

Tibetan Painting

THE JUCKER COLLECTION

Hugo E. Kreijger



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PHOTOGRAPHY BY MISCHA E. JUCKER



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Foreword

by Mischa E. Jucker

We little expected a couple of years ago that the volume of our Nepalese paintings, *Kathmandu Valley Painting: The Jucker Collection*, would be so well received by the public at large. In consequence we have embarked on the publication of a selection from our much larger collection of Tibetan paintings. Hugo Kreijger who researched and wrote the Nepalese paintings book, launched himself into the new project with gusto, and Anthony Aris of Serindia Publications took on the task of publishing it. Apart from the obvious joys such a book can bring a collector, it has also allowed me extensive exercise of one of my favourite hobbies, the photography of art objects with a large format camera. Hugo has long been closely connected with the Tibetan collection, providing great help in closing iconographic and stylistic gaps within our collection of several hundred paintings largely amassed during the 1960s in India. As an author, he has aimed the present volume at opening up the fascinating and complex world of Tibetan painting to the non-specialist. While not neglecting the specialist's needs, it is to a broader audience that these works of art and the culture that produced them are addressed.

Some explanation, however, should be given here of how myself and my wife Angela became involved with what has proved to be a continually exciting and rewarding enterprise. Exactly how did a Swiss research chemist stray into the field of Tibetan painting? It was all triggered by my attendance at the 49th All India Science Congress in Bhubaneswar in 1961. Little did I expect that my partner at the dinner which followed would be India's then prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, nor that he would talk so fascinatingly and at length concerning the aboriginal tribes of India. Amongst these, of course, the Tibetans are not counted, but it awoke in me a desire to know more about the amazing cultures of this part of Asia.

On a subsequent trip in 1963, I wandered into several shops looking for tribal objects. These I ultimately did find and have since amassed a substantial collection of Indian folk bronzes. However, on this particular trip I also came across my first Tibetan *thangka* and it was immediately purchased. On my return home, I showed the painting to a friend, Carl Einsele-Birkhäuser who encouraged me to contact Dr. Blanche Olschak for whom he had published a volume of translations from Tibetan poetry. Before meeting Dr. Olschak, all Angela and I knew about Tibet was the sad story of destruction and exile following the Chinese invasion after World War II. She opened a door for us onto the fascinating world of the Himalayas, and our passion for the art of the 'Roof of the World' was born.

Many trips to India followed. Because India in the 1960s was the only refuge for the Tibetan diaspora, there was a sudden influx of Tibetan objects on the art market there. As a result I was able, in a relatively short time, to amass a large and varied collection of paintings. Furthermore at another dinner, I was encouraged by Nehru's daughter, and by then prime minister, Indira Ghandi to write about what I knew of Himalayan painting and Indian tribal bronzes. A series of articles was subsequently written for my friend Kushwant Singh's *Illustrated Weekly*. After this, the paintings came to me practically by themselves. Also Angela, who was and remains fascinated by the art and religions of Asia, received an invitation from the royal family of Sikkim. During her visit to this beautiful kingdom (now an Indian state) nestled in the foothills of the Himalayas, she found many beautiful *thangka* to enrich our collection.

Those days were a fertile period for collecting, as Tibetan painting was relatively unexplored by the international art market. In my Foreword for *Kathmandu Valley Painting*, I recounted the wonderful history of one of the dealers from those days, Shiv Batra. One of our closest friends, he considered me as his spiritual brother, and through his gift I received some of the finest paintings in our Tibetan collection. Given the situation as it exists today, I must admit to missing that earlier time and the people I knew then.

In the years which have followed, we have been assisted in our collecting by many scholars, collectors and dealers who came from all over the world to Basel to see us and the paintings. First thanks, however, go to my dear wife Angela. Without her involvement in the collecting, I might well have stopped trying long ago to enlarge and improve it. She has been a keen traveller in India, Nepal and Sikkim, and her contributions to the collection cannot be overestimated. From almost the very beginning, one of our greatest advisors on the collection has been our esteemed friend Dr. Pratapaditya Pal. From the first time he viewed our collection, he has guided our efforts to enlarge and enrich it. For that we owe him an enormous debt of gratitude.

I have already commended the help given us by Hugo Kreijger, to whom we owe a similar debt. Both Dr. Pal and Hugo, in addition to advising on the refining of the collection, have also helped us understand what we possessed. Great insights into our paintings have also been ever provided by Heather Stoddard and Michael Henss. Amongst our fellow collectors, special mention should be made of the generous advice of our dear friends Berthe and John Ford, Renate and Gerd Essen, and Muriel and Jack Zimmerman, drawn in each case from a profound experience in collecting. We are proud to count them among our friends, and it is with great joy that we have – almost every year – a visit from Berthe and John.

For Angela and myself, these Tibetan *thangka* are, together with our Nepalese *paubha* and Indian folk bronzes, an inseparable part of our lives. Although we have not become scholars in these fields or converts to Buddhism or Hinduism, we have been immeasurably enriched by these wonderful manifestations of the ancient cultures of the Himalayas and subcontinent. *Thangka* started their existence as an integral part of the religious life of Tibet and now, in our part of the world, they have come to be appreciated as beautiful, fascinating and eloquent exponents of its ongoing heritage.

Mischa E. Jucker
Basel, February 2001

Preface

by Hugo E. Kreijger

Since the appearance of the catalogue on the Newar paintings of the Kathmandu Valley in the Mischa and Angela Jucker Collections, many people have asked if and when a volume on their Tibetan scrolls would follow. The collection in question contains over 250 paintings, and as with the Kathmandu Valley paintings, only a few have ever been published before. We have, therefore, selected seventy paintings from the collection for inclusion in this catalogue - all of them fascinating if only for their sheer beauty. In date they span the Tibetan painting tradition from the late 12th until the early 20th century, and, like the overall collection itself, include a large percentage depicting wrathful deities. Like the Newar paintings, almost all the Tibetan scrolls in the Jucker Collection were assembled during the 1960s, with a few having been acquired in later years to fill in certain iconographic or stylistic lacunae.

Over the last twenty years many publications have appeared which are devoted to the Tibetan arts in general and to its paintings in particular. Nevertheless, we believe that the paintings published here can only contribute to a better understanding of the Tibetan painting tradition, presenting as they do a fresh body of material of frequently striking and unusual iconographic or stylistic expression.

The organisation of the paintings in this volume has been established primarily from an iconographic perspective, beginning with images of the Historical Buddha and his emanations, followed by those of bodhisattvas, Indian and Tibetan Buddhist masters, protectors of the Buddhist law and tutelary deities. Following these are sections devoted to some rare and small groups of *Bardo Thodol* paintings, black ground scrolls and mandalas. The Jucker Collection is also fortunate in containing some important painted examples from the Bon tradition, which close the volume.

As with the previous catalogue, we have abstained from using diacritical marks on Sanskrit words. Again mainly Sanskrit names of deities are used instead of their Tibetan equivalents when the former are better known. Obviously divinities unique to Tibetan belief retain their Tibetan names. With regard to the spelling of the latter, in the text they are spelled phonetically, but in the glossary/index each is given their proper Wiley transcription. In the instance of quotations from the Tibetan inscriptions on the paintings, these are in Wiley transcription and are normally placed in the catalogue's endnotes. In some cases they appear within the entry text itself, although always set off by inverted commas. The few Chinese names and words are in the *pinyin* system of romanisation.

It has once again been a privilege to work together with the owner and photographer of these paintings, Mischa Jucker. Together with his wife Angela, we had many wonderful moments in the preparation and discussion of this work. Likewise this volume could not have seen the light if Anthony Aris of Serindia Publications had not supported the project. Thanks to him, it is now possible to enjoy the beautiful reproductions in this book. The text, as with the previous publication, has been edited by Donald Dinwiddie to whom I again owe many thanks. Not only have his comments and observations on the catalogue entries been of immense help, but he is also the co-author of the Introduction. Furthermore, the extensive glossary/index is due to his attention to consistency and detail. All Tibetan inscriptions found on the paintings have been researched and translated by Dr. Peter Verhagen of the Department of Tibetology, University of Leiden. This has been an essential part of the research on the paintings, and without his help any useful discussion of them would have been impossible. Finally, I would like to thank another friend, Eva Allinger of the Department of Tibetology, University of Vienna, who provided the entry for Plate 21. As she has done major research on this painting, we are pleased that she was willing to make an extract of her work for this catalogue.

We hope that the publication of these seventy painted examples will contribute in some way to a more precise definition of the various painting styles and perhaps, in due course, even of specific schools of Tibetan painting.

Introduction

Nature in all its magnificence and harshness has played a pivotal role in the formation of Tibetan culture. The majority of this vast and empty land lies on a plateau with an average altitude of around 4000 metres, inspiring its romantic epithet as the 'Rooftop of the World'. This enormous expanse of more than one million square kilometres is surrounded by some of the highest mountain ranges in the world. Immediately to the south and west are the peaks of the Himalayas, while the Karakorum lie to the northwest with the Kunlun and Altyn Tagh directly to the north. These mountains are the source of some of Asia's most important rivers: the Indus and Brahmaputra running into India, the Salween and Mekong into Southeast Asia and the Yangzi and Yellow River into China.

Although these high mountain ranges have often over the centuries served as a natural barrier against unwanted attention, they did not deter the development of a rich commerce between Tibet and its neighbours: India, the oasis kingdoms of Central Asia's Silk Roads, China and Nepal. Each has played a significant role in the formation of Tibetan culture, and specifically the stylistic and iconographic development of Tibet's painting tradition. However, Tibet did not only receive from its neighbours, but in its turn influenced them and particularly helped to shape the Buddhist cultures of Sikkim, Bhutan, parts of Nepal, Central Asia, Mongolia and China.

HISTORY

At the beginning of the 7th century, Tibet steps into history with the unification of the plateau's many small clan holdings by the kings of the Yarlung dynasty (7th–9th century). Their primary capital was Lhasa, just to the north of the Yarlung valley from which they began their campaign of unification. The Yarlung kings reigned for 250 years, much of which time was spent expanding their holdings north into the rich oases of the Silk Roads, south towards the Kathmandu Valley, west towards Kashmir and east towards China. The main obstacle to their expansion was the region's other great imperialist, Tang dynasty (618–907) China. The Tibetans not only took control of eastern Central Asia from them between 665–851, but on occasion succeeded in penetrating deep into Chinese territory. In 763, they even temporarily captured the Tang capital Chang'an.¹ Wars and raids against other countries in Nepal, Kashmir and India took place at the same time, although never on the same scale as those with China.

Our knowledge of this period is far from complete, but much can be pieced together from a surprisingly diverse body of literary sources such as the vast library of material discovered in Cave 17 at Dunhuang – the eastern terminus of the Silk Roads, from Arabic histories of the first caliphates, from the Tang imperial chronicles and last, but not least from later Tibetan histories and those edicts and inscriptions of the Yarlung kings that have survived the ravages of time. These sources reveal that the history of the Tibetan empire was not only one of martial exchanges with their neighbours, but also of a vibrant commercial and cultural exchange. Such exchanges were often strengthened by political marriages.²

According to tradition, it was due to two such marriages between King Songtsen Gampo (r. 617–650) with Nepalese and Chinese princesses, that Buddhism first entered Tibet. It was during Songtsen Gampo's reign that Tibet's principal Buddhist temple, the Jokhang, was constructed in the heart of Lhasa. Songtsen Gampo and two of his descendants, King Trisong Detsen (r. 775–797) and King Ralpachen (r. 815–838), came in later centuries to be regarded as the Three Dharma Kings of Tibet for their championing of the religion on the plateau. During the reign of his grandson Trisong Detsen the first monastery, Samye, was built. The impetus behind the founding of the latter was the first of Tibet's great Buddhist teachers, Padmasambhava ('One Born in a Lotus'), guru to King Trisong Detsen. Padmasambhava was allegedly a Buddhist master from the Kashmir valley invited to Tibet by the king. His achievements include not only the founding of Samye in 810, but also the composition of numerous treatises, including the *Bardo Thodol* (Tibetan *Book of the Dead*). Like his royal disciple, he would in later centuries come to be seen as a 'Father of Tibetan Buddhism' by all the plateau's different schools, and particularly by the Nyingma order by which he is considered the founder.

For all of Padmasambhava's later popular appeal, it is thought that Buddhism in Tibet during the Yarlung dynasty remained largely limited to court circles, and not all of the aristocracy or even some of the Yarlung kings were as devoted to this new faith as Songtsen Gampo, Trisong Detsen and Ralpachen. There were still many who clove to the pre-Buddhist religion of the empire, which appears to have centred on a cult of the king, and is perhaps directly related to the Bon religion that is still practised today by a minority of Tibetans. The successor of the last Dharma King, Ralpachen, was the staunchly anti-Buddhist Lang Darma (r. 838–842), whose attacks on Buddhism within the empire led to his assassination by a monk in 842.³ Lang Darma's death triggered a struggle between those nobles that allied themselves with Buddhism and those who kept to the old beliefs, and in the process all central authority was irrevocably lost. Some members of the dynasty fled towards China in the northeast, while others struck out in the opposite direction towards the western regions bordering on the Kashmir valley, where they founded several new kingdoms. The plateau then reverted to the cluster of small, warring principalities that characterised its landscape before unification.⁴ The collapse of Yarlung authority spelled certain end for their empire, and the Tibetans lost their last forts along the Silk Roads in 866. Although Buddhist practice on the plateau was not completely extinguished, it went into a sharp decline with the collapse.⁵

It was more than a century after Lang Darma's assassination that Buddhist teachers began to return from the border regions of East Tibet to the central regions of the plateau. The year 978 is generally considered as the beginning of the Second Diffusion of Buddhism in Central Tibet.⁶ Old temples from the imperial period were renovated or rebuilt, and many more temples and monasteries

were founded during the first half of the 11th century. Our knowledge of these early monastic establishments is partly based on the biography of the great Indian master Dipamkara Atisha (982–1054), who visited many of these Buddhist foundations during his stay in Tibet from 1042 until his death in 1054.

Atisha first came to Tibet at the invitation of the king of Guge, one of the kingdoms of West Tibet founded with the collapse of the empire. The rulers of Guge played a vital role in reviving Buddhism in West Tibet, and by connection in the entirety of the Tibetan sphere. They sent groups of their subjects to Kashmir to study in the Buddhist colleges there, and those that survived returned laden with texts and images. Most prominent among the initial group was Rinchen Zangpo (958–1055), who not only returned with Buddhist texts, but also with artists to help in the proper decoration of the newly established temples. As demonstrated by Atisha's invitation, Guge royal patronage also actively encouraged Indian Buddhist scholars to come to Tibet itself. Atisha taught for several years in Guge where his most prominent disciple was the only other survivor from the first Kashmir expedition, Lekpe Sherab, who like Rinchen Zangpo was a great translator of Indian Buddhist texts. At the persistent requests of a lay practitioner from Central Tibet, Dromton (1008–1064), Atisha continued his journey to these regions in 1045. He finally settled at the monastery of Nyethang, where he died in 1054. It was Dromton, who established the Kadam order in 1056 at Reting monastery. Although Dromton himself was a lay master, the Kadam order stressed Atisha's emphasis on celibacy, the monastic community and the disciple's dependence on a specific spiritual teacher.

By contrast, most of the Tibetan Buddhist clergy at this time were lay masters like Dromton who could marry and did not necessarily live in monastic communities. This tradition had grown out of the remains of the Buddhism expounded in the imperial period and became latterly known as the Nyingma order, looking to Padmasambhava as their founder. In response to the creation of new monastic-centred traditions such as the Kadam, the Nyingma embraced all of the teachers and teachings that either pre-dated the great monastic lineages or which fell outside of them. It was only in the 14th century that followers of this order started to build monasteries. A literary form unique to the Tibetan Buddhist canon is the *terma* (treasure) text, and it plays an important role in the Nyingma tradition. Nyingma *terma* were hidden by the great Guru Rinpoche, Padmasambhava, to preserve them until such a time when they would be properly understood. During the Second Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet, many such texts were discovered by the *terton* ('treasure finders') of the Nyingma order – not least among them the *Bardo Thodol*.

In the 11th and 12th centuries, other monastic schools in the central regions of Tibet also began to emerge, all centred on the teachings of an ever-expanding lineage of Buddhist masters. Many of these lineages took as their ultimate source an Indian master, and the temples they founded were to a certain extent inspired by those to be found in northern India. Although the Buddhist community in India had for several centuries been on the decline and would soon almost entirely disappear, the subcontinent still represented for the Tibetans the proper transmission of Buddhist teachings. Following the example of the Guge kings, many local princes and rulers in Central Tibet invited Indian Buddhist masters (pandits) to their strongholds or sent some of their subjects (or even themselves) to India to study with a master. At least in part, these activities were undertaken to gain the reputation of being a patron of Buddhism and formed a significant part of the rivalry amongst these powerful clans. Nevertheless they

also served to create a thriving environment in Central Tibet for the religion, and it quickly spread beyond the confines of the aristocracy to the population at large.

The most prominent amongst these new orders were the Sakya and the Kagyu orders. In Central Tibet's southern province of Tsang, the Sakya monastery was established in 1073 by Konchog Gyalpo (1034–1102), and the lineage he founded was subsequently handed on from uncle to nephew. Between the 11th and 13th century the Sakya order founded many monasteries in Tsang. The Kagyu (Oral Teaching) order can be traced back to the lay master Marpa (1012–97) who studied extensively in India with the masters Tilopa (988–1069) and Naropa (1016–1100). Marpa's disciple Milarepa (1040–1123), the poet-saint of Tibet, is one of the most charismatic of Tibet's Buddhist masters. The many 'songs' he composed concerning the path to enlightenment are venerated throughout the Tibetan cultural sphere, and all schools of Tibetan Buddhism agree that Milarepa attained full enlightenment within a single lifetime. It was Milarepa's disciple Gampopa (1079–1153) who established the monastic order of the Kagyu, and his disciples later founded four branches of the order. Among these branches, two would play particularly significant roles in Tibet's history. That founded by Phakmodrupa (1110–70) in turn gave rise to eight further branches of the Kagyu order, including the Drigung, Taklung and Drukpa. Centred on the first great Kagyu monastery of Densathil, the Phakmodru order would in the 14th century effectively rule Tibet. Another of Gampopa's disciple's Dusum Khyenpa (1110–93) established Tsurphu monastery and his disciples posthumously recognised him as the 1st Karmapa, and his successor as his re-incarnation and thus the 2nd Karmapa (Karma Pakshi; 1204–1283). The basic concept behind the system of incarnate lamas was that when an important master passed away, he was re-born as a child, who was found after a search by the lama's disciples. Once located, this new incarnation would take over the teacher's duties and position. This system of passing on the leadership of a lineage through successive incarnations of an individual would be adopted by among others, the Geluk order and would prove an important stabilising factor in both Tibet's spiritual and political life.

By the 13th century, the remaining Buddhist communities of northern India were being obliterated by Islamic invasion, resulting in an exodus of Buddhist monks and scholars to Nepal. With Buddhism more or less extinguished in its 'mother country', the Tibetans had to rely on themselves and also the ancient (although also waning) Buddhist culture of the Kathmandu Valley for spiritual guidance. The Newars of the Kathmandu Valley in particular fed the increasing Tibetan demand for religious icons (see Plates 6, 10, 18, 25, 62). Several of the plateau's by now well-established and wealthy monasteries, particularly those aligned with the Sakya order, began to act as financiers to their lay rulers and power gradually started to shift towards the clerical orders. In time some of the spiritual leaders acquired also a political role, considerably enlarging their power.

This century's greatest changes, however, were taking place to the north and east of the plateau, where the newly unified Mongol tribes were quickly overrunning the oases of the Silk Roads as well as China. In 1227, they destroyed the Central Asian kingdom of Xixia (982–1227) and many of its Buddhist community fled into the bordering areas of East Tibet and from there made their way to the plateau. Less than ten years later they destroyed the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) of northern China and by 1279 had conquered the entirety of China, making it part of their vast global empire and ruling over it as the Yuan dynasty

(1279–1368). Miraculously, Tibet was spared the greatest ravages of these conquerors. While the title of Great Khan was held by Genghis Khan (r. 1206–1227), the Tibetans willingly paid the Mongols tribute in return for being left relatively undisturbed. However after his death, tribute payments gradually came to a halt. In 1240, Mongols under the leadership of Godan Khan, a son of the new Great Khan Ogadei (r. 1229–1241), launched a punitive campaign. Marching on Lhasa, he burnt down monasteries and slaughtered over 500 monks and civilians. In 1244, the Mongol prince sent an invitation to the highly respected abbot of the Sakya order, Kunga Gyaltsen – popularly known as Sakya Pandita (1182–1251), to attend him in Kokonor (in present day Qinghai province, China). Sakya Pandita’s powers as an abbot extended well into the secular sphere and were respected far beyond the holdings of the Sakya monastery in southern Central Tibet. Together with two nephews still in their childhood years, he left for Godan Khan’s encampment, arriving there finally in 1247. Godan Khan was so impressed by Sakya Pandita that he forestalled a complete invasion of Tibet on the condition that the abbot be the Mongol’s regent for all of Central Tibet.⁷ Thus for the first time since the collapse of the empire, the plateau was united under a single political authority.

Sakya Pandita’s death in 1251 was soon followed by that of Godan Khan. His position within the Mongol hierarchy was assumed by another grandson of Genghis Khan, Kubilai Khan (1216–1294). In 1253, Kubilai invited one of the two nephews of Sakya Pandita, Phagpa (Phagpa Lodro Gyaltsen; 1235–1280), to his court. As Godan was impressed by Sakya Pandita, so Kubilai was by Phagpa and the latter was confirmed in his uncle’s position as regent of Central Tibet and given the additional title of Dishi (‘Imperial Preceptor’).⁸ This made the abbot of Sakya monastery quite literally Tibet’s ruler. In 1254, the so-called *yoncho* (‘patron and priest’) relationship was formally established between the Mongols and the Sakya order.⁹ As could be expected, other monastic orders tried to secure similar positions for themselves by approaching leaders of different Mongol factions. Nevertheless, by the time Kubilai Khan was proclaimed Great Khan in 1264, the supreme position of the Sakya Dishi within Tibet was beyond doubt.

After Kubilai’s death in 1294, the central authority he had successfully maintained over the Mongols began to disintegrate, and this had a direct effect on Sakya domination of Tibet’s political scene. The internal struggles once again heated up between the various Buddhist orders, their branches and the influential nobility. The most successful of these to attack the Sakya’s dominant position were the Phakmodru order whose leader, Changchub Gyaltsen (1302–1362) wrested from the Sakya in 1350 the governorship of Central Tibet’s Ü province. Subsequently, when in 1358 the Sakya abbot was murdered by one of his ministers, Changchub marched on Sakya monastery, imprisoned the minister, deposed the newly appointed abbot and effectively took over the government of the Dishi.¹⁰

Although the 13th and 14th centuries were a period of much internal turmoil, it was also a period of great cultural activity. The arts flourished, especially in terms of painting. Subsequently in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Tibetan reliance on a Newar style in painting was finally replaced by a distinctly Tibetan style. Sadly for the Buddhist Newar artists of the Kathmandu Valley this also came at a time when their local patronage was declining due to the overwhelmingly Hindu sympathies of the Valley’s elite.¹¹

With the destruction of the Mongol Yuan dynasty in 1368, the new dominant power in East Asia was the Chinese-ruled Ming dynasty (1368–1644). However,

when the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–24) declared an interest in renewing the patron–priest bond first initiated by the Mongols and the Sakya, only Debzhin Shegpa (1384–1415), the 5th Karmapa lama, accepted his invitation. Nevertheless the Ming emperors did not neglect the other sects, and by stimulating rivalry among them, they assured that no one school would gain such prominence at their court as the Sakya had enjoyed under the Mongols. The latter, although their empire had shrunk back to the steppes of their tribal homelands, also remained influential patrons for rival Tibetan religious orders for several centuries to come. For the next three hundred years, the Tibetan political scene remained one of a permanent struggle for hegemony between the Sakya, Karmapa, Phakmodru and the just emerging Geluk order. It would be the latter who would ultimately gain ascendancy over all of Tibet in the mid-17th century.

Disciples of the scholar Tsongkhapa (1357–1419) founded the Geluk order, or the renewed Kadam order, at the beginning of the 15th century. Tsongkhapa had studied with teachers of all the major schools and composed many treatises and commentaries on Buddhist texts. His teachings were based on a revitalisation of Atisha’s monastic community, and Geluk monks lived simply according to a strict discipline. By the end of the 15th century many new Geluk monasteries and temples had been constructed all over the country, and they had become one of the most influential orders of Tibet. This was strengthened when their principal lama, Sonam Gyatso (1543–88), was invited to the Mongol camp of Altan Khan, where he was bestowed in 1578 with the title Dalai (‘Ocean of Wisdom’) – or Dalai Lama. He came to be known as the 3rd Dalai Lama, as he was the re-incarnation of Gedun Gyatso (1475–1542), who was the re-incarnation of Gedun Truppa (1391–1474). The latter was, in addition to Gyaltsab Je (1364–1432) and Khedrub Je (1385–1438), one of the principal disciples of Tsongkhapa and subsequently became head lama of the new Geluk order. The institution of the incarnate lama among the Geluk and its official entitlement as the Dalai Lama introduced a tremendous stability and focus within this religious order. When Sonam Gyatso died in 1588, his re-incarnation and the 4th Dalai Lama was discovered in a grandson of Altan Khan, Yonten Gyatso (1589–1617).¹² The bond between the Geluk and the Mongol tribes was even further strengthened when in the mid-17th century, the 5th Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lozang Gyatso (1617–1682) became the spiritual father of Gushri Khan (r. 1638–1654), at that time leader of all the Mongol peoples.

In 1642, the ‘Great Fifth’, with the support of Gushri Khan, took control over Lhasa and its environs. Thereupon Gushri Khan proclaimed him as the spiritual and political leader of Tibet, from Dajianlu (in present day western Sichuan province) in the east, Ladakh in the west, Kokonor in the north and to the Himalayas in the south.¹³ The 5th Dalai Lama re-established Lhasa as the capital and started the construction of the Potala palace in 1645. The foundations were laid on the ruins of the old palace of King Songtsen Gampo. It is interesting to note that both the Dalai Lama and this first of the Dharma Kings are considered as incarnations of Avalokiteshvara, the bodhisattva of compassion. The immense building of the Potala came not only to serve as the country’s spiritual headquarters, but also became the symbol of its temporal authority.

The 5th Dalai Lama’s political allies were not only among the Mongols, but significantly also with the last emperor of the Ming dynasty and with the first of the new Qing dynasty (1644–1911). Through them he was able to consolidate his predominant position on the plateau. His alliance with the Manchu leaders of the Qing dynasty was on an equal basis, which meant that Tibet remained

independent. The Manchu overlords of China were perhaps mainly interested in sharing such an influential ally of the Mongols, whom they wanted to keep at a safe distance while they consolidated their new empire. Nevertheless, even with such powerful foreign allies, there were still plenty of internal threats to the 5th Dalai Lama's authority. He subsequently established one of his closest disciples as the Panchen Lama in the monastery of Tashilunpo near Shigatse, thus strategically situated near the southern strongholds of the Sakya. The function of this lama was supposed to be solely spiritual, while that of the Dalai Lama was both temporal and spiritual.

So concerned were the 5th Dalai Lama and his disciples about the balance of power that his death in 1682 was concealed for fifteen years in order to maintain the status quo and allow the 6th Dalai Lama, Tsangyang Gyatso (1683–1706), to pass most of his minority unchallenged. In 1695, after fifty years of construction, the Potala palace was completed, and in 1697 the 6th Dalai Lama was proclaimed and officially installed within it. Unfortunately this young Dalai Lama was less interested in spiritual affairs than in romantic adventures.¹⁴ As a consequence his counsellors saw him as dangerous to the country's stability, and he was forced to abdicate in 1702. The unfortunate young man died soon afterwards in exile.

The 7th Dalai Lama, Kelzang Gyatso (1708–57) was found in 1708, but his enthronement in the Potala in 1720 was preceded by a scabbling for power between different Mongol factions exacerbated by the Manchu Qing. The infighting to 'protect' the new Dalai Lama actually brought invading Mongol forces to Lhasa itself, and it was only a Manchu army that re-established the peace. As a result of these disputes, the Kangxi emperor (1662–1723) appointed in 1721 an imperial representative (*amban*) to reside permanently in Lhasa and help 'advise' the Dalai Lama on the administration of his country. This system would continue until the end of the Manchu dynasty in 1911. The emperor's representative served to keep track of both Tibetan and Mongolian movements. At this time, the Kangxi emperor also re-defined Tibet's borders. Previous East Tibetan land beyond a branch of the Yangzi river came now under the protection of Beijing, but with local administration.¹⁵ The rest of Tibet remained under the leadership of the Geluk.

The 8th Dalai Lama, Jampal Gyatso (1758–1804) was installed in 1758. A keenly spiritual leader, his interest in temporal issues was minimal. Unfortunately he lived in troubled times. In 1792, a trade dispute arose between the new rulers of the Kathmandu Valley, the Shahs, and Tibet. The aggressive Shahs sent an army to invade southern Tibet and succeeded in sacking the monastery of Tashilunpo before a Manchu army drove them back.¹⁶ The 8th to the 12th Dalai Lamas were all fairly short-lived, with only the 8th actually reaching maturity. Thus for most of the 19th century, Tibet was governed by Geluk regents and the Manchu *amban*.

The Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–95), like his father and grandfather, had been personally devout in his Buddhist faith and very active therefore in the affairs of Tibet. After his death, his successors were more concerned with their own pleasures or with the encroaching of the Western powers on their territory to be very interested in Tibetan affairs. Similarly, the power and influence of the Mongol tribes had diminished significantly in this changing world. The Qing government at most tried to keep the Mongols and Tibetans nominally under their control. More importantly, the Qing wanted to keep them out of reach of Western influence, especially from that of Britain or Russia, which would undermine

their own influence. During the second decade of the 19th century, Tibet had regular trade disputes with Nepal which brought them into increasing contact with the British, recently established in India.¹⁷ The latter were very interested in setting up trade with Tibet and thus to exercise some influence over them. Once Sikkim became a British protectorate in 1850, they even had direct border contact.

In 1876, the 13th Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso (1876–1933) became the spiritual and political head of Tibet's government. During the almost six decades of his administration more contacts were sought with Britain and Russia. By the last quarter of the 19th century, the Manchu empire had become a much enfeebled overlord. With the help of one of his tutors, a Buryat from Mongolia, he corresponded with Tsar Nicholas of Russia.¹⁸ However, advisors within the Dalai Lama's inner circle never could agree on whether Tibet should develop contacts with the British or the Russians, or with neither but remain in isolation. Thus the 13th Dalai Lama tried to balance Tibet between the British empire, imperial Russia and China, something at which he did not always succeed.

In 1904, the British under Colonel Younghusband invaded Tsang province under the pretence of pressing trade relations between Lhasa and the British empire. First they took Gyantse, and then marched on Lhasa. Upon reaching the city's outskirts, they discovered that the Dalai Lama had fled to Mongolia, which was now under Russian influence. After negotiations, the British were allowed to station a trade agent in Gyantse, and in 1909 the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa. However, the previous year marked the death of Cixi (1835–1908), the Qing Dowager Empress who had effectively ruled China for the past half century. In 1910 the new government of the last Manchu emperor sent a punitive expedition to Lhasa in order to reassert Qing imperial authority. On this occasion the Dalai Lama fled to British India. In 1911, the Manchu imperial government was finally overthrown and a republic declared, and the Tibetans were able to drive out the occupying imperial troops. In 1913, the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa, and a year later the Simla treaty was meant to resolve the border problems between Tibet, the British empire and China.¹⁹ However, China never signed the treaty, and in the years following there were repeated hostilities and disputes between China and Tibet.

Due to his stay in British India, the Dalai Lama realised that he had to modernise his country in order to ensure its survival. Unfortunately, he had only a very limited success in implementing his plans as many in his government preferred to maintain their isolated position. The overwhelming of Russia and subsequently much of Mongolia after the 1917 revolution also made him keenly aware of the threat of Communism. The civil war between Nationalists and Communists in China also did not fail to attract his attention. The 13th Dalai Lama is said to have been so discouraged by the situation surrounding him that he died of despair in 1933.

The present 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso (b. 1935) was discovered in 1939. In 1949, when he was fourteen years old, the by now communist Chinese invaded Tibet. Ten years later he fled to India, where he was soon followed by some 100,000 countrymen. In 1965, the Beijing government created Tibet as the Tibet Autonomous Region within the People's Republic of China. Still residing in exile in India, the present Dalai Lama received in 1989 the Nobel Prize for Peace for his efforts in spreading concepts about peace and justice not only among his own people, but around the world.

RELIGION

The exact nature of imperial Tibetan Buddhism is far from clear. From the available evidence it is impossible to judge whether it was based solely on the sutras of the Mahayana ('Greater Vehicle') or if, as suggested by Padmasambhava's alleged authorship of *Bardo Thodol* (Tibetan *Book of the Dead*), elements of Vajrayana practice were already widespread. Certainly, however, the form of Buddhism propagated in the Second Diffusion was the Vajrayana (or Tantrayana). The suffix *yana* means simply path or vehicle, while *vajra* symbolises the thunderbolt or diamond, which in turn represents the indestructible nature of Buddhism. The *vajra* (diamond sceptre) became an important attribute during rituals and is frequently depicted on paintings in the hands of deities and monks. *Tantra*, on the other hand, is a term for an enormous variety of texts – both Hindu and Buddhist, all related to esoteric rituals and cults. An important facet of *tantra* texts is the description of its myriad deities. As with the two other forms of Buddhism, the Theravada/Hinayana and the Mahayana, Tantrayana/Vajrayana was formulated in India.

All forms of Buddhism centre on the Historical Buddha Shakyamuni and his message that the goal of each human being should be to free oneself from desire and thereby human suffering. This 'enlightenment' would break the chain of endless birth and rebirth and one would enter into the blissful state of nirvana. In Theravada ('School of the Elders'), otherwise known as Hinayana ('Lesser Vehicle'), Buddhism, enlightenment could be achieved through the practitioner's study of the Buddha's collected sayings, the sutras. Traditionally believed to be the initial form of Buddhism, no images were used and very little ritual – just meditation and contemplation on the word of the Buddha. Upon reaching enlightenment, one was called an arhat ('meritorious'). Theravada, with its emphasis on the individual practitioner's efforts to achieve enlightenment, is still the predominant form of Buddhism in several countries of mainland Southeast Asia and in Sri Lanka.

Mahayana ('Greater Vehicle') Buddhism is generally believed to have developed out of Theravada. In this new tradition, enlightenment could be achieved not only by meditation on the Buddha's word, but also by the intercession of the Buddha or a bodhisattva. The latter in Theravada was a term for the Buddha in his many lives up to the moment of his enlightenment. In Mahayana, the bodhisattva is a being who has achieved enlightenment, but who, out of compassion, will not enter nirvana until every last living creature has been brought along the path to enlightenment. Thus devotion to the Buddha or bodhisattva, and compassion for others became an important aspect of this tradition in addition to the study of the Buddha's word. These acts of devotion became formulated into rituals and the concept of the Buddha and bodhisattva gradually evolved into a pantheon embracing numerous kinds of Buddha (e.g. The Seven Buddhas of the Past, The Future Buddha, The Buddha of the Western Paradise, etc.) as well as a veritable army of bodhisattva. Images of these entities became the primary focus of popular devotion. This is the Buddhist tradition that was so successfully transmitted along the ancient Silk Roads from India to China in the first millennium AD and can still be found in China, Korea and Japan.

Around the 5th century AD, Buddhist *tantra* texts evolved the concept that the Buddha nature was, in fact, present in all human beings. This meant that the path to enlightenment, which in Hinayana and Mahayana might take an untold

number of lifetimes of Buddhist practice, might be travelled in a single lifetime if one could only make contact with one's Buddha nature. To achieve this the practitioner must combine compassion (*upaya*) with wisdom (*prajna*) through the performance of numerous complex rituals and meditation practices. In many of these rituals feature two objects which embody wisdom and compassion: respectively the *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and the *ghanta* (bell). The *tantra* texts describe a vast array of ritual practices, but many of them can only be made clear to the practitioner through their interpretation or explication by a guru. While the teacher/disciple relationship has been a part of Buddhism since the Buddha's first sermon in the deer park at Sarnath, in Vajrayana it ultimately became of prime importance, and particularly as it evolved within a Tibetan context.

Vajrayana embraced an even more varied pantheon of Buddhist entities, and *tantra* texts such as the 11th/12th century *Nispanmayogavali* and *Sadhanamala* listed them in detail, including their purpose and place within the Buddhist universe as described by the different mandala, in addition to their identifying iconography. Thus, in addition to the initial Historical Buddha (Plates 1–3) and the Medicine Buddha (Plate 5) of the earlier traditions, the concept of Buddhahood became a cosmic one with the Five Transcendental Buddhas: Vairochana, Ratnasambhava (Plate 8a), Akshobhya (Plate 8b), Amitabha (Plate 7) and Amoghasiddhi. Vairochana represents the universal centre while the other four are the Buddhas of the four main cardinal directions. From this developed the idea of another Buddha who resides over and above Vairochana. This Adi- or Primordial Buddha is known in several manifestations, including Vajrasattva, Vajradhara and Samantabhadra. The first two significantly hold the attributes of the *ghanta* and *vajra*.

Among the bodhisattva, Avalokiteshvara as the original bodhisattva of compassion (plates 10 and 11), retains pride of place, as does Manjushri, the bodhisattva of wisdom (Plate 12). However, new groupings such as the eight *Mahabodhisattva* ('Great Bodhisattva') appeared, and most spectacularly female emanations of Buddhas and bodhisattva such as Tara. The female counterpart of Avalokiteshvara, Tara appears in various forms (Plates 13 and 15) and is considered to ward off evil and danger. Another such entity is Ushnishavijaya (Plate 14), the female manifestation of Vairochana, and provider of a long life and wisdom.

Another class of Buddhist entity developed by Vajrayana was the guardian or tutelary deity. Both types are frequently represented in wrathful aspect as if about to commit great violence. This type of deity frequently is also drawn from India's Brahmanic beliefs, and in the instance of Tibet, several native deities have also been added to the group. Simplistically speaking these pre-Buddhist deities heard the word of the Buddha and realised the wisdom of Buddhist law (*dharma*). As guardians, they protect the *dharma*, and as *yidam* (tutelary deities) they, together with the guru, help guide the practitioner through the many dangers of the short path to enlightenment.

It is clear that this intense, esoteric journey to enlightenment is only suitable for true adepts. Great figures of Tibetan Buddhism such as Padmasambhava (Plate 16), the founder of the Kagyu lineage Marpa (Plate 19a), the great Indian pandit Atisha (Plate 22), and the founder of the Geluk order, Tsongkhapa (Plate 26) are all supposed to have achieved enlightenment in a single lifetime. Others such as the incarnate lamas, hold back, like the bodhisattva, in order that they might guide others on the path to enlightenment. However, the preparation to take the short path is for most a long practice that spans more than one lifetime. For this reason, the teaching lineage and its community of disciples became the

primary vehicle in training those towards the taking of the path, as well as to initiate the select few that were ready to take it.

Just as all forms of Buddhism ultimately centre on the words of the Historical Buddha, so all the lineages in Tibet, no matter their other differences, were devoted to the Three Principles of Buddhism: the Buddha, his Teachings and the Community. The second principle – the Teachings – were gathered into the direct teachings of the Buddha contained in the *Kanjur*, and the commentaries on those teachings contained in the *Tanjur*. Elements within the *Tanjur* could differ considerably from lineage to lineage. As the latter were often connected to a specific monastery, these clerical seats played a more profound role in the Tibetan version of Vajrayana Buddhism than in India. Indeed, one of the early Western terms for Buddhism in Tibet was Lamaism.²⁰ Another departure from the original form in India was the system of incarnate lamas. Initiated by the Karmapa in the 13th century, by the 16th century incarnate lamas headed most of the important monasteries. The most famous instance is that of the Dalai Lamas of the Geluk order.

It is possible amongst the vast corpus of Tibetan painting to begin to discern those paintings that were painted for a specific tradition. Lineage portraits, where the figures can be identified, can be firmly associated with an order, but it is sometimes possible as well to identify icons of deities that are specific to an order or one of its branches.

Although the Nyingma are one of the smaller Buddhist orders in Tibet, the Jucker Collection possesses many rare and unusual examples from its painting tradition. The Nyingma are particularly well-known for their *thangkas* depicting the so-called Bardo, the period between death and re-birth expounded in Padmasambhava's *Bardo Thodol* (*Tibetan Book of the Dead*). These scrolls depict the various deities the deceased meets in the 49-day journey between death and rebirth (Plates 50–54). Other deities commonly found on Nyingma imagery are Hayagriva with his horse-head (Plate 38), Vajrakila (Plate 47), Heruka Yontenlatshog (plate 54) and the bodhisattva Vajrapani in his wrathful manifestation as a *krodha* guardian (Plate 55). Another often encountered deity is Mahakala (Plate 56), although forms of this guardian deity are also popular with the other orders. Also common are images of Padmasambhava (Plate 16) in addition to depictions of his fierce emanations, such as Guru Drakmar (Plate 46) and Guru Drakpoche (Plate 45). Other images of Nyingma masters are also known (Plate 17), although identification cannot not always go beyond their association with the order.

In the case of the Kadam order, the Jucker Collection has one image featuring the order's founder, Dromton (1008–1064) and his teacher Atisha (958–1054) together with Buddha Shakyamuni and the bodhisattva Manjushri (Plate 22). Images from the Sakya order also include lineage paintings, but thanks to this tradition's passion for the *Hevajra Tantra*, numerous icons were made for their followers depicting deities from this text, including the *vidam* Hevajra (Plate 41) and Chakrasamvara (Plate 62) and the wrathful Raktayamari (Plate 39), the red manifestation of the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Yamantaka. Another *dharmapala*, Mahakala, was especially worshipped by the Sakya in his manifestations Panjaramahakala (Plate 56) and Kakamukhamahakala (Plate 57). Amongst the Kagyu can be found icons of Buddhas, bodhisattva, arhats and Kagyu masters, in addition to images of Indian *mahasiddhas* (Plate 20).

Many of the icons of the Geluk order are devoted to Tsongkhapa (Plate 26), the lineages of the Dalai Lama (Plate 28) and the Panchen Lama (Plate 27). Their followers also have many *vidam* to meditate upon. A few are represented

in the Jucker Collection, namely Guhyasamaja (Plate 43) and Samvara (Plate 64). *Dharmapala* were also very popular and are well represented in this collection, Shri Devi (Plate 32), Seikhrabtsan (Plate 33) – a manifestation of Tsangpa Karpo (White Brahma), Begtse (Plate 34), Yama (Plate 35) and certain forms of Mahakala, like Caturbhujamahakala (Plate 40). There is also the *lokapala* (guardian king) of the north, Vaishravana, to whom one magnificent painting is devoted in his role as the god of wealth (Plate 36).

Although for the majority of Tibet's history its society has been predominantly Buddhist, before the Indian religion's introduction in the 7th century the Tibetans already had a highly developed belief system. It is from this pre-Buddhist religion that the followers of Bon, or Bonpo, consider themselves to have developed, and the Jucker Collection has amassed several examples of their painted icons. Although Bon since the imperial period has never been in the majority on the plateau, its practitioners have always formed a significant minority and several Western scholars have made studies of them, most recently Dr Per Kværne in his groundbreaking *The Bon Religion of Tibet*.²¹

Although often in the Western understanding Bon embraces all non-Buddhist beliefs to be found in Tibet – such as divination and the cults of local deities, neither the Bonpo nor Tibetan Buddhists consider these to be part of the Bon religion.²² These represent instead the remnants of an indigenous shamanism and even animism prevalent before the arrival of Bon and Buddhism. The Bonpo maintain that Bon came to Tibet from the kingdom of Zhangzhung many centuries before the arrival of Buddhism. Zhangzhung, the location of which is generally agreed to have been centred on Mt Kailash in what became West Tibet, was absorbed by the Tibetan empire in the 7th century. Before that it was an independant kingdom with a Tibeto-Burmese language closely linked – judging from the remnants to be found in Bon literature – to those of Himachal Pradesh, Eastern Bhutan and Sichuan province in China, but quite distinct from the Tibetan of the plateau. According to Bon literature, Zhangzhung itself was only the secondary homeland of Bon; it first arose in a land much further to the west referred to in Tibetan as Tazik. Although the name is certainly suggestive of the Tajiks of western Central Asia, it has so far not been possible to establish this connection with any confidence.

The nature of the pre-Buddhist religion from which the later practice of Bon is held to be derived can only partly be reconstructed from ancient documents and later histories. It was without a doubt centred on a cult of the king, who was identified with and protected by a guardian deity (*kula*). The deity was in fact the spirit of a sacred mountain, and was worshipped by the nation to ensure its welfare.²³ The king descended from the mountain to reign until his death. After being buried in his tomb he was reunited again with his *kula*. Priests referred to as *bonpo* performed specific and elaborate funerary rituals in order to ensure that the soul of the king would enter this paradise. The evidence suggests that this cult of the king persisted throughout the period of empire, even after the introduction of Buddhism to the court.

Whether the Bon religion of the time of the Second Diffusion of Buddhism in the 10th and 11th centuries grew out of this Tibetan imperial cult is a point of much debate. Even more contentious is its relationship with Buddhism. As both share many similar elements, including doctrines and practices, it has often been suggested by Western scholars that perhaps Bon is no more than an unorthodox form of Buddhism.²⁴ Both Bonpo and Tibetan Buddhists have always rejected such a theory. The Bonpo have always maintained their earlier genesis, and often

refute some Tibetan Buddhist claims that much of their religion and structure has been ransacked from the Buddhists. Indeed they maintain that the early Tibetan Buddhist community actually borrowed from them and these claims have since received a certain amount of substantiation.²⁵ What is clear is that the development of both Buddhism and Bon in the mediaeval period is much more complex and interrelated than has been previously understood in the West, and certainly more than either religion has often been willing to admit.

There are so many similarities between Buddhism and Bon, that the earlier Western conception of the religion can be forgiven. Bon, although limited to Tibetan communities, is like Buddhism a universal religion suitable for the entirety of humanity. Their pantheon is made up of 'Enlightened Ones' or Buddhas, and there are also deities who are parallel in their purpose to bodhisattva, tutelary and guardian deities, *mahasiddha* and *dakini* ('genius' spirits). Like Buddha Shakyamuni, Bon's 'enlightened one' of the present era was the prince of the royal family of Tazik. Known as Tonpa Shenrab, he is depicted in Plate 70 in a wrathful manifestation as Nampar Gyalwa ('Fully Victorious One'), the invincible subduer of demons. The subduing of demons is often also taken up by the vast array of tutelary and wrathful deities to be found in Bon; apart from their names often little difference can be found between them and their Buddhist counterparts.²⁶ Similarly, in Bon ritual there can often be little difference with that of the Buddhists. One example is that while Tibetan Buddhist ritual movement is in a clockwise direction, Bon ritual movement is in a counter-clockwise direction. Another instance can be found in the principal mantras of both: in Buddhism it is '*om mani padme hum*', in Bon it is '*om matri muye sale du*'.²⁷

The Bons have a large corpus of literature which is derived ultimately from Tonpa Shenrab's sayings. All texts were assembled in a canon around 1450 and called the *Kanjur*, like its Buddhist counterpart.²⁸ Comments and ritual texts were classified in the *Tanjur*, just as they are in the Buddhist Tripitaka. Next to these compilations, the Bon also have historical writings which can often give a completely different perspective to those written by Buddhist historians. One obvious instance is the introduction of Buddhism, which the Bon see as the cause for all of Tibet's disasters, as opposed to the Buddhists who see it as the country's salvation. As suggested by the close links in their development, however, the Bon and Buddhist communities have not always been on opposite sides of the fence. There is one tradition that maintains that the founders of both religions were in fact royal cousins.²⁹

The principal Bon monasteries and temples have since the 11th century been centred in East Tibet, although the Dolpo area of northern Nepal also has a substantial Bon community. However their most famous monastery, Menri (founded 1405), is situated in Central Tibet.³⁰ Since 1959, many Bonpo have resettled in northern India where in 1968 they established a new monastery which continues to cultivate traditional scholarship, rituals and sacred dances.³¹ The religion has also witnessed something of a revival in its traditional heartland of East Tibet.

There is still much that is not understood about the Bon religion, and the vast majority of its texts remain unexplored by Western scholars. What the few Bon paintings in the Jucker Collection demonstrate, however, is the strangely distorted mirror-images of each other that the Bon and Buddhist traditions present in Tibet.

STYLISTIC OVERVIEW

The Tibetan name for a painting is *thangka* and means a scroll that can be rolled up and is painted, embroidered or made of patchwork. The selected examples here are only those from the painted tradition and are all executed on cotton, linen or, more seldom, silk (Plates 15 and 54). The two exceptions in the present collection are a wooden panel (Plate 35) and a small work on paper (Plate 69), which in consequence are not considered *thangka*.

The most common form taken by a *thangka* is a vertical rectangular shape first framed by textile borders (usually yellow and red in colour) and often subsequently mounted on Chinese brocade. It would be no exaggeration to say that a great deal of what we know of ancient Chinese textiles comes from the vast stores of the material once hoarded by Tibet's monasteries. Often these Chinese textiles came as part of the gift giving which formed part of the *yoncho* ('patron and priest') relationship that existed between emperors of China's Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties and the different Tibetan orders. One example in the Jucker Collection (Plate 26) has an extremely fine mounting made in the Chinese *kesi* (tapestry) technique. The bottom of the mounting is usually wider than the top, and in addition has a 'door' made of a piece of patchwork which symbolises the entrance to the sacred realm of the depicted deity. A textile cover for the painting with a pair of red bands and wooden sticks complete the *thangka*.

Fine examples of Tibetan painting have detailed compositions executed with a degree of realism in brilliant, lustrous and natural pigment. Not infrequently the background is of a single base colour. Those with a black ground are known as *nakthang*, and primarily depict guardian and tutelary deities – not infrequently in their wrathful aspects, as well as being used for representations of the divinities of the Bardo (Plates 55–61). Within a temple context, this type of painting would be found in the *gomkhang* (chapel of wrathful deities). Experts were once of the opinion that the origin of this type of *thangka* could be traced back only to the 18th century. However assessments based on the extensive material that has come out of Tibet in recent decades indicates that this style of background dates back at least to the 16th century, as demonstrated by one example in the Jucker Collection that probably dates to the late 16th century (Plate 55). Those *thangka* with a red back ground are known as *tsalthang*, and are the most common variety. They can take as their subject either icons, mandala or even narrative subjects, either of Buddhas, bodhisattva or guardian and tutelary deities. A superb example in the collection is an image of Buddha Shakyamuni outlined in gold against the background consisting of layers of cinnabar-red pigment (Plate 2). The third technique is known as *serthang*, where the background is painted with 'cold gold' and subsequently rubbed to create a shining surface. A rare and very fine example is the seated lama, outlined in red, against the gold ground (Plate 24).

Generally, each painted image is considered as a support for meditation, and its creation brings merit not only to the patron and artist, but to all human beings. These painted scrolls were often commissioned for more specific reasons, not infrequently as a visual supplication to a deity. An image of the Medicine Buddha, Bhaisajyaguru (Plate 5) is a prayer for good health, while that of the *lokapala* Vaishravana (Plate 36) could be one for wealth, and image of Ushnishavijaya (Plate 14) a wish for long life. Considering the highly monasticised society that developed in Tibet from the Second Diffusion onwards, it is not surprising that many of those who commissioned paintings came from the

Buddhist clergy. However, the artists who executed the commissions are generally believed to have been laymen. Nevertheless, part of a monk's training was in creating images, and therefore scrolls painted by monks do exist. One could even assert that as the commissioner often set the subject and even the specifics of the iconography (based on their reading of the texts), that many of those works actually executed by lay artists are in large part the co-creation of the clerical patron. Once completed, the monk, priest or lama consecrates the image through mantras written on their reverse, and often accompanied by quotations from the *Kanjur* written in Tibetan script, although in a language of the subcontinent. Sometimes red imprints of the hands and/or feet of important teachers are visible on the reverse, increasing its religious potency (see Plate 16). The front of the image may also have a dedicatory inscription listing the reason why the image was painted as well as naming the commissioner. Less frequently is a date of execution given and almost never is the artist mentioned. The execution of a painting was considered an act of divine creation with the artist, like his brush, merely the instrument.

However, historical texts and artistic manuals do provide considerable lists of artists' names. David Jackson in his recent history of Tibetan painting provides the names of many of them who lived from the mid-15th century onwards.³² Nevertheless the pairing of these names with actual images is as yet a near impossible task. To further complicate matters, the artists do not only originate from Tibet, but also from India, Nepal, Central Asia and China. Most frequently they are Newar from the Kathmandu Valley, who were especially active in the southern region of Tsang working for the many Sakya foundations there. Large numbers of them were active in Tibet at least until circa 1440, when the extensive programme of murals of the Sakya Ngor monastery were completed. Their style of painting is quite distinctive and is exemplified by the mandala of Plate 62.

Little is known of the background of the native Tibetan artist, except that, like the Newar, he worked in guilds but was itinerant. Like their paintings, the artists were immanently portable. Such an environment meant that a vibrant culture of constant assimilation, adoption and adaptation of new ideas and styles existed. The constant interchange finally resulted in the first recorded Tibetan painting schools in and around the mid-15th century. In general, it seems possible to detect two broad developments in the Tibetan painting tradition. The first is mainly based on Indo-Newar sources and runs roughly till the mid-15th century. The second follows thereupon and incorporates primarily Chinese elements. Therefore, an icon's only more or less constant factor over time is its iconography. The key to a good painting is the strict adherence to a rigid iconography without the loss of a spontaneous feel to its depiction, particularly in the freer elements of the composition such as the jewellery, clothing and landscape. It is usually these last three elements of the painting that can give some clue to the region, prevalent aesthetics, time and environment in which the work was created.

Scholars like Marilyn Rhie and Robert Thurman, in their monumental work on the Rubin Collection, have tried to address examples to known painting schools. However, with our present level of knowledge it does not as yet seem possible to confidently attach a certain style to a specific religious order, especially before the 16th century, although it is clear that certain religious orders did favour particular styles. The most that will be ventured regarding the paintings in the Jucker Collection, therefore, will be to suggest that a *thangka* possibly belongs to a certain region of the Tibetan sphere. In general, the paintings in the Jucker Collection probably originate from the central (including southern) and

to a lesser extent eastern regions of Tibet. Only a few notable exceptions were made in West Tibet (Plates 1 and 15) and perhaps Bhutan (12, 46, 49 and 57). One must stress, however, that given the itinerant nature of the artist, even these regional attributions are highly contentious. Especially attributions to the eastern regions based on a strong Chinese influence could as easily have been executed in the more central regions of Tibet where in later centuries these influences were also prevalent.

The following is a highly tentative overview of the development of Tibet's various (regional) styles and major painting schools, the latter mainly based on David Jackson's analysis of traditional textual sources. No *thangkas* from the imperial period are known to survive, and although a handful of material does exist from the period and is well covered in recent publications by Amy Heller¹¹ (general) and Rhie and Thurman¹⁴ (murals and illuminated manuscripts). With the Second Diffusion and introduction of widespread monasticism, the various Buddhist institutions became in addition thriving artistic centres. Our knowledge of the painting tradition of this early phase is still in its infancy. Extant scrolls and murals, however, do exhibit marked differences on a regional basis. For example, the art of West Tibet in the 10th and 11th centuries had as its primary inspiration the art of the Kashmir valley, while Central Tibet shows more the Pala aesthetics of north-eastern India. Another source for Central Tibetan examples is the Pala-inspired Central Asian style of the former Xixia kingdom. Examples of painted mural from East Tibet may perhaps yet be discovered.

Although very few *thangkas* from the western regions of Tibet are known to exist, several illuminated manuscript pages and murals at monasteries like Tabo and Tholing have survived. In Central Tibet, 10th and 11th century survivals are more numerous, with the murals of monasteries such as Shalu, Drathang and several others being documented by Giuseppe Tucci in the 1930s. Unfortunately few of these survived the destruction of the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966–76). In the past twenty years, many early Central Tibetan paintings have come to enrich museum and private collections in the West. The Jucker Collection has two such examples (Plates 7 and 21), although acquired much earlier in the 1960s in India. Especially the painting discussed by Eva Allinger (Plate 21) can be regarded as one of the masterpieces of early Tibetan painting. The image of a lama seated on a simple throne within a cave of stylised rocks is articulated by a palette of diffused colours which contrasts with the later, more brilliantly painted examples of the 13th century, such as the Transcendental Buddhas of Plate 8.

The lustrous and brilliant Newar-inspired colour scheme of these two paintings, as well as the minutely realised details of tiny scattered flowers, jewellery and architectural elements are indeed classic examples of the kind of painting style prevalent during the 13th and 14th centuries, when Tibet's governance was shifting from a secular to a religious base. While there is a growing delineation of images on the basis of the order with which their commissioner was associated, as yet it is not possible to identify the development of a certain painting tradition with one of these upcoming orders. The general tendency in the painting tradition during those centuries is the stronger accentuation of certain sources, mainly Newar with the disappearance of Pala India. The first Chinese elements also make an appearance.

With the 15th century comes the emergence of a mature Tibetan style out of the Pala, Indian, Kashmir, Newar and Central Asian styles that had so heavily influenced painting on the plateau during the first centuries of the Second Diffusion. The murals of the Gyantse stupa finished around the mid-15th century

can be regarded as its starting point. A fine painted portable example from the Jucker Collection of this style can be found in Plate 22. Dateable to the mid 15th century, it depicts Atisha and his disciple Dromton. Out of this period also emerges the first major Tibetan painting school. The Menri style was founded by the painter Menla Dondrup (c. 1425–1505), and places an emphasis on Chinese landscape in the background details.³⁵ One of his colleagues, Khyentse Wangchuk (1420–1500), further incorporated Chinese pictorial motifs in his paintings, which lay particular stress on the depiction of tantric deities.³⁶ One example in the collection (Plate 43) compares favourably with the published examples attributed to this artist,³⁷ although it would be rash to try to redate the late 17th century Jucker painting to the time period of the artist. However, as the Khyenri style remained popular until the end of the 18th century, Plate 43 perhaps could be said to follow in his tradition.

With the emergence of the Geluk order as the predominant power in Tibet, there is evidence of a cultural renaissance in the western regions from the 2nd half of the 15th century which continued well into the 16th. Plate 15, discussing nine paintings from a Tara series, reveals the style of this flowering clearly with its delicate lines and subtle colour scheme. From the 16th to the beginning of the 17th century several new styles emerge in Central Tibet. The first looked back to Indian and Newar sources and was especially popular with the Sakya order. An example in the Jucker Collection depicting four lamas, each seated on a Newar-inspired throne, has additionally a very Newar colour scheme of red and blue (Plate 25). The quadruple portrait of Plate 29 illustrates the second style where figures clad in Chinese, loose-draped robes inhabit a naturalistic landscape. A third style seems to be the asymmetrical organisation of figures that also appear to be floating in space, as demonstrated by an image of Vaishravana (Plate 36) and the lama outlined in red against the gold ground (Plate 24).

Although the Jucker Collection contains no example, the 2nd half of the 16th century also saw the emergence of a specific style in East Tibet, and primarily associated with the Karmapa order – the so-called Karma Gardri style of the artist Namkha.³⁸ Once again the emphasis is on Chinese elements, in this case blue and green landscapes accentuated by a soft shading. This style is perhaps most famous, however, for an adoption from Ming dynasty (1368–1644) painting of the translucent aureole and halo for depictions of arhats, *mahasiddha* and of figures in the *jataka* tales.

From the middle of the 17th century, under the patronage of the 5th Dalai Lama, all the arts flourished, and especially painting. In particular, there was a revival of the Menri school by Choying Gyatso (c. 1615–1685) and his followers.³⁹ This New Menri style delineated a stylised realism using rich and thick colours, and paying particular attention to details such as individual leaves and petals. Instead of the subsidiary figures being placed in columns or boxes around the principal subject, they were arranged in a cluster around the icon, all of which was integrated into a profoundly Chinese landscape. The Khyenri style also experienced a revival, particularly for the depiction of wrathful manifestations against black backgrounds, and perhaps represented by the Mahakala on silk in Plate 56. The painting styles of West and East Tibet did not alter considerably during this period, although the eastern Karma Gadri style did show an even greater tendency to integrate its figures into a Chinese landscape.

However, the greater political unity of Tibet created by the 5th Dalai Lama ultimately resulted in less distinctive regional styles during the 18th and 19th centuries. The majority of paintings in Central and West Tibet were apparently

based on the New Menri style, with their compositions merely becoming more crowded and complex, a phenomenon perhaps illustrated by Plate 48. Images of Buddhas and lamas in their 'Paradises' became increasingly popular, executed within detailed palaces, pavilions and surrounded by a multiplicity of deities (Plate 26). In order to facilitate mass production of icons for the many Tibetan and Mongolian followers of the Geluk order, the use of xylographs or block-printed images on *thangkas* also became popular for series of Dalai and Panchen lamas (Plates 27 and 28). As frequently seems to happen to an art form when subjected to mechanisation, the painting of Central and West Tibet during the later 19th and early 20th centuries became increasingly stylised and unrefined (Plates 38 and 35).

Happily such mass production did not triumph over all areas of Tibet. The Kham region of East Tibet has always maintained its own stance in the face of both Geluk art and spirituality. In the 18th century emerged a style created by one of the Situ Panchen, Chökyi Jungne (1700–1774), an incarnate lama of the Karmapa Kagyu. Several series were designed by him, especially a well-known set of twenty-one illustrating the *Avadanakalpalata* (Tales of the 108 Deeds) of Buddha Shakyamuni based on the *jataka* tales, and which has been studied at length by David Jackson.⁴⁰ The Jucker Collection contains twelve paintings from this series, being the largest selection known in the West (Plate 4). Perhaps most importantly, during the 18th and 19th centuries a resurgence of the Nyingma order in eastern Tibet enhanced the demand for many locally painted *thangkas*. Several examples in this collection can be assigned to this order and seem to have been executed in these eastern regions (Plates 16, 19, 65 and 66).

The *thangkas* from the Jucker Collection in the catalogue that follows date from the late 12th to the early 20th century and fascinate due to their often rare and unusual iconography or simply by their aesthetic appeal.

Hugo E. Kreijger and Donald Dinwiddie

NOTES

- 1 Beckwith, 1987, p. 146
- 2 Beckwith, 1980, p. 34
- 3 Shakabpa, 1988, p. 52
- 4 Shakabpa, 1988, p. 54
- 5 Stoddard, 1996, pp. 29–30
- 6 Vitali, 1990, p. 62, note 1, where he gives a detailed account of the possible dates of the introduction of Buddhism in Central Tibet.
- 7 Petech, 1990, pp. 8–9
- 8 Heller, in Reynolds, 1999, p. 27
- 9 Snellgrove and Richardson, 1980, p. 149
- 10 Snellgrove and Richardson, 1980, p. 153
- 11 Kreijger, 1999, p. 18
- 12 Snellgrove and Richardson, 1980, pp. 184 and 193
- 13 Rhie and Thurman, 1991, p. 30
- 14 Shakabpa, 1988, p. 129
- 15 Heller, in Reynolds, 1999, p. 30
- 16 Snellgrove and Richardson, 1980, p. 226
- 17 Kreijger, 1999, p. 15
- 18 Rhie and Thurman, 1991, p. 31
- 19 Heller, in Reynolds, 1999, p. 33
- 20 Tucci, 1949, p. 209
- 21 Serindia Publications, London, 1995.
- 22 Kværne, 1995, 10
- 23 Heller, in Reynolds, 1999, p. 37
- 24 Kværne, 1995, p. 10
- 25 Kværne, 1995, p. 19
- 26 See Plate 71
- 27 See Plate 72
- 28 Kværne, 1995, p. 21
- 29 Kværne, 1995, p. 22
- 30 Kværne, 1995, p. 17
- 31 Kværne, 1995, p. 22
- 32 Jackson, 1996
- 33 Heller, 1999, pp. 33–52
- 34 Rhie and Thurman, 1999, pp. 45–46
- 35 Jackson, 1996, p. 104
- 36 Jackson, 1996, p. 142
- 37 Jackson, 1996, pls. 25 and 26.
- 38 Jackson, 1996, p. 169
- 39 Rhie and Thurman, 1999, p. 67
- 40 Jackson, in Rhie and Thurman, pp. 112–

Buddha Shakyamuni

West Tibet, Guge region

Late 15th century

Distemper on cloth

60.5 × 48.5 cm

At the centre of this painting is the image of Buddha Shakyamuni seated majestically in *vajrasana* (meditation posture) on a dais supported by a lotus. Dressed in the patchwork robe of a mendicant ascetic, his right hand is in the *bhumisparshamudra* (earth-touching gesture), while his left cradles an alms bowl in the lap. Although he has a meditative expression, his gaze catches the viewer's eye. He is flanked by a pair of bodhisattva clad in dhotis. Maitreya, on his right, holds a lotus supporting a *kalasha* vase, while on his left Manjushri, the bodhisattva of wisdom, is depicted with his standard attribute, the sword.

Framing this scene is a pair of columns supporting a pair of half woman/half bird *kinnari* whose foliate tails scroll upwards to the *kirttimukha* ('face of glory'). The latter holds snake-like tails in his mouth and hands, which could be those of the *naga* standard to his iconography, or – very unusually – they could be the ends of the *kinnari* tails. On either side sit two lamas, each holding a lotus stem in each hand. The one on the left supports on his lotuses a sword and manuscript, while the one on the right supports the *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *ghanta* (bell). Beyond them in the upper corners of the painting are the seated Guhyasamaja-akshobhya to the left and the standing Chakrasamvara to the right; both *yidam* (tutelary deities) embrace their consorts.

Below the central group are the sixteen Indian disciples of the Buddha, who together with two additional figures of Chinese origin, form the group of eighteen arhats. Each is seated in meditation posture on a lotus against a flaming aureole, and can be identified by their attributes and hand gestures. Beginning with the top row

they are, from left to right: Angaja, Ajita, Vanavasin, Kalika, Kanaka Bharadvaja, Rahula and Bakula (top row), Cudapanthaka, Kanakavatsa, Gopaka, Bhadrputra, Pindola Bharadvaja, Panthaka and Nagasena (middle row), Dharmatala, Bhadra, Abheda and Hvashang (bottom row).¹ Against a rudimentary architectural setting in the lower left corner sit two donors by offerings and ritual objects. In his role as the guardian of the Buddha, the bodhisattva Vajrapani stands in the lower right corner holding in his raised right hand the *vajra* and in his downward stretched left hand the *pasha* (noose).

The palette plays with contrasts of red and green. The Buddha wears a red robe with a green border and red and green are the alternating colours of the bodhisattva's dhotis. Similarly the backgrounds of the aureoles are all red, while the haloes are green. The dhotis, lotus petals, Buddha's aureole and halo are all worked in fine scrolling floral arabesques which echo those of the *kinnari* tails.

This painting is similar to a Shakyamuni Buddha flanked by two bodhisattva and accompanied by images of the sixteen arhats.² Now in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, the painting was originally acquired by Giuseppe Tucci in West Tibet. Tucci believed the painting to be a product of the renaissance in art that occurred in the Guge region of West Tibet from the mid 15th to mid 17th century, and the painting has been dated to the second half of the 15th century. The Jucker painting has the same quality of line and floral decoration as the Virginia example, and therefore is a West Tibetan product. However, its less elegant modelling of the figures would suggest a date late in the 15th or even early in the 16th century.



Buddha Shakyamuni

Central Tibet

Circa 1700

Distemper and gold on cloth

78 × 55 cm

This superb *tsalthang* (red ground painting) is finely painted in gold in a complex composition with a serene Buddha Shakyamuni at its centre seated in *vajrasana* (meditation posture) with his right hand in the *bhumisparshamudra* (earth-touching gesture). His patchwork robe is delicately worked in floral roundel patterns and he is seated on a lotus and framed by a halo and aureole of foliate flames. Behind is an elaborately realised throne back comprising at its base a flanking pair of elephants supporting a pair of lions who in turn support a pair of the rearing half lion/half goat *vyala*. The latter are being ridden by two youths of a highly sinicised aspect. Above this ensemble can be barely perceived the beam-ends of the throne back supporting the faces of two leonine *makara* with elephant-like snouts. Their scaly bodies stretch behind them up to a *khyung*-bird representing Garuda, and therefore flanked by a pair of the latter's traditional quarry – the *naga* (serpents) – in anthropomorphic form.

To the immediate right and left of Buddha Shakyamuni are his pupils Maudgalyayana with an alms bowl and Sariputra with a mendicant's staff. Above and below these two figures are larger images of seated arhats. In the upper left is Angaja with his attributes of an incense burner and fly whisk and in the upper right Bakula with his mongoose spewing jewels to eliminate human poverty. In the lower left corner is Ajita meditating in a cave while opposite Rahula holds in his hands the diadem given him in

gratitude by the children of the gods for teaching them the *Dharma* (Buddhist Law).³

Immediately above Buddha Shakyamuni is an image of the founder of the Geluk order, Tsongkhapa (1357–1419) – directly associating this icon of the Historical Buddha with that order. Flanking him are two groups of the divine *apsara* perched on clouds strewing flowers and holding umbrellas and banners. Directly below the Buddha is an image of the wrathful guardian Vajrapani holding in his raised right hand the *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and with the left indicating the *tarjanimudra* (gesture of pointing out error).

The sinicised clouds and rocks as well as the faces of many of the subsidiary figures, especially the arhats and the youths riding the *vyala*, suggests the work of an East Tibetan artist. Nevertheless, their relatively mild degree of sinicisation – particularly of the Buddha's face – just as possibly indicates the work of an artist in Central Tibet, where such features can also be found from the 17th century onwards. Taking the quality of its fine-line drawing in gold into consideration, and comparing it with the Bhaiṣajyaguru painting in Plate 5, a proposed late 17th or maybe early 18th century date seems justified. The quality of this red ground painting is very similar to that of a portrait of a Nyingma lama in the Ford Collection and which Rhie and Thurman date to this same period.⁴



Buddha Shakyamuni

East Tibet

Early 18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

80 × 57 cm

The setting of this scroll is a fantastic Chinese-style landscape of green mountains and clouds. In the foreground, Buddha Shakyamuni sits on a lion throne supporting a lotus, his right hand in *bhumisparshamudra* (earth-touching gesture). His red patchwork robe is richly decorated with golden phoenix while his orange under-garment is worked with a design of golden peonies. The traditional throne back has disappeared, and the flaming aureole has been replaced by a large, circular, transparent emanation with a thin line of red and gold defining its outer perimeter.

In front and to either side of his throne are groupings of small figures. Most of them are of a highly sinicised caste and are in attitudes of adoration or of presenting offerings. The grouping in front of the throne to the left could illustrate the story of the brothers Trapusha and Bhallika. On a trading trip, these two merchants passed by the site where Shakyamuni was meditating before his enlightenment. They were alerted to his presence by a forest goddess and approached the future Buddha with offerings. However, they suddenly realised that they could not make their offerings with bare hands, remembering that the Buddhas of the Past always received their alms in a bowl. In the meantime the four *lokapala* (guardian kings) appeared and made offerings to Shakyamuni in a golden bowl. As the Buddha could not accept such a

precious bowl, the *lokapala* then offered him a stone one, which is perhaps the instant of the story depicted here. In the lower right corner of the painting is a group of monks debating while seated on a large Chinese-style bench. Just to the left of them a woman and child with their back to the viewer crane their necks up at the splendid apparition of the Buddha, while a peacock spreads his tail, sumptuously detailed in gold and blue.

Behind the Buddha, rising on an inverted triangle of rock from a sea of frothing waves, is a vision of a Chinese-style pavilion amidst a walled garden. The figures depicted in the garden are too indistinct to be identified with certainty, but the whole scene could depict Abhirathi, the paradise of the Buddha Akshobhya, one of the five Transcendental Buddhas. Apparently emanating from this paradise is another inverted triangle of light blue, which neatly divides the sky into three sections.

Based on its strong Chinese influences, it seems likely that this painting is a product of an artist or atelier in East Tibet. A comparable stylistic example was recently published by Rhie and Thurman from the Rubin Collection, New York.⁵ This painting was dated to the second half of the 17th century, and the Jucker painting would appear therefore to be more the work of the very end of that century or more probably the beginning of the 18th century.



Scenes of the Avadanakalpalata

East Tibet, Kham region

Late 18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

76 × 56 cm (approximate)

These thirteen paintings are what remains of a series of twenty-one illustrating the Avadanakalpalata (108 Deeds) of Buddha Shakyamuni during the lives leading to his enlightenment. In addition to the central icon of Shakyamuni and twelve paintings of miniature scenes of the deeds enacted in Chinese-style landscapes, the missing eight paintings would have included images of the bodhisattva Manjushri and Sita (White) Tara as well as one of the Situ Panchen, Chökyi Jungne (1700–1774), an incarnate lama of the Karmapa Kagyu order in Kham, East Tibet who designed the composition of such series. The present group is, as far as this author is aware, the most complete set in the West. The Rubin Collection in New York has ten paintings from the Avadanakalpalata series, all of them depicting scenes of the deeds and believed to be from one set.⁶

The 108 deeds are derived from the *jataka* stories relating the lives that Shakyamuni passed through on his way to enlightenment. Each of the deeds represents some act of self sacrifice that helped the future Buddha along the path to enlightenment. In 1052 they were composed by the Kashmiri poet Kshemendra into the long poem *Bodhisattva Avadanakalpalata*. The poem subsequently in the 17th century attracted a great deal of attention in Tibet and soon became a popular subject of painting.⁷

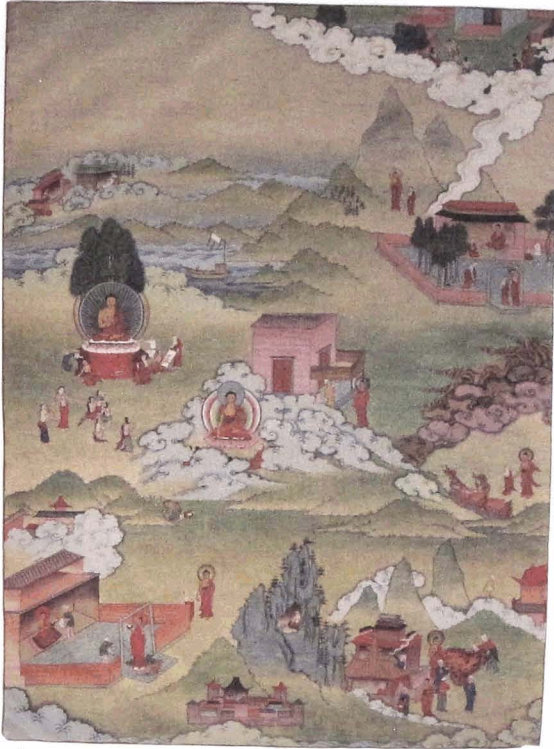
A complete series of paintings was designed by Situ Panchen in the mid 18th century, and many sets of copies have been made of those designs. According to David Jackson's excellent research on the subject, the Jucker set was painted in the Kham region of Eastern Tibet in the late 18th century, noting that 19th century sets have a darker palette. Compared to the Rubin examples, the Jucker set is definitely of a lighter palette. Jackson stressed, however, that the lightness and darkness of a set can vary within its constituent paintings, as is discernible in the Jucker examples.⁸

As only two of the Jucker paintings have a few gold, and largely illegible, inscriptions naming the scenes, most of the 108 deeds in the set cannot be properly identified.



The scenes depicted in four of the paintings (A, B, C and D, opposite), however, have been determined based off other published and inscribed examples. These four paintings correspond, respectively, to numbers 3, 9, 20 and 21 in the Sita Panchen set. They depict the Avadanakalpalata numbered 17–11, 34–38, 100–105 and 106–111. For further information on the 108 deeds, the reader is referred to Tucci who gave brief accounts of each in his *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*.⁹

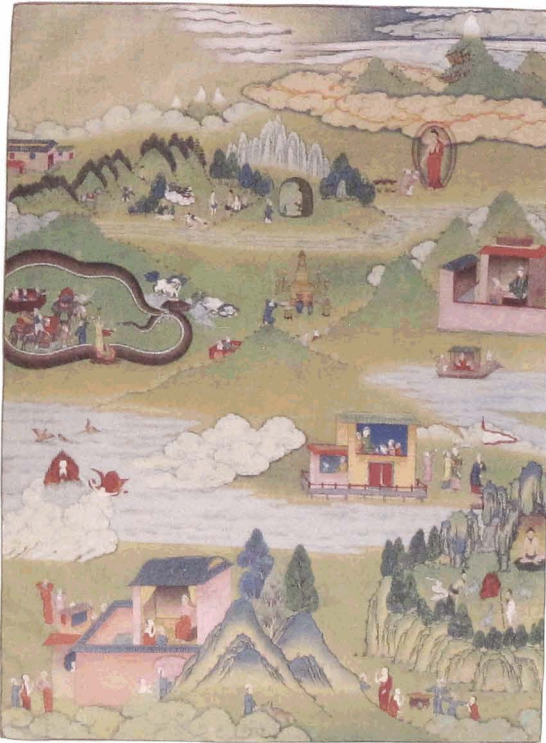
Previously published: Olschak and Wangyal, 1977, pp. 72–73; Jackson, 1996, p. 265, 269 and 270



A



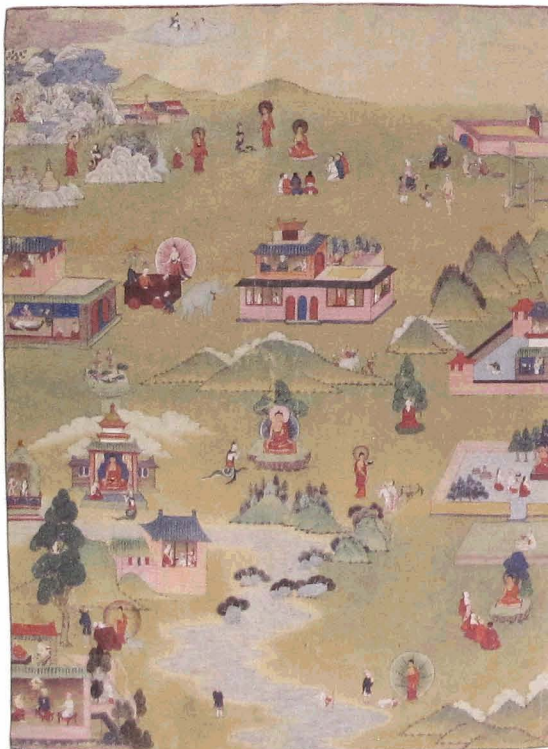
B

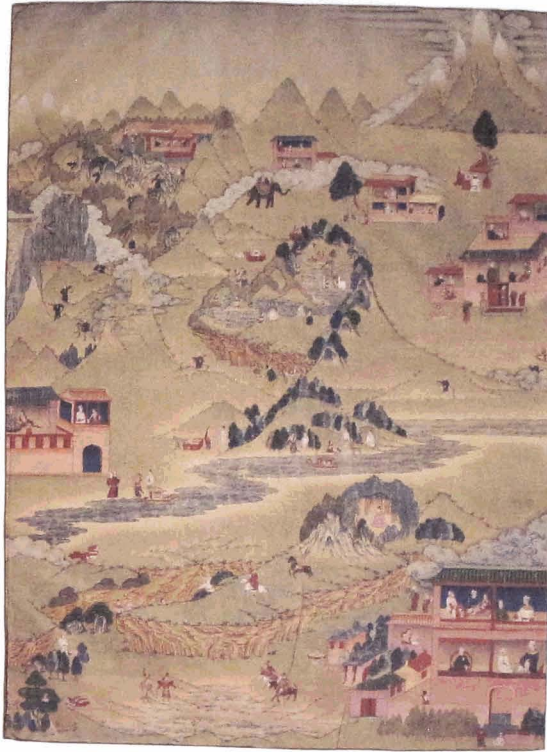


C



D





Bhaisajyaguru

Central Tibet

Mid-18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

57 × 40.5 cm

This *tsalthing* (red ground painting) depicts the Eight Medicine Buddhas, each Buddha with their name inscribed in gold. At the centre is Bhaisajyaguru vaiduryaprabha–raja holding the myrobalan fruit and the alms bowl and seated in *vajrasana* (meditation posture) on a lotus that almost obscures entirely its supporting dais. Ranged around the Buddha from the left of his lotus throne over to its right are the other seven Medicine Buddhas (starting clockwise from the left): Dharmakirti sagaraghosha, Suparikirtita namashri, Svaraghosharaja, Shakyamuni, Ashokottamashri, Suvarnabhadra vimala ratna prabhasa and Abhijnaraja. Like Bhaisajyaguru, all are seated in *vajrasana* on lotus, and hold their hands in the gestures identified with their iconography. At the bottom of the painting, divided from the Buddhas by a pool with undulating waves are three bodhisattva. At the centre is the four-armed manifestation of Avalokiteshvara – Shadaksharilokeshvara, flanked by Manjushri on the left and Vajrapani on the right. Manjushri and Vajrapani hold lotus in their hands, and appropriately that of the former supports a sword while that of the latter supports a *vajra* (diamond sceptre). Emerging from the pool behind them are an offering bowl and a child seated on a peony.

Unlike Plate 2, the gold is not only used to delineate forms in fine line, but also is used to ‘colour-in’ the figures of the Buddhas and bodhisattva so that it appears

as if these images are in fact outlined in red. Blue has been judiciously used to great aesthetic contrast in Bhaisajyaguru’s myrobalan fruit and alms bowl, all the aureoles, the rock and cloud forms, lotus petals and the scrolling peony vine surrounding the central Bhaisajyaguru. Interestingly there are three types of lotus petal on the thrones of the subsidiary figures. The first has the petals turned up, while the second has them turned down. The third style also has them turned down, but in this instance with frilly, even crumpled edges, as if they were of the same texture as the peony blossom.

There are two comparable examples in the Rubin Collection in New York,¹⁰ which are even more finely executed. A third comparison can be made with a painting published by Essen and Thingo, and assigned to the 18th century.¹¹ Perhaps these images represent the style of a specific painting school in Central Tibet. All four paintings share the flaming aureoles with outer perimeters distinguished by curling motifs, as well as the scrolling peony vine. Furthermore, details such as the lotus throne of Bhaisajyaguru and jewellery are similarly executed. Based on these stylistic details, a mid-18th century date for the Jucker painting is proposed. In consequence, a late 17th or even early 18th century date for the Rubin examples seems more appropriate than their present mid-17th century dating.

Previously published: Olschak and Wangyal, 1977, p. 64



Three Buddhas from a Consecration Set

Central Tibet

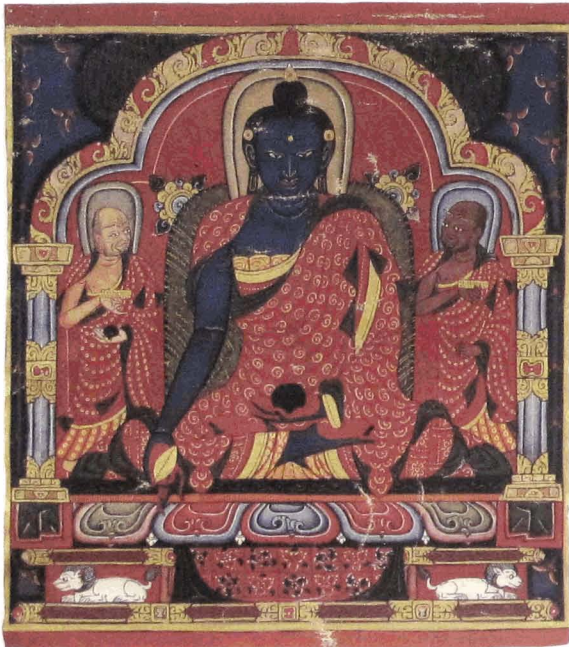
Mid-15th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

19 × 18 cm (approximate)

These three small paintings once belonged to a larger set meant to be hung across the entrance lintel of a chapel. Conceivably, the set was even more extensive and would have covered all four of the chapel's upper walls. The purpose of such sets was to emphasise the omnipresence of the Buddha, and were probably part of the consecration ceremony of the building they once adorned.

Another painting that probably belonged to the same series has been discussed and published by John Huntington.¹² He suggested that the Buddha painting in his image was Maitreya, and part of a group of the four Mortal Buddhas, the other three being Dipamkara, Kasyapa and Shakyamuni. If his suggestion is correct, then the Jucker painting of a yellow Buddha in *bhumi-sparshamudra* (earth-touching gesture) would be Buddha Shakyamuni. The red Buddha, with his hand in the *varadamudra* (wish-granting gesture) could either be Kasyapa or Dipamkara. However, the Jucker painting of a blue Buddha holding the myrobalan fruit and alms bowl is definitely of Bhaisajyaguru, the Medicine Buddha.



Not one of the Four Mortal Buddhas, this image perhaps belongs to another part of the consecration series. All three paintings as well as the one published by Huntington have a pair of arhats flanking the principle figure. Those flanking the Shakyamuni image represent Rahula and Cudapanthaka, while the Kasyapa/Dipamkara image is flanked by Nagasena and Gopaka. Bhaisajyaguru is flanked by Pindola Bharadvaja and Panthaka. At the time of publishing, Huntington did not identify those flanking the Maitreya image. However, they can now be identified as Kanaka Bharadvaja and Bakula.

Each of the Buddhas in the four paintings is seated on a cushion resting on a lotus of multi-coloured petals, and which itself rests on a lion throne. Framing the throne back are a pair of blue pillars which rest on a rock shape. They support a three-lobed arch filled with foliate arabesques. Behind each throne back can just be perceived the canopy of a tree and at either side of the throne showers of falling flowers.

The Buddhas' red robes with a golden swirl pattern and covering both the figures' shoulders are not uncommon in images of the early to mid 15th century, as are the rocks supporting the columns in Newar paintings of the same period.¹³ As all paintings from this series have been executed in a rather dry, mechanical fashion, a date of around the mid-15th century for their execution is proposed, instead of the late 14th to early 15th century suggested by Huntington.¹⁴



Amitabha

Central Tibet

12th/13th century

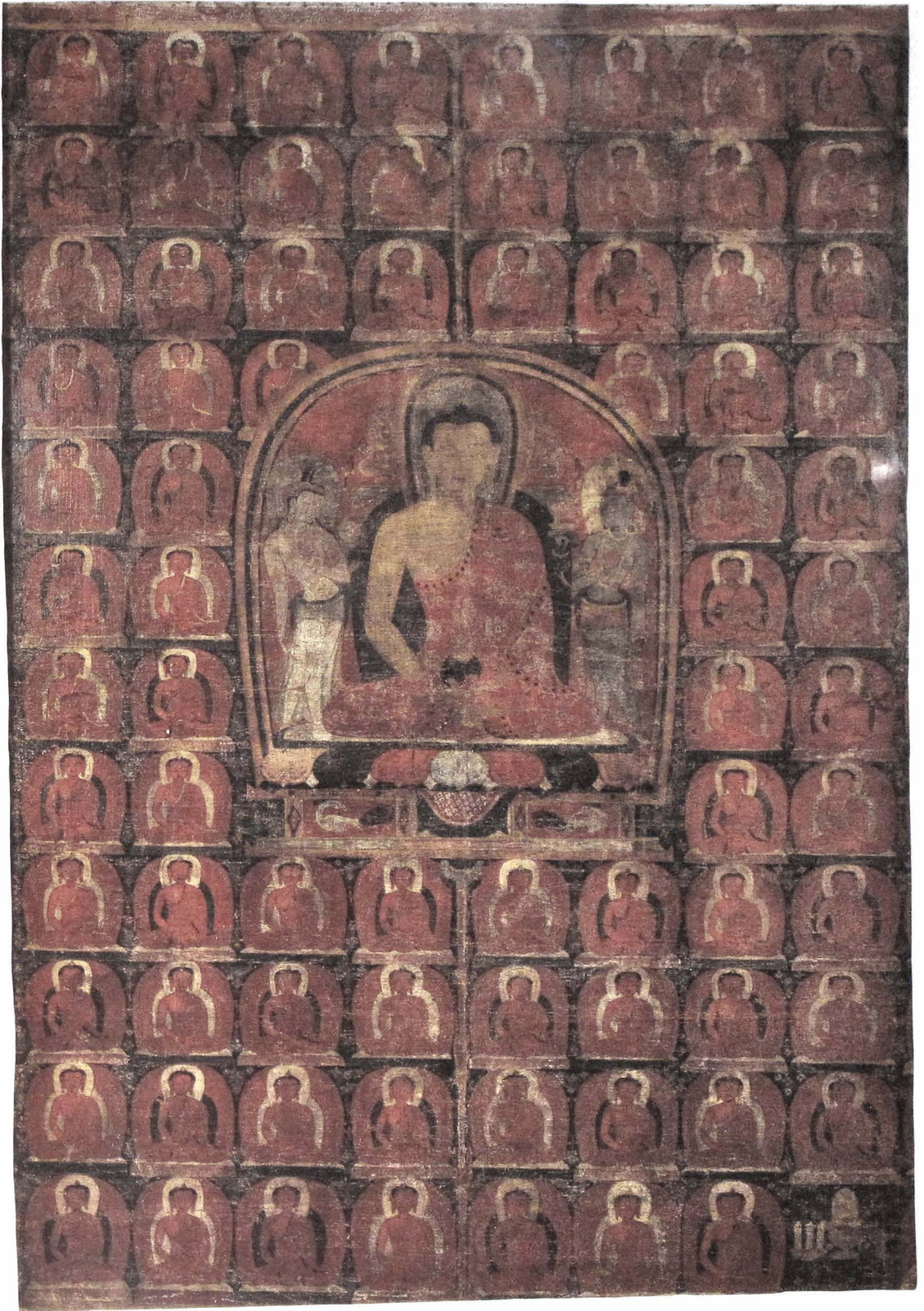
Distemper and gold on cloth

82 × 59 cm

Unfortunately, this early image of Buddha Amitabha is missing parts of both its side borders, including the donor image that once sat in the lower right corner. Amitabha's iconography prescribes that he be coloured red rather than the golden yellow of this image, yet there are many other iconographic features which identify this figure as the Transcendental Buddha of the West. Within the base of his throne are two small peacock images – his vehicle, both his hands are in the *dhyanamudra* (meditation gesture) cradling an alms bowl and he is seated in the *vajrasana* (meditation posture). Seated on a green cushion, he wears a red robe covering one shoulder and decorated with a design of gold flower heads. He is flanked by a pair of bodhisattva, the white Avalokiteshvara Padmapani holding the stem of a white lotus and the green Vajrapani holding the stem of the *utpala* (blue lotus) supporting a *vajra* (diamond sceptre). Both stand in an extremely bent *tribhanga* (thrice bent) pose and wear diaphanous, transparent dhoti. This central scene is surrounded by twelve horizontal rows of minute red Amitabha figures, while this series is interrupted in the lower right corner to depict an offering scene from which the donor has sadly been cut away. The reverse of the painting is inscribed with a few mantras and the Buddhist creed in the Tibetan *uchen* ('with head') script.

Although this author is of the opinion that the painting was in all likelihood created in Central Tibet, it bears some intriguing similarities to West Tibetan painting,

particularly that of the Spiti area of Himachal Pradesh in India, and further research is necessary to definitely determine whether this indicates the painting's provenance or simply the influence of West Tibetan ideas. The Jucker work bears greatest similarity to a group of paintings with a confirmed Spiti background researched and published by Deborah Klimburg-Salter.¹⁵ Comparing these works with murals at Tholing, she established some common elements which are largely shared by the Jucker example. Executed on a rather coarse fabric, the Spiti examples have a limited palette of predominantly red, white and black with yellow highlights. The paintings are all iconic, with a large central figure seated on a lotus and flanked by two proportionally smaller bodhisattva within a horse-shoe-shaped field. This grouping is surrounded by simply-framed emanations of the central Buddha arranged in geometric units.¹⁶ The composition of the Jucker painting agrees with the above, although its bodhisattva are not as proportionally small, and their dhotis are transparent rather than striped. Not discussed by Klimburg-Salter is a portrait of the West Tibetan translator Rinchen Zangpo (958–1055) earlier published by Rhie and Thurman.¹⁷ According to the latter this portrait could either be a Central or West Tibetan production. It has the same composition and colour scheme as the Spiti examples, except, as with the Jucker example, for the transparent dhotis.



a. Buddha Ratnasambhava

Central Tibet

Mid-13th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

79 × 63 cm

b. Buddha Akshobhya

Central Tibet

Mid-13th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

79 × 63 cm

Both paintings were once part of a set of five images depicting the five Transcendental Buddhas. According to the iconographic sequence of these Buddhas, such as that represented in the early 14th century murals of the library chapel of Shalu monastery,¹⁸ these two Jucker images form the left third of a series which would have featured Vairochana in the centre and Amitabha and Amoghasiddha to the right.

Ratnasambhava and Akshobhya are majestically seated on lotus with multi-coloured petals. Ratnasambhava is identifiable by his right hand's *varadamudra* (wish-granting gesture) and his vehicle the horse depicted at either side of the lotus throne. Akshobhya is identifiable by his *bhumisparshamudra* (earth-touching gesture) and his vehicle the elephant at either side of the throne. Otherwise they are identically executed. Both are flanked by the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara Padmapani and Maitreya. The white Padmapani holds a white lotus, while the yellow Maitreya holds an *utpala* (blue lotus) supporting a small *kalasha* vase and bears a miniature stupa in his headdress – clearly visible in the Ratnasambhava painting. Above each central grouping are ten kneeling adoring bodhisattva divided into two tiers, while the bottoms of the paintings each have a row of seven seated Buddhas. With those Buddhas of the missing three paintings they form the 35 Confession Buddhas. In the lower left corner, each painting has a seated monk/donor holding a flower.

Both paintings can be compared with several other images of the Transcendental Buddhas ascribed to the 13th century. The two Jucker images would seem to just post-date a set of three published by Casey Singer and Kossak dated to between *circa* 1200 to 1250.¹⁹ The Jucker examples are slightly less refined in their execution, have more body ornamentation, and an additional throne back behind the seat cushion. They probably, however, pre-date another example published by the same authors and dated by them to the 2nd half of the 13th century.²⁰ This



published example has a much more crowded composition than both Jucker Buddhas and a more varied palette is used. The style of throne with the elephants and *gyala* (leogryphs) indicated to Casey Singer and Kossak an end of the 13th century date.²¹ Also the petals of the lotus throne are more pointed than earlier, broader, examples, such as with the two Jucker Transcendental Buddhas. Therefore a *circa* mid-13th century date is suggested for the Jucker Ratnasambhava and Akshobhya.

Previously published: Plate 8a – Olschak and Wangyal, 1977, p. 53; Pal, 1981, pl. 9; Plate 8b – Olschak and Wangyal, 1977, p. 53; Rhie and Thurman, 1991, p. 48, fig. 12



Buddha Akshobhya

Central Tibet

18th century

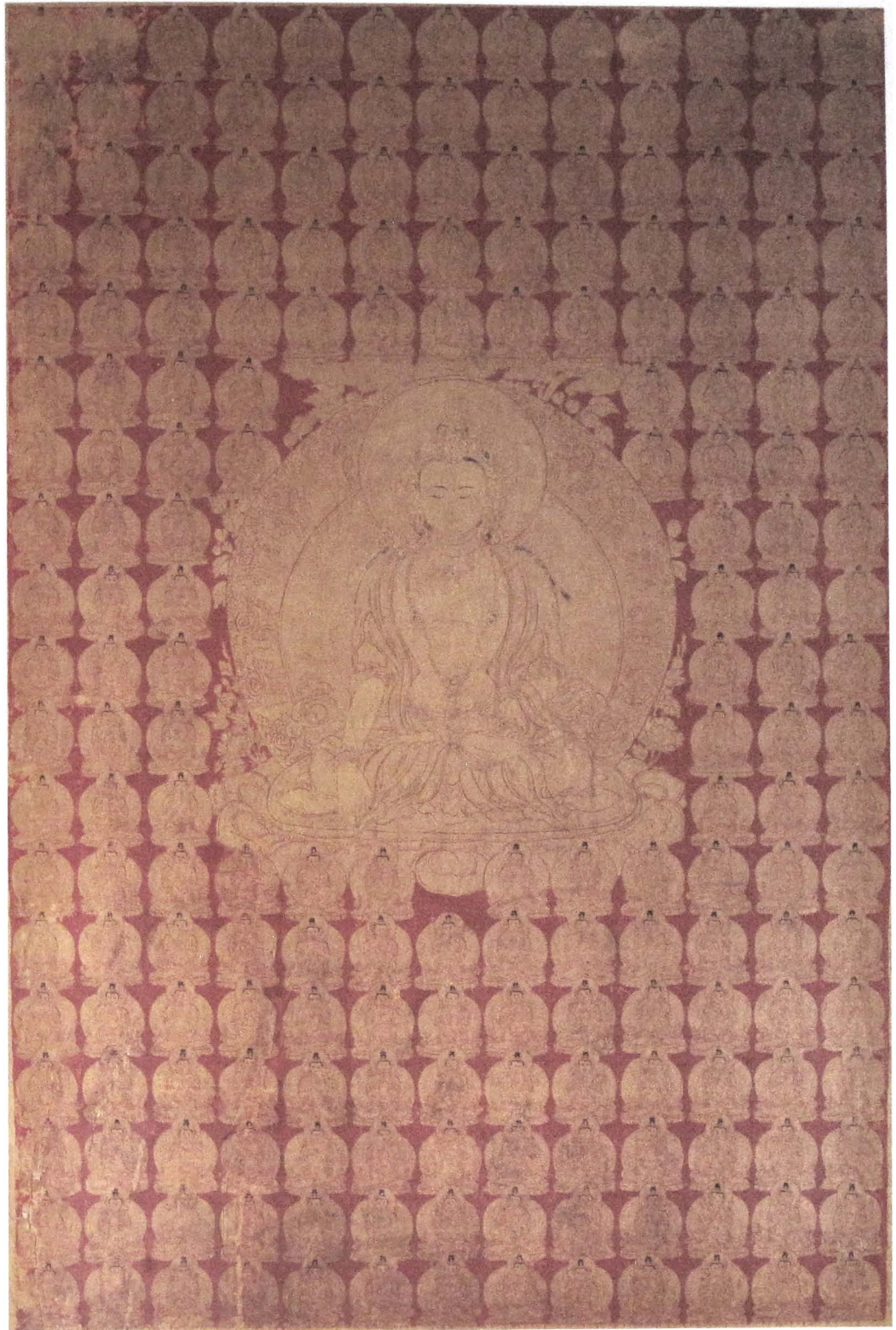
Distemper and gold on cloth

110 × 74 cm

This large *tsalthang* (red ground painting) depicts at its centre Akshobhya, the Imperturbable Buddha, seated on a lotus. As the latter is not supported by a dais, his vehicle the elephant is not depicted. His right hand is in the *bhumisparshamudra* (earth-touching gesture), while the other hand rests on his lap cradling his proper attribute, the *vajra* (diamond sceptre). Lavishly robed and jewelled, he is surrounded by a halo and aureole from behind which emerge flowering peony.

Surrounding Akshobhya is a myriad of minute, identically-rendered Buddha images with their hands in the *dharmachakramudra* (gesture of 'turning the wheel of the law'). In the midst of these images, and just above the head of Akshobhya, is a lama seated on a lotus with his right hand in the *vitarkamudra* (instruction gesture), while his left holds a manuscript in his lap. On the basis of his pointed cap, it is ventured that he is of the Geluk order.

All details in the painting are executed with black or blue pigments, forming a vivid contrast with the dominant red and gold palette. As with Plate 5, the gold is used to 'colour-in' the figures of the Buddhas and lama so that it appears as if these images are in fact outlined in red. The style of the painting is comparable to other Central Tibetan paintings executed from the 18th century onwards.



Shadaksharilokeshvara

South or southwestern Central Tibet

Late 15th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

55 × 43 cm

This four-armed manifestation of Avalokiteshvara, the bodhisattva of compassion, is seated on a dais on a lotus emerging from the waters. Lavishly clad with different coloured garments, his principal hands are held in the *namaskaramudra* (gesture of adoration) while the upper hands hold a rosary and a lotus. Flanking him are a white figure, perhaps representing the moon god Chandra, and a yellow figure, possibly the sun god Surya. All three figures are set against the red of the throne back, which is framed by a pair of columns supporting a five-lobed arch. Around the lotus arising from the pool are mountains with monkeys, birds, wild animals and jewelled trees which are probably meant to suggest the Potala mountain on which the bodhisattva resides. More jewelled trees with birds are featured above this arch.

To the left of the central figure's head is a scene featuring another four-armed manifestation of Avalokiteshvara flanked by Hayagriva (with horse's head in chignon) and the *dakini* ('genius' spirit) Vajravarahi (with boar's head in chignon). Flanking on the other side is a scene of the eleven headed manifestation (Ekadashalokeshvara) of the bodhisattva flanked by a Tibetan lama and a lay person. In the register above are (from left to right) Buddha Amitabha with alms bowl, the white Avalokiteshvara Padmapani, the 8th century Buddhist master Padmasambhava, possibly two Tibetan dignitaries, and five lamas who cannot be identified due to the lack of inscriptions. Down the left side of the painting are from the top Buddha Amitayus followed by three wrathful manifestations of the Primordial Buddha

Vajradhara (or of the tutelary deity Samvara), Raktayamari and Mahachakravajrapani. Below them perhaps is an image of the Brahmanic god Shiva with trident and half-moon emblem seated on a bull, and a half-anthropomorphised *naga* (serpent). Down the right side are (from the top): Avalokiteshvara Padmapani and his manifestation as Amoghapasha, the horse-headed *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Hayagriva, possibly a rare form of the *dharmapala* Mahakala, an unidentified white four-armed dancing figure and the *lokapala* (guardian king) Vaishravana on his lion. At the bottom are two scenes; the one on the left of a donor couple holding flowers sitting opposite a monk by a table set with offerings and on the right a protective form of the god of wealth Jambhala, an unidentifiable six-armed and three headed deity, a six-armed Mahakala, the *dharmapala* Shri Devi on her mule and two additional forms of Mahakala and Shri Devi. The reverse of this painting has several inscriptions giving various charms and pious verses, but reveals no additional historical or iconographic information.

Details such as the lotus thrones of the subsidiary figures, columns emerging from vases, facial treatment, jewellery and colour scheme betray the strong influence of the Newar painting tradition, and like two comparable Kathmandu Valley paintings from the Jucker Collection is dateable to the late 15th century.²² Based on these elements, the *thangka* would have been executed in the southern parts of Tibet, and the West Tibetan style of the lavishly draped dhoti and shawl of the central figure possibly suggest a southwestern provenance.



Shadaksharilokeshvara

Central Tibet

Late 18th century

Silver, distemper and gold on cloth

52.5 × 39 cm

The four-armed manifestation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara is the subject of a very unusual silver ground painting, of which this author is aware of only a few other published examples.²³ The bodhisattva's principal hands are in the *namaskaramudra* (gesture of adoration), while his upper hands hold a rosary and a lotus. Flanking his head are the bodhisattva of wisdom, Manjushri, and of the future, Maitreya. The former grasps his proper attribute the sword, while the latter holds an *utpala* (blue lotus). Below each bodhisattva are a pair of figures with their hands in *namaskaramudra*, and who possibly are meant simply to be adorants.

Also included are two images of Tara, the female emanation of Avalokiteshvara. Below the adorant on the left is Sita (White) Tara covered with eyes, while below the adorant on the right is Syama (Green) Tara holding a lotus. The bottom row features a row of goddesses with Matshig Labdron at the centre flanked by Sarasvati ('Melodious Voice') with a lute and Shri Devi on her mule (on the left), and by Tseringma seated on her lion, holding *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and offering bowl, and the goddess of abundance Vasudhara with a flowering ear of corn (on the right).

At the top centre of the painting is a small image of Buddha Amitabha with both hands in *dhyanamudra* (meditation gesture) surrounded by the much larger images of five red-hatted Drigung Kagyu lamas. Both upper corners of the painting have an additional seated lama. All are lacking inscribed names, and therefore as yet cannot be identified.

As with the *tsalthing* (red ground painting), the majority of the images are delineated in gold with white, blue and green highlights. This painting possibly was executed in the eastern parts of Tibet, as its background mountains have distinct Chinese influence. Also the Drigung Kagyu lineage was more popular in the regions outside Central Tibet, where by the 18th century the Geluk order predominated. Nevertheless, the silver ground makes all other style judgements difficult, and the author is still inclined to suggest a Central Tibetan origin based on the flowering plants around the aureole of Shadaksharilokeshvara, which is typical of Central Tibetan style. The work was probably painted towards the end of the 18th century.



Sitamanjugosha

Bhutan

Late 18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

51 × 38 cm

The identification of the central deity of this painting as Sitamanjugosha – a manifestation of the bodhisattva Manjushri – is complicated by the absence of a sword from among the figure's attributes. Nevertheless, in accordance with the deity's iconography,²⁴ the right hand is in the *varadamudra* (wish-granting gesture) and the other holds the stem of a lotus which supports a manuscript. The deity at first glance has a rather feminised appearance, although comparison with the two female representations seated either side of him, Sita (White) Tara – the female emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara – and the goddess Sarasvati ('Melodious Voice'), it is clear that his face is more triangular in shape than their oval heads. Sitamanjugosha sits on a cushion supported by a white lotus emerging from a pool filled with paired ducks and bordered by flowers. Beyond this is a group of nine white elephants and fourteen (probably female) differently-coloured figures holding up various offerings. Altogether they may represent Manjushri's paradise. Manjushri was born out of a golden ray that, emanating from the forehead of Buddha Shakyamuni, pierced the sacred Jambutree to re-emerge as the white lotus. This white blossom, therefore, is particularly appropriate to this white manifestation of the bodhisattva.

The entire composition is set in a green mountainous landscape with blue sky in the upper part of the painting.

The four deities flanking Sitamanjugosha are Sita Tara and Sarvabuddhadakini with *karttrika* (chopper) and *kapala* (skull cup) on the left, and Sarasvati with the lute and the blue lion-headed Simhavaktra (or Simhamukha) on the right. The latter holds the same attributes as Sarvabuddhadakini. Directly above the head of Sitamanjugosha is the image of a Drukpa Kagyu lama flanked by white-clad figures, probably holy manuscript finders, in either corner. The Drukpa is very popular in Bhutan. At the bottom of the painting are the *Saptaratna* (Treasures of the Chakravartin): the king, queen, elephant, wheel, horse, jewel and minister. In either corner are two unusual scenes. To the left dances the bear-headed deity Rikshavaktra on what appears to be an orange *kalasha* vase and surrounded by four smaller manifestations. Each carries a *karttrika*, *kapala* and staff. Opposite in the right corner is the image of an enthroned monk seated in a cave. He stretches out in his right hand a stand supporting three manuscripts. A garland made of flowers is draped over his throne, behind which is visible a further pile of manuscripts. Unfortunately no inscriptions are given which could shed some light on the significance of both scenes.

The Drukpa lama in particular suggests that this image was painted in the independent kingdom of Bhutan, probably towards the end of the 18th century.



13

Sita Tara

Central Tibet

18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

85 × 50 cm

Sita (White) Tara is together with Tara's green (*syama*) aspect the most popular of a group of twenty-one known manifestations of Tara, the female emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara. Although popular during the imperial period (7th–9th century), the cult of Tara gained great impetus through her promotion by the Indian Buddhist master Atisha (982–1054). Her worship quickly became widespread throughout Tibetan society, regardless of religious sect, position or even social background.

Sita Tara is represented with a golden body against a red and green aureole, behind which is a profusion of flowering plants. Seated on a lotus, her right hand is in the *varadamudra* (wish-granting gesture), while her left holds a blossoming lotus. Both palms and soles of her feet are painted with an eye, one of her characteristic marks. There is also the so-called third eye between her two small slanting eyes on her face. She wears a red sari decorated with golden flowers, jewellery and a floating scarf around her shoulders. Her role as the rescuer of all sentient beings from their suffering is emphasised by the surrounding rows of miniature emanations, all depicted seated with a lotus flower in their left hand and placed against alternating orange, green, red and blue grounds.

This work was probably painted in the central regions of Tibet during the 18th century.



Ushnishavijaya

Central Tibet

18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

85 × 65.5 cm

This *tsalthing* (red ground painting) depicts at its centre Ushnishavijaya, the female emanation of Buddha Vairochana who grants long life to every human being, and is therefore very popular throughout the Himalayas. Her most famous attribute is the small figure of a Buddha resting on her raised upper right hand. Although in the Newar painting of the Kathmandu Valley she is often depicted inside a stupa,²⁵ in Tibetan painting this convention is less customary, although definitely prescribed by the iconographic treatises. Instead the goddess presides at the centre of a circle formed by ten deities against the red background from which also emerges a vividly painted scrolling peony vine. As with Plates 5 and 9, the gold is to 'colour in' the images of the deities and their aureoles, and fine red lines delineate their features and forms.

Ushnishavijaya is seated on a lotus and the eight hands radiating around her body hold the *vishvavajra* (a ritual object of two diamond sceptres crossed perpendicularly), the arrow, the aforementioned image of a Buddha, the *abhayamudra* (gesture of protection), the bow and the *kalasha* vase. Of her three faces, two are pacific, while the one facing right has a more ferocious expression. In the upper half of the painting are the five Transcendental Buddhas: (from lower left) Amitabha with hands in *dhyanamudra* (meditation gesture), Vairochana with hands in the *dharmachakramudra* (gesture of 'turning the wheel of the law'), Akshobhya with hand in *bhumisparshvamudra* (earth-touching gesture), Ratnasambhava with hand in *varadamudra* (wish-granting gesture) and Amoghasiddha with hand in *abhayamudra*.

The lower five deities are (from the right counter-clockwise) the manifestation of Avalokiteshvara as Simhanadalokeshvara seated on a lion, the fierce-looking three-headed and six-armed *dharani* (queen of magic) Parnashabari, a manifestation of the *dharmanapala* Mahakala as Panjaramahakala with the tent pole across his arms, Syama (Green) Tara and the three-headed and six armed *dharani* Marichi. The latter is easily recognisable by the various boars which partly surround her throne.

The flowering vines scrolling behind the images help to identify the work with the central regions of Tibet of the 18th century.



Nine Taras

West Tibet, Guge area

Late 15th century

Distemper on yellow silk

43 × 27 cm (approximate)

These nine paintings of different manifestations were once part of a series of twenty-one images of the different manifestations of this female emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara. Complete sets are extremely unusual, and rare enough is the survival of nine images from one set. As a theme, the twenty-one Taras is ancient, but in the 19th century they were adopted into the well-known pantheon of the five hundred gods of Narthang, composed by Suryagupta – the 4th Panchen Lama (1781–1854) of the Geluk order. Many copies of this pantheon were printed through ateliers in Narthang between 1815 and 1835, and for this discussion we will use the sequence of Taras as set by this pantheon and published by Lokesh Chandra.²⁶

The first is Ushnishavijaya Tara (Chandra no. no. 788), four-armed and with one face. Gauri Tara is the second (786), twelve-armed and with her principal hands in the *dhyanamudra* (meditation gesture). She has three friendly faces and is painted white. Following is Shoka Vinodana Tara (no. 794, p. 300),²⁷ whose secondary hands are in *namaskaramudra* (gesture of adoration) above her head. Fourth is Mangalaloka Tara with eight hands, each holding a different attribute (no. 796). Fifth is the wrathful manifestation Paripachaka Tara (no. 797) standing in *alidhasana* ('drawing the bow' posture), with four hands and a flaming hairdo. Another wrathful manifestation follows in the form of the dark-blue Bhṛkūti Tara,

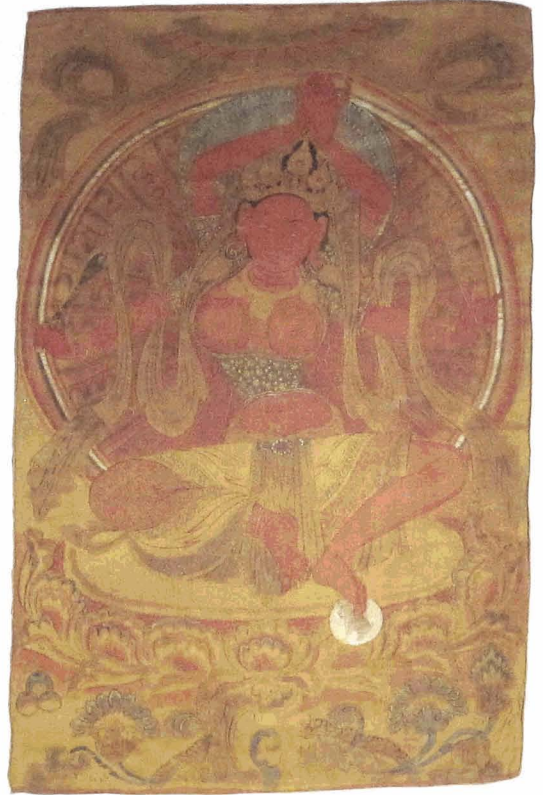
dancing, six-armed and three-faced (no. 798). On the dais is inscribed her Tibetan name.²⁸ The seventh Tara, according to the Narthang list, is Raganisudana Tara (no. 800), two-armed and with a friendly facial expression. Eighth is Dukhadahana Tara holding a flaming triangle in both hands (no. 803), while ninth is Paripurana Tara (no. 805) seated on a bull.

Each Tara, whether seated or standing on the lotus, completely dominates the painting surface. Only four of the paintings have sketchy representations of landscape around the base of the lotus stems. They all wear a sari and a tight-fitting blouse revealing their full breasts. A parasol or banners are depicted above their aureoles. This style is characteristic of the painting tradition in West Tibet, especially of the Guge area. They are comparable to murals at Tholing, which are dateable to the 2nd half of the 15th century.²⁹ Other similar *thangka* include two seated Taras with tight-fitting blouses in the Zimmerman Collection attributed by Pratapaditya Pal to the 2nd half of the 15th century.³⁰ Another example of a goddess sharing the same stylistic characteristics, but executed in bronze, is in the Kornblum Collection, Los Angeles.³¹ To the knowledge of this author, however, no other West Tibetan paintings of Tara executed on silk of this early date are as yet published. Only one 15th century Maitreya painting on silk was recently published, originating from the western regions of Tibet and presently in a private collection.³²





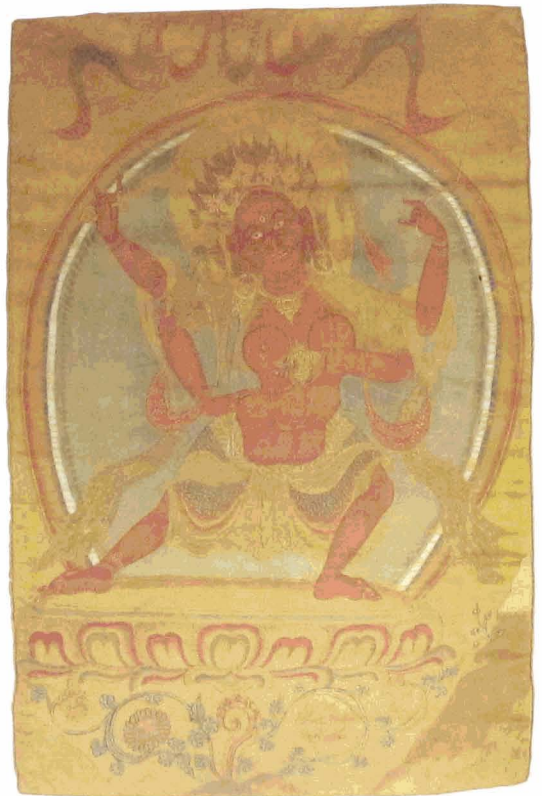
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4



5



6



7



8



9

Scenes from the life of Padmasambhava

East Tibet

Circa 1700

Distemper and gold on cloth

93 × 59 cm

This *thangka* of Padmasambhava was once part of a larger series of paintings, as indicated by the Tibetan *uchen* ('head' script) inscription in a label at the top that this is the first painting of Padmasambhava, and that it should be placed on the left in the series. Padmasambhava was a Buddhist master from Kashmir invited to Tibet by King Trisong Detsen (742–797) in order to banish local demons and instruct him in the doctrines of Buddhism. While in Tibet, he founded the famous Samye monastery, which was consecrated in 810. The first abbot was another Indian master, Shantarakshita, who had originally suggested that the king invite Padmasambhava. According to tradition, Padmasambhava composed many treatises including the *Bardo Thodol* (Tibetan *Book of the Dead*). Although there is some doubt amongst modern historians as to his actual existence, he nevertheless is regarded as Tibetan Buddhism's first great lama.

Padmasambhava's name means 'one born in a lotus' and he is seen by Tibetans as an earthly manifestation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, and so it is particularly appropriate that like the bodhisattva of compassion he holds a white lotus in his left hand which motions the *varadamudra* (wish-granting gesture). Seated on a lion throne, his right hand holds the symbol of transcending wisdom, the *kapala* (skull cup). He wears a red hat and various garments, all of the latter decorated with a pattern of golden flowers. Amidst the three registers of miniature mountain landscapes behind him are

twenty groups of figures, each of which represents an episode of the master's life. Although each figure has an inscription, most of them are illegible. Two of the legible ones identify the scenes in the upper left as his arrival in Tibet and his conquering of the local gods of the former kingdom of Zhangzhung in West Tibet. The two scenes are respectively numbered 58 and 59 in Tibetan, which facilitated their identification within Padmasambhava's biography. Other inscriptions refer to his conversion to Buddhism of the planets, the great gods, monks, *raksha* (demons) and Tibetan gods. In each group, a proportionally larger image of a red-hatted and haloed Padmasambhava is represented performing the act of conversion. On the painting's reverse is a lengthy inscription¹¹ naming the commissioner, and unusually, two red handprints of a lama, which bestows upon the painting magical power.

Based on the Chinese style of the blue and green landscape, in addition to the rather sinicised faces of the gathering, an East Tibetan provenance for this painting is proposed. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that members of the Nyingma order, of which Padmasambhava is considered the founder, were particularly active in this region. The quality and fine-line drawing confirm a late 17th or early 18th century date for its execution.

Previously published: Kreijger, 1989, p. 68



Nyingma Master

Central Tibet

Late 17th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

58.5 × 46 cm

At the centre of this painting is a portrait of a Nyingma lama seated on a sinified lion throne with an altar table laid with offerings and ritual objects placed just in front. Although a name and titles³⁴ can be determined from the gold inscription on the throne cushion, they are too general to be able to identify him with a known personage within the order. The lama holds in his right hand a lotus supporting manuscript and sword, while his left hand cradles a *kalasha* vase on his lap. His orange overgarment, like his red under-garment and the cushion cloth, is worked in a pattern of small, stylised flower blossoms. Stuck into the gold belt holding up his under-garment is a *phurbu* (ritual dagger), and he wears a red hat with its flanges turned inwards, a common piece of headgear among followers of the Nyingma order.

Immediately above him in the top centre of the painting is an image of the Primordial Buddha, the blue Samantabhadra, flanked by the five Transcendental Buddhas. In the top left corner are seated images of the Hindu deity Brahma and of Syama (Green) Tara, the female emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara. In the top right corner are images of a divinity holding a conch and of a brown-coloured *dakini* ('genius' spirit) with *damaru* (drum)

and *kapala* (skull cup). At the bottom of the painting is a row of five protective deities flanking a central table with several offerings. From the left they are the guardian form of the bodhisattva Vajrapani, the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Mahakala, Dorje Lepa (chief of the demon kings subdued by Padmasambhava), Ekajati (the 'blue' Tara) and another form of Mahakala. With the exception of Dorje Lepa who is seated on his vehicle, the donkey, all other deities in the painting are seated or standing on lotuses.

The rest of the painting is taken up by a green landscape of miniature mountains amidst which sit rows of red-clad lamas, with the exception of the topmost four who float in the sky with the aforementioned deities. Most of the lamas, seated simply on the same cloth as the central figure, are of the Nyingma order, although a few are Sharmapa, a branch of the Karmapa lineage of the Kagyu order. Several of them also carry a *phurbu* in their belts. As with the central figure, their inscriptions have only been partly deciphered, and therefore they remain as yet largely unidentified.³⁵

Based on the quality of its execution, a date towards the end of the 17th century is proposed for this painting as well as an origin in the central regions of the country.



Portraits of six masters

Central Tibet

Early 14th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

22.5 × 18 cm

This miniature *thangka* depicts a lineage of the Taklung, a sub-branch of the Drigung branch of the Kagyu order. Over fifty examples of this lineage's paintings have been discussed by Jane Casey Singer.³⁶ Of the six portraits that form the main subject of this painting, there are two pairs of Tibetan lamas with a pair of Indian siddha in the middle row. Each has hands in the *dharmachakramudra* (gesture of 'turning the wheel of the law') and the head turned as if in theological debate. While all four lamas wear the traditional red under- and orange over-garments, the one seated lower right wears the black hat of the Karmapa branch of the Kagyu order while the upper left figure has a distinctive beard. All six portraits bear inscribed names on the back of the painting. Between the figures of the top pair is perched a tiny image of the white Vajrasattva, a manifestation of the Primordial Buddha.

Both of the monks in the upper row resemble strongly a double portrait, presently in the Cleveland Museum of Art,³⁷ which is possibly of Phakmodrupa (1110–1170) and his disciple and founder of the Taklung lineage, Tashipel, Taklung Thangpa Chenpo (1142–1210). This possible Phakmodrupa image in the Cleveland painting is strikingly similar to the Jucker example with the same broad face, typical eyebrows, beard and sturdy body. This same hierarch is depicted on two other paintings published by Steven Kossak,³⁸ and is also a subsidiary figure on another painting, inscribed with his name.³⁹ Both on the latter and the Jucker example he has his hands, however, in the *dharmachakramudra* and not in a variant of the *vitarkamudra* (instruction gesture) as with the other three paintings. These different hand gestures have caused Kossak to express some doubts about their identification as Phakmodrupa, and also of the accompanying figure in the Cleveland image as Tashipel.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, could it be that this different *dharmachakramudra* indicates instead the slightly later date of execution of both paintings? The final arbiter in this argument, however, rests with the inscriptions relating to each portrait on the back of the Jucker painting. That for Phakmodrupa reads 'Guru Radna Vajrara' while that for Tashipel reads 'Guru

Radna Mamgalashri'. Both are epithets identified with these masters, leaving the present author in little doubt as to their identity. Unfortunately the other portraits in the Jucker painting cannot be identified with the same precision.⁴¹ The figure at bottom right wearing the black hat of the Karmapa could represent the 1st Karmapa, Dusum Khyenpa (1110–1193), but more probably represents the 3rd Karmapa, Ranchung Dorje (1284–1339) who was the first Karmapa to be depicted with the black hat.

In the register above these six portraits are (from left to right) Buddha Shakyamuni, the Primordial Buddha Vajradhara and five siddha.⁴² The left border of four *mahasiddha* are identified by the inscriptions on the back as (from top to bottom) Indrabhuti with consort, Dombipa with tiger, Saraha with bow, and Kukuripa with dog. The right border has (from top to bottom) Nagarjuna, Luyipa, the dancing Vajrapada and Padmavajra. In the bottom register are (from left to right): a figure inscribed with what is probably a cognomen of Padma-sambhava,⁴³ a bare-headed monk with a partially legible inscribed name,⁴⁴ three forms of the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Mahakala – including his raven-headed manifestation Kakamukhamahakala, and last of all the Indian master Atisha (982–1054).

Each of the figures is framed in a red-coloured arch, and many of them have a green back cushion. They contrast well with the blue background decorated with the blossoms of a variety of flowers. Although one of the smallest paintings in the Jucker Collection, it is of such extreme rarity that the author has yet to come across a comparable example. Perhaps executed at the beginning of the 14th century, the scroll slightly post-dates a comparable wooden manuscript cover depicting a pair of lamas, presently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and dated to the late 13th century by Kossak and Casey Singer.⁴⁵ The Jucker image has rather strong Newar influences like the overwhelming red and blue colour scheme. Also the red arched niches in the upper register run into each other, which seems to indicate a slightly later development. This phenomenon and the blue background can also be seen on a lama portrait dated to *circa* 1350 by Kossak and Casey Singer.⁴⁶ The folds around the knees of the outer garment in this portrait, however, suggests a slightly later development to the simple knee folds in the Jucker example. Last but not least is the probable representation of the 3rd Karmapa. Based on these elements, a date of the beginning of the 14th century is proposed for the Jucker painting.



a. Kagyu master (?)

East Tibet

Late 18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

59.5 × 37 cm

The main subjects of both these intriguing paintings are difficult to determine as there are no identifying labels. Most of the scenes surrounding them seem to be linked to the Kagyu, Karmapa Kagyu and Nyingma orders. Lamas from these sects are placed within or in front of monasteries of which only one is recognisable by its form, namely Samye (Plate 19b). This famous monastery, founded in the 8th century by Padmasambhava and therefore long associated with the Nyingma order, is identifiable by its circular outer wall. Although many of the scenes once had an inscription in gold, most are now illegible.

The first scroll could represent a Kagyu master, perhaps even identifiable as Marpa (1012–97), whose iconography dictates he be seated on an antelope skin, in this instance placed on top of the seat cushion. Also, his right hand is in the *vitarkamudra* (instruction gesture) and his left rests on his lap cradling a *kapala* (skull cup). He has the iconographically prescribed long hair, and his various garments, in particular the white over-garment, indicate his lay status. He is surrounded by various scenes of which some still have legible inscriptions. Thus above him is a temple with a partly legible inscription on its perimeter wall commenting on a Kagyu hierarch explaining teachings⁴⁷ to *dharma* masters. In the upper right corner is a figure in a tent meeting with a Karmapa representative. At the lower left corner where offerings are being carried into a large temple compound, an inscription mentions the offerings being from the 'king' of China. Just above, where a lonely equestrian rides among miniature mountains adorned with temples, is an inscription mentioning the Geluk monastery Drepung, southwest of Lhasa.

The central figure of the second painting could represent a Nyingma master. Also seated on an antelope skin covering a throne, he holds the *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *kapala*, and wears the white over-garment of the lay adept. Most indicative of his Nyingma association, however, is the red hat with inward-turned flanges. Unfortunately the surviving inscriptions on this painting are completely illegible.

b. Nyingma master (?)

East Tibet

Late 18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

60 × 37.5 cm



The reverse of each *thangka* has a three-line quotation of the Buddhist creed in black *uchen* ('with head') script. The Chinese-style landscapes of both paintings are typical for the painting tradition of East Tibet. Both paintings, which once belonged to a larger set, can be dated towards the end of the 18th century or perhaps slightly earlier.



Damarupa and Avadhuti

Central Tibet

Early 17th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

77 × 54.5 cm

Both *mahasiddha* (Buddhist adepts) are seated on lotus placed on a throne, of which one is adorned with a pair of lions, the other with a pair of elephants. From their inscriptions they are identifiable as Damarupa and Avadhuti, although the latter's name is misspelled. Damarupa was initiated in the *Hevajra Tantra* by his master Nagpopa, who in his turn was a pupil of the *mahasiddha* Virupa. Both Damarupa and Avadhuti are thought to have lived in 9th century India. Damarupa holds the *damaru* (drum) and a *kapala* (skull cup) filled with blood, while his pupil Avadhuti is pointing downwards with his right hand. Emerging from a *kalasha* vase between them is a small image of the 8th century master Padma-sambhava seated on a lotus. Above the *mahasiddha* are, according to their accompanying inscriptions, three dark-blue two- and four-armed forms of a dancing Hevajra, the *yidam* (tutelary deity) of the *tantra*.

Among the upper registers, there are two images of Nyingma lamas, identifiable by their red hats. In addition, directly above the central Hevajra is a seated image of Buddha Shakyamuni surrounded by sixteen Indian *mahasiddha* or gurus. The ones in the uppermost tier have

inscriptions of which the only certain one is the first on the left, Tilopa (988–1069).⁴⁸ The register at the bottom of the painting has a central Hevajra embracing his consort and flanked by eight dancing *dakini* ('genius' spirits). Unfortunately only the inscriptions of the three to the right are legible.⁴⁹

This double portrait is extremely close in iconography to another, presently in an American collection and published by Rhie and Thurman.⁵⁰ Although, as with the Jucker example, one of them was inscribed as being Damarupa, the portraits were said to be of the Indian *mahasiddha* Tilopa and his pupil Naropa (1016–1100). As both double portraits are identical, the American example should be re-identified as Damarupa and Avadhuti. On both scrolls, Avadhuti turns his head in an identical fashion to a bronze figure, also inscribed as being a portrait of Avadhuti.⁵¹

Although the style is rather provincial, the painting has a lot of charm and is even rather unusual. A Central Tibetan origin is suggested. The Jucker example is definitely more recently executed than the American *thangka*, and a date towards the beginning of the 17th century is proposed.



Nyö master

Central Tibet

Circa 1200

Distemper and gold on cloth

98 x 80 cm

The subject is seated on a white dais supported by a lotus on a lion throne. A red cloth draped over an end rail serves as the throne back. A pair of lotus curl from the throne upwards and are flanked by a pair of *vyala* (leogryphs) mounted by two youthful riders. Unusually, the *vyala* and their riders turn their heads towards the central figure. The latter wears a dark-blue under-garment decorated with gold floral roundels, as is his orange over-garment. His right hand is in the *vitarkamudra* (instruction gesture) while his left rests in his lap.

The multi-coloured abstract rock forms defining the multi-lobed space beyond the throne suggest a cave. The border figures are all framed by similar rock forms, carrying the cave theme throughout the painting. Several of the figures in these niches, including the central figure, have their names inscribed on the painting's reverse. With these and two historical sources, it has therefore been possible to partly identify them.⁵²

The central figure is the Nyö hierarch Nyö Drupapal⁵³ and in the niches to either side of his head are further members of this family of lay masters. Originally from West Tibet, they ultimately removed to western Bhutan, and passed on their learning from father to son or uncle to nephew. In the left-hand niche are the founder of the lineage Nyö Lotsawa,⁵⁴ a contemporary of the Kagyu master Marpa (1012-97). Like the latter he also went to study in India, where he was instructed in the method of Buddha *jnana* of the *Guhyasamaja Tantra* by the Indian master Balin,⁵⁵ and he passed these teachings on to his son Dorje Lama, seated beside him in the niche.⁵⁶ In the second niche is seated Dorje Lama's son and disciple Nyö Palgye Jungne,⁵⁷ who transmitted the teachings to his nephew Nyö Drupapal portrayed in the central image. The latter in turn transmitted the teachings to his youngest son Dorje Zikji, who may be the unnamed monk seated in the second niche next to Nyö Palgye Jungne.

The 'slob.dpon.chen.po' ('great teachers') of the four inscriptions, are thus the first four members of the Nyö family teaching lineage. As Drupapal's inscription names him as 'father' (*yab*), perhaps it was his son Dorje Zikji who commissioned the portrait. Drupapal lived for a considerable time in Lhasa where he was a highly respected personage. Dorje Zikji, more commonly known

as Sangye Rechen Gyelwa Lhanangpa (1164-1224), was a disciple of Rinchenpel (1143-1217), founder of the Drigung Kagyu order. Dorje Zikji himself founded the Lhapa Kagyu order and based himself in western Bhutan where the family had come to be established. His teachings remained popular during his lifetime, but shortly afterwards were set aside by the Drukpa Kagyu when they came to dominate the region.

In the left column are portraits, some with partly legible inscriptions, of the Nyö family's spiritual lineage, their identities being confirmed by the *Blue Annals*.⁵⁸ From the bottom they are the Indian masters Balin, Mitraba, Karnapa, Yigepa and Peldipa.⁵⁹ Only Mitraba is not mentioned in the *Blue Annals*. All the Indian masters in the register at the top of the painting have legible inscriptions and are (from left to right): Manjushrikirti, Dipankara and Buddhajanapada.⁶⁰ The remaining deities are an emanation of the bodhisattva Manjushri – Manjughosha, two forms of the Primordial Buddha – Vajradhara and Vajrasattva, and the *dakini* Nayashri.⁶¹ Both the monks and the three siddhas in the painting's right border column have no inscriptions to identify them. In the register at the bottom of the painting are some unusual scenes, which are also unfortunately unaccompanied by identifying labels. On the left is a seated figure on a throne surrounded by five white stupas. Next to him are Manjughosha in a stupa, and perhaps Tara (the female emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara) and the *yidam* (tutelary deity), the blue, bull-headed, ithyphallic Yamantaka. The last two scenes of a red, long haired figure making offerings to a monk and a seated monk presenting or receiving a *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *ghanta* (bell) from a bejewelled figure clad in striped garments have eluded all attempts at interpretation.

On the reverse of the painting, almost all figures have the mantra '*aum a hum*' written behind their painted image. The central figure of Drupapal also has inscribed the charm '*aum. sva.rva.byid.sva.ha*', the Buddhist creed in Sanskrit, and the 'patience creed' in Tibetan – all written in the Tibetan *uchen* script.

Based on the personages illustrated, and the work's likely commissioner, the painting can be dated to around 1200. The scroll is stylistically comparable to the famous Syama (Green) Tara and the Avalokiteshvara Shadakshari paintings in the Ford Collection which were executed during the 2nd half of the 12th century.⁶²

Eva Allinger

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Buddha Shakyamuni, Manjushri,

Atisha and Dromton

Central Tibet

Mid-15th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

81 × 46.5 cm

The pair of images in the upper section of this painting are of Buddha Shakyamuni and the bodhisattva of wisdom, Manjushri, while the pair below are of the Indian master Atisha (982–1054) and his pupil Dromton (1004–1063). Between these pairings is a band of seven small images of further deities and Buddhist masters.

Each of the four main images is seated on a throne. That of Buddha Shakyamuni has a tree behind it and two *chakra* (wheels) in its base. The Buddha has his right hand in *bhumisparshamudra* (earth-touching gesture) and his left rests on his lap. His patchwork robe is decorated with a pattern of gold flower blossoms that is repeated on the garments of the other three figures. On either side of Manjushri blossom lotus that support, respectively, his attributes of the sword and manuscript. Below the Buddha in the lower register is Atisha, whose arrival in Tibet in the 11th century was an important catalyst in the Second Diffusion of Buddhism. He is flanked by stupa at either side of his head, and a short inscription below his throne in Tibetan *umed* ('headless') script reads: 'I pay homage to the noble Atisha'. His hands are in a variant of the *vitarkamudra* (instruction gesture), and like the Buddha wears a patchwork garment as well as a red hat. Dromton, who founded the Kadam order on his master's principles, is dressed in the garments of a lay master with the addition of a white

cloth over his legs. His hands are also in the same *vitarkamudra* as his guru, and below his throne inscribed in *umed* script is the statement: 'I pay homage to Dromton'.⁶³

The middle row of deities and Buddhist masters are each inscribed with their names. From the left they are the *yidam* (tutelary deity) Acala, in kneeling posture and brandishing his sword, followed by Syama (Green) Tara (the female emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara), the Indian master Nagarjuna, the bodhisattva Maitreya, the Indian master Shantidevi, and two further Buddhist masters.⁶⁴

The palette dominated by red and green was common to the ateliers of Central Tibet during the 2nd half of the 14th to late 15th centuries. Especially the loose drapery of the garments and some facial details, such as the slanting eyes, are typical for the works dating from around the mid-15th century. The lotuses flanking Manjushri are comparable to ones on a Tsongkhapa painting in the Rubin Collection in New York and dated by Rhie and Thurman to the second quarter of the 15th century.⁶⁵ Rhie and Thurman suggest that the arched niches in which the principal figures are seated are features of a Central Tibetan style appearing from around the 1st half of the 15th century.⁶⁶ Based on these stylistic elements the Jucker scroll can safely be dated to the mid-15th century.



Sonam Lodro (?)

Southern Central Tibet

Late 16th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

67 × 49 cm

As large parts of the Tibetan inscription below the central image of a lama are illegible, it is not easy to establish his identity. With difficulty one can discern the name Guru Punyamati, which in Tibetan translates as Sonam Lodro (1413–1468). As the same name is repeated on the reverse of the painting, it seems possible that the image is of this lama of the Sakya order who was abbot of Tehura monastery in the southern Tsang province from 1432 to 1440.⁶⁷ He was also just contemporary with Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo (1382–1444) the abbot of the famous Sakya monastery of Ngor, and who, according to the inscription, is depicted in the scene in the upper right corner of the painting. As the *yidam* (tutelary deity) of the Sakya, two images of the dancing Hevajra flank the central figure's head.

Sonam Lodro is seated on a dais atop a lotus; both his hands hold the stems of lotus that blossom at either shoulder and support, respectively, a *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *ghanta* (bell). The elaborate throne back is composed of a flowering vine backed by red clouds. At the peak is represented a small image of the Buddha Amitayus, while amidst the blooms are various images of deities. As mentioned, a dancing Hevajra embracing his consort flanks the lama's head to the right while another *yidam* Chakrasamvara dances and embraces his partner on the other side. Above the throne back are a central Buddha Amitabha flanked by the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara manifested as Shadaksharilokeshvara and by the 8th century master Padmasambhava.

Surrounding this central image on three sides are twenty-eight narrative scenes, each relating to an event from Sonam Lodro's life. Each is placed within a rectangular frame and accompanied by a usually illegible inscription. In the bottom register the donor sits by a long offering table placed in front of the lama's throne. Some smaller donor images are depicted below him. To the right is the *lokapala* (guardian king) Vaishravana astride his snow lion and holding a banner and mon-goose. In the centre of this register are several monks, including Padmasambhava and Milarepa (1040–1123) in his traditional pose of holding one hand to his ear. Within flaming aureoles are still recognisable the *dakini* ('genius' spirits) Sarvabuddhadakini and the lion-headed Simhavaktra flanking a manifestation of the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Mahakala. In the far right corner a monk is seated in front of a mandala and a table with various offerings. On the painting's reverse is an inscription naming the primordial Buddha Vajradhara and Mahakala. There are also some mantras and the Buddhist creed in Sanskrit (in Tibetan script) and Tibetan.

The scroll can be dated towards the late 16th century, as the fashion for many small framed scenes around a central subject remained in vogue until that time. Although the green and blue mountain landscape suggests an East Tibetan background, the Sakya association makes a southern Central Tibetan provenance more likely.



Sakya master

Central Tibet

Late 16th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

90 × 70 cm

Another masterwork in the Jucker Collection is this *serthang* (gold ground painting) of a Sakya master. As there is no inscription providing his name, he is as yet unidentified. His facial features, however, seem to embody highly individual traits, and perhaps in the future he can be identified on this basis. Seated in grand state on a lotus resting on an elaborate Chinese-style throne, his right hand is in the *vitarkamudra* (instruction gesture) while his left rests on his lap holding a manuscript. The entire composition is drawn in black with a restrained use of red, blue, green and white in the detailing. One exception to this is the vibrant red of the hat, which could perhaps be a much later addition, but which does emphasise the image's identification with the Sakya order. Both his over- and undergarments are decorated with red floral patterns as is the cloth on which he sits. Much of the remaining colour is reserved for the inset jewels of the throne.

Immediately above the throne is an image of the manifestation of the Primordial Buddha as Vajradhara with both hands crossed in front of his breast holding the *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *ghanta* (bell). Surrounding him and the central seated lama are fourteen other lamas, each rendered in as portrait-like a manner as the central figure and accompanied by short, and in some cases partly legible, inscriptions giving their names. Each is seated

on a lotus blossom from a multi-branching stem. Immediately to the central figure's right hand motioning the *vitarkamudra* is Panchen Drakpa Dorje and on his left Lowo Khenchen (Sonam Lhundrup; 1456–1532).⁶⁸ The latter wrote commentaries on the great Sakya Pandita (1182–1251), who was appointed by the Mongols as their regent for all of Central Tibet. Flanking Vajradhara on the left are Jamyang Sherab Rinchenpa and Je Konchokpel,⁶⁹ and on the right are Denchencho and Drupchen Phagdorpa.⁷⁰ Beneath this row are four further lamas, only two of which have legible inscriptions, namely the two on the right – one of whom holds a magic dagger in both hands.⁷¹ Below them are two lamas flanked by miniature lama images whose inscription can only be sketchily read.⁷² In the lower corners of the painting are the god of wealth Jambhala with the jewel-spitting mon-goose and the goddess of abundance Vasudhara holding an ear of corn, their names being inscribed in *uchen* script on the back of the paintings along with many mantras in *lantsha* script.

This magnificent and rare *thangka* can probably be dated to the second half of the 16th century, a date confirmed by the style of the large lotus petals. It certainly could not date earlier if the monk to the left of the central figure is Lowo Khenchen.



Four masters

Southern Central Tibet

Early 16th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

70 × 65.5 cm

This unusual painting belongs to a larger series of which only two paintings have so far been published.⁷¹ All three are damaged and the one under discussion has been considerably restored. In the Jucker painting are four large lamas arranged in two tiers. Each is seated on a lion throne and wears a patchwork robe of gold worked with red floral designs and mantras. Each holds the stem of a lotus in either hand which blossom at their shoulders. The lotus of the lama at top left support the *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *ghanta* (bell) as do the lotus of the lama below him. The lotus of the lama at bottom right support a sword and a manuscript, while the lotus of the lama in the yellow hat of the Geluk order support nothing.

Surrounding the monks are small red circles primarily containing pairs or single images of monks, some of whom wear the yellow hat of the Geluk order and some of whom wear the red hat of the Sakya order. Between the two lamas of the top row is a roundel of Buddha Shakyamuni flanked by two monks, while between the two lamas of the bottom row is an image of the *vidam* (tutelary deity) Hevajra flanked by two pairs of monks in discussion, the pair on the left in red hats and the pair on the right in yellow hats. Although all the figures were once inscribed with their names, the degree of restoration has made them illegible.

When Pratapaditya Pal discussed one of the other paintings from the series, he suggested that the series was probably executed for a Sakya monastery after it had been taken over by the Geluk order.⁷⁴ The Geluk began this policy of absorbing the monasteries of other orders in the late 15th and 16th centuries as they consolidated their hegemony over Tibet. If indeed this presumption is correct, then this series would have been the product of the Newar-dominated ateliers of the Sakya monasteries in the southern Tsang province of Central Tibet of the late 15th to early 16th centuries. The predominantly red and blue palette seems to confirm this, as well as the flanges at the edges of the throne bases.⁷⁵

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Tsongkhapa and the Assembly of Gods

Central Tibet

18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

79 × 55 cm

The theme of Tsongkhapa (1357–1419), founder of the Geluk order, surrounded by an assembly of the Buddhist pantheon is one commonly found in Tibetan painting from the 18th century onwards. However, the sheer beauty of this example lifts it up above the common run, and is even further enhanced by its mounting of Chinese fabrics of the *kesi* tapestry weave.

The composition is dominated by the Tree of Enlightenment emerging from the Ocean of Life. Within the tree's canopy Tsongkhapa presides over a gathering of all the Buddhas, bodhisattva, tutelary and protective deities, and all the other gods popular in the Geluk order. This painting thus embodies Tsongkhapa's world vision, and by connection that of the Geluk. The monk can meditate upon the master, one of the divinities or even the order's complete lineage. For the mass of the laity, this type of painting served to focus their worship and veneration on the Geluk order.

Tsongkhapa holds his right hand in the *vitarkamudra* (instruction gesture) while his left holds an alms bowl. Each hand also holds the stem of a lotus, the blossoms supporting a sword and manuscript. In the middle of his chest sits an image of Buddha Shakyamuni, who in

turn has an image of the Primordial Buddha Vajradhara in the middle of his chest. Sharing the canopy with Tsongkhapa are several *yidam* (tutelary deities), *dakini* ('genius' spirits), bodhisattva, the 35 Confession Buddhas, seven Buddhas of the Past and the eighteen arhats. At the edge of the canopy is a guard of the various protective deities of Tibetan Buddhism, and just beyond the canopy edge are the four *lokapala* (guardian kings).

Floating in the sky to the right and left of Tsongkhapa are congregations of Geluk lamas, while above float a group of *mahasiddha* (Buddhist adepts) together with more Geluk lamas. In the upper left corner is an image of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara in his paradise on Mt Potala, and in the opposite corner is an image of his spiritual father, the red Buddha Amitabha seated in his western paradise. In the lower left corner, on the shores of the Ocean of Life is a temple and in the lower right corner a lama/donor seated in front of a table laid with offerings.

Taking the painting's quality into consideration, it was almost certainly painted in Central Tibet in the 18th century, and possibly even in one of the foremost painting ateliers, such as those that served the monastery of Tashilunpo.



Manjushrikirti

Central Tibet

Mid-18th century

Wood-block printed cloth with distemper and gold

70 × 45 cm

This painting was once part of a well-known series discussed by both Gilles Béguin and Toni Schmid of *thangka* depicting the incarnate lineage of the Panchen Lamas of the Geluk order, and which had xylographic (wood-block printed) rather than painted designs.⁷⁶ In the centre of the scroll sits Manjushrikirti, the seventh king of the mythological land of Shambhala (Northern Paradise), who was revealed in a *terma* (treasure) text to be a spiritual ancestor of the Panchen Lamas. In his kingly robes and crown he sits on the throne within his royal pavilion. His right hand is in the *abhayamudra* (gesture of protection) and his left holds a manuscript. According to Tibetan tradition, he taught the *Kalachakra Tantra* to worshippers of the sun god whom he succeeded in converting. In the pavilion's upper story sits Manjushrikirti's predecessor as king, Sureshana who first formulated the *tantra*. In the upper left corner the *yidam* (tutelary deity) Shri Kalachakra and his consort are depicted in *yabyum* (sexual embrace).

The wrathful deity on the horse in the lower left corner has been identified by Schmid as Dorje Shug who holds a stupa in his left hand. However this same divinity on the Jucker painting holds also a jewel-spitting mongoose in which case he is probably more appropriately identified with Atavaka, one of the eight helpers of Vaishravana, the *lokapala* (guardian king) of the north. This identification has been already proposed by Béguin with regard to a similar example in the Fournier Collection.⁷⁷ Nevertheless the inscription in the lower register of the Jucker painting relating Manjushrikirti's initiation into the Kalachakra mandala by Sureshana, relates that is was 'rDo.rje.shugs (*sic*) [who] fulfilled the commandments'.

The use of wood-block printing to produce *thangka* became popular at the beginning of the 18th century in order to meet the Geluk order's increasing demands for icons, but also to standardise the images of these icons. Especially popular series were the previous incarnations of the Dalai Lama, Panchen Lama, as well as other Geluk lamas and *mahasiddha*. As the *thangka* in the Jucker Collection still has a vibrant feeling and strong colours, a mid-18th century date for its execution is suggested.



1st Dalai Lama, Gedun Truppa

Central Tibet

Early 19th century

Wood-block print on cloth with distemper and gold

64 × 39 cm

This painting from a Dalai Lama series represents Gedun Truppa (1391–1475), the principal disciple of Tsongkhapa (1357–1419) and founder of the great Geluk monastery, Tashilunpo. He was retrospectively named the 1st Dalai Lama when the 3rd Dalai Lama, Sonam Gyatso (1543–88) received the title. An entire study of this series of images has been made by Schmid, which like the series discussed in the previous entry was made with the aid of xylography – a technique of wood-block printing designs.⁷⁸

Gedun Truppa sits on a cushion on an elaborate Chinese-style armchair, the arms of which terminate in dragon heads. His right hand is in the *vitarkamudra* (instruction gesture) while his other holds an alms bowl. He is clad in a yellow hat, and wears several layers of garments, all of which are decorated with patterns of flower blossoms or cloud motifs. Behind his left shoulder is a representation of Tashilunpo monastery, and below that is a monk by an offering table.

In the upper right corner sits Tsongkhapa and in the upper left Syama (Green) Tara, a female emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara. Both their names are inscribed. In the bottom centre of the painting is a two-armed, dark blue form of the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Mahakala. He stands in *alidhasana* ('drawing the bow' posture) on a corpse against a red flaming aureole. In addition he holds a *karttrika* (chopper) and a *kapala* (skull cup) filled with blood. The scene is a green mountainous landscape with a tree protectively spreading its flowering branches over the image of Gedun Truppa.

As the painting is more stiffly rendered than the previous xylographic *thangka* and with a less vibrant palette, a date at the beginning of the 19th century is proposed.



Hvashang, Nagarjuna, Virudhaka and Dhrtarashtra

Central Tibet

Early 17th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

67 × 50 cm

This painting is a quadruple portrait of the 17th arhat Hvashang, the legendary Indian Buddhist master Nagarjuna and of two of the *lokapala* (guardian kings), Virudhaka and Dhrtarashtra. In the upper left Hvashang is seated on a red cloth against a particularly stylised rendition of the Chinese blue-and-green landscape. He holds a rosary and an unidentified object and as his iconography prescribes is pot-bellied and surrounded by children. According to Tibetan tradition, Hvashang was sent by the Chinese emperor to invite the sixteen original arhats to China. He together with another layman, Dharmatala, was later inducted into the group of arhats. They are almost always represented as part of the arhat group in Tibetan art.

To the right sits Nagarjuna with one of his hands in the *vitarkamudra* (instruction gesture) while the other holds an alms bowl as a sign of modesty. Around his halo are depicted six *naga* (serpent) heads in reference to the story of Nagarjuna descending to the land of the *naga* in order to retrieve the Book of Wisdom. On his return, he expounded the Buddhist law and is regarded as the founder of the Mahayana tradition. Below stand the *lokapala* of the south, Virudhaka with his sword and that of the west, Dhrtarashtra with his lute. They are clad in their armour and boots with shawls floating around their shoulders. Interestingly, each has a different helmet, with that of Virudhaka bearing a horned creature's head.

Along the top of the painting and between the two *lokapala* are represented six Buddhas, each with their hands in a different *mudra* (gesture). The barely legible inscription of the bottom-most reveals him as Varunadeva, one of the 35 Confession Buddhas. In all likelihood the other five also come from this group. The four principal figures also once had their names inscribed in gold, but only that of Dhrtarashtra remains partly legible.

In spite of the highly sinified green mountainous landscape and armour of the *lokapala*, a Central Tibetan origin for this painting seems most likely. The palette dominated by red and green was popular during the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries. Based on the quality and its execution, an early 17th century date is suggested for this *thangka*.



Eight arhats

East Tibet

Early 19th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

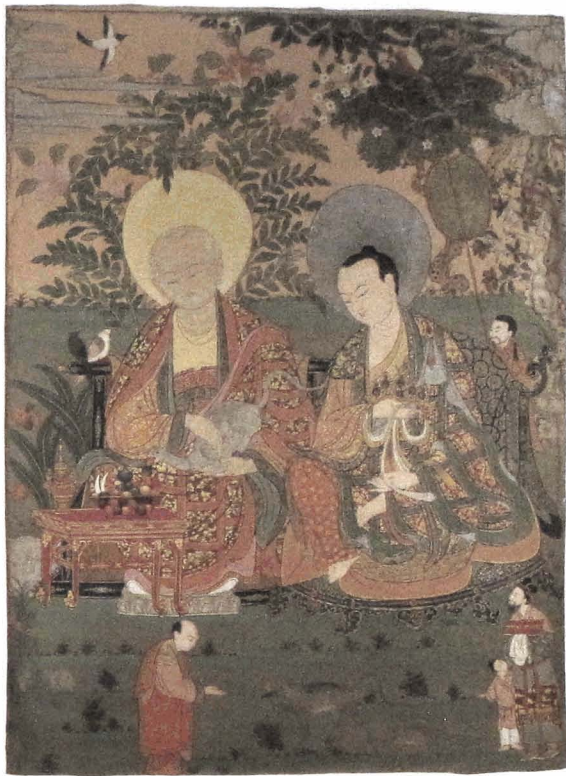
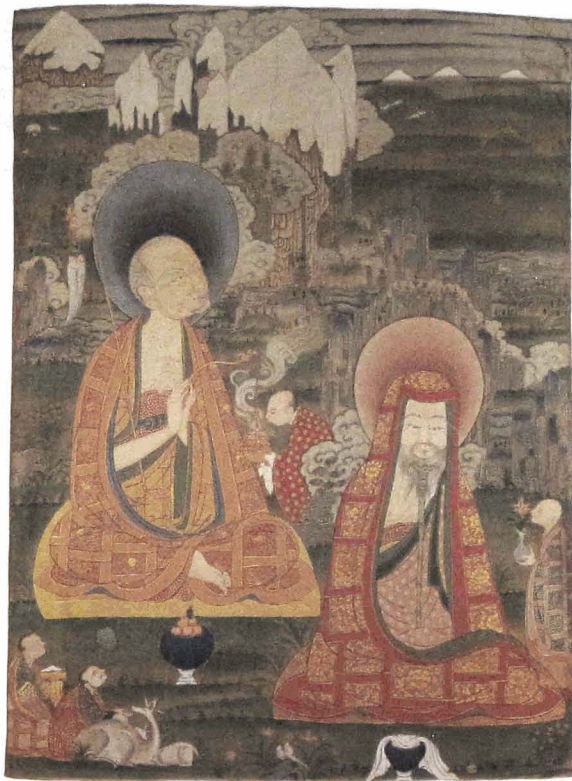
80 × 60 cm

This group of four paintings would have once been part of a series of probably twelve paintings. Nine of the scrolls would have depicted pairs of the eighteen arhats as seen with these four paintings, while two other scrolls would have depicted the four *lokapala* (guardian kings) and one scroll an image of Buddha Shakyamuni which would have been displayed at the centre of the series.

The first of the four Jucker paintings depicts Angaja and Ajita. Angaja is noted for his pilgrimage to Mt Kailash in West Tibet where he taught the children of the gods the Buddhist Law. Out of gratitude they gave him an incense burner and a fly-whisk, which he is shown holding. Ajita is depicted in meditation with his chin propped up by a crutch. This arhat was renowned for his ascetic retreat into the wilderness where he was accompanied only by a few assistants and wild animals, represented here by the deer and adorning figures to the left and by the monk offering a flower to the right. The second image is of Bakula and Rahula. As Bakula only became a monk after reaching his sixtieth birthday, he is shown as an elderly sage. He holds the jewel-spitting mongoose as symbol of his wish to eliminate poverty in the world. Rahula also taught the Buddhist law to the children of the gods, this time in the 33rd heaven, for which he received the crown that he holds in both hands.

The third scroll is of Cudapanthaka and Pindola Bharadvaja. The former also visited the 33rd heaven while Pindola Bharadvaja tried to clear the veil of ignorance. Cudapanthaka sits in meditation posture, while Pindola Bharadvaja holds the manuscript and alms bowl in his hands. The final painting represents Panthaka and Nagasena. Panthaka holds an open manuscript on his lap as indicative of his efforts to teach humanity the Buddhist doctrine. The lines on the manuscript are executed in an illegible Vartula script, but almost certainly represent lines of the Buddhist creed. Nagasena was a prince before he became a wandering monk, and is depicted here with a monk's staff and flask. The inner side of his robe is adorned with *shou*, the Chinese character for long life.

Not only is the landscape which these arhats inhabit very Chinese, but so are their features, and an East Tibetan origin for these paintings is therefore suggested. Likewise, as the scenes are fairly stiffly rendered, an early 19th century date is proposed for their execution.



Dhrtarashtra

East Tibet

Circa 1690

Distemper and gold on cloth

85 × 55 cm

Dhrtarashtra, the *lokapala* (guardian king) of the west, dominates this painting, standing in lavishly decorated armour on a stylised cliff holding his attribute the *vina* (lute) against a smoky aureole outlined in gold and a halo of red flames.⁷⁹ Below him dance two celestial beauties to the music of a divine flautist. At bottom centre is an image of the blue protective deity Dorje Shug. Seated on a white snow lion, he is also magnificently armoured, and wears the *sakshu* ('golden hat'), holding in his raised right hand a *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and in his left a staff.

Just beyond the smoke of Dhrtarashtra's aureole, in the upper left corner, is an image of Sita (White) Tara, a female emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara. Seated in *vajrasana* (meditation posture) on a lotus floating on a cloud, she has her right hand in the *varadamudra* (wish-granting gesture), while her left in front of her chest holds a lotus. The soles of her feet, the palms of her hands and her forehead each bear the image of an eye, symbolising her compassion. She wears a sari and a long shawl, the ends of which drape over the edge of the cloud. Opposite to her is a Geluk lama, wearing a yellow hat and seated on a cushion floating on a cloud, with both hands in the *dharmachakramudra* (gesture of 'turning the wheel of the law'). According to the partly misspelled gold inscription underneath the cloud, he is Tsangyang Gyatso, the 6th Dalai Lama (1683–1702). As his cap indicates that he is not as yet fully ordained in his position as the Dalai Lama, the painting must have been made just before the 6th Dalai Lama's ordination in 1697. The death of the Great 5th Dalai Lama in 1683 was kept secret for fifteen years in order to maintain securely the hegemony of the Geluk over all of Tibet while the new 6th Dalai Lama passed his childhood in hiding.

The suggested late 17th century date is in keeping with the style of the painting, the strong Chinese influences of which suggest East Tibet for the painting's origin.



Shri Devi

Central Tibet

Mid-18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

70 × 45 cm

The pre-Tibetan Buddhist origins of Shri Devi, the Tibetan Palden Lhamo, can be traced back to the Brahma-nic goddess Durga. In Tibet, Shri Devi is the only goddess amongst the eight *dharmapala* (defenders of the faith). Over time she became ever more popular and Gedun Truppa, the 1st Dalai Lama (1391–1475) incorporated her into the pantheon of deities to which the Geluk order were particularly devoted. In the end she became not only the protector of this order and of the 1st Dalai Lama's monastery, Tashilunpo, but also the protectress of Lhasa.

A legend relates that she once lived on the island of Lanka (considered to be the modern Sri Lanka) and was married to its ruler, the king of the *rakshas* (demons). She desired to convert all of the island's inhabitants to Buddhism, if necessary by force. She vowed that if she could not convert her husband then she would murder their son. Unable to convert him, Shri Devi accordingly killed her child, making his skin into a saddle and fleeing on a mule over a sea of blood to the Himalayas. In an attempt to stop her, her demon husband shot a poisoned arrow which hit the mule's rump. However through her magic, Shri Devi turned it into an eye, which is clearly visible in this painting near the mule's tail.

Her many different manifestations were the subject of a profound study by René von Nebesky-Wojkowitz.⁶⁰ In this painting, she holds a staff and a *kapala* (skull cup) made of a child born out of an incestuous union.⁶¹ She is accompanied by the *dakini* ('genius' spirits) Makaravaktra (with an elephant-snouted *makara* head), just behind the mule's head to the left, and Simhavaktra

(with a lion's head) who skates just above the surface of the sea of blood. Also present are the four Goddesses of the Seasons, each a minute figure floating on a cloud. Clockwise from the bottom end of her staff they are: Vasanta rajni (Queen of Spring) seated on a mule and holding a *kapala* and *kartrika* (chopper), Varsha rajni (Queen of Summer) on a buffalo with a *kapala* and goad, Sharad rajni (Queen of Autumn) on a goat with *kapala* and another variant of the goad, and Hemanta rajni (Queen of Winter) on a camel holding *kapala* and *gada* (mace).

At the top centre of the painting is an image of a Geluk lama holding a *chakra* (wheel). He is probably a Dalai Lama and possibly the 6th, Tsangyang Gyatso (1683–1702). This hypothesis is based on the fact that Tsangyang Gyatso was born into a Nyingma order family, and the image is flanked on its left by the 8th century Buddhist master Padmasambhava, who was posthumously credited with founding the Nyingma order. To the lama's right are the *dharmapala* Yama with his consort, and below are the four- and six-armed forms of the *dharmapala* Mahakala. The three figures at the bottom are (from left) the *lokapala* (guardian king) of the north, Vaishravana, one of the five Goddesses of Longevity – Tseringma, and the *dharmapala* Tsangpa Karpo (the White Brahma).

The painting was executed in Central Tibet and based on the style a mid-18th century date is proposed. As the 6th Dalai Lama passed away in 1702, if the top central figure is in fact this personage then an even earlier 18th century date would be possible.



Seikhrabtsan

Central Tibet

Early 18th century

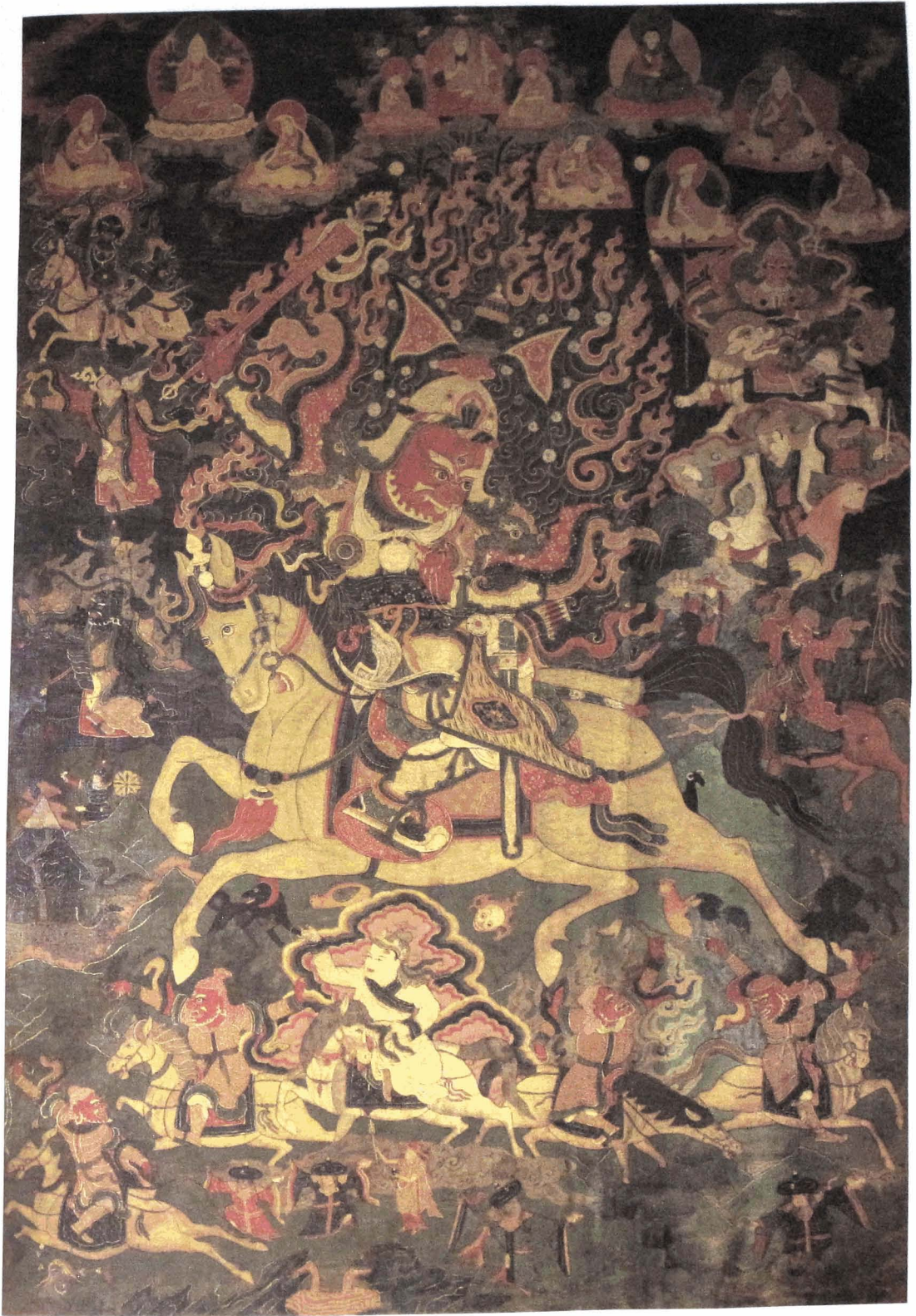
Distemper and gold on cloth

74 × 51.5 cm

Seikhrabtsan is the wrathful form of Tsangpa Karpo (the White Brahma), one of the eight *dharmapala* (defenders of the faith). Seikhrab literally translates from the Tibetan as 'he who wears copper armour', which is not readily apparent from this image. Riding a white horse, red of face, and brandishing a *gada* (mace) and a *pasha* (noose) it is impossible however not to recognise him as a warrior god, akin to his fellow *dharmapala* Begtse, but less ferocious in appearance. With the white beard that identifies him as Brahma, and an aureole of licking flames, he is flanked by his four lieutenants (clockwise from lower left) Luten holding a *naga* (snake); Tsengye Makpon with *shankha* (conch); Tergye Srungma riding a cockerel and Seikhrabtsan himself holding a banner and *pasha*. Immediately above them are the female *dharmapala* Shri Devi riding her mule and on the other side the *lokapala* (guardian king) Vaishravana on his white snow lion.

At the top of the painting are various lamas of the Kadam and Geluk orders. The trio on the left are comprised of the Geluk founder Tsongkhapa (1357–1419) in the centre flanked possibly by his disciples Gyaltsab Je and Khedrub Je. The central trio are Atisha (982–1054) flanked by two disciples and just to the right his primary disciple Dromton (1004–1063). The latter founded the Kadam order, and the Geluk see themselves as the reformed school of this order. On the far right is a Geluk lama in his distinctive yellow hat and flanked by three other Geluk lamas. He probably represents a Dalai Lama, but due to a lack of inscriptions, it is impossible to identify them with certainty. At the bottom of the paintings are the Prinla Konpo (group of five guardian deities) headed by the white Tsangpa Karpo himself. In front of them are a group of miniature dancing figures wearing black hats, and each holding a dagger and *kapala* (skull cup). The background of the lower half of the painting is a green mountainous landscape with additional soldiers and animals.

As the painting is vividly and well executed, an early 18th century date for its execution is proposed, and it was probably created in the central regions of Tibet.



Begtse

Central Tibet

Late 18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

78 × 57 cm

The *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Begtse is a deity indigenous to Mongolia, his name is derived from the Mongol word *begder*, meaning coat of mail. A powerful demon, he was subdued by the 3rd Dalai Lama, Sonam Gyatso (1543–1588), when the latter assumed the form of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara and trampled the demon with the hoofs of his horse, leaving imprints on Begtse's body. The horse and human corpse being trampled by Begtse in the painting are an allusion to this event. Subsequent to his trampling, Begtse became not only a defender of the Buddhist faith, but an important guardian of the Geluk order.

In this painting, the red deity brandishes a sword in his right hand and holds a heart in his left. The heart has been ripped from the breast of the enemy of Buddhism, and such is the fate of any who breaks their Buddhist vows. His flaming aureole completely overwhelms much of the background, the bottom half of the painting being reserved for the sea of blood on which floats the lotus throne where he stands in *alidhasana* ('drawing the bow' posture) trampling the horse and corpse. Amidst the flames to the left of his breast, his assistant Leikhen Marpo rides his mount, the wolf. He wields a staff and drags

behind him a sinner in chains. On the opposite side of Begtse is his red-faced sister, the blue Dong Marma riding her mount, the boar. She holds a sword and is in the act of killing a demon with her dagger. Amongst the flames as well as in the sea of blood are the red-bodied images of the twenty-one 'butchers' who assist Begtse, devouring the flesh, drinking the blood and robbing the enemies of Buddhism of their 'life breath'.⁸² According to the relevant iconographic works studied by René von Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Begtse should be surrounded by a chain of mountains, an indication in miniature being indicated by the artist surrounding the sea of blood.⁸³

At the top of the painting is an image of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara's spiritual father, the red Buddha Amitabha. He is perhaps flanked at either side by incarnations of the Panchen Lama of the Geluk order, as they are supposed to be Amitabha's 'messengers'. Each Panchen Lama has an additional lama or adept flanking them.

Although a vibrant image, it is more stiffly rendered than the previous *dharmapala* example (Plate 33), and therefore a late 18th century date is proposed for it. The style of painting suggests a Central Tibetan origin.



Yama

Central Tibet

Early 20th century

Distemper on wood

29.5 × 29.5 cm

The origins of the god Yama stretch back as far as the *Rig Veda*, a Brahmanic text thought to have been compiled in *circa* 1500 BC. In this work he is distinguished for resisting the incestuous approaches of his sister Yami and for being the first individual to die, and thus becoming the Lord of Death. In due course, he became the Judge of the deceased as well as being the Brahmanic *lokapala* (guardian king) of the south, the direction of the land of the dead. When he was incorporated into Tantric Buddhism, he became one of the eight *dharmapala* (defenders of the faith).

According to legend, Yama was once meditating in a cave, when two thieves with a buffalo entered and slaughtered the animal. Realising that Yama had witnessed their mortal sin, they subsequently decapitated him. Yama thereupon took up the head of the buffalo, and placing it on his shoulders slew the robbers, and out of thirst for further revenge threatened to destroy all life in Tibet. The people prayed to the bodhisattva Manjushri to protect them. The latter assumed the form of Yamantaka (another of the *dharmapala*) and pacified Yama.

On this wooden panel, the dark-blue coloured, ithyphallic, and buffalo-headed Yama dances with his sister Yami on a buffalo, the latter trampling a brown coloured figure. His attributes are the *khatvanga* (ritual sceptre) and *pasha* (noose), while Yami holds a *trisula* (trident) and reaches out to him with a *kapala* (skull cup) filled with blood. He is assisted by his three female attendants, who are bull-, lion- and monkey-headed. The entire ensemble are set within a pavilion made of skulls, bones and severed heads, with an interior of a rather macabre red, with a curtain of human skins hanging at the entrance. The pavilion rests on the pericarp of a lotus with multi-coloured petals in front of which rest a *kapala* with offerings. In the narrow margins at either side of the pavilion are several hell scenes of Yama pronouncing judgements on human sinners. These scenes are placed in a mountainous landscape of high peaks set against a blue sky with clouds.

Probably once part of a cupboard placed within a monastic *gomkhang* (chapel for protective deities), this wooden panel was made in the central regions of Tibet at the beginning of the 20th century or perhaps even slightly later.



Vaishravana

Central Tibet

Circa 1500

Distemper and gold on cloth

97 × 80 cm

As a Buddhist deity, Vaishravana is both the *lokapala* (guardian king) of the north and a *dharmapala* (defender of the faith), as he is represented in this painting. The deity's origins reach back to Brahmanic India, where under the name Kubera he was given immortality by Brahma for performing over a thousand years of *puja* (sacrifices). He thus became the god of wealth, the protector of earthly riches and health. With his absorption into Indian Buddhism, he became known as Jambhala, and with the spread of Buddhism into Central Asia his name changed to Vaishravana (the son of the great adept Vishva). He became progressively more warrior-like and eventually was adopted by the Khotanese royal family as their guardian deity when they converted to Buddhism around the 6th century. By the time his cult spread into Tibet, he was already one of the *lokapala* as well as a *dharmapala*.⁸⁴

On this *thangka*, he has the golden body indicative of his status as a *dharmapala*, and is seated on his snow lion, which is depicted with its legs chained together. Vaishravana wears armour, a shawl which floats around his shoulders, boots and helmet. He holds the banner of victory in his right hand and the jewel-spitting mongoose in his left. At either side of his head are the golden sun containing a cockerel and a silver moon containing the hare, both animals drawn from Chinese sun and moon

mythology. Immediately above his head is an image of the blue bodhisattva Vajrapani standing in *pratyahidhasana* ('stepping to the right' posture) on a lotus and holding a *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *pasha* (noose). In two arcs above Vaishravana's head and at the bottom of the painting are eight mounted assistants with fierce expressions and flaming aureoles. Each holds a jewel-spitting mongoose with the other hand in the attribute specific to them. To the left of Vaishravana's shoulder is a couple of Chinese appearance with offerings who also appear on another Vaishravana painting and have been the subject of various interpretations.⁸⁵ Below is seated the donor in front of an altar table. He is being showered with jewels by the figure partly obscured by the lion's head. On the other side of Vaishravana stands an armoured figure with a flaming aureole while amidst the smoky clouds can be glimpsed nine animal-headed figures, Vaishravana's demon army.

Although it is rather difficult to date this painting, a late 15th or early 16th century date is suggested. One can compare it to one published by both Rhie and Thurman⁸⁶ and Kossak and Casey Singer. It is clear that the Jucker scroll is slightly later than this last one, which is dated to the beginning of the 15th century. The Jucker Vaishravana probably originates from Central Tibet.



a. Nilashvkrishna Vaishravana

Central Tibet

Early 17th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

20 × 16 cm

Both these paintings of the guardian deity Vaishravana belonged once to a temple consecration set,⁸⁷ even though the image of Nilashvkrishna (Blue Horse Vaishravana) seems earlier than that of Nartakarakta (Red Vaishravana). Nevertheless their format is identical, they share the same type of mounting, and they have similar red inscriptions on the reverse, which are primarily illegible except for the lines of Buddhist creed. The Nartakarakta image could conceivably be a later replacement for a damaged original.

The blue Nilashvkrishna is seated on his blue horse, brandishing a sword and a holding aloft a long divination arrow.⁸⁸ His elaborate armour is completed by the long floating shawl around his shoulders, and he is framed by a red flaming aureole. In each corner of the painting is represented one of his assistants. In the lower left corner is the black and multi-headed Tumoshinje Goguma seated on a bull and holding conch shell, *kartrika* (chopper) and a *kapala* (skull cup). In the upper left is the multi-armed yellow Tumoshinje Lukgyama seated on a white buffalo and holding sword; in the upper right, seated on a black wild yak, and holding a human heart, is the red Tumoshinje Phungkrolma; and in the lower right is the dark-green, ten-armed Tumoshinje Sodyema seated on a *kyong* (Tibetan mule).⁸⁹

By contrast, Nartakarakta is depicted within an elaborate Chinese-style pavilion dancing on a *gui*-dragon. Of his eighteen hands, the principal pair holds an alms bowl filled with jewels. Although Nebesky-Wojkowitz does not mention this eighteen-armed form of the deity, he does describe a sixteen-armed example, which aside from the two extra arms, fits closest to the Jucker painting.⁹⁰ Nartakarakta is flanked at either side by a total of eight water spirits, each protected by a snake canopy. Within seven miniature pavilions attached to Nartakarakta's are images of further deities. The animal-headed figures sitting on resting horses are his assistants. At bottom centre is the white, sheep-headed Norbu Zangpo with the banner of victory; bottom left the yellow, horse-headed

b. Nartakarakta Vaishravana

Central Tibet

Late 17th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

20 × 16 cm



Gangba Zangpo with vessel; bottom right, the blue, stag-headed Yangdakshe Zangpo with jewel; upper right, the yellow-red, goat-headed Sekpong Zangpo with staff; and upper left, the green, elephant-headed Gyalwakhya with alms bowl.⁹¹ The two figures in the middle could possibly be manifestations of the Primordial Buddha, Vajrasattva and Vajradhara, although the red colour of the latter is iconographically incorrect.

As both paintings lack cloud formations in their background skies, the earlier Nilashvkrishna image possibly dates to the 17th century or even slightly earlier, while the possibly replaced Nartakarakta image dates later. The quality of its painting is definitely cruder than that of the Nilashvkrishna. Both paintings were likely executed in Central Tibet.



Guhyasadhana Hayagriva

Central Tibet

Early 19th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

44 × 32.5 cm

Like many of the guardian deities of Tibetan Buddhism, the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Hayagriva has Brahmanic origins. According to one tradition this horse-headed deity was amongst a group of demons subdued by Vishnu,⁹² while another tradition identifies Hayagriva as a horse-headed and demon-conquering incarnation of Vishnu. In Mahayana Buddhism he was associated with the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara and particularly with his eight-armed manifestation Amoghapashalokeshvara.⁹³ In the Second Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet, Hayagriva was especially promoted by Atisha (982–1054), and in due time became linked to all cults that featured horse spirits. Not unsurprisingly, he proved very popular amongst the nomadic Mongolians as well. Although in his association with Avalokiteshvara, he featured prominently as a saviour from peril, his later role in Tantric Buddhism emphasised instead his demon-conquering abilities, enlisted both as a *dharmapala* and as an important guardian of the Geluk order. His neighing wards off demons and he is invoked during certain exorcism rituals. Perhaps as a consequence, he adorns the hilt of the *phurbu* (ritual dagger). According to the traditions of the Nyingma order, he aided the 8th century master Padmasambhava in many of his endeavours, and is particularly known as the subduer of the Brahmanic Rudra or Shiva. Padmasambhava, as is the case here, is

often found in the upper register of a Hayagriva icon, even if the scroll seems to be from the Geluk tradition, as with the present example.

Six-armed and brandishing a sword, *trisula* (trident), *vajra* (diamond sceptre), two *pasha* (noose) – one of intestines, and a spear, Hayagriva tramples with his eight feet two groups of multi-coloured and intertwined snakes. He wears layers of human-, elephant- and tiger-skins and a garland of severed heads. Just above the diadem of skulls crowning his three fierce faces are three horse heads. Above his flaming aureole are (from left) Buddha Shakyamuni, the Geluk founder Tsongkhapa (982–1054) and Padmasambhava. In a semicircle around his feet are (from left) the dark-blue wrathful manifestation of the bodhisattva Vajrapani, the chief of the mountain deities – the red Tseumarmo with staff and *pasha*, Shri Devi seated on her mule with staff and *kapala* (skull cup) of blood, Dorje-dragdan with *khatvanga* (ritual sceptre) and *pasha*, and a white *kyung* bird holding a snake in his hands and beak.

Although well-painted and colourful, the mannered execution suggests an early 19th century date. Crowded over to the left is a white mountain peak with a stream running from it, which in appearance is more like a white bladder being emptied. This misinterpretation by the unknown artist seems to confirm a rather late date for this Hayagriva example.



Raktayamari and Vajravetali (?)

Southern Central Tibet

Mid-15th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

63 × 50 cm

Unfortunately the condition of this great painting is so deteriorated that the principal figure embracing his consort is difficult to identify. Armand Neven identified the subject as a form of the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Mahakala, but the red colour as well as the bull mount suggest instead an identification with Raktayamari, a red manifestation of fellow *dharmapala* Yamantaka. Although beyond definite recognition, his hands seem to hold a *chakra* (wheel), while a staff rests against his right shoulder – neither attribute is common to Raktayamari. The only deity grasping a *chakra* in both hands is the Bon divinity Takla Mebar,⁹⁴ who however does not stand on a bull and is rarely depicted with his consort. Furthermore the images of seated monks on two sides of the painting make a Buddhist background for this image more likely. Until more is known, this author prefers to identify the deity with Raktayamari.

Standing in *pratyaldhasana* ('stepping to the right' posture) on a black corpse atop the aforementioned red bull, Raktayamari's consort Vajravetali offers him a *kapala* (skull cup). They stand against an aureole of licking flames beyond which are various deities and figures at the top and bottom. In the top register Vajradhara, a manifestation of the Primordial Buddha, is discernible second from left and followed by some lamas and four *mahasiddha* (adepts). At either side are images of monks of the Sakya order followed by two horsemen and two forms of Yamaraja (?), a manifestation of the *dharmapala* Yama, the god of death. The bottom register begins at the left with a donor figure making offerings and is followed by several mounted horsemen and some other heavily-damaged figures.

The style of this image is similar to a Raktayamari painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which is dated to the 2nd quarter of the 15th century.⁹⁵ Therefore a date of mid-15th century or slightly later is proposed for this painting. The dominant red and blue colours, as well as the lay figures with their white garments, suggest a Sakya order background. As they were mainly active in the southern regions of Tibet, it seems certain that this painting was created there.

Previously published: Neven, 1978, pl. 82



Caturbhujamahakala

Beijing (?)

Mid-18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

66 × 45 cm

This image and the next of Kapalahevajra not only were created as part of the same series of paintings, but both were once in the collection of the remarkable Dutch sinologist Robert van Gulik. The image under discussion here is a representation of a rarely seen form of the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Mahakala. The Caturbhuj (Four-armed) Mahakala is known in Tibetan as Nakpachenpo. Like the other *dharmapala*, Mahakala was originally a Brahmanic deity, but became in Tantric Buddhism not only a *dharmapala*, but also an important *yidam* (tutelary deity). By the 16th century he was named the *yidam* for the entirety of Mongolia.

Although Mahakala has countless manifestations, he is usually depicted as dark-blue in colour, as he is here. Standing in *alidhasana* ('drawing the bow' posture) on a naked male figure on a lotus, the principal hands hold a *kartrika* (chopper) and a *kapala* (skull cup) of frothing blood, while the other two hold a sword and a spear. He is naked except for an elephant skin draped over his shoulders, and a tiger skin and garland of severed heads and other ornaments around his waist. His four differently-coloured heads are encompassed by diadems of human skulls, and he munches on a human figure in his mouth. Behind him flames his aureole, and as mentioned by Marie-Therese de Mallmann's iconography for this form of the deity,⁹⁶ the lotus throne rests on a triangle, in this case blood-filled. At the bottom centre of the painting is another form of Mahakala, Brahmanarupa, with a

flaming aureole and dancing on a corpse. He holds a *trisula* (trident) and *kapala*, and his hair is adorned with a human bone. In each of the four corners of the painting is a differently-coloured *dakini* ('genius' spirit) dancing on a human figure and holding a *kartrika* and *kapala* filled with blood. In the upper left corner is the dark-blue Yungmo, in the upper right the green Leidzaktummo, in the lower right the yellow Singalingwa and in the lower left the red Srinmochenmo. Flanking Caturbhujamahakala's lotus are four miniature *yoginis* (female yoga adepts), two of which carry bags and the other two knives. At the top centre is an image of the Primordial Buddha Samantabhadra embracing his consort and flanked to the left by the legendary Indian Buddhist master Nagarjuna, recognisable by his snake canopy, and to the right by a lama of the Geluk order. The setting is a Chinese-inspired landscape of mountains, waterfalls and rivers.

Based on the extremely fine quality of the painting, the Chinese facial traits of the figures in the upper register, the original Chinese embroidered velvet mounting and the fact van Gulik acquired the paintings in China, a Beijing origin connected to the Buddhist Manchu emperors of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) is proposed. The painting probably dates to the mid-18th century, and therefore to the beginning of the reign of emperor Qianlong (1736–1795), an ardent follower of Tibetan Buddhism.

Previously published: Kreijger, 1989, p. 6



Kapaladharahevajra

Beijing (?)

Mid-18th Century

Distemper and gold on cloth

66 × 44 cm

Like Mahakala, Hevajra is an important *vidam* (tutelary deity) in Tibetan Buddhism, with a *tantra* dedicated especially to him. In his manifestation as Kapaladharahevajra, he appropriately enough holds *kapala* (skull cups) in each of his sixteen hands. Eight of the *kapala* bear images of animals: elephant, two horses, donkey, bull, camel, human figure and deer, while the other eight bear deified images of the Elements: Prithivi (Earth), Varuna (Water), Vayu (Air), Tejas (Fire/Passion), Chandra (Moon), Aditya (Sun), Yama (Death) and Dhananda (Wealth). In the instance of the animals, the cat of the deity's standard iconography has been replaced by another horse. Embracing his consort Nairatmya, who is depicted a slightly darker shade of blue, he stands on a lotus trampling naked figures with his four feet. He has eight differently-coloured faces. Nairatmya holds a *karttrika* (chopper) and has her left arm slung around his neck. They both wear the usual ornaments of tantric deities, garlands of severed heads and skulls, tiger skin skirts and bone jewellery. Their blue bodies stand out from the gold and red flaming aureole behind them.

Surrounding are ten differently-coloured six-armed wrathful deities also embracing their consorts, who can perhaps be identified as the ten *krodha* often depicted as the guardians of the mandala. At the top centre is an image of the Indian master Atisha (982–1054), identifiable by his stupa and basket containing the three-fold Buddhist instructions, flanked by two of his principal

disciples Dromton (1004–1063) holding a lotus blossom and Lekpe Sherab with a manuscript in his hands. The latter was one of the two survivors (the other being Rinchen Zangpo [958–1055]) to return to the West Tibetan kingdom of Guge from Kashmir where they had been sent to study Buddhism, and he became renowned as a great translator. When Atisha subsequently arrived in Guge, Lekpe Sherab became his disciple. Dromton persuaded Atisha to come to Central Tibet, and after Atisha's death there in 1054 founded the Kadam order based on his teachings. The Geluk order, with whom this painting is associated, see themselves as the reformed Kadam order.

As with the previous painting, the entirety is set in a Chinese-style landscape with some offerings in the foreground. As related with the provenance of the previous painting, this is the second of the images acquired in China by Robert van Gulik and was probably made there around the mid-18th century during the reign of the Qianglong emperor (r. 1736–1795), a devout Tibetan Buddhist. The emperor also had political reasons for allying himself with Tibetan Buddhism, as the greatest threat to his borders came from the Mongols, who also largely followed Tibetan Buddhism. By designating Geluk teachings as the guiding philosophy of his government, the emperor hoped to keep the hordes at a distance.

Previously published: Kreijger, 1989, p. 63



Shrichakrasamvara

Central Tibet

18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

51 × 39.5 cm

This rather unusual painting takes as its subject the *yidam* (tutelary god) Samvara embracing his consort. Interestingly, the several manifestations of 8th century Indian master Padmasambhava illustrated in the painting, as well as the two 'treasure-discovering' lamas, identifies the painting with the Nyingma order.

Surrounded by a flaming aureole, the dark-blue and four-headed Samvara stands embracing his red consort on a lotus. In the principal of his twelve hands he grips his consort as well as a *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and a *ghanta* (bell). The other hands hold (clockwise from lower left) *trisula* (trident), *damaru* (drum), *kartrika* (chopper), *parashu* (axe), elephant skin, *kapala* (skull cup) filled with blood, *pasha* (noose), the severed head of Brahma and another *trisula*. His consort with both legs entwined around his waist holds a *kartrika*. Particularly unusual is the group of eight miniature four-armed *dakini* ('genius' spirits) dancing in a circle around Samvara's feet. According to Marie-Therese de Mallmann, based on her readings of the Indian iconographic text the *Nispan-nayogavali*, a group of four, four-armed *dakini* appear in the first circle of the Samvara mandala and are named Dakini, Lama, Khandaroha and Rupini.⁹⁷ While that may explain half the group, the other four are more difficult to identify. They could be deified cardinal points in the first circle, or they could be four, four-armed figures in the fifth circle of the mandala, namely Kakasya, Ulukasya, Svanasya and Sukarasya.⁹⁸

At the top is a register depicting (from left) a standing Buddha, a seated Buddha Amitayus, the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Hayagriva, the blue Primordial Buddha Vajradhara with consort, Guru Drakpoche – a wrathful manifestation of Padmasambhava, Padmasambhava himself and the dark-blue lion-headed Simhavaktra. Samvara is flanked on his right by a two-armed manifestation of himself below which is an image of the *dakini* Sarvabuddhadakini. On his left is a red manifestation probably of Guru Drakpoche embracing his consort and with a Nyingma lama in his headdress. Below is an image of a dark-blue, naked, ithyphallic and four-armed, but otherwise unknown divinity. Seated in his headdress is probably a manifestation of Padmasambhava as Nyima Odzer, holding a staff and the sun emblem. Above him is a miniature figure of Padmasambhava. Also flanking the upper part of Samvara's aureole are two minute images of white clad *terton* (treasure-finders) of the Nyingma order, distinguishable by their high topknots. The lower register is occupied by three ferocious-looking divinities. At centre is another manifestation of Padmasambhava, Guru Drakmar. His lower body is in the form of a dagger-blade, and he holds a *vajra* and a scorpion. Flanking him to the left is Vajrapani with *vajra* and *ghanta* and on the right a form of Mahakala.

The style of the green background landscape as well as the flaming aureoles are typical of Central Tibetan paintings dating to the 18th century.



Guhyasamaja

Central Tibet

Late 17th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

63 × 47 cm

Although this image has been heavily restored, it is of an iconographic rarity and stylistic beauty (where unrestored) to warrant its inclusion. The subject, Guhyasamaja, is probably the oldest *yidam* (tutelary deity) of Tantric Buddhism and has a *tantra* named after him. He is regarded as a manifestation of Buddha Akshobhya and therefore often referred to as Guhyasamaja-akshobhya.

Seated in embrace with his consort Sparshavajra on a lotus supported by a jewelled throne, he is, like Akshobhya, dark-blue in colour. Of his ten arms, the principal ones clasping Sparshavajra hold in their hands the *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *ghanta* (bell). The other hands hold (clockwise from lower left) a flower, sword, *triratna* (triple jewel), *chakra* (wheel), flower, *chakra*, flower and sword. In front of the throne is a monk/donor with offerings. At the top centre of the painting is a lama – perhaps, based on the outline of the hat, of the Sakya order – flanked by two disciples.

According to the Indian iconographic manual, the *Nispanmayogavali*, Guhyasamaja should be surrounded by three circles of divinities.³⁹ In this painting, however, they are not depicted in mandala format. The first circle includes four of the Five Transcendental Buddhas (Akshobhya being the fifth): Vairochana, Ratnasambhava,

Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi flanking the lama trio at the top of the painting. Of the same circle, but depicted in the register below are their consorts, respectively Lochana, Mamaki, Pandara and Syama (Green) Tara. The second circle consists of another four goddesses, who are depicted in this painting in pairs to either side of Guhyasamaja's lotus: Rupavajra, Sabdavajra, Gandhavajra and Rasavajra. The third circle contains the eight Mahabodhisattva who are placed in this scroll running down both sides just under the consorts of the Transcendental Buddhas. The fourth circle is inhabited by the *krodha* guardian deities who are divided into two rows at the bottom of the painting. Each equipped with three faces and six hands holding attributes they are (from left) Yamantaka, Prajnantaka, Padmantaka, Vighnantaka (top row), Acala, Takkiraja, Niladanda, Mahabala, Ushnisha-chakravartin and Sumbharaja (bottom row).

The gold-drawn flowers of the background are a common motif of paintings from Central Tibet. Lacking as they do any cloud formations and with the shawl ends of Guhyasamaja draping over the rim of the lotus, a 17th century date seems likely. Due to its much-restored condition, which makes assessment difficult, a more precise dating to the latter part of that century seems best.



Simhavaktra

East or Central Tibet

Late 18th century

Distemper on cloth

63 × 46 cm

It is very unusual to find the lion-headed *dakini* ('genius' spirit) Simhavaktra as the principal subject of a painting, as she is normally represented together with the sea-monster-headed Makaravaktra as attendants on the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Shri Devi. Nevertheless, Simhavaktra is one of the protectors of the Nyingma order, with which this painting is clearly associated by the image of its founder, the 8th century Buddhist master Padmasambhava at the top left of the painting.

The blue Simhavaktra dances on a contorted figure on her lotus throne. She holds in her raised right hand a *kartrika* (chopper) and in her left a *kapala* (skull cup) filled with blood. Against her left shoulder rests a *trisula* (trident) decorated with a skull and two severed heads, each in a different state of decay. Over her shoulders are draped the skins of an elephant and a human, and a garland encircles her waist. Her dark body is in contrast to both the white lion face and the flaming aureole behind her.

Flanking a flaming skull with popped-out eyes, tongue, nose, ear and heart are Simhavaktra's two associates, the tiger-headed Vyagravaktra and the bear-headed Rikshavaktra. Aside from not having *trisula*, they are similarly accoutred to Simhavaktra. The popped-out elements of the skull represent the five human senses. As mentioned, at the top left of the painting is Padmasambhava seated on a lotus, while in the opposite corner is the six-armed and three-headed *dharmapala* Hayagriva. He is here standing in *alidhasana* ('drawing the bow' posture) embracing his blue consort. He has wings and in addition to a flaming aureole, a flaming hairdo. His four hands are (clockwise from lower left) in *tarjanimudra* (gesture of pointing out error) and holds a staff, *parashu* (axe), *pasha* (noose), sword and *kapala*.

The setting is a rounded, hilly landscape with a lake in the foreground and a greyish sky above. Based on this, the painting seems likely to have been created in the eastern parts of Tibet and probably towards the end of the 18th century. Nevertheless, the *thangka* could have originated in Central Tibet, as no other elements in the scroll suggest an eastern provenance.



Guru Drakpoche

Central Tibet

Early 18th century

Distemper on cloth

69.5 × 50.5 cm

Guru Drakpoche is a wrathful manifestation of the 8th century Buddhist master Padmasambhava, who is considered as the founder of the Nyingma order. The red deity stands on a lotus and tramples on various figures. He holds in his raised right hand the *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and in his other the scorpion. His body is adorned with snakes as necklaces, armlets, bracelets and anklets, and he wears the skins of a human and an elephant draped over his shoulders and a tiger skin tied around his waist. In addition, a double garland of severed heads hangs around his neck. He is set against a flaming aureole of a slightly different shade to his red body.

Flanking him are four assistants, (clockwise from lower left) a dark-blue wrathful manifestation of the bodhisattva Vajrapani holding a *vajra*, the yellow *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Yama with, unusually a sword and manuscript, the red *dharmapala* Hayagriva with staff, and the brown *krodha* guardian Takkiraja with staff and *parashu* (axe). Like the central figure, they are similarly clad standing on a lotus, trampling figures and with flaming aureoles. At the top of the painting is the red Buddha Amitabha, flanked by two manifestations of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara – the white Shadaksharilokeshvara and Padmasambhava himself. Flanking this trio are two rows of lamas and monks of the Nyingma order. As no inscriptions are given, it has been impossible to identify them

with certainty. However, among them is a female figure, seated next to Shadaksharilokeshvara, who perhaps is one of Padmasambhava's two wives.

At the bottom of the painting stands an image of the *dakini* ('genius' spirit) Sarvabuddhadakini holding a *karttika* (chopper) and *kapala* (skull cup), while a staff is resting against her shoulder. To the left is a monk seated on a throne by a table set with offerings, while another younger monk is seated behind him, and a servant proffers a flask. Hovering to the left above this scene is the Buddha Amitayus, associated with longevity. To the right of Sarvabuddhadakini are three armoured horsemen whose significance as yet remains fugitive. Distinguishable behind all the figures in the composition is a landscape of white, snow topped mountains as well as Chinese-style blue and green rockeries. Above this is a cloudless dark-blue sky. On the reverse is an almost entirely illegible inscription, which seems to be primarily lines form the Buddhist creed.

The painting seems to be a product of Central Tibet of the beginning of the 18th century, despite the fact that by this time the Nyingma strongholds were in East Tibet. Although the blue and green rock formations suggest an East Tibetan provenance, the faces of the various deities are typical for the central parts of the country.



Guru Drakmar

Bhutan

Early 19th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

73 × 56 cm

Another wrathful manifestation of the 8th century Buddhist master Padmasambhava is Guru Drakmar, whose most prominent characteristic is the dagger-blade shape of his lower body. According to tradition, it was Padmasambhava who introduced the *phurbu* (ritual dagger) into Tibet's Buddhist practice in order to subdue the native demons opposed to Buddhism. Often the blade is decorated with the head of a *makara* (sea monster) who conquers *nagas* (snakes) and other demonic inhabitants of the water. This form of Padmasambhava is still highly popular in Bhutan, and this painting was probably made there since the top of Guru Drakmar's aureole features three Drukpa lamas of the Kagyu order, which is well-established in Bhutan.

The red Drakmar holds the *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and scorpion. His lower dagger-blade body is adorned at the top with a green *makara* devouring *nagas*, and is thrust into a triangle on top of the lotus throne. This triangular base represents the evil that can be eliminated by the dagger. From Drakmar emanates a green aureole edged with licking red flames. At the top of the painting are the Buddha Amitabha flanked by two manifestations of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, the white Shadaksharilokeshvara and Padmasambhava himself. Below them are the previously mentioned three Drukpa lamas.

Filling the rest of the painting are seventeen protective deities, each standing on a lotus and set against a flaming aureole. Each holds a hook and axe and have their name inscribed in gold in *uchen* script. The two in the upper corners are the *dharmapala* (defenders of the faith) Yama (yellow) and Hayagriva (red). Together with the brown Takkiraja and the dark-blue wrathful manifestation of the bodhisattva Vajrapani (located below and to the right of the dagger point), they form a well-known group of four *krodha* protective deities. The red Vajravahni, the blue Kakamukhamahakala, another blue female demonic figure and Drakpomarchen are also detectable at the bottom of the painting. Along the right border below Hayagriva is a blue Yama.

Placed against a green landscape and a blue sky, all the figures are neatly rendered. However, their execution is slightly mannered and stiff, making a date in the early 19th century conceivable.



Vajrakila

Central Tibet

Mid-18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

83 × 55 cm

Vajrakila is an important deity within the Nyingma tradition. He aided the 8th century Buddhist master Padmasambhava in many of his battles to subdue the demons of Tibet. His teachings were also amongst the principal ones transmitted by Padmasambhava to his imperial disciple, King Trisong Detsen (r. 775–797) of the Yarlung dynasty (7th–9th century). In summation, Vajrakila epitomises the ability to overcome self delusion and desire, and thus achieve wisdom through selflessness and compassion. In his battles, Padmasambhava used the *vajrakila* (diamond-sceptre dagger; Tib. *phurbu*) to pin down the demon so as to be better able of persuading them of Buddha's wisdom.

In this painting, the central image of the deity is depicted with three, blue-, white- and red-coloured heads, six arms and six legs. With his principal arms, he clasps his dark-green consort and holds a *vajrakila*. In his remaining four hands are (clockwise from lower left) a *trisula* (trident), a flame and two *vajra* (diamond sceptres). His consort holds in her raised left hand a *kapala* (skull cup) filled with blood. Both stand on a lotus, trampling a pair of white human figures. Vajrakila and his consort are naked except for human and elephant skins draped over the shoulders and tiger and panther skins girt round the loins. They are adorned with garlands and diadems of severed heads and skulls, and behind Vajrakila's arms are visible a pair of wings. They are backed by a flaming aureole.

Amidst the many different deities surrounding the couple, are four emanations of the *kila* (dagger) known as Ratna-, Padma-, Vajra- and Karmakila who also have lower bodies of a dagger shape. In addition, there are ten manifestations of Vajrakila, each winged, with six arms and legs, standing embracing their consorts on a lotus while trampling on some human figures. Each holds in their principal hands the *vajrakila* (as do the four deified *kila*) and near each of their heads is a pair of animal- or bird-headed female assistants. These manifestations are differentiated primarily by their colour, being blue like the central image, but also red, green, yellow and white. At the four corners of this central grouping are four small, female figures with differently-shaped bird heads and of different colours, but each wearing a tiger-skin skirt and holding attributes.

In the centre of the top of the painting is the blue Primordial Buddha Samantabhadra with his white consort. He is immediately flanked by Padmasambhava and perhaps his wife Mandarava, and beyond them are two lamas of the Nyingma order. At the bottom of the painting is an outlandish array of sixteen, primarily female deities, each mounted on a vehicle ranging from the horse and mule to a Cerberus-like creature and a *makara* (sea monster). Almost all have a wrathful appearance and a few have animal heads.

This crowded composition is highly dynamic and extremely well-executed. A date for its execution in the mid-18th century in the central regions of Tibet is proposed.



Dorje Shug

Central Tibet

Early 19th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

61 × 46.5 cm

The cult of Dorje Shug dates only from the 17th century when he became an important guardian deity of the Geluk order.¹⁰⁰ Interestingly, however, this painting, through the prominent representation of the 8th century founder of the Nyingma order, Padmasambhava, seems instead to be associated with that school of Tibetan Buddhism.

In the painting, the red god is shown in his monk's robes and wearing the *sakshu* (golden hat)¹⁰¹ astride his mount, the white snow lion. In his hands he holds a human heart and a *chula* (dagger with a wave-shaped blade). The ensemble rest on a lotus and are backed by a flaming aureole. As in the previous painting, he is surrounded by a circle of deities, most of whom also have their own lotus thrones. They are (clockwise from 12 o'clock) Padmasambhava, the red, six-armed *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Hayagriva, the female emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara – Sita (White) Tara, a red manifestation of Pehar on a white snow lion riding across a sea of blood, a six-armed manifestation of the *dharmapala* Mahakala, the *dharmapala* Shri Devi on her mule, a white six-armed manifestation of Pehar seated on a blue snow lion, the *lokapala* (guardian king) Vaishravana seated on a blue snow lion and holding a banner and jewel-spitting mongoose, the *dharmapala* Tsangpa Karpo (White Brahma), Buddha Amitayus, and the dark-blue *dharmapala* Yamantaka.

At top centre of the painting is an image of Shadaksharilokeshvara, a white, four-armed manifestation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara. He is flanked by the bodhisattva of wisdom, Manjushri holding a sword and manuscript, and by a blue, wrathful form of the bodhisattva Vajrapani. At the bottom left of the painting is the rarely depicted guardian deity Namkha Barzin riding a horse and holding a lance and the lead of a trussed-up enemy of the Buddhist Law. In the opposite corner is the four-armed guardian Rahula with his half serpent body. Between both deities is the mountain goddess Yuchashogchikma riding a deer and recognisable by her attributes the mirror and arrow. She is surrounded by four assistants, all on horses riding amidst clouds. Flanking this small scene are several large *kapala* (skull cups) and conches filled with blood or human organs, which represent the five senses. In addition there is a *chakra* (wheel). The entire scene is set in a landscape of green, almost rolling hills with a few clouds at their peaks. The sky above is filled with darker cloud formations framing each of the deities in the upper third of the painting.

Although rather provincial in style, this painting has a lot of charm and displays a wealth of interesting iconographic detail. The beginning of the 19th century seems probable for its execution.



Five paintings from a Drukpa pantheon series (?)

Bhutan

Mid-19th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

97 × 68 cm (approximate)

This group of five paintings belongs to a larger series, perhaps of a pantheon associated with the Drukpa Kagyu order, as a Drukpa lama is represented on one of them. Although both the central and subsidiary figures are all accompanied by gold inscriptions of their names, they still remain difficult to interpret iconographically as few of them are discussed in the iconographic works known to this author. In each painting, the figures are set in a landscape of green mountains under blue sky scattered with clouds.

In the first of the paintings, the white coloured and four-armed Shadaksharilokeshvara, a manifestation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, is seated in meditation posture on the pericarp of a lotus. Both principle hands are in the *namaskaramudra* (gesture of adoration), while the other two hold a rosary and a lotus blossom. His dhoti and the shawl around his shoulders are princely in their exquisite gold floral patterning, and he wears extensive jewellery and a crown. Directly above him is placed his spiritual father, the Buddha Amitabha, flanked by two other forms of Avalokiteshvara, one red and one yellow. Beyond them sits the lone Drukpa lama. At either side of his head, Shadaksharilokeshvara is flanked by two red manifestations of Avalokiteshvara.¹⁰² Below them are Shadaksharilokeshvara's white consort and a red emanation of himself. At bottom left is a white form of Avalokiteshvara¹⁰³ surrounded by eleven Taras (female emanations of Avalokiteshvara) and his attendant, the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Hayagriva. In the bottom centre is perhaps an image of another form of the bodhisattva, Hariharilokeshvara seated on Rahula, who is emerging from a *khyung* bird, who in his turn sits on a snow lion. At bottom right is another red manifestation of Avalokiteshvara,¹⁰⁴ holding hook and *pasha* (noose) and enthroned on a lotus supported by three figures.

The second painting depicts Syama (Green) Tara seated on a lotus with her right hand in the *varadamudra* (wish-granting gesture) while her left holds a lotus flower. She also wears a richly patterned sari and shawl in addition to her jewellery. The lower part of her body is flanked in a half-moon circle by eight minute manifestations of herself, all similarly depicted. The upper half of the circle comprises four larger red forms of Kurukulla (Red

Tara), with a fifth in the upper right corner. Each Kurukulla holds a bow and arrow. At the top centre of the painting is a six-armed, red goddess seated on a *khyung* holding a snake. She is flanked by a white goddess holding a *kalasha* vase and floral garland.¹⁰⁵ Flanking the eight miniature Tara are the goddess Sarasvati with a lute and another white goddess with a manuscript.¹⁰⁶ A standing wrathful Tara manifestation flanked by two seated wrathful manifestations of Tara occupy the bottom of the painting.¹⁰⁷

The third *thangka* represents a very rare form of a wrathful, red manifestation of the bodhisattva Manjushri, Shri Heruka Vajramanjugosha. Eight-headed, sixteen-armed and with four feet, he stands on a lotus in *pratyaliidhasana* ('stepping to the right' posture) on four differently-coloured figures. All his hands are in *tarjanimudra* (gesture of pointing out error) without any attributes. His consort has both legs slung around his waist, naked save for a garland of skulls. He wears a tigerskin skirt and a garland of severed heads. At top centre is the blue Buddha Akshobhya with a *vajra* (diamond sceptre) in his left hand. He is flanked by two forms of Sita (White) Tara as well as two white manifestations of Manjushri. To either side of the principal couple's heads are two forms of Syama (Green) Tara. The lower half is occupied by four differently-coloured, three- and four-headed forms of Dharmadhatuvagishvara, another manifestation of Manjushri. Flanking the lotus to the right is the dark-blue *krodha* guardian Acala with raised sword and noose and standing in *alidhasana* ('drawing the bow' posture).

The fourth painting depicts a four-armed, red-coloured wrathful divinity¹⁰⁸ standing in *pratyaliidhasana* on a lotus. In his wild hairdo is an effigy of Buddha Amitabha, and at the top centre of the painting is an image of the blue Buddha Akshobhya with a *vajra* cradled in his left hand. He is flanked by the blue wrathful manifestations of Vajrapani on his right and Vajrahumkara on his left. Below them is a female Heruka¹⁰⁹ and a deity¹¹⁰ embracing his consort. Flanking the lotus base of the principal figure are another form of Vajrapani and a seated goddess.¹¹¹ The lower register has Bhutadamaravajrapani in the centre flanked by two forms of the *dharmapala* Mahakala. They are all dark-blue and hold various attributes in their hands.

The fifth *thangka* depicts an unusual, blue female guardian dancing on a human figure lying in a large *kapala* (skull cup) of frothing blood.¹¹² In the principal of her twenty-four hands she holds a *vajra* and *kapala*. Her twelve heads are surmounted by a minute effigy of the Buddha Akshobhya. The top of the painting has three forms of the goddess Vajravarahi, all red with multiple arms and having a small boar-head in their hairdo. Below



them and to the right is another red manifestation of the goddess, while on the left is a yellow, arrow-shooting form of the goddess Marichi, standing on a chariot. A white deity¹¹³ and another yellow manifestation of Marichi flank the principal divinity, while her lotus throne is flanked by a standing blue goddess¹¹⁴ holding a *kartrika* (chopper) and *kapala* and another yellow manifestation of Marichi seated on her vehicle the boar. The bottom of the painting is taken up by three further wrathful goddesses of whom two are dark-blue forms of the blue deity flanking the lotus above and the other a green divinity.¹¹⁵

The importance of this set of paintings lies in their many unusual and some unknown divinities with their accompanying iconographies. All are well rendered and executed during the mid-19th century in the kingdom of Bhutan.





Bardo Thodol mandala

East Tibet

Early 19th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

61.5 × 43 cm

This painting shows all the deities from the *Bardo Thodol* (Tibetan *Book of the Dead*), which according to tradition was composed by the 8th century Buddhist master Padmasambhava. The book describes the journey of forty-nine days the deceased makes enroute to one of the six worlds into which he will reborn. On each day of the journey a different benign or wrathful deity is encountered.

The painting is divided into two mandalas, the lower one containing the benign deities, while the upper contains the wrathful divinities. The peaceful deities guide the deceased in the first seven days, and most of them are the subject of the next painting (Plate 51) and will be described there. However, there are some differences in the present work. The six Manushi (Mortal Manifestation) Buddhas preside over the entrances to the six worlds that the deceased will be born into if they do not achieve Buddhahood. In this painting they are represented in the guise of each of the six worlds, thus as a god with a lute for the world of the gods, as a soldier in armour for the world of the demi-gods, as a bull-headed dancing figure for the world of animals, as a dancing demon for the world of demons, as a lion-headed dancing figure for the world of hungry ghosts, and as a Buddha, possibly for the world of humans. In Plate 51, they are all represented as Buddhas. Within this mandala are also fourteen roundels containing no figures, but representative of the first fourteen days of the journey.

The upper mandala has fifty-eight wrathful deities who appear during the eighth to fourteenth day of the journey. They represent the negative elements in the

deceased's mind; if he can face them without fear, his enlightenment is eminent. On days eight to twelve appear the five Herukas who are manifestations of the five Transcendental Buddhas. Each stands with or embraces their consort. In the centre stands the manifestation of Vairochana, Mahashribuddhaheeruka, with his consort Mahashrisamantabhadraheeruka. They are surrounded by the blue Vajraheeruka (Akshobhya), the yellow Ratnaheeruka (Ratnasambhava), the red-brown Padmaheeruka (Amitabha) and the dark-green Karmaheeruka (Amoghasiddhi). On the thirteenth day appear the eight Keurimas goddesses and the eight animal-headed Phramemas goddesses. The Keurimas form the circle just beyond the Herukas, while the Phramemas are beyond them. The last day sees the four female animal-headed guardians, each recognisable in the painting by the goads they hold, and the twenty-eight animal-headed *dakini* ('genius' spirits) who are placed along the outer border of the mandala.

At the top corners of the painting are seated Padmasambhava and Buddha Amitabha, while below them are a Nyingma lama and the dark-blue Buddha Akshobhya holding a *vajra* (diamond sceptre). In the bottom left corner is the brown Ekajati (Blue Tara) holding a *trisula* (trident) and *kapala* (skull cup) and another Nyingma lama. As neither lamas have inscribed names, they have eluded identification.

The Chinese-influenced landscape suggests an East Tibetan provenance for the painting, which probably dates to the early 19th century.



Peaceful deities of the Bardo Thodol

East Tibet, Kham area

Late 19th century

Distemper on cloth

86 × 55.5 cm

On the forty-nine day journey of the deceased described in the *Bardo Thodol* (Tibetan *Book of Dead*), the first seven days bring encounters with the benign or peaceful deities depicted in this *thangka*. Thereafter he encounters the wrathful deities who are featured in the next three paintings (Plates 52–54).

At the centre of this painting is the Primordial Buddha Samantabhadra embracing his consort. His hands are in the *dhyanimudra* (gesture of meditation) and he is seated on a lotus placed on a jewelled dais. Mirroring this pair in miniature is the white Transcendental Buddha Vairochana embracing his consort on a lotus supported by a throne bearing images of his mount, the lion. The other four Transcendental Buddhas can be found in one of the four roundels at the corners of the painting. Each Buddha holds in their left hands a *ghanta* (bell), but their right hands, as well as their colours, are according to their individual iconographies: respectively, the *vitarkamudra* (instruction gesture) and white colour (Vairochana), *triratna* (triple jewel) and yellow colour (Ratnasambhava), *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and blue colour (Akshobhya), *vitarkamudra* and red colour (Amitabha), and *vishvavajra* (a ritual object of two diamond sceptres crossed perpendicularly) and green colour (Amoghasiddhi). The four in the roundels are also seated embracing their consorts on lotus resting on thrones containing images of their mounts, respectively the horse, elephant, peacock, and *garuda* (half bird/half human deity). In addition, they are flanked by a pair of bodhisattva and by a pair of goddesses bearing offerings. The Primordial Buddha and the five Transcendental Buddhas appear to the deceased over the first six days of the Bardo journey.

On the seventh day one encounters the five *vidyadhara*s ('bearers of knowledge') who in the painting

appear with their consorts above the central image of Samantabhadra. Each dances on a lotus, and they bear the colours of the five Transcendental Buddhas. The *vidyadhara*s guide the deceased to paradise, but if he cannot recognise that their blinding radiance in fact emanates from himself, he will be reborn in the world of the animals. Within the landscape of green mountains to either side of Samantabhadra are the six Manushi (Mortal Manifestation) Buddhas who guard the entrances to the six worlds of rebirth, and who try to dissuade the deceased from entering them, and to instead continue on the path towards Buddhahood. In the register of seven figures at the top, the blue manifestation of the Primordial Buddha as Vajradhara embraces his consort at the centre. The couple is immediately flanked by two lamas wearing the peaked red hat of the Nyingma order, beyond whom are two further lamas, one wearing the black hat of the Karmapa Kagyu and the other the red hat of the Shamarpa Kagyu. In either corner of the top register are two of the group of four *krodha* guardian deities, Yama (yellow) and Hayagriva (red). Each embraces their consort while standing on a lotus. The other two *krodha* are among the wrathful manifestations at the bottom of the painting. Takkiraja (white) and Vajrapani (blue) also embrace their consorts on a lotus. At bottom centre is a rare form of the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Mahakala, namely Gonpobornaktsan ('Black-Robed-One'). As iconographically prescribed, he holds a banner in one hand and a heart in the other. In the right corner is an additional image of Vajrapani with a *vajra* in his raised right hand.

The soft, green aspect of the landscape suggests an origin in the eastern parts of Tibet. The painting was probably executed in the Kham area towards the end of the 19th century.



Mahashriheruka

East or Central Tibet

Mid-18th century

Distemper on cloth

79 × 56 cm

This painting and the next two (Plates 53 and 54) represent some of the wrathful deities encountered on the forty-nine day journey of the deceased described in the *Bardo Thodol* (*Tibetan Book of Dead*). These deities represent the negative elements in the deceased's mind; if he can face them without fear his enlightenment is eminent.¹¹⁶ On days eight to twelve appear the five Herukas, and the principal deity of this painting is the first to appear. Mahashriheruka is a wrathful manifestation of the Primordial Buddha Saman-tabhadra. Being the Primordial Buddha, he represents as well the entire cycle of benign and wrathful deities of the Bardo journey. The winged, dark-brown, six-armed deity embraces his blue consort while standing on a lotus which is supported by a throne bearing *garuda* (half bird / half human deity) images.

With his four legs he tramples two human figures, while his consort Mahakrodheshvari offers him a *kapala* (skull cup) of blood. He has three faces of brown, red and white, and holds in his principal hands the *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *ghanta* (bell) while the remaining hold (clockwise from lower left) the *damaru* (drum), *trisula* (trident) and *kapala* filled with blood and intestines.

The divine couple are surrounded by a myriad of different divinities. Similarly embracing their consorts and standing on thrones bearing their particular vehicles are images of all of the Heruka manifestations of the five Transcendental Buddhas, three of which dominate the top of the painting, while the last two flank the principal couple. In a half circle around the upper half of the principal figures' flaming aureole are the eight Keurimas

goddesses dancing on disk-like platforms. Clockwise from lower left, they are the white Keurimas with corpse and *kapala*, the reddish yellow Pukkasi with intestines, the yellow Caurima with bow and arrow, the blackish green Ghasmari with *vajra* and *kapala*, the red Pramoha with banner, the yellowish Chandali with heart and corpse, the green Vaitali with *vajra* and *kapala* and the blackish-blue Shmashani with a head and body. These *dakini* ('genius' spirits) are considered as the counterparts of the eight Mahabodhisattva of the benign deities. In the sky beyond them are ten animal-headed goddesses, of which eight represent the Phramenmas and two are guardians. In the rolling green landscape of the lower half of the painting are a further twenty-eight animal-headed *dakini* known as Bangtruknyernga, who represent the last obstacles to the mind in the quest for enlightenment. They are accompanied by another two animal-headed female guardians, thus totalling thirty. Above the pool in which the principal figures' throne sits are a further eight *dakini*. At the centre of the bottom of the painting is an image of a dark-blue protective deity holding a spear and *kapala* and trampling two figures. He perhaps represents Maningnakpo Mahakala, but the iconography of this deity specifies a human heart rather than a *kapala*. He is flanked by a retinue of the multi-headed Rahula and Dorje Shug and four *dakini*, of which one is riding a horse.

The ethereal green landscape could suggest an eastern Tibetan origin and a date of around the mid-18th century.



Mahashribuddhaheruka

Central Tibet

Late 18th century

Distemper on cloth

64.5 × 48.5 cm

As with the previous painting, this image depicts the leader of a group of Herukas encountered during the forty-nine day journey of the deceased described in the *Bardo Thodol* (*Tibetan Book of Dead*). These deities represent the negative elements in the deceased's mind; if he can face them without fear his enlightenment is eminent. Mahashribuddhaheruka is a wrathful manifestation of Buddha Vairochana and appears to the deceased subsequent to the manifestation of the Primordial Buddha, Mahashriheruka discussed in the previous painting. He is also depicted as brown, and embraces his white consort while standing on a lotus. He is likewise three-headed and six-armed, of which the principal hands hold a *chakra* (wheel) and *ghanta* (bell). The other four hold (clockwise from lower left) a sword, *parashu* (axe), plough and *kapala* (skull cup) filled with blood.

He is surrounded by numerous deities neatly arranged into nine rows rather than being integrated into the soft green landscape barely perceptible behind them. In the top row are images of five six-armed Herukas embracing their consorts and flanked at either end by a pair of *dakini* ('genius' spirits). At the centre of the register below are four more human-headed *dakini* who together with the four above represent the Keurimas goddesses. They appear to the deceased on the thirteenth day. The bottom register contains five differently-coloured emanations of Sarvabuddhadakini, each holding a *karttrika* (chopper) and *kapala* and with a *trisula* (trident) resting against their shoulders. The right lower corner has the dark-blue protective deity Vajrakila embracing his consort and holding in his principal hands the *kila* (ritual dagger) of his name.

All other figures are animal- or bird-headed *dakini*, each holding different attributes. Each of the deities stand on a lotus and are backed by flaming aureoles as with the central image. Amongst the non-human-headed *dakini* are the groups of eight Phramenmas, the four *dakini* guardians and the twenty-eight Bangtruknyernga *dakini*. The deceased encounters these groups on the fourteenth day of his journey.

Probably of Central Tibetan origin, this painting is more mannered in its execution than the previous one, suggesting a slightly later date towards the end of the 18th century.



Heruka Yontanlatshog

Central Tibet

Circa 1800

Distemper on cloth

79 × 50 cm

Images of this nine-headed, eighteen-armed and four-legged deity are extremely rare;¹¹⁷ he is known only within the Nyingma order and was introduced into the pantheon by the 8th century master Padmasambhava. According to one source, he is to be considered a wrathful manifestation of the *yidam* (tutelary deity) Samvara.¹¹⁸ The Nyingma order recognises him in three different forms, and the present one is particularly unusual. This Heruka appears on the eighth day of the deceased's journey described in Padmasambhava's *Bardo Thodol* (*Tibetan Book of Dead*).

The winged Heruka embraces his green consort Budhakrodheshvari while standing on a large-petalled lotus and trampling on two human figures. The lotus rests on a rocky outcrop rising from a sea of blood. His principal hands hold a *kartrika* (chopper) and *kapala* (skull cup) while the other sixteen hold (clockwise from lower left) a *pasha* (noose), *parashu* (axe), sword, lotus blossom, jewel, *chakra* (wheel), *damaru* (drum), *trisula* (trident), staff, *parashu*, sun, half-moon emblem, manuscripts, *kapala*, intestines and flames. Both he and his consort are naked except for the tiger and elephant skins. Each of his nine heads have ferocious expressions and a stylised flaming hairdo encompasses them.

At the top of the painting are five figures, with, at their centre, a naked and blue Primordial Buddha Samantabhadra with his white consort. He is flanked by Padmasambhava on his right and perhaps by Terton Padma Lingpa (1450–1513) on his left. In the top left corner stands a white deity holding a *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *ghanta* (bell), while in the other corner stands a red, six-armed *dharma-pala* (defender of the faith) Hayagriva embracing his consort. At the bottom of the painting are six Herukas amidst the landscape of green mountains below the sea of blood. They are all winged, three-headed, six-armed and two-legged and embrace their green consorts.

The rather simple and slightly naive execution of this Central Tibetan painting suggest a date at the end of the 18th or even early 19th century.



Vajrapani

Central Tibet

Late 16th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

54 × 33 cm

The first of a group of *nakthang* (black ground paintings) in the Jucker Collection depicts the bodhisattva Vajrapani in his manifestation as a *krodha* guardian, an identification confirmed by an inscription in red on the reverse which is completely illegible except for the name 'Vajrapani'. The composition is drawn in gold with red, white and green detailing. Embracing his consort, Vajrapani holds a *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *ghanta* (bell) while his consort offers him a *kapala* (skull cup) filled with blood. Standing on a lotus dotted with red seed pods, he tramples two human figures. He is naked except for a shawl floating around his shoulders and the tiger skin and garland of severed heads around his waist. The red and gold details of his and his consort's faces loom out of the darkness in a truly ferocious vision reinforced by his aureole of red licking flames.

Directly above the aureole is an image of the 8th century Buddhist master Padmasambhava, associating this image with the Nyingma order. To the left in a cave is a yogi seated on an antelope skin, and clad in a loose garment, with a meditation band over his shoulder and holding a *kapala*.¹¹⁹ At the bottom of the painting dance three *dakini* ('genius' spirits) on lotus.¹²⁰ The one to the right has a boar head, and the other two have boar heads poking out from their headdresses. They each hold a staff and a *karttrika* (chopper).

The dynamic quality of this *nakthang* suggests a date towards the end of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century. It is comparable to two *nakthang* examples in the Fournier Collection and dated by Gilles Béguin to the 16th century.¹²¹ The present example shares the movement and the line quality of the Fournier Yama. The red seed pods of the lotus and its broad petals, however, are more comparable to the Fournier Samvara.



Panjaramahakala

Central Tibet

Late 17th Century

Distemper and gold on black silk

70 × 51 cm

This powerful *nakthang* (black ground painting) has been executed on silk, which is rather rare as a *thangka* medium.¹²²

The subject is Panjaramahakala ('Lord of the Tent'), a manifestation of the popular *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Mahakala. He crouches with flexed legs on a lotus, trampling a defeated enemy.

Both hands are placed in front of his chest and hold a *karttrika* (chopper) and *kapala* (skull cup) filled with organs. Across both arms is placed a staff with a flaming jewel at either end. He wears a tiger skin skirt, a garland of severed heads and other ornaments. He has a third eye adorning his forehead, which is encompassed by a diadem of skulls. A flaming aureole helps to lift him out of the black background.

He is accompanied by a retinue of several deities all framed by flaming aureoles. Immediately flanking his lotus is his manifestation as Brahmanarupa Mahakala, recognisable by the bone trumpet in his left hand, and the *dharmapala* Shri Devi astride her mule. Above them are the four-armed guardian Vajrahumkara and Ekajati (Blue Tara), a female manifestation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, holding the flask with the elixir of life. At the bottom are depicted the five *dakini* ('genius' spirits) Kali, Karali, Varali, Kantali and Mahakali, each holding different attributes and dancing on a corpse. In front of

the lotus stands a low Chinese-style table laid with offerings.

At the top of the painting is the tutelary deity *par excellence* of the Sakya order, Hevajra. Panjaramahakala is also regarded as a special protective deity of the Sakya. Above the dancing Hevajra is the manifestation of the Primordial Buddha associated with the Sakya order, Vajradhara. Flanking these two deities are eighteen lamas, primarily of the Sakya order, with the inner group being more simply rendered than the outer group who sit on cushions on elaborate thrones. Unfortunately there are no inscriptions giving their names. Possibly the two top lamas seated on thrones represent Sachen Kunga Nyingpo (1092–1158) and Dromton (1004–1063). Sachen Kunga Nyingpo founded both the Sakya order and monastery, while the long-haired Dromton founded the Kadam order, but was nevertheless highly venerated within the Sakya order. An elementary landscape is suggested by a few rock formations.

Based on the quality of its fine-line drawing and certain details, this *nakthang* can be dated towards the end of the 17th century. Vajradhara's scarf draping over the edge of the lotus is a common 17th century feature, while the hairdo is not quite as wild as those of the 18th century. One can compare this example with another *nakthang* published by Gilles Béguin and dated by him to the 2nd half of the 17th century.¹²³



Kakamukhamahakala

Bhutan

Circa 1700

Distemper and gold on cloth

70 × 50 cm

The gruesome, black, raven-headed figure is one of the many manifestations of *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Mahakala, and his veneration in Tibet was probably introduced by the Sakya order.¹²⁴ He ultimately became very popular as a protective deity amongst the Drukpa Kagyu order in Bhutan. In this painting, he embraces his consort while dancing on a lotus and trampling a human figure. The lotus is beautifully detailed with red scrolling foliage and large double petals. Kakamukhamahakala's winged arms are outstretched and hold a *karttrika* (chopper) and *kapala* (skull cup). He wears a tiger-skin skirt and is adorned with a necklace of snakes and a garland of severed heads. His pointed beak almost touches the lips of his naked red consort seated on his left hip. She holds a *kapala* and sword. Surrounding them is an aureole of licking flames which spreads throughout the composition. Immediately above his fiery hair is a four-armed Mahakala with his consort, while amidst the clouds at the top of the painting sits a Drukpa lama. At the bottom of the painting are three more manifestations of Kakamukhamahakala with their consorts, while in the lower right corner is a deity riding a horse,¹²⁵ holding a spear with a banner in his right hand and a heart and *pasha* (noose) in his left. At bottom centre are some offerings, including three *kapala* filled with human organs, which represent the five senses. In addition, there is a red triangle decorated with ritual implements and probably meant to represent the butter offering known as *torma*.

Compared to the first *nakthang* (black ground painting) discussed here, the present example not only has a wider palette in its detailing, but is slightly more mannered in its execution, suggesting a later date of *circa* 1700. The large double petals of the main lotus are comparable to that of the previous *thangka* (Plate 55), and it is reminiscent also of an example in the Fournier Collection, dated to the 2nd half of the 17th century.¹²⁶ However the clouds are clumsier than those in the latter, justifying the later date at the turn of the 18th century.



Seikhrabtsan

Central Tibet

Circa 1700

76.5 × 53.5 cm

The subject of this beautifully executed *nakthang* (black ground painting) is the wrathful manifestation of Tsangpa Karpo (White Brahma) known as Seikhrabtsan.¹²⁷

Drawn in a vigorous gold fine-line, Seikhrabtsan rides a horse and holds aloft a *khatvanga* (ritual sceptre) and in the other hand a *pasha* (noose). His helmet is adorned with banners, and he wears intricately worked armour and boots. His belt has a buckle in the form of a grotesque lion's face, and those parts of his body not covered are red, as according to his prescribed iconography.¹²⁸ Just beyond his flaming aureole are his four assistants, three of which also ride a horse, while one rides a cockerel. They are (clockwise from lower left) Luten holding a snake, Tsengye Makpon holding a *pasha* and *khatvanga*, Tergye Srungma riding the cockerel and Seikhrabtsan himself again holding a *pasha* and *khatvanga*.

Immediately below this central grouping is a *kapala* (skull cup) filled with human organs representing the five senses and flanked at either side by *kapala* filled with frothing blood. The white of the skulls almost jumps from the black background. Flanking these offerings are four of the five Prinla Konpo mounted on horses. Several minute scenes are visible at the lower part of this painting, including a deer being devoured by a dog-like

predator, birds devouring a human body and two priests performing rituals on lay figures. Most interesting however is a very small scene at the centre of the lower border of a few corpses nailed down with pegs in front of a tree stump. The three lamas depicted at the top of the painting have at their centre the Indian Buddhist master Atisha (982–1054), who inspired the creation of the Kadam order. He has a gold-coloured butter lamp and a basket containing the three-fold Buddhist instructions central to his teachings. Seated on a blanket covering the throne, he holds his hands in *dharmachakramudra* (gesture of 'turning the wheel of the law'). Two disciples flank him, the one holding a manuscript could represent his West Tibetan pupil, the great translator Lekpe Sherab. The reverse of the painting has a now almost illegible inscription written in the black *umed* script, and probably only containing pious verses.

This dynamic and well-executed painting could like the preceding image have been created circa 1700, its quality being comparable to another *nakthang* example in the Fournier Collection dated to the same period.¹²⁹

Previously published: Olschak and Wangyal, 1977, p. 97



Mahavajrabhairava

Central Tibet

Late 18th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

76.5 × 47.5 cm

Mahavajrabhairava is a manifestation of the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Yamantaka and is one of the most complex deities of Tibetan Buddhism. As an incarnation of Manjushri, the bodhisattva of wisdom, he subdues his fellow *dharmapala* Yama, who in this case represents death. Vajrabhairava is especially popular with the Geluk order where he is also ranked as an *yidam* (tutelary deity).¹³⁰

The bull-headed Mahavajrabhairava embraces his blue consort Vetali standing on a lotus and trampling with his eight legs various animals and Brahmanic deities such as Indra, Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu to demonstrate the superiority of Buddhism. With the principal of this thirty-four hands he holds a *karttika* (chopper) and a *kapala* (skull cup) filled with blood. Vetali holds similarly filled *kapala*. His other thirty-two hands each hold a prescribed attribute. In the dark sky around him circle the ten *dikpala* (guardian kings of the directions) identifiable as (clockwise from lower left) Indra on an elephant, Agni on a goat, Yama on a bull, Rakshasha on a demon, Brahma on a goose, Varuna on a *makara* (sea monster), Vayu on a deer, Kubera on a horse, Vashita on a cow and Prthivi on a boar. At top centre is the Primordial Buddha Vajradhara flanked by four monks, one of which wears his hair in a topknot. Unfortunately the lack of inscribed names prohibits more precise identification. Immediately beneath Vajrabhairava is an image of Yama, naked, ithyphallic and standing on a blue bull trampling a human figure. His consort Yami offers him a *kapala* of blood. They are surrounded by twelve black, red, and white female figures with ferocious expressions, a third eye, flaming hairdos, long-sleeved coats and riding various animals. They seem to form part of Yama's retinue.

Although still a well-conceived *nakthang* (black ground painting) with much use of colour detailing, the figures are relatively mannered in their execution, suggesting a date towards the end of the 18th century, or even slightly later.



Karmaheruka (?)

Central Tibet

Late 18th century

Distemper on cloth

71.5 × 52 cm

An unusual iconographic example in the Jucker Collection is this green-winged divinity, whose identity is uncertain. Most probably he represents Karmaheruka, the wrathful emanation of Buddha Amoghasiddhi. He is surrounded by divinities commonly mentioned as appearing during the forty-nine day journey of the deceased described in the *Bardo Thodol* (*Tibetan Book of the Dead*), traditionally considered to have been composed by the 8th century Buddhist master Padmasambhava. Although his winged form and green colour suggest Karmaheruka, his attributes do not fit with those prescribed for this entity (a double *vajra* [diamond sceptre], sword, spear, *kapala* [skull cup], plough and *ghanta* [bell]). In this case he is holding in his eight hands (clockwise from lower left) a staff with a human finial, a *vajra*, a *phurbu* (dagger), snake noose, a spear hung with two banners of skin and a *kapala*. His white consort stands on his left hip, instead of in the more common embrace, and offers him a *kapala* of blood. Standing on a lotus, he tramples on several human figures. Both he and his consort wear tiger-skin skirts and diadems of skulls. Stretched behind him are human and elephant skins fronting an aureole of licking flames. A garland of severed heads and a snake add to his gruesome appearance.

At the top is a register with (from left) a Nyingma lama wearing a white turban and holding a manuscript, the Primordial Buddha associated with the Nyingma

order – Samantabhadra, a Nyingma lama, Mahashriheruka (Samantabhadra's Heruka manifestation) and three more clerical figures. The main part of the painting surrounding the central figures is taken up with rows of *dakini* ('genius' spirits) who appear during the Bardo journey. Below the top register and to the left are a group of human-headed figures who represent the eight Keurimas. Below them and on the other side of the central figure are the four animal-headed *dakini* guardians and the eight animal-headed Phramenmas. Near the right feet of the principal subject are the guardians Rahula, covered with eyes, and Shri Devi riding her mule over a sea of blood. Between the central figure's legs is another protective deity, but due to its damaged condition, his identification is fugitive. At the bottom of the painting are three rows of animal-headed *dakini* who represent the twenty-eight Bangtruknyernga. Finally there are five Tsan (Mountain) deities riding a snow lion, elephant, mule, horse and bull, respectively.

The entirety is set in a mountainous landscape drawn in gold on the black background. Interestingly the borders are decorated with series of severed heads, tiger heads, bird heads and horse heads. These are in turn encompassed by a border of scrolling vines. Considering the quality of its line drawing, this *nakthang* (black ground painting) was probably executed towards the end of the 18th century.



Maningnakpo

East Tibet

Early 19th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

46 × 31.5 cm

The final example of a *nakthang* (black ground painting) is this unusual manifestation of the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Mahakala, and one which is particularly popular with the Nyingma and the Drukpa Kagyu orders. This scroll was probably commissioned for a Nyingma monastery as two lamas of this order are depicted in the top register.

Maningnakpo embraces his white consort while standing on a lotus and trampling human figures. His raised right hand holds a *trisula* (trident) hung with a banner and in his left is a human heart and a *pasha* (noose). A sandalwood *gada* (mace) rests against his left shoulder, and his consort holds in her right hand a *ghanta* (bell). He wears boots and a long coat worked in a pattern of gold flowers. He has human and elephant skins draped over his shoulders as well as eight snakes which flare out at his sides. He is further adorned by garlands made of skulls, snakes, human hearts and severed heads.

Beyond his flaming aureole is a landscape of eight cemeteries with scenes of corpses and bones being devoured by various scavengers. In the sky above sit a white-clad *terton* (treasure discoverer) holding a *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *ghanta*. He is flanked by two Nyingma lamas, who lack any identifying labels. At the bottom of the painting are three unusual manifestations of protective deities. On the left is the nine-headed Rahula

with his snake body rising from a sea of blood. The human half of his body is covered with eyes and his attributes are a *pasha* decorated with a dragon-head, a bow and an arrow. When this planetary divinity was incorporated into the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, he was made general of all the planets. He is the object of particular veneration within the Nyingma order. Unfortunately, the two other deities respectively riding a horse and what might be a yak, are more difficult to identify. The central horseman is also covered with eyes and holds a *trisula* and *kapala* and wears a quiver of arrows. The one on the right holds a *vajra* and a human heart and wears a long coat like that of the central figure. In front of this trio is placed a *kapala* (skull cup) filled with human organs representing the five senses. Scattered around are further human body parts being devoured by scavengers. The border is composed of gruesomely smiling skulls.

The painting is much more stiffly executed than the previous *nakthang* images, and its colours are more varied. In addition, the petals of the principal lotus are similar to those on an example in the Fournier Collection dating to the 19th century and possibly originating from Mongolia.¹³¹ Based on these criteria, the Jucker *thangka* can be dated to the early 19th century with an origin in the more eastern or northern regions of Tibet.



Chakrasamvara mandala

Southern Central Tibet

Late 14th century

Distemper on cloth

46 × 36.5 cm

The first of the selected group of mandalas in the Jucker Collection focuses on the *yidam* (tutelary deity) Samvara.¹³² The six-armed, blue Chakrasamvara embraces his consort Vajravarahi at the lotus centre of the mandala, his principal hands holding the *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *ghanta* (bell), while the others (clockwise from lower left) hold a *damaru* (drum), elephant skin and a *kapala* (skull cup); a staff rests against his shoulder. In the eight surrounding petals are the four *dakini* ('genius' spirits) the green Lama, the red Khandaroha, the yellow Rupini and the black Dakini¹³³ alternating with *kapala*. Each holds a *kartrika* (chopper) and *kapala*, while staffs also rest against their shoulders. In the corners beyond are four goddesses, who according to the Indian iconographic text, the *Nispannayogavali*,¹³⁴ belong to the eight goddesses of the circle of Convention. Four relate to Yama in his role as god of death, and are known as Yamadahi, Yamaduti, Yamadamstri and Yamamathani. The other four, animal-headed goddesses from this group are the miniature figures guarding the gates of this level of the mandala and are Kakasya (crow head), the green Ulukasya (owl head), the red Svanasya (dog head) and the yellow Sukarasya (boar head).

In the circular border of the mandala are the eight cemeteries which represent the eight different levels of the mind. Each cemetery features a scene where a *dikpala*

(guardian king of the ten directions) flanked by a *mahasiddha* (adept) with his consort are surrounded by scavengers devouring corpses. Beyond these, in the corners, are eight pairs of goddesses flanking four images of *yidam*. At both top corners are six-armed forms of Guhyasamaja, and in the bottom left is Hevajra and to the right a standing, twelve-armed Samvara. At the top of the painting is a register with (from left) the Primordial Buddha Vajradhara, the *dakini* Sarvabuddhadakini, a *mahasiddha*, possibly Vajradhara embracing his consort, three more *mahasiddha* and ten monks – probably of the Sakya order. At the bottom of the painting are two rows of deities, the upper one comprising six male and six female protective deities, and the lower one with fifteen Brahmanic deities, including the *dikpala*.

Although there is a strong Newar influence evident in the style, this painting was certainly a Tibetan commission if only because of the Tibetan mantras on the reverse and the Tibetan lamas depicted in the upper register. In addition, there is no scene of priest and donors common to Newar commissioned works.¹³⁵

The work, therefore, likely originates from the southern regions of Central Tibet where numerous Newar artists worked and their influence was the strongest. Based on the style, a late 14th century date is proposed.



Krishnayamari mandala

Southern Central Tibet

Late 16th century

Distemper on cloth

39 × 31 cm

Krishnayamari¹⁶⁰ is a manifestation of the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Yamantaka who conquers death in the form of the god Yama. Within tantric philosophy, death is in fact equated with ignorance, and as long as the latter exists there is a need for Yamari. The six-armed blue Krishnayamari tramples a bull representing Yama, while embracing his light-blue consort, Svabhaprajna at the centre of the mandala. His principal hands hold the *karttika* (chopper) and *kapala* (skull cup), while the rest hold (clockwise from lower left) a sword, *vajra* (diamond sceptre), *chakra* (wheel) and a lotus. They stand within a square against an aureole worked with a scrolling pattern, which contrasts with the scroll-patterned blue background of the square.

The square, in fact, represents the centre of a lotus, and beyond it spread four petals, each containing another manifestation of Yamantaka, each of whom represent an emotion: the white Vairochanayamari, the yellow Ratneshayamari, the red Amitabhayamari and the green Irshyayamari. Between them are four similar deities who, according to the Indian iconographic manual *Nispannayogavali*, are the white Vajracarika, the blue Vajravarahi, the red Vajrasarasvati and the green Gauri.¹⁶¹ Beyond these deities, placed in the four

'entrances' are small, detailed images of the mandala's guardian deities, the blue Mudgarayamari, the white Dandayamari, the red Padmayamari and the green Khadgayamari. Encircling this is a band of green flames, followed by one of stylised and multi-coloured lotus petals, and finally by one of stylised and multi-coloured flames. As with the central square, the complete mandala sits against a blue background worked with a scrolling pattern.

At the top and bottom of the painting are registers of Sakya lamas in debate with the additional images of a bodhisattva in the top left corner and one of Buddha Amitabha in the bottom right corner. The bodhisattva holds a pair of *utpala* (blue lotus), but they do not support the usual attributes. Therefore it is difficult to identify him, although he might represent Manjushri, as he has that bodhisattva's prescribed yellowish colour and particular type of lotus. There are four further images of Sakya lamas just beyond the border of the mandala.

This mandala was part of a larger series from which another painting published in Olschak and Wangyal also once belonged.¹⁶² Both were probably created towards the end of the 16th century for a Sakya monastery in southern Central Tibet.



Karamukhachakrasamvara mandala

Southern Central Tibet

Early 17th century

Distemper on cloth

33 × 26 cm

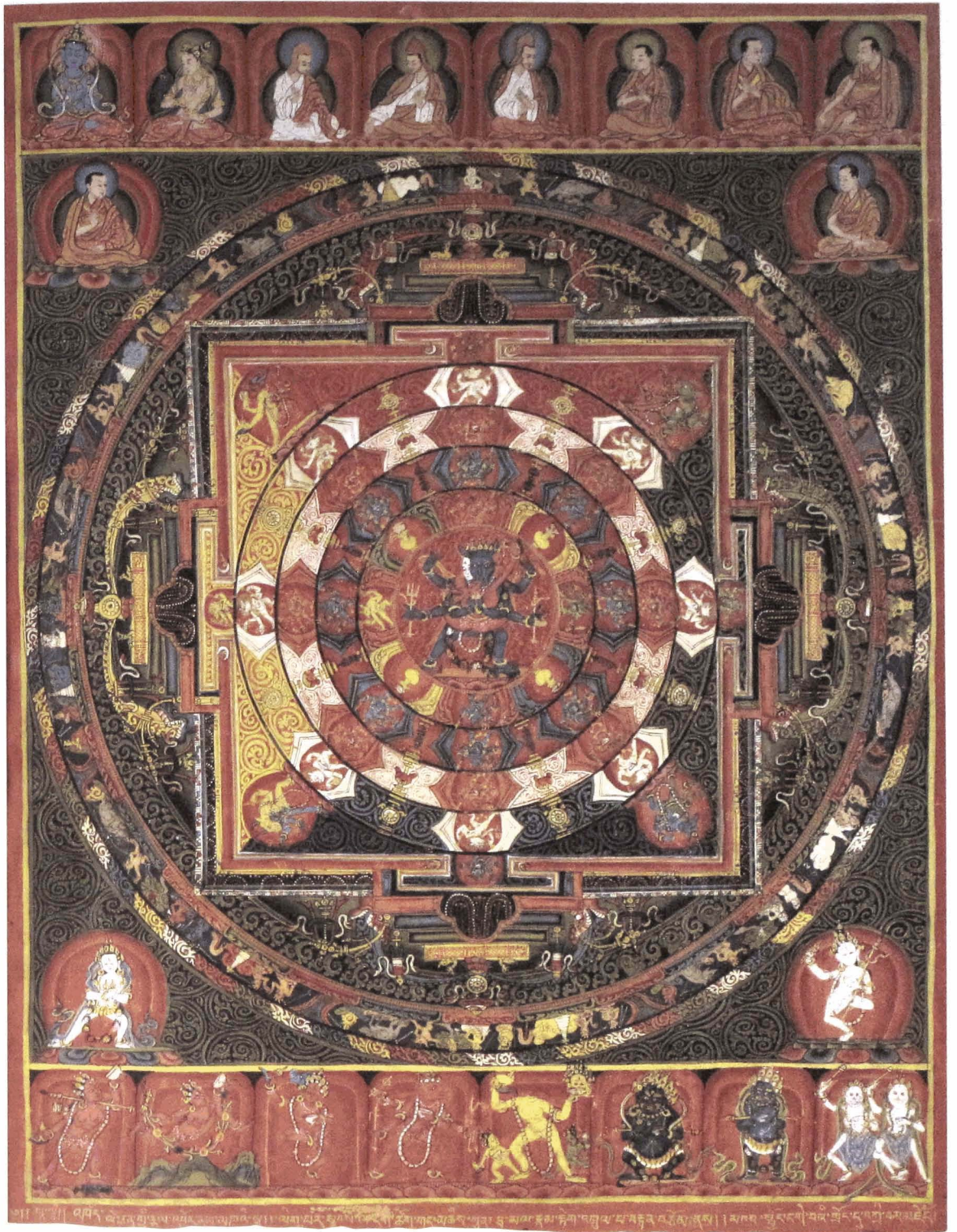
It is unusual to find this dark-blue, donkey-headed manifestation of the *yidam* (tutelary deity) Samvara in painting.¹³⁹ Karamukhachakrasamvara is a form of the deity described in the *Anmutarayoga tantra* which is considered to be the most advanced of the group of four 'mother' *tantras* of Tibetan Buddhism.¹⁴⁰ At the circular centre of the mandala he embraces his red and similarly donkey-headed consort, Vajravarahi, while standing on a lotus and trampling a pair of figures. His principal hands hold a *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *ghanta* (bell), while the four others hold (clockwise from lower left) a *trisula* (trident), elephant skin and *khatvanga* (ritual sceptre). Vajravarahi holds in her right hand a *karttika* (chopper) and her left arm is slung around his neck. They are naked except for some garlands of severed heads and skulls, and rest against a red scrolling background which serves as the lotus centre of the mandala.

Within the eight large lotus petals beyond are four differently-coloured donkey-headed *dakini* ('genius' spirits) alternating with *kapala* (skull cups) placed on *kalasha* vases. Beyond this circle are three others divided into compartments less reminiscent of the petals of a lotus than the spokes of the *dharmachakra* (wheel of the law). Each spoke contains the image of a four-armed *dakini* holding attributes, which in the first of the circles comprise eight blue bird-headed figures, followed in the next one with eight red bird-headed figures and the outermost

with eight white animal-headed ones. In the four corners of the square beyond are four animal-headed *dakini* half of one colour and half of another. Similar figures guard the mandala 'entrances'. The borders are made up of a band of green flames, followed by one of multi-coloured stylised lotus petals, one of ascetics seated amongst corpses and scavengers of eight cemeteries, and, finally, one of multi-coloured stylised flames. The background beyond is worked with a green scrolling pattern and bears in its upper corners two images of monks, while in the corners below are two white *dakini*.

At the top is a register with (from left) an image of the blue Primordial Buddha Vajradhara, followed by a female figure, three white-clad lamas and three monks with red garments. Based on the hats depicted, the monks and lamas are probably of the Sakya order. At the bottom is a register with (from left) the *dakini* Narodakini, Maitridakini, Vajravarahi, Arthasadhanavarahi and Chinnamundavajravarahi, followed by two forms of the guardian deity Panjaramahakala and a pair of white *chitipati* (skeletons). At the bottom runs a *uchen* inscription naming Chakrasamvara as the deity of the mandala.

This mandala is more schematic in its execution than the previous example, and closely resembles one dated to the 17th century.¹⁴¹ However this Jucker mandala seems slightly earlier than the latter, and a date at the beginning of the 17th century is proposed.



Ekavira-Vajrabhairava mandala

Southern Central Tibet

17th century

Distemper on cloth

31 × 24 cm

Unfortunately this mandala is in a less pristine condition than the previously discussed examples. At its square centre is the blue Ekavira ('Incomparable Hero') Vajrabhairava, a manifestation of the *dharmapala* (defender of the faith) Yamantaka. He is naked, ithyphallic and has thirty-six hands holding different attributes. In the patchwork arrangement of squares beyond him are further emanations of Yamantaka – the yellow Ratneshayamari, the red Amitabhayamari, the green Irshayamari and the white Vairochanayamari, alternating with miniature manifestations of themselves. All nine manifestations of Yamantaka reside, as it were, at the heart of a lotus, with the band beyond being the petals of the lotus, each of which bears a ritual implement or symbol. Extremely curious is the border of minuscule white skulls running along the inner rim of the petal band, and in the shape of a mirror with a handle/grip form at the bottom. The lotus is set within a square divided by colour into four parts, but worked throughout with a scrolling pattern. In each corner is a three-headed, naked, divinity standing on a *kapala* (skull cup) placed on a lotus. Four differently-coloured deities guard the 'entrances'. Due to the surface deterioration, the mandala is difficult to interpret, but

the guards seem to be the same as those found on the Krishnayamari mandala in Plate 63. Beyond the entrances is a border of green flames, followed by one of yogis sitting in eight cemeteries amongst corpses and scavengers, and finally by a border of multi-coloured stylised flames. In the red scrolling background beyond, four images of monks reside in each of the corners.

At the top is a register with at the left a very unusual red image of the Primordial Buddha Vajradhara holding a *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and *ghanta* (bell), if indeed this image has been correctly interpreted. He is followed by five debating Sakya lamas and four monks who are impossible to identify as no inscribed names accompany them. At the bottom is a register with ten monks seated on lotus and wearing several layers of garments decorated with a pattern of flowers.

This mandala is from a series of which perhaps another example has been published by Essen and Thingo.¹⁴² As this painting is more mannered in its execution than the previous example (Plate 64), it can safely be dated to the 17th century, as is the Essen and Thingo painting.

Previously published: Lauf, 1972, pl. 66



Vajravidarana mandala

Southern Central Tibet

Late 17th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

50 × 36.5 cm

This mandala seems to depict at its centre the blue Vajravidarana, a wrathful manifestation of the Primordial Buddha Vajrasattva who destroys with his *vajra* (diamond sceptre) all negative elements. In this painting, he holds a *vajra* and *ghanta* (bell), and wears a tiger skin around his waist and a shawl floating from his shoulders. He resides in the blue scroll-worked centre of a lotus, with multi-coloured petals probably containing other wrathful manifestations of Vajrasattva, namely, Vajrachanda, Vajradanda, Vajramudgara and Vajrakilaya. Each has their hands in *tarjanimudra* (gesture of pointing out error) and hold different attributes. In the next band are ten further lotus petals containing guardian deities also with their hands in *tarjanimudra* and holding different attributes. Each of the four 'entrances' are also guarded by deities belonging to Vajravidarana's retinue. Beyond are the borders of green flames, stylised and multi-coloured lotus petals, and finally stylised and multi-coloured flames.

The background beyond is separated into three parts by a light blue area, a dark blue area and a green area, all worked with a scrolling pattern. Floating in these areas is a host of twenty-seven Sakya lamas and monks, many seemingly engaged in debate. Although all have their names inscribed, unfortunately they are now for the most part illegible.¹⁴³ Amongst the monks are a few Buddhist deities: at top centre is Buddha Shakyamuni with to his right the bodhisattva Maitreya holding a pair of lotus, one of which supports a *kalasha* vase. At the bottom is the guardian deity Panjaramahakala in the right corner and the monk-donor¹⁴⁴ is seated in a niche opposite.

This mandala appears contemporary to or even slightly later than the previous mandala (Plate 65), and a late 17th century date is therefore suggested.



A Geluk order pantheon

Central Tibet

Circa 1750

Distemper and gold on cloth

81.5 × 54 cm

This unusual painting depicts a host of the lamas and deities associated with the Geluk order divided into nine rows, each containing nine figures inscribed with their names. The top row contains lamas, the outermost two being identified only by their titles: Panchen Lama (left) and Lama Rinpoche (right). But beyond the one on the left is the 1st Dalai Lama (1391–1475), followed probably by the 6th Dalai Lama (1682–1703), the trio in the middle are Tsongkhapa (1357–1419) flanked by his disciples Gyaltsab Je (left) and Khedrub Je (right). They are followed by another high dignitary, Jamchen Choje Shakya Yeshe, and the 2nd Dalai Lama (1475–1543).

The second row has *yidam* (tutelary deities) and *dharmaṃpala* (defenders of the faith) with the Primordial Buddha Vajradhara at the centre. Among the figures are several manifestations of Guhyasamaja, Chakrasamvara, Yamantaka and Hayagriva. In the next five rows are the Confession Buddhas, nine manifestations of Buddha Amitayus, the five Transcendental Buddhas, some of the Medicine Buddhas and two manifestations of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara at either end of the third row from the bottom, followed by two additional manifestations, Syama (Green) Tara and Sita (White) Tara. In between are images of the five Pancharakshas who ward off illness and evil. The second row from bottom has more protective deities, and in particular those specifically identified as guardians the Geluk order. From the left they are Vaishravana, Shri Devi, the white Cintamahakala, Hayagriva, the four-armed Mahakala, Vajrapani, Yama on the bull, another form of Mahakala and Begtse. The bottom row has at either end the white Tsangspa Karpo (White Brahma) and his manifestation as the red Seikhrabtsan, both guardians mounted on horses. Each is flanked by two *lokapala* (guardian kings) with Virudhaka (with sword) and Dhrtarashtra on the left, while Vaishravana and Virupaksha with stupa are placed on the right. Three Hindu deities, Indra holding the *vajra* (diamond sceptre) and seated on the elephant, Kubera with the mongoose and the three-headed Brahma on the goose, occupy the centre.

The painting would have almost certainly been made in the Geluk power base of Central Tibet, and as the 6th Dalai Lama is the latest of the lamas identified, a mid-18th century date for its execution is proposed.



Amitabha (?)

Dolpo, North Nepal (?)

17th / 18th century

Distemper on cloth

65 × 50 cm

The subject of this painting has proved particularly difficult to identify. The red principal figure is seated in *vajrasana* (meditation posture) on a lotus resting on a throne adorned with peacocks, which – together with his colouring – prompts the identification of the figure as the Transcendental Buddha Amitabha whose mount is a peacock. However his two hands are in an unclear *mudra* (gesture). As the thumb and third finger touch, they could be interpreted as what Frederick W. Bunce has called the *katarimudra*.¹⁴⁵ Alternatively, he could represent the Transcendental Buddha Amoghasiddhi. Although the latter's prescribed colour is green, the prescribed *abhayamudra* (gesture of protection) is similar to that of present figure's right hand, but without the fingers touching. As this last connection is extremely tenuous, the author prefers to think of the seated red Buddha as a free interpretation of Amitabha. The selection of animals making up the throne back, although naively executed, do conform with the standard.

The deity is flanked by a pair of standing bodhisattva who have also proved unidentifiable. Their *mudras* are indeterminate and their dhotis fall in three differently-coloured tiers. If the central figure is indeed Amitabha, then these two should be identified as Avalokiteshvara and Mahasthamaprapta. Several other deities with elusive identities surround this central image. They neither bear attributes nor have identifying labels. To either side of the throne back are two groups of four figures seated in *vajrasana*. Two of these are red-robed and are clearly monks, and the others give the impression of being bodhisattva. Flanking the throne base are two *dakini* ('genius' spirits), a crowned Buddha or bodhisattva, and what perhaps may be a donor figure dressed in a white robe and bearing a halo. At the centre of the throne base,

between the peacocks, is a goddess seated in *vajrasana*. Outside the central cartouche, the painting is dominated by rows and rows of seated Buddhas, probably representing the theme of a Thousand Buddhas. Amidst these images at the bottom are four standing guardian deities; one has six arms and two are two-armed, and another two-armed figure stands above the first three. Again, the lack of attributes makes their exact identity impossible to establish. Flanking these guardians are two deities, one mounted on an elephant and the other on a horse. Both are difficult to identify, although the greenish figure reminds one of a horseless Nampar Gyalwa, the Bon deity who is the subject of the painting in Plate 70. In another *thangka* still *in situ* at Yundrun, a Bon monastery in Central Tibet, he is depicted with his horse.¹⁴⁶ The white-clad figure could represent a Bon donor figure, like a similar one depicted in Plate 70 with a white hat, and which is certainly a Bon painting. However, these Bon connections are also fairly tenuous.

The Musée Guimet has a painting of Amoghasiddhi which is rather similar in style and iconography.¹⁴⁷ The Guimet example originates from West Tibet and is less awkwardly executed than the Jucker example, with all figures bearing their attributes and correct *mudras*. It lacks however the two small figures at the bottom of the Jucker painting seated on an elephant and a horse. Could the Jucker painting be a Bon interpretation of Amitabha, or is it simply an iconographically inexact Buddhist image of the deity made in some remote, provincial area of Tibet, such as Dolpo on the Nepal/Tibet border, which is also home to several Bon monasteries?

The style and rigid execution of the painting suggests it is a 17th or 18th century interpretation of the styles of the 13th to early 14th century.



Balsojiduntsetsan

Central Tibet

13th century

Tsakli, watercolour on paper

12 × 6 cm

Tsakli are small painted images of deities on paper, which, organised in sets, are used during Buddhist initiation rituals,¹⁴⁸ but they are also used during Bon funerary rites.¹⁴⁹ In this image is depicted the sixth of the thirteen *shen* (teachers) of the Bon religion.¹⁵⁰ His name literally means 'Having a tooth of (the deity) Bal (as) spear-tip'.¹⁵¹ The *shen* hope to save all humans from the necessity of undergoing the intermediate state between death and rebirth that the Buddhists refer to as the Bardo. Each of the thirteen *shen* presides over a stage leading the deceased to ultimate perfection.¹⁵²

The yellow deity stands in a slightly bent posture on a lotus, his right hand holding a spear hung with a banner, while his left is in *vitarkamudra* (instruction gesture). He wears a diaphanous dhoti with a very short undergarment; a shawl is draped over his shoulders and he is adorned with jewellery. His right eye protrudes from his face and a diadem decorated with three leaves adorns his head. The reverse has a finely written inscription in *umed* script giving his name.

The style of this *tsakli* seems very early, judging by the Pala Indian style of the face, the simply rendered diadem, large ear ornaments, high level of the armlets and the diaphanous dhoti with a short undergarment. A 13th century date for its execution is therefore proposed, which, if accurate, makes this one of the earliest Bon paintings extant.



Nampar Gyalwa

Central Tibet

15th/16th century

Distemper on cloth

66 × 53 cm

Nampar Gyalwa ('Fully Victorious One') is a manifestation of Tonpa Shenrab (alt. Shenrap Miwo),¹⁵³ the *shen* (teacher) of the present cosmic era.¹⁵⁴ As Nampar Gyalwa, he is the conqueror of some demons who wanted to destroy a monastery built according to Shenrab's guidelines. The latter transformed himself into Nampar Gyalwa and emanated four additional wrathful deities to help subdue the demons.¹⁵⁵

The green Nampar Gyalwa is seated in *vajrasana* (meditation posture) on a lotus resting on a throne. He holds his right hand in a rare *mudra* (ritual gesture) indicating vanquishing, while his left rests on his knee. Flanking him are two white and one green standing male figures. His elaborate throne back features at its base, according to his prescribed iconography, a pair of lions devouring brahmins. Above them are a pair of dragons ridden by *naga* (snake) children,¹⁵⁶ and the upper part is composed of a pair of *makara* (sea monsters) with tails that curl upward. The original *khyung*-bird of the apex has been replaced by a multi-armed wrathful deity, although the lower part of the *khyung*'s tail is still discernible.

In the upper half of the painting are four large seated figures with loose shawls around their shoulders who represent the Spiritual Heroes. All four are surrounded by several smaller figures, possibly their disciples. Flanking the central figure's lotus are a pair of anthropomorphised *nagas* seated on thrones and similarly accompanied by *naga* retainers. Below them are an armoured seated figure on the left and a female figure on the right. Both again surrounded by attendants.¹⁵⁷ Below Nampar Gyalwa's throne stands the brown king of demons with his two additional bird- and boar-heads.¹⁵⁸ He is flanked by four dancing, animal-headed attendants. In the bottom register is an offering scene with the white-clad donor on the left and three priests on the right.

This unusual Bon painting seems to have been made in the late 15th or early 16th century, and probably in Central Tibet.



Palchen Meri

Central Tibet

16th/17th century

Distemper on cloth

87 × 75 cm

There are relatively few other published examples of the Bon tutelary deity Palchen Meri ('Mountain of Fire').¹⁵⁹ Engulfed in flames, he subdues demons and is closely associated with the kingdom of Zhangzhung. This kingdom was once located in the area around Mt Kailash in western Tibet, and it is from there that Bon reputedly spread throughout the plateau in the pre-Buddhist period.¹⁶⁰

The golden Meri stands on a lotus trampling a pair of figures. The lotus rests on a throne decorated with a bird and three animals. Each of Meri's eighteen hands holds an attribute, and he is armoured and wears snake garlands. His principal black, wrathful face is flanked by a red and white one and surmounted by six additional animal- and bird-heads. On his breast is an image of the green Kuchi Mangke, who in Meri's iconography seems to be a deification of the sacred mantra syllable 'Om'. Ati Muwer, the deification of the sacred syllable 'A', emerges from Meri's flaming hair on the spread wings of the *khyung*-bird. Flanking Meri are a pair of female attendants, the brown Namkhe Ole with a *kila* (dagger) in her hands and the yellow Nele Sipe Gyalmo holding a *kapala* (skull cup).

Surrounding Meri is a multitude of Bon holy men, monks and priests as well as protective deities.¹⁶¹ At either side of Meri, in vertical rows of five, are ten protective deities embracing their consorts. They all have three

faces, six arms and four feet and are accompanied by a bird-headed and an animal-headed attendant. The two vertical rows beyond them are both topped by an image of a monk, and extending below them are images of the twelve female messengers and the four, animal-headed, female generals riding on their prescribed mounts. There are two further Bon monks flanking the top of Meri's aureole. In the top register are two rows of deities, yogis, and monks, while at the bottom are two rows containing twenty wrathful deities, many mounted on vehicles. In the lower right corner are the equestrian Nyipangse and Menmo, who are also associated with Zhangzhung. The number and nature of the protective deities in this section differ from the Meri icon published by Kværne, but those in the Essen painting also number twenty and are comparable. Therefore one can identify the ones in the Jucker painting as possibly the guardians of the 'Twelve Boats', the 'Four Lakes' and the 'Four Rivers'.¹⁶² This same group of twenty deities can also be found on the Meri icon published by Pal.¹⁶³ The lower left corner is occupied by a Bon monk and donor in front of an offering table.

This Meri icon is considerably older than the 18th century Essen example, and therefore a late 16th or early 17th century date is proposed for it. While the Kværne image was published without a date, that of Pal's was given a date slightly earlier in the 16th century.



Vajrakila (?)

East Tibet (?)

Late 17th century

Distemper and gold on cloth

85 × 63 cm

So far, this author has not been able to locate any similar image to this icon of a wrathful Bon deity. As the present painting is not accompanied by any inscribed names, the identification of its subject has proved problematic. Although the deity holds a dagger in both principal hands, he is too different otherwise from Balsasgampa to be identified with him as the latter lacks a dagger-shaped lower body and has nine heads and eighteen arms instead of three faces and six arms. A painting published by Kværne with a subsidiary deity named Drugse Chempa has a dagger-shaped lower body and six arms.¹⁶⁴ However, although he holds in his principal hands the *kila*, the other attributes are completely different, casting doubt as to the Jucker image representing him. The reverse of the painting bears an inscription in *uchen* script primarily composed of mantras, including 'Aum matri muye sale 'du' and some pious verses dedicated to a 'dBal.phur.nag.po.drga.bgegs', who conceivably is the principal deity of this image.

The winged *vajrakila* (Tib. *phurbu*, ritual dagger) deity in the Jucker painting has in his other hands (clockwise from lower left) a sword, two *parashu* (axe) and a *pasha* (noose). He embraces his consort who sits on the *makara*- (sea monster) head of the dagger hilt. The deity stands on a lotus resting on a stepped throne decorated with human figures, animals, *nagas* (serpents), severed heads

and bodies. His flaming aureole has at its peak a central *khyung*-bird flanked by two smaller ones. Within the aureole, the principal deity is flanked by two animal-headed attendants riding, respectively, a serpent and a leopard-like creature. Above the central *khyung*-bird are a winged, six-armed protective deity and a green coloured, peaceful deity with the mantra syllable 'ah' above him. Three additional deities are placed above this mantra.

In two vertical rows at either side are ten emanations of the central deity, although each of a different colour. Similarly, they are each flanked by animal-headed attendants seated on animals. Beyond these are two vertical borders with (from the top) five mythological creatures, followed by a series of dagger-bodied figures alternating with mounted wrathful figures riding animals, and a few dancing figures and two animal-headed ones.

Below the throne are four more dagger-bodied and winged divinities. These are flanked by a Bon monk seated in front of a low table with offerings. At the bottom of the painting are twenty-one dancing, but wrathful female figures clad only in skirts.

All deities are placed against a green hilly landscape, suggesting an East Tibetan origin for this painting, which seems slightly later than the previous painting and therefore dateable to the end of the 17th century.



NOTES

- 1 For a short life story of each arhat refer to Olschak and Wangyal, 1977, pp. 160–163.
- 2 Rhie and Thurman, 1991, pl. 4
- 3 Olschak and Wangyal, 1977, p. 162
- 4 Rhie and Thurman, 1991, pl. 51
- 5 Rhie and Thurman, 1999, pl. 2
- 6 Jackson, in Rhie and Thurman, 1999, p. 112–113
- 7 Ibid
- 8 Ibid
- 9 Tucci, 1949, pp. 442–534
- 10 Rhie and Thurman, 1999, pls 66 and 159
- 11 Essen and Thingo, 1989, 1-94
- 12 Huntington, 1990, pp. 346–348
- 13 Kreijger, 1999, pl. 6
- 14 Huntington, 1990, p. 346
- 15 Klimburg-Salter, 1997, pp. 40–47
- 16 Klimburg-Salter, 1997, p. 43
- 17 Rhie and Thurman, 1996, pl. 191
- 18 Kreijger, 1997, pl. 199. The published image only shows Vairochana flanked by the blue Akshobhya and the red Amitabha. Ratnasambhava flanks Akshobhya while Amoghasiddhi is on the other side.
- 19 Kossak and Casey Singer, 1998, pl. 23 a, b and c
- 20 Kossak and Casey Singer, 1998, pl. 25
- 21 Kossak and Casey Singer, 1998, p. 113
- 22 Kreijger, 1999, pls 7 and 8
- 23 Pal, 1991, pl. 107 and Christie' New York, 1990, lot 115
- 24 Chandra, 1988, no. 928
- 25 Kreijger, 1999, pl. 28
- 26 Chandra, 1988, nos. 784–805
- 27 792–794 are twice numbered. Once on page 299 and again on page 300.
- 28 Khro.snyer.gyo.pahi.sgrol
- 29 See Rhie and Thurman, 1990, fig. 23 for an example of Prajnaparamita. Although this goddess does not wear the tight fitting jacket, the similarities are otherwise striking.
- 30 Pal, 1991, no. 89. It is interesting to note that Pal considered, when writing this catalogue, the Zimmerman Tara painting as the only one known depicting this fashion (p. 157).
- 31 Pal, 1997, pl. 66
- 32 Philharmonic, 1995, pp. 24–25
- 33 Kreijger, 1989, p. 68. In summary the inscription names 'Bzhad.pa'i.rdo.rje (making verses) (?) according to the wish of the (family of the) Sar.ma.ba's, on this auspicious day, coinciding with the State Cathedral of Lhasa.' Then follow three paragraphs in which he hopes that Padmasambhava, who has transcended all negative qualities, may bring us magical strength, happiness and liberation.
- 34 Identified by inscription as 'Kun.bzang.che.mchog.chen.po.phun.chogs.gtshug.rgyan.nor.bu'
- 35 From the top left lama seated within the landscape they are: Ye.shes.mtsho. rgyal, Bi(?) .ru(?) .pa(?), mNga'.bdag and Shi.la.manjdzu (1st row), (Sprul.ba'i) gter.chen Rig.'dzin.rgod.Idem (1337–1408), Lha.sras, Sangs.rgyas.byams.bzang and Sna.rnam (2nd row), dPon(?) .po.mtshan.can, Se.ston.mgon.po.bzang.po, (?) .dhw.a. rdza and Se.ston.mgon.po.bzang.po (3rd row), Lo.gros.rgyal.mtshan, mNga'.bdag.yon.tanphun.tshogs(?), Byang.bdag. Bkra. shis.stobs.rgyal (1550–1602)?, mNga'.bdagag.byam.(?) .bstan.'dzin, (?) .kyi.rgya.mtsho, mNga'. (?) .bdag.(?) .phun.tshogs. rigs.'dzin (?) and Byam.pa.bzang.po (4th row).
- 36 Casey Singer, 1997, pp. 52–67
- 37 Kossak and Casey Singer, 1998, pl. 26
- 38 Kossak, 1999, figs. 7 and 9
- 39 Kossak and Casey Singer, 1998, pl. 33, discusses the Jnanatapa painting where Phakmodrupa is seated in the upper register and identified by inscription.
- 40 Kossak, 1999, p. 7
- 41 The inscribed names (starting clockwise from middle left) are: 'Guru Shri Vajravairochana', 'Guru Dam.pa', 'Guru Ratnadharmakirti' and Guru Shri Vajraghirti'
- 42 The inscribed names are (from left to right): 'rJe.rin.chen.blo.gros', 'rJe.dga'.ba'i.rdo.rje', 'Yam.lag.spyod.pa'i.rdoe', 'rDo (rje). gdan.pa' and 'bla.ma.apha.ka'
- 43 Slob.dpon.padma
- 44 Sa.dha / rta.ra.dza
- 45 Kossak and Casey Singer, 1998, pl. 39
- 46 Kossak and Casey Singer, 1998, pl. 30
- 47 Chos.kyi.grags.pa
- 48 From left to right they are inscribed: Ti.lo.pa.Spyod(?) .pa'i.rdo, Phag.tshang.ba, Badzra(?), Sha.ba.ri.pa, Sta.(?) .rig.pa(?), Na.ga. (?) .bho.te, Ma.ha.la(?) and rTing.ga.pa(?).
- 49 They are bDug.spos.ma, Mar.me.ma and Tri.ba.chog.ma.
- 50 Rhie and Thurman, 1996, pl. 179
- 51 Essen and Thingo, 1989, 1-169
- 52 Roerich, 1979, pp. 372–373; and Kha.rag.gnyos.kyi.gdung.rabs.khyad.par.'phags.pa, 1978
- 53 inscribed 's(lob).dpon.chen.po.gNos.yab.drags.pa....' (rest illegible)
- 54 inscribed 'slob.dpon.chen.po.gNos.lo.rtsa.pa'
- 55 Roerich, 1979, p. 372
- 56 inscribed 'slob.dpon.chen.po.sras.rDo.rje.bla.ma'
- 57 inscribed 'slob.dpon.chen.po.gNos.dpal.'byung'
- 58 Roerich, 1979, p. 372
- 59 Inscribed: Bhad.lang.a.tsar.rgya, Mi.tra.ba, Ka.na.ba, Yi.ge.ba and dPal.bde.ba.chen.po
- 60 Inscribed: 'Jam.dpal.grags.pa'i.bshes.gnyen, Mar.me.mdzad.bzang.po, and Ye.shes.zhabs
- 61 Inscribed: 'Jam.dbyangs, rDo.rje.'chang, (Chag). na.rdo.rje and mKha'.gro.ma.na.ya.shri
- 62 Allinger, forthcoming
- 63 'Brom.ston.pa rGyal.ba'i.'byung. gnas'
- 64 Kun.dga'i.mtshan.can and Grag.pa'i.mtshan.can; the latter perhaps is the Tibetan name of either of two Indian masters, Chandrakirti or Dharmakirti.
- 65 Rhie and Thurman, 1999, pl. 123
- 66 Rhie and Thurman, 1999, p. 349
- 67 Roerich, 1979, p. 1060
- 68 Pan.chen.grags.pa.rdo.rje and gLo.bo.mkhan.chen.
- 69 'Jam.dbyangs.shes.rab.rin.(chen).pa and rJe.dkon.chog.'phel
- 70 bDag.chen.chos and Grub.chen.phyag.rdor.pa
- 71 mKhan.chen.kun. blo.ba and (holding dagger) Ngags.mchang....dpal.bzang
- 72 gDang(?) .sras(?) .ma, Shakya.seng.ge...pa, Chos.rje. yon.tan and Ser.chen.chos.bzangs.pa
- 73 Pal, 1969, no. 8, depicting two mahasiddha and two lamas; Pal, 1983, no. P15, depicting four lamas
- 74 Pal, 1983, p. 150
- 75 Kreijger, 1999, pl. 10
- 76 Béguin, 1995, pp. 419–436 and Schmid, 1964
- 77 Béguin, 1990, pl. 55
- 78 Schmid, 1961
- 79 Another image of the lokapala Kubera (an alternative identification for Vaishravana), is

- probably from this series: see Olschak and Wangyal, 1973, p. 75. Both the general composition, many of the details as well as the quality of the painting are extremely similar.
- 80 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, pp. 24–31
- 81 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p. 25
- 82 For a complete list of their names, refer to Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, pp. 92–93
- 83 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p. 90
- 84 For a summarisation on the research into Vaishra-vana and for a similar painting to the present example see Kossak and Casey Singer, 1998, pp. 185–186
- 85 For a complete analysis see Béguin and Colinart, 1994, pp. 142–143
- 86 Rhie and Thurman, 1991, pl. 44
- 87 Such as the type associated with the three paintings in Plate 6
- 88 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p. 72
- 89 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p. 72
- 90 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, pp. 70–71
- 91 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p. 71
- 92 Gulik, 1935, p. 15
- 93 Gulik, 1935, p. 24; Kreijger, 1999, pls 2 and 6, for Newar examples where Hayagriva attends Amoghapashalokeshvara.
- 94 Lauf, 1979, no. 90
- 95 Rhie and Thurman, 1991, pl. 77
- 96 Mallmann, 1975, p. 238
- 97 Mallmann, 1975, p. 50
- 98 Mallmann, 1975, p. 51
- 99 Mallmann, 1975, pp. 43 and 44
- 100 The origins and iconography of the deity are explained at length in Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, pp. 134–136
- 101 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p. 11
- 102 inscribed with the names
“Jig.rten.dbang.phyug.dmar.po'i” and “Jig.rten.gsum.dbang.du.byed.pa.'phags.pa’
- 103 inscribed with the name ‘Padma.gar.dbang.phyug.mang’
- 104 inscribed with the name
“Jig.rten.gsum.dbang.du.byed.pa'i.'jig.rten.dbang.phyug’
- 105 both inscribed, respectively, with the names ‘Rig.byed.ma.khung.zhon.pa(?)’phyag.drug.pa’ and ‘Rig.byed.ma.dkar.mo’
- 106 inscribed with the name ‘rDo.rje.dbyangs.can.ma’
- 107 inscribed with the names ‘gShin.rje.gshed.nag.po'i.rgyud.las.byung.ba'i.rdo.rje.dbyangs.can.ma’ (standing) and ‘Khro.gnjer.can.ser.mo’ and ‘Ku.ru.ku.ile'i’ (seated)
- 108 inscribed with the name ‘sTobs.po.che’
- 109 with the inscribed name ‘phyag.gnyis.pa’
- 110 with the inscribed name ‘dGyes.pa.rdo.rje.phyag.gnyis.pa’
- 111 with the inscribed name ‘bDag.med.ma’
- 112 with the inscribed name ‘Ral.chig.ma.phyag.nyer.bzhi.ma’
- 113 with the inscribed name ‘Lha.mo.btsunda'i.li’
- 114 with the inscribed name ‘Phyag.gnyis.pa'iral.gcig.ma’
- 115 with the inscribed name of ‘Dug.sel.ma...mo.phyag.bzhi.pa’
- 116 Kreijger, 1999, p. 96
- 117 Lauf, 1979, p. 142
- 118 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p. 322
- 119 According to an inscription on the reverse, he is rJe.chun.rad.rig.ral
- 120 According to inscriptions on the reverse, they are rNal.'byor.ma, mGros.ma.nag.mo and mGro'.thum.ma.
- 121 Béguin, 1990, pls. 71 and 72
- 122 The Jucker Collection has just one other example on silk, the West Tibetan Tara series (Pl. 15)
- 123 Béguin, 1990, pl. 74
- 124 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p. 48
- 125 Possibly ‘Jig.rten.dregs.pa'i.mgon.po.trak.shad.nag.po, a rarely depicted member of Mahakala’s retinue
- 126 Béguin, 1990, pl. 74
- 127 For more background information on this deity refer to Plate 33.
- 128 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, p. 151
- 129 Béguin, 1990, pl. 76
- 130 For a complete discussion of this deity refer to Robert Thurman’s thorough chapter on him in Rhie and Thurman, 1999, pp. 37–44
- 131 Béguin, 1990, pl. 86
- 132 See discussion of this deity in Plate 42
- 133 Mallmann, 1975, p. 50
- 134 Mallmann, 1975, p. 51
- 135 Kreijger, 1999, pls 2–6, for several Newar examples.
- 136 Along the bottom of this painting runs a lengthy inscription in *uchen* script, which identifies the deity of the mandala as ‘mGon.po.bcm.Jdan.dgra.nag’, which literally means ‘Lord Bhagavat Black Enemy’. The element ‘dGra.nag’ can be reconstructed in Sanskrit as Krsnari, or Krishna-yamari
- 137 De Mallmann, 1975, p. 54
- 138 Olschak and Wangyal, 1977, p. 110
- 139 For another painted example, see Essen, 1989, I-118; a bronze example can be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. IM107-1929
- 140 Chandra, 1995, p. 129, no. 78 and p. 216 for a drawing of this mandala with the animal- and bird-headed divinities.
- 141 Essen and Thingo, 1989, I-117
- 142 Essen and Thingo, 1989, I-117
- 143 A few names can be read at the bottom and are (beginning third from left) ‘Byang.shin’, and below him
‘Chos.rje.kun.dga'.lhun.grub’, ‘A.nan.ta’, ‘Legs.byung’, ‘Kun.dga'.bsod.nams’, ‘Kirti.dho.dza’, ‘Sa.bzang.'phags’ and below the latter ‘Chos.rje.ye.shes.rgyal.mtshan.dpal.bzang.po’.
- 144 with the inscribed name of ‘Rab.'byam.bhadha.sing.ha’
- 145 Bunce, 1994, p. 1023, although he does not explain the gesture’s significance.
- 146 The author has a photograph of this image, but for a published icon of Nampar Gyalwa with his horse see Kværne, 1995, pl. 21, pp 68–69
- 147 Béguin, 1995, no. 29
- 148 Pal, 1991, p. 166
- 149 Kværne, 1985, pp. 16–23 and pls XIV–XXII
- 150 Kværne, 1985, p. 40
- 151 dBal.so('i).mdung.rtse.can
- 152 Kværne, 1985, p. 24
- 153 Kværne, 1995, p. 33
- 154 Kværne, 1995, p. 27
- 155 Kværne, 1995, pp. 33–34
- 156 Kværne, 1995, p. 68
- 157 Kværne, 1995, p. 68. Similar groups with attendants are also visible on the Nampar painting in the Yundrun monastery visited by the author in 1998.
- 158 Kværne, 1995, p. 68
- 159 Pal, 1984, pl. 52; Essen and Thingo, 1989, II-451 and Kværne, 1995, pl. 31
- 160 Kværne, 1995, p. 84
- 161 For a complete discussion of them refer to Essen and Thingo, 1989, II-451; Kværne, 1995, pp. 100–102
- 162 Essen and Thingo, 1989, II-451
- 163 Pal, 1984, pl. 52
- 164 Kværne, 1995, pl. 29, p. 96

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Glossary & Index

Page numbers in *italic* refer to illustrations.

Abhayamudra: gesture of protection. 56, 84, 168
Abheda: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28
Abhirathi: paradise of the Buddha Akshobhya. 32
Acala: *yidam* (tutelary deity). 74, 116, 128
Adi Buddha: see Primordial Buddha. 19
Ajita: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28, 30, 90
Akshobhya (Buddha): Buddha of the East of the five Transcendental Buddhas. 19, 32, 44, 46, 56, 116, 128, 132, 134, 178 (n. 18)
Alidhasana: posture of 'drawing the bow'. Opposite to *pratyaldhasana*. 58, 86, 98, 110, 118, 128
Altan Khan: 16th century Mongol chieftain who invested the Geluk lamas with the title Dalai, and was the grandfather of Yonten Gyatso, the 4th Dalai Lama. 15
Amban: the imperial representative of the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644–1911) in Lhasa. 16
Amdo (A.mdo): region of East Tibet largely within present day Qinghai province of China.
Amitabha (Buddha): Buddha of the West of the five Transcendental Buddhas. 19, 42, 44, 48, 50, 56, 76, 82, 98, 116, 120, 122, 128, 132, 134, 158, 168, 178 (n. 18)
Amitabhayamari: manifestation of Yamantaka. 158, 162
Amitayus (Buddha): often considered an alternate form of Amitabha, and also interpreted as the Buddha of endless life. 48, 76, 114, 120, 126, 166
Amoghapashalokeshvara: manifestation of Avalokiteshvara. Also known as **Amoghapasha**. 48, 106, 179 (n. 93)
Amoghasiddhi (Buddha): Buddha of the North of the five Transcendental Buddhas. 19, 44, 116, 132, 134, 152, 168, 178 (n. 18)
Angaja: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28, 30, 90
Anuttarayogya Tantra: most advanced of the group of four 'mother' *tantras* of Tibetan Buddhism. 160
Apsara: celestial being often depicted strewing flowers on the central image in Tibetan painting. 30
Arhat ('meritorious'): originally indicating one who has reached enlightenment, and subsequently applied primarily to the group of sixteen disciples of the Historical Buddha Shakyamuni. In Tibet and China, they are more commonly known as a group of eighteen, with the addition

of two figures of Chinese origin. They are Angaja, Ajita, Vanavasin, Kalika, Kanaka Bharadvaja, Rahula, Bakula, Cudapanthaka, Kanakavatsa, Gopaka, Bhadrapputra, Pindola Bharadvaja, Panthaka and Nagasena, Bhadra, Abheda, Dharmatala and Hvashang. 18, 20, 26, 28, 30, 40, 82, 88, 90, 178 (n. 1)

Arthasadhanavarahi: *dakini* of the Karamukhachakrasamvara mandala. 160
Atavaka: one of Vaishravana's eight helpers. 80

Ati Muwer (A.ti.mu.wer): Bon entity; the deification of the sacred syllable 'A'. 174

Atisha (Dipamkara; 982–1054): most famous Indian master to travel to Tibet during the Second Diffusion of Buddhism. 12, 15, 19, 20, 26, 54, 66, 74, 96, 106, 112, 148

Aureole: term indicating the body aura of a figure. 26, 28, 30, 32, 38, 46, 50, 54, 56, 58, 76, 86, 92, 96, 98, 102, 104, 106, 108, 110, 112, 114, 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 136, 138, 142, 144, 146, 148, 152, 154, 158, 174, 176

Avadanakalpalata: the hundred-and-eight deeds of Buddha Shakyamuni during previous lives recounted in the *jataka* tales and compiled into a long epic poem *Bodhisattva Avadanakalpalata* in 1052 by the Kashmiri poet Kshemendra. 27, 34

Avadhuti (9th century): Indian *mahasiddha* who was the student of Damarupa, and important in the transmission of the *Hevajra Tantra* to Tibetan lineages. 70

Avalokiteshvara: the bodhisattva of compassion. 15, 19, 38, 42, 44, 48, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58, 62, 64, 72, 74, 76, 82, 86, 92, 98, 106, 120, 122, 126, 128, 144, 166, 168

Bakula: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28, 30, 40, 90

Balin (Bhad.lang): Indian master who instructed Nyö Lotsawa in the *Guhyasamaja Tantra*. Together with Mitraba (Mi.tra.ba), Karnapa (Ka.na.ba), Yigepa (Yi.ge.ba) and Peldipa (dPal. ste.pa), he forms a group of Indian mentors to the Nyö family. 72

Balsagampa (dBal.gsas.rngam.pa): wrathful Bon deity. 176

Balsojidungtsetsan (dBal.so'i.mdung.rtse.can): 6th *shen* of the Bon religion. 170

Bangtruknyernga (dBang.phyug.nyernga): 28 animal-headed *dakini* of the Bardo journey, who represent the last obstacles to the mind in the quest for enlightenment. 136, 138, 152

Bardo Thodol (*Bar.do.thos.grol*): The Tibetan *Book of the Dead*, allegedly by Padmasambhava. It narrates the 49 day journey between death and rebirth. 11, 12, 18, 20, 23, 62, 132, 134, 136, 138, 140, 152, 170

Begder: Mongolian term for 'coat of mail'. 98
Begtse (Beg.tse): guardian deity; one of the eight *dharmapala*. 21, 96, 98, 166

Bhadra: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28

Bhadrapputra: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28

Bhaisajyaguru (Buddha): principal Medicine Buddha. 23, 30, 38, 40

Bhrkuti Tara: manifestation of Tara. 58

Bhumisparshamudra: gesture of touching the earth, enacted by Buddha Shakyamuni at the moment of his enlightenment. 28, 30, 32, 40, 44, 46, 56, 74

Bhutan: independent Himalayan kingdom to the southeast of the plateau and within the Tibetan ethnic and cultural sphere. 10, 21, 25, 52, 72, 122, 128, 130, 146

Bhutadamaravajrapani: a manifestation of Vajrapani. 128

Blue Annals (*Debther sNgon.po*): history of Tibetan Buddhism compiled by Gö Lotsawa Zhönpupel ('Gos.los.tsa.ba.gzhon.nu.dpal; 1392–1481). 72

Bodhisattva: in Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism, a being who has achieved enlightenment, but who, out of compassion, will not enter nirvana until every last living creature has been brought along the path to enlightenment. In Theravada, the name for the Historical Buddha in his lives leading up to his enlightenment. 15, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 28, 34, 38, 42, 44, 48, 50, 52, 54, 58, 62, 64, 72, 74, 76, 82, 86, 92, 98, 100, 102, 106, 116, 120, 122, 126, 128, 134, 136, 142, 144, 150, 158, 164, 166, 168

Bon: religion followed by a minority of Tibetans which maintains that it is the survivor of Tibet's pre-Buddhist faith. 11, 21, 22, 108, 168, 170, 172, 174, 176

Bonpo (Bon.po): a priest or member of the Bon religious community. 21, 22

Brahma: one of the three principal gods of Hinduism. 64, 96, 102, 114, 150, 166

Brahmanarupa: manifestation of Mahakala. 110, 144

Brahmanic: term embracing those belief systems represented in the Indian *vedas* as well as the later developments of Hinduism. 19, 48, 94, 100, 102, 106, 110, 150, 156

Buddha: supreme being who has achieved enlightenment. 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 56, 66, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, 88, 90, 98, 104, 106, 108, 110, 114, 116, 120, 122, 124, 126, 128, 132, 134, 136, 138, 140, 144, 150, 152, 156, 158, 160, 162, 164, 166, 168

Buddhajnana-pada (Ye.shes.zhabs): an Indian *siddha*. 72

- Buddhakrodheshvari:** consort of Heruka Yontenlatshog. 140
- Buddhas of the Past:** Vipashayin, Shikin, Vishvabu, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kasyapa and Shakyamuni. 18, 32, 82
- Buddhist creed:** A mantra, the very sound of which is sacred. Although it is in Sanskrit, in inscriptions it is usually written in Tibetan script in phonetic transliteration. It can be translated as: 'Those things which have a cause as their origin, this cause has been proclaimed by the Tathagata (Buddha). Their cessation has also been proclaimed by the great ascetic practitioner.' 42, 68, 72, 76, 90, 104, 120
- Buryat:** northern Mongolian ethnicity from the region of the present day Russian province of Buryatia. 17
- Caturbhujamahakala:** four-armed manifestation of Mahakala. Tibetan name is Nakpachenpo (Nag.pa.chen.po). 21, 110
- Cave 17:** Buddhist rock-cut chapel at Dunhuang in which was found an enormous repository of painted scrolls and manuscripts. 11
- Central Tibet:** the eastern section of the plateau encompassing the Tibetan regions of Ü and Tsang. Contained entirely within the present-day People's Republic of China. 12, 13, 14, 22, 25, 26, 27, 30, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 54, 56, 64, 66, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 94, 98, 100, 102, 104, 106, 108, 112, 114, 116, 118, 120, 124, 126, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 148, 150, 152, 156, 158, 160, 162, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172, 174
- Chakra:** 'wheel'; symbol of the Buddhist Law. 74, 94, 108, 116, 126, 138, 140, 158
- Chakrasamvara:** alternate name of the tutelary deity (*yidam*) Samvara and subject of the *Chakrasamvara Tantra*. 20, 28, 76, 114, 156, 160, 166
- Chandra:** moon god. 48, 112
- Chang'an:** capital of Tang dynasty (618–907) China. 10
- Changchub Gyaltsen** (Byang.chub.rgyal.mtshan; 1302–1362): lay leader of the Phakmodru order who seized control from the Sakya Dishi. 14
- Chinnamundavajravarahi:** *dakini* of the Karamukhachakrasamvara mandala. 160
- Chitipati:** skeleton. 160
- Chökyi Jungne, Situ Panchen** (Si.tu.pan.chen.chos.kyi.'byung.gnas; 1700–1774): incarnate Karmapa lama and artist who designed the set of *Avadanakalpalata* paintings. 27, 34
- Choying Gyatso** (Chos.dbyings.rgya.mtsho; c. 1615–1685): creator of the New Menri painting style. 26
- Chula:** dagger with wave-shaped blade. 126
- Cintamahakala:** manifestation of Mahakala, and guardian of the Geluk order. 166
- Circle of Convention** (goddesses of): eight goddesses from the circle of Convention of the mandala of Chakrasamvara, namely: Yamadahi, Yamaduti, Yamadamstri, Yamamathani, Kakasya (crow head), Ulukasya (owl head), Shavanasya (dog head) and Sukurasya (boar head). 156
- Cixi** (1835–1908): dowager empress of the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644–1911). 17
- Confession Buddhas:** group of 35 Buddhas invoked in the confessing of sins. 44, 82, 88, 166
- Cudapanthaka:** one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28, 40, 90
- Cultural Revolution** (1966–76): iconoclastic movement within the People's Republic of China that wreaked great destruction on Tibet's cultural heritage. 25
- Dakini:** a female spirit, who much like the classical 'genius' serves as a guide and muse to the tantric practitioner. 22, 48, 64, 70, 72, 76, 82, 94, 110, 114, 118, 120, 132, 136, 138, 142, 144, 152, 156, 160, 168
- Dakini:** a four-armed *dakini* who appears in the first circle of the Samvara mandala. 114, 156
- Dajianlu** (Dar.rtse.mdo): in western Sichuan province, China, it was named by Gushri Khan as the eastern boundary of the 5th Dalai Lama's authority. 15
- Dalai Lama** (Ta.la'i.bla.ma): incarnate lama of the Geluk order, as well as its and Tibet's principal religious and political leader since the 17th century. 15, 16, 17, 20, 26, 27, 84, 86, 92, 94, 96, 98, 166
- Dalai Lama (1st):** see Gedun Truppa. 15, 86, 94, 166
- Dalai Lama (2nd):** see Gedun Gyatso. 15, 166
- Dalai Lama (3rd):** see Sonam Gyatso. 15, 86, 98
- Dalai Lama (4th):** see Yonten Gyatso. 15
- Dalai Lama (5th):** see Ngawang Lozang Gyatso. 15, 16, 26, 92
- Dalai Lama (6th):** see Tsangyang Gyatso. 16, 92, 94, 166
- Dalai Lama (7th):** see Kelzang Gyatso. 16
- Dalai Lama (8th):** see Jampal Gyatso. 16
- Dalai Lama (12th):** Trinley Gyatso ('Phrin.las.rgya.mtsho; 1826–1837). 16
- Dalai Lama (13th):** see Thubten Gyatso. 17
- Dalai Lama (14th):** see Tenzin Gyatso. 17
- Damaru:** a double drum, usually made of human skulls. 64, 70, 114, 136, 140, 156
- Damarupa** (9th century): Indian *mahasiddha* who was the student of Virupa and the teacher of Avadhuti. 70
- Dandayamari:** gate guardian of the Krishnayamari mandala. 158
- Dezhin Shegpa** (De.bzhin.gshegs.pa; 1384–1415): 5th Karmapa; only Tibetan lama to take up Yongle emperor's invitation to establish patron-priest relationship. 15
- Denchencho** (bDag.chen.chos): Sakya lama. 78
- Densathil** (gDan.sa.thel): monastery in Ü province, Central Tibet. 13
- Dharani:** queens of magic; group of ten or twelve goddesses who personify different magical formulae. 56
- Dharma:** Buddhist Law. 19, 30, 68
- Dharmachakra:** 'Wheel of the Law'. 160
- Dharmachakramudra:** gesture of instruction literally translating as 'turning the wheel of the law'. 46, 56, 66, 92, 148
- Dharmadhatuvagishvara:** manifestation of Manjushri. 128
- Dharma Kings (Three):** Songtsen Gampo, Trisong Detsen, Ralpachen. 11, 15
- Dharmapala:** defender of the faith; a group of eight guardian deities. 20, 21, 48, 56, 64, 66, 76, 86, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 106, 108, 110, 114, 118, 120, 122, 126, 128, 134, 140, 144, 146, 148, 150, 154, 158, 162, 166
- Dharmatala:** one of the two Chinese arhats. 28, 88
- Dhoti:** unstitched cloth of male apparel worn wrapped around the waist as a skirt. 28, 42, 48, 128, 168, 170
- Dhrtarashtra:** *lokapala* of the west. 88, 92, 166
- Dhyanamudra:** gesture of meditation. 42, 50, 56, 58, 134
- Dhyani Buddhas:** see Transcendental Buddhas.
- Dikpala:** group of ten guardians of the cardinal directions, namely: Indra, Agni, Yama, Rakshasha, Brahma, Varuna, Vayu, Kubera, Vashita and Prthivi. 150, 156
- Dipankara** (Mar.me.mdzad.bzang.po): an Indian siddha. 72
- Dishi:** 'Imperial Preceptor'; office first conferred by Kubilai Khan on Phagspa Lodro Gyaltsen as the imperial Mongol (and by connection Yuan) regent of Tibet. 14
- Dolpo:** region of northern Nepal with a predominantly ethnic Tibetan population. 22, 168
- Dombipa:** Indian *mahasiddha* and king of the Indian state of Magadha who received instruction from Virupa. Also known as Dombhi Heruka. 66
- Dong Marma** (Dong. dmar.ma): sister of Begtse. 98
- Dorjedragdan** (rDo.rje.grags.ldan): guardian deity. 106
- Dorje Lama** (rDo.rje.bla.ma, 12th century): Nyö hierarch, son and disciple of Nyö Lotsawa, and father and master of Nyö Palgye Jungne. 72
- Dorje Lepa** (rDo.rje.legs.pa): chief of the demon kings subdued by Padmasambhava. Also known as Damcan. 64
- Dorje Shug** (rDo.rje.shrug): guardian deity. 84, 92, 126, 136
- Dorje Zikji** (rDo.rje.gzi.brjid): see Sangye Rechen Gyelwa Lhanangpa. 72
- Drathang** (Grwa.thang): monastery in Tsang province, Central Tibet. 25
- Drepung** ('Bras.spuns): Geluk monastery southwest of Lhasa, Ü province, Central Tibet. 68
- Drakpomarchen** (Drag.po.dmar.chen): guardian deity. 122
- Drigung Kagyu order** ('Bri.gung bKa'.brgyud.pa): branch of the Phakmodru Kagyu order founded by Phakmodru's disciple Rinchenpel. 13, 50, 66, 72
- Dromton** ('Brom.ston; 1008–1064): founder of Kadam order and principal disciple of Atisha. 12, 20, 26, 74, 96, 112, 144

- Drugse Chempa** ('Brug.gsas.chem.pa): wrathful Bon deity with dagger-shaped lower body. 176
- Drupa Kagyu order** (Brug.pa bKa'.brgyud.pa): branch of Phakmodru Kagyu order founded by Phakmodru's disciple Lingrepa Padma Dorje (gLing.ras.pa.pad.ma.rdo.rje; 1143–1212), and which became particularly popular in Bhutan. 13, 52, 72, 122, 128, 146, 154
- Drupchen Phagdorpa** (Grub.chen.phyag.rdor.pa): Sakya lama. 78
- Dukhadahana Tara**: manifestation of Tara. 58
- Dunhuang**: Gansu province, China. Eastern Silk Roads terminus and site of vast system of Buddhist rock cut chapels and shrines. 11
- Durga**: Brahmanic goddess from whom Shri Devi is ultimately derived. 94
- Dusum Khyenpa** (Dus.gsum.mkhyen.pa; 1110–93): founder of the Karmapa branch of the Kagyu order and disciple of Gampopa. 1st Karmapa lama of the incarnate line. 13, 66
- East Tibet**: The regions of Kham (Khams) and Amdo (A.mdo) at present in the easternmost portion of the Tibet Autonomous region, Qinghai province and western Sichuan province of the People's Republic of China. 11, 13, 16, 22, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 34, 62, 68, 76, 90, 92, 118, 120, 132, 134, 136, 154, 176
- Ekadashalokeshvara**: eleven-headed manifestation of Avalokiteshvara. 48
- Ekajati**: blue manifestation of Tara. 64, 132, 144
- Ekavira-Vajrabhairava**: form of Vajrabhairava as the 'Incomparable Hero'. 162
- Elements**: Prithivi (Earth), Varuna (Water), Vayu (Air), Tejas (Fire/Passion), Chandra (Moon), Aditya (Sun), Yama (Death) and Dhananda (Wealth). 112
- 'Four Lakes'**: group of Bon guardian deities. 174
- 'Four Rivers'**: group of Bon guardian deities. 174
- Gandhavajra**: goddess of the second circle of Guhyasamaja's mandala. 116
- Gangba Zangpo** (Gang.ba.bzang.po): horse-headed assistant of Nartakarakta. 104
- Gampopa** (Gam.po.pa; 1079–1153): founder of Kagyu order and disciple of Milarepa. 13
- Garuda**: half human/half bird deity and enemy of the *naga* serpents. He is frequently used as a mount by Buddhist and Hindu entities. In Tibetan painting, he is often replaced by the *khyung*-bird. 30, 134, 136
- Gauri**: deity of the Krishnayamari mandala. 158
- Gauri Tara**: 'Blond' manifestation of Tara. 58
- Gedun Gyatso** (dGedun.rgya.mtsho; 1475–1542): posthumously realised 2nd Dalai Lama. 15, 166
- Gedun Truppa** (dGe.'dun.grub.pa; 1391–1474): posthumously realised 1st Dalai Lama and one of the principal disciples of Tsongkhapa. 15, 86, 94, 166
- Geluk order** (dGe.lugs.pa): the 'renewed Kadam order' founded by Tsongkhapa. 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 26, 27, 30, 46, 50, 58, 68, 80, 82, 84, 86, 92, 94, 96, 98, 106, 110, 112, 126, 150, 166
- Genghis Khan** (1155/62/67–1227; r. 1206–1227): Mongol chieftain who led his people in the conquest of a world empire. 14
- Ghanta**: ritual bell, symbolic of compassion. 19, 28, 72, 76, 78, 80, 114, 116, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 152, 154, 156, 160, 162
- Godan Khan** (13th century): Mongol prince who established Sakya Pandita as the Mongolian regent of Tibet. 14
- Goddesses of Longevity**: five goddesses associated with the retinue of Shri Devi, namely: Tseringma (Tshe.rin.ma), Thunggi Shalsangma (mThin.gi.shal.bzan.ma), Lobsangma (bLo.bzan.ma), Dinsangma (mGrin.bzan.ma) and Dosangma (hGro.bzan.ma). 94
- Goddesses of the Seasons**: four goddesses associated with the retinue of Shri Devi, namely: Vasanta rajni (Queen of Spring), Varsha rajni (Queen of Summer), Sharad rajni (Queen of Autumn), and Hemanta rajni (Queen of Winter). 94
- Gomkhang** (*ngon.khang*): chapel of wrathful deities within a temple complex. 23, 100
- Gonpobernaktsan** (mGon.po.ber.nag.can): 'Black-Robed-One'; manifestation of Mahakala. 134
- Gopaka**: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28, 40
- Great Khan**: supreme leader of the Mongol tribes. 14
- Guge** (Gu.ge): West Tibetan kingdom and important catalyst and patron of the Second Diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet. 12, 28, 58, 112
- Guhyasadhana Hayagriva**: esoteric manifestation of Hayagriva. 106
- Guhyasamaja**: tutelary deity (*vidam*) and subject of the *Guhyasamaja Tantra*. As an emanation of the Buddha Akshobhya, he is also known as Guhyasamajakshobhya. 21, 28, 116, 156, 166
- Guhyasamaja Tantra**: tantric text centred on the *vidam* Guhyasamaja, and which includes an exposition on the method of Buddha *jnana*. 104
- Gui**: Chinese type of dragon.
- Guru**: teacher. 19, 70, 74, 76
- Guru Drakmar** (Gu.ru Drag.dmar): wrathful manifestation of Padmasambhava. 20, 114, 122
- Guru Drakpoche** (Gu.ru Drag.po.che): wrathful manifestation of Padmasambhava. 20, 114, 120
- Guru Rinpoche**: epithet of Padmasambhava. 12
- Gushri Khan** (r. 1638–1654): leader of the Mongolian peoples and ally of the 5th Dalai Lama, he helped establish the Geluk order as the political rulers of Tibet. 15
- Gyaltsab Je** (rGyal.tshab.je; 1364–1432): principal disciple of Tsongkhapa often depicted in a pair with Khedrup Je in images of the founder of the Geluk order. 15, 96, 166
- Gyalwakhya** (rGyal.ba.khya): elephant-headed assistant of Nartakarakta. 104
- Gyantse** (rGyal.tse): city and principality of Tsang province, Central Tibet, which until the 17th century was a stronghold of the Sakya order. 17, 26
- Harihari Lokeshvara**: manifestation of Avalokiteshvara. 128
- Hayagriva**: horse-headed guardian deity; one of the eight *dharma*pa. 20, 48, 106, 114, 118, 120, 122, 126, 128, 134, 140, 166, 179 (n. 93)
- Heruka**: class of wrathful manifestations of different Buddhist entities (in particular the five Transcendental Buddhas and the Primordial Buddha) encountered during the 49 day Bardo journey between death and rebirth. 128, 132, 136, 138, 140
- Heruka Yontanlatshog** (Che.mchog.yon.ta.lha.tshogs): Heruka considered to be manifestation of Samvara, and unique to the Nyingma order. He appears on the 8th day of the Bardo journey. 20, 140
- Hevajra**: tutelary deity (*vidam*) and subject of the *Hevajra Tantra*. 20, 70, 76, 80, 112, 144, 156
- Hevajra Tantra**: Esoteric text dealing with the *vidam* Hevajra. 20, 70
- Hinayana (Lesser Vehicle) Buddhism**: see Theravada Buddhism. 18, 19
- Historical Buddha**: see Shakyamuni (Buddha). 18, 19, 20, 30
- Hvashang**: one of the two Chinese arhats. 28, 88
- Incarnate lama**: lama who is repeatedly incarnated; a position within the Tibetan religious hierarchy which passes from one incarnation of the individual to the next. 13, 15, 19, 20, 27, 34, 84
- Indra**: Brahmanic deity and member of the *dikpala*. 150, 166
- Indrabhuti**: an Indian siddha. 66
- Irshyayamari**: manifestation of Yamantaka. 158, 162
- Jambhala**: God of wealth and prosperity; earlier name for Vaishravana. 48, 78, 102
- Jamchen Choje Shakya Yeshe** (Byams.chen.chos.rje.sa.kya.ye.shes): a Geluk order dignitary. 166
- Jampal Gyatso** ('Jam.dpal.rgya.mtsho; 1758–1804): 8th Dalai Lama. 16
- Jamyang Sherab Rinchenpa** ('Jam.dbyangs.shes.rab.rin.chen.pa): Sakya lama. 78
- Jataka**: a set of stories relating the deeds of Shakyamuni in his lives leading to his enlightenment. 26, 27, 34
- Je Konchokpel** (rJe.dkon.chog.'phel): Sakya lama. 78
- Jin dynasty** (1115–1234): Jurchen-ruled dynasty of northern China. 13
- Jokhang** (Jo.khang): principal temple of Tibetan Buddhism founded in the 6th century in Lhasa by King Songtsen Gampo. 11

- Kadam order** (bKa'.gdams.pa): monastic order established by Dromton on the principals set down by Atisha. 12, 15, 20, 74, 96, 112, 144, 148
- Kagyü order** (bKa.brgyud.pa): monastic order established by Gampopa. 13, 19, 20, 64, 66, 68, 72, 122, 128, 134, 146, 154
- Kakamukhamahakala**: raven-headed manifestation of Mahakala. 20, 66, 122, 146
- Kakasya**: a four-armed crow-headed goddess of the Samvara mandala. 114, 156
- Kalachakra Tantra**: important tantric text with Shri Kalachakra as its *vidam* (tutelary deity). 84
- Kalasha**: vase containing the elixir of life. 28, 44, 52, 56, 64, 70, 128, 160, 164
- Kali**: *dakini*. 144
- Kalika**: one of the sixteen arhats. 28
- Kanaka Bharadvaja**: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28, 40
- Kanakavatsa**: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28
- Kanali**: *dakini*. 144
- Kangxi emperor** (1662–1723): 2nd ruler of the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644–1911). 16
- Kanjur** (bKa'.gyur): class of literature containing the principal teachings of both the Buddhist and Bon religions. 19, 22, 24
- Kantali**: *dakini*. 144
- Kapala**: skull cup; symbolic of transcending wisdom. 52, 62, 64, 68, 70, 86, 94, 96, 100, 104, 106, 108, 110, 112, 114, 118, 120, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 146, 148, 150, 152, 154, 156, 158, 160, 162, 174
- Kapaladharahevajra**: sixteen-armed manifestation of Hevajra holding *kapala*. 110, 112
- Karamukhachakrasamvara**: donkey-headed manifestation of Samvara. 160
- Karma Gardri** (Kar.ma.sgar.bris): school of painting based on the style of the artist Namkha. 26
- Karmaheruka**: Heruka manifestation of Amoghassiddhi. 132, 152
- Karmapa Kagyü** (Kar.ma.pa.bKa.brgyud.pa): branch of the Kagyü order founded by Dusum Khyenpa. 13, 15, 20, 26, 27, 34, 64, 66, 68, 134
- Karmapa lama** (Kar.ma.pa.bla.ma): line of incarnate lamas of the Karmapa Kagyü order. 13
- Karmapa (1st)**: see Dusum Khyenpa. 13, 66
- Karmapa (2nd)**: Karma Pakshi (Kar.ma.pa.pag.shi; 1204–1283). 13
- Karmapa (3rd)**: Ranchung Dorje (Rang.byung.rdo.rje; 1284–1339). 66
- Karmapa (5th)**: see Debzhin Shegspa. 15
- Karttika**: ritual chopper. 52, 86, 94, 104, 110, 112, 114, 118, 120, 130, 138, 140, 142, 144, 146, 150, 156, 158, 160
- Katarimudra**: gesture showing thumb and third finger touching each other. 168
- Kelzang Gyatso** (Bskal.bzang.rgya.mtsho; 1708–57): 7th Dalai Lama. 16
- Kesi**: a Chinese tapestry technique. 23, 82
- Keurimas**: a group of eight goddesses encountered during the Bardo journey. They are Keurima, Pukkasi, Caurima, Ghasmari, Pramoha, Chandali, Vaitali, Shmashani. 132, 136, 138, 152
- Khadgayamari**: gate guardian of the Krishnayamari mandala. 158
- Kham** (Khams): region of East Tibet straddling present day Tibet Autonomous Region and Sichuan province of China. 27, 34, 134
- Khandaroha**: a four-armed *dakini* who appears in the first circle of the Samvara mandala. 114, 156
- Khatvanga**: ritual sceptre. 100, 106, 148, 160
- Khedrup Je** (mKhas.grub.je; 1385–1438): principal disciple of Tsongkhapa often depicted in a pair with Gyaltsab Je in images of the founder of the Geluk order. 15, 96, 166
- Khotanese**: of or from the Central Asian kingdom that once flourished at the western end of the Silk Roads. Its former territory is now part of the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China. 102
- Khyenri** (mKhyen.bri): school of painting derived from the style of Khyentse Wangchuk. 26
- Khyentse Wangchuk** (mKhyen.brtse.dbang.phyug; 1420–1500): creator of the Khyenri style. 26
- Khyung**: Tibetan mythological bird and equivalent of Garuda. 30, 106, 128, 172, 174, 176
- Kila**: dagger, one of its varieties being the *vajrakila* (Tib. *phurbu*). Guardian emanations of the *kila* include Vajrakila, Ratnakila, Padmakila and Karmakila. 124, 138, 174, 176
- Kinnari**: mythical half-human/half bird creature which figures as an element of the throne backs of Tibetan paintings. 28
- Kirttimukha**: 'Face of Glory' mask which sometimes appears as the arch apex of throne backs in Tibetan paintings. 28
- Kokonor** (mTsho.sngon): lake and settlement in Amdo, East Tibet (present day Qinghai province, China). 14, 15
- Konchog Gyalpo** (dKon.mchog.rgyal.po; 1034–1102): founder of the Sakya order and of Sakya monastery in Tsang, Central Tibet. 13
- Krodha**: 'wrath'; a group of ten protective deities of the directions. They are, namely: Yamantaka, Prajnantaka, Padmantaka, Vighnantaka, Acala, Takkiraja, Niladanda, Mahabala, Ushnishachakravartin and Sumbharaja. 20, 112, 116, 120, 122, 128, 134, 142
- Krishnayamari**: manifestation of Yamantaka. 158, 162
- Kshemendra** (11th century): Kashmiri poet who composed the *Avadanakalpalata*. 34
- Kubera**: earlier name for Vaishravana, sometimes listed as the *lokapala* of the north. 102, 150, 166, 178 (n. 79)
- Kubilai Khan** (1216–94): Great Khan of the Mongol empire and 1st emperor of the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) of China. He conferred the office of Dishi on the Sakya lama Phagpa Lodro Gyaltsen. 14
- Kuchi Mangke** (Ku.byi.mang.ke): Bon entity who is a deification of the sacred mantra syllable 'Om'. 174
- Kukuripa**: Indian *mahasiddha* who taught Marpa and who received enlightenment from his dog – a manifestation of Avalokiteshvara. 66
- Kula** (*sku.bla*): mountain spirits who were the pre-Buddhist guardians of the Yarlung kings. 21
- Kunga Gyaltsen** (Kun.dga'.rgyal.mtshan 1182–1251): also known as Sakya Pandita. He was established as the Mongolian regent of Tibet by Godan Khan. 14
- Kurukulla**: red manifestation of Tara. 128
- Kyong**: Tibetan mule. 104
- Ladakh** (La.dwags): former West Tibetan kingdom, and now ethnically Tibetan region of the Indian province of Jammu and Kashmir. 15
- Lama** (bLa.ma): 'superior one'; name for high ranking cleric in Tibetan Buddhist community. 13, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 46, 48, 50, 52, 62, 64, 66, 68, 76, 78, 80, 82, 94, 98, 108, 114, 116, 120, 122, 128, 134, 144, 146, 152, 154, 156, 160, 162, 164, 166, 178 (n. 35, 73)
- Lama**: a four-armed *dakini* who appears in the first circle of the Samvara mandala. 114, 156
- Lamaism**: a Western term for Tibetan Buddhism popular at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries. 20
- Lang Darma** (gLang.dar.ma; r. 838–842): Yarlung dynasty (7th–9th century) king who launched persecution of Buddhism that led to the fall of the dynasty. 11
- Lanka**: land mentioned in ancient Indian myths and epics, and generally accepted to be the present day Sri Lanka. 94
- Lantsa** (*glang.tsha*): type of Tibetan script. 78
- Leidzaktummo** (Las.mdzad.gtum.mo): *dakini*. 110
- Leikhan Marpo** (Las.mkhan.dmar.po): assistant of Begtse. 98
- Lekpe Sherab** (Legs.pa'i.she.srab; 11th century): monk of the Guge kingdom who together with Rinchen Zangpo survived the mission to Kashmir. He was also Atisha's principal disciple in West Tibet. 12, 112, 148
- Lhasa** (Lha.sa): city in Ü province, Central Tibet which was the country's capital during the Yarlung dynasty (7th–9th century) and again under the hegemony of the Geluk order from the 17th century onwards. 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 68, 72, 94, 178 (n. 33)
- Lhapa Kagyü** (Lha.pa.bka'.brgyud.pa): Kagyü order sect founded by Sangye Rechen Gyelwa Lhanangpa. 72
- Lochana**: consort of Vairochana. 116
- Lokapala**: guardian kings of the four cardinal directions: Vaishravana (north),

- Virudhaka (south), Dhrtarashtra (west) and Virupaksa (east). 21, 23, 32, 48, 76, 82, 84, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 100, 102, 126, 166, 178 (n. 79)
- Lowo Khenchen, Sonam Lhundrup** (gLo.bo.mkhan.chen. Bsod.nams.lhun.grub; 1456–1532): Sakya lama and commentator on Kunga Gyaltsen (Sakya Pandita). 78
- Luyipi**: Indian *mahasiddha*. 66
- Luten** (Klu.bstan): one of the four attendants in Seikhrabtsan's retinue. 96, 148
- Mahabodhisattva**: group of 'Great Bodhisattva', usually eight in number. 19, 116, 136
- Mahachakravajrapani**: guardian deity; wrathful emanation of Vajrapani. 48
- Mahakala**: an important *vidam* (tutelary deity) and as a guardian deity he is counted as one of the eight *dharmapala*. 20, 21, 26, 48, 56, 64, 66, 76, 86, 94, 108, 110, 112, 114, 126, 134, 144, 146, 154, 166, 179 (n. 125)
- Mahakali**: *dakini*. 144
- Mahakrodheshvari**: consort of Mahashriheruka. 136
- MahashribuddhaHeruka**: Heruka manifestation of Vairocana. 132, 138
- Mahashriheruka**: Heruka manifestation of Samantabhadra. 136, 138, 152
- MahashrisamantabhadraHeruka**: consort of MahashribuddhaHeruka. 132
- Mahasiddha**: 'perfect being'; mainly known as a group of eighty-four Indian Tantric Buddhist adepts. 20, 22, 26, 66, 70, 82, 84, 108, 156, 178 (n. 73)
- Mahasthamaprapta**: bodhisattva attendant of Amitabha. 168
- Mahavajrabhairava**: manifestation of Yamantaka and *vidam* (tutelary deity) of the Geluk order. 59
- Mahayana (Great Vehicle) Buddhism**: Buddhist tradition promulgated along the Silk Roads, where the believer might achieve enlightenment not only through his own studies of the sutras, but also through the assistance of Buddhas and bodhisattva. 18, 19, 88, 106
- Maitreya**: a bodhisattva and Buddha of the Future. 28, 40, 44, 50, 58, 74, 164
- Maitridakini**: *dakini* of the Karamukhachakrasamvara mandala. 160
- Makara**: sea monster often depicted as part of the throne back decoration in Tibetan paintings. 30, 94, 122, 124, 172, 176
- Makaravaktra**: *makara*-headed *dakini*. 94, 118.
- Mamaki**: consort of Ratnasambhava. 116
- Manchu**: Mongolian/Turkic people of the region of present day northeast China, who conquered that country in the 17th century and established the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). 16, 17, 110
- Mandala**: a schematic representation of the Buddhist cosmos, and a tool for ritual and meditation. 19, 23, 24, 76, 84, 112, 114, 116, 132, 156, 158, 160, 162, 164, 179 (n. 140)
- Mandarava**: one of Padmasambhava's two wives. 124
- Mangalaloka Tara**: manifestation of Tara. 58
- Maningnakpo** (Ma.ning.nag.po): manifestation of Mahakala. 136, 154
- Manjushri**: bodhisattva of wisdom. 19, 20, 28, 34, 38, 50, 52, 72, 74, 100, 126, 128, 150, 158
- Manjushrikirti**: the 7th king of the mythological land of Shambhala. 84
- Manjushrikirti** ('Jam.dpal.grags.pa'i.bshes.gnyen): an Indian *siddha*. 72
- Mantra**: mystical chanted charm or invocation. 22, 72, 76, 78, 156, 174, 176
- Manushi Buddha**: a group of six Buddhas roughly the same as the Buddhas of the Past, being Buddhas who have had mortal manifestations. As Manushi Buddhas they guard the gates into the six worlds wherein the deceased may be reborn after the 49 day Bardo journey. 132, 134
- Marichi**: *dharmi* goddess also associated with the retinue of Sita Tara. 56, 130
- Marpa** (Mar.pa; 1012–97): founder of the lineage which under Gampopa would become the Kagyu order. 13, 19, 68, 72
- Matshig Labdron** (Ma.cig.lab.sgron): goddess associated with Shadaksharilokeshvara. 50
- Maudgalyayana**: together with Sariputra, he forms 'the model pair' of the Historical Buddha Shakyamuni's disciples, who often flank him in images. 30
- Medicine Buddhas**: set of eight Buddhas, namely Bhaisajyaguru, Dharmakirti sagaraghosha, Suparikirtita namashri, Svaraghosharaja, Shakyamuni, Ashokotamashri, Suvarnabhadra vimala ratna prabhava and Abhijnaraja. 19, 23, 38, 40, 166
- Menla Dondrup** (sMan.bla.don.grub; c. 1425–1505): creator of the Menri painting style. 26
- Menmo** (sMan.mo): Bon deity associated with the Zhangzhung kingdom. 174
- Menri** (sMan.bris): school of painting established by the painter Menla Dondrup. 26
- Menri** (sMan.ri): principal Bon monastery in Central Tibet. 22
- Milarepa** (Mi.la.ras.pa; 1040–1123): the poet-saint of Tibet; disciple of Marpa and master to Gampopa. 13, 76
- Ming dynasty** (1368–1644). Chinese-ruled dynasty that reclaimed China from the disintegrating Mongol empire. 15, 23, 26
- Mortal Buddhas**: group of four Buddhas, namely: Maitreya, Dipamkara, Kasyapa and Shakyamuni. 40
- Mudgayamari**: gate guardian of the Krishnayamari mandala. 158
- Mudra**: iconographic gesture. 88, 168, 172
- Naga**: serpent and natural enemy of Garuda. 28, 30, 48, 88, 96, 122, 172, 176
- Nagarjuna**: name of several Indian *siddha*, the most famous being regarded as the founder of the Mahayana tradition. 66, 74, 88, 110
- Nagasena**: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28, 40, 90
- Nairatmya**: consort of Hevajra. 112
- Nakthang** (nag.thang): portable scroll with a black ground. 23, 142, 144, 146, 148, 150, 152, 154
- Namaskaramudra**: gesture of adoration. 48, 50, 58, 128
- Namkha** (Nam.mkha'): creator of the Karma Gadri style. 26
- Namkha Barzin** (Nam.mkha'.sbar.'dzin): guardian deity. 126
- Namkhe Ole** (Nam.mkha'.i.slas): female assistant of the Bon deity Palchen Meri. 174
- Nampar Gyalwa** (rNam.par.gyal.ba; 'Fully Victorious One'): wrathful manifestation of the Bon deity Tonpa Shenrab. 22, 168, 172, 179 (n. 146, 157)
- Narodakini**: *dakini* of the Karamukhachakrasamvara mandala. 160
- Naropa** (1016–1100): Indian master who instructed Marpa. 13, 70
- Nartakarakta**: a red form of Vaishravana. 104
- Narthang** (sNar.thang): monastery in Tsang province, Central Tibet associated with the Kadam order. 58
- Nayashri** (Na.ya.shri): a *dakini* associated with the spiritual lineage of the Nyö family of lay masters. 72
- Nele Sipe Gyalmo** (Ne.slas.srid.pa.rgyal.mo): female assistant of Palchen Meri. 174
- Newar**: ethnicity which has historically made up the majority of the population of Nepal's Kathmandu Valley. Their arts had a great influence on the development of Tibetan painting. 13, 14, 24, 25, 26, 40, 48, 56, 66, 80, 156, 179 (n. 93, 135)
- New Menri** (sMan.bris): style of painting established by Choying Gyatso. 26, 27
- Ngawang Lozang Gyatso** (nGag.dbang.blo.bzang.rgya.mtsho; 1617–1682): 5th Dalai Lama who through his alliance with Gushri Khan established himself and the Geluk order as the spiritual and temporal overlords of Tibet. 15, 16, 26, 92
- Ngor** (gNor): monastery in Tsang, Central Tibet associated with the Sakya order. 24, 76
- Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo** (Ngor.chen.kun.dga'.bzang.po; 1382–1444): abbot of Ngor monastery. 76
- Nilashvakhishna**: 'Blue Horse' Vaishravana. 104
- Nirvana**: total extinction of the self and the ultimate goal of all Buddhists. 18
- Nispannayogavali**: 11th/12th century Indian Buddhist *tantra* describing different mandala to be used in meditation, and thereby an important iconographic source for Tantric imagery. 19, 114, 116, 156, 158
- Norbu Zangpo** (Nor.bu.bzang.po): sheep-headed assistant of Nartakarakta. 104
- Nyethang** (sNye.thang): monastery near Lhasa in Ü province, Central Tibet. The site of Atisha's death. 12
- Nyima Odzer** (Nyi.ma.'od.zer): manifestation of Padmasambhava. 114
- Nyingma order** (rNying.ma.pa): Tibetan religious order based on the Buddhism expounded in the Yarlung dynasty (7th–9th

- century) and which considers Padmasambhava as its founder. 11, 12, 20, 27, 30, 62, 64, 68, 70, 94, 106, 114, 118, 120, 124, 126, 132, 134, 140, 142, 152, 154
- Nyipangse** (Nyi.pang.sad): Bon deity associated with the Zhangzhung kingdom. 174
- Nyö** (gNos): family of Buddhist masters originally from West Tibet and ultimately from western Bhutan; loosely connected to the Kagyu order. 72
- Nyö Drupapal** (gNos.Grags.pa.dpal, 12th century): Nyö hierarch, master and father of Sangye Rechen Gyelwa Lhanangpa, and principal subject of Plate 21. 72
- Nyö Lotsawa** (gNos.lo.rtsa.pa; 10th/11th century): primary ancestor of the Nyö lineage and master and father of Dorje Lama. 72
- Nyö Palgye Jungne** (gNos.dPal.gyi. 'byung.gnas; 12th century): Nyö hierarch, son and disciple of Dorje Lama, uncle and master of Nyö Drupapal. 72
- Ogadei Khan** (r. 1229–1241): Mongol Great Khan and father of Godan Khan. 14
- Padmaheruka**: Heruka manifestation of Amitabha. 132
- Padmapani**: 'Lotus Bearer'; 'surname' of Avalokiteshvara. 42, 44, 48
- Padmasambhava**: 'One Born in a Lotus'; 8th century Buddhist master from Kashmir who was the guru to King Trisong Detsen, and is also considered the founder of the Nyingma order. See also Guru Rinpoche. 11, 12, 18, 19, 20, 48, 62, 68, 70, 76, 94, 106, 114, 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 132, 140, 142, 152, 178 (n. 33)
- Padmajajra**: an Indian siddha. 66
- Padmayamari**: gate guardian of the Krishnayamari mandala. 158
- Pala**: 8th to 12th century northeast Indian kingdom whose Buddhist practice and art had a great impact on Tibet during the Second Diffusion of Buddhism. 25
- Palchen Meri** (dPal.chen.me.ri): 'Mountain of Fire'; Bon tutelary deity. 174
- Pancharakshas**: group of five deities who ward off illness and evil. 166
- Panchen Drakpa Dorje** (Pan.chen.grags.pa.rdo.rje): Sakya lama. 78
- Panchen Lama** (Pan.chen.bla.ma): Geluk order incarnate lama established by the 5th Dalai Lama. Abbot of Tashilhunpo monastery, he is the second highest ranking Tibetan religious leader. 16, 20, 27, 58, 84, 98, 166
- Pandara**: consort of Amitabha. 116
- Pandit**: Indian Buddhist scholar. 12
- Panjaramahakala**: 'Lord of the Tent'; a manifestation of Mahakala. 20, 56, 144, 160, 164
- Panthaka**: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28, 40, 90
- Parashu**: axe. 114, 118, 120, 138, 140, 176
- Paripurana Tara**: manifestation of Tara. 58
- Paripachaka Tara**: manifestation of Tara. 58
- Parnashabari**: *dharami* goddess. 56
- Pasha**: Noose. 28, 96, 100, 102, 106, 114, 118, 128, 140, 146, 148, 154, 176
- Patience Creed**: This mantra in Tibetan can be translated as: 'The holy ascetic practice of patience is the best path to Buddhahood, thus the Buddha has said. For a monk to harm others is not virtuous practice.' 72
- Patron–priest relationship**: see *yoncho*. 14, 15, 23
- Peihar** (Pe.har): guardian deity. 126
- Phagpa Lodro Gyaltsen** (Phags.pa.blo.gros.rgyal.mtshan; 1235–1280): nephew of Sakya Pandita who was made Dishi of Tibet by Kubilai Khan. 14
- Phakmodrupa** (Phag.mo.gru.pa; 1110–70): disciple of Campopa and founder of the Phakmodru branch of the Kagyu order. 13, 66, 178 (n. 39)
- Phakmodru Kagyu order** (Phag.mo.gru.bKa.brgyud.pa): branch of the Kagyu order founded by Phakmodrupa. 13, 14, 15
- Phramenmas** (Phra.men.mas): eight animal-headed goddesses associated with the Bardo journey. 132, 136, 138, 152
- Phurbu** (*phur.ba*): see *vajrakila*. 64, 106, 122, 152, 176
- Pindola Bharadvaja**: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28, 40, 90
- Potala**: mountain residence of Avalokiteshvara and the namesake of the Potala palace. 82
- Potala (Po.ta.la) palace**: residence and seat of government of the Dalai Lamas in Lhasa, built by the 5th Dalai Lama in the 17th century. 15, 16
- Prajna**: wisdom. 19
- Pratyaldhasana**: posture of stepping to the right. Opposite of *alidhasana*. 102, 108, 128
- Primordial Buddha**: the supreme, universal Buddha. Known variously as Samantabhadra, Vajrasattva and Vajradhara. Alternate name: Adi Buddha. 19, 48, 64, 66, 72, 76, 78, 82, 104, 108, 110, 114, 124, 134, 136, 138, 140, 144, 150, 152, 156, 160, 162, 164, 166
- Prinla Konpo**: group of five guardian deities. 96, 148
- Puja**: sacrifice or offering. 102
- Qianlong emperor** (r. 1736–95): 4th ruler of the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644–1911). 16, 110, 112
- Qing dynasty** (1644–1911). Manchurian-ruled dynasty of China. 15, 16, 17, 23, 110
- Raganisudana Tara**: manifestation of Tara. 58
- Rahula**: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28, 30, 40, 90
- Rahula**: half serpent guardian deity. 126, 128, 136, 152, 154
- Raksha**: demonic divinity. 62, 94
- Raktayamari**: red manifestation of the *dharmapala* Yamantaka. 20, 48, 108
- Ralpachen** (Ral.pa.chen; r. 815–838): 3rd of the Three Dharma Kings of the Yarlung dynasty (7th–9th century). 11
- Rasavajra**: goddess of the second circle of Guhyasamaja's mandala. 116
- Ratnaheruka**: Heruka manifestation of Ratnasambhava. 132
- Ratnasambhava (Buddha)**: Buddha of the South of the Five Transcendental Buddhas. 19, 44, 56, 116, 132, 134, 178 (n. 18)
- Ratneshayamari**: manifestation of Yamantaka. 158, 162
- Reting** (Rwa.sgreng): monastery in northern Ü province, Central Tibet, founded by Dromton as the seat of the Kadam order. 12
- Rig Veda**: Brahmanic text composed circa 1500 BC. 100
- Rikshavaktra**: bear-headed *dakini*. 52, 118
- Rinchenpel** ('Jig.rten.mgon.rin.chen.dpal; 1143–1217): founder of the Drigung branch of the Kagyu order. 72
- Rinchen Zangpo** (Rin.chen.bzang.po; 958–1055): monk of the Guge kingdom who together with Lekpe Sherab survived the mission to Kashmir. He was subsequently responsible for much of the propagation of Buddhism in West Tibet during the Second Diffusion of Buddhism. 12, 42, 112
- Rudra**: alternate name for Shiva. 106
- Rupavajra**: goddess of the second circle of Guhyasamaja's mandala. 116
- Rupini**: a four-armed *dakini* who appears in the first circle of the Samvara mandala. 114, 156
- Sabdavajra**: goddess of the second circle of Guhyasamaja's mandala. 116
- Sachen Kunga Nyingpo** (Sa.chen.kun.dga'.nying.po; 1092–1158): founder of both the Sakya order and monastery. 144
- Sadhanamala**: 11th/12th century tantric text with detailed iconographic description of deities. 19
- Sakshu** (*sag.zhu*): literally 'gold coloured hat'. 92, 126
- Sakya** (Sa.skya): principal monastery of the Sakya order in Tsang, Central Tibet. 13, 14, 144
- Sakya order** (Sa.skya.pa): monastic order founded by Konchog Gyalpo and its lineage was transmitted from uncle to nephew. 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 24, 26, 76, 78, 80, 108, 116, 144, 146, 156, 158, 160, 162, 164
- Sakya Pandita**: see Kunga Gyaltsen. 14, 78
- Samantabhadra**: manifestation of the Primordial Buddha. 19, 64, 110, 124, 134, 136, 140, 152
- Samvara**: tutelary deity (*yidam*) and subject of the *Chakrasamvara Tantra*. 21, 48, 114, 140, 142, 156, 160
- Samye** (bSam.yas): the first Tibetan monastery, founded by Padmasambhava and located in Ü province, Central Tibet. 11, 62, 68
- Sangye Rechen Gyelwa Lhanangpa** (Sangs.rgyas.ras.chen.rgyal.ba.lha.nang.pa; 1164–1224): Nyö hierarch, son and disciple of Nyö Drupapal, founder of Lhapa Kagyu order. Possible commissioner of Plate 21. 72
- Saptaratna**: 'seven treasures of the Chakravartin (Universal King)'; emblems

- of both cosmic and secular power, and namely: the king, queen, elephant, wheel, horse, jewel and minister. 52
- Saraha**: Indian *mahasiddha* and one of the earliest masters of the *Chakrasamvara Tantra*. 66
- Sarasvati**: goddess whose name literally means 'Melodious Voice'. 50, 52, 128
- Sari**: unstitched cloth of female apparel worn wrapped around the waist as a skirt. 58, 92, 128
- Sariputra**: together with Maudgalyayana, he forms 'the model pair' of the Historical Buddha Shakyamuni's disciples who often flank him in images. 30
- Sarvabuddhadakini**: *dakini*. 52, 76, 114, 120, 138, 156
- Second Diffusion of Buddhism**: The period of the re-introduction of Buddhism into Tibet considered to have begun in the late 10th century, *circa* 978. 12, 18, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 74, 106
- Seikhrabtsan** (bSe'i.khrab.can): manifestation of the *dharma* *pala* Tsangpa Karpo (White Brahma). 21, 96, 148, 166
- Sekpong Zangpo** (Sred.spong.bzang.po): goat-headed assistant of Nartakarakta. 104
- Serthang** (*gser.thang*): a portable scroll with a 'cold gold' ground. 23, 78
- Shadaksharilokeshvara**: four-armed manifestation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara. 38, 48, 50, 72, 76, 120, 122, 126, 128
- Shah**: Present ruling dynasty of Nepal which conquered the Kathmandu Valley in the late 18th century. 16
- Shakyamuni** (Buddha): the Historical Buddha, and member of the seven Manushi (Mortal Manifestation) Buddhas, the seven Buddhas of the Past, the eight Medicine Buddhas and the four Mortal Buddhas. 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 38, 40, 52, 66, 70, 74, 80, 82, 90, 106, 164
- Shalu** (Zhwa.lu): monastery near Shigatse in Tsang province, Central Tibet. 25, 44
- Shambala**: 'Northern Paradise' of Tibetan Buddhist mythology. 84
- Shankha**: conch. 96
- Shantarakshita** (8th century): Indian Buddhist master who suggested that King Trisong Detsen invite Padmasambhava to Tibet, and who became the 1st abbot of Samye. 62
- Shantidevi**: Indian Buddhist master. 74
- Sharmapa Kagyupa** (Zhwa.dmar.pa.bKa'.brgyud.pa): sub-order of the Karmapa branch of the Kagyu order, which was founded by Trakpa Senge (Grags.pa.seng.ge; 1283-1349), the disciple of the 3rd Karmapa, Rangchung Dorje (Rang.byung.rdo.rje; 1284-1339). 64, 134
- Shen**: Bon term for 'teacher', equivalent of the Buddhist 'Buddha'. 170, 172
- Shigatse** (gZhis.ka.rtse): city in Tsang province, Central Tibet. 16
- Shiva**: Brahmanic deity, and one of the three principal gods of Hinduism. 48, 106, 150
- Shoka Vinodana Tara**: manifestation of Tara. 58
- Show**: Chinese character for long life. 90
- Shri Devi**: female guardian deity; one of the eight *dharma* *pala*. Her Tibetan name is Palden Lhamo (dPal.ldan.lha.mo). 21, 48, 50, 94, 96, 106, 118, 126, 144, 152, 166
- Shri Chakrasamvara**: alternate name for Chakrasamvara. 114
- Shri Heruka Vajramanjugosha**: wrathful manifestation of Manjushri. 128
- Shri Kalachakra**: *vidya* (tutelary deity) and subject of the *Kalachakra Tantra*. 84
- Siddha**: 'perfect being'; an Indian Tantric Buddhist adept. 66, 72
- Sikkim**: former Himalayan kingdom ruled by a Tibetan dynasty, and made a protectorate by the British empire, and ultimately absorbed by the Indian republic. 10
- Silk Roads**: the trade routes crossing the Central Asian deserts from West and South Asia to China. Particularly active during the 1st millennium AD, they were important arteries for the initial transmission of Buddhism to Tibet, Mongolia, China, Japan and Korea. 10, 11, 13, 18
- Simhanadalokeshvara**: 'Roar of the Lion' manifestation of Avalokiteshvara. 56
- Simhavaktra**: lion-headed *dakini*; also known as Simhamukha. 52, 76, 94, 114, 118
- Simla treaty**: 1914 treaty by which Tibet's sovereignty was recognised. Signed by Tibet and Britain, it was not signed by the Chinese Republic. 17
- Singalingwa** (Sin.ga.gling.ba): *dakini*. 110
- Sita Tara**: white manifestation of Tara. 34, 50, 52, 54, 92, 126, 128, 166
- Sitamanjugosha**: manifestation of the bodhisattva Manjushri. 52, 72
- Situ Panchen** (Si.tu.Pan.chen): incarnate lama of the Karmapa Kagyu order. 27, 34
- Sonam Gyatso** (bSod.nam.rgya.mtsho; 1543-88): 3rd Dalai Lama, and the one on whom the title was first conferred by the Mongol Altan Khan. 15, 86, 98
- Sonam Lodro** (Bsod.nams.blo.gros; 1432-1468): Sakya abbot of Tehura monastery. 76
- Songtsen Gampo** (Srong.btsan.sgam.po; r. 617-650): 1st of the Three Dharma Kings, and believed to be the king of the Yarlung dynasty (7th-9th century) to unify the different polities of the plateau into one nation. Founder of the Jokhang in Lhasa. 11, 15
- Sparshavajra**: consort of Guhyasamaja. 116
- Spiritual Heroes** (gyung.drung.sems.dpa): the 13 primaevial *shen* of the Bon religion. 172
- Spiti**: Himalayan valley in Himachal Pradesh with a largely Tibetan population and once part of the West Tibetan kingdom of Guge. 42
- Srinmochenmo** (Srin.mo.chen.mo): *dakini*. 110
- Stupa**: funerary shrine to Shakyamuni Buddha which became an important aspect of Buddhist architecture and imagery. 26, 44, 56, 72, 84, 166
- Sukarasya**: a four-armed boar-headed of the Samvara mandala. 114, 156
- Surya**: sun god. 48
- Suryagupta** (bLo.bzang.bstan.pa'i.nyi.ma; 1781-1854): the 4th Panchen Lama who established the pantheon of 500 deities at Narthang monastery. 58
- Sutra**: Buddhist text. 18
- Svabhajraprajna**: consort of Krishnayamari. 158
- Svanasya**: a four-armed dog-headed goddess of the Samvara mandala. 114, 156
- Syama Tara**: green manifestation of Tara, and consort of Amoghasiddhi. 50, 54, 56, 64, 72, 74, 86, 116, 128, 166
- Tabo** (Ta.bo): temple of the Guge kingdom of West Tibet. 25
- Takkiraja**: *krodha* guardian. 116, 120, 122, 134
- Takla Mebar** (sTag.la.me.'bar): wrathful Bon deity. 108
- Taklung Kagyu** (sTag.lung.bKa'.brgyud.pa): branch of the Drigung order founded by Tashipel, Taklung Thangpa Chenpo - a disciple of Phakmodrupa. 13, 66
- Tang dynasty** (618-907). Chinese-ruled dynasty of China contemporary with the Tibetan Yarlung dynasty (7th-9th century). 10, 11
- Tanjur** (bsTan.'gyur): class of commentary literature in both Buddhism and Bon. 20, 22
- Tantra**: type of esoteric Buddhist texts which delineate a 'quicker path' to spiritual liberation through a system of rituals, yogic exercises and techniques such as meditation and visualisation. 18, 19, 70, 84, 112, 116, 160
- Tantrayana**: see Vajrayana. 18
- Tantric Buddhism**: see Vajrayana.
- Tara**: female emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara. 19, 26, 50, 54, 58, 64, 72, 128, 132, 144, 178 (n. 30), 179 (n. 122)
- Tarjanimudra**: gesture of pointing out error. 30, 118, 128, 164
- Tashilunpo** (bKra'.shis.lhun.po): monastery near Shigatse in Tsang province, Central Tibet, of which the Geluk Panchen Lama is abbot. 16, 82, 86, 94
- Tashipel, Taklung Thangpa Chenpo** (Ta.shi.dpal, sTag.lung.thang.pa.chen.po; 1142-1210): disciple of Phakmodrupa and founder of the Taklung Kagyu lineage. 66
- Tazik** (rTag.gzigs): original homeland of the Bon religion. 21, 22
- Tehura** (rTe'u.ra): Sakya monastery in Tsang province, Central Tibet. 76
- Tenzin Gyatso** (Bstan.'dzin.rgya.mtsho; b. 1935): 14th and present Dalai Lama. 17
- Tergye Srungma** (gTer.gyi.srung.ma): one of the four attendants of Seikhrabtsan. 96, 148
- Terma** (*gter.ma*: treasure): a class of 'rediscovered' literature in Tibetan Buddhism and Bon. 12, 84
- Terton** (*gter.ston*; 'Treasure Finders'); discoverers of the *terma* texts. 12, 114, 154

- Terton Padma Lingpa** (gTer.ston.pad.ma.gling.pa; 1450–1513): master of the Nyingma order. 140
- Thangka** (*thang.ka*): a portable scroll that can be rolled up and is painted, embroidered or made of patchwork. 20, 23, 25, 27, 48, 58, 62, 66, 68, 78, 84, 86, 102, 118, 128, 144, 146, 154, 168
- Theravada** ('School of the Elders) Buddhism: earliest form of Buddhism alternately known as Hinayana Buddhism. 18
- Tholing** (mtho.liding): temple founded in the 10th century in the Guge kingdom of West Tibet, located in the Tibet Autonomous Region of China. 25, 42, 58
- Three Principles of Buddhism**: the Buddha, his Teachings and the Community. 19
- Thousand Buddhas**: decorative theme in Buddhist painting where the background is filled with countless repeated images of the Buddha. 168
- Thubten Gyatso** (Thub.bstan.rgya.mtsho; 1876–1933): 13th Dalai Lama. 17
- Tibetan empire** (7th–9th century): see Yarlung dynasty. 11, 18, 21, 25, 54
- Tilopa** (988–1069): Indian master who instructed Marpa. 13, 70
- Tonpa Shenrab** (sTon.pa.gshen.rab): historical 'Enlightened One' of the Bon religion; also known as Shenrap Miwo. 22, 172
- Torma** (*tor.ma*): offering made of butter. 146
- Trapusha and Bhalika**: two brothers who witnessed the *lokapala* presenting offerings to the Historical Buddha Shakya-muni in a stone bowl. 32
- Transcendental Buddhas**: group of five Buddhas, namely: Vairochana, Ratnasambhava, Akshobhya, Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi. Alternately known as the five Cosmic Buddhas, and as the five Dhyani Buddhas. 19, 25, 32, 42, 44, 56, 64, 116, 132, 134, 136, 166, 168
- Tribhanga**: a thrice-bent posture. 42
- Tiratna**: 'Three Jewels', standing for the Three Principles of Buddhism: Buddha, his Teachings and the Community. 116, 134
- Trisong Detsen** (Khri.srong.lde.btsan; r. 775–797): 2nd of the Three Dharma Kings, and royal disciple of Padmasambhava. 11, 62, 124
- Trisula**: trident. 100, 106, 110, 114, 118, 124, 132, 136, 138, 140, 154, 160
- Tsakli** (*tsa.ka.li*): miniature paintings of deities which serve in Buddhist initiation and Bon funerary rituals. 170
- Tsalthang** (*mtshal.thang*): portable scroll with a red ground. 23, 30, 38, 46, 50, 56
- Tsan** (bTsan): group of mountain deities. 152
- Tsang** (gTsang): southern province of Central Tibet. 13, 17, 24, 76, 80
- Tsangpa Karpo** (Tsang.pa.kar.po; the White Brahma): guardian deity, one of the eight *dharmapala*. 21, 94, 96, 126, 148, 166
- Tsangyang Gyatso** (Tshangs.dbyangs.rgya.mtsho; 1683–1706): 6th Dalai Lama who was hidden for much of his childhood by the 'delayed' announcement of the 5th Dalai Lama's death and who was subsequently forced to abdicate when he did not live up to his counsellors' expectations. 16, 92, 94, 166
- Tsar Nicholas** (1868–1918): Russian ruler in contact with 13th Dalai Lama. 17
- Tsengye Makpon** (bTsan.gyi.dmag.dpon): one of the four attendants of Seikhrabsan. 96, 148
- Tseringma** (Tshe.ring.ma): one of the five Goddesses of Longevity. 50, 94
- Tseumarmo** (Tsi'u.dmar.po): chief of the Tsan deities. 106
- Tsongkhapa** (Tsong.kha.pa; 1357–1419): founder of the Geluk order. 15, 19, 20, 30, 74, 82, 86, 96, 106, 166
- Tsurphu** (mTshur.phu): Karmapa Kagyu monastery northwest of Lhasa in Ü province, Central Tibet, which was founded by Dusum Khyenpa. 13
- Tumoshinje** (bDud.mo.gshin.rje.): group of four assistants of Nilashvakrishna, namely: Tumoshinje Goguma (mgo.dgu.ma), -Lukgyama (lug.brgya.ma), -Phungkrolma (phung.krol.ma) and -Sodyema (gsod.byed.ma). 104
- 'Twelve Boats'**: group of Bon guardian deities. 174
- Ü** (dBus): region of Central Tibet around the capital Lhasa. 14
- Uchen** (*dbu.can*): Tibetan 'with-head' script often used for inscriptions on paintings. 42, 62, 68, 78, 122, 160, 176, 179 (n. 136)
- Ulukasya**: a four-armed owl-headed goddess of the Samvara mandala. 114, 156
- Umed** (*dbu.med*): cursive Tibetan 'headless' script derived from *uchen* and also sometimes used for inscriptions on paintings. 74, 148, 170
- Upaya**: compassion. 19
- Ushnishavijaya**: female emanation of Buddha Vairochana, goddess of long life. 19, 23, 56
- Ushnishavijaya Tara**: manifestation of Tara. 58
- Utpala**: blue lotus. 42, 44, 50, 158
- Vairochana** (Buddha): chief of the five Transcendental Buddhas. 19, 44, 56, 116, 132, 134, 138, 178 (n. 18)
- Vairochanayamari**: manifestation of Yamantaka. 158, 162
- Vaishravana**: *lokapala* of the north, also associated with wealth. 21, 23, 26, 48, 76, 84, 94, 96, 102, 104, 126, 166, 178 (n. 79), 179 (n. 84)
- Vajra**: Tib. *dorje* (*rdo.rje*) – literally 'thunderbolt' or 'diamond-sceptre'; ritual implement symbolic of wisdom. 18, 19, 28, 30, 38, 42, 46, 50, 68, 72, 76, 78, 80, 92, 102, 106, 114, 116, 120, 122, 124, 128, 132, 134, 136, 140, 142, 152, 154, 156, 158, 160, 162, 166
- Vajrabhairava**: manifestation of Yamantaka. 150, 162
- Vajracarcika**: deity of the Krishnayamari mandala. 158
- Vajrachanda**: wrathful manifestation of Vajrasattva. 164
- Vajradanda**: wrathful manifestation of Vajrasattva. 164
- Vajradhara**: manifestation of the Primordial Buddha. 19, 48, 66, 72, 76, 78, 82, 104, 108, 114, 134, 144, 150, 156, 160, 162, 166
- Vajraheruka**: Heruka manifestation of Akshobhya. 132
- Vajrahumkara**: deification of the mantra syllable *hum* and guardian associated with Hevajra. 128, 144
- Vajrakila**: guardian deity with a dagger-shaped lower body. 20, 124, 138, 176
- Vajrakila**: ritual dagger; in Tibetan: *phurbu* (*phur.ba*). 124, 176
- Vajrakilaya**: wrathful manifestation of Vajrasattva. 164
- Vajramudgara**: wrathful manifestation of Vajrasattva. 164
- Vajrapada**: an Indian siddha. 66
- Vajrapani**: bodhisattva often depicted in his aggressive aspect as a *krodha* guardian. 20, 28, 30, 38, 42, 64, 102, 106, 114, 120, 122, 126, 134, 142, 166
- Vajrasana**: posture of meditation; alternate term: *dhyanasana*. 28, 30, 38, 42, 92, 168, 172
- Vajrasarasvati**: deity of the Krishnayamari mandala. 158
- Vajrasattva**: manifestation of the Primordial Buddha. 19, 66, 72, 104, 164
- Vajravahni**: boar-headed *dakini* and consort of Chakrasamvara. Deity of the Krishnayamari mandala. 48, 122, 128, 156, 158, 160
- Vajravetali**: consort of Raktayamari. 108
- Vajravidyaloka**: a wrathful manifestation of Vajrasattva. 164
- Vajrayana (Diamond Path) Buddhism**: Buddhist tradition based on tantric texts and a shorter path to enlightenment; alternate names: Tantrayana or Tantric Buddhism. 18, 19, 20
- Vanali**: *dakini*. 144
- Vanavasin**: one of the sixteen Indian arhats. 28
- Vasudhara**: goddess of abundance. 50, 78
- Varadamudra**: gesture of wish granting. 40, 44, 52, 54, 56, 62, 92, 128
- Varunadeva**: one of the 35 Confession Buddhas. 88
- Vetali**: consort of Mahavajrabhairava. 150
- Vidyadhara**: literally 'Bearers of Knowledge', usually depicted in pairs. During the 49-day Bardo journey, they help guide the deceased towards paradise. 134
- Vina**: lute, attribute of the *lokapala* Dhrtasrashtra. 31
- Virudhaka**: *lokapala* of the south. 88, 166
- Virupa**: Indian *mahasiddha* who instructed Dombipa, and is particularly identified with the Sakya order. 70
- Virupaksha**: *lokapala* of the east. 166
- Vishnu**: Brahmanic deity, and one of the three principal gods of Hinduism. 106, 150
- Vishva**: adept who was the father of Vaishravana. 102

- Vishvavajra**: ritual object comprised of two vajras crossed perpendicularly. 56, 134
- Vitarkamudra**: gesture of instruction. 46, 66, 68, 72, 74, 78, 82, 86, 88, 134, 170
- Vyagravaktra**: tiger-headed *dakini*. 118
- Yala**: leogryph; mythical lion-goat creature often found as part of decoration of throne backs in Tibetan painting. 30, 42, 72
- West Tibet**: the western regions of the plateau and its related mountain valleys, in the present day western half of the Tibet Autonomous region and in the eastern section of India's Jammu and Kashmir, and the northern section of India's Himachal Pradesh. Alternate name Ngaris (mNga.ris). 12, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 42, 58, 62, 72, 90, 112, 148, 168, 179 (n. 122)
- Xixia kingdom** (982–1227): Central Asian kingdom centred on present-day Gansu and Ningxia provinces in northwestern China. 13, 25
- Xylography**: paintings which are produced through wood-block printing techniques. 27, 84, 86
- Yab**: term for 'father'. 72
- Yabyum** (*yab.yum*): literally 'father-mother', posture of sexual embrace. 84
- Yama**: guardian deity; one of the eight *dharmapala*. Also the Brahmanic god of death. 21, 94, 100, 108, 112, 120, 122, 134, 142, 150, 158, 166
- Yamantaka**: guardian deity; one of the eight *dharmapala*. 20, 72, 100, 108, 116, 126, 150, 156, 158, 162, 166
- Yamaraja**: manifestation of Yama. 108
- Yami**: sister of Yama. 100, 150
- Yana**: literally 'path' or 'vehicle'. 18
- Yangdakshe Zangpo** (Yang.dag.shes.bzang.po): stag-headed assistant of Nartakarakta. 104
- Yarlung dynasty** (Yar.lung; 7th–9th century): dynasty which created and ruled over the Tibetan empire. Also known as the Pugyel (sPu.rgyal) dynasty. 10, 11, 124
- Yarlung Valley** (Yar.lung): valley to the south of Lhasa in Ü province, Central Tibet. It is considered to have been the original power base of the Yarlung dynasty (7th–9th century). 10
- Yidam** (*yi.dam*): tutelary deity; entity who helps guide the practitioner along the path to enlightenment, specifically as a focus of meditation. 19, 20, 21, 28, 70, 72, 74, 76, 80, 82, 84, 110, 112, 114, 116, 140, 150, 156, 160, 166
- Yogi**: a male yoga adept. 142, 162, 174
- Yogini**: a female yoga adept. 110
- Yoncho** (*yon.mchod*): the patron-priest relationship first established by the Mongol princes with their spiritual gurus, the Sakya abbots. 14, 23
- Yongle emperor** (r. 1403–24). 3rd ruler of the Ming dynasty, who established the patron-priest relationship with the Karmapa lamas. 15
- Yonten Gyatso** (Yon.tan.rgya.mtsho; 1589–1617): 4th Dalai Lama and grandson of Altan Khan. 15
- Younghusband**, Colonel Francis (1863–1942): Officer who led the British invasion of Tibet in 1903. 17
- Yuan dynasty** (1279–1368). Mongol-ruled dynasty of China. 14, 15, 23
- Yuchashogchikma** (gYu.by.a.gshogs.gcig.ma): mountain goddess. 126
- Yundrun** (gYung.drung): a Bon monastery in Central Tibet. 168, 179 (n. 157)
- Yungmo** (gYung.mo): *dakini*. 110
- Zhangzhung** (Zhang.zhung): pre-imperial kingdom in West Tibet, said to be the secondary homeland of the Bon religion. 21, 62, 174

