Mirror of the Buddha

Early Portraits from Tibet

David P. Jackson

Rubin Museum of Art

Mirror of the Buddha

Early Portraits from Tibet

David P. Jackson

With contributions by Christian Luczanits

From the *Masterworks of Tibetan Painting Series*

Rubin Museum of Art
New York

This catalog is published in conjunction with an exhibition organized and presented by the Rubin Museum of Art, New York, October 7, 2011, through February 27, 2012, and curated by David P. Jackson and Christian Luczanits. *The Mirror of the Buddha* is the third volume in the *Masterworks of Tibetan Painting Series* by David P. Jackson, published by the Rubin Museum of Art, New York, and distributed by the University of Washington Press, Seattle and London.

ISBN 978-0-9845190-2-6 (hardcover)
ISBN 978-0-9845190-3-3 (softcover)

Project Director, Helen Abbott
Project Assistant, Helen Chen
Designed by Phil Kovacevich
Maps by Anandaroop Roy
Printed and bound in Iceland
All photographs by Bruce M. White, unless otherwise noted

Front cover: detail of Fig. 5.2
Back cover: detail of Fig. 4.11
Frontispiece: detail of Fig. 5.4
p. vi: detail of Fig. 3.22
p. viii: Fig. 5.3

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Jackson, David Paul.
Mirror of the Buddha : early portraits from Tibet from the Masterworks of Tibetan painting series / David P. Jackson.
p. cm. — (Masterworks of Tibetan painting ; 3)
Published in conjunction with an exhibition held at the Rubin Museum of Art, New York, Oct. 7, 2011–Feb. 27, 2012.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN-13: 978-0-9845190-2-6 (hardcover)
ISBN-10: 0-9845190-2-5 (hardcover)
ISBN-13: 978-0-9845190-3-3 (softcover)
ISBN-10: 0-9845190-3-3 (softcover)
1. Buddhist saints in art--Exhibitions. 2. Buddhist painting--Tibet Region--Exhibitions. 3. Tankas (Tibetan scrolls) I. Rubin Museum of Art (New York, N.Y.) II. Title. III. Title: Early portraits from Tibet from the Masterworks of Tibetan painting series.
ND1432.T55J33 2011
755'.9436109515—dc23

2011030047

Contents

Founder's Statement

Donald Rubin, Co-founder
Rubin Museum of Art

PORTRAITS ARE PAINTED for many reasons—to honor and remember a loved one, to immortalize a great leader, to capture the beauty of youth at its moment of perfection. The list goes on. I have a portrait in my office of my father, a great American labor leader, that was painted by the important American artist Rafael Soyer, and every day it reminds me of my father's influence on my life, and the lives of many others.

When we look at the portraits of teachers presented in this catalog, *Mirror of the Buddha*, the third in the series "Masterpieces of Tibetan Painting " by David Jackson, we feel that we know them because of the human features depicted—balding heads, peculiar facial hair, or protruding teeth. They look like people we might have met just yesterday. And in feeling that connection, we receive the inspiration they offer us—great saints all of them—reaching across time and space.

Buddhist devotees in Tibet would respond to these images in much the same way that we Americans respond to the portraits of our great secular heroes that hang in the National Portrait Gallery in Washington. The pictures of presidents and activists who stood for the ideals and values of our society inspire us to embody those values ourselves. This is the common character of excellent portraits of great human beings—they humanize the ideals we hold most dear, be they religious truths or, as in my father's case, secular progressive justice.

I hope that visitors to the exhibition and readers of this catalog will benefit from David Jackson's incisive scholarship and his insights into the lives of these venerated men, and will be touched by this art in a way similar to the way that I am reminded of my father each time I look at Soyer's portrait.

LOANS TO THE EXHIBITION ARE FROM THE FOLLOWING ESTEEMED COLLECTORS AND COLLECTIONS:

Brooklyn Museum

Stephen and Sharon Davies Collection

The John and Berthe Ford Collection at The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

The Kronos Collections, New York

Navin Kumar Collection, New York

Collection Mimi Lipton

Michael J. and Beata McCormick, New York

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Musée Guimet, Paris

Nyingjei Lam Collection

Phoenix Art Museum

Pritzker Colleciton

Private Collection

Private Collection, Switzerland

Private USA Family Collection

Collection R.R.E.

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts

Yixi Pingcuo

Zimmerman Family Collection, New York

This publication is supported by a generous grant from The Henry Luce Foundation.

Foreword

Jan Van Alphen, Chief Curator
Rubin Museum of Art

TIBETAN ARTISTS received their first models for Buddhist art from India, the county of the religion's origins. Over time, painting and sculpture styles were mediated by the Newar artists of the Kathmandu Valley, Chinese influences were incorporated, and Tibetan Buddhist art evolved, while maintaining the general iconography and hierarchies established by those primary Indian models. In this third book in his masterly series of eight on Tibetan painting styles, David Jackson goes back in time from the subjects of his first two books to explore works painted in an early style, one that is clearly derived from eastern India, that is Bengal, under Pāla and Sena rule. This old Tibetan painting style was called the Sharri (*shar* meaning "eastern" and *ris* meaning "painting"). It flourished from around the eleventh to the mid-fourteenth century, when the Beri style became universally practiced in Tibet.

Jackson as a historian examines individual paintings, comparing their styles, especially the Sharri and Beri, and checking their inscriptions and the lineages they portray, in many cases using this information to date the works. Jackson is one among a small group of noted scholars in the field of the art history of Tibet, and he offers us a summary and learned critique of those few others who have attempted to analyze the works of art presented here. He also shows us that the paintings can be enjoyed simply for their subject matter and the quality of their workmanship. Most of these paintings portray early Buddhist teachers, some of whom are rendered with remarkable individuality revealing their great humanity. Their faces tell us a human story, just as their robes and attributes tell us a saintly one.

The title of the book and the exhibition it accompanies, *Mirror of the Buddha: Early Portraits from Tibet*, derives from the notion that students and followers of great lamas worshiped their teachers as fully enlightened buddhas and so might commission paintings that portrayed them as such. Jackson fully explores this notion of guru worship and its artistic outcomes, noting the conflicting tendencies present in such paintings—depicting the idealized saint and the recognizable human teacher at the same time. In the final chapter in the book Christian Luczanits discusses murals at Alchi in which the teacher was understood to be equal to a buddha and proposes that the Alchi murals are even more explicit in that regard than in depictions of teachers in paintings on cloth from central Tibet.

Together David Jackson and Christian Luczanits present us with a rich and interesting investigation of an early Tibetan painting style and the lives of those early teachers portrayed so vividly.

Preface

David Jackson

ALTHOUGH Tibetan scroll paintings (*thangkas)* can entrance the viewer with their intricacy and grandeur, beneath that striking surface resides a realm of deeper meaning. Traditional Tibetan art is the fruit of Buddhism; it is meant to convey spiritual truths or to facilitate practices that lead to such truths. In their art, Tibetans aimed at faithfully transmitting and preserving Buddhism as a spiritual discipline as they had learned it from their Indian Buddhist teachers, either directly from them or through a transmission that included early Tibetan teachers. Each *thangka* painting was a small contribution to the larger cause of keeping Buddhism alive and aglow.

Within the wide expanse of Tibetan Buddhist art, I would like to investigate in the present book early painted portraits of saints. Images of saints embodied Buddhist ideals in concrete human form. To depict them, painters used artistic conventions that were developed in India and intensively emulated by Tibetans, especially from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. The main style presented in this catalog, the Sharri (*shar ris*) or Gyagar Sharri (*rgya gar shar ris*) style, is an early one among major Tibetan painting styles. It derived from the painting traditions of eastern India from the time of the Pāla and Sena dynasties. Except for a few illuminated manuscripts, examples of other types of painting do not survive in India. The Sharri style spread from India not only to Tibet but also to many other parts of Asia; however, the Tibetans emulated it the most faithfully. When looking at early *thangkas* in this style, we can sometimes get the eerie feeling that we are looking at the last phases of Indian Buddhist art. Tibetan Sharri-style *thangkas* from the twelfth century, in all their glorious detail, may be the closest we will ever get to seeing what large-format Indian paintings once looked like.

The eastern-Indian-inspired Sharri painting style was initially patronized in Tibet most zealously by early masters of the Kadam School of Buddhism. Within a few generations, masters of many other traditions also commissioned paintings in this style, which became the dominant style in Ü Province of central Tibet from about 1150 to 1300. The seeds for the eventual abandonment of the Sharri style were sown with the destruction of the great Buddhist monasteries *(vihāras*) in northern India in 1201, after which the Indic sister style, the Beri, came more and more to the fore.

Among Sharri-style paintings of Tibet, we will concentrate in the present publication mainly on depictions of saints. Paintings of holy men are some of the most typical forms of Tibetan art. They embody an essential aspect of Vajrayana mysticism: guru devotion. These paintings were commissioned as objects for worship. As sacred icons, such portraits of saints were highly stylized, and yet the faces were usually based on realistic renderings made during the life of the master depicted.

This catalog comprises six chapters. In the first I introduce some key stylistic distinctions and summarize previous research on the Sharri style. Chapter 2 explains essential distinctions among human types in Tibetan iconography. Chapter 3 presents examples of early paintings of teachers from the Kadam, Karma Kagyü, Sakya, and Geluk Schools of Buddhism practiced in Tibet. Chapter 4 investigates how lineage conventions were used in early Taklung Kagyü paintings, especially as they survived at the monastery of Riwoche in eastern Tibet. Chapter 5 explores visual reflections of Buddhist enlightenment in early paintings of three Dakpo Kagyü founding masters. In chapter 6 Christian Luczanits presents his in-depth study of three noteworthy examples for the dating of early Tibetan paintings.

I was happy to present a summary of chapter 4 at the University of California in Berkeley on March 11, 2010, in a Khyentse Foundation Lecture in Tibetan Buddhism and to benefit from Christian Luczanits's remarks during the following workshop. A few weeks later I also had the privilege to spend several weeks at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, Tokyo, at the invitation of Dr. Florin Deleanu, where I presented a synopsis of chapter 5 in a public lecture.

At the RMA I am very grateful to Helen Abbott for weaving together again with consummate skill and patience the sometimes rough and uneven threads making up this catalog. She was supported by the expert editorial

help of Helen Chen, Neil Liebman, and Kim Riback and the design of Phil Kovacevich, a true artist with books. Christian Luczanits was a great help, generously sharing his deep expertise by commenting on the manuscript and contributing useful ideas to the related exhibition. Karl Debreczeny gave much appreciated support at various stages, as did Jan van Alphen and Tracey Friedman. Many others at the Rubin Museum of Art must be acknowledged for contributions large and small: Vincent Baker, Kavie Barnes, Michelle Bennett, Martin Brauen, Amy Bsdak, Andrew Buttermilch, Marilena Christodoulou, Alisha Ferrin, Cate Griffin, Zachary Harper, Jonathan Kuhr, Ashley Mask, Tim McHenry, Alexis McCormack, John Monaco, Shane Murray, Anne-Marie Nolin, Andrea Pemberton, Alanna Schindewolf, Patrick Sears, Marcos Stafne, Taline Toutounjian, David Townsend, and David Wilburn.

Early Tibetan paintings in the Indic Sharri style have always been for me one of the most challenging and impenetrable areas of Tibetan art history. They still are. Nevertheless, ancient painted portraits of saints are certainly worthy of being included within this series of catalogs. I therefore decided to present in this volume the results of my own preliminary forays into this field. The gap of just a year between this and the previous catalog did not leave much time for investigating individual paintings. A number of puzzles remain unsolved. Still, I am glad to invite the reader to join me now in exploring these works of rare magnificence and mystery.

Note to the Reader

TO AVOID REDUNDANCIES in captions to figures, we may assume that all *thangkas* were painted with distemper on cotton and created in the Tibetan cultural region, unless otherwise specified. When the text refers to HAR (Himalayan Art Resources), the reader is invited to find more information about a work of art at himalayanart.org, using the number given after HAR.

Some terms and names are given in transliterated Tibetan on the first occurrence in the text. These terms will also be found in the index. Diacritical marks are not provided for words of Sanskrit origin if they are familiar to English readers. In the main body of the text, Tibetan proper nouns are rendered phonetically, accompanied by Wylie Romanization on the first occurrence. When appropriate, names quoted from inscriptions or lists of names remain in transliteration. In endnotes, appendices, and footnotes, Tibetan names are Romanized. Some common Sanskrit terms or names with the character ca have been spelled as if it were aspirated, i.e., as cha: Vairocana = Vairochana


80°E
90°E
MONGOLIA
CHINA
Tibet
INDIA
Turfan
TIAN SHAN
Qizil
Kucha
40°N
Khara Khoto
Kashgar
Dunhuang
Taklamakan
NANSHAN
ALTYN TAGH
Khotan
Xining
Lanzhou
Yellow
Indus
KARAKORAM
KUNLUN SHAN
Alchi
Ladakh
KASHMIR
AMNYE MACHIN
BAYANKARA
AMDO
NGARI
TIBET
Chenab
Mekong
Yangzi
Derge
Guge
Serling Tso
Salween
Karma
Riwoche
Chengdu
DAXUE
30°N
Sutlej
TSANG
Nam Tso Ü
Reting
Taklung
Lithang
New Delhi
Lhasa
Chamdo
Densatil
Tsangpo (Brahmaputra)
Mathura
NEPAL
Ganga
Lumbini
Kathmandu
BHUTAN
HENG DUAN
Yamuna
Ghaghara
Kushinagara
ASSAM
Irawaddy
YUNNAN
Betwa
Sarnath
Varanasi (Benares)
Nalanda
Bodhgaya
Rajgir
Kurkihar
Magadha
BENGAL
Sanchi
Narmada
BURMA
INDIA
Ajanta
20°N
ORISSA
Godavari
LEGEND
Capital
City
Town
Monastery
Site or monument
District
STATE/PROVINCE
0
200 mi
0
500 km


88°E
92°E
32°N
28°N
CHINA
Tibet
INDIA
Serling Tso
Tso Ngön
Nakchu
Salween
TIBET
Nam Tso
TSANG
Ü
Damshung
Reting (Radreng)
Mt. Nyenchen Tanglha
Taklung
Yangpachen
Lhundrup
Drigung
Phenpo
Nalendra
Meldro Gungkar
Tsurphu
Ganden
Namling
Uyuk
Tolung Dechen
Taktse
Lhasa
Kongpo
Nyemo
Chusar
Lhokha
Samye
Densatil
Jonang
Puntsokling
Tashilhunpo
Shigatse
Rinpung
Gongkar
Dranang
Tsethang
Tsangpo (Brahmaputra)
Drathang
Nedong
E Lhagyari
Latö
Lhatse
Nartang
Chumig
Shalu
Gyantse
Nakartse
Chonggye
Yarlung
Yazang
Sakya
Ngor
Nenying
Ralung
Yamdrok Yumtso
Dakpo
Shekar Dingri
Pumo Yutso
Lhodrak
Tsome
Dowa Dzong
Lhodrak
Sekhar Kula Kangri
Dochen Tso
ARUNACHAL PRADESH
Chomo Lhari
SIKKIM
Punakha
Lhuntsi Dzong
Dromo
Yadong
Wangdi Phodrang
Tongsa Dzong
Paro
Thimphu
NEPAL
BHUTAN
INDIA
LEGEND
Capital
City
Town
Monastery
Mountain
District
STATE/PROVINCE
0
100 mi
0
100 km

Chapter 1 *Introduction*

THIS BOOK AIMS to investigate early Tibetan paintings of Buddhist saints, focusing mainly on *thangkas* that were painted in the Sharri (*shar ris*) style and are datable to the twelfth through fourteenth century. Originating in Pāla- and Sena-ruled eastern India (1050–1230), paintings in that style have virtually disappeared from their place of birth, except for a number of illuminated manuscripts and a few severely damaged murals. Not a single painting on cloth from northeastern India in the "Pāla" style is known to survive, so its surviving Tibetan manifestations in *thangka* paintings are all the more precious. [1]

Tibetan Name for the Sharri Style

In this catalog, I have used the name "Sharri style" for the old Tibetan painting style that derived from Pāla- and Sena-ruled eastern India. That name is made up of two parts: *shar* (eastern [Indian]) and *ris* (painting), and it thus seems to specify the origin of the style as eastern India, i.e., Bengal. Though Sharri as a term is clear enough within the context of traditional Tibetan histories of Indian Buddhist art, for contemporary art historians in Tibet it could easily become ambiguous, since it does not specify which country's eastern part is meant. Thus, as a term of Tibetan and not Indian art history, we should actually use the full form Gyagar Sharri (Painting of Eastern India, *rgya gar shar bris*).

Detail of Fig. 1.2

In previous catalogs I called the same style the "Eastern- Indian style"[2] or the "(Tibetan) Pāla style."[3]

According to the Tibetan historian of Indian Buddhism Jonang Tāranātha (1575–1634) and the later authority on art Kongtrül Lotrö Thaye (Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas, 1813–1899), who followed his account, there existed distinct artistic traditions in the Indian provinces of Magadha (Tib. *dbus*, roughly equivalent to modern Bihar) and Bengal (Tib. *shar*) during the time that Buddhism still flourished there.[4] Those Tibetan authorities used the term Sharri to designate the painting of both Magadha (the Buddhist heartland) and Bengal (eastern India) in the Pāla and Sena periods. For instance, Kongtrül in his passage on art in his *Shes bya kun khyab* encyclopedia follows Tāranātha in distinguishing the "painting of Eastern India (or Bengal)" *(shar ris)* from the "painting style of Magadha" *(dbus kyi ri mo),* mentioning that the Magadha School followed the tradition of an outstanding artist who was also the father of an artist, while to the east a tradition was established that followed the style of his son.[5] The son's tradition, the *shar ris* style, is said to have grown in scope and later covered not just eastern India (Bengal) but also Magadha.[6]

Tāranātha and Kongtrül refer with the term Sharri (eastern painting) to paintings that were made in India, as a term of Indian art history. In this book I use it to designate the corresponding painting style that it inspired in Tibet. Though it is not a widely established term like Beri (Bal ris) or Menri (sMan ris), at least one key Tibetan authority alluded to it when surveying Tibetan painting styles. The eighteenth-century eastern-Tibetan authority on art Deumar Geshe Tendzin Phüntshok (De'u dmar dGe bshes bsTan 'dzin phun tshogs) devoted a few words to Tibetan paintings that originated from types of Eastern [Indian] Art (*shar phyogs bzo*), treating such paintings as a Tibetan stylistic subtype. He briefly mentioned it just after his three terse verses describing what he called "the sacred painting tradition of India, the Exalted Land" (*rgya gar 'phags yul lha ris lugs*). [7]

The element *shar* (eastern [Indian]) occurs in several related Tibetan terms for art. We find it, for instance, in *shar gyi bzo*, a blanket term for eastern-Indian Pāla-Sena art. S*har li* is another example; it denotes bronzes (*li = li ma*) of eastern (*shar* = Pāla-Sena India, i.e., Bengal), though it usually refers to Indian bronzes surviving in Tibet, not Tibetan statues in that style.[8] If we wish to use Tibetan terminology, we should differentiate *lugs* or *bzo* as general words for (artistic) "tradition" and "workmanship," from *lha* "[sculpted] deity," *li* " bronze," and *ris* "painting," thus distinguishing the terms that denote statues from those denoting paintings.

Contrasting Portraits in Two Styles

Though my main subject is portraits painted in the Sharri style, a few other painted portraits that represent the Beri

style—the second main Indic style of Tibetan painting and the successor style to the Sharri—will also be studied in this book. To highlight the differences between the Sharri and the Nepalese-inspired Beri style, it is good to learn here at the beginning some of the key stylistic features that distinguish them. In paintings of peaceful deities, early works in the Sharri style can usually be distinguished from early Beri paintings by:

1. Multicolor borders of inlaid jewels (unlike the thin gold or yellow outer borders of the Beri)
2. Thicker multicolor head nimbuses of the main figures
3. Decorative arches behind a main peaceful figure that feature fabulous animals (such a geese or *makara*), whose tails become a stylized series of alternating blue and red bumps, which serve as an outer head nimbus
4. Triangular (not tear-shaped) jewel settings in crowns of peaceful deities or human royalty

One of the most effective ways to contrast styles can be to compare two paintings of the same subject. Let us compare Figures 1.1 and 1.2, which both depict the Indian saint Śākyaśrībhadra (1140s–1225) with episodes from his life.

Figure 1.1 portrays the great Indian saint in the Sharri style. Typical Sharri features include its multicolor border and the head nimbus of the main figure. The main figure sits within a classic Indian temple, which features Sharri-style decorations such as on the tips of plinths and other horizontal architectural members. (See Fig. 1.9.) The painting depicts episodes from Śākyaśrībhadra's life in the series of alternating red and blue rectangles around the outer borders, which were typical of narrative paintings of the fourteenth century.

Crucial for dating this painting is the brief lineage below the main figure, which shows a subsequent lineage of monastic ordination founded by the great teacher. The lineal gurus include a Tibetan learned monk wearing a red pundit hat, who is probably Sakya Pandita (Sa skya Paṇḍita, 1182–1251). Based on his presence, we can deduce that the patron flourished in about the early fourteenth century.

Figure 1.2 is the second portrait of Śākyaśrībhadra with episodes from his life. It portrays roughly the same subject as Figure 1.1a, but here depicting him (on the left) as one of two eminent monks. It is painted not in the Sharri style but rather in the Beri style. It uses the thin gold borders and dividing strips typical of the Beri style and the main figures have a simpler

FIG. 1.1
Śākyaśrībhadra with His Life Episodes and Lineage
Ca. early 14th century
33 x 25 ¼ in. (83.8 x 64.3 cm)
Private Collection
Literature: G. Tucci 1949, pp. 334-39 and pl. 6-7; P. Pal 1984, no. 5; and P. Pal 1997, no. 22.

FIG. 1.2
Śākyaśrībhadra with His Life Episodes and Disciple
Ca. mid to late 14th century
28 ⅜ x 32 ¼ in. (72 x 82 cm)
Private Collection
Literature: A. Heller 1999, p. 85f., no. 64; and D. Jackson 2010, fig. 7.4.

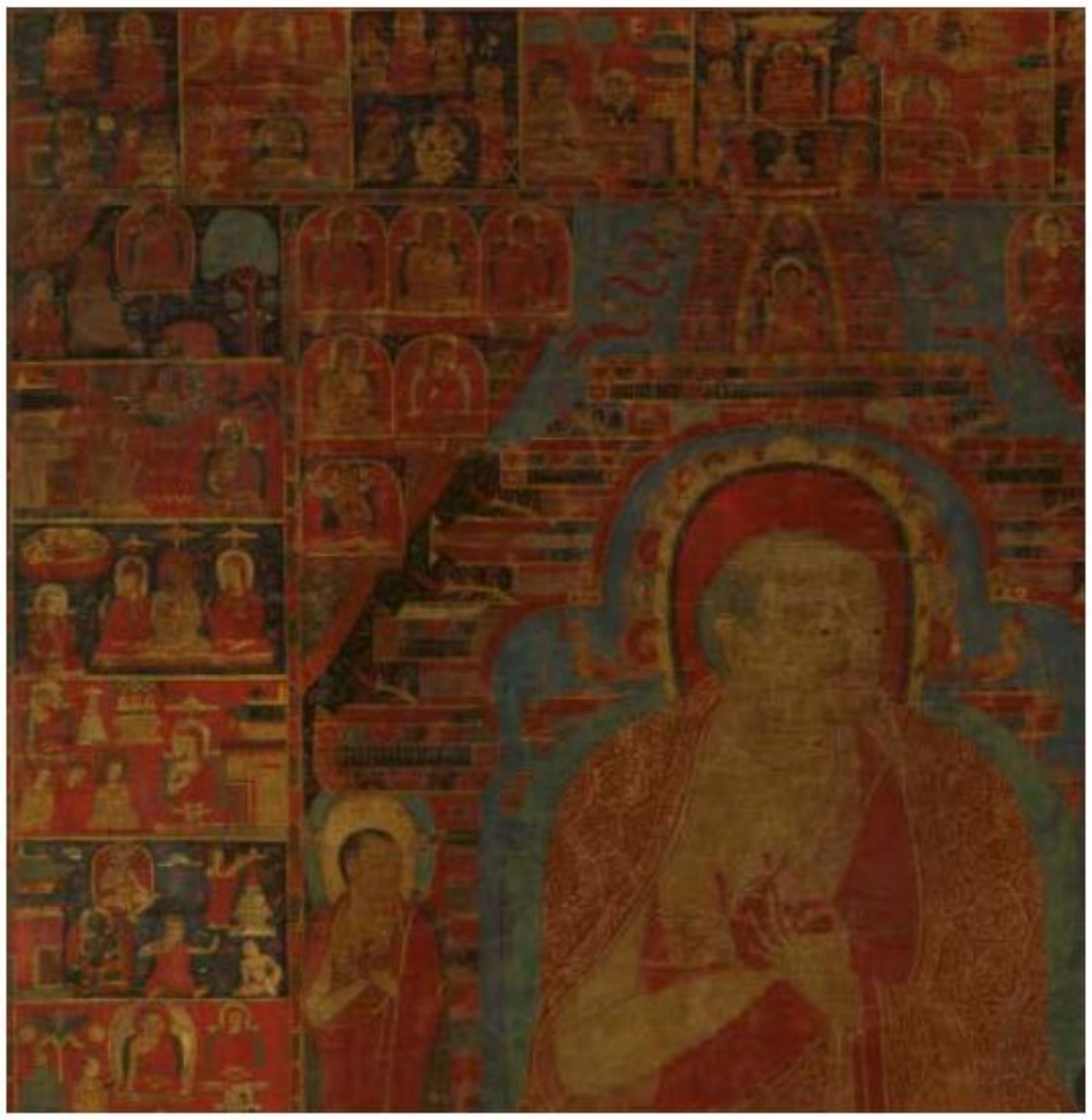


FIG. 1.1A, DETAIL

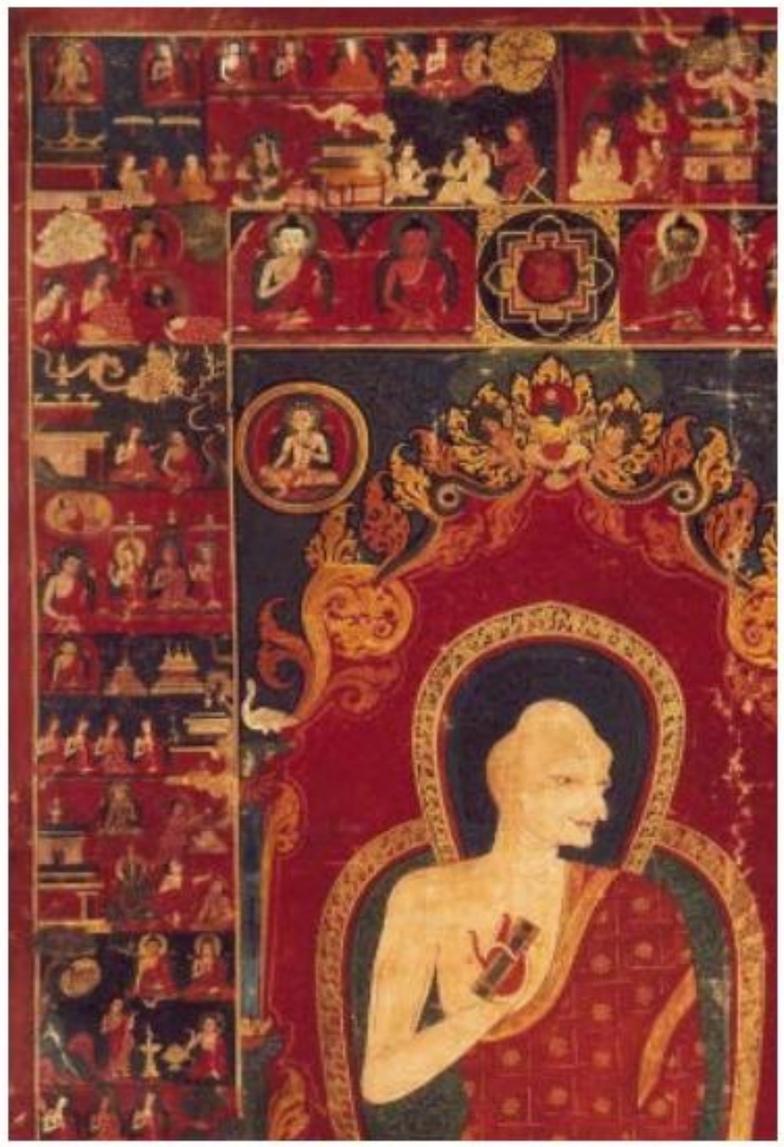


FIG. 1.2A, DETAIL

head nimbus than that of the Sharri style. (Compare the border and nimbus details in Figs. 1.1a and 1.2a.)

The two main figures represent two gurus from an important ordination lineage: the Kashmiri abbot Śākyaśrībhadra and probably one of his Tibetan disciples. The surrounding squares depict episodes from the first master's life in India, before he came to Tibet in 1203. Except for the main figures, no internal evidence can be used to date the painting more precisely, other than the fact that it must postdate its main subjects, the first of whom died in 1225.

The painting is considered one of the oldest extant biographical paintings and is roughly contemporaneous with the other depiction of Śākyaśrībhadra.[9] But I believe it to be a generation or two later than Figure 1.1a. Though both portraits lack inscriptions, the Sharri version is somewhat easier to date as the final guru in its lineage can be roughly dated with the help of iconography.

Another rare pair of paintings, Figures 1.3 and 1.4, can serve as a good comparison because both depict the Tibetan lama Yazang Chöje (g.Ya' bzang Chos rje Chos smon lam, 1169–1233), founder of Yazang Monastery, with lineages.[10] They are quite similar at first glance not only in iconography but also in coloring. Yet if we closely examine the first, Figure 1.3, it reveals itself to be in the Sharri style. We can make this assessment by noting just two key hallmarks of the style: the typical Sharri bejeweled outer border and colorful head nimbuses.

The second portrait of that lama, Figure 1.4, is obviously very similar, though considerably smaller. When we examine its stylistic details, especially its outer border and central head nimbus, we note key stylistic differences. It possesses the gold border strips and simpler head nimbus typical of the Beri.[11] (Compare the details of the borders and nimbuses in Figs. 1.3a and 1.4a.) This pair of paintings is otherwise unusually similar for works painted in two different styles. The similarity may be because the artist of the Beri painting copied a Sharri original.[12]

Both Figures 1.1a and 1.3a possess the typical multicolor border of inlaid jewels of the Sharri. That border is found in most paintings in that style, the main exception being paintings whose background is a stylized mountain cave that reaches all the way to the edge. For an example, the reader may also compare Figure 3.6, a painting of the bodhisattva Ṣaḍakṣara Avalokiteśvara as main subject.[13] We shall also see that background later in such painted portraits as Figure 3.1. In both Sharri and Beri styles, minor figures may be placed in the background in roundels formed by long lotus vines that grow up from below (as in Fig. 1.20).

Most early Sharri paintings do not depict a *garuda* (a mythical part bird, part human) at the center top, though we do find one in Figure 1.3a. Nor are the mythical animals' tails in the Sharri

FIG. 1.3
Yazang Chöje with His Two Lineages in the Sharri Style
Early to mid-13th century
19 ⅜ x 13 ¾ in. (49.1 x 35 cm)
Private Collection
Literature: A. Mignucci 2001, fig. 4.

FIG. 1.4
Yazang Chöje with His Lineages in the Beri Style
Second half of the 13th century
13 ⅛ x 10 in. (33.3 x 25.5 cm)
Private Collection
Literature: A. Mignucci 2001, fig. 7; D. Jackson 2010, fig. 5.2.

FIG. 1.3A, DETAIL

FIG. 1.4A, DETAIL

as intricately voluted as in both Beri examples (Figs. 1.2a and 1.4a).

Previous Research on Sharri-Style Paintings of Tibet

Giuseppe Tucci, 1949

The first Western scholar to publish Tibetan paintings in the Sharri style was Giuseppe Tucci, though in his *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* of 1949 he did not use that name. He considered the style to have been transmitted from India to Tibet through Nepal and hence did not clearly distinguish it from the Beri style.[14] Figure 1.5 was published by Tucci as thangka no. 1 (Plate E), which he described as "a splendid specimen of that hieratic art, faithful to India's classical traditions, which Nepalese schools introduced into Tibet."

John Huntington, 1968

In 1968 in Los Angeles John Huntington submitted a doctoral dissertation entitled "The Styles and Stylistic Sources of Tibetan Painting," which he began with the observation that the Pāla period (about 750–1150) of Indian art "provided much of the stylistic basis for the formal characteristics of later Buddhist art throughout most of Asia. Its influences ranged from Java to Kashmir, through Nepal and Tibet, on to northern China." As he later explained, "To call the art of the Pāla and Sena empires of eastern India the only precedents for the art of Tibet would be to ignore the important additions of other groups and regions. They are, however, the primary sources for Tibetan Buddhist styles."

In the absence of surviving large-format paintings from India, Huntington's main source for the Pāla-Sena style was illuminated manuscripts, which he considered, in comparison with other larger Pāla forms of art, to be of secondary importance. Among them,

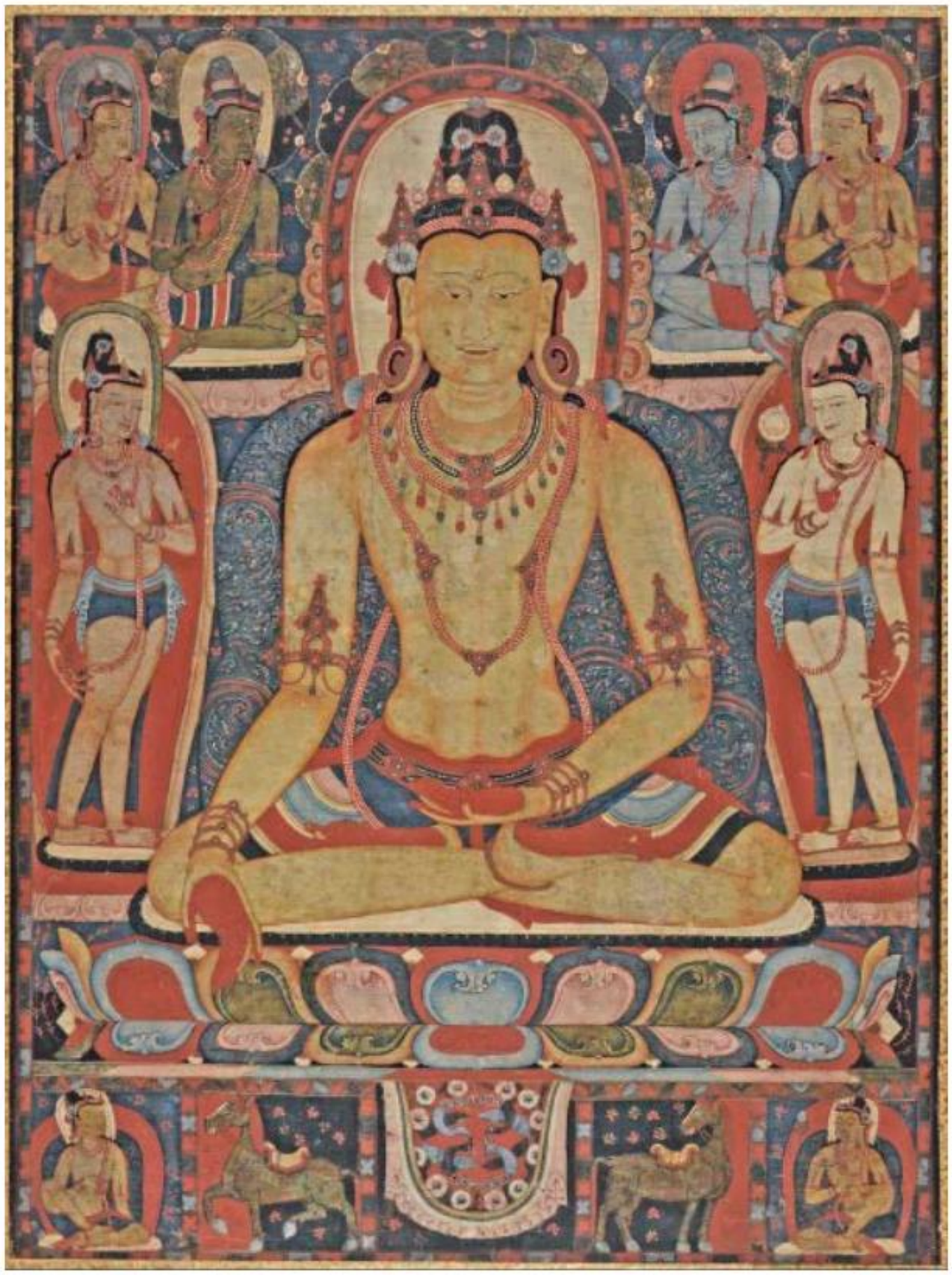


Fig. 1.5
Buddha Ratnasambhava
12th century
36 ¼ x 26 ⅞ in. (92.7 x 68.3 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection
(M.78.9.2)
Literature: Tucci 1949, vol. 2, p. 331 and vol. 2, pl. E; J. Rosenfield et al., 1966 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, p. 110; G. Béguin et al. 1977, p. 75; D. Klimburg-Salter 1982, pl. 109; P. Pal 1983, pl. 8 (P2); and D. Klimburg-Salter 1998, fig. 1.

he tentatively discerned three distinct schools of Indian manuscript painting, all of which fall within the main Pala-Sena traditions (one represented by his Nālandā group of manuscripts, and the other two exemplified by a single or a pair of manuscripts then in private collections).[15]

Concerning early art that survived in Tibet (Chapter III, p. 42ff.), Huntington first discussed Manang (pp. 42–44), an early western-Tibetan site previously described by Giuseppe Tucci. Huntington described Tibetan Sharri-style paintings in Part II, "The Indian Style." There he identified several representative works in the Pāla style of eastern India, including paintings discovered at Khara-Khoto and Dunhuang whose style and iconography were clearly inspired by Indian Pāla art. The available Tibetan material basically comprised four *thangkas* known to Tucci (pp. 47–58) and murals at four temples in Tsang visited by Tucci (pp. 58–65). Huntington corrected Tucci's mistaken attribution of these four *thangkas* to Nepal (G. Tucci 1949, plates E, F, and 1).[16] He postulated a chronological sequence for those paintings (p. 52f.) and also discussed Pāla crowns and streamers (p.53f.).

Gilles Béguin et al., 1977

In his 1977 exhibition at the Musée National des Artes Asiatiques Guimet in Paris, Gilles Béguin included just two early paintings of the Sharri style. He classified them as the products of eastern-Indian influence and raised the question of whether that influence had come via Nepal (as Tucci believed) or directly from India to Tibet. While still leaving the question open, he referred cautiously to the chronology of the two paintings as proposed by Huntington, who considered them to be of direct Indian inspiration.[17]

Deborah Klimburg-Salter, 1982

In her catalog *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path: Esoteric Buddhist Art on the Trans-Himalayan Trade Routes*, Deborah Klimburg-Salter addressed the Sharri style in her discussion of art-historical problems. Noting the difficulty of attributing certain *thangkas* to specific centers of art on the basis of style alone, she mentioned a previous mistaken attribution of several Sharri-style *thangkas:*[18]

> An entire group of early western Himalayan *t'ang-kas*, several of which are exhibited here (Pl. 112), have been previously attributed to

Nepalese artists. This overevaluation of the impact of Nepalese artists began in a period when the majority of early Esoteric Buddhist art was, in fact, Nepalese. The terms "Nepali style" and "Tibeto-Nepalese" (H. Karmay 1975: 12) were used to describe a variety of paintings, ranging from the eighth to ninth century images preserved at Dunhuang to Himalayan *t'ang-kas* made in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. There is no longer any justification for the use of these terms (D. Snellgrove 1977: 16–17). Snellgrove and Tucci have more correctly employed the term "Indo-Tibetan" to describe the amalgam of northwest Indian and Tibetan cultural influences which we have been discussing here.

Classifying the style in general as western Tibetan, Klimburg-Salter again postulated that Figure 1.5, a classic Sharri-style *thangka* of Buddha Ratnasambhava first published by Tucci, was, in fact, of Indian rather than Nepalese influence.[19]

> Although this painting has been associated with Nepal (Tucci 1949: II 331 and II pl. E; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1966: 110), more recent scholarship recognizes that this style found in Nepal, Central Asia, and the western Himalayas must derive from a common Indian antecedent (Musée Guimet 1977: 75).

Pratapaditya Pal, 1983

In his catalog of Tibetan art for the Los Angeles County Museum, Pal employed the term Pāla-Tibetan Style, classifying paintings from two stylistically different groups as "Pāla-Tibetan."[20] The first was the universally recognized Sharri style, while the second was a transitional Beri style of western Tibet.[21] (As an example of the second group, see Fig. 1.7.)

Pratapaditya Pal, 1984

In a subsequent book, *Tibetan Paintings,* Pratapaditya Pal repeated that Pāla-Sena India was the main origin of the Sharri style and stressed that it had been first transmitted to Tibet by the Kadam School. Indeed, he proposed calling the style the "Kadampa Style."[22] The Kadam School of Buddhism was founded by the Tibetan followers of the Bengali luminary Atiśa (982–1054), and certainly the lamas of that sect avidly commissioned works in the Sharri style for many generations. Nevertheless, not a single painting presented by Pal in his third chapter, "The Kadampa Style," could be linked unequivocally with the Kadam School. (The most striking example, a painting of Tārā in the Ford collection, was discussed by Pal only in an appendix.) All identifiable masters represented in the other paintings have turned out to be from schools other than the Kadam or to represent esoteric traditions that the Kadam never practiced.

Pal justified his new name:[23]

> The primary reason... to designate this style as Kadampa is its consistent association with early establishments of that order. The vestiges of the style may be observed in the murals of Iwang, Samada, Nethang, Nenying, Chasa [Bya sa] and in the Jokhang in Lhasa. All of these establishments were closely associated with the Kadampa order during the period.

Yet among the six monasteries that Pal listed, only one, Nethang (Nyethang, Nye thang), was actually a Kadam establishment. Two were early royal establishments and two or three were establishments of the Eastern Vinaya communities. The Eastern Vinaya sites are well known for their Central Asian eclectic styles of sculptural art, though their few documented paintings seem comparatively more Indic in origin. Even so, they are not convincing examples of the Sharri style. His other source was a confused reference in a Chinese publication to a monastery called in Chinese "Ladong," which he guessed might be Langthang (Glang thang) Monastery in Phenyul ('Phan yul) of Ü Province. The paintings turned out to be from an old Kadam monastery in Tsang Province, Narthang (sNar thang, not to be confused with Nyethang in Ü Province).[24]

Pal's second subtype of Pāla-Tibetan style (for which his main example was Fig. 1.6, his plate 17) turned out to be western-Tibetan transitional examples of the Beri style.[25] Pal did not always differentiate the Nepalese Beri style from the Sharri "Kadampa," since he also classified the murals of Shalu (Zhwa lu) Monastery from the period of Büton (Bu ston Rin chen grub 1290–1364), the eleventh abbot of that monastery, as examples of his "Kadampa" style.[26]

Thus at this stage scholars had trouble differentiating consistently Sharri from Beri paintings, and their difficulties were worst when confronted with art from western Tibet, the home of several regional styles. Whereas the previous example in this chapter (Fig. 1.5) represented a fairly orthodox central Tibetan Sharri art of the twelfth century, Figure 1.6 (the Vajrasattva with Consort) represents the local art of the Western Himalayas in the early fourteenth century, with its local synthesis of Sharri and Beri styles.

Gilles Béguin and Lionel Fournier, 1986/87

Gilles Béguin and Lionel Fournier devoted an article to a poorly known sanctuary in the Alchi region of Ladakh, which touched on the post-Pāla international style. They defined five subgroups (p. 380), the latest of which dated as late as the fifteenth century and one of which was eclectic. They noted that

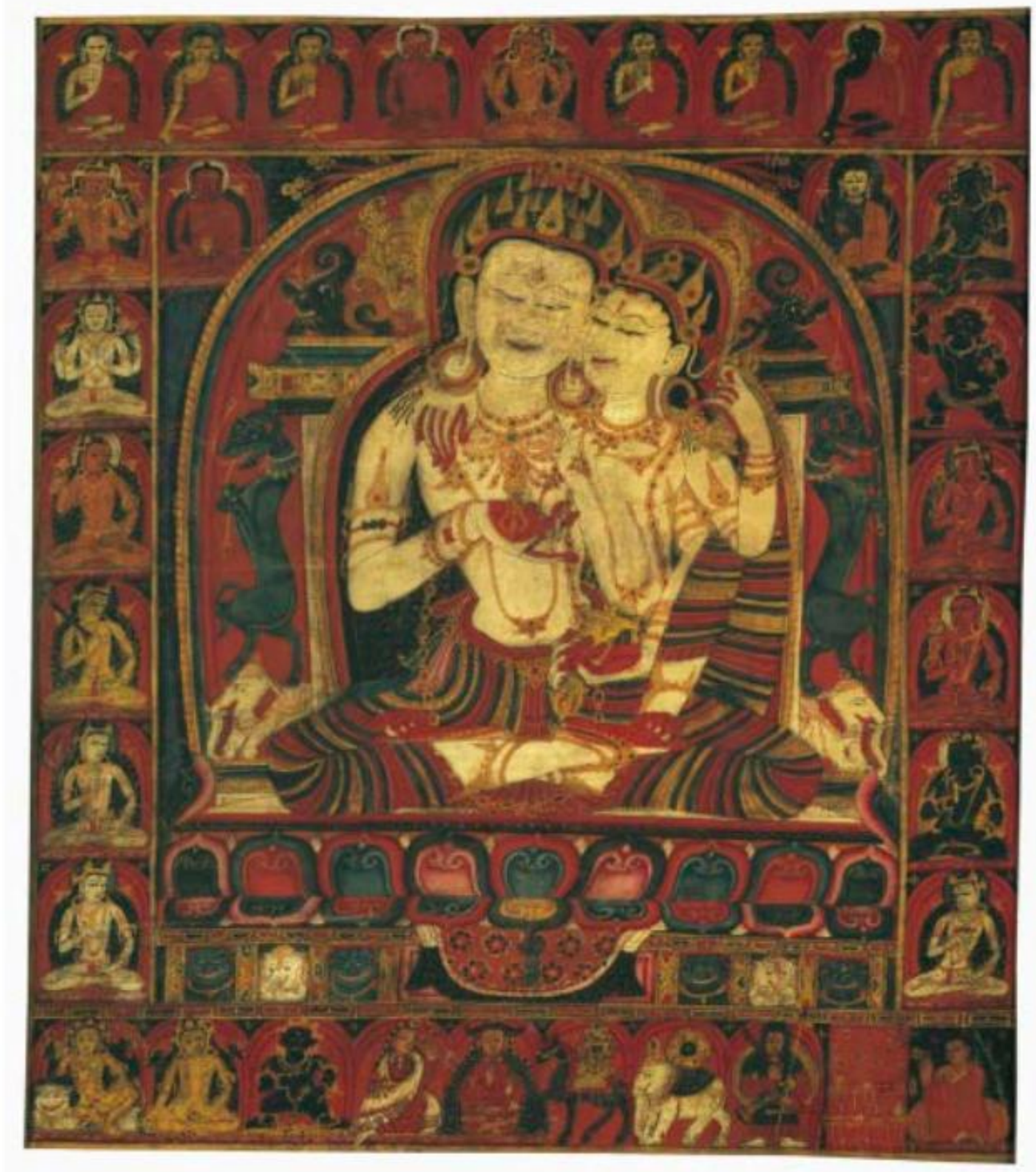


FIG. 1.6
Vajrasattva with Consort
Western Tibet; early 14th century
14 ½ x 12 ¾ in. (36.8 x 32.5 cm)
Zimmerman Family Collection
Literature: P. Pal 1984, pl. 17; S. Huntington and J. Huntington 1990, no. 116; P. Pal 1991, no. 82; and D. Jackson 2010, fig. 6.31.

Tucci and Lo Bue had confused Nepali and "post-Pāla" images.[27]

Susan Huntington and John Huntington, 1990

Susan and John Huntington devoted a major exhibition catalog to the Pāla style of India and its international ramifications. Entitled *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pāla India (8th-12th centuries) and Its International Legacy*, the extensive catalog included three main parts, the first two of which were written by Susan Huntington: Part I: The Pāla Period (pp. 73–194); and Part II: The Pāla Legacy Abroad: The Transmission to Southeast Asia and South China (pp. 195–248). John Huntington treated Pāla or Sharri painting in Tibet in Part III: The Pāla Legacy Abroad: The Transmission to Nepal, Tibet and China (pp. 249–528).

His detailed discussion began with a section entitled "Introduction to Tibet and China," of which pages 281 through 307 were devoted to Tibetan (and Sino-Tibetan) developments. He explained at the outset six major difficulties that beset the study of Tibetan art history. In his discourse he took into account the traditional Tibetan stylistic categories, his three main topics being the traditional Tibetan understanding of art history (pp. 283–89), a modern historical perspective and introduction to the traditional stylistic definitions (pp. 289–301), and the role of sectarianism in determining the style of a painting (pp. 301–05).

John Huntington asserted that the starting point for a history of Tibetan painting "can only be the *Shar mthun bris* [Sharri] School (p. 293)." By following the later trends, "it is possible to sort out the complex schools of Tibetan art." He called the Tibetan Sharri painting style *shar mthun bris* and strongly criticized Pal's term "Kadampa Style" (p. 311). In his "Catalogue of Tibetan and Sino-Tibetan Objects" (p. 309ff.), he identified five examples of early Sharri-style paintings (his figs. 105–9). Of these, none depicted a human teacher as its main subject, while one depicted a classic representation of Tārā (Fig. 3.1).

One of John Huntington's most intriguing examples was his figure 105 (Fig. 1.28), a painting that depicts Vajrasattva with a row of Nyingma masters above and remains one of the earliest *thangka* paintings with a guru lineage. Huntington transcribed and discussed at length the inscriptions below each master (p. 309), concluding that the painting could confidently be dated to between about 1065 and 1110, or to roughly 1075 (p. 311). The style of the painting is probably early Sharri, but it is not identical to the typical style that is familiar to us through the Kadam/Kagyü connections, since it also possesses

Beri-like plinth ends, solid border stripes in places, and monochrome strips of colors in the inner head nimbus (though it does include a Sharri-style animal-tail brackrest top). He discussed the old Indian origins of the colorful strips of red and blue geometric shapes, which were typical of the Sharri style, explaining them as stylized jewels that could be traced to Indian mural examples (p. 312).

The paintings that John Huntington identified as examples of the Sharri style (his Figs. 105–15) have stood up very well though relatively few early paintings of a pure Sharri style were accessible to him. One could suggest that painting no. 106 (Fig. 1.7), would be better classified as transitional Sharri style, since it lacks the typical Sharri multicolor strips of inlaid jewels in the throne base and borders. Still, it is not a straightforward case.[28] Huntington demonstrated the presence of several key Nepalese elements in one of his images, Figure 1.8 (his Fig. 113). He clearly illustrated the key differences between the ends of plinths in the throne backs of the central figures, while still classifying that painting as in a transitional Sharri style (Fig. 1.9). He distinguished fairly consistently early Beri-style paintings from those in the early Sharri style. He stressed (p. 293) that no early Sharri-style paintings were then available that could confidently be attributed to either Ü Province of central Tibet or Kham Province in the east (p. 293). (That lacuna would be filled in the 1990s thanks to later discoveries.)

FIG. 1.7
Vajradhātu Vairocana
12th or 13th century
21 x 17 in. (53.4 x 43.2 cm)
Collection of Michael J. and Beata McCormick Collection
Literature: S. Huntington and J. Huntington 1990, no. 106; D. Weldon and J. Casey Singer 2003, no. 17.

Marylin Rhie, 1991

Marylin Rhie summarized the history of Tibetan art in the introduction to the catalog she coauthored with Robert Thurman: *Wisdom and Compassion: The Sacred Art of Tibet*, including painting in central Tibet from the eleventh through thirteenth century (pp. 47–9). She noted the existence of a very rare wall painting dating to the late eleventh or early twelfth century that depicted a bodhisattva (her Fig. 10), which then still survived at Jokhang Temple, Lhasa. She also discussed two of the better-known Sharri-style thangkas (her Figs. 11 and 12), referring to their probable "Indo-Nepalese" sources yet acknowledging their likely Indian and Pāla origins.

Jane Casey Singer, 1994

In her 1994 article, Jane Casey Singer sketched the history of paintings in central Tibet dating to about 950 to1400, based on more than two hundred early paintings (including illustrated manuscripts and book covers) that had become accessible in the previous decade. (By contrast, G. Tucci 1949 had

Fig. 1.8
Green Tārā
Ca. 1260–1290
20 ½ x 16 ⅞ in. (52.1 x 43 cm)
The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund by exchange, from the Doris Wiener Gallery (1970.156)
Literature: P. Pal 1984, pl. 18; S. Huntington and J. Huntington 1990, no. 113; S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 37; and D. Jackson 2010, fig. 5.13.

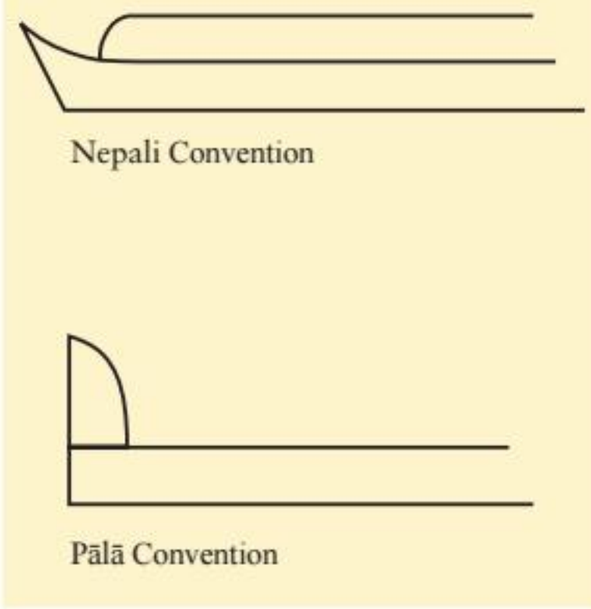


Fig. 1.9
A comparison of Sharri and Nepalese (Beri) architectural details

access to fewer than six such early paintings, and P. Pal 1984 knew fewer than twenty.) She allowed for the possibility that a few of those paintings may have been Indian. Alone among scholars, she avoided stylistic names. She saw a great diversity of styles, which seemed to defy "sound designations of schools or ateliers" at that stage.[29] Adding that a universally recognized taxonomy for Tibetan paintings had yet to be established (p. 88), she evidently was reluctant to employ the terms of either Pal 1984 or J. Huntington 1990. She rejected as misleading the use of sectarian names for paintings styles, for example, "Kadampa" style (p. 88f).

Casey Singer grouped paintings not according to style but according to main historical periods, "each corresponding to a discernible aesthetic phase." She discerned four periods: 1. circa 630–950; 2. circa 950–1400; 3. circa 1400–1650; and 4. circa 1650–1950.[30] For her main subject, the period from 950 to 1400, she attempted to establish a relative chronology of paintings for the first time. She was not completely unaware of the Sharri as a main style, since she did specify that "central Tibetan paintings can be described as initially indebted to eastern Indian medieval art" (p.88). Her treatment of regional distinctions was unusually good, mentioning all five provinces of Tibet, including within central Tibet both Ü and Tsang Provinces, and adopting the three districts of western Tibet (mNga' ris skor gsum), rather than just Ladakh and Guge.

Though concentrating on chronology, Casey Singer admitted that a precise chronology for Tibetan paintings before 1400 remained elusive, due to the scarcity and ambiguity of available evidence (p. 89). No painting could be firmly dated, she stressed, and she did not adopt some of the datings proposed by her predecessors (such as S. Huntington and J. Huntington 1990, fig. 105). She mentioned two potential

weaknesses of inscriptions as historical sources: that a single name could refer to two or more historical figures who lived centuries apart and that the dating of the individuals mentioned by inscriptions did not necessarily indicate the dating of the painting. Still, she argued for employing a method based on a consistent and logical use of all available evidence (p. 90).

Heather Stoddard, 1996

After similarly studying many *thangkas* between about 1986 and 1996, Heather Stoddard proposed a system of six major styles in Tibetan painting before 1500.[31] Among these, the second oldest was the Indian (Sharri) style, to which she devoted three pages. Admitting that Atiśa was partly responsible for its development,[32] she still rejected Pal's term "Kadampa Style" for Sharri-style paintings and stressed that many other religious schools had commissioned works in that style. Her main examples of the style were two paintings in Cleveland: her Figure 16, *Buddha with lama on head*; and my Figure 5.10 (her Fig. 18), *Two facing masters*. She considered an early version of the Sharri to be found at Alchi in Lhakhang Soma Monastery and also thought the Taklung/Riwoche group of paintings had been consecrated at Taklung by Önpo Pal (1251–1296) at the same time.[33]

Jane Casey Singer, 1997

Jane Casey Singer wrote her1997 article in part as a corrective to some scholars who had begun calling the Taklung/Riwoche corpus of paintings a school or distinctive style.[34] Though still avoiding stylistic nomenclature, she asserted that there had existed a coherent tradition of painting at Taklung for 150 years between about 1200 and1350.[35]She clearly denied that the Taklung paintings were stylistically distinctive in comparison to paintings from other religious schools of the period, thus also taking into account paintings from outside her Taklung corpus.[36] (Her concentration on paintings of Taklung patronage did not lead to doubtful provenance-derived or sect-derived nomenclature as in P. Pal 1984.)[37]

Steven Kossak, 1997

Steven Kossak contributed a relevant article in 1997, "Sakya Patrons and Nepalese Artists in Thirteenth-Century Tibet."[38] Working with a relatively small corpus of paintings, most of which lacked inscriptions, he was able to specify reliable grounds for distinguishing Sharri-style paintings from Early Beri-style paintings, while also referring to some contemporaneous Nepalese paintings.

Deborah Klimburg-Salter, 1998

The Pāla style of India and its international ramifications were also the subject of a conference panel, whose proceedings were published in 1998. Deborah Klimburg-Salter introduced those proceedings, summarizing previous research on the theme, though barely mentioning the contributions of Susan and John Huntington 1990.[39] Responding to Pratapaditya Pal's stylistic name "Kadampa Style," Klimburg-Salter replied that such Kadam patronage was then still "essentially hypothetical," adding that no painting was yet known to contain Kadam lineal masters that were identified by contemporaneous inscriptions.[40] Noting a possible confusion in

FIG. 1.10
Amitābha
13th century
Private Collection
After D. Klimburg-Salter 1998, fig. 2.

the iconography of the Kadam founding gurus, she provided an early example of two key Kadam gurus with inscriptions from about the thirteenth century (her Fig. 3, a Detail from her Fig. 2, a *thangka* from Spiti). She also stressed the need to establish the special features of Kadam paintings to see whether they are identical with Kagyü paintings of

FIG. 1.11
Row of Inscribed Gurus
After D. Klimburg-Salter 1998, fig. 3.

the same place and time if we are going to seriously consider the existence of a "Kadampa Style."[41]

Claudine Bautze-Picron, 1998

Claudine Bautze-Picron devoted several articles to early Tibetan painting. With her detailed knowledge of Eastern-Indian style art, she identified Indian decorative motifs and tracked their development within similar styles in the countries to which they spread, including Tibet and Burma. She was impatient with such vague terms as Pāla style, preferring art historians (of Tibetan and Burmese art) to use more precise expressions appropriate to Indian art history and to refer to the Indian sites in question. Her articles provide a valuable orientation to the most relevant decorative motifs.

The two main Tibetan examples that Bautze-Picron 1998 chose (her Figs. 1 and 2) were paintings of Buddha Śākyamuni that were created precisely at the moment between the end of Indian Buddhist painting and the beginning of Tibetan Sharri art, so precisely, in fact, that she had trouble referring to them as "Tibetan." She described the first painting (Fig. 1.12; her Fig. 1) as being related to paintings produced in Bihar during Mahipāla's and Nayapāla's reigns (first half of the eleventh century), though it bears a Tibetan inscription mentioning Sanggye Önpo of Riwoche. She believed that, in comparison with Burmese artists of the eleventh through thirteenth century, Tibetans were more conservative and copied their Indian originals very closely (p. 42).

In her article of 1998, Bautze-Picron builds upon a still earlier article (Bautze-Picron 1995/96), in which she studied depictions of Śākyamuni in eastern India and Tibet from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, taking as her main subjects three paintings of the Buddha. In that earlier article, she investigated the same Figures 1 and 2, as her first two main points of comparison. In yet another article (C. Bautze-Picron 1995), she studied minor figures carved on stone slabs. She devoted five pages (pp. 60–64) to human characters in the art of eastern India from the Pāla and pre-Pāla periods. Among depictions of monks, she distinguished earlier depictions, which were shown with shaved heads and holding incense, from later ones, which were shown wearing a pointed or peaked (pundit) hat and holding a *vajra* and bell.

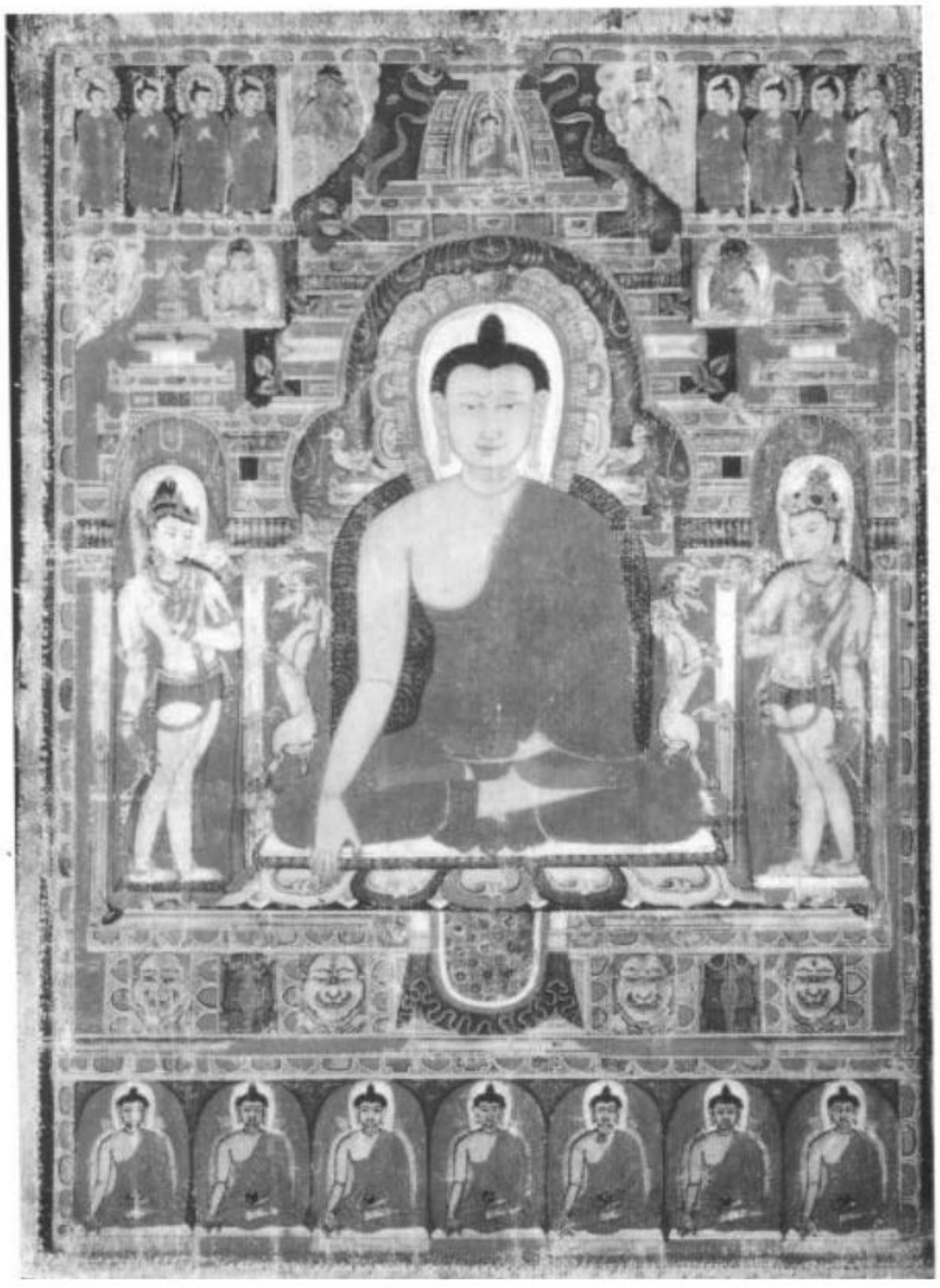


FIG. 1.12
Buddha Śākyamuni
13th century
7 ⅝ x 11 in. (19.5 x 28 cm)
Private Swiss Collection
After: C. Bautze-Picron 1998, fig. 1.

Steven Kossak, 1998

Pratapaditya Pal's scenario of the Kadam sect as a main source and inspiration for the Sharri style (or Sena-period Bengal-inspired style) in central Tibet from about 1050 to 1150 was not as purely hypothetical as was first thought. In his catalog of 1998, Steven Kossak presented eastern India as the origin of the most important painting tradition in Tibet in the eleventh through thirteenth century.[42] Within eastern Indian art, he pointed out that there had been no single monolithic Pāla-Sena style, rather, in illuminated manuscripts two distinct styles had existed: those of Bihar and Bengal.[43] Here he based his claim on the findings of J. Losty, who distinguished two different conventions of depicting backgrounds in paintings.[44] Those from Bihar showed seated deities sitting before a throne back, and not seated in a shrine (except for the Buddha, who was shown within a shrine), whereas in Bengal it was possible to depict deities other than the Buddha in a shrine. A manuscript from Vikramaśīla, a monastery that lay in the borderland between Bihar and Bengal, included both motifs: it depicted the deities with both a throne back and surrounding shrine.[45]

In one passage Kossak described several defining features of the Tibetan Sharri style,[46] referring to it a bit later as the "Bengali-inspired Tibetan style in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries."[47] He also identified a strong connection between this Bengali style and the Kadam School, a religious tradition that had been founded in Tibet by a Bengali pundit. In his most recent book (S. Kossak 2010), he amassed still more evidence to support that thesis and updated several previous contributions. There he asserts that "features of the Bengali style predominate over those of the Bihari one, in the 12th-century Tibetan thanka tradition," adding that the connection with Bengal is proven by certain pictorial motifs unique to Bengali artistic tradition, such as "the mountain staffs of precious jewels and the use of *bhadra*-type shrines for the principal deities, with three- or five-lobed arched openings and crowned by tiered roofs with upturned architectural devices or flags."[48]

Western Scholars on the Name of the Sharri Style

Some scholars who did not read Tibetan tended to discount the value of Tibetan literary sources on art, saying, for instance, that they provide little help in defining taxonomic structures for paintings dating before 1500 and never contain illustrations.[49] The definition of the Tibetan terms used for art created prior to the fifteenth century was held to be even more problematic, and the traditional stylistic terms found within Tibetan written sources and inscriptions were believed to be "essentially without a clear definition."[50] But those difficulties should not deter us from using traditional terms, including names for early styles when appropriate. Such terms of traditional connoisseurship will probably become more, not less, important as Tibetan art history progresses. Thus it is odd that John Huntington's detailed discussion and use of traditional Tibetan style names in his 1990 catalog found little resonance among scholars. To be sure, even as late as the mid-1990s, most scholars believed that it was impossible to classify surviving works of art using the descriptions of art styles given by the rare Tibetan works that do discuss art.[51]

Kongtrül's Tibetan name for the Sharri painting style was misunderstood by several early Western scholars. In his 1970 pioneering translation of the art-historical passage from Kongtrül's encyclopedia, E. Gene Smith left the descriptive phrase *shar mthun* (literally, "like the Eastern") untranslated. Several later scholars took that phrase to be Kongtrül's name for the style. In the revised edition of the Smith's introduction, the passage with *shar mthun* has been translated as "a style like the Eastern Indian (Shar), i.e., the Pāla Style."[52] In any case, *shar ris* is the correct spelling of that traditional name, and not *shar mthun ris*.[53]

Some Western art historians assert that during the period in question, the Sena-ruled eleventh and twelfth centuries, Bengal became a center of art in its own right; it was at an artistic peak when Tibetans were most avidly borrowing Pāla-Sena art models.[54] So would it be correct to call this art the "Bengal-inspired Tibetan (Pāla) painting style" as Kossak did? Not every historian asserts a strong Bengali artistic influence in this period. To the contrary, Bautze-Picron explicitly underscores the dominance of Bihar in the Buddhist world of the eleventh through thirteenth century, mentioning such key sites as Nālandā, Lakhi Sarai, and Bodh Gayā, while counting sites in northern Bengal as peripheral.[55]

Kongtrül and Tāranātha employ such established terms as *shar ris* and *shar gyi bzo*, to denote late Pāla-Sena art. The terms have the advantage of being more precise in their reference than simply "Indian style" as India is a vast subcontinent. Yet if Bengal did not dominate artistically, the term Sharri may have been misleading, though it remains the best term for Tibetan art inspired by those traditions.

While rejecting the term Kadampa Style, Heather Stoddard suggested another Tibetan name for the Sharri painting style of Tibet: *rgya lugs* (Indian Tradition), basing her assertion on the colophon of an old book cover.[56] I have not come across the term *rgya lugs* in art-historical Tibetan sources. The word does exist in Tibetan, but it usually means "Chinese tradition or Chinese custom." The problem is that *rgya* alone is ambivalent and can mean either China or India. The parallel term for painting, *rgya bris* or *rgya ris,* already has the

established meaning "Chinese painting." To avoid ambiguity, the term *rgya lugs* should not be used alone but as *rgya gar lugs* (Indian tradition). When Stoddard presents her results in more detail, quoting the entire text of the colophon, we see that her main Tibetan source did not use the ambiguous term *rgya lugs,* but rather *rgya gar gyi ri mo* (Painting of India), which is clearer.[57] Moreover, there is no ambiguity in the term used by the great savant and connoisseur Deumar Geshe, who in his account of Tibetan painting devoted three verses to "the sacred painting tradition of India, the Exalted Land" (*rgya gar 'phags yul lha ris lugs*).[58]

Were Tibetan Portraits Realistic?

One question that has piqued the curiosity of most Western scholars was to what extent Tibetan portraits were based on observation from real life. Is there any justification for calling them portraits in the usual European sense of the word? Were they, at the very least, later copies of earlier realistic renderings? In 1949 Tucci maintained, in general, that later depictions of masters were based on portraits made during the lives of their subjects. In his *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (1949), he said about Tibetan portraiture:[59]

> The typical features of each single master had early been established by artistic schools and handed down most faithfully. Hence, while the schematic drawing and hieratic fixity of these figures are such that they cannot be spoken of as portraits, undoubtedly the most representative figures of Tibet's religious history have become inalterable types, and if other suggestions, like votive inscriptions, were lacking, it would not be difficult to recognize them. Tsong kha pa, the fifth Dalai Lama, the Paṇ chen dPal ldan ye shes... have so well-defined an individuality that it is impossible not to recognize them. These types nearly always go back to portraits (*sku 'bag*) made in the times of the personages themselves, [types] which later became models for successive artists. We know, for instance, that this was the case for Tsongkhapa (1357–1419). Seven effigies of him were objects of veneration, painted from life and recognized by him as good likenesses known literally as 'Like me,' *Ngadrama* (*nga.'dra. ma*).

Fig. 1.13
Tibetan Monks
Page from the sketchbook of Jīvarāma, a Newar artist working in Tibet, dated 1435
Ink on paper
Each page 9 x 5 ⅛ in. (23.2 x 13 cm)
S. K. Neotia Collection, Calcutta
After: John Lowry 1977, A7; J. Casey Singer 1995, fig. 11; H. Stoddard 2003, fig. 10.

Tucci then cited a work by the scholar Sherab Gyatsho (A khu Ching Shes rab rgya mtsho, 1803–1875) that discusses several famous images of the great saint Tsongkhapa (which will be discussed in chapter 2). He also quoted a passage from the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), referring to a realistic painting made during his lifetime, including his hand prints and footprints.

In her 1995 article on early Tibetan portraiture, Casey Singer investigated two paintings of the saint Phagmotrupa. She compared the painting from the Newar artist Jīvarāma's notebook of 1435 (Fig. 1.13) with an inscribed mural painting of Phagmotrupa depicted as a lineal guru in Alchi that dates to the early thirteenth century (Fig. 1.14) and found little resemblance. This and other similar cases led her to conclude that "accurate physiognomic likeness was not crucial to Tibetan portraiture of this period."[60]

For depictions of Phagmotrupa, Casey Singer's conclusions were based on too few relevant examples and hence were inconclusive. The Alchi mural was a bad comparison since it does not transmit the typical appearances of those lineage masters. To use a Newar sketchbook as the second of just two examples is also problematic if we wish to draw broad conclusions about Tibetan portraits. She did not realize that Figure 1.15 (her Figure 18) also portrayed Phagmotrupa. That portrait would have served as a better starting point for comparison with Jīvarāma's notebook and would have had a better chance of confirming any lingering physiognomic accuracy.

Casey Singer summarized her account of portraiture in 1998.[61] While repeating Tucci's assertion that Tibetan portraits were based on depictions made while their subjects still lived, she believed that too little was known about early portraits to determine whether that held true for portraits dating to before the fifteenth century.

Stoddard did not want to overemphasize the question of the portraits' realism at the expense of all else. "Especially vexing for most Western scholars who have taken an interest in the subject is whether or not they are 'real life' portraits–that is, a study of an individual taken from real life. Yet there are many other equally perplexing questions."[62]

FIG. 1.14
Phagmotrupa with a Disciple
Early 13th century
Mural, entrance wall, second upper story, Sumtsek (Three-tiered Temple), Alchi.
Photograph courtesy of Jaroslav Poncar and Roger Goepper
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1995, fig. 12; R. Goepper 1996, Alchi, p. 216.

FIG. 1.15 (DETAIL FROM FIG. 5.10)
Portrait of Phagmotrupa
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1995, fig. 18.

Most paintings of founding masters of schools probably are based on early portraits made during their lifetime or soon thereafter. The early paintings (those from the twelfth through fifteenth century) had not yet reached the stage of excessively standardized portraits to which Stoddard alluded in connection with later paintings of the sequential Dalai Lamas or of Tsongkhapa with his two main disciples.[63]

If the portrayed teacher was a monk, the main elements of the painting that allowed for any sense of realism were his face and hair (if he did not wear a hat). The rest of the image including his hands, feet, and robes, was usually painted in a highly standardized way. For ordained lamas their ceremonial hats might be more or less distinctive (as those of the First Panchen Rinpoche or the Situ Trulkus.) Portraits of lay masters could be much less generic. For instance, the hair and robes in the realistic image of the great Tibetan adept Thangtong Gyalpo (1361?-1485) in Figure 1.16 are very distinctive.

This statue bears the inscription: *grub thob thang stong rgyal po'i sku rje rang nyid gyi phyag nas bzhugs so* (This image of the adept Thangtong Gyalpo contains [consecration] barley from the lord's own hand).[64] It is an example of a realistic portrait that dates to the master's lifetime. The great adept is famed in Tibet for constructing numerous iron chain bridges, wooden bridges, stupas, and monasteries in many parts of Tibet and the Himalayan borderlands. He also founded the first Tibetan drama troupe, and created a wide variety of sacred objects, including hundreds of statues from unusual and precious substances, such as turquoise, amber, and coral, which were unheard of in his day.[65] The present statue has an unusual technical touch: a plate bolted to the base by four sturdy rivets.

In many portraits, the artist seems to have wanted to capture his subject with as many distinctive details as possible. But with monks, only faces and hair (if the hair was not covered by a hat) could be depicted in ways specific to the individual. Figure 1.17, a portrait of Ngorchen's guru Sazang Phakpa Shönnu Lotrö (Sa bzang 'Phags pa Gzhon nu blo gros, 1358–1412), is such an attempt at

FIG. 1.16
Thangtong Gyalpo
15th century
Copper alloy with polychromy
Height: 5 ⅛ in. (13.1 cm)
Nyingjei Lam Collection
Literature: D. Weldon and J. Casey Singer 1999, p. 185; H. Stoddard 2003, fig. 18b; C. Stearns 2007, fig. 1.

FIG. 1.17
Sazang Phakpa
Ca. 1420–1450
20 ½ x 18 ½ in. (52.1 x 47 cm)
Private Collection
After: Sotheby's Indian and Southeast Asian Art, NY Nov. 30, 1994, no. 114.

distinctive representation.[66] Its commissioning patron was probably one of the subject's disciples. Note the tiny monk who is depicted in a respectful posture below, before the throne base on the left. Since Sazang Phakpa's tradition of the Vajrāvali collection of mandalas was not as commonly transmitted by later lamas of the Ngorpa tradition as some other lineages, that may account for the rarity of his portrait.[67] This is the first that I recall seeing.

This painting was overlooked until now, its subject having been mistaken as the more famous Phakpa of Tibetan history. But it is a worthy example of a nearly contemporaneous portrait of a fifteenth-century master that included several distinguishing features, such as a white pointed beard, white hair, and balding head. I doubt that we will ever come across a more realistic painting of that great lama.

The only evidence for identifying him is given by the inscription written beneath his throne: *gzhon nur rab byung dam pas rjes su bzung// blo gros khang bzangs rgyud sde'i nor bus gang// dbang bzhi'i rgyun gyis 'gro kun tshim par mdzad// chos rje 'phags pa'i zhabs la phyag 'tshal lo//*. "Homage to the lord of Dharma Phakpa, who, ordaining as a youth, was kindly befriended by noble [gurus], whose palace of intelligence was filled with the jewels of the tantras, and who satisfied all living beings through the river of the four empowerments!" Here to properly identify him, we have to recognize the elements of his ordination name, Shönnu and Lotrö, hidden within the verse of praise.

With Sazang Phakpa's portrait (Fig. 1.17), we have the luxury of a verse of praise carefully written below the main figure. What a great help that inscription is. Yet in Figure 1.18, no label names the main figure, and so he will likely remain unidentified, unless a very similar portrait with labeling inscriptions turns up some day. Note the distinctive points of the ear flaps of the figure's pundit hat. We can compare this painting with Figure 1.17 as a roughly contemporaneous portrait with a similar Chinese-inspired ornate throne backrest. (We will see a similar backrest again in Fig. 3.22.)

One outstanding lama of the Sakya tradition who was the subject of much portraiture was Sazang Phakpa's disciple Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo. Usually he was shown wearing a red pundit hat,[68] but he could also be depicted without a hat. Indeed, on such occasions he often was shown with a very distinctive bald spot on the crest of his head, as in Figure 1.19.[69]

The painting depicts Ngorchen's bald spot in a prominent way. It is remarkable for its fine Beri artistry and for its detailed inscriptions, which allows

Fig. 1.18
Unidentified Master
Ca. early to mid-15th century
Pigments on cloth
7 ¼ x 6 ¾ in. (18.4 x 17.1 cm)
C2006.45.1 (HAR 65705)

it to be dated to the year 1520. On the bottom of the front is a long inscription that ends: "This, the above-mentioned painting, was erected by the holder of tantric knowledge (*vidyādhara*) Lhachok Sengge in the dragon year. I dedicate its merit to the great awakening." (Tib: *ces pa 'di rig pa 'dzin pa lha mchog seng ges 'brug lo bzhengs/ dge ba byang chub chen por bsngo//.)* Assuming that Lhachok Sengge commissioned it during his abbacy (1516–1534), the dragon year mentioned could be the iron-dragon (1520) or water-dragon year (1532).

On the reverse side is another inscription.

> This image of the Conqueror Vajradhara Kunga Zangpo, which was surrounded by the [lineages of] *vidyādharas* and bodhisattvas, possesses the consecration by lord lama Müpa Chenpo Sanggye Rinchen. *(Tib: rgyal ba rdo rje 'chang chen po mun [=kun] dga' bzang po'i sku 'di la/ rig 'dzin dang byang sems bskor ba'i bris sku 'di la rje bla ma mus pa chen po sangs rgyas rin chen gyi rab gnas bzhugs).*

The Müpa Chenpo Sanggye Rinchen (1453–1524) referred to by the inscription was Lhachok Sengge's predecessor as abbot of Ngor, whose abbatial tenure was from 1513 to 1516. Since he died in 1524, he could not have consecrated the painting in 1532.[70]

In paintings that lack inscriptions, distinctive physical traits can sometimes be precious clues for identifying the lama portrayed. In Figure 1.20, for example, all four lamas are depicted without hats, and the first figure is shown with a bald spot. Since his iconography and face otherwise agree closely with other early paintings of Ngorchen, this can be accepted as his depiction. In this case, the physical similarities (including one highly distinctive trait) are enough to determine his identity.

Ngorchen's bald spot, however distinctive, was not a feature shown in all of his depictions. In another earlier painting of Ngorchen and his main disciples and successor Müchen (Fig. 1.21), we find no trace of baldness. It must be admitted that Ngorchen is shown here looking quite young, which may have had something to do with his still possessing a full head of black hair.

The Importance of Inscriptions

As we saw in the portrait of Sazang Phakpa (Fig. 1.17) and those of Ngorchen (Figs. 1.19 and 1.21), the presence of an inscription can be decisive for identifying the main subject.

FIG. 1.19
Ngorchen with His Lineage
By Lobo Gelong Chopal Sonam (?)
Central Tibet, Tsang region, Ngor Monastery; 1520
63 ½ x 51 ⅝ in. (161.3 x 131.1 cm)
Navin Kumar Collection, New York
Photograph courtesy Navin Kumar
Literature: P. Pal 2003, no. 165.

This is true of many sumptuous Tibetan portraits.

In recent decades, and especially after the destructive "Great Cultural Revolution" in the 1960s and 1970s, many portable works of art in Tibet became chaotically dispersed. Since such works often lacked inscriptions or a known provenance, many historians of Tibetan art would prefer to use paintings on architectural monuments because they have more reliable chronological contexts.[71] But while painted monuments can often help, they are not relevant for central-Tibetan Sharri-style painting since almost none are known to survive in Ü Province. One rare exception is the murals in the Sekhar Guthok (Sras mkhan dgu thog) tower in Lhodrak (Lho brag), as shown in Figures 1.22 and 1.23.[72] Thus we must make the most of whatever art lends itself to being documented in detail, whether portable or not.

Single thangka paintings without contemporaneous inscriptions are indeed hard to document and date. But similar problems also exist for individual chapels or murals in a large site, if they lack inscriptions. As we shall see below with Figure 5.1 (and again with Fig. 6.1), Christian Luczanits's "Rinchen Zangpo" from Alchi, even specific murals, despite their obvious location within a roughly datable complex of structures, may require a lot of further elucidation to be dated convincingly.[73]

One way to lend more historical weight to portable objects is to group them with other paintings that come from the same tradition and have the same iconographic content. If we can ascertain the contents and origins of one painting within a group, we can draw much surer conclusions about the rest. With any luck, a large group of iconographically similar thangkas will contain at least one or two with adequate inscriptions.

Hence even portable objects, including not just *thangkas*, but also book covers, illuminated manuscripts, and initiation cards (*tsakli)*, if documented with the aid of detailed and reliable inscriptions, can become indispensable for comparing to other paintings. For studying Sharri-style *thangkas* in central Tibet, we have no choice but to use them.

FIG. 1.20
Ngorchen and Three Successors
Late 15th century
22 ¾ x 19 ¾ in. (57.8 x 50.2 cm)
Philadelphia Museum of Art: Stella Kramrisch Collection, 1994
1994-148-639 (HAR 87086)

The ideal starting point would be paintings with inscriptions that record details about their dedication or consecration and hence reveal their history. Dedicatory and consecratory inscriptions are two of four main types:[74]

1. Labeling inscriptions—i.e., those that identify the individual figures depicted, the subject of a whole set of paintings, and the place of this painting within it
2. Dedicatory inscriptions–i.e., those

FIG. 1.21
Ngorchen and Müchen as Culmination of Their Ordination Lineage
Mid-15th century
Distemper on cotton
34 ½ x 31 ½ in. (87.6 x 80 cm)
Stephen and Sharon Davies Collection
Literature: P. Pal 1991, p. 155, no. 87; D. Jackson 2010, figs. 2.12 and 8.9.

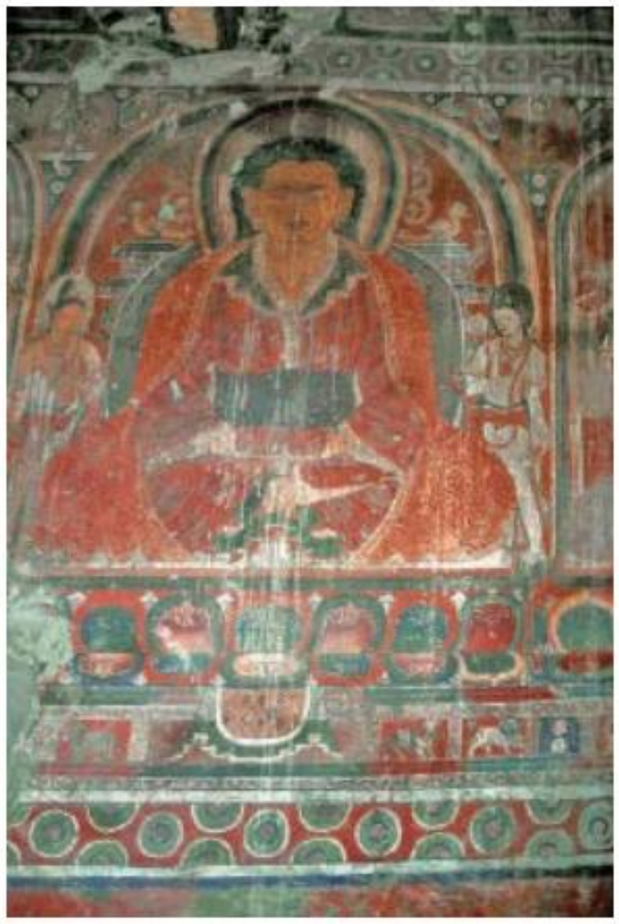


FIG. 1.22
Marpa the Translator
13th century
Mural, Sekhar Guthok tower, Lhodrak
Photograph by Helmut Neumann
Literature: H. Stoddard 2003, p. 43, fig. 25a.

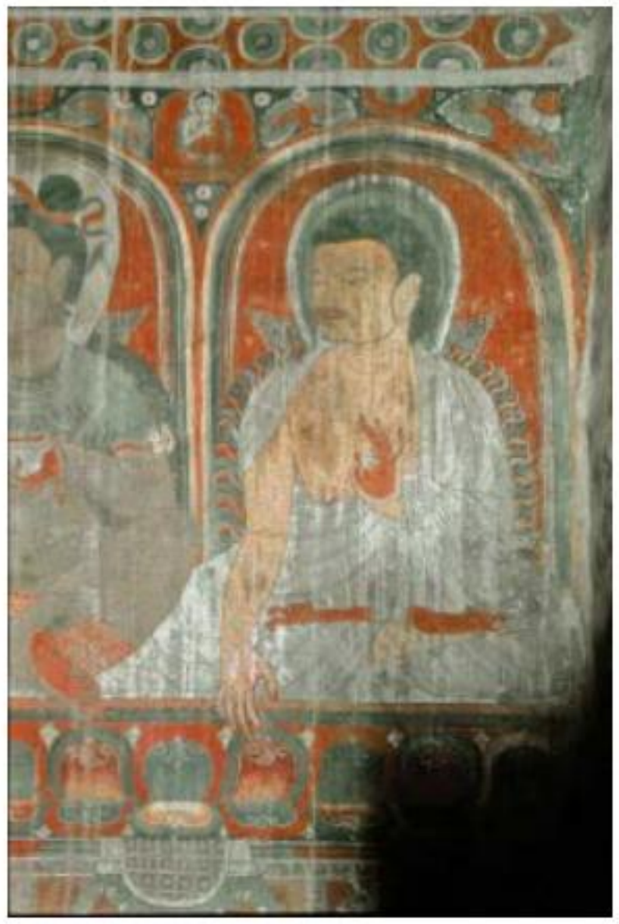


FIG. 1.23
Milarepa
13th century
Mural, Sekhar Guthok tower, Lhodrak
Photograph by Helmut Neumann
Literature: H. Stoddard 2003, p. 43, fig. 25b.

> that name the patron and his guru, the occasion for its commission, sometimes including a prayer for blessings
>
> 3. Those that record consecrations
> 4. Color codes

One scholar who long emphasized the need to study portraits together with lineages, inscriptions, and styles is Heather Stoddard.[75] In 1996, looking back over two hundred *thangkas* that she had examined, she observed the presence of a wide variety of religious schools, while noting only a few Kadam paintings. She differentiated the more individual renderings of main figures from the smaller depictions of lineage masters, which she called "a series of miniature idealized representations." Surviving large portraits included images of such important teachers as Atiśa, Marpa, Milarepa, the early abbots of Taklung, Drigungpa Rinchen Pal (i.e., Jigten Gönpo), Shangtön Chökyi Lama, Nyö Lotsawa, and Khache Panchen. As she described them:[76]

> These vary from convincing and sensitive portraits to ideal images adorned with gold. Most often the central figure is *not* identified (being too obviously well known at the time of painting), whereas all those surrounding him often are. The dating depends largely, of course, on the latest historical person represented. Although this only gives an approximate limit, we are now in a better position to judge from the style as well.
>
> Other inscriptions allow us an approximate upward date limit. For example, the name of the lama to whom the thangka belonged in a special religious sense is given in writing that is clearly a later addition. Such objects are called "mind vows" or *thugs dam*, and may be passed on from generation to generation.... Certain thangkas bear the name of the lamas who carried out the consecrations. Normally this would have taken place at the time of completion of the painting (or sculpture).... During this whole period [the eleventh to fourteenth century], the vast majority of inscriptions on the back of thangkas take the form of a stupa, corresponding exactly to the size of the central figure on the front of the painting.

Stoddard described the typical form and content of inscriptions, adding that pious vows, dedications by the donor, and other verses may be added, depending on the origin of the painting. While stressing the importance of such inscriptions, she also enumerated several other obstacles to understanding a painting's history, including obscure provenance, sometimes compounded by the secretiveness of art dealers:

> It is the Cultural Revolution that destroyed the history of Tibetan art, and indeed almost the whole civilization, whereas the dealers have saved a considerable quantity of rare and precious objects over the last couple of decades [circa 1976–1996]. In this way tradition, money and politics combine to obscure what little historicity is left.

Stoddard mentioned previous neglect of inscriptions with understandable exasperation, since she had already stressed their vital role in the clearest possible terms twenty years earlier.[77]

> Too many books on Tibetan art are published where the inscriptions are vaguely referred to or just completely ignored. Although it is rare, but not unknown, to find the

name of the artist in an inscription, names of donors are very common and these, as Tibetan history becomes better known, may make an important contribution to the dating of images and thangkas and thus to the establishment of criteria for judging stylistic development.

Inscriptions do present problems themselves, as they appear often to have been written by artists who were unlettered and are full of spelling mistakes. In the case of language problems, learned Tibetan scholars, who are available in sufficient numbers nowadays, should be consulted. In the description of an image, its inscriptions should be both transliterated and translated, and the provenance given wherever known.

Although it is realized that an object may be appreciated for its intrinsic beauty, surely the author of a book on Tibetan art does injustice not only to himself and to his readers, but also to the objects themselves if he ignores the dedicatory inscriptions that record the names of the people for whom the images were made, or even the names of the divinities or human teachers that are portrayed.

Painted portraits of lamas thus can be difficult to date without an inscription that identifies the patron or his guru. Without one it is hard to know whether the painting was made during or after the life of the person portrayed. The length of a lineage and the identities and life dates of its latest members provide important clues: the last lineage holder depicted may be assumed to have been alive or recently deceased at the time of painting if the lineage is complete. If inscriptions and datable gurus are lacking, then connoisseurship of styles must guide our judgment about whether the painting dates to the lifetime of the main figure it portrays.[78] But we should not give up on lineages or inscriptions too soon. Quite a few well-known masterpieces have still not had their inscriptions carefully read.

Pre-Sharri Depictions of Lamas with Unusual Hats

By way of introduction to early painted portraits, we should note that depictions of somewhat obscure early Tibetan lamas have been identified in paintings that date to slightly before the founding of the Kadam order (examples of which we will see in chapter 3). Though those lamas are not painted as central figures, they are depicted as lineal lamas in the upper register and as patrons below. If Steven Kossak's dating of Figure 1.24 to the eleventh century is correct, it may exemplify Tibetan art as it was commissioned in non-Kadam circles during or even slightly before Atiśa's visit.[79] One noteworthy aspect of human iconography relevant to very early portraits is the unusual hats worn by early gurus and donors, as in Figure 1.24. This painting of Amitāyus, possibly dating to the eleventh century, depicts its most prominent human figures wearing atypical flat hats.

The only internal chronological clues that I could find in this painting (Fig. 1.24) are indeed those flat hats, which are worn by six out of seven human figures (probably gurus) in the top register. We can assume that they represent seven generations of teachers and that the last teacher was the guru of the monk-patron below. The normal conventions of Tibetan Buddhist painting allow for minor human figures to be placed in a painting for only two reasons: above, as a guru of the lineage, and below, usually in a corner, as a patron/practitioner/officiant.[80] It would be highly irregular to depict in the place reserved for gurus or deities "some type of court or clan assembly."[81] Nor can the figure in the red robe be accepted as their leader, without additional proof.

The black discs that are shown below, next to the patrons, which at first glance seem to be shields are another round object that served a ritual function. Notice that one is shown near the monk- patron, who as a monk is unlikely to have had a shield or weapons of war. We find similar discs in a Kadam painting of Tārā (Fig. 2.11). They also turn up on early painted objects such as the Kadam book cover of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[82]

Dan Martin identified these shield-like objects as mirrors, noting that such mirrors are occasionally present in patron scenes.[83] But according to Christian Luczanits, the dark discs actually represent ritually laid out mandalas. This is clear from earlier Dunhuang representations and from the fact that they always form part of the ritual paraphernalia of a priest. Blossoms on them usually indicate the seat of the deities. They were widely portrayed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Alchi in Ladakh being a prominent example.[84]

The wide hat in Figure 1.24 was not common for Tibetan monks in central Tibet in the twelfth century and later. It resembles a common Chinese or East-Asian hat type (I have seen contemporary Japanese monks wearing similar hats).[85] Another wide-brimmed hat is worn by the patron in another Tibetan painting dating to about the same period, Figure 1.25. Several human figures (probably gurus and patrons) are present, though in this case they occupy the bottom register. The figure in the corner, a monk beneath a parasol, is presumably the patron. The figure to his left is either his teacher or a second patron.

Three figures in the middle of the bottom register seem to be Indian adepts (*siddhas*). It would have been unusual in later periods to place *siddhas*, in their role as gurus, beneath the tutelary deities (*yi dam*), though the top register

FIG. 1.24
Amitāyus
11th century
54 ½ x 41 ¾ in. (138.4 x 106.1 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York, NY, U.S.A.
Rogers Fund, 1989 (1989.284)
ART412742

Literature: S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer
1998, no. 1; S. Kossak 2010, no. 11.

FIG. 1.25
Cakrasamvara Mandala
Ca. 1100
33 x 23 in. (83.3 x 58.5 cm)
Private Collection
Literature: S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 2

is drawn to a larger scale, which may account for it. In early paintings, the rules of hierarchical placement may not have been so rigidly applied, as we know from the example of a large painting of Atiśa that was commissioned by his devoted Tibetan translator, Nagtsho Lotsawa (as will be described in chapter 3; see Fig. 3.7).

Parasols (Tib. *gdugs*) also occur above the heads of buddhas, saints, or their footprints (cf. Figs. 1.24, top register; 2.5 and 4.2), though rarely after about the thirteenth century. Royal parasols (*chattra*) were an old Indian motif associated with universal emperors.[86] In the case of buddha images, the parasol can be traced back to the earliest buddha images, in particular, to the so-called "Bhikṣu Bala's Bodhisattva" in Sarnath that dates to year four of the Kushana area (circa A.D. 123).[87] In that standing statue the parasol represents heaven, since it has the signs of the zodiac on it. Thus the parasol is an integral part of the standing buddha image from very early on, with the post holding it representing the axis mundi.[88]

In Tibet, the "white parasol" was one of the eight auspicious symbols (*bkra shis rtags brgyad*). Jigme Chökyi Dorje in his iconographic encyclopedia explains that such white umbrellas (*gdugs dkar*) were a means for showing respectful service to (Indian) kings of old when they were traveling and that such a parasol was held above the Buddha's head by gods when he first taught the Dharma (at Sarnath). Since many auspicious things occurred when pious kings and donors also held up such umbrellas over the Buddha's head on other occasions, the Buddha formally recognized the white parasol as an auspicious object. According to its traditional symbolism, its handle stood for the activities of teaching and practicing the Dharma, while the shade that it cast symbolized protection from gross and subtle suffering.[89]

Parasols occur often in Pāla-period sculptures,[90] as exemplified by Figure 1.26, a statue now in Potala Palace that resembles statues found in India at Kurkihār (Gayā district, Bihar). The parasol has been worked inconspicuously into a complicated decorative throne-back scheme that includes a bodhi tree within the head nimbus, an elaborate cushion backrest, and a pair of stupas resting on a bar above it.

Some paintings of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Tibet continued to use the parasol motif. Figure 1.27 depicts a venerable Tibetan teacher in a relatively

FIG. 1.26
Buddha Śākyamuni beneath a Parasol
9th to 10th century
Brass
Height: 6 ½ in. (16.5 cm)
Potala Palace, Lima Lhakhang (Bronze Chapel), inventory no. 544.
After: Ulrich von Schroeder 2002, vol. 1, pl. 68a.

modest way, seated on a simple cloth-covered mat and without an elaborate backrest. For lack of identifying inscriptions, the lama's identity remains a mystery. His sanctity is indicated by the lion pedestal, head and body nimbuses, and, of course, by the parasol. Note the unusual upturned robes at his knees.

FIG. 1.27
Tibetan Lama beneath a Parasol
Ca. 13th century
6 x 5 in. (15.2 x 12.7 cm)
Courtesy Michael J. and Beata McCormick Collection

The Earliest Depictions of Lineages

To understand the development of early Tibetan painted portraits, we should try to locate and date the earliest depictions of lineages. Kossak dates the first surviving true painted lineages to the early thirteenth century, asserting:[91]

> The earliest Kadampa portraits to survive, from the late eleventh century, were probably personal objects of veneration and include no lineages. They are followed by paintings in which an incipient lineage begins to be manifest in a top border, but it is not until the early thirteenth century, particularly among the Kagyüpas, that a tradition of lineage painting emerges.

For example, one still earlier painting from eleventh-century central Tibet that was published in a recent Japanese exhibition catalog portrays a standing bodhisattva with two Tibetan patrons

[A]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	d2				d3	
			d1			
	d4				d5	
d6	d7	d8	d9	d10	d11	P

FIG. 1.28
Vajrasattva and Consort
Ca. late 11th to 12th century
Opaque watercolor on cloth
23 ¾ x 14 in. (60.4 x 35.6 cm)
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.
Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection,
Gift of Paul Mellon (68.8.115)
Photograph by Katherine Wetzel
© Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
Literature: G. Tucci 1949, vol. 2, p. 331f;
P. Pal 1987, "Tibetan Religious Paintings in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts," *Arts in Virginia*, nos. 1-3, pp. 46-9, figs. 2-3; and S. Huntington and J. Huntington 1990, no. 105.

below but no lineal gurus.[92] True lineages were those that traced the lineage back to its earliest roots.[93] Few complete painted lineages–including a primordial buddha–have been found in paintings dating to the twelfth century or earlier. By the eleventh century, a whole upper row of twelve gurus could be depicted in a painting, as attested by the description of Nagtsho Lotsawa's early large-scale portrait of Atiśa (see Fig. 3.7). But they lacked a beginning buddha and did not constitute a sequential lineage. The top row of the eleventh-century Amitāyus (Fig. 1.24) must also be viewed as an incipient and incomplete lineage.

One of the earliest Tibetan paintings with a complete lineage may be Figure 1.28, a Nyingma painting of Vajrasattva with spouse that has been dated to the second half of the eleventh century by John Huntington. If his dating to "circa 1065–1085" is accurate even to within a generation or two, that would still make it one of the earliest-known *thangkas* with a guru lineage. The dating depends on whether the patron, Lama Shākya Changchub (Bla ma Shākya byang chub), whose name is given by an inscription, can be identified as Len Shākya Changchub (Glan Shākya byang chub) of the histories and lineage records.[94]

Huntington's identification of the patron as one of the main disciples of Surchung Sherab Drakpa (Zur chung Shes rab grags pa, 1014–1074) seems reasonable. We can therefore tentatively accept the dating to about 1060 to 1100. The painting's (Fig. 1.28) structure is shown in diagram [A].

The inscriptions beneath the lineal gurus:

1. 'Bhi ma la (Vimala)
2. Lo tsā ba Rin chen mchog
3. Gye re mChog skyong
4. Rin chen gzhon nu
5. rGyal ba yon tan
6. sNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes
7. Nya [illegible]... mchog

A teacher named Nyang Sherab Chok (Nyang Shes rab mchog) is also listed as a lineal guru in the Mahāyoga lineage.[95] A closely related lineage is attested by the record of teachings of the Fifth Dalai Lama, namely for the commentary of Vilāsavajra (sGeg pa'i rdo rje) on the twenty-second chapter of the *Guhyagarbha Tantra*. Here the presumed patron of the painting, Lama Shākya Zangpo, appears as number thirty-three, Len Shākya Zangpo (Glan Shākya bzang po), while the last lama depicted in the lineage is number twenty-nine.[96] A similar Nyingma lineage is attested by the *Record of Teachings Received* of Gongkar Dorjedenpa Kunga Namgyal (Gong dkar rDo rje gdan pa Kun dga' rnam rgyal, 1432–1496), though it passes through Zurchung's son, Drophukpa Shākya Sengge (sGro phug pa Shākya seng ge).[97]

One thing that makes the dating of this painting somewhat tentative is that Shākya and Zangpo are common name elements. From its style, moreover, the *thangka* would probably not be dated by every expert on Tibetan art to the late eleventh century. That being the case, scholars who consider the late eleventh century too early will have to explicitly deny that the patron was Len Shākya Zangpo, giving stylistic counter-evidence.

Another well-known early painted portrait (for which, however, no photograph was furnished for publication) depicts as its main subject Nyö Drakpa Pal (gNyos Grags pa dpal, 1106–1165/1182).[98] He was a Tibetan layman who played important religious and political roles in Lhasa in the mid-twelfth century, and he is called in an inscription "the great teacher, father of the Nyö, Drakpa" (*slob dpon chen po gnyos yab drags pa*).[99] The painting may date to the generation of his son or main spiritual heirs, i.e., to the mid- or late twelfth century. The inscriptions establish that the lineage on the left (gurus 1 through 14 in diagram [B]) is that of Guhyasamāja. (They also account for the anomalous Tibetan monks, above the Indian lineal masters, who are actually meant to be Indians.) This painting is important as it is one of the first to show a full lineage, complete with primordial buddhas, Indian teachers, and later Tibetan lamas. In fact, it shows two lineages.

The first lineage, that of the Nyö tradition of the Guhyasamāja, was recorded in some detail in the *Blue Annals*.[100] That lineage is also confirmed by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his record of teachings received, which notes among the several transmissions of Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra a fifth transmission, this very lineage of the Nyö tradition (gNyos lugs):[101]

1. 'Jam dpal dbyangs (Mañjughoṣā; but in the *Blue Annals*: 'Jam pa'i rdo rje, Mañjuvajra)
2. Sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs (Buddhajñāna)
3. Mar me mdzad

[B]

4	3	2	1	1b	2b	3b
5						4b
7	12	11		13	6?	5b
8			**14**			6b
9						7b
10						8b
d1		d2	d3	d4		d5

4. 'Jam dpal grags pa
5. dPal bde ba
6. Dri med sbas pa.
   [Down to no. 6. Vi mā la gupta (Dri med sbas pa), the lineage is the same as that recorded for the Ra tradition (Rwa lugs); then begins the Nyö tradition proper:]
7. Yi ge'i rNal 'byor pa
8. Kahna pa (Kāṇha?)
9. Badzra shrī (Vajraśrī)
10. Ba lingta Ā tsarya
11. gNyos Lo tsā ba Yon tan grags
12. gNyos rDo rje bla ma (The Fifth Dalai Lama notes that he thought that the absence of this name in the lineage record of Gongkar Dorjedenpa was probably due to an accidental omission.)[102]
13. gNyos dPal le
14. gNyos Grags pa dpal (1106–1165/1182)
15. gNyos gZi brjid dpal (also known as Sangs rgyas Ras chen, rGyal ba Lha snang pa, Tsa ri Ras chen, and dPyal kha Chos rje)
16. sTon mo lung pa Ye shes mkhar
17. Kun mkhyen Chos sku 'od zer
18. 'Phags 'od Yon tan rgya mtsho
19. The omniscient Butön (Bu ston Thams cad mkhyen pa)

After Butön the lineage continues as before in the lineage records. Other Nyö transmissions are documented in the main records of teachings received, for example, that of a certain protector (Trag shad).[103]

The second lineage on the *thangka* (gurus 1b through 8b in diagram [B]) depicts the Nyö transmission for Yamāntaka ('Jigs byed). This is confirmed by an inscription on the back in a different hand, which has been published as: '*di na mar kyi 'di tshe 'jig byed rgyud pa*.[104] Despite the somewhat unclear wording, the main point is clear: the gurus on the right side represent the lineage for Yamāntaka of the Nyö transmission.[105]

According to Per Sorensen, Bhairava was a favorite specialty of the Nyö family. Both Guhyasamāja and Yamāri tantras had been transmitted to Nyö Lotsawa Yonten Drak and his clan line via Balin, based on the exegetical school of Jñānapāda. Several lineage histories assert that Nyö Lotsawa received not only the nine- and thirteen-deity Bhairava cycle, but also the thirteen-deity Black Yamāntaka (Kṛṣṇa Yamāri). Drakpa Pal's son Lhanangpa (lHa nang pa) disseminated the cycle through an uncle-nephew succession of teachers, as also noted by numerous records of teachings received.[106]

The painting's contents would have been impossible to clarify without the inscriptions.[107] In Drakpa Pal's time, laymen still dominated in many family-transmitted lineages, and here is a prominent example. The edge of the central figure's long hair is indicated by a series of bumps or waves. His hair extends a little beyond his scalp line. In the minor figures, the presence of long hair is shown by similar wavy edges of hair that extend beyond the line of their scalps. The shorter hair of monks, by contrast, is also painted solid black, but its edge strictly follows the line of the monk's scalp. Among the inner minor figures we find repeated twice a layman wearing exactly the same robes as the central figure: once accompanying a Tibetan lay master and the second time with an Indian pundit teacher, who wears exactly the same robes and hat that Atiśa normally wears. Their identical dress is misleading: they depict two of the central figures' illustrious descendants.

Judging by their Tibetan vests, we could deduce that the three monks to the left in the top register must be Tibetan. But the inscriptions establish that they were meant to depict three early Indian gurus of the Guhyasamāja. The vests must have been an iconographic mistake, since the artist correctly portrayed an Indian monk-scholar and Indian adepts in the very same painting. The presence of inscriptions explains the anomalous position of the Tibetan monks above Indian lineal masters: they were supposed to be Indians.

In addition to the previous two *thangkas* with guru lineages datable to before 1200, a pair of Indian stone carvings of Tibetan lamas has survived, dating to around the late twelfth century (Figs. 1.29 and 1.30). Both of the stone carvings portray lineages that start with Vajrasattva and end with the main figure.

Figure 1.29 depicts in a small Indian stele carved out of mudstone (an indurated shale) a Tibetan lama with lineal gurus. It is one of the earliest-known examples of a complete lineage in a statue. The structure of the stele is as shown in diagram [C]. Who are the individual lamas? Though their features and other details could just barely be made out, enough information is discernable to say that they seem to be a lineage of teachers of the Dakpo Kagyü School, namely:[108]

1. Vajrasattva (where we usually see Vajradhara)
2. Tilopa
3. Naropa
4. Marpa (lay Tibetan wearing a robe with long sleeves)
5. Milarepa
6. Gampopa
7. Kagyü lama
8. Kagyü lama

Note that none of the figures is shown in partial profile. Guru 8, the central figure, was probably the teacher of the patron, while guru 7 was that lama's teacher. Neither guru can be easily recognized from his facial features or iconography. Three of the last four lamas hold their hands folded on their laps in the gesture of meditative concentration. They thus represent masters from a contemplative tradition. Since guru number 6 died in

[C]

7

1 2

3 4

8

5 6

FIG. 1.29
Kagyü Lama with His Lineage Gurus
India, Bengal, commissioned for a Tibetan patron
Mudstone with polychrome and gold
Late 12th or early 13th century
5 x 3 ¼ x 1 ⅝ in. (12.7 x 8.3 x 4.1 cm)
Inscribed on back: "om ah hum"
The Phoenix Art Museum, Gift of Isobel Steele (1992.45.A)
Literature: S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, p. 34, fig. 17, "miniature stele with a lama."

FIG. 1.30
Kagyü Lama with His Lineage and Deities
India, Bengal, commissioned for a Tibetan patron
Late 12th to early 13th century
Stone (possibly phyllite)
Height: 5 in. (12.8 cm)
Potala Palace, Li ma Lha khang, inventory no. 1552.
Literature: U. von Schroeder 2001, vol. 1, p. 383, pl. 122D.

1153, we can estimate that his student, number 7, flourished in the 1150s through 1170s, while the main figure (8) probably flourished in the next two or three decades. A dating of the stele to the 1190s would fit those estimates. The stele was presumably carved before the main Buddhist centers of Magadha were destroyed in 1201.

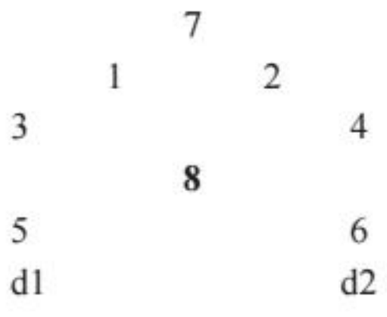
Though that first stele (Fig. 1.29) must be very rare, it is even more gratifying to learn that a sister stele, Figure 1.30, now survives in Tibet. The second, slightly larger piece also depicts a Tibetan monk as its main figure. It was carved not of mudstone, but of phyllite, a foliated rock that is intermediate in composition and texture between slate and schist.[109]

The second stele survives in the Statue Chapel (Li ma Lha khang) of Potala Palace.[110] Its lineal sequence seems to be the same as that of Figure 1.29, though two deities have been added below (d1 and d2), as shown in diagram [D].

As in Figure 1.29, this statue portrays a main figure with his lineage of Kagyü teachers, namely:

1. Vajrasattva (instead of Vajradhara)
2. Tilopa
3. Naropa
4. Marpa
5. Milarepa
6. Gampopa
7. Kagyü lama
8. Kagyü lama

[D]



Here the last four Tibetan lamas hold their hands in the gesture of meditation. The lineage may possibly be that of the Drugpa Kagyü, who propitiated the Four-Handed Mahākāla (d1, Mgon po Phyag bzhi pa), though several other traditions also propitiated that protector.[111] In that case, guru number 7 would be Phagmotrupa and guru 8, the main figure, his disciple Ling Repa. However, neither corresponds with his usual later depiction. (The principal figure here resembles through his hand gesture and hair line some early statues of Drigung Kyoppa, as seen for instance in Figure 5.26.)

Whoever their main figures turn out to be, both steles establish the existence of full lineages in art dating to about the last decade of the twelfth century. They also confirm the existence of Indian-made portrait statues of lamas in Tibet.[112]

Chapter 2

Human Types in Tibetan Iconography: Essential Distinctions

TO UNDERSTAND early Tibetan paintings and the major and minor figures that they depict, we need to know the guidelines governing their depictions of humans. If we overlook or confuse the decisive distinctions of Buddhist culture and their visual expression, we will not be able to accurately identify depictions of humans in Tibetan art. We will be iconographically blind, at least partially, and unable to tell, for example, a monk from a layman or an Indian from a Tibetan.

Even reputable scholars confuse some of the basic human iconographic types.[113] Such errors and the lack of a succinct summary of the essential guidelines for identifying human figures have prompted me to present here a sketch of the main human types. Although we might glean a little about the iconography of certain human types by carefully studying published pantheons of Tibetan Buddhism, we will not learn much if we do not already know what to look for. (Humans are not a highly significant part of most pantheons.)[114] What follows, then, is my attempt to analyze the basic human iconographic types according to the underlying religious and cultural categories, highlighting the essential distinctions that are at stake and illustrating the main types.

Types of Humans

Among human gurus, there are about a dozen iconographic types, including a few less common ones. If we can identify them on sight, we can start reading the beginnings of several of the most common lineages, even without inscriptions. Most human iconographic types are determined by the categories implicit in these six questions:

1. Is the figure male or female?
2. Did he or she take monastic or lay ordination?
3. Is he or she Tibetan?
4. Is he or she a scholar (pundit)?
5. Is he or she an ascetic or adept?
6. Is he or she royalty?

1. Gender

The vast majority of saints or lineal gurus portrayed were male, and most of my examples are accordingly of males. But I will also take into account several types of females for which I could find examples.

2. Monastic Ordination

Whether a great teacher was monastically ordained determines his or her status within the rules of Buddhist vows and, to some extent, within Tibetan Buddhist culture. (Every Buddhist has taken some sort of vow, beginning with the most fundamental vow of refuge.) From about the thirteenth century on, most Tibetan lamas or saints were either novice monks or fully ordained monks. But some, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and within family lineages, took the vows of Buddhist lay followers, and it is essential to recognize them as such. Monks and laymen were usually painted very differently: the telltale signs are their hair length, the presence or absence of sleeves on their robes, the cut and color of their robes, and the use or absence of wide belts.

3. Ethnic Origins

Most non-Tibetan masters depicted in *thangkas* were Indian, but now and then a Newar, Mongol, Chinese, Tangut, or person from some little-known area of the Tibetan borderlands could appear. So, if the master was not a true ethnic Tibetan–or at least someone from an area of traditional Tibetan Buddhist religion and dress–what was his ethnic identity?

In depictions of lineage masters, we encounter many Indians, going back to the great Indian founder of Buddhism, the great lord of sages, Śākyamuni. It is essential to recognize them as Indians. Monks and laymen from India are normally shown dressed differently from their Tibetan counterparts. Skin color could also be a determining factor in identifying ethnic origins: Indians were often depicted with darker skin. Yogis from South Indian (Dravidians) could be shown with skin that was very dark brown or even deep blue.

4. Scholarly Attainment

The mark of a highly learned teacher among both Indians and Tibetans was the pundit's hat, usually red or yellow, with its characteristic long ear flaps. An ordinary monk or nonscholar is shown

---

Detail of Fig. 2.10

iconographically without that particular hat. The vast majority of pundits were monks. But a few Indian laymen (e.g., Gayadhara) were accomplished enough as scholars to wear a pundit's hat.

5. Status as Ascetic, Yogi, or Adept

In Tibet, the marks of ascetic practice included a single white robe worn by the "cotton-clad yogis" (Repa =*ras pa*) in the Kagyü Schools. There also existed a special meditation hat (*sgom zhwa*) sometimes worn by lamas of those same contemplative schools. Long hair piled up on the head, as with the Tibetan mad yogis Thangtong Gyalpo (see Fig. 1.16) or Tsangnyön Heruka (gTsang smyon He ru ka, 1452–1507), could also be the sign of a great Tibetan meditator (*sgom chen*), yogi, or adept.

Among Indian masters, most tantric adepts were shown as yogis, wearing minimal lay dress, and hence can be recognized from their appearance. But not all adepts demonstrated their inner spiritual attainments through their dress. A few, Nagarjuna for example, retained their original outer garb as monks, while some other adepts were outwardly depicted as layman kings, still wearing their royal robes and jewels.

Minimally clothed female ascetics or yoginīs are an established female type among both Indians and Tibetans. Normally clad ordinary laywomen, often female consorts, form another female type for both cultures.

6. Royalty

Royalty turns out to be a surprisingly diverse and widely attested category. Kings were not depicted frequently, but their clothing and jewelry were. The sumptuous and idealized images of Indian universal emperors (*cakravartin*, Tib. '*khor los sgyur ba*) are the basis for the iconography of *sambhogakāya* buddhas and male peaceful deities such as great bodhisattvas (like Avalokiteśvara). Their elaborate Indian ornamentation became standardized into eight traditional types of bejeweled gold ornaments.[115] And Central Asian or Chinese warrior-kings are the prototype for the four guardians of the directions (*lokapāla*) commonly known as the four great kings (*rgyal po chen po bzhi*).

Royalty can be a subtype of laymen of any country. (Royal monks were typically shown as monks of their respective countries.) Among Indian laymen, a few were kings. The great tantric adept Indrabhūti was a king not of India but of Oḍḍiyāna (Tib. O rgyan or U rgyan) to the northeast of India, the same origin as the famous Indian tantric sorcerer Padmasambhava beloved of the Nyingma School.

Among Tibetan laymen, too, the ancient Tibetan kings occasionally appear, wearing their distinctive red turbans. The mythical kings of Shambhala and the related Shambhala Kalkin rulers (Tib. Rigs ldan) were very similarly portrayed. Among later outstanding patrons of Buddhism or sponsors of specific Tibetan lamas, Mongol khans and Chinese emperors may also be depicted. Still later, at least one Chinese emperor of the Ching (Manchu) dynasty–the Qianlong Emperor–was sometimes pictured as the main figure of a *thangka*, like a great lama and as an emanation of Mañjuśrī.[116]

Summary

Ignoring, for the moment, asceticism and royalty as special categories, we can focus on the four key iconographic attributes: a. gender, b. status of ordination, c. country, d. scholarly attainment. Those four can, in theory, be combined to make sixteen subtypes.[117] In practice, most of the female combinations are very rare and some are not depicted at all in art (such as scholar-nuns and scholar-laywomen). The combinations that have been observed number about a dozen, the eight most common male types being ordinary Tibetan monks, Tibetan monk-scholars, ordinary Tibetan laymen, Tibetan ascetics, Indian monk-scholars, ordinary Indian monks, ordinary Indian laymen, and Indian lay ascetics. Among females, the most common were ordinary Indian and Tibetan laywomen.

Shorthand Terms

Some lineage records use shorthand terms to specify, presumably for the benefit of painters or commissioners of paintings, the iconographic type and hence the appearance of each master. We occasionally find these abbreviated terms, for example, in the record of teachings of the Fifth Dalai Lama.[118] The terms include a few additional specifications of hair length, hair color (whether gray), and age.

Indian ordained pundit (*pan ser*)
Indian lay pundit (*pan dkar*)
Indian pundit-adept who is a monk (*pan grub rab 'byung*)
Tibetan monk (*bod btsun*)
Gray-haired lay Tibetan tantrist (*sngags pa se bo*)
Gray-haired monk (*rab 'byung se bo*)
White-robed lay Tibetan tantrist (*sngags dkar*, i.e., *sngags pa gos dkar*)
White-robed lay Tibetan tantrist with long hair (*sngags dkar lcang lo can*)
White-robed lay Tibetan tantrist with short hair (*sngags dkar co breg can*)
Lay Tibetan tantrist with short hair (*sngags pa co reg mgo*)
Young lay Tibetan tantrist (*sngags gzhon*)

1. An Ordinary Tibetan Monk

Figure 2.1 depicts an ordinary (i.e., non-scholarly) monk from Tibet. How can we know? His Tibetan origin is given

away by his distinctive vest. Tibetan monks dressed, in general, similarly to Indian monastics, but they wore a typical Tibetan lama's vest or waistcoat (Tib. *stod gos* or *stod 'gag)*. His bare head indicates that he is not a scholar, or at least that he is not explicitly depicted as one.

The subject of this painting would thus seem to be fairly straightforward. Yet in a previous publication, its main figure was confused with the great Indian pundit Atiśa.[119] That publication acknowledged that "this early portrait differs from the usual later ones in which the master has an Indian style red abbot's hat and has a stupa and traveling sack behind him."[120] But what is relevant to compare here is not Atiśa's later depiction but his early ones, which show him almost exclusively as a learned Indian monk.

Generally, if no inscription speaks to the contrary, the basic features of iconography should be dec isive in identifying a human figure's type. We cannot suddenly turn a Tibetan (wearing a lama's vest) monk into an Indian guru, or vice versa. Was there a reason for ignoring the basic iconography here? The same authors explained:

> That this may be Atiśa is indicated by the fact that the donor is an ordained lay person who is holding up an offering lamp. His long hair indicates that he is a layman, while his robes show him to be ordained (ordained laity being allowed to wear such robes on certain occasions.)[121]

Thus it was the iconography of the patron, not the main figure, that was highly unusual, if not unique. He was depicted as a Tibetan monk-patron with long hair. That oddity led those authors to speculate that he might have been Dromtön Gyalway Jungnay ('Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas, 1005–1064), evidently not knowing that Dromtön was a standard figure in early Kadam painting, with a fixed iconography as a long-haired layman. It is incorrect to show Dromtön wearing monk's robes (as the patron of Fig. 2.1 is), just as it is wrong to depict Atiśa as a Tibetan monk.

Those authors evidently sensed that something was amiss because they ultimately described the painting as depicting a "Lama (possibly Atiśa or an Early Kadam Lama)." It is true that long-haired monks are a self-contradicting and confusing anomaly in Tibetan iconography. This is the only case that I remember seeing, but this figure's presence here

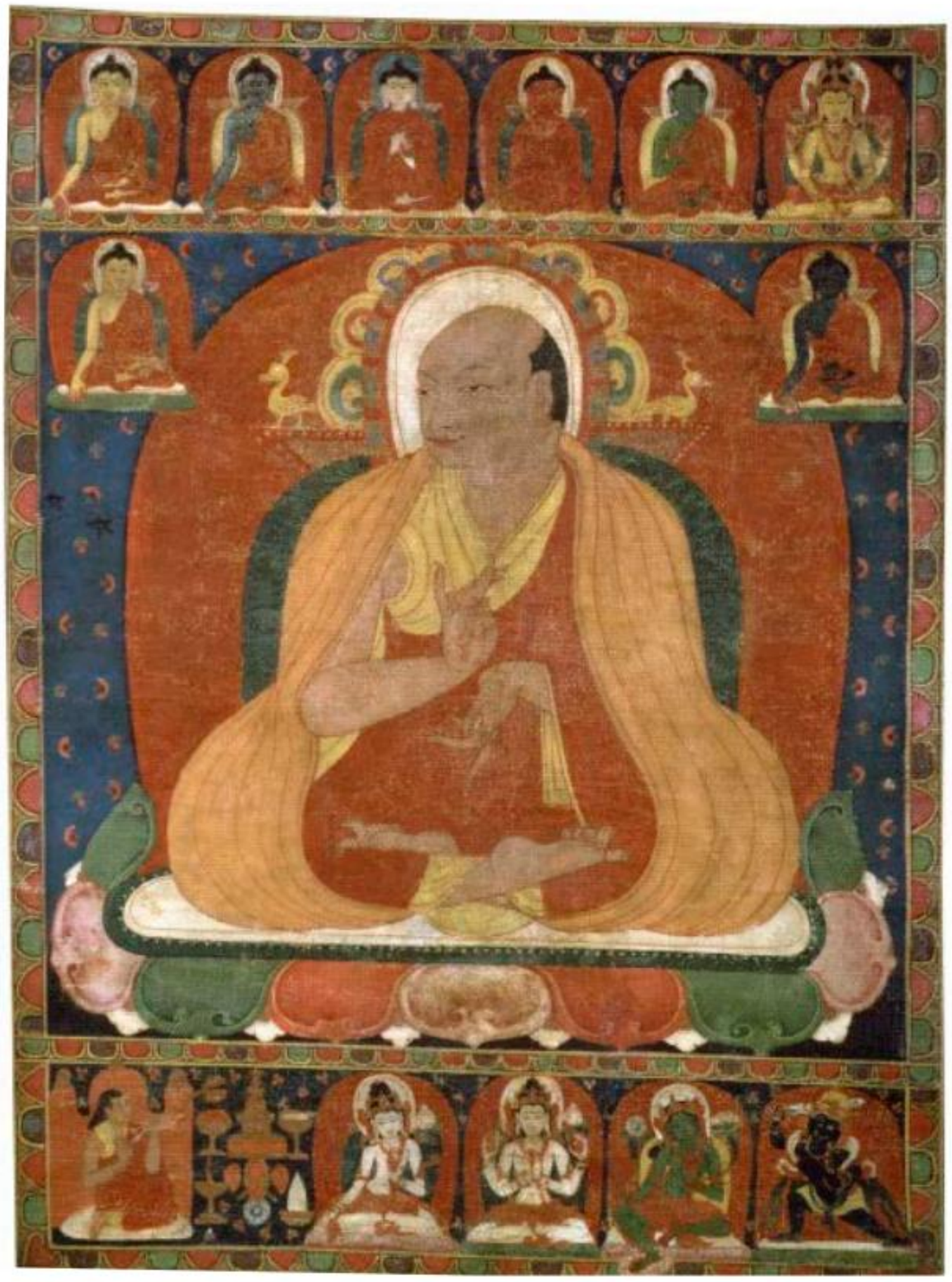


Fig. 2.1
Tibetan Monk
12th or 13th century
Watercolors on cotton
13 ⅞ x 10 ¾ in. (35.3 x 27.4)
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John Gilmore Ford
Photograph © The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore F.111
Literature: M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1991, no. 95.

FIG. 2.2
Tibetan Monk
Late 11th to 12th century
18 ¼ x 14 ¼ in. (46.4 x 36.2 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A.
Purchase, Friends of Asian Art, 1991 (1991.152)
ART348437
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Art Resource, NY
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1994, fig. 17a; S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 5; and S. Kossak 2010, p. 26, fig. 13 "portrait of a lama, probably Dromtön."

should not become a springboard for other impossible identifications.

Figure 2.2 depicts an ordinary Tibetan monk. He presumably was an early master of the Kadam order, and he cannot depict Dromtön, as Steven Kossak suggested. As a lay follower Dromtön was not allowed to wear monk's robes. Kossak's suggestion goes back to a mistaken suggestion by Jane Casey Singer.[122] She recognized the master to be wearing Tibetan monastic garb, though evidently she did not know that Dromtön was a layman and therefore normally shown dressed in non-monastic garb.

As mentioned above, Tibetan monks dress similarly to Indian monks, but they wear a typical Tibetan lama's vest as an upper garment. Both of their shoulders are usually covered by robes, but if not, then the lama's vest is usually visible on the uncovered side. It would have been almost unheard of for a Tibetan monk of this period (the twelfth century) to wear a scholar's hat, since that custom was not introduced in Tibet until the following century.[123]

The main subject of Figure 2.3 has the iconography of an ordinary Tibetan monk. Nothing can be deduced about his school affiliations without inscriptional or other evidence in the painting. A previous scholar tentatively identified the main figure as the Drigung School founder Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo, pictured below as Fig. 5.21,) based on similar iconography in the two paintings.[124] But the main figure here is more likely to be a master from the Kadam School, since Kadam lineages appear behind him. Many masters possess a very similar iconography, and so one of the key clues for identifying the main figure and his religious school are the lineages shown, which in this case do not include the Kagyü founders and do seem to include Atiśa and Dromtön. (This complicated painting is an instance of two or even three lineages being depicted.)

2. *Tibetan Monk-Scholars*

Figure 2.4 depicts a Tibetan monk-scholar. In fact, it shows the first Tibetan to bear the title of "all-around scholar" (Skt. *paṇḍita*, or "pundit"): Sakya Pandita (1182–1251), here as a detail from Figure 3.15, a painting depicting Drakpa Gyaltshen and Sakya Pandita as two lineal lamas. Sakya Pandita completed his scholastic and Sanskrit literary studies in about the 1220s and then presumably began to wear a pundit's hat–which was red in color and with a rounded top. In early Sakya paintings (from about the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries), he may be the

FIG. 2.3
Kadam Master with His Lineages
Ca. 1200
37 3⁄8 x 28 ¾ in. (95 x 73 cm)
Collection R.R.E.
Literature: A. Heller 1999, no. 62; and
P. Pal et al. 2003, no. 120.

FIG. 2.4 (detail from Fig. 3.15)
Sakya Pandita, a Learned Tibetan Monk

FIG. 2.5
Three Monks
Ca. 1100
Distemper on wood (wooden manuscript cover)
4 ⅛ x 14 ⅛ in. (10.5 x 35.9 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A.
Gift of The Kronos Collections, 1995 (1995.569.4b)

Literature: S. Kossak 2010, fig. 25b.

only lineal master shown wearing such a hat. But by the mid-fourteenth century, everyone in a lineage may be shown wearing them. (See Fig. 3.22, also illustrated as Fig. 1.21.)

Figure 2.5 depicts three Tibetan monks, including a learned monk in the center. Since he wears a Tibetan monk's vest, the central figure can hardly be Atiśa, as previously suggested.[125] Without inscriptions, the iconography should be the decisive factor in determining the identity of a figure, and here, unless the published illustration is somehow inaccurate, the iconography indicates a monk from Tibet.

Figure 2.6 depicts a print from Chinese wood blocks dating to about 1301. Heather Stoddard, when describing this example of Sino-Tibetan art thirty-five years ago, specified the iconography of the Tibetan and Indian monks. She described the special distinguishing garment as the "lama vest" (*stod gos or stod 'gags*), calling it a monk's "waistcoat" with deeply cut away armholes and a strip of cloth projecting over the shoulders. As she explained:[126]

> A further more important detail, which indicates the Tibetan origins of the series appears in one of the items of clothing of the figure on the left. This figure, who is conversing with a Buddha, is without any doubt a representation of a Tibetan monk. A tentative identification with the Sa-skya-pa hierarchs, who acted as *Di shi* (Imperial Preceptors) in the Yuan court, is suggested. These monks... were customarily represented without any special attributes and bare-headed....
>
> The distinctive garment worn by the monk in the Jisha woodcut is his waistcoat, called *sTod-gos* or *sTod-'gag* in Tibetan. It has deeply cut away armholes, with a strip of cloth projecting over the shoulders. The *sTod-gos* is not mentioned in the Indian *vinaya* [monastic rules] and does not seem to be known in China, where the monks wore robes with long sleeves.

Stoddard named and described the nine garments of a Tibetan monk:

1. skirt (*sham thabs*)
2. underskirt (*smad g.yogs*)
3. sash (*rked rags*)
4. waistcoat (*stod gos*) already described
5. long, wide shawl (*gzan*)
6. boots (*lham*)
7. large, heavy pleated cloak (*zla gam*) worn as protection from cold
8. *cīvara* (*chos gos*), a pleated upper robe worn by fully ordained monks
9. pointed red or yellow hat (*rtse zhwa*)

Figure 2.7 depicts four figures who all prominently wear the typical vests

FIG. 2.6
Śākyamuni and a Tibetan Monk
Hanzhou; ca. 1301
Woodcut illustrations from Qisha Tripitaka, chapter 3 of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*
11 ¾ x 4 ¾ in. (30 x 12 cm)
The British Museum, OMPB Or. 80.d.25.
After: CAUM no. 277, *Arts of China*, p. 220; H. (Stoddard) Karmay1975, pl. 29; W. Zwalf ed. 1985, pl. 306; and J. Casey Singer 1995, fig. 13.

FIG. 2.7
Four Tibetan Teachers Wearing Lama Vests
13th century
17 x 13 ½ in. (43.2 x 34.3 cm)
Courtesy of Michael J. and Beata McCormick Collection

FIG. 2.8 (detail from Fig. 3.15)
Drakpa Gyaltshen, a Tibetan Layman

of Tibetan lamas. Though they seem to be Kagyü lamas, in the absence of inscriptions they cannot be individually identified. Their physiognomy and dress are also not distinctive enough to identify them. The way that they wear their vests, uncovered on one side by a shawl or pleated upper robe, is not typical of portraits of the Taklung Kagyü (compare Fig. 5.10), though I have seen something similar in the main figure of one Drigung Kagyü portrait (Fig. 5.25).

FIG. 2.9
Sachen with His Lineage Gurus
17th century
115 3/8 x 76 in. (293 x 190 cm)
Zimmerman Family Collection
Photograph by John Bigelow Taylor, N.Y.C., 1997
Literature: G. Béguin 1977, no. 123; D. Jackson 2010, fig. 3.2.

FIG. 2.10
Marpa the Translator
Early to mid-14th century
23 5/16 x 20 1/16 in. (60 x 51 cm)
Pritzker Collection
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1994, fig. 48: P. Pal 2003, no. 127; A. Heller 2003, p. 291.

3. Ordinary Tibetan Laymen

Figure 2.8 depicts the Tibetan lay master Jetsun Drakpa Gyaltshen of Sakya as one of two main lineal lamas. His long hair, long-sleeved robes, and garments colored white or green are typical physical marks of a layman. (Precisely the long hair and those clothing colors and types were forbidden to monks by the *vinaya* rules, which aimed at setting the monk apart from ordinary worldly life.)

Figure 2.9 depicts the great patriarch Sachen, four of his early successors, and gurus of one of the lineages that he transmitted. Immediately to his right and left sit two of his sons (Sönam Tsemo and Drakpa Gyaltshen), while beneath them are depicted a grandson (Sakya Pandita) and a great-grandson (Phakpa). Those five masters are called the five great founders (*gong ma lnga*) of Sakya, who are commonly divided into two groups according to a prominent color of their dress: the Three White Ones (*dkar po rnam gsum*) and the Two Red Ones (*dmar po rnam gnyis*).

From their hair and robes with long sleeves, we can recognize the principal figure of Figure 2.9 and the two gurus nearest his shoulders to have been laymen. Note the whitish or creamy color of their outer robes and the broad whitish belts at their waists. Similarly, the red-robed and red-hatted minor masters nearest Sachen's knees can be recognized at a glance to have been monks, if only from the red and orange colors of their robes. Sakya Pandita and Phakpa are recognizably Tibetan since they wear lama's vests and both are marked as a learned monk by their pundit's hats.

Figure 2.10 also prominently depicts a Tibetan lay master, Marpa the Translator (Mar pha Lo tsā ba Chos kyi blo gros, 1012–1096), as its main figure. This *thangka* is unusual among early Tibetan paintings in that it is almost completely dominated by laymen and two conspicuously dressed long-haired figures at the bottom left. Only one monastically ordained master is present, in the bottom register. Similarly, we find only one cotton-clad yogi *(ras pa)*–could he be Milarepa (Mi la Ras pa, 1040–1123)? The predominance of laymen can be explained, in part, if the painting depicts a family lineage dominated by laymen (such as the rNgog family transmission). Another consideration is that in the time of Marpa the ordination of monks was infrequent.

According to the inscription on the back, the patrons were two local rulers in Kham named Sönam Dorje (bSod nams rdo rje) and the young divine ruler (Lhabu) Akhar (with wife and son).[127] It was commissioned with prayers for their longevity and increased wealth and secular power. Nothing more is known to me about them. A family named Akhar was prominent in Kyura (sKyu ra) district of Kham (northeast of Riwoche near Jyekundo) in the late twelfth century, but I doubt they were relevant here. Some Kham dialects formed personal names beginning with "A," such as A mgon, and Akhar may have been such a name, especially since it stands after the title Lha bu (Divine son). Lha (deity) was a title usually reserved for the old Tibetan Yarlung royalty, and this family might have claimed descent from them, just as Sanggye Önpo's main disciple and monastic successor at Riwoche (Lha A zhang) did. (The same patron commissioned Fig. 4.12.)

Figure 2.11 depicts the goddess Green Tārā as transmitted by a Kadam tradition. It exemplifies once again (see also Figs. 3.1, 3.1a, and 3.1b) how the Tibetan lay Buddhist (Dromtön) and his Indian guru (Atiśa) were depicted in early paintings of the Kadam lineage. Atiśa is portrayed with his hands in a gesture of teaching, and his simple red Indian monk's robes leaves one shoulder exposed. The flaps of his pointed yellow pundit's hat fall to his shoulders or behind them.

Dromtön is depicted here holding one hand up and the other to his heart. He wears a red long-sleeved robe that is tied at his waist with a light-colored belt. His outer cloak covers his back up to the nape of his neck and is copious enough to cover both knees. His long hair is indicated by a series of bumps along the crown of his head. In the Kadam transmission for Tārā, Dromtön is present, unlike in the Kadam lineage for Avalokiteśvara.[128]

In Figure 2.11, the top row of buddhas actually exemplifies the two ways in which a buddha could wear his monk's robes in early times: with one shoulder left uncovered and with both shoulders covered, leaving only head, hands, and feet exposed. Traditionally, the Buddha covered both shoulders while teaching. (Note the mandala disks that seem to float in space to the right and left of Tārā's head nimbus, in front of her body nimbus.)

A wonderful statue depicting Dromtön with long hair and a robe with long sleeves survives in Potala Palace in Tibet. Illustrated here as Figure 2.12, it bears the inscription "Homage to Dromtön Gyalway Jungnay!" (*'brom ston rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas la na mo//)*. It is carved in fine-grained yellowish-beige stone with a grayish patina that may be phyllite. The statue gives us the rare chance to see not just the front but also the back side of a lay Tibetan's hair and clothing. Dromtön's hair hangs straight down, ending in a series of tight curls near his shoulders.

Figure 2.13 depicts as its second lineal master (top row, second from the left) the Tibetan layman Dromtön, who here wears typical lay dress. Dromtön's hair, dark and wavy (bumpy-looking), seems to extend slightly above his scalp. His outer robe is a light color–perhaps tan, though certainly not orange or yellow.

This painting is unusual for showing (between the head nimbuses of the main figures, as guru number 5 in

FIG. 2.11
Green Tārā with Atiśa and Dromtön
Ca. 1100
64 ⅛ x 16 ½ in. (64 x 42 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland
Literature: Pal ed. 2003, no. 116.

FIG. 2.12
Dromtön
Tibet; 12th to 13th century
Stone (possibly phyllite)
Height: 4 ⅛ in. (10 cm)
Potala Palace, Lima Lhakhang (Bronze Chapel), inventory no. 1548.
After: U. von Schroeder 2001, vol. 2, pl. 213C-D.

diagram [A]) a master who wears neither typical monastic nor lay robes. His inner robe is red, long-sleeved, and closed at the waist by a white belt. I believe that he represents a Kadam lineal master who never took full ordination and who is thus shown as neither fully lay nor monastic. (Such an in-between ordination status seems to have been more common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries than it was later.)[129] We may have to work from the iconography back to the historical record if we want to identify this figure.

The gurus in the top row may depict two lineages, with guru number 1b representing the beginning of one of them. Atiśa, number 1, wears his plain red Indian monk's robes and does not leave one shoulder bare. See the structure as sketched in diagram [A].

The background of Figure 2.13 is noteworthy for placing two shrine niches (within which the main figures sit) before a fringe of trees or at least rudimentary tree tops that may represent the bodhi tree.

4. Tibetan Ascetics or Yogis

Figure 2.14 illustrates an early portrait of Milarepa, the most famous Tibetan ascetic yogi, who meditated in frigid caves with nothing more to cover himself than a white cotton cloth.[130] Though extensively repainted, the painting's iconographic plan is unchanged and identify it as art of the Drigung Kagyü from the thirteenth century. Its arrangement follows a tradition prescribed by the Drigung founder and his early successors, and it is the same as that of Figure 5.21. Note the vines growing from the vase at the bottom center and the two *nāga* kings supporting the main throne on the right and left.[131]

Another example of Milarepa as the prototypical cotton-clad (*repa*-style) Tibetan yogi is Figure 2.15.[132] Note that he here wears a meditation strap (*sgom thag*), one of the special accouterments of a Tibetan yogi. His four standing *repa* disciples all wear a peculiar white conical fur-brimmed hat. The brims of those flamboyant hats have fuzzy edges, and the tip of each one holds a tuft of hair or feathers and each tip extends beyond the edge of its wearer's head nimbus.

Figure 2.16a depicts Ling Repa as a lineal master (top row, fifth from the right) in a painting of a Drukpa Kagyü master. His identity has been repeatedly mistaken, even though he is a Tibetan *repa* yogi.[133] With his dark skin and lack of a normal lama's monastic robe, he is commonly confused with a dark-skinned white-robed Indian yogi like Phadampa.[134] An even better depiction of Ling Repa can be found in the murals of the main temple or Tsuklagkhang (Gtsug lag khang) at Gyantse, where he is depicted at the end of the series of eighty-four great adepts, together with an additional Indian pundit.[135]

5. Indian Monk-Scholars

Indian monk-scholars dress similarly to the monk-scholars of Tibet, except that they do not wear a lama's vest and their right shoulders are typically left uncovered. Figure 2.17 depicts the great Indian master Atiśa dressed in Indian monk's robes. He wears a yellow pointed hat, the mark of an Indian Buddhist scholar, the flaps of which hang down on the sides as far as his shoulders. Note the small Indian palm-leaf manuscript (*pustaka*) of sacred scripture that he holds in his left hand. Though in many cases Indian monk's robes are uniformly red, in this case Atiśa is shown wearing a vermilion upper robe and purple skirt (*sham thabs*). (See also Fig. 3.2.)

Figure 2.18 clearly illustrates the dress of both an Indian *paṇḍita* and a buddha in a Sino-Tibetan woodcut. Again the Indian pundit wears robes that leave one shoulder bare, and the flaps of his pundit's hat fall to just below his shoulders. Here both figures wear the pleated upper robe (*chos gos*) of a full monk.

[A]

1	2	1b	3	4
		5		
	6		**7**	
P(8)	d1	d2	d3	d4

FIG. 2.13
Two Kadam Masters with Their Lineages
12th century
21 x 15 ½ in. (53.3 x 39.4 cm)
Private Collection
Literature: S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 11.

FIG. 2.14
Milarepa
13th century
21 ¾ x 18 ½ in. (55.2 x 47 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
C2002.24.5 (HAR 65121)

FIG. 2.15
Milarepa
Ca. 17th century
46 x 40 ½ in. (116.8 x 102.9 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
C2002.24.4 (HAR 65120)

FIG. 2.16
Drukpa Kagyü Master
Ca. 1280–1310
30 ¼ x 23 ½ in. (77 x 59.7 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A.
Purchase, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Philanthropic Fund Gift, 1991 (1991.304)

Literature: S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 30; D. Jackson 2010, figs. 4.13 and 5.3.

FIG. 2.16A, DETAIL
Ling Repa and Tsangpo Gyare

Fig. 2.17 (detail from Fig. 3.2)
Atiśa
Early to mid-12th century
Distemper on cotton
19 ½ x 13 ¾ in. (49.5 x 35.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A.
Gift of the Kronos Collections, 1993 (1993.479)
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Art Resource, NY
Photograph by John Bigelow Taylor
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1994, fig. 16; H. Stoddard 1996, fig. 1; and S. Kossak 2010, fig. 14.

Fig. 2.18
Śākyamuni and an Indian Paṇḍita
Hanzhou; ca. 1301
Woodcut illustrations from chapter 3 of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra, Jishazang*
11 ¾ x 17 in. (30 x 43.1 cm)
J.-P. Dubosc Collection
After: H. Karmay 1975, plates 30

The main subject of Figure 2.19 is again an Indian monk-scholar, in this case Vanaratna, one of the last Indian pundits to visit Tibet, coming as he did over two centuries after the destruction of the main Buddhist monasteries of Magadha. (We shall meet him again in Figure 3.20.) Like Atiśa in Figure 2.17 (and 3.2), he holds a Sanskrit manuscript (*pustaka*) of scriptures in his left hand. He is shown with the flaps of his orange pundit's hat folded and tucked up. His right shoulder is bare. The sole slight concession to Tibetan monastic dress is the color of his upper robe, which is not the usual Indian solid red. (Perhaps he actually wore such an upper robe while in Tibet.)

Figure 2.20 depicts a pair of monk-scholars, an Indian above and a Tibetan below. The one above depicts the great monastic abbot Śākyaśrībhadra, wearing a pointed red pundit's hat. Below him is one of his Tibetan disciples dressed as a learned monk and wearing a rounded yellow pundit's hat. These two, each with slightly different dress, mark the boundary in the lineage where Indian transmission reaches Tibet. In this painting, two different pundits hats are shown: a pointed red one for Indians and a yellow one with a flatter crest, which seems almost square in comparison, for Tibetans.

Figure 2.21 depicts Atiśa as an Indian monk-scholar. He is shown at the bottom left as third of four main figures, and his identity is clearly confirmed by a caption. But here the artist depicted him wearing a Tibetan lama's vest. In some still later painting traditions, Atiśa and a fellow eastern- Indian abbot who preceded him to Tibet by nearly three centuries, Śāntarakṣita, are regularly shown wearing a white upper inner garment resembling a sleeveless undershirt. Atiśa is portrayed in a Tibetan vest and brocaded robes in the portrait of the Kadam master Shangtön of Narthang, though I cannot account for it, except as an iconographic mistake.[136]

Fig. 2.19 (detail from Fig. 1.21)
Indian and Tibetan Monk-Scholar

FIG. 2.20 (detail of Fig. 1.21)
Detail from Fig. 1.15
Two Monk-Scholars

FIG. 2.21
Atiśa as Third Early Guru of a Kadam Lineage
Ca. mid-15th century
31 ⅞ x 18 ⅜ in. (81 x 46.5 cm)
Private Collection
Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's, Inc.
© 2006
Literature: H. Kreijger 2001, no. 22; Sotheby's The Jucker Collection of Himalayan Paintings, New York, March 28, 2006, no. 55; D. Jackson 2010, fig. 2.4.

FIG. 2.22 (detail from Fig. 1.2)
Śākyaśrībhadra of Kashmir

FIG. 2.22A (detail from Fig. 1.2)
Probably one of Śākyaśrībhadra's main Tibetan disciples.

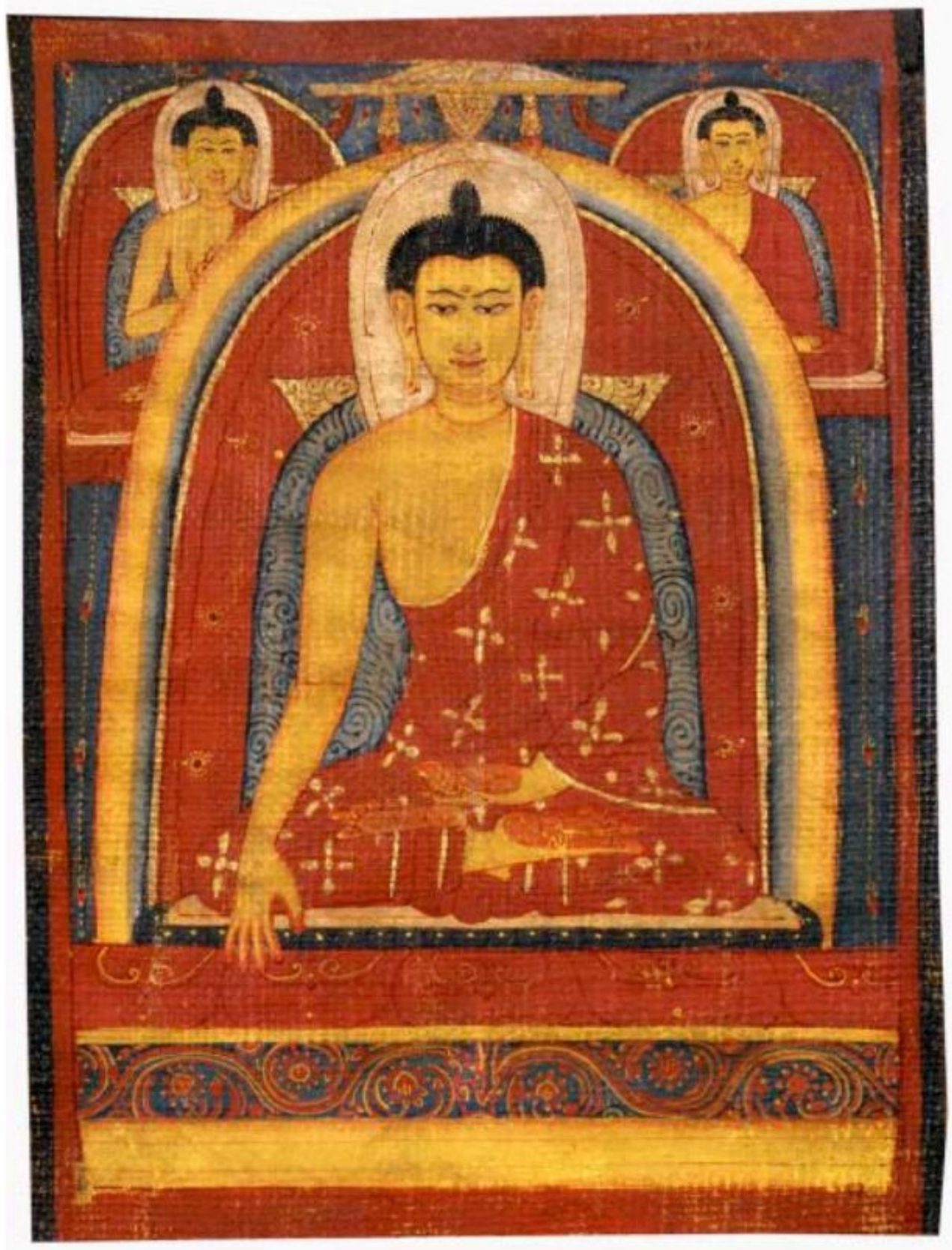


FIG. 2.23
Buddha Śākyamuni
Ca. 12th to 13th century
Distemper on cotton
7 x 5 in. (17.8 x 12.7 cm)
Courtesy of Michael J. and Beata McCormick Collection

6. Ordinary (Nonscholarly) Indian Monks

Ordinary Indian monks dress the same as Indian monk-scholars, except that they lack pundit's hats. They are typically depicted wearing uniformly red (not orange or yellow) monk's robes and with one shoulder left bare. (The base color is solid vermilion, while textile designs are sometimes added atop that color.)

Figure 2.22 (detail from Fig. 1.2) depicts the Indian monk Śākyaśrībhadra of Kashmir as its main figure on the left. He was famed for his strict adherence to *vinaya* rules. He is wearing only the robes that were allowed to Buddhist monks, and nothing more. He holds a Sanskrit manuscript in his right hand and the monk's begging bowl, which he used daily, in the palm of his left hand.

The second main figure in Figure 1.2 makes an interesting contrast. He probably depicts one of Śākyaśrībhadra's main Tibetan disciples, one of the masters who introduced his tradition of strict

FIG. 2.24 (detail from Fig. 4.19)
Nāgārjuna

adherence to *vinaya* practice to Tibet. His face looks Tibetan, as do his robes, which cover both of his shoulders and have a yellow lining. But he is without a Tibetan lama's vest, indicating that he belongs to yet another monk subtype among Tibetans: those who followed Śākyaśrībhadra in strictly observing the dress rules of the original Indian *vinaya*.

Buddha Śākyamuni was the prototype of the properly dressed ordinary Indian Buddhist monk. In Figure 2.23 he is shown as the central figure, wearing the three kinds of robes that he prescribed to his own monastic followers. His robes are the typical red color of an Indian monk's robes, but they have been executed more to Tibetan taste by adding a simple golden brocade design. Tassels of two different colors and types seem to hang from the broad flat parasol of honor above his head, wafted in different directions by gusts of wind. Behind him, partly covered by his body nimbus, are two other buddhas. Perhaps they portray the buddhas of past and future, in which case the painting would depict Śākyamuni as buddha of the present age, and so the buddhas of the three times would be depicted.

Figure 2.17a depicts two Indian monks in a portrait of Atiśa (Fig. 2.17), in which they appear as minor figures at the top right and left. From their position above Atiśa, we can deduce that they portray outstanding Indian monastics with whom Atiśa was closely connected, such as two of his chief gurus. But they wear ordinary robes (vermilion in color with yellow lining or under-robe) and neither is distinguished by a pundit's hat. One may be Atiśa's main guru, Dharmakīrti of Sumatra, under whom he studied for twelve years. Though a Sumatran, that teacher was probably depicted as an Indian master.

Figure 2.24 depicts the Indian guru Nāgārjuna as one of the eight great adepts (*mahasiddhas, grub chen brgyad*). Though a tantric adept, he is shown here wearing the robes of an Indian ordinary monk. Thus he maintained the outer appearance and deportment of a monk, just as many other later Indian masters did (including Atiśa), and his spiritual status as adept has not been overtly marked by his iconography. He wears

FIG. 2.27A (detail from Fig. 2.27)

FIG. 2.27B (detail from Fig. 2.27)

vermilion upper robes with a thin border and seems to wear an orange skirt (*sham thabs*). Though lacking a head protuberance, he has a hood of cobra heads behind his normal human head, another traditional special attribute of his.

As depicted in Figure 2.27a, Nāgārjuna is sometimes shown with a head protuberance that resembled that of

FIG. 2.25 (detail from Fig. 4.15)
The Sixteen Arhats

FIG. 2.26
Mañjuśrī
Late 11th to early 12th century
18 ¼ x 13 1/3 in. (46 x 33.7 cm)
Private Collection
Literature: S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no.7.

a buddha. Such a protuberance should not be confused with the similar sadhu-style top knots of Indian lay adepts (as in Fig. 2.27b).

7. Indian Monks in Chinese Robes

Another type of venerable Indian senior monk or elder (Tib. *gnas brtan*, *sthavira*) is the group of Sixteen Arhats, who are depicted dressed in Chinese long-sleeved robes, as in Figure 2.25. Arhat's robes may be blue or other colors not normally worn by Indian monks. This tradition of the Sixteen Arhats was introduced into Tibet from China and is technically called the "Sixteen Elders in a Chinese Tradition" (*gnas brtan rgya nag ma*), i.e., the sixteen arhats portrayed according to the visual traditions of China. Some early Tibetan traditions of the Sixteen Arhats go back to such famous examples as the one brought to Yerpa (Yer pa) by Lume Dromchung (Klu mes 'Brom chung, fl. tenth or early eleventh century).[137]

Though the arhats are understood to be Indian, their manner of dress has become Chinese, and their thrones and the landscapes behind them may also be of Chinese inspiration. Tibetan sources occasionally mention a different tradition, one coming from India, the Sixteen Elders (or Arhats) in an Indian tradition (*gnas brtan rgya gar ma*), i.e., who are depicted in Indian robes. (Such an Indian tradition is said to have been introduced by from India by Atiśa, though it is rarely if ever seen in paintings.[138]) In the Indian tradition the two final minor figures of the Chinese set–numbers seventeen and eighteen, Dharmatala and Hashang–are missing. The Khampa pilgrim Kathok Situ noted seeing at Tshurphu a wonderful (and probably very rare) set of arhats in the Indian tradition that had been painted by the Khyenri painter Apowa (A po ba) of Kongpo (Kong po).[139]

Tucci, following the writings of the Fifth Dalai Lama, mentioned three manners of representing the arhats: Indian, Chinese, and Tibetan.[140] He also finally admitted that it was impossible–among his mostly late examples, at least–to tell the traditions apart.[141] Rob Linrothe, for his part, differentiated two alternative modes of arhat portraiture: "idealized but natural,"[142] i.e., as dignified though ordinary Chinese or Tibetan monks, or with their supernatural nature emphasized by grotesque and sometimes caricatured appearance.

Figure 2.25 depicts the complete group of Sixteen Arhats as minor figures in a Riwoche painting. Even from these small figures we can easily see the

FIG. 2.27
Six Early Tibetan and Indian Masters
13th century
Distemper on cotton
8 ⅞ x 7 ⅛ in. (22.5 x 18 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
C2006.42.4 (HAR 89141)
Literature: Hugo Kreijger 2001, p. 67;
D. Jackson 2009, no. 3.1.

presence of robes not in the tradition of an Indian monk.

Figure 2.26 depicts the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī accompanied by five buddhas above and four groups of bodhisattvas, humans, and divinities in the side columns and bottom register. Though painted basically in an early Sharri style, it shows to the right of the main figure five monks (*śrāvaka*, Tib. *nyan thos*) who wear long-sleeved Chinese robes, though they were not Chinese arhats. Still, such robes with sleeves remained an incursion of Chinese Buddhist iconography, in this case probably by way of the eclectic Central Asian style that preceded the Sharri style in central Tibet in the eleventh century. The painting contains elements unknown in Pāla-Sena India and possesses clear links with eleventh-century Tibet and its Central Asian artistic traditions and probably did not originate in India.[143]

M. Rhie discerned five different sculptural variations of this style in eleventh-century Tsang Province.[144] But, with a few exceptions such as monks wearing long-sleeved robes, the mural paintings of those early temples seem to have been more uniformly Indic. The Central Asian painting styles are known from the temples founded in central Tibet (Ü and Tsang) in the tenth and eleventh centuries by the Eastern Vinaya masters, especially as they survive at Shalu and Drathang Monasteries.[145]

8. *Ordinary Indian Laymen*

Indian laymen do not wear monk's robes. Often their garments are skimpy dhotis that leave most of their bodies uncovered, as would be suitable for the warm climates of India. Several of the eighty-four great adepts (*mahāsiddhas*) are portrayed as ordinary laymen when they are dressed for their normal lives and are not overtly practicing tantra. They have long hair, unlike monks: often a bundle or thick knot of hair is depicted tied on the top of their heads.

Figure 2.27b depicts a peaceful Indian lay yogi who wears no special clothes or hat, only his normal attire: a red dhoti and four gold ornaments: earrings, a necklace, bracelets, and anklets. The series of white dots in his hair, however, may represent bone ornaments worn by tantric yogis. (For a detailed chart showing all inscriptions on the back of Fig. 2.27, see Appendix A.)

9. *Indian Lay Yogis or Ascetics*

Most Indian lay yogis who are depicted in paintings are ascetics who are involved in the various aspects of tantric practice. One prominent group is the Eight Great Adepts (*mahāsiddha*, *grub chen*), who are often shown in charnel grounds of certain mandalas, possibly

FIG. 2.28 (detail from Fig. 4.19)
Jñānatapa

FIG. 2.27C (detail from Fig. 2.27)

FIG. 2.29
Gayadhara
Late 16th century
31 x 26 in. (78.8 x 66 cm)
Zimmerman Family Collection
Literature: M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1991, no. 64.

holding special tantric ritual implements such as a skull cup. Like ordinary Indian laymen, they have long hair, not the shaved head of a monk. Their hair is often shown tied up in a sort of thick top-knot.

Figure 2.27c depicts an Indian yogi with long, kinky black hair, a mustache, and a beard. He has wrapped himself from the waist down in a white blanket of sorts. His dark-blue skin could be the mark of a very dark-skinned Indian. He holds a small golden cup, presumably for drinking alcohol or nectar. All these elements together evoke the image of an Indian yogic mendicant or adept.

10. Indian Layman Scholars

Figures 2.27d, 2.28, and 2.29 illustrate

FIG. 2.27D (detail from Fig. 2.27)

the rare case of Indian laymen who wear a scholar's hat. Figure 2.27d depicts a learned Indian layman as a minor figure. His dress as an Indian layman (red dhoti and gold ornaments) are the same as Figure 2.27b, an ordinary Indian layman. In Figure 2.27d he wears a beard, and, as a mark of scholarly distinction, a pundit's hat.

Figure 2.28 depicts a learned lay yogi, namely the Indian adept Jñanatapa. As an Indian tantric adept, he wears bone, not gold, ornaments. His yellow pundit's hat is of a kind that Padmasambhava is sometimes shown wearing.

Another example of a learned Indian layman is Gayadhara, who is pictured in Figure 2.29. He was the Indian guru who brought the Path with the Fruit instructions to Tibet, teaching them to Drokmi Lotsawa (992?–1072?). His biographies reveal that he was a householder. Thus he is typically shown wearing a white upper robe and a pundit's hat. Such relatively uncommon garb stands out among Indian adepts and can help us identify the traditions he and Drokmi transmitted, even in the absence of inscriptions.[146]

11a. Indian Laywomen

Indian laywomen are rarely depicted, but one does occasionally come across them. Some Indian laywomen, especially

FIG. 2.30
Queen Māyādevī Giving Birth to the Buddha
Western Tibet; 14th century
Ink and pigment on cotton
32 ¼ x 26 ⅜ in. (82 x 67 cm)
Private Collection
Literature: P. Pal 2003, no. 101.

FIG. 2.31
Padmasambhava with Indian and Tibetan Consorts
14th century
Distemper on cotton
41 x 31 ⅜ in. (104 x 79.5 cm)
After: M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1991, no. 46.

royalty, are shown in rich attire that features the jeweled ornaments also worn by the female consorts of the five *tathāgata*s buddhas) often included in Yogatantra mandalas. A classic example of an Indian laywoman is Queen Māyādevī, the mother of the Buddha, as shown in Figure 2.30.

Māyādevī is shown grasping the bough of a sal tree in the Lumbini garden in the midst of the miraculous birth of her son, the future Buddha Śākyamuni. She wears an Indian dress of the same type that her two female attendants do, and she wears bejeweled gold jewelry befitting her status as royalty. The

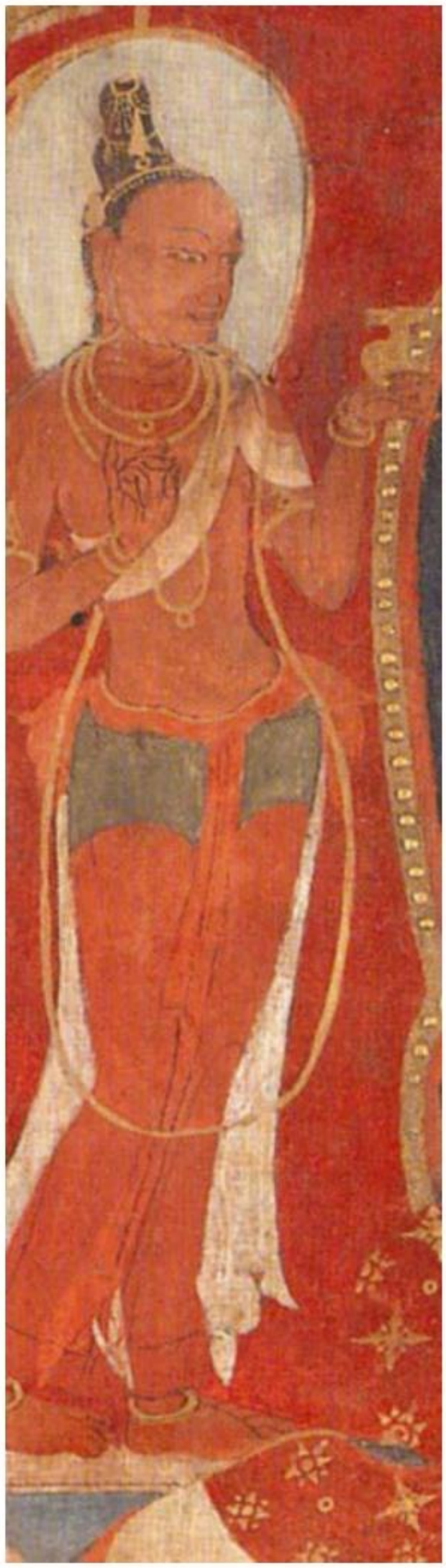


FIG. 2.31A
Mandāravā, Consort of Padmasambhava

FIG. 2.32
Padmasambhava with Consorts, Mandāravā and Yeshe Tshogyal
Late 14th to early 15th century
Distemper on cotton
19 ⅛ x 16 ½ in. (48.6 x 41.9 cm)
Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's, Inc.
© 2007
Literature: *Sotheby's Indian and Southeast Asian Art*, New York, March 20, 1997, no. 76.

two figures to her left who receive the newborn child could be male Indian royalty, except for the multiple heads that identify one as a god. They are the foremost gods Indra (who is yellow, standing closer to Māyādevī) and Brahma (who is white, with three of his four heads showing, holding a wheel and fly whisk). The iconographic point here is that Indian royalty and gods dressed alike.

Figure 2.31a depicts Mandāravā, the Indian female lay consort of Padmasambhava, one of his two consorts (shown as a detail from Fig. 2.31). This figure and Figure 2.32 illustrate a conception of lay Indian women in harmony with classical Indian (here Pāla-Sena) models of dress and ornamentation. In the first example, the woman is dressed virtually like an Indian goddess. But that purely Indian

FIG. 2.31B
Yeshe Tshogyal, Consort of Padmasambhava

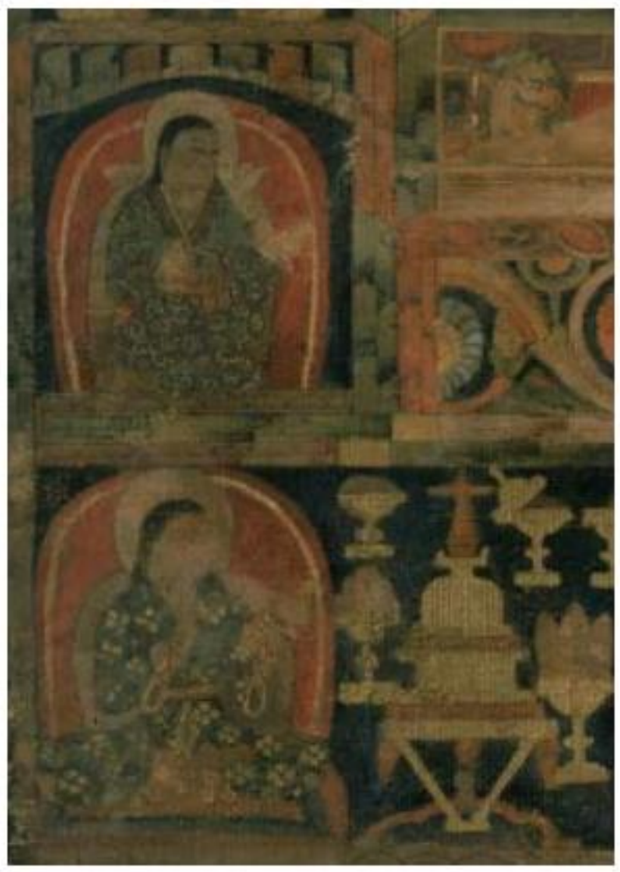


FIG. 2.10A
Tibetan Laymen

FIG. 2.33 (detail from Fig. 4.3)
Vajravārāhī

version was gradually recast in later paintings according to Tibetan taste. In Figure 2.32, an otherwise similar depiction of Padmasambhava with consorts, Mandāravā's dress is still primarily Indian. But she is clad slightly more modestly thanks to the addition of a shawl that covers her shoulders. The modesty granted by the shawl was a Tibetan preference.

11b. Indian Female Lay Meditators

In India, a female meditator or tantric practitioner is called a yoginī (female for yogi). Some tantric goddesses, or *ḍākiṇīs,* have the term as part of their name, as for example Vajrayoginī. Figure 2.33 pictures Vajravārāhī, a yoginī, here as she would appear as a tantric goddess at the center of her mandala. Her name means "Vajra Sow," and she can be differentiated from other yoginīs by the small head of a sow that grows from the side of her head. The yellow-hatted Indian pundit and Tibetan lay master (a translator?) at the top (seen in Fig. 4.2) have yet to be identified, but they can be assumed to be key lineal gurus in the transmission of this yoginī's tradition from India to Tibet.

FIG. 2.34
Majig Labdron
Early 14th century
11 ⅜ x 13 ⅜ in. (29 x 34 cm)
Private Collection
After: A. Heller 1999, no. 65.

12a. Tibetan Laywoman

Tibetan laywomen can be depicted as noblewomen (royalty) or as highly realized female practitioners (yoginī). Yeshe Tshogyal (Ye shes mtsho rgyal), the Tibetan consort of Padmasambhava, is said to have been a Tibetan queen before becoming his consort. Her long white robe with a broad red fringe on the front may be a mark of Tibetan royalty. She is portrayed very similarly in Figure 2.31b and in another published version of nearly the same painting (Fig. 2.32).[147]

Tibetan laywomen appear frequently in depictions of donors. But they can be confused with young, long-haired male nobility, at least when they are seen in poor digital images. In Figure 2.10a, one long-haired blue-robed figure was dressed so distinctively that I took it at first sight to be a laywoman and to belong to the lineal gurus. If the subject of the painting is Marpa with his disciples and their followers in one of the later transmitted traditions, it might make sense to show his wife and consort, Dakmema (bDag med ma), among his disciples. But who was the second similarly dressed figure immediately below? The figure must depict

FIG. 2.35
Medicine Buddha with His Lineage
1410–1425
28 x 24 in. (71 x 61 cm)
Courtesy of Michael J. and Beata McCormick Collection
(HAR 68869)
Literature: D. Jackson 2009, no. 3.50; D. Jackson 2010, fig. 7.11.

Fig. 2.35a
Three Lineal Gurus from Tibetan Royalty

Fig. 2.36 (detail from Fig. 3.15)
Six Kings of Shambhala or Kalkins

the sponsor of the painting, based on its position in the bottom-left corner, seated before the offerings. Both wear similar dark-blue robes with long sleeves and belts, and both have long black hair that falls down their backs. But were they women, or just distinctively dressed long-haired laymen?

In this case an inscription on the back reveals that the two patrons were two rich, powerful local rulers in Kham named Sönam Dorje and Akhar. Thus the two apparent women turn out to be male patrons, one pictured above the other. (This is supported by the depiction of the similar looking single patron in Fig. 4.12, a painting that the same patrons commissioned.)

12b. Tibetan Yoginī

Figure 2.34 portrays the Tibetan yoginī Majig Labdrön (1062–1158), dressed as an Indian yoginī. She is a prototypical example of an early Tibetan yoginī (Tib. *rnal 'byor ma*), and she is shown using the ritual accouterments of her Severance (*gcod*) practice, a thigh-bone trumpet and skull-cup drum (*ḍamaru*). She was the disciple of the Indian guru Phadampa, who is shown as a small figure to the right of her head. As founder of the Severence tradition she appears in many paintings in that role.

Laywomen are rarely portrayed as gurus, though a few did become prominent teachers. For instance, Shugseb Ani Lochen (1865–1951) was a well-known laywoman teacher active in central Tibet in the 1940s.[148] She taught many prominent lamas, including Chogye Trichen Rinpoche of Nalendra Monastery (1919–2007). It

is conceivable that she will one day be painted in a lineage as a guru.

13. Tibetan or Shambhala Royalty

Tibetan kings from the ancient Yarlung dynasty are a fairly obscure topic for religious paintings, I would have thought. But they are depicted in paintings surprisingly often. They occur, for instance, among the twenty-five disciples of Padmasambhava and as gurus of the Medicine Buddha lineage. One early king is also associated with some traditions of Avalokiteśvara practice in Tibet. The ancient Tibetan kings wore distinctive red turbans as royal headdresses, as did the kings of Shambhala in the tradition illustrated by Figure 2.35a. I therefore treat the Shambhala rulers as an iconographic sub-type of Tibetan royalty.

Figure 2.35a depicts three members of the ancient Tibetan royalty of the Yarlung dynasty. They function here as lineal gurus of the Medicine Buddha tradition. This teaching was believed to have been transmitted for many generations exclusively by a branch of the western-Tibetan royalty. I have documented the painting and its lineage in more detail elsewhere.[149]

Figure 2.36 depicts several kings of Shambhala or related *kalkin* (*rigs ldan*) rulers of that mystic pure land. Note their red-turbaned royal head gear, which they share with the Yarlung dynasty of Tibetan royalty.

Iconographic Classes According to Mood

In this chapter, I have briefly described the human types most relevant in Tibetan art. In addition to divine types, Tibetan authors on art traditionally classified sacred figures according to which iconographic class they belonged, as determined by their predominant mood. The three main classes are: 1. peaceful (buddhas, gurus, bodhisattvas, some goddesses), 2. semiwrathful (mainly tantric tutelary deities), and 3. wrathful (mainly protective deities). Human gurus thus generally belong to the peaceful class, as do most other humans.

But some humans also manifested semiwrathful (seerlike) moods. (Among the three founding masters of the Geluk Order, for example, Khedrup is said to be correctly portrayed with a semiwrathful mein, with large eyes, unlike his peaceful guru Tsongkhapa and highly pacific senior disciple, Gyaltshab Je.)[150] A few lamas have been portrayed in a downright wrathful aspect while subjugating harmful spirits. Guru Rinpoche Padmasambhava is an example of a human master who also manifests himself in overtly nonpeaceful forms. Such semiwrathful emotions are often only indicated by red eyes, as one frequently finds in depictions of Padmasambhava.[151]

Conclusions

We depend upon the basic distinctions of iconography for orientation when studying Tibetan art. If we do not observe them carefully, we could quickly lose our way, and Tibetan art would become a confusing maze. If we must depart from the usual iconographic guidelines, let us do so knowingly, with good reason. Every iconographic rule may have its exception. If we have confronted one, let us clearly say so.

Chapter 3

Paintings of Early Teachers of Tibetan Buddhist Schools

PORTRAITS OF HUMAN TEACHERS are some of the most intriguing types of Tibetan art. Portraits of saints in the two Indic styles of Tibetan painting, the Sharri and Beri, form one of the most prominent genres of Tibetan painting in the twelfth through fifteenth century. In this chapter, a few outstanding representatives will be introduced.

Each Tibetan Buddhist school produced portraits of its own founding masters, both Indian and Tibetan, early on. The most poorly documented tradition is the non-Buddhist Bon School, but there is no reason to think that its followers did not commission such portraits.[152] Chapters 4 and 5 will concentrate on paintings from two Kagyü sub-schools, the Taklung and Drigung Kagyü, mainly because more early paintings from those schools are now accessible. But in this chapter, early portraiture from other schools, including the Kadam, Karma Kagyü, Sakya, and Geluk, will be introduced.

1. Paintings of Teachers from the Kadam School

Followers of the Kadam commissioned depictions of gurus from the time of their school's founding. One of the earliest examples is a monumental painting of Tārā (Fig. 3.1). Though its main subject is a goddess, it includes among its minor figures three humans: Atiśa and Dromtön (see Figs. 3.1a and 3.1b) above Tārā, and the ordained monk who sponsored the painting at the bottom left. Its style is the Eastern-Indian inspired Sharri style, though here with a landscape background and hence without the multicolor Sharri border. However, two strips of inlaid jewels are found above the bottom register of the painting beneath the main figure. The head nimbus of the main figure is the typical Sharri ornate multicolor bejeweled nimbus with prominent jewels of alternating colors, backed by the progressively smaller bumps of a mythical animal's tail.

All known early Kadam portraits are in the Sharri style.[153] This is hardly surprising given the school's close links through its Indian founder with Vikramaśīla Monastery in eastern Bihar. Through him they were also linked with his homeland, Sena-ruled Bengal, which was a vibrant center of art in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[154] (The Sena dynasty succeeded the Pāla dynasty in the late eleventh century and ruled until the early thirteenth century.) There is a large kernel of historical truth that justifies associating the Tibetan Sharri style with the Kadam School, since that style seems to have received its strongest patronage early on among the Kadam lamas of central Tibet. Still, it is going too far to call the Tibetan Sharri style the "Kadampa Style"; most historians have avoided that name because all Tibetan Buddhist schools commissioned works in the style.[155]

Figure 3.1 possesses internal evidence for its dating in the form of both inscriptions and historical figures identifiable through their iconography. The small figures to the left and right of the main figure's head are Atiśa and Dromtön ('Brom ston). The inscription on the back states:

> *rwa sgreng ba'i lha/ bya brtson 'grus 'od kyi thugs dam/ se spyil phu ba'i (mchad kha ba'i) rab gnas bzhugs/ spyil phu ba'i chos skyong la gtad do/*
>
> The deity of him of Reting Monastery. It was a holy object for the personal practice of Cha Tsöndrü Ö. It retains the consecrational blessing of Se Jilphuwa (Se sPyil phu ba) ([and] of Chekhawa). The image was entrusted to the Dharma-protector deities of Jilphuwa.

This inscription can be understood as making four assertions, some of which are phrased using special terms:

1. "It is the deity of him of Reting."
   This line may refer to the fact that its main deity, Tārā, was one of the main deities transmitted by Dromtön to his early Kadam followers. That would be correct if *Rwa sgreng ba* refers to Dromtön as founder of Reting Monastery. The four deities were later called the "four deities of the Kadam" (*bka' gdams pa'i lha bzhi*).[156] They formed part of a group or rubric called the "Seven Deities and Dharma Teaching of the Kadam" *(bka' gdams lha chos bdun),* which consisted of four deities *(lha bzhi)* and three teachings *(chos gsum).*

Detail of Fig. 3.5

Fig. 3.1
Green Tārā
Ca. 1150–1175
Pigments on cotton
48 x 31 ½ in. (122 x 80 cm)
The John and Berthe Ford Collection
Photograph © The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore F.112
Literature: Pal 1984, appendix; S. Huntington and J. Huntington 1990, pp. 318-20; M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1991, pp. 128-32; J. Casey Singer 1994; Eva Allinger 1995; and S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 3.

Fig. 3.1A-B
Atiśa and Dromtön as Gurus

2. "It was a holy object for the personal practice of Cha Tsöndrü Ö (Bya brTson 'grus 'od)." The inscription implies that the monk-donor in the lower register was a certain Cha Tsöndrü Ö. (Cha [Bya] was his clan name and Tsöndrü Ö his personal ordination name.) He was not a well-known historical figure and should not be identified with Cha Chekhawa (Bya mChad kha ba) merely on the basis of their shared clan. I translated the technical term *thugs dam* as "holy object for the personal practice." I see no reason to render it as "high aspiration," though aspiration is the first of four meanings ascribed to the word in one major dictionary.[157]

Two of the other meanings of *thugs dam* are honorific terms for "meditative practice" (*nyams bzhes*) and "tantric tutelary deity" (*yi dam*). Here I think the word would best be explained as meaning "sacred object for one's practice" (*thugs dam gyi rten*) or "deity for one's practice" *(thugs dam gyi lha*).[158]

FIG. 3.2
Atiśa
Early to mid-12th century
Distemper on cotton
19 ½ x 13 ¾ in. (49.5 x 35.5 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A. Gift of the Kronos Collections, 1993 (1993.479)

Photograph by John Bigelow Taylor
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1994, fig. 16; H. Stoddard 1996, fig. 1; and S. Kossak 2010, fig. 14.

3. "It retains the consecrational blessing of Se Jilphuwa (Se sPyil phu ba)– ([and] of Chekhawa)." This refers primarily to the consecration of the image by the Kadam lama Se Jilphuwa (Se sPyil phu ba Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1121–1189), who presumably consecrated it at his monastery of Jilphu (sPyil phu). The phrase "([and] of Chekhawa)" was a later insertion, which added that the painting was also consecrated by Cha Chekhawa (Bya mChad kha ba Ye shes rdo rje, 1101–1175), a famous Kadam master who was Jilphuwa's teacher.[159] If the addition about Chekawa's consecration is correct, then the painting must date to before his death in 1175.
4. "The image was entrusted to the Dharma-protector deities of Jilphuwa." This refers to the painting being entrusted at Jilphu (sPyil phu) Monastery to its guardian deities, perhaps to deter people from taking it away.

The group of five deities in the bottom register have not yet been identified. Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra and four goddesses are one possibility; yet what connection they had with the early Kadam remains to be discovered.[160]

Though no painting of a guru as a main figure survives from the first generation after Atiśa's visit to Tibet (i.e., from about the mid- to late eleventh century), a few Kadam portraits can be dated to about the twelfth century. They include Figure 3.2, a striking painting of the great Bengali founder, Atiśa. He is depicted as a learned Indian monk wearing a yellow pundit hat, with two Indian monks, probably two of his teachers, placed as minor figures above him.

This painting is another example of the Sharri style, with its multicolor nimbus around the head of the main figure. The nimbus proper is backed by another decorative element that almost becomes a second nimbus: a series of stylized bumps of a mythical animal's tails (here a *makara,* or sea monster) that form the upper fringe of the backrest. The tips of the plinth ends and body nimbus are of the Sharri rainbow type, and the minor figures float in the sky before it. The painting bears the inscription:[161]

> *a ti sha/ rin chen sgang ba la s[t] on pa dar blos phul ba/ rab gnas mang du bzhugs/ gzims kyi lha//.*
> Atiśa. Given to him of Rinchengang (Rin chen sgang) by the teacher Darlo. Many consecrations exist. Deity of the sleeping [quarters?].

Both the recipient of the painting, Kadam *geshe* (*dge ba'i bshes gnyen*) Rinchengangpa Chenpo (Rin chen sgang pa chen po), and its giver, Darlo (Dar blo) of Tölung (Stod lungs pa Dar blo), were among the outstanding disciples of the early Kadam master Neu Zurpa (1042–1118).[162] Darlo was probably a contraction of the ordination name Darma Lotrö (Dar ma blo gros). Without any further information, it might be reasonable to estimate that both teachers flourished in the last half of Ne'u Zurpa's life, about 1080 to 1120. But the title "Great Master of Rinchengang" must refer to the illustrious founder of that monastery, a lama who is otherwise known as Gyer Gompa Shönnu Trakpa (Dgyer Sgom pa Gzhon nu grags pa, 1090–1171). Gyer Gompa was a disciple of both Neu Zurpa and Chayulwa (Bya yul ba), and he was two generations (48 years) younger than Neu Zurpa.[163] It seems likely that Darlo would have given him the painting in the second half of his life, sometime between the 1130s and the 1160s, when he was an eminent master presiding over a community of some three hundred monks at Rinchengang.

Figure 3.3 portrays a venerable Tibetan monk who can be identified as Jennga Tshultrim Bar, a teacher of the Kadam order. It and the previous portrait of Atiśa (Fig. 3.2) are noteworthy for their relative simplicity. The main figures do not even sit upon a lotus throne, which would become an almost universal feature of saintly portraits in later centuries. The dress of the main figure is that of a monk, which would exclude the possibility that he could be Dromtön, a lay master whose iconography was fairly fixed.[164]

The painting was said to be "one of two known early Tibetan portraits in which the lama is portrayed as a deified being."[165] However, even though the subject of this painting is a revered guru, he was not exalted to the degree of being deified, as he is depicted sitting on a throne base that lacks a lotus seat and his hands are not marked with wheels.

This painting exemplifies the Sharri style, with its colorful outer border of inlaid jewels and head nimbus of the main figure that is accompanied by the usual decorative upper fringe of the throne back adjoining it. Here the artist has repeated the second element in the outer fringe of arch beneath which the main figure sits. The throne back's upper edge continues as a series of colorful jewel-like bumps the tails of geese (*hamsa*), while the arch fringe above it continues the tails of *makara*s. The two bodhisattvas at the top of the painting, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya, are strongly reminiscent of the same pair of bodhisattvas as they were seen by Atiśa in a vision. (I describe that vision later in this chapter with my references to early Kadam paintings from Tibetan histories.[166])

The thangka contains an important inscription, which was mentioned but not quoted by Kossak.[167] As quoted by Decleer, it reads:[168]

FIG. 3.3
Jennga Tshultrim Bar
Late 11th to early 12th century
18 ¼ x 14 ¼ in. (46.4 x 36.2 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A. Purchase, Friends of Asian Art Gifts, 1991 (1991.152)

Literature: J. Casey Singer 1994, fig. 17a; S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 5; and S. Kossak 2010, p. 26, fig. 13 "portrait of a lama, probably Dromtön."

spyan snga tshul khrims 'bar gyis phyag nas ma.... gzim chung shar ma'i lha ri mo sdug ma'o/.

The inscription on the back is written in two lines in orange ink, with three long spaces that divide up the text into three main blocks. As I could read from the photographs that Christian Luczanits kindly shared with me, it actually states:

spyan snga tshul khrim 'bar gyis sku phyag nas ma 'o gzim chung shar ma'i lha me sdug ma'o|
It is a sacred object consecrated by Jengnga Tshultrim Bar. A deity of the eastern residence room (*gzim chung shar ma)*, it is an image that withstood fire.

The first phrase specifies Jengnga Tshultrim Bar (sPyan snga Tshul khrims 'bar, 1038–1108) as the person who consecrated the portrait, and it also implies that this was his portrait. The main figure was a Tibetan monk, and not his (lay-ordained) guru, Dromtön.[169] Jengnga (sPyan snga) was his title, deriving from the fact that he served as a lama's "personal attendant." (In later centuries it became a common title for a lama from a noble family, the most famous examples of which were the noble monks of the Phagmotrupa ruling family in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.)

To interpret the inscription, we need to understand the technical term *phyag nas ma*, which Steven Kossak translated as "placed by the hand."[170] *Phyag nas* alone (without *ma*) is the honorific word for *"grain"* (Tib. *'bru* or *nas)*, and it can often be translated as "sacred barley grain,"–usually denoting barley that had been used by a lama to consecrate a painting or statue and was therefore considered sacred.

If *phyag nas* denotes sacred grain that was scattered by a lama during a consecration ceremony, the whole term *phyag nas ma* means literally "one that was blessed by the grain [of a particular teacher]." Thus, the phrase marks a painting or statue as "a sacred object consecrated and blessed by the teacher so-and-so himself."[171] This term is well known in Tibetan literature, though like many terms of art connoisseurship, it has yet to be defined in any dictionary.[172] Here the inscription is slightly ungrammatical. It should say that this is the "self-blessed" sacred image *of* (read: *gyi*) the lama Jengnga (sPyan snga) and not *by* (Tib. *gyis*) him. The historical implication is that the painting dates to the life of its subject. It is commonsensical to expect that it dated to the second half of his life, when he was greatly revered as a teacher, i.e., to between about 1073 and 1108.

The phrase "eastern residence" at the end of the inscription specifies the room or section of a large monastery where this painting was formerly kept. (I could not find out whether Reting Monastery had such a residence.)

The final phrase of the inscription (*me sdug ma'o*) asserts that the painting had survived a fire. The correct spelling is *me brdugs ma* (or *me rdugs ma)*, which the historian Pawo Tsuglak Trengwa uses when referring to many statues, paintings, scriptures and stupas of Reting that had survived one or two major fires over the centuries.[173] A related and more common technical term for a "fire-resistant image" or "fire-proof image" was *me thub ma*.

Figure 3.4 depicts an ordinary monk from Tibet, probably a teacher of the Kadam order. He should not be confused with Atiśa or any other Indian pundit, as some have done.[174] The deities that accompany him are those typical of the Kadam order. As no lineage gurus are depicted, there is no reason to think the painting might have been commissioned by a Kagyü lama. The patron at the bottom has unusually long hair for a monk, which has been discussed above (re: Fig. 2.1).

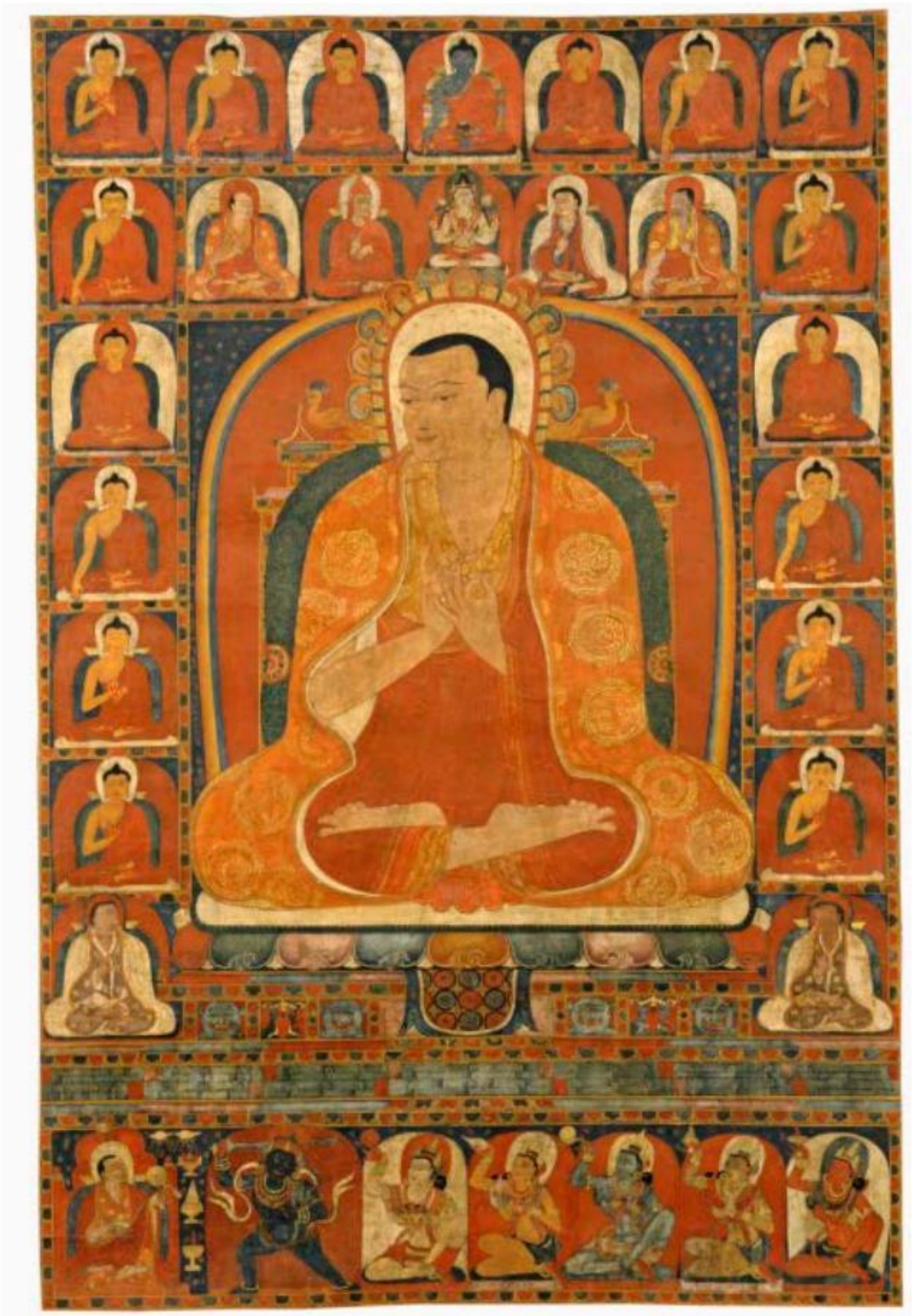
The painting exemplifies the Sharri style, with the typical bejeweled outer border and head nimbus with decorative throne-back fringe of a stylized bird tail behind the main figure. The main figure sits on a lotus seat, not the simple throne of the previous two paintings (Figs. 3.2 and 3.3), both of which lacked lotuses.

As a final example of early Kadam painting, Figure 3.5 portrays a youthful-looking Kadam master as its central figure, surrounded by seventeen buddhas, lineal gurus, and other deities. The top register of seven buddhas (B1-B7) may all be medicine buddhas, since the central one (B4) is the Medicine Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru (sMan gyi bla). Its structure can be shown as diagram [A].

The lineage features two long-haired lay masters at its end (6a and 6b), which may be depictions of the same lama twice. The main figure (5) can be estimated to have lived roughly in the generation of Gampopa (sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen, 1079–1153), and depending on whether 6a and 6b are the same or two successive gurus, the patron flourished seven or eight lineal generations after Atiśa (guru 1), i.e., in about the late twelfth century. If he is just one teacher, he may be the same mysterious lay master who formed part of a Kadam lineage in a thangka from western Tibet now in Los Angeles.[175]

One clue for identifying the lineage is its first deity, the four-handed Avalokiteśvara, who sits in the position of the original guru. (He could have been counted as the first lineal guru instead of as the first deity, d1.) Within the tradition of Four Kadam Deities, Avalokiteśvara with four hands stands near the beginning as the second lineal guru. That is the lineage of practical instructions of Avalokiteśvara widely known in Tibet as the tradition of Kyergang, which the Fifth Dalai Lama records as beginning as follows:[176]

FIG. 3.4
Tibetan Monk
Ca. 12th century
13 ⅞ x 10 ¾ in. (35.3 x 27.4)
Collection of John and Bertha Ford
Photograph © The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore F.111
Literature: M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1991, no. 95.



A. Sangs rgyas sNang ba mtha' yas (Buddha Amitābha)
B. 'Phags pa Thugs rje chen po (Avalokiteśvara)
C. Rā hu la gupta badzra (Rāhulaguptavajra)
1. Jo bo chen po Lha gcig (Atiśa)
2. Nag tsho Tshul khrims rgyal ba
3. Rong pa Phyag sor ba
4. Ba yu ba Shes rab tshul khrims, who had two disciples:
5a. mNga' ris pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan and
5b. lCe sgom Shes rab rdo rje. From those two:
6. Grub thob sKyer sgang pa. Then the lineage continued:
7. Sangs rgyas gNyen ston

The lineage of the painting could thus be a Kadam lineage of Ṣaḍakṣara Avalokiteśvara, a tradition also known from the murals of Shalu Monastery.[177] Note that the Tibetan lay disciple of Atiśa would not be Dromtön here, though his iconography is similar. If he is not Dromtön, then I suspect that our mysterious later lay lineage master(s) (6a and 6b) could be number 6 of that lineage record: the adept (*grub thob*) Kyergangpa (sKyer sgang pa) of the Shangpa (Shangs pa) tradition. He flourished in the late twelfth century, and as an adept, he could have worn nonmonastic garb. One of his main disciples was also known as a "hidden yogi" (*sbas pa'i rnal 'byor pa*), which also would be in harmony with layman status.

FIG. 3.5
Kadam Master with Buddhas and His Lineage
Ca. 1180–1220
45 x 30 in. (114.4 x 76.3 cm)
Courtesy of Michael J. and Beata McCormick Collection

[A]

B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7
B8	3	1	D1	2	4	B9
B10						B11
B12						B13
B14			**5**			B15
B16						B17
6a						6b
P	d2	d3	d4	d5	d6	d7

Yet without inscriptions, it is hard to completely rule out that a more usual Kadam lineage that was transmitted through Dromtön is portrayed here. Note the second Tibetan teacher, who conspicuously grasps a staff in his right hand. The same Kadam lama bearing a staff appears in Figure 2.13, likewise as guru number three. They both seem to depict Dromtön's disciple Potowa, who is said in some sources to have walked with a staff.[178] That would speak for a normal Kadam linege transmitted by Dromtön, instead of the lineage through Kyergangpa.

The painting depicts most figures with white head nimbuses and red body nimbuses, though it pleasantly contrasts those with six figures who have red head nimbuses and white body nimbuses. It also uses to good effect a strip of stylized stones as a support for the main figure's pedestal and to delineate the top of the bottom register. In the lower register sit five charming offering goddesses (d3 through d7), each one worshiping with her own special object of offering, the same that the patron himself is using. The petals of the lotus seat beneath the main figure are similar to those under the main figures in Figure 2.13, and the big roundels in the brocade designs of the main figure's robe would support a dating to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

References to Early Kadam Paintings from Tibetan Histories

I would like to present several references to early Kadam paintings from Tibetan historical sources to augment the history of those paintings. The histories of the Kadam sect often refer to paintings of early gurus. One such reference is found in a biography of Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (ca. 982-ca. 1054) written by the Kagyü historian Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa (dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba, 1504–1566) in his expansive history of Buddhism. Here Pawo tells of how Atiśa near the end of his life had a vision, which he was compelled to sketch and order a painting made in India after his sketch:[179]

> The Lord Maitreya and Mañjuśrī appeared in the sky in front of me and conversed about the Mahayana Dharma. Vajrapāṇi [was there, and he] protected from obstacles. Minor deities [*devaputras*,[180] were also present, who] took notes of what was said," [Atiśa said].
>
> [Afterward,] saying "Now I want to draw that," Atiśa made a drawing. He sent a message to Vikramaśīla Monastery, in which he wrote, "Please paint and send back to me three paintings: The first painting [should be like] this [vision], because I saw one like this. The second should be of Mahābodhi of Bodh Gayā "in the city (*puri*) manner" (*Byang chub chen po pu ri ma*). The third should portray Ṣaḍakṣara (Four-Armed) Avalokiteśvara, in a rocky-mountain cave setting (*yi ge drug pa brag ri ma*)." [In India] they called a learned Buddhist pundit [to come] from Bengal, and that pundit painted them and sent them back, and it is said they were [later kept] at Nyethang, [Atiśa's residence at his death].

Atiśa thus commissioned these paintings at his prior monastic seat, Vikramaśīla Monastery, which is believed to have been located near modern Antichak in eastern Bihar. The first painting–that of the Great Mahābodhi–probably depicted more than just the famous stupa at Bodh Gayā. One possibility that occured to me was that it showed a seated Buddha Śākyamuni making the earth-witnessing gesture, as when attaining enlightenment in Bodh Gayā, and accompanied by the two great bodhisattvas Maitreya and Mañjuśrī to his right and left as standing attendants.[181] That scene was often called just "Mahābodhi" (Byang chub chen po), though in later iconography it was also referred to as "The Muni at the Vajrāsana" (Tib. Thub pa rdo rje gdan pa).[182] But here we find the further specification of the image as a "*pu ri ma*," an otherwise unknown term. *Pu ri* only exists in Tibetan as a Sanskrit loan word meaning "city" (Tib. *grong khyer*)," and hence *pu ri ma* must be a rare variant name for a statue type usually called in Tibetan *Thub pa grong khyer ma* (or even *Thub pa grong gshegs*). "Buddha Śākyamuni Going to the City" referred to old Indian statues of the Buddha in a particular standing posture.[183] It was a standing buddha image with right hand down in gesture of giving and left hand raised to the left shoulder, grasping the hem of his monastic robe.

We know what Atiśa's "Ṣaḍakṣara Avalokiteśvara in a rock mountain cave setting" probably looked like. It was the same composition as Figure 3.6 and was presumably painted in a similar Sharri style.[184]

Kadam histories record the creation of several other early paintings, including some depicting gurus. Tibetan histories refer to the existence of murals portraying Atiśa in India, among other Buddhist saints on the walls of a temple at Vikramaśīla Monastery.[185] As Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa described in his life of Atiśa, the wall paintings of him were made when the master was at the peak of his glory in India. Shortly before the episode mentioning the painting, Atiśa had decided that there was no higher spiritual practice than to cultivate the altruistic thought of awakening (*bodhicitta*), and he resolved to take Avalokiteśvara as his personal deity and to cultivate that. He visited a temple of Amitābha west of the Mahābodhi in Bodh Gayā, where he had a vision of Avalokiteśvara, who predicted that he would go to Tibet in the north. Then King Mahipāla

FIG. 3.6
Ṣaḍakṣara Avalokiteśvara with Attendants
Ca. late 12th to 13th century
Pigments on cotton
34 x 29 in. (86.4 x 74.6 cm)
The John and Berthe Ford Collection, Photograph © The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore
F.120
Literature: P. Pal 2001, no. 132; and D. Jackson 2010, fig. 6.21.

invited Atiśa to Vikramaśīla Monastery, where he was esteemed as the greatest religious scholar among fifty-seven pundits, the one whom people would approach with their most difficult doctrinal or philosophical conundrums. Some esteemed him almost as a second Nāgārjuna (Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Madhyamaka, had one of the sharpest minds and deepest insights among Buddhist philosophers):[186]

> Though on the one side [of a temple] were painted great scholars (*paṇḍitas*), and on the other side tantric adepts, they had Atiśa painted on both sides, [among both scholars and adepts]. At the head of the line (*snga gdong*) on the right side they painted Nāgārjuna, while on the left, they painted Atiśa. People said, "They treated him the same as Nāgārjuna!"

Murals depicting Atiśa were also painted in Tibet during his lifetime. As Gö Lotsawa relates:[187]

> [After leaving Thangpoche and before reaching Samye,] Atiśa and his retinue went to Wok Lhakhang Keru ('Og Lha khang Ke ru), where they stayed a month. They painted an image of him on the wall of the temple that even in the later times [i.e., the times of Gö Lotsawa] was still reverently worshiped by people.[188]

Another important early painting in Tibet was a huge portrait of Atiśa commissioned soon after his death by Nagtsho Lotsawa Tshultrim Gyalwa (Nag tsho Lo tsā ba Tshul khrims rgyal ba, b. 1011) and painted in Nepal or western Tibet by an Indian artist named Kṛṣṇa.[189] The episode describing it begins after Nagtsho has left Atiśa for the last time, at Atiśa's insistence. Pawo recounted how Atiśa sent a message to Nagtsho Lotsawa, his close disciple and translator, instructing him to paint a life-size painting of him. Atiśa promised Nagtsho Lotsawa that he would come back (after his death) from the Tuṣita heavens for the consecration of the painting.[190]

Pawo Tsuklang Trengwa briefly described Nagtsho Lotsawa's painting, together with other objects commissioned in commemoration of Atiśa's passing away by his other students.[191] Dan Martin has gathered and compared several earlier versions of the story, including one from the history by Lechen Kunga Gyaltshen (Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan), who wrote the most detailed history of the Kadam School in 1494,[192] which Martin quoted and translated.[193] Even before that long passage about the large painting, an earlier passage mentions a much smaller image of Atiśa that Nagtsho Lotsawa painted:

> Nagtsho Lotsawa painted an image of Atiśa about the size of his thumb on a piece of acacia wood. He inserted it into a reliquary box which he (wore) attached to his

shoulder. He was extremely fond of it.[194]

A still older biography of Atiśa by Chim Namkha Drak (mChims Nam mkha grags, d. 1289), an abbot of Narthang, tells the same story of Nagtsho's large paintings.[195] According to that version:

> Geshe Lotsawa (i.e., Nagtsho Lotsawa), [after parting from Atiśa in Nyethang (sNye thang)], commissioned a skilled Indian painter named Kṛṣṇa to paint [a large image of his teacher, Atiśa,] on a cotton support that measured fourteen cubits in length. In the top register of the painting, he had Atiśa's tutelary deities portrayed and beneath them, in a second register, the master's twelve gurus.[196] Below them, he had painted a life-size [central] image of Atiśa, basing the cubit measure of the image on the length of the master's actual cubit (the distance from his elbow to the top of his fist). A pair of attendants was depicted to his right and left, inclining toward Atiśa. To the right and left of those central figures, the main events of the master's life were portrayed. Below them, the important Tibetan teachers, including Khutön (Khu ston), Dromtön (1005–1064) and Ngok Lekpay Sherab (rNgog Legs pa'i shes rab), were shown as if studying in a religious class. In front of them, Nagtsho Lotsawa had himself painted in a pose of reverent supplication.
>
> On the back of the thangka Nagtsho Lotsawa wrote [his] eulogy of Atiśa in eighty verses.[197] The master Atiśa promised that when the painting was consecrated he would come from the Tuṣita heavens. Hence this painting is taught to be no different than the master [Atiśa] himself. People say that this is the holiest image in all three districts of western Tibet. It is taught that the painting now exists in the temple of Yangthok (Yang thog).

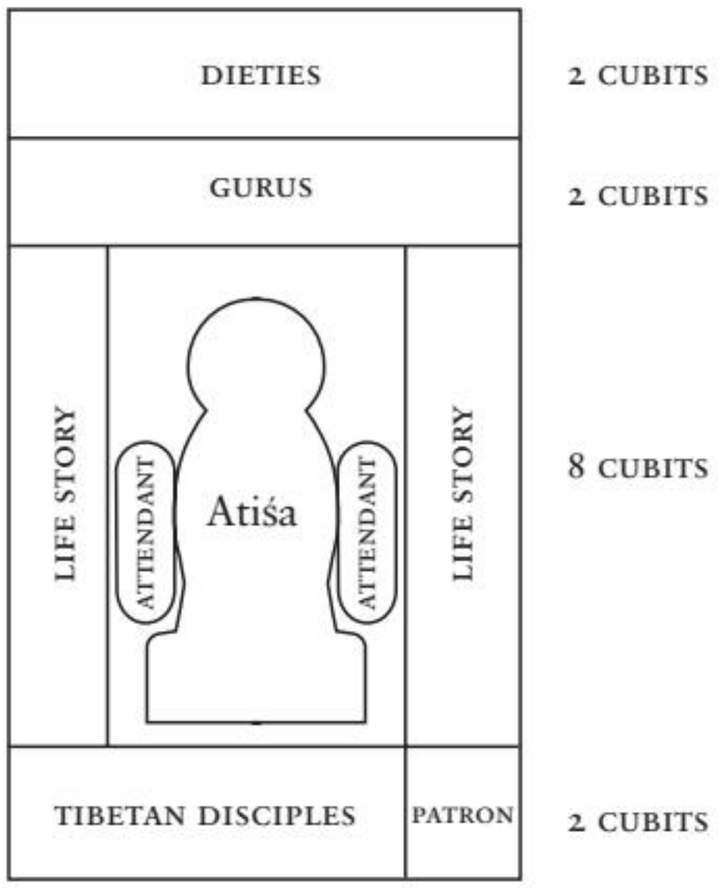


FIG. 3.7
Plan for the Large Painting of Atiśa

The version of the story by Namkha Drak thus added that the painting was in his time (i.e., the thirteenth century) still to be seen in the temple of Yangthok, which probably was a place in or near Nagtsho's homeland, Gungthang (Gung thang).[198]

Certainly the presence of the deities above and the gurus below make the composition archaic (See Fig. 3.7). The Cakrasamvara mandala (Fig. 1.25) has a similar composition, with deities above and gurus in the lower register, something that would be almost unheard of later.

Another passage of the *Kadam Volume (Kadam Legbam)* collection briefly mentions the making of two other early Kadam paintings, evidently in Nepal.[199] Nagtsho Lotsawa commissioned a large painting that depicted as its main figures, facing each other, Atiśa and Upasika. In addition:[200]

> Upasika sketched and planned various wonderful images such as a large image of Atiśa with the royal Guge monk (Lha btsun pa Byang chub 'od) and Nagtsho Lotsawa as respectful attendants, which was sent off (from Nepal to Tibet) with an official escort sent by the king of Nepal and which received upon arrival a formal respectful reception from the people of the three districts of western Tibet.

I believed at first that the "Upasika" mentioned above referred to Atiśa's Tibetan disciple Dromtön, who is well known for having taken only lay vows. But two Indian attendants of Atiśa who accompanied him to Nepal also bore that title. According to Hubert Decleer, the Upasika referred to here was Upasika Sa'i sang ga, and the painting was presented to the Kathmandu

monastery of Tham Vihara at its consecration.[201] There would have been no point in showing an ordinary Indian attendant in a painting at the same level as Atiśa. If he was depicted there, he must have been an important Buddhist teacher in his own right.[202]

The earlier sources on the Kadam tradition (from which the above accounts probably also derived) may contain still more traditional references to early paintings of Atiśa and his disciples. Lhündrub Chöphel (Lhun grub chos 'phel) in his *Guide to Reting* mentions that there were three main early images of Atiśa, but that the most important was the "[large] thangka painting of Atiśa with a bent or tilted head" (*a ti sha dbu yon ma thang ka*).[203] As Stoddard translated:[204]

> According to Langri Thangpa (1054–1123)–a Kadam master who was born the year of Atiśa's death–the most important of the three images of the Bengali master made during or immediately after his lifetime was the "large" Uyönma ["with a tilted head," *dbu yon ma*] thangka portrait: "There was no difference between the portrait and Atiśa himself." Painted by Atiśa's disciple Dromtönpa (1005–1064) as a portrait of the master "practicing the Bodhi mind." Atiśa was extremely pleased by it, saying, "So I am just like that!" Atiśa consecrated it many times, until it "shone with the splendor of his blessings."

No doubt it was commissioned by Dromtön and not actually painted by him, unless what was meant was a preliminary sketch. Another painting of Atiśa from late in his life was made in more unusual circumstances, using the blood of the master's nosebleed. As Stoddard translated:[205]

> When Atiśa was thinking of going to Nyethang for the sake of all beings, he confided in his disciple, Nagtsho Lotsawa, asking him to go to India to visit Bodh Gayā and other holy sites, and to take gold and letters for the gurus there. Nagtsho hesitated because Atiśa was getting on in years. He feared that he would never meet him again, so Atiśa assured him: "To please the lama is the best of realizations; to be free of illness is the best of happiness; to be able to open one's mind is the best in friendship. Now you go to India. Wherever you are, I am blessing you. Remember me." As he said this, his nose bled. With the blood he drew an outline and gave it to an artist, who added the canopy and throne that were missing. The mandala was meant to be green, but the artist made it golden green. Otherwise it is said that it was just as the 'Lord' [Atiśa] had painted it.

The same guide to Reting Monastery also describes a painting of Tārā Who Protected? from the Eight Dangers, which was believed to have been the personal object of worship of Lord Atiśa:[206]

> This painting of Tārā Who Protected from the Eight Dangers that was painted for Atiśa: Naljorpa Chenpo (rNal 'byor pa chen po Byang chub rin chen, 1015–1078) was sent to India to have it made, and [the latter in India had] the expert great being [of] Bengal [*shar phyogs*] make the Dharma Tārā; and he [acquired] a spontaneously arisen Tārā statue at Nālandā, and in Magadha in the presence of the Mahābodhi stupa he had the eighth stupa made.[207] Then [Naljorpa] went back [to Tibet]. When he returned, Atiśa was staying at Nyethang, and the great master performed a hundred and eight consecrations for those images, and supplicated [the painting and statue of Tārā]. Reacting to Atiśa's prayers, the Tārā [of the painting came to life and] taught the Noble Dharma to Atiśa, and hence is an image that spoke. Atiśa gave it to Dromtön, telling him such things as, "Pray to this image and all the ends you desire will be achieved." [Hence] it is renowned for possessing blessings.

Phenpo, or Phenyül (Phan yul), Valley was the residence of many early Kadam lamas, and indeed contemporaneous sources record that Kadam paintings were commissioned there. For instance, Gö Lotsawa mentions in passing in his *Blue Annals* that in 1149 an artist named Drenka Lhabso Lutsen Trak (Bran ka Lha bzo Klu btsan grags) painted in lower Phenyül a *thangka* of Tārā according to the system of Reverend Lord (Atiśa) for a young woman patron.[208]

Furthermore, footprints of Atiśa were made at the request of Nagtsho Lotsawa, according to the *Guide to Reting Monastery* (*Rwa sgreng dkar chag*).[209] Pawo Tsuklag Trengwa, summing up his brief account of Reting within his extensive history of Buddhism, stated that among the countless sacred objects that once were said to have existed at Reting Monastery, there were 3,600 *thangkas* that possessed spiritual power or blessings (*thang sku byin brlabs can*).[210] He added that by the time of his writing [in the sixteenth century], Reting Monastery had been damaged by fires once or twice, and it still possessed many fire-damaged sacred objects of all kinds, including images, scriptures, and stupas.

Another early portrait of a Kadam master is recorded to have been made at the scholastic Kadam branch based

at Sangphu Monastery. There the son of Sachen, Sönam Tsemo, went to Ü Province in the 1160s to attend a scholastic seminary. He painted a portrait of his revered teacher, Chapa Chökyi Sengge (Phywa pa Chos kyi seng ge, 1109–1169), of the Ngogpa (rNgog pa) or Sangphu (gSang phu) branch of the Kadam.

Not all Tibetan art made in these times derived from or was inspired by eastern India or Magadha. In the far west, the source for Buddhist art was Kashmir. Atiśa's Tibetan contemporary and senior student, Rinchen Zangpo (958?-1055), for instance, commissioned an image of Avalokiteśvara in Kashmir on the occasion of his father's death. He laboriously brought back the image, which was the same size as his father, to western Tibet by transporting it on a wooden cart.[211]

2. *Early Portraits of Masters of the Karma Kagyü*

Patrons of the Karma Kagyü, like those of the other schools, started to commission paintings of their founders very early on. The earliest paintings were simple, sometimes little more than two footprints surrounded by minimal decoration. With each passing generation, the paintings seem to have gained in artistic sophistication and iconographic complexity. Stylistically, the known early examples belong to the Sharri style. The Karma Kagyü lamas, like members of other Kagyü Schools, presumably adopted the Sharri style as part of their partial Kadam heritage. It may also have become the most popular style in Ü Province by the mid-twelfth century.

In the Karma Kagyü tradition one distinctive iconographic feature was the special black hat that the school's greatest lamas, the Karmapas, wore. The presence of this hat makes the identification of the portraits of lamas of the school possible even without

FIG. 3.8
Early Karmapa with His Footprints
Central Tibet; late 12th century to early 13th century
Silk
21 ½ x 19 in. (54.6 x 48.3 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
F1997.32.2 (HAR 508)
Literature: K. Selig Brown 2004, pl. 27; and D. Jackson 2009, fig. 3.2.

inscriptions. The following three examples can be identified thanks to that hat, and they can be roughly dated by counting the number of black-hatted Karmapas who were depicted.

Figure 3.8 exemplifies the simplest and probably earliest-known painting of a Karma Kagyü master. It was meant to pay respect to the black-hatted master shown above the footprints, who is probably the First Karmapa, Düsum Khyenpa (1110–1193). The painting is simply executed with thin washes of color on silk, so it lacks most of the expected Sharri features of a fully colored painting.[212] Still, it does represent one form of devotional painting that was common in that period, here based on reverence to the lama's footprints.

The painting also pays homage to the master by means of the broad parasol above and the auspicious objects that were placed within the undulating vine that grows from below. The parasol is an ancient Indian Buddhist iconographic element that we saw above as smaller motifs in twelfth-century Tibetan paintings and atop a Pāla-period statue (see Figs. 1.26 and 1.27).[213]

FIG. 3.9
Karma Pakshi with His Lineage
13th century
12 x 19 in. (30.5 x 48.3 cm)
Courtesy of Michael J. and Beata McCormick Collection
Literature: D. Jackson 2009, fig. 4.1.

FIG. 3.10
The Third Karmapa with His Footprints and Lineage
Mid-14th century
22 ⅞ x 15 ⅜ in. (58 x 39 cm)
Photograph © Christie's 2011
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1994, fig. 32; *Art of Tibet, Selected Articles from Orientations 1981-1997*, n.p. (near end of publication), "Footprints of the Third Karmapa;" and D. Jackson 2009, fig. 4.6.

A second painting from the Karma Kagyü School is Figure 3.9. Depicting the Second Karmapa, Karma Pakshi (1206–1283) with his lineage, it dates to a subsequent stage of Karma Kagyü art, as proven by the presence of the second black-hatted lama. The painting's bejeweled outer borders, the main figure's head nimbuse with decorative throne-back fringe of a stylized *makara* tail behind it, and rainbow outer nimbus all mark it as a work in the Sharri style. The minor figures are placed within roundels formed by undulating lotus vines that grow from the vase standing on a crossed *vajra* (ritual scepter) at the bottom center.

A somewhat later example of Karma Kagyü portraiture is Figure 3.10, which depicts the Third Karmapa, Rangjung Dorje (Rang 'byung rdo rje, 1284–1339), as the main figure, above the golden footprints that dominate the center of the painting. The painting portrays three Karmapas, each wearing the same black ceremonial hat.[214] It includes the complete Karma Kagyü lineage beginning with Vajradhara and here continuing down to the Third Karmapa.[215] In the first register, to the right of Vajradhara, are Buddha Śākyamuni (B1) and the five Tathāgatas (buddhas) of the mandala (B2 through B6). It is remarkable that though white Vairocana (B4) is placed in the center of the group of five buddhas, blue Akṣobhya (B3) actually occupies the central axis of the painting and is the primary buddha of

[B]

1	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6
2	3	7(k1)	12(k3)	10(k2)	4	5
6?						8?
9?						11
d1						d2
d3						d4
d5	d6	d7		d8	d9	P(13?)

the construction.[216] That is only fitting, since that buddha is also the lord of the lineage (*rigs bdag*) of the Karmapas.[217] This painting can be dated to the mid-fourteenth century, based on the dates of the latest historical figure depicted.

The composition is shown schematically in diagram [B], noting that the order for numbers 6, 8, and 9 is hypothetical. Twelve gurus are shown in all, including the first three Karmapas. The patron pictured in the bottom register (P) is probably a disciple of the Third Karmapa (12).

This painting, too, clearly represents the Sharri style, though its main subject is a pair of golden footprints, not a lama. As in Figure 3.9, the minor figures are placed within roundels that are formed by undulating lotus vines growing from the vase standing below it on a crossed *vajra*. Lamas of the Karma Kagyü School commissioned paintings in the Sharri style from about the mid- or late twelfth century until the style died out in about the mid-fourteenth century, presumably within a generation of the time that the previous painting (Fig. 3.9) was made.

The Karma Kagyü and Taklung Kagyü were sister schools within the Kagyü tradition that enjoyed cordial relations, and early on both commissioned works in the same styles. Still, the art that Karma Kagyü lamas commissioned at such monasteries as Tshurphu and Karma was independent of that in Taklung and Riwoche, which will be investigated in more detail in chapters 4 and 5. The Karma Kagyü hierarchs, the Karmapas, knew and maintained relations with Riwoche Monastery and its abbots in western Kham. This was to be expected, given the proximity of Karma Monastery to Riwoche.[218]

3. Portraits of the Sakya School

Another Tibetan Buddhist school whose lamas commissioned noteworthy portraits of its founders was the Sakya. Writings from this school record the existence of portraiture as early as the twelfth century, and we know that such art continued to flourish until the fifteenth century and the time of Ngorchen and his successors at Ngor Monastery.[219] Several examples of noteworthy later portraiture originated from that Ngorpa sub-school of the Sakya. Stylistically, most of the known Sakya portraits were in the Beri style, not in the Sharri style.

Sakya sources record, for instance, the existence of early realistic portraits (*yin thang*) of their founder, Sachen. One was painted by the mid-twelfth century at Sakya Monastery or nearby in western Tsang as described in a later written description of the painting by the Mustangi scholar Lowo Khenchen.

Like the Kadam School, whose lineal gurus began with the layman Dromtön immediately following Atiśa, the iconography of the early founders of Sakya could be easily recognized thanks to the presence of laymen. Among the minor figures of a *thangka*, the presence of three laymen– some or all wearing white robes–was a telltale sign that this lineage was transmitted by Sachen and his two most eminent sons.[220] In larger depictions, the hair and face of Sachen, the first among the five great early patriarchs of Sakya, could also be distinctive.

The earliest painted portrayal of a Sakya founding teacher as main figure presented here, Figure 3.11, is a generation or two later than the last Karma Kagyü painting discussed (Fig. 3.10). It seems to have been commissioned in the late fourteenth century by Ngorchen's teacher Sharchen Yeshe Gyaltshen (d. 1406). It portrays Sachen Kunga Nyingpo (Sa chen Kun dga' snying po, 1092–1158) surrounded by his lineage for the explication of the text of the Hevajra basic tantra (Mūlatantra).

This painting belongs to the Beri style, as can be seen from its simple golden border strips (not the colorful Sharri border of stylized inlaid jewels) and the simple head nimbuses of the main figure. One prominent Indic feature that it shares with the Sharri style is the framing of the minor figures within roundels formed by undulating lotus vines growing from a vase that stands upon a crossed *vajra*.

This painting of Sachen, which has been known in the West for several decades, was first exhibited at Paris in 1977.[221] Though considerably smaller than Ngorchen's set of lineal guru portraits (see Fig. 3.12), it is very similar in subject, style, and composition. Indeed, if we examine how Lowo Khenchen (Glo bo mKhan chen) described the sixth painting in Ngorchen's set, we find that it, too, portrayed Sachen as its sole main figure, with Maitreya and Mañjuśrī as attendants to his right and left.

Yet when we compare Figure 3.11 in more detail, we note a few differences. Here the lineage around the main figure is that of the exposition of the Hevajra basic tantra (Tib. *rGyud brtag pa gnyis pa*) and not of the other tantras of the Hevajra cycle. In the Path with the Fruit *thangkas* commissioned by Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo (Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po, 1382–1456), however, the lineage depicted around Sachen was the main Commentatorial Tradition (*'grel pa lugs*) of the Hevajra tantras, a lineage that complemented the so-called Tradition of Practical Instructions (*man ngag lugs*), which was the meditative tradition of the Sakya Schools's Path with the Fruit instructions.

The two lines of Hevajra exposition can be easily confused; the lineage of the main Commentatorial Tradition is identical to that of the exposition of the Hevajra basic tantra alone, except for gurus number 18, 19, and 20. The arrangement of the figures in the painting is shown in diagram [C], in which M indicates the main figure.

The name of each figure is given by inscriptions.[222] In the last row of

FIG. 3.11
Sachen with His Lineages
Ca. late 14th century
Distemper on cotton
15 ¾ x 13 in. (40 x 33 cm)
Private Collection
Courtesy Carlton Rochell Asian Art
Literature: G. Béguin et al. 1977, no. 122.

deities are: d1 Vajrapāṇi (Phyag na rdo rje), d2 Avalokiteśvara (Spyan ras gzigs), d3 Mahākāla (Ma ha ka la), d4 Re ma ti, d5 Simhanāda (Seng ge sgra) and d6 Acala (Mi g.yo ba). (Those six deities were absent from the *thangka* commissioned by Ngorchen.) The corresponding painting in Ngorchen's series as described by Lowo Khenchen contained small figures of Palden Tshultrim and Sharchen.

Like Figure 3.12, this work depicts a lineage received by Ngorchen. Judging from the identity of the last identifiable member of the lineage, Palden Tshultrim (dPal ldan tshul khrims), it probably dates to the mid- or late fourteenth century, a generation before Ngorchen's time. This is confirmed by the inscriptions, which mention Sharchen Yeshe Gyaltshen (Ye shes rgyal mtshan) as the patron.

Another early Sakya portrait is Figure 3.12. It depicts not Sachen but his two most eminent sons and successors, Sönam Tsemo (bSod nams rtse mo, 1142–1182) and Drakpa Gyaltshen (Grags pa rgyal mtshan, 1147–1216), surrounded by a teaching lineage of Cakrasamvara. This *thangka* was exhibited (like Fig. 3.11) in the Paris exhibition of 1977.[223] That Paris exhibition catalog described it as depicting two lamas of the Sakyapa order and tentatively dated it to the sixteenth century.[224]

This painting is in the Beri style, as can be seen from its simple border strips (not the bejeweled Sharri type). The simple head nimbuses of the main figures are also typical of the Beri. It continues the prominent Indic feature

[C]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		d1		d2		
8	12b				12c	9
10	*?*				*?*	11
12						13
14			**M**			15
16		*b1*		*b2*		17
18						19
20						21
d1	d2	d3		d4	d5	d6

FIG. 3.12
Two Sakya Masters, Sönam Tsemo and Drakpa Gyaltshen
1429–1956
32 ¾ x 30 ½ in. (83.2 x 76.8 cm)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of John Goelet
67.831 (HAR 87230)
Literature: D. Jackson 1986; G. Béguin et al. 1977, no. 121; P. Pal and Hsien-ch'i Tseng 1969, no. 24; and D. Jackson 1996, p. 81, fig. 24.

[D]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	*d1*		*d2*			*d3*	10
11							12
13							14
15							16
17							18
19							20
21							22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	*d4*

(which is shared with the Sharri style) of placing its minor figures within roundels formed by undulating lotus vines that grow from a vase standing below on a crossed *vajra*.

Indispensable help in understanding the contents of this set of paintings is given by the great Mustangi scholar Lowo Khenchen Sönam Lhundrup (Glo bo mkhan chen bSod nams lhun grub, 1456–1532), who wrote a detailed description of it, which survives in his collected writings. His work entitled "Written Description of the Gurus of the Path with the Fruit, together with Lineages,"[225] described the famous set of *thangkas* commissioned and consecrated by Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo, a treasure of religious art that was also prominently mentioned by Sanggye Phüntshok (Sangs rgyas phun tshogs) in his history of Ngor. Ngorchen commissioned it to fulfill the wishes of his deceased teacher Buddhashrī (1339–1419).

The set's main subjects are the teachers of the Path with the Fruit lineage.[226] In several of these paintings, the main figures were framed by teachers of another lineage that Ngorchen had received. Lowo Khenchen noted the arrangement of these major and minor figures while viewing the original paintings at Ngor in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. In so doing, he wanted to ascertain for himself the arrangements of the figures and help other adherents of the tradition arrange such compositions correctly.

According to Lowo Khenchen, the complete set of eleven paintings depicted:

1. Vajradhara (rDo rje 'chang), with standing Vajragarbha (rDo rje snying po) and Nairātmyā (bDag med ma) to his right and left
2. Virūpa (Birwa pa) and Kṛṣṇapāda (Nag po pa)
3. Ḍamarupa and Avadhūtipa
4. Gayadhara and Drokmi Lotsawa ('Brog mi Lo tsā ba, 992?–1072?)
5. Setön Kunrik (Se ston Kun rig) and Shangtön Chöbar (Zhang ston Chos 'bar)
6. Sachen Kunga Nyingpo (Sa chen Kun dga' snying po, 1092–1158), with standing bodhisattvas Maitreya and Mañjuśrī to his right and left
7. Lobpön Sönam Tsemo (Slob dpon

bSod nams rtse mo, 1142–1182) and Jetsün Drakpa Gyaltshen (rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan, 1147–1216)
8. Sakya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) and Chögyal Phakpa (Chos rgyal 'Phags pa, 1235–1280)
9. Shangtön (Zhang ston, b. 1240) and Chöje Drakphukpa (Chos rje Brag phug pa, 1277–1352)
10. Lotrö Tenpa (Blo gros brtan pa, 1316–1358) and Palden Tshultrim (1333–1399)
11. Buddhashrī with standing Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya to his right and left

In addition to those main figures, Lowo Khenchen also names a few minor ones. The many minor figures that he does not name individually he at least identifies in general, so that we can recognize them if we know the relevant iconography. His description thus gives an invaluable overview of the set, which survives today only in fragments.

As Lowo Khenchen informs us, the minor figures portrayed are various main tantric deities, along with accompanying deities from their mandalas, the eighty-four adepts, and gurus of other lineages. He highly appreciated the fact that the great master Kunga Zangpo, who was thought of as Vajradhara in person, had designed and used these paintings for his spiritual practice.

The painting of Sachen's two sons is thus the seventh in this series. Lowo Khenchen describes the painting:

> In the seventh painting, the two reverend brothers sit facing each other. Over the center of the ornamental roof above them, is Samvaroddhaya, to his right is Samvara [in the] Kāṇha (Nag po pa) [tradition], and to the left, Samvara [in the] Luhipa [tradition]. At the end of the lineage is Lord of the Tent (Gur kyi mgon po). The lineage of the Sakyapa tradition of Samvara in the Kāṇha tradition, which surrounds the above mentioned figures on all sides, is the following.

The guru lineage that Lowo Khenchen then enumerates is that of the Sakya tradition (*sa lugs*) of the lineage of initiations for Cakrasamvara descending through the adept (*siddha)* Kāṇha or Kṛṣṇacārin (Nag po pa in Tibetan), a lineage that Ngorchen had received from Sharchen Yeshe Gyaltshen.[227] Ngorchen's record of teachings duly lists the same lineage.[228]

The arrangement of the minor figures is shown in diagram [D]. Since the last generation of teachers portrayed, represented by guru number 29, belongs to the early fifteenth century, the lineage alone would indicate a date of at least the mid-fifteenth century, even if we had no references to Ngorchen commissioning it. (He probably ordered it painted during his years at Ngor, between 1429 and 1456.) A major painting commissioned later at Ngor would normally have reflected its later dating through the inclusion of subsequent masters who transmitted the lineage, most notably, by including their great founder, Ngorchen.

Another painting that depicts distinctive physical features is Figure 3.13, which portrays Sachen in partial profile, paying close attention to the minutest detail of his face and hair. Most of the crest of his head, especially in the front, is bald, though the hairless spot is partly bordered by thin strips of white hair that protrude forward on the right and left. From each side of his head, above either ear, a thin, conical point of translucent hair pokes out. A thin white beard lines the bottom of his chin, while a moustache and goutee encircle his kindly smiling lips.

This painting (like Figs. 3.11 and 3.12), exemplifies the Beri style, with its simple monochrome borders and head and body nimbuses. It is a good example of a painting in which the lineage stops at the time of the main figure. The arrangement of the minor figures in this painting is at first sight deceptive, if we assume they are lineal gurus. In this case, however, many teachers from the same generation are depicted above the head of the central figure. Thus, no single lineage is portrayed. It depicts Sachen with several lineal and personal teachers. The structure of the painting's minor figures is shown in diagram [E].

The figures portrayed, according to the inscriptions, are:

1. rDo rje gdan pa
2. Bo ra rgyal?
3. Bal po Dznyāna badzra (Kha che'i Paṇḍi ta Jñānavajra a.k.a. Kha che Ye shes rdo rje, the collaborator of 'Bro Lo tsā ba Shes rab grags)
4. Pu rang Lo chung (=Pu rang Lo chung Grags mchog shes rab)
5. rNgog Lo tsā ba (Blo ldan shes rab, 1059–1109)
6. Brang sti Dar ma snying po
7. Khyung Rin chen grags
8. Lang dkon pa
9. Mañjuśrī ('Jam dpal)
10. Ba ri Lo tsā ba
11. Virūpa ('Bir ba pa)
12. mKhon sGyi chu ba
13. sNam Kha'u pa
14. mKhon dKon mchog rgyal po
15. Se mKhar chung ba
16. Mal Lo tsā ba
17. Byang chub sems dpa' (Zla ba rgyal mtshan?)
18. Mes Lha(ng) tshe

Numbers 1 through 3 and 5 are Sachen's lineal gurus, while the rest (except perhaps for number 8) are his direct teachers. He received the initiation for the Kriyā tantras from number 4, Purang Lochung, in the transmission of number 3.[229] Even Mañjuśrī and Virupa, numbers 9 and 11, can be counted as Sachen's

FIG. 3.13
Sachen with Several Lineages and Direct Teachers
15th century
45 x 37 in. (114.3 x 94 cm)
Private Collection
Literature: M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1991, p. 201, no. 61; S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 51; and D. Jackson 2010, Fig. 3.6.

[E]

1	8	10	12
2	9	11	13
3			14
4			15
5			16
6			17
7			18

direct teachers of a special kind, since both taught him in visions.

A later traditional depiction of Sachen is Figure 3.14, which portrays him as a single main figure. Here he has been portrayed frontally, with a more usual bald pate, without the tiny details of Figure 3.13. It, too, exemplifies the Beri style, though the painting lacks internal clues such as datable lineal guru or inscriptions and therefore can be dated only by stylistic comparison. Its main figure has the simple outer borders and head nimbuses typical of the Beri style. Note also its Beri-style pillars, arches, and Newar scroll work designs (called *pa ṭa ri mo* by Tibetans), all beneath the arch and in the dark-blue background.

Figure 3.15 depicts the two Sakya founders Drakpa Gyaltsen and Sakya Paṇḍita as lineal lamas, surrounded by the kings of Shambhala. It portrays Drakpa Gyaltshen as a layman, carefully depicting not only a thin gray beard below his chin but also a second strip of thin gray hair that begins at the end of his moustache and continues until his ear. (Note the similar treatment of his facial hair in HAR 203.)

It is a Sakya painting basically in the Beri style, but several obvious Sharri elements have crept in. Note especially the head nimbuses and rainbow body nimbus, both in the Sharri style. This painting is frustrating for its lack of chronological clues, besides its style, which possibly dates it to about the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. However, its mixed style makes it a rarity as most Sakya paintings were executed in a more orthodox Beri style.

FIG. 3.14
Sachen Kunga Nyingpo
Ca. 15th to early 16th century
13 ¼ x 9 ¾ in. (33.7 x 24.8 cm)
Collection of Shelley and Donald Rubin
P2000.4.2 (HAR 944)
Literature: D. Jackson 2010, fig. 1.18.

4. Geluk: Early Portraits of Tsongkhapa

The Geluk Order was the last major Tibetan Buddhist tradition to be established. Its illustrious founder, Tsongkhapa Losang Drakpa (Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa, 1357–1419), founded its mother monastery, Ganden, in 1409, a decade before his death. His direct students and Geluk patrons from the following generation commissioned a number of striking portraits of him in the 1420s to 1450s. Many paintings showed him surrounded by the lineal masters of his Stages of the Path (*Lam rim*) transmissions, like most of the paintings discussed here.

The earliest portraits of Tsongkhapa were painted in several iterations of the Beri style, which then dominated Tibet. As examples of portraits of Tsongkhapa with his lineages, four predominately

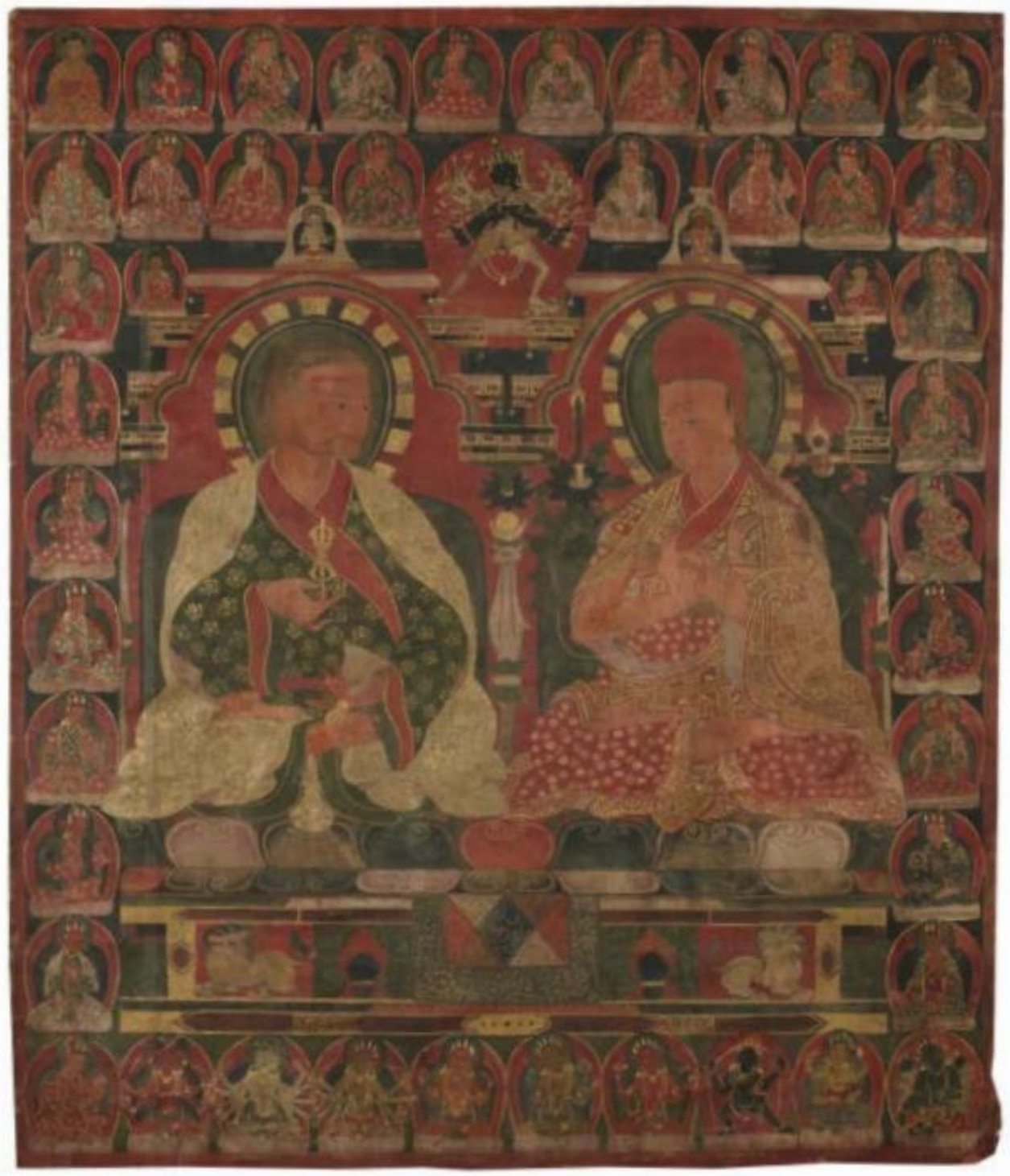


FIG. 3.15 (also discussed as Figs. 2.4 and 2.8)
Drakpa Gyaltshen and Sakya Paṇḍita as Two Lineal Lamas
Ca. 15th century
31 ½ x 27 in. (80 x 68.6 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
F1997.45.4 (HAR 580)
Literature: D. Jackson 2010, fig. 1.9.

red-palette Beri paintings are presented, though with interesting stylistic variations. Among them, Figures 3.16 and 3.17 are two of the most interesting paintings to compare with other early portraits of that saint.

That the four examples are basically in the Beri style should not be a surprise, since that style had become the universal style of Tibet in about1360 (and remained so until about 1460). Many adherents of the Gandenpa (Dga' ldan pa) or Geluk saw themselves as reformists and, in particular, as revivers of the Kadam Order. Some paintings expressed this by the prominent use of elements seen in old Kadam paintings.

Tsongkhapa became the most widely portrayed Tibetan teacher. Especially after the establishment of the Geluk-dominated Ganden Phodrang theocracy in the mid- seventeenth century, the same unaltered types were repeated over and over. Later sculptures and paintings of Tsongkhapa were mass produced to such an extent that, as one scholar observed, "The face turned into a perfectly un-individualized mask. ... It is as if scholasticism nourished the intellect but not the artistic sensibility."[230]

Yet even those idealized later likenesses of Tsongkhapa were no doubt based ultimately on early realistic portraits. Indeed, several images served as original models for later copies.[231] Among earlier paintings we still have a chance to find images that were not highly stereotyped.[232] The four paintings of Tsongkhapa presented here (Figs. 3.16–3.19) have certainly not yet fallen into the rut of purely formalized repetition.

Later Geluk scholars could list as many as seven likenesses of Tsongkhapa made during his lifetime. They are enumerated by the nineteenth-century Amdo scholar Akhu Ching Sherab Gyatsho (1803–1875) in his description of brief histories of several sacred portraits of Tsongkhapa and others.[233] The first such painting of Tsongkhapa that Akhu Ching listed was painted in 1415, when he had been invited to teach at Ön ('On) by the ruler Drakpa Gyaltshen (the same year that Tsongkhapa composed his middle-length version of the Stages of the Path). At that time he expounded the six yogas of Naropa to the royal monk Nyernyi Rinpoche Sönam Gyaltshen (Nyer gnyis Rin po che sPyan snga bSod nams rgyal mtshan) of the ruling Phagmotrupa family. Among the noteworthy students who were present was Panchen Champa Lingpa Sönam Namgyal, who is said to have painted on the side of the teaching throne an image of Tsongkhapa surrounded by his *Lam rim* lineages. Many of the later paintings of Tsongkhapa with these lineages may refer back to that original.[234]

In later depictions Tsongkhapa was normally presented as the main figure

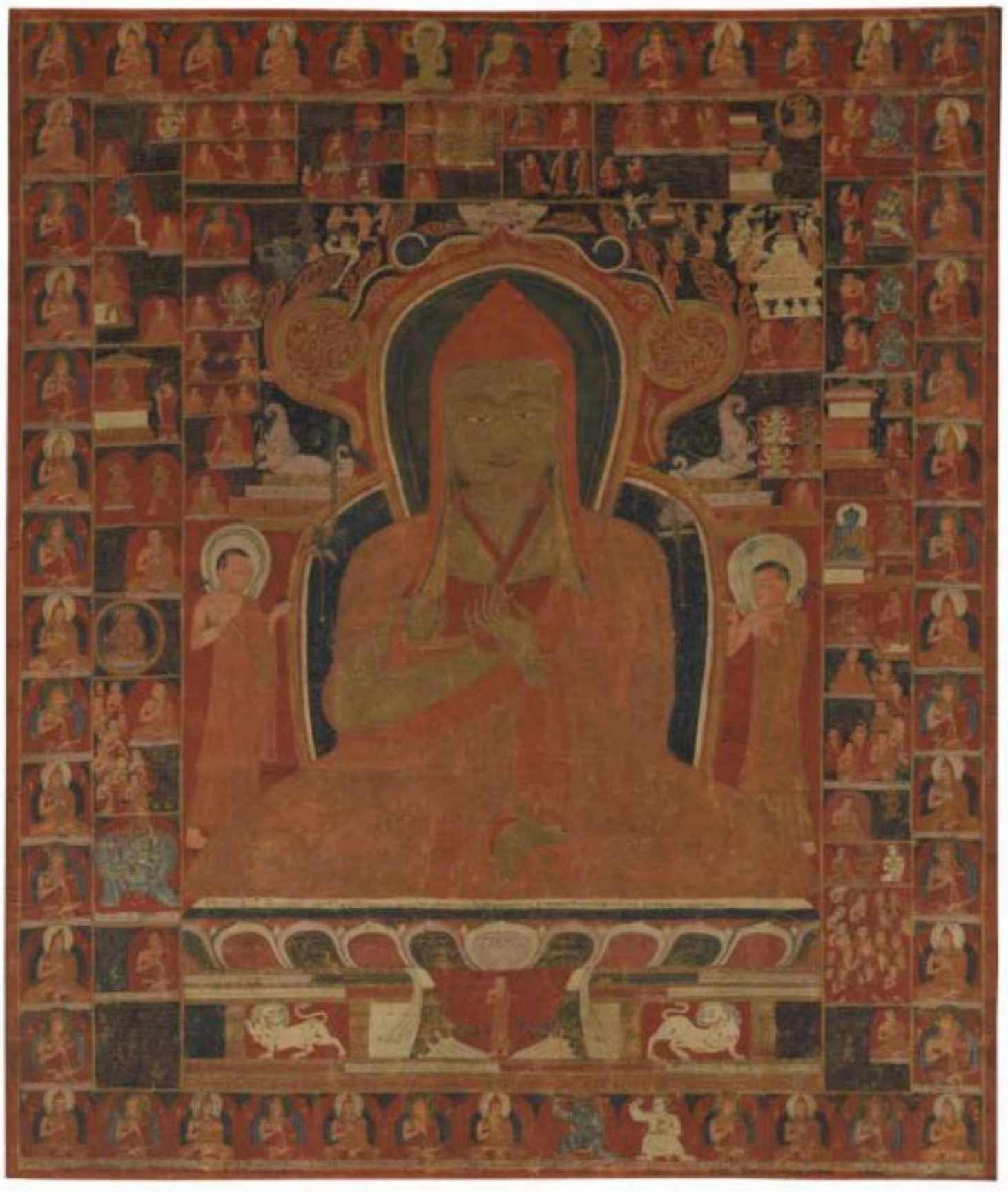


FIG. 3.16
Tsongkhapa with Two Kadam Lineages and Episodes
Western Tibet; ca. 1480s
33 x 27 ½ in. (83.8 x 69.8 cm)
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Gift of Paul Mellon, 1968 (68.8.117)
Photograph © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
Literature: G. Tucci 1949, p. 339ff., no. 10, plates 8–12; P. Pal 1987, fig. 1; P. Pal 1997, no. 26; and D. Jackson 2010, fig. 7.34.

[F]

7	6	5	4	3	2	1	2b	3b	4b	5b	6b	7b
8												8b
9												9b
10												10b
11												11b
12												12b
13						**27**						13b
14												14b
15	28										29	15b
16												16b
17												17b
18												18b
19												19b
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	d2	d1	23b	22b	21b	20b

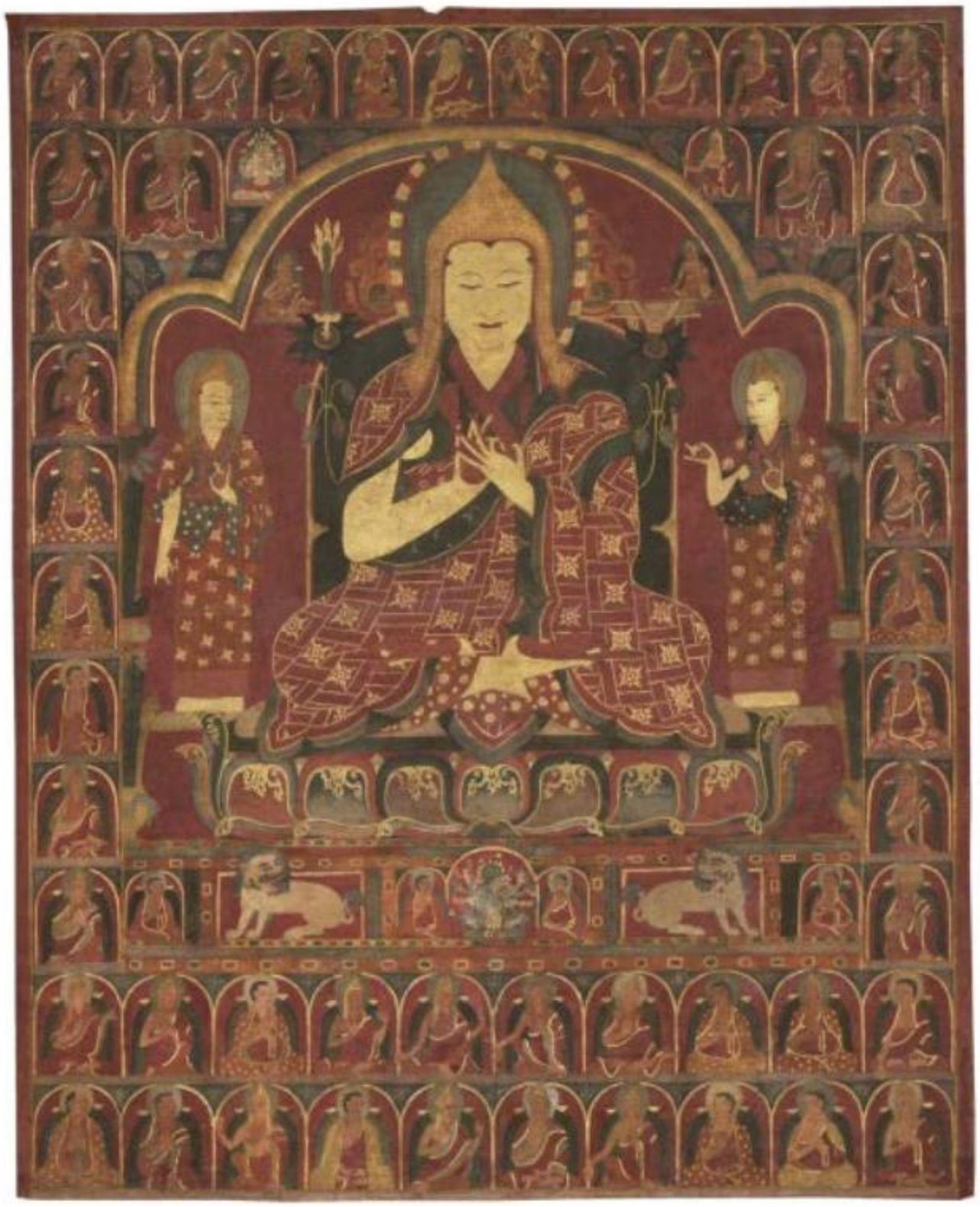


FIG. 3.17
Tsongkhapa with Two Kadam Lineages
Ca. 1420s–1460s
25 x 31 in. (63.5 x 78.7 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
F1997.31.14 (HAR 595)
Literature: M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1999, no. 123; and D. Jackson 2010, fig. 7.35.

in the standard Geluk trio of founding saints called "The Lord and His Two Spiritual Sons" *(rJe yab sras gsum)*.[235] Some Western scholars have accepted later Geluk identification of the two main disciples pictured at Tsongkhapa's side as Gyaltshab and Khedrub. But there existed an earlier tradition of depicting Tsongkhapa with Dülwa Dzinpa Drakpa Gyaltshen and Gyaltshab Darma Rinchen as his two main attendants and closest disciples, which some later Geluk adherents seem to have forgotten. Khedrup was portrayed as the second main disciple at a later date.[236]

Figure 3.16 shows Tsongkhapa surrounded by his two main lineages and episodes from his inner spiritual life (*gsang ba'i rnam thar*).[237] He is shown as the culmination of two lengthy Indo-Tibetan religious lineages, whose gurus are depicted around the outer border of the painting, as shown in diagram [F]. What is striking about the great master is that he wears a red hat. Within a generation or two, he and his tradition would be so strongly identified with the typical yellow hat of the Geluk, a school which had the nickname "Yellow-Hat" Sect, that a painting showing him wearing the old red hat of the Sakyapa would have been almost unthinkable.

The sequence of the two lineages follows established tradition. The painting portrays two distinct Indian lineages, which united and became a single one when brought to Tibet by Atiśa, though they continued to be depicted in most paintings as separate lineages.[238]

This painting is in a Beri style, characterized by its classic Newar

[G]

6	5	4	3	2	1	2b	3b	4b	5b	6b	7b
7										8b
8										9b
9										10b
10					**25**					11b
11		**26**						**27**		12b
12										13b
13										14b
14										15b
15		16	17	18	19	20b	19b	18b	17b	16b
20		21	22	23	24	25b	24b	23b	22b	21b

backrest arch and the complicated scrollwork patterns in Tsongkhapa's dark-blue backrest. Its style would date it to approximately the first half of the fifteenth century and place its origin in central Tibet. But the painting is said to have been preserved in western Tibet, which makes it more difficult to assess, though one thing is clear: There is nothing distinctively western Tibetan about this painting.[239]

We can deduce from the odd color of Tsongkapa's hat that in the time and place of this painting's commission, the distinction between yellow and red hat had not yet become highly divisive. It calls to mind an early portrait of Ngorchen in which two of his three depictions are shown wearing yellow, not red, hats.[240]

Figure 3.17, too, portrays the great teacher Tsongkhapa with his two main Kadam lineages, though here he wears his typical pointed yellow hat. The painting lacks the previously shown episodes from his spiritual life. I estimate the painting's date to the mid-fifteenth century, within a generation or two of its main subject's life. Its structure is sketched in diagram [G].

Some traditional Beri elements such as the scrollwork to beautify the dark-blue backrests of smaller figures can be found. Yet a Sharri atmosphere is evoked by the simple three-lobed arch, which doubles as a rainbow body nimbus, behind the main figure and his two disciples. True, it is supported to the right and left by traditional Newar three-part pillars with a vase at their bases, but that is the only Beri arch element present. (The red background of the central arch is filled with a complicated pattern of repeated lotuses.)

Just as striking as the body nimbus is the head nimbus of the main figure. Here the painter has depicted an ancient Sharri halo of the early Kadam tradition (something we also saw in one of the Sakya portraits, Fig. 3.15).[241] The distinctive head nimbus suggests here that this second painting of Tsongkhapa is an example of Beri art in which neo-Kadam or neo-Sharri elements have been consciously reintroduced, presumably as artistic confirmation that Tsongkhapa was the founder of the New Kadam (bKa' gdams gsar ma) Order. There is good reason to call the Geluk Order the New Kadam, since Tsongkhapa traced his basic Stages of the Path *(Lam rim)* teachings back to Atiśa and the saintly early Kadam masters, even while emphasizing a new scholastically refined interpretation of Madhyamaka and (unlike the Old Kadam) intensively practicing the Anuttarayoga tantra.

Figure 3.18 is another striking portrayal of Tsongkhapa with his two main Indian Mahayana lineages. Stylistically this painting, too, has a neo-Sharri (New Kadam) flavor, with colorful Sharri-style bejeweled head nimbuses and three- and five-lobed rainbow body nimbuses surrounding the three main figures. Maitreya's robes seem more classically Indian than is usual for this period, and the convoluted decorations behind the head nimbuses of both bodhisattvas lend their own archaic flavor.

Tsongkhapa, and not Atiśa, is evidently shown in this painting as the one who unites the lineages. The structure of the painting thus differs greatly from the previous two paintings of Tsongkhapa. See diagram [H].

Note the repetition of the great bodhisattvas Maitreya and Mañjuśrī (1, 1b, 1c, and 1d). Altogether in the composition, six proportions were used. Moreover, Nāgārjuna appears twice, the second time in a place where we may expect to find gurus, to the right and left of Tsongkhapa's knees. There Nāgārjuna is both guru 2 and Indian teacher so1, the first of the standard group of six ornaments and two supremes (so1-so8).[242] Only five Tibetan lineage lamas intervene between the Tibetan founding master of the Kadam, Dromtön, (7) and Tsongkhapa (13).

Among the minor figures, two still smaller lamas (14 and 15) are shown beneath the two main bodhisattvas. Though previously not taken into account by scholars, they may be significant for interpreting the structure of the lineage. They presumably indicate either two of Tsongkhapa's main students or two successive generations of lineal teachers, either before or after Tsongkhapa. (Their slightly smaller size and their position sitting below the lineal gurus suggest that they may depict his followers.)[243] If they are students, the dating will be later.

The smaller size of Tsongkhapa does not suggest his less-exalted status, as once supposed. His prominent central placement above the other figues disproves that. Moreover, it was not Tsongkhapa's greatest achievement to synthesize the two systems.[244] Such a synthesis had already been achieved by Atiśa, the main founder of this lineage as far as the Tibetans were concerned. (Atiśa is shown at least once, as guru 6, the sixth figure in the right column, the fourth yellow-hatted Indian pundit, just above Dromtön.) What is odd about the first two portraits of Tsongkhapa with his Stages of the Path lineages (Figs. 3.16 and 3.17) is that they laboriously portray the two lines from Atiśa down to Tsongkhapa as separate lineages. This painting, however, is rare for not doing that and hence represents a special tradition.

Figure 3.19 also portrays Tsongkhapa but in a very different style in comparison with Figures 3.17 and 3.18. The painting has been dated to about 1500 or early sixteenth century, but I would place it one or two generations earlier (to about 1440–1470). Possible internal clues supporting such an earlier dating are the additional six Tibetan masters in the inner field (1c-6c) in diagram [I], who may continue the

FIG. 3.18
Tsongkhapa with Madhyamaka and Yogācāra Lineages
Ca. 1420–1450
32 x 28 in. (81.3 x 71.1 cm)
Zimmerman Family Collection
Literature: P. Pal 2003, no. 151.

[H]

1b		B1			B2		1
2b							2
3b	so1	so2		**13**	so3	so4	3
4b	so5	so6			so7	so8	4
5b							5
6b							6
7b							7
8b			**1d**	**1c**			8
9b							9
10b							10
11b							11
12b			14?	15?			12

FIG. 3.19
Tsongkhapa with Stages of the Path Lineage
Mid to late 15th century
36 x 29 ½ in. (91.5 x 75 cm)
Cleveland Museum of Art, Department of Indian and South East Asian Art
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, Accession No. 1981.33
Literature: J. Huntington and D. Bangdel 2003, no. 37.

lineage for six lineal generations after Tsongkhapa. The two higher ones are smaller, and the lower four are larger. (If they are lineal gurus one could count them as gurus 20 through 25.)

One noteworthy stylistic feature of the painting is the blue field suggesting a rudimentary blue sky behind the main figure. Another interesting feature is a backrest cushion that is draped with an offering scarf (*kha rtags*) and reaches about half way up Tsongkhapa's back. (Such a backrest was not indicative of classical Beri throne backs, but in a larger form it became standard in many later paintings in the Menri style.) Both head and body nimbuses are broader than is usual for the Beri; they are gold set with large round jewels of blue, red, and green. Though not classic Sharri nimbuses, they are more colorful than those usual in the Beri style.

The painting's structure has been sketched in diagram [I]. According to it, Tsongkhapa is the nineteenth guru of the right lineage and the twenty-fourth guru of the left. Yet another of the painting's noteworthy features is its nearly square dimensions, with eleven lineal masters on all sides.

[I]

6b	5b	4b	3b	2b	1	2	3	4	5	6
7b	**d1**								**d2**	7
8b			1c				2c			8
9b										9
10b		**3c**						**4c**		10
11b		**5c**			**19**			**6c**		11
12b	d5								d6	12
13b	d7								d8	13
14b										14
15b	**d3**								**d4**	15
16b	17b	18b	19b	20b	21b	22b	23b	18	17	16

PORTRAITS WITHOUT STRAITFORWARD INSCRIPTIONS

The documentation of a painting is not complete until we have carefully read its inscriptions and convincingly fit their contents into the wider context of Tibetan Buddhist history. I would

like to end this chapter with a number of portraits of unusual interest, several of which lack straightforward labeling inscriptions.

Figure 3.20 is a masterful portrait of a teacher who did not belong to the previously discussed schools. For many years his identity was unknown. The painting's date and provenance could only be determined by carefully identifying its lineal gurus. I was able to read these inscriptions:

1. rDo rje 'chang (Vajradhara)
2. [Vajrayoginī]
3. A bha ya (Abhaya)
4. 'Dren zhabs? (Nāyakapāda, 'Dren pa'i zhabs)
5. sT[..]s? [unclear] cu dpal (sTobs bcu dpal)
6. rNam 'brang? (Vikhyātadeva)
7. dPal bzang (Srībhadra)
8. Rol pa'i rdo rje (Lalitavajra)
9. Chos sbas (Dharmagupta)
10. Rin 'byung (Ratnākara)
11. Padma rdo rje (Padmavajra)
12. Rin grags (Ratnakīrti)
13. Sangs rgyas dbyangs (Buddhaghoṣa)

14a. [illegible]...tna (Vanaratna)

15. Chos lnga Rin po che (Dharmarāja Grags pa 'byung gnas)
16. Gan gang ba [or: Gan sang ba?]

(I did not find inscriptions under 2, 14b, 17 or 18.)

It has been asserted that more than one lineage is represented by the lineal gurus.[245] But the painting portrays a single lineage, as sketched in diagram [J].

The central figure (14b) and guru number 14a are both the final Indian masters and both wear their pundit's hats in distinctive ways, with the ear flaps or "tails" tucked in. When I read the end of the inscription of number 14a, I could make out only the end (*...tna*). After some thought it occurred to me that he could be Vanaratna (1384–1468) of Chittagong, the last Indian pundit to visit Tibet and widely teach.[246] If so, the central figure could also be him, and this would be another case of a central figure whose name was not provided by any inscription.

In the first publication of the painting, Jane Casey Singer suggested that the main figure might be Atiśa, and she pointed out some possible stylistic parallels at Gyantse.[247] In its second publication, Heather Stoddard identified the main figure as Vanaratna, but with no explanation. She followed Casey Singer in suspecting a link with Gyantse and its great lords, who did invite Vanaratna to their domains. Stoddard even asserted that Vanaratna had been portrayed in the Gyantse stupa, among the Kālacakra gurus.[248] His image does not appear there, though in his *Gyantse Revisited* Lo Bue discusses Vanaratna's life at some length for other reasons.[249]

Gyantse was by no means the only place that Vanaratna received reverent patronage in Tibet. Indeed, for this painting, his patron came not from Tsang but from Ü Province and belonged to no less than the court of the Phagmotrupa government. Vanaratna was supported by the highest members of that court in the 1430s, including the ruler. A link to the ruler is proven by the name of Vanaratna's disciple in the lineage, guru number 15, who is called Precious One of the Five Dharmas (Chos lnga Rinpoche). That was one title given to the Phagmotrupa ruler Drakpa Jungnay (Grags pa 'byung gnas, 1414–1445).[250] His identity is also confirmed by the Fifth Dalai Lama, who in his record of teachings noted another distinguished lineage whose lineal masters included that ruler: the Sakyapa tradition of the initiation for Red Tārā of Power (Dbang gi sgrol ma), a tradition of Bari Lotsawa (Ba ri Lo tsā ba Rin chen grags pa, 1040–1111) and Sachen.[251]

The main figure, Vanaratna (13b), occurs a second time in the painting as a small lineal guru (13a). Though I could recognize many lineage masters and at least one recent Tibetan master, the lineage structure of the last few generations remains somewhat unclear because three Tibetan teachers (16, 17, and 18) remain unidentified. On one occasion Vanaratna gave the initiations for Abhaya's *Vajrāvali* collection to Drakpa Jungnay, ruler of Tibet. This was recorded prominently by Gö Lotsawa Shönnu Pal ('Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal, 1392–1481) in his *Blue Annals,* in his brief biography of Vanaratna, whose direct disciple he was.[252] Remarkably, Gö Lotsawa provides exactly the same lineage, confirming some names that were only partially legible in the painting:[253]

1. rDo rje 'chang (Vajradhara)
2. Badzra yo gi ni (Vajrayoginī)
3. A bha yā ka ra (Abhayākaragupta)
4. Nā ya kā bu dā (Nāyakapāda, 'Dren pa'i zhabs)
5. Da sha ba la shrī (Daśabalaśrī, sTobs bcu dpal)
6. Bi khyā ta de bah (Vikhyātadeva)
7. Shrī bha dra (Śrībhadra, dPal bzang po)
8. La li ta badzra (Lalitavajra, possibly the master of this name who was also known as rDo rje gdan pa 'bring po, the middle master of Vajrāsana)
9. Dha rma gupta (Dharmagupta)
10. Ratnā ka ra (Ratnākara)
11. Padma badzra (Padmavajra)
12. Ratna kīrti (Ratnakīrti)
13. Sangs rgyas dbyangs (Buddhaghoṣa)
14. Chos kyi rje Paṇ chen Rin po che ("Lord of Dharma, the Precious Great Pundit" =Vanaratna)
15. Chos kyi rgyal po chen po ("The great King of Dharma," = Drakpa Jungnay)

That Vanaratna taught Drakpa Jungnay from 1435 to 1436 is also recorded by other sources, including a longer biography of Vanaratna.[254]

FIG. 3.20
The Indian Pundit Vanaratna with Vajrāvali Lineage
15th century
Distemper on cotton
40 ¼ x 34 ½ in. (102.2 x 87.6 cm)
Kronos Collections
Photograph by John Bigelow Taylor, N.Y.C.
Literature: S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, fig. 55; H. Stoddard 2003, fig. 14.

[J]

8	6	4	1	2	3	5	7	9
10	17?						18?	11
12								13
14a								15
16				**14b**				d1
d2								d3
d4								d5
d6								d7
d8		d8		d10		d11		d12
P		d13	d14	d15	d16	d17	d18	d19

FIG. 3.21
Vanaratna
Ca. 1468
Copper alloy with gilding and polychromy
9 x 6 ½ x 5 ⅝ in. (23 x 16.7 x 14.4 cm)
Oliver Hoare Collection
Literature: R. Prats 2000, no. 176; D. Dinwiddie ed. 2003, no. 99, p. 340.

Stoddard asserted that the artist of the painting was no doubt a member of the team of artists who worked on the Palkor Chöde and Stupa in Gyantse. She also mentioned the presence of highly stylized Ming blue and green landscape paintings in the *thangka*, observing that "all these elements are found in glorious, endless variation" in the 108 chapels of the Gyantse stupa. But the brilliant Chinese landscapes in the painting should have been a warning flag that Gyantse of the 1420s and 1430s would have been an unlikely provenance for it. As Lo Bue observed, the penetration of Chinese elements was very limited at Gyantse.[255]

If we were to suggest a possible link with the wall paintings of a great Tibetan stupa, I would suggest one that dated a generation or so later and which stood in Ü Province: the Champaling (Byams pa gling) Stupa in Lhokha. Founded in 1472, four years after Vanaratna's death, by Champalingpa Sönam Gyaltshen (Byams pa gling pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan, 1401–1475) and Lochen Sönam Gyatsho (Lo chen bSod nams rgya mtsho, 1424–1482).[256] This would bring us up to the time of the revolutionary introduction of Chinese landscape into the backgrounds of paintings and the innovative styles practiced by such outstanding painting masters as Menthangpa (sMan thang pa) and Khyentse Chenmo (mKhyen brtse chen mo). Stronger Chinese elements were probably found in the murals of the stupa, some of which are said to have been painted by Khyentse Chenmo, though none of those murals survived the Cultural Revolution.[257] Khyentse was noted for the realism of his paintings. The painting could well date to about the 1450s and 1460s. It depicts two lineal gurus after Vanaratna, who gave the relevant teachings in the mid-1430s.

Under the patron (P) is an inscription identifying him as such, but not furnishing his name or title. He must have been an influential cleric as he is depicted with a retinue of no fewer than ten attendant monks. He wears a pundit's hat with tails tucked inside, and not the typical meditation hat (*sgom zhwa*) of the Phagmotrupa noble monks (*jengnga, spyan snga*) and many other prominent Dakpo Kagyü lamas. He seems to have been a prominent lama of southern Ü (Lhokha) in that period, if not from Nedongtse (sNe gdong rte) or Thel, then from the circles of lamas who flourished nearby such as Lochen Sönam Gyatsho, Champalingpa, or Gongkar Dorjedenpa. We could get a better idea of the patron's identity if we could decipher the name of his probable guru (16).

Another striking portrait from the same circle is the gilt-copper statue illustrated by Figures 3.21, 3.21a, and 3.21b. It bears an inscription around its base that is detailed but obscure:[258]

> All maintaining of doctrinal assertions is released if reality arises, and hence we should reverently study under the teacher known as "Assertions Released." [This statue] was ordered to be made by the full monk Dripa (sGri pa), the Great Attendant (*nye gnas chen po*), to fulfill the wishes of the deceased great pundit and as a sacred object for the practice of the Great Translator. It was made by the artist Rokpa Tsawa Namkha Gyaltshen (Rog pa rTsa ba Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan). May it be virtuous!

phyogs su 'dzin pa ji snyed pa// de nyid mthong na grol ba'i phyir// phyogs grol zhes bya'i bla ma ni// gus pa yis ni bsten par gyis// paṇ chen gyi dgongs rdzogs dang lo chen gyi thugs dam du nye gnas chen po sgri pa dge slong gis bzhengs ba'i [=*pa'i*] *lha gzo* [=*bzo*] *rog pa rtsa pa nam mkha' rgyal mtshan gyis bgyis dge/*

FIG. 3.21A
Vanaratna
Literature: D. Dinwiddie ed. 2003, no. 99, p. 341.

FIG. 3.21B
Vanaratna
Literature: D. Dinwiddie ed. 2003, no. 99, p. 332.

Thus the main subject, an Indian pundit, is identified as the master named Muktipakṣa (Phyogs grol), a name otherwise known only from a few occurrences in lineages transmitted by Vanaratna.[259] In the available *Blue Annals* translation, the same name, Phyogs grol, has been translated once (p. 800) as Muktipakṣa and a second time (p. 803) as Diṅmuka.[260] Without any other evidence, we could identify this statue as depicting the obscure master with that name who lived roughly seven guru generations before Vanaratna. Another of the few occurrences of the name Phyogs grol that I have come across is as the name of the eighth lineal guru of the lineage for the text transmission for the benefits of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgiti* from the record of teachings of Gongkar Dorjedenpa, who received it directly from Vanaratna.[261]

Yet when we compare this statue with the similar painted Indian pundit in Figure 3.20, a striking similarity is obvious.[262] Based on that strong likeness, we can also suggest his identity as Vanaratna and interpret the inscription as referring to his death. (i.e., in about 1468). We also can conclude that it was made to be used in the personal worship of his student the Great Translator (Lo chen), probably Lochen Sönam Gyatsho. It is very odd that even with such a long and detailed inscription, the identity of the portrait's subject could not be ascertained in a straightforward way, and it still puzzles me that he was not simply called Vanaratna.

Sakya Lotsawa and His Teacher Lowo Khenchen

As the last painted portrait in this chapter, let us examine Figure 3.22, a striking monochrome gold painting of an eminent lama. Here the main figure bears no labeling inscription at all. In a previous catalog the painting was called simply Sakya Master. The minor figures are identified:

1. [Vajradhara]
2. rJe dKon mchog 'phel (Könchok Phel)
3. bDag chen Chos [rje]
4. 'Jam dbyangs shes rab rin chen
5. Grub chen Phyag rdor ba
6. 'Khrul zhig Tshul khrims rgyal mtshan
7. mKhan chen Kun blo ba
8. rJe..... dge ba
9. sNgags 'chang..... dpal bzang
10. Shākya seng [ge]
11. Chos rje Yon tan pa
12. gDong skyes pa
13. Ser chen Chos bzangs pa
14. Paṇ chen Grags pa rdo rje
15. Lowo Khenchen

If, and only if, you know the history of the relevant tradition, can you begin to recognize the pattern that these names embody. The main figure is shown surrounded by his twelve teachers and the Buddha Vajradhara. The arrangement of figures is shown in diagram [K]:

The golden painting is sumptuous, befitting its subject, who appears to have been a throne-holder of Sakya. But which one? The identities of the minor figures lead me to conclude that its central figure is the great sixteenth-century master Sakya Lotsawa Jamyang Kunga Sönam (Sa skya Lo tsā ba 'Jam dbyangs kun dga' bsod nams, 1485–1533) of the Düchö (Dus mchod) Palace of Sakya. As twenty-third throne holder of Sakya, his tenure was from 1496 to 1533. The rendering of Sakya Lotsawa (or Salo for short) seems to have a few distinctive features, but not many. Note the classic Chinese throne back, which we saw in Figures 1.17 and 1.18.

So, as in Figure 3.13, the lamas behind the main figure do not constitute a lineage. As a young boy, Sakya Lotsawa's first two main tutors were (14) Minyak Paṇḍita Drakpa Dorje (Mi nyag Paṇḍita Grags pa rdo rje, d. 1491) and (15) Lowo Khenchen, who are portrayed as youthful lamas to his right and left. I assume that this exquisite gold *thangka* was commissioned in the great lama's honor by one of his main students either in the last decades of his life or soon after he died, in 1533, at the age of forty-eight.

Paintings that depict a great master surrounded by his teachers are rare. Yet their occasional occurrence does not indicate any diminishing of the importance of complete lineages.

A minor figure who is of interest here is his revered teacher Lowo Khenchen, who was allotted a fairly good place in the painting among the other minor figures, being depicted larger and to the right-hand side of the main figure. An outstanding scholar and princely monk of Lo Mustang, Lowo Khenchen was one of the most important spiritual tutors of the young masters of Sakya and Ngor Monasteries in the early sixteenth century, as this painting also bears witness.

The paintings of Sakya Lotsawa's gurus are disappointingly plain. Among them, the depiction of Lowo Khenchen also seems undistinguished: he is an attentive young lama with attractive features, but nothing strikes us as special. Since Lowo Khenchen had reached a venerable age by then, we can only surmise that the painter had no clear idea of his actual physical appearance, or at least made no effort to show it. I have heard that sometimes older masters were purposefully depicted as young and vital, with prayers for their longevity (written or just mentally intoned), though I have no reason to believe that the person who commissioned this painting had that in mind.

This was the only painted depiction of Lowo Khenchen that I remember seeing. Paintings of him did exist in Mustang, such as a large *thangka* that once existed at Gelung Monastery in southern Mustang. According to an informant, it was stolen in the late 1990s. Previously preserved at Pal

FIG. 3.22
Sakya Lotsawa with His Twelve Teachers and Buddha Vajradhara
16th century
Distemper (gold and pigments) on cloth
35 ⅜ x 27 ½ in. (90 x 70 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
C2006.42.5 (HAR 89148)
Literature: H. Kreijger 2001, p. 78, no. 24.

[K]

4	2	1		3	5
8		6	7		9
	10			11	
12					13
14		**16**			15

Sangor Tashi Chöling Monastery in Gelung Village, it was about two and a half meters (8 feet) long, including its cloth frame. It depicted Lowo Khenchen with episodes from his life story.[263] I have not found mention of paintings or statues of Lowo Khenchen in contemporaneous or later sources. The only surviving painting of Lowo Khenchen that I have learned of is one that portrays him surrounded by details of his saintly life; it was sold twice at auction.[264]

Yet when it comes to statues depicting Lowo Khenchen, the situation is different. Many statues have survived that date to his lifetime. Because of the increasing commercial demand for Tibetan art, other negative circumstances such as the Khampa guerrilla camps in Mustang in the 1960s and early 1970s, and some instances of local neglect, many statues of Lowo Khenchen were taken from monasteries in Mustang. However regrettable the losses, those numerous surviving statues provide us with a rare chance to compare several statues of a single lama. We can hope that the more skillfully rendered images show us how he actually looked, and any shared similarities would confirm those features.

Most of the statues were probably made in his native land of Mustang. (Metal inlay such as distinctive silver eyes marks many of them.) Either the artists had seen him or they had access to other already existing realistic images. The large number of statues contrasts sadly with the almost complete lack of accessible painted image nowadays, though a few paintings may eventually turn up.

This first statue depicting Lowo Khenchen (Fig. 3.23) conveys at a glance the kind personality of the great Mustangi savant. It is unusually colorful for a Tibetan bronze, thanks to its inlayed copper, silver, and turquoise. Such inlays are hallmarks of many statues cast in Mustang in about his time. His receding hairline with a thin strip of hair still extending part of the way down his pate and his slightly portly build are typical of many statues depicting him, and they are in keeping with his status as a venerable noble monk in late middle age. As a symbol of his great wisdom and insight, he holds the Mañjuśrī hand emblems–sword and sacred *Perfection of Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā)* scripture)–which rest upon little lotuses whose stems he holds. A flaming jewel stands atop the palm of his left hand, and he holds his right hand in the gesture of giving.

The statue was previously identified correctly as the Sakya Lama Sönam Lhündrub by Marylin Rhie and Robert Thurman in their 1991 catalog, *Wisdom and Compassion*. It was commissioned by a noble patron named Pöndrung Drolma, with his wife and retinue, as recorded by an inscription. I could read from a photograph: *oṃ swa sti siddhaṃ/ 'gro ba'i mgon po bsod nams lhun 'grub la/ dpon drung sgrol ma ... yab yum 'khor bcas rnams/ sgo gsum dgus* [=*gus*] *pa chen po'i* [=*pos*] *skyabs su mchi/ mchog dang thun mong dngos grub ...* [*brtsal tu gsol*?] (Pöndrung Drolma, together with his wife and retinue take refuge in the protector of living beings, Sönam Lhündrup, and they pray that he may grant them the highest and ordinary spiritual attainments [*siddhi*]).[265] I assume that the patrons were devoted noble disciples of his from Mustang from approximately the last three decades of his life.

Figure 3.24 probably also depicts Lowo Khenchen, smiling with calm benificence. He can be recognized thanks to his similarity with Figure 3.23, especially the distinctive hairline that they share. Here the lama appears a decade or two younger and holds his right hand in the gesture of teaching. He holds a jewel emblem in his lap, which clearly includes not one but three jewels. He holds a *vajra* and bell in the place of the Mañjuśrī hand emblems (sword and sacred *Perfection of Wisdom* scripture) that the previous statue possesses.

FIG. 3.23
Lowo Khenchen Sönam Lhundrup
Mustang, northwestern Nepal; first half of the 16th century
Brass, with copper, silver, and turquoise inlay
Height: 7 ⅞ in. (20 cm)
Zimmerman Family Collection
Literature: G. Béguin et al. 1977, no. 152; and M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1991, p. 205, no. 63 "Sakya Lama Sönam Lhündrub."

The lama is depicted wearing a colorful lama's vest, whose red fringe was executed through copper inlay. He was previously unidentified for lack of labeling inscriptions. Weldon and Casey Singer in their 2003 catalog, *Faces of Tibet*, called him just Lama, but they recognized him to be possibly a high lama of the Sakya Order, referring to a similar unidentified image now in Basel.[266] The statue in Switzerland that they referred to turns out to be another statue of Lowo Khenchen with the typical Mustangi inlay of silver in the eyes.[267]

Figure 3.25 is a mysterious case. Iconographically he is identical to Figure 3.24, as a venerable monk holding a three-jewel emblem on his lap and a *vajra* and bell in the place of the Mañjuśrī hand emblems. Though its subject is in many respects very similar to Figure 3.24, he possesses a beard. His hairline is also quite different from that of both Figures 3.23 and 3.24.

Luckily, the statue has an inscription. But just how lucky are we? The verse inscribed around its base refers to three important occurrences in the subject's life: he studied under noble teachers for twenty years; thanks to the blessings of his guru, unfavorable conditions turned into friendly ones; and he attained signs of a saint (*'phag pa, ārya*) through the power of his prayerful aspirations. These episodes could be construed to fit the life of Lowo Khenchen.[268] The inscription reads: *oṃ swa sti/ dam pa'i zhabs bcu phrag*

FIG. 3.24
Lowo Khenchen Sönam Lhundrup
Mustang, northwestern Nepal; ca. 1490–1540
Metal with inlay
9 ½ in. (24.2 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
C2004.14.7 (HAR 65359)
Literature: D. Weldon and J. Casey Singer 2003, no. 37, "Lama."

gnyis lo brten// bla ma'i thugs rjes rkyen ngan grogs su shar// smon lam stobs kyis 'phags pa'i mtshan ma thob// bo dhi dhi tsha'i zhabs la phyag 'tshal lo
(Homage to the venerable Bodhi dhitsha, who attended upon noble preceptors for twenty years, for whom, thanks to the compassion of his guru, adverse conditions turned favorable, and who, through the power of his prayerful aspirations, attained signs of sainthood).

The Sanskrit name in the inscription ("Bo dhi dhi tsha" =Tib. Byang chub....) does not correspond to the known names of Lowo Khenchen or any well known lama. Since the statue's depiction of the lama's hair is different and it lacks the typical Mustangi workmanship (especially metallic inlay), we have no choice but to leave him unidentified. Thus, even when it possesses a full dedicatory inscription, not every portrait can be identified at once.

FIG. 3.25
Lama
Mid-16th century
Bronze
7 x 5 ½ x 4 ¼ in. (17.8 x 14 x 10.8 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
C2002.3.5 (HAR 65049)

Chapter 4

Early Taklung Kagyü Paintings and Their Lineage Conventions

THOUGH NOT EVERY Tibetan painting lends itself to the same detailed investigation, one essential step when studying a *thangka* is to examine its lineage, if one is portrayed.[269] Painted portraits in particular commonly feature minor human figures, who often turn out to be the lineal gurus of the main figures. Understanding such lineages not only enhances the documentation, in general, but also can be, under the right circumstances, a powerful tool for dating the painting. However, until we study lineages in detail, we cannot predict where the analyses will lead or even to what extent a given group of paintings followed the known conventions of lineal descent. In early Tibetan painted portraits in the Sharri style, for example, were the same conventions followed uniformly? The only way to find out is to investigate the structures and lineage depictions of early paintings, preferably not as single paintings but as groups of religiously and iconographically related ones.

For the Sharri style in Tibet, the largest and most promising corpus is a group of early (circa thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) paintings from the Taklung Kagyü School. As many as eighty or ninety early Taklung Kagyü paintings survived in a cache of early and later Sharri-style *thangkas* and were sold outside Tibet.[270] The earliest ones originated with masters of the mother monastery, Taklung, while the later ones were commissioned in the largest monastery of the Taklung Kagyü in Kham.

Detail of Fig. 4.2

Together, this group provides a chance to study for the first time central and eastern Tibetan Sharri-syle paintings in a systematic way.[271]

Historical Background

The Taklung Kagyü tradition was one of the most influential branches of the Dakpo Kagyü tradition during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[272] Its main monastic seat, Taklung, was founded in 1185 by Taklungthangpa Tashi Pal (1142–1210), one of the chief disciples of Phagmotrupa Dorje Gyalpo (Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po,1110–1170), a very charismatic Kagyü mystic. It became on occasion prominent enough to even arouse the envy of other rich and powerful monasteries. During the seventeenth or eighteenth century it was for some reason confiscated by the Ganden Phodrang central government, who appointed their own administrative abbot to run it.[273]

The early Taklung masters were known not only for their contemplative excellence but also their diplomatic skill. They avoided conflict with the Sakya rulers during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the time of Sakya/Yüan rule. Taklung and Riwoche lamas acknowledged for many generations the friendly ties their founding master's guru, Phagmotrupa, had enjoyed with Sakya. This contrasts with the more confrontational history of Drigung, the old Kagyü rival of Taklung, in the late thirteenth century. In 1287 or 1290, Drigung joined forces with soldiers of the Chagatai Khanate, a western Mongol faction with which it historically had enjoyed close links, and rose up against the Sakya/Yüan government with disastrous results: Yüan soldiers razed Drigung Monastery to the ground.

According to the biography of Sanggye Önpo written by Taklung Ngawang Namgyal, the Taklung Kagyü's spiritual forefather, Phagmotrupa, enjoyed cordial relations with Sachen Kunga Nyingpo as one of his highly favored disciples. Phagmotrupa received the Path with the Fruit *(lam 'bras)* instructions from him and took notes–he was evidently the first of Sachen's disciples to do so.[274] (Other sources record that Phagmotrupa continued to venerate Sachen even after studying under Gampopa and traveled to see Sachen at Sakya one last time shortly before his death in 1158.) The biography of Sanggye Önpo also reports that Phagmotrupa's disciple the Taklung founder, Taklungthangpa Tashi Pal, maintained a cordial connection with Sachen's son, Drakpa Gyaltshen, albeit from a distance. In the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, Taklungthangpa sent him a letter along with the ritual scull-cup of Śāntarakṣita as a gift, after which Drakpa Gyaltshen appeared to Taklungthangpa in a dream, giving him extraordinary religious instructions and later actually sending him "nectar pills" and other presents.[275]

Once again there was evidence of direct contact between Sakya and Taklung masters for several generations during the period of the imperial

preceptor Phakpa (1235–1280), who visited Taklung on his way back from the Yüan court in 1265. By then Phakpa was ruler of Tibet, and it would have been highly impolitic for the Taklung lamas to avoid meeting him personally.[276] The venerable third abbot, Sanggye Yarjön (1203–1272), came out of retreat to greet Phakpa cordially and requested him to look after Taklung, its teachers, headed by his nephew Tashi Lama (Bkra shis bla ma,1231–1297), and its patrons. Phakpa promised to do so.[277] In 1273 Phakpa supported the appointment of Tashi Lama, the nephew of the second abbot, Kuyalwa, as the fourth abbot of Taklung. This meant that Sanggye Yarjön's other main disciple and successor, Sanggye Önpo, was not chosen as abbot.[278]

The rejected abbatial candidate, Sanggye Önpo, also a nephew of Sanggye Yarjön, had also been led to believe by his uncle that he would become the next abbot. (His uncle shortly before his death had personally handed over to him sacred objects of Taklung that he was never supposed to part from, as part of a formal recognition as successor, in order to assure the continuation and spreading of their spiritual tradition.)[279] Unable to stay at Taklung, and yet unable to abandon those objects, Sanggye Önpo left, traveling back to his native province, Kham, in 1273. He took many sacred objects with him. When later asked by an emissary from Sakya to return them, he refused, saying that as long as he still lived, he would not entrust to anyone the sacred objects that he was not supposed to part from.[280] In Kham he founded the great monastery of Riwoche in 1276.[281]

Sanggye Önpo, too, cultivated contacts with the Sakyapa rulers and highest clergy. In about 1276 he received a visit from none other than Phakpa, who was passing through Kham on his way from the Yüan court to central Tibet and Sakya. The two lamas enjoyed a cordial meeting, and Sanggye Önpo reminded Phakpa of the previous links between Phagmotrupa and Taklungthangpa on the one hand, and the great Sakya masters Sachen and Drakpa Gyaltshen on the other.[282] At this time Sanggye Önpo sat at the head of the religious convocations held in memory of the passing of the Sakya masters Sönam Tsemo (Sachen's son and Phakpa's great uncle) and Chakna (Phyag na, Phakpa's brother, d. 1267). Sanggye Önpo's successor at Riwoche was Chöku Orgyen Gönpo (Chos sku O rgyan mgon po, 1293–1366). His father had served Phakpa as an attendant, and it was at about the time of this service that Chöku Orgyen Gönpo was conceived.[283]

At the mother monastery of Taklung it is recorded that the abbot Tashi Lama met with the Sakya successor Dharmapāla on his way from Sakya to China.[284] The Sakya-Taklung connection continued in the coming generations, eventually involving Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltshen (Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan, 1312–1375) and the Taklung masters who were his disciples, through the fourteenth century at Taklung and Sakya. In Kham in the first decade of the fifteenth century, Thekchen Chöje Kunga Tashi (1349–1425) of Lhakhang (Lha khang) Palace at Sakya visited Riwoche, either on his way to or while returning from the Ming imperial court.[285] Still later, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Taklung lamas remained aloof from the political conflicts between the Tsang rulers and Ü (dBus) nobles and the bitter "Red-hat versus Yellow-hat" sectarian struggles, at one time offering temporary refuge to a large body of Geluk monks who had been driven away from their mother monasteries in the early seventeenth century by the Tsang king.

Though damaged by at least one major fire, the mother monastery of Taklung remained an important repository of religious traditions, scriptures, and art in northern Ü Province.[286] The corpus of early Taklung Kagyü paintings that mysteriously appeared in the West in the last two decades offers a rare chance to investigate the stylistic development of Tibetan painting in the thirteenth through mid-fourteenth century.[287] Those paintings, however, did not come directly from Taklung in central Tibet, as was first supposed, but from a cache at its main branch monastery in eastern Tibet, Riwoche, which, as has been noted above, had been founded in the late thirteenth century in western Kham as a consequence of a disputed abbatial succession at Taklung. In that seemingly peaceful but still traumatic schism, the rejected candidate to the abbacy, Sanggye Önpo, carried off to Kham Province a large number of sacred objects, including no doubt some of the very paintings that form this corpus. Riwoche Monastery became almost immediately one of the richest and most imposing monasteries in Kham.[288] (During the central government's direct administration of Taklung Monastery in Ü, Riwoche in Kham became the main center of Taklung Kagyü teaching and practice.)[289] It remained an important repository of old sacred art in Kham until the twentieth century, but it was damaged in the first decades of that century during fighting between Chinese and Tibetan armies. It was still in noticeable disrepair in 1918 when the learned Nyingma pilgrim Kathok Situ visited it.[290]

The Main Lineage of the Taklung Kagyü Order

The most important lineage of the Taklung Kagyü is that for the central Dakpo Kagyü precepts of the Six Dharmas of Nāropa (*Nā ro chos drug*). This lineage runs:[291]

1. Vajradhara (rDo rje 'chang)
2. Tilopa
3. Nāropa
4. Marpa Lotsawa (1012–1096)

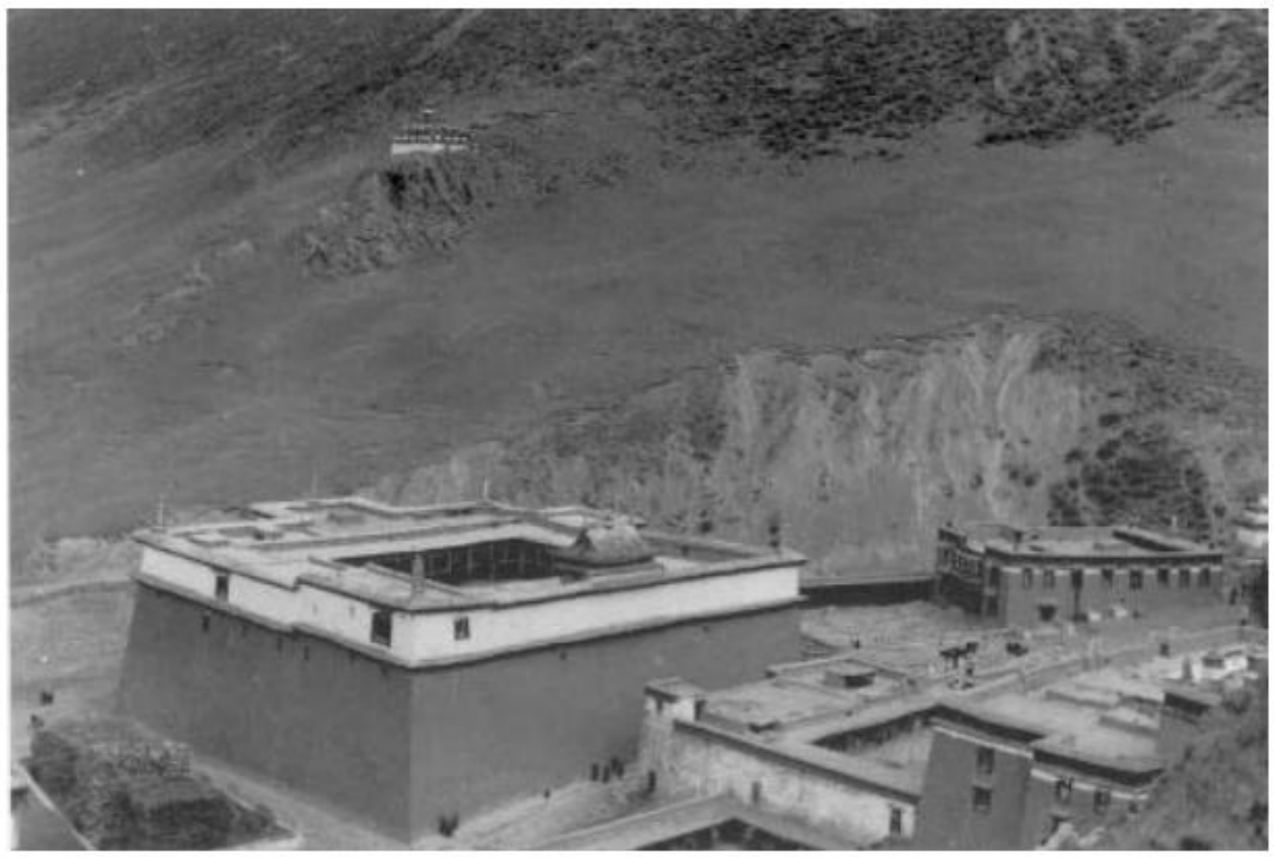


FIG. 4.1
Taklung Monastery
Photograph by Hugh Richardson
Literature: H. Richardson 1998, pl. 55.

5. Milarepa (1040–1123)
6. Gampopa or Dakpo Lhaje Sönam Rinchen (Dwags po Lha rje bSod nams rin chen, 1079–1153)
7. Phagmotrupa Dorje Gyalpo (1110–1170)
8. Taklungthangpa Tashi Pal (sTag lung thang pa Bkra shis dpal, 1142–1210), first abbot of Taklung[292]
9. Kuyal Rinchen Gön (1191–1236), second abbot of Taklung[293]
10. Chöku Sanggye Yarjön Sherab Lama (1203–1272), third abbot of Taklung
11. Chöje Tashi Lama (Manggala Guru, 1231–1297), fourth abbot of Taklung. He became abbot in 1273, a year after his master's passing. He enjoyed the support of Phakpa.
12. Nyamme Sanggye Palzang (mNyam med Sangs rgyas dpal bzang, 1257–1310), fifth abbot of Taklung
13. Chöje Ratna Guru (1288-?), sixth abbot of Taklung
14. Trulku Ratnākara (1300–1361), seventh abbot of Taklung
15. Khedrup Namkha Palzang (mKhas grub Nam mkha' dpal bzang, 1333–1379), eighth abbot of Taklung

(Continuation of the Taklung lineage)[294]

This is the shared Taklung lineage up to guru number ten. But with the eleventh masters we must distinguish between the lineage of Taklung Monastery (through Tashi Lama) and the Riwoche Monastery lineage (which passes down through Sanggye Önpo, 1251–1296):

8 Taklungthangpa Tashi Pal (Bkra shis dpal)
9 Kuyal Rinchen Gön
10 Chöku Sanggye Yarjön
11b Sanggye Önpo
12a Sanggye Palzang
12b Orgyen Gönpo (O rgyan mgon po)

(Continuation of the Riwoche lineage)[295]

In the following pages, the diagrams of the structure of individual *thangkas* assign each member of the lineage or lineages portrayed a number following the list of abbots of the relevant monastery.

When referring to a subgroup of later Taklung paintings that were probably from Riwoche, Jane Casey Singer mentioned the presence of consecratory inscriptions on the back that name all Taklung lineage masters down to Sanggye Önpo, followed by one or more. She added: "The difficulty in providing an accurate date for some of these portraits lies in... determining the identity (and therefore dates) of the last figures mentioned in the list of lineage holders."[296] Though the main way to identify the last guru is, no doubt, a careful investigation of those consecration and other inscriptions, another tool for confirming to which generation the last lineal guru belonged is to analyze the lineal structure of the paintings, in other words, to count the gurus.

Five Structural Types

Let us now examine several of the better-known or more accessible Taklung and Riwoche paintings, in order to clarify their lineages and structures. A few have already been published and described by others in some detail, which simplifies the task of lineage identification.[297] If we order the paintings from the point of view of a starting point, they can be divided into two groups: those whose lineages begin in the upper-left corner and those beginning at the top center. If we classify them further, according to convention of lineal descent, they belong to five types:

1. The classic Indic type, which starts at the top far left and goes straight across to the right[298]
2. The same, except with a guru or small group of gurus inserted in the middle of the top row[299]
3. Starting near the top center and going left, then returning to the top center and continuing right[300]
4. Double lineages, both of which start near the top center (a special

structural convention not yet described in detail)

5. Beginning near the top center and alternating back and forth[301]

Within each of those five types of lineal conventions, I group together paintings of similar iconographic subjects. For each painting, I chart the structure and count the number of generations of gurus portrayed down to the generation of the patron-practitioner (P).[302]

For many paintings I could not directly consult the works themselves or read all their inscriptions systematically. That can be a serious drawback for paintings of the Taklung/Riwoche corpus, which often have important inscriptions on the backs. Instead I concentrate mainly on the readily observable structural and iconographic features, hoping in the future to consider more inscriptions as they become accessible.

Group 1: Paintings with Classic Indic Lineages

Figure 4.2 depicts Taklungthangpa Tashi Pal (1142–1210), the great founder of Taklung, with his lineage, golden footprints, and manifestations. Its lineage in the top register follows the old and uncomplicated convention: simply proceeding from (our) left to right in the top register. This portrait also depicts Taklungthangpa's painted footprints, symbols of his enduring spiritual presence. Footprints are rare in Taklung Kagyü paintings, and they may be evidence that this painting dates earlier than many in the corpus (i.e., to about the early thirteenth century). Presumably, they were copies of Taklungthangpa's original footprints made by his disciples, following the tradition of Phagmotrupa.[303]

The painting was previously dated to about 1200. That accords fairly well with its structure as mapped in diagram [A]. (F = footprints.)

The patron in Figure 4.2 belonged to the generation of Kuyal Rinchen Gön (1191–1236), second abbot of Taklung. The painting (or its original, since it may be a later copy) was thus commissioned by a direct disciple of Taklungthangpa, though written evidence to support this is lacking. (If Kuyalwa was the patron, then the painting must date to before his death in 1236.)

The iconography and arrangement of the later standard portraits of Taklungthangpa are already anticipated here. As will also be confirmed by later copies of that portrait (Figs. 4.7, 4.11, etc.), the main figure is accompanied by a fixed group of four deities in the side columns: Śākyamuni (d1), Avalokiteśvara (d2), Cakrasamvara (d3), and Vajravārāhī (d4). Their presence relates to episodes in Taklungthangpa Tashi Pal's life in which his disciples saw their lama in these forms.[304] Here Cakrasamvara (d3) actually appears twice (d3–1 and d3–2), once as a main figure and once as one of a fixed group of four smaller figures.

Guru number 8, Taklungthangpa, is represented three times in identical ways (8a, 8b, and 8c), even down to his moustache; there is presumably a historical reason for this threefold depiction, which may be another miracle in the life of the master. (Note that he alone of all human gurus is depicted frontally, which was a virtually unknown mode of representation for human teachers until about the time of Taklungthangpa's guru Phagmotrupa.) Moreover, all seven divine figures or gurus shown in the conventionalized thatched hut (numbers 8a, 8b, 8c, d1, d2, d3, and d4) represent the same great founder of Taklung. Some of the multiple images must reflect his ability, referred to in his hagiography, to manifest himself in multiple visible physical forms at the same time, which he did on many occasions.[305]

The brief hagiography of Taklungthangpa in Gö Lotsawa's *Blue Annals* records that Phagmotrupa told Taklungthangpa to make his own hut at Thel out of willow (Tib. *glang/blang ma*, himalayan willow) twigs, no bigger than he could construct in one day.[306] This biography also stresses that Taklungthangpa was of the same nature or essence as both Phagmotrupa and Indrabhūti. Phagmotrupa told him, "Of the three masters named Indrabhūti who appeared in history, I am the earlier and the later. You are the middle one. All three are of the same essence." His disciple Gomsam (sGom bsam) actually saw him manifesting in the form of Phagmotrupa.[307] In another instance of Taklungthangpa's manifesting to a disciple as Phagmotrupa, even his voice sounded like Phagmotrupa's.[308] When Taklungthangpa was about to die, he said, "I have never been apart from Phagmotrupa." When standing in Phagmotrupa's holy meditation hut, he said to his nephew and a handful of close attendants that people hadn't understood his statement about not being apart from Phagmotrupa. He said that he was in fact Phagmotrupa.[309]

Gö Lotsawa's brief biography of Taklungthangpa also mentions that Taklungthangpa stayed at Densa Thel (Phagmotru) six years, studying under Phagmotrupa during what was then his first of three visits to Phagmotru. He went to Taklung in 1180 and lived there (in a thatched meditation hut) thirty years in all. At the end of that period, nearly three thousand monks gathered at Taklung. He never forgot Densa Thel Monastery, donating countless manuscript copies of sacred scriptures and also making donations to support the perpetual burning of 283 butter lamps in its shrines. He also insisted, in 1198, on building a great temple, or *vihara*, at Densa Thel to house and protect the images of his late guru, a project that others helped him accomplish.[310]

On his last visit to Densa Thel, Taklungthangpa donated a large number

FIG. 4.2
Taklungthangpa with His Footprints, Lineage, and Manifestations
Ca. 1200
20 ½ x 13 in. (52 x 34 cm)
Musee des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, France (MA 5176) Lionel Fournier donation Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY Photograph by Gérard Blot ART418890
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1995, pl. 36; G. Béguin 1990, p. 20, pl. 2; G. Béguin 1995, cat. no. 143; and K. Selig Brown 2004, fig. 17.

[A]

1	2	3	4		5	6	7	1b
d1				8a				d2
d3-1		**F1**				**F2**		d4
8b				**d3-2**				8c
P (=9?)			d10	d9	d8	d7	d6	d5

of gilt and silver statues, 550 volumes of scriptures written in ink, and many other costly treasures. Late in life he offered 700 black-page manuscripts with gold and silver letters, countless ordinary ink manuscripts, and many other costly objects. In 1209, when he heard that the scriptures of Densa Thel had been moved to Gampo (sGam po) by Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo ('Jig rten mgon po Rin chen dpal, 1143–1217), the news depressed him greatly.[311] (That occurred in the second year of Drakpa Jungnay's abbacy.) The following spring and summer he did not teach much. On the sixteenth day of the eleventh lunar month (*mgo nya,*i.e. *mgo zla ba*) he gave the keys to his library to his nephew. He passed away on the nineteenth day of that month.

After Phagmotrupa's death, Thel remained without an abbot for seven years. Even when Drigung Kyoppa served as abbot for two years (1177–1179), the monastery remained very poor. In 1179 Drigung Kyoppa had a vision of Phagmotrupa, who instructed him to go toward Uru (dBu ru). He accordingly went to Drigung, where he founded his own monastic seat. Then for twenty-eight years (1179 to 1207) Densa Thel was again without an abbot. But during that period, in 1198, Taklungthangpa, Drigung Kyoppa, and many others cooperated to build a large structure at Thel to shelter and enshrine the images of Phagmotrupa. Its contents were damaged during a time of war between two kings of Ngamshö (Ngams shod). Drigung Kyoppa also saw fit to use much of the wealth from Thel for the rebuilding of Samye. He also distributed some of the wealth to two warring kings as part of his peace-making effort.[312] During this period both Taklungthangpa and Drigung Kyoppa tried to maintain Densa Thel Monastery, but they were unable to prevent its decline. Its situation began to improve only later, some years after Drigung Kyoppa appointed Jennga Drakpa Jungnay as abbot in 1208.

FIG. 4.3
Vajravārāhī Mandala with Lineage
Mid-13th century
27 ½ x 22 in. (70 x 56 cm)
Private Collection
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1994, pl. 26; J. Casey Singer 1997, pl. 40; and S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 20.

[B]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
s1							9
d1							s2
d2			[Mandala]				d3
d4							d5
d6							d7
d8							d9
P (10?)		d10	d11	d12	d13	d14	d15

Figure 4.3 depicts a Vajravārāhī mandala with a guru lineage. It was previously dated to before 1210, though that seems a generation too early for the lineage it embodies. Its structure as presented in diagram [B] indicates that the patron belonged to generation 10. As is typical in paintings of mandalas, the composition is square, making space on the top row for another guru. Here teachers 2 through 4 face right, while gurus 5 through 8 face left (toward the center). I have not diagrammed the inner square dominated by the mandala.

An inscription in gold at the bottom states: *bla ma rin po che dpal gyi thugs dam lags//* "It is the sacred object of Bla ma Rin po che dPal [Sanggye Önpo]." The painting was commissioned by Sanggye Yarjön or one of his contemporaries, and later it came into the possession of Sanggye Yarjön's disciple Sanggye Önpo.[313] At the end of the lama lineage one finds an Indian monk (m1) and an adept (*siddha*) wearing a golden crownlike head ornament (s1).

Sanggye Önpo added a very interesting inscription on the back:[314]

> *mtshungs med bla ma dam pa pradznya ghu ru dang// bdag ghir ti shri ra smi bha tra 'bral med ci gsung bka' bsgrub cing// rang sems 'khrul pa dag pa dang// 'gro ba'i 'dren pa nus par shog//.*
>
> May I, Kīrtiśrīrasmibhadra, achieve whatever my matchless noble guru has commanded [me] not to separate myself from, may my own mind be purified of confusion, and may I be able to serve as a spiritual guide for living beings.

This inscription refers to Sanggye Önpo's wish to carry out the commands of his guru Sanggye Yarjön, especially his command that Sanggye Önpo not part from certain holy objects at Taklung, including this and similar

FIG. 4.4
Vajravārāhī Mandala with Lineage
Late 12th to early 13th century
16 ¾ x 13 ⅞ in. (42.5 x 35.4 cm)
Collection of Lionel Fournier
Literature: G. Béguin 1990, p. 173, pl. D.

[C]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			[Mandala]				
P (9?)			d1	d2	d3	d4	d5

paintings. The inscription must date to the period of Sanggye Önpo's stay in Kham. (Similar inscriptions mentioning consecrations by Sanggye Önpo are commonly found on many of the Taklung-Riwoche paintings.) When discussing the inscriptions, Casey Singer correctly surmised that the golden inscription on this painting was probably added later to an early painting that Sanggye Önpo inherited from his teachers.[315]

The painting bears yet another inscription on the back, which is partly illegible. If the correct reading of the defaced number is "four" (*bzhi*), that would imply that the author of the (later) inscription believed that the *thangka* was commissioned and first consecrated by *chos rje rin po che* (Taklungthangpa). But it is possible that the original inscription instead read: *yab sras* [*gnyis*]. The painting's structure, moreover, indicates that it was commissioned by a patron in Sanggye Yarjön's generation. It would therefore date to roughly the third quarter of the thirteenth century and not prior to 1210. In general, it seems safer to base our conclusions on both the structure and the inscriptions. Here the lineage should probably take precedence over later unclear inscriptions.

Another early Taklung-Riwoche painting that is worth comparing with the previous mandala (Fig. 4.3) is Figure 4.4, which also depicts a *thangka* of Vajravārāhī with lineage. Its series of gurus also follows the oldest (Indic) convention, as shown in diagram [C].

This lineage, which ends with guru 8, would indicate a date of about 1200, a generation before Figure 4.3. I have not seen any inscriptions. The composition of the mandala also seems earlier than in Figure 4.3, depicting the cemeteries outside the mandala with plenty of room and not yet forcing them into the later, more tightly arranged style of depiction.[316]

FIG. 4.5
Taklung Abbots Kuyalwa and Sanggye Yarjön with Their Lineage
Late 13th century
16 ¾ x 13 ¾ in. (42.5 x 34.9 cm)
Collection of Shelley and Donald Rubin
P1996.19.21 (HAR 319)
Literature: D. Jackson 1999, p. 77, fig. 2; and M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1999, p. 315, no. 102.

[D]

1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8a
B1				8b				B2
		9				**10**		
P (11)		d6	d5		d4	d3	d2	d1

Figure 4.5 depicts as its main subjects the second and third abbots of Taklung: Kuyal(wa) Rinchen Gön 1191–1236) and Sanggye Yarjön Sherab Lama (1203–1272) with their lineage. We can therefore surmise that the painting's patron belonged at least to the generation of Sanggye Önpo; it was possibly commissioned by Sanggye Önpo after he founded Riwoche. Its structure is shown in diagram [D].

The composition is interesting for its duplication of master 8 in the lineage: once at the end of the top register (8a) and again as a small central figure in the second register (8b) and as the immediate teacher of Kuyalwa. The small figure 8b stands out from the rest because of its central position and frontal depiction, which was reserved for Taklungthangpa. (Two partly hidden buddhas are B1 and B2.) The order of the deities pictured in the bottom row is noteworthy: they proceed evidently from right to left, the reverse of the order of the gurus. This is indicated by the position of the protective deity (d6), who, like the patron, should occupy the lowest or last position, following the hierarchy of classes of deities.[317] The patron (P) thus occupies the lowest position, at the hierarchically lowest end of the row.

Figure 4.6 likewise depicts the Taklung abbots Kuyalwa and Sanggye Yarjön with their lineage. It has been dated to about 1236 to 1273. Is that date in accordance with its composition? Its arrangement is shown in diagram [E]. We should note the presence of the old Indian convention of lineal descent. This is the last among the paintings discussed in this chapter to use that convention.

Here six out of seven gurus in the top register face in one direction: toward Vajradhara, the primordial buddha. According to my interpretation, Taklungthangpa appears three times. I cannot think of any other way to account for the other two tiny, half-hidden figures except as gurus 8b and 8c. What is

FIG. 4.6
Taklung Abbots Kuyalwa and Sanggye Yarjön with Their Lineage
Late 13th century
10 ⅝ x 7 ¾ in. (27 x 19.5 cm)
Private Collection
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1997, pl. 38.

[E]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8b			8a			8c
		9		**10**		
P(11?)	d1	d2	d3	d4	d5	d6

doubly unexpected is that they are not shown frontally, as was almost requisite for Taklungthangpa.

In this painting, too, the patron is apparently from generation 11, that of Sanggye Önpo. It would be reasonable to estimate that this painting was commissioned between the deaths of lineage masters 10 (d. 1272) and 11 (d. 1296). I see nothing to contradict that Sanggye Önpo commissioned or consecrated this painting in Kham in the last fifteen or twenty years of his life.

Group 2: Paintings with a Second Type of Lineage

Figure 4.7 is the first of four *thangkas* presented here that follow the convention of descent in which the lineage proceeds from left to right but then is interrupted in the middle. Here guru number 7 (Phagmotrupa, shown with a heavy beard), has been moved to a central position over the main figure. The structure of the painting is shown in diagram [F].

The painting basically follows the lineal structure of Figure 4.2, with the important difference that it adds two generations of gurus (9 and 10) and omits the footprints. The patron therefore probably dates to generation 11, Sanggye Önpo's generation, making the previously suggested date of about 1200 impossible. The last quarter of the thirteenth century would be more likely. Though the style may seem a little more archaic, we cannot simply ignore the presence of two lineal generations (gurus 9 and 10), especially when they appear in their standard forms that we know from Figures 4.5, 4.6, and 4.8. Guru 9 in particular is portrayed with subtle special facial features (long, thin sideburns) that are enough to identify him as distinct from guru 10 and as the main Taklung guru of his generation.[318]

Except for the main subject, Taklungthangpa (8a, 8b, and 8c) and his guru, Phagmotrupa (7), all other humans

Fig. 4.7
Taklungthangpa with His Lineage, Manifestations, and Two Successors
Last quarter of the 13th century
18 ½ x 14 ⅝ in. (47 x 37 cm)
Private Collection
Photograph by John Bigelow Taylor, N.Y.C.
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1994, pl. 25; J. Casey Singer 1997, pl. 37; and S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 18.

[F]

1	2	3	7	4	5	6
d1						d2
d3						d4
8b			**8a**			8c
9						10
P (11?)						

are depicted in partial relief. Note that in this painting, too, all seven divine figures or gurus shown with the conventionalized grass-hut backrests represent Taklungthangpa or his emanations. At the bottom, four faces peer from windows in a monastic setting, no doubt Taklung Monastery (the central one is clearly guru 8, Taklungthangpa) near the time of its foundation. The scene also includes depictions of two golden memorial stupas and a hut with a roof of cogon grass or a similar easily available local thatching material. I believe that it represents Taklungthangpa's original modest residence at Taklung, a thatched meditation hut (*'jag spyil*), here shown with its base concealed behind a wall.[319] That hut became the kernel around which the later monastery of Taklung grew. Given Taklungthangpa's virtual spiritual identification with Phagmotrupa, it is perhaps less surprising that he, too, was closely identified with a similar meditation hut at his own monastic seat.

Figure 4.8 depicts the first three abbots of Taklung as its three main figures. Its structure is shown in diagram [G], which includes three tiny figures just below the top row.

The presence of two teachers after the third main figure, Sangye Yarjön (10), i.e., gurus 11 and 12, mark the painting as having been commissioned in a period one generation after the time of Sanggye Önpo. This painting is a case where one of the typically earlier lineal conventions was used in a later painting. Perhaps it was copied from an earlier example, adding gurus 11 and 12 below.

Figure 4.9 depicts as its main subject Sanggye Önpo, here called Drakpa Palwö, a shortened form of his ordination name, Drakpa Pal Wöser Zangpo (Grags pa dpal 'od zer bzang po).[320] He was the founder of Riwoche and was born the second child of Yöndak Dorje Rinchen (Yon bdag rDo rje rin chen), the older brother of the third

FIG. 4.8
The Taklung Abbotts Kuyalwa and Sangye Yarjön
Mid-14th century
15 x 12 ⅝ in. (38 x 32 cm)
Yixi Pingcuo Collection
Literature: Kathleen Kalista 2009, no. 15.

[G]

B1	1	2	3	7	4	5	6	d1
s1								s2
				8				
		9				**10**		
P(13?)		12	11	d2	d3?	d4	d5	d6

abbot of Taklung. Sanggye Önpo is said to have served for one year as the temporary head of Taklung Monastery after Sanggye Yarjön's death, before he felt compelled to leave. Born in 1251, he was twenty years younger than his cousin Tashi Lama (b. 1231), who became abbot of Taklung. Because Sanggye Önpo's succession to the abbacy was only temporary, he is not counted among the genuine throneholders *(khri pa)* or successive abbots *(gdan rabs)* of Taklung: he merely served as interim abbot (*khri mjug)*, i.e., as acting abbot just after the prior abbot's death. His rejection at Taklung resulted in his founding of Riwoche in Kham, where his own lineage continued.[321]

The composition of Figure 4.9 includes a new convention. The lineage begins as shown in diagram [H].

Only guru 8, the great founder Taklungthangpa, has been given a full frontal depiction. The painting contains in position s1 an adept (*siddha)* who can be identified as Jñānatapa, who is said to have been a previous incarnation of Sanggye Önpo. Two other possible *siddha*s (s2 and s3) are present. The first, s2, is a dark-skinned Indian yogi naked from the waist up (possibly Phadampa). The second, s3, is dressed as an Indian king, perhaps with a golden crown (possibly Padmasambhava). These figures are not the same as s1 and s2 in Figure 4.3, namely an Indian monk (s1) and a *siddha* wearing a golden grown (s2), both at the end of the lama lineage.

In the right and left vertical columns of Figure 4.9, eight other Indian yogic adepts are depicted who make up the fixed group known as the "eight great adepts" (*grub chen brgyad*) shown as ga1–ga8. The bottom row of three multi-handed Anuttarayoga tantra deities (d3–d5) goes from left to right. Two such divinities also appear in the other *thangkas* depicting Sanggye Önpo, Figures 4.15 and 4.10, though in Figure 4.10 they appear in the top row of the painting.

FIG. 4.9
Sanggye Önpo
Late 13th century
15 ⅜ x 12 ¼ in. (39 x 31 cm)
Private Collection
Photograph by John Eskenazi Ltd.
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1997, pl. 41.

[H]

1	2	3	9	8	10	4	5	6
s1	s2						s3	7
ga1								ga2
ga3								ga4
ga5			b1	**11a**	b2			ga6
ga7								ga8
d1								d2
P (12?)	d3	d4		d5	d6		d7	d8

Although Figure 4.9 was at one time dated to about 1272 to 1273, it is more likely to date to the last two decades of the life of its main subject, Sanggye Önpo (1251–1296).[322] It was probably commissioned by a disciple of Sanggye Önpo. Nothing indicates that it was made during his year as interim abbot at Taklung (1272–1273), when he and the other lamas at Taklung would probably have been fully occupied with carrying out various funerary duties such as building the memorial stupa for Sanggye Yarjön. Sanggye Önpo, moreover, was then young and just beginning to establish his reputation as a master. The painting, therefore, probably dates to Sanggye Önpo's years in Kham. It has an inscription recording its consecration by its subject, Sanggye Önpo.[323]

Figure 4.10 depicts the Taklung abbots Kuyal and Sanggye Yarjön. P. Pal in his preface to the proceedings of a London conference on styles described it as a lineage *thangka* with two lamas from central Tibet, in the Kadam style, from Taklung. He dated it to the thirteenth century. Since the patron comes from Sanggye Önpo's generation, the painting should date to at least the late thirteenth century, and its provenance is probably Riwoche, not Taklung. Its structure is shown in diagram [I].

The composition incorporates an interesting further development, with gurus inserted above not once, as we have already seen, but twice. They are gurus 7 and 8 above the main figures (gurus 9 and 10), who interrupt the normal chronological sequence. They are the key gurus Phagmotrupa (7) and Taklungthangpa (8), whose importance is also signaled by their frontal depiction, unlike the other human teachers. Note the presence of five Anuttarayoga tantra tutelary deities in the top two registers (d1 through d5), who seem almost to usurp the place of the lineage lamas and thus go against the normal rules of hierarchy.

FIG. 4.10
The Taklung Abbots Kuyalwa and Sanggye Yarjön
Late 13th century
15 ⅞ x 13 in. (40.3 x 33 cm)
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
(AC1994.47.1)
Literature: P. Pal 1997, preface to J. Casey Singer and P. Denwood 1997 eds., p. 8, pl. iv.

[I]

d1	1	7	2	3	4	5	8	6	d2
d3				d4					d5
		9					**10**		
P (11)		d6	d7	d8	d9	d10	d11		d12

FIG. 4.11
Taklungthangpa Chenpo with His Lineage and Manifestations
First half of the 13th century
12 ⅝ x 9 ⅞ in. (32 x 25 cm)
Courtesy of Michael J. and Beata McCormick Collection
Literature: M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1996, pl. 203 (84a); S. Kossak 2010, fig. 55.

[J]

	3	2	1	7	4	5	6
		s1				s2	
	d1						d2
	d3						d4
	8b			**8a**			8c
	d5						d6
	P (9)	d7	d8	d9	d10	d11	d12

Group 3: Paintings with a Third Type of Lineage

Figure 4.11 depicts again the standard portrait of Taklungthangpa with his lineage and manifestations. His lineage exemplifies the second main convention of a starting point, which is to begin in the center. It goes from Vajradhara (seated just left of center) to the left, then returns to just right of center, and then goes right, before returning to the top center again. The center of the top register is reserved for the guru of the main figure. Here the bottom register of six protectors is identical with those in Figures 4.2 and 4.12. The painting's structure is shown in diagram [J].

As in Figure 4.7, a standard group of four deities–Śākyamuni (d1), Avalokiteśvara (d2), Cakrasamvara (d3), and Vajravārāhī (d4)– accompanies the main figure. Guru 8, Taklungthangpa, again appears three times, though in one case with a different hand gesture. Again, all seven gurus or deities who represent Taklungthangpa or his miraculous emanations are shown in the conventionalized cogon grass hut (8a, 8b, 8c, d1, d2, d3, and d4), no doubt the small residence hut of Taklungthangpa on the plain of Taklung. Below the central figure is depicted a monastic center with a grass-thatch hut and two golden memorial stupas (at Taklung after the death of its first two abbots?). Four figures with similar faces are shown peering out of windows (all wearing a yellow hat), while two monks are seated outside. The painting bears an inscription attesting to its consecration by Sanggye Önpo.

Figure 4.11 was at first dated on the basis of style to the first half of the thirteenth century (i.e., to between 1200 and 1250). It cannot date earlier than this, since this patron, too, belonged to generation 9. S. Kossak has recently dated it to the last quarter of the thirteenth century.[324]

Figure 4.12 is another subsequent copy of the classic portrait of Taklungthangpa with his lineage and emanations. It stands out visually from the others presented here because of the yellow hat that its main figure wears. It follows the same convention of lineal descent as in Figure 4.11. Its lineage proceeds from Vajradhara (seated just left of center) left, then returns to just right of center, from where it proceeds right, before returning to the center again, where the guru of the main figure is placed. In addition, the Four Great Kings, or guardians, of the Four Directions (G1-G4) are depicted, placed in such a way that they create a four-cornered field with a different sense of depth. Such a representation of the four guardians is an iconographic development that began in about the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Note also the body nimbuses of the wrathful figures in the bottom register, which do not appear until about the fourteenth century. Its structure is shown in diagram [K].

According to its structure, Figure 4.12, too, would be at the earliest an early thirteenth-century painting. It was first dated to between 1350 and 1400 because of its similarity with Figure 4.15. J. Casey Singer noticed that over time stylistic subgroups developed at Taklung and Riwoche.[325] She classified this painting together with other later, obviously Riwoche, paintings, dating it to the second half of the fourteenth century.[326] She dates this painting (her Fig. 44, Tashipel with the yellow hat) to between 1350 and 1400 "because the style has developed considerably from that of the late thirteenth century painting in the Musée Guimet" of Önpo (Fig. 4.15)."[327] Then she assigns her Figure 48 (Marpa) to the same period because "it compares so closely with this fourteenth-century Tashipel portrait [Fig. 4.12, her Fig. 44]."

My dating of both to about the early or mid-fourteenth century would be a generation or two earlier, in keeping with my dating of the end of the Sharri style everywhere in Tibet to about the 1350s or 1360s. If we can find hard evidence for dating this example of the style to later than that, then we will also have to move forward the cessation of the style, at least in Kham.

J. Casey Singer's dating would mean that several generations have been omitted from the lineage. If this painting did date two centuries later than the early portraits of Taklungthangpa, one explanation would be that as this is a later copy of an early painting of the great founding master, lineal masters subsequent to him were not thought necessary.

It is interesting to note that the patron was a layman with long black hair and a dark blue long-sleeved inner robe. He must be one of the two patrons mentioned in an inscription on the back, which identifies them as the local rulers Miwang Sönam Dorje and (possibly his younger brother) Lhabu (divine son) Akhar, together with the latter's wife and son. (Those patrons also commissioned Fig. 2.10.)[328] Though they have not yet been definitely identified, my first suspicion was that they might have been local lords of the Gazi family who from their castle (*mkhar*) were the main patrons of Riwoche. (If they flourished in the mid-fourteenth century, they would have been nephews or great-nephews of Chöku Orgyen Gönpo, who died in 1366.) The presence of that unusual element *mkhar* in one of the patron's title or name (*a mkhar*) made me suspicious, but it is not sufficient to link him with the Gazi family.[329]

Below the central figure, there is depicted again the monastic center of Taklung, but now it has become a jumble of buildings. We can see three memorial stupas to the left (after the death of Taklungthangpa and his first two successors) and we can still find the roof of the grass hut, if we know where to look. Several faces similar to those in Figure

FIG. 4.12
Taklungthangpa with His Lineage and Emanations
Ca. early to mid-14th century
23 ⅝ x 21 ⅛ in. (60 x 51 cm)
Collection Mimi Lipton
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1997, pl. 44.

[K]

3	2	1	7	4	5	6
G1	s1				s2	G2
d1						d2
d3			**8a**			d4
8b						8c
G3						G4
P (9)	d5	d6	d7	d8	d9	d10

4.11 are shown peering out of windows, all topped by the same yellow hat (presumably they represent Taklungthangpa manifesting himself miraculously). This painting deserves a closer study, which was not at first possible from its tiny originally published illustration.[330]

Figure 4.13 also portrays Taklungthangpa as main figure, repeating basically the same composition with vertical columns and horizontal registers of seven figures. Its overall size is about the same as Figure 4.12. But it is larger than most of the other better-known paintings of this master.

The portrait's arrangement is shown in Diagram [L]. The *thangka* depicts the lineage only as far as Taklungthangpa, teacher number 8. Its patron must accordingly date to the ninth generation, at the earliest. But it may have been a copy of a standard icon made a generation or two later than that. Its long inscription on the rear in cursive script includes, in the first line of the final section, the telltale lines referring to Sanggye Önpo's command not to part from these sacred objects, beginning with the words "*mtshungs med bla ma.*"

The depiction of the patron is remarkable for the large space next to him that is filled with many offerings and implements. In the depiction of Taklung Monastery complex, we can still make out, behind a black wall, the white walls and golden roof of the founder's sacred meditation hut. Three golden memorial stupas are shown to the left.

Figure 4.14 depicts once again the standard portrait of Taklungthangpa with his lineage and miraculous emanations. It employs some of the same conventions of composition seen in Figures 4.11, 4.12, and 4.13. The lineage proceeds from Vajradhara (seated just left of center) to the left, then it returns to just right of center, from where it goes right, and returns to the center again. Its structure is mapped in diagram [M].

FIG. 4.13
Taklungthangpa Tashi Pal
Ca. late 13th century
23 ⅝ x 18 ⅞ in. (60 x 48 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland

[L]

3	2	1	7	4	5	6
G1	s1?				s2?	G2
d1						d2
d3			**8a**			d4
8b						8c
G3						G4
P(9?)	d5	d6	d7	d8	d9	d10

Once again, the Four Great Kings of the Four Directions (G1-G4) have been depicted in the peculiar four-cornered arrangement. As usual, Taklungthangpa appears three times, though once (8b) with a yellow meditation hat (*sgom zhwa*). Again he is also shown in four divine manifestations (d1, d2, d3, and d4), and all his manifestations appear within stylized grass-thatched huts (*spyil bu*). Two Indian masters peek out as tiny figures (s1 and s2)—perhaps they represent Taklungthangpa's earlier lives? In the depiction of Taklung Monastery below we find him manifesting in several windows simultaneously. Three golden stupas are already present at the monastic center, and we can make out the white walls and decorated roof of the original thatched hut behind a colorful jumble of buildings to the right.

Again it seems likely that this painting was a copy of a standard early portrait. Note that the row of protectors at the bottom is almost identical to that found in the previous three paintings, except that a seventh deity, Palden Lhamo (dPal ldan lha mo), has been added. It was previously dated to about 1272 to 1273. In its composition, it is quite similar to Figures 4.11, 4.12, and 4.13; however, its lineage continues one generation longer. If no generations are missing, then the patron would belong to the generation of Sanggye Yarjön, the last generation depicted.

Though from the point of view of the lineage, one more generation of gurus would be needed to reach the generation of Sanggye Önpo, here we have a later copy of a fixed portrait, in which those rules were presumably not as strictly observed.[331] The lineages of gurus are just one of several important factors that must be taken into account, which also include the details of iconography (including depictions of sacred buildings) and inscriptions. Here an inscription on the back in large *dbu–can* characters identifies the painting as having received consecration from Sangye Önpo. The last line in the cursive inscription includes the telltale lines "*mtshungs med bla ma.*"

Figure 4.15 is a magnificent painting that depicts Sanggye Önpo with his main lineage and several groups of outstanding Indian Buddhist teachers. The iconography is very rich and is more complicated than that of most Taklung/Riwoche paintings. Its layout is shown in diagram [N].

The painting is of iconographic interest for its depictions of standard iconographic groups such as the Eight Great Adepts (ga = great adepts, *grub chen*), the Six Ornaments, the Two Excellent Ones (so = six ornaments), and the Sixteen Arhats (or the Sixteen Elders).[332] (See also Fig. 2.25.)

In this painting, lineage master number (10a), Sanggye Yarjön, is surrounded by four other smaller masters with whom he had some connection. Guru 10c looks like Padmasambhava and 10d, Phadampa. See diagram [O].

The patron (P) belongs to at least generation 12, and Sanggye Önpo (11) is the main and last guru depicted. The painting was first dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, but a more probable date is the first quarter of the fourteenth century, if not slightly later. In a recent publication S. Kossak moves the dating to possibly the second quarter of the fourteenth century.[333]

According to an earlier study, after a threefold repetition of Sanggye Önpo's name in the inscription on the reverse, there appears on the back a final name: Ratnaprajñāśrībhadra.[334] That was Sanskrit for Rinchen Sherab Pal Zangpo (Rin chen shes rab dpal bzang po), the ordination name of Chöku Orgyen Gönpo, the abbot who succeeded Sanggye Önpo at Riwoche.[335] Yet as deciphered by Christian Luczanits (see the detailed chart in Appendix B), the inscriptions on the back actually pay homage to a yet another master in the Taklung lineage. After repeating the prayers to Sangye Önpo (calling him Ghir ti śri ra smī bha tra) and invoking Ratnaprajñāśribhadra (Rin chen Shes rab dpal bzang po, the second abbot), the prayers mention a final name: Dharmaśīla, i.e., Chos kyi tshul khrims.

This painting was thus probably commissioned roughly during the abbacy of the third abbot of Riwoche, who served from 1366 to 1384. That abbot was best known as Khedrup Gyalwa (mKhas grub rGyal ba), though he was given a different name at his initial ordination: Lotrö Gyaltshen Palzangpo (Blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po). His published biography does not specify his name at full ordination, which may have included the elements Chö (Chos) and Tshultrim (Tshul khrims) that appear in the prayer. In any case, a dating to between the mid-1360s to mid-1380s means that the Sharri style may have continued to be employed in western Kham for a generation or so beyond the disappearance of the style in central Tibet, where I estimate the Sharri ceased to be employed in around the 1350s or 1360s.

It was not common for Tibetan monks of any period to receive Sanskrit names, though learned Tibetans usually knew (and sometimes employed in colophons or inscriptions) the Sanskrit equivalent of their Tibetan names.[336] During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and even later, Sanskrit probably lent sanctity or spiritual power to the names.

Group 4: Paintings with Triple Lineages

The next three paintings (Figs. 4.16–4.18) depict three lineages, though with some slight variations, an arrangement that was too complicated to be described in my introduction of lineage structures in *The Nepalese Legacy in Tibetan Painting*.

FIG. 4.14
Taklungthangpa with His Lineage and Emanations
Ca. late 13th century
15 ¾ x 12 ⅝ in. (40 x 32 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1997, pl. 42.

[M]

	3	2	1	7	4		5	6
		s1				s2		
	G1							G2
	d1							d2
	d3			**8a**				d4
	8b							8c
	9							d5
	G3							G4
	P(10)	d6	d7	d8	d9	d10	d11	d12

FIG. 4.15
Sanggye Önpo with His Lineage and Groups of Outstanding Indian Teachers
Early to mid-14th century
19 ⅝ x 15 in. (50 x 38 cm)
Musée des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, France (MA 6083)
© Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY
Photograph by Richard Lambert
ART154686
Literature: G. Béguin 1995, no. 416; J. Casey Singer 1997, pl. 43; and S. Kossak 2010, fig. 119.

[N]

4	3	2	1	{10a}	B	6	7	8
5	b3	b4	s1		s2	b5	b6	9
ga1	b7						b8	ga2
ga3								ga4
ga5								ga6
ga7		b1		**11**		b2		ga8
so1								so2
so3								so4
so5								so6
so7								so8
P (12)			d1	d2	d3	d4	d5	d6

[O]

10c		10d
10b	**10a**	10e

FIG. 4.16
Taklung Abbot Kuyalwa with His Three Lineages
Mid-13th century
20 ½ x 15 in. (52 x 38 cm)
Collection of Gursharan and Elvira Sidhu
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1996, p. 194, pl. 12.

Figure 4.16, which was previously dated to the late thirteenth century, depicts as its main subject the ninth master in the Taklung lineage, Kuyalwa. The structure of the painting has a new aspect in that it portrays three separate lineages, which together constituted the two main rivers or currents (*chu bo*) of the Dakpo Kagyü. The basic structural conventions of the first two lineages remain similar to the paintings in Group 3. Of the three lineages, one is on the left and begins with Vajradhara (1). The two remaining lineages are on the right and each begins with Buddha Śākyamuni (1b), as their primordial guru. Śākyamuni is shown in the top row, to the right of Vajradhara. Both of the lineages on the right also share the gurus Atiśa (2b) and Dromtön (3b).

The structure of Figure 4.16 is shown in diagram [P], with the lineage on the left being the standard combined (*zung 'jug*) Mahāmudrā lineage through Nāropa and Marpa. Demonstrating his importance, guru 8, Taklungthangpa, occupies the center of the top register. The bottom row of protectors is different from that in the earlier *thangkas*, and here an Anuttarayoga tantric deity is included (d4).

I have interpreted the iconography of the Kadam gurus on the right side as showing not one but two lineages received by Gampopa. Strictly speaking, that is a historical oversimplification, since Gampopa received teachings from several Kadam teachers, including Shenyen Drepa (bShes gnyen sGre pa), Lhari Tsagyepa (Lha ri rTsa brgyad pa), and Naljorpa Chökyi Yungdrung (rNal

[P]

3	2	1	8	1b	2b	3b
4	b1				B1	4b
5						5b
6						3c
7			**9**			4c
d1						5c
d2						d3
P (10)	d4	d5	d6	d7	d8	d9

'byor pa Chos kyi g.yung drung), as documented by later records of teachings received. But the Kadam teachers who were considered the key transmitters by later Kagyü followers were: Chayulwa (Bya yul ba), Nyukrumpa (sNyug rum pa), and Gyatön Jakriwa (rGya ston lCags ri ba).

Gampopa's lineage for White Tārā in the tradition transmitted to Tibet by Atiśa (*sgrol dkar jo bo lugs*) was recorded to be:[337]

Atiśa
Dromtön
Jenngawa
Chayulwa
Gampopa (Dwags po Lha rje bSod nams rin chen)

His lineage for the instructions on how to worship Buddha Śākyamuni *(Thub pa'i dbang po'i lha khrid*) as one of the Four Kadam Deities, was:[338]

Atiśa
Dromtön
Potowa (Po to ba)
Langri Thangpa Dorje Sengge (Glang ri thang pa rDo rje seng ge)
Gyatön Jakriwa (Lcags ri ba)
Gampopa (Dwags po Lha rje)

Though several of Gampopa's other Kadam lineages are documented in the lineage records, I have not been able to trace transmissions to him from Nyukrumpa Tsöndrü Gyaltshen (sNyug rum pa Brtson 'grus rgyal mtshan, 1042–1109). (His name was also spelled sMyug rum pa or even sMug rum pa.) Nyukrumpa was one of the main disciples of Mangra Jungnay Gyaltshen (Mang ra 'Byung gnas rgyal mtshan).[339] Mangra was, in turn, a disciple of Naljorapa Chenpo (rNal 'byor pa Byang chub 'byung gnas or Byang chub rin chen), who was a disciple of both Atiśa and Dromtön.[340] I have provisionally reconstructed that lineage as:

Atiśa
Dromtön[341]
Naljorpa Chenpo
Mangra Jungnay Gyaltshen
Nyukrumpa
Gampopa (Dwags po Lha rje bSod nams rin chen)

In Figure 4.16, the Kadam lineages pass through Atiśa (2b) and Dromtön (3b), both of whom are easily identifiable thanks to their iconography. But the remaining lineages are uncertain. I assume that the following two monks (4b and 5b) continue Gampopa's Kadam lineage down to Chayulwa. My working hypothesis is that the remaining three Kadam masters (3c-5c) represent Gampopa's Kadam lineage from Nyukrumpa as transmitted through Naljorpa Chenpo. According to the *Blue Annals*, Nyukrumpa spent a lot of time in meditation. Could that account for the unconventional *mudrā* of meditation, no shirt, open robe, and dark-skinned yogi appearance of guru 5c? I have understood that final guru (7) on that side to be a third teacher of number 6, Gampopa, in whom all three traditions were combined. Guru 3c, moreover, wears a distinctive small yellow skull cap. Could that cap mark him as Naljorpa Chenpo? If not, then it identifies him as some other noteworthy early Kadam master, who is still unidentified.[342]

The patron of this painting must have belonged to Sanggye Yarjön's generation (whose abbatial tenure was from 1236 to 1272), and thus the lineage as it stands most likely dates to at least the mid-thirteenth century. Of course, this could be a copy of a standard early portrait that was painted a generation or two later.

Figure 4.17 is another example of the Taklung abbot Kuyalwa with the triple lineage. It was previously dated to about 1275. It apparently depicts Kuyalwa as its main subject. If it in fact depicts his successor, then the lineage would be missing a generation, as shown in diagram [Q].

In the previous painting, Figure 4.16, the top central figure (guru 8), was pictured as the teacher of the main figure. In Figure 4.17, three gurus have been moved to the center of the top register: with Gampopa (6) and Phagmotrupa (7) joining Taklungthangpa (8). Iconographically, guru number 8 is easily identified as Taklungthangpa because of his frontal portrayal and typical smooth hairline that runs roughly parallel to the crest of his head.

Who is the central figure (9)? Based on the structure, he cannot be identified as a master of generation 10, such as Sanggye Yarjön, as the main guru of the central figure would have been omitted.

The second Kadam lineage (gurus 3c-5c) I again take to be the lineage of Nyukrumpa from Naljorpa Chenpo. Both 3c and 5c are distinctively dressed again: the first wears the same yellow skull cap and the second has a bare chest and his hands are folded in meditation. Guru number 6c appears for the first and only time (he was absent in Figs. 4.16 and 4.18). Was he another lay Kadam master of Gampopa (6)? Whoever he may be, all the traditions that are shown should be linked through Gampopa.

Figure 4.18 is the third example of a triple lineage. Though its main figure looks the same as the previous painting (Fig. 4.17), according to its lineage it depicts as its main figure the third Taklung abbot, Sanggye Yarjön. It has been dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, which seems accurate to me. Its structure, shown in diagram [R], is similar to that of Figure 4.17, though in some respects it is simpler.

The overall arrangement of figures is unusual in that there is an even number of lineal masters (six) in the top register instead of the usual odd number (seven). Rhie and Thurman identified two lineages of minor human figures,

FIG. 4.17
Taklung Abbot Kuyalwa with His Three Lineages
Mid-13th century
Watercolors and gold on cotton
11 ¼ x 8 ½ in. (28.6 x 21 cm)
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John Gilmore Ford
Photograph © The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore F.126
Literature: P. Pal 1997, p. 50, pl. 25.

[Q]

1	B1	6	8	7	1b	2b
2	s1?				s2?	3b
3						4b
4						5b
5			**9**			3c
d1						4c
d2						5c
d3						6c
P(10)	d4	d5	d6	d7	d8	d9

FIG. 4.18
Sanggye Yarjön with His Three Lineages
Late 13th century
9 x 7 ⅛ in. (23 x 18 cm)
Private U.S.A. Family Collection
Literature: M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1996, pl. 204 (84b); and D. Weldon and J. Casey 2003, no. 31.

[R]

	3	2	1		9	2b	3b
	4	d?				d?	4b
	5						5b
	6						3c
	7			**10**			4c
	8						5c
	P(13?)		12(?)	11(?)	d1	d2	d3

namely of the Kagyü and Kadam traditions.[343] They recorded an inscription that named the central figure, Sanggye Yarjön, and another inscription that records a consecration by masters of Taklung.

Two other monks appear in the painting. I provisionally interpret them to be additional lineal gurus 11(?) and 12(?). The Kadam lineages on the right side again end with three distinctive masters (3c to 5c), the last of whom I assume to be Nyukrumpa.

Group 5: Paintings with Alternating Lineages

Figure 4.19 depicts Jñānatapa with six abbots of Taklung and Riwoche and the Eight Great Adepts. It is the only painting that follows the fifth convention of lineal descent, alternating to right and left.[344] Its structure is shown schematically in diagram [S].

The lineage masters that Figure 4.18 depicts are:

7. [Phagmotrupa]
8. Je Thangpa Chenpo (rJe Thang pa chen po)
9. Kuyalwa Rinpoche (sKu yal Rin po che)
10. Je Sanggye Yarjön (rJe Sangs rgyas yar byon)
11. Je Sanggye Ön (rJe Sangs rgyas dbon)
12. Chöku Orgyen Gönpo (Chos sku O rgyan mgon po)

This painting may have been the second in a set of at least two. If my assumption is correct, the first *thangka* would have shown six lineage masters who form the beginning of the lineage from Vajradhara to Gampopa, followed by eight other Indian Buddhist saints of a fixed iconographic group (possibly the Six Ornaments, *rgyan drug mchog gnyis*). If the lineage in the second painting ends with guru 12, Chöku Orgyen

Fig. 4.19
Jñānatapa with Six Abbots and the Eight Great Adepts
Ca. mid- to late 14th century
27 x 21 ½ in. (68.5 x 54.6 cm)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A
Purchase, Friends of Asian Art Gifts 1987 (1987.144)

ART322101
Literature: S. Kossak 1990; J. Casey Singer 1994, pl. 28; J. Casey Singer 1997, pl. 47; S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, fig. 33.

[S]

	7	s1	8	
9				10
11				12
ga1		**s2**		ga2
ga3				ga4
ga5	ga6		ga7	ga8

Gönpo (who died in 1366), then it probably dates to the second or third quarter of the fourteenth century.

Casey Singer noticed the painting's unusual style, which was an important departure from the other Taklung paintings. When confronted with two stylistically very different paintings from Riwoche, Figures 4.19 and 4.20, she proposed the existence of a second style patronized by the Taklung Kagyü that had arisen in the second half of the fourteenth century. Noting the indisputable origin of those later paintings from Kham, she naturally suspected that geography influenced the styles, though she still assumed that most of those paintings were from Taklung and not Riwoche.[345]

I do not see why the painting of Marpa (Fig. 2.10; her Fig. 48) should be dated together with the stylistically very different paintings to the second half of the fourteenth century. (An inscription records that it was commissioned by the same patron as Fig. 4.12.) If we move its date a half a century earlier (1300–1350), then the problem of two conflicting styles within the Taklung Kagyü School disappears. If the true Sharri style (and not some later imitation of it) survived in paintings for a generation longer at Riwoche than elsewhere, we need to document such paintings as a discrete group through several concrete cases.

The only evidence that Casey Singer gave for dating Figure 4.20 was its style, though she did not specify which firmly dated image she used as a comparison. The Sharri style is believed to have died out in central Tibet in about the 1350s or 1360s, and so it should not be surprising if similar major stylistic shifts occurred also at Riwoche between about 1350 and 1400.

From just one example, Figure 4.20, Casey Singer could not have known that a style that retained numerous Sharri elements but which was not a true Sharri style arose in Riwoche later

Fig. 4.20
Milarepa
Riwoche; late 14th century
11 ¾ x 14 ¾ in. (30 x 37.5 cm)
Private Collection
After Literature: J. Casey Singer 1997, fig. 49.

than the late fourteenth century. The painting turns out to embody a later imitation Sharri style that dates to at least the fifteenth century and perhaps later. This dating is supported by Figure 4.21, a subsequently published example of a faux-Sharri style at Riwoche, which A. Heller has dated to the mid-sixteenth century on the basis of inscriptions.[346] Other cases of faux- archaic styles are known in Tibetan painting.[347]

Taklung and Riwoche: The Early and Later Provenances

Regarding the origin of the so-called Taklung corpus, all evidence speaks to Riwoche as its recent origin, as now seems obvious.[348] None of the paintings whose inscriptions have so far been published branch off from the main Taklung masters: all belong to Sanggye Önpo's tradition or are linked to him in some way, and none refers to his cousin and rival at Taklung, Tashi Lama (Manggala guru, 1231–1297), fourth abbot of Taklung. We now know, after all, how it came about that the older Taklung paintings were brought to Riwoche by Sanggye Önpo when he left Taklung after an unsuccessful bid for the abbacy.

Within the corpus, we should try to distinguish as clearly as possible between two groups of paintings: those painted for early Taklung masters that were brought to Kham in the 1270s, where they were preserved down to the present century, and those that were painted in Kham for Sanggye Önpo and his successors from the 1270s onward, which also survived at Riwoche. The vast majority of later paintings and most of the earlier ones are somehow linked with Sanggye Önpo or his successors. Certainly those paintings with inscriptions mentioning a consecration by Sanggye Önpo have been preserved at Riwoche since the late thirteenth century.

Conclusions

This small sampling of Taklung Kagyü paintings for the most part embodied the basic structural principles as I laid them out in a previous publication.[349] The ordering of lineal gurus was here more varied than I first expected: at least five compositional types occur, including one (with triple lineages) that I had not described in detail in that earlier publication. Comparing the lineage structure of these available examples helped to differentiate earlier and later conventions, even within this small group of Taklung Kagyü paintings. It unexpectedly provided a clue for provisionally stratifying the paintings into roughly earlier and later groups. Group 1 of the present chapter included several of the oldest paintings, while group 5 had the most recent. I assume that groups 2, 3, and 4 fall chronologically in between.

The iconography of the Taklung portraits was more complicated than expected. Its conventions were, at first sight, baffling: for example, the triple representations of Taklungthangpa. To

FIG. 4.21
Portrait of Jigten Wangchuk (1454-1532)
16th century
14 ⅝ x 12 ¼ in. (37 x 31 cm)
Collection R.R.E.
Literature: A. Heller 1999, pl. 104

understand them, we needed to learn more about the lives of the main masters portrayed, as would be the best strategy when exploring any poorly known corpus.

To describe the structure through a complete diagram should be the standard procedure when thoroughly documenting any painting. Though it may seem troublesome at first, it has the advantage of forcing us to deal with unusual features that we might otherwise overlook. For instance, repeated or missing teachers of a lineage could not be passed over with no attempt at explanation. The presence of unknown or unexpected Indian masters (e.g., adepts or pundits), in particular, caused me initial difficulties. Furthermore, when divine figures such as buddhas and bodhisattvas appeared out of their normal hierarchical order, it was necessary to identify them and search for some explanation. For example, a group of four divine figures regularly appeared out of order in *thangkas* with Taklungthangpa as the main figure, though this could finally be explained by taking into consideration his life history.

Concerning dating, in a few cases my datings based on lineage structure differed from those suggested by previous researchers by a generation or two. That reinforces the need to apply lineal analysis in tandem with other methods. The latest datable lineal master always provides a useful terminus, and in every case we should count and list as many lamas in the lineage as we can. In copies of standard portraits of a great founder of Taklung or his eminent early successors at Taklung or Riwoche, we cannot expect each painting to depict every lineal figure from great founder to the patron. But in every case we must at least check to see whether lineal gurus start appearing again below the main figure portrayed.

Above all, structural analysis should not be applied blindly, without understanding the other iconographic details of the painting and reading as many inscriptions as possible. Dating by simply counting lineages will work only if the lineage is complete (i.e., the guru of the patron is shown as the last lama) and there are no other anomalies. But few paintings in this chapter lend themselves to such a simplistic treatment.

Chapter 5

Reflections of Enlightenment in Three Early Portraits

ALTHOUGH THE VARIOUS Tibetan Buddhist schools disagree on some points of theory and practice, all agree that the spiritual teacher is paramount. In Vajrayana mysticism, in particular, disciples placed their faith first and foremost in the guru, who is considered the fourth and highest refuge.[350] Worshiping and serving the master was thought to be both the necessary and the most efficient way to achieve spiritual purification.[351] Unquestioning faith in the guru temporarily suppressed negative selfish emotions and opened a path for the sincerely devout to come near to the goal of enlightenment, which otherwise remained virtually unapproachable.[352]

Many serious Tibetan disciples accordingly worshiped their guru as a fully enlightened buddha. Some Tibetan lamas, when portraying their gurus in paintings, exalted them as highly as possible. In the following pages, I would like to explore the artistic ramifications of such guru worship. How were such beliefs expressed when Tibetans portrayed saints? Did Tibetan patrons merely work the secondary iconographic elements that we normally associate with buddhas into the background? Or did they take it to extremes, assigning to their gurus some of the main physical characteristics normally reserved for buddhas?

Previous Research

The tendency to portray lamas as buddhas was noted by most scholars who investigated early Tibetan paintings. Jane Casey Singer, in a pioneering investigation of early painted portraits in central Tibet, found thirteenth-century paintings in which an eminent Kagyü lama had been visually identified in some respects with the Buddha.[353] In a subsequent study, she concluded that in early paintings of masters, whatever the role of direct observation in portraiture might have been, the main goal of the artist was to portray the master as an enlightened being. To that end, the artists borrowed iconographic conventions that had been developed in India to depict buddhas and bodhisattvas. Those main conventions were:

1. physical marks (*lakṣaṇa, mtshan ma*) of the Buddha, such as elongated earlobes and wheels on the palms and soles of the feet
2. throne setting
3. teaching gesture
4. generous application of gold

What justified the employment of these elements was the Tibetans' perception of their great lamas as divinities or, indeed, as buddhas.[354]

To what extent those paintings of saints were based on realistic originals could not be immediately answered by Casey Singer. Noting that Giuseppe Tucci believed that portraits executed during the lifetime of the subject served as models for later portraits, she was not sure whether that belief could be asserted about images dating to before the fifteenth century.[355]

In western-Tibetan painting, Christian Luczanits observed that human gurus suddenly began to be portrayed as buddhas in the early thirteenth century. One famous case was a small stupa at Alchi in Ladakh that prominently portrays a lama (see Fig. 5.1). Unusual for western-Tibetan art of its time, it portrays a teacher (in three-quarter profile) flanked by two bodhisattvas. When compared with datable central-Tibetan paintings of the period, this mural could be linked with a new development in central-Tibetan painting. Luczanits concluded that in such murals the teacher was understood to be equal to a buddha. Regarding the presence of flanking bodhisattvas, he found that the Alchi mural was more explicit in showing a lama as equal to a buddha than central-Tibetan portraits of the same time. In terms of frontal representation and the elevation of the historical personage, central-Tibetan paintings were more explicit than the Alchi example.[356]

Luczanits further concluded that in Alchi this triad of a lama flanked by bodhisattvas first appeared under Drigung Kagyü influence. (That would imply that the so-called Rinchen Sangpo could well be the founding lama of Drigung, as Luczanits later asserted more clearly.)[357] In such a triad, the central figure (an eminent Tibetan lama) can be taken to represent the Buddha or a personification of his teaching. (See also Luczanits's discussion of these murals in chapter 6 of the present catalog.)

Luczanits further maintained that the perception of the contemporary

Detail of Fig. 5.20

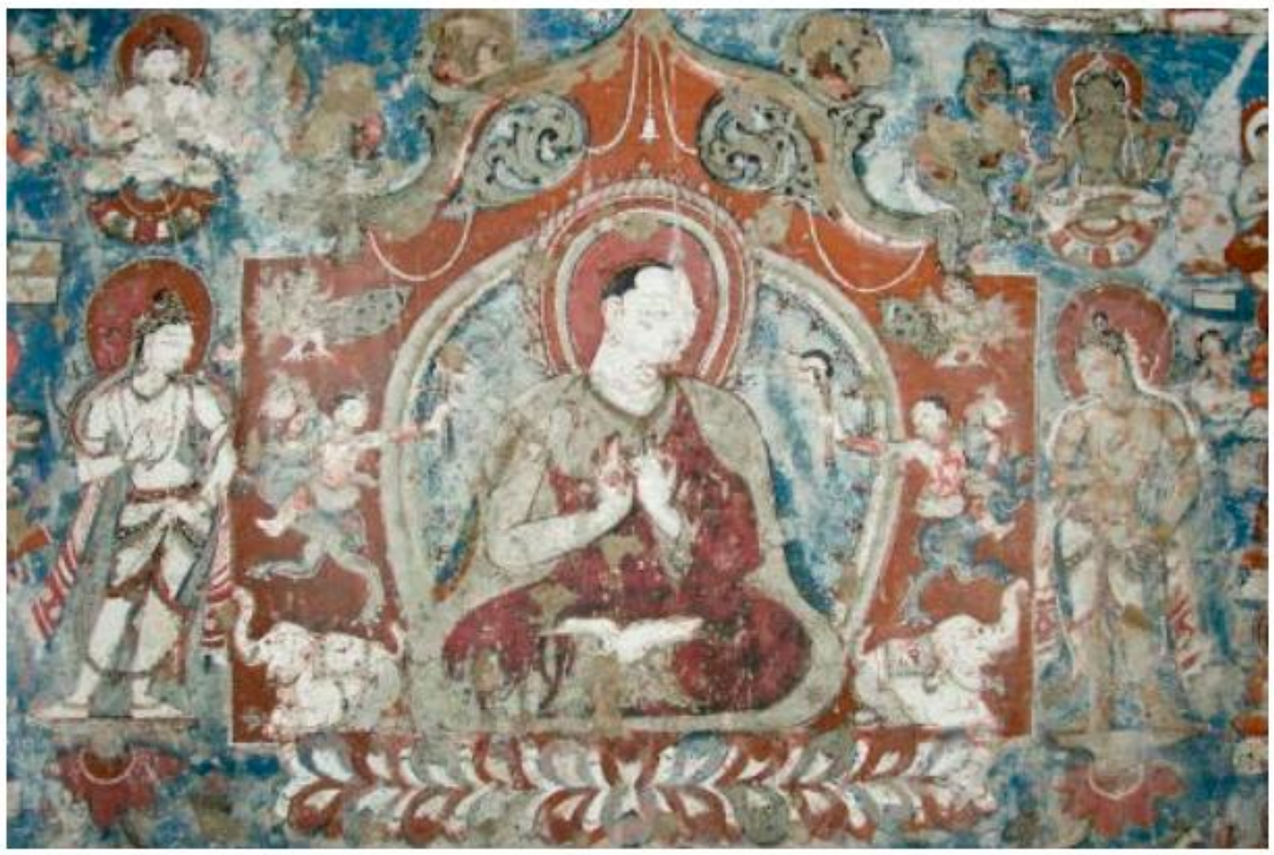


FIG. 5.1
Mural of the "Rinchen Zangpo"
Small Chörten, Alchi, Ladakh
Photograph by Christian Luczanits, courtesy of the Western Himalayan Archive Vienna
Literature: A. Heller 2005, pl. 2; jiats01heller_img2.

Tibetan teacher as a buddha was established mainly in Kagyü circles in the second half of the twelfth century in central Tibet. This development, he believed, was most closely linked with the great Kagyü master Phagmotrupa and some of his major disciples, including the founders of Drigung and Taklung.[358] He thus interpreted the Alchi mural—together with a well-known Cleveland *thangka* that depicts a lama, probably Phagmotrupa, within the crown of its central buddha—to be explicit public religious and political statements that the teacher is a buddha or is equal to a buddha.[359] This convention was believed to have come to Ladakh from central Tibet, where most of the major Kagyü temples had been founded a few generations earlier, in the second half of the twelfth century.

Three Portraits

In the following pages I would like to investigate several early paintings of gurus from central or eastern Tibet, searching, in particular, for visual evidence of buddhahood, especially in the tradition of Phagmotrupa and his main disciples. I concentrate on three well-documented classic portraits, whose original versions were probably painted between about 1150 and 1200 in Ü Province of central Tibet and for which numerous later copies survive. I try to identify in them traits of buddhahood or the status of a buddha.

All three portraits were painted in the Sharri style and come from two branches of the Phagtru Kagyü (Phag gru bka' brgyud) tradition: the Taklung Kagyü and Drigung Kagyü. For each I have been able to find multiple copies or closely related paintings, proof that each represented a standard portrait of their founding master, at least within the Taklung and Drigung Schools. The three portraits depict the masters Phagmotrupa, Taklungthangpa, and Drigung Kyoppa Jikten Gönpo. Their earliest prototypes were probably painted in the last decade of their subject's life or within a decade or two of his death.

None of the original prototypes have survived, but we can study them indirectly through the numerous later copies or closely related paintings. Some of the Taklung Kagyü copies, in particular, may have been painted a century or more after the originals, and many may have been commissioned at Riwoche in Kham Province of eastern Tibet, as explained in chapter 4.

To begin reconstructing the original portraits, it helps to compare as many surviving copies as possible. Here it is only practicable to take into account five or six copies (or closely related paintings) for each portrait. I present one main exemplar of each, together with copies of the same or closely related compositions. In this way I hope to briefly survey these paintings. Eventually, every instance of each portrait should be compared and their inscriptions systematically taken into account.

1. The Portrait of Phagmotrupa with His Previous Lives

The first of three main portraits is Figure 5.2, which portrays Phagmotrupa as its central figure.[360] He is surrounded by minor figures that depict deities, his previous lives, and what I assume to be episodes from his saintly life in the bottom register (e1 through e9). Its structure is presented in diagram [A]. (For a complete transcription of the inscriptions on the back of the painting, see Appendix C.)

I presume that the prototype of this portrait was commissioned by one of his disciples either in the last twelve years of Phagmotrupa's life (when he lived in his willow-twig hut at Thel) or in the next decade or two. Judging by the survival of six or seven later copies in the Taklung Kagyü, Phagmotrupa was one of the first gurus to have a standard portrait of this type that can so far be documented within any of the Dakpo Kagyü Schools.

FIG. 5.2
Phagmotrupa with His Previous Lives and Episodes from His Saintly Career
13th century
Distemper on cotton
12 ⅝ x 10 in. (32.1 x 25.4 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
C2005.16.38 (HAR 65461)
Literature: S. Kossak 2010, fig. 51.

[A]

d1	d2		d3	6	d4	d5		d6
pl1	d7					d8		pl2
pl3								pl4
pl5				7				pl6
pl7								pl8
pl9								pl10
pl11								pl12
P	e1	e2	e3	e4	e5	e6	e7	e8	e9

pl (previous lives); e (episodes from saintly life)

The surviving copies of Phagmotrupa's portraits may actually represent an exclusively Taklung Kagyü tradition. In that case, the later Phagmotrupa portraits of the Taklung Kagyü School must have derived from an important prototype that was probably made very early in the history of that tradition, i.e., in the lifetime of its founder, who was a prominent and intimate disciple of Phagmotrupa. Taklungthangpa is said to have been the one to whom Phagmotrupa privately told the great collection of stories of his previous lives (*Skyes rabs chen mo*), the tales of his twelve bodily eminations, and about the particulars of the Eight Great Adepts. He was also the one who personally petitioned his guru to teach many instructions that were later included in Phagmotrupa's collected writings.[361] (Besides that, I do not find anything in Figure 5.9 that links it unmistakably with the Taklung Kagyü.)

It is true that when one compares the Phagmotrupa portraits with other portraits of about the twelfth century, namely the footprint painting of Düsum Khyenpa (Fig. 3.8) and the portraits of Six Great Tibetan and Indian Masters (Fig. 2.27), the latter two can be seen to be very different in their conception and execution. The early footprint *thangkas*, in particular, seem to have often evolved into later more complicated standard portraits, as we see in paintings of the Karma Kagyü (Fig. 3.8), Taklung Kagyü (Fig. 4.2), and Drigung Kagyü (Fig. 5.22). But footprints have not yet been documented in any of the known portraits of Phagmotrupa.

Phagmotrupa himself had artistic talents. He painted well as a young monk, even without formal training.[362] His biography states that he made likenesses of his gurus Gampopa and Sachen, and also of the Indian adept Phadampa, who gave him teachings in a vision.[363] I would hope that portraits of his own main gurus, especially of Gampopa, may eventually surface.

Portraits of Phagmotrupa circulated widely during his lifetime. It was the sight of such a portrait that inspired Taklungthangpa as a young man of twenty-three to travel the long and difficult path from Kham to central Tibet to meet that master.[364] (Since Taklungthangpa was born in 1142, he must have arrived in central Tibet in about 1165, perhaps seven years after Phagmotrupa began living in his little hut.) As Gö Lotsawa relates:

> While [Taklungthangpa] was staying at Nyel (sNyel), an image of Phagmotrupa was sent to Lama Mog (rMog), who asked him, "Would you like to come and worship this image?" [Taklungthangpa] accordingly took the materials for making a butter lamp and brought it to where the statue was. [Seeing the image,] he decided that he must go and meet this teacher.[365]

Soon after Phagmotrupa's death, several important sculptural portraits were made of him, including two that became principal statues at Densa Thel. Gö Lotsawa knew that monastery personally, having lived and studied there as a young scholar-monk for five years (from 1425 to 1430).[366] In his *Blue Annals,* he described these and later derivative statues in some detail:[367]

> The precious image of Phagmotrupa that exists in his willow-twig hut was erected by his disciples after his passing away, by mixing much of his cremation ashes with clay [to form a modeling paste], in which medicinal substances, precious substances and silk had also been mixed. It possessed a very strong blessing. It was even known to have spoken words many times. When rats dug a little earth from the side of the throne, it spoke to the sacristan about that. Many images were then made by mixing in a little of the earth that was used to fill the traces of the rat damage, which were called "rat-earth statues" (*byi sa ma*). Those images that were made by mixing in a little of the excess image-building materials, i.e., earth trimmings, from the time of original making, were known as "trimmings-earth statues" (*dras sa ma*).
>
> The second main image at Thel, the one on his teaching throne, was made at Manggar Gang (Mang 'gar sgang) by the artist named Marpa Lhanying (Mar pa Lha snying). When he had roughly finished it, a nun who was unknown in the vicinity appeared and said, "My master was just like that. Now don't change it." All were astonished at her words, and after that they brought the image to Thel and enthroned it on the master's teaching throne.[368]

In his history of Buddhism in Lhorong (*Lho rong chos 'byung)* Tatshak Tshewang Gyal (rTa tshag Tshe dbang rgyal) mentions the elaborate reliquary stupa (*gdung rten*) called the Tashi Öbar (bKra shis 'od 'bar) that was made by Drigung Kyoppa in Phagmotrupa's memory as being the main sacred object of the monastery.[369]

Kathok Situ visited Densa Thel as a Nyingma pilgrim from Kham in the early 1920s, and he recorded seeing the sacred

FIG. 5.3
Phagmotrupa
Ca. late 12th to early 13th century
Copper alloy with gold, silver, copper, and gems
Height: 8 ½ in. (21.5 cm)
The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1999, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 1993.160
Literature: D. Weldon and J. Casey Singer 1999, figs. 50 and 51.

realistic statues of Phagmotrupa there, including a large rat-earth statue (*byi sa ma*).[370] He mentions the four statues in the hut, which were known as "secret deities."[371] He described (p. 254) the contents of Phagmotrupa's holy "thatch hut" (*'jag skyil*).[372] Inside it were fifteen volumes of manuscripts, including a book on the Path with the Fruit instructions that he erroneously called the "Book of the Black Treasury" *(Lam 'bras mdzod nag ma)*, by which he referred to the commentary by Phagmotrupa that is actually called the "volume from the library" (*dpe mdzod ma*).

Kathok Situ mistakenly described the main portrait in Phagmotrupa's hut as a realistic image from his lifetime (*rang 'dra ma*), not realizing that it had been made after his death.[373] He refers to an image of Phagmotrupa on a teaching throne, calling it "one of four realistic images" (*'dra sku*) and asserting that the later outstanding Nyingma scholar Ngari Panchen (mNga' ris Paṇ chen Padma dbang rgyal, 1487–1542) consecrated it. He noted seeing elsewhere in Thel, in an assembly hall called Phelgye Ling ('Phel rgyas gling), a large gilt-copper (*gser zangs*) statue of Phagmotrupa, also mentioning a life-size rat-earth statue (*byi sa ma)*.[374]

Figure 5.3 may be one of the earliest surviving statues of Phagmotrupa. I believe that it was commissioned within a generation or two of his life. No inscription identified its subject explicitly as Phagmotrupa, and the Cleveland Museum had identified it as "A Portrait of Lama Rinchen-Pel (1143–1217), founder of the Drigung Monastery." Still, I agree with Weldon and Casey Singer, that it more likely portrays Drigung Kyoppa Rinchen Pal's eminent guru, Phagmotrupa.[375] Weldon and Casey Singer summarize the distinctive features of the man portrayed as "heavy-set, with a bulbous nose, heavy beard and wide face." What is decisive for me are his facial features, especially the thicker lower lip that hangs down slightly, revealing the tips of a few teeth, and the careful depiction of the beard and mustache encircling his mouth, which were rare among Tibetan lamas. The tiny details of the supporting throne, including auspicious symbols and offering goddesses, have been expertly executed with inlaid gold, silver, copper, and gems.

An inscription is found at the rear of the statue's base, which is partly visible in Weldon and Casey Singer's Figure 50.[376] I translate it: "Homage to the guru! Through the spiritual power of the merit of commissioning this image of the precious guru by me, the Little Monk of Ngenlam, may the sufferings of the six classes of living beings be exhausted!" *(na mo ghu ru/ ngan lam ban chung bdag gis ni// bla ma rin chen sku bzhengs pa yi// bsod nams 'di yi byin brlabs kyis// 'gro drug sdug bsngal zad par shog//.)*[377]

The patron, who thus referred to himself as "Little Monk of Ngenlam" (Ngan lam Ban chung), had himself depicted below in the center of the pedestal as a tiny kneeling monk, to the left of two silver deities. His expression for his teacher, "Lama Rinchen" (*bla ma rin chen*) or "Precious Guru," could conceivably apply to many revered lamas; there is no need to interpret it as denoting Lama Rinchen Pal (i.e., Drigung Kyoppa). That expression may have been introduced into common usage by Phagmotrupa himself.[378]

Countless images of Phagmotrupa were made by his later followers. For instance, Taklung Ngawang Namgyal in his *History of Taklung* records that Trakpa Tashi Gyaltshen Pal Zangpo (Grags pa bkra shis rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, 1376–1421) of Riwoche dreamed in 1418 of Phagmotrupa. Afterward he commissioned an image of Phagmotrupa molded and sculpted from a papier-mâché-like mixture that included precious silks and medicinal substances.[379] Kathok Situ also saw at Thel thirteen wonderful *thangkas* in the Beri style that depicted the Lineal Gurus of the "Jennga Kagyü" (*spyan snga bka' brgyud gser phreng*), his name for the lineage of Phagmotrupa royal monks from the time of the Phagmotrupa dynasty.[380]

An important element that appears prominently in the top register of several examples of Phagmotrupa portraits are the main deities of the Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra mandala (d1-d6). Those deities are described below in connection with Figure 5.10.

A standard element that we find in all copies of his portrait is a series of his previous lives (pl in the diagram, Tib. *'khrung rabs* or *skyes rabs*). Four brief writings address this topic. They prominently appear near the beginning of his collected works, together with two initial biographies (by dPal chen Chos kyi ye shes and Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo).[381] They are the third through sixth work in the first volume of the two accessible manuscripts of his collected works, such as the one that was published in 1976.[382]

Several later summaries of Phagmotrupa's biography incorporated lists of these stories into their beginnings. These sources tell of his previous existences that include various buddhas, bodhisattvas, Indian and Tibetan teachers as well as Indian, Newar, Chinese, and Tibetan kings. The sixteenth-century historian Pawo Tsuklag Trengwa in his history of Buddhism added them at the end of Phagmotrupa's life, classifying his previous lives in four main groups, according to the higher or lower capacities of disciples:[383]

1. The ordinary forms he manifested to people of low spiritual development, as told in the third work in Phagmotrupa's collected writings *(The Great Story of His Previous Lives, sKyes rabs chen mo*). These

FIG. 5.4
Phagmotrupa with His Previous Lives
13th century
Distemper on cotton
15 ¾ x 13 in. (40 x 33 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
C2002.24.3 (HAR 65119)

included his life as the monk Chökyi Pal (Dge slong Chos kyi dpal).

2. The forms he manifested to those of highest spiritual capacities, as told in the fifth work in his collected writings (*Opening the Door to the Secret Treasury, gSang ba'i mdzod sgo dbye ba*). These included (a.) four royal incarnations, namely the Indian king Middle Indrabhūti, the Chinese ruler Li ka then tse'o, the Nepalese king (Amsuvarman, 'Od zer go cha), and the Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo (Srong btsan sgam po); (b.) eight Indian great adepts and teachers: Pañcapaṇa, Saraha, Virūpa, Dignāga, Indrabhūti, Asaṅga, Lawapa (or Koṭālipa), and Padmarājā; and (c.) four further incarnations, including Gayadhara.
3. Forms he manifested to those of middling capacity, revealing himself as a great tantric adept. These included the twelve simultaneous bodily manifestations he projected, as set forth by the sixth work in his collected writings.
4. Forms he manifested to those of absolutely the highest capacity, showing himself exclusively as a buddha, such as when he appeared as the previous buddha Khorwa Jig ('Khor ba 'jigs), the buddha of the present age (Śākyamuni), and the future buddha Mikyö Menpay Gyalpo (Mi skyod sman pa'i rgyal po).

The twelve previous lives that are depicted in the portraits of Phagmotrupa are difficult to identify from Pawo's lists, though they must be treated somewhere within them. Similarly, I have a hard time finding them within the parallel passage in the brief life of Phagmotrupa given by Gö Lotsawa in his *Blue Annals*. There he lists twelve such previous lives, based on a passage from the tantric work *Lhan cig skyes grub (Achieving the Innately Arisen)* and its commentary:[384]

1. A seer or *rishi* (Tib. *drang srong*) named Drowa Ukjin ('Gro ba dbugs 'byin) of Oḍḍiyāna
2. Vīravajra (dPa' bo rdo rje) (possibly a follower)
3. Samayavajra (Dam tshig rdo rje)
4. Padmavajra (Pad ma'i rdo rje)
5. Sahajavajra (Lhan cig skyes pa'i rdo rje)
6. Ānandavajra, the weaver (Tha ga pa dGa' ba'i rdo rje)
7. Vajrā, the brahmin woman (brāmaṇī, Tib. Bram ze mo rDo je)
8. Siddhavajra, the barber ('Breg mkhan Grub pa'i rdo rje)
9. Sarvajagannātha (dPal ldan kun 'gro mgon po)
10. Cittavajra (Thugs kyi rdo rje)
11. Lady Lakṣmīnkarā, sister of Indrabhūti
12. King Indrabhūti (rGyal po Indra buddhi), also known as Lawapa (La ba pa).

What baffles me is that only the last guru, King Indrabhūti, seems to be one of his usually acknowledged previous lives. The other masters constitute a lineage of the Guhyasamāja Tantra, exactly as Gö Lotsawa recorded it elsewhere in his *Blue Annals*.[385] The transmission passes from one guru to the next, ending with King Indrabhūti, who was believed to have been his previous life.[386] This King Indrabhūti may be the third of three similarly named tantric adepts; he is here identified as the same as Lawapa (Lwa ba pa, he who wears a blanket).[387] Elsewhere in his summary of Phagmotrupa's life story, Gö Lotsawa prominently mentions how when he was sixty years old (in 1169) Phagmotrupa miraculously manifested simultaneously twelve forms of his body. With the help of one aspect of his body, he was able to cover the whole region of Taklung and bless its earth and water.[388]

One historian who lists the previous existences of Phagmotrupa in a form that is easier to extract is Taklung Ngawang Namgyal. Though in his religious history of Taklung he follows in his biography of Phagmotrupa the same scheme of higher and lower spiritual capacities, he classifies the relevant list of twelve previous lives within the perceptions of people of middling spiritual capacities (p. 173f.).[389] From there we can derive the names:

The householder Palgyi Khorlo, (Khyim bdag dPal gyi 'khor lo)
2. The monk Geway Lotrö Chökyi Pal Zangpo (Dge slong dGe ba'i blo gros chos kyi dpal bzang po)
3. The monkey bodhisattva (sPre'u Byang chub sems dpa')
4. The prince[390] Drakpa Sengge (rGyal sras Grags pa seng ge)
5. The royal minister of King Conch (rGyal po Dung gi blon po)
6. Lhachen, king of nagas (Klu'i rgyal po Lha chen)
7. The teacher and great master Ludrub Nyingpo (Slob dpon bDag nyid chen po Klu sgrub snying po, who once emanated eight bodily forms simultaneously)
8. The bodhisattva Lotrö Sengge (Byang chub sems dpa' Blo gros seng ge)
9. The bodhisattva Yeshe Senge (Byang chub sems dpa' Ye shes seng ge)
10. The pundit Jigme Drakpa (Pandita 'Jigs med grags pa)
11. Jennga Tshultrim Bar (sPyan snga Tshul khrims 'bar, the Kadam master)
12. The "precious Sugata," (bDe bar gshegs pa Rin po che), i.e., Phagmotrupa Dorje Gyalpo himself

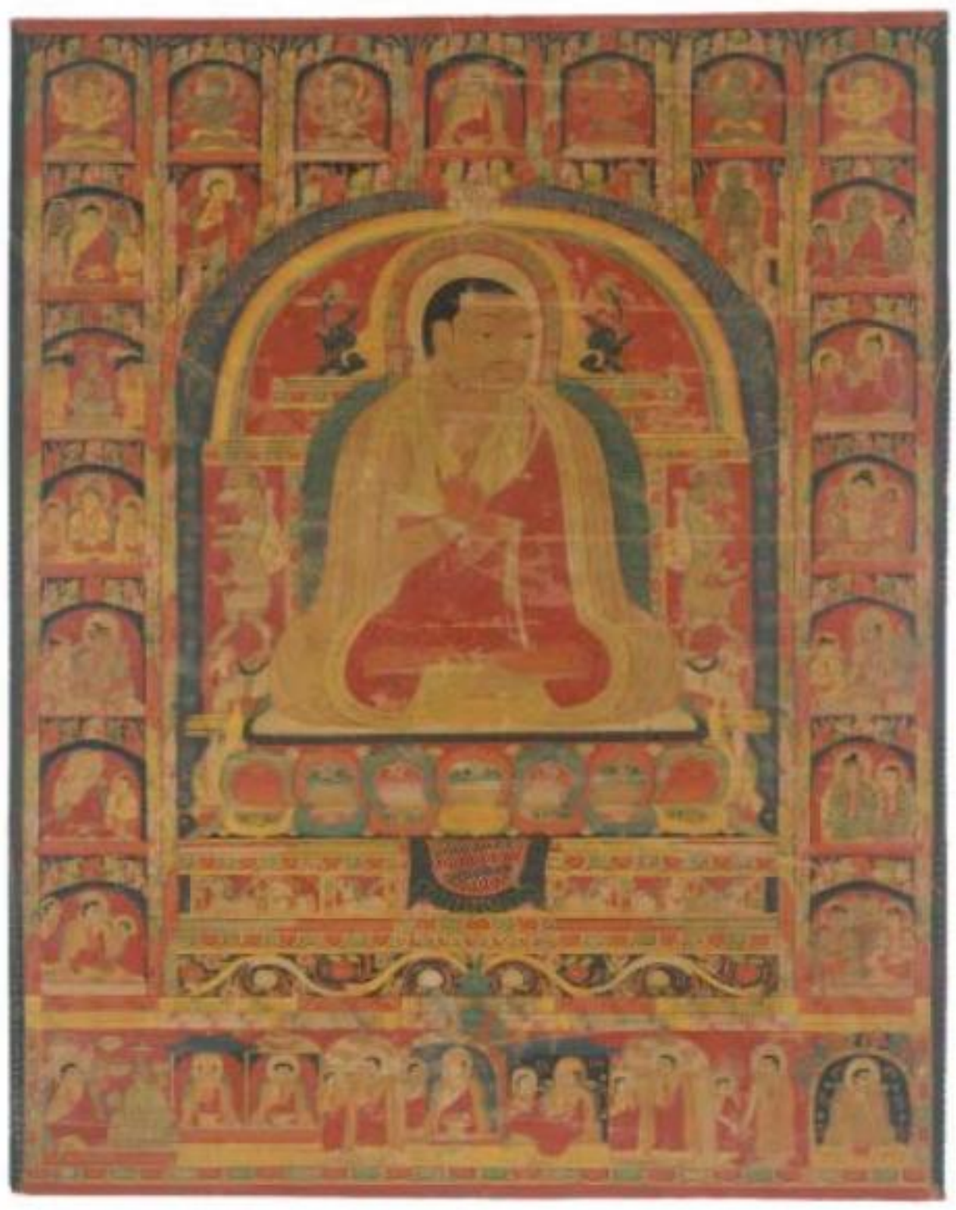


FIG. 5.5
Phagmotrupa with His Previous Lives
Ca. 13th century
Distemper on cotton
Private Collection
Literature: S. Kossak 2010, fig. 53.

I have not had the time to investigate these names further, though it should be possible to match this list with the existing paintings, orienting ourselves from the iconographically more distinctive ones, such as number 3, the monkey bodhisattva.

Figure 5.2 is a well-preserved portrait belonging to this group. The prototype of this painting was widely copied, as exemplified by Figures 5.4 through 5.8. Of them, the first three examples (Figs. 5.3–5.6) depict a row of tutelary deities in their top register, while the last two (Figs. 5.7 and 5.8) depict a row of gurus in that position.

Figure 5.4 has a typical Riwoche inscription on the top of its reverse side that refers to its consecration by Sanggye Önpo.

Figure 5.7 depicts the same portrait of Phagmotrupa, but it is much larger than the previous portraits presented here. For the first time, we see not tantric deities but a line of gurus in the top register, which is damaged. The portrait's lineal structure is shown in diagram [B].

Figure 5.8 depicts a smaller number of minor figures than seen in Figure 5.7, although, like Figure 5.7, it is larger than the others and begins with a lineage in its top register. Its structure is shown in diagram [C].

Figure 5.9 depicts Phagmotrupa surrounded mainly by his previous lives (pl) and episodes from his most recent life (e). It is only distantly related to the previous portrait, both stylistically and in the depiction of the details of his visage. For the first time we see Phagmotrupa as main figure wearing a yellow ceremonial hat (he had worn one as a minor figure).

FIG. 5.6
Phagmotrupa with His Previous Lives
Ca. 13th century
Distemper on cotton
15 ⅜ x 11 ⅝ in. (39 x 29.5 cm)
Private European Collection
Literature: S. Kossak 2010, fig. 54.

The *thangka* has been extensively repainted, and I assume that the details of its main figure's face were too damaged to be made out when it was repaired. It seems to preserve an authentic early tradition for portraying Phagmotrupa, here in an early Beri style. We find both major and minor figures depicted within gold-trimmed red body nimbuses and not within stylized caves framed by colorful pillars of stone. I am not sure where the two tiny adepts (*siddhas*, s1 and s2) belong in its overall iconographic plan, which I have sketched in diagram [D].

FIG. 5.7
Phagmotrupa with His Previous Lives and Lineage
Ca. 13th century
Distemper on cotton
26 x 18 ½ in. (66 x 47 cm)
Private Collection, Japan
After: S. Kossak 2010, fig. 52.

FIG. 5.8
Phagmotrupa with His Previous Lives and Lineage
Ca. 13th century
Distemper on cotton
26 ¾ x 21 ¼ in. (68 x 54 cm)
Tamashige Collection
After Literature: K. Tanaka and Y. Tamashige eds. 2004, pl. 17.

[B]

1	2	3	6	4	5	?(illegible)	
pl1	d1					d2	pl2
pl3							pl4
pl5			7				pl6
pl7							pl8
pl9							pl10
e8?							e9?
S	d3	e1	e2	e3	e4	e5	e6	e7

S=stupa

[C]

3	2	1	6	4					5
pl1	d7							d8	pl2
pl3									pl4
pl5			7						pl6
pl7									pl8
pl9									pl10
P	e1	e2	e3	e4	e5	e6	e7	e8	e9

Figure 5.10 is a classic of Tibetan portraiture, depicting Phagmotrupa and Taklungthangpa as main figures sitting formally upon a classic throne and surrounded by Sharri nimbuses and a stylized outer trim of rocks suggesting caves in a craggy mountain. It is noteworthy for depicting two of this chapter's three main subjects of portraiture as its main figures together and for doing so with skill and subtle attention to facial details. The painting (or at least its original) seems to have been commissioned by a patron who belonged to the generation of Sanggye Önpo. The structure of the painting is shown in diagram [E].

Again we find prominently in the top register five main deities of the Guhyasamāja (Mañjuvajra?) mandala (d1-d5). Perhaps these are from an ancient thirteen-deity tradition of Guhyasamāja taught in Indrabhūti's *Jñānasiddhi* (*Ye shes grub pa*).[391] They correspond roughly to the main deities of the thirty-two-deity Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra mandala in the Ngor tradition.[392] What confuses me is that one of the five deities is blue, which is not found in the transmitted Mañjuvajra mandalas. (There, the central deity is a saffron in color, and none are blue.)

Figure 5.11 depicts an Indian sculpture that portrays the Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra mandala in stone. The sculpture depicts above the large central deity a mandala of five smaller deities, who in a painted mandala would also be differentiated through different body colors. The statue illustrates in three-dimensional form the deities with which Phagmotrupa most closely identified himself in his tantric practice. Since Casey Singer has decribed at great length a very similar sculpture, we can learn there the details of this statue's iconography.[393] Kathok Situ noted seeing statues of the deities of Guhyasamāja Akṣobhyavajra in Thel Monastery.[394]

Figure 5.12 depicts a pair of main teachers, the first of whom (guru 2a

FIG. 5.9
Phagmotrupa with His Previous Lives
Ca. 14th century
Distemper on cotton
17 ¾ x 14 in. (45.1 x 35.6 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
F1998.17.4 (HAR 666)

[D]

B1	pl1	7?	6?	pl2		B2
pl3	s1			s2		pl4
pl5			7			pl6
pl7						pl8
pl9						pl10
P	e1	e2	e3	e4	e5	e6

FIG. 5.10
Phagmotrupa and Taklungthangpa Chenpo
Ca. late 13th century
Distemper on cotton
20 ⅛ x 15 ½ in. (51 x 39.5 cm)
The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund (1987.146)
Literature: Jane Casey Singer 1995, fig. 17; Heather Stoddard 1996, fig. 18; S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, fig. 26; D. Weldon and J. Casey Singer 1999, p. 136, Fig. 52; and S. Kossak 2010, fig. 42.

[E]

B1	d1	d2	d3	d4	d5	d6
s1			6			s2
		7		**8**		
P(11?)	10?	9?	d7	d8	d9	d10

FIG. 5.11
Mandala of Mañjuvajra
Eastern India; 11th century
Phyllite
Height: 37 ⅜ in. (95 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
C2005.7.1 (HAR 65391)

in diagram [F]) is Phagmotrupa, as can be recognized from his facial hair. The second main figure (3a) is one of his prominent disciples, possibly Taklungthangpa Tashi Pal, though this depiction lacks the usual identifying characteristics known from other portraits. The guru seated between their head nimbuses (guru 1a) is probably Gampopa.

The identities of the gurus in the top register are unclear; they lack labeling inscriptions. I provisionally suggest that they represent lineal teachers of two transmissions (gurus 1b through 3b and 1c to 2c as indicated in the diagram). My numbering in diagram [F] reflects that assumption. It may one day be possible to identify the distinctive dark-skinned (Indian?) master in a white robe (guru 1c, who resembles Phadampa Sanggye) and his Tibetan lay disciple (2c), if a painting of similar gurus with inscriptions becomes available.

The lama in the bottom-left corner was the commissioning patron. His inscription on the back of the painting seems to say "Rin chen bzang [po]." Both Rin chen and bZang [po] were very common name elements; there is no reason to think that the famous early translator with that name was meant here. The painting is noteworthy for its simple throne backs behind the two main figures and the prominent use of dark blue in the background. All in all, this is an intriguing painting whose iconographic details may reveal themselves further if we find similar inscribed paintings to compare.

Figure 5.13 depicts four prominent Kagyü gurus as main figures, the second of whom can be identified as Phagmotrupa, based on his facial features. The white-haired teacher sitting before him is Gampopa (6 in the diagram), under whom he studied during the last year of Gampopa's life. Phagmotrupa is depicted looking younger than his guru, about in his forties.

I have laid out the painting's structure in diagram [G]. The painting's Dakpo Kagyü lineage begins with Vajradhara (1), Tilopa (2) and Naropa (3). Some scholars have been misled by guru 1b, the small central yellow-hatted figure between the heads of the two lower main figures (1b), imagining that he might be Gampopa. But his robe and yellow pundit's hat clearly mark him as an Indian pundit. He probably represents Atiśa as a lineal guru but not as a direct teacher of anyone portrayed. The image of Marpa (4) should not be confused with Atiśa's disciple Dromtön, though both were Tibetan laymen.[395] Moreover, guru 5 is unmistakably Milarepa.

Gampopa (6) was the first Tibetan monastic in this tradition to combine the lineages of both Milarepa (5) and Atiśa (1b). The next three masters (7 through 9) are probably consecutive lamas in Gampopa's lineage. No. 8 must be one of the illustrious students of Phagmotrupa, though probably not Taklungthangpa Tashi Pal (1142–1210) or Drigung Kyoppa. At least they are not portrayed here with any of their usual characteristics known from portraits from their own Taklung or Drigung Kagyü Schools.

The painting dates to about the mid-thirteenth century, as confirmed by Carbon14 analysis, which dated the *thangka* to 1229, plus or minus 61 years.[396] That *confirms* that the patron (who was not depicted) was probably the disciple of the last main guru (9), a Dakpo Kagyü lama who flourished three lineal generations after Gampopa.

2. Portrait of Taklungthangpa Surrounded by His Lineage, Miraculous Emanations, Deities, and Episodes from His Life

The second main portraits to be investigated in this chapter are those of Taklungthangpa. As shown by Figure 5.14, this composition depicts him surrounded by his lineage, miraculous emanations, deities, and episodes from his life as shown in diagram [H]. Presumably one of his students painted its prototype after he founded Taklung Monastery in the 1180s. We already know this portrait from chapter 4, where we saw four different copies (Figs. 4.7, 4.11, 4.12, and 4.13). Among them, Figure 5.14 was apparently one of the earliest.

The five main examples of portraits of Taklungthangpa to be compared in this chapter are Figures 5.14 through 5.19. Many details of this portrait's contents have been explained in chapter 4, in connection with Figures 4.7, 4.11, 4.12, 4.13, and 4.14. One additional example (Fig. 5.20) has an Indian temple, or *gandhola,* as its background, which evokes the spiritual status of Buddha Śākyamuni through visual association with Bodhgayā, the locus of his awakening. The inclusion of eight past and future buddhas in the register above likewise implies, visually, Taklungthangpa's status as buddha.

If we compare the lineage of Figure 5.14 with that of the next five paintings, we find an earlier lineage convention in the first painting and a later convention in the next five.

Regarding Figure 5.17, Christian Luczanits was able to establish that the inscriptions on its back give a series of ordination names in Sanskrit written in Tibetan cursive script that include the first three abbots of Taklung and end with Sangye Önpo and his successor, Orgyen Gönpo. (See the complete transcription in Appendix D.) Since Orgyen Gönpo received the name Rinchen Sherab Palzangpo at his preliminary ordination in 1304 at age eleven, the *thangka* must date to after that. Oddly enough, the inscription in its last lines repeats a verse that incorporates Sanggye Önpo's order not to separate from the sacred images: *rje mtshungs med bla ma yab sras dang|| bdag 'bral med ci gsung bka' bsgrub cing|| rang sems 'khrul pa dag pa dang|| 'gro ba'i 'dren pa nus par shog||.*

FIG. 5.12
Phagmotrupa and Disciple
13th century
18 ¾ x 11 ⅝ in. (47.5 x 29.5 cm)
Private Collection, Switzerland

[F]

2b	3b	1b	1c	2c
		1a		
	2a		**3a**	
P(5?)		4a	d1	d2

FIG. 5.13
Gampopa, Phagmotrupa and Two Subsequent Masters in Their Tradition
Mid-13th century
31 ½ x 21 ⅝ in. (80 x 55 cm)
Collection R. R. E.
Literature: A. Heller 1999, no. 55; R. Ernst 2001, p. 904, fig. 2; and P. Pal 2003, fig. 128.

[G]

2	1	3
6	**7**	
4	1b	5
8	**9**	

[H]

1	2	3	7	4	5	6
d1						d2
d3						d4
8b			**8a**			8c
9						10
P (11?)						

FIG. 5.14 (also discussed as Fig. 4.7)
Taklungthangpa with His Lineage, Manifestations, and Two Successors
Last quarter of the 13th century
18 ½ x 14 ⅝ in. (47 x 37 cm)
Private Collection

FIG. 5.15
Taklungthangpa Chenpo with His Lineage and Manifestations
Ca. late 13th to early 14th century
20 ½ x 17 ¼ in. (52.1 x 43.8 cm)
Collection of Shelley and Donald Rubin
P2000.22.14 (HAR 1005)

FIG. 5.16 (also discussed as Fig. 4.11)
Taklungthangpa Chenpo with His Lineage and Manifestations
First half of the 13th century
12 ⅝ x 9 ⅞ in. (32 x 25 cm)
Courtesy of Michael J. and Beata McCormick Collection
Literature: M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1996, pl. 203 (84a).

FIG. 5.17
Taklungthangpa Chenpo with His Lineage and Manifestations
Early to mid-14th century
19 ⅝ x 15 in. (49.9 x 38.1 cm)
Brooklyn Museum (1991.86, Gift of the Asian Art Council)
(HAR 86901)

FIG. 5.18
Taklungthangpa Chenpo with His Lineage and Manifestations
Late 13th to early 14th century
28 ¾ x 23 ¾ in. (73 x 60.3 cm)
Private Collection
Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's, Inc.
© 2006
Literature: Sotheby's Indian and Southeast Asian Art (Sotheby's NY), Sept 20, 2005, no. 14.

FIG. 5.19 (also discussed as Fig. 4.12)
Taklungthangpa with His Lineage and Emanations
Early to mid-14th century
23 ⅝ x 21 ⅛ in. (60 x 51 cm)
Collection Mimi Lipton
Literature: J. Casey Singer 1997, pl. 44.

FIG. 5.20
Taklungthangpa Chenpo with His Lineage and Manifestations
Eastern Tibet; early 14th century
Distemper on cotton
Private Collection
Literature: S. Kossak 2010, fig. 56.

3. Portrait of Drigung Kyoppa Jikten Gönpo with His Lineage, the Eight Great Adepts, and Minor Deities

Figure 5.21 exemplifies the third main portraiture subject of this chapter, Drigung Kyoppa Jikten Gönpo. This copy of a standard portrait depicts him surrounded by a guru lineage, the Eight Great Adepts (*mahāsiddhas*), and minor deities. I presume that its prototype was painted by one of his disciples after he founded Drigung Monastery in 1166 but before his death in 1217. Another important prototype was a portrait depicting his sacred footprints, shown with surrounding minor deities, such as Figure 5.22.

Several paintings represent the portrait of the founder of Drigung with the same fixed constellation of minor deities. These include Figures 5.21, 5.22, 5.23, and 5.24. That these and a number of other paintings belong to a Drigung group was noted by Luczanits in connection with his study of the eight great adepts, who are regularly depicted (see ga1-ga8 in diagram [I]) in these portraits.[397]

Figure 5.22 depicts a great lama's footprints surrounded by deities that have been painted with washes of dye or ink. It can be considered the Rosetta stone of this small Drigung Kagyü corpus. It unlocks the contents of this entire group of thangkas, even naming its minor figures through inscriptions. The structure is unusual, reflecting a convention of guru succession that I have not seen before.[398] Its structure is shown in diagram [J].

In the second register we find six male deities and four female consorts of the Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra mandala (d1-d10). Deity d11, the nāga king Anavatapta (Ma dros pa), is the interlocutor of a sutra in the Tibetan canon, as is Sāgara (Tib. Klu rgyal rGya mtsho). Though not one of the eight great nāgas,[399] Anavatapta is listed in the *Mahāvyutpatti* Tibetan-Sanskrit glossary among the nāga kings.[400] I cannot explain his presence here, instead of the usual long-lived nāga kings Nanda and

FIG. 5.21
Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo with His Lineage
Mid-13th century
Distemper on cotton
27 ½ x 19 ¾ in. (70 x 50 cm)
Private Collection, Zurich
Literature: P. Pal et al. 2003, no. 132; A. Heller 2005, pl. 1.

[I]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	B1
ga1	d1								d2	ga2
ga3										ga4
ga5					**8**					ga6
ga7										ga8
d3										d4
d5										d6
d7										d8
d9		d10		d11	(v)	d12		d14		d15

FIG. 5.22
Drigung Kyoppa's Footprints
Ca. 1200
Dyes or thin washes of pigment on cloth
23 ¾ x 23 ⅞ in. (60.3 x 60.5 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
C2003.7.1 (HAR 65205)
Literature: D. Klimburg-Salter 2004, fig. 1; R. Linrothe ed. 2006, cat. no. 6; and C. Luczanits 2006, figs. 4.1, 4.7, and 4.8.

[J]

B1	B2	1	2	3	7	6	5	4	B3	B4
d1	d2	d3	d4	d5	8	d6	d7	d8	d9	d10
ga1										ga2
ga3										ga4
ga5		**F1**			**M**			**F2**		ga6
ga7										ga8
d11										d12
d13	d14	d15	d16		(v)		d17	d18	d19	d20

(F = footprint, M = main figure)

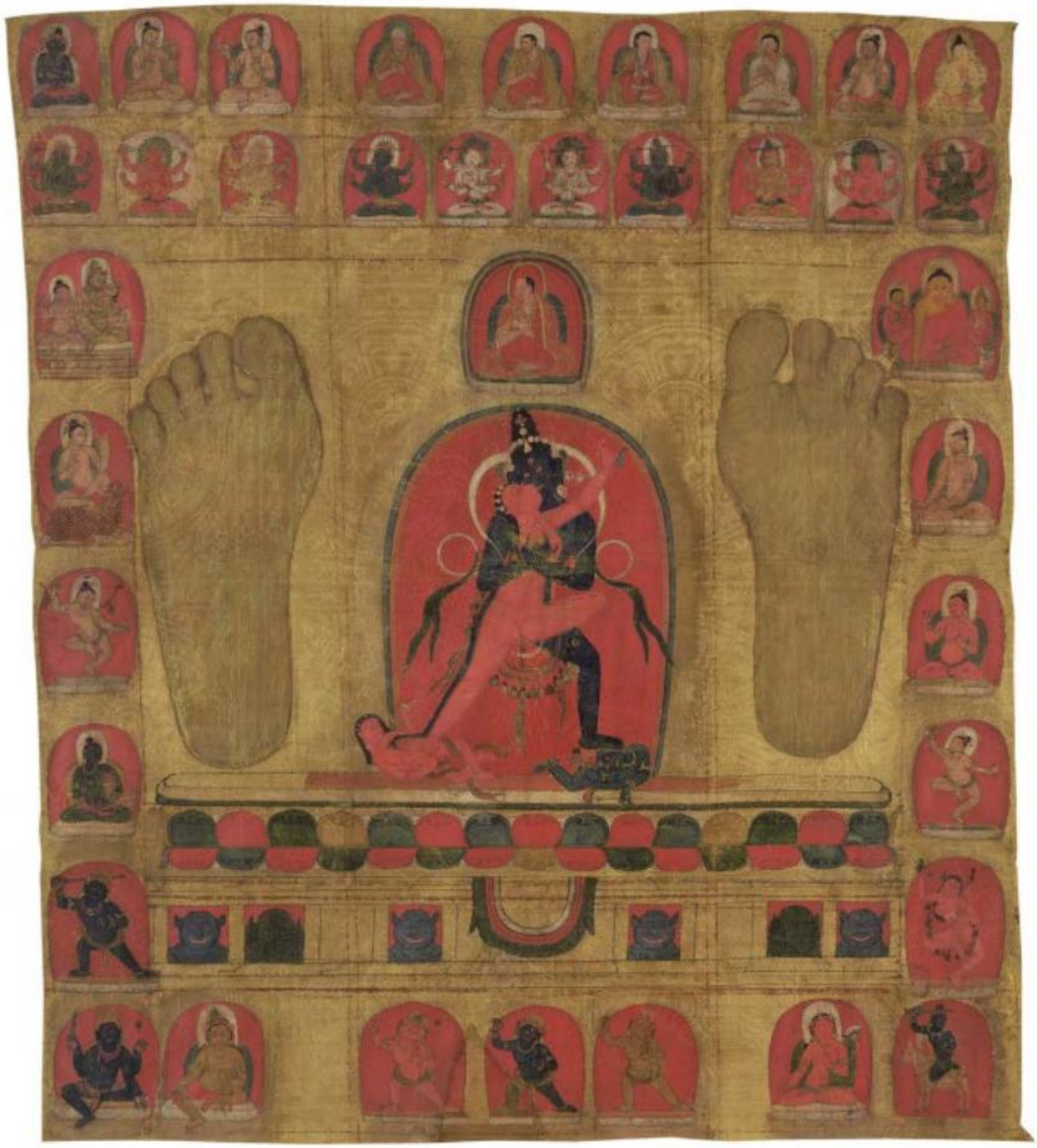


FIG. 5.23
Footprint of Drigung Kyoppa
Early 13th century
23 ½ x 19 ⅞ in. (59.7 x 50.5 cm)
Pritzker Collection
(HAR 58301)
Literature: K. Selig Brown 2003, pl. 6.

[K]

1		2	3	6	7	4	5	s1		d1
d1	d2	d3	d4	d5		d6	d7	d8	d9	d10
ga1					8					ga2
ga3										ga4
ga5		**F1**			**M**			**F2**		ga6
ga7										ga8
d11										d12
d13	d14	d15	d16		(v)		d17	d18	d19	d20

Upananda. Perhaps the Drigung Kagyü masters desired a nāga who was associated with a famous lake in the Mount Kailash area.[401] The second nāga king depicted here, d12, is Apalāla (Tib. Sog ma med). He is unknown to me, though he appears among the many nāga kings listed in the *Mahāvyutpatti* glossary.[402]

The inscription at the base of Figure 5.22 could be only partly deciphered.[403] It mentions at the very beginning a certain Gompa Rinchen Dorje (bsGom pa Rin chen rdo rje), who was evidently the devoted patron of the painting. It also names his teacher, the revered guru and lord of Dharma Rinchen Pal (Rin chen dpal), as Jigten Gönpo was also known. That great teacher seems to have been mentioned as the lama who let his footprints be made, but the colophon becomes illegible before we can read much further.

The footprints on this *thangka*, like several other footprints on early Drigung Kagyü paintings (including Figs. 5.23 and 5.24), show the presence of a bunion-like condition.[404] Those distinctive shapes confirm that they all derived from the feet of same lama, their highly revered founding master, Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo.

Figure 5.23 presents another footprint *thangka* of the Drigung founder. It represents a subsequent stage of development within this group. See diagram [K].

Once again in the second register we find six male deities and four female consorts of a Guhyasamāja mandala (d1-d10). The latest historical figure shown is Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo, (8).

Figure 5.24 again depicts a footprint thangka of the great founder of Drigung, and it closely resembles the plan of another published early Drigung painting.[405] The arrangement of its figures is shown in diagram [L].

Representations of holy footprints originated in India, where Buddha Śākyamuni's footprints were some of the earliest-known forms of Buddhist

FIG. 5.24
Footprint of Drigung Kyoppa
Early 13th century
21 x 21 in. (53 x 53 cm)
Courtesy of Michael and Beata McCormick Collection
Literature: K. Selig Brown 2003, p. 40, pl. 7; HAR 81410 describes Selig Brown 2003, pl. 7.

[L]

1		2	3	6	7	4	5	B1		s1
d1	d2	d3	d4	d5	8	d6	d7	d8	d9	d10
ga1										ga2
ga3										ga4
ga5		**F1**			**M**			**F2**		ga6
ga7										ga8
d11										d12
d13		d14	d15		d16		d17	d18		d19

art. In Tibet, that genre of paintings was very rare, though a few examples are known.[406] They were far outnumbered by paintings that depicted the footprints of great Tibetan lamas.

Figure 5.25 differs from the preceding thangkas in that it does not depict Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo as its main subject. As confirmed by its lineage, the main figure must have been a prominent disciple of Jigten Gönpo. He also looks different from his guru, with his own distinctly flatter hairline.

Two structural aspects of this painting are unusual. One is that the painting is nearly square. The second is the sequence of the proportions of its minor figures: small in the top row, medium in the middle, and large in the bottom row, which creates a slight illusion of depth. Amy Heller tentatively identified its main figure as the founder of Drigung Monastery (as in Fig. 5.21) based on identical iconography.[407] But the main figure here is one generation later in the Drigung lineage, so that suggestion can be ruled out.

The appearance of Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo is confirmed by numerous statues, including Figure 5.26, though his hand gesture is different there. We should note his lama's vest and the distinctive face and hairline of this great founder.

FIG. 5.25
Disciple of Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo with His Lineage
13th century
Distemper on cotton
23 ¼ x 22 ½ in. (59.1 x 57.2 cm)
Pritzker Collection
Literature: S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, p. 89, no. 17; C. Luczanits 2006, fig. 4.9; and D. Jackson 2010, fig. 1.23.

FIG. 5.26
Statue of Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo
13th century
Brass, polychrome; 5 ½ in. (14 cm)
Musée des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, France (MA 6032)
© Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY
Photograph by P. Pleynet
ART412375
Literature: H. Stoddard 2003, fig. 4.

Centers and Peripheries

By comparing the groups of portraits of the three important lamas discussed above, we should be able to uncover not just visual traces of buddhahood but also other essential elements of early saintly portraiture in Tibet. The paintings in all three groups include both a central zone inhabited by the main figure (*gtso bo*) and a rectangular frame of peripheral strips around it that is devoted to portraying minor figures (*'khor*) or subsidiary subjects. To compare the paintings, we first need to distinguish centers from peripheries.

Comparing Peripheries

If we compare the outer columns and registers in the three main groups of portraits, we find great differences. To begin with, in the portrait of Phagmotrupa (see Fig. 5.2a) we find in the periphery:

a. Top: deities of a Guhyasamāja mandala and one centrally placed guru of the main figure
b. Sides: previous lives of the main figure
c. Bottom: a stupa (the patron appears in two instances) and possibly biographical episodes

The last two early portraits of Phagmotrupa (Figs. 5.7, and 5.8) represent a separate subgroup. Both have a new subject matter for their top register, a guru lineage.

When we turn to the portrait of Taklungthangpa, we find in the periphery (see Fig. 5.14a):

a. Top: lineage and one centrally placed guru of the main figure
b. Sides: emanations of the main figure
c. Bottom: eight biographical episodes

Turning to the periphery of our third main group of portraits, those of Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo (see Fig. 5.21a), we find mostly different subjects:

a. Top: lineage and one centrally placed guru of the main figure
b. Sides: eight great adepts, four deities, and two nāga kings
c. Bottom: patron, minor deities, and vase atop a *vajra*

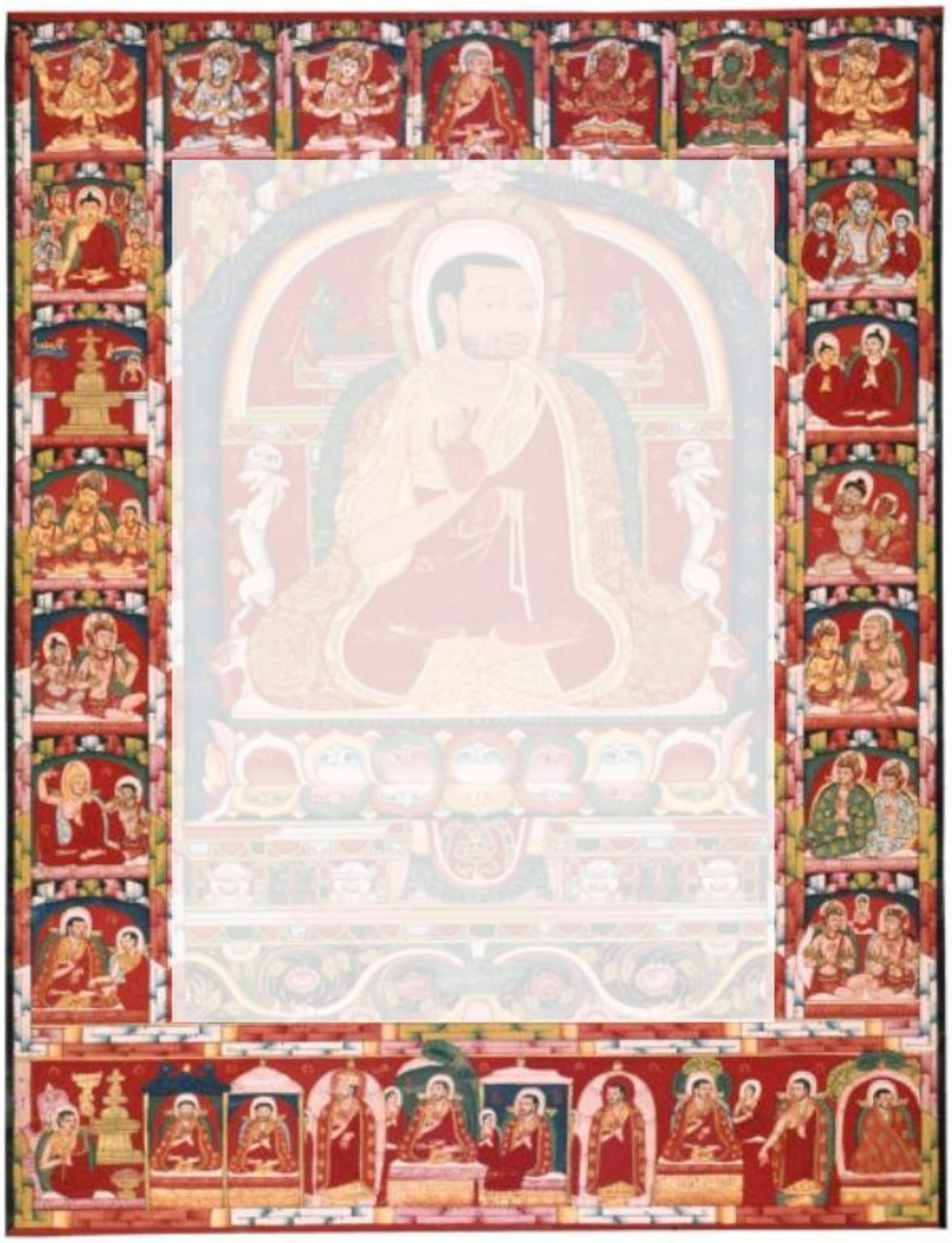


Fig. 5.2a
Periphery of a Portrait of Phagmotrupa

Common Peripheral Elements

All three groups possess in their top register a common element, namely a centered guru of the main figure. The portraits of Taglungthangpa, Drigung

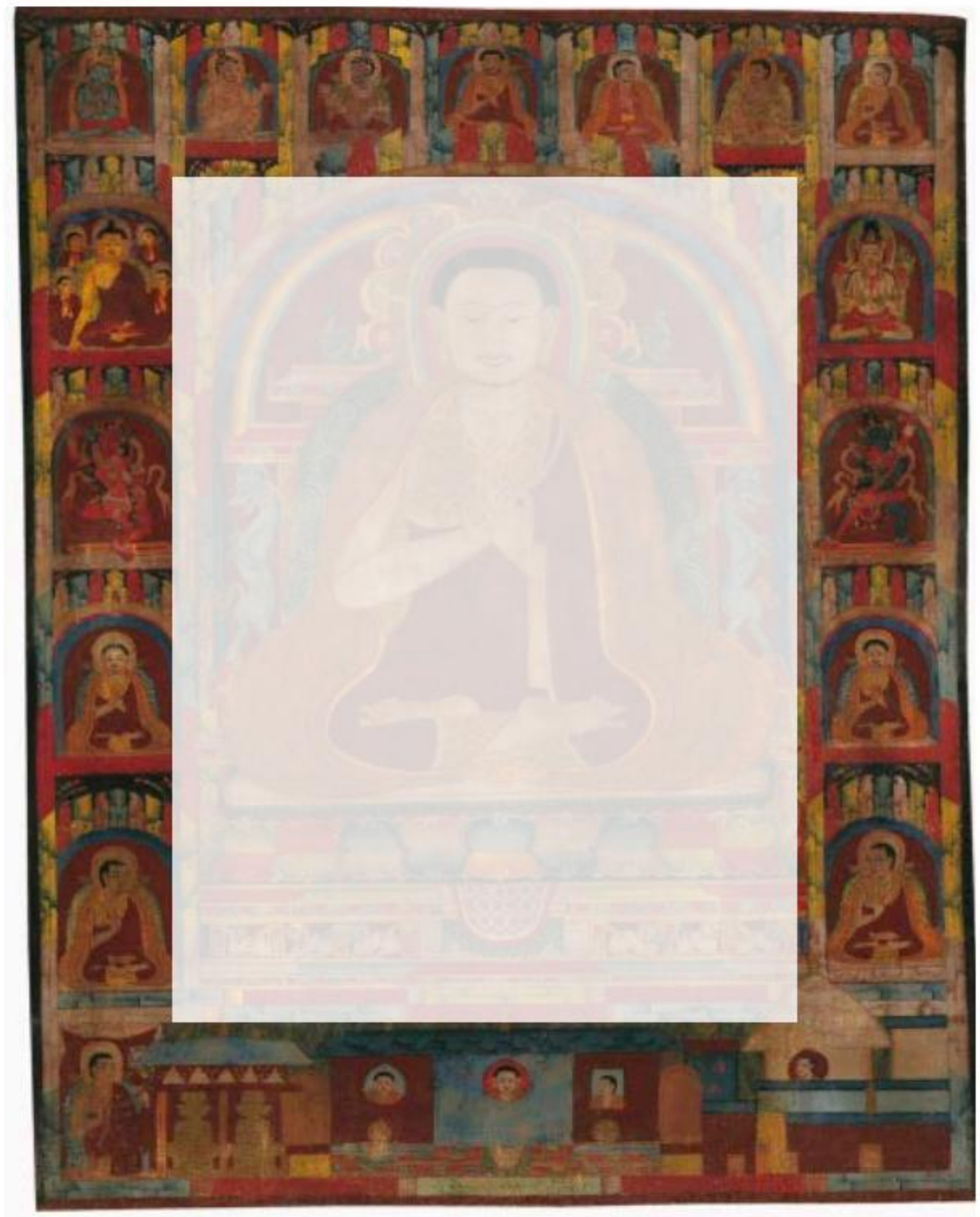


FIG. 5.14A
Periphery of a Portrait of Taklungthangpa

THE THREE PORTRAIT CENTERS

To find other crucial elements of sacred portraiture, we must turn to the central zone inhabited by the main figure (*gtso bo*) of the painting, seated on his throne. When we compare all three groups of portraits, we find there a number of elements common to all, including the throne, elaborate backrest, and head nimbuses. There we also begin to find traditional elements that evoke saintliness and are associated with buddhahood.

The elements shared by the great masters in the central zones include the positions of their hands and feet. We should also carefully note the way their limbs were colored and decorated and any special features of their eyes.

1. The Center of the Portrait of Phagmotrupa

Figure 5.2b represents the image of Phagmotrupa that appears in the center of his portraits (here taken from Fig. 5.2). The other surviving versions quite faithfully follow this part of the classic composition. Although for the Drigung Kyoppa and Taklungthangpa portraits there exist versions both with and without footprints, I have never found a painting of the footprints of Phagmotrupa.

The disciples and successors of Phagmotrupa commonly referred to him using the title "bDe bar gshegs pa" (Sugata), i.e., "Buddha," suggesting that he was viewed as a buddha by his most spiritually advanced students. In his brief biography of Phagmotrupa, Gö Lotsawa explicitly addresses this.[408] He says that, in addition to Phagmotrupa's having been a spiritual adept (*siddha*) to people of middling spiritual understanding and an ordinary human to those of lower understanding, he was a buddha to those of excellent understanding.[409] Gö Lotsawa had compiled his history and its biography of Phagmotrupa during the

Jigten Gönpo, and two of Phagmotrupa (those in the second subgroup) also show lineage masters at the top. (As briefly described in chapter 4, the available examples of Taglungthangpa actually include two different lineal conventions.) Moreover, two peripheral elements are shared by two out of three paintings and hence should be noted as important: 1. episodes from lives shown at the bottom (as in the Phagmotrupa and Taklungthangpa portraits), and 2. patrons and minor deities at the bottom (as we found in the paintings of Phagmotrupa and Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo).

FIG. 5.21A
Periphery of a Portrait of Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo

late Phagmotrupa dynastic period, while Phagmotrupa's monastery of Densa Thel served as the mother monastery of the royal family. He was personally familiar with the monastery.

To compare the various centers of Phagmotrupa's portraits, let us take into account the six versions mentioned above as Figures 5.2 through 5.8. The central zone in each painting is defined by an outer boundary created by a thin strip of multicolor rock on the sides and bottom that turns into an arch of little stylized crags (*brag ri*) on top. The arch of colorful stone pillars creates a cave-like opening, which Phagmotrupa inhabits as the main figure. (This is one type of *brag ri ma* setting.)[410]

Phagmotrupa sits in partial profile, turning to the right. He sits on a lotus throne while holding his hands in a gesture of teaching. He wears red and yellow inner monk's robes and orange outer ones. His seat consists of four layers stacked from bottom to top: a lotus pool, a throne base with lions and elephants (except one example, which has only lions), a lotus seat, and a moon disc.

Behind Phagmotrupa's head is a nimbus of a Sharri type with the typical colorful outer fringe of the adjoining backrest. In two of them the tail bumps of the *makara*, a mythical aquatic crocodile-like monster, are smooth and golden. In two other versions they are prominent and colorful. Behind Phagmotrupa's back is an elaborate backrest that features an arch of mythical animals, including elephants, leogryphs (antelopes with lion's paws), *makaras*, and a *garuda (*a divine creature with human torso and bird's wings and beak).[411] Most versions depict the edges of his backrest plain, while one, Figure 5.6, depicts a jewel ornament there. The upper edge of his throne back features a strip of luminous rainbow-like light that also defines the border of his upper body nimbus. The depictions of the backrest differ–in two versions, elephants stand on projecting pieces. In one, the cave opening is more obviously five-lobed. The edge of the lotus seat is different in one, while in Figure 5.7, no *garuda* is seen, though that last example may be damaged. In all versions, the heads and upper torsos of minor deities protrude into the right- and left-top corners.

2. The Center of the Portrait of Taklungthangpa

The centers of Taklungthangpa's portraits resemble in most respects those of the portraits of Phagmotrupa. When we compare six of the accessible versions (Figs. 5.14 through 5.19) we find that the central zone is again delimited by an outer boundary created by a thin strip of

FIG. 5.2B (detail)
Center of a Portrait of Phagmotrupa

FIG. 5.14B (detail)
Center of a Portrait of Taklungthangpa

multicolor rock on the sides and bottom, which turns into an arch of little stylized crags above.

The central figure, Taklungthangpa, wears the same robes as Phagmotrupa. His hands, too, are in a gesture of teaching, but they are held more closely together. One striking difference is that Taklungthangpa is not portrayed in partial profile. He faces straight ahead like a buddha or deity, a posture which is rare among humans in early portraits.

Taklungthangpa wears red and yellow inner robes and orange outer robes. His seat consists of three layers, from bottom to top: a throne base with lions and elephants (except for one example that has only lions), a lotus seat, and a moon disc. Behind his head is a nimbus of a Sharri type backed by the decorative outer fringe of the adjoining backrest. The outer fringe consists of *makara* tail bumps that are prominent and colorful. Behind his back is an elaborate backrest, which includes an arch of four mythical animals: elephant, leogryph, *makara*, and *garuda*. A minor deity emerges into the top-right and -left corners.

One distinctive feature of this painting is the inner edge of its cave-like opening, which has been altered to remind us of a key locus of Taklungthangpa's spiritual career. Between the rocks and the deep-blue cave we find, outside his outer body nimbus or rainbow aureole, a thin red-trimmed strip of bundled cogon grass, which represents the meditation hut in which Taklungthangpa lived while in Taklung, at the end of his saintly life. Somehow the grass hut at Taklung had come to symbolize the essence of Taklungthangpa's spiritual career, much like the willow-twig hut at Thel had for Phagmotrupa, at least in the hagiographies.

Taklungthangpa's seat is like that in the paintings of Phagmotrupa. But its lowest level (which in Phagmotrupa's painting portrays a stylized lotus pool) is occupied here by a peripheral strip. Here we notice three distinct versions, one of which (Fig. 5.14b) shows just the base of a throne. Two versions (Figs. 5.16a and 5.18a) evidently portray episodes from Taklungthangpa's life. In the last version (Fig. 5.18a) both the lotus pool and hagiographical episodes are combined.

3. The Center of the Portrait of Drigung Kyoppa

In Figure 5.21b, the center of the Figure 5.21, we find the great Drigung master looking to the right, holding his hands in the same teaching gesture as Taklungthangpa. Much of his body

FIG. 5.16A (detail)
Center of a Portrait of Taklungthangpa

FIG. 5.18A (detail)
Center of a Portrait of Taklungthangpa

nimbuses consists of luminous strips of rainbow colors, elements that we found only in the upper edges of the backrests of the previous two saints. Below the throne no bottom strip represents a lotus pool. Instead, in the middle of the bottom row a golden vase stands on a crossed ritual scepter (*vajra)*. The vase contains water, from which long undulating lotus vines sprout.

The portrait of Drigung Kyoppa is painted in a different Sharri style, here without the rocky crags and caves. This change in background limits the scope of comparisons with the other two portraits, which featured a stylized cave as background.

The most striking iconographic departure from the previous two portraits is that, to the right and left of the great master, two bodhisattva attendants stand almost to his shoulders, partly covering the outer body nimbus of the main figure. Such attendants were unknown in the other portraits, but they strongly evoke the buddha-like status of the central figure, just as was the case in the Alchi stupa mural (Fig. 5.1). They are also found in Figure 5.25a, a closely related painting of the Drigung founder that features a different main figure.

Divine or Human?

Tibetan sacred portraits thus seem to embody two conflicting tendencies. One is the desire to idealize and identify the saint as enlightened, just as expected. The other is an opposing requirement that the saint be recognizable as the particular human being that he was. The first tendency pulled the saint toward nirvana, while the other kept him rooted in samsara and the world.[412]

In the above three representations of saints, which aspects indisputably expressed the ideal of buddhahood? The dress and the bodies of all three masters remain for the most part those of a human teacher, and each painting depicts Tibetan monks of a particular age and physical appearance. Yet three or four elements had been changed to invoke buddha-like sanctity.

To begin with, their stances and bodies were idealized. Their hands were placed in formal symbolic gestures (*mudrās*) that evoke sainthood or divinity, if not buddhahood. Their feet were shown bare, while their palms and soles were further idealized through red coloration. Such deifying transformations made all three portraits less realistic and more like icons. The lotus seat, formal

FIG. 5.21B (detail)
Center of a Portrait of Drigung Kyoppa

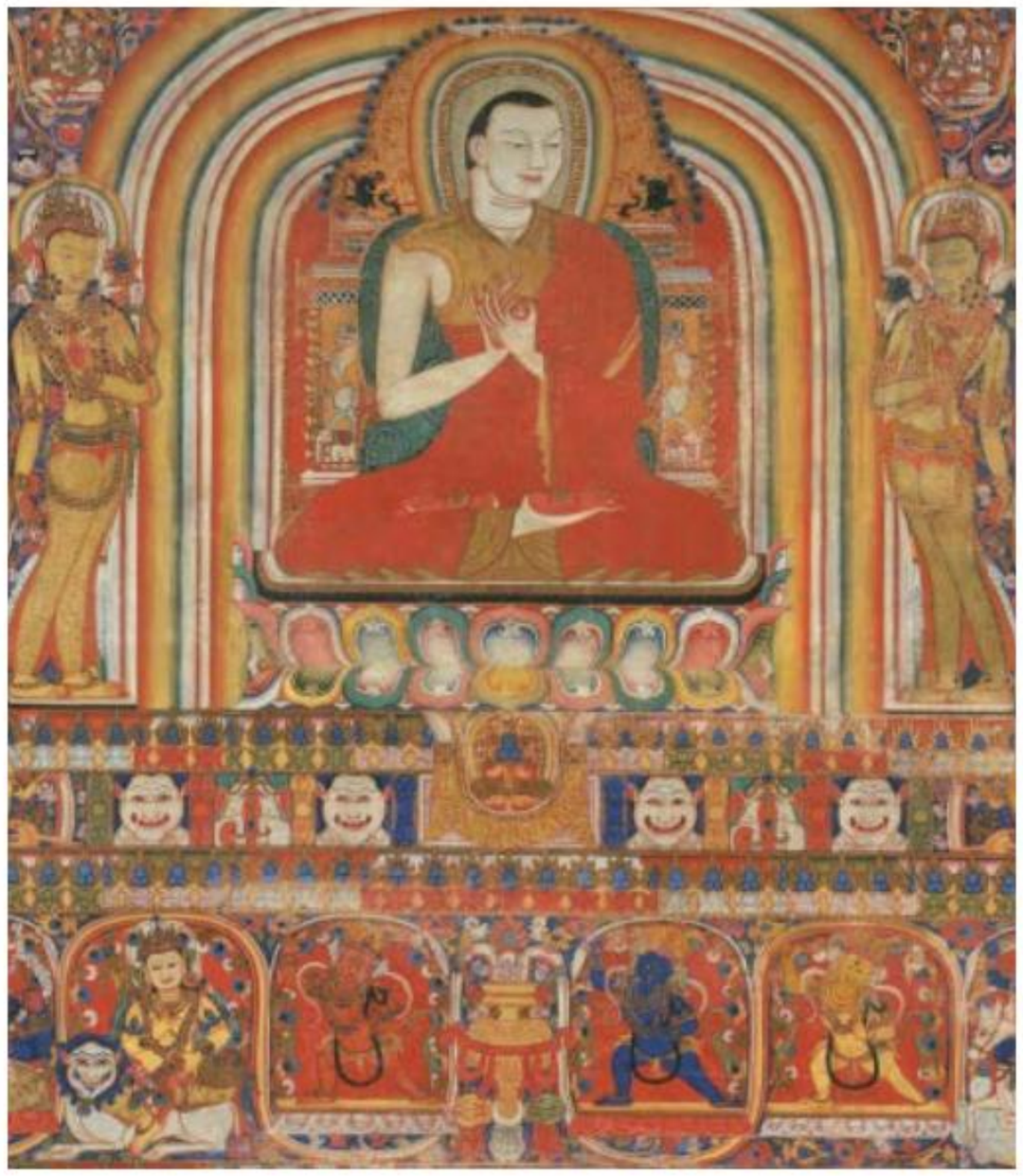


FIG. 5.25A (detail)
Drigung Master with Lineage (detail of center)

throne back, and nimbuses of the head and body evoked strong sacred associations, just as when they frame a buddha, bodhisattva, or goddess. A parasol overhead (as in Fig. 1.27) had a similar effect in other portraits.

The portrait of Drigung Kyoppa (Fig. 5.21) was echoed by another early Drigung sacred portrait, Figure 5.25a, that also framed its central figure between prominent standing bodhisattvas, making it strongly evocative of the great sage Śākyamuni at Vajrāsana (*Byang chub chen po* or *Thub pa rdo rje gdan pa*) with Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī as accompanying bodhisattvas, or other buddhas with pairs of bodhisattvas. (This association with the Bodhgayā temple was more explicitly made in one of the rare Taklungthangpa versions, Fig. 5.20). In early and strongly Indic paintings, which some of the early Drigung paintings are, other associations with buddhas are made by including the two great bodhisattva nāga kings as supporters of the central throne.[413] We find them in both Figures 5.21 and 5.25. I assumed that these were the nāga kings Nanda and Upananda (dGa' bo and Nyer dga'), the long-lived bodhisattvas whose important role is explained by Dungkar Losang Thrinlay (Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las) in his dictionary.[414] But in the inscribed version of the Drigung footprints (Fig. 5.22), two other nāga names are given, Anavatapta and Upalāla, for which there may have been some doctrinal justification.

Regarding the nimbus of luminous rainbow-like light (or rainbow aureole), one scholar has suggested that it signified that the master attained the "rainbow body" (*'ja' lus*) at death.[415] Such an aureole does indicate high spiritual attainment, but it is far too common to be restricted to the rainbow body of a lama–some buddhas have it, too, after all.[416] In Figure 5.25a, a detail of a stunning Drigung portrait, it has been repeated three times, evoking an almost overwhelming sense of vibrant spiritual power.

Another feature that lent increased sanctity and spiritual presence to the images was eyes of a special idealized type. These were the so-called bow eyes (*gzhu spyan*), as in Figure 5.27, which were also used for buddhas.[417] Such eyes conveyed the attainment of deep meditative absorption (*samādhi, ting nge 'dzin*). Figure 5.28 depicts the face of a buddha with the prescribed bow eyes and head protuberance, as drawn by a modern artist from Ü Province in central Tibet.[418]

Humans normally were portrayed with different (non-divine) proportions,

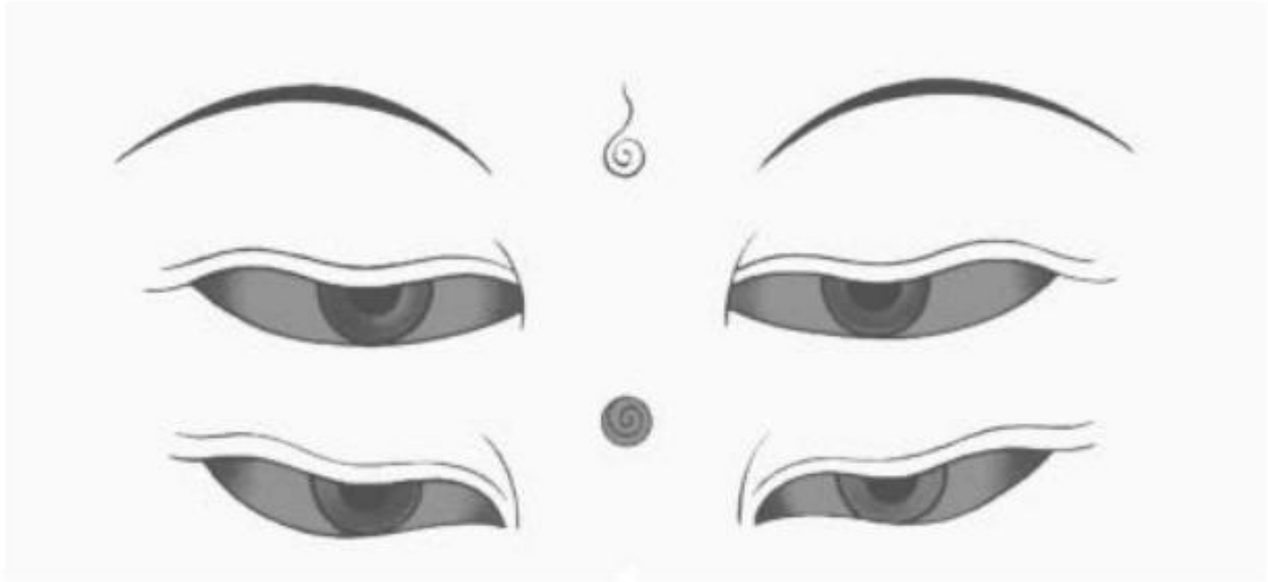


Fig. 5.27
Bow-shaped Eyes
Modern ink drawing
Literature: D. Jackson 1984, p. 138.

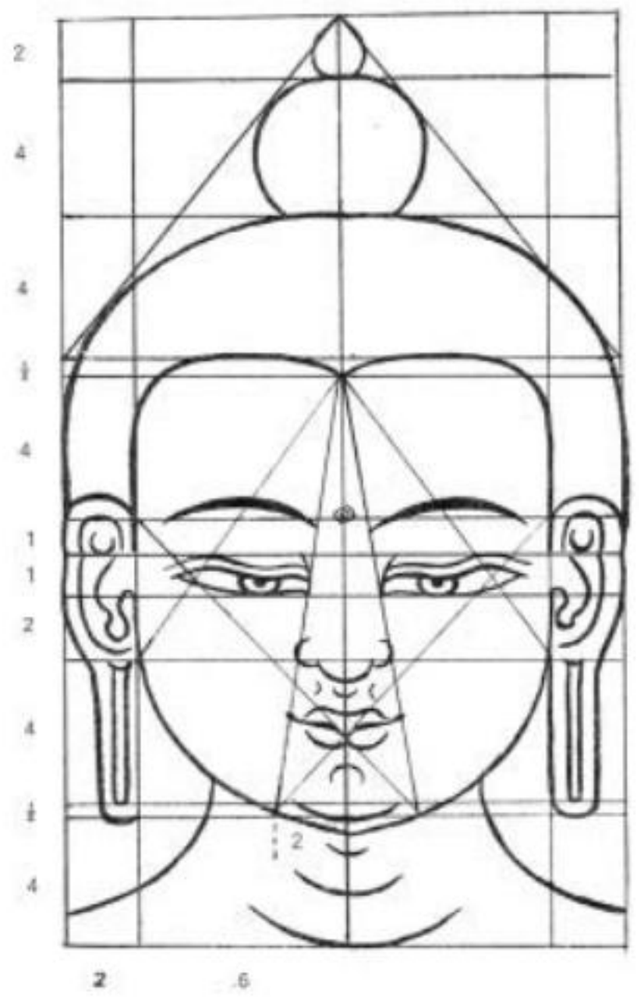


Fig. 5.28
Buddha with Bow-shaped Eyes
Modern ink drawing by Legdrup Gyatsho of Phenpo Nalendra
Literature: Thubten Legshay Gyatsho 1979, p. 62, fig. 13.

with a total measure of just 116 finger-widths, as in Figure 5.29. They also possessed ordinary eyes, which artists call "grain eyes" (*nas spyan*), as depicted in Figure 5.30. Yet the sources on iconometry (i.e., on the systems of divine proportions, *thig tshad*) record that Drigung Kyoppa Jigten Gönpo taught that the guru should be portrayed not with normal human proportions but with those of a buddha. Here, then, was yet another aspect of sacred art that had been elevated to the highest possible level where the guru was concerned.

We also find in numerous, but not all, early portraits "wheels of Dharma" (*dharmacakra*) painted in gold or red on the palms and soles. Called "hands and feet possessing the sign of wheels" (*phyag zhabs 'khor lo'i mtshan ldan*), these were counted as one of the thirty-two marks of a buddha and are evidence of the radical idealization of these masters, who had been elevated by association to the level of a buddha.[419]

Casey Singer and Kossak both pointed out the presence of wheels on the soles of the feet of Taklungthangpa, noting that it showed that he was an enlightened being.[420] "Abbots are shown seated on thrones reserved in the Indian tradition for deities and are sometimes

Fig. 5.29
Proportions for a Monk Disciple (Śrāvaka or Nyan thos) of the Buddha
Modern ink drawing by the artist Wandrak of Shekar
Literature: D. Jackson 1984, p. 62.

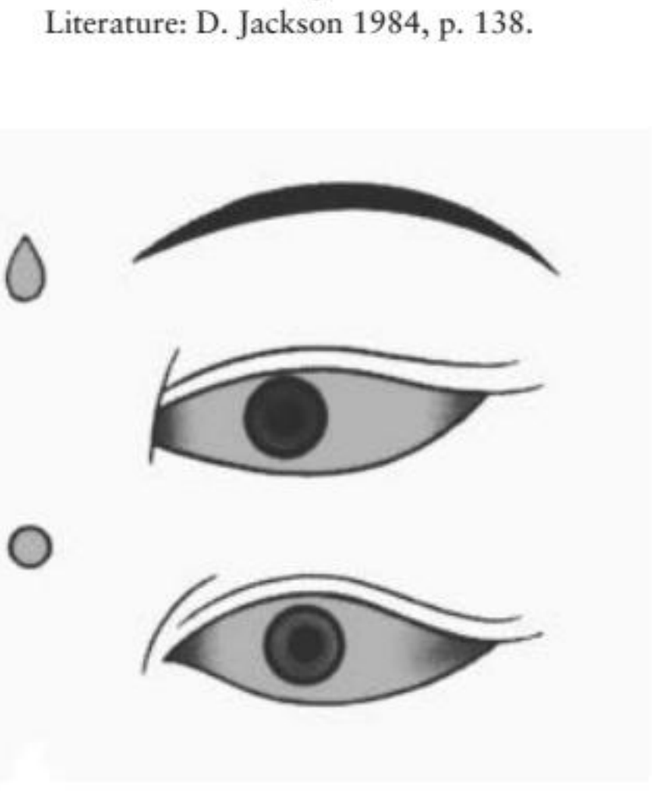


Fig. 5.30
Grain-shaped Eye
Modern ink drawing
Literature: D. Jackson 1984, p. 138.

FIG. 5.31
An Episode from the Life of Sakya Paṇḍita
Eastern Tibet; ca. 18th century
Distemper on cotton
Private Collection

marked with auspicious signs on the palms of their hands and soles of their feet that have the same antecedent."[421] Another similar special characteristic of deities was elongated ear lobes, though they are not marks of buddhahood. Full frontal depiction (as Taklungthangpa was depicted) is usually associated with a deity, and his hand gesture, *dharmacakra-mudrā* was at first thought to be characteristic of the historic Buddha."[422] But it would be wrong to associate that hand gesture exclusively with any buddha. All hand gestures are possible in portraits.

Such buddha attributes as a head protuberance were not allowed for ordinary humans or even great human saints.[423] But in two exceptional cases we do find them: for the Indian sage Nāgārjuna and in at least one case for the paintings of Sakya Paṇḍita, who is said to have developed a head protuberance shortly before his death. Figure 5.31 portrays what I assume to be that Tibetan lama with a buddha's head protuberance, an otherwise impossible iconography.

Conclusions

From a wider Tibetan Buddhist cultural context, there was nothing unusual about applying the template of Buddha Śākyamuni to human gurus in Tibet. Many traditional hagiographers did precisely that when telling the life of a great Tibetan saint, recounting the corresponding great deed of the Buddha (following the scheme of the Buddha's Twelve Great Deeds, *mdzad pa bcu gnyis*). We find this, for example, in the religious biography of the Tibetan saint Rendawa (Red mda' ba, 1348–1412).[424]

The three great masters whose portraits are compared in this chapter were each unusually charismatic and spiritually accomplished. They utterly convinced their intimate students of their attainment of buddhahood. It was natural that their devoted disciples would celebrate their buddhahood in portraits, too. Just to show the Tibetan lamas sitting on the thrones and lotus seats of buddhas and great bodhisattvas– surrounded by the same traditional elements as nimbuses and throne backrests–was already a powerful association with the highest spiritual status possible in Buddhism. In their student's eyes, it was wholly deserved.

Yet Tibetan disciples and their artists carried the process of visual

elevation even further: they depicted lamas with the idealized hand gestures and foot positions of divinities. By placing the lamas between two standing attendant bodhisattvas (as we found in two Drigung Kagyü portraits, Figs. 5.21 and 5.25), they reminded the viewer in a striking way that this central seat was usually reserved for a buddha. But that was not all. They also had their lamas depicted with mystical eyes of meditative absorption. Finally, they commonly gave the gurus a mark that was reserved only for buddhas: wheels of Dharma on their hands and feet, either clearly drawn as such in gold or red, or simplified into little golden dots.

To employ such a buddha attribute in a human portrait seems to me, at least, almost heretical. Yet exactly that expressed the degree to which Tibetan devotees were determined to pursue guru devotion. If the great masters' disciples worshiped them as buddhas, the divine attributes merely confirmed it.

Yet one artistic practice held this almost limitless visual exaltation somewhat in check: the need to depict each guru recognizably. All three of the main portraits of this chapter retained distinctive features of face and hair of their subjects: the beard, chin, and teeth of Phagmotrupa and the hairlines of both Thaklungthangpa and Drigung Kyoppa. Thus, though such portraits aimed to depict their subjects as having reached liberation and buddhahood, the need to portray each guru convincingly as the particular human that they had been kept the icon, in that respect, tied to the ordinary world.

CHAPTER 6

Siddhas, Hierarchs, and Lineages: Three Examples for Dating Tibetan Art

CHRISTIAN LUCZANITS[425]

THE STUDY OF the art of Tibet, predominantly deriving from a Buddhist background, has made huge headway in the last two decades, and its recent progress can certainly be partly credited to the projects supported by the Rubin Foundation[426] and the activity of the Rubin Museum of Art. However, despite this tremendous advance, this field of research is still in a developing stage. Among the many topics that can be studied concerning such works of art, their dating and general attribution have received particular attention and can be considered the most controversial. In the case of portable objects, this is certainly due to the market in Tibetan art, where the date of an object directly converts into market and insurance values. In fact, the majority of objects have been and are being published in a context that is in one way or another linked to the art market. This is particularly apparent with early objects, about which the opinions of different connoisseurs and scholars vary considerably with regard to chronology.[427] As a rule, an earlier date is favored whenever there is doubt. In addition, the reasons for attributing an object to a particular time and region are often given in a vague way, and the comparisons on which they are based are not questioned.

Tibetan Buddhist art was obviously not created so that future connoisseurs and art historians could easily date it centuries later. No Tibetan artist—a figure who rarely is known as an individual—ever intended to create a painting or sculpture clearly attributable to a certain time and region. If anyone wanted us to know about the creation of an artifact, it was the pious donor. However, he too was not interested in letting us know exactly when and where the artifact was made. What counted for him was the religious content that his commission depicted and that it was properly empowered. If he wanted his fellow citizens and successors—and with them us—to know anything at all, it was the intention of his commission. It is thus not surprising that few objects, even parts of a monument's decoration, can be securely dated.

In the absence of secure historical data, dating a portable object or the furnishing of a monument has to rely largely on art historical methods or, in other words, on an assessment of the iconography, composition, and, in particular, style.[428] Of these, the analysis of style is certainly the most distinctive and least understood art historical method, because in practical terms it ranges from a general judgment of stylistic features via the study of particular motifs to the distinction of minute details. As vague as these criteria may appear, if employed appropriately in a manner that is suitable for the case in question, they can deliver fairly secure attributions.

Nevertheless, the principal chronology of the development of Tibetan Buddhist art has been worked out for some time now[429] and has become more and more refined in the past two decades.[430] Thus, in most cases works of art can be attributed to a principal chronological range, commonly spanning several centuries, on the basis of a group of general criteria such as the composition of the piece, the relation of the figures to each other, the use of landscape and its details, distinctive dress and ornamentation, color usage, and many more. The difficulty lies in a more exact attribution.

In this essay, through a detailed analysis, I attempt to give exact attribution to three examples of early Tibetan Buddhist art. The first concerns related depictions in murals at three separate monuments at Alchi Monastery in Ladakh, India. Through a study of the adaptation process visible in motives and compositions adopted from central Tibetan *thangka* painting, it can be concluded that all three of these murals were painted in the early thirteenth century. The second example focuses on a single small *thangka* painting that contains an overwhelming amount of information that, until now, could only be clarified in part. Still, an analysis of the information that has been collected seems sufficient to suggest a rather narrow date for this painting. The third example is an examination of three *thangka* paintings from a set with comparative and complementary lineage depictions, which allow for a fairly precise attribution as well.

Concerning monuments and their artistic decoration, the nature of the evidence that allows for a chronological attribution—commonly some relevant passages in historical texts rather than *in situ* inscriptions with historical information—still leaves considerable room for interpretation, especially with regard to which sections of the decora-

Detail of Fig. 2.27 and 6.8

tion are actually to be linked to these texts. Although the work on monuments is often undertaken by universities, in some instances the date of their furnishing and decoration may be contested too, albeit for entirely different reasons. The attribution of the Alchi Sumtsek temple paintings at Alchi Monastery, for example, solely depends on whether one accepts that the lineage of the Drigungpa ('Bri gung pa) teachers in the lantern, or third story of the temple, is (roughly) contemporary with other decoration of the monument, a question that will be taken up in detail in the first example given here.

In the case of single artifacts the nature of the evidence allowing for an attribution can be extremely varied. In addition, not every method used for this purpose is in fact suitable, and some methods can deliver a more precise chronological attribution than others. What makes the dating of single artifacts particularly difficult is the fact that in most cases their attribution has to be based on a labor-intensive and time-consuming evaluation of the different art historical methods for each case and a detailed study employing the method found to be most suitable for a particular object.

A major factor that is hampering advancement in dating Tibetan art is the inaccessibility of many of the inscriptions and captions on these paintings. Usually these are either not published at all or are incomplete, making it impossible to verify the conclusions drawn from them.[431] Furthermore, published pictures alone cannot usually be considered as adequate documentation, since the details are not reproduced comprehensively. Here, the technology of Himalayan Art Resources (HAR) offers a remedy in that it makes the images—when allowed by the owner—available in such high resolution that inscriptions and identifying captions on the painting can literally be read online. In this article I differentiate inscriptions from captions, the former referring to any kind of text on the front or back of an art object and the latter to identifying texts written directly adjacent to the identified figure or object.

Examples two and three, the small *thangka* and the group of three paintings, emphasize one particular method, namely the usage of portraiture and lineages to date specific works of art. In both cases the information that can be gained in this respect from the paintings is considerable, but the results are quite diverse. On the one hand, example two demonstrates a case in which even the extensive captioning of the depicted personages does not necessarily lead to a definitive reading of the painting. It appears that in this case we still know too little about the relevant historical context. The identifying captions on the front side and the consecratory inscriptions on the reverse of this painting are given in the appendix. On the other hand, in example three the lineage depictions to be considered are found in three paintings of a set, allowing for a quite precise attribution of the paintings even without written identification. Although the historical personages involved in the commission of this set cannot be identified, the time frame resulting from the three lineages is quite a narrow one.

Obviously, such extensive and detailed studies as presented in the three examples chosen here can not usually be done for all objects of a broader project, such as a catalog of an exhibition or a large collection of artifacts. However, even then it is necessary to make the method on which an attribution is based fully transparent.

Example One: Alchi and Its Relationship to Central-Tibetan Art

The most fascinating example demonstrating the possible results to be gained from a detailed analysis made with art historical methods concerns the early thirteenth-century Sumtsek temple paintings at Alchi Monastery in Ladakh, India. This example also shows the interrelationship of completely different painting styles brought together by historical circumstances. The following observations completely support Roger Goepper's dating of the Alchi monuments and actually prove—in my opinion beyond doubt—that his attribution of the Alchi Sumtsek (gSum brtsegs) to the early thirteenth century is correct.[432] As the following analysis will also show, this conclusion is of major relevance for the history of central-Tibetan art in general, as it appears that the Sumtsek murals were executed at a turning point in the history of Tibetan art.

Goepper's attribution of the Sumtsek is based on a lineage represented on the third floor of the temple, which is an inaccessible lantern that tops the building. As he has shown, the last person depicted in the lineage and identified by inscription is the founder of the Drigung ('Bri gung) School, Jigten Gönpo ('Jig rten mgon po, 1143–1217), abbot of Drigung Monastery from its founding in 1179 to 1217. The painting thus provided us with an approximate date for the completion of the lineage, including its caption, namely sometime around 1217. Regardless of whether the lineage was painted and inscribed in Drigungpa's lifetime or shortly after, either one being a possibilitiy, the location of the depiction in the far western Himalayas as well as the depiction itself excludes the possibility that this happened much more than a decade before or after his death.

The argument usually put forward against Goepper's reading is that either the captions or both the images and captions have been added at a later stage and are thus not relevant for the attribution of the majority of the Sumtsek paintings. It is this argument that can be refuted by a careful art historical analysis of the paintings.

FIG. 6.1
General view of the lantern's entrance wall on the third floor of the Alchi Sumtsek with the relevant teaching lineage on the left panel
Photograph by Jaroslav Poncar

FIG. 6.2
Vajrasattva and Tilopa holding a fish in his right hand
Photograph by Jaroslav Poncar

In the early thirteenth century the depiction of a teacher's lineage at the top of a painting was still new in central Tibet. The Sumtsek example may be one of the earliest or even the earliest in western-Himalayan art.[433] Nine portraits, three rows of three, of Kagyü (bKa'brgyud) lineage teachers occupy the space to the left of the window on the lantern's entry wall. An equal number of teachers is represented on the right side of the window (Fig. 6.1). Only the Kagyü lineage is identified by inscription. In principle, the teachers on the two sides of the window are turned toward each other, except for the three Kagyü teachers represented immediately to the side of the window, who are facing the other teachers of their group, signifying that these teachers represent a lineage succession rather than an assembly.

The lineage figures are depicted in an unusual manner, especially when compared to other Kagyü lineage depictions of comparable age.[434] The Kagyü lineage commences with a small figure of the blue Vajrasattva[435] placed between the two adepts, Tilopa and Nāropa (Fig. 6.2), who are dark-skinned and turned toward each other. Tilopa holds a fish and a skull cup (*kapāla*), and Nāropa holds a hand drum (*ḍamaru*). Between them is a ritual mandala with four skull cups placed around it. Marpa (Mar pa, 1012–1096) is dressed in white robes with a red cape holding a *vajra* and bell, a complementary pair of ritual implements indispensible for Buddhist tantric practice. Milarepa (Mi la ras pa, 1040–1113) is a naked white adept (*siddha*) holding a scarf.

The detailing of the figures in the lineage displays a lack of familiarity with the topic, even though the quality of the paint and the painting are essentially the same as in other areas of the lantern. In addition, the framing of the images is consistent with that of the priests on the other side of the entrance window. This fact is particularly

FIG. 6.3
The three bottom row teachers of the Alchi Sumtsek lineage, including Drigungpa on the right
Photograph by Jaroslav Poncar

FIG. 6.4
Three local teachers, detail of the right panel on the third florr of the Alchi Sumtsek
Photograph by Jaroslav Poncar

obvious concerning the teachers following Milarepa in the lineage, who are not individualized (Fig. 6.3) and differ considerably from other portrayals at Alchi (Fig. 6.4). These six teachers are white-skinned,[436] perform various gestures common to images of a buddha (three of them display the teaching gesture, the *dharmacakramudrā*), sit on cushions covered with animal skins, and wear a two-piece patchwork monastic garment and a cape. It is the depiction of the clothing that seems somewhat clumsy, particularly the awkwardly drawn cape placed flat behind the body and terminating in points to its sides, giving the impression that one cape was placed above another. Such capes are not found anywhere else in the Alchi group of monuments nor on any roughly contemporaneous versions of this lineage elsewhere.[437]

If we compare the figures of the Kagyü lineage depiction to those of local teachers common at Alchi, such as those found in the Sumtsek temple on the same wall just on the other side of the window (Fig. 6.4), it becomes clear that the capes that terminate in points have been copied from them. The local teachers, however, do not wear capes but rather light, transparent garments wrapped around the body covering almost all of their white robes underneath. The teachers are shown as flesh-colored, often wear a characteristic conical hat, and sit cross-legged on cloth-covered cushions, their hands folded in meditation underneath the upper garment in which they are wrapped.

In my interpretation, the appearance of the Kagyü lineage at the Sumtsek demonstrates the painters' problems in rendering a new subject in the absence of a proper visual model. However, they must have received detailed instructions regarding the types of figures to be depicted, some of their individual characteristics, and the teacher's clothing. The cape possibly posed a particular problem as the hands performing the various gestures were not meant to be covered.

Alchi spelling	Name	Dates
bcom ldan 'das rDo rje 'chang	Vajradhara	
bla ma 'Dre lo pa	Tilopa	988–1069?
bla ma Na ro pa	Nāropa	1016–1100
bla ma Mar pa lo tsa	Marpa *lotsaba* Chökyilodro (Mar pa *lo tsā ba* Chos kyi blo gros)	1012–1097
bla ma Myi la ras pa	Milarepa (Mi la ras pa)	1052–1135
bla ma Dags po chen po	Gampopa (sGam po pa) = Dagpo *lhaje* Sönam Rinchen (Dwags po *lha rje* bSod nams rin chen)	1079–1153
bla ma Dags po on	Dagpo-ön (Dwags po dbon) = Dagpo Gomtshül (Dwags po sGom tshul) = Gompa Tshüldrim Nyingpo (sGom pa Tshul khrims snying po)	1116–1169[15]
bla ma Dags po on chung ba	Dagpo-önchung (Dwag po dBon chung) = Dagpo Gomchung Sherab Changchub (Dwags po sGom chung Shes rab byang chub)	1130–1173[16]
bla ma 'Phag mo bgrub pa	Phagmodrupa Dorje Gyelpo (Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po)	1110–1170
bla ma 'Bri 'gung ba	Drigungpa ('Bri gung pa) = Drigung skyobpa Jigten Gönpo ('Bri gung *skyob pa* 'Jig rten mgon po)	1143–1217

Table 1: The Drigung lineage captions in the Alchi Sumtsek

That the lineage in the Sumtsek temple is one of the earliest lineage representations of the Drigung School, and probably of the Kagyü Schools in general, can also be concluded from the fact that it features two teachers who do not commonly appear in any Kagyü lineage (see Table 1). These two teachers, whose presence naturally puzzled Roger Goepper, were later identified by David Jackson as the two relatives of Gampopa (sGam po pa) who succeeded him at his monastery Daglha Gampo (Dwags lha sgam po).[438] One is Dagpo Gomtshul (Dwags po sGom tshul),[439] a nephew of Gampopa, and the other is Dagpo Gomchung (Dwags po sGom chung), his younger brother.[440] One can only speculate here as to why these two successive abbots of Daglha Gampo monastery have been included into a lineage otherwise independent of references to that particular place. Since this extended lineage is never depicted in other central-Tibetan paintings, we have yet another indication that the Sumtsek depiction and captions are a local variant of a transmission that was communicated there at that time.

In the inscription that continues with the identifying captions, it is stated that the patron of the Sumtsek temple, the monk Tshüldrim-ö (Tshul khrims 'od), takes refuge in the teachers of the lineage.[441] Since this, too, is consistent with the other information gained from the monument, there is no need to and no justification for assuming that the lineage or its accompanying inscription are later additions.

Soon after the Sumtsek was built, two unusual stūpa, Buddhist reliquary monuments called *chörten* (*mchod rten*) in Tibetan, were erected within the monastic complex of Alchi: the well-known Great Stūpa,[442] and another, smaller *stūpa,* which has remained largely unremarked until recently.[443] Each can be entered and contains an inner *stūpa* with paintings on its interior walls. In both monuments these paintings are dedicated to four teachers: a crouching, naked great adept (*mahāsiddha)*, depicted frontally; two local priests facing toward him on the side walls; and a teaching hierarch on the wall opposite the adept. While in the Great Stūpa only the teachers are shown, in the Small Stūpa they are accompanied by secondary figures.

Given the new historical context that the Alchi monuments are to be seen in today, thanks to the Sumtsek lineage depiction, the identifications suggested in early publications[444] can no longer be accepted. Instead, as will be seen below, the teaching hierarch must be identified as Drigungpa, the last teacher in the Sumtsek lineage. Much more puzzling is the identity of the naked dark-skinned adept, holding a flute and a twig and seated opposite Drigungpa. The adept is the only figure shown frontally and thus it is likely to be understood that he is the teacher of the two local priests at the side walls looking toward him and probably also the teacher of Drigungpa. The identification as Phadampa Sangye (Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas) has been proposed for the adepts but not proven.[445]

In the present context it suffices to focus on Drigungpa, whose depiction in the Small Stūpa provides a valuable comparison to and further development of his rendering in the Sumtsek temple lineage.[446] While the painting style in general is still typical of Alchi, the way the figure is depicted clearly demonstrates that by this time the painters had become familiar with the way a major teacher is shown in contemporary central Tibetan painting.[447] The portrayal of Drigungpa here is generally much more harmonious and realistic. Note in particular the way the cape now envelops the figure, partly overlapping the upper arms and the knees, around which it falls in an elegant curve and then tucks under the crossed legs. Possibly the Alchi painters had by this point seen a visual model as a basis for the way the teacher was to be depicted.

Again, the representation of Drigungpa is visually differentiated from that of the priests found on the side walls (Figs. 6.5 and 6.6).[448] While teachers and priests retain their characteristic features as established in the Sumtsek paintings—for example, the teachers are shown making the teaching gesture as opposed to the gesture of meditation, and they have white skin color as opposed to flesh-colored skin—the priests now wear monastic patchwork robes with their hands and feet visible. Nevertheless, their depiction is distinct from that of the teaching hierach. The priests look odd, as the patchwork pattern of their robes flattens the figures and the pointed ends at the sides no longer make sense. The patchwork robes also differentiate them from the local monks depicted in the row below them, who are wearing the same clothing as the priests in the Sumtsek.

The new artistic influence visible in these monuments at Alchi is even more obvious when one considers the context in which Drigungpa is shown in the extremely informative Small Stūpa (Fig. 6.5). The teacher is flanked by two standing bodhisattvas (Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī) and two seated deities at the level of his head (Ṣaḍakṣara-lokeśvara and Green Tārā). Above this tableau another unusual early lineage of the Kagyü School is depicted, here with an adept taking the place of the last teacher. To either side are nine other adepts, while seven protective deities occupy the bottom of the composition. The elements that make up this arrangement as well as the manner in which they are arranged are clearly reminiscent of central-Tibetan *thangka* paintings of that time, although it is executed without the strict divisions that are characteristic for central-Tibetan paintings.[449]

If one compares this Alchi mural with datable central-Tibetan paintings, one arrives at the surprising conclusion that the mural actually comes at the very beginning of a new development taking place at the same time in central Tibet. Drigungpa (Fig. 6.5) is shown teaching and flanked by two bodhisattvas. This composition makes it obvious that he is to be understood as being the equal of a buddha.[450] In this respect the Alchi mural is even more explicit than are the usual depictions of hierarchs on *thangkas* known from central Tibet, since teacher representations flanked by standing bodhisattvas are fairly rare.[451] However, in contrast to a buddha, Drigungpa is not shown frontally but in three-quarter profile (Fig. 6.6).

Most of the elements that compose this arrangement, e.g., the central teacher (with or without flanking bodhisattvas), the lineage, the great adepts at the sides, the row of protectors, and the *thangka*-like composition, were not used earlier in western-Himalayan paintings, where teachers are usually depicted in assemblies,[452] in a setting qualifying them as ritual specialists (*sādhaka*), or in a devotional role, as is also the case with the local priests depicted on the side walls of the *stūpa* (Fig. 6.6). The priests, instead of being depicted as buddhas themselves, are surrounded by the five *tathāgata* buddhas headed by Vairocana, while underneath them is another row of local monastic figures.

Among other new concepts, two are visible in the Alchi paintings that were previously unknown in the western Himalayas and that are of interest to us here: the Indian-derived teaching tradition shown as a lineage and the notion

FIG. 6.5
Drigungpa in the Small Stūpa of Alchi in the center of a composition derived from Central Tibet

FIG. 6.6
Local teacher on the Small Stūpa's side wall surrounded by the five Buddhas

of the teacher as the equal of a buddha. The foundation for the concept of an Indian-derived teaching tradition was established toward the end of the eighth century at the famous debate at Samye (bSam yas) and by the invitation of celebrated Indian teachers to Tibet, foremost among them the eminent scholar Atiśa (956–1054), who visited western and central Tibet in the middle of the eleventh century. The notion of the direct succession of a certain teaching tradition from person to person has its roots in the Tantric tradition, which prescribes initiation into a certain type of teaching. However, the systematic emphasis on such a derivation by means of a teacher's lineage appears to have become prominent in Tibet only during the twelfth century within the new schools[453] and became extremely influential.[454] Whatever the social and political circumstances were that supported such a change, the need to justify a teaching by its link to India, thus demonstrating its authoritative derivation, is evidenced by the prominent position given to the lineage in the literature and painting of that time.

The perception of the contemporary Tibetan teacher as the equal of a buddha appears to have been established only in the second half of the twelfth century in central Tibet and mainly in a Kagyü context. An exceptional thangka painting, today in the Cleveland Museum of Art, is extremely interesting in this regard (Fig. 6.7).[455] In this painting Mahāvairocana, the supreme Buddha of the Yoga Tantras, is surrounded by six bodhisattvas; a lineage is represented at the top of the painting and a row of mainly protective figures appears at the bottom. The lineage at the top is the usual Kagyü lineage, but its last figure is depicted in the crown of Mahāvairocana, a position that is usually occupied by a superior manifestation. Accordingly, the teacher in the crown is depicted frontally and teaching like a buddha. Given its position in the lineage, the

FIG. 6.7
Vairocana with a Kagyu lineage on top and Phagmodrupa in the crown
Central Tibet; 1150–1200
Ink, color, and gold on canvas
43 ⅔ x 28 ⅔ in. (111 x 43 cm)
Cleveland Museum of Art, Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund, 1989.104

figure must be identified as the famous teacher Phagmodrupa (Phag mo gru pa, 1110–1170; no. 7 on Fig. 6.7/Diagram A) from whom eight Kagyü Schools derive, among them the Drigung ('Bri gung), Taglung (sTag lung) and the Yazang (g.Ya' bzang), each founded by one of his pupils.[456] Phagmodrupa is said to have proclaimed himself as the buddha of the present age.[457] The painting is most likely posthumous, as is indicated by the presence of a practitioner, possibly a disciple of Phagmodrupa, to one side of Vairocana's lotus (no. 8 on Fig. 6.7/Diagram A). This extreme religious-political statement of considering a teacher as even higher than a buddha can therefore be attributed to the late twelfth century at the earliest.

Another prominent figure in promulgating the notion of the teachers as the equal of a buddha is the founder of the Taglung School, Taglung Thangpa Chenpo or Trashipal (sTag lung Thang pa chen po or bKra shis dpal, 1142–1210; abbot of sTag lung 1180–1210), who is shown frequently in exalted positions and frontally.[458]

Seen in this light one can interpret the more usual three-quarter profile depiction, as was also used for Drigungpa at Alchi, as slightly undermining the explicit statement made by the composition with two flanking bodhisattvas. While the Cleveland *thangka* remains unique, the composition of the Alchi mural, with bodhisattvas flanking the central teacher, is characteristic of early paintings associated with the Drigung School.[459] As far as it has been possible to identify them to date, most of the comparable paintings depicting a lama at the center in a composition similar to that at Alchi can be attributed to the Drigung, Taglung, Yazang[460] and Tshal[461] Schools—the first three deriving from Phagmodrupa—and thus set in a Kagyü context.[462]

The extant evidence can be summarized as follows: both the mural in the Small Stūpa at Alchi as well as the depiction in the Cleveland *thangka* can be read as rather explicit religious-political public statements: "[this particular] teacher is [equal to] a buddha." In addition, the Cleveland thangka can be interpreted as documenting an experiment with this new subject. One may thus conclude that the Alchi and Cleveland paintings document the emergence of a new understanding of the teacher in Tibetan Buddhism, certainly within the Kagyü Schools. The teacher is no longer just a pious donor and able practitioner but an embodiment of a buddha and his sacred teaching. The footprints on the paintings with Taglung Tashipal or the Third Karmapa[463] can also be understood in this way. This shift in the meaning of a teacher, at least as a religious-political statement, most probably took place just at that time, i.e., in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[464]

Taken together the facts that the first relatively securely datable depictions of a teacher as a buddha are from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries,[465] that some of these examples can be read as unusually explicit religious-political statements, and that at the same time many new concepts become established in old and new schools alike, one may wonder whether these early depictions were produced on the threshold of a new development of Tibetan Buddhism in general.[466] Indeed, I think they were.[467]

Example Two: An Unusual Representation of Six Eminent Kagyüpa Teachers

Today the Rubin Museum of Art holds an extremely informative small *thangka* painting that once was part of the Jucker collection (Fig. 6.8).[468] The painting is certainly one of the most interesting with regard to the history of early Tibetan Buddhist schools, particularly of the interrelationship of the early Kagyü Schools. This painting is directly related to the situation described in the previous example and features some of the same personages. In addition, it is inscribed on the front and back, thereby providing a wealth of information. Nevertheless, the puzzle of this painting can not yet be solved in its entirety, since not all the figures can be identified and the context for placing such eminent personages together remains unclear. This painting thus provides an interesting example of dating iconographically complex pieces.

This small *thangka* (8 ⅞ x 7 ⅛ in., 22.5 x 18 cm) has already been published by Hugo E. Kreijger in his catalog of the Tibetan paintings in the Jucker collection[469] and recently by David Jackson, who focuses on the depiction of the First Karmapa.[470] In comparison to other thangkas, particularly the closely related *thangkas* of the Taglung School, this one is unusual for a number of reasons. It depicts six main teachers, the central pair of which (two Indian adepts seated opposite each other) appears to be emphasized. Above and below the central pair are four roughly contemporary eminent early Kagyüpa teachers, making the reading of the composition uncertain. A possible teaching transmission is depicted at the top of the painting, but there is also a white image between the two upper teachers that may signify another teaching transmisson. At the sides are the eight great adepts, and a number of further historical personages are represented in the bottom row. Furthermore, the veneration verses for all figures on the back of the painting not only identify all figures but also quote six verses of the conclusion of the *Pratimokṣasūtra* (Fig. 6.8a). In addition, the lineage depicted in the top row represents an unusual early transmission line and may be continued with the figures in the center. Finally, the eight great adepts identified by captions at the sides of the painting are an important source for the iconography of this group.[471] Since no conclusive reading can yet be offered for the painting, the following account not

only presents the most likely explanation of how the painting is to be read and who may be represented but also considers alternatives.

The top row of the painting features an unusual teaching transmission lineage consisting of seven figures, to be read from left to right. Possibly two of the eight great adepts depicted to the sides are to be considered part of this lineage (see below). Along with the veneration mantra on the back used for all figures in this painting, the lineage figures are also identified by captions on the front. These are written in black ink on the red border above each of the figures. (For transliterations of all inscriptions on this painting see the appendix.)

The lineage has no direct comparison so far, and the teachings transmitted through it can not yet be identified. The closest transmission record to this representation found so far is a lineage for *śrī* Sahāja Hevajra (*dpal* dGyes pa rdo rje lhan cig skyes pa) received by Zhang Yudragpa Tsöndudragpa (Zhang g.Yu brag pa brTson 'grus grags pa; 1123–1193), the founder of the Tshelpa Kagyü (Tshal pa bKa' brgyud) School, which is documented in his own writing. The lineage described in his short work entitled *Diverse Lineages* (*rGyud pa sna tshogs*) is used here as a comparison.[472]

The lineage commences with Buddha Śākyamuni at the moment of his enlightenment; he is yellow and performing the earth-touching gesture (*bhūmisparśamudrā)*. He is followed by Vajradhara (rDo rje 'chang), who is predominantly bright blue but has a green face and right upper arm (possibly the color has not been properly filled in here). His hands are crossed in front of his chest. The beginning of the lineage, thus, differs considerably from that described in Zhang's text, in which the Buddha *śrī* Heruka conforms to Hevajra, to whom his lineage is dedicated, and his second deity is clearly Vajrapāṇi (Phyag na rdo rje).[473]

The primary adept following the two deities is bearded, wears golden jewelry, and holds a bent and elongated golden object, most likely a noose, in his right hand. He is identified as Ratnamati (Rin chen blo gros). As all the other adepts in the row, he is directed toward Śākyamuni and Vajradhara, who are represented frontally. The next two adepts mentioned in Zhang's lineage, Saraha and Ghaṇṭapa, are not represented in the lineage in the painting but are found among the eight great adepts (*mahāsiddha*) represented at the sides. Interestingly, the two adepts are placed on the same level in the third row of this group.

The painting then reverses the order of the following two teachers in comparison with Zhang's account: Ānandavajra (dGa' ba'i rdo rje) is represented next, with both his hands in front of his chest, probably making the gesture of teaching (*dharmacakramudrā)*. He is followed by the bearded Anaṅgavajra (Yan lag med pa'i rdo rje),[474] who also has his hands in front of his chest, possibly holding an object that hangs down (this may also be a long necklace).

The caption that follows, Vajrāsana (rDo rje ldan pa), can actually refer to a number of personages who occupied the abbotship of Bodhgāya, the place where the Buddha achieved enlightenment and also refers to the seat of his enlightenment, or *vajrāsana*. Possible canditates are Ratnākaragupta[475] or Mahāvajrāsana (rDo rje ldan pa chen po),[476] teacher of Abhayadattaśrī and of Latö Marpo (La stod dMar po), who brought Ratnākaragupta's teaching of Great Compassion to Tibet.[477] More likely, however, it refers to the Younger Vajrāsana (rDo rje gdan chung ba), whose personal name was Amoghavajra (Don yod rdo rje).[478] He was pupil of Ratnākaragupta and teacher of the Bari *lotsāva* Rinchendrag (Ba ri *lo tsā ba* Rin cen grags).[479] Recently, the scholar Dan Martin maintained that he may be identified with the Tangut Tsami *lotsāva* Möndrub Sherab (Mi nyag Tsa mi *lo tsā ba* sMon grub shes rab), who translated the stories of the eighty-four great adepts with Abhayadattaśrī.[480] A Vajrāsana is also the author of the prayer dedicated to the eighty-four great adepts. In the painting Vajrāsana wears a white robe and holds his hands in front of his chest.

The last figure in the upper-row lineage is Abhayākaragupta (A bhya ka ra), who is represented as a blue-skinned adept. Although this teacher is well known for having written the *Vajrāvalī* trilogy, including the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and numerous other works, only a few details from his life are known. Some scholars maintain that this teacher is identical to Abhayadattaśrī, the narrator of *The Legends of the Eighty-four Mahāsiddhas*.[481]

Abhayākaragupta probably died in 1125,[482] indicating that the lineage does not terminate with the top-row figures. Indeed, Zhang's lineage text links the last teacher to the South Asian scholar Vairocanavajra, the left figure of the central pair in the painting. Thus it is likely that the lineage continues with him, but it is unclear if and how the lineage continues among the other central figures. Vairocanavajra, also known as Lama Gyagar (Bla ma rGya gar) Vairocana, is called noble (*śrī)* Vajravairocana on the painting.[483] His religious career is relatively well documented by a short biography written by Zhang Yudragpa, who was one of his pupils.[484] In this biography, Vairocanavajra is said to have received the teachings of the Manifestation of Heruka (*bDe mchog mngon 'byung*) as well as the Cycle of Eulogies, Commentaries and Evocations for Vajraḍāka (*rDo rje mkha' 'gro'i bstod 'grel sgrub skor*),[485] both of which appear to be possible candidates for the teachings referred to on the Rubin Museum painting (Fig. 6.8). The South Indian scholar appears to have been active in Tibet from the 1140s to the 1160s.[486] He is also said to have taught the rites of

FIG. 6.8.
Six Early Tibetan and Indian Masters
13th century
Distemper on cotton
8 ⅞ x 7 ⅛ in. (22.5 x 18 cm)
Rubin Museum of Art
C2006.42.4 (HAR 89141)

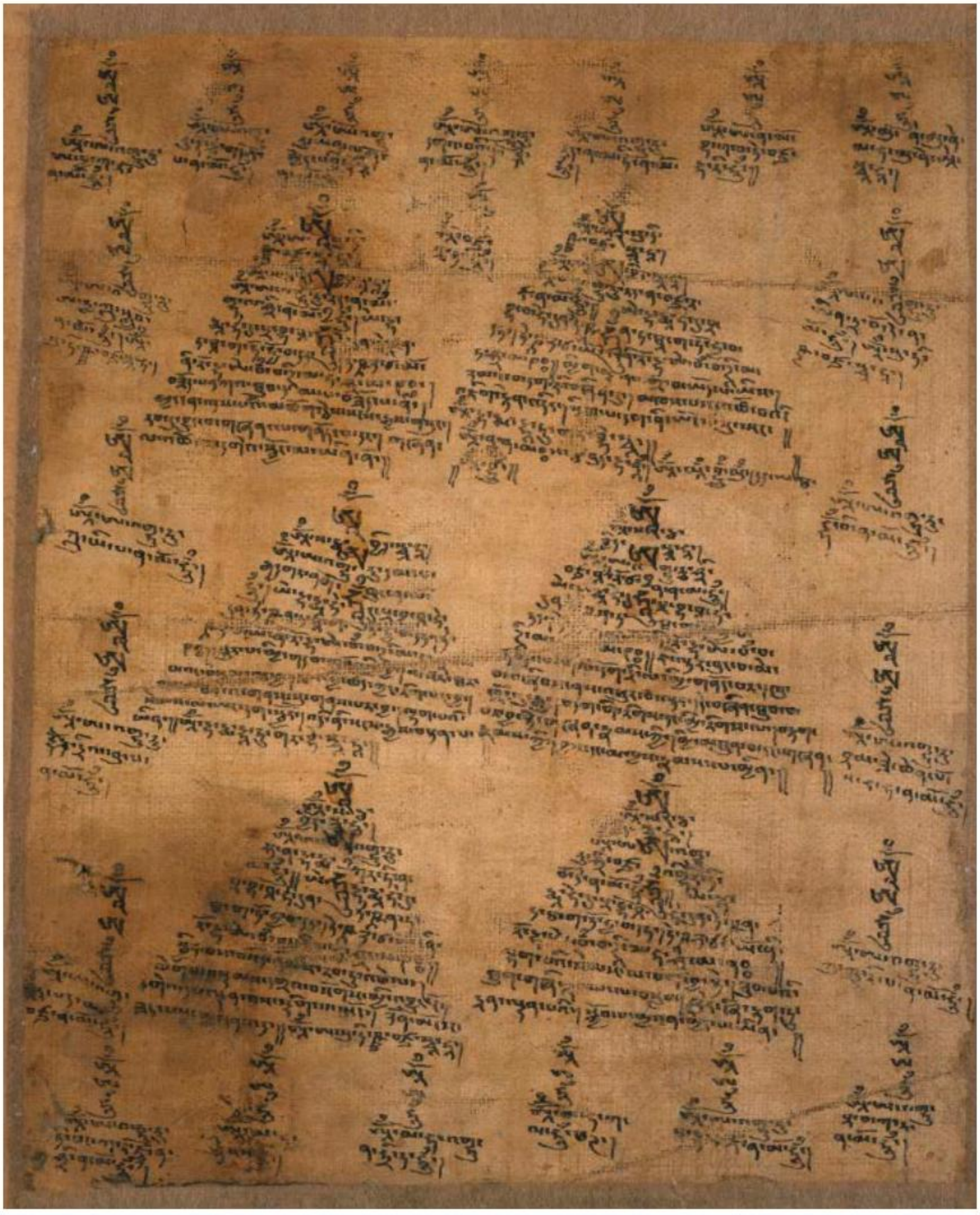


FIG. 6.8A
Back of the *thangka* dedicated to six teachers

the great protector Mahākāla to the First Karmapa Düsum Khyenpa (Dus gsum mkhyen pa), who is likely represented as the teacher at the bottom right among the central group. According to the textual sources on Zhang's life, as summarized by David Jackson, Zhang was engaged in disputes with the Kagyüpa masters.[487] They were finally brought to an end by Düsum Khyenpa. In the painting Vairocanavajra is shown as an adept wearing a pointed orange hat with a yellow or golden rim, jewels, and a brahmanic thread. He has a pointed black beard and black hair on his chest. His hands perform a variant of the teaching gesture (*dharmacakramudrā)*,with the ring finger and thumb of the right hand joined and the palm of the left hand, with the fingers joined similarly, directed toward the viewer. This depiction contrasts with another in an early Tibetan *thangka* in the Kronos Collections, where Vairocana-vajra wears the same pointed hat and also wears a coat and holds a *vajra* and a bell.[488]

Here the painted lineage departs from the transmission recorded by Zhang, who received many of his teachings from Vairocanavajra, including the one he recorded in the transmission lineage used as a comparison above. The person continuing the lineage in the painting must therefore be an approximate contemporary of Zhang. In the painting, the adept sitting opposite Vairocanavajra possibly represents another famous Indian active in Tibet, Phadampa Sangye (Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas). This teacher is venerated as "the little black Indian holy man" (Dampa Gyagar Nagchung; Dam pa rGya gar Nag chung), a name that Zhang possibly uses for a person of the late twelfth century.[489] The name "little black holy man" (dam pa nag chung) is also used elsewhere by Chaglo Chöjepel (Chag lo Chos rje dpal, 1197–1264) to refer to Phadampa Sangye.[490] However, Phadampa Sangye, whose ordination name was apparently Kamalaśrī[491] lived considerably earlier than Vairocanavajra (The only certain biographical data regarding Phadampa Sangye seems to be his death in 1117.),[492] and it is unclear from the sources surveyed so far if he had any relationship to Vairocanavajra at all. Equally unclear would be his relationship to the other Kagyüpa teachers represented in this painting.

Dampa Gyagar Nagchung is depicted as an adept wearing only a white robe with a golden rim and a stripe pattern around the legs. His hair has large curls, and he is bearded. The blue skin color, already used for Abhayākaragupta, signifies a dark-skinned Indian.[493] His right hand is raised at his side and holds a golden object while the left hand, held in front of his chest, has the index finger raised. His appearance is quite similar to representations of Phadampa Sangye in a mid-thirtheenth-century manuscript of his collected teachings, in which his hair also falls to the shoulder. One may assume that the golden object held in the adept's hand is meant to represent his "interdependence bag," which is seen in some of the comparative depictions, even though it would have been wrong in this case.[494] Following the analysis of Dan Martin, this depiction would rather conform to the Pacification (*zhijé/zhi byed*) type of Phadampa, which contrasts with the more hieratic and active type represented in connection with the transmission of the "cutting" (*chö/gcod*) teachings. Zhijé and chö are sets of specific meditative practices promoted by Phadampa Sangye. It would indeed be tempting to interpret all of the frequent representations of the naked black adept in paintings from the late twelfth to the fourteenth century across the Himalayas as representing Phadampa in his diverse guises,[495] even more so as they seem to have originated in the Tibetan tradition itself. However, the Alchi great adept depiction and the one in this painting—if they are read as representing immediate teacher-pupil relationships—can also be taken as evidence that there must have been two different Indian teachers referred to by this name, the second one active in the second half of the twelfth century.[496]

To complicate matters, direct teacher-pupil connections are also established through visions, and when it is said that a certain Dampa Gyagar has been the teacher of Phagmodrupa (Phag mo gru pa, 1110–1170) in visions only,[497] there is no reason why this should not refer to Phadampa also. The eminent Kagyüpa teacher, Phagmodrupa, his ordination name being Vajrarāja,[498] is shown in the top left as a bearded lama (*bla ma)* performing the teaching gesture.[499] His exalted position is also marked by additional mantras written on the back of the painting (see appendix).

Opposite him is one of his most eminent pupils, Taglung Thangpa Chenpo Trashipel (Thang pa chen po bKra' shis dpal; Maṅgalaśrī, 1142–1210; 1180-1210, abbot of Taglung),[500] whose physical features are well known from other paintings. Usually he has a light beard around the chin. Here, however, he is shown as a young teacher without a beard. He also performs a variant of the teaching gesture, in which the left hand is bent down with the palm facing the viewer.[501] Between the top two teachers is a tiny image of a white bodhisattva, presumably Vajrāsattva. He sits in a relaxed posture (*lalitāsana)*, has his right hand in front of his chest and his left at the hip; however, his attributes are not recognizable.[502]

At the bottom left is Düsum Khyenpa (Dus gsum mkhyen pa, 1110–1193), whose ordination name was Dharmakīrti (Chos kyi grags pa)[503] and who later became known as the First Karmapa.[504] Düsum Khyenpa met Vairocanavajra (rGya gar Bai ro) when he was young and received teachings from him, particularly the *sādhana* of

Mahākāla (mGon po).[505] From a disciple of Atiśa, Yöl Chöwang (Yol Chos dbang),[506] as well as from two of his disciples, Düsum Khyenpa received Atiśa's teachings on the Saṃvara cycle, Acala, and others.[507] Like Phagmodrupa, he also practiced and studied under the guidance of Gampopa (1079–1153) for years.[508] Later this Karmapa appears to have established a strong association with Phadampa Sangye, as several visions of Phadampa are related in his life story.[509]

The depiction is revealing in this case as well. The First Karmapa was known as "gray headed" (*dbu se*) as he is said to have been born with gray hair, and in this depiction the feature is emphasized.[510] We see a gray-haired, middle-aged monk performing a variant of the teaching gesture. He wears a dark-blue hat with a black upturned rim open at the front. The rim of the hat has golden edges, and red dots line its front and top edges. This is the first variant of the famous black hat of the Karmapa teachers, the hat bestowed on the First Karmapa due to his great spiritual attainments. The painting is evidence that this hat goes right back to the First Karmapa, as it is recorded in the earliest surviving history of the Karmapas by the First Karma Thrinlaypa (Karma phrin las pa Phyogs las rnams par rgyal ba'i lha, 1456–1539).[511]

The hierarch at the bottom left is considerably younger than the First Karmapa. This teacher, performing the teaching gesture as well, is venerated under the ordination name Vajrakīrtibodhi, a name for which no conclusive identification can be offered so far.[512] If we assume that Dorjedrag (rDo rje grags) is also his personal name, possible identifications for this figure are Ra lotsāva Dorjedrag (Rwa *lo tsā ba* rDo rje grags; 1016–1198?);[513] Rechung Dorjedrag (Ras chung rDo rje grags; 1085–1161);[514] and Drigung Cung Dorjedrag ('Bri gung gCung rDo rje grags pa[515]; 1210/1211–1278/1279), the last being an unlikely candidate because of his relatively late date.[516]

The inscriptions on the reverse of the six main images all have the same composition. In large letters the consecration mantra *ōṃ a hūṃ* is written vertically (in the transcriptions given in the appendix, these are indicated by capital letters). The horizontal inscriptions beginning immediately under the *ōṃ* of the consecration mantra commence with *ōṃ sarvavid svāhā*, followed by a mantra dedicated to the respective guru: *ōṃ a 'ghu ru* [the consecration name of the respective guru] *namo huṃ*. Then follows the *ye dharma* verse and one of six verses taken from the *Pratimokṣasūtra* or a copy of it.

The quoted verses begin with the most often cited "patience creed" (the first verse in the conclusion of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*), which is written at the back of Taglung Thangpa chenpo, in other words on the top left of the back side. The following five verses are added in the usual reading direction (left to right, top to bottom) except for the bottom row, where the right verse precedes the left in the textual transmission.

I add here a transliteration and translation of the Tibetan verses according the ACIP (Asian Classic Input Project[517]) text edition of the *Kanjur* (*bKa' 'gyur*). The inscribed verses deviate in a few significant ways from the Tibetan canonical text supplemented here, and a specialist on the development of the Tibetan canonical literature may be able to narrow down the possible sources for the inscribed verses (see inset text at right).[518]

On the sides of the painting is a group of eight great adepts, who are frequently represented on early central-Tibetan paintings. As shown elsewhere,[519] this group apparently has been introduced in a Kagyüpa environment among the pupils of Phagmodrupa, since the earliest datable examples for it can be attributed to this context. This thangka is one of three early representations of this group in which the adepts are actually identified, and thus it is an extremely important source for their early iconography. Since this group has already been examined in detail, it is sufficient here to summarize the iconography of the adepts as they appear on this thangka.

On the upper left, to the side of Phagmodrupa, the yellow king Indrabhūti has a consort on his lap.[520] Opposite him Nāgārjuna is shown as a yellow teaching buddha, a depiction that conforms to his common name of "second buddha."[521] It is interesting to note that here the snake hood, later a regular part of his depiction that signifies his identification with his much earlier namesake of southern India, is not depicted. In the second row Ḍombipa is easily identifiable by the tiger he is sitting on, while Lūyipa, on the opposite side, could not have been recognized without the identifying mantra on the back. He is light-skinned and appears to hold a *vajra* and a bell to his chest.

In the third row Saraha stands frontally with his legs wide apart. He holds a bow, and some arrows are across his shoulders. The animal head on the right end of the bow emphasizes his identity as a hunter.[522] The orange Ghaṇṭapa is represented dancing with a *vajra* in his raised right hand, but the bell we would expect to see in his left hand is not depicted. In the fourth row, green Kukkuripa hugs a white female dog, conforming to his common depiction. The bright-skinned Padmavajra on the opposite side has no clearly distinctive iconographic features. He holds his right hand at his side with the palm up and the left in front of his chest.[523]

The bottom row of the painting features three more teachers. The one in the bottom-left corner is probably of Indian or Nepalese origin, as indicated by his *paṇḍita* hat. He is named *padma* on the front of the painting and, fairly clear-

|bzod pa dka' thub dam pa bzod pa ni|	*Forbearance is supreme ascetic*
|mya ngan 'das pa mchog ces sangs rgyas gsung|	*practice, forbearance is supreme nirvāṇa, say the Buddha[s].*
|rab tu byung ba gzhan la gnod pa dang|	*The renunciate who harms another and who*
|gzhan la 'tse ba dge sbyong ma yin no|	*injures another is no monk (śramaṇa).*[524]
|dmig ldan 'gro ba yod pa yis|	*Like the ones endowed with sight*
|nyam nga ba dag ji bzhin du|	*[avoid] the dreadful*
|mkhas pas 'tso ba'i 'jig rten 'dir|	*the wise should avoid the evils*
|sdig pa dag ni yongs su spong|	*in this world of living.*
|skur pa mi gdab gnod mi bya|	*Not abusing, not harming [others],*
|so sor thar pa'ang bsdam par bya|	*restrained according the Pratimokṣa,*
|zas kyi tshod kyang rig par bya|	*moderate in eating,*
|bas mtha'i gnas su gnas par bya|	*dwelling at a secluded place,*
|lhag pa'i sems la yang dag sbyor|	*adhering to meditation,*[525]
|'di ni sangs rgyas bstan pa yin|	*this is the teaching of the Buddha[s].*
|ji ltar bung ba me tog las|	*As the bee undisturbed by colour*
|kha dog dri la mi gnod par|	*and scent flies away from the flower*
|khu ba bzhibs nas 'phur ba ltar|	*after sucking the nectar*
|de bzhin thub pa grong du rgyu|	*so a sage should walk in a village.*
|bdag gis rigs dang mi rigs la|	*Consider the own [acts and deeds]*
|brtag par bya ste gzhan rnams kyi|	*as appropriate or not, and not*
|mi mthun pa dang gzhan dag gi |	*the unpleasant [acts] of others and*
|byas dang ma byas rnams la min|	*the deeds and neglects of others.*
|lhag pa'i sems la bag bya ste|	*Be attentive in meditation, as*
|thub pa'i thub gzhi rnams la bslab|	*for the wise*[526] *trained in sagehood*
|nyer zhi rtag tu dran ldan pa'i|	*tranquil and always mindful*
|skyob pa mya ngan med pa yin|	*there is no sorrow.*
|sbyin pas bsod nams rab tu 'phel|	*By giving merit increases,*
|legs bsdams dgra sogs mi 'gyur ro|	*engaged in good enmity does not arise.*
|dge dang ldan pas sdig pa spong|	*The virtuous one renounces [all] evil*
|nyon mongs zad pas mya ngan 'da'|	*and by exhausting the defilements attains bliss.*

ly, *pra ba ka ra* instead of the expected *padmākara*, in the mantra on the back.[527] In the latter interpolated form, the name could refer to the adept Padmākara, who is often identified with Padmasambhava and also depicted as such or the eleventh-century scholar Padmākaravarma, pupil of Atiśa and teacher of Rinchen Zangpo?[528] Padmākaravarma seems possible since in the opposite corner, the lower right, Atiśa is shown as a *paṇḍita* wearing an orange pointed hat and performing the teaching gesture. The third teacher in this row is a layman whose name is given as *sa dha ra ja* but who can not be identified at present. Despite the difficulty in identifying them, it is clear that these teachers are not part of the main teaching line but instead represent subsidiary transmissions.

The bottom center is occupied by a group of three protectors, and all three are forms of Mahākāla. In the center is the two-armed bird-headed Mahākāla (Mahākāla Kākamukha; mGon po bya gdong). He is kneeling toward one side and holds a cleaver (*kartṛkā*, *gri gug*) and a skull cup (*kapāla*, *thod*). To his right is the most common four-armed form of Mahākāla. He sits in a posture of ease (*lalitāsana*) and wears a tiger-skin *dhotī*. In his main arms he holds a cleaver and a skull cup, while his other two arms hold a sword and a tantric staff (*khaṭvāṅga*). The third standing four-armed fierce blue deity, to the Kākamukha's left, is possibly another form of Mahākāla but with unusual iconography. He is standing in *pratyālīḍha* (his right leg bent and the left one stretched), his main arms hold a trident and skull cup to his chest, while the other two are at his sides holding a yellow object—likely a drum (*ḍamaru)*—and a tantric staff (*khaṭvāṅga*).

To conclude, despite the immense wealth of information this painting provides—its distinctive style, unique composition, and rare lineage—it raises more questions than it answers. As with the first example discussed here, the features noted in the previous sentence alone make it likely that this is a fairly early painting documenting an otherwise little known transmission lineage. Among the most striking and unusual features of this painting is its emphasis on the teaching transmissions received from the great adepts and their continuation in Tibet. The painting not only represents a rare instance of ten early adept depictions, but several of the personages in the lineage in the top row are associated with the literature of the adepts, and

Vairocanavajra and Phadampa Sangye (or a later similarly influential Indian teacher) can be read as bringing this tradition to Tibet. Indeed, the addition of an adept similar to or identical with Phadampa in the depictions of the eighty-four great adepts on the *dhotī* of the Alchi Sumtsek Mañjusrī[529] and elsewhere[530] documents the importance of this adept within the Kagyü Schools. In addition, the central grouping offers a unique perspective on the interrelations of some of the Kagyü Schools otherwise not documented in art at all.

The uncertainties in identifying some of the figures in the painting, however, do not mean that the painting cannot be dated. Of those figures that can be identified, the latest is Taglung Thangpa chenpo Trashipel, who founded Taglung in 1180 and lived until 1210. The bottom-right figure, who could not be identified, may well postdate the First Karmapa, as is indicated by his age. This reading certainly goes against the conventions usually followed in Tibetan painting, but it appears possible as the relationship of Vairocanavajra and Phadampa would be the same if Phadampa were represented here. Even in such a case, the unidentified person at bottom right has to be an approximate contemporary of Taglung Thangpa. Consequently, the painting very likely dates to the early thirteenth century at the latest.

Example Three: A Thangka Set Dedicated to Cakrasaṃvara

Lineages played a major role in making the dating of Sumtsek murals and the *thangka* discussed above possible, at least approximately. Further, the main function of such lineages has also been discussed. From the late twelfth century onward a huge variety of such lineages appeared in both literature and painting. More than twenty years ago David Jackson[531] tried to make scholars aware of the fact that many of the teaching traditions represented in the paintings were also recorded in literature (the so-called records of teachings, *gsan yig* or *thob yig*). However, this literature is rarely consulted to help identify a lineage. Of course, in the absence of written identification of the figures in a painting, as is the case with those Jackson has studied, the effort to determine the lineage is a time-consuming, difficult, and often somewhat unsatisfying task.

However, as the Indian derivation of a teaching was an important matter to the Tibetans from the late twelfth century until at least the fifteenth century, lineage depictions in paintings from this period are relatively precise in the number of figures represented and thus often give a definitive clue to at least an approximate date, even if the lineage cannot be identified in its entirety. This is especially true if a *thangka* is studied not as an isolated painting but as part of a set, which it often was. The following example presents such a case and furthermore shows that a careful study of the lineages also helps us to understand the possible original purpose of a *thangka* set, even if it is only partially preserved.

The three paintings under consideration here in this third example are all dedicated to Cakrasaṃvara, or Khorlo Demchog ('Khor lo bde mchog), all have roughly the same measurements (about 51 ⅞ x 28 ¾ in., 80 x 73 cm), and were all acquired by Giuseppe Tucci during his travels. Thangka 1 (Fig. 6.9), published by Tucci in 1949, eventually became part of the Robert Hatfield Ellsworth collection and is today in another private collection.[532] Thangka 2 (Fig. 6.10) is housed in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome.[533] Thangka 3 (Fig. 6.11), from another private collection, has been published in *Sacred Visions*.[534] Despite the somewhat different appearance of each thangka in the various publications, their dimensions, subject matter, and extremely similar stylistic features allow for the conclusion that these three paintings are part of a set executed by the same workshop or artist. All three paintings show the dominant central pair of Cakrasaṃvara ('Khor lo bde mchog) embracing his partner, Vajravārāhī (rDo rje phag mo), surrounded by the sixty secondary deities of the mandala, six heroes (*dpa' bo* or *vīra* on the left), and six mothers (*ma mo* or *mātṛkā* on the right).

The three paintings display the usual composition of *thangka* paintings: the two main figures at the center are surrounded by the secondary deities of their mandala, in the upper part a lineage is represented, and in the lowest row are some additional protective deities and a depiction of the practitioner.[535] When analyzed in detail, it emerges that the *thangkas* mainly differ from one another in the lineages represented in the upper part, which are of varying length. Furthermore, the iconography of the main couple and the secondary deities varies slightly, and the number of protective deities is reduced when the lineage at the top is more extensive. Here I concentrate solely on the lineages, as they are most relevant for dating the set, although a detailed study of the iconography may certainly refine our knowledge of the religious, historical, and cultural background of these paintings. As already pointed out in earlier studies of these paintings, the choice and quality of the colors and the style indicate a Sakyapa (Sa skya pa) context. This is further substantiated by the presence of three successive eminent Sakyapa masters, who are often easily recognizable by their distinctive physical features and secular dress in each of the lineages. These are Sachen Künga Nyingpo (Sa chen Kun dga' snying po, 1092–1158), depicted as an elderly man in lay dress with a bald head and white side locks standing on end; Sönam Tsemo (bSod nams rtse mo, 1142–1182); and Dragpa Gyeltsen (Grags pa rgyal mtshan,

FIG. 6.9, THANGKA 1
Cakrasaṃvara
Second quarter of 15th century
57 ⅞ x 28 ¾ in. (80 x 73 cm)
Private Collection
After: M. Rhie and R. Thurman; 1991,
no. 69, pp. 216–19.

Fig. 6.10, Thangka 2
Cakrasaṃvara
Second quarter of 15th century
57 ⅞ x 28 ¾ in. (80 x 73 cm)
Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale
'Giuseppe Tucci' (MNAO), Rome
MNAO Photographic Archive
Photograph by Giampiero Casaceli
Inv. 960

Fig. 6.11, Thangka 3
Cakrasaṃvara
Ca. 1400
57 ⅞ x 28 ¾ in. (80 x 73 cm)
After: S. Kossak and J.C. Singer, 1998,
no. 43, p. 156f

1147–1216).The latter two are also wearing secular dress. Following Dragpa Gyeltsen, a fourth Sakya master, Sakya Paṇḍita Künga Gyeltsen (Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1182–1251) can be identified in all three paintings by his rounded red hat and his most common attributes, a sword and a book placed on lotuses held in his hands, which are performing the teaching gesture.

The teachings of Cakrasaṃvara were handed down from India to Tibet by great adepts. Tibetan Sakyapa literature[536] differentiates three major teaching traditions of Cakrasaṃvara, each named after the adept who initially received the individual teachings. The lineage of adepts and teachers in the upper part of Thangka 2 represents a variant of one such tradition, that of Lūyipa. The other traditions are ascribed to Ghaṇṭapāda (Dril bu pa) and Kaṇha, or Kṛṣṇacārin, (Nag po spyod pa). In addition, the Sakya tradition handed down numerous other variants as taught in different schools.[537] For each of these traditions a lineage is handed down, and for many of them a considerable number of variant lineages, which are again named after a prominent teacher, are differentiated. In a text dedicated to the lineages of the extensive *Collection of All Tantras* (*rGyud sde kun btus*),[538] more than thirty transmission lineages (not including further variations of many of them) of Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī are listed, nine alone from the tradition attributed to Lūyipa. Twelve transmission lineages are mentioned for the sixty-two-deity mandala.[539]

The main differences between the mandalas of these three traditions, at least in the Sa skya context I have surveyed, appear as follows: In the tradition of Lūyipa the mandala has sixty-two deities, with the secondary deities being four-armed. According to the Kaṇha, or Kṛṣṇacārin, (Nag po spyod pa) tradition, the mandala is the same, but the secondary deities are two-armed instead. The

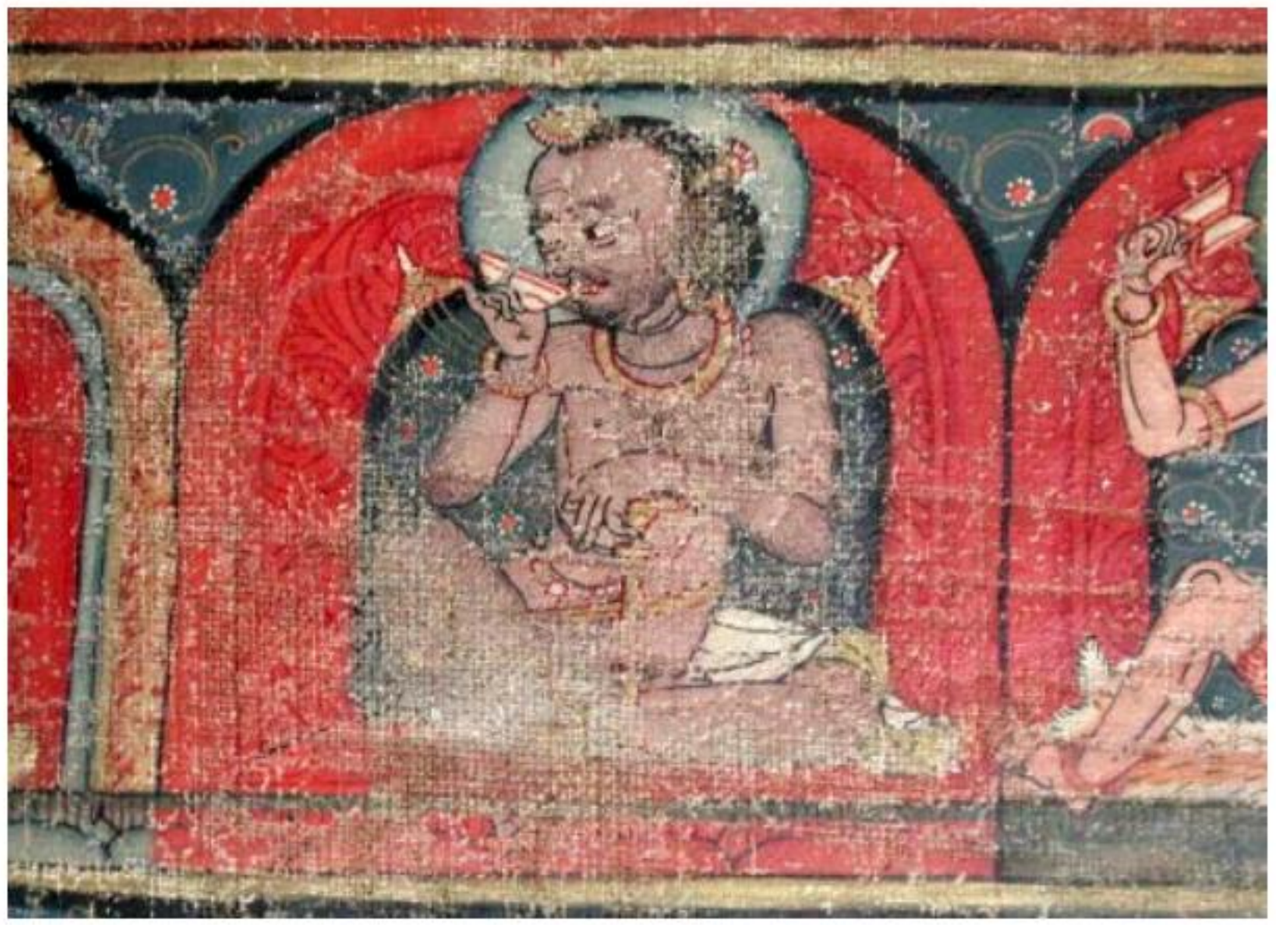


FIG. 6.10A (detail of Thangka 2)
The adept Lūyipa drinking from a cup; detail of Fig. 6.10

mandala of Ghaṇṭapāda's (Dril bu pa) outer (*phyi*) tradition, which is usually represented, contains only five deities, the *ḍākiṇī* in the outer circles again having only two arms, while an inner (*nang*) tradition has sixty-two deities as well.[540]

In all three paintings under discussion here, the lineage commences at the center of the top row, reading from the inside outward beginning with the left-hand figure, and the succession continues, alternating from left to right, in the rows underneath that have figures at the edge of the painting. Compared in detail, none of the lineages in the texts used for this study are actually identical to those represented in the *thangkas* under discussion, but the descriptions do provide enough information to identify most of the figures depicted and the principal teaching tradition. Thangka 1 most likely represents the inner or secret (*nang*) mandala of the Ghaṇṭapāda (Dril bu pa) tradition—with Ghaṇṭapāda identifiable as the first adept in the lineage—as it is a sixty-two-figure mandala assembly with two-armed secondary deities. Although the iconography of the adepts is not always as expected, the number of adepts and teachers and the position of the identifiable Sakyapa hierarchs show that the transmission has been handed down by Sakya Paṇḍita Künga Gyeltsen (Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1182–1251), hence it is called the sa-tradition (*sa lugs*).[541] Thangka 2 is closest to the Lūyipa tradition, handed down through *lotsāva* Marpa dowa Chökyi Wangchug (*lo tstsā ba* Mar pa do ba Chos kyi dbang phyug, 1042–1136)[542] and hence called *mar do lugs*. Thangka 3 is closest to the Kṛṣṇacārin (Nag po spyod pa) tradition, again handed down via Sakya Paṇḍita Künga Gyeltsen, and thus it is also called *sa lugs*.[543] The three lineages are detailed and compared in Table 2.

With these three lineages from the same set, it is interesting to note the iconographic similarities and differences in the depiction of individual adepts. Lūyipa, usually shown eating the entrails of a fish, for example in one case is depicted drinking from a skull cup (Thangka 2; Fig. 6.10a), with his left arm resting on a stand. In two cases Ghaṇṭapāda (Dril bu pa) is performing his usual huge leap in the air, holding a *vajra* and a bell in his outstretched

	Thangka 1: Ghaṇṭapāda, *sa lugs*	Thangka 2: Lūyipa, *mar do lugs*	Thangka 3: Kṛṣṇacārin, *sa lugs*
1	Vajradhara (rDo rje ‘chang)	Vajradhara (rDo rje ‘chang)	Vajradhara (rDo rje ‘chang)
	Vajravārāhī (rDo rje phag mo)	Jñānaḍākiṇī (Ye shes mkha’ ‘gro ma)	Vajrasattva (rDo rje sems dpa’)
	Ghaṇṭapāda (Dril bu pa)	siddha Lūyipa	Saraha[544]
	[545][Rübelzhab (Rus sbal zhabs)[546]	Deṅgipa[547]	Nāgārjuna
5	Jālandhara (‘Bar ba ‘dzin)	Lavapa	Śavaripa[548]
	Karṇapa (Nag po spyod pa)[549]	Indrabhūti[550]	Lūyipa
	Guhyapa	Katsaṭapa	Dārikapa[551]
	Namgyelzhab (rNam rgyal zhabs)]	Ghaṇṭapāda (Dril bu pa)	Ghaṇṭapāda (Dril bu pa)
	Tilopa	Rübelzhab (Rus sbal zhabs)[552]	Rübelzhab (Rus sbal zhabs)
10	Nāropa	Lanka ling pa[553]	Śrī Jālandhara (‘Bar ba ‘dzin)
	Phamdingpa cen Jigme Dragpa (Pham mthing pa gcen ‘Jigs med grags pa)	Kṛṣṇācārin (Nag po spyod pa)	Kṛṣṇācārin (Nag po spyod pa)
	[Phamdingpa] cung Ngagkyi Wangchug (gcung Ngag kyi dbang phyug)	Kuśalanātha	Gūhyapa[554]
	Logkya Sherab tseg (*klog skya* Shes rab brtsegs)	Tilopa	Namgyelzhab (rNam rgyal zhabs)
	Mal *lotsāva* Lodrödrag (Mal *lotsāba* Blo gros grags)	Nāropa	?
15	rJe chen yab sras gsum [= Sa chen Kun dga’ snying po (1092–1158)	[555]	Tilopa
	slob dpon bSod names rtse mo (1142–1182)		Nāropa
	rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216)]		Nepal Phamthingpa (Bal po Pham mthing pa [gcen ‘Jigs med grags pa])
	chos rje Sa skya paṇḍita (1182–1251)		Bal po Pham mthing pa [gcung Ngag kyi dbang phyug]
	7 other teachers and the practitioner	Sa chen Kun dga’ snying po (1092–1158)	Logkya Sherab tseg Klog skya Shes rab brtsegs
20		*slob dpon* bSod nams rtse mo (1142–1182)	Mal *lotsāva* Lodrödrag (Mal *lotsāba* Blo gros grags)[556]
		rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216)	Sa chen Kun dga’ snying po (1092–1158)
		chos rje Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1182–1251)	*rje btsun sku mched* [= *rje btsun* bSod nams rtse mo (1142–1182)]
		7 other teachers and the practitioner[557]	[*rje btsun* Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1182–1251)]
			chos rje khu dpon [= Sa skya Paṇḍita]
25			[558][*chos rgyal* Phags pa]
			6 other teachers and the practitioner

Table 2: Three Sakya lineages of Cakrasaṃvara

hands, but in one case, in Thangka 3, he is seated with his arms crossed over his chest and presumably holds his attributes. In each example he is orange. Rübelzhab (Rus sbal zhabs) is light-skinned and seated on a tortoise (*rus sbal*), and in one case he has one hand raised and one holding a scull cup (Fig. 6.10b) while in the other case he holds prayer beads (*mālā)* in both hands and appears rather elderly (Thangka 3). In Thangka 1, however, he is dark-skinned, sits on a tiger skin, and drinks from a cup, indicating that a different convention was relevant for this depiction. This is also suggested by the depictions of Kāṇha or Kṛṣṇācārin (Nag po spyod pa), the dark adept who is twice depicted as dark gray and blowing a long black horn. In Thangka 1 he is light-skinned and not individualized. In the case of Tilopa and Nāropa, one always holds prayer beads with both hands, while the other holds a drinking horn or a scull cup as his attribute. In general the physical appearance of the same adept differs considerably from depiction to depiction, indicating that very few of them are actually individualized.[559]

Not surprisingly, among the Tibetan teachers following the adepts only a few have distinctive recognizable features. In all three *thangkas* none of the teachers following Sakya Paṇḍita can be identified with certainty. But clearly this set of paintings represents the different teaching traditions on Cakrasaṃvara within the Sakya School that were handed down to the practitioner represented at the bottom of each painting, who was most probably also the commissioner of this set. It is further evident from these three paintings that the practitioner received two of these transmissions from the same teacher, a very distinctive lama with a net attached to the front of his pointed red hat (Fig. 6.10c).[560] Sadly, this teacher could not be identified so far.

Despite all the uncertainties concerning details of the lineage depictions,

FIG. 6.10B (detail of Thangka 2)
The adept Kāṇhapa or Kṛṣṇācārin (Nag po spyod pa)

FIG. 6.10C (detail of Thangka 2)
Distinctive lineage holder with a net attached to the front of his pointed red hat

comparing the number of figures represented with those usually found in the written lineages and their dates, these paintings can be dated quite accurately. Accordingly, the practitioner represented at the bottom of each painting is an approximate contemporary of Ngorchen Ngor chen Künga Zangpo (Kun dga' bzang po, 1382–1456; abbot 1429–1456), and the paintings can therefore be attributed to the second quarter of the fifteenth century at the earliest.[561] I believe that an iconographic analysis of this kind, even if it does not provide a solution to all the problems of identifying the figures depicted, allows this set to be dated much more precisely than would currently be possible by means of a purely stylistic analysis.

Conclusion

The three examples collected here all are concerned with lineages including adepts and Tibetan teachers and present them from distinct angles. They also present portraits of a number of eminent personages with distinct physical features. The first two examples belong to a period in which the iconographic conventions for depicting such lineages and historical personages were still being developed. The third example stems from a time when these conventions had already been established but were probably not adhered to very strictly.

The lineage of the Alchi Sumtsek is particularly interesting, since it offers a glance at the adoption of the lineage concept by an artistic tradition that had never depicted that topic before. This lineage depiction is clearly different from what has been represented in earlier monuments but also distinctive from its presumed model, the central-Tibetan lineage depiction. The portrait of Drigungpa consequently differs considerably from both the depiction of contemporary local teachers within the same monument and from the usual style of his portraiture in contemporaneous central-Tibetan painting.

The second example demonstrates the problems one faces when an unusual arrangement of teachers is met with. In such a case only detailed research on the historical context of each of the figures depicted can shed light on their relationships. Neither the lineage succession nor the teaching transmitted has been identified so far, but the unique arrangement and written identifications—the names written on the front and mantras of veneration including their names on the back--make this painting a very important historical source. Concerning the figures depicted, it offers few clues besides their names. The representations of Phagmodrupa and Taglung Tashipel conform to their usual depiction, the latter appearing younger in this painting than in those dedicated to him as the main figure. The portrait of the First Karmapa Düsum Kyenpa is not only the earliest but also clearly renders distinct physical features and his peculiar hat. Since portraiture in Tibet is generally rarely concerned with physical likeness, these are astonishing details. Given the complex arrangement of the figures and the addition of the teachers at the bottom, we can be certain that this painting is based on more than just one teaching transmission.

The third example stems from a time when teaching transmissions were routinely depicted. The comparison of the three paintings in this set shows us how portraiture with adept and teacher depictions is dealt with within a specific context. There is a striking distinctiveness in the depiction of the adepts that appears to be at least partly random or to be following unusual conventions. There is, however, a certain consistency in the depiction of the main Sakya hierarchs, but few of the other teachers are individualized, except for the immediate teacher of the person who commissioned the painting. Such distinctions in portraiture according to the importance of a person are fairly frequent.

Within the general development of Tibetan painting, the first two examples are works on the verge of an era when the depiction of adepts and teachers, and thus the derivation of the teaching, becomes an important topic in art. This has consequences for the organization and composition of the paintings as well. While earlier paintings are freer in the arrangement of the figures, *thangkas* with lineages are imbued with a stronger sense of hierarchical relationship. Remarkably, the depiction of Drigungpa in the Small Stūpa at Alchi (Fig. 6.5) resists this central-Tibetan compartmentalization to some extent, although it does adhere to its conventions in terms of hierarchies. The strict order and compartmentalization are visual expressions of the Tibetan need to organize and systematize various Buddhist teachings received from India and the other neighbors.

When considering Tibetan art as a whole we must not forget that we are looking at a huge variety of traditions (supported by different schools, both central and local) over a period of a thousand years. Only twenty years ago very little was known about the development of Tibetan art, and almost all of the knowledge then was based on Tucci's work of the 1930s to 1950s. In addition, many works of Tibetan art have only recently been made accessible to scholars through publication.[562]

The examples presented here also demonstrate that careful analysis of paintings will never be possible on the basis of print publications alone, as the iconographic details of the secondary figures are barely visible and inscriptions identifying them are often not included. Even less attention is given to other inscriptions, such as the consecration mantras on the back of a thangka. This is, of course, a great pity because it means that much additional information concerning the painting is not made available. In

many cases such information is of interest only to the specialist, but its inclusion in an appendix would be sufficient and very helpful.[563] In addition, there are many early works, particularly less well-preserved ones, which have not yet been published and are unlikely to ever be published in print.

Only comprehensive and publicly accessible publication or documentation that enables the scholar to extract all possible information from a painting or object will allow the present limitations in dating Tibetan art to be overcome. Only then will a comprehensive foundation for dating Tibetan art be established.[564] Since many of these objects come onto the art market at some stage, it is to a large extent in the hands of the auction houses and galleries to make this information available to scholars and to accelerate the progress of our knowledge of Tibetan art and hence our ability to date Tibetan art more precisely.

APPENDIX A

Inscriptions on a Painting of Six Indian and Tibetan Gurus

THIS TRANSCRIPTION of the names and mantras on both sides of the painting (Figs. 6.8 and 6.8a) is a faithful copy of what is seen. The layout of the original has been copied as well as possible for the mantras and inscriptions on the back. Misspellings, abbreviations, and archaic spellings are copied as they are represented on the painting. A double underline marks uncertain readings, and brackets have been used in cases where letters have been completed based on the remaining traces. Generally a *tsheg* is found in front of the *shad*, which is indicated by the distance between the last letter and the *shad*.[565] Capital letters are used for the vertical consecration mantra, which is often also written in larger letters.

Upper Row (left to right)

Buddha with *bhūmisparśamudrā*

front caption:

ma ha bo de |

back:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ mu ne mu ne
ma ha mu ne y-
svā hā |

Vajradhara

front caption:

rdo rj[e]
'chang |

back:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a na mo
bha ga va te badzra
dha ri huṃ |

The siddha Ratnamati/Rin chen blo gros

front caption:

rje rin cen blo gros |

back:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu ru
rat na ma ti na mo
huṃ |

The siddha Ānandavajra/dGa' ba'i rdo rje

front caption:

rje dga' ba'i rdo rje[566] *|*

back:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu ru
dga' ba'i rdo rje
na mo [huṃ |]

Anaṅgavajra/Yan lag med pa'i rdo rje

front caption:

yan lag myed pa'i rdoe |[567]

back:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu
ru yan lag
myed pa'i [r]do r[je]
na mo [huṃ |]

Vajrāsana/rDo rje ldan pa

front caption:

rdoe gdan pa |

back:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu
ru rdo rje gdan
pa na mo huṃ |

Abhayākaragupta/A bhya ka ra

front caption:

bla ma a pha ka |

back:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu ru
a pya ka ra
na mo huṃ |

Vajrasattva and the Six Central Figures

Since the intended reading and hierarchy between these six figures remains unclear, they are enumerated from top to bottom and left to right. All figures are only identified on the back of the painting.

Vajrasattva:

ōṃ badzra
sva ha hūṃ[568]

Phagmodrupa/Phag mo gru pa or Ratna Vajrarāja (1110–1170):

ŌṂ
ōṃ a su ti
ṣṭa badzra svā hā |
ōṃ sa [rva] A byid svā hā |
ōṃ a 'ghu ru rad na badzra ra[569]
ja na mo huṃ || ye dha rmā he tu pra
bha ba he tun te ṣā HŪṂ n ta thā ga to hyo ba
dat | te ṣān tsa yo ni ro dha e baṃ ba ḍī ma
ha shra ma ṇa'|| myig ldan 'gro ba yod pa yis |
nyam nga ba dag ji bzhin du | mkhas pas 'tsho ba'i
'jig rten 'dir | s[d]ig pa dag ni yongs su spang ||
ōṃ dha rma dhā tu [gar] bhe svā ||
||ōṃ na t/na mi : sa [r]va bud dha nāṃ | ōṃ āṃ bhruṃ muṃ |
dad ya tha
ōṃ bhruṃ ||

Thangpa chenpo Trashipel/Thang pa chen po bKra' shis dpal or Ratna Maṅgalaśrī (1142–1210):

ŌṂ
ōṃ a pra ti
ṣṭa badzra svā hā |
**ōṃ sa [rva] A byid svā hā |*
ōṃ a 'ghu ru rad na maṃ
gha la shri na mo huṃ | ye dha
rmā he tu pra bha bā HŪṂ he tun te ṣān
ta tha ga to tyo ba dad | te ṣān tsa yo
ni ro dha e baṃ ba ḍī ma ha shra ma ṇa'|
bzod pa dka' thub dam pa bzod pa ni |
mya ngan 'das pa'i mchog ces sangs rgyas gsung |
rab du byung ba gzhan la gnod pa dang | gzhan
la 'tshe [ba] dge' sbyong ma yin no || ||

Gyagar Vairocana/rGya gar Vi ro tsa na:

ŌṂ
ōṃ s rva
byid A svā hā |
ōṃ a ' ghu ru shri
badzra vī ro tsa na na mo huṃ |
ye dha rmā he tuHŪṂ pra bha ba he
tun [te ṣā]n ta tha ga to hyo ba
dat | te [ṣān tsa yo] ni ro dha e baṃ ba
ḍī ma [ha shra]ma ṇa'|| ji ltar byung ba me
tog [las] | [kha] dog dri la myi gnod par | khu
ba bzhibs nas 'phur ba ltar | de bzhin thub pa
grong du rgu | bdag gi rigs dang mi rigs la | brtag
par bya ste gzhan rnams kyi | myi mthun ba dang gzhan
rnams kyi | byas dang ma byas rnams la myin || ||

Phadampa Sangye/Pha Dam pa Sangs rgyas or Dampa Gyagar Nagchung/Dam pa rGya gar Nag chung:

ŌṂ
ōṃ sa rvaAbyid svā hā |
ōṃ a 'ghu ru dam pa[570]
rgya gar na/og HŪṂ chung na mo
huṃ | ye dha rmā he tu pra bha ba he
tun te ṣān ta thā ga to hyo ba dat | te
ṣān tsa yo ni ro dha e baṃ va ḍī ma [ha shra ma]
ṇa'| [sk]ur pa myi gdab gno[d m]i [b]ya | s[o] sor thar
ba 'ṇ [bsdam par] bya | x 'kyi tshad kyang rig par bya |

b # # x x 'gnas su gnas par bya | lhag pa'i
sems la yang dag sbyor | 'di ni sangs rgyas bstan pa
yin || ōṃ dha rma dhā tu gar bhe svā hā ||

Not yet identified teacher:

ŌṂ
ōṃ s rva
[byi]d svā hā |
ōṃ aA 'ghu
ru shri badzra 'ghir ti[571]
bo te na mo huṃHŪṂ|| ye dha
rmā he tu pra bha bā he tun te ṣān
ta tha ga to hya ba dat | te ṣān tsa yo ni
ro dha e baṃ ba ḍī ma ha shra ma ṇa' ||
lhag pa'i sems la bag bya ste | thub pa'i
thug gzhi rnams la bslab | nyer zhi rtag tu
dran ldan pa'i | skyob pa mya ngan myed pa yin ||

First Karmapa Düsum Kyenpa/Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110–1193):

ŌṂ
ōṃ sa rva
byid svā hā |
ōṃ a A 'ghu ru
rat na dha rma kir ti na
mo huṃ || ye HŪṂ dha rmā he tu
pra bha bā he tun te ṣān ta
tha ga to hyo ba dat | te ṣān tsa yo ni
ro dha e baṃ va [ḍī ma ha shra ma ṇa]' ||
spyin pas bsod [nam]s rab tu 'phel |
legs bsdams dgra' bsogs myi 'gyur do |
dge dang ldan bas stig pa spong | nyon mongs
zad pas mya ngan 'da || ōṃ a su ti ṣṭha badzra svā hā ||

Eight Siddhas

The eight great adepts are read from left to right and top to bottom. They are only identified on the back.

Top left, Indrabhūti: yellow with crown and long hair, consort on lap.

ŌṂ
A
ōṃ a 'HŪṂghu ru
in dra bo de na
mo huṃ | ōṃ su ti
ṣṭa badzra svā hā |

Top right, Nāgārjuna: Buddha performing the teaching gesture (*dharmacakramudrā*).

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu ru
a rya klu sgrub
na mo huṃ | ōṃ
su ti ṣṭa badzra svā hā |

Second left, Ḍombipa: bejeweled, seated on tiger, right hand raised toward center.

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu ru
doṃ bi na mo huṃ |

Second right, Lūyipa: slightly bearded, hands with golden objects held as in a teaching gesture (*dharmacakramudrā)* variant, upper hand object appears to be a *badzra*.

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu ru
klu yi pa na mo huṃ |

Third row left, Saraha: long hair, standing with legs apart; bow decorated with a blue animal head held behind the head with both hands, two arrows in the left:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu ru
bram ze chen po
sa ra ha na mo huṃ |

Third row right, Ghaṇṭapa:[572] red, dancing, right hand raised with unrecognizable object:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu ru
rdo rje dril bu pa
na mo huṃ |

Fourth row left, Kukkuripa: green, white dog under left arm, right hand in front of chest.

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu ru
ku ku ri pa na mo huṃ |

Fourth row right, Padmavajra: offering a tiny object with the right hand, left in front of chest.

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu
ru pad ma
badzra na mo huṃ |

Bottom Row

In the bottom row there are additional captions on the front. They are located on the border below the six figures.

Bearded monk with pointed orange hat with golden rim, teaching gesture (*dharmacakramudrā*).

front caption:

slob dpon pad ma

back:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu
pra ba ka ra
na mo huṃ |

Layman with beard and high hairline probably holds a *badzra* in the right hand.

front caption:

sa dha[573] *ra ja*

back:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu ru
sa dha ra ja na mo huṃ |

Four-armed Mahākāla

back:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ ma ha ka
la huṃ phaṭ |

Mahākāla Kākamukha/mGon po bya gdong

back:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ ma ha 'ghu
na hri ta huṃ |[574]

Protector (a form of Mahākāla?)

back:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ ma ha
-ta x [huṃ] |

Atiśa

front caption:

jo bo rje a te sha |

back:

ŌṂ
A
HŪṂ
ōṃ a 'ghu ru
ti paṇ ka ra jña na
shri na mo huṃ |

APPENDIX B

Inscriptions on a Painting of Sanggye Önpo

THIS THANGKA FROM RIWOCHE (Figure 4.15), now at the Musée Guimet in Paris depicts Sanggye Önpo flanked by two bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi. On the back of the painting are the usual consecration mantras; however, their exact placement has not been recorded in detail. There is an extensive inscription written in gold in lines arranged in the shape of a stupa, the outlines of which are drawn with red ink. Thanks to the cooperation of the Guimet and the responsible curator, Natalie Bazin, this inscription could be read directly from the painting and the readings confirmed from photographs taken on that occasion. Besides the usual mantras, it contains a series of ordination names in Sanskrit written in Tibetan cursive script referring to the abbots of Taklung and Riwoche. Of these, the last teacher has not yet been identified.

The inscription begins with the *sarvavid* mantra of Buddha Vairocana followed by one evoking Vajragarbha and by the invitation mantra. It then evokes the five Jinas beginning with Vairocana. Then follow the evocations of Vajradhara, Tilopa, Naropa, etc. and the whole lineage up to Sanggye Önpo, who is depicted on the front side and thus evoked three times. Between Sanggye Yarjön and Sanggye Önpo, the name Śrījñānavajra poses a problem, as does the second name after Sanggye Önpo, who cannot be identified among his successors at Riwoche. Then follows the Buddhist creed (ye dharma) and an evocation of four of the six deities in the bottom row of the painting: Yamāntaka, Hevajra, Vajramahākāla, and Vaiśravaṇa. These mantras are followed by the patience creed. The final three strophes are spiritual aspirations that read (in a tentative translation):

A body endowed with the wealth of fame, a speech that emits the light of the noble Dharma, a mind that knows excellent absorptions, may there be good fortune of body, speech, and mind!

May I, too, in all successive lives be satisfied with your nectar of the true meaning of the Great Vehicle and consequently become a treasury for the benefit of [all] beings!

May there be the good fortune of a body immutable as Mount Meru, the good fortune of speech possessing all six good qualities, the good fortune of a mind that is limitless and free from discursive thought, may there be the good fortune of the body, speech, and mind of the Tathāgatas!

Transcription:

ōṃ
sa rba
byid
svā hā | ōṃ badzra gar bhai svā hā | ōṃ su pra
ti ṣṭa svā hā | ŌṂ ōṃ bud dha bāi ro
tsa na
ōṃ: ōṃ badzra sva
tva hūṃ: ōṃ rad na saṃ bha
ba hraṃ: ōṃ pad ma dha ri hri
ōṃ ke rmā a mo gha si ti
a: ōṃ a # # bha ga ba
te shri badzra 'hrig A hūṃ: ōṃ a na mō
'ghu ru prad dznya pha la hūṃ ōṃ a na
mō 'ghu ru
dznya na si ti hūṃ: ōṃ a na mō 'ghu ru dharmā ma ti hūṃ |
ōṃ a na mō 'ghu ru badzra ke tu hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō rad
na 'ghu ru ma ti ghir ti hūṃ | HŪṂ ōṃ a na mō rad na 'ghu ru
badzra ra dzā hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō rad na 'ghu ru maṃ gha la
'shri hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō rad na 'ghu ru rad na nā thā hūṃ ōṃ
a na mō rad na 'ghu ru prad dznyā 'ghu ru hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō 'ghu
ru shri dznya na badzra hūṃ| ōṃ a na mō rad na 'ghu ru ghir ti shri ra smī
bha tra hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō rad na 'ghu ru ghir ti shri ra smī bha tra hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō
rad na 'ghu ru ghir ti shri ra smī bha tra hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō rad na 'ghu ru rad na prad dznyā shri bha tra hūṃ ||
ōṃ a na mō 'ghu ru dha rmā shi la hūṃ | ye dharmā he tu pra bha bā he tun te ṣan ta tha
ga to bya ba dad | te ṣā tsa yo ni ro dhe e baṃ bā ti mahā shra ma ṇaṃ|
ōṃ ya man ta ka hūṃ phaṭ: ōṃ he ngabi pi tsu badzra hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svāhā:
ōṃ badzra ma hā ka la hūṃ phaṭ | ōṃ bhai shvā ra ma na ye hūṃ svāhā:
bzod pa dka' thub bzod pa dam pa ni || mya ngan 'das pa'i mchog
ces sangs rgyas gsung || rab du byung ba gzhan la gnod pa dang || gzhan la 'tshe'
ba dge' sbyong ma yin no || grags pa'i dpal 'byor ldan pa'i sku || dam chos 'od zer
'phro ba'i gsung || ting 'dzin bzang po rtogs pa'i thugs || sku gsung thugs kyi bkra shis shog | |
[b]dag kyang tshe rabs thaṃ [ca]d du || khyed kyi theg chen snying po'i don || bdud rtsi'i 'bud kyis tshim byas nas ||
'gro la phan pa'i ter mdzod shog| mi 'gyur lhun po sku'i
bkra shis shog | yan lag drug 'bu gsung gi bkra shis shog| mtha' bral spros med thugs kyi bkra shis shog|

bder gshegs sku gsung thugs kyi

APPENDIX C

Inscriptions on a Painting of Phagmotrupa with His Previous Lives

THERE ARE A NUMBER of different inscriptions on the back of Figure 5.2, a painting of Phagmotrupa with his previous lives now in the collection of the Rubin Museum of Art. At the very top we find a formula that states that this painting was consecrated by Sanggye Önpo. That text was written in *dbu can* script and added to the painting sometime after the painting was completed, probably on the occasion of its consecration (or reconsecration):

stag lung pa'i dbon po bla ma rin po che dpal gyi rab gnas bzhugs

All other inscriptions on the back are written in cursive script. Besides the mantras for the single figures, we find a long inscription in the shape of a stūpa in the center. Every figure painted on the front has its consecration formula on the back. Besides the usual ōṃ ā hūṃ written vertically, there is also a mantra for each deity or teacher. In the center is:

ōṃ a na mo \ ghu ru rad na \ ma ti ghir ti hūṃ

For the six deities of the *Guhyasamāja tantra* in the top row, reading from left to right (right to left for the diety on the front side):

ōṃ a dznyā \ na dhri g \ hūṃ svā hā
ōṃ a prad \ dznyi dhrig hūṃ svā hā
ōṃ a \ ā ro lig \ hūṃ svā hā /
ōṃ a jhi na \ 'jhig hūṃ phaṭ \ svā hā
ōṃ a \ badzra dhrig \ hūṃ svā hā /
ōṃ a rad na \ 'dhrig hūṃ svā hā

On the backside of the Buddha with a group of six figures:

ōṃ a \ mu \ ne mu ne \ ma hā mu ne \ ye svā hā

At the back of the stūpa on the next level below, the flanking monkey and monk have their own mantras:

ōṃ sa rva \ byid svā hā

In the bottom left corner, behind the officiant, or *sādhaka*:

ōṃ badzra \ gar bha hūṃ

The following formula is used in all other cases and refers to Phagmotrupa directly using his ordination name. The use of his name behind these figures indicates that they represent him, either in his former lives or in his most recent life:

ōṃ a na mo ghu ru rad na badzra ra dza hūṃ

The stūpa-shaped inscription begins with the *sarvavid* mantra of Buddha Vairocana and is followed by the invitation mantra and the mantras evoking Vajragarbha. The invitation mantra is also written to the left and right of the umbrella to form the ribbons hanging from it. The sequence of the three mantras is repeated once more in full and followed by another *sarvavid* and invitation mantra. Then the mantra for Phagmotrupa mentioned above is repeated three times, followed by the first three abbots of Taklung Monastery, the last being Chöku Sangye Yarjön (Chos sku Sangs rgyas yar byon, ordination name Shes rab bla ma/Prajñāguru, 1203–1272; abbot of Taklung 1236–1272). It follows the *ye dharma* verse repeated twice and a series of mantras evoking different deities. In the mantra of Cakrasaṃvara, the *la* of *jvala* has been forgotten (compare Willson and Brauen 2000: no. 457). It is followed by a series of mantras dedicated to Vajravārāhī (compare Willson and Brauen 2000: no. 213) and one mantra to Hevajra (compare Willson and Brauen 2000: nos. 71 and 470). The following set of mantras evokes the protectors of the three families—Manjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and Vajrapāṇi—in that order. A final set of two mantras most likely refers in this context to a form of Acala (the same mantra is used for one of the fierce forms of Vajrapāṇi as well; compare Willson and Brauen 2000: nos. 157, 173–175, and 177).

Here, at the beginning of the narrower bottom platform of the stūpa, the text changes into Tibetan language and begins with the forbearance verse. The last two verses then contain a prayer that, in the likely case that this painting was commissioned by Sanggye Önpo, refers to his predecessor Sangye Yarjön and possibly also to the sacred objects of Taklung entrusted to him by his teacher. A tentative translation of these verses reads:

> May I accomplish the command not to part from the noble master and his main spiritual successors, may

the delusions of my mind be purified, and may I become able to guide living beings!

Bless with spiritual power those [sacred objects] that have been erected of [the enlightened ones who possess] pure enlightened Buddha activities, body, speech and mind, and all vast good qualities without exception! May there come about the good fortune of the best sacred objects!

Back of Fig. 5.2

ŌṂ

A

ōṃ sa rva byid svā HŪṂ hā | ōṃ su ti ṣṭa badzra svā hā | ōṃ badzra gar bhe svā hā ōṃ sa rva byid svā hā | ōṃ su ti ṣṭa badzra svā ŌṂ hā | ōṃ badzra gar bhe svā hā | ōṃ sa rva byid svā hā | ōṃ su ti ṣṭa badzra svā hā ōṃ ōm ā na A mo ghu ru rad na badzra ra dza hūṃ | ōm ā na mo ghu ru rad na badzra ra dza hūṃ | ōm ā na mo HŪṂ ghu ru rad na badzra ra hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō 'ghu ru rat na maṃ ga la shri hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō rad na 'ghu ru rad na na thā hūṃ | ōṃ a na mo 'ghu ru rat na prad dznya ghu ru hūṃ | ye dha rmā he tu pra bha bā he tun te ṣān ta thā ga to hya bā dad | te ṣān tsa yo ni ro dha e baṃ bā tā ma hā śra ma ṇa:| ye dha rmā he tu pra bha bā he tun te ṣān ta thā ga to hya bā dad | te ṣān tsa yo ni ro dha e baṃ bā tā ma hā śra ma ṇa:|| ōṃ śrī badzra he hee ru ru kaṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ| ḍa ki ṇi dzva saṃ bā ra ye svā hā || ōṃ sri : ha ha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ| ōṃ ōṃ ōṃ sa rva bud dha ḍa ki ṇi ye | badzra wa rṇa ni ye | badzra bāi ro tsa ni ye | hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svā hā || ōṃ dhe wu pi tsu badzra hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svā hā | ōṃ a svā hā | ōṃ hūṃ tri hrī a | ōṃ bā ki shva ri muṃ | ōṃ ma ṇi pad me hūṃ | ōṃ badzra pa ṇi svā hā || ōṃ bhrūṃ svā hā | ōṃ tsaṇ ḍa ma hā ro ṣa na hūṃ phaṭ: bzod pa dka' thub dam pa bzod pa ni || mya ngan 'das pa mchog ces sangs rgyas gsungs || rab tu byung ba gzhan la gnod pa dang: gzhan la 'tshe ba dge' sbyong ma yin no || mtshungs myed bla ma dam pa yab sras dang || bdag 'bral med ci gsung bka' bsgrub cing || rang sems 'khrul pa dag pa dang || 'gro ba'i 'dren pa nus par shog || || 'phrin las rnam dag sku gsung thugs || yon ten ma lus rgya che ba'i || bzhengs pa rnams la byin kyis rlobs || ten mchog du gyur pa'i bkra shis shog ||

APPENDIX D

Inscriptions on a Painting of Taklungthangpa Chenpo

THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE BACK of Figure 5.17, a painting of Taklungthangpa Chenpo from Riwoche in Kham now in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum, are all written in gold and thus fairly hard to read. Besides the consecration mantras, we find an extensive inscription written in lines arranged in the shape of a stupa that is outlined with red ink. In addition to the usual mantras, it contains a series of ordination names in Sanskrit written in Tibetan cursive script referring to the abbots of Taklung and Riwoche up to Orgyen Gönpo, the successor of Sanggye Önpo and second abbot of Riwoche.

The inscription begins with the *sarvavid*-mantra followed by one evoking Vajragarbha and the invitation mantra (*supratiṣṭha*). It then evokes possibly the Buddha and then Vajradhara followed by the lineage holders Tilopa, Naropa, and so on, including the whole lineage. Taklungthangpa Chenpo is evoked three times in a row, supporting the identification of him as main subject of the painting. It continues with the successive abbots of Taklung up to Sangye Önpo, who founded Riwoche in 1276. His successor is the last teacher evoked. Then follows the Buddhist creed (*ye dharma*) followed by an evocation of some deities, namely:

1. The heart mantra of heart Hevajra: *ōṃ deva picu-vajra* …
2. The near-heart mantra of heart Hevajra: *ōṃ vajra-kartare hevajra ye* …
3. The heart mantra of body Hevajra: *ōṃ trai-lokyākṣepa* …
4. The mantra of Sahaja Cakrasaṃvara.

Except for the last one, these mantras apparently do not refer directly to deities represented in the front of the painting, where Hevajra is not prominent. Instead on the front side we find Sahaja Cakrasaṃvara and his consort Vajrayoginī to the sides of Taklungthangpa.

These mantras are followed by the forbearance verse and the following two verses dedicated to Taklungthangpa Chenpo tentatively translated as follows:

Tashipel of Taklung Plain understands karmic residues and Samsara, which are actually [insubstantial] like a city of kinnara spirits, primordially quiet and non-arising, to be the pure great bliss.

May I accomplish the command not to separate from him [Taklungthangpa], the matchless lord, and his main spiritual successors, may the elusions of my own mind be purified, and may I be able to guide [all] living beings!

The transcription:

ōṃ

a

hūṃ

ōṃ sa rva byid svā hā | ōṃ badzra gar bhe

svā hā | ōṃ su pra ti ṣṭa badzra svā -ā hā |

ōṃ ma hā ba

re svā hā | ōṃ

a na ŌṂ mō bha

ga ba ti shri badzra dhrig hūṃ

ōṃ a na mō 'ghu ru prad

dznyā pha la hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō

'ghu ru dznya na si ti hūṃ | ōṃ a na

mō 'ghu ru dharmā A ma ti hūṃ | ōṃ

a na mō 'ghu ru

badzra ke tu hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō rad na ghu ru ma

ti ghir ti hūṃ | ōṃ a HŪṂ na mō rad na 'ghu ru badzra ra dza

hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō rad na 'ghu ru maṃ gha la shri hūṃ | ōṃ

a na mō rad na 'ghu ru maṃ ga la shri hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō rad na

'ghu ru maṃ gha la shri hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō rad na ghu ru rad na nā thā

hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō rad na 'ghu ru prad dznyā ghu ru hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō rad na ghu ru ghir

ti shri ra smī bha tra hūṃ | ōṃ a na mō rad na ghu ru rad na prad dznyā shri bha tra hūṃ | |

ye dharmā he tu pra bha bā he tun te ṣān ta thā ga to hya bā bā dad | te ṣānytsa yo ni ro dha

e baṃ bā ti mahā shra ma ṇa:|| ōṃ dhe rtsa pi tsu badzra- hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svā

hā | ōṃ badzra ka dha ri ne badzra ? hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svā hā | ōṃ trāi log kya

kṣe pa hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svā hā | ōṃ hri: ha ha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ svā hā | bzod

pa dka' thub bzod pa dam pa ni || mya ngan 'das pa'i mchog ces sangs rgyas gsungs || rab

du byung ba gzhan la gnod pa dang || gzhan la 'tshe ba dge' sbyong ma yin no || bag chags

'khor ba dri za'i grong || gdod nas zhi zhing ma skyes pa || rnam dag bde' ba chen por mkhyen || stag lung thang

pa'i bkrashis na || rje mtshungs med bla ma yab sras dang || bdag 'bral med ci gsung bka' bsgrub cing ||

rang sems 'khrul pa dag pa dang || 'gro ba'i 'dren pa nus par shog || bkrashis ? gyurcig|

Notes

Chapter 1

[1] S. Kossak 2010, presents his no. 34, Maitreya and Mañjuśrī in Discourse, as a possible surviving, though extensively damaged, Indian scroll painting (*paṭa)*.

[2] D. Jackson 2009, p. 72 et passim.

[3] D. Jackson 2010, *passim*. Note that the chart in ibid, Fig. 6.1, shows the beginning of the "Pala" or Sharri style a century too early.

[4] Magadha was considered by Tibetan Buddhists to be central India, the area in which the Buddha lived. "Bengal" then was a much larger area of eastern India, including present Bangla Desh.

[5] See Kongtrül (Kong sprul), *Theg pa'i sgo kun las btus pa gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod bslab pa gsum legs par ston pa'i bstan bcos shes bya kun khyab*. For his main passage on art, see pp. 570.1–573.4 (vol. *oṃ,* fols. 208a-209b).

[6] This was pointed out by John Huntington long ago. See J. Huntington in S. Huntington and J. Huntington 1990, p. 287 and figure 38.

[7] For provisional translations of Deumar Geshe's descriptions of both India-derived styles of Tibet, see D. Jackson 1996, p. 50.

[8] All Tibetan names for painting styles with foreign origins are somewhat ambiguous; even the term "Nepalese Style" (*bal ris*) can theoretically mean both the style that Tibetans established in imitation of Nepalese painting and the original paintings by Newar in Nepal.

[9] A. Heller 1999, p. 85f.

[10] D. Jackson 2010, figs. 5.1 and 5.2. Tsering Gyalpo, Guntram Hazod, and Per K. Sorensen 2000 have studied the history of Yazang in their book *Civilization at the Foot of Mount Sham-po: The Royal House of lHa Bug-pa-can and the History of g.Ya'-bzang: Historical Texts from the Monastery of g.Ya'-bang in Yar-stod (Central Tibet)*.

[11] I have described the painting in more detail in D. Jackson 2010, fig. 5.2.

[12] See also ibid., fig. 5.1.

[13] See ibid., figs. 6.19 and 6.21.

[14] G. Tucci 1949, p. 331, plate E.

[15] J. Huntington 1968, p. 24. He also examined (pp. 29–34) Kashmiri sources, knowing that influences from Kashmir were mainly felt in western Tibet, also mentioning (p. 33) the "inhabited vine scroll" motif. He also examined Chinese sources (pp. 34–41).

[16] J. Huntington 1968, p. 47.

[17] G. Béguin et al. 1977, p. 75.

[18] Deborah Klimburg-Salter 1982, p. 155f.

[19] Ibid., p. 189, pl. 109.

[20] P. Pal 1983, p. 115.

[21] S. Huntington and J. Huntington 1990, no. 116. D. Klimburg-Salter 1998, p. 3, noticed that Pal had also dealt with two different groups in P. Pal 1984. See also D. Jackson 2010, fig. 6.31.

[22] P. Pal 1984, p. 29ff.

[23] Ibid., p. 32.

[24] H. Stoddard 1996, p. 47, note 6.

[25] See D. Jackson 2010, fig. 6.31; P. Pal 1984, pl. 17; S. Huntington and J. Huntington 1990, no. 116; and P. Pal 1991, no. 82. Pal 1984 considered two paintings (his fig. 10 and plate 18) to be combinations of Pāla and Beri styles. Such difficulties were understandable, given the fact that Steven Kossak had yet to clearly demarcate the border between the Pāla and the early Beri in his article of 1997.

[26] P. Pal 1984, p. 32. Pal added that it was conceivable that Atiśa brought artists from Magadha to decorate some of these monuments. But that is never recorded in Atiśa's biographies, which do refer to his and his disciples' commissioning other works of art, including paintings, by ordering them from India.

[27] The synopsis of G. Béguin and L. Fournier 1986/87 is mainly based on D. Klimburg-Salter 1998, p. 2f.

[28] D. Weldon and J. Casey Singer 2003, p. 40, however, support an earlier dating (to the twelfth or early thirteenth century) and mention that another painting from the same set is in the private McCormick collection.

[29] J. Casey Singer 1994, p. 87.

[30] I would suggest 1450 as the end of period 2 and beginning of period 3.

[31] H. Stoddard 1996, p. 30.

[32] Ibid., p. 37.

[33] Ibid., p. 27.

[34] J. Casey Singer 1997, p. 52.

[35] Ibid., p. 62.

[36] Ibid., p. 63.

[37] Cf. D. Klimburg-Salter 1998, p. 4.

[38] In J. Casey Singer and P. Denwood eds. 1997, pp. 26–37.

[39] D. Klimburg-Salter 1998, p. 2f.

[40] Ibid., p. 4. Klimburg-Salter noted what she believed to be a complication arising from the fact that the schools founded by Atiśa and Marpa were both called Kagyü in the early period, adding that Kadam called themselves "*bKa' brgyud bKa' gdams pa."* She must have derived this from G. Tucci 1980, *The Religions of Tibet* (Berkeley: University of California Press), p. 23. I could not find that phrase attested in Tibetan historical sources, though once or twice we do find the Kadam referred to as "Atiśa's disciple lineage, the Kadampa" (*Jo bo'i slob brgyud bka' gdams pa*), a phrase that is used in the *rGya bod yig tshang chen mo* history as a chapter heading.

[41] Cf. D. Klimburg-Salter 1998, p. 3.

[42] S. Kossak 1998,, p. 32.

[43] Ibid., p. 31.

[44] J. Losty 1989, p. 95.

[45] See also S, Kossak 2010 p. 28, fig. 15.

[46] S. Kossak 1998, p. 37.

[47] Ibid., pp. 38–40.

[48] S. Kossak 2010, p. 28.

[49] D. Klimburg-Salter 1998, p. 1.

[50] Ibid., note 5.

[51] H. Stoddard 1996, p. 30.

[52] E. Gene Smith 2001, p. 254.

[53] D. Jackson 1996, p. 34.

[54] See S. Huntington 2001, p. 388.

[55] C. Bautze-Picron 1998, p. 41.

[56] See H. Stoddard 1996, p. 37.

[57] H. Stoddard 1998, p. 123.

[58] See D. Jackson 1996, p. 50.

[59] G. Tucci 1949, p. 307f.

[60] J. Casey Singer 1995, p. 83.

[61] J. Casey Singer in J. Casey Singer and S. Kossak 1998, p. 17.

[62] H. Stoddard 2003, p. 17.

[63] Ibid., p. 41. Stoddard also believed (ibid.) that paintings of Sapan and Phakpa, the two Mongol regents of Tibet, were similarly generic, though with a more human aspect.

[64] C. Stearns 2007, fig. 1, and p. 481, note 164. Cf. D. Weldon and J. Casey Singer 1999, p. 184, note 364, "... from his own hand."

[65] C. Stearns 2007, p. 44.

[66] Jörg Heimbel in a personal communication kindly clarified the dates of Sa bzang 'Phags pa. Based on that lama's biography by Ngorchen, he was born in 1358 (*sa pho khyi'i lo*; vol. 1, p. 170.1) and passed away in 1412 (*chu pho brug gi lo*|... ; vol. 1, p. 177.3), noting some discrepancies in the sources.

[67] For the history of the Vajrāvali cycle and Sazang Phakpa's crucial role in transmitting it, see Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 1045f.

[68] For three early portraits of Ngorchen wearing a red hat, see D. Jackson 2010, figs. 8.2, 8.3 and 8.8.

[69] On that bald spot see also D. Jackson 1990, p. 142 and note 33.

[70] According to P. Pal 2003, the thangka supposedly belonged to a set painted by Lowo Gelong Chöphal Sönam, who was told this by E. Gene Smith in a personal communication.

[71] Cf. D. Klimburg-Salter 1998, p. 1.

[72] See H. Stoddard 2003, Figs. 25a and 25b.

[73] C. Luczanits has demonstated that in his treatment of that mural as his first main example in chapter 6 of this volume.

[74] Adapted from D. Klimburg-Salter 2004, p. 50. I have added the subtype of labeling (her "information"), i.e., inscriptions that identify which set the painting belongs to and which number a given painting is with the set.

[75] H. Stoddard 1996, p. 27.

[76] Ibid.

[77] H. (Stoddard) Karmay 1975, p. 30.

[78] Cf. S. Kossak 1998, p. 26f.

[79] S. Kossak 2010, fig. 11.

[80] J. Casey Singer 1995, p. 82, noted that according to the *Mañjuśrīmulakalpa Tantra,* the patron or officiant (*sbyin bdag*) should be drawn according to nature, citing M. Lalou 1930, p. 15. Marcelle Lalou 1930, *Iconographie des étoffes peintes (paṭa) dans le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Paris: Paul Geuthner).

[81] Cf. S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, p. 50.

[82] See S. Kossak 2010, fig. 60.

[83] Dan Martin 2001, p. 172, note 103.

[84] C. Luczanits, personal communication.

[85] Cf. S. Kossak 2010, p. 18. One could speculate that it be a token of the monastic tradition transmitted to Central Tibet by the Eastern Vinaya monks who returned from Eastern Tibet in the late tenth century, but that similar hats are worn by monks is known from early-thirteenth century murals in Alchi in far western Tibet. See C. Luczanits 2003, fig. 2.

[86] S. Huntington 2001, p. 86.

[87] Ibid., p. 150f.

[88] Christian Luczanits, personal communication.

[89] 'Jigs med chos kyi rdo rje, p. 1192.

[90] See S. Huntington 2001, fig. 18.16; and my Fig. 3.22, a buddha beneath a parasol.

[91] S. Kossak 2010, p. 3.

[92] See H. Sofukawa et al. 2009, no. 41, which also contains a large round shieldlike object.

[93] Ibid., p. 72.

[94] Zur chung is mentioned by Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–1953, p. 120.

[95] See J. Huntington 1990, note 7, who cites Tarthang Trulku, "A History of Buddha Dharma," *Crystal Mirror* 5 (1977), p. 325.

[96] See Fifth Dalai Lama, *Record of Teachings Received*, vol. 2, p. 189b: *sgyu 'phrul rtsa rgyud gsang ba snying po de kho na nyid nges pa'i rgyud rgyal le'u nyi shu rtsa gnyis pa'i 'grel pa nā landa'i paṇḍi ta sgeg pa'i rdo rje mdzad* [p.190a] *pa rin po che'i spar ba kab ces bya ba paṇḍi ta bi mā la dang lo tsā ba rma rin cen mchog gis bsgyur ba'i lung gi brgyud pa ni*:

1. Kun tu bzang po (Samantabhadra)

2. rGyal ba rigs lnga (the Five tathāgatas of the mandala)

3.-5. Rigs gsum mgon po (the three great bodhisattva lords of the three lineages)

6. Ku ku rā dza

7. rGyal po dza

8. Indra bhū ti

9. Sidha rā dza

10. Au pa rā dza

11. His daughter, Gomadevī (sras mo go ma de wī)

12. The later Kuku Rāja (ku ku rā dza phyi ma,

13. bDe ba'i dngos grub the Risen Corpse (Ro langs bDe ba'i dngos grub)

14. rDo rje bzhad pa

15. Prahasti, king of Zahor (Za hor gyi rgyal po Pra hasti)

16. Sangs rgyas gsang ba

17. Paṇḍi ta Sgeg pa'i rdo rje

18. Vimalamitra (Bi mā la mi tra)

19. rMa Rin cen mchog, who had two disciples:

20. sGye re Mchog skyong and

21. Tsu ru Rin cen gzhon nu. Both taught

22. Khyung po dByig 'od, who taught these three:

23a. rJe dpal grags,

23b. Zhang rGyal ba'i yon tan, and

23c. Khyung po dByig gi rdo rje. Among those three, 23b. Zhang taught:

24. gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes

25. So Ye shes dbang phyug

26. Ngab thung Byang chub rgyal mtshan

27. sKor thung Shes rab ye shes

28. Rwa thung Ye shes tshul khrims

29. Nyang Shes rab mchog

30. Nyang Ye shes 'byung gnas

31. Zur po che Shākya 'byung gnas

32. Zur chung Shes rab grags

33. Glan Shākya bzang po

[97] Gong dkar rDo rje gdan pa Kun dga' rnam rgyal, *Record of Teachings Received*:

sNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes

Khu lung Yon tan rgya mtsho

Sras Ye shes rgya mtsho

Nyang Shes rab mchog

Nyang Ye shes 'byung gnas

Zur po che Shāk 'byung

Zur chung pa a.k.a. bDe gshegs rGya bo ba

his son, Sgro phug pa Shākya seng ge

[98] The painting has been published in Eva Allinger 2001 in H. Kreijger 2001, p. 72f., no. 21; S. Kossak 2010, fig. 74; and Sotheby's The Jucker Collection of Himalayan Paintings, New York, March 28, 2006, no. 50. Sotheby's NY (who give the dimension as: "40 x 32 1/2 in.").

[99] For Nyö Drakpa Pal's dates, see P. Sorensen 2007, p. 385. Cf. Eva Allinger 2001 in H. Kreijger 2001, p. 72f., no. 21, who called him "Nyö Druppa Pal."

[100] Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 372.

[101] Fifth Dalai Lama, *Record of Teachings Received*, vol. 1, pp. 129b-130a: *bka' babs lnga pa gnyos lugs kyi brgyud pa ni*.

[102] Alternatively, from no. 12, gNyos rDo rje bla ma, the lineage continues:

13. gNyos ston Grags pa dpal

14. gNyos Lha snang ba

15. Rin cen do pa

16. mDog stod ser ma

17. Glas pa dPon rDo rje tshul khrims

18. g.Yas ru ba rNgos ston Rin cen rgyal mtshan

19. Don ri ba Grags pa dpal bzang

20. Ma ti Paṇ chen. (After him the same as above.)

[103] Fifth Dalai Lama, *Record of Teachings Received*, vol. 1, p. 213a, records gNyos transmission for the protective deities *bDud mgon Trag shad lcam dral* with retinue:

1. Yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rDo rje 'chang

2. Phyag na rdo rje

3. Slob dpon Bram ze mChog sred

4. rNal 'byor pa Ro zan de wa

5. rNal 'byor ma bDe ster ma

6. Bla ma Ba lim ta Ā tsayra

7. Kha reg gi gNyos Lo tsā ba Yon tan grags

8. his son, gNyos rDo rje bla ma

9. gNyos dPal 'byung

10. gNyos dPal gyi seng ge

11. Yab gNyos nag Grags pa dpal

12. Sangs rgyas Ras chen (a.k.a. rGyal ba Lha nang pa)

13. Bla ma Rin cen rgyal po

14. Bla ma Byang chub dar rgyas

15. 'Jam dbyang Rin cen 'byung gnas

16. mKhas pa Ye shes rin cen

17. Kun spangs Chos kyi rin cen

18. dBu ma pa dPal ldan rin cen

19. Byang sems bSod nams rin cen

20. Brag dkar ba Sems dpa' chen po bSod nams rgyal mtshan

21. rDo rje 'chang Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho

[104] Per Sorensen 2007, p. 388, note 48. I am grateful to have been able to check the typed notes of Eva Allinger with the handwritten corrections of Christian Luczanits." We should read *brgyud pa* and I prefer *tsho* to *tshe*.

[105] Per Sorensen 2007, p. 388: "The figures of entire right lateral column (except the top right figure) remain unidentified, but, signally, behind the second figure (listed as no. 18 according to H. Kreijger's transliteration and E. Allinger's diagram) an inscription (in different hand) appears to purport "Herein [within the *thangka*] the Bhairava (= 'Jig[s]-byed) transmission [lineage is embodied, a consecration secured] for this very life (? '*di tshe* = *tshe 'di*)." But the text, evidently corrupt, may also be construed differently, i.e. that the remaining figures of the right column in descending line (*mar*) from the second figure and the entire lower register refer to scenes from the [Vajra-] Bhairava transmission and cycle.

[106] P. Sorensen 2007, p. 369. Sorensen (p. 391) also speculates that the artist "most likely word missing? have been a Tibetan trained in the Newar tradition or a Newar artist himself," which is impossible.

[107] Cf. Eva Allinger 2001 in H. Kreijger 2001, p. 72f., no. 21, who called him "Nyö Druppa Pal."

[108] I am grateful to Christian Luczanits, whose sharp eyes also concluded that a Kagyü lineage was portrayed by the two steles.

[109] U. von Schroeder 2001, vol. 1, p. 383. Von Schroeder, ibid., refers to C. Bautze-Picron 1995, for a treatment of the monk motif in Pāla art.

[110] See U. von Schroeder 2001, vol. 1, p. 383, plate 122D.

[111] For an occurrence of that protective deity in a Sakya painting from about the 1180s, see D. Jackson 2010, fig. 6.3.

[112] Katok Situ (2001 ed.), p. 83, mentions a realistic stone statue of Taklungthangpa that was carved in India at Bodhgaya and brought to Tibet, crossing the Ganges miraculously.

Chapter 2

[113] See, for example, Figures 2.1, 2.2 and 2.5.

[114] See M. Willson and M. Brauen 2000, p. 602, "Type VI. Human," which includes standing *śrāvakas* (two main human disciples of the Buddha), sitting *śrāvakas* (the Sixteen Arhats), lamas of the Geluk tradition, other humans: two Chinese attendants of the Sixteen Arhats, Upasika Dharmatrāta and Hoshang.

[115] See G. Tucci 1949, p. 307.

[116] See Y. Ishihama 2005; D. Jackson 2009, fig. 1.22.

[117] The sixteen theoretical combinations would be:

1. monk (a. male and b. ordained), c. Tibetan, d. non-scholar

2. layman (a. male and b. lay follower), c. Tibetan, d. non-scholar

3. nun (a. female and b. ordained), c. Tibetan, d. non-scholar

4. laywoman (a. female and b. lay follower), c. Tibetan, d. non-scholar

5. monk (a. male and b. ordained), c. non-Tibetan, d. non-scholar

6. layman (a. male and b. lay follower), c. non-Tibetan, d. non-scholar

7. nun (a. female and b. ordained), c. non-Tibetan, d. non-scholar

8. laywoman (a. female and b. lay follower), c. non-Tibetan, d. non-scholar

9. monk (a. male and b. ordained), c. Tibetan, d. scholar

10. layman (a. male and b. lay follower), c. Tibetan, d. scholar

11. nun (a. female and b. ordained), c. Tibetan, d. scholar

12. laywoman (a. female and b. lay follower), c. Tibetan, d. scholar

13. monk (a. male and b. ordained), c. non-Tibetan, d. scholar

14. layman (a. male and b. lay follower), c. non-Tibetan, d. scholar

15. nun (a. female and b. ordained), c. non-Tibetan, d. scholar

16. laywoman (a. female and b. lay follower), c. non-Tibetan, d. scholar

[118] Fifth Dalai Lama, *Record of Teachings Received*, vol. 1, p. 115a, *et passim*.

[119] M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1991, p. 264.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] J. Casey Singer 1994, p. 113 (concerning her fig. 17a).

[123] A similar misidentification was made regarding another previously published early painting depicting "Buddha with Attendants." In it, the top-central lama was identified as "probably Atiśa (in the center) flanked by two abbots, both of whom wear monastic robes." See S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, p. 73, re: no. 10. Although these three crucial figures were not illustrated in that publication as an enlarged detail, one can nevertheless see that the central guru definitely wears Tibetan monastic robes, and not the usual Indian ones. There is no Indian yellow pundit's hat atop his head. All three gurus are, in fact, Tibetan lamas. If Atiśa were present, the next in the lineage should have been the Tibetan layman Dromtön. Compare the normal iconography of that usual Kadam lineal sequence in Figure 3.11, as also given in the detail of S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 11, on p. 76.

[124] A. Heller 2005, p. 5.

[125] Cf. S. Kossak 2010, p. 43.

[126] H. Karmay 1975, p. 49. The lama's vest as a crucial iconographic difference was also noted by J. Casey Singer 1995, p. 83.

[127] A. Heller 2003, p. 291. A very similar inscription with the same names occurs on the back of Figure 4.12. It was decyphered by Amy Heller and helps correct many readings in the present painting's inscription.

[128] Fifth Dalai Lama, *Record of Teachings Received*, vol. 1, p. 111b: *rje btsun ma sgrol ma'i lha 'khrid bka' gdams rjes dran lnga'i 'khrid thob pa'i brgyud pa ni/ rje btsun sgrol ma/ jo bo chen po a ti sha/ 'brom ston pa rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas/ rdog legs pa'i shes rab/ mnga' ris pa shes rab rgyal mtshan/ pu chung pa gzhon nu rgyal mtshan/ ka ma ba*

rin cen rgyal mtshan/ zhang ston dar ma rgyal mtshan/ 'brom byang chub bzang po/ stabs ka ba nam mkha' rin cen/ 'brom gzhon nu blo gros/ lho ba zug /bla ma brab phu ba/ mkhan chen [p.112a] *dga' lung pa dbon po bsod nams 'od/ bla ma bsod nams bzang po/ bla ma dpal ldan pa/.*

[129] R. Davidson 2005 refers to lay-religious quasi monks in his third chapter, p. 85.

[130] The excessive repainting of the thangkas is discussed in R. Linrothe et al. 2004, "Turning a Blind Eye," *Orientations* vol. 35, no. 5.

[131] The Drigung connection was noticed by Christian Luczanits, in connection with the depictions of the eight great adepts. See C. Luczanits 2006, p. 82 and note 26.

[132] The painting has been extensively repainted, but I assume that its icononographic contents have not been significantly changed.

[133] Cf. P. Pal 1983, plate 30, P27.

[134] On paintings of Phadampa, see D. Martin 2006, in R. Linrothe ed. 2006, fig. 10.9.

[135] See U. von Schroeder 2006, plate 85.

[136] See D. Jackson 2010, fig. 2.22.

[137] 'Jigs med chos kyi rdo rje 2001, p. 143, and D. Jackson 1996, p. 179, note 375.

[138] See 'Jigs med chos kyi rdo rje 2001, p. 143. See also Loden Sherap Dagyab 1977, p. 62.

[139] D. Jackson 1996 p. 167, note 336, Ka□ thog Si tu, p. 109.5 (55a): *mkhyen bris mkhas pa kong po a po bas lo bzhi zla ba bdun bris pa thub dbang gnas brtan rgya gar ma 'gran bral*.

[140] G. Tucci 1949, p. 562.

[141] Ibid., p. 563.

[142] R. Linrothe 2004, p. 15.

[143] Cf. S. Kossak 1998, p. 68.

[144] See M. Rhie 1997.

[145] On the Eastern Vinaya masters and their temples see R. Davidson 2005, p. 92ff. Davidson briefly refers to Tibetan painting of the eleventh and twelfth centuries on p. 19f.

[146] On Gayadhara, see C. Stearns 2001, p. 47ff.

[147] Compare the Tibetan Female Consort, one of two consorts of Padmasambhava, in *Sotheby's Indian and Southeast Asian Art,* New York, March 20, 1997, no. 76. See also S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 8, where a woman, apparently a female patron, stands at the right in a published early book cover; she appears at first sight to be female royalty or high nobility of Tibet, and the two similar figures who accompany her wear not white but red outer cloaks. But as I was kindly informed by Christian Luczanits in a personal communication, the main female who is shown seated there actually represents "the merchant's daughter and her five hundred maidens" who accompanies the bodhisattva Sadaprarudita in his search for the Perfection of Wisdom. The early depictions of the dress of Indian and Tibetan laymen and laywomen, both as saints and patrons, deserve a study in their own right.

[148] On Shugseb Ani Lochen's dates and biographies, see Tashi Tsering 2007, "On the Dates of sTang stong rgyal po," in Ramon N. Prats ed. 2007, *The Paṇḍita and the Siddha: Tibetan Studies in Honor of E. Gene Smith*, (Dharamshala: Amnye Machen Institute), p. 276f.

[149] See D. Jackson 2009, no. 3.50; and D. Jackson 2010, fig. 7.11.

[150] See M. Willson and M. Brauen 2000, p. 602.

[151] Christian Luczanits, personal communication.

Chapter 3

[152] See the early painting of a Bon master in P. Pal 2003, no. 135.

[153] Among Kadam paintings, a painting in the Beri style is also known, though it does not portray a Buddhist saint as its main figure. See D. Jackson 2010, fig. 4.8, a book cover whose minor figures includes several gurus.

[154] On Bengal as an important center during this period, see also Susan Huntington 2001, p. 388.

[155] As H. Stoddard 1996, p. 27, and J. Huntington 1990, p. 311, both stressed.

[156] The four Kadam deities are listed by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his *Record of Teachings Received*, vol. 1, p. 110a: 1. The Lord of Sages (Śākyamuni) with two attendant bodhisattvas (*ston pa thub pa'i dbang po gtso 'khor gsum*), 2. Avalokiteśvara with two attendant bodhisattvas (*thugs rje chen po spyan ras gzigs gtso* [p.110b] *'khor gsum*), 3. Blue Acala (*rje btsun mi g.yo mgon po*), and 4. Green Tārā with two attendant goddesses (*rje btsun sgrol ma ljang gu gtso 'khor gsum*).

[157] Krang Dbyi-sun et al. eds. 1985, *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. Dan Martin 2001, p. 159 and elsewhere, translated *thugs dam* as "high aspiration," while H. Stoddard 1996, p. 27, rendered it "mind vow." Neither fits well here.

[158] Both phrases are attested in Tibetan hagiographies, and we find the phrase *jo bo'i thugs dam gyi rten* in the *Guide to Reting* (*Rwa sgreng dkar chag*).

[159] Dan Martin 2001, p. 153, helpfully indicated that the phrase was an insertion.

[160] Mañjuvajra, although with four male deities of the Guhyasamāja mandala, also appears at the top of S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 26 (my Fig. 5.10).

[161] J. Casey Singer 1994, p. 113, note 79. See also S. Kossak 2010, p. 27 and note 46; translated by C. Luczanits.

[162] Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 314, also cited in S. Kossak 2010, p. 37, note 47.

[163] See Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 315.

[164] Cf. S. Kossak 2010, p. 26, fig. 13, who described it as a "portrait of a lama, probably Dromtön."

[165] J. Casey Singer 1994, p. 114, note 86. See also S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, p. 62.

[166] The possibly Indian painting of "Maitreya and Mañjuśrī in discourse" that S. Kossak 2010 published as his Figure 34 has a similar arrangement of those bodhisattvas, as do the late-eleventh-century murals of "Maitreya and Mañjuśrī in discourse" at Drathang Monastery (published in S. Kossak 2010, Fig. 35).

[167] S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, p. 62 and 64, note 1; and S. Kossak 2010, p. 27.

[168] H. Decleer 2005, note 31.

[169] D. Klimburg-Salter 1998, p. 3, footnote 4, noted the erroneous identification (by J. Casey Singer 1994, plate 17a) of a figure in monastic dress as the layman, Dromtön.

[170] S. Kossak 1998, p. 62.

[171] See also C. Stearns 2007, p. 481, note 164.

[172] The term *phyag nas ma* occurs, for instance, in connection with a statue of Tsongkhapa in the Lhasa "Cathedral" as mentioned by Kathok Situ in his pilgrimage guide. According to him, there stood within that temple (the Ra sa 'phrul snang gTsug lag khang), inside the Tsongkhapa Chapel (Tsong kha Lha khang) "a statue of Tsongkhapa that has been consecrated by Lord Tsongkhapa himself" (*rje tsong kha pa'i sku rje rang gi phyag nas ma)*.

Elsewhere in Kathok Situ's work, the term occurs many times, including these three instances:

1. Seen at Riwoche (Ri bo che) in Khams, fol. 19a.2: *chos sku o rgyan mgon po'i sman sku phyag nas ma* ("a 'medicine' statue [*sman sku*] of Chos sku O rgyan mgon po, consecrated by the master himself").

2. Seen at Reting, fol. 37b.6: *'brom gyi phyag nas mar bshad kyang phyis bzhengs snyam pa'i jo 'brom sman sku* ("'Medicine' statues [*sman sku*] of Atiśa and Dromtön, which I consider to have been erected later even though they were explained as being sacred objects consecrated by Dromtön himself"). Note that Kathok Situ , who was writing in 1918, did not uncritically accept this traditional assertion.

3. Seen at Taklung, fol. 46b.3: *phag gru'i 'dra zhal rang gis phyag nas ma* ("a portrait [*'dra zhal*] of Phagmotrupa consecrated by the master himself").

In a fourth instance just *phyag nas* occurs: Kathok Situ saw at Taklung, fol. 47a.1: *byang nas phyag nas 'dir babs rab gnas rdzu 'phrul ma* ("an image that was consecrated miraculously by consecration grain [*phyag nas*] [of the master] that fell here [out of the sky] from the north"). Some descriptions of sacred objects combine the term with other technical terms, for example: "a realistic likeness

blessed by the master himself" (*'dra sku phyag nas ma*). The term *phyag nas ma* was wrongly translated as "grain consecrated by" by L. A. Waddell 1885 in his article "Description of Lhasa Cathedral, translated from the Tibetan," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta*, vol. 64–1, p. 272, note 11, mistranslating it as "grain consecrated by the eleven-faced (Avalokita, who lived in India during the time of) Kashyapa Buddha."

[173] See dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba, p. 709. I am not sure what the verb *rdug/brdugs* means here, but perhaps bothered or threatened.

[174] The iconographic errors of M. Rhie were already pointed out by H. Stoddard 1996, p. 48, note 21, who stressed that Dromtön wore layman's robes and had thick curly hair.

[175] D. Jackson 2010, p. 126 and fig. 6.32, guru 6b.

[176] Fifth Dalai Lama, *Record of Teachings Received*, vol. 1, p.111b: *spyan ras gzigs gtso 'khor gsum pa'i lha 'khrid dmar khrid skyer sgang lugs su grags pa thob pa'i brgyud pa.*

[177] See also D. Jackson 2010, pp. 108f.; p. 218, note 157; and p. 220, note 169.

[178] I owe to Michael McCormick the observation that the Kadam master holding the staff could be Potowa. See also the depiction of him holding a walking staff in HAR 110, a nineteenth-century Karma Kagyü painting from Kham.

[179] See Pawo Tsuklag Trengwa, the new edition of his history of Buddhism, vol. 1, p. 697. J. Casey Singer 1994, p. 108, note 60, usefully referred to this episode, citing Pawo Tsuklag Trengwa, Lokesh Chandra ed., p. 314. A simplified version of that story is given by S. Kossak 2010, p. 52, who also identified its subject in a surviving yet highly damaged painting with contents similar to a wall painting at Drathang (his Fig. 35).

[180] The normal word for minor deities appearing in such a context is *devaputra* (Tib. *lha yi bu*). Some Western art historians refer to them as "*vidyadhara*," such as when the deities are floating in the sky and sprinkling flower petals, but that is not the correct word here.

[181] See, as an example, C. Bautze-Picron 1998, fig. 1.

[182] For "The Sage of the Vajrāsana" see M. Willson and M. Martin eds. 2000, no. 14. Kathok Situ, 254.2, used the term *byang chub chen po* when describing a buddha statue within Densa Thel: *byang chub chen po'i sku byams pa dang spyan ras gzigs*.

[183] Kathok Situ (2001 ed.), p. 78, mentions seeing at Taklung a statue that he calls precisely *Thub pa grong khyer ma,* while rGya ston in his biography of Gongkar Kunga Namgyal, p. 136, mentions such an image made of *li dkar* metal that was the personal meditation object of Atiśa (*jo bo rje'i thugs dam thub pa grong khyer ma*). Such standing images, including "sandalwood buddhas," are better known from China and East Asia. See A. Terentyev 2010, p. 5, for a nineteenth-century Mongolian xylograph of a crowned standing buddha surrounded by the sixteen arhats.

[184] J. Casey Singer 1994, p. 96, note 51, refers to Stella Kramrisch 1946, *The Hindu Temple* (Calcutta), pp. 161–76, for an account of the mountain cave as a residence of the gods.

[185] H. Stoddard 2003, p. 26; and J. Casey Singer (J. Casey Singer 1995, p. 82 and note 12), this was also referred to by S. C. Das 1893, p. 11 (based on Butön's *History of Buddhism*) and Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa (Lokesh Chandra ed. 1961), p. 290.

[186] Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, p. 668.

[187] Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 257.

[188] Gö Lotsawa, *Blue Annals* (Tib. 1984), vol. 1, p. 315: *de nas dpon g.yog rnams kyis 'on lha khang ge rur zla ba gcig tu bzhugs| der gtsug lag khang gi ngos la sku 'dra zhig bris pa ding sang gi bar du yang mi rnams gus pas mchod par byed| de nas bsam yas su phebs nas.*

[189] Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 260, who briefly mentions Nagtsho's large painting. I previously described the large painting in D. Jackson 1996, p. 370 and note 843, there copying a later version of the story transmitted in a standard later history of the Kadam Stages of the Path (*Lam rim*) teachers. I quoted from Khetsun Sangpo ed. 1973–79, vol. 5, p. 9, who quoted Tshe mchog gling Yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan, *Lam rim bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, f. 181b.1: *de nas yar byon te ras khru bcu drug pa gcig la ri mo mkhan mkhas pa k#rṣṇa bya ba rgya gar ba gcig yod pa 'brir bcug nas/ stod la jo bo'i yi dam gyi lha rnams bris/ de'i 'og na phar la jo bo'i bla ma bcu gnyis po bris/ de nas jo bo rje nyid kyi sku tshad khrus gzhal te bris/ g.yas g.yon gnyis na nye gnas re ldebs skur bris/ g.yas g.yon gyi mtha' ras la jo bo'i mdzad pa rnams dang/ 'og na tshur khu rngog 'brom gsum la sogs pa bod ston rnams chos grwa'i tshul du bris/ de'i mdun du lo tsā ba nyid gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshul du bris/ de'i rgyab la jo bo'i bstod pa brgyad bcu pa bris/...* I also described this painting in D. Jackson 1984, p. 43, n. 6.

[190] Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, vol. 1, p. 698.

[191] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 706.

[192] Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan 1972, vol. 1, p. 197–99. A still shorter version was located by Martin, ibid., in the history of Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, 1986 ed., vol. 1, p. 706.

[193] D. Martin 2001, p. 144.

[194] The Tibetan: *jo bo nyid kyi sku mthe bong tsam sing lding la bris te ga'ur bcug nas dpung pa la btags/ mnyes mnyes rgya cher mdzad/.* It is not normally allowed by Tibetan grammar to suddenly switch subjects at the end from Nagtsho Lotsawa to Atiśa, without some kind of marker.

[195] Quoted by D. Martin 2001, 142. It is now included in the *Bka gdams glegs bam*, *Pha chos* section, vol. 2 (kha), fol. 91, Lhasa ed. This passage, according to Martin, closely resembles the oldest version of the story as found in the most detailed of Atiśa's biographies, the *rNam thar rgyas pa.* See H. Eimer ed. 1979, vol. 2, p. 365.

[196] Atiśa's twelve main gurus are listed by Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, p. 663f.

[197] On that eulogy in eighty verses by Nagtsho, see H. Eimer 1989.

[198] On that locale see also R. Vitali 1997, p. 1027, note 14, and 1029, note 17, as noted by D. Martin 2001, p. 145, note 15.

[199] H. Decleer 1996 recorded such a reference in the *bKa' gdams glegs bam* (Śatapiṭaka, vol. 311 [New Delhi, 1982]), p. 290 (121b) and translated the passage.

[200] The Tibetan: *dge bshes gung thang pas jo bo'i sku gcig dang/ u pa si ka'i sku gcig zhal sprod kyi ras bris shin tu che ba zhig mdzad/ u pa si kas lha btsun pa dang/ gung thang pa gnyis ldem du byas pa'i jo bo'i sku 'dra chen po zhig chen po zhig mdzad pa la/ bal bo'i rgyal pos skyel ba dang/ mnga' ris skor gsum gyis bsu ba la sogs pa ya mtshan can sna tshogs kyang bris la bkod do/.*

[201] H. Decleer 1996, pp. 45 and 48.

[202] H. Decleer also translated the passage describing those two paintings. See ibid., p. 48.

[203] Lhun grub chos 'phel, p. 124, as cited by H. Stoddard 2003, p. 61, note 58.

[204] H. Stoddard 2003, p. 32. The word *yon* is short for *yon po*, and it means not straight.

[205] H. Stoddard 2003, p. 37f., citing note 58: Lhun grub chos 'phel 1994, p. 124.

[206] Lhun grub chos 'phel 1994, *Rwa sgreng dkar chags*, p. 130f.: *jo bo rje'i thugs dam gyi rten sgrol ma 'jigs pa brgyad skyob ma 'di ni/ rnal 'byor pa chen pos rgya gar du bzhengs su btang ste/ shar phyogs sems dpa'i mkhas pa'i [=pas] chos grol mdzad dang/ nā lantra la bzhugs pa'i sgrol ma rang byon dang/ ma ga dha na byang chub chen po'i drung du mchod rten brgyad pa bzhengs te tshur byon nas jo bo rje snye thang du bzhugs skabs rab gnas brgya rtsa brgyad mdzad cing gsol ba btab pas/ jo bo rje la dam pa'i chos gsungs pas gsung byon ma yin no// jo bos dge bshes ston pa la gnang nas 'di la gsol ba thob dang khyod kyi 'dod don thams cad 'grub nas 'ong gsungs pa sogs byin rlabs can du grags/.*

[207] Or perhaps read: *brgyad po*, eight stupas, instead of the eighth.

[208] Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 932.

[209] K. Selig Brown 2002, p. 75 and note 44. R. Vitali 1999, *Records of Tho Ling*, pp. 150 and 176, mentions that the Arhat Temple at Tholing in Guge came to possess a painting of the triad Atiśa, rNgog and 'Brom.

[210] Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, p. 708f.

[211] H. Karmay 1975, p. 34, note 134. As Christian Luczanits informed me, the Avalokiteśvara image made by Rinchen Zangpo and which was the same size as his father is still extant. It was published in Ulrich von Schroeder 2001, vol. 1, p. 71, fig. II-5, as the Khatse Jowo, at Khatse near Guge in western Tibet. Its size and the broken ring finger identify it.

[212] The term for a thickly or completely painted painting was *rdzogs tshon* in Tibetan, as opposed to *har tshon*, paintings made with thin washes.

[213] See, for example, the parasols in Figs. 1.18c and 1.18d, and S. Huntington 2001, fig. 18.16.

[214] This painting, now in a private collection, was published by J. Casey Singer 1994, no. 32, and J. Casey Singer 1997, no. 36, ; and D. Jackson 2009, fig. 4.6.

[215] D. Jackson 2009, p. 76.

[216] Christian Luczanits, personal communication.

[217] D. Jackson 2009, p. 40.

[218] Contacts between the Karmapas and Riwoche were recorded in the Taklung history by sTag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, p. 626: Third Karmapa, Rangjung Dorje (Rang 'byung rdo rje), was aware of the consecration of the main temple at Riwoche in about 1328, when he was in Soksam (Sog zam). The same source (ibid.) relates that the Fourth Karmapa, Rolpe Dorje (Rol pa'i rdo rje 1340–1383), performed a consecration for a stupa erected (partly) in a Chinese style for the late Chöku Orgyen Gönpo, d. 1366.

[219] See D. Jackson 2010, chapter 8.

[220] For a contemporaneous depiction of the three Sakya founders, see D. Jackson 2010, fig. 4.3a. Ibid., fig. 4.1, depicts Sachen and Sönam Tsemo as gurus in a Yuan woven copy of a Pāla style original.

[221] See G. Béguin 1977, p. 129. In the exhibition, this painting of Sachen was no. 122, and in the catalog description, Anne Chayet read some of the inscriptions.

[222] The names given are:

1. rDo rje 'chang (Vajradhara)
2. bDag med ma (Nairātmyā)
3. Birwa pa (Virūpa)
4. Dombi Heruka
5. A la la badzra
6. Nags khrod pa
7. 'Gar pa ri pa (Garbharipāda)
8. bSod snyoms pa (also known as Dzaya shrī, i.e., Jayaśrī)
9. Mi thub zla ba [or: dPyad dka' zla ba] (Durjayacandra)
10. dPa' bo rdo rje (Vīravajra)
11. 'Brog mi [Lo tsā ba Shākya ye shes]
12. 'Khon dKon mchog rgyal po

12b. Bla ma mNga' ris pa [gSal ba'i snying po]

12c. mKhon sGyi chu ba

13. Sa chen pa [Sa chen Kun dga' snying po]
14. Slob dpon Rin po che [bSod nams rtse mo]
15. rJe btsun pa [rJe btsun Rin po che Grags pa rgyal mtshan]
16. Chos rje pa [Sa skya Paṇḍi ta]
17. 'Phags pa [Blo gros rgyal mtshan]
18. 'Jam skya [Nam mkha' dpal]
19. dPal ldan seng ge
20. Chos rje Bla ma [Bla ma Dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan]
21. dPal ldan tshul khrims

[223] See the exhibition catalog, G. Béguin et al. 1977, no. 121.

[224] Ibid., p. 129. Béguin also referred to the catalogue of the Christie's sale in London on July 18, 1974, no. 222, pl. 68.

[225] See Glo bo mkhan chen bSod nams lhun grub, *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i bla ma brgyud pa dang bcas pa rnams kyi bris yig*, Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, Tibetan manuscript no. 44, vol. *ka*, ff. 139a-140a.

[226] I have also discussed this set and Lowo Khenchen's description in D. Jackson 1986; D. Jackson 1996, p. 78; and D. Jackson 2010, p. 182ff. and figs. 8.4 and 8.5.

[227] The Tibetan name is *bde mchog nag po pa'i dbang gi brgyud pa*.

[228] Ngorchen, *Thob yig rgya mtsho*, p. 51.1.6 (102b.6):

1. rDo rje 'chang (Vajradhara)
2. Phyag na rdo rje (Vajrapāṇi)
3. Saraha (Saraha)
4. Klu sgrub (Nāgārjuna)
5. Sha ba ri [pa] (Śavaripāda)
6. Lo [h]i pa (Luhipāda)
7. Dha ri ka pa (Ḍarikapāda)
8. rDo rje dril bu pa (Vajraghaṇṭapāda)
9. Rus sbal zhabs (Kurmapāda)
10. Śrī dza landha ri pa [sic] (Jalandharapāda)
11. Nag po spyod pa (Kṛṣṇacārin)
12. Gu hya pa (Guhyapāda?)
13. rNam rgyal zhabs (Vijayapāda)
14. Tai lo pa
15. Na ro pa (Narotapāda or Naḍapāda)
16. and 17. The Pham mthing pa brothers
18. Klog skya ba [Shes rab brtsegs]
19. Mal Lo tstsha ba Blo gros grags
20. Sa chen [Kun dga' snying po] (1092–1158), father and two sons
21. [Slob dpon Rin po che bSod nams rtse mo (1142–1182)]
22. [rJe btsun Rin po che Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216)]
23. Chos rje [Sa skya Paṇḍi ta] (1182–1251) and his nephew
24. ['Phags pa] (1235–1280)
25. Zhang dKon mchog dpal (b. 1240)
26. Brag phug pa (1277–1340)
27. Blo gros brtan pa (1316–1358)
28. Bla ma dPal ldan tshul khrims (1333–1399)
29. Chos rje Ye shes rgyal mtshan (d. 1406)

[229] Fifth Dalai Lama, *Record of Teachings*, vol. 1, p. 109b: *mnga' ris rab 'byams pa tshul khrims 'od zer gyis mdzad pa'i dkyil chog 'phrin las lhun grub kyi steng nas bya rgyud rigs gsum spyi'i ras bris kyi dkyil 'khor du dbang legs par nos pa'i brgyud pa ni/ badzra dha ra/ badzra pā ṇi/ ma hā aindra bhū ti/ ma dya ma/ mrityu/ nā gā rdzu na/ nā ga bo dhi/ kha che ye shes rdo rje/ lo chung grags 'byor shes rab/ rje btsun* [p.110a]/ / *brtse ba chen po/ rje btsun grags pa rgyal mtshan.*

[230] H. Stoddard 2003, p. 41.

[231] G. Tucci 1949, p. 307.

[232] Ibid. H. Stoddard believed one RMA depiction of Tsongkhapa (HAR 410) to be perhaps the closest "portrait" of the master Tsongkhapa existing today.

[233] This work of Akhu Ching was cited by Tucci 1949, p. 307. See A khu Ching Shes rab rgya mtsho, *rJe bdag nyid chen po sogs kyi sku brnyan 'ga' zhig gi lo rgyus cung zad brjod pa mnyan par 'os pa'i gtam gyi phreng ba.* See also D. Martin 1997, where he described his work no. 382 as "A history of the artistic representations of various Buddhas and deities." Martin thought *rje bdag nyid chen po* in the title referred to the Buddha, but it actually refers to Tsongkhapa.

[234] For a later manual on how to paint the Stages of the Path lineages, we should also check the work of Dngul chu Bla ma Chos bzang (=Dngul chu Dharma bha dra, 1772–1851), "How to paint the images of the guru lineage of the Stages of the Path" (*Lam rim bla ma brgyud pa'i snang brnyan 'bri tshul*), in 6 folios, no. 16 in volume 5 (*ca*) of his collected works. It was listed in the bibliography *gSung 'bum dkar chag* (SBKC, Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1990), p. 598, as listed by Dan Martin in an unpublished list of works on art in Tibetan.

[235] See M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1999, p. 349, in connection with figure 2.14 (HAR 595) and HAR 410.

[236] M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1999, p. 349, assert that there was a group of Tsongkhapa's eight close disciples, who "accompanied him on a long retreat from 1392 to 1398."

[237] I first described the painting in D. Jackson 2010, fig. 7.34.

[238] See D. Jackson 2010, p. 165ff.

[239] As Christian Luczanits suggested in a personal communication, this painting could easily

have been brought to western Tibet at some later stage, after being painted in central Tibet. If it really is a work of western Tibetan art, he held that it must be one of the latest paintings that were made before the Guge style was revived. It does conform to the earliest representation of Tsongkhapa that Luzcanits knows in western Tibet, that of the Red Temple in Tholing.

[240] See D. Jackson 2010, fig. 8.2.

[241] Compare the head nimbuses of the earlier Kadam: D. Jackson 2010, fig. 7.36 and fig. 5.5; and S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 11.

[242] The Six Ornaments and Two Excellent Masters of Indian Buddhism were a standard iconographic grouping consisting of eight of the greatest scholastic authorities of Indian Buddhism. According to one tradition, the "Six Ornaments" were Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dharmakīrti, and Dignāga, while the "Two Excellent Ones" were Gunaprabha and Śākyaprabha, great experts of Vinaya. See also D. Jackson 2009, p. 121.

[243] Cf. the painting of Shangtön Chökyi Lama, with Narthang Lineage. Its last two lamas are painted smaller. See D. Jackson 2010, fig. 2.22; published as J. Casey Singer 1997, plate 46; and 1994, plate 24.

[244] Cf. P. Pal 2003, p. 151.

[245] Cf. H. Stoddard 2003, p. 34.

[246] For other religious lineages transmitted in Tibet by Vanaratna (Nags kyi rin chen), see the Fifth Dalai Lama, *Record of Teachings Received*, vol. 1, p. 197b; vol. 2, p. 5a-5b; vol 2, p. 147b; vol. 4, p. 162a: vol. 4, p. 322b-323a; and vol. 4, p. 349a.

[247] S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, fig. 55, pp. 190–92.

[248] H. Stoddard 2003, p. 34.

[249] E. Lo Bue 1990, pp. 6–10.

[250] G. Tucci 1949, p. 640.

[251] Fifth Dalai Lama, *Record of Teachings Received*, vol. 1, p. 199a-b. The lineage included: dMar ston rGyal mtshan 'od zer

Gong ma Grags pa 'byung gnas (a.k.a. Sre pa Lo tsā ba, Sa skyong Thams cad mkhyen pa, and Chos Lnga rin po che)

dPal ldan Kun bzang rol pa (a.k.a. Kun bzang rtse pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan)

Chag lo Rin cen chos rgyal

[252] Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 800f. On Gö Lotsawa's names, see L. van der Kuijp 2007.

[253] Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 800f.; BA (Tib. 1984), vol. 2, p. 937f.: *rtses thang du yan lag drug gi khrid rdzogs rjes su mi g.yo bla na med pa'i dbang bka' dang gzhung drug la brten pa'i phag mo'i byin brlabs rnams kyang gnang | de'i lo phyi ma la chos kyi rgyal po grags pa 'byung gnas pa la slob dpon a bha ya'i lugs kyi rdo rje phreng ba'i dbang dkyil 'khor bzhi bcu rtsa lngar byas nas rdzogs par gnang ste| de'i brgyud pa ni| rdo rje 'chang | badzra yo gi ni| a bha yā ka ra| nā ya kā bu dā| da sha ba la shrī bi khyā ta de bah shrī bha dra| la li ta badzra| dha rma gubta| ratnā ka ra| padma badzra| ratna kīrti| sangs rgyas dbyangs| chos kyi rje paṇ chen rin po che'o| | chos kyi rgyal po chen pos dbang gsan pa'i rjes la dkyil 'khor de nyid du sde snod 'dzin pa chen po gsung rab la dbang gyur pa du mas kyang dbang tshang bar zhus| de'i tshe chos kyi rgyal po grags pa 'byung gnas pa 'khor sde snod 'dzin pa* [p. 938] *lnga tsam dang bcas pa la 'grel chen man ngag snye ma'i lung stsal ba'i brgyud pa ni| a bha ya| nā ya ka| ratna buddhi| chos sbas| lhan skyes grags| dharma shrī| shākya rgyal mtshan| ngag dbang grags| rin chen grags| paṇ chen rin po che'o|.*

[254] See also K. Mathes 2008, p. 141, and notes 771–773, in which Mathes quotes from Gö Lotsawa's longer biography of Vanaratna and Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes's biography of Gö Lotsawa. Another lineage of Vanaratna is the Record of Teachings Received of Gongkar Dorjedenpa, p. 481f.: *paṇ chen rin po che las rgyud pa'i phreng ba thob pa'i brgyud pa*:

1. Vajradhara (badzra dha ra)

2. Badzra yo gi ṇī

3. A bhya ka ra gupta

4. Nā ya ka pā da

5. Da sha pha la shrī

6. Bi khya ta de ba

7. Shri bha trā

8. La li ta badzra

9. Dharmma gupta

10. Ratna ka ra

11. Padma badzra

12. Ratna kirti

13. Buddha gho ṣa

14. Ma hā sthā bi ra siddhi shwa ra shrī ba na ratna pā da

15. Bhaṭṭa ra ka puṇya dzwa dza pā da (*bhaṭṭāraka* is a Sanskrit title, "great lord, venerable one" Punyadvāja pāda, bSod nams rgyal mtshan zhabs)

16. Gongkarwa (Gongkar Dorjedenpa)

[255] E. Lo Bue 1990, p. 54.

[256] Lo Bue 1990, p. 54, note 222, refers in passing to the stupa and to Tucci's record of his visit to it: G. Tucci 1952, p. 126.

[257] D. Jackson 1996, p. 140.

[258] D. Dinwiddie ed. 2003, no. 99, p. 341.

[259] Ramon N. Prats 2000, no. 176, p. 208, identifies the subject as Kunga Drolchok (Kun dga' grol mchog 1495–1566).

[260] Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53.

[261] Gongkar Dorjedenpa, *Record of Teachings Received*, p. 189: *'phags pa 'jam dpal gyi don dam pa'i mtshan yang dag par brjod pa'i rgyud phan yon dang bcas pa'i brgyud pa* [p. 190]:

1. bCom ldan 'das Shākya thub pa (Śākyamuni)

2. dBang po'i gtsug rgyan

3. Pad ma'i rje

4. mKhas pa'i rje

5. Sangs rgyas ye shes

6. Legs skyes

7. bKra shis blo ldan

8. Phyogs grol

9. Chos kyi mtsho

10. Ye shes rgya mtsho

11. Chos kyi rgyan

12. Srid pa'i dpung gcig Grags pa'i rdo rje

13. Chos grags

14. Sangs rgyas dbyangs

15. dPal Nags kyi rin chen (Vanaratna)

16. Gongkarwa (Gongkar Dorjedenpa)

[262] This was first noticed in D. Dinwiddie ed. 2003, no. 99.

[263] It was one of many sacred objects that "disappeared" in the 1980s and 1990s from Nepal in response to the insatiable demand of antiquity dealers and collectors. See J. Schick 1998, *The Gods are Leaving the Country*. But such a large painting with that distinctive a subject matter should be possible to identify in the future, if it turns up in a prominent private collection or is sold at auction.

[264] Christie's Amsterdam, Oct. 11, 1994, lot 146; and Christie's New York, March 2011, lot 337; see also HAR 66792. On the life and works of Lowo Khenchen, see Jowita Kramer 2008. We do find there several references to thangkas in the index: those that Lowo Khenchen described or those that he wrote prayers for. Could one be for one of the two main temples in Mönthang, capital of Lo Mustang? J. Kramer 2008, no. 297, lists the main deities beginning with the *gser khang* (top-floor temple).

[265] The highest attainment is buddhahood, while the ordinary attainments include all sorts of worldly boons.

[266] D. Weldon and J. Casey Singer 2003, note 72.

[267] G.-W. Essen and T. T. Thingo 1989, vol. 2, no. 223, p. 103. See also another statue of Lowo Khenchen in Basel Ethnographic Museum, described in G.-W. Essen and T. T. Thingo 1989, vol. 2, no. 227, height 3 7/8 in. (10 cm), smaller with a label.

[268] See J. Kramer 2008, pp. 58–78.

Chapter 4

[269] See D. Jackson 2010, chapters 2 and 3.

[270] J. Casey Singer in S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, p. 17: "More than 80 paintings have survived from Taklung monastery; many are portraits."

[271] C. Luczanits 2001, p. 136: "The comparatively large number of paintings belonging to or related to the Taklung School would definitely allow for the construction of a first, well-founded and comprehensive basis for the stylistic development and relationship of early Tibetan paintings. However, despite promising beginnings, this work has not yet been achieved."

[272] See P. Schwieger 1996.

[273] E. de Rossi Filibeck 1994, p. 237.

[274] sTag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, p. 609. When Phagmotrupa showed Sachen the notes, the lama remarked, "You have placed a vajra on the mouth of Jo sras!" "Let me conceal it within a silk cloth," replied Phagmotrupa, and because the book was kept in the library, it was called the "Library One" (*dpe mdzod ma*). Nobody was supposed to teach it for as long as the teacher Jo sras (Sachen's son, Sönam Tsemo) lived, it was said. On Phagmotrupa's work as the long-unrecognized earliest major written commentary on those instructions, see C. Stearns 2001, p. 29.

[275] Ibid. I have found no trace of contact during the following generation, the time Sapaṇ composed his critical doctrinal work *sDom gsum rab dbye,* which was the period of the second Taklung abbot, Kuyalwa (sKu yal ba, 1191–1236).

[276] See also S. Kossak 2010, p. 169ff.

[277] Tashi Lama may have been forced to go to Sakya and stay at the court, according to S. Kossak 2010, p. 173.

[278] sTag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, p. 306 and G. N. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 628.

[279] sTag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, p. 604: *'bral ba bsrung ba'i rten rnams brtsal*.

[280] Ibid., p. 607: *'bral ba bsrung ba'i rten rnams srog gi dbang po ma 'gag gi bar du su la'ang gtad pa mi 'ong*. Cf. G. N. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 651: "Sanggye Yarjön ... told me that I should not separate from these objects till my death! If I do it, I shall die!"

[281] For a sketch of the subsequent history of Riwoche see P. Schwieger 1996, p. 122ff.

[282] sTag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, p. 609.

[283] Ibid., p. 621.

[284] Ibid., p. 311.

[285] Ibid., p. 640.

[286] While visiting the mother monastery of Taklungthang in northern Ü in late 1918, Kaḥ thog Si tu 1972, p. 83.6, referred to a great fire in the time of the seventeenth abbot, Namgyal Tashi (Rnam rgyal bkra shis). He described (p. 84.5) a "library" or huge stack of holy books, about 10,000, that had survived a major fire (*chos brtsegs me thub*). He mentioned (p. 88.3) an image commissioned by Chöku Orgyen Gönpo of Riwoche. Also in Taklung there survived until 1920 (p. 89.2) a large number of old *thangkas*, including a "fireproof" *thangka* of Jowo Atiśa and Dromtön. Here he saw (p. 90.2) a copy of the Lijiang ('Jang) printed *Kanjur*. On p. 91.5 he lists all possible major styles of statues, including such rare ones as *chos rgyal* (early Tibetan king period) and *karma* (Karma Kagyü). His account also mentions other interesting paintings and statues, such as (p. 92) an extremely lifelike portrait of Thaglungthangpa that said ("I am not like [you], you are [like me]!").

[287] C. Luczanits 2001, p. 136.

[288] For a more recent description of Riwoche and its temple, see Gyurme Dorje 1996, p. 462. I regret that I could not take into account the detailed study of Riwoche in Andreas Gruschke 2004, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet's Outer Provinces: Kham, Volume 1, The Xizang Part of Kham (Bangkok:* White Lotus Press).

[289] E. de Rossi Filibeck 1994, p. 237.

[290] Kaḥ thok Situ, who visited Yishö Palgyi Riwoche (dByi shod dPal gyi Ri bo che, i.e., Kham Riwoche) early in his pilgrimage in late 1918, described in detail (p. 27–41) what he saw. He reached Riwoche on the fifth day of the ninth lunar month. A few weeks later (ibid., pp. 81–94), he traveled on to Ü Province and visited Taklungthang, probably toward the end of the tenth lunar month. At Yishö Palgyi Riwoche, Kathok Situ mentions (ibid., *p.* 27.6) pigments donated by Phakpa for murals of a Hevajra (Kye rdor) temple. He also saw (p. 30) many religious works of art commissioned by Sanggye Önpo. On p. 35.4 he mentions very good murals painted in what he called a Beri style [these might have been in the Sharri style]. He saw (p. 37.5) a woven silk *thangka* depicting Sanggye Yarjön (*sangs rgyas yar byon gyi dar thang)*. He described (p. 38) paintings of a thousand Buddhas and many tantric deities and mandalas that he considered to be in a style of Nepal. Similarly he saw the sixteen Elders painted in Beri style (*bal bris gnas brtan*). He also could see (p. 38.6) bone ornaments of the Indian adept Jñānaśrī. He described (p. 38.3) sites left as empty shells by Chinese [soldiers] and (p. 39.1–2) destroyed by the central-Tibetan army (*bod dmag*, i.e., by soldiers of the Lhasa government). He noted (p. 39.3) that one reliquary stupa (*gdung rten*) had been broken into by thieves. Unfortunately (p. 39.5), a monastic community of the Nyingma tradition had been largely destroyed by a central-Tibetan army, whereas (p. 40.2) a monastic community of the Taklung Kagyü tradition had been left undamaged by the Tibetan soldiers. He also saw (p. 40.4–5) many excellent *thangkas*, though numerous sacred scriptures had been destroyed at Riwoche during the recent warfare. Thus (p. 40.5) Riwoche Monastery, the lower plain of Taklung, formerly one of the richest Buddhist sites, with its three types of holy objects piled as high as a mountain (*stag lung mar thang rten gsum ri ltar brtsegs*), was already in noticeable decay in 1918. When he later visited Taklung itself, Kathok Situ lamented the decline of both monasteries.

[291] Per K. Sorensen and Guntram Hazod 2007 include a section on the abbatial succession of Taklung Monastery in their book *Rulers of the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet: a Study of Tshal Gung-thang*, section IV.8.2. See also E. de Rossi Filibeck 1994, p. 239. nos. 3 through 22.

[292] On Taklungthangpa, see G. N. Roerich 1949/53, pp. 610–21.

[293] On Kuyal Rinchen Gön, see G. N. Roerich 1949/53, p. 621–27.

[294] For the names and dates of the main masters from the Gazi family in the Taklung line down to the seventeenth century, see E. de Rossi Filibeck 1994, p. 239. nos. 3 through 22.

[295] For the names and dates of the main masters from the Gazi family in the Riwoche line down to the early eeighteenth century, see E. de Rossi Filibeck 1994, p. 239. nos. 23 through 33. For the complete religious transmission, one has to insert sKu zhang Rin po che bSod nams dpal (a.k.a. sKu zhang Lha Kun dga' dpal) as lineal guru between nos. 23 and 24. See sTang lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, p. 619. He was Sanggye Önpo's maternal uncle, the son of the ruler rTsad po Sho ma ra sa Jo bo A mchog.

[296] J. Casey Singer 1997, p. 61.

[297] Heather Stoddard began investigating these paintings many years ago, writing expertises for individual paintings. J. Casey Singer 1994, 1996 and 1997 has devoted the most attention to them. Other publications include: G. Béguin 1990 and 1995, M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1996, and P. Pal 1997.

[298] This first convention of descent was explained in D. Jackson 2010, p. 27.

[299] This was the fifth convention of descent in ibid., p. 33.

[300] This was the eighth convention of descent explained in ibid., p. 38.

[301] This was the ninth convention of descent explained in ibid., p. 40.

[302] For more on the chronological aspects of this method, see Jackson 2003.

[303] K. Selig Brown 2004, p. 31, note 39, quotes from Phag mo gru pa's manual on making a guru's footprints.

[304] See G. N. Roerich trans. 1949/53, p. 619.

[305] The Tibetan: *sku'i bkod pa du ma dus gcig la mthong ba la sogs pa mang du byung*.

[306] Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–1953, p. 561.

[307] Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 619; (Tib. 1984), vol. 2, p. 728.

[308] See sTag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, *sTag*

lung chos 'byung, p. 216f; H. Stoddard 2003, p. 31.

309 Gö Lotsawa (Tib. 1984), vol. 2, p. 728: *'da' khar kho bo bde bar gshegs pa dang 'bral ma myong | thugs rgyud gcig pa yin gsung | gzims spyil du slob dpon dpon po dang nye gnas rnams la bde bar gshegs pa dang kho bo 'bral ma myong byas pas ma go bar 'dug bde bar gshegs pa kho bo rang yin gsung*|.

310 Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 517.

311 Gö Lotsawa, BA (Tib. 1984), vol. 1, p. 728f.

312 Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 569f.

313 J. Casey Singer 1997, p. 294, note 10, held as a basic assumption that consecration inscriptions were usually contemporary with a painting. But she was also well aware that certain types of inscriptions are possibly later additions (see ibid., p. 56), such as those indicating consecration by Sanggye Önpo. Especially those that employ honorific (*zhe sa*) nouns or verb forms should be examined as possible later inscriptions written to identify a piece as an object of special sanctity for later generations. A clear example of a later inscription is the golden-lettered addition employing the honorific phrase *thugs dam lags* published by J. Casey Singer 1997, plate 40, below the mandala on the *front* (!) of the painting.

314 J. Casey Singer 1997, note 14. Sanggye Önpo's inscription is also quoted in S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 20, p. 99, note 5.

315 J. Casey Singer 1997, note 28.

316 Christian Luczanits pointed this out in a personal communication.

317 See D. Jackson 2010, p. 10.

318 Compare also the same two Taklung abbots in S. Kossak 2010, Fig. 116, noting the treatment of the hair in front of their ears.

319 According to Taklung Ngawang Namgyal, p. 221, on Taklungthangpa's second stay at Taklung, this hut became his "precious cogon grass hut (*'jag spyil rin po che*), together with its *bla dbye*." Perhaps *bla bre* "decorative silk canopy" is meant here by the word *bla dbye*, an otherwise unknown term.

320 On Sanggye Önpo's full ordination name, see sTag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, p. 601.

321 On Sanggye Önpo's life, see sTag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, p. 585ff and G. N. Roerich 1949/53, p. 650ff.

322 Thus the original proposed dating by J. Casey Singer to 1273 is implausible considering that several paintings of Sanggye Önpo exist, and surely not all were commissioned during that brief and hectic period.

323 J. Casey Singer 1997, p. 60, says Fig. 4.14 (her no. 42) has an inscription that records its consecration by Önpo, which is identical with the one on this painting, her no. 41.

324 S. Kossak 2010, p. 80 (his Fig. 55).

325 J. Casey Singer 1997, p. 59.

326 Ibid., p. 62.

327 Ibid., p. 61.

328 I am grateful to have been able to use the upublished notes of Amy Heller courtesy of the owner and Fabio Rossi. The inscriptions refer to two great lords, whose titles were *Mi dbang chen po* ("Great Ruler") and *Lha bu* ("Divine son" or "divinity," i.e., prince?). The second is also called A mkhar, which some have assumed to have been a family name. The most relevant part of the inscription is: *gang sku mtshan gang dpe dbyad rab 'bar ba// bzhengs pa de'i bsod nams mthu yis ni/ phun 'tshogs mngon mtho'i dpal gyi 'byor ba yi/ mi dbang chen po bsod nams rdo rje dang // dad gtong rigs gzugs yon tan rgyan ldan pa'i// lha bu a mkhar yab yum sras bcas kyi// sku tshe brtan zhing dpal 'byor rgyas pa dang*[*//*] *chab srid 'dzin pa'i khyon ltar ngas pa la// dbang bskyur chos ldan rgyal srid brtan par shig// dus 'di nas bzung byung ba thob par//. Yab yum sras bcas* can also mean "together with their father, mother and son."

329 See P. Schwieger 1996, p. 126, who mentions the prominent presence of their castle (*mkhar*) and records the titles *mkhar drung* and *chos rje mkhar ba* in that family during the fifteenth century. If Miwang Sönam Dorje and Lhabu Akhar were not the two nameless children of Rinchen Dorje shown in P. Schwieger 1996, p. 131, who would have been born in ca. the 1350s, then they probably came from been from another of the powerful families in eastern Kham relatively near Riwoche. We also need to check the Taklungpa/Gazi genealogy.

330 J. Casey Singer 1997, plate 44.

331 J. Casey Singer 1997, p. 60, says that Fig. 4.13a (her plate 42) has inscriptions that are the same as on Fig. 4.9 (her no. 41).

332 On the Taklung version of the Eight Great Siddhas, see C. Luczanits 2006, p. 85.

333 S. Kossak 2010, p. 181.

334 J. Casey Singer 1997, note 24.

335 sTag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, p. 624.

336 Cf. J. Casey Singer 1997, note 21.

337 Fifth Dalai Lama, *Record of Teachings Received*, vol. 1, p. 77a.

338 Fifth Dalai Lama, *Record of Teachings Received*, vol. 1, pp. 110b-111a.

339 On Nyukrumpa, see Gö Lotsawa, p. 322.

340 On Naljorapa Chenpo, see ibid., p. 262.

341 Dromtön was omitted when Naljorpa Chenpo received teachings directly from Atiśa.

342 Another instance of dual or multiple-lineage painting of this type that came to my attention too late to be studied in detail is S. Kossak 2010, Fig. 118.

343 M. Rhie and R. Thurman 1996, p. 450.

344 On this, a ninth convention of descent, see D. Jackson 2010, p. 40.

345 J. Casey Singer 1997, p. 67.

346 See also A. Heller 1999, plates 103 and 104, which Heller dates on the basis of inscriptions as late as circa 1550!

347 See H. Stoddard 2003, p. 56, and E. Lo Bue 1990, p. 10.

348 See also the recent detailed conclusions of S. Kossak 2010, chapter 7, "The 'Taklung' Thankas: Their History and Provenance Reconsidered."

349 See D. Jackson 2010, chapters 1 and 2.

Chapter 5

350 See H. Stoddard 2003, p. 29; and R. A. Stein 1972, p. 174f.

351 R. A. Stein 1972, p. 176.

352 Or as H. Stoddard 2003, p. 29, puts it, through the practice of *guruyoga*, insight into the nature of primordial mind could be gradually attained.

353 J. Casey Singer 1994, p. 166f. and fig. 21.

354 J. Casey Singer in S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, p. 17.

355 Ibid.

356 C. Luczanits 2003, p. 31 and figs. 3 and 4. Luczanits was referring to the earliest Taklung portraits and to his Fig. 6, the Cleveland thangka with Phagmodrupa in the crown.

357 C. Luczanits 1998, p. 154 and fig. 1. Concerning the Alchi portrait, A. Heller 2005 (pl. 2) hypothesized that the master locally identified as "Rinchen Zangpo" actually was founder of Drigung order, which would fit better historically.

358 C. Luczanits 2003, p. 34.

359 Ibid., p. 35. See D. Jackson 2010, fig. 1.25.

360 As mentioned above in connection with figures 1.9 to 1.10b, the example of Phagmotrupa's portraiture was briefly taken up by J. Casey Singer 1995.

361 sTag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, p. 212f.

362 D. Jackson 1996, p. 69.

363 D. Martin 2001, p. 173. In a recent email, Dan Martin kindly added that he had seen those artistic works mentioned in the biography of Phagmotrupa [by dPal chen Chos kyi ye shes] found in the Phag-gru Bka'-'bum Golden Manuscript (xeroxes available in Hamburg University, Asia and Africa Institute library), vol. 1 (*ka*), fol. 14r.6. There one finds mention of likenesses (*sku 'bag*) of Gampopa and Sakyapa (Sa skya pa, i.e., Sachen), and also of Dampa Gyagar (Dam pa Rgya gar, an early name for Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas).

364 Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 612.

365 Gö Lotsawa, *Blue Annals* (Tib. 1984), vol. 2, p. 719: *de nas snyel der bzhugs tsa na bla ma rmog la phag mo gru pa'i sku 'bag cig bskur*

byung ba la| khyod rang yang mchod pa la e 'ong zer bas mar me'i rgyu gzung nas mchod pa la byon pas| 'di'i rtsar cig ma byon na snyam pa'i zhe bcad 'khrungs| de nas dbus su 'byon...

[366] K. Mathes 2008, p. 140, citing Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes's biography of Gö Lotsawa.

[367] The Tibetan, according to the Gö Lotsawa, BA (Tib. 1984), vol. 1, p. 671: *'jag spyil na bzhugs pa'i sku 'dra rin po che 'di ni| gshegs rjes kho nar bu slob rnams kyis sman dang rin po che dang dar zab la sogs bsres pa'i 'jim pa la gdung thal mang du btab ste bzhengs| byin rlabs kyang shin tu che| gsung yang lan mang du byon| byi bas sku'i gdan gyi zur nas sa cung zad brus pa la| dkon gnyer la gsung byon nas byi gnod pa byas pa'i rjes rnams bkag sa de rnams la ru ma byas te bzhengs pa'i sku 'dra'ang mang du yod pa la| byi sa ma zhes grags| bzo byed pa'i tshe sku'i cha shas nas lhag pa rnams dras pa'i sa la ru ma byas te bzhengs pa'i sku rnams la ni dras sa ma zhes grags|*. Cf. H. Stoddard 2003, p. 41, note 63; Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 569. rTa tshag tshe dbang rgyal, *Lho rong chos 'byung*, p. 326, also describes in detail the making of statues after his death, with some differences.

[368] The Tibetan, p. 671: *chos khri la bzhugs pa'i sku 'dra 'di yang mar pa lha snying bya bas mang 'gar sgang du bzhengs| rags pa grub pa na ga nas 'ongs cha med pa'i jo mo ma cig byung nas| nga'i bla ma de 'di kho na 'dra| da bcas bcos ma byed zer bas ngo mtshar du gzung ste| chos khri'i stengs su spyan drangs nas bzhugs su gsol ba yin no|*.

[369] Tatshak Tshewang Gyal (Rta tshag tshe dbang rgyal), *Lho rong chos 'byung*, p. 326.

[370] Kathok Situ, p. 254f. (fols. 127b-128a).

[371] Kathok Situ, p. 250.5: *'gro mgon 'jag skyil sku bzhi sogs gsang ba'i lhar grags*.

[372] G. Roerich translated the term *'jag spyil* as "grass hut." See G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 569.

[373] Kathok Situ, p. 254.6.

[374] Ibid., p. 255.5.

[375] D. Weldon and J. Casey Singer 1999, p. 139. I am grateful to C. Luczanits for bringing the statue to my attention.

[376] D. Weldon and J. Casey Singer 1999, p. 147, note 310.

[377] Dan Martin, Tibeto-Logic Blogspot, says: "Interesting that the scribe for the inscription does not recognize Tibetan punctuation conventions governing the use of *tsheg* immediately before the *shad* (it uses *tsheg* in every case, all of them 'incorrect'). The *'a-chung* beneath the 'm' in *na-mô* is totally unknown and superfluous (ignorance of Sanskrit is not the excuse it's made to be). The *'ghu-ru* spelling for Sanskrit *guru* is known to a mid-13th century manuscript we have often mentioned before, the *Zhijé Collection* (although not limited to it). This is at least consistent with the purported dating of the sculpture to the 13th century."

[378] According to Dan Martin, who discusses the inscription in his Tibeto-Logic Blogspot, "I believe that the *lama rinchen* epithet is just an alternative version (more amenable to versified contexts) of *lama rinpoche (bla-ma rin-po-che*), and the latter is a way of referring to one's own teacher that was initiated by Pagmodrupa (I didn't make this up — for testimony on this point see *The Collected Writings* [*Gsung-'bum*] *of 'Bri-gung Chos-rje 'Jig-rten-mgon-po Rin-chen-dpal*, reproduced photographically from the 'Bri-gung Yang-re-sgar xylographic edition, Khangsar Tulku (New Delhi 1969), vol. 4, p. 385)."

[379] sTag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, *sTag lung chos 'byung*, p. 648; and H. Stoddard 2003, p. 41.

[380] Kathok Situ, p. 256.1.

[381] As listed by Alexander Schiller in his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "Die Vier Yoga-Stufen" (Hamburg University, 2009), p. 429, the titles of vol. 1 were:

dPal phag mo gru pa'i rnam thar dpal chen chos yes mdzad pa [ka 1] |

Phag mo gru pa'i rnam thar chos rjes mdzad pa [ka 2] |

Phag mo gru pa nyid kyis gsungs pa'i skyes rabs chen mo [ka 3] |

Bla ma gtsang bzher rin chen rgyal mtshan la gsungs pa'i skyes rabs dang lung bstan [ka 4] | *mTshon cha gsang ba'i mdzod sgo dbye ba'i skyes rabs* [ka 5] |

dPal phag mo gru pa'i sku lus kyi bkod pa bcu gnyis [ka 6]

[382] Compiled by Dan Martin from *The Collected Works (Gsung 'bum) of Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po*, "reproduced from rare mss. from India, Nepal, and Bhutan, Gönpo Tsheten" (Gangtok 1976), vol. 1 [ka].

1. *dPal phag mo gru pa'i rnam thar rin po che'i phreng ba dpal chen chos kyi ye shes kyis mdzad pa* (fol. 29, the last fol., missing), pp. 5–62.

2. (*rNam thar mi zad pa rgya mtsho'i gter*). 12 folios missing.

3. *dPal phag mo gru pa'i skyes rabs chen mo*, pp. 63–74.

4. *Bla ma gtsang gzher rin chen rgyal mtshan la lung bstan pa dang skyes rabs*, pp. 75–86. fol. 6 missing.

5. *mTshon cha gsang pa'i mdzod sgo dbye ba'i skyes rabs,* fol. 1 missing, pp. 87–92.

6. *dPal phag mo gru pas sku lus kyi bkod pa bcu gnyis mdzad* pa, pp. 93–126.

[383] Dpa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba, p. 818f.

[384] Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 552. See also Gö Lotsawa, *Blue Annals* (Tib. 1984), vol. 2, p. 652.

[385] Ibid., (Tib. 1984), vol. 1, p. 361f.

[386] Ibid., (Tib. 1984), vol. 1, p. 439.

[387] Ibid., (Tib. 1984), vol. 1, p. 440.

[388] Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–1953, p. 616. See also ibid., (Tib. 1984), vol. 1, p. 724: *de la spyir stag lung 'di 'gro ba'i mgon po rin po ches dgung lo drug cu bzhes pa sa mo glang gi lo la sku lus kyi bkod pa bcu gnyis mdzad pa'i tshe| sku lus kyi bkod pa gcig gis stag lung gis thams cad zhabs kyis bcags shing byin gis brlabs te| stag lung gi sa thams cad sngags 'dam dang chu thams cad sngags chu mdzad nas|*.

[389] Christian Luczanits kindly referred me to this passage.

[390] rGyal sras can mean either prince or conqueror's son (i.e., bodhisattva).

[391] This was suggested to me by Dr. K. Tanaka.

[392] See bSod nams rgya mtsho 1991, no. 44.

[393] Ibid., p. 10.

[394] Kathok Situ, p. 251.4: *gSang 'dus mi bskyod pa lha so gnyis pa.*

[395] Cf. A. Heller 1999. no. 55.

[396] I am grateful to the owner for kindly providing this data.

[397] See C. Luczanits 2006, p. 82 and note 26.

[398] Cf. D. Jackson 2010, chapter 2.

[399] For the typical nāga king form, see 'Jigs med chos kyi rdo rje 2001, p. 1216.

[400] See R. Sakaki ed., number 3239.

[401] That possibility was suggested to me by Dr. K. Tanaka in a personal communication.

[402] See R. Sakaki ed., number 3273.

[403] The inscription: *sgom pa rin chen rdo rje yis/ bla ma chos rje rin chen dpal... kyi*? [*zh*]*ab?... .... rjes skabs dang... m... gsol ba btab nas zhus pa... gang? mig* [*gis*?] *mthong thos reg pa gang/ ... rdzogs par shog/ chos rje'i rnam thar* ??? [*ngo*] *mtshar? rjes 'jug thams cad slob par shog/ grags 'od mtsho pa bzang* ??? /. I am grateful to Karl Debreczeny for photographing this inscription.

[404] See K. Selig Brown 2004, p. 68, note 14. A bunion is an inflamation and swelling of the bursa at the base of the big toe, with a thickening of the skin.

[405] K. Selig Brown 2003, pl. 8.

[406] K. Selig Brown 2004, pl. 26.

[407] A. Heller 2005, p. 5.

[408] See Gö Lotsawa, G. Roerich trans. 1949–53, p. 552ff.

[409] Ibid., p. 552: "To those possessed of excellent understanding, he openly proclaimed that he was the Buddha of the Past and Future, as well

as the Lord of the Śākyas ("Shakyendra," i.e., Śākyamuni) of the Present Age."

[410] Groups of statues that are arranged before a background of stylized mountain cragcaves are also called *brag ri ma;* for example, the sixteen arhats: *gnas brtan brag ri ma.*

[411] 'Jigs med chos kyi rdo rje 2001, p. 1201, explains the six mythical animals on the backrest of a buddha as symbolizing the six perfections. J. Casey Singer 1995, p. 96, note 37, refers to J. Auboyer 1949, *Le Trône et son symbolisme dans l'Inde ancienne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France), pp. 105–68, who explained the significance of the Indian throne with animals, namely the assemblage of natural and supernatural forces and their obeisance to him or her who sat upon it. In India it was reserved for those rare rulers who became universal emperors (*cakravartins*), buddhas, bodhisattvas, or deities, and was "not merely a seat, but a setting of great symbolic significance."

[412] This parallels closely the observations of A. Coomaraswamy that Indian portraiture observed two apparently contradictory approaches: one that was informed by observation of the subject and the other that followed prescriptions for ideal types. See J. Casey Singer 1995, p. 82, who cites Ananda Coomaraswamy 1943, "The Traditional Conception of Ideal Portraiture," in *Why Exhibit Works of Art?* (London: Luzac and Co.), pp. 111–118. On portraits in South Asia in general and in the ninth and tenth centuries in particular, see P. Kaimal 1999 and 2000.

[413] C. Bautze-Picron 1995, p. 60 and note 11.

[414] Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las 2002, p. 116, defining *klu dga' bo*.

[415] A. Heller 2005.

[416] See S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, no. 15.

[417] Drawn by Wangdrak of Shekar (1925–1988).

[418] Legdrup Gyatsho (ca. 1927/28–1984), the monk-painter from Nalendra Monastery in Phenpo, was the son of the Nalendra painter Thongmön Töpa Sönam Chödzin (mThong smon stod pa bSod nams chos 'dzin, ca. 1910–1957?) and Yeshe Lhadrön (Ye shes lha sgron). He led the painting of the murals in the first Tibetan Buddhist monastery at Lumbini, Nepal, from 1972 to 1974.

[419] Dung dkar Blo bzang phrin las 2002, p. 2031, lists the presence of wheels on the palms and soles as the second of thirty-two characteristic deriving from a buddha's previous acts of generosity.

[420] S. Kossak 1999/2000, p. 5 and S. Kossak 2010, p. 73.

[421] S. Kossak 2010, p. 73, citing J. Casey Singer 1995, p. 85; and J. Casey Singer in S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer 1998, p. 17.

[422] S. Kossak 2010, p. 73.

[423] Pratyeka buddhas are depicted with smaller protuberances.

[424] See Carola Roloff 2009, p. 9, who discusses the modeling of Red mda' ba's biography on the twelve deeds of the Buddha, saying that it was commonly done by other Tibetan biographers.

Chapter 6

[425] I am grateful to David Jackson for initiating this article, which originally was simply planned as a new version of my earlier study, "The Art-Historical Aspects of Dating Tibetan Art," deriving from a lecture delivered at a symposium, Dating Tibetan Art, organized by the Kunsthaus Lempertz, Cologne, November 17 to 18, 2001. While two of the three examples in the original article are republished here, the focus of the study has been altered toward the early siddha, hierarch, and lineage depictions documented in these examples and what they tell about their early usage.

[426] I am thinking here not only of the Himalayan Art Resources (http://www.himalayanart.org/), henceforth referred to as HAR, but also of The Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (http://www.tbrc.org/), henceforth TBRC.

[427] In S. M. Kossak, and J. C. Singer, *Sacred Visions* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), where many of the earliest thangkas are published for the first time, the two authors could not compromise on one chronological hypothesis for dating the objects. Thus, the objects are dated and arranged according to the two chronologies of the authors, of which neither one is explained anywhere, resulting in a rather confused picture of the early mediaeval development of Tibetan art.

[428] For a general assessment of the usage of these methods in the study of Tibetan art, see C. Luczanits, "Methodological Comments Regarding Recent Research on Tibetan Art," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 45 (2001): 125–45.

[429] The principal chronological work on Tibetan art has to be credited to G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 3 vols. (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1949), still used as a base in many respects.

[430] Besides more detailed studies on single monuments, a certain area or the art of a certain Buddhist school D. P. Jackson, *A History of Tibetan Painting: The Great Tibetan Painters and Their Traditions* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996) is most noteworthy for its enormous wealth in historical information on art. Jackson now is refining this earlier work in a series of exhibition catalogues of which this is the third one, the earlier two being Jackson, David P. *Patron and Painter: Situ Panchen and the Revival of the Encampment Style*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2009, and Jackson, David P. *The Nepalese Legacy in Tibetan Painting*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2010.

[431] D. P. Jackson, "A Painting of Sa-Skya-Pa Masters," *Berliner Indologische Studien* 2 (1986): 181-91, had already pointed out this problem more than two decades ago.

[432] As the book of N. Tsering, and A. Arya, *Alchi, the Living Heritage of Ladakh* (Leh-Ladakh: Central Institute of Buddhist Studies & Likir Monastery, 2009) shows, even very recent publications favor the traditional date against all evidence.

[433] I have noted this already more than a decade ago. C. Luczanits, "On an unusual painting style in Ladakh," in *The Inner Asian International Style 12th-14th Centuries. Papers presented at a panel of the 7th seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, ed. D. E. Klimburg-Salter, and E. Allinger, Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995 (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998.

[434] For overviews and large pictures, cf. R. Goepper, "Clues for a Dating," *Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Asienkunde / Études Asiatiques: Revue de la Société Suisse d'Études Asiatiques* 44, no. 2 (1990): 159–75, and R. Goepper, and J. Poncar, *Alchi* (London: Serindia, 1996), 212 and 216f.

[435] This identification is based on the iconographic appearance of the figure, having the right hand in front of the breast and the left on the hip as if holding vajra and bell in the respective positions. It is to be noted, however, that in early western-Himalayan art the iconographies of Vajradhara, Vajrasattva, and even Vajrapāṇi have not been as clearly distinguished as one would expect.

[436] Possibly white was used to contrast them with Tilopa and Nāropa, who are dark brown (Goepper, and Poncar, *Alchi*, 216), but the unusual color may also indicate that they are foreigners to the region.

[437] Besides Alchi, the little published monuments of Mangyu and Sumda have to be included in the comparisons (see C. Luczanits, *Buddhist Sculpture in Clay* (Chicago: Serindia, 2004), 124–95).

[438] The two monks are identified in D. P. Jackson, "Lama Yeshe Jamyang," *The Tibet Journal* XXVII, no. 1 & 2 (2002): , 164. On Gampopa and the familial inheritance of his monastery see R. M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005): 282–90.

[439] TBRC P1845.

[440] TBRC P1841.

[441] The complete inscription runs as follows (including the unconventional spellings):

*|| *bdag dge slong Tshul khrims 'od ces bgya ba* || *xdus gsum gi sangs rgyas thams cad kyi sku gsum thugs kyi bdag ny* # || [name of each deity/teacher with the following veneration formula] … *la phyag 'tshal zhing skyabsu 'chi'o* |

"I the monk called (*ces bya ba*) Tshul khrims 'od with my own (*bdag nyid*) body speech and mind of all the buddhas of the three worlds pay homage and take refuge to (*skyabs su mchi ba*) … [the respective deity/teacher]".

[442] See D. L. Snellgrove, and T. Skorupski, *Cultural Heritage of Ladakh 1* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977) , 77–78, and the detailed study of R. Goepper, "Great Stūpa," *Artibus Asiae* LIII, no. 1/2 (1993): 111-43.

[443] Originally, only Snellgrove, and Skorupski, *Cultural Heritage of Ladakh 1*, 78, described

the *stūpa* shortly and also noted that the teachers represented in the inner *stūpa* have a context here. Although I have mentioned the lineage in several publications, only C. Luczanits, "Alchi and the Drigungpa School," in *Mei shou wan nian - Long Life Without End. Festschrift in Honor of Roger Goepper*, ed. J.-h. Lee-Kalisch et al. (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2006 is a more detailed study of the relevant Drigungpa panel.

[444] Snellgrove, and Skorupski, *Cultural Heritage of Ladakh 1*, 77–79, followed among others by Goepper, "Great Stūpa", identified the *siddha* as Nāropa and the teacher opposite him as Rinchen Zangpo (Rin chen bzang po).

[445] R. N. Linrothe, *Holy Madness* (Chicago and New York: Serindia Publications in association with Rubin Museum of Art, 2006), Cat. no. 79, while D. Martin, "Padampa Sangye," in *Holy Madness. Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*, ed. R. N. Linrothe (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2006), studying early depictions of this siddha in the same volume, does not refer to the Alchi depictions. This siddha, usually depicted crouching and holding a twig and a flute, is also found in a prominent position at the bottom of the *dhotī* of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in the Alchi Sumtsek (Goepper, and Poncar, *Alchi*, 102, 109), and is also depicted in the niche of the Assembly Hall of Sumda Chung, a monument decorated by artists of the same painting school(s) as Alchi. A similar dark-skinned siddha is depicted in Example 2 (see below).

[446] See also Snellgrove, and Skorupski, *Cultural Heritage of Ladakh 1*, pl. 13, and Goepper, "Great Stūpa", fig. 14.

[447] For the usual depiction of teachers during the 13th century, compare, for example, Kossak, and Singer, *Sacred Visions*, nos. 5, 11, 17, 18, 19, 26, 30, and 51.

[448] Compare also the teachers in the Great Stūpa in Goepper, "Great Stūpa", figs. 15 and 16.

[449] In the meantime, I have studied this composition in detail, Luczanits, "Alchi and the Drigungpa School" and have also shown that it is characteristic for early Drigung School painting (C. Luczanits, "A First Glance at Early Drigungpa Painting," in *Studies in Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Art. Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Tibetan Archaeology & Art, Beijing, September 3–6, 2004*, ed. X. Jisheng et al., The Monograph Series in Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Studies (Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, 2006).

[450] Snellgrove, and Skorupski, *Cultural Heritage of Ladakh 1*, 78, note with regard to this representation: "Such a painting would certainly seem to pay Rin-chen bzang-po full honours as an acknowledged Buddha-manifestation."

[451] For example, of the teacher representations in *Sacred Visions* referred to in note 23 only no. 17 has flanking Bodhisattvas. In terms of composition, too, this privately owned painting executed in a unique style is the closest comparison to the Alchi depiction. Other examples with flanking Bodhisattvas are three paintings of the Taglung School from the late 13th and early 14th centuries: one in the Musée Guimet (MA 6083; G. Béguin, *Les Peintures du Boudhisme Tibétain* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995), 482–84; J. C. Singer, "Taklung Painting," in *Tibetan Art. Towards a definition of style*, ed. J. C. Singer, and P. Denwood (London: Laurence King Publ., 1997, fig. 43, who identifies the main image as Önpo Lama (Sangs rgyas dBon Grags pa dpal 1251–1296), and the others in private collections (A. M. Rossi, and F. Rossi, *Selection 1994* (London: Rossi publications, 1994), no. 10; Singer, "Taklung Painting., fig. 41, again identified as Önpo Lama). This composition is also found in a thangka in rather poor condition in the Koelz collection at the Museum of Anthropology at Ann Arbour, Michigan (C. Copeland, *Tankas from the Koelz Collection*, vol. 18, Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1980), 98), which is to be counted among the Drigungpa paintings referred to above (n. 25).

[452] Compare for example D. E. Klimburg-Salter, *Tabo* (Milan - New York: Skira - Thames and Hudson, 1997), 220–25 and figs. 45, 139, 151, and 231.

[453] The term "new schools" refers to the schools originating from the 11th to the 13th century (Sakya and the diverse Kagyü branches), which distinguished themselves from the Old School (Nyingma School) and the more scholastically oriented Kadampa by their promotion of highest yoga tantra teachings. An interesting question is, when such teaching traditions were first noted in the literature. One of the earliest mentions may be a short text by Zhang g.Yu brag pa brTson 'grus grags pa (1123–1193), "rGyud pa sna tshogs [Diverse Lineages]," in *Writings (bKa' thor bu)*, ed. K. s. Don brgyud nyi ma (Palampur: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunpel Parkhang, 1972. In a personal communication (July 18, 2001) Dan Martin, who pointed out this text to me in another context (the painting in Example 2), called this text a proto-*gsan yig*, that is a predecessor of the texts dedicated to the teaching traditions (on this genre and its use for art history see Example 3 below). Zhang g.Yu brag pa himself is depicted on a famous early tapestry in the Potala collection (R. Dorji et al., *Bod-kyi-thang-ga / Xizang Tangjia* (Beijing: Wenwu chubansha, 1985), no. 6).

[454] Although this is certainly an oversimplification, one can even suppose that the success of this concept ultimately led to a counter-development in the old schools, in particular to the treasure (*gter ma*) tradition of the Nyingmapa (*rNying ma pa*).

[455] Previously published in Kossak, and Singer, *Sacred Visions*, no. 13; J. C. Singer, and P. Denwood, eds. *Tibetan Art: Towards a Definition of Style* (London: Laurence King, 1997); J. C. Singer, "Painting in Central Tibet, ca. 950–1400," *Artibus Asiae* 54, no. 1/2 (1994): 87–136.

[456] For a table of the different Kagyü schools see, for example, Tsering Gyalpo et al., *Civilization at the Foot of Mount Sham-po*, Beiträge zur Kultur und Geistesgeschichte Asiens Nr. 36 (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), p. 230.

[457] G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988), p. 552. By contrast, from the story of his life as told in K. K. Gyaltsen, *The Great Kagyu Masters* (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publication, 1990), p. 205–63, it appears that his pupil Jigten Gönpo introduced this notion (cf. in particular p. 206). The latter also wrote a hagiography of his teacher. Gene Smith suggested looking in the collected writings (*gsung 'bum*) of Phagmodrupa for further clarification of his position in this regard.

[458] See, for example, G. Béguin, *Art ésotérique de l'Himâlaya* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1990), no. 2 (MA 5176); Kossak, and Singer, *Sacred Visions*, no. 18; Singer, "Painting in Central Tibet, ca. 950–1400", 25; Singer, "Taklung Painting., figs. 36, 37, 42, and 44. S. M. Kossak, "Early Central Tibetan Hierarch Portraits: new perspectives on identification and dating," *Oriental Art* XLV, no. 4 (1999): 2-8, p. 5, notes that the auspicious wheel on the sole of the feet of Taglung Thangpa Chenpo show that the lama is an enlightened being.

[459] See Luczanits, "A First Glance at Early Drigungpa Painting."

[460] See A. Mignucci, "Three Thirteenth Century *Thangkas*: A Rediscovered Tradition from Yazang Monastery?," *Orientations* 32, no. 10 (2001): 24-32.

[461] The above mentioned depiction of Zhang Rinpoche (note 29).

[462] Somewhat on the periphery of that context is the depiction of a gNyos hierarch, a secular teacher, on a well-known thangka formerly in the Jucker collection, which is also to be attributed to around 1200 (see E. Allinger, "A Gnyos Lineage Thangka," in *Buddhist Art and Tibetan Patronage Ninth to Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. D. E. Klimburg-Salter, and E. Allinger, PIATS 2000: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000 (Leiden: Brill, 2002); E. Allinger, "Nyö Master," in *Tibetan Painting. The Jucker Collection*, ed. H. E. Kreijger (London: Serindia Publications, 2001). A painting from the time of the third Karmapa with footprints has similar features, but is no longer nearly as explicit as it represents Buddhas a level (row) above the Karmapa lineage (see Singer, "Painting in Central Tibet, ca. 950–1400", fig. 32).

[463] Béguin, *Art ésotérique de l'Himâlaya*, no. 2 (MA 5176); D. P. Jackson, "The Last "Paṇḍita" of Ṅor: A Biographical Sketch of Ṅag-dbaṅ-bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, the Wanderer from gTsaṅ-roṅ," in *Studia Tibetica et Mongolica (Festschrift Manfred Taube)*, ed. H. Eimer et al., Indica et Tibetica (Swisttal-Oldendorf: 1999, 76, fig. 1 (cf. also 78, pl. 1). See also K. H. Selig Brown, ed. *Eternal Presence. Handprints and footprints in Buddhist art* (Katonah, NY: Katonah Museum of Art, 2004).

[464] D. Martin, "Painters, Patrons and Paintings of Patrons," in *Embodying Wisdom. Art, Text and Interpretation in the History of Esoteric Buddhism*, ed. R. Linrothe, and H. H. Sørensen, SBS Monographs (Copenhagen: The Seminar for Buddhist Studies, 2001, p. 155f., mentions an interesting example demonstrating this shift in paintings recorded of sPyil phu monastery. While the second abbot, Lha lung gi dbang phyug Byang chub rin chen (1158–1232), was depicted along with his nephew to either side of an eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, the third abbot, Lha 'Gro ba'i mgon po was shown in the centre of the painting surrounded by the 16 Arhats.

[465] I disregard here a thangka with a depiction of a teacher in the Metropolitan Museum of Art attributed to as early as the late 11th century, Kossak, and Singer, *Sacred Visions*., no. 6, for

two reasons: firstly the inscription on which the dating is based and which reportedly is difficult to interpret (id. 64, n. 1), has not been published and thus cannot be verified, and secondly this teacher depiction need not be read as depicting the teacher as a Buddha, as he is only shown with two Bodhisattvas (Maitreya and Mañjuśrī) hovering in the sky above him and he holds a rosary in his hands.

466 This development can also be seen as preconditioning the establishment of the first reincarnation lineage after the Second Karmapa Karmapakshi (Karma pak shi 1204–83) in the course of the 13th century (see the fascinating account in M. T. Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), particularly p. 97–100).

467 The comparisons cited here are far from being complete. A more careful and detailed analysis of the teacher depictions and their interrelationship from an iconographical and iconological viewpoint would certainly enable one to differentiate different shades of (self-?) representation and in this way also help to date comparable thangkas where the central figure can not be readily identified.

468 I first had the chance to study this fascinating painting when it was still in the Jucker collection, the collector and his wife providing me with plenty of opportunity to examine the piece as well as wonderful hospitality. Further, the present analysis of this painting would not have been possible without the generous input of Dan Martin who not only provided me with sources I would never have found myself but also shared my enthusiasm about this painting.

469 H. E. Kreijger, *Tibetan Painting* (London: Serindia Publications, 2001), no. 18. His discussion is directed towards a general reader and thus does not mention the interesting questions the painting poses. In addition, his entry does not identifying the middle *siddhas*, and—despite the fact that he thought to recognize two Karmapa teachers (cf. below)—he calls the painting a Taglung painting.

470 Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, 39–42 and fig. 3.1.

471 On the early representations of the eight *mahāsiddha* see C. Luczanits, "The Eight Great Siddhas," in *Holy Madness. Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*, ed. R. N. Linrothe (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2006.

472 I owe this crucial reference to Dan Martin, who even provided a copy of the text. The paragraph below is taken of his transcript of the text published in Palampur:

dpal dgyes pa rdo rje lhan cig skyes pa'i dbang du byas na / bcom ldan 'das ***[444]*** *dpal* HE RU KA *bsdud pa po* PHYAG NA RDO RJE *la bshad / de byang chub sems dpa'* BLO GROS RIN CHEN *la bshad / de byang chub sems dpa' bram ze* SA RA HA *la bshad / des* RDO RJE DRIL BU BA *la bshad / des* YAN LAG MED PA'I RDO RJE */ des* DGA' BA'I RDO RJE */ des* RDO RJE GDAN PA *la bshad / des* A PHYA KA RA *la bshad / des rgya gar lho phyogs kyis grong khyer so na thang pu ri ra sku 'khrungs pa'i rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug brtul zhugs kyis spyod pa ba* SHRI BAI RO TSA NA BADZRA BA *la bshad / des* SPRANG BAN ZHANG *la rgyal gyi lung pur bshad pa'o //*
Zhang g.Yu brag pa brTson 'grus grags pa (1123–1193), "rGyud pa sna tshogs [Diverse Lineages].", p. 443.7–444.4.

473 Although the differentiation of Vajrapāṇi, Vajradhara and Vajrasattva is not always as clear as one would like it to be, it is unlikely that this is also the case in this context, since for the bKa' brgyud pa school Vajradhara is of prime importance.

474 I am grateful to Dan Martin for making me aware of a misreading in the name of this siddha.

475 D. Martin, "Lay Religious Movements," *Kailash* 18, no. 3&4 (1996): 23-55, p. 36.

476 TBRC P43. A. Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien [1608 AD], Übersetzt aus dem Tibetischen* (St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1869), p. 261.

477 Martin, "Lay Religious Movements", p. 37.

478 TBRC P3835.

479 TBRC P3731, born in the same year as Mi-la-ras-pa, i.e., 1040 or 1052. See also H. Eimer, *rNam thar rgyas pa*, 2 vols., vol. 67, Asiatische Forschungen (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979), p. 456.

480 Martin, "Padampa Sangye," 121–22.

481 See Martin, "Padampa Sangye," 121–22, in particular n. 30.

482 On his life see G. Bühnemann, and M. Tachikawa, *Nispannayogāvalī. Two Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal*, Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 5 (Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1991), xiii–xii; G. Bühnemann, "Some Remarks on the Date of Abhayākaragupta and the Chronology of His Work," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 142, no. 1 (1992): 120–27.

483 Other names used in the colophons of his works and translations are plainly Vairocana and Vairocanarakṣita (K. R. Schaeffer, "The religious career of Vairocanavajra," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 28, no. 4 (2000), 372). I owe the reference to Schaeffer's article to Dan Martin. Another name used for him is *dngul chu* 'Bhe' ro or Be ro ba (D. Martin, "A twelfth-century Tibetan classic of Mahāmudrā: *The Path of Ultimate Profundity: The Great Seal Instructions of Zhang*," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 15, no. 2 (1992): , 254–55; D. P. Jackson, *Enlightenment by a Single Means*, Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, vol. 12 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994), 58–59).

484 For a translation and discussion of this biography see Schaeffer, "The religious career of Vairocanavajra".

485 Schaeffer, "The religious career of Vairocanavajra," 365, 382. The texts referred to are D 374, *dPal khrag 'thung mngon par 'byung ba – Śrīherukābhyudaya* (Schaeffer, "The religious career of Vairocanavajra," n. 37) and possibly D 1415, but more probably a group of texts (Schaeffer, "The religious career of Vairocanavajra," n. 38).

486 Schaeffer, "The religious career of Vairocanavajra," 370–71.

487 Jackson, *Enlightenment by a Single Means*, 58–66. Another description of Zhang's life is found in Martin, "A twelfth-century Tibetan classic of Mahāmudrā: *The Path of Ultimate Profundity: The Great Seal Instructions of Zhang,"* 253–55.

488 See S. M. Kossak, *Painted Images of Enlightenment* (Mumbai: Mārg, 2010), 92 and fig. 59, Vairocanavajra being the figure in the upper left corner, just underneath the top row of siddhas. This position may indicate that he is nevertheless understood as a siddha.

489 See Martin, "Lay Religious Movements," 31–32.

490 Davidson, Tibetan Renaissance, 246–47; R. M. Davidson, "gSar ma Apocrypha," in *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism*, ed. H. Eimer, and D. Germano, Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 211, 215.

491 Or Kamalaśīla as referred to in Davidson, "gSar ma Apocrypha," 213–15.

492 On the life of Dam pa Sangs rgyas cf. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 72–73, 222–28, 867–71, as well as numerous following references to his 'pacification' (*zhi byed*) teachings; D. L. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism* (London: Serindia, 1987) , 467–69, and J. Edou, *Machig Labdrön* (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lions Publications, 1996) , 31–38. Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas (called *rje* Dam pa in the quotation) is further known to have produced a compendium of Tantric texts in collaboration with Zha ma *lo tsā ba* Chos kyi rgyal po (1069–1144) a protagonist of a rather unsuccessful early *lam 'bras* tradition (Davidson, "gSar ma Apocrypha," 213–15.). A Nag po chung ba or Nag po zhabs chung is said to be a contemporary of Naropa (BA I, 372; cf. Eimer, *rNam thar rgyas pa*, I, 353).

493 This color usage may derive from the ambiguity of the word *kṛṣṇa*, which can mean black, dark or (dark) blue alike.

494 For the manuscript illustrations and a detailed discussion of their iconography and comparisons see Martin, "Padampa Sangye."

495 Rob Linrothe appears to take that stand when he interprets the Alchi Sumtsek siddha as such (Linrothe, *Holy Madness*, text and comparative illustration for Cat. no. 79).

496 Apparently the references in Chag lo Chos rje dpal's (1197–1264) *sNgags log sun 'byin kyi skor* are not unambiguous in this regard (see Davidson, "gSar ma Apocrypha," 215, n. 36).

497 See Martin, "Painters, Patrons and Paintings of Patrons," 173.

498 See Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 554.

499 On his life cf. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 552–63, where he is also called an incarnation of king Indrabhūti.

500 He first met Phag mo gru pa at his grass-hut monastery gDan sa mthil in 1165 (Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 561).

501 Kreijger, *Tibetan Painting*, 66, compares this pair with a painting of two teachers in the center published in Kossak and Singer, *Sacred Visions*, no. 26. On that painting attributed by Singer to ca. 1300 the images are not inscribed but identified due to their physical features.

502 His position, his proportional relationship to the main figures flanking him, and his iconogra-

phy have striking similarities with the Vajrasattva beginning the Alchi Sumtsek lineage (see Table 1 on p. 175).

[503] Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 474–75; Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, p. 40–41.

[504] On the life of this eminent teacher who later became recognized as the first Karmapa cf. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 474–80, Karma Thinley, *The History of the Sixteen Karmapas of Tibet* (Boulder: Prajñā Press, 1980), p. 41–45, and Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, p. 40–41. Another possible identification of this *bla ma* is the Third Karmapa, who has the same ordination name. However, the circumstantial evidence collected so far appears to rule out this identification.

[505] Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 474.

[506] TBRC P3975.

[507] Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 474–75.

[508] Cf. also J. M. Stewart, *The Life of Gampopa*, 1st ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 1995) , 92–93.

[509] Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 488, 538.

[510] Cf. Stewart, *The Life of Gampopa*, 93.

[511] The degree of coincidence with the earliest historical account as summarized in Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, p. 40, that also mentions the deep blue color of the hat, is further support for identifying this figure with the First Karmapa. The more extensive later historical accounts do ascribe the black hat to the Third Karmapa.

[512] Kreijger, *Tibetan Painting*, 66, identifies the left teacher as Dus gsum mkhyen pa and the right one as the Third Karmapa Rang chung rdo rje (1284–1339) without giving a conclusive reason except that the latter "is the first Karmapa to be depicted with the black hat."

[513] TBRC P3143. On his life cf. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 374–79, which does not contain a date for this prolific translator.

[514] TBRC P4278. On his life cf. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 436–40.

[515] TBRC P2221.

[516] It is likely that the inscription on the back again records an ordination name. One eminent candidate for being depicted here would be 'Jig rten mgon po (1143–1217; abbot of Drigung monastery from its foundation in 1179 to 1217) for whom I could not yet identify an ordination name e.g. in Gyaltsen, *The Great Kagyu* Masters; Roerich, *The Blue Annals* and TBRC P16. However, Rin chen dpal, being his personal name, could well be understood as such in terms of its usage.

[517] http://www.asiaclassics.org/

[518] The translation is based on translations of the Sanskrit versions of the text in C. S. Prebish, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline: The Sanskrit Prātimokṣa Sūtras of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975), 110–13 and K. T. Schmidt, *Der Schlußteil des Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins. Text in Sanskrit und Tocharisch A verglichen mit Parallelversionen anderer Schulen*, Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden XIII (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 77–79, which has been adapted to the Tibetan rendering. The latter contains an edition of the last verses of the *sūtra* correcting the Gilgit manuscript edition (92–93). Naturally, this version is closest to the Tibetan text.

[519] Luczanits, "The Eight Great Siddhas."

[520] As mentioned earlier, Phag mo gru pa is considered a reincarnation of Indrabhūti (Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 552–53).

[521] 'Jig rten mgon po (1143–1217; abbot of Drigung monastery from its foundation in 1179 to 1217) is considered a reincarnation of Nāgārjuna (Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 552).

[522] On the early depictions of Saraha and the apparent cross-identification with Śavaripa see Luczanits, "The Eight Great Siddhas," p. 79.

[523] With the exception of Ghaṇṭapa, Kreijger, *Tibetan Painting*, 66, correctly identifies the siddhas from their inscriptions on the backside. It is quite possible that the captions for Padmavajra and Lūyipa actually were exchanged, since their respective iconographies would fit much better in this case. However, the iconography of the early representations of the eight siddhas is so inconsistent, that the postulation of such an error cannot be substantiated sufficiently.

[524] The translation for this verse mainly follows Martin, "Painters, Patrons and Paintings of Patrons."

[525] *adhicitta!*

[526] For *skyob pa*.

[527] Kreijger, *Tibetan Painting*, 66, interprets the name as 'probably a cognomen of Padmasambhava'.

[528] TBRC P0RK1517.

[529] For the Alchi Sumtsek depiction see, for example, R. N. Linrothe, "Group Portrait," in *Embodying Wisdom. Art, Text and Interpretation in the History of Esoteric Buddhism*, ed. R. Linrothe, and H. H. Sørensen, SBS Monographs (Copenhagen: The Seminar for Buddhist Studies, 2001 or Goepper, and Poncar, *Alchi*: 102–109, the black siddha on page 109.

[530] Certainly the eighty-four great adepts depicted at Alchi Shangrong have a dark-skinned adept in the last row. Sadly his caption is too mutilated to be sure about his identity, but reading "Phadampa" is possible.

[531] D. P. Jackson, "A Painting of Sa-Skya-Pa Masters", and D. P. Jackson, "The identification of individual teachers in paintings of Sa-skya-pa lineages," in *Indo-Tibetan Studies. Papers in honour and appreciation of Prof. David L. Snellgrove´s contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies*, ed. T. Skorupski, Buddhica Britannica, Series Continua II (Tring, UK: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1990.

[532] Published by Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, no. 186, pl. 220, p. 603, and again in M. M. Rhie, and R. A. F. Thurman, *Wisdom and Compassion* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), no. 69, p. 216–19 (the measurements are cited from this publication), where it is attributed on stylistic grounds to the late 14th or early 15th century.

[533] Said to be from Sa skya, gTsang G. Tucci, *Transhimalaya*, Ancient Civilizations (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1973), 234, where the painting was published with the two bottom rows cut off (ibid. fig. 207). The acquisition number of this painting is MNAO no. 960.

[534] Kossak, and Singer, *Sacred Visions*, no. 43, p. 156f., where it is described by J. C. Singer and attributed to ca. 1400 following the date suggested for Thangka 1 (see note 107).

[535] On the practitioner (who can also be the donor) in the bottom section of a thangka painting see Martin, "Painters, Patrons and Paintings of Patrons."

[536] I only consulted literature of the Sa skya pa school.

[537] See mandalas nos. 62–74 of the Ngor collection in bSod nams rgya mtsho, *Tibetan Mandalas*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kodhansa International, 1983), or the drawings in Raghu Vira, and L. Chandra, *Tibetan Maṇḍalas*, Śatapiṭaka Series No. 383 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1995), p. 62–75.

[538] Full title: *rGyud sde rin po che kun las btus pa*.

[539] rGyud sde kun btus pa'i thob yig, "rGyud sde rin po che kun las btus pa'i thob yig de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi gsang ba ma lus pa gcig tu 'dus pa rdo rje rin po che'i za ma tog," in *rGyud sde rin po che kun las btus pa bzhugs so*, ed. 'Jam dbyangs Blo gter dbang po (Delhi: N. Lungtok & N. Gyaltsen, 1971, p. 107.1–139.4. The lineages have been compared with those in the N. c. Kun dga' bzang po, "Thob yig rgya mtsho,", Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1968), p. 50.2.3ff., of Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456).

[540] See, for example, rGyud-sde-kun-btus, "rGyud sde kun btus," in 'Jam dbyangs Blo-gter-dbang-po (Delhi: N. Lungtok & N. Gyaltsen, 1971), vol. 12, text LXV, 2.

[541] The *sa lugs* lineages of the inner and outer traditions are identical. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 603, identified the painting as representing Lūyipa's tradition, but there is no Lūyipa tradition lineage with Dril bu pa as its first siddha, and in the Lūyipa tradition mandala the secondary deities are four-armed.

[542] TBRC P3814.

[543] This lineage is actually identical with that of the *sa lugs* Lūyipa tradition, and the two can thus only be differentiated by the iconography of the mandala deities.

[544] Elderly, light-skinned siddha aiming an arrow.

[545] The siddhas within the square bracket cannot be considered as identified, as their iconography does not conform to their representation in the other two thangkas.

[546] Here a dark-skinned siddha seated on a tiger skin and drinking from a skull-cup.

[547] Depicted seated on a tiger and drinking from a *kapāla* as Ḍombīheruka usually is.

[548] Dancing, light-skinned siddha carrying a dog on his shoulder and holding bow and arrow.

[549] Here light-skinned.

[550] The siddha in royal robes seated on a throne.

[551] Wearing the robes of a king.

[552] He is not listed in the consulted lineage, but follows Ghaṇṭapāda (Dril bu pa) in the regular *sa*

lugs lineage, while in others he is immediately succeeded by Śrī Jālandhara ('Bar ba 'dzin).

[553] He is light-skinned and drinks from a horn.

[554] = Bhadrapa.

[555] The remaining images in the following four rows are *bla-ma*, usually with *vajra* and bell in their hands or on lotuses at their sides. The identity of some of the figures following the last siddha (Nāropa) is still unclear as no perfect match for the depicted lineage has yet been found in the literature.

[556] Long-haired, wearing secular dress.

[557] I thank David Jackson for trying to identify these figures for me.

[558] The identity of the following six figures cannot be verified, but it is quite certain that here it is not the lineage transmitted via Ngor chen Kun bzang that is depicted.

[559] Cf. also the discussion of the siddha depictions on Mañjusrī's *dhotī* in the Alchi Sumtsek by Linrothe, "Group Portrait."

[560] The other tradition he received from this teacher is the one represented in Thangka 1.

[561] Thus the attribution of the paintings to ca. 1400 in Kossak and Singer, *Sacred Visions*, no. 43, and in Rhie and Thurman, *Wisdom and Compassion*, 216–19, no. 96, appears a little too early.

[562] Due to the small number of scholars in the field, it is not surprising that even when the material for a detailed study is already available such analysis has not yet been carried out. For example, Jane Casey Singer has not been able to study the early central Tibetan paintings in sufficient detail to establish a basis for early Tibetan painting, and Roger Goepper has not provided a detailed stylistic analysis of the early monuments at Alchi.

[563] I am aware that in some cases the publisher or the design of a publication may not allow the author to provide this information to the specialists in an appendix. However, present-day media offer other low-cost forms of making this information available to those interested.

[564] At Vienna University I have substantially contributed to build an archive concentrating on early Western Himalayan art which, thanks to the generosity of Jaroslav Poncar and Roger Goepper, also contains the Alchi documentation. Sadly the documentation now held in the Western Himalayan Archives Vienna (WHAV) is not as accessible as I have intended but visitors to Vienna can use it. Similarly focused, publicly accessible photographic archives on other regions or subjects, e.g., early thangkas, or Central Tibetan temples, would greatly facilitate the establishment of a proper art-historical basis for early Tibetan art. Another method of publishing the pictorial material in such a way that all the information is available has been successfully demonstrated by the website of the Rubin Museum's collection (http://www.himalayanart.org/). On this website thangkas from private collections are made available in an exceptionally comprehensive way by allowing one to zoom in on details such that even the captions are legible. In the same way the reverse of each thangka can be viewed. The site even offers other private collectors the possibility of having their paintings included. However, currently it is difficult, if not impossible, to find a secondary deity in this huge collection without going through hundreds of them. Similarly, there are no stylistic comparisons to be found there. This is partially compensated by the accompanying book publication M. M. Rhie, and R. A. F. Thurman, *Worlds of Transformation* (New York: Tibet House New York in association with The Shelly & Donald Rubin Foundation and Harry N. Abrams, 1999).

[565] As Kreijger evidently corrected the spellings of the names as far as he has read them I do not refer to minor deviations regarding his readings. If both are present, it is also unclear if his readings reflect the captions on the front side, the mantras on the back, or both.

[566] The *rdo* is nearly vanished while the supposed *rje* is not recognizable, but the name on the back confirms this reading.

[567] Kreijger, *Tibetan Painting*: n. 42, reads "Yam-lag-spyod-pa'i rdoe", both deviations being evident reading mistakes.

[568] The lower line barely legible.

[569] Kreijger, *Kathmandu Valley Painting*, 66, did not realize that the name continues in the next line.

[570] Again, Kreijger, *Kathmandu Valley Painting*, n. 41, did not realize that the name continues in the following line and only reads *dam pa*.

[571] Again, Kreijger, *Kathmandu Valley Painting*, n. 41, did not realize that the name continues in the following line.

[572] Erroneously identified as Vajrapada in Kreijger, *Kathmandu Valley Painting*, 66.

[573] Kreijger, *Kathmandu Valley Painting*, n. 44, gives *rta* as an alternative, a possibility I noted too. A comparison of this compound to the *dha* in the mantras, however, proves that *dha* is the more likely reading.

[574] Apparently short for *oṃ vajra-mahākāla guṇa-hrida hūṃ phaṭ* (M. Willson, and M. Brauen, eds. *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism* (Boston: Wisdom Publication, 2000), p. 345).

Bibliography

Allinger, Eva. 2001. "Nyö Master." In Hugo. E. Kreijger ed., *In Tibetan Painting: The Jucker Collection*, pp. 72–73. London: Serindia Publications.

———. 2002. "A Gnyos Lineage Thangka." In Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, and Eva Allinger, eds., In *Buddhist Art and Tibetan Patronage Ninth to Fourteenth Centuries*, pp. 59–68. Leiden: Brill.

Bautze-Picron, Claudine. 1995. "Between Men and Gods: Small Motifs in the Buddhist Art of Eastern India, an Interpretation." In K. R. van Kooij and H. van der Veere eds., *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 59-79. Groningen: Egbert Forsten.

———. 1995/96. "Śākyamuni in Eastern India and Tibet from the 11th to the 13th centuries." *Silk Road Art and Archeology*, vol. 4, pp. 355-408.

———. 1998. "The Elaboration of a Style: Eastern Indian Motifs and Forms in Early Tibetan (?) And Burmese Painting." In Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, and Eva Allinger eds., *The Inner Asian International Style 12th-14th Centuries,* Papers presented at a panel of the 7th seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995, pp. 15-66. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Béguin, Gilles, ed. 1977. *Dieux et démons d'Himālaya: Art du Bouddhisme lamaique*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

———. 1990. *Art ésotérique de l'Himālaya: La donation Lionel Fournier.* Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux.

———. 1995. *Les peintures du Bouddhisme tibétain.* Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux.

Béguin, Gilles, and Lionel Fournier. 1986/1987. "Un sanctuaire méconnu de la Région d'Alchi." *Oriental Art*, New Series, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 373-388.

Brauen, Martin. 2003. "Forgery, Genuine or Painted Over: On the Impossibility of Dating a Thangka Exactly." In I. Kreide-Damani, ed., *Dating Tibetan Art: Essays on the Possibilities and Impossibilities of Chronology from the Lempertz Symposium, Cologne*. Contributions to Tibetan Studies 3, pp. 73-89. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Bruce-Gardner, Robert. 1998. "Realizations: Reflections on Technique in Early Central Tibetan Painting." In S. Kossak and J. Casey Singer eds., *Sacred Visions: Early Paintings from Central Tibet*, pp. 193-205. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

bSod nams rgya mtsho. 1983. "Tibetan Mandalas." In Musashi Tachikawa, and Malcolm P. L. Green, eds., *The Ngor Collections,* 2 vols., Tokyo: Kodhansa International.

bSod nams rgya mtsho and Musashi Tachikawa. 1989. *The Ngor Mandalas of Tibet: Plates*. Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 2. Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies.

Bühnemann, Gudrun. 1992. "Some Remarks on the Date of Abhayākaragupta and the Chronology of His Work." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* vol. 142, no. 1, pp. 120–27.

Bühnemann, Gudrun, and Musashi Tachikawa. 1991. *Niṣpannayogāvalī: Two Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal.* Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 5. Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies.

Copeland, Carolyn. 1980. *Tankas from the Koelz Collection.* Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, vol. 18. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan.

Dagyab, Loden Sherap. 1977. *Tibetan Religious Art. Part I: Texts.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Dalai bla ma V, Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho. 1971. *Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang ga'i chu rgyun*. 4 vols. Delhi: N. Sonam Kazi.

Davidson, Ronald M. 2002. "gSar ma Apocrypha: The Creation of Orthodoxy, Gray Texts, and the New Revelation." In Helmut Eimer, and David Germano, eds. 2002, *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism*, pp. 203–24. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2005. *Tibetan Renaissance. Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Decleer, Hubert. 1996. "Some Recent Albums and Studies on Indian, Indo-Tibetan and Tibetan Buddhist Art." *The Tibetan Journal*, vol. 3–1, pp. 73-119.

Dinwiddie, Donald, ed. 2003. *Portraits of the Masters: Bronze Sculptures of the Tibetan Buddhist Lineages*. Chicago and London: Serindia Publications and Oliver Hoare.

Doboom Tulku, and Glenn H. Mullin. 1995. *Mitleid und Wiedergeburt in der tibetischen Kunst: Thangkas aus dem Tibet House Museum in New Delhi*. St. Gallen, Stiftung: St. Galler Museen.

Dorje, Gyurme. 1996. *Tibet Handbook with Bhutan*. Bath: Footprint Handbooks.

Dorji, Rezin, Ou Cháoguì, and Yishi Wangchu. 1985. *Bod-kyi-thang-ga / Xizang Tangjia*. Beijing: Wenwu chubansha.

dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba. 1985. *Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston* [History of Buddhism and the Karma Kagyü School], 2 vols. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las. 2002. *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo.* Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang.

Edou, Jérôme. 1996. *Machig Labdrön and the foundations of Chöd*. Ithaca, New York: Snow Lions Publications.

Eimer, Helmut, ed. 1979. *rNam that rgyas pa: Materialien zu einer Biographie des Atiśa (Dipamkaraśrījñāna)*. Asiatishe Forschungen, no. 67. Wiebaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

———. 1989. "Nag tsho Tshul khrims rgyal ba'i *bsTod pa brgyad cu pa* in Its Extant Version." *Bulletin of Tibetology* (Gangtok, Sikkim), new series no. 1, pp. 21-38.

Ernst, Richard. 2001. "Arts and Sciences. A Personal Perspective if Tibetan Painting." *Chimia*, vol. 55, no. 11, pp. 900-914.

———. 2004. "Science and Arts." *EPR Newsletter*, vol. 14, no. 1-2, pp. 15-18.

Essen, Gerd-Wolfgang, and Tsering Tashi Thingo. 1989. *Die Götter des Himalaya: Buddhistische Kunst Tibets. Die Sammlung Gerd-Wolfgang Essen.* 2 vols. Munich: Prestel-Verlag.

Fifth Dalai Lama. *Record of Teaching Received.* See Dalai bla ma V, Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho.

Filibeck, Elena de Rossi. 1994. "A Manuscript on the Stag lung pa Genealogy." In Per Kvaerne ed., *Tibetan Studies*, vol. 1, pp. 237-240.

bSod nams lhun grub, Glo bo mkhan chen. 1456-1532. "Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i bla ma brgyud pa dang bcas pa rnams kyi bris yig." *Tibetan manuscript,* no. 44, vol. 1 *(ka)*, ff. 139a-140a. Tokyo: Toyo Bunko.

Gö Lotsawa, *Blue Annals*. See G. N. Roerich trans. 1949-1953.

Gö Lotsawa, *Blue Annals* (Tib. 1984). I cite the Chengdu (Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984) edition in 2 vols. The classic xylograph edition that it was based on and which was translated by G. N. Roerich is: 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal. *Deb ther sngon po. The Blue Annals*. Śata-pitaka Series, vol. 212. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974.

Goepper, Roger. 1990. "Clues for a Dating of the Three-Storeyed Temple (Sumtsek) in Alchi, Ladakh." *Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Asienkunde / Études Asiatiques: Revue de la Société Suisse d'Études Asiatiques,* vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 159–75.

———. 1993. "The 'Great Stūpa' at Alchi." *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 53, nos. 1 & 2, pp. 111-43.

———. 2003. "More Evidence for Dating the Sumtsek in Alchi and Its Relations with Kashmir." In I. Kreide-Damani, ed., *Dating Tibetan Art: Essays on the Possibilities and Impossibilities of Chronology from the Lempertz Symposium, Cologne*, pp. 15-24. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Goepper, Roger, and Jaroslav Poncar. 1996. *Alchi: Ladakh's Hidden Buddhist Sanctuary: The Sumtsek*. London: Serindia.

Gongkar Dorjedenpa. 2005. *Record of Teachings Received.* In Gong dkar rDo rje gdan pa Kun dga' rnam rgyal, *rDzong pa kun dga' rnam rgyal gyi gsan yig*. Kathmandu: rGyal yongs sa chen dpe skrun khang.

Gyaltsen, Khenpo Könchog. 1990. *The Great Kagyu Masters: The Golden Lineage Treasury*. Victoria Huckenpahler, ed. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publication.

HAR: Himalayan Art Resources, accessed February-May, 2009, http://www.himalayanart.org/.

Heller, Amy. 1997. "A Set of Thirteenth Century *Tsakali*." *Orientations*, vol. 28 (10), pp. 48-52.

———. 1999. *Tibetan Art: Tracing the Development of Spiritual Ideals and Art in Tibet 600-2000*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collector's Club.

———. 2003. "The Tibetan Inscriptions: Dedications, History, and Prayers." In Pratapaditya Pal ed., *Himalayas: An Aesthetic Adventure*, pp. 286-97. Chicago and Berkeley: Art Institute of Chicago and University of California Press.

———. 2005. "A Thang ka Portrait of 'Bri gung rin chen dpal, 'Jig rten gsum mgon (1143-1217)." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 1 (October), pp.1-10. Accessed February 11, 2010. http://www.thlib.org?tid=T1222.

Huntington, John C. 1968. "The Styles and Stylistic Sources of Tibetan Painting." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Los Angeles.

Huntington, John C., and Dina Bangdel. 2003. *The Circle of Bliss: Buddhist Meditational Art*. Columbus: Columbus Museum of Art and Chicago: Serindia Publications.

Huntington, Susan L. 2001. *The Art of Ancient India*. Boston: Weatherhill.

Huntington, Susan L., and John C. Huntington. 1990. *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pāla India (8th–12th centuries) and its International Legacy*. Seattle and London: Dayton Art Institute in association with the University of Washington Press.

Ishihama, Yumiko. 2005. "Study on the Qianlong as Cakravartin, a Manifestation of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī Tangkha." *Waseda Daigaku Mongol Kenkyusyo*, vol. 2, pp.19-39.

Jackson, David. 1984. *Tibetan Thangka Painting: Methods and Materials*. London: Serindia Publications. Revised in collaboration with J. Jackson, London: Serindia Publications, 1988.

———. 1986. "A Painting of Sa-skya-pa Masters from an Old Ngor-pa Series of *Lam 'bras* Thangkas." *Berliner Indologische Studien,* vol. 2, pp. 181-191.

———. 1990a. „The Identification of Individual Masters in Paintings of Sa-skya-pa Lineages." In T. Skorupski, ed., *Indo-Tibetan Studies,* Buddhica Britannica, Series Continua, vol. 2, pp. 129-144. Tring, UK: Institute of Buddhist Studies.

———. 1990b. *Two Biographies of Śakyaśrībhadra: The Eulogy by Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba and its "Commentary" by bSod nams-dpal-bzang-po. Texts and Variants from Two Rare Exemplars Preserved in the Bihar Research Society, Patna.* Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

———. 1993. "Apropos a Recent Tibetan Art Catalogue," review of *Wisdom and Compassion*, by M. M. Rhie and R. A. F. Thurman. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, vol. 37, pp. 109-130.

———. 1994. *Enlightenment by a Single Means: Tibetan controversies on the 'self-sufficient white remedy' (dkar po chig thub)*. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, vol. 12. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 1996. *A History of Tibetan Painting: The Great Painters and Their Traditions*. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, No. 15. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 1998. "Traditions artistiques des premiers Sa-skya-pa: sources écrits et peintures encore existantes," *Annuaire EPHE, Section sciences religieuses*, vol. 106 (1997-1998), pp. 101-107.

———. 1999a. "Some Karma Kargyupa Paintings in the Rubin Collections." In Marylin M. Rhie and Robert A. F. Thurman, *Worlds of Transformation: Tibetan Art of Wisdom and Compassion*, pp. 75-127. New York: Tibet House New York.

———. 1999b. "The Last 'Paṇḍita' of Ṅor: A Biographical Sketch of Ṅag-dbaṅ-bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, the Wanderer from gTsaṅ-roṅ." In Helmut Eimer, Michael Hahn, Maria Schetelich, and Peter Wyzlic eds., *Studia Tibetica et Mongolica (Festschrift Manfred Taube)*, pp. 137–52. Swisttal-Oldendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.

———. 1999c. "Tibetische Thangkas deuten, Teil 1: Die Hierarchie der Anordnung." *Tibet und Buddhismus [Hamburg],* no. 50-3, pp. 22-27. "Tibetische Thangkas deuten, Teil 2: Übertragungslinien und Anordnung." *Tibet und Buddhismus*, no. 50-4, pp. 16-21.

———. 2002. "Lama Yeshe Jamyang of Nyurla, Ladakh: The Last Painter of the 'Bri gung Tradition." *The Tibet Journal*, vol. 27, no. 1 & 2, pp. 153-176.

———. 2003. "The Dating of Tibetan Paintings is Perfectly Possible–Though Not Always Perfectly Exact." In I. Kreide-Damani, ed. 2003, *Dating Tibetan Art: Essays on the Possibilities and Impossibilities of Chronology from the Lempertz Symposium, Cologne*, pp. 91-112. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

———. 2008. "Portrayals of Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyal (Zhabs drung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal) in Bhutanese Painting: Iconography and Common Groupings of the Great Unifier of Bhutan." In T. Tse Bartholomew and John Johnson, eds., *The Dragon's Gift: The Sacred Arts of Bhutan*. pp. 78-87. Chicago: Serindia Publications.

———. 2009. *Patron and Painter: Situ Panchen and the Revival of the Encampment Style*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art.

———. 2010. *The Nepalese Legacy in Tibetan Painting*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art.

'Jigs med chos kyi rdo rje. 2001. *Bod brgyud nang bstan lha tshogs chen mo.* Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang. China: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Kaḥ thog Si tu Chos kyi rgya mtsho. 1972. *Gangs ljongs dbus gtsang gnas bskor lam yig nor bu zla shel gyi se mo do* [*Record of a Pilgrimage to Central Tibet*]. Palampur, H.P.: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang, Tibetan Craft Community.

Kaimal, Padma. 1999. "The Problem of Portraiture in South India, 870-970 CE," *Artibus Asiae,* vol. 59, no. 1 & 2, pp. 59-133.

———. 2000. "The Problem of Portraiture in South India, Circa 970-1000 A.D." *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 60, no. 1, pp. 139-179.

Kalista, Kathleen. 2009. *Masterpieces of Himalayan Art from a European Private Collection*. New York: Carlton Rochell Asian Art, Rossi & Rossi Ltd.

Kapstein, Matthew T. 2000. *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism. Conversion, Contestation, and Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Karma Thinley. 1980. *The History of the Sixteen Karmapas of Tibet*. Boulder: Prajñā Press.

Karmay, Heather. 1975. *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*. Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips.

Khetsun Sangpo, ed. 1973–79. *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*. 12 vols. Dharamsala, H.P.: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

Klimburg-Salter, Deborah. 1982. *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path: Esoteric Buddhist Art on the Trans-Himalayan Trade Routes*. Los Angeles: The UCLA Art Council.

———. 1997a. "A Thangka Painting Tradition from the Spiti Valley." *Orientations*, vol. 28, no. 10, pp. 258-265.

———. 1997b. *Tabo – a Lamp for the Kingdom. Early Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Art in the Western Himalaya*. Milan - New York: Skira - Thames and Hudson.

———. 1998. "Is There an Inner Asian International Style 12th to 14th Centuries? Definition of the Problem and Present State of Research." In D. Klimburg-Salter and E. Allinger eds., *The Inner Asian International Style 12th-14th Centuries*, pp. 1-13. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2004. "Lama, Yidam, Protectors." *Orientations*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 48-53.

Klimburg-Salter, Deborah, and Eva Allinger, eds. 1998. *The Inner Asian International Style 12th-14th Centuries.* Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Kossak, Steven M. 1990. "Lineage Paintings and Nascent Monasticism in Medieval Tibet." *Archives of Asian Art,* vol. 43, pp. 49-57.

———. 1999/2000. "Early Central Tibetan Hierarch Portraits: New Perspectives on Identification and Dating." *Oriental Art*, vol. 45 (4), pp. 2-8. Revised and republished as "Lineage Painting and Portraiture in Tibet," *Painted images of Enlightenment: Early Tibetan Thankas, 1050-1450*, (Mumbai: Marg Publications), chapter 2, pp. 64-89.

———. 2010. *Painted Images of Enlightenment: Early Tibetan Thankas, 1050-1450*. Mumbai: Marg Publications.

Kossak, Steven M., and Jane Casey Singer. 1998. *Sacred Visions, Early Paintings from Central Tibet*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Kramer, Jowita. 2008. *A Noble Monk from Mustang: Life and Works of Glo-bo mKhan-chen (1456-1532)*. Wien: Universität Wien, Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien.

Krang Dbyi-sun, et al., eds. 1985. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. 3 vols. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.

Kreijger, Hugo. 1999. *Kathmandu Valley Painting: The Jucker Collection.* London: Serindia Publications.

———. 2001. *Tibetan Painting: The Jucker Collection.* London: Serindia Publications.

Kuijp, Leonard van der. 2007. "The Names of 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1392-1481)." In R. Prats ed. 2007, *The Pandita and the Siddha: Tibetan Studies in Honour of E. Gene Smith,* pp. 279-285.

Kun dga' bzang po, Ngor chen. 1968. *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnams las dam pa'i chos ji ltar nod pa'i tshul gsal bar bshad pa thob yig [Thob yig rgya mtsho]*. Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum, vol. 9, pp. 44.4.1-108.2.6 (ka 90a-217a). Tokyo: Tôyô Bunko.

Lauf, Detlef-Ingo. 1976. *Verborgene Botschaft tibetischer Thangkas: Bildmeditation und Deutung lamaistischer Kultbilder* [Secret Revelation of Tibetan Thangkas: Picture Meditation and Interpretation of Lamaist Cult Paintings]. Freiburg im Breisgau: Aurum Verlag.

Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan. 1972. *bKa' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa Bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me, B.* 2 vols. New Delhi: Jamyang Norbu.

Leidy, Denise Patry, and Robert Thurman. 1997. *Mandala, the Architecture of Enlightenment*. New York: Asia Society Galleries.

Linrothe, Robert N. 2001. "Group Portrait: Mahāsiddhas in the Alchi Sumtsek." In Robert N. Linrothe, and Henrik H. Sørensen eds., *Embodying Wisdom: Art, Text and Interpretation in the History of Esoteric Buddhism*, pp.185-208. Copenhagen: The Seminar for Buddhist Studies.

———. 2004. *Paradise and Plumage: Chinese Connections in Tibetan Arhat Painting*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art.

———, ed. 2006. *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art.

Linrothe, Robert, et al. 2004. "Turning a Blind Eye." *Orientations,* vol. 35, no. 5, pp. 73-74.

Lo Bue, Erberto, and F. Ricca. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*. Firenze: Casa Edotrice Le Lettere.

Losty, J. 1989. "Bengal, Bihar, Nepal? Problems of Provenance in 12th-century illuminated Buddhist Manuscripts, Part One." *Oriental Art*, N.S., vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 86-96.

Lowo Khenchen. See Glo bo mkhan chen bSod nams lhun grub.

Luczanits, Christian. 1998. "On an unusual painting style in Ladakh." In Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter, and Eva Allinger eds., *The Inner Asian International Style 12th-14th Centuries,* Papers presented at a panel of the 7th seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995, pp. 151–69. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2001. "Methodological Comments Regarding Recent Research on Tibetan Art." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, vol. 45, pp. 123-45.

———. 2003. "Art-Historical Aspects of Dating Tibetan Art." In I. Kreide-Damani ed., *Dating Tibetan Art: Essays on the Possibilities and Impossibilities of Chronology from the Lempertz Symposium, Cologne*, pp. 25-57. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

———. 2004. *Buddhist Sculpture in Clay: Early Western Himalayan Art, late 10th to early 13th centuries*. Chicago: Serindia.

———. 2006a. "A First Glance at Early Drigungpa Painting." In Xie Jisheng, Shen Weirong, and Liao Yang eds., *Studies in Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Art - Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Tibetan Archaeology & Art, Beijing, September 3–6, 2004*, pp. 459-488. Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House.

———. 2006b. "Alchi and the Drigungpa School of Tibetan Buddhism: the Teacher Depiction in the Small Chörten at Alchi." In Jeong-hee Lee-Kalisch, Antje Papist-Matsuo, and Willibald Veit eds., *Mei shou wan nian - Long Life Without End: Festschrift in Honor of Roger Goepper*, pp. 181–96. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

———. 2006c. "The Eight Great Siddhas in Early Tibetan Painting from c. 1200 to c. 1350." In Robert N. Linrothe ed., *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*, pp. 76–91. New York: Rubin Museum of Art.

Martin, Dan. 1992. "A Twelfth-century Tibetan Classic of Mahāmudrā, The Path of Ultimate Profundity: The Great Seal Instructions of Zhang." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies,* vol.15, no. 2, pp. 243–319.

———. 1996. "Lay Religious Movements in 11th- and 12th-Century Tibet: A Survey of Sources." *Kailash,* vol. 18, no. 3 & 4, pp. 23-55.

———. 2001. "Painters, Patrons and Paintings of Patrons in Early Tibetan Art." In Rob Linrothe, and Henrik H. Sørensen eds., *Embodying Wisdom. Art, Text and Interpretation in the History of Esoteric Buddhism*, pp. 139-184. Copenhagen: The Seminar for Buddhist Studies.

———. 2006. "Padampa Sanggye: A History of Representation of a South Indian Siddha in Tibet." In Robert N. Linrothe ed., *Holy*

Madness. Portraits of Tantric Siddhas, pp. 108–123. New York: Rubin Museum of Art.

Mathes, Klaus-Dieter. 2008. *A Direct Path to the Buddha Within: Gö Lotsāwa's Mahāmudrā Interpretation of the Ratnagotravibhāga*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.

Mignucci, Aldo. 2001. "Three Thirteenth Century *Thangkas*: A Rediscovered Tradition from Yazang Monastery?" *Orientations,* vol. 32, no. 10, pp. 24-32.

Ngorchen. 1968. *Record of Teaching Received*. See Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po. *Thob yig rgya mtsho*. Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum, vol. 9, pp. 44.4.1-108.2.6 (ka 90a-217a). Tokyo: Tôyô Bunko.

Pal, Pratapaditya. 1982. *A Buddhist Paradise: The Murals of Alchi Western Himalayas*. Hong Kong: Ravi Kumar for Visual Dharma Publications.

———. 1983. *Art of Tibet: A Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection.* Los Angeles: University of California Press. Enlarged second edition, Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1990.

———. 1984. *Tibetan Paintings: A Study of Tibetan Paintings, Eleventh to Nineteenth Centuries.* Basel: Ravi Kumar/Sotheby Publications.

———. 1991. *Art of the Himalayas: Treasures from Nepal and Tibet*. New York: Hudson Hills Press.

———. 1997. *Tibet: Tradition and Change*. Albuquerque, New Mexico: The Albuquerque Museum.

Pal, Pratapaditya, and Hsien-ch'i Tseng. 1969. *Lamaist Art: The Aesthetics of Harmony*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.

Pal, Pratapaditya, et al. 2003. *Himalayas: An Aesthetic Adventure*. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago.

Pawo Tsuklag Trengwa. See dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba.

Prats, Ramon N., et al. 2000. *Monasterios y lamas del Tibet*. Barcelona, Spain: La Caixa.

Prats, Ramon N., ed. 2007. *The Paṇḍita and the Siddha: Tibetan Studies in Honor of E. Gene Smith.* Dharamshala: Amnye Machen Institute.

Prebish, Charles S. 1975. *Buddhist Monastic Discipline: The Sanskrit Prātimokṣa Sūtras of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins*. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Raghu Vira, and Lokesh Chandra. 1995. *Tibetan Maṇḍalas: Vajrāvalī and Tantra Samuccaya. Śatapiṭaka Series No. 383*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.

Reynolds, Valrae, Amy Heller, and Janet Gyatso. 1986. *The Newark Museum Tibetan Collection, Vol. III: Sculpture and Painting*. Newark: The Newark Museum.

rGya ston Byang chub dbang rgyal. 2001. *Chos kyi rje thams cad mkhyen pa rdo rje gdan pa chen po kun dga' rnam rgyal dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rin po che'i gter mdzod*. Lhasa: Shang kang then ma dpe skrun khang.

rGyud sde kun btus pa'i thob yig. 1971. *rGyud sde rin po che kun las btus pa'i thob yig de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi gsang ba ma lus pa gcig tu 'dus pa rdo rje rin po che'i za ma tog*. In 'Jam dbyangs Blo gter dbang po ed., *rGyud sde rin po che kun las btus pa bzhugs so*, pp. 1-237. Delhi: N. Lungtok & N. Gyaltsen.

Rhie, Marylin M., and Robert A. F. Thurman. 1991. *Wisdom and Compassion: The Sacred Art of Tibet*. New York: Henry N. Abrams.

———. 1996. *Weisheit und Liebe: 1000 Jahre Kunst des tibetischen Buddhismus*. Bonn: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.

———. 1999. *Worlds of Transformation. Tibetan Art of Wisdom and Compassion*. New York: Tibet House New York in association with The Shelly and Donald Rubin Foundation and Harry N. Abrams.

Richardson, Hugh. 1998. *High Peaks, Pure Earth: Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture*. London: Serindia Publications.

Roerich, George N., trans. 1949-53. *The Blue Annals* [Deb-ther sngon-po]. 2 vols. Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Reprint, New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988, 1 vol.

Roloff, Carola. 2009. *Red mda' ba, Buddhist Yogi-Scholar of the Fourteenth Century: The Forgotten Reviver of Madhyamaka Philosophy in Tibet*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Rosenfield, J., et al. 1966. *The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.

Rossi, Anna Maria, and Fabio Rossi. 1994. *Selection 1994*. London: Rossi publications.

Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal. 1994. *Lho rong chos 'byung*. Gangs can rig mdzod no. 26. Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang.

Sakaki, Ryozaburo, ed. 1916 and 1925. *Mahāvyutpatti*. Kyoto: Shingonshu Kyoto Daigaku. Reprint, Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1962, 2 vols.

Schaeffer, Kurtis R. 2000. "The religious career of Vairocanavajra – A twelfth-century Indian Buddhist master from Dakṣiṇa Kośala." *Journal of Indian Philosophy,* vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 361-384.

Schick, Jürgen. 1998. *The Gods are Leaving the Country: Art Theft from Nepal*. Bangkok: Orchid Press.

Schiefner, Anton. 1869. *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien [1608 AD], Übersetzt aus dem Tibetischen*. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Schmidt, Klaus T. 1989. *Der Schlußteil des Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins: Text in Sanskrit und Tocharisch A verglichen mit Parallelversionen anderer Schulen. Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden XIII*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Schroeder, Ulrich von. 2001. *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*. 2 vols. Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publications.

———. 2006. *Empowered Masters: Tibetan Wall Paintings of Mahāsiddhas at Gyantse*. Chicago: Serindia Publications.

Schroeder, Ulrich von, and Heidi von Schroeder. 2009. *Tibetan Art of the Alain Bordier Foundation*. Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publications.

Schwieger, Peter. 1996. "The Lineage of the Nobel House of Ga-Zi in East Tibet." *Kailash*, vol. 18, no. 3-4, pp. 115-132.

Selig Brown, Kathryn. 2002. "Early Tibetan Footprint Thang kas, 12th-14th Century." In E. Lo Bue ed., *The Tibet Journal*. vol. 27, nos. 1-2, pp. 71-112.

———. 2004. *Eternal Presence: Handprints and Footprints in Buddhist Art*. Katonah, NY: Katonah Museum of Art.

Singer, Jane Casey. 1994. "Paintings in Central Tibet, ca. 950-1400." *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 54, no. 1& 2, pp. 87-136.

———. 1995. "Early Portrait Painting in Tibet." In K. R. van Kooij ed., *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, pp. 81-99. Groningen: E. Forsten.

———. 1996. "Early Thangkas: Eleventh-Thirteenth Centuries." In P. Pal ed., *On the Path to Void: Buddhist Art of the Tibetan Realm,* pp. 180-95. Mumbai: Marg Publications.

———. 1997. "Taklung Painting." In Jane Casey Singer, and Philip Denwood eds., *Tibetan Art: Towards a Definition of Style*, pp. 52-67, figs. 36-49. London: Laurence King.

Singer, Jane Casey, et al. 1993. *Tibetan Painted Mandalas*. [No pagination or numbering, unbound leaves.] London: Rossi and Rossi.

Singer, Jane Casey, and Philip Denwood, eds. 1997. *Tibetan Art: Towards a Definition of Style*. London: Laurence King.

Smith, E. Gene. 1970. Introduction to *Kongtrul's Encyclopedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture*. Śata-piṭaka Series, vol. 80. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.

———. 2001. *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, ed. Kurtis R. Schaeffer. Boston: Wisdom Publications.

Snellgrove, David L., ed. 1978. *The Image of the Buddha*. London: Serindia Publications.

———. 1987. *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan successors*. London: Serindia.

Snellgrove, David L., and Tadeusz Skorupski. 1977. *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh: Central Ladakh*, vol. 1. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

Snellgrove, David, and Tadeusz Skorupski. 1980. *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh: Zangskar and the Cave Temples of Ladakh*, vol. 2. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

Sobisch, Jan. 2008. *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams, the Great 17th Century Sa-skya-pa Bibliophile*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

Sofukawa, Hiroshi et al. 2009. *Seichi chibetto: potarakyū to tenkū no shihō. Tibet, Treasures from the Roof of the World*. Tokyo: Daiko Advertising Inc.

Sorensen, Per K., and Guntram Hazod. 2007. *Rulers of the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet: a Study of Tshal Gung-thang*. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.

sTag lung Ngag dbang rnam rgyal. 1992. *Brgyud pa yid bzhin nor bu'i rtogs pa brjod pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho* [*sTag lung chos ,byung*]. Gangs can rig mdzod, vol. 22. Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang.

Stearns, Cyrus. 2001. *Luminous Lives: The Story of the Early Masters of the Lam 'bras Tradition in Tibet*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.

———. 2007. *King of the Empty Plain: The Tibetan Iron-Bridge Builder Tangtong Gyalpo*. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications.

Stein, R. A. 1972. *Tibetan Civilization*. London: Faber and Faber Ltd. Revised English translation of *La civilisation tibétaine*, Paris: Dunod, 1962.

Stewart, Jampa Mackenzie. 1995. *The Life of Gampopa: The Incomparable Dharma Lord of Tibet*. 1st ed. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications.

Stoddard, Heather. 1996. "Early Tibetan Paintings: Sources and Styles (Eleventh-Fourteenth Centuries)." *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. 49 (XLIX), pp. 26-50.

———. 1998. "The 'Indian Style' *rGya lugs* on an Early Tibetan Book Cover." In D. Klimburg-Salter and E. Allinger eds., *The Inner Asian International Style 12th-14th Centuries*, pp. 121-132. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2003. "Fourteen Centuries of Tibetan Portraiture." In D. Dinwiddie ed., *Portraits of the Masters: Bronze Sculptures of the Tibetan Buddhist Lineages*, pp. 16-61. Chicago and London: Serindia Publications and Oliver Hoare.

TBRC: Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, accessed February-March 2009, http://tbrc.org/search/.

Tanaka, Kimiaki. 1996. "The Usefulness of Buddhist Iconography in Analysing Style in Tibetan Art." *The Tibet Journal*, vol. 21-2, pp. 6-9.

———. 1997. *Art of Thangka: A Catalogue of the Hahn Foundation for Museum*, Vol. 1. Seoul: Hahn Foundation for Museum.

———. 1999. *Art of Thangka from Hahn Kwang-ho Collection*, Vol. 2. Seoul: Hahn Foundation for Museum.

———. 2001. *Art of Thangka from the Hahn Kwang-ho Collection*, Vol. 3. Seoul: The Hahn Cultural Foundation.

———. 2003. *Art of Thangka from the Hahn Kwang-ho Collection*, Vol. 4. Seoul: The Hahn Cultural Foundation.

Tanaka, Kimiaki, and Yoshitomo Tamashige, eds. 2004. *Tamashige Tibet Collection: Gems of Thangka Art*. Tokyo: Watanabe Book Co.

Tashi Tsering. 2007. "On the Dates of sTang stong rgyal po." In Ramon N. Prats ed. 2007, *The Paṇḍita and the Siddha: Tibetan Studies in Honor of E. Gene Smith*, pp. 268-278. Dharamshala: Amnye Machen Institute.

Terentyev, A. 2010. *The Sandalwood Buddha of the King Udayana*. St. Petersburg: Narthang.

Thubten Legshay Gyatso, and Chogay Trichen Rinpoche. 1979. *Gateway to the Temple: A Manual of Tibetan Monastic Customs, Art, Building and Celebrations*. Bibliotheca Himalayica, Series III, vol. 12. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.

Tsering Gyalpo, Guntram Hazod, and Per K. Sørensen. 2000. *Civilization at the Foot of Mount Sham-po: The Royal House of lHa Bug-pa-can and the History of g.Ya'-bzang. Historical Texts from the Monastery of g.Ya'-bzang in Yar-stod (Central Tibet)*. Beiträge zur Kultur und Geistesgeschichte Asiens Nr. 36. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Tsering, Nawang, and Aditya Arya. 2009. *Alchi, the Living Heritage of Ladakh*. Leh-Ladakh: Central Institute of Buddhist Studies & Likir Monastery.

Tucci, Giuseppe. 1949. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. 3 vols. Roma: La Libreria Dello State. Reprint, Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 1980, 2 vols.

———. 1956. *To Lhasa and Beyond. Diary of the Expedition to Tibet in the Year MCMXLVIII* [1948]. Roma : Instituto Poligrafico dello Stato.

———. 1973. *Transhimalaya* [Ancient Civilizations]. London: Barrie & Jenkins.

———. 1980. *The Religions of Tibet*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Vitali, Roberto. 1999. *Records of Tho.ling: A Literary and Visual Reconstruction of the "Mother" Monastery in Gu.ge*. Dharamshala: Amnye Machen Institute.

Waddell, L. A. 1885. "Description of Lhasa Cathedral, translated from the Tibetan." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta*, vol. 64-1, pp. 259-283.

Weldon, David, and Jane Casey Singer. 1999. *The Sculptural Heritage of Tibet: Buddhist Art in the Nyingjei Lam Collection*. London: Laurence King.

———. 2003. *Faces of Tibet: The Wesley and Carolyn Halpert Collection*. New York: Carlton Rochell Ltd.

Willson, Martin, and Martin Brauen, eds. 2000. *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism: The Zürich Paintings of the Icons Worthwhile to See* [Bris sku mthoṅ ba don ldan]. Boston: Wisdom Publication.

Zhang g.Yu brag pa brTson 'grus grags pa (1123–1193). 1972. "rGyud pa sna tshogs [Diverse Lineages]." In Khams sprul Don brgyud nyi ma ed., *Writings* [bKa' thor bu], pp. 433-445. Palampur: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunpel Parkhang.

Zwalf, W., ed. 1985. *Buddhism: Art and Faith*. London: British Museum Publications.

Index