



Consonanze 11.2

ANANTARATNAPRABHAVA

STUDI IN ONORE DI GIULIANO BOCCALI

*a cura di Alice Crisanti, Cinzia Pieruccini,
Chiara Policardi, Paola M. Rossi*

II



Anantaratnaprabhava

Studi in onore di Giuliano Boccali

A cura di Alice Crisanti, Cinzia Pieruccini
Chiara Policardi, Paola M. Rossi

II

LEDIZIONI

CONSONANZE

Collana

del Dipartimento di Studi Letterari, Filologici e Linguistici
dell'Università degli Studi di Milano

diretta da Giuseppe Lozza

11.2

Comitato Scientifico

Benjamin Acosta-Hughes (The Ohio State University), Giampiera Arrigoni (Università degli Studi di Milano), Johannes Bartuschat (Universität Zürich), Alfonso D'Agostino (Università degli Studi di Milano), Maria Luisa Doglio (Università degli Studi di Torino), Bruno Falchetto (Università degli Studi di Milano), Alessandro Fo (Università degli Studi di Siena), Luigi Lehnus (Università degli Studi di Milano), Maria Luisa Meneghetti (Università degli Studi di Milano), Michael Metzeltin (Universität Wien), Silvia Morgana (Università degli Studi di Milano), Laurent Pernot (Université de Strasbourg), Simonetta Segenni (Università degli Studi di Milano), Luca Serianni (Sapienza Università di Roma), Francesco Spera (Università degli Studi di Milano), Renzo Tosi (Università degli Studi di Bologna)

Comitato di Redazione

Guglielmo Barucci, Francesca Berlinzani, Maddalena Giovannelli, Cecilia Nobili, Stefano Resconi, Luca Sacchi, Francesco Sironi

ISBN 978-88-6705-680-4

In copertina: Rāvaṇānugrahamūr̥ti, Ellora, Grotta 29, VII-VIII sec. ca. (Foto C. P.)

Impaginazione: Alice Crisanti

© 2017

Ledizioni – LEDIpublishing

Via Alamanni, 11

20141 Milano, Italia

www.ledizioni.it

È vietata la riproduzione, anche parziale, con qualsiasi mezzo effettuata, compresa la fotocopia, anche a uso interno o didattico, senza la regolare autorizzazione.

INDICE

VOLUME PRIMO

- p. 7 Note introduttive
Veda e Iran antico, lingua e grammatica
- 13 *Fra lessico e grammatica. I nomi dell'acqua nell'indiano antico e altrove*
Romano Lazzeroni (Università di Pisa)
- 23 *Questioni di dialettologia antico indiana e l'indo-ario del regno di Mitanni*
Saverio Sani (Università di Pisa)
- 31 *Chanson de toile. Dall'India di Guido Gozzano all'India vedica*
Rosa Ronzitti (Università degli Studi di Genova)
- 41 *Abitatori vedici dell'acqua*
Daniele Maggi (Università degli Studi di Macerata)
- 63 *A Curious Semantic Hapax in the Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra: The Priest Hotṛ as the Chariot of the Gods (devaratha) in a Courageous Metaphor*
Pietro Chierichetti, PhD
- 77 *On Some Systems of Marking the Vedic Accent in Manuscripts Written in the Grantha Script*
Marco Franceschini (Università di Bologna)
- 89 *Cobra e pavoni. Il ruolo linguistico e retorico di A 2.1.72*
Maria Piera Candotti (Università di Pisa),
Tiziana Pontillo (Università degli Studi di Cagliari)
- 107 *Subjecthood in Pāṇini's Grammatical Tradition*
Artemij Keidan (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- 127 *Sull'uso didattico di alcuni subhāṣita*
Alberto Pelissero (Università degli Studi di Torino)
- 137 *Avestico rec. pasuuāzah-. Vecchie e nuove considerazioni a proposito dell'immolazione animale nella ritualistica indo-iranica*
Antonio Panaino (Università di Bologna)

- 153 *Khotanese baṣṣā and bihaḍe*
Mauro Maggi (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- Religioni, testi e tradizioni*
- 165 *'As a She-Elephant, I Have Broken the Tie'. Notes on the*
Therī-apadāna-s
Antonella Serena Comba (Università degli Studi di Torino)
- 183 *Le Therī e Māra il Maligno: il buddhismo al femminile*
Daniela Rossella (Università degli Studi della Basilicata)
- 195 *Asceti e termitai. A proposito di Buddhacarita 7, 15*
Antonio Rigopoulos (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia)
- 217 *Alla ricerca del divino: figure ascetiche e modelli sapienziali*
nella tradizione non ortodossa dell'India e della Grecia antica
Paola Pisano
- 231 *A proposito del kāśīyoga dello Skanda-purāṇa*
Stefano Piano (Università degli Studi di Torino)
- 241 *Della follia d'amore e divina nella letteratura tamil classica e medievale*
Emanuela Panattoni (Università di Pisa)
- 255 *"The Poetry of Thought" in the Theology of the Tripurārahasya*
Silvia Schwarz Linder (Universität Leipzig)
- 267 *Cultural Elaborations of Eternal Polarities: Travels of Heroes,*
Ascetics and Lovers in Early Modern Hindi Narratives
Giorgio Milanetti (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- 287 *Fra passioni umane e attrazioni divine: alcune considerazioni sul*
concetto di 'ishq nella cultura letteraria urdū
Thomas Dähnhardt (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia)
- 309 *Il sacrificio della satī e la «crisi della presenza»*
Bruno Lo Turco (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- 321 *Jñānavāpī tra etnografia e storia. Note di ricerca su un pozzo al*
centro dei pellegrinaggi locali di Varanasi
Vera Lazzaretti (Universitetet i Oslo)
- 335 *Cakra. Proposte di rilettura nell'ambito della didattica dello yoga*
Marilia Albanese (YANI)
- Appendice*
- 349 *Critical Edition of the Ghaṭakharparaṭikā Attributed to Tārācandra*
Francesco Sferra (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
- 391 *Tabula gratulatoria*

VOLUME SECONDO

Filosofie

- 9 *The “Frame” Status of Veda-Originated Knowledge in Mīmāṃsā*
Elisa Freschi (Universität Wien)
- 21 *Diventare è ricordare. Una versione indiana dell’anamnesi*
Paolo Magnone (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano)
- 33 *Sull’epistemologia del sogno secondo il Vaiśeṣika. Appunti per
una tassonomia del fenomeno onirico*
Gianni Pellegrini (Università degli Studi di Torino)
- 45 *Coscienza e realtà. Il problema ontologico e l’insegnamento
di Vasubandhu*
Emanuela Magno (Università degli Studi di Padova)
- 57 *Contro la purità brahmanica: lo Śivaismo non-duale
e il superamento di śaṅkā ‘esitazione’, ‘inibizione’*
Raffaele Torella (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- 69 *La cimosā e il ‘nichilista’. Fra ontologia, evacuazione e
neutralizzazione dei segni figurati in Nāgārjuna*
Federico Squarcini (Università Ca’ Foscari Venezia)
- 87 *Poesia a sostegno dell’inferenza: analisi di alcuni passi scelti dal
Vyaktiviveka di Mahimabhaṭṭa*
Stefania Cavaliere (Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”)
- 107 *La ricezione dell’indianistica nella filosofia italiana di fine
Ottocento. Il caso di Piero Martinetti*
Alice Crisanti, PhD
- 121 *Prospettive comparatistiche tra storia della filosofia ed
estetica indiana*
Mimma Congedo, PhD
Paola M. Rossi (Università degli Studi di Milano),

Palazzi, templi e immagini

- 147 *Descrizioni architettoniche in alcuni testi indiani*
Fabrizia Baldissera (Università degli Studi di Firenze)
- 163 *Devī uvāca, Maheśvara uvāca. Some Katyuri Representations of
Umāmāheśvara and the Śaivism of Uttarakhand*
Laura Giuliano (Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale ‘Giuseppe Tucci’)
- 185 *Bundi. Corteo regale in onore del Dio bambino*
Rosa Maria Cimino (Università del Salento)

Tra ieri e oggi. Letteratura e società

- 213 *La miniaturizzazione dell'ānanda tāṇḍava di Śiva in talune poesie indiane del '900*
Donatella Dolcini (Università degli Studi di Milano)
- 229 *Rabindranath Tagore. The Infinite in the Human Being*
Fabio Scialpi (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- 239 *Minority Subjectivities in Kuṇāl Siṃh's Hindi Novel Romiyo Jūliyaṭ aur Aṁdherā*
Alessandra Consolaro (Università degli Studi di Torino)
- 249 *Jhumpa Lahiri's "Unaccustomed Earth": When the Twain Do Meet*
Alessandro Vescovi (Università degli Studi di Milano)
- 261 *La 'Donna di Sostanza' si è opposta ai 'Miracoli del Destino': casi celebri in materia di diritto d'autore in India*
Lorenza Acquarone, PhD
- 273 «Only consideration is a good girl». *Uno sguardo sulla società contemporanea indiana attraverso un'analisi degli annunci matrimoniali*
Sabrina Ciolfi, PhD
- 285 *L'arte abita in periferia*
Maria Angelillo (Università degli Studi di Milano)
- 297 *Alcune considerazioni preliminari allo studio delle comunità indigene (ādivāsī) d'India oggi*
Stefano Beggiora (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia)

Studi sul Tibet

- 319 *La Preghiera di Mahāmudrā del Terzo Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje*
Carla Gianotti
- 341 *The Dharmarājas of Gyantsé. Their Indian and Tibetan Masters, and the Iconography of the Main Assembly Hall in Their Vihāra*
Erberto F. Lo Bue (Università di Bologna)
- 361 *In Search of Lamayuru's dkar chag*
Elena De Rossi Filibeck (Sapienza Università di Roma)
- 375 *Torrente di gioventù. Il manifesto della poesia tibetana moderna*
Giacomella Orofino (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")
- 395 *Tabula gratulatoria*

The Dharmarājas of Gyantsé.
Their Indian and Tibetan Masters,
and the Iconography of the Main Assembly Hall in Their Vihāra

Erberto F. Lo Bue

This contribution is meant to draw attention to the role played by the kingdom of Gyantsé, in southwest Tibet, in establishing direct contacts with important Indian Buddhist masters in the 15th-century, as reflected also by the iconography of several temples in the dPal 'khor chos sde, the “Glorious Dharma Enclave” of Gyantsé, and to describe the iconographic programme in the main assembly hall of its gTsong lag khang (Vihāra) primarily on the basis of a first translation, as literal as possible, of relevant sections from 'Jigs med grags pa's historical text *rGyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i lo thog dngos grub kyi char 'bebs* — started in 1479 and completed in 1481¹ — from its 1987 Lhasa edition compared with the corresponding ones in the manuscript belonging to Tucci's Tibetan Fund² and checked against the pictures taken *in situ* by Giada Rossi.³ Such translation is meant to supplement the relevant information afforded by Giuseppe Tucci in his partial translations of 'Jigs med grags pa's text as published in the appendix to the second volume of his *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*.⁴

1. *lCags mo glang gi lo hor zla brygad pa*, the eighth month of the female iron ox year according to the Mongolian way of figuring month and year generally adopted in Tibetan calendar system; cf. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 378 (where the date 1421 in the front jacket flap is a misprint for 1481), Tucci Tibetan Fund ms no. 694, 929 (where part of the date of the completion of the text is missing) and 'Jigs med grags pa in Tucci 1980, 670. The manuscript, consisting of 942 pages, is listed in De Rossi 2003, 338, no. 694.

2. De Rossi 2003, 338, no. 695, where the dates of the composition of the text are given: 1479-1481. The colophon of the Tucci Tibetan Fund ms no. 694, 931-932 states that it was copied by a scribe from Gyantsé from the original manuscript text (*ma dpe*) extant at Ri khrod dGa' ldan in a *sa pho byi ba* year, which might correspond to 1520 at the earliest.

3. During the translation of sections of 'Jigs med grags pa's work as part of my courses in classical Tibetan at the University of Bologna, I related the wall paintings in the assembly hall of the gTsong lag khang as indicated in the text to their positions on the walls, suggesting to Giada Rossi, a student of mine who was very keen on the subject, to photograph the wall paintings in the ground-floor temples described in the text, which she did in November 2013, my first field work in Gyantsé having taken place in 1987 and my last visit having occurred in 1996. Giada Rossi photographed the wall paintings whose positions I had located tentatively on a plan of the gTsong lag khang on the basis of 'Jigs med grags pa's description and related a number of her pictures to the text as translated by me.

4. Tucci 1980, 662-670. In his letter of the 12th July 1989 Luciano Petech pointed out to me that

The first nucleus of the dPal 'khor bde chen, the monastic enclave of Gyantsé which later came to be known as dPal 'khor chos sde, was raised by dPal ldan bzang po (1318-1370), the founder of the Gyantsé dynasty, probably during the first two decades of the latter half of the 14th century. Indeed an inscription in its g'Tsug lag khang, the main and earliest foundation at the site, reports that the one hundred and twenty-five images of the Bhadrakalpa cycle painted on the eastern wall of the assembly-hall were commissioned by the *chos rgyal* (Dharmarāja) dPal bzang.⁵ None of the names of the three painters mentioned in the inscription appears among those of the artists who worked in the nearby Great Stupa in the following century.

The founder of the monastic enclave of Gyantsé (Fig. 1), in which even Newar coppersmiths from the Nepal Valley⁶ were involved along with Tibetan masters⁷ in various arts and crafts, was dPal ldan bzang po's grandchild, the Dharmarāja Rab brtan kun bzang 'Phags pa (1389-1443), who found somehow small the earlier g'Tsug lag khang⁸ raised by his grandfather before 1370 and decided to expand it in order to host a large statue of the Buddha to be raised in accordance with a newly-discovered iconometric drawing reporting the measures of the image housed in the Mahābodhi temple of Bodhgayā, India, in whose direction the new Vihāra of Gyantsé with its main image came to be oriented.⁹ King Rab brtan kun bzang 'Phags pa had a special relationship with contemporary Indian Buddhist masters as reflected by the iconography of several temples in the dPal 'khor chos sde, such as the Lam 'bras lHa khang (Path and Fruit Temple), on the top floor of the western projection of the same monastic building, housing the great three-dimensional mandala of Cakrasaṃvara according to the tradition of the Indian *mahāsiddha* Luipa in its very middle.¹⁰

apparently the manuscript used by him, the same used by me, did not correspond to the one used by Tucci, who translated a different edition that could not be traced, as was the case for other texts used by the latter for publication and subsequently disappeared from his library. My own translation work in Lo Bue 2016 confirms Petech's impression.

5. Cf. Tucci 1941.II, 8 and 136-137. An inscription on the eastern wall of the g'Tsug lag khang mentions the *chos rgyal dPal bzang*, namely dPal-ldan-bzang-po, as the donor of the wall paintings illustrating one hundred and twenty-five images of the Bhadrakalpa cycle.

6. See 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 63: *Bal bor zangs mgar ba*.

7. *Ibid.*, 63: *dpon mo che*, the term normally used in texts and inscriptions at Gyantsé and elsewhere to designate also master artists.

8. *Ibid.*, 65: *g'Tsug lag khang sngar brtsigs pa khyon chung zbig chung*.

9. The chief images raised in the new temples of the Vihāra and of the nearby Great Stupa were to be fashioned according to the same proportions. See Lo Bue 2016, 135.

10. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 87: *lTe ba'i char bCom ldan 'das dpal 'Khor lo bde mchog grub chen Lū hi pa'i lugs dkyil 'khor chen po rten dang bcas pa/ rgyu rin po che las grub pa blos blangs kyi tshul du*.

The painted clay statues at the sides of the triad of Vajradhara flanked by Vajrasattva and by the Mother Vajratopa,¹¹ occupying the central part of the western wall, the main one, represent the lineage of Indian and Tibetan masters cherishing the tantric teachings of the Path and Fruit centred around Cakrasaṃvara following Luipa's tradition. Of the Indian masters portrayed in the statues placed along the walls, mention should be made of the 11th-century scholar Gayadhara (Fig. 2), who travelled three times to Tibet, where he spent five years teaching the great Tibetan scholar 'Brog mi and helping him to translate many important tantric texts at the monastery founded by the latter, and where he was to die.¹²

On the surfaces of the walls above the statues is portrayed a group of “eighty-eight great yogins who attained *siddhi*”¹³ headed by Luipa. The number of those masters is of no concern here since several sets are known to exist¹⁴ and this particular one may have been transmitted either by Gling ras pa¹⁵ or by the abbot of Bodhgayā, the Mahāpaṇḍita Śrī Śāriputra (ca. 1335-1426),¹⁶ the last figure painted in the sequence (Fig. 3), who had been invited to the court of the emperor Chengzu by an important Ming embassy in the female water snake year 1413,¹⁷ reached Gyantsé in the fourth month of the male wood horse year 1414 and was a guest of the royal family there, spending a couple of months at the monastery of ICang ra.¹⁸

11. *Ibid.*, 86: *Yum rDo rje snyems ma*. See translation below.

12. See Lo Bue–Ricca 1990, 442-443.

13. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 87: *De dag gi steng phyogs kyi ngos rnam la grub pa thob pa'i rnal byor chen po brgyad cu rtsa brgyad*. It is not clear how the figure of eighty-eight yogins was worked out by 'Jigs med grags pa. Schroeder (2006, 15 and 24-25) counts eighty-six main figures. However, he does not include the portrait of a Tibetan master painted without a caption at the centre of the upper register of the western wall, between Luipa and Nāgārjuna (Lo Bue–Ricca 1990, 412 and 418, pl. 149, top left), and there may well be such another figure portrayed in the murals. Be that as it may, the figure “eighty” reported in the inscriptions in the temple may well stand for “some eighty”, as is often the case when referring to this set (cf. the following note).

14. See for example Smith 2006. Templeman (2007, 71) points out that “in lesser works [...] we end up with a generic and largely unhelpful single list of 84 *siddhas* which generally lies at the heart of much of the confusion concerning precisely how such traditions as this are never static but constantly evolving to this very day”. In order to contextualize the social and literary background from which those tantric masters emerged, Templeman appropriately refers to Davidson 2002.

15. Cf. Lo Bue–Ricca 1990, 431.

16. For these dates, and a serious and scholarly examination of Śrī Śāriputra's life see McKeown 2010. Shastri 2002, 130 states that Śāriputra arrived at Gyantsé “sometime in 1418”, introduces errors in the chronology of the history of Gyantsé and furthermore, possibly following the wrong date published in the front jacket flap of the 1987 Lhasa edition, attributes 'Jigs med grags pa's work to 1421, before the construction of most of temples in the gTsub lag khang and of the sKu 'bum.

17. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 49.

18. *Ibid.*, 50-52: *Shing pho rta'i lo la/ [...]'Di lo zla ba bzhi pa'i nang du/ [...] chos kyi rje pa'i chen [dpal sha ri'i bu] Shākya Shri Sha ri pu tra Mahā swā mi [dpal sha ri'i bu] zhes mtshan yongs su grags pa de nyid/ ta bzhib [li chen] gyis spyān drangs nas phebs kyi yod pa'i bsu ba la/ chos kyi ryal po*

Paṅ chen Śrī Śāriputra, as he is called in the caption painted under his portrait in the Lam 'bras Temple, performed the consecration ceremony of a six-arcade bridge with a stupa rising in the middle of it, which Rab brtan kun bzang had built across the Myang river, giving its name to the region, to reach nearby Gyantsé. The inner walls of the stupa were painted with nine large mandalas, whereas figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were painted on its sides.¹⁹ In 1420-1421 the gilded copper statue of Śākyamuni (Fig. 4) occupying the central position in the main temple (*gtsang khang*) of the gTsong lag khang at Gyantsé was fashioned according to the proportions of the image housed in the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgayā and following the model of a statue obtained from India by Śrī Śāriputra, and the nails and hair of that scholar, who was regarded as a root-*guru* in the entourage of the king of Gyantsé, were placed inside that statue.²⁰

Below the image of Śrī Śāriputra there is the portrait of Kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan, who is placed first among the dignitaries of the monastery of Sa skya mentioned in the *Mingshi*, which gives much room to his visit to the Ming court: he received the title of Mahāyāna Dharmarāja from the emperor and stayed in China from 1412 to 1414.²¹ Through his contacts with the imperial court, Kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan may have played a role in keeping the ties of the kings of Gyantsé with Chengzu (r. 1402-1424), as his father had already done with Togan Temür (r. 1348-1368).²² Incidentally, the earlier connection of the Gyantsé rulers with the Yüan dynasty through their Tibetan overlords, the abbots of Sa skya, is illustrated by the portraits of the emperor Qubilai Khan and of Sa skya Paṅḍita on the southern wall of the very Temple of the Path and Fruit (Fig. 5).

Rab brtan kun bzang 'Phags-pa was responsible for inviting another important Indian scholar of the time, the Bengalese Vanaratna (1384-1468; Fig. 6), who

'dus byung du phebs/ [...] lCang ra chos sder gdan 'dren zhus/ [...] lCang rar zla ba gnyis rtsam bzhugs [...]. Ta bzhin stands for the Chinese *ta ren*, "His Excellency", and presumably refers here to the Ming ambassador (Tucci 1980, 686, n. 91, and 703, n. 818), Li chen (editor's note in 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 51), sent by the first Ming emperor, Chengzu, who invited the abbot of Bodhgayā and under whose rule several models of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgayā were made (cf. Stoddard 1975, 92, pl. 65, Pathak 1986, pls. 45-48, Lo Bue 1994b, 102, pl. 61, and Weldon-Singer 1999, 46-47, pls. 7, 7a and 7b).

19. Cf. Tāranātha (?) 1983, 51-52, and 'Jigs med grags pa in Tucci 1980, 665-666.

20. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 66-68.

21. Cf. Tucci 1980, 686, n. 93, Lo Bue-Ricca 1990, 272, pl. 92, 274-275, 456, pl. 179, and 459-460, Ricca-Lo Bue 1993, 15, and Lo Bue 1996, 125, fig. 3, and 131.

22. During the second month of the male water dragon year 1412 the king's father, the *bdag chen* Kun dga' 'Phags pa, went to sBad cod to give a feast on the occasion of the arrival of the emperor Chengzu's ambassador (*ta bzhin*), who had come to invite Kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan, and gave lavishly gifts to the ambassador and to his retinue of about five hundred people ('Jigs med grags pa 1987, 44). For the title *ta bzhin* referring to Ming ambassadors see 'Jigs med grags pa in Tucci 1980, 686, n. 91, and Tucci 1980, 703, n. 818.

travelled to Tibet on three different occasions and eventually settled in the Nepal Valley.²³ Vanaratna's journey to Gyantsé took place some time after 1426. That Indian master was an expert in the tantric tradition of the *Kālacakra*, which played a fundamental iconographic role at Gyantsé first in the *vimāna* of the palatine temple in the royal fortress on the rNam rgyal rtse mo, towering above the city, then in the *vimāna* at the top of the gTsub lag khang and eventually in the Great Stupa, particularly its topmost chapel. The importance given to the *Kālacakra* in Gyantsé is also related to the ties of its Dharmarājas with the princes of Zhwa lu, of whose monastery the great Tibetan scholar Bu ston, who had been especially trained in that tantric system, had been the abbot, and in particular with Thugs sras Lo tsā ba Rin chen rnam rgyal (1318-1388), Bu-ston's spiritual son, who made the *Kālacakra* the main object of his teachings.²⁴

With the construction and furnishing of the most significant and complex religious monuments in Tibet, and with his new edition of the *bKa' gyur*, the most important canonical collection of Buddhist texts in Tibet, Rab brtan kun bzang 'Phags pa was the last great Dharmarāja of Tibet since the imperial period. His life represents a combination of lay power and religious faith characterized by a broad-minded attitude towards all religious schools, including Bon, which was unusual in a hierocratic society in which political power tended to be a prerogative of the clergy and of competing religious orders, eventually the dGe lugs pa under the Dalai Lama's succession system.

The date of the foundation of the dPal 'khor chos sde, 1418, and its attribution primarily to mKhas grub rje as reported in Tibetan, Chinese and English on the stele set at the entrance of the monastic compound in 1993, reflect the 5th Dalai Lama's view of the relationship of its founder, the Dharmarāja Rab brtan kun bzang 'Phags pa, with Tsong kha pa's famous disciple mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang (1385-1438), called *mKhas grub Rin po che* by the 5th Dalai Lama in his short account of the dynasty of Gyantsé, in which the "Great Fifth" describes mKhas grub's relationship with the King of Gyantsé in the foundation of the "Glorious Dharma Enclave" as a *mchod yon* ("patron-priest") one.²⁵

23. gZhon nu dpal, who received initiations from Vanaratna, tells his life in some detail in his *Deb ther sngon po*, where he refers to Rab brtan kun bzang as "Si tu Rab bstan pa" ('Gos lo 1984, 935). Portraits of Vanaratna were made in Tibet and Nepal: cf. Prats 2000, 208, fig. 176, where the portrait is not identified properly, and Jackson 2011, 94-98, figs. 3.20-3.21.

24. Cf. Ricca-Lo Bue 1993, 17.

25. Dalai Lama V 1967, 110; on this term see in particular Ruegg 1991. Calling mKhas grub Rin po che *mKhas grub rje* in the *Vaidūrya ser po*, the Great Fifth states that at some point the relationship between mKhas grub rje and the Dharmarāja of Gyantsé ended (cf. Tucci 1980, 646 and 696, n. 412). Be that as it may, from 1431 the former declined the latter's repeated invitations to go to Gyantsé (Jia-He 1990, 164).

However, Tsong kha pa's disciple mKhas grub dGe legs dpal is not mentioned in relation to the foundation of the dPal 'khor chos sde in the history of the Dharmarājas of Gyantsé, whose author mentions instead mKhas grub chen po 'Jigs med grags pa, the author of the eulogy of the Lam 'bras Temple related to the Sa skya tradition reported at the end of the translations included in this article, who is mentioned elsewhere in the same history²⁶ and whose name is different from that of Tsong kha pa's disciple.²⁷

Portraits of masters of the dGe lugs order, including Tsong kha pa, are conspicuous for their absence from the original iconographic programmes in the dPal 'khor chos sde and no chapel is devoted to that school out of the eleven opening on the fourth storey of the Great Stupa, illustrating the chief Buddhist traditions in Tibet, from the rNying ma to the bKa' gdams one. There are instead portraits of mKhas grub chen po Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal, a scholar expert in the *Kālacakra* tradition who had a special relationship with Gyantsé, in the chapel devoted to the *Kālacakra* tradition on the fourth storey of the sKu 'bum,²⁸ and of the

26. For example in 'Jigs med grags pa 1520?, Tucci Tibetan Fund ms no. 694, 50. mKhas grub chen po 'Jigs med grags pa should not be confused with the author of the history of the kings of rGyal-rtse, who was "the learned Śākya monk" (*Shā kya'i mang du thos pa dge slong*) known by the title of Phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba ("Victorious in All Quarters"); cf. 'Jigs med grags pa 1520?, Tucci Tibetan Fund ms no. 694, 926, and Tucci 1980, 669.

27. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 63 and Tucci Tibetan Fund ms no. 694, 148. The Great Fifth's identification has remained unchallenged presumably because of his reputation also as a scholar and has been followed by Tibetan as well as Western scholars who have not noticed the confusion of mKhas grub chen po 'Jigs med grags pa with mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang. There are several precedents of such confusions in the Indo-Tibetan tradition, which has mixed up at least two Nāgārjunas, eight Indrabhūtis, two Mar pas and half a dozen Ma gcigs (cf. Lo Bue 1994a) in spite of the fact that in his *Blue Annals* 'Gos gZhon nu dpal gives different dates and hagiographies for them, as well as two different Kashmirian Buddhist female practitioners named Lakṣmī (cf. Lo Bue 2015, 296, n. 103). Several important masters bearing the title of *mKhas grub* (*paṇḍitasiddha*) were present at Gyantsé in connection with the construction of the dPal 'khor chos sde during those years: mKhas grub dByang can dga' ba, who wrote a eulogy on the occasion of the consecration of the private apartment (*gzim khang*) known as *gSer po mkha' spyod* in the abbot's palace (*bla ma'i pho brang*, 1418; cf. 'Jigs med grags pa 1520?, Tucci Tibetan Fund ms no. 694, 237-239); mKhas grub chen po Phyogs las rnam rgyal from Bo dong (1375-1451), who wrote verses praising the Mahābodhi statue (1420-1421) in the main temple as well as the ceremony of consecration of the wall paintings (1422-1423) in its deambulatory and in the circumambulation passages of the assembly hall facing it (see relevant translations below; cf. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 72 and 83, and Lo Bue 2016), and who in 1438 would be invited to Gyantsé to perform the ceremonies commemorating the Awakening of Siddhārtha (cf. 'Jigs med grags pa in Tucci 1980, 666, and Lo Bue-Ricca 1990, 303); mKhas grub gSang ba bde chen and mKhas grub 'Chi med grub pa, who wrote verses in praise of the main temple, housing the Mahābodhi image ('Jigs med grags pa 1984, 75); and mKhas grub chen po mKha' 'gro dbang po, who wrote verses in praise of the Chos rgyal lHa khang (1423; see relevant translation below and cf. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 78). The title *mKhas grub chen po* (*mahāpaṇḍitasiddha*) appears also in 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 49.

28. Cf. Tucci 1941.II, 222, and Ricca-Lo Bue 1993, 295.

Dharmarāja Rab brtan kun bzang identified by inscriptions on the first floor of the gTsug lag khang and in temples on the fifth storey of the sKu 'bum (cf. Fig. 7)²⁹.

Significantly, in the male earth dog year 1418 Rab brtan kun bzang went to the monastery of Sa skya to receive the titles of *ta'i bwsī tu*, *nang chen* and *tukang*,³⁰ which the Yüan emperors had already granted to his grandfather,³¹ and then, in the summer of the same year, he laid the foundations of the gTsug lag khang in the *chos sde*.³² No wonder that in 'Jigs med grags pa's account the date of the foundation of the monastic compound is preceded by specific references to the Sa skya, not dGe lugs, religious and political context, mentioning important masters such as Sa skya Paṇḍita (cf. Fig. 5) and as his nephew and successor 'Gro ba'i mGon po 'Phags pa, who had accepted Mongol rule and become viceroys of Qubilai Khan in Tibet since 1249, 'Phags pa having received the title of *ti sbri* (*tishe*, "Master of the Emperor") from Qubilai in 1260, a title conferred under the Yüan dynasty also to another Sa skya master, Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1299-1327).³³

Therefore the inscription on the stele at the entry of the Vihāra of Gyantsé reflects the later Great Fifth's attempt to involve his order in its foundation for the purpose of obscuring the crucial role played by other Buddhist schools and religious orders, primarily the Sa skya one supported by King Rab brtan kun bzang 'Phags pa, whose ancestors had served the monastery of Sa skya also in its military expansion in south Tibet,³⁴ and to celebrate the dGe lugs religious and political hegemony over southwest Tibet (gTsang), including Myang and the gTsug lag khang of Gyantsé, following the 5th Dalai Lama's conquest of that region in 1642 thanks to his Mongol ally, the Mongol ruler Gushri Khan, whom he appointed "King" (*rGyal-po*) of Tibet in reward for his military support.

King Rab brtan kun bzang 'Phags pa, unlike the 5th Dalai Lama,³⁵ was an enlightened and non-sectarian ruler, as confirmed by the edict he issued in 1440, in

29. The portrait illustrated in Fig. 7 is found in the Prajñāpāramitā Temple, facing north in the *bum pa* on the fifth storey of the Great Stupa, and is identified as *Mi dbang Kun bzang 'Phags* in the general inscription running along the painted walls. In reporting that inscription Tucci (1941.II, 115) places it wrongly in what he calls "Tempio primo", whereas it is found in the northern temple housing the statue of the Prajñāpāramitā, the third one according to Tucci's order proceeding clockwise from the first and main temple facing south and housing a statue of the Bhāgavata Mahāmuni. Cf. Lo Bue 2000, 389, fig. 3, and 392.

30. Tāranātha (?) 1983, 52: *thus dkon*.

31. For more details see Ricca-Lo Bue 1993, 19.

32. Cf. Tāranātha (?) 1983, 52-53, 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 63, and Tucci Tibetan Fund ms no. 694, 147, and Jia-He 1990, 165-166.

33. Cf. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 63, and Lo Bue-Ricca 1990, 279, n. 87.

34. See 'Jigs med grags pa in Tucci 1980, 662-663.

35. See for example the references in Lo Bue 2015, 27, n. 27.

which he invited all Buddhist monks, *mantrins* and followers of *bon*³⁶ to be zealous each in the virtues of his own *dharma* traditions, and thanked those subjects of his who had supplied compulsory labour, a usual substitute for taxation in Tibet, suffering greatly from tax-collectors, and exempted them from taxes for a three-year period.³⁷

The section translated below describes the images and wall paintings, mostly covered by the smoke of candles and incense as well as the dust of almost six centuries, in the circumambulation passages along the main assembly hall and in the ambulatory surrounding the main temple housing the statue of Mahāmuni, the main image in the gTsug lag khang at the northern end of the hall, reflecting its author's high degree of religious devotion as well as iconographic competence.³⁸ Better preserved images such as those of the Indian master Atīśa, who played a crucial role in the renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet in the 11th century and is unmentioned in 'Jigs med grags pa's description, were painted after the dGe lugs takeover of the country in the 17th century.

36. 'Jigs med grags pa in Tucci 1980, 668 and 746: *ban de kun dang/ sngags bon rnam*.

37. Cf. *Ibid.*, 666.

38. On this chapel see Lo Bue 2016.

Translation

The Circumambulation Passages of the Hall

Regarding the sequence of what is found externally,³⁹ as for the criterion on whose basis the images of the Sugata are painted in the circumambulation passages (of the) hall⁴⁰ as a whole, there are the images of: the vast realm (of) mThong ba don ldan⁴¹ described in the Mañjuśrī root tantra, painted on cotton⁴² on the surface to the right of the door of the three deliverances;⁴³ with that, the realm of the *nirmāṇakāya* of the Buddha Vairocana surrounded by the whole (of his) circle (and) “sons”⁴⁴ to the right side of the circumambulation passage;⁴⁵ the realm of the *jīna* Ajita surrounded by the sixteen Noble Mahāsthaviras on the central door’s left surface; with that, the Tathāgata Nageśvararāja surrounded by his “sons” and disciples on the side to the left of the circumambulation passage; and, above the door, the triad of the ancestral Dharmarājas⁴⁶ (with) the Tārās fulfillers (of) good auspices.

Then, westwards,⁴⁷ there are the images represented in the figures of the realm of the venerable Mañjuḥoṣa surrounded by all sorts of *kāmadevas* on the right surface (in relation to) the door (of) the Vajradhātu Temple;⁴⁸ to its right the realm

39. Along the corridors in the hall and the ambulatory, surrounding respectively the assembly hall and main temple on the ground floor.

40. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 80: *khyams bskor khang*.

41. *Ibid.*: “Meaningful to Behold”, name of a Buddha image the sight of which brings merit and success to anyone.

42. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 80: *ras bris*, painted on cloth here applied to the wall, according to a technique documented also in Himalayan areas from Ladak to Bhutan, as well as in the Tibetan settlements in Karnataka, south India.

43. “Left” and “right” are used from the point of view of the main image in the temple, not from that of the visitor.

44. Related Bodhisattvas, next to the previous painting.

45. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 80: *bskor lam*.

46. *Ibid.* and Tucci Tibetan Fund ms no. 694, 191: *chos rgyal mi dbon rnam gsum*, presumably for: *chos rgyal mes dbon rnam gsum*, the three ancestral Dharmarājas regarded by Tibetans as having played the most important role in the first spread of Buddhism in Tibet (7th-9th century) and who are portrayed in the temple east of the assembly hall.

47. From the point of view of the deities painted on the wall facing that direction, towards the entrance of the Dharmarāja Temple opposite, across the hall.

48. The Vajradhātu Temple, opening on the west side of the assembly hall.

of the noble Cittaviśrāmaṇa Avalokiteśvara surrounded by the divine assembly of Avalokiteśvara drawn from the respective *sādhanas*; to its right the realm of the Bhāgavata Vajrapāṇi surrounded by a multitude of deities in addition to the *kāma-devas*; on the west side of the wall to the left of the door,⁴⁹ the vaster realm where the way in which the Twelve Deeds of the Bhāgavata Mahāmuni himself (Fig. 8) were performed is unfolded;⁵⁰ to its right the door guard Krodha Acala together with the assembly of the manifestations of his circle; on the left surface in relation to the door of this temple,⁵¹ the realm of Amitābha's *nirmāṇakāya* surrounded by the detailed representation of the field of Sukhāvātī; to its left the realm of the Bhāgavata Ratnasambhava surrounded by his fourfold circle; to its right the realm of the Bhāgavata Bhaiṣajya Guru surrounded by the seven Sugata attendants together;⁵² east, on the right surface (in relation to) the door (of the) Dharmarāja Temple,⁵³ the Bhāgavata Akṣobhya surrounded by the detailed representation of the field of Abhiratī; to its right the realm of the *nirmāṇakāya* of the Tathāgata Amoghasiddhi with his attire, surrounded by a divine assembly in addition to Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Śravakas drawn for the "Four Continents" of the "One Hundred Thousand";⁵⁴ to its right the realm of the Buddha Ratnagarbha, truly perfect guide of old,⁵⁵ surrounded by a divine assembly drawn for the *sūtra* of the *Great Realization*;⁵⁶ and on the side (to the) left of the door,⁵⁷ the realm of the venerable Tārā⁵⁸ surrounded by the goddesses of the "Purest Uṣṇīṣa Ornament" and by the Tārās protecting from the eight fears on the basis of the vision of the

49. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 80: *yar khyu*. Tucci (1941, I, 157) interprets this technical term as indicating the "wall to the left of the door". If in this compound *khyu* refers to a section of the wall, since *yar* means "above, higher, upper", it may be suggested that *yar khyu* refers to the higher sections of the wall next to a door, suiting the description of the temples on the ground floor of the gTsub lag khang, where however I could not find a corresponding compound *mar khyu* to indicate the wall to the right of a door. As usual "left" and "right" are used from the point of view of the main image in the temple, not from that of the visitor.

50. This realm as well as the *krodha* mentioned below are visible on the main entrance wall left as one enters the hall, but right *more tibetico* from the point of view of the main image in the main temple looking towards the entrance from the end of the hall.

51. The Vajradhātu Temple mentioned in note 48, whose paintings on the western wall facing east are mentioned here.

52. The so-called Medicine Buddhas.

53. The temple housing the three ancestral Dharmarājas mentioned above, across the assembly hall opposite the Dharmadhātu Temple.

54. "One Hundred Thousand Verses", extended version of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

55. This Buddha lived and taught infinite aeons ago (cf. Tucci 1936, 146).

56. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 81: *rTog* (for *rTogs*) *chen gyi mdo*, namely the *Mahāmokṣa-sūtra*.

57. Of the same temple, the Dharmarāja one. As usual "left" and "right" are used from the point of view of the main image in the temple, not from that of the visitor.

58. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 81: *rje btsun ma la*, but *rje btsun ma sGrol ma la* in the Tucci Tibetan Fund ms no. 694, 193.

dPyal translator;⁵⁹ to its left the field of the noble Mārīcī described in the (relevant) chapter,⁶⁰ surrounded by several Mārīcīs drawn from their respective *sādhana*s; to its right the field of the Bhāgavatī⁶¹ Uṣṇīṣavijayā Navātmaka surrounded by her circle⁶² described in the respective *sādhana*; on the eastern side of the wall to the left of the door,⁶³ the vast field of the Bhāgavata Mahāmuni, “Father Meeting His Son” (*Pitāputrasamāgama*);⁶⁴ to its left the door guard Hayagrīva as ruler of the Krodhas surrounded by the assembly of his manifestations; and, above the door of the hall, the Bhāgavatīs (Mahā)pratisarā, (Mahā)sāhasrapramardanī, Mahāmāyūrī, (Mahā)mantrānudhārīnī, (Mahā)śītavaṇī, Grahamāṭṛkā⁶⁵ (and) Vasudhārā.

The Ambulatory

There are, in full, the *jinas* Amitābha and Amitāyus dwelling as main figures surrounded by one thousand images identical to them on the west side of the “navel”⁶⁶ of the ambulatory; the three Mahāmunis⁶⁷ found as chief figures surrounded by images of the same ones on the northern side of the “navel”, and the two Akṣobhyas found as chief figures according to the school of the Lord (Atīśa) and the school of Bu (ston), surrounded by a thousand images identical (in) shape to them on the eastern side of the “navel”, and the images of Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi (and) Avalokiteśvara found as chief figures surrounded by the three Families’ thousand figures of *nāthas* on the western side leftwards, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, Vairocana found as chief figures surrounded by the five Families’ thousand images on the northern side leftwards; Grahamāṭṛkā Mahāvidyā, Sita Tārā Cintāmaṇi Cakra⁶⁸ (and) Dhvajāgrakeyūrā surrounded by

59. Chos kyi bzang po (12th-13th century) of the dPyal clan, claiming descent from Khri srong lde brtsan (cf. Lo Bue–Ricca 1990, 286-287).

60. In the same *sūtra* mentioned above.

61. bCom ldan dpal gTsug tor in 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 81, but bCom ldan ma gTsug tor, in the Tucci Tibetan Fund ms no. 694, 193.

62. Of eight deities, making a total of nine deities altogether.

63. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 81: *yar khyu'i shar phyogs la*; cf. note 49. As usual “left” and “right” are used from the point of view of the main image in the temple, not from that of the visitor.

64. The 16th section of the *Ārya-Mahāvratnakūṭa-sūtra*.

65. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 82 gZa' yum, the Great Mother of the Planets, namely Grahamāṭṛkā Mahāvidyā; cf. Chandra 1991, 375, no. 1007, and Tucci 1941 I, 190.

66. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 82: *lte ba*, namely the main and ideally central portion of the *gtsang khang*, the main temple where the main image in the Vihāra is housed. See Lo Bue 2016.

67. Presumably the Buddhas of the Three Times.

68. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 82, sGrol dkar yid bzhin nor bu 'khor lo, literally “Sita Tārā’s Wish-fulfilling Wheel”; cf. Chandra 1991, 250, no. 647.

a thousand images of Vasudhārā, Sita Tārā (and) Khadiravaṇī Tārā, eastwards to the left side;⁶⁹ (and) the divine assembly described in the *dPang skongs phyag rgya pa*,⁷⁰ in full, on the inner surface of the balcony:⁷¹ in the male water tiger year [1422] the thirty-four-year-old⁷² Dharmarāja had requested that all those should be made.

Concerning the consecration ceremony, endowed with the six excellences,⁷³ performed by 'Jam dbyangs rin rgyal ba, the great abbot of gNas rnying, the Paṇḍi-tasiddha Phyogs las rnam rgyal⁷⁴ praised it fully like this:

“As to the third of the eighteen excellences,

This gTsug lag khang beautified by four great projections⁷⁵ (on different levels,

Refined because of one hundred levels (of) precious timber,⁷⁶

Embarassing the *vimāna*,⁷⁷

It is the third of the eighteen excellences”.

I thank Guido Vogliotti, Cesmeo and Ernani Orcorte, Giada Rossi, Charles Bills, the Nyingje Lam Collection and Rossi & Rossi for allowing me to illustrate this contribution with their pictures.

69. Continuing the circumambulation clockwise and reaching the eastern wall of the ambulatory of the main temple housing the statue of Mahāmuni at the end of the assembly hall.

70. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 82. This might possibly correspond to the Vinaya text *Pan gong phyag rgya pa*.

71. Of the gallery on the upper floor; cf. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 82, where a note by the editors specifies that the old register (*dkar chag*) simply reports that “As for the hall circumambulation (here: *skor*) passages on the whole, there are forty-four realms (*zhing khams*) including large painted figures”.

72. *More tibetico*, that is counting the whole of the first and last year taken into consideration.

73. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 82: *bzang po drug*, literally “the excellent six”, referring also to six precious ingredients, such as medicinal spices and drugs.

74. Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1375-1451), who would be invited to Gyantsé to perform commemorative ceremonies of Siddhārtha's Awakening in 1438. Cf. 'Jigs med grags pa in Tucci 1980, 666, Lo Bue–Ricca 1990, 303, and, for the dates, Jackson 1983, 9, and Jackson–Jackson 1984, 146, 148, 179.

75. The vestibule, eastern and western wings with their two levels, and the three-storey tower rising from the main temple in the Vihāra.

76. Cf. 'Jigs med grags pa 1987, 83, where a note by the editors adds what is reported by an early document: “The abbot of the congregation of Jo (mo nang gi) gdan (sa, founded by Dol bu pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan) hesitated in relation to (such) features, apart from the errors made in the understanding of the same”.

77. Almost putting to shame the incomparable palace of the gods on Mount Meru.

List of Illustrations

Fig. 1. The Vihāra and the Great Stupa of Gyantsé.

Fig. 2. Gayadhara. Gyantsé Vihāra. Lam 'bras Temple. 1425 © Cesmeo and Ernani Orcorte (1.8.1987).

Fig. 3. Śrī Śāriputra. Gyantsé Vihāra. Lam 'bras Temple. 1425 © Guido Vogliotti (17.8.1996).

Fig. 4. The Mahābodhi statue. Gyantsé Vihāra. Main Temple. 1420-1421.

Fig. 5. Qubilai Khan and Sa skya Paṇḍita. Gyantsé Vihāra. Lam 'bras Temple. 1425 © Charles Bills.

Fig. 6. Vanaratna. Ca. 1468. Nyingjey Lam Collection. Courtesy: Nyingjey Lam Collection and Rossi & Rossi.

Fig. 7. King Rab-brtan-kun-bzang. Gyantsé Great Stupa. Fifth Storey. Prajñāpāramitā Temple. 1430s © Guido Vogliotti (17.8.1996).

Fig. 8. The Bhāgavata Mahāmuni. Gyantsé Vihāra. Assembly Hall. 1422 © Giada Rossi (11.2013).

References

- 'Gos lo 1984 = 'Gos lo gZhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*, vol. II, Si khron Mi rigs dPe skrun khang, Chengdu 1984.
- 'Jigs med grags pa 1520? (see note 2 in this article), ms kept in the Tucci Tibetan Fund in Rome (see below, De Rossi 2003).
- 'Jigs med grags pa 1987 = 'Jigs med grags pa, *rGyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i lo thog dngos grub kyi char 'beb*, Bod-ljongs Mi-dmangs dPe-skrunkhang, Lhasa 1987.
- Chandra 1991 = Lokesh Chandra, *Buddhist Iconography*, International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, New Delhi 1991.
- Dalai Lama V 1967 = 'Nag dBañ Blo bZan [sic] rGya mTsho, *rGyal rabs rdzogs ldan g'zon nu'i dga' ston (Early History of Tibet)*, (no indication of publisher), Delhi 1967.
- Davidson 2002 = Ronald Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism. A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, Columbia University Press, New York 2002.
- De Rossi 2003 = Elena De Rossi Filibeck, *Catalogue of the Tucci Tibetan Fund in the IsIAO Library*, vol. II, Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Roma 2003.
- Jackson 1983 = David Jackson, *Commentaries on the Writings of Sa-skya Pañdita. A Bibliographical Sketch*, «The Tibet Journal» 8, 3 (1983), 3-23.
- Jackson 2011 = David Jackson, *Mirror of the Buddha. Early Portraits from Tibet* (with contributions by Christian Luczanits), Rubin Museum of Art, New York 2011.
- Jackson–Jackson 1984 = David Jackson, Janice Jackson, *Tibetan Thangka Painting. Methods & Materials*, Serindia, London 1984.
- Jia–He 1990 = Jia Xiang Yun, He Zongying, *By Whom and When Was the Pal-khor Chode Monastery Founded?*, *Tibet Studies*, «Journal of the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences (Lhasa)» 2, 2 (1990), 161-166.
- Lo Bue 1994a = Erberto Lo Bue, *Ma-gcig Labs-sgron and Ma-gcig Zha-ma. A Case of Mistaken Identity*, in Per Kvaerne (ed.), *Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes 1992*, vol. II, The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Oslo 1994, 481-490.

- Lo Bue 1994b = Erberto Lo Bue, *Tesori del Tibet. Oggetti d'arte dai monasteri di Lhasa*, La Rinascente, Milano 1994.
- Lo Bue 1996 = Erberto Lo Bue, *The Sacred Enclave of Gyantse*, in Pratapaditya Pal (ed.), *On the Path to Void. Buddhist Art of the Tibetan Realm*, Marg Publications, Mumbai 1996, 122-141; and «Marg» 47, 4 (1996), 38-57.
- Lo Bue 2000 = Erberto Lo Bue, *On Some Inscriptions in the Temples of the bum-pa of the Great Stupa at Gyantse*, «East and West» 50, 1-4 (2000), 387-437.
- Lo Bue 2015 = Erberto Lo Bue, *Considerations on the gTsong lag khang in the dPal 'khor chos sde of rGyal rtse*, in Olaf Czaja, Guntram Hazod (eds.), *The Illuminating Mirror. Tibetan Studies in Honour of Per K. Sørensen on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, 283-302 and 596-600.
- Lo Bue 2016 = Erberto Lo Bue, *A Tibetan Mahābodhi. The Main Image in the dPal 'khor chos sde of rGyal rtse*, in Elena De Rossi Filibeck, Michela Clemente, Giorgio Milanetti, Oscar Nalesini, Federica Venturi (eds.), *Studies in Honour of Professor Luciano Petech. A Commemoration Volume 1914-2014*, «Rivista degli Studi Orientali» (Supplemento n. 1) 89 (2016), 133-146.
- Lo Bue–Ricca 1990 = Erberto Lo Bue, Franco Ricca, *Gyantse Revisited*, Le Lettere, Firenze 1990.
- McKeown 2010 = Arthur McKeown, *The Life & Times of Sariputra (ca. 1335-1426)*, (PhD thesis) Harvard University 2010.
- Pathak 1986 = Suniti Kumar Pathak (ed.), *The Album of the Tibetan Art Collections*, Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna 1986.
- Prats 2000 = Ramon Prats (ed.), *Monasterios y lamas del Tibet*, La Caixa, Barcelona 2000.
- Ricca–Lo Bue 1993 = Franco Ricca, Erberto Lo Bue, *The Great Stupa of Gyantse. A Complete Tibetan Pantheon of the Fifteenth Century*, Serindia, London 1993.
- Ruegg 1991 = David Seyfort Ruegg, *mchod yon, yon mchod and mchod gnas/yon gnas: On the Historiography and Semantics of a Tibetan Religio-Social and Religio-Political Concept*, in Ernst Steinkellner (ed.), *Tibetan History and Language. Studies Dedicated to Uray Géza on His Seventieth Birthday*, Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Wien 1991, 441-453.
- Schroeder 2006 = Ulrich von Schroeder, *Empowered Masters. Tibetan Wall Paintings of Mahāsiddhas at Gyantse*, «Orientations» 37, 2 (2006), 91-98.
- Shastri 2002 = Lobsang Shastri, *Activities of Indian Panditas in Tibet from the 14th to the 17th Century*, in Henk Blezer (ed.), *Tibet, Past and Present. Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, vol. II.1, Brill, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2002, 129-145.
- Smith 2006 = E. Gene Smith, *Siddha Groups and the Mahāsiddhas in the Art and Literature of Tibet*, in Rob Linroth (ed.), *Holy Madness. Portraits of Tantric*

- Siddhas*, Rubin Museum of Art–Serindia Publications, New York–Chicago 2006, 63-69.
- Stoddard 1975 = Heather Karmay Stoddard, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, Aris and Phillips, Warminster 1975.
- Tāranātha (?) 1983 = lHag pa tshe ring ed., Tāranātha (?), *Myang yul stod smad bar gsum gyi ngo mtshar gtam gyi legs bshad mkhas pa'i 'jug ngogs zhes bya ba*, Bod-ljongs Mi-dmangs dPe-skrun-khang, Lhasa 1983.
- Templeman 2007 = David Templeman, (book review of) Rob Linroth (ed.), *Holy Madness. Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*, «Marg» 58, 3 (2007), 69-71.
- Tucci 1936 = Giuseppe Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. III: *I templi del Tibet occidentale e il loro simbolismo artistico*, part II: *Tsaparang*, Reale Accademia d'Italia, Roma 1936.
- Tucci 1941 I = Giuseppe Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. IV: *Gyantse ed i suoi monasteri*, part I: *Descrizione generale dei tempi*, Reale Accademia d'Italia, Roma 1941.
- Tucci 1941 II = Giuseppe Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. IV: *Gyantse ed i suoi monasteri*, part II: *Iscrizioni. Testo e Traduzione*, Reale Accademia d'Italia, Roma 1941.
- Tucci 1980 = Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, vol. II, Rinsen Book Co., Kyoto 1980.
- Weldon–Singer 1999 = David Weldon, Jane Casey Singer, *The Sculptural Heritage of Tibet*, Laurence King, London 1999.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8