UC Berkeley
UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title
Adapting the Buddha's Biographies: A Cultural History of the Wish-Fulfilling Vine in Tibet, Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/50750573

Author
Lin, Nancy Grace

Publication Date
2011

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

Adapting the Buddha's Biographies:
A Cultural History of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in Tibet, Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries

By

Nancy Grace Lin

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Buddhist Studies

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Alexander von Rospatt, Co-Chair
Professor Patricia Berger, Co-Chair
Professor Jacob Dalton
Professor Robert Sharf
Professor Paula Varsano

Fall 2011

Adapting the Buddha's Biographies:
A Cultural History of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in Tibet, Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries

© 2011

By

Nancy Grace Lin

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a history of a Buddhist Sanskrit biographical collection—the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*—in the cultural imagination and discourse of Tibet during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The *Wish-Fulfilling Vine of Bodhisattva Avadānas* (Skt. Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, Tb. Byang chub sems dpa'i rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam gyi 'khri shing) by Kṣemendra is an eleventh-century Sanskrit anthology of stories about the previous existences of the Buddha and his disciples, along with events from the Buddha's final life. Translated into Tibetan circa 1270 and incorporated into the Tibetan Buddhist canon, by the seventeenth century the *Vine* occupied a place of high prestige in Tibet. I argue that adaptations of the *Vine*—condensed literary digests, paintings, and woodcuts—constitute sophisticated forms of commentary that reveal the ingenuity and concerns of their producers. In addition to didactic and iconic functions in Buddhist practice, cultural productions of the *Vine* served as sites of discourse about knowledge, authority, ideal Buddhist exemplars, and authentic Indic origins. With prominent monastic intellectuals and rulers as producers and patrons of its editions and adaptations, the *Vine* offers perspectives into the elite culture of Tibet, in its monastic and courtly aspects.

The dissertation chapters constitute a series of case studies, each organized around a major Tibetan religious or political figure who designed, sponsored, or otherwise promoted cultural productions of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. In Chapter One I trace how the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) and his court popularized the *Vine* through public instruction, paintings, and literary activities. These conspicuously cultured displays promoted renewed interest in Sanskrit and the Indic origins of Buddhism, while contributing to broader projects of knowledge production and state-building. In Chapter Two I demonstrate how the lay Pho lha dynasty (r. 1728-1750) appropriated the *Vine*, sponsoring two large-scale multimedia productions while developing models for lay kingship and patronage. In Chapter Three I argue that Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1700-1774), an influential monk of Sde dge in eastern Tibet, articulated his vision of the ideal monastic through the design of *Vine* paintings and other literary and visual productions on the Buddha's life. In Chapter Four I study Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen (1697-1774), court chaplain of Sde dge, and his work on the *Vine* as commentaries on cultural production.

For all of my teachers

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....iii

Acknowledgements.....vii

Introduction.....1

Chapter One. The Fifth Dalai Lama and His Court: Promoting the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*.....18

Chapter Two. The Pho lha Family: Modeling Lay Kingship and Patronage.....66

Chapter Three. Si tu Paṇ chen's Vision of the Ideal Monastic.....99

Chapter Four. Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen: Commenting on Cultural Production.....143

Conclusion.....181

Abbreviations.....186

Bibliography.....187

Appendix A. The Pho lha Family's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* Productions: Numbering and Identifications.....216

Appendix B. Si tu Paṇ chen's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* Thangkas: Key to Narrative Diagrams.....219

Figures.....258

LIST OF FIGURES

All photographs taken by author unless otherwise specified.

1.1. *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* murals, Gong dkar Monastery.....258

1.2. Plan of White Palace, Po ta la.....259

1.3. "Muktālatā," mural detail, Po ta la.....260

1.4. Descent from Trayastriṃśa, mural detail, Po ta la.....260

1.5. Plan of Jo khang.....261

2.1. Central (first) wood-block print, Snar thang *Vine*.....262

2.2. Final (thirty-first) wood-block print, Snar thang *Vine*.....262

2.3. Eighth wood-block print, Snar thang *Life of Tsong kha pa*.....263

2.4. Final wood-block print, Snar thang Sixteen Arhats.....263

2.5. Donor portrait of Pho lha family, detail of thangka based on Snar thang *Vine*.....264

2.6. Central (first) *Vine* thangka, Pho lha set of forty-one.....265

2.7. Final *Vine* thangka, Pho lha set of forty-one.....265

2.8. *Vine* thangkas on display, Rnam rgyal Monastery, Dharamsala.....266

2.9. Donor portrait of Pho lha family, detail of Fig. 2.7.....267

2.10. Wanfuge *Vine* thangka, Yonghegong.....268

2.11. Yonghegong, exterior view of the Wanfuge.....268

2.12. AAMSF *Vine* thangka, from incomplete set of forty-one.....269

2.13. Identification for the central (first) wood-block print, Snar thang *Vine*.....270

2.14. "Muktālatā," thangka detail, Pho lha set of forty-one.....271

2.15. Descent from Trayastriṃśa, thangka detail, Pho lha set of forty-one.....271

2.16. Fifth Dalai Lama, mural detail, Po ta la.....271

2.17. Third Dalai Lama, mural detail, Po ta la.....272

2.18. Fourth Dalai Lama, mural detail, Po ta la.....272

2.19. 'Brom ston pa teaching, mural detail, Po ta la.....273

2.20. Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, mural detail, Po ta la.....273

2.21. Pho lha nas donor portrait, woodcut illustration, Snar thang Bstan 'gyur catalogue.....274

2.22. Yam shud dmar po, woodcut illustration, Snar thang Bstan 'gyur catalogue.....274

2.23. "Prabhāsa" (*Vine* no. 1), second *Vine* thangka, Pho lha set of forty-one.....275

2.24. "Prabhāsa" and "Śrīsena," second wood-block print, Snar thang *Vine*.....275

2.25. "Śrīsena" and "Maṇicūḍa," third thangka, Pho lha set of forty-one.....276

2.26. "Prabhāsa" and "Śrīsena," second thangka, Gugong copy of Snar thang *Vine*.....276

2.27. "Maṇicūḍa" etc., third wood-block print, Snar thang *Vine*.....277

2.28. Tibet House New Delhi thangka, based on Snar thang *Vine*, with "Nārakapūrvika".....277

2.29. "Nārakapūrvika," detail of Fig. 2.12.....278

2.30. "Nārakapūrvika," thangka detail, Gugong copy of Snar thang *Vine*.....278

2.31. Royal patrons of the Buddha, thangka detail, Gugong copy of Snar thang *Vine*.....279

2.32. Pho lha nas donor portrait, thangka detail, Gugong copy of Snar thang *Vine*.....279

3.1. Si tu Paṇ chen lineage portrait, thangka.....280

3.2. Indian adept Ghaṇṭāpa, thangka.....281

3.3. Dpal spungs Monastery, exterior view.....281

3.4. The Buddha's Deeds thangka, Si tu Paṇ chen design.....282

3.5. The Buddha's Deeds thangka, Si tu Paṇ chen design.....283

3.6. The Buddha's Deeds thangka, based on Si tu Paṇ chen design.....284

3.7. Bhaiṣajyaguru, hanging scroll.....284

3.8. White Tārā Protecting from Eight Dangers, thangka, Si tu Paṇ chen design.....285

3.9. Mañjuśrī, thangka.....285

3.10. White Cakrasaṃvara, thangka, Si tu Paṇ chen design.....286

3.11. Vajradhāra, thangka, thangka, Si tu Paṇ chen design.....286

3.12. Śākyamuni Buddha with eighteen arhats, thangka.....287

3.13. Fifth Zhwa dmar lineage portrait, thangka.....288

3.14. Śākyamuni Buddha, first (central) *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, Shechen Archives.....288

3.15. Śākyamuni Buddha, first (central) *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, Jucker Collection.....289

3.16. Second *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 1-3.....290

3.17. Third *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 4-6.....291

3.18. Fourth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 7-11.....292

3.19. Fifth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 12-14.....293

3.20. Sixth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 15-20.....294

3.21. Seventh *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 21-23.....295

3.22. Eighth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 24-27.....296

3.23. Ninth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 28-33.....297

3.24. Tenth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 34-38.....298

3.25. Eleventh *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 39-42.....299

3.26. Twelfth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 43-48.....300

3.27. Thirteenth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 49-54.....301

3.28. Fourteenth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 55-62.....302

3.29. Fifteenth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 63-66.....303

3.30. Sixteenth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 67-71.....304

3.31. Seventeenth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 72-80.....305

3.32. Eighteenth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 81-87.....306

3.33. Nineteenth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 88-92.....307

3.34. Twentieth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 93-99.....308

3.35. Twenty-first *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos.100-105.....309

3.36. Twenty-second *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, episode nos. 106-108.....310

3.37. Final (twenty-third) *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, donor portrait and inscription.....311

3.38. Donor portrait of Si tu Paṇ chen, twenty-third *Vine* thangka, RMA.....312

3.39. Donor portrait of Si tu Paṇ chen, twenty-third *Vine* thangka, Shechen Archives.....312

3.40. Fifth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, private collection.....313

3.41. Eighth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, private collection.....313

3.42. Ninth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, private collection.....314

3.43. Nineteenth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, private collection.....314

3.44. Twelfth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, Newark Museum.....315

3.45. Twelfth *Vine* thangka, Si tu design, RMA.....315

3.46. *Landscapes After Ancient Masters*, Wang Hui, seventh album leaf.....316

3.47. *Landscapes After Ancient Masters*, Wang Hui, eighth album leaf.....316

4.1. Biography of 37th Ngor abbot Rin chen mi ’gyur rgyal mtshan, thangka.....317

4.2. Zhu chen and the Lha dga’ brothers producing *Vine* paintings, detail of Fig. 4.1.....317

4.3. Zhu chen and assistants producing *Vine* paintings, detail of Fig. 4.1.....318

4.4. Painting the *Vine*, detail of Fig. 4.1.....319

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Whenever I lost my way in the labyrinth of research or stumbled headlong into writer's block, I would think of all the help I had received along the way. Remembering the kindness, good advice, encouragement, and myriad other forms of support from my teachers, family, friends, colleagues, and sponsors motivated me to persevere. Without them this dissertation could hardly been conceived, much less completed.

I could not have hoped for better dissertation co-chairs than Alexander von Rospatt and Patricia Berger, who have advised me through every stage of my doctoral program. Alex has been a steady and far-sighted guide, granting me the latitude to develop my intellectual interests while ensuring that I received firm grounding in Buddhist texts and in the labors and joys of translation. During the writing process he read my drafts promptly and meticulously, with incisive questions and comments that helped me give shape to the larger project, clarify my thinking on countless points, correct numerous errors, and pursue worthy lines of investigation and argumentation. Beyond being fully invested as my teacher himself, he has also made great effort to bring a number of visiting scholars to Berkeley, benefiting my training and research tremendously. His erudition, generosity, thoroughness, and integrity have made him an exemplary mentor that I can only strive to emulate.

Ever since that first marvelous seminar on Sino-Tibetan art, Pat has inspired me with her buoyant vivacity, intellectual adventurousness, and ability to eloquently engage an amazing array of materials, theories, and disciplines in dialogue. Her endless enthusiasm for my research interests and dissertation project instilled in me the confidence to enter the study of visual culture, and to continue exploring a challenging and multidimensional topic. Pat's insightful comments helped me consider different angles and fresh possibilities, draw connections between various parts of my project, and catch sight of further terrain to traverse. She has also nurtured a wonderful community of students and colleagues at Berkeley, which has provided a welcoming and lively environment for my work and that of many others. I suspect that I have scarcely begun to appreciate all that Pat and Alex have done for me, which will become more and more apparent in the years to come.

The remaining members of my dissertation committee have each contributed to my doctoral education and to this project in crucial ways. Robert Sharf has worked tirelessly to build a thriving program in Buddhist Studies at Berkeley, with a constant stream of visiting faculty, conferences, and symposia enhancing an already-spirited program. He has urged me to consider the relevance of my work beyond my particular areas of specialty, offered salient theoretical perspectives, and welcomed my dabbling in Chinese Buddhism and its texts. Jacob Dalton gamely joined my committee at a relatively late stage. His willingness to read Tibetan texts with me and to discuss all aspects of my project—combined with our shared interests in narrative and the interaction of myth and history—led to many enjoyable hours of translation and animated conversation. Jake's expertise in Tibetan studies, ability to sift through my ideas and recast them with elegant simplicity, and astute editing skills were invaluable for completing this dissertation. Paula Varsano brought refreshing literary questions and perspectives to my work, lent a sympathetic and supportive ear whenever needed, and encouraged me to consider deeper humanistic questions raised by my work.

At Berkeley, a number of other faculty and staff supplemented my doctoral education and research in diverse ways. Padmanabh S. Jaini taught my first class in Buddhist Studies at

Berkeley, and his vast knowledge and kindhearted presence have been an unforgettable part of my education. Joanna Williams, Robert Goldman, and Sally Goldman shared their abundant expertise in South Asian art and Sanskrit literature. Karma Ngodup kindly helped me through an early stage of translating Tibetan material for my dissertation, and advised me on conducting research in India. My education and research at Berkeley has been all the more pleasant because of the dedicated and highly effective staff of the Group in Buddhist Studies, the Center for Buddhist Studies, the Berkeley library system, and the Berkeley Art Museum, especially Keila Diehl, Jan Johnson, Lynne Kimura, Sanjyot Mehendale, Kaja Sehrt, Natasha Wild, and Bruce Williams.

As for visiting faculty at Berkeley, Michael Hahn judiciously guided me through Buddhist *kāvya* texts, gave advice on my research, and taught many valuable lessons in metrics and textual criticism. Somadeva Vasudeva taught Sanskrit poetics and Buddhist narratives with remarkable clarity and dauntlessness. Christian Luczanits shared his impressive grasp of Tibetan art and iconography, and nimbly led the Momo Sisterhood on a trip through the western Himalayas that introduced me to the pleasures and challenges of art-historical fieldwork. Bryan Cuevas and Benjamin Bogin each read Tibetan texts with me in the formative stages of my research. Together, they co-taught an excellent seminar on Tibetan historiography and organized a conference on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Tibet where I was able to present my work. I would also like to thank Peter Skilling and Phyllis Granoff for their illuminating conversations about Buddhist narratives.

I began graduate study at Columbia University, where Tenzin Norbu Nangsal's capable and good-natured teaching motivated me to embark on the lifelong endeavor of studying Tibetan. Geshe Lozang Jamspal guided my first steps into classical Tibetan with serenity and timely words of good advice. I am also indebted to Lauran Hartley for opening up the rich world of Tibetan literature with warmth and integrity; to Gary Tubb, for activating my love of Sanskrit through his dedicated and even-handed teaching; to Robbie Barnett, for introducing me to stimulating perspectives on Tibetan modernities; and to Robert Thurman, for enlivening Buddhist philosophy as no one else can.

I would like to express my gratitude to a number of other scholars based in North America and Europe who have also contributed to my work in diverse ways. E. Gene Smith encouraged my interest in Tibetan literature when I was just beginning graduate study, generously gave knowledge, texts, and advice over the years, and set a shining example for all scholars of Tibet to follow. David Jackson provided valuable comments on my dissertation research, both orally and in writing, and his publications have been important resources for this project. Janet Gyatso has provided great inspiration, encouragement, and feedback on substantial portions of this dissertation that I presented on various occasions. I would also like to thank Jann Ronis, Cynthia Col, and Karl Debreczeny for organizing panels and symposia on Khams and Si tu Paṇ chen, along with my respondents and fellow participants Alexander Gardner, Kurtis Schaeffer, Rémi Chaix, Frances Garrett, and Yudru Tsomu. Other scholars who provided responses and support for my work include: Terese Tse Bartholomew, Stefan Baums, Raoul Birnbaum, José Cabezón, Sienna Craig, Christoph Cüppers, David Germano, Luis Gómez, Amy Heller, Geshe Thupten Jinpa, Matthew Kapstein, Deborah Klimburg-Salter, Leonard van der Kuijp, Stefan Larsson, Rob Linrothe, Reiko Ohnuma, Isabelle Onians, Andrew Quintman, James Robson, Joel Tatelman, Stephen Teiser and Yang Wei, Gray Tuttle, Pieter Verhagen, Jeff Watt, and Stuart Young and other organizers of the Buddhist Studies Graduate Student Conference at Princeton University in 2005. I am also grateful to Susan Meinheit at the Library of Congress,

along with the staff of the Tibetan Resource Buddhist Center, Latse Library, the Rubin Museum of Art, Tibet House New York, and the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco for making their resources available and for helping me navigate them.

No less beneficial were a number of scholars and friends based in Asia. First and foremost I would like to thank Sangye Tandar Naga and Ye shes, who generously shared their erudition and much of their time as they read through various difficult passages and texts with me. I am grateful to Doboom Rinpoche and the museum staff of Tibet House New Delhi for going out of their way to accommodate my study of their *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* paintings, and for giving me the chance to present my work. Tashi Tsering of the Amnye Machen Institute was an invaluable resource on many aspects of Tibetan history, literature, and art. Lobsang Shastri, Geshe Lhakdor, Chok Tenzin Monlam, and other staff at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives offered ample expertise and guidance. Acharya Pema Tenzin and Jampa Samten of the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Sarnath also made time to address research and textual questions. In Kathmandu, Lama Chopel welcomed me to Nenang monastery, while Dragomir Dimitrov was a friendly and able host at the Nepal Research Centre. Hubert Decleer and Nazneen Zafar welcomed me into their home with sound advice and support. In Chengdu and Beijing, I would like to thank Padma 'tsho, Gesang Yixi, Shi Shuo, Luo Wenhua, and Xiong Wenbin for their help with my fieldwork. I am fortunate to have come into contact with several eminent teachers of Tibetan Buddhism, and would like to thank the Twelfth Tai Situpa, Thrangu Rinpoche, the late Chogye Trichen Rinpoche, Guru Lama, Khenpo Ngawang Jorden, and Mkhan po Blo gros bzang po for their kindness, advice, and instruction. I would also like to thank Dpal bsdus, Ye shes rdo rje, and Chöyang Drolma for their help with Tibetan poetics and Khams dialects. For their friendship and help in many forms I would like to thank Bsod nams bzang po; Michael Sheehy, Yeshe Tsho Sheehy, Yang Yang, and Tashi Gyamtso; Tenzin Mullin and Mao Wei; Angela Lankford; and Yeshi Dolma. I am also grateful to the following organizations: the United States Educational Foundation in India, the Asian Classics Input Project, and the Lumbini International Research Institute.

Several institutions provided financial support that has made my research and completion of this dissertation possible. These included the Berkeley Fellowship for Graduate Study, the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship, the Dean's Normative Time Fellowship, the Chancellor's Dissertation-Year Fellowship, and summer and conference travel grants from the Group in Buddhist Studies, the Qayum Family Foundation Grant via the Berkeley Center for South Asian Studies, and the Liu Graduate Research Fellowship in Chinese Studies via the Berkeley Institute of East Asian Studies.

It is a great privilege to have shared the experiences of graduate school with a number of good friends. For their support on multiple levels during the completion of this dissertation, I am deeply grateful to Wen-shing Chou, Sonal Khullar, Catherine Becker, Amanda Goodman, Namiko Kunimoto, Nicole Willock, Rae Erin Dachille, Rebekah Collins, Damchö Diana Finnegan, and Ariana Maki—all of whom continue to amaze and sustain me with their love, resilience, and creativity. For their camaraderie and advice I would like to thank Juhn Ahn, John Campbell, Paul Copp, Charles Drucker, Kristina Dy-Liacco, Holly Gayley, April Hughes, Jinah Kim, Sujatha Meegama, Sharon Roe, Jennifer Stager, Iwona and Norbu Tenzing, and Orna Tsultem; the students of the Group in Buddhist Studies; my fellow students in all the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and art history seminars at Berkeley over the years; my cohort at Tibet University in the summer of 2004; the participants of the Princeton Tibet Site Seminar and conference; and the participants of the 2010 Mangalam seminar, for a pleasant diversion from my dissertation. For

reminding me that life exists outside of academia, I would especially like to thank Tricia Lin Cary, Steven Thrasher, Jennifer Wu, and Monica Lamb.

Finally, my fullest round of gratitude is for my family. My extraordinary sister Linda has coached me through graduate school and the dissertation, reading and fearlessly commenting on multiple conference papers and chapter drafts despite knowing nothing about my field or the obscure languages in which I work. My husband Markus has accompanied me across continents and through thickets of ideas, weathering this long journey with patience and good cheer. David Leong showed me how to accept difficulty with dignity and humor, and put my own worries and preoccupations into perspective. Darryl Leong has been a steadfast, reliable, and understanding brother-in-law. The Mars, Leongs, and Fungs have welcomed me to the Bay area and helped me stay grounded in the things that matter. Most of all, I wish to thank my very first teachers: my father, a tireless thinker and dreamer who taught me to set the bar high; and my mother, whose love of books sent me down the path of learning at an early age, and whose selfless care and forbearance demonstrate what keeps us together.

INTRODUCTION

In the early fourteenth century, when the Third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339) compiled the *Hundred Birth-Stories* (Skyes rabs brgya rtsa) of the Buddha Śākyamuni, he remarked in the afterword:

> Here people are obsessed with the trifling biographies
> of each and every person who claims to be a *bla ma*.
> Once they see this only wearies the intellect,
> they will recall in their hearts the grand waves of the Jina's deeds.[1]

The production of *rnam thar*—biographies recounting the liberative activities of eminent Buddhist teachers and in particular, those of contemporary Tibetan *bla ma*s rather than past Indian masters—must have been widespread enough by this point that the Karma pa felt the need to intervene. It might be well and good to familiarize oneself with the activities of one's principal teachers so that one could learn from their exemplary conduct, but the Karma pa had little patience for the unbridled proliferation of contemporary biographies, many of whose subjects he considered unworthy of such attention. The paramount biography, he reminded his readers, would always consist of the paradigmatic life narratives of the Buddha Śākyamuni himself, just as the paramount exemplar for the Buddhist path would always be the Buddha. By metaphorically describing the Buddha's activities as "grand waves" (*rlabs chen*), the Karma pa invoked the magnificent vastness of the ocean and the infinite succession of waves that succor sentient beings with their blessings (*byin rlabs*). The activities of some self-proclaimed *bla ma*s could only appear shallow and limited by comparison. This was no minor pronouncement: the Third Karma pa was a towering monastic figure in his day, and his incarnation lineage came to be popularly identified as the first recognized *sprul sku* (reincarnating *bla ma*) lineage.[2]

The Karma pa's trenchant verse was addressed to his fellow Tibetans, but he might have regarded developments in Western perceptions of Tibet with similar dismay. European explorers, missionaries, and scholars initially did not even recognize the dominant religion in Tibet as a form of Buddhism, and the appellation "Lamaism" continued to perpetuate the belief that Tibet harbored a degenerate outgrowth of Buddhism well into the twentieth century.[3] Even sympathetic scholars de-emphasized the role of the Buddha in Tibet. In *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism,* published in 1939, Antoinette K. Gordon claimed that the "fusion of

---

[1] *'di na rang rang bla mar khas 'che ba'i// skye bo'i rnam thar nyi tsher chags pa dag// blo gros ral* [read *ngal*] *pa tsam gyi rgyur mthong nas// rlabs chen rgyal ba'i mdzad pa snying la dran//*. Karma pa III and Āryaśūra, *Tibetan Rendering of the Jātakamālā*, vol. 2, 622.1-622.2; Karma pa [III] and [Āryaśūra] Slob dpon dpa' bo, *Skyes rabs brgya ba*, 727.

[2] On earlier precedents see van der Kuijp, "Origins of Reincarnate Lamas," 28-29.

[3] On the genealogy of the term "Lamaism" see Lopez, "The Name," chap. 1 in *Prisoners of Shangri-La.*

Mahāyāna and Pön was the origin of Lamaism... Padmasambhava is regarded as the founder of Lamaism," invoking both the appellation for indigenous Tibetan religion (*bon*) and the tantric adept credited with taming the local deities of Tibet hostile to Buddhism in the eighth century.[4] Although current explanations of Tibetan Buddhism generally acknowledge the importance of the Buddha, there is still a relative lack of research on the Buddha's biographies in Tibet.

I seek to address this gap with my dissertation, a cultural history of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine of Bodhisattva Avadānas* (Skt. Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, Tb. Byang chub sems dpa'i rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam gyi 'khri shing; hereafter abbreviated as the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* or simply the *Vine*) in Tibet during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[5] A verse anthology in 108 episodes, this work was composed circa 1052 by the Kashmiri poet Kṣemendra and belongs to the genre of *avadāna*s, narratives about the life and previous lives of the Buddha and his disciples. After its translation into Tibetan (c. 1270) it was added to the Tibetan Buddhist canon in the fourteenth century. By the seventeenth century it was publicly taught during the New Year festival, hailed as the foremost exemplar of Tibetan belles-lettres, and was a popular subject in painting. While the importance of this anthology for Tibetan Buddhist literature and art has been briefly noted, this study more fully investigates the range of its cultural production in Tibet and brings together several prominent cases from the seventeenth and eighteenth century for comparison. In this study I attempt to demonstrate how spiritual and political elites took up the *Vine* as a site of discourse about knowledge, authority, ideal Buddhist exemplars, and authentic Indic origins. In the remainder of this introduction I survey scholarly approaches to the Buddha's biographies to date, provide a brief orientation to the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in India and in Tibet up to the seventeenth century, lay out proposed approaches and methods for the present study, and outline the chapters of this dissertation.

SCHOLARLY APPROACHES TO THE BUDDHA'S BIOGRAPHIES

While events from the Buddha's life are described in the Sūtra and Vinaya collections of early Buddhist texts, the Buddha's biography only began appearing as a cohesive narrative in works such as the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa (second century CE), the *Mahāvastu* (compiled between the second century BCE and fourth century CE), the *Lalitavistara-Sūtra* (c. fourth century CE), and the Pāli *Nidānakathā* (fifth century CE).[6] The life, character, and historicity of the Buddha preoccupied Western scholars from the early nineteenth to early twentieth century. Eugène Burnouf (1801-1852), one of the first European scholars to read widely in Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts, favored a demythologized, human version of the Buddha. In Burnouf's influential view, the Buddha was distinguished from brahmanical deities as "the son of a king who becomes a monk and who has only the superiority of his virtue and his science to recommend him to the people."[7] This view of the Buddha as a rational and accomplished human being was so appealing to Victorian desires that Burnouf's student, F. Max Müller, wryly remarked in 1869, "Now it has been the peculiar fate of the religion of Buddha, that among all

[4] Gordon, *Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism,* 5.
[5] The title of the work is frequently abbreviated as *Avadānakalpalatā, Dpag bsam 'khri shing*, and *'Khri shing*.
[6] For a fuller discussion of Indic textual sources on the Buddha's life see Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, 648-62. The development of scholarship on the Buddha's biographies has been summarized in previous sources (Reynolds and Hallisey, "Buddha," 319-22; Reynolds, "Many Lives of Buddha;" and Schober, "Trajectories").
[7] Burnouf, *History of Indian Buddhism*, 165.

the so-called false or heathenish religions, it almost alone has been praised by all and everybody for its elevated, pure, and humanizing character."[8]

A number of Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts were published in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, among these editions of the *Nidānakathā* (contained in the first volume of Fausbøll's *Jātaka*, 1877), *Lalitavistara* (Mitra, 1853-1877), *Mahāvastu* (Senart, 1882-1897), and *Buddhacarita* (Cowell, 1893).[9] Based on these and other narrative sources, scholars continued to debate the character of the Buddha as reflected in his biographies. Émile Senart—whose study appeared in final revised form in 1882 and relied heavily on Sanskrit sources—argued that the mythological elements of the Buddha's life made him out to be a supreme solar god who had descended to earth; this theory was adopted and taken to its extreme by Hendrik Kern (1882, 1884), who denied the existence of the historical Buddha altogether.[10] Hermann Oldenberg rejected Senart's theory with his 1881 publication, instead advancing the theory that historical details about the life of a human Buddha could be reconstructed from the oldest Pāli sources; this reliance on the Pāli canon was supported by Rhys Davids and others.[11] Most scholars followed Oldenberg's euhemeristic approach of disaggregating factual information from mythological elements, thus continuing the work of nineteenth-century rationalists. However, as J.W. de Jong observed, Senart's mythological approach was important because "he based his position upon the conceptions that the Indians had of the Buddha."[12]

This recognition of emic Indic perceptions of the Buddha as an object of study, together with a continuing emphasis on early history, was reflected in twentieth-century scholarship on the Buddha's biographies. Dismissing the opposition of Pāli versus Sanskrit sources as the authoritative source on the Buddha's life, Edward J. Thomas (1927) argued that the range of available sources—including those in Chinese and Tibetan translations—represented Buddhist schools and therefore should be compared to elicit their respective conceptions of the Buddha. Based on his study, Thomas concluded that the Buddha was initially viewed as a human being, and was later ascribed superhuman attributes; in his view this implied that the earlier accounts contained historical facts.[13] In 1949 Alfred Foucher published *La vie du Bouddha*, commenting that in Senart's portrayal of the Buddha the human was missing, while in Oldenberg's the god was missing.[14] Foucher strove to present a middle way in his own account, further drawing from early South Asian monuments and archaeological excavations to explain developments in the Buddha's biography.[15]

Erich Frauwallner (1956) posited the existence of a lost *ur*-biography of the Buddha dating to a century after the Buddha's death from which all later versions derived; since this was

---

[8] Müller, "Lecture on Buddhist Nihilism," 132. On Victorian constructions of Buddhism, see Almond, *British Discovery of Buddhism*; and Masuzawa, chap. 4 in *Invention of World Religions*, 121-46.

[9] As de Jong notes, Mitra's edition of the *Lalitavistara* was unsatisfactory; Lefmann published a new edition in two volumes (1902-1908). de Jong provides a useful summary of major developments in Buddhist Studies during this period (de Jong, *Brief History of Buddhist Studies*, 27-35).

[10] Senart, *Essai sur la légende*; and de Jong, *Brief History of Buddhist Studies*, 29-31.

[11] Oldenberg, *Buddha*; and de Jong, *Brief History of Buddhist Studies*, 30-32.

[12] de Jong, *Brief History of Buddhist Studies,* 32.

[13] Thomas, *Life of Buddha*. See especially chapters 15 and 16.

[14] Foucher, *Vie du Bouddha*, 13.

[15] Ibid., 35-39. For example, Foucher argues that an early medallion from the Bharhut *stūpa* depicts Māyā's dream of the elephant, but that popular imagination mistook this as the actual arrival of the Bodhisattva in the form of an elephant; this would account for differing accounts between the earlier verse and later prose sections of the *Lalitavistara*.

unavailable, he expressed skepticism about the factual reliability of available biographical materials.[16] While scholars subsequently acknowledged the inaccessibility of factual detail about the Buddha's life, they rejected the notion of an *ur*-biography, arguing instead for the gradual development of the Buddha's biographies through the chronological layers of texts. Lamotte's magisterial *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien* (1958) included a section titled "The Successive Stages of the Legend of the Buddha," in which he proposed five developmental stages, from biographical fragments in the early *sūtra*s to complete and autonomous works such as *Buddhacarita* and the *Nidānakathā*.[17] Following Lamotte with major publications appearing in 1963 and 1971, André Bareau embarked on a detailed textual study of the life of the Buddha based on the Sūtrapiṭakas, the Theravādin, Mahīśāsaka and Dharmaguptaka Vinayas, and the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* and parallel texts. Further documenting and elaborating on Lamotte's arguments, he divided the materials into episodes and made arguments for when various narrative sections appeared.[18] The work of Lamotte and Bareau has continued to serve as a model for contemporary scholarship, with guiding concerns about "the identification of the various levels or stages in the development of the biographical tradition, the question of the structure of the various biographical fragments and texts, and the role which these fragments and texts have played within the broader tradition."[19]

Given prevailing Western scholarly interest in historical reconstructions of the Buddha's life and its early textual sources, *jātaka* and *avadāna* literature attracted comparatively less attention from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. Most of the scholarship from this period consisted of preparing editions and translations of Pāli and Sanskrit works, notably the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā* (also known as the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*) edited by V. Fausbøll (1877-1897) and fully translated into English under the editorship of E.B. Cowell (1895-1913); the *Divyāvadāna* edited by E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil (1886); Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* edited in Sanskrit and Tibetan by Sarat Chandra Das and others (1888-1918), with selected English translations; the *Avadānaśataka* translated into French by M. Léon Feer (1891) and edited by J.S. Speyer (1902-1909); and Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* edited by Hendrik Kern (1891) and first translated into English by Speyer (1895).[20] As for scholarly perspectives on their content, T.W. Rhys Davids set the tone by declaring the canonical Pāli *jātaka*s an ancient collection of folklore with pre-Buddhist roots that was valuable as a "record of the every-day life, and every-day thought, of the people among whom the tales were told."[21] The tendency to evaluate the prose narratives as simplistic tales for didactic purposes was articulated by Speyer, who felt that the *Avadānaśataka* "possess[ed] the manifest character of fancied stories, fairy tales, legends or even myths adapted by pious monks to the exigencies of preaching purposes and moral instruction."[22] Nevertheless, important formal qualities were noted, such as the narrative structure of the frame-story and the literary qualities of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* and Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* as works of classical Sanskrit poetics (*kāvya*).[23]

---

[16] Frauwallner, *Earliest Vinaya*. See especially chapter 6.
[17] Lamotte, "Les états successifs de la légende du Buddha," in *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, 718-33.
[18] Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie*.
[19] Reynolds, "Many Lives of Buddha," 39.
[20] See the Bibliography for full citations.
[21] Rhys Davids, introduction to *Buddhist Birth-Stories*, iv. For comparable statements see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 189; and Cowell, introduction to *Jātaka*, vol. 1, xi-xii.
[22] Speyer, preface to *Avadānaçataka*, ii.
[23] An important early study on the canonical Pāli *jātaka* was published by Feer; this included a comparison of *jātaka* episodes on the theme of morality (Pāli *sīla*). Feer, "Études Bouddhiques: Les Jātakas."

Through the mid-twentieth century, this literature continued to be devalued by Western scholars of Buddhism. Edward Conze (1951) bluntly asserted that the *jātakas* and *avadānas* had "little to do with the fundamental teachings of Buddhism" and were merely "gospel for the busy householder."[24] An important exception was Alfred Foucher (1955): while continuing to emphasize the folkloric and edificatory features of *jātaka* narratives, he offered a sympathetic treatment that affirmed their exemplification of the perfections (*pāramitā*), their widespread and enduring popularity, and their benefit for Buddhist monastics and laypeople alike.[25] In their 1977 study and translation of the *Vessantara Jātaka,* Margaret Cone and Richard Gombrich praised this work as "a fine story, full of pathos and dignity" along with moral and narrative complexity.[26] They further discussed the story as a social phenomenon, commenting on its likely social context of the earliest Pāli version, the oral character of the text, and its subsequent diffusion across Asia in literature, art, and ritual.[27]

While philological work has continued on *jātaka* and *avadāna* literature and on the dating of the historical Buddha,[28] in recent decades approaches to the study of the Buddha's biographies have diversified, incorporating mythological, ethical, literary, art-historical, ritual, and performative perspectives and expanding the temporal and geographical range of study. These approaches have coincided with critiques of normative distinctions within the field of Buddhist Studies that privilege the "great tradition" over "little traditions," philosophical texts over other genres, and the reconstruction of an original Buddhism over later forms of Buddhism presumed to be corrupt. Charles Hallisey and Anne Hansen have argued that *jātaka*s may be understood as sophisticated acts of social imagination, enabling moral life through the medium of narrative.[29] Writing more broadly about Buddhist narratives, David Seyfort Ruegg has drawn attention to their aesthetic, cognitive and etiological functions in addition to their edificatory function.[30] Scholars such as John Strong, Reiko Ohnuma, Andy Rotman and Jonathan Silk have begun revisiting Sanskrit and Pāli *jātaka* and *avadāna* narratives as literary texts, reading for their internal logic and themes including kingship, bodily self-sacrifice, vision, and transgression.[31] Their studies have demonstrated the sophistication and complexity of Buddhist narrative literature, while drawing our attention to key discourses of early Indian Buddhism.

From the field of art history, key research has been carried out on early visual narratives of the Buddha's biographies in South Asia. Dieter Schlingloff's landmark identifications of narratives in the Ajaṇṭā paintings built on the previous work of Foucher and his own extensive knowledge of textual sources, establishing that in a majority of cases, representations of the

---

[24] Conze, *Buddhism*, 87.
[25] "Devant la multiplication et le long succès des djâtakas, force nous est d'admettre que religeux et zélateurs laïques y trouvaient également leur compte." Foucher, *Les vies antérieures*, 71.
[26] Cone and Gombrich, *Perfect Generosity of Prince Vessantara*, xxv.
[27] Ibid., xv-xlvii.
[28] More recent philological studies on *jātaka* and *avadāna* literature include those of Padmanabh Jaini, Peter Skilling, Michael Hahn, Ratna Handurukande, and Albrecht Hanisch. Two useful concordances that have been published in recent years are those of Jampa Losang Panglung and Leslie Grey. On the dating of the historical Buddha, see Bechert, *Dating of the Historical Buddha*.
[29] Hallisey and Hansen, "Narrative, Sub-Ethics, and the Moral Life."
[30] Ruegg, "Remarks on the Place of Narrative."
[31] Strong, *Legend of King Aśoka*; Ohnuma, *Head, Eyes, Flesh, and Blood*; Rotman, *Thus Have I Seen*; and Silk, *Riven By Lust*.

Buddha's lives correspond most closely to textual versions in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya.[32] Vidya Dehejia conducted a major survey of early Indian Buddhist narrative art, undergirded by seven proposed modes of visual narration as tools for formal analysis, ranging from monoscenic narratives to complex narrative networks.[33] Her approach was critiqued by Robert Brown, who argued that visual *jātaka*s at several South and Southeast Asian monuments were often inaccessible to viewers and not intended to "elicit a mental telling of a story," but rather to serve worshippers as icons whose "purpose is to make the Buddha's presence felt, his forms and teachings manifest."[34] However, Joanna Williams raised objections to some of his claims about viewers' inaccessibility to *jātaka* scenes, and argued against the implication that the image in South and Southeast Asian art was "not necessarily meant to be seen."[35] The positions of the three scholars may not be as far apart as might be imagined. All of them rely on visual analysis and affirm its usefulness; moreover, their proposed functions for Buddhist narrative art are not mutually exclusive, and their disagreements about viewers' experiences may in part be explained by the diversity of viewers approaching such sites.[36] More recently, Catherine Becker has argued that the very act of "reading" visual narrative may itself have been intended to manifest the Buddha's presence for devotees, through an analysis of framing and self-reflexivity in narrative sculpture from early Buddhist sites in Andhra Pradesh.[37]

In addition, scholars have begun to investigate the specific social contexts in which the Buddha's biographies were produced and maintained. Scholars including Stanley Tambiah, Donald Swearer, Juliane Schober, and Jonathan Walters have explored ritual contexts of the Buddha's biographies in merit-making ceremonies, consecrations of buddha images, and *stūpa* and relic cults.[38] Particular artistic and literary productions of the Buddha's biographies have also been investigated, e.g. Thai patronage of Vessantara paintings and the circulation of *jātaka* texts in Southeast Asia discussed respectively by Forrest McGill and Peter Skilling.[39] Will Tuladhar-Douglas has argued for the formation of a Newar Buddhist corpus of Sanskrit texts in

---

[32] Schlingloff's major work appeared in various articles in the 1970s and 1980s, often published in German; these have been compiled and translated into English as Schlingloff, *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings*. See also Schlingloff, *Guide to the Ajanta Paintings*, vol. 1, *Narrative Wall Paintings*.

[33] Dehejia, "On Modes of Visual Narration;" and Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art*.

[34] Brown, "Narrative as Icon," 80, 73. Brown's critique, published in 1997, was a response to Dehejia's 1990 article; in a later review of her book published in 1997, Brown maintained his basic position. Brown, review of *Discourses [sic] in Early Buddhist Art*.

[35] Williams argues that Sāñcī scenes cited by Brown can in fact be sufficiently discerned with the naked eye—with artists accounting for viewing distance in their design—and for lack of an earlier source, further cites a twelfth-century textual witness to "ample, diverse looking" at Indian religious monuments (Williams, "On Viewing Sāñcī"). For a relevant earlier study by the same author, see Williams, "Sārnāth Gupta Steles."

[36] Williams sensibly points out how the physical diversity of viewers (e.g. their height) and the diversity of their exposure to Buddhist narratives and doctrines would entail a range of interactions with a given site (Williams, "On Viewing Sāñcī," 97).

[37] Becker, chap. four in "Artistic Production and Ritual Performance," 118-50. Studying illustrated Prajñāpāramitā manuscripts from the eleventh to twelfth centuries, Jinah Kim has also made a case for "reading" visual narratives in concert with the total iconographic program as well as with the texts with which they jointly appear (Kim, "Illustrating the *Perfection of Wisdom*;" and Kim, "Iconography and Text"). Responding to work on Indian Buddhist narrative art, Klimburg-Salter has argued that in Indo-Tibetan contexts images have both narrative and iconic functions (Klimburg-Salter, "Four Preaching Scenes.")

[38] Tambiah, *Buddhism and Spirit Cults*, 160-68; Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha*; Schober, "In the Presence of the Buddha;" and Walters, "Stūpa, Story, and Empire." A recent study by Naomi Appleton has been published under the title *Jātaka Stories in Theravāda Buddhism*, but was not available to me in time for review.

[39] McGill, "Painting the 'Great Life;'" Skilling, "Jātaka and *Paññasa-jātaka*."

the fifteenth century associated with lay vows (*vrata*), including *avadāna* and *jātaka* collections; the *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* in particular, he asserts, participated in the revitalization of Buddhism in Nepal through such means as ritual legitimation, the promotion of the Karuṇāmaya cult, and its self-authorization as a Mahāyāna sūtra.[40] The narrative of Siṃhalasārthavāha and its significance in Newar art, literature, folk songs, and the mercantile community has been treated by Siegfried Lienhard and others.[41]

As for the Buddha's biographies in Tibetan social and historical contexts, relatively little work has been done compared to scholarship in South and Southeast Asian contexts. Most studies of Tibetan-language sources on the Buddha's biographies have focused on canonical translations of Sanskrit texts, and have been oriented toward reconstructing these original texts rather than considering their significance for Tibetan cultural history.[42] A few art-historical studies on visual narratives of the Buddha's lives have appeared, concerned especially with identification, narrative sequence, and role in the visual program *in situ*; although none attempt an overview comparable to Dehejia's work in India, each of these has provided valuable background for this study.[43] The use of the Buddha's biographies as models for Tibetan biography writing has been briefly noted; nevertheless, the Buddha's biographies themselves have yet to be treated extensively as subjects in their own right within Tibetan studies.[44]

Scholarship on Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* corresponds to many of the general developments in the study of the Buddha's biographies. The bulk has consisted of philological studies that aim to reconstruct the original Sanskrit text and translations into Western languages. The pioneering Sanskrit-Tibetan edition of Sarat Chandra Dás, Hari Mohan Vidyábhúshaṇa and Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa (1888-1918)—hereafter referred to as the Bibliotheca Indica edition—was based on the 1665 blockprint edition of the Fifth Dalai Lama and two fragmentary Nepalese manuscripts; while emended by the editors, it lacks a critical apparatus and contains

---

[40] Tuladhar-Douglas, *Remaking Buddhism*. On issues of genre and corpus in late Sanskrit narrative literature, see also Hahn and Bühnemann, *Der Grosse Legendenkranz*; and Tatelman, "Trials of Yaśodharā," part I, xii-xix.

[41] Lienhard, *Abenteuer des Kaufmanns Siṃhala*; Lienhard, "Avalokiteśvara in the Wick;" Lienhard, *Songs of Nepal*, 1-18, 25, 126; and Lewis, *Popular Buddhist Texts*, 82. For an interpretation of an earlier version of the Siṃhala narrative, see Studholme, *Origins of Oṃ Maṇipadme Hūṃ*, 77-85. Hubert Decleer has also conducted detailed studies of pictorial *jātaka* and *avadāna* narratives and pilgrimage sites in Nepal and southern Tibet. Decleer, "Metamorphoses of the Tale;" and Decleer, "'Koṭikarṇa scroll.'"

[42] Pioneering efforts in this area of study were Csoma Körösi, "Analysis of the Dulva" and Csoma Körösi, "Notices on the Life," on the Tibetan version of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya; Schmidt, *Weise und der Thor*, a translation of the *Mdo mdzangs blun*; Foucaux, *Développement des Jeux*, a translation of the *Lalitavistara* from Tibetan, and von Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales,* a translation of *jātaka* and *avadāna* narratives from the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya.

[43] Much of this work has been done in the Western Himalaya and by scholars from Vienna. Steinkellner, *Short Guide to the Sudhana Frieze*; Klimburg-Salter, *Tabo*, 120-33; see also articles by Klimburg-Salter in the Bibliography; Luczanits, "Sources for Bu ston's Introduction;" Luczanits, "Life of the Buddha;" Luczanits, "Prior to Birth II;" Allinger, "Life of the Buddha at Tabo Monastery;" Tropper, *Jātaka-Inschriften*; "Buddha-vita." See also Hackin, "Les scènes figurées;" and Karl Debreczeny's work on the Dpal spungs "Deeds of the Buddha" to be published in an exhibition catalogue on the Tenth Karma pa by the Rubin Museum of Art. Unfortunately, while preparing my study I was unable to consult the recent dissertation of Elena Pakhoutova on the eight great events of the Buddha's life.

[44] As noted by other scholars, Tibetan modeling on the Buddha's biographies has included the narrating of previous existences, the adoption of formal structures—e.g. *jātaka* frame-stories or the twelve deeds of the Buddha—and rhetorical conceits. Kapstein, "Indian Literary Identity," 774-76; Bogin, "*Life* of Yol mo Bstan 'dzin nor bu," 11-12; Quintman, "Mi la ras pa's Many Lives," 195-197, 216-17; Yamamoto, "Vision and Violence," 209-10.

many inadequate readings.[45] The newfound availability of the text spurred translations of various episodes appearing in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society* (1893-1897).[46] In a series of articles (1977-1997), J. W. de Jong undertook text-critical work on the majority of the episodes; together these remain an invaluable resource for textual study of the *Vine*.[47] However, for his major work on episodes 67-108 he was unable to obtain all of the Tibetan exemplars, having only the Bibliotheca Indica edition and the Peking Bstan 'gyur at his disposal. Subsequent editions and translations of selected episodes include those of Pema Tenzin, Marek Mejor, Bonnie Rothenberg, and Martin Straube.[48] Sūryakānta and A. K. Warder have contextualized the *Vine* within Kṣemendra's oeuvre, discussing the author's general interest in condensing narrative cycles and in providing social commentary.[49] More recently, individual episodes of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* have been interpreted as part of the thematic studies of Reiko Ohnuma and Jonathan Silk.[50]

A few studies and translations pertaining to the history of the *Vine* in Tibet have been published. Portions of Tibetan colophons to Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* have been paraphrased or translated by S.C. Das, Marek Mejor, and Leonard van der Kuijp.[51] A brief overview of the *Vine* in Tibet has also been provided by van der Kuijp, who links it to the development of the *snyan ngag* literary tradition based on Sanskrit *kāvya*.[52] Dge 'dun rab gsal has written a Tibetan monograph on the *Vine* with useful historical information and literary analysis.[53] A late Tibetan prose adaptation of the *Vine*, likely dating to the nineteenth century, has been translated into English, Chinese, and French.[54] In addition to these textual studies, three eighteenth-century pictorial sets from Tibet have been identified and discussed by Giuseppe

---

[45] Kṣemendra, *Avadána Kalpalatá,* ed. Dás, Vidyábhúshaṇa, and Vidyābhūṣaṇa. The two-volume Sanskrit edition of P. L. Vaidya (1959) was based on the Bibliotheca Indica edition, with only a few unmarked corrections. Kṣemendra, *Avadāna-Kalpalatā of Kṣemendra,* ed. Vaidya.

[46] For these and other references see Kirde, "Bibliographie zur *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*."

[47] de Jong, *Textcritical Remarks on the Bodhisattvavadanakalpalata*.

[48] Kṣemendra, *Muktalatavadanam of Ksemendra,* ed. and trans. Pema Tenzin; Mejor, *Ksemendra's Bodhisattvâvadānakalpalatā*; Rothenberg, "Kṣemendra's 'Bodhisattvāvadanakalpalatā;'" and Straube, *Prinz Sudhana und die Kinnarī.*

[49] Sūryakānta, *Kṣemendra Studies*; and Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, vol. 6, 365-496, 537-41. A number of other studies on Kṣemendra and his works have been published in India; while treating a variety of topics, collectively they evince increasing interest in social conditions of Kashmir during his time. These include Dattaray, *Life and Works of Kṣemendra*; Shukla, *Cultural Trends in Kashmir and Kṣemendra*; Chakraborty, *Kṣemendra, the Eleventh Century Kashmiri Poet*; Chattopadhyay, *Bodhisattva Avadānakalpalatā: A Critical Study*; and Khosla, *Kṣemendra and His Times*.

[50] Ohnuma, *Head, Eyes, Flesh, and Blood*, 9-13, 15-17, 49-50, 121-22; Silk, *Riven By Lust*, 100-110, 166-69.

[51] Das, introduction to Kṣemendra, *Avadána Kalpalatá*, v-vi; Mejor, *Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvâvadānakalpalatā*, 52-64; van der Kuijp, "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History 1," 139.

[52] van der Kuijp, "Tibetan Belles-Lettres."

[53] Dge 'dun rab gsal, *Dpag bsam 'khri shing la dpyad pa'i gtam rtog pa'i ri mo*.

[54] Several similar texts are in circulation with different colophons; S.C. Das' exemplar attributes this work to Padma chos 'phel (19th c.), while Peter's exemplar attributes the compilation to the Fifth Rwa sgreng Ā 'chi thu Ho thog thu Thub bstan 'jam dpal ye shes bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1912-1947). Mejor has noted that apart from the colophon, the texts used by Das and Peter contain "only minor different readings." As translated by the Padmakara Group, a third exemplar published in Dharamsala in 1992 attributes only the dedication prayer to the Fifth Rwa sgreng. While further analysis may uncover more interesting differences, that is beyond the scope of this study. Peter trans., *Five Tibetan Legends*; Mejor, *Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvâvadānakalpalatā*, 31; Padma chos 'phel, *Skyes rabs dpag bsam 'khri shing*; Padma chos 'phel, *Leaves of the Heaven Tree*; [Padma chos 'phel], *Baihua ruyiteng*; and Padmakara Group trans., *Liane magique*.

Tucci, Gilles Béguin, and David Jackson; these will be investigated in detail in Chapters Two and Three. These publications have provided useful starting points for my research.

AN ORIENTATION TO THE *WISH-FULFILLING VINE*

I have briefly introduced the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, but some further discussion is in order as background for this study. The author Kṣemendra (c. 990/1010-1070) was born in Kashmir as the son of the wealthy Śaiva devotee Prakāśendra and descendant of Narendra, a minister of King Jayāpīḍa. A layperson and brief student of the philosopher and aesthetic theorist Abhinavagupta, he was a prolific author who composed more than thirty literary works in Sanskrit, including condensed digests of classic narratives such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, satires including the *Deśopadeśa* and the *Kalāvilāsa*, and literary theory including the *Aucityavicāracarcā*. According to the *Vine* colophon, Kṣemendra was requested by Sajjanānanda and his Buddhist friend Nakka to compose a new *avadāna* work because existing *Garland of Birth-Stories* (*jātakamālā*) works such as Gopadatta's were difficult to understand. After composing three episodes, Kṣemendra grew discouraged by the difficulty of the undertaking; however, the Buddha appeared to him in a dream and urged him to continue. He continued with the assistance of the *paṇḍita* Vīryabhadra and wrote a total of 107 episodes; to fulfill the auspicious number of 108, his son Somendra composed the last episode and added a colophon, which dates the completion of the work during the month of the Buddha's birth in April-May (*vaiśākha*) of 1052.[55]

This massive work is composed entirely in metrical verse and contains more than 7,200 stanzas. The majority of its episodes have analogous narratives in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya; other analogues have been noted in the *Mahāvastu*, the *Divyāvadāna,* the Sarvāstivāda version of the *Anavataptagāthā*, and Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*.[56] The narrative content of the *Vine* mostly consists of previous existences of the Buddha, previous existences of his immediate disciples, and events from the Buddha's final life from his birth as the prince Siddhārtha Gautama, including his conversion and training of disciples. Also included are episodes relating the lineage of the Śākyas (no. 142); the prediction of Maitreya (no. 17); doctrinal lectures, e.g. on dependent arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*) (no. 75); and episodes taking place after the Buddha's death, e.g. those concerning King Aśoka and Upagupta (nos. 72-74). The first *Vine* episode relates the Buddha's previous existence as King Prabhāsa, which according to this tradition was when he first generated the resolve for awakening (*bodhicittotpāda*).[57] However, the remaining episodes do not follow any clear, overarching order such as chronological sequence or arrangement according to the perfections (*pāramitā*).

I have rehearsed these details about the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* to highlight issues relevant to Tibetan adaptations and interpretations of this text. First there is the matter of authorial status. Kṣemendra was a wealthy layperson connected to the royal court, but not necessarily a devoted Buddhist. While scholars have suggested some evidence that he was sympathetic to or influenced

[55] Sūryakānta, *Kṣemendra Studies*, 6-28. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, vol. 6, 365-496, 537-41; Mejor, *Ksemendra's Bodhisattvavadanakalpalata*, 1-4.
[56] Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2, 294 n. 2; Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, vol. 6, 434-36.
[57] On differing versions of the Bodhisattva's initial resolve for awakening, see Wangchuk, *Resolve to Become a Buddha*, 94-100.

by Buddhism, on the whole they have emphasized his Vaiṣṇava connections.[58] While explicitly didactic content appears in many of his episodes in the form of a monologue delivered by a character, as Sūryakānta has noted, "[a]lmost all of his works are interspersed with moral maxims and didactic sayings."[59] Kṣemendra's lay status, lack of strong Buddhist affiliations, and attendant questions about the value of his work would become matters of controversy in Tibet, as we will see in Chapter One. A second point is Kṣemendra's joint authorship with his son, a fact frequently cited in Tibetan writing and portrayed in visual productions. In addition to these authorial issues, the great length, unclear ordering, and all-verse format of Kṣemendra's composition were also issues addressed by Tibetans in their discourse on, and adaptations of, the *Vine.*

Further observations may be noted about the place of this text relative to Buddhist Sanskrit literature. Much has been written about the etymology and genre classification of *jātaka* and *avadāna*, including the significant overlap between the usage of these two terms and the interchangeability of the terms *jātaka* and *bodhisattvāvadāna*.[60] For the purposes of this study the most salient question is how these categories have been approached in Tibetan sources. The *Jātakamālā*s and Kṣemendra's *Vine* were placed within a single section of their canon, the *skyes rabs* (*jātaka*) section of the Bstan 'gyur, along with the *Buddhacarita* and other works on the Buddha's life by attributed Indian authors. Other texts with *avadāna* in the title appear elsewhere in the Tibetan canon, particularly in the Sūtra and Vinaya sections.[61] The *Vine* is referred to interchangeably as an *avadāna* (*rtogs brjod*) or as a *jātaka* (*skyes rabs*) work in Tibetan-language works; Tibetan discourse on the contents of the *Vine* and its position relative to *jātaka* works are further discussed in Chapter One.

The history of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in Tibet is recounted in part through successive colophons to the Tibetan translation of the text.[62] It was translated under the patronage of 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280) and the grand-governor (*dpon chen*) Shākya bzang po at the behest of Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251). Shong ston lo tsā ba Rdo rje rgyal mtshan and the Indian *paṇḍita* Lakṣmīkara did the actual translation work between the

---

[58] Sūryakānta writes that Kṣemendra's inclusion of the Buddha as one of Viṣṇu's ten *avatāra*s in his *Daśāvatāracarita* indicates "some influence" of Buddhism on the poet, but also notes that this idea was "long present among the people." Sūryakānta, *Kṣemendra Studies*, 15, 19, 36. Warder notes that "Even in the satires he is strongly sympathetic towards Buddhist ethics, particularly in the *Darpadalana*... where the Buddha actually appears." Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature,* vol. 6, 488.

On Kṣemendra's other religious affiliations, Sūryakānta and others have asserted that he was most devoted to Vaiṣṇavism as an adult, noting his satirical treatment of Śaivism in the *Deśopadeśa* and the *Narmamalā*, his praise of the *bhāgavatācārya* Somapāda, the predominance of benedictory verses to Viṣṇu in his later works, and his composition of the *Daśāvatāracarita*. Sūryakānta, *Kṣemendra Studies*, 15; Shukla, *Cultural Trends*, 21-22.

[59] Sūryakānta, *Kṣemendra Studies*, 4.

[60] The uncertain etymology and range of usage for the term *avadāna* makes it difficult to designate an adequate translation equivalent of one or two words. For a summary of previous scholarship and a recent treatment of these topics, see Ohnuma, "Dehadāna," 15-49; and Ohnuma, *Head, Eyes, Flesh, and Blood*, 26-51.

[61] For example, the *Avadānaśataka* appears in the *mdo sde* section of the Sde dge Bka' 'gyur followed by a series of short *avadāna* texts (Toh. 343-349), while another series of short *avadāna* texts appears in the *'dul ba* section of the Bstan 'gyur (Toh. 4144-4147). Lobsang Dargyay published a German dissertation about the *Saptakumārikāvadāna*, cf. Toh. 4147, Toh. 4506 (Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta*, 14).

[62] The following overview relies heavily on the following sources, with additional sources cited where used: *MHTL*; Mejor, *Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvâvadānakalpalatā*, 52-55; van der Kuijp, "Tibetan Belles-Lettres;" and Dge 'dun rab gsal, *Rtog pa'i ri mo*, 39-46, 102-7.

years 1267 to 1275.[63] During these years the same individuals were involved in translating the *Mirror of Poetics* (*Kāvyādarśa,* Tb. *Snyan ngag me long*), a seventh-century treatise on Sanskrit poetics by Daṇḍin (Tb. Dbyug pa can) that quickly became the authority on literary composition in Tibet.[64] This tradition of poetics (Tb. *snyan ngag*)—based on classical Sanskrit *kāvya* and encompassing elaborate prose as well as verse forms—is grounded in the formal structures of metrics and figures of speech (*alaṃkāra,* Tb. *rgyan*) such as simile, metaphor, and hyperbole. While many works have been written exclusively in this ornate style, it has also been utilized in virtually every literary genre, from biographies and histories to treatises on philosophy and medicine. From its entry into Tibet, then, the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* was associated with the study of the Sanskrit tradition of literary composition. Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364), the first editor of the Bstan 'gyur, included the *Vine* as Volume *Ge* in the *jātaka* (*skyes rabs*) section, marking its admission into the Tibetan Buddhist canon.[65]

The *Vine*'s strong association with poetics in Tibet continued with later editors and authors who worked on the *Vine* and who were also major figures in the poetic tradition. Dpang lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342)—student of the translator Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan and his brother—was the first to write an annotative commentary (*mchan 'grel*) on the *Vine*; he also wrote the earliest extant Tibetan commentary on the *Mirror of Poetics*.[66] Two annotative commentaries that followed were known as the "black annotations" by So ston 'Jigs med grags pa (14th c.) and "red annotations" by the last ruler of Rin spungs, Ngag dbang 'jig rten dbang phyug grags pa (c. 1532-1595?).[67] The latter, who was dubbed the "second Kṣemendra," also wrote a verse digest of the *Vine* in 1556 to accompany a set of thangka paintings, and completed a commentary on the *Mirror of Poetics* in 1586.[68] Zhwa lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527), who prepared the first bilingual Sanskrit-Tibetan edition of the *Vine*, composed an exemplification of metrics and made corrections and annotations to the

---

[63] On Sa skya Paṇḍita urging his nephew 'Phags pa to translate *Dpag bsam 'khri shing* into Tibetan and the subsequent translation process, see Dge 'dun rab gsal, *Rtog pa'i ri mo*, 41-46. See also Mejor, *Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvâvadānakalpalatā*, 52-55.

[64] On the role of other Sanskrit theorists in Tibetan poetics see Smith, "Buddhist Literary and Practical Arts," in *Among Tibetan Texts*, 201-208; van der Kuijp, "Bhāmaha in Tibet;" Gold, chap. 6 in *Dharma's Gatekeepers*.

[65] Rin chen grub, *Collected Works of Bu-ston,* vol. 26, 615.

[66] *Dpag bsam khri shing gi mchan 'grel* (*MHTL* 10810); Dpang lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa, *Snyan ngags* [sic] *me long gi rgya cher 'grel pa gzhung don gsal ba*.

[67] *Dpag bsam khri shing gyi nag mchan* (*MHTL* 10811); and *Dpag bsam khri shing gi dmar chan* (*MHTL* 10812). Based on the colophon of the 1639 *Dpag bsam 'khri shing* commentary of A mes zhabs, it appears that Dpang lo's commentary was called the "red annotations" while So ston's was called the "black annotations;" no annotative commentary by Rin spungs pa is mentioned. *blo rtan dang/ so ston dmar nag gi mchan bu btab pa la gzhi byas/*. Sobisch, *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A-mes-zhabs*, 219.

[68] *de ltar byang chub sems dpa'i rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam 'khri shing gi don bsdu'i tshigs su bcad pa dang/ de nyid bris thang du bzhengs tshul yongs su gsal ba'i dkar chag*. Rin spungs Ngag dbang 'Jig [rten dbang phyug] grags [pa], *Poems on Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā and Jātakamālā*, 41.

The dates of the author's birth and verse digest are based on the colophon to the work, which states that the text was composed when he was twenty-five years old, in the male Fire-Dragon year. Based on van der Kuijp's date of 1586 for his *Kāvyādarśa* commentary, this must be the Fire-Dragon year of 1556. *rang lo nyi shu rtsa lnga pa'i dus me pho 'brug gi lo gro bzhin can gyi gral tshes brgyad la lugs gnyis kyi mdun sa chen po rin chen spungs pa'i pho brang du sbyar ba'o//*. Ibid.

He is called the "second Kṣemendra" in the colophon of the 1639 *Dpag bsam 'khri shing* commentary of A mes zhabs, who relied on his "condensed eloquent explanations," i.e. his verse digest: *dge dbang gnyis par grags pa'i rin spungs pa ngag dbang chen po'i don bsdus kyi legs bshad rnams mdzes pa'i phra tshom su bkod*. Sobisch, *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A-mes-zhabs*, 219.

Mirror of Poetics on the basis of Sanskrit commentaries.[69] A number of other Sanskrit literary works were translated into Tibetan—many of which also contained the Buddha's biographies—but the *Vine* in particular was paired with the *Mirror of Poetics*. As will be seen in Chapter One and Chapter Four, these two texts were formalized as the standard curriculum for the study of literary composition.

The *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* also became a popular motif in Tibetan painting. The production of written and pictorial *Vine* adaptations was often coordinated, as we have seen with Rin spungs pa Ngag dbang 'jig rten dbang phyug grags pa. A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, who completed an explanatory *Vine* commentary in 1639, noted that he had relied on the work of Rin spungs pa as well as the inscriptions for the *Vine* murals in the assembly hall of Gong dkar Monastery.[70] Several more multimedia *Vine* productions followed in the seventeenth and eighteenth century with both pictorial and written elements; the relationships between word and image are explored in each chapter of this dissertation.

I wish to highlight one further point about the *Vine* in Tibet: from the beginning, it has been an elite and large-scale project sponsored by people of considerable political power and material resources. Due to the sheer length of Kṣemendra's work, the initial translation into Tibetan could only be accomplished under these circumstances, and in their day 'Phags pa and Shākya bzang po were the two most powerful men in Tibet, with spiritual and administrative authority over Tibet backed by the Mongols.[71] This pattern is further borne out by the sponsorship of a revised edition of the *Vine* by lay ruler Ta'i Si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan (c. 1302-1364) circa 1360, as well as the work of Rin spungs pa discussed above. As will be seen in the ensuing chapters, even adaptations reducing the *Vine* to a more manageable scale were produced by elite scholars for wealthy and powerful patrons.

Among modern scholars of India, Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* and other works have received a mixed reception. Sūryakānta called him a "versatile genius" and one of the "masters of Indian literary tradition," but decried the "vulgarity" and "low taste" of Kṣemendra's earlier works; in his later years, however, he "rises to sublime heights in the Avadānakalpalatā" and other works.[72] In the introduction to his Sanskrit edition of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, P.L. Vaidya pronounced him "high among poets of second rank," for although Kṣemendra lacks a uniform style "[h]e handles figures of speach [sic] beautifully."[73] Other positive assessments have tended to focus on his skill as a satirist and his vivid portrayal of characters.[74] Maurice Winternitz gave a withering review, writing that the *Vine*

> contains more edifying stories than skillfully and tastefully narrated ones. The Buddhist tendency to self-sacrifice is here brought to such artificial extremes, the doctrine of

[69] *sdeb sbyor bsdus don* (*MHTL* 13023); *zha lu lo tsā ba chen po chos skyong bzang pos rgya 'grel la khungs gtugs te dag bcos dang mchan bu 'debs par mdzad/.* Rgya mtsho, *Snyan ngag slob deb*, 11.

[70] On the *Dpag bsam 'khri shing* murals at Gong dkar see *HTP,* 139, pls. 17-18, 22.

[71] 'Phags pa received the title of National Preceptor (*guoshi* 國師) in 1261, and that of Imperial Preceptor (*dishi* 帝師) in 1269. Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols,* 16-22.

[72] Sūryakānta, *Kṣemendra Studies*, 1, 11-12. Similar remarks about Ksemendra's vulgarity were made by Sternbach. Sternbach, *Unknown Verses Attributed to Kṣemendra*, 81.

[73] Vaidya, introduction to Kṣemendra, *Avadāna-kalpalatā of Kṣemendra*, xii.

[74] Sūryakānta, *Kṣemendra Studies*, 35; Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature,* vol. 6, 495.

> Karman is applied so clumsily, and the moral is pointed in such an exaggerated manner, that the story often achieves the reverse of the desired result.[75]

Margaret Cone and Richard Gombrich also found Kṣemendra wanting in at least one *Vine* episode, writing that his "Viśvantara-avadāna" "reads like an extremely condensed and deplorably desiccated retelling of the *Kanjur* version."[76] However, as a digest Warder preferred Kṣemendra's *Vine* over his *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*; by taking more license with its source material, the *Vine* has "the character of an original work, not just of a handy summary, and moreover it is a work of his ripest maturity."[77]

More recently, Somadeva Vasudeva has questioned the preconceived norms by which Kṣemendra has been judged, pointing out his popularity among Sanskrit aesthetes as evidenced by the large number of his verses quoted in surviving classical anthologies (415 have been identified). By the standards of the classical Sanskrit literary tradition in which he worked, Vasudeva argues, he was "a learned, aristocratic wordsmith who crafted complex poems for connoisseurs (*sahṛdaya*)," skillfully employing figures of speech (*alaṃkāra*) with the restraint valued by rhetoricians of his time.[78] Many of the critical evaluations I have collated above are indeed based on tacit assumptions about taste, originality, and the value of adaptation that neither Kṣemendra nor his Tibetan audience necessarily shared.[79] In Tibet Kṣemendra's reputation was based on the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* alone, since this was his only well-known work in Tibet. While Tibetan reception of the *Vine* was not entirely uniform (as will be demonstrated in Chapter One), it retained its place in the canon and was highly regarded by leading monastic scholars and rulers of Tibet. The reasons for their esteem, as well as the range of Tibetan interpretations of this narrative anthology, are explored in the course of this study.

APPROACHES AND METHODS FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

How did the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* participate in the cultural imagination and discourse of Tibet? The approaches and methods I bring to this study have been developed in response to this question. As we have seen, the *Vine* was transplanted from India and thereafter reworked through translation, editing, and literary and pictorial productions. Given this history I have found it useful to approach the *Vine* through questions of adaptation, through diachronic and synchronic contextualization, and through multidisciplinary analysis. I will explain each of these in turn, and

---

[75] Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2*,* 293; a correction has been made to the translation in consultation with Alexander von Rospatt (cf. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, vol. 2, 229). Winternitz's opinion has been seconded by Chattopadhyay, who further points out the confusion that can arise with the embedding of multiple narratives within a single episode. For example, before giving his body to others in an act of generosity, the protagonist recounts multiple previous existences in which he performed a similar action. This both obscures the main plot and creates redundancy in the texts as a whole, since these recalled existences appear as separate episodes elsewhere in the *Vine*. Chattopadhyay, *Bodhisattva Avadānakalpalatā*, 321-22.

[76] Cone and Gombrich, *Perfect Generosity of Prince Vessantara*, xxxix.

[77] Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature,* vol. 6, 496.

[78] Vasudeva, *Three Satires*, 17-19, 23 n. 7.

[79] Although he did not directly address the standards and expectations of Kṣemendra's literary community, Emeneau took an important step in this direction. He did this by comparing Kṣemendra's adaptation of the *Bṛhatkathā* with that of his contemporary Somadeva (also based in Kashmir), demonstrating that they differently prioritized narrative versus ornamental elements. M. B. Emeneau, "Kṣemendra as *kavi*."

what they offer for the study of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* and for Buddhism in Tibet more generally.

Without knowledge of Sanskrit, most Tibetans could only access Kṣemendra's *Vine* through transposed and adapted forms: translations, literary digests, and pictorial designs. Yet even Kṣemendra's *Vine* itself is an adaptation, with plots drawn from earlier sources and reworked in his particular *kāvya* style. Building on theories of intertextuality, adaptation theorists have noted how "texts rework texts that often themselves reworked texts," a constant and ongoing process that both requires and perpetuates the existence of a canon.[80] Rather than privileging an established work over its later adaptations in the normative hierarchy of authentic original and inferior copy—often through what Robert Stam has called the "elegiac discourse of loss"—they have argued for the creativity and value of adaptations.[81] Further, they have recognized the work of appropriation as a political act and the agency of makers and receivers in the creation of meaning, as texts and objects are transformed for different uses in fresh cultural contexts. I follow the work of these theorists in affirming the value of studying adaptations across cultures and media. Focusing on the adaptive processes of cultural production, I ask what these can tell us about the possibilities of textual and visual media, the concerns and stakes of those involved in their production, and the social conditions in which they are produced and in which they participate. Such lines of inquiry enable us to explore the concepts of India and Buddhist origins in Tibetan cultural imagination, and how these in turn were linked to discourses of authority, knowledge, and ideal exemplars for Buddhist monastics and laypeople.

The *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* has the distinction of being canonized in Tibet, not only in the literary sense but also as a formal member of the Buddhist canon. Working from the field of religious studies, Jonathan Z. Smith has argued for the "ingenuity represented by the rule-governed exegetical enterprise of applying the canon to every dimension of human life."[82] The ingenuity of exegesis is an alternative way to describe human agency in the processes of adaptation; Smith's formulation is less concerned with creativity as an aesthetic pursuit than with overcoming the limitations of a closed canon, often by altering the canon itself covertly, "without admitting to alteration."[83] José Cabezón and Georges Dreyfus have recognized the importance of canon and exegesis in Tibetan Buddhism and discussed the possibilities of interpretive freedom, particularly in the areas of scholastic commentary and debate.[84] I argue that adaptations of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* themselves—condensed literary digests, paintings, and woodcuts—constitute forms of commentary that reveal the ingenuity and concerns of their producers. This was often accompanied by a rhetoric of fidelity to the source text of Kṣemendra's *Vine*, rather than assertions of innovation and deviation from established models, as romantic and modern notions of originality might lead us to expect.[85] However, I argue that it is precisely beneath the

[80] Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation*, 24, 8.
[81] Stam, *Literature and Film*, 3.
[82] Smith, "Sacred Persistence," 43.
[83] As with Barthes' concept of myth, this act may be said to both distort and naturalize (Barthes, *Mythologies*). The process of closing a canon often does not happen all at once—the formation of Buddhist canons being a case in point—and Smith recognizes that the pressure of extending a closed canon may lead to the re-opening of the canon and development of secondary traditions. Smith, "Sacred Persistence."
[84] Cabezón, *Buddhism and Language*, 71-87; Dreyfus, *Two Hands Clapping*.
[85] Such modern expectations of originality have perhaps led scholars to eschew Tibetan adaptations of Buddhist narrative, instead seeking more "distinctive" or "innovative" examples of Tibetan literature, such as the *mgur* genre of song-poetry (and its sub-genre, *nyams mgur*) or the eighteenth-century invention of the Tibetan novel as expressions of individual experience and creativity. Nevertheless, even these draw substantially from Indic oral and

familiar, smoothly ordered surfaces of the Buddha's biographies where we can find interpretive ingenuity that point to authorial and artistic concerns, as well as insights into the broader cultural imagination and discourse in which they participated.

To interpret the work that *Vine* adaptations do in Tibetan cultural imagination and discourse, a great deal of contextualization is necessary. My study seeks to understand emic Tibetan perspectives on the *Vine* in a historical-anthropological spirit that, as Sheldon Pollock has articulated with elegant simplicity, tries "to understand what the texts of South Asian literature meant to the people who wrote, heard, saw, or read them, and how these meanings may have changed over time."[86] In the case of literary and artistic adaptations, this entails diachronic comparison with previous source-texts that Tibetan producers and audiences would or may have known, including Kṣemendra's *Vine* and its later adaptations, as well as other textual and visual sources on the Buddha's biographies. At the outset of this study I quite blithely underestimated the magnitude of such a task, given the length, sophisticated style, and incompletely edited state of Kṣemendra's *Vine* as well as the theoretically limitless range of additional sources that might be demonstrably relevant. As anyone who has attempted such a project can appreciate, I have had to be selective and have doubtless left out many interesting lines of inquiry. Nevertheless, I remain convinced of the value of such diachronic contextualization as a tool for understanding the production of meaning, especially with respect to the recursiveness of tradition.

As a means of setting limits on the material addressed in this study, I have chosen a group of case studies focusing on cultural production of the *Vine* from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. I have found this to be a rewarding period for synchronic study, for several reasons. First, evidence of a higher density of *Vine* productions is available from this period. This has allowed me to compare contemporaneous textual and visual adaptations of the *Vine*, particularly around the mid-eighteenth century. Through such comparison it is possible to appreciate similarities and differences across a range of cultural productions. This makes for a more robust study than focusing on a single text or visual production, as each case helps shed light on the significant or unusual qualities of the others.

Second, relative to other periods of Tibetan history a considerable amount of scholarly work has been done on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In addition to the basic outlines of political history, we have become increasingly aware of the vibrant proliferation of cultural production during this period and their social and intellectual ramifications. This body of existing scholarship considerably facilitates the task of placing *Vine* adaptations within their political and cultural milieu. Although hardly exclusive to this period, scholarship has also indicated the presence of an elite, highly literate and aesthetically sophisticated culture; I hope that aspects of this culture during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will become more clear in my study. Third, research on Tibetan engagement with Indic cultural tradition has mostly focused on the *snga dar* and *phyi dar* periods, following the traditional Tibetan periodization of the "earlier spread" and "later spread" of Buddhism in Tibet up to the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, a few studies have identified the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a period of renewed Tibetan interest in Sanskrit and Indic culture; this study explores how this interest was expressed in literary and artistic production.

---

literary traditions—the *dohā* and *caryāgīti* song-poetry of *mahāsiddha*s in the case of *mgur*, and from *kāvya/snyan ngag* in both cases. These areas, then, might also be fruitfully analyzed from perspectives of adaptation. Jackson, "'Poetry' in Tibet;" and Newman, "Tibetan Novel."

[86] Pollock, introduction to *Literary Cultures in History*, 14.

In addition to adaptation and contextualization, the third major approach I wish to highlight is multidisciplinary analysis. This approach was initially prompted by the popularity of both written and pictorial productions of the *Vine*, many of which were produced jointly or with explicit reference to each other. As I delved further into this topic, I also became interested in the culture of polymaths, especially monastic scholars trained in poetry, painting and other fields of learning who applied a range of skills to cultural production of the *Vine*. Explaining the process of producing these adaptations as well as their significance in the broader cultural, social, and political matrix has necessitated literary, art-historical, and historical approaches. In addition to close reading and formal analysis of the *Vine* and its adaptations, this has included the consultation of various textual genres including biographies of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Tibetans (*rnam thar*, *rtogs brjod*), catalogues to textual collections and temples (*dkar chag*), various historical accounts (*lo rgyus, chos 'byung*), curricular records (*gsan yig*), and commentaries on poetics (*snyan ngag*). I strive to present cultural production as a "busy intersection"—borrowing from Renato Rosaldo's model of ritual—a convergence of processes embedded in local contexts, interests, and perceptions.[87] By explaining the complex processes through which each *Vine* adaptation was formed, I hope to present a more nuanced, multivalent understanding of Tibetan society and culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Each chapter of my dissertation is organized around a major Tibetan religious or political figure who designed, sponsored, or otherwise promoted cultural productions of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in the form of public instruction, literary adaptations, paintings, and woodcut designs. In Chapter One I document the activities of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682), demonstrating how he and his court promoted the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* through public instruction, paintings, and literary activities including the composition of a verse digest and the publication of a bilingual Sanskrit-Tibetan blockprint edition. This shows the range of ways in which a canonical text such as the *Vine* was used, giving us a sense of how the text interacted with the world beyond the text. These conspicuously cultured displays, I suggest, were instrumental in promoting renewed interest in Sanskrit and the Indic origins of Buddhism among the Tibetan intelligentsia. At the same time, they rebutted sectarian criticisms of the Fifth Dalai Lama's monastic order and contributed to his state-building project, in which the production of knowledge placed authority in the hands of polymathic scholar-monks.

Chapter Two is a study of two multimedia designs of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* sponsored by the Pho lha family, lay rulers of central and western Tibet from 1728 to 1750. After briefly sketching their political careers and network of relationships, I introduce their two *Vine* commissions, discussing dates, patronage, and antecedents. I then focus on the first design of forty-one paintings, particularly on portraiture and the politics of patronage and identity. In the next section of the chapter I analyze the second design of thirty-one woodcuts, considering narrative strategies and the joint processes of pictorial and literary adaptation. I demonstrate how models of lay rulership were developed for Pho lha nas that drew from notions of ideal kingship in *avadāna*s, the structures and conventions of *avadāna* and tantric narratives, and from details of his individual career.

[87] Rosaldo, "Grief and a Headhunter's Rage."

In Chapter Three I discuss the ideal monastic as envisioned by Si tu Paṇ chen (1700-74), an influential monk based in the Sde dge principality in present-day western Sichuan. I argue that through his work on the Buddha's biographies, Si tu promoted celibacy, scholarly erudition, and polymathic ability as the qualities of an ideal monk. First, I show how Si tu's cultural production took place in the context of sectarian attacks on his order's claims to Buddhist knowledge, as well as local debates about the value of scholasticism and celibacy in monastic institutions. Next, I analyze Si tu's written and painted narratives of the Buddha's life, arguing that Si tu presented the ideal monastic lifestyle as one of celibacy, purity, and seclusion through scene selection, parallels, and other formal devices. Finally, I analyze Si tu's widely copied design of twenty-three scroll paintings of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. I show how Si tu intertwined textual and visual commentary in design and inscription, rehabilitating poetry and painting as appropriate media for spiritual instruction against his sectarian critics.

Chapter Four is a study of the court chaplain of Sde dge, Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen (1697-1774), and the commissions he fulfilled for the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine.* After a brief biographical sketch, I discuss his work as the editor of the Sde dge Buddhist canon and his critique of the Fifth Dalai's bilingual edition of the *Vine*. I then turn to textual documentation of his painted productions of the *Vine* for powerful court patrons (the paintings are not extant), considering the circulation of pictorial designs and the local culture of connoisseurship. In the remainder of the chapter I provide a translation and study of a verse digest of the *Vine* composed by Zhu chen as inscriptions to accompany a set of paintings.

CHAPTER ONE

THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA AND HIS COURT: PROMOTING THE *WISH-FULFILLING VINE*

While we have records of the history of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in Tibet before the seventeenth century (as sketched in the Introduction), the earliest extant edition is the 1665 blockprint edition of the Fifth Dalai Lama. In other words, the earliest Tibetan translation of Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* that is available to us today did not undergo its last major revision until the seventeenth century under the auspices of the Fifth Dalai Lama. In this chapter I demonstrate how the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682) and his close circle promoted the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* through multiple media that enabled it to reach different audiences. First, I trace his studies and public instruction of the *Vine*, discussing its relationship to other relevant texts such as the *Garland of Birth-Stories* (Jātakamālā) of Āryaśūra and the *Book of Bka' gdams* (Bka' gdams glegs bam). Second, I investigate court commissions of three large-scale painted sets of the *Vine*: murals at the Dalai Lama's monastic seat of 'Bras spungs, murals in the Po ta la Palace, and a set of forty-one thangkas. Third, I discuss his bilingual Sanskrit-Tibetan blockprint edition of the *Vine* and rhetoric about this narrative tradition. Through documentation of these activities, I hope to convey the life of this canonical text in early modern Tibet and its significance for public ritual, painting, *belles-lettres*, and the positioning of Sanskrit and Indic culture in the elite Tibetan imaginaire.

The primary textual sources I present in this discussion are mostly found in the collected works of the Fifth Dalai Lama. These consist mainly of his autobiography; catalogues of consecrated objects, or "receptacles" (*rten*) of awakened body, speech and mind; and a short text on the Great Prayer Festival. The autobiography is written in a distinctive voice and can be attributed to the Fifth Dalai Lama himself; in addition to conveying "his personal feelings with a most striking frankness, sarcasm, [and] humour" about his position and the Dge lugs pa lineage tradition, it exhibits his sophisticated prose and the value he placed on literary style.[1] The three-volume catalogue of consecrated objects contains eulogistic verses and other writings, many of which may have been written by others at the Fifth Dalai Lama's behest. While I discuss three major pictorial productions made under his auspices, only the murals in the Po ta la Palace are extant. However, a considerable amount of information about these productions can be gleaned from the textual sources I have mentioned above.

In the Introduction I alluded to the importance of Indic culture in the scholarship and general imaginaire of Tibetan Buddhism. While Tibetan interest in Sanskrit texts and language

[1] Karmay, *Secret Visions*, 5. A biographical supplement by Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho was added to the autobiography.

studies continued after the historiographically periodized "later spread" (*phyi dar*) of the Buddhist teachings in Tibet, the literary transmission of Sanskrit texts gradually declined during the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries; concomitantly, there was decreased scholarly travel between India and Tibet.[2] During the seventeenth century, however, the Fifth Dalai Lama and his court promoted a resurgence of interest in Indic studies, particularly in Sanskrit poetics (Skt. *kāvya*, Tb. *snyan ngag*) and its applications for Tibetan literary style. His 1647 commentary on the standard textbook, Daṇḍin's *Mirror of Poetics* (Skt. Kāvyādarśa*,* Tb. Snyan ngag me long), became a major text for the study of poetics.[3] Works such as his historical and autobiographical writings heavily employed the formal style of *snyan ngag*. Beginning in 1655 the Fifth Dalai Lama hosted in Lhasa a stream of *paṇḍita*s from Vārāṇasī, Allahabad, and Mathurā who taught Sanskrit grammar and collaborated in translating works from Sanskrit to Tibetan.[4] From 1664-1665 the Fifth Dalai Lama sponsored the preparation and printing of a bilingual Sanskrit-Tibetan edition of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, which will be discussed in the last section of this chapter. Together with the subsequent literary activities of his regent, Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, the Fifth Dalai Lama's efforts in these areas may be understood as part of their larger state-building project. As Janet Gyatso has observed with regard to the medical writings of the Fifth Dalai Lama's regent Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, a "fundamental culture making" was at work in the creation of the Tibetan state, which was founded on the "Tibetan Buddhist universe of imagination."[5] The Dga' ldan pho brang government, as Kurtis Schaeffer has phrased it, strove "to systematize Tibetan cultural life and practice in a number of specific areas... [and] to create a broad cultural hegemony in Tibet."[6]

The field of poetics belongs in a set of categories articulated by the Indic Buddhist tradition, the "fields of learning" (Skt. *vidyāsthāna,* Tb. *rig pa'i gnas* or *rig gnas*).[7] Enumerated by the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and other Mahāyāna sources as a list of five subjects, these encompass both the "internal" field of learning (Skt. *adhyātmavidyā,* Tib. *nang rig pa*)—considered exclusive to Buddhism—and the "external" (Skt. *bāhyaka*, Tb. *phyi rol pa*) fields of learning such as grammar, medicine and arts and crafts, which are shared in common with non-Buddhists (Table 1.1).[8] The consummate scholar Sa skya Paṇḍi ta Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251), who established the paradigm of classical learning in Tibet, advocated a list of subjects very

[2] Shastri, "Indian *Paṇḍita*s in Tibet," 130. On translation and scholarly activities in Tibet from the tenth to early thirteenth centuries, see Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance*.
[3] Its inclusion in monastic curricula will be demonstrated later in this chapter.
[4] Shastri, "Indian *Paṇḍita*s in Tibet," 139-41.
[5] Gyatso, "Authority of Empiricism," 91.
[6] Schaeffer, "Ngawang Lopsang Gyatso," 81. Significant research has been done on the history, rituals, and cultural production of the Fifth Dalai Lama and his court; for a partial summary, see ibid., 280 n. 1.
[7] The term *vidyāsthāna* (Tb. *rig gnas*) is commonly translated as "sciences" (Griffiths, "Omniscience," 99-101; Dudjom, *Nyingma School*, vol. 1, chap. 6; Ruegg, *Ordre spirituel et ordre temporel* [French and English], 93-147, 153-56; Dreyfus, *Two Hands Clapping*, 101-6; and Gold, *Dharma's Gatekeepers,* 14-24). Leonard van der Kuijp has translated it more literally as "domains of knowledge" (van der Kuijp, "Tibetan Belles-Lettres," 393). I have followed Sangye Tandar Naga's more recent rendering as "fields of learning" (Samten, *Traditional Fields of Learning*). This overlaps with contemporary American usage while remaining quite literal (compare with "discipline" or "specialty").
[8] Ruegg, *Ordre spirituel,* 102. As Georges Dreyfus notes, logic was viewed ambiguously as "*common* to both internal and external sciences" (Dreyfus, *Two Hands Clapping*, 102). Logic was used in philosophical debate to defend Buddhist positions, but was a tool that could be used by Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike.

similar to the five major fields of learning (*rig gnas che lnga*) and five minor fields of learning (*rig gnas chung lnga*) (Table 1.2) as they came to be designated in Tibet.[9]

Table 1.1. Five major fields of learning

English	Sanskrit	Tibetan
inner learning	*adhyātmavidyā*	*nang rig pa*
medicine	*cikitsāvidyā*	*gso ba rig pa*
logic and epistemology	*hetuvidyā,* *pramāṇavidyā*	*gtan tshigs rig pa,* *tshad ma rig pa*
grammar	*śabdavidyā*	*sgra rig pa*
arts and technology	*śilpavidyā*	*bzo rig pa*

Table 1.2. Five minor fields of learning

English	Sanskrit	Tibetan
poetics	*kāvya*	*snyan dngags*, *snyan ngag*
lexicography	*abhidhāna*	*mngon brjod*
metrics	*chanda*	*sdeb sbyor*
astrology	*jyotiṣa*	*skar rtsis*
performing arts	*nāṭaka*	*zlos gar*

The Fifth Dalai Lama employed this categorization scheme in his record of teachings received (*gsan yig*), indicating the instruction lineages through which he studied all ten fields.[10] For the textual study of the *Mirror of Poetics* two lineages are listed; both lineages branch from Zhwa lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po, and were transmitted to the Fifth Dalai Lama by his tutor Smon ’gro pa ’Jam dbyangs dbang rgyal rdo rje, who will be revisited in greater depth in the next section of this chapter. A third lineage for transmitting the condensed explanations and written examination on the second chapter of the *Mirror of Poetics* (on *don rgyan*, the figures of speech dealing with content) was transmitted to the Fifth Dalai Lama by Zhang mkhar Paṇ chen ’Jam dpal rdo rje.

Under the field of poetics, along with the *Mirror of Poetics*, the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* is listed as the sole other textual tradition in the Fifth Dalai Lama’s curricular record.[11] The author

[9] Sa skya Paṇḍi ta’s list in his *Mkhas pa rnams ’jug pa’i sgo* (*Entrance Gate for the Wise*) names all ten fields, but considers *tshig gi rgyan* (*alaṅkāra*, poetics) to be a field distinct from *snyan ngag* (poetry); the latter consisted of literary works to be read such as the *jātaka*. By the fourteenth century, the first four minor sciences were classified as branches of language (*sgra rig pa*). See Ruegg, *Ordre spirituel,* 106-8. Matthew Kapstein has translated Sa skya Paṇḍita’s list into English (Kapstein, “Indian Literary Identity,” 779). For studies of SaPaṇ’s *Mkhas pa rnams ’jug pa’i sgo* see Jackson, *Entrance Gate*; and Gold, *Dharma’s Gatekeepers.*

An alternate list of eighteen *vidyāsthāna*, also known in Tibet, included *jyotiṣa* (*skar ma’i dpyad[-spyad]*) and *gaṇita* (*rtsis*) (Mvy. 4967-68). For a history of *rig gnas* in Tibet, see Samten, *Traditional Fields of Learning*. There is evidence that Buddhist monks in India studied subjects falling within the Tibetan rubric of the minor fields of learning. For example, on the study of metrics see Hahn, “Sanskrit Metrics.”

[10] Dalai Lama V, *Gsan yig*, vol. 1. His studies in *rig gnas* except for *nang rig pa* appear on fol. 12b4-21a1=24.4-41.1; studies in *nang rig pa* begin on fol. 21a1=41.1.

[11] Other texts are listed under the related fields of lexicography and metrics: the *Amarakośa* of Amarasiṃha, and the *Chandoratnākara* of Ratnākaraśānti. Ibid., 16a1-16b3=31.1-32.3.

For an edition of the *Chandoratnākara* and an edition and translation of the first chapter of the autocommentary, see Hahn, *Ratnākaraśāṇti’s Chandoratnākara*; and Hahn, “Ratnākaraśānti’s Autocommentary.” On the *Amarakośa* in Tibet see Chandra ed., *Amarakoṣa in Tibet*.

Kṣemendra is praised as the "crown jewel among all poets."[12] Two lineages for the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* were transmitted to the Fifth Dalai Lama by Zur Thams cad mkhyen pa Chos dbyings rang grol (c. 1604-1669?); both of these lineages branch from Dpal khang lo tsā ba (fl. 16th c.).[13] A third lineage was transmitted by his poetics tutor, Smon 'gro pa 'Jam dbyangs dbang rgyal rdo rje; this is further qualified as "the transmission lineage received as a detailed explanation of the difficult points."[14]

In short, the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* was studied as one of two standard textbooks on poetics, and was considered the chief literary exemplar. The Fifth Dalai Lama frequently referred to this text as "Precious Avadānas of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*" (*rtogs brjod rin po che dpag bsam 'khri shing*), as will become clear below. The addition of the honorific title *rin po che,* "precious," indicates the high regard with which he viewed this narrative tradition. As we will see below, this extended beyond his personal study of poetics to oral instruction in the annual Great Prayer Festival, to large-scale painted productions in prominent locations associated with his institutional authority, and to the publication of a major edition of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*.

STUDYING AND TEACHING THE BUDDHA'S BIOGRAPHIES

As an adult, the Fifth Dalai Lama taught from Āryaśūra's *Garland of Birth-Stories* and the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* during the annual Great Prayer Festival (*smon lam chen mo*) in Lhasa. The founding of the Great Prayer Festival in Tibet is generally attributed to Tsong kha pa in 1409.[15] The Great Prayer Festival is part of the extensive New Year (*lo gsar*) ceremonies and rituals that take place over the course of the first lunar month, and became one of the largest and most significant religious events in Lhasa. Tsong kha pa ostensibly founded the festival to re-crown and re-gild the Jo bo Śākyamuni—the most revered icon in Tibet—and to regularize the renovation and care of the temple in Lha sa that houses it, the Jo khang (also known as the Lha sa Gtsug lag khang and the Ra sa 'Phrul snang). However, several studies have also explored related political factors within and beyond Tibet's borders, arguing that the festival was initially a means of asserting religious and political unification in the face of foreign threats, later a site of contested control between sectarian rivals, and eventually a marker of Dge lugs ascendancy in the seventeenth century.[16]

---

[12] Dalai Lama V, *Gsan yig*, vol. 1, 15a4-15a5=29.4-29.5.
[13] TBRC P650, TBRC P1457.
[14] *'di'i dpa'* [read *dka'*] *ba'i gnad rnams zhib bshad du nos pa'i brgyud pa.* Dalai Lama V, *Gsan yig*, vol. 1, 15b4-15b5=30.4-30.5. On reading *dka'* for *dpa'* cf. *dka' gnad* (chap. 1, note 45).
[15] A detailed study of the Smon lam chen mo remains to be undertaken. Shakabpa notes some major festivals held by prominent Tibetans in the past; however, he emphasizes that "Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival is one hundred or one thousand times greater than they were" (Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 52, 268). According to Phuntsog Tsering, before Tsong kha pa's time a service in commemoration of the Buddha Śākyamuni's defeat of the six non-Buddhist teachers was held for fifteen days; Tsong kha pa's contributions were to extend the duration of the service to twenty-one days and to renovate the Jo khang. Phuntsog Tsering, "Monlam," 7.
[16] Macdonald, "Manipulation of Power," *Tibet Journal* XII , no. 1 (1987): 3-16; Blondeau, "Defense de Tsong kha pa;" Warner, "Precious Lord," 256, 276-92; and Stoddard, "From Ra sa to Lhasa," in Dorje et al, *Jokhang*, 178-92. On the politics of the Jo khang and control over Lha sa see also Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, *Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*; Sørensen, "Lhasa Diluvium;" Sørensen, *Thundering Falcon*; Sørensen and Hazod with Gyalbo, *Rulers on the Celestial Plain*, vol. 2, 401-550, 573-81.

According to traditional Tibetan accounts, Indian Buddhist kings celebrated the festival in commemoration of the Buddha's defeat of the six non-Buddhist teachers at Śrāvastī.[17] This event, well-known in Sanskrit textual sources and in Indian sculptures and paintings, is most popularly identified with the miracles of emitting fire and water, and further, of multiplying illusory bodies.[18] While the anniversary of this event has traditionally been celebrated in Tibet over the course of the first month, the high point is the fifteenth day of the first month. This full moon date, known as the "Holiday of the Display of Miracles" (*cho 'phrul dus chen*), marks the climax of the festival. The ritual commemoration of this event includes a series of offerings, prayers, and decorations from the first to the fifteenth days; and on the fifteenth day, a service of confession, public instruction, and a grand display and competition of butter-sculpture offerings along the Bar skor circumambulation route around the Jo khang Temple. After this, the most notable Buddhist events are the throwing of the *gtor ma* dough offerings (*gtor rgyag*) to cast out evil on the twenty-fourth day, and the invitation to the future buddha Maitreya (*byams pa gdan 'dren*) on the twenty-fifth day. Thousands of monastics and lay devotees participate in this massive public religious observance each year.[19]

According to the biography of Tsong kha pa written by one of his two chief disciples, Mkhas grub rje (1385-1438), the tradition of teaching *jātaka*s was established at the first Great Prayer Festival. After extensive descriptions of the renovations, decorations, and offerings made, Mkhas grub rje mentions the teachings given by Tsong kha pa:

> He powerfully spread teachings on the mind whose intention is directed exclusively toward the Buddha's teachings and toward living beings. Each day he made utterly pure prayers for the weal and happiness of all beings, and each day he taught the assembled monks one session on the *Birth-Stories* written by Ācārya Śūra.[20]

Here the reference is to the *Garland of Birth-Stories* by Āryaśūra; Ācārya Śūra (slob dpon dpa' bo) is the Tibetan rendition of Āryaśūra's name. While works by other authors are also titled *Garland of Birth-Stories*, in this chapter all subsequent mentions of the *Garland of Birth-Stories* refer to the work by Āryaśūra.[21] Mkhas grub rje's account establishes that the *Garland of Birth-Stories* was the main text used in the Great Prayer Festival teachings; moreover, it suggests that the narratives of the *Garland of Birth-Stories* were used in this case to exemplify the general theme of *bodhicitta*, the "mind directed toward awakening" or the resolve for awakening.

---

[17] Rigzin, *Festivals of Tibet*, 8.

[18] This event is considered one of the Twelve Deeds of the Buddha (*mdzad pa bcu gnyis*), and is narrated in the fourteenth episode of the *Avadāna-Kalpalatā*, "Prātihārya-avadāna" (*cho 'phrul gyi rtogs brjod*). For an English translation of this episode see Dās, "Story of Prātihārya." See also Foucher, *Vie du Bouddha*, 281-85.

[19] Heather Stoddard has translated portions of two accounts of the Smon lam chen mo, one by Tsong kha pa's student Mkhas grub rje (1385-1438) and the other by Tshe tan zhabs drung (1910-1985). Stoddard, "From Ra sa to Lhasa," 187-92. For other recent descriptions, see Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 91-92; Richardson, *Ceremonies*, 11-59. A smaller version of Smon lam chen mo continues to be celebrated to the present day in exile in Dharamsala, India.

[20] *bstan pa dang sems can 'ba' zhig la dgongs pa'i thugs kyi shugs drag pos bstan pa rgyas pa dang sems can la phan bde 'byung ba'i smon lam rnam par dag pa nyin re zhing mdzad la/ dge 'dun skye bo'i tshogs dang bcas pa la nyin re zhing slob dpon dpa' bos mdzad pa'i skyes rabs kyi chos thun re gsungs so//.* Mkhas grub, *Rje btsun bla ma tsong kha pa chen po'i ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i 'jug ngogs*, in *Collected Works of Tsoṅ-kha-pa*, vol. 1, 46b6=96.6. For a translation of the bulk of Mkhas grub rje's account of the Smon lam chen mo, see Stoddard, "From Ra sa to Lhasa," 185-87.

[21] On other *Jātakamālās* known in Tibet see Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta*.

Studying and Teaching the Garland of Birth-Stories

According to the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography, by the age of six he had already begun training for the duty to teach Āryaśūra's text at the Great Prayer Festival. In the third or fourth month of the Wood-Mouse Year (1624) we find this entry:

> Gling smad zhabs drung went back to Skyid shod. For about nine days, I relaxed at Lhun grub Dga' tshal Dbang drag rol pa'i Devīkoṭi.[22] In the mornings and evenings I did a Dpal ldan dmag zor ma propitiation liturgy.[23] In the daytime, hoping this would benefit the Lhasa Prayer [Festival], the Zhal ngo said, "Read the *Thirty-Four Birth-Stories*!" The master and all his students were all extremely well educated, [but] it happened that the master made a mistake with the birth-stories and their topical outline, so the topical outline was recited two or three times.[24]

The *Thirty-Four Birth-Stories* (Tb. Skyes rabs so bzhi) is the common Tibetan title for the *Garland of Birth-Stories* (Jātakamālā) by Āryaśūra. Two years earlier, the Fifth Dalai Lama had been recognized as the reincarnation of his predecessor and brought to his seat at 'Bras spungs; he was not to take his novice vows until the following year.[25] Zhal ngo Bsod nams chos 'phel (1595-1658)—treasurer of Dga' ldan pho brang and architect of the Dge lugs rise to power—felt that this text was sufficiently important that the young Dalai Lama should begin learning it before his formal education as a monk had begun.[26] The Fifth Dalai Lama received transmission for this text three years later, when it was incorporated into his daily routine: "After lunch was finished, I received oral transmissions consisting of teaching sessions on the *Thirty-Four Birth-Stories*, followed by the *Book of Bka' gdams*."[27]

---

[22] This is likely a poetic name for Gnas chung Monastery—seat of the Pe har state oracle—located less than two miles southeast of 'Bras spungs. It is referred to by a similar name in the following article title as given in the Bya ra database of Latse Library: Gling dbon Padma skal bzang, "Dbang drag rol pa'i dga' tshal gnas chung rdo rje sgra dbyangs gling gi dkar chag bskyar sgrig," *Bod ljongs nang bstan* 3, no. 1 (1988): 32-68.

[23] On the female deity Dpal ldan dmag zor ma (an aspect of Dpal ldan lha mo [Śrīdevī]) and her significance for the Dalai Lamas, see Amy Heller, "Great Protector Deities," 82-87.

[24] *gling smad zhabs drung skyid shod du phyir phebs/ bdag gis lhun grub dga' tshal dbang drag rol pa'i de vī ko ṭir zhag dgu tsam gyi ring 'gol sdod byas/ snga dgongs dpal ldan dmag zor ma'i bskang gso btang/ nyin mo lha sa smon lam la phan du re bas 'khrungs rabs so bzhi pa lhogs zhes zhal ngos gsung bar dpon slob thams cad sku yon che dags* (read *drags*) *'khrungs rabs dang de'i sa bcad rje rang byung pas mdzad pa nor nas sa bcad de lan gnyis gsum tsam klog* /. L5DL, vol. 1, 35b2-35b4.

[25] Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Life of the Fifth*, 256.

[26] Bsod nams chos 'phel is referred to by his title *zhal ngo*, "leader," in the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography. Also known as Bsod nams rab brtan, he was active in the search for the Fourth Dalai Lama's reincarnation and became the Fifth Dalai Lama's first regent (*sde srid*). Don rdor and Bstan 'dzin chos grags, *Mi sna*, 670-71.

[27] *gung tshigs grol bstun 'khrungs rabs so bzhi pa dang de rjes bka' gdams glegs bam gyi chos thun re'i ljags lung gnang*. L5DL, vol. 1, 45b5.

According to Glenn Mullin, the Second and Third Dalai Lamas lectured on the *Book of Bka' gdams* (Bka' gdams glegs bam) on *cho 'phrul*, the fifteenth day of the first month; the Fourth Dalai Lama taught this text at Rwa sgreng Monastery on his way to Lha sa in 1603, and taught the *Jātakamālā* on *cho 'phrul* during the Great Prayer Festival in 1604. When I attended the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's Smon lam chen mo teachings in 2008, he taught the fifteenth episode of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, "Birth-Story of the Fish" (Matsya-jātaka), gave a *lung* transmission of the *Jātakamālā*, and gave an empowerment for the Sixteen Drops of Bka' gdams pa (*thig le bcu drug*) which is based on the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*. Given this history of teaching both texts at Smon lam chen mo, it makes sense that the *lung* transmission for these two texts would have been received together. While Mullin does not provide

At the age of thirteen, the Fifth Dalai Lama taught at the Great Prayer Festival for the first time in 1631. While he was coming of age, senior Dge lugs pa monks had presided over the Great Prayer Festival, such as the First Paṇ chen Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (c. 1567-1662) in the Wood-Ox Year of 1625 and in the Earth-Dragon Year of 1628, and the thirty-fifth Dga' ldan Khri Rin po che 'Jam dbyangs dkon mchog chos 'phel (c. 1573-1646) in the Fire-Hare Year of 1627 and in the Iron-Horse Year of 1630.[28] At the urging of his chief tutor Gling smad zhabs drung—another title for the Dga' ldan Khri Rin po che, throne-holder of one of the three chief Dge lugs monasteries in central Tibet—the Dalai Lama had given his first teaching a few months earlier at Skyor mo lung Monastery, teaching from the *Book of Bka' gdams*.[29] However, there would be a much larger crowd at the Great Prayer Festival, and the expectations for his performance were doubtless much higher.

The Dalai Lama gave a lively account of his grand teaching debut at the Great Prayer Festival in his autobiography, where we find Gling smad zhabs drung and others converging on 'Bras spungs Monastery for the winter teaching session:

> At the end of the twelfth Hor-month [of the Iron-Horse Year of 1630], Gling smad zhabs drung came. Rong po 'gir ti *sprul sku*, the Snang zhig *sprul sku* and others came; arriving separately were visitors from Byang. When the students arrived, each with restless minds, they were all carried away with distractions. As a result, the winter teaching session was not of high quality.[30]
>
> Since the Zhal ngo called upon me to go to the Great Prayer Festival, I requested from Gling smad zhabs drung a detailed teaching on about eight chapters of the *Thirty-Four Birth-Stories*. He gave me the training, including the principles of expounding Dharma. Ever since then, it's as if the eloquence to expound wells forth, regardless of

---

specific citations, I have verified that according to the Fifth Dalai Lama's biography of the Fourth Dalai Lama, the Fourth Dalai Lama indeed taught these two texts as reported, and that the Second Dalai Lama Dge 'dun rgya mtsho promoted the tradition of teaching the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*. Glenn H. Mullin, *Fourteen Dalai Lamas*, 173, 176. Dalai Lama V, *'Jig rten dbang phyug thams cad mkhyen pa yon tan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po'i rnam thar nor bu'i 'phreng ba,* in *Collected Works*, vol. 8, 21a6-21b3=287.6-288.3; 32a3-32a6=309.3-6.

The role of the Dalai Lamas in teaching both the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* and the *Jātakamālā* raises interesting parallels: the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* narrates the previous lives of 'Brom ston—who is considered a previous incarnation of the Dalai Lamas—and the prophecy of the Dalai Lamas' reincarnation lineage is also traced to the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*. According to the biographical passage cited in this note, the Fourth Dalai Lama taught from the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* while seated on the throne of 'Brom ston at Rwa sgreng Monastery. The Fourth Dalai Lama was born in Mongolia and his status as the recognized reincarnation of the Third Dalai Lama was not without controversy. The staging of this event may have served to reinforce his identity as the true reincarnation: just as the Buddha Śākyamuni had knowledge of his previous lives and the authority to speak on them, the Fourth Dalai Lama physically occupied the seat of his previous incarnation and affirmed his authority to speak on his own previous lives. For further information and translations of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*, one may consult Jinpa, *Book of Kadam*; Miller, "Jeweled Dialogues."

[28] L5DL, vol. 1, 38a2-38a3, 44b1, 47a2-47a3, 52b1. According to Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, the Paṇ chen also presided over the Great Prayer Festival for six years beginning in 1613 (DKT, 1648b). On Dga' ldan Khri Rin po che's important role in the ascendancy of the Dge lugs in the seventeenth century, see Karmay, "Most Pleasing Symphony." 131.

[29] L5DL, vol. 1, 54b5-54b6. The exact date is not given but it took place shortly after the fourth day of the seventh month.

[30] *hor zla bcu gnyis pa'i 'gor gling smad zhabs drung phebs/ rong po 'gir ti sku skye dang snang zhig sku skye sogs bar 'grul dum pa 'byor byang 'grul du song bas gdul bya yong la re'i blo 'tshub kyis tshang ma g.yeng bas khyer nas dgun chos smar rgyu ma byung/.* Ibid., 57a4-57a5.

whether the subject to be lectured on is difficult or not, or whether the audience is large or small. Even if my understanding is only mediocre when I'm at home looking at the text, whenever I go to [teach] a Dharma assembly my experience is just the opposite. My lack of difficulties in major teachings is thanks to this lord's great kindness, which could not be repaid even if Jambudvīpa was covered with gold.[31]

Chos mdzad dge legs rgya mtsho said to the Zhal ngo, "When he goes to the Prayer [Festival], he will also give a Dharma teaching. However, the Dharma Lord has not given teachings on previous occasions. So several monks, who were [in charge of] brewing tea at the residence, sent a request to go to hear his Dharma recitations."[32]

Ever the serious student, the young Dalai Lama drily observed the excitability of the student monks, which prevented them from learning much of anything.[33] Unlike them, the Dalai Lama was preoccupied with a weighty new responsibility. He had attended the Great Prayer Festival before, but was now being pressed by Zhal ngo Bsod nams chos 'phel to teach.[34] Based on his request to his tutor, it appears that the Dalai Lama planned to teach a portion of the *jātaka* collection, substantively and in detail. To help prepare him for the massive crowds and high pressure of the public festival, Gling smad zhabs drung also gave him crucial instructions on how to teach Dharma. In a moving expression of gratitude to his teacher, the Dalai Lama recalled this as a breakthrough moment: not only had he gained the ability to speak confidently about any subject to any audience, but he actually understood a text better when explaining it to an audience than when muddling through it on his own. The word "eloquence" (Tb. *spobs pa,* Skt. *pratibhāna*) in the passage above has a technical Buddhist meaning, as one of four distinctive knowledges (Tb. *so sor yang dag rig pa*, Skt. *pratisaṃvid*) acquired by an advanced bodhisattva in the ninth of ten stages (Tb. *sa*, Skt. *bhūmi*).[35] The expectations for his public instruction were considerable, for one's rhetorical abilities were no mere matter of stylistic flourish, but could give some indication of one's level of spiritual attainment.

The Dalai Lama continues his autobiography with an account of the examinations for awarding the title of *gling bsre* ("[scholar examined by] the mixing of communities"), the third rank of a *dge bshes* scholar.[36] As the new year draws closer, anxiety about his teaching debut mounts:

---

[31] *zhal ngos smon lam chen mo 'gro dgos tshul mdzad pas gling smad zhabs drung 'khrungs rabs so bzhi pa'i le'u brgyad tsam gyi gsung bshad zhib par zhus / chos 'chad lugs tshun bslab pa gnang ba de ga nas bzung 'chad pa'i spobs pa rdol ba lta bus bshad bya'i don dka' mi dka' dang nyan pa po'i tshogs che chung la ma bltos par nang du dpe char bltas dus go rtogs 'bring tsam zhig byung na chos grar slebs dus de las 'char sgo log pos che ba'i 'chad pa la dka' tshegs med pa 'di rje 'di nyid kyi bka' drin yin pas 'dzam gling gser gyis bkang yang gzhal bar dka'o/.* Ibid., 57a5-57b1.

[32] *zhal ngor chos mdzad dge legs rgya mtshos smon lam la phebs na gsung chos la bshad pa mdzad rgyu yod la che(chos) rje gong ma'i dus kyang gsung bshad ma gnang bas gra pa 'ga' res gnas tshang du ja gcig skol lam khong tshang gi chos 'don nyan par 'gro sogs skur zhus byed pa/* Ibid., 57b1-57b2.

[33] On the curriculum and teaching schedule of 'Bras spungs monastery, see Dakpa, "Hours and Days."

[34] In the Wood-Ox Year of 1625 he records that he went to Lhasa for the Smon lam chen mo. L5DL, vol. 1, 38a2-38a3.

[35] Explanations of the other three knowledges vary; they are *dharma-pratisaṃvid* (Tb. *chos so so yang dag par rig pa*), *artha-pratisaṃvid* (Tb. *don so so yang dag par rig pa*), and *nirukti-pratisaṃvid* (Tb. *nges pa'i tshig so so yang dag par rig pa*); cf. MSA 18:35-38; AKB vol. 4, 1151-55; Mvy. 196-200. On interpretations of these four terms, see Dayal, *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 259-67; and Āsaṅga, *Universal Discourse Vehicle Literature*, 256-58.

[36] On the examinations and ranks of the *dge bshes*, see Dreyfus, *Two Hands Clapping*, 254-60.

> [As my recitations of] the *Sukhāvatī* and the *Making the Teachings Shine* [prayers] were incomplete and hesitant, at the monk's encouragement, all day and all night I recited the *maṇi* mantra.[37]
>
> After the Iron-Sheep New Year [1631] had passed, for the offering for the Display of Miracles, I arrived in Lhasa together with the master Gling smad zhabs drung and his students. Arranging for lodging for the night, we stayed at Lte ba; Khri Rin po che stayed at Chu mig pho brang. Khri Rin po che went to preside over the "Little Prayer." At Ra sa 'Phrul snang [Temple] Khri Rin po che made a prayer for [my success in] teaching Dharma.[38]
>
> On the third day I imitated his way of speaking. All the assistants were terribly worried that my *Making the Teachings Shine* and *Sukhāvatī* [prayer recitations] would be incomplete and hesitant. As Dbon po Dam chos was assigned to watch over the lodging, he couldn't come. He stayed in place, quite uneasy, his mind fermenting. As soon as the assembly was finished he came to the western Spag ra [courtyard] and asked the Chamberlain Rgya yags pa.[39] [Told that I] did it perfectly, without any omissions or additions, he said he felt just like a knot that was untied.[40]

The Dalai Lama recounts in humorous detail how he had difficulty reciting two common prayers in their entirety—one for rebirth in the pure land of the Buddha Amitābha and the other for the flourishing of the Buddhist teachings—raising consternation among his teachers and attendants as the big day approached.[41] Toward overcoming this problem, he is urged to recite the six-syllable *maṇi* mantra of Avalokiteśvara, and his tutor prayed on his behalf at the Ra sa 'Phrul snang (Jo khang) Temple. Mantras and prayers notwithstanding, the nervousness of his handlers is made palpable: we can imagine Dbon po Dam chos fretting restlessly while moored out of earshot at his security post. However, everything turned out well and Dbon po Dam chos' relief stands in for the collective sentiment of the Dalai Lama's handlers.

---

[37] *bde ba can dang bstan 'bar ma chad dogs dge slong gi bskul lcag gis snga dgongs thams cad ma ṇi 'dren 'dren byas/.* L5DL, vol. 1, 57b6-58a1.

[38] *lcags lug gi lo gsar grub nas cho 'phrul mchod pa'i ched du lha sar gling smad zhabs drung dang dpon slob phyogs mthun du 'byor nub tu gnas tshang byas nged chas (*read *tshos) lte ba dang khri rin po ches chu mig pho brang du bzhugs/ smon lam chung ba'i gral dbur khri rin po che phebs / ra sa 'phrul snang du gsung chos smon lam nyi ma gnyis kyi bar khri rin po ches gnang/.* Ibid., 58a1-58a2.

[39] The location of Spag ra ("dough enclosure") is unclear, but in this context it must be in the general vicinity of the Lha sa Jo khang where the assemblies convened. The two well-known courtyards in the Jo khang are designated with the term *ra*, e,g. the *khyams ra* and the *shing ra*. For a plan of the Lha sa Jo khang complex see Alexander, *Temples of Lhasa*, 29.

[40] *nyi ma gsum pa bdag gis lad mo gshod pa'i lugs byas/ bstan 'bar ma dang bde ba can chad dogs zla bo mtha' dag sems tshad che/ dbon po dam chos gnas tshang gi gzhis srung la bzhag pa lta bar ni yong ma thub sa gcig tu sdod mi tshugs pa tsam gyi blo 'khol ba'i ngang nas tshogs grol byung ba dang nub kyi spag rar yongs nas mgron gnyer rgya yags par dris par chad lhag med par legs po byung byas 'dug pas bkyig thag bkrol ba tsam gyi nyams shar zer/.* L5DL, vol. 1, 58a2-58a4.

[41] Many prayers for rebirth in Sukhāvatī have been composed in Tibet; for a translation of Tsong kha pa's 1395 composition see Thurman, *Life and Teachings*, 207-12. For a study of Sukhāvatī texts and practices in the seventeenth century, see Halkias, "Pure-Lands and Other Visions;" for a translation of a Bstan 'bar ma prayer attributed to Paṇ chen Bsod nams grags pa (1478-1554), tutor of the Third Dalai Lama, see Savvas and Lodro, *Into the Exalted State*, 183-84. For a translation of a similar, unattributed *Bstan 'bar ma* prayer see Office of His Holiness, *Sublime Path*, 81-82.

Although the Dalai Lama does not explicitly record that he taught the *Garland of Birth-Stories* in this account, we may reasonably infer from preceding passages that he did so. As previously mentioned, the tradition of teaching Āryaśūra's *Garland of Birth-Stories* at the Great Prayer Festival was established by Tsong kha pa; more recently, the Fourth Dalai Lama also taught this text when he first gave instruction at the Great Prayer Festival.[42] The Fifth Dalai Lama himself began studying this text at an early age and reviewed parts of it with his tutor shortly before the Great Prayer Festival. We can only presume that he was well-prepared to teach on this subject and hence did not elicit any concern from his attendants. He likely had the text in front of him during his lecture, as is the common practice during instruction on a particular text.[43] Later that year, at the end of the summer teaching session, he presided over the prayer ceremony and taught one session of *jātaka*s (*'khrungs rabs*).[44] While he does not specify the text, he likely relied on the *Garland of Birth-Stories* given that he had not mentioned studying any other *jātaka* texts up to this point.

At the end of the following year—the Water-Monkey Year of 1632—the Fifth Dalai completed his studies of the *Garland of Birth-Stories*:

> During the twelfth month, Gling smad zhabs drung came. When the *Thirty-Four Birth-Stories* was completed, I requested him to give a commentary and remove my doubts about all of the difficult points. In conjunction, he gave me the general teachings on the *Book of Bka' gdams* and worked out its difficult points.[45]
>
> After the female Water-Bird New Year [1633] ended, I planned to start the Great Prayer, but given that Sa skya Zhabs drung Mthu stobs dbyang phyug bstan pa had not finished performing services for the happiness of the Tibetan people such as the purification ritual and so forth, it was delayed. While assuming control over Lhasa, Sa skya pa did a vivification ritual. The Zhal ngo said joyfully: "This is very auspicious!" As a gift in return, Bdag chen Rin po che served tea, starting up a relationship.[46]

The Dalai Lama had received the oral transmission for this text six years earlier; here we see that he received substantive, detailed teaching on the content of the text from Gling smad zhabs drung himself, and that he completed this over the course of three years from the winter session of 1630.

---

[42] See chap. 1, note 27.

[43] When the Fourteenth Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso taught the fifteenth episode of Āryaśūra's *Garland of Birth-Stories*, "Birth-Story of the Fish" (Matsya-Jātaka), he began with a discussion on *bodhicitta*, then read from the text, pausing to provide oral commentary at various points in the text. Great Prayer Festival, Dharamsala, India, 21 February 2008. Recordings of this teaching are available online (Dalai Lama XIV, "The Jataka Tales").

[44] *dbyar chos kyi mjug gi smon lam gyi tshogs dbu byas/ snga dro 'khrungs rabs nas chos thun re bshad/*. L5DL, vol. 1, 64a1.

[45] *zla ba bcu gnyis pa'i nang du gling smad zhabs drung phebs 'khrungs rabs so bzhi pa yongs rdzogs la ljags bshad gnang zhing dka' gnad rnams la dogs gcod zhus/ de zhor bka' gdams glegs bam la spyi chos byed lugs kyi sgroms dang gnad 'gag tsho grol ba gnang/*. Ibid., 70b1-70b2.

[46] *chu mo bya'i la* [read *lo*] *gsar grub nas smon lam dus thog tu 'dzugs rtsis la sa skya zhabs drung mthu stobs dbang phyug bstan pa gso chog sogs bod 'bangs bde thabs kyi sku rim tshugs pa ma zin pas 'gyangs/ lha sa rtsis blangs thog sa skya pas rab gnas mdzad pa 'di rten 'brel legs pa byung zhes zhal ngo dgyes dgyes mdzad/ bdag chen rin po che dang phan tshun ja 'dren skyes gtong res brel chags pa byung/*. Ibid., 70b2-4.

Studying and Teaching the Wish-Fulfilling Vine

Beginning in 1641, the Fifth Dalai Lama records that he began teaching the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* at the Great Prayer Festival:

> During the Iron-Snake New Year [of 1641], I offered a scarf (*kha btags*) to 'Dod khams Dbang phyug ma as a prayer for liberated activities.[47] I went to the Great Prayer Festival. Having finished the *Thirty-Four Birth-Stories* once, I didn't repeat it. Despite the fact that I hadn't finished receiving instruction on the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, I began a lecture on the poetry that was as eloquent as my mind was capable of making it, and that was fitting and proper. Although it was inappropriate to give a general teaching without having acquired the oral transmission of the text, this was the general custom of the philosophical monastic college.[48]

This passage offers further information about the Dalai Lama's instruction of Āryaśūra's text during the Great Prayer Festival. If he began teaching this text in 1631, presumably he would have taught approximately three to four stories each year until 1641. He then turned to teaching the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* at the Great Prayer Festival; this apparently occurred under external pressure, since the Dalai Lama expressed personal reservations about teaching a text for which he had not received the oral transmission. This shift to teaching the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* coincided with a major shift in the religio-political order: during this very New Year celebration, the news came that Gushri Khan and the Qoshot Mongols had defeated the ruler of Be ri in Khams, and were aiming to overthrow the ruler of Gtsang on the instructions of Zhal ngo Bsod nams chos 'phel. By the following year Gushri Khan had won control of Gtsang and given Tibet to the Dalai Lama at his enthronement ceremony at Bkra shis lhun po, symbolizing the Dalai Lama's newfound control over the province of Gtsang. The Dga' ldan pho brang government was established with the Dalai Lama as its head, and Bsod nams chos 'phel was appointed as the first regent (*sde srid*).[49]

The *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* teaching cycle at the Great Prayer Festival thus began at a crucial moment in the Fifth Dalai Lama's life and career. The grand culture-building activities of the Dga' ldan pho brang government commenced in earnest: the Fifth Dalai Lama wrote his history of Tibet in 1643 at the request of Gushri Khan, and construction of the Po ta la Palace began in 1645. The production of knowledge and material culture continued throughout his reign; as I will demonstrate in later sections of this chapter, this included literary and pictorial productions of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. In the remainder of this section, I will document his continued studies and instruction of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*.

In 1644 Smon 'gro pa 'Jam dbyangs dbang rgyal rdo rje (hereafter Smon 'gro pa), a learned scholar from the La stod region of Gtsang, arrived in Lhasa to teach the Fifth Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama had invited his elderly father Smon 'gro pa Rig gnas rgya mtsho'i 'phreng ba 'dzin pa to come to Lhasa to give him tutorial assistance, but the son was sent in his place.

---

[47] On 'Dod khams Dbang phyug ma (Rematī)—a form of the protector goddess Lha mo—and her significance as a protector of the Dalai Lamas, see Heller, "Scorpion in Tibet," 285-90; and Heller, "Great Protector Deities," 82-87.

[48] *lcags sbrul gyi lo gsar thog 'dod khams dbang phyug mar 'phrin las gsol ba'i snyan dar phul/ smon lam chen mor phyin/ 'khrungs rabs so bzhi pa tshar gcig grub song bas ma bldabs par dpag bsam 'khri shing gi gsung bshad zhus ma zin rung snyan dngags rang blos gang spobs kyi bshad pa 'os 'gab dang bcas dbu btsugs/ lung ma thob par spyi chos byed pa 'di 'os su ma 'thad kyang mtshan nyid pa'i gra sa'i spyi srol du 'dug/.* L5DL, vol. 1, 99a4-99a6.

[49] Karmay, *Secret Visions*, 3b-4b; Karmay, "Fifth Dalai Lama and His Reunification of Tibet," 70-73.

Under him the Dalai Lama studied Sanskrit grammar, Tibetan grammar and spelling (*sum rtags*), metrics, and astrology.[50] Regarding his studies in poetics with Smon 'gro pa he wrote the following:

> He taught me on the basis of Rin spungs pa's commentary on the *Mirror of Poetics*, and other commentaries, especially the aphorisms of his lineage's interpretation; through these, I learned a detailed explanation of the figures of speech. After that, I submitted an extensive written examination on all three chapters.[51]

In addition to his studies on the *Mirror of Poetics*, the Dalai Lama wrote about studying the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* with his tutor Smon 'gro pa:

> I received excellent [instruction] on the difficult points of the *Precious Wish-Fulfilling Vine Avadānas*, and took up the tradition of full comprehension. The Lha pa *sprul sku*, the painter Btsun chung, and others criticized: "[This is] entrusting the *bla ma* to a layperson!" As for recognizing householders, there are not only Rnying ma, but also many of the Gsar ma such as 'Brog, Mal, Mar pa, Mar do, 'Gos, Sa chen, Rwa 'bum seng khu dbon, and Rgwa lo Rnam rgyal rdo rje.[52]
>
> If one objects that this is different because these are *sngags pa*, [I would rebut that] in India, there was the *dharmarāja* Kṣemendra, and in Tibet, Srong btsan sgam po and Rigs ldan Rnam rgyal grags pa: these are all examples. If one had the choice between renunciates and laypeople, one wouldn't choose laypeople.[53]
>
> If someone were to point their finger, saying, "This novice or monk has some good qualities," then I would say, "Bring him to teach!" and kneel on the ground with my knee and join my fingers at my heart without any doubts. 'Brug pa Kun legs said, "It's said that the trust you ladies have isn't possessed by others. To say you don't have it is really amazing!" It's just the same.[54]
>
> It's said that when 'Brug pa Padma dkar po went to see the Jo bo Śākyamuni and made prayers to be an expert in the five fields of learning, he accomplished it accordingly. Even though I didn't make an aspiration prayer, it's like the example of the swift horse and the dawdling donkey: at the end of the day, they share the same bed. At the urging of

---

[50] L5DL, vol. 1, 129b1-4. On Smon 'gro pa and his short biography of the Fifth Dalai Lama, see Karmay, "Most Pleasing Symphony," 130-37. Kurtis Schaeffer argues that this biography was an early effort to promote the enlightened qualities of the Fifth Dalai Lama, preceding those of Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (Schaeffer, "Ngawang Lopsang Gyatso," 64-91).

[51] *snyan ngag me long rin spungs pa'i 'grel pa la gzhi gnang 'grel pa gzhan dang khyad par gsung rgyun gyi legs par bshad pas brgyan pa'i zhib bshad nyan nas le'u gsum ga'i rtsom rgyugs rgyas par phul/.* L5DL, vol. 1, 129b2.

[52] *rtogs brjod rin po che dpag bsam 'khri shing gi dka' ba'i gnad rnams dang bcas pa legs par zhus shing khong du chud pa'i lugs su byas/ lha pa sku skye dang lha bris pa btsun chung sogs kyis mi skya la bla ma bcol zhes kha zer ba khyim pa la ngos 'dzin na rnying mar ma zad/ 'brog/ mal/ mar pa/ mar do/ 'gos/ sa chen/ rwa 'bum seng khu dbon/ rgwa lo rnam rgyal rdo rje lta bu gsar ma ba la yang shin tu mang/.* Ibid., 129b4-129b6.

[53] *de dag sngags pa yin pas mi 'dra zer na/ rgya gar du chos rgyal dge dbang/ bod du srong btsan sgam po/ rigs ldan rnam rgyal grags pas mtshon pa ji snyed/ rab byung dang skya bo 'dam 'dod byung nas skya bor 'dam pa min/.* Ibid., 129b6.

[54] *yon tan 'di tsam yod pa'i dge tshul slong zhig 'di'o zhes mdzug mo 'dzugs rgyu yod na khrid shog dang kho bos pus mo sa la btsugs te lag pa'i sor mo snying gar sbyor bar the tshom med kyang/ 'brug pa kun legs kyis/ khyed nya ma rnams kyi dad pa de/ gzhan la mi 'dug zer zer nas/ rang la med pa ngo mtshar che zer ba de gar gda'o/.* Ibid., 129b6-130a2.

> the Precious Master Smon 'gro, I composed a supplication for four lineages: the *Kā-tantra*, *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, *Mirror of Poetics*, and *Svarodaya-tantra*.[55]

While little is known about Smon 'gro pa, this passage suggests that his status as a layperson who served as one of the Dalai Lama's tutors was a controversial point within the Dge lugs pa establishment.[56] The Lha pa sprul sku mentioned here may refer to Zhabs drung lha pa Blo bzang bstan pa dar rgyas, a student of the First Paṇ chen Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1570-1662).[57] The painter Btsun chung was involved in major visual productions for the Fifth Dalai Lama's court; here it is notable that he had sufficient stature to weigh in on the Dalai Lama's education.

The Fifth Dalai Lama stressed that he was willing to grant instructional authority to a layperson, providing examples of laymen in Tibet who were distinguished Buddhist teachers. These included illustrious masters recognized by the Gsar ma ("new") lineage traditions, i.e. Sa skya pa, Bka' brgyud pa and Dge lugs pa. His abbreviated names likely refer to the following important figures, respectively: 'Brog mi lo tsā ba Shā kya ye shes (c. 993-1074), Mal ka ba can pa (1126-1211), Mar pa lo tsā ba Chos kyi blo gros (c. 1002/1012-1097/1100), Lo tsā ba Mar do Chos kyi dbyang phyug, 'Gos lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1392-1418), Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092-1158), Rwa 'bum seng khu don (b. 12th c.), and his student Rgwa lo tsā ba Rnam rgyal rdo rje.[58] Interestingly, his single example from India is the author of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, Kṣemendra. The Fifth Dalai Lama may be responding to a double critique about the lay status of both Smon 'gro pa and Kṣemendra; as I will discuss in the final section of this chapter, the Fifth Dalai Lama defended Kṣemendra's status as a layperson in his 1665 bilingual edition of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. While the Fifth Dalai Lama concedes that qualified monks would indeed be superior to laypeople, he phrases this almost as a challenge, as if daring anyone to find a monk with greater literary skill than Smon 'gro pa.

Writing about premodern Tibet after Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251), Georges Dreyfus has suggested the "creation of two distinct educational traditions: a lay focus on belles lettres and a monastic emphasis on religious and philosophical subjects."[59] As he concedes, this is a generalization with noteworthy exceptions, but the controversy over Smon 'gro pa's status does highlight tensions within the Dge lugs establishment about the relative value of different fields of learning, as well as monastic versus lay claims to knowledge.[60] While Dge lugs pa prized the "inner learning" (*nang rig pa*) exclusive to Buddhism and the field of logic (*tshad ma*), fields

---

[55] *'brug pa padma dkar pos rig pa'i gnas lnga la mkhas pa'i smon lam jo shāk mjal skabs mdzad pa ltar 'grub gsung ba bdag gis smon lam 'debs rgyu ma byung yang rta mgyogs bong bu 'gor zhag sa gnas mal gcig pa'i dper snang/ slob dpon rin po che smon 'gro nas kyi gsung gis bskul ba ltar ka tsan snyan ngag dbyangs 'char bzhi'i brgyud 'debs shig kyang brtsams/.* Ibid., 130a2-130a3.

On the *Kā-tantra* and *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* grammatical traditions in Tibet, see Verhagen, *Sanskrit Grammatical Literature*. The *Svarodaya-tantra* is a divination text used in the Tibetan astrological tradition (Sonam Wangdi and Philip, "Astrological Tradition of Tibet").

[56] Smon gro pa is depicted in lay dress in the Fifth Dalai Lama's 1665 *Dpag bsam 'khri shing* bilingual edition, in his portrait appearing on the right margin. L 3b=6.

[57] TBRC P4900. His reincarnation, Zhabs drung lha pa Blo bzang 'phrin las, was contemporaneous with the Second Paṇ chen Blo bzang ye shes (1663-1737). MD, 1472-73.

[58] Information about these figures may be found in MD.

[59] Dreyfus, *Two Hands Clapping*, 105.

[60] Dreyfus is careful to note that this is an oversimplified opposition, as there are examples of crossovers from both sides. Ibid., 356-57 n.19.

such as poetics were considered both elite and somewhat frivolous, especially in comparison to scholastic debate.[61] This is perhaps one reason why a suitable monastic tutor could not be found; on the other hand, inviting a layperson to teach the Dalai Lama could challenge the superiority of monastic over lay authority. The Fifth Dalai Lama may have viewed this as an opportunity rather than a weakness, however: once he had mastered poetics, he could also assert authority over what was perceived as a lay—or at least non-Dge lugs—domain of knowledge. The aristocracy continued to exert powerful force in Tibetan politics after the Dga' ldan pho brang government was established.[62] Moreover, other monastic lineage traditions such as the 'Brug pa deprecated the Dge lug pa for their lack of skill in poetics, as will be seen in the last section of this chapter.

After studying poetics and the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* with Smon 'gro pa, the Fifth Dalai Lama notes a shift in how he taught this text:

> At the Great Prayer Festival [of the Fire-Dog year of 1646], I gave a diligent explanation (*bzabs bshad*) of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* that was unlike the previous clever explanation (*rtsal bshad*). I offered *kha btags* scarves adorned with letters [of prayer] to the [images of] Jo bo Śākyamuni and the Fivefold Self-Appeared One," the Venerable Tsong kha pa, Ma gcig lab sgron, and Dpal ldan lha mo.[63] After that, Dharma Lord Tre bo and Lha rtsa *sprul sku* also appeared at some prayers. Also on behalf of the deceased king of Mnga' ris and Ladakh, Seng ge rnam rgyal, the monks were given tea and noodles, as well as crystals and rubies, gold, and saffron, etc., and prayers dedicating merit were made.[64]

While the meaning of *rtsal* ("clever") could be ambiguous—*rtsal* often means "energy"—in the context of speech it more likely means "clever" in the sense of pretense. Elsewhere in his poetry, the Fifth Dalai Lama employed this usage of *rtsal bshad*, "clever explanations," as a means of misleading others (*gzhan 'drid*).[65] While the Fifth Dalai Lama deprecates his earlier lack of understanding of the text—which had to be concealed through "clever explanations"—he asserts his ability to teach the text thoroughly and in detail after having studied it with Smon 'gro pa.

The Fifth Dalai Lama's Regulatory Text on the Great Prayer Festival

From the foregoing passages, we have seen that the Fifth Dalai Lama initially taught the *Garland of Birth-Stories* at the Great Prayer Festival, and after ten years he switched to the *Wish-*

---

[61] Kapstein, "Indian Literary Identity in Tibet," 785-86.

[62] *TPS*, vol. 1, 66-80.

[63] The "Fivefold Self-Appeared One" (*rang byon lnga ldan*) refers to the consecrated image of the eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara in the Jo khang. The second most revered image in the Jo khang after the Jo bo Śākyamuni, this image was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution; a replica has been placed in its former location in the Northern Inner Sanctum (*gtsang khang byang ma*). Dorje et al., *Jokhang*, 31, 68.

[64] *smon lam chen mor dpag bsam 'khri shing la sngar gyi rtsal bshad dang mi mtshungs pa'i bzabs bshad byas/ jo shāk rang byon lnga ldan/ rje btsun btsong kha pa/ ma gcig dpal lha rnams la snyan shal kha yig gis spras pa phul/ 'di nas bzung smon lam kha yar la chos rje tre bo dang lha rtsa sku skye yang byung/ mnga' ris la dvags rgyal po seng ge rnam rgyal 'das pa'i dge rtsar mang skol dang shel dkar dmar gser gur kum sogs 'byor bar bsngo smon gyis rgyas btab/.* L5DL, vol. 1, 132a5-132a6.

[65] "This is not an attempt to bring liberation by misleading others, / Offering clever explanations (*rtsal bshad*) invented after merely glancing through the texts, / Like trying to pour from one empty vessel into another. For I have some measure of confidence and experience / From applying the naked instructions directly to my mind." *dpe mthong mtsam la rang bzo'i rtsal bshad kyis/ gzhan 'drid bum stong gcig nas gcig 'byo ba'i/ rnam thar ma yin dmar 'khrid rgyud thog tu/ bkal ba'i nyams myong gdengs tshad cung zad mchis/.* Dalai Lama V quoted in Dalai Lama XIV, *Mind in Comfort and Ease,* 83, 273 n. 53.

Fulfilling Vine. What might have been the reasons for this? The longevity of his teaching career is one explanation, supported by his note that he had completed teaching the *Garland of Birth-Stories* and would not repeat it. It also appears that he was pressured to teach the *Vine* by unnamed individuals, despite his concern that he had neither received oral transmission nor completed his studies of the text. While evidence remains incomplete, I have yet to see references to individuals before the Fifth Dalai Lama teaching the *Vine* at the Great Prayer Festival; references are instead to Āryaśūra's *Garland of Birth-Stories*. Whether or not he was the first to teach the *Vine* at the Great Prayer Festival, it is clear that this narrative anthology became the main instructional text in the 1640s.

In addition to the sources discussed above, the Fifth Dalai Lama composed a regulatory text (*bca' yig*) on the Great Prayer Festival in 1675.[66] From this text we find further clues about the perceived significance of the *Garland of Birth-Stories* and *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. The Fifth Dalai Lama writes about the tradition of teaching *jātaka*s at the Great Prayer Festival:

> According to the tradition of the second Jina [Tsong kha pa], in the morning [one teaches] a session of the *Thirty-Four Birth-Stories* of glorious Śūra—crown jewel among poets—so that those who lack trust (*dad pa*) in the Tathāgata will newly gain trust, and so that those who do have trust renew it once again.[67]

Trust (Tb. *dad pa*, Skt. *śraddhā*)—sometimes translated as "faith" but entailing a serene trust in the Buddha and substantive confidence in the quality of his teachings—is often given as a reason for teaching *jātaka* narratives. While it came to be commonly assumed by Western scholars that these stories were intended for laypeople as simplified expressions of Buddhist doctrine, here the Fifth Dalai Lama asserts that the intended audience is all-inclusive.[68] Instructions on the *jātaka*s are beneficial for everyone regardless of their level of commitment to the Buddhist path, and trust is a quality that needs to be periodically renewed. As Georges Dreyfus has observed, the Great Prayer Festival was established as a means of asserting the centrality of monasticism;[69] here the Fifth Dalai Lama was certainly addressing monastic communities as well as laypeople.

Elsewhere in this same regulatory text on the Great Prayer Festival, the Fifth Dalai Lama twice cites the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* as part of his discussion. The first occurrence concerns the dates of the miracles commemorated by the Great Prayer Festival. After commenting that there are limitless accounts of how the Buddha Śākyamuni appeared in our world as an illusory body (*nirmāṇakāya*), the Fifth Dalai Lama focuses on the particular event commemorated by the Great Prayer Festival:

---

[66] Dalai Lama V, *Collected Works*, vol. 20, 64b-75b. This text has been recently edited and appears under the title "Lha ldan smon lam chen mo'i gral 'dzin bca' yig," in *Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs*, 324-45. The blockprint contains many errors (especially missing vowels) and the facsimile is unclear in places; in many cases I have followed the corrections in the modern edition.

[67] *rgyal ba gnyis pa'i phyag len ltar/ de bzhin gshegs pa la dad pa med pa rnams gsar du dad pa dang/ dad pa dang ldan pa rnams la'ang slar gsas* [read *gsos*] *btab pa'i ched du/ snga dro snyan ngag mkhan rnams kyi gtsug gi nor bu dpal ldan dpa' bos mdzad pa'i 'khrungs rabs sa* [read *so*] *bzhi pa'i chos thun re dang/*. Dalai Lama V, *Collected Works*, vol. 20, 67a5-67a6.

[68] See the Introduction for a discussion of the uses of teaching the life stories of the Buddha and common Western assumptions about the intended audience.

[69] Dreyfus, "Drepung: An Introduction."

> In particular, as for offerings for the miracle in Śrāvastī when the Teacher defeated six [non-Buddhist teachers] and so forth: in the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* etc., he displayed [the miracles] from the first to the fifteenth days; in the *Vinaya*, except for the miracle of the eighth day the other days are unclear; and in the Precious Avadānas of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, which also explains according to the Hīnayāna, the content of displaying the deeds of the miracles is the same.[70]

On each of fifteen days, the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* specifies the primary donor as well as the particular miracles performed by the Buddha.[71] The *Vinaya* describes miracles performed on a single day, one week after the Buddha is requested to display miracles at the challenge of six non-Buddhist teachers. In this account, King Prasenajit has a building constructed between Śrāvastī and Jetavana for this purpose. Notable among the miracles are: shooting a ray of light that sets the building on fire, and then extinguishing it again; causing the earth to shake, sinking and rising in different directions; and disappearing and reappearing in each of the four directions to perform a series of miracles. This series includes appearing in the four modes of walking, standing, sitting, and lying down; emitting rays of light in various colors; and emitting flames from the lower part of his body and water from the upper part of his body. Finally, the Buddha causes a multitude of lotuses to appear on both sides with a buddha appearing on each lotus; these reach all the way up to Akaniṣṭha Heaven and perform a variety of activities.[72] The account in the fourteenth episode of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, "Prātihārya-avadāna," is generally based on the *Vinaya* but focuses on the three miracles of emitting fire, water, and multiple buddhas appearing on lotuses.[73] I will return to these differences between versions in the next section of the chapter. Here it suffices to point out that the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* is cited as a noteworthy source on the miraculous events on which the Great Prayer Festival is based. Unlike Āryaśūra's *Garland of Birth-Stories*, the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* provides accounts of the Buddha's final life, and as such it is worth citing along with Bka' 'gyur sources.

The *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* is cited once more in the Fifth Dalai Lama's regulatory text, as part of a critique of misbehaving monks at the Great Prayer Festival. This comes in a series of scriptural citations; the one preceding it is extracted from the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* where the Buddha Śākyamuni prophesies that, seven hundred years after his death, the demon Māra will appear in the guise of monks, male and female lay disciples, those who have gained the four fruits of liberation, *pratyekabuddha*s, and a buddha, and destroy his teachings.[74] The Fifth Dalai Lama continues:

---

[70] *bye brag mnyan yod du ston pa drug sogs btul ba'i cho 'phrul gyi mchod pa yang mdo sde mdzangs blun sogs su tshes gcig nas bco lnga'i bar du bstan pa dang 'dul ba lung du ches* [read *tshes*] *brgyad kyi cho 'phrul las nyi ma gzhan rnams mi gsal zhing rtogs brjod rin po che dpag bsam 'khri shing du'ang theg dman gyi rjes su 'brangs ba'i bshad tshul byung na'ang don cho 'phrul gyi mdzad pa bstan par mtshungs*. Dalai Lama V, *Collected Works*, vol. 20, 65b4-65b6.

[71] *Mdzangs blun zhes bya'i mdo*, D vol. 74, 161a4-164b1=321.4-328.1. For an English translation from Mongolian of the corresponding passage, see Frye, *Wise and the Foolish,* 52-56.

[72] *Vinayakṣudrakavastu,* D vol. 11, 47a3-51a3=93.3-101.4. As Burnouf notes, the Tibetan version differs from the "Prātihārya Sūtra" in the *Divyāvadāna*; the general events mentioned here appear in both sources (Burnouf, *History of Buddhism*, 209 n.209).

[73] Kṣe. 14:43-48.

[74] This quoted passage corresponds with the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, D vol.54, 92a5-92b1=183.5-184.1. For an English translation of a comparable passage from the Chinese translation, see Yamamoto, *Mahayana Mahaparinirvana-sutra,* vol. 1, 159.

> As for the explanation that Manmatha has appeared in the form of obstinate novice monks in order to find fault with the Buddha's teachings: this is likely happening with the course of time. Moreover, the fruit associated with the Saṅgha quarreling is explained in the "Saṅgharakṣita-avadāna": When it was time for the noon meal, the renunciates pierced [each others'] heads with hammers, and blood flowed down. Also, due to withholding [common] property, the food and drink turned into rust.[75]

Manmatha (*yid srubs*) is an epithet of the demon Māra, and with this comment the Fifth Dalai Lama pointedly implies that "obstinate novice monks" should be given no slack. He goes on to warn monks of the consequences of quarreling amongst themselves at the Great Prayer Festival, with a reference to the sixty-seventh episode of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, "Saṅgharakṣita-avadāna."[76] This story follows the travels of Saṅgharakṣita, "Protector of the Saṅgha," in strange lands where he witnesses the karmic come-uppance of misbehaving religious practitioners. In both these cases the monks he visits appear to have a happy and harmonious existence until mealtime comes. According to the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, the explanation for the first monastery was that in their previous lives as monks they had quarreled at mealtime; and for the second monastery, that due to delusion they hindered other monks from receiving their share of the food.[77]

This reference demonstrates how scholars like the Fifth Dalai Lama drew from episodes of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*—including those that were probably less familiar to the general public—for the purpose of social commentary. In general, Āryaśūra's *Garland of Birth-Stories* emphasizes the exemplary behavior of the bodhisattva, and heavily features the theme of the virtuous ruler.[78] While the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* also advances these themes, like much of Kṣemendra's other work it amply incorporates human foibles, with a greater inclusiveness of ordinary behavior as well as frequent commentary by both characters and narrator on moral shortcomings exhibited in the course of the narrative.[79] As Kurtis Schaeffer has noted, the Fifth Dalai Lama was especially concerned about monks from Se ra Monastery fighting over seating arrangements at the Great Prayer Festival and causing other delays and disruptions at the festival at the expense of the Saṅgha as a whole.[80] The selfish and petty in-fighting of the monks in the "Saṅgharakṣita-avadāna" offers a fitting parallel for the flawed state of monastic relations at the Great Prayer Festival, while the reminder of the gruesome karmic consequences may have been intended as a deterrent. While the extent to which this text was circulated is unclear, these points

---

[75] *zhes sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la glags lta ba'i ched du yid srubs dge sbyong gi gzugs ltar bshad pa ni dus dbang gis 'byung nye zhing dge 'dun rnams 'thab rtsod la sbyar ba'i 'bras bu dge 'dun srungs kyi rtogs brjod du/ dgung gi gdugs tshod la babs pa na rab tu byung ba dag mag* (read *mgo) pa (*read *bo) tho bas bsnun ta (*read *te) khrag babs pa dang 'du sgo bkag pa la brten nas bza' btung lcags khur gyur par bshad.* Dalai Lama V, *Collected Works*, vol. 20, 70b4-70b6.

[76] A version of this story also appears in the *Divyāvadāna* as the twenty-third episode.

[77] Kṣe. 67:24-34.

[78] The theme of the virtuous ruler in the *Jātakamālā* was noted previously by Peter Khoroche (Khoroche, introduction to Āryaśūra, *Once the Buddha was a Monkey*, xviii).

[79] A.K. Warder has written on Kṣemendra's predilection for satirical compositions about "bad and low characters," suggesting that in some cases Kṣemendra was commenting on contemporary figures and social conditions. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, vol. 6, 367, 384.

[80] Schaeffer, "Ngawang Lopsang Gyatso," 70-74.

may have been orally communicated to the monks of Se ra, and perhaps also to monastic assemblies at large.

In this section we have seen how the *Garland of Birth-Stories* and the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* were an important ritual tradition at the Great Prayer Festival, as well as a grand public teaching occasion for the Fifth Dalai Lama that demanded intensive study and preparation. While the *Vine* was selected for teaching in the 1640s, controversies about studying poetics and doing so with a layperson came to the fore. Moreover, while soteriological reasons were given for teaching the *Garland of Birth-Stories* at the Great Prayer Festival—to cultivate *bodhicitta* and to inspire confidence in the Buddha and his teachings among listeners—in the regulatory text the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* was cited as a source on the Buddha's life and as a resource for social commentary. The Fifth Dalai Lama's interests in the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* extended well beyond the Great Prayer Festival; in the remainder of this chapter I consider pictorial and textual commissions of this work by the Fifth Dalai Lama and his court.

PAINTING COMMISSIONS OF THE *WISH-FULFILLING VINE*

The Fifth Dalai Lama sponsored three major painted productions: murals at 'Bras spungs Monastery, murals in the Po ta la Palace, and a set of forty-one thangkas. In this section I detail the circumstances of each of these productions. The murals at 'Bras spungs have been over-painted, and the set of forty-one thangkas are not known to be extant. The murals in the Po ta la Palace have apparently survived, but to date have been closed to public access; however, a few photographs have been published. The evidence for this section is therefore mainly textual, relying on the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography as well as his catalogue of consecrated objects.

'Bras spungs Monastery

Soon after the New Year festivities for the Fire-Ox Year (1637) ended, the Fifth Dalai Lama records that he received instructions on subjects such as the *Kālacakra Tantra* and astrology. He next writes about renovation at 'Bras spungs.

> The Zhal ngo came from Gnyal, passed through Dwags brgyud rgyal, and went to Skyid shod. He said, "How are the 'Bras spungs Assembly Hall murals coming along?" The thought that the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* and *Hundred Birth-Stories* [murals] were delayed made him displeased. That year the paintings were done according to the "colored-paper" mass-gathering [design]. Nevertheless, when they were inspected, they turned out middling to poor because my design wasn't carried out.[81]
>
> As for the backdrop for the Great Maitreya [sculptured image] that had been requested: although the proportional lines were calculated, this year there was a delay because of the distraction of restoring murals and the Se ra assembly hall. From the

[81] *zhal ngo gnyal nas dwags brgyud rgyal du byon skyid shod la phebs gdong 'bras spungs 'du khang gi logs bris ji ltar 'gab gsung par dpag bsam 'khri shing dang 'khrungs rabs brgya pa ni 'gor gzhir dgongs nas thugs la ma babs/ khrom tshogs kyi shog khra bzos pa ltar de lo bris song rung rjes su brtags tshe nged kyi bkod pas ma khyogs pa'i 'bring smad cig byung 'dug/.* L5DL, vol. 1, 83a4-83a5.

> second intercalary month, fearing that the ground sketches would be forgotten, I calculated twice the five calendar features for the whole year.[82]

He goes on to refer to the political unrest and smallpox that swept central Tibet in 1635 and 1636, when Khalkha Mongols invaded Tibet. Amidst the unrest, the village of 'Bras spungs was set on fire late in 1635.[83] Given these disruptions, it is no surprise that the painting work was delayed.

The program and design from 1637 can no longer be determined through visual evidence. In his 1974 study of 'Bras spungs Monastery, Geshe G. Lodrö wrote that "during the time of Mi dbang Bsod nams stobs rgyal the varnished mural compositions of the Great Assembly Hall of the 'Bras spungs Tshogs chen were [re-]done without models."[84] This suggests that the design was changed in the mid-eighteenth century during Pho lha nas' reign. When I visited 'Bras spungs in the summer of 2007, on brief inspection it appeared that the murals had been over-painted more recently with a program other than the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. The *Hundred Birth-Stories* mentioned in this passage may refer to the *Hundred Birth-Stories* compiled by the Third Karma pa mentioned in the Introduction. However, terms like *'khrungs rabs brgya pa* ("hundred *jātaka*s") and *mdzad pa brgya pa* ("hundred deeds") are also used to designate the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. The "mass gathering" (*khrom tshogs*) likely refers to a pictorial arrangement in which a principal figure is surrounded by the smaller figures of the narrative, as with the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* mural design at Gong dkar Monastery (Fig. 1.1) and the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* thangka sets produced by Pho lha nas and his family, discussed in Chapter Two (Figs. 2.1-2.2, 2.6-2.7).[85]

In the Wood-Horse Year (1654) the Fifth Dalai Lama recorded in his autobiography that 'Bras spungs was once again renovated:

> The upper and lower stories of the newly repaired 'Bras spungs Assembly Hall were elaborately varnished. As for the wall paintings of the 108-columned assembly hall, the central "receptacle" (*rten gtso*) is a portrait of the Lord of the Munis with the two *śrāvaka*s, donors, Dharma-protectors, and [the program] is principally the Precious Avadānas of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. On the sky-bearing [pillars] are the Stages of the Path lineage masters. On the south wall of the entryway are the four Great Kings; on the east is the Wheel of Existence.[86]

---

[82] *byams chen la rgyab yol zhig byung na zhus par thig tshad blangs pa'i bzo rtsis mdzad song yang 'di lo ldebs bris dang se ra'i 'du khang zhig gsos kyi g.yeng bas 'gyangs/ zla ba gnyis pa nyis brtsegs nas bzung sa ris rnams brjed dogs lnga bsdus lo 'khor rtsa longs tshar gnyis tsam brgyab/.* Ibid., 83a5-83a6.

The five calendar features are the day of the week (*gza*), day of the month (*tshes*), constellation (*skar ma*), conjunction (*sbyor ba*), and diagram (*byed pa*). Drungtso and Drungtso, *Tibetan Medicine and Astrology*, 112.

[83] *TPS*, vol. 1, 60-61.

[84] *pho lha ba mi dbang bsod nams stobs rgyal skabs/ 'bras spungs tshogs chen 'du khang che mo'i shing rtsi ldebs bris kyi bkod pa dpe dang bral ba bskrun/.* Lodrö, *Kloster-Universität Drepung*, 156.

[85] *Khrom 'tshogs kyi tshul* is an arrangement of a principal figure surrounded by a mass of assembled people; this applies to receptacles (*rten tshogs*) as well as to meditation methods (*sgom tshul*). TTC, vol. 1, 294b.

[86] *'bras spungs 'du khang gsar bskyed kyi zhig gsos mdzad pa'i steng shod rnams kyi shing rtsi bzabs rgyas/ 'du khang ka ba brgya dang brgyad kyi ldebs bris la rten gtso thub dbang nyan thos gnyis/ sbyin bdag/ chos skyong gi sku dang gtso bor rtogs brjod rin po che dpag bsam 'khri shing/ gnam yangs(gang) la lam rim bla brgyud/ sgo khang lho la rgyal chen bzhi/ shar la srid pa 'khor lo/.* L5DL, vol. 1, 222b6-223a2.

While the entry from 1637 had mentioned the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* and the *Hundred Birth-Stories* as the intended pictorial program for the Assembly Hall, here only the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* is identified as the principal subject of the Assembly Hall. The earlier entry may have been written down mistakenly in differentiating a *Hundred Birth-Stories* pictorial program from the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*; alternatively, the pictorial program in the 'Bras spungs Assembly Hall may have been changed in 1654, with the new program described in the 1654 entry excluding the Hundred *Birth-Stories*. Both scenarios are possible: on one hand, there are frequent scribal errors in the blockprint, and on the other hand, the Fifth Dalai expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of the murals in 1637 and may have decided to change them. In any case, as the principal subject of the Assembly Hall the *Vine* murals would have been sizable: the dimensions of this vast space are fifty meters (east-west) by thirty-six meters (north-south).[87]

The Fifth Dalai Lama's catalogue of consecrated objects contains a text written to accompany these *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* murals, bearing the title *Marvelous Wish-Fulfilling Cluster of Fruit: Verse Inscriptions [Composed] at the Time of Making the Murals of the Precious Avadānas of the Wish-Fulfilling Vine in the Assembly Hall of the Great Monastery, Glorious 'Bras spungs.*[88] This work, approximately 650 stanzas in length, provides a summary of each episode of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. These summaries range from two to seventeen stanzas in length, averaging about six stanzas per episode. While the paintings with their inscriptions are no longer extant, the number of stanzas for each episode may roughly indicate the amount of space given to each of the episodes in the visual design. These inscriptions may or may not have been composed by the Fifth Dalai Lama; no authorship information is given and a number of texts in his collected works were likely written by others.

The condensed episodes are prefaced by two stanzas praising the Buddha Śākyamuni and the authors of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*:

> A treasury of all virtue and goodness of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*,
> Abundantly giving welfare and happiness, lord of wish-fulfilling gems,
> Famed as Śuddhodana's son, bearing a white parasol:
> transmigrating up to the peak of existence: homage to him![89]
>
> Learned ones who sang a melody of ten million verses [that are]
> the Victorious Lord's *avadāna*s—a garland of *mandāra*-flowers—
> Guardians of wealth's cradle, Kṣemendra and his son:
> their merit blazes with the radiance of a thousand suns.[90]

This pair of stanzas exhibits a considerable degree of poetic sophistication. The homage to the Buddha Śākyamuni emphasizes his royal aspects: he is the son and heir of Śuddhodana, king of

---

[87] Chan, *Tibet Handbook*, 148.

[88] *chos sde chen po dpal ldan 'bras spungs kyi 'du khang la rtogs brjod rin po che dpag bsam 'khri shing gi ldebs bris byas skabs zhal byang tshigs su bcad pa ngo mtshar dpag bsam snye(?) ma(?)//.* Dalai Lama V, *Sku gsung thugs rten gsar bzhengs rin po che'i mchod rdzas khang bzang gi dkar chag dang tham phud deb khrims yig gi 'go rgyangs sde bzhi'i sgo 'phar phye ba'i skal bzang gi glegs bam dang po* (hereafter *Dkar chag dang po*), in *Collected Works*, vol. 16, 65v1=136.1.

[89] *srid dang zhi ba'i dge legs kun gyi mdzod// phan bde'i dpal ster yid bzhin dbang gi rgyal// zas gtsang sras kyi grags snyan gdugs dkar can// srid pa'i rtse mo'i bar du 'khor der 'dud//.* Ibid., 65b2=136.2.

[90] *rgyal dbang rtogs brjod mandhara yi phred// snyan ngag bye ba'i dbyangs su len mkhas pa// nor 'dzin skyong ba dge dbang yab sras kyi// bsod nams nyi ma stong gi gzi brjid 'bar//.* Ibid., 65b2=136.2.

the Śākyas, and he bears the white parasol, an emblem of royalty. Themes of wealth and beneficence are developed through two images, the metaphor of the treasury and his epithet as "lord of wish-fulfilling gems." While in his previous existences as a prince or king he has freely given material goods from treasuries, his true wealth here is his virtue, and the finest gift he gives is instruction in the Dharma.

The second stanza, praising the authors of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine,* develops in parallel with the first stanza. The first two lines emphasize images of abundance, with millions of verses sung in praise of the Buddha's inexhaustible giving. In a further image of abundance, these verses of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* are metaphorically represented as a garland of *mandāra*, the celestial blossoms that shower down in veneration of a buddha or bodhisattva.[91] The third line names the persons being praised and associates them with wealth and rulership: "wealth's cradle" (*nor 'dzin*, Skt. *vasudharā*, more literally "wealth-holder") is a kenning for the earth, while "guardian" (*skyong ba*) of the earth is a descriptor for rulers. The fourth line celebrates their chief accomplishments: liberative awakening in the Buddha's case, and merit for Kṣemendra and his son.

The remaining verses of the *Marvelous Wish-Fulfilling Cluster of Fruit* are more workmanlike, focusing on narrating the plots of the 108 episodes. To give a sample of these condensed narratives, following are translations of seven episodes. Two of these, the "Prātihārya-avadāna" and the "Saṅgharakṣita-avadāna," were discussed in the previous section as cited by the Fifth Dalai Lama's regulatory text on the Great Prayer Festival. The remaining episodes translated below are discussed in ensuing chapters.

***Vine* No. 1, "Prabhāsa-avadāna"**[92]
In the marvelously arrayed city of Prabhāvatī,
Sūryamitra was a master named Prabhāsa.
When he became the earthly lord, a mighty elephant
like a hunk of Mount Kailāśa approached the gate. ||1.1||[93]

[The king] commanded that it be trained.
It was made fit accordingly.
When it was trained, the lord of men
mounted it and went to the edge of the wilderness. ||1.2||[94]

Desiring, the elephant drunk on nectar
lost self-control and sped off.
Bound by the lasso of latent tendencies (*anuśaya*),
this being revealed his faults. ||1.3||[95]

---

[91] BHSD, 419a.
[92] For a study of this narrative in its textual versions and in Ajaṇṭā painting, see Schlingloff, "King Prabhāsa and His Elephant," *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings*, 118-22.
[93] *ngo mtshar bkod pa'i grong khyer 'od ldan du// nyi ma'i gnyan* [read *gnyen*] *de sa bdag rab gsal zhes// nor 'dzin bdag por gyur tshe gnyis 'thung dbang// gengs* [read *gangs*] *ri'i dum bu chad 'dra sgo drung lhags//.* Dalai Lama V, *Dkar chag dang po*, vol. 16, 65b6-66a1=136.6-137.1.
[94] *gang de 'dul bar bka' bsgos pa// ji bzhin byed pos las rung du// dul bar byas la mi'i bdag pos// zhon nas tshang tshing ngogs su byon//.* Ibid., 66a1-66a2=137.1-137.2.
[95] *'dod pas bdud rtsi myos pa'i glang chen de// rang dbang dang bral rab brgyugs pa// phra rgyas zhags pas nyer bcings pa'i// 'gro 'di'i rang mtshang ston pa bzhin//.* Ibid., 66a2-66a3=137.2-137.3.

By grabbing a tree branch the king's life [was saved].
The nectar of life is made through merit.
After returning to his grand kingdom,
he assailed the elephant-trainer with weapons of harsh words. ||1.4||[96]

When the trainer gave as elephant feed
a red-hot iron, scorching to the touch,
through preparation of [such] feed despite its being disliked,
[the king] saw respective ways to discipline body and mind. ||1.5||[97]

"[Although] one [may be] skilled in methods for the variety of transmigrating creatures
who are ignorant and have prior affections, he cannot train the mind.
[But] those who train through seeing, hearing, and mindfulness are completely liberated.
They are called buddhas." This song was heard. ||1.6||[98]

With that, for the first time Prabhāsa gave rise to the resolve for awakening.
A host of deities appeared in the sky [saying], "It is certain that
you will enjoy tasting the immortal nectar of unexcelled peace and joy
before long, the spring of welfare and happiness." ||1.7||[99]

Some familiarity with poetic conventions translated from Sanskrit is necessary to make sense of the text, e.g. with kennings such as "wealth-holding" (*nor 'dzin*) for "earthly"—an "earthly lord" being a king—and "twice-drinker" (*gnyis 'thung*, Skt. *dvipa*) for an elephant (1.1). On the whole, however, the condensed episode of Prabhāsa focuses more on the plot than on the lavish descriptions and metaphors that characterize much of ornate poetics, which were exhibited in the two prefatory stanzas above. The simile comparing the elephant to a hunk of Mount Kailash (1.1), as well as the metaphor "weapons of harsh words" (1.4), are both straightforward and simple to grasp.

The "Prabhāsa-avadāna" was one of the better-known plots in the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, since it provides an account of the first time the bodhisattva who would become Śākyamuni gave rise to the resolve for awakening (*bodhicittotpāda*).[100] While the general contours of the plot can be followed simply by reading these verses, certain details are not immediately clear from the text. In verse 1.3 the elephant is said to be "drunk on nectar" and hence loses self-control; this is a euphemistic reference to smelling a female elephant in rut and being overtaken by lust, as narrated in Kṣemendra's account.[101] In addition, in verse 1.6 no speaker is named; in

[96] *ljon pa'i yal gar 'changs pas rgyal po'i srog/ 'tsho ba'i bdud rtsi bsod nams gyis bskrun pa// rgyal khab chen por log nas glang rdzi la// mi bzang tshig gi mtshon cha nyer phab che//* Ibid., 66a3=137.3.
[97] *tsha bsreg reg bya rnam par 'bar ba'i lcags// rdzi bos glang po'i zas su byin pa na// mi 'dod bzhin du za ba'i sta gon gyis// lus dang sems gnyis 'dul tshul so sor mthong//.* Ibid., 66a4=137.4.
[98] *ma rig sngon chags 'khor ba'i 'gro rnams kyi// sna tshogs thabs mkhas byed pos thul min sems// 'dul byed mthong thos dran pas rnam grol ba// sangs rgyas zhes bya'i mtshan gyi dbyangs 'di snyan//.* Ibid., 66a4-66a5=137.4-137.5.
[99] *tshul des rab gsal dang por byang chub tu// thugs bskyed mkha' la legs bris tshogs lhags nas// myur du bla med zhi bde bdud rtsi'i ror// longs su spyod pa'i dbugs dbyung phan bde'i dpyid//.* Ibid., 66a5-66a6=137.5-137.6.
[100] In his catalogue to the Sde dge Bka' 'gyur, Si tu Paṇ chen recounts the story of King Prabhāsa in his discussion on *bodhicittotpāda*. Si tu, *Dkar chag*, 16b1-17a2.
[101] Kṣe. 1:32-34.

Kṣemendra's text it is the elephant-trainer who introduces King Prabhāsa to the existence of buddhas.[102] These details were likely supplied by the visual narrative; in eighteenth-century pictorial productions of the *Vine* discussed in Chapter Two, the elephant is shown with a female elephant in the forest, and the elephant-trainer is shown speaking to the king (Figs. 2.22, 2.23).

It is notable that the author of these condensed 'Bras spungs inscriptions added their own commentary in stanzas 1.3 and 1.4. The phrases "Bound by the lasso of latent tendencies (*anuśaya*), this being revealed his faults" and "The nectar of life is made through merit" lack corresponding passages in Kṣemendra's text, despite the fact that Kṣemendra often provides his own moral commentary on the plot. Both of these statements comment on the workings of karma. In the first case, the elephant fails to break free from the lust he experienced before being tamed; according to the commentator, this fault extends back to prior lifetimes, as suggested by the term *anuśaya*. King Prabhāsa, on the other hand, survives the ordeal of the runaway elephant due to the merit he has accrued through previous actions. The didactic tone of these commentarial glosses suggests that approaches to the *Vine* within the Dalai Lama's court were shaped by its use in Great Prayer Festival teachings.

***Vine* No. 7, "Muktālatā-avadāna"**
In the great Nyagrodha grove of Kapilavastu,
when the Jina was teaching Dharma to Śuddhodana and others,
Mahānāman's wife named Śaśiprabhā was despondent, saying,
"We have poor fortune when it comes to hearing the Dharma." ||7.1||[103]

Then her husband said,
"[Even if] beings aren't close to the Omniscient One, [he is still] their friend.
So the opportunity for him to teach Dharma to the Śākya wives will come."
With these words he reassured her. ||7.2||[104]

As people gathered to hear Munīndra's Dharma,
Mahānāman's wife was finely bejeweled.
When Ānanda said, "Cast off such ostentation!"
she had [her jewelry] sent home. ||7.3||[105]

Some paid no mind to Munīndra's teachings.
Conceited with her own jewelry and youth,
[another] put on airs. So [Śaśiprabhā] sent her maid Rohitā
home again to bring her finery. ||7.4||[106]

---

[102] Kṣe. 1:53, 1:56-57.
[103] *ser skya'i nya gro dha yi tshal chen por// zas gtsang sogs la rgyal bas chos bstan tshe// ming chen chung ma zla 'od ces bya ba// nged cag chos nyan skal ba dman zhes zhum//.* Dalai Lama V, *Dkar chag dang po*, 69a4=143.4.
[104] *de tshe rang gi khyim gyi bdag po yis// kun mkhyen ma 'dris 'gro ba'i gnyen yin pas// shākya'i mchis brang rnams la chos gsung ba'i// go skabs 'byung zhes gtam gyis dbugs dbyung ltar//.* Ibid., 69a4-69a5=143.4-143.5.
[105] *thub dbang chos kyi bdun rtsams* (read *brtsams*?) *nyan tshogs tshe// ming chen chung ma ha cang rgyan bzang bar// brgyags pa'i rnam 'gyur spongs zhes kun dga' bos// gsungs tshe de bzhin khyim gu bskur zin rjes//.* Ibid., 69a5-69a6=143.5-143.6. I am unsure as to how to translate *chos kyi bdun rtsams*; the text may need to be corrected here.
[106] *la la thub dbang gsung la mi sems par/ rang gi rgyan dang lang tshos dregs pa yis// khengs pa gzhom phyir g.yog mo ro hi ta// slar yang khyim du rgyan gos len par btang//.* Ibid., 69a6-69b1=143.6-144.1.

Since the servant missed the chance to hear the Dharma,
she was downcast and put her faith in the Buddha.
On the way, she was gored in her stomach
by the sharp horns of a cow, and met her end. ||7.5||[107]

But by the power of adhering to virtuous aspiration,
she was [reborn] in the royal family of Siṃhala, and since at that time
a special shower of pearls rained down,
she was named Muktālatā ("Pearl Necklace"). ||7.6||[108]

Before long, she heard the Buddha's name
from the talk of Magadhan merchants. Thereupon
her previous propensities were reactivated, and
she sent a letter greatly exalting the Jina, to which he replied. ||7.7||[109]

He bestowed his image, along with instructions for taking refuge.
As soon as she saw this, the one with the necklace
attained the fruit of stream-enterer.
Herself marked by pearls, she gave clouds of offerings in the form of pearls. ||7.8||[110]

This condensed episode bears many similarities with that of "Prabhāsa-avadāna." It focuses on delivering the plot in a straightforward manner, with few figurative turns. The use of the Sanskrit word *muktikā* for "pearl" in 7.6 is one of the more obscure references, although the Tibetan word *mu tig* is likely a loan-word derived from the Sanskrit. In stanza 7.8 I have translated *mu tig gis mtshon* as a figure of parallel meanings (*sbyar ba'i rgyan*, Skt. *śleṣa-upamā*), rendering it twice to refer both to the heroine Muktālatā ("herself marked by pearls") and to her offerings ("in the form of pearls").

As with "Prabhāsa-avadāna," there is a commentarial emphasis on the workings of karma, especially articulated by the phrases "by the power of adhering to virtuous aspiration" (7.6) and "her previous propensities (*bag chags*, Skt. *vāsanā*) were reactivated" (7.7). Moreover, certain details found in Kṣemendra's text may not be apparent in this condensed version. In 7.1, Śaśiprabhā is despondent and refers to the poor fortune of a group to which she belongs. In Kṣemendra's text she refers explicitly to women as being unworthy of hearing the Buddha's teachings.[111] It is unlikely that this detail would have been made evident by the visual narrative, although it may have been suggested by a predominantly female assembly connected with stanzas 7.3-7.4. The story of Muktālatā was known as an example of a portrait of the Buddha

---

[107] *'bangs mos chos nyan skal ba ma thob bas// sems khong chud dang sangs rgyas la dad pa// 'gran* [read *'grod,* cf. Kṣe. 7:41] *pa'i ngang nas ba yi ra* [read *ru*] *rnon pos// lto ba phug ste lnga pa'i pha mthar song//.* Ibid., 69b1-69b2=144.1-144.2.

[108] *'on kyang smon lam bzang po'i mtshams sbyor mthus// singga' la yul rgyal po'i rigs bcas tshe// mukti ka yi char pa ched babs pas// ming yang mu tig 'khri shing zhes su grags//.* Ibid., 69b2-69b3=143.2-143.3.

[109] *ring ming* [read *min*] *dbus 'gyur 'chang gi tshong ba 'ga'i// ngag las sangs rgyas zhes bya'i mtshan thos tshe// sngon gyi bag chags sad pas rgyal ba la// ches cher khyad 'phags 'phrin yig phul ba'i lan/.* Ibid., 69b3=143.3.

[110] *rang gi sku gzugs skyabs 'gro'i bslab byar bcas// legs stsal mthong ba'i mod la 'khri shing can// rgyun du zhugs pa'i 'bras bu mngon thob nas// mu tig gis mtshon mchod pa'i sprin phung spros/.* Ibid., 69b4=143.4.

[111] Kṣe. 7:8.

made during his lifetime; the other oft-cited example is the story of King Udrāyaṇa, the forty-first episode in the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*.[112]

***Vine* No. 14, "Prātihārya-avadāna"**
When the son of Śuddhodana was residing in a palace,
those who had lost their own wits—
Gośālī[putra] and others overcome by the thick darkness of jealousy—
talked of competition to protectors of the great earth. ||14.1||[113]

The Buddha, who loves everyone impartially,
set the time of the contest of magical powers
so that beings in danger of wandering on the wrong path could follow him.
Then the king built a structure for the display of miracles. ||14.2||[114]

He planted a toothpick; immediately leaves and fruit grew.
New mountains [appeared], which many beings enjoyed.
The water that washed his feet became a pool with lotuses.
Dharma resounded from the pond's eight streams. ||14.3||[115]

With the light of his face, he illuminated the trichiliocosm.
The assembly knew each others' thoughts.
He showed them in the form of *cakravartin*s.
The Lord of Secrets [and] the five demons defeated the non-Buddhist teachers. ||14.4||[116]

Blazing-light pervaded the world of Brahmā, the highest realm.
From his body colored rays of light radiated in the ten directions.
He disappeared [and then was] a swirling form in a mass of light.
A thousand rays of golden light radiated throughout the ten directions. ||14.5||[117]

On lotus petals that spread from his navel [appeared] 1,000 buddhas.
When flowers were strewn, they became jeweled chariots.
With food of a hundred flavors, the world and its beings were satiated.
Teaching the hell-beings and others: these were taught as the fifteen miracles. ||14.6||[118]

---

[112] Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen cites these two plots. See chap. 4, note 46.

[113] *rgyal po'i khab tu zas gtsang sras bzhugs tshe// rang blo rang la lkog gyur gnag lhas sogs// phrag dog mun pa stug pos rgyal ba dang// 'gran tshig sa chen skyong ba dag la mol//.* Dalai Lama V, *Dkar chag dang po*, 72a3-72a4=149/3-149.4.

[114] *ris med kun la brtse ba sangs rgyas kyis// log pa'i lam du nyer 'khyams skye bo rnams// rjes su gzung phyir rdzu 'phrul 'gran pa'i skabs// phye nas rgyal pos cho 'phrul khang ba brtsigs//.* Ibid., 72a4-72a5=149.4-149.5.

[115] *tshems shing btsugs pas 'phral du lo 'bras rgyas// sngon med ri la 'gro mang longs su spyod//zhabs bsil chu rdzing padma g.yur du za// rdzing gi yur ba brgyad kyis chos sgra ston//.* Ibid., 72a5-72a6=149.5-149.6.

[116] *zhal sgo'i 'od kyis stong gsum gsal bar mdzad// 'khor rnams phan tshun bsam pa shes pa dang// 'khor los sgyur ba'i rnam pa dag tu bstan// gsang bdag srin po lnga yis mu stegs bcom//.* Ibid., 72a6-72b1=149.6-150.1.

The "Lord of Secrets" (*gsang bdag*) is an epithet of Vajrapāṇi.

[117] *tshangs pa'i 'jig rten srid rtse'i bar* [read *'bar*] *khyab pa'i// sku las 'od zer sna tshogs phyogs bcur 'phro// mi snang 'od kyi gong bur 'khyil ba'i sku// gser gyi 'od stong phyogs bcur 'phro ba can//.* Ibid., 72b1-72b2=150.1-150.2.

The episode of the miracles at Śrāvastī as plotted here does not follow the version in the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. The sole annotation that appears in this condensed text, the *Marvelous Wish-Fulfilling Cluster of Fruit,* concerns this episode:

> Although in the explicit teaching [in the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*]—as in the *Vinaya*—there is nothing beyond the eighth day, when it was written by the treasurer (*lde ba*) it was written according to the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*, [so here] it is arranged in accordance with that [latter source].[119]

The structure of this condensed version indeed follows the account in the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*. Each of the fifteen days is described in a single line, with stanza 14.3 corresponding to the first four days of miracles, 14.4 to the fifth through eighth days, 14.5 to the ninth through twelfth days, and 14.6a-c to the thirteenth through fifteenth days. 14.6d may be understood as a summarizing statement on how beings benefited from the performance of these miracles.

As I discussed in the previous section of this chapter, the differing accounts in the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*, the *Vinaya*, and the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* were an issue of concern for the Great Prayer Festival. The account from the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* was likely preferred because it gives a more systematic and complete account of what occurred on each of fifteen days, and these in turn could serve as a model for the ritualized offerings given on each of the fifteen days of the first half of the first month. Mkhas grub rje's account of the first Great Prayer Festival states that offerings were made to the Jo bo Śākyamuni image from the first through the fifteenth days, "taking the period of the 'Miraculous Events' in the life of the Buddha as the basis."[120] The twentieth-century scholar Tshe tan zhabs drung (1910-1985) provides a résumé of the main donors and their offerings on each of the fifteen days during the first Great Prayer Festival organized by Tsong kha pa, just as the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* does for the fifteen days of miracles performed by the Buddha Śākyamuni.[121] In the case of the 'Bras spungs inscriptions (and presumably the visual design), fidelity to the plot of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* was apparently outweighed by interests in the ritual calendar of the Great Prayer Festival. Nevertheless, the departure from the source-text is duly noted here, as if to assure the reader that the author is indeed well-versed in the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* and has not supplanted it elsewhere with other sources.

> ***Vine* No. 15, "Devāvatāra-avadāna"**
> While Munīndra was teaching Dharma
> to the gods in Trayastriṃśa Heaven,
> The fourfold assembly sent Maudgalyāyana
> to request him to come [back] to Jambudvīpa. ||15.1||[122]

---

[118] *lte ba'i pad 'dab gyes la sangs rgyas stong// me tog gtor ba rin cen shing rtar song// ro brgya'i zas kyis snod bcud khengs pa dang// dmyal ba bstan sogs cho 'phrul bco lngar gsungs//.* Ibid., 72b2=150.2.

[119] *dngos bstan du 'dul ba lung bzhin tshes brgyad las med kyang lde bas bris la mdzangs blun gyi lugs ltar bris 'dug pa de dang bstun nas bkod pa yin/.* Ibid., 72a=149. One should perhaps read *sde ba* for *lde ba;* this would then refer to the Regent.

[120] Stoddard trans., "From Ra sa to Lha sa," 187. *cho 'phrul chen po'i dus kyi mchod pa dngos gzhi mdzad pa la/.* Mkhas grub, *Tsong kha pa chen po'i rnam thar*, 44b4=92.4.

[121] Stoddard, "From Ra sa to Lha sa," 190-91.

[122] *thub dbang sum cu rtsa gsum du// lha rnams la ni chos ston tshe// rnam bzhi'i 'khor gyis mau gal bu// btang nas 'dzam bu'i gling gshegs gsol//.* Dalai Lama V, *Dkar chag dang po*, 72b3=150.3.

Śatayajña set down a ladder of
beryl, gold, and silver, and with
divine and human offerings, the
Bhagavan went to the edge of Sāṃkāśya. ||15.2||[123]

Then the monastic Utpala[varṇā]
could not reach [him] when it was time to prostrate.
So she manifested in the form of a *cakravartin*,
and was caught in the net of deceiving many people. ||15.3||[124]

To that the monk Udāyin said,
"This seat of knowledge is not a king,
This is the monastic Utpala[varṇā]."
He completely cut away the net of doubt. ||15.4||[125]

When the Jina sat in his seat,
because he was supplicated by the monks,
He thoroughly explained the previous existences
of Udāyin and Utpala[varṇā]. ||15.5||[126]

This episode relates the well-known events of the Buddha's descent from heaven after teaching his mother and the gods; this is commemorated in the annual "Divine Descent" festival (*lha babs dus chen*) culminating on the twenty-second day of the ninth lunar month.[127] Later in this chapter these verse inscriptions will be compared with prose inscriptions for the same *Vine* episode in the Po ta la Palace.

***Vine* No. 29, "Dhanapāla-avadāna"**
Devadatta with a malicious mind
deceived Ajātaśatru,
proposing the conspiracy that after killing his father and
Gautama, they could replace them. ||29.1||[128]

---

[123] *brgya byin bai ḍūr gser dngul gyi// them skas btsugs shing lha dang mi'i// mchod pa dang bcas bcom ldan 'das// shang ka shya yi 'gram du byon//.* Ibid., 72b3-72b4=150.3-150.4.

[124] *de tshe dge slong utpa la// phyag bya'i skabs ni ma rnyed pas// 'khor los 72v5 sgyur rgyal gzugs sprul bar// 'gro mang 'khrul ba'i dra bar tshud//.* Ibid., 72b4-72b5=150.4=150.5.

[125] *tshul de dge slong 'char ka yis// rig gnas 'di ni sa spyod min// dge slong utpa la yin zhes// the tshom dra ba rnam par bcad//.* Ibid., 72b5=150.5.

[126] *rgyal ba rang gi gnas bzhugs tshe// dge slong rnams kyis gsol ba las// 'char ka dang ni utpa la'i// sngon byung gtam ni legs par gsungs//.* Ibid., 72b5-72b6=150.5-150.6.

[127] According to Dung dkar Rin po che, at the start of the ninth month the Po ta la and temples great and small were whitewashed and cleaned, as well as the city buildings. On the twenty-second day Tibetans engaged in activities such as prostrations and offerings, venerating the *saṅgha* with offerings, and giving to beggars. DKT, 2152. One Tibetan oral tradition holds that the descent was from Tuṣita (*dga' ldan*) Heaven. See also Richardson, *Ceremonies*, 109; Rigzin, *Festivals of Tibet*, 55-57.

[128] *lhas byin ma rungs sems ldan pas// ma skyes dgra yi blo brid de// pha dang gau taṃ bkums byas nas// de'i tshab byed pa'i gros ngan bshams//***.** Dalai Lama V, *Dkar chag dang po*, 78a1-78a2=161.1-161.2.

That nearsighted one with a mind like a child
set loose an elephant given rut-fluid.
Except for Ānanda,
the rest of [the Buddha's] retinue fled in fright. ||29.2||[129]

From the Teacher's five fingers
appeared lions that subdued the elephant.
Surrounded on all sides by fire,
it knelt before the Teacher. ||29.3||[130]

Placing his hand on its head, he blessed it.
After passing away it was born in a heaven.
From the top of his house, Devadatta
saw this, and despairing he stayed at home. ||29.4||[131]

The group of monks that were his retinue
were amazed and asked for the history.
The Brahmā-like voice of the Jina's speech
related how the previous existence accorded with the present. ||29.5||[132]

This episode relates how the Buddha tamed the rampaging elephant set upon him by Devadatta and Ajātaśatru. Certain details differ from Kṣemendra's text: the plot to kill Ajātaśatru's father, mentioned in 29.1, is the subject of the forty-fifth episode of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, "Ajātaśatrupitçdroha-avadāna." In addition, Devadatta's reaction to the Buddha's taming of the elephant in 29.4 does not appear in Kṣemendra's text. Later in this chapter these verse inscriptions will be compared with prose inscriptions for the same *Vine* episode in the Po ta la Palace.

***Vine* No. 67, "Saṅgharakṣita-avadāna"**
Saṅgharakṣita followed
Śāriputra and renounced.
One day, upon request the learned one
traveled with some merchants. ||67.1||[133]

On the boat in the middle of the ocean,
as they headed forward, from the water
came a revealed message; accordingly Saṅgharakṣita

[129] *tshur mthong byis pa'i blo can des// myos chu byin pa'i glang po che// btang bas kun dga' bo ma gtogs// 'khor 78r3 gzhan skrag nas phyogs su byer//.* Ibid., 78a2-78a3=161.2-161.3.
[130] *ston pa'i phyag sor lnga po las// seng ge sprul nas glang po btul// phyogs kun me yis 'khor ba na// slar yang ston pa'i drung du btud//.* Ibid., 78a3=161.3.
[131] *spyi bor phyag bzhag byin brlabs pas// tshe 'phos lha yi gnas su skyes// lhas byin khang pa'i yang thog nas// mthong bas mya ngan khang bur zhugs//.* Ibid., 78a3-78a4=161.3-161.4.
[132] *'khor gyi dge slong tshogs rnams kyis// ngo mtshar lo rgyus zhus pa na// rgyal ba'i gsung gi tshangs dbyangs kyis// sngon byung da ltar bzhin du bstan//.* Ibid., 78a4-78a5=161.4-161.5.
[133] *dge 'dun srungs kyis sha' ri'i bu'i// rjes su 'brangs nas rab tu byung// nam zhig mkhan po la zhus nas// tshong pa rnams dang lhan cig bgrod//.* Ibid., 93b6-94a1=192.6-193.1.

free of doubt jumped into the water ||67.2||.[134]

After arriving at a land of *nāga*s,
he taught the hooded ones the excellent Dharma.
Brought back to the surface by *nāga*s,
he gradually arrived, fell asleep, and was left behind. ||67.3||[135]

The time was near to evaluate with direct perception
every category of cause and fruit.
He went to the forest,
to the home of a monastic community. ||67.4||[136]

When it came time to eat,
they pierced each others' heads with hammers.
[The place] was filled with blood.
Questioned, they said this was karmic ripening for fighting over food. ||67.5||[137]

While on the road, [another] monastic assembly gathered
like the previous one. The food at the noon meal
turned into molten iron. They explained this as the fruit of
blocking the monastic community from being honored [with food]. ||67.6||[138]

Next, when he arrived at the home of
five hundred hermits, upon a deity's request
Saṅgharakṣita taught the Dharma,
and in that moment became an arhat. ||67.7||[139]

Even the hermits became confident,
and through supplication, miraculously
received instruction in the presence of the Bhagavan.
The twice-born brahmins became arhats. ||67.8||[140]

"As for the previous cause,

---

[134] *chu gter dbus su rdzings zhig par// sngon du phyogs tshe chu'i nang nas// lung bstan byung ltar dge 'dun srungs// the tshom med par chu la mchongs//.* Ibid., 94a1-94a2=193.1-193.2.
[135] *klu yi yul du phyin nas ni// gdengs can rnams la dam chos bstan// slar yang klu yis steng du bskyal// rim phyin gnyid g.yur rjes su lus//.* Ibid., 94a2-94a3=193.2-193.3.
[136] *rgyu dang 'bras bu'i rnam gzhag kun// mngon sum tshad mas nyer gzhal ba'i// dus la bab ste nags kyi tshal// dge 'dun tshogs pa'i khang par phyin//.* Ibid., 94a2-94a3=193.2-193.3.
[137] *zas kyi dus la bab pa na// phan tshun mgo bo tho ba yis// bsnun cing khrag gis 'gengs par byed// dris pas zas rtsod rnam smin zer//.* Ibid., 94a3-94a4=193.3-193.4.
[138] *bshul du zhugs tshe sngar lta bu'i// dge 'dun tshogs nas gdugs tshod zas// lcags khur gyur ba 'dus sde yi// bsnyen bkur bkag pa'i 'bras bur gleng//.* Ibid., 94a4=193.4.
[139] *rim gyis drang srong lnga brgya yi// gnas su slebs dus lhas bskul nas// chos bstan dge 'dun srungs nyid kyang// skad cig de la dgra bcom thob//.* Ibid., 94a4-94a5=193.4-193.5.
[140] *drang srong rnams kyang dad gyur nas// gsol ba btab pas rdzu 'phrul gyis// bcom ldan 'das kyi drung du khrid// gnyis skyes tshogs rnams dgra bcom gyur//.* Ibid., 94a5-94a6=193.5-193.6.

During the time of [the buddha] Kāśyapa, Saṅgharakṣita
was associated [with them] as [their] monastic administrator.[141]
They are [now] the five hundred hermits," [the Buddha] explained. ||67.9||[142]

As we have seen above, the karmic consequences suffered by monks in 67.5 and 67.6 were cited in the Fifth Dalai Lama's regulatory text on the Great Prayer Festival. The condensed account from the 'Bras spungs inscriptions includes the explanation for their particular karmic fruit, as well as an explanation of the past-life connection (*pūrvayoga*) that Saṅgharakṣita has with five hundred hermits he meets later in his journey (67.9).

A thangka in the collection of the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, accession number F2003.33.37, depicts the eighty-second through eighty-fourth episodes of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* (Fig. 2.12); it is part of a series of forty-one thangkas, which will be analyzed in Chapter Two. On the back of this thangka are inscriptions that are copied from the 'Bras spungs condensed text, in *dbu med* script. The following translations of these three episodes are based on the 'Bras spungs text in consultation with the inscriptions on the AAMSF thangka.

***Vine* No. 82, "Nārakapūrvika-avadāna"[143]**
The householder Bhavavarma
was infatuated with a village woman.
His mother guarded the door at night.
He cut off her head with a sword. ||82.1||[144]

He went to his lover's home and explained what happened.
She got upset and detested him.
"A thief came to my house!
He killed [his] mother!" she screamed. ||82.2||[145]

He repented and went forth to become a monk.
[The Buddha] knew that although he was briefly reborn in hell,
he quickly obtained the body of a god
due to the power of renunciation. ||82.3||[146]

---

[141] On the complex usage of the term *vaiyāpṛtyakara* (Tb. *zhal ta byed pa*), here translated as "monastic administrator," see Silk, *Managing Monks*, 39-74.

[142] *de yi sngon gyi rgyu mtshan kyang// 'od srungs dus su dge 'dun srungs// zhal ta byed pa'i grogs po ni// drang srong lnga brgya yin par gsungs//***.** Fifth Dalai Lama, *Dkar chag dang po*, 94a6=193.6.

[143] According to Bendall, this is the Sanskrit title as it appears in the Cambridge manuscript Add. 1306, dated to 1302 (Bendall, *Catalogue*), 41-43; cf. J, 186. According to L the Sanskrit title of this work is *nā ra ka pū rbba ba kā ba dā nam*, which can be reconstructed as *nārakapūrvaka*.

An anonymous transcription and translation of these inscriptions is included in the image file at the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. I was able to make use of these materials courtesy of Sharon Steckline.

[144] *khyim bdag srid pa'i go cha de// grong pa'i bud med dang mdzar gyur// ma yis mtshan mo sgo bsrungs pa// ral gris de yi mgo bo bcad //82.1//.* Dalai Lama V, *Dkar chag dang po*, 97b6-98a1=200.6-201.1.

[145] *mdza' mo'i sar phyin rgyu mtshan bsnyad// de yang ma rangs mi mdzar gyur// rang gi nang 'ongs chom rkun gyis// nam* [read *ma*] *bsad ces ni cho nge bton//.* Ibid., 98a1-98a2=201.1.-201.2; cf. AAMSF thangka inscription, Kṣe. 82.23-26.

[146] *'gyod pa skyes nas rab tu byung// cung zad dmyal bar skyes na yang// myur du lha yi lus thob pas// rab byung mthu las byung bar shes//.* Dalai Lama V, *Dkar chag dang po*, 98a2=201.2.

He went to worship the Buddha,
venerated [him and] accumulated great merit.
By hearing the excellent Dharma,
he quickly saw the truth. ||82.4||[147]

***Vine* No. 83, "Rāhulakarmapluty-avadāna"**

There was a king named Puṣpadeva
who had sons named Sūrya and Candra.
While Sūrya adhered to ascetic practices,
Candra assumed the throne. ||83.1||[148]

Sūrya drank water from a pitcher [belonging to a hermit]
without permission and repented.
Going before his younger brother, he said,
"Skillfully purify my evil deed with punishment!" ||83.2||[149]

As the fruit of [his brother's] hunger [from a] six-day delay,
in this [life-]time he spent six years in the womb.
A daughter of a cowherding woman
made her mother carry a heavy burden. ||83.3||[150]

She went six *krośa*-leagues, and as karmic ripening,
she felt the burden of a son in her womb for six years.
Sūrya, Candra and the daughter were respectively
the Buddha, Rāhula, and his mother. ||83.4||[151]

***Vine* No. 84, "Madhurasvara-avadāna"**

A rain of precious honey fell from the sky
at the time of his birth,
so he was known as Madhurasvara (Honeyed Sound).
Seeing Ānanda, he asked questions. ||84.1||[152]

---

[147] *sangs rgyas mchod phyir lhags byas nas// bsnyen bkur bsod nams tshogs chen bsags// dam pa'i chos ni thos pa yis// myur du bden pa mthong bar gyur//.* Ibid., 98a2-98a3=201.2-201.3.

[148] *rgyal po me tog lha zhes par// bu ni nyi zla'i ming can byung// nyi mas dka' thub bsten byas shing// zla bas rgyal srid bzung ba'i tshe//.* Ibid., 98a3-98a4=201.3-201.4.

[149] *nyi mas ril ba spyi blugs nas// ma blangs chu ni btungs pas 'gyod// gcung gi drung 'ongs chad las kyis// sdig pa 'dag thabs kyis zhes smras//.* Ibid., 98a4=201.4.

[150] *zhag drug par 'gyangs bkres pa'i 'bras// tshe 'dir lo drug mngal du gnas// ba glang rdzi mo'i bu mo yis// khres ni lci ba ma la bskur//.* Ibid., 98a4-98a5=201.4-201.5.

[151] *rgyang grags drug phyin rnam smin la// bu yi mngal khur lo drug myong// nyi zla bu mo rim bzhin du// sangs rgyas sgra gcan 'dzin de yum//.* Ibid., 98a5-98a6=201.5-201.6.

[152] *mkha' las rin cen sbrang rtsi'i char// btsa' ba'i dus su babs pa yis// sbrang rtsi'i dbyangs su grags pa des// kun dga' bo mthong pha la dris//.* Ibid., 98a6=201.6.

Hearing additional points and the name of the Buddha,
he invited [the Buddha] to his home and venerated him.
He renounced and left Jetavana Grove,
remaining in a desolate mountain retreat. ||84.2||[153]

Bandits came in search of an
offering to Durgā. To save others' lives,
he gave his own body.
He was bound and led to the place of slaughter. ||84.3||[154]

On top of a buffalo hide were
offerings such as flesh, bone, and skin.
Seeing these unbearably evil deeds,
he felt compassion, and conquered his enemies. ||84.4||[155]

The bandits' weapons turned into flowers.
Amazed, they went forth and became monks.
They came before the guide of all beings,
and were assured by the Bhagavan. ||84.5||[156]

The "Nārapūrvika-avadāna" and the "Rāhulakarmapluty-avadāna" are both concerned with the protagonist's karma across lifetimes. The "Rāhulakarmapluty-avadāna" contains two separate narratives, the first of the brothers Sūrya and Candra and the second of the cowherd's daughter; at the end their past-life connections (*pūrvayoga*) are identified with the Buddha, his son Rāhula, and Yaśodharā, the mother of Rāhula. While prior familiarity with these narratives is not strictly necessary, it would certainly help the reader fill gaps in these terse accounts. For example, in 83.3 it would help to know that it was the imprisoned brother Sūrya who went hungry, because the king Candra forgot about him for six days.[157] In the story of "Madhurasvara-avadāna" the inscription omits the detail that "sweet and smooth sounds" were heard at the time of the hero's birth along with the rain of honey; this detail would have provided a more complete explanation of his name, which means "Melodious Sound" or "Honeyed Sound."[158] The fact that these inscriptions appear on the AAMSF thangka demonstrates that they circulated beyond 'Bras spungs Monastery and the text in the Fifth Dalai Lama's collected works; as we will see below, they were also included in a 1671 set of thangkas commissioned by Fifth Dalai Lama's regent.

As recorded in the Fifth Dalai Lama's catalogue of consecrated objects, the 'Bras spungs inscriptions included a colophon in one stanza:

---

[153] *'phros don sangs rgyas mtshan thos dang// khyim du spyan drangs bsnyen bkur bstabs// rab byung rgyal byed tshal spangs te// shin tu dben pa'i ri brag bsten//.* Ibid., 98a6-98b1=201.6-202.1.
[154] *dur ga'i ya stags 'tshol ba'i ched// chom rkun 'ongs par gzhan dag srog/ 'tsho phyir rang gi lus btang ba// bcings nas srog gcod gnas der khrid//.* Ibid., 98b1-98b2=202.1-202.2.
[155] *ma he sre bo'i lhag pa na// sha rus lpags pa'i ya stags sogs// mi bzad sdig pa'i las mthong nas// snying rje skyes pas dgra bcom thob//.* Ibid., 98b2=202.2.
[156] *rkun po'i mtshon cha me tog tu// gyur pas ngo mtshar rab tu byung// thams cad rnam 'dren spyan sngar lhags// bcom ldan 'das kyis dbugs dbyung mdzad//.* Ibid., 98b3=202.3.
[157] Kṣe. 83:26-28.
[158] Tb. *snyan zhing 'jam pa'i sgra dbyangs,* Skt. *madhurasnigdhanirghoṣa.* Kṣe. 84:4.

The quintessence of the heart-nectar of the ocean of avadānas
perfectly fills a vase with few words but all the meaning.
This is the perpetual exertion of rolling a mountain,
it comes from Sarasvatī's lute singing in [my] throat.[159]

The concluding verse returns to the ornate style of the opening stanzas, with each line developing vivid metaphorical imagery. The author boldly claims to have condensed all the meaning in but a few words (*tshig nyung don tshang*), thus capturing the essence of an entire ocean of narratives—a monumental effort likened to moving a mountain. While the image of the ocean contained in a vase is by no means singular in South Asian and Tibetan literature, it invites questions of what has been lost or gained, and what has remained or been transformed, in the process of condensing a text of more than 7,000 stanzas into a much shorter work of approximately 650 stanzas. The author of the 'Bras spungs inscriptions developed two distinct poetic styles: an elaborate, image-laden style for the opening and closing verses, and a spare, fast-paced style for the narrative verses. With the former style, he exhibited his skill in the high poetic style for which the original *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* was praised. With the latter style, he deftly demonstrated understanding of the general content of Kṣemendra's text. However, as we saw with the episode of Prātihārya (no. 14), he was willing to substitute the text in light of other sources on the Buddha's miracles. While little of Kṣemendra's didactic and descriptive material is apparent in this condensed digest, most of the plot complexities are conveyed. Nevertheless, the author occasionally made space to add his own commentaries on karma, as we saw with several of the above examples.

Together with their inscriptions, these *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* murals were displayed in a prominent location at 'Bras spungs. The residential monastic community used the Assembly Hall on a daily basis for communal prayers, and the space also served as the locus for lay devotion. As the monastic seat of the Dalai Lama, the location of 'Bras spungs also conveyed the authority of his emerging monastic state. The installation of the *Vine* murals in the Assembly Hall would have served as a reminder of the Great Prayer Festival, which was both a renewal of public commitment to Buddhism and a reaffirmation of the governing authority of the Dalai Lama and of 'Bras spungs Monastery. Like teachings at the Great Prayer Festival, these paintings and inscriptions would have made the *Vine* accessible to a broader audience. At the same time, the verse inscriptions, which were also published separately in the Fifth Dalai Lama's collected works, were a display of mastery over the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* and what it represented: the teachings of the Buddha, Sanskrit, and poetic style.

Murals in the Po ta la Palace

In 1645 construction of the new Po ta la palace began, and in 1649 the Fifth Dalai Lama moved into the section called the White Palace (*pho brang dkar po*). Among the extensive murals of the White Palace completed in 1648 are *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* murals, located in the western chambers in the hall called "Bsod nams legs 'khyil" (Figs. 1.2, 1.3, 1.4).[160] The hall was not accessible during my visits; however, published images depict episodes that appear in the

[159] *rtogs brjod rgya mtsho'i snying po bdud rtsi'i bcud// tshig nyung don tshang bum par legs gtams 'di// ri bo sgril ba'i rtsol bar ltos min pa// dbyangs can rgyud mangs mgrin par 'khrol las so//.* Dalai Lama V, *Dkar chag dang po*, 105a1-105a2=215.1-215.2.

[160] The term *legs 'khyil* ("finely swirling") commonly describes a conch shell, a *svāstika*, or a lake. This hall is called the "Chapel of Blessedness" in the plan shown in Fig. 1.2.

Vine but not in Āryaśūra's *Garland of Birth-Stories* ("Muktālatā," "Devāvatāra," and "Dhanapāla," all discussed below). These corroborate the identification of the narrative murals as *Vine* episodes. A contemporary guide to the Po ta la Palace summarizes the functions of the space:

> This hall is the temple of the successive Dalai Lamas. It is the place for smaller New Year ceremonies, and for the small ceremony when, on the eighth day of the third Tibetan month, the Dalai Lama accepted his summer robes. Also, it is the place where those above the fourth rank of monastic and lay government officials assembled to plan out and pass various laws. This is also where successive Dalai Lamas and imperial officials staying in Tibet would meet.[161]

According to another contemporary publication, the murals on the north wall cover about twenty-two square meters and include the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, ground plans and environs of major monastic centers of Tibet, and a vivid image of the yogi Mi la ras pa meditating in his hermitage.[162] In style and quality, the *Vine* murals are comparable to murals in the Great Eastern Hall in the White Palace, "Wealth of Saṃsāric and Nirvāṇic Attainments" (*tshoms chen shar srid zhi'i phun tshogs*) (Figs. 2.17-2.20). The murals of the Great Eastern Hall were also completed during the years 1645 to 1648; according to the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography, these murals of Tibetan history and the successive emanations of the Dalai Lamas "were made by many expert painters of Dbus and Gtsang who had gathered together, headed by Sprul sku Chos dbyings rgya mtsho."[163]

Inscriptions for the seventh episode of the *Vine*, "Muktālatā-avadāna," can be made out from the published image (Fig. 1.3), relying on the source-text to assist with unclear readings; they are provided in Table 1.3. Only part of the episode may be included in the published image; for example, the maidservant Rohitā's death by cow and her subsequent existence as Muktālatā on the island of Laṅkā are not visible. These brief prose inscriptions identify scenes clustered

Table 1.3. Po ta la *Vine* inscriptions for No. 7, "Muktālatā-avadāna"

Number of scene and translation of inscription	Inscription
7a. Muktālatā's letter	*mu tig 'khri shing gi 'phrin yig*
7b. The image of the Teacher's body is sent.	*ston pa'i sku'i snang brnyan bsrings pa/*
7c. Muktālatā offers gifts of pearls.	*mu tig 'khri shing gis mu thig gi skyes phul ba/*

below the seated Śākyamuni Buddha. The first inscription, "Muktālatā's letter," likely refers to the merchant immediately below, handing a white scroll to a monk. The second inscription is placed just in front of the monk holding the red scroll, and likely refers to him. The third

[161] *tshoms chen 'di tA la'i bla ma sku phreng rim byon gyi chos khang yin/ lo re'i lo gsar gyi mdzad sgo chung gras dang/ bod zla gsum pa'i tshes brgyad nyin tA la'i bla mas dbyar chas bzhes pa'i skabs kyi mdzad sgo chung gras gnang sa dang/ rim bzhi yan gyi ser skya dpon rigs khag 'dzoms nas bka' khrims sna tshogs 'char 'god dang gtan 'bebs byed sa/ tA la'i bla ma sku phreng rim byon dang/ bod bzhugs gong ma'i blon chen khag mjal 'phrad gnang sa bcas yin//*. Ljongs rig dngos do dam u yon lhan khang ed., *Pho brang po ta la'i lo rgyus*, 27.

[162] PPD, 298-99.

[163] *sprul sku chos dbyings rgya mtshos gtsos pa'i dbus gtsang gi lha bris pa mkhas mang bsdus nas bkod.* L5DL, vol. 1, 142a4. On the artist Chos dbyings rgya mtsho and his work, see *HTP,* 219-45; Berger, *Empire of Emptiness,* 172-76.

inscription appears below and refers to the group of merchants, with pearls pouring out of the sack held by the leader.

The fifteenth episode of the *Vine* appears on the northern wall of the hall, according to the publication in which its image is published (Fig. 1.4). This episode likely appears at the upper edge of the wall, so that the sky appears at the top of the composition; the snow-capped mountains and clouds in the lower section of the image likely act as a border between separate episodes.[164] Some inscriptions for this episode can also be read, and are provided in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4. Po ta la *Vine* inscriptions for No. 15, "Devāvatāra-avadāna"

Translation of inscription	Inscription
15a. [The Buddha] sits on a stone called "White Moon" and teaches Dharma.	*zla ba dkar po zhes pa'i rdo la bzhugs nas chos gsungs/*
15b. *Pārijāta* tree	*yongs 'du'i ljon pa/*
15c. At the edge of Sāṃkāśya City	*grong khyer shang kashya yi 'gram/?* [unclear]
15d. Brahmā	*tshangs pa/*? [unclear]
15e. Śatayajña [epithet for Śakra]	*brgya byin*
15f. Group of monks	*dge slong gi tshogs/*
15g. Group of [lay] people	*skye bo'i tshogs?* [unclear]
15h. Group of *śrāvaka*s	*nyan thos kyi tshogs/*

This episode, "Descent from the God[ly Realm]," narrates the well-known set of events in which the Buddha returns to the earth from Trayastriṃśa Heaven; a synopsis was provided earlier in this chapter, translated from the 'Bras spungs verse digest. Inscription 15a describing the Buddha's seat in Trayastriṃśa reads *zla ba dkar po*, "white moon," but the Tibetan translation of Kṣemendra's text reads *la ba dkar po,* "white blanket"; the Sanskrit corresponds to this second reading with *pāṇḍukambala*.[165] The ubiquity of the white moon-seat in deity iconography is the simplest explanation for this confusion. This is the only visible inscription for this episode that contains an action verb; the remaining inscriptions merely identify people and places. 15b identifies the celestial *pārijāta* tree in front of which the Buddha sat in Trayastriṃśa, while 15c identifies the place where he descended to earth. In the latter case the inscription was placed on the shore of a lake; a common meaning of *'gram* ("edge") is a riverbank or shore.

To the viewer's left on the northern wall is the twenty-ninth episode of the *Vine*, "Dhanapāla-avadāna." Only part of the episode is visible in the published image; available inscriptions are provided in Table 1.5. A synopsis of the "Dhanapāla-avadāna" was provided earlier in this chapter, translated from the 'Bras spungs verse digest. As can be seen from the "Muktālatā-avadāna," "Devāvatāra-avadāna" and "Dhanapāla-avadāna," these prose inscriptions on the Po ta la murals differ markedly from the 'Bras spungs verse inscriptions. While the Po ta la prose inscriptions identify people, locations, and important objects such as Muktālatā's letter, they assume that the viewer is familiar with the plots of the episodes and need only be reminded of the key elements. The 'Bras spungs verse inscriptions—while terse enough to be inscribed on the pictorial design— provide a more or less complete narrative that connects the successive plot points in each episode. This may reflect the level of access to the respective locations: the 'Bras spungs *Vine* murals were displayed in a public location and would have been encountered by

[164] This is a visual convention employed in pictorial productions of the *Dpag bsam 'khri shing*, further discussed in chap. 2 and 3.
[165] Kṣe. 15:2.

many more visitors, while the Po ta la *Vine* murals were in a restricted location intended specifically for the Dalai Lama, Tibetan government officials, and visitors from the Chinese imperial court.

Table 1.5. Po ta la *Vine* inscriptions for No. 29, "Dhanapāla-avadāna"

Translation of inscription	Inscription
29a. Ajātaśatru	*ma skyes dgra*
29b. Devadatta	*lha byin/*
29c. Ānanda	*kun dga' bo/*
29d. Elephant trainer	*glang rzi*
29e. Dhanapāla	*nor skyong/*
29f. Ānanda	*kun dga' bo/*
29g. Dhanapāla	*nor skyong/*
29h. Ānanda	*kun dga' bo/*

1671 Thangkas

The Fifth Dalai Lama recorded in his autobiography that a set of *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* thangkas was produced:

> From the fifth day, the Regent took on the responsibility of having twenty-six skilled workers—headed by the master painter Stag lung Dpal mgon—produce a series (*gra tshar*) of forty-one one-story-high landscapes of the Precious *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*.[166] In the eighth month of the Iron-Pig Year [of 1671] they completed it without obstacles. Directly on the back of each were written the simplified verse prayers, i.e. the eulogistic catalogue on the *avadāna* and central thangkas that was composed at the time of the 'Bras spungs Assembly Hall.[167]

The work commenced on the fifth day of the seventh month of the Iron-Dog Year of 1670; that is, it took a little more than a year to produce this series. This process was documented in greater detail in a short text contained in the *rten* catalogue, described in its colophon as the "eulogistic

[166] The term *gra tshar* does not appear in any dictionaries I consulted, but based on other similar occurrences, it appears to mean a series or set of paintings depicting a fixed collection of subjects such as deities or life narratives. The component parts *gra* and *tshar* may be taken in the senses of "part" and "series," respectively. The following examples suggest this usage, specifying the number of thangkas in the series: *rgya can gyi lha tshogs dang zhing bkod bsdoms pa'i zhal thang gra tshar sum cu rtsa* [read *so*] *lnga* (Dalai Lama V, *Sku gsung thugs rten gsar bzhengs rin po che'i mchod rdzas khang bzang gi dkar chag dang tham phud deb khrims yig gi 'go rgyangs sde bzhi'i sgo 'phar phye ba'i skal bzang gi glegs bam gnyis pa* [hereafter *Dkar chag gnyis pa*], in *Collected Works*, vol. 17, 63b2=128.2); *thams cad mkhyen pa dge 'dun grub kyi rnam par sprul pa dang 'brel ba'i 'khrungs rabs gra tshar zhal thang bcu bdun* (Ibid., 163a2=325.2); *bla ma dgongs 'dus gtso dgu bka' gter srung ba'i dbang po gnyis dang bcas pa'i zhal thang gra tshar bcu gcig gi gtso bo so so'i zhal byang* (Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas, *Rgya chen bka' mdzod*, vol. 7, 285.1).

The Chinese translation is comparable, if inexact: "thangkas divided into forty-one parts" (分为四十一个片段的唐卡). Dalai Lama V, *Wushi dalai lama zhuan* 五世达赖喇嘛传, vol. 2, 714.

[167] *sde pas khur bzhengs mdzad de tshes lnga nas rtogs brjod rin po che dpag bsam 'khri shing gi zhing bkod thog tshad gra tshar bzhi bcu rtsa gcig bzhengs pa'i ri mo ba dbu mdzad stag lung dpal mgon gyis gtsos mkhas bsgrugs* [read *grub*] *nyi shu rtsa drug gis lcags phag hor zla brgyad pa'i nang du gegs med par grub pa so so'i rgyab thad du 'bras spungs 'du khang gi dus brtsams pa'i rtogs brjod dang gtso thang la che brjod dkar chag tshig bcad lhug gi smon lam bris/*. L5DL, 99b1-99b2.

prayer for the newly produced, marvelous production of the Precious Avadānas of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* landscapes."[168]

> Keeping in mind the aspiration to install the landscapes of the Precious Avadānas of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* of our Teacher the Ikṣvāku, Blo bzang mthu stobs, who had recently [become] the earthly protector, diligently took responsibility. The sketching of the forty-one thangkas was headed by the director Stag lung Dpal mgon, starting from the fifth day of the seventh month. From the beginning of the ninth month of that year, Srad pa Bsod nams, Pho brang Phun tshogs, Rong pa Tshe dbang rigs 'dzin pa, and Mkhar rtse Dpon bsam successively made the sketches. In the moon constellation of the second month it was finished.[169]
>
> In the Iron-Pig Year [of 1671], from the sixteenth day of the second month, Dbu chung sngags gra bsod nams, Chos mdzad bkra shis, Pa rnam Mgon po bkra shis, Rong pa Tshangs pa, Gting Skyes pa lhun po, Sdings po Che ba mi 'gyur, Lcang srung khang ba Rin cen rdo rje, Lha sa Dkon cog, 'Jam dbyangs don grub, Rta mgrin, Dgos bsam, Se ra Ngag dbang dar rgyas, Gzhis rtse Rdo rje tshe brtan, Mkhar rtse Kun dga' bstan 'phel, Dge bsnyen rgyal po, Pad nas rgyal po, Grags pa phun tshogs, Ram pa Brag logs pa, Snye mo Karma, and colorist Snye mo Bsod nams rdo rje applied color precisely, painted the gold, and so on. They did this fastidiously. The supervisors were Glang ra 'og pa Lha dbang tshe 'phel and Lha sa rag pa Tshe dbang rab brtan.[170]
>
> The makers of the brocade borders were the director Ra phyi shag pa Dbu rgyan, Bstan pa, Tshe brtan, the assistant director Ra phyi shag pa Bsod nams, Bzad pa Bco lnga, Padma tshe ring, and Phun tshogs. The ordinary ranks were Rgyal rtse Bstan 'dzin, Chos dbang, Dpal 'byor, Pa rnam Rab brtan, Nor bu, Gra phyi Nor skyong, Bsod nams don grub, Gra nang mkhas mchog, Dol ba Bco lnga, Gong dkar Bsod nams dbang rgyal, and the supervisors Rtse chen pa rgan pa Bkra shis rab rgyas and Lha rtse lha khang ba Kun dga' bsam 'phel. Those who wrote on the backs [of the thangkas] were: E pa Ngag dbang dpal 'byor, Ngag dbang tshe ring, Sri thar, Rgyal rtse 'Jam dbyangs dbang po, and Ngag dbang phun tshogs. The person who gave requisites such as wages and so forth was Byang gling Bsam 'grub rgyal po. On about the fifteenth day of the eighth month, it was finished without obstacles.[171]

---

[168] *rtogs brjod rin po che dpag bsam 'khri shing gi zhing khams ngo mtshar bkod pa gsar du bskrun pa'i che brjod smon lam.* Dalai Lama V, *Dkar chag dang po*, 291a1-291a2=587.1-587.2.

[169] *zhes ched du bsngags te 'o skol gyi ston pa bu ram shing ba'i rtogs brjod rin po che dpag bsam 'khri shing gi zhing bkod bzheng 'dun yid la brnags pa nye char sa skyong blo bzang mthu stobs kyis brtson pa'i khur blangs thang grangs bzhi bcu zhe gcig gi skya ris hor zla bdun pa'i tshes lnga nas dbu mdzad stag lung dpal mgon gyis dbu btsugs/ lo de ga'i hor zla dgu pa'i stod nas bzung srad pa bsod nams/ pho brang phun tshogs/ rong pa tshe dbang rigs 'dzin pa// mkhar rtse dpon bsam rnams rim 'byor gyis skya ris byas pa zla ba gnyis pa'i zla skar la zin//.* Ibid., 290a1-290a3=585.1-585.3.

[170] *lcags phag hor zla gnyis pa'i tshes bcu drug nas bzung dbu chung sngags gra bsod nams/ chos mdzad bkra shis/ pa rnam mgon po bkra shis/ rong pa tshangs pa/ gting skyes pa lhun po/ sdings po che ba mi 'gyur// lcang srung khang ba rin cen rdo rje/ lha sa dkon cog/ 'jam dbyangs don grub/ rta mgrin/ dgos bsam/ se ra ngag dbang dar rgyas/ gzhis rtse rdo rje tshe brtan/ mkhar rtse kun dga' bstan 'phel/ dge bsnyen rgyal po/ pad nas rgyal po/ grags pa phun tshogs/ ram pa brag logs pa/ snye mo karma/ tshon sbyor ba snye mo bsod nams rdo rje rnams kyis tshon mdangs zhib tshags gser bris sogs ru nga ba bstar/ do dam glang ra 'og pa lha dbang tshe 'phel// lha sa rag pa tshe dbang rab brtan/.* Ibid., 290a3-290a5=585.3-585.5.

[171] *gong gsham pa dbu mdzad ra phyi shag pa dbu rgyan// bstan pa/ tshe brtan/ dbu chung ra phyi shag pa bsod nams/ bzad pa bco lnga/ padma tshe ring/ phun tshogs/ byings gras rgyal rtse bstan 'dzin/ chos dbang/ dpal 'byor/*

This passage offers valuable information about the production of major thangka series in the seventeenth century. The project was begun on the fifth day of the seventh month, at the close of the Yogurt Festival (*zho ston*) which marks the end of the summer retreat on the monastic calendar; it was completed on a full moon day.[172] The process of sketching took about five months, involving one director and four artists. The process of coloring and adding gold highlights likely took almost six months, involving two supervisors and twenty painters; together with the sketching team, this accounts for the twenty-six artists along with the director Stag lung Dpal mgon mentioned in the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography. There were also seven brocade-makers, twelve artists of ordinary rank, and five scribes, adding up to fifty-one artists and craftsmen in all. In addition to these workers there was the payroll supervisor and the commissioner, Blo bzang mthu stobs, who served as regent to the Dalai Lama from 1669 to 1675.[173]

The Fifth Dalai Lama calls attention to the fact that Blo bzang mthu stobs had become regent not long before taking responsibility for this project, suggesting that this was a significant act of patronage as the new regent established his authority. While the expense of the project is not mentioned, the wages alone must have been considerable. Writing at a later date, Zhabs dkar Tshogs drug rang grol (1781-1851) noted in his autobiography a donation for a smaller set:

> For the making of thirty-one paintings depicting the *One Hundred Episodes of Lord Buddha's Former Lives,* I offered thirty horses and other animals, twelve bags of wheat and barley, and nineteen *sang* of silver. In addition, I offered fifteen pieces of brocade for the frames and ten lengths of cloth for the lining on the back.[174]

Matthieu Ricard identifies this set of paintings as the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*; it was likely copied from a design of thirty-one xylographic thangkas created in the eighteenth century, discussed in Chapter Two.

The fact that all of the artists, brocade-makers, and scribes are named—and not just the directors—indicates that they were held in high esteem. In the catalogue entry, the Fifth Dalai Lama also takes pains to note how carefully the painters worked, commenting that they "applied color precisely" and overall did their work "fastidiously." The listing of names makes it possible to trace the work and careers of individual artists. For example, Snye mo Karma was just one of the twenty painters mentioned in this 1671 project, but developed a reputation over time: in 1681 the Fifth Dalai Lama commissioned him to paint an image of the Snying ma master Gter bdag gling pa, and later he became one of the assistant directors for the Fifth Dalai Lama's reliquary

---

pa rnam rab brtan/ nor bu/ gra phyi nor skyong/ bsod nams don grub/ gra nang mkhas mchog/ dol ba bco lnga/ gong dkar bsod nams dbang rgyal/ do dam rtse chen pa rgan pa bkra shis rab rgyas/ lha rtse lha khang ba kun dga' bsam 'phal [read *'phel*]*/ rgyab yig 'dre* [read *'dri*] *mkhan e pa ngag dbang dpal 'byor/ ngag dbang tshe ring/ sri thar/ rgyal rtse 'jam dbyangs dbang po/ ngag dbang phun tshogs/ phogs sogs dgos cha sprod mi byang gling bsam 'grub rgyal pos byas te hor zla brgyad pa'i tshes bco lnga skor la gegs med du legs par grub po//.* Ibid., 290a5-290b2=585.5-586.2.

[172] This festival was also marked by the display of a colossal appliqué thangka of the Buddha Śākyamuni on the western hill of 'Bras spungs Monastery. Beginning in the Fifth Dalai Lama's time, Tibetan operas were performed in front of the Dga' ldan pho brang at 'Bras spungs. DKT, 1778. For contemporary descriptions see Richardson, *Ceremonies*, 99-107; Rigzin, *Festivals of Tibet*, 49-52.

[173] Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 2, 1133.

[174] Zhabs dkar, *Life of Shabkar*, 504, 537 n. 47.

chapel.[175] As for the director Stag lung Dpal mgon, he had already co-directed or directed several projects, including a production of thirty-five thangkas for the thirty-five buddhas of confession, in which he oversaw sixteen painters.[176] The toponymic names indicate that the artists hailed from many places throughout Tibet, although this does not preclude the possibility that some had become based in Lhasa.

During this period the Fifth Dalai Lama also sponsored extensive renovations at the Jo khang temple, including murals.[177] The intended use of the forty-one *Vine* thangkas is not specified, but it is possible that they were displayed at the Jo khang during the Great Prayer Festival; the set is not extant.[178] By the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's period at the latest, murals depicting the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* were installed in the ground-floor circumambulation passage between the Jo khang's core Great Temple (*gtsug lag khang*) complex and the annex, on the outer north, east, and south walls which are often referred to as *bar skor phyi* in textual sources, or described as "inward-facing" (*zhal nang*). This circumambulatory passage also came to be known as the "inner circuit" (*nang 'khor*), likely to prevent misidentification with the Bar skor market area surrounding the Jo khang annex (Fig. 1.5).

Later sources are unclear or inconsistent on when the *Vine* pictorial program was first installed, alternately claiming or suggesting that it was installed during the reign of the Fifth or the Eighth Dalai Lama. In his catalogue of the Jo khang, W. D. Shakabpa writes that during the Fifth Dalai Lama's time, murals such as the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* and the thousand Bhadrakalpa buddhas were painted on the outer and inner walls of the Great Courtyard passage by the artists Stag lung Dpal mgon, Lha sa ba Skal ldan, 'Brong rtse ba Blo bzang, the Mkhyen lugs leader Gsang sngags mkhar pa; the director Btsun chung, Zhang Dgos skyes and others. Shakabpa gives an incomplete citation from the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography and does not provide a date.[179] Gyurme Dorje states at one point that "in 1648 the walls of the Great Courtyard and inner walkway were painted with exquisite murals illustrating historical figures and scenes from the *Avadānakalpalatā* and the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*."[180] I did not find any passages in the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography corroborating this date for *Vine* murals at the Jo khang.

According to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's 1922 catalogue of the Jo khang, in 1783 the Eighth Dalai Lama 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho and the Regent Tse smon gling Ngag dbang tshul khrims extensively restored the Jo khang. As part of this restoration, "paintings of *avadāna*s from the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* and so forth were newly installed on the inward-facing walls of the

---

[175] As David Jackson has remarked, the mid- to late seventeenth century is a promising period for tracing the activities of individual artists given the detailed written sources and fairly high number of surviving paintings. *HTP*, 214. Lo Bue, "Scholars, Artists, and Feasts," 182.

[176] *HTP*, 198-199.

[177] On the expense of this renovation see *HTP*, 201-2.

[178] A set of forty-one thangkas has been displayed in the Gtsug lag khang of Rnam rgyal Monastery, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's present monastic seat in Dharamsala. See Fig. 2.8.

[179] Shakabpa cites page numbers 94-100 from *Du kū la'i gos bzang*, but does not cite a volume number (Shakabpa, *Gtsug lag khang gi dkar chag*, 27). I was unable to find a corresponding passage for the Jo khang; however, a nearly identical list of painters—omitting only Btsun chung—appears in connection with the renovations at 'Bras spungs completed in 1654; this description of 'Bras spungs also mentions the *Dpag bsam 'khri shing*. In 1648, the artist Btsun chung served as the artistic director (*dbu mdzad*) for painting the thousand buddhas in the Po ta la. L5DL, vol. 1, 223a5=447.5, 142b2-142b3=286.2-286.3.

Shakabpa's text has recently been translated by Gyurme Dorje, but I have provided my own paraphrases and translations for greater precision and consistency with other translations in this chapter. (Dorje et al, *Jokhang*, 47-122).

[180] Dorje, introduction to *Jokhang*, 19.

north, south, and east walls of the middle circuit."[181] The phrase "newly installed" (*gsar zhengs*) is somewhat ambiguous: it is possible that these murals constituted a new pictorial program, or that they were painted over pre-existing *Vine* paintings rather than restoring the older work. Later in his catalogue, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama states that from 1920 to 1922,

> the murals of the inner walls of the circumambulation passage (*bar skor nang ma*) were modeled on the paintings made during the Omniscient Fifth's lifetime by the artistic director Stag lung Dpal mgon—holder of the discerning Mkhyen tradition—and others, as the responsibility of the Regent 'Phrin las rgya mtsho."[182]

He goes on to describe the pictorial program of these murals—which would have appeared on the walls of the passage opposite the *Vine* murals—including the thousand buddhas and the miracles performed by the Buddha Śākyamuni. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama then turns to the wall to the right of the rear entrance to the Great Courtyard, describing the *Vine* murals there; he does not explicitly connect these murals to the Fifth Dalai Lama.[183] This suggests that the pictorial program on the inner walls was first installed during the Fifth Dalai Lama's period, but not the *Vine* murals on the outer walls.

A text in the Fifth Dalai Lama's *rten* catalogue dated to 1664 lists the Jo khang circumambulation passage murals made under the artistic direction of Stag lung dpal mgon, as the responsibility of 'Phrin las rgya mtsho (regent from 1660-1668): the miracles of the Buddha Śākyamuni, the pure lands of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the discourse of the *Śatasāhasrika-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, the ten deeds of Maitreya, the images meaningful to behold, and the paradise of Sukhāvatī.[184] These generally correspond to the program on the inner circumambulatory walls described by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. *The Wish-Fulfilling Vine* is not mentioned, further suggesting that its murals do not date to the 1664 work on the circumambulatory walls. According to Shakabpa, the Eighth Dalai Lama's biography states that previously there were no murals on the inward-facing walls of the circumambulatory passage; to fulfill the wishes of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the Eighth Dalai Lama newly installed the murals of

---

[181] *bar skor lho shar byang bcas pa'i rtsig/ zhal nang bstan ngos dpag bsam 'khri shing las 'byung ba'i rtogs brjod kyi ri mo sogs gsar bzhengs/*. Dalai Lama XIII, "Lha ldan gtsug lag khang nyams gso'i dkar chag dad snang 'bum phrag 'char ba'i 'o mtsho'i rdzing bu," in *Collected Works*, vol. 5, 5b6-5b7=670.6-670.7. Matthew Akester's English translation of this text is very useful, but I have modified it to foreground certain points in my discussion and to maintain consistency with my other translations in this chapter. See Dalai Lama XIII, "An Inventory of the Restoration of the Great Temple at lHa sa with Accompanying Verses of Aspiration Pertinently Arranged in Sequence, Entitled 'Pool from the Ocean of Milk Which Inspires Hundred Thousand-fold Faith,'" trans. Matthew Akester, in André Alexander, *Temples of Lhasa*, 295-300.

[182] *bar skor nang ma'i ldeb bris thams cad mkhyen pa lnga pa chen po'i sku dus sde srid 'phrin las rgya mtshos 'khur blangs mkhyen dpyod mkhas pa'i lugs 'dzin lha bris dbu chen stag lung dpal mgon sogs kyis byas pa'i bris char* [read *'char*] *gzhi bzhag/*. Dalai Lama XIII, "'O mtsho'i rdzing bu," 8a4-8a5=675.4-675.5.

[183] *bar skor gyi 'khyams* [read *khyams*] *ltag sgo'i nang g.yas ngos dpag bsam 'khri shing rten gtso rnam 'dren shākya sengge*. Ibid., 8b7=676.7.

The use of *'khyams* ("to wander, roam aimlessly") seems out of place here, and I am skeptical that it could mean "gallery," referring to the circumambulation passage, as Akester apparently translates it. As one enters the circumambulation passage the *Dpag bsam 'khri shing* murals are to one's left. Conversely, when one faces the Great Courtyard (*khyams ra*) from the entrance to the circumambulation passage, the *Dpag bsam 'khri shing* murals are to one's right. The circumambulation passage has remained off-limits to visitors in recent years, and these observations were made from its entrance.

[184] Dalai Lama V, *Dkar chag dang po*, 181a5-181b1=367.5-368.1.

the Hundred Deeds of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*.[185] In light of this evidence, the most likely explanation is that the Eighth Dalai Lama was the first to install *Vine* murals at the Jo khang. However, as discussed above, during the Fifth Dalai's renovation of the Jo khang a large-scale set of thangkas was made; this set may have been displayed at the Jo khang during the Great Prayer Festival.

BILINGUAL EDITION OF THE *WISH-FULFILLING VINE*

From 1664 to 1665, the Fifth Dalai Lama took on the sizeable task of revising Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* for publication as a bilingual blockprint edition. This edition has been noted in secondary scholarship on the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*; the colophon has been edited by Marek Mejor and partially paraphrased by Sarat Chandra Das and Marek Mejor.[186] However, this publication project has yet to be studied in its cultural and historical milieu, and there are a number of significant points in the colophon and in the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography that have yet to be analyzed. The Fifth Dalai Lama writes about the making of this edition at length in his autobiography, in a candid and forthcoming voice. The colophon to the 1665 bilingual *Vine* is also attributed to the Fifth Dalai Lama, and contains many overlapping and supplementary statements; it was either written by the Fifth Dalai Lama or written with his considerable input, and I will refer to him as the default author. My discussion in this section is structured around this passage in the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography on the revision and publication of the bilingual *Vine*, and supplemented with the colophon to the 1665 *Vine* edition.

The Dalai Lama begins this part of his autobiography by praising and defending the *Vine*:

> As for these Precious Avadānas of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, the expressive language is matchless among all belles-lettres, and the expressed meaning consists of liberation [accounts] of the Tathāgata's life and previous lives. However, the excellent door locks—the figures of speech of the bearded Indian—were not loosened by the key of Tibetan elders. Most could not learn much.
>
> Rgyal tshab drung pa Grags pa don drub and many other great *bla ma*s state that one won't receive blessings (*byin rlabs*) from a *śāstra* written by a king. According to this [view], which is covered by the obscuration of misunderstanding, one would not receive blessings even from King Indrabhūti, for example. Moreover, if one becomes very important merely by claiming to renounce, then one could follow even the history of the monk Mahādeva, and thus certify all the Buddha's teachings. How could this be?[187]

---

[185] *bar 'khor gyi zhal nang gzigs nang ldebs ris sogs med gshis rgyal mchog lnga pa chen po'i dgongs pa bskang ched mdzad brgya'i ldebs ris sogs gsar bzhengs gnang tshul gsal/.* Shakabpa, *Gtsug lag khang gi dkar chag*, 97 n. *je*.

[186] Das, prefatory note to Bi. vol. 1, where he mis-dates this edition to 1662-1663; M, 52-85. Mejor's text T.7034 is a print of the 1665 edition. Both scholars paraphrase portions of the colophon; below I provide new translations as I differ on some points of interpretation.

[187] *rtogs brjod rin po che dpag bsam 'khri shing 'di rjod byed kyi tshig snyan ngag kun gyi nang nas 'gran zla dang bral zhing brjod bya'i don de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku tshe 'di dang snga ma'i rnam par thar pa yin na'ang rgya gar kha spu can gyi rgyan gyi sgo lcags dam pas bod rgan rnams kyi lde mig gis ma khrol* [read *grol*] *ba phal cher gsan gzigs med pa mang zhing rgyal tshab drung pa grags pa don grub sogs bla chen mang pos rgyal pos brtsams pa'i bstan bcos la byin rlabs mi 'byung gsung ba rang nyid kyis ma dgongs pa'i sgrib g.yogs las de ltar na rgyal po indra bhūtis mtshon pa la'ang byin rlabs mi 'byung zhing rab byung du khas 'che ba tsam gyis 'gangs che na dge slong*

Before continuing with the remainder of the passage, it is worth pausing to discuss several significant points made above. First, the Fifth Dalai Lama emphasizes the perfection of the *Vine* as a literary work, calling it "matchless" in its expressive language. A similar point is made in the 1665 *Vine* colophon; after a series of verses praising the Buddha and his teachings, the *Vine* is explicitly compared with other texts:

> In this way, the profound, vast liberation of our teacher, lord of the Śākyas, is infinite, the sphere of activity by the singular Buddha. However, to suit minds that are to be disciplined, teachings from the *sūtra*s and *āgama*s were made into standard, dominant [works] such as the *Thirty-Four Birth-Stories* by the Indian *mahāpaṇḍita* Ācārya Śūra, the *Thirty-Five Birth-Stories* by Ācārya Haribhaṭṭa, the *Lokānandanāṭaka* by the scholar Candragomin, the *Nāgānandanāṭaka* by Śrī Harṣadeva, and the Precious Avadānas of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* by Dharmarāja Kṣemendra and his son. In short, among all the varieties of *śāstra*s by *paṇḍita*s that were translated in this land of snowy mountains, the Precious Avadānas of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* is [a] easily comprehensible because what is expressed is conjoined with meaning; [b] pleasant to the ear, because its expression is conjoined with figures of speech; [c] divided into defined units, because its verses are conjoined with metrics; [d] wonderful, because its nouns are conjoined with synonyms. Due to these four distinctive features, it is perfect.[188]

The Fifth Dalai Lama asserts that the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* is superior to comparable works on the Buddha's lives in the *jātaka* (*skyes rabs*) section of the Bstan 'gyur.[189] This is based on four criteria linked with poetics and belles-lettres: meaning (*don*), figures of speech (*rgyan*), metrics (*sdeb sbyor*), and synonyms (*mngon brjod*); while the last term may also be translated as "lexicography," one of the minor field of knowledge, in the context of poetics it refers to the use of synonymous terms, particularly kennings. The *Vine* is thus praised for its substance and its style according to formal literary conventions. While Haribhaṭṭa's *jātaka* anthology and the two plays by Candragomin and Harṣa were not especially popular in Tibet, as we have seen Āryaśūra's *Garland of Birth-Stories* was well-known; it is with regard to with this work that the claim to the *Vine*'s superiority becomes significant.

---

lha chen po'i lo rgyus kyis kyang rtogs par nus pas gsung rags [read *rab*] *mtha' dag la nges gzung ga la yod/*. L5DL, vol. 1, 347a4-347b1=695.4-696.1.

[188] *de ltar bdag cag gi ston pa śākya'i dbang po de nyid kyi zab pa dang rgya che ba'i rnam par thar pa mtha' yas pa ni sangs rgyas nyag gcig gis spyod yul yin la/ 'on kyang gdul bya'i blo dang 'tsham par mdo dang lung las gsungs pa rnams tshad ma'i dbang por byas te 'phags pa'i yul gyi paṇḍi ta chen po slob dpon dpa' bos 'khrungs rabs so bzhi pa/ slob dpon seng ge zhabs 'bring pas skyes rabs sum cu rtsa lnga pa/ mkhas pa tsandrago mis 'jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i zlos gar/ dpal dga' ba'i lhas klu kun tu dga' ba'i zlos gar/ chos rgyal dge dbang yab sras kyis rtogs brjod rin po che dpag bsam 'khri shing sogs mdor na mkhas pas mdzad pa'i bstan bcos kyi rigs gangs ri'i ljongs 'dir 'gyur ba ji snyed cig yod pa'i nang nas rtogs brjod rin po che dpag bsam 'khri shing 'di nyid brjod bya don dang 'brel bas rtogs sla/ rjod byed rgyang dang 'brel bas rna bar snyan/ tshig rkang sdeb sbyor dang 'brel bas gcod mtshams phyed/ ming mngon brjod dang 'brel bas ngo mtshar ba ste khyad chos bzhi dang ldan pa yin pas phun sum tshogs la/*. M, 70; cf. L, 614a2-614a6=1227.2-1227.6.

[189] On the *Jātakamālā* of Haribhaṭṭa see Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta*; and Hahn, *Haribhaṭṭa in Nepal*. For a translation of the *Lokānandanāṭaka* see Candragomin, *Joy for the World*. For a translation of Harṣadeva's *Nāgānandanāṭaka* see Skilton, "*How the Nagas Were Pleased."*

Returning to the Dalai Lama's autobiographical passage, he further states that the *Vine*'s "expressed meaning consists of liberation [accounts] of the Tathāgata's life and previous lives." The implication is that the *Vine* is also superior to other biographies of the Buddha such as Āryaśūra's *Garland of Birth-Stories* because it contains accounts of the Buddha's final existence as the prince Siddhārtha Gautama, as well as his previous existences. While works focusing exclusively on the Buddha's final existence—such as the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa—are not mentioned explicitly, by extension the *Vine* would be considered superior to such works in this regard. As I mentioned in the Introduction, biographical information on the Buddha's lives was scattered across early canonical collections, and it was only later that attempts were made to compile these materials into cohesive biographies. The relative completeness of the *Vine* as a collection offers an additional explanation for why the Dalai Lama favored this text over others.

The Dalai Lama continues by pointing out that the *Vine* was not well understood by most Tibetans, who could not unlock the figures of speech in Kṣemendra's text. That is, it is a difficult text that only an elite few could master. However, those who could understand its mannered poetic style were richly rewarded, as the colophon asserts in its elaboration of the second of the four distinctive features of the *Vine*:

> By virtue of the second distinctive feature—the expressive figures of speech that amaze with a thousand aesthetic experiences (*nyams*) and emotions (*'gyur ba*)—one is content to look no further than this. Unspoiled by even the slightest whiff of compositional flaws such as mistaking the way to craft figures of speech, these 108 biographical episodes rob connoisseur's hearts of self-control with their wonderful figures of speech.[190]

Here the Dalai Lama invokes the terminology of Sanskrit aesthetic theory as applied to *kāvya* literature, the primary "emotions" (Tb. *'gyur ba*, Skt. *bhāva*) elicited by figures of speech and the resulting "flavors" (Tb. *nyams,* Skt. *rasa*) that make for an aesthetic experience.[191] His high praise for the *Vine* is itself expressed in the figurative style of *kāvya*, with the elaborate metaphorical turn pivoting on the "whiff of compositional flaws" and the phrase "rob connoisseur's hearts of self-control" (*yid rang dbang du 'phrog*) a riff on the stock literary phrase "captivating the heart" (*yid 'phrog*), which is translated from the Sanskrit *manohara* and used to describe enthrallingly attractive things.

That the Fifth Dalai Lama was overseeing a revision and publication of this text reinforced his claims to knowledge of Sanskrit, poetics, and the related fields of learning—grammar, metrics, and lexicography. In the politics of knowledge and authority in seventeenth-century Tibet, mastery of poetics was not merely a leisure activity. As Gene Smith has written, with a few notable exceptions Dge lugs pa scholars had tended to neglect the study of poetics; however, after 'Brug pa bka' brgyud masters wrote verses mocking the Sa skya pa and Dge lugs pa, the Fifth Dalai Lama rebutted their criticism in his 1647 commentary to the *Mirror of*

---

[190] *khyad chos gnyis pa rjod byed kyi tshig rgyan nyams dang 'gyur ba stong gis ngo mtshar bas 'di las lhag pa gzhan du 'tshol mi dgos pa'i chog shes shing rgyan sbyor tshul log pa sogs rtsom pa'i skyon gyi dri mas cung zad tsam yang sbags pa med pa'i rnam par thar ba'i yal 'dab brgya rtsa brgyad pa/ ngo mtshar ba'i rgyan gyis blo ldan rnams kyi yid rang dbang du 'phrog.* M, 79; cf. L, 616b2-616b4=1232.2-1232.4.

[191] For a brief exposition of *rasa* and *bhāva* in *kāvya* theory see Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, vol. 1, 22-23. For an extensive bibliography of *alaṃkāraśāstra* in India, see Cahill, *Annotated Bibliography of the Alaṃkāraśāstra*. On Sa skya Paṇḍita's treatment of *rasa* and *bhāva* see Gold, chap. 6 of *Dharma's Gatekeepers*. According to Gold, Sa skya Paṇḍita does not maintain a consistent distinction between *rasa* and *bhāva* (ibid., 120).

Poetics.[192] Moreover, he mandated the study of poetics for all lay and monastic government officials, instituting it in his government school.[193] The suasive power of poetry—and its link to Sanskrit knowledge—appears to have extended beyond Tibetan borders as well: the Fifth Dalai Lama's letters to Mongol princes and to the Shunzhi emperor "were conceived as metrical compositions preceded by a verse in Sanskrit written by the Dalai Lama himself."[194]

Another potential difficulty of the *Vine* as written by Kṣemendra is its lack of discernible order. While the first episode of King Prabhāsa narrates the moment when the Bodhisattva first generates the resolve for awakening (Skt. *bodhicittotpāda*), the remaining episodes do not follow a chronological sequence. This lack of explicit sequence also holds for other *jātaka* and *avadāna* collections, prompting exegetical attempts to discern or impose order on the collection. In the case of Āryaśūra's *Garland of Birth-Stories* Tibetan tradition holds that the author had planned to write ten episodes to illustrate each of ten perfections (*pāramitā*) for a total of one hundred episodes, but left his work unfinished after the thirty-fourth episode.[195] In the *Vine* colophon, a comparable classification is proposed as an elaboration on the first distinctive feature of the *Vine*, the comprehensibility of its expressed meaning. He introduces this classificatory scheme by citing a verse attributed to Nātha Nāgārjuna:

> First, he generated the resolve for supreme awakening.
> For three countless *kalpa*s he accumulated merit, and
> conquered the four interfering Māras.
> Homage to the Bhagavan [Śākya]siṃha![196]

The Fifth Dalai Lama takes this as a threefold pattern of (a) generating the resolve for awakening, (b) accumulating merit, and (c) defeating the four Māras and attaining buddhahood; each of the 108 *Vine* episodes is classified under one of these categories, with the second category of accumulating merit further sub-divided into the six perfections.[197] By placing each of the episodes within the framework of an over-arching soteriological narrative, the Fifth Dalai Lama affirms the role of the *Vine* as a didactic tool for the Buddhist path, while further reinforcing his own claim to mastery over the text.

The Fifth Dalai Lama also defends the *Vine* from detractors who suggest that it is inferior because it was written by a layperson rather than by a monk. This discussion is interesting, not least because it conveys how the valuation of texts depend on their authorial status and consequently, their spiritual power and capacity to bestow blessings on those who read, venerate, or come into physical contact with the text. The named critic may refer to the fourth Rgyal tshab

---

[192] Smith, "'Jam mgon Kong sprul and the Nonsectarian Movement," in *Among Tibetan Texts*, 244.
[193] Newman, "Tibetan Novel," 413.
[194] Lo Bue, "Scholars, Artists, and Feasts," 180.
[195] The Third Karmapa's *Hundred Birth-Stories* claims to complete this anthology, linking the episodes with the ten perfections and the ten grounds. Āryaśūra and Karma pa III, *Tibetan Rendering of the Jātakamālā*, 621.2-621.4.
[196] *mgon po klu sgrub kyis// dang por byang chub mchog tu thugs bskyed de// bskal pa grangs med gsum du tshogs bsags shing// bar du gcod pa'i bdud bzhi 'joms byed pa// bcom ldan seng ge de la phyag 'tshal lo//.* M, 72; cf. L, 615a5=1229.5.

A nearly identical stanza appears in Bu ston's *chos 'byung*, which states that the verse appears in the *Praise of the Eight Stūpas* (*mchod rten brgyad kyi bstod pa*). Bu ston, *Collected Works,* vol. 24 (ya), 40b1-40b2=712.1-712.2. As Mejor notes, the first two lines of this quoted stanza correspond to the first two lines of the cited work in the Bstan 'gyur, P 2025(=D 1134), but the third and fourth lines do not (M, 58-59).
[197] M, 59, 72-79; cf. L, 615a6-616b2=1229.6-1232.2.

sprul sku, Rgyal tshab drung pa Grags pa don drub (c. 1550-1617); this is one of the leading reincarnating lineages of the Karma Bka' brgyud pa, and is based at Mtshur phu Monastery, the seat of the Karma pa.[198] If so, it is possible that the latter favored the *Hundred Birth-Stories* compiled by the Third Karma pa rather than Kṣemendra's *Vine*. King Indrabhūti is one of the major figures in the *siddha* tradition of tantric Buddhism; sources point to multiple King Indrabhūtis ruling over Zahor or Oḍiyāna at different times. The figure of King Indrabhūti is one of the eight great *siddha*s in tantric iconography, and is associated with the cycles of Hevajra, Cakrasaṃvara, and Guhyasamāja.[199] Mahādeva is held to be a monk who taught false doctrine and caused schism within the Saṅgha some one hundred sixteen years after the Buddha Śākyamuni's death.[200] With this deft juxtaposition of a lay lineage-holder and a monastic villain, the Fifth Dalai Lama pointedly rebuffs criticism about the value of studying the work of a layperson. Part of his rhetorical strategy echoes his strategy in defending his poetics tutor Smon 'gro pa and lay teachers in general, as discussed in the first section of this chapter. When defending Smon 'gro pa, he names revered Tibetan Buddhist masters who happen to be laypeople (along with Kṣemendra); when defending Kṣemendra, he names a revered Indian Buddhist master who happens to be a king. In addition, the Fifth Dalai cites the negative example of Mahādeva to puncture the simplistic assumption that monks are automatically more virtuous than laypeople. The Fifth Dalai Lama may also have been responding to Dge lugs critics at his own court with these remarks, given the concerns they raised about studying with a lay tutor.

In his 1665 colophon a similar point is made that those who deprecate King Indrabhūti from Oḍiyāna—along with Tibetan ancestral kings (*mes dpon*) who are *dharmarāja*s—will accumulate negative karma; however, there the critics are identified only as "many great *bla ma*s who hold to Buddhist and non-Buddhist philosophical systems."[201] The Fifth Dalai Lama goes on to address another criticism from *Vine* detractors:

> Some conceited scholars say that through the narrow insight of Kṣemendra and his son, this *śāstra* is not an exclusive biography of the Tathāgata since it has many *avadāna*s of other beings that are not liberation accounts of the Buddha. These talkers, who have not engaged their minds closely with these *avadāna*s, and who are also unfamiliar with the *sūtra*s and *āgama*s, only reveal their own innards.[202]

While the Buddha Śākyamuni figures into most plots in the *Vine*, many episodes follow the lives of his disciples; moreover, while many of them attain arhatship or another of the four fruits of the noble path (*āryamārgaphala*), often less-than-ideal behavior is exhibited and many laypeople appear in the narratives. The criticism may deal with lessened focus on the Buddha, and/or with the frequency of worldly activities; in any case, it further attacks the judgment and understanding of Kṣemendra and his son. The Fifth Dalai Lama dismisses such critics as having only a

---

[198] TBRC P5684.

[199] *TPS*, vol. 1, 212-15; Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 242-46, 317-21, 397 n.23; Luczanits, "Eight Great Siddhas in Early Tibetan Painting;" Jackson, "Situ Panchen's Paintings of the Eight Great Siddhas."

[200] Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, 274-85; for a Tibetan account see Dudjom Rinpoche, *Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, 429, 892.

[201] *bod 'dir rang gzhan gyi grub pa'i mtha' 'dzin pa'i bla chen mang pos*. M, 71; cf. L, 615a1.

[202] *mkhas rlom la la dag dge dbang yab sras gzigs rgya chung bas bstan bcos 'dir sangs rgyas kyi rnam thar ma yin pa'i gang zag gzhan gyi rtogs brjod mang du yod pas// de bzhin gshegs pa'i rnam thar kho na min no zhes smra ba ni smra ba po rang nyid rtogs brjod 'di la blo gros kyi 'jug pa zhib mor ma byas shing mdo lung rnams dang yang ma 'dris pa'i rang gi nang cha phyir ston pa kho na ste//.* M, 72; cf. L, 615a2-615a3=1229.2-1229.3.

superficial understanding of the text, echoing his statement in the autobiography that most Tibetans were unable to grasp it.

At this point, he does not explain how one should properly conceive of the text. However, as mentioned above, elsewhere in the colophon the Fifth Dalai Lama proposes a threefold classification for *Vine* episodes that reflects the career of the Buddha from his first resolve for awakening, through his accumulation of merit, to his achievement of buddhahood. Episodes whose core plots narrate his previous existence as a bodhisattva fall under the first two categories, and episodes whose core plots occur during his final existence or after his death fall under the third category.[203] The third category encompasses the episodes that follow the lives of disciples, including the episodes concerning the laywoman Muktālatā (no. 7), the traveling monk Saṅgharakṣita (no. 67), the matricidal Bhavavarma (no. 82), Rāhula's time in Yaśodharā's womb (no. 83) and the forbearing monk Madhurasvara (no. 84), whose condensed plots were provided above from the 'Bras spungs inscriptions. This category is further glossed as "lastly, the full abundance of the ever-excellent fruit, the conduct of perfect buddhahood: thoughts in accordance with the individual wishes of all beings are carried out completely."[204] Because such episodes demonstrate the Buddha's ability to teach myriad beings in myriad ways, the colophon suggests, they also should be considered part of his liberation accounts. The completeness of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* as a collection of the Buddha's biographies is once again affirmed as one of its superior qualities.

So far we have seen that the Fifth Dalai Lama asserted that Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* was superior to comparable biographies of the Buddha both as a literary work and as a complete collection that spanned the Buddha's life and lives and included accounts of his disciples. Moreover, he emphasized the difficult and aesthetically elite nature of the literary text he had mastered, and defended its worth despite being written by a layperson. In the next part of his autobiographical passage, he describes the process of preparing the text for publication:

> In accordance with the testament left by 'Jam dbyangs Sa skya Lo tsā ba, it was translated by Shong lo who relied on the patronage of Dharmarāja 'Phags pa. After that, successive translators made it valued. It's unbearable that nowadays it's obscured by dust and darkness, so with preparations for carving a bilingual Precious Avadānas of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* into [wood]blocks, many reliable old texts were consulted.[205]
>
> It was apparent that the Indian-language text was incomplete and that there were fragments where the Sanskrit had not been translated into Tibetan; a Sanskrit manuscript was not obtained and moreover, the Tibetan texts were likewise incomplete. Because we had no more than this, 'Dar pa lo tsā ba Ngag dbang phun tshogs lhun grub and I, to the utmost of our mental ability, compiled the verses and made translations. Later, where the

---

[203] By referring to the "core plot" I am distinguishing it from the frame-story, which always takes place during the Buddha's final existence and sets up the Buddha as the narrator of the core plot.

[204] *mthar* [M reads *mthang*] *mngon par rdzogs pa sangs rgyas pa'i tshul rtag tu dam pa'i 'bras bu phun sum tshogs pa ni 'gro ba thams cad kyi rang rang gi re ba dang mthun par bsam pa kun yongs su rdzogs par mdzad pa yin la //.* M, 75-76; cf. L, 616a1-616a2=1231.1-1231.2.

[205] *'jam dbyangs sa skya lo tsā bas zhal chems su bzhag pa ltar chos kyi rgyal po 'phags pa'i bdag rkyan* [read *rkyen*] *la brten shang* [read *shong*] *los bsgyur ba nas bzung 'jig rten gyi mig gcig pu rim par byon pa rnams kyis thugs gcigs* [read *gtsigs*] *su mdzad pa deng sang rdul dang mun pas bsgribs pa ma bzod pas rtogs brjod rin po che skad shan sbyar par du brko ba'i sta gon gyis dpe rnying khungs btsun mang po go bsdur/.* L5DL, vol. 1, 347b1-347b3=696.1-696.3.

> complete text was obtained, we could edit [the text], inserting annotations with enumerations.[206]
>
> On the following third month, on the fourth day, the originals together with the printer's colophon were sent to Dga' ldan Phun tshogs gling. On the fifth, the master of offerings and the chant-master acted as the donors. The monastery held a long-life ceremony using a colored sand *maṇḍala*. Offerings were given, led by sets of various clothes consisting chiefly of the two robes [which were given] three times.[207]

The Fifth Dalai Lama pays respect to the translators who worked on the *Vine* before him; in his colophon, he especially credits Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527), who prepared the first bilingual Sanskrit-Tibetan blockprint edition of the text.[208] Zhwa lu's colophon is included before the Fifth Dalai Lama's colophon, and the 1665 edition may be taken as a revision of Zhwa lu's edition.[209] While the later editors of the Sde dge (1737-1744) and Co ne Bstan 'gyurs (1753-1772) followed suit, basing their bilingual editions of the *Vine* on the Fifth Dalai Lama's edition, the editors of the Peking (1724), Snar thang (1741-1742) and Golden Manuscript (1736-1795) Bstan 'gyurs provided only Tibetan-language editions of the *Vine* based on the edition of Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302-1364) circa 1360.[210] The Fifth Dalai Lama's decision to publish the *Vine* as a bilingual text reflects the importance he placed on Sanskrit learning, as well as suitability of the *Vine* for studying Sanskrit and ornate poetics.

The Fifth Dalai Lama was a major sponsor of visiting Indian *paṇḍita*s and the study of Sanskrit in Tibet, from 1655 onward.[211] However, as Giuseppe Tucci noted, the Fifth Dalai Lama's skill in Sanskrit composition left much to be desired. In many of the Fifth Dalai Lama's works the opening stanza (or the first two lines of the opening stanza) are translated into Sanskrit and presented as a bilingual text, with the Sanskrit written twice in *rañjana* script and Tibetan transliteration, and the Tibetan text appearing below. While Tucci acknowledged his mastery of poetics in the Tibetan language, his attempts at Sanskrit poetry could "only be considered as school exercises" in metrics; while the vocabulary generally matched, the grammatical relationships between words were largely unintelligible and metrical constraints were sometimes broken.[212] Tucci's observations, based on the Fifth Dalai Lama's collection of letters, are consistent with texts I have consulted such as the 'Bras spungs *Vine* inscriptions. Moreover 'Dar

---

[206] *rgya skad ma tshang ba dang saṃ skṛ ta'i skad yod pa la bod skad du ma 'gyur ba thor bu snang ba rgya dpe ma rnyed cing bod dpe rnams kyang chad mnyam las mi 'dug pas nged rang dang 'dar pa lo tsā ba ngag dbang phun tshogs lhun grub gnyis kyis blo'i nus pa gang yod kyis sdeb sbyor bsgrig* [read *bsgrigs*] *pa dang 'gyur byas par slar dpe tshang ba rnyed na zhus dag btang chog rtsis kyis mchan bu btab/*. Ibid., 347b3-347b4=696.3-696.4.

[207] *ma dpe par byang dang bcas hor zla gsum pa rting ma'i tshes bzhi la dga' ldan phun tshogs gling du brdzangs/ lnga la mchod dpon dbu mdzad gnyis kyis sbyin bdag byas te gra tshang gis rdul tshon gyi dkyil 'khor la brten nas tshe chog btang/ ber gnyis kyis gtsos pa'i gos sna cha 'grig tshar gsum gyis thog drangs pa'i ster sbyin byas/.* Ibid., 347b4-347b6=696.4-696.6.

[208] M, 60, 80; cf. L, 617a1-617a2=1233.1-1233.2.

[209] Zhwa lu's colophon appears in subsequent bilingual editions in the Sde dge and Co ne Bstan 'gyur*s*, but does not appear in the Peking, Snar thang, or Golden Manuscript Bstan 'gyur*s*. The latter group instead contains the colophon of the patron Ta'i Si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302-1364). Mejor claims that the latter group has preserved the first translation, while L and subsequent bilingual editions are based on the edition of Zhwa lu. M, 30.

[210] The extent to which the Peking, Snar thang and Golden Manuscript Bstan 'gyurs actually preserve editions preceding that of Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan, such as the revision at Sa skya, remains to be seen. M, 30, 54 n. 8. See also van der Kuijp, "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History 1," *IIJ* 37: 139-49.

[211] See Shastri, "Indian *Paṇḍitas* in Tibet," 139-145.

[212] Tucci, "Fifth Dalai Lama as Sanskrit Scholar," 239.

pa lo tsā ba, the Fifth Dalai Lama's collaborator on the bilingual *Vine* edition and the ethnic Tibetan scholar most active in Sanskrit at his court, was not without deficiencies in his understanding of Sanskrit grammar.[213] Given this state of affairs it is not surprising that the 1665 edition contains many mistaken Sanskrit readings, as well as occasionally infelicitous translations into Tibetan.[214]

Nevertheless, as his autobiography indicates, the Fifth Dalai Lama and 'Dar pa lo tsā ba Ngag dbang phun tshogs gamely plunged into the editing of the *Vine*, with incomplete manuscripts and missing translations. If the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography is a reliable source here, it was a major accomplishment even to restore and republish the text in a complete state after it had fallen into relative disuse. As demonstrated above, he had to overcome resistance from both outside and inside his court when championing this particular text and the study of poetics. He went to great lengths in arguing that the *Vine* was superior to comparable works on the Buddha's lives in its completeness and its aesthetic value, creating a coherent framework to classify the episodes, and defending its lay authors against critics.

The Fifth Dalai Lama's conspicuously cultured displays of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* were instrumental in promoting renewed interest in Sanskrit and the Indic origins of Buddhism among the Tibetan intelligentsia. At the same time, they rebutted sectarian criticisms of the Fifth Dalai Lama's monastic order and contributed to his state-building project, in which the production of knowledge placed authority in the hands of polymathic scholar-monks. As will be seen in the ensuing chapters, the Fifth Dalai Lama's bilingual blockprint edition and other activities regarding the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* were largely successful in popularizing this narrative collection. Like his other culture-building efforts, his productions of the *Vine* became the standard to which subsequent scholars, artists, and patrons were obliged to respond, whether favorably or critically.

[213] Verhagen, *Sanskrit Grammatical Literature,* vol. 2, 120-25.

[214] de Jong remarked that the 1665 corrections to the text of the sixth episode "are of no help whatsoever." de Jong, "Badarīdvīpayātrāvadāna," 139. This assessment is further corroborated by personal communication with Michael Hahn and my own readings of the text. I will return to this issue in Chapter Four in the context of eighteenth-century Tibetan critiques.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PHO LHA FAMILY: MODELING LAY KINGSHIP AND PATRONAGE

In this chapter I study two large-scale designs of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* that were reproduced multiple times in Central Tibet during the eighteenth century. One is a series of thirty-one xylographic thangkas carved into woodcut designs, completed in 1747 and stored at Snar thang; the series was widely copied and has remained the most recognizable pictorial design of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* among Tibetans.[1] The other is a series of forty-one painted thangkas, of which four copies, all likely produced in the eighteenth century, are known. Both series are heavily inscribed with captions marking the name and number of each episode, describing individual scenes, and identifying portraits of individuals on the central thangka (*gtso thang*) and of the donors on the final thangka. The two designs are sufficiently similar that one must have been directly adapted from the other; moreover, as will be shown, they can be traced to seventeenth-century antecedents. These materials offer a basis for analyzing text-image adaptation within fairly detailed historical contexts.

As I will demonstrate, the two *Vine* sets were sponsored by the Pho lha lay dynasty that ruled central Tibet from 1728 to 1750, temporarily replacing the Dga' ldan pho brang government of the Dalai Lamas. Thus, this chapter also provides a case study on the politics of lay rulership and patronage in Tibet. Since both the sponsors and recipients of these *Vine* thangka sets were key figures in the history of central Tibet, I begin with a brief sketch of their political careers and network of relations. Next I introduce the two designs of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, discussing their dates, patronage, and antecedents. This is followed by analyses of distinct sets and copies of these two designs, including the donor portraits, the internal logic of the designs, and the interface of text and image along with narrative strategies. Reading these in the context of the Pho lha family and their rule, I consider what the process of adaptation reveals about the politics of patronage, production, and circulation.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH

Mi dbang Pho lha nas Bsod nams stobs rgyas (1689-1747), lay ruler of central and western Tibet from 1728 to 1747, came to power during an extremely fractious period of Tibetan

[1] On the Snar thang series of *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* woodcuts, Tucci remarked that "the model became so authoritative that the various representations of *dPag bsam ạk'ri šiṅ*, diffused in Tibet, are nearly always inspired by this theme and reproduce it with unvarying fidelity." *TPS*, vol. 2, 440.

history.[2] From 1642 the Fifth Dalai Lama and his regents (*sde srid*) had wielded authority over this territory with the support of the Koshot Mongol Gushri Khan, but this hard-won peace was not to last. After becoming chief of the Koshot Mongols in 1703 Lha bzang Khan took control of Lhasa, executing the Regent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho in 1705 and deposing the Sixth Dalai Lama in 1706 with the support of the Qing emperor. Control of Lhasa was next taken by the Dzungar Mongols in 1717, and then by a provisional Qing military government in 1720 which reorganized power under the Seventh Dalai Lama Skal bzang rgya mtsho (1708-1757), who was installed in the Po ta la Palace. However, in 1727 internal conflict at the Seventh Dalai Lama's court led to a civil war; the minister Pho lha nas, an aristocrat from Gtsang, emerged victorious on July 5, 1728 (P 28/V).

Pho lha nas maintained a period of relative stability until his death in the spring of 1747. His relations with the Qianlong emperor were good: in recognition for his skilled governance, Pho lha nas received the high princely title and rank of *junwang* 郡王 from the emperor on January 11, 1740. However, the Seventh Dalai Lama was effectively exiled to Khams from the eleventh Tibetan month of 1728 until 1735 due to Manchu fears of further intrigue; he returned to Lhasa on condition that he could exercise only spiritual and not temporal power. Meanwhile, in the ninth Tibetan month of 1728, the Second Paṇ chen Blo bzang ye shes (1663-1737) was presented with an imperial edict that granted sovereignty over Gtsang and part of Western Tibet, marking both the formalization and the delimitation of the Paṇ chen's temporal power, along with "his political importance as some sort of balance against that of the Dalai-Lama."[3] While Pho lha nas maintained formally correct relations with the Dge lugs monastic establishment—one of his close *bla ma*s was Phur bu lcog Ngag dbang byams pa (1682-1762), fifty-third lineage holder of the Stages of the Path lineage masters (*lam rim bla brgyud*)—he is remembered above all as a skilled politician who was known to favor the Rnying ma pa, restoring their monasteries and also those of the Karma Bka' brgyud pa in the wake of Dzungar invasions.[4]

Pho lha nas' flawed reputation among the Dge lugs monastic establishment was expressed in the words of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje:

> In general, Wang Polhawa became famous as a brave champion by virtue of the tremendous merit of his previous actions. On some occasions, his political efforts were not in harmony with religion. Indeed, it is difficult to understand his ultimate motivation. He was under the influence of many irreligious people or people whose merit had been destroyed… When he found an opening against the Dalai Lama, he would always work against him, and he would disparage and insult those who were respectful of the Dalai Lama.[5]

---

[2] *Mi dbang* is a title meaning "Lord of Men." The name "Pho lha nas," referring to his place of origin, Pho lha in Gtsang, alternately appears as "Pho lha ba." The following summary is mostly based on Petech, *China and Tibet*. Other histories consulted are *TPS*; Rockhill, *Dalai Lamas of Lhasa*; Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, and Dhondup, *Water-Horse*. On Desideri's accounts of the atrocities that took place during the Dzungar invasion, see Pomplun, *Jesuit on the Roof of the World*, 112-118.

[3] Petech, *China and Tibet*, 154.

[4] Phur bu lcog Ngag dbang byams pa carried out the funerary rites for Pho lha nas, and also participated in temple renovations sponsored by the ruler. For brief biographies of this figure see DKT, 1327-28; MD, 1056-58.

[5] Quoted in Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 459. For similar views of Pho lha nas' contemporaries see ibid., 459-62. The corresponding passage from the Seventh Dalai Lama's biography reads as follows: *spyir wang pho lha ba 'di nyid sngon las kyi bsags rgyab che bas dpal mdzangs rtul phod du grags pa zhig byung zhing/ skabs 'ga' zhig tu srid skyong gi las dang chos mthun gyi bya ba lam du sor ba'ang du ma zhig yod la/ kun slong mthar*

While acknowledging Mi dbang Pho lha nas' military skill in unifying Dbus, Gtsang and Mnga' ris, Lcang skya lays bare the ongoing tension between Pho lha nas and the Dalai Lama's supporters. As for Pho lha nas' own efforts at cultivating his image and reputation, these will be discussed later in this chapter with reference to his sponsorship of *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* productions.

Concerning his succession to the throne, Pho lha nas had passed over his elder son Ye shes tshe brtan—ostensibly due to his poor health—and chosen his younger son 'Gyur med rnam rgyal. The younger son's status as heir-apparent was formally recognized by the Qianlong emperor on January 28, 1746, and immediately upon Pho lha nas' death the Seventh Dalai Lama conferred the title of Dalai Bātur to 'Gyur med rnam rgyal, authorizing his transition to power. By all accounts 'Gyur med rnam rgyal was a ruthless and cruel ruler: he made more enemies than friends, plotted to revolt against Qing rule, to all appearances had his elder brother Ye shes tshe brtan killed early in 1750, and also tried to assassinate his brother's two sons, succeeding in one case. Late in 1750 he himself was assassinated by the two imperial *amban*s at their residence in Lhasa; in retaliation an angry mob killed the two *amban*s and started a deadly riot.[6] The Qianlong emperor ordered the execution of 'Gyur med rnam rgyal's wife and son as well as the confiscation of his estates, thus cutting off the future of the once-powerful Pho lha family.

TWO THANGKA DESIGNS OF THE *VINE*: DATES, PATRONAGE, ANTECEDENTS

A set of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in thirty-one xylographic thangkas (*shing par thang ka*) was acquired by Giuseppe Tucci during his travels in Tibet (Fig. 2.1). The printed area of each wood-block print is approximately the same size, ranging from a minimum height of 32 ⅜" (81 cm) and width of 20 ¾" (53 cm) to a maximum height of 34 ⅝" (88 cm) and width of 22" (56 cm).[7] Each wood-block print contains a large central figure of a buddha seated on a lotus, with body and head haloes. At the top of each blockprint is a label indicating the mounting sequence of the series (see Appendix A). In the central thangka (*gtso thang*) the main figure of Śākyamuni Buddha is surrounded by subsidiary figures, while in the remaining thirty panels each central buddha is surrounded by scenes depicting the 108 episodes of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. The first fifty-two episodes are depicted in fifteen thangkas on the viewer's left, at increasing distance from the center; the mounting labels carved in *dbu can* script read *g.yas dang po*, *g.yas gnyis pa*, *g.yas gsum pa* and so forth, referring to the proper right of the central thangka. The remaining fifty-six episodes are depicted on the remaining fifteen thangkas on the viewer's right, again at increasing distance from the center; the mounting labels read *g.yon dang po, g.yon gnyis pa,*

---

thug pa ji ltar yin shes dka' mod/ bar skabs su khong rang gi bsod nams nyams pa'i ltas sam/ smon lam log pa'i skye bo 'bangs su gtags pa du mas rgyud bskul ba… rje bla ma nyid la glags 'tshol ba'i bsam pas yang dang yang du mtho 'tsham pa dang/ rje nyid la ches gus pa'i skye bo tshul dang mthun pa rnams la skyon 'dogs dang/ dma' 'bebs byed cing/. L7DL, vol. 13, 371a1-371a5=77.1-77.5.

[6] The Manchu word *amban*, or "high official," was used unofficially for imperial residents sent to supervise Tibet and other parts of Inner Asia during the Qing Dynasty, including Mongolia. Until this point they functioned, according to Hugh Richardson, as "little more than observers with the duty of reporting to Peking on events in Lhasa" (Richardson, *Tibet and Its History,* 52). For a study of this office see Kolmaš, *Ambans*.

[7] These dimensions are based on reproductions of prints in Tucci's collection, published by Sharada Rani. According to Rani, "the woodcuts are reproduced from the original xylographic prints in unreduced size." Rani, *Buddhist Tales of Kashmir*, 8.

g.yon gsum pa and so forth, referring to the proper left of the central thangka. The final thangka also includes a donor portrait near the bottom corner to the viewer's right (Fig. 2.2). While the mounting labels on Tucci's prints are generally legible, the remaining extensive captions—also in *dbu can* script—are blurry and of varying legibility. The sequencing of the narrative episodes matches that in the Assembly Hall of Gong dkar Monastery, suggesting an established pattern for arranging narrative anthologies (Fig. 1.1).

This xylographic thangka series enjoyed wide distribution and painted copies proliferated; in addition to the paintings published in Tucci's *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I have relied on two complete sets of painted copies to supplement my analysis of the series' pictorial and textual design.[8] One set—which I was able to view for extended study—is in the collection of Tibet House in New Delhi, and dates to the nineteenth century or later (Fig. 2.27). The other is in the collection of Gugong Palace Museum in Beijing and is published in *Zangchuan fojiao tangka*. An accompanying quadrilingual inscription in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan is dated to the fifty-fourth year of the Qianlong period, or 1789.[9] For both of these sets the inscriptions were copied in *dbu can* script, making them valuable sources for deciphering the extensive textual material. A painted set in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History in New York—once in the collection of the philological scholar Baron von Stäel-Holstein (1877-1937)—was published in 1959 by Antoinette K. Gordon in her revised edition of *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*.[10] This set lacks most of the inscriptions from the blockprint.

Giuseppe Tucci first introduced this series to a Western audience in 1949 with the publication of *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. Tucci identified the series as a representation of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, relied on inscriptions to identify the figures in the central thangka, provided synopses of each episode, and roughly described scene locations and contents as depicted on the thangkas. Furthermore, Tucci connected the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* series of thirty-one xylographic thangkas to the Life of Tsong kha pa series of fifteen xylographic thangkas and also to the Sixteen Arhats series of seven xylographic thangkas; the wood-blocks for all three series were stored at Snar thang.[11] Tucci's work on visual adaptations of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in Tibet was groundbreaking, and subsequent publications have not added significant findings about this particular series.

However, Tucci provided contradictory and unclear information about the patronage of these Snar thang series in three different instances in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. In his entry on the Life of Tsong kha pa series, he identified Pho lha nas, "C'os rgyal bSod nams stobs rgyas," as

---

[8] *TPS*, vol. 2, pls. 100-130. Nine of these plates are in color and the remainder in black and white.

[9] According to the publication, the dimensions for these *thang ka*s are 87 x 57 cm, which accords with the size of the blockprints. Wang Jiapeng ed., *Zangchuan fojiao tangka*, 64.

[10] Gordon, *Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, ix, 109-110, pls. following page 110. See also Gordon, *Tibetan Religious Art*, 54 n.8. Gilles Béguin incorrectly states that "[t]his series of 31 paintings were first published by Antoinette K. Gordon in 1938" in the first edition of *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*. The series first appeared in her second edition of 1959. Béguin, introduction to *Forty-one Thangkas*, n.p.

The AMNH catalog numbers are 70.2/1564-1594; the set was purchased in 1954 from Roland Koscherak. The dimensions of the *gtso thang* are 83 x 54.2 cm; including the mount the dimensions are 131.7 x 85 cm. I observed inscriptions only on the twenty-ninth thangka depicting episodes 100-103. HAR 94427-94457.

On Baron von Stäel-Holstein's career and residence in Beijing, see Elisséeff, "Stäel-Holstein's Contribution;" Schierlitz, "In Memory;" and Silk, "Introduction to Alexander von Stäel-Holstein's Article."

[11] *TPS*, vol. 2, 410-534.

the donor of the three Snar thang series (Fig. 2.3).[12] In his entry on the Sixteen Arhats series (Fig. 2.4), Tucci identified the main figure in the group portrait as Pho lha nas, and the two accompanying figures in fur hats as the sons of Pho lha nas, "ạGyur med rdo rje rnam rgyal and Ye šes ts'e ldan brtan." For this Sixteen Arhats series, he claimed that the two sons were "surely the *sbyin bdag*, the actual donors, who, complying with the *c'os rgyal*'s proposal, furnished the means whereby to carry out his pious purpose."[13] Here the *chos rgyal* unambiguously refers to Pho lha nas. However, in his entry on the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* series, Tucci mentioned only "Gyur [sic] med ye šes rtse brtan… the son of P'o lha bSod nams stobs rgyas" as the donor.[14]

It appears that when Tucci identified the donor figures in the final thangka of the Snar thang *Vine* series, he was led astray by a missed or illegible inscription and an overly hasty identification of the central donor figure as Jambhala, god of wealth (Figs. 2.2, 2.5). Tucci was able to read the inscriptions for the two sons only "with great difficulty," giving their names here as "ạGyur med Ye šes ts'e brtan and ạGyur med rnam rgyal rdo rje," the former dressed in monk's robes and a peaked cap, and the latter in lay dress.[15] However, the main figure in the group portrait cannot be Jambhala. Seated on a throne and wearing a crown, he holds a *cakra* wheel in his left hand and a *mālā* rosary in his right. The *cakra* is one of the seven jewels of the "wheel-turning" *cakravartin* king, or universal monarch. To the right of this figure are the remaining six jewels in a row: the minister bearing wealth, here represented as a *maṇḍala* offering symbolizing Mount Meru and its surrounding universe; the wish-fulfilling jewel, held by a man with a hat in the shape of a turban; the queen; the general wearing a helmet; and standing in front of him, the horse and the elephant.[16] To the left are the two sons of Pho lha nas, the elder Ye shes tshe brtan in a peaked hat resembling a *paṇḍita's* cap; and the younger 'Gyur med rnam rgyal in lay dress. This king can be none other than Pho lha nas himself.

Evidence from inscriptions also supports this identification. The inscription for the main figure in the donor portrait is located below the figure on the offering-table to the viewer's left; it is virtually illegible in Tucci's blockprint but the approximate forms of most syllables can be discerned. On the Tibet House painted copy, the inscription in gold letters on a blue background clearly reads: "Homage to the Dharma King Bsod nams stobs rgyas" (*chos rgyal bsod nams stobs rgyas la na mo/*). For the first figure to his left with the peaked cap, the inscription is below and to the viewer's left in red letters on a green background: "Homage to 'Gyur med ye shes tshe brtan" (*'gyur med ye shes tshe brtan la na mo/*). For the second figure to the main donor's left with a layman's hat, the inscription is below in red letters on a green background: "Homage to 'Gyur med rnam rgyal rdo rje" (*'gyur med rnaṃ rgyal rdo rje la na mo/*). The latter two inscriptions accord with the Tucci's transcriptions and may be taken as variant names of Pho lha nas' two sons; the syllables *la na mo* at the end of each inscription are discernible on the blockprint image. The inscription for the main donor figure also matches the rough forms of the letters on the blockprint image. Equipped with this data, we may return to the donor portrait in the Snar thang Life of Tsong kha pa series (Fig. 2.3). Visually, the three donor figures appear as a mirror image of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* woodcuts. This is because the Tsong kha pa donor

[12] Ibid., 417. Tucci does not cite his source for this information. Note that the fourteenth (*g.yon drug pa*) and fifteenth (*g.yon bdun pa*) blockprints have been printed out of sequence in *TPS* as Figs. 120 and 119, respectively.
[13] Ibid., 564. Tucci states that the donor portrait appears "at the bottom of the first tanka," but the blockprint image is not published in *TPS*. The subsequent painted copies I have seen do not copy this donor portrait.
[14] Ibid., 441.
[15] Ibid., 534.
[16] For an explanation of the seven jewels of the *cakravartin*, see LV, 11-14; cf. Mitra, *Lalitavistara,* 33-35.

portrait appears on the eighth blockprint, which occupies the extreme position to the proper right, whereas the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* donor portrait appears on the thirty-first and last blockprint at the proper far left: in both cases the main donor, Pho lha nas, appears closer to the center of the composition. As for the inscriptions on the Tsong kha pa donor portrait, they are also not fully legible, but also appear to correspond to the inscriptions from the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*; the inscription for Chos rgyal Bsod nams stobs rgyas appears just below the offering table, the inscription for 'Gyur med ye shes tshe brtan appears between the seated scribe and the figure riding an elephant, and the inscription for 'Gyur med rnam rgyal rdo rje appears at the lower edge of the blockprint. Thus the inscriptions and visual evidence further confirm the identity of the main donor figure as the ruler Pho lha nas.[17]

The biography of the Third Paṇ chen Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes (1738-80) provides further clues as to the circumstances under which the Snar thang *Vine* series was produced. The following passage is dated to the eighth lunar month in the year 1747:

> From the sixteenth day onward, [the Paṇ chen] bestowed blessings [with his] hand by turns to those who faithfully gathered, such as people from Mdzo dge and A mdo, together with the hermits of Kham bu dgon spug.[18] [He] took the first hair cutting of the reincarnation of the Venerable Dam chos dpal 'byor.[19] To the messenger specially sent by the prince Da las bā dur with thangka wood-blocks of the Teacher's life histories—the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine of Avadāna*s, the life of the Lord Lama the Great Tsong kha pa [called] "Tsong kha [in] Eighty [Scenes]," and the sixteen *arhat*s, [the Paṇchen] gave blessings [with his] hand together with a reply letter.
>
> On the nineteenth, [the Paṇ chen] bestowed blessings [with his] hand to many who had faithfully gathered, such as Thu shal thu Gung Ye shes tshe brtan who, while going to Mnga' ris, came for an audience and [joined] the tea row; *bla ma*s and monks of 'Brum ri bo mdangs can; Tre bo Sprul sku; the district governor of Phun gling, and people from A mdo.[20]

---

[17] With the kind permission of Doboom Rinpoche, I had the opportunity to study the complete set while it was on display at the Tibet House Museum, New Delhi, in the spring of 2008.

While discussing a portrait of Pho lha nas in a *sku 'bum* near Rgyal rtse, Tucci remarks: "His picture was to be seen in the frescoes as well as in the wood prints illustrating the stories of the *Avadānakalpalātā* [sic], a chain of Buddha's life stories, which he had engraved at Narthang. An inscription to be read under the pictures hails him as 'the exalted, saintly king, through whom the creatures' happiness and welfare are promoted and the teaching of the Buddha's law gains ground in the whole Jambudvīpa,' i.e. in the whole world." Presumably the inscription translated here refers to that in the temple mural. Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond*, 84.

[18] Mdzo dge is a district in Mdo smad, in present-day Aba Prefecture 阿坝州, Sichuan Province, bordering Gansu Province. Kham bu is in present-day Yadong County 亚东县, Tibet Autonomous Region, near the Sikkim-Bhutan border.

[19] According to a list of eminent monks by the Dge lugs pa scholar-monk Klong rdol Ngag dbang blo bzang (1719-1794), one of the direct disciples (*dngos slob*) of the Second Paṇ chen Blo bzang ye shes (1663-1737) was Rje Dam chos dpal 'byor, whose precise dates are unknown. Presumably this passage refers to the tonsure ceremony for his reincarnation, part of his ordination (Skt. *pravrajyā*, Tb. *rab tu 'byung ba*) as a novice monk (Skt. *śrāmaṇera*, Tb. *dge tshul*). Klong rdol, *Collected Works*, Za 15a3=1178.3. For a study of the *pravrajyā* ritual in textual sources and among the Newars, see Rospatt, "Transformation of the Monastic Ordination."

[20] *tshes bcu drug nas bzung ste rim bzhin mdzo dge ba dang a mdo ba sogs dad pas 'dus pa dang kham bu dgon sbug ri khrod pa bcas la phyag dbang bstsal/ zhal snga nas dam chos dpal 'byor gyi sku skye'i gtsug phud bzhes/ wang da las bā dur gyis ston pa'i 'khrungs rabs rtogs brjod dpag bsam 'khri shing dang rje bla ma tsong kha pa*

The "prince Da las bā dur" refers to 'Gyur med rnam rgyal, the younger son of Pho lha nas: *wang* is a transliteration of the Chinese 王 and Dalai Bā dur—also spelled Bātur—is a Mongolian title that was granted to Pho lha nas and then to 'Gyur med rnam rgyal upon his succession. His elder brother Ye shes tshe brtan, who was serving as governor of Mnga' ris, visited separately and in person shortly afterward.[21] It would be useful here to review recent developments in their family. On January 28, 1746, 'Gyur med rnam rgyal was recognized by the Qianlong Emperor as Pho lha nas' heir-apparent. Pho lha nas passed away on March 12, 1747 after a serious illness, and 'Gyur med rnam rgyal was officially enthroned as the ruler of Tibet immediately after the funeral ceremonies.[22] Given that Pho lha nas and his two sons are the main subjects of the donor portrait, it seems likely that the commission for the woodcuts was initiated before Pho lha nas passed away. It would have taken a considerable amount of time and labor to design, carve, and print these three lengthy and complicated sets, and it was not until after Pho lha nas' death that the completed series could be presented to the young Paṇ chen.

As this passage shows, the three xylographic thangka series carved at Snar thang and linked by Tucci—the *Vine*, the life of Tsong kha pa, and the *arhat*s, were not only sponsored by the same donors but were produced and presented together to the Paṇ chen for his blessing. Unfortunately, the letter mentioned in this passage was not found in the Paṇ chen's collected works. According to a history of Snar thang Monastery compiled by a historical committee at Bkra shis lhun po, the three woodcut series were newly created (*gsar bzhengs*) at this time.[23] However, this may refer only to the fact that the wood-blocks were newly carved at this time; the possibility remains that the pictorial design of the Snar thang *Vine* series was based on earlier works.

As mentioned previously, a similar series of forty-one thangkas was produced several times in the eighteenth century (Figs. 2.6, 2.7). One such set was also commissioned by Pho lha nas and his two sons, as I will demonstrate; this complete set is held in the collection of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, and is published in a rare volume by Editions Sciaky. A photograph from this edition shows how these thangkas have been displayed in the Gtsug lag khang Temple, present seat of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, in Dharamsala (Fig. 2.8). I will refer to this set of

---

chen po'i rnam thar tsong kha brgyad cu/ 'phags pa'i gnas brtan bcu drug gi zhal thang gi par shing bcas 'bul mi ched rdzong gnang bar phyag dbang gnang cha dang zhu yig gi bka' lan bcas bstsal/

tshes bcu dgu la thu shal thu gung ye shes tshe brtan mnga' ris su phebs zhor mjal khar byon par ja gral bka' dri bcas dang/ 'brum ri bo mdangs can gyi bla grwa/ tre bo sprul sku/ phun gling rdzong dpon/ a mdo ba sogs dad 'dus mang bar phyag dbang stsal/. 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, *Nyi ma'i 'od zer*, in *Collected Works of the Third Paṇchen Lama*, vol. 11, Ka 67b2-67b5=144.2-144.5; cf. 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa 2002, vol. 1, 110.

[21] The fact that the two brothers did not visit the Paṇ chen together may suggest that they were not on good terms by this point. "Thu shal thu" means "ranked" or "appointed" in Mongolian (Orna Tsultem, personal communication). *Gung* is a transliterated title from Chinese *gong* 公 ("duke"); Ye shes tshe brtan received two such titles from the Qing (Petech, *Aristocracy and Government*, 212).

[22] Petech, *China and Tibet*, 191, 194, 198.

[23] *rab byung bcu gnyis pa'i me stag (1746) lor pho lha'i sras wang 'gyur med rnam rgyal gyis mdzad brgya rtogs brjod dpag bsam 'khri shing gi thang par grangs 31 dang/ tsong kha brgyad cu'i thang par ngo grangs 15 gnas bcu'i thang par grangs 7 bcas gsar bzhengs dang 'brel paṇ chen dpal ldan ye shes dgung lo 9 pa'i skabs paṇ chen rin po cher phul/*. Bkras lhun dgon lo rgyus rtsom 'bri tshogs chung, *Dpal snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyus* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2003, third reprint), 60. While the *rang rnam* of Paṇ chen Dpal ldan ye shes is cited as a source—apparently referring to the *rnam thar* attributed to 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa II—the date of 1746 is not specified in the *rnam thar* as a commencement date for the production of the three sets. In any case, this date accords with the analysis above.

Wish-Fulfilling Vine thangkas, currently in the collection of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, as the "Pho lha set of forty-one."[24] In his introduction to the volume, Gilles Béguin identifies the Pho lha set of forty-one as an illustration of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* and notes its similarity with the Snar thang woodcut design; the dimensions are not given.[25] The inscriptions are of varying legibility in the published photographs. From the inscription accompanying the donor portrait in the final painting of the set (Fig. 2.9), I have been able to make out the following:

> *rnam mkhyen ... pa'i bstan pa'i ... gyis 'khor bsgyur pho lha ba/ mi ... bsod? nams stobs rgyas mchog/ yab sras 'khor bcas? rgya mtsho che/*

This is sufficient to confirm that the inscription also identifies the main patron figure as Pho lha nas, who is called a *cakravartin* (*'khor bsgyur*) and accompanied by his sons. In this portrait the elder son Ye shes tshe brtan has been placed to the right of Pho lha nas, wearing monk's robes and a peaked cap as in the Snar thang design; the younger son 'Gyur med rnam rgyal is seated to Pho lha nas' left, again in lay dress.

One can appreciate other similar elements between this donor portrait and that in the Snar thang design: here Pho lha nas is also shown with the seven "jewels" of the *cakravartin*, grouped in the bottom right corner (the wish-fulfilling gem now appears on the elephant's back and the minister is shown bearing a *cakra*).[26] In the Pho lha set of forty-one, four figures sit in a row to Ye shes tshe brtan's right, each on their own cushion; whereas in the Snar thang design four figures sit in a row below Pho lha nas, again on individual cushions (Figs. 2.2, 2.5). These likely represent the four cabinet ministers (*bka' blon*) of Pho lha nas. If indeed they are, then this set would have been completed after 1733 or 1734, when the fourth minister was added to the cabinet.[27] We thus have at least two pictorial sets of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* completed within a short span of time by the same donor family, between 1733 and 1747.

Two sets of forty-one thangkas with the same design are in the collection of the Gugong Palace Museum in Beijing. One set is on long-term display in the Wanfuge 萬福閣(Pavilion of Ten Thousand Blessings), the penultimate hall of the Yonghegong 雍和宮 (Palace of Harmony; known in Tibetan as Dga' ldan byin chags gling) containing the colossal sandalwood Maitreya

---

[24] It is unclear how a *thang ka* set commissioned by the Pho lha family came into the collection of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. It seems unlikely that Pho lha nas presented it a gift to the Seventh Dalai Lama, since relations between them were poor. However, one possibility is that this set was retained in the possession of the Pho lha family, e.g. for display or storage in their private estate. When the Pho lha family estate was confiscated after the demise of 'Gyur med rnam rgyal in 1750, this *Vine* set may have been given to the Seventh Dalai Lama.

[25] Beguin, introduction to *Forty-One Thangkas*, n.p.

[26] This donor portrait may in fact portray the "Precious Ornamentation" (*rin chen rgyan cha*) ceremony, which was re-established in 1672 during the Fifth Dalai Lama's reign and continued as a New Year (*lo gsar*) tradition thereafter. This custom of adopting the costume of the imperial Tibetan kings had been practiced by officials in the time of lay rulers such as Phag mo gru pa and Rin spungs pa. According to Shakabpa this included gold amulets, round earrings, and brocade cloaks—items worn by Pho lha nas—as well as the seven jewels of the *cakravartin*. Shakabpa also mentions the cook, the guide, the steward, and the incense holder; these may correspond to four figures placed just at the base of the throne: one standing and holding a pitcher, one seated bare-headed with paper on his lap, one kneeling with a red cap facing Ye shes tshe brtan, one dressed in red kneeling and facing 'Gyur med rnam rgyal. Further research on the *rin chen rgyan cha* is a desideratum. Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, 364-65. For photographs and a firsthand description see Richardson, *Ceremonies*, 14-20.

[27] Petech, *China and Tibet*, 171-72. In any case it is unlikely that this set was completed before 1730, which is the first mention in Pho lha nas' biography that he sponsored *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* paintings. Pho lha nas' biography was completed in November 1733.

(Figs. 2.10, 2.11). This set is fully marked with gold inscriptions; hereafter it will be called the "Wanfuge set." I was able to view photographs of the other set; an accompanying quadrilingual inscription in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan is dated to the forty-eighth year of the Qianlong period, or 1783. This latter set has neither narrative inscriptions for the 108 episodes nor inscriptions identifying the figures of the central thangka; while it does have the inscriptions providing the number and name of each episode, several episodes are mislabeled. In place of the Pho lha family donor portrait, in the lower right corner of the final scroll is a four-faced Brahmā seated on a lotus throne, facing toward the center line of the composition, bearing a *cakra* wheel. it is likely a direct copy from the Wanfuge set.[28]

In addition to the complete sets in the collections of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama (i.e. the Pho lha set of forty-one) and the Gugong, two isolated thangkas copied from this same design are known to be extant. One of these thangkas is held in the collection of the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (AAMSF), containing episodes eighty-two to eighty-four (Fig. 2.12). The other is a copy of the central thangka, and was given as a gift to the Library of Congress from the collection of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama in July 2010. It can be dated to the eighteenth century on the basis of the donor inscription, which identifies the donor as Phur bu lcog Ngag dbang byams pa (1682-1762), who was mentioned in the historical sketch earlier in this chapter.[29] The fact that this design of forty-one thangkas was reproduced into at least five distinct sets, all of them likely from the eighteenth century, suggests that it enjoyed relative popularity in Central Tibet.

Even a cursory glance at the Snar thang set of thirty-one woodcuts and the design in forty-one thangkas indicate that one of the designed sets directly informed the other, or else that they were based on a common source. Both feature a large, iconic Buddha image in the center of each thangka; the number and name of each of the 108 episodes is inscribed on a tri-lobed stone; there is stylistic similarity in scale, scene layout and the details of architecture and flora; and both have numerous prose inscriptions describing the scenes. The final thangka in each complete set, illustrating the 108th episode of the *Vine*, is laid out identically, with the exception of the donor portrait as described above.

The most immediately notable differences between the two designs are in the donor portrait as described above, in the number of panels in each set—which necessitates a different distribution of episodes across panels—and in the figure above the head of the central buddha. The first thangka in each set contains labeled figures in identical configurations, except for the figure directly above the head of Śākyamuni Buddha: in the Snar thang woodcut set it is a monastic figure with peaked cap labeled as the Fifth Dalai Lama, and in the Pho lha set of forty-one it is Amitāyus (Fig. 2.13, no. 4; Fig. 2.6).[30] Moreover, all the remaining thangkas in the Pho lha set of forty-one have Amitāyus above the head of the central buddha, but there is no such corresponding figure in the narrative thangkas of the Snar thang set.

Gilles Béguin has briefly compared the design of the Pho lha set of forty-one with that of the Snar thang woodcuts. I reproduce most of his comments here, as they highlight key issues in the ensuing discussion:

---

[28] As Patricia Berger has noted, the Qianlong emperor had copies made of items in his own collection. Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 127.

[29] Bhuchung Tsering, "Library of Congress Receives Special Gifts;" Susan Meinheit, e-mail message to author, July 22, 2010. At the time of writing, this thangka was under accession had not yet been made available for study.

[30] For the remaining identifications, see Appendix A.

> Most of the scenes… follow the same diagram, but present many extra elements that had been simplified or had disappeared on the Narthang plates. It is as if, with the latter, one had tried to reproduce a more or less faithful summary of all the series with which we are concerned here. The paintings reproduced here are, above all, of a much better quality. There is a greater vivacity in the narrative scenes, greater care is given to detail and painted with the meticulousness of a miniaturist; it is enriched in gold with a greater sumptuosity, with more ability in the transitions from one scene to another. One could think that they are perhaps of an older tradition than the Narthang plates, and thus one could place them as being from the last years of the XVIIth Century, or the first years of the XVIIIth Century. Naturally, one should bring to this hypothesis all the reserve one has in the dating of Tibetan works.[31]

While the *Vine* thangkas in the Pho lha set of forty-one are certainly of high quality, Béguin's evaluation partly obscures the difference in media between painted thangka and wood-block print. His comments on the meticulous painting and the application of gold suggest that he was comparing the Pho lha set of forty-one against painted copies of the Snar thang wood-block prints, rather than with the wood-block prints themselves. The color plates of the thangkas in Tucci's publication are indeed of lower quality, whether due to the original quality of the paintings, their state of preservation, the quality of the published images, or any combination of the above. However, other painted copies of the Snar thang prints are of higher quality in terms of materials used and painting skill—notably the Gugong set—and in any case, none of these painted copies should be taken as primary objects of comparison when the wood-block prints themselves are available. While Tucci's published prints of the *Vine* woodcuts are admittedly blurry, it is nevertheless evident that the woodcuts were created with formidable skill, sustained effort, and attention to miniature detail; and as I have demonstrated, both sets were commissioned by the ruling Pho lha family within a span of no more than fifteen years, while they still commanded full power over central and western Tibet.[32]

I am in agreement with Béguin that, at the very least, the Snar thang woodcuts must have been made after the Pho lha set of forty-one thangkas. Rather than basing this on the assumption that a high-quality original was followed by a necessarily inferior copy, however, I demonstrate this through a comparison of the donor portraits. In the donor portrait of the Snar thang woodcut set, Pho lha nas' younger son 'Gyur med rnam rgyal holds a *cakra* signifying temporal authority, while in the Pho lha set of forty-one he does not (Figs. 2.2, 2.5, 2.9). Pho lha nas had chosen 'Gyur med rnam rgyal as his successor at least by January 1741, according to the Capuchin missionary Cassiano da Macerata. Macerata met Pho lha nas and his two sons at this time in the garden of the Dga' ldan Khang gsar, their palace in Lhasa. He recounted that although the Qianlong emperor had nominated Ye shes tshe brtan as his father's successor, Pho lha nas

> leaned more toward the younger son who was also with the father at court, as the first-born was dedicated to devotion, and who, in spite of his two wives and children, was also dressed in the habit of a Lama and he loved the monks very much, at least in appearance,

[31] Béguin, introduction to *Forty-one Thangkas*, n.p

[32] On the considerable amount of time, labor, and expense required to produce wood-block prints in eighteenth-century Tibet, see Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book*, chap. 5-6.

> while the youngest son, who was already a general of the army and chief of several thousands of Tartars, was a warrior, fierce, proud and resolute.[33]

While this selection was not yet official, it must have been an open secret if the newly-arrived Capuchins were privy to it. As Petech notes, 'Gyur med rnam rgyal's succession to the throne was carefully arranged: early in 1743 Pho lha nas strategically arranged for 'Gyur med rnam rgyal to marry a daughter of Mdo mkhar Tshe ring dbang rgyal, his most influential cabinet minister and member of a powerful aristocratic clan. On January 28, 1746, the Qianlong emperor approved of the decision and formally appointed 'Gyur med rnam rgyal as heir-apparent to Pho lha nas.[34] On the basis of this political shift, the Pho lha set of forty-one must have been produced at the very latest by January 1746, whereas in the Snar thang woodcut the donor portrait was modified at a later date to reflect 'Gyur med rnam rgyal's sanctioned inheritance of Tibetan rule. We may thus date the production of the Pho lha set of forty-one thangkas between late 1733 and January 1746, while the production of the Snar thang design in thirty-one woodcuts was completed in the eighth lunar month in the year 1747.

While the provenance and relative dates of these two *Vine* productions are thus traceable to Pho lha family history, their visual design and inscriptions may have been created before the Pho lha family commissioned them. Several pieces of evidence suggest that the design in forty-one thangkas was in fact created at the behest of the Fifth Dalai Lama. According to the Seventh Dalai Lama's biography, in the Wood-Ox year of 1745 he sent painted thangkas of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* as a gift to the Qianlong Emperor. The *Vine* thangka set was taken to Yonghegong 雍和宮 (Palace of Harmony; known in Tibetan as Dga' ldan byin chags gling), which was undergoing reconstruction as the Tibetan monastic college in the imperial palace complex. There, his biography states, the dimensions of the Great Assembly Hall (Tb. *'du khang chen mo*; in Chinese called Wanfuge 萬福閣) were made to accommodate the dimensions of the *Vine* thangka set. The Wanfuge set of forty-one *Vine* paintings, on display as of June 2008, indeed fits the interior dimensions of the west, north, and east walls without gaps.[35] This set is likely the actual gift of the Seventh Dalai Lama, or possibly a copy from the same period. The biography states that this set "followed the design of the All-Seeing Fifth Dalai Lama" (*kun gzigs lnga pa chen po'i ljags bkod nang ltar*).[36]

In Chapter One I mentioned that *Vine* murals were painted at 'Bras spungs Monastery in 1654, with accompanying verse inscriptions; these verse inscriptions were also recorded in the Fifth Dalai Lama's catalogue of Buddhist images. Moreover, a set of forty-one *Vine* thangka paintings was produced in 1671; while a new pictorial design was created, the same verse inscriptions from 'Bras spungs were written on the backs of the paintings. The AAMSF *Vine*

---

[33] Macerata quoted in Bonadeo, 90.

[34] Petech, *China and Tibet*, 191. On the same page is Petech's translation of Macerata's report.

[35] I was unable to measure the Dpag bsam 'khri shing *thang ka*s on display in Wanfuge, but an image is published with the dimensions of 112 cm x 78 cm, presumably of the painted surface only (Yonghegong, *Beautiful Tangka Paintings in Yonghegong*, 33, 139). Another contemporary source gives dimensions of 179 cm x 88 cm; presumably these are the overall dimensions including the brocade border (Niu Song, 241). For comparison, the dimensions of the painted surface of the AAMSF *Vine* thangka are 40" x 23 ⅛" (102 cm x 59 cm); its overall dimensions including the brocade border are 68 ⅞" x 36 ¼" (175 cm x 92 cm) (Sharon Steckline, e-mail message to author, September 22, 2010).

[36] L7DL, 356b6-357a4. According to an official Yonghegong publication, the set of forty-one *thang ka*s in the Wanfuge is likely the one given to Qianlong by the Seventh Dalai Lama (Yonghegong, *Beautiful Tangka Paintings in Yonghegong*, 123). In future work I intend to return to the Wanfuge set in greater detail.

thangka, which contains episodes eighty-two to eighty-four following the design in forty-one thangkas, has inscriptions on the back that correspond to the 'Bras spungs verse inscriptions of these three episodes, as recorded in the Fifth Dalai Lama's catalogue and translated in Chapter One.

While the 'Bras spungs *Vine* murals of 1654 and the *Vine* thangkas of 1671 are not extant, the Po ta la *Vine* murals completed in 1648 offer an interesting example produced under the aegis of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Fig. 1.3). We can see that the pictorial design in the Po ta la murals was conceived differently from the design of forty-one thangkas when we compare corresponding scenes from the seventh episode, Muktālatā. As shown in Chapter One, the Po ta la scene from Muktālatā combines three events marked by brief inscriptions: the submission of Muktālatā's letter, the sending of the Buddha's image, and the offering of pearls (Table 1.3). In this mural, the Buddha is depicted frontally in the manner of an iconographic portrait, his throne framed by peonies amidst clouds, trees and a pavilion. In the Pho lha set of forty-one, the Buddha appears at the far right edge of the composition, in three-quarter profile in a hall with an enclosed courtyard (Fig. 2.14). The submission of the letter is indicated by the Buddha holding paper on his lap, and Muktālatā's gift offerings are depicted with merchants kneeling at his feet. The plot event involving the Buddha's image is depicted in a separate, smaller structure below, where a figure in monk's robes works on a portrait.

Similarly, the scene of the descent from Trayastriṃśa from the fifteenth episode is conceived in two distinct ways: in the Po ta la mural the descent is oriented in three-quarter profile with the subsequent preaching scene below and to the viewer's right (Fig. 1.4), while in the design of forty-one the descent is oriented frontally with the preaching scene directly below (Fig. 2.15). From these comparisons it is evident that the scenes in the forty-one thangkas were not directly copied from those in the Po ta la Palace. Nevertheless, the stylistic elements are strikingly similar, notably the palette, finely drawn details, and vivid contrasts of reds and oranges against greens and blues, also set off with whites and golds; landscape elements such as flowers, trees, clouds and mountains; building elements such as roofs, sharply angled enclosures; and the relative scale of sentient beings to buildings and mountains. From a stylistic point of view, it is therefore quite possible that the design of forty-one thangkas could have been created in the same period and place as the Po ta la *Vine* murals.

We may conclude with reasonable confidence that the eighteenth-century *Vine* productions of forty-one thangkas sponsored by the Pho lha family, the Seventh Dalai Lama—as well as the two isolated paintings sponsored by Phur lcog pa and at the AAMSF—were copies of the thangka design created under the Fifth Dalai Lama and completed in 1671. To summarize the evidence, the Wanfuge set of forty-one thangkas, which is documented as following the Fifth Dalai Lama's design, matches the design of the other extant eighteenth-century *Vine* sets in forty-one thangkas. The thangka set newly designed and produced in 1671 consisted of forty-one thangkas. The poetic inscriptions on the verso side of the 1671 set match those on the verso side of the AAMSF *Vine* thangka, suggesting that the AAMSF *Vine* thangka was a copy of the 1671 set. Stylistic elements of the extant design of forty-one thangkas are also comparable to seventeenth-century painting. It is unlikely that a new pictorial design of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in forty-one thangkas would have been created in the eighteenth century under Pho lha family sponsorship, given that a design with the same number of thangkas already existed. Rather, it is much more likely that they copied the pre-existing 1671 design of forty-one thangkas, and later condensed this into a design of thirty-one woodcuts at Snar thang. In short, the design in forty-

one thangkas likely preceded the design in thirty-one thangkas by approximately seventy-five years.

The challenges of establishing the dates and patrons of Tibetan art and material culture have limited their study, with reliable identifications still few and far between.[37] Without this basic information it is difficult to engage with these materials as historical objects that participated in the work of culture in specific historical moments. In this section I have shown how it is possible not only to establish the dates and patrons of particular works, but also—in the case of eighteenth-century central Tibetan productions of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*—to trace their designs to an earlier period. This last point is particularly important given the relatively conservative character of Tibetan painting: when faced with large sets such as these, we should consider possible antecedents unless there are stylistic or textually documented reasons to think otherwise. In the foregoing discussion I have demonstrated just how commonplace copying and adaptation could be in Tibetan material culture—all the more reason to be attentive to the cultural motivations behind such practices. In the course of considering the dates, patrons, and historical contexts of these multiple sets, this section has also served as a preview of the close links between patrons, politics, and cultural production during this time period. In the following sections, I analyze the production of each set separately and in greater depth, considering their processes of adaptation and circulation and what these tell us about the projects and agendas of their patrons.

THE PHO LHA SET OF FORTY-ONE THANGKAS

Why would the Pho lha family copy a multimedia design of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* from the Fifth Dalai Lama? The standard assumption that such objects are produced to make merit certainly conforms to the doctrinaire Buddhist view, and doubtless was a motivating factor for donors. However, as a structuralist argument it fails to explain any of the particulars of cultural production, and serves to close off questioning rather than to open critical lines of inquiry into the complexities of human endeavor. Against this problem, more recent work by historians of Chinese and Sino-Tibetan art including Patricia Berger, Eugene Wang, and Amy McNair has treated Buddhist art and material culture, in the words of Anning Jing, "not simply as religious boilerplate but rather as genuine artifacts of religious and social practice."[38] Their research shows how the production of Buddhist objects—and by extension, the practice of Buddhism itself—is always enmeshed with social and political conditions, the concerns of individual donors and their network of relationships, and a complex of religious and cultural beliefs and practices which need not be exclusively "Buddhist."

Addressing practices of copying in particular, Patricia Berger's work on the Qianlong Emperor has shown how, with respect to Sino-Tibetan cultural production of the early modern period, "replication, restoration, renewal, and renovation were understood as highly creative ways of honoring and appropriating the past, structuring the present, and assuring the future."[39] As I have outlined in the introduction to the dissertation, theorists of adaptation have demonstrated how adaptations can function as innovative sites of discourse and social change. In

[37] On general issues of dating Tibetan art see Martin, "Painters, Patrons;" Kreide-Damani, *Dating Tibetan Art*; Jackson, "Lineages and Structure."
[38] Jing, review of *Donors of Longmen*, 256.
[39] Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 124.

this section, I discuss how the Fifth Dalai Lama's production of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* was co-opted by Pho lha nas and re-inscribed with his own agenda. As I have shown above, Pho lha nas directly copied the Fifth Dalai Lama's design. Here I detail how, in image and text, Pho lha nas was portrayed both as a universal "wheel-turning" Buddhist king in the Indian mold and as a legitimate successor to the Fifth Dalai Lama in the wake of political upheaval. In this case the act of copying involved not only the replication of the design of a material object, but also the appropriation of the designer's charismatic identity.

In addition to directly copying the Fifth Dalai Lama's design of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* itself, the Pho lha family also modeled their family portrait on images of the Fifth Dalai Lama and his regent Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho. A series of murals in the Great Eastern Hall, "Wealth of Saṃsāric and Nirvāṇic Attainments" (*tshoms chen shar srid zhi'i phun tshogs*)—the main hall in the White Palace of the Po ta la—depicts the reincarnation lineage of the Dalai Lamas. The portrait of the Fifth Dalai Lama, located on the north wall, was completed posthumously at the end of the seventeenth century (Fig. 2.16).[40] The Fifth Dalai Lama is seated frontally, his face slightly inclined to the left, against a richly draped and cushioned throne. In his left hand rests a golden *cakra* wheel spoked with gems, nestled in a simple whitish cloth: this signifies his temporal power as the head of the Dga' ldan pho brang administration and effective ruler of central Tibet. At his feet is an offering-table; crowded around him are monk and lay officials, bearing offerings and paying homage. This elaborate array marks conceptual departures from earlier portraits of Dalai Lamas in the series in both temporal and human terms; these were completed in 1648 and appear on the south wall. The First and Fourth Dalai Lamas are posed frontally, heads statically symmetrical, surrounded by stylized body haloes; the Second and Third Dalai Lamas sit no less stiffly in three-quarter poses against cushioned seats (Figs. 2.17, 2.18). Juxtaposed abruptly against life scenes, lacking a retinue of human attendants, these portraits are of atemporal, deity-like figures. The Fifth Dalai Lama, by contrast, is placed in historical time: while the lotus in his right hand reminds the viewer of his cosmic identity as an emanation of Avalokiteśvara, the *cakra* in his left hand emphasizes his temporal power over the people below, whose faces and bodies are oriented toward him. This interactional arrangement draws its cues from conventions of narrative painting, such as a mural on the west wall depicting 'Brom ston pa teaching a group of monks (Fig. 2.19).

A portrait of Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho in the corridor (*bar khyams*) above the Great Western Hall of the White Palace—also called "Wealth of Saṃsāric and Nirvāṇic Attainments" (*tshoms chen nub srid zhi'i phun tshogs*)—was completed around the turn of the eighteenth century (Fig. 2.20).[41] Sde srid's throne is somewhat more subdued than the one in the Fifth Dalai's portrait, and the *cakra* is placed more discreetly at his left shoulder, balanced by the sword-and-book attribute of Mañjuśrī at his right shoulder. Below are the offering-table and an even more numerous crowd of attendants and visitors, including monks, scribes, Mongols in black fur-lined caps, and others in a variety of dress. Notable in the crowd are the seven jewels of the *cakravartin* at right, which have been discussed in connection with the donor portrait from

[40] Phun tshogs tshe brtan provides the dates 1690-1694 for the portrait, but it seems unlikely that it would have been completed before 1697, when Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho belatedly announced the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama to the Qing emperor (PPD, 231; Petech, *China and Tibet*, 9). This hall has a total area of 432 square meters and an extensive visual program that also includes history paintings and other portraits. For descriptions of this hall see Namgyal, *Splendor of Tibet*, 30-31; and PPD, 259-63.

[41] PPD dates everything in this corridor (rendered "Art Gallery") to 1690-1694, attributing it to the work of Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho. For a description of the murals in the corridor see PPD, 271-76.

the Snar thang *Vine* woodcuts; here the minister with the white turban bears a wish-granting jewel. The figure to Sde srid's right is identified as the Mongolian Bstan 'dzin dwa la'i rgyal po, with a *vajra* at his right shoulder; presumably this is Bstan 'dzin Da la'i Khan, the Qoshot Khan from 1671-1701 and father of Lha bzang Khan.[42] Above them is the familiar trio of longevity deities: Amitāyus in the center, White Tārā to his right, and eight-armed Uṣṇīṣavijaya to his left.

The donor portrait in the Pho lha set of forty-one is a clever melding of the Po ta la portraits of the Fifth Dalai Lama and Sde srid. Like his temporal predecessors, Pho lha nas sits on a cushioned throne with an offering-table at his feet; the red-and-green color patterning and curvature of the seat back resemble that of the Sde srid. Pho lha nas' head is inclined slightly to the right; like the Fifth Dalai Lama, he bears in his left hand the *cakra* wheel nestled in a white cloth. Pho lha nas wears a rectangular pendant similar to that of the Qoshot Khan in Sde srid's portrait, while his two sons sit at his side in three-quarter poses on seats resembling those of the Qoshot Khan. The three longevity deities appear overhead, neatly aligned with the human trio below. Below is the crush of attendants and visitors, including the seven jewels of the *cakravartin* in the lower right corner; here the minister bears a golden *cakra* wheel. Other minor figures are comparable to those in Sde srid's portrait, such as the seated scribe and the man offering the water-jar at Pho lha nas' right knee. That is, Pho lha nas not only copied the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* design of the Fifth Dalai Lama, but is also represented in a manner that draws heavily from the Fifth's portrait and that of his proxy, the Sde srid. Through the visual continuities of portraiture, Pho lha nas is naturalized as the political successor of the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Sde srid, in the overall conception of the portrait as well as with specific markers of authority and prestige such as the *cakra*, the throne, and the retinue.

Pho lha nas' place as rightful successor to the Fifth Dalai Lama's reign is elaborated in the catalogue (*dkar chag*) to the Snar thang Bstan 'gyur, part of the canonical printing project that he sponsored. The catalogue, completed on November 21, 1742, begins with a versified history of the Dharma that culminates in Pho lha nas' reign.[43] Describing a golden age of the Dharma in Tibet ushered in by Rje Tsong kha pa, the catalogue continues into the proximate past:

> At the end of this eon, in China, Tibet, Hor, and Sog
> the good fortune of religious government rivaled that of the Perfect Age.
>
> Then when Limitless Illumination who assumed human form as Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, and
> Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, bearing a lotus in hand, great *paṇḍita* with five knowledges—
> the sun and moon united—set on the rim of the Snowy Land as if at water's shore,[44]
> demons from everywhere, central and outlying, inside and out, polite in language but with deceiving hearts, closed the lotus-grove of the virtuous world

[42] According to Petech "[h]e was quite a shadowy figure and played no role at all in the tortuous politics of the Tibetan regent, who aimed at supporting secretly the Dsungars without openly breaking with the Manchu emperor." Petech, "Notes on Tibetan History of the 18th Century," in *Selected Papers*, 207.
[43] The date is provided in Petech, *China and Tibet*, 161.
[44] *kha ba can gyi chu lta'i ngogs su nub pa na*//. The placement of the simile marker *lta* seems odd here. I have translated *ngogs* twice in a distributive manner as "rim" and as "shore."

with the thick darkness of greater and lesser karma and aspirations.
The world was pervaded by a thick ocean of devastation, the din of hubris howled.
Thunderbolts of sharp weapons were consuming all life on both sides,
the miseries of the three lower existences converged here, a place where [even] hell's guardians did not intervene.[45]

In the first two lines the institution of religious government (*chos srid*)—as it was most recently re-asserted in the Fifth Dalai Lama's time—is praised: so beneficial is religious government in this degenerate eon (*kalpa*) that its conditions rival those of the Perfect Age (*kṛtayuga*), the first of four ages of this world-system in the cosmology of Sanskrit epics and *purāṇa*s, before the decline of Dharma and worldly pleasures has set in.[46] In the next stanza, the First Paṇ chen Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1570-1662) and the Fifth Dalai Lama are compared to the sun and the moon shining over the fortunate Tibetan polity. Their respective identities as emanations of the buddha Amitābha and the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara are also invoked: "Limitless Illumination" (*snang ba mtha' yas*) is a translation of Amitābha's name that is attested, if perhaps less common than the synonymous *'od dpag med*.[47] While *snang ba mtha' yas* may have been chosen in part for metrical reasons, here it also has a slightly defamiliarizing effect, reminding the reader of the literal meaning of Amitābha's name and thereby reinforcing the metaphorical link between the Paṇ chen and the sun. The Fifth Dalai Lama's identity as Avalokiteśvara is implicitly suggested through the attribute of the lotus; he is further qualified as a person of great learning.

The perfection of the Fifth Dalai Lama's reign is starkly contrasted with the disorder following his death and that of the Paṇ chen. The tumultuous period of Koshot, Dzungar and Qing interventions is characterized in apocalyptic terms, with demons in human form swarming throughout Tibet. This place is worse than hell itself, holding for humans the miseries of the three lower forms of existence (*gati*s), namely animals, insatiable *preta* spirits, and denizens of hell. The destruction of our world-system at the end of the eon is conjured up through touch, sight, and sound: sharp weapons quickening mutual massacre, an oceanic flood of devastation, and the clamorous din of tyrants overstepping their boundaries.[48] Here the events of living memory take on cosmological proportions, abruptly compressing the gradual decay of our world-system over millions of years into the time and space of a single generation on the Tibetan plateau.

The language of extremes continues in the verses that follow:

---

[45] *dus mtha' 'dir yang rgya bod hor sog tu// chos srid 'byor pa rdzogs ldan dus la 'gran // de nas snang ba mtha' yas mi yi zol 'dzin chos kyi rgyal mtshan dang// phyag na pad+ma lnga rig paN chen ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho yi// nyi zla zung gcig kha ba can gyi chu lta'i ngogs su nub pa na// mtha' dbus phyi nang kun nas dam sri tsher ma dar btums mchog dman gyi// las smon smag rum stug pos 'dzam gling dge legs pad tshal zum par byas// gnod 'tshe'i chu 'dzin stug pos 'jig rten khyab byas dregs pa'i nga ro sgrogs// rno ngar mtshan cha'i gnam lcags rang gzhan kun gyi srog la za ba bzhin// ngan 'gro gsum gyi sdug bsngal 'dir lhags dmyal srung bya ba med par gnas//.* NTK, 4b1-4b3.

[46] The *yuga* system of chronology is not found in Buddhist cosmologies. On Buddhist models of time see Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time.*

[47] *'od dpag med* is the standard translation in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Mvy. 85); for attestations of *snang ba mtha' yas* see Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, 478a.

[48] On discourses of violence and warfare in Tibetan sources, see Dalton, *Taming of the Demons,* especially chap. 6-7. For a description of the end of the *kalpa*, see AKB, vol. 2, 489-91.

At that time, in the house of Pho lha in Nyang stod,
from Sgrol ma's womb issued Bsod nams stobs,
preeminent in boundless prayers bearing excellent Dharma, and in
the valor that liberates beings in lower existences: a *cakravartin* was born.

In the face of that unbearable might, like a mass of fire devouring the threefold world,
those weak of mind and dark of thought joined company with bodiless Kāma.
In this snowy land, many were the laymen and clergy of leading repute who,
because of disputes that failed to contemplate the limits of this life and the next, were
smashed to dust together with their lineages.[49]

As if leading his army of kindling into the conflagration at time's end,
striving as the Intelligent Ones do,
His forces and dominion expanded ever greater,
overpowering all thirteen myriarchies.

Even the Most Supreme Heaven-Mandated Emperors
were captivated by the wisdom, compassion, and ability [shown] by him.
Along with attaining [the ranks of] *duoluo beile* and *junwang*,
he was enthroned as the supreme chief of Tibetan subjects.[50]

In the first stanza of this passage, Pho lha nas is identified as a wheel-turning *cakravartin*, a great monarch who rules in accordance with the Buddhist Dharma. Here the *cakravartin* is qualified by his preeminence in two characteristics, his aspiration prayers (*smon lam*) and his valor (*snying stobs*); valor is further differentiated from ordinary notions of heroic prowess, being glossed as the power to liberate (*sgrol ba*) beings trapped in lower existences.[51] This liberative power is echoed in the mention of his mother's name, Sgrol ma (Tārā), the female Buddhist deity who

[49] *de tshe dam chos 'dzin pa'i smon lam mtha' yas dang// dus ngan 'gro ba sgrol ba'i snying stobs phul byung ba// nyang stod pho lha'i gnas su sgrol ma'i mngal sgo las// nyer thon bsod nams stobs kyis 'khor las sgyur ba byung// srid gsum za byed zhugs kyi phung po lta bur mthu stobs bzod dka' der// blo gros nyam chung mun pa'i sems ldan lus med gnyen gyur pa// gangs can 'di na gtso bor grags pa'i skya ser dpung bsdoms nas// rang gi 'di phyi'i mtha' la ma brtags rgol bas rgyud bcas thal bar brlag/.* NTK, 4b3-4b6.

[50] *dus mtha'i bsreg zar bud shing dmag drangs ltar// blo ldan rnams kyis ji ltar 'bad pa bzhin// 'di yi dpung dang mnga' thang ches cher rgyas// khri skor bcu gsum kun la dbang bar gyur// che ba'i che mchog gnam bskos gong mas kyang// 'di yis mkhyen brtse nus pas thugs 'phrogs nas// tho ron pa'i li jun dbang che 'don bcas// bod 'bangs yongs kyi gtso bor mnga' gsol mdzad//.* Ibid., 4b6-4b7.

[51] On early conceptions of Buddhist kingship and different types of *cakravartin*s, see Strong, *Legend of King Aśoka*; on myths of the *cakravartin*, see especially pp. 44-56. On the *cakravartin* concept in early Tibet, see Walter, *Buddhism and Empire*, 240-45. The qualities in the verse here do not correspond to any typologies of *cakravartin*s of which I am aware; however, as Walter has noted, the literature is considerable and has yet to be fully explored. The allusion to boundless aspiration prayers (Tb. *smon lam*, Skt. *praṇidhāna*) may imply the aspiration to be reborn as a *cakravartin*, cf. Aśoka's *praṇidhāna* when, in a previous existence, he makes a gift of dirt to the Buddha: "'By this root of merit,' he declares, 'I would become king, and, after placing the earth under a single umbrella of sovereignty, I would pay homage to the Blessed Buddha.'" Mukhopadhyaya quoted in Strong, *Legend of King Aśoka*, 59.

ferries sentient beings to their liberation—as if to underscore the inevitability of Pho lha nas' future role as a *cakravartin*.[52]

The second and third stanzas further develop the theme of righteous power exhibited by Pho lha nas. Here the use of apocalyptic imagery is reversed, praising the might (*mthu stobs*) of Pho lha nas by alluding to that of the deity Śiva. Śiva destroys the world through fire at the end of each cycle of *yuga*s; with his third eye, he also incinerated the body of Kāma, deity of love and desire.[53] The decline of Dharma at the end of the world-cycle occurs in both the *yuga* system and the Buddhist system of *kalpa*s, with humans fully succumbing to greed, hatred and other moral failures. This network of allusions constructs Pho lha nas as a righteous warrior in terms that resonate with Buddhism while simultaneously drawing upon Purāṇic imagery. Like Śiva, Pho lha nas' might is inexorable as he destroys all evil beings; in mythological terms this destruction is perfectly justified, as a purifying action that is part of the order of things. The evil beings destroyed by Pho lha nas "join company" with bodiless Kāma; to translate more literally, they become the "friends" or "kinsmen" of Kāma, sharing in his misfortune which, in their case, means death. As desire (*kāma* or *rāga*) is one of the primary enemies of the Buddhist quest for liberation, Pho lha nas' actions are shaded with allegorical virtue.

In the second half of the second stanza, those who went the way of Kāma are described more explicitly as powerful people in "this snowy land." While "the limits of this life and the next" (*'di phyi'i mtha' la*) is not a common turn of phrase, it may suggest a lack of foresight about how one's actions lead to karmic retribution; here again their small-minded "disputes" and resulting annihilation suggest a period of Dharmic decline akin to that of the eon's end. The third stanza revisits the simile of the ultimate fire to narrate war, and compares Pho lha nas' assiduous efforts to those of Intelligent Ones (*blo ldan rnams*, Skt. *dhīmat*), a common epithet of bodhisattvas.[54] The totality of the *cakravartin*'s reach is conveyed here through reference to the "thirteen myriarchies," a historical name for the divisions of Tibet.[55]

In these verses a particular vision of the *cakravartin* is developed in ways that suit Pho lha nas' ascension to power, particularly through the civil war of 1727-28. The period after the passing of the First Paṇchen Lama and the Fifth Dalai Lama is portrayed as an apocalyptic age in which chaos and misery prevail. Into this disorderly world Pho la nas is born with the requisite spiritual and martial virtues. To echo John Strong's characterization of Aśoka in the *Aśokāvadāna*, Pho lha nas is presented as "a *cakravartin* who could rule an imperfect world."[56] Unlike Aśoka, however, Pho lha nas does not come to regret his violent past. His involvement in the war is justified as a righteous action by comparing him to Śiva at the destruction of the world. To return to Pho lha nas' inborn "valor that liberates beings" mentioned in the first stanza, the tantric usage of "liberating" beings by killing them is implied given the violent imagery of the

[52] From my partial survey of the *Mi dbang brtogs brjod* I did not find any mention of him as a *cakravartin*; the term may not have been applied to Pho lha nas until after that biography was completed late in 1733. It is not, for example, found in the account of his birth.
[53] There are different accounts of these events; see for example Dimmitt, *Hindu Mythology,* 43-44, 209-12.
[54] Mvy. 627.
[55] As Strong has noted, Indic Buddhist sources distinguish between types of *cakravartin*s who rule between one and four continents. However, even the *cakravartin* who rules only one continent has control over an entire unit; it is in this sense that I use the word "totality." Strong, *Legend of King Aśoka*, 50-51.
[56] Strong, *Legend of King Aśoka*, 50.

second stanza. Pho lha nas' military prowess, according to these verses, is his particular Buddhist virtue in these desperate times.[57]

The final stanza of this passage narrates Pho lha nas' enthronement as the ruler of Tibet and his relationship with the Qing emperors. The emperors here are Yongzheng 雍正(r. 1722-1735) and Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1735-1796), who respectively conferred upon Pho lha nas the titles of *duoluo beile* 多羅貝勒("Palmyra Chief") in 1731 and *junwang* 郡王("Commandery Prince") in 1740. During the Qing Dynasty *beile* was the third of twelve ranked titles of imperial nobility, and was also conferred as an honorary title to important figures of outlying regions; the term is Jurchen in origin. The term *duoluo* is a transliteration of the Sanskrit *tāla*, the name of the palmyra tree, and was used as a laudatory prefix. The title of *junwang* dated to the Han dynasty and was primarily granted to sons of imperial princes (*qinwang* 親王) by their principal wives; in the Qing Dynasty it was the second of the twelve ranked titles.[58]

The fact that Qing emperors since Kangxi or possibly Shunzhi had also been identified as *cakravartin*s is studiously omitted here.[59] Rather, they are described in terms of the non-Buddhist, early Chinese concept of the Mandate of Heaven (*gnam bskos,* Ch. *tianming* 天命) and the rather bland superlative "Most Supreme" (*che ba'i che mchog*).[60] Pho lha nas, on the other hand, is described in terms of his "wisdom and compassion" (*mkhyen brtse*), qualities associated with masters of spiritual cultivation. While this stanza highlights Pho lha nas' temporal authority and the prestige accorded to him by external rulers, it does so without conceding that Pho lha nas' privileged spiritual status as a *cakravartin* is shared by them.

Indeed, the next stanza returns to Pho lha nas' qualities, praising them in grand style:

> Its depth and width in the middle of the ocean are as unfathomable as his valor,
> It blazes with jeweled brilliance as far as his wisdom and compassion,
> The shimmering haloes of the sun and moon—his good deeds of *chos srid*:

---

[57] With respect to descriptions of kings, Jesse Ross Knutson has identified what he terms the "Janus virtue trope" in medieval Sanskrit poetry of the Sena court (in present-day Bengal), in which "military valor and commitment to spiritual exercise are conjoined... Disparate or potentially mutually exclusive virtues fall into an apparently natural apposition." Knutson, "Political Poetic of the Sena Court."

In the case of these verses concerning Pho lha nas, tantric perspectives on the potentially liberative power of violent action make it possible to draw a more direct link between military valor and spiritual exercise. While in the first stanza they occupy a conjunctive relationship—prayers *and* valor—by the end of the second stanza they have become equated: destruction *is* virtue.

[58] Hucker, *Official Titles in Imperial China*, nos. 4526, 6784, 1800. I have not seen the Tibetan transliteration of *duoluo* (*tho ron*) attested elsewhere, but in this context it is unlikely to refer to anything else. The transliteration of *beile* (*pa'i li*) differs somewhat from the entry in the *Dictionary of Common Tibetan Personal and Place Names*, which has *pe'i li* (Chen and An , *Renming diming cidian*, B360). However, the transliterations of many foreign terms were not standardized during this period.

[59] Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 57-58.

[60] *Che mchog* is also the Tibetan name for the tantric deity Mahottara Heruka, which may be implied here. The Qing emperors were identified foremost with Mañjuśrī in Sino-Tibetan contexts (Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva"); the Qianlong emperor received his first tantric initiation into the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala after the completion of this work, in 1745 (Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 60; Illich, "Chankya Rolpai Dorje," pt. 2, chap. 5). Here, I have primarily translated the phrase as a generic superlative, cf. M. Lalou's translation "le Grand des Grands" in the following verse from a Dunhuang text of the *Rgyud sum pa*, where it appears in a list of epithets: *bla ma'i bla ma bla myed dkon mchog gsum// che ba'i che mchog dbang mchog dam pa la// gus par phyag tshal dang bas skyabs su mchi//*. Lalou, "Notes de Mythologie Bouddhique," 130, 132. On a commentarial text in which this verse appears, see Jacob Dalton's entry on IOL Tib J 711, in Dalton and Schaik, *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts*, 308-9.

Mount Meru—the Lord of Men—is the ornament of the four continents—the Sage's teachings.[61]

In this official, court-sponsored representation of Pho lha nas and his rise to power, we see how Pho lha nas is represented as a legitimate successor to the Fifth Dalai Lama as the ruler of Tibet. At the same time, his particular qualities and role as a lay *cakravartin* ruler emerge. In the chaotic period following the death of the Fifth, Pho lha nas is born and restores order and peace. His qualities of valor, wisdom and compassion take on the cosmic proportions of Mount Meru, the center of our world-system. His actions in the sphere of *chos srid*—a term that evokes the concept of religious government (*chos srid zung 'brel*) as well as the paired concepts of the religious and the secular—are compared to the haloes of the sun and the moon (*nyi zla'i rna cha*). This echoes the image from the first stanza of the First Paṇchen and the Fifth Dalai Lama as the sun and the moon. The imagery is delicately handled, reassuring the reader that Pho lha nas has not replaced wholesale the current Paṇchen and Dalai Lamas, but that he is merely an extension of them, carrying out their work in his reign.[62] While Pho lha nas' court employed the concept of a *cakravartin* as a powerful and righteous king, they articulated his manifestation of that ideal in ways that were specific to his military and political career and his network of relationships to the monastic establishment.

Of course, Pho lha nas was not alone in drawing links between himself and ancient Indian Buddhist kings. An early example of a Chinese emperor adopting the title of *cakravartin* was Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty (r. 581-604); and as I have mentioned above, Qing emperors also were recognized as such.[63] As Michael Walter has recently shown, the early Tibetan king Khri Srong lde brtsan (r. 754-c.799), in circumscribing the plan of Bsam yas Monastery, performed a ritual associated with empowering *cakravartin*s in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*.[64] Mongolian rulers were recognized by Tibetans as *cakravartin*s beginning with Khubilai Khan; beginning in the seventeenth century, Mongolian historical works also identified Mongolian rulers as *cakravartin*s.[65] Most proximately to Pho lha nas, Gushri Khan was also recognized as a *cakravartin* by the Fifth Dalai Lama, and later portraits of the Fifth Dalai Lama himself, as we have seen, depict him holding the golden *cakra* associated with *cakravartin* rulers as a symbol of temporal authority.[66]

What is interesting here is not the mere fact that Pho lha nas was identified as a *cakravartin*. Rather, it is the particular ways in which this ideal was re-imagined in response to social and historical conditions, as well as the particulars of an individual life and career. The emperor Aśoka is generally considered the prototypical *cakravartin* in the Buddhist imaginaire. As John Strong has demonstrated, however, the narrative of his life and vision of the *cakravartin* in the *Aśokāvadāna* replaces older, prescriptive descriptions; Strong views this as a compromise between Aśoka's actual life and mythic ideals, accounting for issues such as his use or threat of

---

[61] *gting mtha' mi mngon snying stobs chu gter dbus// mkhyen brtse'i ring bzhin rin chen gzi byin 'bar // chos srid mdzad bzang nyi zla'i rna cha g.yo// mi dbang lhun po thub bstan gling bzhi'i rgyan//.* NTK, 4b7-5a1.

[62] The term *rna cha* also means earring; given that earrings were symbols of royal power worn by lay officials, the pun may well have been intended. Richardson, *Ceremonies*, 16-17.

[63] Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva," 10-11.

[64] Walter, *Buddhism and Empire*, 243-45.

[65] Elverskog, *Our Great Qing*, pp. 40-41, 54-55. See also Grupper, "Mahākāla at Mukden," 56-57, 120-22 n.48-51, 143, 171-72 n. 20.

[66] The identification of Mongolian rulers as *cakravartin*s on the part of Tibetan *bla ma*s will be discussed further below.

physical force and his physical ugliness.[67] We have seen how, in the case of Pho lha nas, his involvement in warfare was narrated in terms of spiritual virtue. For Pho lha nas, a principal problem that remained was how to articulate a model of lay kingship for himself in the wake of the model of rulership developed during the Fifth Dalai Lama's period. This model identified the Dalai Lamas as emanations of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara who protected Tibet through their governance, and further identified Srong btsan sgam po, memorialized as the first Buddhist king of Tibet, as a preincarnation of the Dalai Lamas.[68] In the remainder of this section I consider how Pho lha nas' identity as a *cakravartin* was imagined in relation to figures in the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, as well as to other figures in the remote and proximate past.

We now turn to the central thangka of the Pho lha set of forty-one, which contains a tightly ordered set of figures (Figs. 2.6, 2.7). The main figure is Śākyamuni Buddha bearing a bowl of medicinal herbs. Directly above his head is Amitāyus, red and bearing a bowl of *amṛta*, nectar of immortality. Inscriptions from the matching central panel of the Snar thang set of thirty-one and its painted copies name the remaining figures (Fig. 2.13, Appendix A): Śākyamuni Buddha (no. 1) is flanked by his two chief disciples, Śāriputra (no. 2) on his right and Maudgalyāyana (no. 3) on his left; behind them are the deities Brahmā (no. 14) and Śakra (no. 15) with their retinues, respectively. While inscriptions are not necessary to identify these commonplace figures, they are necessary for identifying most of the remaining figures. Of the central group in the sky, the central figure is labeled as Āryaśūra (no. 5), i.e. the author of the *Jātakamālā*. Āryaśūra is flanked by 'Phags pa and Tsong kha pa. 'Phags pa was instrumental in the transmission of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in Tibet, as mentioned in the Introduction. Tsong kha pa's presence suggests that this work was sponsored under Dge lugs pa authority; Bhuchung Tsering also explains his presence here because he "instituted the tradition of the public teaching of the Jatakamala at the Great Prayer Festival in Lhasa."[69] The presence of both Āryaśūra and Tsong kha pa in this thangka suggests that the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* was deliberately connected with the *Jātakamālā*, to naturalize the use of the *Vine* in the public teaching of the Great Prayer Festival (*smon lam chen mo*) just as Tsong kha pa had taught Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* at the same festival in the past.

The groups to the right and left include key members of the transmission lineage of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, i.e. its authors Kṣemendra (no. 8) and his son Somendra (no. 9); its Tibetan translator Shong lo Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (no. 12), and its commentator Zhwa lu lo chen Chos skyong bzang po (no. 13).[70] The identities of the two remaining figures, Slob dpon Blo gros bzang po and Slob dpon Nyi ma dpal are less clear; they may be Indian *ācārya*s involved in the transmission of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*.[71]

---

[67] Strong, *Legend of King Aśoka*, chap. 2.
[68] Ishihama, "On the Dissemination."
[69] Bhuchung Tsering, "Library of Congress Receives Special Gifts."
[70] These figures overlap significantly with the individuals depicted on the margins of the first three folios of the bilingual Sanskrit-Tibetan textual edition of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* sponsored by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, which consist of the Buddha Śākyamuni, Tsong kha pa, Kṣemendra, Somendra, 'Phags pa, Lakṣmīkara, Shong ston, [Zhwa lu lo chen] Chos skyong bzang po, Lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab, and Smon 'gro pa (L 1b-3b=2-6). In both cases they serve to legitimize the works by placing them within the authoritative transmission of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*.
[71] They are not mentioned in the transmission of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in the Fifth Dalai Lama's colophon to his bilingual blockprint edition, nor in his *gsan yig*.

Thus far the figures in the central thangka are more or less whom we might expect to see, that is, figures forming a lineage for the transmission of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine.*[72] More unusual, however, are the figures below who are also identified by inscription. Below the Buddha are his parents King Śuddhodana (no. 16) and Queen Māyā (no. 17), flanked by King Udrāyaṇa (no. 18) and Anāthapiṇḍada (no. 19), King Bimbisāra (no. 20) and King Prasenajit (no. 21). In short these are the direct patrons of Śākyamuni Buddha, all royals except for Anāthapiṇḍada, the wealthy merchant and lay disciple (*upāsaka*) who donated Jetavana Grove. Narratives of their interactions with Śākyamuni Buddha are found in various episodes of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. To my knowledge, it is unusual in Tibetan art of this period to include portraits of historical Indian royalty in iconic portraits of buddhas; rather, they generally appear only in the context of narrative scenes. The space occupied by Śākyamuni Buddha's royal and lay patrons in this thangka is more commonly occupied by protector deities.

However, for Pho lha nas and his family, these legendary figures would have had particular resonance as virtuous kings and queens who showed their devotion to the Buddha through generous patronage and receptivity to his teachings. Erik Haarh has noted the Tibetan royal tradition of choosing Bimbisāra, Prasenajit or Udrāyaṇa as one's ancestor as a means to establish "a sufficiently distinguished and imposing ancestry of the Yar-luṅ Dynasty by connecting it with the Śākyas," the clan of Śākyamuni Buddha.[73] It is therefore not surprising that Pho lha nas wished to project an image of a righteous *cakravartin* king modeled on Indian exemplars, and explicitly did so in his donor portrait and its inscription. This is visually reinforced by the analogous positions of the Pho lha family and the royal patrons of the Buddha at the bottom of the composition, along with their comparable scale (Figs. 2.1, 2.2; 2.6, 2.7).

There is at least one textual reference suggesting parallels between Pho lha nas and a specific royal patron of the Buddha, in the official biography of Pho lha nas titled *Mi dbang rtogs brjod* (Avadāna of the Lord of Men) completed by his minister Mdo mkhar Tshe ring dbang rgyal late in 1733.[74] This occurs in the chapter "Regarding Various Dharmic Activities, Beginning with Restorations of the Lhasa Gtsug lag khang and Monasteries," in the section on the annual Great Prayer Festival (Smon lam chen mo):[75]

> On the fifteenth day of the waxing half of the month—the date when King Bimbisāra, in the past, venerated the Bhagavant and [the Bhagavant] displayed the great majesty that was the Deed of Miracles—[Pho lha nas] also expanded the tradition of giving a cloud of inexhaustible offerings, excellent in every way, for the entire exterior and interior of the [Lhasa] Gtsug lag khang's courtyard and the circumambulatory passage.[76]

---

[72] For a contemporaneous thang ka depicting the lineage for the grammatical field of knowledge (*sgra rig pa*), see BT, pl. 105.

[73] Haarh, "Yar-luṅ Dynasty," 187. More recently, Michael Walter has noted that early Indian rulers such as Prasenajit, Harṣa, and Udrāyana were mentioned as models in the *Bu chos* of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* and in the *Mdo mdzangs blun*. Walter, "Persistence of Ritual."

[74] On Mdo mkhar Tshe ring dbang rgyal see Solomon, "Tale of the Incomparable Prince."

[75] *lha sa gtsug lag khang dang dgon pa khag la nyams gso sogs chos phyogs kyi las don sna tshogs skor*.

[76] *yar tshes bco lnga rgyal po gzugs can snying pos sngon bcom ldan 'das la bsnyen bkur zhing cho 'phrul gyi mdzad pa rlabs cher 'du mdzad pa'i nyin mo ni gtsug lag khang gi khyams phyi nang thams cad dang skor ba'i lam gyi kho ra khor yug thams cad du zad mi shes pa'i mchod pa kun tu bzang po'i sprin du 'khrug pa'i srol yang dar rgyas su mdzad cing/*. MBTJ, 761; cf. MBZ, 350b2-350b3.

As discussed in Chapter One, the fifteenth day of the new year is the height of the Great Prayer Festival, commemorating the Miracle at Śrāvastī which is counted as the tenth of the Buddha's Twelve Deeds. A full-length account of the Miracle at Śrāvastī is provided in the fourteenth episode of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, "Prātihārya-Avadāna."[77] According to this account, King Bimbisāra saw the Buddha being venerated in the Bamboo Grove near Rājagṛha. A group of non-Buddhist teachers (*tīrthika*) approached King Bimbisāra and asked him to witness a contest of magical powers between themselves and the Buddha, but he repudiated their request.[78] The non-Buddhist teachers then approached King Prasenajit and repeated their request. While King Prasenajit's request to the Buddha is eventually honored, Prasenajit himself is portrayed as a morally inferior king: he implores the Buddha several times despite the latter's objection that supernormal powers should not be used for dispute, arrogance, or subduing others.[79] Moreover, in a side plot illustrating Prasenajit's petty jealousy, the king orders the amputation of his half-brother Kāla's hands and feet when a flower garland dropped by the queen happens to fall on Kāla's shoulders; Kāla's body is restored to wholeness by the Buddha's attendant Ānanda.[80] It seems likely that in the *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, King Bimbisāra was mentioned in connection with the Miracle at Śrāvastī as an exemplary royal figure who showed proper respect to the Buddha—paralleling Pho lha nas' actions in expanding the offerings at the Jo khang Temple.

As with other biographies of this period, important elements of Pho lha nas' identity are developed through identifications of his emanations and previous lives. As Franz-Karl Ehrhard has noted, the Rnying ma master Sle lung bzhad pa'i rdo rje (1697-1740) recognized Pho lha nas as an emanation of Yam shud dmar po, king of the *btsan* demons and the younger brother of the Buddha Śākyamuni in a previous life.[81] This legend appears in an account by Sle lung bzhad pa'i rdo rje on Pho lha nas' visit to Rnam grol gling:

> The veracity of the prophecy that this very Mi dbang is Yam shud dmar po was very clear to me since the male Fire-Horse year [1726],when *ḍāka*-beings repeated it many times.
>
> This being the case, as for Yam shud dmar po: in an *kalpa* long ago, King Golden Power and Queen Blue Lotus Ornament had two sons among their children. The elder brother Renowned was the Bhagavan Śākyamuni, and the younger brother Born Famous was the *yakṣa* demon Yam shud dmar po. Renowned had confidence in the Buddhist Dharma, and the younger brother subscribed to non-Buddhist doctrines. So they always kept arguing.
>
> One day they set out to make their own teaching prevail. They played dice such that [the loser] would have to follow the victor.[82]
>
> Renowned won the game of dice. "Accept my Dharma system!" he said. Not listening, the younger brother ran away.

---

[77] An account of this event also appears as the twelfth episode in the *Divyāvadāna*; for an English translation see Rotman, *Divine Stories*, 253-87. Some episodes in the *Divyāvadāna* were translated into Tibetan as they appear in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya (ibid., 381-383), but the *Divyāvadāna* as a single collection did not gain popularity in Tibet.

[78] Kṣe. 14:2-13.

[79] Kṣe. 14:21.

[80] Kṣe. 14:29-40.

[81] Ehrhard, "Search for Himalayan Sacred Lands," 246-47, 253 n. 23.

[82] Here I read *cho lod* as an alternate orthography for *cho lo* or *cho los* (dice), cf. Mvy. 7345, where *akṣa-krīdaḥ* is given as *cho los rtse ba*.

Renowned chased and caught him. Born Famous said, "Even if you kill me, I won't accept your Dharma system! So don't kill me, let go! When you become a buddha someday, I won't protect you! I'll attack the Buddhist teachings, I'll rip away everyone's life-breath! I'll destroy the Buddhist teachings, punish them!" He swore this; such was his vow.

Then Renowned conferred this upon Born Famous: "When I become a buddha, you will become a protector of the Buddhist teachings! You will destroy the life of whoever attacks the Buddhist teachings! You will cause my teachings to spread!"

In this way he commanded him. As symbols of his power, a copper helmet, coral staff, and leather bow and arrows were entrusted in his hands; and he was given the name, "Lord of Life, Yam shud dmar po."[83]

Much of this plot mimics a common structure in *avadāna* stories, in which a person encounters the Buddha-to-be in a previous existence, generates faith in him, and resolves to be born as his disciple when he attains buddhahood; the Buddha-to-be assents.[84] Here, however, the vow is inverted by the unrepentant younger brother Born Famous, who swears to do his utmost to destroy the Buddhist teachings. The older brother Renowned, in turn, inverts these words once more by replacing them with his own prediction: in a future existence Born Famous will protect the Buddhist teachings, the very object he had sought to destroy. The story takes a tantric turn here: I have translated *dbang bskur* here as "conferred," but in tantric contexts this term also means "consecrate" (*abhi√ṣic*, cf. *abhiṣeka*). In the following paragraph, "symbols of his power" (*dbang rtags*) could be translated in this context as "regalia of his empowerment;" the granting of military trappings and a new name are the hallmarks of tantric consecration narratives.[85] The text goes on to detail how this indeed comes to pass.

Other fascinating parallels may be found in the "Kāśisundara-avadāna," episode no. 30 of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. In this episode, the Buddha was a prince named Kāśisundara who

---

[83] *mi dbang 'di nyid yam shud dmar po yin pa'i lung gi nges pa shin tu gsal ba bdag la me pho rta'i lo nas mkha' 'gros gsungs pa'ang shin tu mang la/*

des na yam shud dmar po ni sngon bskal pa 'das pa'i dus na yab rgyal po gser gyi shugs can dang/ yum btsun mo ut+pa la'i rgyan gnyis kyi sras su sku mched gnyis yod pa'i gcen grags ldan ni bcom ldan 'das shAkya thub pa dang/ gcung grags skyes ni gnod sbyin yam shud dmar po yin la/ grags ldan nang pa'i chos la dad cing/ gcung po phyi rol pa'i grub mtha' la mos pa las rtag tu rtsod pa mdzad cing bzhugs pa la/

nam zhig gi tshe bstan pa rgyal du gtsugs te cho lod brtses te gang rgyal ba'i rjes su 'jug par byas so//

der cho lod brtses pas/ grags ldan rgyal te/ nga'i chos lugs la zhugs shig gsungs pas/ gcung gis ma gsan par bros so//

grags ldan gyis bdas te bzung bas/ grags skyes na re/ bdag bsad kyang nyid kyi chos lugs la mi 'jug pas/ de bas bdag ma bsad par thong/ khyed rang nam zhig sangs rgyas pa'i dus bdag gi<u>s</u> srung ma byas te bstan pa la gnod pa tham<u>s</u> cad kyi srog dbugs dbral bar bgyi'o// bstan pa bshig pa la chad pas bcad par bgyi'o// zhes zhal gyis bzhes te dam bcas so//

der grags ldan gyis grags skyes la dbang bskur te/ nga nam sangs rgyas pa'i dus su khyod bstan srung du gyur cig/ nga'i bstan pa la gnod pa'i srog gi gshed ma gyis shig/ khyod kyis nga'i bstan pa spel bar gyis shig/

ces bsgos te dbang rtags su zangs kyi rmog dang/ byu ru'i dbyug pa dang/ bse'i mda' gzhu rnams phyag tu gtad nas srog bdag yam shud dmar po zhes mtshan gsolo//. Sle lung bzhad pa'i rdo rje, "Mi dbang bsod nams stobs rgyas rnam grol gling du byon pa'i lo rgyus ngo mtshar 'bum snang," 283.3-284.4.

[84] See for example "Śaśa-avadāna," episode no. 104 in the *Dpag bsam 'khri shing*, in which the hermit makes an aspiration prayer to be reborn as a disciple of the hare when, in a future existence, he becomes the Buddha.

[85] On patterns in tantric consecration narratives, particularly the Rudra subjugation myth, see Dalton, introduction and Appendix A of *Taming of the Demons,* 1-22, 159-206 (especially196-98). See also the Vajrapāṇi subjugation myth (Horiuchi ed., *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgrahaṃ* , vol. 1, p. 40, §42-43).

renounced his inheritance of the kingdom and went to the forest to become a sage. His younger brother Kālabhu became king instead. One day he met his elder brother in the forest and grew jealous when his wives venerated the sage. The enraged king cut off Kāśisundara's limbs, but the sage never grew angry, and by an act of truth his body was completely healed. The king repented and begged for the sage's forgiveness, and the sage acquiesced, saying, "When I attain unsurpassed, complete, perfect awakening, I will cut through your ignorance with the sword of wisdom."[86] Here again we have the plot of two brothers in conflict, who will meet again when the older brother becomes the Buddha. In this case, the younger brother actually accomplishes great bodily harm to the elder brother; however, the elder brother transforms violence into a metaphor for spiritual liberation, replacing the gruesome physicality of a sword cutting through his limbs with the symbolic image of the sword of wisdom that cuts through ignorance. Similarly, in the narrative of Yam shud dmar po the elder brother transforms the violent tendencies of the younger brother, so that he will turn them against the enemies of the Buddha's teachings as a means of protection.

Thus Pho lha nas was identified as a royal relative of Śākyamuni Buddha in a previous existence, through a narrative that self-consciously mimics the structure of *avadāna* narratives. However, the legend of Yam shud dmar po takes on a militarized character borrowed from tantric narratives, complementing and justifying Pho lha nas' war-bound rise to power. That is, the figure of the virtuous king from early Buddhism is re-imagined in terms that can adequately explain Pho lha nas' personal history. Pho lha nas embraced this identification with Yam shud dmar po, having it included in his official biography.[87] Moreover, in the Snar thang Bstan 'gyur sponsored by Pho lha nas, an image of Yam shud dmar po was placed on the final page of the catalogue (Fig. 2.22). Its location at the right margin corresponds to that of Pho lha nas' portrait at the beginning of the catalogue, reinforcing their association (Fig. 2.21).[88]

Pho lha nas' identity is further developed through his recognition as the reincarnation of the Dzungar Mongol general Dga' ldan tshe dbang dpal bzang. According to *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, this vision occurred before the birth of Pho lha nas:

> Then another time [Seng chen] Dge legs rab rgyas—who turns the wheel of the Guide, the Siddha [i.e. the Buddha], and whose vajra-holding group, the great *saṅgha* gathering, is a Meru of all glory and auspiciousness heaped together [i.e. Bkra shis lhun po]—was fully immersed in pure vision in which he saw that lord of men, Dga' ldan [Tshe dbang] himself, accompanied by many attendants, staying in the Pho lha household, saying that he was staying as a guest. This [vision] occurred again and again; therefore, at that time the news of that best bull among men passing away came to be known in the Ngari region.
>
> Some time later, the Vajra-Holder Dge legs rab rgyas sent a letter, as follows: "Diligently clean and purify the excellent queen of Pho lha. The reincarnation of Dga'-

[86] *yadā tu samyaksaṃbodhiṃ tām avāpnopy* [read *avāpnomy*] *anuttarām/ mohacchedaṃ kariṣyāmi tadā jñānāsinā tava//*. Kṣe. 30:83. V vol. 1, 210. Bi. *avāpnoṣy*; Tb. *thob* (Bi. vol. 1, 802-803). Cf. similar plot in Kṣe. 39, "Kṣānti-avadāna."

[87] MBTJ, 79-80.

[88] NTK, 2a=3, 144a=287. At the left margins on the same pages are the Fifth Dalai Lama (2a=3) and his protector deity Dmag zor rgyal mo (144a=287). On this female deity, see note 23 of Chapter One.

ldan—a lion among men—will beautify her womb." This was entrusted [to a messenger].[89]

Soon after, she became pregnant and followed the *bla ma*'s advice. The account continues:

> Then when the time to give birth was near, for seven days the mother rested. For the sake of their health, a messenger was sent to invite the Vajra-Holder, the great *mantrin bla ma*. Since the *bla ma* could not go in person, he gave [the messenger] amulets and precious scriptures. The excellent queen commanded the following letter to be read for her to hear. This instruction was stated:
>
> > So that no problems come to Mother and child, without mishap
> > send the kindness of the *bla ma* to those who have held vows faithfully.
> > The boy's name [shall be] Mgon skyabs rdo rje thogs.
> > That boy is Dga' ldan tshe dbang dpal bzang.[90]

After the birth of Pho lha nas, the question of his identity is raised once again:

> "Even though it was explained in the past, can this be someone other than the supreme bull among men, Dga' ldan tshe dbang dpal bzang po himself?" If one has doubts, don't look at it that way. Through the excellent prophecy, he himself will be a lord of men, without a doubt. Not only was this clearly indicated, but as soon as he was born, he attained recollection of his heroism and courage. Moreover, he was one whose resplendent complexion lit up [everything]. His fearless resolve was steadfast. Through various actions to raise the child—specialties of food and drink such as mother's milk, fresh butter, clarified butter, *chang* mixed with honey—just like a lotus dwelling in a pool, his growth was fostered, and therefore his body was healthy and handsome in appearance. He had complete and perfect limbs. For example, as the *bandhujīvaka* flower first appeared, the glory of his youth was very clear.[91]

---

[89] *de nas dus gzhan zhig na dpal ldan bkra shis dngos kun spungs pa'i lhun po 'dus sde chen po'i dge 'dun rig pa 'dzin pa'i tshogs kyi rnam par 'dren pa grub pa'i 'khor los bsgyur ba dge legs rab rgyas de nyid la dag pa'i snang ba rab tu 'byams klas par mi bdag dga' ldan de nyid 'khor mang pos bskor bzhin du/ pho lha'i khyim du gnas g.yar bar 'gro zhes bya ba 'di yang nas yang du byung bas* de'i dus mi'i khyu mchog de yang mnga' ris kyi sa'i char** dgung du gshegs pa'i gtam byung ngo//*

de'i rjes thogs su rdo rje 'dzin pa dge legs rab rgyas kyis 'phrin gyi yig bsrings pa 'di lta ste/ pho lha'i btsun mo dam pa khrus dang gtsang sbra la 'bad par byos shig / mi'i seng ge dga' ldan gyi skye srid kyis de'i mngal mdzes par 'gyur ro zhes mngags so// MBTJ, 62-63; MBZ 29a6-30b3.

[90] *de nas btsa' bar nye ba'i tshe nyin zhag bdun gyi bar du yum ngal bar gyur pas de la sman pa'i ched du rdo rje 'dzin pa sngags chen bla ma spyan 'dren pa'i pho nya mngags pa na* bla ma zhabs sor bskyod pa rngo mi thogs nas bsrung** ba dang za yig byin nas yi ge 'di btsun mo dam pas thos par sgrogs shig ces bsgo ba 'di skad ces/*

ma bu skyon med 'byung ba bla ma'i drin// dad pa dam tshig ldan na 'phyugs med gtong// bu yi ming la mgon skyabs rdo rje thogs// bu de dga' ldan tshe dbang dpal bzang yin//* MBTJ, 63-64; MBZ 31a1-31a3.

[91] *de yang gong du ji ltar bsnyad pa mi'i khyu mchog dga' ldan tshe dbang dpal bzang po de nyid gzhan zhig yin nam snyam na de ltar mi blta ste/ dam pa'i lung gis mi'i dbang po 'di nyid yin par bsnyon du med cing gsal bar bstan par ma zad kyi/ bltams ma thag pa nas dpa' zhing rtul* [1981 reads *brtul*, alt. orth.] *phod pa'i dran pa brnyes pa/ gzhan zil gyis gnon pa'i mdangs rgyas pa/ 'jigs pa med pa'i brtul zhugs brtan pa de nyid nu zho dang/ mar gsar dang/ mar gyi nying khu dang/ sbrang dang sbyar ba'i chang la sogs pa'i bza' btung gi bye brag lus brtas par byed pa du mas ji ltar rdzing na gnas pa'i padma bzhin du skyed bsrings pa las gzugs bzang ba/ mdzes pa lta na sdug pa/*

An account of the Dzungar Mongol Dga' ldan tshe dbang dpal bzang appears earlier in the *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, between accounts of Pho lha nas' grandfather and father. Luciano Petech has written in detail about this figure, and his work has been supplemented by Zahiruddin Ahmad and Gerhard Emmer; to summarize, he was the heir of the Hongtaiji family and a highly learned and successful monk at Bkra shis lhun po Monastery, who ably served the First and Second Paṇ chens by maintaining order in the market outside the monastery walls. The Dalai Lama summoned him to lead an army against Ladakh, which—after hesitation about whether a devout Buddhist like himself could shed blood—he did in 1679, successfully annexing Mnga' ris and returning to Lhasa late in 1684. In January 1685 he was honored on the parade ground of Lhasa by Regent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho and the Qoshot Khan; the Regent also gave him the title Dga' ldan tshe dbang dpal bzang po.[92]

The recognition of Pho lha nas as Dga' ldan tshe dbang dpal bzang operates on several levels. First, it reinforces his heroic identity as a courageous warrior especially in connection with Mongol leaders, who enjoyed a reputation for prowess in battle and were linked, as I have mentioned, to the concept of the *cakravartin*. Second, it also reinforces his righteousness in battle by linking him to a monk who felt that this was a proper Buddhist mode of conduct and whose actions were directed by the Fifth Dalai Lama. Third, it reinforces his relationships to the successive reincarnations of the Paṇ chens—the main teachers of Dga' ldan tshe dbang dpal bzang po at Bkra shis lhun po—and to the Fifth Dalai Lama, whom he loyally served in combat.[93]

THE SNAR THANG SET OF THIRTY-ONE WOODCUTS

I now take up Béguin's remarks that the Snar thang woodcut design was an attempt to "reproduce a more or less faithful summary" of the design in forty-one thangkas, and that the design in forty-one thangkas contains "extra elements that had been simplified or had disappeared" in the Snar thang woodcuts. Béguin did not elaborate on these observations, and they are worth evaluating for what they reveal about the process of adaptation. I have already noted the close compositional similarities between the central (first) and last thangkas in each set. In the remaining thangkas the scenes are laid out similarly, except that they are compressed into

---

yan lag gi mchog thams cad dang ldan pa/ dper na me tog bandhu dzi wa ka dang por shar ba dang 'dra ba'i lang tsho'i dpal mngon par gsal bar gyur to//. MBTJ, 66; MBZ 31b5-32a2.

[92] Petech, "The Tibetan-Ladakhi-Moghul War (1681-1683)," in *Selected Papers*, 19-44; Petech, *Kingdom of Ladakh*; Ahmad, "New Light;" Emmer, "Dga' ldan tshe dbang." In a paper presented at IATS 2010, Elliot Sperling also discussed Pho lha nas' connection to Dga' ldan tshe dbang; this formed part of a broader argument about the need to reconsider Tibetan history in the light of the considerable role played by Mongols. Sperling, "Mongol Presence."

[93] There are few references, to my knowledge, identifying Tibetans as reincarnations of historical lay figures of Tibet and Mongolia, other than kings. Samten Karmay notes that Bsod nams rab brtan (1595-1657), *alias* Bsod nams chos 'phel—the *zhal ngo*, *phyag mdzod* ("Treasurer"), and first regent of the Fifth Dalai Lama—was claimed to have been the famous Minister Mgar stong btsan of King Srong btsan sgam po (Karmay, "Most Pleasing Symphony," 134). James Gentry also notes that Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1552-1624) was recognized as a reincarnation of Sna chen po, minister of internal affairs for King Srong btsan sgam po (Gentry, 134).

Several copies of this design were produced in the eighteenth century, including a set of *thang ka*s sponsored by Phur lcog Ngag dbang byams pa and a set of *thang ka*s sent by the Seventh Dalai Lama to the Qianlong Emperor in 1745; these were intended for the Yonghegong, which was being renovated as a Tibetan temple. See the discussion on the Wanfuge set earlier in this chapter.

Table 2.1. Inscriptions for *Vine* no. 1, "Prabhāsa-avadāna," Snar thang woodcut design[94]

Inscription	Scene no. and translation
#//*yal 'dab deng*[read *dang*] *po rgyal po rab gsal gyi rtogs brjod//*	1.0. First *pallava*: Avadāna of Prabhāsa
#/sbyin gtong mdzad pa/	1.1. Giving of gifts.
#/grong khyer 'od ldan du sa bdag la rgya byin zhes bya ba'i sgo drung du kun tu bgrod zhes pa'i glang rdzis glang po'i [read *glang chen gyi*] *mchog zhig khrid te rgyal po'i snyan du gsol cing phul bar dgyes pa dang ldan pa//*	1.2. In the city Prabhāvatī, at the gate of the one called "Śatayajña among rulers,"[95] we have an elephant trainer named Saṃyāta who leads an excellent elephant, requests the ear of the king, and is delighted to offer [it].
#/kun tu bgrod kyi[s] rgyal po la glang po phul ba//	1.3. Saṃyāta offers the elephant to the king.
#/rgyal pos glang rdzir glang po thul cig b[s]go ba//	1.4. The king commands the trainer to tame the elephant.
#/glang rdzis glang po 'dul ba//	1.5. The trainer tames the elephant.
glang po 'dul cas rgyal po la phul ba//	1.6. The elephant, tamed, is offered to the king.
#/rgyal po glang por zhon te phebs//... [illegible] *bar glang pos ba glang mo'i dri tshor te rgyugs par mi bdag ljon pa'i yal gar 'chang ba//*	1.7. The king, riding the elephant, goes [out]… the elephant notices the scent of a female elephant; the lord of men hangs onto the branch of a tree.
#/mi bdag shing las babs te rta la zhonas gshegs pa//	1.8. The lord of men comes down from the tree and, mounting a horse, leaves.
#/grong khyer 'od ldan du mi bdag rab gsal 'khor bcas//	1.8a. In the city Prabhāvatī the lord of men, Prabhāsa, with his retinue.
#//slar yul du phebs rgyal pos glang rdzir glang ma dul ces bka' bsgos par lus thul kyang sems ma thul ces pa'i rgyu mtshan la brten sangs rgyas zhes pa'i mtshan gyis rgyal po byang chub mchog tu thugs dang por bskyed pa//	1.9. After returning home, the king scolds the elephant trainer, "The elephant was not tamed!" Based on the [trainer's] explanation—"although the body was tamed the mind was not tamed"—[and] with the title "buddha" [being uttered]—the king generates excellent *bodhicitta* for the first time.
#//gtsang ris kyi lhas [read *lha*] *bston* [read *bstan*] *cing lung bstan pa/*	1.10. A *śuddhavāsika* deity appears and gives a prophecy.

a smaller amount of space in the Snar thang set of thirty-one thangkas. In some cases this entails fewer scenes in the Snar thang set than in the Pho lha set of forty-one. For example, in the first

[94] My transcriptions are based principally on the THND copy. In addition, I have consulted the Gugong copy as published in Wang, *Zangchuan fojiao tangka*, and the Snar thang blockprints as published in Rani.

[95] This reference to King Prabhāsa as a "Śatayajña among rulers" (*sa bdag la rgya byin*)—i.e. like the king of gods, Indra (also known as Śakra)—is not found as such in Kṣemendra's *Vine*, nor in the commentary of A mes zhabs or the verses associated with the 1654 *Vine* murals at 'Bras spungs. However, in Kṣemendra the city of Prabhāvatī is compared to that of Śakra: *vidyādharavatī siddhagandharvagaṇasevitā/ gāṃ śritā śakranagarī sukṛtena satām iva//* (Tb. *legs pa rnams kyis legs byas pa'i// rig 'dzin dang ldan grub pa dang// dri za'i tshogs kyis rab tu bsten// brgya byin grong khyer sar gshegs 'dra//*) (Kṣe. 1:5). "It was as if Śakra's [=Indra's] city, having Vidyādharas [and] inhabited by groups of Siddhas and Gandharvas, settled on earth due to the merit of the virtuous" (Rothenberg, 149).

episode of King Prabhāsa, the scenes are conceived in the same way across the two sets, but in the Snar thang set they are compressed to fit into the bottom half of the thangka (see Figs. 2.23, 2.24, and inscriptions in Table 2.1). While there are differences in the details—for example, two standing figures in scene 1.1 in the king's pavilion are missing in the Snar thang design—the overall similarity indicates that the Snar thang design of thirty-one woodcuts was directly informed by the design in forty-one thangkas.

Notably, there are two additional scenes in the design of the Pho lha set of forty-one: one of the trainer astride the elephant (1.5a) and the other of the trainer leading the king on the elephant (1.7a). No inscriptions accompany these two scenes; they likely represent, respectively, the trainer's early attempts to tame the unruly elephant, and the trainer leading the king into the forest before the elephant goes wild. They would thus function as complementary scenes to scenes 1.5 and scenes 1.7 respectively, and hence are not crucial to the plot—i.e. they are implied events, gaps that viewers can fill in mentally in the process of narrative sense-making. It seems quite logical that, if one were assigned the task of reducing forty-one thangkas into thirty-one woodcuts, these two scenes would be the most obvious candidates for deletion.

In one case we can see how the complex process of transferring both text and image led to a series of subtle reinterpretations. *Vine* episode no. 2 (Śrīsena), appearing on the third thangka in the design of forty-one thangkas (Fig. 2.25), was transposed onto the second wood-blockprint in the design of thirty-one woodcuts (Figs. 2.24, 2.26). The pictorial designer maintained the approximate position of most scenes in the Snar thang woodcut. However, what had been scene 2.11 in the forty-one thangka design—the concluding scene in which the queen is returned to King Śrīsena after he gave her away to a brahmin—was labeled under episode no. 1 in the Snar thang woodcut. On the woodcut design the inscription states, "in the city Prabhāvatī the lord of men, Prabhāsa, with his retinue" (Fig. 2.24, scene 1.8a; Table 2.1). This inscription contains no finite verb and does not advance the plot of episode no. 1 in any way; it is visually redundant with scene 1.9 and makes little sense given the clockwise narrative sequence, as well as the inscription of scene 1.9 with the transition "after returning home" (*slar yul du phebs*). In short, it is an unpersuasive attempt to incorporate the scene into episode no. 1. Since both THND and Gugong copies contain this inscription, it was likely carved in the wood-block itself; in the Rani image the inscription is mostly effaced, with only the final *–cas*/ legible. An extra scene has been added to the Snar thang woodcut, which I have labeled as scene 2.11 (Fig. 2.24); the inscription for this scene states that "the brahmin offers the queen back to the king" (Table 2.2). Given the switching of scene 1.8a, the designers of the Snar thang woodcut supplied the latter scene to conclude episode no. 2. Although overall the woodcuts remain an impressive achievement, such points of confusion suggest that the Snar thang woodcuts were executed in some haste, perhaps with the knowledge that Pho lha nas was ailing. Even so, the designers invented solutions reflecting concerns with presenting a coherent and complete work.

Tucci prudently does not mention the orphaned scene 1.8a in his description of either episode no. 1 or episode no. 2. He describes episode no. 1 correctly; but in episode no. 2 he may have mistaken the maimed brahmin on the litter for the queen's return, based on his written description (Fig. 2.24, scene 2.7).[96] It is also noteworthy that the brahmin on the litter appears twice in the Snar thang design—once in three-quarter profile (scene 2.7) and again frontally (scene 2.8)—while he appears only once in three-quarter profile in the forty-one thangka design (Fig. 2.25, scenes 2.7-2.8). In the forty-one thangka design the single depiction is placed so that

[96] *TPS*, 442, 444.

Table 2.2. Inscriptions for *Vine* no. 2, "Śrīsena-avadāna," Snar thang woodcut design

Inscription	Scene no. and translation
#//*yal 'dab gnyis pa rgyal po dpal gyi sde'i rtogs brjod//*	2.0. Second *pallava*: Avadāna of King Śrīsena
#//*bcom ldan 'das 'das* [ditt.] *kyis rgyal po dpal sde dang gtsug nor bu skye ba bzhes pa'i rabs gsungs pa//*	2.1. The Bhagavan tells the histories of King Śrīsena and Maṇicūḍa.[97]
#*dpal gyi sde'i pho brang du blon pos rgyal po la rmi lam zhu ba/*	2.2. In Śrīsena's palace, the minister presents his dream to the king.
#/*drang srong slob mas yon tan mthar phyin slob dpon la yon phul bar dngos po mi 'dod rgyal po dpal sde'i btsun mo rgyal ba'i 'od slong la phul gsungs pa//*	2.3. An ascetic student who had completed his studies offered remuneration to his *ācārya*, who said, "I don't want things. Ask for the queen of King Śrīsena, Jayaprabhā, and give [her instead]."
#//*arishTa'i grong du rgyal po dpal gyi sde zhes pa la rig byed ston pa'i slob mas rgyal po'i btsun mo slong bar 'dod pa bzhin ster bar mdzad pa//*	2.4. In the city of Ariṣṭā is the king named Śrīsena. Upon request by the Vedic teacher's student, the king's wife is given as desired.
btsun mo khrid nas 'gro ba/	2.5. Leading the queen, he departs.
#/*slob mas btsun mo phul ba//*	2.6. The student offers the queen.
#//*rgya byin bram ze mu? dmad? pa bu bzhis khyogs la stag cing [read gis] rgyu ma'i chad bzhig tu sprul nas ldab ldib chig gis lus smad nags khrod du stigs [*read *stag] bzos bas rgyal po'i sku rtsol zhes gsol ba/*	2.7. Śakra [Indra] manifests as a brahmin, carried on a litter by four sons, disemboweled by a tiger. Quaveringly, he says he seeks the the king's body because [his] was eaten by a tiger in the forest.
#/*'khor 'bangs rnams kyis bzlog ma nus cing sbyin pa'i dam bca' brtan pas bsogs* [read *sog*] *les bcad cing dka'* [read *dga'*] *ba dang bcas byin pa//*	2.8. His retinue is unable to prevent him, and with a steadfast promise to give, has [his body] cut with a saw, and gives [it] happily.
#*bram ze lus smad thob pa/*	2.9. The brahmin gains a lower body.
#*rgya byin rang gzugs bstan nas slong* [read *snying*?] *stobs la sngags* [read *bsngags*] *cing lha'i bdud rtsis branas* [read *dran nas*] *lus sngar bzhin gyur pa//*	2.10. Śakra displays his own form, praises his courage? and calls to mind celestial nectar [thus manifesting it]. His body becomes as before.
#*rgyal po la bram zes btsun mo slar phul ba//*	2.11. The brahmin offers the queen back to the king.

it serves both scenes 2.7 and 2.8, the brahmin's request and the cutting of the king's body. In the Snar thang design two moments in time are emphasized from the perspective of the brahmin: the brahmin's arrival conveyed by the dynamism of his moving litter, and his wait for the king's body conveyed by the stasis of his frontal posture. Through this repetition of the maimed brahmin's body, the Snar thang design reinforces both the horror of these scenes and their prolonging through time, themes that are both emphasized in Kṣemendra's literary work.[98] Such

[97] This inscription also belies the complexities of condensing the design of forty-one thangkas: it appears to have been copied wholesale from the set of forty-one thangkas, where it doubles for episodes no. 2 and 3 (Maṇicūḍa-avadāna). In the set of forty-one, episode nos. 2 and 3 appear on the same thangka, but in the Snar thang design, they appear on consecutive woodcuts.

[98] The maimed brahmin is described in gruesome detail with the anguished and disgusted response of the citizens (Kṣe. 2:68-74), followed by lengthy speeches by the brahmin, the king, and his minister (Kṣe. 2:75- 2:111). The cutting of the king's body continues for another eleven stanzas (Kṣe. 2:112-123) and after five more stanzas Śakra finally resumes his true form (Kṣe. 129). Given that the entire episode consists of 138 stanzas, these scenes in the

reinterpretations alert us to how the Snar thang woodcuts, while ostensibly a condensed digest of the design in forty-one thangkas, display ingenuity even within tight constraints.

For the most part it appears that matching scenes have been preserved in the Snar thang design, but with their relative positions shifted to accommodate the distribution of episodes across differing numbers of panels. In the case of the episodes no. 2 (Śrīsena-avadāna) and 3 (Maṇicūḍa-avadāna), the number and relative positioning of the scenes do not generally differ between the two designs. This is easily explained by the fact that each episode has maintained its position on the panel and occupies a comparable amount of space. In the design of forty-one thangkas, "Śrīsena-avadāna" occupies the upper half of the third panel and "Maṇicūḍa-avadāna" occupies the lower half of the same panel (Fig. 2.25). In the design of thirty-one thangkas, "Śrīsena-avadāna" occupies the upper half of the second panel (Figs. 2.24, 2.26), while "Maṇicūḍa-avadāna" occupies the lower half of the third panel (Fig. 2.27); both of these panels contain only two episodes each, so "Śrīsena-avadāna" and "Maṇicūḍa-avadāna" are each allotted the space of a half-panel in both designs.

As the number of episodes per panel diverges between the two designs, however, the scenes within each episode are adjusted to accommodate space constraints. The AAMSF thangka is a useful example, since I was able to make a more detailed study of both pictorial and textual elements (Fig. 2.12). The inscriptions on the AAMSF copy for episode no. 82 are collated with those on the THND copy of the Snar thang design in Table 2.3, with differences underlined (Fig. 2.28).

Table 2.3. Comparison of inscriptions for *Vine* no. 82, "Nārakapūrvika-avadāna"

Scene no.	Inscription (AAMSF, from set of 41)	Inscription (THND, from Snar thang set of 31)
82.0	*zu* *yal 'dab brgyad cu rtsa gnyis pa dmyal ba mngon ldan gyi rtogs brjod/* Eighty-second pallava: Nārakapūrvika-avadāna	 *#//yal 'dab brgyad cu rtsa gnyis pa dmyal ba sngon ldan gyi rtogs brjod/* Eighty-second pallava: Nārakapūrvika-avadāna
82.1	*mnyan yod kyi khyim bdag thos pa'i rgo cha la bu srid pa'i go cha byung zhing de'i khyim tshegs?* [read *mtshes*] *kyi bud med dang 'grogs par grogs pos kho rang gi ma spran te 'srungs zhig* [read *shig*] *zer ba/* A son [named] Bhavavarma was born to the householder Śrutavarma of Śrāvastī. He associated with a neighboring woman. His friend warned his mother, saying, "Guard him!"	*gnyan yod kyi khyim bdag thos pa'i go cha la bu srid pa'i go cha byung zhing de'i khyim tshos* [read *mtshes*] *kyi bud med dang 'grogs* [hapl. *par grogs*] *pos kho rang gi ma bstan te srungs zhag* [read *shig*] *zer ba* A son [named] Bhavavarma was born to the householder Śrutavarma of Śrāvastī. He associated with a neighboring woman. [His friend] informed his mother, saying, "Guard him!"
82.2	*mas sgo drung du nyal zhing chu 'dor ba'i zol gyis yong kyang ma btang bar 'dod pas drangs te mtshan phal cher zad zin bsam te ma'i ske* [read *skye*] *bcad de song ba/* His mother slept in the doorway; he went on	*mas sgo drung du nyal ba chu 'dod* [read *'dor*?] *pa'i zol gyis yong? ba* [read *ma*] *btang ba 'dod pas dangs?* [read *drangs*] *te mtshan mo phal cher zed?* [read *zin*] *smin bsam te ma'i skye bcad de 'gro ba* His mother slept in the doorway. He went on

Snar thang design correspond close to half of the episode. For an edition and translation of Kṣemendra's text, see Rothenberg, . "Kṣemendra's 'Bodhisattvāvadanakalpalatā,'" 65-85, 159-178.

	the pretense of casting out water, but was not let go. Drawn by desire, thinking that night was almost over, he cut off his mother's life and went.	the pretense of casting out water, but was not let go. Drawn by desire, thinking that night was almost over, he cut off his mother's life and went.
82.3	*grong pa'i bud med dang grogs* [read *'grogs*] *shing gnas tshul bshad bas bud med khrel zhing/ khang thog nas choms* [read *chom*] *rkun ba byung ngo zhes skad 'don pa/* He hooked up with the village woman and when he told her what happened, the woman was disgusted. From her roof she screamed, "Thief!"	*grong pa'i bud med dang 'grogs shing gnas tshul bshad pas mo khrel te khang thog nas chom kun* [read *rkun*] *la? byad do zhes skad 'don pa/* He hooked up with the village woman and when he told her what happened, she was disgusted. From her roof she screamed, "Thief!"
82.4	*srid pa'i go cha yang nga'i ma choms rkun pas bsad do zer/* Bhavavarma said, "My mother was killed by a band of robbers."	*srid pa'i go cha yang nga'i ma chom rkun pas sad do zer ba/* Bhavavarma said, "My mother was killed by a band of robbers."
82.5	*srid pa'i go cha ma sad pas 'gyod de rgyal byed tshal du dge slong rnams la rab tu byung/* Bhavavarma repented having killed his mother; he goes forth to ordain in Jetavana Grove in [the presence of] monks.	*srid pa'i go cha ma gsad pas 'gyod de rgyal byed tshal du dge slong rnams kyi drung du rab tu byung ba/* Bhavavarma repented having killed his mother; he goes forth to ordain in Jetavana Grove in the presence of monks.
82.6	*srid pa'i go cha dmyal ba yun ring myong nas rabtu byung ba'i mthus rgyal chen bzhi'i lhar skyes te rgyal bar drin bzor yongs shing chos bstan pas/ bden pa mthong ba/* [The Buddha predicts that] Bhavavarma, after having experienced hell for a long time, by the power of renunciation [will] be reborn as a god of the [realm of the?] four great kings. He [will] completely repay the kindness of the Jina, and through the Dharma teachings, [will] see the truth.	*srid pa'i go cha dmyal ba yun ring myong nas rab tu byung ba'i mthus rgyal chen bzhi'i lhar skyes te rgyal bar drin gsor yongs cing chos bstan pas bden pa mthong ba/* [The Buddha predicts that] Bhavavarma, after having experienced hell for a long time, by the power of renunciation [will] be reborn as a god of the [realm of the?] four great kings. He [will] completely repay the kindness of the Jina, and through the Dharma teachings, [will] see the truth.
82.7	*srid pa'i go cha gzhan la chos ston pa/* Bhavavarma is a teacher of Dharma to others.	*srid pa'i go cha gzhan la chos bstan? pa/* Bhavavarma teaches Dharma to others.
82.8	*srid pa'i go cha ma bsad pa'i nyes pas dmyal bar lhung ba/* Due to the transgression of killing his mother, Bhavavarma falls into hell.	*srid pa'i go cha ma gsad pas dmyal? ba lhung ba?* Due to the transgression of killing his mother, Bhavavarma falls into hell.

Comparison of the two sets of inscriptions in Table 2.3 indicates only minor differences, such as the use of synonyms such as *'gro ba* for *song ba* (scene 82.2) or orthographical variants and scribal errors. As for the visual arrangement of scenes, in the AAMSF thangka episode no. 82 appears in the upper right quadrant (Figs. 2.12, 2.29), whereas in the Snar thang design (THND, Gugong) it appears in the upper left quadrant (Figs. 2.28, 2.30). The scenes on the Snar thang design have also been compressed so that the entire episode occupies relatively less space on the thangka; this is to accommodate four episodes in the composition versus three episodes in the AAMSF thangka. Nevertheless, in the Snar thang design of thirty-one woodcuts on which the THND thangka is based, the same scenes have been retained along with their relative positioning

of the scenes—with the exception of the final scene in hell, which is kept at the edge of the composition (scene 82.8).

It is highly improbable that Pho lha nas and his sons had any involvement in creating these narrative variations while the design of thirty-one woodcuts was being adapted from the set of forty-one thangkas. Rather, the donor portrait was a potent site for conveying their dynastic concerns, such as 'Gyur med rnam rgyal's transition to heir-apparent, as indicated by the added *cakra* in the Snar thang woodcut design. Two more changes to the donor portrait are worth noting here. First, in the earlier set of forty-one thangkas, Pho lha nas was labeled a *cakravartin* (*'khor bsgyur*), but in the Snar thang woodcut design he was labeled a *dharmarāja* (*chos rgyal*). Given the inherent reproducibility of wood-block prints—and hence the wide distribution and accessibility that this design was intended to enjoy—this change may have been a diplomatic move, in light of the Qianlong Emperor's claim to the politically charged title of *cakravartin*. Nevertheless, the seven jewels of the *cakravartin* were retained in the woodcut design, awaiting recognition by anyone familiar with the allusion. Second, as discussed earlier, in the set of forty-one thangkas a visual correspondence was created between the Pho lha family and the royal patrons of the Buddha depicted in the central thangka. In the Snar thang woodcut design, the resemblance between Pho lha nas and the ancient Buddhist kings is heightened still further by the distinctive crown with the white turban shared by Pho lha nas and the ancient kings (Figs. 2.1, 2.2; Figs. 2.31, 2.32). In sponsoring the *Vine* woodcut design, the Pho lha dynasty simultaneously articulated a model for lay kingship.

The virtuous Buddhist king so carefully cultivated in Pho lha nas' donor portraits constituted only one model for his rule. As we have seen in the writings of Sle lung bzhad pa'i rdo rje and in the catalogue to the Snar thang Bstan 'gyur, a second model was developed—that of the tantric protector. The model of the virtuous king was drawn from classical, pre-tantric Buddhist concepts found in reincarnation stories and was expressed most apparently in the Pho lha donor portraits. The model of the tantric protector combined *avadāna* narrative structures and conventions with tantric tropes of power, authority, and the transformation of violence in the service of good. Pho lha nas' identification with Yam shud dmar po was offered as an explanation of his war-bound rise to power. Furthermore, the transformation of the demon's violence to benefit the Dharma served as a mythic parallel to Pho lha nas' peaceful reign as a protector of Buddhism. The verses praising Pho lha nas in the Snar thang Bstan 'gyur catalogue may be read as the convergence of these two models, with the violent imagery of war intertwining with the majestic imagery of a born *cakravartin*. The telling of Pho lh nas' past and present history through such mythologized narratives served to explain and authenticate his identity and position in the religious and political order.

CHAPTER THREE

SI TU PAṆ CHEN'S VISION OF THE IDEAL MONASTIC

In this chapter I show how Si tu Paṇ chen's written and painted adaptations of two narrative traditions—the Buddha's Deeds and the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*—convey his vision of the ideal monastic as a celibate, an erudite scholar, and a polymath skilled in many fields of learning (*rig gnas*). Si tu's adaptations were made in the context of the politicization of knowledge and spiritual authority, during a period of social and institutional upheaval. In particular, sectarian rivalries between the Dge lugs and Bka' brgyud orders were negotiated through claims to knowledge and the relative value of different fields of learning. Moreover, Si tu assumed responsibility for his Bka' brgyud monastic order during a crisis of leadership and amidst shifting monastic identities at the local level. In response to these challenges, I argue, Si tu promoted a celibate lifestyle for monks, asserted his own abilities as a consummate scholar who had mastered Buddhist knowledge, and defended poetry and painting as valuable aspects of Buddhist learning. By studying Si tu's processes of literary and pictorial adaptation, I demonstrate how formal devices such as scene selection, parallels and spatial arrangement reveal Si tu's projects and moral imagination.

POLITICIZED KNOWLEDGE, SECTARIAN RIVALRY, AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

The Eighth Ta'i Si tu pa, Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1700-1774; hereafter "Si tu") was a monk and reincarnated *sprul sku* based at Dpal spungs Monastery in the eastern Tibetan principality of Sde dge. Ranked among the leading hierarchs of the Karma Bka' brgyud monastic order, his *sprul sku* lineage was considered an emanation of Maitreya, the future buddha who will succeed Śākyamuni Buddha in this world-system. Si tu was admired for his great erudition and mastery of difficult subjects such as Sanskrit, inspiring his disciples to also identify him with Mañjuśrī, the *bodhisattva* of wisdom. Both of these identities are represented in a lineage portrait of Si tu in the collection of Dpal spungs Monastery: Si tu bears the sword and the book—standard attributes of Mañjuśrī—while Maitreya hovers directly overhead in his palace in Tuṣita Heaven (Fig. 3.1).[1] An accomplished polymath, Si tu created works and taught in the fields (*rig gnas*) of inner learning (*nang rig*), art, poetics, grammar, medicine, and astrology.

Amidst the sectarian tensions and the politicization of cultural production during this period, one's abilities in poetry and other arts could constitute grounds for critique. Gene Smith has detailed how 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud masters penned verses mocking the rigid scholasticism

[1] For a discussion of these two identities attributed to Si tu see Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, 26.

of the Sa skya pa and Dge lugs pa. Pressured to respond, the Fifth Dalai Lama instituted the study of poetics among his own followers and wrote a commentary on the *Mirror of Poetics* briefly entitled *Song Delighting Sarasvatī*. His introduction included a scathing rebuke:

> Certain adherents of the Dwags rgyud pa have been following these writings of Stag tshang pa and joining together words intended to cast snide aspersions on Lord Tsong kha pa. These Bka' brgyud pa master meditators are like the [timid and cowardly] offspring of the fox skulking into the midst of battling tigers and lions, the Sa skya pa and Dge lugs pa scholars, perfect in the strength of their intellect and knowledge of canon, engaged in debate. Beware! This behavior is very offensive.[2]

The Fifth Dalai Lama implied that however glibly Dge lugs detractors might string together satirical verses, this was no substitute for mastering what he considered to be the two main fields of learning—inner learning and logic—and exhibiting this mastery through the medium of debate. Bka' brgyud pa in particular were belittled as "master meditators" lacking in scholarly expertise. At the same time, by composing his own commentary on poetics the Fifth Dalai Lama exhibited his grasp of this field in order to dampen any doubts about his abilities. While tigers and lions were generally occupied with the more important practice of debate, he suggested, when pressed they could make short work of foxes' literary wiles.[3]

As we have seen in Chapter One, the Fifth Dalai Lama's commentary was actively studied by monks of differing sectarian affiliations up through the early eighteenth century. However, Si tu and his 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud student of poetics, the Fourth Khams sprul Bstan 'dzin chos kyi nyi ma (1730-1779), engendered a new commentarial tradition on the *Mirror of Poetics* that differed from the analyses and emphases of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Thereafter Bka' brgyud and Rnying ma scholars generally favored Si tu's commentarial tradition, while Dge lugs scholars favored the Fifth Dalai Lama's.[4] From the introduction to the Fourth Khams sprul's commentary on poetics, completed in 1770, it is evident that tensions between scholars had not subsided:

> The untainted system of the glorious Daṇḍin
> well-grasped just as he [Si tu] intended—
> a jewel-treasury of eloquence among the learned of noble India—
> shall now be disclosed by me amidst the snowy mountains.
>
> Previously, here in the north, there were many who shouldered the great burden of explaining the text of this [Daṇḍin's] system.
> And yet, through many sorts of lack of understanding and misinterpretation—

---

[2] *dwags rgyud pa ci rigs kyis stag tshang pa'i gsung de dag la brten nas/ rje bla ma la zur za bar 'dod pa'i tshig gi sbyor ba byed pa ni/ sa dge'i mkhas pa lung rigs kyi lus stobs rdzogs pa'i stag seng kha 'thab pa'i bar du bka' brgyud pa'i sgom chen wa skyes lta bu dag rgyu ba ni shin tu 'tshang che bas bag yod par byos shig/.* Dalai Lama V, *Snyan ngag me long gi dka' 'grel dbyangs can dgyes pa'i glu dbyangs*, in *Collected Works*, 282.6-283.2. Translated by Smith, "'Jam mgon Kong sprul and the Nonsectarian Movement," in *Among Tibetan Texts*, 244.

[3] While a great many works were attributed to the Fifth Dalai Lama—his collected works fill twenty-seven volumes—he cannot be considered their sole "author" as this term is understood in contemporary usage. What is important for our purposes is that this passage was represented as the Dge lugs pa position. On the collaborative nature of literary production in early modern Tibet, see Cabezón, "Authorship and Literary Production."

[4] Newman, "Tibetan Novel," 414, 419 n. 8.

analytical knowledge, an arrow in the dark—
they miss the target—the elusive meaning of the text.
Therefore I, following a scholar—
have explained a little through [Si tu's] flawless speech.
So while this is for their benefit, I have no enmity.

While I have understood [poetics], I am not being impudent.
However, these days people have become utterly confused.
Some clever types who are hateful and jealous
have stirred up a lot of trouble, making it hard to pursue the art of eloquence.

Even so, to please honest-minded scholars,
wherever they may be, and
in order to aid those entering this way [of poetics],
I, despite my inferior eloquence,
being increasingly familiar through reliance on the secret instruction of a scholar,
have set it down here uncorrupted.[5]

Protestations of impudence notwithstanding, the Fourth Khams sprul barely masks his scorn for misinterpreters of the *Mirror of Poetics* with a transparent veil of sarcasm. These "clever types" (*blo ldan*), in his view, are so mistaken in their comprehension of the treatise that their so-called "analytical knowledge" (*dpyod pa'i rig pa*) is as accurate as an arrow shot in the dark. Although Khams sprul does not name anyone explicitly, the Fifth Dalai Lama's commentarial tradition remained the most prominent and widely taught during his time, and given the choice words about the 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud that appear in the *Song Delighting Sarasvatī*, this was most likely the object of Khams sprul's criticism. Khams sprul's pointed insistence that he bears no enmity (*sdang ba*) toward unnamed scholars further suggests that he is addressing members of the Dge lugs order.[6] On the other hand, he praises his teacher Si tu as a genuine scholar who has understood the "elusive meaning of the text" where others have failed.

Such trenchant challenges to Dge lugs knowledge did not go unanswered. The Third Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (1737-1802), a reincarnated Dge lugs *sprul sku* at the Qing court, provided an account of Tibetan Buddhist orders in *The Crystal Mirror of*

---

[5] *de yi dgongs pa ji bzhin legs bzung ba'i/ dpal ldan daṇḍi'i gzhung lugs dri med pa/ 'phags yul mkhas pa'i legs bshad nor bu'i mdzod/ deng 'dir gangs ri'i khrod du bdag gis dbye/ sngon chad byang phyogs 'di na tshul 'di'i gzhung/ smra ba'i khur chen len pa mang byung yang/ da dung ma rtogs log rtogs rnam mang bas/ de rnams dpyod pa'i rig pa mun nang mdas/ gzhung don dka' gnas 'ben la reg pa med/ des na kho bo mkhas pa'i rjes 'brangs te/ dri ma med pa'i ngag gis cung zad bshad/ de yang phan phyir yin gyi sdang bas min/ shes nas yin gyi spyi brtol bskyed de min/ 'on kyang deng dus skye bo rnam par rmongs/ blo ldan 'ga' yang sdang dang phrag dog gis/ rnam par dkrugs 'dis legs bshad don gnyer dkon/ de lta na yang drang po'i blo can gyi/ mkhas pa srid na de rnams dga' bskyed cing/ tshul 'dir 'jug pa rnams la'ang phan pa'i phyir/ rang nyid smra ba'i spobs pa zhan mod kyang/ mkhas pa'i gsung gsang bsten la cher 'dris pas/ de nyid ma bslad 'di na rnam par 'god/.* Khams sprul IV, *Nor bu'i 'byuṅ khuṅs*, 4.4-5.5.

[6] For his part, Si tu identified the Fifth Dalai Lama's *snyan ngag* teacher, Smon 'gro pa, as the person responsible for the persecution of the Jo nang, an order for whom Si tu had great respect. Si tu, *Autobiography and Diaries*, 104-5; see also Smith's foreword, 16-17. An epigram attributed to Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho summed up lingering tensions from the Dge lugs pa side: "The Sa skya pa, Dge lugs pa, and Rnying ma pa are victory banners of the Buddha's teaching: the Karma Bka' brgyud, 'Brug pa, and Bon po are the robbers and thieves of the Buddha's teaching." Smith, "'Jam mgon Kong sprul," 244.

Philosophical Systems (1802) that was relatively inclusive for its day.[7] Even so, Thu'u bkwan had scant praise for Si tu in his section on later Karma Bka' brgyud history:

> Chökyi Nyinjé of the Situ reincarnation lineage founded the teaching center of Palpung in Dergé, Kham. It seems there was never a latter-day expert in the conventional sciences greater than he. He made new and revised translations, and he wrote a great many texts on the sciences.[8]

While these remarks confirm that Si tu enjoyed a widespread reputation for his polymathic abilities, Thu'u bkwan introduces skepticism—or at least a degree of distance—with the qualifier "seems" (*lta bu*). Moreover, he refers only to Si tu's expertise in conventional sciences (*tha snyad rig gnas*), implying that however exquisitely Si tu might pen a verse, he lacks insight into the ultimate truth gained by the inner learning (*nang rig pa*) of proper Buddhist knowledge and wisdom.[9] Although Thu'u bkwan acknowledges Bka' brgyud pa before the seventeenth century as accomplished masters of inner learning, he censures later Karma and 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud pa at large for having "turned their attention to conventional activities."[10] These other activities, he implies, were not fully focused on Dharma; they were not sufficiently Buddhist. In a period when the Dge lugs, Bka' brgyud, and other orders were vying for patronage and spiritual authority, it was a matter of contestation whether monks should occupy their time in external (*phyi rol pa*) fields such as poetics.[11] The value of Si tu's wide-ranging intellectual and artistic activities was brought into question, and along with it, his credibility as a worthy Buddhist leader.

While these intellectual debates continued across the Tibetan cultural sphere, the character of monastic communities in Khams was changing. As Jann Ronis has shown in his dissertation, from the mid-seventeenth century Kaḥ thog Monastery—an important Rnying ma center in Sde dge—changed from a monastic administration in the scholastic Bka' ma tradition to a lay tantric administration in the treasure revelation (*gter ma*) tradition of Longsel Nyingpo (1625-1692). Lay tantric communities were widespread in Khams, and while still a teenager Si tu was invited to succeed one of his teachers, the treasure revealer (*gter ston*) Rolpé Dorjé (d. 1720), as head of his non-celibate community. Si tu declined, choosing the celibate lifestyle and taking full ordination in 1723.[12] Ronis contends that Si tu's subsequent efforts as an officiant of dozens

---

[7] Wang, "At the Court of Qing," 77; Thu'u bkwan III, *Crystal Mirror*, 8-12.

[8] *si tu'i skye brgyud chos kyi nyin byed bya bas/ khams sde dger dpal spungs chos sde btab/ dus phyis tha snyad rig gnas la 'di las mkhas pa ma byung ba lta bu snang/ gsar 'gyur dang 'gyur bcos mdzad pa dang/ rig gnas kyi rtsom pa'ang shin tu mang/.* Thu'u bkwan III, *Collected Works,* vol. 2 (Kha), 134.3-134.4=7b3-7b4. Translated by Sopa et al (Thu'u bkwan III, *Crystal Mirror*, 125).

[9] Thu'u bkwan continues his discussion by recounting Si tu's shift to Jo nang doctrines of extrinsic emptiness (*gzhan stong*), doctrines that he argues against in the same work (Thu'u bkwan III, *Crystal Mirror*, chap. 9). The term *tha snyad rig pa* is commonly contrasted with *nang don rig pa* as the *rig gnas gnyis*, and may be intended more narrowly in this context as "language arts." DKT, 1901b; cf. *tha snad kyi gtsug lag: bzo gso sgra sogs rig gnas kyi gzhung* (TTC, 1133a).

[10] *tha snyad kyi spros pa la dbu 'khor nas.* Thu'u bkwan III, *Collected Works ,* vol. 2 (Kha), 135.1-135.2=8a1-8a2. Translated by Sopa et al (Thu'u bkwan III, *Crystal Mirror*, 125). By contrast, Thu'u bkwan praises Karma pa VIII Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507-1554) for his expertise in the entire inner field of learning, and for his many excellent works: *mi bskyod rdo rje nang don rig gnas thams cad la mkhas pas legs bshad kyi rtsom pa shin tu mang/.* Thu'u bkwan III, *Collected Works,* vol. II (Kha), 133.6.

[11] As we have seen in Chapter One, this was a source of internal tension among the Dge lugs pa, as many did not share the Fifth Dalai Lama's interest in poetics.

[12] Ronis, "Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas," 70-84, 148-50.

of Bka' brgyud and Rnying ma ordination ceremonies throughout Khams "rises to the level of a campaign or revival movement."[13] As I will discuss later in this chapter, Si tu's literary and artistic work on the lives of the Buddha contributed to these localized debates about the value of scholasticism and celibacy in monastic institutions.

In the period leading up to Si tu's work on the lives of the Buddha, he experienced several institutional transitions that spurred major life developments. In 1718 the Dzungar Mongols invaded central Tibet, engaging in yet another round of invasion and destruction. Late in 1720 the Qing imperial army entered Lhasa to drive out the Dzungars and restore temporal sovereignty to the Seventh Dalai Lama Skal bzang rgya mtsho (1708-1757). Under these unstable conditions, the Twelfth Karma pa Byang chub rdo rje, the Eighth Zhwa dmar Dpal chen chos kyi don grub, and Si tu left for Nepal and traveled together from 1723-1724. The journey was formative for Si tu: apart from cultivating devoted relationships with the Karma pa and Zhwa dmar—who were his teachers by rank but also close to him in age—he fostered interests in the Indic cultural world, the Sanskrit language, manuscripts, and textual criticism that would inform his projects for the rest of his life.[14]

Up to this point the seat of the Si tu lineage had been at the monastery of Karma Dgon in Chab mdo, southwest of Sde dge on the border between Dbus and Khams. However, it lay just within the jurisdiction of the central Tibetan government, where further unrest was afoot. In the seventh lunar month in 1726, the Emperor Yongzheng 雍正decreed in Lhasa that Rnying ma activities should cease, and that monks should be ordained only into the Dge lugs order. The policy was implemented over the objections of then-minister Pho lha nas, exacerbating an already unwelcome climate for non-Dge lugs orders in central Tibet.[15] Si tu's characteristically terse diary does not comment on these developments, but the following month he painted a set of Eight Great Adepts (*grub chen brgyad*) and presented these at the Sde dge court with a request to build a monastery in Sde dge (Fig. 3.2).[16]

Si tu already had connections with the powerful ruling house of Sde dge through his mother's family, who served the court as officials.[17] Sheltered in a deep river valley surrounded by high peaks, and located roughly equidistant from Lhasa, the Mongolian power base in Kokonor, and Chengdu—the Qing empire's closest major outpost—the town of Sde dge was in the heart of a frontier area that was generally autonomous and thus had served as a buffer zone for centuries.[18] The ambitious and resourceful ruler-cum-abbot Bstan pa tshe ring (1678-1738) was on the rise in the 1720s: he was consolidating power over a large territory (exceeding 78,000 square kilometers), brokering an allegiance with the Qing imperial court, and enjoying a principality that was very wealthy by regional standards, with fertile soil and local expertise in

---

[13] Ibid., 147. Si tu's numerous ordinations may also be explained in part by the leadership vacuum among the Karma Bka' brgyud after the deaths of the Twelfth Karma pa and Eighth Zhwa dmar in 1732, discussed later in this chapter.
[14] On Si tu's first visit to Nepal see Si tu, *Autobiography and Diaries*, 113-24. On how Si tu developed this range of interests during his second visit to Nepal in 1748, see Decleer, "Translation of the Svayambhū Purāṇa."
[15] Petech, *China and Tibet*, 105-11.
[16] Si tu, *Autobiography and Diaries*, 140.7.
[17] *sde dge'i mdun na 'don.* Ibid., 5.3. According to Petech's studies of central Tibet, during this period *mdun na 'don* was the literary term for *bka'i gung blon*, shortened into *bka' blon*, "minister" (Petech, *Aristocracy*, 9; Petech, *China and Tibet*, 79). Mvy. 3087, 3682 give *mdun na 'don* as the Tibetan equivalent for the Sanskrit term *purohita*, a royal chaplain or family priest (lit. "one who is placed in front"). The highest-ranking chaplains at the Sde dge court were called *dbu bla*; Ronis, "Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas," 64 n. 115.
[18] As Karma rgyal mtshan and Jann Ronis have noted, the word Khams—the name of the region in which Sde dge is located—can mean "frontier." Ronis, "Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas," 35.

woodcarving and metalworking.[19] While the ruling house of Sde dge was Sa skya pa by affiliation and enjoyed its own monastery, Lhun grub steng, it had shown tolerance for other orders. A number of Karma Bka' brgyud and Rnying ma monasteries were allowed to thrive in their territory, and in 1714 the young Seventh Dalai Lama was briefly granted sanctuary from Lha bzang Khan in Sde dge before his relocation to Sku 'bum Monastery.[20] Bstan pa tshe ring granted Si tu's request, and construction began the following year.[21] The monastery, named Dpal spungs thub bstan chos 'khor gling, was completed and consecrated in the eighth lunar month in 1729 (Fig. 3.3).[22] Under Si tu's guidance, the monastery became a major center for education in Khams that offered training in Si tu's many fields of expertise.

Early in 1731 Si tu undertook the editing of the Bka' 'gyur.[23] The formal request of the Sde dge ruler Bstan pa tshe ring is recorded in the biography of Si tu by the Sde dge court physician and secretary, Sde dge Bla sman Gu ru 'phel:

> In the Iron-Pig Year the Dharma King of Sde dge enjoined [Si tu]:
>
> "The life-force of the Buddha's teachings is the Bka' 'gyur and Bstan 'gyur.
> Although they were already made with devotion
> into print editions such as the Chinese, Dbus, and Li thang,[24]
> it seems that, thanks to confusions of word order, they merely exist [without much use].
> Not only that, they can't be trusted by all scholars.
> So that the banner of the Buddha's teachings does not decline,
> [I ask] if you would be pleased to produce an edition of the Bka' 'gyur.
> You are the crown jewel of Sanskrit-Tibetan scholars, and
> your knowledge of the entire Bka' 'gyur and Bstan 'gyur is vast and unhindered.
> Hence, with the Dharma eye [you] possess, perfectly clarify
> the flawed translations, wrong words, and mixed-up order
> in the previous editions of the precious Bka' 'gyur."
>
> At the inaugural celebration a large *maṇḍala* was offered. Then [Si tu] did the editing in stages and acquired assistants in accordance with his wishes.[25]

---

[19] Kolmaš, *Genealogy*, 22, 36-40; Kolmaš, *Derge Kanjur and Tanjur*, 15-16; Carrasco, *Land and Polity*, 144-46; Scheier-Dolberg, "Treasure House," 74-84. After the royal monastery Lhun grub steng was completed by the Sde dge royal scion Byams pa phun tshogs in the mid-seventeenth century, spiritual and temporal authority was customarily divided between the eldest son and a layperson of the same generation, who functioned as the abbot of Lhun grub steng and as the temporal ruler, respectively. However, Bstan pa tshe ring's elder and only brother died young, leaving Bstan pa tshe ring to fulfill both functions. Kolmaš, *Genealogy*, 33-34, 36-37.

[20] Petech, *China and Tibet*, 22-24; Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, 431.

[21] Si tu, *Autobiography and Diaries*, 140.7.

[22] On the construction of Dpal spungs see ibid., 141.5-147.5.

[23] Ibid., 151.3-151.4.

[24] The "Chinese" (*rgya*) edition likely refers to the Yongle edition produced in 1410 together with the subsequent impressions of Wanli (1605) and Kangxi (1684/92, 1700, 1717-1720). The "Dbus" edition may refer to the Them spangs ma manuscript made in 1431 and copied widely during the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama. In particular the Lho rdzong bka' 'gyur, a descendant of the Them spangs ma, was consulted in the making of the Sde dge edition. The Li thang or 'Jang sa tham edition—a descendant of the Tshal pa edition of 1347-1351—was produced from 1609-1614 and served as the base text for the Sde dge edition. In his Bka' 'gyur catalogue Si tu refers to the Lho rdzong, Yongle and 'Jang sa tham editions. Eimer, "Recent Kanjur Research," 24; Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book*, 145. On Bka' 'gyur editions see also Harrison, "Brief History," 70-94; Harrison, "Reconnaissance Report," 295-317.

Bstan pa tshe ring's verses express high regard for Si tu's abilities as a scholar who could operate in Sanskrit and Tibetan languages and who had wide-ranging knowledge of the Buddhist canon. He suggests that previous editors had devotion or commitment (*mos pa*) to the Buddhadharma, but nevertheless did not manage to produce perfectly correct texts. The need for dependable scriptures remains, since scholars reading these texts might harbor doubts about apparently unresolved issues in the Buddha's teachings that are actually caused by textual corruption.

Mere linguistic aptitude, it is also suggested, also may not be up to the task. Bstan pa tshe ring attributes to Si tu the Dharma eye (*chos spyan*), which from Sthiramati's explication of the five eyes (*pañca-cakṣus*, Tb. *spyan lnga*) "understands without impediment all the scripture, understands the stream of consciousness of persons… and see[s] the *dharmas* in the conventional sense (*saṃvṛtitas*)."[26] While Si tu may not have been welcome in central Tibet or among Dge lugs loyalists, Bstan pa tshe ring's laudatory words reflect Si tu's high reputation in Sde dge as an accomplished scholar, one who could be entrusted with the critical task of correctly understanding and interpreting the Buddha's teachings wherever textual difficulties arose.

The following year, during the auspicious fourth lunar month of Sa ga zla ba celebrating the key events of the Buddha's life, Si tu finished editing the Bka' 'gyur. At the request of Bstan pa tshe ring, Si tu began composing a catalogue to the Bka' 'gyur. Like earlier Tibetan canonical catalogues, in addition to the title index (*bzhugs byang*) it was to contain a lengthy introduction to Buddhism recounting Śākyamuni's path to liberation through the course of many lives, together with the subsequent spread and preservation of Buddhism in India and Tibet, especially via the formation and transmission of the canon.[27] Si tu originally planned eight chapters, which he noted would match in number the eight auspicious symbols (*bkra shis rtags brgyad*). However, Si tu wrote, because some "disapproving objections from the Mkhan chen were made that it was too long, and so forth," the first three chapters had to be cut.[28] The Mkhan chen mentioned here is most likely Mkhan chen Rdo rje 'chang Bkra shis lhun grub, the retired thirty-first abbot of Ngor Monastery, who came to Sde dge in 1728 and was influential at court, notably for effecting the Sde dge printing of the collected works of the Sa skya order in fifteen volumes.[29] While we may never know what other objections were raised, this rare instance of outspokenness in Si tu's generally terse diary indicates his great disappointment at having to omit so much of his text from the final edition of the Bka' 'gyur catalogue.[30]

---

[25] *lcags phag chos rgyal sde dge'i bka' bskul te// sangs rgyas bstan pa'i srog ni bka' bstan 'gyur// de la mos pas rgya dbus li thang sogs// phyi mo par du bsgrubs zin 'dug na yang // brda chad go rim 'khrul pas yin lo tsam// ma gtogs mkhas kun yid brtan mi nus kyi// sangs rgyas bstan pa mi nub rgyal mtshan du// bka' 'gyur par zhig bzhengs par spro ba na// khyod ni rgya bod mkhas pa'i gtsugs rgyan te// bka' bstan kun la thogs med mkhyen pa rgyas// de phyir bka' 'gyur rin chen phyi mo rnams// 'gyur nyes brda log go rim 'khrugs pa rnams// chos spyan ldan pas dag par gsal bar mdzod// dbu 'dzugs dga' ston maṇḍal cher 'bul zhus/ de nas rim gyis zhu dag mdzad pa dang / zhar byung gdul bya'i re ba skong bzhin du//*. Sde dge'i bla sman, "Bdud rtsi'i zim char," 86-87.

[26] Wayman, "Buddhist Theory of Vision," 156-57.

[27] On the contents of Tibetan canonical catalogues see Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature*, 205-15.

[28] Si tu, *Autobiography and Diaries*, 153.2.

[29] The invitation of Bkra shis lhun grub by Bstan pa tshe ring and his arrival in Sde dge are documented in Zhu chen, *Autobiography*, 400.3-400.5. Zhu chen later provides his full title and name as Sde dge'i mkhan chen rdo rje 'chang bkra shis lhun grub; ibid., 472.2-472.3. For a brief biography of Bkra shis lhun grub mentioning his activities in Sde dge, see Mu po, *Lam 'bras bla ma*, 154-59. On his role in the Sde dge edition of the Sa skya bka' 'bum, see Jackson, *Entrance Gate*, vol. 1, 232-36.

[30] Jann Ronis has noted that the Sa skya pa monk and Sde dge court chaplain Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen was made the chief editor of the Sde dge edition of the *Seven Treasuries of Longchenpa*, a Rnying ma work. This was

Si tu's collected works, however, preserve a full eight-chapter edition of his catalogue.[31] The full title of the catalogue may be translated as *A Vine of Young Moonbeams That Bring Jasmine Flowers—the Conviction of the Intelligent—Into Full Bloom: Fine Discourse on How the Collection of Previous Texts of the Sugata's Words, Conveyed Through the Language of the Snowy Land, Were Published in a Blockprint Edition* (hereafter referred to as the "catalogue" or as *Vine of Young Moonbeams*).[32] The work was completed in the first half of the seventh month of the Water-Ox Year (1733).[33] The third and lengthiest chapter (70 folios) reconstructs the biography of Śākyamuni Buddha from Bka' 'gyur sources and is entitled "Brief Explanation of the Deeds of our Teacher, the Excellent Guide, Lord of the Śākyas" (hereafter referred to as Si tu's "Deeds of the Buddha").[34] The contents of this account of the Buddha's life will be analyzed in the following section.

Late in the tenth lunar month of the Water-Rat Year (1732), before the carving of the Bka' 'gyur blocks had been completed, the two chief hierarchs of the Karma Bka' brgyud order contracted smallpox en route to the Yongzheng court in Beijing, and passed away in a matter of days.[35] Both were in the prime of their lives—the Twelfth Karma pa was twenty-nine, and the Eighth Zhwa dmar was thirty-seven. In the wake of this calamity it was left to Si tu, now the most senior hierarch of the Karma Bka' brgyud pa, to assume institutional leadership until their reincarnations attained their majority. The first project he mentioned after concluding the funerary rituals was a set of twenty-three thangkas depicting *The Wish-Fulfilling Vine of Bodhisattva Avadānas* (Figs. 3.15-3.45). Four years later, upon returning to Sde dge from the enthronement of the young Thirteenth Karma pa Bdud 'dul rdo rje (c. 1733/4-1797/8) at Mtshur phu Monastery in central Tibet, Si tu performed the consecration for the *Vine* series.[36]

---

done despite the facts that Zhu chen was not an acknowledged expert in Rnying ma literature, and that the second Rdzogs chen Rin po che 'Gyur med theg mchog bstan 'dzin (1699-1758) was the publisher and the second Zhe chen Rab 'byams 'Gyur med kun bzang rnam rgyal (1713-1769) wrote the index. Ronis speculates that there were anti-Rnying ma partisans in the Sa skya-influenced court, hence Zhu chen was given the post to offset resistance to the publication at court. Si tu's experience with his Bka' 'gyur catalogue may also reflect attempts at editorial control at the Sde dge court. Ronis, "Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas", 144-45.

[31] Si tu further wrote in his diaries that the three omitted chapters dealt with "the three bodies of the Buddha, the birth-stories regarding the way in which the Teacher himself generated *bodhicitta*, and the demonstration of the twelve great deeds." Si tu, *Autobiography and Diaries*, 153.2-153.3.

However, in the eight-chapter version, the first chapter mainly treats the world with its environment and beings, and is so titled. Moreover, the second chapter deals with the birth-stories and the generation of bodhicitta, whereas the third chapter begins by discussing the *trikāya* and continues with the deeds of the Buddha. Thus it seems that Si tu composed a new chapter on the world after his diary entry, and combined his material on the three bodies of the Buddha and the deeds of the Buddha into a single chapter. See also P.C. Verhagen's discussion of these two differing versions. Verhagen, "Dkar-chag Materials," 208.

[32] Si tu, *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' gangs can gyi brdas drangs pa'i phyi mo'i tshogs ji snyed pa par du bsgrubs pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam bzang po blo ldan mos pa'i kunda yongs su kha phye ba'i zla 'od gzhon nu'i 'khri shing*, in *Tā'i si tu pa kun mkhyen chos kyi 'byung gnas bstan pa'i nyin byed kyi bka' 'bum* (Kangra, H.P., India Sherab Gyaltsen, 1990), vol. 9, 1a-260a4.

The term *mos pa* (Skt. *adhimukti*, *adhimokṣa*) was translated earlier in this chapter as "devotion," which does not fully capture its range of meanings; these extend to conviction in, and active commitment to, the Dharma (cf. BHSD, 14-15).

[33] Ibid., 260a4.

[34] *yal 'dab gsum pa/ bdag cag gi ston pa rnam 'dren shā kya'i dbang po'i mdzad pa mdo tsam du legs par bshad pa/*. Ibid., 33a-102b.

[35] Si tu and 'Be lo, *History of the Karma Bka'-brgyud-pa Sect*, 443.2-443.4.

[36] *HTP*, 264. On the original set containing twenty-three *thang ka*s, see Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, 265-66 n.344.

Si tu's production of the Buddha's biographies thus took place in a period of turbulent political shifts and institutional transition, during which leadership of a monastic order with tenuous prospects was thrust upon him. Just before the Karma pa's and Zhwa dmar's fateful journey into China, Si tu went to meet the Karma pa and the Zhwa dmar in A mdo at Lake Che ge nor. Si tu recorded the event as follows:

> On the third day of the ninth month, [I] stayed below [Lake] Che ge nor. On the fifth day, on the shore of Che ge nor, I went to welcome the arriving Zhwa dmar and Black Hat [Karma pa]. I went together with Tshab tsha Sprul sku. [We] prostrated and made the hearth. The next day offerings were made [for] the Supreme Victor [Karma pa] and his disciple [Zhwa dmar] to don their hats. On the seventh day, [I] invited and offered food to the master and student [Karma pa and Zhwa dmar] at my own encampment.[37]
>
> The next day Bla ma Karma, Bsam gtan, Tshab tsha Bla ma and others were given full ordination. Zhwa dmar, the Black Hat [Karma pa], and myself served as [their] *ācārya* ordination masters. The following day the Victorious Lord [Karma pa] granted a long-life empowerment to me and everyone. Together with that, [the Karma pa] gave a Gathering of Precious Jewels empowerment.[38] Although [I] requested to go [with him] as [his] attendant, [he] refused. "You must protect our order's teachings, you must supplement the Kar[ma Bka' brgyud] liturgies, and together with editing, publish blockprints at Dpal spungs," and so on; [in such manner] he gave many commands for the present and future.[39]

The Karma pa's refusal of Si tu's request indicates that he was well aware of the dangers of travel. Rather than risk simultaneous harm to all three masters on a long and difficult journey, he exhorted Si tu to protect Karma Bka' brgyud teachings by accomplishing these important tasks from his home base in Sde dge.

The Karma pa may also have been anticipating trouble at their destination. Tensions between the Karma Bka' brgyud and Dge lugs orders remained high during this period, and the Karma pa and Zhwa dmar were not uniformly welcome at the Qing imperial court. The Third Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786), a Dge lugs *sprul sku* and ethnic Mongol from Amdo, was brought to the Qing court at a young age. He was fifteen when the Karma Bka' brgyud masters were invited to visit. In Lcang skya's biography, his disciple the Third Thu'u bkwan Lobzang Chökyi Nyima attributed the demise of the two Bka' brgyud pa masters to ritual magic:

---

[37] *hor zla dgu pa'i tshes gsum la che ge nor gyi man tsam du bsdad/ tshes lngar che ge nor gyi mtsho khar zhwa dmar nag phebs par chibs bsur nged dang tshab tsha sprul sku bcas son/ mjal phyag zhus thab su byas/ phyi nyin rgyal mchog yab sras kyi dbu zhwa bzhes 'bul ba brgyab/ tshes bdun la yab sras rang gi sgar du spyan drang gsol tshigs zhus/.* Si tu, *Autobiography*, 153.7-154.1.

[38] For an account of the revelation of the "Gathering of Precious Jewels" (*dkon mchog spyi 'dus*) treasure cycle by Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon snying po (1585-1656), see Dudjom, *Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, 810. Jann Ronis has noted that an instructional text for this cycle was written by Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (Ronis, "Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas," 213).

[39] *phyi nyin bla ma ka rma dang bsam gtan/ tshab tsha bla ma sogs la bsnyen rdzogs gnang/ zhwa dmar nag mkhan po dang nged nas slob dpon gyi zhabs 'degs zhus/ phyi nyin rgyal ba'i dbang po nas nged thams cad la tshe dbang bstal/ lhan rgyas nas dkon mchog spyi 'dus kyi dbang gnang nged zhabs phyir 'gro bar zhus kyang ma gnang/ khyod kyis rang lugs kyi bstan pa skyong dgos tshul dang/ kar lugs chos spyod kyi kha bskang mchams pa* [?] *dang zhus dag bcas dpal spungs su par du bsgrub dgos tshul sogs 'phral yun gyi bka' bkod mang bar bstsal/.* Si tu, *Autobiography*, 154.1-154.3.

> Once, at the urging of the seventeenth imperial prince—who had considerable authority—the Twelfth Karma pa and the Eighth Zhwa dmar were invited from Tibet. The Lord [Second] Thu'u bkwan was extremely worried that after these two arrived in Beijing, if the emperor were to show [them] favor, this would surely do great harm to our [Dge lugs] teachings. So [he] carried out some powerful rituals and destructive magic. At the urging of the Excellent Dharma King, the Precious Sprul sku [Lcang skya] also carried out [rituals] such as the casting of *gtor ma* dough offerings; as a result, the two *bla ma*s died on the road.[40]

A poem celebrating the Dge lugs triumph and praising the Second Thu'u bkwan was recorded in his biography. The opening verses attest to the sectarian atmosphere at the Qing court in this period:

> Here, because each one dreams things up through their own opinions,
> Dharma orders are numerous like marketplace wares.
> [Yet] who surpasses the Dge ldan pa, the only capable ones
> who have the unerring correct theory and practice of sūtra and tantra?[41]
>
> If this life-force of the Muni's teachings is obstructed,
> Dharma orders puffed up with the hot air of empty talk and boasting
> surely would be like bellies without breath.
> They'd amount to no more than a feast for fools, birds, and dogs.[42]
>
> Therefore [our] good order is a grand jeweled chariot;
> ahead is the precipice of wrong views.

---

[40] *skabs zhig rgyal sras bcu bdun pa sku dbang che bas kho bas zhus don bzhin/ bod nas karma zhwa dmar nag gi bla ma gnyis rgyal khab chen por gdan drangs/ khong gnyis pe'i cing du 'byor nas 7 gong ma'i spyan bskyang che ba byung na rang re'i bstan pa la gnod tshab che nges yong rgyur 'dug pa la/ rje thu'u bkwan pa thugs khral shin tu che bas rim gro stobs che ba dang/ mngon spyod kyi las 'ga' zhig kyang mdzad/ sprul sku rin po che nas kyang dam can chos kyi rgyal po las la bskul zhing gtor ma 'phen pa sogs gnang bas bla ma de gnyis lam bar du gshegs/.* Thu'u bkwan III Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989), 136. Here the Excellent Dharmarāja (*dam can chos kyi rgyal po*) refers to the Second Thu'u bkwan. The seventeenth imperial prince was Guoyiqinwang Yunli 果毅親王允禮 (1697-1738), who also invited Rnying ma *bla ma*s to court and traveled with Lcang skya to meet the Seventh Dalai Lama upon his return to Lhasa from exile. See Wang, "At the Court of Qing;" 73-7, 208-10. There is a similar account in the biography of the Second Thu'u bkwan, also written by the Third Thu'u bkwan; Thu'u bkwan III, *Collected Works*, vol. 2 (Kha), 598.5-599.4.

[41] *'di na rang rang 'dod pas btags pa yis// chos lugs tshong 'dus zong ltar grangs mang kyang// mdo sngags lta spyod 'khrul med 'thad ldan gyi// chig skya thub pa dge ldan pa las su//.* Thu'u bkwan III, *Collected Works*, vol. 2 (Kha), 599.4-599.5. No author is attributed and the poem does not appear in Lcang skya's biography. The first couplet is reminiscent of the Tibetan proverb, "Every valley has its dialect, every *bla ma* has his Dharma-system" (*lung pa re la skad lugs re/ bla ma re la chos lugs re/*). Pemba, *Tibetan Proverbs*, 195.

[42] *thub pa'i bstan pa'i srog 'di 'gag gyur na// stong skad rbad kham rlung gis sbos pa yi// chos lugs phal cher dbugs bral khog pa bzhin// blun po bya khyi'i dga' ston tsam du zad//.* Thu'u bkwan III, *Collected Works*, vol. 2 (Kha), 599.5. I have idiomatically translated *rlung* (wind) as "hot air" and *sbos pa* (swollen, bloated) as "puffed up," since the metaphorical usage here matches that of English nicely. In proverb and maxim literature, fools are commonly contrasted with *mkhas pa*, a term that connotes "wise," "learned" and in other contexts, more specifically "scholar." See Jamspal, *Treasury of Good Sayings*, chap. 4, 58-79.

You, O hero, with singular might,
steer the authentic path: how marvelous![43]

In these stanzas the Dge lugs pa reassert their dominance over other Tibetan orders at the Qing court. The court is likened to a marketplace, where hawkers of differing Dharma orders (*chos lugs*) compete for favor and patronage, aggrandizing themselves and their inferior wares with the hot air of sales talk. But like a corpse that attracts only scavengers like carrion birds and dogs, such worthless talk attracts only fools. The Dge ldan pa (another name for the Dge lugs pa) are portrayed above the fray, the only ones with "unerring correct theory and practice" (*lta spyod 'khrul med 'thad ldan*). While other orders are in danger of careening off the pernicious "precipice of wrong views" (*lta ba ngan pa'i g.yang sa*), the Second Thu'u bkwan, as heroic charioteer, guides Dge lugs pa on the "authentic path" (*yang dag lam*) of Buddhism. As is well documented, Lcang skya went on to become the national preceptor (*guoshi* 國師) and personal tutor of the Emperor Qianlong乾隆 (r. 1736-1795), and was instrumental in maintaining Dge lugs hegemony at the Qing court.[44]

In short, Si tu faced sectarian and institutional challenges as he assumed leadership of the Karma Bka' brgyud order in the early 1730s. The Karma Bka' brgyud pa were disparaged for their lack of knowledge and understanding of the Dharma while they indulged in poetry and other inconsequential pursuits. Beyond this, their freedom to sustain monastic activity in central Tibet and ability to cultivate relationships with the Qing court were under threat. The two—claims to knowledge and the right to institutional survival—were rhetorically linked in this period, when the stakes of knowledge were intensely politicized. In the remainder of this chapter, I consider how Si tu's work on the lives of the Buddha responded to these challenges.

THE BUDDHA'S DEEDS IN SI TU'S BKA' 'GYUR CATALOGUE (1732-1733)

As I mentioned earlier, Si tu's account of the Deeds of the Buddha appears as the third chapter of his catalogue briefly entitled *Vine of Young Moonbeams*, originally written for the Bka' 'gyur and included in full in his collected works. Si tu states that his narrative is "principally based on the *Lalitavistara*, and although it is supplemented with other Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna sūtras, it is compiled without mixing them."[45] That is, Si tu does not provide a seamless and straightforward narrative of the Buddha's lives as we find, for example, in popular accounts of the Twelve Deeds of the Buddha (*mdzad pa bcu gnyis*).[46] Rather, in the catalogue he draws from multiple sources, juxtaposing and citing different versions of the same events. This

[43] *de phyir lugs bzang rin chen shing rta che// lta ba ngan pa'i g.yang sar mngon phyogs pa// dpa' bo khyod nyid gcig pu'i stobs shugs kyis// yang dag lam du kha lo bsgyur 'di rmad//.* Thu'u bkwan III, *Collected Works,* vol. 2 (Kha), 599.5-599.6.

[44] On the Third Lcang skya's activities at the Qing court, see Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*; Wang, "At the Court of Qing;" and Illich, "Chankya Rolpai Dorje."

[45] *rgya che rol pa'i mdo gzhir bzhag nas theg pa che chung gi mdo gzhan nas kha bskang ba rnams kyang ma 'dres par bkod pa las/.* Si tu, *Zla 'od gzhon nu'i 'khri shing*, 42a1-42a2.

[46] On the canonized praise of the Twelve Deeds attributed to Nāgārjuna, see Dargyay, "Twelve Deeds." On the development of the Twelve Deeds in Tibet, see Klimburg-Salter, "Life of the Buddha in Western Himalayan Monastic Art," 208-9; Luczanits, "Prior to Birth II," 498-502.

scholarly method reveals the meticulousness of Si tu's editing process, even as it draws attention to the discrepancies between canonical texts.

By way of example, here I present differing accounts of the first offering of milk pudding to the Bodhisattva, as given in Si tu's *Vine of Young Moonbeams*. These occur at the conclusion of the six years of austerities, after the Bodhisattva understands that extreme asceticism is not the path to liberation and decides to eat substantial food again. Si tu includes three different summaries of this event, based respectively on the *Lalitavistara-Sūtra*, the *Vinayavastu*, and the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra*. Si tu's first summary of the milk pudding episode is based on the *Lalitavistara*:

> In the morning he set out to the village for alms. Meanwhile, around midnight a god urged Sujātā, "Earlier a resolution was made by you; make it happen!" Quickly, she extracted the essence of the milk of a thousand cows seven times. She poured it together with new rice into a new vessel, put it on a new hearth and boiled it.
>
> In it auspicious symbols were seen such as the glorious knot [of eternity], *svāstika*, and lotus. She was certain that if the Bodhisattva ate that food, he would obtain the nectar [of liberation]; an astrologer also explained [that to be the case]. After boiling the milk pudding she spread it out and sprinkled flowers and scented water on it. Then she sent a maidservant named Uttarā to invite a brahmin.
>
> But because the gods concealed [all] others, though she looked in the four directions she could find no mendicants or brahmins other than the Bodhisattva. So she returned and said, "Wherever I go, there is no one other than the handsome mendicant." She [Sujātā] said, "That's the one! Go call him!"
>
> Then, since he was invited, he sat down in Sujātā's home. Filling the great golden vessel with milk pudding that contained honey, Sujātā offered it. Stirred by compassion, he resolved, "Having eaten this, without a doubt I shall obtain the nectar [of liberation]!"[47]

Si tu condenses the *Lalitavistara* passage, but otherwise follows the Tibetan translation closely.[48] Stylistically, the main effect is a quickening of the narrative pace, with the dialogue becoming more crisp and colloquial. The only notable change is that Si tu supplies the new phrase "stirred by compassion," a supplementary insertion that reiterates the Bodhisattva's commitment to obtain liberation for the sake of others as well as himself. In short, Si tu's strategies here are to

---

[47] *snga dro grong du bsod snyoms kyi phyir zhugs pa na/ legs skyes ma la nam phyed tsam na lhas sngon khyod kyis smon lam btab pa'i bya ba de gyis shig par bskul bas/ des myur bar ba stong gi 'o ma lan bdun du nying khur byas pa blangs nas/ 'bras sar pa dang lhan cig phru ba sar par blugs te thab gsar par btsugs nas bskol ba na/ de'i nang du dpal be*[read *be'u*] *g.yung drung pad+ma la sogs pa bkra shis pa'i mtshan mthong nas/ byang chub sems dpas zas de zos na bdud rtsi thob par nges pa rnyed cing mtshan mkhan gyis kyang bstan to/ de nas 'o thug tshos nas thang la bzhag ste/ me tog dang spos chus gtor nas bran mo gong ma zhes pa bram ze mgron du 'bod par btang ngo / des kyang lha rnams kyis gzhan dag bsgribs pas phyogs bzhir btsal kyang / byang chub sems dpa' kho na las dge sbyong bram ze gzhan ma rnyed pas slar log nas smras pa/ gang du mchis kyang dge sbyong mdzes pa las gzhan mi gda'o/ des smras pa/ de nyid yin gyi bos shig /de nas spyan drangs pas legs skyes ma'i khyim du stan la bzhugs te/ legs skyes mas 'o thug sbrang rtsi can gyis gser snod chen po bkang ste phul ba thugs brtse bas blangs te/ 'di zos nas the tshom med par bdud rtsi thob par bya'o snyam du dgongs so//.* Si tu, *Zla 'od gzhon nu'i 'khri shing*, 79a6-79b4.

[48] Cf. LV, D vol. 46, 131a6-132b4.

summarize, clarify, and expand the text, activities that feature in the conservative commentarial traditions of Tibetan Buddhism.[49]

The identity of the donor as the lady Sujātā is familiar to many Buddhists. However, Si tu then provides another version in the *Vine of Young Moonbeams*, with the Vinaya cited as its source:[50]

> Two daughters of Sena named Nandā and Nandabalā, due to a prophecy by a seer, had finished twelve years of ascetic practices in order to become queens of the *cakravartin* youth Siddhārtha. The ascetic fatigued by his austerities was about to arrive; in order to make him an offering, they milked a thousand cows and fed [that milk] to five hundred. Milking those [five hundred], they fed it it to two hundred fifty, and so on down, concentrating it until there were eight cows. Milking those [eight], they fed those same [eight] sixteen times, and boiled the resulting concentrate in a crystal vessel. The *śuddhavāsika-deva*s filled it with medicine called "Strengthening." Seeing auspicious symbols in it, one named Upaga asked for it, but they would not give it.
>
> Śatayajña in the guise of a brahmin, along with Brahmā and the *śuddhavāsika-deva*s, came there. The [two daughters] poured the milk pudding into a precious vessel and offered it to Śatayajña. He would not accept it, saying, "Brahmā is more distinguished than I." So it was offered to Brahmā. However, he likewise [indicated] the *śuddhavāsika-deva*s. They also would not accept it, indicating the Bodhisattva, so the two daughters went before him.
>
> At that time, the Bodhisattva was bathing in the Nairañjanā River. He could not cross [from weakness], so he grasped a branch of the *arjuna* tree that was lowered by a god, and emerged. After he put on his Dharma-robes and sat down, they offered the milk pudding together with the vessel. After he finished taking the milk pudding, he threw the vessel into the water. A *nāga* took it, but Śatayajña turned into a *garuḍa* and stole it.
>
> Although the two daughters had made a resolution to marry the youth Siddhārtha, he said that he had already renounced. So they offered [this verse]:
>
> "By whatever merit there may be from this fine offering,
> may the renowned Sarvārthasiddhi—
> best among men, supremely intelligent—
> swiftly accomplish all aims!"[51]

---

[49] On the techniques, functions, and meanings of commentaries, as well as the doctrinal conservatism of Tibetan Buddhist commentaries, see Cabezón, *Buddhism and Language*, 71-87; and Dreyfus, *Two Hands Clapping*, 183-94.

[50] *'di skabs su lung las 'di ltar 'byung ste/*. Si tu, *Zla 'od gzhon nu'i 'khri shing*, 86a5.

[51] *sde can gyi bu mo dga' ma dang / dga' stobs ma gnyis mtshan mkhan gyis lung bstan nas gzhon nu don grub 'khor los sgyur bar 'gyur ba'i btsun mo bya ba'i phyir/ lo bcu gnyis su brtul zhugs spyad nas de zin pa dang / drang srong dka' thub kyis dub pa blo* [read *glo*] *bur 'ongs pa la sbyin pa'i ched du ba stong bzhos nas lnga brgya la blud/ de bzhos nas nyis brgya lnga bcu la blud pa sogs rim gyis nyid khur byas te brgyad du gyur pa dang / de dag bzhos nas de dag nyid blud pa lan bcu drug tu byas pa'i nyid khu shel snod du bskol ba la gnas gtsang ma'i lha rnams kyis mthu skyed pa zhes bya ba'i sman blug pa der bkra shis pa'i mtshan mthong nas kun tu nyer 'gro zhes bya bas bslangs kyang ma byin no/ brgya byin bram ze'i cha byad kyis dang / tshangs pa dang / gnas gtsang ma'i lha'ang der 'ong nas 'dug pa dang / des 'o thug rin po che'i yos* [read *yol*] *gor blugs nas brgya byin la byin pa dang / des ma blangs te rang nyid las tshangs pa khyad par 'phags pa'o/ zhes smras pas tshangs pa la byin no/ des kyang de bzhin du gnas gtsang ma'i lha la'o/ des kyang ma blangs te byang chub sems dpa' bstan pas bu mo gnyis de'i drung du chas te/ de'i tshe byang chub sems dpa' nai rany+dza nAr sku bkrus nas rgal ma spyod par lhas a rdzu na'i yal ga smad pa la 'jus nas byung zhing chos gos mnabs te bzhugs pa la 'o thug snod bcas phul zhing/ 'o thug gsol zin nas yol go chur dor ba klus blangs kyang brgya byin gyis mkha' lding du byas nas phrogs so// bu mo gnyis*

This digest by Si tu indeed corresponds to the account in the *Vinayavastu* and is even more condensed than his previous digest based on the *Lalitavistara*.[52] Certain themes related to the food offering recur in both of Si tu's summaries. The milk pudding is characterized by purity: in Si tu's *Lalitavistara* digest this is achieved through the newness of the rice, vessel, and hearth, whereas in his *Vinayavastu* digest the procedure of condensing the milk through the repeated feeding and milking of progressively fewer cows is emphasized. The milk pudding is also precious: in both cases auspicious signs are seen in the liquid, it is served in a valuable vessel, and gods intervene to ensure that no one other than the Bodhisattva can drink it. Moreover, in both digests the food is offered by human females.

However, there are several striking differences in the plot. First, in Si tu's *Vinayavastu* digest there are two sisters of equal status who prepare the milk pudding and participate in its giving, rather than a single maiden. Nandā and Nandabalā did not know that the youth Siddhārtha had renounced and were bound up in the ulterior motive to marry him. The characters Nandā and Nandabalā thus introduce narrative tension into Si tu's *Vinayavastu* digest, which is resolved at the end of the episode when they abandon their former resolution and dedicate the merit of their gift to the Bodhisattva's aims. In contrast, Sujātā's resolution in the *Lalitavistara* was always pure from the beginning, consisting of the wish that after eating her food the Bodhisattva would attain complete, perfect awakening.[53] As an additional consideration, Sujātā offers the food to the Bodhisattva inside her own home, while Nandā and Nandabalā go to meet the Bodhisattva in the forest. Thus the *Vinayavastu* locates the Bodhisattva in the solitude of the forest, while the *Lalitavistara* places him in a lay household in town.

Si tu was clearly aware that there were discrepancies between canonical narratives of the Buddha's life. After his *Vinayavastu* digest he raises the issue directly:

> [The version of] this passage from the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa[-Sūtra*] is mostly the same as this [version from the *Vinayavastu*]. However, in the former, after being urged by the one named *Brahmadeva who had befriended the Bodhisattva, the village women gave boiled milk pudding to Śatayajña in the guise of a brahmin, to offer in the presence of the Bodhisattva.[54]

---

kyis gzhon nu don grub khyim thab tu smon lam byas kyang / de rab tu byung zin par gsungs pas/ bsod pa phul ba'i bsod nams ci mchis pas/ grags dang ldan pa don rnams kun 'grub pa/ mi yi mchog gyur blo mchog ldan pa de'i/ don kun myur du shin tu grub gyur cig/ ces btab bo/. Ibid., 86a6-86b5.

[52] *Vinayavastu*, D vol. 4, 26a2-27b2. For the corresponding Sanskrit, see Gnoli, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, 108-111.

[53] *bdag gi zas zos nas byang chub sems dpa' bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya bar shog.* LV, D vol. 46, 131a7. Note that Si tu omits the content of this prayer, which is stated by the god at midnight, in his catalogue account. It is possible that he did so to avoid inconsistency with the moment when Sujātā instructs her servant to find a brahmin, which suggests that Sujātā is not aware that this food must be given to the Bodhisattva.

[54] *'di skabs mngon 'byung las byung ba'ang phal cher 'di dang mtshungs na'ang / sngon byang chub sems dpa'i grogs bshes su gyur pa'i bram ze lha zhes bya bas bskul nas grong pa'i bu mo dag gis 'o thug bskol ba brgya byin bram ze'i cha byad can la byang chub sems dpa'i drung du bskur ba.* Si tu, *Zla 'od gzhon nu'i 'khri shing*, 88a4-88a5.

Turning to the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra* as preserved in the Sde dge Bka' 'gyur,[55] we indeed find significant plot variations. These were important to Si tu's vision of the ideal monastic life. They are discussed in detail here in order to unpack Si tu's brief reference above.

> Then [the Bodhisattva] stayed on the banks of the Nairañjanā river near a town called Senāyanī. One named *Brahmadeva, who had earlier befriended the Bodhisattva, dwelled in the town of Senāyanī. Having seen [the Bodhisattva] perform austerities, [*Brahmadeva] said to two town maidens Nandā and Nandabalā, "I heard a prophecy by an astrologer that if the son of King Śuddhodana leaves off renunciation because of you two, he will become a *cakravartin* king."
>
> Hearing that prophecy, the two made a prayer, saying, "If because of us he becomes a *cakravartin* king, may we become his queens."
>
> *Brahmadeva said, "The great one, because his body is tortured by austerities. will emerge from his deprivation. When that happens, offer him his very first alms and you two will reap benefit and happiness for a long time."[56]

The character *Brahmadeva, who does not appear in the *Vinayavastu*, acts in the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra* as an obstruction to the Bodhisattva's awakening. With his scheme to tempt the Bodhisattva with two young maidens in his moment of vulnerability, he attempts to derail the spiritual quest of those who renounce household life. In the narrative logic of the plot, *Brahmadeva thus functions like the demon king Māra who attacks the Bodhisattva on the eve of his awakening. As for the two maidens, their self-serving resolution to wed the Bodhisattva is made explicit; as accomplices to *Brahmadeva's plan, they prefigure the daughters of Māra, who are sent to tempt the Bodhisattva under the *bodhi* tree on the night of his liberation.

Similar to the *Vinayavastu* version, the two maidens then prepare the milk pudding by condensing the essence of a thousand cows' milk (here they stop at twenty cows) and boiling it in a crystal vessel. The narrative continues:

> The brahmins thought, "It must be that there will be a wedding feast here." Thinking this, many brahmins gathered. When the milk pudding collected from a thousand [cows] was boiled, the symbols of the auspicious vase, endless knot, and spiralling conch appeared. An ascetic named Upaga saw it and thought, "Whoever drinks this milk pudding will obtain unexcelled wisdom, so now I will ask for it."

---

[55] This *sūtra* is extant only in Tibetan translation. A different text of the same name is preserved in Chinese, T 190; for a translation of yet another version of this narrative from the Chinese text, see Beal, *Romantic Legend*, 191-92.

[56] *de ni grong khyer sde can zhes bya ba na nai rany+dza nA'i chu bo'i 'gram na bzhugs pa dang / bram ze lha zhes bya ba byang chub sems dpa'i sngon gyi grogs bshes su gyur pa de sde can gyi grong khyer na gnas pa dang / des byang chub sems dpa' dka' ba stod* [read *spyod*] *pa mdzad pa mthong nas/ grong pa'i bu mo dga' mo dang / dga' stobs ma gnyis la smras pa/ khyed gnyis kyis rgyal po zas gtsang ma'i sras mtshan mkhan gyis gal te rab tu byung bar ma gyur na 'khor lor 'gyur ro zhes lung bstan pa de thos sam/ de gnyis kyis smras pa/ bdag cag rnams kyis kyang gal te de 'khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal por gyur na bdag cag de'i btsun mor gyur cig ces smon lam btab lags so/ /bram ze lhas smras pa/ bdag nyid chen po de ni dka' thub kyis lus gdungs pas spong ba las bzhengs na khyed gnyis kyis de la thog ma kho nar bsod nyoms phul cig dang / de khyed cag gnyis kyi yun ring po'i phan pa dang bde ba'i don du 'gyur ro/. Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*, D vol. 72, 42b3-42b7.

Personal and place names in the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra* are reconstructed in Sanskrit, based on the Sanskrit of the corresponding passage in the *Vinayavastu* when applicable, and marked by an asterisk when not attested there.

Then Śatayajña thought: "Because of austerities, the Bodhisattva's body is weakened and emaciated. He will be endangered by women when they offer milk pudding to the Bodhisattva; and when he realizes unexcelled wisdom, harm may come to the Bodhisattva because these brahmins who are greedy by nature have gathered here." He took divine medicine from Mount Gandhamādana, took the form of a very handsome brahmin, and standing over the boiling milk pudding, the lord of gods, Śatayajña, poured in the medicine called "Strengthening."

Then Nandā and Nandabalā sweetened the milk pudding with honey and, after boiling the [pudding] collected from a thousand [cows], they said to the lord of gods Śatayajña: "Are you the son of King Śuddhodhana?"

Śatayajña said, "He is my teacher, I am his student." Then the lord of gods Śatayajña took the milk pudding sweetened with honey and collected from a thousand [cows]. [57]

In this passage a new problem is introduced: a crowd of brahmins gathers, hoping to crash the wedding party. One in particular is identified as a threat who could drink the food offering intended to nourish the Bodhisattva back to health. Śatayajña, the lord of gods also known as Śakra or Indra, worries about the worst possible outcomes: if the two women are allowed to see the Bodhisattva, they may tempt him into marriage, and when he drinks the milk pudding, the jealous and greedy brahmins may attack him. Indeed, these two concerns for a renouncer—sexual impurity and lack of seclusion—are brought to a head in this scene as the maidens prepare to fulfill their resolution of marriage and the brahmins hover thirstily around the milk pudding, waiting for the Bodhisattva to arrive. Śakra's solution is to manifest in the form of an attractive brahmin, circumventing these possible outcomes by drawing the attention of the two maidens, pretending to be a student of the Bodhisattva, and claiming the milk pudding to deliver to the Bodhisattva.

With the food offering in safe hands, Śakra questions the two maidens before setting off:

Taking it, he said to Nandā and Nandabalā, "What do you two seek to gain with this gift? To what end should the merit be dedicated?"

Those two said,

"By whatever merit there may be from this fine offering,

[57] *bram ze rnams kyis bsams pa/ 'dir nges par bag ma len tam bag ma gtong bar 'gyur ro snyam nas bram ze mang po 'dus par 'gyur pa dang/ 'o thug stong du bsgres pa bskol ba na bum pa bzang po dang / dpal be'u dang / g.yung drung 'khyil pa'i mtshan ma dag byung ba snang ba dang / kun tu rgyu nye 'gro zhes bya bas mthong nas bsams pa/ 'o ma'i thug pa 'di sus 'thungs pa des ni bla na med pa'i ye shes 'thob par 'gyur gyis ma la bdag gis bslang ngo snyam mo/ de nas brgya byin 'di snyam du sems te/ byang chub sems dpa' de ni dka' thub kyis sku lus nyam chung zhing sku la sbrebs pa dang / skye mas pas nyen pa yin la byang chub sems dpa' 'o thug gsol na bla na med pa'i ye shes thugs su chud par 'gyur na/ bram ze 'di dag ni rang bzhin gyis brkam pa dag 'dir 'dus par gyur pas gal te byang chub sems dpa' la gnod pa byed par 'gyur ro snyam nas/ ri spos kyi ngad ldang nas lha'i sman blangs te de shin tu gzugs bzang ba'i bram ze zhig tu mngon par sprul nas 'o thug de skol ba'i steng du 'dug ste/ lha'i dbang po brgya byin gyis der sman mthu bskyed pa zhes bya ba blugs so// de nas dga' mo dang / dga' stobs mas 'o thug sbrang rtsi ltar mngar ba stong du bsgres pa bskol nas lha'i dbang po brgya byin la 'di skad ces smras so// khyod nyid rgyal po zas gtsang ma'i sras de yin nam/ brgya byin gyis smras pa de ni nga'i mkhan po yin te nga ni de'i slob ma yin no// de nas lha'i dbang po brgya byin gyis 'o thug sbrang rtsi ltar mngar ba stong du bsgres pa blangs so//. Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*, 43a2-43a7.

may the renowned Sarvārthasiddha—
best among men, supremely intelligent—
swiftly accomplish all aims!"

… Then the lord of gods Śatayajña, knowing where the Bodhisattva was resting in ease, poured the milk pudding sweetened with honey and collected from a thousand [cows] into a vessel and gave it to the Bodhisattva. It was taken by the Bodhisattva, and the merit was dedicated.[58]

By identifying Sarvārthasiddha as his teacher, Śakra may have implied to the two maidens that the Bodhisattva had renounced and would no longer marry them. The dedicatory verse uttered by Nandā and Nandabalā—identical to the verse Si tu cites in the *Vinayavastu* digest—is phrased ambiguously such that it could apply to either outcome, i.e., the Bodhisattva's awakening or his transformation into a *cakravartin* king.[59] In any case, the danger has passed: Sarvārthasiddha (an alternate name for Siddhārtha) remains near the bank of the Nairañjanā River, never encountering the two maidens nor the brahmin crowd, and Śakra dedicates the merit of the food offering to the Bodhisattva's goal of liberation. The sexual purity and solitude of the Bodhisattva are undisturbed, and he can proceed to the *bodhi* tree to accomplish his aim.

Si tu's three narrations of the milk pudding episode from three separate Bka' 'gyur texts call attention to common themes of purity and solitude as well as discrepancies in how these themes are challenged and resolved. The reader is invited to mull over details that he or she might pass over more quickly in a unified, consistent, and uninterrupted narrative. Si tu's use of this editorial strategy—juxtaposing divergent accounts of the Buddha's biography in a single work—is a departure from previous Tibetan accounts of the milk pudding episode such as the work of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364), one of the most widely known antecedents. In his Dharma history (*chos 'byung*), Bu ston states that although different accounts of the Buddha's Twelve Deeds exist in the *Vinaya*, *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra*, and *Lalitavistara*, he has followed the *Lalitavistara* for his account of the deeds, as well as the *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* for the final deed of *nirvāṇa*.[60] This statement is supported by his treatment of the milk pudding episode, which summarizes the *Lalitavistara* version in a more cursory fashion than Si tu does in his catalogue.[61]

Bu ston also wrote a separate biography of Śākyamuni Buddha, stating that it is "written with the *Vinayavastu* as its source, without exaggeration or understatement."[62] As we would expect, in this work Bu ston's treatment of the milk pudding episode indeed summarizes the

---

[58] *blangs nas kyang dga' mo dang/ dga' stobs ma gnyis la smras pa/ sbyin pa 'dis khyed gnyis ci zhig don du gnyer gang gi don du yon bsngo bar bya/ de gnyis kyis smras pa/ bsod pa phul ba'i bsod nams ci mchis pas//grags dang ldan pa don rnams kun grub pa//mi yi mchog gyur blo mchog ldan pa de'i//don kun myur du shin tu grub gyur cig /… de nas lha'i dbang po brgya byin gyis byang chub sems dpa' bde bar bzhugs par rig nas 'o thug sbrang rtsi ltar mngar ba stong du bsgres pa yol gor blugs te/ byang chub sems dpa' la bstabs so// byang chub sems dpas kyang gsol nas yon bsngo bar mdzad do//. Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*, 43a7-43b3.

[59] For the same dedicatory verse, see also *Vinayavastu*, D vol. 4, 27b5.

[60] Bu ston, *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod* (hereafter *Chos 'byung*), in *Collected Works*, vol. 24 (Ya), 79a2-79a3. For a translation see Bu ston, *History of Buddhism*, 72. On Bu ston's work on the Buddha's life, see Luczanits, "Sources for Bu ston's Introduction;" Luczanits, "Prior to Birth II," 500-504.

[61] Bu ston, *Chos 'byung*, 65a.6-65b2; cf. Bu ston, *History of Buddhism*, 34.

[62] *lung las 'byung zhing sgro skur spangs te bri/.* Bu ston, *Ston pa sangs rgyas kyi rnam thar dad cing dga' skyed ces bya ba*, in *Collected Works*, vol. 22 (Za), 212.3.

Vinayavastu version, again more cursorily than Si tu's digest.[63] In both cases Bu ston elides significant narrative elements found in Si tu's *Vine of Young Moonbeams*: Bu ston's catalogue omits Sujātā's resolution, his separate biography of the Buddha does not mention the subplot about the two maidens hoping to wed the Bodhisattva, and neither account identifies the location in which they offer the milk pudding. In short, Si tu employs a markedly different narrative strategy than Bu ston to tell the biography of the Buddha, and one of the results is that themes of purity and solitude figure more prominently in his work.[64]

As this case study of the milk pudding episode has shown, Si tu's account of the Buddha's Deeds is extremely thorough and detailed, well beyond popular versions of the Twelve Deeds and even in this case beyond the widely admired work of Bu ston. Si tu's work discussed here is but one sample of his scholarly rigor and intimate familiarity with canonical scripture. As a whole, his *Vine of Young Moonbeams* is a *tour de force* compiling *sūtra*, Vinaya and Abhidharma sources from the Bka' 'gyur. While a full discussion of Si tu's catalogue is beyond the scope of the present chapter, it is evident that Si tu took his position as chief editor of the Sde dge Bka' 'gyur as an opportunity to familiarize himself with these sources and synthesize them into a work of his own. Despite the Bka' 'gyur's status as the fundamental source of inner learning (*rig gnas*), most Tibetan monks did not study it directly. As Georges Dreyfus has noted, "knowledge of the Vinaya and the Abhidharma was considered a scholar's crowning achievement," and dedicated scholars "ferociously debated the intricacies of these texts."[65] Nevertheless, since around the turn of the sixteenth century monastic curricula in the four major orders has consisted of Bstan 'gyur treatises and Tibetan commentarial works.[66] By Si tu's time, demonstrating that one had read the Bka' 'gyur extensively and meticulously would have reflected a formidable fund of knowledge to be respected—if not universally approved—by all major monastic orders.

THE BUDDHA'S DEEDS THANGKAS AND MONASTIC DISCOURSE IN KHAMS

In the *Vine of Young Moonbeams* Si tu does not explicitly favor any of the three Bka' 'gyur sources over the others, nor does he articulate a cohesive vision of the themes of monastic purity and solitude that I have highlighted in the Buddha's biographies. This is not particularly surprising, since Si tu follows conventions of Tibetan commentarial literature in adhering closely to the presentation of root texts. Si tu may have not decided at the time of writing whether he preferred any of the three sources; even if he had, he may have felt that the catalogue was not the venue to express such views. However, in this section I argue that Si tu's vision of ideal monastic life is openly expressed in his thangkas of the Buddha's Deeds.

---

[63] Ibid., 296.6-297.2.

[64] One of the other major Tibetan adaptations of the Buddha's life is that of Jo nang Tā ra nā tha. His treatment of the milk-pudding episode is a unified narrative that most closely follows the *Vinayavastu* version, although there are additional details that do not come from any of the three canonical sources discussed (Jo nang Tā ra nā tha, *Bcom ldan 'das ston pa shākya thub pa'i rnam thar*, 38-39). The Third Karma pa also includes an account of the Buddha's life at the close of his *jātaka* collection, following the account from the *Lalitavistara* with Sujātā (Karma pa III, *Skyes rabs brgya ba*, 710). For a study of the Third Karma pa's account as it appears in inscriptions at Zha lu, see Tropper, "Buddha-*vita* in the *skor lam chen mo*."

[65] Ibid., 117.

[66] Dreyfus, *Two Hands Clapping*, 109-10, 128-32.

In the collection of Tibet Museum in Lhasa are two thangkas from a set depicting events of Śākyamuni Buddha's life (Figs. 3.4, 3.5). The set may have originally included a third thangka in the center, with the defeat of Māra as its main subject, now missing. A nineteenth-century thangka that appears to be an incomplete conflation of the same design as the two Tibet Museum thangkas is held in the collection of the Rubin Museum of Art (Fig. 3.6). The incomplete scenes on the Rubin thangka further support the idea that Si tu's original design included a third thangka, the scenes from which may have been combined with the missing complement to the Rubin thangka. Stylistic features of these Buddha's Deeds thangkas comparable to Si tu's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* series of thangkas designed by Si tu—including an unusual use of deep space, precisely rendered miniature figures, landscapes in greens and yellows, the shapes of mountains and trees, and the fine detailing of buildings to the level of individual bricks—strongly suggest that these two Tibet Museum thangkas were based on a design by Si tu (Figs. 3.15-3.45).[67] While I have not seen any references to the making of Buddha's Deeds thangkas in Si tu's diaries, Si tu was a prolific artist and did not always record or specify his paintings. Even if the Tibet Museum thangkas were not in fact based on a design by Si tu, the compositions belie an unusual degree of familiarity with the Buddha's life story as well as with the themes I have discussed in his *Vine of Young Moonbeams*. For the purposes of this paper I will refer to the Tibet Museum thangkas as "Si tu's design."

A catalogue of Dpal spungs Monastery, edited by Karma rgyal mtshan, mentions thangkas of the Twelve Deeds kept in the Padma nyin byed Library (*dpe mdzod*), along with thangkas of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, Maitreya's lives, and other subjects.[68] As we know from studies of Si tu's other paintings, his work was frequently copied and the same must have been the case with the Buddha's Deeds set in question.[69] The Tibet Museum thangkas copied from Si tu's design exhibit several features from Chinese Buddhist painting, such as the alternating pink, yellow and blue colors of the rainbow body halo in figure 3.4 comparable to those in figure 3.7, the head shapes and sizes of the central figures, and the treatment of birds, flowers and rocks to the lower right of figure 3.5.

The scenes in Si tu's design do not conform to standard lists of the Twelve Deeds in Tibet. In the first thangka they follow a clockwise sequence around the central figure, suggesting the devotional practice of circumambulation. The narrative sequence in the second thangka is more difficult to determine, but also likely follows a clockwise pattern. Brief inscriptions in gold lettering mark each scene; unfortunately, to date I have not been able to examine the originals or legible copies. I provisionally identify the scenes as follows, marking a separate scene for each appearance of Siddhārtha/Śākyamuni:

1. Birth at Lumbinī (Fig. 3.4, lower left, emerging from mother's side)
2. Declaration of his last life (Fig. 3.4, lower left, standing on lotus)
3. Encounter outside the palace (Fig. 3.4, upper left edge, in chariot)
4. Departure from the palace (Fig. 3.4, upper left edge, on horseback)
5. Cutting off his hair (Fig. 3.4, top center, seated beside *stūpa*)
6. Austerities (Fig. 3.4, upper right edge, seated under tree)

[67] I thank Karl Debreczeny and Jeff Watt for our discussions of these three paintings. David Jackson has also identified the Tibet Museum paintings as "Si tu-designed or Si tu-inspired." Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, 129.
[68] Karma rgyal mtshan, *Dpal spungs thub bstan chos 'khor gling gi lo rgyus,* 598.
[69] See *HTP*, pt. 2, chap. 10; Jackson, "Karma Kagyupa Paintings;" Jackson, *Patron and Painter*; and Debreczeny, "Bodhisattvas South of the Clouds."

7. Break from extreme asceticism (Fig. 3.4, upper right edge, reclining on side)
8. Washing in the Nairañjanā River (Fig. 3.4, upper right edge, bent over river)
9. Accepting the milk pudding (Fig. 3.4, middle and lower right, including the kneeling layman and the two women by the fire)
10. Encounter with *nāga* (Fig. 3.4, bottom center, standing by river)
11. Turning the wheel of Dharma at Sārnāth (Fig. 3.4, central figure, seated on throne)
12. Visiting laypeople (Fig. 3.5, lower right and left, standing with disciples, including the building complexes on the right and left)
13. Taming the elephant (Fig. 3.5, central figure, standing on lotus, including elephant and building with onlookers)
14. Descent from Trayastriṃśa Heaven (Fig. 3.5, upper left corner, standing on ladder)
15. Teaching at Sāṃkāśya (Fig. 3.5, upper left, seated in grove with assembly)
16. Parinirvāṇa (Fig. 3.5, upper right, reclining on right side)
17. Cremation (Fig. 3.5, upper right, pyre)
18. Distribution of the relics (Fig. 3.5, middle right edge, reliquary vases)

While for the sake of clarity I have enumerated a separate scene for each appearance of Siddhārtha/Śākyamuni, it should be evident that (a) some scenes are visually clustered together but enumerated separately, (b) other scenes are enumerated together, despite being visually distinct, and (c) still others could be classified together based on Twelve Deeds schema, regardless of their visual composition. For example, the first and second scenes form a single visual unit—with the infant Bodhisattva's standing posture paralleling that of his mother Māyā—and also fall under the single deed of birth in the Twelve Deeds.[70] The fourteenth and fifteenth scenes are proximately placed, and indeed in textual accounts the teaching at Sāṃkāśya immediately follows the descent from Trayastriṃśa Heaven; however, these are not counted as deeds in the Twelve Deeds. According to my provisional classification, the twelfth scene encompasses two building complexes on opposite sides of the composition, since there is only one buddha figure and he appears to travel from one complex to the other; however, it is possible to classify the building on the right as a separate scene, perhaps signifying the construction of Jetavana or other monasteries donated to the Buddha. The fourth and fifth scenes both fall under the deed of renunciation according to the Twelve Deeds, but in the thangka these are spatially separated, communicating that a journey of some physical distance has been made.

In short, the scenes I have enumerated do not conform to standard lists of the Twelve Deeds in Tibet. Rather, they belie an erudite familiarity with the lesser-known details of the Buddha's life story. In the ninth scene, two maidens stand by the boiling milk pudding. Above, a kneeling layman offers a bowl to the Bodhisattva. As we have seen in the previous section, only in the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra* does Śakra in the guise of a brahmin offer milk pudding to the Bodhisattva; in the *Lalitavistara* and *Vinayavastu* the Bodhisattva receives the food offering from the laywoman Sujātā and from the laywomen Nandā and Nandabalā, respectively. The thangka thus most closely follows the version of the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra* for the milk pudding episode.

[70] Since there are varying lists and sequences of the *mdzad pa bcu gnyis*, I refrain from assigning ordinal numbers to each individual deed (*mdzad pa*) here. In addition to the list given by Dargyay (Dargyay, "Twelve Deeds"), another list occurs in the *Uttaratantra* (Obermiller, *Sublime Science*, 254).

However, these Buddha's Deeds thangkas were not designed to match the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra* or any other canonical source to the letter. Rather, through the life of the Buddha they articulate monastic ideals of purity (especially sexual purity) and solitude in secluded natural environments. The textual sources serve as references for aiding and enriching the viewer's readings of the visual narrative, but not as final authorities in their construction or interpretation. Reading the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra* version while viewing this ninth scene, we can see that because Śakra has intercepted the milk pudding en route to the Bodhisattva, Nandā and Nandabalā do not approach him directly with their hopes for marriage. However, in the pared-down visual composition the identities and subplots of the layman and two maidens are not assigned importance; the crucial thing is that a man is making physical contact with the Bodhisattva, while two young women stay far away.

This physical separation of the Bodhisattva from women is contrasted with the first scene of the birth: if we imagine a vertical axis down the center of the composition, we see that the birth scene is the mirror opposite of the two maidens. On the left, the infant Bodhisattva is stuck in an intimate and vulnerable position between two women, physically emerging from one and being caught by the other, both indebted to and dependent on women. In the flow of narrative time this may have lasted for only a moment, but in the painting that moment of physical contact is frozen—an elegant portrayal of the householder ensnared in relationships and obligations. On the opposite side in the milk pudding scene, the women are now at a safe distance, while the Bodhisattva stands confidently over a kneeling layman, appearing far more vigorous than the texts might have us believe. Indeed, he seems far more capable of giving to the humble layman than the other way around. The birth scene thus serves as a foil, suggesting impurity and entanglement in relationships in contrast to the sexual purity and relative seclusion of the milk pudding scene on the right.

This mirroring device further advances the ideal of separation from worldly life in other scenes of the two thangkas. Continuing with the upper section of figure 3.4, we see that the palace on the left serves as the foil to the forest on the right. The forest with its river is placed higher than the palace, reinforcing the superiority of forest solitude over even the finest material comforts and pleasures that household life has to offer. Indeed, in figure 3.5 this household-forest opposition is revisited in the form of town versus monastery, with the buildings of the town on the left placed lower than the buildings of the monastic complex surrounded by trees (the monastic complex is identifiable as such by the central great hall with a golden roof surrounded by minor subsidiary buildings).[71]

The themes of solitude and seclusion are further developed through omissions in Si tu's painted set. In these two compositions Siddhārtha/Śākyamuni never appears inside any building or even within any enclosing walls. The closest he comes is in the third scene of the encounter outside the palace—apparently with the old man, although this scene may also be taken as a metonymic representation of all four encounters with old age, sickness, death, and renunciation—where he remains within the garden borders but outside the walls of the palace complex. That is, this scene marks the transition when household life is revealed to be less than perfect, and the possibility of renunciation occurs to Siddhārtha. Everywhere else, we see him on empty plains or in forest settings; Si tu's use of deep space, unusual in Tibetan paintings, emphasizes this solitude even more acutely. In the twelfth scene at the bottom of figure 3.5, he appears halfway between the monastery and the town; this underscores the simple wandering

[71] Si tu's vertical use of space to denote moral superiority will be discussed further in the following section.

lifestyle of solitary monks over the hustle and bustle of social life and the habits of material comfort. Indeed, there are very few laypeople, even where we would expect them according to both textual narratives and other Tibetan paintings of the Buddha's Deeds (figure from Chapter One)—in the palace, attending sermons such as the one at Sāṃkāśya, and at his *parinirvāṇa* and the distribution of the relics. Where they do appear, laypeople are rendered smaller and placed below the Buddha and his monks, reinforcing their inferiority; the twelfth scene of visiting laypeople is the most exaggerated instance of this.[72] As for the material goods in the painting, they can hardly be called luxurious: the *stūpa* by which he cuts off his hair, the bowl of milk pudding, and the reliquary vases are all lacking in ornamentation.

With the visual biography of the Buddha pared down to a few figures and none of the opulence commonly lavished on this subject, what we are left with is an extreme economy of representation centered on the archetypal activities of a monk. A monk is born (first and second scenes), decides to go forth from his home (third scene), goes forth from home (fourth scene), and renounces (fifth scene). In addition to meditating (sixth scene), he is expected to maintain a simple, but not severely ascetic, lifestyle (seventh and eighth scenes). As related in Si tu's catalogue, Śakra prepares to wash the Bodhisattva's robes, but the Bodhisattva declines in order to demonstrate that one who has renounced should wash his own robes.[73] As the monk continues with other activities such as accepting food offerings (ninth scene) and teaching (eleventh and fifteenth scenes), he acts in the world without getting embroiled in the vagaries of household life (twelfth and thirteenth scenes). Thus we can read these paintings as the particular life of Śākyamuni Buddha, or we can read them as the ideal life of an ordinary monk.

Si tu's design of the Buddha's Deeds thus communicates his vision of the ideal monastic in three related aspects. First, his decision to represent lesser-known variations of episodes from the life of the Buddha indicates his uncommonly thorough knowledge of Bka' 'gyur texts. In this regard he acts as a model of the ideal monk who is well versed in the fundamental sources of Buddhist knowledge. Second, by representing these obscure textual details in the medium of painting he suggests that an ideal monk can express his understanding of the Dharma through fields of learning such as art, and hence that these are worthwhile endeavors. Third, through selective choices and omissions in his pictorial design Si tu conveys the sexually and materially restrained lifestyle of an ideal monk, a lifestyle authenticated as that of Śākyamuni Buddha himself. Through his adaptations of the Buddha's Deeds Si tu thus responded both to his sectarian critics, who insinuated that Bka' brgyud pas of his time understood little of the Dharma, and to the local rise of non-celibate, lay tantric communities that devalued scholarship.

---

[72] Christian Luczanits has noted a similar organizational principle in the life of the Buddha paintings in the Alchi Sumtsek, where "beings considered higher by Buddhists [are] placed above. Thus *bodhisattvas* are placed above gods, gods and *naga*s above monks, monks above sages and (brahminical) priests, and the latter two above lay people." Luczanits, "Life of the Buddha in the Sumtsek," 39.

[73] *gos de 'khru ba'i chu'ang lhas lag pa brdab pa las byung bas/ lag pa brdabs pa'i rdzing du grags pa ste/ der dbang pos rdo leb bzhag nas rab tu byung ba rang nyid kyis bya ba bstan pa'i phyir nyid kyis bkrus nas rdzing de las 'byung bar dgos kyang / bdud kyis gad pa mthon pos sprul pas/ de'i 'gram du shing sgrub byed yod pa'i yal ga shing gi lha mos smad pa la 'jus te byung ngo/.* Si tu, *Zla 'od gzhon nu'i 'khri shing*, 79a4-79a5.

SI TU'S *WISH-FULFILLING VINE* THANGKA SET (1733-1737)

In the two preceding sections we saw how Si tu exhibited formidable knowledge of the Buddhist canon as well as virtuosic skills in artistic design. In this section I argue that Si tu's thangka set of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* is designed for close reading by viewers who have prior knowledge of Kṣemendra's textual original and of Sanskrit and Tibetan poetics. In response to his sectarian critics, Si tu demonstrates that painting and poetry are not diversions from inner learning (*nang rig*), but rather valuable media through which to comment on, and hence express one's understanding of, the Dharma. The ideal monk in Si tu's view is not only celibate and erudite in the fundamental sources of Buddhist scripture, but also a polymath who can integrate his various skills in service of the Dharma. My analysis is preceded by a brief review of previous scholarship on Si tu's *Vine* set, a description of the set, and discussions of its copies.

A significant amount of scholarly work on Si tu's set already exists. Foremost are the contributions of David Jackson, who has identified and introduced this set, placed it in the context of Si tu's other artistic work and the Karma sgar bris painting tradition, and presented important biographical sources on the production of Si tu's *Vine*.[74] Dkon mchog bstan 'dzin also discussed this set in his work on Tibetan art and quoted briefly from the final inscription.[75] Catalogue entries by Valrae Reynolds, Marilyn Rhie, and Robert Thurman analyze the style and dates of various copies, as well as the visual emplotment of individual episodes.[76] In addition, Jeff Watt and the staff at Himalayan Art Resources have compiled many copies of Si tu's design in a convenient and accessible format.[77] My study of Si tu's *Vine* set is deeply indebted to these scholars and their previous work.

Given the visual complexities of this set and the proliferation of multiple copies, however, much more work needs to be done. In the ensuing discussion I introduce two additional incomplete sets that have not been previously published, one of which contains a verse inscription. Moreover, while some preliminary attempts have been made at identifying the plot sequences, I present diagrammatic analyses of each narrative thangka (i.e. the second through twenty-second scrolls), with numbered scene identifications and brief written explanations (Figs. 3.16-3.36, Appendix).[78] I supplement my groundwork on the paintings with newly translated material from Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*; together these supply the basis for further interpretation, particularly in the dialectic between image and text.

Description of Si tu's Vine *Set: Copies, Layout, Production*

The set has one Buddha portrait scroll, one donor portrait scroll, and twenty-one scrolls depicting the episodes of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, totalling twenty-three scroll designs that definitely belong to the set. Many copies of Si tu's original set are extant, but the identity of the original set has not been verified and Si tu did not record in his diaries the number of scrolls in

---

[74] *HTP*, 264, 283, 285 n.616-22, 286 n.641; Jackson, "Karma Kagyupa Paintings," 112-16; Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, 11-12, 16, 122.
[75] Dkon mchog bstan 'dzin, *Bzo gnas skra rtse'i chu thigs*, 122-24.
[76] Reynolds, *From the Sacred Realm*, 183-84; Rhie and Thurman, *Worlds of Transformation*, 147-155, 159.
[77] "Painting Set: Avadana Composition (Si tuPanchen Design)," Himalayan Art Resources, http: //www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=46 (accessed December 1, 2009).
[78] The diagrams of Si tu's thangka design in *Leaves of the Heaven Tree* represent the most complete attempt to date, demarcating the area in which each episode occurs. However, a few mistakes have been made, and individual scenes within episodes have not been identified. Padma chos 'phel, *Leaves of the Heaven Tree*.

the original set.[79] A set of twenty-five scrolls is recorded in some modern sources, one of which includes White Tārā Protecting from Eight Dangers and Mañjuśrī as the two additional scrolls in the set; these figures appear to have been reproduced from photographs in the Shechen Archives (Figs. 3.8, 3.9).[80] The White Tārā and Mañjuśrī are self-contained compositions, and while they are consistent with Si tu's style they lack any obvious qualities that would place them within this set. Moreover, the lengthy inscription on the donor portrait in Si tu's *Vine* set does not mention them. It is therefore unlikely that these two designs were part of the original *Vine* set designed by Si tu; Dkon mchog bstan 'dzin and David Jackson are also of the opinion that the original set only consisted of twenty-three scrolls.[81]

Among the numerous copies made from Si tu's design, it is certainly possible that additional scrolls not depicting *Vine* narratives were included or excluded from various later sets. Si tu records in his diary that he himself made another *Vine* set as a gift in 1758; later, in 1772, he lent his twenty-one thangka *Vine* set to the enforcement officer (*hor 'dra*) of Sde dge.[82] The latter anecdote could be interpreted in two ways, i.e. (a) in this instance only the twenty-one narrative thangkas depicting *Vine* episodes were lent out, so that different portraits of the central Buddha and patron would have been designed separately; or (b) Si tu referred to his set based on the number of narrative thangkas, even though there were a total of twenty-three or more scrolls. Given the currently available evidence, I will consider only the Buddha portrait scroll, twenty-one narrative scrolls, and donor portrait scroll in my remaining analysis of this set.

In addition to copies of Si tu's *Vine* set that have already been published, I would like to introduce two incomplete sets from a private monastic collection. Photographs of this set were generously made available to me by Tashi Tsering, Director of the Amnye Machen Institute; I will refer to these paintings as Set A and Set B. Set A is nearly complete with twenty thangkas; the first, fourteenth and twenty-second are missing (Figs. 3.16-3.27, 3.29-3.35, 3.37). The color palette of Set A appears comparable to other paintings dated to the eighteenth century and designed by Si tu Paṇ chen, such as a White Cakrasaṃvara from a set of twenty-seven tantric deity thangkas (Fig. 3.10) and a Vajradhāra from a set of eleven thangkas depicting the Eighty-Four Great Adepts (*mahāsiddha*) (Fig. 3.11)—especially the full range of blues from pale to dark, the pale greens and pinks, and the ochre yellows. Also notable are the forms and shading of distant ochre, green and blue hills, similar treatments of cloud shape and color, the treatment of waterfowl (Fig. 3.10, lower left corner; Fig. 3.27, no. 54.2; Fig. 3.33, no. 92.10) and houses and trees (Fig. 3.11, at upper right; Fig. 3.27, no. 54.1; see also Fig. 3.2). On the reverse of the Vajradhāra thangka is an inscription stating that it was "made by Kushab Jigmé Gönpo, in the only Karshodpa style."[83]

The overall quality of the paintings in Set A is also higher than in other extant paintings, with a greater amount of gold used, the superior quality of other colors that appear to indicate relatively high quantities of mineral pigments, and finer shading and details. While this is not necessarily determinative of their date, it suggests that they must have been commissioned by a

---

[79] See Chapter Four on Zhu chen for documentation of later copies made in the eighteenth century.

[80] Padma chos 'phel, *Skyes rabs dpag bsam 'khri shing*, pls. 2-3. According to Karma rgyal mtshan's description of the printing house at Dpal spungs, a set of twenty-five *Dpag bsam 'khri shing thang ka*s were housed there. Karma rgyal mtshan, *Dpal spungs thub bstan chos 'khor gling gi lo rgyus*, 577.

[81] *HTP*, 285 n. 616.

[82] Si tu Paṇ chen, *Autobiography*, 365.3; Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, 16.

[83] Jeff Watt trans., "Vajradhara Buddha," Himalayan Art Resources, http://www.himalayanart.org /image.cfm?icode=65420 (accessed December 1, 2009).

wealthy patron who could expend a great deal on skilled labor and materials. I believe they would have been made during the height of Sde dge's power and patronage, between 1737 when Si tu's original set was completed and 1798 when the Sde dge queen dowager Tse dbang lha mo was ousted.[84]

The Set B paintings are less well preserved; there are five in total copying the designs of the fifth, eighth, ninth, nineteenth and twenty-second thangkas (Figs. 3.40-3.43, 3.36). Less pigment was apparently used than in Set A, with the absence of intense greens most noticeable. Some features such as buildings are larger than in Set A. However, the use of color and degree of detail—significantly, including the consistency in color of characters' clothing—is similar enough that Set B may have been copied directly from Set A, or both from a common exemplar. Set B may also have been made in the eighteenth century, although a later date is also possible.

Several factors suggest that the paintings from Set A more closely resemble the original design than some other extant copies. These can be illustrated by comparing the twelfth thangka in Set A (Fig. 3.26) with two other copies: one in the Newark Museum dated to the eighteenth century (Fig. 3.44), and the other in the Rubin Museum of Art dated to the nineteenth century (Fig. 3.45). The composition remains relatively consistent between Set A and the Rubin thangkas—especially the relative location and scale of figures, architectural and landscape elements—again suggesting that the later Rubin copy took Set A as its model, or else that the two derive from a common exemplar. In the Newark copy, however, the scale of figures, buildings and mountains has increased, with a concomitant loss of the miniaturization, depth and spaciousness apparent in works designed by Si tu. The placement of figures also differs more significantly than in the Rubin copy, e.g. with the group in the courtyard in scene 46.6. While the hard line drawing, color application, and variety of detail in the Newark copy are of high quality, its painter(s) also exercised more prerogative in adapting Si tu's design.

The intelligibility of the narrative is also affected by compositional choices in the Newark copy, as may be observed in the episode of Sarvārthasiddha (Fig. 3.26, no. 46), a previous existence of Śākyamuni Buddha. In the Newark copy, the body of water has been vertically compressed and lengthened to the right edge of the composition. All of the same scenes appear in both thangkas. However, in the Set A composition a hill and shoreline converge between scenes 48.12 and 46.2, helping to demarcate the two separate episodes which both involve ocean travel. In the Newark composition, on the other hand, the open water passage suggests that the episode narrative continues upward. Moreover, in the Set A composition the trajectory of the return journey is suggested in scene 48.16: while the prow of the boat points to the right, away from the island adventures, the angle of the clouds directs the viewer's eye to turn once more toward scene 48.17, the grand homecoming in which Sarvārthasiddha mounts his wish-granting gem on a victory banner and a rain of jewels shower down. This cloud detail is missing in the Newark copy and scene 48.16 appears instead to connect with scenes in the forty-eighth episode. The cleverly wending scene sequence of the Sarvārthasiddha episode in Set A—suggesting his wandering quest for the wish-granting gem—is lost in the more linear progression of the Newark copy as well as through the loss of landscape elements as episode borders.

[84] Kolmaš, *Genealogy*, 42. Based on the available photographs, Terese Bartholomew suggests that the brocade mounts in Figure 3.19 seem to date to the Ming dynasty, early seventeenth century, as the scattering of treasures (ingots and coins) among the flowers is typical of the period. She believes that the brocade mounts for other *thang ka*s may date to the Qing period; however, in all cases she cautions that it is difficult to determine the age of the brocade unless personally examined. Personal communication, February 9, 2010.

The painters executing the Newark copy thus may have been unaware of the plot details of the *Vine* and hence how to distinguish one episode from another. Si tu was attentive to textual sources in his narrative painting, as we have seen here and in the previous section on the Buddha's Deeds. His intimate engagement with the *Vine* will be further demonstrated in the analyses of individual episodes below. As Set A is nearly complete, likely dates from the eighteenth century, represents the plot in an intelligible way, and is generally of high quality, I have used it as the background template for my narrative diagrams, supplementing the missing paintings from other sets as necessary.

Comparing the last or twenty-third scroll across sets also yields interesting differences. The composition contains a large painting of a scroll on the left; in Set A it bears a lengthy inscription in light gold on a darker gold background (Fig. 3.37). Another copy of the last scroll in Si tu's series dated to the nineteenth century—in the collection of the Rubin Museum of Art (Fig. 3.38)—closely resembles the composition of the Set A painting but leaves the area for the inscription blank. Still another copy of the last scroll, photographed by the Shechen Archives as part of a complete set (Fig. 3.39), has an inscription in red letters on a blue background; while the painting is also of high quality, in this copy a new figure with a red hat has been added underneath the inscription, and one of the two artists working on canvas, at lower left, has been replaced by a seated monk with an offering table.

Si tu did not mention in his diaries where his original *Vine* paintings were housed, or in which order they were displayed. I have not personally examined any copies with inscriptions explaining the sequence of display. As has been discussed in Chapter Two, the method employed at Gong dkar and in the Snar thang woodcut series was to place roughly the first half of *Vine* episodes to the proper right side (viewer's left) of the central image, and the remaining *Vine* episodes to the proper left side (viewer's right) of the central image, in both cases the number of the episode increasing with distance from the center (see also Appendix A).

When we follow this sequence for Si tu's design, certain suggestive patterns emerge. The first thangka in Si tu's set, with an iconic Śākyamuni Buddha as its main subject, is unambiguously the central thangka (*gtso thang*) around which the remaining scrolls are arranged (Fig. 3.15); a later copy of this same design belongs to the Shechen Archives set (Fig. 3.14). The sixth through eighth thangkas, which would appear to the proper right of the central thangka, share the horizon near the upper edge of the composition, resulting in a gently rolling hillscape (Figs. 3.20-3.22). The ninth through eleventh thangkas also share an approximate horizon, although the effect is less pronounced than in the previous case (Figs. 3.23-3.25). The twelfth thangka, which would be the last on the proper right, is dominated by a large body of water with numerous inlets, forming a dramatic border for the overall design that simultaneously points back to the center of the composition (Fig. 3.26).

Shifting to the proper left of the central thangka, a body of water connects across the fourteenth through sixteenth thangkas (Figs. 3.28-3.30); the twenty-first and twenty-second thangkas are visually connected near the upper edge by horizontal clouds (Figs. 3.35-3.36); and the seventeenth through twenty-second thangkas share an approximate horizon following the outlines of mountains, hills and buildings (Figs. 3.31-3.36). These features are reminiscent of Chinese landscape painting on album leaves, in which each leaf contains a continuous landscape, while across consecutive leaves the landscape is interrupted yet maintains a degree of perspectival harmony (Figs. 3.46, 3.47). Given Si tu's explicit statement that his *Vine* set was modeled after Chinese landscape painting, it is not surprising that he would have borrowed this

visual device.[85] Finally, in the twenty-third and last thangka according to this proposed arrangement, Si tu's head is turned three-quarters in the direction of the central thangka as both patron and designer of this *Vine* set (Figs. 3.37-3.39).[86] Given these features of Si tu's set, I propose that the mounting sequence of Si tu's scrolls was designed in agreement with preexisting and contemporaneous conventions for narrative thangka series (see Table 3.1).[87]

Si tu stated that he personally drew all the sketches for the *Vine* series; he emphasized the novelty of the designs, noting in his diaries that they were "conceived afresh by my own intellect."[88] He records that the actual painting was done by a group of painters from Kar shod, whom he took pains to train for the project.[89] Despite the multiple hands that worked on the series, certain themes and design principles consistently recur in its design, as I will discuss below. Si tu's role as both patron and master planner is underscored by the composition in the last scroll, in which Si tu is seated on a throne, looming over seven smaller monks making offerings and working on canvas (Fig. 3.37). With his face turned toward the artist monks and his left hand lightly grasping a *dpe cha* text, he appears to supervise their labor while maintaining the authority of the textual source, the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*.[90] As I will demonstrate, the very structure of the verbal narrative is built into the visual design.

---

[85] Si tu's mention of Chinese and Indic inspirations for his *Vine* set has been previously noted (*HTP*, 264; Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 145-46).

[86] This follows visual conventions in lineage portraiture, in which members of the lineage face the central figure. See for example the Snar thang xylographic thangka sets for the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama lineages (Doboom and Mullin, *Compassion and Reincarnation,* pls. 17-25; HAR 71934-71946; TPS vol. 2, figs. 90-102). For a discussion and diagram of lineages on a single thangka, see Jackson, "Lineages and Structure," 25.

[87] Three thangkas in a private collection, which appear to belong to the same set copied from Si tu's design, have inscriptions on the reverse side, written near the top center of the scroll. These are HAR 65588, 65586 and 65557. The texts state respectively: *ga g.yas/gnyis pa/*; *ca g.yas gsum pa/*; and *ba g.yas dgu pa/*. These may be taken respectively to mean "Third [in series], second on right," "Fifth [in series], third on right," and "Fifteenth [in series], ninth on right." The last inscription has been written over to read *ba g.yan dgu pa/*, as if the scribe intended to write "left" (*g.yon*) but changed his mind. They correspond to the fourth, sixth and sixteenth *thang ka*s in Si tu's design, following the convention of not numbering the *gtso thang*. The first two inscriptions also suggest that this particular set may have been displayed with the narrative *thang ka* sequence proceeding on alternating sides of the *gtso thang,* as is done with lineage portrait series (see preceding note). We should not take this evidence to be indicative of the original arrangement, especially since the inscription on HAR 65557 incorrectly identifies it as the ninth on the right—according to the alternating sequence, it should be the eighth on the right. However, these *thang ka*s indicate that copies of Si tu's design may have been displayed in an alternating sequence.

[88] I have extracted this quotation from a longer sentence in Si tu's diaries (quoted excerpt underlined): *rtogs brjod dpag bsam 'khri shing gi bkod pa/ rgya yi si thang ltar gyi ri mo tshon mdangs bcad rnams rgya'i lugs dang khang bzang dang cha lugs sogs rgya bal gyi yul nyams can <u>rang blos gsar du spros pa</u> skya bris rnams rang nyid kyi sug las bgyis pa'i zhal thang sum cu skor bzhengs pa'i las grwa tshugs/.* Si tu, *Autobiography,* 156.3-156.4. Note that in a prior translation, Jackson read *rgya ris* for *rgya yi* (*HTP*, 264, 285 n. 617).

[89] Si tu writes that "after thoroughly training the Kar shod sprul sku step by step, starting with coloring, shading [and] outlining, along with the gold application, [I] entrusted the painting [to the Kar shod sprul sku and his assistants]." *tshon btang ba nas bzung/ mdangs sha bcad/ gser bris bcas kar shod kyi sprul sku ba rnams la rim par legs par bslabs kyin bri bcug/.* Si tu, *Autobiography*, 157.7; cf. *HTP*, 264, 285 n. 618.

[90] The generally corporate and collaborative nature of literary and artistic production notwithstanding, Si tu Paṇ chen was hardly alone among Tibetan culture producers in constructing his individuality. On constructions of the self through Tibetan autobiography, see Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self*.

Table 3.1. Numbering systems for Si tu Paṇ chen's *Vine* thangka set

R = proper right, L = proper left

Serial Number	Proposed mounting location	*Vine* episode numbers	Figure numbers in this chapter
1	central (*gtso-thang*)	-	3.14, 3.15
2	R-1	1-3	3.16
3	R-2	4-6	3.17
4	R-3	7-11	3.18
5	R-4	12-14	3.19, 3.40
6	R-5	15-20	3.20
7	R-6	21-23	3.21
8	R-7	24-27	3.22, 3.41
9	R-8	28-33	3.23, 3.42
10	R-9	34-38	3.24
11	R-10	39-43	3.25
12	R-11	44-48	3.26, 3.44, 3.45
13	L-1	49-54	3.27
14	L-2	55-62	3.28
15	L-3	63-66	3.29
16	L-4	67-71	3.30
17	L-5	72-80	3.31
18	L-6	81-87	3.32
19	L-7	88-92	3.33, 3.43
20	L-8	93-99	3.34
21	L-9	100-105	3.35
22	L-10	106-108	3.36
23	L-11	-	3.37, 3.38, 3.39

Storytelling Frames

For individual episodes of the original *Wish-Fulfilling Vine,* Kṣemendra commonly employs a narrative framing technique that follows conventions of Buddhist *avadāna* literature. The narrative begins with a story of the present, in which an occasion arises for the Buddha to relate a past narrative. The story of the past involves one or more previous lives of the Buddha and/or other characters participating in the story of the present. The Buddha then identifies the characters in the story of the past with their present incarnations; this is sometimes accompanied by karmic explanations.[91] The story of the past is thus embedded within a present frame, with the

[91] The length of each part may vary in the *Vine*: while the story of the past commonly constitutes the bulk of the episode, in some cases the story of the present may dominate. This tripartite narrative structure resembles that of Pāḷi *jātaka* literature as analyzed by Oskar von Hinüber, corresponding to the *paccuppannavatthu, atītavatthu* and *samodhāna* respectively while omitting the intermediary *gāthā* (verse) and *veyyākaraṇa* (commentary explicaitng the *gāthā*). See von Hinüber, *Entstehung und Aufbau der Jātaka-Sammlung*; von Hinuber, *Handbook of Pāli Literature*, 54-58. I am indebted to Robert Raddock and Alexander Rospatt for summarizing Hinüber's analysis in English at an early stage in my research, as I myself do not read German.

story of the present at the beginning and the identification at the end. In the *Vine* text, the Buddha functions as the main storyteller, a truly omniscient narrator who can relay all the vicissitudes of previous lives in vivid detail, and clarify the network of karmic connections across time and between characters.[92]

In Si tu's design, the present frame is represented by a seated Śākyamuni Buddha addressing an audience, e.g. in the episodes of Muktālatā (Fig.3.18, no. 7), Garbhāvakrānti (Fig. 3.18, no. 10), Devāvatāra (Fig. 3.20, no. 15), Darśamukha (Fig. 3.20, no. 18) and so on. In the vocabulary of Si tu's *Vine* design, such gatherings are code for a storytelling moment, when the Buddha instructs through narrative. The monumental Śākyamuni Buddha in the central thangka mirrors these narrative frames: he is seated iconically on a throne, with haloes around his head and body, his right hand in the earth-touching gesture (*bhūmisparśamudrā*), flanked by four standing *bodhisattva*s.[93] In a tight huddle around the Buddha are twenty-one monks, together with Indra and four-faced Brahmā seated on his proper right, and *nāga*s emerging from the water on his proper left. It is relatively unusual for the monks to have their backs so emphatically turned; in contemporaneous portraits of Śākyamuni Buddha with eighteen *arhat* disciples, for example, the *arhat*s are seated in frontal or three-quarter poses with their bodies oriented toward the viewer, and facing forward or toward the center of the composition (Fig. 3.12). This more common mode of composition places all the figures on display, maintaining a separation between the viewer and the viewed.

By contrast, Si tu's design draws the viewer into the painting: we are at the edges of this assembly, with our bodies oriented in the same direction as the seated monks. The composition evokes the theme of the Three Jewels, with the Buddha above, the wheel of Dharma in the middle, and the Saṅgha represented by the monks and other figures below. These three parts form a compact, well-integrated compositional unit based on overlapping circles: the Buddha is surrounded by head and body haloes, the continuing arc of the Saṅgha's circle is suggested by the arc of the upper edge of the white moon-disc, and the wheel of Dharma itself rests in the middle. The content of the Buddha's speech—in the context of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, the stories he tells and the explanations he provides for them—is the Dharma itself, which becomes available when such assemblies gather, that is, when the opportunity for teaching occurs. The central thangka functions as a narrative frame for the entire set of thangkas, reminding the viewer that the Buddha is the omniscient, authoritative and trustworthy source of these stories. As I have mentioned above, this narrative frame is reproduced on a smaller scale within certain individual episodes. However, in the central thangka it is established as the viewer's point of entry, the perspective through which to encounter the 108 stories that follow. By joining this intimate storytelling circle, viewers now have access to the narratives *as if* they were hearing them from the Buddha himself.

Comparable to Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, in the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* Kṣemendra utilizes an introductory verse for each episode. However, while Āryaśūra's introductory verse is an encapsulation of a didactic theme, Kṣemendra's introductory verse is at times more narrative than didactic in character.

[92] The ability to see the past, present and future *karma* of all beings is considered an accomplishment of buddhahood (AKB, vol. 4, 1138). The cases in the *Vine* where the Buddha does not function as a storyteller are episodes that take place after the death of the Buddha, mostly dealing with events occurring in the lifetime of King Aśoka or disciples of Ānanda; see Kṣe. 69-74. In a few other cases the storyteller is not the Buddha, but a previous incarnation of the Buddha, e.g. Kṣe. 2.

[93] In my analysis of the inscription to Si tu's *Vine* set, I will return to his choice to depict the Buddha in this *thang ka* with *bhūmisparśamudrā*.

I emphasize *as if* because what we have here, of course, are painted images designed by an eighteenth-century monk from eastern Tibet, not an encounter with the living, historical Śākyamuni Buddha in the flesh. In the last scroll, Si tu both acknowledges and comments upon his own position relative to the telling of the *avadāna* narratives. He sits elevated on a throne, much larger in scale than the subsidiary figures. While this is a familiar way to depict a hieratic teacher as the main subject of a composition, it is unusual for a donor portrait, which is more often placed in the lower left or right corner. The outsized portrait reflects Si tu's special status as a *sprul sku*, while his three-quarter pose is also reminiscent of portrait subjects in lineage series, in which the main subject of the central thangka faces frontally and all other main portrait subjects face toward the center (Fig. 3.13).[94] While Si tu is placed slightly lower within this composition than Śākyamuni Buddha in the central scroll, their bodies are comparable in scale. Like the Buddha, Si tu presides over a group of monks, some making offerings and others drawing the preliminary sketches for paintings. Thus Si tu is the second storyteller who mediates the words of Śākyamuni Buddha, creating yet another narrative frame that circumscribes the Buddha's. The present frame of the Buddha as storyteller is now made past, as in the famous formula "Thus have I heard" (*evaṃ mayā śrutam*) placed at the beginning of Buddhist *sūtra*s (and later adopted by Buddhist tantric texts).

Just as the phrase "Thus have I heard" authenticates the work it frames by gesturing back to its authoritative source, Si tu authenticates his *Vine* set by gesturing back to Śākyamuni Buddha. In addition to facing toward the Buddha, Si tu presides over the monks in a manner similar to the Buddha within narrative scenes of this set. In the episode of Muktālatā (Fig. 3.18, nos. 7.5-7.6), monks and laymen cluster around the Buddha sitting under a stand of trees; one holds a portrait that the Buddha has consented to have made for the lady Muktālatā. In the episode of Udrāyaṇa, (Fig. 3.25, no. 41.2), a lay painter prepares a portrait of the Buddha as he sits facing a tree. Si tu has depicted himself in similar (although more elaborate) fashion, sitting on a throne with trees just behind him with monk attendants and painters below.

Beyond the similarities in these configurations, Si tu additionally has a *dpe cha* book in his lap, suggesting that his instruction to the monks is backed by textual authority. While there are no clues as to the contents of the book, we might reasonably imagine it to be the canonized text of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* itself, which is the ultimate textual authority for this painted series. As we will see in Si tu's poetic inscription, he does not acknowledge any textual sources other than this for his set. In short, Si tu's retelling of the *Vine* through this set is authenticated both through Si tu's visible resemblances to the Buddha, as well as through his reliance on textual sources based on the words of the Buddha. By drawing attention to the storytelling process and to narrative frames, Si tu exposes these differences and distances, while at the same time assuring us that these do not impinge on the availability of authentic Dharma to his contemporary and future viewers.

Narrative Modes and Scene Sequences

Turning to the narrative scrolls themselves, we are confronted with a complex visual field of precisely rendered figures set in buildings rendered in painstaking detail—down to individual bricks—and varied landscapes. However, there are few obvious signposts by which to navigate this jewel-like miniature world, to make sense of the narrative thread of the *avadāna* episodes.

[94] One possible reading is that the composition places Si tu in a lineage with Śākyamuni, since Si tu's reincarnation lineage was identified as an emanation of Śākyamuni's successor, the future buddha Maitreya.

Other narrative paintings, as I discussed in Chapters One and Two, utilize devices such as captions and landscape elements to demarcate scenes, and the episodes often proceed in a clockwise fashion around a large central figure. Despite the fact that some copies of Si tu's design bear title captions (which themselves take several moments to locate), the viewer is left wondering how to proceed. While some features may suggest directionality—such as the trajectories of serrating bodies of water or trailing clouds (Fig. 3.19, no. 14.9), or horses and boats with their noses and prows pointed one way or the other (Fig. 3.17, nos. 4.1, 6.1, 6.5, 6.7)—overall the relatively free spatial arrangement challenges the viewer to make sense of the narratives.

Having determined the scene sequences of individual episodes, one finds that they encompass a complex and subtle range of visual strategies, reflecting both the diversity within the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* anthology as well as the compositional choices made in Si tu's set. Vidya Dehejia's typology of seven narrative modes in Indian Buddhist visual culture offers a useful point of departure.[95] A few of the episodes are presented in monoscenic-active (Fig. 3.35, no. 100.1) and monoscenic-static (Fig. 3.18, no. 10.1; Fig. 3.31, no. 75.1) modes. Once each of the episodes is recognized, it is observably demarcated—by banks of clouds in the first case, garden walls in the second, and mountains, trees and a river in the third. In short, a variety of environmental elements are used to enframe episodes. Yet the same elements are used to divide scenes within individual episodes in Si tu's set, such as in the Muktālatā and Nanda episodes (Fig. 3.18, nos. 7 and 11). In the Muktālatā episode, mountains and rivers set off the Laṅkā scenes, while the two scenes on Laṅkā are shown in two separate buildings (7.5, 7.8). In the Nanda episode clouds for the heaven scene (11.7), clouds and cliffs for the hell scene (11.8), and monastic walls and doorways (11.2-11.5) are used to demarcate scenes. These elements often also function as physical spaces within the narratives themselves, and hence differ from the decorative, patterned elements used as enframing devices in Dehejia's examples.

While episodes ten, seventy-five and one hundred are monoscenic, the others in Si tu's design are all multiscenic and present complex narrative sequences. To continue with an episode introduced above, the Muktālatā episode combines elements of sequential, synoptic, and conflated narrative modes, along with the mode of narrative networks. First, the maiden Muktālatā is shown twice in Laṅkā in two different buildings (7.5, 7.8) indicating two different narrative scenes, although both take place in her residence in Laṅkā: that is, the protagonist appears repeatedly at different times and the scenes are enframed in a sequence. Second, the narrative lacks apparent causal or temporal order with respect to spatial arrangement, and thus may be called synoptic. Third, while Muktālatā appears multiple times, Śākyamuni appears only once, with multiple scenes conflated around him at different points in time (7.1-7.2, 7.6-7.7). Fourth, the order is guided at least in part by topographical location, a feature that Dehejia foregrounded with respect to the mode of narrative networks in large-scale compositions but that can equally apply to more modestly scaled compositions, as we see here. Most episodes in Si tu's set are similar in that they are synoptic in overall plan, but may also include one or more of the other modes discussed above.[96]

To complicate matters further, Si tu sometimes employs doubling techniques for scene planning. Within the same episode, a scene may double for two separate plot occurrences, e.g.

[95] Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art*, 10-15.

[96] A few episodes (nos. 19, 76, 102) could be classified as "continuous" modes of narration, since they proceed in horizontal sequences from left to right or from right to left.

the merchants going to Siṅghala (Fig. 3.18, no. 7.4). The same architectural or landscape element may also be used for two different episodes, such as the mountain in the upper right corner of Fig. 3.17, which doubles as Mount Meru in scene 4.6 and as the mountain on Badara Island in scene 6.6. To give a second example, in Figure 3.19 the palace of King Bimbisāra contains scenes from the thirteenth and fourteenth episodes of the *Vine*—both of which feature King Bimbisāra as an important character—with scene no. 13.1 on the bottom floor, scene no. 14.2 on the top floor, and other scenes arranged around the palace. Based on Dehejia's typology, it is evident that the design principles of Si tu's *Vine* set tend toward the complex, interweaving multiple narrative modes across a large-scale work.

It should be clear from this discussion that Si tu's *Vine* set consists of what Vidya Dehejia has called "illegible narratives," that is, visual narratives that "could only be read by those who previously knew the story and could hence read the episodes in their correct sequences, supplying the missing narrative elements from their memory."[97] Viewers could not rely on an obvious, internal pattern of visual narrative logic; they varied from episode to episode, and even within episodes. Rather, they would have had to resort to external, verbal knowledge of the narratives, whether oral or written. Even equipped with this, they would have needed a significant amount of time for observation in order to distinguish episodes from each other, as well as scene sequences within episodes. Less knowledgeable or patient viewers, of course, could enjoy visual features of the thangka set without poring over the plots. However, for those familiar with the plots Si tu's design indicates his own intimate engagement with the stories of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, as I will show in the ensuing discussion. Most significantly, I show how Si tu's design takes the form of what I call a *moral-spatial hierarchy*, in which elements of greater soteriological value are spatially privileged over those of lesser soteriological value.

Moral-Spatial Hierarchy: Themes of Ascetic Renunciation

The Śaśaka (Hare) episode (Fig. 3.35, no. 104) is a variation of the same plot that is also found in Āryaśura's *Jātakamālā* and other Buddhist sources, and hence may have been one of the better-known narratives in the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*.[98] Si tu's design presents the episode in three scenes. An ascetic dwells in the forest and is befriended by a hare (104.1). During a drought he prepares to leave, but the hare confronts him (104.2). The hare jumps into a fire so that the hermit may eat him, but the horrified hermit pulls him out (104.3); the double action may be inferred from the forward trajectory of the hare's body toward the fire in the first action, and the backward turn of his head toward the hermit in the second. The first scene (104.1) may also be interpreted as a final scene, in which the chastened ascetic returns to his cave retreat with his trusty friend nearby. In the thangka the sequence proceeds clockwise, the only such occurrence in Si tu's *Vine* set.

The text of this *avadāna* episode in Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* contains a number of details that are not made explicit in Si tu's visual narrative. There is a story of the present that is not pictorialized here. The drought is not clearly indicated, nor the fact that rain fell and fruit appear after the hermit Suvrata (ironically meaning "Strict in Vows") pulls the hare from the fire and promises not to leave the forest. The hare also gives a lecture to the ascetic as he prepares to leave the forest for the village. The hare's lecture portrays village life in grim terms:

[97] Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art*, 23.
[98] For a study of this hare narrative in early textual versions and in visual representation, see Schlingloff, "The Sacrifice of the Hare," in *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings*, 123-29.

He was addressed reverently by me: "O good man, wise one, rich in austerities,
how is it fitting for you to abandon the austerity-grove? ||10||[99]

"Abounding in people plunged into various troubles like deprivation,
The village-places are stockpiles of householders' deluded getting and grasping. ||11||[100]

"What intelligent person again touches the household once abandoned,
which has the tinkling of women's anklets, the unbearable snare of children,
servants jam-packed, a tight net of kinship bonds, terror of falling in with the wicked, and
the great darkness of linking with the vile-minded? ||12||[101]

"Sorrows thick with various wants effect incessant delusion.
By the salted food of wealth, thirst increases exceedingly.
For those with minds stupefied through habituations of attachment to adverse objects,
who live in the home—a field of karmic impurities—virtue goes to ruin. ||13||[102]

"A mind not intoxicated—swayed—by nectar—passion for enjoying objects,
an eye not filled with tears by rising smoke—separation from the beloved,
No agitation at the arrival of fire—bursting into flames of quarrels and anger:
So it is for those contented with the excellence of tranquility in a deserted forest. ||14||[103]

"Longing for the village because of distress from the forest,
remembering the forest because of distress from the village:
Turning their face from serenity,
as a consequence men are born. ||15||[104]

"You must not set your heart on the village through desire, contrary to [your] vow.
From the first, association with villages binds [one to] beloved objects. ||16||[105]

"With time, here alone will you obtain of the fruit [of renunciation].

---

[99] *sa mayā praṇayenoktaḥ sādho tava vipaścitaḥ/ tapovanaparityāgaḥ kathaṃ yuktas tapodhana//*. The text of Kṣe. 104:10-17 has been edited in consultation with the following sources, noting departures from Bi: Bi vol. 2, 968-977; V 566-557; L 574a5-576b6=1147.5-1152.6; D Khe. 279a1-281b6=557.1-562.6; P Ge. 340b7-342a4; J 262-64.

[100] *viyogavividhodveganimagnajanasaṅkulāḥ/ gṛhamohagrahāyāsasaṃgrahā grāmabhūmayaḥ//*.

[101] *strīśṛṅkhalāmukharaduḥsahaputrapāśaṃ bhṛtyākulaṃ niviḍabāndhavabandhajālam/ tyaktaṃ punaḥ spṛśati kaḥ khalasaṅghaghoram dhīmān gṛhaṃ kumatibandhamahāndhakāram//*. BiVLD *-pāśa-*; read *pāśaṃ* with J. Bi.VLD *-ākulā*; read *ākulaṃ* with J.

[102] *vidadhati muhurmohaṃ nānāviyogadhanāḥ śuco draviṇalavaṇāhārais tṛṣṇā paraṃ parivardhate/ viṣamaviṣayasnehābhyāsair jaḍīkṛtacetasāṃ vrajati kuśalaṃ kleśakṣetrakṣaye vasatāṃ kṣayam//*. BiV *kleśakṣetre kṣaye*, LD *kleśakṣetrakṣayai*; read *kleśakṣetrakṣaye*, cf. Tb. *nyon mongs zhing gi khyim na*.

[103] *na dhīr madavighūrṇitā viṣayabhogarāgāsavaiḥ na bāṣpakalilā dṛśaḥ priyaviyogadhūmodgamaiḥ/ na dāhanivahavyathāḥ kalahakopatāpodbhavaiḥ bhavanti vijane vane śamaviśeṣasantoṣiṇām//*. Bi *vāṣpakalilā*, V *bāṣpakalilāḥ,* L *bāṣpakalila*, D *bāṣphakalila*; read *bāṣpakalilā*.

[104] *grāmaspṛhā vanodvegād grāmodvegādvanasmṛtiḥ/ puṃsāṃ praśamavaimukhyāt prasaṅgenaiva jāyate//*.

[105] *grāme niyamavāme tvaṃ mā kāmena matiṃ kṛthāḥ/ prāg eva viṣayasnigdhān badhnāti grāmasaṅgatiḥ//*. BiV *mā kāmena*, LD *mā kāye*, J *mā kāmena*. Tb. suggests *akāle mā*, *dus min*: "You must not set your heart on the village in an untimely manner, contrary to your vow."

Now may [your] life be maintained by my purified flesh." ||17|||[106]

The classic Buddhist theme of disgust for household life is reworked with graphic imagery and clever wordplays. For example, in the second line of stanza 11, village (*grāma*) and householder (*gṛha*) are alliteratively and rhythmically linked—especially by *gr-* and *ha-* sounds—to the acquisitive obsession antithetical to liberation: householders deludedly (*moha*) get (*graha*) and grasp (*āyāsa*), making villages into places where all these possessions are stockpiled (*saṃgraha*). This is followed up by descriptions that engage all the senses: sounds of clinking jewelry, visions of one's own ill-behaved children, fussy servants and demanding relatives, along with even nastier sorts (stanza twelve); the smell and taste of salty food that leaves one craving more (stanza thirteen); the feel of acrid smoke and burning fire (stanza fourteen).

Si tu takes up this moralized differential between household life in the village and ascetic life in the forest as his organizing visual principle. The ideal of the meditating renunciate is placed at the top (104.1), the base possibility of breaking one's vows and returning to the village at the bottom (104.2), and the climactic moment of decision, the point of maximum tension, in the middle (104.3). Moreover, the entire episode is sealed off from the rest of the scroll by steep cliff formations, emphasizing the protective insularity of the forest retreat against the world outside. When the ascetic prepares to leave he holds a walking stick and wears a red shawl, facing the world beyond the borders of his retreat (104.2). Here the coloring of the shawl especially suggests his return to a life entailing worldly possessions as well as worldly desires, since in Sanskrit and Tibetan the word for the color red also means "desire" or "passion" (Skt. *rāga* or *rakta*, Tb. *dmar*). As the shocked hermit pulls the hare from the fire, he casts off the shawl, which is now white again (104.3), thus matching the original color of the shawl behind his meditation seat (104.1) and connoting purity (Skt. *śukla*, Tb. *dkar*). As mentioned above, the first scene (104.1) can also be viewed as a last scene, in which the ideal order has been restored and the hermit meditates undisturbed in his cave. The scenes are thus arranged in a moral-spatial hierarchy, emphasizing the soteriological superiority of solitary meditation over communal lay life.

Si tu's configuration of the Śaśaka episode, while illustrating this particular narrative, also presents a broader commentary on the dangers of breaking one's vows of renunciation and regressing into a household life of acquisition, desire, and the cycle of negative karmic actions and consequences. While the emphasis on the dangers of returning to lay life is made most explicit in Kṣemendra's text by the hare's lecture, Si tu's design employs visual devices—scene sequences, landscape borders, and color symbolism—to revisit the same theme. There are no corresponding descriptions in Kṣemendra's text or in later Tibetan textual commentaries that I have consulted—e.g. describing the seclusion of the forest or mentioning a shawl—so these elements are presumably supplied by Si tu's pictorial design. They are carefully selected and arranged into a simple and spare composition, resulting in a morally charged narrative in which each element is laden with significance.[107]

---

[106] *ihaiva tava kālena phalalābho bhaviṣyati/ śuddhaiḥ samprati manmāṃsaiḥ kriyatāṃ prāṇadhāraṇam*//.

[107] It is interesting to note that the hierarchical arrangement of the scenes in Si tu's design is also consistent with the narrative pattern of the story of the present in the Śaśaka-avadāna. In the story of the present, the ascetic has been reborn as a householder named Haṃsa who (a) becomes a monastic disciple of Śākyamuni Buddha, (b) experiences the temptation to return to lay life, and (c) is brought back onto the path of liberation by Śākyamuni. In Kṣemendra's text it the present story is not fleshed out with detail: a specific cause for the monk's temptation is not explained, nor

Although the other narratives are not laid out with the same degree of schematic clarity and simplicity as the Śaśaka-avadāna, many utilize similar themes and visual principles. The vertical privileging of solitary renunciation over communal lay life is expressed in the episode of Abhiniṣkramaṇa (Fig. 3.22, nos. 25.23-25.24)—in which the early life of Prince Siddhārtha culminates in his departure from the royal palace for spiritual pursuit—and in the episode of Upagupta (Fig. 3.31, no. 72), in which Upagupta becomes a monk (72.10) and then, through meditation, becomes an *arhat* (72.11). In both cases the figure of the renunciate is shown above extended scenes of household life. In several other episodes the ideal of the hermit dwelling in forest solitude is expressed by placing the forest apart from, and higher than, households: across the river and high in the mountains (Fig. 3.16, no. 3.11), high on a mountain (Fig. 3.23, no. 30.3) overlooking one's former home (30.1), and tucked in a grove far from the cities on either side (Fig. 3.27, 52.5; and Fig. 3.30, 68.1).

It may seem natural enough to place a forest retreat above households, as they are frequently located in mountains and would thus be topographically higher than major settlements. However, this was not a default principle automatically governing Si tu's design. In the episode of Viśvantara, the scenes in the forested mountains (Fig. 3.22, nos. 24.5, 24.6) are no higher than the scenes in the vicinity of the palace (24.1-24.3, 24.7), nor is the forest greatly separated from the city. Rather, the thematic emphasis in this story is on the perfection of generosity rather than on ascetic renunciation; Viśvantara, after all, permits his wife and children to accompany him to the forest. The prince's scenes of giving (Fig. 3.22, nos. 24.1, 24.3, 24.5, 24.6) occur roughly on the same plane, while the culmination of the plot in his enthronement is represented as the high point of the story (no. 24.7). Moreover, in the episode of Śyāmaka the forest scenes are shown (Fig. 3.35, no. 101) below a household at the upper left edge of the painting. The household may represent the home that the elderly brahmin couple has left, or the palace of King Brahmadatta, or both. The main plot event is that Śyāmaka, son of the brahmin couple, is fatally shot by King Brahmadatta who mistakes him for a deer (no. 101.3). He is restored to life by the brahmin couple's act of truth attesting to his filial devotion (no. 101.6). Again, the theme of renunciation as a morally superior activity is not emphasized universally in Si tu's design; rather, as Śyāmaka was Śākyamuni Buddha in a past life, the action scenes likely occur at a low position because harm has come to the Bodhisattva. Si tu organizes his scenes thematically to communicate a range of moral values that vary by episode, drawing on themes present in the text and developing his own language of visual commentary.

Moral-Spatial Hierarchy: Karmic Themes

We have seen how moral-spatial hierarchy is built into the design of Si tu's *Vine* thangkas, particularly with respect to the ideal of ascetic renunciation in the forest and how it is privileged over communal lay life. Another major theme also expressed through spatial arrangement is the operation of positive and negative karma in the course of one's lifetimes. To return to the episode of Muktālatā (Fig. 3.18, no. 7), the heroine in a previous life is the servant-girl Rohitā who serves a Śākya noblewoman named Śaśiprabhā. Sent to fetch a necklace for the vain Śaśiprabhā, Rohitā turns to leave at the lower right part of the scene (no. 7.2). On the way home she is fatally gored by a cow (no. 7.3). Reborn as Muktālatā, daughter of the lord of Siṅghala (i.e. Śrī Laṅka), one day she hears overseas merchants (no. 7.4) praising the Buddha

---

is the Buddha's method for recovering him described. Si tu's three-part narrative sequence hence underscores the plot parallels in the story of the present and the story of the past.

and devotion arises in her; she gives them a letter to deliver to the Buddha (no. 7.5). The merchants give the letter to the Buddha (no. 7.6), in which Muktālatā requests his portrait since she is unable to visit him in person. A portrait of Śākyamuni Buddha is painted (no. 7.7), the merchants journey back to Siṅghala (doubled from no. 7.4), and the portrait is shown to Muktālatā (no. 7.8).

As illustrated in Si tu's design, this episode thus follows the karmic vicissitudes of a young woman across two lifetimes. In Kṣemendra's text the operation of karma is a major theme developed in the text, especially through monologues by the heroine. When the servant-girl Rohitā is first asked to fetch the necklace, she is disappointed that she cannot hear the rest of the teaching and thinks to herself:

> "Oh alas!
> This obstacle to my virtue has arisen.
> I cannot listen to the Dharma here
> since my life is at another's disposal. ||32||
>
> "...Alas! Freedom is cut off,
> the body broken, comfort dwindled.
> Servitude is never-ending pain
> for people in the world of suffering." ||34||[108]

Rohitā reflects on the ill fortune of servitude, which subjects her to the whims of her mistress and prevents her from hearing the Dharma. In Si tu's design her body is turned to leave but her gaze remains fixed on the Buddha, expressing her reluctance to depart. The theme of karmic actions and results, or fruit (*phala*), throughout and across lifetimes is made explicit in her encounter with the cow:

> Then through karmic connection,
> a cow overwrought with concern for her calf
> gored with her two horns
> that lady hurrying along the path. ||41||
>
> Through the propensities of previous births,
> her mind had the Buddha as its support.
> By the grace of the Bhagavan
> he filled her recollection. ||42||
>
> "Alas! People sink and surface back and forth
> in the cycles of rebirth,
> tossed by waves of karma
> in saṃsāra—the oceanic source of crocodiles. ||43||

---

[108] *aho batāntarāyo 'yaṃ saṃjātaḥ kuśale mama/ nāsmin śrotuṃ labhe dharmaṃ yat parāyattajīvitā//... aho svācchandyavicchedas tanubhaṅgaḥ sukhakṣayaḥ/ sevā jagati jantūnāṃ duḥkhe duḥkhaparaṃparā//*. D *duḥkhaduḥkha-*; Bi, V, L *duḥkheduḥkhe-*; cf. Tb. *sdug bsngal 'gro bar* for *jagati duḥkhe*. For Kṣe. 7, I have consulted Bi vol. 1, 230-49; V vol. 1, 65-71, L 68b5-76b2=136.5-152.5; D Ke. 70b3-79b2=140.3-158.2, and Tenzin, *Muktalatavadanam*. For previous English translations see Dutt, "Muktálatá;" and Tenzin, *Muktalatavadanam*.

"On the broad stone slabs of people's foreheads,
unpleasant karma is carved clearly with curved chisels.
Profuse letters of birth and death are set down;
they can't be disturbed by hands wiping them [clean]. ||44||

"This manifold, splendid, wondrous work—subjection to karma—
transforms just like a mass of peacock feathers:
starting from the womb people fall by turns into times of prosperity
or loss: the body's marked skin surely did not turn out otherwise." ||45||[109]

The workings of karma are emphasized in each stanza through several related and recurring terms—karma, propensities (*adhivāsa*), birth (*janma*) and death (*maraṇa*, *kṣaya*)—and explored through a dramatic event and vivid metaphors. The cow and Rohitā are stated to have a karmic connection (*karmayoga*) from the past that leads the cow to fatally gore Rohitā, who in her haste appears to pose a threat to the helpless young calf. Meanwhile, not only has Rohitā seen the Buddha recently, but because of mental propensities (*adhivāsa*) accumulated through karmic conditioning from previous lives, she is predisposed to contemplate the Buddha as a mental object. The unstable nature of the karmic experience is illustrated in stanzas forty-three and forty-five: in the first it is likened to ocean waves tossing people through the ups and downs of life, and in the second to a peacock's feathers opening and closing as one's fortunes increase and decrease. The inescapability of karmic fruit is developed in stanzas forty-four and forty-five with the image of indelible lines on one's body that govern one's life circumstances and events from conception to death—and beyond. While all of the episodes in Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* can be interpreted in karmic terms, the episode of Muktālatā develops themes of karma explicitly in extended monologue as well as through plot action.

Si tu's design of this episode takes the ups and downs of the heroine's karma and adapts them into corresponding scene arrangements. The nadir of the heroine's karmic fruit is her violent death, and this is shown in the lower right corner of the episode.[110] The condition of servitude is also a relatively negative karmic fruit, as the heroine herself points out; in the scenes around the Buddha (Fig. 3.18, nos. 7.1, 7.2, 7.6, 7.7) she and the opposite maidservant are placed lowest, as well as furthest from the Buddha. Siṅghala Island, where the heroine has been reborn as the noblewoman Muktālatā, appears at the top of the episode. Here she enjoys her highest karmic fruit in the course of this episode, for after receiving the Buddha's portrait together with his instruction she attains the state of a *śrotāpanna*, for whom liberation is assured within seven lifetimes. The swaths of clouds surrounding Muktālatā's home convey the heroine's elevated status: note that pale-colored clouds are used in this thangka to set off the scene in a heaven

[109] *atha tāṃ karmayogena vrajantīṃ sahasā pathi/ vatsavātsalyavivaśā śṛṅgābhyām ājaghāna gauḥ// sā pradadhyau bhagavataḥ prasādāt tanmayasmṛtiḥ/ janmāntarādhivāsena buddhālambanamānasā// aho karmormibhiḥ śīrṇe saṃsāramakarākare/ janmāvarteṣu jantūnāṃ majjanonmajjanakramaḥ// puṃsāṃ lalāṭavipulopalapaṭṭikāsu niḥśarmakarmaghaṭitaprakaṭāṅkaṭaṅkaiḥ/ nyastāni janmamaraṇaprasarākṣarāṇi naitāni pāṇiparimārjanayā calanti// iyaṃ karmāyattā pracurarucivaicitraracanā narāṇāṃ māyūracchadapaṭalatulyā pariṇatiḥ/ yayā garbhārambhe kramanipatane vṛddhisamaye kṣaye vā nānyat prābhajata tanulekhāc chavir api//.* In stanza 45 read *–rucivaicitra-* with D, and possibly L (not fully legible); Bi, V read *–citravaicitra-* which is not metrically possible.

[110] The placement of this scene below the tenth *avadāna*, a lecture on rebirth and karma with minimal narrative framing, echoes the content of the heroine's own musings on karma discussed above.

(11.7), and the scene of Śākyamuni Buddha giving a teaching on the cycle of rebirth and karma (10.1).[111] Si tu's design again employs space as a means of commentary elucidating the narrative: the trajectory of the heroine from scene to scene maps not only geographical space, but also her karmic trajectory from middling to low to high.

Si tu employs this same device to arrange other *Vine* episodes in which karma figures as a prominent theme in monologues and dialogues, most notably those of Śroṇakoṭikarṇa (Fig. 3.20, no. 20) and Maitrakanyakā (Fig. 3.33, no. 92). Both of these narratives follow protagonists who journey through lands of karmic retribution, witnessing firsthand the miseries of individuals who committed wrongs in their previous life.[112] In Si tu's design, Śroṇakoṭikarṇa's journey through karmic lands proceeds upward corresponding to the degree of karmic purity of the inhabitants: lowest is the black karma of starving *preta*s (20.3), in the middle are the mixed karma of men who were bad by day and good by night, and vice versa (20.4-20.5), and highest is the white karma of a goddess who previously offered food to a monk (20.6). In the episode of Maitrakanyakā, the eponymous protagonist abuses his mother before he departs on his overseas journey; Si tu places this scene near the bottom edge of the scroll (92.2). Maitrakanyakā wanders through a series of heavenly cities full of goddesses, all of whom warn him not to leave (92.6-92.10); these scenes appear in a row in the upper right portion of the episode composition. Eventually he wanders into an iron city where he encounters a man tortured by an iron wheel perpetually cutting through his head, who explains that this is the karmic fruit of having harmed his mother in a previous life. The wheel then attaches to Maitrakanyakā's head, subjecting him to unbearable suffering; through a compassionate resolution to undergo the suffering of other beings on their behalf, the wheel disappears. These scenes, in which Maitrakanyakā faces his karmic fate, is placed opposite the scene where he abuses his mother (92.11-92.13), underscoring the parallel between action and consequence.

At a basic level most of the episodes in the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* are concerned with karma, since in Kṣemendra's text the Buddha identifies previous existences with present characters and often explanations the karmic actions and results. In the section on storytelling frames, I mentioned that the Buddha functions as a truly omniscient narrator who knows the past, present and future karma of all beings. David Jackson, Marilyn Rhie and Robert Thurman have noted the "bird's eye" perspective and miniature qualities of Si tu's design.[113] I submit that these qualities imply the perception of an omniscient narrator, who can survey the karmic vicissitudes of living beings across time and space with perfect lucidity. That is, the high, distant perspective combined with the use of deep space to represent landscape places the viewer in a privileged position, as if viewing the activities of the narrative characters from the sky. The miniaturized figures and architecture are rendered with exquisite clarity, precisely delineated with hard line drawing and gemlike in their brilliant colors; they enact Kṣemendra's textual narrative to an astonishing degree of precision. Si tu's *Vine* design affords the illusion of perfect and complete knowledge, through the containment of "an infinite and fabulous world" of miniatures captured for the viewer and in turn captivating the viewer's attention.[114] Si tu calls attention to the

[111] Dark clouds, conversely, set off the hell scene in 11.8.
[112] For a study of the Śroṇakoṭikarṇa narrative as it appears in the *Divyāvadāna*, see Rotman, *Thus Have I Seen*, 24-62, 153-58.
[113] Jackson, "Karma Kagyupa Paintings," 113; Rhie and Thurman, *Worlds of Transformation*, 149. On the use of space, perspective, and miniaturist qualities in Khams painting, see also Huntington, "Styles and Stylistic Sources of Tibetan Painting," chap. 6.
[114] Stewart, *On Longing*, 43.

mediation of storytellers, not only through the frames of Śakyamuni Buddha's portrait in the central thangka and his own self-portrait in the final thangka, but through qualities of the visual narratives themselves. As the second storyteller capable of mediating the words of the Buddha through painting, Si tu indicates the omniscience of the Buddha while gesturing to his own mastery of inner learning, painting and poetry.[115]

Previous studies have explored the thematic arrangement of scenes in visual narrative. In his essay "Twisted Tales; or, Story, Study, and Symphony," Nelson Goodman speculated that scenes could be organized "according to themes or characteristics," such as scenes from the life of a saint that were "dispersed and denatured under a classification of events into religiously significant kinds."[116] Joanna Williams' study of Sārnāth steles depicting the Buddha's life demonstrated that the narrative sequence followed an upward progression, culminating in the *parinirvāṇa* on top.[117] Drawing on early Indian *jātaka* narratives, Vidya Dehejia has further suggested that the "priority to events" afforded by synoptic narrative can convey themes such as heroism and kingship.[118] Moving beyond these early examples, the moral-spatial hierarchy employed in Si tu's *Vine* narrative thangkas is a complex and sophisticated realization of thematic narrative organization. Si tu develops a distinctive visual language merging architectural and topographical elements, the use of space and repetition, and Buddhist ethical concepts of renunciation and karma. In doing so he demonstrates how poetic source and painted adaptation can be engaged in dialogue, creating meaningful commentary on the proper practice of Buddhism.

Si tu's Vine *Inscription:The Dialectics of Poetry and Painting*

Si tu records that he wrote the inscription for his *Vine* set in 1736, after returning from central Tibet (Fig. 3.37).[119] The inscription, written in verse form, begins:[120]

> Just like well-formed Sumeru, massive [and] unchanging,
> with the continents in the center of the ocean,
> blazing gloriously with exquisite marks,
> the supreme Sage with his [bodhisattva] sons sustain [the world]! ||1||[121]

In this opening verse Si tu praises Śākyamuni Buddha, the hero and proper subject of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, by comparing him to Mount Sumeru. According to the Indic cosmology accepted

[115] The nature of omniscience in Buddhist thought has a long and complex intellectual history; however, here I am only concerned with a buddha's knowledge of all beings' karma, which was not a point of controversy. For a review of debates on the gnosis (*jñāna*) of a buddha, including Indian and early Tibetan positions, see Almogi, "Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po's Investigation of Traditional Buddhology," 349-426.
[116] Goodman, "Twisted Tales," 115.
[117] Williams, "Sārnāth Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life."
[118] Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art*, 24.
[119] Si tu Paṇ chen, *Autobiography*, 176.5.
[120] My transcription of this text is based on a photocopy of an unpublished transcription (courtesy of Tashi Tsering, Amnye Machen Institute) and comparison, wherever legible, with the photograph of the inscribed painting.
[121] *bkod legs gling bcas chu gter dbus// lhun po bzhin du lhun chags su// rab mdzes mtshan pa'i dpal 'bar ba// thub mchog sras dang bcas pas skyong//.* While the particle *su* in line b indicates that *lhun chags* should be taken adverbially, in the English translation I have rendered *lhun chags* adjectivally as "massive and enduring" to describe Sumeru. I was unable to render it adverbially in English without producing an awkward translation. However, as I suggest in my reading below, *lhun chags* should be taken with *skyong*, "sustaining by way of [its] mass and durability."

by Tibetans, Sumeru and the continents were formed by elements churned from the ocean. Sumeru is square, has four stepped terraces, and is made of four precious substances—crystal, blue beryl, ruby and gold; the continents are made of less precious elements.[122] Thus Sumeru can be said to "well-formed" with its distinctive shape, and to "blaze gloriously" (*dpal 'bar ba*) with its radiant jewelled colors. As the central *axis mundi* Sumeru physically supports (*skyong*) the various realms of our world-system with its great bulk (*lhun*) and its durability (*chags*); the continents play a subsidiary role in supporting our particular plane of existence.

As Si tu's verse implies, all of the attributes describing Sumeru also apply to Śākyamuni Buddha. He too is surrounded by a retinue, composed of his *bodhisattva*-disciples who are likened to the continents. The analogy is particularly apt when one considers that there are greater and lesser continents and islands, just as the Buddha has disciples of greater and lesser accomplishments. The "exquisite marks" (*rab mdzes*) of Śākyamuni allude to the thirty-two marks (Skt. *lakṣaṇa,* Tb. *mtshan*) of a great man (Skt. *mahāpuruṣa,* Tb. *skyes bu chen po*), characteristics of physical perfection that set buddhas apart from others.[123] Thus the Buddha is also "well-formed" (*bkod legs*). When applied to the Buddha, the phrase *lhun chags* conveys his power and dignity by alluding to his strong physical stature (*lhun*) and his liberated condition which is unchanging (*chags*). By teaching the Dharma and leading beings to liberation, the Buddha sustains (*skyong*) the world of sentient beings together with the assistance of *bodhisattva*s. The stanza thus compares the common attributes of two subjects—well-formed, accompanied by a retinue, ablaze with marks—as well as the common action of sustaining the world, creating a compound simile (Skt. *samuccayopamā*, Tb. *bsdus pa'i dpe*) in the tradition of the *Mirror of Poetics*.[124]

Returning to the central thangka (Fig. 3.15), we see that Śākyamuni Buddha towers over the much smaller figures below. Si tu's choice to depict Śākyamuni Buddha making the earth-touching gesture (*bhūmisparśamudrā*) evokes his night of awakening, when he called the earth to witness his accumulation of merit. So weighty was his merit that, as he walked to the *bodhi* tree

---

[122] I have based my account on the one provided by Si tu in the first chapter of *Zla 'od gzhon nu'i 'khri shing*, which in turn is modeled on the description in the AKB; cf. AKB 3.45-56. As is well known, the myth of the ocean as origin of Meru and the continents is not exclusively Buddhist, but is also found in Purāṇic sources. Relevant passages by Si tu are cited here: *de ltar chu'i phung po chen po de rlung gis bsrubs pa'i rkyen gyis de'i steng du gser gyi dkyil 'khor byung ngo// de'i steng du sngar bzhin char gyi rgyun babs pas phyi'i rgya mtsho chen por gyur pa de la rim pa bzhin mtshams mtshams su rlung langs pas nye bar bsrubs pa'i rkyen gyis khams kyi bye brag rab tu 'phel bar gyur pa'i khams rab la/ dbus su rin po che bzhi'i rang bzhin can gyi lhun po byung zhing/ khams 'bring las gser ri bdun/ khams tha ma las gling phran brgyad dang gzhan mang pos bskor ba'i gling bzhi dang lcags ri'i 'khor yug rnams byung ngo//... de la lhun po ni bang rim bzhi dang ldan pa gru bzhir 'dug pa ste/ shar shel/ lho baiḍurya/ nub padma rāga byang gser gyi rang bzhin phyogs so so'i nam mkha'ang de'i kha dog gsal la bar snang ba'o//.* Si tu, *Zla 'od gzhon nu'i 'khri shing*, 6a6-6b4.

In his explication of cosmology in the encyclopedic *Shes bya kun khyab*, 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813-1899) copied and paraphrased heavily from Si tu's account. For example, Si tu's passage cited in the above paragraph is reproduced nearly word for word. Kong sprul, *Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture*, 179.3-180.2. Kong sprul's reliance on preexisting sources has already been noted by his translators (Kong sprul, *Myriad Worlds*, 38).

[123] The AKB mentions that *cakravartin* kings also possess the thirty-two marks of a *mahāpuruṣa*, but that those of a buddha are "better placed, more brilliant, and complete"(AKB 3.97).

[124] Si tu's combination of common attributes and actions is consistent with Khams sprul's commentarial explanation of the compound simile (Skt. *samuccayopamā*, Tb. *bsdus pa'i dpe*): *mdzes pa yon tan dang byed las dga' ba skyed pa gnyis bsdus nas brjod pa'i phyir bsdsus pa'i dpe zhes bya ste/.* "The attribute of beauty and the action of pleasing: combining [these] two with respect to what is to be expressed is called a 'compound simile'." Khams sprul IV, *Nor bu'i 'byuṅ khuṅs*, 213.5-213.7.

earlier that day, the ground trembled under his feet and he was compared to Meru.[125] Moreover, the complexions of the four attendant *bodhisattva*s—white, blue, red, and golden—correspond to the colors of the four great continents that surround Meru (Fig. 3.48). The *bodhisattva*s are not readily identifiable as individuals, nor do they correspond to any well-known group of *bodhisattva*s in Tibetan iconography.

These factors suggest that Si tu deliberately created a relationship between his poetic and visual imagery, using metaphor as a bridge. Monumental and static upon his high throne, the Śākyamuni here is indeed "massive and unchanging," surrounded by his *bodhisattva*s—metaphorically compared to the continents—and by monks who, by extension, may be compared to the lesser continents and islands. In the painting this group is seated on a mass of land skirted by water on both sides, with cliffs and waterfalls to the proper right and shores and inlets to the proper left. Through visual metaphor, Si tu subtly suggests that the Buddha and his disciples, as Meru and the continents, are "in the center of the ocean"—that is, at the center of the world.

The inscription continues with an account of the origins of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*:

> [Long] ago in the Noble Land appeared
> the crown jewel of poets,
> wish-granting gem fulfilling the hopes of the needy,
> the landowner known as "Lord of Serenity." ||2||[126]

The second stanza introduces the Indian origin of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, praising its author Kṣemendra whose name literally means "Lord of Serenity" (*dge dbang*, abbreviated from *dge ba'i dbang po*). His status as a layman with land and power (*sa bdag*) is acknowledged, and he is celebrated as the foremost among orators of poetry, their crown jewel (*gtsug gi rgyan*). It was common for Indian and Tibetan authors to write at the request of others, a fact that is registered in Tibetan accounts of the original *Vine*'s composition.[127] Like a wish-granting gem showering fine gifts on the needy, Kṣemendra fulfills others' hopes with his beautiful and virtuous poetry. The image evokes narratives such as the third episode of the *Vine*, "Maṇicūḍa-avadāna," in which the Bodhisattva is born with a jewel set into his forehead and gives it away to end a kingdom's famine and disease. Si tu's account continues:

> "Just like the sun among [all forms of] illumination,
> painting is superior among [all] the arts.
> This act of painting the Jina's body is more fruitful than
> [painting] all [other] formations [of conditioned existence]." ||3||
>
> Thinking thus, that very faithful lord of men
> beautified [his palace] with noble *avadāna* paintings that
> please through sight,
> like Indra's bow [beautifies his] palace. ||4||
>
> Like the image of the moon in a clear lake,

[125] Goswami, *Lalitavistara*, 254, 256.
[126] *'phags pa'i yul du sngon byung ba// snyan ngag smra rnams gtsug gi rgyan// slong rnams re bskang yid bzhin nor// dge dbang zhes bya'i sa bdag byung//.*
[127] M, 71.

an image of the Buddha said, "In this way
send forth words filled with mellifluous expression!"
He saw this in a dream. ||5||

From the lake—the throats of Kṣemendra and his son,
[came] the lake of birth [stories]—a goddess' song:
the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine of Avadānas*
of the Jina and his sons appeared. ||6||[128]

Taken together, these four stanzas narrate the composition of the *Vine* by Kṣemendra and his son Somendra. In the third stanza, Si tu attributes to Kṣemendra the idea that painting is the best of the material arts, relying for comparison upon the common poetic image of a sun outshining all other forms of light. Among the possible subjects of painting, the body of a buddha is the most soteriologically worthwhile, because it engenders faith and also accumulates merit for the painter, the patron, and potentially its viewers.

In the fourth stanza Si tu makes a sophisticated allusion to Somendra's preface to the 108th episode of Jimūtavāhana, which the latter authored to complete his father's *Vine*:

Well-loved *vihāra*s that have colorful paintings, nectar for the eyes:
though these have gone in the course of time, ||11cd||
this compiled *avadāna* fashioned by my father
with the paintbrush of Sarasvatī, through the sequence of various colors,
has great purpose and delights good people:
it is a *vihāra* made of merit. ||12||[129]

Somendra's verse itself plays with the relationship between image and text: his father's writing process is compared to a paintbrush that applies colors in sequence, gradually composing a complete picture through the accumulation of 107 narrative episodes. The paintbrush, in turn, is placed in the hand of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning who is regularly invoked by poets for blessings and creative inspiration. Somendra also plays on the word *vihāra*, using it in line 11c to refer to a Buddhist monastery and in line 12d to suggest its meanings as an abode more generally, as well as a meditative state. Figuratively, the pun likens Kṣemendra's poetic composition to a sacred space that contains vivid paintings, heightening the similarities between a lengthy poetic work and a collection of paintings.

In turn, Si tu presents a double *entendre*, referring to Kṣemendra who has metaphorically "painted" the *avadāna*s with poetic words, as well as to his own act of painting the *avadāna*s of the *Vine*. While Somendra calls paintings "nectar for the eyes" (*netrāmṛta*), Si tu states that the

[128] *snang ba'i nang nas nyi bzhin du// sgyu rtsal rnams las ri mo mchog/ 'dus byas kun las rgyal ba'i sku// ri mor bris 'di 'bras bur bcas// zhes bsam mi bdag rab dad des// mthong bas dga' mgur bskyed byed pa'i// 'phags rnams rtogs brjod ri mo yis// khang bzang dbang gzhu ltar bkrar byas// dangs* [read *dwangs*] *pa'i mtsho la zla gzugs bzhin// sangs rgyas gzugs kyi de yi tshul// snyan 'jeb nyams bcas yi ge tu// spel cig ces gsung rmi lam mthong// dge dbang yab sras mgrin mtsho las// 'khrungs pa'i mtsho byung lha mo'i glu// rgyal dang de sras tshogs rnams kyi// rtogs brjod dpag bsam 'khri shing byung//.*

[129] *saṃsaktanetrāmṛtacitracitrāḥ kālena te te 'pi gatā vihārāḥ//11cd// sarasvatītūlikayā vicitravarṇakramaiḥ saṃkalitāvadānaḥ/ tātena yo 'yam vihito mahārthaḥ sannandanaḥ puṇyamayo vihāraḥ//12.*

avadāna paintings "please through sight" (*mthong bas dga' mgur bskyed byed pa*). These are compared to Indra's bow (*dbang gzhu*)—a kenning for a rainbow, borrowed from Sanskrit poetry—which beautifies his palace, a figurative term for the sky that is Indra's domain. Si tu thus cleverly praises his own *Vine* thangkas, which presumably were made to beautify his own "palace" or fine residence (*khang bzang*), Dpal spungs Monastery.

Si tu continues with praise for Kṣemendra's *Vine* as well as his own adaptation:

> The teachings in it have established
> the good law of the praiseworthy ten virtues like the sun—
> foundation and support for myriad beings,
> protector of myriad beings in India and Great China. ||9||
>
> Just as the splendor of the painting is perfect,
> so the teachings of the Sage are also perfect.
> How, through his glory, the thousand
> barbarian *asura* demons were subjugated: this is shown. ||10||
>
> How the Teacher, through bodily form,
> accomplished the virtuous aims of [benefiting both] teachings and beings,
> for the sake of the three venerable brahmin brothers,
> Muktālatā and Udrāyaṇa: [this is shown]. ||11||
>
> The ancient Sandalwood Jo bo and so forth—
> a moon in the sky of the mind—
> after rising, always effects the swelling of the
> ocean of well-accomplished endeavor. ||12||
>
> I composed this to protect from decline
> the splendor and perfection of painting
> which nurtures knowledge, the seed of omniscience,
> when seen by beings. ||13||[130]

As Si tu presents it, Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* contains Buddhist teachings that support and protect beings. Moreover, it attests to the soteriological value of images: in the eleventh stanza, Si tu refers to the Muktālatā and Udrāyaṇa narratives found in the *Vine* (nos. 7, 41), in which portraits of the Buddha are made to inspire devotion in him and to spread his teachings.[131] Si tu continues by praising the efficacy of the Sandalwood Jo bo or Buddha commissioned by

---

[130] *der bstan rgya dang rgya nag cher// skye dgu'i brten gnas sa gzhi dang// skye dgu bsrung la nyi bzhin pa'i// bsngags 'os dge bcu'i khrims bzang tshugs// gang na ri mo'i dpal phun tshogs// der ni thub bstan kyang phun tshogs// gang na de yi dpal gyis stong// lha min kla klo 'joms zhes bstan// ston pa ji bzhin sku gzugs gyis// bstan 'gro'i don bzang sgrub pa'i tshul// mu tig 'khri shing u dra yaN// bram ze spun gsum mtho btsun ched// tshandan jo bo la sogs pa'i// sngon rabs zla ba yid kyi mkhar// rtag tu shar nas legs byas kyi// brtson pa'i chu gter rgyas pa thob// mthong bas 'gro rnams rnam mkhyen kyi// sa bon rig la gsos 'debs phyir// ri mo'i dpal dang phun tshogs dag/ mi nyams srung phyir ngas 'di brtsams//.*

[131] On the three brahmin brothers who made temples housing images of the Buddha, see Rechung, "Buddhist Paintings and Iconography," 56.

King Udrāyaṇa, likening it and other similar images to a moon that leads one to perform good deeds.[132] In the thirteenth stanza, Si tu openly defends painting as a medium that brings viewers to liberation through knowledge leading to omniscience; hence the art of painting is worth cultivating and protecting from a decline in quality. Through elegant poetry full of glorious imagery and sophisticated literary references, Si tu mounts an elaborate defense for his own project of painting the *Vine*, and generally for the soteriological power of poetry and painting.

In this chapter I showed how Si tu developed his vision of the ideal monk through his written and painted work on the Buddha's biographies. In the first section I placed Si tu's cultural production in the context of Dge lugs sectarian attacks on his order's claims to Buddhist knowledge, local debates about the value of scholasticism and celibacy in monastic institutions, and a crisis of leadership in his own order. In the second and third sections I analyzed Si tu's written and painted narratives of the Buddha's life. I showed how Si tu cultivated an image of the ideal monk as an erudite scholar through his masterly treatment of Bka' 'gyur sources in his written biography of the Buddha. Furthermore, I argued that Si tu presented the ideal monastic lifestyle as one of celibacy, purity, and seclusion through scene selection, parallels, and other formal devices. This constituted a critical response to the rise of non-celibate monastic communities in eastern Tibet, which Si tu attempted to offset by promoting celibate ordination. In the fourth and fifth sections I analyzed Si tu's widely copied design of twenty-three scroll paintings of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. I showed how Si tu intertwined textual and visual commentary in design and inscription, rehabilitating poetry and painting as appropriate media for spiritual instruction against his sectarian critics. Si tu thus responded to a number of personal and institutional challenges, asserting his authority as leader of the Karma Bka' brgyud order while setting forth a vision of ideal monasticism authenticated by themes and personae of classical Indian Buddhism.

[132] On accounts of the sandalwood Buddha in China and Tibet, see Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 164; Sørensen, *Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 503-6.

CHAPTER FOUR

ZHU CHEN TSHUL KHRIMS RIN CHEN: COMMENTING ON CULTURAL PRODUCTION

The previous three chapters demonstrated that patrons of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* were often powerful figures invested in asserting or maintaining political and spiritual authority. The voices and concerns of other people involved in the cultural production of the *Vine*, however, are less readily accessible. In this chapter I trace the labors of Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen (1697-1774), a Sa skya monk active at the Sde dge court, in producing painted sets and a literary adaptation of the *Vine* for patrons in the greater Sde dge region. Zhu chen himself was an accomplished scholastic and polymath who left a body of collected works, including a detailed autobiography. The elaborate title of this autobiography—*The Ordinary Life of the Venerable Dharma Teacher Called Tshul khrims rin chen: Foot-drinking Tree Whose Branches are Virtuous and Non-virtuous Karma Mixed Together, with Leaves of Intertwined Joys and Sorrows Changing in Turn with the Queen of Seasons*—is a self-conscious evocation of both his rhetorical training in classical *snyan ngag* poetics as well as his secondary status.[1] While he could hardly be considered "ordinary" in comparison with most Tibetans, Zhu chen was also not an officially recognized *sprul sku* or prominent hierarch within his lineage tradition.[2] His autobiography thus promises to offer different perspectives than those we have seen in earlier chapters.

In this chapter I attempt to demonstrate how Zhu chen comments on the culture of cultural production itself—the desires and demands of patrons, the management of large-scale editorial and painting projects, connoisseurship and artistic prestige. I proceed with a brief biographical sketch of Zhu chen, followed by a discussion of his attempt to edit the bilingual *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in the wake of the Fifth Dalai Lama's publication. I then turn to the *Vine* painting commissions he fulfilled for various donors, investigating the regional art scene and Zhu chen's role as artistic director. In the final part of the chapter I present a translation and study of Zhu chen's verse digest of the *Vine*, analyzing its work as a highly condensed adaptation.

---

[1] *chos smra ba'i bande tshul khrims rin chen du bod pa'i skye ba phal pa'i rkang 'thung dge sdig 'dres ma'i las kyi yal ga phan tshun du 'dzings par bde sdug gi lo 'dab dus kyi rgyal mos re mos su bsgyur ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so//.* Zhu chen, *Autobiography*, Ta 143a=278.

[2] Some identifications of his previous existences are discussed in his autobiography, but lie beyond the scope of this study; I intend to take up this issue in future work.

ZHU CHEN: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Zhu chen ("Great Editor"), a native of Ldan ma in Khams, was born in 1697 to a family of religious artists and first learned painting from his father.[3] After he took the novice vows at age eleven, he studied the fields of learning, including Sanskrit and poetics, at Tshe bhrūṃ Monastery. In 1725 he traveled to the monastic centers of Sa skya and Ngor in central Tibet, staying at Ngor for more than four years as the secretary (*drung yig*) of Khang gsar Bla brang. He went back to Sde dge and together with Mkhan chen Bkra shis Lhun grub, in 1730 he was appointed Chief Editor (*zhu dag mkhan po*) of the Sde dge Printing House (*par khang*).[4] He was the chief editor of the Sde dge Bstan 'gyur (the second division of the Tibetan Buddhist canon), an arduous project that demanded meticulous editorial corrections, the supervision of scribes, block-carvers and other workers, not to mention large-scale financial management.[5] As an adult he participated in numerous painting projects commissioned by members of the Sde dge court and other important local figures. Among his many other talents and endeavors throughout his long career, Zhu chen was especially noted for his work as a poet and ritualist.

The curricular record (*gsan yig*) of Zhu chen provides valuable information about how the field of poetics was transmitted and studied in eighteenth-century Khams.[6] Zhu chen received instruction from Tshe bhrūṃ Karma 'chi med thub bstan rab gsal on the *Mirror of Poetics* based on three texts: the condensed explanation of Zhwa lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527), the commentary on difficult points by the Fifth Dalai Lama, and the exemplifications of Paṇ chen blo gros nyi ma of 'Bras spungs sgo mang. These instructions were transmitted through three distinct but overlapping instruction lineages. All three lineages were considered to originate with Sarasvatī, Indic goddess of speech and music, and traced the same early lineage including Daṇḍin and the Tibetan translators Lakṣmīkara and Shong ston. While there was variation between the Tibetan lineage holders, all three lineages included the major Tibetan commentators on poetics: Dpang lo tsā ba Blo gros bstan pa, Zhwa lu lo tsā ba, and the Fifth Dalai Lama. After the Fifth Dalai Lama, the lineage was the same in all three cases (Table 4.1).

Zhu chen's record indicates that for those who did study poetics, there was a significant degree of curricular systematization in terms of recognized teaching lineages and standard commentaries. Moreover, as the latter part of Zhu chen's poetics lineage indicates, poetics transmission lineages crossed sectarian and geographic divisions. His immediate instructor was a Karma bka' brgyud master, and he studied commentaries written by Dge lugs monks. Tracing the last five teachers, we see how the transmission lineage moved from central Tibet to the Sde dge region via Dge lugs, Rnying ma and Karma bka' brgyud teachers. Despite trends of increasing institutionalization during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, scholastic monks could still follow a model of educational eclecticism in which one would travel to other monasteries to study with teachers based on their specializations, not their sectarian affiliation.[7]

---

[3] This sketch is mainly based on the following sources: Zhu chen, *Autobiography*; DKT, 1774b-1775a; *HTP*, 301-14. Ldan ma is a region that straddles present-day Skye kun mdo County (Yushu xian 玉树县) in Qinghai and Gser shul County (Shiqu xian 石渠县) in Sichuan, where bordered by 'Jo mda' County (Jiangda xian 江达县) in the Tibet Autonomous Region. Chen and An, *Tibetan Personal and Place Names*, D379.

[4] For a study of the Sde dge Par khang and Zhu chen's account of its construction, see Col, "Picturing the Canon."

[5] On Zhu chen's activities as Bstan 'gyur editor see Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book*, 90-110, 140-46.

[6] Zhu chen, *Teachings Received*, vol. 1, 95.4-97.2=Ka 48a4-49a2.

[7] Dreyfus has cited material from Tsong kha pa's hagiographies as evidence of eclecticism from an earlier period (Dreyfus, "Commentarial Schools," 293-5). See also Dreyfus, *Two Hands Clapping,* 142.

Table 4.1. Culmination of poetics transmission lineages of Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen

Name	Dates	Lineage affiliation	Geographic base
Fifth Dalai Lama	1617-1682	Dge lugs	'Bras spungs Monastery and Potala Palace, Lhasa
Rnam gling paṇḍi ta Dkon mchog chos grags[8]	1646-1718	Rnying ma	Mon mkhar rnam sras gling, Gra nang rdzong, south of Lhasa
Chab mdo byams pa gling lo tsā ba Kun dga' legs pa[9]	b. 17th c.	Dge lugs	Chab mdo byams pa gling, Chab mdo, present-day eastern TAR[10]
Zur mang che tshang Gsung rab rgya mtsho[11]	b. 17th/18th c.	Karma bka' brgyud	Zur mang bdud rtsi mthil, Nang chen; present-day Skye kun mdo County[12]
Tshe bhrūṃ bla ma Karma 'chi med thub bstan rab gsal[13]	b. 17th/18th c.	Karma bka' brgyud	Tshe bhrūṃ dgon, in Sga pa (present-day Skye kun mdo County) or in Ldan ma[14]

As seen in earlier chapters, sectarian relations were far from idyllic in the wake of political turmoil from the mid-seventeenth century onward. Despite these circumstances, the Karma Bka' brgyud monk Zur mang che tshang Gsung rab rgya mtsho was able to receive poetics instruction from the Dge lugs monk Chab mdo byams pa gling lo tsā ba; this may have been possible in part because of their geographical distance from Lhasa.

For the transmission of Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* Zhu chen records four lists of teachers. The first corresponds to the first of the Fifth Dalai Lama's lists up through Dpal 'byor gling pa ngag dbang rnam rgyal (b. 16th/17th c.) of Gong dkar Monastery; after that Zhu chen's lineage consists exclusively of Sa skya pa teachers.[15] A notable addition in Zhu chen's list is the Buddha Śākyamuni as the originator of the lineage, who immediately precedes Kṣemendra; the Fifth Dalai Lama's list begins with Kṣemendra. Zhu chen's second list records a variant within the same lineage preceding Dpal 'byor gling pa; the same variant is recorded as the Fifth Dalai Lama's second list. Zhu chen's third and fourth lists record further variants within the first lineage, one preceding Dpal 'byor gling pa and the other following him; neither of these are found in the Fifth Dalai Lama's curricular record. However, all four of Zhu chen's lists culminate in a single lineage of six successive Sa skya pa teachers, with Mkhas btsun chen po

[8] TBRC P2382; MD, 939-40.
[9] TBRC P2927.
[10] This was the major center for monastic study in Chab mdo, with at least five study colleges; it was also the largest Dge lugs monastery in Khams, with more than fifty branch monasteries. For more information about this monastery see Gruschke, *Tibet's Outer Provinces: Kham*, vol. 1, *TAR*, 36-43.
[11] TBRC P2928.
[12] Zur mang bdud rtsi mthil and its major counterpart across the Tsi chu river, Zur mang rnam rgyal rtse dgon, together constituted one of the most powerful monastic complexes in Nangchen; the former was the seat of the Drung pa incarnation lineage. For more information about this monastery see Dorje, *Tibet Handbook*, 484-85; Gruschke, *Tibet's Outer Provinces: Kham*, vol. 2*, Qinghai*, 127-33.
[13] TBRC P2929.
[14] Jackson, *Saint in Seattle,* 530. For the location of Ldan ma, see note 3 in this chapter.
[15] Zhu chen, *Teachings Received*, 98.1-99.5.

Kun dga' rgya mtsho as his direct teacher.[16] While the Fifth Dalai Lama credited Smon 'gro pa as his main teacher for both the *Mirror of the Poetics* and the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, Zhu chen's curricular record indicates distinct instruction lineages for each of the two texts. His studies of the *Mirror of Poetics* were in the tradition of the Fifth Dalai Lama, but his instruction lineage for the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* was separate and effectively independent from the Fifth Dalai Lama's lineage. The divergence of *Vine* instruction lineages after Dpal 'byor gling pa may indicate a broadening of scholastic interest in this text during the seventeenth century; however, further references would be needed to draw general conclusions.

EDITING THE *WISH-FULFILLING VINE* AFTER THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA

Like the Fifth Dalai Lama, Zhu chen lavishes praise on the author of *The Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. In his curricular record, he introduces Kṣemendra as "the *dharmarāja* who shines like the day-making disc in the midst of all poets in India," using the Sanskrit-derived kenning 'day-maker' (*nyin mor byed pa*, Skt. *divākara*) for the sun.[17] However, Zhu chen is more reserved in his opinion of the latest major Tibetan edition of the *Vine*, the 1665 bilingual blockprint from the Fifth Dalai Lama's court. After a discussion of the various things that could go wrong with the editing and printing of texts and how he attempts to resolve them, Zhu chen turns to the 1665 edition of the *Vine,* which was used as the base text for inclusion in the Sde dge Bstan 'gyur:

> Nevertheless, as for the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* of the Buddha's Avadānas, it took as its base text the 'Bras spungs printing, and was caused to be written just as before. Earlier those such as the great translator of Zha lu [Chos skyong bzang po] made corrections thoroughly. However, when it was set down in print again by the Victorious Lord, the Omniscient [Fifth Dalai Lama] and 'Dar lo Ngag dbang Phun tshogs, the translation equivalents were arranged with two types [of sources]—[one] an Indian text having Sanskrit but not Tibetan, and [the other] having Tibetan but not Sanskrit, and [missing parts] were filled in.[18]
>
> Regarding this bilingually arranged *śāstra,* an unsurpassed feast for the "leading organs" of all learned ones: although its abiding state is extremely excellent, when that base text was set in print, since it relied on a headless script for the written marks, the scribes confused *p* and *s*, *r* and *t*, *l* and *m*, *t* when it has the *ra*-superscript [i.e. *rt*] and so forth, writing them [incorrectly]. For example, regarding the [Sanskrit] equivalent *sārtha* for "merchant" [they wrote] *pattha*. For the [Sanskrit] equivalent *parvata* for "mountain" [they wrote] *sarvata*. For the [Sanskrit] equivalent *sarpa* for "serpent" [they wrote] *sarva*.

[16] This is likely Sde dge drung pa Kun dga' rgya mtsho, from whom he received novice vows at the age of eleven. DKT, 1774.

[17] *'phags pa'i yul na snyan ngag mkhan kun gyi dbus su nyin mor byed pa'i dkyil 'khor ltar gsal ba chos kyi rgyal po.* Zhu chen, *Teachings Received*, vol. 1, 98.1=Ka 49b1.

[18] *de lta na'ang sangs rgyas kyi rtogs brjod dpag bsam 'khri shing 'di nyid ni 'bras spungs kyi par yig la phyi mo bgyis nas sngon ma nyid nas bri rgyur byas par/ der sngon du zha lu lo chen sogs kyis 'gyur bcos nan tan mdzad pa la/ slar yang par du 'khod par gnang skabs kyang rgyal dbang thams cad mkhyen pa nyid dang 'dar lo ngag dbang phun tshogs pa rnam gnyis kyis rgya dper legs sbyar gyi skad la yod pa bod skad la med pa dang/ bod skad yod pa legs sbyar gyi skad la med pa rnams kyang skad dod bsgrigs nas kha skong ba dang bcas te.* Zhu chen, *Autobiography*, 492.5-493.1.

> Likewise *kampa* for *kalpa*, *darta* for *datta*, *arma* for *atma*—there are many such [cases] written like this.[19]

In this autobiographical passage from the late 1730's, Zhu chen praises the earlier edition of the bilingual *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* as being carefully prepared by Zhwa lu Chos skyong bzang po, adding for good measure the kenning "leading organ" (*'dren byed dbang po*, Skt. *netra-indriya*) for eyes. He takes pains to emphasize that its "abiding state is extremely excellent" despite later textual corruptions. However, according to Zhu chen the Sanskrit text in the 1665 edition overseen by the Fifth Dalai Lama and printed at 'Bras spungs was plagued with scribal errors due to the use of the "headless" cursive (*dbu med*) Tibetan script, in which letters could easily be confused if the intended meaning was not understood. As the scribes themselves would not have known Sanskrit, there was little hope that they could transcribe it without any errors into the "headed" script (*dbu can*) used for block-printing.

While tracking down all the particular scribal errors noted by Zhu chen is well beyond the scope of this study, at least two misspelled words can be verified in the "Sudhanakinnarī-avadāna," the sixty-fourth episode: *sarvata* erroneously written for *parvata*, and *sarva* erroneously written for *sarpa*.[20] Other examples of mixed-up letters noted by Zhu chen can be observed in the critical edition of the "Pratītyasamutpāda-avadāna," the seventy-fifth episode, e.g. *-rt-* written in error for *-nt-*, *p* for *s*, and *s* for *p*.[21] Zhu chen himself was not immune to the errors of scribes, who failed to lengthen the vowel for *ātma* in this passage. This error aside, recent philological scholarship generally supports Zhu chen's text-critical remarks regarding the 1665 edition.[22]

Zhu chen stops short of criticizing the Sanskrit abilities of the editors, but an implicit critique of the supervision of the project—which failed to either foresee the problems of using cursive script or to sufficiently check the work of the scribes—might be presumed. Nevertheless, insofar as they justify the need for a new edition, Zhu chen's remarks parallel those of the Fifth Dalai Lama himself. As shown in Chapter One, in his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama lamented the incomplete and fragmentary state into which the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* had fallen by the middle of the seventeenth century, such that he and 'Dar pa lo tsā ba had to gather manuscripts and reconstruct parts of the text to restore it to the full glory it deserved. In turn, Zhu chen notes the flaws of the Fifth Dalai Lama's edition and how they still tarnish the glory of this excellent text, such that he feels compelled to intervene with corrections to the Sanskrit.

Unfortunately, the outcome of this project was beyond Zhu chen's control. He goes on to relate how the king of Sde dge, Phun tshogs bstan pa *alias* Kun dga' phrin las rgya mtsho,

---

[19] *skad gnyis shan sbyar du bkod pa'i bstan bcos dpyod ldan yongs kyi 'dren byed dbang po'i dga' ston bla na med pa nyid du bzhugs tshul shin tu legs pa mchis mod/ par du 'khod skabs kyi phyi mo de gshar yig zhig la brten nas bris pa'i rtags su/ yig mkhan rnams kyis pa dang sa/ ra dang ta/ la dang ma/ ra'i mgo can ta yig brtsegs ma sogs phan tshun 'dzol te bris pa ni/ dper na don mthun gyi skad dod sārtha la/ pattha/ ri bo'i skad dod parba ta la sarba ta/ sbrul gyi skad dod sarpa la sarba/ de bzhin du kalpa la kampa/ datta la/ darta/ atma la arma bris pa lta bu mang du mchis par/.* Ibid., 493.1-493.4.

[20] More precisely, *sarbba taṃ* is written for *parvataṃ* and *-sarbba-* is written for *-sarpa-*. The Tibetan system for transcribing Sanskrit utilizes the Tibetan *b* for the Sanskrit *v*, and the doubled consonant *vv* is an accepted orthographical variant. L, 858.5, 859.3. Cf. the critical edition of Straube, *Prinz Sudhana*, p. 130 stanza 64:268, p. 132 stanza 64:272.

[21] M, 16 n. 4, 18 n. 28, 19 n. 34, 20 n. 44, 20 n. 52.

[22] Zhu chen also makes specific remarks about textual corruptions in other sources, including the difficulties of maintaining correct transliterations for Sanskrit and Prakrit mantras. Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book,* 96-103.

ordered him to leave off editing the *Vine*, forcing him to simply reproduce the 1665 edition without further corrections. This passage was previously retold and partly translated by Kurtis Schaeffer, to emphasize how textual scholars such as Zhu chen were subject to the whims and preferences of their patrons.[23] For the purposes of my discussion, I would merely like to point out that Zhu chen's patron specifically referred to the Fifth Dalai Lama's edition, affirming that there was no need for further editing since "the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* has been edited over and over again by the [Lhasa] Regent's government."[24] Although Zhu chen and the Sde dge king disagreed about the necessity of editing the *Vine*, they agreed that their common point of reference was the Fifth Dalai Lama's 1665 bilingual edition. This corroborates that it was considered the default edition by the mid-eighteenth century, and also suggests that it enjoyed a prestigious reputation, at least among those who had not noticed its Sanskrit infelicities.

The differing attitudes of Zhu chen and the Sde dge king toward the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* reflect their differing positions and the interests stemming from those positions. As a scholastic monk entrusted with the task of editing the Buddhist canon, Zhu chen's primary concern was to ensure the accuracy of the texts so as not to tarnish the Dharma in any way. He felt sufficiently embarrassed about the imperfectly edited state of the *Vine* that he wrote about it at some length in his autobiography. Moreover, as additional insurance against future fault-finding, in his colophon to the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* as it appears in the Sde dge Bstan 'gyur, he also stressed that textual corruptions had been left untouched by him.[25] While Zhu chen lacked the political power and financial means of the Fifth Dalai Lama to carry out his textual work as envisioned, he was operating in a similar scholastic culture, in which authority was dependent on one's exhibition of knowledge.

On the other hand, the king of Sde dge at that time, Phun tshogs bstan pa, showed less concern for the finer points of editing this text. From his point of view, the karmic merit he would accrue from sponsoring the Bstan 'gyur was less likely associated with its perfect accuracy than with the amount he gave for it—a staggering sum that would eventually total well over 440,000 bushels of barley.[26] Whether a single text contained a few Sanskrit errors apparently did not factor into his consideration. As I noted in the Introduction, the printing of the Buddhist canon was an important part of the politics of cultural production in Tibet, particularly in the eighteenth century. The Snar thang and Shel mkhar Bstan 'gyurs would be completed in 1742—two years before the Sde dge Bstan 'gyur—while the Peking Bstan 'gyur would be completed in 1749. Phun tshogs bstan pa may have been more eager to finalize his canon in good time than to wait for textual perfection.

Zhu chen's position at the Sde dge court—as one who served more powerful and wealthy patrons—was reflected in his later artistic and literary productions of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, all of which were adaptations to fulfill others' commissions. In the remainder of this chapter I trace the *Vine* painting projects overseen by Zhu chen, along with a poetic digest composed to accompany one of these painted commissions.

---

[23] Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book,* 90-91.
[24] *dpag bsam 'khri shing sde pa gzhung gis zhus dag yang yang byas pa.* Zhu chen, *Autobiography*, 494.4.
[25] Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book,* 91.
[26] Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book,* 109. Schaeffer's figure includes the cost of food and drink for four years (168,400 bushels) and the total cost of wages and materials from 1738-44 (274,932 bushels).

ZHU CHEN'S *VINE* COMMISSIONS

As we have seen in previous chapters, the production of a set of *Vine* paintings required a considerable expenditure of time, creative energy and resources. They also required an artistic director to fulfill the commission and oversee the painting process. In this section I discuss the commissions of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* fulfilled by Zhu chen. Mkhan chen Dpal ldan chos skyong (1702-1760), the thirty-fourth abbot of Ngor monastery (a major Sa skya center in Gtsang, central Tibet), was a close friend of Zhu chen and spent much of his time in Khams. In 1750 he summoned Lha dga' and his brothers—famous painters of Karma Lha steng in northern Chab mdo—to Sde dge to paint a *Wish-Granting Vine* thangka series. He borrowed Si tu Paṇ chen's original thangkas and had Zhu chen supervise the painters' work to ensure they were of the utmost quality; while the number of painters was not specified, there was doubtless a larger team involved.[27] The Ngor abbot was an avid patron of large-scale painted sets, who also commissioned Zhu chen to supervise thangka series depicting the eighteen arhats and the painting of the Third Karma pa's *Hundred Birth-Stories*.[28]

In 1752 Zhu chen commissioned the same painters to execute the murals in the main temple at Ldan ma Pho brang, *alias* Chos lde gtsug lag khang, the palace constructed for the Sde dge royal family.[29] Not just any painter would do, for the Sde dge ruling clan had only recently conquered Ldan ma and their reputation was of some concern.[30] Zhu chen reports,

> Nowadays [their people in] Ldan ma district feared that in short, if there was no good [artist] making the Sde dge [royal] family's religious images, it would become an object of ridicule by those of utmost discrimination. That's why I had to send for Lha dga' and his brothers to paint."[31]

Zhu chen employed at least forty-five painters for the undertaking, including local painters of Ldan ma district and painters from Kar shod. Among their works were murals of the *Vine* organized around central images of the Buddha.[32]

---

[27] Zhu chen, *Autobiography*, 514.2-4=Ta 119a2-4. See also *HTP*, 311-12.

[28] Zhu chen, *Autobiography*, 514.4-6=Ta 119a4-6. See also Ngor Mkhan chen XXXIV, *Autobiography*, vol. 2, 178.2-178.5=288b2-288b5; vol. 3, 27.5-27.6; *HTP*, 312.

[29] Zhu chen, "Chos sde'i gtsug lag khang gzhan 'phrul mngon par dga' ba zhes bya ba skrun pa las 'phros pa'i gleng ba kun dga'i 'dzum zer 'dzag pa'i zla gzhon," in *Collected Writings*, vol. 7, 258.3=A 129b3. No date is given in this account, but in his autobiography Zhu chen records the painting of murals at the Ldan ma Chos sde Gtsug lag khang in 1752. Zhu chen, *Autobiography*, 515.3-516.2=Ta 119b6-120a2. The account itself was completed in 1755. Zhu-chen, *Autobiography*, 520.2-520.3=Ta 122a2-122a3.

[30] "Out of great power [through] the force of merit of the earthly-ruler-cum-*bla ma*, the elder brother [Phun tshogs bstan pa], lord of men, sent troops. Overpowering Ldan phyogs district, he set up a palace. Now this is called the Chos sde pho brang." *sa skyong bla ma'i bsod nams stobs chen po'i/ rtsal las gcen po mi bdag dpung g.yos te/ ldan phyogs yul gru dbang byas pho brang btab/ da lta chos sde pho brang zhes 'di'o/.* Kolmaš, *Genealogy*, 129, fol. 34a.

These events would have occurred during Phun tshogs bstan pa's tenure between 1738-1751. Ldan ma is the region located between Skye dgu mdo and Sde dge, and was also Zhu chen's birthplace; Ldan phyogs is presumably a variant name.

[31] *da lam ldan phyogs kyis mdor sde dge tsang gi rten bzhengs byed pa legs po zhig ma byung na rnam par dpyod ldan rnams kyis dpyas gdags pa'i yul du 'gyur dogs pas/ 'di nas lha dga' spun rnams kyang ri mo par btang dgos yong pa bcas.* Zhu chen, *Autobiography*, 515.1-515.2=119b1-119b2.

[32] Ngor Mkhan chen XXXIV, vol. 2, 379.4-379.5.

The following year the ruler of Sde dge, Blo gros rgya mtsho, and his sister Dbyangs can sgrol ma ordered Zhu chen to paint another set of murals, in a new temple in Sde dge to be constructed on top of an existing temple containing eight sandalwood *stūpa*s.[33] This time Zhu chen called for the master painter Smad shod A 'phel can, who had executed the woodcut drawings for the Sde dge Bstan 'gyur, along with two other famous artists and groups from Karma Lha steng and Dpal yul.[34] Principal images were sketched and painted according to Zhu chen's preferred system of divine proportions, which prescribed a height of 125 finger-widths for painted images of the Buddha.[35] Individual episodes were painted around the principal image and their designs were again based on models borrowed from Si tu Paṇ chen. However, the painting did not go so smoothly this time. Zhu chen writes with some frustration,

> On the grounds that it wasn't only in three or four thangkas but in most of them that [the painters] had no experience with the variety of beings [to be painted], and [also] that the instructions requiring [us to] change the landscapes as stated according to [the ruler's] wishes were difficult to understand, the master painter of Chab mdo and I had to make a detailed catalogue; hence it took a little longer but was finished nevertheless.[36]

Many temples in Sde dge have not survived to the present day, and the description of this temple does not correspond to any surviving structure. The paintings may have been comparable to the *Vine* murals in the main temple of Dpal 'bar dgon pa, which were completed in the eighteenth century and also feature buddhas as principal images.[37] Zhu chen composed verse inscriptions to accompany these murals, which are translated and discussed in the next section of this chapter. This was considered the most important of his *Vine* commissions, being the only one mentioned in the condensed verse autobiography Zhu chen wrote late in life to accompany his own biographical thangkas.[38]

Late in 1753, the local chieftain of Ldan shod—Ldan shod dpon Mgon po rnam rgyal—commissioned Zhu chen to create a series of thangka paintings for him. Zhu chen recounts the chieftain's words in his autobiography: "Since series depicting the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* are hard to obtain around here, now by all means I need a series, an elaborate display produced by you,

---

[33] *tsandana mchod rten cha brgyad kyi khang steng 'khri shing khang pa gsar bcos mdzad pa'i nang du*. Zhu chen, *Autobiography*, 517.3-518.3=Ta 120b3-121a3.

Blo gros rgya mtsho was known for making improvements to Lhun grub steng and constructing new monasteries and temples in the vicinity of Sde dge vicinity. Dbyangs can sgrol ma *alias* Ngag dbang bstan pa'i sgron me served as the eighth abbess of Lhun grub steng from 1774-1786 (Kolmas, *Genealogy,* 40-41; Kolmas, "Dezhung Rinpoche's Summary," 131).

[34] On the artist A 'phel from Smad shod, see *HTP*, 311.

[35] On the iconometric controversy between 120 and 125 digits, see Peterson, "Tibetan Canons of Iconometry;" Jackson and Jackson, *Tibetan Thangka Painting*, 144-48; Lo Bue, "Tibetan Literature on Art," 473-75; *HTP*, 302-3.

[36] *lha ris gsum bzhi tsam min pa phal cher gzugs 'gros sna tshogs sngar 'dri ma myong stabs dang/ sa yul dod* [read *'dod*] *lugs kyis 'god tshul sa 'pho 'gyur dgos pa'i bslab bya rnams go dka' ba mchis par brten/ chab mdo'i lha dpon dang nged rang gnyis kyis sol tho zhib bkod byed dgos byung bas 'gor che tsam byung yang mthar/.* Zhu chen, *Autobiography*, 517.6-518.2=Ta 120b6-121a2.

[37] Bell, "Murals of Baiya Monastery."

[38] *mchod rten steng khang khri shing lha bkod dang// zhal byang rab gnas dang bcas bskrun la 'dud//*. Zhu chen and Ngag dbang dge legs lhun grub, "Rang gi rtogs brjod thang kar pa'i zhal byang don bsdu kun dga' bskyed pa'i zhing khams rgya mtsho," in Zhu chen, *Autobiography*, Ta 139a5-139a6=270.5-270.6.

based on the text written by the *dharmarāja* Kṣemendra."[39] By the time the Ldan shod chieftain commissioned a set of *Vine* thangkas for his private collection, they had become an object of desire for wealthy and powerful patrons to place in their temples or private residences. Moreover, as his comment indicates, the prestige of the artists involved was also a matter of great concern. Zhu chen's services were in great demand and his reputation as a desirable artistic director for *Vine* paintings must have been well-established by this point. In his autobiography Zhu chen records a further *Vine* commission in the spring of 1760, a set of thangkas for the master printing-block carver (*dpar dpon*) Tshul khrims ting 'dzin, who in return offered a printed set of the Bka' 'gyur.[40]

One additional *Vine* commission is recorded in the biographical thangka of Rin chen mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan (b. 1717), thirty-seventh abbot of Ngor from 1746-1751 (Fig. 4.1). Zhu chen is depicted in collaboration with Lha dga' and his brothers, along with their assistants, producing a painted set of *Vine* thangkas for the abbot (Fig. 4.2).[41] Zhu chen is completing a sketch of a seated buddha on a canvas with his right hand, while looking down at a text in his left hand (Fig. 4.3). The text is not identifiable, but given the subject matter might either be an iconometric treatise or a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* text. Just behind his cushion is a shelf with *dpe cha* texts wrapped in protective fabric. Other monks are shown holding the canvas, preparing ink, and holding the ink-pot. In the next room, four monks and two lay painters apply color to completed sketches (Fig. 4.4). The overall impression is of a large and bustling workshop, and the decision to depict the painting of the *Vine* suggests that this was one of the larger and more significant commissions by the abbot. In particular, Zhu chen's ambidextrous attention to image and text conveys that his artistic skills are firmly grounded in a received tradition authenticating the veracity of the painting, whether according to iconometric standards, the details of the canonical *Vine*, or otherwise. In a culture of scholastic polymaths such as Si tu and Zhu chen, endeavors such as painting that elsewhere might be considered non-scholastic became sites for displaying erudition.

The concept of scholasticism is a usefool tool in considering their approaches to cultural production. José Cabezón has summarized several cross-cultural features of scholasticism; especially pertinent for this discussion are a strong sense of tradition, a concern with language, systematicity, and second-order reflection.[42] Georges Dreyfus has characterized scholasticism "as being concerned with the relation between authority and interpretation," affirming that its most distinctive feature is "its emphasis on interpreting the great texts constitutive of the tradition within the confines of its authority, using the intellectual tools handed down from previous generations."[43] While these observations are drawn from the textual traditions of Tibetan monastic education, they can also be applied to important aspects of Tibetan Buddhist art. Even illiterate artists and artisans depended on conservative traditions centered on creating images of deities, as captured in the term *lha bzo* meaning "deity craft" and also referring to its practitioners, "deity craftsmen." The creation of Buddhist icons was strictly regulated through prescribed rituals, bodily proportions, iconographic attributes, the use of color and so on—

---

[39] *'di phyogs su rtogs brjod dpag bsam 'khri shing gi bkod pa'i dpe rgyun dkon par mchis pas/ da lam chos rgyal dge dbang yab kyis mdzad pa'i yi ge'i steng nas/ khyod kyis bkod pa zhib rgyas lag bstar byas pa zhig gi rgyun gzugs pa cis kyang dgos tshul gleng byung ba.* Zhu chen, *Autobiography*, 518.5-6=Ta 121a5-6.
[40] Zhu chen, *Autobiography*, 530.4-532.1=Ta 127a4-128a1. See alo *HTP*, 312.
[41] This information is stated in the inscription. *HTP*, 303.
[42] Cabezón, *Scholasticism*, 5-6.
[43] Dreyfus, *Two Hands Clapping*, 11.

specific knowledge that was based on canonical texts and transmitted through oral instruction.[44] That is, the production of Buddhist art in Tibet was in most cases the interpretation of an authoritative tradition and its systematic subject matter.

While most painters in Tibet were not scholastics, those that were participated in an elite culture of producing literature about art, as well as visual forms of second-order interpretation. As Erberto Lo Bue has noted, the vast majority of literature on art in Tibet was less concerned with practical information about materials and techniques than with iconography, iconometry, further issues of classification, and the explanation of symbolic meanings, suggesting that Buddhist scholastics were both the authors and the intended audience.[45] As we have seen in the previous chapter on Si tu Paṇ chen, scholastic painters could also design paintings as sites of commentary referring to their source texts, and use portraits to reflect on their relationships to authority and tradition. In this portrait, our attention is drawn to the intimate simultaneity with which the scholar could work in both the creation of art and the mediation of textual authority.

We thus have evidence of six commissions fulfilled by Zhu chen alone for the *Vine*. These anecdotes reveal several facets of a thriving art scene in eighteenth-century Sde dge. Eminent monks such as Zhu chen and Si tu Paṇ chen were engaged in a range of literary and artistic activities, over and above their ritual and administrative duties as heads of their respective monastic complexes. Painting was but one among many pursuits that included editing the canonical Buddhist works, engaging in Sanskrit learning and text-criticism, and composing poetry and commentaries on poetics. These polymaths moved in elite circles in which wealthy, powerful monks and laypersons could press them to produce such grand projects of Buddhist patronage and markers of high culture. In the wealthy and effectively autonomous region of greater Sde dge, where Bstan pa tshe ring had rapidly consolidated power by the 1730s and other local chieftains were jockeying for position, such services were in high demand.

Several other observations are worth making about professional painters and patrons in eighteenth-century Sde dge. There were several famous individuals such as Lha dga' and his brothers who were highly sought after and could not always be secured for particular commissions. They were summoned from considerable distances for work and were supported in great numbers at considerable expense to complete large-scale projects such as painting series of the *Vine*. Lesser painters worked in groups and often had to be trained to paint unusual subjects according to the vision of the supervising artist. Copies of famous paintings such as the design of Si tu Paṇ chen were valued, but patrons did not hesitate to improve upon them. For the Ngor abbot maintaining the quality of the painting was the greatest concern, while the Sde dge ruler actively intervened in the appearance of the murals he was commissioning. In temples, the presence of iconic central Buddha images was considered important and was incorporated into the design. Thangkas held in private collections, on the other hand, did not prioritize this, and there are multiple extant copies of Si tu Paṇ chen's *Vine* series that preserve this striking feature of his design. Viewing all these productions were those of utmost discrimination (*rnam par dpyod pa rnams*), the connoisseurs who could influence public opinion about rulers anxious to assert their status and legitimacy. This culture of connoisseurship was made possible through a network of circulating painters, paintings and elite persons educated in the arts of painting, poetry and the like.

---

[44] For iconometry three authoritative sources were the thirtieth chapter of the *Mahāsaṃvarodaya Tantra*, the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakra Tantra*, and the *Pratimālakṣaṇa Sūtra*. Lo Bue, "Tibetan Literature on Art," 475. On iconometric debates see note 35 of this chapter.

[45] Lo Bue, "Tibetan Literature on Art."

Lest these *Vine* paintings be reduced to commodities for an acquisitive and exclusive elite, Zhu chen affirms the soteriological value of images in his 1748 account of the construction of the Sde dge Printing House. In his section listing the religious images in the printing house, he provides three examples from the early history of making images of the Buddha: (1) the story of King Bimbisāra giving a portrait of the Buddha to King Udrāyaṇa, (2) the story of Muktā, and (3) the story of the sandalwood Buddha image identified with the famous Jo bo Śākyamuni in the Lhasa Jokhang. Here I will focus on the story of Muktā, which is also narrated as the seventh episode of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* under the title "Muktālatā-avadāna." Zhu chen tells a condensed version of the story in straightforward prose, as follows:

> Some merchants of Śrāvastī went to the land of Singhala and sang the teachings of the Buddha. The princess Muktā heard them and [had] trust. She sent a letter to the Teacher through the merchants [and] a reply was given [by him], a painting on cotton canvas made by emanating rays of light. Thereby inscribed with an image, the thangka was extremely pure. Because he bestowed that and a letter, the lady saw the truth of things. In return [she] gave an offering of three large bushels of pearls, [and it] was apportioned to the Three Jewels by the Buddha. Thereafter the Buddhist teachings spread everywhere.[46]

Here is the model donor, a pious and educated woman of royal family who, unable to encounter the Buddha in the flesh, requests teachings from him through a letter. She receives a painting of divine provenance—miraculously created by the Buddha himself—and some written teachings, by which she gains insight into the nature of reality. In turn she offers a generous gift to the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. In the extended version of the story in Kṣemendra's *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, it is specified that Muktālatā attains the fruit of Stream-Winner (*śrotāpanna*), that is, liberation from *saṃsāra* guaranteed within seven lives. That beholding a painting can lead to liberation testifies to the power of the trace, the copy that fully embodies the powers of its original. This promise of the sincere donor and the efficacious painted copy is an ideal that Zhu chen re-affirms through his writing.

ZHU CHEN'S CONDENSED *VINE* INSCRIPTIONS

Among the six *Vine* painting commissions Zhu chen fulfilled, one set is recorded as having inscriptions composed by Zhu chen: the 1753 murals for the new temple in Sde dge. This poetic digest is found in Zhu chen's collected works under the title "A Precious Condensed Poem of the Buddha's Avadānas."[47] Each of the *Vine* episodes is summarized in one stanza,

---

[46] *de'ang mnyan yod pa'i tshong pa rnams singha la'i gling du phyin te sangs rgyas kyi sgra bsgrags pa/ rgyal po'i bu mo mu tig can gyis thos nas dad de/ des ston pa la yi ge gsol ba tshong pa rnams kyigs phul ba'i lan du/ ras kyi gzhi ma la ri mo ji ltar thob pa'i 'od zer bkye ste/ de steng ri mos mnan pa'i thang sku ni skye mched shin tu gtsang ba zhig ste/ de dang spring yig stal bas bu mos bden pa mthong ste/ slar mu tig bre bo che gsum 'bul du bskur ba ston pas dkon mchog gsum la bgo bar mdzad do/ de nas brtsams te rgyal ba'i bstan pa gang du dar ba de dang der/.* Zhu chen, "Gtsug lag khang chos 'byung bkra shis sgo mangs rten dang brten pa ji ltar bskrun pa las brtsams pa'i gleng ba mdud rtsi'i phreng," in *Collected Writings*, vol. 7, 147.1-4=A 11a1-4.

This passage was translated independently by Cynthia Col (Col, "Picturing the Canon," 414). As our translation choices differ on a few points, I have retained my own translation here.

[47] Zhu chen, "Sangs rgyas kyi rtogs pa brjod pa'i tshigs su bcad pa rin chen don 'dus," in *Collected Writings*, vol. 1, 2-21 (hereafter "Rin chen don 'dus"). I am indebted to my teacher Ye shes, who patiently went through every stanza

making a work of 108 narrative stanzas, framed by four introductory stanzas, seven concluding stanzas, and a short prose colophon. In this section I present a complete translation of the work followed by observations on its style and strategies as a condensed literary adaptation.

Before presenting the translation, a few notes about its format are in order. I have numbered the introductory verses with the prefix "A," to maintain the numbering for the narrative episodes. The narrative episodes are numbered in the blockprint text itself, with the number appearing above the first line of the corresponding stanza. The concluding verses have been numbered with the prefix "Z." I have included notes explaining kennings, epithets, and names that are not explained by the text itself. Within the narrative verses, in a few cases I have also provided notes supplying plot points. However, in general I have left it to the reader to make sense of the text as Zhu chen's readers would have done, reserving analysis until after the text has been presented in its entirety. The title of the *avadāna* is usually given near the end of the stanza, and I have used a colon to mark this off except when it has been more tightly integrated into the sentence by Zhu chen. As headings for each narrative stanza, I have also provided the name and number of the *avadāna* as they appear in Kṣemendra's text; occasional departures from the title by Zhu chen may thus be observed.

Translation of Zhu chen's Condensed Vine

His immeasurable marvelous deeds usher in springtime.
With supplication—a dancing girl's foot stirring dust,
he performs inconceivable works in this *kalpa*—opens petals wide.
Supreme Teacher, Victor—*aśoka* tree: to him I bow my head! ||A1||[48]

Delighting in the enjoyment cakra at the throat of youthful
Brahmā's daughter, at a festival for finding a bride,
the *paṇḍita*s Kṣemendra and his son—moonlight illuminating the world,
yielded the Buddha's *avadāna*s in poetic song. ||A2||[49]

To plant the seeds of merit, I have strung on a cord
the verses I crafted—a fresh-bloomed flower
for each branch that has grown
on their deep and sturdy wish-granting *Vine*. ||A3||[50]

---

of this work with me in Tibetan and Chinese, clearing many difficult points and answering many questions along the way.

[48] *rmad byung spyod pa dpag yas dpyid du mgron gnyer ba// smon lam sgeg mo'i rkang rdul bkod pas bskal pa 'dir// bsam gyis mi khyab phrin las 'dab ma yangs phye ba// ston mchog rgyal ba'i mya ngan med pa gtsug na mchod//*. Ibid., 1b-2a=2-3.

[49] *tshangs pa'i bu mo dar bab mgrin pa longs spyod kyi// 'khor lo la dgyes bag mar khugs pa'i dga' ston du// sangs rgyas rtogs brjod snyan dngags glu ru 'jo ba la// dge dbang yab sras mkhas pa'i zla 'od srid na dkar//*. Ibid., 2b1-4.1.

[50] *de yi tshig don zab brling yongs 'du'i 'khri shing gi// yal 'dab ji snyed 'khrungs par gyur pa'i grangs de snyed// tshigs bcad me tog gsar du 'dzum pa gus sbyor gyi// srad bu la bstar bsod nams sa bon 'jog phyir yin//*. Ibid., 2b1-2b2=4.1-4.2. Rather than disrupt the flow of the stanza by translating *tshig don* literally, I have chosen to render *tshig don.... 'khri shing* as "*Vine*" to signify both the plant and the composition of Kṣemendra and Somendra.

He crossed the ocean of merit massed over successive eons
with a great raft of marvelous deeds,
laid claim to the treasury of precious knowledge:
the captain who accomplished the dual purpose, Śākyamuni! ||A4||[51]

No. 1, "Prabhāsa" (rab gsal)
On the basis of karma they were whisked haplessly by the "twice-drinker"*
recalling his mating lust. With the true saying,
"Tamed by mind training one becomes most wise,"
he generated *bodhicitta* to attain it: the "brilliant" Prabhāsa.[52]

*A "twice-drinker" (*gnyis 'thung*, Skt. *dvipa*) is a kenning for an elephant.

No. 2, "Śrīsena" (dpal gyi sde)
[For the] brahmin whose body was slashed in half, [his] lower body
was cut off with a saw. Astonishment arose at his gift!
Śatayajña* sprinkled [him] with nectar, restoring [his] normal state.
He regained his dear wife too: Śrīsena.[53]

*Śatayajña ("having a hundred sacrifices") is an epithet of Śakra, also known as Indra.

No. 3, "Maṇicūḍa" (gtsug na nor bu)
His queen, his son, the flesh of his own body,
his inborn crest-gem he gave to beggars.
By uttering words of truth, his body was as before.
he attained kingdom and glory: Maṇicūḍa.[54]

No. 4, "Māndhātṛ" (nga las nu)
In a divinely appointed body with a
white *tilaka* for offerings to the Tathāgata,
with perfect charm he brought under his power the worlds of the
four continents and thirty-three heavens: the *cakravartin* Māndhātṛ.[55]

[51] *bskal pa'i phreng bar tshogs bsags chu bo'i gter// rmad byung spyod pa'i gzings chen gyis brgal nas// yon tan rin chen mdzod la dbang 'byor ba// don gnyis grub pa'i ded dpon shākya thub/.* Ibid., 2b2-2b3=4.2-4.3.
[52] *mngon 'dod rtse dga' dran pa'i gnyis 'thung gis// dbang med khyer ba las brtsams gtam dag gis// sems nyid bslabs pas 'dul la mkhas pa'i mchog// 'thob phyir byang chub thugs bskyed rab gsal can//.* Ibid., 2b3-2b4=4.3-4.4.
[53] *lus phyed bcad pa'i bram zer sku yi smad// sog les dral te stsal la ya mchan* [read *mtshan*] *skyes// brgya byin zil mngar gyis bran rnal du bkod// sdug pa'i mchis 'brang yang thob dpal gyi sde//.* Ibid., 2b4-2b5=4.4-4.5.
[54] *btsun mo lha sras bcas dang rang lus sha// lhan skyes gtsug gi nor rnams slong la byin// bden tshig stsal gyis rang lus snga mkhor gnas// rgyal srid dpal bcas thob pa gtsug nor bu//.* Ibid., 2b5-2b6=4.5-4.6.
[55] *bde gshegs mchod pa'i rnam dkar ti la ka// gnam bskos lus su rdzogs pa'i 'jo sgeg gis// gling bzhi sum cu gsum bcas brtan pa dag// rang dbang bgyid pa'i 'khor sgyur nga las nu//.* Ibid., 2b6=4.6.

No. 5, “Candraprabha” (zla ba’i ’od)
A web of young moonbeams—his handsome body—
and the glory of his generosity set down in white letters:
a brahmin came to rob these. Neither gods nor men could keep
him from giving his royal head: Candraprabha.[56]

No. 6, “Badaradvīpayātrā” (ba da ra’i gling du ’gro ba)
Due to the discontent of robbers who couldn’t get enough of wealth,
he went with great courage to a remote island.
Taking a collection of gems, he banished the troubles of sentient beings.
Supriya traveled to Badara Island.[57]

No. 7, “Muktālatā” (mu tig ’khri shing)
By becoming a servant girl, she knew tribulation.
Blessed by the Omniscient One at death, she was reborn a daughter of royalty.
Because of seeing the painting on the firm ground of faith,
she actualized [the fruit of] Stream-Winner: Muktālatā “with the pearl garland.”[58]

No. 8, “Śrīgupta” (dpal sbas)
On the advice of a friend’s son, he invited Śuddhodana’s son
for poisoned food. When [the Buddha] sat on the throne
that turned into a lotus where there was a fire-pit,
repenting he parted from evil: Śrīgupta.[59]

No. 9, “Jyotiṣka” (me skyes)
Deceived by a mendicant about the Jina’s prediction for his infant,
Subhadra killed his wife. From her burnt flesh
he was born. Whatever wealth he gained,
he gave it all away. He conquered the enemy, *saṃsāra*: Jyotiṣka.[60]

[56] *mdzes sku zla gzhon 'od kyi dra ba dang// gtong phod yi ge dkar por dgod pa'i dpal// dbrog phyir lhags pa'i bram zer sa bdag dbu// lha mis ma bzlog byin pa zla ba'i 'od//.* Ibid., 2b6-3a1=4.6=5.1.
[57] *chom rkun nor gyis tshim dka'i sdug bsngal brten// bgrod dka'i mtsho gling snying stobs chen pos phyin// nor bu'i tshogs blangs skye 'gro'i rgud pa bcil// shin tu dga' bas ba da ra gling bgrod//.* Ibid., 3a1-3a2=5.1-5.2.
[58] *'bangs mor gyur pas skyo bar kun mkhyen gyis// byin brlabs tshe 'phos rgyal rigs bu mor skyes// dad pa'i gzhi brling bris sku mthong ba'i rgyus// rgyun zhugs mngon gyur mu tig 'khri shing can//.* Ibid., 3a2-3a3=5.2-5.3.
[59] *gnyen gyi bu yis bslab ltar zas gtsang sras// dug can zas la mgron gnyer me dong gi// bzhugs gnas padmar gyur pa'i brir* [read *khrir*] *bzhugs tshe// 'gyod tshangs bgyis pa'i sdig bral dpal sbas so//.* Ibid., 3a3-3a4=5.3-5.4.
[60] *rgyal bas khye'ur lung bstan zad byed kyis// bslus pa'i rab bzang chung ma bkums pa'i ro// bsregs pa las skyes gang gis 'byor pa'i tshogs// yongs btang srid pa'i dgra rgyal me las skyes//.* Ibid., 3a4-3a5=5.4-5.5.

No. 10, “Garbhāvakrānti” (mngal nas ’byung ba bstan pa)
The seed of existence is completed by the five phases [in the womb].
Birth, old age, sickness, and death proceed in succession.
The shadow of the origin of suffering constantly follows.
Relying on the [truths of] cessation and the path: the lecture “Born From the Womb.”[61]

No. 11, “Sundarīnanda” (mdzes dga’ bo)
The Teacher conferred renunciation on one whose body was full of craving.
His mind was pulled fiercely by the chariot of desire,
[but] shown the glories of heaven and the miseries of hell,
he parted from the dust of craving: “Sundarī and Nanda.”[62]

Note: The protagonist is Nanda; his former wife is Sundarī.

No. 12, “Virūḍhaka” (’phags skyes po)
With evil mind he seized his father's kingdom.
As the fruit of annihilating the Śākya clan who had seen the truth,
the king and his minister both burned in a fire, then
fell into Avīci Hell: Virūḍhaka.[63]

No. 13, “Hārītikādamana” (’phrog ma)
To reverse the suffering and evil karma to be tasted for stealing
the life-breath of all the others’ newborn infants,
one child was hidden by the Tathāgata.
Anguished over him, she received the foundation of training: the story of Hārītikā.[64]

No. 14, “Prātihārya” (cho ’phrul)
Various miracles were displayed by the Bhagavan.
From the centers of thousand-petalled lotuses where countless Jina-bodies appeared
issued the sounds of Dharma. As for the six teachers who wanted a competition,
their powers of illusion withered: [such were] the grand miracles that radiated.[65]

[61] *srid pa'i sa bon gnas skabs lngas rdzogs pa// skye rga na 'chi'i gom stabs rim bsgyur la// kun 'byung grib ma 'bral med rjes 'brang ba// 'gog lam bsten pa mngal nas 'byung ba'i gtam//.* Ibid., 3a5=5.5.
[62] *chags ldan lus la ston pas rab byung stsal// yid ni 'dod pa'i shing rtas rab drangs pa// lha yul dpal dang dmyal ba'i sdug bsngal dag// nyer bstan chags pa'i rdul bral mdzes dga' bo//.* Ibid., 3a5-3a6=5.5-5.6.
[63] *yab kyi rgyal srid sdig pa'i sems kyis phrogs// bden mthong shākya'i rigs rnams yongs brlag pa'i// 'bras bu rgyal blon lhan cig me nang du// tshig nas mnar med lhung ba 'phags skyes po//.* Ibid., 3a6-3b1=5.6-6.1.
[64] *gzhan kyi phru gu btsas dgu'i srog dbugs dag// phrogs pa'i bcud myang sdig las ldog phyir du// de bzhin gshegs pas bu gcig bsgribs byas pa'i// gdung bas bslab gzhi blangs pa 'phrog ma'i gtam//.* Ibid., 3b1-3b2=6.1-6.2.
[65] *cho 'phrul ya ma zungs stan bcom ldan 'das// 'dab stong rgyal sku mtshan pa grangs med dbus// chos sgra 'byin la 'gran 'dod ston pa drug// rdzu 'phrul mthu nyams phros pa'i cho phrul che//.* Ibid., 3b2-3b3=6.2-6.3.

No. 15, "Devāvatāra" (lha las babs pa)
Acting for the sake of the gods, the supreme god's
presence was requested by Jambudvīpa's beings. With countless celestial assemblies
he descended at the City of Light.* When Utpala[varṇā]
took the guise of a *cakravartin*, [it was] revealed: "Descended from Heaven."[66]

*In the Tibetan translation of Kṣemendra the name of the city is Sāṃkāśya, transliterated as *shang kā shya* (Kṣe. 15:7).

No. 16, "Śilanikṣepa" (brag nges par 'phangs pa)
While clearing the road to Kuśa City,
a thousand strong athletes could not move a great boulder.
With his toe he took it out, with his hand he tossed it far,
with the breath of wisdom he shattered and re-formed it: "Throwing the Rock."[67]

No. 17, "Maitreyavyākaraṇa" (byams pa lung bstan)
Where excellent Sūryamitra* crossed the Gaṅgā
using a bridge as his boat, he made a precious *stūpa*
emerge from the *nāga* underworld.
The dawning of a pair of suns—the Guides: "Prediction of Maitreya."[68]

*Sūryamitra is an epithet of the Buddha Śākyamuni, "Friend of the Sun."

No. 18, "Ādarśamukha" (me long gi bzhin)
A poor woman who offered butter lamps would have supreme awakening.
Wishing for a prediction like this, Prasenajit in his presence
was very generous and did a hundred beneficial acts,
[but] was taught in examples the difficulty of great awakening: Ādarśamukha.*[69]

*Ādarśamukha was the name of the Buddha in a previous existence; his story is one of the examples taught by the Buddha to Prasenajit.

No. 19, "Śariputrapravrajyā" (shā ri'i bu rab tu byung ba)
In a previous life, in the favorable soil of his mindstream
he planted the seed of a pure aspiration. Born from that,
now the lord of the discerning
has attained the coolness [of *nirvāṇa*]: the "Renunciation of Śāriputra."[70]

---

[66] *lha mchog lha yi don mdzad 'dzam gling gi// skye 'gros zhus ngor lha tshogs grangs med bcas// gsal ldan grong du babs par utpalas// 'khor sgyur zol gyis skabs phye lha las babs//.* Ibid., 3b3=3b4=6.3-6.4.
[67] *ku sha'i grong khyer gshegs lam phyag dar tshe// gyad stobs stong gis ma bskyod rdo mo che// zhabs mdzub kyis phyung phyag gis ring du 'phangs// ye shes dbugs kyis bshig bsdoms brag 'phangs pa//.* Ibid., 3b4=6.4.
[68] *nyi ma'i gnyen mchog gru yi zam stegs las// ganggā'i pha rol phyin pa'i sa 'og nas// rin chen mchod sdong thon bstan rnam 'dren gyi// nyi ma zung 'char byams pa lung du bstan//.* Ibid., 3b4-3b5=6.4-6.5.
[69] *dbul mos mar me phul bar byang chub mchog// lung bstan de 'drar 'dod pa'i gsal rgyal ngor// gtong phod che dang gzhan la phan pa brgyas// byang chen bsgrub dka'i dper bstan me long bzhin//.* Ibid., 3b5-3b6=6.5-6.6.
[70] *sngon skyer sems rgyud gshin pa'i sa gzhi la//rnam dkar smon lam sa bon btab las skyes// dus 'dir rnam par 'byed pa'i dbang phyug la// bsil bar thob pa shA ri'i bu rab byung//.* Ibid., 3b6-4a1=6.6-7.1.

No. 20, "Śronakoṭikarna" (gro bzhin bye ba rna)
Seeking ordinary jewels, he wandered far.
By seeing the fruit of ease and pain felt in turns by day and night,
he attained peace thanks to Kātyāyana.
He was praised by the Tathāgata: Śroṇakoṭikarṇa.[71]

No. 21, "Āmrapālī" (a mra skyong ma)
Born from a plantain tree trunk, she had captivating eyes.
When handed a portrait, drawn by a previous aspiration
she desired Bimbisāra. She gave birth to
the child of their dalliance: Āmrapālī.[72]

No. 22, "Jetavanapratigraha" (rgyal byed kyi tshal yongs su bzung ba)
Trusting the Buddha, [Anātha]piṇḍada [paid] the land-price by
lining it with gold, and built a temple.
In a magic contest with Raktākṣa, Śāriputra
was the representative and defeated him: the "Acquisition of Jetavana."[73]

No. 23, "Pitāputrasamādāna" (yab dang sras mjal ba)
Śuddhodana sent messengers one after another, who all renounced. Finally
he connected with Udāyin and built Nyagrodha Grove.
The Teacher arrived from the sky accompanied by gods.
A fine crystal palace appeared: the story of "Father and Son Meeting."[74]

No. 24, "Viśvāntara" (thams cad sgrol)
He gave the precious elephant to the beggar, so
his angry progenitor* exiled him to another land.
Children, wife, possessions—he gave it all away, and was
praised by Śatayajña in his true form: Viśvantara.[75]

*I have translated *skyed byed* (lit. "birth maker," Skt. *janana*) as "progenitor" here, since it refers to a father; in no. 92 the term refers to a mother.

[71] *nor bu phal pa don gnyer ring 'phyan pas// nyin mtshan bde sdug 'bras bu re mos spyod// mthong bas kā tyā yān las zhi ba thob// bde gshegs kyis bsngags gro bzhin bye ba rna//.* Ibid., 4a1-4a2=7.1-7.2.
[72] *chu shing sdong po las skyes yid 'phrog mig/ ri mo'i gzugs la gtod tshe gzugs can snying// sngon gyi smon lam gyis bkug rtse dga' la// rnam par rtsen pa'i bu btsas a mra skyong//.* Ibid., 4a2=7.2.
[73] *sangs rgyas dad pa'i zas sbyin pas* [read *sa*] *yi rin// gser gyis gshibs nas gtsug lag khang bskrun la// mig dmar rdzu 'phrul co 'drir shā ri'i bus// gnyer pos pham byas rgyal byed tshal de bzung//.* Ibid., 4a2-4a3=7.2-7.3.
[74] *zas gtsang pho nya rim btang rab byung mthar// 'char kas mtshams sbyar nya gro dha brtsigs nas// ston pa lha yi tshogs bcas mkha' las byon// khang bzang shel sprul yab sras mjal ba'i gtam//.* Ibid., 4a3-4a4=7.3-7.4.
[75] *rin chen glang po slong ba la byin pas// skyed byed khros pas yul gzhan spyugs gyur kyang// bu dang chung ma bdog pa kun btang bas// brgya byin rang gzugs kyis bstod thams cad sgrol//.* Ibid., 4a4-4a5=7.4-7.5.

No. 25, "Abhiniṣkramaṇa" (mngon par 'byung ba)
He entered Māyā's womb, he was born like a lotus,
he displayed skill in the arts. When it was time to rule the kingdom—
disgusted [with *saṃsāra*] by [seeing] old age, sickness, death, and liberation—
he could not be turned back by a hundred tactics: the "Renunciation."[76]

No. 26, "Māravidrāvaṇa" (bdud bcom pa)
On the riverbank he practiced austerities. At Vajrāsana
he spread the *kuśa* offered by the grass-seller.
His equipoise unswerving, in the matrix of sameness
he conquered pleasant and unpleasant apparitions and the demon armies.[77]

No. 27, "Śākyotpatti" (shākya byung ba)
To tell the high origin with the Jina's knowledge,
the patriarch Munīndra* blessed
the worthy vehicle Maudgalyāyana, who was
skilled in bringing down the Gaṅgā—extolling the Śākyas.[78]

*Munīndra is an epithet of the Buddha Śākyamuni, "Lord of the Sages."

No. 28, "Śroṇakoṭīviṃśa" (gro bzhin bye ba nyi shu pa)
Kolita*—the sun—came. The one born in the *śroṇa* [constellation]
offered food with a hundred flavors; the leftovers given to the Buddha
delighted Bimbisāra. In the presence of the Buddha
he was certainly liberated: Koṭiviṃśa.[79]

*Kolita is the birth-name of Maudgalyāyana.

No. 29, "Dhanapāla" (nor skyong)
Devadatta, wanting to be an object of worship,
sent a killer [elephant] maddened by poisoned water.
From the Omniscient One's fingers sprang lions, turning it back.
He surrounded it with a wall of fire, taming Dhanapāla.[80]

[76] *sgyu 'phrul lhums zhugs padma ltar bltams nas// sgyu rtsal legs bstan rgyal thabs skyong ba'i tshe// rga na 'chi dang thar pas yid byung nas// thabs brgyas ma bzlog mkha' la mngon par 'byung//.* Ibid., 4a5-4a6=7.5-7.6.
[77] *chu klung 'gram ngogs dka' spyad rdo rje'i gdan// rtswa 'tshong gis phul gu* [read *ku*] *sha bkram stengs su// mi phyed mnyam gzhag mdzes sdug sgyu rtsal dang// bdud sde'i dmag tshogs mnyam nyid dbyings su btul//.* Ibid., 4a6-4b1=7.6-8.1.
[78] *rgyal ba'i yon tan gyis mtho sngon byung gtam// gleng bar thub dbang mes pos byin brlabs pas// maud gal bu yi skal ldan shing rta de// shākya'i che brjod gangga 'bebs la mkhas//.* Ibid., 4b1=8.1.
[79] *pang skyes nyi ma brtol byung gro bzhin skyes// ro brgya'i bshos phul ston par bstabs lhag gis// gzugs can snying po mgu nas sangs rgyas drung// rjes khrid rnam grol bye ba nyi shu pa//.* Ibid., 4b1-4b2=8.1-8.2.
[80] *phyag 'os 'dod pa'i lhas byin dug chu yis// myos pa'i gsod byed bkye ba kun mkhyen gyi// phyag sor las 'thon gdong lngas bskrad de slar// zhugs kyi lcags ris yongs bskor nor skyong btul//.* Ibid., 4b2-4b3=8.2-8.3.

No. 30, "Kāśisundara" (kā shi mdzes pa)
[Two brothers] born together: one had a patient nature.
For the sake of Dharma the queens had trust in him.
Mistaken Kālabhu* cut him to pieces with a sword.
Through words of truth he was restored: Kāśisundara.[81]

*Kālabhu is the king and brother of Kāśisundara, who became a forest hermit.

No. 31, "Suvarṇapārśva" (gser kyi logs)
While he was guarding the deer in the forest and it was tranquil,
he delivered to the far shore a wicked man carried off by the river current.
The man made a promise, [but] for the sake of money he broke it. Because of this
[the deer] was invited to the royal palace and taught the Dharma: Suvarṇapārśva.[82]

No. 32, "Kalyāṇakāri" (dge byed)
He set out on the "water treasury."* While coming [back] with gems,
the great ship was destroyed. He saved his younger brother. In return,
he was robbed of his eyes and the gems. Even so, he avoided malice.
Through the truth he was restored: the power [of] "practicing virtue" (Kalyāṇakāri).[83]

*"Water treasury" (*chu gter*, Skt. *jaladhi*) is a kenning for the ocean.

No. 33, "Viśākha" (khyad par lo ma)
Though starving, he did not engage in evil. His wife, nourished by
[his] flesh and blood, was adulterous and deceitfully
threw him over a dreadful cliff. Still without fault,
he gained the kingdom: renowned as Viśākha.[84]

No. 34, "Nandopananda" (dga' bo nye dga')
A pair of "arm-goers"* coiled thrice 'round Mount Meru,
Maudgalyāyana in *nāga*'s form bound them.
In the Excellent Teacher who gives supreme fearlessness to those fleeing [*saṃsāra*],
they went for refuge: Nanda [and] Upananda were tamed.[85]

*Here the kenning "arm-goer" (*lag 'gro*, Skt. *bhujaṃga*) refers to a *nāga* serpent.

---

[81] *skye gnas gcig gyur bzod pa'i rang bzhin la// chos phyir btsun ma'i tshogs kyis dad byas par// log lta dus sa'i ral gris yongs gtubs pa// bden pa'i tshig gis rnal gnas kā shi mdzes//.* Ibid., 4b3-4b4=8.3-8.4.
[82] *nags su ri dags tshogs bskyang bder gnas tshe// nyal 'gro'i rgyun khyer mi bsrun pha rol bsgral// mi smra dam bcas nor phyir dral ba'i rgyus// rgyal khab spyan drangs chos smra gser gyi logs//.* Ibid., 4b4-4b5=8.4-8.5.
[83] *chu gter la zhugs nor bcas 'ong ba'i lam// gru bo che zhig nu bo bsgral lan du// 'dren byed nor bcas 'phrogs kyang 'khon spangs pa'i// bden pas rnal du gnas de dge byed mthu//.* Ibid., 4b5=8.5.
[84] *bkres kyang sdig pa ma brtsams sha khrag gis// bsos pa'i chung mas log g.yems g.yo thabs kyis// nyam nga'i g.yang du bskyur yang ma nongs par// rgyal srid thob pa khyad par lo mar grags//.* Ibid., 4b5-4b6=8.5-8.6.
[85] *lhun po lan gsum 'khyud pa'i lag 'gro zung// maud gal bu yis sgyu 'phrul klus bcings tshe// bros par mi 'jigs mchog sbyin ston mchog la// skyabs su 'gro byas dga' bo dnyer dga' btul//.* Ibid., 4b6-5a1=8.6-9.1.

No. 35, "Grhapatisudatta" (khyim bdag legs sbyin)
By reading the Buddha's scriptures with a lamp at night,
he broke the fire law and was imprisoned. Outside it was
a ring of fire. Despite punishment for not bowing to Prasenajit,
he was set free through the power of merit: Sudatta.[86]

No. 36, "Ghoṣila" (gdangs can)
Although he hadn't incited evil, due to malicious deceit
Udrāyaṇa expelled him. Associating with friends who
told him a story of generosity, he listened well
to the Teacher's speech and built a temple: Ghoṣila.[87]

No. 37, "Pūrṇa" (gang po)
[Hearing] the merchants'* song taking refuge in the Buddha,
his hair stood on end. He went to the presence of the Teacher,
renounced and became an arhat. As soon as he was invoked by
merchants on a disintegrating ship, he protected them from danger: excellent Pūrṇa.[88]

*The term used here for "merchants," *don mthun* ("those with common aim") is derived from the Sanskrit *sārthavāha*. For the second occurrence in this verse the common term *tshong pa* appears.

No. 38, "Mūkapaṅgu" (lkugs pa 'phye bo)
Repelled by royal power [and] delightful, luxurious Kāśī,*
he went mute. Those around him were aloof.
Recalling the joy of solitary retreat,
he steadily performed austerities: Mūkapaṅgu.[89]

*Kāśī, a name of Vārāṇasī, is the city that the prince Mūkapaṅgu is expected to rule.

No. 39, "Kṣānti" (bzod pa)
The fruit of cutting the hermit's limbs into pieces
with his bloody sword—with the wrong idea about
the trust of [his] queens—was falling into Avīci Hell.
[But] with an angerless [act of] truth, joyful and handsome Kṣānti was restored.[90]

---

[86] *mtshan mor me 'od sangs rgyas bka' bklag pas// me khrims dral te btson chud me 'od 'khyil// phyi nas gsal rgyal ma btud chad pa yang// bsod nams mthu yis grol ba legs byin can//.* Ibid., 5a1-5a2=9.1-9.2.
[87] *'char byed sdig par bskul yang ma brtsams par// bsdigs pa'i zol gyis rnam bskrad sbyin pa'i gtam// bsnyad pa'i grogs dang 'grogs nas ston pa'i gsung// legs thos gtsug lag khang brtsigs gdangs can pa//.* Ibid., 5a2-5a3=9.2-9.3.
[88] *don mthun sangs rgyas skyabs su 'gro ba'i glus// spu long rab rgyas ston pa'i spyan sngar phyin// rab byung dgra bcom tshong pa gru 'jig gis// gsol btab 'phral la 'jigs bskyabs gang po mchog/.* Ibid., 5a3-5a4=9.3-9.4.
[89] *rgyal srid 'byor pa'i kā shi mdzes dga' mor// yid 'byung smra ba bskyungs pa'i snying ring grogs// dben pa'i rtse dga' rjes su dran pa'i blo// mi 'gyur dka' thub spyod pa lkugs 'phyer grags//.* Ibid., 5a4-5a5=9.4-9.5.
[90] *btsun mo'i tshogs kyis dad la log lta'i khrag/ sbags pa'i ral gris drang srong yan lag rnams// dum bur phral ba'i 'bras bu mnar med ltung// khro bral bden pas gsos pa'i bzod dga' mdzes//.* Ibid., 5a5=9.5.

No. 40, “Kapila” (ser skya)
Due to the fierce hail of harsh speech, he was cast into a place
“difficult to cross,”* the torrent of suffering, in the form of a sea monster.
By lifting his eighteen heads to venerate the Teacher,
he was reborn as a god and achieved the Dharma-eye: Kapila.[91]

*”Difficult to cross” (*brgal dka’*) often refers to the ocean.

No. 41, “Udrāyaṇa” (u drā ya na)
In return for a gift of jeweled armor, the Jina’s image [was given].
As soon as he saw the painting, trust arose, so
he relinquished the throne and met him in person. Through good teachings
he was fully liberated, [then his] karma manifested: Udrāyaṇa.[92]

No. 42, “Paṇḍita” (mkhas pa)
In a time of famine, he gave *nāga* treasures to
five hundred destitute ones. Pondering the Muni’s instruction,
he gave away all his possessions and renounced.
Relying on an object-condition, he became an arhat: Paṇḍita.[93]

No. 43, “Kanakavarṇa” (gser mdog)
Through giving to protect his country from famine,
he distributed his storehouse to exhaustion. What little food was left
he offered to a *pratyekabuddha*. Immediately
food, jewels, and everything desired showered down: Kanakavarṇa.[94]

No. 44, “Hiraṇyapāṇi” (gser gyi lag pa)
His good karma: from his precious lotus hands,
every morning two hundred thousand pure flecks of silver trickled,
satisfying beggars. Pondering the Buddha’s good teachings,
freed from attachment he held a begging bowl: Hiraṇyapāṇi.[95]

[91] *tshig rtsub ser char drag pos sdug bsngal gyi// 'bab chu brgal dka'i gnas 'phangs chu srin gzugs// bco brgyad mgo bo gdengs pas ston par gus// lhar 'phos chos kyi mig thob ser skya'o//.* Ibid., 5a6=9.6.
[92] *rin chen go cha'i skyes lan rgyal ba'i sku// ri mor shar ba mthong 'phral dad pa'i rgyus// rgyal thabs spangs nas dngos mjal legs gsungs kyis// rnam grol las mngon bgyis pa u drā yan//.* Ibid., 5a6-5b1=9.6-10.1.
[93] *bkres rngabs dar dus dbul phongs lnga brgya phrag/ sa 'og gter byin thub pa'i bka' lung mnes* [read *mnos*]*// bdog dgu sbyin par bstabs nas rab tu byung// yul rkyen la brten dgra bcom mkhas par grags//.* Ibid., 5b1-5b2=10.1-10.2.
[94] *yul phyogs mu ge las bsrungs sbyin gtong gis// bang mdzod 'god pa la zad lhag ma'i zas// chung ngu rang sangs rgyas la phul ba'i 'phral// zas nor 'dod dgur 'jo ba gser gyi mdog/.* Ibid., 5b2-5b3=10.2-10.3.
[95] *las bzang lag pa rin chen padma las// nangs rer dngul dkar nyis 'bum 'dzag rdul gyis// slong rnams tshim byas ston pa'i legs gsungs mnos// chags bral slong ba'i snod thogs gser gyi lag/.* Ibid., 5b3-5b4=10.3-10.4.

No. 45, "Ajātaśatrupitrdroha" (ma skyes dgras pha bsad pa)
On Devadatta's advice, he put his father in a dungeon.
By killing [him], he fell into a pit of despair.
He confessed, clasped the rescue rope of excellent [Dharma],
and returned to his fine palace: Ajātaśatru.[96]

No. 46, "Krtajña" (byas shes)
Devadatta planned to strike with poisoned fingernails.
As soon as he went before the Tathāgata, he fell into hell.
In the past when [he was] Akṛtajña, he also harmed [the Bodhisattva], but
[the bodhisattva] came out on top: Kṛtajña.[97]

No. 47, "Śālistambha" (sā la'i sdong bu)
Four great *nāga*s in the Teacher's presence
did not pay homage to Prasenajit, who in turn was angered.
[They] sent down hail that turned into food. The row of *śāla* trees [and]
sugarcane ripened*: [this is] known as "Trunks of the *Śāla* Trees."[98]

*In a past life Prasenajit earned merit by offering sugarcane juice to a *pratyekabuddha*, resulting in his birth as Prasenajit with flourishing *śāla* trees and sugarcane.

No. 48, "Sarvārthasiddha" (don kun grub pa)
Even though his wealth was complete, due to others' poverty
he received the wish-granting gem from the *nāga* city.
It was seized by the water gods; valorously he took [it back].*
Whatever was wished for rained down: Sarvārthasiddha.[99]

* Alternatively, the verb *drangs* ("pulled, drew") could refer to how Sarvārthasiddha emptied the ocean of its water to induce the water gods to return the wish-granting gem.

No. 49, "Hastaka" (glang po can)
[He and] his beloved had mutual karma [like] two joined hands.
To bring her back, from the golden elephant who was born with him
he took a pair of tusks and offered them to Prasenajit.* In return
he got the girl, and in the end was fully liberated: Hastaka.[100]

*Prasenajit is the father of Hastaka's beloved.

---

[96] *lhas byin gros bzhin pha gcig khri mun du// bcug nas bkums pas nyam nga'i dong lhung ba// mthol tshangs dam pa'i dpyangs thag la 'khyud de// bde ba'i khang bzang phyin pa ma skyes dgra//.* Ibid., 5b4=10.4.
[97] *lhas byin dug gi sen mos 'debs sems kyis// bde gshegs spyan sngar phyin 'phral dmyal bar lhung// sngon yang byas mi shes dus rab gtses kyang// rang gi khyad par mngon mtho byas pa shes//.* Ibid., 5b4-5b5=10.4-10.5.
[98] *ston pa'i mdun gnas klu chen bzhi dag gis// gsal rgyal bkur stir ma byas khros lan du// rdo char phab pa zas gyur sā la'i phreng// bu ram shing smin sā la'i sdong bur grags//.* Ibid., 5b5-5b6=10.5-10.6.
[99] *'byor dgu rdzogs kyang dbul po gzhan gyi dbang// gdengs can grong nas yid bzhin nor blangs pa// chu lhas 'phrogs pa snying stobs kyis drangs te// ci 'dod char du 'jo ba don kun grub//.* Ibid., 5b6-6a1=10.6-11.1.
[100] *phan tshun las kyi lag sbrel mdza' na mo// 'gugs byed lhan skyes gser gyi glang po las// mche bzung blangs gsal rgyal phul lan du// bu mo thob mthar rnam grol glang po can//.* Ibid., 6a1-6a2=11.1-11.2.

No. 50, “Daśakarmapluti” (las bcu spyad pa)
At Lake Anavatapta, through the [summons of the] best of men,
the pair of excellents* magically arrived in the midst of the Saṅgha.
When the center of the sky—the form-body of the Guide, was invited [to speak],
the rainbow of the ten karmic actions was brilliantly revealed.[101]

*The “pair of excellents” are Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.

No. 51, “Rukmavatī” (gser ldan)
To a poor woman who had just given birth, and starving
was about to eat her child, she gave her own two breasts.
In front of Śatayajña who asked whether she had any regret,
with [an act of] truth she became a man: Rukmavatī.[102]

No. 52, “Adīnapuṇya” (bsod nams mi dman pa)
Out of compassion for the enemy army [intending to] cut down the [one who]
fulfills the wishes of those who ask, he gave up the kingdom and went to the forest.
To protect [another from] a great wrong, he gave his body to the enemy.
His opponent bowed in esteem: Adīnapuṇya.[103]

No. 53, “Subhāṣitagaveṣin” (legs bshad ’tshol ba)
In order to hear new maxims, he offered a pearl necklace
to the *śavari* hunter. After hearing the Dharma,
according to the crooked *guru*’s command he jumped
off a dreadful cliff and was saved by a *yakṣa*: Subhāṣitagaveṣin.[104]

No. 54, “Sattvauṣadha” (sems can sman)
While alive, he completely cured
those with horrible illnesses—how amazing!
Even the lifeless matter left when his consciousness went to heaven
was medicine for beings: the power of Sattvauṣadha.[105]

[101] *rdzing bu gdung ba med par mi mchog gis// mchog zung rdzu 'phrul gyis lhags dge 'dun dbus// rnam 'dren gzugs sku'i mkha' dkyil drangs par yang// bcu phrag las kyi gzha' ris bkrag por bstan//.* Ibid., 6a2=11.2.
[102] *dbul mo btsas shing ltogs mas phru gu yang// bza' bar brtsam la rang gi nu 'bur gnyis// byin la 'gyod pa skyes snyam brgya byin mdun// bden pas skyes bu'i las bsgyur gser ldan ma//.* Ibid., 6a2-6a3=11.2-11.3.
[103] *slong ba'i dpag bsam gcod pa'i dgra dpung la// snying rjes rgyal srid yongs btang nags su song// nongs chen bskyab phyir rang lus dgra la byin// dgra zlas gtsug bkur bsod nams mi dman pa//.* Ibid., 6a3-6a4=11.3-11.4.
[104] *legs bshad gsar pa mnyan phyir sha wa rir// mu tig do shal phul nas chos thos mthar// bla ma 'khyog po'i bka' ltar nyam nga'i g.yang// mchongs pa gnod sbyin gyis bsrungs legs bshad 'tshol//.* Ibid., 6a4-6a5=11.4-11.5.
[105] *'tsho ba'i dus na mi bzad bro 'tshal ba// thams cad bde bar sbyar la ya mtshan ci// rnam shes mtho ris 'phos pa'i bems pos kyang// 'gro ba'i nad sel sems can sman gyi mthu//.* Ibid., 6a5-6a6=11.5-11.6.

No. 55, "Sarvamdada" (thams cad ster ba)
To protect the life of a pigeon wounded by a *śavari* hunter,
his bodily flesh was weighed to the last [pound]. Even then
it could not be replaced. [With the] intention of ransoming his entire body,
through the power of [an act of] truth he was restored: Sarvaṃdada.[106]

No. 56, "Gopālanāgadamana" (klu ba lang skyong btul ba)
Seeing the Charioteer—tamer of the poisonous beings who
destroy men, animals, and crops—he rained down
fierce hail [but it] turned into flower garlands. So
with trust he took refuge: the taming of the *nāga* Gopāla.[107]

No. 57, "Stūpa" (mchod rten)
The brilliant "supports" (*rten*) round with relic domes,
[their] necks a small bell yielding the song of the excellent Dharma,
establishing a fortunate eon for gods and men
to hear good instruction: the row of Tathāgata's *stūpa*s.[108]

No. 58, "Puṇyabala" (bsod nams stobs)
He assiduously served those afflicted with illness
as if it had passed to his own heart.
Because he happily gave his eyes to one feigning blindness,
he was miraculously restored by Śakra: Puṇyabala.[109]

No. 59, "Kuṇāla" (ku lā la)
Through good karma he had the form of Manmatha.*
The lustful [queen] could not get his fluid, so his eyes were gouged out.
Living by the sweet melodies of [his] *vīnā*, he went to his homeland.
He [re]gained his eyes with an angerless [act of] truth: Kuṇāla.[110]

*Manmatha ("one who stirs the mind") is an epithet of Kāma, god of love.

[106] *sha wa ris gtse phug ron srog bskyab phyir// rang lus sha tshogs zad par srang bcal yang// 'tshob par ma nus lus rdzogs gzhal ba'i sems// bden pa'i mthu yis rnal gnas thams cad ster//.* Ibid., 6a6-6b1=11.6-12.1.
[107] *mi phyugs lo tog gzhom pa'i dug can gyi// 'gro 'dul kha lo sgyur mthong rdo rje'i char// drag por phab pa me tog phreng gyur pas// dad pas skyabs song ba lang skyong klu btul//.* Ibid., 6b1=12.1.
[108] *ring bsrel snying pos sbrum pa 'od 'bar rten// mgul gyi dril chung dam chos glur 'jo ba// legs gsungs thos pa'i skal bzang lha dang mir// bskrun du bcug pa'i bde gshegs mchod rten phreng//.* Ibid., 6b1-6b2=12.1-12.2.
[109] *lus can nad kyi gdung ba bdag snying la// 'phos pa lta bu'i rim gro lhur len tshe// dmus long tshul la lta byed legs bstal bas// brgya byin ngo mtshar spyan bsos bsod nams stobs//.* Ibid., 6b2-6b3=12.2-12.3.
[110] *las bzang 'bras bu yid srubs gzugs kyi ro// btung byar ma thob g.yem mas mig phyung yang// bi wang snyan pa'i glus 'tsho rang gnas phyin// khro med bden pa'i mig thob ku la la//.* Ibid., 6b3-=12.2.

No. 60, "Nāgakumāra" (klu gzhon nu)
Because [the *nāga*s were] stricken with fierce [storms of] hot sand, he embraced
the timely excellent [Dharma from] Anaṅgajit.* In the midst of the ocean
many temples were created and [the Buddha] was invited.
Predicted to attain supreme awakening: the *nāga* Kumāra.[111]

*Anaṅgajit ("conqueror of the bodiless [Kāma]) is an epithet of the Buddha.

No. 61, "Karṣaka" (zhing pa)
The brahmin and his wife made an offering with
pure food to the god of gods and prayed for wealth.
By the power of that, golden sprouts grew.
Free of greed he made an offering to the best of men: that was Karṣaka.[112]

No. 62, "Yaśoda" (grags sbyin)
Lacking a son, he threatened the Nyagrodha spirit,
but [the tree-spirit] supplicated Indra, and as soon as
a *devaputra* died he became a fortunately-given son.
In the Teacher's presence he became an arhat: Yaśoda.[113]

No. 63, "Mahākāśyapa" ('od srungs chen po)
Despite having a lovely wife like gold,
the two dwelled by living free of passion.
Because of the bad deed of pressing oil [for] pastry,* he was troubled
and fully conquered the enemy, *saṃsāra*: Mahākāśyapa.[114]

*Insects died while the oil was being pressed.

No. 64, "Sudhanakinnarī" (nor bzang)
The obstacle to he and slender Manoharā tasting
joy together was the undertaking of an evil mind, making
the *kinnara* maiden flee. Through a hundred adventures
[they] finally arrived at home: divine Sudhana.[115]

[111] *bye tshan rnon pos btab pas lus med thul// skabs kyi dam par legs bzung chu gter klong// gtsug lag khang mang sprul nas spyan drangs mchod// byang chub mchog tu lung bstan gzhon nu'i klu//.* Ibid., 6b4-6b5=12.4-12.5.
[112] *bram ze khyo shug zung gis lha yi lhar// gtsang ma'i zhal zas kyis bstabs 'byor ldan du// smon lam btab mthus gser gyi ljang bu skyes// mi mchog mchod pa'i chags bral zhing sa* [read *pa*] *nyid//.* Ibid., 6b5=12.5.
[113] *bu med nya gro dha yi lhar bsdigs pas// des kyang lha dbang gsol btab legs bris bu// tshe 'phos 'phral du bu skal byin pa de// ston pa'i drung son dgra bcom grags pa sbyin//.* Ibid., 6b5-6b6=12.5-12.6.
[114] *mdzes sdug gser 'dra chos kyi mdza' na mo// thob kyang gnyis ka chags bral gnas pas gnas// snum 'khur 'tshir ba'i sdig pas yid skyo nas// srid pa'i dgra las rnam rgyal 'od srungs che//.* Ibid., 6b6-7a1=12.6-13.1.
[115] *yid 'phrog lus phra lhan cig rtse dga'i ro// 'thung ba'i gegs ni blo ngan gyi brtsams pas// mi'am ci mo bros pa spro ba brgyas// mthar gyis rang yul khugs pa nor bzang lha//.* Ibid., 7a1-7a2=13.1-13.2.

No. 65, "Ekaśṛṅga" (rwa gcig pa)
From a doe was born a sage's son,
in the woods his full-mooned face
was drawn by Nālinī's charms, and
he was crowned king of all: Ekaśṛṅga.[116]

No. 66, "Kavikumāra" (gzhon nu snyan dngags mkhan)
Since he was to be killed, he [went] to a fisherman's home.
Trying every trick, the assassins chased him a long time.
Endangered in a forest full of tigers, he was saved by a sage.
Through skill he gained the kingdom: Kavikumāra.[117]

No. 67, "Saṅgharakṣita" (dge 'dun srungs)
To save five hundred merchants, [at] the *nāga*s' call
he jumped. Faultless he came back to shore.
Seeing the fruit of virtue and vice, he was a chariot
guiding hermits on the noble path: Saṅgharakṣita.[118]

No. 68, "Padmāvatī" (padma ldan)
Lotuses bloomed wherever she tread, her form like Pañcabāṇa,*
taken by Brahmadatta, she delivered a pair of sons. But
jealous queens dissembled, so she was taken to court.
As the truth [came out] in the end, she was revealed by the fisherman: Padmāvatī.[119]

*Pañcabāṇa (one with five arrows) is an epithet of Kāma.

No. 69, "Dharmarājikāpratiṣtha" (chos kyi rgyal po rab gnas)
He built eighty-four thousand stūpas
containing the Tathāgata's relics. The excellent arhat
magically [rose] in the sky, giving august shade.
Peerless in giving offerings: [this is] known as "Consecration of the Dharma King."*[120]

*This episode is about King Aśoka.

---

[116] *ri dwags bu mo las skyes thub pa'i bu// nags su mtshar sdug bzhin zla rgyas pa de// pad gdan 'dod pa'i sgyu rtsal gyis drangs te// kun gyi spyi bor dbang bskur rwa gcig pa//.* Ibid., 7a2-7a3=13.2-13.3.
[117] *gsod par btang bas nya pa'i khyim nang du// sgyu rtsal kun rdzogs gshed mas ring du bdas// stag ldan nags su 'jigs pa thub pas bskyabs// rig pas rgyal srid thob pa snyan dngags mkhan//.* Ibid., 7a3=13.3.
[118] *tshong pa lnga brgya 'tsho phyir lag 'gro'i grangs* [read *drangs*]*// rang nyid mchongs pas ma nongs tshur rol 'gram// dge sdig 'bras bu la bltas drang srong tshogs// 'phags lam 'dren pa'i shing rta dge 'dun bsrung//.* Ibid., 7a3-7a4=13.3-13.4.
[119] *rkang bkod padma bzhad pa mda' lnga'i gzugs// tshangs byin gyis thob zung gi bur btsas kyang// phrag dog btsun mos bsgribs pas khrims la sbyar// bden mtha' nya pas mngon bstan padma ldan//.* Ibid., 7a4-7a5=13.4-13.5.
[120] *bde gshegs ring bsrel snying po'i mchod pa'i rten// brgyad khri bzhi stong bskrun pa dgra bcom mchog/ rdzu 'phrul nam mkhar 'phags pa'i grib bsil g.yob// mchod sbyin zla bral chos rgyal rab gnas grags//.* Ibid., 7a5-7a6=13.5-13.6.

No. 70, “Mādhyantika” (nyi ma gung pa)
He went to Kashmir and tamed the poisonous *nāga*s,
his crossed legs grew vast, they offered much land.
He established an innumerable *saṅgha* with a temple,
he beautified [the land] with saffron fields: Mādhyantika.[121]

No. 71, “Śāṇavāsin” (shā na’i gos can)
On Mount Urumuṇḍa in the land of Mathurā,
cross-legged he tamed the obstructive *nāga*.
The excellent temple of Naṭa and Bhaṭa was built.
He fully spread the Jina’s teachings: Śāṇavāsin.[122]

No. 72, “Upagupta” (nyer sbas)
While teaching the Dharma that conquers the enemy *saṃsāra*,
he transformed the deceiving demons [with] hideous attire that
couldn’t be removed, so they took refuge.
[Māra] manifested in the Tathāgata’s form: such was Upagupta.[123]

No. 73, “Nāgadūtapreṣaṇa” (klu la springs pa)
The king had an order for sea-hidden jewels.
He accumulated much merit. When it became higher,
the hooded* assembly accepted his supremacy. Bearing the jewel tribute
on their shoulders, they offered it: “Letter to the Nāgas.”[124]

*“Hooded ones” (*gdengs can*) is a kenning for *nāga*s.

No. 74, “Pṛthivīpradāna” (sa gzhi phul ba)
[His kingdom] became a land of offerings, rich with all requisites,
Aśoka offered more and more.
When the time to go to heaven drew near, without remainder
he protected with his powerful army: “Offering the Earth.”[125]

[121] *kha che'i yul gshegs gdug pa'i klu btul nas// skyil krung gcig khyab sa chen phul ba la// gtsug lag khang bcas dge 'dun dpag yas bskrun// gur gum tshal gyis mdzes byed nyi ma gung//.* Ibid., 7a6-7b1=13.6-14.1.
[122] *bcom brlag yul gyi mgo chen ri bo la// skyil mo krung bcas gegs byed klu btul nas// gar mkhan dpa' bo'i gtsug lag khang mchog brtsigs// rgyal bstan rnam par rgyas mdzad sha na'i gos//.* Ibid., 7b1-7b2=14.1-14.2.
[123] *srid pa'i dgra las rnam rgyal chos 'doms tshe// gzhan blo 'drid pa'i yid srubs dgrol dka' ba'i//*
mi sdug cha lugs bsgyur bas skyabs su bsten// bde gshegs rnam par sprul bcug nye sbas so//. Ibid., 7b2=14.2.
[124] *chu gter byings pa'i nor phyir rgyal po'i bka'// bsod nams mang bsags je mthor phyin pa na// gdengs can tshogs kyis gtsug blangs dbyig gi dpya// phrag par bkod de bcal ba klur springs yig/.* Ibid., 7b3=14.3.
[125] *mchod sbyin yul gyur mtha' dag mkho dgu'i dpal// ches cher phul ba'i mya ngan med pa de//*
mtho ris bgrod pa nye tshe lhas bskos kyi// dpung pas bsrungs pa'i ma lus sa gzhi phul//. Ibid., 7b3-7b4=14.3-14.4.

No. 75, “Pratītyasamutpāda” (rten cing ’brel bar ’byung ba)
Through the thick root of ignorance, the crooked branches of
perceptual distortion grow: the tree of *saṃsāra.*
Because previous causes are not stopped, the later [links]
proliferate. The teaching on its pacification: the Dharma of dependent origination.[126]

No. 76, “Vidura” (bi du ra)
His fruit for hacking the body of a faultless one: a blind body
covered with sores [with] swarms of maggots from head to tail.
He lamented the misery of [being] eaten, and beyond that
still more torment was predicted: Vidura.[127]

No. 77, “Kaineyaka” (kai ne ya ka)
The best of men was on the bank of a gently coursing river.
After the four Great Kings obtained the Dharma
a pair of sages adhered to the good teachings [and] the discipline,
saw the truth and were fully liberated: Kaineyaka.[128]

No. 78, “Śakracyavana” (brgya byin ltung ba)
He roused the Bhagavan from fire-element *samādhi*.
Due to signs of [his] death, fearful Tridaśapati*
took refuge. As soon as he fell [to earth],
he was newly reborn on his seat: the story of “Śatayajña’s Fall.” [129]

*Tridaśapati (“lord of the thirty [gods]”) is an epithet of Śakra.

No. 79, “Mahendrasena” (dbang chen sde)
By compassionately relinquishing the kingdom, he delighted the enemy army.
By bartering his body to the enemy, he delighted the beggar.
By surprisingly [re-]gaining his kingdom, he delighted his court.
Mahendrasena’s pleasing life: the previous life [of the Buddha].[130]

[126] *ma rig rtsa ba sbom pos 'khrul snang gi// yal ga 'khyog por bskyed pa 'khor ba'i shing// de rgyu snga ma 'gags pas phyir rnams kyi// spros pa zhi ston rten cing 'brel 'byung chos//.* Ibid., 7b4-7b5=14.4-14.5.
[127] *skyon bral lus bcad 'bras bu dmus long gzugs// mgo mjug khyab par rma skyes srin bu'i tshogs// za ba'i sdug bsngal cho nge 'byin ma zad// da dung mnad 'gyur lung bstan bi du raḥ//.* Ibid., 7b5-7b6=14.5-14.6.
[128] *mi mchog chu klung dal gyis 'bab ngogs su// rgyal chen rnam bzhis chos thob song ba'i rjes// thub pa zung zhig legs gsungs 'dul bar bsten// bden mthong rnam par grol ba kai ne ya//.* Ibid., 7b6=14.6.
[129] *bcom ldan me khams snyoms zhugs sad byas te// 'chi 'pho'i mtshan nyid kyis skrag skabs gsum bdag/ skyabs su song la lam bstan yongs ltung 'phral// stan der gsar 'khrungs brgya byin ltung ba'i gtam//.* Ibid., 7b6-8a1=14.6-15.1.
[130] *snying rjes rgyal srid btang bas dgra sde dga'// rang lus dgra la btsong bas slong ba dga'// ngo mtshar rgyal thabs thob pas 'khor 'bangs dga'// dbang chen sde de 'tsho bde'i sngon gyi rabs//.* Ibid., 8a1-8a2=15.1-15.2.

No. 80, “Subhadra” (rab bzang)
As the Omniscient One reposed on his final bed,
with his wisdom eye [he saw that] two disciples remained.
With insightful means he disciplined [the first and] made him a Stream-Winner.
Before the Teacher he passed beyond suffering: the great Subhadra.[131]

No. 81, “Hetūttama” (rgyu’i mchog)
Supplicated by merchants* from afar, compassionately
he freed them from danger. Through the offering of sandalwood ointment
to the Jina’s body, he was cleared of illness and attained full glory.
He was predicted to attain buddhahood: Hetūttama.[132]

*Here again the term used for “merchants” is *don mthun* (“those with common aim,” Skt. *sārthavāha*).

No. 82, “Nārakapūrvika” (dmyal ba sngon ldan)
For blocking his wanton behavior he beheaded
his mother with a sword; repenting he renounced.
With time Bhavavarma would fall into a great hell;
emerging from it he would see the truth: “Preceding Hell.”[133]

No. 83, “Rāhulakarmapluti” (sgra gcan ’dzin)
For six days in the forest he was chained to obsession with women.
For burdening her old mother with the heavy vessel of buttermilk
for six leagues, the fruit for Yaśodhara was carrying him
six months in the womb: the history of Rāhula.[134]

No. 84, “Madhurasvara” (sbrang rtsi’i dbyangs)
At birth he sat on a jewelled throne, “water bearers”*
sent a rain of honey. This fortunate one
made an offering to the Tathāgata and went forth in the Vinaya.
He was liberated along with five hundred bandits: Madhurasvara.[135]

*Water bearer” (*chu ’dzin*, Skt. *payodhara*) is a kenning for a cloud.

[131] *kun gzigs tha ma'i gzims khri la bzhugs tshe// ye shes gzigs pas gdul bya'i lhag ma zung// nyer dgongs thabs kyis legs btul rgyun zhugs bkod// ston pa'i sngon du myang 'das rab bzang che//.* Ibid., 8a2-8a3=15.2-15.3.
[132] *don mthun ring nas gsol btab thugs rje yis// 'jigs bral rgyal ba'i sku la tsandan na'i// byug pa phul bas snyun gdangs dpal kun thob// 'tshang rgya 'gyur bar lung bstan rgyu yi mchog/.* Ibid., 8a3-8a4=15.3-15.4.
[133] *'dod log spyod pa 'gog byed ma yi mgo// ral gris bregs pa'i 'gyod pas rab byung ba// srid pa'i go cha dus kyis dmyal ba cher// lhung las thon pas bden mthong dmyal sngon ldan//.* Ibid., 8a4-8a5=15.4-15.5.
[134] *skyes mos tshal du zhag drug thu bo bcings// ljid che dar ba'i bum pa bgres mo la// rgyang grags drug bkal 'bras bu grags 'dzin mngal// zla drug sbrum pa sgra bcan 'dzin gyi rabs//.* Ibid., 8a5=15.5.
[135] *skyes tsam rin chen khrir 'khod chu 'dzin gyis// sbrang rtsi'i char rgyun 'bebs pa'i skal ldan des// bde gshegs mchod de 'dul bar rab tu byung// chom rkun lnga brgya bcas grol sbrang rtsi'i dbyangs//.* Ibid., 8a5-8a6=15.5-15.6.

No. 85, “Hitaiṣin” (phan pa ’tshol ba)
With the blood of his [father’s] body another’s disease was healed, and
by the power of offering medicine arduously prepared for his own sickness
to a *pratyekabuddha* who had fallen ill,
both were freed from illness: Hitaiṣin.[136]

No. 86, “Kapiñjala” (ba men)
In the forest, a friend who could teach the virtuous path in human language—
along with the hare, the “branch creature,” and the “twice-drinker”*
who were respected in order of age—took up the precepts,
thereby creating fortunate abundance: the partridge [and] friends.[137]

*“Branch-creature” (*yal ga’i ri dags,* Skt. *latāmṛga*) is a kenning for a monkey, while “twice-drinker” is a kenning for an elephant; this narrative has become a popular motif in Tibet, the “four harmonious companions” (*mthun pa spun bzhi*).

No. 87, “Padmaka” (padma can)
He conscientiously applied himself to moral training, and
despite being drawn by the chariot of summoning mantra
he happily entered the fire rather than the sphere of lust.
He was “cooled” together with the sorceress and prostitute: Padmaka.[138]

No. 88, “Citrahastiśayyātiputra” (nag pa glang po’i stan)
Newly discontent, he took ordination, but again
was bound to household by the lasso of intimacy.
The appearance of the helping Jina purified him.
He was made free from passion: Citrahastiśayyātiputra.[139]

No. 89, “Dharmaruci” (chos sred)
The terrifying gaping maw of a deadly sea monster
closed with the Buddha’s name, and it died. Now
he’d become a monk with insatiable hunger.
Seeing his former bones he was liberated: Dharmaruci.[140]

---

[136] *rang lus khrag gis gzhan gyi nad bsos shing// bdag nyid bro 'tshal tshegs kyis bsgrub pa'i sman// rang rgyal snyun gyis thebs la 'phul ba'i mthus// gnyis ka nad med thob pa phan pa 'tshol//.* Ibid., 8a6-8b1=15.6-16.1.
[137] *nags su dge lam mi skad 'doms pa'i grogs// ri bong yal ga'i ri dags gnyis thung bcas// rgan rims phu dud bslab gzhi legs blangs pas// yul phyogs shis pa'i dpal bskyed ba men mched//.* Ibid., 8b1-8b2=16.1-16.2.
[138] *bag yod tshul khrims bslab pa lhur blangs pa// 'gugs byed sngags kyi shing rtas drangs gyur kyang// chags pa'i yul las me nang 'jug spro bas// sprul 'tshong grogs bcas bsil ba padma can//.* Ibid., 8b2-8b3=16.2-16.3.
[139] *yid 'byung gsar pas rab byung blangs te slar// mdza' gcugs 'jo sgeg zhags pas khyim du bcings// phan mdzad rgyal ba'i snang bas gtsang byas te// chags bral bkod pa nag pa glang chen stan//.* Ibid., 8b3-8b4=16.3-16.4.
[140] *mthar byed chu srin rab rngams gdangs pa'i kha// sangs rgyas mtshan gyis zums bzhin 'phos pas deng// rab byung zas kyi phung pos ma tshim pa// sngon gyi rus pa mthong grol chos sred grags//.* Ibid., 8b4-8b5=16.4-16.5.

No. 90, “Dhanika” (nor can)
The divinely-appointed one, his wife, son and daughter-in-law
with utterly pure minds invited the Arhat Śākyamuni
and the Saṅgha, offering four midday meals.
Taught the Dharma, he saw the truth: Dhanika.[141]

No. 91, “Śibisubhāṣita” (shi bi’i legs bshad)
From the jeweled *vīṇā* of Rāvaṇa’s* throat
he received half a song. To pay for the rest
he offered the flesh and blood of his body. After all had been given,
through a regretless [act of] truth he was restored: King Śibi.[142]

*In Kṣemendra’s text the demon who visits Śibi is not named.

No. 92, “Maitrakanyaka” (mdza’ bo’i bu mo)
For kicking the head of his excellent mother who gave birth to him and
showed great kindness, he was afflicted with a constant blade to his head.
Regretful, with others’ benefit in mind, he cleared his hindrance, and
was born as a god in Tuṣita: known as Maitrakanyaka.[143]

No. 93, “Sumāgadhā” (ma ga dha bzang mo)
Discouraged by lesser objects of offering, she prayed to invite
[the Buddha] to Puṇḍravardhana.* The next day the Tathāgata came
from the sky with his retinue. On the foundation of trust,
the excellent Dharma spread thanks to Sumāgadhā.[144]

*The Tibetan translation of this city’s name (*bu ram shing ’phel*) has been abbreviated here as *shing ’phel*.

No. 94, “Yaśomitra” (grags pa’i bshes gnyen)
By drinking the essence of nectar—the water from his eye-teeth
born [through his] merit—[others gained] worldly prosperity.
Giving up everything, he took ordination from the best of sages.
To be freed from the dust of craving was his good karma: Yaśomitra.[145]

---

[141] *lhas bskos mchis 'brang bu dang mna' mar bcas// rab dang sems kyis mchod 'os shākya thub// dge 'dun bcas pa spyan drangs gdugs bzhir mchod// chos bstan bden pa mthong ba nor can sde//.* Ibid., 8b5=16.5.
[142] *'bod grogs mgul ba'i rin chen rgyud mangs las// tshigs bcad phyed pa'i glu blangs lhag ma'i yon// rang lus sha khrag mchod pas bstabs pa'i mthar// 'gyod bral bden pas bsos pa shi bi'i rgyal//.* Ibid., 8b5-8b6=16.5-16.6.
[143] *drin du che ba skyed byed dam ma'i mgor// rkang rtses bsnun rtags spyi bo mtshon chas bcom// 'gyod kyin gzhan phan blo yis sgrib byang nas// dga' ldan ltar skyes mdza' bo'i bu mor grags//.* Ibid., 8b6-9a1=16.6-17.1.
[144] *mchod yul dman pas yid skyo shing 'ph el du// spyan 'dren gsol btab sang gi mkha' lam nas// bde gshegs 'khor bcas kyis byon dad pa'i gzhir// dam chos dar rkyen ma ga dha bzang mo//.* Ibid., 9a1-9a2=17.1-17.2.
[145] *bsod nams lhan cig skyes pa mche ba'i chu// bdud rtsi'i rang bzhin btung bas srid pa'i dpal// yongs spangs thub pa'i mchog las rab byung ba// sred pa'i rdul bral las bzang grags pa'i bshes//.* Ibid., 9a2-9a3=17.2-17.3.

No. 95, "Vyāghrī" (stag mo)
Acutely starved, she bared her sharp fangs
at her own offspring, about to eat them.
Karuṇareṇu offered his own body to her, thus
saving the lives of mother and young: the story of the tigress (*vyāghrī*).[146]

No. 96, "Hastin" (glang po)
Five hundred ministers wandered on a desert plain
exhausted from hunger and thirst. His caring trunk
relieved them by bringing water. He jumped over a cliff
to give his own body: Bhadra the elephant (*hastin*).[147]

No. 97, "Kacchapa" (rus sbal)
The merchants drowning in the ocean were put on his back
and delivered to the far side. After that when his weary body
fell asleep, they pelted it with a shower of stones. Despite this,
the blameless one gave [them] his body: the great tortoise (*kacchapa*).[148]

No. 98, "Tāpasa" (dka' thub pa)
The Tathāgatas provided the hungry Mallas with food and
by teaching them the virtuous path, made them arhats. The cause:
previously he taught a group of hermits the definitively good path.
He of virtuous disposition: the ascetic (*tāpasa*).[149]

No. 99, "Padmaka" (padma can)
Since the best medicine for others' survival was hard to find,
he jumped from the edge of his balcony, praying to be born
as a *rohita*. Instantly he was born as the fish whose
flesh and blood were medicine that healed the ill: Padmaka.[150]

[146] *bkres rngabs drag pos brdar ba'i mche ba dag/ rang gi phru gu la gtsigs bza' nye ba// snying rje'i rdul gyis rang lus der btang bas// ma smad yongs kyi srog bsrungs stag mo'i gtam//.* Ibid., 9a3-9a4=17.3-17.4.
[147] *mya ngam thang du 'phyan pa lnga brgya'i blon// bkres skom nyam thag brtse ba'i sna lag gis// nyer blangs chu yis dbugs phyung rang gi lus// g.yang sar mchongs te byin pa glang po bzang//.* Ibid., 9a4-9a5=17.4-17.5.
[148] *chu gter don mthun bying ba rang gi rgyab// rnam bkod pha rol bsgral mthar ngal ba'i lus// gnyid du yur skabs gor mo'i char phab kyang// ma nongs lus kyi sbyin btang rus sbal che//.* Ibid., 9a5=17.5.
[149] *de bzhin gshegs pas gyad ltogs zas kyis bstabs// dge lam bstan pas dgra bcom grub pa'i rgyu// sngon tshe drang srong tshogs la nges legs lam// nyer bstan dge ba'i ngang tshul dka' thub pa//.* Ibid., 9a5-9a6=17.5-17.6.
[150] *gzhan srog 'tsho ba'i sman mchog rnyer dka'i phyir// ba gam ngos rtse las mchongs ro hi tar// skye bar smon lam btab 'phral skyes pa'i nya'i// sha khrag sman gyis nad bsos padma can//.* Ibid., 9a6-9b1=17.6-18.1.

No. 100, "Punyaprabhāsa" (bsod nams rab gsal)
From the Bhagavan's smiling lotus* face
the story of how he first generated the aspiration for supreme awakening—
giving the delicious taste of honey—was sipped by the bee of
Prasenajit's mind: the time [when the Buddha was] Prabhāsa.[151]

*The term used for "lotus" here is "born from the water" (*chu skyes,* Skt. *ambhoja*, *jalaja*, etc.)

No. 101, "Śyāmaka" (sngo bsangs can)
Though the youth bearing a water-jug in the forest
was struck by an arrow on the way, it was his heart
that was pierced by the torment of no longer serving his parents.
Śatayajña healed him with medicine: Śyāmaka.[152]

No. 102, "Siṃha" (seng ge)
On the bank of the "purifier," a group of merchants were surrounded by
an enormous poisonous snake that was [going to] eat them. To save them all,
from the elephant's back he defeated it with claws bared.
Three lives were lost: the "five-faced" [lion].[153]

Several kennings are used in this stanza: "purifier" (*dag byed*, Skt. *pavana*) for a body of water, "those with common aim" (*don mthun*, Skt. *sārthavāha*) for merchants, "twice-drinker" (*gnyis 'thung*, Skt.*dvipa*) for the elephant, and "five-faced" (*gdong lnga pa,* Skt. *pañcānana*) for the lion.

No. 103, "Priyapiṇḍa" (dga' ba'i gong bu)
He was born under the shade of a parasol, auspicious for gods and men.
When he came into power, the minister Durmati agitated
enmity, raising army troops with his grandfather. But
with a beneficent heart he refrained [from war]: Priyapiṇḍa.[154]

No. 104, "Śaśaka" (ri bong)
With the sustenance of roots and fruit utterly dried up,
the sage set out for the village to beg for alms.
To feed him with his own body, he dashed to jump in the fire,
making the soil stable for asceticism: the companion hare (*śaśaka*).[155]

---

[151] *bcom ldan zhal gyi chu skyes 'dzum dbus nas// byang chub mchog tu thog ma'i sems bskyed gtam// sbrang rtsi'i ro bda' bstsal ba gsal rgyal gyis// blo yi bung bas gzhibs de rab gsal dus//.* Ibid., 9b1-9b2=18.1-18.2.
[152] *nags su chu bum thogs pa'i gzhon nu de// lam du nyag phran phog kyang pha ma yi// rim gro bral ba'i gdung bas snying zugs pa// brgya byin sman gyis bsos pa sngo bsangs can//.* Ibid., 9b2-9b3=18.2-18.3.
[153] *dag byed 'gram du don mthun tshogs za ba'i// sbrul gdug chen pos bskor ba yongs bskyab phyir// gnyis 'thung steng nas langs pa'i sder mo yis// bcom ste srog gsum dor ba gdong lnga pa//.* Ibid., 9b3-9b4=18.3-18.4.
[154] *lhan skyes gdugs kyi grib mar lha mi'i dpal// dbang du 'byor la blo ngan blon po dgrar// ldang bas ma mes dmag gi dpung bskul yang// phan sems kyis bsdams dga' ba'i gong bur grags//.* Ibid., 9b4-9b5=18.4-18.5.
[155] *rtsa ba 'bras bu'i 'tsho ba yongs bskams pas// thub pa bsod snyoms grong du 'jug brtsam pa// rang lus bstab phyir zhugs su mchongs chas pas// dka' thub phyir zhing brtan byed ri bong grogs//.* Ibid., 9b5-9b6=18.5-18.6.

No. 105, “Raivata” (rai ba ta)
He was boiling his Dharma robes on the stove with cinnamon bark.
Due to previous karma it appeared as the flesh and blood of a
“twice-born’s”* stray calf. Held in prison for a long time, finally
it became evident that he was faultless: Raivata.[156]

*”Twice-born” (*gnyis skes*, Skt. *dvija*) is a kenning for a brahmin; it can also refer to a bird or other animals born from eggs.

No. 106, “Kanakavarma” (gser gyi go cha)
Since his progenitor was angry, he was banished from the country. With arrows
he left [only] one *yakṣa* [alive]. The minister’s son
was made lord of men. As for himself, he [later] wore
the crown to protect his father’s kingdom: Kanakavarma.[157]

No. 107, “Śuddhodana” (zas gtsang ma*)
His mind was utterly captivated by her singing
dulcet songs of all the good path. His payment of twelve years’
amassed jewels yielded from Sarasvatī’s throat
whatever eloquent maxims he desired: Śuddhodana.[158]

*This feminized Tibetan rendering of Śuddhodana’s name appears as such in the Sde dge Bstan ’gyur edition of Kṣemendra’s text and the 1665 Fifth Dalai Lama edition; in P it appears as *zas gtsang*.[159]

No. 108, “Jīmūtavāhana” (sprin gyi bzhon pa)
Following his parents who went into the forest,
he thought of his beloved Malayā. Even so,
he gave his body to a *garuḍa* in place of a *nāga* child.
By the water of Gaurī he was healed: Jīmūtavāhana.[160]

[156] *thab tu chos gos shing shun gyis 'tshod pa// gnyis skyes be'u stor ba'i sha khrag tu// sngon las kyis sprul btson du ring bcings mtha'// skyon bral mngon sum thob pa rai ba ta//.* Ibid., 9b6=18.6.
[157] *skyed byed khros pas yul spyugs nyag phran gyis// gnod sbyin gcig gi lhag byas blon po'i bu//
mi bdag la bkod rang nyid pha yi srid// skyong ba'i cod pan bcings de gser go cha//.* Ibid., 9b6-10a1=18.6-19.1.
[158] *legs lam thams cad snyan pa'i glu len mas// yid dbang rab phrogs bcu gnyis lor bsgrubs pa'i//
rin chen yon gyis dbyangs can mgrin pa las// legs bshad ci 'dod 'jo ba zas gtsang ma//.* Ibid., 10a1-10a2=19.1-19.2.
[159] P. Ge. 345a3-346b1.
[160] *pha ma nags khrod dong ba'i rjes 'khyams pas// ma la ya can rtse dga' rjes dran yang// klu phrug tshab tu rang lus mkha' lding byin// gau ri'i chu rgyun gyis bsos sprin gyi bzhon//.* Zhu chen, “Rin chen don ’dus,” 10a2-10a3=19.2-19.3.

Colophon

Such is the chariot-wheel of previous lives of the wise and compassionate one,
followed by the advancing host of marvelous deeds,
the one hundred eight *avadāna*s done for others' sake.
I prostrate to the births of the solar descendant.* ||Z1||[161]

*"Solar descendant" (*nyi ma'i rgyud*) is the Tibetan translation of Aṅgirasa, a patronymic for the Buddha (Mvy. 77).

Enjoying virtue [through] the three doors, he offers emanations
that pervade through clouds of offerings to all fields.
He washes away the stain of wrongdoing
characteristic in beginningless *saṃsāra*. ||Z2||[162]

Bathed by the moonlight of rejoicing in accumulating
snowflakes—good deeds of noble and ordinary people,
when the best of men was set beyond suffering, wasn't he free of regret
in erasing(?) words—the aspiration of an earlier *kalpa*. ||Z3||[163]

Those asleep in the slumber of ignorance
are awakened by the sweet flute of the excellent Dharma.
So that I and others who amass virtue in the three times
may imitate the conduct of the Tathāgata, [this work] is dedicated. ||Z4||[164]

Moreover,

Beautifying the "divine path" [sky] of the fortunate *kalpa*
is the "expression of realization" risen as the fourth Dharma sun.
By drinking the nectar of the "honey-marked" [flowers],
the "six-legged" [bee] of rhetoric sings this drunken song. ||Z5||[165]

---

[161] *de skad mkhyen brtse'i 'khor lo sngon 'gro ma'i// rjes su rmad byung spyod pa'i dpung bgrod pas// 'gro don bsgrubs pa'i rtogs brjod chig brgya brgyad// bdag nyis nyi ma'i rgyud 'khrungs la phyag 'tshal//.* Ibid., 10a3-10a4=19.3-19.4.

[162] *sgo gsum dge ba longs spyod zhing kun du// mchod pa'i sprin gyis khyab par sprul te dbul// thog med 'khor bar rang bzhin bcas sdig gi/ dri ma bshung 'gyod skal ldan shing rtas bkru//.* Ibid., 10a4-10a5=19.4-19.5.

[163] The meaning of this stanza is still unclear to me, and the text may require emendation. *'phags dang so skye'i legs byas kha ba'i rdul// brtsegs la yi rang zla ba'i 'od kyis bklubs// mi mchog myang 'das gzhol na bskal sngon gyi// smon lam yi ge gsubs la mi 'gyod dam//.* Ibid., 10a5-10a6=19.5-19.6.

[164] *ma rig gnyid la yur ba'i lus can rnams// dam chos gling bu snyan pas sad par mdzod// dus gsum dge ba'i phung po bdag dang gzhan// bde gshegs spyod pa'i rjes su 'jug phyir bsngo//.* Ibid., 10a6-10b1=19.6-20.1.

[165] *yang smras pa// bskal pa bzang po'i legs bris lam 'di mdzes byed pa// chos kyi ma bzlums bzhi pa shar ba'i rtogs pa brjod// sbrang rtsi'i rgyal mtshan rab rgyas tshal gyi bcud 'thungs pas// tshig sbyor rkang pa drug pa rgyags pa'i glu 'di blangs//.* Ibid., 10b2-10b3=20.1-20.2.

May the work of the three clear modes of scholars—*
purified through moral training in complete opportunity,
based on [acting] with pure virtue for all reborn beings,
engaged in outer and inner fields of learning with great discernment—
illuminate the world. ||Z6||[166]

*The three modes of scholars (*mkhas tshul gsum*) are teaching, debate, and composition.

For all sentient beings led by the ruler with his retinue,
the blessing of the Jina's compassion makes a ford.
From there the stream is cleared of all obscurations.
May the supreme accumulations of virtue, the high *bla ma*s flourish! ||Z7||[167]

This is called "A Precious Condensed Poem of the Buddha's Avadānas," which has condensed into each stanza the subject of each "branch," matching the number of "branches" of the Jina's Precious Avadānas, the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. [On request] from the glorious ruler of Sde dge, the great *bla ma* [Blo gros rgya mtsho]—fine golden-faced lord of expansive power—along with his sister, while installing a mural composition of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine of Avadānas* in the temple [I] who am called the venerable Tshul khrims rin chen—expert in the field of art, wrote it by hand. May auspiciousness prevail! *Sarva-maṅgalaṃ*![168]

Analysis of Zhu chen's Condensed Vine

The four introductory verses are in eleven-syllable verse, formally setting them off from the narrative stanzas which are all written in nine-syllable verse. The first three verses evoke springtime, especially through the development of botanical imagery. In stanza A1 Zhu chen plays both on the *kāvya* convention of the *aśoka* tree blooming only at young woman's kick, and on the literal meaning of *aśoka* as "free from sorrow" as an apt epithet for the Buddha.[169] Stanza A2 praises both Sarasvatī (Brahmā's daughter) and the original authors of the *Vine*, with themes of youthful love further evoking springtime. In stanza A3 Zhu chen turns to his own contribution. Running with the term "branch" (*yal 'dab,* Skt. *pallava*) used by Kṣemendra to denote chapters of his work, he extends the verdant imagery in the language of extended metaphor. If each of Kṣemendra's chapters is a branch on the "vine" of the text, each of Zhu chen's stanzas is a flower plucked from each branch and strung together into a single garland. Just as the essence of

[166] *rnam dkar dge bas yang 'byung srid pa kun du bdag/ rten du dal 'byor rdzogs par tshul khrims bslab pas gtsang// phyi nang gtsug lag la 'jug rnam dpyod ches gsal ba'i// mkhas tshul gsum gyi phrin las 'jig rten 'bar gyur cig/.* Ibid., 10b2-10b3=20.2-20.3.

[167] *sa bdag ltos bcas kyis mtshon sems can thams cad la// rgyal ba'i thugs rjes byin gyis brlabs kyi 'bab stegs byas// de nas brtsams te sgrib pa kun gyis stongs pa'i rgyud// dge ba'i tshogs rab bla nas bla mar 'phel gyur cig/.* Ibid., 10b3-10b4=20.3-20.4.

[168] *ces rgyal ba'i rtogs brjod rin po che dpag bsam 'khri shing gi yal 'dab kyi grangs dang mnyam par yal 'dab re re'i brjod bya rnams shlo ka rer bsdebs pa'i sangs rgyas kyi rtogs pa brjod pa'i tshig su bcad pa rin chen don 'dus zhes bya ba 'di ni/ gser ldan lus phra'i bzhin ras yangs par dbang gi mnga' mdzad/ dpal sde dge sa skyong bla ma chen po lcan dral nas lha khang du rtogs brjod dpag bsam 'khri shing gi bkod pa ldebs ris su bzhengs pa'i skabs/ bzo gnas rig pa'i gtsug lag smra ba bande tshul khrims rin chen du bod pas sug bris su gyis pa bkra shis rnam par rgyal bar gyur cig/ sarva mangga laṃ//.* Ibid., 10b5-11a1=20.5-21.1.

[169] On the conventional roles of young women coaxing flowers to blossom in Sanskrit poetry, see Ingalls, *Vidyākara's "Treasury,"* 89.

the vine is concentrated into perfect blossoms, Zhu chen's miniature adaptation condenses the meaning of Kṣemendra's original into exquisitely crafted verses. Collected and strung into a garland, the flower-verses have been made compact, portable, and within reach of the senses. Far from a pale imitation of the original, Zhu chen suggests, they are the very agent that enables its propagation.[170]

Turning to the narrative verses, we find that like the 'Bras spungs verse inscriptions attributed to the Fifth Dalai Lama, these adopt a plot-oriented style distinct from the introductory verses. With only one stanza allotted per episode, however, Zhu chen's poetry is even more densely packed. The parts of the plot are highly compressed, often depending on pivoting syntactical connections that form a single long sentences. In many cases it is difficult to give literal translations without making for awkward, clause-bound English, and instead I have often created sentence breaks. For example, the thirteenth episode about the infant-stealing demoness Harītikā is written as a single sentence; its grammatical relationships (though not the sequence of information) could be preserved by re-translating it as follows: "The story of Hārītikā: by means of [her] anguish over one child hidden by the Tathāgata in order to reverse the suffering and evil karma to be tasted [by her] for stealing the life-breath of all the others' newborn infants, she received the foundation of training [from the Tathāgata]."

One could not piece most of the narrative stanzas together without pre-knowledge of the plot and the names of characters, and even with this information many stanzas must be puzzled over. I have retained square brackets in the translation and most of the kennings to convey some of the active reading processes demanded. Si tu's design for the *Vine* thangkas narratives may be considered "illegible" due to their lack of discernible plot sequence within each episode; for different reasons particular to his medium, Zhu chen's verse adaptation may also be considered "illegible" without external knowledge of plots as well as poetic conventions. For example, the fiftieth episode on the ten karmic actions includes the name of Lake Anavatapta, "unafflicted," as well as the epithet "pair of excellents" for Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana—references that may not be immediately obvious in this limited context. That these two disciples come at the "summons" of the Buddha (here glossed as the "best of men," *mi mchog*) must be supplied. Rather than convey the content of the ten previous actions of the Buddha that bore negative karmic fruit in his lifetime—as was done in the 'Bras spungs inscriptions—Zhu chen elects to develop metaphorical imagery for the Buddha's narration, as a rainbow appearing in the center of the sky. With its gaps and potentially obscure names and epithets, kennings and metaphors, and complex grammatical constructions, this poetry offers its rewards only to those with the prerequisite training in poetics and in the *Vine* to engage in its mental gymnastics.

Nevertheless, those who were thus able to approach these inscriptions could appreciate Zhu chen's ingenuity in working with this economy of form. The Muktālatā narrative has been discussed in several previous instances, including Zhu chen's account of the Sde dge Printing

---

[170] This imagery is echoed once more in the prose colophon, where Zhu chen reminds the reader that he has transformed each "branch" of the *Vine* into a stanza.

Zhu chen's claims about his condensed work challenge assumptions in adapation and appropriation theory, which tends to under-value condensations as inevitable reductions and characterize adaptations as complications and expansions of their source-texts rather than contractions. Cf. Genette, *Palimpsests*, 235-45; Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation*, 12. Sanders cites James Andreas here, stating that "[t]he aim is not replication as such, but rather complication, expansion rather than contraction." However, Andreas himself does not employ the imagery of expansion versus contraction—with its implications of length—instead likening it to improvisation: "The function of signifying, like jazz improvisation, is never to replicate or even simulate, but to complicate, explicate, and recreate." Andreas, "Signifyin' on *The Tempest*," 107.

House. His verse inscription offers yet another reading of karma and causation. Zhu chen has employed the figure of speech called cause (*rgyu'i rgyan*, Skt. *hetu-alaṃkāra*). This is indicated most transparently through instrumental use of the word *rgyu*, cause, in the third line: "*Because* of seeing the painting…" The stanza is pared down to the cause and its immediate effect: Muktālatā becomes a stream-winner through faithful viewing of the painting, and nothing else. One could further read two less prominent cause-effect relationships in the first and second lines: (1) she was a servant girl, therefore she knew tribulation, (2) she was blessed by the Buddha, and so she gained a favorable rebirth.

Zhu chen's emphasis on causation and rebirth calls attention to the operation of karma in this narrative. Karma and rebirth are major preoccupations of this episode in Kṣemendra's text, which narrates two consecutive lives of the heroine; at the end we learn that she was a servant-girl for many rounds because in an earlier life, she was wealthy, arrogant and miserly. But even before that she was the wife of a merchant in Vārāṇasī and offered a large crystal garland to a *stūpa*, and it was through this merit that she was born as Muktālatā. These previous lives are subtly suggested by the word *gyur pa* in the first line, "becoming." This serves as reminder of the procession of lives receding backwards in time, echoed through three of the twelve links of dependent origination: becoming, birth, and death. The verse turns again on *gyur* in the fourth line, where Muktālatā becomes (*gyur*) a Stream-Winner, signalling the impending demise of becoming. Through poetic use of a recognized figure of speech and the art of suggestion, Zhu-chen condenses the totality of her lives into a single verse.

Zhu chen's artful use of this restricted form is evident in other ways in the seventy-ninth episode of the king Mahendrasena, a previous existence of the Buddha. Each of the first three lines ends in the word *dga'*, "to delight." In each case he delights a different constituency: first, by giving up his kingdom rather than fight an enemy army and thus engage in killing; next, by allowing the beggar to ransom him in exchange for wealth; and finally, by regaining his kingdom through his impressive integrity. The formal parallelism of the first three lines is tightly developed. The last syllable "to delight" is preceded by two syllables identifying the constituency being delighted: the enemy army (*dgra sde*), the beggar (*slong ba*), and the court (*'khor 'bangs*). These are immediately preceded by an instrumental clause ending in the verb: "by relinquishing" (*btang bas*), "by bartering," (*btsong bas*), "by gaining" (*thob pas*). Through the use of repetition and parallelism, Zhu chen conveys the skill-in-means (*upāyakauśalya*) of the bodhisattva, who responds effectively to the needs and dispositions of distinct individuals and groups. At the same time, he demonstrates the song-like rhythm and elegant encapsulation that can be realized in the space of a single verse.

Despite the demands and limitations patrons placed on Zhu chen's editorial and artistic work, we find him exercising considerable creativity and skill in his verse *Vine* inscriptions, engaging with the pleasures of the text and displaying his ingenuity in working with a highly restrictive form. He produced these inscriptions and six sets of *Vine* paintings in an elite culture of scholasticism, patronage, and connoisseurship that valued such talents. Zhu chen's collected works and other sources leave a record of his participation in this culture, as well as his commentary on its constraints and possibilities for cultural production.

CONCLUSION

How did the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* participate in the cultural imagination and discourse of Tibet? I formulated my initial research question in an intentionally open-ended manner to find out how the *Vine* mattered to persons in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Tibet. Moving well beyond a simple didactic role, by the seventeenth century the *Vine* occupied a place of high prestige among Tibetan Buddhists. Cultural productions of the *Vine* were sites of sophisticated literary and visual commentary by prominent scholastic monks and rulers, participating in discourses of authority, knowledge, and ideal exemplars for Buddhist monastics and laypeople. Approaching the *Vine* through a series of case studies reveals both the wide range of strategies for adapting and appropriating this canonized work, as well as significant areas of overlapping interests and concerns.

In Chapter One I demonstrated how the Fifth Dalai Lama and his court promoted the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* through oral, visual, and textual media. With his rise to power, the *Vine* took the place of Āryaśūra's *Garland of Jātakas* as the text for annual public instruction at the Great Prayer Festival in Lhasa. It was prominently displayed in the form of murals at his monastic seat of 'Bras spungs and at the Po ta la Palace, and his set of forty-one thangkas likely served as a model for later productions. In his 1665 bilingual *Vine* edition the Fifth Dalai Lama ranked Kṣemendra's work as the best of the Buddha's biographies both for its completeness and for its literary merit; in the verse digest composed as inscriptions for the 'Bras spungs murals, the author exhibited his ability to grasp the *Vine*, his commentarial concerns, and his poetic skill. Taken collectively, these activities and rhetoric may be understood as claims to authority over the origin stories of Indic Buddhism, Sanskrit, and the elite literary tradition of *snyan ngag*. This was part of the Dga' ldan pho brang government's broader project of culture-making and the systematic production of knowledge, which placed authority in the hands of scholastic monks.

The continuing esteem with which the *Vine* was held in Tibet is indicated by the proliferative activities documented in the remaining chapters. However, there is evidence of dissenting opinions that questioned the value of this text for monastics, given Kṣemendra's status as a layperson as well as its association with the study of poetics (*snyan ngag*) and lay instruction of poetics.[1] While the Fifth Dalai Lama defended the *Vine* against critics, he and his associates themselves engaged in efforts to improve on previous editions and impose thematic order on the text. They were also willing to supplant the text where they found it lacking, as in the case of

[1] Criticism of the literary merits of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* appears to have continued after the Fifth Dalai Lama's lifetime. Following Daṇḍin's classification of styles from the first chapter of the *Kāvyādarśa*, the Fifth Dalai Lama had classified Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* as a work in the "southern" (Vaidarbha) style. However, Klong rdol bla ma (1719-1794) classified the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* as a work in the "eastern" (Gauḍa) style, and Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* as a work in the "southern" (Vaidarbha) style. Since the "southern" style is considered superior in Tibetan commentarial literature on *snyan ngag*, Klong rdol implied that Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* was the superior work. Cf. Mejor, 57-58, 58 n.16; Hartley, "Con*text*ually Speaking," 19, 22, 224, 336-37.

the 'Bras spungs inscriptions of the Buddha's display of miracles ("Prātihārya-avadāna"). Controversies over the *Vine*'s value, and the Fifth Dalai Lama's efforts and interventions over several decades, demonstrate how the status of canonical texts has remained in flux, subject to criticism, neglect, and revaluation. In the case of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* this negotiable status may be in part attributed to its place in the Bstan 'gyur as a later Indic work with an attributed author, which is not considered the speech of the Buddha himself (*buddhavacana*). However, as demonstrated in Chapter Three, scholastic monks such as Si tu Paṇ chen also addressed differing accounts of the Buddha's life in Bka' 'gyur sources classified as the Buddha's speech. Such work demonstrates ongoing engagement with Indic canonical texts on the Buddha's biographies. The "sustained and subtle process" through which Tibetans adopted and transformed Indic Buddhism has been recognized by scholars working in the earlier *snga dar* and *phyi dar* transmission periods.[2] This study has attempted to show how interest in the Indic origins of Buddhism continued well into the eighteenth century.

In Chapter Two, I showed how Pho lha nas and his family appropriated both the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* and the charismatic authority of its advocate, the Fifth Dalai Lama. The Pho lha family sponsored a set of forty-one *Vine* thangkas that copied the design made under the Fifth Dalai Lama; moreover, Pho lha nas' donor portrait in this set drew on portraiture of the Fifth Dalai Lama and his regent Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho to naturalize himself as their rightful political successor after a period of warfare and instability. These references to the proximate Tibetan past were melded with imagery of the ideal Buddhist king as exemplified by *Vine* narratives of royal patrons during the Buddha Śākyamuni's lifetime. However, perhaps the most striking way in which *avadāna*s were appropriated for Pho lha nas was through his recognition as an emanation of the tantric demon Yam shud dmar po, which further placed him through pre-existence as the former brother of Śākyamuni. This narrative was structurally modeled on canonical *avadāna*s such as those found in the *Vine*, and created a personal link between Pho lha nas and Śākyamuni; it reflected both aspirations for his rule and a recasting of his rise to power in mythic terms. With Pho lha nas we have a rare example of how a model for a lay Buddhist—in particular, a king—was developed from *avadāna* narratives and their ideal exemplars. The Pho lha family sponsored a condensed adaptation of the Fifth Dalai Lama's design in thirty-one woodcuts, which would become the most widely reproduced *Vine* design in Tibet.

Chapters Two, Three, and Four treated the *Vine* adaptations of contemporaneous figures of central and Eastern Tibet who were connected by overlapping networks and who were aware of each others' activities. For example, Si tu Paṇ chen visited Pho lha nas in Lhasa in 1736,[3] and Si tu and Zhu chen were both active at the Sde dge court. As we have seen in Chapter Four, Zhu chen based his visual productions of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* on Si tu's design. By comparing how each adapted the *Vine*, we can appreciate their differing interests and concerns. While Pho lha nas suggested his political continuity with the Fifth Dalai Lama by copying his design and elements from his portrait, Si tu created a distinctive design calling attention to his polymathic mastery and his position as a second storyteller mediating the Buddha's words. His defense of poetry and painting as part of Buddhist monastic learning—and his vision of monasticism as both celibate and scholastic—may be interpreted as responses to trans-local sectarian attacks on his monastic order and the local development of lay tantric communities in Khams. Like the Fifth Dalai Lama and Pho lha nas, Si tu relied on the Buddha's biographies as a site for

[2] Kapstein, *Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism*, 4.
[3] Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, 13.

authenticating one's claims to Buddhist knowledge and ideal personhood. The range of interpretations of the *Vine* indicates both its robustness as a canonical text accommodating hermeneutic diversity, as well as the ingenuity of those carrying out such interpretations.

While the Fifth Dalai Lama, Pho lha nas, and Si tu Paṇ chen all occupied prominent positions of institutional leadership and were the patrons of their *Vine* adaptations, Zhu chen occupied the different role of fulfilling others' commissions. In Chapter Four I showed how he commented on practical aspects of managing large-scale editorial and pictorial projects for the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, while also exercising literary skill and interpretive agency in his verse digest of the *Vine*. His autobiography and other works reveal a thriving local art scene of famous painters and discerning connoisseurs, where pictorial productions of the *Vine* by certain individuals—including Si tu Paṇ chen and himself—were in demand. While working on the Sde dge edition of the Bstan 'gyur, Zhu chen did not hesitate to register a critique of the Fifth Dalai Lama's bilingual *Vine* edition and its numerous Sanskrit errors. He was not permitted by his patron to spend time correcting the text; however, the verse digest of the *Vine* Zhu chen composed later in life may be viewed as an opportunity to rework an imperfectly edited text.

By sifting through adaptations, reconstructing their social and political milieux, comparing formal strategies and discourses, and thus detailing a series of case studies, it is possible to recognize the diversity, complexity, and sophistication with which Tibetans interpreted the Buddha's biographies and applied them in their lives and social conditions. That this has not been sufficiently recognized before may be partly attributed to scholarly assumptions that the Buddha's biographies are not sites of creativity or contested discourse. However, Tibetan commentarial strategies of concealing innovation under the guise of fidelity to tradition may be another reason for contemporary scholarly oversight. Under such circumstances, close attention to detail and subtle variations—as well as some grounding in historical context and the elite intellectual culture in which such materials were produced—is necessary to detect the ingenuity that is being exercised. My work as a student of Tibetan Buddhism doubtless has many oversights of its own, and in this sense is merely a beginning.

I began this study by focusing on material that can be classified as adaptations in the more formal, restrictive sense of literary and artistic productions modeled on a source-work. However, research on and around these adaptations led me to broader explorations of mimesis regarding self-conscious Tibetan patterning after Indic models, in particular through two modes: (a) emulation of the exemplary figures of the Buddha, his disciples, and their previous lives, and (b) the thoroughgoing translation and adoption of Sanskrit *kāvya* in Tibetan poetics. These in turn serve as factors explaining continued interest in producing literary and artistic adaptations of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. While the longstanding Tibetan engagement with Indic culture through mimetic strategies is far too vast a topic to be covered in any single study, I hope that my study contributes to this topic and to our understanding of intercultural engagement more generally.

I would also like to reflect briefly on the uses of multidisciplinary approaches. While a combination of historical-anthropological, literary, and art-historical perspectives was invited by the diverse media and uses for adapting the Buddha's biographies in Tibet, this multidisciplinary approach has proved beneficial in ways that might generally apply to the study of cultural imagination. Taking for example Si tu's work on the Life of the Buddha, I found that reading his textual account in the Bka' 'gyur catalogue with his thangka design—and further combining these with information about his social and institutional conditions—enabled me to build a more complete and evidential account of his celibate, polymathic ideal of monasticism. While the thangkas by themselves strongly convey general themes of solitude and renunciation in the forest,

studying his textual treatment of differing sources on the Buddha's life helped corroborate and further refine this interpretation to include more specific concerns with celibacy and gender separation. These concerns were not made explicit in Si tu's textual account, but were made interpretable through the comparison of differing textual versions with the plot details selected by Si tu for his thangka design. This was not merely an abstract exercise; the social stakes of Si tu's discursive production become apparent through consideration of local and institutional shifts in monastic organization and status. On the familiar ground of the Buddha's life, Si tu couched what his contemporaries would have recognized as a distinctive vision of monastic ideals and a call for monastic reform in Khams. That is, the implicit discursive moves made in the work of adaptation are often subtle enough that a combination of approaches is necessary to clarify them. Multidisciplinary approaches such as the one sketched above are thus useful for studying Tibet—and in particular its culture of polymathic intellectuals—but also more generally for studying cultural production in adaptive and commentarial forms.

To a great extent, Tibetan productions of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be associated with courtly culture and connoisseurship. This is most evident in the cases of the Fifth Dalai Lama's court and the Pho lha dynasty, where we saw strong preoccupations with interrelated sets of concerns. These included eloquence and ornamentation in painting, poetry, and speech as forms of symbolic capital and crafted communications; cosmopolitan knowledge and connections with India, China, and Mongolia; and heteroglossia and the privileging of Sanskrit and *kāvya*—as well as Tibetan *snyan ngag*—over Tibetan vernacular forms as languages and literatures of prestige. There were also attempts to control knowledge, often through the production of encyclopedically "complete" works such as the Buddhist canon and the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*; grand edifices, displays, and public rituals such as the Great Prayer Festival; and the cultivation of the ruler's image.[4] In the case of Zhu chen and his *Vine* productions, several of these concerns recurred in his own work and in local and trans-local cultures of connoisseurship and patronage, which extended beyond the confines of the Sde dge court to places such as Ldan ma and Ngor Monastery.

At the same time, many of these concerns had significant analogues with the interests of monastic institutions in Tibet. These included mastery of Buddhist knowledge and eloquence in debate, commentary, and other forms of writing as forms of symbolic capital, along with the privileging of Sanskrit as the language of Buddhism and "Dharma language" (*chos skad*). Also in evidence were the systematization and control of Buddhist knowledge, e.g. through publishing activities and lineage transmission; the grand architecture and rituals of major monastic complexes; and the cultivation of monastic hierarchs' reputations (and by extension, those of their monastic orders). Monastic intellectuals and hierarchs acted as the authors, artistic designers, and patrons of *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* adaptations and other forms of cultural production. As an elite center of power and culture, the monastic institution could serve as an alternative to the court, as with Si tu Paṇ chen's leadership of Dpal spungs Monastery and the Karma Bka' brgyud order, and his attendant concerns with monastic ideals. In such settings, the aesthetics of cultural production, cosmopolitan aspirations, and other issues traditionally associated with courtly culture also became important concerns.

The lack of clear delineation between courtly and monastic spheres in Tibet during this period is exemplified by the rule of the Fifth Dalai Lama and his regents, which oversaw the

[4] Such aspects of courtly culture have been studied in East and South Asia, often with reference to European courts (Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*; Ali, *Courtly Culture*; Pollock, *Language of the Gods*).

process of integrating monastic structures and values with the state. This process was not entirely seamless, with internal criticism about Kṣemendra and the Fifth Dalai Lama's tutor Smon 'gro pa revealing tension about the boundaries between monastic and lay knowledge. Still other models for resolving Buddhism and the state—developed by the Pho lha dynasty and the Sde dge court—invite us to explore the shifting balance of monastic and aristocratic interests in court settings. These issues surrounding elite cultural production in Tibet constitute further directions for my research.

ABBREVIATIONS

41T	*Forty-One Thangkas*
AAMSF	Asian Art Museum of San Francisco
AKB	Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam*, trans. Pruden
AMNH	American Museum of Natural History, New York
BHSD	Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol. 2, *Dictionary*
Bi.	Bibliotheca Indica edition. Kṣemendra, *Avadána Kalpalatá,* ed. Das et al
BT	Xizang zizhiqu wenwu guanli weiyuan hui eds., *Bod kyi thang ga*
D	*Sde-dge Mtshal-par Bka'-'gyur*
DKT	Dung dkar, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*
HAR	Himalayan Art Resources, http://www.himalayanart.org.
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
HTP	Jackson, *History of Tibetan Painting*
IIJ	*Indo-Iranian Journal*
J	de Jong, *Textcritical Remarks on the Bodhisattvavadanakalpalata*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBTSI	*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India*
JIABS	*Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*
JIATS	*Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*
Kṣe.	Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. References are to episode and stanza numbers, with episode numbering following Tibetan sources (cf. M, 5-7, 36-50).
L	Kṣemendra, *Rtogs brjod rin po che*, 1998 LTWA edition
L5DL	Dalai Lama V, *Du kū la'i gos bzaṅ: Autobiography*, 1979-1983 edition
L7DL	Lcang skya, *Dpag bsam rin po che'i snye ma* [biography of Dalai Lama VII]
LV	*Lalita-vistara*, ed. Vaidya and Tripathi
M	Mejor, *Ksemendra's Bodhisattvâvadānakalpalatā: Studies and Materials*
MBTJ	Mdo mkhar, *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, 1981 edition
MBZ	Mdo mkhar, *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, TBRC W1KG1253
MD	Ko zhul et al, *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod*
MHTL	Chandra ed., *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature.* References are to entry numbers.
MSA	*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*. References are to chapter and stanza numbers.
Mvy.	Sakaki ed., *Mahāvyutpatti*. References are to entry numbers.
NTK	Snar thang Bstan 'gyur, vol. 225, Dkar chag
P	Suzuki ed., Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition
PPD	Phun tshogs tshe brtan ed., *Pho brang Po ta la'i ldebs bris*
RMA	Rubin Museum of Art, New York
T	Takakusu and Watanabe ed., Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō [Chinese Tripiṭaka]
TBRC	Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, http://www.tbrc.org
THND	Tibet House, New Delhi
Toh.	Ui ed., *Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*
TPS	Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*
TTC	Zhang Yisun ed., *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*
V	Kṣemendra, *Avadāna-kalpalatā of Kṣemendra*, ed. Vaidya

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BKA' 'GYUR AND BSTAN 'GYUR SOURCES

Translations into Western languages are cross-referenced and appear in "Other Sources."

Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra / *Mngon par 'byung ba'i mdo*. Toh. 301. D vol. 72 (Mdo sde Sa), 1b1-125a7. Cf. Chinese version translated by Beal.

Āryaśūra ['Phags pa dpa' bo]. *Jātakamālā / Skyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud*. Toh. 4150. D vol. 270 (Skyes rabs Hu), 1b1-135a7. Translated by Speyer, Khoroche.

———. *Āryaśūras Jātakamālā: Philologische Untersuchungen zu den Legenden 1 bis 15*, edited by Albrecht Hanisch. 2 vols. Indica et Tibeteica 43. Marburg: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 2005.

———. *The Jātaka-Mālā or Bodhisattvāvadāna-Mālā by Ārya-Çūra*, edited by Hendrik Kern. Harvard Oriental Series 1. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1891.

Aśvaghoṣa [Rta dbyangs]. *Buddhacarita / Sangs rgyas kyi spyod pa.* Toh. 4156. D vol. 274 (Skyes rabs Ge), 1b1-103b2. Translated by Johnston, Olivelle.

———. *The Buddha-Karita of Asvaghosha*, edited by E. B. Cowell. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893.

———. *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita, or Acts of the Buddha*, edited and translated by E. H. Johnston. Enlarged ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984.

Avadānaśataka / Rtogs pa brjod pa brgya pa. Toh. 343. D vol. 75 (Mdo sde Aṃ), 1b1-286b7. Translated by Feer.

Candragomin. *Lokānanda-nāṭaka* / *'Jig rten kun du dga' ba'i zlos gar*. Toh. 4153. D vol. 271 (Skyes rabs U), 197b-225a1. Translated by Hahn.

Gopadatta [Gsang bas byin]. *Saptakumārikāvadāna*. Toh. 4147, 4506. D vol. 269 ('Dul ba Su), 244b1-252b6; D vol. 315 (Jo bo'i chos chung), 92a2-99b3. Tibetan edited and translated by Dargyay; Sanskrit edited by Hahn 1992.

Haribhaṭṭa. *Jātakamālā* / *Seng ge zhabs 'bring pa'i skyes pa rabs kyi phreng ba*. Toh. 4152. D vol. 271 (Skyes rabs U), 1b1-197a7. Partially edited and translated by Hahn.

Harṣadeva [Dga' ba'i lha]. *Nāgānandanāma-nāṭaka* / *Klu kun du dga' ba zhes bya ba'i zlos gar*. Toh. 4154. D vol. 271 (Skyes rabs U), 225a2-252a7. Translated by Skilton.

Kṣemendra [Dge ba'i dbang po]. *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā / Byang chub sems dpa'i rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam gyi 'khri shing*, with a contribution by Somendra [Zla ba'i dbang po]. Toh. 4155. D vols. 272-73 (Skyes rabs Ke-Khe). P vols. 128-29 (Skyes rabs Ge). Partially translated by Dās, Dutt, Rothenberg, Tenzin.

———. *Avadána Kalpalatá: A Collection of Legendary Stories About the Bodhisattvas*, edited by Sarat Chandra Dás, Hari Mohan Vidyábhúshaṇa, and Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Bibliotheca Indica no. 124. 2 vols. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1888-1918.

———. *Avadāna-Kalpalatā of Kṣemendra,* edited by P.L. Vaidya. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 22-23. 2 vols. 1959. Reprint, Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1989.

———. *Rtogs brjod rin po che dpag bsam 'khri śiṅ skad gñis śan sbyar: the Bodhisattvavadānakalpalatā of the 11th century Indian poet Kṣemendra in its Sanskrit original in Tibetan letters and Its Tibetan Translation by Lakṣmī kara and Soṅ-ston rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan and revised by Źwa-lu lo-tsa-ba Chos-skyoṅ-bzaṅ-po*. Reproduced from a rare print of the 1664-1665 'Bras-spuṅs Dga'-ldan Pho-braṅ blocks from the collection of Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1998.

[*Lalitavistara-sūtra*] *Ārya-lalitavistara-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra / 'Phags pa rgya cher rol pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*]. Toh. 95. D vol. 46 (Mdo sde Kha), 1b1-216b7. Translated by Foucaux, Mitra, Goswami.

Lalita-vistara, edited by P. L. Vaidya and Shridar Tripathi. 2nd ed. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 1. Darbhanga, India: The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1987.

Lalita Vistara: Leben und Lehre des Çākya-Buddha, edited by S. Lefmann. 2 vols. Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1902-08.

The Lalita Vistara, or, Memoirs of the Early Life of Śākya Siñha, edited by Rājendralāla Mitra. Bibliotheca Indica 15. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1853-1877.

Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra / *'Phags pa yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa chen po'i mdo*. Toh. 120. D vol.54 (Mdo sde Tha), 1b1-151a4. Translated from Chinese by Yamamoto.

Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra / Theg pa chen po mdo sde'i rgyan. Attributed to Maitreya [Byams pa] as transmitted to Asaṅga [Thogs med]. Toh. 4020. D vol. 225 (Sems tsam phi), 1b1-39a6. Translated by Lévi, Jamspal et al.

Mahāyāna-Sūtralamkāra, exposé de la doctrine du Grand Véhicule selon le système Yogācāra, edited and translated by Sylvain Lévi. 2 vols. Paris: H. Champion, 1907-1911.

Mdzangs blun zhes bya'i mdo. Toh. 341. D vol. 74 (Mdo sde A), 129a1-298a7. Translated from Tibetan by Schmidt, and from Mongolian by Frye.

The *Sde-dge Mtshal-par Bka'-'gyur: A Facsimile Edition of the 18th Century Redaction of Si-tu Chos-kyi-'byuṅ-gnas Prepared Under the Direction of H. H. the 16th Rgya-dbaṅ Karma-pa*. 103 vols. Delhi: Delhi Karmapae Chodhey Gyalwae Sungrab Partun Khang, 1976-1979.

Snar thang bstan 'gyur. 225 vols. TBRC W22704.

Vasubandhu [Dbyig gnyen]. *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*. Toh. 4090. D vols. 242-43 (Mngon pa Ku-Khu), Ku 26b1-Khu 95a7. Translated by La Vallée Poussin, Pruden.
———. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu,* edited by P. Pradhan. 2nd ed. Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1975.
———. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra-bhāṣya*. Toh. 4026. See *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*.

Vinayavastu / 'Dul ba gzhi. Toh. 1. D vols. 1-4 ('Dul ba Ka-Nga). Cf. Sanskrit partially edited by Gnoli.

Vinayakṣudrakavastu / 'Dul ba phran tshegs kyi gzhi. Toh. 6. D vols. 10-11 ('Dul ba Tha-Da).

OTHER SOURCES

Ahmad, Zahiruddin. "New Light on the Tibeto-Ladah-Mughal War of 1679-1684." *East and West* 18 (1968): 340-61.

Alexander, André. *The Temples of Lhasa: Tibetan Buddhist Architecture from the 7th to the 21st Centuries*, with a contribution by Matthew Akester. Tibet Heritage Fund's Conservation Inventory 1. Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2005.

Ali, Daud. *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Allinger, Eva. "Observations on a Scene from the Life of the Buddha at Tabo Monastery." In *Tabo Studies II: Manuscripts, Texts, Inscriptions, and the Arts*, edited by C. A. Scherrer-Schaub and E. Steinkellner, 321-32. Serie Orientale Roma 87. Roma: Istituto Italiano per L'Africa e L'Oriente, 1999.

Almogi, Orna. "Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po's Investigation of Traditional Buddhology: A Study of the Development of Different Conceptions of Buddhahood with Special Reference to the Controversy Surrounding the Existence of Gnosis (*ye shes: jñāna*)." Ph.D. thesis, University of Hamburg, 2006.

Almond, Philip C. *The British Discovery of Buddhism.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Andreas, Sr., James R. "Signifyin' on *The Tempest* in Gloria Naylor's *Mama Day*." In *Shakespeare and Appropriation*, edited by Christy Desmet and Robert Sawyer, 103-118. London: Routledge, 1999.

Āryaśūra. *The Jātakamālā: Garland of Birth-Stories of Āryaśūra,* translated by J. S. Speyer. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971; first published 1895 by Henry Frowde.
———. *Once the Buddha Was a Monkey: Arya Śūra's Jātakamālā*, translated by Peter Khoroche. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. *The Universal Vehicle Discourse Literature (Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra), Together with its Commentary (Bhāṣya) by Vasubandhu*, translated by L. Jamspal, R. Clark, J. Wilson, L. Zwilling, M. Sweet, R. Thurman.. Tanjur Translation Initiative, Treasury of the Buddhist Sciences. New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2004. Distributed by Columbia University Press.

Aśvaghoṣa. *Life of the Buddha by Ashva-ghosha*, translated by Patrick Olivelle. Clay Sanskrit Library. New York: New York University Press and JJC Foundation, 2009.

Bareau, André. *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens.* 3 vols. Paris: Ècole Française d'Extreme-Orient, 1963-1995.

Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*, translated by Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang, 1972.

Beal, Samuel. *The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985; first published 1875 by Trübner & Co.

Bechert, Heinz, ed., *The Dating of the Historical Buddha*. 3 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991-1992.

Becker, Catherine Marie. "Artistic Production and Ritual Performance at Amarāvatī and other Buddhist Stūpas of Andhra Pradesh." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2006.

Bell, Jonathan. "The Murals of Baiya Monastery: April 1998 Expedition, Art Report." Accessed April 5, 2011. http://www.asianart.com/articles/bell/.

Bendall, Cecil. *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, with Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palaeography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1883.

Berger, Patricia. *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003.

Bkras lhun dgon lo rgyus rtsom 'bri tshogs chung. *Dpal snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyus.* 1983. Reprint, Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2003.

Blondeau, Ann-Marie. "Defense de Tsong kha pa: a propos d'un texte polemique attribue a mkhas grub rje." In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, edited by Helmut Krasser, Michael Torsten Much, Ernst Steinkellner, and Helmut Tauscher, vol. 1, 59-76. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997.

Bogin, Benjamin E. "The *Life* of Yol mo Bstan 'dzin nor bu: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study of the Memoirs of a Seventeenth-Century Tibetan Buddhist Lama." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2005.

Bonadeo, Alberto, trans., with emendations by Margaret W. Fisher. "Italian Missionaries in Tibet and Nepal." Unpublished typescript translated from *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal,* edited by Luciano Petech (Roma: Libraria dello Stato, 1952-56). Berkeley: University of California, n.d.

Boon, Marcus. *In Praise of Copying.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Brauen, Martin, ed. *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History.* Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2005.

Brown, Robert L. "Narrative as Icon." In Schober, *Sacred Biography*, 64-109.
———. Review of *Discourses [sic] in Early Buddhist Art: Visual Narratives of India*, by Vidya Dehejia. *Artibus Asiae* 61, no. 2 (2001): 355-58.

Bsod nams rgyal mtshan. *The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies: Tibetan Buddhist Historiography, An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle: Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, translated by Per K. Sørensen. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1994.

Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364). *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, edited by Lokesh Chandra. Śata-Piṭaka Series 41-68. 28 vols. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1965-1971.
———. *History of Buddhism (Chos-ḥbyung) by Bu-ston, Part II: The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, translated by E. Obermiller. Heidelberg: O. Harrassowitz, 1932.

Burnouf, Eugène. *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism*, translated by Katia Buffetrille and Donald S. Lopez, Jr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Cabezón, José Ignacio. "Authorship and Literary Production in Classical Buddhist Tibet." In *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins*, edited by Guy Newland, 233-63. Ithaca: Snow Lion, 2001.
———. *Buddhism and Language: A Study of Indo-Tibetan Scholasticism.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.
———. *Scholasticism: Cross-Cultural and Comparative Perspectives.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.

Cabezón, José Ignacio, and Roger R. Jackson, eds. *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1996.

Cahill, Timothy C. *An Annotated Bibliography of the Alaṃkāraśāstra.* Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Candragomin. *Joy for the World: A Buddhist Play*, translated by Michael Hahn. Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1987.

Carrasco, Pedro. *Land and Polity in Tibet*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1959.

Chakraborty, Uma. *Kṣemendra, the Eleventh Century Kashmiri Poet: A Study of His Life and Works.* Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1991.

Chan, Victor. *Tibet Handbook: A Pilgrimage Guide.* Chico, CA: Moon Publications, 1994.

Chandra, Lokesh, ed. *The Amarakoṣa in Tibet: Being a New Tibetan Version by the Great Grammarian Si-tu*. Śata-Piṭaka Series 38. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1965.

———, ed. *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature.* New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1985.

Chattopadhyay, Jayanti. *Bodhisattva Avadānakalpalatā: A Critical Study.* Calcutta: Atisha Memorial Publishing Society, 1994.

Chen Guansheng 陈观胜 and An Caidan 安才旦. *Changjian zangyu renming diming cidian* 常见藏语人名地名词典 / *Dictionary of Common Tibetan Personal and Place Names / Rgya dbyin bod gsum shan sbyar gyi bod skad kyi mi ming dang sa ming gter mdzod*. Beijing: Waiwen chubanshe, 2004.

Col, Cynthia. "Picturing the Canon: The Murals, Sculpture and Architecture of the Derge Parkhang." Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 2009.

Cone, Margaret, and Richard F. Gombrich, ed. and trans. *The Perfect Generosity of Prince Vessantara: A Buddhist Epic.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Conze, Edward. *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959; first published 1951 by Bruno Cassirer.

Cowell, E. B., ed. *The Jātaka, Or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*. 7 vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1895-1913.

Cowell, E. B., and R. A. Neil, eds. *The Divyāvadāna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*. Cambridge: University Press, 1886.

Csoma Körösi, Alexander. "Analysis of the Dulva, A Portion of the Tibetan Work Entitled the Kah-gyur." *Asiatic Researches* 20, no. 1 (1836): 41-92.

———. "Notices on the Life of Shakya, Extracted from the Tibetan Authorities." *Asiatic Researches* 20, no. 2 (1839): 393-552.

Cuevas, Bryan J., and Schaeffer, Kurtis R., eds. *Power, Politics, and the Reinvention of Tradition: Tibet in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: PIATS 2003: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Oxford, 2003.* Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Dakpa, Ngawang. "The Hours and Days of a Great Monastery: Drepung." In Pommaret ed., *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century*, 167-78.

Dalai Lama V Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682). *The Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of Vth Dalai Lama, Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho*. 25 vols. Gangtok, Sikkim: Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology, 1991-1995.

———. "Lha ldan smon lam chen mo'i gral 'dzin bca' yig." In *Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs*, edited by Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs, 324-45. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1989.

———. *Nga dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*. 3 vols. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1989.

———. *Record of Teachings Received: The Gsan-yig of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mtsho*. 4 vols. Delhi: Nechung and Lhakhar, 1970-1971.

———. *Wushi dalai lama zhuan* 五世达赖喇嘛传, translated by Chen Qingying 陈庆英, Ma Lianlong 马连龙, and Ma Lin 马林. 3 vols. Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 1997.

———. *Za hor gyi bande Ṅag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ rgya mtsho'i 'di snaṅ khrul pa'i rol rtsed rtogs brjod kyi tshul du bkod pa du kū la'i gos bzaṅ: The Autobiography of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mtsho*. 3 vols. Kawring, H.P.: Tobdan Tsering, 1979-1983.

Dalai Lama XIII Thub bstan rgya mtsho (1876-1933). *The Collected Works of Dalai Lama XIII*. Śata-Piṭaka Series 283-288, 288a. 7 vols. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1981-1982.

Dalai Lama XIV Tenzin Gyatso [Bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho]. "The Jataka Tales" [in Tibetan]. Real video, 1:40:55. From a teaching in Dharamsala on February 21, 2008. June 16, 2011, http://www.dalailama.com/webcasts/post/28-the-jataka-tales.

———. *Mind in Comfort and Ease: The Vision of Enlightenment in the Great Perfection,* edited by Patrick Gaffney; and translated by Matthieu Ricard, Richard Barron, and Adam Pearcey. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2007.

Dalton, Jacob P. *The Taming of the Demons: Violence and Liberation in Tibetan Buddhism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

Dalton, Jacob P., and Sam van Schaik. *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts from Dunhuang: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Stein Collection at the British Library.* Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Dargyay, Lobsang. "The Twelve Deeds of the Buddha—A Controversial Hymn Ascribed to Nāgārjuna." *Tibet Journal* 9, no. 2 (Summer 1984): 3-12

———. *Die Legende von den Sieben Prinzessinnen (Saptakumārikā-avadāna)*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 2. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien,1978.

Dattaray, Rajatbaran. *A Critical Survey of the Life and Works of Kṣemendra.* Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1974.

Davidson, Ronald M. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

———. *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

Dayal, Har. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978; first published 1932 by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, & Co.

Debreczeny, Karl. "Bodhisattvas South of the Clouds: Situ Panchen's Activities and Artistic Inspiration in Yunnan," in Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, 223-51.

Decleer, Hubert. "The 'Koṭikarṇa scroll' from Thimi, near Bhaktapur, at the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Vāraṇasī." Unpublished manuscript.
———. "The Metamorphoses of the Tale of the Generous Prince, Vishvantara." SIT Kathmandu Fieldwork Assignment, Fall 2001.
———. "Si tu Paṇ chen's Translation of the Svayambhū Purāṇa and His Role in the Development of the Kathmandu Valley Pilgrimage Guide (*gnas yig*) Literature." In "Si tu Paṇ chen: His Contribution and Legacy," edited by Tashi Tsering. Special issue, *Lungta* 13 (2000): 33-64.

Dehejia, Vidya. *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art: Visual Narratives of India.* New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1997.
———. "On Modes of Visual Narration in Early Buddhist Art." *Art Bulletin* 72, no. 3 (September 1990): 374-92.

Dge 'dun rab gsal. *Byang chub sems dpa'i rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam 'khri shing la dpyad pa'i gtam rtog pa'i ri mo.* The Dalai Lama Tibeto-Indological Series 25. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1999.

Dhondup, K. *The Water-Horse and Other Years: A History of 17th and 18th Century Tibet*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1984.

Dimmitt, Cornelia, and J. A. B. van Buitenen, eds. and trans. *Classical Hindu Mythology: A Reader in the Sanskrit Purāṇas.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978.

Dkon mchog bstan 'dzin. *Bzo gnas skra rtse'i chu thigs*. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2002.

Doboom Tulku and Glenn H. Mullin. *Compassion and Reincarnation in Tibetan Art*. New Delhi: Tibet House, 1999.

Don rdor and Bstan 'dzin chos grags, comp. *Gangs ljongs lo rgyus thog gi grags can mi sna*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1993.

Dorje, Gyurme. *Tibet Handbook*. 2nd ed. Bath, England: Footprint Handbooks, 1999.

Dorje, Gyurme, Tashi Tsering, Heather Stoddard, and André Alexander. *Jokhang: Tibet's Most Sacred Temple.* London: Edition Hansjörg Mayer, 2010.

Dpang lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342). *Snyan ngags* [sic] *me long gi rgya cher 'grel pa gzhung don gsal ba*. In *Rig gnas phyogs sdebs, a Collection of Miscellaneous Works on Tibetan Minor Sciences*, 281-502. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981.

Dreyfus, Georges B. J. "Drepung: An Introduction." Copyright 2006. http://www.thlib.org/places/monasteries /drepung/essays/#essay=/dreyfus/drepung/intro/s/b3.

———. *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003.

———. "Tibetan Scholastic Education and the Role of Soteriology." *JIABS* 20, no. 1 (1997): 31-62.

———. "Where Do Commentarial Schools Come From? Reflections on the History of Tibetan Scholasticism." *JIABS* 28, no. 2 (2005): 273-97.

Drungtso, Tsering Thakchoe, and Tsering Dolma Drungtso, *Tibetan-English Dictionary of Tibetan Medicine and Astrology*. 2nd ed. India: Drungtso Publications, 2005.

Dudjom Rinpoche Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje (1904-1987). *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, translated and edited by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein. 2 vols. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1991.

Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (1927-1999). *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2002.

Dutt, Nalinaksha, ed. *Gilgit Manuscripts.* Vol. 3, *Gilgit Manuscripts, Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*. 2nd ed. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1984; first published 1942-43 in Srinagar.

Dutt, Romesh Chunder. "Muktálatá. Translated from Kshemendrás Kalpalatá Pallava, VII." *JBTSI* 1, no. 1 (1893): 64-77.

Edgerton, Franklin. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. 2 vols. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1993; first published 1953 by Yale University Press.

Ehrhard, Franz-Karl. "Political and Ritual Aspects of the Search for Himalayan Sacred Lands." In *Sacred Spaces and Powerful Places in Tibetan Culture: A Collection of Essays*, edited by Toni Huber, 240-57. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1999.

Eimer, Helmut. "Some Results of Recent Kanjur Research." In *Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschictsforschung*, edited by Dieter Schuh and Michael Weiers, 5-26. Sankt Augustin, Germany: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1983.

Elisséeff, Serge. "Stäel-Holstein's Contribution to Asiatic Studies." *HJAS* 3 (1938): 1-8.

Elverskog, Johan. *Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhism and the State in Late Imperial China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Emeneau, M[urray] B. "Kṣemendra as *kavi*." *JAOS* 53, no. 2 (Jun. 1933): 124-43.

Emmer, Gerhard. "Dga' ldan tshe dbang dpal bzang po and the Tibet-Ladakh-Mughal War of 1679-84." In *The Mongolia-Tibet Interface: Opening New Research Terrains in Inner Asia: PIATS 2003: Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, edited by Uradyn E. Bulag and Hildegard G. M. Diemberger, 81-107. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Farquhar, David M. "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire." *HJAS* 38, no. 1 (June 1978): 5-34.

Fausbøll, V., ed. *The Jātaka: Together with Its Commentary, Being Tales of the Anterior Births of Gotama Buddha, for the First Time Edited in the Original Pāli.* 7 vols. London: Trübner & Co., 1877-1897.

Feer, Léon, trans. *Avadâna-çataka: cent légendes (bouddhiques).* Annales du Musée Guimet 18. Paris: E. Leroux, 1891.

———. "Études Bouddhiques: Les Jātakas." Pts. 1 and 2. *Journal Asiatique* 1 (May-June 1875): 357-433; 2 (August-September 1875): 243-306. Translated by G.M. Foulkes as *A Study of the Jātakas: Analytical and Critical* (Calcutta: Anil Gupta, 1963).

Forty-one Thangkas from the Collection of His Holiness the Dalai Lama: Past Lives of the Buddha, with an introduction by Gilles Béguin. Paris: Editions Sciaky, 1980.

Foucaux, Philippe Édouard, ed. and trans. *Rgya Tch'er rol pa' ou, Développement des Jeux.* Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1847-1848.

Foucher, Alfred. *La vie du Bouddha: d'après les textes et les monuments de l'Inde.* Paris: Payot, 1949.

———. *Les vies antérieures du Bouddha d'après les textes et les monuments de l'Inde.* Publications du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque de diffusion 61. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955.

Frauwallner, E. *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature.* Serie Orientale Roma 8. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il medio ed estremo Oriente, 1956.

Frye, Stanley, trans. *Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish (mdo bdzans* [sic] *blun), or, The Ocean of Narratives (üliger-ün dalai)*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981.

Genette, Gérard. *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, translated by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Gentry, James. “Representations of Efficacy: The Ritual Expulsion of Mongol Armies in the Consolidation and Expansion of the Tsang (Gtsang) Dynasty.” In *Tibetan Ritual*, edited by José Ignacio Cabezón, 131-63. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Gnoli, Raniero, with the assistance of T. Venkatacharya, ed. *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu: Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin: Part I*. Serie Orientale Roma. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1977.

Gold, Jonathan C. *The Dharma’s Gatekeepers: Sakya Paṇḍita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008.

Goodman, Nelson. “Twisted Tales; or, Story, Study, and Symphony.” In *On Narrative*, edited by W.J.T. Mitchell, 99-116. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Gordon, Antoinette K. *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*. 2nd ed. Rutland, VT and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1959.

———. *Tibetan Religious Art*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.

Goswami, Bijoya, trans. *Lalitavistara*. Bibliotheca Indica 320. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 2001.

Grey, Leslie. *A Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1994.

Griffiths, Paul J. “Omniscience in the Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra and Its Commentaries.” *IIJ* 33 (1990): 85-120.

Grupper, Samuel Martin. “The Manchu Imperial Cult of the Early Ch’ing Dynasty: Texts and Studies on the Tantric Sanctuary of Mahākāla at Mukden.” Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, Bloomington, 1980.

Gruschke, Andreas. *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet’s Outer Provinces: Kham.* Volume 1, *The TAR Part of Kham.* Volume 2, *The Qinghai Part of Kham.* Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2004.

Gyatso, Janet. *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

———. “The Authority of Empiricism and the Empiricism of Authority: Medicine and Buddhism in Tibet on the Eve of Modernity.” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 2 (2004): 83-96.

Haarh, Erik. “The Yar-luṅ Dynasty: A Study with Particular Regard to the Contribution by Myths and Legends to the History of Ancient Tibet and the Origin and Nature of Its Kings.” Ph.D. diss., University of Copenhagen, 1969.

Hackin, J[oseph]. “Les scènes figurées de la vie du Buddha d’après des peintures tibétaines.” *Mémoires concernant l’Asie orientale*, edited by [Émile] Senart, [Édouard] Chavannes, and [Henri] Cordier, vol. 2, 1-112. Paris: E. Leroux, 1916.

Hahn, Michael. *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta: Two Authors in the Succession of Āryaśūra: On the Rediscovery of Parts of Their Jātakamālās.* 2nd ed. Tokyo: Studia Philologica Buddhica, 1992.

———. *Haribhaṭṭa in Nepal: Ten Legends from His Jātakamālā and the Anonymous Śākyasiṃhajātaka.* Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series XXII. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2007.

———. “Ratnākaraśānti’s Autocommentary on his Chandoratnâkara.” *Vicitrakusumāñjalī: Volume Presented to Richard Othon Meisezahl on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, edited by Helmut Eimer, 77-100. Indica et Tibetica 11. Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1986.

———. *Ratnākaraśāṇti’s Chandoratnākara*. Nepal Research Centre Miscellaneous Papers 34. Kathmandu: Nepal Research Centre, 1982.

———. “Sanskrit Metrics—As Studied at the Buddhist Universities in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries A.D.” *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre (JNRC)* 9 (1993): 57-76.

Hahn, Michael, and Gudrun Bühnemann, *Der Grosse Legendenkranz (Mahajjātakamālā): Eine mittelalterliche buddhistische Legendensammlung aus Nepal*. Asiatsiche Forschungen, Band 88. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985.

Halkias, Georgios. “Pure-Lands and Other Visions in Seventeenth-Century Tibet.” In Cuevas and Schaeffer, *Power, Politics and Reinvention*, 103-128.

Hallisey, Charles, and Anne Hansen. “Narrative, Sub-Ethics, and the Moral Life: Some Evidence from Theravāda Buddhism.” *Journal of Religious Ethics* 24, no. 2 (Fall 1996): 305-27.

Handurukande, Ratna, ed. and trans. *Five Buddhist Legends in the Campū Style, from a Collection Named Avadānasārasamuccaya.* Indica et Tibetica 4. Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1984.

Harrison, Paul. “A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa’ ’gyur.” In Cabezón and Jackson eds., *Tibetan Literature,* 70-94.

———. “In Search of the Source of the Tibetan Bka’ ’gyur: A Reconnaissance Report.” In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Sixth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies. Fagernes 1992.*, edited by Per Kvaerne, 295-317. Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994.

Hartley, Lauran Ruth. “Con*text*ually Speaking: Tibetan Literary Discourse and Social Change in the People’s Republic of China (1980-2000). Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2003.

Heller, Amy. “The Great Protector Deities of the Dalai Lamas.” In Pommaret, *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century*, 81-98.

———. “Notes on the Symbol of the Scorpion in Tibet.” In *Les Habitants du Toit du Monde, Études Recueillies en Hommage à Alexander W. MacDonald*, edited by Samten Karmay and Philippe Sagant, 283-97. Nanterre: Société d’Ethnologie, 1997.

von Hinüber, Oskar. *Entstehung und Aufbau der Jātaka-Sammlung.* Studien zur Literatur des Theravāda-Buddhismus I. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998.
———. *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*. Indian Philology and South Asian Studies 2. 1996. Reprint, Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2000.

Horiuchi Kanjin 堀内寛仁, ed. *Shoe kongōchōkyō no kenkyū* 初會金剛頂經の研究 / *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgrahaṃ nāma mahā-yāna-sūtram*. 2 vols. Wakayama-ken Kōya-machi: Mikkyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1983.

Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* / *Zhongguo gudai guanming cidian* 中国古代官名辞典. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2008.

Huntington, John Cooper. “The Styles and Stylistic Sources of Tibetan Painting.” Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1968.

Illich, Marina. “Selections from the Life of a Tibetan Buddhist Polymath: Chankya Rolpai Dorje (Lcang skya rol pa’i rdo rje), 1717-1786.” Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2006.

Ingalls, Daniel H. H. *Sanskrit Poetry from Vidyākara’s “Treasury.”* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Ishihama, Yumiko. “On the Dissemination of the Belief in the Dalai Lama as a Manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.” In *The History of Tibet*, vol. 2, *The Medieval Period,* edited by Alex McKay, 538-53. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003; first published 1993 in *Acta Asiatica*.

Jackson, David P. *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III): Sa-skya Paṇḍita on Indian and Tibetan Traditions of Pramāṇa and Philosophical Debate.* Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1987.
———. *A History of Tibetan Painting: The Great Tibetan Painters and Their Traditions*. Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996.
———. “Lineages and Structure in Tibetan Buddhist Painting: Principles and Practice of an Ancient Sacred Choreography.” *JIATS* 1 (October 2005): 1-40, http://www.thlib.org?tid=T1220.
———. *Patron and Painter: Situ Panchen and the Revival of the Encampment Style*, with an essay by Karl Debreczeny. New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2009.
———. *A Saint in Seattle: The Life of the Tibetan Mystic Dezhung Rinpoche*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2003.
———. “Situ Panchen’s Paintings of the Eight Great Siddhas: A Fateful Gift to Derge and the World.” In Linrothe ed., *Holy Madness*, 92-107.

———. “Some Karma Kagyupa Paintings in the Rubin Collection.” In Rhie and Thurman, *Worlds of Transformation*, 75-127.

Jackson, David P., and Janice A. Jackson. *Tibetan Thangka Painting: Methods and Materials*. 2nd ed. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1988.

Jackson, Roger R. “‘Poetry’ in Tibet: *Glu, mGur, sNyan ngag* and ‘Songs of Experience.’” In Cabezón and Jackson, *Tibetan Literature,* 368-92.

Jaini, Padmanabh S., ed. *Paññāsa-jātaka, or, Zimme Paṇṇāsa (in the Burmese Recension)*. 2 vols. London: Pali Text Society, 1981-1983. Translated by I. B. Horner and Padmanabh S. Jaini as *Apocryphal Birth-Stories (Paññāsa-jātaka)*, 2 vols. (London: Pali Text Society, 1985-1986).

’Jam dbyangs bzhad pa II Dkon mchog ‘jigs med dbang po (1728-1791). *Rje bla ma srid zhi’i gtsug rgyan paṇ chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes dpal bzang po’i zhal snga nas rnam par thar pa nyi ma’i ’od zer*. In *The Collected Works (Gsuṅ ’bum) of the Third Paṇchen Lama of Tashilhunpo Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-ldan-ye-śes*, vol. 11, 11-758; vol. 12. New Delhi: Mongolian Lama Gurudeva, 1975-1978.
———. *Paṇ chen thams cad mkhyen pa dpal ldan ye shes kyi rnam thar nyi ma’i ‘od zer.* 2 vols. Beijing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2002.

Jamspal, Lozang, ed. *Rje btsun sa skya paṇḍi ta’i legs par bshad pa rin po che’i gter zhes bya ba’i bstan bcos bzhugs so: Treasury of Good Sayings of Sa skya Pandita the Eminent Tibetan Lama, 1182-1251: Development of Awareness and Conduct*. Leh, Ladakh: Ladakhratnashridipika, 2003.

Jing, Anning. Review of *Donors of Longmen: Faith, Politics, and Patronage in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Sculpture*, by Amy McNair. *International Journal of Asian Studies* 5, no. 2 (2008): 255-56.

Jinpa, Thupten, trans. *The Book of Kadam: The Core Texts*. Library of Tibetan Classics 2. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2008.

Jo nang Tā ra nā tha Sgrol ba’i mgon po (1575-1634). *Bcom ldan ’das ston pa shākya thub pa’i rnam thar.* Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997.

de Jong, J. W. *A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America.* Tokyo: Kōsei Publishing Co., 1997.
———. “Notes on the Text of the Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā. Pallava 6: Badarīdvīpayātrāvadāna.” In *Festschrift: Dieter Schlingloff*, edited by Friedrich Wilhelm, 137-48. Reinbek: Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen, 1996.
———. *Textcritical Remarks on the Bodhisattvavadanakalpalata (Pallavas 42·108).* Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series 2. Tokyo: Reiyukai Library, 1979.

Kapstein, Matthew T. “Indian Literary Identity in Tibet.” In Pollock ed., *Literary Cultures in History*, 747-802.
———. *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Karma pa III Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339) and Āryaśūra. *The Tibetan Rendering of the Jātakamālā of Āryaśūra, Supplemented with Sixty-Seven Additional Jātaka Stories.* 2 vols. Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1974.

Karma pa [III] Rang byung rdo rje and [Āryaśūra] Slob dpon dpa’ bo. *Skyes rabs brgya ba*. Gangs can rig brgya’i sgo ’byed lde mig 22. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1995.

Karma rgyal mtshan. *Dpal spungs thub bstan chos ’khor gling gi lo rgyus*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007.

Karmay, Samten G[yaltsen]. “The Fifth Dalai Lama and His Reunification of Tibet.” In Pommaret ed., *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century*, 65-80.
———. “A Most Pleasing Symphony: An Unknown Biography of the Fifth Dalai Lama.” In *The Pandita and the Siddha: Tibetan Studies in Honour of E. Gene Smith,* edited by Ramon Prats, 130-37. Dharamsala: Amnye Machen Institute, 2007.
———. *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama: The Gold Manuscript in the Fournier Collection*. London: Serindia Publications, 1988.

Kellner, Birgit, et al eds. *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ: Papers Dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday.* Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 70. 2 vols. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 2007.

Khams sprul IV Bstan 'dzin chos kyi nyi ma (1730-1779). *Rgyan gyi bstan bcos me loṅ paṇ chen bla ma'i gsuṅ bźin bkral ba dbyaṅgs can ṅag gi rol mtsho legs bśad nor bu'i 'byuṅ khuṅs: A Detailed Commentary on the Fundamental Text of Tibetan Kāvya, the Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin*. Thimphu, Bhutan: Kunsang Topgey, 1976.

Khosla, Sarla. *Kṣemendra and His Times (Social-Religious & Economic History of Kashmir As Depicted by Kṣemendra*. Delhi: Pratibha Prakashan, 2001.

Kim, Jinah. “Iconography and Text: The Visual Narrative of the Buddhist Book-Cult in the Manuscript of the Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra.” In *Kalādarpaṇa: The Mirror of Indian Art: Essays in Memory of Shri Krishna Deva*, edited by Devangana Desai and Arundhati Banerji, 255-71. New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2009.
———. “Illustrating the *Perfection of Wisdom*: The Use of the *Vessantara Jātaka* in a Manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*.” In *Prajñādhara: Essays on Asian Art, History, Epigraphy and Culture in Honour of Gouriswar Bhattacharya*, edited by Gerd J.R. Mevissen and Arundhati Banerji, vol. 2, 261-72. New Delhi: Kaveri Books, 2009.

Kirde, Signe. “Bibliographie zur *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* des Kṣemendra.” In *Śikhisamuccayah: Indian and Tibetan studies (Collectanea Marpurgensia Indologica et Tibetica)*, edited by Dragomir Dimitrov, Ulrike Roesler and Roland Steiner, 109-28. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 53. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 2002.

Klimburg-Salter, Deborah E. “The Life of the Buddhia in Ta pho Monastery, Himachal Pradesh – Text and Image.” *South Asian Archaeology 1995*, edited by F. Raymond Allchin and Bridget Allchin. 2 vols. New Delhi: Published for the Ancient India and Iran Trust by Science Publishers, 1997.
———. “The Life of the Buddha in Western Himalayan Monastic Art and Its Indian Origins: Act One.” *East and West* (Rome) 38, nos. 1-4 (Dec. 1988): 189-214.
———. *Tabo: A Lamp for the Kingdom*, with contributions by Christian Luczanits, Luciano Petech, Ernst Steinkellner, and Erna Wandl. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998.
———. “Tradition and Innovation in Indo-Tibetan Painting. Four Preaching Scenes from the Life of the Buddha, Tabo Mid 11th Century.” In Kellner, *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ*, 424-67.

Klong rdol Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang (1719-1774). *The Collected Works of Longdol Lama: Parts 1, 2*, edited by Lokesh Chandra. Śata-Piṭaka Series 100. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1973.

Knutson, Jesse Ross.“The Political Poetic of the Sena Court.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 69, no. 2 (May 2010): 371-401.

Kolmaš, Josef. *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet (A Chronological Study)*. Archív orientální Supplementa 7. Prague: The Oriental Institute, 1994.
———. “Dezhung Rinpoche’s Summary and Continuation of the *Sde-dge’i rgyal-rabs*.” *Acta Orientalia* 42, no. 1 (1988): 119-52.
———, ed. *A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge, Sde-dge'i rgyal-rabs*. Dissertationes Orientales 12. Prague: Oriental Institute in Academia, 1968.
———. *The Iconography of the Derge Kanjur and Tanjur*. Śata-Piṭaka Series 241. New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1978.

Kong sprul Blo gros mtha’ yas (1813-1899). *Kongtrul’s Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture: Parts 1-3*, edited by Lokesh Chandra; with an introduction by E. Gene Smith. Śata-Piṭaka Series 80. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1970.
———. *Myriad Worlds: Buddhist Cosmology in Abhidharma, Kālacakra and Dzog-chen*, translated by the International Translation Committee of Kunkhyab Chöling founded by Kalu Rinpoché. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1995.
———. *Rgya chen bka’ mdzod: A Collection of the Writings of ’Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha’-yas.* 20 vols. Paro: Ngodub, 1975-1976.

Ko zhul Grags pa ’byung gnas and Rgyal ba Blo bzang mkhas grub. *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod*. Lanzhou: Kan su’u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992.

Kreide-Damani, Ingrid ed. *Dating Tibetan Art: Essays on the Possibilities and Impossibilities of Chronology from the Lempertz Symposium, Cologne*. Contributions to Tibetan Studies 3. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2003.

Kṣemendra. *Muktalatavadanam of Ksemendra (Sanskrit Text, Tibetan Version with Hindi, English Translation),* edited and translated by Pema Tenzin. Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series 16. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1989.
———. "Story of Prātihārya," translated by Bhūṣaṇa Candra Dās. *JBTSI* 3 (Calcutta, 1897): 17-20.

van der Kuijp, Leonard W. J. "Bhāmaha in Tibet." *IIJ* 28 (1986): 31-39.
———. "The Dalai Lamas and the Origins of Reincarnate Lamas." In Brauen, *Dalai Lamas*, 5-34.
———. "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History 1: Ta'i-si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan as a Man of Religion." *IIJ* 37 (1994): 139-49.
———. "Tibetan Belles-Lettres: The Influence of Daṇḍin and Kṣemendra." In Cabezón and Jackson, *Tibetan Literature,* 393-410.

Lalou, M. "Notes de Mythologie Bouddhique." *HJAS* 3, no. 2 (July 1938): 128-35.

Lamotte, Étienne. *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, des origines à l'ère Śaka.* Louvain: Bibliothèque du *Muséon*, 1958. Translated by Sara Webb-Boin as *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1988).

Lcang skya III Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786). *Rgyal ba'i dbang po thams cad mkhyen gzigs rdo rje 'chang blo bzang bskal bzang rgya mtsho dpal bzang po'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa mdo tsam brjod pa dpag bsam rin po che'i snye ma*. In *The Collected Works (Gsuṅ 'bum) of the Seventh Dalai Lama Blo-bzaṅ-bskal-bzaṅ-rgya-mtsho*, vols. 12-13. Gangtok: Dodrup Sangye, 1977.

Lewis, Todd T. *Popular Buddhist Texts from Nepal: Narratives and Rituals of Newar Buddhism.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.

Lienhard, Siegfried. *Die Abenteuer des Kaufmanns Siṃhala.* Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin, 1985.
———. "Avalokiteśvara in the Wick of the Night-Lamp." *IIJ* 36 (1993): 93-104.
———. *Songs of Nepal: An Anthology of Newar Folksongs and Hymns*. Asian Studies at Hawaii 30. Rev. ed. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984.

Linrothe, Rob, ed. *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art; Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2006.

Ljongs rig dngos do dam u yon lhan khang, ed. *Pho brang po ta la'i lo rgyus phyogs sgrig.* 1987. Reprint, Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2007.

Lo Bue, Erberto F. “Scholars, Artists, and Feasts.” In Pommaret ed., *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century*, 179-98.
———. “Tibetan Literature on Art.” In Cabezón and Jackson, *Tibetan Literature*, 470-84.

Lodrö, Geshe G. *Geschichte der Kloster-Universität Drepung mit einem Abriss der Gesitesgeschichte Tibets.* Vol. 1, *Tibetischer Text.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974.

Lopez, Jr., Donald S. *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Luczanits, Christian. “The Eight Great Siddhas in Early Tibetan Painting.” In Linrothe, *Holy Madness,* 76-91.
———. “The Life of the Buddha in the Sumtsek.” *Orientations* 30, no. 1 (1999): 30-39.
———. “Prior to Birth II: The Tuṣita Episodes in Early Tibetan Buddhist Literature and Art.” In Kellner, *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ*, 497-543.
———. “The Sources for Bu ston’s Introduction to the Acts of a Buddha.” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 37 (1993): 93-108.

Macdonald, A. W. “Remarks on the Manipulation of Power and Authority in the High Himalaya.” *Tibet Journal* XII , no. 1 (1987): 3-16.

Martin, Dan. “Painters, Patrons and Paintings of Patrons in Early Tibetan Art.” In *Embodying Wisdom: Art, Text and Interpretation in the History of Esoteric Buddhism*, edited by Rob Linrothe and Henrik Sørensen, 139-84. SBS Monographs 6. Copenhagen: The Seminar for Buddhist Studies, 2001.
———. *Tibetan Histories: A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works*, in collaboration with Yael Bentor. London: Serindia Publications, 1997.

Masuzawa, Tomoko. *The Invention of World Religions; or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

McGill, Forrest. “Painting the ‘Great Life.’” In Schober, *Sacred Biography*, 195-217.

Mdo mkhar zhabs drung Tshe ring dbang rgyal. *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, edited by Zhuang Jing 庄晶. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981.
———. *Dpal mi’i dbang po’i rtogs pa brjod pa rnam par thar pa ’jig rten kun tu dga’ ba’i gtam*. TBRC W1KG1253.

Mejor, Marek. *Ksemendra's Bodhisattvâvadānakalpalatā: Studies and Materials*. Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series 8. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992.

Miller, Amy Sims. “Jeweled Dialogues: The Role of *The Book* in the Formation of the Kadam Tradition Within Tibet.” Ph.D. diss,, University of Virginia, 2004.

Mitra, R.L., trans. *The Lalitavistara: Memoirs of the Early Life of Sakya Sinha (Chs. 1-15)*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1998; first published 1881 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang (1385-1438). *Rje btsun bla ma tsong kha pa chen po'i ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i 'jug ngogs*. In *The Collected Works (gsuṅ 'bum) of the Incomparable Lord Tsoṅ-kha-pa Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa*, vol. 1. New Delhi: Mongolian Lama Gurudeva, 1978-1979.

Müller, F. Max. "Lecture on Buddhist Nihilism." In *Lectures on the Science of Religion*, 131-47. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Co., 1874.

Mullin, Glenn H. *The Fourteen Dalai Lamas: A Sacred Legacy of Reincarnation.* Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 2001.

Mu po, ed. *Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2002.

Namgyal, Phuntsok, ed. *Splendor of Tibet: The Potala Palace*. Dumont, NJ: Homa & Sekey Books in association with Encyclopedia of China Publishing House, 2002.

Nattier, Jan. *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline.* Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991.

Newman, Beth. "The Tibetan Novel and Its Sources." In Cabezón and Jackson, *Tibetan Literature*, 411-21.
———. *See also* Solomon, Beth Ellen.

Ngor Mkhan chen XXXIV Dpal ldan chos skyong (1702-1760). *Autobiography of Dpal-ldan-chos-skyong.* 4 vols. Palampur, H.P., India: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunpel Parkhang, 1975.

Niu Song 牛颂, ed. *Yonghegong* 雍和宫. Beijing: Zhongguo minzu sheying yishu chubanshe, 2001.

Obermiller, E. *The Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle to Salvation, being a Manual of Buddhist Monism: The Work of Ārya Maitreya with a Commentary by Āryāsanga*. *Acta Orientalia* 9 (1931): 81-306.

Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, comp. *The Sublime Path of the Victorious Ones*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981.

Ohnuma, Reiko. "Dehadāna: The 'Gift of the Body' in Indian Buddhist Narrative Literature." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1997.
———. *Head, Eyes, Flesh, and Blood: Giving Away the Body in Indian Buddhist Literature.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Oldenberg, Hermann. *Buddha: His Life, His Doctrine, His Order*, translated by William Hoey. London: Williams and Norgate, 1882.

Padma chos 'phel. *Skyes rabs dpag bsam 'khri shing*, edited by Dbyangs can lha mo. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991.

[———]. *Baihua ruyiteng shijiamouni bai xing zhua*n 白话《如意藤》释迦牟尼白行传, translated by Dai Zuomin 戴作民. Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1998.

———. *Leaves of the Heaven Tree: The Great Compassion of the Buddha*, translated by Deborah Black. Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1997.

Padmakara Group trans. *La liane magique: les hauts faits du Bodhisattva contés par le Bouddha pour expliquer la production interdépendante,*. Saint-Léon-sur-Vézère: Padmakara, 2001.

Panglung, Jampa Losang. *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya, Analysiert auf Grund der Tibetischen Übersetzung*. Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series 3. Tokyo: Reiyukai Library, 1981.

Pemba, Lhamo, ed. *Bod kyi gtam dpe: Tibetan Proverbs*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1996.

Petech, Luciano. *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet, 1728-1959*. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1973.

———. *Central Tibet and the Mongols: The Yüan-Sa-skya Period of Tibetan History*. Serie Orientale Roma 65. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Media ed Estremo Oriente, 1990.

———. *China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century: History of the Establishment of the Chinese Protectorate in Tibet.* 2nd ed. T'oung Pao Monographs 1. Leiden: Brill, 1972.

———. *The Kingdom of Ladah, c. 950-1842 A. D.* Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Media ed Estremo Oriente, 1977.

———. *Selected Papers on Asian History*. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Media ed Estremo Oriente, 1988.

Peter, F[riedrich] A., trans. *Five Tibetan Legends from the Avadāna Kalpalatā.* Opuscula Tibetana 20. Zurich: Tibet-Institut Rikon, 1989.

Peterson, Kathleen, "Sources of Variation in Tibetan Canons of Iconometry." In *Tibetan Studies in Honor of Hugh Richardson: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford 1979*, edited by Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, 239-48. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1980.

Phun tshogs tshe brtan, ed. *Pho brang Po ta la'i ldebs bris ri mo'i 'byung khungs lo rgyus gsal ba'i me long / Budala gong bi hua yuan liu* 布达拉宫壁画源流 */ A Mirror of the Murals in the Potala*. Beijing: Jiuzhou tushu chubanshe, 2000.

Pollock, Sheldon. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. 2006. Reprint, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009.

———, ed. *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003.

Pommaret, Françoise, ed. *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century: The Capital of the Dalai Lamas.* Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Pomplun, Trent. *Jesuit on the Roof of the World: Ippolito Desideri's Mission to Eighteenth-Century Tibet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Quintman, Andrew H. "Mi la ras pa's Many Lives: Anatomy of a Tibetan Biographical Corpus." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2006.

Rani, Sharada, ed. *Buddhist Tales of Kashmir in Tibetan Woodcuts.* Śata-Piṭaka Series 232. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2005.

Rechung, J. K. "The Buddhist Paintings and Iconography According to Tibetan Sources." *Bulletin of Tibetology* 26, nos. 1-3 (1990): 56.

Reynolds, Frank E. "The Many Lives of Buddha: A Study of Sacred Biography and Theravāda Tradition." In *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion*, edited by Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps, 37-61. The Hague: Mouton, 1976.

Reynolds, Frank E., and Charles Hallisey. "Buddha." In *Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Mircea Eliade, vol. 2, 319-33. New York: Macmillan, 1987.

Reynolds, Valrae. *From the Sacred Realm: Treasures of Tibetan Art from The Newark Museum*. Munich: Prestel, 1999.

Rgya mtsho. *Snyan ngag slob deb.* Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003.

Rhie, Marylin, and Robert A. F. Thurman. *Worlds of Transformation: Tibetan Art of Wisdom and Compassion*. New York: Tibet House New York in association with the Shelley and Donald Rubin Foundation: H.N. Abrams, distributors, 1999.

Rhys Davids, T. W., trans. *Buddhist Birth-Stories; or, Jātaka Tales; the Oldest Collection of Folk-lore Extant, Being the Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*. Trübner's Oriental Series. London: Trübner & Co., 1880.
———. *Buddhist India.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971; first published 1903 by G.P. Putnam's Sons.

Richardson, Hugh [E]. *Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year*, edited by Michael Aris. London: Serindia Publications, 1993.
———. *Tibet and Its History*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Rigzin, Tsepak. *Festivals of Tibet.* Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1993.

Rin spungs Ngag dbang 'Jig [rten dbang phyug] grags [pa], *Poems on Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā and Jātakamālā.* Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1976.

Rockhill, W. W. *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China*, *1644-1908*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1998; first published 1910 in *T'oung-Pao*.

Ronis, Jann. "Celibacy, Revelations, and Reincarnated Lamas: Contestation and Synthesis in Growth of Monasticism at Katok Monastery from the 17th through 19th Centuries." Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 2009.

Rosaldo, Renato. "Grief and a Headhunter's Rage." Introduction to *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*, *with a New Introduction,* 1-24. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.

von Rospatt, Alexander. "The Transformation of the Monastic Ordination (*pravrajyā*) into a Rite of Passage in Newar Buddhism." In *Words and Deeds: Hindu and Buddhist Rituals in South Asia*, edited by Jörg Gengnagel, Ute Hüsken and Srilata Raman, 199-234. Ethno-Indology 1. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2005.

Rothenberg, Bonnie Lynne. "Kṣemendra's 'Bodhisattvāvadanakalpalatā': A Text-Critical Edition and Translation of Chapters One to Five." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1990.

Rotman, Andy, trans. *Divine Stories: Divyāvadāna, Part I*. Classics of Indian Buddhism. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2008.

———. *Thus Have I Seen: Visualizing Faith in Early Indian Buddhism*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Ruegg, David Seyfort. "On Translating the Buddhist Canon (A Dictionary of Indo-Tibetan Terminology in Tibetan and Mongolian: The *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* of Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje." In *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture,* edited by Perala Ratnam, vol. 3, 243-61. Śata-Piṭaka Series 209. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974.

———. *Ordre spirituel et ordre temporel dans la pensée bouddhique de l'Inde et du Tibet.* Publications de l'Institut de civilisation indienne. Paris: Collège de France, Institut de civilisation indienne: Diffusion De Boccard, 1995.

———. "Remarks on the Place of Narrative in the Buddhist Literatures of India and Tibet." In *India, Tibet, China: Genesis and Aspects of Traditional Narrative*, edited by Alfredo Cadonna, 193-227. Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1999.

Sakaki Ryōzaburō 榊亮三郎, ed. *Honyaku myōgi taishū* 飜譯名義大集 / *Mahāvyutpatti*. 2 vols. Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, Shōwa 37 [1962]; first published Taishō 5 [1916] by Shingonshū Kyōto Daigaku.

Samten, Muge. *A History of Traditional Fields of Learning: A Concise History of Dissemination of Traditional Fields of Learning in Tibet (bod du rig gnas dar tshul mdor bsdus bshad*

pa) / Bod du rig gnas dar tshul mdor bsdus bshad pa, translated by Sangye Tandar Naga. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2005.

Sanders, Julie. *Adaptation and Appropriation: The New Critical Idiom.* London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Savvas, Carol, and Lodro Tulku. *Transformation into the Exalted State: Spiritual Exercises of the Tibetan Tantric Tradition.* Zürich, Switzerland: Tibet-Institut Rikon-Zürich, 1987.

Schaeffer, Kurtis R. *The Culture of the Book in Tibet*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.
———. "The Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lopsang Gyatso." In Brauen, *Dalai Lamas*, 64-91.

Scheier-Dolberg, Joseph. "Treasure House of Tibetan Culture: Canonization, Printing, and Power in the Derge Printing House." Master's thesis, Harvard University, 2005.

von Schiefner, Franz Anton. *Tibetan Tales Derived from Indian Sources*, translated by W. R. S. Ralston. London: Trübner & Co., 1882.

Schierlitz, Ernst. "In Memory of Alexander Wilhelm Baron von Stäel-Holstein." *Monumenta Serica* 3 (1938): 286-91.

Schlingloff, Dieter. *Guide to the Ajanta Paintings*. Vol. 1, *Narrative Wall Paintings.* New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1999.
———. *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings: Identifications and Interpretations*, translated by Kathleen Rabl and David Marks. Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1988.

Schmidt, Isaac Jacob, trans. *'Dzangs blun, oder der Weise und der Thor.* St. Petersburg: W. Graff's Erben, 1843.

Schober, Juliane. "In the Presence of the Buddha: Ritual Veneration of the Burmese Mahāmuni Image." In *Sacred Biography*, 259-88.
———, ed. *Sacred Biography in the Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997.
———. "Trajectories in Buddhist Sacred Biography." Introduction to *Sacred Biography,* 1-15.

Schwartz, Hillel. *The Culture of the Copy: Striking Illnesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles.* Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996.

Sde dge'i bla sman gu ru 'phel. "Rje btsun bla ma si tu chos kyi 'byung gnas kyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i sa bon skyed pa'i bdud rtsi'i zim char zhes bya ba bzhugs." In *Dpal spungs thub bstan chos 'khor gling gi lo rgyus*, edited by Karma rgyal mtshan, 74-109. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007.

Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705). *Life of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, *Volume IV, Part I*, translated by Zahiruddin Ahmad. Śata-Piṭaka Series 392. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1999.

Senart, Émile. *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*. 2nd ed. Paris: E. Leroux, 1882.
———, ed. *Le Mahāvastu: Texte Sanscrit publié pour la première fois et accompagné d'introductions et d'un commentaire*. 3 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1882-1897.

Shakabpa, Tsepon W[angchuk] D[eden]. *Lha ldan rwa sa 'phrul snang gtsug lag khang gi dkar chag / Catalogue and Guide to the Central Temple of Lhasa*. Kalimpong, India: Shakabpa House, 1982.
———. *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, translated and annotated by Derek F. Maher. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Shastri, Lobsang. "Activities of Indian *Paṇḍita*s in Tibet From the 14th to the 17th Century." In *Tibet, Past and Present*: *Tibetan studies I: PIATS 2000: Tibetan studies: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden, 2000*, edited by Hank Blezer, 129-45. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Shukla, N. S. *Cultural Trends in Kashmir and Kṣemendra.* Delhi: Nirman Prakashan, 1990.

Silk, Jonathan A. "Introduction to Alexander von Stäel-Holstein's Article 'On a Peking Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur Which Seems to be Unknown in the West.'" *JIABS* 22, no. 1 (1999): 211-14.
———. *Managing Monks: Administrators and Administrative Roles in Indian Buddhist Monasticism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
———. *Riven By Lust: Incest and Schism in Indian Buddhist Legend and Historiography.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.

Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas, Ta'i Si tu VIII (1700-1774). *The Autobiography and Diaries of Si-tu Paṇ-chen*, edited by Lokesh Chandra with a foreword by E. Gene Smith. Śata-Piṭaka Series 77. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1968.
———. *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' gangs can gyi brdas drangs pa'i phyi mo'i tshogs ji snyed pa par du bsgrubs pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam bzang po blo ldan mos pa'i kunda yongs su kha phye ba'i zla 'od gzhon nu'i 'khri shing*. In *Tā'i si tu pa kun mkhyen chos kyi 'byung gnas bstan pa'i nyin byed kyi bka' 'bum*. Kangra, H.P., India Sherab Gyaltsen, 1990.

Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas, Ta'i Si tu VIII, and 'Be lo Tshe dbang kun khyab. *History of the Karma Bka'-brgyud-pa Sect: Being the Text of "Sgrub brgyud Karma Kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa Rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba."* New Delhi: D. Gyaltsan and Kesang Legshay, 1972.

Skilling, Peter. "Jātaka and *Paññasa-jātaka* in South-East Asia." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 28 (2006): 113-73.

Skilton, Andrew, trans. "*How the Nagas Were Pleased" by Harṣa and "The Shattered Thighs" by Bhāsa*. New York: New York University Press and JJC Foundation, 2009.

Sle lung bzhad pa'i rdo rje (1697-1740). "Mi dbang bsod nams stobs rgyas rnam grol gling du byon pa'i lo rgyus ngo mtshar 'bum snang." In *Sle lung bzhad pa'i rdo rje'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 9, 279-359. Leh, Ladakh: T. Sonam & D.L. Tashigang, 1983-85.

Smith, E. Gene. *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, edited by Kurtis R. Schaeffer. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001.

Smith, Jonathan Z. "Sacred Persistence." In *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Sobisch, Jan-Ulrich. *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams, the Great 17th Century Sa-skya-pa Bibliophile*. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 38. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007.

Solomon, Beth Ellen. "'The Tale of the Incomparable Prince': A Study and Translation of the Tibetan Novel 'Gzhon nu zla med kyi gtam rgyud' by Mdo mkhar zhabs drung Tshe ring dbang rgyal (1697-1763)." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1987.
———. *See also* Newman, Beth.

Sørensen Per K. "Lhasa Diluvium, Sacred Environment at Stake: The Birth of Flood Control Politics, the Question of Natural Disaster Management and Their Importance for the Hegemony over a National Monument in Tibet." *Lungta* 16 (Spring 2003): 84-134.

———. *Thundering Falcon: An Inquiry into the History and Cult of Khra-'brug, Tibet's First Buddhist Temple*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften / Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences of the Autonomous Region Tibet, 2005.

Sørensen Per K., and Guntram Hazod with Tsering Gyalbo. *Rulers on the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet, a Study of Tshal Gung-thang*. 2 vols. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften / Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences of the Autonomous Region Tibet, 2007.

Sperling, Elliott. "Early Eighteenth-Century Administration and the Mongol Presence in Tibet." Paper presented at the Twelfth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Vancouver, BC, August 15-21, 2010.

Speyer, J. S., ed. *Avadānaçataka: A Century of Edifying Tales Belonging to the Hīnayāna*. Indo-Iranian Reprints 3. The Hague: Mouton, 1958; first published 1902-1909 by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.

Stam, Robert. Introduction to *Literature and Film: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Film Adaptation*, edited by Robert Stam and Alessandra Raengo. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2005.

Steinkellner, Ernst. *A Short Guide to the Sudhana Frieze in the Temple of Ta pho.* Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1996.

Sternbach, Ludwik. *Unknown Verses Attributed to Kṣemendra.* Lucknow: Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, 1979.

Stewart, Susan. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Paperback ed. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993.

Stoddard, Heather. "From Ra sa to Lhasa." In Dorje et al, *Jokhang*, 178-92.

Straube, Martin. *Prinz Sudhana und die Kinnarī: Eine buddhistische Liebesgeschichte von Kṣemendra Texts, Übersetzung, Studie*. Indica et Tibetica 46. Marburg: Indica et Tibetica, 2006.

Strong, John S. *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Studholme, Alexander. *The Origins of Oṃ Maṇipadme Hūṃ: A Study of the Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra.* Albany: State Unversity of New York Press, 2002.

Sūryakānta. *Kṣemendra Studies*. Poona Oriental Series 91. Poona, India: Oriental Book Agency, 1954.

Swearer, Donald K. *Becoming the Buddha: The Ritual of Consecration in Thailand.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, eds. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924-1932.

Tambiah, Stanley J. *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-east Thailand.* Cambridge: University Press, 1970.

Tatelman, Joel. "The Trials of Yaśodharā: A Critical Edition, Annotated Translation and Study of the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna* II-V." D. Phil. thesis, Wolfson College, Oxford University, 1996.

Thomas, Edward J. *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History.* New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000; first published 1927 by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.

Thurman ed., Robert A. F. *The Life and Teachings of Tsong kha pa.* Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1982.

Thu'u bkwan III Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma. *Collected Works of Thu'u-bkwan Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-nyi-ma*, edited by Ngawang Gelek Demo with an introduction by E. Gene Smith. 9 vols. Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1969-1971.

———. *The Crystal Mirror of Philosophical Systems: A Tibetan Study of Asian Religious Thought*, translated by Geshé Lhundub Sopa with E. Ann Chávez and Roger R. Jackson; edited by Thubten Jinpa. Library of Tibetan Classics 25. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009.

———. *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar*. Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989.

Tropper, Kurt. "The Buddha-vita in the *skor lam chen mo* at Zha lu Monastery." In Kellner ed., *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ*, vol. 2, 941-73.

———. *Die Jātaka-Inschriften im skor lam chen mo des Klosters Zha lu. Einführung, textkritische Studie, Edition der Paneele 1-8 mit Sanskritparallelen und deutscher Übersetzung*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 63. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 2005.

Tsering, Bhuchung K. "Library of Congress Receives Special Gifts from His Holiness the Dalai Lama." Central Tibetan Administration, Dharamsala, India, July 20, 2010.

Tsering, Phuntsog. "Monlam—The Great Prayer Festival of Tibet." *Tibetan Review* 18, no. 1 (January 1983): 7-9.

Tucci, Giuseppe. "The Fifth Dalai Lama as Sanskrit Scholar." *Sino-Indian Studies* 5 (1957): 235-40.

———. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. 3 vols, 1949. Reprint, Bangkok: SDI Publications, 1999.

———. *To Lhasa and Beyond: Diary of the Expedition to Tibet in the Year 1948*, translated by Mario Carelli. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1987; first published 1956 by Istituto poligrafico dello Stato.

Tuladhar-Douglas, Will. *Remaking Buddhism for Medieval Nepal: The Fifteenth-Century Reformation of Newar Buddhism.* London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽 et al, ed. *Chibetto Daizōkyō sōmokuroku* 西藏大藏經總目錄 / *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)*. 2 vols. Sendai, Japan: Tôhoku Imperial University aided by Saitô Gratitude Foundation, 1934.

Vasubandhu. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam*, translated by Louis de La Vallée Poussin; English translation by Leo M. Pruden. 4 vols. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1988-1990.

Vasudeva, Somadeva, ed. and trans. *Three Satires*, by Nīlakaṇṭha, Kṣemendra and Bhallaṭa. The Clay Sanskrit Library. New York: New York University Press: JJC Foundation, 2005.

Verhagen, Pieter C. *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

———. “Notes apropos to the Oeuvre of Si-tu Paṇ-chen Chos-kyi-’byuṅ-gnas (1699?-1774) 2: Dkar-chag Materials.” In *Gedenkschrift J.W. de Jong*, edited by H.W. Bodewitz & M. Hara. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2004.

Vostrikov, A.I. *Tibetan Historical Literature*, translated by Harish Chandra Gupta. Soviet Indology Series 4. Calcutta: R.D. Press, 1970.

Walter, Michael L. *Buddhism and Empire: The Political and Religious Culture of Early Tibet.* Leiden: Brill, 2009.
———. “The Persistence of Ritual: Continuities in the Execution of Political Religion in Tibet.” In *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung ’brel) in Traditional Tibet: Proceedings of a Seminar Held in Lumbini, Nepal, March 2000*, edited by Christoph Cüppers, 159-88. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2004.

Walters, Jonathan S. “Stūpa, Story, and Empire: Constructions of the Buddha Biography in Early Post-Aśokan India.” In Schober, *Sacred Biography,* 160-92.

Wang, Xiangyun. “Tibetan Buddhism at the Court of Qing: The Life and Work of lCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1717-86).” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1995.

Wangchuk, Dorji. *The Resolve to Become a Buddha: A Study of the* Bodhicitta *Concept in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*. Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series 23. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2007.

Wangdi, Sonam, and Philip. “Astrological Tradition of Tibet: Part I-History.” *Tibetan Review* 14, no. 10 (1979): 18-20.

Wang Jiapeng 王家鹏, ed. *Zangchuan fojiao tangka* 藏传佛教唐卡. Shanghai: Shanghai shiji kexue jishu chubanshe, 2003.

Warder, A. K. *Indian Kāvya Literature*. Vol. 6, *The Art of Storytelling*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992.

Warner, Cameron David. “The Precious Lord: The History and Practice of the Cult of the Jo bo Śākyamuni in Lhasa, Tibet.” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2008.

Wayman, Alex. “The Buddhist Theory of Vision.” In *Buddhist Insight: Essays by Alex Wayman*, edited by George R. Elder, 153-161. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984.

Weidner, Marsha, ed. *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*. Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, 1994.

Williams, Joanna. “On Viewing Sāñcī.” *Archives of Asian Art* 50 (1997/1998): 93-98.
———. “Sārnāth Gupta Steles of the Buddha’s Life.” *Ars Orientalis* 10 (1975): 171-92.

Winternitz, Maurice. *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur.* Vol. 2, *Die buddhistische Litteratur und die heiligen Texte der Jainas.* Leipzig: C. F. Amelangs Verlag, 1920. Translated by S, Ketkar and H. Kohn as *History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2, *Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1972; first published 1933 by University of Calcutta.

Xizang zizhiqu wenwu guanli weiyuan hui 西藏自治区文物管理委员会, eds. *Bod kyi thang ga* / *Xizang tangka* 西藏唐卡. 1985. Reprint, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007.

Yamamoto, Carl Shigeo. "Vision and Violence: Lama Zhang and the Dialectics of Political Authority and Religious Charisma in Twelfth-Century Central Tibet." Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 2009.

Yamamoto, Kosho. *The Mahayana Mahaparinirvana-sutra: A Complete Translation from the Classical Chinese Language*. Karin Buddhological Series No. 5. 3 vols. Ube, Japan: Karinbunko, 1973.

Yonghegong tangka guibao bianweihui 雍和宫唐喀瑰宝编委会. *Yonghegong tangka guibao* 雍和宫唐喀瑰宝(上) / *Beautiful Tangka Paintings in Yonghegong*, vol. 1. Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2002.

Yonghegong tangka guibao bianweihui 雍和宫唐喀瑰宝编委会. *Yonghegong tangka guibao* 雍和宫唐喀瑰宝/ *The Treasured Thangkas in Yonghegong Palace*. Beijing: Zhongguo minzu sheying yishu chubanshe, 1998.

Zhabs dkar Tshogs drug rang grol. *The Life of Shabkar: The Autobiography of a Tibetan Yogin,* translated by Matthieu Ricard. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2001.

Zhang Yisun 张怡荪, ed. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* / *Zang-han dacidian* 藏汉大词典. 2 vols. 1993. Reprint, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1996.

Zhu chen tshul khrims rin chen (1697-1774). *The Autobiography of Tshul-khrims-rin-chen of Sde-dge and Other of His Selected Writings.* Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsen, 1971.

———. *Collected Writings on Buddhist Philosophy, Liturgy, and Ritual of Źu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen*. 7 vols. New Delhi: B. Jamyang Norbu, 1973-1974.

———. *Record of Teachings Received: The Gsan-yig of Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen of Sde-dge*, edited by Ngawang Gyaltsen and Ngawang Lungtok. 2 vols. Dehradun, India: D. Gyaltsan, 1970.

APPENDIX A

THE PHO LHA FAMILY'S *WISH-FULFILLING VINE* PRODUCTIONS: NUMBERING AND IDENTIFICATIONS

Snar thang *Vine* set of 31 woodcuts: identification of figures in the *gtso thang*[706]

Figure No. (Fig. 2.13)	Inscription	Identification
1	-	Śākyamuni Buddha
2	*#/shA ri'i bu//*	Śāriputra
3	*#/mo'u mgal gyi bu//*	Maudgalyāyana
4	*#/kun mkhyen lnga pa chen po//*	The Omniscient Great Fifth [Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682)]
5	*#/slob dpon dpa' bo//*	Ācāryaśūra [Āryaśūra]
6	*#/rje bla ma gtsong kha pa chen po//*	Rje Bla ma Tsong kha pa the Great [Blo bzang grags pa (1357-1419)]
7	*sa skya pa 'gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa/*	Sa skya pa, Protector of Beings, Dharmarāja 'Phags pa [Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280)]
8	*#/chos rgyal dge ba'i dbang po//*	Dharmarāja Kṣemendra (c. 990/1010-1070)
9	*#/sras zla ba'i dbang po//*	The son Somendra (11th c.)
10	*slob dpon blo gros bzang po//*	Ācārya *Buddhibhadra or *Sumati?
11	*#/slob dpon nyi ma dpal//*	Ācārya *Sūryaśrī?
12	*shong lo rdo rje rgyal mtshan/*	Shong [ston] lo [tsā ba] Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (13th c.)
13	*zhwa lu lo chen chos skyong bzang po//*	Zhwa lu lo [tsā ba] chen [po] Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1527)
14	*#/lha tshangs pa 'khor bcas//*	Brahmā with retinue
15	*#/brgya byin 'khor bcas/*	Śatayajña [Śakra] with retinue
16	*#/rgyal po zas gtsang//*	King Śuddhodana
17	*#/yum sgyu 'phrul ma//*	Mother [of Śākyamuni] Māyā
18	*#/u tra ya na//*	[King] Udrāyaṇa
19	*#/mgon med zas sbyin//*	Anāthapiṇḍada
20	*#/rgyal po gzugs can snying po//*	King Bimbisāra
21	*#/rgyal po gsal rgyal//*	[King] Prasenajit

[706] Inscriptions are based on the wood-block print (Rani, *Buddhist Tales of Kashmir*, Pl. 1) and the THND copy, in consultation with the Gugong copy (Wang, *Zangchuan fojiao tangka*, Pl. 56).

Snar thang design in thirty-one woodcuts: Woodcut and episode numbers[707]

Woodcut no.	Inscribed mounting location	*Vine* episode nos.
1	central (*gtso thang*)	-
2	R-1 (*g.yas dang po*)	1-2
3	R-2 (*g.yas gnyis pa*)	3-5
4	R-3 (*g.yas gsum pa*)	6-8
5	R-4 (*g.yas bzhi pa*)	9-12
6	R-5 (*g.yas lnga pa*)	13-16
7	R-6 (*g.yas drug pa*)	17-19
8	R-7 (*g.yas bdun pa*)	20-22
9	R-8 (*g.yas brgyad pa*)	23-24
10	R-9 (*g.yas dgu pa*)	25-28
11	R-10 (*g.yas bcu pa*)	29-32
12	R-11 (*g.yas bcu gcig pa*)	33-36
13	R-12 (*g.yas bcu gnyis pa*)	37-41
14	R-13 (*g.yas bcu gsum pa*)	42-44
15	R-14 (*g.yas bcu bzhi* [*pa*])	45-48
16	R-15 (*g.yas bco lnga pa*)	49-52
17	L-1 (*g.yon dang po*)	53-55
18	L-2 (*g.yon gnyis pa*)	56-59
19	L-3 (*g.yon gsum pa*)	60-63
20	L-4 (*g.yon bzhi pa*)	64-66
21	L-5 (*g.yon lnga pa*)	67-70
22	L-6 (*g.yon drug pa*)	71-74
23	L-7 (*g.yon bdun pa*)	75-79
24	L-8 (*g.yon brgyad pa*)	80-83
25	L-9 (*g.yon dgu pa*)	84-87
26	L-10 (*g.yon bcu pa*)	88-91
27	[L-11; damaged]	92-95
28	L-12 (*g.yon bcu gnyis pa*)	96-99
29	L-13 (*g.yon bcu gsuM pa*)	100-103
30	L-14 (*g.yon bcu bzhi pa*)	104-107
31	L-15 (*g.yon bco lnga pa*)	108

[707] Inscriptions are based on the wood-block prints as reproduced in Rani, *Buddhist Tales of Kashmir*.

Design in forty-one thangkas: Thangka and episode numbers

Thangka no.	Proposed mounting location	*Vine* episode nos.
1	central (*gtso-thang*)	-
2	R-1	1
3	R-2	2-3
4	R-3	4-6
5	R-4	7-9
6	R-5	10-12
7	R-6	13-15
8	R-7	16-18
9	R-8	19-21
10	R-9	22
11	R-10	23-24
12	R-11	25-27
13	R-12	28-30
14	R-13	31-33
15	R-14	34-36
16	R-15	37-39
17	R-16	40-42
18	R-17	43-45
19	R-18	46-48
20	R-19	49-50
21	R-20	51-52
22	L-1	53-54
23	L-2	55-57
24	L-3	58-60
25	L-4	61-63
26	L-5	64-66
27	L-6	67-69
28	L-7	70-72
29	L-8	73-75
30	L-9	76-78
31	L-10	79-81
32	L-11	82-84
33	L-12	85-87
34	L-13	88-90
35	L-14	91-93
36	L-15	94-96
37	L-16	97-99
38	L-17	100-102
39	L-18	103-105
40	L-19	106-107
41	L-20	108

APPENDIX B

SI TU PAṆ CHEN'S *WISH-FULFILLING VINE* THANGKAS: KEY TO NARRATIVE DIAGRAMS

These notes are limited to terse descriptions identifying the main characters and plot in each scene of Situ's design. Portions in parentheses supplement the pictorial depiction with plot details from Kṣemendra's text and its Tibetan adaptations. Scene numbers are assigned to plot actions; these may occur even when the main protagonist is not shown, such as when minor characters perform actions (e.g. 3.4) or when actions of characters are implied through other devices such as landscape features (e.g. 6.3). In the diagrams, scene numbers are placed as close to the scene as possible. However, in ambiguous cases, or where further specification is desirable, the location of the scene relative to the scene number is clarified in square brackets (e.g. 2.3). Śākyamuni Buddha is abbreviated as ŚB.

THANGKA 2/23 (Fig. 3.16)

1. Prabhāsa, sa bdag rab gsal

- 1.1: Trainer requests audience with king; elephant waits outside.
- 1.2: Trainer proposes elephant training to king.
- 1.3: Elephant runs wild in forest.
- 1.4: King and trainer return to palace.
- 1.5: Elephant returns subdued, trainer lectures king, god makes prophecy.

2. Śrīsena, mi dbang dpal gyi sde

- 2.1: Minister Rājyarakṣāguru entreats king of Ariṣṭā not to give body up to Śakra; king lectures him.
- 2.2: Brahmin gets Queen Jayaprabhā (via his student's obligatory payment).
- 2.3: Śakra [below] in form of crippled brahmin requests king's body.
- 2.4: King has his body cut in half.
- 2.5: King's lower half joined with brahmin's upper half, while at left, king's upper half smiles at the minister.
- 2.6: Śakra restores king's body.
- 2.7: Brahmin returns Queen Jayaprabhā to king.

3. Maṇicūḍa, gtsug nor bu

- 3.1: Maṇicūḍa is born in Sāketa (may doubly represent the birth of his son Asūtapadmacūḍa).
- 3.2: King Maṇicūḍa cuts his flesh to give to Śakra-as-demon (and is healed by Śakra).
- 3.3: Maṇicūḍa is offered gifts by Śakra.
- 3.4: Maṇicūḍa gives gift elephant (from Śakra) to minister Brahmaratha.
- 3.5: Marīci's student asks for king's wife and son; Maṇicūḍa gives them.
- 3.6: Minister (will not give elephant to Kuru king as requested; instead he) sends army to dispatch Kurus.
- 3.7: Meanwhile, as Maṇicūḍa ponders the difficulties of governing, four *pratyekabuddha*s appear and advertise the benefits of renunciation.
- 3.8: As Maṇicūḍa leaves palace at left, minister with army returns through main gate.

- 3.9: Minister asks Marīci to return the prince Asūtapadmacūḍa.
- 3.10: Prince returns with ministers on the elephant's back.
- 3.11: Maṇicūḍa has renounced and resides in the forest.
- 3.12: Maṇicūḍa cuts off his crest-jewel to give to brahmins from Kuru.
- 3.13: Kuru brahmins depart on horseback.
- 3.14: Maṇicūḍa returns to palace and resumes position as king.

THANGKA 3/23 (Fig. 3.17)

4. Māndhātṛ, mi dbang nga las nu
- 4.1: Māndhātṛ is born (from King Abhādupoṣadha's head).
- 4.2: Māndhātṛ, now king, enjoys seven royal emblems (as a result of his merit).
- 4.3: King Māndhātṛ travels with the minister Satyasena and sees a flock of wingless birds (who have been exploited by forest sages).
- 4.4: (King Māndhātṛ orders the sages to leave.) The hermits depart (for Kanaka Mountain) leaving their vacated huts behind.
- 4.5: King Māndhātṛ ascends with retinue toward palace on Mount Meru.
- 4.6: Māndhātṛ arrives at Meru (to rule half of Indra's kingdom).
- 4.7: Possible reading: (due to the exhaustion of his merit, Māndhātṛ falls back) to earth.

5. Candraprabha, rgyal po zla 'od
- 5.1: Bhadraśīlā, goddess of city [above left on cloud], warns King Candraprabha that Raudrākṣa is coming; seated Candraprabha instructs her to permit him to enter.
- 5.2: Raudrākṣa enters the city, welcomed by the goddess.
- 5.3: Raudrākṣa, posing as a forest mendicant, asks for the king's head in order to succeed in his practice, while two ministers entreat him not to do so.
- 5.4: Ministers have heads of gold (and gems) offered to Raudrākṣa (who is not satisfied; Candraprabha consents to give his head. 5.3 can be read a second time as a representation of this plot development).
- 5.5: Candraprabha cuts off his head as Raudrākṣa observes. (Tree with sparse foliage behind him is suggestive of textual detail in which even the trees shook in distress at his act.)
- 5.6: Candraprabha lies beheaded.

6. Badaradvīpa, ba da ra'i gling
- 6.1: Supriya from Vārāṇasī gives jewels to a band of pirates (this occurs six times; he is discouraged that he has no more wealth to give).
- 6.2: Supriya is visited by the goddess Śuklapakṣa, floating above left, in his dream.
- 6.3: (Supriya) journeys to the city Rohitikā (crossing a series of oceans, islands and mountains).
- 6.4: At Rohitikā (Supriya meets the navigator Magha).
- 6.5: Supriya and Magha go by boat to Badaradvīpa (and Supriya ascends the mountain).
- 6.6: Supriya teaches the Dharma to a *kinnara* (he does so four times to increasingly larger audiences in increasingly finer palaces, with increasing rewards culminating in a wish-granting gem).
- 6.7: Supriya returns on a magical horse in the air.
- 6.8: Supriya, who has been crowned as king, mounts the wish-granting gem on a banner; the wish-granting gem showers down gifts.

THANGKA 4/23 (Fig. 3.18)

7. Muktālatā, mu tig 'khri shing

- 7.1: Śākya ladies attend ŚB's lecture in the Nyagrodha Grove near Kapilavastu. Ānanda, seated, is reprimanding a woman's vanity with his hand outstretched; the standing woman on the left is giving jewelry to her maidservant to take home.
- 7.2: The seated woman [in front] may be the maiden admiring her own necklace. Śaśiprabhā, jealous, turns and gestures with her right hand to instruct Rohitā to fetch her necklace. Rohitā stands facing ŚB as she turns to leave.
- 7.3: On the way home Rohitā is gored by a cow who has just given birth, and dies. (Rohitā is reborn as the princess Muktālatā in Siṅghala.)
- 7.4: Merchants travel to Siṅghala (praising ŚB when they arrive safely; Muktālatā hears them and feels strong devotion toward ŚB).
- 7.5: Muktālatā gives the merchants a letter to bring to ŚB.
- 7.6: Merchant in white gives the letter to ŚB.
- 7.7: Portrait of ŚB is painted. (Merchants return to Siṅghala with the portrait: double of 7.4.)
- 7.8: Portrait of ŚB is shown to Muktālatā (who becomes a *śrotāpanna*).
- 7.9: Merchant in dark blue offers pearls on Muktālatā's behalf.

8. Gṛhapati-Śrīgupta, khyim bdag dpal sbas

- 8.1: ŚB is warned not to enter Śrīgupta's house in Rājagṛha (since Śrīgupta is plotting to kill him).
- 8.2: ŚB relates a previous life in which as a hare, he jumped into a fire to feed a starving sage (but a lotus in a lake appeared underneath the hare, who was unharmed and taught Dharma to the sage. ŚB assures the listener that he cannot be harmed by fire nor poison. Cf. episode no. 104.).
- 8.3: As ŚB crosses the threshold of Śrīgupta's house (with a hidden fire pit underneath), the fire pit turns into a lotus pond with lotuses under his feet.
- 8.4: ŚB sits and accepts food from Śrīgupta (who has repented and warns ŚB that the food is poisoned).
- 8.5: ŚB relates a previous life in which he was a peacock who voluntarily went to the king and queen's palace, and did not die despite being neglected by the queen and fed poisonous food.

9. Jyotiṣka, khyim bdag me skyes

- 9.1: ŚB visits Kṣemavatī and Subhadra in Rājagṛha at Kṣemavatī's invitation, prophesying that they will have a son who will become a monk of his. (Egged on by *tīrthika*s, Jyotiṣka attempts to abort the fetus, then kicks his wife in the stomach and kills her.)
- 9.2: Amidst the flames of his murdered mother's burning corpse, the infant Jīvaka aka Jyotiṣka appears and is taken out at ŚB's command.
- 9.3: Subhadra is told to care for his son but, looking at the *tīrthika*s, refuses and leaves. (King Bimbisāra takes in the child at ŚB's urging. Later, shamed by his brother-in-law, Subhadra takes the boy back in and raises him, and eventually dies leaving Jyotiṣka his fortune.)
- 9.4: One day Jyotiṣka hangs his laundered clothes to dry; they are carried by the wind (and they land on the king's head. King Bimbisāra and Jyotiṣka have a good relationship, but later Ajātaśatru kills Bimbisāra and is jealous of Jyotiṣka.)

- 9.5: Jyotiṣka (gives his house and wealth to King Ajātaśatru and moves into another house. However, due to previous merit he) becomes even wealthier. (He hands over his wealth to King Ajātaśatru seven times.)
- 9.6: Jyotiṣka, weary of harassment by Ajātaśatru, decides to renounce and become a Buddhist monk.

10. Garbhāvakrānti, mngal nas 'byung ba
- 10.1: ŚB, residing near Campā, teaches Ānanda and others (on how the bodies of beings are produced; on black, white and mixed karma; and on how beings experience karmic suffering from conception throughout their lives and deaths leading to hell).

11. Sundarī-Nanda, mdzes dga' bo
- 11.1: ŚB visits Nanda and Sundarī at their home. (ŚB teaches Nanda the Dharma and departs without eating, suggested by his upraised hand and begging bowl.)
- 11.2: Nanda [below], who has become a monk, misses Sundarī and draws a picture of her on a rock.
- 11.3: Knowing that Nanda is planning to return to his household, ŚB exhorts Nanda not to leave the monastery.
- 11.4: Above, Nanda cleans the monastery (at ŚB's request, but still thinks of Sundarī).
- 11.5: To the left, Nanda tries to return home, but ŚB catches him.
- 11.6: ŚB shows Nanda (a blind female monkey in) the forest (and likens her to Sundarī, but Nanda still wants to return home).
- 11.7: ŚB shows Nanda divine maidens in heaven who are much more beautiful than Sundarī (and Nanda forgets about Sundarī while thinking of enjoying the divine maidens in the next life).
- 11.8: Nanda sees a terrifying hell which is reserved for him for desiring divine maidens. (He rids himself of attachments and desires.)

THANGKA 5/23 (Fig. 3.19)

12. Virūḍhaka, 'phags skyes pa
- 12.1: In a grove near Kapilavastu, Mālikā, daughter of a servant-girl of Śākya nobleman Mahānāman, offers alms to ŚB and prays to be delivered from servitude.
- 12.2: A brahmin friend of her father tells Mālikā that her hands have astrological signs indicating that she will become a queen.
- 12.3. King Prasenajit, deer-hunting on horseback, sees Mālikā and becomes infatuated.
- 12.4. Prasenajit and Mālikā enjoy each others' company.
- 12.5. Prasenajit asks Mahānāman for Mālikā and Mahānāman agrees.
- 12.6. Prasenajit takes Mālikā away on his royal elephant.
- 12.7. (Prasenajit and Mālikā have a son.) Mālikā's son Virūḍhaka goes out on horseback to the city of the Śākyas with his friend the minister's son Duḥkhamātṛka and is mocked by the townspeople as a servant's son. (Virūḍhaka is angered and plots revenge.)
- 12.8. Prasenajit (goes to hear ŚB teach the Dharma. At Virūḍhaka's behest, a minister brings the royal chariot back without the king. Prasenajit's two wives inform him that Virūḍhaka has usurped the throne. Prasenajit sets out for Rājagṛha to ask for help from King Ajātaśatru, but eats rotten food and) dies on the road.

- 12.9: Virūḍhaka, who has amassed an army, meets ŚB sitting in front of a withered tree on their way to the Śākya city. (When asked why he is sitting by a dead tree, ŚB says it is out of distress for his relatives. Virūḍhaka returns home for the time being.)
- 12.10: Virūḍhaka with army comes to attack; the Śākyan Śaṃbhaka routs Virūḍhaka's army.
- 12.11: Śaṃbhaka goes to hear the Dharma from ŚB (and repents), and receives some of the Buddha's hair.
- 12.12: Śaṃbhaka travels with his retinue to Vātuṭa, where he builds a stūpa to enshrine the hair.
- 12.13: Virūḍhaka comes back to attack the Śākya city (and massacres the Śākyas).
- 12.14: Virūḍhaka returns to Kosala with kidnapped Śākya maidens.
- 12.15: Virūḍhaka kills his son Jeta for asking why he killed the Śākyas without offense?
- 12.16: Virūḍhaka orders that the Śākya maidens' hands be cut off?
- 12.17: Śākya maidens' hands are cut off? (They are reborn in a heavenly realm.)
- 12.18: (It is prophesied by ŚB that Virūḍhaka and his minster will die by fire and go to Avīci Hell. Virūḍhaka and his minister move to a house supplied with water [Skt. *jalānvitagṛha*, Vaidya 11.154, but Tb. *chu yi 'khrul 'khor khang*, "boathouse"]). The house burns (due to fire started by the sun striking a burning-lens) and Virūḍhaka and his minister die.

13. Harītakādamana, 'phrog ma
- 13.1: Women inform Bimbisāra that their children have been stolen.
- 13.2: Bimbisāra asks ŚB for protection from the *yakṣinī* Harītakā who stole away children.
- 13.3: In Harītakā's dwelling, ŚB finds the stolen children (as well as Harītakā's own child, whom he hides).
- 13.4: Harītakā meets ŚB, asks for her child back, and agrees to return the stolen children to the city.

14. Pratihārya, cho 'phrul bstan pa
    - 14.1: King Bimbisāra of Rājagṛha offers Venuvana to ŚB.
    - 14.2: (Six) *tīrthika*s ask Bimbisāra to arrange a contest of magical powers against ŚB (but he declines).
    - 14.3: (Six) *tīrthika*s ask King Prasenajit to arrange a contest of magical powers against ŚB.
    - 14.4: Prasenajit asks ŚB to agree to the challenge.
    - 14.5: Jealous Prasenajit has his brother's hands and feet cut off and the *tīrthika*s are unable to heal him. ŚB (in the texts Ānanda) arrives (and the youth's limbs are restored by an act of truth).
    - 14.6: ŚB performs miracles such as issuing flames from his body [below].
    - 14.7: Beings born from flowers (emanating from ŚB's body) teach.
    - 14.8: Divine beings play instruments and sing praises.
    - 14.9: The Buddha preaches to the assembly.
    - 14.10: The *yakṣa* Vajrapāṇi causes a fierce wind to destroy the *tīrthika*s' thrones; some flee while others take refuge in ŚB.

THANGKA 6/23 (Fig. 3.20)

15. Devāvatāra, lha las babs pa
- 15.1: ŚB descends from Trayastriṃśa Heaven, with Brahmā on his right holding a white whisk and Śakra on his left holding a white umbrella. In the middle were steps of lapis lazuli, to the right steps of gold, to the left steps of silver.
- 15.2: [To the left] Near Sāṃkāśya, ŚB is seated in forest (of udumbara flowers).
- 15.3: (Through the blessings of the Buddha, the nun Utpalavarṇā who cannot see from far back in the crowd is transformed into) a *cakravartin* king with the seven emblems—minister, general, queen, cakra, horse, elephant, and jewel—and approaches.
- 15.4: Udāyin reveals her true identity; ŚB explains her past karma.

16. Śilanikṣepa, brag nges par ‘phangs pa
- 16.1: Athletic workers [to the left] unsuccessfully try to chip away at a boulder.
- 16.2: ŚB, traveling to Kuśanāgara, arrives at the great boulder in the path.
- 16.3: ŚB turns the boulder into dust and the wind carries it away; laymen are devoted to him.

17. Maitreyavyākaraṇa, byams pa lung bstan
- 17.1: ŚB [left] reaches the *nāga* bridge on the Gaṅgā.
- 17.2: ŚB (who has caused the *nāga*s to bring up a *stūpa* from the river) tells monks how the *stūpa* was built and the prophecy of Maitreya.

18. Darśamukha, rgyal po me long bzhin
- 18.1: Outside Jetavana near Śrāvastī, a leprous young woman offers rice gruel to Mahākāśyapa. Pieces of her finger fall into his bowl. (Soon after, she dies and goes to Tuṣita Heaven).
- 18.2: (Honoring the leper woman’s offering,) Śakra offers heavenly vessel filled with ambrosia to Mahākāśyapa. Mahākāśyapa (declines vessel and) indicates his own begging bowl, into which Śakra pours ambrosia.
- 18.3: Prasenajit [in dark blue and red robes], having heard about the leper-woman going to heaven, makes offerings to the Buddha.
- 18.4: Ānanda asks ŚB how Prasenajit became so wealthy; ŚB explains Prasenajit’s past karma.
- 18.5: After hearing this account Prasenajit offers much to the Buddha, including food and vessels of oils for the lamps [above].
- 18.6: A poor beggar woman [right] can only offer a little oil for the lamps (but it is never depleted and ŚB explains that she will become a Buddha by the power of her altruistic wish from an undefiled mind. He goes on to explain to Prasenajit that it is very difficult to obtain liberation; a clear mind with undefiled wisdom is the cause, not giving).

19. Śāriputra-pravajya? shā ri’i bu rab tu byung ba
- 19.1: At Kalandaka (Bamboo) Grove, Upatiśya becomes the monk Śāriputra (who attains arhatship and is the wisest disciple).
- 19.2: Monks ask ŚB about Śāriputra’s previous karma.

20. Śroṇakoṭikarṇa, gro bzhin bye na rna
- 20.1: Śroṇakoṭikarṇa is born in Vāsava to parents Balasena and Jayasenā. (When he grows up he insists on going to the sea to make his fortune in gems, despite father's objections; he speaks harshly to mother.)
- 20.2: Śroṇakoṭikarṇa sets out with other merchants (but falls asleep and is left behind on the ship when they land).
- 20.3: Śroṇakoṭikarṇa sets out on his own and sees city of iron guarded by demonic being, with *preta*s inside (who explain that this is their karmic retribution).
- 20.4: Śroṇakoṭikarṇa next arrives at a high mountain where, (by night) there is a heavenly palace with four goddesses entertaining a handsome man; (by day) the man falls to earth and is attacked by wild dogs. (In his previous life he killed animals and sold their meat, but maintained a moral practice at night).
- 20.5: Śroṇakoṭikarṇa next sees a place [above] which (by day) is a heavenly palace with a goddess enjoyed by a handsome man; by night the man is tormented by a poisonous snake (maintained morality during the day, but seduced another's wife at night).
- 20.6: Śroṇakoṭikarṇa next enters a palace [above] and meets a goddess. (He tries to give food and drink to *preta*s, but the food and drink turn into inedible or disgusting things. The goddess previously offered food to Kātyāyana; the *preta*s were a husband and son who spoke ill of feeding monks, and a daughter-in-law and servant who lied about stealing food).
- 20.7: (Twelve years have passed.) Śroṇakoṭikarṇa returns to his parents, who have become blind, but upon hearing him identify himself, they recognize his voice and regain their sight.
- 20.8: Śroṇakoṭikarṇa becomes a monk ordained by Kātyāyana. (After becoming a monk, he passes on the *preta*s' messages to their living relatives to find their gold and give it to Kātyāyana; Kātyāyana establishes them in virtue.)

THANGKA 7/23 (Fig. 3.21)

21. Āmrapālī, a mra skyong ma
- 21.1: (Slandered by other jealous ministers,) Minister Kāṇḍaka departs from Mithilā with his wife and two sons Gopa and Siṃha [above].
- 21.2: In Vaiśālī, (Siṃha has two daughters named Cailā and Upacailā.) Seers predict that Cailā will marry a king and that her son will kill his father. (Alternatively, this scene may represent the people of Vaiśālī giving land to Kāṇḍaka and Siṃha, but not to Gopa. Gopa departs and enters the service of King Bimbisāra of Rājagṛha.)
- 21.3: Cailā and Upacailā come of age?
- 21.4: (Unbeknownst to his relatives), Gopa offers to bring his niece Upacailā to King Bimbisāra [above].
- 21.5: It is decided that Upacailā will not be given in marriage?
- 21.6: A yakṣa rings the bell at the gate [to the left] to warn of Gopa's plot. (Gopa fails to abduct his niece Upacailā and flees.)
- 21.7: Gopa abducts Cailā instead, keeping away pursuers from Vaiśālī with arrows.
- 21.8: Gopa presents Cailā to king, warning of the prophecy that if she marries a king, her son will kill the father.
- 21.9: Cailā's son Ajātaśatru is born.
- 21.10: In Vaiśālī, a woman born from a tree, named Āmrapālī, meets King Bimbisāra (and bears him a son named Jīvaka).

22. Jetavanaputrigraha, rgyal byed tshal bzung ba
- 22.1: Sudatta is born.
- 22.2: From youth Sudatta gives freely (and thus becomes known as Anāthapiṇḍada).
- 22.3: Anāthapiṇḍada's marriage with Mahādhana's daughter is arranged by the brahmin Madhuskandha and Mahādhana, with a betrothal of one hundred horse-drawn chariots, one hundred elephants, one hundred horses, (one hundred female servants,) and one hundred gold coins.
- 22.4: At the engagement celebration, the brahmin Mahādhana gets indigestion and becomes ill. Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana teach him the Dharma; purified, he makes an aspiration prayer and dies. (He is reborn and serves as a gate-guardian for Vaiśravaṇa).
- 22.5: (Anāthapiṇḍada arrives at Mahādhana's home in Rājagṛha, and hears about ŚB from Mahādhana.) Anāthapiṇḍada leaves Mahādhana's home early in the morning, and meets Madhuskandha who is now reborn as a god. (Madhuskandha leads him into the presence of ŚB.)
- 22.6: Anāthapiṇḍada meets ŚB and receives a teaching.
- 22.7: Anāthapiṇḍada and Śāriputra measure out the land with Prince Jeta.
- 22.8: Anāthapiṇḍada uses gold dust to measure out and buy land from Prince Jeta. (The *tīrthika*s attempt to hinder the construction of Jetavana.)
- 22.9: [To the right] Śāriputra and the *tīrthika* Raktākṣa engage in competition: Raktākṣa manifests as a sahaka tree, but Śāriputra creates a great storm that destroys the tree.
- 22.10: [Above] Raktākṣa manifests as a white lotus, but Śāriputra manifests as an elephant and tramples it into the mud.
- 22.11: [Above] Raktākṣa manifests as a seven-headed serpent, but Śāriputra manifests as a garuḍa and conquers it.
- 22.12: [To the left] Raktākṣa manifests as a zombie, but Śāriputra manifests as a phurpa dagger and destroys it (why is the zombie itself holding the dagger?).
- 22.13: [Below] The *tīrthika*s express devotion to Śāriputra (and Buddhism).
- 22.14: [Left] The *tīrthika*s assist in the construction of Jetavana.
- 22.15: A similar temple of gold appears in Tuṣita Heaven.
- 22.16: [Below] ŚB is invited into the temple.
- 22.17: He is seated amidst great offerings (and the rivers stop their course;) and begins to teach (at which point the rivers start flowing again).
- 22.18: [Below] (It is explained by ŚB that) previously Anāthapiṇḍada (gave to many buddhas, and once) was a householder who placed the relics of a *pratyekabuddha* in a jeweled casket and made a resolution.

23. Pitā-putra-samāgama, yab sras mjal ba
- 23.1: Udāyin visits the Buddha as a courier from King Śuddhodhana, but becomes a monk. (This occurs repetitively with previous couriers, so this scene could be read repetitively.)
- 23.2: Udāyin returns to land of Śākyas.
- 23.3: Udāyin tells Śuddhodhana that the Buddha will visit in seven days.
- 23.4: Śuddhodhana goes to welcome the Buddha to Nyagrodha Grove.
- 23.5: The Buddha travels through sky with retinue.
- 23.6: The Buddha is seated and given offerings. Asked by his father (to his right) why he left his fine and comfortable life, he gives a teaching.

- 23.7: (Devadatta belittles the Buddha's majesty.) Maudgalyāyana manifests magical displays. (However, his relatives take these for granted due to their great family pride and expectations.)
- 23.8: The Buddha creates a golden palace in the sky and sits upon its throne, teaching the gods.
- 23.9: The Buddha has the Four Great Kings bring in his father and teaches (the Four Noble Truths). They are guarding the doors so Śuddhodhana's brothers cannot enter.
- 23.10: Flashback: when Devadatta was young, (flesh from his head broke off and was taken away by a bird of prey;) an astrologer divined his future (that he would go to hell).
- 23.11: ŚB explains why the earth moves when Bhadrika bows to Upāli (the bowing is not shown).

THANGKA 8/23 (Fig. 3.22)

24. Viśvāntara, thams cad sgrol
- 24.1: Viśvāntara gives away the royal chariot.
- 24.2: The ministers request King Vicitracarita to stop Viśvāntara from giving more.
- 24.3: A brahmin begs for the royal elephant, and Viśvāntara gives it to him.
- 24.4: Exiled from the kingdom, Viśvāntara sets off with his wife Madrī, his son and daughter, with a horse and an elephant.
- 24.5: In the forest, Viśvāntara gives his children to a brahmin.
- 24.6: Viśvāntara gives his wife Madrī to Śakra in the guise of a brahmin. Śakra returns to his own form and promises that the children will be returned.
- 24.7: Viśvāntara returns to the palace and is reunited with his two children.

25. Abhiniṣkramaṇa, mngon par 'byung ba
- 25.1: Māyā's dream of the white elephant.
- 25.2: Birth of the Bodhisattva from Māyā's side in Lumbinī Grove.
- 25.3: The Bodhisattva's declaration and the bathing of the Bodhisattva.
- 25.4: Māyā returns with the baby Bodhisattva.
- 25.5: The astrologers analyze the Bodhisattva's marks and predict his future.
- 25.6: Devadatta kills an elephant; the Bodhisattva tosses it two leagues away (with his toe). (The two elephants behind may refer to another scene in which the Bodhisattva tames an elephant set upon him by Devadatta.)
- 25.7: In an archery contest, the Bodhisattva shoots an arrow through seven trees, an iron drum and into the ground, where a spring wells up.
- 25.8: The Bodhisattva excels at the arts and sciences. (Alternative: the bodhisattva is being closely guarded before he departs?)
- 25.9: When the Bodhisattva goes to meet his bride, a great wind fells a great tree that blocks the river Rohita. The Bodhisattva throws the tree far away.
- 25.10: Devadatta kills a goose; the Bodhisattva brings it back to life.
- 25.11: The Bodhisattva goes out in a chariot and sees an old man.
- 25.12: The Bodhisattva goes out in a chariot and sees a sick man.
- 25.13: The Bodhisattva goes out in a chariot and sees a corpse (above?).
- 25.14: The Bodhisattva goes out in a chariot and sees a monk.
- 25.15: The Bodhisattva is taken out to the countryside for pleasure, but sees the farmers and the oxen suffering from their labors.

- 25.16: On the way home, the Bodhisattva rests under a *jambu* tree; the shadow of that tree does not move. The king, who has been riding an elephant, sees this and bows to his son.
- 25.17: The Bodhisattva spends the evening with ladies but feels no joy?
- 25.18: The Bodhisattva reassures Yaśodharā that her dream does not portend anything.
- 25.19: The Bodhisattva calls the horse Kaṇṭhaka.
- 25.20: The Bodhisattva goes forth from the palace on his horse Kaṇṭhaka, with Chandaka leading.
- 25.21: The watchmen give chase?
- 25.22: The Bodhisattva gives his ornaments to Chandaka and tells him to return, with Kaṇṭhaka standing by.
- 25.23: The Bodhisattva cuts off his hair in front of the Stūpa of Purity; Śakra receives it and takes it to the heavenly realms.
- 25.24: The Bodhisattva trades his princely robes for the robes of an ascetic. (Śakra takes them to heaven.)

26. Māravidravaṇa, bdud bcom pa
- 26.1: The Bodhisattva practices austerities for two years by the Nairañjanā River.
- 26.2: Cowherds poke him in the ear but he does not move.
- 26.3: His mother Māyā is concerned and visits from heaven?
- 26.4: The sisters Nanda and Nandapalā boil the milk (of 400 cows) down to its essence. Brahmā and Śakra take the form of two brahmins and instruct them where to find the Bodhisattva.
- 26.5: The sisters Nanda and Nandapalā offer the milk to the Bodhisattva. He asks them to take back the bowl, but they throw it into the river where first a *nāga* takes it, then a *garuḍa* steals it. (The *garuḍa* is shown a second time flying away.)
- 26.6: The Bodhisattva climbs to the peak of a mountain and begins to meditate, but the mountain breaks into pieces. The gods tell him it is because his merit is weightier than one hundred mountains, and tell him to go to Vajrāsana.
- 26.7: The Bodhisattva sets out again, golden lotuses arising under his feet.
- 26.8: A blind *nāga*, who can now see again as the Bodhisattva is passing, bows and praises him.
- 26.9: A grass-seller named Svāstika offers the Bodhisattva some *kuśa* grass.
- 26.10: The Bodhisattva, seated at Vajrāsana, is attacked by Māra and his minions: first a messenger tells him that his city has been taken over by Devadatta.
- 26.11: Māra's three daughters attempt to seduce him, but they turn into old women and leave in shame.
- 26.12: Māra sends an army with all sorts of weapons, but the weapons turn into flowers.
- 26.13: The army of Māra is thrown far away (onto a distant iron mountain)?
- 26.14: (Not shown separately:) The Buddha touches the earth, and Pṛthvī appears to witness; he attains perfect, unexcelled liberation.

27. Śākyôtpatti, shā kya byung ba?
- 27.1: In the Nyagrodha Grove of Kapilavastu, ŚB is asked to explain the origin of the Śākya clan. He blesses Maudgalyāyana with his knowledge, and Maudgalyāyana narrates their origin.

THANGKA 9/23 (Fig. 3.23)

28. Śroṇakoṭiviṃśa, gro bzhin bye ba
- 28.1: Śroṇa is born.
- 28.2: Śroṇa meets Maudgalyāyana and offers food for him to take to ŚB (includes Maudgalyāyana appearing as if from the sun, upper left corner).
- 28.3: King Bimbisāra offers food to ŚB; ŚB gives him some food from Śroṇa
- 28.4: Hearing of Bimbisāra's impending visit, Śroṇa's father instructs him to conceal his own qualities from the king.
- 28.5: Having met the king, Śroṇa sets out with him to meet ŚB; wherever he walks, Śroṇa's servants cover the earth before him with cloth. Bimbisāra feels this is not suitable when going to visit the Buddha, so he has the cloth removed. But due to Śroṇa's merit, the gods cover the earth again with divine cloth; when the king clears this away, Śroṇa's feet touch the earth and the earth shakes.
- 28.6: Śroṇa and Bimbisāra arrive and are taught by the Buddha; Śroṇa attains the fruit of śrotāpanna and becomes a monk. (Not shown: after Bimbisāra leaves, Śroṇa is led to further attainment by the Buddha. The Buddha explains to the monks how Śroṇa reached attainment so swiftly, based on his previous life.)

29. Dhanapāla, nor skyong
- 29.1: (Not shown: Ajātaśatru and Devadatta plot to kill ŚB and his disciples.) An elephant, driven mad (not shown: by the elephant master who has been bribed by Devadatta), approaches ŚB and the monks.
- 29.2: All the monks flee except Ānanda, who stays by ŚB's side.
- 29.3: From the Buddha's fingers come forth (five) lions, who frighten the elephant into running away.
- 29.4: The Buddha prevents the elephant from fleeing by surrounding him with fire.
- 29.5: The elephant becomes subdued and bows to the Buddha.
- 29.6 The Buddha and his monks eat at Mahādhana's home.
- 29.7: The elephant, who has died, is reborn as a god and returns to visit the Buddha.

30. Kāśisundara, Ka shi mdzes pa
- 30.1: Kāśisundara, son of King Brahmadatta of Vārāṇasī, decides not to ascend the throne.
- 30.2: He leaves for the forest (and becomes a forest renunciate called Kṣāntivādin).
- 30.1: (In the spring his younger brother Kālabhu, who has become king, goes with his wives to the forest. He falls asleep and his wives wander off without him.) The wives, who encounter Kṣāntivādin in meditation and feel faith in him, sit in his presence. The king finds them.
- 30.2: The king Kālabhu accuses Kṣāntivādin of disguising himself as a holy man to ravish his women. He cuts off his arms, then his legs, then all parts of his body. Throughout this Kṣāntivādin endures with patience, free of anger.
- 30.3: The king departs. (Not shown: there is famine and pestilence in the city, epidemics, drought, and other disasters. The astrologers tell the king it is due to his harming the ascetic.)
- 30.4: The king returns and bows to Kṣāntivādin. By an act of truth (that he bears no anger toward the king), Kṣāntivādin's body becomes whole again (and gives the king a teaching and promises to bring him to liberation in the future).

31. Suvarṇapārśva, gser logs
- 31.1: The golden deer Suvarṇapārśva sees a man being carried away by the river (he is bound up).
- 31.2: He saves the man, allowing him to catch hold and carrying him to safety.
- 31.3: The man promises not to tell anyone about him.
- 31.4: The queen has a dream about a golden deer teaching Dharma, and tells the king she wishes to see it. (Not shown: the king offers a reward for capturing such a deer.)
- 31.5: The man tells the king he has seen the golden deer.
- 31.6: The man sets out with the king and his retinue. When the man points out the deer, his hand falls off. Suvarṇapārśva explains what happened.
- 31.7: The deer is invited to the palace and carried back on a palanquin.
- 31.8: The deer teaches the Dharma in the palace.

32. Kalyāṇakāri, dge byed
- 32.1: (Not shown: Kalyāṇakāri gives freely to beggars. He is offered the princess Manoharā in marriage by her father King Puṇyasena, but gets permission from his father to replenish their wealth by acquiring jewels by sea. Kalyāṇakāri and his younger brother Akalyāṇa set out to sea and gather jewels at the Island of Jewels.) As the ship heads back home, a storm arises and the ship is broken into pieces.
- 32.2: Kalyāṇakāri saves his brother by swimming them both to shore.
- 32.3: When they arrive, Kalyāṇakāri is exhausted and falls asleep. Akalyāṇa tears out his eyes and steals his jewels.
- 32.4: A herdsman meets Kalyāṇa.
- 32.5: He takes him home to nurse him back to health.
- 32.6: Kalyāṇakāri, who has learned to play the lute, is one day propositioned by the herdsman's wife. He refuses her.
- 32.7: The wife complains to the husband, insinuating things about Kalyāṇakāri.
- 32.8: The herdsman, with heavy heart, sends Kalyāṇa away with the lute and provisions.
- 32.9: Having wandered to the land of King Puṇyasena, at a bride-choosing-contest Manoharā chooses him, the blind musician.
- 32.10: The king berates his daughter Manoharā for choosing a blind musician.
- 32.11: Manoharā goes to the blind musician. Despite his initial rejection, she performs an act of truth (attesting her love) and restores one of his eyes. He performs an act of truth (attesting his identity and compassion toward his kin) and restores his other eye.
- 32.12: Kalyāṇakāri is made heir to the throne and the husband of Manoharā.

33. Viśākha, khyad par lo ma
- 33.1: The four princes are exiled by their father for taking up quarrelsome and unpleasant wives.
- 33.2: The four princes, having used up their provisions, discuss the possibility of eating their wives in order to survive. Viśākha, the youngest, is horrified and escapes with his wife.
- 33.3: After some distance, Viśākha's wife says she is about to die of hunger and thirst, so Viśākha draws blood from his neck for her to drink. (Not shown: He also cuts flesh from his body for her to eat. They repeat this until they reach a fertile meadow with fruits and flowers.)
- 33.4: One day the prince saves a cripple with no arms or legs who is drowning in the river. (Not shown: He heals him but abstains from intercourse with his wife in the meantime.)

- 33.5: The wife is dissatisfied and decides to kill Viśākha. She pretends to be ill and asks for a medicinal herb which grows on the side of the cliff.
- 33.6: While Viśākha is let out on a rope over the side of the cliff, the wife lets go of the rope, intending him to strike the rocks.
- 33.7: By the strength of his merit, he falls safely into the water and is carried out to sea.
- 33.8: Viśākha is washed up onto the shore near his homeland, and meets a minister from the city of Puṣkarā who is seeking to replace the recently deceased king.
- 33.9: The prince is made king and invited to choose a queen, but he declines.
- 33.10: (Not shown: Due to drought, the wife carries the cripple on her back from city to city, begging for alms and telling everyone that the cripple is Prince Viśākha whose limbs were cut off by thieves.) Eventually they arrive in Puṣkarā. The ministers tell King Viśākha about a virtuous woman who has arrived. Viśākha is skeptical but looks down from the parapet of the palace. He recognizes her and calls out her evil deeds in front of everyone. (Not shown: she is driven away by the townspeople.)

THANGKA 10/23 (Fig. 3.24)

34. Nandōpananda, dga' bo dang nye dga'
- 34.1: (The monks meditating on the slopes of Mount Meru are becoming ill. ŚB explains that) two *nāga* kings, Nanda and Upānanda, wrap themselves around the monks at night while they are asleep and breathe poisonous vapors at them.
- 34.2: Maudgalyāyana subdues them by manifesting as a great *nāga* and wrapping himself around the two while they are asleep.
- 34.3: [Left,] Maudgalyāyana resumes his own form and offers to take them to the Buddha, at which point they assume human form.
- 34.4: The *nāga*s receive a teaching from the Buddha.

35. Sudatta, legs sbyin
- 35.1: King Prasenajit, (*nāga*s) Nanda and Upānanda in human form listen to the teachings of the Dharma.
- 35.2: [Above,] Nanda and Upānanda—only one shown—do not bow down or show respect to Prasenajit.
- 35.3: [Below,] Prasenajit returns home and orders the two "men" to be punished. [Above,] The two *nāga*s fly into the sky and rain weapons down upon the king.
- 35.4: Maudgalyāyana turns the weapons into lotuses.
- 35.5: Prasenajit hosts the Buddha and his followers for a feast. That evening a fire breaks out [below left]. (The Buddha extinguishes it. Prasenajit decrees that no fires are to be lit at night in the city.)
- 35.6: Householder Sudatta, whose son had been executed by the king based on false information, gives away all his wealth to beggars. (One last beggar comes; Sudatta is ashamed that he cannot give him even a single rupee. The Buddha instructs him in the Dharma.)
- 35.7: That night, Sudatta lights a lamp to read the scriptures of the Buddha.
- 35.8: Sudatta is imprisoned for breaking the law. (Śakra, Brahmā and other gods appear in the prison on his behalf, and great wealth appears in his house.) Fires burn throughout the city [above].
- 35.9: Sudatta is released and there are no more fires.

36. Ghoṣila (the Official, aka Sudhana), gdangs can
- 36.1: King Udayana of Vatsa tells his minister Sudhana (that the other ministers call him Ghoṣila [‘Pig’] and that they claim Sudhana is plotting to kill the king). Sudhana resigns.
- 36.2: Sages traveling from the south are about to collapse from thirst and pray to the *gandharva*s and *nāga*s. They meet a god bearing a golden vessel of nectar, and drink. (The god tells them about Anāthapiṇḍada, who gives to all; the god is a rebirth of a tailor who pointed visitors to Anāthapiṇḍada’s house.)
- 36.3: [Right,] the sages travel on and are faint with hunger. A god from a tree [above] tells them they can find heavenly food on the banks of the pond.
- 36.4: The sages take food and the voice also tells them to go to Anāthapiṇḍada. (The god is a rebirth of a brahmin who had taken the eight-limbed vow, but ate some of the yogurt Anāthapiṇḍada had offered to the Sangha.)
- 36.5: The sages arrive at Kauśāmbī and are invited as guests to Sudhana’s home. They relate everything to him in detail.
- 36.6: The sages and Sudhana go to visit Anāthapiṇḍada.
- 36.7: [Above left,] Anāthapiṇḍada welcomes them in his home.
- 36.8: Anāthapiṇḍada takes them to see the Buddha.
- 36.9: The Buddha gives them Dharma teachings (and they reach various attainments).
- 36.10: Sudhana/Ghoṣila offers the temple of Kauśāmbī to the Bhagavan. (Even when rags are offered at this temple, they become the proper color as a result of the donor’s generosity and storng faith in the Buddha.)

37. Pūrṇa, gang po
- 37.1: The first three sons of the sea captain Bhava go to sea three times and bring back jewels, becoming very wealthy. (These ships could double for multiple occurrences.)
- 37.2: (Pūrṇa, mothered by a servant girl and the fourth son of the sea captain Bhava, has been thrown out of the house after his father’s death.) Pūrṇa (cuts and) sells wood that turns out to be precious sandalwood of the gods (and he becomes wealthy).
- 37.3: Pūrṇa goes back and forth to sea (six times and accumulates great wealth. On his seventh voyage, he hears other merchants chanting verses of the Buddhadharma).
- 37.4: With a great wish to meet the Buddha, Pūrṇa returns home.
- 37.5: Anāthapiṇḍada takes Pūrṇa to meet the Buddha, and Pūrṇa becomes a monk.
- 37.6: (At the Buddha’s bidding,) Pūrṇa travels to the southern borderlands. A group of hunters threaten him but he inspires their devotion in him.
- 37.7: Pūrṇa remains to establish people in the Dharma.
- 37.7: Pūrṇa’s eldest brother Bhavila, who has exhausted his wealth, goes by boat with other merchants to a forest of sandalwood. They cut down trees indiscriminately, angering the local yakṣa Maheśvara. Maheśvara calls up a fierce wind to kill them. The other merchants invoke Brahmā and Śakra to no effect. Bhavila takes refuge in his brother Pūrṇa, they are saved and return home.
- 37.8: (Pūrṇa instructs Bhavila to provide for the Buddha and Sangha by making many *mālā*s of sandalwood.) The Buddha and his retinue appear in the sky.
- 37.9: The Buddha seats himself in the temple (with sandalwood *mālā*s and teaches the Dharma. A *stūpa* is erected.

38. Mūkapaṅgu, lkugs pa ’phye bo
- 38.1: Virtuous queen Viśuddhī gives birth to a son in a pond, holding him in her left arm. (That same day, 500 sons are born to the king’s 500 ministers. He is named Bhūtasaṃjāta and made heir apparent.)
- 38.2: (The boy Bhūtasaṃjāta, recalling that in a previous life he had been made a king and went to hell, decides he does not want to become king.) He pretends to be deaf, dumb, and lame for six years and is called Mūkapaṅgu.
- 38.3: The king Brahmadatta consults physicians who say that his senses are defective. The king orders that Mūkapaṅgu be executed.
- 38.4: The first time the executioners take the prince away, he speaks, asking how many people will be living in Vārāṇasī.
- 38.5: They bring him to his father but he remains mute. (This scene may repeat for 38.6 and 38.7.)
- 38.6: The second time the executioners take the prince away, they see a corpse on the road [below left] and he asks them whether the dead ever come back to life. (They again bring him to his father but he again remains mute.)
- 38.7: The third time the executioners take the prince away, he asks whether the grain [left] will be eaten or not. (He again says nothing to his father, who becomes angry. Mūkapaṅgu then speaks to his father, explaining why he remained silent and expressing his wish to become a monk. His father is unable to dissuade him. Mūkapaṅgu explains the meaning of his three questions. The king gives him permission to become a monk.)
- 38.8: The prince sets out for the forest, followed by the 500 ministers’ sons.
- 38.9: But even in the forest the ministers’ sons manage to acquire things.
- 38.10: Disgusted, the prince leaves and lives with deer in the woods.
- 38.11: Ashamed, the 500 ministers’ sons throw out their accumulated possessions in the river.
- 38.12: Delighted, Mūkapaṅgu gives them Dharma teachings.

THANGKA 11/23 (Fig. 3.25)

39. Kṣānti, bzod pa la dga’ ba
- 39.1: Frame-story: ŚB tells the monks the story.
- 39.2: While the ṛṣi Kṣānti was abiding in meditation, (not shown: King Candana and his queens went for recreation in the forest. While Candana was resting, the queens and their attendants went on and saw Kṣānti.) Feeling great faith, the queens bowed and humbly sat before him.
- 39.3: [Below,] King Candana sees them and becomes angry.
- 39.4: [Left,] King Candana cuts off Kṣānti’s limbs.
- 39.5: The sages gather and begin to curse the king. But Kṣānti states, as an act of truth, that he feels no anger toward the king, and he becomes whole as before.

40. Kapila, ser skya
- 40.1: Along the banks of the Rucriāgāraśā River, a group of fishermen catch an eighteen-headed sea monster.
- 40.2: Everyone comes to look. The Buddha speaks to the monster, telling him he was once born as the man Kapila who accumulated nonvirtuous speech and associated with nonvirtuous teachers. He instructs him to generate fierce repentance and have faith in and honor the Buddha. (Not shown: past life explanation in which he was pressured by his

mother to debate with Buddhist monks, and ends up insulting them with all sorts of animal names.)

41. Udrāyaṇa, u trā ya na
- 41.1: King Udrāyaṇa of Raurukā sends King Bimbisāra a special suit of armor that protects against all harm. King Bimbisāra asks his ministers what to give in return, and the brahmin Vārṣikāra suggests a portrait of the Buddha.
- 41.2: With permission, an artist makes a portrait of the Buddha (and is only able to draw the proportions of his body correctly when the brilliant light emanating from the Buddha falls onto the canvas).
- 41.3: A messenger takes it by elephant (with a letter of explanation).
- 41.4: The painting (and/or letter?) is presented to King Udrāyaṇa.
- 41.5: King Udrāyaṇa places the painting on a golden throne and makes extensive offerings.
- 41.6: Since King Udrāyaṇa requested King Bimbisāra to send a monk to help explain the teachings, Kātyāyana and the nun Śailā are sent by the Buddha.
- 41.7: Queen Candraprabhā and her attendants become nuns with the king's permission. (Not shown: They practice with extreme effort and are reborn as goddesses.)
- 41.8: As goddesses they go before the Buddha, listen to the Dharma and awaken to the truth of existence.
- 41.9: That night, one of the goddesses goes back to her city and exhorts all to virtue so that none sleep through the night.
- 41.10: King Udrāyaṇa becomes a monk.
- 41.11: (Not shown: In the meantime, his son Śīkhin has been ruling unscrupulously. Udrāyaṇa hears of this and decides to come home to teach the Dharma to Śīkhin.) The ministers Daṇḍa and Mudgala raise fear in Śīkhin that his father is coming back to reclaim the throne.
- 41.12: Udrāyaṇa is stopped and killed on the road.
- 41.13: Śīkhin, having heard of what happened, becomes gaunt (with worry about the sin of patricide).
- 41.14: The ministers Daṇḍa and Mudgala conspire to cast doubt on the Buddha's teachings by training two cats to run around the *stūpa*s of the householders Puṣya and Tiṣya who had become monks and attained *nirvāṇa*, and claiming that these cats are the rebirths of Puṣya and Tiṣya. Śīkhin sees this and doubts the Buddha's teachings.
- 41.15: (King Śīkhin's orders his ministers to throw dust at the monks.) When they attempt to throw dust at him, he creates a magical mansion to protect himself.
- 41.16: (Ārya-Kātyāyana prophesies to the good ministers Heruka and Bhiruka) the next seven days of (1) red wind, and then a rain of (2) flowers, (3) cloth, (4) silver, (5) gold, (6) jewels, and (7) dust that will bury the king, his evil ministers, and his relatives. It all comes to pass.
- 41.17: Heruka and Bhiruka depart on the sixth day.
- 41.18: Heruka has given his son to Kātyāyana as a disciple, Kātyāyana carries him through the sky to the forests of Śari.
- 41.19: Bhiruka has given his daughter to the nun Śailā, who takes her to Dheṣila.
- 41.20: Kātyāyana (arriving by air) asks for the history of Udrāyaṇa?

42. Paṇḍita, mkhas pa
- 42.1: On Paṇḍita's way to Jetavana, he meets some people who ask for everything he has with him. He dismounts to offer everything, but is torn by the thought of not being able to see the Buddha. The *nāga* king appears to give vast amounts of clothes and ornaments.
- 42.2: Paṇḍita meets the Buddha and attains śrotāpanna.
- 42.3: [To the left,] Paṇḍita sends many offerings to the Buddha and hundreds of monks.
- 42.4: Paṇḍita also gives freely to others.
- 42.5: (However, since they are acquisitive) Paṇḍita's gifts become heaps of charcoal.
- 42.6: After the acquisitive people practice generosity and honor the Buddha, the coal turns back into jewels.
- 42.7: Paṇḍita gains permission from his father to become a monk.
- 42.8: [Above,] Paṇḍita becomes a monk in the presence of Śāriputra.
- 42.9: While on his alms-round, Paṇḍita sees water flowing from the furrows of one field into another field. (He ponders how water follows its own course and likewise, it is difficult to adjust what one thinks.)
- 42.10: He further thinks: even if a carpenter builds a chariot, the action of the chariot depends on the driver's ability.
- 42.11: Paṇḍita gives Śāriputra his food and asks for a Dharma teaching.
- 42.12: Paṇḍita, left in the meditation room, enters meditation. (The earth quakes; Paṇḍita attains arhatship.)
- 42.13: The Buddha explains Paṇḍita's past life?

THANGKA 12/23 (Fig. 3.26)

43. Kanakavarṇa
- 43.1: There is a famine in Kanaka. King Kanakavarṇa gives everything away but the famine continues and there is no food left.
- 43.2: A *pratyekabuddha* appears from the sky and presents food to the king. (Possible doubling from 43.1: the king offers it all to the poor, keeping none for himself.)
- 43.3: [To the left] (the *pratyekabuddha* praises the king's virtues and for seven days,) enough rain and food falls to satisfy everyone. Then grain, jewels and other good things rain down from the sky.

44. Hiraṇyapāṇi, gser gyi lag pa
- 44.1: [Below,] Hiraṇyapāṇi is born (and a hundred thousand coins of gold pour from his hands each morning).
- 44.2: [Left,] Hiraṇyapāṇi gives freely to beggars.
- 44.3: Hiraṇyapāṇi goes to meet the Buddha and asks to become a monk.
- 44.4: [Left,] instantaneously he is freed from saṃsāra, receives the monk's vows and appears in Dharma robes with a begging bowl.

45. Ajātaśatru-pitṛdroha, ma skyes dgras pha bsad pa
- 45.1: King Bimbisāra lectures his son Ajātaśatru, who takes offense. (Devadatta advises Ajātaśatru to kill his father. He imprisons his father instead. The queen smuggles food to him until Ajātaśatru finds out and puts a stop to it. Then Bimbisāra and his queen take refuge in the Buddha and a ray of light clears away the darkness in his cell.)

- 45.2: Ajātaśatru has orders that his father's feet be cut off. (Bimbisāra takes refuge in the Buddha.) The Buddha approaches [at right] to counsel him.
- 45.3: Bimbisāra dies and is reborn as the devaputra Jinarṣabha.
- 45.4: Ajātaśatru (experiences fierce regret at his father's death and) goes for refuge in the Buddha. The Buddha teaches him (about karma and predicts that he will eventually become a *pratyekabuddha*).

46. Kṛtajña, byas shes
- 46.1: Devadatta, who had attempted to kill the Buddha by rubbing poison onto his feet, immediately falls into hell while the Buddha shines like a crystal.
- 46.2: The story of the past is explained: two brothers, Kṛtajña and Akṛtajña go to sea to acquire more wealth.
- 46.3: After they collect the jewels, the boat capsizes in a storm.
- 46.4: Kṛtajña saves his brother by taking hold of a plank (new detail), and swimming them both to shore.
- 46.5: Kṛtajña is exhausted and falls asleep; his younger brother Akṛtajña gouges out his eyes [above] and takes all his jewels [below].
- 46.6: Kṛtajña has wandered to the city ruled by King Matighoṣa. When the king asks his daughter Kalyāṇikā to choose a husband, she chooses the blind man.
- 46.7: Kalyāṇikā is thrown out by her father.
- 46.8: Kalyāṇikā lives in the park with Kṛtajña and brings him food. One day she takes an especially long time and he speaks harshly to her. By Kalyāṇikā's act of truth attesting her love for him, one of his eyes is healed. Kṛtajña reveals his true identity, and by his act of truth attesting freedom from anger toward his brother, the other eye is healed.
- 46.9: King Matighoṣa is overjoyed and sends them to be enthroned.
- 46.10: After Kṛtajña is enthroned, Akṛtajña comes to feign welcome, but due to his harmful thoughts toward his brother, he falls into hell.

47. Śālistaṃbha, sā la sdong po
- 47.1: Four *nāga* princes take human form and listen to ŚB teach the Dharma.
- 47.2: Prasenajit also pays a visit and has left his symbols of royalty behind, but all the people rise and bow as he passes them while approaching the Buddha. However, the *nāga* princes do not bow.
- 47.3: (Not shown: Prasenajit orders his guards to seize the *nāga*-men on the road.) The *nāga*s become angered and fly into the sky to send down a destructive hailstorm.
- 47.4: As commanded by the Buddha, Maudgalyāyana transforms the hail into flowers, and the weapons and stones into food.
- 47.5: Prasenajit offers food to the Buddha and honors him.
- 47.6: Story of the past: referenced by the *śāla* trees and sugarcane in the king's gardens, which the monks ask about, i.e. how could Prasenajit have such power, wealth and glory such that even the *śāla* trees and sugarcane in his garden are filled with every perfection.

48. Sarvārthasiddha, don kun grub pa
- 48.1: Sarvārthasiddha, son of King Siddhārtha, goes out in a chariot and sees an old man.

- 48.2: Saddened, he turns back. (Not shown: on the way he sees a poor and ugly man, which prompts him to aspire to get the wish-granting gem from the ocean so that he can be a refuge for such people.)
- 48.3: Sarvārthasiddha obtains his father's permission to seek the wish-granting gem.
- 48.4: Sarvārthasiddha reaches the Island of Jewels with merchants, and tells them that he is going on alone to find the wish-granting gem.
- 48.5 [left]: He proceeds west into the ocean; the first seven days the water is up to his ankles.
- 48.6: The next seven days the water comes up to his knees.
- 48.7: Then the water comes up to his neck, and he swims for seven days.
- 48.8: He arrives at a place full of poisonous creatures. Meditating on love, he calms their venomous nature.
- 48.9: Then he arrives at an island of fierce and wrathful yakṣas. Meditating on love, he calms and subdues these beings.
- 48.10: Then he arrives at an island of cannibals. With love he calms and subdues these beings also. (Not shown: they carry them to the *nāga* palace.)
- 48.11: At the *nāga* palace they are mourning the death of the prince Sarvārthasiddha (not shown: but recognize that this Sarvārthasiddha is his rebirth, and rejoice).
- 48.12: The *nāga* king gives Sarvārthasiddha the wish-granting gem and asks him to bring it back after he achieves results.
- 48.13: When Sarvārthasiddha is almost back to the ship, the gods of the ocean ask him to show them the wish-fulfilling gem, and they jealously pluck it from his hand and toss it into the ocean. Sarvārthasiddha asks for it back and states that he will dry up the ocean if they refuse. They refuse.
- 48.14: With a vessel made by Viśvakarman, the prince begins to empty out the ocean.
- 48.15: When a third of the ocean has been emptied, the gods return the gem.
- 48.16: Sarvārthasiddha and his travel companions return home.
- 48.17: Sarvārthasiddha places the wish-granting gem on a victory banner, and a rain of jewels eliminate poverty. (Not shown: Sarvārthasiddha returns the jewel to his father.)

THANGKA 13/23 (Fig. 3.27)

49. Hastaka, glang po can
- 49.1: In Śrāvastī, Hastaka is born to the householder Suprabuddhi.
- 49.2: That same day a golden elephant is born.
- 49.3: After meeting Cīvarā in the city park, Hastaka bids farewell.
- 49.4: Hastakta tells his father Suprabuddhi that he is in love with Cīvarā, daughter of King Prasenajit. Suprabuddhi tells him that nothing can come of it, and that all he can do is to show devotion to the king and make him aware of his good qualities.
- 49.5: Hastaka brings two golden tusks from his elephant to the king. The king asks what he wants in return, but Hastaka asks for nothing and returns home. When the elephant grows new tusks, he again brings them to the king, and this time asks for his daughter's hand in marriage. Prasenajit (not shown: after consulting with his ministers) asks Hastaka to come riding his golden elephant, not believing that he can train such a great elephant.
- 49.6: [Above,] Hastaka comes riding on his elephant.
- 49.7: Prasenajit agrees to give Cīvarā to Hastaka in marriage.
- 49.8: Hastaka returns to his home.
- 49.9: Hastaka and Cīvarā are married and ride the elephant home together.

- 49.10: Hastaka and Cīvarā live happily together.
- 49.11: [below] The king, Hastaka, Cīvarā travel to meet the Buddha, dismounting their horses as they approach.
- 49.12: They all pay homage to the Buddha, and the king asks about the past karma of Hastaka and Cīvarā. (Not shown: story of the past in which the previous lives of Hastaka and Cīvarā, as children playing by the road, offer their wooden toy elephant to the Buddha Vipaśyin.)
- 49.13: Hastaka and Cīvarā return by chariot? (Not shown: they become renunciates and obtain liberation.)

50. Daśakarmapluti, las bcu spyad pa
- 50.1: In a pristine forest lake called Anavataptā, the Buddha is going to teach the Dharma to his assembly, focusing on the workings of the stream of karma.
- 50.2: Having been sent by the Buddha, Maudgalyāyana calls Śāriputra to come quickly to the teachings, or else he will use his powers to bring him. Śāriputra invites Maudgalyāyana to use his powers.
- 50.3: Śāriputra attaches himself to the top of Vulture Peak; when Maudgalyāyana begins to shake it, Śāriputra attaches himself to Mount Meru (bodies not shown).
- 50.4: Finally, Śāriputra attaches himself to the lotus throne of the Buddha himself, so that Maudgalyāyana cannot move him (bodies not shown). The *nāga*s Nanda and Upānanda ask why Śāriputra is able to defeat Maudgalyāyana, who is greatest in magical powers. The Buddha explains their story of the past.

51. Rukmāvatī, gser ldan
- 51.1: (Asked why he is smiling, the Buddha relates his past actions:) The Lady Rukmāvatī gave her breasts to a starving mother who had just given birth and was thinking about eating her child.
- 51.2: Śakra appears in the form of a brahmin to ask if she has any regrets about her act. Through an act of truth, she turns into a man.
- 51.3: Since King Utpala had passed away, Rukmavatī is chosen to be the king.
- 51.4: Rukmavatī was reborn as a merchant's son Sattvavara, who one day saw a flock of starving vultures in the cemetery. Having slashed his body with a knife, he lay down near the birds, and they eat him.
- 51.5: Sattvavara was reborn as the brahmin Satyavrata, who becomes a monk and a forest renunciate.
- 51.6: One day he sees a starving tigress who has just given birth and is about to eat her cubs. Satyavrata cuts himself and allows the tigress to eat him.

52. Adīnapuṇya, bsod nams mi dman pa
- 52.1: King Brahmadatta is jealous of the virtuous King Adīnapuṇya, and raises a great army to attack him.
- 52.2: King Adīnapuṇya tells his ministers that he does not wish to fight.
- 52.3: However, his ministers secretly send out the army and conquer Brahmadatta.
- 52.4: King Adīnapuṇya secretly leaves the palace to become a forest ascetic. (Repeated action: meanwhile, Brahmadatta attacks twice more, and is rebuffed both times.)

- 52.5: (Not shown: The brahmin Kapila of Kosala has given the king Hiraṇyavarman all of his wealth. Not satisfied, Hiraṇyavarman takes away all of Kapila's relatives to be imprisoned.) Wandering in search of wealth to free his relatives, Kapila meets Adīnapuṇya and explains his predicament.
- 52.6: Adīnapuṇya goes with Kapila to be turned in to Brahmadatta for a reward.
- 52.7: Kapila is given an audience with Brahmadatta? (Not shown: Brahmadatta gives Kapila the wealth he needs to free his family.)
- 52.8: Brahmadatta marvels at Adīnapuṇya's bravery, bows to him (this seems to be mixed up) and elevates him to a high position in Kosala.

53. Subhāṣitagaveṣin, legs bshad 'tshol
- 53.1: (Not shown: King Subhāṣitagaveṣin has asked his ministers to help him find a master of new and eloquent spiritual teachings. One of them has mentioned a hunter named Lubdhakrūraka, who lives in the forests of the borderlands. The king has exchanged his fine clothes for simple ones and has set out.) The king finds the hunter and asks him for spiritual teachings.
- 53.2: The king offers the hunter fine cloth. The hunter (thinking that the king may regret giving it and try to get it back), proposes that after hearing his fine sayings, the king must jump off a mountain. The king agrees and hear his fine sayings.
- 53.3: The king (makes a prayer of aspiration and) jumps off the mountain.
- 53.4: But the king is unharmed (not shown: a *yakṣa* saves him) and heads home.
- 53.5: The hunter has gone to the city to sell the cloth, and has been brought to the king. The king honors him.

54. Sattvauṣadha, sems can sman
- 54.1: The sick who have come for help from Prince Sattvauṣadha are healed just by the sight of his face or by his touch.
- 54.2: After his death, a *stūpa* for his relics is made in the forest by a crystalline pond where lotuses grow. All who see, hear of, or touch the *stūpa* are relieved of their suffering, and the water has healing powers too.

THANGKA 14/23 (Fig. 3.28)

55. Sarvadāna, rgyal po thams cad ster pa
- 55.1: King Sarvadāna, who is traveling in another land to help others, sees a pigeon whose wings are damaged.
- 55.2: A hunter arrives claiming the pigeon. The king wishes to save the life of the pigeon and offers the hunter whatever he needs; the hunter, who eats only fresh meat, asks for the weight of the bird in the king's flesh. The king agrees and promises much gold to anyone who will cut flesh from his body.
- 55.3: A man named Tārunamati is the only one who is willing to cut flesh from the king's body. He cuts first from his right calf and weighs it against the pigeon, but it comes up short.
- 55.4: No matter how much flesh is cut, it does not balance the weight of the pigeon.
- 55.5: The hunter asks the king what worldly rewards he hopes for in return for his actions, and whether he has any regrets. The king states that he wishes only for liberation for the sake of beings, and that he has no regrets. The latter is an act of truth that restores his body.

56. Gopālanāga, klu ba glang skyong btul ba
- 56.1: (Not shown: The Buddha has been asked to subjugate the *nāga* Gopāla). As the Buddha sits in meditation, the angry *nāga*s send black clouds of hail and rain. However, the Buddha transforms the hail and rain into flowers and nectar, and
- 56.2: The subdued *nāga*s bow to the Buddha and become his disciples. (The story of the past: In this same place, the *yakṣa* Vajrapāṇi and a hunter bowed to the previous buddhas Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, and Kāśyapa and built *stūpa*s for their relics.)

57. Stūpa, mchod rten bzhengs pa
- 57.1: A total of five *stūpa*s were built for the three previous buddhas, the hunter, and for ŚB himself.
- 57.2: In the land of Bālokṣa, a merchant named Suprabuddha hears teachings from the Buddha and builds a stūpa.
- 57.3: In the city of Ḍambara, the yakṣa named Ḍamāra becomes his disciple.
- 57.4: In the town of the Caṇḍalī, ŚB subdues the Caṇḍāla woman Malikā and seven others of that caste.
- 57.5: Also, in the city of Pāṭali the householder Potala becomes a disciple and builds a *stūpa* (interchangeable with 57.2).

58. Puṇyabala, bsod nams stobs
- 58.1: While riding to a new garden, King Puṇyabala sees a man ill from hunger and generates intense compassion.
- 58.2: He gives all that is needed to the ill.
- 58.3: King Puṇyabala gives his eyes to Sakra who is testing him, and his eyes are restored.

59. Prince Kuṇāla, rgyal bu ku lā la
- 59.1: In Pāṭaliputra, a Sthavira predicts that Prince Kuṇāla's beautiful face and eyes will not last, but if he stabilizes his practice he will later prevail.
- 59.2: Kuṇāla leads an army to Taxila to help the king consolidate his lands.
- 59.3: Kuṇāla arrives and becomes friends with the King of Taxila.
- 59.4: (Not shown: Queen Tiṣyarakṣitapālā, who had lusted after Kuṇāla but was rebuffed, exacts her revenge by having) a letter sent to the king of Taxila telling him to gouge out Kuṇāla's eyes.
- 59.5: The prince has his eyes gouged out.
- 59.6: Prince Kuṇāla and his wife Kāñcanamālā, having wandered back to Pāṭalaliputra while Kuṇāla plays the lute and sings, arrive in a park near King Aśoka's palace.
- 59.7: King Aśoka recognizes his son and wishes to kill Queen Tiṣyarakṣitā, but Kuṇāla demurs and by an act of truth that he would not delight in another's suffering, his eyes are restored.

60. Nāgakumāra, klu gzhon nu
- 60.1: The young *nāga* Sukumāradhana asks his father Dhanācala why all the *nāga*s are suffering from rains of hot sand. His parents tell him that those who follow the Dharma do not suffer, and that a teacher is abiding in Jetavana near Śrāvastī.
- 60.2: Kumāra meets the Buddha and asks him to visit his homeland.
- 60.3: The Buddha teaches the *nāga*s, who give many offerings and build temples for him.

61. Karmaka, bram ze zhing pa
- 61.1: A poor brahmin whose crops will not grow, and his wife, offer what little they have to the Buddha. They make a wishing-prayer to be free from poverty.
- 61.2: From then on, sheaves of gold grow in their fields.
- 61.3: They make wonderful offerings to the Buddha and the Saṅgha, and after listening to the Dharma they become stream-enterers.
- 61.4: Story of the past: before he was a brahmin who lived in purity.

62. Yaśoda, grags sbyin
- 62.1: Suprabuddha demands a son from the holy Nyagrodha tree; the tree god promises one, but states that he will become a monk.
- 62.2: A son, Yaśoda, is born to Suprabuddha.
- 62.3: One day Śakra appears as a rotting female corpse in the park. Seeing this, Yaśoda is disgusted and decides to become a monk.
- 62.4: Suprabuddha has sent women to his son's room to play music, sing and dance; but they all fall asleep in a disarrayed and disheveled state.
- 62.5: Having left home and arrived at the river, Yaśoda is called across the river by the Buddha.
- 62.6: Leaving his jeweled shoes on the riverbank, Yaśoda crosses the river.
- 62.7: Yaśoda takes refuge in the Buddha (not shown: and becomes a monk).
- 62.8: Hoping to persuade his son to come home, Suprabuddha invites the Buddha and Sangha to his home for a meal, but after hearing the Dharma he becomse a disciple.
- 62.9: Yaśoda and his four best friends, who have all become monks, become arhats. (Repetition: they persuade five more friensd to become monks, and in due course 500 men become monks and obtain liberation.)

THANGKA 15/23 (Fig. 3.29)

63. Mahākāśyapa, 'od srung chen po
- 63.1: Pippalāyana is born in the shade of a *pipal* tree.
- 63.2: Pippalāyana, pressured by his parents to marry, has a beautiful golden statue of a woman made, and tells his parents that he will marry a woman with like color and form (thinking this impossible).
- 63.3: A friend of his father finds such a woman in Vaiśālī, named Kapilabhadrā, and gains her father's agreement for the marriage.
- 63.4: Pippalāyana visits Kapilabhadrā in disguise, and they agree to be Dharma friends.
- 63.5: Pippalāyana and Kapilabhadrā ride home together to be married.
- 63.6: Pippalāyana and Kapilabhadrā live together in chastity.
- 63.7: One day while servants are pouring a fresh batch of oil into vessels, many insects fall into the oil and die. Seeing that householders are bound up in senseless and harmful activities, Pippalāyana and Kapilabhadrā agree to become renunciates.
- 63.8: The couple meets the Buddha and become a monk named Mahākāśyapa and a nun.

64. Sudhanakinnarī, nor bzang
- 64.1: Sudhana is born in the city of Hastina to the king Dhana.

- 64.2: [Left,] The jealous King Mahendrasena has sent a magician to capture the *nāga* Citra, who is responsible for Hastina's fertility and abundance. The *nāga* thinks of a hunter named Padmaka who serves a sage named Balakalāyana who lives at the edge of the forest, and prays for the hunter's help.
- 64.3: [Above,] The hunter shoots a poisoned arrow into the magician's eye.
- 64.4: [Right,] The hunter cuts off the magician's head.
- 64.5: The *nāga* king gives ths hunter a magic jeweled noose. (Not shown: when the hunter dies he gives it to his son Utpala, who continues to serve the sage).
- 64.6: One day Utpala hears lovely singing and asks the sage where it comes from. The sage tells him it is the *kinnara* maiden Manoharā and her attendants who have come to enjoy themselves.
- 64.7: The hunter Utpala sees all the *kinnara* maidens bathing and catches Manoharā with the noose.
- 64.8: Manoharā tells Utpala that she will die if touched by one of low birth, and must be let go or taken to one of suitable lineage. She gives him her crown and ornaments, which prevent her from flying. Utpala thinks of bringing her to Sudhana.
- 64.9: Sudhana is returning from the hills with his charioteer and sees Manoharā and the hunter. (Not shown: Utpala gives the crown and ornaments, and Manoharā, to Sudhana. Sudhana rewards Utpala with jewels.)
- 64.10: [Left,] Sudhana, Manoharā and the charioteer travel back together.
- 64.11: [Right,] Married, Sudhana and Manoharā live in the palace.
- 64.12: [Below,] Sudhana, who has been asked to go to battle against the attacking Prince of Karpaṭa, entrusts Manoharā's crown and jewels to his mother the queen.
- 64.13: Sudhana rides away on a horse.
- 64.14: [Below,] After the king has a bad dream in which he is disemboweled, his evil ministers advise him to pour cattle's blood into a pool and add the fat of a female kinnarī. Although initially horrified, the king eventually agrees to the plan.
- 64.15: [Above, around the corner of the building,] the queen advises Manoharā of the plan and gives her crown and jewels back.
- 64.16: As the pool fills with cattle blood [to the right], [above] Manoharā flies away (to her *kinnara* home).
- 64.17: Missing Sudhana, Manoharā [to the left] visits the Mahārṣi Balakalāyana and leaves a ring and a message for Sudhana with him, including detailed instructions about how to reach her home (including the need to gather medicinal herbs and boil them in butter).
- 64.18: [To the right,] Sudhana, having conquered King Mega's army, returns home.
- 64.19: When Sudhana's mother tells him what happene to Manoharā, the prince weeps.
- 64.20: [Above] Looking for Manoharā, Sudhana finds the Mahārṣi Balakalāyana and receives the message from her.
- 64.21: [Right,] Sudhana boils the medicinal herbs and gains magical powers from them.
- 64.22: Sudhana sets out on his journey to the land of *kinnara*s.
- 64.23: [Right,] He rides on the back of Vayuvega, leader of the snow monkeys.
- 64.24: After crossing Mount Ajātva, the prince sees a huge poisonous snake and shoots it with an arrow.
- 64.25: A demoness attempts to seduce him, but it doesn't work.
- 64.26: Climbing the mountain of Vajrakā, he enters the land of vulture-headed flesh-eating demons and plants the pelt of a deer. When they come to eat it he kills them.

- 64.27: Descending the mountain, he gathers minerals and makes potions to counteract heat and cold, darkness, snakes, cannibals and other dangers.
- 64.28: Having made a magic circle to protect him from various dangerous beings, he passes through many difficult places.
- 64.29: At the entrance to a great river he kills a water monster and crosses the waters known as Pataṃgā.
- 64.30: [Right,] He meets a *kinnara* maiden filling a golden vessel with perfumed water, and learns that it is for Manoharā to wash away the smell of mankind. He slips Manoharā's ring into it.
- 64.31: When the kinnara maidservant pours the water over Manoharā, Manoharā discovers the ring (not shown: and tells her father everything).
- 64.32: Her father tests Sudhana to see if he is worthy?
- 64.33: Finally satisfied, the king gives them many gifts and sends them home. (Not shown: Sudhana becomes king.)

65. Ekaśṛṅga, rwa gcig pa
- 65.1: Nalinī is commanded by her father, King Kāśya of Vārāṇasī, to attract Ekaśṛṅga so that he can inherit the throne.
- 65.2: Nalinī meets Ekaśṛṅga and bows to him. (The story of Ekaśṛṅga's birth is referenced by the deer: a drop of semen from the forest ascetic Kāśyapa fell into a stream and was drunk by a doe, who gave birth to a human child.)
- 65.3: [Above] Nalinī and Ekaśṛṅga, mutually attracted, converse.
- 65.4: Nalinī asks Ekaśṛṅga to return with her, but he mistakes the horses of her chariot for deer and says that he cannot place his feet over a deer, as he is the son of a deer. (her body is shown twice)
- 65.5: [Left,] Ekaśṛṅga speaks to his father the ascetic, who disapproves but is unable to sway him.
- 65.6: Nalinī and Ekaśṛṅga ride a boat back to Vārāṇasī.
- 65.7: Nalinī and Ekaśṛṅga are welcomed to the palace (not shown: their wedding).
- 65.8: Nalinī and Ekaśṛṅga live together in the palace.

66. Kavikumāra, gzhon nu snyan dngags mkhan
- 66.1: The newly crowned King Anena, worried that his younger stepbrother will usurp the crown, commands that he be executed.
- 66.2: In Kapila: Charged by Sudharmā the junior queen, the minister Mātaṅgaśṛṅga hides her son Rājyākṣaya in the care of a fisherman's family, to prevent his execution by his elder stepbrother Anena, who has become king.
- 66.3: After Rājyākṣaya (now known as Kavikumāra) is discovered Sudharmā, the junior queen, secretly gives Kavikumāra her jeweled crown.
- 66.4: While being chased, Kavikumāra jumps into the river (not shown: where a *nāga* saves him and brings him to the *nāga*s' home).
- 66.5: The assassins demand that the *nāga*s give him up, or else they will dry up the river, thus killing the *nāga*s.
- 66.6: Kavikumāra is sent away and chased again; after he jumps over an abyss leaving his crown behind, the assassins take the crown to the king.
- 66.7: Kavikumāra is saved by a *yakṣa* named Ajali and lands safely.

- 66.8: Kavikumāra comes upon a gravely injured hunter named Siṃhalaka, who warns him about vicious savages roaming the forest with killer dogs.
- 66.9: Kavikumāra flees the savages and their dogs by climbing an olive tree, but they shoot many arrows at him.
- 66.10: As Kavikumāra reflects on his karma, the sage Madara sees him and speeds over; Madara uses his sword to kill all the savages and the dogs.
- 66.11: Madara flies Kavikumāra home.
- 66.12: Madara the sage brings the prince back to his home and teaches him the art of creating illusions.
- 66.13: Kavikumāra returns to Kapila in the guise of a dancing and singing maiden. The king invites her to perform for him alone that evening.
- 66.14: While with the king, Kavikumāra changes back into his own form and kills the king.
- 66.15: Kavikumāra rules as the king.

THANGKA 16/23 (Fig. 3.30)

67. Sangharakṣita, dge ’dun srung

- 67.1: Śāriputra predicts that the householder Buddharakṣita will have a son who will become a monk; Buddharakṣita expresses the wish that this son will become Śāriputra’s attendant. (Or: along with other householders, the son Sangharakṣita makes offerings to Śāriputra.)
- 67.2: Śāriputra leads Sangharakṣita to become a monk.
- 67.3: Sangharakṣita agrees to go to sea with merchants to protect them from danger. In the middle of the ocean huge waves rock the ship and a voice calls out, telling them to throw Sangharakṣita into the sea. The merchants won’t, but Sangharakṣita himself jumps into the sea. (Not shown: Sangharakṣita teaches the *nāga*s. Sangharakṣita having returned, the merchants continue on their voyage and land on a beach.)
- 67.4: Sangharakṣita is weary and falls asleep on the beach. The merchants don’t notice that Sangharakṣita is not among them and go on without him.
- 67.5: Sangharakṣita proceeds inland and sees a group of monks in a splendid temple and surrounded by everything they need, appearing peaceful and subdued. However, when the time of their midday meal comes, the begging bowls turn into iron hammers and they all beat each other about the head. They explain to Sangharakṣita that they are experiencing the maturation of karma for having been monks who quarreled over food.
- 67.6: Sangharakṣita comes upon a second temple, in which the monks have only a broth of rust to eat. Explanation: previously they did not leave anything to eat for monks who came later.
- 67.7: Sangharakṣita comes upon a third temple. When it is time to eat, the ground catches fire and they all burn. Explanation: previously they were envious at the good fortune of others.
- 67.8: Sangharakṣita comes upon beings whose bodies are like pillars, like walls, and other strange shapes.
- 67.9: Sangharakṣita comes upon a grove of ascetics where they refuse to give hospitality because he is a follower of Śākyamuni. Finally, one sage offers his hut, where a goddess appears and asks Sangharakṣita to teach her the Dharma. He teaches her, and the sages also ask to be taught. (Not shown: after teaching them, Sangharakṣita meditates and becomes an arhat.)
- 67.10: The sages lift Sangharakṣita and they all fly to the Buddha.
- 67.11: The sages listen to the Dharma, become monks, and become arhats.

68. Padmāvatī, padma can
- 68.1: Padmāvatī, who was the offspring of a sage's semen and a deer who drank it, lives in the forest.
- 68.2: King Brahmadatta of Kapila meets Padmāvatī, and they are mutually attracted.
- 68.3: The sage gives the couple his blessing based on the conditions that the king must never show her anger or be harsh with her.
- 68.4: Brahmadatta and Padmāvatī ride back on his horse.
- 68.5: When Padmāvatī gives birth to two sons, other jealous queens say that they were stillborn, put the two infants in a box and throw it into the river. They had also blindfolded her and covered her face with blood, so that when the king comes they tell him that she ate her babies.
- 68.6: Although the king has ordered her execution, the minister Dīrghāmati saves her (by hiding her in his own home. Not shown: a goddess from Padmāvatī's home forest tells the king that Padmāvatī was deceived by the other scheming queens.)
- 68.7: After fishermen find the babies in a box, the king is reunited with his sons. (Not shown: the minister informs him that Padmāvatī is still alive. The king sees her again and wishes to have the other queens killed, but Padmāvatī refuses this idea and goes back to her father's home in the forest—could be represented by 68.1 again.)
- 68.8: Since her father is no longer there, Padmāvatī goes to Vārāṇasī, where King Kṛkin treats her with respect.
- 68.9: Brahmadatta, disguised as a brahmin, meets with Padmāvatī and persuades her to return with him to his palace.
- 68.10: Brahmadatta and Padmāvatī return to the palace.

69. Dharmarājakāvatiṣṭha, Chos kyi rgyal po rab gnas
- 69.1: King Aśoka makes generous offerings to the Sangha (repetitive).
- 69.2: One day some monks at a temple chide an old and feeble monk, questioning whether he is worthy to receive such offerings. He is very embarrassed and ashamed by this, as he does not even know the alphabet.
- 69.3: A goddess teaches him a few words summarizing the vast teachings.
- 69.4: One day the king asks him to speak and he repeats these words. Aśoka ponders these words and offer him gold and Dharma robes of fine brocade.
- 69.5: After the goddess teaches the old monk the meditation precepts, he meditates in front of a tree and becomes an arhat.

70. Madhyāntika, nyi ma gung ba
- 70.1: Madhyāntika, who has been asked by Ānanda to spread the Buddhist teachings in Kashmir, makes the *nāga*s of that land uneasy. The *nāga*s send down hail and fire.
- 70.2: [Left] When the hailstones and fireballs touch Madhyāntika's head, they turn into flowers.
- 70.3: The *nāga*s have faith in Madhyāntika and ask him what he wishes. Madhyāntika suggests that he will build a monastery on the amount of land he can cover with his crossed legs, and they agree.
- 70.4: Madhyāntika's body expands and his crossed legs extend over the valley.
- 70.5: A temple for 500 monks is built.
- 70.6: [Below,] Saffron from Madhyāntika's incense grows all over Kashmir.

71. Śāṇavāsika, shā na'i gos can
- 71.1: Śāṇavāsika, who is content to wear tattered robes, tells two visitors his story of the past.
- 71.2: In the past, he cured a *pratyekabuddha*'s illness and made an aspiration to be satisfied with only tattered clothes and meditate in *samādhi*.
- 71.3: On Mount Urumuṇḍa near Mathurā, Śāṇavāsika is meditating and subdues a *nāga* that is trying to hinder his practice.
- 71.4: He meets Naṭa and Bhaṭa, the sons of a merchant.
- 71.5: [Left] The sons sponsor a temple for him.

THANGKA 17/23 (Fig. 3.31)

72. Upagupta, nyer sbas
- 72.1: Upagupta's father had hoped for him to become a monk serving Śāṇavāsika, but as Upagupta is obstructed in various ways, he learns the perfumer's trade from his father.
- 72.2: A messenger from the courtesan named Vāsavadattā, having come to buy perfume (he is weighing it on scales), invites Upagupta to come to her, but he states that now is not the time to meet.
- 72.3: Vāsavadatta takes up with a young merchant's son who moves in with her.
- 72.4: However, a wealthier merchant comes and gives her many presents and entertainments.
- 72.5: Having conferred with her mother, she kills her young lover by poisoning him.
- 72.6: The neighbors discover the corpse of the murdered lover in a rubbish heap and inform the king.
- 72.7: Vāsavadatta is punished: her hands and feet are cut off, and she is left for dead.
- 72.8: Upagupta hears of this and goes to treat her wounds. She still lusts for him and asks him why he has come now. Upagupta teaches her disgust for the human body and encourages her to take refuge in the Buddha. She sees the truth of the Dharma path, obtains *śrotāpanna* and dies.
- 72.9: She is reborn as a god in Kāmadhātu.
- 72.10: Śāṇavāsika makes Upagupta a monk.
- 72.11: Upagupta becomes an arhat.
- 72.12: When Upagupta tries to teach the city people, the demons create obstacles by raining down gold, pearls and jewels and manifesting as beautiful dancers that distract the listeners with desire and lust.
- 72.13: Upagupta [on the right] compliments their dancing and singing and "rewards" them by placing flower garlands around their necks; this causes their heads to turn into corpses' heads, and the garlands to turn into the heads of dead men and dogs.
- 72.14: Upagupta requests Māra to take on the form of the Buddha as it had appeared to him. Māra takes on the form of the Buddha that coincides with this teaching of the Vinaya, and Upagupta weeps with faith and bows.
- 72.15: Māra resumes his own form and bows to Upagupta?

73. Nāgadūtapreṣaṇa, glu la springs yig btang ba
- 73.1: The merchants of Aśoka's kingdom are plundered by the *nāga*s each time they go to the ocean, and must come back with nothing.
- 73.2: King Aśoka is instructed by Indra the monk to send a message to the *nāga*s.

- 73.3: (After the king has a dream in which a goddess instructs him to make offerings to the Three Jewels,) a messenger is sent with a letter to the *nāga*s.
- 73.4: He tosses the letter into the ocean.
- 73.5: The *nāga*s return everything they have plundered to the merchants.
- 73.6: Aśoka, having great faith in the Buddha and yearning to see him, invites Upagupta, who is said to be like the Buddha.

74. Pṛthivīpradāna, sa gzhi yongs su phul ba
- 74.1: When Aśoka falls ill, he offers the monks of the Kukkuṭārāma the remainder of his wealth. Advised by his minister, he offers the entire earth to the Sangha. (Not shown: His grandson Sampadin, who is attached to wealth, has to offer four *koṭi*s of gold to the monks to buy back the land.)
- 74.2: Aśoka is reborn in the higher realms.

75. Pratītyasamutpāda, rten cing ‘brel ba
- 75.1: In Jetavana, the Buddha teaches the twelve links of dependent origination.

76. Vidura, bi tu ra
- 76.1: While walking along the Ganges near Śrāvastī, the Buddha sees a monster whose head is covered with sores swarming with thousands of worms. The city people have gathered to stare at it.
- 76.2: After blessing the monster to remember a past life in which he gave rise to terrible karma, the Buddha explains the story of the past. (Not shown: In the past, the monster was once a king called Vidura who became jealous of a *pratyekabuddha* when his consorts humbly bowed to him. Vidura cut off the *pratyekabuddha*’s limbs and those of all his followers. The buddha predicts his future lives, in which he will kill another *pratyekabuddha*, and eventually become a monk who will be killed by a king when his consorts bow to him.)

77. Kaineyaka, ki ne ya ka
- 77.1: The Buddha teaches the four great kings. The forest sage Kaineyaka and his son also hear the teaching.
- 77.2: Kaineyaka and his son become monks.

78. Śakra, brgya byin ltung ba
- 78.1: Since the signs of Śakra’s fall are appearing, he goes to Jambudvīpa to seek refuge. His brilliance causes humans to bow to him and he is discouraged.
- 78.2: Śakra realizes that it is the Buddha who can give him protection, so he goes there. However, the Buddha is in the *samādhi* of the fire element and cannot be reached.
- 78.3: The lord of *gandharva*s Pañcaśīkha, having been asked by Śakra to play his lute to supplicate the Buddha, does so.
- 78.4: The Buddha emerges from the *samādhi* of the fire element, and gives blessings and teachings to Śakra and his entourage.
- 78.5: Śakra, freed from falling from his godly state, returns to the heaven realms.
- 78.6: In return for his kindness, the *gandharva* Pañcaśīkha is given the daughter of Lord Tumbura as his consort.
- 78.7: Monks ask about the karma [of Śakra] and ŚB explains.

79. Mahendrasena, dbang chen sde
- 79.1: In Śrāvastī, the elderly brahmin Vayas takes a young wife called Taralikā. She is not attracted to him and tells him to go make some money.
- 79.2: While Vayas is out, Taralikā enjoys herself with a robber friend.
- 79.3: Vayas has found some wealth on the banks of a faraway river, but in the forest near his home some robbers take everything.
- 79.4: Despairing at his bad luck, Vayas decides to kill himself by hanging himself from a tree.
- 79.5: The Buddha, knowing Vayas' intention, appears and gets him down from the tree.
- 79.6: The Buddha gives the brahmin enough wealth to make him a rich man.
- 79.7: When Vayas returns home, Taralikā is unhappy to see him and complains that his wealth is insufficient.
- 79.8: Vayas becomes disenchanted with materialistic concerns, and sets out of his home (this scene comes later in the sequence because now he has full robes showing his wealth).
- 79.9: With faith in the Buddha, he becomes a monk (and then an arhat. Not shown: story of the past in which he was King Mahendrasena).

80. Subhadra, rab bzang
- 80.1: Supriya, king of *gandharva*s, is so attached to the sound of his lute that he has not gone to hear the teachings of the Buddha.
- 80.2: Eventually he is persuaded and becomes a disciple.
- 80.3: Subhadra (a non-Buddhist ascetic; not shown: sees a great *udumbara* lotus extending its petals, and in his delight he) becomes an *arhat*.
- 80.4: Subhadra is discouraged when he has a vision of the *udumbara* lotus withering, but a goddess of the grove appears to him and tells him that the *udumbara* lotus signalled the Buddha's birth and its withering signals his *parinirvāṇa*.
- 80.5: [Below] Subhadra desires to see the Buddha's face and travels there. He asks Ānanda to see the Buddha but he is denied because the Buddha is unwell. But the Buddha calls him in.
- 80.6: Subhadra asks the Buddha why he is leaving the world bereft of him. The Buddha teaches him the Dharma, and Subhadra attains the supreme state of the arhat.
- 80.7: Subhadra decides to leave his body before the Buddha, and does so.
- 80.8: The monks take Subhadra's corpse.
- 80.9: A *stūpa* is made for Subhadra.
- 80.10: The *tīrthika*s come to claim Subhadra's remains, but they are too late.

THANGKA 18/23 (Fig. 3.32)

81. Hetūttama, rgyu'i mchog
- 81.1: Merchants from Pāṭaliputra, while returning with loads of sandalwood, are caught in a storm.
- 81.2: The captain Puṇyasena recalls that near his home live laymen who are spiritually advanced and who take refuge in the Buddha Hetūttama.
- 81.3: Puṇyasena takes refuge in Hetūttama and the ocean god appears to save them.
- 81.4: The ship arrives safely at shore.
- 81.5: King Candrāvaloka offers money for the sandalwood, but the captain declines, stating that it is all for Hetūttama.
- 81.6: They find sandalwood oil, or remove the sandalwood.

- 81.7: The sandalwood and sandalwood products are all offered to the Tathāgata Hetūttama.

82. Narakapūrvika, dmyal ba sngon ldan
- 82.1: In Śrāvastī, Bhavavarma and a girl meet and are mutually attracted (only the girl is shown, heading back to her house).
- 82.2: Bhavavarma wishes to sneak out that night to see the girl, but his mother is deliberately sleeping in front of the door. He cuts off her head with a sharp sword.
- 82.3: Bhavavarma visits the girl, who welcomes him at first. But after he brags about what he did, she is horrified and screams that there is a thief in the house.
- 82.4: Bhavavarma flees (not shown: as neighbors give chase) and escapes back to his home. (Not shown: Bhavavarma convinces everyone that his mother was killed by robbers.)
- 82.5: [below] Bhavavarma is overcome with regret and realizes that he cannot escape hell.
- 82.6: Bhavavarma confesses to the Sangha and asks to join the order.
- 82.7: Bhavavarma becomes a monk.
- 82.8: (The Buddha predicts his future:) Bhavavarma will be reborn in the Avīci hell, where he will be (boiled alive and) beaten with cudgels and chopped into pieces.
- 82.9: Because of his merit gained as a monk, he will finally be reborn as a god in the Heaven of the Four Great Kings, and will honor the Buddha, listen to the Dharma and see the truth.

83. Rāhula, sgra gcan
- 83.1: The Buddha explains how karma from past lives led to Rāhula spending six years in Yaśodharā's womb. On the Buddha's left is his father, Śuddhodana.
- 83.2: (In the past, the Buddha was) Sūrya who gave up the kingship to practice asceticism; his brother Candra (who was Rāhula) became king.
- 83.3: [left] Sūrya became thirsty and drank (water belonging to a hermit).
- 83.4: Sūrya was held in prison for his deed.
- 83.5: Candra neglected his brother for six days (so his karmic fruit was to be in the womb for six years).
- 83.6: Yaśodharā's past life as the girl Haratī: while walking to market to sell their buttermilk, Haratī carried the milk until she became tired, but her elderly mother had to carry it for six miles. (Her karmic fruit was to carry Rāhula in her womb for six years.)

84. Madhurasvara, sbrang rtsi'i dbyangs
- 84.1: When Madhurasvara is born in Śrāvastī, sweet melodies are heard from the clouds, and honey, flowers and jewels fall from the sky.
- 84.2: He makes offerings to Ānanda.
- 84.3: He goes with Ānanda to Jetavana.
- 84.4: Upon seeing the Buddha, he bows with his head at the Buddha's feet and invites him and his assembly to a meal at his father's home.
- 84.5: Offerings and a meal are made to the Buddha and his assembly.
- 84.6: Afterwards, he gives gifts to the people of the city who have come to see the Buddha, but all the jewels and wealth turn into heaps of charcoal.
- 84.7: In the presence of the Buddha, Madhurasvara becomes a renunciate.
- 84.8: Practitioners gather in the forest retreat with him to learn the Dharma.
- 84.9: One day robbers come attack the retreat. Madhurasvara has compassion and tells the robbers to take only him.

- 84.10: Robbers take Madhurasvara.
- 84.11: The robbers take him to a cemetery and flay him alive. As an arhat, he sits motionless and free of fear. (Not shown: flowers fall from the sky around him, the robbers develop confidence and become renunciates).
- 84.12: [right] The robbers go to visit Jetavana?

85. Hitaiṣin, phan pa 'tshol
- 85.1: Because a sick man can only be cured with a medicine that requires the blood of a man who has never been angry, King Śibi decides to cure him with his own blood. No one is able to dissuade him.
- 85.2: King Śibi gives blood from his head to cure him.
- 85.3: The sick man drinks the blood (not shown: and after six months of this treatment he is cured).
- 85.4: Śibi's son, Prince Hitaiṣin, has become ill and (not shown: a thousand) physician(s) make a medicine which is difficult to procure and takes twelve years to make.
- 85.5: When the medicine is finally ready, a *pratyekabuddha* with a similar illness comes and begs the prince for his medicine. (Despite the objections of the physicians,) the prince gives it to the *pratyekabuddha*, who is cured. (Not shown: with a wishing prayer, the *pratyekabuddha* heals the prince.)

86. Kapiṅgala, bya sreg pa
- 86.1: Four friends live harmoniously in the forest (here shown as an ox, rabbit, monkey and elephant).
- 86.2: When King Brahmadatta himself mistakenly thinks that the prosperity of the land is due to his merit, and is bursting with pride, an omniscient sage informs him that it is due to the merit of the four friends in the forest, not the king's power.

87. Padmaka, padma can
- 87.1: In Śrāvastī, Padmaka is ordained as a monk.
- 87.2: In Mathurā, he has unwittingly wandered to the house of a prostitute named Śaśilekhā. She propositions him, he reprimands her and returns home.
- 87.3: [right] Śaśilekhā has enlisted the help of a Caṇḍāla prostitute named Viśākhā who uses spells to create a magnetic force drawing Padmaka back to Śaśilekhā's house. Viśākhā tells him that he must either join with Śaśilekhā or jump into the fire pit. Padmaka prepares to jump into the fire pit.
- 87.4: Śaśilekhā and Viśākhā marvel at Padmaka's decision and show reverence to him.
- 87.5: The two women listen to Padmaka teach the Dharma.

THANGKA 19/23 (Fig. 3.33)

88. Hastiśayyātiputra, nag pa glang po'i brtan
- 88.1: [left inside house] In Rājagṛha, Citra (son of Bimbisāra's elephant trainer) lives with a wife, but is dissatisfied with the householder life.
- 88.2: Citra becomes a monk and leaves home.
- 88.3: Citra's wife is mistreated by a servant and feels abandoned.
- 88.4: When Citra walks by the house, his wife throws some food over the side, frightening him.

- 88.5: Citra's wife tells him that a servant has been mistreating her?
- 88.6: Having removed his Dharma robes, the angry Citra tries to kill the servant with a knife, but is restrained by his wife.
- 88.7: The Buddha visits Citra's house, where the light of his body clears away the darkness.
- 88.8: The Buddha teaches Citra the Dharma.
- 88.9: The Buddha leads him back to the place of retreat.
- 88.10: The Buddha gives Citra further teachings (and he becomes an arhat. Not shown: story of the past.)

89. Dharmaruci, chos sred
- 89.1: While returning home, some sea merchants encounter a sea monster and take refuge in the Buddha.
- 89.2: The monster leaves them alone.
- 89.3: The sea merchants arrive safely at shore. (Not shown: the merchants pay homage to the Buddha. He teaches them the Dharma and they become monks (not shown: and later arhats).
- 89.4: The sea monster has died and has been reborn as the son of a brahmin. He can never get enough to eat, so he becomes a monk named Dharmaruci.
- 89.5: One day a householder named Śrīdānavrata has wished to invite all the monks to his house, but only Dharmaruci is there, so he has gone alone. Dharmaruci eats his own portion plus those for all the other monks.
- 89.6: The householder Śrīdānavrata is frightened?
- 89.7: [figure in blue] Śrīdānavrata asks the Buddha about Dharmaruci, to verify that he is not an ogre or a cannibal.
- 89.8: The Buddha leads Dharmaruci through the sky to see the bones of the sea monster which had been his former existence, so that Dharmaruci understands why he has an insatiable appetite.
- 89.9: [to right] The Buddha has taken Dharmaruci back home and teaches him.
- 89.10: Dharmaruci becomes an arhat.
- 89.11: story of the past: The householder Dharmaśīla (ŚB), grieving the *parinirvāṇa* of the buddha Kṣemaṅkara, has a *stūpa* made for the Buddha.
- 89.12: King Sahasrayodhin (Dharmaruci) makes a wishing prayer to be born as Dharmaśīla's disciple in the future; Dharmaśīla tells him that he will have many travails due to his sins, but will become his disciple and become full of virtue.
- 89.13: When the Buddha Dīpaṅkara is coming to visit Dīpavatī, the king has monopolized all the flower supplies. But due to the merit of the brahmin Sumati, seven lotuses have appeared in a pond with no mud. A garland maker has given these to Princess Sundarī and Sumati asks for them. She gives him five but keeps two, and also makes a wishing prayer to be born as his wife in her next life.
- 89.14: Sumati the brahmin (ŚB) offers lotuses to the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, (not shown: and when he bows his long hair is spread at the Buddha's feet. The Buddha places his feet on the hair and the hair falls off his head), so that he has short hair. Princess Sundarī (Yaśodharā) has tossed the two remaining flowers to the Buddha, and they turn into two earrings.
- 89.15: When Sumati's brother Mati (Dharmaruci) bows and the Buddha's feet tread on his long hair, he becomes upset.

90. Dhānika, nor can
- 90.1: A group of brahmins from Vaiśālī discuss procedures for making offerings for the Buddha and his assembly. They agree that they will take turns making offerings and always give the same amount; if anyone tries to outdo the others, he will have to leave the country.
- 90.2: Unaware of this agreement, Dhānika entreats the Buddha and his assembly to comes to his house for a meal,
- 90.3: and presents them with a great feast.
- 90.4: The following day, his wife presents them with a great feast (not shown: then his daughter-in-law. The Buddha explains to the town that Dhānika was not aware of the brahmins' agreement, preventing any disputes).

91. Śibisubhāṣita, shi bi'i legs bshad
- 91.1: Wishing to test King Śibi of Śivavādyapura, Śakra took the form of a flesh-eating demon and recited a *subhāṣita* to him. The king asks for more spiritual wisdom, but the demon says he needs to consume freshly killed flesh and blood before he continues. The king gives his own flesh and blood.
- 91.2: Śakra returns to his own form and gives the king teachings. When he asks whether the king regrets his act, the king heals himself through an act of truth. His body emits brilliant light.

92. Maitrakanyakā, mdza' bo'i bu mo
- 92.1: Maitrakanyakā (so named from superstition as all the previous sons had died), whose father has passed away at sea, is trained as a merchant and provides for his mother.
- 92.2: Maitrakanyakā is going off to sea against his mother's wishes (not shown: and kicks her in the head before he leaves).
- 92.3: Maitrakanyakā sets out to sea.
- 92.4: The ship is destroyed, but he manages to hold onto a plank to save himself.
- 92.5: Having been washed up on an island, he wanders lost in the forest.
- 92.6: Maitrakanyakā comes upon a city called Ramyaramaṇaka, where (four) goddesses in a palace pamper him.
- 92.7: When he becomes restless, they warn him not to go south of this city, but he does.
- 92.8: In the next city called Sadāmatta, (eight) goddesses pamper him even more. (Not shown: they also warn him not to go south.)
- 92.9: In the next city called Nandanapura, (sixteen) goddesses pamper him even more. (Not shown: they also warn him not to go south)
- 92.10: In the next city called Brahmottara, (thirty-two) goddesses pamper him even more. (Not shown: they also warn him not to go south.)
- 92.11: He wanders to an iron city and is locked into a room. The room has a man with an iron wheel attached to a hole in his head, and the wheel turns around and around, continually piercing his brain and causing pus and blood to pour out: his only food. When Maitrakanyakā asks how he came to this suffering, he replies that it is the karmic maturation of harming his mother.
- 92.12: (Not shown: a voice in the sky announces that the time is finished.) The iron wheel leaves the other man's head and attaches itself to Maitrakanyakā's head. Maitrakanyakā cannot bear the paina nd asks how long he will have to undergo it. The man informs him that it will be sixty-six hundred thousand years.

- 92.13: Maitrakanyakā feels unbearable compassion for all those who would have to experience this suffering, and wishes that he may experience the suffering of other beings on their behalf. By the power of those good thoughts, the wheel lifts away from his head and rises into the sky. (Not shown: Maitrakanyakā is reborn in a heaven.)

THANGKA 20/23 (Fig. 3.34)

93. Sumāgadhā, ma ga dha bzang mo

- 93.1: Anāthapiṇḍada leaves his daughter Sumāgadhā at home while he goes to visit the Buddha.
- 93.2: Anāthapiṇḍada asks for the Buddha's approval to arrange a marriage between his daughter Sumāgadhā and Vṛṣabhadatta, son of the sugar merchant Nātha. The Buddha acquiesces.
- 93.3: Sumāgadhā, riding an elephant, goes as a bride to the home of Vṛṣabhadatta in a distant city.
- 93.4: [right] Sumāgadhā's in-laws host non-Buddhist spiritual teachers in their home.
- 93.5: Sumāgadhā asks her in-laws to venerate the Buddha instead, telling them of his qualities.
- 93.6: As they prepare to host the Buddha and his assembly, Sumāgadhā brings incense and flowers to the highest balcony of the house and makes a prayer for the Buddha to come the day after tomorrow for a feast.
- 93.7: Having heard Sumāgadhā's request, Ānanda is preparing for their departure. His uncle Pūrṇa reaches out his hand, but Ānanda tells him that they must travel through the sky. Pūrṇa is abashed because he has no personal powers, despite being an arhat. (Not shown: he meditates with the other monks and that night he obtains magical abilities.)
- 93.8: The next morning, Sumāgadhā and her in-laws wait on the balcony/roof and pray as they watch the sky.
- 93.9: A monk in the chariot appears in the sky; Sumāgadhā's in-laws ask whether he is the Buddha, but she identifies him as the arhat Kauṇḍinya. (similar pattern for identifying each monk)
- [93.]10: [above] On a mountain peak: Mahākāśyapa.
- [93.]11: [above]With a lion mount: Śāriputra.
- [93.]12: Riding an elephant: Maudgalyāyana.
- [93.]13: [above] On a lotus: Aniruddha.
- [93.]14: [below] On a garuḍa: Pūrṇa.
- [93.]15: [below] In a pond: Aśvajit.
- [93.]16: [below] On a chariot/throne on a crane: Upāli.
- [93.]17: [above] On a golden castle: Kātyāyana.
- [93.]18: [right] On a buffalo: Kauśila.
- [93.]19: [above] On a goose?: Śīlendrapāda.
- [93.]20: [above] On a tree?: Śroṇakoṭi.
- [93.]21: With the wheel of dharma (and other royal marks e.g, horse, jewels, elephants, minister): Rāhula.
- 93.22: [right] The Buddha with *deva*s in his retinue.
- 93.23: [left and around the corner] The Buddha manifests in all (eighteen) gateways of the city and enters through each of them.

- 93.24: [right] The Buddha receives offerings (not shown: and teaches the Dharma. Effectively Sumāgadhā brings on the conversion of the city).

94. Yaśomitra, grags pa'i bshes gnyen
- 94.1: Yaśomitra is born (not shown: and rain falls at that moment, after a long drought).
- 94.2: Yaśomitra listens to the Buddha teach the Dharma.
- 94.3: Yaśomitra becomes a monk (and then an arhat. Not shown: nectar falls from his eyeteeth).

95. Vyāghrī, stag mo
- 95.1: The sea captain Arthadatta has twin sons named Śaṅku and Śanidatta. (Not shown: he dies soon afterward.)
- 95.2: The mother, having run out of resources, tells the sons to steal?
- 95.3: The sons go out?
- 95.4: The sons meet or are saved by the Buddha.
- 95.5: The sons renounce and become monks. (Not shown: story of the past in which the sons were the tiger cubs and the mother was the starving tigress.)

96. Hasta, glang po
- 96.1: Because 500 exiled ministers are parched with thirst, the elephant named Bhadra goes to get water for them.
- 96.2: The elephant brings water to them (repeated action).
- 96.3: [left] The elephant also sacrifices his life so that they can cook and eat him; the grateful ministers venerate him with flowers.

97. Kacchapa, rus sbal
- 97.1: (Story of the past:) 500 merchants from Kāśī decide to go to sea.
- 97.2: They have gotten into a shipwreck, but are saved by a tortoise.
- 97.3: When the tortoise reaches shore, it is exhausted and falls asleep. The merchants try to break its shell with stones so that they can eat its flesh.
- 97.4: (Not shown: The tortoise takes its own life and) the merchants are able to eat the tortoise.

98. Tāpas, dka' thub
- 98.1: Story of the past: ŚB was a sage called Kuśalaśīla who taught Dharma to other ascetic sages. (Not shown: the sages become monks.)

99. Padmaka, padma can
- 99.1: In Vārāṇasī, an epidemic breaks out and sick patients come to see King Padmaka, but no cure can be found. (Not shown: physicians advise that the flesh of a *rohita* fish is needed for a cure.)
- 99.2: Because the fishermen cannot find a *rohita* fish, the king makes a prayer to be reborn as a *rohita* fish in order to help his people, and jumps.
- 99.3: The king falls to his death.
- 99.4: The king is reborn as a great *rohita* fish.

- 99.5: The fish has been caught and flesh has been cut from his skin to be transported back to Vārāṇasī.
- 99.6: The sick people are treated and cured with the flesh.

THANGKA 21/23 (Fig. 3.35)

100. Puṇyaprabhāsa, bsod nams rab gsal
- 100.1: Embedded story of the past in which King Prabhāsa had gained the merit to generate *bodhicitta*: before, he was a poor potter, who offered molasses to the Buddha during a famine and made a wishing prayer to be born as Prabhā, one whose virtues shine forth clearly.

101. Śyāmaka, sngo bsangs can
- 101.1: [below] A brahmin (and his wife Gautamī) have grown old and blind and leave their home in Kāśī [to the left] to live in the forest.
- 101.2: Śyāmaka, their son, would serve his blind parents in their forest retreat by getting water and other provisions for them.
- 101.3: One day King Brahmadatta, hunting in the forest, mistook Śyāmaka for a deer and shot him in the chest.
- 101.4: The king is anguished when he finds Śyāmaka, who asks who will care for his parents now that he is dying. He asks the king to carry water to his parents.
- 101.5: King Brahmadatta brings the water to Śyāmaka's parents and tells them what happened; they faint and are revived by the king.
- 101.6: The king has brought the parents to their son. The parents have made a wishing-prayer to heal him, and Śakra heals the wound with the elixir of the gods.
- 101.7: Healed, Śyāmaka stands up again before his parents and the king.

102. Siṃha, seng ge
- 102.1: Story of the past: A sea captain named Gāḍha, with two hundred thousand merchants and their wives, had landed on a southern shore and encountered a huge serpent called Phamphā. They had hoped to kill it for food, but the snake encircles them in its coils and is about to kill them.
- 102.2: The lion Yaśas and his elephant friend Mandhara come to the rescue: the lion rides on the elephant's back and then pounces on the serpent's head and slashes it to death with its claws. Meanwhile, the merchants attack the serpent's body.
- 102.3: But as it is dying, the serpent spews its poisonous breath at the lion and the elephant, killing them both.
- 102.4: The merchants build a *stūpa* for the lion and elephant, and worship it with great devotion.
- 102.5: The merchants continue on their journey.

103. Priyapiṇḍa, dga' ba'i gong bu
- 103.1: A letter is brought to the queen, mother of Priyapiṇḍa, complaining that her son is their enemy—this is due to an evil minster named Durmati.
- 103.2: Priyapiṇḍa travels to Meru with a peace treaty?
- 103.3: Story of the past: in Vārāṇasī, a brahmin named Mūlika offered medicine and an umbrella to a *pratyekabuddha*.

104. Śaśaka, ri bong
- 104.1: The ascetic dwells in the forest and is befriended by a hare.
- 104.2: During a drought, the sage prepares to leave, but the hare lectures him on the sinfulness of the city and the benefits of practicing in solitude.
- 104.3: The hare jumps into the fire, with the sage trying to prevent him.
- 104.4: The sage goes back to his forest life.

105. Raivata, ri ba ta
- 105.1: In Kashmir, a brahmin of Piśuna village has been looking for a lost calf and sees the monk Raivata stirring a large cauldron. The brahmin asks what he is boiling and Raivata says that he is dyeing his Dharma robes.
- 105.2: Because of Raivata's past karma, the brahmin sees an illusion of flesh and blood in the pot although he was in reality dyeing his Dharma robes.
- 105.3: The brahmin takes a cudgel and beats Raivata.
- 105.4: The brahmin takes him to the palace.
- 105.5: The brahmin insists that the king lock up Raivata.
- 105.6: Later, the brahmin finds his calf, but he has forgotten about Raivata.
- 105.7: Meanwhile, Raivata languishes in prison for twelve years.
- 105.8: Finally the king remembers him and releases him, asking for forgiveness.
- 105.9: (Story of the past explained: previously he had stolen some meat and was being chased by some men. He saw) a *pratyekabuddha* in meditation (and pretended that the *pratyekabuddha* had stolen the meat. Not shown: the *pratyekabuddha* is imprisoned).
- 105.10: After twelve days he felt fierce regret and told everyone the truth, so the *pratyekabuddha* was freed.

THANGKA 22/23

106. Kanakavarman, gser gyi go cha
- 106.1: [right] The minister's son and the princess become lovers.
- 106.2: (Not shown: the king finds out and orders her banishment and his execution.) Kanakavarman and the ministers lead the princess and the minister's son away, but do not kill them.
- 106.3: [below] Instead, Kanakavarman sends them off together.
- 106.4: [left] King Kanaka berates his son for letting them go.
- 106.5: Kanakavarman goes into exile.
- 106.6: Kanakavarman encounters his sister (not shown: and the minister's son) on the edge of a deserted city; the sister tells him that the city has been conquered by savages as fierce as *yakṣa*s.
- 106.7: The prince Kanakavarman kills off the army with his arrows.
- 106.8: [left] One remains and becomes Kanakavarman's servant.
- 106.9: [below] The city is repopulated and the minister's son is made the king.
- 106.10: [right] His father King Kanaka has learned of what has happened, and sends a letter asking Kanakavarman to return.
- 106.11: Kanakavarman returns home.
- 106.12: Kanakavarman accepts the throne.

107. Śuddhodana
- 107.1: The householder Śuddhodana goes to acquire wealth.
- 107.2: Once, after returning from an island of gems, the householder Śuddhodana gave a string of pearls to King Brahmadatta of Vārāṇasī.
- 107.3: Śuddhodana has heard the sweet voice of the king's daughter Sarasvatī and has asked her to obtain her eloquent sayings. She has asked for all the jewels he has gathered in his twelve years at sea. Here Śuddhodana brings the twelve years' worth of jewels.
- 107.4: Sarasvatī sings her eloquent sayings (note the gesture like Milarepa)
- 107.5: King Brahmadatta asks why Śuddhodana would give up all his wealth for some words; he speaks of the problems of wealth versus the treasure of wisdom in the mind which can be used to help all beings.
- 107.6: Śuddhodana has the words printed and distributed throughout the land.
- 107.7: The distributors teach those same eloquent sayings to others.

108. Jīmūtavāhana
- 108.1: In a city called Kanaka, King Jīmūtaketu had a wish-granting tree from which jewels showered down.
- 108.2: When his son Jīmūtavāhana came of age, Jīmūtaketu gives up the kingdom and moves to a forest retreat with his wife. Instead of ruling the kingdom, however, Jīmūtavāhana follows them to Mount Malaya so he can continue serving them and hearing their teachings.
- 108.3: Jīmūtavāhana serves his parents.
- 108.4: Jīmūtavāhana receives teachings from his father?
- 108.5: One day while strolling in a garden, he meets a goddess named Malayā playing the lute. They are mutually attracted. Although she is too modest to speak, her friend Matamikā speaks for her, telling her name, mentioning that she belongs to a siddha lineage, and that she has fallen for him.
- 108.6: A eunuch has been sent to escort her home; she lags behind and looks back at Jīmūtavāhana. The eunuch tells her that she is to be married.
- 108.7: Jīmūtavāhana, pining for Malayā, has drawn her image on a flat rock; his friend reproves him and tells him that he has had a marriage arranged for him.
- 108.8: [right] On the seventh day of the wedding festivities, Jīmūtavāhana is grieving for the loss of Malayā (unaware that he will marry her) and wanders to the mountainside for solitude.
- 108.9: He meets a *nāga* lady and her child whose eye has been pierced. The *nāga* lady tells him that her child has been chosen to give to the *garuḍa*s as food. Jīmūtavāhana volunteers to take his place.
- 108.10: Jīmūtavāhana teaches the *nāga* lady and her son the Dharma?
- 108.11: Jīmūtavāhana is given the cloth with which to cover himself as a mark for the *garuḍa*s.
- 108.12: Jīmūtavāhana takes the place of the *nāga* child. The *garuḍa* swoops down and kills him, but after eating realizes it is a human.
- 108.13: Jīmūtavāhana's parents find him and grieve.
- 108.14: [below] The *garuḍa* flies to Mount Gaurī to get the elixir of life.
- 108.15: The *garuḍa* pours the elixir of life on Jīmūtavāhana and it revives him. He makes a wishing-prayer that the elixir of life clear the suffering of all beings, and to obtain buddhahood for the benefit of others.
- 108.16: [right] Jīmūtavāhana rules as a *cakravartin* king.



Fig. 1.1. *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* murals, Assembly Hall, Gong dkar Monastery. Central Tibet, 2004.

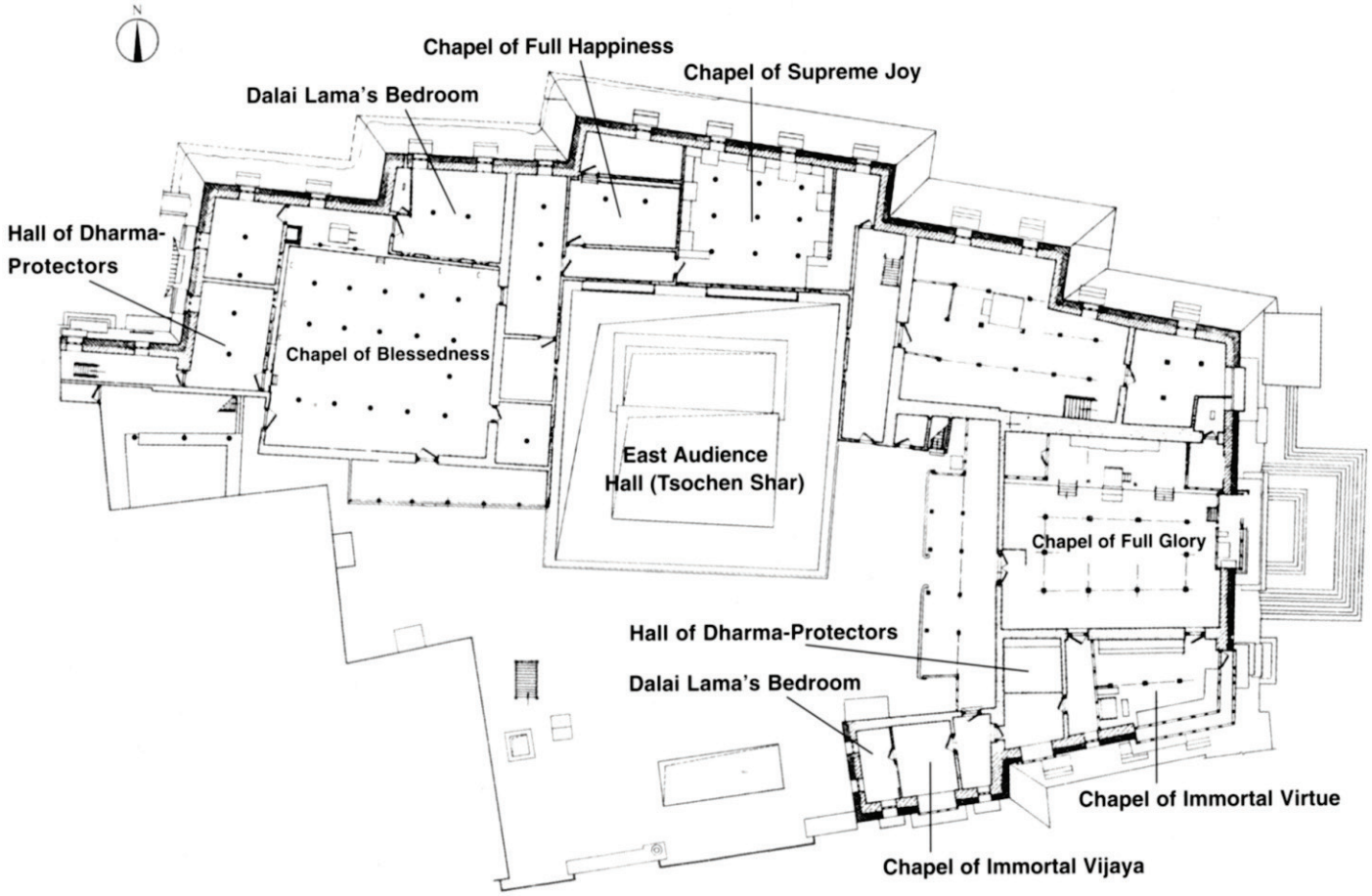


Fig. 1.2. Plan of top floor, White Palace section of the Po ta la. (After Namgyal, *Splendor of Tibet*, p. 9.)



Fig. 1.3. Detail from seventh episode of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* (Muktālatā). Mural, Bsod nams legs 'khyil Hall, western chambers of the White Palace, Po ta la. 1645-1648. (After PPD, p. 221.)



Fig. 1.4. Descent from Trayastriṃśa from the fifteenth episode of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*. Mural, Bsod nams legs 'khyil Hall, White Palace, Po ta la. 1645-1648. (After Namgyal, *Splendor of Tibet*, p. 35.)

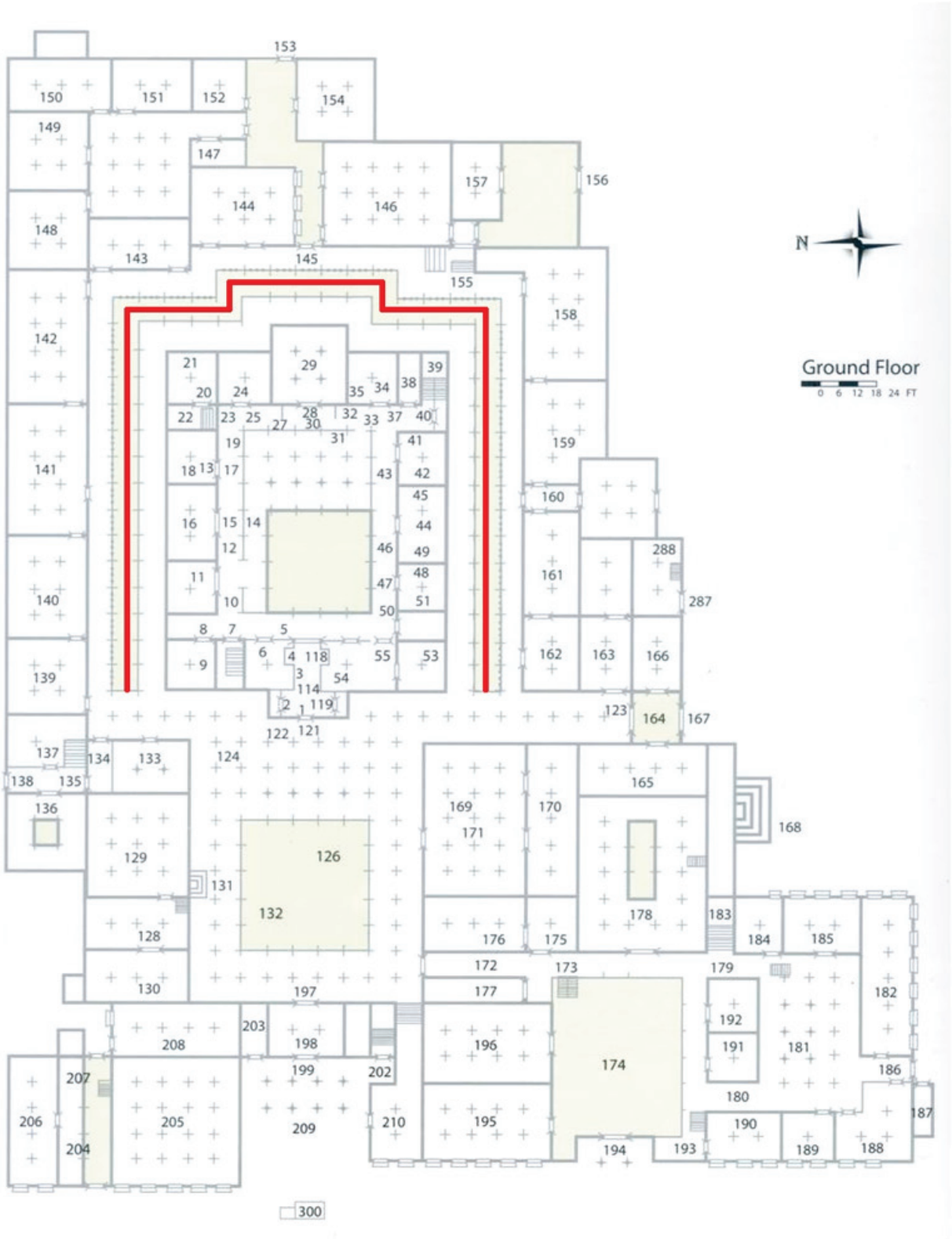


Fig. 1.5. Plan of the Jo khang, ground floor, with the *nang 'khor* circuit added in red by the author. (After Dorje, *Jokhang*, p. 108.)



Fig. 2.1. Central (first) wood-block print, Snar thang *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set of thirty-one woodcuts. Approx. 34" x 21.5" 1747. (After Rani, Pl. 1.)



Fig. 2.2. Final (thirty-first) wood-block print, Snar thang *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set of thirty-one woodcuts. Approx. 33.5" x 21." 1747. (After Rani, Pl. 31a.)



Fig. 2.3. Eighth (*g.yas bdun pa*) wood-block print, Snar thang *Life of Tsong kha pa* set of fifteen woodcuts. 1747.
(After *TPS*, Fig. 113.)



Fig. 2.4. Final (*g.yon sum pa*) wood-block print, Snar thang Sixteen Arhats set of seven woodcuts. 1747.
(After *TPS*, Fig. 122.)

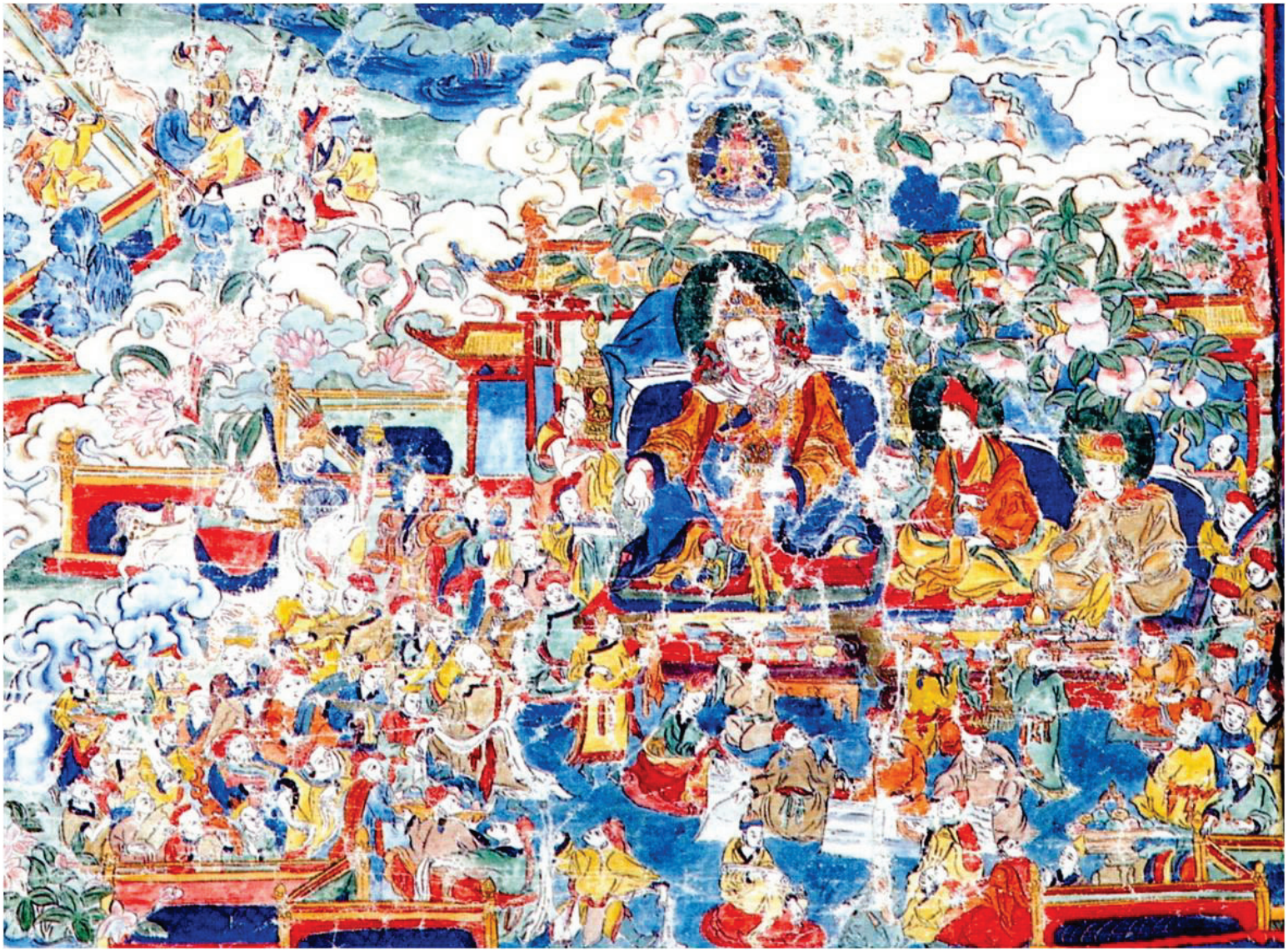


Fig. 2.5. Donor portrait of the Pho lha family. Detail of final thangka painting based on the Snar thang *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set of thirty-one woodcuts. (After *TPS*, Pl. 130.) For the corresponding wood-block print, see Fig. 2.2.



Fig. 2.6. Central (first) thangka, *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set sponsored by the Pho lha family. Second quarter of 18th century. Collection of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. (After 41T, plate preceding title page.)



Fig. 2.7. Final (forty-first) thangka, *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set sponsored by the Pho lha family. Second quarter of 18th century. Collection of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. (After 41T, Pl. 40.)



Fig. 2.8. *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* thangkas on display in the Gtsug lag khang, Rnam rgyal Monastery. Dharamsala, India, circa 1980. (After 41T, n.p.)



Fig. 2.9. Detail of Fig. 2.7. Donor portrait of the Pho lha family.



Fig. 2.10. Eleventh thangka, Wanfuge set of forty-one *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* thangkas. 18th century. Yonghegong. (After Yonghegong, *Beautiful Thangkas*, p. 33; image has been reversed here as a correction.)



Fig. 2.11. Yonghegong, exterior view of the Wanfuge. Beijing, 2007. (Photograph courtesy of Wen-shing Chou.)



Fig. 2.12. Thirty-second thangka from an incomplete set of forty-one *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* thangkas, containing episodes eighty-two to eighty-four. 40" x 23 1/8." Late 17th or 18th century.
Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (F2003.33.37).



Fig. 2.13. Identifications for the central (*gtso*) wood-block print, Snar thang *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set of thirty-one woodcuts. (After Rani, Pl. 1, with numbers added by author.)

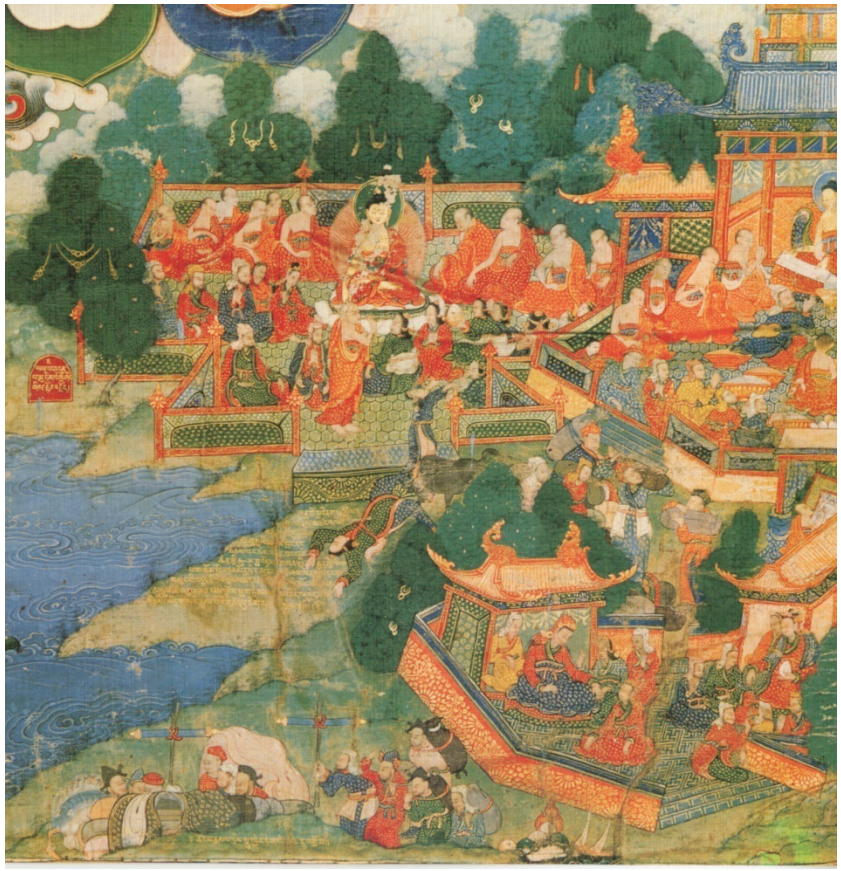


Fig. 2.14. Detail from seventh episode of the *Vine* (Muktālatā), fifth thangka of the Pho lha set of forty-one thangkas. (After 41T, Pl. 4a.)







Fig. 2.15. Detail from the fifteenth episode of the *Vine*, seventh thangka of the Pho lha set of forty-one thangkas. (After 41T, Pl. 6.)



Fig.2.16. Portrait of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Mural, north wall, Great Eastern Hall, White Palace, Po ta la. Late 17th century. (After PPD, p. 231.)



Fig. 2.17. Portrait of the Third Dalai Lama. Mural, south wall, Great Eastern Hall, White Palace, Po ta la. 1645-1648. (After PPD, p. 229.)



Fig. 2.18. Portrait of the Fourth Dalai Lama. Mural, south wall, Great Eastern Hall, White Palace, Po ta la. 1648. (After PPD, p. 230.)



Fig. 2.19. 'Brom ston pa teaching a group of monks. Mural, west wall, Great Eastern Hall, White Palace, Po ta la. 1645-1648.
(After PPD, p. 79.)



Fig. 2.20. Portrait of Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho. Mural, corridor above Great Western Hall, White Palace, Po ta la. Late 17th century.
(After PPD, p. 106.)



Fig. 2.21. Donor portrait of Pho lha nas. Detail, right margin, second page of Snar thang Bstan ’gyur catalogue. (After NTK, 2a=3).



Fig. 2.22. Yam shud dmar po. Detail, right margin, final page of Snar thang Bstan ’gyur catalogue. (After NTK, 144a=287.)



Fig. 2.23. Second thangka, *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set of forty-one sponsored by the Pho lha family. (After 41T, Pl. 1, with scene numbers added by author.)

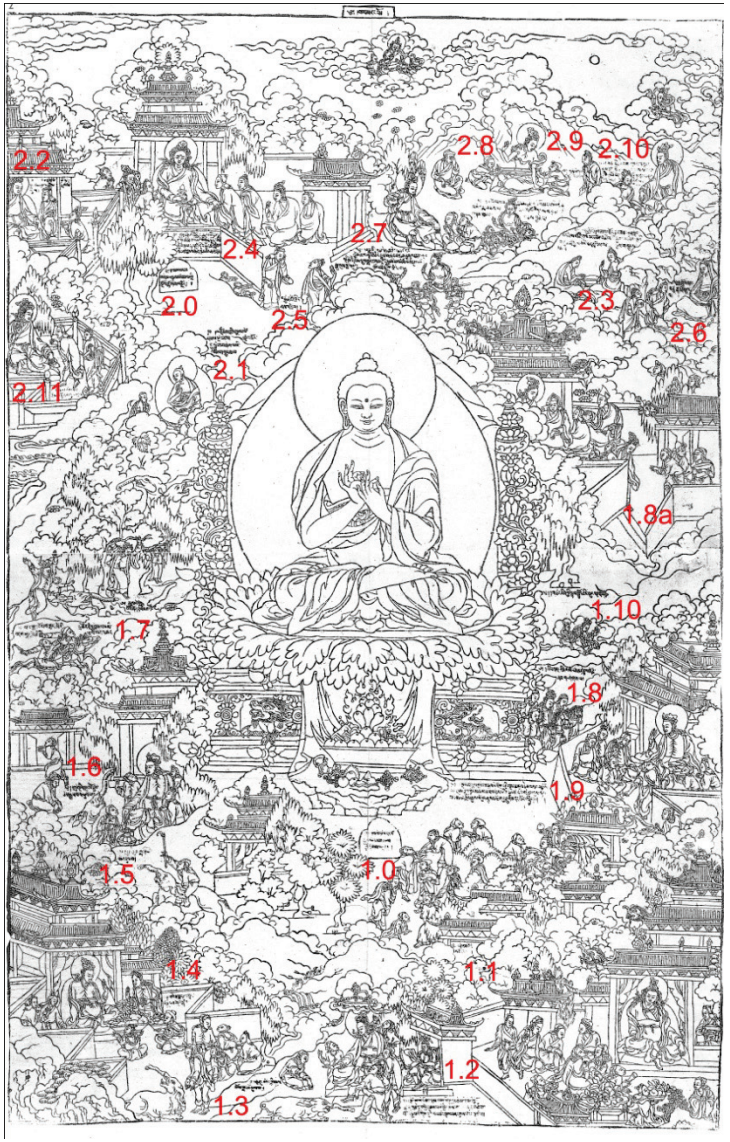


Fig. 2.24. Second wood-block print, Snar thang *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set of thirty-one woodcuts. (After Rani, Pl. 2, with scene numbers added by author.)



Fig. 2.25. Third thangka, *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set of forty-one sponsored by the Pho lha family. (After 41T, Pl. 2, with scene numbers added by author.)



Fig. 2.26. Second thangka based on Snar thang *Vine* set of thirty-one woodcut s. Approx. 87 x 57 cm. 18th century. Gugong Palace Museum. (After Wang, *Zangchuan fojiao tangka,* Pl. 57.)

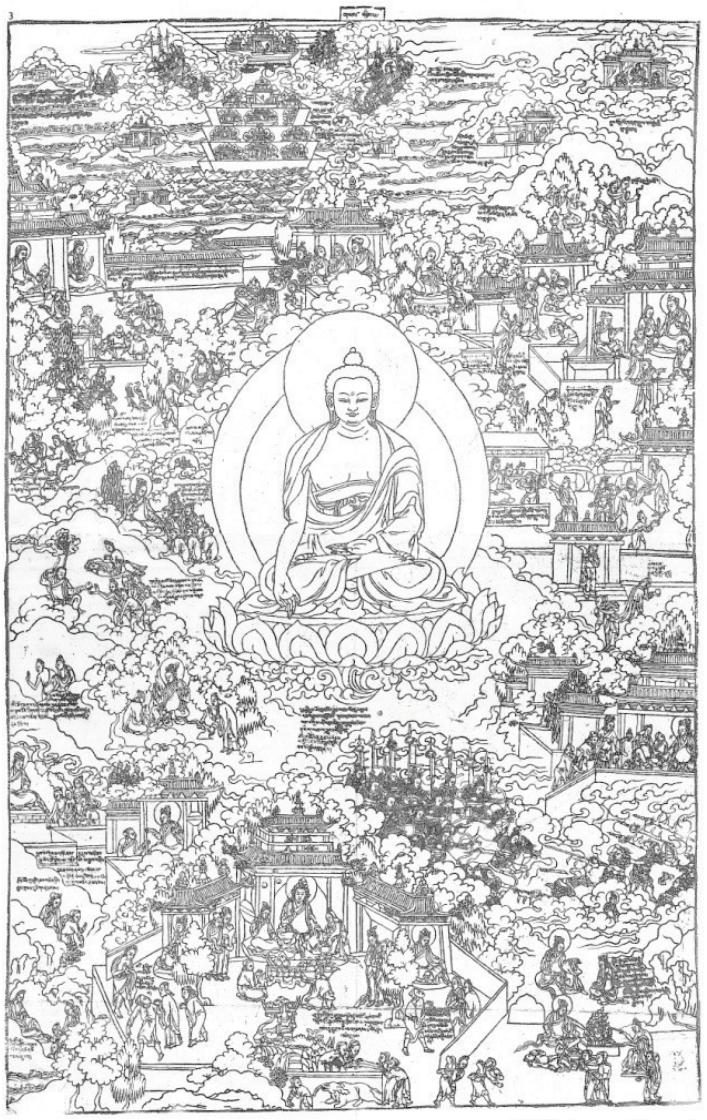


Fig. 2.27. Third wood-block print, Snar thang *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set of thirty-one woodcuts. Approx. 34.5" x 22." (After Rani, Pl. 3.)



Fig. 2.28. Twenty-fourth thangka based on Snar thang *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* woodcut set of thirty-one. Tibet House New Delhi.



Fig. 2.29. Detail of Fig. 2.12, with scene numbers added by author.

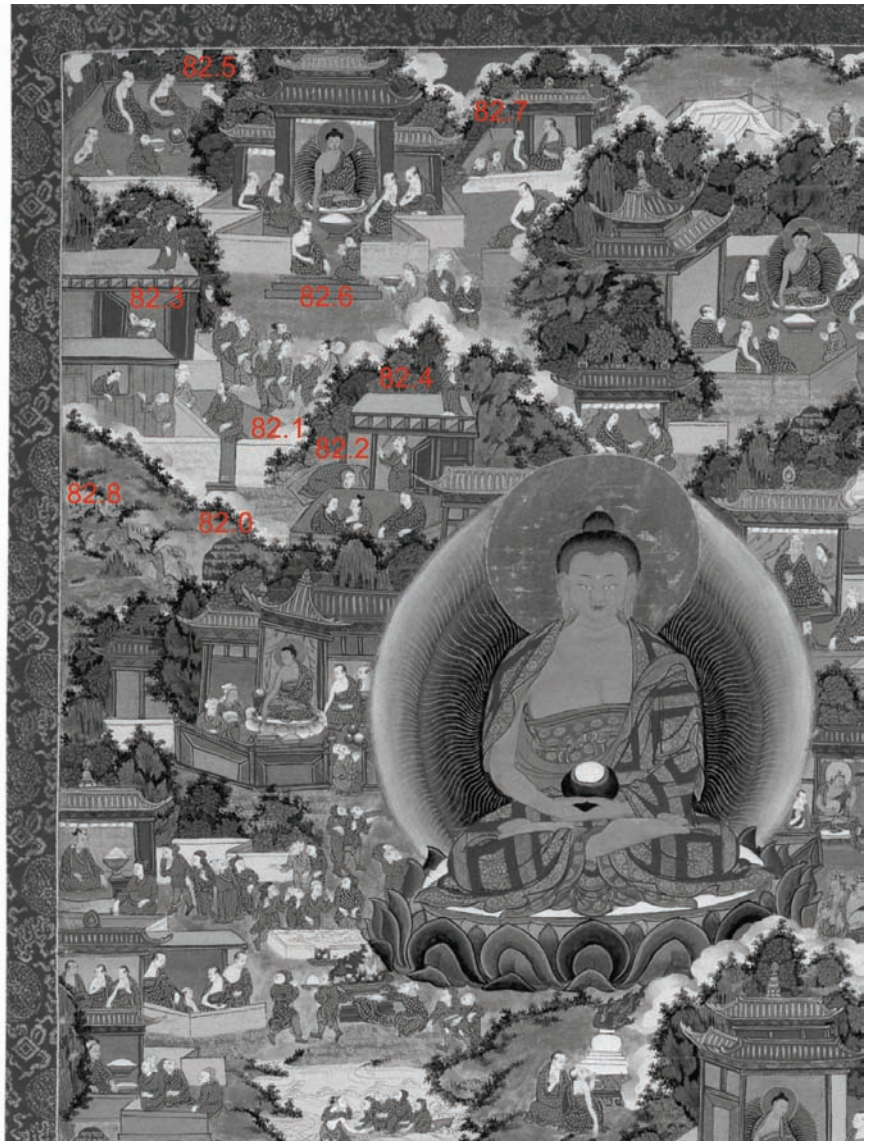


Fig. 2.30. Detail of *Vine* episode no. 82, based on Snar thang *Vine* woodcut set of thirty-one. Gugong Palace Museum. (After Wang, *Zangchuan fojiao tangka*, Pl. 79, rendered in black and white with scene numbers by author.)



Fig. 2.31. Detail of central (first) thangka based on Snar thang *Vine* set of thirty-one woodcuts. 18th century. Gugong Palace Museum. (After Wang, *Zangchuan fojiao tangka,* Pl. 56.)



Fig. 2.32. Detail of final (thirty-first) thangka based on Snar thang *Vine* set of thirty-one woodcuts. 18th century. Gugong Palace Museum. (After Wang, *Zangchuan fojiao tangka,* Pl. 56.)



Fig. 3.1. Si tu Paṇ chen lineage portrait. Thangka. 18th century.
Dpal spungs Monastery. (After Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, Fig. 6.16.)

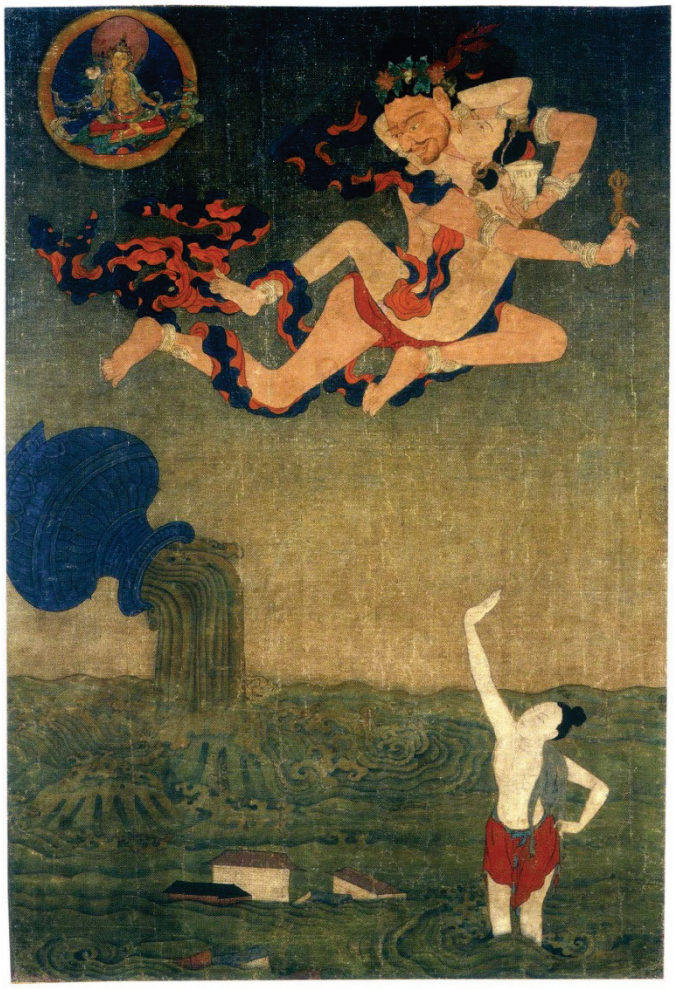


Fig. 3.2. Indian adept Ghaṇṭāpa, from a set of Eight Great Adepts. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Thangka; 48.3 x 33 cm. 18th century. John and Berthe Ford Collection. (After Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, Fig. 1.10.)



Fig. 3.3. Dpal spungs Monastery, Khams. 2004.



Fig. 3.4. The Buddha's Deeds. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Thangka; 66 x 44 cm. 18th or 19th century. Tibet Museum, Lhasa. (After Xizang, *Bod kyi thang ka*, Pl. 28.)



Fig. 3.5. The Buddha's Deeds. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Thangka; 66 x 44 cm. 18th or 19th century. Tibet Museum, Lhasa. (After Xizang, *Bod kyi thang ka*, Pl. 29.)



Fig. 3.6. The Buddha's Deeds, based on Si tu Paṇ chen design. Thangka; 69.9 x 45.1 cm. 19th century. Rubin Museum of Art. (After Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, Fig. 6.21.)



Fig. 3.7. Bhaiṣajyaguru. Hanging scroll; 137.4 x 80.6 cm. Ming Dynasty, 1477. University of Oregon Museum of Art. (After Weidner, *Latter Days of the Law*, Pl. 3.)



Fig. 3.8. White Tārā Protecting from Eight Dangers.
Sit u Paṇ chen design. Thangka. 19th century. Private collection.
(Courtesy of Shechen Archives.)



Fig. 3.9. Mañjuśrī. Eastern Tibet.
Thangka. 19th century. Private collection.
(Courtesy of Shechen Archives.)



Fig. 3.10. White Cakrasaṃvara. Si tu Paṇ chen design.
Thangka; 97.8 x 67.3 cm. 18th century. Rubin Museum of Art.
(After Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, Fig. 1.18.)



Fig. 3.11. Vajradhāra. Si tu Paṇ chen design.
Thangka; 78.1 x 57.2 cm. Late 18th century. Rubin Museum of Art.
(After Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, Fig. 8.1.)



Fig. 3.12. Śākyamuni Buddha with eighteen arhats. Central Tibet. 64.7 x 44.4 cm. 18th century. (After Rhie and Thurman, *Worlds of Transformation,* Pl. 5.)



Fig. 3.13. Fifth Zhwa dmar lineage portrait. Thangka; 67.5 x 43.5 cm. Late 16th or early 17th century. Hahn Cultural Foundation. (After Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, Fig. 5.4.)



Fig. 3.14. Śākyamuni Buddha. First (central) thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. 19th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Shechen Archives.)



Fig. 3.15. Śākyamuni Buddha. First (central) thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. 80 x 58.5 cm. 18th or 19th century. E. Jucker Collection. (After *HTP,* Pl. 49.)



Fig. 3.16. Second thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 1-3. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering; scene numbers in Figs. 3.16-3.36 added by author.)

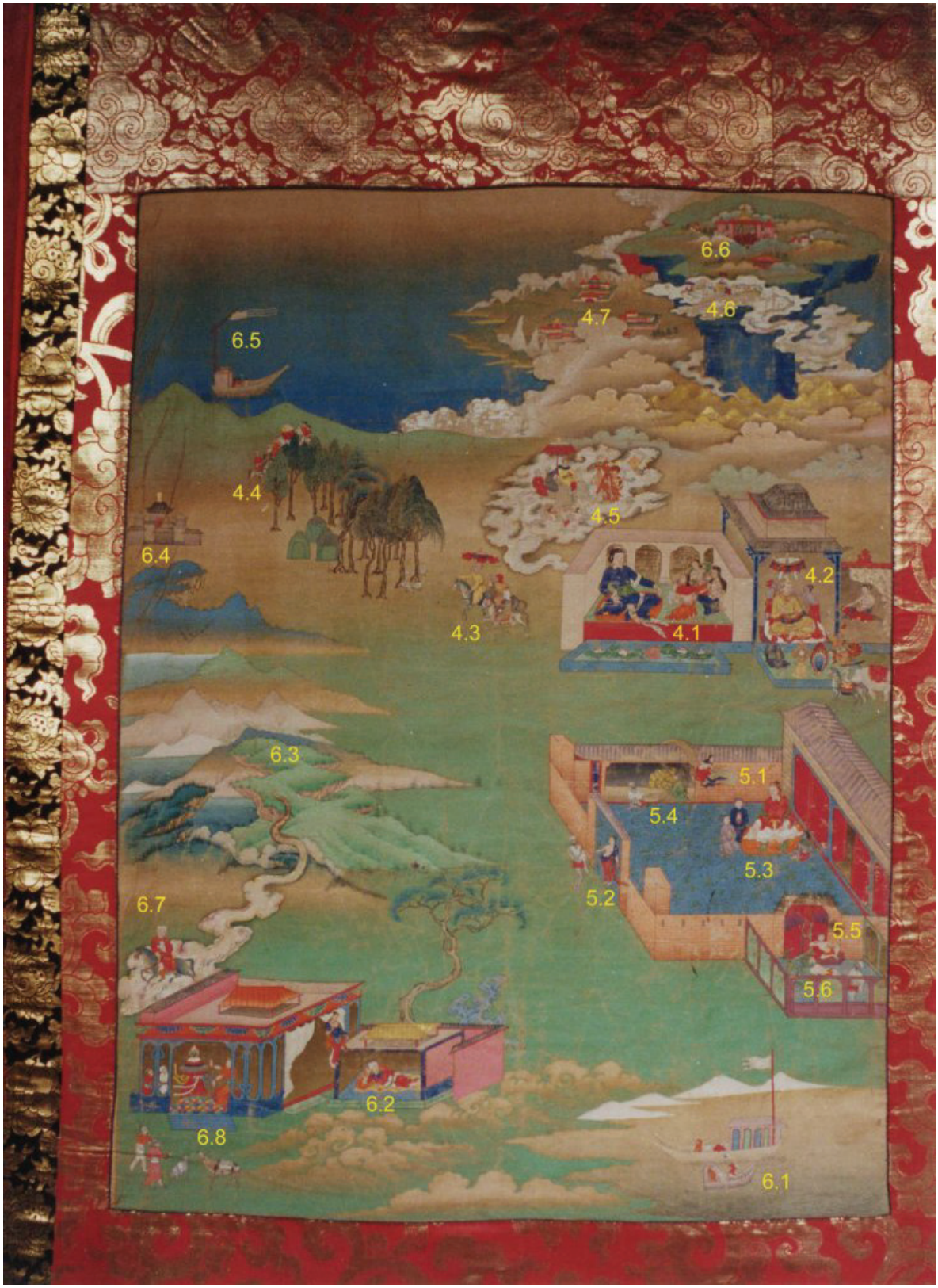


Fig. 3.17. Third thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 4-6. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.18. Fourth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 7-11. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.19. Fifth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 12-14. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.20. Sixth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 15-20. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.21. Seventh thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 21-23. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)

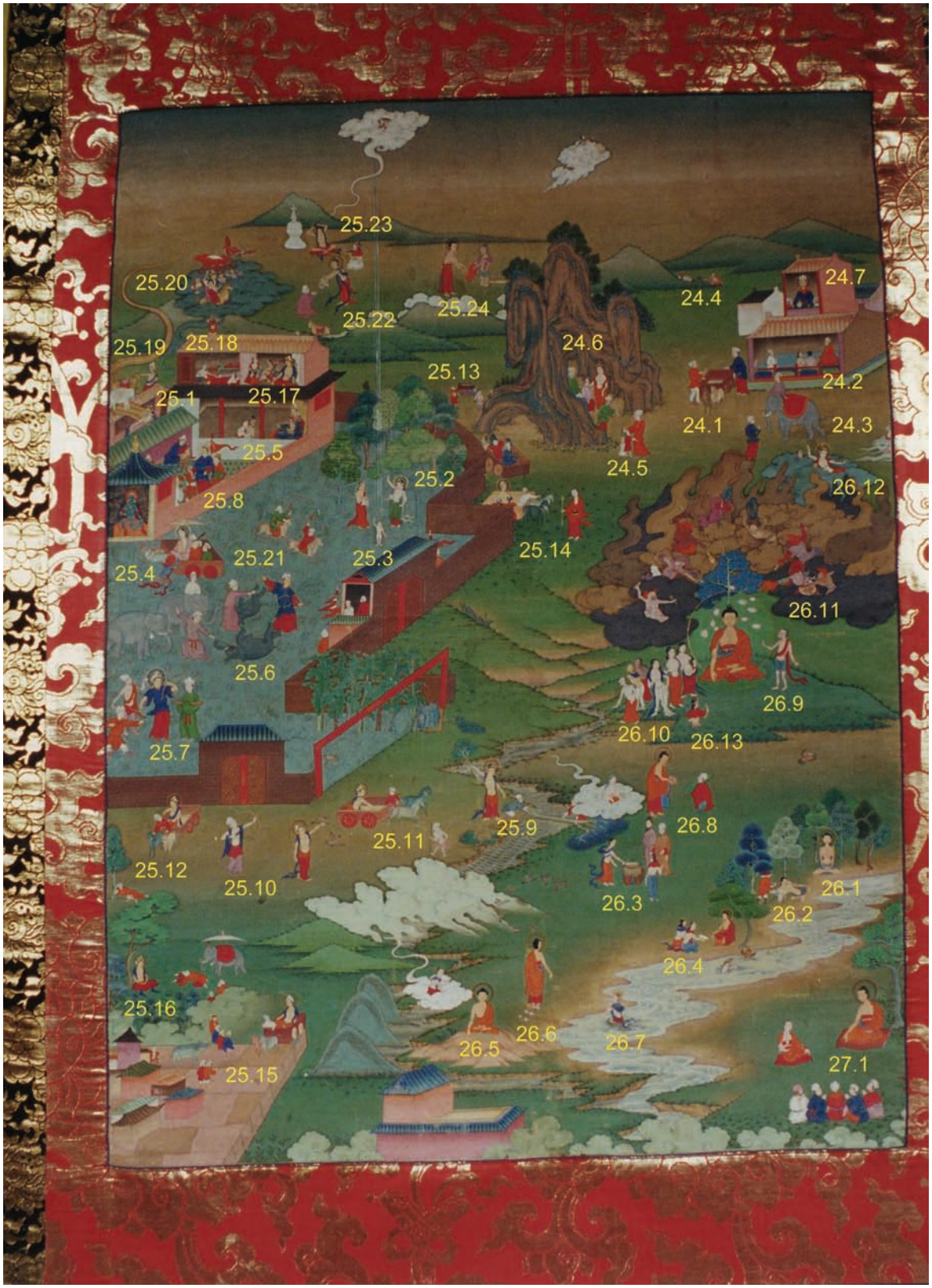


Fig. 3.22. Eighth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 24-27. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.23. Ninth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 28-33. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.24. Tenth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Situ Paṇchen design. Episode nos. 34-38. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.25. Eleventh thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 39-42. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.26. Twelfth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 43-48. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.27. Thirteenth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 49-54.18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.28. Fourteenth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 55-62. 20th century. Private collection. (After Padma chos 'phel, *Leaves of the Heaven Tree*, p. 267.)



Fig. 3.29. Fifteenth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 63-66. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)

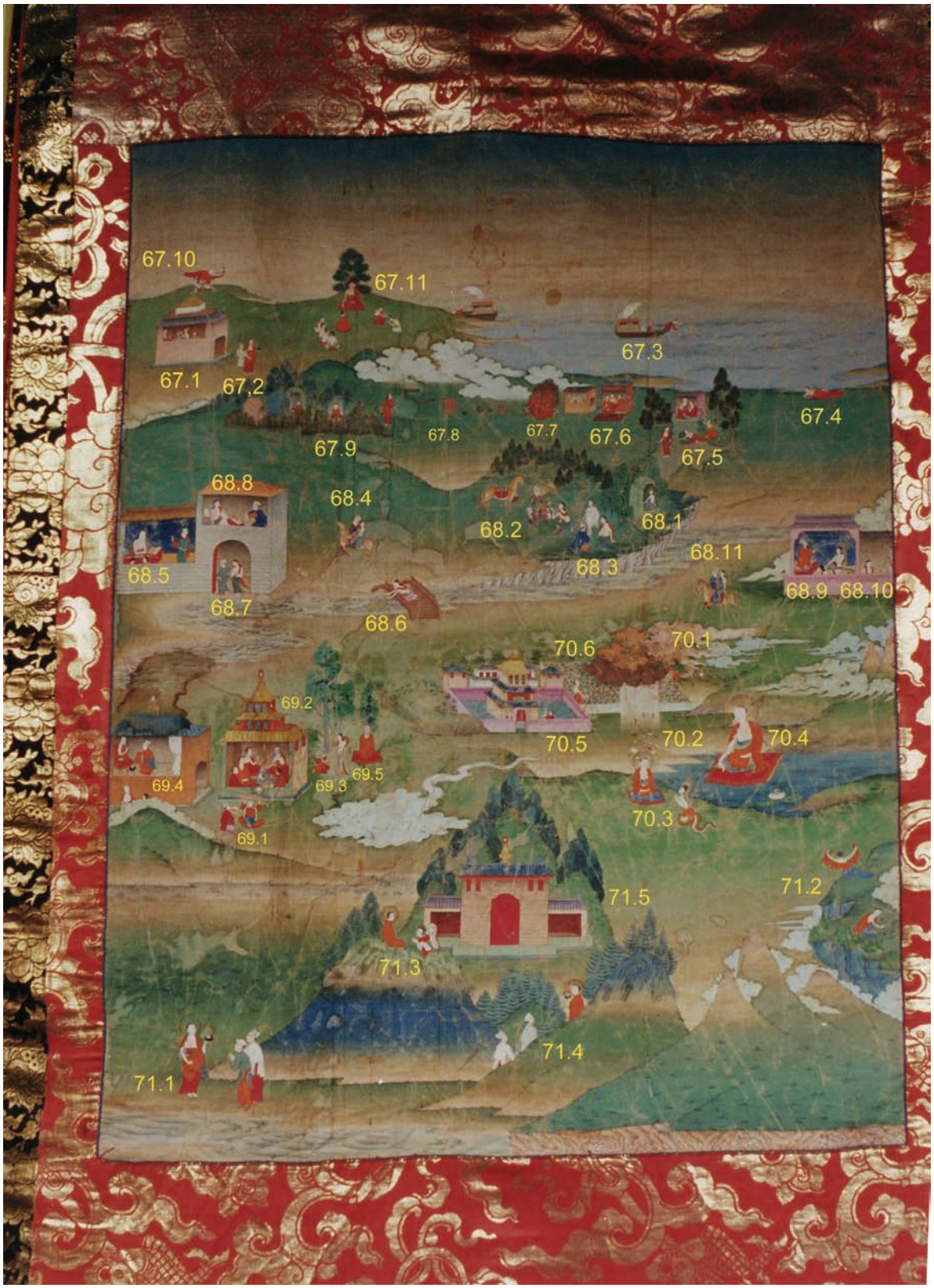


Fig. 3.30. Sixteenth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 67-71. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.31. Seventeenth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 72-80. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.32. Eighteenth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 81-87. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)

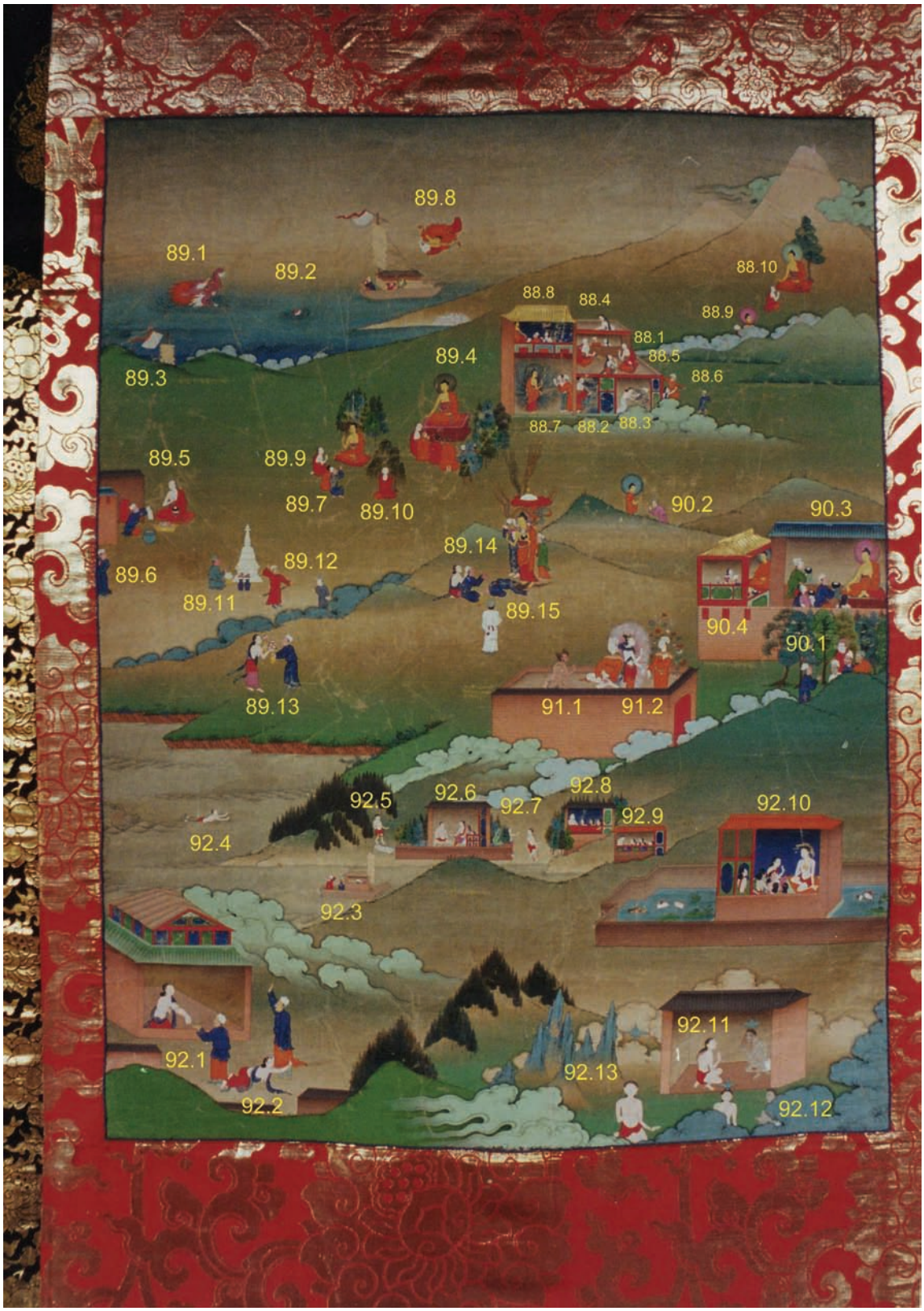


Fig. 3.33. Nineteenth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 88-92. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.34. Twentieth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 93-99. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.35. Twenty-first thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 100-105. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.36. Twenty-second thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 106-108. Mid-18th century or later. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.37. Donor portrait of Si tu Paṇ chen. Twenty-third (last) thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. 18th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.38. Donor portrait of Sit u Paṇ chen. Twenty-third (last) thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Sit u Paṇ chen design. 62.2 x 54.6 cm. Early 19th century. Rubin Museum of Art. (After Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, Fig. 2.11.)



Fig. 3.39. Donor portrait of Si tu Paṇ chen. Twenty-third (last) thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. Si tu Paṇ chen design. 19th century. Private collection. (Courtesy of Shechen Archives.)



Fig. 3.40. Fifth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set.
Si tu Paṇchen design. Episode nos. 12-14. Mid-18th century or later.
Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.41. Eighth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set.
Si tu Paṇchen design. Episode nos. 24-27. Mid-18th century or later.
Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.42 Ninth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set.
Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 28-33. Mid-18th century or later.
Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.43 Nineteenth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set.
Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 88-92. Mid-18th century or later.
Private collection. (Courtesy of Tashi Tsering.)



Fig. 3.44. Twelfth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set.
Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 43-48. 78.4 x 55.6 cm. 18th century.
Newark Museum. (After Reynolds, *From the Sacred Realm*, Pl. 103.)

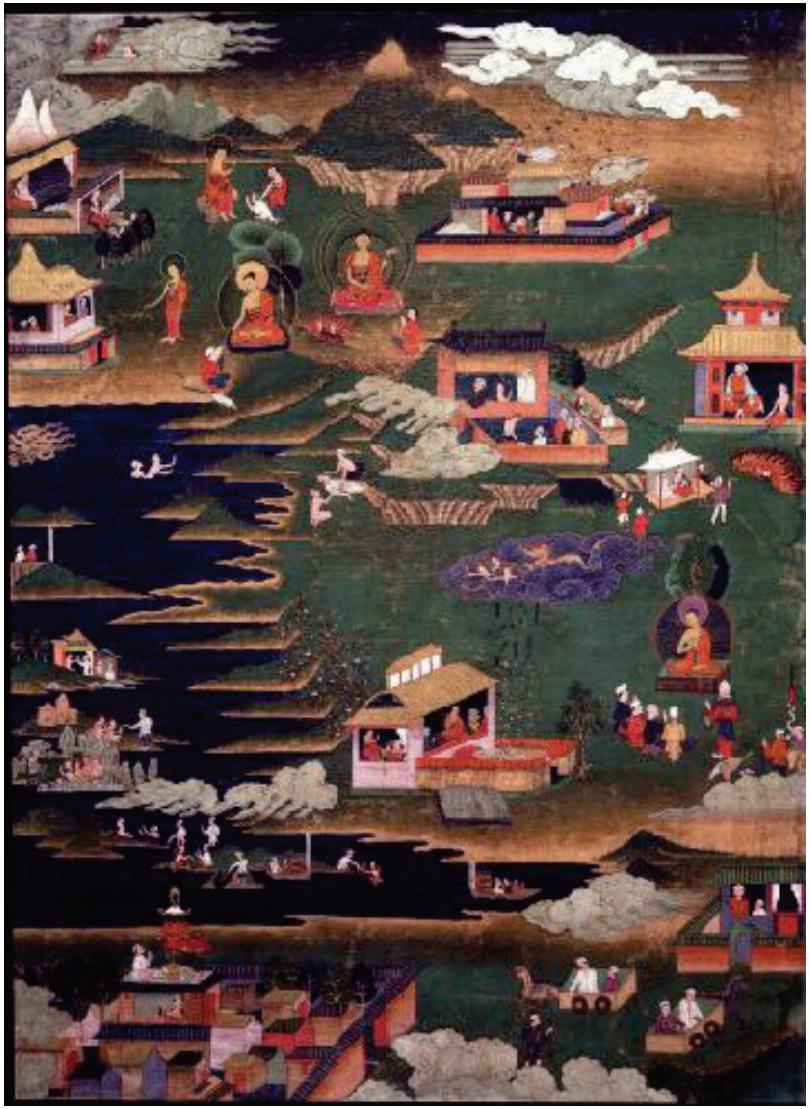


Fig. 3.45. Twelfth thangka from a *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set.
Si tu Paṇ chen design. Episode nos. 43-48. 19th century.
Rubin Museum of Art. (After HAR 65033.)



Fig. 3.46. *Landscapes After Ancient Masters.* Wang Hui (1632-1717).
Seventh leaf from an album of twelve paintings. Ink and colors on paper; 22 x 33.8 cm.
Dated 1674 and 1677. Metropolitan Museum of Art. (After ARTstor no. 8770.)



Fig. 3.47. *Landscapes After Ancient Masters.* Wang Hui (1632-1717).
Eighth leaf from an album of twelve paintings. Ink and colors on paper; 22 x 33.8 cm.
Dated 1674 and 1677. Metropolitan Museum of Art. (After ARTstor no. 8770.)



Fig. 4.1. Biography of 37th Ngor abbot Rin chen mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan (b. 1717). Thangka; 79 x 58.5 cm. Late 18th c. Private collection. (Previously published in *HTP,* Pl. 63.)



Fig. 4.2. Detail of Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen and the Lha dga' brothers producing a set of *Vine* paintings, from the biographical thangka of 37th Ngor abbot Rin chen mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan.



Fig. 4.3. Detail of Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen and assistants, from the biographical thangka of 37th Ngor abbot Rin chen mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan.

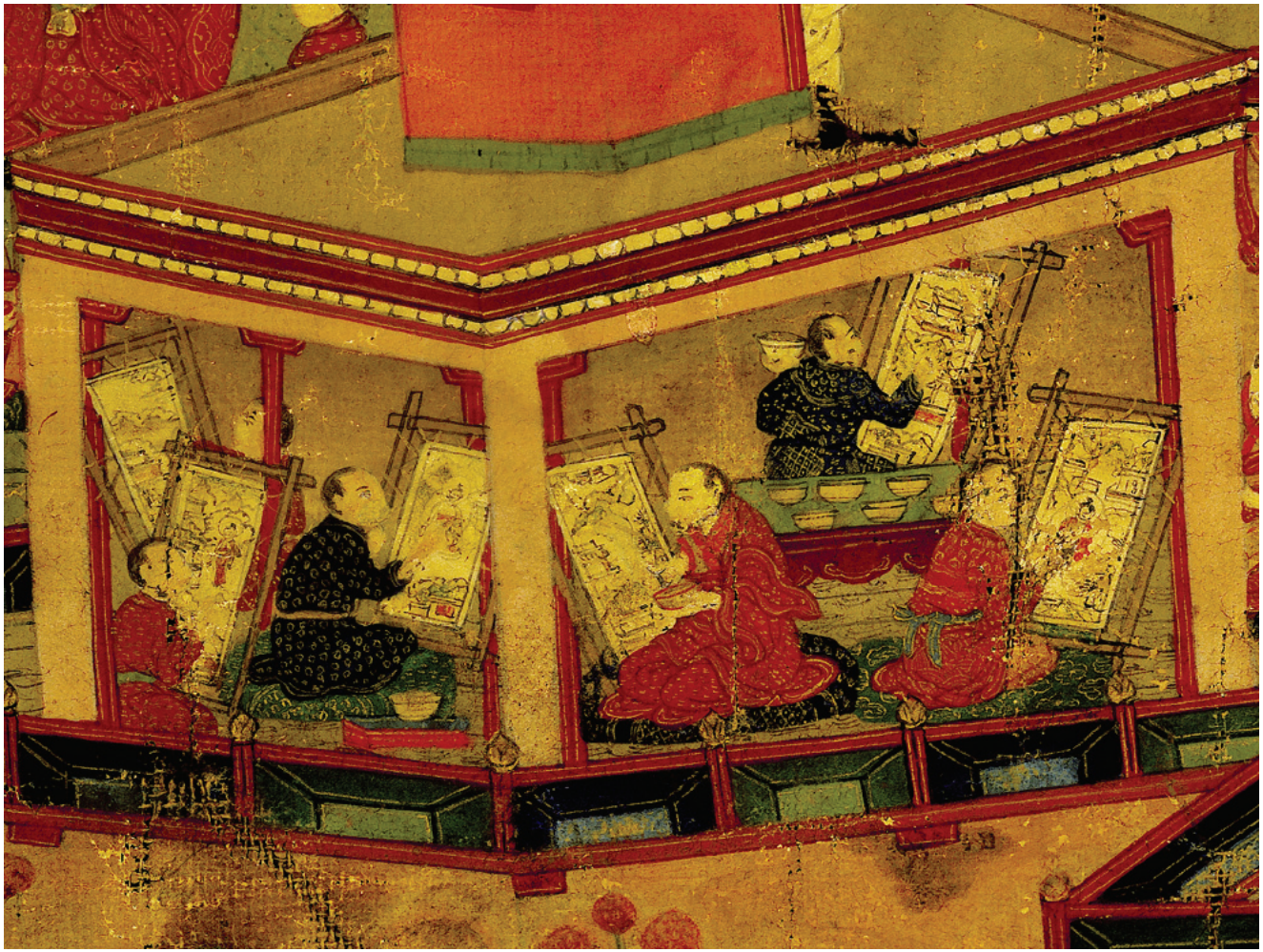


Fig. 4.4. Detail of painting the *Vine* from the biographical thangka of 37th Ngor abbot Rin chen mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan.