of religious masters ensured that the iconographic prescriptions were respected. On many occasions, the meditative visions of a religious master were preserved in treatises, eventually establishing new iconographies in this fashion. Atīśa is probably responsible as well for spurring the Tibetan cult of Avalokiteśvara, the male Bodhisattva of Amitābha's family, who was henceforth considered as the special protector of Tibet. His mantra, Oṃ Maṇi Padme Hūṃ, has henceforth been on the prayer wheels and in the minds of virtually all Tibetans[16].

Atīśa translated many texts he had inherited from his teachers in India, including some of their personal texts on protective deities (see color plate 78). Yet he also composed philosophical texts as well as meditation rituals. Although he was skilled in tantras, he reserved these teachings for a few, select disciples. It is believed that Atīśa introduced to Tibet the schema of the three Buddhist paths, according to the level of spiritual aspiration of the individual: Hīnayāna is destined for those of medium capacity, Mahāyāna is destined for those of higher capacity, and Tantrayāna or Vajrayāna is destined for those individuals with superior capacity to withstand the difficulties and ardours of the spiritual path[17].

Atīśa's presence in Ngari may be viewed as the importation of eastern Indian esthetic ideals and intellectual discourses, to complement the Kashmiri and Nepalese currents already exerting their influences in the art and spirituality of the Ngari kingdom. Atīśa remained in Ngari two years, then traveled towards central Tibet. His

(continued on p. 121)

59. Prajñāpāramitā manuscript cover, pigments on wood, ca. 52x5 cm, India, twelfth century.
This book cover and Prajñāpāramitā manuscript remain today in Tibet as one of the treasures of Sakya monastery, a magnificent example of the Pāla school of manuscript illumination.

THE REAFFIRMATION OF BUDDHISM IN TIBET (950-1100 A.D.)

25. *Stūpa*
Clay, height ca. 14 cm, Nepal or Tibet, tenth to eleventh century, Pritzker Collections
The archaic shape of this miniature stūpa and the clay medium recall the architecture of stūpa surrounding the most ancient temples of Tabo monastery, dating from late tenth to early eleventh century. Such stūpas are very different from later forms of Tibetan stūpas, whether architectural such as the Gyantse Kumbum or sculptural (see color plate 96 and fig. 130). The square base is surmounted by tiers and a bulb shaped finial. Perhaps one of the most extraordinary Indic forms of veneration consisted of placing the image of Buddha on giant chariots which has survived to the present in Nepal (Lewis 1997: 335). Already in Nepal, during the Licchavi period, images and stūpas were used in festivals and paraded through the streets. In Nepal and Tibet miniature stūpas in clay have long been made for specific rituals (Lewis 1994: 13). From the Dunhuang manuscripts, rituals in Chinese language composed during the Tibetan occupation describe manufacture of stūpas in clay as well as clay votive amulets which were used in processions of statues of the Buddha (Hou 1984: 215). This miniature stūpa probably served an analogous function. On the lowest level of the tiers, the elephants bearing three jewels allow identification of this side of the stūpa as that of the family of Akṣobhya, Buddha of the East. Each face of the stūpa is associated with one of the other Buddha of the four directions, while the center of the sanctuary is associated with Vairocana, emblematic of perfect enlightenment. Although probably modeled in clay from a mold, the architectural motifs are so finely defined that the decoration of the beams and columns are still visible. The architecture is derived from the shape of the Gandhara stūpa consisting of two square bases of decreasing size surmounted by the dome of the harmikā and a now lost finial (Rowland 1977: 141). In Nepal during the Licchavi period, this shape persisted, only to be later refined in the post-Licchavi period (ninth-tenth century) by the addition of still more squares, always decreasing in size, beneath the dome. The ornamentation of the plinths was organized around central niches, which in many cases now are empty. A characteristic of the Licchavi period is the appearance of the isolated head, termed a gandharva-mukha, the face of a gandharva, one of the inmates of celestial paradise (Slusser 1982: 172). Already in Ajantā such gandharva-mukha are found (cf. Slusser 1982: plate 264). This stūpa resembles many found in western Tibet, in the vicinity of Toling. This model may thus further document Nepalese presence in this region where paṇḍitas, tranlsators and Nepalese artists were recorded along with their Kashmiri and Indian counterparts in the eleventh to twelfth centuries, as well as in later times.
Lit: Hou 1984; Lewis 1994, 1997; Rowland 1977; Slusser 1982.

26-27. *Toling monastery*
Toling was the city-monastery founded ca. 980 A.D. by the lama-king Yeshe od, which became the capital of the Ngari kingdom of western Tibet. At first Toling was just a temple, but soon after Rinchen zangpo and Atīśa worked there translating numerous manuscripts. By the third quarter of the eleventh century, Toling had become an epicenter of learning where Tibetan translators and Indian, Kashmiri and Nepalese paṇḍitas joined in their efforts to propound the Buddhist doctrines and render them accessible to the Tibetans. In 1076, Toling was the site of a great Buddhist council to define correct translation and religious practices. The red stūpa follows an architectural model known from India, which is known from manuscript illuminations. This type of stūpa is called Lhabab, "descent from Heaven" representing the Buddha's descent from the Tuṣita Heaven which he visited to preach to his deceased mother (see plate 51 for the sacred events of the life of the Buddha), characterized by steps which ascend on all four sides. The main temple of the Toling monastery was constructed in three stories like the main temple of Samye. However, here, rather than have each floor in a different art style to represent Tibetan, Chinese and Indian Buddhism, the entire structure is traditionally believed to be Tibetan construction. Although today only the walls survive of the eleventh century decoration, Toling was restored during the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries under the impetus of disciples of Tsongkhapa.

28-29. *Mural paintings, Tabo monastery*
Early eleventh century
A thousand years after its foundation in 996 A.D., Tabo today provides an excellent example of the architecture and iconography which characterize the first group of monasteries founded by the Ngari kings during the late tenth to eleventh century. These paintings are characteristic of the paintings of the Kashmiri esthetic tradition made popular when Rinchen zang po returned to west Tibet ca. 985 A.D. accompanied by both translators and artists from Kashmir. While in fact recent studies nuance many aspects of this traditional account, the esthetic assessment of such murals as reflecting Kashimiri painting is maintained. The gently modeled face of the large Buddha shows careful application of fields of color juxtaposed to create an illusion of depth and breadth. The lower eyelid is outlined in red, which is also used to highlight other facial features. The narrow eyes with pupils attached to the horizontal line of the upper lid create a calm, almost expressionless gaze to show complete mental equipoise. The hands are emphasized by their length and narrow proportion, the fingers of the large Buddha are positioned with the thumb and index touching, similar to the gesture of metaphysical disputation. The wall with the series of Buddha images represents the 1000 Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa, the Favorable Eon. Although there are some mural paintings in Tabo which represent the Ngari kings and their courtiers dressed in Tibetan garments, on the whole the mural paintings display the iconography of Indian Buddhist texts which had been translated into Tibetan language, yet the style of representation follows a Kashmiri esthetic model. The mural painting of the large Buddha is approximately 100 cm in height, the mural painting of the group of Buddha of the Bhadrakalpa are grouped in horizontal rows, each level approximately 28 cm in height.
Lit.: Klimburg-Salter 1997; Pritzker 1989, 1996.

30-31. *Clay sculptures, Tabo monastery*
Early eleventh century
The architectural organization of Tabo centers on a Vajradhātu maṇḍala of stucco statues approximately 130 cm in height, which are affixed to the four walls of the main assembly hall. According to the earliest Tibetan history of Samye, clay was the preferred medium for Tibetan sculpture at least since the construction of Samye monastery in the late eighth century (sBa bzhed 1980: 43). Thus the late tenth and early eleventh century commissions of temples by the Ngari sovereigns perpetuated the Tibetan tradition of modeled clay sculpture. Initially consecrated in 996, Tabo was renovated ca. 1042. Plate 30 shows a portion of the eastern quarter of the maṇḍala; from left to right, the statues of the guardian Vajrāṅkuśa, two of the 16 goddesses of offerings, Vajradhūpā and Vajralāsyā, and lastly one of the male Bodhisattva attendants, identified as Vajrasattva (Klimburg-Salter 1997: 100).

In plate 31, the standing male bodhisattva of blue color flanks the seated representation of Vairocana at the moment of perfect enlightenment, the aspect termed Abhisambodhi Vairocana, whose liturgy stipulates not five, but only three Buddha families (Pritzker 1996: 77, fig. 13). Thus Abhisambodhi Vairocana is accompanied by two Bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara of the Lotus family, representing the aspect of compasssion, and Vajrapāṇi of the Vajra family, representing the dynamic energy of the Buddha-dharma. This standing blue Bodhisattva may thus be identified as Vajrapāṇi, whose vajra [attribute] has been lost over time. The animated patterns of his striped dhotī reveals leaping putti, winged horses, fantastic leonine creatures and other imaginary animals in elegant colors and poses. His physiognomy shows the athletic torso and narrow waist so typical of the esthetic of the Kashmiri male Bodhisattva. The statue is approximately 175 cm in height.
Lit.: sBa bzhed 1980; Klimburg-Salter 1997; Pritzker 1996.

32. *Amitābha Buddha, Nako monastery*
Clay, height ca. 100 cm, eleventh century
At Nako monastery, also traditionally associated with Rinchen zangpo's monastic foundations in western Tibet, is yet another sculptural maṇḍala of five Buddhas from Vajradhātu maṇḍala of the Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha-tantra which Rinchen zangpo re-translated during this momentous period of the second diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet. At Nako several maṇḍalas associated with liturgy centered on Vairocana are painted in full. The group of five stucco sculptures of the Buddhas are all grouped on one wall, Vairocana at center on an elaborate throne. Despite later re-painting of the murals behind the stucco statues, the sculptures' body proportions, crown and jewelry indicate that they date from the initial decoration scheme.
Lit.: Tucci 1988, III.1: 141-172.

33. *Avalokiteśvara*
Brass, silver inlay, height 34 cm, Kashmir, late tenth-early eleventh century, Musée Guimet MA 5493
This statue is characteristic of Kashmiri production of the tenth century in many respects. Notably, it is fully finished back and front. Although the Kashmiri esthetic vocabulary was completely defined, during this period, there was a degree of flux and transition in iconographic forms due to recent composition of the ritual evocations describing many deities. Here the identification as an aspect of Avalokiteśvara is proposed due to the representation of Amitābha in the central crown panel, as well as the attributs of three hands: the mālā, Buddhist prayer beads, held in the upper right hand, and the stem of a lotus in full bloom held in the palm of the central left hand, and the gesture of boon, varada mudrā, of the lower right hand. In the upper left hand, the small rectangle is in fact a book comprising unbound manuscript leaves between two wooden covers. The presence of a water vase in Indian and Kashmiri Buddhist iconography is usually emblematic of Maitreya, but the aspect of Avalokiteśvara known as Amoghapāśa, who reached great popularity in Nepal, holds both the water vase and the book among his eight attributes. The triangular panels of the crown appear frequently in western Tibetan sanctuaries such as Tabo (plate 31, fig. 42), Alchi and Sumda (fig. 52). Possibly this statue represents the Sugatisaṃdarśana aspect of Avalokiteśvara, "he who contemplates the good paths of reincarnation". The statue was used in Tibet as indicated by the blue polychrome paint applied to the hair, and two Tibetan letters inscribed on the plinth of the base read "Na ga", which is an abbreviated form of the name Nāgarāja, attributed to a son of Yeshe od, ruler of the Ngari kingdom and lama who sent Rinchen zangpo to Kashmir and India in search of Buddhist scriptures. At least five other statues inscribed with the name Nāgarāja have now been documented, but although his personal committment to Buddhism is well known, to date there are no historic records of the commission by Nāgarāja of Buddhist sculptures (Thakur 1997: 971). It is also possible that the inscription was incised on the image after the modeling of the statue. The back of the statue is finished with a small trilobate niche, 5 cm high, for consecration contents. This niche is exceptionally large, and positioned very low in terms of the entire object.
Previously published: Béguin 1992: 113-114. Lit.: Thakur 1995, 1997.

34. *Avalokiteśvara*
Brass, silver and copper inlay, height 100 cm, Tibet, first half of the eleventh century, Pritzker Collections
This statue may well represent the epitome of Kashmiri esthetic as understood and expressed by artists in western Tibet. The enlarged scale and largely unfinished back may indicate production in Tibet, rather than in Kashmir. As of 988 Yeshe od had decreed his royal support for creation of local workshops to produce images for the temples, integrating foreign artists as well as ensuring local supply of production, exhorting the population to contribute to religious works of art (Vitali 1996: 231, 271). Numerous one-meter high or "life-size" images of Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī in silver, brass and clay are documented by contemporary texts, commissioned as homage after death of a loved one, such as Rinchen zangpo did for his father (Vitali 1996: 116, 119, 273, 303, 312). The extraordinary workmanship of this sculpture of Avalokiteśvara successfully emulates the finest Kashmiri casts of the ninth to eleventh century. It is quite possible that this sculpture was made in Tibet by a Kashmiri artist. The distinctive crown with crescent above a row of pearls was often adopted by Kashmiri artists, perhaps inspired by Sasanian crowns known from coins which circulated in Kashmir during the fifth century. The small ribbon extensions at the temples correspond to the *pativ*, the royal ribbon insignia of Sasanian Persia, appearing on the crown of the sovereign and imitated on animals symoblic of royalty. The crown, facial features and modeling of the torso are very similar to painted Bodhisattva in Tabo dated to ca. 1042 (Pritzker 1989: figs. 13-14; Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 170). Yet the most distinctive feature which links with the art of Tabo is the appearance of a second earring in the upper lobe (see fig. 47). This is a trait found in Ajantā, for lay aristocratic females, it is absent from all known Kashmiri sculpture, but appears in Tabo and Alchi for male Bodhisattvas (fig. 46). This same trait will appear in central Tibet in Shalu and Grathang for male Bodhisattvas (figs. 66, 68, 75) then oblivion. Perhaps this is the trace of the Indian artist of Magadha who made a statue at Toling ca. 1000? (Vitali 1996: 313). The Avalokiteśvara statue has two lugs behind the shoulders, at the level of the upper back, which would have been used to insert it firmly in a toraṇa. In other words, this body was conceived as part of a unit with a base, and a toraṇa back. This accounts to a degree for the extreme thinness of the sculpture, and for the relatively unfinished back surface which correspond to documented sculptures from western Tibet (Béguin and Liszak-Hours 1982: 38-39; Reedy 1997: W125/126). The copper inlay of the dhotī only appears on the front of the image, the application was discontinued for the back of the image. Three small areas of the back present a rectangular patch of different coloration, indicative of a separate alloy for an impedimento in casting (Reedy 1997). At the center back of the head, a hole was drilled to accomodate consecration material. An image may be consecrated shortly after it is created, but also, over time, an image may be re-consecrated for various reasons, such as the visit of an important lama, a restoration of the gilding, a special ritual performed for benefit of the community or a specific donor.
The consecration contents now present in the image consist of small, accordion-folded papers, 1.5 cm in length and 0.8 cm broad, on which hand-written Tibetan letters are used to write the text of an Indian Buddhist prayer, transcribed from a Sanskrit original text. The paper is pale beige, extremely thin, with brown edges, as if incense smoke had penetrated

the cavity at the back of the head in which the prayer was placed.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Béguin and Liszak-Hours 1982; Huntington 1983; Klimburg-Salter 1997; Pal 1983: 192-193; Pritzker 1989, 1996; Reedy 1997; Snellgrove and Richardson 1980; Vitali 1996.

35-36. *Mural paintings, Nako monastery*
Eleventh century
These two photographs are details from the borders of large painted maṇḍala dedicated to forms of Vairocana Buddha in the main temple of Nako. The entire maṇḍala measures approximately 2.5 m². The delicate style of painting is strongly influenced by Kashmiri esthetics, as evidenced by the almond eyes, the three-quarter profile with the outer eye extending from the face, the body proportions emphasizing the tiny waist, and the delightful geometric patterns of the garments and rugs on which the deities sit. In these examples, the color is applied in broad washes, defined by outline in red, but several figures display chromatic nuances in the modelling of their bodies.
Small areas of clay have been placed strategically throughout the painting, for example at the vajra ring, the deities' crowns, and their jewelry, then the clay is coated by gold or silver paint, thus creating elevated relief as well as the brilliance of the metallic paint. The Nako monastery is traditionally believed to date from the early years of the eleventh century, in the context of the flourishing of Buddhism in Ngari kingdom at this time. The liturgies dedicated to Vairocana represented in this temple and the esthetic models chosens correspond to such a chronology.
Lit.: Tucci 1988, III.1: 141-172.

37. *Book cover*
Gilt copper repoussé, 67x20 cm, Nepal, eleventh to early twelfth century, private collection
This type of book cover is used for texts written on leaves or paper strung together to be placed between two such covers, usually in wood. This outer surface of a book cover is sculpted in gilt copper repoussé, which is the Nepalese technique par excellence. However, the format of this cover corresponds more to Tibetan manuscripts on paper than the dimensions of palm leaves or typical Nepalese paper formats. Esthetically, this cover reflects Indian influence as understood in Nepal during the Ṭhakurī period while the inclusion of two adoring figures dressed in Tibetan style robes indicates that it was probably made for Tibetan patronage. The exquisite scrolling and toolwork relate to earlier Indian models of vegetal and floral motifs, as do the inclusion of adoring putti, animals and birds around the central Bodhisattva, for the carved stone doorway portals of Ajantā combined such tiny angelic creatures peering through the vines and florets. The broad faces and bodies correspond closely to those painted as illuminations of contemporary or slightly later Indian manuscripts (see plate 38), as well as Nepalese sculptures dated by inscription to the early eleventh century (Pal 1991: 46-47; von Schroeder 1981: plates 83D, 83F, 85F). The cover also presents clear stylistic affinities with a Nepalese Prajñāpāramitā manuscript cover dated 1207 (Pal and Meech-Pekarik 1988: plate 26). The title of the book is not yet determined although the iconographic identification is clear. At far left, the Buddha Amitābha is represented next to a Buddha in monastic robe making the dharmacakra mudrā, which iconography may correspond to both a form of Śākyamuni or Mahāvairocana according to the eleventh century translation of the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana tantra. The three Bodhisattvas are those regarded in Vajrayāna Buddhism as the three great protectors, the Bodhisattva of compassion, Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva of wisdom, Mañjuśrī, and at far right, Vajrapāṇi, who represents the dynamic energy of the Buddha. Each may be identified by the emblem, the lotus held by Padmapāṇi and the book and vajra placed above the lotus at shoulder level for Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi, respectively. Several figures such as a leaping winged horse, monkeys, peacocks, and divine creatures such as kinnara – half-human, half-bird musicians –, are carved in the midst of the vine scrolls. Most distinctive, however, are the two figures wearing Tibetan robes with contrasting lapel and geometric and medallion fabrics. Such robes are clearly not Nepalese garments. From the eleventh century onwards, many Tibetans scholars studied in Newar monasteries, and many Sanskrit texts found their way to Tibet from the Kathmandu Valley (Lo Bue 1997a: 633, *passim*). The iconometry and facial features of the deities clearly tend toward known Nepalese models of the late tenth to eleventh century, thus the hypothesis that this cover was made in Nepal during the eleventh to early twelfth century for use in Tibet is proposed.
Previously unpublished. Lit: Lo Bue 1997a; Pal and Meech-Pekarik 1988; Pal 1991; von Schroeder 1981.

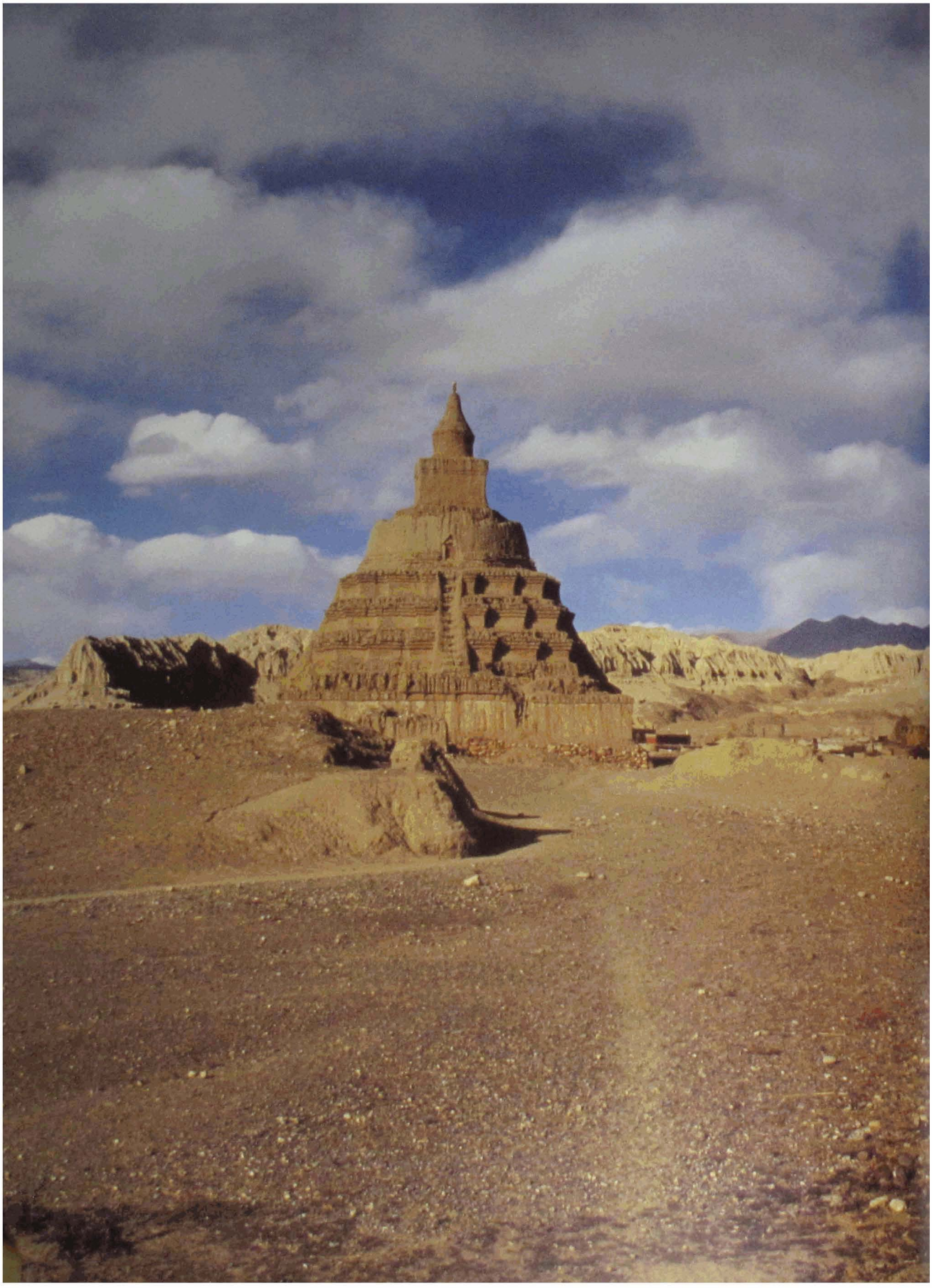
38. *Prajñāpāramitā manuscript*
India, ca. 1115, Musée Guimet 5161; covers, wood: 6x31.5 cm; leaves: 5.5x30.5 cm
The Perfection of Wisdom sūtra (Prajñāpāramitā) was particularly venerated as the quintessential expression of Buddhist philosophical treatises. The illuminations of the covers and the leaves of text do not directly illustrate the explanations of the text, but instead present scenes of the life of Śākyamuni and representations of Buddhist deities.
The two covers present the biographical imagery. At top left, the Buddha received a bowl of honey from a monkey while teaching in Vaiśālī. The next scene shows Śākyamuni calling the earth to witness, at left, while the right portion shows the miraculous birth of Śākyamuni, emerging from his mother's right side, a courtesan ready to receive the babe. The third scene shows Śākyamuni teaching, his hands in the dharmacakra gesture. The second cover shows the submission of the wild elephant Nālāgiri, immediately tamed by Śākyamuni's serenity, his first sermon at Sarnath, his descent from heaven, where he had visited to preach to his deceased mother. Lastly, in reclining position, the Buddha has reached the moment of the Mahāparinirvāṇa, which is the time of his death and the extinction of the Buddha's physical body, conceived as the passage to transcendental nirvāṇa. The illustrated leaves represent first Amitābha, then Prajñāpāramitā, the essence of the Perfection of wisdom, represented as a female Bodhisattva, each seated inside a typical Indian doorway having five arcs, the pañcāyatana. The other leaves represent deities of esoteric Buddhism, the dancing Hevajra, his consort Nairātmā, Saṃvara, and the Vajrayoginī. The rich opaque coloration of the Buddha and deities contrasts the delicate treatment in color and design of the foliage and landscape as well as the diaphanous fabrics of Prajñāpāramitā and the goddesses and women.
The entire book comprises 463 thin leaves, it is complete, which is extremely rare. The compact book format facilitated use as a teaching tool wherever its owner traveled. One can easily imagine how a teacher such as Atīśa might have carried such a book with him to Nepal and Tibet. In addition to the dedicatory colophon which explains the circumstances of its creation ca. 1115, a second colophon indicates that this book was used in Nepal during the seventeeth century.
Previously published: Béguin 1990: 18-20. Lit.: Losty 1982.

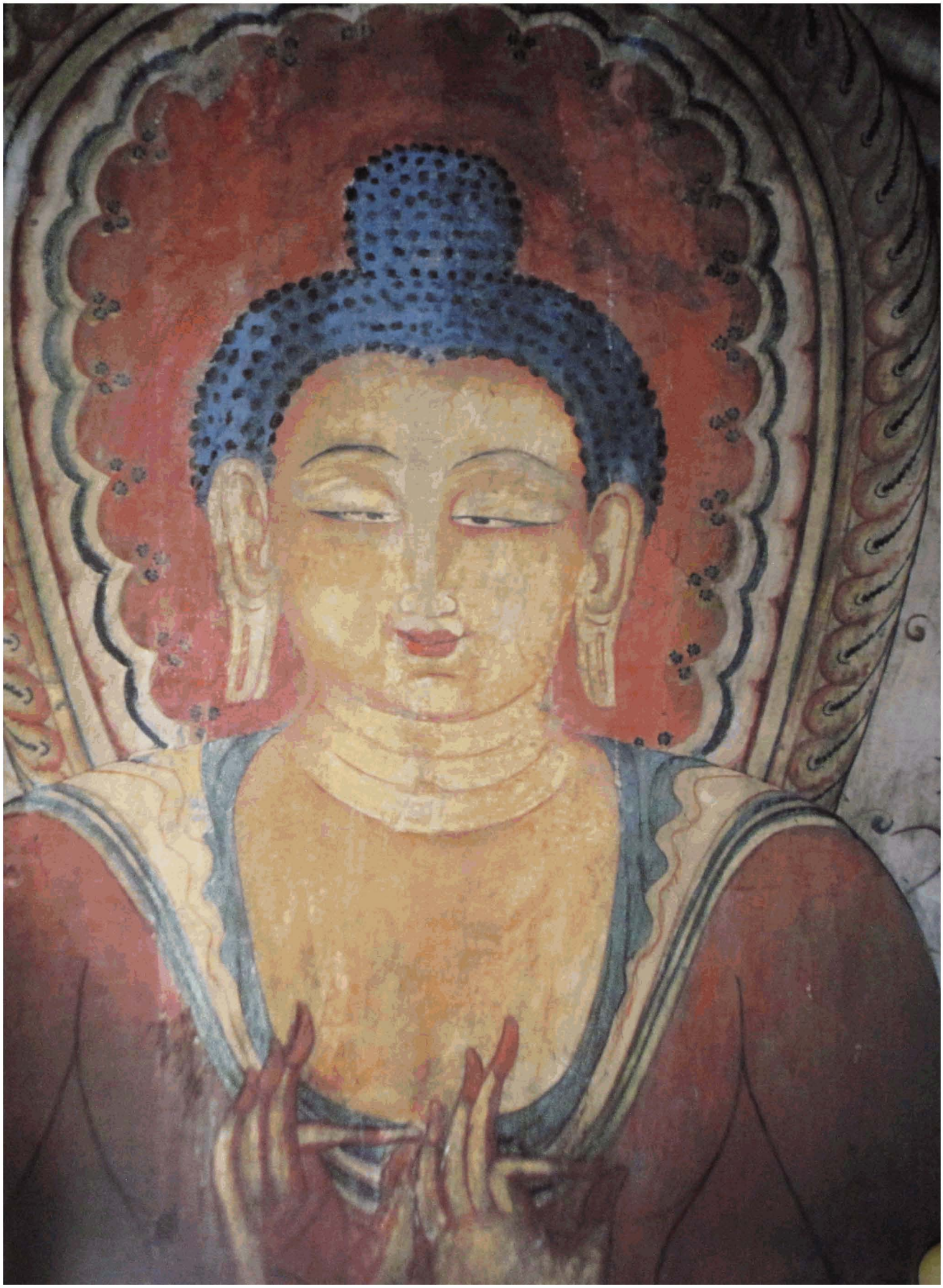
39. *Tārā*
Brass, copper and silver inlay, height 32 cm, India, twelfth century, private collection
This intricately cast statue represents an unusal aspect of Tārā, Mahāśrī Tārā, the great, holy Tārā. She is gloriously surrounded by two utpala lotus, seated with her hands in the gesture of teaching to two devotees at her feet. Her coiffure and broad face epitomize beauty according to Indian tastes during the Pāla dynasty (ca. 750-1200), accentuated by the silver ornamentation of her hair and wide eyes. The slender body is modeled according to Indian proportions which emphasize her feminity and grace. The elaborate inlay of her

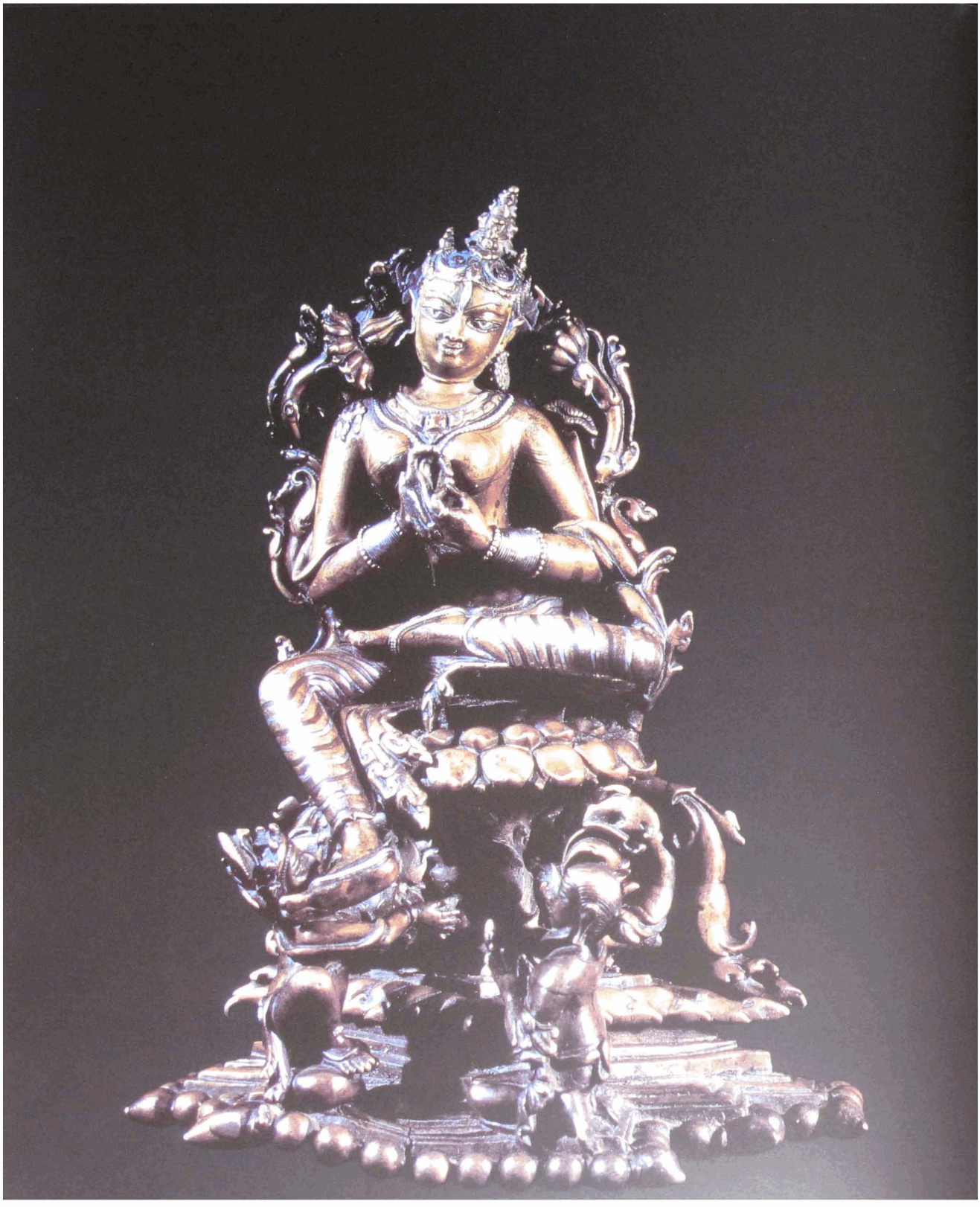
long dhotī, striped in copper and silver, demonstrate accomplished casting skill. The ritual descriptions of this aspect of Tārā stipulate her seated position, one leg pendant, on a sumptuous dais bedecked with flowers. The artists here embellished the dais with giant bead edging, yet another convention of Pāla esthetics. This image may have served as a prototype for the work of Tibetan artists in the thirteenth century.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Huntington and Huntington 1990: 383-384; Kossak 1998: 20; de Mallmann 1986: 369.

40. *Avalokiteśvara*
Stone, gilt and polychrome, height 21 cm, India, thirteenth century, private collection
Carved in stone, this statue presents a form of Avalokiteśvara particularly venerated in Pāla India. This aspect is named for the holy Potalaka mountain from which Avalokiteśvara contemplates the world, thus his name is Śrī Potalaka Avalokiteśvara. His hair is dressed in the jaṭāmukuṭā, the elaborate tiered and braided chignon, in the center of which a small Amitābha Buddha is represented. The shape of the coiffure, crown and disk earrings, the necklaces and armbands, belt, dhotī all correspond to Pāla esthetics. The gilt paint of the face shows that this image was worshipped in Tibet at some time. This type of statue is eminently portable. It is likely that it was sculpted in in India and later brought to Tibet, either as an icon of an Indian paṇḍita, or possibly carried home as a sacred souvenir by a Tibetan pilgrim.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Huntington and Huntington 1990.

41. *Vajrapāṇi*
Brass, 9x8 cm, Tibet, ninth to eleventh century, L.F. Collection
This small yet powerful plaque represents Vajrapāṇi, the Bodhisattva of the vajra, the dynamic energy manifestation of the Buddha. His characteristic vajra emblem literally signifies "thunder", serving as an offensive and protective weapon, yet vajra also means "diamond", the hardest of all minerals (de Mallmann 1986: 413). Here he wields the vajra in both hands, wearing a crown and a tiger skin draped around his waist, he lunges to the right (pratyāliḍha). Five flying deities surround him, wings extended beyond their human arms. Their prominent horns identify them as the Khyung, the typical Tibetan form of Garuḍa, the Indic sun bird (fig. 43). The Tibetan Khyung deity may have antecedents related to the mythology of the Tsenpo who were said to wear crowns with horns, linked to a form of horned eagle (Martin 1991). The divine ancestors of the Tsenpo were believed to have avian characteristics, such as webbed feet, and wings to facilitate their return to celestial realms (Haarh 1969). This type of plaque is cast, and clearly represents a Buddhist iconography, but it is related to a distinctive Tibetan sculpture form, called Togcha, small bronze objects found on the ground by Tibetans working their fields or herding animals, among other places (Anninos 1998; Tucci 1988, III.1: 162-164). Their "spontaneous origin" embues them with a sacred character, as does their "timeless" quality. These Togcha frequently are worn on the body, and at the back of this Vajrapāṇi plaque, there are two small rings through which a string may pass to wear the plaque as an amulet. In terms of the motifs, it must be recalled that an ancient area of western Tibet was called Zhangzhung, of which the capital was Khyunglung (valley of the Khyung), linked with the Bonpo tradition in which the Khyung mythology is also important. This small icon may thus represent composite symbolism relevant to both Buddhist and Bon religions. While a firm chronology is difficult to determine due to lack of comparative material, this image may tentatively be dated from the ninth to the eleventh century.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Anninos 1998; Haarh 1969; de Mallmann 1986; Martin 1991; Tucci 1988.







THE FLOURISHING OF BUDDHISM IN TIBET (1100-1300 A.D.)

42. *Tārā*
Stone, polychrome, 38.7x26.7x7.6 cm, Tibet, Herbert and Florence Irving Collection, thirteenth to early fourteenth century
This sculpture represents Tārā, surrounded by her twenty emanations of miniature Tārā, and a Tibetan lama. Although at least two rituals for Tārā were already translated during the first diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet, Atīśa's personal veneration of Tārā has been directly related to her later popularity. Tārā appeared in visions to him on numerous occasions, both in India and Tibet, and had exhorted Atīśa to travel to Tibet. He composed four texts consecrated to Tārā and translated six others, particularly of the white Tārā, who is represented on this stele. In addition, a Tibetan master of the late eleventh century, the translator Nyan, was responsible for the principal translation of the tantra for Tārā "Praises in Twenty One Homages" which is linked to her twenty-one manifestations. Several Indian, Kashmiri and Tibetan masters also participated in the transmission of manifold liturgies for Tārā during the eleventh to thirteenth century. A carving tradition of miniature stele in Bengal during this time has been documented, among which some stele were probably commissioned in Bengal by Tibetan pilgrims and then carried back to Tibet. The presence of a Tibetan lama in the lower register of this stele clearly indicates its commission for a Tibetan patron. The question of the chronology of such a commission is pertinent for this image because, contrary to known Indian eleventh century examples, the back of this image is unfinished. Thus, although previously attributed an eleventh century date, in correlation with recent analyses by Kossak and Kreijger, it may be suggested that the enlarged scale of this image, the crown, jewelry and more massive body proportions of the principal forms here present esthetic parallels with the Newar sculptures of the twelfth to thirteenth century (plates 53, 54) as well as the paintings of Shalu commissioned in 1306 (plate 73).
Previously published: Rhie and Thurman 1991: 124-125. Lit.: Arènes 1996: 263-273; Kossak 1997, 1998; Kreijger 1997.

43. *Bodhisattvas and Buddhist devotees, Shalu monastery, mid-eleventh century*
44-46. *Bodhisattvas and Buddhist devotees, Grathang monastery, consecrated in 1093*
This photograph from Shalu monastery (plate 43) illustrates a portion of a larger mural of a Buddha surrounded by the Śrāvakas, those disciples who heard his first teaching, as well as Bodhisattvas, and an international group of disciples, among which Tibetans figure prominently. These paintings at Shalu, despite abrasion, allow appreciation of the Pāla esthetic as imported to Tibet by Atiśa and other Indian masters, as well as by the Tibetans, such as the founder of Shalu, who had traveled to India and Nepal seeking teachings and returned home bringing illuminated manuscripts and small sculptures. Since the paintings of the Ajantā caves of fifth to seventh centuries, the Indians had developed the art of composition in painting, called pramāṇa, dictating the arrangement of the figures in three-quarter profile, the eyes directed towards a focal point in the composition. In this instance, the central Buddha and his immediate entourage is the focal point. The Bodhisattvas epitomize the Pāla esthetics by their tiered crowns, disc earrings and curving eyes with a dip at the pupil (fig. 74). The delicate nuances in application of color gently model the figures. Different colors of skin, variety in costumes and coiffure are used to differentiate Tibetan, Indian, Chinese, or Central Asian devotees. Foliage is integrated behind the devotees' halos.
At Grathang, constructed from 1081-1093, a similar theme is developed, with the addition of patterned Tibetan robes with contrasting border, and turbans to which the crown elements are affixed (plates 44-45). In Grathang several of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are represented in Tibetan garb, yet the Bodhisattvas display the characteristic Indian mode of two earrings, one disc at lobe and a ring affixed to the upper ear (fig. 75-76). Three Bodhisattvas are represented in purely Indian garments: Maitreya, seated on his throne (plate 45 and detail plate 46), Mañjuśrī and Tārā. The foliage behind Maitreya forms the stem of the lotus on which a Buddha is seated higher on the wall, two lions playfully romp atop the foliage and flowers. The detail photograph of Maitreya allows appreciation of the subtle filigree work of his crown, studded with cabochon rubies, sapphires and emeralds, the pearl surround of his disc earring and the tiny gold rings of the upper earring. His facial profile rendered with the protruding of the eye and chromatic modeling of the skin are characteristic of the Indian stylistic grammar, which is also used for the painting of the figures dressed in Tibetan costumes. The distinctive faces of the Buddhas, their iconometric proportion, the triangular form of uṣṇīṣa and the tiny curls which define the periphery of the hairline also appear at Yemar (figs. 79-81) in paintings identified by inscription as "Indian manner" (rgya.gar.lugs), painted by a Tibetan artist. Thus the paintings of Grathang allow understanding of what Tibetans in the late eleventh century perceived as Indian stylistic vocabulary of painting. The Grathang mural paintings are some of the finest extant today in Tibet, valiant testimony to the spiritual aspirations of the Tibetans in the eleventh century.
Lit.: Henss 1994/1997; Lo Bue 1998; Tucci 1988, IV.1: 137; Vitali 1990.

47. *Bodhisattvas, Yemar monastery*
Clay, traces of polychrome, height ca. 180 cm, eleventh century
Although well documented by archival photographs from Tucci's expeditions, today in Tibet the only extant traces of a remarkable eleventh century school of clay statues are the group at Yemar monastery. Similar statues were created notably at Shalu and at Grathang, as well as other temples visited by Tucci (fig. 69). These statues are the translation from painting into sculpture of the slender Grathang Bodhisattvas wearing Tibetan robes and boots (plate 44). In the sculptures the Indian facial characteristics are well defined in the archive photos, but water damage has gravely distorted the faces of the statues standing today. The aquiline nose and curved eye with dip at pupil remain visible nonetheless. The body proportions are relatively hidden beneath the thick folds of elaborately quilted fabric with brocade medallions. It is important to recall that these are ideal images – according to the analysis of Riboud, such fabrics may have only existed in the artists' repertory, because such weaves reflect a later technology. Certainly, medallion motifs in samit were known in Tibet since the Pugyel dynasty (figs. 1, 15, 16) and by the eleventh century, such designs were symbolic of regal garments, befitting a Bodhisattva.
Lit.: Lo Bue 1998; Riboud 1981: 140; Tucci 1988; Vitali 1990.

48-50. *Illuminated leaf of a Prajñāpāramitā manuscript*
Ink and gouache on paper, 21.5x62 cm, Tibet, twelfth to thirteenth century, Donation Lionel Fournier, Musée Guimet MA 5174
This is the first page of a manuscript of the Prajñāpāramitā sūtra, skillfully calligraphed in Tibetan letters. The paper has been marked in red with two circles, to show where a string might pass to keep the leaves together. This is an archaism,

for the circles were never pierced, thus the leaves were simply placed between two covers. Another archaic feature is the orthography used for certain words. However, this trait persisted for certain volumes of canonical literature long after it disappeared from vernacular Tibetan. The Buddha Maitreya, identified by the vase in his right hand, in simple monks' robe rather than royal garments, is represented in a pronounced déhanchement, the hands disproportionately enlarged. He is surrounded by eight smaller figures of Buddha, seated in vine tendrils. The ovoid halo and high uṣṇīṣa are derived from Pāla models; the sway of the robe conforms to an excavated tenth century Pāla image (von Schroeder 1981: plate 61E). The Bodhisattva in añjali mudrā is probably to be identified as a form of Avalokiteśvara. His crown has triangular segments somewhat similar to those painted at Grathang and Shalu, adapted from Pāla models, a form of crown also documented in contemporary mural paintings of the Lhasa Jokhang, attributed to the late eleventh century restorations by the translator of Zangskar. Surrounded by ten Buddhas, which probably correspond to the Buddha of the Ten Directions, the Bodhisattva's iconometric proportions are more massive than that of the Buddhas. The stance is stiff despite the emphasized bend at the hip. In this manuscript, the treatment of the background is a fabric of stylized flowers in circles.

The diamond motif which frames the illuminations, and similar bright colors accentuating shades of red, yellow and orange are documented in illuminations of a Newar Buddhist manuscript paleologically corresponding to the thirteenth century (Pal 1966: 118; Pal 1985: 200-201). By virtue of the influx to Tibet of Nepalese artists throughout history, it is quite possible that this manuscript might be an example of a text made for a Tibetan patron by a Newar artist, either working in Nepal or in Tibet, or by a Tibetan artist following Newar and Pāla esthetic conventions.

Previously published: Béguin 1990: 23-24. Lit.: Pal 1966, 1985; von Schroeder 1981.

51. *Buddha Śākyamuni with the events of his life*

Stone, height 55 cm, Burma or Bengal, eleventh-twelfth century, private collection

A number of stele of this iconography have been conserved in Burma, and were made of Burmese stone, although in many cases, the provenance of the stone itself remains unknown to date. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, esthetically and spiritually, there were intense relations between Bengal and Burma where the royal court actively promoted support of the schools of Mahāyāna and esoteric Buddhism originating in Bengal. The Pāla esthetic predominated in contemporary Buddhist establishements in both regions (fig. 77). Thus attribution of geographic provenance remains open to question for certain portable images. In recent times, access to Burma has been restricted due to political considerations, thus hampering understanding of the degree to which Tibet was exposed to direct influences from Burma. This will certainly be an important issue for future research. Trade routes are well documented from Burma to central and eastern Tibet, as well as linguistic affinities, but to date there are no pilgrim's accounts of journey from Tibet to Bengal via Burma, although the itinerary was clearly used (Howard 1989: 57). This sculpture represents the Pāla esthetic as practiced in both Bengal and Burma. The scale of the image is relatively large in comparison to miniature stele from Bengal, yet the composition of the biographical scenes and the style of carving clearly derive from Indian antecedents. The following scenes may be identified: the Mahāparinirvāṇa at the top, and the stūpa to contain the remains of his physical body; on the right, the descent from Tuṣita Heaven, the first sermon, the birth of the Buddha from his mother's side, the protection by the nāga Mucalinda at lower right; at left, the taming of the elephant Nālāgiri, the demonstrations of the great illusion to heretics, the gift of the honey bowl by the monkey, and the ascetic practice shown by the ematiated body at lower left. The carving of the central image illustrates the boughs of the Bodhi tree sheltering Śākyamuni as he remains in meditation, touching the earth as witness to his victory over all illusions.

Previously unpublished. Lit.: Howard 1989; Huntington 1987; Huntington and Huntington 1990: 217-222; Kossak 1998.

52. *Śākyamuni*

Brass, copper overlay and silver inlay, 13.5 cm, India, eleventh to twelfth century, private collection

This image of Śākyamuni again represents the moment of calling the earth to witness, in which the characteristic gesture is called bhūmisparśa, the touching of the earth. Yet here he is seated on an intricately carved bolster, with a central kirtimukha, literally a "face of glory", an Indian convention, above a stepped platform supported by lions, elephants and two deities, a gandharva-apsara couple. The edge of the platform is finished by large beads. The iconometric proportions of the Buddha and his uṣṇīṣa, face, the use of silver inlay for the urna and robe details, bolster, platform and its accentuated beaded edge all relate to recognized Pāla stylistic conventions from a documented example which is attributed Tibetan provenance, due to combination of Kashmiri and Pāla esthetics (Huntington and Huntington 1990: 371-373, plate 135). According to recent metallurgical analyses, silver inlay and copper overlay of robe were quantitatively analyzed as prevalent in Pāla India but more rarely in central Tibet during this period, which suggests Indian provenance for this statue. Such a small image might easily have been carried to Tibet soon after it was cast.

Previously unpublished. Lit.: Huntington 1983; Huntington and Huntington 1990; Reedy 1997: 269.

53. *Avalokiteśvara*

Gilt copper, traces of polychrome, incrustation of lapis, turquoise, and semi-precious stone, height 65 cm, Nepal, twelfth century, private collection

54. *Avalokiteśvara*

Wood with polychrome, height 21 cm, Nepal, twelfth century, L.F. Collection

These two statues present the classical Newar esthetic of the twelfth century, such as Tibetans would have encountered in their pilgrimages to Kathmandu. This perfect elegance of the āsana and gently modeled ideal iconometric proportion shows the genius of the Newari sculptors, which found great favor in Tibet. The square hairline and fine facial features are typical of the of Newar esthetic of this period. Yet the media of wood and gilt copper, jewelry and scale of 21 cm as opposed to 65 cm completely distinguish these two images. The crown has the horned Garuḍa but no snakes emerging from the beak; red semi-precious stones are used for the Garuḍa's eyes. The crown, jewelry and belt of the metal Avalokiteśvara are typical of the relative simplicity of twelfth century Newar work, later characterized by more elaborate scroll and cabochon detail. Although the back of this image is fully finished, as typical of cast images of this period, the gilding was only applied on the front and sides. Were the third eye to be placed horizontally, and the crown shaped as a mitre, the image here identified as a Bodhisattva might represent Indra, so close is the iconography at this time in Nepal for both Hindu and Buddhist imagery. However, an identification of Avalokiteśvara is certain because at the back of the left elbow, arm and shoulder, three small cavities indicate where tenons for a now-lost stem and lotus blossom were previously affixed. The wooden Avalokiteśvara has a small image of Amitābha at the front of his chignon, which ensures the identification, even though he too has lost the characteristic lotus. The back of the wood Avalokiteśvara reveals the care and finition of the workmanship, which includes a consecration cavity.

Plate 53, previously unpublished; plate 54, previously published: Béguin 1990: 175. Lit.: Pal 1978, 1985; von Schroeder 1981: plate 84B.

55. *Portrait of four lamas*
Distemper on cloth, 80x55 cm, Tibet, twelfth to thirteenth century, R.R.E. Collection
This representation of four lamas appears to be a more archaic style, due to simplicity of composition and throne construction. There are no inscriptions on front or back to permit exact identification. In both registers, there are two lamas, one older and one younger. The two teachers, both older men, are differentiated by their hairlines and facial corpulence yet both older monks make the gesture of disputation. Although very similar, the younger monk in the two registers is differentiated by facial hair patterns, and the more pronounced chin of the monk in the lower register. At the upper borders, a stylized trilobate doorway with two pillars appears, it is a frequent architectural convention in Tibetan paintings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This represents a gateway of Bodhgaya (Ebert 1994: fig. 9). Inside the stūpa gateway, two Mahāsiddhas, probably Tilopa and Naropa, both seated on animal skins. In the lower register, again inside shrines, at left, Bromton, the principal lay disciple of Atīśa, and at right, a white-robed, bearded man, who has probably taken vows of non-monastic ascetic Buddhist practices. In the center, the Indian monk probably is to be recognized as Atīśa. At the center of both registers, an offering stand with fly whisks, a long flat object, which is a book wrapped in fabric, two flowers, and a stūpa. Fly whisks are waved as a sign of purification during the procedure of consecration of the teacher as universal sovereign, the book is the receptacle of the word, i.e. the Buddha's teachings and the stūpa is the receptacle of the thoughts or "mind" of the Buddha while simultaneously symbolizing the Dharmakāya (Chayet 1994: 149; Snellgrove 1987: 226; Macdonald 1962: 138). Ritual objects such as these were already represented in eleventh century Pāla stele, usually in the lower register beneath the central deity (Huntington and Huntington 1990: 320). The distinction between Indian and Tibetan monastic garb is again indicated by color and style of robes. The extreme starkness and simplicity of the composition, the thrones, and portrait technique stylistically suggest a date of twelfth to thirteenth century.
Lit.: Bentor 1996; Chayet 1994; Ebert 1994; Huntington 1990; Kossak and Singer 1998; Macdonald 1962; Snellgrove 1987.

56. *Maitreya*
Distemper on cloth, 79.4x62.9 cm, Tibet, second half of thirteenth century, private collection
This painting of Maitreya is a representation in royal garments as a Bodhisattva, a being destined for enlightenment, thus emphasizing his potential for becoming the Buddha of the Future Era. Maitreya is identified here by the presence, in the center of his braided high chignon, of a small stūpa, his characteristic emblem. The rainbow halo may represent a conceptual borrowing from a Tibetan Buddhist metaphor of the Great Perfection (Dzog chen) literature. The rainbow body refers to the transformation of the human body in nirvāṇa whereby no residue, no physical remains, will be produced, but the body will become a "body of light", the dissolution of which probably gave rise to the notion of a rainbow body as symbolic of consummate enlightenment. Pure light is the aura of the enlightened ones (Karmay 1988). This notion has been fairly constant in Tibetan literature since the eleventh century onwards. Maitreya is flanked by the white Avalokiteśvara, holding the lotus, and the yellow Mañjuśrī, a book placed on top of his blue lotus, his shoulders draped in a transparent fabric with fine red outline of a scroll motif. On the four borders of the painting, Maitreya is surrounded by thirty-five Buddhas, perhaps representative of the Thirty-five Buddhas of confession, their skin in different hues. The imprint of Pāla India leaves no doubt, for in addition to the throne, the coiffure and costume, the subtle chromatic modeling of the bodies in their slender proportions, once again the distinctive halo, curved uṣṇīṣa, and curled hair periphery of the Buddha image in the Indian manner is repeated for the thirty-five Buddha of the border. At the center of the upper register, directly above Maitreya's head, an aspect of Mahāvairocana, head of Maitreya's lineage according to the Niṣpannayogāvali, an anthology of rituals compiled in the second half of the eleventh century by the Indian master Abhayākaragupta. The serene face of Maitreya is stylized yet life-like due to the deft chromatic modeling and fine outline detail of thin red surrounding the white lips and deep red mouth, again a thin white line to define the bridge of the aquiline nose. Red outline is used to very subtly accentuate the chromatic definition of the entire body, emphasizing the visual focus on Maitreya. He wears a short red dhoti and a transparent garment over his legs, the bands of horizontal stripes just barely defined in thin red line. The fully stylized throne and the somewhat more hieratic poses of the deities perhaps more reflect the influence of Newar ideal images of the twelfth century than the almost life-like images of the Pāla style directly imported via Indian masters and artists. The repercussion of the progressive destruction of Indian Buddhist sanctuaries during the late eleventh and twelfth century lead to the migration of Indian masters and artists to Nepal and to Tibet. The Newar artists in turn adapted the Pāla style to their own esthetic conventions, which become increasingly important in Tibet as Newar artists too were invited to Tibet. Later Tibetan historians describe Tibetan painters working "in the style of Nepal" by the second half of the twelfth century (Dargyay 1978: 102), although direct Indian influences were simultaneously present in Tibet. According to the most recent research, this painting was commissioned in central Tibet.
Previously published: Kossak and Singer 1998: 109-111. Lit.: Dargyay 1978; Karmay 1988: 190-195; de Mallmann 1986: 245.

57. *Throne of Avalokiteśvara*
Brass inlay of turquoise and coral, 21x13x11 cm, made by the Indian artist Maṅgalanātha, twelfth-thirteenth century, Donation Lionel Fournier, Musée Guimet MA 5177.
This throne-back is the support for an image of Avalokiteśvara (see plates 59-60). When previously studied, the stylistic parallel to the Tibetan eleventh century thrones of Kyangbu (Samada) was indicated, but the inscription on the rear of the throne-back was not translated. The short inscription clearly establishes the Indian nationality of the artist, who made this image of Avalokiteśvara as meditation deity of the lama, because this image gives the benediction of best enlightenment for sentient beings by the prayer Oṃ Maṇi Padme Hūṃ. Alternately, the inscription may possibly refer to an artist so faithful to Indian models that he was nicknamed "the Indian". The prayer Oṃ Maṇi Padme Hūṃ is documented among the Tibetan manuscripts of Dunhuang, yet a renewed importance came by Atīśa's composition of an explanation of the merits of its recitation, still included in the Tibetan canonical literature. Two Nyingmapa lamas linked with the *terma* tradition, Nyang ral (1124-1192) and Guru Chowang (1212-1273) further spurred the vast propagation of this prayer which thereafter became the most famous of all Tibetan Buddhist prayers. The form of the throne follows classical Indian models, which combine an assemblage of natural and supernatural forces to signify reverence to the holder of the throne as master of these forces, a position usually reserved for Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other deities (de Mallman 1949; Singer 1994). The naturalistic elephants support the vyālaka, a creature which combines an elongated lion body with the head or horns of a ram, here garlands of jewels emerge from his mouth, the horns of the head barefly discernable. Two makaras, mythical sea monsters, recall the role of the nāgas, subterranean and underwater creatures, as guardians of the Buddha's teachings. The elaborate curls of their tails hold two snakes which are also held in the mouth of the distinctive Garuḍa, recognizable as the Tibetan Khyung by virtue of its horns. Within the throne, an incised carving of a goddess holding the stem of a sheaf of grain in left hand and a fruit in her extended right hand, inside curls of leafy

tendrils. She may be identified as Vasudhārā, goddess of prosperity, in comparison with a painting having identical iconography and inscribed name of Nor rgyun ma, Tibetan for Vasudhārā (Kossak and Singer 1998: plate 23a, lower register, far right icon). Although Béguin previously attributed this image and throne to the fourteenth century, the signature by an Indian artist and the esthetic parallels suggested allow a possible attribution to the twelfth to thirtheenth century.
The inscription reads: "bla ma thugs rje chen po'i rten rgya 'gar bgra shis 'gon gyi bzo' gnyi sman dmyal ba'i yid dam 'dis 'gro drug byang chub mchog du bsngo' Om Mani pad me Hum": "This image of Thugs rje chen po, made by the Indian Maṅgalanātha (bgra shis 'gon), was made as meditation image for Sman dmyal ba, (because) this tutelary deity conveys the benediction of the best mind of enlightenment for the six classes of sentient beings".
Previously published: Béguin 1990: 26-27. Lit.: Imaeda 1979, 1981; Kossak and Singer 1998; de Mallmann 1949; Pommaret 1989; Singer 1994.

58. *Buddha Mahāvairocana*
Distemper on cloth, ca. 124x86 cm, Tibet, thirteenth century, Pritzker Collections
This representation of Buddha corresponds to a form of Mahāvairocana making the Dharmacakra mudrā, the gesture of teaching, and wearing monastic robes according to the liturgy of the Tantra which purifies from all difficult rebirths, the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana, as described in the eleventh century Niṣpannayogāvalī ritual anthology (de Mallmann 1986: 130, n. 6). His identification is designated as Śākyasiṃha ("The lion of the Śākya clan"), as an "epithet of Mahāvairocana" (de Mallmann 1986: 331). In this way, the tantra reconciles the conflation of the identities of Śākyamuni and Vairocana. Both may have the lion as emblem, both may be represented with the Dharmacakra mudrā, used in biographical events of Śākyamuni to symoblize his first preaching, the first turning of the wheel of Dharma, in the deer park of Sarnath. In an earlier version of this tantra, translated during the Pugyel dynasty, the iconography stipulates that Mahāvairocana should be represented in the gesture of meditation, white in color, having four faces, adorned with jewelry, and seated on a lion throne (Skorupski 1983: 20), but a ninth century ritual for Abhisambodhi Vairocana already proposed that this gold-color Vairocana could be represented in the manner of Śākyamuni. By the time the Niṣpannayogāvalī anthology was compiled in the eleventh century, the text of the tantra had been apparently revised. The "Tantra which Purifies from Difficult rebirths" was retranslated into Tibetan in the thirteenth century, with considerable variation from the previous version (Snellgrove 1987: 103n). Esthetically, there is a strong formal relation of the throne and rainbow aura, the halo with multicolor loops surrounding the delicately painted detail of the face, the costumes of the attendant Bodhisattvas which recall the painting of Maitreya (plate 56), a more sober composition dominated by tones of red, yellow and white. This representation of Mahāvairocana is teeming with colors in the throne bases and lotus pedestals, the myriad figures, the floral and multicolor rock stave background. In the upper register of eight Buddha, at center a lama is portrayed. Immediately below, another group of eight Buddhas, each with a flower; beneath them the Śrāvakas, those who attended the first preaching, then the group of sixteen Bodhisattvas, twelve of whom cluster kneeling at his sides, four other Bodhisattvas stand or sit immediately beside Mahāvairocana. To the left of the throne, a Tibetan monk gazes upon Mahāvairocana, at right a small group including two monks. Seven Tārā grace the lower register. In this profusion of color and detail, Mahāvairocana is the focal point, the viewer's eye is guided by the enhanced juxtaposition of the intense color fields of his red robes, yellow skin and green throne cushion.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Kossak and Singer 1998; de Mallmann 1986; Skorupski 1983; Snellgrove 1987.

59-60. *Avalokiteśvara*
Brass, inlay of copper and silver, incrustations of pearl, turquoise and coral, traces of polychrome, height 17 cm, Tibet, twelfth-thirteenth century, Donation Lionel Fournier, Musée Guimet MA 5177c
Avalokiteśvara is represented here in his quintessential Tibetan aspect. The statue is here presented fully assembled with the throne back, as well as isolated to allow the back view, for indeed this statue is cast in the round. This form of Avalokiteśvara, seated in vajrāsana (diamond position), has two pairs of arms. The principal hands make the gesture of reverence (añjali mudrā), the two others hold the prayer beads and the lotus at the height of the shoulders. The incrusted pearl between the eyes represents the third eye of Avalokiteśvara. A small image of Amitābha, the Buddha of whom Avalokiteśvara is an emanation, is visible at the top of his chignon. Amitābha is the Buddha of Boundless Light, associated with the West, residing in the paradise Sukhāvatī, land of Joy. To the simple believer, the goal of rebirth in the paradise of Amitābha is intrinsic, although seemingly in contradiction with the Mahāyāna religious aspiration of cultivating the thought of enlightenment and following the altruistic path of the Bodhisattva to guide all sentient beings to nirvāṇa. The recitation of Avalokiteśvara's prayer is the key to assure this favorable rebirth, simultaneously it is a call for the compassion of Avalokiteśvara for support in the individual's daily life. Already by the late eighth century, there is one documented literary reference to the assimilation of Avalokiteśvara with Songtsen gampo, the first historic Tsenpo of the Pugyel dynasty (Snellgrove 1987: 55-56, 75, 455). This tradition later became firmly anchored as the *terma* literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries greatly popularized the cult of Avalokiteśvara linked with Padmasambhava as avatar of Avalokiteśvara. Although the inscription of the throne (cf. plate 57) does not provide a date, the esthetic parallels of the throne with those of eleventh century Tibetan temples and the signature by the Indian sculptor suggest that this statue may be contemporary with the development of the cult of Avalokiteśvara in the Tibetan *terma* literature.
Previously published: Béguin 1990: 26-27. Lit.: Pommaret 1989; Snellgrove 1987.

61. *Portrait of Tashipel, Taglung Tangpa chenpo (1142-1210)*
Distemper on cloth, 52x34 cm, ca. 1210, Donation Lionel Fournier, Musée Guimet MA 5176
In the center of this composition the meditation deities Saṃvara and Vajravārāhī are enshrined beneath a portrait initially identified by H. Stoddard as Taglung Tangpa chenpo, who founded the Taglung monastery in 1180 (Béguin 1990: 20). The historic identification of Tashipel has lead to further research because this painting is the earliest identified Tibetan portait known today. Analysis of the dedicatory inscriptions on the rear of the painting has revealed several prayers and a Tibetan verse which reads "Hommage to the revered teacher Tashipel" (Singer 1997: 52). According to Singer, this inscription suggested that the painting was made between the date of Taglung's foundation and Tashipel's death in 1210. In the upper register, the Buddha Vajradhara, the Indian Mahāsiddhas Tilopa and Naropa, the Tibetan masters Marpa and Milarepa, his disciple Gampopa and Pagmo drupa (1110-1170) at far right; at left, the Buddha Śākyamuni and disciples, at right Avalokiteśvara Ṣaḍakṣarī. Two monks who closely resemble Tashipel are represented along the sides. In the lower register, a monk accomplishes a ritual, and there are protective deites associated with Tashipel: Vajrapāṇi, Mahākāla, Jambhala, Siṃhamukha, Kurukullā, as well as another representation of Vajravārāhi (Béguin 1990). The painting is striking by the footprints which frame Tashipel. These may have been traced from footprints made directly by Tashipel during his life, for the Tibetans adopted the ancient Indian Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions recognizing the sacred character of handprints and footprints. They also refer to the Tibetan respect for teachers/lamas and are more like symbols

of the lama's blessings (byin.rlabs) and memories of him. If the footprints are there, it is as if the person is there. By placing the footprints, it is the presence of the lama himself (Selig-Brown 1998 in press).
Previously published: Béguin 1990: 20-21; Singer 1997. Lit.: Selig-Brown 1998 in press.

62. *Portrait of a lama*
83x72 cm, distemper on cloth, Tibet, thirteenth century, R.R.E. Collection
This portrait of a lama both follows the esthetic model of the Tathāgata Buddha paintings and the lama portrait of Tashipel due to the composition of a central image on a throne defined by flanking Bodhisattvas and surrounding small scale portraits arranged in successive registers. Several paintings with stylistic similarities have been identified among which are large scale portraits of abbots of the monasteries of Taglung and Narthang (Singer 1994, 1997). In addition to the central figure, smaller images of the lineage of transmission of the teachings may comprise Buddhist masters from India and lamas from several Tibetan monastic schools who participated in the diffusion of specific liturgies, reflecting the non-sectarian character of teachers and teaching establishments in Tibet at this time. The portraits of the Buddhist hierarchs combine individual physiognomies with stylized conventions for draperies of the monastic robes, āsana, and mudrā. In addition to body corpulence, the hairline and beard configuration often provide determining characteristics (Singer 1994: 120). A previous study by Stoddard attributed this painting to the Taglung school, thirteenth century, identifying the Sanskrit prayer inscriptions written in Tibetan script as the Buddhist creed. The exceptionally large (129x114 cm) portrait inscribed with the name Zhang ston Chos kyi bLa ma presents precisely the same halo, hairline as well as the body and robe characteristics as the central Lama portrayed here (Singer 1994: fig. 24; 1997: fig. 46; Stoddard 1996: fig. 2). Zhang ston was the fifth abbot of Narthang on the seat from 1234-44. While it would be tempting to thus identify this portrait as Zhang ston, it is not certain, for several smaller figures surrounding the central lama present very similar hairlines. Despite the distinctive hairline, the Narthang abbot is represented as a slightly older and thinner man, with moustache and small goatee while this painting portrays a younger man. Two Bodhisattvas at his sides indicate that this unidentified lama was venerated as if he were a Tathāgata, and the three flaming jewels above his heart are an unusual ornament. The "triple-gem" is analogous to the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha, the community which upholds the Dharma teachings. Although the strong esthetic affinites between the Narthang portrait and this painting may perhaps indicate two creations of the same atelier, were the artists working inside one monastery or within a given region or traveling elsewhere? Immediately beside the lama's throne, at left a small white Acala, his kneecap touching the lotus pedestal, and at right a standing Buddha. The monks surrounding are represented differently. One group has with red pointed hats with narrow gold horizontal stripes, sleeveless robes, red cloaks – Śākyamuni Buddha at center wears such a robe, so this costume represents Indian robes. Another group of fifteen lamas without hats, wearing Tibetan monastic garments. One monk in the Tibetan robes has a flat yellow hat, which may present analogies with a Gelugpa abbot's hat (Waddell 1972: 196 abbot's hat, tangsha; Norbu and Turnbull 1976: 90 winter hat, tasha). At lower left, there is also a portrait of a white robed man, possibly a layman who had taken vows of Buddhist practice, but not monastic ordination; perhaps he was the donor of the painting. Beneath the throne, a monk making rituals, and the protective deity Mahākāla, as well as Vajrasattva, Avalokiteśvara, Vasudhārā, and Gaṇapati. This painting is rendered in an esthetic mode influenced by Pāla India, linked to twelfth and thirteenth century works, but due to lack of historical identification of the subject, the chronology is tentative.
Lit.: Norbu and Turnbull 1976; Roerich 1979: 282-283; Singer 1994, 1997; Stoddard 1993, 1996; Waddell 1972.

63. *Portrait of Buton Rinchen Grub (1290-1364)*
Copper alloy with gold inlay and gilt pigment, hollow cast, height 13.5 cm, ca. 1350-1375, Tibet, private collection
Although not inscribed, this highly naturalistic portrait of lama has been identified as Buton in comparison with a recognized statue in the collections of the Potala Palace, two images in the Gyantse stūpa, and a painting Tucci collected at Shalu (Lo Bue and Ricca 1990: 371; Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: 290, 313; Tucci 1949: plate 52). The elongated shape of the face is accentuated by an unusual cranial configuration of a protuberance, which is not a symbolic uṣṇīṣa, but rather, apparently the physiognomy of Buton. The profile allows better view of this distinctive shape. The bronze is dark brown copper alloy with gold inlay in cloud patterns on the robe (Huntington and Huntington 1990: 389, plate 157; Uhlig 1995: 186, plate 130). Within the clouds are auspicious symbols such as the three prongs of a branch of coral, two rhinoceros horns which are long triangles emerging from the curves of the clouds. These symbols are associated with wealth, as felicitous emblems. The lapels of the robe have a contrasting motif. The robe is represented as if it were made of Chinese silks. This is perfectly possible in the context of active Mongol patronage in Tibet during Buton's lifetime. According to Buton's biography, Mongol and Chinese craftsmen were engaged to work during the restoration and construction of certain chapels at Shalu during his tenure as abbot until 1356 (Ruegg 1966: 17). Thus his robe of Chinese silk is not surprising. This statue is however remarkable for the finesse of the casting and actual portraiture. If made at Shalu, the nationality of the artist is all but certain, due to the manifold complexities of style, cultural preferences and casting techniques linking Tibetans, Nepalese, Mongols and Chinese present at Shalu during the Yuan period. It is probably to be dated towards the end of Buton's lifetime, or shortly thereafter, due to the realism which is apparent in the casting.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Huntington and Huntington 1990; Ruegg 1966; Uhlig 1995.

64. *Portrait of Buton Rinchen Grub and Rinchen Namgyel*
Distemper on cloth, 72x82 cm, Tibet, ca. 1375-1400, private collection
This painting was one of a series according to the inscription on the rear. To the left, the portrait of Buton greatly resembles the statue in plate 63, although the painting portrays him with shaved head. The distinctive shape of the head, however, leaves little doubt as to the identification. At right, his biographer and principal disciple Rinchen Namgyel. He wrote Buton's biography in two parts; the first part was composed before Buton relinquished the abbacy in 1356, while the second half was composed during his retirement and before his death in 1364. Rinchen Namgyel died in 1388. Buton holds a monk's bowl and a book, no doubt reminiscent of his great labors to successfully organize the mansucripts of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. The two lama portraits are surrounded by events from the life of Buton, starting from the top center and proceeding counter-clockwise. He is depicted as a child learning at his father's feet (upper register, far left), then at the period of his monastic ordination, whereupon he is henceforth represented with pointed red hat and monks' robe, one shoulder bare. Twice Buton is shown receiving homage from Mongols, perhaps emissaries from Emperor Togun who invited him to China (Ruegg 1966: 121). Their costumes conform to extant embroidered panels dating from the Yuan dynasty (Watt and Wardwell 1997: 194-195). Along the lower register, there are two panels with background as if in yellow fabric with abstract flower and vine configurations, while the two red rugs of the thrones depict a crow and a rabbit, respectively Chinese symbols for the sun and the moon, both popular during the Yuan period. While the provenance of the fabric is not certain, for within a few years

after the Mongol conquest of the eastern Islamic lands, Chinese motifs such as lotus and phoenix had spread to almost all Muslim areas and were rapidly integrated into Persian fabrics (Von Folsach 1993: 31), the leaf tendrils of the yellow fabric relates to leaf designs on Yuan or early Ming blue-and-white porcelain (Rawson 1984: figs. 62b, 66, 98). A virtually identical floral pattern – with the addition of couples of phoenix – is used as the throne fabric for ninth-century Indian masters represented in the Gyantse stūpa (Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: plates 105-106), where its use appears to be a deliberate anachronism in comparison to lavish gilt brocades elsewhere in the Gyantse stūpa. In other border vignettes of Buton's portrait, the buildings of Shalu with the tiered turquoise tile roof are visible as Buton receives offerings from a Tibetan layman. His patronage by the rulers of the Khasa Malla kingdom may be indicated by the Nepalese stūpa in the lower left corner (Ruegg 1966: 121). Tārā was represented as a leitmotif, both at the beginning of the biography and upon his death, when in a trail of smoke, he is seen leaving the funerary chorten to turn toward Tārā in heavenly space. There are a few maṇḍalas in the upper register, indicative of Buton's role designing sanctuaries for maṇḍalas inside Shalu. The combination of Yuan fabric motifs with Nepalese throne detail and red scrolled ground suggest a time when both Yuan and Nepalese influences prevailed in Shalu, which is precisely characteristic of the period during Buton's life and immediately thereafter. The end of the Yuan dynasty in 1368 did diminish direct Mongol influence in Tibet although shortly thereafter the Chinese Yunglo Emperor (r. 1403-1424) actively patronized Tibetan Buddhist hierarchs. If the proposed chronology is accepted, this painting may be one of the earliest biographical paintings extant, roughly contemporary with the portrait of lama Khache Panchen (1127-1225) (Tucci 1949: plate 52; Pal 1998: plate 22). The spiritual context of the thirteenth to fourteenth century is indeed the moment when the veneration of the lama in immediate proximity superseded, to an extent, the more distant veneration of a Buddha. This would be congruent with the chronology proposed for this painting.
Inscription: "g.yon 2.": "second on the left".
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Pal 1998; Rawson 1984; Ricca and Lo Bue 1993; Ruegg 1966; Tucci 1949; Von Folsach and Keblow Bersted 1993; Watt and Wardwell 1997.

65. *Portrait of Ma Cig (1062-1158)*
Distemper on cloth, 29x34 cm, Tibet, early fourteenth century, Carlo Cristi Collection
66. *Portrait of Padampa (died ca. 1115)*
Distemper on cloth, 28.5x35.5 cm, Tibet, early fourteenth century, Carlo Cristi Collection
These two paintings are a set, representing Padampa, one of the most famous Indian mystic masters who came to Tibet during the eleventh century, and Ma Cig (Ma gCig Lab sgron), the Tibetan woman who was his illustrious tantric partner. Padampa is wide-eyed, in an expression of ecstatic awareness, one of the conventions associated with the acquisition of spiritual powers and physical mastery for which Mahāsiddhas are renowned. He is dressed in bone ornaments, holds a thin bone in one hand and a vajra in the other, his crossed legs are bound within a sort of cover held in place with a checked band to ensure his position on the goatskin. The extremely geometric organization of the two compositions follows a Nepalese spatial organization, as well as a color scheme influenced by the Nepalese emphasis on tones of red and primary colors. The upper register of the painting of Padampa has the Five Buddha in their characteristic colors and mudrā, as well as Buddha Śākyamuni sheltered by the snake Mucalinda. At far left, a Bodhisattva on a lion, a form of Mañjuśrī, his right hand wielding a sword. Surrounding Padampa numerous couples embrace in varied positions. In contrast, in the bottom register there are seven monks wearing the stiff Tibetan outer robe, yellow or red, atop the monastic robe. At the far right corner, a male donor figure who offers flowers to the male meditation deity and the assembly of monks. He is wearing a hat with lappets, a necklace, a thick robe tied with a sash, and boots. This costume follows western Tibetan models identified from mural and portable paintings from the Ngari regions (Chayet 1994: 166). Padampa came to Tibet several times, from India and Nepal, during the second half of the eleventh century. He initiated the founder of Grathang monastery into the doctrines of Appeasement of Suffering and the gCod, but Ma Cig was his principle Tibetan disciple (Roerich 1979: 867-872). The representation of Ma Cig as a Ḍākinī also follows iconographic conventions. The Ḍākinīs may be real, imagined, or mythical females in a variety of roles as goddess, yoginī, consort for sexual yoga, wife, message-bearing epiphany or simply women, as well as non-anthropomorphic "immaterial" presences recognized as such in visions and mystic experiences (Gyatso 1998: 246). Ma Cig is represented wearing bone aprons, crown, necklaces and anklets, a scarf draped over her shoulders, holding the Tibetan damaru drum, and a bone flute. Above her right shoulder, a small image of Padmasambhava, whose consorts are also represented as Ḍākinī, although they too are attributed similar semi-mythical, semi-historical status as Padmasambhava. Yet Ma Cig is historically attested, in fact biographies insist on her personal importance as a teacher of many doctrines, including the Prajñāpāramitā, thus at top right, Prajñāpāramita is represented beside Śākyamuni and two siddhas. Ma Cig's fame was so great that she was visited by Indian masters to whom she taught her doctrines, thus instigating the first time that the Dharma was taken from Tibet to India (Lo Bue 1994). A small portrait of Padampa is placed above her left shoulder. She is surrounded by monks, primarily in the teaching mudrā. These two small paintings are naïve to a degree, in color scheme as well as the painting technique, particularly in the treatment of the border figures. Padampa and Ma Cig however, both are more skillfully rendered. While perfectly following established iconographic conventions for representation of Mahāsiddhas and Ḍākinīs, the two central figures convey energy and vitality beyond rote representation. The extremely simple composition, format, donor costumes, and the inclusion of Padmasambhava in the lineage tend to suggest a date of mid-thirteenth to early fourteenth century. On the back of the Ma Cig painting, consecration inscriptions in Tibetan alphabet transcribe Sanskrit prayers among which a mantra for Prajñāpāramitā, the Ye dharma prayer and a small verse in Tibetan language for the long life and attainment of merits for the donors, who are not named in this inscription.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Gyatso 1995, 1998; Lo Bue 1994; Orofino 1995; Roerich 1979.

67. *Four deities*
Distemper on cloth, 53x42 cm, Tibet, second half of thirteenth century to early fourteenth century, Donation Lionel Fournier, Musee Guimet MA 5175
This composition dedicated to four deities is structurally very close to the previous example, yet the grouping of four deites implies a liturgical context, which is not particularly clear in this case. Three of the divinities are clearly identified: the Buddha of medecine, recognizable by his blue body color, his bowl, and his bud of fruit; Avalokiteśvara with four arms holding the prayer beads and lotus, and Acala, presented here in an aspect which corresponds to a ritual evocation developed by Atīśa and his guru (see plate 78). The fourth deity is a form of Tārā with eight hands, corresponding directly to later Tibetan ritual anthologies, although absent from the eleventh and twelfth century Indian Buddhist ritual anthologies. According to the Tibetan ritual, Tārā in eight arm aspect has a green body, four heads (one of which is not seen here) and holds the stem of lotus in her two principal hands, the three right hands hold the prayer beads, the arrow and a wheel while the three left hands hold the banner of victory, the bow, and the ritual vase. She is seated in royal ease position, adorned with crown and jewels, having the body of a

young girl (Sādhanamālā 1974: 622-625). Surrounding the four deities, in the border frames of the painting are 29 Buddhas, complemented by six additional Buddhas within the central portion of the painting. This group probably represents the Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession. At center of the upper frame, between the Medecine Buddha and Avalokiteśvara, a small figure of a man, wearing a red turban and red robes. His identity remains unknown. While the Tibetan rituals consulted initially do not indicate author or translator for this ritual evocation of Tārā, a painting of Tārā in this iconography is extant today among the treasures of the Reting monastery where the early followers of Atīśa gathered (Singer 1994: 108) (see fig. 63). Atīśa's biography describes his commissions of paintings in India by artists of Vikramaśīla to bring to Tibet (Singer 1997: 72). Perhaps this unusual iconography of Tārā was inspired by Atīśa's visions and its representation emulated the Indian paintings he had so esteemed. In the Reting tradition, this icon is most sacred. Although the direct Indian liturgical influence of Atīśa's ritual composition for Acala is clear, and quite possibly for the iconography of this aspect of Tārā as well, in addition to direct Indian imprint, esthetically this painting may also be related to slightly later Nepalese esthetic influences due to the geometric divisions of the composition, the color scheme, and iconometry. A chronology of late thirteenth to early fourteenth century is proposed in correlation with dated examples.
Previously published: Béguin 1990: 23. Lit.: Sādhanamālā 1974; Singer 1994, 1997, 1998.

68. *Ratnasambhava*
Distemper on plaid cotton cloth, 40.6x32.6 cm, second half of thirteenth century, Tibetan Collection of the Newark Museum, inv. 93.247
This portrait of Ratnamsambhava, the Buddha of the South, presents him framed by groups of Buddhas and deities, yet abrasion has now rendered the understanding of the entire iconographical context virtually impossible. The throne back derived from Indian models, the body proportions, jewelry models and lotus cushion reflect a group of paintings attributed to the thirteenth century in a chapel of a nine-storey tower in southern Tibet associated with Marpa and his lineage (figs. 83-86). When visited by an eminent lama in the early twentieth century, he described these as "ancient Nepalese style" (Henss 1997a). The Garuḍa at the top of the throne corresponds to Nepalese rather than Tibetan "horned" Garuḍa models, although the dark blue ground with small flowers and broad leaves certainly also reflects knowledge of Indian manuscripts. In part, the stronger imprint of Nepal may reflect the lack of direct travel to and from India during this period due to political upheaval, as well as the influx to Tibet of Nepalese religious masters and artists. However, this assessment may more reflect the lama's understanding of styles of Tibetan art conflating Indian and Nepalese influences. By the thirteenth century, as documented by mural paintings, there had developed a vocabulary of esthetic tendencies which has been called a "Tibetan international style", insofar as it might be used wherever Tibetan Buddhism was practiced whether in central Tibet, Ladakh or Dunhuang (Klimburg-Salter 1998). Direct provenance, however, is known for portable paintings excavated from Kharakoto, a city in the Xixia territory, which were painted on the unusual checkered fabric visible here. Several Kharakhoto paintings display very similar iconometry, throne and trefoil leaf detail (Piotrovsky 1993: plates 7-12, 24). While trade of course may account for the actual workmanship of painting far from Kharakhoto, it is equally possible that this painting in a style which greatly resembles the models of central Tibet was made far northeast of Tibet in Xixia. Tibetan lamas traveled and taught in the Xixia empire as of mid-twelfth century, with Xixia imperial patronage of Tibetan Buddhism by Xia Renzong (1139-1193), who commissioned caves near Dunhuang according to Buddhist iconography of Tibet and China (Linrothe 1995). Unfortunately, there are no inscriptions on this painting for historic identification. The detail of Ratnasambhava's lower garment is remarkable for the pattern of seated Buddha and siddhas finely painted in medallions integrated within the broad stripes of pattern. In view of the known use of the cotton plaid fabric in Kharakhoto, the close stylistic links with central Tibet suggest that Tibetan artists may have traveled to the Xixia kingdom to work on Buddhist projects such as this painting.
Previously published: Fisher 1997, plate 24; Reynolds 1999. Lit.: Henss 1997a; Klimburg-Salter 1998; Kychanov 1978; Linrothe 1995; Piotrovsky 1993.

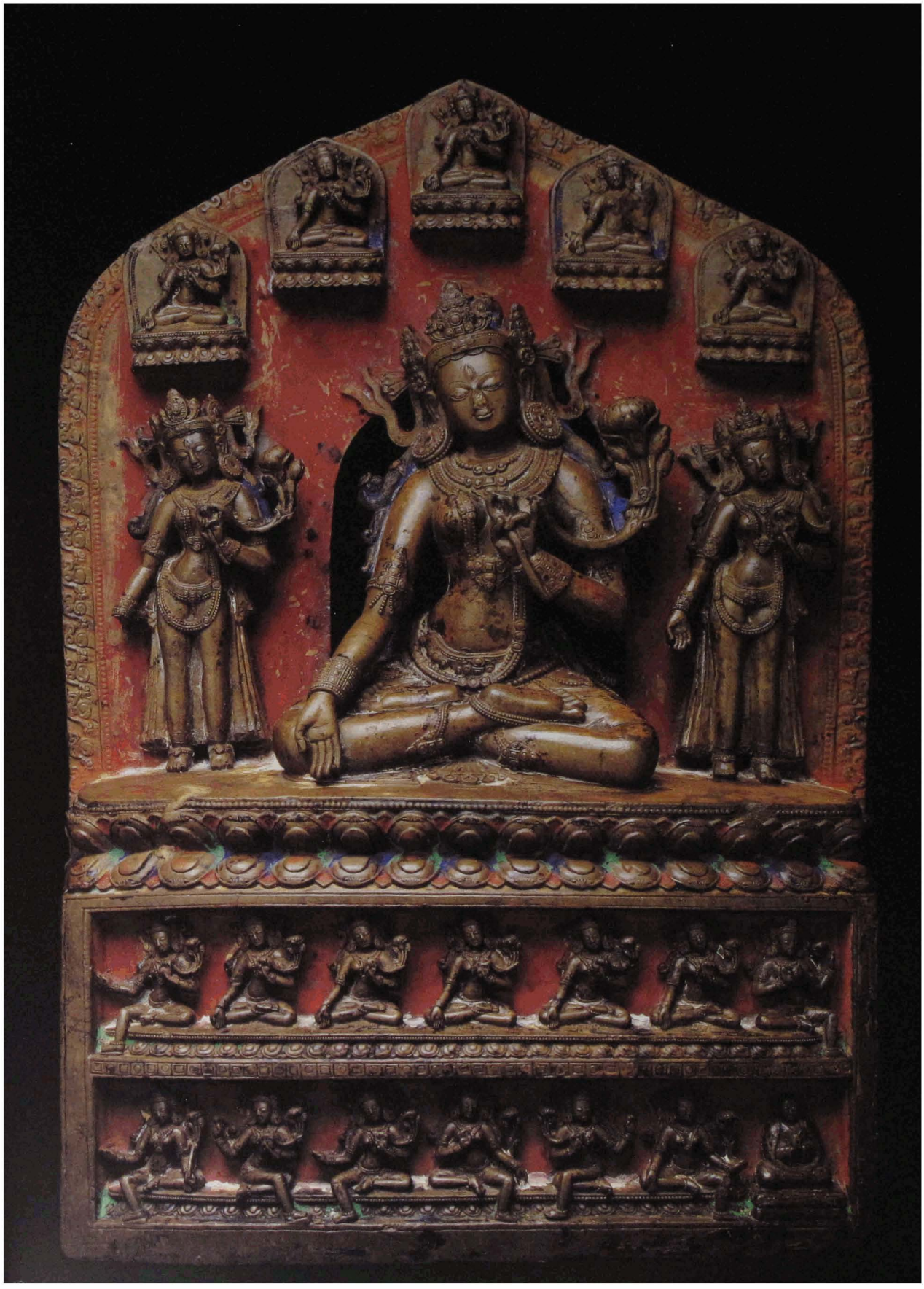
69-70. *Mahākāla*
Stone with polychrome, 47x28.5x12 cm, dated to the reign of Kubilai in the water-dragon year, 1292, Donation Lionel Fournier, Musée Guimet MA 5181
This carved stone is a religious icon and an historic document by virtue of the dedicatory insciption which relates its commission during the years of the Yuan imperial court of Kubilai Khan by Atsar Bagchi, a disciple of the Tibetan lama Phagpa who had served as imperial preceptor to Kubilai until his death in 1280 (van der Kuijp 1995a: 287). Although Atsar Bagchi's nationality is not known, he was scribe to Phagpa for many texts and eventually became an administrator in central Tibet (van der Kuijp 1995b: 922-923). Atsar Bagchi was the patron for this exquisite sculpture in 1292. According to the inscription, the sculptor was named in Tibetan, Kon chog kyab. The Sakya lama Phagpa had been responsible for bringing a group of Nepalese artists to Kubilai's court after their invitation to Sakya where they worked ca. 1260. Among those invited to the court, Anige, an exceptional ly talented Newar artist, became supervisor of several imperial ateliers in China and trained a whole generation of artists in the Newar esthetics and techniques of modeling and casting. While there is no mention whatsoever of Anige or his atelier in the inscription, the extremely fine workmanship of this sculpture reflects the Newar esthetic associated with Anige's production in Tibet and China, characterized by meticulous detail as well as scrupulous attention to proportions and iconography, and highly expressive features. This sculpture is the oldest dated example known today of a work made in Tibet, according to Tibetan Buddhist iconographic models, in the most pure Newar esthetic style. The central deity is Mahākāla, literally "the Great Time" or "the Great Black one", in his protective manifestation especially venerated by the Sakya school. This form of Mahākāla is called Gurgyi gonpo (mGur.gyi.mgon.po), which recalls his role to safeguard those siddhas and lamas who assure transmission of the vajra verses (rdo.rje.mgur) of the Sakya esoteric teachings (Lo Bue and Ricca 1990: 437). Mahākāla holds a stick said to enhance magical transformations, and a skull cup, in which he stirs a chopper. Mahākāla had already great prominence in Indian Buddhist mythology where such attributes were common to both Hindu and Buddhist traditions. He is surrounded by his entourage of several other protective deities regarded as his consorts or as his servants. In particular the protective goddess Lhamo rides a mule, drawn by her maidservant. Among her attributes, the skull cup, and a sword with a scorpion handle which is an attribute linked to her appearance in the mythology of the famous Indian epic of the Rāmāyaṇa (Heller 1997d). By holding the scorpion, Lhamo shows her mastery over potentially noxious influences and yet can use the scorpion to defend the Buddhist doctrine and those who uphold it. In other aspects, Lhamo became independently worshipped as a protective deity by several schools of Tibetan Buddhism. The carving is fully finished in the round by the "window" to allow viewing of Mahākāla's back consecrated with prayer syllables. In the back of the stele appear as well the Ye dharma prayer of dependent origination of all phenomena in the upper section of the stele, and the historic dedication in the lower section.

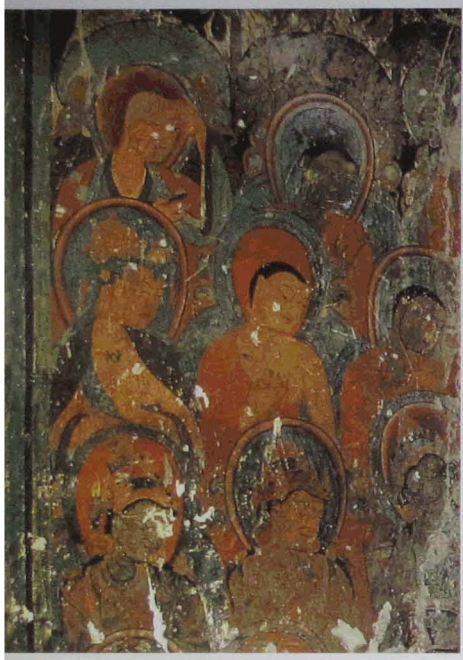
Previously published: Béguin 1990: 52-56; Stoddard 1985. Lit.: Heller 1997d; Lo Bue and Ricca 1990; de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 49-51; van der Kuijp 1995a, 1995b.

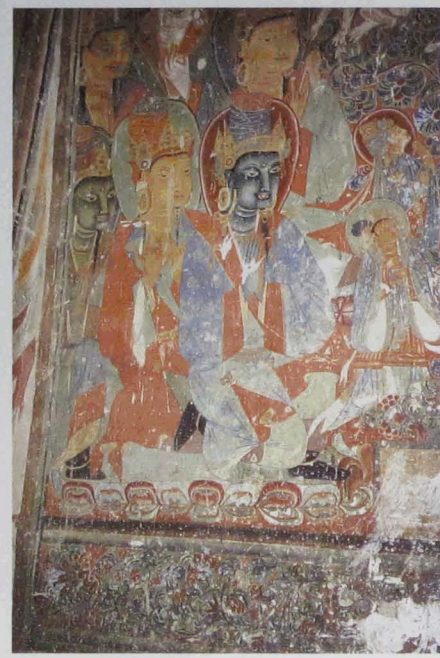
71-73. *Shalu monastery*
71. *Stūpa*, brass, turquoise inlay, height ca. 50 cm, ca. thirteenth century
72. *Maṇḍala mural paintings*, ca. 250 cm², early fourteenth century (restored twentieth century)
73. *Mural painting*, height ca. 250 cm, ca. 1306-1320
74. *Avalokiteśara*
Distemper on cloth, 54x45 cm, Nepal, early fourteenth century, private collection
These photographs allow an appreciation of some of the Shalu chapels decorated in the early fourteenth century, as well as a Nepalese painting similar to those which inspired the artists at Shalu (figs. 95, 98-102). The stūpa is made according to the traditional models but exceptionally incorporates a portrait of a seated lama holding a book and making a gesture of teaching inside the portal. The curling leaves and floral motifs which adorn the steps are extended to surround the turquoise as a toraṇa. Such stūpas are symbolic on several distinct levels, as the reminder of the physical remains of the Buddha, and as the symbol of the Dharmakāya. The stūpa is placed on an altar in front of the mural paintings. Although restored in the early twentieth century, their colors still allow understanding of the spatial divisions within the maṇḍala. Regarded as a sanctuary or palace of a deity who resides in the central area, there are four elaborate gateways to the inner sanctum of the temple. The mural painting of Avalokiteśvara in his most popular Tibetan manifestation demonstrates the Newar esthetic emulated in Shalu by Tibetan painters. Avalokiteśvara's throne is situated in the midst of pastel rock staves, for he is supposed to look down on the world from the Potalaka mountain. Behind the mountain, the deep blue sky is filled with small flowers floating in the wind, a curtain valance draped above the deity's residence. The mural painting in Shalu presents the throne, the more massive iconometric scale, the broad forehead and tiny smiling mouth typical of the Newar style of this period which may be appreciated in the portable painting, an epitome of the Newar style adapted to Tibetan iconographic needs. In the smaller format of the portable painting, which was probably made in the Kathmandu valley, the stylized rocks of Avalokiteśvara's mountain home are integrated directly within the center of the composition immediately surrounding the three principal representations of Avalokiteśvara. In the lower register, Nepalese donors are recognizable by their costumes. There are no inscriptions, which is not unusual for Nepalese paintings produced in the Kathmandu valley at this time.

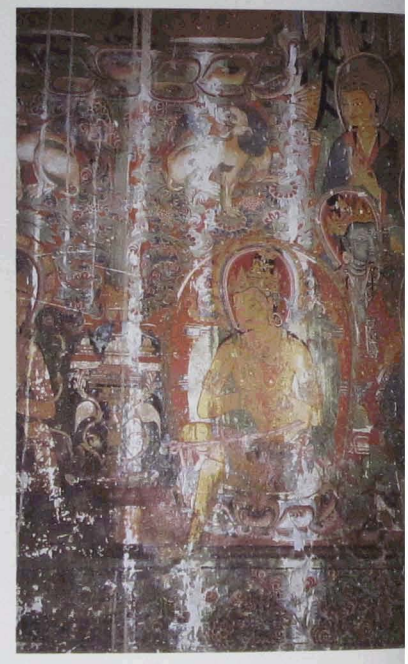
75. *Panel with five transcendent Buddhas*
Lampas weave silk, 36x41.5 cm, China, Jin dynasty, twelfth to thirteenth century, AEDTA Collections, 3724.
76. *Panel with Buddhist deities*
Lampas weave silk, 117x42.5 cm, China, Jin dynasty, twelfth to thirteenth century, AEDTA Collections, 3732.
These two fabric panels were long conserved in Tibet after their manufacture in China during the Jin dynasty. Such panels were commissioned as Buddhist imagery, perhaps in north China, then sent to Tibet as tribute. The fragments are woven using gilded paper wrapped around a silk core on a deep blue tabby foundation. The Five Buddha pattern is repeated several times, as if a representation of the Thousand Buddhas of the Favorable Eon. Yet the mudrā distinguish the Buddha. At far left, Akṣobhya in earth-touching gesture, then Ratnasambhava whose hand is incorrectly positioned for the palm should be visible in the boon-bestowing gesture. Vairocana in the dharmacakra teaching gesture, Amitābha in the gesture of meditation, and Amoghasiddhi in the protection gesture. The elliptical nimbus, ovoid head and body halos, the iconometric proportions all correspond to Tibetan Buddhist iconographic conventions, which were popular in Xixia sanctuaries such as Yulin during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The interstitial leaves of the background, however, are not found in other Xixia or Tibetan works of this period. The floral border of the two panels are virtually identical, as is the width of the fabrics, thus a similar place of manufacture may be suspected. The panel of deities has a peony as well as leaves in the ground surrounding the deities. At top, Vajrapāṇi wielding his vajra amidst the flames contained in elliptical nimbus, a seated Bodhisattva holding a vase, perhaps Maitreya. The next image represents a Tibetan Buddhist deity called Tshog dag, particularly popular within the Sakya school, linked with the Indian god Gaṇapati, symbolic of wealth, by virtue of his trunk – the trunk is so thin and quite far from naturalistic, showing how attenuated the link to Gaṇapati's emblem as the iconography traveled away from Tibet. The last image is probably to be recognized as a form of Jambhala, venerated for prosperity, for in addition to the sword, the attribute of a mongoose spewing jewels is held at the neck by the god's other hand, his rear paws resting on the deity's thigh. The crowns, jewelry and iconometry clearly correspond to esthetics popular in the twelfth to thirteenth century in Tibet as well as in the Xixia kingdom which actively promoted Tibetan Buddhism as well as Chinese Buddhist schools.
Previously published: Simcox 1994; Reynolds 1997a: 190-192.

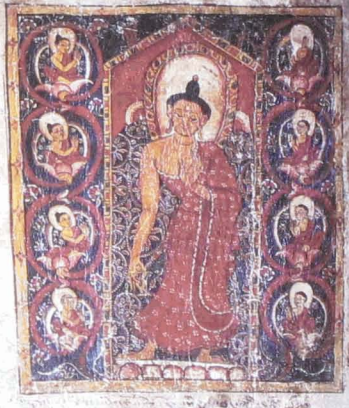
77. *Hevajra*
Silver with gilt and copper overlay, height 13x10 cm arms at greatest extension, Nepal, late thirteenth to fourteenth century, L.F. Collection
This sculpture of Hevajra and Nairātmā dancing in embrace is a marvel of casting. Each of the sixteen arms of Hevajra has a skull cup (kapāla) in hand, which contain animals and small figures of gods, at left, the planetary deities and at right, real and mythological animals. This explains the name of this aspect Kapāladhara, he who holds the kapāla. Nairātmā only has two hands, holding Hevajra with her left hand and raising the chopper in her right hand, above Hevajra's shoulder. Although the rituals describe Hevajra Kapāladhara with eight heads, the representation here is limited to one head for each deity, their faces highly expressive beneath elaborate crowns, the thick locks of hair piled behind the crowns. The position is all the more dramatic due to highly naturalistic details, such as the arched position of the feet, each toe intact, the arms smoothly aligned despite the exigencies of the configuration. The head of Nairātmā was separately cast for technical reasons, yet this allows it to pivot towards Hevajra. The teachings of meditation and veneration of deities such as Hevaja were emphasized in the monastic universities in Bihar and Bengal during the Pāla period, as documented by Indian manuscripts (plate 38). The Nepalese further developed the casting of such deities, influenced by the Indian prototypes, both in the Kathmandu valley and in the territories of the Khasa Malla kingdom in western Nepal and portions of western Tibet. Copper alloys were more prevalent in the Kathmandu valley, while small yet dramatic silver images are characteristic of the Khasa Malla commissions, particularly for meditation deities such as Hevajra and Saṃvara.
The extended influence of the Sakya monastic school may be discerned in these iconographic preferences, especially due to their esteem and diffusion of Hevajra teachings. Although now missing the base which might have provided a dedicatory inscription giving further historic information, the iconography, scale and silver cast clearly attribute this exquisite sculpture to the Khasa Malla kingdom.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Alsop 1994, 1997.

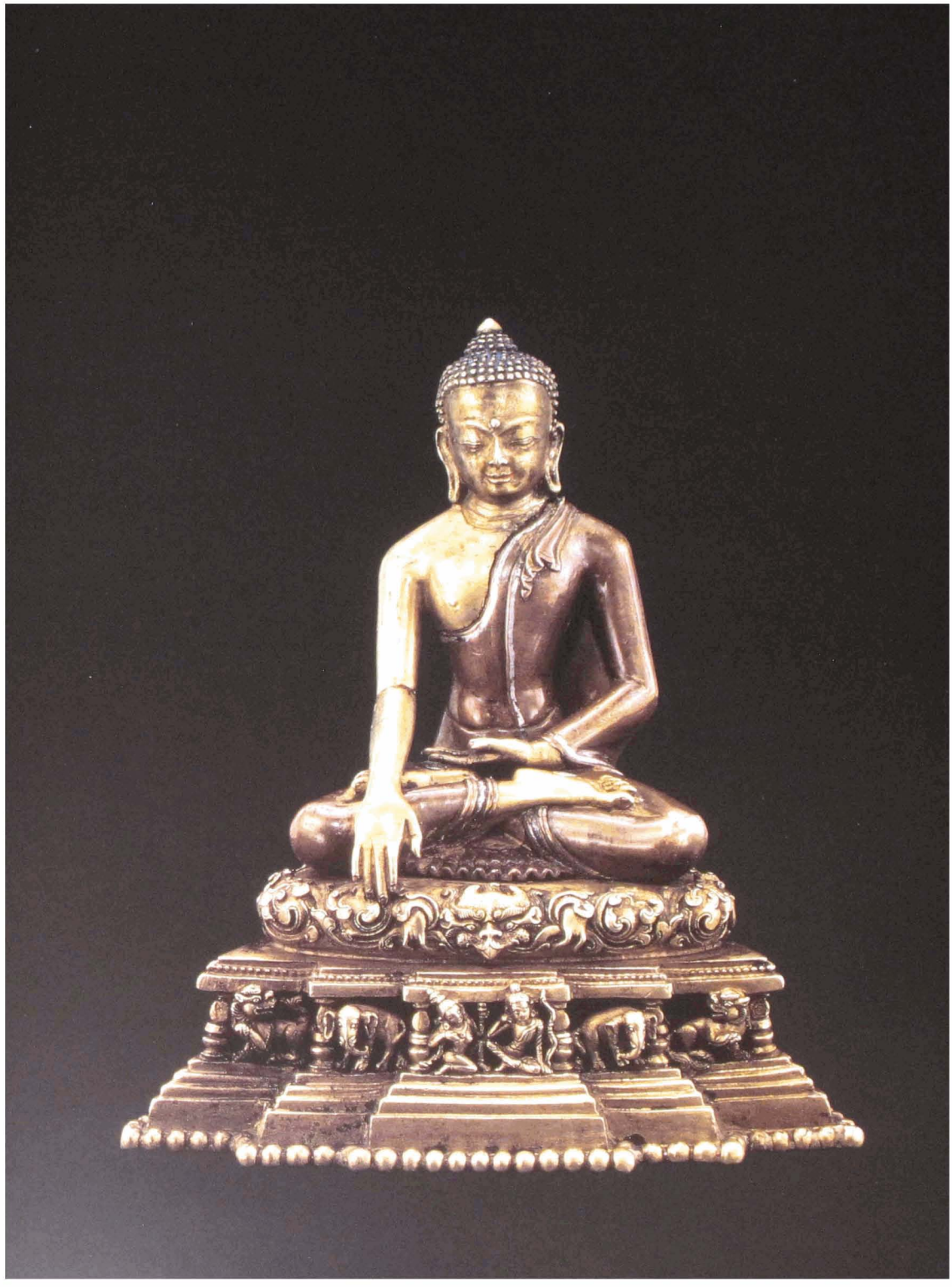


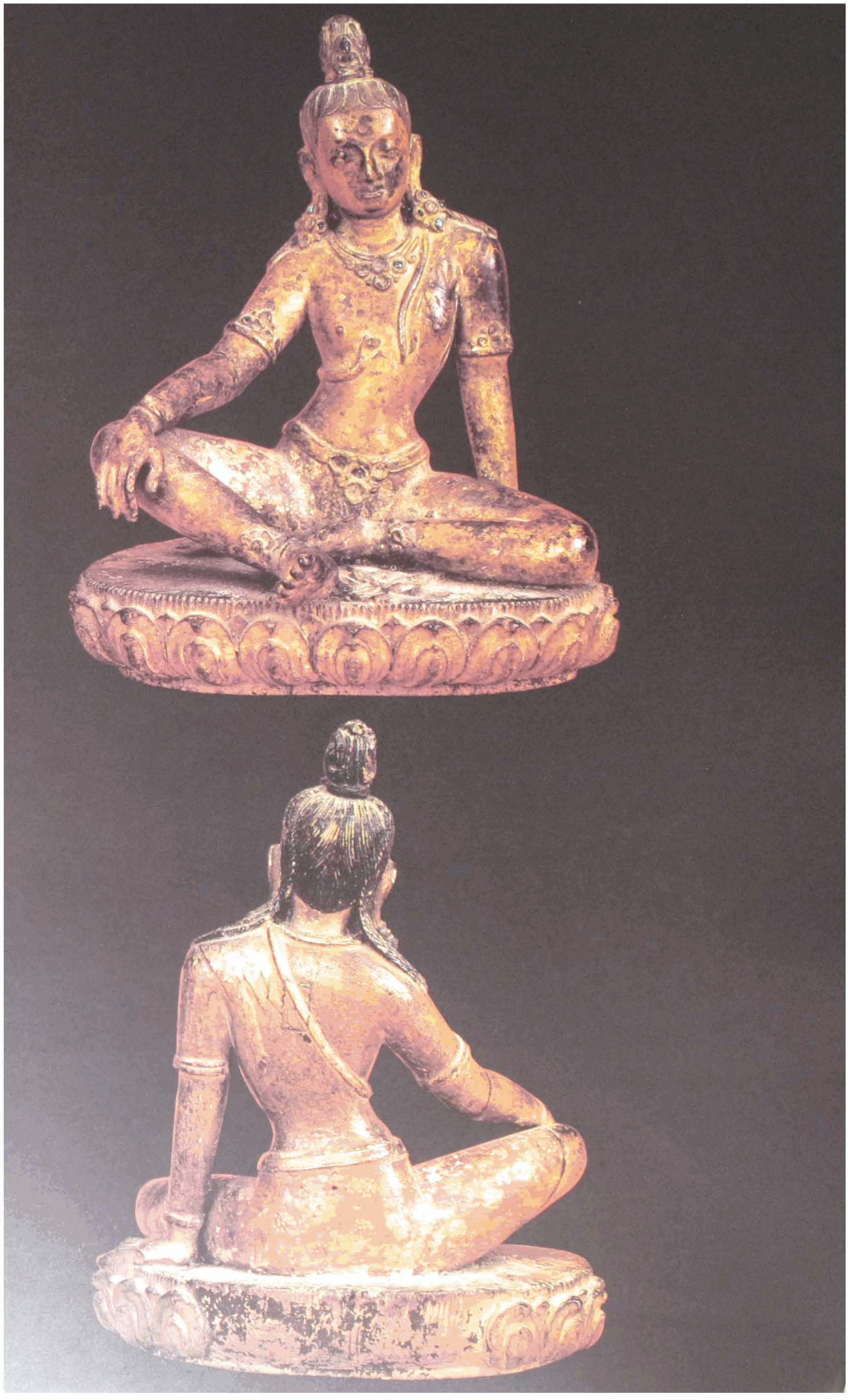


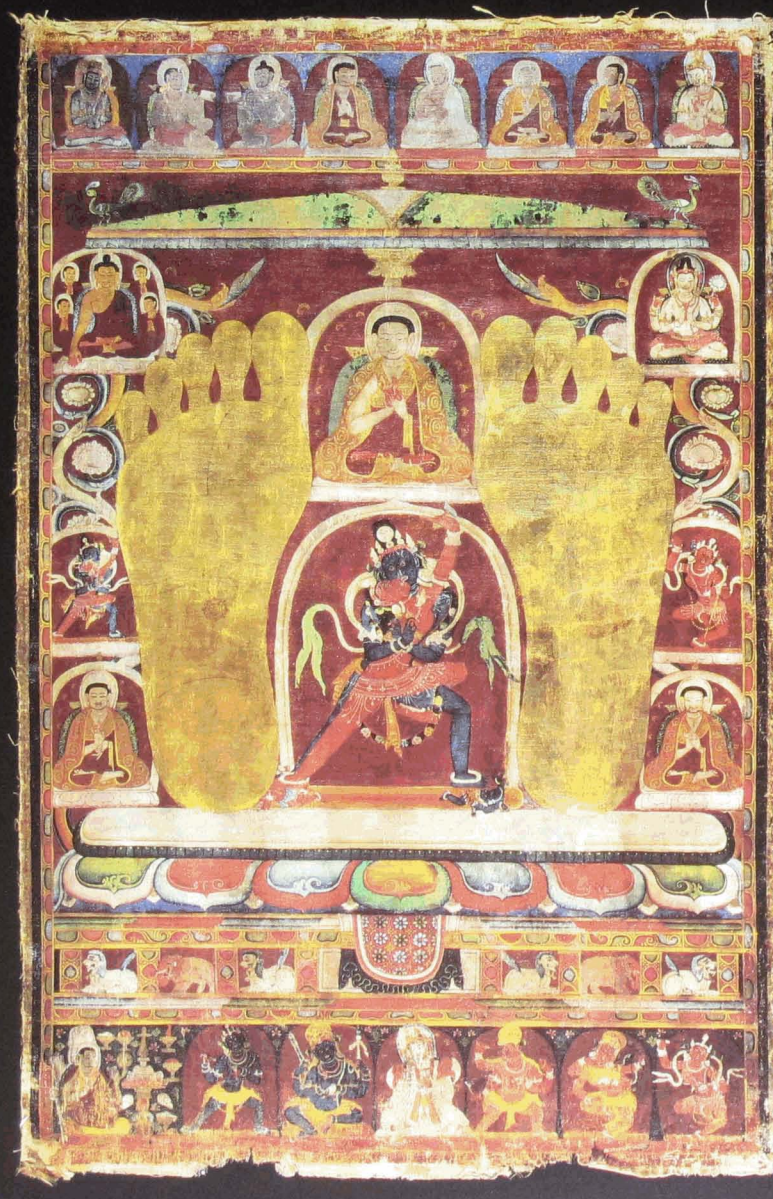


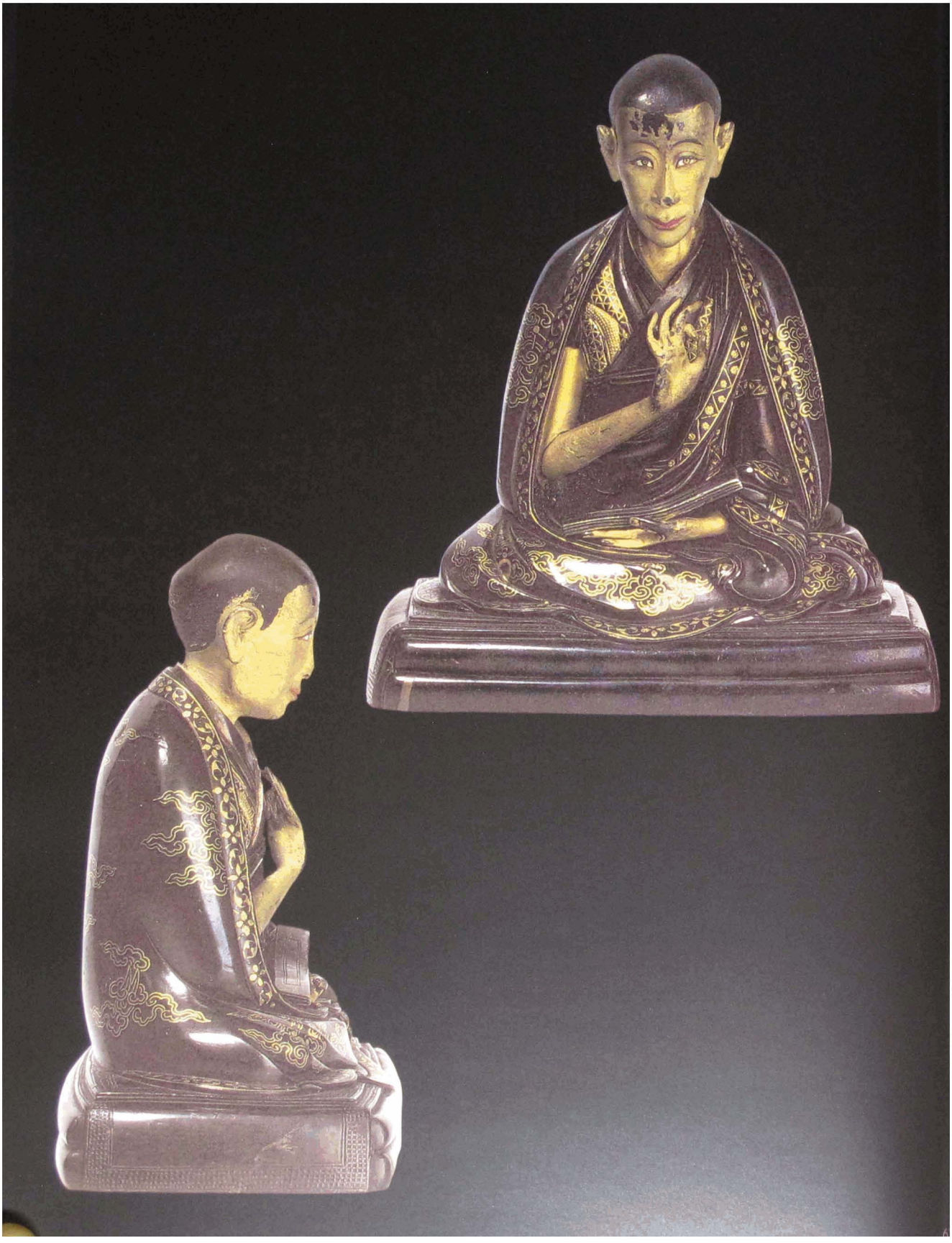


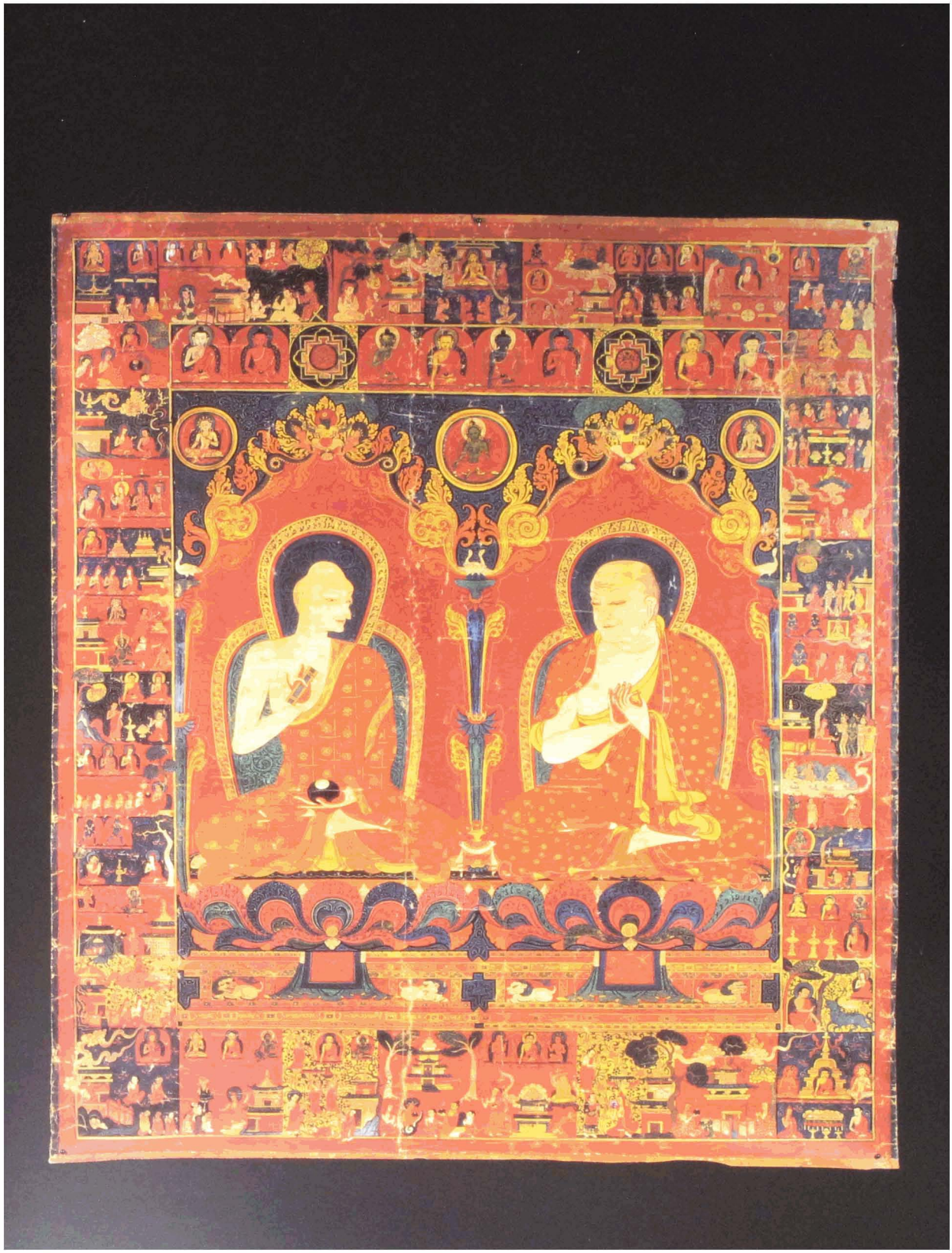


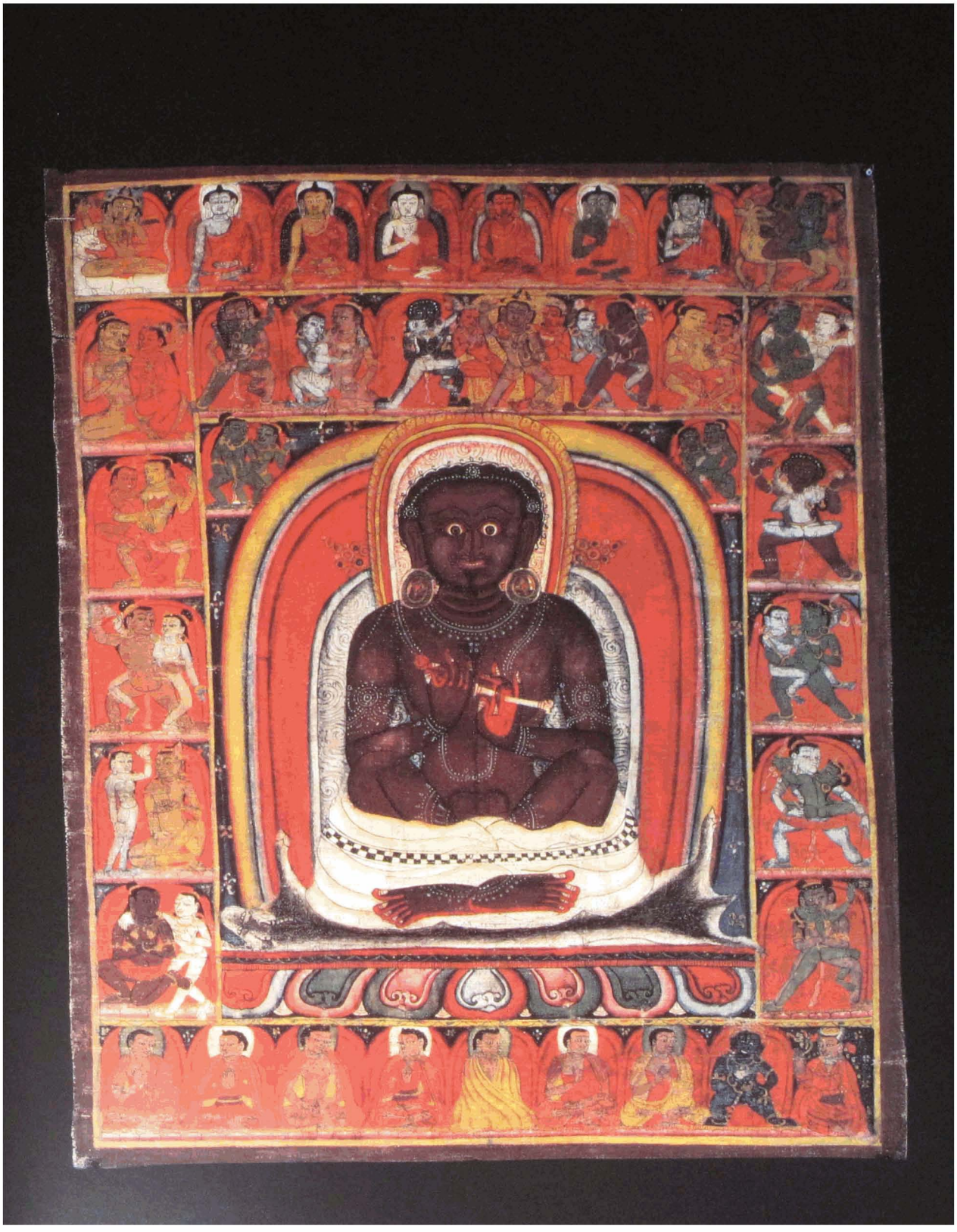


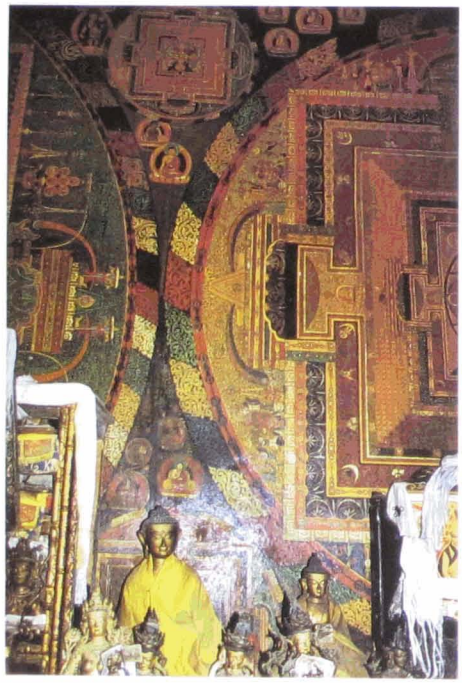


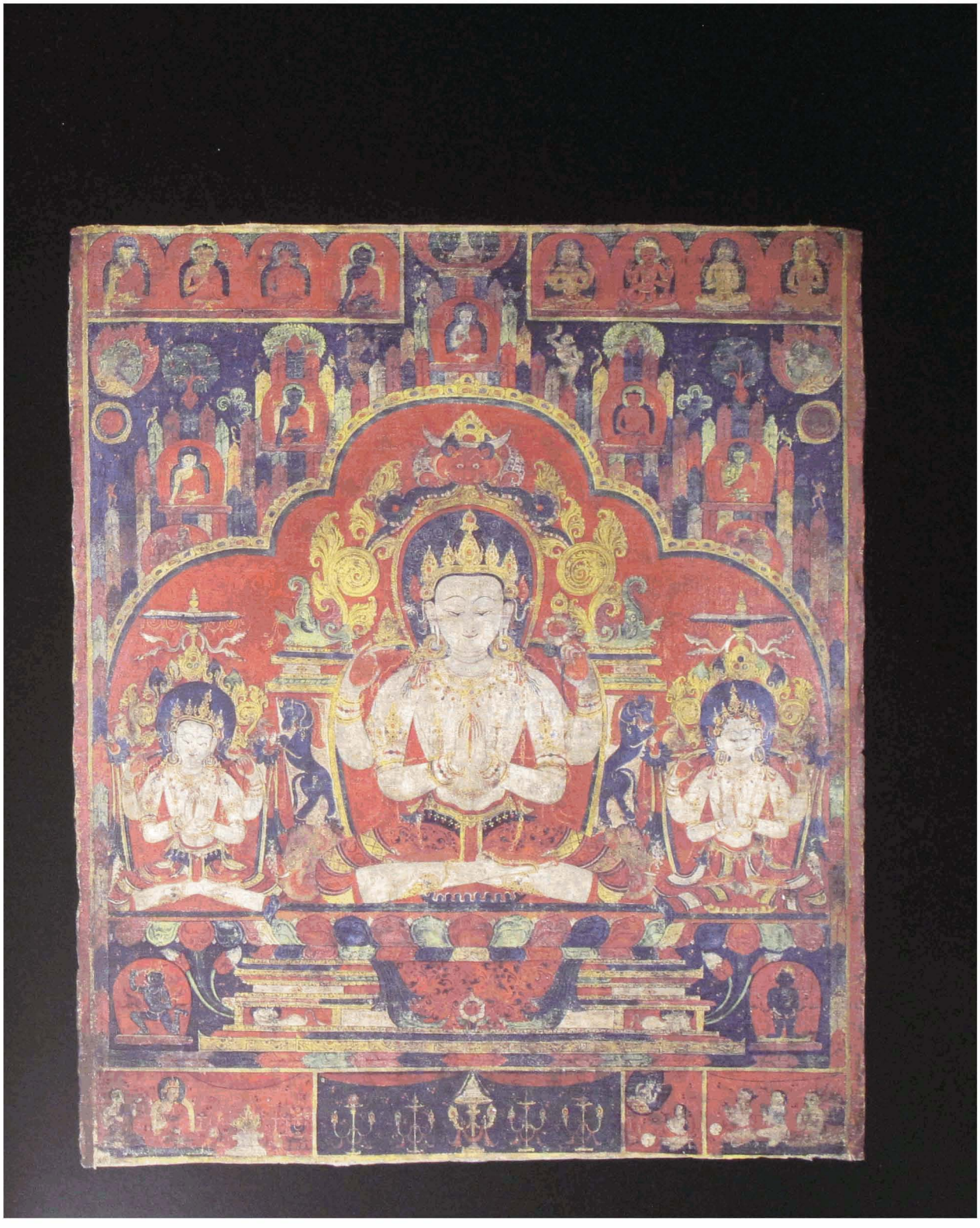








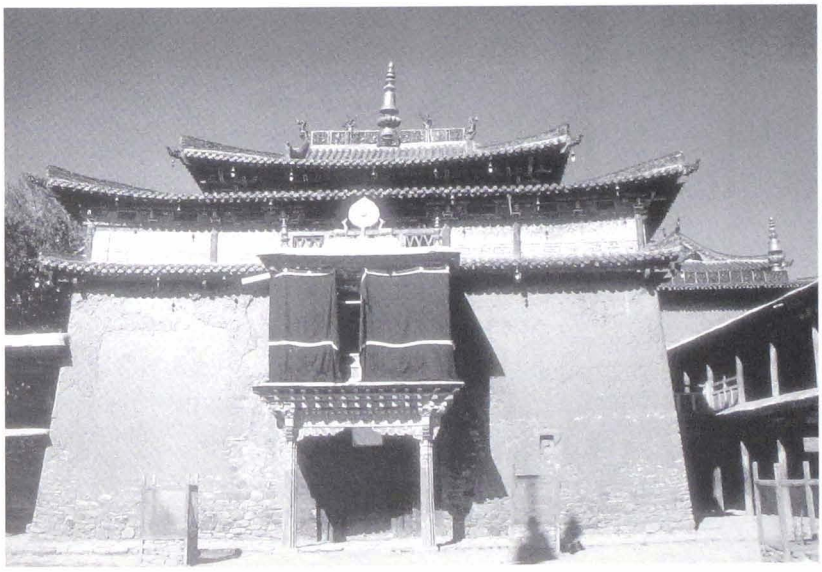




arrival there in 1045 followed the foundation in central Tibet of several sanctuaries by disciples of Buddhist teachers who had pursued their vocation in eastern Tibet subsequent to the upheaval at the end of the dynasty. Their restoration of Samye had been undertaken with the grateful approval of the local prince, and came after construction of small temples, such as Shalu founded near Shigatse in 1027, as well as other temples just across the river from Samye. All these events herald a period of intense Buddhist activity which lasted throughout the eleventh century, accounting for the establishment of most of the major religious lineages that have come down to us today, as well as the foundation and embellishment of many sanctuaries. In addition, these establishments implemented changes within Tibetan social structure that remained in place until the present: the local aristocracy became the support of the temple or monastery, the need for a royal or central political authority was strongly attenuated.

The history of Shalu exemplifies the exchange wherein Tibetans actively sought teachings from the great Indian Buddhist scholars at the monastic universities and in hermitages and smaller temples. Probably founded in 997, then rebuilt in 1027, an early chapel of Shalu is illustrated with the Indian planetary deities, and Hindu gods incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon as subjugated attendants to the deities residing in the maṇḍala palace, such as forms of Vairocana[18]. Today there are no sculptures remaining beside the paintings in the earliest chapels, but one floor above is the chapel of Prajñāpāramitā, the goddess of the Perfection of Wisdom. Atīśa is believed to have personally consecrated the chapel of Prajñāpāramitā while en route towards central Tibet where he died in 1054[19]. The esteem of Shalu's founding lama for India had led him to travel there to renew his religious vows at Bodhgaya, stopping en route in Nepal where perhaps he had already heard of Atīśa. While in Nepal, the lama of Shalu was patronized by the sovereigns of the Kathmandu valley. Although it is difficult to determine precisely which teachings illustrated in Shalu reflect those predominant in India or Nepal, there was certainly an emphasis on the female embodiment of divine nature which was then increasing in popularity. To a certain extent, a comparison may be made between the roles of Tārā as the female counterpart of Avalokiteśvara, both symbols or avatars of compassion, and Prajñāpāramitā as female counterpart of Mañjuśrī, both symbols or avatars of wisdom. Although represented in royal attire, as if she were a Bodhisattva, early texts refer to Prajñāpāramitā as the Great Goddess, Yum chen mo, and accord her the

60-61. Mural paintings of deities in the most ancient wing of Shalu monastery, ca. 1027.
These deities are rather naïvely painted, they represent the Hindu gods and semi-gods (planetary gods) who populate the sphere of protection of many important maṇḍalas, notably the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara and the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana maṇḍala.



62. Shalu Serkhang, constructed in 1027.
The Yum chen mo chapel on the upper floor was consecrated by Atīśa, ca. 1045; another major construction phase was undertaken in the early fourteenth century.

63. Tārā of Reting monastery (photograph courtesy of James Singer, London). Perhaps Atīśa's disciples in Tibet created this iconography for Tārā inspired by their master's visions or paintings he had commissioned in India for importation to Tibet (Singer 1994: 108). Conserved at Reting since centuries, documented by the most reliable historical account of Tibet in the sixteenth century, this painting is traditionally associated with Atīśa, and certainly bears a strong imprint of Indian esthetics. Although the iconography of this form of Tārā is not found in the earliest treatises translated from Sanskrit, Atīśa's biography states that while he was in Tibet, he sent emissaries to Vikramaśīla to commission paintings to bring to Tibet. The crown and jewelry, iconometry and modeling of the body strongly recall the Pāla inspired Bodhisattvas of Shalu and Grathang. Infrequently represented, this aspect of Tārā is found on a portable painting (see color plate 67) and as well as a mural painting in the Gyantse Kumbum, ca. 1425-1440 (Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: plate 79), while the corresponding ritual evocation exists in the Sādhanamālā, an eighteenth century Tibetan treatise.

rank of Buddha, calling her Tathāgatā, "the one who has gone beyond the beyond"[20]. Many texts for meditation on the goddess Prajñāpāramitā were already translated during the dynastic period. Still, it is only during the eleventh century that Tibetan texts greatly emphasize the meditations on the female Bodhisattva.

Already in India there were initiates practicing meditations which focussed on male and female deities united, representing the mind of Enlightenment which skillfully combines active compassion and wisdom as means to accomplish spiritual realization. According to the explanation of a contemporary lama, to understand this indivisible union, imagine a pair of scissors – each blade can serve individually but their action is more efficacious and concerted together. Pairs of deities as ancestors had long been conceptually accepted in India, where, for example, Śiva and Pārvatī were regarded as parents to the gods living on Mount Meru, similar to the Greek mythology Zeus and Hera on Mount Olympus.

However in India the animal or wrathful manifestation was also popular in Hindu religion, such as the boar-head forms of Viṣṇu. In the Vairocana maṇḍalas of western Tibet, many wrathful manifestations of deities are presented in some of the Dunkar cave maṇḍalas and in Nako[21]. However, it is only after translations and commentaries composed during late eleventh to twelfth century that another scale of proportions for painted maṇḍalas of meditational deities, either single or in couples, will appear in Tibet. In Shalu, the great master Buton (Bu.ston, 1290-1364) was particularly instrumental in designing the plans of maṇḍala chapels for such meditations. Before discussing this phase of religious thought, let us consider the esthetics at Shalu in the eleventh century chapels.

3. The esthetics and conceptual developments of the eleventh century

Architecturally, Shalu was originally typical of the temples founded by the disciples who returned to central Tibet from eastern Tibet. Such temples are small, one, two or three story structures. Immediately upon entering Shalu, the visitor encounters four ancient mural paintings which at first sight show the Buddha Śākyamuni seated on a Indian throne at the entrance to a palace. In the midst of a forest grove, where birds play in leaves and monkeys hang from the branches, the palace is surrounded by a crowd of listeners, including Bodhisattvas, and Śrāvakas (those in attendance at the original discourse of the Historical Buddha). The throne of the Buddha is inside the entrance of a palace with five levels of turrets[22]. All are represented in a classical Indian manner derived from the sixth century Gupta esthetics of Ajantā. This style was perpetuated in the monastic universities of Bengal and Bihar as well as the Kathmandu valley, and we may assume Shalu's founder found his inspiration there, if not in fact his artists. The route from Kathmandu to Shigatse, the main city near Shalu, was one of the major trade routes connecting Lhasa and the Indian sub-continent. Just as Nepalese artists had worked at the construction of Samye, it is more than likely that others returned to Tibet in the eleventh century when conditions became favorable for their patronage. The Bodhisattvas of Shalu are dressed in dhotī and adorned with Indian jewelry, following Ajantā models for the distinctive double earring of a disc in the lobe and gold banded floral earring high on the ear near the temple, and garlands of tiny pearls cascading from shoulders to hips (see color plates 43-45). Their faces are also rendered according to Indian esthetic models, notably the characteristic curve in the upper eyelid. On the upper left, one man in the crowd wears the turban characteristic of Tibetan nobles although he has a nimbus – we may suppose that he is one of the local dignitaries who served as donors, dressed in typical Tibetan style robes with cloud collar and contrasting print fabrics. His nimbus shows his sanctification due to his generosity. It would seem that this man is the donor of the founding clan of Shalu. The latter apparently is represented in very similar apparel and facial features in another annex of this chapel[23]. In symmetrical alignment, to the right of the Buddha, there is again a crowd of monks and Bodhisattvas. Amongst them is yet another man with nimbus

who does not wear the red monastic robes, he too appears to be a donor but his face and headress appear to be central Asian or Chinese. One author considers such portraits show the "international nature of the style at Shalu in this period"[24]. Yet, already in the Ajantā murals in India, international crowds in adoration of the Buddha were used to show the universal appeal of Buddhism; the Tibetans brought this motif of multi-ethnic crowds to Dunhuang in murals painted under their patronage[25]. We find another clear example of Tibetan adaptation of a foreign motif in the Prajñāpāramitā chapel of Shalu.

In Shalu's Prajñāpāramitā chapel, today almost nothing remains, but archive photographs taken earlier this century before its destrucation document the original

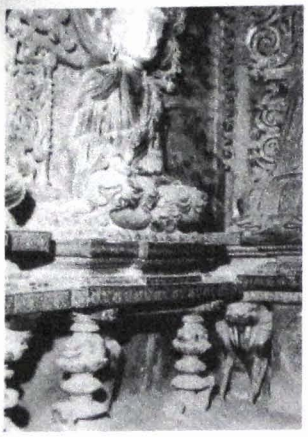
64. Female Attendant to Avalokiteśvara, Ajantā cave 1, late fifth century, detail height ca. 40 cm.
This gentle face of a royal female attendant allows understanding of the Indian jewelry models which inspired the later Tibetan creations, both for her two pairs of earrings, and for the multiple strands of small seed pearls. The painting of the body shows delicate chromatic modeling which also inspired Tibetan artists.

65. Śrāvaka in the entourage of Śākyamuni, Shalu, mural painting, ca. 1045. The face of this older man is highly expressive. The long pointed nose is probably an indication of his Indian ethnic group, rather than Tibetan.

66. Bodhisattva in the entourage of Śākyamuni, Shalu, mural painting, ca. 1045. The tiered crown of triangular segments and dip in the upper eyelid are frequently found features of the Pāla esthetic canons for Bodhisattvas and Buddhas.

67. Bodhisattvas, Śrāvakas and Tibetan donor in the entourage of Śākyamuni, Shalu, mural painting, height of panel ca. 250 cm, ca. 1045.
This entourage may represent the group at the universal preaching by Śākyamuni which iconography was already represented in Ajantā cave 17. The inclusion of a Tibetan at far left, wearing a hair ornament at temple and a crown, probably reflects the Tibetan donors responsible for the construction of Shalu.

68. Bodhisattva (detail) in the entourage of Śākyamuni, Shalu, mural painting, ca. 1045. This Bodhisattva is represented wearing the two pairs of earrings as well as the multiple strands of seed pearls.



69. Buddha and Bodhisattva in Prajñāpāramitā chapel, stucco statues with wooden armature, ca. 250 cm, Yum chen mo chapel, Shalu monastery, consecrated ca. 1045.
A school of clay sculpture of Bodhisattvas and Buddhas was prevalent in the region of Shalu, south of Gyantse, and in Grathang in the mid to late eleventh century. The facial features and body proportions follow Indian models, but the deities are dressed in Tibetan robes of medallion fabrics or in robes of flowing silks with narrow pleats. The thrones follow models found in eleventh century Nepalese manuscripts (Pal and Meech-Pekarik 1988: fig. 37).

decoration at the time of the consecration by Atīśa ca. 1045[26]. Similar in technique to the almost life-size statues of western Tibet, clay was the medium adopted in Shalu for the thrones and statues. The Buddhas were dressed in robes which correspond to robes of the Tibetan aristocracy, thick fabric with woven designs of medallions, similar to the painted robes on the Tibetan man in the entrance chapel. The Buddhas' faces were modeled according to Indian techniques and physiognomy, evidenced by the aquiline nose with thin nostrils, and the characteristic upper eyelid. The Bodhisattvas beside them were dressed in robes draped like monastic robes yet modeled as if of the finest silks, in cascades of folds, far from ascetic monasticism. The only detail of the robe which follows genuine monastic custom is barely visible, the ring to catch the folds of the robe over the shoulder. This ring was typical of Chinese, Korean and Japanese monastic robes. Possibly the Tibetans saw such hooks on the robes of Chinese and Korean monks who had been at Samye from the late eighth to mid-ninth century, or during the occupation of Dunhuang and neighbouring oases during the same period[27].

Certainly this too reflects the international nature of the esthetics then popular in Tibet, as well as a marked tendancy towards archaism. In an intellectual climate of consecration and re-affirmation of support for orthodox Buddhism through translations from Sanskrit into vernacular Tibetan, one can perhaps understand Tibetan desire to participate in the international appeal of Buddhism as well as the conscious desire to repeat the earlier, original esthetic models of orthodox Buddhism.

4. The foundation of monasteries and doctrinal developments

Shalu was but one of many monasteries and temples founded in this period. Crystalizing around almost every Tibetan who had traveled to study in Kashmir, Nepal and India, a group of disciples formed, seeking the distinctive teachings the individual master had received. The students traveled from master to master without compunction as the teachings and the master-to-disciple relationship were obviously linked to personal affinities, spiritual, emotional and perhaps, to use the Buddhist notion, following their karmic propensities. In India, Buddhist scholars taught in the great monastic universities and in isolated hermitages, but there were also itinerant yogins who mastered mystic doctrines and meditative exercises. The latter were called Mahāsiddhas, those who have "mahā" (great) "siddha" (accomplishment). The potential for spiritual fulfillment was equivalent, although the Mahāsiddhas in some cases were believed to transmit teachings which almost guarantee spontaneous enlightenment if scrupulously performed. Among the techniques used by the Mahāsiddhas, yoga with a female partner was frequently practiced, in retreats far from the monastic universities (see color plates 65-66). As the students returned to Tibet, four principal schools of teachings gradually established territory and a support network of local aristocracy to ensure the livelihood of the monastery. In this respect, the royal patronage was replaced by the local clan.

In central Tibet, Atīśa's disciples founded the Kadampa school, "those of the oral teachings"emphasizing the primordial importance of the chosen teacher, the guru (sanskrit) or lama (tibetan) who directly reveals the teachings and special instructions to his disciples. Atīśa's disciples clustered at the monasteries of Reting and Nyethang, south of Lhasa, but eventually encompassed a far reaching territory.

In opposition to the newly founded Kadampa order, those of the Nyingmapa school ("the Ancient Ones") claimed to follow the tantric traditions stemming from the mystic master Padmasambhava and the teachers who founded Samye in the eighth century. The Nyingma developed several distinctive philosophic schools called "The Great Perfection" (Dzog chen) as well as certain types of texts which are believed to have been divinely revealed through visionary experience and mystic meditations.

Such texts are attributed to the authorship of Padmasambhava, but discovered or

compiled by later authors. One of the first such revealed teachings was supposedly found by Atīśa, ca. 1050, at the base of a pillar in a Lhasa temple. This text was supposed to be the will and testament of the first historic Tsenpo of the Pugyel dynasty. Other revealed teachings were grand series of protective deities who were believed to protect the Buddhist doctrine and the individual practitioner, and a series of biographies of the master Padmasambhava (see color plates 117-121). Perhaps the most famous revealed teaching concerned the visions of the after-death period, known in the west as "The Tibetan Book of the Dead" (see color plate 79).

Closest to Nepal was the territory of Sakya monastery, founded in 1073, in relation to the mystic teachings acquired from the master Virūpa, an Indian Mahāsiddha (see color plate 89), as well as teachings received and translated in Tibet due to the collaboration between of the Tibetan translator Brogmi with Gayadhara, an Indian monk. Earlier, Brogmi had founded Nyugulung in 1043, after remaining 8 years in Vikramaśīla for his studies of monastic discipline, the Perfection of Wisdom teachings (Prajñāpāramitā), and mystic teachings under the tutoring of Virūpa and Śantipa. The philosophical system of the Sakya school was called the "Path and the Fruit", a metaphorical explanation of the ideal of following the path of Buddhist teachings and the goal of Enlightenment as the result of karmic seeds sown by the merit of such practices and meditations. The Sakyapa (literally, those of Sakya county) took their name from the monastery, but they later dominated all of central Tibet by establishing the first monastic hegemony from ca. 1260-ca. 1350.

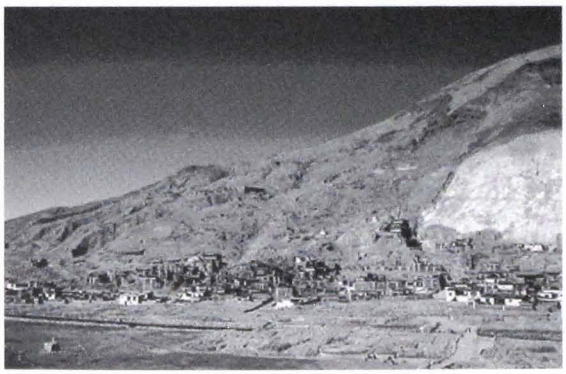
The fourth major school stemmed from the Tibetan translator Marpa (1012-1096), who had studied with Brogmi but then traveled to India where he studied with many great mystics. He returned to Tibet to practice as a married farmer, teaching a few select disciples such as Milarepa, famous for his eventful life and his poetic accounts of his mystic visions. Due to the importance Marpa and his followers placed

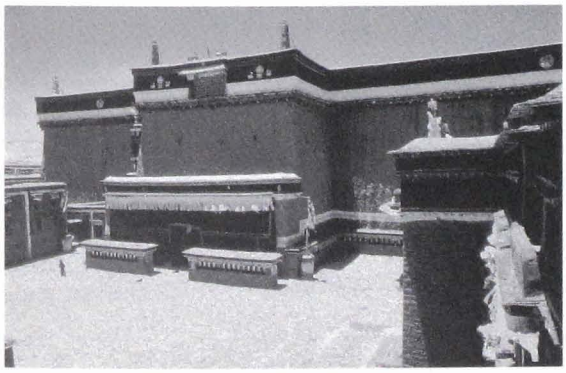
70. Sakya monastery, founded in 1073 A.D.

71. Sakya monastery, the lHa khang chen mo and its square outer wall.

72. Principal courtyard of Sakya lHa khang chen mo.

73. Interior view of Sakya lHa khang chen mo.





on oral transmission of teachings, this school became called the Kagyupa, "those of the lineage of spoken teachings". Gampopa, Milarepa's disciple, was the man who actually founded the Kagyupa school which splintered into 12 major groups. Among these, the Karmapa lineages acquired political notoriety as well as secure succession due to their adaptation of the principle of reincarnation to ensure the monastic line as of the early thirteenth century. Reincarnation is a system whereby the conscious principle of a person, having accumulated certain karma over numerous lifetimes, continues to be reborn, specifically in human form. It is believed that spiritually evolved people such as high lamas are destined to be reborn as humans, and in some cases, they are believed to have prescience to tell others where to find their next re-embodiment. Reincarnation seemed a very feasible solution to resolve succession without compromising the celibacy of monastic discipline, and to ensure legitimation of spiritual authority; gradually it became prevalent in all the schools of Tibetan Buddhism.

In some respects, there are relatively few doctrinal distinctions among these schools. Rather, it is a question of a direct transmission of teachings from a specific lama, each school venerating its particular spiritual ancestors and meditating on the deities recommended by these lamas and yogins. However, concommitant with the foundation of these orders of Tibetan Buddhism, treatises and teachings were also codified by those who claimed to stem from the ancient Bonpo priests of the royal funerary cults. The Bonpo teachings are doctrinally distinct in several respects, notably in cosmology[28]. Despite their own emphasis on the Bonpo antecedents of the dynastic period, the teachings of the Bonpo also date essentially from the eleventh century[29].

74. Bodhisattva, detail of mural painting, Shalu monastery, ca. 1045. Some of the Bodhisattvas of Shalu are virtually identical with the representations of Mañjuśrī or Maitreya of Grathang (see color plate 46), for crown, strands of seed pearls, ovoid halos, chromatic modeling, configuration of facial features, and the two sets of earrings.

75. Bodhisattva in the entourage of Śākyamuni, Grathang, mural painting, 1081-1093. This Bodhisattva is wearing a crown which combines a Tibetan turban with the triangular elements of Pāla inspired crowns. The facial features of arched eyebrows and eye with dip in the upper lid follow Indian models, as does his jewelry for the two pairs of earrings. However, his garments are Tibetan robes of medallion fabrics.

76. Buddha and his entourage of Śrāvakas, Bodhisattvas and donor figures, Grathang, mural painting, panel ca. 250 cm, 1081-1093. This photograph allows understanding of the general composition of the Buddha on his lion throne, dressed in Tibetan robes and boots, his entourage of Śrāvakas, Bodhisattvas and donor figures of several nationalities.

5. Grathang: Tibetan, Indian and Nepalese esthetics as documented by Tibetan monasteries

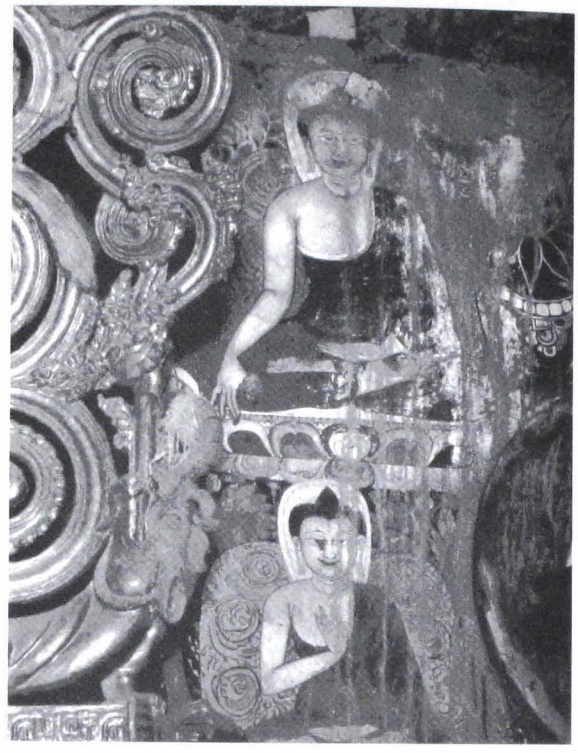
Towards the end of the eleventh century, the persistence of the cults of Vairocana and Śākyamuni are magnificently documented by the paintings remaining at Grathang, some of the finest ancient painting in Tibet today (see color plates 43-46). The basic structure had been a three-level temple modeled on Samye, just across the river. Indeed Grapa Nonshay, the founder of Grathang, hailed from a clan which had been responsible for the territory of Samye during the Pugyel dynasty. He had studied with his uncle, as well as with Indian mystic teachers, notably Padampa Sangye whose female mystic partner Ma Cig had also been one of Grapa Nonshay's disciples (see color plates 65-66). The paintings of the ground floor illustrate ten seated Buddhas, surrounded by Bodhisattvas and Śrāvakas, just as in Shalu. Howev-

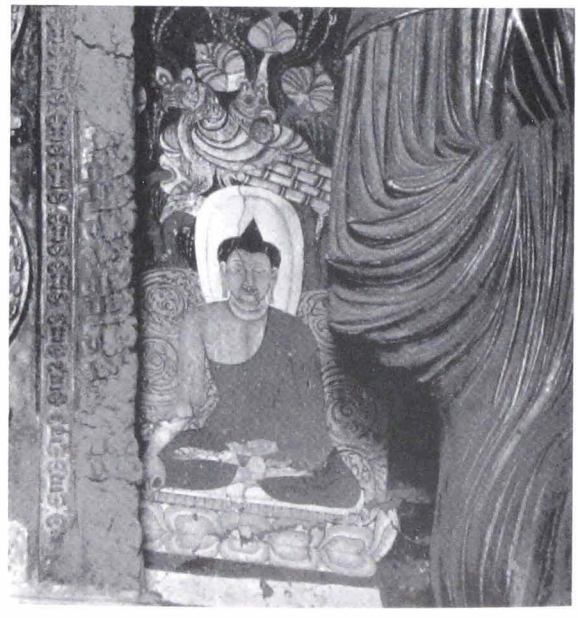
er, contrary to Shalu where each Buddha has an ideal palace for a throne, here the Buddhas sit on thrones and lotus pedestals amidst the crowd. Except for their halo and uṣṇīṣa, the Buddha are represented in robes like Tibetan Tsenpo, save for the hook of the Chinese monastic robe which is attached as if a shawl over the Tibetan robes. The Buddhas wear fabric boots, similar to the model of a Tibetan boot excavated in Khotan; the Bodhisattvas wear Tibetan robes with medallions and contrasting lapels and hems, but their jewelry reflects Indian models, including garlands of tiny seed pearls and double earrings just as at Shalu. There are only three Bodhisattvas at Grathang who are dressed in Indian clothes, possibly related to visions by Atīśa: the Green Tārā, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya. Although the painting of Tārā is much damaged, her toe ring following Indian custom can be seen in her foot extended beyond the lotus base. The turbans worn by some of the Bodhisattvas recall those worn in Tibetan royal portraits in mural paintings from Dunhuang, commissioned during the Tibetan occupation of the Silk Route oases at Dunhuang and Yulin. This is probably again a reflection of the emphasis on ancient customs as guarantee of spiritual authority and orthodoxy, which is characteristic of this century-long period of restoration and revival of Buddhism. The representation of Tārā, Maitreya and Mañjuśrī according to Atīśa's visions is another illustration of the same phenomenon because even though Atīśa was a contemporary religious master, he represented the epitome of Indian Buddhist orthodoxy in Tibet[30].

Grathang was consecrated 1093, by the nephews of the founder, who had died in 1080. This is a frequent model of succession during this period. For all those who took monastic vows, celibacy was required. Of course it was possible to take these vows after producing an heir, but it was more common for the members of a family to ensure succession and continuation of leadership passing by uncle to nephew. Married teachers were also recognized for their spiritual instructions, as were the non-monastic male and female ascetics. The most famous example is Marpa, the married teacher of the renowned ascetic poet Milarepa (1040-1123). The complementary nature of the different types of ritual practices, meditation techniques and types of instructions led the Tibetans to revere all these teachers, who were variously supported by lay patrons and their disciples. It was very common for students to travel far and wide in search of a particular teacher who could impart to them the specific doctrines passed on to him the many masters of the teacher's spiritual lineage, the root of which was always a special Buddha who transmitted the doctrines to a Bodhisattva who then transmitted them to normal human teachers. Lineages of teachers are represented near the images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in late eleventh century wall paintings in the Jokhang temple of Lhasa. This Lhasa temple underwent several phases of architectural remodeling at this time, under the aus-

77. Bodhisattva, mural painting, ca. 100x35 cm, Kubyaukkyi temple at Myinkaba, Pagan, Myanmar, early twelfth century (photograph courtesy of The Huntington Archive, Ohio State University).
This painting of a Bodhisattva shows the influence of Pāla painting in Burma (Myanmar), where Tibetan pilgrims and traders may have passed en route to India. Mahāyāna and tantric Buddhist deities formed the basis of the iconographic program of the Abeyadana temple, founded ca. 1090.
This Bodhisattva was painted in the Kubyaukkyi temple, founded ca. 1113.

76 bis. Buddha (detail), Grathang monastery, ca. 1081-1093.
This Buddha is represented with the iconometry and facial features according to Indian esthetics, the face is modeled in the techniques of Indian painting, yet his garments are Tibetan. On his robe, at the upper right, there is a special clasp of ring and hook. Such clasps are mentioned in the Indian vinaya (rules of monastic discipline) yet became popular in China during the Tang dynasty. Exceptionally, the mural painting of Śākyamuni in Grathang is represented with an even more distinctive clasp, shaped like the head of a white makara.





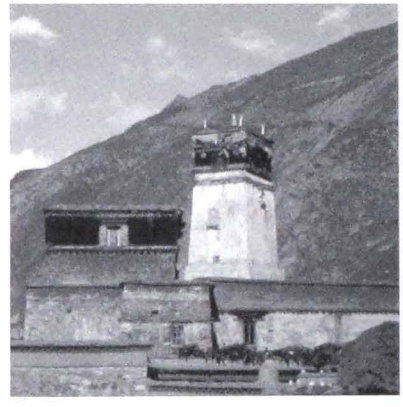
78. Kyangbu (Samada), Buddha Amoghasiddhi, stucco statue with wooden armature, ca. 250 cm, mid-eleventh century. The throne model, iconometry and facial features reflect Indian esthetics, yet the medallion design of the dhotī is a Tibetan esthetic preference.

79-81. Yemar, mid-eleventh century. The Tibetan artist Gyeltsen grags signed these murals which he painted in an Indian manner (rgya gar.lugs), similar to the Buddha of Grathang.

pices of a translator from Zangskar in Ladakh and also a restoration under the auspices of the local political hierarch. While the central image of the ground floor is traditionally believed to be from the original foundation of the sanctuary, doctrinally, following the initial waves of translations and foundations of monasteries, as found in the Lhasa temple murals painted during the eleventh century restorations, this period is marked by a re-affirmation of the persistence of the Buddha as icon.

The large-scale compositions of Grathang as well as the late eleventh century mural paintings of the Lhasa temple relate doctrinally and esthetically to Shalu, but also to other temples founded within the same period such as Kyangbu, visited and photographed by Tucci and Maraini before 1940. The emphasis on the seated Buddha either surrounded by crowds of disciples and Bodhisattvas or enthroned also relates to the portable paintings of Buddhas surrounded by adoring groups of Bodhisattvas and other Buddhas. The Indian throne models are constant, as is Indian influence in the tiered arrangement of the attendants whose body positions follow classical Indian postures (āsana) such as may be seen in numerous monumental and small-scale stone sculptures recovered in India dating from the Pāla dynasty (tenth to twelfth century). Although no Indian paint-

82. Vairocana Buddha of Nejel chemo, clay, height 130 cm, mid-eleventh to mid-twelfth century. This Buddha is the center of a Vajradhātu maṇḍala sculpted in clay, in a small cave south of Yemar. The influence of Pāla esthetics as emulated in Nepal is quite manifest despite the damaged condition of this sculpture.



83. The tower of Milarepa, Sekar gutog (gSer.mkhar.dgu.thog), was constructed during the eleventh century, but the mural paintings of Marpa's chapel have been attributed to the thirteenth century. Detail of mural painting of Marpa, ca. 150 cm, shown in his typical robe of a religious lay-scholar. When he visited in the early twentieth century, Kathog Lama described these as beri (bal.bris) "paintings in the Nepalese manner" (Henss 1997).

84. Exterior view of the tower, ca. 25 meters.

85. Milarepa, the earliest extant representation of the great yogin (see color plate 98).

86. Buddha Ratnamsambhava, mural painting inside Marpa's chapel.

ings of this time are known to have survived, illuminated Indian manuscripts (see color plate 38) allow appreciation of the purely Indian painters' esthetic for juxtaposition of color, subtle modeling of the bodies and clothing[31]. The Tibetans' emulation of Pāla esthetics is documented not only by some of the Grathang mural paintings but by Tibetan copies of Pāla sculpture, as well may be the image of Śākyamuni (see color plate 52). The dedicatory inscription on the throne of the sculpture of Avalokiteśvara (see color plate 57), clearly names the artist as an Indian, yet this might be an epithet, referring to the artist's adherence to Pāla esthetics, wether he was Indian, Newar, or Tibetan. The throne is very similar to the clay throne sculpted at Kyangbu[32]. Perhaps the foreign artist in this case may have been working in Tibet, or was visited by a Tibetan pilgrim at his residence? The commission is the Tibetan's preferred manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, and the image itself has been inlaid with turquoise, a decorative feature known in Tibetan esthetics since the Pugyel dynasty.

This image is therefore an example of an Indian image made to partially fulfill Tibetan religious and esthetic aspirations. The mural paintings of Grathang showed awareness of several esthetic models, with some figures presenting almost purely Indian characteristics, while other figures wear ancient Tibetan robes and turbans and still others have the long patterned robes and crown and jewelry of Pāla models.

Southwest of Grathang, the buildings of the Sekar Guthog document both persistence and adaptation of the Indian and Tibetan esthetics in a temple known as the chapel of Marpa. These mural paintings afford comparison with several paintings of diverse Buddha (see in particular color plates 56-58 and 68). Historically little is known of the precise circumstances of this phase of decoration of Marpa's chapel, so it is fascinating to learn that when visited by an eminent Tibetan lama of the early twentieth century, he refered to these paintings as "old Newar-style murals"[33]. Relying on Nepalese dated manuscripts of pre-1300, and sculptures (see color plates 53-54), the body proportions and jewelry are similar[34]. Were these indeed painted by Nepalese artists? At present, we cannot give a firm attribution, but it is important to apprehend the definition by the twentieth-century Tibetan lama of what corresponds to "Newar-style" esthetics.

6. The influence of Tibetan Buddhism in the Xixia kingdom

The concepts and icongraphies developed in western Tibet and central Tibet during the eleventh century had thoroughly coalesced by 1100. The major schools of teachings established during the eleventh century were flourishing and Tibetans were actively studying Buddhism, translating contemporary Indian treatises, writing their own commentaries and organizing their systems of transmission of the teachings received.

The first half of the eleventh century had seen the return to central Tibet of a group of disciples of Buddhist teachers who had pursued their vocation in eastern Tibet in the afternmath of the Pugyel dynasty. These disciples had been instrumental in the foundation in central Tibet of many temples, such as Shalu and Grathang, as well as the revival of active Buddhist communities in Lhasa, Samye and elsewhere. In eastern Tibet, their teachers had lived in relative isolation. Although the information is quite fragmentary, it would appear that several hermitages in the zone of the Khri ga monastery, south of Kokonor, may have remained active throughout the ninth to eleventh centuries, serving their communities, as had the Tibetan Buddhist temples in Liang zhou, north of the Kokonor. Liang zhou was a very cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic population, long occupied and ruled mostly by Tibetans[35].

By 1100, Liang zhou had just been occupied by the Xixia, whose kingdom had been gradually extending westwards for the last century until reaching the eastern borders of Tibet. This occupation was, to a certain extent, well tolerated due to the

Opposite left:

87. Tārā, Yulin cave 4, mural painting, ca. 350x150 cm, mid-thirteenth to early fourteenth century. The influence of the Tibetan Buddhist iconography inspired by the Pāla esthetic vocabulary extended far beyond central Tibet towards Dunhuang and the territories occupied by the Xixia kingdom until 1227 and then

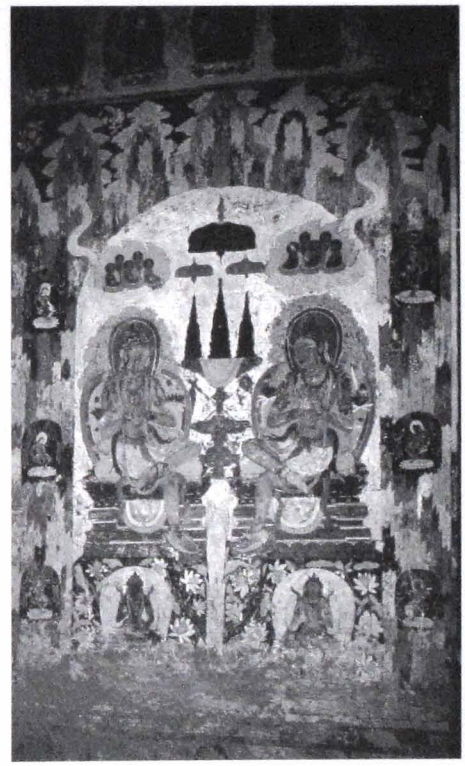
already international character of the town of Liang zhou and due to the Xixia avowed profession of Buddhism as the state faith. The Tangut kingdom of Xixia had formed a buffer state between China and Tibet, its power growing proprotionately as that of Tang China declined. With the establishment of the Xixia Empire in 1038, the Tangut zone of military occupation continued to stretch westwards during the 11th century, progressively encompassing the former Tibetan zones of influence along the Silk Route, eventually occupying Dunhuang and much of the former territory of the Pugyel dynasty[36]. Tibetan Buddhists were so integrated into the Tangut Buddhist clergy that it was a rule for all monks to be trilingual, versed in Tangut, Chinese and Tibetan[37].

Just as the Dunhuang caves commissioned during the Tibetan Empire permit us to appreciate the esthetics and Buddhist practices of the Tibetans at that time, so the portable icons, mural paintings and statues of Xixia caves of the twelfth century caves at Dunhuang and Yulin enable us to understand the major liturgical cycles imported to Xixia from Tibet[38]. The Tanguts particularly emulated Tibetan styles of representation stemming from Pāla India for specific iconographies apparently deemed Tibetan. There is also evidence that Tibetan Buddhist practices and iconographies were adopted to a degree among followers further east in China during the Jin dynasty (1115-1234). An innovation among the Tangut and the Jin was to commission not only painted and sculpted icons, but also elaborate, woven representations of Buddhist iconography (see color plates 75-76).

Geographically the Tanguts were the intermediary between the Jin and Tibet, where examples of distinctive Jin gilt silks were conserved in monastic treasuries, perhaps having been offered as tribute to the Tibetan prelates by the Tanguts[39]. Representations of the stūpa, the Five Transcendent Buddhas, meditation deities such as Saṃvara and protective deities such as Acala were especially prevalent in

incorporated into the Yuan Empire. The rock staves behind this Tārā, her throne with horned Garuda at apex, the iconometry and āsana strongly recall mural paintings of central Tibet such as those painted by the Nepalese artists working at Shalu ca. 1307 as well as a late Xixia woven kesi representation of Tārā now in the Hermitage (St. Petersburg). Xixia emperor Xia Renzong commissioned Yulin cave 3 towards the end of his reign in 1193. The paintings of cave 4 are attributed to the early Yuan period due to donor paintings of Yuan royalty elsewhere in the chapel.

88. Bodhisattvas in Metaphysical Discourse, Yulin cave 4, mural painting, ca. 350x150 cm, mid-thirteenth to early fourteenth century.
This mural painting is from the same cave chapel as the Tārā. The iconography represents two forms of Mañjuśrī (at left the lotus supports the book, at right, the lotus supports the sword), seated beside a small altar stand with a book draped in fabric, three stūpas, crossed fly whisks on the lower level of the altar stand. The stūpa follow the architectural models popular during the Xixia and early Yuan period.



Xixia monasteries following iconographic and liturgical modes developed by the Tibetans. Particularly during the reign of Xia Renzong, 1139-1193, the Xixia sovereign most assiduously supported Tibetan Buddhism by sending emissaries to Tibet to deliver gifts of precious cloth and other objects suitable for Buddhist temples, and invited lamas from Tibet to the Tangut capital in the Ninxia province of China[40]. The Karmapa school sent a high lama to cement this relation of patronage and teachings. Although the Xixia kingdom was devasted by the Mongol troops of Genghis Khan in 1227, the Indian and Nepalese models which had inspired Tibetan artists thus spread far beyond central Tibet during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

7. The Khasa Malla kingdom

Almost simutaneously in western Nepal, 1223 marks the date of the first inscriptions from what is called the Yatse or Khasa Malla kingdom. Founded by the leaders of a northern Indian people, this Buddhist kingdom dominated two widely disparate regions in western Tibet and western Nepal. They relied on Tibet for spiritual teachers, although they were often in Kathmandu either for trade or pillage. Their close relation to Tibet is demonstrated by the choice of iconography, reflecting the tendencies then prevalent in Tibet (see color plate 77). Their contact with Kathmandu and Newar artists of the valley is evident esthetically in the proportions, jewelry, casting and gilding of images bearing distinctive inscriptions which identify them as productions of Khasa Malla artists. However, there is also a clear differentiation from classical Newar art of the Kathmandu valley due to the historic and esthetic links between Pāla India and the Khasa Malla kingdom[41]. Although their dominion remained firm for little more than a century, their iconography demonstrates the export and influence of Tibetan religion on foreign ground.

8. Tibetans as Imperial Preceptors of the Yuan dynasty

By the end of the twelfth century in India, the Buddhist regions had dwindled to Bihar and Bengal, which were then subject to Islamic invasions and destruction of their sanctuaries. In Nepal, the Buddhist fervor was strong, despite much syncretism of Hindu and Buddhist iconography and practices. Trade between the Kathmandu valley and Tibet was constant, pilgrims and teachers joined the caravans. Sakya monastery had a privileged position in relation to Nepal, because it was the monastery situated closest to the Himalayan passes leading to the Kathmandu valley. As the Sakya masters had seen the beauties created by Newar artists, they readily served as their patrons in Kathmandu and engaged their services for the decoration

89-90. Buddha, gilt copper, height ca. 200 cm. This magnificent throne and statue of Buddha show examples of Newar craftsmanship at Sakya monastery, mid-thirteenth century.

of the Sakya chapels with large-scale repoussé sculptures typical of the Newari craftsmen. The Tibetans had not been insensitive to the damage wrought by successive Mongol raids in other regions of Asia and sought to save Tibet. To this end, in 1240 the chief lama of Sakya, Sakya Paṇḍita, accepted the invitations of Genghis' successor Godan in hopes of averting an invasion of Tibet. In 1249, Godan assigned political control of central Tibet to the Sakya prelates. Kubilai succeeded to the throne. In 1260 Kubilai violated typical Mongol custom of election of by tribal convocation, proclaimed himself Great Khan. He named Sakya Paṇḍita's nephew as his Imperial Preceptor, in part due to his wife's spiritual relation with this lama since 1253. In December, 1260 the Great Khan decreed that the Sakya leader should make a golden stūpa to honor Sakya Paṇḍita. The Sakya lama then attempted to engage 100 Newari artists to execute this commission, but he only found 80 or 63, estimates differ. Among these, the young artist Anige (1245-1306) was most gifted. After the commissions at Sakya monastery, he was invited to the court of the Great Khan in the entourage of the Sakya Imperial Preceptor, achieving great prominence as the finest artist and highest artisan official of the Yuan dynasty founded by Kubilai[42]. Among the extraordinary imperial commissions which followed, from 1292, the stone sculpture of Mahākāla and his acolytes, the major Sakya protective deities, afford testimony to the prowess achieved by the artists in this period (see color plates 69-70). Just as Anige and his compatriots had been enticed beyond the Kathmandu valley, in the early fourteenth century when a new iconographic program was desired for Shalu, the fame of the Newar artists and their willingness to travel to Tibet ensured their commission for the new Shalu sanctuaries and the restoration of the early Shalu chapels. The brilliant colors, highly decorative and meticulously refined qualities of Newar artists may be understood by the Shalu mural paintings and a Newari paṭa of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in his form as patron saint of Tibet (see color plates 71-74). Indeed for these paintings, the esthetic basis is Newari but the subject matter is Tibetan and the paintings are executed according to the taste of their Tibetan patrons. The beauty and spirituality communicated by these eleventh to early fourteenth century sanctuaries in Tibet and portable works of art allow us to appreciate the disparate influences operating in the development of the highly eclectic values esteemed by Tibetans.

NOTES

[1] Nga ri literally means "might, power".

[2] Cf. Vitali 1966: 541-551; Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: 20.

[3] Stein 1987: 37-38; Lalou 1939; Stein 1959: 76-77; Heller 1997e.

[4] Although traditionally Tibetan historians believed that such exchange with Iran was direct, there are indications that Iranian ideas and goods first traveled north to Sogdiana, then east to Khotan and beyond to the Tibetan provinces near Kokonor, where there was a particularly active trading corridor towards Lhasa during the Tibetan Pugyel dynasty. See Kvaerne 1987 for cosmology; and Heller 1998a, 1998b, 1998c, for discussion of silks from Sasanian Iran and Sogdiana traded towards Lhasa. For Iranian influence in Tibetan iconography see Templeman 1998 in press. For Iranian royal crowns in Tibet, see Vitali 1996: 161, n. 215; and Martin 1991: 118-137.

[5] Snellgrove 1987.

[6] Von Schroeder 1981; Vitali 1996: 328, n. 518.

[7] 6800 m, situated not too far from Tabo; Klimburg-Salter 1997: 22.

[8] Vitali, 1996: 301, notably Pethub, Alchi, Mang yu, Sumda.

[9] Tucci 1949: 684, n. 72; and Vitali 1996: 270, Aśvadharma from Nepal and Wangula from Kashmir; Vitali 1996: 313, artist from Magadha.

[10] Vitali 1996: 212, n. 305, 231, 271.

[11] Karmay 1980: 153-154.

[12] See Linrothe 1999 for analysis of deities and Naudou 1969 for Buddhism in Kashmir.

[13] Klimburg-Salter 1997: 98.

[14] Macdonald 1965/1966: 433-436 for images Atīśa acquired during his travels.

[15] Eimer 1979: section 092.

[16] Blondeau 1988: 93.

[17] Blondeau 1988: 95.
[18] Hypothesis for Vairocana cycles, Ricca and Fournier 1996: 345-346.
[19] Vitali 1990: 93.
[20] De la Vallée Poussin 1962: 118, text 2.
[21] Vitali 1996: 347 indicates that Dunkar may have been the royal residence during the first half of the twelfth century which may indicate a sense of chronology for the Dunkar murals.
[22] The Sanskrit term is pañcāyatana, pañca being the prefix to signify "five", this architecture follows classical Indian architectural models.
[23] Ricca and Fournier 1996, for hypothesis of donor.
[24] Kreijger 1997: 172 and fig. 191.
[25] Okada and Nou 1991: Ajantā cave 17; cf. Shi Weixiang 1989: 32, Dunhuang cave 158, where the princes of many countries mourn together the Buddha's death; cave 159, multinational crowds attend the debate of Vimalakīrti and Śāriputra.
[26] I thank Heather Stoddard for bringing this photograph to my attention and Lionel Fournier for locating it as the Prajñāpāramitā chapel within the Shalu monastery (cf. Su Bai 1996: pl. 34).
[27] A painted version of the silk fabric with full length tiny pleats is also seen in Dunhuang, among murals in cave 158 commissioned under Tibetan patronage (cf. Duan 1989: plate 99).
[28] Cf. color plates 115-116.
[29] Blondeau 1988: 93; Kvaerne 1995.
[30] Cf. Heller and Stoddard, forthcoming.
[31] Kossak and Singer 1998: 54-59. I thank Jane Singer, Ian Alsop and Rob Linrothe for correspondence on this subject.
[32] Béguin 1990: 26 refers to Tucci's *Indo-Tibetica*, but there is a typographical error. The correct reference is 1941: part IV, vol. III, plate 31.
[33] Henss 1997a: 22-23.
[34] Henss 1997a: 22-23 proposed this date of mid-thirteenth century.
[35] Dunnell 1996: 90-91.
[36] Beckwith 1987b: 6-8.
[37] Kychanov 1976: 205-211; Dunnell 1996: 98-99; see van der Kuijp 1993 for Tibetan and Kashmiri translators active in Xixia in twelfth century.
[38] For discussion of the Xixia caves see Linrothe 1996 and Linrothe 1998; for portable Xixia works of art, see Piotrovsky 1993.
[39] Reynolds 1997: 52-55.
[40] Linrothe 1998: 93; Karmay 1975: 35-42.
[41] Alsop 1994: 61-68; and Alsop 1997: 68-79.
[42] Tucci 1949: 277 first major study of Anige and the relations linking Newar art to the Yuan; for the biographical study see now Jing 1994: 40-42.

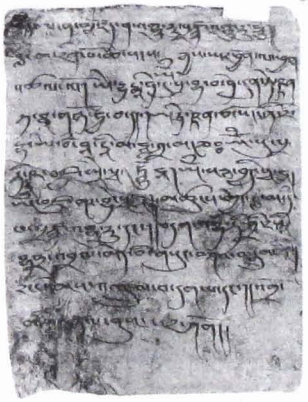
Chapter three
THE TIBETAN RENAISSANCE
(1300-1500)

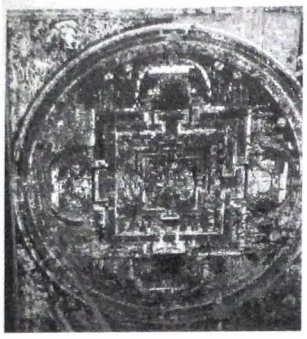
The flourishing of Buddhism in Tibet from the eleventh through the thirteenth century was marked by the revival of Buddhism, the translation of Buddhist texts of the great tantric cycles, their representation as the basis of worship in sanctuaries in western Tibet and central Tibet, as well as the consolidation of ancient Tibetan styles of representation combined with renewed input from India and Nepal. These developments resulted in the export of Tibetan artistic and liturgical appreciations successively to Xixia, western Nepal, and towards Beijing, the latter through Mongol patronage of the Sakya school of Tibetan Buddhism. The emphasis on the individual's personal link to the lama and the spiritual lineage he perpetuated is the culmination of the process whereby the guru is recognized as the earthly embodiment of the essence of the Buddha. The paintings of a lineage of lamas demonstrate this concept, as do the individual portraits of Mahāsiddhas and monks. The maṇḍala as an organization of sacred space with distinct sectors for the deities, both peaceful and wrathful, also demonstrates this ideal, insofar as the lineage of spiritual masters is used to spatially delimit the borders of the painted surface. The growing recognition of the importance of patronage – by political leaders and spiritual masters – is shown by the inclusion of the donors in the border of the paintings as well. The progressive importance of local and regional patronage spurred the development of regional strongholds of the various schools, while there was a certain degree of rivalry within the broad regional divisions in attempts to achieve supreme political and spiritual authority.

91-92. Portrait of Sangye Yarjon (1203-1272), Third Abbot of Taglung, ink, colors and gold on paper, 10x7.5 cm, Collection of The Newark Museum 94.221.3 (recto/verso).
Particularly revered for his reaffirmation of monastic discipline, Sangye Yarjon commissioned numerous images for Taglung monastery. The prayer inscriptions on the reverse establish the identification of the lama and the date of the painting and express the pious vows of his nephew, also a Taglung lama, "to obtain the power to guide sentient beings and purify the mind of all illusions".

93. Akṣobhya, ink, colors and gold on paper, 10x7.5 cm, Collection of The Newark Museum 94.221.2.
The Buddha is represented in iconometry, crown, jewelry and dhotī following the Pāla esthetic conventions.

94. Tārā, ink, colors and gold on paper, 10x7.5 cm, Collection of The Newark Museum 94.221.1.
This iconography for this aspect of Tārā represents her upper hands in the alapadma position used in Indian dance in which they make ready to grasp the stem of a lotus.





95. Maṇḍala, Shalu monastery, ca. 300x300 cm, ca. 1320-1356. This maṇḍala is attributed to the design of Buton, abbot at Shalu from 1320-1356. Despite much abrasion it allows understanding of the scale of proportions and the numerous subsidiary figures beyond the four gates of the maṇḍala palace.

1. Buton, his work and its importance for Shalu monastery

As discussed briefly in the last chapter, Shalu monastery had experienced a new period of development at the beginning of the fourteenth century, evidenced by the foundation of new chapels which reflect the influence of Nepalese artists. The growth of Shalu may be attributed to a family of influential local aristocrats who were instated as secular rulers and benefitted from privileged contacts with the Mongol Yuan court. This Che family commissioned the chapels of Shalu Serkhang[1], and forged matrimonial alliances with the aristocratic family lineage who controlled the Sakya monastery which contributed to increase the authority of the Che family.

Paramount, however, was their patronage of the monk Buton (Bu.ston, 1290-1364) (see color plates 62-63) whose intellectual and artistic legacy has shaped the history of Tibet through to the present day. Buton arrived as Abbot in Shalu in 1320, just as the second phase of restorations resumed[2]. He was extremely knowledgeable in Buddhist theology as well as in many languages. Buton was responsible for the compilation, editorial work, revision of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. His additions to this compendium amounted to one thousand new sections based on the collection of materials made at the beginning of the fourteenth century by the monks of Narthang[3]. The Canon as organised by Buton is still reflected in the Canon used today, and particularly his codification of the tantra into a system of four classes. One may summarize Buton's system as follows: the first class is the Action (Kriyā) Tantra, followed by the Performance (Caryā) Tantra, the Yoga Tantra, and the Supreme Yoga Tantra (Anuttarayoga-tantra). The first two categories are primarily concerned with the correct recitation of magical formula for warding off various ills and for the gaining of merit especially from the worship of relics and the building and repair of stūpa[4]. The Yoga Tantras teach that Buddhahood can be achieved through a highly ritualized series of consecrations; the main tantra of this class was the Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha tantra, the Symposium of Truth of all the Buddhas, and the Vajradhātu maṇḍalas of Vairocana as translated by Rinchen zangpo. The Anuttarayoga-tantra category includes meditations on deities, some in ritualized performance of the sexual act of union within the precincts of their maṇḍala-residence. Inside Shalu, Buton designed the plan of the temple so that it comprised more than 70 maṇḍalas of the Kālachakra and of the Vajradhātu[5]. His biography also documents early usage in Tibet of the sand maṇḍala for Kālachakra rituals[6].

96-97. These two portraits of Buton indicate the degree of realistic portraiture in the attention to his distinctive shape of head and his thinness (details of plates 64 and 63).

His tenure as Abbot lasted until 1356, during which he pursued such activities as translating from Sanskrit, teaching the Tantra and explaining the commentaries, while still composing his revisions of the canonical texts and an historical account of Buddhism in India and Tibet.

The Shalu secular ruler was his primary support, but Buton was also patronized by the rulers of the Khasa Malla kingdom. Although invited by Imperial Yuan envoys to China, he did not travel there but instead went to central Tibet where he served as mediator in a regional conflit in 1351[7], as well as visiting Samye and Grathang.

The paintings of Shalu of this period follow clearly the distinctive esthetic tendencies which mark Newar paintings in the Kathmandu Valley as well in areas in between Nepal and Tibet such as the Khasa Malla kingdom.

The Muslim conquest of northern India during the eleventh through twelfth centuries had led many Indian scholars and artists to settle in the Nepal valley – and in Kashmir – during the late twelfth century. (The Muslim occupation of Kashmir was only fully accomplished a century later)[8]. There were so many Indians at that time in Nepal that Tibetan sources often confuse the nationality of the person and merely refer to him or her as "from Nepal" while in other cases, Indian ethnic origin is clear[9]. The genius of Newar artists was shown by their skillful adaptation of the distinctive palette and canons of proportions to the representations of the maṇḍala required for the practice of the Buddhist texts of the Supreme Yoga Tantra (Anuttarayoga-tantra), increasingly popular since the twelfth century exodus of Indian Buddhist scholars and artists. Atīśa had founded a monastery in Kathmandu, where many Tibetans went as pilgrims due to his subse-

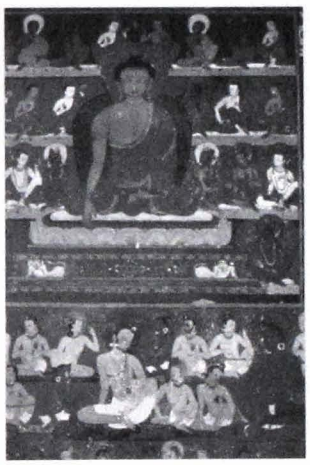
98. Detail of Vairocana Buddha painted by the artist 'Chims pa bSod nams 'bum at Shalu, early fourteenth century, ca. 250 cm.

99. Detail of Buddha Śākyamuni, Shalu, early fourteenth century. The highlighting by gold or red above the black is very important in this Newar esthetic.

100. Śākyamuni surrounded by groups of Bodhisattvas and many Indian siddhas, Shalu, early fourteeth century, ca. 300 cm.

101. Maitreya and Mañjuśrī, Shalu, fourteenth century, ca. 300x450 cm.

102. Buddha Śākyamuni, Shalu, fourteenth century, ca. 250 cm.



103. Lori stūpa, Mustang: the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara on the dome of the stūpa, height ca. 120 cm, early fourteenth century.

104. Garuḍa, base of the Lori stūpa, height ca. 75 cm.

quent fame in Tibet, but the Tibetans also visited other monasteries to study with both Indian and Newar Buddhist teachers. During their pilgrimages, the Tibetans piously contributed to the restoration of stūpas and temples, and commissioned Newar artists to paint and sculpt icons which they eventually brought home to Tibet[10].

2. The Lori stūpa, the presence of Tibetan Buddhism in Mustang

The Newar traveled to Tibet as well, for trade in connection with Buddhist networks. The arrival of Anige at Sakya in 1261 was far from an isolated event for Newar paṇḍitas and artists had been present in Lhasa and Samye during the Tibetan empire, and at the Guge kingdom of Yeshe od in late tenth century. Such travel in fact had manifold origins – an interdependent and synergistic collection of merchants out for profits, monks seeking to travel and extend their institutions, artisans eager to extend their market, and pilgrims out for merit. Sometimes one person could play all four roles, if we can assume that the practise of some early twentieth century Newars represents something of a longstanding tradition![11] En route from Kathmandu valley to Tibet, the small Buddhist kingdom of Mustang was a potential stopover for trade and art commissions. Mustang occupied a pivotal position in trade linking the nomads of west Tibet, with the cities of Kathmandu and Shigatse. Consequently, much wealth circulated there and the rulers were potential patrons for substantial art commissions[12]. Thus in Mustang the Lori stūpa comprises the earliest Newar paintings outside the Kathmandu Valley[13].

No artwork is known to survive today of the work of Anige and the other 62 Newar artists invited to Sakya in 1261 due in part to their rapid departure for Beijing shortly after completion of their commission for the casting and sculpture of a gold funerary stūpa. This stūpa is not believed to be extant today, therefore Lori is therefore all the more significant for its antiquity, the almost pure Newar quality of the art, as well as the iconography which definitely reflects Sakya liturgical preferences. The paintings show the consecration of the stūpa to Uṣṇīṣavijayā, a goddess particularly linked to the stūpa cult. The word "Uṣṇīṣavijayā" may be translated "crowning victory" or less poetically, victory of the uṣṇīṣa, the distinctive mark of wisdom at the crown of the head of the Buddha. She is thus the victory of wisdom, the personification of prayer formu-la (dhāraṇī) spoken by the Buddha to help a being avoid unpleasant rebirth; the prayer formula was acclaimed for its effectiveness in attaining longevity and favorable rebirth[14]. In ritual description, Uṣṇīṣavijayā is described "residing within the womb of the stūpa". The stūpa habitually houses relics, traces of the body of the Buddha, whether his physical body or his teachings which are visible remains of his passage on earth. The stūpa also may be said to represent the dharmakāya, literally the body of the dharma, the teachings which are the Buddhist doctrine. Dharmakāya may also be the body of the buddha in a state beyond any formal representation, dharma being a corpus of ideas. A stūpa of Uṣṇīṣavijayā thus represents the will for favorable rebirth and for the victory of the Buddha's teachings to achieve the salvation of the individual and all humanity.

The Lori stūpa allows us to better understand the canons of representation then popular in Nepal for the deities' body proportions and facial expressions, their garments, and thrones. The standing Bodhisattva wear garments composed of successive layers of light fabrics with thin pleats, which flare away from the body, the edge of the hem is defined by white outline. This white outline recurs several times in these paintings, for example, in facial features, a white outline beside the black line of the eyebrow and, to define the contour of the lips, which meet in thin red wash, but are surrounded by the white outline. As may be seen in the painting of the Indian Mahāsidda Ḍoṃbipa, the dark background of the paintings are dotted with small floral motifs, each outlined on one side in white. Ḍoṃbipa's clothes and body proportions reflect India, yet his hair tied in a chignon at the base of his neck is not at all the tiered Pāla chignon set at the crown of the head. The Garuḍa painted on the

base of the stūpa is most intriguing because he is not represented in the typical half-bird, half-human Nepalese manner, with human head and outstretched wings. Instead, following uniquely Tibetan preferences, the Garuḍa bird has horns inserted in his crown and a giant beak[15]. It appears that the horned crown may have been an ancient Tibetan crown type, linked with mythologies on the burial customs of Tibetan royalty[16]. The palette of the paintings follows the characteristic Newar tones of red and contrasting colors. The body postures and proportions also follow classic Newari styles developed in the twelfth to early fourteenth centuries (see color plates 53, 54, 74). However, a portrait of a Tibetan monk, identifiable by his distinctive robes, further shows that the Newar artists were familiar with Tibetans and their mores.

3. The work of Newar and Tibetan artists in Tibet

The paintings made at Shalu as part of the 1307 restorations may also reflect the hands of Newar artists, this time in southern Tibet. Shalu was close enough to the main trade route from Lhasa to Nepal to easily attract the attention of Newar artists. One painting probably made as part of the 1307 decoration is signed by a Tibetan artist, the others unfortunately are anonymous so the nationality of the painter can only be guessed.

However, by the fourteenth century, there is a pronounced Nepalese esthetic adopted at Shalu in the composition of the painting, the characteristic brilliant shades of red, the ornate foliate throne motifs, the jewelry with cabochon and inlaid stones, the heart-shaped faces, the garments of typical Nepalese textile patterns and drapery styles. The hypothesis has been made that a group of artists trained in the Yuan imperial workshops in the Nepalese idiom came to Tibet in the company of the Shalu secular ruler who had gone to Beijing for his official investiture in 1306. Thus the school of Anige was re-implanted in Tibet after its major impact in China[17]. The Pāla esthetic tended to diminish in strength as the artists were further away in time and space from the glories of eastern India of the tenth to twelfth century, nonetheless a lasting imprint of the Pāla esthetic may be seen in the chromatic nuancing of the deep, rich colors used to model the bodies and facial features of the Tathāgatas at Shalu. The distinctly Nepalese taste progressively superseded Pāla influence, as first noticed in the Khasa Malla sculptures (color plate 77). In addition a new esthetic idiom to arrive in Tibet was Yuan architecture, technically implemented at Shalu and represented in landscape wall paintings at Shalu made during this period. Buton's biography specifies that Yuan craftsmen from Mongolia had worked at Shalu[18].

A major contribution to the development of Tibetan art was the settlement of Nepalese artists in Tibet. Indeed, among the artists working in Shalu, there is a good likelihood that some craftsmen belonged to the *katsara*, a mixed Tibeto-Nepalese clan who are derived from the intermarriage of Nepalese traders and artists with Tibetan women[19]. The *katsara* traveled widely, as did the Newar artist-journeymen for whom the motto was – and still is – "have brush, will travel"[20].

Katsara or Newar workmanship is particularly visible in the Densatil monastery, east of Samye and Tsetang along the Tsangpo river. Founded as a hermitage in the eleventh century, Densatil had risen to political prominence with the Pagmo drupa, whose family line supplanted Sakya as rulers of Tibet during the twilight of China's Yuan dynasty. As of 1340, there had been defiant opposition to Sakya administration which suffered from internal rivalries. In order to dominate the situation, the chief Sakya administrator gave his support to the scion of the Pagmo drupa family, a monk based in Tsetang who by 1354 had taken over all of Tibet with the exception of Sakya; Sakya capitulated shortly thereafter.

The administrative organization of Tibet was completely revamped, a new legal code and practical constructions to facilitate travel such as ferries, bridges, rest houses and provision caches were established. As a backlash against the (foreign)

105. Dombipa, the Mahāsiddha, on ceiling of the Lori stūpa cavern, ca. 150 cm.

106. Detail of Avalokiteśvara as attendant beside Uṣṇīṣavijayā on the dome of the stūpa, ca. 60 cm.

107. Bodhisattva in Lhasa Jokhang, brass alloy, height ca. 145 cm. Despite damage this statue demonstrates the elegant tribhaṅga position and characteristic iconometry and facial shape and jewelry of the Nepalese esthetic of fourteenth to fifteenth century.

Mongol influence during Sakya dominion, the Pagmo drupa initiated a revival of ancient Tibetan customs of the dynastic period, such as high officials' costumes inspired by those of the Tsenpo. Their new legal code also was inspired by the legal code of the dynasty. The religious orientation of Pagmo drupa was Kagyupa, emphasizing strict discipline and celibacy. The succession went from uncle to nephew, ruling Tibet from Tsetang vicinity for close to 100 years. During this time, Densatil grew in fame as well as literally, via the construction of numerous large and elaborate stūpas, funerary monuments for the Pagmo drupa monk hierarchs[21]; the most important stūpas were made between 1360 to 1400. These stūpas were typically constructed in large sheets of copper which was then modeled in repoussé technique and gilded. The constructions were tiered, with many smaller statues on the various levels as well as sculpted bas-relief (see color plates 82-84, and 89). When Tucci visited in 1948, he copied dedicatory inscriptions recording these works as models of Nepalese art[22]. Even had such inscriptions been lacking, the metal techniques and the style of the repoussé correspond to some of the finest Nepalese work in Tibet. It is noteworthy that in a climate which re-affirmed Tibetan values, the scion of Pagmo drupa had himself engaged artists working in manifestly Nepalese style – this shows the extent to which it had taken root in Tibet and was no longer considered foreign.

4. The «Terma» movement

As part of the resurgence of national sentiment which marked the Pagmo drupa period, a spiritual and literary phenomen acquired a new popularity in mid-fourteenth century. *Terma*, the Tibetan word literally means "great treasure" but this may refer to visions, images or texts which were revealed through divine intervention. Atīśa is honoured for one of the earliest discoveries of *terma*, a text believed to be the testament of the first historic Tsenpo, which Atīśa dug up from beneath the base of a pillar in the Lhasa temple. The founder of Grathang is revered for his discovery of a medical text. During the twelfth century, the most important discovery was the first biography of Padmasambhava, an Indian master known for translations in Tibet during the foundation of Samye in the late eighth century. The biography of Padmasambhava acquired tremendous signficance for the Tibetans. According to the earliest biography attributed to the lama Nyang ral (1124-1192), Padmasambhava

108. Padmasambhava in his aspect Pema Gyelpo, gilt copper, height 21.6 cm, Tibet, ca. seventeenth century, Collection of The Newark Museum 10.456. Revered as the "Precious Guru", Padmasambhava may be represented as a teacher, or a peaceful or wrathful deity, or a Mahāsiddha.

was revered as a second Buddha designated to bring tantric Buddhism to Tibet. Lama Nyang ral's son was also known for his collections of rituals and for paintings he made "in the style of Nepal several meters high"[23]. Their teachings influenced subsequent biographies of Padmasambhava, compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century, relating his birth as a prince in northwest India, his studies as a yogin, in India and Nepal, his marriages to Nepalese and Tibetan women, eventually his divine embodiments as teacher or Buddha or wrathful deity.

Terma may also be in the form of visions. By the fourteenth century, in addition to historical transmission from master to disciple, the notion of direct transmission from a spiritual being to a lama became accepted.

Thus it was believed that a lama or an individual can be the appropriate vehicule of divine revelation. Due to lama's prophecy or vision of the philosophical considerations and meditations on specific teachings or deities, these were modified accordingly. This can account for new iconographic aspects of a deity in the pantheon or a new authorization to diffuse certain teachings. For example, one of the greatest Nyingma philosophical masters was Long chen (1308-1363), who had visions of a spiritual being initiating him into specific liturgical and ritual instructions, which he then revised substantially and transmitted to many disciples[24]. The line of Long chen's transmission continues to the present day as part of the Nyingmapa "Great Perfection" (Dzog chen) spiritual and meditative teachings.

Terma as a literary phenomen was most often linked to Padmasambhava and groups of deities associated with his teachings. The reverence of Padmasambhava and mystic accomplishments was further amplified by the Buddhist tantric songs of the Indian Mahāsiddhas, translated into Tibetan ca. 1310, and included in Buton's 1334 catalogue of the Tibetan canon[25]. Further echoes of this distinctive poetry of mystic yearnings, frustrations along the path and the joys of spiritual realization are found in the later compilations of the songs of the Tibetan mystic master Milarepa (1040-1123), first edited in biographic form by the Third Karmapa Lama (1284-1339), approximately contemporary with the translations of the Mahāsiddhas' songs[26]. The continued popularity of Milarepa's visions is indicated by the definitive edition over a century later in 1488 (see color plate 98)[27].

5. The creation of the Gelugpa monastic school

In addition to such spiritual developments during the Pagmo drupa hegemony, the secular leaders of other families affirmed their support by implementing construction of new monasteries, near Lhasa and in the middle of the town of Gyantse. The Lhasa monasteries were built following the 1372 arrival in central Tibet of Tsongkhapa, born and raised in the Tsong kha, district of northeastern Tibet.

109. Portrait of Tsongkhapa (1357-1419), manuscript illumination, eighteenth century.
Tsongkhapa's characteristic attributes are the book and the sword, emblems which he shares with Mañjuśrī, Bodhisattva of Wisdom.

Tsongkhapa reformulated the teachings of the Kadampa school and took the name Gelugpa ('Those of Virtue'). He studied several tantra, notably the Kālachakra, with Buton's three most eminent disciples and thus perpetuated Buton's heritage[28]. Tsongkhapa's teachings represented both a continuation and a radical departure from previous studies of *sūtra* and *tantra*. Still the visual legacy of Buton and the Sakya teachings was preserved for posterity beyond Shalu's walls due to several series of maṇḍalas related to the schema designed by Buton, some of which have survived to this day (color plates 91-92). The flat primary colors show comparatively little modeling, although great attention to detail and refined juxtaposition of colors is evident. These maṇḍalas became tremendously popular particularly at the end of the fourteenth century among the Sakyapa and Gelugpa disciples. The Gelugpa inherited from Tsongkhapa the synthesis of his studies with Kadampa, Sakya, Kagyu teachers. He accomplished personally the full integration of the teachings of *sūtra* and *tantra* and expounded his synthesis of philosophy and mysticism in two great compendia, the Stages of the Bodhisattva Path and the Stages of the Path of Esoteric Mantra[29].

Although earlier Taglung Kagyupa teachers had re-emphasized monastic discipline (see color plates 61 and 91), Tsongkhapa joined with two of his main teachers to convene a summer retreat, assembling hundreds of monks of all orders in central Tibet to review in great detail the teaching of the monastic code and the implementation of monastic discipline in teachings of *sūtra* as well as tantric consecrations. His personal experience in 1398 led him to believe that complete philosophical understanding and Buddhahood were simultaneous and could be readily achieved within the monastic committments as well as by mystic adepts.

Students flocked to Tsongkhapa who even received patronage from the Pagmo drupa hierarch. Due to support from Pagmo drupa and from the Nel family from the Lhasa region, he instituted the first Great Prayer Festival (sMon lam chen mo) in Lhasa in 1409, the same year in which construction was finished of Ganden, the first Gelugpa monastery, north of Lhasa. He restored the principal Lhasa temple and offered a new diadem to the central Buddha of the sanctuary (see color plate 122) at this time[30]. Soon his disciples built another three monasteries, Tashilhunpo near Shigatse, Sera and Drepung near Lhasa. His rapid accession to power is evidenced by an invitation from the Chinese Ming court issued in 1408, to which Tsongkhapa replied by refusing to travel but sending Buddhist images to the Ming emperor. In 1413, in response to a second invitation, one of his principal students arrived in Nanjing, the capital, in 1414.

6. Chinese patronage of Tibetan Buddhism under the Yunglo Emperor

To understand the basis for the Tibetan invitations by the Ming emperors, we must backtrack a bit to follow the path of the Nepalese artists and Tibetan lamas to Beijing since 1260. The fall of the Mongol Yuan dynasty in 1368 did not imply a sudden stop of Tibetan influences beyond the land of snows. On the contrary, the legacy of Anige in China had a profound impact due to the Nepalese and Tibetans who served in the Yuan government workshops as officials and artisans[31]. Just outside Beijing, an excellent example is the 1345 Juyong guan arch inscribed in five languages and carved with the Five Buddha maṇḍalas. The Mongols' particularly close relations to the Sakya school were reflected by Sakya emissaries to Beijing and Sakya liturgies represented in religious art they commissioned such as several new caves in Dunhuang. These Dunhuang caves artistically are close in spirit to the Xixia Buddhist art, more related to esthetic models combining Pāla and Tibetan taste as well as pure Chinese Buddhist art. Inscriptions from the Dunhuang caves indicate that Tibetans were there on pilgrimages and perhaps supervising the religious art but there is no indication that there had been any constant Tibetan presence at Dunhuang for many centuries. The Mongol reign in China was that of a foreign dynasty,

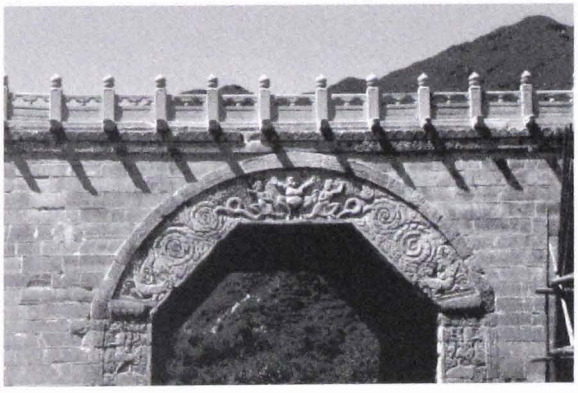
even though Mongol patronage of Chinese Buddhist schools had led to no less than three printed editions of the Buddhist scriptures, including an edition in Xixia language, during their rule. According to census, there were approximately 300,000 monks in China during the Yuan dynasty[32]. According to one analysis, "The widespread anti-Mongol rebellion (which led to the establishment of the Ming dynasty) was due in a large measure to the degeneration and excesses of Tibetan monks (primarily Sakyapa) who wielded too much power in China"[33]. Nonetheless, Tibetan influences strengthened again during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) due to the reputation of Tibetan religious masters. The newly established dynasty turned to other Tibetan Buddhist masters as well as Sakya hierarchs. In 1402, the second Ming Emperor, Jianwen (r. 1399-1402), shortly before his death invited Kagyupa monks of three different sub-schools. These invitations did not give immediate results. However, his successor the Yunglo Emperor (r. 1403-1424) was most assiduous in his invitations. Shortly after assuming the throne, he invited the leading Karmapa monk to visit him in Nanjing and perform the funeral rites of his parents. He arrived in 1406, presenting numerous Buddhist images prior to his own arrival. He received silks, gold, silver, horses, cushions and furnishings as well as Buddhist images. A Karmapa monastery was built inside the precincts of the palace where the lama gave his teachings, as well as at famous Chinese Buddhist monasteries such as those of Wu tai shan. Such lavish hospitality was appreciated and similarly, several other Tibetan lamas followed the path traced by the great Karmapa. The first printed edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon was made in Beijing in 1410. Thereafter, among the presents offered to the visiting lamas and the numerous members of their entourage, Buddhist texts were paramount. It may be said that this first printed Tibetan Canon shows both the importance attributed to Tibetan Buddhism by the Chinese and the culmination of the centuries- long process of translation into Tibetan. It also demonstrates the importance and firmly established nature of the Tibetan commentarial tradition henceforth included in the Canon as a complement to the scriptures of the Buddha and the Indian and Chinese commentaries.

The Yunglo Emperor commissioned Buddhist images reflecting Tibetan as well as Chinese Buddhism. These images are characterized by exceptionally high quality gilding with thick application of gold which show the lavish means available to the artists in the Imperial atelier. These casts are made in the lost-wax technique following the style learned from the Nepalese artisans and those they had trained in the Imperial workshops during the Yuan dynasty.

The Yunglo images integrate Chinese facial features and Chinese robe styles emphasizing the fabric with draped folds for the garments such as seen in the Yunglo Avalokiteśvara (see color plate 90). However, rather than inlaid semi-precious stones typical of Nepalese taste, the jewelry of these Yunglo images used highly ornate gold beading as if for pearls in double and triple strands of necklaces. The lotus petals of the bases also received such treatment, with pearl finishings rendered in gold to de-

110. Inscribed with the reign mark of the Yunglo Emperor, this Teaching Buddha, cast gilt copper alloy, height 47 cm, Collection of The Newark Museum 41.1069, Gift of Herman and Paul Jachne, 1941.

111-112. The Juyong Guan arch north of Beijing was dedicated in 1345. It represents an architectural statement of the Nepalese esthetic as imported and emulated in Yuan China. At the apex of the gate, the Nepalese form of Garuda stands dominating the serpents and Nāga deities. On the sides of the arch, the typical supportive elements of throne of the elephants and vyālas.



fine the lotus cushion on which the deities reside. Although the Yunglo reign mark was carved after casting in the base of the images, it appears that this mark was used throughout the Ming dynasty even though not all the Ming emperors particularly cultivated the links with Tibetan Buddhism as had the Yunglo Emperor and his immediate successor, the Hongxi Emperor[34]. The quantity of Yunglo Buddhist images was vast, as presents were given to those Tibetan hierarchs who visited the Chinese capital while many images were sent as tribute to Tibet. The influence of the Yunglo style jewelry and drapery of garments was one of several styles perpetuated in Tibet at the construction of the Gyantse stūpa[35].

7. The principality of Gyantse

The Gyantse stūpa is perhaps the most important Tibetan religious monument surviving to this day. The constant development of Buddhist thought and liturgy in Tibet since the eighth century, and the varied esthetic representations of these concepts coalesced in unparalleled artistic and intellectual developments during the fifteenth century. This period may be qualified as the Tibetan Renaissance, wherein a new fusion of earlier liturgical and artistic trends was achieved by skillful Tibetan artists whose production demonstrates the possible synthesis of all influences – Tibetan, Indian, Chinese and Nepalese[36]. The temple of Gyantse and the stūpa may be viewed as the immediate prelude to this phase, for the 75 chapels of the Gyantse stūpa survive to this day as witness of the extraordinary production of Tibetan monks and artists of the early fifteenth century.

The Gyantse monastery was the fruition of the felicitous collaboration of the princes of Gyantse, relying largely on Sakya teachings for their imagery, and master artists, some of whom were Tibetan and some of mixed Tibetan-Nepalese heritage. The hypothesis that many artists' signatures in the Gyantse stūpa are those of the Tibeto-Newar *katsara* has yet to be proven, but has been posed with substantial evidence[37]. The princes of Gyantse had managed to carve out a virtually independent zone inbetween Pagmo drupa and Sakya. Skillful diplomacy had led them to receive the title as "personal attendant" of the Yunglo emperor, although there is no reason to consider that anyone actually went to Nanjing to perform the tasks; this did mean however that they received great gifts from China, no doubt Buddhist images, as well as printed texts[38].

The Gyantse princes also managed to make ties with Bodhgaya, one of the few surviving Buddhist establishments in India and hosted the Abbot of Bodhgaya in 1414[39]. The Gyantse princes had constructed a temple in the late thirteenth century but they substantially enlarged it as of 1420, remodeling it on the lines of Shalu Serkhang temple. Like Shalu, there was the Vajradhātu cycle from the Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha tantra showing the Buddhas of the Five directions and their attendant Bodhisattvas, in this case represented both in mural paintings and in clay statues. The principal Buddha of the entire sanctuary was a gilt copper statue of Śākyamuni made according to the proportions of the main image of Bodhgaya[40]. Gyantse had a local tradition that a scion of the Pugyel dynasty had built a fort-castle in the rocks high above Gyantse, giving the town its name, which literally means "peak of the King" (Tib.: rGyal rtse). Therefore in the temple, a special chapel was made for statues of the three most famous Tsenpo (see color plates 95-96).

In addition to control of Gyantse and its surrounding region, the princes of Gyantse acquired the fief of Lhatse, the last major stopover in Tibet before the Nepal border. It was populated by Tibetans and Newars. Lhatse was the birthplace of no less than sixteen of the artists who worked in Gyantse, both sculptors and painters[41]. Although Shalu was important for spiritual and esthetic inspiration and for matrimonial alliances between the ruling clans, it is significant to note that the principal disciple of Tsongkhapa was also involved in the design of the Gyantse temple, reflecting the growing prominence and political contacts of the Gelugpa at the time of the consecration in 1425. On the second floor of the temple was constructed a special chapel

dedicated to Saṃvara with a gilt copper sculptural maṇḍala of the deity and painted clay statues of the greatest Indian and Tibetan Buddhist masters who had transmitted this particular liturgical cycle, the last member of the line being the Sakya monk hierarch who cemented the diplomatic links of Gyantse, Sakya and the Chinese court. There is a strong degree of Chinese influence to the thrones and robes of these sculptures while the gilt copper maṇḍalas reflects the pure Newar esthetic tradition in technique and style of representation. On the third floor of the Gyantse temple, most notable are maṇḍalas of the deities of meditation of the Sakya school: almost 300 cm in diameter, these paintings show much Newar influence. Although constructed principally as a Sakya establishment, the Gyantse monastery complex eventually sheltered monks of both the Sakya and Gelugpa orders, and shows examples of Nyingma and Kagyu lineages as well on the fourth level of the Kumbum.

8. The Gyantse Kumbum

This stūpa is more properly refered to as a "Kumbum", meaning "having 100,000 images". This is a special type of stūpa in which there are countless images

113. Mahāsiddha Drilbupa, ca. 80 cm, Gyantse Kumbum, ca. 1427.

114. Mahāsiddha Dombipa, ca. 80 cm, Gyantse Kumbum, ca. 1427.

115. Mahāsiddha, stucco statue, height ca. 70 cm, Gyantse Kumbum, ca. 1427.

116. Mahāsiddha Satapala, Gyantse Kumbum, ca. 80 cm, ca. 1427.

117. Mahāsiddha, stucco statue, detail of face, Gyantse Kumbum, ca. 1427.

which all are designated Buddha essence, therefore the number 100,000 signifies infinity. The first and third levels are laid out with a major chapel at each of the cardinal points, then subsidiary chapels in between, the second and fourth have uniform geometric symmetry. The progression from ground floor towards the highest level represents a spiritual path of increasingly advanced doctrine. The highest level is the Supreme Yoga Tantra level. Esthetically, certain cycles reflect distinctive Chinese iconographies and styles of painting and sculpture. This is the case for the group of great guardians of the four cardinal directions (lokapāla) whose armor follows models used long ago in Central Asia and represented in Chinese art as well as in the Dunhuang caves commissioned during the Tibetan occupations. Another Chinese influenced iconography is the group of male disciples of the Buddha, called "arhats" (from Sanskrit, Arhats, "fully enlightened ones"). The iconography of this group comprising 16 or 18 members developed in Chinese Buddhism from the tenth century on; the Chinese revered these men as half-saint, half-adept, believing the arhats capable of flying through the skies and magical transformations[42].

The cycle of the arhats is represented in full at Gyantse. Although known earlier in India and Śrī Laṅkā, in Tibet this was a Chinese-influenced iconography which duly showed the influence of Chinese fabrics and brush techniques for application of fields of color. In many other respects, the Gyantse monuments make a synthesis of certain reflections of Chinese taste and techniques juxtaposed with background and thrones whose detailed scrollwork follow Nepalese models, as do the facial features of the deities. It is fascinating to see faces in the Gyantse murals where the gods in many cases resemble Nepalese people. However, instead of typical Indian and Nepalese garments, they are dressed in multiple fabrics draped in successive layers with voluminous folds. The textile patterns vary from diaphanous Indian and Nepalese silks and cottons, to thick brocades rich with gold peony designs, so typical of China. In view of the relation of the Gyantse princes with China, and the constant series of presents of images which the Yunglo Emperor had expedited to Tibet during his reign of 1403-1424, there may be deduced a direct cause and effect relation reflected in the increased representations of Chinese fabrics and motifs in the Gyantse constructions initiated ca. 1420 and completed ca. 1440. The final consecration in 1474 followed the installation of the Kumbum's crowning achievement, a statue of Vajradhara inside the topmost chapel, hitherto devoid of statues but replete with mural paintings of the kings of Śambhala and the lineage of teachers of the Kālacakra tantra[43].

"Praise to noble Acala, king of the wrathful ones"
(excerpt from Atiśa's ritual: *Tibetan Tanjur Derge* T. 3060; for translation see opposite, caption 78)

Tibetan transcription:

Khro bo'i rgyal po 'phags pa
Mi.g.yo.ba la bstod.pa

khro bo rgyal poi mi g.yo ba la phyag 'tshal lo/ mi.g.yon zhes bya'i khro bo ni/ ral gri zhags pa legs par thogs/ sbyi.bo'i zur phud g.yon du 'khyil/ rang gi dkyil 'khor 'od la bzhugs/ klu chen la sogs thams cad kyi/ rgyan rnams kun gyis rab tu brgyan/ byis.pa'i gzugs can 'gying.bag can/ rdo.rje'i sku la phyag 'tshal lo/ dpal ldan na.thugs rje'i rang bzhin can/ gdug.pa 'dul phyir phyi rol khro tshul ston/ chos nyid mi.gyur sku mdog mthing nag zhal/ bcom ldan mi.g.yo mgon la phyal 'tshal lo/ thugs.rje dbying nas bzhengs pa'i sku mchog ni/ ye.shes me dpung 'bar.ba'i kong dkyil na/ sna tshogs padma nyi.ma'i gdan la bzhugs/ zhal 1 phyag 2 mthing nag rngam pa'i sku/ zhabs 2 brkyang bskum bgegs chen du ma gzir/ stag dans sbrul gyi rgyan gyis rnam par brgyan/ lha dang lha.min skrag mdzad phyag g.yas na/ shes.rab ral.gri 'bar.ba 'debs pa'i tshul/ 'byung.po skrag mdzad phyag g.yon sdigs mdzub ste/ thugs.rje lus can mi gtong rdo.rje zhags/ skye shi rtsad gcod rno dkar mche.ba gcigs/ spyan gnyis dmar zlum thugs rjes phyogs bcur gzigs/ thugs.rjes khros.pas dbu.skra gyen du 'khyil/ mi.bskyod la sogs rigs.lngas dbu la brgyan/ ma rungs 'dul.zhing 'gro.don rdzogs mdzad.pa'i/ sbrul.pa'i khro.rgyal sna.tshogs sku la 'gro/ 'gro.ba kun gyi sdug.bsngal zhi.mdzad cing/ bde.ba dag la rim.gyis mgon mdzad.pa/ 'gro.ba'i mgon.po shin.tu thugs.rje can/ khyod nyid dus.gsum sangs.rgyas thams.cad lags/ dus.gsum sangs.rgyas thams.cad khyod lags pas/ khro rgyal ye.shes sku la phyag 'tshal bstod//.

9. *The Ngor monastery's patronage of Newar artists*

In addition to Tibetan and *katsara* artists, the influx of Newar artists to southern Tibet continued in the 1430's and 1440's when Ngor monastery, a branch of the Sakya school, was founded and decorated by a team of Newars.

Ngor chen, the founder and first abbot, was a great scholar who further developed Buton's systematization of the classes of tantra used in certain meditations by the Sakya schools. His catalogue consisted of 22 major maṇḍala cycles, principally of the Yoga and Supreme Yoga Tantra, all of which were textually described and painted in several monasteries. In addition to his Ngor monastery, Ngor chen had support and patronage from the rulers of Mustang in western Nepal. He visited Mustang three times from 1414 to 1435 to organize the sanctuaries and consecrate the maṇḍalas within[44]. The Khasa Malla kingdom had earlier established dominion over Mustang, but subsequently an autonomous principality was created. In Mustang and north of the border Newar painters were engaged along with Tibetan artists for Sakya commissions, producing paintings of excellent quality, according to canons of esthetics derived from India but which had acquired the distinct mark of Newar art, whether Hindu or Buddhist, or even a combination of both[45]. The Sakya were also instrumental in the introduction of Newar sculptural esthetics to Bhutan, where, however clay statues rather than repoussé are found[46]. Possibly the Newar painters

(continued on p. 177)

78. *Acala*
Brass, with silver and copper overlay, incrustation of turquoise, red pigment, height 22 cm, Tibet, twelfth century, private collection
This deity corresponds to an iconography known in Tibet as "Acala according to the Kadampa system", in which the protective deity Acala is represented in lunging position, trampling the aspect of Gaṇapati called Vighna (which literally means "obstacle"). According to the eleventh century texts of the Niṣpannayogāvalī, the deity called Vighnāntaka (the conqueror of obstacles) also tramples Gaṇapati in his multi-handed aspects, but in the two-handed aspect, Vighnāntaka wields a vajra, not a sword and does not crush Gaṇapati. The Tibetan Buddhist scriptures include three other rituals for a blue Acala in this iconography, all connected with Atiśa, the Indian paṇḍita and translator whose teachings spurred the foundation of the Kadampa monastic school. Atiśa translated a Sanskrit ritual composed by his guru Dharmakirti, who is known as Suvarṇadvīpa (Serlingpa), which means "He of the Golden Island", for he is traditionally believed to have been Atiśa's teacher during his twelve year travels in Java or Sumatra (*Tibetan Tanjur Derge* T. 3059, Eimer 1979: section 132). In addition, Atiśa himself composed a ritual, which he translated into Tibetan. The text by Suvarṇadvīpa stipulates 3 eyes, Atiśa's text states 2 eyes. This variation may be due to later scribal error because the numeral forms in Tibetan are very close. The icons vary, either 2 or 3 eyes, while here the space for the third eye is designated by silver overlay rather than an anatomical eye. The following description is an excerpt from Atiśa's ritual (*Tibetan Tanjur Derge* T. 3060; see transcription on opposite page):
"Praise to noble Acala, king of the wrathful ones. Salutations to the king of the wrathful ones. As for this wrathful one known as Acala (Mi.g.Yo.ba) he holds both sword and lasso, his hair is tied in a knot wound to the left. he dwells in the light of his own maṇḍala. He is excellently adorned by all of the ornaments of all of the Nāgas, having haughty face and youthful male body. I bow to his Vajra body. The one who is the (essence of) spontaneous compassion shows the wrathful form in order to vanquish evil. With face of black, dark blue-black body which is firmness of the Dharma itself, I bow to the protector Bhagavat Acala. When constructing his excellent body from the realm of compassion (meditate thus): in the middle of the expanse of the blazing fire of wisdom, one head, two arms, dark blue body, two legs, one contracted and one extended, crushing many great obstacle-demons. Beautifully adorned in tiger and snake ornaments, with his right hand, he waves the blazing sword of wisdom to terrify the gods and the asuras; to subdue demons, in his left hand he makes the threatening gesture and holds the vajra-lasso moved by compassion for sentient beings. His white fangs annihilate birth and death. His two globular red eyes gaze with compassion in the ten directions. By wrathful compassion his hair is wound on end, he wears the crown of the Buddhas of the Five families. Vanquishing those who act inappropriately he quells them for the sake of sentient beings. His body with the snakes adorned will accomplish the appeasement of suffering of all sentient beings. Protecting on a level of pure bliss, most compassionate protector of beings, you who are the essence of all the Buddhas, by the virtue of these Buddhas I praise and venerate the wrathful king in his wisdom body. HAIL".
This statue conforms closely to Atiśa's ritual evocation, although the crown is far more schematic than a representation of the Five Transcendent Buddhas. Atiśa's personal veneration may indeed have influenced the popularity of this aspect of Acala, frequently found as guardian in the border frames of many paintings of this period (Kossak and Singer 1998). The very simplicity of form and inlay work relate this sculpture to Pāla esthetic as emulated in Tibet due to the influence of Atiśa and other Indian and Nepalese masters who reached Tibet during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Atiśa, *Tibetan Tanjur Derge* T. 3060; Kossak and Singer 1998; de Mallmann 1986.

79. *Che chog Heruka and deities of the Bardo*
Distemper on cloth, dimensions 52x61 cm, Tibet, fourteenth century, private collection
This painting represents a group of 33 deities of the Bardo, the period of time following a person's death. According to *terma* texts revealed in the fourteenth century by Tibetan lamas, rather than envision death as tragedy, death is conceived as an opportunity for transformation. Impermanence and the interdependent relations of all sentient beings and all phenomena are central to Buddhist thought, death being the quintessential manifestation of impermanence. The Tibetan teachings describe the path of the deceased as he or she encounters many deities and manifestations of energy during the Bardo due to the karma accumulated over many lifetimes. Ultimately the energies coalesce toward the next reincarnation. Rebirth in human form is deemed most valuable, for only human beings can consciously develop the thought of the mind of enlightenment and strive towards the goal of nirvāṇa for all sentient beings. Although the Indian antecedents of the bird and animal-head deities has been demonstrated (Ricca 1985), the composite iconographic representations of the Bardo reflect the innovations of the Tibetan literature on the Bardo, attributed as revelations by Padmasambhava to several Tibetan lamas of the fourteenth century, some of whom may be represented in the upper register, Padmasambhava at far left. In the center, Che chog Heruka, winged, with six arms and three heads, leads the deities of the Bardo. The schematic composition in geometric registers, the palette of red dominance and relatively simple ornamentation of the deities indicate a correspondence with Tibetan paintings attributed to the fourteenth century, when much of the Tibetan literature of the Bardo was first widely diffused. Although there are no historic inscriptions, an approximate chronological attribution to the period of the early diffusion of the Bardo teachings is proposed.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Kossak and Singer 1998; Reynolds et al. 1986: 177; Ricca 1985.

80. *Vajrabhairava*
Distemper on cloth, 90x82 cm, Tibet, late fourteenth to early fifteenth century, R.R.E. Collection
This representation of Vajrabhairava corresponds to his liturgical veneration penned by numerous teachers, who particularly esteemed meditation practices centered on Vajrabhairava. They are represented without identifying inscriptions on the upper register, in the company of Indian Mahāsiddhas who had earlier elaborated the ritual initially stemming from the Buddha Vajradhara, represented at center. Vajrabhairava's very name implies the terrifying: The Vajra who inspires Fear (rDo.rje.'jigs.byed). The stirring expressions of his faces convey such terror. Yet, this deity is regarded as the wrathful aspect of the Bodhisattva of wisdom Mañjuśrī, holding his sword which cuts through the clouds of ignorance and his book, represented immediately above the nine heads of Vajrabhairava. The attributes of his 32 arms are weapons of various sorts, his sixteen legs crush the demons of mental obstruction (de Mallmann 1986: 400-401, 469). The delicately scrolled lotus petals and decoration of the dark ground from which he emerges reflect Nepalese esthetics of the late fourteenth century, as does the geometric arrangement of the lamas and deities of the border frames. In the lower register are a lama performing a ritual and a group of protective deities with buffalo heads like that of Vajrabhairava's central face. These deities of his entourage reinforce the association of Vajrabhairava with Yama, regarded as lord of the Buddhist

hells. Again the conceptual association is of death as a transformative state, a sojourn in hell being a prelude to potential rebirth in a more favorable incarnation. The antiquity of the cult of Vajrabhairava is traced at least to late tenth to eleventh century in Kashmir or western Tibet (Reedy 1997: U309), while at Alchi and Mang yu, there are mural paintings of Yamāntaka (Linrothe 1994). Despite the scrupulous attention to the attributes and ritual stipulations of the iconography, the relative simplicity of jewelry, ornamentation, nimbus forms and scrollwork suggest an attribution to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.
Inscriptions at the base praise Vajrabhairava and his entourage and hopes for spiritual realization and joy for all: "gzugs.mchogs (sic) mcogs. (sic) tu drag.po.che/ dngos.bo. mchogs. (sic) gi spyod.yul.can/ 'dul.dka' 'dul.ba'i don byed.pa/ rdo.rje.'jigs.byed la phyags.'tsal.lo/ mchog.dang thung.mongs gnyis kyi dngos.grub rtsal.du gsol/ bkra.shis.par gyur.cig//". Previously unpublished. Lit.: Linrothe 1994; de Mallmann 1986; Reedy 1997.

81. *Cosmological diagram*
Silk tapestry weave (kesi) 83.8 by 83.8 cm, Yuan dynasty, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Fletcher Fund and Joseph E. Hotung and Michael and Danielle Rosenberg Gifts, 1989 (1989.140).
This diagram illustrates a Buddhist system of cosmology where Mount Meru, axis of the cosmos, is surrounded by seven ranges of gold mountains alternating with seven deep blue oceans, beyond which the four directions and their territories are distinguished by their geometric emblems and colors. According to the fifth century treatises of the Abhidharmakośa, a mountain of iron, here illustrated as the two outer grey rings of stylized rock staves, encircles the entire universe. The four continents of the four directions and eight subsidiary continents all float in a salt water sea, yet here the waters are colored in relation to the directions. The southern continent – which is our world – is attributed the color blue of lapislazuli, and a trapezoid emblem; the red quarter of ruby corresponds to the west with circular emblems; the yellow of the golden north has faded somewhat, but the square emblem remains; to the east, silver white is the ground for the semi-circle emblems. Mount Meru is regarded as the residence of all earthly gods, as well as the pivot of the cosmos, but here the summit is an oval with a lotus of eight petals, recalling Buddha Śākyamuni's revelation of the eight-fold path. The sun and moon are represented following Chinese iconographic conventions, the three legged crow in the sun and the rabbit under a cassia tree for the moon. The small landscape motifs inside the continents and sub-continents adapt earlier Chinese artistic conventions which were revived in the Yuan dynasty. The corner motifs of the vases and eight auspicious symbols also follow known Yuan models. The textile was undoubtedly woven in China during the Yuan and then imported to Tibet where it remained until recently. Such textiles were often made in duplicate or triplicate, according to recent studies – the case in point is that a duplicate has been located in a private collection, measurements 85.5x84 cm, which allows for slight margin of weave. Thus the principle of such duplication is certainly documented, and both known examples were long conserved in Tibet.
Previously published: Watt and Wardwell 1997: 101-103. Lit.: Imaeda 1987.

82. *Virūpākṣa*
Gilt copper, incrustations of lapislazuli, turquoise, coral, height 75 cm, Tibet, early fifteenth century, private collection
This large sculpture of a lokapāla, the guardians in armour of the four directions, represents the guardian of the west, Virūpākṣa, identified by the serpent in his left hand. The small stūpa which would have been held in his outstretched right hand has now been lost. The cult of Virūpākṣa and Vaiśravaṇa, guardian of the north, is documented in India already before the second century B.C. However, the iconography of the lokapālas reached its definitive form in central Asia, where mural paintings of Vaiśravaṇa figure among the paintings made in the Yulin caves during the ninth-century Tibetan occupation of the Dunhuang region. Although absent in Tabo and the earliest monasteries of the eleventh century in western Tibet, such guardians appear in Alchi in the Lhakhang Soma, attributed to the thirteenth century. Among Yuan imperial commissions, the lokapālas figure prominently in Buddhist arches dated 1345 near Beijing. The lokapālas also appear in the Tibetan sanctuary at Gyantse sanctuary of 1390, with slight variation in the attributes of the guardians. The Gyantse sanctuary was commissioned by the local ruling house which had ties with the Pagmo drupa of Densatil. It is thus not surprising to find a group of lokapālas as part of the decoration scheme of the group of giant gilt copper reliquaries of Densatil. While the iconography of the lokapālas has clear links to central Asian and Chinese iconography, the Densatil statues of lokapālas are more related in both technique and style to the bas-relief of the reliquaries which, according to their dedicatory inscription, were made according to models of Nepalese art (Tucci 1956: 128). In particular, the face of Virūpākṣa does not follow the model of bulging eyes which characterized the Chinese iconography, but is closer to Nepalese facial features. The Densatil reliquaries were a serial commission, starting from 1360 through early fifteenth century. The iconographic model of Virūpākṣa here is consistent with an early fifteenth century date.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Bazin 1997; Béguin and Drilhon 1984; Roerich 1979: 581-594; Tucci 1956.

83. *Lhamo*
Gilt copper, incrustation of turquoise, height 50 cm, Tibet, mid-fourteenth century, private collection
84. *Mahākāla ber.nag*
Gilt copper, incrustation of turquoise, height 60 cm, Tibet, Pritzker Collections
The reliquaries of Densatil were commissioned for the princes of Tsetang, who served as de facto rulers of Tibet from the mid-fourteenth century until the mid-sixteenth century. As of 1267, the first funerary stūpa were built here. More elaborate constructions followed as of ca. 1300. These sculptures may probably be attributed to a later phase of construction, from ca. 1360 to 1400. The plaque of Lhamo represents this deity in four-arm manifestation, her hands and members disproportionately large and tubular, lacking all musclular exertion. She rides her mule through space yet here the donkey is recumbent, surrounded by nine female deities. These deities are not her usual entourage of four goddesses with animal heads representing the four seasons. It has not been possible to ascertain the ritual to which this representation corresponds. The plaque of Mahākāla however, corresponds partially to a designated evocation, that of Mahākāla wearing the black coat (ber nag). In this form, Mahākāla wears a coat and boots, as he does here, yet he is also supposed to hold a copper knife (de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 56) and skull cup, and trample on demons. This aspect of Mahākāla wears indeed the coat and boots which may correspond to the evocation, albeit lacking the weapons. The chronology of the deities which had decorated the reliquaries of Densatil is clearly attributed to the second half of the the fourteenth century, both by technical considerations of the medium of sculpture and the facial and body configurations which present a prelude to the early fifteenth century elaborations of the Gyantse sanctuaries.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Mele 1969; de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975; Roerich 1979: 581-594; Tucci 1956.

85. *Mahākāla*
Distemper on cloth, 19x15 cm, Tibet, twelfth to thirteenth centuries, L.F. Collection.
This aspect of Mahākāla is named the Mahākāla of Wisdom according to the liturgy of Ga Lotsava (1203-1282). He is rep-

resented holding the attributes of the flaming sword, chopper, skull cup and trident. The sword is typically associated with Mañjuśrī as Bodhisattva of Wisdom, for the sword cuts through the clouds of ignorance. Known by epithet as "The Great Black Protector" (mGon.po.nag.po.chen.po), in his entourage are found the protective goddess Lhamo, holding sword and skull cup, seated on her mule, as well as an attendant named rTsa 'jib (bSod nams rgya mtsho 1983: n. 128-5). Two kneeling figures present libation ewers to complete the entourage. The crow is a frequent emblem for Mahākāla, thus it is not surprising that three crow-headed deities figure in the lower register, accompanied by a lion-faced guardian. In the corners above the red arch within which Mahākāla resides, there are vultures eating human cadavers. In Tibet, cremation or burial inside a stūpa is reserved for high lamas, while recognition of the impermanence of life and interdependence of all sentient beings and all phenomena gave rise to the practice of leaving the cadavers as food for the birds of prey. The composition is extremely simple, yet the gold jewelry is highly ornate as are the small garlands of seed pearls above the god's ankles. Careful observation reveals much nuance in the application of intense black to deep blue color of the skin, particularly emphasized on the facial features highlighted in red and white. Béguin had previously discussed Ladakh as a possible provenance although a firm regional attribution was not made, Pal compared this Mahākāla with a mural painting in Alchi (Pal 1984: plate 14). Indeed, in Ngari, many borders of mural paintings use raised gesso to define subdivisions within the composition, for example on vajra borders of maṇḍala (see plate 35), such as the emphasized gold edge of Mahākāla's arch. The palette of red, yellow and blue, the postures of the two adorants and the facial features of Mahākāla yet also suggest Nepalese influences. The extremely small size of this painting would allow easy travel. In the absence of further historic information, this chronological assessment is maintained.
Previously published: Béguin 1990: 170. Lit.: Pal 1984; bSod nams rgya mtsho 1983.

86. *Mahākāla*
Distemper on cloth, 54x45 cm, Tibet, Donation Lionel Fournier, Musée Guimet MA 5183
This painting of Mahākāla corresponds to the iconography of Gurgyi gonpo as discussed earlier (see plates 69-70). The composition is more developed in several registers. The overall effect is less ferocious. It is far more elaborate than the previous Mahākāla due to the composition, where four of the five central deities are placed on lotus pedestals, and the scroll finish of the pointed trilobate arch inside which Mahākāla and his numerous entourage reside. These qualities all derive from painting of the Kathmandu valley as commissioned for Tibetan patrons, particularly in relation with the Sakya monastic school. The cemetary scenes with Mahāsiddhas and deities are minatures, almost as if panels from illuminated manuscripts had been adapted to the canvas. The painter has taken pleasure in applying the gilt on indigo fabric pattern and pleats of the edges of Mahākāla's scarf, as he has the red lines of geometric pattern inside the arch of the white section of the scarf which is suspended in the air above the shoulders. The background is relatively subdued scrollwork in reds. In many respects, due to such simple background treatment and decorative yet precious quality, this painting would appear as an almost immediate antecedent of the more exuberant mural paintings in the Gyantse stūpa, where there is documented presence of Tibetan and Newar, or Katsara artists (Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: plate 53). A chronology of ca. 1400 is suggested here in relation to the Gyantse constructions from ca. 1420-1440.
Previously published: Béguin 1990: 63-65. Lit.: Ricca and Lo Bue 1993.

87. *Hevajra Kapāladhara maṇḍala*
Distemper on cloth, ca. 50x45 cm, Tibet, mid-fifteenth century, formerly Peter Silverman Collection
The fabric mount of this painting has precluded reading of any inscriptions, however the configuration of this maṇḍala bears great correspondence to the Vajrāvalī series commissioned in the mid-fifteenth century at the Ngor monastery. In the top register, a group of monks and siddhas are represented as if in the galleries of a temple, while in the lower register, inside similar galleries, there is a donor monk, twelve female protective deities, three aspects of Śākyamuni Buddha, and the guardian Mahākāla. The maṇḍala palace is occupied by five chapels, each containing representations of Hevajra Kapāladhara embracing Nairātmā, and each couple is surrounded by eight dancing forms of Nairātmā. In the zones outside the five chapels, vases are positioned to redefine the intermediary directions and four quadrants in red, green, white and yellow. The gateway has garlands of flowers suspended from the trilobate central arch, the tiers of the gate are geometrically decorated in circular and diamond patterns. Each gate has the emblem of three jewels and the wheel of the law at the apex. The eight cemetary grounds are represented inside one of the concentric rings surrounding the actual maṇḍala palace. The precision of the painting and alternation of color in scrollwork for the background enhances the visual definition of this maṇḍala. In correspondence with recent scholarship on these series of maṇḍala, a date of mid-fifteeth century is suggested.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Jackson 1996; Kossak and Singer 1998; Leidy and Thurman 1997; Pal 1991.

88. *Saṃvara maṇḍala*
47x40 cm, Tibet, mid-fifteenth century, Donation Lionel Fournier, Musée Guimet MA 5188.
At the upper register of this painting, a group of Buddhas, joyous and dancing Mahāsiddhas, and white-robed non-monastic Buddhist teachers are represented as those who uphold the lineage of teachings of this form of Saṃvara. At center, Saṃvara with four faces and twelve arms embraces the red Vajravārāhī. Around them a group of Ḍākinī, then successive rings in which couples of deities embrace. The four gateways to the temple in which reside Saṃvara and his entourage are exquisitely accentuated against the dark background, the architectural structure and ornementation are clearly defined by distinct colors. In the outer rings, the eight cemetaries are represented in great detail, each comprising the guardian of the direction, a carnivorous animal, cadavers, demons, a preaching siddha, a stūpa and a river forming boundaries between the eight regions. The characteristic Nepalese scrollwork, physiognomies and palette of opaque primary colors are clearly visible in this representation which may predate the series commissioned at Ngor. The Ngor series commissioned after 1429 presented Tibetan lamas in the upper register, notably absent here. In maṇḍalas painted in Mustang, Ngor chen had also engaged Nepalese painters. In consideration of the absence of Tibetan masters in this maṇḍala, it may be suggested that possibly this painting was part of a series commissioned outside of Tibet. The configuration of the maṇḍala is identical with one of the maṇḍala inside the Gyantse Kumbum (Lo Bue and Ricca 1990: 196).
Previously published: Béguin 1990: 76-77. Lit.: Kossak and Singer 1998; Leidy and Thurman 1997; Lo Bue and Ricca 1990.

89. *Virūpa*
Gilt brass, silver inlay, incrustation of turquoise and semi-precious stones, traces of red and blue pigment, 16 cm, Tibet, fourteenth to fifteenth century, private collection
Virūpa is one of the most beloved Mahāsiddhas, revered in particular by the Sakya monastic order, for their founders received esoteric teachings from Virūpa. He is represented here in his characteristic pose raising his arm to the sky. He is in fact making a gesture to arrest the movement of the sun. This posture is related to an episode in traditional accounts of his life. All accomplished yogins or Mahāsiddhas are recognized to have license to non-conventional behavior due to their advanced studies of esoteric teachings where the coemergence of

transcendence and immanence, subject and object are spontaneously and totally experienced (Kvaerne 1996: 61). Although non-believers might consider them crazed and soiled due to their disregard for the usual constraints of society, the Mahāsiddhas' perception was believed to be sacred and exceptional. The story of Virūpa is typical of such behavior: Virūpa had arrived at an inn where he proceeded to drink much alcohol, assuring the barmaid that he would pay his bill when the sun set. By emitting an invisible ray of light from his raised finger toward the sun, he was able to continue drinking for several days, until finally the local ruler settled Virūpa's bill. Yet Virūpa is revered for his instruction of the teachings called "The Path and the Fruit" which he transmitted to the Indian translator Gayadhara who came to live near Sakya and translated in partnership with Brogmi, a Tibetan disciple. These are illustrious names for the Sakya monastic school. The close proximity of Sakya towards the route to Kathmandu facilitated their engagement of Newar artists. The gilt bronze with inscrustations of semi-precious stones is typical of their creations, while the silver inlay and the ornate curves of his garland of flowers are more distinctive. The pigments indicate use in Tibet. The model of the bone apron ornamentation is relatively simple, suggesting a date of fourteenth to fifteeenth century, perhaps by a Newar or Tibetan sculptor.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Kvaerne 1996; Rhie and Thurman 1990: plate 166.

90. *Avalokiteśvara*
Gilt brass, height 22 cm, date inscribed in Chinese, 1403-1424, private collection
This statue represents a Chinese aspect of Avalokiteśvara, identified by two lotus, one above each shoulder. He holds a small vase in his right hand, which is typical of Chinese iconographies of Avalokiteśvara since at least the eighth century. Although according to some Chinese iconographies, Avalokiteśvara takes on feminine characteristics, here the gender is clearly masculine. This image is inscribed in Chinese with the name of the Great Ming Yunglo Emperor, which indicates its provenance. The strong Newar influence may be understood in comparison with the image of Virūpa of plate 89. In the jewelry, the upper necklace of this image, and the necklace worn by Virūpa both have double strands of pearls, gracefully modeled in stylized arcs. Yet the Chinese love of fabric and the distinctively modelled folds in three concentric ovals are characteristic of Yunglo images, as are the trilobate form in which the strands of the lower necklace fall (see also fig. 112). The emphasis of the upper and lower beading of the pedestal, and thin lotus petals are also marked Yunglo traits. The facial features reflect the Newar physiognomy more than Chinese traits. The Yunglo period marked an intense exchange between central Tibet and China, where Nepalese influences had already taken root duirng the Yuan dynasty. Esthetically these were further refined during the Yunglo period, and re-introduced to Tibet as images were given to Tibetan lamas as tribute from the Chinese court.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Béguin 1987; Karmay 1975.

91. *Five maṇḍalas of a Vajrāvalī series*
Distemper on cloth, 54.9x48.6 cm, Tibet, ca. 1570, R.R.E. Collection
This maṇḍala was commissioned as part of a series to honor the memory of the Eleventh Abbot of Ngor monastery, Sangye Senge (1504-1569), painted at the request of Namkha Pelzang (1535-1602), who became the Thirteenth Abbot of Ngor in 1579 (Jackson 1989, 1996b). The Ngor monastery particularly esteemed the Vajrāvalī cycle of maṇḍala teachings. Shortly after the foundation of Ngor in 1429, Ngor chen Kunga zangpo (1387-1456) commissioned a series of maṇḍalas of the Vajrāvalī cycle to pay hommage to his teacher, Mati Panchen Sazang phagpa (Jackson 1996: 82). Ngor chen's biography describes his commission of the series from Newar painters, who arrived spontaneously at the monastery "as if summoned... by the power of the lama's meditation" from Kathmandu (Jackson, ibid.). Certainly the reputation of Nepalese teachers and artists were intimately known to Mati Panchen – he had traveled with seven disciples from Tibet to Kathmandu, lived there many years, then returned to Tibet where he taught notably at Narthang (Roerich 1979: 1045-6; Tucci 1949: 420 (28)). The two maṇḍalas of the upper register both represent the Buddhakapāla aspect of Hevajra, the two lower maṇḍala represent Yogāmbara, at left, and Jñānaḍākinī at right, and at center, the five deity maṇḍala of Mahamāyā (Béguin 1990: 177; Ricca 1991: 16; Jackson 1996b). The inhabitants of the eight cemetaries are represented throughout the intermediary space beyond the circumferences of the maṇḍala palaces. The painting style is manifestly Nepalese, notably by virtue of the palette and intricate scrollwork, however whether the painters were Newar, Tibetan or *Katsara* cannot be determined at present for many painters were adept in painting in several styles, depending on the subject matter and the desire of the patron. The painting technique here shows great attention to detail and extreme refinement. Stylistic parallels for the architectural proportions of the portals and the scale of iconometry of the deities are found in mid-sixteenth to late sixteenth century Nepalese paintings (Pal 1985: P18, P19). The best documented Vajrāvalī series known at present was made at Ngor monastery by the commission of Ngor chen, ca. 1430-1456 (Jackson 1996: 82), yet individual elements and groups of the maṇḍala of the series were also made throughout the centuries (bSod nams rgya mtsho 1983). Such copies are in no way falsifications, but instead conscious replication of a revered original model. In consideration of the chronology of the Ngor Abbots Sangye Senge and Namkha Pelzang, it is suggested that this painting was made ca. 1570 or slightly later.
Inscriptions: top: "phreng ba'i ras bris bcu pa'o": "Tenth of the paintings of the (Vajrā)valī"; bottom: "rdo.rje.'chang sangs. rgyas seng.ge dgongs.pa rdzogs phyir du/ grang. (sic) btsun nam.mkha'dpal.bzang gis gus pas bzhengs so//": "Made in reverent homage by Brang.ti.pan.chen Nam.mkha'dpal.bzang to honor the memory of Vajradhara Sangs.rgyas seng.ge".
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Béguin 1990; Jackson 1989, 1996; Jackson 1996b (personal communication/R.R.E); Kossak and Singer 1998; Pal 1985; Ricca 1991; Roerich 1979; bSod nams rgya mtsho 1983; Tucci 1949.

92. *Maṇḍala of Cakrasaṃvara*
Distemper on cloth, 65x52.7 cm, Tibet, fourteenth century, private collection
This maṇḍala of Saṃvara (Tibetan: Demchog, "best joy", bDe.mchog) represents the same star configuration of 62 deities as the maṇḍala of Saṃvara (see plate 88), yet the esthetic differences are most striking as possibly a full century sepates the commission of the two paintings. This maṇḍala composition is exceptional due to the group of eight wide trilobate arches which surround the deity couples of the third, fourth and fifth rings inside the maṇḍala palace. Although there are no historic dedicatory inscriptions, the inscribed names of the upper register have been identified in earlier research by Stoddard, from left to right: Saṃvara, the Mahāsiddha Luipa, his disciple Dārikāpāda, the Mahāsiddhas Bramze, Ghaṇṭapāda, and Avadhūtipa, the Mahāsiddha who was guru to the Tibetan lama Marpa in late eleventh century, then four Indian paṇḍitas, Dharmavajra, Bodhibhadra, Vajrāsana, Aphyakara (possibly for Abhayākaragupta), and lastly two Tibetan lamas, the Translator Ga (rGva.lo.tsa.ba, 1203-1282), and the Hermit of Zhang clan, who lived in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century (Stoddard 1993). Stoddard considered that this maṇḍala closely recalled the style of Shalu maṇḍala of the early fourteenth century. The portrait of the master translator Ga may be the link to Shalu, for the teachings of Ga the translator were transmitted at Khro pu monastery where Buton studied before his arrival at Shalu in 1320 (Roerich 1979: 792; Ruegg 1966). While it is thus possible that this maṇḍala may resemble some planned by Buton at Shalu during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, the extant mural paintings

attributed to Buton's design are most remarkable for the representation of the inhabitants of the eight cemetary grounds beyond the maṇḍala palace, birds in flight, yogins and skeletons dancing in mystic visions (see fig. 95). Here, on the contrary the eight cemetaries and their inhabitants in small scale are figured within the rings just beside the gateways to the maṇḍala palace. The garlands of jewels hanging from the main archway of each gate are extended in a corridor throughout the maṇḍala palace, as shown by several ancient maṇḍala attributed to the twelfth to fourteenth centuries (Leidy and Thurman 1997: plates 13, 15, 16, 20). Thin vines with yellow, red or blue tendrils link the spheres of deities or lamas or yogins which fill the black outer quadrants beyond the maṇḍala circumference. Vines which are virtually identical in color and proportion linking spheres of the outer quadrant are a distinctive stylistic feature found in many paintings of a Tibetan maṇḍala series most recently attributed to ca. 1375 (citation of Jackson: Kossak and Singer 1998: 162). Small flowers in yellow and red float in this black celestial space beyond the spheres, much as those in the arcades of the Nepalese maṇḍala of ca. 1360 (see plates 99-100). These two maṇḍala are also similar in their palette, dominated by the tones of red, orange and yellow, on black ground. In the lower register, ten forms of Saṃvara followed by Mahākāla of Wisdom (ye.shes mgon.po) in the form associated with Ga Lotsava (see plate 85), and a monk in Tibetan robes, who is unidentified. A date of mid-fourteenth century is tentatively suggested.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Kossak and Singer 1998; Leidy and Thurman 1997; Roerich 1979; Ruegg 1966; Stoddard 1993 (personal communication).

93-94. *Medecine Buddha (Bhaiṣajyaguru)*
Distemper on cloth, 180x141 cm, Tibet, early fifteenth century, private collection
This painting is exceptional for its size, undoubtedly one of the largest portable Tibetan paintings extant today. Traditionally the Buddha of Medecine has been portrayed in monastic robes, holding a bowl of leafy herbs, believed to be a universal remedy, but simultaneously his right hand touches the ground in the gesture of bhūmisparśa associated with Śākyamuni. Although in some cases the Buddha of Medecine may have blue body color, here the conceptual assimilation with Śākyamuni is accentuated by virtue of the golden color skin. He is flanked at his right by Mañjuśrī, whose sword and book are displayed on the two lotus at his shoulder level. At left, Avalokiteśvara holds the long stem of a white lotus. Extensive use of raised gesso painted with gold outlines the folds of garments as well as crown and jewelry detail. This technique had been frequently used in western Tibetan mural paintings of the eleventh century at Nako (plates 35, 36), as well as the fifteenth century constructions at Tsaparang, Tabo and Toling. The composition has three registers organized by the arrangement of the figures, rather than architectural subdivisons. At top, the sixteen Tibetan arhats, who are accompanied at far right by the arhat Dharmatala carrying a load of books, with a tiger at his feet. Dharmatala's association with the group of sixteen arhats became popular in China whence it was imported to Tibet. While the earliest example of Dharmatala's iconography on a Tibetan painting is an example inscribed in Newari language and dated 1340-1370, in the Shalu Serkhang murals of ca. 1334, painted under the direction of Buton, only sixteen arhats are represented (Little 1992: 279). Near the group of arhats are Indian sages, while Atīśa and his Tibetan disciple Bromton are portrayed respectively above Mañjuśrī's book, and above Avalokiteśvara's lotus. In the lower register, numerous Tibetan historic figures are represented, among which may be recognized the lama Marpa and his disciple Milarepa beside the stem of the lotus cushion. The guardians of the four directions and Jambhala, holding the mongoose spewing forth jewels as emblem of prosperity are represented along the lower border. Rather than landscape or architectural motifs to organize the composition, there are thin curling stems of vines with small buds and florets. The silks have small gilt stars or geometric arrangements of circles, but they are lavishly draped over the body, reflecting the Chinese penchant for elaborate array of several layers of garments documented in Tibet in the statues and murals of the Gyantse sanctuaries constructed between ca. 1420 and 1440 (Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: plate 19). Several Gyantse mural paintings also present similar vine and flower motifs to organize the composition (Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: plate 54). In view of the configuration of the arhat group and the marked similarity of the spatial organization and garments, it may be suggested that this painting is approximately contemporary with the Gyantse constructions.
Previously published: Eskenazi 1995. Lit.: Little 1992; Ricca and Lo Bue 1993.

95. *Chapel of the Tibetan kings, Gyantse*
Clay and polychrome, height ca. 120 cm, 1423
96. *Gyantse Kumbum and sanctuaries*
Ca. 1420-1440.
The construction of the Gyantse stūpa and sanctuaries was a tremendous undertaking for the princes of Gyantse, who played a pivotal role in the politics and religious infrastructure in Tibet during the late fourteenth to fifteenth century. They used the title chos.rgyal, religious kings, and regarded themselves as legitimate heirs of the ancient Tsenpo, also termed chos.rgyal in later Tibetan historiography. Thus the importance of the chapel in which the three Tsenpo who were deemed most significant for the implantation of Buddhism in Tibet: at far left, the first historic Tsenpo, Songtsen gampo, then the founder of the Samye monastery, Trisong detsen, and at right, the Tsenpo responsible for great translation movement of the ninth century, Ralpachen. Their turbans and flowing robes are modeled in clay, according to the Tibetan historical tradition, yet the style of throne and folds of garments follow the Chinese conventions adapted to Tibetan Buddhist iconography during the Yunglo period. Among the folds of the robes, one Tibetan boot, the sole upturned, may just be distinguished. The iconometry used for the Tibetan religious kings parallels the Bodhisattva figures on the mural painting behind the statues. The chapel of the kings is in the building to the right of the Gyantse Kumbum, the tiered white and gold stūpa which, by virtue of the vast quantities of clay statues and mural paintings, constitutes perhaps the most remarkable extant monument in Tibet. The stūpa measures fifty meters in diameter at the base (Chayet 1994: 150). The architecture of the group of buildings allows an understanding of the scale and interdependence of the constructions. Due to the geological situation of Tibet on a series of seismic faults, earthquakes were not uncommon. Tibetan architecture consequently developed practical means to arrest shock, such as wide construction of walls at base, with a gradual narrowing and somewhat less heavy material at the top of a wall. The flat roof is perfect for a climate with little precipitation throughout the year (under 50 cm per annum for most of central Tibet), while the large proportions of the assembly halls within the monastery can be understood from the view of the exteriors of the buildings.
Lit.: Chayet 1994; Lo Bue and Ricca 1990; Ricca and Lo Bue 1993.

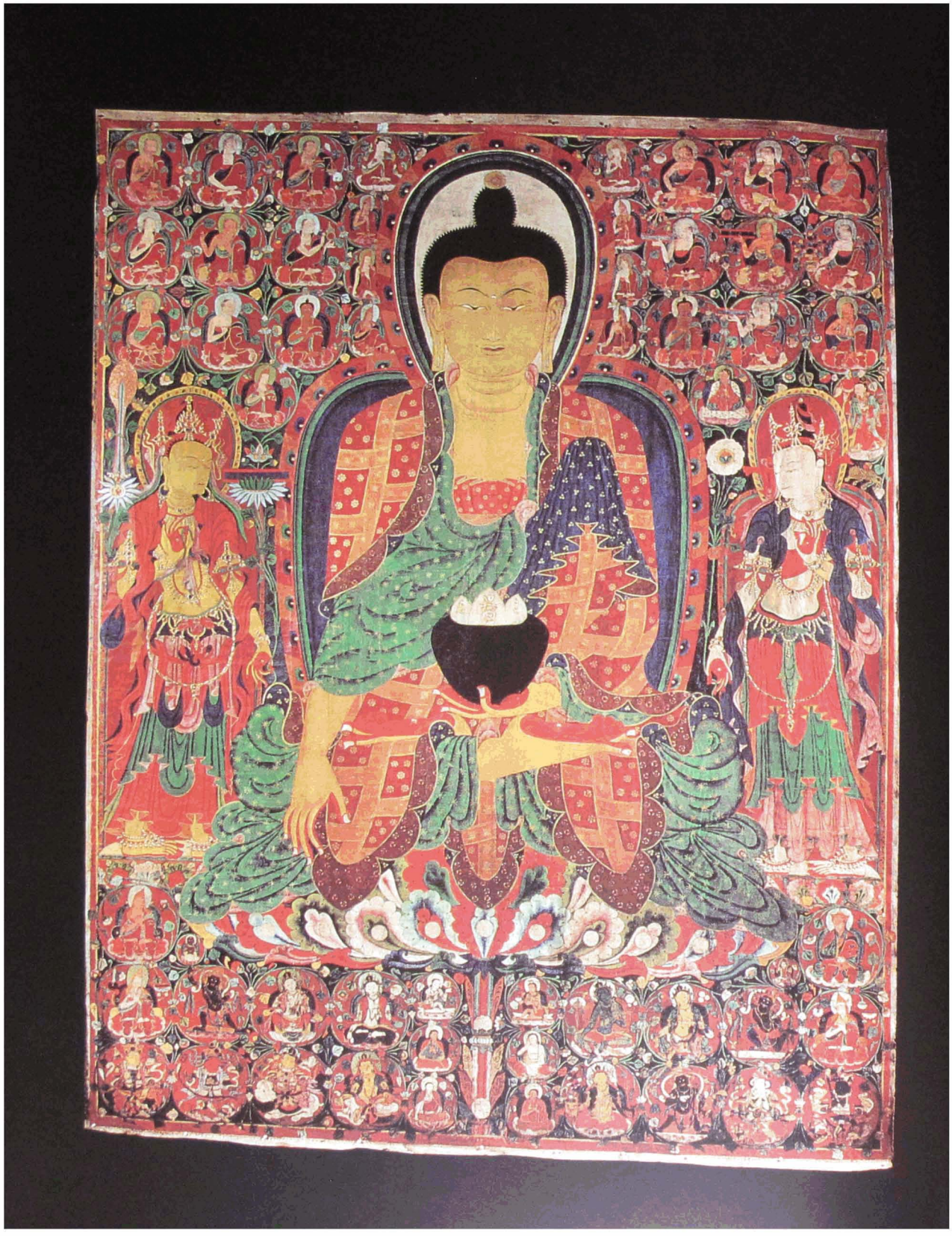
97. *Guhyasamāja*
Distemper on cloth, 106x93cm, Tibet, sixteenth century, R.R.E. Collection.
Guhyasamāja is one of the most important meditational deities of the class of Supreme Yoga tantra, Anuttarayogatantra. This category is the fourth and most esoteric class of tantra, where the four main consecrations consist of ritualized performance of the sexual act of union (Snellgrove 1987: 121). The initiation into the practice of such texts, together with the ritual consecrations, the sacred formula (dhāraṇī or mantra) and specific hand gestures (mudrā) which are included in the text of the tantra and the corollary rituals allows one to personally experience liberation from emotional disturbance, defective knowledge and faulty meditation. The divine forms of

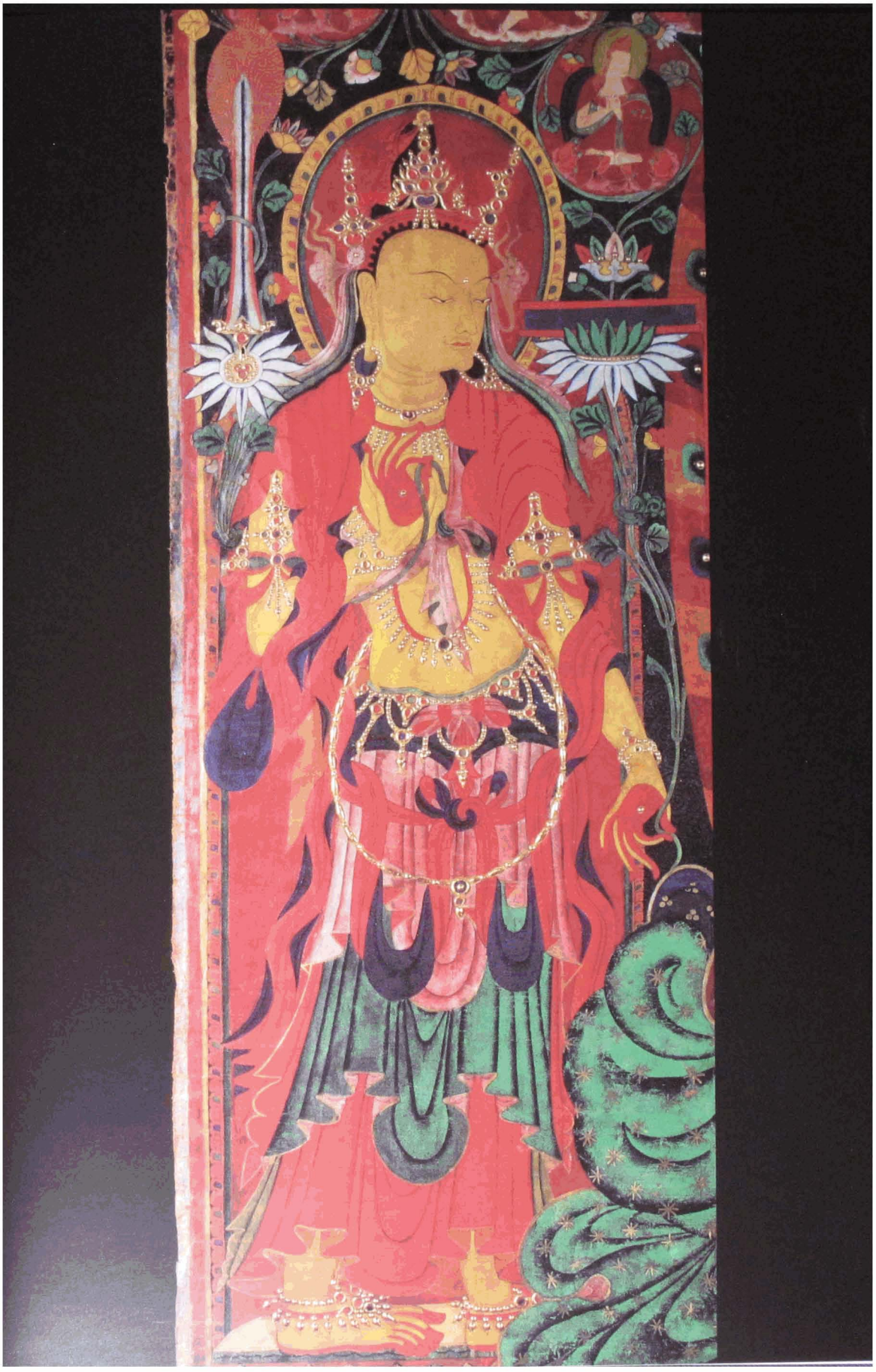
Guhyasamāja with three faces and his partner are textually linked to the two principle attributes held by the central hands, the Vajra scepter, the means towards enlightenment and means towards conversion, and the Bell, which represents the Perfection of Wisdom. In the state of union, however, the vajra comprehends both these coefficients of enlightenment (bodhi), the means and the wisdom (Snellgrove 1987: 132). The thought of enlightenment is linked to the altruistic ideals of all living beings throughout the whole realm of space experiencing bliss and happiness (ibid.). The other attributes held by Guhyasamāja also have symbolic value, such as the sword which is the "blazing fire of wisdom". The upper register represents a lineage of transmission of the teachings, initiating from Buddha Vajradhara who also holds the vajra and bell, followed by yogins or adepts who perfected the teachings and eventually Tibetan lamas and monks. There are no inscribed names to allow historical identifcation of these people. In the lower two registers appear protective guardians in wrathful and peaceful emanations. The composition, the crown, iconometry, the ovoid halo of Guhyasamāja and the superimposition of several layers of brocades in his garments all suggest a date of fourteenth to early fifteenth century. The costumes and crowns bear comparison with some in the Gyantse Kumbum (Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: plates 59, 86), which seem more manieristic than the Guhyasamāja couple. The chronological attribution of this painting is complex. Stylistically, it would seem to have been painted earlier than the Gyantse sanctuaries of ca. 1420. However, radio-carbon analysis of the cloth has indicated a date of fifteenth to seventeeth century. Subsequent analysis of extensive inscriptions on the back of the painting may provide more defintive chronological information to contradict or re-evaluate the radio-carbon data. Pending this information, a date of sixteenth century is suggested.
Previously published: Stoddard 1996: fig. 26. Lit.: Ricca and Lo Bue 1993.

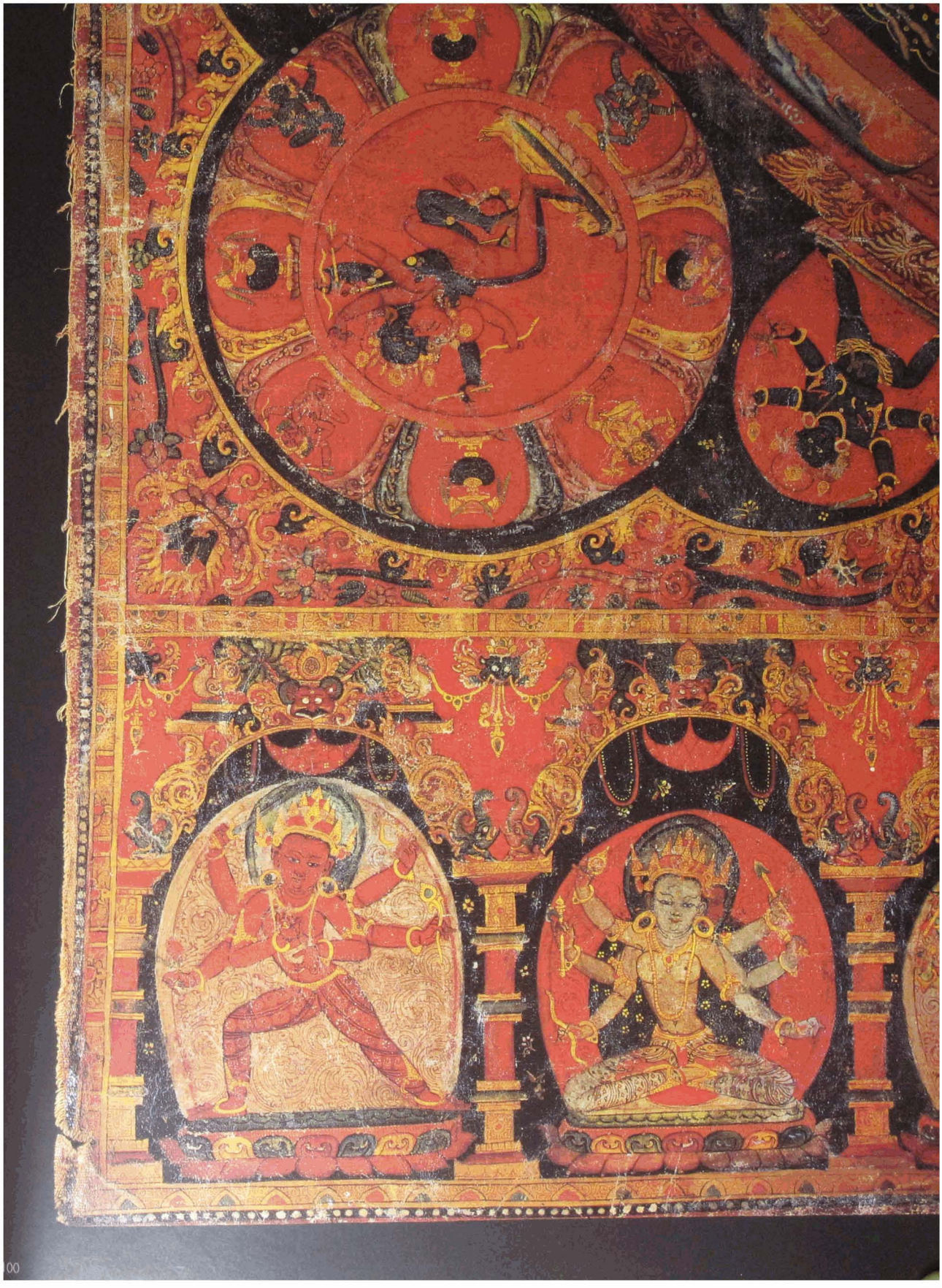
98. *Milarepa book cover*
Wood with polychrome, 69x22cm, Tibet, fourteenth century, R.R.E. Collection
This book cover probably comes from a Kagyupa book, due to the portrait of Milarepa (1040-1123), the Tibetan lama renowned for his mystic verses, who is depicted at far right. At left, an aspect of Mañjuśri, having three faces and four hands, seated in the "vajra" or "lotus "position. Rather than the sword above left shoulder, he holds the vajra, and the book above right shoulder, while the two central hands present a mudra of meditation. The term vajra position far better connotes the tantric association of the term vajra as means of enlightenment. Above this aspect of Mañjuśri, at far left, the two hand aspect of Mañjuśri holding the sword of wisdom. At center, the Śākyamuni form of Buddha, accompanied at left by Vajrapāṇi and Amitābha; at right by Avalokiteśvara in his Tibetan aspect associated with the six syllable mantra Oṃ Maṇi Padme Hūṃ. In the register above Milarepa, two Tibetan religious masters, probably monks wearing shawls over their robes, and the emblem of the three jewels, symbolic of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. Beside Milarepa, two attendant monks stand in gestures of veneration. This cover is simple and forthright, lacking the elaborate scroll work and vines typical of Indian or Nepalese manuscripts or covers. The trilobate arch is well known in Tibetan architectural motifs such as Shalu monastery's early fourteenth century chapels. Comparison to documented bookcovers also corroborates a fourteenth century attribution (Chayet 1994: plate 117). There were many versions of Milarepa's biography and verses which circulated in Tibet prior to the codification of the biography in 1484. Notably, the Third Black Hat Karmapa lama, Rang.byung.rdo.rje (1284-1339), wrote a widely known biography based on still earlier lifestories compiled by Milarepa's personal disciples (Stearns 1994).
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Chayet 1994; Stearns 1994.

99-100. *Maṇḍala of Mañjuśrī and the Pañcarakṣā*
85x85 cm, Nepal, ca. 1350-1400, private collection
In comparison to the Tibetan examples of maṇḍala illustrated previously, it is pertinent to examine yet another example of painting from the Nepal Valley which left a strong imprint on Tibetan works (see plate 74). The configuration of space is quite similar to Tibetan Buddhist maṇḍalas. At the upper register, the deities are seated in the exterior galleries of a palace. Architectural motifs of columns and scrolled archways are bedecked with red silk canopies and garlands of pearls. The upper register encloses eight representations of an aspect of Mañjuśrī with three heads, six arms, all forms holding the sword of wisdom, yet differentiated by the colors for the four cardinal points and the four intermediary points. At center, Vajrasattva embraces his consort. In the four corners, from upper left, are Hevajra Kapāladhara, Saṃvara, Hevajra, and Yogāmbara with their consorts, each couple flanked by two guardians. In the lower register the representations of the Pañcarakṣā, the five protective goddesses. Inside the maṇḍala palace, there is an inner sanctum with an aspect of Mañjuśrī in tantric embrace, which is repeated in the four gates of the directions surrounding the central deities. Four goddesses occupy the intermediary directions beside the five principal couples of deities. The architecture of the outer galleries, their columns and archways are elaborately represented, each doorway inside a tree arbor, while the four trilobate arches of the gateways leading into the maṇḍala palace are replete with candelabra and miniature golden towers as well as strands of pearls and jewels. An identical configuration of four golden towers above each of the four main gateways to the temple are found on a Nepalese maṇḍala of Vasudhārā dated 1367 by inscription (Pal 1978: plate 72).The background behind each of the gates is the black of celestial space with stars of gold in both this maṇḍala and the Vasudhārā maṇḍala of 1367. This palace architecture is quite different from the Tibetan conception of palaces due to the ornamentation, however there is use of the same principle of the arch formed by the tongues of fire emerging from the mouth of the mythical monster makara. This maṇḍala has no donor figures, nor a lineage of transmission. The eight cemetaries and their inhabitants are represented in the interstitial space between the outer galleries and the main configuration of the maṇḍala. This placement of the eight graveyards in the outer edges of the maṇḍala is characteristic of earlier paintings (Leidy and Thurman 1997: 72). A chronology of the second half of the fourteenth century is suggested due to the stylistic parallels with the documented 1367 maṇḍala, accentuating the gateway architecture with miniature towers, candelabra and stars, as well as the iconometry and facial expressions of the deities, the more simple disposition of the central deities, and the outer position of the graveyards.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Kossak and Singer 1998; Leidy and Thurman 1998; Pal 1978.

101-102. *Guhyasamāja maṇḍala*
Toling Serkhang, ca. 300 cm, Tibet, late fifteenth century
This mural painting from the late fifteenth century construction at Toling allows an understanding of the maṇḍala in enlarged scale which became characteristic of certain types of Tibetan temples. Although in this view the central portion of the Guhyasamāja maṇḍala is not visible, the scale of gateway has substantially changed since the fourteenth century models which are much tighter constructions. The perspective of this photograph demonstrates the degree of partial damage, due to the ravages of time, and the cultural revolution, also the efforts of applying concrete to the walls in modern times. Yet the detail of the attendants shows the vibrant colors and refined painting of the late fifteenth century. In the vine scrolls juxtaposed to the blue-green leaves, the pink lotus in full bloom are shaped almost like peonies, yet a red scrolled decorative element, perhaps a stylized leaf, is integrated into the design as well.
Lit.: Henss 1996; Tucci 1988.







and artisans were attracted to travel towards Tibet to work on the new monasteries for reasons such as religious and artistic satisfaction, prestige, an opportunity to amass wealth in the form of gold (bullion or powder) and goods that could be transported home. Although tolerance of many religions prevailed, the political authority of Nepal was Hindu, while Tibet was a Buddhist country. For certain Buddhist artists, this may have been a capital factor in their decision to travel beyond the Kathmandu Valley, to accumulate spiritual merit by participating in the new Tibetan foundations. At this time, esoteric liturgical cycles utilizing the maṇḍala as a support for meditation were common to Hindu and Buddhist religious practices in Nepal. The interaction of Tibetan patronage and Newari artists is a phenomenon encountered before, after and during the Gyantse constructions and their decoration. One major difference at Ngor was a restriction on the maṇḍala cyles appropriate for mural paintings, due to the esoteric nature of some liturgies. This may account for the increased production of portable paintings for certain cycles at Ngor[47]. The statues at the foundation of Ngor are also attributed to Newari artists, but none are known to be extant today. Although of a much later period, a large series of Ngor maṇḍalas was preserved in Japan as well as many appliqué thangka.

10. Menla Dondub, founder of the Menri school of painting

The Yunglo Emperor indeed had not been the first to send fabric in tribute, for the liturgical and decorative needs of Tibetan sanctuaries had created a great demand for textiles. While it is not known exactly how the earliest temples were decorated, at least at the construction of Tabo in the early phases of the revival of Buddhism in western Tibet, ceilings and walls were either draped or painted as if covered with textiles. Alchi today still retains myriad textile motifs painted on beams as well as the garments of the deities. These fabrics tend to Indian geometric and designs or the medallions of birds and animals which had become widespread along the Silk Route since the sixth century and particularly popular in Tibet during the Pugyel dynasty. Certainly some of the roundel fabrics reached Tibet from manufacturing zones near Samarkand, or Kucha, or Khotan, yet others were woven for foreign export in Chengdu, Sichuan[48]. The Tibetans thus had long imported foreign silks of Chinese and central Asian provenance. The Chinese fabrics which were exported to Tibet as tribute and presents during the twelfth century (see chapter two) prepared the terrain for the arrival of bolts of fabric with the emissaries returning from China during the Yuan and Ming dynasties. According to Tibetan classifications of art styles and artists, the earliest Tibetan school of art was founded by Menla Dondub, who claimed to have been inspired by Chinese textiles used in appliqué[49]. Although formerly research placed Menla Dondub's lifetime during the painting of Gyantse, this has now been revised due to his work for Gendun Drubpa, one of Tsongkhapa's pupils who founded the monastery of Tashilhunpo in Shigatse in 1447. Working in the second half of the fifteenth century, Menla and his disciples painted murals at Tashilhunpo ca. 1465. It took him three months to design and execute a giant appliqué thangka almost 300 m^2 representing Śākyamuni[50]. He then conceived another appliqué with the remainder of fabric, to which he threaded no less than 2,775 seed pearls. Menla had been apprenticed to two of the foremost painters of Gyantse one of whom may have also been responsible for the design of the earliest recorded Tibetan appliqué representing Śākyamuni and his two principle disciples[51]. The strong inspiration from the appliqués made by his teachers, and also from Chinese textiles imported to Tibet was recorded in his treatises on painting, as was his apprenticeship with two painters who had worked on the Gyantse Kumbum[52]. Some of his mural paintings are still extant in Tashilhunpo[53]. His fame was such that later histories attributed to Menla the transmission of the iconometric system of Buton and described Menla's painting style:

"The coats of pigment and shading are thick. In most respects, the layout is

just like a Chinese scroll painting, with the exception that (this) is slightly less orderly... The bodily posture, skeletal structure and musculature/flesh contour are excellent. Necks are long, shoulders are withdrawn (or high?), and clearness predominates. There is much shading. The colors are detailed, soft and richly splendid. Malachite and azurite pigments predominate (n.d. these give green/blue tonalities). From a distance the painting is very splendid, and if one approaches, it is detailed. The forms of robes and scarves are not symmetrical. Even thought the basic pigments are many, they are fewer than in China... The shading is evident through (the use of shading, washes of a) somewhat greater strength. This is the tradition of (Menla)..."[54].

Menla had several students and even within his family, the tradition continued as well. Menla is regarded as the founder of an artistic tendancy called "Menri", *bris* being the Tibetan word for painting and writing, thus "painting in the style of Menla". It is rather difficult to understand the definitions of the parameters of the Mendri esthetics in the absence of actual paintings, for although he is credited with the innovation of incorporating Chinese landscape devices into Tibetan paintings, this had already been accomplished by some of the artists working in Gyantse from 1420 to 1440 who had taught and inspired Menla. However, it is significant that the later Tibetan historians attribute this feature as characteristic of the Mendri school's innovations[55].

The biography of Gendun Drubpa, the founder of Tashilhunpo, and who was one of Menla's main patrons, recounts the work in Tibet of a group of Newari artists and their competitions for commissions of projects with Menla and the artists of his atelier[56]. This biography was written by Gendun Drubpa's disciple in 1494. It is fascinating to read of the importance attributed to the artists, and their life in Tibet. For example, one group of important Nepalese artists were working at Taglung (see color plate 61), then moved to a monastery near Shigatse, while another group was working in Ngari – all of which was known to Gendun Drubpa as he ordered the construction of statues and the design of appliqué by the various teams as well as his commissions to Menla.

11. Khyentse, founder of the Khyenri school of painting

A slightly younger contemporary of Menla was Khyentse, active in the second half of the fifteenth century. His work is principally known today through the mural paintings of the Gongkar monastery, south of Lhasa, not far from Samye. This is traditionally a Sakya establishment. The later histories preserved the tradition that Menla excelled in the rendition of peaceful deities, while Khyentse was the master of the fierce or wrathful manifestations[57]. Again visible Chinese influence is described in the Khyenri school by the later Tibetan historians, but in view of what is visible today at the Gongkar monastery, this judgement is perhaps best reserved. In correspondence to the Nepalese painting style with composition of large format central images, surrounded by borders divided into discreet frames which enclose small portraits of lamas and Buddhas in the line of transmission, certainly the mural paintings Gongkar are quite different in scale and format. But to call them Chinese is rather far from current ideas of Chinese painting, whether of the Buddhist or Chinese scholarly traditions. Rather, as in the Menla paintings, with those attributed to Khyentse, it is possible to see small background details of landscape which reflect, to a degree, Chinese conventions for waterfalls, craggy rocks utilized to advantage in a Tibetan composition. This tendency became increasingly marked after 1600, complemented, as we will see, by personal innovations of individual artists.

The period of the Tibetan artistic renaissance may be said to come to fruition with the Gyantse sanctuaries and the achievements of Menla and Khyentse, the two Tibetan artists whose masterpieces served to inspire and instruct their pupils and successive generations of artists. The intellectual renaissance corresponds to the literary legacy of Tibetan authors during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, whether

in studies based on their translations of Indian Buddhist scriptures or in personal poetic compositions.

Buton and Tsongkhapa are the two major pillars of this period; the former initially by his prolific writings to systematize the volumes of the Buddhist Canon in general, complemented by his re-assessment of the classes of tantra and commentaries which Tsongkhapa further modified and refined into a system which has continued to be taught to the present in Tibetan monastic establishments. The artistic representation of their literary production was indeed the Gyantse stūpa. In addition, the writings of Nyang ral and those who pursued his mandate in the different versions of the biographies of the mystic teacher Padmasambhava represent another Tibetan literary tendancy which brings the ideals and inspiration of Buddhist realization beyond the monastic population. Tibetan mystic poetry also developed in this period as the realizations of the Indian Mahāsiddhas and their Tibetan pupils, resulting in a literary genre transmitted both in writing, songs, and artistic repersentations throughout Tibet and the Himalayan Buddhist kingdoms. The Nyingmapa teacher Long chen's Dzog chen ("Great Perfection") studies of the rituals and commentaries related to other tantra also exercised a profound influence on personal ideals and meditative teachings. This period of tremendous spiritual and artistic accomplishment had coincided with several political transitions in Tibet, demonstrating the complexities of the relations between patronage and the arts within provinces and the interplay of international political relations with Tibetan religious establishments. In contrast, the next phase of Tibetan history demonstrates how the creation of a stable, centralized government fostered certain artistic and intellectual movements with the rise to political prominence of Tsongkhapa's Gelugpa school, as well as those spiritual and esthetic tendencies which developed their innovations as peripheral movements of major impact.

NOTES

[1] Vitali 1990: 100.
[2] Ruegg 1966: 93.
[3] Ruegg 1966: 21-22.
[4] This explanation of the four classes of tantra is largely a quotation from Snellgrove 1987: 119-121.
[5] Ruegg 1966: 11.
[6] Ruegg 1966: 141: "after having constructed the maṇḍala of colored powder...".
[7] Ruegg 1966: 131.
[8] Naudou, cited by Linrothe 1998.
[9] Lo Bue 1997: 193-195.
[10] Lewis and Jamspal 1988: 193, for restoration of Swayambhu by Tsang Nyon, fifteenth century, document several visits.
[11] Personal communication T. Lewis, 3 dec. 1998.
[12] Vitali 1997: 1023-1037.
[13] Neumann 1994: 79-91; 1997.
[14] Discussion summarized from Linrothe 1998: 97.
[15] Stoddard 1996: 41 discusses the horned Garuḍa as a Tibetan speciality. This corresponds to the head of the bird called Khyung, "eagle" in Tibetan language (cf. Goldstein 1984: 132).
[16] Bird-horns are subject of a full chapter of Martin's thesis 1991. See pages 124-125 for his description of the ancient crown; cf. also Haarh 1969 for combination bird-mammal types in the mythology of ancient Tibetan royalty. I thank D. Templeman for the reference to Martin's thesis.
[17] Vitali 1990: 105.
[18] Ruegg 1966: 4 and 90.
[19] I thank I. Alsop, M.V. Aris, K. Dowman, and E. Lo Bue for information on *katsara* (1994 and 1998). Cf. Ph.D. thesis of Lo Bue 1989: 25-26, and Ronge 1978: 142 for Newar in Lhatse.
[20] Dowman 1997: 188.
[21] Roerich 1979: 581-583, *passim*.
[22] Tucci 1956: 128.
[23] Dargyay 1978: 102.
[24] Dargyay 1978: 56.
[25] Kvaerne 1986: 2.

[26] Cyrus Stearns, unpublished research for The Newark Museum, archived in Jan. 1994.
[27] Stein 1981: 300.
[28] Ruegg 1966: 11.
[29] Thurman 1985: 372-382 for information on Tsongkapa summarized here.
[30] Blondeau and Gyatso 1997: 53.
[31] Karmay 1975: 72-97.
[32] Chen 1964: 420.
[33] Karmay 1975: 73.
[34] Béguin 1977: 105.
[35] Karmay 1975: 84.
[36] Term adapted from V. Reynolds, "Painting in the Fifteenth century: The Tibetan Renaissance", 8.I.1998.
[37] Von Schroeder, forthcoming.
[38] Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: 18.
[39] Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: 19.
[40] Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: 21.
[41] Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: 23.
[42] Chen 1964: 48; Sickman and Soper 1978: 198; Little 1992 discussed a series of paintings corresponding to the Tibetan group of arhats, with Newari inscriptions datable to ca. 1340, approximately a century earlier than the Gyantse sanctuaries.
[43] I thank L. Fournier for this information.
[44] Dowman 1997: 189.
[45] Dowman 1997: 188 the Newar painter Devānanda. For combined iconography, cf. Nepalese coins having Śiva's trident and the eight Buddhist luck symbols. Personal communication from numismatic historian Nicholas Rhodes.
[46] Pommaret 1997b.
[47] Jackson 1996: 77.
[48] Heller 1998a, 1998b.
[49] Smith 1970.
[50] Reynolds 1996: 248; see also Jackson 1996: 82-83.
[51] Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: 20; see also Jackson 1997: 256.
[52] Jackson 1997: 256; Reynolds 1996.
[53] Jackson 1996: 119.
[54] Jackson 1996: 119.
[55] Jackson 1996: 122-130.
[56] Heller, unpublished research for The Newark Museum, archived Jan. 1994.
[57] Jackson 1996: 140.

Chapter four
THE ERA OF THE DALAI LAMAS
(1500-2000)

The Tibetan Renaissance had been a period marked by extremely diverse, fertile energies active in both art and theology, fostered by the lack of a central political and economic authority. With the growth of the spiritual and intellectual impetus provided by Tsongkhapa and the monks of the Gelugpa school, this heterogenous atmosphere underwent many changes.

By 1642, the Gelugpa had achieved what had not been known in Tibet since the fall of the Pugyel dynasty – the unification of Tibet stretching from a western border with modern Ladakh to the eastern reaches of modern Sichuan and Yunnan. The process of consolidation of the polity of Tibet, led by the Dalai Lama, the spiritual hierarch of the Gelugpa, substituted Gelugpa political authority for the rivalries of the local aristocrats and princely families. This political authority coincided with the direct encouragement of certain artistic schools and the vast diffusion of their works by the Gelugpa. In contrast to this pervasive esthetic influence was – in more isolated fashion – the creation of individuals, virtuoso artists, and their pupils. Intellectually, the degree of mass standardization of liturgy, religious cult and philosophical curriculum in Gelugpa monasteries throughout the country led to a phenomenon of peripheralization of other spiritual traditions. In eastern Tibet in particular, the reaction against Gelugpa school in part spurred several intellectual and artistic countermovements as of the eighteenth century, continuing during the nineteenth century. This regional fragmentation eventually facilitated political rivalries which culminated in the Chinese occupation of eastern Tibet in 1950 and the Lhasa uprising of 1959, which brought over 100,000 Tibetans into exodus following the Dalai Lama beyond Tibetan borders. To understand the developments which lead the Dalai Lama to found a Tibetan government in exile in India while his followers founded numerous Tibetan monasteries in India and beyond Asia, it is necessary to trace the growth of the Gelugpa tradition and the institution of the Dalai Lama.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Gelugpa had substantial support in two regions: Lhasa and the immediate surroundings, and Shigatse. The three great Lhasa monasteries of Ganden, Sera and Drepung were actively supported by local families and the princes of Tsetang, however Tashilhunpo since its foundation in 1447 had constituted in the Shigatse region virtually a Gelugpa island surrounded by Karmapa supporters. The fifteenth century had seen a constant struggle for power between the leaders of the regions of Lhasa and Shigatse, respectively supporting the Gelugpa and the Karmapa. The role of Tashilhunpo and its abbot was therefore crucial to ensure the survival of the Gelugpa tradition west of Lhasa, as was increasing support of Gendun Drub by Ngari princes. They also supported the restoration of Tabo, Toling and Tsaparang, commenced in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, under the impetus of another disciple of Tsongkhapa[1] (see color plates 101-102).

Just after the death of Gendun Drub in 1474, there was delay in deciding his successor, not as the abbot, but in another capacity – the Gelugpa had started to utilize the principle of reincarnation to ensure the continuation of a spiritual authority[2]. Gendun Gyatso (dGe.'dun.rgya.mtsho, 1476-1542) was finally recognized as the reembodiment of Gendun Drub. Born near Shigatse, he was descended from a family of lamas of the Shangpa subschool of the Kagyu tradition. His family was then particularly famous as holders of teachings to provoke rain, but earlier one of his ancestors had been a chaplain at Samye during the late eighth century. Gendun Gyatso's father had received teachings on several occasions from Gendun Drub, who had even visited the family monastery. At age six the boy was recognized as the reincarnation of Gendun Drub, and ultimately as an earthly manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, by the lamas of Tashilhunpo.

Initially he studied at the family monastery. Under his father's guidance, he learned many treatises, rituals and meditative techniques including texts by Padmasambhava, Milarepa, Padampa, and texts on protective deities according to Sakya masters and many others. The Ngari prince Lobzang Rabten (bLo.bzang.rab.brtan) visited to present his homage to the young boy as the newly recognized incarnation of Gendun Drub[3]. After this momentous visit, at the age of 10 the boy took his first vows in Shigatse at Tashilhunpo monastery and received his monastic name Gendun Gyatso. In 1495 he took final monastic vows in Lhasa at Drepung monastery. The atmosphere in Lhasa was tense due to the 1492 occupation of Lhasa by the Karmapa supporters, so Gendun Gyatso traveled east of Lhasa to Samye. He stayed in retreat for some time there, returning occasionally to Tashilunpo and to his family monastery nearby. From 1498 until 1517 while Lhasa remained essentially Karmapa territory, Gendun Gyatso generally resided elsewhere.

In 1509 he was invited by the lord of Ol ka, a small province east of Samye. There he founded his personal monastery[4], renowned for its lake which is believed to provoke oracular visions or premonitions in its visitors. In 1513 he was appointed Abbot of Tashilhunpo. When the Karmapa factions left Lhasa in 1517, Gendun Gyatso was appointed abbot of Drepung, and in 1527 abbot of Sera. In 1530 he founded Ganden Podrang inside the Drepung monastery as residence of his lineage.

Although the Karmapa made Shigatse their stronghold, Tashilunpo maintained its autonomy. Further support came as the princes of Ngari pursued their patronage of Gendun Gyatso and Gelugpa monasteries in Ngari. In order to facilitate the studies of the Ngari monks in central Tibet, shortly before his death in 1542, Gendun Gyatso founded the monastery Ngari Gratsang not far from Samye.

The spiritual and artistic heritage left by Gendun Gyatso is substantial. His writings comprise biographies of his father and grandfather, his autobiography, commentaries on rituals excerpted from major tantra, ritual compositions of his own, and a massive correspondence with his numerous supporters throughout Tibet. The extension of the zone of influence of the Gelugpa was directly in proportion to the importance of the relations of patronage. During this period of hostility between monastic traditions, there was strong emphasis on cults of protective deities for it was hoped that the deity could influence the outcome of the conflict if pleased by the ritual and offerings. Some Tibetan protective deities may have no specific counterpart in the pantheons of Indian Buddhism, nor do the Tibetan rituals celebrated to encourage the human medium through which the oracle deities reveal their omens. To a certain extent their cult may reflect ancient Tibetan pre-Buddhist worship of mountain or subterranean deities, and rituals seeking oracular divination and protection against evil. Within his family's teachings, certain deities had special function for protection of the clan. The Second Dalai Lama pursued the worship of the family protectors through his personal practice and liturgical compositions for worship of many deities, particularly the protectors Lhamo and Begtse (see color plates 83, 108, 113). When he became abbot of several monasteries, he eventually installed an institutional cult to these protectors by all the monks of his monasteries. Thus,

rather than merely protecting the family, wherever monasteries of this order were established, the protectors extended their zone of influence. Indeed, by virtue of the monastic vow of celibacy, the nuclear family was to a certain extent replaced by the extended family of the monastic community. In his autobiography, Gendun Gyatso described his feelings and impressions as he experienced a divine omen and then a mystic vision at the lake which he attributed to the powers of the female protective deity Lhamo:

> "When it was time to choose the spot of the monastery, the valley was wide and I looked for a clear sign. A white dzo (cross between yak and cow) just then appeared on the hill, and without even looking for grass to eat or water to drink, stayed a full day on the hillside. Clearly, one "must" construct the foundations of the monastery there".

People said the region was sacred to the female protector Lhamo and a male protector deity, each of whom was believed to inhabit a lake as personal territory. For Lhamo, she needed a sword of iron, but the local craftsmen fashioned a sword said to be made of meteorite metal, as sign of her invincible strength. Gendun Gyatso wrote:

> "Indeed, this sword is excellent for her offerings, fundamentally the basis for her offerings is the lake (where Lhamo was manifest)... The first time I came to the region, it was late summer and I went to examine if there was any basis for the particularity of this lake which had much fame locally. I went to the shores and I heard a great sound, it was a sudden hailstorm, then everything became completely calm as before. With ten other men I arrived at the first lake of the male protector, which was frightening but the divine essence didn't manifest and only a horse was very skittish. Then we arrived at the main lake, at first it was completely white, a sign produced by the Glorious Goddess. Then proceeding to do a ritual invitation for her, I went east whereupon a sudden snowstorm arose, then the lake turned white as before. Some of the men saw rainbows, some saw a palace with turrets, then the lake became blue like the sky, and from the depths, a square tower grew, and a mountain, becoming increasingly large and frightening. I understood these as magic manifestations of the protector Lhamo... we all saw these miraculous sights. It is thus certain that this place is protected by Lhamo. When one sees the infinite ways in which she acts, it defies description. Thus I knew to practice assiduously three times a day the offering of her ritual cake and at night other rituals for her, and for other protectors"[5].

In this case, the hierarch's perception of the protector's communication serves to legitimize his extension of territory, which would consequently provide moral and financial support for the monastic order. Gendun Gyatso interpreted the weather variations clearly as divine signs, while he considered the presence of the dzo as proof of the auspicious nature of the land indicating where to build the new monastery. The degree of importance attributed to Gendun Gyatso's foundations is such that each Dalai Lama, at some point in his life, was obliged to make a pilgrimage to this lake, and the monastery founded thanks to the dzo became the personal monastery of the Dalai Lama lineage, where their New Year offerings were made with greatest pomp.

Although today in central Tibet there remains neither murals, nor specific statues which have been definitely identified as works of art commissioned by Gendun Gyatso, in Ngari there are several sanctuaries which are contemporary with his lifespan. The statues and murals of Tsaparang Red temple date from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, commissioned by the wife of the Ngari prince who visited Gendun Gyatso in 1486[6]. The Tabo Serkhang (see color plates 101-102) is quite similar in esthetic. Although at their foundation, centuries earlier, the temples of Ladakh and

118-119. Vairocana, stucco with wooden armature, ca. 150 cm, and detail of mural paintings beside the statue, late fifteenth to early sisteenth century, Tsaparang, White temple.

Spiti such as Alchi and Sumda, Nako and Tabo, truly demonstrated a regional artistic style, strongly influenced by Kashmir, the fifteenth century painting and sculpture of Ngari temples is related equally to the artistic developments in central Tibet, such as evidenced by Gyantse. Certainly in Ngari there is more reflection of the earlier Kashmiri crown and jewelry designs and the distinctive body proportions of the strapping athletic male Bodhisattva and the female goddess with cinched waist and breasts beyond her bodice, but the brocade patterns and draping of the folds are virtually identical to paintings from the Gyantse Kumbum and temple. The scrollwork of the toraṇa and thrones is inherited from Nepal, but adapted to what by the second half of the fifteenth century one may truly call a Tibetan esthetic. It is known that groups of Newari artists were traveling and working in Ngari at this time, thus although the artists' nationality is not sure, the Tibetan style of representation is clear. The statues' proportions are very elongated in the torso for certain types of deities, and draped in superimposed chains of jewelry, both stylistic elements found on certain Yunglo statues[7] yet also related to much earlier Kashmiri artistic tendencies adopted in the Ngari monasteries such as Alchi.

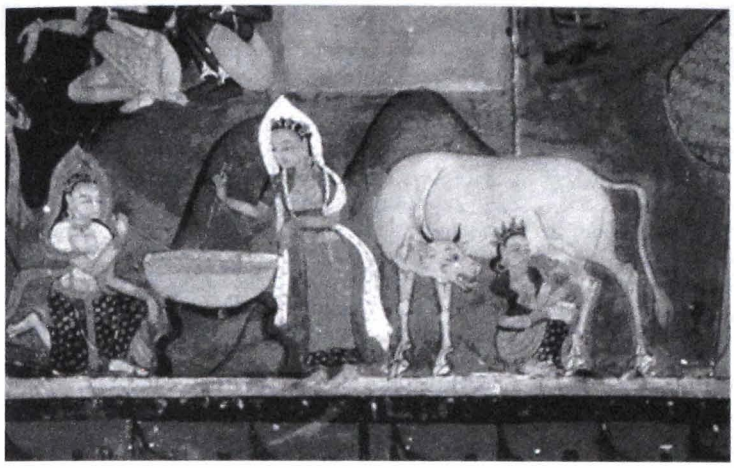
One may also notice in Tabo, Toling and Tsaparang paintings and sculpture of the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century the very voluminous and stylized treatment of folds which had been a strong characteristic of the Yunglo bronzes made in China under the influence of Anige where the typical Chinese love of silks and brocades was integrated to the Nepalese esthetic, only to be in turn imported to Tibet as seen in the Gyantse Kumbum.

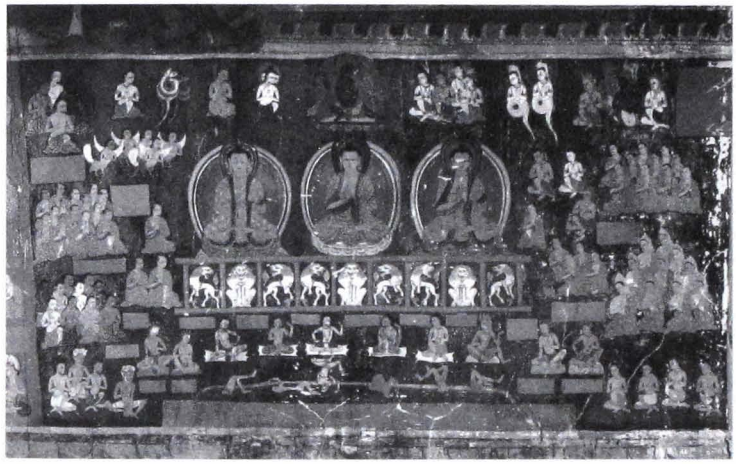
At Gendun Gyatso' death, the choice of the reincarnation was a boy born near Lhasa, who was recognized by the Drepung monks. Sonam Gyatso (bSod.nams. rgya.mtsho, 1543-1578) grew up in a period of political turmoil, for Shigatse was completely under Karmapa control as of 1565, with tension in Lhasa between Gelugpa and Kagyu as a repercussion. While Gendun Gyatso had founded his monastery east of Lhasa near Samye, Sonam Gyatso pursued this policy further by encouraging Gelugpa establishments quite far from Lhasa, such as Chamdo in the southeastern Tibetan province of Kham, personally founding the monastery of Litang in proximity to Sichuan, and Kumbum monastery not far from lake Kokonor in the northeastern province Amdo.

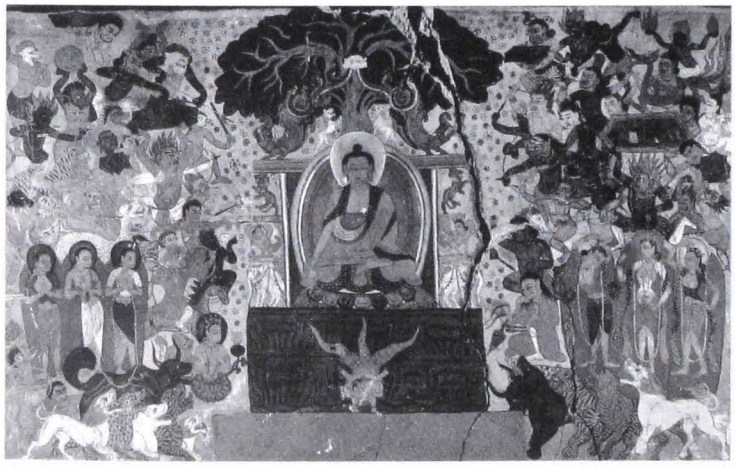
The Mongols were then camped beyond Kokonor. The Mongol prince Altan Khan was seeking religious counsel and spiritual support which Sonam Gyatso provided. He arrived at the Mongol camp ca. 1576, where he was awarded a Mongol title – Dalai Lama, Dalai being the Mongol word for "ocean" which corresponded to the word Gyatso in the lama's name. More poetically, it may be said that the lama is conceived as a "boundless ocean of wisdom". Like the Karmapa hierarch, the Dalai Lama came to be recognized as an emanation in human body of Avalokiteśvara, the bodhisattva of compassion. Gendun Drub and Gendun Gyatso were retroactively awarded the title of Dalai Lama, reflecting the position each had occupied as supreme hierarch within the Gelugpa tradition.

The vicissitudes between Karmapa and Gelugpa persisted, and once again Lhasa passed under Karmapa control in 1618. The Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) renewed the patron-priest relation with another Mongol prince and guided by his able regent, the Dalai Lama achieved political paramountcy for his Gelugpa tradition as of 1642.

In terms of artistic development, the spread of the Gelugpa was conducive to commissions of art for the newly established monastic foundations. The Menri and Khyenri schools inspired many creations under the impetus of the Gelugpa. Many other distinctive artistic traditions contemporary to these two schools have been amply historically documented but extant works have not yet been identified[8]. In addition, the earlier traditions were consciously emulated as if a visual reminder of the perennial nature of certain monastic schools, such as the portraits of lineages of lamas (see color plates 103-104), which, were they not inscribed with dedicatory prayers naming historically identified monks of the sixteenth century, might be attributed to earlier periods. Such conservative tendencies complicate accurate identi-







120. Mural painting of Tsaparang, late fifteenth to early sixteenth century, White temple.
Detail of the Lalitavistara sūtra, infancy of Buddha Śākyamuni.

121. Mural painting of Tsaparang, ca. 60x80 cm, late fifteenth to early sixteenth century, White temple.

122. Mural painting of Tsaparang, legends from the life of the historical Buddha, ca. 60x80 cm, Red temple.

fication insofar as historic provenance. The Sakya hierarch made a large-scale restoration program in Samye and Sakya in mid-sixteenth century. According to historical sources, Khyenri painting was the artistic school which inspired these restorations but again, the question of actual identification of works of art is somewhat problematic other than the mural paintings at Gongkar, the home monastery of Khyenri painting tradition, not far from Samye[9]. Historic records nonetheless document important series of Khyenri paintings at Karmapa and Nyingmapa monasteries as well[10].

While Menri and Khyenri are regarded as stylistic schools applicable to painting and appliqué, the subject of sculptural schools in this period must also be addressed. In the eleventh century monastic foundations, whether in Ngari or in the central Tibetan sanctuaries of Shalu and Grathang, sculpture and painting were part of a single artistic movement, including stylistic variations of proportions or costume style which were linked to the iconography represented. This remained true even through the fifteenth century in the decoration of Gyantse sanctuaries as well.

2. Tibetan art historical analyses: Pema Karpo and Tāranātha

Differentiation in regard to schools of sculpture (media, metal alloys, canons of proportions and regional diversification) was analyzed by Pema Karpo, 1527-1592, a Kagyu religious master who painted himself[11]. His text was one of the earliest Tibetan treatises of analysis of sculpture known today[12]. Pema Karpo distinguished historic and regional classifications in relation to use of specific metal alloys and stones. He made categories in terms of chronological divisions in Tibetan history and regions in Tibet as well as neighboring countries. Although again the problem with such a treatise is the hypothetical matching of the literary description with the actual works of art, in some cases his identifications are quite well-founded, historically and esthetically.

Notably, Pema Karpo considered that the Newar casting tradition of the Kath-

123. Portrait of Tāranātha (1575-1635), detail, Tibet, eighteenth century, formerly Alice N. Heeramaneck Collection.

mandu valley was distinctly related to the northern Indian schools. This relation was also acknowledged in a contemporaneous treatise by Tāranātha, a Tibetan religious master and renowned historian (1575-1635), who considered that the Nepalese style in painting strongly revealed the ancient antecedents from western India, probably refering to the Gupta style of Ajantā, as well as later Pāla influences from Bihar and Bengal derived from the earlier Gupta period, complemented by "the synthesizing force which is the genius of the Nepalese people"[13]. Tāranātha's remarks clearly demonstrate the Tibetan awareness of the esthetic relationships linking the Nepalese and Indian schools of art.

Tāranātha also analyzed the Kashmiri influences particularly in the western areas of Tibet, which he saw as being grounded in the Magadha style of eastern India, as well as in the ancient antecedents from western India. In contrast, Pema Karpo's distinctions are based on metallurgical techniques for alloys and casting as well as historic and esthetic criteria.

The Newar artists were so esteemed by the Tibetans that extra-territorial rights in Tibet were granted to them and Newar traders as part of the first real treaty between Tibet and Nepal in 1590. This gave further impetus to their image-casting, wood-carving and crafting of jewelry in gold and silver[14].

Tāranātha's treatise on art history affords us the opportunity to examine another aspect of Tibetan literary production. In terms of innovation within the religious movements, the Tibetans had long developed into an art form the commentarial traditions relevant to the Buddhist scriptures.

Distinctive philosophical perspectives of course exist in the various religious traditions in definitions of spiritual goals and the means and techniques to acquire them. The basic tenets of Śākyamuni remained common ground for all the Buddhist traditions in Tibet and served as constant principles. Yet despite the humility and self-depreciation which often characterize Tibetan attitudes about themselves as individuals, the public recognition that he was the eleventh embodiment induced Tāranātha to write for the edification of others, insofar as he was not at all the exclusive subject of his autobiography. As we have quoted Tāranātha for his art-historical analysis, these few verses from his autobiography allow a glimpse of his spiritual persuasion as an individual[15]:

"Mind itself,
lacking beginning or end,
is inexpressible.
To appear everywhere,
in both Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa,
is its primordial nature.

If one were to teach
about this endless miracle,
who could ever tell it all?

However much a fool might try,
it doesn't seem to benefit anyone.
It would be best to adopt, for the while,
a discipline of no speaking.

And if there is speaking,
one would hope it would be to tell
the biographies of the venerable ones.
To tell of one's own qualities
is the lowest way to go".

Yet another distinctive Tibetan style of painting had also developed during the second half of the sixteenth century. This artistic tradition was strongly linked with the Karmapa school within the Kagyupa tradition because the Karmapa hierarchs lived in sumptuous tent encampments called "gar", thus the style was called Karma Ga(r) dri[16]. The founding artist was Namkha Tashi, born ca. 1540[17]. He had studied under Menri masters but complemented the Menri style by using iconometric proportions copied from older Indian metal sculptures, probably Pāla style, and a completely distinctive use of diluted colors, as an imitation of the thin washes used in certain Chinese landscape paintings[18]. He is believed to have directly taken his models from Chinese scroll paintings, perhaps on silk, from the Ming period[19]. In addition to landscapes, however, he applied this color technique to personal portraits, with translucent halos of pale iridescent colors and soft shading. The techniques of Karma Gadri were further developed by later artists also of the Kagyupa tradition, such as the Tenth Karmapa hierarch Choying Dorje (1604-1674) and Situ Panchen (1700-1774), continued to the present day by lamas and lay artists such as Noedup Rongae (see color plates 118-121) who had studied with the lama Chogyam Trungpa, an accomplished painter as well as a renowned teacher of meditation. The landscapes attributed to the later Karma Gadri artists are remarkable for a sense of ethereal space due to nuanced shading of vast fields of color surrounding the central figure(s), whether personal portraits or landscape and archi-

124-25. The sculptor Karma Rinchen was one of the most famous artists in Tibetan history according to the nineteenth century historian Kongtrul, perhaps due to portraits like this silver statue he made in 1601, a portrait of the Ninth Karmapa Lama, at age 44. The inscription identifies the subject and relates that the statue was made to commemorate the death of Sa skyong bkra shis phun tshogs. The artist has signed his name to the portrait. Silver with gold and black pigments, height 19.1 cm, private collection.

126-127. When Choying Dorje saught refuge in Yunnan, he may have visited the Punning cave temple, dating from 1374, with mural paintings of the Tathāgata on thrones and the Thousand Buddhas represented according to Tibetan iconographic traditions influenced by Nepal.

tectural motifs. Namkha Tashi was born in Yarlung region of central Tibet and probably worked in the Tsurpu monastery west of Lhasa as well as in the numerous Karmapa encampments in central Tibet. Even though Tsurpu was the principal seat of the Karmapa incarnations, it is known that in the early seventeenth century, a Karmapa hierarch made commissions to painters following the Menri tradition as well as to Nepalese metal-workers, indicative that masters artists of all traditions were appreciated without sectarian divisions[20]. The portrait of the Ninth Karmapa Lama made by the renowned sculptor Karma Rinchen in 1601 defies classification within a school of sculpture, but demonstrates creative and technical mastery of the highest degree[21]. After the Gelugpa established their political control over central Tibet as of 1642, the direct repercussion was temporary confiscation of Karmapa monasteries and generalized antagonism against the Karmapa, who in many cases sought refuge elsewhere, taking advantage of lay support and monastic territories established centuries earlier in eastern Tibet such as Kampo Nenang founded in 1165, and Karma Gon. The latter became one of the largest monasteries in eastern Tibet. Such was the path of one of the most famous artists in Tibetan history, Choying Dorje (1604-1674), recognized as the Tenth Karmapa Lama, who fled as far as the border with Yunnan[22]. Some mural paintings attributed to him remain in the Lijiang monastery[23]. It is noteworthy that Choying Dorje is said to have worked in three different styles, Menri, Karma Gadri, and a strongly Chinese style, which is a most salient reminder that an affiliation with an artistic tradition is not necessarily exclusive for any artist, and all the more so for a virtuoso painter[24]. Due to the long established Karmapa monasteries in eastern Tibet and the influx of many Karmapa during the mid-seventeenth century, the Karmapa influence was consequantly stronger in eastern Tibet, thus the Karma Gadri school is sometimes qualified as "eastern Tibetan" painting school, although the artists traveled to work in whichever regions their patrons lived[25]. In contrast to the spacious Karma Gadri compositions, the Menri paintings are full of miniaturist detail and countless subsidiary images, both secondary portraits of deities as well as landscape devices which subdivide the composition.

4. The New Menri artistic school

The Menri and Khyenri traditions remained influential due to the patronage of the Gelugpa, and several major Tibetan artists were active during the lifetime of the Fifth Dalai Lama. In particular, at the Tashilhunpo monastery, the master painter Choying Gyatso developed the New Menri school (Menri Sarma), as he painted numerous murals there, although he also worked in Lhasa on commission from the Fifth Dalai Lama[26]. In the Tashilhunpo paintings, it is seen that this New Menri school further integrated Chinese landscape devices such as billowing clouds and architectural motifs to break up as compositional divisions of the painted surface in addition to the ornate brocade styles emulating the Chinese silk for upholstery and some of the robes worn by the Tibetan prelates, while the individuals' faces are highly personalized in their expressions and hair styles[27]. In New Menri, the earlier orderly spatial organization of rectangular frame of small-scale subsidiary figures as border to a central large-scale figure, (such as seen in color plates 56-68), has been superseded by smaller individuals clustered in scattered groups around a central figure which dominates the painted surface. This New Menri style evolved into the foremost school developed for the series of lineages widely diffused by blockprints throughout the Gelugpa strongholds even into the eighteenth century, such as the portrait of the First Panchen Lama (1557-1662), the Tashilhunpo hierarch (see color plate 113), which was part of a series commissioned ca. 1747.

The Panchen Lama's personal concern for both the object and its spiritual context is vividly conveyed by this passage from his autobiography, dating from 1604[28]:

"As soon as the alloy of molten copper and led was poured, crackling and

sputtering noises filled our ears. Molten copper boiled out of the mouth of the mould, completely spattering the whole workshop. Because it seemed that it had not gone into the mould at all, the Newars scowled blackly and muttered something in their language about the casting being a failure. The others were in a complete quandary what to do. Everyone fell into silence. I also was mystified as to what had happened but I called out urging them: 'Break the mould and see'. Without giving it time to cool (by itself) they chilled it by splashing a good deal of cold water over it. When they cracked the mould, a splendid image of the Buddha Maitreya emerged. All were in a state of awe and astonishment: becoming mad with sheer joy, we all cried out: 'A la la'. In short, (a) tremendously stupefying miracle that took place on that occasion, with its manifestation of mixed awe and fear...".

5. The Great Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682)

The Gelugpa's rise to political prominence under the Fifth Dalai Lama meant that Tibet was unified as a theocracy, a government whose leader was acclaimed to rule by divine authority. In some respects, this recalled the spiritual and political authority attributed to the ancient Tsenpo. Rather than residing in the Drepung monastery near Lhasa, the Fifth Dalai Lama began construction of a palace on the spot of ruins said to have been the Lhasa residence of the Tsenpo, further encouraging his association with the glory of the Pugyel dynasty. The enormous project of construction of the Potala Palace started in 1645. The palace incorporated a monastery within its structure, numerous assembly halls, printing press, as well as the residential rooms and private chapels of the Dalai Lama. Eventually the funerary stūpas of several Dalai Lama were added in subsequent centuries. The Fifth Dalai Lama assiduously studied and patronized Gelugpa, Sakyapa and Nyingmapa teachings but eschewed the Karmapa. He was an eclectic, prolific writer for biographies of his numerous teachers, as well as of the Third and Fourth Dalai Lamas; he also wrote a series of autobiographies, historical works, and a treatise on philosophy, and avast amount of liturgical texts covering several books within the 17 volumes of his collected writings[29]. His principal Gelugpa teacher was given the title Panchen Lama, recognized as an emantion in human form of Buddha Amitābha[30].

The Fifth Dalai Lama's patronage of Menri artists involved training programs as well[31]. He renewed scholarly contacts with India by inviting qualified Indian teachers[32]. By his writings, the Fifth Dalai Lama formed the Gelugpa perspective of Tibetan historiography in his legitimation of the development of the Gelugpa theocratic government. The cult of special Gelugpa protective deities in regular annual public rituals and consultation of mediums believed to incarnate some of these deities reinforced the Gelugpa authority beyond the monastic confines.

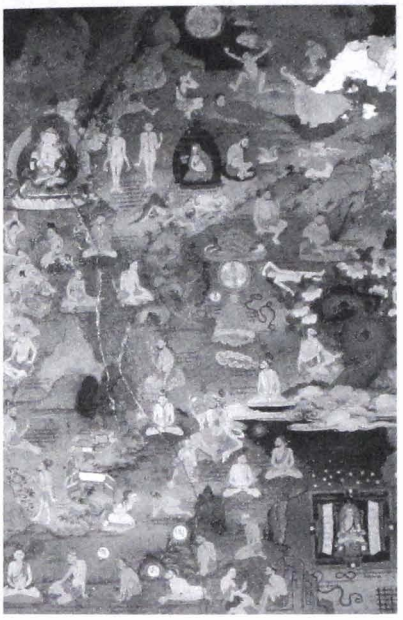
In addition to the construction of the Potala Palace, he sponsored major renovations of the Jokhang and other temples in Lhasa[33]. Numerous series of paintings were commissioned during the four decades of the Fifth Dalai Lama's reign, includ-

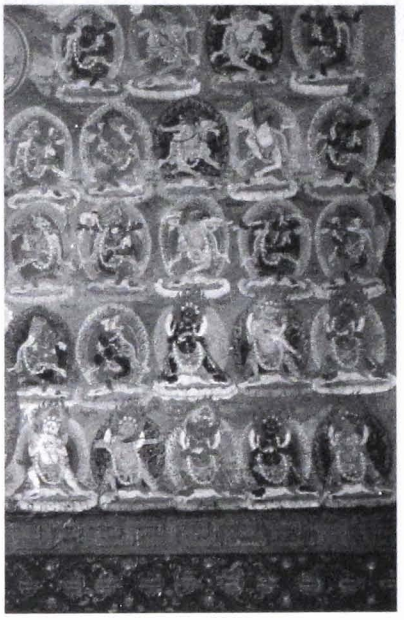
128-129. Mahāsiddha and Yoginī statues at the Mindoling monastery, gilt copper, height ca. 150 cm, sixteenth to seventeenth century. These gilt copper statues have extremely expressive faces, much like the clay statues of the Mahāsiddhas from Gyantse.

130. Stūpas on the altar of Mindoling monastery, the biggest measures almost 200 cm.

ing subjects such as the portraits depicting the lamas and saints revered as previous births of the Dalai Lama lineage as well as medical paintings of embryology, diagnostic diagrams, and ingredients of herbs and minerals used in pharmacological preparations. Menri and New Menri were prominent and became virtually synonymous with the Lhasa court style, but there were innovations within the tradition such as the exquisite gold on black ground liturgical diagrams which embellished the account of the Fifth Dalai Lama's personal visionary experiences (see color plate 111).

Khyenri was esteeemed particularly by the Fifth Dalai Lama for its fierce deities





131-133. Mural paintings of the Lukhang temple, Lhasa, late seventeenth century. Situated behind the Potala, this temple has remarkable mural paintings of deities of Nyingmapa pantheons, as well as Mahāsiddhas (131, 133), and a cycle of the deities of the Bardo period (132). The painted panels are approximately 300x400 cm; the background in deep shades of green contrasts with the red and orange figures.

and maṇḍala cycles[34]. Although the painters in Tibet were in majority Tibetan after the fifteenth century, Nepalese sculptors who settled in Lhasa during the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama formed an important colony there until the twentieth century.

The importance of the cults of protective deities is reflected by the numerous paintings and sculptures of the guardian deities of all religious traditions which is an area where the individual artists followed the iconographic stipulations but achieved great expressive liberty. The illuminated manuscript of the Fifth Dalai Lama's visions is painted in a genre, termed in Tibetan, *nag.thang*, literally "black ground paintings". In manuscripts, black or indigo pages with gold and silver ink had been popular since the twelfth century[35]. However as portable paintings, some of the best examples of *nag.thang* extant today are quite probably the works of seventeenth to eighteenth century artists illustrating wrathful deities and ritual diagrams for their worship (see color plate 109). The ritual stipulations categorize white as the base color for peaceful deities, yellow as the color for deities associated with development of wealth and worldly aspirations, red for deities worshiped for subjugation of evil influences and black or dark blue for fierce protective deities or coercitive rites. The walls of mural paintings of the wrathful guardian chapels were typically painted with black background in correspondence to the rituals for these protectors. The portable paintings thus reflect the ritual models. Near the Potala, the small temple of the Lukang was constructed towards the end of the Fifth Dalai Lama's reign. This structure has mural paintings which represent the eclectic pantheons of divinities worshipped by the Great Fifth and his immediate succession. They remain key documents to asses the artistic development at this juncture in history[36].

The Mongolian patronage of the Fifth Dalai Lama's government led Mongol monks to train at the Lhasa monasteries, in such great numbers that entire monastic colleges were devoted to lodging and training these pupils. As a corollary, a young Mongol artist trained in Tibet but eventually returned to Mongolia where he embarked on a singularly eminent career. Regarded as a reincarnation of Tāranātha, he was given "Wisdom Vajra", Jñāna-Vajra, as his incarnation name, but popular pronunciation deformed this to Zanabazar. In Tibet, he studied at Kumbum, then Tashilhunpo, then in Lhasa. He worked both as a sculptor, exclusively in lost-wax technique, and as an architect, but his sculptures particularly inspired later generations. His work is characterized by suave and harmonious bodies, enlarged scale of proportions, ornate pearl strands as bead garments. Technically, these sculptures are masterpieces in which the body is cast in one piece and distinctive striated lotus pedestal is joined to the body of the sculpture by invisible soldering, avoiding all nails and rivets. The atelier of Zanabazar represented the export of Tibetan schools of sculpture reaching new levels of perfection beyond Tibetan borders[37].

Opposite:

134-136. The legacy of the Mongol artist Zanabazar (1635-1723) or his atelier: Samvara, gilt brass with polychrome, height 53.5x33.5 cm, Museum of History of Religion, Ulan Bator. Padmasambhava, gilt brass inlaid with turquoise, 60 cm, J.G. Ford Collection. The artistic production of Zanabazar is characterized by large scale images, gilding of extremely fine and uniform quality, elaborated beaded strands of jewelry and the distinctive vertical striations of the lotus pedestals.

6. The legacy of the Fifth Dalai Lama

At the close of the seventeenth century, the lineage of the Dalai Lama was jeopordized by problems in the succession to the Fifth Dalai Lama which also affected the political stability of the Gelugpa. In addition there was an invasion of Lhasa and central Tibet in 1717 by the Dzungar, a Mongol tribe hostile to the tribe supporting the Dalai Lama lineage.

The Dzungar executed several lamas and destroyed two major Nyingmapa monasteries. They were very unpopular with the Tibetan population. Conveniently, the young boy recognized as the Dalai Lama incarnation had been born in 1708 in Litang, near the Yunnan border. He was educated at Kumbum monastery near Kokonor, far from the unrest in Lhasa. After the Dzungar executed the leader of the rival Mongol tribe who was an ally of the Manchu emperor, he sent troops to Sichuan and the Kokonor to attack the Dzungar and avenge the death of his former ally. These troops escorted the Dalai Lama to Lhasa in 1720, joined there by Tibetan troops also opposing the Dzungar. The Manchu established a temporary garrison in Lhasa for a few years. The difficulties in the previous succession lead the Lhasa lead-

ers to decide to change the form of government. While the young Dalai Lama remained the principal spiritual authority within the Gelugpa tradition, the political control passed from him to a council of ministers chosen from different regions of Tibet. Dissension among them provoked civil war in Lhasa which culminated in the establishment of a lay government by Miwang Pola, the most powerful among the ministers. After trial it was determined that the father of the Dalai Lama had fomented the civil war, thus he and the Dalai Lama were exiled for seven years near Litang, his birthplace. The Manchu restored their garrison and two resident Manchu officials were installed in 1728 in Lhasa as representatives of the Emperor. Such representatives were stationed in Lhasa without interruption until the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, however they rarely were more than figureheads. During the unrest in Lhasa, the Manchu had stationed troops in several cities of eastern Tibet, which were politically re-organized in 1725 as a territory under Manchu protectorate whose administration was entrusted to local Tibetan chieftains. Lhasa authority was still recognized but no longer enforced[38]. This regional autonomy spurred notable cultural and religious movements in eastern Tibet in the eighteenth and nineteenth century which we will shortly examine. In addition, at this time the Manchu Emperor designated the Panchen Lama of Tashilhunpo as the political authority over Shigatse and western Tibet. While this was of little political significance during Miwang Pola's reign, later it divided the Gelugpa. Miwang Pola governed Tibet effi-

137. Vajrapāni as Garuda, gold line and color on black painted cotton cloth, 48.3x32.4 cm, Tibet, nineteenth century, Collection of The Newark Museum 49.408.
The importance of the Gelugpa monastic school's links with Chinese imperial patronage is reflected by the central portrait of Tsongkhapa surrounded by the Qianlong Emperor and his religious advisor of Tibetan Buddhism.

ciently until 1747, commissioning a new edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, and many series of paintings which were issued as blockprints and diffused widely throughout the country (see color plate 113)[39]. The spiritual honor of the Dalai Lama's office was sacrosanct, at all times, and once he regained political authority, he ruled until his death in 1758. Thereafter for more than a century, several Dalai Lama died young, before assuming political power, which officially remained in the hands of their regents and the council of ministers. During this period, in China the Qianlong Emperor (reign 1735-1796), actively patronized Gelugpa teachers and commissioned at least three major series of sculptures, following Tibetan iconography but strongly influenced by Chinese esthetics. In Tibet, the Panchen Lama only occasionally manifested political authority beyond Tashilhunpo and Shigatse; his religious authority, however, was recognized by the Gelugpa monks and their lay patrons throughout Tibet as well as in the eastern provinces under Manchu protectorate where there were large Gelugpa monasteries notably at Kumbum, Batang, and Litang. The eastern regions, comprising approximately one-third of the area populated by Tibetans, were characteristically areas of patronage for Kagyupa, Nyingmapa, Sakyapa and Bonpo traditions in local strongholds. The Gelugpa spiritual authority in central Tibet had encouraged this tendency to peripheralization of all other schools.

7. The Golden Age of Derge, the cultural capital of Eastern Tibet

The heterogenous atmosphere in eastern Tibet was conducive to creative thinking, both in art and in spiritual domains. The city of Derge became the cultural capital of eastern Tibet, for it was here that the Derge princes patronized Buddhist art and literary commissions, such as the new Tanjur edition of the Buddhist scriptures in 1744 prepared in Derge by Zhu chen Tshul tim rin chen[40]. This Sakyapa scholar also compiled the collected works of the five founders of the Sakya tradition in 16 volumes, and was a master poet, but it is less known that he himself was a painter who hailed from a family of painters dating back over several generations. His studies of iconometry reviewed the canonical stipulations for the proportions of sacred images. He painted the Eight forms of Padmasambhava (see color plate 117), the Hundred Jātaka tales of the biography of previous lives of the Buddha, and the Twelve Great Deeds of Śākyamuni.

The collaboration between Zhu chen and the eighteenth Abbot of Ngor monastery who engaged his services as a painter was recorded on a biographical painting of the Ngor lama (see color plate 114). A branch monastery of Ngor had been founded near Derge, for the Derge court were staunch followers of the Sakya tradition. Their role in cultural patronage was perhaps equal in importance to the Princes of Gyantse, for the Derge monastic printing press diffused their editions throughout the country, stimulating the artistic milieu by constant commissions for embellishment of monasteries in phases of expansion.

Their patronage was not limited to the Sakya tradition. The Derge court sponsored the construction of the Kagyu monastery Pepung ca. 1725, south of Derge. Pepung became the major seat of the lineage of the Karmapa incarnations of Situ Panchen (1700-1774), renowned as a center for a whole school of philosophers, as well as studies of medecine, grammar, astronomy, astrology, Sanskrit philology, translations and history. Like Zhu chen, his longtime friend and colleague in the editing of the Derge edition of the Buddhist scriptures[41], Situ Panchen was an accomplished painter as well[42]. At least one painting bears his signature, while several series are attributed to his design, for which he may have engaged the services of other painters[43]. Stylistically he pursued the Karma Gadri, notably for a series of previous lives of the Buddha. The painting which shows Zhu chen (see color plate 114) bears much compositional resemblance to some of the Avadhāna paintings attributed to his design. Situ Panchen's travels in Nepal perhaps familiarized him with Indian Mughal painting, for Mughal miniatures often feature a subtly graded, two-dimensional

(continued on p. 217)

103. *Portrait of Palden Rinchen*
Distemper on cloth, 37x31 cm, Tibet, sixteenth century, R.R.E. Collection
104. *Portrait of Jigten wangchug (1454-1532)*
Distemper on cloth, 37x31 cm, Tibet, sixteenth century, R.R.E. Collection
These two portraits represent lamas from the Taglung monastery. Their small format and compositional style would tend to suggest a fourteenth century date, but identification of lamas portrayed in the borders of the paintings clearly indicates a sixteenth century date for both paintings. Jigten wangchug ('Jig.rten dbang.phyug) was an abbot but he is principally renowned as a great teacher, notably for the transmission of the Kālacakra to the Eighth Black Karmapa Lama (1507-1554). The painting of the lama Jigten wangchug is very stylized, without any effort at idiosyncratic hairlines or facial features which had been so emphasized in earlier periods. Yet the painting is a work of love expressing veneration of the lineage of lamas who transmitted the teachings and a fervent dedicatory prayer for the reincarnation of Jigten wangchug. The lama who succeeded him as abbot is portrayed as a young man, perhaps age twenty, so the painting may be dated to ca. 1550. The second painting is also a Taglung lama. Although his name is known, further historic information is lacking other than the context provided by the historic figures represented on the painting. Again a most eloquent dedicatory prayer is inscribed on the rear, the poetic verses are written in the shape of a simple stūpa. Although the two paintings are not numbered, it is apparent by the identical format and great similarity of composition that they were part of a series. In the narrow red border, names have been carefully inscribed to identify the lineage members. Emphasizing the importance of the historic people, Vajradhara in both paintings is represented to the left of the immediate predecessor who is represented above the head of the central figure. Both lamas are portrayed on a simple throne of cushions inside an arch of brilliant rainbow-color rock staves. It is important to consider why sixteenth century artists adopted a much earlier style of painting. While the persistence of stylistic elements over time is well documented, these two paintings distinctly recall the lineage of lama paintings of the thirteenth to fourteenth century. It is possible that the sixteenth century artists were adding two paintings to an already existing series portraying the lineage of lamas and thus used a style to conform with the other paintings of the series. The Tibetan society on the whole expressed reverence for traditions, and particularly the monastic institutions. The lamas were regarded as the those who uphold the legacy of teachings inherited from Buddhist India. Even in portraiture, physicality and iconometric configurations might express this ideal: the eyes of the two portraits are shaped like the Bodhisattva Maitreya of Grathang (plate 46), following the Indian manner (of the eleventh century), thus esthetically linking the historic people to the sacred realm.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Singer 1997; sTag lung chos 'byung 1992: 656-669.

105. *Uṣṇīṣavijayā*
Gilt silver, incrustation of turquoise and semi-precious gems, 25 cm, Tibet, sixteenth to seventeenth century, private collection
This small yet exquisite statue represents Uṣṇīṣavijayā, "the conquest by virtue of the uṣṇīṣa". The tuft of hair on the Buddha's head was erroneously understood to hide a cranial protuberance, and icongraphically the convention developed to represent the head with a bump of more or less elaborate proportions. The goddess here represented however, is considered as the personification of a Buddhist dhāraṇī, a powerful protective prayer linked in Tibetan Buddhism to long life and favorable rebirth. Images of Uṣṇīṣavijayā may thus be found in stūpa, associated with relics and ultimately with rebirth. Yet such images were frequent commissions by lay people, either made as part of memorial rituals, to accompany prayers for favorable rebirth of a loved one or to gain merit in the hopes of a favorable rebirth for those not yet deceased. Especially in this context, the use of precious metals was deemed all the more meritorious. In consideration of the iconometry, draperies of the garments and scarves, the jewelry, this goddess is a miniature representation in silver of the iconometry and costumes of the gods seen in mural paintings of Tsaparang of the early sixteenth century (Weyer 1987: plates 45-46), while the toraṇa and lotus base are in close stylistic parallel to statues atributed to sixteenth to seventeenth century (Uhlig 1995: plate 112; von Schroeder 1981: 135).
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Linrothe 1996; von Schroeder 1981; Uhlig 1995.

106. *Citipati*
Brass, 28 cm, Tibet, sixteenth to seventeenth century, Pritzker Collections
The Citipatis (Tibetan: dur.bdag), literally "lords of the cemetary", are regarded as benevolent spirits by the Tibetans (de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1976: 62). Although the Citipatis are associates of the god of death, for the Tibetans, the smile of the skeleton is not incongruous with death, in a perspective whereby death is a reminder of the concept of impermanence, and death is simultaneously the prelude to a more favorable rebirth. In the masked dances which punctuate the religious calendar, skeleton dancers dressed very much like this statue appear throughout the performances as clowns and in a specific dance as acolytes of Yama, god of death. In addition to bone aprons, and garlands of skullss, he wears the crown of skulls, specific for many high-ranking protective guardians, as well as the distinctive fan-shaped collar. He holds a skullcup filled with an offering of blood or curds, while the stick of Yama which would have been in his other hand, is now missing. This statue is humourous in the caricature of death and the human skeleton, the elongated feet and members are bone-like yet modeled as a body. Such an image is very difficult to situate chronologically yet a sixteenth to seventeenth century date is suggested due to similarities with insitu mural paintings in monasteries near Lhasa.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Béguin 1990; Berger and Bartholomew 1995; de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1976.

107. *Mahākāla*
Distemper on cloth, 82x60 cm, Tibet, eighteenth to nineteenth century, formerly Alice N. Heeramaneck Collection
Mahākāla is represented here in an aspect with four heads, four arms, holding sword, lance, chopper and skull cup. Four dancing Ḍākinīs – black, red, yellow, green – grimace wildly at his feet. Draped with an elephant skin around his shoulders and tiger-skin dhotī, he stands stalwartly, one leg raised to trample a cadaver, yet his faces are exuberant and wild, his long yellow hair stands on end within a cloud of flames. The pale blue skies and cumulus clouds almost seem to draw the flames upwards into the realm of ether where two Mahāsiddhas are perched on their clouds and the Buddha Vajradhara dominates the composition. This spacious skyscape and the gentle green of barely defined hills in the lower register are characteristic of what is recognzied today as the Karma Gadri style of painting alhtough amongst the majority of extant paintings in this style, the principal subjects tend to be lamas or peaceful aspects of deities. The facial expressions are so vivid and the subsidiary figures of Mahāsiddhas and vultures look as if drawn from life, just posed in thin air. While chronologically non-defined by any historic

data, in comparison to known Karma Gadri paintings of the eighteenth to nineteenth century, a date in this range may be suggested.

108. *Begtse*
Distemper on cloth, 86x59 cm, Tibet, eighteenth to nineteenth century, Donation Lionel Fournier, Musée Guimet MA 5246
This painting on black (Tibetan "nag") background is a genre called *nag.thang* linked to the appearance of manuscripts on black or indigo paper as early as twelfth century. For portable paintings, in so far as extant examples are known, the *nag.thang* became frequent as of the seventeenth century. Here, the representation of Begtse and his attendant was commissioned under Gelugpa patronage, indicated by the lamas in the upper register, recognizable from left to right as the First Panchen Lama, Tsongkhapa, and either the Second or Third Dalai lama. The First Panchen Lama had a vision of Begtse and wrote a ritual for him, which he transmitted to his student the Fifth Dalai Lama, while the Second Dalai Lama received teachings on Begtse during his childhood, as did the Third Dalai Lama, but the Second Dalai Lama composed several rituals for Begtse. The representation cannot be chronologically determined on the basis of a textual description, for here only Begtse and his female attendant, variously identified as his sister or his wife, are represented. In the midst of flames, Begtse tramples two demons, holding his scorpion sword, a banner of victory, bow and arrow, under his arm, and bringing a heart and lungs of an infidel to his mouth. The goddess who accompanies him is riding a black Tibetan bear, holding a blue dagger in her visiible hand, the other hand is hidden behind Begtse's sleeve. Although usually Begtse is accompanied by at least two acolytes and numerous entourage, here Begtse and his sister are alone to defend the Buddhist faith. The chronological context of the painting is difficult to situate, due to the extreme breadth of the flames which fill the entire canvas, and relative simplicity of the composition. Although representation of Begtse became very popular with the circulation of block-prints (xylograph) to Gelugpa monsteries throughout the eighteenth century in Tibet and China, this painting is not based on an earlier woodcarving. Béguin has suggested a nineteenth century date with which the present analysis concurs.
Previously published: Béguin 1990: 150-153. Lit.: Heller 1990, 1992.

109. *Mahākāla*
Distemper on cotton, 74x47.5 cm, Tibet, nineteenth century. Donation Lionel Fournier, Musée Guimet MA 5256.
Mahākāla is represented in the aspect with the head of a lion called Siṃhamukha, or Sha za nag po, "black eater of flesh", or "the lion-headed protector against demons" Dud gon seng dong (bdud.mgon.seng.ge.gdong, de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975: 65). This form of Mahākāla is worshipped mainly by the Nyingmapa and Karmapa. In the upper right corner, Padmasambhava, holding trident, skull cup and vajra, is the mystic master who subjugates Siṃhamukha. The latter's body is "black like rainclouds". His lion head has three eyes and ferocious mien. A roar of thunder emerges from his mouth with red fangs. Dressed in ample black robe, he rides a black horse, holding a lance and a skull cup filled with a ritual cake, red in color to correspond to rituals for subjugation of demons or evil influences. His female partner is the red lioness, mounted on a red horse, her appearance equally horrific. Nude except for a tiger skin loincloth, she carries a lance and brings a human heart to her mouth, The rituals describe eight attendants, however those represented here do not correspond. The two acolytes in the lower register are monkey-like creatures standing on the hands and holding with hind legs skull cups with ritual cake offerings, each draped with a flayed human skin. The technique of *nag.thang* is particularly used for the protective deities, although in manuscripts, the black or indigo paper may be used for Prajñāpāramitā and other canonical literature as well. Esthetically this painting is in parallel with the painting of Begtse although there are no inscriptions to document a series. Béguin has suggested here also a date of nineteenth century.
Previously published: Béguin 1990: 147-148. Lit.: de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1975.

110. *Mahākāla Brāhmaṇarūpa*
Distemper on cloth, 80x60 cm, Tibet, eighteenth to nineteenth century, private collection
Mahākāla is here represented in the aspect "Brahmāṇarupa", in the body of a Brahman. This form was particularly popular within the Sakyapa monastic school, as indicated by the Mahasiddhas Virūpa and Saraha portrayed at the center of the upper register beside the Buddha Vajradhara. The Tsarpa subschool of Sakya particularly venerated Lhamo, Begtse and this form of Mahākāla as a trio of protectors during the sixteenth century. As the Third Dalai Lama had a Tsarpa teacher, he commissioned a chapel for these three protectors at Chokhorgyel, the monastery founded by the Second Dalai Lama east of Samye. The Fifth Dalai Lama also had a Tsarpa teacher whom he particularly revered leading to visions of this protector, for whom he composed ritual evocations. Thus by the seventeenth century, the worship of this form of Mahākāla became common to Sakya, Tsarpa and Gelugpa schools (Karmay 1988: 31, 59; Heller 1997c). At left and at right, a group of three masters and a group of three monks. The inscribed names do not provide historic context for the commission of the painting. Mahākāla is represented as a human who corresponds to the idea Tibetans had of the appearance of Indian Brahmans – beard and long matted hair tied in topknot, dark skin color, nude save for a loincloth, wearing bone ornaments and carrying Śiva's trident and a small flute made of bone. His loincloth here is an elaborate printed silk, as is his cushion. The inscription beneath Mahākāla names him as the Protector in the aspect of a Brahman who masters pride while the four attendants at his feet are described as (representing) mastery over ignorance, envy, hatred and calumny. They have the same general appearance as Brahmans, while in the lower register four additional attendants appear in the usual iconography of wrathful Tibetan guardians, with three eyes, crowns of skulls, draped in animals skins, and brandishing weapons. The architecture of a monastery or temple is not identifiable. Craggy rocks beside a Japanese pine tree and a blue waterfall above a lush forest are landscape elements typical of the Menri Sarma style of painting which became widely known through the diffusion of block prints in the mid-eighteenth century. This painting probably dates from this period or a little later.
Inscriptions: "Phyogs.glang, kLu.sgrub, Chos.grags, Sa.ra.ha, Bi.ru.pa, Nga.rgyal.mam.dag.mgon.po, Bram.gzugs, Bram.mgon. gti.mug.rnam.dag, Bram.mgon.'dod.chags.rnam.dag, Bram.mgon. zhe.sdang.rnam.dag, Bram.mgon.phrag.dog.rnam. dag, glogs. phrin.ma, glogs.rlung.ma, glogs.lcam.ma".
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Béguin 1990: 103; Heller 1997c; Karmay 1988; Pal 1983: 213.

111. *The Esoteric biography of the Fifth Dalai Lama*
Gold and pigment on paper, 29x12 cm, Tibet, ca. 1674-1693, Donation Lionel Fournier, Musée Guimet MA 5244
The personal contribution of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) to Tibetan civilisation is highly signficant due to his political and religious authority as well as his prolific writings. From age 6, he began a diary of his visions and esoteric teachings, which he faithfully recorded until close to death. This manuscript is the record of his diary, replete with ritual instructions such as these leaves, as well as portraits of his teachers, and many protective deities. The colophon of the manuscript provides the circumstances of its commission and name of the artist who came from Shigatse. The illustrations at left refer to an initiation or empowerment ceremony. On a low rectangular altar are placed the checked altar-cloth, the skull cup containing medicinal liquid, the red *torma* ritual offering cake topped with flowers, and a skull cup containing

blood. Behind these, another skull cup with a tsakali, a small square in which there is a drawing of a deity or Buddha. On an offering stand above, a ritual ewer for ablutions and a vase which contains peacock feathers and kuśa grass, used for purification, because the peacock is capable of ingesting poison and transforming it to food, thus the peacock feathers represent transformation of noxious influences.
At right, a maṇḍala and ritual objects used in another empowerment ceremony, including the hat, the bell and vajra used by the officiant, the volume of the ritual text and a wheel of the dharma, again *torma* offering cakes and skull cups of medecines and blood, a conch shell and a ritual holy bottle covered by overlapping pieces of cloth written with mantras. The line drawing is very fine, with application of opaque and thin pigments in juxtaposition with the uniform lines gold, in a rather symetrical arrangement of completely disparate objects.
Previously published: Béguin 1990; Karmay 1988: 90-91.

112. *Ritual Mask*
Gilt copper, 28x27cm, Tibet, ca. eighteenth to nineteenth century, private collection
This is a gilt copper mask used during performance of certain rituals during the initation or empowerment ceremonies of the Kālacakra tantra. The Kālacakra ceremony is a collective initiation into the tantra which name literally means "Wheel of Time", but its performance is associated in the twentieth century with the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's personal campaign for promotion of world peace. The Kālacakra tantra is a cosmological system which offers a model, almost an architectural blueprint, for the universe. Due to this universal quality, for practicing Buddhists, an intitation to the Kālacakra tantra relates to the phenomenal world in which we live and can lead to better understanding of our world. The intitiation is complex, lasting several days. As part of the meditations, dance is performed around a maṇḍala created in different colored sand powders to represent the universe of the deities of the Kālacakra. These tantric dancers wear such masks, brocade robes, bone aprons, as well as the crown of the Five Buddha Families. The lack of comparative ritual material renders chronological attibution difficult here, but photographs of such ceremonies taken during the latter half of the twentieth century show masks which are far more ornate and less thick of rim (Haas 1978: plate 128).
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Brauen 1992, 1997; Haas 1978.

113. *Portait of the First Panchen Lama (1569-1662)*
Distemper on cloth, 69x53cm, Tibet, late seventeenth to early eighteenth century, Donation Lionel Fournier, Musée Guimet MA 5241
This portrait may be the result of a block-print stencil on cloth, to which color and gilt have been applied. It is part of a series of previous incarnations of the religious hierarchs of the Gelugpa monastic school commissioned ca. 1737 from the engraving ateliers of the Narthang monastery, not far from Shigatse. Due to the frequent representation of the Tashilhunpo prelates in this series, the renown of the seventeenth century artist Choying Gyatso of Tashilhunpo and his innovations in the Menri style in which this series is executed, Jackson has recently suggested that perhaps the original paintings from which the stencils were developed might have been work of Choying Gyatso and his atelier (Jackson 1996: 234-239). This painting shares features with that identified by Jackson (1996: plate 46) as an original rather than a block-print. Certainly this style of painting called Menri Sarma became synonomous with the finest Gelugpa paintings, with characteristic inclusion of landscape elements on the outer borders, flowers such as giant peonies and use of Chinese gold-print silks for bolster and robes whether of monks or deities. The First Panchen lama is represented with the god of wealth, Jambhala and the protector Begtse at his feet. Above him, a white Saṃvara and his visionary encounters with religious masters.
Previously published: Béguin 1990: 114-115. Lit.: Jackson 1996; Reynolds et al. 1986: 158-163.

114. *Episodes from the life of Ngor Abbot Rinchen gyaltshan (b. 1717)*
Distemper on cloth, 79x58.5 cm, Tibet, late eighteenth century, R.R.E. Collection
This painting was made in the Kham region of eastern Tibet during the brilliant cultural period of the Derge kingdom. The ties of Ngor monastery near Shigatse were strong with Derge where there was much patronage of the Sakya schools. However, in this painting, there are fascinating episodes linked to the Derge edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. At the upper left, there is a teaching session where one monk is actually carving the block of a book, a lay follower is reading and other laymen are presenting offerings. It is fascinating to see paintings suspended behind the teaching lamas, as if they might use them for didactic purposes. At upper right, inside another monastic college, there is a teaching session where a small group of monks clusters at the feet of their teacher; at center right, in a larger coutyard, there an offering ceremony of homage to the lama, who received many pelts of different furs, coral, books, and many offering scarves from both monks and a crowd of lay supporters. To the right border, a scene where Zhu chen (1697-1744), the chief redactor of the Derge Tanjur, was supervising the work of a team of artists. In the lower register, at left, there are additional scenes of teaching and offerings, including elephant tusks. Within a monastic college, at left the monks appear to be proof-reading texts and at right, on the upper level, the monks appear to be working on a clay sculpture of a Buddha. At right, inside an encampment of tents, again teaching sessions for monks and for laymen. The hills and clouds are used to create a perspective of change in altitude for different scenes, yet they also compositionally subdivide the canvas in an asymmetrical manner which allows easy "visual" reading of the narrative scenes. There is great attention to architectural detail, which allows us to understand the structures, as well as landscaping within monastic compounds, shown by floral plots and groves of trees. There are also delightful minature animals scattered throughout the hills, where details such as the saddles or packs are carefully studied and depicted. The muted broad fields of color and asymetrical composition allow understanding of yet another variant within the broad group of Kham style paintings during the golden age of Derge.
Previously published: Béguin 1977: plate 276; Jackson 1996: fig. 160, plate 63. Lit.: Jackson 1996.

115. *Takla Mebar*
Distemper on cloth, 118x82cm, Tibet, eighteenth century, R.R.E. Collection
This painting represents the Bonpo protector Takla Mebar. His status is simultaneously that of a siddha regarded as a disciple of the founder of the Bon Religion, and tutelary deity. In this respect, his figure is somewhat parallel to Padmasambhava who is revered as a mystic, as a teacher, and simultaneoulsy is worshipped in several forms of protective deities. Takla Mebar's iconography in the form depicted here corresponds exactly to a seventeenth century text: "the magically born lord, Takla Mebar, the color of his body is reddish-black, his three wide-open eyes stare furiously, in his gaping mouth his tongue is curled back while he gnashes his teeth. With his right hand he whirls a golden wheel, with his left he brandishes nine crossed swords. From the hairs of his body he sends forth a host of shining fierce deities..." (Kvaerne 1995: 117). Yet this identical iconography is found on a painting radio-carbon dated to the fourteenth century in a private collection. Indeed, it is quite likely that rituals were composed for this protector during the thirteenth to fourteenth century when much literature was composed for worship of Tibetan protective deities. Almost all figures have identifying inscriptions which were analysed by Samten Kar-

may in earlier research. The upper register of the painting presents four historic religious masters, at top left, Sherab Gyaltsen (1356-1415), and Namkha Gyaltsen, both dressed in Bonpo monastic robes and holding books, and at right, Takla Mebar, the sage-magician who has the same name as the main divinity represented here, and Chura Namgyel who is regarded as the master of the *terma* texts of the ritual cycle for the deity Takla Mebar. At the center of the upper register, the tranquil deity Kunzang gyalwa dupa, seated on a lotus seat amidst clouds, having five faces and ten arms, his attributes painted in gold. Both sides have small portraits of other Bonpo deities, and animals such as the blue cuckoo sacred to the Bon religion on the left side, the blue dragon at upper right. In the middle of the left register, the standing Shense wears long, flowing red dance robes and the black hat of a master of dance (zhva.nag), holding drum stick in right hand and the Bonpo drum in left, a white horse with blue mane and blue tufts of fur stands beside him. The small dancing figures on both sides are a group of eighteen "haughty ones" who accomplish the orders given by the main deity. All hold golden hooks, wear a gold necklace and short dhotī as they dance in thin air, lifting their legs and arms in varied and lively postures. The protective deities of the lower register are also very carefully painted, the mountain god Machen Pomra, local protector for the Amye Machen mountain in Amdo, is represented at right, wearing armour and mounted on a snow lion, he floats in clouds within a rainbow halo. This fine attention to line and detail is also characteristic of Takla Mebar at center, whose eyes and face are most expressive, even having a flaming eyebrow for the third eye in his forehead, the flames of his beard and moustache are brilliant gold, each hair defined. The entire composition is indeed remarkable for the controlled yet vibrant brushstrokes and juxtaposition of colors, as well as the extreme detail of forms. Geographic provenance from Amdo may be suggested due to the Amdo mountain god, but firm provenance is difficult to attribute here. The painting techniques and animation of the individual figures recall somewhat Tashilhunpo mural paintings of the mid-seventeenth century (Jackson 1996: plate 36), although the background colors and small scale dancing figures relate more to paintings attributed to Kham (ibid.: plate 55). Pigment analysis of the painting revealed use of "prussian blue", a pigment which was first synthesized in Europe in 1704 and has been widely distributed in Europe and Asia subsequently (Berrie 1997: 191, *passim*). This excludes an earlier date despite certain stylistic parallels, yet by virtue of the extrememly fine technique, this suggests a firm chronology within the eighteenth century.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Berrie 1991; Jackson 1996; Karmay 1996; Kvaerne 1995.

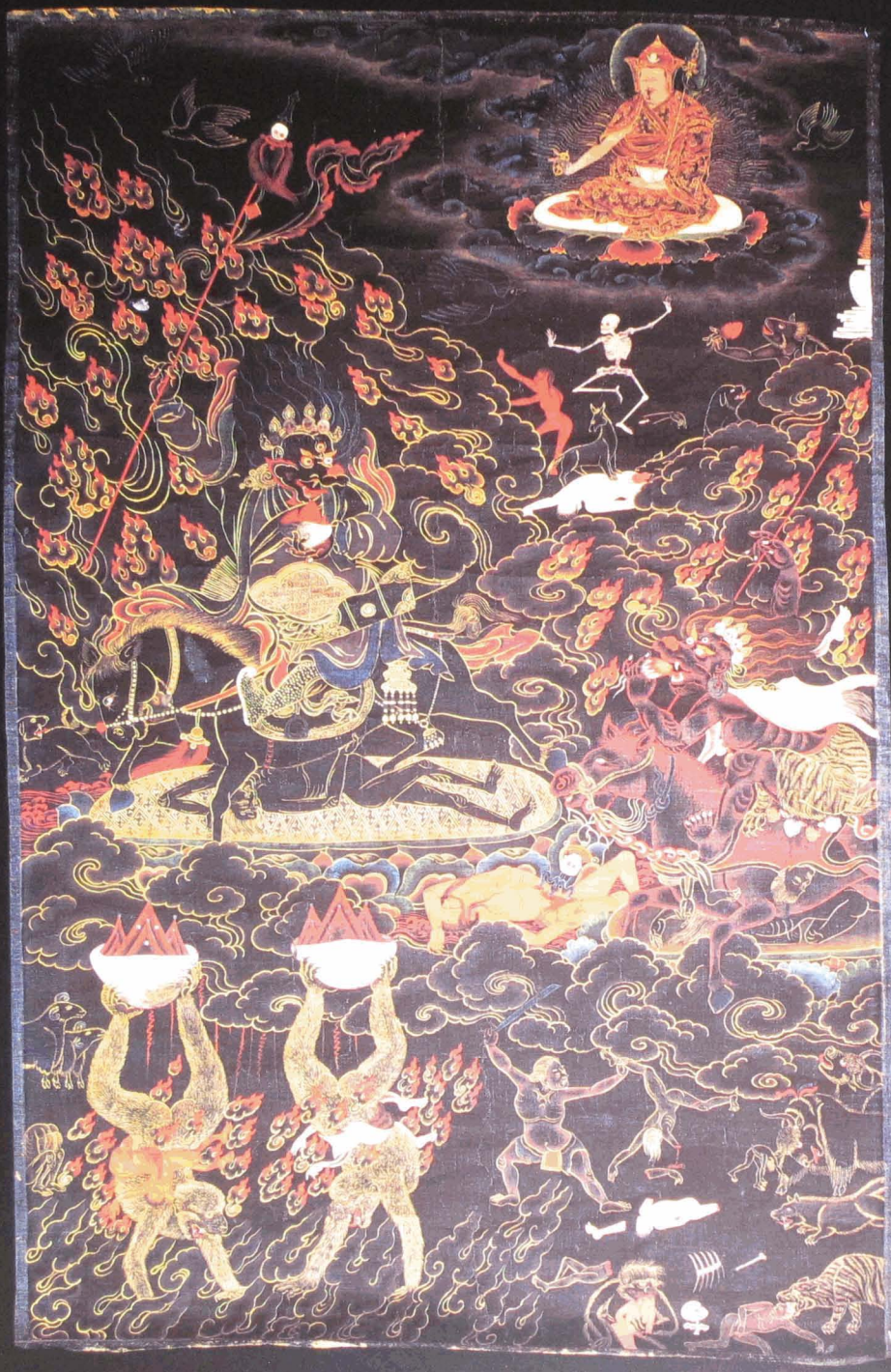
116. *Portrait of a Bonpo Lama*
Silver, hollow cast, height 12 cm, Tibet, seventeenth to eighteenth century, private collection
This portrait of a Bonpo Lama has lost its original base, which may have had an historic inscription. His identification as a Bonpo monk is determined on the basis of the specific hat, called pesha (pad.zhva), due to the form of the lotus (pad.ma) petals which form the rim. This hat is worn by the fully ordained Bonpo monk (Kvaerne 1995: 15, 70). Due to the choice of silver, the outer robe has the white color typical of the outer robe of Bonpo monks, called the "thul ba". The incised carving on the inner robe presents leaf and floral motifs. On the back of the monk's robe there are also carved interlocking circles which are auspicious symbols. The book in hand has an inscription which corresponds to mantra as contents. The book in hand is a ritual for Meri, a Bonpo tutelary deity. Historic identification of this lama is most problematic, as its geographic provenance. In the fourteenth century, Sherab Gyaltsen (1356-1415), a lama from the Gyalrong region in southeastern Tibet initiated a new trend of doctrines and practices of the Bon religion. He founded the Menri monastery on the north bank of the Tsangpo river, mid-way between Lhasa and Shigatse. This monastery survives to the present. Although the area near Menri had many Bonpo, the major zones of Bonpo support were in eastern Tibet in Amdo and Kham, particularly Gyalrong. The place of casting of this statue and the historic identification of the monk cannot be definitively determined at present but images with similar decoration and finishing have been attributed a provenance of eastern Tibet, fifteenth century (Reedy 1997: 59, 217). However, it is suggested that this image may date from the seventeeth to eighteenth century in correlation with statues of Buddhist masters.
Inscription of book: "me.ri.bzhugs".
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Karmay 1996; Kvaerne 1995; Reedy 1997.

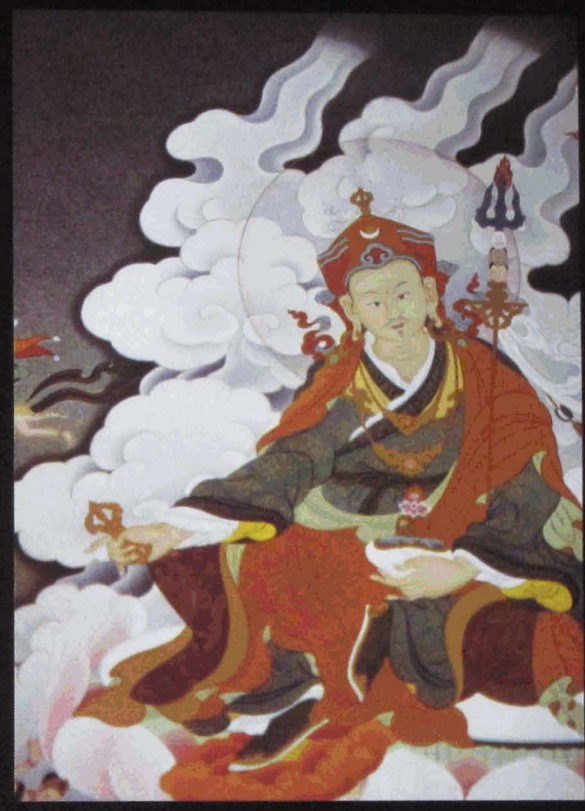
117. *Pema Gyelpo (Padma.rgyal.po)*
Distemper on cloth, ca. 50x45cm, Tibet, nineteenth century, private collection
This embracing couple represents one of the eight principal aspects of Padmasambhava. He may be revered as a Buddha, as a human teacher, translator, a mystic Mahāsiddha, and he may also be worshipped in several forms as a protective guardian. In the aspect represented here, his name Pema Gyelpo may be interpreted as "Padmasambahva, the king". He and his partner wear royal garments befitting a Bodhisattva. As they embrace, Pema Gyelpo holds in his left hand a small striped blue mongoose with a jewel emerging from its mouth, as an emblem of prosperity, and in his right hand, he holds in front of his heart a sack of multi-colored jewels. His partner holds a skull cup in her left hand. In the lower register, many jewels and auspicious emblems such as coral, interlocking circles and interlocking squares, which are called, respectiveley "queen's earrings" and "king's earrings", elephant tusks, ingots, and numerous small animals, among which again appears a mongoose. The enlarged scale of the central figure of the composition was frequent in nineteenth century paintings. The vast spatial orientation of the composition creates a perspective where the lotus is suspended above the green field and the sky using deep tones of blue and green for the background. This strong palette contrasts with the pale chromatic nuances of background more frequently associated with Karma Gadri style, but the spacious quality of the composition still reflects the influence of this style.
Previously unpublished. Lit.: Reynolds 1999.

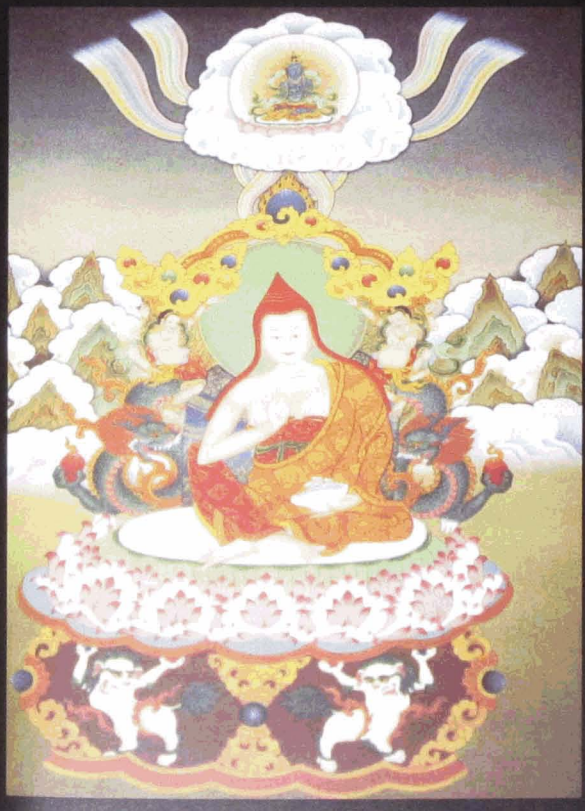
118. *Nāgārjuna*
Distemper on cloth, 54x40 cm, painted by Noedup Rongae, 1996
119. *Guru Padmasambhava*
Distemper on cloth, 54x38 cm, painted by Noedup Rongae, 1996
120. *Guru Paṇḍita*
Distemper on cloth, 35x54 cm, painted by Noedup Rongae, 1996
121. *Tārā*
Distemper on cloth, 54x40 cm, painted by Noedup Rongae, 1996
Noedup Rongae has been a painter for over forty years, and created these four paintings in Kathmandu in 1996. At age eight, he was apprenticed to his father, Tenzin Rongae, Master artist of the Khampa Gar monastery in the Lhatok, Kham. Here he learned flat coloring, shading, and eventually line drawing, creating not only thangkas, but ritual masks, clay sculptures, and wall murals for many monasteries. His father's school of painting is the New Menri (Menri Sarma) school, which he describes as one of the most stylized approaches to composition: "the figures could be off-centered, or from the side view, with lots of movement and action. It is considered to be a peak in terms of art development and patronage for all artists in Tibet". Rongae described his own work: "My own personal style is to work with a blueprint of the New Menri, but since I left Lhatok, I've been exposed to

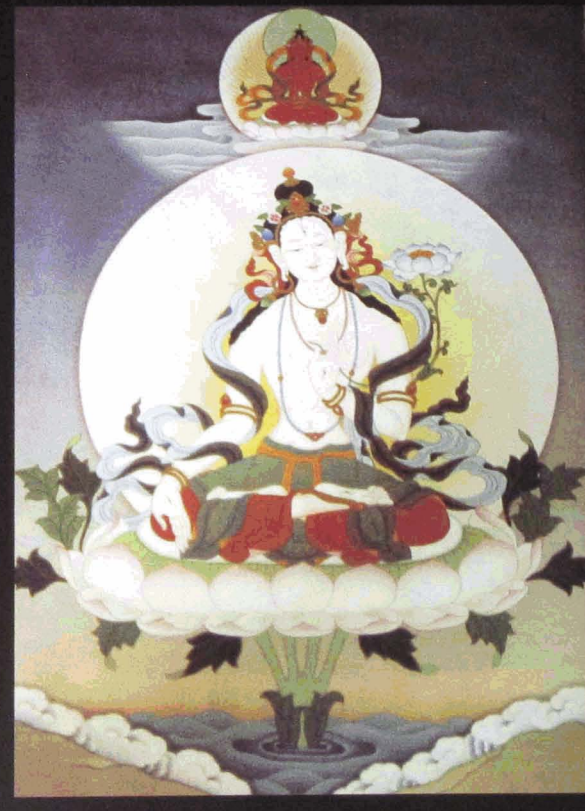
many other schools and styles of painting. One of the styles I really like very much is the Karma Gadri style with its spacious approach to landscape".
His assessment of the Karma Gadri spatial organization is very visible in these four works. The siddha Nāgārjuna is seated in the midst of a vast field, extending to a cliff with waterfall. Padmasambhava is seated in the midst of a giant cloud. Rongae had been a personal disciple of the late Chogyam Trungpa Rinpoche, who was himself a painter as well as a Buddhist teacher. Thus this representation of Padmasambhava is Rongae's hommage to his guru's vision of Padmasambhava. Trungpa Rinpoche described this aspect of Padmasambhava as Guru Nangsi silnon (snang srid zil gnon) "the guru who is the overpowerer of all apparent phenomena and the whole of existence" (Trungpa 1975: 66). The translucent halo of Padmasambhava is another characteristic of the Karma Gadri influence. The White Tārā is also suspended in pure space, linked to the ground only by the leaves of the stem of the lotus plant. The portrait of a monk is yet another representation of Padmsambhava in his aspect as the teacher named Padmākara or Padmasambhava.

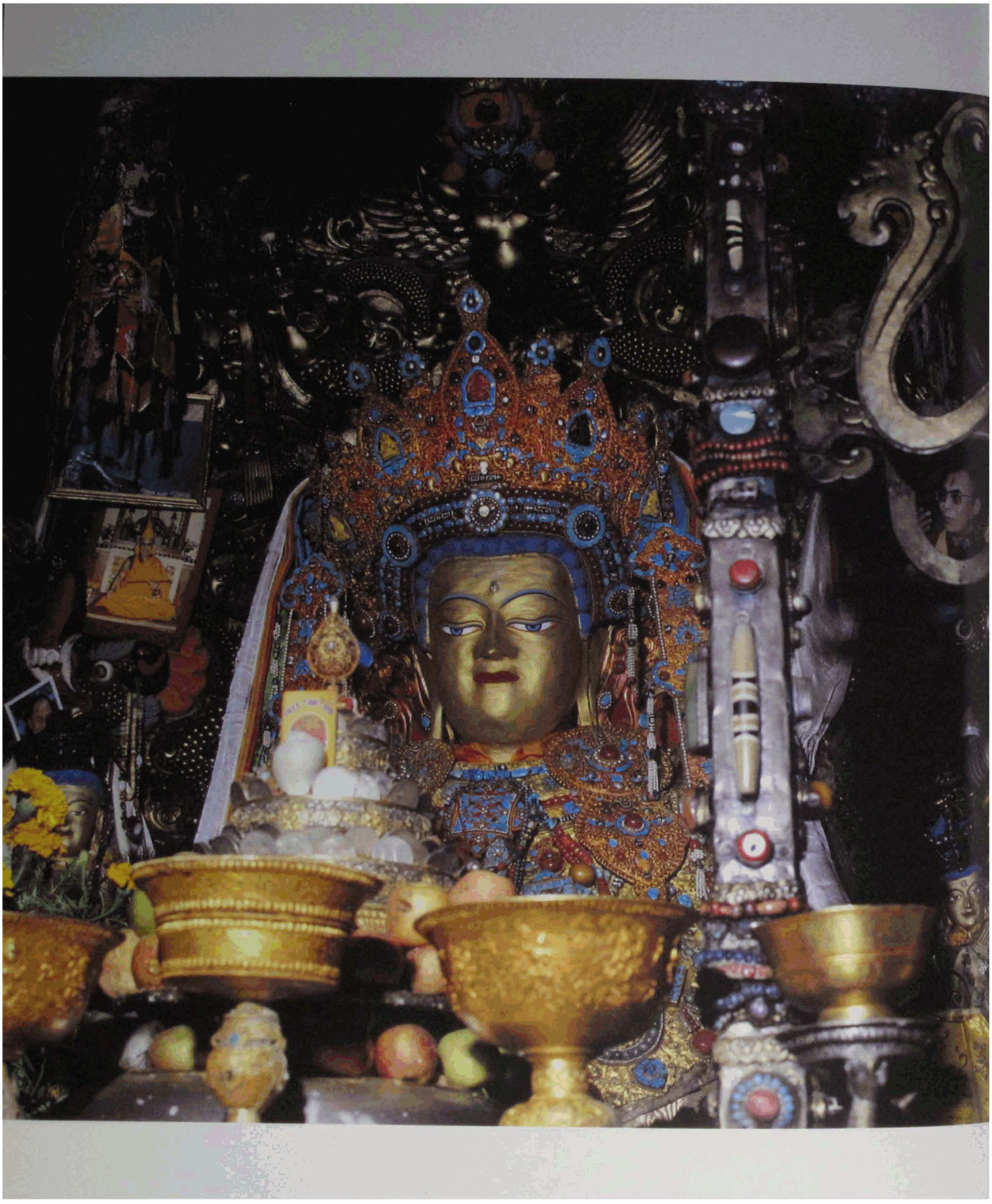
122. *Jowo Rinpoche, Lhasa*
Height including throne: ca. 500 cm
This statue is revered as the holiest stuatue in Tibet, it is the goal of pilgrims from all of Tibet to pay homage to this image of the Buddha. Called the "Jowo Rinpoche", the precious lord (Tib.: jo.bo rin.po.che) this image is enshrined in the central chapel of the principal temple of Lhasa. This temple is somteimes called the Jokhang, the house of the Jowo image, although in fact this term would just refer to the chapel of the Jowo and not the whole building. The image supposedly is Śākyamuni as young boy, traditionally believed to have been brought to Tibet during the reign of the first historic Tsenpo, Songtsen gampo. According to tradition, the image is an Indian image imported to Tibet by the Chinese bride of the Tsenpo Songtsen gampo. The crown is an addition made by Tsongkhapa who reconsecrated the Jowo statue during 1409, when he celebrated the first Great Prayer Festival (sMon lam chen mo) as part of New Year festivities. The silver throne with giant horned Garuḍa probably dates from Tsongkhapa's restoration of the Jowo (Blondeau and Gyatso 1997: 53; Thurman in press). The numerous earrings and ornaments almost obscure the image, as do the gold butter lamps seen in the foreground. The custom of donation of precious gems to the Jowo has continued throughout the centuries, recent pilgrims also contributing numerous photographs of H.H. the Dalai Lama. This image of Jowo Śākyamuni may indeed be a recent reconstruction following the Cultural revolution of 1966-1976, yet its reconsecration assures that it is venerated as if it were the original image dating from the foundation of the temple in the seventh century. As such, this image of the Jowo symbolizes both the history and endurance of Buddhist ideals and esthetics as understood by the Tibetans from the seventh century through the twentieth century.
Lit.: Blondeau and Gyatso 1997; Thurman in press.











background, similar to the composition of the Avadhāna series as well as to the Ngor portrait (color plate 114)[44].

A major development within the Karma Gadri was a sub-school called Kar shod pa, taking its name from the bithplace of its most distinguished artist, Karma Tashi. He is believed to have been strongly influenced by the esthetics developments of Situ Panchen, but as recognized by contemporary Tibetans, this Kar shod style has districtive broad fields of colors, both pale and intense nuances. The paintings of Noedup Rongae reflect the esthetic traditions of the Kar shod subschool of the Karma Gadri (see color plates 118-121).

8. Jigme Lingpa, a Nyingmapa theologian of the eighteenth century

In addition to the development of the Sakyapa and Kargyupa traditions, Nyingma resurgence in the seventeenth and eighteenth century is also documented in eastern Tibet, with the reconstruction of the monasteries of Kah tog and Peyul (dPal.yul). Fervent support for the Nyingmapa came from the widow of the Derge ruling prince while she served as regent for her infant son.

Her guru was the Nyingmapa scholar named Jigme Lingpa (1730-1798), who has been qualified as the foremost master for the development of Dzog chen thought, second only to Long chen (1308-1363). Long chen's contribution to Dzog chen philosophy has been compared to the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas in relation to Christian scholastic philosophy[45]. Jigme Lingpa in fact had a vision of Long chen which inspired him to set the Dzog chen teachings in writing, and he revered him as a spiritual ancestor. Born near the tombs of the ancient Tsenpo in central Tibet, he composed histories of several monasteries, of the burial grounds of the Tsenpo, and he edited the 26 volume series of the Nyingmapa tantra, representing those texts considered authentic by the Nyingma, slowly gathered by Nyingmapa masters since the fourteenth century, including some which had been rejected by Buton in his canonical collection of the Tibetan Buddhist scriptures. In addition, Jigme Lingpa experienced visionary revelations (*terma*) which he scrupulously noted, some linked with his spritual legacy from Long chen[46]. He was an adept of techniques of "fulfillment yoga" and "sexual yoga". The practitioners of "fulfillment yoga" endeavor to transform their gross, fleshly bodies into a "vajra-body", a "Dharma body" to allow apprehension of nirvāṇa while in the world of saṃsāra through conscious meditations. In addition, it is believed that at the moment of conception, when the parents energies unite to produce the embryo due to their karmic connection, this union creates a residue of those energies – both physical and spiritual – which remain in the body throughout life. This concept is somewhat analogous to the DNA chain of heredity. These energies remain distinct, rejoining only at the moment of death or through the practice of the special techniques of fulfillment yoga by an accomplished meditator. Fulfillment yoga may be practiced alone, or as a sexual yoga with an *imagined* partner, or with another person. The cultivation of the energies is believed to create meditative experiences in which the practitioner consciously channels the energies beyond the bliss of orgasm to another state of mind called bliss-as-emptiness, which is completely different from mundane sexual relations because there is recognition of the emptiness of the experience, an intensification of the sexual experience as free from attachments, reaching the Buddhist realization of "saṃsāra and nirvāṇa's pristine freedom" in the dissolution of the self with the partner, imagined or not. The entrance, abiding and dissolution of the channeled energies with the partner is essential to engender a physical and mental state where the practioner is ready to receive the "transmission of the realized", i.e. to mentally apprehend the ideas transmitted (in visions or in writing) from those who have achieved the realization of the fundamental unity of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa. An additional benefit of such yogic practices is that it is believed to purify the practitioner who has broken vows and enable him "to launch whomever is connected with him into the heaven of the awareness-holders".

In his autobiographical accounts of his spiritual experiences, Jigme Lingpa frankly explains his thoughts and behaviour[47]:

"Then again, while sleeping for a bit,
through the force of the blessing
from realizing the heart-mind continuum,
the conceptual thoughts of the ground-of-all
woke as the Dharma body.

I became absorbed
in the spectacle of empty radiant light,
a manifestation without conceptions.

Then it spread,
moved into an external manifestation,
and I saw,
in the awareness-radiation
of vision-producing radiant light,
several self-produced patterns
on the surface of a rock
shined on by the sun...

Future followers studying the radiant light!
Penetrate the depth of these critical points
without giving the name of radiant light
to the imputations of vastly spaced-out memory,
or the darkness of stupidity.

The ability to get a transference
of a transmission of the realized
for this (teaching)
is difficult always to maintain.
Other than fully perfecting the display-energy
(resulting from energies) entering, abiding and dissolving
in the central channel,
there is no other means to get it".

In accordance with the Bodhisattva ethic, Jigme Lingpa wrote his experiences not only to keep track of them, but as guides for his students and for future practioners, aware that his accounts could be helpful as a reminder of inherent difficulties of the techniques as well as the results of successful pratice of fulfillment yoga. As a master of the Dzog chen ("Great Perfection") system, he perfected esoteric techniques which combine creative visualization and rigourous meditative concentration to access the nature of the mind, which is of primordial purity, beyond the duality separating nirvāṇa and saṃsāra, having inherent qualities of spontaneous productiveness and pervasive compassion. Compassion is the basis of the ethics, because this is the link of the practioner to all sentient beings and thus to the phenomenal world of saṃsāra. When he described his visions as "spaced out", the Tibetan term implies totally mindful concentration in which the meditator becomes absorbed in the field of full awareness. Although only accessible for certain accomplished students, these techniques had broader implications in so far as the basic ethical foundations were adapted in daily life, thus accounting for the popularity of the Great Perfection system not only with generations of later students but also extending the influence of these teachings to a wider context in Tibetan society. The lineage of teachings perfected by Jigme Lingpa was perpetuated particularly in eastern Tibet by the masters of a newly developed spiritual movement during the nineteenth century, characterized by non-partisan tolerance, understanding and synthesis, such that it may be understood as an oecumenical movement.

9. The Ri mé movement, Tibetan oecumenism of the nineteenth century

The principal proponents of this development were a group of masters linked with the incarnation lineages of Jigme Lingpa and Situ Panchen. The name given to the movement is Ri mé, which literally means "without partisan views". Foremost was Kongtrul Lama (1813-1899), whose life illustrates once again the Tibetan model linking political factions and spiritual traditions. Born east of Derge into a Bonpo family from whom he received his early education, including knowledge of Bonpo literature and traditions as well as training in medecine, Kongtrul developed a broad intellectual base including an interest in painting[48]. He later traveled to Derge where he became personal secretary to one of the district-governors, a follower of the Nyingmapa. Kongtrul took monastic vows as a Nyingmapa monk in 1832. He was then requistioned as a secretary by one of the leading masters of the Pepung monastery south of Derge, who even insisted that he take a second ordination as a monk of the Karmapa tradition. Although he mastered the Pepung syllabus of teachings, including complex philosophical teachings handed down from Situ Panchen, if anything, his second ordination would seem to have strengthened his personal convictions to promote a non-sectarian approach to Buddhist scholarship. At Pepung Kongtrul was initially recognized as a reincarnation of the servant of the previous Situ Panchen, the presiding incarnation line of Pepung. Later on, however, he was also considered a reincarnation of Tāranātha. He maintained contact with the Bonpo tradition, visiting a flourishing monastery where the Bonpo Scriptures, over a hundred volumes, were just then being printed. When the current Situ Panchen died in 1853, his reincarnation was found in a boy of a family belonging to Tashilhunpo. Due to political conflicts between Gelugpa and Karmapa monasteries which had lead to open warfare, Kongtrul was sent to Lhasa to ensure that the young boy would be sent to Pepung to receive his education. En route to Lhasa, he visited Nyingmapa monasteries as well, but returned to Pepung upon successful completion of his mission. There he embarked on the compilation of a Tibetan encyclopedia, which is a veritable mine of knowledge of esoteric Buddhism, Sanskrit grammar, Tibetan medicine, Tibetan painting traditions and iconometry. Kongtrul's treatise on art history in Tibet remains a most valuable historic tool. As he was writing this compendium of knowledge, Derge was attacked by a chief of another province further east, an ardent patron of the Bonpo. The Lhasa government sent troops to quell the uprising which further devastated the already war-plagued region until they were finally completely victorious.

The few Gelugpa monasteries of eastern Tibet thus achieved a new position of strength, insisting that Pepung be levelled. However, Pepung was saved, as was the Derge ruling family, due to Kongtrul's skill as a physician. When the leading Gelugpa hierarch fell ill, Kongtrul cured him, thus ingratiating himself to all parties concerned. Kongtrul and several close friends who expounded Nyingmapa teachings became quite powerful. The *terma* tradition and the composition of ritual compendia were brought to new heights by efforts of these accomplished masters of spiritual traditions. Their writing and teaching activities were exceptionally prolific – literally hundreds of volumes were produced by this group of religious masters of Kagyu, Nyingmapa, Sakyapa and Bonpo traditions of philosophy, meditation and estoeric teachings. The spiritual, cultural and intellectual legacy of the Ri mé movement has persisted throughout the twentieth century until the present day. Its influence has extended far beyond the eastern Tibetan region.

138. Karma Gadri painting of a Mahāsiddha, ca. 105x70 cm, nineteenth to early twentieth century. The translucent halo around the Mahāsiddha's head is characteristic of the Karma Gadri school, as is the spacious landscape and clouds.

10. The twentieth century

At the close of the nineteenth century, Lhasa was still the stronghold of the Gelugpa under the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876-1933) who reigned in central Tibet for almost fifty years. This period was marked by great transformation of Tibetan society due to foreign influx and the collapse of the Manchu dynasty in China in 1911.

Tibet declared its independence and the Dalai Lama continued to rule as plenipotentiary. The new government in China, India and Tibet negotiated to resolve border problems, but the agreements were never fully ratified by all three parties. When the Thirteenth Dalai Lama died, Tibet was in the throes of modernization policies that he had personally encouraged, such as sending students abroad to England and India for long-term education. The religious studies in Lhasa remained the *status quo* that had been customary since the seventeenth century, where individual teachers were renowned for their mastery of philosophical treatises or meditative techniques, but there was relatively little innovation. Artistically the New Menri persisted, as did the Karma Gadri, and the sub-school of Kar shod, but there were also replication of archaic tendancies in lineage portraits. Inscribed inside a line-drawing of a stūpa on the reverse of the painting, the dedicatory prayer, on this late nineteenth or early twentieth century painting, eloquently details the reverence accorded to the ancient masters[49]:

> "May I as one who venerates the lamas who uphold knowledge pray for the fortitude to seek genuine spiritual achievement in reverence to the accomplishments of the lineage of previous teachers. May this prayer be consecration of this thankga which represents the physical bodies, the words and the thoughts of those eminent teachers: Oṃ Sarvasti Hūṃ Hūṃ. May there be prosperity by the act of making such a portrait. which represents the lineage of the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, Padmasambhava, Ye shes mtsho rgyal, and Guru Chos dbang and his son as well as the lineage of lamas. (May all beings) obtain the strength of genuine achievement of all these bearers of knowledge".

Tibetan artists in the early twentieth century indeed demonstrated conservative tendencies. Despite the foreign presence in Lhasa of a British mission, there were very few artists who were known to be interested in western art. One notable exception was Gendun Chopel, who long lived on the fringe of Tibetan society in India, and demonstrated proficiency in traditional Tibetan drawing and iconometry as well as a highly individual style of drawing, far closer to some sketches of Matisse[50]. The death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1933 resulted in a two-decade regency period during which Mao Tse Tung achieved power in China and promptly announced his campaign to "liberate" Tibet. As the Fourteenth Dalai Lama reached maturity, despite his successful passage of the traditional Gelugpa philosophical and theological examinations, he was quickly drawn into the arena of politics, far from spiritual concerns. The Chinese forces had progressively occupied first eastern Tibet, then central Tibet while the Fourteenth Dalai Lama was but a youth. In 1959, when the

139. The Potala and the stūpa gateways to Lhasa, ca. 1930.

140. Portrait of an artist, ink on paper, Tenzing Norbou (born in 1970), Nepal, 1992.
Tenzing Norbou comes from a family of Tibetan artists since four generations, now settled in Nepal. Here he drew an example of traditional apprenticeship as practiced in his family. As a youth, the artists learn to draw by tracing designs in the ashes of the fireplace.

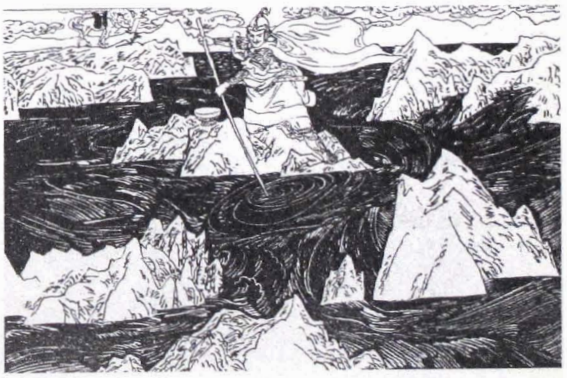
Lhasa population rebelled against the Chinese occupation, rather than conceed, the Dalai Lama sought refuge in India, eventually followed by approximately 100,000 Tibetans who settled in Nepal, India, Sikkim, Bhutan, and eventually beyond.

The Panchen Lama remained in Tibet, safeguarding both his Tashilhunpo monastery and the Gyantse Kumbum, although he himself was later under house-arrest in Beijing for many years. The Dalai Lama established the Tibetan government-in-exile in the hills of northern India in Dharamsala while many Tibetan monasteries of all religious traditions were founded in India, as well as institutes of the performing arts and fine arts. Their exodus obliged the Tibetans outside Tibet to actively promote their spiritual and cultural heritage in order to save it from oblivion. Meanwhile in Tibet under the Chinese occupation, religious and cultural freedom were heavily repressed by the state until 1980, with countless monasteries demolished, the icons scattered, the books burned. More than 1,000,000 Tibetans died, according to the exile government, from starvation, imprisonment or in conflict[51]. To all appear-

141. Gesar, the hero of a Tibetan literary saga, as portrayed by artists of Kanze, ca. 1980. Painting circulated as a poster, 85x60 cm.

142. The Market, painting by artists of Kanze, ca. 1985. Painting circulated as a poster, 85x60 cm.

143-144. Episodes of the Gesar saga where Gesar dreams of a monster and where Gesar crosses the mountains. paintings by artists of the Kanze school, circulated as a comic book, 10x14 cm, 1983.



145. A Dapon (mda'.dpon) Rider, a traditional officiant during the New Year celebrations, concrete with gold paint, height ca. 300 cm, Lhasa traffic circle, ca. 1990. This rider illustrates in sculpture the hyper-realism of the Kanze school.

ances, traditional Tibetan culture was destroyed, yet in the face of the progressive destruction, private religious practice by individuals persisted. The opening of Tibet to small groups of foreign journalists in 1980 and the admission of tourists coincided with a degree of relaxation of the official repression. Today in Tibet, although the Dalai Lama is still *persona non grata*, there has been a vast program of reconstruction of monasteries throughout the land, as well as restoration of some of the monasteries, thanks to both government funds and an influx of foreign funds through several associations in Asia, Europe and America. As part of the reconstruction programs, there has been governement allocation of funds towards Tibetan arts, both dance troupes and visual arts. Distinctive innovation has come again from eastern Tibet, where a new school of painting, called the Kanze school from the name of the city where it started, is a synthesis of New Menri esthetics and techniques of photo-realism or hyper-realism schools of painting, applied to secular subjects as well as Buddhist or Bonpo iconographies. To illustrate modernism in Tibet, some of the Kanze artists included motorcyles in their compositions, treated as if integrating a photograph in the paintings[52].

Due to the difficulties of the political situation and repression of Tibetan cultural identity, countless monks and religious masters were killed. Those who remained alive were long stifled in their expression. However if the monasteries no longer existed, the mountains were perennial and the village cults to the mountains which had been practiced since time immemorial were resumed[53]. The Chinese did not suppress these in the same fashion as the organized monastic rituals because, as a religious practice outside the monastic precincts, they were not linked to the Dalai

146. Dam can Dorje Legpa, ink on paper, ca. 50x40 cm, Namgyel Ronge, 1997. The protector deity is mounted on a ram, his mountain peak in the clouds.

147. Brag btsan, ink on paper, ca. 50x40 cm, Namgyel Ronge, 1997. The protector deity on horseback fording a river, he is so ferocious that he throws the kapāla away from his body into thin air. These two drawings are by Namgyel Ronge, the brother of Noedup Rongae (see color plates 118-121). Both brothers had studied with their father in Kham. He worked in the Menri Sarma tradition which is reflected by these two ink drawings.

Lama's governement. Yet as such, the mountain cults afford the opportunity to re-affirm both Tibetan cultural and spiritual values. The resurgence of these village cults has been documented in all regions of Tibet in recent years (see color plate 10).

As part of the liberalization policies of the past decade, monastic festivals have been resumed periodically, allowing the secular population to experience collective spiritual and recreational activities in a more enhanced fashion than individual worship and pilgrimage to sacred sites.

The monks are now officially functionaries of the government, within an agency of religious affairs. Consequently this has facilitated regulation of the monks' activities and repression of certain cults, such as worship of the Dalai Lama. There has been a degree of tolerance of hermits and yogins who on the whole, as in traditional Tibet, remained on the fringe of society, despites attempts at official regulation of such people. The Potala has recently been named to Unesco's World Heritage List of monuments, and there is again an active monastery within its precincts, although the Potala now is largely a museum. The most revered statue of the Buddha at the center of the Jokhang, the principal Lhasa temple, has been restored and embellished with the traditional crown of jewels (see color plate 122). Pilgrims throng to worship in this sanctuary, a vivid reminder of the endurance of Tibetan spiritual and artistic values. But at the same time Chinese officials have become increasingly forceful since 1996 in limiting admission to monasteries, banning the display of photographs of the Dalai Lama, and forcing monks and nuns to renounce their loyalty to the Dalai Lama and to the new child recognised as the incarnation of the Panchen Lama. The dawn of the twenty-first century is a period of great uncertainty for Tibetans both within and outside of Tibet, but paradoxically, it is now that the rest of the world has become far more aware of Tibet and the values of Tibetan civilization than ever before. Tibetan efforts to preserve their cultural identity in combination with the increased awareness beyond Tibet's borders of the significant contributions of Tibetan art and spiritual developments may indeed guarantee that Tibetan civilization will survive.

NOTES

[1] Vitali 1996: 525, n. 896 for the construction of Tabo Serkhang and Tsaparang Red temple (mchod khang dmar po), ca. 1475.

[2] Heller 1992.

[3] Autobiography of Gendun Gyatso, fol. 8-9; biography by g.Yang pa chos rje, 439-440.

[4] Heller 1992: chapter on Gendun Gyatso, 167-196.

[5] Heller 1992, translated passages from autobiography of Gendun Gyatso; first published in Heller 1997c. I would like to thank Samten Karmay for his help in translation of passages from the autobiography of Gendun Gyatso, and particularly the vision of Lhamo.

[6] Tucci 1949, "Tibetan Notes: the diffusion of the Yellow Church in W. Tibet and the Kings of Guge" (reprint in *Opera Minora*, Roma 1971: 478), dates this first half of fifteenth century, but Vitali 1996: 525, n. 896 convincingly dates to second half of fifteenth the foundation by the wife of the Guge prince.

[7] Thanks to Lionel Fournier for calling this feature to my attention.

[8] Cf. Smith 1970 and Jackson 1996, for historic information and identification of no less than ten painting traditions in Tibet during the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries.

[9] Jackson 1996: 142.

[10] Jackson 1996: 142.

[11] Jackson 1996: 183.

[12] Cf. Lo Bue 1997: 242-253 ("Sculptural styles according to Pema Karpo").

[13] Quotation from Smith 1970: 42, n. 72; first discussed by Tucci 1949: 147-148, 271-276.

[14] Snellgrove and Richardson 1980: 202.

[15] Gyatso 1992: 465.

[16] Jackson 1996: 169. The full Tibetan term is Karma sgar bris.

[17] Jackson 1996: 179, n. 383.

[18] Jackson 1996: 173.

[19] Jackson 1996: 173.

[20] Jackson 1996: 176.

[21] My thanks to Ian Alsop for helping obtain authorization to publish this historic portrait.

[22] Jackson 1996: 250.
[23] Jackson 1996: 565 discusses these inscriptions and their identification by Ian Alsop, whom I wish to thank for also showing me these paintings and inscriptions in 1994. Cf. Alsop, forthcoming.
[24] Jackson 1996: 251.
[25] Tucci 1949.
[26] Cf. Jackson 1996: 219-246 on Choying Gyatso and foundation of the New Menri school.
[27] Jackson 1996: pl. 34-40.
[28] Translation by Smith 1969b: 6.
[29] Cf. Karmay 1988.
[30] Pan is an abbreviated form of the Sanskrit word for teacher, Paṇḍita, and chen is the Tibetan word for "great", thus the title Panchen Lama means "great teacher".
[31] Jackson 1996: 198.
[32] Snellgrove and Richardson 1980: 201.
[33] Jackson 1996: 201.
[34] Jackson 1996: 159.
[35] Reynolds 1986: 139-141 discusses a black ground Tibetan Prajñāpāramitā manuscript from ca. 1195.
[36] I am particularly grateful to Professor Franco Ricca for authorization to publish a few of his unique photographs documenting the Lukang. In the future Pr. Ricca hopes to study these more comprehensively for their iconographic and artistic significance.
[37] Cf. Béguin 1994.
[38] Cf. Heller 1989 and Heller 1990 for discussion of Tibetan legal documents of this period.
[39] Tucci 1949: 410-419, figs. 90-105.
[40] Jackson 1996: 301-316.
[41] Situ Panchen edited the Kanjur, the scriptures attributed to the Buddha, in 1730 and Zhu chen edited the Tanjur, the commentarial volumes, in 1744.
[42] Smith 1968: 1-19; Jackson 1996: chapter 10, 259-287.
[43] Jackson 1996: 264.
[44] Reynolds et al. 1986.
[45] Smith 1969: 4.
[46] This description of fulfillment yoga techniques and conceptual basis is adapted from a study which consulted many contemporary Nyingma masters and translated Jigme Lingpa's autobiography of spiritual experiences: Gyatso 1998: 194-196 *passim*. I thank Janet Gyatso for correspondence on this subject.
[47] Gyatso 1998: 27-28.
[48] Smith 1970: 28-36, fournished the best description to date of Ri mé. This discussion is adapted from his pioneering analysis.
[49] I thank Thomas J. Pritzker for authorization to publish this translation from a painting in the Pritzker Collections.
[50] Karmay 1979 and Stoddard 1986.
[51] I thank Robbie Barnett for correspondence on this subject.
[52] Kvaerne 1994: 166-185. I thank Per Kvaerne for kindly providing photographs of these Kanze paintings.
[53] Karmay 1994 and 1997; Dowman 1997.

Appendix on Maṇḍala

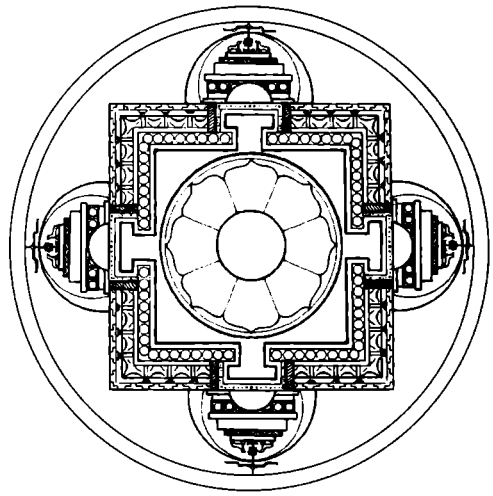
MAṆḌALA, kyil kor (Tibetan: dkyil 'khor)

The Sanskrit word maṇḍala literally means "circle". The circle is a frequent symbol in Buddhism, evidenced by the wheel and the lotus. In the earlier Indian Buddhist texts, the maṇḍalas can be very simple diagrams drawn on the ground (Skorupski 1983). In later Buddhist teachings, the perfect nature of the circle was embodied in the more complex maṇḍala, whether a geometric diagram in two dimensions, such as painted maṇḍalas and colored sand maṇḍalas, or a three dimensional form as in metal sculptures of tiered offering maṇḍalas, or sculptures of deities arranged in a maṇḍala configuration inside a chapel, as well as in the actual construction of sanctuaries in the shape of a maṇḍala such as the Gyantse Kumbum. In Tibetan Buddhist ritual practice, there are two general types of maṇḍalas: the depiction of the Buddha's palace used in tantric rituals and the model of the universe offered 100,000 times by placing grains of rice on top of a circular disk. For the former, the maṇḍala may be understood as a sort of architectural blueprint, a representation of a Buddha's palace, with a Buddha (sometimes in union with a consort) in the center, surrounded by arrays of other Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods and goddesses, with protectors standing guard in the doorways at the four cardinal directions (Lopez 1998: 145). The most common form is the two dimensional diagram of circles and squares, representing this sacred enclosure which is the residence of the deities but the juxtaposition of colors creates an optical perception of perspective. In this way, the two-dimensional painted or sand maṇḍala gives the visual impression of a three-dimensional temple.

As Lopez described, "In tantric initiations, the maṇḍala, kept hidden during the early phases, is eventually revealed to the initiate, who is then allowed to 'enter'. It is this perfected abode, inhabited by Buddhas and their consorts, Bodhisattvas, and protectors, that the initiate is then instructed to visualize, in minute detail, in the practice of 'Deity yoga' in which one meditates upon oneself as the central Buddha of the maṇḍala. The maṇḍala is not a diagram that one stares at to induce altered states of consciousness... For those monks and lamas who engaged in meditation, visualization was an important part of their practice, but the paintings (of maṇḍala and of Buddhas and deities) were to be used as a template only in the preliminary states of meditation until a sharp mental image could be produced" (Lopez 1998: 146-150).

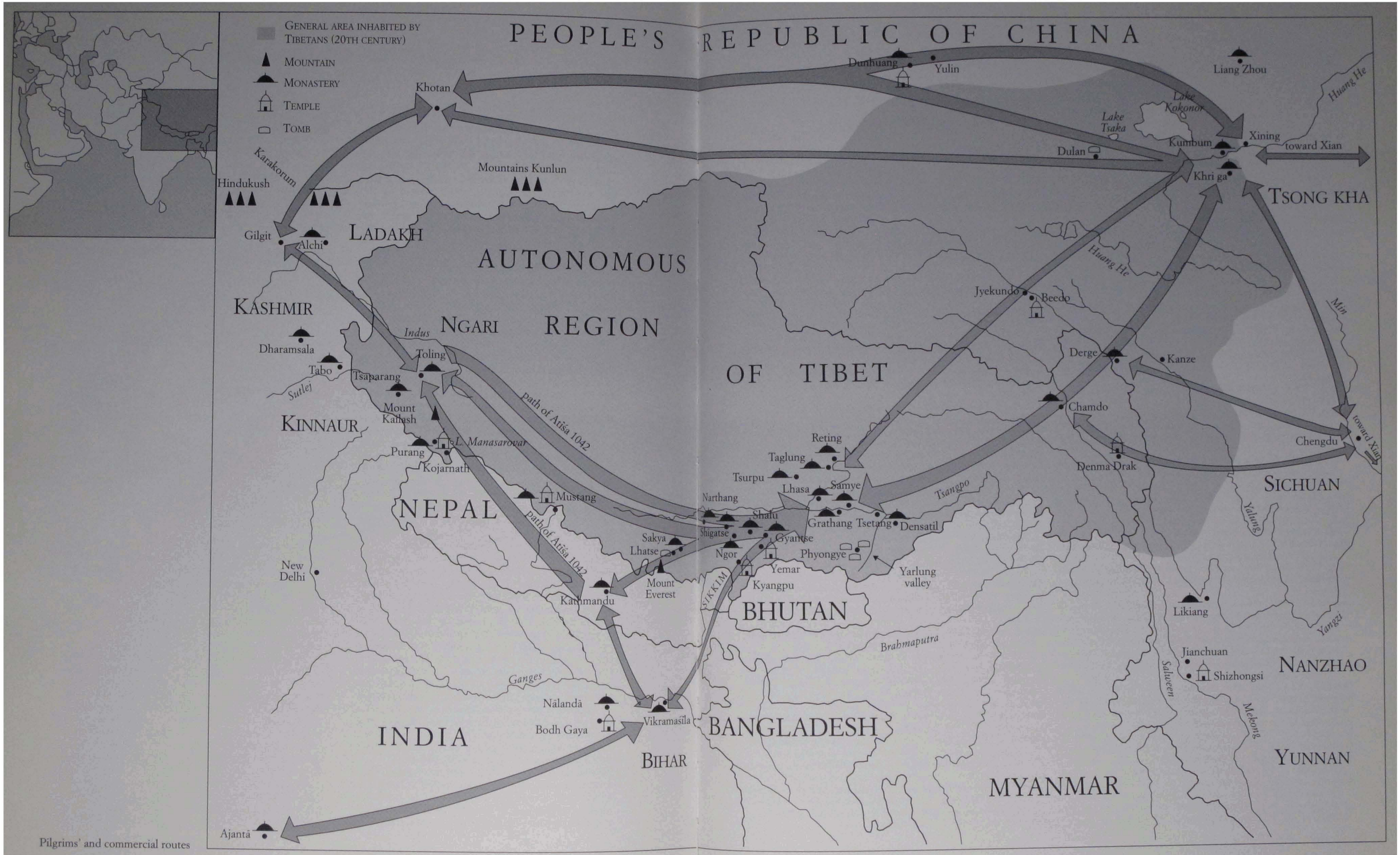
Several dedicatory inscriptions of the maṇḍala illustrated here describe their commission to honor the memory of a deceased teacher, and to fulfill the spiritual aspirations of the deceased. Paintings of maṇḍala may also be specifically made for eventual use in initiations, yet, to a certain extent paintings of maṇḍala like all Tibetan Buddhist works of art are commissioned to make merit, sonam (bsod.nams), so that the individual could dispel illness, avoid danger during an astrologically inauspicious year, to help a recently deceased family member find a happy rebirth. The maṇḍala of the Vajrāvalī cycle (see color plate 91) may thus have been commissioned as part of the memorial rituals for the deceased lama, with the desire for his favorable rebirth.

The guidelines for the architecture of the two-dimensional maṇḍala correspond to this diagram:



An outer circles of flames, then iron mountains; next, inner circles of vajra, then lotus petals. Eight cemetaries are often represented as a supplementary concentric ring, each containing a guardian, a stūpa, a siddha, and animals of prey – sometimes, however, the eight cemetaries are situated beyond the outer circle of flames. The inner sanctuary is a "divine mansion" shown inside a square with four symmetrical gateways. The walls and gateways are often shown decorated with canopies and garlands of fabrics similar to those of a Tibetan temple. The arching prongs over the doorway are the tips of the underlying crossed-vajra below the center of the sanctuary which is part of the grid on which the maṇḍala is drawn. As with a vajra, it may appear that the prongs emerge from the mouth of a makara, the mythical monster. In so far as the two-dimensional blueprint is viewed in perspective as a three-dimensional construction of a temple, the outer circles of the maṇḍala are thus in fact spherical, which recalls the dome of the stūpa or chorten (mchod.rten) equivalent to the Dharmakāya.

Lit.: Brauen 1997; Lopez 1998; Skorupski 1983.



Pilgrims' and commercial routes

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