Two Illuminated Text Collections of Namgyal Monastery

A Study of Early Buddhist Art and Literature in Mustang
Vajra Academic
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Two Illuminated Text Collections of Namgyal Monastery

A Study of Early Buddhist Art and Literature in Mustang

Christian Luczanits & Markus Viehbeck

Vajra Books
Kathmandu, Nepal
This publication is the product of collaborative work and became only possible through the joint efforts of multiple individuals and institutions, which we wish to acknowledge here with deep appreciation and gratitude.

The documentation of the two text collections investigated in this volume was initially facilitated by the collaborative spirit of the monastic body of Namgyal Monastery and its abbot Khenpo Tsewang Rigzin. In fact, it was the Khenpo who in 2014 encouraged the examination of the books, which at that time were still assembled to the sides of the old temple’s altar. This was during Christian Luczanits’ third successive visit to the monastery, supported by the Rubin Museum of Art, where he worked as a curator. Previous documentation work concerned the sculptures assembled at the altar, which were photographed at their location in 2012 and documented in detail in 2013. The examination of ten volumes of texts in 2014 then emerged as a revelation, since each volume contained some form of art. More importantly, among them were several illuminated volumes of an age that preceded the fifteenth century, and they seemed complete and well preserved. These obviously deserved increased attention in the context of the future campaigns.

Consequently, more than eighty volumes were examined and documented within six days in 2015, resulting in more than 10,000 photographs. This documentation included not only the covers, the beginnings, and the endings of all the larger volumes in the collection but also a major part of the Sūtra collection presented in this publication, which was digitized page by page in its entirety. The team at that time included Jarosav Poncar, his long-time companion Bhirit Thapa, and Nawang Tsering Gurung from Gheling. The
volumes which in that year were selected for the task of complete documentation were those that appeared fairly complete and contained multiple texts. Christian Luczanits had by then moved to the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and the field work was enabled through a generous travel grant from Heritage Watch.

In 2016, a preliminary assessment of the textual contents of some of the Sūtra volumes by Helmut Tauscher and Paul Harrison indicated the value of the collection, both for regional and historical contexts as well as for the broader developments of Buddhist canonical writings. In the same year, Christian Luczanits, together with Louise Tythacott, received a research grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) on “Tibetan Buddhist Monastery Collections Today” (Grant Ref: AH/N00681X/1), which facilitated all subsequent trips and his personal research.

At the same time, Helmut Tauscher initiated a new research project in Vienna, entitled “Buddhist Kanjur Collections in Tibet’s Southern and Western Borderlands” (P30356-G24), which was funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) and focussed on adding material from canonical collections in Mustang and Dolpo to the database of Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies (rKTs), a central repository for Tibetan canonical literature created by Bruno Lainé. This project enabled Markus Viehbeck to join the team and work on the Namgyal material as well as other Himalayan collections.

In 2017, another field trip with members from both London and Vienna was undertaken to complete the documentation of the two text collections and document further volumes at Namgyal Monastery. During that trip, Markus Viehbeck digitized all fourteen volumes of the Prajñāpāramitā set with the support of the Namgyal monks Senggé Gyeltse, Tendzin Chöpel, Khenrap Püntsok, and Ngakwang Chöpel, while Jaroslav Poncar, Bhirat Thapa, Kunzom Thakuri, and Christian Luczanits completed the documentation of the remaining volumes of the Sūtra collection. Thereby, the two text collections examined in this publication had been completely documented, and their study could begin.

Namgyal Monastery again proved to be extremely generous and cooperative when it not only permitted the study of these text collections but also allowed making them openly accessible in a digital format among the Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies. It also granted the publication of all the illuminations in this volume. The people at Namgyal also kindly hosted us during our visits to the monastery, and numerous monks supported the work directly or indirectly by means of their caring hospitality.

The study of the illuminations profited from the documentation of other collections in the region, in particular the Tsarang Hevajra volume, the documentation of which was enabled by Jigme S.P. Bista, Maya Bista, and Kunzom Thakuri in 2012, and some of the books of Dzong Monastery lead by Khenpo Ngawang Choephel in 2019. Philip and Marcia Lieberman made their Mustang documentation of 1993 and 1994 available and donated their original slides to the archives of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Jaroslav Poncar provided his documentation of the cave at Luri and the temples of Lo Möntang, the Pritzker Art Collective, as well as a Swiss private collection permitted the usage of one of their paintings as comparison. The Cleveland Museum of Art made their objects available under the Creative Commons license, and Ulrich von Schröder permitted the reproduction of his photographs of the objects in the Potala Palace. Finally, Jaroslav Poncar granted the usage of his photographs of Namgyal monks reading and wrapping a book.

Regarding the analysis of the textual contents, this book benefited tremendously from the continuous support of Helmut Tauscher, who contributed his advice on all aspects of this publication. The same holds true for Bruno Lainé, who also helped to solve several technical problems in the analysis of the textual contents and the conversion of the catalogue data for publication. Advice on deciphering and interpreting the numerous notes that various individuals had left on the margins
of the manuscript folios was gladly received from Samten Yeshi, Lobsang Chodak, and Khenpo Konchok Tamphel.

In the publication process, proofreading was accomplished by Dennis Johnson, and a previous volume from Vajra Books designed by Thomas Schrom provided a suitable model for the volume’s layout. We are further much obliged to the editorial committee of Vajra Academic for accepting this book in its newly founded publication series and to Bidur Dangol, the publisher at Vajra Books.

The printing and the open access publishing of this book was only possible through the benevolent support of the Pritzker Art Collaborative and two Italian sponsors.

We are deeply grateful for all the help and support we have received, and we dedicate this publication to the prosperous future of Namgyal Monastery and its monastic and non-monastic community.
Conventions

In this book both a phonetic rendering of Tibetan words, based on the system of The Tibetan & Himalayan Library,¹ and an exact transliteration in parentheses, according to the principles described by Turrell Wylie,² are provided with the first occurrence of a term. In later occurrences, only the phonetic rendering is given. In cases where a different phonetic rendering is more commonly established, for example, Namgyal instead of Namgyel, we also use the common convention.

The two catalogue sections, one for the Prajñāpāramitā set and one for the Sūtra collection, reproduce and identify the visual and textual contents as found in the manuscripts. In each of these, the individual volumes are presented in the sequence that is indicated by their respective volume markers, using the letters of the Tibetan alphabet as an ordering system. Each volume was also ascribed a (random) number within the inventory list established by Christian Luczanits for the entire monastery collection. This number (e.g., Book 17) is also given below the heading of each volume. The contents of the individual volumes are outlined in their sequence of appearance, combining both visual and textual elements. This means that the description of each volume begins with the illuminations found on the first folio together with their identification. This is followed by a list of the textual contents of the respective volume. Each volume then ends again with the description of the visual contents of the final folio. Marginal notes that serve as captions to the visual contents were also included. These are presented in both Tibetan script and transliteration, and uncertain readings are underlined in the latter. More random notes, writing exercises, as well as the countless textual corrections that have been introduced at various stages are not reproduced for the sake of clarity and feasibility of the catalogue.³ In a few cases, dedicatory notes are found at the end of the volume. These are added to the notes of the final text of the respective volume and discussed in more detail in the concluding remarks.

For the text catalogue, the following information is provided, using comparative data from Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies (rKTs):⁴

- **ID:** This refers to different numbers that identify a text. The first is the sequential number within the Namgyal collection, for example, Ng1.1 refers to the first volume (ka) and its first text. Here, the volumes of the Sūtra collection (No. 1–30) were listed before the Prajñāpāramitā set (No. 31–44) for purely pragmatic reasons; the manuscripts do not determine a sequence between these two. The numbers in parentheses relate each text to versions in other collections. Using the rKTs number as a universal identifier the respective versions in the following collections are listed as generated by the rKTs database: Derge (D)⁵ as a representative for the Tselpa (tshal pa) lineage; Stog (S)⁶ for the Tempangma (them spangs ma) line; further also Phugdrag (F)⁷ as an important independent transmission. The collections of Early Mustang (EM),⁸ Hemis I (He), and Lang (Lg) must be seen as part of the same textual network as Namgyal and are therefore also listed. Note that the collections of Hemis (He, Hi, Hg) and Lang are not yet fully catalogued and hence further parallel identifications are likely to emerge. The same applies also for the collections from Basgo (Ba and X) and Nesar (Ns), which are not by default listed as a reference in the current catalogue. Data from these collections will become accessible successively through the rKTs archive.

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² Cf. Wylie 1959.
³ On the significance of these notes, in particular as sources for the social usage of the manuscripts, see Viehbeck 2021.
⁵ Cf. Ui et al. 1934.
• **Title:** The Sanskrit title of works is listed as a common reference, using the standard catalogues (mostly D and S). When a Sanskrit title is not available, the Tibetan title is given. This also applies to texts that were translated from languages other than Sanskrit, as for example Chinese titles have not yet been incorporated into the rKTs database. The source of the title is provided in parentheses.

• **Tib:** This gives the title of a text in Tibetan as it appears in the manuscript, with the exception of graphical peculiarities, as for example horizontal ligatures, which are not reproduced due to technical limitations. Titles missing from the beginning of texts were substituted from the colophons as indicated in the notes. No attempt was made to correct spelling, since the respective differences may be important markers for identifying individual lines of transmission. In ambiguous cases, as it sometimes occurs with the Tibetan graphemes *pa* and *ba*, or *nga*, *da*, and *ra*, we have decided for what seems to be the most likely reading in the given context. These conventions apply also to the rendering of chapter titles, colophons, notes, etc.

• **Ind:** Here, the original title of a text is provided, in Tibetan transcription. All indications refer to Indian origin (*rgya gar skad du*), even in cases where a Chinese origin is more feasible, as is the case for Ng 26.2 (rKTs 353), a text that the Derge edition reports as stemming from Chinese (*rgya'i skad du*). The rendering of mostly Sanskrit titles is often corrupt, but it has been given exactly as found in the manuscripts. Therefore, in the catalogue the Tibetan title is given before the Indian title, while in the manuscripts the Indian title is mentioned first.

• **Loc:** The location of a text in the Namgyal collections specifies whether a text is from the Sūtra collection (*mdo*) or the Prajñāpāramitā set (*bum*), gives the volume marker and the folio range. On the margins of the Sūtra collection, a short title of each text is found on the respective folios, and this was also added in parentheses.

• **Chap:** The structure of individual texts can be accessed through chapter headings, often including the chapter number spelled out in the text, and their respective location. For easier orientation, the chapter numbers are also provided at the beginning of the line. Note that chapter numbers are given as found in the texts also in cases where their order is confused, since these were also found to be important markers for the identification of different transmission lines. Due to their more technical nature, *bam po* markers were not included in the current catalogue. However, they were recorded and are accessible through the rKTs archive.

• **Colophon:** The colophon as found at the end of texts; these may include discrepancies in names of texts or provide details on their producers.

• **Note:** This includes everything that was found worth noting while cataloguing the contents, such as missing folios, relations to other editions, ambiguities in identification, etc.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

In general, we follow the system of referring to different Kanjur editions as it was proposed by Paul Harrison and Helmut Eimer (1997). In order to account for new editions and canonical collections that have become available in the meantime, new abbreviations are introduced and outlined on the rKTs website, which are used accordingly in the current catalogue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ba</td>
<td>Basgo fragments</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>Chharang, Kinnaur</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>Derge</td>
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<td>EM</td>
<td>Early Mustang</td>
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<td>Hi</td>
<td>Hemis II</td>
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<td>Lg</td>
<td>Lang</td>
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<td>O</td>
<td>O rgyan, Tawang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Peking</td>
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<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Stog</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>Tabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Basgo, complete Kanjur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Fig. 2: View of Namgyal Monastery during reconstruction of the monastic quarters in 2013
“There is nothing left of Namgyal, a fortified monastery to the west of Mustang, but a few chapels which are miraculously still standing: the Gonkhang with a few traces of paintings, the Dukhang (adus k’aṅ) the monk’s assembly hall with frescoes representing the five supreme Buddhas, and a gilded bronze chorten, a little temple which has inside it a group of terracotta images of the lamas of the Sakyapa sect—they look like an assembly which has been turned to stone, with their frozen movements and surprised expressions. Finally there is the Serkhang (gSer k’aṅ), a storehouse of statues saved from the ruins. Namgyal, encircled by an overhanging turreted spur, was one of the key positions in the valley’s defence, which is why it was so ruthlessly destroyed.”¹

Along with Toni Hagen, David Snellgrove, and, later, Michel Peissel (Fig. 8), Giuseppe Tucci was amongst the first Western researchers to visit Mustang and to spread information about the remote Himalayan kingdom.² Located along the Kali Gandaki river, which separates Dhaulagiri and Annapurna by forming the world’s deepest gorge, it always had a special position in fostering Transhimalayan connections between the Tibetan plateau and the Indian subcontinent. These connections are also reflected in Mustang’s political history and its shifting affiliations. In the context of present-day Nepal, the term “Mustang” primarily denotes an administrative district that was created in 1962, but which is also found in earlier documents with a shifting range of applications. Linguistically, it is believed to be derived from

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¹ Tucci 1977, 61.
² For their early reports, see, for example, Hagen 1960, Tucci 1977, Snellgrove 1961, and Peissel 1967.
a (non-Tibetan) pronunciation of “Möntang” (smon thang), the Tibetan name of the old capital of Lo (glo/glo bo; Fig. 4). While Lo, in different spellings, appears as a reference in earlier Tibetan literature, it is only with the fifteenth century and the political activities of Amépel (a me dpal/a ma dpal, b. 1388), a nobleman from Gungtang (gung thang), that the kingdom emerged as a strong power in the region.

Traditionally, Lo is considered to be part of the Tibetan region of Lower Ngari (mnga’ ris smad), which includes the neighbouring areas of Dolpo (dol po) and Gungtang. Stronger or looser connections to Tibet also play a role within the division of Lo into an upper and lower part. Whereas Upper Lo (glo bo stod) is inhabited mostly by Tibetan-speaking communities, Lower Lo (glo bo smad) is linguistically and ethnically more diverse. This also goes along with religious orientation. In Upper Lo, the different traditions of Tibetan Buddhism as well as Tibetan Bon are dominating exclusively, while towards the southern part of Lower Lo Hindu traditions gain more influence.

In the past, the population of Lo was engaged in three principle means to sustain their livelihood: farming, breeding livestock, and trade. Especially the latter must be seen as a substantial source of income that enabled the development of Lo and also its religious infrastructure. The fifteenth century saw not only the foundation of the capital Lo Möntang (glo smon thang) under Amépel’s son Agön Zangpo (a mgon bzang po, 1420–1482), but also the flourishing of institutionalized Buddhism. Crucial in this regard were the activities of Ngorchen Künga Zangpo (ngor chen kun dga’ bzang po, 1382–1456), an extremely influential teacher of the Sakya (sa skya) tradition and founder of Ngor (ngor) Monastery in Central Tibet, which eventually emerged as a sub-branch of the Sakya tradition. In a series of altogether three sojourns to Lo, Ngorchen established strong ties with the political rulers in Lo and initiated and supervised the establishment of Buddhist temples and communities as well as several projects of creating deluxe-editions of canonical collections of Buddhist works. The resulting connection to the Sakya tradition of Tibetan Buddhism is felt strongly in Mustang until the present day. In the following centuries, the power of the old Kingdom of Lo ceased gradually, in particular

3 See Heimbel 2017 for details on Ngorchen’s activities.
due to the rise of the neighbouring Jumla, the resulting breakup of the profitable trade route, and increasing independence of Lower Mustang. When, in the eighteenth century, the Gorkha king Pritvi Narayan Shah was able to gather much of what should become the territory of modern Nepal, the Kingdom of Lo became a tributary to the Kingdom of Nepal, while enjoying a large degree of internal freedom. With the end of the Nepalese monarchy in 2008, Mustang as well was fully integrated into the newly created Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal.4

Its remote location and difficult accessibility together with a strict regulation of tourism in the region—tourists are allowed to enter the area only since 1992 and under rather costly permits—have contributed to imagining Mustang as a “hidden kingdom.” This is often combined with the notion that Mustang is seen as a repository where authentic Tibetan Buddhism has survived outside of time and apart from the political events that changed Buddhism on the Tibetan plateau or other places along the Himalayas—a notion that is met on the ground with centuries-old practices and magnificent works of Buddhist art.

THE HERITAGE OF LO

Indeed, the art preserved in the region reflects the former affluence of the Mustang kingdom. The two temples within the walls of Lo Möntang, the Jampa Lhakhang (byams pa lha khang) and the Tupchen Lhakhang (thub chen lha khang), both built in the fifteenth century, are of stunning size and quality.5 While the former still documents its original appearance and, until recently, its murals where largely preserved unchanged (Fig. 5),6 the latter suffered considerable damage in its history. The large hall of the Tupchen Lhakhang preserves only a part of the original

4 See Ramble 2008, 23–42 and Jackson 1984, 1–12 for brief introductions to the cultural and political history of Mustang, which are summarized here. Vitali 2012 provides a detailed account of its early history, Dhungel 2002 of its later history.

5 See Kitamura 2011; Fieni 2010b; Fieni 2010c; Lo Bue 2010b; Harrison 2010.

6 Recent restoration work financed by The American Himalayan Foundation (http://www.himalayan-foundation.org, accessed March 6, 2020) has preserved the architecture well but severely affected the authenticity of the murals, in particular in the upper and lower floors (see Luczanits 2013; Luczanits 2014b).
structure, which is said to have been once three-storied.\(^7\) Nevertheless, the murals of these monuments have only been studied rudimentarily.\(^8\) Equally, the monasteries of Mustang preserve exquisite portable artworks of that time, only some of which have been recorded in scholarly works (Fig. 6).\(^9\)

There is also a network of cave monuments throughout the region that predate the Mustang kingdom. Of these, the cave of Luri is most well-known,\(^10\) and others have more recently received greater attention,\(^11\) but in the absence of secure historical data their dates and school affiliation remain contested.\(^12\) Portable artworks of that time are preserved in all the researched monasteries, and also the manuscript collections which are the focus of this publication were produced in this period.\(^13\) Together they evidence that the Mustang kingdom could build on an established network of Buddhist communities and their donors.

Temples continued to be constructed and portable artworks commissioned throughout the region, but they rarely reach a quality comparable to the earlier works, documenting a decrease in surplus available to the region’s rulers and monasteries. Major constructions, such as those of Lo Gekar (glo dge dkar), Tsarang (gtsang rang/rong), or Namgyal have altered considerably over time, with almost nothing remaining in architecture and the art applied to it that predates the seventeenth century. This century is of particular interest for Lo, as quite a number of monuments document the interaction between the diverse traditions of Tibetan Buddhism at that time. A rare jewel is the temple of Gönapgang (dgon pa sgang), reflecting the strength of the Nyingma (rnying ma) tradition in Lower Mustang.

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7 Harrison 2010, 31.
8 In addition to those already cited, see Dowman 1997 and Alsop 2004.
9 Heller 2010; Bellini 2014.
12 It is safe to say that dates suggested in the literature are predominantly on the early side, some impossibly so. A good example is the way the Könchokling (dkon mchog gling) cave was originally brought to the attention of a general public and its date resulting from a more detailed study, which differ by 400 years (see Luczanits 2014a). Equally, the Mentsünkhang (sman bsun khang) is dated considerably too early (von der Heide 2011; 2015). Neither of the cave names appears to be old.
13 Luczanits 2016a, 2016b.
and the vitality of the local Buddhist tradition in general (Fig. 7).\textsuperscript{14}

External interventions and internal political strife, especially between the upper and lower regions, appear to have made it difficult to maintain the surplus from trade and with it the rich historic heritage. The region is covered with ruins of religious establishments and entire villages, speaking eloquently of the historical changes to the heritage of the area.\textsuperscript{15} They also indicate that establishing new edifices rather than preserving ancient ones has long dominated in the area, putting the Buddhist trope of the impermanence of all things into heritage practice. Even today, historic heritage—such as the diverse royal palaces and two old temples within Tsarang monastery—is obviously neglected and abandoned for new establishments.

All these factors have affected the portable heritage of the region as well. The history of Mustang is full of stories of collections that have moved from one establishment to another. At times communal collections appear to have been distributed locally between prominent private houses. Consequently, practically every household owns artworks attesting to the rich history of the region. Equally, all monasteries preserve substantial collections of portable artworks, some of them extremely rich in sculptures, paintings, and books.\textsuperscript{16}

But there is also another set of stories that tells of portable artworks leaving the region for good. Some were simply sold to dealers or middlemen by family members in need of money, others have miraculously disappeared. And there are stories of major thefts from both private and monastery collections. In fact, there is hardly any chörten (chod rten) in the region that has not been broken into in search of the treasures it may contain. Fairly recently, the Samdrup Chörten (bsam grub mchod rten), halfway along the road between Tsarang and Lo Möntang, was looted,\textsuperscript{17} and the back of the Maitreya (Jampa, byams pa) sculpture of Gönpagang (Fig. 7) was forced open to extract the

\textsuperscript{14} Harrison et al. 2018.

\textsuperscript{15} These are often mentioned but appear to be largely unstudied so far, an exception being the hermitage of Samdrupling (bsam grub gling; Kitamura 2010).

\textsuperscript{16} The collections of Lo Möntang Chödé (chos sde), Tsarang, and Namgyal appear to be the most substantial, and only the latter is properly documented so far.

\textsuperscript{17} While this theft has not been registered with the police, it is widely discussed in the region. Both the year of the theft and its relationship to restoration work taking place at the chörten between 2005 and 2009 are contested.
treasure deposited there for the maintenance of the building.  

Following a first visit to the region in 2010, Christian Luczanits has therefore launched a research project in 2012 to create records of portable artworks in monastic and private collections. This work also brought him to Namgyal Monastery, the collection of which has left a particular impression after his first visit.

**Namgyal Monastery**

While other places in Mustang where already documented to some extent, not much was known about Namgyal Monastery, which lies at an altitude of 3,850 meters on the hill immediately west of Lo Möntang. In fact, it seemed to have slipped the attention of most researchers, and except for brief references by explorers that visited Mustang half a century ago there used to be no detailed accounts. As Tucci had stated earlier, in the 1950s the monastery seems to have been in a rather desolate state, but it also housed a very significant collection of art-historical objects.

Prior to the fifteenth century, Namgyal Monastery was known as Namgyal Chödé (*rnam rgyal chos sde*), literally “Namgyal Convent,” and there is no reliable information about its founding dates nor its original religious affiliation. During his second sojourn to Mustang (1436–1437), Ngorchen restored the religious centre and allegedly monks were summoned from three different monasteries for its repopulation: Pupak Samtenling (*phu phag bsam gtan gling*), Réshi Domsumling (*re shi ddom gsum gling*), and Jampa Shédrupling (*byams pa bshad sgrub gling*). The new foundation, restructuring, and likely enlargement of Namgyal Chödé might have also involved the movement of religious and art-historical objects from these monasteries to Namgyal. It is further reported that such objects were brought to Namgyal from Nyamdrok Monastery (*nyams 'brog dgon pa*), after it had been destroyed by an earthquake. Khchen (mKhan chen) Ratnaśrī, a disciple of Ngorchen, was sent from Sangpu Neutok (*gsang phu ne'u thog*) in Central Tibet to act as the abbot when Namgyal was restored. It seems the renovation was not completed until Ngorchen’s final visit (1447–1449), when he renamed Namgyal as Tupten Dargyéling (*thub bstan dar rgyas gling*) and installed Jamyang Shérap Gyatso (*jam dbyangs shes rab rgya mtsho*, 1396–1474) as the first abbot of the new institution. It is said that at that time, the monastic community had risen to about one thousand monks. This period also saw a change in patronage. While the old Namgyal Chödè was a stronghold of the Zhangpa (*zhang pa*), the new Tupten Dargyéling was patronized by the Sanam (*sa gnam*) family. Later, the Sakya luminary Shākya Chokden (*shākya mchog ldan*, 1428–1507) taught at Tupten Dargyéling during his visit to Lo from 1472–1475. In 1477, the famous Lobo Khchen Sönam Lhündrup (*gro bo mKhan chen bsod nams lhun grub*, 1456–1532) was appointed as abbot and served in this position for a period of twelve years.

Nowadays, its former glory is testified mainly by its exquisite collection of Buddhist art and texts, but also by its strategic location (Fig. 2). It overlooks not only the plain of the old capital, but also the way to Trenkar (*phrad mkhar*), the king’s summer residence. While Tucci reported the monastery’s state of despair in 1952, it seems to have been renovated only a few years later. Its new frescoes were executed by Kamal Dhoj Tulachan in 1959–1960. When Michel Peissel was visiting Namgyal Monastery in 1964, he noticed the fresh paintings and further also its precious collection of Tibetan Buddhist art.

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18 It is said that his theft happened in the early 2000s.
19 Originally supported by the Rubin Museum of Art as part of an exhibition project, since the move of Luczanits to the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in autumn 2014, the documentation itself is in the foreground. Since 2016 it has become part of an AHRC-funded research project on “Tibetan Buddhist Monastery Collections Today.”
20 These names are listed in the Namgyal Molla, a document that is dated towards the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century. See Heimbelt 2017, 307, also Jackson 1984.
22 For details on his life, see Kramer 2008.
24 See Beck 2014, 199, referring to Ratan Kumar Rai’s *Along the Kali Gandaki*.
books. He also produced what is likely to be the earliest photographic image of Namgyal Monastery (Fig. 8).

In recent years, Namgyal Monastery has changed drastically. Already in 2012, the former Lamdré Lhakhang (lam 'bras lha khang) was demolished along with all the living quarters in favour of an enlarged courtyard in front of the main temple (Fig. 2). The massive earthquake that struck Nepal in spring 2015 also damaged the old temple itself. It was therefore decided to demolish and rebuild it as well, so that factually all of the existing buildings were set up only recently. These efforts at modernization are mostly due to the monastery’s new leadership. Since becoming the abbot of Namgyal in 2004, Khenpo Tsewang Rigzin (mkhan po tshe dbang rig 'dzin) has not only initiated major construction works and educational projects at Namgyal and its affiliated institutions, but he has also shown a keen interest for the history of the monastery and the preservation of its art-historical and religious objects.

**Manuscript Documentation**

While the documentation of manuscripts in this area has been the subject of the extensive Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, the project did not get permission to work in the restricted area of Upper Mustang. Instead, locals were solicited to bring

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26 See also Luczanits 2016a for an account of the recent developments at Namgyal Monastery.

27 After three decades of documentation, this project was converted into a cataloguing project. The resulting catalogues are available online: https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/content/index.xml (accessed March 13, 2019).
important documents and books to Lower Mustang for documentation. Given these circumstances, the coverage of the documentation efforts at that time is difficult to assess. Further, it is clear that these focused mostly on historical documents and hardly on larger canonical collections, and also subsequent attempts to assess the nature of such collections in Mustang remained limited.\textsuperscript{28} The so-called Early Mustang Kanjur was published on the basis of its catalogue (\textit{dkar chag}) only, and the manuscript it is based on is not from Mustang either.\textsuperscript{29}

The importance of different versions of the Tibetan Buddhist canon for the cultural and religious history of Tibet has long been established.\textsuperscript{30} That \textit{in situ} collections along the periphery of the Himalayan plateau need to be assessed systematically, as they may reflect an earlier stage in the development of Tibetan Kanjurs or even contain previously unknown texts, has become clear with the more detailed assessment of the fragmentary holdings of Tabo (\textit{ta po}) Monastery.\textsuperscript{31} This find, along with the Old Tibetan documents from Dunhuang, has also lead to a study of the development of the typology of such texts\textsuperscript{32} and, more recently, to research on the material aspects of Tibetan manuscripts.\textsuperscript{33} Images as well as digital catalogues of various Kanjurs and larger canonical collections have been incorporated into the online database \textit{Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies} at the University of Vienna,\textsuperscript{34} to which were added also the textual collections from Namgyal Monastery.

The collection of Namgyal Monastery has been documented since 2012, first focusing on the sculptures and

\textsuperscript{28} Mathes 1997.
\textsuperscript{29} Eimer 1999.
\textsuperscript{30} The work of Helmut Eimer can be considered pioneering in this regard; see, especially, Eimer 1992. For a recent historical overview, see Tauscher 2015a.
\textsuperscript{31} See Harrison 2009 and the numerous studies on Tabo fragments or their use in the assessment of the textual tradition cited there.
\textsuperscript{33} Helman-Ważny 2014.
\textsuperscript{34} https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/rktsneu/sub/index.php (accessed April 22, 2020).
other portable artwork. At the instigation of the abbot of Namgyal, Khenpo Tsewang Rigzin, who wished for the books to also be recorded in the inventory resulting from the documentation, ten rather voluminous books of the extensive library were assessed in 2014. It turned out that each of the ten volumes opened had some form of art to it, and that a considerable number of them were handwritten manuscripts with beautiful illuminations on the first and last folios that dated to a period prior to the establishment of the Mustang kingdom in the early fifteenth century. Consequently, field documentation in the summer of 2015 has focused on the approximately eighty largest books in the collection, all of which contain some form of artwork, be it carved or painted covers, illuminations, silk curtains or repoussé work, and usually combinations thereof (Fig. 9). This documentation included most of the illuminations discussed in this publication (Fig. 10).

35 Arising from the impression of an earlier visit in 2010, the documentation was conceived as groundwork for an exhibition project at the Rubin Museum of Art, where Christian Luczanits was then employed as a curator. The exhibition project has stalled with Christian Luczanits leaving the Rubin Museum of Art in the summer of 2014 for his present position, but the documentation was since continued at yearly visits, most recently as part of an AHRC-funded research project on “Tibetan Buddhist Monastery Collections Today.”

36 Originally, manuscripts were not the target of the documentation of portable artwork which began in Mustang in 2012. These volumes were initially housed in the main assembly hall flanking the altar, but during documentation they were in temporary storage, awaiting their return to the newly constructed temple. See Luczanits 2016b on the recent changes to the monastery.

37 Christian Luczanits is grateful to Jaroslav Poncar, Bhirat Thapa, and Nawang Tsering Gurung for their hard work during the intensive documentation, which resulted in almost 10,000 pictures and 450 GB of data taken within six workdays. Needless to say, this unexpectedly massive amount of data assembled in a very short time in combination with the absence of regular electricity supply was a challenge in its own right, especially in terms of an immediate backup. Sorting the photographs according to their corresponding books took a week, and cataloguing the texts of one volume took two to eight hours. This estimate is without considering special features such as the illuminations or the additional verses found throughout the volumes, which are the subject of this volume.

38 The following procedure was used to document the books: Christian Luczanits’ task was to clean the dust off the books with a brush, document them as objects, document the short sides of the book covers, take relevant notes and decide what needs to be photographed. Once the most effective procedures had been established, the book covers were photographed from both sides along with the beginning and end sections of each book. The main focus was on the decorative features of the books, including any
The documentation of the entire texts of the most interesting volumes required two subsequent visits (2016 and 2017), the last of which included also Markus Viehbeck as an expert on the textual contents of the manuscripts. Altogether, Namgyal Monastery houses a total of at least 126 volumes of older Tibetan texts that were produced in different times. Of these, forty-three volumes stand out both in terms of their quality and their age of production.

THE SCOPE OF THIS BOOK

The present study tells the story of these forty-three volumes. As will described in detail below, the volumes actually form two sets: one set of originally thirty volumes, with two volumes missing and one duplicated, which is designated as Sūtra collection (mdo sde), that is, a collection of texts that are, at least in an idealized way, ascribed to the historical Buddha; and another set of fourteen volumes consisting of Prajñāpāramitā literature, but effectively only one single text, the Šatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāśūtra, that is, the Sūtra of the Perfection of Wisdom in One Hundred Thousand Lines.

Both of these sets have a similar function in that they represent the essence of the Buddhist teachings in their entirety. In this function as a symbolic object, they are often placed at the head of the main temple of a monastery or flanking its sides. Such volumes also play a key role in communal rituals, when they are paraded through a village to purify the community, its crops, and livestock, and protect them from natural disasters, or during seasonal recitations undertaken for the same purposes. In this ritual and symbolic context, the actual contents of a particular collection do not matter too much. Rather, volumes of this kind form a “practical canon,” that is, they represent an idealized “notional canon” of the entirety of all Buddhist works, of which they are seen as a local instantiation. This may be also observed, for example, when the current inhabitants of Namgyal Monastery commonly refer to the older volumes of their collection as an “old Kanjur” (as was also done in the past, see the account of Peissel discussed in chapter 1 below).

Also from a historical perspective, and as will be discussed in detail below, the Namgyal collections must be regarded as forming a substantial canonical collection, albeit not a Kanjur in the sense of the model that developed in the fourteenth century. Given their assumed age and their content, the Namgyal collections might in fact reflect a stage prior to the formation of a fully structured Kanjur and hence also represent important evidence to further our understanding of the processes of the formation of the Tibetan canon.

All volumes of both the Prajñāpāramitā set and the Sūtra collection have similar stylistic features and are strikingly different from the other books preserved at Namgyal Monastery. First, they clearly must be seen as the oldest manuscripts among the entire collection. Furthermore, the execution of these volumes represents a high level of craftsmanship, including the paper used, the styles of writing, and the high quality illuminations placed at the beginning and end of every single volume. While similar features might be found in other sets of Prajñāpāramitā literature, of which in fact very many were produced, illuminated sets of this quality are extremely rare. The case of a substantial collection of canonical literature, as gathered here in the Sūtra collection, of an early age as assumed for the Namgyal manuscripts, together with illuminations of a comprehensive iconographic program is not only...
rare but in fact unique in the history and documentation of older Tibetan manuscripts known so far.

In an attempt to do justice to this art-historical and textual treasure, our treatment of the Namgyal manuscripts will involve two principal aspects: describing, as closely as possible, the visual as well as textual contents of the two text collections; and, secondly, providing an art-historical and text-historical analysis of these contents. The first aspect is addressed in the two catalogue sections that lay out the contents of the Prajñāpāramitā set and the Sūtra collection by describing the illuminations and the Buddhist works contained in each single volume. The catalogue sections are interspersed with three analytical chapters that investigate pertinent features of both collections.

Chapter 1 introduces the volumes and discusses their central characteristics from the perspective of Tibetan manuscript studies. In particular, it documents their main codicological, orthographic, and paleographic features. This will also allow a comparison of the Namgyal manuscripts with other Tibetan collections and an assessment of their likely date of production.

Chapter 2 investigates the illuminations of the Namgyal manuscripts. It describes significant features of the illuminations found at the beginning and end of each volume and discusses their possible derivation and relation to other productions in Mustang and Tibetan Buddhist art more generally. By scrutinizing the iconographic program of the two text collections, it will also address the question of how textual and visual contents are related, and stylistic comparisons will be used to suggest their time and place of production.

Chapter 3 then looks into the textual contents, in particular into the works that are included in the Sūtra collection. A comparison of these with the contents of other Kanjurs and canonical collections will enable us to see the Namgyal collections as part of a bigger textual network in the Western and Central Himalayas. This part will also discuss how the Sūtra collection must be related to the larger development of the emergence and later standardization of the Tibetan canon in the form of structured Kanjurs, and how it can thus enrich our understanding of the formation of the Tibetan canon.

The concluding remarks will gather the bits and pieces of available information to reconstruct a likely context of the manuscript collections’ production. By reflecting about the wider implications that are to be drawn from the Namgyal manuscripts in the study of Tibetan art and Buddhist canonical literature in more general terms, it will also address the issue of cultural preservation.

In its scope, this book combines the art-historical expertise of Christian Luczanits and the text-historical interest of Markus Viehbeck as well as a passion for Tibetan manuscript culture shared by both of them. All parts of this book therefore must be seen as emerging from a dialogue between the two of them, and, of course, the crucial input of numerous other colleagues as laid out in the acknowledgements. Chapter 1 and chapter 3 were authored primarily by Markus Viehbeck, chapter 2 by Christian Luczanits. The introduction and the concluding remarks were co-authored. As for the catalogue sections, presentations of the images along with their captions were provided by Christian Luczanits, while Markus Viehbeck contributed the identifications and descriptions of the texts contained in the volumes.
Chapter One

The Manuscripts at Namgyal: Codicology, Orthography, and Paleography

“Another sacred number is 108; thus the Tibetan scriptures (Kanjur) are arranged in 108 volumes. The sacred Kanjur was set in the Namgyal Gumpa behind the main altar in pigeonhole-like niches, forming a checkered background to the wooden figures of famous monks that lined the altar. [...] In a corner of the temple we found a large wooden chest in which were neatly stacked thirty volumes bound in wood. These were the annals of Sakya, the religious history of this ancient Tibetan sect, a set of volumes that I later learned in Europe are very rare. The books were unfortunately too numerous for us to read, and held too sacred for us to be allowed to buy them.”

If Giuseppe Tucci was the first Westerner to notice the important statues housed at Namgyal Monastery, Michel Peissel was the first to report its special collection of Buddhist texts—even though he was slightly misguided regarding their contents. In his efforts to document all portable objects of the monastery, Christian Luczanits was able to record 126 volumes of older Tibetan manuscripts. A closer investigation revealed that these include several larger sets of Buddhist literature. As Peissel had already noted, one of these sets was a larger collection of texts from the Sakya tradition, that is, the Sakya Kabum (sa skya bka’ ‘bum), a collection of writings of the five founding figures of the Sakya tradition. This set, handwritten in “headless” (dbu med) script and illuminated, is indeed special, albeit several volumes are missing.

1 Peissel 1967, 152.
2 Since these books were documented over a period of several years and thus moved to different places each year, two volumes were erroneously recorded twice, leading to a running number of 128 for what effectively are only 126 volumes.

Fig. 11: A manuscript sample from the Sūtra collection
from the collection. Currently, there are seventeen volumes of this collection at Namgyal, while originally it contained perhaps twenty-five. Their total number is difficult to determine since the last section, containing the works of Chögyel Pakpa (chos rgyal 'phags pa), is completely missing. There is also a collection with similar content of the writings of Ngorchen. All of these volumes taken together might account for the thirty volumes from the Sakya tradition reported by Peissel.

The majority of the remaining manuscripts represent canonical literature. The two largest sets of these, twenty-nine volumes of a Sūtra collection and fourteen volumes of the Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra (ŚSPP), form the subject of this book. Besides these, there are six volumes of another set of the ŚSPP, written in gold (gser bris) on blue-black paper (mthing shog), of what likely once was a set of fourteen volumes. Other volumes written with gold and/or silver ink (dngul bris) on blue-black paper contain common canonical texts: for example, several volumes of the Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra, some volumes designated as Tokzung (tog gzungs), thus indicating the Mahāsamnipātaratnaketudhāraṇī but obviously containing also other dhāranīs and sūtras, and furthermore volumes of the Mahāparinirvānasūtra, the Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra, and the Bhadrakalpikasūtra. Given the considerable efforts, in particular in economic terms, that were spent on producing these deluxe editions of canonical texts, they are to be associated with the period of sustained royal patronage of Buddhism that Mustang entered in the course of the fifteenth century.4

A similar literary scope, with common larger sūtras on the one hand and collections of smaller dhāranīs and sūtras on the other, is also found in the other large-format volumes, written with black or red ink on ordinary brown paper. While their production was certainly less costly than their deluxe counterparts, it must have nevertheless involved sizeable resources and craftsmanship, in particular with regard to the illuminations that occur in some of them. Given their stylistic variety, their production dates need to be determined individually.

It seems likely that Peissel was referring to all of these canonical volumes together when reporting a “sacred Kanjur” at Namgyal. In fact, the current inhabitants of Namgyal still refer to their collection of older canonical volumes and particularly to the volumes of the Sūtra collection as “the old Kanjur.” Besides these canonical texts, there is also a small number of other handwritten manuscripts, among them a few works of historiographic interests, biographies (rnam thar), and annals (rgyal rabs), as well as a few older block prints. All of these volumes remain to be studied in detail, in particular with regard to the historical information that can be extracted from the poetical introductions and colophons that accompany a few of them.5 The current study, however, will focus exclusively on the oldest among these manuscripts, that is, the larger ŚSPP set and the Sūtra collection, whose special features are recorded in the following analysis.

**Manuscript Description**

Manuscriptology as a specialized field of interest in Tibetan studies is still in its infancy, and therefore a systematic understanding of the long-term developments in the production of manuscripts is yet to emerge. Individual scholars, however, have produced substantial research in working with

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3 Here we follow the directions of Wangchuk 2016, who emphasizes that the concept of “deluxe edition” is strongly linked to the precious nature of the materials used for such editions, such as blue-black paper (mthing shog) and gold and/or silver ink.

4 Given that the few accompanying colophons and introductions refer to important historical figures from the fifteenth century, an earlier date of production can indeed be excluded. However, a closer determination of the age of these manuscripts will require a more detailed historical as well as codicological analysis.

5 A typology of common structural elements of these poetical prefaxes has been suggested by Elena de Rossi Filibeck (2007a, 153) in her work with Western Tibetan manuscripts. This will have to be compared against the literary conventions found in the Namgyal material. Further, Amy Heller’s investigation of prefaxes and colophon in Dolpo must be taken into account, not only with regard to literary conventions, but also in terms of concrete historical connections between Mustang and Dolpo, see Heller 2007 and 2009.
their respective manuscript collections. In particular, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub's analysis (1999) of the Dunhuang and Tabo material established the basis for Tibetan manuscript studies.\(^6\) In recent years, scholars such as Sam van Schaik and Jacob Dalton have added to that, in particular with regard to paleographic aspects of the Dunhuang texts.\(^7\) In 2016, Brandon Dotson and Agnieska Helman-Ważny presented a detailed and sophisticated template for studying and describing manuscripts, drawing from the same Old Tibetan material.\(^8\)

The taxonomical outline of the following description of codicological, orthographic, and paleographic aspects of the Namgyal manuscripts is directly inspired by this research, especially by the models set out by Scherrer-Schaub and Dotson and Helman-Ważny, which we have used in a modified form as fitting for our purpose. This is justified firstly due to differences in the material—in terms of the time and context of production—as well as a different focus, since manuscriptology is but one of many perspectives addressed in the present volume. Even though the Prajñāpāramitā set and the Sūtra collection are clearly separate conceptually, many of the described features apply to both collections and indicate a similar context of production. Of course the individual differences between the two collections were also taken into account, including variations among the individual volumes of each of the collections.

The Namgyal manuscripts were documented \textit{in situ} and remain part of an active monastic community. Therefore, they are not to be regarded as static items, preserved and secured in their current condition in an archive. They continue to be used and may, as mobile objects, undergo changes in their location as well as condition as time goes by. This is exemplified by the reappearance of an entire volume: during the documentation in 2015, volume nya of the Prajñāpāramitā set was deemed to be missing, while in 2017 it was present. Therefore, there is hope that the two missing volumes (ma and ha) of the Sūtra collection might eventually resurface, while, at the same time, there is fear that that other volumes could disappear. Currently, all volumes are preserved under reasonable conditions in a little storage room at the east corner of the newly constructed temple. During the last documentation activity in 2017, the volumes were equipped with new cloth covers, volume labels, and covering belts. In the future, upon completion of the respective construction work, they are to be relocated to the main shrine hall. The present documentation refers to the images of the volumes that were taken in 2014, 2015, 2016, and 2017, which will be made available on the \textit{Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies} website.\(^9\) Each volume received a permanent identification number within the larger inventory that Christian Luczanits produced for all mobile objects of the monastery, which is also indicated as a reference in the catalogue sections of this book.

\section*{Codicological Features}

All manuscripts at Namgyal are in the \textit{pothī} format inspired by the Indian tradition. Unlike in the Dunhuang collections, not only the Prajñāpāramitā set but also the Sūtra collection, which includes also smaller tantric works, comes in large-format \textit{pothī},\(^{10}\) as commonly seen in much of the Western Tibetan material. Folios of the Sūtra collection have a standard measurement of ca. 21 x 67 cm, with minimal deviations. Individual pages are often worn off and hence slightly smaller in size. A single volume contains anywhere between 299 and 370 folios, with volume ya (428 folios) and volume sha (221 folios) significantly deviating from the standard size. Obviously folios have been

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\begin{itemize}
  \item \(^6\) See Scherrer-Schaub 1999, further also Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani 2002.
  \item \(^7\) See especially Dalton, Davis, and van Schaik 2007, Dalton and van Schaik 2006, and van Schaik 2013 and 2014.
  \item \(^8\) Dotson and Helman-Ważny 2016; mention must be also made to Agnieska Helman-Ważny's study (2014) of the material aspects of Tibetan book production.
  \item \(^9\) \url{https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/rktsneu/sub/index.php} (accessed April 26, 2020). In the references the common abbreviations are used, that is, \textit{mdo} for pointing to the Sūtra collection and 'bum for the Prajñāpāramitā set.
  \item \(^{10}\) For the format of the Dunhuang material, see Dotson and Helman-Ważny 2016, 35.
\end{itemize}
shifted between those two volumes. In volume ya, folio 359/360 (it is labelled with both numbers) is designed as a final folio of a volume, featuring two illuminations and also some verse lines of dedications that are otherwise only found at the end of a volume. However, the text continues on the verso side of this folio and also the following folios. In all of these, the volume letter was changed from sha (in red ink) to ya (in black ink) and also the foliation was adjusted, which indicates that the folios were earlier part of volume sha, but moved to volume ya based on their textual contents.11

The Prajñāpāramitā folios are only slightly bigger with an average size of ca. 22 x 71 cm, also with minor variations due to damage of the folio margins. Here, volumes are also somewhat bigger in size and contain anywhere between 363 and 406 folios.

Both collections make use of a highly similar paper. The paper is rather thick, consisting of several layers glued together, and very uniform in its thickness. Its texture is smooth on both sides. The paper comes in its natural beige or light brown colour, with no dyes added. For both collections, laid lines as an imprint of the sieve used in the manufacturing of the paper are discernible, if only barely. The paper is obviously of high-quality. This also becomes apparent when compared to individual folios of later replacements, which are generally thinner and sometimes also coarser in their composition (see, e.g., mdo, tsa, fol. 2, or 'bum, ta, fol. 11). Since the manuscripts were documented in situ and no material samples were extracted, a microscopic analysis could not be undertaken and the raw material of production cannot be determined.

Throughout the collections, black ink is used as a standard for writing the text, penned in clear, fine lines. The occurrence also of thicker handwriting (see, e.g., mdo, tha fol. 319a) points to the work of several scribes. Red ink is used for the page layout, that is, the delineation of the left and right margins with a vertical line and the circles around the string holes, as well as for the volume indications, placed on the left margin of each recto side. Bright orange ink in turn is used for drawing line markings for the writing, which have often faded and are therefore barely visible.

11 This part of volume ya features the Pūrṇapramukhāvadānāśataka (rKTs 343). It is unclear how its latter part, what is now labelled as ff. 361–428, ended up in volume sha in the first place.
As for the page layout, the Sūtra collection has a standard of nine lines per page, with occasional deviations of an additional line or one or more fewer lines. While this kind of aberration is also found in the Prajñāpāramitā set, the latter has eight lines as standard format. Together with the different paper size, this leads to varying margin sizes for both collections. The Sūtra folios have average top and bottom margins of 4.5 and 5.5 cm, while left and right margins are about 5.0 and 4.5 cm respectively. This generous use of paper is even more apparent for the Prajñāpāramitā folios, where top and bottom margins are about 5.5 and 6.0 cm, and left and right margins ca. 5.8 and 4.5 cm. The syllables within written lines are never cramped and evenly distributed, apart from cases of later insertions. There are also some cases where only relatively little text is distributed to cover an entire folio (see, e.g., mdo, tsha, fol. 233). Together with the prominent size of the margins, this might be regarded as an indication that there was a surplus of writing material when the collections were produced. One slight difference between the two collections is that the Prajñāpāramitā set is somewhat more generously spaced than the Sūtra collection.

The left margin of the recto side is used for volume and folio markers, and this is also where a short title of the text at hand is featured for the Sūtra collection. These marginal titles are also recorded in the catalogue section. While the margins are generally blank, this space was occasionally used for notes of various degrees of formality. These include textual corrections of a rather official type, probably from the original context of production, but also later amendments, more random expressions of devotion, scribblings, writings exercises, and, rarely, also doodle-style drawings (for the latter, see, e.g., ‘bum, ka, fol. 123b, ‘bum, ta, fol. 23a, or mdo, pha, fol. 300a, Fig. 12).12 These must of course be clearly distinguished from the official illuminations that are found, in both collections, at the beginning and the end of each volume, and which are discussed separately in the following chapter and the catalogue sections.

As for foliation, the volumes are marked with the letters of the Tibetan alphabet, indicating their sequential order. In volume ya of the Sūtra collection, the latter part of the folios, that is fol. 321 and following, shows an original marking as volume sha with red ink, which has been written over and changed to ya in black ink. As mentioned above, this indicates a conflation of the two volumes. Apart from one exception, plain letters are used for all pages of a volume, written only on the recto side. Only the final volume of the Sūtra collection, volume a, uses a combination of letters to distinguish different page ranges: the plain letter a for fols. 1–100, a with subscribed na for fols. 101–200, and a with subscribed ma for fols. 201 until the end (Fig. 13). This system was already noted by Ernst Steinkellner for the canonical material at Tabo,13 and it is commonly found also in other Western Tibetan collections from this period, such as the one from Gondhla.14

Observation of these features in the Namgyal manuscripts supports Steinkellner’s assumption that this system of indicating hundreds was at later times supported and eventually superseded by short signs in the

12 The marginalia of the Namgyal manuscripts and their indications of the social usage of the manuscripts are discussed in Viehbeck 2021.


14 See Tauscher 2008, XXXVIII.
shape of a cross (\(\mathbf{\alpha}\)), a plus sign (\(\mathbf{+}\)), or simply a stroke used for the same purpose. While volume a of the Sūtra collection still shows a combination of both features, the later system is indeed the standard for all other volumes of the Namgyal collection: numbers are written out fully in the range of 1–100, while in the following a cross or plus sign is added for every full hundred. These abbreviations are combined with the remainder of the folio numeral, which is spelled out in words, and set perpendicular to the main text at the folio margin; \(+++\) so brgyad, for example, then indicates the folio number 338. In the Sūtra collection, the short sign for hundred mostly takes the shape of a plus sign, while in the Prajñāpāramitā set it is found mostly in the form of the cross sign, but both signs are used in both collections. Unlike in other collections, simple strokes are not used. The volume signature sometimes takes the same orientation as the folio number (as in the final example below), but more commonly it is aligned with the main text. The position of the volume signature is usually aligned with the second line of the main text, and the marking of this line is drawn further into the margin of the folio to mark the position (as seen more clearly in the first example of Fig. 14).

The various types of foliation found in Tibetan manuscripts were described by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub.\(^\text{15}\) In her typology, the standard system found in the Namgyal collections can be identified as Type IIIb (i.e., letter volume signature and hundreds noted by cross-mark only), while the exception of the last Sūtra volume is Type IIIa (i.e., letter volume signature and hundreds noted by subscript letter and cross-mark). Several cases of double foliation of individual leaves have been noted. A single folio might be inscribed with two numbers, but there are also instances where successive folios bear the same number and are distinguished as being upper (gong ma) or lower (\'og ma), or even first (dang ma), middle (bar ma), and last (tha ma) (for the latter, see, e.g., mdo, ta, fol. 308). There are also a few cases where numbers have been skipped. While the sequence of volumes is indicated in the margins by the letter volume signature, some volumes of the Prajñāpāramitā set also mention the volume (\textit{dum bu}) in the first lines of the text. However, the numbers given for the last two volumes are incorrect, in the sense that volume pa (13) is marked as eleven and volume pha (14) as twelve.

\(^{15}\) Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 22. Further, Brandon Dotson’s recent study (2015a) of the different systems of foliation as found in ninth-century Tibetan manuscripts must be mentioned.
In terms of ornamentation, the manuscripts display different forms of opening signs (mgo yig). The most common markings found on the recto side of the ordinary pages of both collections are symbols with a single or double curl that face upward or to the left (Fig. 15).

A single or double curl is also often used to mark the beginning of a new text, sometimes together with additional ornamental signs (Fig. 16).

These signs may take more elaborate forms at the beginning and end of a volume. Signs with up to three curls, in combination with other elements, are especially common for the first leaf (verso) (Fig. 17).

Fig. 17: Opening signs at the beginning of Sūtra volumes

Fig. 18: Opening signs at the end of Sūtra volumes

Fig. 19: Opening signs at the beginning of Prajñāpāramitā volumes

Fig. 20: Opening signs at the end of Prajñāpāramitā volumes

Fig. 21: Variety of opening signs in Prajñāpāramitā volumes ('bum, vol. cha)

Fig. 22: Later types of opening signs

The former examples are all taken from the Sūtra collection, and while the signs on ordinary pages are mostly the same for both collections, there is a marked difference with regard to the opening and final pages of individual volumes. In the Prajñāpāramitā set, these always include an ornamental element in the shape of an upside-down heart, often added in red ink. The three examples, taken from the first folio of different volumes of the Prajñāpāramitā set illustrate this special feature (Fig. 19).

Similar ornamentation is displayed at the end of the volumes, where quite often illuminations are painted over the symbol, indicating that these were added later (Fig. 20).

While ordinary pages in both collections are mostly ornamented in the same way, it seems for the Prajñāpāramitā set that the heart shape features also as part of these more common signs, since occasionally

16 For a discussion of the principle types of ornamental signs, see Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani 2002, 191–94.
one curl of the opening sign (mgo yig) takes the shape of a heart. The following examples are all taken from a single volume ('bum, vol. cha) and provide a good illustration of this spectrum (Fig. 21).

The heart shape thus acts as a clear marker of difference between the two collections. That said, the ornamentation signs in both collections are principally of similar types, insofar as they reflect rather old forms that can be easily distinguished from later types. This is especially obvious when we consider other examples as a contrast, which are taken from cases where individual leaves were replaced at a later stage, and which illustrate the more uniform character of later ornamentation (Fig. 22).

Both collections feature circles around the string holes as a consistent element, a typical feature of early Tibetan manuscripts. As a rule, these circles are plain, painted in red ink, and without further decoration. The rare cases of other forms of ornamentation clearly must be seen as later additions.

The string holes are mostly pierced, but only gently. The holes obviously were never used in their original function, since they are too small to fit a string and show no signs of usage. Further, there are slight variations in their precise location, and thus the leaves could not have been stacked upon each other using their holes. Sometimes the hole is lacking and only the circle remains as a remnant of earlier conventions. This feature should also distance the Namgyal manuscripts from earlier manuscripts with more pronounced string holes.

In its simple form, the circle around the string hole is to be seen not so much as an ornamental element but as part of the more technical layout up of a page, and it seems to have been executed along with the margins and line markings before the addition of any ornamentation or script, as illustrated by the blank page in Fig. 23.

The size of the circles is around 2.7 to 3.0 cm in diameter but seems to vary, with samples from the Prajñāpāramitā set tentatively taking the larger size.

Both collections are written in a clear and standard form of “headed” (dbu can) script, which is also used for what seem to be official textual corrections. Other notes, obviously later additions, use different forms of “headless” (dbu med) or “running script” (khyug yig).

Given the extent of the collections, several scribes must have been employed in their production. While the handwriting of the material is remarkably uniform, minor and, at times, major differences can still be discerned. However, no systematic attempts were undertaken to identify and enumerate all scribal hands involved.
ORTHOGRAPHIC FEATURES

The detailed model for describing the orthographic features of a Tibetan manuscript set out by Dotson and Helman-Ważny (2016) presupposes the complete digitization of the manuscript in order to enable a systematic search for salient features and their quantification by means of computational methods. In consideration of the large extent of the collection, a full digitization of the Namgyal material was not undertaken. A selection of samples across the collection could be a reasonable workaround to provide a feasible yet informative body of digitized text. However, this would need to take into account possible differences not only between the Prajñāpāramitā set and the Sūtra collection but also between the individual volumes of the two collections. For this preliminary investigation here, we decided to limit our description to the observation of features that were noted during the cataloguing of the material, which, obviously, is highly tentative.

Both the Prajñāpāramitā set and the Sūtra collection display many of the following key features of Old Tibetan forms of writing with regard to their orthographic characteristics:

- *ma ya btags*, which is found as a standard whenever *ma* is combined with the vowels *e* or *i*, and which in its consistent use is probably the most prominent sign of old orthography.

- *da drag* is also a steady feature in both collections and appears frequently in examples like *rold*, *lend*, *phyind*, *thard*, etc. However, both spellings of a word, with and without *da drag*, are found, even in close proximity.

- The reverse *i* (*gi gu log*) is consistently used in both collections. At times it seems as if it is used due to spatial considerations, such as when the space for the regular *i* is already occupied by the stack of letters from the line above. In many cases, however, the use of reverse *i* seems not to depend on a concrete cause but appears in the same instances as the regular *i*.

- 'a suffix (*a rjes jug*) is frequently featured, especially in text titles where the Sanskrit word *sūtra* is spelled *mdo* rather than *mde*. It appears less often in other contexts and in combination with other letters.

- Separated or joined a chung: Two syllables are frequently separated by a dot (*tsheg*) when, according to Classical Tibetan conventions, these should in fact be joined together. In the description of this phenomenon by Dotson and Helman-Ważny, they focus exclusively on examples of a separated or joined ‘i’ or ‘is’, that is, on indications of the genitive or ergative case. One should note, however, that this includes also other cases, such as a joined or separated ‘u’, which is a frequent phenomenon in the Namgyal collections, especially in the Tibetan spelling of “chapter” as *le’u* or *le ‘u*, but also in other contexts, as the example in Fig. 24 illustrates.

- *anusvāra*: A small circle or dot (*thig kor*) above a letter is often found to indicate the letter *ma—anusvāra* in Sanskrit or *rjes su nga ro* in Tibetan. Examples include *tham*, *rma*, *khrims*, *khaMs*, *naM*, and others. As with the other features, these appear randomly and in close vicinity to the same words fully spelled out.

- Line breaks, in turn, seem normative. That is to say, words end with the end of the line, and letters of a single word are neither spread over lines nor repeated at the beginning at the next line, as is the case in some Old Tibetan documents. See Dotson and Helman-Ważny 2016, 79–80.

- Subscribed letters are seen more frequently, especially at the end of a line. In cases like *tshogs*, *par*, *shes*, and others, the final letter is subscribed below the preceding letter to fit the word into the line.

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18 See Dotson and Helman-Ważny 2016, 72–73.
Given the overall generous use of writing space, this is an interesting feature. One may wonder whether it is to be seen as a method to save space or simply a more general convention. Hence, the investigation of this feature must distinguish its ordinary usage from cases where space was obviously more limited, for example in cases of textual corrections. As illustrated below (in the example of erasing and rewriting a passage), here the usage of subscribed letters and anusvāra were prime means to save space and thus heavily employed.

- Text endings are indicated by the closing formula rdzogs so. However, while this later classical form is also found occasionally, the most common version in the Namgyal collections is rdzogs s+ho, with a ha subscribed below the sa. Sometimes the letter ya is also added to the combination, that is, rdzogs s+h+yo.  

Another aspect to consider in this regard is the rendering of Sanskrit words, which have a prominent place in the indication of text titles and the references to translators in the colophons. The Sanskrit terms in the introductions and colophons of the Namgyal texts exhibit not only a broad range of variant spellings but also numerous cases of obvious misspellings. Here, too, we find various forms in close proximity. A particular telling example of this phenomenon is the spelling of the Kashmiri scholar and translator Jinamitra. In the sūtras of Namgyal, his name is usually spelled in Tibetan as 'dzi na myi tra. While the majority of cases adheres to this version, in numerous other instances a reverse i (gi gu log) takes the place of the first i, that is, 'dz-i na myi tra, and further occasional exceptions include the following forms: 'dzi na myi 'dra, 'dzin na myi tra, 'dzl na myl tra, 'dzi na myl 'tra. This variety may indicate a lack of Sanskrit knowledge on the side of the scribes, but it may also provide information about a phase in which

the reproduction of Sanskrit words in Tibetan script was not yet as standardized as in later texts. A close investigation of the different forms of Sanskrit renderings—in particular regarding the rendering of text titles—may also indicate relationships between individual texts or groups of texts. Such an examination would also need to consider later additions, apparently aimed at correcting mistakes in Sanskrit renderings, such as the numerous a chung that were added below letters to indicate long vowels in the Sanskrit original.

Of course standardization is an issue also for the Tibetan spellings. The texts feature numerous obvious misspellings of Tibetan words, and these also contain cases that possibly represent alternative or earlier spellings. In this regard, too, the body of textual material together with the marginal notes may be seen as a treasure trove for historical linguistics. Among several anomalies noted, it will suffice here to mention the recurrent case of gleng bzhi as an alternative spelling for gleng gzhi (i.e., subject matter, theme, introduction).

As for punctuation, the most common element is the single vertical stroke (shad), which is used to separate the various elements of a sentence and placed in between the preceding and the following text. In the case of a stronger syntactical separation, a single shad is placed at the end of one clause, and another one is placed before the start of the next sentence or clause. This typically occurs in sentences that are concluded by a final particle (rdzogs tshig). That said, there is some variation between the use of a single shad and the combination of shad, blank space, and shad. The double shad is used in general to mark the beginning or end of larger paragraphs and in particular for chapter or bam po breaks as well as the beginning and ends of texts. Also blank lines of text are often “filled in” by placing a double shad at their beginning and end. Triple or quadruple shad are not featured in the strict sense of the term, but three single shad placed in close proximity are occasionally found, thus giving a close impression of a triple shad. The sign that marks the separation of
Fig. 25: Example of a textual addition with its location marked with a plus sign

Fig. 26: Example of an erasure together with the cramped rewritten passage

Fig. 27: Example of added interlinear glosses, taken from the Prajñāpāramitā set ('bum, ka)

Fig. 28: Example of the deletion of individual characters by the addition of three dots on its top; found in a newer, replaced folio (mdo, ta)

Fig. 29: The additional revision of many of the volumes is indicated on their final page; this volume (mdo, da) was even revised twice
syllables (tsheg) takes the standard form of a single dot placed at the top of the line. It is found at the end of every syllable and also when followed by a shad.

All volumes of both collections show general signs of corrections and usage. These clearly pertain to different historical periods and must have been performed with different degrees of cautiousness. A process of official correction is also documented in the manuscripts, notably only in the Sūtra collection, by brief notes at the end of the volume. These point to a “second edit” (dang zhus) through which the reading has been corrected.21 Most often this is indicated by the confirmatory phrase “re-edited and correct” (dang zhus te dang go), written in headed script with red ink.

Textual improvement was achieved by different means. Mere gaps in the text were filled by adding the missing phrases on the manuscript margin, superfluous text was marked or crossed out. Further, larger textual corrections were executed by replacing the earlier text. To this effect, the surface layer of the manuscript was scraped off and the corrected passage rewritten. When only individual characters were deleted, this was marked by adding three dots on top of the character in question. While this last intervention is also commonly found in other textual collections, it is a rather rare feature in the Namgyal texts and must perhaps be seen as a later development. Later additions, written mostly in different types of headless script, include further textual additions and corrections as well as copied phrases of the main text, random writing exercises, personal notes, and what seems like children’s scribblings, amongst others. In one case, at the very beginning of the first volume of the Prajñāpāramitā set, there are also explanatory glosses in addition to the main text. As in the case of textual corrections, the connection to the relevant passage is indicated through a cross, a plus sign, or connecting dots. The connection is often also given through proximity alone.22 The examples Fig.25 to Fig.29 may be seen as representative for the types of amendment listed above.

**Paleographic Features**

In recent years, significant research has been undertaken to further our understanding of Tibetan paleography. Most importantly, Sam van Schaik23 has proposed a tentative typology for identifying different styles of early Tibetan writing. In his study of different types of manuscripts and stone inscriptions dating from the mid-eighth to the end of the tenth century from Central Tibet as well as Central Asia, but with a special focus on Dunhuang, he distinguishes five styles of the Tibetan imperial period (epigraphic, square, sūtra, official, and monastic) and two post-imperial styles (epistolatory and Buddhist). Dotson and Helman-Ważny distinguish four principle styles with several subdivisions in their model of manuscript description, which is also based mainly on the Dunhuang material.24 Given their temporal and geographical distance, however, it is not expected that these typologies can be applied to the Namgyal manuscripts in a direct way. In terms of content and time frame, an obvious candidate for looking for similarities is what van Schaik termed the post-imperial Buddhist manuscript style. This is a rather loose category that subsumes a vast array of different types of texts related to the earlier, imperial sūtra style. While the writing in the Namgyal material may fall within this broader category, the wave shape that van Schaik described as a defining characteristic of this style is not featured in the Namgyal manuscripts. Rather, the generally more regular and angular appearance of the letters in both the Prajñāpāramitā set and the Sūtra collection also bears resemblance to the square style used much earlier.25

While it is certainly worthwhile to study the Central Asian Tibetan material and foremost the Dunhuang manuscripts in comparison to Western Tibetan collections, as proposed by Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani

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21 On the term dang zhus, see Dotson 2015b, 19, further also De Rossi Filibeck 2007b, 59.

22 For a more detailed discussion of the various notes found in this context, see Viehbeck 2021.

23 See van Schaik 2013 and 2014.

24 Dotson and Helman-Ważny 2016, 91ff..

(2002), one has to be careful about presupposing straightforward connections between these resources. Moreover, while the paleographic details of the Dunhuang texts are now documented and available, the same is not true for the manuscripts from other areas. Collections such as those in Tabo, Gondhla, Matho, Namgyal and other places provide us with valuable resources to study the paleography of Western and Central Himalayan manuscripts. In this respect, however, Scherrer-Schaub’s assessment from 1999 still applies: “A systematic paleographic typology is a need. The task is difficult but not impossible.” In the light of this situation, it seems feasible to contribute a detailed paleographic documentation of the writing encountered in the Namgyal manuscripts, which may contribute to enable a larger comparative perspective.

The following comparative table (Fig. 30) therefore provides cut-out images of all index letters, vowels, tsheg, and shad found in the Namgyal collections. The first two samples of a sign were taken from the Sūtra collection, the following two samples from the Prajñāpāramitā set. The letter wa was notoriously difficult to find and is documented only once for the Prajñāpāramitā set.

For the purpose of comparison, a fifth sample of most of the signs is added, which is taken from a Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitāsūtra (ŚSPP) manuscript, written in gold and silver letters on blue-black paper (mthing shog). This is found among the canonical manuscripts in Namgyal that are somewhat younger, and, based on historical indications from its preface must have been produced no earlier than the latter half of the fifteenth century.

This dating also accords with stylistic observations that relate the manuscript to Type III in the system of Scherrer-Schaub.

This list documents a striking consistency in writing, both internally within each of the two collections as well as externally when comparing the Sūtra collection with the Prajñāpāramitā set. Occasional and slight differences in the ductus are accounted for by different scribes involved in the production of the manuscripts. The situation is rather different when this style of writing is compared with the writing documented in the later deluxe ŚSPP manuscript from Namgyal (the fifth example in the present list). While the basic shape of many characters is in fact similar, this comparison also reveals clear differences between earlier and later writing styles. In the later writing, round shapes such as found in the characters ‘a, la, ya, na, ma, ca, cha, and others are much more pronounced. This is also evident in the downward lines in characters such as nga and da and the left, shorter downward line of sa, which are also slightly longer in the later form of writing. In terms of general proportions, the later writing has a very regular appearance and tends towards more square-like forms. This is illustrated in the writing of pha or ba, where the left downward stroke is more vertical than in earlier writing. The perhaps most drastic difference in the writing of individual characters is found in the letters kha and ga, where in the earlier writing the shorter lines form a triangle that touches the top line only at one point, while in the later writing the triangle remains open and the two shorter vertical lines touch the top line at two different points. Furthermore, in the older manuscripts the left long, downward stroke

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26 Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 16.
27 This obvious method was also employed in several recent paleographic studies, see Dotson and Helman-Ważyń 2016, 91 for details.
28 According to an electronic full-text search in the Derge version, this letter is in fact only found once within the ŚSPP. The one example given for the Prajñāpāramitā set is taken from ‘bum, nga, fol. 2a7.
29 See the brief outline of these deluxe manuscripts at the beginning of this chapter.
30 See Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 25. A more detailed investigation of this manuscript (documented by Christian Luczanits as Book 39) and its poetical preface will have to be conducted in the frame of another study. References to both Ngorchen and Agön Zangpo testify that the manuscript was produced not before the end of the fifteenth century. The main sponsor is denoted as Pelden Lama Yöntenpel (dpal ldan bla ma yon tan dpal). Possible candidates for identification are Lama Yöntenpel (bla ma yon tan dpal), one of the teachers of Ngorchen, see Heimbel 2017, 109, or Ratön Yöntenpelzangpo (rva ston yon tan dpal bzang po), teacher of Lobo Khenchen, see Kramer 2008, 61. Both of these figures were active in Mustang in the fifteenth century, but it is of course entirely possible that the manuscript is referring to yet another person.
The paleographic peculiarities of this older material from Namgyal include the use of horizontal ligatures that are also found in Tabo, Tholing (tho gling), and Gondhla. Like in these other collections, it is used for the ligatures rtsa, sta, spa, and stsa, as illustrated in Fig. 31.

Most frequent among these are the horizontal ligatures spa, especially when combined with ya btags, and rtsa. In contrast, the horizontal writing of sta is a rather rare feature found mostly in the Prajñāpāramitā volumes. In all cases, horizontal and vertical writing of the same ligatures alternates freely and both versions are often found in close proximity, as illustrated by Fig. 32.

Likely part of the same phenomenon is an occasional “quick-hand” or dbu med style of writing for the letter contours of this development must be the subject of a future study.

31 A preliminary investigation seems to point to a shift in the shape of individual letters as illustrated in the comparative table above, perhaps to be located between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The exact temporal as well as geographical

A comparison with other collections may shed more light on this issue. The manuscripts of the Sūtra collection and the Prajñāpāramitā set are clearly older than other manuscripts from Namgyal, such as the mentioned deluxe ŚŚPP manuscript, which is a good example of Type III in Scherrer-Schaub’s taxonomy and which was likely produced as part of the wave of royal support for Buddhism that affected Mustang in the fifteenth century. On the other hand, many of the features that are observed in the older Sūtra and Prajñāpāramitā manuscripts of Namgyal are also found in the earliest strand of the canonical manuscripts from Gondhla, which Tauscher has carefully and tentatively dated to the turn of the thirteenth to the fourteenth century. The somewhat more regular and formalized appearance of the Namgyal material as well as the decreasing use of horizontal ligatures, especially with regard to the combination sta in the Sūtra collection, would perhaps indicate a slightly later date. Provisionally, and from a manuscript studies perspective alone, it seems reasonable to assume the early fourteenth century as a possible production context, with the Prajñāpāramitā set being placed slightly earlier than the Sūtra collection, considering its more frequent use of horizontal ligatures.

A radiocarbon analysis of the manuscripts could add further information on their age, but was not conducted since the volumes are part of an active monastic community. Also in this regard a comparison with other collections can be useful. Using C14-dating, a recent study of several Bon manuscripts from Mustang places most of the investigated samples between the end of the thirteenth and the end of the fifteenth century. A consideration of the combined codicological, orthographic, and paleographic features of these samples shows clearly that the manuscripts of the two sets from Namgyal predate any of these Bon manuscripts. However, also the radiocarbon dating of the latter is

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34 According to De Rossi Filibeck 2007b, 55, the time of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is a likely period for the gradual decrease of old orthography.

35 Tauscher 2008, XLI–LII.
36 See Helman-Ważny and Ramble 2020, chapter 7. We would like to thank both of the authors for sharing images of these manuscripts, which allowed for a closer examination of their features.
to be critically evaluated as indicated by one case in which the suggested C14 date is considerably earlier than the time frame stipulated by the historical contents of the respective manuscript folio.\(^{37}\) While this demonstrates that also radiocarbon dating has to be contextualised by historical and codicological considerations and only comparative studies of more manuscript material can bring clarity to this issue,\(^{38}\) it seems unlikely that such would push for a later dating of the Namgyal collections than indicated through their manuscript features discussed above.

The availability of a substantial and systematic collection of Buddhist canonical texts from such an early date is rather sensational, in particular when we consider that most of the Kanjurs that are accessible as physical entities are not older than the seventeenth century.\(^{39}\) Moreover, this assumed date of the Namgyal manuscripts places them into a period when fully structured Kanjurs—in the sense of the common model which developed in the fourteenth century—were taking shape, and hence also raises the question about their mutual relationship, which will be addressed in chapter 3 of this study.

\(^{37}\) This pertains to the dating of a poetical preface of a manuscript (\textit{khams chen} colophon), for which radiocarbon analysis suggests a date between the early fourteenth and early fifteenth century, while the text itself mentions a figure from the middle of the fifteenth century; see Helman-Ważny and Ramble 2020, 169–170.

\(^{38}\) In this regard also the various attempts at dating manuscripts from Dolpo in Heller 2009 will have to be considered.

\(^{39}\) See Tauscher 2015a, 108. Exceptions in this regard are found among local collections, such as the Bathang Kanjur that dates perhaps from the fifteenth or sixteenth century (see Eimer 2012, XXIX), or the “proto-Kanjur” of Gondlha mentioned earlier.
Fig. 34: Detail of the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata Teaching the Perfection of Wisdom (Fig. 95)
Fig. 35: Prajñāpāramitā volume ka, first folio verso

The original folio is fragmented and in poor condition with creases everywhere and insect bite marks all along the edges.

Both original illuminations of this folio have been cut out in the past and are lost. The folio subsequently has been glued to another one for support. The right side illumination is actually the one from the supporting folio framed by the cut-out of the original.

Presumably the lost illumination on the left once showed a Buddha or the goddess Prajñāpāramitā (see also page 102).

Fig. 36: Yellow Buddha seated sideways

The sitting posture, style, and colour scheme of the Buddha in this illumination differs from the other illuminations in this set. It, thus, stems from another manuscript.

The yellow Buddha is seated sideways, his right hand raised in the gesture of reassurance (abhayamudrā), and the left in a very similar gesture with the fingers bent. The usṇīśa identifies him as a Buddha.
Prajñāpāramitā Volume KA

1

(Book 75)
Title: śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (D)

Tib: ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིནད་པ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་བརྒྱ་པ་

Ind: སྣ་སྱོ་དཔལ་བཏབ་མི་ཏ་

Loc: 'bum, ka-pha: ka1b1-363a3

Note: The verso of the final folio of volume ka features some traces of dedicatory notes. For a detailed discussion of these, see Fig. 121 and page 364.
Fig. 37: Prajñāpāramitā volume ka, last folio recto
The folio is very well preserved with only slight blackening along the edges. Curiously, the illuminations lack the usual border around the blue background, which is a relatively thin red line in other illuminations of this section.

Fig. 38: Buddha Vairocana
White Vairocana performing the gesture of highest enlightenment (bodhyagrimudrā).

Fig. 39: Bodhisattva
Yellow Bodhisattva seated sideways with one leg raised and performing the gesture of offering and worship (aṇjālimudrā).
This folio was cut into two parts at one stage and repaired at least twice, once with stitches and then with paper glued at its back and around the edges. Nevertheless, it is certain that the illuminations are original to it, and they are in good condition.

The light blue Buddha performs the earth-touching gesture (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*) with the right hand.

The white Bodhisattva is seated sideways with one leg raised, and performs the gesture of offering and worship (*añjalimudrā*).
Prajñāpāramitā Volume KHA

2

(Book 16)
ID: Ng31-44.1 (rKTs8; D8; S9; F7; EM497; He13.1)

Title: šatasāhasrika-prajñāpāramitā (D)

Tib: སྤ་སྤ་ཧོ་འཕོ་བོ་་ཐོ་་ཐོ་་ཐོ་་་

Ind: སྤ་སྤ་ཧོ་འཕོ་བོ་་

Loc: 'bum, ka-pha: kha 1b1-406a5

Chap:
4) འེ་བུ་བོད (kha 30a1)
5) འེ་བུ་བོད (kha 185a2)
6) འེ་བུ་བོད (kha 375b8)
Fig. 43: Prajñāpāramitā volume kha, last folio recto
This folio has dark stains along the upper and lower edges and one major tear, but otherwise is in very good condition.

Fig. 44: Buddha Ratnasambhava
The orange, rather than yellow, Buddha performs the gesture of giving (varadāmudrā) with the right hand. This illumination is slightly too large for the space left for it. It covers the beginning of the text lines, making the first letter partly illegible.

Fig. 45: White Bodhisattva
The white Bodhisattva is seated sideways with one leg raised, and performs a rather unusual gesture. The two hands, shown with their back towards the viewer, touch each other at the side of the little fingers, which may be crossed. Except for the index fingers, which are either half or fully stretched, all other fingers are bent.
The first folio of this volume is missing, the volume only beginning with page four. Continuing the depiction of the five esoteric Buddhas of the previous volume, its left illumination must have depicted Buddha Amitābha. On the last folio recto the right illumination has been cut out. Both the folds in the lower left corner of that side and the loose state of the upper edge above the lost illumination are to be attributed to this process. The page is reinforced by a thicker folio of another Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā that has suffered considerably from abrasion and damages but is largely legible. Otherwise the folio is well preserved, but there is a major stain along the upper right edge.

Continuing the depiction of the five esoteric Buddhas of the previous volume, the cut out illumination must have depicted Buddha Amoghasiddhi.

Fig. 47: White Bodhisattva
The white Bodhisattva is seated sideways with one leg raised, and performs the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā).
Fig. 48: Prajñāpāramitā volume nga, first folio verso
The folio is torn along the edges in many places, including two major tears along a fold in the centre. A crease also damaged the left illumination, but otherwise the illuminations are in good condition.
There is a break in workmanship from the previous illuminations to those in this volume, as can best be recognized by the differences in the representation of the lotus seat.

Fig. 49: Yellow bejewelled Buddha
The yellow Buddha performs the earth-touching gesture (bhūmisparśa-mudrā) with his right hand.
There is a caption below the lower left corner of the illumination written at an angle:
sangs rgyas rnam par gzigs /
Possibly this is a reference to Buddha Vipaśyin (Nampar Zikpa, rnam par gzigs pa), the first of the Seven Successive Buddhas, as the Seven Buddhas of the Past are most frequently referred to in Tibetan.

Fig. 50: White monk
The monk wears monastic robes, is seated sideways with one leg raised, and performs the gesture of offering and worship (añjalimudrā).
This folio is fragmentary with the left illumination and much of the lower edge torn off and a full tear on the left of the folio, but the right side illumination is fairly well preserved.

For the text written on the verso of this folio, see page 364 and Fig. 327.

The Bodhisattva is seated sideways with one leg raised, and performs the gesture of offering and worship (añjalimudrā). In this illumination the crown features a circular disk in the front and the upper necklace is erroneously drawn on top of the fingertips.

Note: The verso side of the last folios of volume ca shows traces of text that has been scratched off, see page 364. Missing folios: 276-280; 310-312.
Fig. 53: Prajñāpāramitā volume ca, last folio recto
The original first five folios of this volume are missing and their text has been replaced. For the textual content of this volume, see the previous spread. Except for a few tears along the bottom edge, the last folio is in excellent condition. An additional text that was once written on the verso of this folio appears to have been intentionally rubbed off.

Fig. 54: Green bejewelled Buddha
The green Buddha performs a variant of the teaching gesture (dharma-cakra-mudrā) with the left hand underneath the right one.
Fig. 55: Yellow monk
The monk wears monastic robes, is seated sideways with one leg raised, and performs the gesture of offering and worship (ājñālimudrā).
Fig. 56: Prajñāpāramitā volume cha, first folio verso
This folio has suffered considerably over time, as evidenced by both the many tears and creases as well as the stains to its surface.

Fig. 57: Yellow bejewelled Buddha
The yellow Buddha with his right hand performs a gesture with the index finger and thumb almost touching each other as if holding something while the left hand rests on his lap.
Fig. 58: Pink monk
Pink monk in yellow robes performing the gesture of offering and worship (añjalimudrā).
Fig. 59: Prajñāpāramitā volume cha, last folio recto

The folio is in fairly good condition, but there are a number of stains, including one reaching the left circle, which was used to draw the upper body of a figure that has partially been erased again.

Fig. 60: Orange bejewelled Buddha

The orange Buddha sits with the hands folded in the gesture of meditation (dhyānamudrā) on his lap. The illumination covers text on both sides, including the volume signature.
Fig. 61: Green Bodhisattva
The green Bodhisattva sits sideways with one leg raised and performing the gesture of offering and worship (añjālmudrā).
This folio has suffered considerably over time, with a tear cutting almost entirely through its centre and resulting in a major loss at the upper edge. There are also dark stains along the upper edges. The illuminations are not affected by these damages. In these, we return to the pink lotuses used at the beginning of this collection.

Red Buddha holding a lamp on a lotus stem in his right hand that is held as in the gesture of reassurance (abhaya-mudrā) towards the side, the left lies on the lap.

There is a faded caption in red ink above the illumination identifying the Buddha as Dīpaṃkara:

Due to the thin layer of the white paint used for the manderla of the Buddha, the rule lines underneath the illumination can be recognized.
Fig. 64: Bodhisattva
Mañjuśrī – Jampel
The orange Bodhisattva sits sideways with one leg raised and holds the stem of a blue lily topped by a sword and a lotus in the hands joined in a teaching gesture in front of the chest. One may thus identify this Bodhisattva as Mañjuśrī (Jampel, jam dpal), but he may also more generically represent a Bodhisattva of wisdom.
ID: Ng31-44.1 (rKTs8; D8; S9; F7; EM497; He13.1)

Title: śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (D)

Tib: ཕྱེས་རབ་ཀྱིི་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་སྟོོང་ཕྲག་བརྒྱ་པ་
Ind: མན་པོས་སྤྱིི་རྗེས་བཙུན
Loc: 'bum, ka-pha: ja 1b1-381a3
Chap:

24) བརྒྱ་བྱོིན་གྱིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་ཉི་ཤུ་བཞིི་པའིོ་ (ja 94a6)
25) ཡོོངས་སུ་བསྔོོ་བའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལྔ་པའིོ་ (ja 168b7)
26) བརྒྱ་བྱོིན་གྱིི་ལེའུ་དྲུག་གོའི་ (ja 333a3)

Note: Missing folio: 223.
Fig. 65: Prajñāpāramitā volume ja, last folio recto
The left side of this folio has been cut off along with a part of the text. The folio also has a major tear across its centre and losses along its edges. The remaining illumination is nevertheless well preserved.

Fig. 66: Orange Bodhisattva
The orange Bodhisattva sits sideways with one leg raised, and performs the gesture of offering and worship (añjalamudrā).
A few pages of this volume, including the first and the last folio, had been documented in 2014, but the volume was not among those documented in 2015. Thus, the details of the illuminations in this volume are reproduced in a smaller size. This folio shows bite marks all around, with a considerable section of its lower edge eaten away. There is also a major tear across the Buddha illumination that threatens the upper part of it to be torn off. The illumination on the other side is considerably abraded, especially in the area of the hands. This volume returns to the brown lotus cushions with downturned petals.

**Fig. 68: Yellow Buddha**

The yellow Buddha wears red monastic robes and performs the earth-touching gesture (bhūmisparśamudrā).
Fig. 69: Yellow Bodhisattva
The yellow Bodhisattva sits sideways with one leg raised and has his hands folded in the gesture of offering and worship (añjalimudrā) in front of the chest.
In comparison to the first folio of this volume, the last one is very well preserved, with only minor damages and darkening along the edges.

The yellow Buddha wears brown patchwork robes and performs the earth-touching gesture (bhūmisparśamudrā).
Fig. 72: Orange monk

The orange monk wears brown patchwork robes, just like the Buddha, sits sideways with one leg raised, and performs the gesture of offering and worship (añjali mudrā).
Fig. 73: Prajñāpāramitā volume nya, last folio recto
The first pages of this volume are lost, it begins with page number 5.
There are a few tears on this folio that have been taped with celluloid, but the illuminations are very well preserved.
Here pink and brown lotuses are used alternately.

Fig. 74: Orange Buddha
The orange Buddha wears brown patchwork robes and performs the earth-touching gesture (bhūmisparsamudrā).

Fig. 75: Orange Bodhisattva
The orange Bodhisattva sits sideways with one leg raised, and performs the gesture of offering and worship (añjalimudrā).
Fig. 76: Prajñāpāramitā volume tha, first folio verso
There is a tear all across this folio that once was repaired by sewing, and along it are the biggest losses. The side edges have major stains.

Fig. 77: Orange Buddha
The orange Buddha wears red robes, and his right hand rests palm down on his knee, while the left one is raised in an awkward manner towards the belly.

Fig. 78: Orange monk
The orange monk wears brown striped robes, sits sideways with one leg raised and has his hands folded in the gesture of offering and worship ( añjalimudrā ) in front of the chest.
**Fig. 79: Prajñāpāramitā volume tha, last folio recto**

The folio is in exceptional good condition, with light liquid stains all along the left and upper edges as well as under the right illumination, but they did not affect the paintings.

**Fig. 80: Orange Buddha**

The orange Buddha wears red robes and performs a variant of the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā) with the wrists of the hands directed towards each other.

**Fig. 81: Yellow Bodhisattva**

The yellow Bodhisattva wears a red scarf, sits sideways with one leg raised, and performs the gesture of offering and worship (añjalimudrā).
Fig. 82: Prajñāpāramitā volume da, first folio verso

Except for smaller tears along the upper edge, this folio is in good condition. There are two lines of writing on the recto side of this folio, but they are rather the result of a writing exercise. Above is the well-known mantra om mani padme hūṃ, and the longer line below lists the letters of the Tibetan alphabet. There is also a figure graffito underneath the second line.

Fig. 83: Orange Buddha

The orange Buddha wears brown striped robes performing the earth-touching gesture (bhūmisparśamudrā). There are numerous texts along the lower edge of the folio, the leftmost being the largest and likely referring to the illumination.

'di kun bstan pa'i gtsob lags
All these are primary (gtso bo) Buddhas. A variant of this text is repeated at the corner of the illumination.
Fig. 84: Yellow Bodhisattva

The yellow Bodhisattva sits sideways with one leg raised and has his hands folded in the gesture of offering and worship (añjalimudrā) in front his chest. There is a caption written in light ink and headless script directly underneath the illumination. Two more texts in the same script are written underneath it, and although the line is interrupted, they are probably to be read in relation to each other. The texts are difficult to decipher and interpret.

‘di kun byang chub sems da lags kad pang ga
All these Bodhisattvas are ... (?)

‘di lha mo lags so la  legs pa ‘i dpe’ la mkhas
This is a goddess, a good example.

There are numerous additional texts written along the lower edge between the two illuminations. They are at least in four different scripts and two different inks, the brown ink appearing to be the most recent and simply copying phrases.
ID: Ng31-44.1 (rKTs8; D8; S9; F7; EM497; He13.1)

Title: śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (0)

Tib: བོད་ཀྱི་བསམ་དགེ་བའི་སྐྱེས་རས་སུ་བོན་པ་

Ind: བོད་ཀྱི་བསམ་དགེ་

Loc: 'bum, ka-pho: da 1b1-387a4

Chap:

35) བོད་སུ་སོ་སོད (da 12b7)
36) བོད་སུ་སོ་སོན (da 40a8)
37) བོད་སུ་སོ་པར་ོན (da 111b7)
38) བོད་སུ་སོ་པལ་ོན (da 157b8)
39) བོད་སུ་སོ་མོ་ན (da 292a8)
40) བོད་སོ་ལག (da 317b7)
41) བོད་སོ་ལག རྤོ་ལོ་མ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྡག་(da 330b3)
42) བོད་སོ་ལག རྤོ་ལོ་མ་ཆེན་པོ་(da 371a3)
43) བོད་སོ་ལག རྤོ་ལོ་མ་ཆེན་པོ་(da 384b3)
44) བོད་སོ་ལག རྤོ་ལོ་མ་ཆེན་པོ་(da 387a4)

Note: Several folios are missing in the latter part of the volume: 286, 288, 290, 295-299, 315-316, 335.

Fig. 85: Prajñāpāramitā volume da, last folio recto

Except for a few tears along the lower edge and a larger bite mark section along the upper right corner, this folio is well preserved.

Along the lowest text line are three lotus petals, one in the centre and two smaller ones at the sides close to the illuminations. Together with the double shad along the sides, they indicate that the lower half of the folio is intentionally empty. The big dang seems to be another case of writing practice.

Fig. 86: Orange Buddha

The orange Buddha wears red robes and performs the earth-touching gesture (bhūmi sparśa mudrā). He is identified by a caption, which is clearly a later addition, as Sākyamuni.

// E ma ho // shag thub lags so //
Fig. 87: Green goddess

The green goddess sits sideways with one leg raised, and performs the gesture of offering and worship (añjalimudrā). She is identified by an added caption as the goddess Gaṅgā.

This identification is unlikely to be correct, as there would be no explanation for Gaṅgā to be depicted here. Instead one may interpret the pair of attendant deities in this volume prefiguring Sadāprarudita and the merchant’s daughter, who are represented in the same colours on the last folio of this text (Fig. 96).

There are traces of large letters on the recto side of this folio.
Neither top nor the bottom folio of this volume are original to it. There are thus no illuminations preserved from this volume.

ID: Ng31-44.1 (rKTs8; D8; S9; F7; EM497; He13.1)

Title: śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (D)

Tib: སྣེ་སྣྱོན་པོ་བཞི་བརྒྱུར་ཐུབ་མ་ཐུབ་མི་མ་

Ind: ལེ་ུ་ཟུ་གྲིག་ག་

Loc: 'bum, ka-pha: na 1b1-373a5

Chap:
45) འན་བཞི་བྱང་ཆུའི་(na 20a1)
46) འན་བཞི་བྱང་ཆུའི་(na 68a5)
47) འན་བཞི་བྱང་ཆུའི་(na 126b7)
48) འན་བཞི་བྱང་ཆུའི་(na 143b1)
49) འན་བཞི་བྱང་ཆུའི་(na 158a7)
50) འན་བཞི་བྱང་ཆུའི་(na 176a1)
51) འན་བཞི་བྱང་ཆུའི་(na 202b3)
52) འན་བཞི་བྱང་ཆུའི་(na 229b3)

Note: Missing folios: 1, 5-6, 84, 92-93, 95-96.
Fig. 89: Prajñāpāramitā volume pa, first folio verso

This folio has a big stain of what must have been a liquid, as it penetrated a number of folios at the beginning of this volume. Except for the darkening of the area around the right illumination and a loss in the upper centre of the folio, it is in good condition.

There is a coarse drawing along the lower edge of the folio that emphasizes the illumination at the sides and appears to relate to crude captions written underneath them. Short texts are added in the top centre of the folio and along the bottom edge on the right side.

Texts in the upper area include three in the ornate style of documents that are either too short to make sense or too fragmentary. Two more along the second line, which was not used originally, appear to be writing exercises.

Fig. 90: Orange Buddha

The orange Buddha wears brown striped robes and performs the earth-touching gesture (bhūmisparśamudrā).

ཤག་ཐུབ
shag thub
Śākyamuni
Fig. 91: Yellow monk

The yellow monk wears brown striped robes, sits sideways with one leg raised, and has his hands folded in the gesture of offering and worship (ājñalimudrā). There is a caption written in headed script (dbu can) directly underneath the illumination.

ཀུ་ན་རྒ་འེ་

ku na rga ’e

Traces of another caption in black ink can be seen underneath but are no longer legible. There are also three additional texts written just to the left of this illumination, one of them longer and expressing refuge to the Buddha and the dharma.

The last folio of this volume is not preserved and has been replaced by a more recent one.
Previous volume:

ID: Ng31-44.1 (rKTs8; D8; S9; F7; EM497; He13.1)
Title: śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (D)
Tib: ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིི་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་སྟོོང་ཕྲག་བརྒྱ་པ་
Ind: ཤེ་ཏ་སཱཱ་ཧ་པྲད་ཉ་བ་ར་མྱིི་ཏ་
Loc: 'bum, ka-pha: pa 1b1-391a3
Chap:
53) འོ་་བ་ན་བན་པ་ (pa 43b2)
54) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pa 73a2)
55) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pa 85b3)
56) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pa 88a1)
57) འོ་་བ་ན་བབྱ་ (pa 88b4)
58) འོ་་བ་ན་བདུན་ (pa 91a3)
59) འོ་་བ་ན་བདུན་བ་ (pa 166a7)
60) འོ་་བ་ན་བབྱ་ (pa 199a6)
61) འོ་་བ་ན་བབྱ་ (pa 275a6)
62) འོ་་བ་ན་བབྱ་ (pa 302b7)
63) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིི་ན་སེར་ན་མ་བཞིིས་ (pa 391a3)

ID: Ng31–44.1 (rKTs8; D8; S9; F7; EM497; He13.1)
Title: śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (D)
Tib: ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིི་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་སྟོོང་ཕྲག་བརྒྱ་པ་
Ind: ཤེ་ཏ་སཱཱ་ཧ་པྲད་ཉ་བ་ར་མྱིི་ཏ་
Loc: 'bum, ka-pha: pa 1b1-386a6
Chap:
64) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pha 43a5)
65) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pha 134a2)
66) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pha 228b7)
67) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pha 250b3)
68) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pha 287b3)
69) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pha 293b8)
70) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pha 303a6)
71) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pha 336a8)
72) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pha 341b4)
73) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pha 354a1)
74) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pha 374a2)
75) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pha 383b7)
76) འོ་་བ་ན་བཞིིས་ (pha 385b8)
Fig. 92: Prajñāpāramitā Volume pha, first folio verso
The left side illumination of this folio has been cut off and is lost. There are tears and slight stains along the edges of the remaining folio, but otherwise it is in good condition.

Fig. 93: Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi
The blue Bodhisattva sits sideways with one leg raised, has the hands folded in the gesture of offering and worship ( añjalimudrā ) in front of the chest, and holds a blue lily topped by a vajra. He can thus be identified as Vajrapāṇi.
The caption written in headless script directly underneath the illumination again refers to the goddess Gaṅgā.

gang ga lha mo la phyag ’tshal lo lha btsun kyi bris kra shis bar gyur [shog]
Fig. 94: Prajñāpāramitā Volume pha, last folio recto

Except for the damages to the left edge and a tear in the bottom centre, the folio is in very good condition. The illuminations on this page are the largest in the entire collection. They are also the only narrative ones.

Fig. 95: Bodhisattva Dharmodgata Teaching the Perfection of Wisdom

The orange Bodhisattva performs the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā) and two blue lilies topped by books emerge from behind the back cushion. He is seated in a structure that combines a throne back with a palace-type roofing. There are three bell-shaped finials at the top of the structure, and two more flank them on the next level. The Bodhisattva is identified by the two books and the second illumination on this folio.

A rather poorly spelled version of the consecration verse (beginning with he instead of ye) is written along the lower edge of the illumination.

Note: Missing folio in this volume: 33. A comparison with other versions shows major differences in the structure of this work. Both Derge and Stog have only 72 chapters; Hemis I has 77 chapters.
Fig. 96: Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita and the merchant’s daughter

A male and female figure occupy a horse-cart directed towards the left illumination. The yellow Bodhisattva in front stands and performs the gesture of offering and worship (añjalimudrā). The green female in the back is seated with one leg raised and holds jewels. The tail of the horse projects beyond the edge of the illumination, and a palm tree grows from the right edge into the free space in the upper right corner.

The illumination is identified by the horse-cart and in relation to the second illumination.
Chapter Two

Illumination Programs: The Visual Subtext of Two Text Collections

The documentation of Tibetan books is labour-intensive. Viewed as objects, they actually consist of at least three distinct parts: the two wooden book covers and the manuscript itself. Labels, cloth used to cover the manuscript, and bands to keep the book together are further distinct parts, but they rarely date to the time of the book’s production. The book covers are distinct not only in terms of materiality, but their association with the particular manuscript also cannot be taken for granted. In fact, only in rare cases a clear relationship between the text and both covers can be established, proving that they belong together. In such a case, they may add an additional layer of information to the book. The best example I have come along in this regard during the Mustang research is not from Namgyal but from Tsarang. Since the information gained from this volume is also relevant in relation to the Namgyal text collections, I will also present it here.

The Tsarang Hevajra Volume

This book was documented in the dilapidated palace of Tsarang in 2012, after I saw it carried in a procession (Fig. 97).1 In that ritual, which takes place once a year in spring, the collection of books from the palace is carried around the entire village territory for its protection. At that time, I was intrigued by its carving of the esoteric deity Hevajra (Kyé Dorjé, kye rdo rje), a rare subject for a book cover.

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Fig. 97: Books carried around the fields of Tsarang village in May 2012

This photograph shows the largest book among those being carried, not the Hevajra volume discussed in this book.

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1 I am grateful to Jigme S.P. Bista, Maya Bista, and Kunzom Thakuri for enabling the documentation of the book at that time. For an early account of the canonical collection held in this palace, see Mathes 1997.
Its upper cover is indeed dedicated to five representations of Hevajra with eight heads and sixteen arms, each embracing a consort (Fig. 98). Such a depiction can be understood as an esoteric representation of the five Buddha families, with each Hevajra in the respective colour of the family, if they were painted. The complex Hevajra figures are intricately carved and literally stand out from the scroll-covered ground and mandorla that surrounds them. In the corners between the mandorlas of the Hevajra images, there are two dancing goddesses each, forming Hevajra’s assembly of eight yoganī. The high degree of workmanship is further demonstrated by the bottom row of lotus petals that surround the central field, which is adjusted to the lotuses of the Hevajra images and the dancing yoganī between them. The central deity is of the vajra family, and accordingly the Ādibuddha Vajradhara (Dorjéchang, rdo rje ’chang) is represented in the upper left corner of the inner panel, while a turbaned and bejewelled practitioner with the hands folded in front of the chest is depicted in the upper right corner, the most surprising feature of the cover. The details of the lower corner figures are not entirely clear, but I take them as representing a mahāsiddha holding a hand drum (ḍamaru) on the left, possibly Ḍamarupa, and a two-armed form of Mahākāla (Gönpo, mgon po) on the right. The central field is surrounded by a text in Lantsa characters and a row of lotus petals, interrupted by four stūpa of different types in the centre of each direction.

The text around the central field can be identified as the hundred-syllable mantra of Vajrasattva (Dorjé Sempa, rdo rje sems pa), considered by Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche the quintessence of all mantras and referring to all Buddhas. It is read from the top left to the bottom right corner, and then continues at the top left underneath the first syllable to the middle of the bottom row. The remaining space is filled with what I call the consecration verse, a text representing the essence of the Buddha’s teachings.2

The five images of Hevajra on the recto side of the upper cover are part of a consistent program across this volume. The front face of the same cover, the side that is visible when the book is in a shelf, depicts seven images of the Buddha of Endless Life, Amitāyus (Tsépakmé, tshe dpag med), flanked by the volume signature ka and the section abbreviation rgyud, identifying the book as the first volume of the tantra section of a larger canonical collection (Fig. 99). The front face of the bottom cover has the same iconography, including the volume and section signatures, proving that it belongs to this book (Fig. 100).

On the outer side of the bottom cover, two rows of text in gilded Lantsa characters cover the central field surrounded by a row of lotus petals (Fig. 101). The text is again the consecration verse, now followed by six

Ω vajrasattva samayam anupālaya vajrasattva tvenopatiṣṭha dṛḍho me bhava sutosyo me bhava anurakto me bhava sarvasiddhim me prayaccha sarvatathāgatavajra mā me muñca vajrī bhava mahāsamayasattva āḥ

Om. Vajrasattva, keep your samaya. As Vajrasattva, remain near me. Be steadfast towards me. Be very pleased with me. Be completely satisfied with me. Be loving to me. Grant me all accomplishments. In all actions, make me [sic] mind pure and virtuous. Hūṃ. Ha ha ha ha hoḥ. O Blessed One, Vajra-nature of all the Tathāgatas, do not abandon me. Be of vajra-nature, O great Sama-yya-being, āḥ.

On this mantra, see also Willson and Brauen 2000, 212, and its discussion in Sthiramati 1990, Jayarava 2009 and 2010.

Text: ye dharma hetuprabhava hetum teṣām tathāgato hy avadat teṣām ca yo nirodha evaṃ vādi mahāśramanāḥ

The tathāgata has stated the causes as well as the cessation of the situations (dharma) that arise from causes; this is what the great ascetic proclaims.

Often referred to as the “Buddhist creed,” the function of this verse is to consecrate the item it is written on (see Bentor 1996, 42–45) by endowing it with the nucleus of the Buddhist teachings; therefore I call it the consecration verse. Translations of this verse can differ considerably from each other, see, e.g., Willson and Brauen 2000, 211, the one here following Vetter 1988, 45.

2 See the Hevajra maṇḍala no. 186, 19827, 59876, 68874, 87225, 88550 on Himalayan Art Resources (http://www.himalayanart.org/, accessed February 13, 2020) for examples in which the surrounding Hevajra are represented in the corners around the maṇḍala.

3 See https://www.bodhicittasangha.org/100-syllable-mantra/ (accessed February 13, 2019). There the mantra is provided and translated as follows:
Fig. 98: Five forms of Hevajra on the top cover of the Tsarang Hevajra volume

Fig. 99: Seven Amitāyus with volume (ka) and section (rgyud) signature on the front side of the top cover

Fig. 100: Seven Amitāyus with volume (ka) and section (rgyud) signature on the front side of the bottom cover

Fig. 101: Two rows of Lantsa script on the bottom cover of the Tsarang Hevajra volume
Fig. 102: First title page of the Tsarang Hevajra volume with illuminations of Hevajra and the mahāsiddha Virūpa

Fig. 103: Second title page of the Tsarang Hevajra volume with lotus (padma) and blue lily (utpala)

Fig. 104: Last folio recto of the Tsarang Hevajra volume recording its production at Sakya Monastery

Fig. 105: Inside of the bottom cover of the Tsarang Hevajra volume with inscription in gold on red ground

Fig. 106: Detail of the inscription on the bottom cover of the Tsarang Hevajra volume
syllables in the second row that express auspiciousness. As on the top cover, the 100-syllable Vajrasattva mantra and the consecration verse are written around the central field and slim lotus petals with four types of stūpa occupy the outer area. Together with those on the top cover, the eight stūpa represent the Eight Great Events of the Buddha’s life.

The same volume signature as on the covers is found on the manuscript, which also continues the iconography related to Hevajra on the verso side of the thicker first folio. There, the large letters of the traditional beginning of a text title, rgya gar skad tu, “in Indian language,” is flanked by the illuminations of Hevajra and the mahāsiddha Virūpa, who stands for the teaching transmission of this deity (Fig. 102). The following verso page features the actual title of the first text, Hevajratantrarājanāma, flanked by two illuminations of flower blossoms, a white peony (representing the lotus, padma), and a blue lily (uptala; Fig. 103). These appear to be purely decorative. The extended colophon of the last text in the volume, the Sampuṭatilakatantra (yang dag par sbyor ba’i thig le rgyud), provides further information about the context of the making of this volume, as it associates the volume with Sakya Monastery (Fig. 104).

Thus, the tantra section of this particular canonical collection began with the Hevajratantra, as is appropriate for a Sakya tradition context and documented for the Old Mustang Kanjur. Additional information is further gained from the inside of the lower cover, which has a central text written on its red ground (Fig. 105). Sadly, this text of four lines containing two stanzas of nine syllables is fragmentary, but it provides enough information to set the commissioning of this volume into context (Fig. 106):

[l.1] ཆོས་ཀྱིི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚོའི་མགོན་བཟིང་པོ་ཡིི༎
[l.2] བཟིང་པོའི་གསེར་འགྱུར་གསེར
[l.3] ལྷ་བོད་ལྔ་མ་རིག་པཞིི་ཏ༎
[l.4] འཁོར་ལོ་བསྒྱུར༎

7 The full text reads: dpal ldan sa skya dam pa’i chos ‘byung ba’i gtsug lag khang du/___sh’i kyai’i btsun pa dpal ldan rin chen gyis rnam yeng le lo spungs nas dag par zhus pa lags so/’dge’o/.

8 On the Old Mustang Kanjur, see Eimer 1999, with this particular volume described on pages 27–29.

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5 The phrase reads something like maṅgalaṃ tatvantu, the reading of the second part being uncertain.
The first two lines likely refer to Ngorchen Künga Zangpo (ngor chen kun dga’ bzang po, 1382–1456), while the third line mentions the Dharma King Agön Zangpo (a mgon bzang po, 1420–1482). Thus, this stanza accounts for the planning of the volume by the former and the commissioning of the latter. The second stanza refers to the tantra section (rgyud ‘bum)\(^9\) and the five Buddha families as Hevajra, neatly arranged on the top book cover by the master wood carver.\(^{11}\) Thus, we have a reference to the section of the canon in which the volume is contained as well as to the iconography of the top cover, a further confirmation that all the composite parts of this volume have been conceived together.

The evidence thus allows to associate this volume with the tantra section that was assembled by Ngorchen Künga Zangpo for a complete Mustang Kanjur. In the words of Sanggyé Püntsok (sangs rgyas phun tshogs, 1649–1705):

> “rJe Rin po che [i.e. Ngorchen], [i.e.] the master, and [his] disciples made in six months a round trip [to Glo bo]. At first, there was no complete bKa’ gyur available in that land and thus [Ngorchen] commissioned a complete [set taking] the Tantra section from Sa skya and searched in all directions for the original [manuscript] copies of the other [sections].”\(^{12}\)

The information found in the accounts on the commissioning of copies of the Kanjur and Tanjur in Mustang has aptly been summarized by Jörg Heimbel,\(^{13}\) and there is nothing to add to this on the basis of this one

\(^9\) This verse was already published in Heimbel 2017, 323, where a first interpretation is offered.

\(^{10}\) On the background for this designation, see Gray 2009.

\(^{11}\) While I understand lnga rig pandita as a general reference to a well-educated craftsman, one versed in the five fields of knowledge, Heimbel 2017, 323, takes it as a reference to Guge Pandita Dragpa Gyaltsen (grags pa rgyal mtshan), a disciple of Ngorchen active in Mustang.

\(^{12}\) Translation by Heimbel 2014, 358.

\(^{13}\) Heimbel 2014, 396–410.
volume. However, the information gained from this volume at Tsarang indicates that it indeed belongs to one of the golden Kanjurs mentioned as dating to the time of Agön Zangpo (1420–1482), that it was produced at Sakya Monastery or at least copied from a Sakya original, and that this tantra section directly relates to Ngorchen’s catalogue. The text collections at Namgyal Monastery precede the events highlighted by this volume and thus represent the situation before the arrival of Ngorchen, when no complete Kanjur was available in Mustang.

**THE NAMGYAL TEXT COLLECTIONS**

The forty-three handwritten and illuminated volumes documented at Namgyal Monastery turned out to preserve two fairly complete collections of texts, a set of fourteen volumes containing the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (‘bum) and a Sūtra collection (mdo sde). Originally, each volume of these two collections contained at least four illuminations, two flanking the text title on the verso side of the first folio and two on the recto side of the last folio. Remarkably, both sets of illuminations were conceived across the volumes and thus constitute an iconographic program that stands in loose relation to the textual corpora.

The two text collections are generally in good condition, but there are a number of indications that they were disturbed several times. When encountered for documentation purposes, the manuscripts had no protective cloth cover but were simply placed between two wooden covers and held together by leather strips or improvised looking bands in other materials (Fig. 107). An outward sign of disturbances is expressed in the relationship between the manuscript and the book covers. For both collections, there is not a single volume for which it can be concluded that both book covers and the manuscript belong together as originally conceived. This is particularly true for the *Prajñāpāramitā* set volumes, the covers of which are usually too small in relation to the size of the text (Fig. 108). In addition, the covers that likely belong to

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14 Here the sweeping statement in Mathes 1997, 129, that the Tsarang Kanjur consists only of “later copies” may have to be qualified.
the two collections usually do not feature a volume signature, which makes reconstructing their original attribution impossible.

Volume nga of the Śūtra collection may be taken as an example that reflects the most likely original appearance of the volumes (Fig. 109). The label stems from a recent organization of the volumes and correctly identifies it.¹⁵ The volume features two wooden covers of slightly larger size than the manuscript itself. They are relatively simple wooden boards with only the long

¹⁵ Most volumes were documented together with their labels, a good part of which were correct. However, this was not systematically examined.
sides tapered on the exterior (Fig. 110, Fig. 114) and a plain interior (Fig. 111, Fig. 115). Both are painted red on the outside, while yellow was used to outline a central rectangular field in the centre of the board and to write the consecration verse in two lines of Lantsa characters within it (best visible on the bottom cover, Fig. 114). Both also have carved front faces that are stylistically close enough to potentially be contemporaneous, the top one with Buddha Amitābha (Öpakmé, ’od dpag med) in the centre (Fig. 112) and the bottom one with Akṣobhya (Mikyöpa, mi bskyod pa; Fig. 113).

The manuscripts of the two collections are of slightly different sizes, the Prajñāpāramitā set pages are around 71 x 22 cm, while the Sūtra collection pages have a maximum size of 67 x 21 cm. This slight difference along with diversions in style and size of the illuminations found in the two collections indicate that they were produced separately from each other.

The volumes of the two collections were documented in an accidental order. Thus, each of them has a distinct book number for cataloguing purposes, but it is the traditional Tibetan volume signature that establishes the succession of the volumes. The following discussion presents each of the collections in their original arrangement and focuses on general observations across the respective collection and specific iconographic sub-groups. Descriptions of each illumination and a record of all captions found with them are provided with the depictions of the illuminations in the respective catalogue sections.

In the following, I will present a detailed analysis of the illuminations in relation to the content of the two collections and discuss the cultural and historical interconnections apparent in them to gain a better idea about the historical context in which they were produced.

**The Prajñāpāramitā Set**

The Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā of Namgyal is distributed across fourteen volumes (ka to pha) that once
contained four illuminations each. However, of the originally fifty-six illuminations of this collection only thirty-nine were documented, the others are presumably lost. A few of the illuminations were cut from the folios—volumes ka, ga, and pha show clear evidence in this regard—while in the other cases the entire folio is missing. Some of the missing folios were replaced at a later stage, indicating that their loss had occurred already in the past.

Each of the preserved pairs of illuminations on a folio is composed in the same way: There is a frontal figure on the left side and the figure(s) on the right are directed towards it, usually performing a gesture of worship. The two illuminations thus form a pair. On the left we have bejewelled Buddhas (sambhogakāya), Buddhas in monastic robes (nirmāṇakāya), and one Bodhisattva. On the right are monks, Bodhisattvas, and one goddess. While a certain degree of organization can be recognized across the volumes, the pairing of figures on the diverse folios appears to be largely random (see the detailed discussion on the workshop production below).

The first folio of volume ka is unusual, since both illuminations were cut out. The folio subsequently was attached to another folio for support (Fig. 35). The illumination of a Buddha is unlikely from either of the two folios, as this cannot be reconciled with the angle it is placed behind the cut-out (Fig. 36). Clearly, this Buddha image differs in style from the other illuminations in this section. Given its more Indic type, it may be earlier than the volume into which it was inserted.

It thus remains unclear what was represented on the first folio of this section. Two options appear to be most likely: Prajñāpāramitā (Shérapkyi Paröltu Chinma, shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin ma) on the left and a worshipper on the right, or Śākyamuni (Shakya Tubpa, shākya thub pa) on the left with the interlocutor of the sūtra, the monk Subhūti (Ranjor, rab byor), on the right. The latter may actually be depicted with uṣṇīṣa and in a similar sitting posture as the figure on the replacement illumination. What can be excluded, though, is a pair of larger illuminations as found on the first folio of the Sūtra collection (Fig. 138). Other options as they are at evidence in the Nesar manuscript collection also appear unlikely, as they would be inconsistent with the uniformity of the illuminations found throughout this section.

The following five illuminated folios from the beginning and end of volume ka to ga feature the five esoteric Buddhas in their common succession, beginning with Buddha Vairocana (Nampar Nangdzé, rnam par snang mdzad), who is represented on the last folio of the first volume (Fig. 38). As far as preserved, each is paired with a kneeling Bodhisattva.

As many as eight bejewelled Buddhas occupy the left side of the following four volumes, nga to ja, five of which are preserved. Two folios of these offer hints to the identity of the represented figures. The fifth of this group, yellow and performing the earth-touching gesture (bhūmisparśamudrā), is identified by an added caption as Buddha Vipaśyin (Nampar Zikpa, rnam par gzigs pa; Fig. 49). Further, the first folio of volume ja features an unusual pair, as each of the figures has an attribute (Fig. 62). The orange-red Buddha on the left holds a butter-lamp (Fig. 63) and his attendant a blue lily topped by a sword and a book (Fig. 64). The two may thus tentatively be identified as representing the Buddha Dipamkara (Marmédzé, mar me mdzad), whose name is indicated by his attribute, and the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Jampel, 'jam dpal). However, this would be an unusual combination and the location of Dipamkara in the overall arrangement makes no sense. We may thus conclude that neither the caption nor the attributes

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16 Volume nya was initially considered missing, since it was not found among the books in the 2015 documentation. However, once all books were catalogued it turned out that it was among the ten books already opened in 2014.

17 Given that Tibetan manuscripts consist of loose pages, it is not unusual for the first and last pages of manuscripts to be missing, especially when it is clear that the manuscripts were reorganized several times, as must have been the case with the Namgyal manuscripts.

18 See Heller 2009, figs. 53, 126. There this representation is found on the last folio of volume ga, with Prajñāpāramitā and Śākyamuni on the first folio.

19 See Heller 2009.
help to establish the identity of any of these Buddhas and attendants with certainty. The attendants of the Buddhas are monks as well as Bodhisattvas mixed in no recognizable pattern.

Identifying this group of eight thus is challenging if not impossible. It is rather unlikely that past Buddhas are represented with the dress and jewellery of deities and that Dipaṃkara is represented in between the Seven Buddhas of the Past to make up eight Buddhas. The only group of eight Buddhas that could be dressed like this are the Eight Uṣṇīṣa Buddhas, but they either would hold the sun as an attribute, or would also be in monastic dress. The former is the iconography of the Eight Uṣṇīṣa Buddhas in the Dharmadhātuvāgiśvaramaṇjuśrīmaṇḍala, the latter that in the Navoṣṇīṣamaṇḍala, neither of which would fit with any of the other representations. Another option would be that this group is not representing Buddhas at all, but the Eight Great Bodhisattvas (Jangchup Sempa Gyé, byang chub sems dpa' brgyad), also called the Eight Close Sons (Nyébésé Gyé, nye ba'i sras brgyad) of the Buddhas, which would work fine if all their attendants would be monks. In this case, one would expect all of them to have attributes and there not to be an attendant Bodhisattva holding a sword and a book, as Mañjuśrī does. The identification of this group thus has to remain open.

From volume nya onwards, the Buddhas are then represented in monastic robes. There could have been a maximum of thirteen such Buddhas, seven of which are preserved. Of these, the first two in volume nya are yellow, while the remaining ones are orange. Only one of the Buddhas wears the robe with his right shoulder covered from behind (Fig. 90). Most of the Buddhas perform the earth-touching gesture (bhūmi sparśa mudrā), one Buddha shows a variant of the teaching gesture (dharma­cakramudrā, Fig. 80), and the gesture of another Buddha is rather unusual (Fig. 77). The Buddha whose robe covers both shoulders is identified as Śākyamuni by an added caption, and the other captions are not very informative either. Since all of them were added at a later stage, they are not of much help in identifying the Buddhas.

Here, too, both monks as well as Bodhisattvas can be attendants, but there is also one goddess (Fig. 87), which is identified by an added caption as the goddess Gaṅgā (gang ga). Her name appears in a later caption as well, indicating that at one stage this river-goddess was considered sufficiently important in this Buddhist context to be represented here. Otherwise, only the last of the Bodhisattvas, blue in colour, has an attribute in the form of a vajra on a blue lily (Fig. 93). He can thus be identified as Vajrapāṇi (Chakna Dorjé, phyag na rdo rje). A number of different hands have added captions throughout the section, and at times several different ones can be recognized on the same folio. Considering the number of Buddhas, no specific identification for them comes to mind.

The pair of a yellow female and a green goddess depicted as attendants in volume da may well prefigure Sadāprarudita (Taktungu, rtag tu nga) and the merchant’s daughter, which are in the same colours on the last folio of this collection (Fig. 94). On this recto folio of volume pha, an orange Bodhisattva Dharmodgata (Chöpak, chos 'phags; Fig. 95) is seated within a palace structure and performs the teaching gesture (dharma­cakramudrā). Two blue lilies supporting books are not held in his hands but emerge from behind his seat cushion. The attendants on the right occupy a horse chariot that moves towards the other illumination (Fig. 96). The yellow Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita stands in front and performs the gesture of offering and worship (añjali mudrā). The green merchant’s daughter in the back is seated with one leg raised and holds jewels. These are the only illuminations that differ from the usual pattern and reference a narrative. The story of Sadāprarudita’s search for the perfection of wisdom (prajñāpāramitā) is also contained in the final chapters of the text in this particular volume, the Perfection of Wisdom in One Hundred Thousand Lines (Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā). Thus, their depictions are also a clear visual indication that volume pha is the last volume of this collection.
THE SŪTRA COLLECTION

The conceptually and visually even more interesting Sūtra collection comprises twenty-nine volumes (ka to a), with two volumes missing (ma and ha) and one double (nya). The two nya volumes cover approximately the same texts (see the respective catalogues on page 345), but one of these volumes is illustrated while the other does not preserve its first and last pages. This indicates that there was another Sūtra collection of approximately the same age and probably from the same workshop, but it is unclear if it was also illuminated. It is hoped that further documentation in the region will yield the whereabouts of this second Sūtra collection. The slight variation in the arrangement of the texts included in the respective volume hints towards a fluid redaction process.²⁰

Turning to the illuminations, their organization reveals careful planning, as they are thematically arranged across all volumes of the collection. Roughly speaking, the illuminations in the first volumes depict the previous lives of the Buddha (jātaka), volume tha to ma illustrate the Buddha’s final life, and the remaining volumes are dedicated to a set of hierarchically arranged deities. The following will discuss all illuminations section by section, together with their relationship to the captions found with them.

FIRST ILLUMINATIONS

The illuminations on the verso of the first folio of the first volume (ka) of the Sūtra collection are larger than all others and feature Śākyamuni and Prajñāpāramitā (Fig. 138). These main deities are seated on elaborate thrones and flanked by a symmetrical arrangement of secondary figures. The yellow Śākyamuni is touching the earth and seated on a lion throne with a vajra represented on the central cloth (Fig. 139). The back of his throne back features pointed corners topped by lotus blossoms and cloths in two different colours hanging down from them. The arch above is made up of a face of glory (kirtimukha) holding the stylized bodies of two snakes which also merge with the spiraling tails of two geese. The kirtimukha, winged, horned, and with two paws, carries a crescent topped by an ornamental finial. Of the surrounding Bodhisattvas, those to the side of the Buddha’s throne are standing and perform the teaching gesture. They are of varied colours and only those in the uppermost row hold objects, three of them grasping a jewel branch while one holds a lotus. These represent offerings to the Buddha rather than identifying attributes.

Prajñāpāramitā is flanked by eight Buddhas facing her and two smaller ones in the upper corners to the side of the arch of the throne’s back (Fig. 140). She has four arms, the main ones performing the teaching gesture while the side ones hold a string of beads (mālā) and a book respectively. The cloth in front of her throne features a jewel, and the arch of her throne is topped by a triple jewel.

While the representation of Śākyamuni at the beginning of this section can be taken as a reminder of his awakening that has led to the teachings, one wonders if it would not be more appropriate to have the goddess Prajñāpāramitā at the beginning of the Prajñāpāramitā set. In any case, the fact that Prajñāpāramitā is represented with the Sūtra collection indicates that her representation is not a secure indication that the accompanying text is actually from the Perfection of Wisdom corpus. While the relationship of text and image can often be ascertained with manuscript illuminations, book covers can easily be reused. Thus, the observation that here Prajñāpāramitā is depicted on the front page of the Sūtra collection is of general importance for the interpretation of book covers and manuscript folios featuring her.

PREVIOUS BIRTHS

On the last folio of the first volume (Fig. 141) begins a series of illuminations representing the previous lives of the Buddha (jātaka). While they are dedicated to stories, the depicted scenes can rarely be called narratives as there is usually not even a hint to the events that unfold in the story. Instead, the illuminations focus on

²⁰ On the relationship between the two volumes, see further page 344.
representing the main protagonist of the stories, each of them a previous birth of Buddha Śākyamuni. It thus is the succession of these protagonists that identifies the content and source, namely Āryaśūra’s jātakamālā (skyes pa’i rabs kyi rgyud). The actual text narrating these stories is found in volume ra (fols. 1b–139b), towards the very end of the Sūtra collection, and thus far removed from the actual depictions.

The identification of the stories appears simple at first glance, as there are indeed thirty-four illuminations for thirty-four stories, but the arrangement is not as straightforward as one would initially think. In addition, the first two and the last two illuminations are replacements. Of these, the former are of roughly the same time period as the other illuminations, but they are cut from another folio and glued to the last folio of the first volume (Fig. 141). These illuminations are also conceived differently from the others, since they show two superimposed scenes separated by a horizontal dividing line on each side. Given that the materials and writing style of both the illuminations and the folio they are glued to are consistent with the other original folios, this seems to be an early repair.

In terms of content, only the bottom section of the left illumination can be clearly identified with the first story of the jātakamālā in which the Buddha offers his body to the hungry tigress (Vyāghrījātakam, Fig. 142). The upper scene on this side could be taken as a prelude to this story. However, nothing about the depictions on the left of this folio (Fig. 143) identifies it as the second story, that of King Śibi (Śibijātakam). In this illumination, there is a teaching Buddha directed towards a figure playing a transverse flute in the upper scene and a seated king in white dress is shown frontally and in worshipping posture in the lower scene. A white worshipper kneels to the side of the king.

No particular pattern is apparent for the composition of the previous births scenes. Most often, the scenes are composed in a way that the protagonists on the same folio are directed towards each other. Trees framing the scene may be arranged symmetrically and backgrounds may be alternating, but these details appear to be random. The illuminations of volume kha are those composed in the strictest symmetry throughout the entire collection (Fig. 144). Frontal protagonists are mostly on the left side of the folio, with the protagonist on the right usually directed towards it (e.g. Fig. 153). This indicates a certain impact of compositions as they are found in the Prajñāpāramitā volumes discussed above.

Looking at the arrangement of the previous birth illuminations in the following volumes, one can observe a penchant for tweaking the grouping of the stories, and thus their succession and number, for visual symmetry and content. For example, in volumes kha and ta two merchants are represented on the same folio (Fig. 147, Fig. 188), and in volume ga there are two kings on the same folio (Fig. 153). Seen overall, these symmetries could be considered circumstantial, and amplified by the lack of narrative content, would it not be for the fact that one story was left out to enable this.

The gap of one story occurs in volume cha between the illuminations on the first folio (Fig. 168). Its left illumination most likely depicts the eighteenth birth-story, that of the childless one (Aputrajātakam), in which the protagonist is a householder (Fig. 169). The scene shows a dark-skinned, turbaned figure seated in royal ease (lalitāsana) facing the viewer. He is attended by a figure kneeling to his side, presumably his father’s friend who in vain tries to convince the Bodhisattva to return from asceticism to the life of a householder.

In the textual sources, this story is followed by the Birth-story on the Lotus-stalks (Bisajātakam), in which the protagonist is a Brahmin ascetic. The illumination to the right, however, shows a protagonist dressed in a dhoti and bejewelled with an elephant and other precious items in front of him (Fig. 170). This clearly represents a merchant, even though he is not dressed.

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21 For this study I have used the translations of the Sanskrit text Aryashura 2009a, 2009b and Khorochen 1989, the Sanskrit edition (Āryaśura [nd]), and the Tibetan edition (Āryaśura 1975).

22 In the Tibetan canon this text is of course found in the Tanjur.

23 For a similar composition, see the representation of Māyā’s dream (Fig. 199) below, where the depictions on the two tiers clearly reference each other.
like the two merchants in volume kha. This illumination thus stands for the Birth-story of the Merchant (Śreṣṭhijātakam), the twentieth story in the sources. Obviously, one would expect that the birth-story missing here is the one that could not be identified on the first folio dedicated to the previous births, but those representations do not fit the content of the story either.

Incidentally, volume cha was one of the first volumes documented in 2014 (Fig. 168). Its four illuminations are dedicated to four different types of rebirth, a householder (Fig. 169), a merchant (Fig. 170), a Brahmin (Fig. 172), and a bird (Fig. 173), and the captions simply identify them as such, the bird more specifically referred to as “king of geese” (ngang pa’i rgyal po). What appears here to be the result of a typological conception for the arrangement of the illuminations actually is due to the focus of the depictions on the protagonists only.

Volume ca, which illustrates stories fourteen to seventeen, provides a good range of examples in relation to the narrative elements (Fig. 162). The depiction of the story of Supāraga (Supāragajātakam), in which the Bodhisattva is a clever boatman, is as narrative as a scene may get, yet also remarkable for its abstraction (Fig. 163). The scene is divided horizontally by a jewelled band separating the ground above from the water below. On it are two figures, with the Bodhisattva standing in front and holding a row as if steering a boat, and the white figure behind him seated against the tree that frames the upper part of the scene on this side. That the jewel band represents a boat is indicated by the fact that we do not see the lowest parts of the figures, such as the feet of the Bodhisattva. They are thus represented as sitting inside a boat with its edge projecting from the water. The tree may be taken as the shore. That it is actually standing on the abstracted boat adds a humorous element to the depiction. However abstract, the rowing Bodhisattva illustrates one aspect of the story that is reinforced by the caption (brubs mkhan), referring to “one who knows roiling water.” It thus is the protagonist’s skill that is emphasized.

The second illumination on this folio depicts a large fish among other water creatures (Fig. 164). This refers to the Bodhisattva’s previous birth as the lord of the fish, who is singled out by its size. The caption refers to the “birth as fish in the great ocean” (mtsho’ chen por nya ru skyeso).

Also the depiction of the quail or partridge (Fig. 166) is identified as a rebirth by means of a caption (sreg par skyes pa). Here the bird is depicted alone, and his jewellery hints towards a special status. Note that the bird is standing on a similar jewel band as is used for the representation of the boat in the story of Supāraga (Fig. 163). Even though it would have been easy to depict, there is no reference to the forest fire by which the bird is endangered in the story.

In general, animal rebirths are only shown through their protagonist being singled out by size and, whenever possible, by jewellery. An exception to this are the two monkey stories, both referred to as Mahākapijātakam (Fig. 176, Fig. 182). In both depictions are two monkeys, one climbing a tree and one holding a fruit, and it is unclear which of them is the Bodhisattva. The more interesting of these depictions places the tree in the centre of the composition (Fig. 176). The caption of “rebirth as monkey” (spre’ur skyes) is identical for both illuminations. It seems that monkeys have to fool around even if one of them represents the Bodhisattva’s rebirth.

Of art-historical interest is further the depiction of the birth-story of the Śarabha Deer (Śarabhajātakam, Fig. 179), a mythical herbivore animal also used as one of the six elements decorating the throne. It is depicted green with a bird’s beak, horns, wings, and lion paws, and it stands just as it would be depicted as part of a throne. In the illumination the horns are clearly misunderstood and coloured in red along with the part that is underneath them, making it a red crest that half covers the ear.

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24 I already expressed this in a first survey of the Namgyal collection (Luczanits 2016b, 25).
The fourth illumination in volume ca depicts the story of Indra’s jar (Fig. 167). Indra (Gyajin, brgya byin) is seated in royal ease on his white elephant and holds a small jar in his hand. A jar of the same shape is represented just besides him in much larger size, one that appears more appropriate for the content of the story in which Indra visits a king with a jar of alcohol to demonstrate its harmful qualities. Here the jar is emphasized along with the god, whose headdress with its hair-knot off centre curiously is that of a female (compare to Fig. 295). However, in the illuminations of this manuscript it is also found with the Bodhisattva (Fig. 202), Jambhala (dzam+bha la; Fig. 291), and Gaṇapati (Tsogdak, tshogs bdag; Fig. 296). The caption (rgya sbyin buM pa, “Indra’s jar”) confirms the importance of the jar, which in both the textual sources and the depiction is a device to distinguish this story from another one featuring Indra (Fig. 158).

Another rather curious form of confusion can be observed with the story of the Bodhisattva as Brahmā (Tsangpa, tshangs pa; Fig. 186) when compared with a second story featuring Indra (Fig. 158). In these depictions, Indra (Śakra) is seated on an elephant and shown with three heads, while a god probably meant to depict Brahmā is seated on a goose and has only one head. Needless to say, it is Brahmā who should have three heads, which would also signify a fourth head on the back. Clearly, iconography was not a major concern in the context of the representation of the previous births stories.

The last two illuminations of the final volume of this theme (volume ta; Fig. 191) are later replacements, but they do depict the last two stories in the Jātakamālā. They thus replace the previous depictions. In contrast to the others, these depict the actual content of the narratives, the stories of the monkey and the buffalo (Fig. 192) as well as that of the woodpecker that feeds from the mouth of a lion (Fig. 193).

The Life of the Buddha

The illuminations of the following seven volumes (volume tha to ma) are dedicated to the life of the Buddha. The last volume of this part is lost, reducing the cycle from originally thirty scenes to twenty-six. Volume ma likely featured scenes around the Buddha’s parinirvāṇa and thus concluded the depiction of the Buddha’s life, as the following volume tsa is dedicated to a different theme, the depiction of the Buddhist pantheon beginning with the esoteric and exoteric Buddhas.

With the onset of the Buddha’s life, the character of the illuminations enters a much more narrative mode. The scenes are generally set against a blue background, but in about half of the illuminations the red halo behind the protagonist dominates the depiction and may cover its surface entirely. Trees are occasionally used to frame the illuminations and again appear to be rather random. Often one can read them as signifying an outdoor scene, but they are not used in all such scenes either. Symmetries play no obvious role in the arrangement and composition of the depictions. If the protagonist is not in the centre, he is consistently placed on the left side of the illumination facing right, regardless of the location of the scene on the folio. Thus, there are numerous scenes in which the Bodhisattva or Buddha faces the side of the folio. This underlines the narrative character of the depictions and allows to read the folios in a similar manner as a narrative freeze of the Buddha’s life in murals.

In contrast to the previous births, there is no single textual source that can be considered the source of this depiction of the Buddha’s life.25 This is due to the transmission history of the story in both texts and imagery as well as the idiosyncratic nature of the depiction, two points which are further discussed at the end of this section.

Birth and Youth

The scenes decorating the first volume (tha) of this section immediately demonstrate the complexity of the narrative and its interpretation when read with

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25 Textual sources used for the analysis of the depiction of the Buddha’s life include Foucaux 1988; Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2013; Obermiller 1932; Quintman and Schaeffer 2016; Beal 1875; Rockhill 1884; Bu ston 2013.
the accompanying captions. The life story begins with the teaching Bodhisattva in Tuṣita (Ganden, dga’ ldan) heaven (Fig. 195) and the bestowing of his crown to his successor Maitreya (Fig. 196). These two scenes point directly towards the Lalitavistara (rgya cher rol pa), the main canonical source on the Buddha’s life, the text of which is found in the second volume (kha) of the Sūtra collection. An analysis of the captions of the two scenes clearly reveals that they do not derive from this textual source, but that they establish an alternative interpretation that is not purely narrative. The Tuṣita caption actually reads “rebirth as Buddha Vairocana in the Akanisṭha (Ogmin, ’og min) abode.”26 Traditionally, the Buddha’s final birth before becoming Śākyamuni takes place in Tuṣita heaven, from where he descends for his last life on earth. However, Śākyamuni is also considered a nirmāṇakāya of Buddha Vairocana, whose esoteric awakening is located at Akanisṭha heaven and takes place before he takes his final birth. It is this awakening that the caption refers to. The depiction can also be read in this way, as the hand gesture and colour of the central teaching Bodhisattva directly reference the depiction of Vairocana at the head of the five esoteric Buddhas depicted after the Buddha’s life (volume tsa; Fig. 237). That these two events can be conflated in a single depiction is also known from other Tibetan representations of the story.27

The caption of the following illumination (Fig. 196) continues this interpretation and reads “transference to the Tuṣita abode,”28 the verb (’pho ba) indicating a conscious rebirth from one life to the next rather than the transfer of power that is depicted. Thus, the caption again interprets the scene in an esoteric manner, referring to the conscious choice of the time and place of birth on earth. In the illumination, the white Bodhisattva bestows his crown to the kneeling Maitreya, and with it anoints him as his successor there. While the preferred colour for Maitreya is red in the Western Himalayas, here he is depicted yellow, as most common in Central Tibetan depictions. Therefore, this first folio alone makes it clear that also with respect to the Buddha’s life the captions are not simply identifiers but present an alternative interpretation of the depictions.

In addition, the illuminations may have a distinct visual logic, as is nicely demonstrated by the depiction of Māyā’s dream (Fig. 199). Dividing the scene into an upper and lower half is here a clever pictorial devise that provides the scene with multiple meanings in terms of time and space. The yellow teaching Bodhisattva is to be understood in continuation of the previous scene and depicts Maitreya teaching in Tuṣita heaven. His interaction with the elephant can be read as the actual departure from that heaven, and the cloud can be read literally as representing the passing through clouds at the descent. Of course, the elephant also refers to the dream of Queen Māyā, the cloud metaphorically hinting at the dream. Further, the conceiving mother is in a lying position like the Buddha at his parinirvāṇa, which may well refer to her own passing only seven days after the Buddha’s birth.

A multivalent interpretation is also demonstrated by the charming depiction of the Buddha’s birth (Fig. 200). The scene shows Queen Māyā in the traditional birth posture, but she embraces the tree trunk as she usually embraces her attendant. The yellow Bodhisattva emerges from her right side with his hands raised in veneration gesture towards his mother.29 The figure to her left actually references three personages: Indra is referred to by the colour and the cloth held to receive the newly born, Brahmā is depicted through the three heads, and the female attendants are referenced by the

26 Corrected: ’og min gi gnas su sangs rgyas rnam par snang mdzad du skyes pa./
27 On depictions of the Tuṣita episodes in Tibetan depictions of the Buddha’s life, see Luczanits 2007. For the Indian representations and their possible sources, see Luczanits 2010b.
28 Tib.: dga’ ldan gi gnas su ‘pho ba./
breasts of this composite deity.\textsuperscript{30} With full use of the height of the illumination, the figure of Māyā is nicely detailed through shading and even armpit hair.

Of the illuminations in volume da, the first two continue the birth cycle with the depiction of the seven steps (Fig. 202) and the interpretation of the newly born’s marks by the Brahmin Asita (Fig. 203). At the seven steps, the yellow bejewelled Bodhisattva stands on a pile of stacked lotus petals and is flanked by two figures. The stack of lotus petals signify his steps in the different directions. This peculiar representation of the event has its predecessors in Northeast Indian and Nepalese book illuminations.\textsuperscript{31} From this scene onwards the Bodhisattva, and later the Buddha, is always distinguished by his yellow colour, signifying gold or even the golden sheen of his skin.

The last folio of this volume (da, Fig. 204) depicts the Bodhisattva in school seated opposite his Brahmin teacher (Fig. 205) and the archery competition (Fig. 206). In the latter only two figures compete, and the illumination does not make it clear who has shot which arrow. The elbow of the Bodhisattva’s competitor projects the frame of the illumination considerably, providing the otherwise rather flat composition with a sense of dynamism.

**Great Departure**

Volume na places visual emphasis on the great departure, as the last folio of the volume dedicated to this theme contains four scenes instead of the usual two (Fig. 210). Preceding it are two scenes from the courtly life of the Bodhisattva, his encounter with an elephant (Fig. 208) and himself surrounded by women in his harem (Fig. 209).

The depiction of the encounter with the elephant is rather puzzling, as it fails to communicate the story which is correctly identified by the somewhat clumsy caption (Fig. 208). In this scene, the Bodhisattva on his horse chariot and the elephant followed by another figure simply move in opposite directions. The referenced story is that the young Bodhisattva is to be gifted an elephant that is covered with jewels and led into the city of Kapilavastu. However, Devadatta kills the elephant and it blocks the way of the Bodhisattva, who ultimately throws it out of the city. In the Mūlasarvāstivādinayya this story precedes the archery contest, and Butön Rinchendrup (Bu ston rin chen grub, 1290–1364) makes it part of the latter.\textsuperscript{32} The story of the Bodhisattva lifting or throwing the elephant with his toe is most commonly depicted.\textsuperscript{33} The illumination, in contrast, rather depicts Devadatta chasing or knocking down the elephant, with the Bodhisattva being a mere spectator.

The four scenes of the great departure on the last folio of this volume are to be read from left to right and top to bottom (Fig. 210). They depict the four encounters (Fig. 211), the Bodhisattva in the palace with the entrance gates watched by guards (Fig. 212), the actual great departure in the form of riding a horse in the clouds (Fig. 213), and the cutting of hair (Fig. 214). Most remarkable among these is the depiction of the four encounters, which commonly are described as encountering a dead, an old, and a sick man, as well as a monk (Fig. 211). The illumination again features the Bodhisattva seated on his horse chariot. There is a dead person wrapped in cloth in the upper left corner, a man with a walking stick in the lower left, a Milarepa-like ascetic in the lower centre, a lady giving birth in the lower right, and a monk in the centre right.

\textsuperscript{30} This composite image also puts into context the representation of Indra with three heads in volume nga.

\textsuperscript{31} See, for example: a book cover from a private collection in Allinger 2012, fig. 35; a pair of book covers in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, (Scenes from the Life of Buddha Śākyamuni, covers of An Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā (The Perfection of Wisdom in 8,000 Verses), Nepal, twelfth century, from the Nasli and Alice Heeramanec Collection, Museum Associates Purchase inv. no. M.77.19.1a-b (Pal 1985, pl. 22, fig. 36); https://collections.lacma.org/node/238883, accessed January 14, 2020); and several others (Pal and Meech-Pekarik 1988, fig. 31). The seven steps are thereby always an addition to the birth scene, often compositionally replacing it in importance.

\textsuperscript{32} See the summary in Rockhill 1884, 19, and Bu ston 2013, 145–6.

\textsuperscript{33} Early Ladakhi depictions are not always clear in terms of the narrative of the event either, and depictions differ considerably. The life of the Buddha at Pangdrapug (pang gra phug) offers a clear account of the event (see Tropper 2018, 129).
The Bodhisattva is directed towards the monk, who is depicted wearing Tibetan robes and performs the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā). The addition of the Milarepa-like ascetic in the lower centre further contributes to the localization of the scene. Could he stand in here for the sick person or does he reference an additional path of Tibetan style asceticism? Also the inclusion of a birth scene is uncommon for the four encounters. To my knowledge, it is not depicted in India, but it does appear in quite a number of Tibetan depictions, especially in monuments from the thirteenth to fifteenth century in Ladakh.³⁴

The royal palace itself is depicted rather abstractly with jewelled bands forming the floors of its two levels and the frame of the illumination also depicting the walls (Fig. 212). The finial on top of the roof also projects the illumination’s frame. The guarded door has the shape of a niche or throne back, an association that is further supported by the scroll motive decorating the walls.

Volume pa continues the departure cycle with the return of the Bodhisattva’s horse to the palace in the left scene of the first folio verso (Fig. 216). The scene has an unusual rhythmic quality, with two ladies standing behind the horse and referencing each other by their near arms. Rather than simply identifying the scene, the caption complements it by reproducing the lament of the ladies.

From here onwards the Bodhisattva is represented as a Buddha. His life as an ascetic is shown in three scenes, the attempted disturbance of the meditating Bodhisattva by passers-by (Fig. 217) and the making (Fig. 220) and bestowing (Fig. 221) of milk-rice by the village girl Sujātā. The depictions are unusual only insofar as Sujātā is consistently represented as male, while the captions clearly refer to a young lady.

**Awakening**

Curiously, the chronological succession of the illuminated folios in volume pha is mixed up, as the events depicted on the last folio recto precede those on the first folio verso (Fig. 222). This cannot be blamed on the replacement of the first folio, which has the original illuminations inserted behind cut-outs, since the last folio is still the original one, even though it has the illuminations placed further towards the centre of the folio than usual.

If this reading is correct, the first scene on the left side of the last folio recto is then chronologically the next event (Fig. 227). In this scene, the enthroned Bodhisattva (depicted as Buddha) is communicating with a bejewelled and haloed figure seated on a lotus at the base of his throne. Both the emphasis placed on this figure as well as his teaching gesture would be much more puzzling if the scene would follow the awakening. The caption writer must have made similar observations, as he identifies it as depicting the teaching of the ascetics. This reading would explain the exceptional role of the secondary figure in this depiction, but not his appearance and the position of this scene within the narrative. The bejewelled figure represented is not an ascetic but rather a god.³⁵

Regardless of the identification of the left scene on this folio, the victory over Māra’s army on the right certainly precedes the awakening itself (Fig. 228). Its depiction lacks the spectacular drama that often is on display with this theme. Instead, there are only four bejewelled attackers: two playing noisy musical instruments, the cymbal and the conch, to the side of the Buddha’s ears, and two kneeling to the sides of the throne in an attempt to uproot it. Similar compositions

³⁴ Depictions of the birth at this event are, for example, found in the Alchi Lhakhang Soma (lha khang so ma), all three temples of Tsatsapuri (see Martin 2012, fig. 28 for that of the Lhato Lhakhang), and Wanla. The composition in the Lhato Lhakhang (lha tho lha khang) only includes birth, aging, sickness, and death, and thus a full life cycle, but not the escape in the form of a monk. On possible textual sources explaining the appearance of the birth in this scene, see Martin 2012, 39.

³⁵ Compositionally similar scenes are found in the Lhakhang Soma and the Lhato Lhakhang in Alchi, but there they precede the return of the horse Kanṭhaka and likely represent the exchange of clothes with a god who appears as hunter (see the discussion in Martin 2011, 53–54 and the referenced images; for the narrative, see Bu ston 2013, 154).
The first folio verso then shows the actual awakening by depicting the earth-touching Buddha on a throne underneath a tree (Fig. 223). The following seven weeks of meditation are referenced through the event in which the nāga Mucilinda (Tangzung, btang bzung) protected the Buddha from rain (Fig. 224). The upper right edge of this folio is torn off, resulting in the loss of a part of the illumination on this side. That the Mucilinda episode can be taken as representative of the seven stations following the awakening can be gathered from the caption, which attributes the Mucilinda episode to the seventh week. There is no tradition of the depiction of the seven stations in Tibetan art, but Mucilinda is frequently represented. Thus, the source for these depictions is again to be found in Northeast Indian book illumination, in which the Mucilinda episode often accompanies other major events of the Buddha's life.

Four Miracles?
That the familiarity with the story of the Buddha's life is no guarantee for consistency in its depiction can also be observed with the scenes of volume ba (Fig. 229 and Fig. 233). At first glance, its pair of illuminated folios seems unproblematic and may immediately be identified as representing the four miracles. These are part of a standard set of eight events that emerged in the middle of the first millennium in India, became extremely popular in East India, and was subsequently adopted in Tibet. The four miracles in their most common form and as listed in the apparent succession in this volume are: the taming of the elephant Nālāgiri at Rājagṛha, the monkey's honey offering at Vaśāli, the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods (Trayastrīṃśa) at Śāṅkāśya, and the multiplication miracle at Śrāvastī. It may well be that the original intention was to represent these, but idiosyncrasies in the depictions and the interpretation of the scenes through the captions complicate matters considerably.

The first scene shows the Buddha seated sideways on a throne and holding a begging bowl towards a worshipper (Fig. 230). An elephant in front of the throne base has its head against it as if trying to uproot the throne, but he could also just be scratching his back. In other words, it is only the presence of the elephant that hints towards the miracle, but the actual content of the story is not conveyed through the depiction. In fact, the scene lacks the characteristics that usually identify the scene, such as the standing Buddha with an attendant behind him, his hand directed towards the elephant, and the elephant either clearly running towards or bowing in front of the Buddha. Lions emerging from his hand symbolize the Buddha's power. I have not come across a Buddha seated on a throne in any of the depictions of this episode in Indian and Nepali book illuminations. The author of the caption

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Footnotes:
36 Folio from the Asian Art Museum, Collection of South, Southeast, and Central Asian Art, Berlin, Inv. no. I 5410, from a manuscript dated to NS268 (1177 CE), which otherwise is predominantly in the Asiatic Society Kolkata (G 4203) (Yaldiz and Gadebusch 2000, no. 164; Allinger and Kalantari 2012, fig. 10); a pair of book covers in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Scenes from the Life of Buddha Shakyamuni, Covers of an Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (The Perfection of Wisdom in 8,000 Verses), Nepal, twelfth century, from the Nasli and Alice Heeramanee Collection, Museum Associates Purchase inv. no. M.77.19.1a-b (Pal 1985, fig. 36); https://collections.lacma.org/node/238883, accessed January 14, 2020.
37 Usually the visit to Mucilinda's lake is attributed to the sixth week (see, e.g., Stadtner 1991).
38 The theme is frequently depicted on the so-called Andagustele to the side of the Eight Great Events (see, e.g., Bautze-Picron 1999). While such depictions have certainly communicated visual representations of this theme to Tibet (see the detailed analyses in Bautze-Picron 1996; Bautze-Picron 1998), in contrast to the events the seven stations were not adopted.
39 Good examples for this include the Epsilon 1 Manuscript in the Wellcome Library, where the Mucilinda episode is one of ten events of the Buddha's life, a pair of book covers in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.77.19.1a,b), where Mucilinda replaces the first sermon, and a pair of book covers in a European private collection, where it is one of twelve scenes of the life. All of these are cited and partially depicted in Allinger 2012, 158–161.
40 On early versions of the Eight Great Events, see Williams 1975. On their depictions in East India and Burma, see Woodward 1990; Woodward 1997; Bautze-Picron 1999; Leoshko 1990. On the adoption of this concept in Tibet, see Bautze-Picron 1996; Bautze-Picron 1998; Pakhoutova 2009 and Allinger 2010a.
41 For depictions see, for example, Pal 1985, pls. 5, 22, figs. 7, 9, 36, and Allinger 2012, fig. 23, 36.
gave more attention to the interaction between the Buddha and the bejewelled figure in front of him, as he identified the scene as the food offering of the two merchants Trapuṣa (Gagön, ga gon) and Bhallika (Zangkyong, bzang skyong), which chronologically takes place immediately after the seven stations represented by Mucilinda.42

Also the depiction of the monkey that offers honey on the right side of the same folio (Fig. 231) lacks a number of its usual identifiers, in particular the bowl held by the Buddha or the monkey and the monkey’s repeated representation.43 Instead, both the Buddha and the monkey hold a yellow leaf-like object in their hands, and the monkey stands on a lotus stem growing out of the Buddha’s throne. Nevertheless, and probably assured by the location of the scene within the narrative, the caption’s author identified the scene as the honey offering.

In the depiction of the descent from heaven, narrative action is reduced to the bare minimum as well (Fig. 234). The Buddha stands frontally on a large lotus shared with his two attendants, and Brahmā to the Buddha’s right is holding an umbrella. The three figures stand on the same large lotus and the Buddha is performing the teaching gesture. Again, the scene lacks some of its identifying characteristics, such as an indication of stairs or the nun Utpalavarnā (Utpalédok, ut pa la'i mdog) bowing to the Buddha’s feet upon arrival.44 Brahmā does not even hold the umbrella above the Buddha’s head, which often is enough to identify the scene.45 Not surprisingly then, the captioner focused on the teaching action and read the scene in relation to the second illumination on this folio as “turning the dharma-wheel following the request of Brahmā and Indra.”46

In the last illumination of this volume, the Buddha is seated on a lotus and under a tree and performs the teaching gesture (Fig. 235). He is flanked by four monks, seated sideways and with hands raised in the gesture of worship, arranged symmetrically to his sides. The scene thus is to be interpreted as the first sermon in the deer park in Sārnāth near Vārāṇasi, even though there are only four monks, and not five as in the story of this event. Also the deer flanking the wheel, which are usually represented at the feet of the Buddha, are lacking.47 The caption author also interpreted the scene as such, but was this the intention of the conceiver of the visual program of this Sūtra collection? This has to remain unclear, but the ornate text above which the illumination was painted may well reference a teaching Buddha. Generally, it can be observed that a visually and chronologically clear depiction of the Buddha’s life was not the main goal when conceiving of this illumination program.

**Visual Canon**
The number of instances in which the interpretation of a scene in the Buddha’s life is in some way problematic is much greater than one would expect, even if one leaves aside the captions. Such instances are particularly frequent towards the end of the cycle with those events that have a long visual tradition that can be traced back to Northeast Indian depictions on book covers and manuscripts. This is surprising at first glance and deserves an inquiry into the background that could have led to this situation.

Looking at the range of scenes across the Buddha’s life, it becomes apparent that their narrative character diminishes considerably from the first scenes to the last. While the birth and youth scenes are easy to read

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42 Also the two illuminations depicting the birth stories on the final folio verso of volume kha were identified as representing these two merchants.

43 For common depictions of this miracle in book illuminations, see Pal and Meech-Pekarik 1988, pls. 6, 7, figs. 17, 18.

44 On Indian depictions of this event, see Allinger 2010b.

45 For a similarly formulaic composition, see the pair of book covers in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art already referred to several times (Pal 1985, pl. 22, fig. 36; https://collections.lacma.org/node/238883, accessed January 14, 2020).

46 Tib.: tshangs pa dang rgya byin gis gsal naschos kyi ‘khor ba/.

47 The composition with four figures in symmetry is an elaboration of the most abbreviated depiction of the first sermon among the Eight Great Events, where the Buddha is flanked by only two monks facing him. For examples, see Pal and Meech-Pekarik 1988, pl. 13, fig. 28.
in terms of the narrated content and clearly demonstrate visual thinking behind their compositions, those towards the end are static and formulaic with their narrative content and identifying characteristics often reduced to the absolute minimum. In addition, while there is no doubt about the chronology of the scenes up to the story of Sujātā, those depicting the events around the awakening and the following ones are chronologically confused when compared with the succession of events in textual accounts of the Buddha’s life.48 One may thus reasonably conclude that the scenes preceding the awakening and those following it have a different visual pedigree.

Tibetan representations of the Buddha’s life preceding those of the Sūtra collection at Namgyal document quite different approaches to the subject, which relate to the textual sources and religious interpretations used for their depiction. The earliest preserved such narrative of the Tabo Main Temple, datable to around 1040, is largely based on the account in the Lalitavistara, which ends with a large teaching scene following the Buddha’s awakening.49 While scenes from the Buddha’s teaching life and parinirvāṇa are added to complete the cycle, the clear difference in the arrangement and composition of these scenes and the comparatively small space dedicated to them demonstrate the composite character of the Tabo narrative. The narrative deriving from the Lalitavistara has a clear chronology, but the following events display no chronological relationship, with the exception of the parinirvāṇa being placed at the end. The Tabo murals of the Buddha’s life demonstrate the fact that none of the texts transmitted to Tibet narrates the entire life story, from its beginning to the parinirvāṇa, and that the Tibetans needed to communicate such a story.

The monuments of the Alchi Choskhor (al lci chos ’khor) preserve four representations of the Buddha’s life, two of which are found in the Main Temple. On the door of the Alchi Dukhang (du khang), the events preceding the Sujātā episode are shown in mono-scenic depictions arranged vertically along the door posts, while the Sujātā episode and those following it are more complex and arranged horizontally along the top of the door, with the awakening taking central position.50 In the murals of the Dukhang, the life is represented in three horizontal rows to the left of the same door. It narrates the life from the Bodhisattva in Tuṣita heaven to the victory over Māra, and then immediately moves to the parinirvāṇa and the burning of the relics.51 The Buddha’s life on the dhoti of the main image of the Alchi Sumtsek (gsum brtsegs), Bodhisattva Maitreya, focuses on the events up to the first sermon and the parinirvāṇa, representing the Buddha’s teaching career in the form of six triads that show the Buddha teaching to a different audience in each.52 Rather than narrating life events as such, these emphasize the capacity to teach all beings, and with it the timeless and spaceless nature of the Buddha. Thus, these early Alchi monuments demonstrate that also around 1200 the actual teaching career of the Buddha was communicated separately and/or distinctly from the narrative preceding the Buddha’s awakening.

Even in the Lhakhang Soma (lha khang so ma), the “New Temple” of Alchi that probably dates to the second quarter of the fourteenth century,53 and other early Ladakhi monuments following it,54 only few scenes were added to bridge the timespan between the

48 On the textual accounts used for this study, see note 224 above.
49 On the life of the Buddha at Tabo, see Klimburg-Salter 1997a, Klimburg-Salter 1997b, Klimburg-Salter 2007, and on a study of one of its post awakening scenes, see Allinger 1999.
50 The door has been studied in greater detail in Poell 2005.
51 A full description of this life, of which only the top row is well preserved, will be provided in a forthcoming publication by Christian Luczanits on the Alchi Choskhor monuments.
53 On the date of the Lhakhang Soma, see Luczanits 2015, 244–246. On the life of the Buddha in the Lhakhang Soma, see Genoud and Inoue 1982, Alchi, fig. 18, and Martin 2011. The observations made here are based on photography provided by Jaroslav Poncar and Nils Martin as well as research for a forthcoming publication by Christian Luczanits on the Alchi Choskhor monuments.
54 See in particular the study of the life in the Lhato Lhakhang of Alchi Tsatsapuri in Martin 2011.
victory over Māra and the parinirvāṇa. As with the illuminations, chronology appears not to be a concern for them, and the identification of some events is far from clear. For example, in the scene dedicated to the taming of the elephant, a lion is also shown to be attacking, which is a misinterpretation of the lion projecting from the Buddha’s hand to actually tame the elephant. This is also the only scene in Soma’s life that can be associated with any of the four miracles. In the Soma story, the succession of scenes was also influenced by their location, since greater emphasis is provided for the first sermon and the generic teaching scenes that follow it in a higher position to the right side of the entrance.

55 See also the closely related depiction of this event in Martin 2011, fig. VII.2.
These Western Himalayan examples can be contrasted with a group of thangka paintings from Central Tibet (Fig. 116)\textsuperscript{56} that narrate the Buddha’s life based and expanding on Northeast Indian depictions of the Eight Great Events (Fig. 117).\textsuperscript{57} These are communicated in a number of different formats, most prominently in the so-called Andagu steles,\textsuperscript{58} which may also include the seven stations following the Buddha’s awakening, and in illuminations of Sanskrit manuscripts and painted

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\textsuperscript{56} The following examples were used for comparison: a thangka documented in Tibet (Han Shuli 1995, fig. 316); one formerly in the Zimmerman collection (Huntington and Huntington 1990, no. 107, Pal 1991, no. 81, Allinger 2010a, fig. 5); and two paintings from a private collection Bautze-Picron 1996, fig. 2, Bautze-Picron 1998, fig. 2, Allinger 2010a, fig. 4, and Pal 2003, no. 121 (with an inscription on the back placing it into a Taklung context).

\textsuperscript{57} The most systematic account on this relationship is the two-part study of Bautze-Picron 1996 and Bautze-Picron 1998.

\textsuperscript{58} See Bautze-Picron 1999 for an overview on this type of stele, many of which are still found in Tibet (von Schroeder 2001, 394–405).
book covers. In both cases, visual symmetries guide the composition and chronology is less important. For example, among the Eight Great Events, the two scenes with a standing Buddha, the descent from the gods, and the taming of the elephant are juxtaposed in very similar compositions, as is the first sermon and the multiplication miracle at Śrāvastī. A further development of such composition in Central Tibet breaches the symmetries in favour of a chronological presentation of the events. The best example for demonstrating an intermediate stage in this process is a painting in a private collection published in Sacred Visions. While retaining some of the inherited symmetries, such as the one between the two events with the standing Buddha, it combines them with new ones in the upper corners of the painting, while the remaining composition is arranged chronologically around the central Buddha. In a further step, all events following the awakening are clustered on the top left side of the canvas and chronology is emphasized, but this leads us into the fifteenth century.

This short survey illustrates that prior to the Namgyal illuminations different parts of the Buddha’s life had been transmitted in various forms. While the events preceding his awakening are often displayed in extensive depictions full of narrative detail, those following it are formulaic and devoid of any chronological relationship, especially when they are based on the Eight Great Events. However, by the time of the Namgyal illuminations and the Western Himalayan depictions of the Buddha’s life that include these events, the background for the formulaic character of these scenes was lost, resulting in rather idiosyncratic representations that often include genuine misunderstandings.

Many of the scenes in the Namgyal illuminations have their closest parallels in Northeast Indian book illuminations. This adds an additional layer of complexity, since book illuminations at times continue the symmetries and formulaic character found with the Eight Great Events and at times weaken them in favour of more extensive or more narrative depictions. Book illuminations often also include scenes beyond the Eight Great Events, and at times they replace them entirely.

The Namgyal illuminations combine the formulaic character of the Eight Great Events with a more narrative representation, in part offering abbreviated idiosyncratic versions of the events. The formulaic character can still be observed in depictions such as the victory over Māra, the awakening itself, and the Mucilinda depiction, each of them focusing on the earth-touching Buddha. The descent from the gods and the first sermon are equally formulaic, but they are not juxtaposed to each other in the representations to which they go back to. The third compositional formula, the Buddha seated sideways on a throne, derives from narrative friezes read from left to right, and it is these scenes that are least rooted in a previous model and most prone to misunderstandings, as demonstrated by the scene of the taming of the elephant. The new composition of this scene is also responsible for the fact that none of the visual symmetries otherwise characteristic for the Eight Great Events is preserved in the Namgyal depiction.

The unusual location of the first sermon can be explained in several ways: on the one hand it could simply be a replacement or reinterpretation of the

59 See Allinger 2010a for an extremely interesting example concerning the role of book illuminations for early Central Tibetan depictions.

60 The illuminations of two Prajñāpāramitā manuscripts with scenes from the life of the Buddha, one in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Pal and Meech-Pekarik 1988, pl. 4; https://collections.lacma.org/node/252319, accessed January 14, 2020) and another one in the Asia Society, New York (Huntington and Huntington 1990, no. 58), demonstrate the adoption of this composition in book illuminations.

61 Kossak and Singer 1998, no. 27. The expansion of the Buddha’s life through the addition of youth scenes at the bottom is also documented in Northeast Indian steles, the best examples being the stele of Betagi (Bautze-Picron 1996, figs. 15, 22; Bautze-Picron 1998, fig. 3) and that of Kamalapuri Monastery, Dacca, (Allinger 2010a, figs. 2 and 3).

62 Examples for such compositions are a depiction of the Yumchenmo Korlam (yum chen mo skor lam) at Shalu (detail in Luczanits 2007, fig. 8) as well as the following thangka: Han Shuli 1995, figs. 302–315; two paintings in the collection of Heidi and Ulrich von Schroeder Bautze-Picron 1996, fig. 3 and fig. 16.

63 See note 38 on the Mucilinda episode above.
multiplication miracle after realizing that the first sermon was not represented, on the other hand it is tempting to compare the composition in the two folios of this volume with the middle pairs in depictions of the Eight Great Events on steles (Fig. 117) and thangkas (Fig. 116). There the two events with seated Buddhas are commonly placed below those with standing ones. The illuminations on the last folio recto of volume ba could thus present a vertical pairing of such a composition. However, in thangka compositions based on the Eight Great Events, it is the taming of the elephant that is usually paired with the first sermon, but there is also an exception in this regard, namely the thangka formerly in the Zimmerman collection.57

Concerns for the presence or absence of a certain scene or the derivation from a visual pedigree are only two possible reasons that led to the Eight Great Events to lack chronology embedded in their visual representation, and this is reflected in the Namgyal illuminations. Overall, the Namgyal illuminations of the Buddha’s life reflect the complex and composite pedigree of this theme in the Tibetan tradition.

Pantheon

With the end of the Buddha’s life, themes based on narrative give way to the representation of single figures. The majority of them are frontal and hieratic, and they represent deities of the Buddhist pantheon presented in a hierarchy that ranges from Buddhas to subsidiary deities bestowing wealth and protection. An exception to the rule is found in the last volume, the first folio of which features Padmasambhava (Péma Jungné, pad ma ’byung gnas) and a monk worshipping him. His position within the overall pantheon and the implications this entails are discussed towards the end of this section. While the arrangement of the deities is intentional and systematic, they appear not to be part of a greater overall scheme, such as a systematic link to the Buddha families. This is clear from the absence of the respective Buddhas in the crowns of the deities.

Buddhas

Five volumes (tsa to zha) are dedicated to Buddhas, beginning with the five esoteric Buddhas in their sam-bhogakāya aspect and continuing with fifteen Buddhas in monastic robes. The identification of the latter is not obvious from the depictions themselves, a fact that has also puzzled later caption writers suggesting identifications. However, when examined overall, there are enough clues to explain the arrangement and identify each depiction on the basis of succession.

The Buddhas sit frontally on a lotus and in front of a throne cushion with triangular projections at shoulder level. They have a horseshoe-shaped head nimbus and a large mandorla framing the entire figure, leaving little space in terms of background, which again is either green or blue and decorated with flower blossoms. The same colours used for the background are also used for the cushion, with orange as an additional option. The mandorla is red in all but two cases, but its edge varies. Most frequently, the red of the mandorla faded towards a bright edge with one or two layers between them, and the two exceptions switch this colour scheme. Otherwise, the edge of the mandorla is simply red as its body with an additional line paralleling the edge, or yellow with flames drawn in. Again, no pattern can be recognized for any of these choices, and they appear to be combined randomly.

Occasionally, a throne is drawn below the lotus that partially supports identification. This is most clearly the case with the esoteric Buddhas, where the jewel throne distinguishes the first one, Vairocana (Fig. 237), and all of them have tiny family symbols and vehicles painted on a strip of colour underneath the lotus. Except for Vairocana, the colour of this strip may alternate with the background, i.e., it is green when the background is blue, and vice versa. Curiously, the vehicles of Vairocana (Fig. 237) and Akṣobhya (Fig. 238) are interchanged. This mistake may well be associated with the fact that by this time either of them could have taken the central position.

 Thrones also distinguish four of the following seven Buddhas, among them the first (Fig. 242) and the last
one (Fig. 252), and the last eight Buddhas feature no thrones at all. This indicates that among the Buddhas in monastic robes two groups must be differentiated. Each of them begins with a white Buddha and ends with a yellow Buddha performing the earth-touching gesture, most likely representing Śākyamuni. In addition, the dark blue Buddha preceding Śākyamuni in volume zha can be identified as the Medicine Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru (Sanggyé Menla, sangs rgyas sman bla; Fig. 263). Thus, the first group represents the Seven Sucessive Buddhas or Seven Buddhas of the Past, presented from the historically most remote Buddha Vipaśyin to Śākyamuni as the most recent one, and the second group represents the Eight Medicine Buddhas (Menla Déshek Gyé, sman bla bde gshegs brgyad).

The iconography of the Buddhas does not allow their individual identification, which is thus based on their succession alone. In the case of the Seven Successive Buddhas, the first four mirror the colours and gestures of the five esoteric Buddhas. The Buddha depicted like Amitābha even holds a vase in his hands joined in meditation, and he is to be identified as Krakucchanda (Khorwajik, 'khor ba 'jig; Fig. 248). The iconography of the two Buddhas between him and Śākyamuni (Fig. 252) cannot be explained following this rationale: Kanakamuni (Sertup, gser thub) is yellow and performs the teaching gesture (dharmačakra-mudrā; Fig. 249) and Kāśyapa (Ösung, 'od srung) is red and performs the gesture of reassurance (abhyayamudrā; Fig. 251). In both cases their colour may have been chosen in relation to their Tibetan name.

It is equally difficult to explain the iconography of the Eight Medicine Buddhas, and their succession is not obvious either. Given that the Medicine Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru and Śākyamuni are shown last, I have taken the succession of the Buddhas as they occur in a permission ritual (rjes gnang) attributed to Śāntarakṣita (725–783) as a base for their identification.\(^{64}\) The iconography of the individual Buddhas is far from conforming to the details described in this text, but the depictions resonate sufficiently in their choice of gestures and colours to establish a connection.\(^{65}\) A major exception is the first of these Buddhas, Sunāmaparikirtanaśrī (Tsenlek Yongdrakpel, mtshan legs yongs bsgrags dpal), who is white and performs the gesture of giving (varadamudrā).

The individual iconography of these Buddhas is detailed in the captions to the images, here it suffices to focus on Bhaiṣajyaguru himself, whose depiction demonstrates that these Buddhas received less attention than those preceding them (Fig. 263). In his case, the blue colour and the outline of the begging bowl (pātra) can be used to identify him, but the distinctive myrobalan fruit was not drawn and the body of the bowl was never filled with black colour.\(^{66}\)

Obviously, the locus classicus for the five esoteric Buddhas, the Sarvatathāgatatattvasamgrahatantra, is not contained in this text. However, the Seven Buddhas of the Past are, among others, the protagonists in the Sūtra of the Seven Buddhas contained in volume nya (Ng8.13, page 192). The Sūtra of the Medicine Buddha is found in volume ta (Ng9.5, page 198), the last volume depicting the birth stories, while that pa, which is transmitted in the Tanjur and Nyingma literature, are conveniently summarized in Dorje 2014, 135–138.

\(^{65}\) Similarly loose associations are also characteristic for other representations, such as that of the temple of Shangrong (shang rong), Alchi, or the depictions in Willson and Brauen 2000, nos. 40–48. The latter shows Seven Medicine Buddhas on three folios, each of them composed from the centre out. This depiction begins with the Medicine Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru flanked by the Bodhisattvas Candrarocana (Datar Nangjé, zla ltar snang byed) and Sūryarocana (Nyitar Nangjé, nyi ltar snang byed) at the expense of Śākyamuni. The two Bodhisattvas are white and orange respectively and have their hands folded in the gesture of offering and worship (aṅjālimudrā). It then shows the Buddhas in reverse order of the usual succession, when the central Buddha is red and in front of those flanking him left and right on each folio. There are considerable deviations in the iconography, with the second folio clustering the red and pink Buddhas, two of them with the gesture of giving (varadamudrā), and the third folio with those in yellow, all of them performing the gesture of reassurance (abhyayamudrā).

\(^{66}\) An article discussing the Medicine Buddhas of Namgyal in the context of roughly contemporaneous depictions of this topic and the establishment of their iconography is Luczanits 2020.

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\(^{64}\) The relevant passages in the Rite of Reciting the Incantation of the Particularly Extensive Former Aspirations of the Seven Sugatas, Compiled from the Sūtra (de bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi sgon gyi smon lam gyi khyad par rgyas pa'i gzungs bklag pa'i cho ga mdo sde las britis
containing the vows of the Seven Medicine Buddhas is found in volume kha (Ng2.4, page 152).

Bodhisattvas

The three groups of Buddhas are followed by Bodhisattvas, namely three forms of Mañjuśrī and five forms of Avalokiteśvara (Chenrézik Wangchuk, spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug; volumes za and 'a). Formally, their depiction is a continuation of the one of the Buddha, since their thrones and haloes are constructed in the same way. The Bodhisattvas are generally grouped by identity, but the first folio of volume za displays the most common forms of the two Bodhisattvas together, namely the orange Mañjuśrī with a sword and a book and the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara (Ekādaśa mukhāvalokita, Chenrézik Chuchikzhel, spyan ras gzigs bcu gcig zhal; Fig. 265). The captions use their iconographic characteristics to identify them, and Avalokiteśvara is identified as thousand-armed despite its depictions having eight arms only (Fig. 267).

The following two Mañjuśrī represented on the recto of the last folio of volume za both originate from the Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgiti (MNS). The white six-headed and two-armed meditating Mañjuśrī with a sword and a book on two blue lilies (Fig. 270) can be identified as Gnosis-Being Mañjuśrī, Mañjuśrī Jñānasattva (Jampel Yeshé Sempa, ’jam dpal ye shes sms ds pa’), as it is alluded to in verse twenty-seven of the MNS and elaborated in commentaries on it. Iconographically, this form incorporates the five Buddha families, as demonstrated by the different-coloured lower heads, the top one being that of Mañjuśrī, who in this case is white and superior to them. The first part of the caption to this illumination, “Tīkṣṇa-Mañjuśrī (Jampel Nönpo, ’jam dpal rnon po)” consolidating the [Buddha] families,” conveys this sense of the iconography well, but the Vajratīkṣṇa (Dorjé Nönpo, rdo rje rnon po) form of Mañjuśrī is in fact described differently in the MNS. In any case, Mañjuśrī Jñānasattva in this illumination should no longer hold a sword, since he represents the ultimate insight in which there is no more ignorance to cut through, and thus he should rather hold two books.

The second Mañjuśrī on this page is four-armed and holds a sword and a book in addition to his usual iconography (Fig. 271). He derives from verse 150 in the MNS:

“Dressed in the mail of loving kindness, equipped with the armor of compassion, with a volume of insight scripture, a sword, a bow and an arrow, he is victorious in the battle against defilements and unknowing.”

Incidentally, this verse is also quoted under a representation of this form of Mañjuśrī in the Bardzong (bar rdzong) cave, where he is called “Great Wisdom Hero” (ye shes dpa’ che). Neither this designation nor its descriptive alternative, Nāmasaṃgiti Mañjuśrī (Jampel Tsenjö, ’jam dpal mtshan brjod), are found as such in the literature. In other words, there seems to be no consistent designation for this Bodhisattva.

The following volume ('a) features two popular Avalokiteśvara groups on the first folio (Fig. 272), the Ṣaḍakṣara Avalokita triad (Fig. 273) and the Amoghapāśa pentad. The triad of the Six-syllable Avalokiteśvara (Ṣaḍakṣara Avalokita, Chenrézik Yige Drukpa, spyan ras gzigs yi ge drug pa) is extremely popular throughout early Tibetan art and ultimately goes back to the

67 The Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgiti is not found in the Sūtra collection, it usually is classified among the Highest Yoga Tantras.
68 I refer here to the excellent translation of the MNS in Davidson 1995.
69 See the partially translated commentary by Vilāsavajra in Tribe 1994, 110–12, or Tribe 2016, 47–49, 137. Interestingly, this form of Mañjuśrī appears not to be depicted in Nepalese sketchbooks such as the ones in Bühnemann 2003.
70 Davidson 1995, 118.
71 Zhang Changhong 2016, Inscription S1.
72 The term Nāmasaṃgiti Mañjuśrī, which is occasionally used, also designates a different twelve-armed form of the Bodhisattva characteristic for Newar Buddhism. The literature often uses Jñānasattva for this form as well as the two-armed form of Mañjuśrī, the term used for the ultimate form in the MNS in the other illumination (Fig. 270). Another designation found for this Bodhisattva on a book illumination from Nako documented by Helmut Tauscher is shes rab mchog gyur ’jam pa'i dbyangs, i.e., Mañjughoṣa Foremost in Wisdom. Again, Nepalese sketchbooks do not help in naming this form of Mañjuśrī.
Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra. Nevertheless, the colours of the flanking figures of Bodhisattva Maṇidhara (Norbu Dzinpa, nor bu ’dzin pa) and goddess Ṣaḍakṣari (Yige Drukma, yi ge drug ma) are reversed, and in the case of the goddess the usage of the teaching gesture, instead of folded hands, is unique as well. The Amoghapāśa pentad (Dönyö Zhakpa lhanga, don yod zhags pa lha lnga) is equally popular (Fig. 274). The iconography of its deities conforms almost exactly with the description of the Amoghapāśa five deity assembly in the tradition of Bari Lotsawa Rinchendrak (ba ri lo tsā ba rin chen grags, 1040–1111), the visualization description of which has been used for comparison here. While the former form of Avalokiteśvara on this folio can be interpreted as most relevant for the current life, the latter is rather to be associated with the afterlife.

The final folio recto features depictions of Siṃhanāda Avalokiteśvara (Chenrézik Wangchuk Senggédra, spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug seng ge sgra) on the left and Hariharihāra-ḥaṃodbhava Lokeśvara on the right (Hari Hari Harila Zhönpar Gyurpé Chenrézik Wangchuk, ha ri ha ri ha ri la zhon par gyur pa ’i spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug; Fig. 275). The former is depicted white and seated on a lion, hence his name “Lion’s Roar,” with his main attributes flanking him. Liturgies dedicated to this Bodhisattva describe an additional sword to the side.

73 See Studholme 2002, 82–83. In the Namgyal Sūtra collection, the text is found at the beginning of volume nya (Ng8.1, page 190).
74 See Willson and Brauen 2000, no. 105.
75 It is remarkable that the Amoghapāśa pentad is equally popular in the Dunhuang materials in both literature (see van Schaik 2006) and painting (Musée national des Arts asiatiques-Guimet, paintings MG 26466, EO 1131, and EO 3579). Commonly classified as Kriyā Tantra, The King of Detailed Procedures for Amoghapāśa or Amoghapāśakalparāja is found in volume a of the Sūtra collection (Ng30.1, page 334).
of the skull-cup (kapāla), which is not depicted here. The Bodhisattva on the right references the god Viṣṇu, who is replaced by a lotus in this variant of the deity. In usual depictions, Viṣṇu would be riding the garuḍa and located below Avalokiteśvara, while the composition at Namgyal emphasizes Avalokiteśvara. Harīharahrīvahānodbhava Avalokiteśvara is much less popular in Tibet than it is in Nepal, and on the Tibetan plateau his representation can only be found occasionally, usually in contexts with close connections to Nepal. A considerably later example for this deity is represented in the so-called Nyungne Lhakhang (bsnyung gnas lha khang) at Phuntsokling (phun tshogs gling), where its iconography is represented much more precisely (Fig. 118).

LONG-LIFE DEITIES
The two following illuminations on the first folio recto of volume ya depict what I would usually refer to as goddesses (Fig. 278). However, there is a twist with the depiction of the first of these deities, so it is a safer choice to refer to their function as bestowing long life. The issue is that Uṣṇīṣavijaya (Tsuktor Namgyel, gtsug tor rnam rgyal), intentionally spelled here to indicate a male gender, is depicted and captioned as male (Fig. 279). To my knowledge, this is unique and therefore open to a variety of interpretations. Here, I will only present two contrasting perspectives to demonstrate the range of possibilities. On the one hand there is continuity with the previous representations of Avalokiteśvara, both in terms of the white colour and the family association, since the Buddha Amitāyus that is held as one of Uṣṇīṣavijaya’s attributes could be interpreted in this way. Thus, the deity may well have been understood as another form of Avalokiteśvara, which obviously it is not. On the other hand the artist may simply have forgotten to depict the gender of the deity, since the remaining attributes and gestures are perfectly rendered, and the author of the caption might have noticed this and accordingly chose a male form. There is no way to decide which of these two interpretations or any of the possibilities in the intermediate range is correct.

Green Tārā (Drölma Janggu, sgrol ma ljang gu), the other illumination on this folio, is clearly female and represented in her usual iconography (Fig. 280). She sits in the posture of royal ease (lalitāsana), performing the gesture of giving (varadamudrā) with her right hand and holding the blue lily (utpala) in her left. A second blossom, oddly passing at the back of the goddess’ open hand, is added for reasons of symmetry, a common practice during the time of the production of the Namgyal illuminations.

AWAKENED PROTECTORS
The long-life deities are followed by a group of wrathful deities, with two of the same type on each of the three following folios. On the last folio of volume ya recto are forms of Vajrapāṇi (Fig. 281). Both brandish a vajra in their right hand, but one holds a bell at the hip while the other performs the gesture of threatening (tarjanīmudrā) with his left hand. There are numerous forms of Vajrapāṇi that would fit these appearances, but the captions are of no help in identifying the depictions, since they are certainly incorrect. The caption below the left illumination identifies this form as Vajrapāṇi of the Sūtra tradition (mdo lugs). This is definitely incorrect, since this designation fits better to the illumination on the right, where the second hand is in the threatening gesture. Thus, it is rather the form in the right illumination that can be identified as a Vajrapāṇi of the Sūtra tradition. This form is a remover of obstacles and therefore clearly lower in status than the form represented in the left illumination that holds a bell as the second attribute. This Vajrapāṇi conforms to the Exceedingly Fierce Vajrapāṇi (Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Vajrapāṇi, Chakdor Tumchen, phyag rdor gtum chen) in

76 See, e.g., Willson and Brauen 2000, no. 131.
77 On this temple and its name, see Linrothe 2011. For inscribed representations of this deity in Nepal, see, for example, Bühnemann 2003, BDC nos. 11, 12, and LC nos. 73, 82.
78 Classical early examples for the representation of the second flower are the Ford Tārā, today in the Walters Museum of Art (see, e.g., Kossak and Singer 1998, no. 3; Pal 2001, no. 131; for its date between 1175 and 1189, see Luczanits 2009), and the Cleveland Tārā (Cleveland Museum of Art, acc.no. 1970.156; see, e.g., Singer and Denwood 1997, 27; Kossak and Singer 1998, no. 37).
79 See especially the description of this form in the Tibetan canonical literature (ACIP TD02871 and TD02881).
the tradition of Rechungpa Dorjédrak (ras chung pa rdo rje grags, 1085–1165), who in the Rinjung Gyatsa (rin ’byung brgya rtsa) is the only form that holds a bell in the left, 80 and is here tentatively identified as such. In addition to this attributive distinction, he would also wear full wrathful jewellery instead of merely snakes, but this textual distinction is not always strictly upheld in the Tibetan tradition. 81 A third form of Vajrapāṇi is depicted in volume sha (see below).

The second pair of protectors on the first folio verso of volume ra are forms of Mahākāla (Fig. 284). On the left, an illumination features the seated four-armed form of Mahākāla holding a sword and a tantric staff (khatvāṅga) in its side arms as well as a heart-shaped beta fruit in its main right hand (Fig. 285). 82 This form has been described and practiced in different Kagyü (bka’ brgyud) traditions 83 under various names, including Jñāna Mahākāla (Yéshé Gönpo, ye shes myon po) as also identified here.

The Mahākāla in the illumination on the right is two-armed and holds a curved knife (kartṛkā) and a skull-cup (kapāla) above each other in front of his chest (Fig. 286). The posture of his arms and legs conform to the Pañjara Mahākāla Alone in the Ngog Tradition (Gurkyang Ngogluk, gur skyang rngog lugs), 84 but similar forms are also known in other traditions. 85 This identification assumes that the magical wooden gong usually lying on the arms of the most popular form of Pañjara Mahākāla has not simply been forgotten. This absence of the gong is crucial in this case, since the Mahākāla imagery in these illuminations then excludes the possibility of being conceived in a Sakya tradition context.

The recto of the final folio of volume ra then shows two forms of Acala (Miyowa, mi g.yo ba), both brandishing a sword with the right hand and holding a noose in the left, but one of them is dark blue and standing, while the other is light blue and kneeling sideways (Fig. 287). Thus, the standing form to the left conforms to Acala among the Four Kadampa Deities (Kadampa Lhazhi, bka’ gtags pa’i lha bzhi), 86 whereas the one to the right

Fig. 119: Kneeling Acala
Luri Chörten Cave, back wall, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century; photo J. Poncar 1996.

80 Willson and Brauen 2000, nos. 156.
81 The paintings of the Rinjung Gyatsa in Willson and Brauen 2000, nos. 154–160, also do not make this distinction.
82 On this attribute, see Willson and Brauen 2000, no. 352, n. 1.
83 For example, the Rinjung Gyatsa (Willson and Brauen 2000, no. 352) associates this form with the Tselpa Kagyü (tshal pa bka’ brgyud), and I have read a number of texts attributed to Pakmodrupa (phag mo grub pa rdo rje rgyal po, 1110–1170) that described this form, for example Rdo rje rgyal po 2003a, 2003b.
84 See Willson and Brauen 2000, no. 361.
85 For example, the same form is also described in Rdo rje rgyal po 2003c, 351–52.
86 The Four Kadampa Deities are Śākyamuni, Acala, Avalokiteśvara, and Tārā, and they are depicted on some early Tibetan paintings, such as the one sold at Sotheby’s New York in March 2004 (lot 56) as well as the one in the Fournier Collection (e.g., Heller 1999, no. 67). Durham 2016 focuses on another painting related to that at Sotheby’s. For this form of Acala, see also Willson and Brauen 2000, no. 174.
is popular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries across the new schools (Fig. 289). This form is also painted on the back wall of the stūpa cave at Luri (Fig. 119). The captions differentiate the two forms simply by naming the posture of the second one.

**Wealth Deities**

The illuminations in volume la are dedicated to wealth deities (Fig. 290). On the first folio verso are illuminations of the peaceful and wrathful forms of Jambhala, the former form yellow and seated, and the latter form a standing Black Jambhala (Dzamnag, dzam nag). Their iconography and identification is straightforward and was unproblematic also for the caption writer.

The other pair of wealth deities on the final folio recto (Fig. 294) are Vasudhārā (Norgyünma, nor rgyun ma) and Gaṇapati. The former can be recognized by her yellow colour, the ear of rice held in her left hand, and her right hand in the gesture of giving (Fig. 295). Unusually for her depiction, there is another ear of rice emerging from behind her right hand. Here, the symmetry in flanking attributes common for Tārā depictions (Fig. 280) has also been employed for this Vasudhārā.

The depiction of Gaṇapati is fascinating (Fig. 296). Both Gaṇapati and his vehicle show that the artist had difficulty representing them. Gaṇapati has tiny elephant ears and a skewed trunk, and his vehicle rather resembles a cat. Likewise clumsy is the depiction of the usual attributes of a radish and a bowl of sweets (laḍḍuka), neither of which can be recognized. Thus, it seems that the artist was unfamiliar with depicting this deity and needed to work from a description or a very cursory visual model, the exact details of which remained unclear to him.

At this point the iconographic order that has permeated the illuminations so far is interrupted, and we return again to another set of wrathful deities that complements the six already discussed above.

**Protectors Again**

On the first folio verso of volume sha, the left illumination features another form of Vajrapāṇi (Fig. 298). In distinction to the ones already discussed, here his right hand performs the threatening gesture at his heart. This is the most common form of the deity, and there are several teaching transmissions associated with it, if they are named at all. Two versions of this form are referred to in the *Rinjung Gyatsa* as Nilāṃbaradhara Vajrapāṇi (Chakdor Göngönchen, phyag rdor gos sngon can), and this name is also used here to differentiate this representation from the others. It needs to be emphasized that these identifications of the three forms of Vajrapāṇi remain tentative.

The green protector in the right illumination of this folio is Vajravidāraṇa (Dorjé Namjom, rdo rje rnam 'joms), who holds a crossed vajra in his right hand and a bell in the left (Fig. 299). In this green form he is usually represented as a semi-wrathful Bodhisattva, while the wrathful form is commonly blue. Since this deity is closely associated with Vajrapāṇi, it is fitting to have the two protectors represented together.

The last folio of this volume was at some point reattributed to volume ya, and therefore it has a double volume signature (Fig. 301). The left illumination on this page is puzzling. The wrathful deity here is dark blue, three-headed, six-armed, and six-legged (Fig. 302). Holding a vajra and a skull-cup (kapāla) in its main arms and a ritual dagger in one of its left arms, this appears to be some form of Heruka, but its exact identity remains obscure. The caption probably identifies him as “liberating Mahākāla”, but I was unable to locate this form in any of the textual sources consulted for this study. The second illumination on this folio represents

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87 See, for example, Kossak and Singer 1998, no. 22 (see also no. 30), Lee-Kalsch 2006, no. 49. In the *Rinjung Gyatsa* this form is the pacifier of internal obstacles among the six Vajrāsana deities Willson and Brauen 2000, nos. 174, 195–200.

Tiger-riding Mahākāla (Gönpo Takzhön, mgon po stag zhon; Fig. 303). The two illuminations on this folio together are most suitable to reconstruct the religious context for the production of this Sūtra collection (see below).

The deities of this volume sha would fit perfectly between those of volume ya, ending with two forms of Vajrapāṇi, and volume ra, beginning with two forms of Mahākāla. Indeed, a part of this volume was added to volume ya, as it continues the text of this volume. The causes for the original arrangement remain unclear.

**Nyingma Deities**

The final two volumes then focus on an alternative pantheon associated with Padmasambhava and promoted by proponents of the Nyingma tradition. On the first folio verso of volume sa, this new theme is introduced with the highest deity of the Nyingma pantheon, the primordial Buddha (ādibuddha) Samantabhadra (Küntu Zangpo, kun tu bzang po; Fig. 306). In this depiction he is bejewelled and dressed—conventionally he is depicted naked and without jewels—but the caption below is undoubtedly correct in identifying the deity as Samantabhadra.

The right illumination on this page most likely depicts a principal deity of the Eight Pronouncements (Kagyé, bka’ brgyad; Fig. 307). Depending on the commentarial tradition, this deity is known under various names including Yangdak Heruka (yang dag he ru ka). He represents the mind and is considered a wrathful form of Vajrapāṇi. A good comparison for this depiction is found at Wanla (wan la), where he is represented in the east of the nine assemblies (Fig. 120). The iconographic details are only partially comparable, but there is a high degree of variation in the depiction of this deity.93

On the verso of the final folio of this volume are two deities that mirror each other, the left one raven-headed and the right one lion-headed (Fig. 309). Both are directed towards the centre of the folio, stretching their legs towards the centre and holding a skull-cup towards each other. Rather than representing high-ranking, independent deities, they remind of the raven- and lion-headed retinue of roughly contemporaneous Mahākāla depictions and are interpreted here as such. Thus, the raven-headed deity is unlikely the Raven-headed Mahākāla (Gönpo Jarokdong, mgon po bya rog gdong) implied by the caption, but instead a raven-faced attendant deity, and the lion-headed deity is certainly not the well-known lion-headed dākinī so popular later within the Nyingma tradition.

Unfortunately, another volume (ha) is missing here. It would be interesting to see which illuminations were chosen to be included in it.

The last volume, volume a, then depicts Padmasambhava and a worshipping monk on the first folio verso (Fig. 313). The representation of the Precious Guru bears the atypical features shared by all of his early representations, from the details in dress, which is less complex than in later depictions, to the rather flat, featherless hat (Fig. 314). This is the only folio in the entire Sūtra collection in which the two illuminations refer to each other in the same way as is common in the Prajñāpāramitā volumes, with a monk on the right side taking refuge to Padmasambhava on the more prominent left side.

**Concluding Deities**

The last two illuminations on the final folio recto of volume a reference the entire collection and thus are interpreted here as concluding deities (Fig. 317). The left features the wealth deity Vaiśravaṇa (Namtöṣé, rnam thos sras; Fig. 318) and the right the protective goddess Penden Lhamo Remati (dpal ldan lha mo re ma ti; Fig. 319). These two deities conclude the well-conceived iconographic program spread across the volumes.

Just as on the final folio recto of the previous two extant volumes, here there is a large donor depiction placed between the two illuminations and along the

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92 On much later depictions of the Eight Pronouncement deities and the variations in their depictions, see Himalayan Art Resources under “Buddhist Deity: Eight Pronouncement Heruka.”

93 See the examples under “Chemchok Heruka” on Himalayan Art Resources.
bottom edge of the folio, and these will be discussed in the following section.

**Donor Assemblies**
The three successive donor depictions preserved were meant to cover the entire space between the other two illuminations, but in fact neither of them does. Monks are found only in the first of these depictions, while the others merely feature lay worshippers, usually couples wearing local dress. Each of these depictions is composed around a group of ritual implements and offerings between them. Given their contents, these depiction across the volumes may well exhibit a hierarchy.

In the first of these depictions in volume ya (Fig. 304), the table of ritual implements is larger and the monks seated to the left of it are all haloed. The first of the monks is shown to be teaching and wears a red pointed hat in the form of a *pañđita* hat (*paN zhwa*) usually associated with the Sakya tradition. However, since this type of hat is also found with teacher depictions of a Kagyü context in Mustang, such as in the caves of Luri and Könchokling (*dkon mchog gling*), it does not help in establishing the religious context of the collection. The other monks in the depiction have rosettes above their ears and hold flowers and incense sticks as offerings. Curiously, also the male donor opposite the eminent monk is shown performing the teaching gesture, and thus he is conceived in dialogue with the eminent monk. He has a more elaborate cape with shoulder patches and is accompanied by two females. There are traces of captions below the monks, but the bottom of this folio is cut off.

The group on the final folio recto of the collection (volume a) may be next in hierarchy, since its table of offerings is more elaborate and the donor couples are larger than in the third depiction (Fig. 320). This

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**Fig. 120: Yangdak Heruka, who is black, three-faced, six-armed and four-legged**

Wanla, wall with the deities of the Eight Pronouncements.
illumination was at least partially painted above text, including the “re-edited and correct” (dang zhus te dag go) commonly added in red ink on the last folio. The captions below the figures are partially preserved.

The donor depiction with ten couples in volume sa has the most figures, but the offerings between them receive the least attention (Fig. 312). All figures hold some form of offering in a gesture of worship. Captions below the figures remain in the form of tiny fragments and are covered with thin paper by a later repair. Considering the missing volume, there likely was a further such depiction.

Despite this potential hierarchy resulting from the differences between them, the three extant donor assemblies appear rather schematic in their composition and their details. There is no intention of making the depicted visually identifiable beyond their identities as monastics or lay followers and worshippers. The altars depicted between them likewise merely contain ritual offerings but no material donations to the monastic community. The relative number of monks to lay followers indicates a context with a small monastic body and a fairly large base of lay support.

In terms of dress, the monks are depicted with yellow vests, red robes, and differently coloured capes, the ones of honour being yellow. Regardless of how they are seated, they wear no shoes. The males wear turbans, long-sleeved coats folded in front and held by a wide cloth belt, a heavy cape, and white boots. Only in the case of the main king represented in the first of the depictions opposite the monk, the cape is replaced by an outer coat with sleeves, but it is equally worn as a cape. The males also have earrings and a necklace, most often a single turquoise pendant. Most ladies wear a combination of a blouse and a skirt or trousers, the latter always shown in dark blue with a flower pattern, and a cape that is sometimes differentiated by stitched decoration. They also have white boots, and their jewellery consists of strings of turquoise and amber beads in their hair, larger earrings, necklaces with several golden or turquoise beads, and an amulet box. In some cases their dress resembles that of the men in the depictions. The colouring of the turbans, dresses, and capes again seems rather random, with some colour combinations more frequent than others. Heavy shading is often used in a number of variations to provide structure to the garments.

While none of these visual details can be strictly interpreted to signify a certain status or even person, the dress in general perfectly fits a Tibetan cultural environment. The few remaining captions conform to this assessment, but it cannot be considered certain that they are in fact contemporaneous to the depictions (see below). Most likely, the donor depictions in the last volumes were added together with the illuminations, indicating that the depictions themselves may have been produced customarily and independent of the actual buyers of the text collection.

The apparent randomness in the representation of donors corresponds to what has already been observed for other themes of the illuminations, and this can be interpreted as the natural outcome of a workshop production, a topic that will be addressed next.

**Workshop Production**

The two examined collections provide unique insights into their production. It is clear that many of the peculiar elements found with the illuminations—be it the seemingly random variety in details or inconsistencies—can only be explained through a workshop context. In this process, different craftsmen made contributions not only at different stages of the work but also in the creation of a single illumination. Apart from that, we can exclude that there was a consistent production line with all folios passing through the same people in the same order. Would this have been the case, the minor deviations in the depictions would be hard to explain. In the following, the production process will be reconstructed on the basis of the Prajñāpāramitā illuminations and with passing references to the Sūtra collection.

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94 On this note, see chapter 1, page 38 ff.
Once the paper was cut to size, the general design of the pages was established by adding the rule lines in a thin wash of brown ink. The Prajñāpāramitā set features eight such rule lines, while the Sūtra collection has nine. The second line from the top usually extends to the left side to indicate the position of the volume number. In the next step the red circles around the string holes were added. While the circles are clearly drawn on top of the rules, their centres do not align with latter, indicating that they were positioned independently. Red guidelines at the sides demarcate the extent of the space reserved for the text and the illuminations, the latter at times covering them. The text clearly precedes the illuminations, as they partially cover the text. For the Prajñāpāramitā set, this is most apparent on last folio recto in volume kha (Fig. 43), the last folio recto in volume ca (actually numbered ci, Fig. 53), the last folio recto in volume nya (Fig. 73), and the first folio verso in volume pa (Fig. 89). On the part of the text, the space reserved for the illuminations is demarcated with dots in the same black ink used for the text written on the rules. In the Prajñāpāramitā set, this is best visible on the first folio verso in volumes tha, da, and pha, and on the last folio recto in volumes cha and da. It may thus have been the scribe who added these.

There is some indication that the illuminated folios were treated differently from the pages with text only. This is apparent from the variation in the colour, and occasionally even the orientation, of the volume number on the illuminated pages. In some cases, the illuminated pages are also of a slightly smaller size.

It is unclear how the content of the illuminations was communicated to the painters, but the program of each collection was certainly planned. With the Prajñāpāramitā set, this planning is obvious at the beginning and the end of the collection, but it is unclear if the arrangement following the five esoteric Buddhas was meant to carry a particular meaning.

It remains equally unclear how the figures were initially produced. Seeing images of the same type in the Prajñāpāramitā set side by side demonstrates a strong consistency in the proportions of all illuminations, including the double halo and the area of the lotuses. Thus, their outlines may well have been established by the use of some kind of reproduction technique. These outlines were then filled with colour, and a very light shading was applied to the figures. The haloes occasionally also have such areas of shading, and the pink lotuses are always shaded. The contours of the figures and haloes were then added in red or purple ink, while the black lines of the face were added last. The required skills increased with each of these steps, and the finishing touches were likely performed by one of the master painters.

There is no apparent logic to the usage of colour and the different types of motives, but it seems intentional that no two illuminations look alike. For example, in the only case where an identical colour scheme was used for two attendant Bodhisattvas (Fig. 81 and Fig. 84), one of them was painted with a scarf and there are also minor differences in the crown and the dhoti. Equally, there is no relationship between certain motives and their colours schemes. For example, there are two types of lotuses used for the Prajñāpāramitā illuminations, one with round, upturned, and shaded petals on a pink ground, and another one with broad pointed petals with an interior outlined in yellow on a brown ground. Both types occur with differently coloured figures. Equally, there are two types of monastic dress based on the same outline, one that is red and seemingly clings to the body with the armpit of the left arm outlined, and one that is brown with a stripe or patchwork pattern covering the left arm entirely and thus appearing more voluminous. In one case, the volume is emphasized by an additional contour (the Buddha on the first folio of volume da, Fig. 83).

In terms of the details, there are standard forms and random deviations from these forms. For example, the
crowns are perceived as five-pointed with three ornamented points in the front and two in between at the back. The latter are not ornamented, since they are meant to be seen from the back, and this is consistent with all crowned frontal figures. In profile, however, usually only three of these points are painted, two in the front and one in between in the back, but there are also cases with three points in the front only (final folio of volume ja, Fig. 66), with a fourth point added to that in the back (last folio of volume kha, Fig. 45), and with the third point represented in front but plain (last folio of volume ka, Fig. 39). The latter also features a round point in the front, which it shares with the two Bodhisattvas depicted with the attributes of Mañjuśrī (first folio of volume ja, Fig. 64) and Vajrapāṇi. On the latter, the central point is expanded with a side ornament that replaces the back point (first folio of volume pha, Fig. 93). Similar observations hold true for the drawing of the hair, the earrings, the necklaces, the arm ornaments, and the dhoti.

How has this variety come about? I imagine several painters of different accomplishment sitting together and intuitively sharing the work, with the more experienced ones instructing the apprentices whenever they are free. Likely, each of the painters was in charge of certain colours. In other words, I assume that the folios were moved to different painters and gradually filled in this manner. Such a scenario also explains why in some cases an element would have been forgotten, such as the red border of the illuminations on the final folio of volume ka (Fig. 39).

The Sūtra collection was clearly thoroughly planned, but since its illuminations are highly varied there is little that can be deduced on its production process. A survey of the depictions of the previous lives of the Buddha (volumes ka to ta) reveals both a penchant for visual symmetries as well as a certain randomness in the depiction of secondary elements, such as the background colour or trees. Along with the often rather minimalistic representations of the actual stories, these features are clear indications of a workshop context similar to the one outlined on the basis of the Prajñāpāramitā set, but likely with a smaller number of painters.

A workshop production context may also explain some of the idiosyncrasies observed with the depictions of the Buddha’s life discussed at length above. It is tempting to attribute to this context also the confusion in the order of the scenes, but then the other parts of the program should feature similar confusions, which is not the case. It rather seems that the chronology of the events was not a major concern and that the model for the scenes of the latter half may have already been unclear to start with. In other words, this section of
the life can only be explained on the basis of a longer history of transmission and reproduction.

A workshop production also explains some of the divergences in the iconography of the deities represented in the third part of the Sūtra collection. This is particularly the case for the confusion in the thrones of Vairocana and Akṣobhya (Fig. 237 and Fig. 238), the incomplete rendering of the Medicine Buddha (Fig. 263), the reversal of the colours of Maṇidhara and Śaḍakṣari (Fig. 273), and the male representation of the goddess Uṣṇiṣavijayā (Fig. 279). Finally, the assumption of a workshop production as mapped out above also accounts for the somewhat schematic donor depictions on the final folios of the Sūtra collection.

The artists who painted the illuminations most likely were part of a larger workshop that produced the manuscripts. In this scenario, it is safe to assume that the illuminations were an integral part of the production and that there was no major time gap between the texts and the illuminations. While theoretically not impossible, it appears unlikely that the illuminations were added at a later date, not only due to the natural difficulty of setting up such a production at a later stage but also because of the workshop character of the illuminations. If they were a later commission, one would expect only a small group of artists to have worked on them.

However, work on these two collections did not end with their production. As repeatedly mentioned above, the captions have not been part of the production process and must be later additions, just like other additional texts, including writing exercises and a few graffiti. The following section will focus on an assessment of these alterations.

**ALTERATIONS**

The most severe alterations are found in the Prajñāpāramitā set, since its pages were mutilated to harvest some of their Buddha depictions. Volumes ka, ga, ja, and pha are obvious cases in this regard. While this was occasionally done to apply the illuminations elsewhere or to sell them on the market, other alterations were probably made to obscure the origin of the collections. This is most obvious in the well-spaced and written text on the final folio verso of volume ka of the same collection, where the text was partially peeled off (Fig. 121). As the remains in volume ka indicate, these texts likely contained historical information.97 There is another text of this type without intentional damage in the final folio verso of volume nga in the

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97 On the verso of this folio are fragments of a verse text in four lines, the first line of which appears to name a monastery (@#/ yul la zhaq chags tsha chu'i dgon pa la ...) and the family line (rus) of 'dzang in the first line, while the last line preserves the name of a donor (yon dag mos pa shas rab lags).
same collection (Fig. 327), which mentions the same place name (*tsha chu*).98 In both cases a carefully spaced and written headed script (*dbu can*) was used, and this text was likely added temporally close to the completion of the overall text.

Remains of a peeled off text can also be recognized on the verso of folio ca (Fig. 122). This text in a different handwriting was obliterated almost in its entirety, and the remaining traces are too fragmentary to provide any information about its content or relation to other texts.

A number of volumes of the Sūtra collection contain texts of a similar character that is well-spaced and written in headed script (*dbu can*), but the details of each of them are distinct. The last folio of the first two volumes of the collection features an additional consecration verse. In volume ka, this text was written next to a piece of paper pasted to the side of the illumination, which themselves are additions to the folio (Fig. 141). In volume kha, the script of the consecration verse is slightly smaller than the main text and resembles its style relatively closely, thus it may be an earlier addition (Fig. 147). Neither the script nor the spelling of the two versions of the consecration verse are identical, therefore they are not systematic additions.

The other three texts in headed script on the final folios of volume kha, ca, and ya appear to be penned by different scribes as well. All three texts are quasi historical references to the donation of the Sūtra collection in different ways. However, they are devoid of names that may help to contextualize the collection. It is likely that these texts were added to the folios at an early stage, with the one in volume ca perhaps even preceding the illuminations. These more systemically applied texts surely also precede the captions, to which we will now turn to next.

**Captions**

From the analysis of the illuminations, it is clear that the captions supposed to identify them were added at a later stage.99 Captions in the Prajñāpāramitā set are rare, and an identical scribe can only be recognized when there are multiple captions on the same folio. The main captions of the Sūtra collection are usually written in a semi-cursive handwriting and with differing degrees of attention to form. There is a considerable diversity across the volumes, but it is difficult to reconstruct how many writers might have been involved in their making. At times it even seems as if two different writers may have added the two captions on the same folio, such as on the first folio of volume nga (Fig. 156), but this cannot be considered certain.

Overall, the captions identifying the previous birth illuminations in the Sūtra collection are fairly consistent. There is no indication that the captioner knew the textual sources on which the illuminations are based. The captions to the illuminations depicting the Buddha’s life were likely penned by a different writer, although their script is fairly similar. These captions are more narrative and thus extensive. While the main captions of the Buddha’s life are relatively consistent, they can still be distinguished into two kinds, namely, those previous to the Sujātā episode on the first illumination of volume pa that are somewhat more widely spaced and slightly larger, and the remaining ones that are written in a relatively small but regular handwriting. Those on the first folio of volume pha, which are entirely different, are a later addition following a repair. A new captioner is to be recognized with the esoteric Buddhas, since his writing is slightly cruder and more widely spaced. This person may have only penned a few captions up to the first Buddha in monastic robes on the first folio of volume tsha, while two other persons attempted to identify the following Buddhas, with each of them working on a few Buddhas only. With the Bodhisattvas, a script returns that most closely resembles the one at the beginning of the Buddha’s life, and this remains relatively consistent up until the last folios, which feature a number of

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98 See page 364 f. for a transcription and discussion of this text.

99 The experience at Namgyal and the character of the captions of the Dolpo manuscript collections indicate that they too have been added at a later date. Identifications based on them alone in Heller 2009 thus have to be used with caution.
different scripts. In other words, the captions added to the illuminations are only partially the result of systematic efforts, and these were focused on particular sections only.

In many cases the main captions were copied by later writers who added a second version to them. These were usually simple writing exercises, and the script is often very poor, but there are a few cases in which an earlier comment is complemented. The most remarkable case of the latter is that of Gaṇapati on the final folio recto of volume la, where a second caption mentions that there is also a red Gaṇapati (Fig. 296). Given the prominence of a red Gaṇapati among the “three red deities” (dmār po skor gsum) of the Sakya tradition, this may be read as an addition from a scholar of this tradition.

Given the patchwork nature of these textual additions, which were probably added over a longer period of time, little can be said about their language. Idiosyncratic spellings, possibly deriving from phonetic renderings of words in a local dialect, make the earlier texts difficult to fully understand. The captions, too, have their spelling issues, but these are more within the expected range. Given the many writers involved, it is remarkable that bzhi, meaning “four,” is consistently spelled gzhi.

Despite the haphazard nature of these textual additions to the illuminations, most of them can be read as expressions of respect. They evidence an engagement with the illuminations which clearly are understood as a purposeful contribution to the texts. Given that the scholars producing them must be imagined as probably seeing only a few volumes at a time, most likely when the entire body of texts was recited, it is unsurprising that the captions were added in patches. One can well imagine a group of monks sitting together and conferring about the illuminations following a curious request by one of them. They would consult with the most senior scholar among them, who would also be the most likely person to add the original captions after the discussion. The captions can therefore be understood as the direct result of the tradition of reading an entire textual corpus for merit and protection as well as the physical engagement resulting from it.

Finally, there are many more textual additions between the illuminations on the last folios of the volumes. In these cases, an early ending of the text often leaves an unusual amount of empty space that seems to have inspired people to add their own thoughts. The resultant texts, as far as they have been understood, commonly feature religious inspirations and express the worship of the three jewels or more specifically the Buddha’s teaching. At times these additions are performed in such a sloppy manner that they have the nature of graffiti.

**Graffiti**

The high respect afforded to the two collections of text discussed here also accounts for the low number of graffiti found throughout them. The three lotus petals drawn along the bottom line of the last folio of volume da of the Prajñāpāramitā set (Fig. 85) may be roughly contemporaneous with the manuscript, judging by the shape of the petals. They symbolically place the entire text of this volume on a lotus. Two additions to this collection, however, are distinctly crude. Of these, the torso drawn on the final folio of volume cha has subsequently been removed (Fig. 59). The crude drawings on the first folio of volume pa were probably added together with the captions (Fig. 89). They are poor attempts to make the Buddha sit under a tree and to connect the figures on the folio through a common ground.

In the Sūtra collection, the pages with Buddha representations also inspired most of the graffiti. On the last folio recto of volume pa, an additional tree was added to the side of the illumination, copying the one represented within it (Fig. 226). This addition makes use of the additional space resulting from the movement of the illumination a few centimeters towards the centre. Drawings were also added to the illumination of Buddha Śākyamuni on last folio of volume dza (Fig. 250). These are crude additions that disturb the aesthetic of the Buddha and go hand in hand with his
identification written directly on his chest. Otherwise there is a certain concentration of graffiti towards the end of the collection. On the final folio of volume sa, offerings were drawn below the illumination of the raven-headed deity, along with a figure that is inspired by the donor depiction to its side (Fig. 309). Further, on the final folio of volume a, the head of Jambhala’s lion-vehicle was completed in ink to make up for the damage of this folio (Fig. 317).

Remarkably, the empty sides of the first and last folios were not at all used for additions. However, many of the illuminated pages were carefully reinforced by an additional sheet of paper on these sides, and the edges around the illuminations were often reinforced as well. These repairs also speak of the care afforded to the Sūtra collection in particular, to which we owe its exceptional condition.

We can conclude from the condition of these two text collections that the monks of Namgyal Monastery maintained these ancient texts very well, although they were not originally made for this monastery. Yet, it remains extremely difficult to establish when, where, and for whom the two text collections were originally produced.

**CULTURAL CONTEXT**

As we know from historical sources, Namgyal Monastery is the result of a major rebuilding and expansion in the second quarter of the fifteenth century (see page 20f.). While the two collections certainly predate this event, they provide extremely little information about their origin, and the few names that do occur in the additional texts cannot at this stage
be safely interpreted. The text that likely would have been most informative, namely that on the final folio verso of the first volume of the Prajñāpāramitā set, was at some point intentionally removed. No such text is found in the Sūtra collection, and if had ever existed, it was covered up by later repairs. The illuminations can only partially make up for this lack of context, and the information that can be gained from them will be summarized in the following.

At first glance, the two text collections appear to be closely related to each other. Their overall appearance and condition as well as their colour scheme is comparable. However, when looking at the details there are also major differences, not only in the size of the folios and the illuminations but also in style. The illuminations of the Prajñāpāramitā set are larger and simpler in their conception, but they are also more sophisticated in artistic details, in particular the shading. A comparison of the images of Vairocana in the two collections demonstrates these differences well (Fig. 123 and Fig. 124). The Vairocana of the Prajñāpāramitā set has a distinct type of crown with a green band above the diadem, an asymmetric knot at the sides of the rosettes, long hair, a vertical ūrṇā, arched eyebrows, and a dhoti in two parts (Fig. 38). Even the painting style of the gesture of highest awakening (bodhyagrimudrā) differs considerably for the two Buddhas, with the one in the Prajñāpāramitā set conforming to the classical Indian type with the right hand surrounding the index finger of the left hand and seen from the back. Similar observations can be made when comparing Buddhas, there are no rosettes with those of the Prajñāpāramitā set, or kneeling monks, the one of the Sūtra collection are kneeling differently than those in the Prajñāpāramitā set.

**Fig. 125: Ratnasambhava of the Prajñāpāramitā set**
Detail of Fig. 44.

**Fig. 126: Detail of Ratnasambhava**
Central Tibet, first half of the thirteenth century; Pritzker Art Collaborative.
The most distinctive element of the details described above is the dhoti in two parts used in the Prajñāpāramitā set. This refers to a dress in which the part around the hip and that covering the thighs are of different colours and patterning, making them seem like separate textiles joined together to a rather unlikely piece of dress. At times, even the cloth between the legs is of a different colour and patterning, which makes it a three-part dress (this is most apparent with Vairocana in Fig. 38). This dhoti is a distinct feature for all bejewelled figures in the Prajñāpāramitā set, and it is also used for the figures kneeling sideways. This depiction is inspired by Northeast Indian book illuminations100 and the Northeast Indian style in Tibet (Sharri, shar ris),101 paintings in which a shorter and thicker cloth is covered by a thinner and transparent one.102

The illuminations of the Prajñāpāramitā set represent a further development of the Northeast Indian style

100 A prime example that also documents the transmission to Tibet is a late eleventh-century manuscript from Nālandā that was brought to Tibet (see Lee-Kalisch 2006, cat.no. 26).
101 Here I use the terminology as defined by David Jackson 2011, chapter 1, for early Tibetan painting styles in a rather loose manner.
102 For example, see the flanking Bodhisattvas in Kossak and Singer 1998, nos. 1, 4, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 23, 24.
in Tibet, which simplified its features to a degree that makes them almost impossible to recognize (Fig. 125). For example, only a detailed comparison (Fig. 126) makes it apparent that the crown derives from a helmet-shaped type, that the inner halo framing the body represents the cushion, and that the proportions of the outer rim of the halo derive from the thick bejewelled borders characteristic for paintings in the Northeast Indian style. In contrast, Newar features are secondary and can only be observed in the details, such as the distinctive crown of Vajrapāṇi (Fig. 93) or the frame of Dharmodgata’s palace (Fig. 95). This palace together with other details on the final folio of the collection provide further avenues for such comparisons.

Dharmodgata’s jewelled palace takes its shape from elaborate thrones with slanting sides and lotus blossoms at the projecting ends at the seat and shoulder level. Three of its platforms have triangular spikes, including the most prominent ones at bottom and top. The five projections on the two topmost levels are curious, since they are made from white bells topped

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103 The counterpart for this comparison is the detail of a group of three thangkas belonging to the same set and published in their entirety in Kossak and Singer 1998, no. 23a–c. Their relationship is discussed in Luczanits 2011, 38–42.

104 The shape of the spikes demonstrates that the distinction between the shapes of such spikes in Jackson 2011, fig. 1.9, does not work in practice to distinguish styles.
by vases that contain a single leaf projecting from it vertically. These most likely derive from stūpas represented in the same position, as for example in the case of the famous Green Tārā in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig. 127), and they may be taken as remote references to the temple of awakening at Bodhgaya.

Another charming and informative detail is the tree on the illumination featuring Sadāprarudita (Fig. 96). Such trees are rarely depicted in Himalayan art, but they appear in a group of Newar book covers and manuscript illuminations, including those contained in a Gaṇḍavyūha manuscript that is spread across many collections. Comparable depictions on the Cleveland Green Tārā demonstrate that the tree in the illumination combines the leaves of a banana tree with the ringed stem of a palm tree (Fig. 128). The tree may therefore be considered another Newar element in the illuminations of the Prajñāpāramitā set.

The multiple associations to the painting in the Cleveland Museum of Art are significant. Besides the plants, it also shares the double function of the frame as well as the abstraction of the two-parted dhoti (Fig. 127). In fact, this feature has become popular in different variants of Newar style scroll paintings produced in or for Tibet (Beri, bal ris), among them a set of five Buddha paintings today spread across different collections, a group of murals at Shalu (zhwa lu) Monastery that include the Segoma Lhakhang (bse sgo ma lha khang), as well as a distinct set of cave murals that include Luri in Mustang, Pangra Puk (pang gra phug), and Bardzong. Note that the original intent behind this distinct representation of the dhoti is no longer apparent in all these versions. The dates suggested for these depictions in the literature vary greatly, with the Segoma Lhakhang often used as a

105 See also Kossak and Singer 1998, no. 37; Kossak 2010, fig. 68; Jackson 2010, fig. 5.13; Jackson 2011, fig. 1.8.
106 This may sound farfetched unless we consider such intermediaries as the Mañjuvajra stele of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/38124 (accessed February 2, 2020).
107 See, for example, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art illuminations in Pal 1985, no. P6, Pal and Meech-Pekarik 1988, pls. 24a-c, figs. 37, 39, 42b, 42c, or the book cover in the Pritzker collection in Pal 2003, no. 26, Heller 2009, 138–139, or Kossak 2010, fig. 62, the manuscript of which is dated to 1207. A Tibetan book cover painted by a Newar artist contains such trees in the teaching scene (see Kossak and Singer 1998, no. 34).
108 On this manuscript, see Allinger 2008, who follows Losty in terms of attribution (third quarter of twelfth century).
109 Other examples than those singled out are Kossak and Singer 1998, no. 41; Jackson 2011, figs. 5.11, 6.19, 6.20.
110 For this set, see Pal 1985, no. P7 (attributed to the early thirteenth century); Kossak and Singer 1998, no. 36a-c (attributed to the first half of the thirteenth century); Kossak 2010, figs. 63, 65, 107 (attributed to the first half of the thirteenth century); Jackson 2010, figs. 6.3 (attributed to 1158–1182).
111 Besides the Segoma, this feature is also found in the Avalokiteśvara Chapel (Neumann 2001), the Ambulatory of the Yum Chenmo Lhakhang (yum chen mo lha khang), and the Great Ambulatory (skor lam chen po).
113 On Pangra Puk, see Neumann and Neumann 2011; Neumann and Neumann 2018.
chronological benchmark in the early fourteenth century. In Tibet, this feature thus becomes characteristic for one distinct branch of the Newar style in Tibet, and it was probably used throughout the fourteenth century.

Examples for the abstracted usage of this type of dhoti depiction in the Kathmandu valley are much more rare. As presented elsewhere, these examples likely belong to a period in the late thirteenth century, when the art of the Kathmandu valley aligned with Newar art in Tibet. If this reading is correct, it would also have repercussions for the date of the Tibetan examples cited above, but a review of these goes beyond the scope of this study.

Based on the broader context established for the illuminations of the Prajñāpāramitā set above, the late thirteenth century is also the most likely period of their production. This presumably took place in an area of South Tibet rather than in Mustang, since outside of book illuminations the East Indian painting style is not found in the region.

Let us now turn to the Sūtra collection and its depiction of Buddha Vairocana (Fig. 123). His crown features three major and two minor points along the front, small rosettes and a symmetric fan-shaped knot. His hair is short, the earrings reveal long earlobes, and his dhoti is of one piece and held by a golden belt. There

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**Fig. 129: Padmasambhava**
Kanji, left side wall; early fourteenth century.

**Fig. 130: Padmakara among the mahāsiddha**
Könchokling, Mustang, fourteenth century.
is also a notable difference in the conception of the throne, with clear triangular projections beyond the backrest and an abstracted base seen from the front. Vairocana is clearly seated against a cushion, and the mandorla is horseshoe-shaped. The Newar heritage of this depiction is undeniable. The Buddhas here have rosettes behind their ears, and their dress has gained volume and complexity, with the edge of the dress crossing the upper arm. The kneeling monk also has a rosette behind his ear, and his dress is delicately shaded. All of these stylistic features are associated with the Newar style in Tibet.

Overall, the Sūtra collection offers a much wider range of possibilities for comparison, and a considerable number of them were already cited. The life of the Buddha has been particularly informative in this case, by demonstrating that some of its elements relate more to Northeast Indian manuscript illuminations, while others have a direct Newar heritage. The complexity of these relations can be taken as characteristic for the process of the Tibetan adoption of Buddhism in general.

To this we may now add the integration of Padmasambhava and his teachings into the Buddhist mainstream, which within the Taklung Kagyü (stag lung bka' brgyud) tradition is first noticed in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Padmasambhava here first appears as representative of subsidiary teachings along with Padampa Sanggyé (pha dam pa sangs rgyas, d. 1117) on a painting dedicated to Sanggyé Yarñön Shérap Lama (sangs rgyas yar byon shes rab bla ma = Prajñāguru, 1203–1272), the third abbot of Taklung (tenure 1236–1272).119 These two teachers then become regular features of paintings representing his successor Sanggyé Önpo (sangs rgyas dpon po, 1251–1296; tenure 1272–1273),

119 The painting was first in the Ford collection and has subsequently been donated to the Walters Museum of Art (Pal 2001, no. 136). Confusingly, the central lama could also be the second abbot Kuyelwa Rinchengön (sku yal ba rin chen mgon, 1191–1236; tenure 1210–1236), as stated in Luczanits 2009, 77–78, but the comparison of Taklung teacher depictions, the inscription on the back ending with Sanggyé Yarñön, and the style make this unlikely. In any case, this painting has been produced in honour of Sanggyé Yarñön, and even if it actually meant to portray Kuyelwa, the subsidiary teachings depicted would have been retrospectively attributed to him. This becomes clear when it is compared to another painting with the same double lineage that does not depict the subsidiary teachings (see Singer 1996a or Singer 1996b).
where they may also flank Sanggyé Yarjön.\textsuperscript{120} By the beginning of the fourteenth century, Padmasambhava and his teaching may have been adopted wholesale, as demonstrated by their prominence in the iconographic program of Wanla in Ladakh, India, which was built in a Drigung Kagyü (\textit{bri gung bka' brgyud}) context.\textsuperscript{121} These are just two examples that speak to the emergence of Padmasambhava and his teachings across Tibetan Buddhist traditions. In general, I am unaware of any depiction of the Precious Guru (\textit{gu ru rin po che}), as he is often referred to, that on art-historical grounds may arguably predate the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{122}

The position of Padmasambhava at the very end of the Sūtra collection is a curious choice, and it indicates that in this case the adoption of his teachings is somewhat half-hearted. In this connection, the fact that the Precious Guru uniquely wears Tibetan monastic robes above his worldly dress is highly significant (Fig. 314). Padmasambhava here is understood as a representative of Tibetan, not Indian, Buddhist teachings. Other details of his depiction, in particular the rather wide, flat hat, compare best to the one depicted in the temple of Kanji (\textit{kan ji}), Ladakh, which can be attributed to around 1300 (Fig. 129).\textsuperscript{123} In Kanji, too, the teacher takes a rather secondary position, but he is still featured much more prominently than in the Sūtra collection. Further, this long-distance comparison does not bring us closer to the cultural context of the Sūtra collection. In this context, it is interesting to note that even in the fifteenth-century monuments of Lo Môntang Padmasambhava plays no major role in the preserved iconographic programs of Mustang. Otherwise, his earliest occurrence in the region appears to be as Padmakara among the \textit{mahāsiddha} of Könchokling, in which he wears the hat of a \textit{paṇḍita} (Fig. 130).\textsuperscript{124}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[120] See, for example, Singer and Denwood 1997, figs. 41 and 43.
\item[121] On Wanla, see Luczanits 2002; Neuwirth and Auer 2015; Tropper 2015a. A draft of a full description of the pantheon of Wanla is now available on \url{https://www.luczanits.net/} (accessed May 10, 2020).
\item[122] The earliest representations may be preserved in two fragmentary stūpa at Tabo, which still remain unpublished.
\item[123] For the date, see Luczanits 2015, 244–45. On Kanji, see Skedzuhn et al. 2018; Tropper 2015b; Stoddard 2007; Vitali 1996.
\item[124] On Könchokling, see Luczanits 2014a and the image galleries on \url{https://www.luczanits.net/} (accessed February 2, 2020). In this depiction, which follows Vajrāsana’s list, Padmakara is the 45th figure, and he is found in the top row of the south side.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Continuing with the topic of local comparisons, there is a certain affinity between the Sūtra collection illuminations and the murals of Luri. Most closely comparable are the depictions of Penden Lhamo Rematī (Fig. 131 and Fig. 319), Śaḍākṣāra Avalokita (Fig. 132 and Fig. 273), Nāmasaṃgīti Mañjuśrī, and Vajrapāṇi. The initial illuminations of Śākyamuni (Fig. 139) and Prajñāpāramitā (Fig. 140) on the first folio of volume ka further retain a feature of the throne that is characteristic of Luri and other local murals, such as those of Tashi Kabum (bkra shis bka’ 'bum) and Könchokling, namely the multi-layered cloth hanging from the top corners of the throne back along its side. At Luri, this feature is represented in a number of varieties, a good example being the throne of Śaḍākṣāra Avalokita (Fig. 132). In the illuminations, this feature is much more abstract, comparable rather to the cave representation of the same deity in Tashi Kabum (Fig. 133). Further, at Namgyal this feature is joined by an arch, in which the snake between the garuḍa and the goose—or should this not actually be interpreted as a bird associated with water—is only depicted by its body and to be recognized only by comparison. This is yet another case in which the depictions in the illumination reveal a considerable distance from their origin, which can best be explained by a workshop production that has branched off for a considerable period of time. Overall, the paintings of Luri are much more sophisticated and stylistically closer to painting from the Kathmandu valley. The workshop that produced the illuminations must in contrast be local, as also hinted towards by the many idiosyncrasies in the depictions of the Sūtra collection and its representation of Gaṇapati (Fig. 296). But where and when was the Sūtra collection most likely produced? To address this question, a comparison of the Namgyal donor depictions with those documented at Dzong (rdzong) Monastery in 2019 is extremely helpful. In this monastery, a considerable number of donor depictions came to light that are directly comparable to those of the Sūtra collection. They reveal a relative chronology between them, which can most easily be recognized by the way the turban of the male donors is depicted. In the earliest depiction, the turban is clearly recognizable as a piece of cloth wrapped around the head in a manner that its end projects at the back (Fig. 134). In an intermediate stage this cloth end can still be seen, but it is only recognized in comparison (Fig. 135), while at Namgyal it has completely disappeared, and the turban is represented merely in a rather abstract fashion (Fig. 136). On the basis of the comparisons to the Namgyal illuminations, Luri is to be placed somewhere between the middle example and the Namgyal illuminations. Of course the date of Luri itself depends on the chronology one assumes for Shalu, but the early fourteenth century would be the latest possible date for it. The illuminations of the sūtra, and with them the production of the collection as a whole, thus most likely date to the mid-fourteenth century.

The comparison of the donor depictions, for which I have so far only found a single direct comparison outside of Mustang—a manuscript fragment in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art126 that compares directly to two such depictions from Dzong—further indicates that the Sūtra collection is most likely a local production, with Lower Mustang being the more likely location because of its increased access to resources for book production. The emphasis on secular donors and their large number further makes it clear that the Sūtra collection must have been financed by a community of lay followers that supported a rather small monastic community, which is consistent with the small monuments remaining from the period preceding the Mustang kingdom.

125 On the Tashi Kabum cave, see Slusser and Bishop 1999, McCue 2001. The name of this chörten cave is modern and almost certainly a misnomer. Slusser and Bishop call it Tashi Gelling (bkra shis dge gling).

126 See Pal 1990, pl. 6 and M6; or LACMA collection online (https://collections.lacma.org/node/243791, accessed February 16, 2020). Interestingly, this illumination is attached to the last page of a Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā manuscript on black paper with further illuminations. These pages are only published in black and white so far and thus cannot be assessed properly.
Fig. 134: Donor depiction in a manuscript of Dzong Monastery

Fig. 135: Donor depiction in another manuscript of Dzong Monastery

Fig. 136: Donor depiction in volume sha of the Namgyal Sutra collection

Detail of Fig. 304.
This begs the question whether the school affiliation of this community can be recognized from the depictions. The protective deities found in the illuminations are most informative in this regard, and from them a strong Sakya tradition context can be excluded. However, if we review the Mustang heritage that precedes the Mustang kingdom, it is likely that any attempt to actually understand its production in sectarian terms may be misleading in the first place. Instead, the available information in this case strongly suggests that early Mustang art was commissioned around exceptional individual practitioners rather than school affiliations. This is most obvious with stūpa caves such as Luri and Tashi Kabum, which I understand as commemorative monuments for precisely such an individual, who in both cases may well be the depicted monk. Likewise, the donor depictions on manuscripts also centre on monastic individuals, and only the one of the Sūtra collection is accompanied by a small group of monks.

The pantheon of the Sūtra collection is thus better understood as a pantheon of the time. Both Acala and the Tiger-riding Mahākāla are unusually prominent across the Himalayas in all spheres that were under the influence of the Yuan dynasty, and both were utilized for political purposes. Their prominent occurrence in the Sūtra collection therefore can be seen as reflecting the political relationship of the region to the North, while the turbans of the donors reflect the adoption of cultural traits of the ruling elites to the South. The local production thus demonstrates its wider links maintained through trade and other forms of exchange, including that of artistic motives and styles that are then locally transformed. The regionalism of book production at the time is also evident in a comparison of the Namgyal illuminations to those of Dolpo published by Amy Heller. While the themes depicted are largely the same, there is almost no overlap in term of style, the Dolpo production being a bit older and much more embedded in a Western Himalayan context.

The Namgyal text collections are a reflection of their time also in terms of the organization of their illuminations across volumes. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the organization of the vast heritage of Buddhist teachings transmitted to Tibet becomes an issue in itself. This is not only evident in the establishment of the Tibetan Buddhist canon but also in the creation of hierarchically organized pantheons of Buddhist deities, as first apparent around 1300 at Wanla and the stūpas of Densatil (gdan sa mthil). The fact that the organization of the illuminations directly relates to the organization of the text only in exceptional cases—such as the story of Sadāprarudita at the end of the Prajñāpāramitā set—is consistent with the earlier usages of manuscript illuminations in Northeast India, Nepal, and Tibet. At times, the illuminations may also present a distinct iconographic program, but the Namgyal Sūtra collection is the earliest documented case in which an entire pantheon of deities is organized in a hierarchical arrangement.

Together, the illuminations and captions of the two text collections provide a unique insight into the production, circulation, and usage of Buddhist texts at the time. They are witnesses to a thriving Buddhist culture at the periphery of the Tibetan cultural world buoyed by its connections to southern and northern neighbours. While the Prajñāpāramitā set was likely imported from a production centre to the north of

127 See the examples for the two deities provided in Debreczeny 2019. Prominent representations of the Tiger-riding Mahākāla are known from Degönpo (sde mgon po), dated 1284, and Baochengsi, dated 1322, both likely constructed under Chinese imperial patronage (Debreczeny 2015).

128 I read the emergence of turbans in the region as the result of “cultural cross-dressing” as outlined in Flood 2009. Similar combinations are found with the depictions of merchants among the previous birth, last folio recto of volume kha, the precious objects of which indicate northern relations in the form of the representation of gold and silver ingots, which were used at Ming and presumably also Yuan courts. I owe the identification of the ingots along with the reference to Clunas and Harrison-Hall 2014, figs. 242, 245, to Jean-Baptiste Georges-Picot.

129 See in particular Heller 2009.

130 For Wanla, see note 113 above. For the Densatil stūpas, see in particular Czaja 2010; Czaja and Proser 2014. Concerning Densatil, I do contest that the iconographic program of the stūpa goes back to Jikten Gönpo (’jig rten mgon po, 1143–1217), as some textual sources allege (see Luczanits 2010a).
Mustang, the Sūtra collection was probably produced in the middle of the fourteenth century by a local workshop that, as the Dzong Monastery illuminations demonstrate, was established at least a few decades earlier. It may thus be expected that future documentation will reveal the further remains of such collections in the Mustang region. While these may help to further refine the cultural context, it is unlikely that they will be as complete and as well preserved as the collection at Namgyal.
CATALOGUE TWO

SŪTRA COLLECTION

Fig. 137: Detail of Buddha Śākyamuni with eight Bodhisattvas (Fig. 139)
This folio has suffered considerably as a result of wear. The page has a tear across its centre, which was subsequently repaired at its back and along the upper and lower edges. The two illuminations on this page are larger than any of the other ones, almost taking up the entire height of the folio and reaching its side edges. Accordingly the illuminations are damaged along these outer edges of the folio.

The yellow Buddha performs the earth touching gesture (bhūmisparsa mudrā). He has a pointed usnīṣa with a jewel on top, rosettes above the ears, and wears a patchwork robe with the swallow-tail-shaped end of the robe lying on the shoulder. The robe’s white hem crosses the left upper arm and falls in an elegant bow underneath the lower arm. The Buddha sits on an elaborate throne with tiny lions and a vajra is represented on the central cloth hanging in the centre of the seat. The folds of that cloth are rather schematic. The throne back has lotus flowers at its upper corners, and cloth is hanging down along its sides. The ornate top arch is formed by a winged kirtimukha holding the bodies of two nāga and white geese standing
on the cross bar of the throne back. The kirtimukha is horned and topped by a crescent with an ornament on top. Two of the flanking Bodhisattvas stand to the side of the Buddha and perform the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā), the others are smaller and shown seated sideways and flanking the head performing a gesture of worship, the upper four holding flower offerings in addition.

Fig. 140: Four-armed Prajñāpāramitā with eight Buddhas

The orange goddess has her main hands in the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā) while those at the side hold a string of beads (mālā) and a book. Her body and head are slightly tilted in opposite directions, with an asymmetric hair-knot continuing that movement. The crown has major and minor points and fan-shaped knots to the sides of the rosettes. Her upper body is naked and richly ornamented, with the long necklace falling straight over her breasts. Her throne has a jewel as central ornament, and the throne back is identical to that of Śākyamuni. The upper arch is formed by an ornate scroll topped by a triple jewel. The goddess is flanked by eight differently coloured Buddhas performing either the gesture of worship or the teaching gesture. Two smaller figures face the uppermost ones from behind the throne arch.
Fig. 141: Sūtra volume ka, last folio recto

This folio has also suffered considerably over time, as clear from the major tear in the top centre and the illuminations. These may not be original to this volume, as they are glued to the folio along with their captions. The division into two separate scenes is unique to these illuminations.

Beginning with this folio, the illuminations depict the previous births of Śākyamuni according to Āryaśūra’s Jātakamālā.

Fig. 142: 01 Birth-story with tigress (Vyāghrījātaka)

In the upper half of the scene, against a red ground, a meditating Indian monk on a throne is approached by a white worshipper, a god or Bodhisattva. The scene is flanked by trees. This scene may represent the Bodhisattva leading a renunciate’s life with a disciple, as it is described in the first part of the story. The lower scene represents the actual offering of the body to the tigress: Set against a green ground, a naked youth lies awkwardly (it looks as if he is crawling on all four limbs) in front of the tigress who seems to have just bitten into his ear, blood running from it. Two large tiger cubs are flanking the scene but are not engaged. At the edge of the scene, the dress of the Bodhisattva...
hangs from a tree.

There is a fragmentary caption underneath this scene which can be read as follows:

སྟག་མོ་འདུ

While the verb used is unclear, this caption does identify the story.

**Fig. 143: Unidentified scenes**

In the upper scene, a teaching, yellow, seated Buddha with the teaching gesture (*dharmacakramudrā*) is directed towards a figure playing a transverse flute standing to his side.

Underneath, a king in white dress sits frontally and performs the worshipping posture; a white bejewelled worshipper kneels besides him.

The division of the illumination into parts may well be a reference to the narrative frame of each story, but it is unlikely that the lower scene actually represents the story of Śibi, who offers his eyes in the story, as he is more likely depicted in the following illumination.
The folio is in good condition, but has been repaired in the same way as the illuminated folios in volume ka. The two scenes on the folio are composed symmetrically against differently coloured backgrounds, one blue and one red.

**Fig. 145: 02 Birth-story of Śibi (Śibijātaka)**

A seated white dressed king has his hands raised to his chest in the gesture of worship; he is approached by a dark-skinned figure with the gesture of reassurance (abhayamudrā).

རྒྱལ་པོ་སྦྱིིན་པ་ལ་གཟིིགས་པ་།

rgyal po sbyin pa la gzigs pa /

The king looks at his gift.

The scene looks as if the king would be venerating a Brahmin, but such an event is not found in the associated story. Instead one would expect some hint towards the king’s generosity or that of the queen also mentioned in the story.
Fig. 146: 03 Birth-story on the lump of gruel (Kulmāṣapiṇḍjātaka)

A dark-skinned standing figure and brighter-skinned seated one exchanging plates of offerings and performing communication gestures.

ཟིན་འཆང་བུ་བྱིན་པ།
zan 'chang bu byin pa/
Giving a ball of dough.

This Jātaka is named after the offering, a ball of dough, the giving of which is also emphasized in the depiction.
ID: Ng2.1 (rKTs895; F276; Lg2.1)
Title: ārya-maitriya-vyākaraṇa (Q)
Tib: བོམས་ཡུལ་བསྟོན་པ་ཕྱོོམས་པ།
Ind: འཱཱརྱ་བཛྲ་དྷཱ་ཛ་པ་རི་ནཱ་མ་ན་
Loc: mdo, kha 1b1-6a2 (དབྱངས)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་བྱོམས་པ་ལུང་བསྟོནད་པ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Note: The colophon in the Derge version further mentions Dānaśīla and Śilendrabodhi as translators.

ID: Ng2.2 (rKTs115; D115; S186; F119; EM568; Lg2.2; He55.5)
Title: ārya-sukhavatīvyūha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བདེ་བཞིིན་གཤེེགས་པ་བདུན་གྱིི་སྨོོན་ལམ་
Ind: འཱཱརྱ་བཛྲ་དྷཱ་ཛ་པ་རི་ནཱ་མ་ན་
Loc: mdo, kha 6a2-10a9 (བདེ)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་དེ་བཞིིན་གཤེེགས་པ་བདུན་གྱིི་སྔོོན་
གྱིི་སྨོོན་ལམ་
Note: The colophon in the Derge version further mentions Dānaśīla as translator.

ID: Ng2.3 (rKTs856; S327; F253; Lg2.3; He60.7)
Title: rdo rje rgyal mtshan gyi yongs su bsngo ba (S)
Tib: བོམས་པ་བྱོམས་པ་ལུང་བསྟོནད་པ་
Ind: འཱཱརྱ་བཛྲ་དྷཱ་ཛ་པ་རི་ནཱ་མ་ན་
Loc: mdo, kha 10a9-11a7 (པི་)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་བྱོམས་པ་ལུང་བསྟོནད་པ། རྫོོགས་

ID: Ng2.4 (rKTs502; D503; S48; S463; F89; EM309; EM596; EM601; Lg2.4; He60.5)
Title: ārya-saptatathāgatapūrvapraṇidhāna viśeṣavistāra-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བོམས་པ་བྱོམས་པ་ལུང་བསྟོནད་པ་
Ind: འཱཱརྱ་བཛྲ་དྷཱ་ཛ་པ་རི་ནཱ་མ་ན་
Loc: mdo, kha 11a7-36b7 (བདུན)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་བྱོམས་པ་ལུང་བསྟོནད་པ། རྫོོགས་
Note: The colophon in the Derge version further mentions Dānaśīla as translator.

ID: Ng2.5 (rKTs244; D244; S112; F114; EM517; Lg2.5; He46.2)
Title: ārya-dharmanaya-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བདེ་བཞིིན་གཤེེགས་པ་བདུན་
Ind: འཱཱརྱ་བཛྲ་དྷཱ་ཛ་པ་རི་ནཱ་མ་ན་
Loc: mdo, kha 36b8-48a6 (ཆོོས)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་བྱོམས་པ་ལུང་བསྟོནད་པ། རྫོོགས་
Note: The colophon in the Derge version further mentions Dānaśīla and Śilendrabodhi as translators.

ID: Ng2.6 (rKTs200; D200; S188; EM518; Lg2.6; He46.3)
Title: ārya-lokānuvartana-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བདེ་བཞིིན་གཤེེགས་པ་བདུན་
Ind: འཱཱརྱ་བཛྲ་དྷཱ་ཛ་པ་རི་ནཱ་མ་
Loc: mdo, kha 48a7-52b9 (པི་)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་བྱོམས་པ་ལུང་བསྟོནད་པ། རྫོོགས་
Note: The colophon in the Derge version further mentions Dānaśīla as translator.

ID: Ng2.7 (rKTs95; D95; S35; F82; EM520; Lg2.7; He45.1)
Title: ārya-lalitavistara-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བདེ་བཞིིས་བྱོམས་པ་ལུང་བསྟོནད་པ་
Ind: འཱཱརྱ་བཛྲ་དྷཱ་ཛ་པ་རི་ནཱ་མ་
Loc: mdo, kha 11a7-36b7 (བདུན)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་བྱོམས་པ་ལུང་བསྟོནད་པ། རྫོོགས་
Note: The colophon in the Derge version further mentions Dānaśīla and Śilendrabodhi as translators.
Tib: བདེ་བསྒྲ་བ་སྟོོང་པའི་མདོ་ཆོས་ཀྱིི་རྣམ་གྲོངས་

Ind: འཕགས་པ་ཟུང་གི་མདོ་ཆོས་ཀྱིི་རྣམ་གྲོངས་

Loc: mdo, kha 53a1-277a9 (དུ་)

Chap:
1) རྣམ་གྲོངས་ཀྱིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་དང་པོའིོ་ (kha 57a5)
2) ཨ་པ་ལེིན་བི་རྒྱ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གཉིས་པའིོ་ (kha 61a3)
3) དབྱུང་གི་དབུས་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 70b4)
4) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་དབྱུང་པའིོ་ (kha 76a2)
5) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 84a2)
6) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 94a8)
7) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 116a3)
8) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 117b6)
9) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 118b9)
10) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 122a1)
11) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 125a4)
12) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 136b1)
13) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 149b9)
14) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 154b7)
15) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 176b6)
16) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 176b6)
17) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 186a1)
18) དབྱུང་གི་དབྱུང་བའིི་འབུམ་པ་དྲོོ་བར་བྱོ་བའིྀ་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ་ (kha 191b2)

Colophon: འཕགས་པ་ཟུང་གི་མདོ་ཆོས་ཀྱིི་རྣམ་གྲོངས་

ID: Ng2.8 (rKTs102; D102; S76; F128; EM521; Lg2.8)

Title: ārya-saṃghāṭasūtradharmaparyāya (0)

Tib: བདག་བསྒྲ་བ་སྟོོང་པའི་མདོ་ཆོས་ཀྱིི་རྣམ་གྲོངས་
The folio is in good condition, with only the edges showing stains and minor tears. The two illuminations are composed symmetrically, including the tree on the outer edge of each scene and the blue background.

**Fig. 148: 04 Birth-story of the merchant (Śreṣṭhijātaka)**

A white-dressed and turbaned figure holds a jewel flower in his hand. In front of him are a range of precious objects, namely a jewel, a triple jewel, a gold and a silver ingot, and cloth hanging from a bejewelled rod, possibly a magic wooden gong as held by Pañjaranātha Mahākāla.

There are two captions in different handwriting underneath the illumination, the first one consistent with those on other folios.

The figure is dressed like the king depicted previously, and only the objects depicted with him point towards an identification as merchant, especially when this illumination is compared to previous ones.

For a discussion of this dedication, see page 366.
with the one on the opposite side. The captions confirm the identification as trader, even though the name mentioned in the second caption refers to a story of the Buddha’s last life.

**Fig. 149: 05 Birth-story of the merchant Aviṣahya (Aviṣahyaśreṣṭhijātaka)**

A bejewelled trader in green dress is seated in front of a casket and other precious objects, namely the bejewelled rod holding a cloth, and one gold and two silver ingots.

**tshong dpon chen po**
The great merchant.

**tshong dpon bsang [skyo]ng//**
The merchant Bhallika (bsang skyong).

While the first captioner of this folio was aware of the stories depicted, the second one identified the two merchants with Trapuṣa and Bhallika, two merchants who offered honey gruel to the Buddha shortly after his awakening (see also page 111).
Fig. 150: Sūtra volume ga, first folio verso

This folio has been reinforced by paper along the upper and lower edges, but otherwise it is in good condition. The two illuminations are composed towards each other and on blue and red background, both have a pair of trees framing the scene.

Fig. 151: 06 Birth-story of the hare (Śaśajātaka)

A pink hare with golden necklace is emphasized among four animals, one of the others a white hare standing opposite and appearing to be in conversation with the protagonist.

रི་བོང་ཆོས་གཤད་པ་
ri bong chos gshad pa
The hare explaining (bshad pa) the dharma.
**Fig. 152: 07 Birth-story of Agastya (Agastya-jātaka)**

A pink-coloured human kneels in worship in front of a dark-skinned Brahmin who has matted hair and his right hand raised in the gesture of reassurance (abhayamudrā).

ब्रम्हीड स्क्येस्ट चोस ग्स्हाड पा/
Bram zed skyeste chos gshad pa/
Born as a Brahmin, explaining (bshad pa) the dharma.
Title: ārya-ajātāstra-kaukṛitä-vinodanā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: བབོས་པ་མ་སྐྱོེས་དགྲོ་འིགྱིིད་པ་བསལ་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི་

Ind: ཨཱཱ་རྱ་ཨ་ཛཱཱ་ཏ་ཤེ་ཏྲུ་ཀོའུ་ཀྲིིད་ཏྱ་པྲ་ནི་

Loc: mdo, ga 1b1-58b5 (དགྲོ)

Colophon: རྒྱལ་པོ་མ་སྐྱོེས་དགྲོའིི་འིགྱིིད་པ་བསྩོལད་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

Title: ārya-suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtrendra-rāja-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: འིཕགས་པ་གསེར་འིོད་དམ་པ་མདོའི་སྡེེའིི་དབང་པོའིི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ་

Ind: ཨ་རྱ་སུ་པྲ་ན་པྲ་བྷ་སོད་ཏ་མ་སུ་ཏྲེ་ན་

Loc: mdo, ga 58b6-121b2 (གསེར)

Chap:
1) ལེའུ་དང་པོའོ་ (ga 59b7)
2) མན་པའིི་སྲེི་མེ་ར་མི་འབྲུ་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 63a8)
3) རྲུགས་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 63b6)
4) མབུས་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 68b1)
5) རྒྱལ་པོའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 70a8)
6) རྒྱལ་པོའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 72a2)
7) རྒྱལ་པོའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 85b7)
8) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 88b1)
9) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 90a6)
10) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 93a6)

11) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 94a9)
12) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 97b3)
13) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 99a3)
14) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 102a6)
15) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 104b1)
16) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 106b7)
17) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 111a5)
18) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 119a9)
19) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 120a3)
20) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 120a3-120b4)
21) ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 121b1)

Colophon: བདུན་ཐོག་པ་བཞིྱི་ ཉི་ཤུ་པའིི་ (ga 121b1)

Title: ārya-pratyutpanne buddhasaṃmukhā-avasthita-samādhi-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: ཀུན་ཏུ་བསྒྲུབ་ལྟར་དཔྱང་བའིི་ཁྲི་འིི་ (ga 121b2)
2) འེད་གནོས་པའོ། (ga 130b6)
3) འེད་གནོས་པའོ། (ga 138a6)
4) འིན་གནོས་པའོ། (ga 141a6)
5) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 144a4)
6) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 148b4)
7) འེད་པདྨ་པའོ། (ga 152a3)
8) འེད་ལྔ་པའོ། (ga 152b8)
9) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 154a1)
10) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 154b4)
11) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 158b5)
12) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 161a8)
13) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 165a3)
14) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 170a1)
15) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 170b8)
16) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 174a2)
17) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 175a4)
18) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 177b5)
19) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 179a2)
20) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 179b9)
21) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 185b9)
22) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 189a2)
23) འེད་ུ་པའོ། (ga 190b5)

Colophon: བད་ལྟར་གྱི་སངས་རྒྱས་མངོན་ཏུ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཏིང་ངེ་འིཛིནད་ཅིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའི་མདོའི། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།

Note: This version of the work differs from the Derge version, which contains altogether 25 chapters.
With the exception of damages along the edges, the folio is in good condition. The two illuminations both have a pair of trees framing the scene and a red background. However, the composition of the left illumination is symmetric and has a frontal main image, while the protagonist of the right illumination is directed towards the former. This composition thus replicates those in the Prajñāpāramitā set.

There is an additional stanza written in small headless script between the lower edges of the illuminations, but not relating to them.

In the centre of this illumination sits a white royal figure, crowned, bejewelled, and wearing a pink coat. He performs the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā) with both hands. Two worshippers are seated to his side, while two more bow towards his thigh and stretch their hand towards his feet.

King Maitribala.
Fig. 155: 09 Birth-story of Viśvantara (Viśvantarajātaka)

A turbaned seated royal wearing a white coat with green sleeves performs the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā) towards a dark-skinned kneeling female worshipper in front of him.

The caption of this illumination appears to be more poorly written and its spelling has been corrected.

Viśvantara as king (thams cad sgrol).
Fig. 156: Sūtra volume nga, first folio verso

Except for stains along the edges, this folio is very well preserved. Both illuminations have the main figure painted white and inclined towards each other. Both illuminations are framed by two trees and set against a red background.

Fig. 157: 10 Birth-story on the sacrifice (Yajñajātaka)

A turbaned king, seated on a throne in royal ease (lalitāsana), converses with a dark-skinned standing figure.

རྒྱལ་པོ་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་གཟིིགས་པ་
rgyal po sems can la gzigs pa

The king who cares for sentient beings.

The illumination does not give any hint to the story of a sacrifice that never took place as such. In any case, this would be difficult to depict. One may interpret the standing figure as one of the king’s advisors who tries to promote the sacrifice.
Fig. 158: 11 Birth-story of Śakra (Śakrajātaka)
A white three-headed god sits in royal ease (lalitāsana) on a white elephant and performs the gesture of argumentation (vitarkamudrā).

Kauśika (brgya byin) = Śakra/Indra.
One wonders if in this illumination Brahmā and Indra are combined into one figure, as three heads and the white colour are not common for Indra (see also page 107).
ID: Ng4.1 (rKTs136; D136; S73; F155; EM534; Lg4.1; He50.1)
Title: ārya-caturdārakasamādhi-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: སྐབས་ལས་སྐོོར་མར་ལྷ་མི་འཐོའི་འཐོ་བེན་པོ་
ཞྱི་ཕྱག་པ་མིག་ཅེན་པོ་འིི་མདོ
Ind: སྟེར་ཐད་འཛིན་དེ་བཞིའི་འཆེན་ལེན་འབང་
Loc: mdo, nga 15a4-51a5 (རྨ་)
Colophon: སྐབས་ལས་སྐོོར་མར་ལྷ་མི་འཐོའི་འཐོ་བེན་
པོ་མིག་ཅེན་པོ་འིི་མདོ ། ། རྭགས་སོ།། །། །། རྡོ་རྗེ་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛི་
ཉེས་སྡེེ་ལས་སྩོོགས་པས་བསྒྱུརད་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

ID: Ng4.2 (rKTs127; D127; S69; F146; EM535; Lg4.2; He50.2)
Title: ārya-sarvadharmasvabhāvasamatāvipañ
citasamādhirāja-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: སྐབས་ལས་ཟླི་མེས་ཞིའི་རང་གཉིས་
བཟོས་ཆོས་དྲུག་པ་ཞེིས་བྱོ་བི་བསྒྱུར་
Ind: སྟེར་ཐད་འཛིན་དེ་བཞིའི་འཆེན་ལེན་འབང་
Loc: mdo, nga 51a5-221b7 (ཀྱ་)
Chap:
1) སྟིང་ལྷོའི་འཐོ་བེན་པོ་པའིི་ལེའུ་བཞིི་པ་འིོ་ (nga 57a7)
2) སྟིང་ལྷོའི་འཐོ་བེན་པོ་པའིི་ལེའུ་བཞིི་བཞི་པ་འིོ་ (nga 59b3)
3) སྟིང་ལྷོའི་འཐོ་བེན་པོ་བཞི་ལེའུ་བཞིི་པ་འིོ་
པའིི་ལེའུ་བཞིི་པ་འིོ་ (nga 62a5)
4) སྟིང་ལྷོའི་འཐོ་བེན་པོ་པའིི་ལེའུ་བཞིི་པ་འིོ་ (nga 64a4)
5) སྟིང་ལྷོའི་འཐོ་བེན་པོ་བཞི་ལེའུ་བཞིི་བཞི་པ་འིོ་ (nga 68a6)
6) སྟིང་ལྷོའི་འཐོ་བེན་པོ་བཞི་ལེའུ་བཞིི་པ་འིོ་ (nga 69b9)
7) སྟིང་ལྷོའི་འཐོ་བེན་པོ་བཞི་ལེའུ་བཞིི་བཞི་པ་འིོ་ (nga 72a2)
8) སྟིང་ལྷོའི་འཐོ་བེན་པོ་བཞི་ལེའུ་བཞིི་པ་འིོ་ (nga 74a8)
9) སྟིང་ལྷོའི་འཐོ་བེན་པོ་བཞི་ལེའུ་བཞིི་པ་འིོ་ (nga 78b6)
10) སོགས་ིར་དུ་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 89b1)
11) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 93a5)
12) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 94b6)
13) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 96b1)
14) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 101a7)
15) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 102a4)
16) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 104a2)
17) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 114b8)
18) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 117a5)
19) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 120a2)
20) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 121b1)
21) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 123b1)
22) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 123b7)
23) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 126a8)
24) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 133a8)
25) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 136a8)
26) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 137a9)
27) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 138a6)
28) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 138b5)
29) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 144b5)
30) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 150b3)
31) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 151a9)
32) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 153a9)
33) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 156a8)
34) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 169b9)
35) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 175a1)
36) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 191a3)
37) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 196a4)
38) སོགས་ིར་ཁྲིོམ་པ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་འཕོ་བྲོོ་པོ་ (nga 201b2)

Colophon: མཁྱེན་པོའི་སྐད་ཀྱིི་སྐྱེ་བུན་ཅན་ལ་བོད་ལྡོན་གི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་སུམ་བཅུ་རྩ་འབྱུང་སུ་བཞིྀ་ (nga 221b7-335a6)

Tib: མཁྱེན་པོའི་སྐད་ཀྱིི་སྐྱེ་བུན་ཅན་ལ་བོད་ལྡོན་གི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་སུམ་བཅུ་རྩ་འབྱུང་སུ་བཞིྀ་ (nga 221b7-335a6)

Ind: མཁྱེན་པོའི་སྐད་ཀྱིི་སྐྱེ་བུན་ཅན་ལ་བོད་ལྡོན་གི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་སུམ་བཅུ་རྩ་འབྱུང་སུ་བཞིྀ་ (nga 221b7-335a6)

Loc: mdo, nga 221b7-335a6 (སྦྱིིན་ཀྱིི་ཕན་ཡོོན་གྱིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་སུམ་བཅུ་རྩ་བདུན་པའིི་ (nga 169b9)

Chap:
1) བདེ་བས་བྱོིན་ཟླ་མཛེས་ཀྱིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ སུམ་བཅུ་རྩ་བཞིྀ་པའིི་ (nga 233a9)
2) བདེ་བས་བྱོིན་ཟླ་མཛེས་ཀྱིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ སུམ་བཅུ་རྩ་བཞིྀ་པའིི་ (nga 242a5)
3) བདེ་བས་བྱོིན་ཟླ་མཛེས་ཀྱིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ སུམ་བཅུ་རྩ་བཞིྀ་པའིི་ (nga 251a1)
Fig. 159: Sūtra volume nga, last folio recto

The folio is in excellent condition. Its two illuminations are composed symmetrically with the main figures facing inwards towards a worshipper. Both are flanked by two trees and their background is red and blue respectively.

Fig. 160: 12 Birth-story of the Brahmin (Brāhmaṇajātaka)

A dark-skinned figure sits sideways on a throne performing the gesture of reassurance (abhayamudrā) towards a worshipper in front of him.

Note: In the colophon of the Derge version, a scribe Dgon gling rm is mentioned.
Fig. 161: 13 Birth-story of Unmādayantī (Unmādayantījātaka)

A lay personage in a white coat sits cross-legged and with the hands folded in the veneration gesture. His head is directed towards a dark-skinned figure kneeling with folded hands to his side.

Maddy, the Tibetan translation of Unmādayantī, the lady of the story that intoxicates with love.

The illumination depicts the conversation with the minister who wants to give his wife Unmādayantī to the king, who despite falling in love with her resists on moral grounds.
Fig. 162: Sūtra volume ca,
first folio verso
Except for minor tears at the sides, this folio is in excellent condition. The two illuminations are composed with the protagonists towards each other and set against a red and blue background. They are also connected through the theme of water.

Fig. 163: 14 Birth-story of Supāraga (Supāragajātaka)
The illumination is divided horizontally, with a pearled bar separating the ground above from the water below. In front stands a figure holding a paddle as if steering a boat, and behind him sits another one almost leaning against the tree that frames the scene on this side.

བྲུབས་མཁན།
brubs mkhan/
One who knows roiling [water].
This is a stunningly abstract depiction of a boat being ferried across the water, with the bejewelled bar representing the boat and the tree signifying the shore. The standing helmsman appears to transport the second figure as a passenger.
Fig. 164: 15 Birth-story of the fish (Matsyajātaka)
A large fish swims among other water creatures, namely a tadpole, a frog, a sea-monster (makara, chu srin), and a conch-shell. Obviously then, the flower-studded blue background here stands for water.

Birth as fish in the great ocean.
Note: The title differs slightly from Derge and other mainstream Kanjurs. The text differs considerably from Derge. The Derge version also does not provide information about agents in the colophon. Note further that the variant title is found in many Western Tibetan collections: Lg, He, Hi, X, Go, Th.
Tib: འཁོར་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིིས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ
Ind: ཡིི་ཁོར་བོད་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ
Loc: mdo, ca 130a3-145b3 (ོ་ཁོར་བོད་)
Colophon: འཁོར་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིིས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ་
Note: The Derge version mentions Ye shes snying po instead of Ye shes sde as translator. Also He, X, and Lg have Ye shes sde.

ID: Ng5.6 (rKTs158; D158; S162; F275; EM523; Lg5.8; He48.4)
Title: ārya-brahmaparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: འཁོར་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིིས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ
Ind: ཡིི་ཁོར་བོད་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ
Loc: mdo, ca 145b3-153b8 (ཁོར་བོད་)
Colophon: འཁོར་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིིས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་མདོ
Note: No title in Skt. or Tib. at the beginning of the work; the title is taken from the colophon. This work is not identical with rKTs68, D68, even though it is similar in title. The text is a version of rKTs302, D302, even though the title is entirely different. The same situation is found in Lg5.11.

ID: Ng5.7 (rKTs151; D151; S61; F340; EM524; Lg5.9; He48.5)
Title: ārya-pratibhānamatiparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: འཁོར་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིིས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ
Ind: ཡིི་ཁོར་བོད་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ
Loc: mdo, ca 153b8-166a2 (ཁོར་བོད་)
Colophon: འཁོར་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིིས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་མདོ
Note: No title in Skt. or Tib. at the beginning of the work; the title is taken from the colophon. This work is not identical with rKTs68, D68, even though it is similar in title. The text is a version of rKTs302, D302, even though the title is entirely different. The same situation is found in Lg5.11.

ID: Ng5.10 (rKTs149; D149; S215; EM541; Lg5.12)
Title: ārya-maitreyaparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
ID: Ng5.11 (rKTs148; D148; S160; F159; F343; EM542; Lg5.13; He52.1; He68.01)
Title: ārya-gaganaganjarajaparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: འཇིིགས་པ་ཀླུའིི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱ་མཚོོས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Ind: ཆུ་བ་ཐོབ་ཅིིག་ཨ་རྱ་གཱ་ར་ནཱ་གཱ་རཱཱ་ཛཱཱ་པྲ་རི་པྲི་ཚཱཱ་ནཱ་མ་མྷཱ་ཧཱ་ཡཱཱ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, ca 168b4-254b5 (ནམ)
Colophon: འཇིིགས་པ་ཁྱེའུ་རིན་ཅིེན་ཟླ་བས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །།རྒྱ་གར་གྀ་མཁན་པོ་བ་ཇྱི་བར་མ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཚོ་བ་བནད་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེི་ལ་དང་། སུ་ལེན་དྲ་བོ་དེ་དང་། སྐད་གསར་ཅིན་ཀྱིིས་ཀྱིང་བཅིོས་པ།།
Note: The colophon mentions Sulendrabodhi instead of Śīlendrabodhi as found in the Derge version.

ID: Ng5.12 (rKTs165; D165; S308; F194; EM543; Lg5.14; He52.2)
Title: ārya-kṣemaikaraparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: འཇིིགས་པ་བདེ་བྱེད་ཀྱིིས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ་
Ind: ཆུ་བ་ཐོབ་ཅིིག་ཨ་རྱ་ཀྴེེེ་མང་ཀར་པ་རི་ཕྲིད་ཚྭ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡཱཱ་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, ca 254b5-258b3 (བདེ་བྱེད)
Colophon: འཇིིགས་པ་བདེ་བྱེད་ཀྱིིས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་
Note: The Derge version does not provide any information on translators or revisors in its colophon.

ID: Ng5.13 (rKTs155; D155; S137; Lg5.15; He52.3)
Title: ārya-sāgaranāgarajaparipṛcchā-nāmamahāyānasūtra (S)
Tib: འཇིིགས་པ་ཀླུའིི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱ་མཚོོས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་
Ind: ཆུ་བ་ཐོབ་ཅིིག་ཨ་རྱ་ཨ་གཱ་ར་ནཱ་གཱ་རཱཱ་ཛཱཱ་པྲ་རི་པྲི་ཚཱཱ་ནཱ་མ་མྷཱ་ཧཱ་ཡཱཱ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, ca mtsho 258b3-259a2
Colophon: འཇིིགས་པ་ཁཱིན་ཁྱེའུ་རིན་ཅིེན་ཟླ་བས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི་

ID: Ng5.14 (rKTs154; D154; S136; F314; EM544; Lg5.5; Lg5.16; He51.3; He52.4) = Ng5.3
Title: ārya-sāgaranāgarajaparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: འཇིིགས་པ་ཀླུའིི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱ་མཚོོས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་
Ind: ཆུ་བ་ཐོབ་ཅིིག་ཨ་རྱ་གཱ་ར་ནཱ་གཱ་རཱཱ་ཛཱཱ་པྲ་རི་པྲི་ཚཱཱ་ནཱ་མ་མྷཱ་ཧཱ་ཡཱཱ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, ca 259a2-265b5 (ནམ)
Colophon: འཇིིགས་པ་ཁཱིན་ཁྱེའུ་རིན་ཅིེན་ཟླ་བས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་
Note: The colophon mentions Sulendrabodhi instead of Śīlendrabodhi as found in the Derge version.

ID: Ng5.15 (rKTs342; D342; S54; F356; EM545; Lg5.17; He52.5)
Title: dirghanakhaparivrājakaparipṛcchā-nāma-sūtra (D)
Tib: འཇིིགས་པ་ཁྱེའུ་རིན་ཅིེན་ཟླ་བས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་
Ind: ཆུ་བ་ཐོབ་ཅིིག་ཨ་རྱ་ཀྴེེེ་མང་ཀར་པ་རི་ཕྲིད་ཚྭ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡཱཱ་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, ca 265b5-267a4 (ཀུན་ཏུ)
Colophon: འཇིིགས་པ་ཁྱེའུ་རིན་ཅིེན་ཟླ་བས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་
Note: The Derge version does not provide any information on translators or revisors in its colophon.

ID: Ng5.16 (rKTs164; D164; S129; F117; F380; EM546; Lg5.18; He52.6)
Title: ārya-ratnacandraparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: འཇིིགས་པ་ཁྱེའུ་རིན་ཅིེན་ཟླ་བས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་
Ind: ཆུ་བ་ཐོབ་ཅིིག་ཨ་རྱ་གཱ་ར་ནཱ་གཱ་རཱཱ་ཛཱཱ་པྲ་རི་པྲི་ཚཱཱ་ནཱ་མ་མྷཱ་ཧཱ་ཡཱཱ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Note: This seems to be a shorter version of rKTs164, D164. It differs not only in size but also slightly in its title from the Derge version. The text itself differs greatly but seems to be related. Similar versions are found in Lg5.18, He52.6, Hi54.2, F380, Go26.16.

**ID: Ng5.17** (rKTs308; D308; S284; F267; Lg5.19)

**Title:** āyuspattriyāthākāraparipṛcchā-sūtra (D)

**Tib:** ཁྱེའུ་ཁེད་པ་གཤེར་བ་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

**Loc:** mdo, ca 270b9-279a9 (ཚོེ)

**Colophon:** ཁྱེའུ་ཁེད་པ་གཤེར་བ་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

**ID: Ng5.18** (rKTs170; D170; S53; F118; EM548; Lg5.20; He52.8)

**Title:** ārya-srīmatibrahmaniparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**Tib:** ཁྱེའུ་ཁེད་པ་གཤེར་བ་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

**Loc:** mdo, ca 279b1-282b3 (བྲམ)

**Colophon:** ཁྱེའུ་ཁེད་པ་གཤེར་བ་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། བཞིན་པར་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛི་ན་མྱིི་ཏྲ་དང་། ད་ན་ཤེི་ལ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཚོ་བ་བན་ཏེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

**ID: Ng5.19** (rKTs171; D171; S199; EM549; Lg5.21; He52.9)

**Title:** ārya-mahālalikāparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**Tib:** ཁྱེའུ་ཁེད་པ་གཤེར་བ་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

**Loc:** mdo, ca 282b3-286b9 (འིགྲེས)

**Colophon:** ཁྱེའུ་ཁེད་པ་གཤེར་བ་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། བཞིན་པར་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛི་ན་མྱིི་ཏྲ་དང་། ད་ན་ཤེི་ལ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཚོ་བ་བན་ཏེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

**ID: Ng5.20** (rKTs159; D159; S140; F113; EM550; Lg5.22; He52.10)

**Title:** ārya-brahmadattaparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**Tib:** ཁྱེའུ་ཁེད་པ་གཤེར་བ་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

**Loc:** mdo, ca 287a1-299a5 (བྲོེིན)

[Colophon on following page]
Fig. 165: Sūtra volume ca, last folio recto

There are only minor damages along the edges of this folio, and the bottom right area has a larger stain that also affected the bottom of the illumination there. Both scenes only depict the protagonist and are framed by two trees each. Here the captions are written underneath a two-line text in small headed (dbu can) script, which proves that they are later than this text. This is, thus, one of the folios that demonstrates that the captions were added at a later date.

This two-line text refers to the making of books of the dharma translated into Tibetan in an area that could not be identified. While the verse likely refers to this Sūtra collection, the information provided does not suffice to identify its context with any certainty (see also page 366f).

Fig. 166: 16 Birth-story of the partridge (Vartakāpītakajātaka)

A bird with red beak and coloured wings stands on a bejewelled ground and against a blue background. The bird has a golden necklace and a string of pearls hangs from its beak.

Birth as partridge.

This translation follows the most
frequently provided meaning for sreg pa in Tibetan dictionaries.

**Fig. 167: 17 Birth-story on the jar (Kumbhajātaka)**

A white bejewelled god is seated in royal ease (lalitāsana) on a white elephant. He holds a yellow vase in his left hand, and a vessel of the same shape is depicted to his side.

རྒྱ་སྦྱིིན་བུཾ་པ།
rgya sbyin buM pa/
The jar of Indra.
See the discussion on this illumination on page 107.
Fig. 168: Sūtra volume cha, first folio verso

The folio has tears along the edges and was repaired from its back, but its illuminations are in perfect condition. The protagonists are depicted on the outer edge of the illuminations, the one on the left frontal, and the one on the right facing inwards towards the first. Two trees flank each scene and the background is alternating.

Fig. 169: 18 Birth-story of the childless (Apurrajña)

The scene shows a dark-skinned, turbaned figure in a yellow coat seated in royal ease (lalitāsana) and facing the viewer. He is attended by a figure kneeling to his side.

Two types of captions identify the scene, a larger caption in a similar script as in other volumes and two smaller ones in semi-cursive script added at a later stage. In the latter two cases the meaning remains unclear to me.

In the story, the Bodhisattva is born into
a wealthy family, gives up his wealth, and becomes an ascetic.

**Fig. 170: 20 Birth-story of the merchant (Śreṣṭhijātaka)**

The protagonist, dressed only in dhoti and bejewelled, is seated sideways on a cushion, performing the gesture of reassurance (abhayamudrā) with his right hand and holding a jewel in his left. An elephant with a jewel on his back, a large jewel on a lotus, and silver and gold ingots are represented in front of him.

**tshong dpon**
Merchant.
ID: Ng6.1 (rKTs161; D161; S166; F304; EM551; Lg6.2; He52.11)
Title: ārya-suvikrāntacintadeva-purputra-paripṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: རྲིག་པའི་རྒྱུ་ལྷའི་བུ་རབ་བརྩལ་སེམས་ཀྱིིས་
Ind: ངོ་བོ་འཇིིི་བུ་སོ་འཛིིན་དེ་ཡིི་ད་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, cha 1b1-41a9 (དབྱུར་ཆ阴
Colophon: རྲིག་པའི་རྒྱུ་ལྷའི་བུ་རབ་བརྩལ་སེམས་ཀྱིིས་
Id: Ng6.2 (rKTs162; D162; S261; F316; EM552; Lg6.3; He52.12)
Title: ārya-śrīvasuparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: རྲིག་པའི་རྒྱུ་ལྷའི་བུ་སོ་འཛིིན་དེ་ཡིི་ད་ཏྲ་
Ind: ངོ་བོ་འཇིིི་བུ་སོ་འཛིིན་དེ་ཡིི་ད་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, cha 41b1-45b6 (དབྱུར་ཆ阴
Colophon: རྲིག་པའི་རྒྱུ་ལྷའི་བུ་སོ་འཛིིན་དེ་ཡིི་ད་ཏྲ་
Id: Ng6.3 (rKTs160; D160; S164; F160; EM554; Lg6.4; He53.1)
Title: ārya-brahmaviśeṣacintiparipṛcchā-
nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: རྲིིི་ལྷའི་བུ་སོ་འཛིིན་དེ་ཡིི་ད་ཏྲ་
Ind: ངོ་བོ་འཇིིི་བུ་སོ་འཛིིན་དེ་ཡིི་ད་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, cha 45b6-126a8 (དབྱུར་ཆ阴

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Note: This work is also found in Hemis, Basgo, and Lang under the same Tibetan name. As an analysis of the text itself shows, it must be seen as a version of Derge 134, which also bears the same title in Sanskrit, but a different title in Tibetan.

ID: Ng6.5 (rKTs166; D166; S187; F308; EM556; Lg6.6; He53.3)
Title: ārya-rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་ཡུལ་འིཁོར་སྐྱོོང་ཀྱིི་བུས་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་རཱཱ་སྟོ་བ་ལ་ན་ན་མ་མ་ཧཱ་ཡཱཱ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, cha 177b1-278b9 (ཐོ་)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་དབྱིན་གྱིི་ལེབ་ཞུས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་འིི་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་པྲད་ཉ་བར་མ་
ཐེི་ལེན་དྲ་བོ་དེ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་ཏེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་
སྡེེ་ལས ། བསྩོོགས་པ ། བསྒྱུར་ཅིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་བ།།

ID: Ng6.6 (rKTs167; D167; S139; F225; EM553; Lg6.7; He52.13)
Title: ārya-vikurvāṇarājaparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་རྣམ་པར་འིཕྲུལ་བའིི་རྒྱལ་པོས་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ཀུར་བ་ཎ་རཱཱ་ཛ་པ་རི་ཕྲིད་ཙ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, cha 217b1-278b9 (ལྗོིན་)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་མྱིི་འིམ ། ཅིིའིི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྗོིནད་པས་ཞུས་
པ ། ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །།

ID: Ng6.7 (rKTs157; D157; S165; F294; EM557; Lg6.8; He53.4)
Title: ārya-bodhisattvagocaropāyaviṣayavikurva
rvāṇanirdeśa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་བྱོང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའིྀ་སྤྱོད་ཡུལ་གི་ཐབས་ཀྱིི་ཡུལ་ལ་
Loc: mdo, cha 279a1-336a6 (རྣམ་འིཕྲུལ)
Chap:
1) སྦྱེ་རབ་དྲོ་དུ་གཅིག་ཏུ་གཞི་པའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་ Kampalam (cha 285a3)
2) སྦྱེ་རབ་དྲོ་དུ་གཅིག་ཏུ་གཞི་པའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་ བཞིི་པའིི་ (cha 289a9)
3) སྦྱེ་རབ་དྲོ་དུ་གཅིག་ཏུ་གཞི་པའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་དྲུག་པའིི་ (cha 291a5)
4) སྦྱེ་རབ་དྲོ་དུ་གཅིག་ཏུ་གཞི་པའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་གཞི་པའིི་ (cha 295a2)
5) སྦྱེ་རབ་དྲོ་དུ་གཅིག་ཏུ་གཞི་པའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་ བཞིི་པའིི་ (cha 296b4)
6) སྦྱེ་རབ་དྲོ་དུ་གཅིག་ཏུ་གཞི་པའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་ བཞིི་པའིི་ (cha 306a6)
Fig. 171: Sūtra volume cha, last folio recto

The folio has considerable tears and stains along its edges, but the illuminations are in excellent condition. Both scenes are composed with the protagonists facing inwards and alternating backgrounds. Further, they are framed by a pair of trees.

Fig. 172: 21 Smaller birth-story of Bodhi (Cuḍḍabodhijātaka)

A dark-skinned Brahmin is seated sideways on a throne and is conversing with a standing bejewelled attendant.

Note: Marking for chapter 9 is missing.
Fig. 173: 22 Birth-story of the goose (*Hamsajātaka*)

A green bird holding a string of pearls in the beak is accompanied by two smaller birds, a white and an orange one. There are upside-down letters underneath the lower border of this illumination.

A first attempt of the caption was abandoned and covered with ink after what appears to be a spelling error.

ངང་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ།

*ngang pa'i rgyal po/

King of the geese.

This caption is repeated underneath in the poorer script.
Fig. 174: Sūtra volume ja, first folio verso

The folio is in good condition and has two centrally composed illuminations against alternating background. While the left one is flanked by trees, the right one has a central tree.

Fig. 175: 23 Larger birth-story of Bodhi (Mahābodhijātaka)

A figure in dhoti stands sideways against a green mandorla. His hands are held at the hips and one leg crosses the other.

ཀུན་ཏུ་སྒྱུ་རུ་སྐྱོེས།
kun tu sgyu ru skyes/
Birth as wandering ascetic.

This is actually a dancing position often found with depictions of offering goddesses, in particular in the fourteenth century.
Fig. 176: 24 Birth-story of the great monkey (Mahākapijātaka)
Two monkeys, one of them climbing a central tree, the other approaching it holding a fruit in his left hand.

Birth as monkey.
Rather than illustrating the story, the rescue of a human by the monkey, the illumination shows the monkeys enjoying fruit from the tree.
Fig. 177: Detail of the Śarabha in Fig. 179
Fig. 178: Sūtra volume ja, last folio recto
This folio is in excellent condition. The two scenes are painted against a blue background with a central animal each directed towards each other. Both illuminations are framed by a pair of trees.

Fig. 179: 25 Birth-story of the Śarabha (Śarabhajātaka)
Green mythical animal with a lion’s body and a bird’s head, strings of pearls hanging from its beak.

*ri dags sha ra nan skyeso/
Birth as a Śarabha deer.*
Fig. 180: Right: 26 Birth-story of the antelope (*Ruru*ātakam)

A white deer with a golden necklace and white antlers. The latter are drawn rather poorly, obviously the painter had never seen any, with the green around them in a shade that differs from the tree foliage. Thus, the threes have been painted first, leaving a white area for the antlers which then have been filled into this space.

*ri dags ru rur skyes/*
Birth as a Ruru deer (= antelope).
Fig. 181: Sūtra volume nya, first folio verso

The folio is in excellent condition. Its two illuminations are set against blue and red background and are framed by trees.

Fig. 182: 27 Birth-story of the great monkey (Mahākapijātaka)

Two monkeys are represented towards the edges of the illumination, the one on the inside has his back towards the text and holds a yellow object, the other one climbs the tree at the edge of the illumination, bending it inwards.

There are two captions, a standard identifying one, and one in smaller script added at a later stage.

སྤྲེུའུར་སྐྱེས། spre'ur skies_/ 
Birth as monkey.

བྱང་སེམས་byang sms
Bodhisattva.
Fig. 183: 28 Birth-story of Kṣānti (Kṣāntijātaka)

A figure in dress similar to monks’ robes and bejewelled is seated in meditation on a throne. A dark standing figure approaches him with eyes wide open and one arm raised to his side as if attacking him.

Birth as the hermit who teaches forbearance (bzod pa).

Though not equipped with a sword, the illumination depicts the moment the king attacks the ascetic in a rage to cut off his limbs and sense organs.
ID: Ng8.1 (rKTs116; D116; S238; F29; F101; F381; EM566; Lg8.2; He55.3)
Title: ārya-karaṇḍavyūha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: ཨ་རྱ་ཀ་རན་ད་བྱུ་ཧ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Ind: རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, nya 1b1-49b3 (རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།)
Colophon: ཨ་རྱ་ཀ་རན་ད་བྱུ་ཧ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་

ID: Ng8.2 (rKTs259; D259; S89; F102; EM569; Lg8.3; He56.1)
Title: ārya-anakṣarakaraṇḍavairocanagarbha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: ཨ་རྱ་ཨ་ན་ཀ་ར་ཀ་ར་ན་ཌ་ཀ་བཱཱཻཻ་རོ་
Ind: རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, nya 49b3-53b9 (ཡོི་གེ)
Colophon: ཨ་རྱ་ཨ་ན་ཀ་ར་ཀ་ར་ན་ཌ་ཀ་བཱཱཻཻ་རོ་

ID: Ng8.3 (rKTs1290; EM570; Lg8.4; He56.2)
Title: ‘phags pa byams pa la bstod pa (Ng)
Tib: ཨ་རྱ་ཨ་ན་ཀ་ར་ཀ་ར་ན་ཌ་ཀ་བཱཱཻཻ་རོ་
Ind: རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, nya 54a1-74a6 (ཉི་ཤིུ་)
Chap: 
1) རཱེ་ི་ཤིན་པའི་ལེ་ི་དང༌། (nya 54b2) 
2) འི་ཤིན་པའི་ལེ་ི་དང༌། (nya 54b6) 
3) རྗོང་མ་ཤིན་པའི་ལེ་ི་དང༌། (nya 57a7) 
4) རྗོང་མ་ཤིན་པའི་ལེ་ི་དང༌། (nya 58a6) 
5) རྗོང་མ་ཤིན་པའི་ལེ་ི་དང༌། (nya 58b7) 

ID: Ng8.4 (rKTs1291; EM571; Lg8.5; He56.3)
Title: khams gsum gyis bstod pa (Ng)
Tib: ཨ་རྱ་ཨ་ན་ཀ་ར་ཀ་ར་ན་ཌ་ཀ་བཱཱཻཻ་རོ་
Ind: རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, nya 74a7-77b4 (ཉི་ཤིུ་) 
Chap: 

Note: No formal title in Tib. or Skt. is given at the beginning of this work; the title is taken from the colophon. The text seems to be identical with He56.2. This work is not contained in Tshal pa and Them spangs ma but found in He, X, Ba, Lg, EM.
1) བསྟོོད་པ་ལ་བསྟོོད་པ་ཐེ་ཙོམ་བསལ་བའིི་ (nya 74a7)
2) བསྟོོད་པ་ལ་བསྟོོད་པ་ཐེ་ཙོམ་བསལ་བའིི་ (nya 75b4)
6) བསྟོོད་པ་ལ་བསྟོོད་པ་ཐེ་ཙོམ་བསལ་བའིི་ (nya 76a4)
7) བསྟོོད་པ་ལ་བསྟོོད་པ་ཐེ་ཙོམ་བསལ་བའིི་ (nya 76b3)
8) བསྟོོད་པ་ལ་བསྟོོད་པ་ཐེ་ཙོམ་བསལ་བའིི་ (nya 77a1)

Note: No title in Skt. is provided. The text appears to be appended to the preceding work. A gap in chapter markings is noted after chapter 2. This version seems to be closely related to the respective versions from Lang and Hemis. This work is not contained in Tshal pa and Them spangs ma but found in He, X, Ba, Lg, EM.

**ID: Ng8.5** (rKTs262; D262; S95; F228; EM573; Lg8.6; He56.4)
Title: buddhanāmasahasrapañca-śata catur tripañcadaśa (D)

**ID: Ng8.6** (rKTs273; D273; D511; D853; S471; F358; F687; EM128; EM289; EM305; EM574; Lg8.7; He56.5)
Title: ārya-āṣṭabuddhaka-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**ID: Ng8.7** (rKTs272; D272; S98; F357; EM575; Lg8.8; He56.6)
Title: daśabuddha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**ID: Ng8.8** (rKTs271; D271; S99; F354; EM576; Lg8.9; He56.7)
Title: ārya-āṣṭabuddhaka-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**ID: Ng8.9** (rKTs638; D644; D882; S601; F537; EM181; Lg8.10)
Title: ārya-āṣṭamaṇḍalaka-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**ID: Ng8.10** (rKTs105; D105; S101; F538; EM578; Lg8.11; He56.9)
Title: ārya-manḍalāṣṭaka-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Fig. 184: Detail of Brahma (Fig. 186)
Fig. 185: Sūtra volume nya, last folio recto

Unusually, this folio has a major stain on the top but otherwise is in very good condition. Both illuminations are set against a blue background and framed by a pair of trees. In both the protagonist is white.

Fig. 186: 29 Birth-story of Brahma (Brahmajātaka)

A white god performing the teaching gesture (dharmacakramadra) sits with the legs half-crossed on a white goose.

Birth as Brahma[loka] god.

While alluding to Brahmā through the goose, unusually the god is depicted with one head only.
Fig. 187: 30 Birth-story of the elephant (Hastijātaka)

A bejewelled white elephant is depicted sideways carrying a jewel on his back.

Birth as elephant.
Fig. 188: Sūtra volume ta, first folio verso

The folio has suffered considerably along the edges, with a larger loss along the upper edge, but none of that affected the illuminations. The two scenes are set against different backgrounds and flanked by trees, both showing a turbaned royal figure as the protagonist.

Fig. 189: 31 Birth-story of Sutasoma (Sutasomajātaka)

A king in a white coat with pink shading sits crossed-legged on a throne with his hands raised in the gesture of veneration. A dark-skinned, bejewelled figure sits to his side with the same gesture.

ṛgyal por skyesa/
Born as king.

The scene can be interpreted as the prince Sutasoma about to listen to the verses of a Brahmin, and thus the beginning of the story.
SūTRA VOLUME TA
9
(Book 58)

Fig. 190: 32 Birth-story of Ayogṛha (Ayogrha Jātaka)
A king wearing a turban and a white coat sits in the posture of royal ease (lalitāsana) on a lotus. He has his right hand raised at the side while the left is at the hip.

Again born as king.
There is no hint to the actual content of the story in this illumination.
ID: Ng9.7 (rKTs175; D175; S167; F309; F350; EM589; Lg9.6; He57.4)
Title: ārya-āksayatmatairnārā-pāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: མི་ཐོ་ཀྲོོས་མྱིི་ཟད་པས་བསྟོནད་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའིི་
Ind: ལྡུ་པི་ཀྲུུ་མ་ཏི་ནི་རྡོེ་ཤཱ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡཱཱ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, ta 56b7-153b4 (བློོ)
Colophon: རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། གྱ་ཀར་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛི་ན་མྱིི་
Note: Other versions, like e.g., Derge, mention only Dharmatāśīla as translator and show also major textual differences. The colophon in the Lang version concurs with Namgyal.

ID: Ng9.8 (rKTs113; D113; S141; F94; EM590; Lg9.7; He58.1)
Title: saddharmapuṇḍarīka-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: ལྡུ་པའིི་ཆོོས་པད་མ་ཀར་པོ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ་
Ind: སད་དྷ་རྨི་པུན་ཌ་རི་ཀ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, ta 153b4-325a3 (པད་མ)
Chap:
1) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 165a1)
2) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 177a6)
3) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 191b4)
4) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 199a1)
5) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 207a1)
6) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 211a2)
7) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 227b2)
8) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 233a9)
9) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 236b4)
10) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 241b1)
11) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 252a8)
12) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 255a5)
13) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 262a9)
14) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 269b9)
15) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 275a1)
16) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 281a3)
17) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 284a8)
18) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 291a3)
19) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 294b4)
20) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 299a2)
21) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 301a4)
22) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 308.2b4)
23) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 311b8)
24) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 314b7)
25) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 319b8)
26) ཡི་ཐོ་ཀྲིི་ཞིིུ་པཱྱ་ཞིི་པཱ་དྲུ་(ta 323b5)
Fig. 191: Sūtra volume ta, last folio recto

The last folio is a recent replacement. The illuminations are cut from another folio and pasted on, but they are not from the original manuscript. Differing in style and quality from the other illuminations, they represent a much later painting tradition, with the two illuminations set against a landscape background with pink clouds hovering in the sky. They are also more narrative, depicting an action that is taking place. Nevertheless, in content they do replace what has been on the original folio, as they depict the last two birth-stories of the Jātakamāla. Long captions accompany the illuminations praising the respective rebirth, the right caption also indicating that this is the thirty-fourth and last birth-story.

Fig. 192: 33 Birth-story of the buffalo (Mahiṣajātaka)

The illumination is divided horizontally between a green foreground and a blue background, the monkey and the buffalo are repeatedly represented. In the background, the monkey rides the buffalo moving from left to right beating him with a stick. In the foreground, the buffalo moves in the opposite direction, and the monkey is represented twice, once covering an eye of the buffalo while riding, the other time holding the tail up and inserting a stick into his anus.

Note: Several folios are replaced by newer ones; in the Derge version, a further chapter 27 is indicated.
The composition of this scene is reminiscent of the representation of the same story in the Tupchen Lhakhang in Lo Möntang.

Fig. 193: 34 Birth-story of the woodpecker (Śatapatrajātaka)

Set against a similar background with green islands surrounded by blue, a white bird is looking into the mouth of a snow lion.

The illumination refers to the moment in which the woodpecker removes a splinter from the lion's mouth.
Fig. 194: Sūtra volume tha, first folio verso
Well preserved folio with minor damage mostly along the upper edge and sewing holes on the left. With this folio, the story of the Buddhas last life begins with two scenes taking place in Tuṣita heaven.

Fig. 195: 01 The Bodhisattva teaching in Tuṣita heaven
On a three layered throne, the white Bodhisattva sits cross-legged and performs a gesture of teaching with both palms towards the viewer. He is flanked by two attendants, yellow and pink-coloured, both performing the veneration gesture (namaskāramudrā).

‘og min gi gnas su sangs rgyas
rnam par snang ’dzad du srgyas pa/
Becoming Buddha Vairocana in the Akaniṣṭha abode.
**Fig. 196: 02 Crowning Maitreya in Tuṣita heaven**

The white crowned Bodhisattva seated sideways on a throne offers another crown to the yellow Bodhisattva Maitreya kneeling to his side.

*dga’ ldan gi gnas su ’pho ba/
Transference in Tuṣita abode.*

See the discussion on these depictions on page 107 f.
Fig. 197: Detail of the Birth (Fig. 200)
Fig. 198: Sūtra volume tha, last folio recto

The folio is well preserved but has stains of different depth all along the edges.

Fig. 199: 03 Dream of Queen Māyā

The scene is divided into two halves distinguished by background. In the upper half, a white elephant emerges from a cloud on the left side, and on the right sits a yellow Bodhisattva performing the teaching gesture. The lower half shows queen Māyā lying on a bed in exactly the same manner as the Buddha is commonly depicted at his parinirvāṇa.

ཡུམ་གི་ལྷུམས་སུ་འཇུག་པ།

Entering the womb of the mother.

This caption is partially copied again by a later writer in a less sophisticated writing style and with the addition of what appears to be rather a writing exercise for composite letters than mantra syllables:

yum gi lhums su 'jug pa/

yum gi lhums ? su 'jug pa / rna rna dru   dru
Fig. 200: 04 Birth

Queen Māyā in birth posture embraces a tree, the Bodhisattva emerging from her right side. He is received by a yellow composite deity holding a red cloth.

There are effectively three different captions, of which the middle one appears to be the first and is consistent with the other captions. This caption was repeated again by another writer:

Birth (bltams pa) of the body.

To the left in two lines:

Brahmā (tshangs pa) and Indra (brya byin).
This folio has damages along the edges ranging from tears to insect holes. Along the left margin is an additional text by a distinct writer, which begins with a homage to the holy teachers (*bla ma dam rnams*) but does not refer to the depictions.

@#/ *bla ma dam rnams la 'phyag 'tshalo/ chos skyong dpal bzung rga/ \ yon chen dbang dpal thugs dam phyogs ste lags pa 'i rtse 'khas pa 'i lugs //

**Fig. 202: 05 Seven steps of the Bodhisattva**

The young Bodhisattva is depicted yellow and performs *vitarkamudrā* with the left hand. He stands on a pile of nine lotus blossoms. He is flanked by two figures, the one to his right white and holding a red cloth likely represents Indra. The figure to the Bodhisattva’s left is pink and performs the veneration gesture (*namaskāramudrā*).

@#/ *ltam nas phyogs gzhir gom pa bdun gdon / gshegs pa //

After birth, walking seven (*bdun*) steps in each of the four (*bzhir*) directions.
The composition has an elegant symmetry and the Bodhisattva is depicted as a child, also because half of the picture’s height is taken up by the lotus stack. The origin of this depiction is discussed on page 109.

**Fig. 203: 06 Visit of the sage Asita**

The yellow child Bodhisattva sits sideways on the lap of an adult. While the Bodhisattva may perform the teaching gesture (*dharmacakramudrā*), the adult performs gestures of dialogue. Opposite them kneels a dark-skinned Brahmin with his (matted) hair bound to the top of the head. He raises his right hand and performs a conversation gesture with the left. The figures are shown sideways and directed towards each other, and they are emphasized by the red double mandorla behind them.

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Showing (*ston pa*) the signs (*mtshan*) to the Brahmin versed in signs (*mtshan*).
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The double halo behind the figures, the alignment of the throne top with the pink cushion of the Brahmin, the placement of the Brahmin’s knee on the throne, and the thick outlines surrounding the flower-studded surfaces provides a sense of abstraction to the scene. The Bodhisattva’s sitting posture mirrors that of the Brahmin.
Fig. 204: Sūtra volume da, last folio recto

The folio is reinforced at the back by an additional layer of a more greyish paper. This folio oddly has volume and page indications on both ends of the folio, the page numbers differing from each other. Of these, the one on the left margin, 299, is correct, while the one on the right margin states 289. Also the text abbreviation written to the side of the number differs. This indicates that the writer of the numbers produced two pages with the number 289, and one of them was simply turned around and used for the last folio, which may not have been planned originally, as it contains very little text. This also indicates that the page numbers were written before the text.

Fig. 205: 07 Attending school

Now depicted the same size or even larger than other figures, the yellow Bodhisattva sits opposite a dark-skinned Brahmin. He performs the gestures of argumentation (vitarkamudrā) and reassurance (abhayamudrā), and is distinguished by a halo. The Brahmin holds a short stick in the raised right hand and his left is in front of his chest. Both sit sideways on cushions, the position of their legs mirroring each other. A yellow writing board with the first three letters of the Tibetan alphabet is depicted.
Learning mathematics and writing.

Of the other texts added to this folio, only the one visible in this detail refers to the scene, the remaining ones refer to the Buddha in general.

**Fig. 206: 08 Archery contest**

The yellow Bodhisattva in the centre of the illumination and a competitor behind him both stand in archer's pose and have just released an arrow. One of the arrows has passed through the tree and water is indicated where its tip should be, the other is stuck in the tree. Visually, it is unclear which arrow was shot by whom, and both figures are framed by the shared mandorla. While the competitor's right foot is covered by the yellow border framing the illumination, his knee and elbow are on top of that border, the latter projecting considerably.

This reading assumes that the \( g \) between super- and subscript is left out as a form of abbreviation.
There are tears along the upper edge and sewing marks along the left side, otherwise the folio is in very good condition.

Fig. 208: 09 Encountering an elephant

A yellow figure, presumably the Bodhisattva, sits on a horse cart raising his arms. The cart is green and has a fishtail and yellow wheels. Underneath is a second pink-coloured figure moving in the opposite direction behind a bejewelled white elephant. He stretches his flat right hand towards the elephant which is rather small.

In India, the land of the elephants, the elephant offered to the young (gzhon nu) [Bodhisattva] is knocked down (sgyel ba).

Visually, the depicted story is far from clear and only communicates that the Bodhisattva on his horse chariot and the figure following the elephant are moving in opposite directions. See page 109 for a discussion of the identification of this scene.
Fig. 209: 10 Life in the harem

The frame of this illumination is used to outline a palace structure that consists of a lower block with an trilobed gateway, that rather looks like a niche for a sculpture, and a roof with a finial on top. The latter projects out from the frame of the illumination. In the centre, the yellow Bodhisattva is seated cross-legged with the right hand raised in the gesture of reassurance (abhayamudrā) and the left in a vajra-fist at the hip. He is flanked by two pairs of women, the inner ones pink and resting their arms on the Bodhisattva’s shoulders, the outer ones dark-skinned and seated sideways. All but one of the goddesses have one hand raised in what one could broadly interpret as gestures of conversation. The Bodhisattva and the outer females have halos.

tsun mo'i 'khor gis rol ba /
Enjoying the entourage of consorts (btsun mo).
ID: Ng12.1 (rKTs228; D228; S51; F106; EM614; Lg12.11; He62.2)
Title: ārya-buddhasaṅgīti-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: ཨ་རྱ་བུ་ད་སང་གི་ཏི་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡཱཱ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Ind: རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོ་འིི་མདོའི།།
Loc: mdo, na 1b1-40b7 (མདོ)
Colophon: བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོ་འིི་མདོའི།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Note: Short marginal title changes at ff. 103/104.

ID: Ng12.2 (rKTs222; D222; S94; F297; EM615; Lg13.2; He62.3)
Title: ārya-mahābherīhārakaparivarta-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: ཨ་རྱ་མ་ཧ་བེ་རི་ཧ་ར་ཀ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Ind: རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོ་འིི་མདོ་
Loc: mdo, na 40b7-84b8 (རྔ)
Chap: 1) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་སྟོེ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསམ་པའིི་ལེའུ་ (na 91b1)
2) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་སྟོེ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསམ་པའིི་ལེའུ་ (na 92b6)
3) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་སྟོེ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསམ་པའིི་ལེའུ་ (na 109a7)
4) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་སྟོེ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསམ་པའིི་ལེའུ་ (na 110a2)
5) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་སྟོེ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསམ་པའིི་ལེའུ་ (na 115a1)
6) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་སྟོེ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསམ་པའིི་ལེའུ་ (na 117a1)
7) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་སྟོེ་ (na 120b2)
8) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་སྟོེ་ (na 121b2)
Colophon: བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོ་འིི་མདོ་
Note: Short marginal title changes at ff. 103/104.

ID: Ng12.3 (rKTs110; D110; S250; EM616; Lg13.3; He62.3a)
Title: ārya-ghanavyūha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: ཨ་རྱ་གྷ་ན་བྱུ་ཧ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Ind: རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོ་འིི་མདོ
Loc: mdo, na 84b8-137a4 (རྒྱན / སྟུག)
Chap:
1) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་སྟོེ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསམ་པའིི་ལེའུ་ (na 91b1)
2) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་སྟོེ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསམ་པའིི་ལེའུ་ (na 92b6)
3) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་སྟོེ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསམ་པའིི་ལེའུ་ (na 109a7)
4) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་softmax (na 110a2)
5) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་softmax (na 115a1)
6) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་softmax (na 117a1)
7) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་softmax (na 120b2)
8) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་softmax (na 121b2)
9) བྱོ་བ་གཅིིག་softmax (na 123b2)
Colophon: བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོ་འིི་མདོ
Note: Short marginal title changes at ff. 103/104.

ID: Ng12.4 (rKTs1125; S316; EM618; Lg13.4; He63.1)
Title: kāraṇaprajñapti (S)
Tib: རྒྱུ་གདགས་པ་
Ind: རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, na 137a4-216a6 (རྒྱུ)
Chap:
x རྒྱུ་གདགས་པ་ (na 48b9)
Colophon: རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Note: Short marginal title changes at ff. 103/104.

ID: Ng12.5 (rKTs123; D123; S257; F179; Lg13.5; He63.2)
Title: buddhadharmakośākāra (S)
Tib: ཨ་རྱ་ལེའུ་གཅིིག་སྟོེ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསམ་པའིི་ལེའུ་ (na 220b2)
2) ཨ་རྱ་ལེའུ་གཅིིག་softmax (na 221a8)
3) ཨ་རྱ་ལེའུ་softmax (na 224b9)
4) ཨ་རྱ་ལེའུ་softmax (na 227a5)
5) ཨ་རྱ་ལེའུ་softmax (na 245b4)
6) ཨ་རྱ་ལེའུ་softmax (na 250b1)
7) ཨ་རྱ་ལེའུ་softmax (na 255a8)
8) ཨ་རྱ་ལེའུ་softmax (na 263a6)
Note: Short marginal title changes at ff. 103/104.
10) བོད་ལྡོ་བཟོ་བློ་བཞིོ་དཔོན་མཐོང་པོའིན་བོད་ (na 270b8)
Colophon: བོད་ལྡོ་བཟོ་བློ་བཞིོ་དཔོན་མཐོང་པོའིི་བོད། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Note: No title in Skt.; marking for chapter 5 is missing.

ID: Ng12.6 (rKTs221; D221; S124; F317; F379; Lg15.5; He65.09)
Title: ārya-rājāvavādaka-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བགོ་བོ་གཏོང་ལྡོ་འིི་སྟོོང་ཕྲག་བཅུ་པ་ལས ། གཙུག་ཏོར་ཆོེན་པོ་བདུད་གྱིི་ལེའུ ། དེ་བཞིིན་གཤེེགས་པའིི་གསང་བ་བྱོང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཐམས་ཅིད་ཀྱིིས་བསྒྲུབས་པ་དོན་མངོན་བར་འིཐོབ་པར་སྤྱོད་པའིི་རྒྱུ་དཔའི་བར་འིགྲོོ་བའིི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, na 276a7-282b5 (རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ)
Colophon: བགོ་བོ་གཏོང་ལྡོ་འིི་སྟོོང་ཕྲག་བཅུ་པ་ལས ། གཙུག་ཏོར་ཆོེན་པོ་བདུད་གྱིི་ལེའུ ། དེ་བཞིིན་གཤེེགས་པའིི་གསང་བ་བྱོང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཐམས་ཅིད་ཀྱིིས་བསྒྲུབས་པ་དོན་མངོན་བར་འིཐོབ་པར་སྤྱོད་པའིི་རྒྱུ་དཔའི་བར་འིགྲོོ་བའིི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng12.7 (rKTs236; D236; S230; F196; F282; Lg15.6; He65.10)
Title: bhagavaduṣṇīṣamahā (S)
Tib: བྱོང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའིྀ་སོ་སོར་ཐར་པ་ཆོོས་བཞིི་བསྒྲུབ་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའི་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, na 282b6-305b3 (སྐུ་གསུམ)
Colophon: བྱོང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའིྀ་སོ་སོར་ཐར་པའིྀ་ཆོོས་བཞིི་བསྒྲུབ་བ་ཞེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ ། །རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། ���རྒྱ་གར་གྱིི་མཁན་པོ་ཏཱི་པང་ཀ་ར་ཤྲིྀ་གཉའི་ན་དང་། ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དྷེ་ཤེག་ཀྱི་བློོ་གྲོོས་ཀྱིིས་བསྒྱརད་ཅིིང་ཞུས།།
Note: The colophon of the Derge version further adds the translator Dge ba'i blo gros.

ID: Ng12.8 (rKTs283; D283; S219; F330; Lg15.7; Lg20.3; He65.11) = Ng19.2
Title: ārya-trikāya-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བོད་ལྡོ་བཟོ་བློ་བཞིོ་དཔོན་མཐོང་པོའིི་བོད། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, na 305b4-306b1 (སྐུ་གསུམ)
Colophon: བོད་ལྡོ་བཟོ་བློ་བཞིོ་དཔོན་མཐོང་པོའིི་བོད། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng12.9 (rKTs248; D248; S109; F235; Lg15.8; He65.12)
Title: bodhisattvapratimokṣacatuṣkha nir­hāra­nāma­mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: ཁྱེིི་ཚོ་ག་ལང་འདི་ོི་ིི་ཆེན་པོའི་མོ་གྲོོས་ཀྱིིས་བསྒྱརད་ཅིིང་ཞུས།།
Loc: mdo, na 306b2-319a7 (ཆོོས་བཞིི)
Colophon: ཁྱེིི་ཚོ་ག་ལང་འདི་ོི་ིི་ཆེན་པོའི་མོ་གྲོོས་ཀྱིིས་བསྒྱརད་ཅིིང་ཞུས།། དེ་བཞིིན་གཤེེགས་པའིི་གསང་བ་བྱོང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཐམས་ཅིད་ཀྱིིས་བསྒྲུབས་པ་དོན་མངོན་བར་འིཐོབ་པར་སྤྱོད་པའིི་རྒྱུ་དཔའི་བར་འིགྲོོ་བའིི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Note: The colophon of the Derge version further adds the translator Dge ba'i blo gros.
Fig. 210: Sūtra volume na, last folio recto
This folio, which is in almost perfect condition, exceptionally has four illuminations, two in the common location to the side of the text, and the other two immediately to the inner side of the first and underneath the text. The lower scenes are to be read as succeeding the upper ones.

Fig. 211: 11 Four encounters
The yellow Bodhisattva is seated on a green horse cart, his right hand in the gesture of reassurance (abhayamudrā) and his left raised with the palm towards himself. He is directed towards the standing monk who wears Tibetan monastic robes and performs the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā). In the corner behind the Bodhisattva is a wrapped-up body, only the head projecting the white cloth, presumably a dead person. In the bottom left corner a man walks with a stick. This figure could signify both sickness and age, the latter implied through the walking stick. In the bottom right corner a naked bejewelled women lying on a couch gives birth. Between the latter two sits a white-clad figure with his right hand raised to the side of the head, the signature gesture of Milarepa. It is unclear if the red circle behind his head is meant to signify a cushion or a halo.
Seeing birth, old age, sickness, and death in the four (bzhi) directions of the palace. The scene is discussed in some detail on page 109 f.

**Fig. 212: 12 In the guarded palace**

The palace depiction compares to the previous one. The Bodhisattva is now flanked by two females, one fair and one dark-skinned, and the gate is watched by guards with swords and helmets.

Guarded by four, as the father declared [the Bodhisattva] is not to enter homeless life.
Fig. 213: 13 Great departure

The yellow Bodhisattva is seated on a white horse that stands within a rectangular area of what can be interpreted as representing pink clouds. The mandorla covers both the Bodhisattva and the horse.

The caption is largely illegible, as it is at the very edge of the folio:

[pho brang] # phyir ### rab tu ####
Fig. 214: 14 Cutting the hair

The Bodhisattva is seated with the legs crossed. He has the right hand raised with a sword while the left holds his long hair to the side. Behind his left hand kneels a figure holding a bowl to receive the hair. To his right side is further a white chörten.

Taking self-ordination near the chörten of complete purity.
This folio was once separated from the volume for a period of time, as the lower right quarter appears to have been eaten by rodents. There are also worm holes along the upper edge.

The horse is depicted in the foreground with the head bowed to the ground and carrying an empty saddle. Two women stand behind it, one raising her right hand to the head in what could be meant as a gesture of despair and the other one attending the horse with her left. Their opposite hands are almost symmetrically held in front of the chest and they look away from each other. This provides the scene with an unusual rhythmic quality.

Excellent (mchog) horse, where did you carry the excellent man? Excellent horse without excellent man, what will you do?

Rather than simply identifying the scene, here the lament of the inhabitants of the harem is reproduced in an abbreviated manner.
Fig. 217: 16 Practicing asceticism

The Bodhisattva, already depicted in robes and with the marks of the Buddha, sits in meditation under a tree. Two bejewelled figures flank the Buddha and poke sticks into his ears. Before his lotus seat the shore of a waterbody occupies a corner of the illumination. A wide mandorla frames the triad of figures.

The caption to this illumination is lost due to bite damage along the lower edge of this folio.

This scene depicts the Bodhisattva practicing asceticism at the shore of the Nairāñjanā river. The side figures attempting to disturb the Bodhisattva are usually described as village cowherds, but here they seem to be of higher birth.
ID: Ng13.1 (rKTs240; D240; S239; F85; EM619; Lg10.5; He63.3)
Title: ārya-avaivartacakra-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་
Ind: ་བ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་
Loc: mdo, pa 1b1-64b5 (ཀུན)
Colophon: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་

ID: Ng13.2 (rKTs209; D209; S236; F130; EM622; Lg11.3; He64.1)
Title: ārya-sīṃhanādika-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་
Ind: ་བ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་
Loc: mdo, pa 64b6-69a1 (སོང)
Colophon: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་

ID: Ng13.3 (rKTs197; D197; S102; EM623; Lg11.4; He64.2)
Title: ārya-amṛtavyāharaṇa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་
Ind: ་བ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་
Loc: mdo, pa 69a2-72a4 (བདུད)
Colophon: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་

ID: Ng13.4 (rKTs337; D337; S208; F187; EM624; Lg11.5; He64.3)
Title: dharmacakra-sūtra (D)
Tib: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་
Ind: ་བ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་
Loc: mdo, pa 72a4-74a1 (ཆོས)
Colophon: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་

ID: Ng13.5 (rKTs246; D246; S131; F199; F232; F321; EM625; Lg11.6; He64.4)
Title: ārya-paramārthadharmavijaya-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་
Ind: ་བ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་
Loc: mdo, pa 74a2-83a2 (དོན)
Colophon: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་

ID: Ng13.6 (rKTs144; D144; S228; F184; F323; EM626; Lg11.7; He64.5)
Title: ārya-mahāyānaprasādaprabhāvana-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་
Ind: ་བ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་མཐུན་པ་
Loc: mdo, pa 83a3-111b2 (དད)
Chap: 1) བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་
(pA 92b8)
Colophon: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་
2) བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་
(pA 101a6)
Colophon: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་
3) བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་
(pA 104b9)
Colophon: བདེ་ཐོད་དང་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་བོད་པ་
**ID: Ng13.7** (rKTs106; D106; S106; F156; EM627; Lg11.8; He64.6)

**Title:** ārya-saṃdhinirmocana-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**Tib:** འཇིག་མེད་བྱ་མཚོ་མིང་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Ind:** གནས་དབང་བོད་གྱི་བོད་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Loc:** mdo, pa 111b3-162a8 (དགོངས)

**Colophon:** འཇིག་མེད་བྱ་མཚོ་མིང་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Note:** The text reflects an entirely different version of the work than it is transmitted, e.g., in Derge.

**ID: Ng13.8** (rKTs190; D190; S235; F202; EM628; Lg11.9; He64.7)

**Title:** ārya-strīvivartavyākaraṇanāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**Tib:** འཇིག་མེད་བྱ་མཚོ་མིང་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Ind:** གནས་དབང་བོད་གྱི་བོད་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Loc:** mdo, pa 162a9-185b1 (བུད)

**Colophon:** འཇིག་མེད་བྱ་མཚོ་མིང་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Note:** The colophon of the Derge version further adds Śīlendrabodhi as translator.

**ID: Ng13.9** (rKTs191; D191; S138; F203; EM629; Lg11.10; He64.8)

**Title:** ārya-candrottarādārikāvyākaraṇanāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**Tib:** འཇིག་མེད་བྱ་མཚོ་མིང་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Ind:** གནས་དབང་བོད་གྱི་བོད་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Loc:** mdo, pa 185b2-203b7 (ཟླ)

**Colophon:** འཇིག་མེད་བྱ་མཚོ་མིང་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Note:** The colophon of the Derge version further adds Śīlendrabodhi as translator.

**ID: Ng13.10** (rKTs192; D192; S227; F124; EM630; Lg11.11; He64.9)

**Title:** ārya-kṣemavatīvyākaraṇanāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**Tib:** འཇིག་མེད་བྱ་མཚོ་མིང་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Ind:** གནས་དབང་བོད་གྱི་བོད་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Loc:** mdo, pa 203b7-206a6 (བདེ)

**Colophon:** འཇིག་མེད་བྱ་མཚོ་མིང་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Note:** A similar phrasing of the colophon is found in He. If correct, it could refer to Bālacandra.

**ID: Ng13.11** (rKTs188; D188; S226; F104; EM631; Lg11.12; He64.10)

**Title:** ārya-dīpaṃkaravyākaraṇanāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**Tib:** འཇིག་མེད་བྱ་མཚོ་མིང་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Ind:** གནས་དབང་བོད་གྱི་བོད་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Loc:** mdo, pa 206a7-214b4 (མར་མེ)

**Colophon:** འཇིག་མེད་བྱ་མཚོ་མིང་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Note:** The colophon of the Derge version further adds Śīlendrabodhi as translator.

**ID: Ng13.12** (rKTs189; D189; S52; F292; EM632; Lg11.13; He64.11)

**Title:** ārya-brahmaśrīvyākaraṇanāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**Tib:** འཇིག་མེད་བྱ་མཚོ་མིང་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Ind:** གནས་དབང་བོད་གྱི་བོད་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Loc:** mdo, pa 206a7-214b4 (མིང་མེ)

**Colophon:** འཇིག་མེད་བྱ་མཚོ་མིང་མ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མོ།

**Note:** The colophon of the Derge version further adds Śīlendrabodhi and Klu'i rgyal mtshan as revisers.
Note: The colophon of the Derge version further adds Vidyākarasiṃha and Devacandra as revisors.

Note: This work by Guhyadatta is usually found in the Tanjur, e.g., D4147, rKTs-T3485. It is, however, also found in He, EM, Lg, and other Sūtra collections.

ID: Ng13.16 (rKTs1294; EM636; Lg14.3; He64.15)
Title: saptakumārikāvadāna (Ng)
Tib: རྐྱུད་བུ་འབྲུག་གི་སྤུ་སྐྱོག་པ་འདྲི་ལེགས་པ
Ind: ཁབ་ལག་ཁྲུལ་ལེགས་པ
Loc: mdo, pa 249a4-257a7 (བསོད་)
Colophon: རྐྱུད་བུ་འབྲུག་གི་སྤུ་སྐྱོག་པར་བརྗེོད་པ་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །།སློོབ་དཔོན་གསང་བས་བྱོིན་གྱིིས་མཛད །སྒྱུར་བའིི་དཔེ་དང་སྔོ་ཕྱིི་ཕྱིིར་མྱིི་མཐུན་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་གར་གི་ཚོིག་གི་དོན་ཁ་ཅིིག་མ་གསལ་བ་དུ་རུང་ཡོང་བསྟོན་ལ་དབབ་རྒྱུ་མཆོིས།།

ID: Ng13.17 (rKTs349; D349; S159; F299; EM637; Lg14.4; He64.16)
Title: śrīsenāvadāna (D)
Tib: འབྲུག་མི་གཞི་སྨུམས་པ་འདྲི་ལེགས་པ
Ind: བྲིས་པ་ལེགས་པ
Loc: mdo, pa 226b8-246a9 (དཔལ་)
Colophon: འབྲུག་མི་གཞི་སྨུམས་པར་བརྗེོད་པ་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །།སློོབ་དཔོན་གསང་བས་བྱོིན་གྱིིས་མཛད །སྒྱུར་བའིི་དཔེ་དང་སྔོ་ཕྱིི་ཕྱིིར་མྱིི་མཐུན་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་གར་གི་ཚོིག་གི་དོན་ཁ་ཅིིག་མ་གསལ་བ་དུ་རུང་ཡོང་བསྟོན་ལ་དབབ་རྒྱུ་མཆོིས།།

ID: Ng13.18 (rKTs348; D348; S255; F300; EM638; Lg14.5; He64.17)
Title: candraprabhāvadāna (D)
Tib: རྐྱུད་མི་ཀྲུལ་ལེགས་པ
Ind: བི་བ་ལེགས་པ
Loc: mdo, pa 214b5-216a5 (ཛོམ་ཆོས་པར་)
Loc: mdo, pa 276b3-286a2 (ཟླ)

Colophon: རྨ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ི་འིི་རྟོག་པ་བརྗེོད་པ་བརྗེོད་པ་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །།རྒྱ་གར་གྱིི་མཁན་པོ་དར་མ་ཤྲིི་བྷ་དྲ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་ཤེེས་རབ་ལེགས་པས་སྒྱུར་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ། ། བཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

Note: The colophon of the Derge version further adds Rin chen bzang po as revisor.

**ID: Ng13.19** (rKTs346; D346; S256; F301; EM585; Lg14.6; He56.16)

**Title:** sumagadhāvadāna (D)

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Tib: གཞལ་པོའི་འབྲེལ་ི་བཟང་མོའི་རྟོག་པ་བརྗེོད་པ་

Ind: ཆ་མ་ག་དྷ་ཨ་བ་ད་ནམ་

Loc: mdo, pa 286a2-293a7 (རང)

Colophon: རྨ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ི་འིི་རྟོག་པ་བརྗེོད་པ་བརྗེོད་པ་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །།རྒྱ་གར་གྱིི་མཁན་པོ་དར་མ་ཤྲིི་བ་ཏྲ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་དགེ་སློོང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིིམས་ཡོོན་ཏན་གྱིིས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པོ།།

Note: The colophon of the Derge version further adds Rin chen bzang po as revisor. The last folio of this text has space left for illuminations, but these are missing.

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Fig. 218: Detail of Sujātā preparing the milk rice (Fig. 220)
Note: The first folio of the text has space left for illuminations, but these are missing. In the colophon of the Stog version, the translator Shes rab legs pa is not mentioned.

Fig. 219: Sūtra volume pa, last folio recto
This folio has only minor damage and is darkened along the lower edge. There is additional text, a graffito, and writing samples in the bottom right quarter of the folio.

The two-line text is written in the bottom right quarter of the folio. It is written by an uncertain hand and contains plenty of spelling mistakes. While I cannot translate it in its entirety, it is clear that it does not offer historical information. Instead, it worships the dharma and probably also refers to the Sūtra collection. The face drawn underneath the text is by yet another hand.

Fig. 220: 17 Sujātā preparing the milk rice
The composition of this illumination results in two distinct scenes without separation. In the lower half, a small bejewelled figure is milking a large white cow with a nose ring, using a cylindrical vessel to capture the milk.

In the upper half, the centre is occupied by a fire stove with a large bowl on top. To the left of it is a large jar of the same shape as in the story of Indra's jar (Fig. 167), and to the left sits the bejewelled figure again. Both figures are male.
After the village girl (bu mo) milked (bzhos) the cow, she boiled the milk. The syllable in the line underneath reads gro/. It is by a different hand and thus is not original to the caption. The reading of another text further down on this side is unclear.

**Fig. 221: 18 Sujātā offering the milk rice**

The Bodhisattva, again depicted with the robes and marks of a Buddha, is seated sideways on a throne holding a begging bowl (pātra) in his right hand and performing the gesture of reassurance (abhayamudrā) with his left. He is approached by a bejewelled male figure also holding a bowl and mirroring the Buddha's gestures.

The village girls (name?) and Sujātā (legs skyes ma) offer ('bul ba) the gift of milk. Further writing exercises underneath the caption are at least in two different hands.
A considerable part of this folio is lost, with the tear also affecting the right illumination. Both illuminations on this folio were inserted behind the cut out windows of a younger folio, and the captions of the original folios have been copied on to the present one underneath the illuminations. The black squares are from paper strips used to join the two folios.

**Fig. 223: 19 Awakening**

A yellow Buddha performing the earth-touching gesture (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*) sits cross-legged on a throne with a green back cushion and projecting corner ornaments. He sits in front of a central tree, the foliage of which is visible above the Buddha's halo. Two additional trees flank the scene.

*byang chub kyi shing drung na sangs rgyas pa//*

Awakening at the base of the bodhi tree.
Fig. 224: 20 Protected by Mucilinda

Approximately a quarter of this illumination has been lost when the page was torn, cutting the Buddha’s face above the chin. The Buddha sits cross-legged on a lotus seat and performs the earth-touching gesture (bhūmisparsāmudrā). To his back is the coiled up body of the nāga king Mucilinda, with tails on both sides.

A part of the original caption that can be seen at the bottom edge of the window demonstrates that the new caption is a copy of the old one.

In the seventh week the Buddha went to the land of the nāga Mucilinda (btang bzung).
ID: Ng14.1 (rKTs1129; S319; EM640; Lg14.8; He65.02)  
Title: ārya-nandimitrāvadāna-nāma (D)  
Tib: མདོ་ཁྲོང་གུ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་པའི་རྟོགས་པ་བརྗེོད་པ་  
Ind: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་  
Loc: mdo, pha 1b1-6b1 (རྒྱ་གར་)  
Colophon: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་བརྗེོད་པ་  
Note: No title in Skt.

ID: Ng14.2 (rKTs345; D345; S254; F312; EM641; Lg14.9; He65.03)  
Title: sūkarikāvadāna-nāma-sūtra (D)  
Tib: གྲིིེན་པ་འིི་ལེགས་པ་  
Ind: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Loc: mdo, pha 6b1-8a6 (སྦྱིིན)  
Colophon: གྲིིེན་པ་  
Note: The title of the work but also the actual text differs slightly from, e.g., the Derge version.

ID: Ng14.3 (rKTs1128; S311; He65.04)  
Title: kuṇālāvadāna (S)  
Tib: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Ind: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Loc: mdo, pha 8a7-21a8 (མ་)  
Colophon: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Note: The title of the work but also the actual text differs slightly from, e.g., the Derge version.

ID: Ng14.4 (rKTs199; D199; S195; EM643; He65.05)  
Title: 'phags pa byang chub sems dpa' byams pa dga' ldan gnas su skye ba blangs pa'i mdo (D)  
Tib: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Ind: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Loc: mdo, pha 21a8-27b5 (དབུན་)  
Colophon: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Note: No title in Skt.

ID: Ng14.5 (rKTs182; D182; S222; F324; EM649; Lg14.10; He66.01)  
Title: ārya-dānapāramitā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)  
Tib: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Ind: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Loc: mdo, pha 27b6-45a5 (ཕྱིིན)  
Colophon: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Note: The title at the beginning of the text is partly missing.

ID: Ng14.6 (rKTs183; D183; S145; F191; Lg14.11)  
Title: ārya-dānānuśaṃsānirdeśa (D)  
Tib: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Ind: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Loc: mdo, pha 45a5-46b1 (སྦྱིིན)  
Colophon: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Note: The title of the work but also the actual text differs slightly from, e.g., the Derge version.

ID: Ng14.7 (rKTs181; D181; S221; F352; Lg14.12; He66.02)  
Title: ārya-paṅcapāramitānirdeśa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)  
Tib: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Ind: བདེ་བཅོས་པ་  
Loc: mdo, pha 46b2-124a3 (ཕྱིིན / བཙུན / སྣོན / བཙུན / སྣོན)
Chap:

1) སྦྱིིན་བའིི་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལས།སྦྱིིན་བའིི་ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་པའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ།། གཉིས་པའིོ (pha 51a5)
2) སྦྱིིན་བའིི་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལས་དཔེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེགསུམ་པའིོ (pha 54a8)
3) སྦྱིིན་བའིི་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལས་མཚོན་མ་མྱེད་པའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ།བཞིི་པའིོ (pha 58b1)
4) སྦྱིིན་བའིི་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལས་སྒྱུ་མ་ལྟ་བུར་བསྟོནད་པའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེལྔ་པའིོ (pha 64a4)
5) སྦྱིིན་བའིི་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལེའུ་དགུ་པ་སྟོེ (pha 67a5)
6) སྦྱིིན་བའིི་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལས།མཚོན་མ་མྱེད་པའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ།བཞིི་པའིོ (pha 71b4)
7) སྦྱིིན་བའིི་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལﺳ་ཕྱིིར་མྱིི་ལྡོོག་པའིི་སའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེབདུན་པའིོ (pha 74b5)
8) སྦྱིིན་བའིི་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལས་བྱོང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཡོོངས་སུ་སྦྱིང་བར་བྱོ་བའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེབརྒྱད་པའིོ (pha 78a5)
9) སྦྱིིན་བའིི་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལེའུ་དགུ་པ་སྟོེ (pha 77a3)

Colophon: བཟོད་པའིྀ་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལས་ལེའུ་དང་པོའིོ (pha 125a1)

Note: The text features a colophon after the firstpha rol tu phyin pa, f.77a3: sbin ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa le'u dgu pa ste / sbin ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa rdzogs s+ho // //rgya kar gi mkhan po 'dzi na myi tra dang / zhu chen gi lo tsa ba ban de ye shes sde las stsogs pas bsgyurd cing zhus te gTan pa phab pa //; the margin title changes from sbin to tshul at ff.76/77, from tshul to bzod at f.101, from bzod to brtson at ff.103/104, from brtson to bsaM at ff.111/112.

ID: Ng14.8 (rKTs220; D220; S36; F157; EM654; Lg14.13; He66.03)

Title: buddhapiṭakaduḥśīlanigraha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: བཟོད་པའིྀ་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལ་ མྟོ་གླེང་གཞིི་འྲིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་དང་པའིོ (pha 130b5)
2) བཟོད་པའིྀ་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལ་ མྟོ་གླེང་གཞིི་འྲིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་དང་པའིོ (pha 134b4)
3) བཟོད་པའིྀ་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལ་ མྟོ་གླེང་གཞིི་འྲིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་དང་པའིོ (pha 137a4)
4) བཟོད་པའིྀ་ཕ་རོལད་ཏུ་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ལ་ མྟོ་གླེང་གཞིི་འྲིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་དང་པའིོ (pha 144b3)
Fig. 225: Detail of the victory over Māra (Fig. 228)
Note: Here, not only the title but also the text reflects a completely different version of the sūtra; the same title is also found in Lg15.4, further also F296 and O137.

Fig. 226: Sūtra volume pa, last folio recto

There are some tears along the lower edge of the image and the edges are darkened in places, but otherwise the folio is in good condition.

Fig. 227: 21 Ascetic’s teaching

The Buddha is seated sideways on a throne and performs the gesture of reassurance (abhayamudrā) with the left hand while the right lies on the knee. Opposite him, a haloed figure sits sideways at a lower level on a lotus cushion and performs the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā).

The graphic of the tree to the side of the illumination copies the one behind the secondary figure and thus is a later addition to the folio.

Complying with the dharma perspective of Arāḍhakālāma (Gyutsel Shéjékyibu Ringdupur, sgyu rtsal shes byed kyi bu ring du ’phur) and Udraka Rāmaputra (Rangjégibu Lhakchö, range byed gi bu lhag spyod).

The beginning of this caption is copied again in a different script continuing the first line. The changes in the names may
indicate that the writer did not understand the caption.

**Fig. 228: 22 Victory over Māra**
The Buddha sits cross-legged on a throne underneath the tree of awakening and performs the earth-touching gesture (*bhūmisparśamudrā*). To his side are two standing figures, one playing cymbals and the other one about to blow a conch. Two darker figures kneel to the side of the throne, trying to lift it with their hands. Two additional trees frame the scene.

Performing (*mdzad pa*) the taming of Māra.

Following the aesthetics of other illuminations, the victory over Māra is presented in a rather subdued manner. It is only the noise of Māra’s host and the attempt to uproot the seat that are depicted, and none of the figures is shown as frightening. The scenes of this folio actually should precede those of the first folio in this volume.
Fig. 229: Sūtra volume ba, first folio verso
A well preserved page with a bite mark in the upper right corner and a slight darkening of its surface. A correction of the central line between the circles contributed to the darkening of this area.

Fig. 230: 23 Taming the elephant
The Buddha is seated cross-legged on a throne and under a tree. He is turned towards a worshipper kneeling to his side, and performs the gesture of reassurance with the right hand and holds a begging bowl (pātra) in the left. His upper garment is depicted crossing his chest in its full breadth and hanging from behind the left arm, a variation to the usual depiction. The figure to his side is kneeling sideways and performs the veneration gesture. Underneath this figure and to the side of the throne base, a bejewelled white elephant bows as if scratching his neck at the base of the throne. A tree frames the scene on the right side.

The two Trapuṣabhadra (ga gon bzang po) and Bhallika (bzang skyong) bring fine food to the grove Trees for Liberation (shing sgrol rgyu’i tshal).
The grove called "Trees for Liberation" is an area around the site of awakening in which the Buddha spent the sixth week of meditation after his awakening. This caption is a clear case of a misinterpretation. Given the context of this scene, it likely represents the taming of the elephant Nālāgiri at Rājagṛha (see page 111).

**Fig. 231: 24 Monkey offering honey**
The Buddha is seated sideways on a throne placed under a tree. He performs the gesture of argumentation (vitarkamudrā) with the right hand and holds a leaf or bud in the left hand. A very similar but smaller bud is held by the monkey standing to the side of the Buddha on a stem growing from the Buddha's throne. A tree frames the scene behind the monkey.

śpre ’u ’i rgyal pos sbrang rtsi phul ba/
The monkey king offering honey.
The event depicted and identified by the caption is hardly recognizable in the depiction. The monkey is only depicted once, and what is given or exchanged is clearly not honey. Usually, in this scene the Buddha holds a bowl to receive the honey. Subsequent to his gift, the monkey falls into a well and becomes reborn as a god, two events that are often also depicted with this scene.
are also slight differences on the textual level. The colophons of the Derge version points to different translators: Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, and Ska ba Dpal brtsegs. There are also slight differences on the textual level. The colophons of He and Lg concur with Ng.

Note: The phrasing of the title in the colophon and also of individual chapter names differs from, e.g., Derge. There are also major differences on the textual level. The same phrasing of the title is found in Lg.

**ID: Ng15.4** (rKTs252; D252; S169; F288; F334; EM658; Lg14.14)

Title: ārya-catuṣkanirhāra-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: ཡིད་སྲེ་བཅོམ་བོད་དྲུག་གཡོན་པོ་འི་སྤྲུལད་པའི་འི་ཇྲེན་འཛིན་གི་ཁམས་བློངས་པའི་ལེའུ་སྟོོོ་

Ind: རྗེ་ཨ་ཨ་་དི་མོ་བཅོས་པ་འི་ཆོས་ཀྱིི་ཤེི་ལེ་ལེ་བཅུ་པའི་སྣོོན་གྱིི་སྦྱིོར་བ་དང་། དམ་པའིི་ཆོོས་ཡོུངས་སུ་གཏད་

Loc: mdo, ba 103a2-168b1 (ཀྲུང་)
Loc: mdo, ba 168b2-176b6 (བཞིི)

Colophon: མདོ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །། ད་ན་ཤེི་ལ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིྀང་ཞུས་ཏེ་སྐད་གསར་ཆོད་ཀྱིྀས་ཀྱིང་བཅིོས་ནས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

Note: The Derge version does not provide any information on translators in its colophon.

ID: Ng15.5 (rKTs186; D186; S41; F303; Lg16.1; He48.7)
Title: ārya-buddhabalavardhanaprātihārya-vikurvāṇanirdeśa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: འིཕགས་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱིི་སྟོོབས་བསྐྱོེད་པའིི་ཆོོ་འིཕྲུལ་རྣམ་པར་འིཕྲུལ་བ་བསྟོནད་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི།། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

Ind: ཨ་རྱ་བུད་དྷ་བྷུ་མི་ནཱ་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་

Loc: mdo, ba 176b7-190b2 (སྟོོབས)

Colophon: མདོ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི་།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛྀ་ན་མྱིི་ཏྲ་དང་། ཤེི་ལེན་དྲ་བོ་དེ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིྀང་། ཞུས་ནས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

Note: The Derge version further adds Prajñāvarman as translator. Lg concurs with Ng.

ID: Ng15.6 (rKTs275; D275; S39; F178; EM659; Lg16.2)
Title: ārya-buddhabhūmi-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: འིཕགས་པ་གསུམ་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི་།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ཏྲི་སྐན་དྷ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་

Loc: mdo, ba 190b2-207a3 (ས་ལུ)

Colophon: མདོ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་གསུམ་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི་།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng15.7 (rKTs210; D210; S191; F209; EM660; Lg16.3)
Title: ārya-śālistamba-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: ཁམས་མང་པོའིི་མདོའི་

Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ཏྲི་སྐན་དྷ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་

Loc: mdo, ba 226b4-231a8 (ཁམས)

Colophon: ཁམས་མང་པོ་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་མདོའིི་།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་སུ་ལེན་དྲ་བོད་དེ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དྷེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་བསྒྱུརད་ཅིིང་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

Note: The colophon in the Derge version does not provide information on translators and revisors.

ID: Ng15.8 (rKTs284; D284; S60; F319; EM661; Lg16.4)
Title: ārya-triskandhaka-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: མདོ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་གསུམ་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི་།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ཏྲི་སྐན་དྷ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་

Loc: mdo, ba 207a4-226b4 (ཕུང་)

Colophon: མདོ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་གསུམ་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་སུ་ལེན་དྲ་བོད་དེ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དྷེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་བསྒྱུརད་ཅིིང་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

Note: The colophon in the Derge version does not provide information on translators and revisors.

ID: Ng15.9 (rKTs297; D297; S231; F173; EM662; Lg16.5)
Title: dhātubhuka-sūtra (D)

Tib: ཁམས་མང་པོ་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་མདོའི་།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ཏྲི་སྐན་དྷ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་

Loc: mdo, ba 226b4-231a8 (ཆོ་འཕྲིན་)

Colophon: ཁམས་མང་པོ་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་མདོའི་།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་སུ་ལེན་དྲ་བོད་དེ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དྷེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་བསྒྱུརད་ཅིིང་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

Note: The colophon in the Derge version does not provide information on translators and revisors.
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་ལས་ཀྱིི་སྒྲིབ་པ་རྒྱུན་གཅིོད་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི་
Ind: སད་ད་དྭ་ཡོ་ས་ད་དྭ་པར་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན 
Loc: mdo, ba 231a8-241b1 (ནི་ཁ)

Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་ལས་ཀྱིི་སྒྲིབ་པ་ལས་ཀྱིི་སྒྲིབ་པ་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་
་བ ། ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ ། ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །།རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛྀ་

ID: Ng15.11 (rKTs227; D227; S260; F201; EM664; Lg16.7)
Title: ārya-sarvavaidalyasamgraha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: འིཕགས་པ་ལྟ་ཤེས་དོན་པ་གཉིས་ལ་འིཇུག་པ་བསྟོན་
Ind: ང་ན་པོི་ན་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཐམས་ཅིད་
Loc: mdo, ba 241b1-253a7 (ནི་ཁ)

Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་ལས་ཀྱིི་སྒྲིབ་པ་ལས་ཀྱིི་སྒྲིབ་པ་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་
་བ ། ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ ། ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །།རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་

Note: The colophon in the Derge version further adds Dānaśīla as one of the translators.

ID: Ng15.13 (rKTs179; D179; S183; F210; F264; EM676; Lg16.9)
Title: ārya-samvṛtiparamārthasatyanirdeśa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: འིཕགས་པ་བདེན་པ་གཉིས་ལ་འིཇུག་པ་བསྟོནད་
Ind: ང་ན་པོི་ན་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཐམས་ཅིད་
Loc: mdo, ba 267b7-290a4 (ནི་ཁ)

Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་བདེན་པ་གཉིས་ལ་འིཇུག་པ་བསྟོནད་

Note: The colophon in the Derge version further adds Munivarman as one of the translators.

ID: Ng15.12 (rKTs218; D218; S128; F180; EM665; Lg16.8)
Title: ārya-karmāvaraṇaviśuddhi-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: འིཕགས་པ་ལས་ཀྱིི་སྒྲིབ་པ་རྣམ་པར་དག་
Ind: ང་ན་པོི་ན་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཐམས་ཅིད་
Loc: mdo, ba 253a8-267b7 (ནི་ཁ)

Note: The Derge version of the sūtra shows differences in the title as well as on the textual level. The title found in Ng concurs with Lg, further F210.
Fig. 232: Detail of taming the elephant (Fig. 230)
Fig. 233: Sūtra volume ba, last folio recto
A well preserved folio with a minor tear in the top centre.

Fig. 234: 25 Descent from Trayastrīṃśa heaven
The yellow Buddha stands frontally in the centre of the illumination performing the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā), his head is slightly inclined and the feet are turned outwards. To his left is the yellow, four-headed god Brahmā holding an umbrella. To the right is white Indra (Śakra) performing veneration gesture (namaskāramudrā). All three stand on the same lotus base, and two trees flank the triad. There is a strong symmetry in the composition of this scene culminating in the mirroring of the position of the attendants legs.

Fig. 235: 26 First sermon
This illumination is painted over a very ornate text that may well reference the first sermon painted over it.

Turning the wheel of the dharma for the excellent five (lnga sde bzang po).
Fig. 236: Sūtra volume tsa, first folio verso

A fairly well preserved folio with sewing marks at the right edge resulting in a tear, generally rough edges, and a few insect holes in the margins.

Fig. 237: Buddha Vairocana – Nampar Nangdzé

The white Buddha Vairocana is seated cross-legged on a lotus throne against a horseshoe-shaped, flower-studded blue cushion. There are simple triangular ornaments at shoulder height indicating the throne back. The Buddha has a green head nimbus and a red horseshoe-shaped mandorla with shaded edge which frames the entire image. Vairocana performs a variant of the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā), in which both palms are directed towards the viewer. Between the lotus and a jewel border along the lower edge is a tiny wheel flanked by two elephants. While the wheel is the family symbol of Vairocana, the elephant is the vehicle of Akṣobhya.

The caption is written in a more formal headless script and clings to the lower edge of the illumination’s yellow frame.

རྣམས་པར་སྣང་འཛད
rnams par snang 'dzad
Vairocana.
Fig. 238: Buddha Akṣobhya – Mikyöpa
The illumination of Akṣobhya lacks the jewel border along the lower edge and has a different colour scheme than that of Vairocana. Akṣobhya is seated cross-legged and is light blue with shading throughout and particularly apparent in the face. His right hand is in the earth-touching gesture (bhūmi-sparśamudrā) and the left lies on the lap. A vajra standing in the bottom centre of the illumination is flanked by two lions. Thus, the vehicles of Vairocana and Akṣobhya have been mixed up.

Fig. 239: Following page: Replaced last folio
The last folio of this volume, illustrated on the following spread, is missing and has been replaced by a much more recent one, and there are no illuminations. This folio originally featured the Buddhas Ratnasambhava and Amitābha.
which point to a second revision of the text. and differs markedly from Derge, but it is similar to Lg and He, taken from the colophon. The colophon breaks off in the middle missing entirely. It then continues in volume tsa. The Tib. title is Note: The beginning of this work is in volume ma, which is missing entirely. It then continues in volume tsa. The Tib. title is taken from the colophon. The colophon breaks off in the middle and differs markedly from Derge, but it is similar to Lg and He, which point to a second revision of the text.

ID: Ng16.? (rKTs101; D101; S93; F84; EM669; Lg17.1; He69.01)
Title: ārya-kusālamūla-samparigrha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: བོད་བོད་ཀྱིས་ང་ལོ་ས་སུ་ལེན་བདེ་ཞིག་ལ་ཞིག་ཆེན་པོ་དྲོད་པའི་

Loc: mdo, ma ?-? + tsa 1b1-89b1 (དུས་)

Chap:
7) ལོ་གསུམ་གཅིག་བྱུང་བ་ཡོད་པའི་

8) བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོབ་ཅིག་ལ་ཞིག་བྱུང་བ་ཡོད་པའི་

9) ལོ་གསུམ་གཅིག་བྱུང་བ་ཡོད་པའི་

10) བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོབ་ཅིག་བྱུང་བ་ཡོད་པའི་

11) ལོ་གསུམ་གཅིག་བྱུང་བ་ཡོད་པའི་

12) བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོབ་ཅིག་བྱུང་བ་ཡོད་པའི་

13) ལོ་གསུམ་གཅིག་བྱུང་བ་ཡོད་པའི་

14) བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོབ་ཅིག་བྱུང་བ་ཡོད་པའི་

15) ལོ་གསུམ་གཅིག་བྱུང་བ་ཡོད་པའི་

Colophon: བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོབ་ཅིག་བྱུང་བ་ཡོད་པའི་

Loc: mdo, tsa 89b2-130a3 (རིན)

Colophon: བོད་ཀྱི་ཐོབ་ཅིག་བྱུང་བ་ཡོད་པའི་

Note: This version is about twenty folios shorter than the Derge version, but similar in length to Lg.

ID: Ng17.1 (rKTs201; D201; S66; F158; F342; EM670; Lg13.6; He70.01)
Title: ārya-śraddhābhādhanāvatāramudrā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: བོད་བོད་ཀྱིས་ང་ལོ་ས་སུ་ལེན་བདེ་ཞིག་ལ་ཞིག་ཆེན་པོ་དྲོད་པའི་

Loc: mdo, tsa 89b2-130a3 (རིན)

Colophon: བོད་བོད་ཀྱིས་ང་ལོ་ས་སུ་ལེན་བདེ་ཞིག་ལ་ཞིག་ཆེན་པོ་དྲོད་པའི་

Note: This version is about twenty folios shorter than the Derge version, but similar in length to Lg.

ID: Ng17.2 (rKTs202; D202; S189; F339; EM671; Lg13.7; He70.02)
Title: ārya-niyatāniyatagatimudrāvātāra-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: བོད་བོད་ཀྱིས་ང་ལོ་ས་སུ་ལེན་བདེ་ཞིག་ལ་ཞིག་ཆེན་པོ་དྲོད་པའི་

Ind: འིཕགས་པ་དད་པའི་སྟོོབས་བསྐྱོེད་པ་ལ་འིཇུག་

Colophon: བོད་བོད་ཀྱིས་ང་ལོ་ས་སུ་ལེན་བདེ་ཞིག་ལ་ཞིག་ཆེན་པོ་དྲོད་པའི་

Loc: mdo, tsa 130a4-144b4 (ཤིན)

Colophon: བོད་བོད་ཀྱིས་ང་ལོ་ས་སུ་ལེན་བདེ་ཞིག་ལ་ཞིག་ཆེན་པོ་དྲོད་པའི་

Note: The beginning of this work is in volume ma, which is missing entirely. It then continues in volume tsa. The Tib. title is taken from the colophon. The colophon breaks off in the middle and differs markedly from Derge, but it is similar to Lg and He, which point to a second revision of the text.

ID: Ng17.3 (rKTs203; D203; S185; F120; EM672; Lg13.8; He70.03)
Title: ārya-dharmamudrā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: བོད་བོད་ཀྱིས་ང་ལོ་ས་སུ་ལེན་བདེ་ཞིག་ལ་ཞིག་ཆེན་པོ་དྲོད་པའི་

Ind: འིཕགས་པ་དད་པའི་སྟོོབས་བསྐྱོེད་པ་ལ་འིཇུག་

Loc: mdo, tsa 144b4-148a2 (ཤིན)
Colophon: ཡིཕགས་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱིི་ཕྱིག་རྒྱ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པཱཱུ་མདི་་་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng17.4 (rKTs107; D107; S96; S245; F86; F87; EM673; Lg18.3; He70.04)
Title: ārya-lankāvatāra-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: ཡིཕགས་པ་ལང་ཀར་གཤེེགས་པ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ་
Ind: ཁུ་རྱ་ལི་མེ་ཧ་པ་ད་ར་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, tsa 148a3-284a7 (ལང)
Chap:
1) དེ་ཕྲེན་སྤྱོོར་གཞི་བྱེད་པའི་ལེའུ་དང་པོ་ (tsa 156b1)
2) ནདོ་མཛད་ཆུ་དྲ་ལེགས་པ་ || ཕེའུ་ཁིན་པོ་ (tsa 202a5)
3) དེ་ཕྲེན་པའི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་དང་པོ་ (tsa 231b1)
4) ཏླང་དང་ཆུ་དྲ་ལེགས་པའི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་ (tsa 233b5)
5) དེ་ཕྲེན་མིང་གི་གཏན་ཚོིག་དང་ཡོོན་ཏང་གི་ཚུལ་ཞེས་བྱོ་སྟོེ ། གསུམ་པའིི་ (tsa 234b8)
6) དེ་ཕྲེན་པའི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་ (tsa 242b8)
7) དེ་ཕྲེན་པའི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་ (tsa 249b7)

Colophon: ཡིཕགས་པ་ལང་ཀར་གཤེེགས་པ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ་
Note: Note that the last two chapters are counted as five and six, instead of six and seven. This is found, e.g., also in S, but not in Derge.

ID: Ng17.5 (rKTs120; D120; S179; F96; Lg18.4)
Title: ārya-mahāparinirvāṇa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: ཡིཕགས་པ་ཡོོངས་སུ་མྱི་ངན་ལས་འིདས་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ་
Ind: ཁུ་རྱ་མ་ཧ་པ་རི་ནི་རྦ་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, tsa 284a7-324a7 + tsha 1b1-109a8 (མྱིི་ངན)
Chap:
1) དེ་ཕྲེན་པའི་ལེའུ་ (tsa 324a7)
2) ལྡོད་པར་ཕྱིན་པའི་མི་ཤེིགས་པའི་སྐད་ཕུང་པོ་ (tsha 6b5)
3) དེ་ཕྲེན་པའིི་ལེའུ་དང་པོ་ (tsha 8a2)
4) དེ་ཕྲེན་པ་མིང་གི་གཏན་ཚོིག་དང་ཡོོན་ཏང་གི་ཚུལ་

Colophon: ཡིཕགས་པ་ལང་ཀར་གཤེེགས་པ་ཐེག་པ་
Note: The Derge version of this work refers to 390 stanzas; in Ng, but also S179, 380 stanzas are mentioned.
The folio is in good condition but has bite marks deep into the margins.

**Fig. 241: Buddha Amoghasiddhi – Dönyö Druppa**

Amoghasiddhi (Dönyö Druppa, don yod grub pa) sits cross-legged on a lotus throne. He is green, has the right hand raised in the gesture of reassurance (abhayamudrā), and the left rests on the lap. His body is shaded throughout and his dhoti has a circular textile pattern. Underneath the lotus a crossed vajra (viśvavajra) is flanked by two garuḍa, Amoghasiddhi’s family symbol and vehicle.

don yod grub pa la na mo
Homage to Amoghasiddhi.
Fig. 242: Buddha Vipaśyin – Nampar Zikpa

White Buddha in red robes seated cross-legged and performing the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā). His throne is emphasized by a row of pearls underneath the lotus.

Muni Snow-Lake (gang chen mtsho).

The caption refers to the so-called Snow-Lake Buddha (Gangchen Tsogyel, gangs chen mtsho rgyal), a form of Vairocana depicted, among others, in the centre of the back wall of the main chapel of the Lhasa Jokhang and at Drathang (see Sørensen 1994, 494–97, for an extensive discussion of this Buddha).

However, the figure is rather to be identified as the first one from the group of the Seven Successive Buddhas, Sanggyé Rapdün (sangs rgyas rabs bdun), Buddha Vipaśyin, or Nampar Zikpa (rnam par gzigs pa) in Tibetan.
ID: Ng18.1 (rKTs28; D28; S31; F25; EM674; Lg18.5; He70.05)
Title: ārya-prajñāpāramitā-
samantabhadra-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: སྤེལ་བ་སྨན་པ་རི་མེད་པའི་
འཛིན་པ་བུད་ཐབས་འདུས་
Ind: དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་
Loc: mdo, tsha 109a8-109b9
Colophon: སྤེལ་བ་སྨན་པ་རི་མེད་པའི་
འཛིན་པ་བུད་ཐབས་འདུས་

ID: Ng18.2 (rKTs247; D247; S116; F131; EM680; Lg19.11; He72.02)
Title: ārya-dharmārthavibhangā-
nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: སྤེལ་བ་རི་མེད་པའི་
འཛིན་པ་བུད་ཐབས་
Ind: དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་དེ་
Loc: mdo, tsha 110a1-113b4 (རྣམ་པར་འིབྱོེད)
Colophon: སྤེལ་བ་རི་མེད་པའི་
འཛིན་པ་བུད་ཐབས་

ID: Ng18.3 (rKTs242; D242; S761; EM681; Lg19.12; He72.03)
Title: ārya-parinatacakra-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: སྤེལ་བ་གཅིག་ལེགས་པའི་
འཛིན་པ་བུད་ཐབས་
Ind:
Loc: mdo, tsha 113b4-116b8 (ཤུ་ཆོེན་གྱིི་ལོ་
Colophon: སྤེལ་བ་གཅིག་ལེགས་

Note: No title in Skt.
Fig. 243: Detail of Buddha Amoghasiddhi (Fig. 241)
ID: Ng18.4 (rKTs99; D99; S49; F83; EM682; Lg19.13; He72.04)

Title: ārya-niṣṭhāgataḥbhagavajñānavipaśipulya-sūtraratnānantanāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

Tib: འཕགས་པ་བཅོམ་ལྡོན་འིདས་ཀྱིིས་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་རྒྱས་པའིི་མདོ་སྡེེ་རིན་པོ་ཆོེའིི་མཐརད་ཕྱིིནད་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་ཕྲད་ཉ་བར་མ་དང་། ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྙིིང་པོས་བསྒྱུརད ། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་བྱི་ཤུད་དྷ་སིང་ཧ་དང་། སར་བད་ཉ་དེ་བ་དང་། བདོལ་ཕབ་པ།། ། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བནད་དེ་དཔལ་རྩེགས་ཀྱིིས་ཞུས་ཏེ ། གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

Loc: mdo, tsha 116b9-343a3 + dza 1b1-54b10 (ཡོེ་ཤེེས)

Note: Between ff. 291 and 301 several folios are duplicated and folio numbers are corrected.

Fig. 244: Sūtra volume
tsha, last folio recto

A very well preserved folio which is slightly blackened along the edges and has a single bite mark in the centre of the lower margin.

An additional two texts are written along the lower line between the illumination, slightly running out of space at the right side. Handwriting and ink colour are closer to the second caption writer than the first.

Fig. 245: Buddha Śikhin
– Tsuktorchen

Light blue Buddha in red robes seated cross-legged on a lotus and performing the earth-touching gesture.

There are two captions above each other. The script of these differs from that of the previous Buddhas:

སྨན་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིིན
sman pa’i rgyal po yin
This is the king of the healers.

This caption likely refers to the Medicine Buddha Bhaisajyaguru (sangs rgyas sman bla).

ས་ནོན་ཀྱིི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཡིིན་
sa non kyi phyag rgya yin

rmongs nag khyod kyis ji shes Ang//
This is the earth-touching (sa gnon) gesture. Ignorant, how shall you know? The second part of this caption thus refers to its first part, making fun of the rather obvious description he seems to have added himself.

**Fig. 246: Buddha Viśvabhū - Tamchékyop**

Yellow Buddha in brown robes seated cross-legged on a lotus and performing the gesture of giving (varadamudrā).

Again there are two captions in different scripts underneath, one referring to the Buddha, the other to the gesture.

སྟན་པའི་མངའ་བདག་བཞུགས༎

*stan pa'i mnga' bdag bzhugs/*

The lord of the teaching (bstan pa) resides.

ཆོས་འཆད་གྱེི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཡིིན་ཨེ།

*chos 'chad gyi phyag rgya yin a/*

This is the gesture of explaining the dharma.
This folio is in good condition but has substantial bite marks, largely in the margins, and a repair along the lower edge. The right illumination has been damaged through abrasion.

Fig. 248: Buddha Krakucchanda – Khorwajik

Red Buddha in brown robes seated cross-legged on a lotus throne and performing the gesture of meditation (dhyānamudrā). A vase stands on his hands joined at the lap.

སྟོན་པ་མྱོ་ངན་མྱེད་མཆོག
ston pa ? mya ngan myed mchog
The teacher Aśokottama.

Aśokottama – Nyangen Méchok (mya ngan med mchog) is one of the Eight Medicine Buddhas.

Crudely written underneath:

sangs rgyas tshe dpag med la na mo
Homage to Buddha Amitāyus.
Fig. 249: Buddha
Kanakamuni – Sertup
Yellow Buddha in red robes seated cross-legged on a lotus throne and performing the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā). A part of the Buddha’s right hand is abraded.

ston pa mtshan legs la na mo/
Homage to teacher Sunāman.
Sunāman is one of the Eight Medicine Buddhas.
Title: ārya-suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtren
drarāja-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (b)

Tib: འིཕགས་པ་གསེར་འིོད་དམ་པ་མདོ་སྡེེའིི་དབང་
པོའིི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི་

Ind: ཨ་རྱ་སུ་པར་ན་པྲ་བྷ་སྲོ་ཏ་མ་སུ་ཏྲེན་

Loc: mdo, dza 55a1-173a9 (ཁོང་)

Chap:

1) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 59a1)
2) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 67b6)
3) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 75a7)
4) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 80b4)
5) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 91b8)
6) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 103a1)
7) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 105a1)
8) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 106b6)
9) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 108a9)
10) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 113b4)
11) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 115a5)
12) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 130b4)
13) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 132a3)
14) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 134a3)
15) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 141a1)
16) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 141b9)
17) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 143a7)
18) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 146b4)
19) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 148b5)
20) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 151b2)
21) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 152b9)
22) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 155b9)
23) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 157b7)
24) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 160a3)
25) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 164a9)
26) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 171a8)
27) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 172a2)
28) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 172b3)
29) རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 173a9)

Colophon: རྱལ་སྤིན་ལེས། བོམ་དཔོན་པ་དང་། (dza 173a9)
Fig. 250: Sūtra volume dza, last folio recto

This folio is in very good condition, with only slight darkening along the edges. There are no captions on this folio, but the illuminations have been tampered with.

Fig. 251: Buddha Kāśyapa – Ösung

Red Buddha in brown robes seated cross-legged on a lotus and performing the gesture of reassurance (abhaya-mudrā). A few lines in ink at the shoulder and chest appear to be later additions to the image.
Figure 252: Buddha Śākyamuni – Shākya Tuppy

Yellow Buddha in red robes seated cross-legged on a lotus throne and performing the earth-touching gesture (bhūmisparśamudrā). His head has been distorted somewhat by ink in-painting which has outlined the nose and ears and added a snake hood above the uṣṇīṣa, earrings, and a necklace. In addition, the name śākya has been written directly on the uncovered part of the Buddha’s chest, and two flower blossoms have been added to the mandorla. This Buddha ends the group of the Seven Successive Buddhas.
A rather poorly preserved folio that has been torn apart and rejoined through using lighter paper at the margins. The bite marks along that tear and to the left of it go across the repair and thus are more recent. In addition, there are multiple tears along the edges.

Fig. 254: Buddha Sunāmaparikirtanaśrī – Tsenlek Yongdrakpel

White Buddha in red robes seated cross-legged on a lotus and performing the gesture of giving (varadamudrā). Shading in a light brown thin wash has been added to the face by the same person who also painted along the arm and chest.

A faint caption underneath the illumination reads:

der sheg byad

Outline of Tathāgata (de gshegs).

From the succession of the Buddhas in the group, the Buddha most likely identifies as the Medicine Buddha Sunāmaparikirtanaśrī (Tsenlek Yongdrakpel, mtsan legs yongs sgrags dpal) but white is an unusual colour for any of them. A comparison for this colour choice is found in the Shangrong temple at Alchi, where the Buddha
performs the earth-touching gesture (bhūmisparśamudrā).

Fig. 255: Buddha Ratnacandrarāja – Rinchen Dawa Gyelpo
Red Buddha in red robes seated cross-legged on a lotus and performing the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā).

There is a faint caption under the Buddha, which appears to be similar to the previous one. In this case it is clearly underneath the yellow frame of the illumination and thus precedes it. It is unlikely that these captions are remnants of the planning process, as they are not specific enough.

der sheg byad
Outline of Tathāgata (de gshegs).
The succession identifies this Buddha as Ratnacandrarāja (Rinchen Dawa Gyelpo, rin chen zla ba rgyal po). Again Shangrong provides the closest comparison, but there the Buddha is light grey today, and possibly was once yellow.
ID: Ng20.1 (rKTs1124; S313; F230a; F403; EM691; Lg21.1; He75.03)

Title: lokāprajñapti (S)

Tib: བེད་ཀྲིག་མ་བྱ་བ།

Ind: བེད་ཀྲིག་མ་བྱ་བ།

Loc: mdo, wa 1b1-96b1 (གཞིག)

Colophon: བེད་ཀྲིག་མ་བྱ་བ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng20.2 (rKTs851; S268; F111; Lg21.2; He75.04)

Title: 'phags pa rgyal bu kun tu dge zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (S)

Tib: ང་ལེགས་དབང་པོ་བཨ་ཆུ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའི་མདོ་

Ind: 

Loc: mdo, wa 96b1-99a1 (རྒྱལ)

Colophon: ང་ལེགས་དབང་པོ་བཨ་ཆུ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

Note: No title in Skt.

ID: Ng20.3 (rKTs358; D358; S278; F284; EM688; Lg21.3)

Title: śārdūlakarṇāvadāna (D)

Tib: རྟ་རྣའི་རྟོགས་པ་བཞེད་པ་

Ind: རྟ་རྣའི་རྟོགས་པ་བཞེད་པ་

Loc: mdo, wa 99a1-142a9 (སྟོག)

Colophon: ཁུན་ཁོན་ལེགས་ཐོར་ད་ཤེས་བྱོ་བའི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng20.4 (rKTs359; D359; S270; Lg21.4)

Title: dvādaśalocana-nāma-sūtra (D)

Tib: དམྱིིག་བཅུ་གཉིས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའི་མདོ་

Ind: དམྱིིག་བཅུ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའི་མདོ་

Loc: mdo, wa 142a9-146a9 (སྟོག)

Colophon: དམྱིིག་བཅུ་གཉིས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའི་མདོ་ རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
**Title:** mahāmunigargaṃgaṃsanimitkārtinirdeśa (S)

**Tib:** ངབ་མུན་གར་སྣོན་མི་སྣེ་ལེགས་པའི་དབང་ལོག

**Ind:**

**Loc:** mdo, wa 146a9-161a4 (སྟོག)

1) རྡུག་འར་འབྲོི་ལེང་འཕྲིན་པའི་ཨོ་ཤུ་འབྲི་ (wa 147b8)
2) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 149b7)
3) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 151b3)
4) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 152b9)
5) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 153b6)
6) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 154b6)
7) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 155b3)
8) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 156b8)
9) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 158a3)
10) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 158b4)
11) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 158b7)
12) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 159a5)
13) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 159a9)
14) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 160a3)
15) རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 161a3)

**Colophon:** ངབ་མུན་གར་སྣོན་མི་སྣེ་ལེགས་པའི་དབང་ལོག ། རྣམ་པ་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱའི་ཨོ་ནམ་ཨོ་ཤུ་ (wa 159a5)

Note: No title in Skt.

**Title:** Ar+ya byA ka ra Na'i nang nas byung ba gza dang rgyu skar gyi rang bzhin bshad pa (S)

**Tib:** ཎ་རྱ་པྱ་ཀ་ཀར་རྣའིི་ནང་ནས་འིབྱུང་བ་

**Ind:**

**Loc:** mdo, wa 161a5-178b9 (སྟོག)

**Colophon:** ཎ་རྱ་ཤེ་ཤྲ་ལ་གར་རྣ་འིི་ནང་ནས་གཟའི་སྐར་གྱིི་ལྟས་འིབྱུང་

Note: No title in Skt.

**Title:** zla ba'i khyim brtsi ba dang rgyu skar brtsi ba'i mdo las 'byung ba zla ba'i bam brtsi ba (S)

**Tib:** ཟླ་བའིི་ཁྱིམ་རྩི་བ་དང་རྒྱུ་སྐར་རྩི་བའིི་ཆོོ་ག་

**Ind:**

**Loc:** mdo, wa 179a1-188a1 (སྟོག)

**Colophon:** ཟླ་བ་དང་ཟླ་བ་དང་རྒྱུ་སྐར་དང་མཚོན་མ་དགེ་བར་རྒྱུརད་ཅིིང་

Note: No title in Skt.
ID: Ng20.8 (rKTs287; D287; S280; F230; F254; EM693; EM734; EM810; Lg21.8; He75.05)

Title: ārya-saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna (D)

Tib: འཕགས་པ་དམ་པའི་ཆོས་དྲན་བ་ཉེ་བར་གཞིག་པ་

Ind: Ñra sď dh r o s m t y u p a s t h ā n ā

Loc: mdo, wa 188a2-333a4 + zha 1b1-370a3 (དྲན་ཉེ / དྲན)

Fig. 256: Sūtra volume wa, last folio recto

This folio has been repaired, replacing the original text with a new one behind a window cut into the original page. The same repair technique was used for the first folio of volume pha. There are remnants of wiped out drawings along the upper margin and a few tears along the edges. The upper left corner of the folio has also been repaired.

Fig. 257: Buddha Suvarṇabhadravimalaratnaprabhāsa – Serzang Drimé Rinchennang

Yellow Buddha in red robes seated cross-legged on a lotus and performing the gesture of reassurance (abhayamudrā).

There is the same faint caption as found on the previous folio and an additional crudely written one which is purely honorific:

དེར་ཤེག་བྱད་

der sheg byad

ཐུབ་བ་ཆོ་པོ་ལགས་

thub ba cho po lags

Jowo Muni (thub pa jo bo).

The succession identifies the Buddha as Suvarṇabhadravimalaratnaprabhāsa (Serzang Drimé Rinchennang, gser bzang dri med rin chen snang) who in other instances surveyed is of the same colour.
but performs the gesture of teaching (dharmacakramudrā).

**Fig. 258: Buddha Aśokottamaśrī – Nyangen Méchokpel**

Red Buddha in brown robes seated cross-legged on a lotus and performing the gesture of meditation (dhyānamudrā).

Amitābha (od dpag med).

The succession identifies the Buddha as Aśokottamaśrī (Nyangen Méchokpel, mya ngan med mchog dpal) – who is commonly presented in a lighter tone of red and the same gesture as found in the manuscript. At Shangrong he sits on a peacock throne, which references Buddha Amitābha, just as the caption in the manuscript.
Fig. 259: Sūtra volume zha, first folio verso
A fairly well preserved folio with bite marks along the upper and right margins, including the right illumination, and a rough bottom right edge. The upper margin has been repaired covering a larger tear that also affected the left illumination, with its upper right corner lost.

Fig. 260: Buddha Dharma-kīrtisāgaraghoṣā – Chōdrak Gyatsöyang
Red Buddha in brown robes sitting cross-legged on a lotus and performing the gesture of giving (varadamudrā). Double caption as previously with the faint one underneath a later rewrite:

སྐེལ་བྱེད་
bder byad

The succession identifies this Buddha as Dharmakīrtisāgaraghoṣa (Chōdrak Gyatsöyang, chos bsgrags rgya mtsho’i dbyangs) who only in Alchi Shangrong is also depicted performing the gesture of giving (varadamudrā).
Fig. 261: Buddha Abhijñārāja  
   – Ngönkhyen Gyelpo

Yellow Buddha in red robes seated cross-legged on a lotus and performing the teaching gesture (dharmacakramudrā).

Here the second caption seems an attempt to interpret the earlier faint writing underneath the left corner of the illumination:

ཞི་

bder sheg byad

ཞི་

bder gshes+g rgyad po

The succession identifies this Buddha as Abhijñārāja (Ngönkhyen Gyelpo, mngon mkhyen rgyal po) who in Alchi Shangrong is white and performs the same gesture.
ID: Ng20.8 (rKTs287; D287; S280; F230; F254; EM693; EM734; EM810; Lg21.8; He75.05)

Title: ārya-saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna (D)

Tib: འཕགས་པ་དམ་པའིི་ཆོོས་དྲན་བ་ཉེ་བར་གཞིག་པ་

Ind: नर्या सच्छेन्द्रस्मर्तिपुष्टहाना

Loc: mdo, wa 188a2-333a4 + zha 1b1-370a3 (དྲན་ཉེ / དྲན)

Colophon: ཅིག་ཐང་དང་བཅན་པའི།། རྗོངས་སོ།།

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Fig. 262: Sūtra volume zha, last folio recto

Very well preserved folio with two bite marks in the upper right corner and darkening of the paper along the bottom margin.

Fig. 263: Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru – Sanggyé Menla

Dark blue Buddha in red robes seated cross-legged on a lotus performing the gesture of giving (varadamudrā) with the right hand and holding a begging bowl (pātra) in left hand on the lap.

Three different captions underneath, all poorly written and two of them identifying the Buddha as the Medicine Buddha.

In the centre:

རྡོེོར་ཤེག་བྱད
rder sheg byad

A little lower to the left of the central one:

སངས་སྨན་ལྟ
sangs sman lta

Continuing from the central caption in thick ink and formal headless script:

སངས་སྨན་གི་ལྷ།
sangs sman gi lha/
Fig. 264: Buddha Śākyamuni – Shākya Tuppa

Yellow Buddha in brown robes seated cross-legged on a lotus and performing the earth-touching gesture (bhūmisparśamudrā).

Several captions, the older ones deleted and written over by a later writer.

Faintly underneath the present caption:

ཨེ་ཇུས་བོད

der shegs byad

The crossed out caption:

legs pa ’i #al

The last caption:

བདེར་གཤེས་ཐུབ་པ་
bder gshes thub pa

Tathāgata Muni.
Fig. 265: Sūtra volume za, first folio verso

Fairly well preserved folio with a crease along the centre from having been folded once. This also lead to major tears at the edges, which have been repaired with patches on both sides. Their material or glue in turn appear to have attracted insects that left bite marks in those areas.

Fig. 266: Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī – Jampel

Sitting cross-legged on a lotus throne, the orange Bodhisattva brandishes a sword above his head and holds a book horizontally in front of his chest. The leaning upper body provides the depiction with further dynamism.

Fig. 267: Bodhisattva Ekādaśamukhāvalokita – Chenrézik Chuchikzhel

Standing, white eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara with eight arms. His faces are differently coloured with
green, white, and red changing place across the three lower tiers of three heads each. The main pair of hands in front of the chest is in the gesture of offering and worship (añjalimudrā). The other pairs hold from top down: a string of beads (mālā), a lotus, a wheel and a bow and arrow. Of the two lower hands the right one performs the gesture of giving (varadamudrā) and the left is held downwards without attribute, the palm towards the body of the deity. Presumably a flask was intended to being held in this hand.

‘phags pa spyan ras gzigs phyag stong ba zhubso

Thousand-armed Ārya Avalokita.
The caption demonstrates that even if the thousand arms are not drawn, the fewer-armed forms of the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara may be interpreted as such.
**ID: Ng22.1** (rKTs338; D338; S287; F186; F404; EM694; Lg29.7; He78.01)

Title: *karmavibhanga* (D)

Tib: བསད་རྣམ་པར་འིབྱོེད་པ་

Ind: གནའ་བོའི་ཡེ་ཤེས

Loc: mdo, za 1b1-19b8 (བོད)

Colophon: བསད་རྣམ་པར་འིབྱོེད་པ་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་

Note: The colophon in Derge does not provide any information on translators or revisors.

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**ID: Ng22.2** (rKTs354; D354; S217; F406; EM695; Lg29.8; He78.02)

Title: *’phags pa legs nyes kyi rgyu dang ’bras bu bstan pa zhes bya ba ba theg pa po’i mdo* (D)

Tib: བགྲ་ཐོག་ལེགས་ཀྱིི་དང་འིབྲས་བུ་བསྟོནད་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་མདོའི་

Ind: གནའ་བོའི་ཡེ་ཤེས

Loc: mdo, za 19b9-27a4 (བོད)

Colophon: བགྲ་ཐོག་ལེགས་ཀྱིི་དང་འིབྲས་བུ་བསྟོནད་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་མདོའི།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

Note: No title in Skt.

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**ID: Ng22.3** (rKTs307; D307; S299; F293; EM696; Lg29.9; He78.03)

Title: *āyuṣparyanta-sūtra* (D)

Tib: ཁྲོ་མཐའིི་མདོའི་

Ind: བླ་ཡུ་པ་རྱོག་ཏ་སུ་ཏྲམ་

Loc: mdo, za 27a5-33b6 (བོད)

Colophon: ཁྲོ་མཐའིི་མདོའི་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་

Note: The colophon in Derge further adds Vidyākarasiṃha and Dpal brtsegs as revisors.

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**ID: Ng22.4** (rKTs333; D333; S206; F132; EM697; Lg29.10; He78.04)

Title: *’phags pa gnas ’jog pa’i mdo zhes bya ba* (D)

Tib: བསད་རྣམ་པར་འིབྱོེད་པ་དེ་བཞིིན་གཤེེགས་པའིི་གཟུགས་བཟློག་པའི་

Ind: ཁྲོ་མཐའིི་མདོའི་

Loc: mdo, za 33b6-38a3 (བོད)

Colophon: བསད་རྣམ་པར་འིབྱོེད་པ་དེ་བཞིིན་གཤེེགས་པའིི་གཟུགས་བཟློག་

Note: No title in Skt.

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**ID: Ng22.5** (rKTs314; D314; S151; F140; EM698; Lg29.11; He78.05)

Title: *tamovanamukha-nāma-sūtra* (D)

Tib: རུ་ཀྱིི་དབང་པོ་ཌིི་ཁྲེིང་པའི་མདོའི་

Ind: ཁྲོ་མཐའིི་མདོའི་

Loc: mdo, za 38a3-43b2 (བོད)

Colophon: རུ་ཀྱིི་དབང་པོ་ཌིི་ཁྲེིང་པའི་

Note: No title in Skt.

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**ID: Ng22.6** (rKTs320; D320; S232; F127; EM699; Lg29.12; He78.07)

Title: *ārya-tathāgatapratibimbapratisthāna-śāmsasamvadana-nāma-dharmaparyāya* (D)

Tib: ཁྲོ་མཐའིི་གཟུགས་བཟློག་པའི་མདོའི་

Ind: ཁྲོ་མཐའིི་མདོའི་

Loc: mdo, za 43b3-45a8 (བོད)

Colophon: ཁྲོ་མཐའིི་གཟུགས་བཟློག་པའི་

Note: The colophon in Derge further adds Vidyākarasiṃha and Dpal brtsegs as revisors.
ID: Ng22.7 (rKTs332; D332; S258; F148; EM700; Lg29.13; He78.08)
Title: kūṭāgāra-sūtra (D)
Tib: མཁྱེན་བུ་བརྩེགས་པའི་མདོའི་
Ind: ལྐྱེ་ཐོན་པའི་
Loc: mdo, za 45a8-48b6 (བདེ་)
Colophon: [བདེ་བབས་ཀྱང་ཆུ་ཤེལ་བའི་] [འོག་ནི།]

Note: No title in Skt.

ID: Ng22.8 (rKTs298; D298; S146; S282; F370; EM701; Lg29.14; He78.09)
Title: gaṇḍīsūtra (D)
Tib: འིགན་འིདེ་འིི་མདོའི་
Ind: འིགན་འིདི་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, za 48b6-51a3 (འིདུལ)
Colophon: [འིགན་འིདེའིི་མདོའི་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །། རྒྱ་གར་གྱིི་མཁན་པོ་ད་ན་ཤེི་ལ་དང་། བན་དེ་ཡེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་བསྒྱུརད་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།]

Note: This must be differentiated from another sūtra with the same title, rKTs42, D42.

ID: Ng22.9 (rKTs299; D299; S283; F326; Lg29.15; He78.10)
Title: gaṇḍīsamayasūtra (D)
Tib: འིགན་དེའིི་དུས་ཀྱིི་མདོའི་
Ind: འིགན་དེ་ས་མ་ཡོ་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, za 51a3-52a3 (འིདུལ)
Colophon: [འིགན་དེ་འིི་དུས་ཀྱིི་མདོའི་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།]

ID: Ng22.10 (rKTs128; D128; S193; F125; EM311; EM702; Lg29.16; He78.11)
Title: ārya-dharmatāsvabhāvaśūnyatācalapratisarvāloka­sūtra (D)
Tib: ཆོས་ཉིད་རང་གི་ངོ་བོ་ཉིད་ལས་མྱིི་གཡོོའི་བར་ཐ་དད་པར་ཐམས་ཅིད་ལ་སྣང་བའིྀ་མདོའི་
Ind: ལྷེན་ཐོན་པའི་
Loc: mdo, za 52a4-55b9 (འབྲུབ་)
Colophon: [ཆོས་ཉིད་རང་གི་ངོ་བོ་ཉིད་ལས་མྱིི་གཡོོའི་བར་ཐ་དད་པར་ཐམས་ཅིད་ལ་སྣང་བའིྀ་མདོའི།། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །། རྒྱ་གར་གྱིི་མཁན་པོ་ད་ན་ཤེི་ལ་དང་། བན་དེ་ཡེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་བསྒྱུརད་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།]

ID: Ng22.11 (rKTs331; D331; S63; F279; EM703; Lg29.17)
Title: candra­sūtra (D)
Tib: རྟོམ་པའི་
Ind: རྟོམ་པའི་
Loc: mdo, za 56a1-56a9 (འབྲུབ་)
Colophon: [རྟོམ་པའི་མདོའི་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།]

ID: Ng22.12 (rKTs303; D303; S209; F110; F136; EM704; Lg29.18; He78.13)
Title: śīlasaṃyukta­sūtra (D)
Tib: ཀླུ་བའིི་མདོའི་
Ind: ཀླུ་བའིི་
Loc: mdo, za 56a9-57a6 (འབྲུབ་)
Colophon: [ཀླུ་བའིི་མདོའི་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།]

ID: Ng22.13 (rKTs122; D122; S201; F98; EM705; Lg29.19; He78.14)
Title: ārya-āryātyayajñāna­nāma­mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: ཁྱུན་ཁྱུན་ལོ་རྒྱ་ལྒ་ལྡེ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའི་
Ind: ཁྱུན་ཁྱུན་ལོ་རྒྱ་ལྒ་ལྡེ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའི་
Loc: mdo, za 57a6-57b6 (འབྲུབ་)
Colophon: [ཁྱུན་ཁྱུན་ལོ་རྒྱ་ལྒ་ལྡེ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོ་དེ་མདོའི་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།]
ID: Ng22.14 (rKTs309; D309; F185; F281; EM706; Lg15.14; Lg29.20; He78.15; He79.06; He80.02) = Ng22.44
Title: anityatā-sūtra (D)
Tib: བེ་བེ་དང་ཤིང་ཤིང་བོད་
Ind: 
Loc: mdo, za 57b6-58a8 (འིདའི་ཀ)
Colophon: བེ་བེ་དང་ཤིང་ཤིང་བོད་
Note: No title in Skt. or Tib. at the beginning of the text; the title is taken from the colophon. This work must be differentiated from rKTs310, D310, which bears the same title.

ID: Ng22.15 (rKTs1387; Lg29.21; He78.16)
Title: ’phags pa sdug bsngal brgyad sbyong ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Ng)
Tib: བེའི་བོད་དང་བོད་དང་བོད་དང་བོད་
Ind: 
Loc: mdo, za 58a8-59a4 (འབྲང་གུང་)
Colophon: བེའི་བོད་དང་བོད་དང་བོད་
Note: No title in Skt. or Tib. at the beginning of the text; the title is taken from the colophon. This work is not identified in mainstream collections but identical with He78.16 and Lg29.21.

ID: Ng22.16 (rKTs194; D194; S210; F168; F263; Lg29.22; He78.17)
Title: ārya-jayamati-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བེ་བོད་དང་བོད་དང་བོད་
Ind: 
Loc: mdo, za 59a5-59b5 (བོད་)
Colophon: བེ་བོད་དང་བོད་དང་བོད་

ID: Ng22.17 (rKTs890; S277; Lg29.23; He78.18)
Title: daśasamjñānirdesa-sūtra (S)
Tib: བེ་བོད་དང་བོད་དང་བོད་
Ind: 
Loc: mdo, za 59b5-60a3 (བོད་བོད་)
Colophon: བེ་བོད་དང་བོད་དང་བོད་

ID: Ng22.18 (rKTs249; D249; S132; F192; EM710; Lg29.24; He78.19)
Title: ārya-caturdharmanirdeśa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བེ་བོད་དང་བོད་དང་བོད་
Ind: 
Loc: mdo, za 60a3-60b4 (བོད་བོད་)
Colophon: བེ་བོད་དང་བོད་དང་བོད་

ID: Ng22.19 (rKTs250; D250; S117; F115; EM711; Lg29.25)
Title: caturdharmaka-sūtra (D)
Tib: བེ་བོད་དང་བོད་དང་བོད་
Ind: 
Loc: mdo, za 61a7-61b7 (བོད་བོད་)
Colophon: བེ་བོད་དང་བོད་དང་བོད་

ID: Ng22.20 (rKTs251; D251; S133; He78.20; He78.21)
Title: ārya-caturdharmaka-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བེ་བོད་དང་བོད་དང་བོད་
Ind: 
Loc: mdo, za 61a7-61b7 (བོད་བོད་)
Colophon: མས་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་དུ་ཕྱིར་དུ་མི་ཁོངས་པའི་སྤོ་སྲིད་པའི་མི་ཁོངས་པའི་མདོའི་རྫོོགས་སཱོ།། །། །། །། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་སུ་རེན་དྲ་བོ་དེ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོས་གིི་ལོ་ཙུ་བ་བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་ཀྱིིས་སྒྱུརད་ཅིིང་ཞུས།།

Note: The colophon in Derge does not provide any information on translators or revisors.

ID: Ng22.21 (rKTs324; D324; S198; F144; EM712; Lg29.26; He78.22)
Title: caturgāthā (D)
Tib: མཚོག་སུ་བཅིད་པ་བཞིི་པ་
Ind: ལོ་ཏུར་ག་ཏ་
Loc: mdo, za 61b7-62a3 (མཚོག་བདེན)
Colophon: མཚོག་སུ་བཅིད་པ་བཞིིའིི་པ་རྫོོགས་སཱོ།།

ID: Ng22.22 (rKTs316; D316; S251; F311; EM713; Lg29.27; He78.23)
Title: ārya­catuḥsatya­sūtra (D)
Tib: མས་སོགས་ཀྱིི་མདོའི་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་
Loc: mdo, za 62a3-62b7 (མས་སོགས་)
Colophon: མས་སོགས་ཀྱིི་པདྨན་པའིི་མདོའི་རྫོོགས་སཱོ།།

ID: Ng22.23 (rKTs253; D253; F171; F382; EM714; Lg29.28; He78.24)
Title: tridharmaka­nāma­sūtra (D)
Tib: མས་སོགས་ཀྱིི་མདོའི་
Ind: ལེ་ཏི་དྷ་རྨི་ཀ་ན་མ་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, za 62b7-63b6 (མས་སོགས་)
Colophon: མས་སོགས་ཀྱིི་པདྨན་པའིི་མདོའི་རྫོོགས་སཱོ།།

ID: Ng22.24 (rKTs282; D282; S218; F222; F306; EM715; Lg29.29; He78.25)
Title: śiksātraya­nāma­sūtra (D)
Tib: མས་སོགས་ཀྱིི་མདོའི་
Ind:

Loc: mdo, za 63b7-64a3 (མས་སོགས་)
Colophon: མས་སོགས་ཀྱིི་པདྨན་པའིི་མདོའི་རྫོོགས་སཱོ།།

Note: No title in Skt.
ID: Ng22.29 (rKTs205; D205; S161; F277; EM720; Lg29.34)
Title: ārya-nāgarāvalamvīka-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: སྒྲུབ་ཙུག་བོད་པ་ཆོས་གཉེན་ལྡན་ོད་དཔོན་དམིགས་ལྗོངས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, za 68b3-70a1 (གུ་)
Colophon: སྒྲུབ་ཙུག་བོད་པ་ཆོས་གཉེན་ལྡན་ོད་དཔོན་དམིགས་ལྗོངས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng22.30 (rKTs352; D352; S62; F305; EM721; Lg12.12; He78.31)
Title: brahmajāla-sūtra (D)
Tib: བྲོ་བོའི་དྲ་བའི་མདོ་
Loc: mdo, za 71b6-87b1 (རྫོོ་)
Colophon: བྲོ་བོའི་དྲ་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོས་ལྡན་ོད་དཔོན་དམིགས་ལྗོངས་སཱོོ།།
Note: No title in Skt.

ID: Ng22.31 (rKTs211; D211; EM722; Lg29.35; He78.32)
Title: pratītyasamutpādādivibhaṅ ganirdeśa-nāma-sūtra (D)
Tib: བརྟེནད་ཅིིང་འིབྲེལད་པར་འིབྱུང་བའི་དང་པོ་དང་རྣམ་པར་དབྱོེ་བ་བསྟོནད་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོས་ལྡན་ོད་དཔོན་དམིགས་ལྗོངས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, za 87b1-89a3 (རྟེན་)
Colophon: བརྟེནད་ཅིིང་འིབྲེལད་པར་འིབྱུང་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོས་ལྡན་ོད་དཔོན་དམིགས་ལྗོངས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng22.32 (rKTs296; D296; S302; EM723; Lg29.36; He78.33)
Title: kumāradṛṣṭānta-sūtra (D)
Tib: ཀྲིིའིི་དཔེའིི་མོད་
Loc: mdo, za 90b7-96a5 (ཆོོས་ཀྱིི་)
Colophon: གཞིིན་ནུའིི་དཔེའིི་མོད་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །། །རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་པྲད་ཉ་པར་མ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེེན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་བསྡེེས་བསྒྱུརད་ཅིིང་གཏན་པ་ཕབ་པ།།

ID: Ng22.33 (rKTs245; D245; S114; F212; F353; EM724; Lg23.4; He78.34)
Title: nāgarājabherī-gāthā (D)
Tib: ཕྲིིའི་དཔེ་བོ་བོད་པ་ཆོས་གཉེན་ལྡན་ོད་དཔོན་དམིགས་ལྗོངས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, za 96a5-100a6 (ཀླུའིི་)
Colophon: ཀླུའི་དཔེ་བོ་བོད་པ་ཆོས་གཉེན་ལྡན་ོད་དཔོན་དམིགས་ལྗོངས་སཱོོ།། །། །རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng22.34 (rKTs325; D325; S42; EM364; Lg23.5; He63.4)
Title: nāgarājabherī-gāthā (D)
Tib: རྡོ་དྲེ་བོ་བོད་པ་ཆོས་གཉེན་ལྡན་ོད་དཔོན་
Loc: mdo, za 96a5-100a6 (སྐོོ་)
Colophon: རྡོ་དྲེ་བོ་བོད་པ་ཆོས་གཉེན་ལྡན་ོད་དཔོན་དམིགས་ལྗོངས་སཱོོ།། །། །རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng22.35 (rKTs217; D217; S192; F165; EM621; Lg13.9; He63.5)
Title: ārya-śrīgupta-nāma-sūtra (D)
Tib: བརྟེནད་ིད་པ་ཆོས་གཉེན་ལྡན་ོད་
Loc: mdo, za 100a6-115b7 (དབྱུང་)
Colophon: བརྟེནད་ིད་པ་ཆོས་གཉེན་ལྡན་ོད་དཔོན་དམིགས་ལྗོངས་སཱོོ།།

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**Title:** ārya-buddhākṣepaṇa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**Tib:** འིཕགས་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་མྱིི་སྤོོང་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོའི།།།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

**Loc:** mdo, za 115b8-120b9 (སངས་རྒྱས)

**Colophon:** འིཕགས་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་མྱིི་སྤོོང་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ།།།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

**Note:** No title in Skt.

**ID: Ng22.38 (rKTs301; D301; S40; F255; EM725; Lg23.8; He78.35)**

**Title:** abhiniṣkramaṇa­sūtra (D)

**Tib:** མངོན་པར་འིབྱུང་བའིི་མདོ་

**Ind:** ཨ་བྷི་ནི་སྒྲ་མ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་

**Loc:** mdo, za 135b5-256a5 (མངོན)

**Colophon:** མངོན་པར་འིབྱུང་བའིྀ་མདོ་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།།། །། །། བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

**ID: Ng22.39 (rKTs225; D225; S196; F133; EM726; Lg23.9; He79.01)**

**Title:** ārya-triśaraṇagamana-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)

**Tib:** འིཕགས་པ་གསུམ་ལ་སྐྱོབས་སུ་འིགྲོོ་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་མདོ་

**Ind:** ཨ་རྱ་དྲི་ཤེ་ན་ག་མ་ན་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་

**Loc:** mdo, za 256a6-257b2 (སྐྱོབས)

**Colophon:** འིཕགས་པ་གསུམ་ལ་སྐྱོབས་སུ་འིགྲོོ་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་མདོ།།།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །། ལྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་ས་རྦད་གཉའི་དེ་བ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དེ་དཔལ་རྩེགས་ཀྱིིས་བསྒྱུརད་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

**ID: Ng22.40 (rKTs338; D338; S57; F338; EM727; Lg23.10; He79.02)**

**Title:** nandapravrajyā­sūtra (D)

**Tib:** དགའི་བོ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བའིི་མདོ་

**Ind:** ནནན་ད་པྲ་བྲ་ཛྱ་སུ་ཏྲ་

**Loc:** mdo, za 260a5-268b2 (དགའི)

**Colophon:** དགའི་བོ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བའིྀ་མདོའི།།།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

**ID: Ng22.41 (rKTs1131; S269; F92; EM728; Lg23.11; He79.03)**

**Title:** sthaviropanimantraṇa (S)

**Tib:** གནས་བརྟན་སྤྱན་དྲང་བ་

**Ind:** སཱི་བི་རོ་བ་ནི་མན་ཏྲ་ན་

**Loc:** mdo, za 260a5-268b2 (སྐྱོབས)

**Colophon:** གནས་བརྟན་སྤྱན་དྲང་བ་ལས་སྦྱིངས་པའིི་ཡོོན་ཏན་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་སྟོེ།།།། ཀུན་ནས་བཏུས་པ་གསུམ་པའོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

**ID: Ng22.42 (rKTs306; D306; S244; F260; F327; EM729; Lg23.12; He79.04)**

**Title:** vimuktimārgadhautaguṇanirdeśa-nāma (D)

**Tib:** རྣམ་པར་གྲོོལ་བའིི་ལམ་ལས་སྦྱིངས་པའིི་ཡོོན་ཏན་བསྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་

**Ind:** རྣམ་པར་གྲོོལ་བའིི་ལམ་ལས་སྦྱིངས་པའིི་ཡོོན་ཏན་བསྟོནད་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་སྟོེ།།།། ཀུན་ནས་བཏུས་པ་གསུམ་པའོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

**Note:** The colophon in Derge further adds Dharmāsribhadra as translator.
Note: This version of the work is substantially longer and textually different from, e.g., the Derge version.

ID: Ng22.43 (rKTs965; Lg15.13; He79.05)
Title: 'phags pa me’u dgal gyi bu chen po ma dmyal khams nas drangs pa’i mdo (Ne)
Tib: ཤིག་པ་མེ’་འིགལ་གི་བུ་ཆོེན་པོས་མ་དམྱིལ་ཁམས་ནས་དྲངས་པའིི་མདོ།།
Ind: ཨ་རྷ་བུ་ཏྲ་བྷ་བི་ན་རག་ཨ་འིགུ་ཤེ་སླཱཱུུ་ཏྲཱཱ བྲ་
Loc: mdo, za 280b5-295a8 (མེའུ)
Colophon: ཤིག་པ་མེ’་འིགལ་གི་བུ་ཆོེན་པོས་མ་དམྱིལ་ཁམས་ནས་དྲངས་པའིི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Note: The colophon in the Derge version does not provide any information on translators or revisors.

ID: Ng22.44 (rKTs309; D309; F185; F281; EM706; Lg15.14; Lg29.20; He78.15; He79.06; He80.02) = Ng22.14
Title: anityatā­sūtra (D)
Tib: ཨ་ནི་ཏྲཱཱ་སཱཱ་ཏྲཱཱ
Loc: mdo, za 295a8-296a1 (མྱིི་རྟག་པ)
Colophon: ཨ་ནི་ཏྲཱཱ་སཱཱ་ཏྲཱཱ ཀེ་རེ་གཅིག་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ།།
Note: This work must be distinguished from rKTs310, D310, which bears the same title.

ID: Ng22.45 (rKTs279; D279; S233; EM732; Lg15.15; He79.07)
Title: ārya-buddhānusmṛti (D)
Tib: ཨ་འདྲ་བུད་དྷ་ཨ་ནུ་སྨྲི་ཏེ་
Loc: mdo, za 296a1-296b2 (སངས་རྒྱས་རྗེེས་སུ་དྲན་པ)
Note: This work is also found in Lg and He, further also Ne and O.

ID: Ng22.46 (rKTs947; Lg23.13; He79.09)
Title: saddharmasmṛtyupasthānakārikā (Go)
Tib: ཨ་དད་དྷ་སྨྲི་སྨྲིད་དུ་པ་ཤྠཱཱཱ་ན་ཀ་རི་ཀ་
Loc: mdo, za 298a9-302a7 (ཆོོས་དྲན)
Colophon: ཨ་དད་དྷ་སྨྲི་སྨྲིད་དུ་པ་ཤྠཱཱཱ་ན་ཀ་རི་ཀ་ ངོ་ཚེ་ཀོ་ི་མཆེེར་ནོེ་ི་རི་ི་ཤེ་ཨུ་ཆོུ་བུ་བྲེ་སློིང་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོས་བསྨུརད།།
Note: This work is also found in Lg and He, further also Gondhla, Go25.11. In the mainstream collections this is placed in the Tanjur, e.g., D4179, Q5679.

ID: Ng22.47 (rKTs947; Lg23.13; He79.09)
Title: saddharmasmrtyupasthānakārikā (Go)
Tib: ཨ་དད་དྷ་སྨྲི་སྨྲིད་དུ་པ་ཤྠཱཱཱ་ན་ཀ་རི་ཀ་
Loc: mdo, za 298a9-302a7 (ཆོོས་དྲན)
Colophon: ཨ་དད་དྷ་སྨྲི་སྨྲིད་དུ་པ་ཤྠཱཱཱ་ན་ཀ་རི་ཀ་ ངོ་ཚེ་ཀོ་ི་མཆེེར་ནོེ་ི་རི་ི་ཤེ་ཨུ་ཆོུ་བུ་བྲེ་སློིང་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོས་བསྨུརད།།
Note: This work must be distinguished from rKTs310, D310, which bears the same title.
provide any information on translators and revisors.

**ID: Ng22.52** (rKTs335; D335; S174; F369; EM740; Lg29.5; He80.03)
Title: 'phags pa 'khar gsil gyi mdo (D)
Tib: མཁྲིིལ་བཅིིག་པའིི་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་
Ind: 
Loc: mdo, za 310a8-313b1 (དགའི་བ་ཅིན)
Colophon: མཁྲིིལ་བཅིིག་པའིི་ཚོིགས་སུ་གྲོས་པ།། རྫོོགས་སོ།། །།རྒྱ་
གར་ི་མཁན་པོ་ཤེག་ཀྱི་སིང་ཧ་དང་། ལོ་ཙ་བན་དེ་བྱོིན་གྱིིས་
སྙིིང་པོས་བསྒྱུར།། བན་དེ་དེ་བ་ཙན་ཏྲས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

**ID: Ng22.53** (rKTs336; D336; S173; Lg29.6; He80.04)
Title: 'khar gsil 'chang ba'i kun tu spyod pa'i cho ga (D)
Tib: བཅིིག་པའིི་གྲུབ་ཏུ་བྱིིད་པའིི་ཆོོ་ག་
Ind: 
Loc: mdo, za 313b1-314a7 (དགའི་བ་ཅིན)
Colophon: བཅིིག་པའིི་གྲུབ་ཏུ་བྱིིད་པ་དང་ཆོོ་ག་འིདི་ཞུ་ཆོེན་ཀྱིི་ལོ་ཚོ་བ་བན་དེ་ཆོོས་
གྲུབ་ཀྱིྀས ། བརྒྱའིི་དཔེའི་ལས་བསྒྱུརད་ཅིིང་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

**ID: Ng22.54** (rKTs334; D334; S147; F193; EM743; Lg19.1; He80.05)
Title: ārya-nandika-sūtra (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་དགའི་བ་ཅིན་གྱིི་མདོ་
Ind: ལྷོ་བྱིིད་ཀྱིི་མདོ།། རྫོོགས་སོ།། །།རྒྱ་
གར་ི་མཁན་པོ་ཤེག་ཀྱི་སིང་ཧ་དང་། ལོ་ཙ་བན་དེ་བྱོིན་གྱིིས་
སྙིིང་པོས་བསྒྱུར།། བན་དེ་དེ་བ་ཙན་ཏྲས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

Note: This work must be distinguished from rKTs309, D309, which bears the same title. The colophon in Derge does not
ID: Ng22.55 (rKTs206; D206; S200; F328; F384; EM742; Lg19.2; He80.06)
Title: zas kyi 'tsho ba rnam par dag pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (D)
Tib: བཀྲི་ཤེིས་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ་
Ind: མང་ག་ལ་ག་ཐཱཱ་
Loc: mdo, za 317a5-318b7 (ཆོས་ཀྱིིས་འིཚོོ་བ)
Colophon: བཀྲི་ཤེིས་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Note: No title in Skt.

ID: Ng22.56 (rKTs820; D826; D1103; Lg19.3; He65.15; He73.02)
Title: maṅgalagāthā (D)
Tib: བཀྲི་ཤེིས་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ་
Ind: མང་ག་ལ་ག་ཐཱཱ་
Loc: mdo, za 318b8-320a2 (ཕྱིར་སོགས)
Colophon: བཀྲི་ཤེིས་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ་
Note: This is the same work as D826 or D1103, further also He65.15, He73.02, and Lg19.3. It must be distinguished from Ng22.57 and Ng22.60, which bear the same title but are different works.

ID: Ng22.57 (rKTs820; D826; D1103; Lg19.4; He65.16)
Title: maṅgalagāthā (D)
Tib: བཀྲི་ཤེིས་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ་
Ind: མང་ག་ལ་ག་ཐཱཱ་
Loc: mdo, za 320a2-321b6 (ཕྱིར་སོགས)
Colophon: བཀྲི་ཤེིས་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ་
Note: The identification is problematic as this work bears the same title, but is actually different from D826 and D1103. It concurs with He65.16 and Lg19.4 but must be distinguished from Ng22.56 and Ng22.60.

ID: Ng22.58 (rKTs818; D822; D1105; S242; S330; S762; Lg19.5; He45.2; He61.9; He65.17; He84.13)
Title: pañcatathāgalamaṅgalagāthā (D)
Tib: བཀྲི་ཤེིས་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ་
Ind: མང་ག་ལ་ག་ཐཱཱ་
Loc: mdo, za 320a3-22a3 (ཕྱིར་སོགས)
Colophon: བཀྲི་ཤེིས་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng22.59 (rKTs818; D824; S331a; S332; He45.3; He61.10; He75.06; He79.11)
Title: ratnātrayamaṅgalagāthā (D)
Tib: བཀྲི་ཤེིས་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ་
Ind: མང་ག་ལ་ག་ཐཱཱ་
Loc: mdo, za 322a3-9 (ཕྱིར་སོགས)
Colophon: བཀྲི་ཤེིས་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛི་ན་མྱིི་ཏྲ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེིིིས་སྡེེས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།
Note: This identification is problematic. While the title is similar, this work does not concur with D824, or D827 and D1108, with the latter two being identical but different from D824. It concurs with S331a and S332, but not S763. Further with He45.3, He61.10, He75.06, He79.11. Lg19.6 has a similar title, but the text is different.

ID: Ng22.60 (rKTs820; D822; D1103; Lg19.8; He65.19)
Title: maṅgalagāthā (D)
Tib: བཀྲི་ཤེིས་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ་
Ind: མང་ག་ལ་ག་ཐཱཱ་
Loc: mdo, za 322a9-323a3 (ཕྱིར་སོགས)
Colophon: བཀྲི་ཤེིས་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ་
Note: This identification is problematic as this work bears the same title but is actually different from D826 and D1103. It concurs with He65.19 and Lg19.8 but must be distinguished from Ng22.56 and Ng22.57.
Fig. 268: Detail of Mañjuśrī Jñānasattva (Fig. 270)

**ID:** Ng22.61 (rKTs811; D817; D1101; S329; F99; F237; F371; EM604; Lg19.6; He65.20)  
**Loc:** mdo, za 323a3-324b4 (བདེ་ལེགས)

**Title:** svastigāthā (D)  
**Tib:** བདེ་ལེགས་ཀྱིི་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ།  
**Ind:** སྭ་སྟོི་ག་ཐཱཱ་

**Colophon:** བདེ་ལེགས་ཀྱིི་ཚོིགས་སུ་བཅིད་པ།། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛི་ན་མྱིི་ཏྲ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་གི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།  

Note: The colophon in Derge does not provide any information on translators or revisors.
Fig. 269: Sūtra volume za,
last folio recto

Generally this folio is in good condition, despite the fact that its volume was bundled poorly for a considerable amount of time, as the blackening along the top and left side indicates.

Fig. 270: Mañjuśrī Jñānasattva
– Jampel Yeshé Sema

Six-headed, two-armed Bodhisattva seated cross-legged on a lotus with the hands on the lap in meditation. Out of the palms grow the stems of two blue lilies (utpala) supporting a sword and a book respectively. While the body and the two top heads are white, the central head is blue and flanked by yellow, red, and green heads. These are thus arranged in the respective directions of the secondary esoteric Buddhas. The head on top of them, the lower white head, thus has to be read as the main head and representing the family of Vairocana.

Instead, the figure is to be identified
as Gnosis-Being Mañjuśrī, Mañjuśrī Jñānasattva (Jampel Yeshé Sema, ‘jam dpal ye shes sms dpa’); see main text page 119.
Fig. 271: Mañjuśrī Great Wisdom Hero – Jampel Yeshé Paché

Orange, four-armed Mañjuśrī seated cross-legged on a lotus, his body bent sideways in a dynamic posture. His upper right hand brandishes a sword, and the lower left hand holds a blue lily supporting a book. The other pair of hands hold arrow and bow respectively.

Mañjuśrī with one head and four arms. Partially repeated underneath in a different script, the writing possibly discontinued after a mistake.

Another text underneath has been largely rubbed off.

See the discussion on the name of this Bodhisattva, Mañjuśrī Great Wisdom Hero or its alternative, Nāmasāṃgīti Mañjuśrī, in the main text.
Fig. 272: Sūtra volume 'a, first folio verso
This folio has been repaired along the upper and lower margins. The upper margin is partially torn and there are two larger bite marks along the lower margin, one at a major tear that reaches at least the centre of the page. The illuminations are well preserved.

Fig. 273: Śaḍākṣara Avalokita triad
The bejewelled, white Bodhisattva sits cross-legged on a lotus growing out of a small pool. The side-stems conceptually are for the lotuses of the flanking figures, but their lotuses float within the red mandorla framing the triad. The central Bodhisattva has his main hands folded in añjalimudrā and holds a string of beads and a lotus in the side arms. He is flanked by a white male and a yellow female seated sideways. Both have the hands in the same positions as the main figure, the male's right arm cut off by the frame of the illumination, while the female's left arm and her toes are drawn on top of it. Of their attributes, only the flower in their raised left arms can be recognized. The goddess performs the teaching gesture and her halo is blue.

'phags pa spyan [ras] gzigs tso 'khor gsuM \ ? gzhus/
The principle (gtso) triad of Ārya Avalokita.
Fig. 274: Amoghapāśa pentad
The central white Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara sits in the posture of royal ease on a central lotus holding lotuses in both hands. He is flanked by two four-armed standing deities on slightly lower lotuses, their stem growing out of the illumination’s corners. Of these, the red Amoghapāśa holds, clockwise from the lower right hand, a noose, a vajra, a string of beads and a stick [a hook]. The white Bhṛkuṭī holds a jewel stick, a string of beads, a lotus and a flask. In the top corners are two wrathful deities. Hayagrīva in the top left, a horse-head projecting his head, holds a stick [club], a lotus [gesture of threatening], a [red] lotus and a wheel in the four arms. The deity in the top right corner is the eight-armed Ekajaṭā. She has a sword in his main right hand, the main left is directly underneath without a recognizable attribute [wheel]. The other hands hold, clockwise from the lower right, a stick [an arrow], a lotus, a noose, a jewel stick [club], a trident (triśula), and a bow.

With the main figure slightly overlapping the secondary ones, this depiction has a sense of space not found in any of the other illuminations.

འཕགས་པ་དོན་ཡོད་ཞིགས་པ་ལྷ་ལྔ་གཞུགསོ།
'phags pa don yod zhags pa lha lnga gzhugso/
The five deities of Ārya Amoghapāśa.
ID: Ng23.1 (rKt340; D340; S274; F269; F402; EM744; Lg24.1; He80.07)

Title: karmaśataka (D)

Tib: འཕྲོ་བོར་བསམ་

Ind: फूर्तम भद्र नामिता

Loc: mdo, 'a 1b1-336a5 + ya 1b1-124b1 (ལས)

Colophon: འཕྲོ་བོར་བསམ་ | གཉིས་ཀྱིས་

Fig. 275: Sūtra volume 'a, last folio recto

A fairly well preserved folio with two larger tears in the central section along the upper edge and a smaller one in the lower right corner, which is also stained. There is plenty of additional writing on this page, all of it some form of exercise. Around the red review mark, there are numerous drawings and letter exercises in light brown ink, among the letters being na, ga, zha and a. Right of the ring two phrases are written with the same ink, the upper one meant to read phyag 'tshal. The long line in black ink at the level of the lower edge of the illuminations is also an exercise, it spells out the Tibetan alphabet twice.

Fig. 276: Simhanāda Avalokiteśvara

The white Bodhisattva sits in the posture of royal ease (lalītāsana) on a white lion, who is seated sideways with the head on the Bodhisattva’s right side and his roaring mouth directed upwards. The Bodhisattva has his left arm stretched towards the side with the hand in a fist [it is commonly described as the gesture of giving (varadamudrā)]. A trident with a snake curled around its stem is standing behind it. The left hand is hidden behind the thigh and probably holds the lotus stem with a skull-cup (kapāla) on top instead of a blossom. The jewellery of the Bodhisattva is distinct
from that of the others and conforms more to that of an ascetic.

The venerable (rje btsun) lord Simhanada. The syllable nas is written in a light ink to the side of the beginning of this caption.

**Fig. 277: Hariharihari-vahānodbhava Avalokiteśvara**

The white, six-armed Bodhisattva sits cross-legged on a lotus atop a double vehicle, a lion and a garuda with its wings stretched to the sides, the mandorla in the back covering the entire composition. The Bodhisattva’s main pair of hands perform the gesture of reassurance (abhayamudrā) and rest on the thigh. The other hands are, clockwise from his lower right hand, in the gesture of giving (varadāmudrā) and hold a string of beads, a scarf [an antelope skin], and a flask. This depiction is abbreviated in the sense that Viṣṇu who usually tops the garuda underneath the Bodhisattva, the first of the three Hari in the name, is not represented.

Avalokita riding on Harihari.
Fig. 278: Sūtra volume ya, first folio verso

The folio is well preserved but has suffered at the edges. Along the upper edge a thin strip of paper is lost for almost half the length of the folio, the lower right corner also shows a loss, and a thumb-wide, deep loss is directly underneath the left illumination.

Fig. 279: Uṣṇīṣavijaya – Tsuktor Namgyel

The white deity seated cross-legged on a lotus is three-faced and eight-armed, the side faces being yellow and blue. The main pair of hands appears to hold a crossed vajra (viśvavajra) in both hands, the gesture of the back hand drawn somewhat awkwardly. Read in pairs from the top down, the other hands hold a Buddha on a lotus and the gesture of reassurance (abhayamudrā), an arrow and a bow, and the gesture of giving (varadamudrā) and a flask.

Neither the image nor the caption indicate that this is a female, I thus interpret the depiction as intentionally male and accordingly spell the name in the male form Uṣṇīṣavijaya.
Fig. 280: Green Tārā – Drölma Janggu

The goddess Green Tārā is seated in the posture of royal ease (lalitāsana) on a lotus throne. Her right hand performs the gesture of giving (varadamudrā) at the knee and the left holds a blue lily represented in profile in the gesture of argumentation (vitarkamudrā). The right hand also is associated with an open blue lily which is often added for reasons of symmetry.

‘phags ma sgrol ma gzhugs so/
Ārya Tārā.
Fig. 281: Sūtra volume ya, last folio recto

One of the best preserved folios with only slight tears in the lower left corner and along the blackened lower edge, which appears to have been exposed for a considerable amount of time.

Fig. 282: Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Vajrapāṇi – Chakdor Tumchen

Dark blue protector standing with his left leg stretched (pratyālīḍha) and holding a vajra to the side of his head and a bell at the hip.

This caption is certainly not correct, see the main text on the identification of this and the following illumination.
Fig. 283: Vajrapāṇi – Chagna Dorjé
Dark blue protector standing with his left leg stretched (pratyālīḍha) on a lotus. He holds a vajra to the side of his head and performs the threatening gesture (tarjanīmudrā) with the left.

phyag na rdo ‘kha ’gro gzhugs so //
Dāka Vajrapāṇi.
Fig. 284: Sūtra volume ra, first folio verso
The folio has been repaired along all four edges resulting in the caption of the right illumination, if there was any, to be covered completely and that of the left one partially obscured. There are major creases across the folio in its centre and towards the right of it, the central one probably was the main cause for the repair. A v-shaped loss with later bite marks is visible at the top edge in line with the central crease. Also the illuminations have suffered considerably.

Fig. 285: Jñāna Mahākāla – Yéshé Gönpo
Dark blue wrathful deity with four arms seated in the posture of royal ease (lalitāsana) on a yellow corpse lying on a lotus. His main pair of hands hold a heart and skull-cup (kapāla) in front of the chest, while the side arms hold a sword and a tantric staff (khaṭvāṅga). He wears both peaceful and wrathful jewellery, and the scarf forms a large bow behind the head.

The beginning of the caption is covered by the repair of the page and the remaining part is partly obscured.

...ན་པོ་ཞིལ་ཙོིག་ཕྱག་གཞིི་གཞུགསོ་།
... on po zhal tsig phyag gzhi gzhusso / Mahākāla (mgon po) with one
head and four (bzhi) arms.
On the basis of the attributes and posture, this deity can more specifically be identified as Jñāna Mahākāla (Yéshé Gönpo, ye shes rgyon po; see the main text).

**Fig. 286: Pañjara Mahākāla**

**Alone in the Ngog Tradition**

**– Gurkyang Ngogluk**

The dark blue deity stands frontally with both legs bent symmetrically on a yellow corpse lying on a lotus. In front of his chest he holds a curved knife (kartṛkā) and a skull-cup (kapāla) towards each other. He wears both peaceful and wrathful jewellery, and the scarf forms a large bow behind the head. If there was a caption, it is covered by the repair.

In the Rinjung Gyatsa, this form is identified as Pañjara Mahākāla Alone in the Ngog Tradition (Gurkyang Ngogluk, gur skyang rngog lugs; see Willson and Brauen 2000, no. 361).
Chap:

1) གླུ་ཐུབ་ཨེ་ཐིས་པ་བོད་པའིི་མི་ཤེས་པ་ད་པོར་ལ་བྱ། གྲུ་ཙླ་ལོ་བའིི་རབས་ཏེ་ཁྱོན། (ra 4b6)
2) རྡོད་ཀྱིི་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་མི་ཤེས་པ་ད་པོ་ (ra 9b1)
3) སྤྱི་དྲུ་སྐོན་དྲུ་ཤེ་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་སྣ་ཚོོགས་པའིི་སྐྱོེས་པ་དྲུག་པའིི་ (ra 11b5)
4) ཀྲཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་གྱིི་སྐྱོེས་པའིི་རབས་ཏེ་དྲུག་པའིི་ (ra 13b8)
5) ཀྲཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་སྣ་ཚོོགས་པའིི་རབས་ཏེ་སུ་བཅུ་ (ra 16b5)
6) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་སྣ་ཚོོགས་པའིི་ (ra 20a2)
7) མལ་གྲཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 24a7)
8) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་སྣ་ཚོོགས་པའིི་ (ra 30b4)
9) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 39b7)
10) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 43b2)
11) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 45a8)
12) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 47a8)
13) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 51b6)
14) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 56a4)
15) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 58a1)
16) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 59a4)
17) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 61b7)
18) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 63b9)
19) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 68a3)
20) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 71b3)
21) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 75a8)

Colophon: རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 84a2)
23) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 91a6)
24) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 95a6)
25) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 98a6)
26) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 102b9)
27) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 107a2)
28) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 113b1)
29) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 117b8)
30) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 122a7)
31) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 131a5)
32) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 135a8)
33) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 137a5)
34) རྡཱོ་ཐོང་དཔོན་ཨེ་ཐིས་པའིི་ (ra 139b6)

Note: This work is usually found in the Tanjur, except for Namgyal, Lang (Lg27.1), Chharang (Ch1.1), and Nesar.

ID: Ng25.2 (rKTS341; D341; S281; F359; EM735; Lg27.2; He79.10)

Title: damamūka-nāmasūtra (S)

Chap:

1) བྱོོ་བཞོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱོེས་པའིི་ (ra 148b5)
2) བྱོོ་བཞོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱེས་པའིི་ (ra 151a3)
3) ཀུན་ཏུ་རྒྱ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིིམས་བསྲུངས་པའིི་ལེའུ་བསྟོེ་གསུམ་པའིོ (ra 152b9)
4) རུས་བཙོངས་ཏེ་མཆོོད་པ་བྱོས་པའིི་ལེའུ་བསྟོེ་བཞིི་པའིོ (ra 153b9)
5) དབྱེ་དྲེབ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱོ་བའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་ལྔ་པའིོ (ra 155b1)
6) དབྱེ་དྲེབ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱོ་བའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 157b8)
7) ཞུ་ལྡུན་པའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བྲུག་པའིོ (ra 160b8)
8) རྒྱ་མཚོོའིི་ལྟས་དྲིས་པའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་ལྔ་པའིོ (ra 163b3)
9) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 160b8)
10) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 163b3)
11) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 166b9)
12) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 168b2)
13) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 169b2)
14) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 173b4)
15) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 176b3)
16) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 178a5)
17) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 195a8)
18) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 200a4)
19) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 203a6)
20) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 205a2)
21) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 217a3)
22) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 217a3)
23) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 222b3)
24) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 225b7)
25) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 229a8)
26) རྒྱལ་བུ་ཤེའིི་ལེའུ་སྟོེ་བདུན་པའིོ (ra 229a8)
Colophon:

Note: No title in Skt. This work ends without colophon at what is also the end of the volume. The text deviates from other versions in number and labelling of chapters; it includes also one extra chapter 7. A comparison with the Derge version shows major textual differences.

Fig. 287: Sūtra volume ra, last folio recto

Besides a number of creases across the folio and a larger loss in the top left corner, the folio is in good condition.

Fig. 288: Standing Acala – Miyowa

The dark blue wrathful figure stands with its left leg stretched (pratyālidha) on a lotus throne. His right arm is raised, holding a sword, while the left holds a noose.

mi gyi’ ba gzhugso/
Acala.
Fig. 289: Kneeling Acala
– Miyowa Pütsuk

The light blue semi-wrathful deity kneels with one leg towards his right side. His right arm holds a sword above the head, and the left holds a noose in front of the chest. This is the most frequently represented form of Acala simply called Kneeling Acala (Miyowa Pütsuk, mi g.yo ba pus btsugs) as also identified by the caption.

Kneeling (pus btsugs) Acala.
Except for the very edges, this folio is in good condition. A crease cuts right across the left illumination. Distinctive bite marks are found in the lower right corner, which has partly been eaten away.

The corpulent, yellow deity sits in the posture of royal ease (lalitāsana) on a lotus. He is semi-wrathful with wide open eyes and his hair-knot is off centre. The right hand holds a jewel in front of the chest and the left holds a mongoose at the thigh. This is a typical depiction of Yellow Jambhala.

'dzam ser gzhugs so/
Yellow Dzam (Jambhala). Usually, Jambhala's name is simply transliterated from the Sanskrit into Tibetan Dzambhala, but the word used here and in the following caption links the deity to the southern continent Jambudvīpa (dzam bu gling).
Fig. 292: Black Jambhala – Dzamnak
Dark blue, naked, and ithyphallic wrathful deity standing with his left leg stretched (pratyālīḍha) on a lotus. He holds a skull-cup (kapāla) in the right hand and a mongoose in the left.

འཛམ་ནག་གཞུགས་སོ།།
‘dzam nag gzhugs so //
Black Dzam (Jambhala).
ID: Ng26.1 (rKTs180; D180; S234; F252; EM667; Lg16.12; He68.02)
Title: ārya-sarvadharmāpravṛttinirdesā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: བོད་སྤྱོད་ལས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ཐལ་ལ། ཉི་ཤིག་བུ་མ་པོ་ཆོས་ཐེ་བ་དེ་རྒྱ་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛིན་དུ་། ཿཀྲ་ོང་། གྱི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛིན་དུ་། ཕྲད་ཉ་ན་མ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོིིན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེ་ལས་སྩོོགས་པས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།
Ind: བོད་སྤྱོད་ལས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ཐལ་ལ། ཉི་ཤིག་བུ་མ་པོ་ཆོས་ཐེ་བ་དེ་རྒྱ་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛིན་དུ་། ཕྲད་ཉ་ན་མ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོིིན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེ་ལས་སྩོོགས་པས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།
Loc: mdo, la 1b1-33a9 (འིབྱུང)
Colophon: བོད་སྤྱོད་ལས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ཐལ་ལ། ཉི་ཤིག་བུ་མ་པོ་ཆོས་ཐེ་བ་དེ་རྒྱ་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛིན་དུ་། ཕྲད་ཉ་ན་མ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོིིན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེ་ལས་སྩོོགས་པས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

ID: Ng26.2 (rKTs353; D353; S180; F31; EM748; Lg23.1; He84.01)
Title: thabs mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyas drin lan bsab pa'i mdo (D)
Tib: རྒྱ་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛི་ན་མྱིི་ཏྲ་དང་། པྲད་ཉ་བར་མ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོིིན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེ་ལས་སྩོོགས་པས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།
Ind: རྒྱ་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛི་ན་མྱིི་ཏྲ་དང་། པྲད་ཉ་བར་མ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོིིན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེ་ལས་སྩོོགས་པས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།
Loc: mdo, la 33b1-147a3 (དྲིན)
Chap:
1) སྣ་ཚོར་བི་ཕྲེེ་ལེ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་མ་རྒྱ་ཞིིག་གོ་ (la 41b1)
2) སྣ་ཚོར་བི་ཕྲེེ་ལེ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་མ་རྒྱ་ཞིིག་གོ་ (la 48b7)
3) སྣ་ཚོར་བི་ཕྲེེ་ལེ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་མ་རྒྱ་ཞིིག་གོ་ (la 61a3)
4) སྣ་ཚོར་བི་ཕྲེེ་ལེ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་མ་རྒྱ་ཞིིག་གོ་ (la 64a6)
5) སྣ་ཚོར་བི་ཕྲེེ་ལེ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་མ་རྒྱ་ཞིིག་གོ་ (la 79b9)
6) སྣ་ཚོར་བི་ཕྲེེ་ལེ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་མ་རྒྱ་ཞིིག་གོ་ (la 96a4)
7) སྣ་ཚོར་བི་ཕྲེེ་ལེ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་མ་རྒྱ་ཞིིག་གོ་ (la 110b8)
8) སྣ་ཚོར་བི་ཕྲེེ་ལེ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་མ་རྒྱ་ཞིིག་གོ་ (la 132b8)
9) སྣ་ཚོར་བི་ཕྲེེ་ལེ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་མ་རྒྱ་ཞིིག་གོ་ (la 147a3)
Colophon: རྒྱ་གི་མཁན་པོ་འིཛི་ན་མྱིི་ཏྲ་དང་། ཕྲད་ཉ་བར་མ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོིིན་གྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བན་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེ་ལས་སྩོོགས་པས་བསྒྱུར་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།
Note: The title is indicated as Skt. while it is obviously Chinese and usually given as Dafangbian fobaoen jing. Note that also Hemis I (He84.1) indicates this as Skt. (rgya gar skad du) while Derge points to Chinese (rgya'i skad du). What should be counted as chapter 8 is given as chapter 9.
Fig. 293: Detail of Gaṇapati (Fig. 296)
This folio is fairly well preserved in the centre, but there is major damage along the upper edge with two elongated pieces almost torn off. There is a vertical crease across the centre with bite marks at its lower end.

**Fig. 295: Vasudhārā – Norgyünma**

Yellow goddess sitting in the posture of royal ease (lalitāsana) on a lotus. Her right rests in the gesture of giving (varadamudrā) on the knee, while the left shows the gesture of argumentation (vitarkamudrā). Both hold or are associated with the stem of the same plant representing an ear of rice.

Of the two captions underneath, none of them is in the handwriting that was used on the other folio. In content they are identical, one adding a verb.

nor rayun ma/
nor rayun ma yin
Vasudhārā.

**Fig. 296: Gaṇapati – Tsokdak**

The white, four-armed god sits with the legs crossed at the ankles, toes downwards, on a brown animal. His hair-knot is off centre, he is bejewelled and only
has one tusk. The attributes in the main hands are not clear from the drawing, the one in the right hand looking like a nut-cracker and the one in the left like a cylindrical pointed object with a seam and a hook at the side. The hook could also be the beginning of a belt, as it is used in many other depictions, that was never finished. The other pair of hands hold a string of beads (mālā) and an axe respectively.

Caption underneath:

ཚོག་བདག་གླེང་རྣ་བ་
	tshog bdag glang rna ba

The elephant-eared Gaṇapati.

Written along the right side of the illumination:

ཚོགས་བདག་རྨོར་པོ་ཡོད

tshogs bdag rmar po yod

There is [also] a red Gaṇapati. There are indeed also red forms of the four-armed Gaṇapati, the iconography depicted being somewhat between the white and the red four-armed forms described in Willson and Brauen 2000, nos. 335 and 336. A red form of Gaṇapati is one of the three red protectors of the Sakya tradition, the additional caption is thus likely from this context.
A fairly well preserved folio with only minor losses along the edges, the most notable one at the height of the volume signature on the left, in the top centre and on both right corners. In addition, the top right area shows unusual blackening through moisture penetration. Another stain through a liquid penetrated the page as far as the top right corner of the left illumination and is accompanied by bite marks.

As noted earlier, the latter part of this volume had been shifted to volume ya at one point, as fitting for its textual content, and its volume letter has been changed. However, it is clear from the iconography that the illuminations were originally conceived for volume sha, and for this reason they are featured here.

The dark blue semi-wrathful deity stands with his left leg stretched (pratyālīḍha) on a lotus. His right hand performs the gesture of threatening (tarjanīmudrā) with the index finger. The deity only wears peaceful jewelry and a scarf floats behind his head. Remarkably, his left toe is cut off by the frame of the illumination. This could be called the simplest form of Vajrapāṇi,
while the earlier one held a bell at the hip.

Vajrapāṇi in the sūtra (mdo) tradition. The same tradition has already been cited above for another form of Vajrapāṇi (Fig. 282). See also page 121 ff. on the identification of this and the following illumination.

Fig. 299: Vajravidāraṇa
- Dorjé Namjom
The green wrathful protector stands with his left leg stretched (pratyālīḍha) on a lotus. His right hand holds a crossed vajra (viśvavajra) in front of the chest and the left holds a bell at the hip. His face is a bit more wrathful than that of Vajrapāṇi, but he also has only peaceful jewellery. A thin white scarf floats behind his head, splitting and turning green after passing by the arm.
Title: ārya-mahākāruraṇāpūṇḍarīka-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: ཨོ་རྗེ་ཐེལ་དེ་ཕན་པ་བཅོས་པ་བོད་དང་པོ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའི་མདོ
Ind: ལྷ་སྟོིང་ཞེྲ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་གྱིཝ་ཝ་བསྟོནས་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད
Loc: mdo, sha 1b1-83a2 (ཉི་ / ཁོང་)
Chap:
1) རྣམ་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 12a5)
2) ཆོས་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 17b4)
3) དང་པོ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའི་མདོ
4) དོན་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 24a9)
5) དམ་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 29a4)
6) དམ་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 34a7)
7) ནགའ་བུ་ཞིི་གྱོན་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 37a9)
8) རྣམ་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 42a1)
9) རྣམ་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 44a3)
10) རྣམ་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 52b4)
11) རྣམ་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 54a6)
12) རྣམ་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 78a7)
13) རྣམ་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 82b9)

Colophon: ཨོ་རྗེ་ཐེལ་དེ་ཕན་པ་བཅོས་པ་བོད་དང་པོ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའི་མདོ།། །། དོན་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 82b9)

Title: hastikaksya-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: ཡོན་ཞིི་ཚོས་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 83a3-98b4)
Colophon: ཡོན་ཞིི་ཚོས་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 98b4-176a1)

Title: ārya-aṅgulimālīya-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: རྣམ་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 98b4-176a1)
Colophon: རྣམ་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 176a2-191b6)

Title: arthaviniscaya-nāma-dharmaparyāya (D)
Tib: རྣམ་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 176a2-191b6)
Colophon: རྣམ་པའི་ལེ་འུ་བསྟོད། (sha 176a2-191b6)
Fig. 300: Detail of six-armed Heruka (Fig. 302)
Fig. 301: Sūtra volume sha, last folio recto

This folio, along with sixty-seven preceding folios, was originally marked as belonging to volume sha and hence it is featured here. The text that these folios contain, however, is included in volume ya. Thus, these folios were shifted to volume ya at some point, and their folio numbers as well as volume marker were adjusted accordingly.

The folio is fairly well preserved, the most notable damages are: a loss along the top margin with a bite mark and a brown stain, a crease across the right illumination, and losses along the bottom illumination. There are also trim marks along the bottom edge of the folio.

Fig. 302: Six-armed Heruka

The dark blue wrathful deity is three-headed, six-armed, and six-legged and stands on a lotus. His heads are all three-eyed, and the secondary heads are white and red. Of his six-arms, the main pair of hands hold a vajra and a skull-cup. The other hands hold, clockwise from the bottom right hand, a trident, a club, a noose and a ritual dagger. The upper pair also stretches an elephant skin behind the back. Wearing a tiger skin and a garland of skulls, the deity also has six legs clearly visible due to their different positions: the main legs are in a slight pratyālīḍha, two legs are in...
a crouching position, their heels overlapping, and the remaining ones are behind the first pair, but their feet are raised.

\[ \text{འགོན་པོ་སྒྲོོལ་བྱི།} \]
\[ 'gon po srol byi? / \]
Liberating Mahākāla (\textit{mgon po}).

The last syllable of this caption is unclear, as the original text has been overwritten at some stage. From textual comparisons there should be either \textit{ging}, which works with the vowel but not the letter in the present appearance, or \textit{byed}, which conforms better to the letter today but not to the vowel. In any case, a verb of action is likely intended here.

\[ \text{Fig. 303: Tiger-riding Mahākāla} \]
\[ \text{– Gönpo Takzhön} \]

The dark blue protector deity wears a black coat with yellow hems and belt as well as red shoes. He sits with the legs crossed at the ankles on a tiger, who in turn stands on a naked male corpse. The three eyes, the skull-crown, and the garland of skulls attest to his wrathful nature. In the right hand the protector brandishes a red club, while the left holds a golden heart-shaped object with three tiny skulls around in front of the chest.

\[ \text{འགོན་པོ་སྟག་ཞིོན་} \]
\[ 'gon po stag zhon \]
Mahākāla (\textit{mgon po}) riding a tiger.
legs fully crossed, while the other two are kneeling sideways. All monks are haloed, and those without a hat have a rosette above the ear.

Directly in front of the main lama are his ritual implements, a vajra, a bell and a pair of cymbals. On the table are seven vessels, four white bowls with a variety of others between them. Only the latter can be identified as a candle stand to offer fire, a bowl with torma (gtor ma) cakes, and a vase. While conforming to the standard seven offerings in number, they are not in the standard succession (see Beer 1999, 204–08) and incense is not among them. Instead, the stand with burning incense sticks is in the background. To the right of the table is a stand topped by a large jewel(?), the meaning of which is unclear. The three tassels along the top, and possibly also the two crystal-like shapes, are part of the canvas in the back of the table.

To the right are the lay followers, a nobleman seated with the legs crossed at the ankles and two ladies. Paralleling the monks on the other side, the man
performs the teaching gesture \((dharma-cakramudrā)\), while the ladies display the gesture of offering and worship \((añjali-mudrā)\), one holding a jewel offering. The man wears a turban, a red dress with a yellow belt, and decorated light blue coat covering his back, the sleeves hanging down at the sides. He also has earrings and a necklace. The ladies have larger gold jewellery with turquoises attached and a band of turquoises in their long black hair. An amulet box \((gau)\) is attached to their dress in the front of the chest. The dress of one lady is three-parted, a pink blouse and flower-covered trousers besides the red cape. The second lady wears a white dress with a red collar and an orange cape. All three wear white boots with black soles.

There are a number of fragmentary captions associated with this depiction, none preserved well enough to be informative. To the left are the fragments of a two-line caption too fragmentary to make sense of. Traces of a caption can also be seen below the second monk, while the area underneath the first one is damaged. To the right of the illumination, another faint text can be partially deciphered as follows:

\[
yon dag mo gyang x-tan/ yon dag mo yid rgyam
\]

This caption refers to the two ladies as donors \((yon bdag mo)\) but the reading of their respective names is unclear.
Fig. 305: Sūtra volume sa, first folio verso
This folio has suffered considerably over time with creases all across and considerable losses along the right side. Reinforcements of the upper and lower edge almost disappeared in the meantime and, as throughout, the glue of the repair appears to attract insects leaving bite marks all along these repairs. Except for a larger crease across a corner of the left illumination, they remained unharmed.

Fig. 306: Ādibuddha Samantabhadra – Küntu Zangpo
Dark blue, dressed, and bejewelled deity seated cross-legged on a lotus. The two hands rest on the lap in the gesture of meditation (dhyānamudrā).
The caption underneath is written by a different hand than the previous ones.

ANCEDJNYASA\n
dpal kun tu gzang po/
Glorious Samantabhadra (kun tu bzang po).
Fig. 307: Yangdak Heruka
The dark blue, three-headed, six-armed, and four-legged deity stands in *pratyālīḍha* on a lotus, the second pair of legs depicted in a crouching position. Of his three heads, the secondary ones are white and red. His main pair of hands embraces the consort and hold a vajra and a skull-cup (*kapāla*). The upper pair of hands holds a vajra and a bell along with a human skin hanging down behind the deity’s back. The lower pair of hands holds a human figure and a lamp(?). The consort is light blue and holds a skull-cup in her left hand.

*dpal chen he ru kaṭ*
Great Glory Heruka.
ID: Ng28.1 (rKTs233; D233; S125; Lg25.3; He83.03)
Title: ārya-mahāmeghasūtrād dasādigbodhisattvavasamudrasannipātimahotsavavikrīḍita-nāma-parivarta (D)
Tib: སྨྲོིན་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ་ལས་ཕྱིོགས་བཅུའིི་བྱོང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་རྒྱ་མཚོོ་འིདུས་པའིི་དགའི་སྟོོན་ཆོེན་པོ་ལ་རྩེ་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་ལེའུ་
Ind: སྨྲོིན་ཆོེན་པོ་སྡྷོལ་དང་ཤེིས་པའི་ཤེིས་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ
Loc: mdo, sa 1b1-39a5 (སྨྲོིན)
Colophon: སྨྲོིན་ཆོེན་པོ་སྡྷོལ་དང་ཤེིས་པའི་ཤེིས་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །། སུས་བཅིའིི་རྩ་བདུན་པ་སྲཿད་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཞན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

ID: Ng28.2 (rKTs234; D234; D658; D1064; S614; F523; EM146; EM756; Lg25.4; He84.11)
Title: ārya-mahāmeghavāyumaṇḍalaparivarta-sarvanāgahṛdaya-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (D)
Tib: སྨྲོིན་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ་ལས་ཕྱིོགས་བཅུའིི་བྱོང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་མདོ་ལས་ཆོར་དབབ་པ ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།། །། སུས་བཅིའིི་རྩ་བདུན་པ་སྲཿད་ཅིིང་ཞུས་ཏེ་གཞན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

ID: Ng28.3 (rKTs235; D235; D657; D1063; S613; F216; EM142; Lg25.5; He84.12)
Title: ārya-mahāmegha (D)
Tib: སྨྲོིན་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ་
Ind: སྨྲོིན་ཆོེན་པོ་སྡྷོལ་དང་ཤེིས་པའི་ཤེིས་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ
Loc: mdo, sa 44a2-57a2 (སྨྲོིན)
Colophon: སྨྲོིན་ཆོེན་པོ་ཐམས་ཅིད་ལ་མྱིི་འིཇྀིགས་པ་སྦྱིིན་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་གཟུངས་
ID: Ng28.4 (rKTs536; D538; D1068; D1072; S498; F607; EM151; EM324; Lg25.6)
Title: pūjāmegha-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.5 (rKTs603; D609; D925; S567; F608; EM417; Lg25.7)
Title: ārya-sarvābhayapradā-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.6 (rKTs693; D699; D904; S652; EM379; Lg25.9)
Title: ārya-abhiṣecanī-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.7 (rKTs693; D699; D904; S652; EM379; Lg25.9)
Title: ārya-samantabhadra-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
ID: Ng28.8 (rKTs606; D612; D923; S570; F609; EM163; EM415; Lg25.10)
Title: ārya-dhvajāgrakeyūra-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)

Tib: འིཕགས་པ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ས་མན་ཏ་བྷ་དྷ་ན་མ་དྷ་ར་ནྀ་
Loc: mdo, sa 60a4-62a9 (ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.9 (rKTs670; D676; D850; S633; F535; EM164; EM373; Lg25.11)
Title: ārya-aparimitāyurjñānahṛdaya-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)

Tib: འིཕགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚོན་གྱིི་རྩེ་མོའིི་དཔུང་རྒྱན་ཅིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་དྷྱིྲ་ཛ་ཨ་ཀྲི་ཀེ་ཡུ་ར་ན་མ་དྷ་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 62a9-63b5 (རྒྱལ)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚོན་གྱིི་རྩེ་མོའིྀ་དཔུང་རྒྱན་ཅིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་གཟུངས་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.10 (rKTs515; D516; D886; S475; F593; EM166; Lg25.12)
Title: ārya-puspakūṭa-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)

Tib: འིཕགས་པ་མེ་ཏོག་བརྩེགས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་པུ་ཥྠིྚ་ཀུ་ཏ་ན་མ་དྷ་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 65a9-67b2 (མེ་ཏོག)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་མེ་ཏོག་བརྩེགས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.11 (rKTs522; D523; D886; S475; F594; EM167; Lg25.13)
Title: ārya-mahāmahindra-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)

Tib: འིཕགས་པ་ཚོེ་དཔག་ཏུ་མྱེད་པའིྀ་སྙིིང་པོ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་གཟུངས་
Ind: ཨཱཱ་རྱ་པུ་ཥྠིྚ་ཀུ་ཏ་ན་མ་དྷ་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 67b2-68b9 (ཚོེ་དཔག)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་ཚོེ་དཔག་ཏུ་མྱེད་པའིྀ་སྙིིང་པོ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་གཟུངས་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.12 (rKTs606; D610; D927; S568; F649; EM287; EM441; Lg25.14)
Title: ārya-dramiḍa-vidyārāja (D)

Tib: འིཕགས་པ་འིགྲོོ་ལྡོིང་བའིི་རིག་སྔོགས་ཀྱིི་རྒྱལ་པོ་
Ind: ཨཱཱཱ་རྱ་དྲཱཱཱ་བཱ་ཌཱིི་བི་དྱ་རཱཱཱཱཱཱཱ་
Loc: mdo, sa 69a1-70b8 (འིགྲོོ)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་འིགྲོོ་ལྡོིང་བའིི་རིག་སྔོགས་ཀྱིྀ་རྒྱལ་མོ་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
ID: Ng28.15 (rKTs565; D570; D991; S529; F544; EM171; EM321; Lg25.17)
Title: ārya-hiranyavatī-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: ཨིཕགས་པ་དབྱོིག་དང་ལྡོན་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་
Ind: བཏྲེ་མི་ནུབ་པར་བཅར་
Loc: mdo, sa 72b1-74a4 (ཛེས་)
Colophon: ཨིཕགས་པ་དབྱོིག་དང་ལྡོན་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་མཛོད་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.16 (rKTs570; D575; D917; S534; F545; EM176; EM408; Lg25.18)
Title: ārya-ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā (D)
Tib: ཨིཕགས་པ་ཡོྀ་གེ་དྲུག་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་རྀག་སྔོགས་
Ind: བྲི་ཤེ་ཏུ་ཀྴེེ་རཱཱི་བཱཱཻི་རྱ་
Loc: mdo, sa 74a5-74b9 (ཡོི་གེ་དྲུག)
Colophon: ཨིཕགས་པ་ཡོྀ་གེ་དྲུག་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་གཟུངས་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.17 (rKTs613; D619; D1008; S577; F546; EM178; EM410; Lg25.19)
Title: ārya-cakṣurviśodhanī-nāma-vidyāmantra (D)
Tib: ཨིཕགས་པ་མྱིིག་རྣམ་པར་སྦྱིོང་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་རིགས་སྔོགས་
Ind: བྲི་ཙག་ཤུར་བི་ཤེོ་དྷ་ནི་ན་ཧྲི་ད་ཡོན་
Loc: mdo, sa 74b9-76a7 (མྱིིག་རྣམ་པར)
Colophon: ཨིཕགས་པ་མྱིིག་རྣམ་པར་སྦྱིོང་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་གཟུངས་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.18 (rKTs748; D754; D951; S706; F521; EM148; EM348; Lg25.20)
Title: ārya-daśavajrapāṇi-hṛdaya (D)
Tib: ཨིཕགས་པ་ལག་ན་རྡོོ་རྗེེ་བཅུའིི་སྙིིང་པོ་
Ind: བྲི་ཙག་ཤུར་བི་ཤེོ་དྷ་ནི་ན་ཧྲི་ད་ཡོན་
Loc: mdo, sa 76a7-77a4 (ལག་ན་རྡོོ་རྗེེ)
Colophon: ཨིཕགས་པ་ལག་ན་རྡོོ་རྗེེ་བཅུའིི་སྙིིང་པོ་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.19 (rKTs612; D618; D967; S576; F547; EM179; EM396; Lg25.21)
Title: ārya-ojaḥpratyañjana-sūtra (D)
Tib: ཨིཕགས་པ་མདངས་ཕྱིིར་འིཕྲོག་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་མདོའི་
Ind: བཏྲེ་ཤཱ་བཛྲ་པ་ནི་ན་ཧྲི་ད་ཡོན་
Loc: mdo, sa 77a4-77b8 (མདངས)
Colophon: ཨིཕགས་པ་མདངས་ཕྱིིར་འིཕྲོག་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་གསཟུངས ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.20 (rKTs614; D620; D1018; S578; F548; EM192; Lg25.22)
Title: ārya-aksirosapāsamanī-sūtra (D)
Tib: ཨིཕགས་པ་མྱིིག་ནད་རབ་ཏུ་ཞིི་བར་བྱེད་པའིི་མདོ་
Ind: བཏྲེ་ཤཱ་ཀྴེེ་རཱཱི་བཱཱཻི་རྱ་
Loc: mdo, sa 77b8-78a5 (མྱིིག་ནད)
Colophon: ཨིཕགས་པ་མྱིྀག་ནད་རབ་ཏུ་ཞིི་བར་བྱེད་པའིི་མདོ ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.21 (rKTs653; D659; D1065; S615; F590; EM174; EM365; Lg25.23)
Title: ārya-sarvadharmamātṛkā-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: ཨིཕགས་པ་ཆོོས་ཐམས་ཅིད་ཀྱིི་ཡུམ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་
Ind: བཏྲེ་ས་རྦ་དྷ་རྨི་མ་ཏྲི་ཀ་ན་མ་ད་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 78a5-78b3 (ཆོོས་ཐམས་ཅིད)
Colophon: ཨིཕགས་པ་ཆོོས་ཐམས་ཅིད་ཀྱིི་ཡུམ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.22 (rKTs653; D659; D1065; S615; F590; EM174; EM365; Lg25.24)
Title: ārya-tapasvināgarājaparipṛcchā-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: ཨིཕགས་པ་ཀླུའིི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཟི་ཅིན་གིས་
Ind: བཏྲེ་ཁྲི་ཤྭ་མྲི་ཏྱ་ཧ་ར་ནི་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, sa 78b3-79a3 (ཀླུ་གོ་)
Title: ārya-sarvabuddhāṅgavatī-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅིད་ཀྱིི་ཡོན་ལག་དང་ལྡོན་བ་ཞིིས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ས་རྦ་བུད་དྷ་ཨང་ག་བ་ཏྀ་ན་མ་ད་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 79a4-80b3 (སངས་རྒྱས)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅིད་ཀྱིི་ཡོན་ལག་དང་ལྡོན་བ་ཞིིས་བྱོ་བའིི་གསུངས་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

Title: ārya-arśapraśamani-sūtra (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་གཞིང་འིབྲུམ་རབ་ཏུ་ཞིི་བར་བྱེད་པའིི་མདོ་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ཨ་རྠེ་པྲ་ཤེ་མ་ནྀ་ན་མ་བྱོི་རྱ་
Loc: mdo, sa 80b4-81b2 (གཞིང)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་གཞིང་འིབྲུམ་རབ་ཏུ་ཞིི་བར་བྱེད་པའིི་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་གཟུངས་

Title: ārya-bahuputrapratisaraṇa-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་བུ་མང་པོ་རྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་བ་ཧུ་པུ་ཏྲ་པ་ཏི་ས་ར་ན་མ་དྷ་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 81b2-82a2 (བུ་མང་པོ)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་བུ་མང་པོ་རྟོན་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་

Title: ārya-sarvarogapraśamani-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་ནད་ཐམས་ཅིད་རབ་ཏུ་ཞིི་བར་བྱེད་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ས་བ་རོ་ག་པྲ་ཤེ་མ་ནྀ་ན་མ་དྷ་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 82a3-82b3 (ནད་ཐམས་ཅིད)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་ནད་ཐམས་ཅིད་རབ་ཏུ་ཞིི་བར་བྱེད་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་གཟུངས་

Title: ārya-jāṅguli-nāma-vidyā (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་དུག་སེལད་ཅིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་རིགས་སྔོགས་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ཛང་གུ་ལཱཱ་ནཱ་མ་བྱིི་རྱ་
Loc: mdo, sa 83b3-84b2 (དུག)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་དུག་སེལད་ཅིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་རིགས་སྔོགས་

Title: ārya-jvarapraśamani-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་རིམས་ནད་རབ་ཏུ་ཞིི་བར་བྱེད་པ་ཞིིས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་གཟུངས་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ཛྭ་ར་ཕྲ་ཤེ་མ་ནྀ་ན་མ་དྷ་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 83b9-84b5 (རིམས)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་རིམས་ནད་རབ་ཏུ་ཞིི་བར་

Title: ārya-coravidhvaṃsana-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་མྱིྀ་རྒོད་རྣམ་པར་འིཇྀོམས་པ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་གཟུངས་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ཙོ་ར་བྷི་དྷ་ན་མ་ས་ནཀ་ན་མ་དྷ་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 84b8-85a3 (མི་རྒོད)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་མྱིི་རྒོད་རྣམ་པར་འིཇྀོམས་

Title: ārya-bahuputrapratisaraṇa-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་དུག་སེལད་ཅིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་རིགས་སྔོགས་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ཛང་གུ་ལཱཱ་ནཱ་མ་བྱིི་རྱ་
Loc: mdo, sa 83b3-84b2 (དུག)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་དུག་སེལད་ཅིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་རིགས་སྔོགས་

Title: ārya-coravidhvaṃsana-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་དུག་སེལད་ཅིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་རིགས་སྔོགས་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ཛང་གུ་ལཱཱ་ནཱ་མ་བྱིི་རྱ་
Loc: mdo, sa 83b3-84b2 (དུག)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་དུག་སེལད་ཅིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་རིགས་སྔོགས་

Title: ārya-coravidhvaṃsana-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: འིཕགས་པ་དུག་སེལད་ཅིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་རིགས་སྔོགས་
Ind: ཨ་རྱ་ཛང་གུ་ལཱཱ་ནཱ་མ་བྱིི་རྱ་
Loc: mdo, sa 83b3-84b2 (དུག)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་དུག་སེལད་ཅིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་རིགས་སྔོགས་
ID: Ng28.30 (rKTs562; D567; D1003; S526; F681; EM131; EM341; EM342; Lg25.32)
Title: ārya-jayavati-nāma-mahāvidyārājā (D)
Tib: རིག་སྔོགས་ཀྱིི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆོེན་མོ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཅིན་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་
Ind: ལྷ་དཔལ་གྱི་ར་མདོ་ཏོ་བེན་པ།
Loc: mdo, sa 84b2-90a6 (རྒྱལ)
Colophon: རིག་སྔོགས་ཀྱིི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆོེན་མོ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཅིན་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.31 (rKTs591; D597; D984; S549; F631; Lg25.33)
Title: ārya-sarvadurgatipariśodhanī- uṣṇīṣavijaya-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: ཀྲིིབགས་པ་ངན་འིགྲོོ་ཐམས་ཅིད་ཡོོངས་སུ་སྦྱིོང་བ་
Ind: ལྷ་དཔལ་ཐི་དྲ་བི་ཏི་ག་པ་རི་ཤེོ་དྷ་ནཱ་ན་པྲ་ཏྱང་གི་རཱཱ་
Loc: mdo, sa 90a6-94b6 (གཙུག)
Colophon: ཀྲིིབགས་པ་ངན་སོང་ཐམས་ཅིད་ཡོོངས་སུ་སྦྱིོང་
བ་གཙུག་ཏོར་རྒྱལ་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིྀ་གཟུངས་རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.32 (rKTs728; D734; D968; S686; F598; EM133; EM381; Lg25.34)
Title: ārya-vijayavati-nāma-pratyaṅgirā (D)
Tib: རྡིིར་བཟློག་པ་འིཕགས་པ་སྟོོབས་ཅིན་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་
Ind: ལྷ་དཔལ་ཐི་ཟྲ་མ་ནཱ་ན་པྲ་ཏྱང་གི་ར་
Loc: mdo, sa 94b6-96a5 (སྟོོབས)
Colophon: རྡིིར་བཟློག་པ་འིཕགས་པ་སྟོོབས་ཅིན་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.33 (rKTs569; D574; D922; S533; F599; EM170; EM414; Lg25.35)
Title: ārya-cūḍāmaṇi-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: རྡིིར་བཟློག་པ་འིཕགས་པ་མིན་གྱིིས་མྱིི་ཐུབ་པ་རིན་
པོ་ཆོེའིི་འིཕྲེང་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་
Ind: ལྷ་དཔལ་ཚུ་ཏྲ་མ་ནཱ་ན་པྲ་ཏྱང་གི་ར་
Loc: mdo, sa 96a6-97b9 (སྟོོབས)
Colophon: རྡིིར་བཟློག་པ་མིན་གྱིིས་མྱིི་ཐུབ་པ་རིན་
pོ་ཆོེ་འིཕྲེང་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.34 (rKTs601; D607; D929; S564; F600; EM187; EM344; Lg25.36)
Title: ārya-ratnamālā-nāma-aparājita (D)
Tib: ཀྲིིབགས་པ་གཞིན་གྱིིས་མྱིི་ཐུབ་པ་རིན་
པོ་ཆོེ་འིཕྲེང་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་
Ind: ལྷ་དཔལ་ར་དྲ་འི་ན་མ་ལ་ན་མ་
Loc: mdo, sa 98a1-99b1 (སྟོོབས)
Colophon: ཀྲིིབགས་པ་གཞིན་གྱིིས་མྱིི་ཐུབ་པ་རིན་
pོ་ཆོེ་འིཕྲེང་བ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.35 (rKTs731; D737; D960; S689; F597; EM188; EM382; Lg28.1)
Title: ārya-balavati-nāma-pratyāṅgirā (D)
Tib: རྡིིར་བཟློག་པ་ལོ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་
Loc: mdo, sa 100a1-105a6 (སྟོོབས)
Colophon: རྡིིར་བཟློག་པ་ལོ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.36 (rKTs766; D772; D907; S723; F648; EM281; EM391; Lg28.2)
Title: ārya-mekhalā-nāma-dhāraṇi (D)
Tib: རྡིིར་བཟློག་པ་མེ་ཁ་ལའིི་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ་
Loc: mdo, sa 100a1-105a6 (སྟོོབས)
Colophon: རྡིིར་བཟློག་པ་མེ་ཁ་ལའིི་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བ ། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

Note: The colophon entails additional phrasing, which is also contained in Lg28.2.
Fig. 308: Detail of Yangdak Heruka (Fig. 307)
ID: Ng28.37 (rKTs648; D654; D975; S610; F261; EM143; EM362; Lg28.3; Lg30.10) = Ng30.5
Title: ārya-dharmasāgara-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: བསྐྱུས་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོི་ཞིོས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ
Ind: གུ་ེད་རྨི་ས་ག་ར་ན་མ་མ་ཧ་ཡོ་ན་སུ་ཏྲ་
Loc: mdo, sa 105a7-108a9 (ཆོོས)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་ཆོོས་ཀྱིི་རྒྱ་མཚོི་ཞིོས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Note: In Derge, but also Stog, this work is indicated as a dhāraṇī, whereas the title of Hg05-005, F261, and also Lg28.3 and Lg30.10 point to a sūtra.

ID: Ng28.38 (rKTs496; D497; D999; S457; F642; EM280; Lg28.4)
Title: ārya-aṣṭadevī-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: བསྐྱུས་པ་ལྷ་མོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱིི་གཟུངས་
Ind: གུ་ེད་ཁྲི་དེ་བྷི་དྷ་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 108a9-109b4 (ལྷ་མོ)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་ལྷ་མོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱིི་གཟུངས རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Note: No title in Skt.

ID: Ng28.39 (rKTs140; D140; D525; D914; S484; F290; F512; EM144; EM310; Lg28.5)
Title: ārya-anantamukhasādhaka-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: བསྐྱུས་པ་སྒོོ་མཐའི་ཡོས་པས་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ཞིོས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས་
Ind: གུ་ེད་ཁྲི་དེ་བྷི་དྷ་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 109b4-117b8 (སྒོོ)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་སྒོོ་མཐའི་ཡོས་པ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ཞིོས་བྱོ་བའིི་གཟུངས རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.40 (rKTs767; D773; D969; S724; F684; EM190; EM395; Lg28.6)
Title: ārya-vidyārājaśvāsamahā-nāma (S)
Tib: བསྐྱུས་པའིི་རིགས་སྔོགས་ཀྱིི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དབུགས་ཆོེན་པོ་ཞིོས་བྱོ་བ་
Ind: གུ་ེད་ཁྲི་དེ་བྷི་དྷ་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 117b8-118b3 (དབུགས)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་རིགས་སྔོགས་ཀྱིི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དབུགས་ཆོེན་པོ་ཞིོས་བྱོ་བ རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.41 (rKTs663; D669; D1086; S624; EM189; EM403; Lg28.7)
Title: 'phags pa nag po chen po'i gzungs rims nad thams cad las thar byed pa (D)
Tib: བསྐྱུས་པ་ནག་པོ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་གཟུངས་རིམས་ནད་ཐམས་ཅིད་ལས་རུམ་པའི་ཐརད་པར་བྱེད་པ
Ind: གུ་ེད་ཁྲི་དེ་བྷི་དྷ་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 118b3-8 (ནག་པོ)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་ནག་པོའིི་གཟུངས་རིམས་ནད་ཐམས་ཅིད་ལས་རུམ་པའི་ཐརད་པར་བྱེད་པ་

ID: Ng28.42 (rKTs599; D605; D956; S562; F614; EM345; Lg28.8)
Title: ārya-vajrabhairavadhāraṇī-nāma (D)
Tib: བསྐྱུས་པ་རྡོོ་རྗེེ་འིཇིིགས་བྱེད་
Ind: གུ་ེད་ཁྲི་དེ་བྷི་དྷ་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 118b9-119b7 (རྡོོ་རྗེེ)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་རྡོོ་རྗེེ་འིཇིིགས་བྱེད རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng28.43 (rKTs597; D603; D913; S560; F685; EM383; Lg28.9)
Title: karunāgra-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: བསྐྱུས་པ་སྙིིང་རྗེེའིི་མཆོོག་ཅིེས་བྱེད་པ
Ind: གུ་ེད་ཁྲི་དེ་བྷི་དྷ་ར་ནི་
Loc: mdo, sa 119b7-121b8 (སྙིིང)
Colophon: འིཕགས་པ་སྙིིང་རྗེེའིི་མཆོོག་ཅིེས་བྱེད་པ་

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**ID: Ng28.44** (rKTs655; D661; D998; S617; F686; Lg28.10)

Title: *grahamātrkā-nāma-dhāraṇī* (0)

Tib: ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

Ind: ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

Loc: mdo, sa 121b9-124a6 (གཟའི)

Colophon: ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

**Note:** No title in Skt. or Tib. at the beginning of the text; the title is taken from the colophon. This work is not found in the mainstream collections but concurs with Lg28.11.

**ID: Ng28.45** (rKTs1388; Lg28.11)

Title: *klu'i rgyal po sog ma med kyi gzungs* (Ng)

Tib: ཀླུའིི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སོག་མ་མྱེད་ཀྱིི་གཟུངས་

Ind: 

Loc: mdo, sa 124a7-129a8 (སོག)

Colophon: ཀླུའིི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སོག་མ་མྱེད་ཀྱིི་གཟུངས་

**Note:** No title in Skt., no marker for chapter 1. This work is not found in the mainstream collections but concurs with Lg28.12.

**ID: Ng28.46** (rKTs1389; Lg28.12)

Title: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i zhal chems nga rgyal bcom pa'i gzungs* (Ng)

Tib: ཨ་པབི་ཁོ་ི་ཐོ་ི་ི་ཤེེ་མིི་ུ་ུ་མིི་ི་ཡིི་ུ་ུ་མིི་

Ind: 

Loc: mdo, sa 129a8-133b6 (ཞིི་ལེི་ཆོིི་

Chap: 

2) ཨ་པབི་ཁོ་ི་ཐོ་ི་ི་ཤེེ་མིི་ུ་ུ་མིི་

3) ཨ་པབི་ཁོ་ི་ཐོ་ི་ི་ཤེེ་མིི་ུ་ུ་མིི་

4) ཨ་པབི་ཁོ་ི་ཐོ་ི་ི་ཤེེ་མིི་ུ་ུ་མིི་

Colophon: ཨ་པབི་ཁོ་ི་ཐོ་ི་ི་ཤེེ་མིི་ུ་ུ་མིི་

**Note:** No title in Skt., no marker for chapter 1. This work is not found in the mainstream collections but concurs with Lg28.12.

**ID: Ng28.47** (rKTs138; D138; S243; S523; F360; EM335; Lg28.13)

Title: *ārya-mahāsannipātaratukadāraṇī-nāma-mahāyānasūtra* (D)

Tib: ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

Ind: ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

Loc: mdo, sa 133b7-229b3 (འིཕགས་པ་འིདུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆོེ་ཏོག་

Chap: 

1) ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

2) ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

3) ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

4) ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

5) ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

6) ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

7) ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

8) ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

9) ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

10) ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

11) ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

12) ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

13) ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

Colophon: ར་ཀྱ་མ་ཚ་ཤི་ཱ་ུ་བུ་གྱི་བོམ་དང་པོ་ཡོད་

**ID: Ng28.48** (rKTs553; D558; D1059; S517; F361; F620; F731; EM295; Lg28.15)

Title: *mahāsahasrapramardana-nāma-sūtra* (D)
Tib: སྟོོང་ཆོེན་མོ་རབ་ཏུ་འིཇྀོམ་མ་ཞིེས་བྱོ་བའིི་མདོ

Ind: ཆེན་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀྱིི་མོ་རྡོ་རྗེ་བ།

Loc: mdo, sa 229b5-253a5 (སྟོོང)

Colophon: བསྟོད་དཔེ་སོགས་པོ་དཔེར་མི་དགོས་པོས། ། རྫོོགས་སོ། ། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་ཤེི་ལེན་དྲ་བོ་དེ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་ཀྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བད་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་ཞུས་ཏེ། ། སྐད་གཅིད་ཀྱིིས་ཀྱིང་བཅིོས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

Note: The colophon in Derge further adds Jñānasiddhi and Śākyaprabha as translators and mentions a further revision by Gzhon nu dpal.

ID: Ng28.49 (rKTs554; D559; S518; F362; F621; EM296; EM356; Lg28.16)

Title: mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī (D)

Tib: རིག་སྣགས་ཀྱིི་རྒྱལ་མོ་འིབྲང་བ་ཆོེན་མོ་

Ind: ཆེན་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀྱིི་མོ་རྡོ་རྗེ་བ།

Loc: mdo, sa 253a6-284a9 (འིབྲང)

Colophon: བསྟོད་དཔེ་སོགས་པོ་དཔེར་མི་དགོས་པོས། ། རྫོོགས་སོ། ། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་ཤིི་ལེན་དྲ་བོ་དེ་དང་། གཉའི་ན་སིད་དྷི་དང་། ཤེག་ཀྱི་ཕྲ་བ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་ཀྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བད་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་ཞུས་ཏེ། ། སྐད་གསར་ཅིད་ཀྱིིས་ཀྱིང་བཅིོས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

ID: Ng28.50 (rKTs556; D561; S520; F363; F622; EM297; EM357; Lg28.18)

Title: ārya-mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī (D)

Tib: བསྟོད་དཔེ་སོགས་པོ་དཔེར་མི་དགོས་པོས། ། རྫོོགས་སོ། ། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་ཤིི་ལེན་དྲ་བོ་དེ་དང་། གཉའི་ན་སིད་དྷི་དང་། ཤེག་ཀྱི་ཕྲ་བ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་ཀྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བད་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་ཞུས་ཏེ། ། སྐད་གསར་ཅིད་ཀྱིིས་ཀྱིང་བཅིོས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

ID: Ng28.51 (rKTs557; D562; S521; F364; F623; EM298; EM300; EM358; Lg28.17)

Title: mahāśītavanasūtra (D)

Tib: བསྟོད་དཔེ་སོགས་པོ་དཔེར་མི་དགོས་པོས། ། རྫོོགས་སོ། ། རྒྱ་གར་གི་མཁན་པོ་ཤིི་ལེན་དྲ་བོ་དེ་དང་། གཉའི་ན་སིད་དྷི་དང་། ཤེག་ཀྱི་ཕྲ་བ་དང་། ཞུ་ཆོེན་ཀྱིི་ལོ་ཙ་བ་བད་དེ་ཡོེ་ཤེེས་སྡེེས་ཞུས་ཏེ། ། སྐད་གསར་ཅིད་ཀྱིིས་ཀྱིང་བཅིོས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ།།

326
ID: Ng28.52 (rKTs558; D563; S522; F365; F624; EM299; EM301; EM359; Lg28.19)
Title: mahāmantrānudhārisūtra (D)

ID: Ng28.53 (rKTs530; D532; D873; S491; F557; Lg29.37)
Title: buddhabhagavadaśtasatanāma-dhāraṇī (D)

ID: Ng28.54 (rKTs629; D635; D875; S593; F558; EM195; EM433; Lg29.38)
Title: ārya-maitreyanāmaṣṭottarasataka-dhāraṇī-mantra-sahita (D)

ID: Ng28.55 (rKTs630; D636; D876; S594; F559; EM196; EM434; Lg29.39)
Title: ārya-khagarbhāṣṭottarasatanāma-dhāraṇī-mantra (D)

ID: Ng28.56 (rKTs1066; D1066; EM149)
Title: ārya-gulmālaṃkārāgra-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)

Note: The colophon in Derge mentions the translators Śīlendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, and Śākyaprabha instead of Jinamitra. There are slight variations on the textual level.
This folio has suffered considerably over time with a major crease across its centre and torn-off edges all around the left illumination, which is also affected by a major earth-coloured stain. There are also minor tears along the upper and lower edges, the latter being reinforced underneath the donor depiction.

**Fig. 310: Raven-headed deity**

The dark blue deity with a raven head stands in pratīyālīḍha on a lotus. His beak is painted as if the tongue is sticking out. He holds a curved knife (kartṛkā) in the raised right hand and a skull-cup (kapāla) in the left. He wears bone jewellery, a tiger skin and a skull-garland. Quite a bit underneath the illumination is a faint caption in a script not met so far referring to this illumination:

bya rog bdong

Raven-headed (gdong).

The graffiti on the right side of the caption copy some of the vessels depicted in the donor depiction and thus refer to it. The figure possibly refers to the turbaned male figures. These graffiti are later than the caption that also refers to the donor depiction (see below) but likely earlier than that referring to the deity.
Fig. 311: Lion-headed deity
The dark blue deity mirrors that of the raven-headed figure on the other side, even in the stance and the attributes held in the hands, but is lion-headed. Again special attention appears to be paid to the tongue sticking out of the mouth.

The double caption underneath repeats the same information twice:

ཇེང་དགོང་
seng gedong
Lion-headed.
See page 124 on the identification of these two deities.
The lower area is covered by a large donor depiction, and again the original intention was to cover the entire space between the illumination, but it is not followed through. There are three couples on the left and two on the right, all of them depicted in the same manner, but the colours of their turban and dress vary. Not seen previously are the decorations of the women’s capes, some of them in strips of red and white alternating. The two groups sit opposite each other holding diverse offerings, and between them is a baldachin with ritual vessels underneath, namely three three-legged offering stands with bowls, an incense burner, and a vase. Again there is a white pointed object above the others. The repair along the lower edge has covered all captions, if there were any.

Fig. 312: Donor assembly

The large, bold, headless-script caption to the left of the illumination appears to refer to this depiction, but it appears to make little sense:

།།
//’do’ ’rde’ ’jam
Fig. 313: Sūtra volume a, first folio verso

The folio is well preserved with only minor damage along the edges, the most significant on the left, the label side. There are several creases across, some of them affecting the illuminations.

Fig. 314: Padmasambhava – Guru Rinpoche

The teacher, with his eyes wide open, sits cross-legged on a lotus. The latter is emphasized on this folio, as only here white dots were used to highlight the tip of each petal. Padmasambhava wears a relatively flat hat with wide and thick upturned sides and a central petal-shaped ornament. His dress combines a secular coat underneath with Tibetan monastic dress, including the typical sleeveless vest, above. An orange cape frames the body. He holds his usual attributes; a vajra in front of the chest, a skull-cup (kapāla) at the lap, and a tantric staff (khaṭvāṅga) is leaning against his shoulder.

垫玛桑布哈（pad ma ’byung gnas），带头骨花环（thod phre can）。

It is likely that the two parts of the caption were written at the same time, the ‘a sharing the same peculiar style. The latter most likely refers to a particular
epithet and form of Padmasambhava, Tötrengtsel (*thod phreng rtsal*), which is not reflected in the illumination itself.

**Fig. 315: Worshipping monk**

A monk in Indian robes depicted in three-quarter profile sitting sideways on a lotus with one knee raised. He has his hands folded in the gesture of offering and worship (*añjalimudrā*). He has a rosette above the ear and also otherwise is treated like any other deity in the manuscript.

The caption is written in an entirely different style again:

རབ་འཆོར་འབྱོར་

*rab 'chor 'byor*

I take this as a humorous reference to going forth (*rab tu 'byung ba*) into the life of a renunciant.
ID: Ng30.1 (rK Ts680; D686; S646; F498; EM332; Lg30.6)
Title: ārya-amoghapaśa-kalparāja (D)
Tib: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་གྲོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Ind: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, a 1b1-263a3 (རོ་ལངས / ཞིགས)
Colophon: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Note: In Derge this work is labelled as dhāraṇī, not as sūtra. There are also differences on the textual level. Also Hg05-005, F261, Ne30, and Lg30.10 indicate it as sūtra.

ID: Ng30.2 (rK Ts610; D616; D1083; S574; F596; Lg30.7)
Title: ārya-saptavetāḍaka-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Ind: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, a 263a4-266b1 (སོགས)
Colophon: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Note: The colophon differs in its phrasing from Derge. There are also variations on the textual level.

ID: Ng30.3 (rK Ts521; D522; D848; S480; F606; EM353; Lg30.8)
Title: ārya-jñānolka-nāma-dhāraṇī-sarvagatipariśodhanī (D)
Tib: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Ind: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, a 266b1-267b8 (པོ་སོགས)
Colophon: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།

ID: Ng30.4 (rK Ts735; D741; D1006; S694; Lg30.9)
Title: dpal gyi lha mo mtshan bu gnyis pa (D)
Tib: བདེ་བསོད་ནམས་བོ་གྱི་བབ་བ་བཞི་བ། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Ind: བདེ་བསོད་ནམས་བོ་གྱི་བབ་བ་བཞི་བ། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, a 253a9-271a8 (ཐུབ་ཆོབ་)
Colophon: བདེ་བསོད་ནམས་བོ་གྱི་བབ་བ་བཞི་བ། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Note: In Derge this work is labelled as dhāraṇī, not as sūtra. There are also differences on the textual level. Also Hg05-005, F261, Ne30, and Lg30.10 indicate it as sūtra.

ID: Ng30.5 (rK Ts648; D654; D975; S610; F261; EM143; EM362; Lg28.3; Lg30.10) = Ng28.37
Title: ārya-dharmasāgara-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Ind: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, a 268a1-9 (རྒྱ་ཆོོས་)
Colophon: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Note: In Derge this work is labelled as dhāraṇī, not as sūtra. There are also differences on the textual level. Also Hg05-005, F261, Ne30, and Lg30.10 indicate it as sūtra.

ID: Ng30.6 (rK Ts730; D736; D995; S688; F641; Lg30.11)
Title: ārya-parṇṇaśabarī-nāma-dhāraṇī (D)
Tib: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Ind: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Loc: mdo, a 271a9-271b8 (ཐུབ་ཆོབ་)
Colophon: ཤེས་བྲ་བསོད་ནམས་རྫོང་བའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐོ་བོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ། །། །། རྫོོགས་སཱོོ།།
Fig. 316: Detail of Padmasambhava (Fig. 314)
The left side of this folio has been severely damaged in the past, affecting the illumination there through a loss of the surface layer in the top left corner and a large loss in the bottom area that was repaired from the back. The folio looks better today than at an earlier stage in its history, as both sides have been trimmed. There is only minor damage and blackening along the lower edge, but a part of the donor depiction has been severely damaged as well.

The yellow, corpulent, and semi-wrathful deity sits in the posture of royal ease (lalitāsana) on a lion, the head of which is lost and replaced by a graffiti. The figure is richly bejewelled and holds a banner topped by a jewel in the right hand at the chest and a pearl-spitting mongoose in the left. The body of the deity is finely shaded.

The beginning of the caption is lost to the damage in this area:

... ངོ་སྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམ་འོོོང

While it is clear that the caption refers to Vaiśravaṇa (rnam thos sras), the choice of abbreviation in the last syllable is puzzling.
Fig. 319: Penden Lhamo Remati

The light blue wrathful goddess sits in the posture of royal ease (lalitāsana) on a bright brown mule (the ears rather being those of a horse). Her saddle is the flayed skin of a human. Her hair is bound to a large knot, and she wears bone jewellery, a garland of skulls, and a tiger skin. She is four-armed and holds a skull-cup (kapāla) and a dagger in the main pair of hands, while the upper pair of hands hold a sword and a trident. The mule has its right front leg raised, and the right back leg is only a stump, making it a three-legged mule. A curious element of this illumination is the green, scroll-covered rectangle in front of which the mule stands. Is this supposed to be an abstract version of a ground?

There is a caption underneath the illumination and a second text right underneath it:

དཔལ་ལྷ་མོ་རི་མ་ཏི།
dpal lha mo ri ma ti/
Śridevi Rematī.

འདོད་པ་འཁམས་ཀྱིིི་དབང་འཆུགས་ལགས་སོ།
‘dod pa ‘khams kyis dbang ‘chugs lags so/
Being sovereign (dbang phyug) of the realm (kham) of desire.
Fig. 320: Donor assembly
In the bottom area we have again a large donor assembly which is similar to the previous one in composition and contains lay followers only. To the left are three figures, two males with a female between them, and to the right are four, a male with three females. In the centre, covered by a baldachin, are again offerings and ritual implements centred on a table with a conch and three white bowls on it. Above it are a bowl with offering cakes (gtor ma), a butter lamp, a bowl with rice or flower, a jewel stand, an incense burner, a vajra and bell, and a stand. The latter appears to be held by the right male, but this is not the case; he originally held a flower the stem of which can still be recognized underneath the hands.

There are captions for the donors along the bottom edge of the page, partially written in two lines. However, it is unclear how the lower syllables relate to the upper ones, the following readings are thus tentative.

\[\text{slo pon byan 'od \ 'od zer 'zhugs}\]
\[\text{grin tsen \ khyug}\]
\[\text{kra shis gyabs}\]
largely illegible
\[\text{... rayas grags ? \ gying tsa 'an/}\]
Given the fact that all the captions of the illuminations are added at a later stage, we have to assume the same for these names. They are thus of no help to establish a context for the creation of these sūtra volumes.
As part of the large-scale undertaking of introducing Buddhism on the Tibetan plateau from the seventh century onward, a massive corpus of Buddhist texts was translated into Tibetan, primarily from Sanskrit and occasionally other Indian languages as well as from Chinese and from Central Asian languages. Eventually, this body of literature was systematized and classified according to different criteria, as reflected for example in the imperial catalogues of the Lhenkarma (lhan kar ma) / Denkarma (ldan dkar ma), the Pangtangma (phangs thang ma), and the lost or unavailable Chimpuma (mchims phu ma). These did not endorse a strict division between “the Word of the Buddha” (Tib. bka’; Skt. buddhavacana) and exegetical treatises (Tib. bstan bcos, Skt. śāstra) and instead combined both categories (bka’ bstan bcos). It is, however, unclear to what extent these catalogues reflected the contents of actual manuscript collections, many of which were without doubt produced. In historiographical sources also the term Kanjur (bka’ gyur) appears frequently, but seems to have been used in a rather loose sense until the thirteenth century to refer to larger collections of canonical literature. There is further evidence that texts were gathered in anthologies called Domang (mdo mang/mdo mangs), literally “many sūtras,” which were

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1 For a discussion of pragmatic aspects within Indo-Tibetan translation, see Roesler 2018. A tentative list of Sino-Tibetan translation works is provided in Silk 2019.
2 See Herrmann-Pfand 2008.
4 The central features of the early development of Tibetan canonical collections are discussed in Skilling 1997.
5 See Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009, 11.
used in the compilation of later Kanjurs. The manuscript collections of Tabo and Gondhla may be seen as representatives of such larger collections, but as the individual volumes of these collections were not organized into a larger coherent whole, their relationship to later structured Kanjurs is difficult to determine. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the newly established Mongol rule instigated and financially enabled efforts to gather and reproduce larger corpora of manuscripts in Central Tibet. Eventually, this led to the creation of the basic models of canonical transmission that prevailed ever after.

Since the fourteenth century, Tibetan canonical literature has been transmitted in two major collections. Translations of the teachings ascribed to the Buddha are gathered in the Kanjur, where they are organized according to a thematic structure, with Vinaya, Sutra, and Tantra as elementary categories. These texts in turn are distinguished from the Tanjur (bstan 'gyur), being the translation of the exegetical treatises composed by various, primarily Indian, scholars. Taken together, these two collections are often conceived as “the Tibetan Buddhist canon”—a term that reflects the authoritative status of these textual collections, but which can be problematic if taken to suggest that the contents of such collections are strictly fixed.

The importance particularly of Kanjurs as symbolic objects representing the entirety of Buddhist teachings and their usage in ritual and recitation led to the production of a considerable number of different versions, with variations regarding the inclusion or exclusion of individual texts, their order, and their precise wording. The affiliations and historical trajectories of these various Kanjurs have been subject to extensive research. Most of the more widely known Kanjurs belong to one of the two mainstream traditions of the Tselpa (tshal pa) and Tempangma (them spangs ma) lineages. The former goes back to a manuscript Kanjur produced at Tsel Gungtang (tshal gung thang) in Central Tibet in the middle of the fourteenth century, and the latter emerges from another manuscript Kanjur compiled at Gyantse (rgyal rtse) in Central Tibet in the 1430s. While some Kanjurs are the result of a conflation of these two lineages (e.g., Narthang and Lhasa), others have remained disconnected from them and hence were termed “local” or “independent” Kanjurs, suggesting that they are not part of larger textual networks. Recent research, however, has shown that some of these, such as the collections of Hemis (he mi) and Basgo (ba mgo) in Ladakh as well as the collection that is reflected in the catalogue of the Early Mustang Kanjur, are indeed connected. The term “Mustang group” has been suggested for this Western and Central Himalayan network of collections.

The following will make it evident that also the Namgyal manuscripts must be regarded as members of this group, which hence confirms the existence of a larger textual network beyond the commonly acknowledged mainstream traditions of Tselpa and Tempangma. Further, since the Kanjurs of the mainstream lines that are accessible as physical manuscripts do not predate the seventeenth century, the assumed early date of the Namgyal manuscripts underlines their importance in historical terms. As will be discussed below, structure and content of the Sutra collection probably reflect a stage prior to the creation of fully-structured Kanjurs in the sense of the fourteenth-century model that the mainstream Kanjurs embody, and hence the Namgyal manuscripts may contribute to illuminate a

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8 See Tauscher 2008.
9 See Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009, 9ff.
10 As emphasized by Skilling 1997, 100–101, the production of Kanjurs in different regional, religious, and temporal settings was not governed by centralized control or fixed standards, which accounts for the principle plurality of Kanjurs. The issue of canonicity of Tibetan Kanjurs is also discussed in Silk 2015.
11 For earlier studies in this regard, see especially Eimer 1992 and Harrison 1994.
13 For a summary of the affiliations of different Kanjurs, see Tauscher 2013a, 108–9. The idea of a “Mustang group” of Kanjurs is introduced in Tauscher and Lainé 2015 and further discussed in Viehbeck 2020.
14 See Tauscher 2015a, 108.
crucial episode in the formation of Tibetan canonical collections.15

**Specific Characteristics of the Namgyal Collections**

Any attempt at determining the contents of the Namgyal manuscripts must start with the identification of every single text within the considered volumes. This task is substantially facilitated by the recent creation of digital databases providing comprehensive information on canonical material. In particular, we have used the *Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies* (rKTs) database, which features catalogues and scans of the original folios of different Kanjurs and canonical collections.16 Since a full description of the Namgyal manuscripts’ contents is listed in the catalogue section, the following will merely outline its most significant features.

As already explained, the volumes investigated comprise two separate sets, a Prājñāpāramitā set and a Sūtra collection. The former consists only of one single text, the Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra (ŚSPP), that is, the *Sūtra of the Perfection of Wisdom in One Hundred Thousand Lines*. In Tibetan, this text is commonly referred to by the short titles “One Hundred Thousand” (*bum*), indicating the number of stanzas, or “The Mother” (*yum*), hinting at the more general status of Prājñāpāramitā literature as the source and essence of all Buddhist teachings. Just like any Kanjur, also the ŚSPP figures as a symbolic object representing the entire Buddhist Dharma. Its volumes are therefore often found on the altars of smaller and larger monasteries as well as in private households across the Tibetan cultural sphere, and early reports already suggested that these were considered a basic equipment for Tibetan monasteries.17 Volumes of this text also have an important ritual function, for example when they are paraded around a village to purify the community, its crops, and livestock, to protect them from natural disasters, and to accumulate merit (*bum skor*). A similar function can be seen in seasonal readings of the text,18 and instead of the ŚSPP sometimes the volumes of an entire Kanjur or a similar larger collection are used for the same purposes.19 In fact, the recitation of the volumes of both the Prājñāpāramitā set as well as the Sūtra collection is attested in marginal notes in the Namgyal manuscripts.20 As in the case of Kanjurs, the importance of the ŚSPP as a symbolic and ritual object likewise lead to a mass production of this text in the form of manuscripts and printed versions, often in deluxe editions.21

The ŚSPP set at Namgyal consists of fourteen volumes that are labelled according to the first fourteen letters of the Tibetan alphabet. Accordingly, its final volume is termed *pha*.22 In contrast, its version in the Derge Kanjur covers only twelve volumes, and its final volume is not labelled according to the alphabetical order but with the more significant letter *a*. This convention of indicating final volumes is also found in other editions such as the Lithang, Ragya, and Urga Kanjurs.

The translator Rinchen Zangpo (*rin chen bzang po*, 958–1055); see Steinkellner 1994, 130. The Tibetan text, however, is somewhat ambiguous, and it is not entirely clear whether Rinchen Zangpo provided these collections for the newly founded sites or whether he had them recited there (see Tucci 1988, 115, and Ye shes dpal 1996, 24).

18 Gutschow and Gutschow 2003 describe these practices in the village community of Rinam in Zanskar.

19 See Childs 2005 for the social usage of a Kanjur in Nubri. He also provides references for similar rituals in other village communities.

20 See, for example, Namgyal, mdo, vol. a, fol. 287b, line 9ff.: *chos med kyi sprang po klu sgrubs rgya mtsho zhes bya bas mdo sde glegs bas n着眼 shu rtsa brgyad rang gi ice thog nas gtsang mdon tshad mar byas pas dge bai rtsa bas pha gtsos byas sems can thams cad kyi tse dir ’gal rkyen bar chad zhi nas phyi ma bde ba can du skyer bar ’gyur cig/*. These notes and the social usage of the manuscripts are discussed in detail in Viehbeck 2021.

21 On the production of deluxe editions, also for the ŚSPP, see Wangchuk 2016, esp. pp. 180–81.

22 The volumes are marked not only through letters on the margin but mostly also by mentioning the volume (*dam bu*) number on the first folio of a volume. For the last two volumes of the Namgyal collection, however, these numbers are incorrect.
The Namgyal text comprises altogether seventy-six chapters and thus four more chapters than the Derge version. A structural comparison shows that four additional chapters are found at the end of the Namgyal version, but there are structural differences also in the preceding parts. Both versions contain about 300 bampo (bam po). In comparison, a version of the ŚSPP found at Hemis (He 13.1) even contains seventy-seven chapters. A separate and more detailed analysis will be necessary to gain a closer understanding of the precise relationships between these and other versions of the ŚSPP.

The Sūtra collection in turn contains many more texts and hence provides greater opportunity for a structural comparison with the contents of other collections. Among the Sūtra volumes present at Namgyal there are two volumes designated as nya. Both are similar in style, but one is more damaged than the other, with several missing folios in particular at the beginning and end of the volume. The remaining folios do not contain any illuminations and it is unclear whether this volume was illustrated in the first place. Both volumes represent essentially the same textual contents, but their boundaries differ by one text. Each of them contains seventeen texts, sixteen of which are identical and in the same order. Only the first text of the more damaged volume is not included in the less damaged volume, whose last text in turn is not found in the former. Since the first text of the more damaged volume is listed already at the end of the previous volume ja, it is clear that the more damaged volume was not part of the original collection. Accordingly, this duplicate volume is not included in the catalogue section, but its contents are shown in the comparative table below (Table 1). In the inventory of all mobile objects of the monastery produced by Christian Luczanits, the original volume nya is designated as Book 9 and the duplicate volume as Book 77. This presence of a secondary volume with almost identical contents and similar stylistic features indicates that similar collections were produced in the area and it is hoped that future documentation will be able to trace these.

While the Sūtra collection contained originally thirty volumes, two volumes (ma and ha) are missing. The remaining twenty-eight volumes contain altogether 325 texts, distributed unevenly across the collection. Some volumes contain only a single text, like the Bhadrakālpikasūtra that fills the first volume (ka) or the Saddharmasūmrtyupasthānasūtra that covers the latter half of volume wa (20) and the whole of volume zha (21). Most volumes contain any number between five or twenty texts. Exceptions are volume za (22) with sixty-three shorter texts, mostly sūtras, and volume sa (28) with fifty-seven texts, mostly dhāraṇīs.

In order to gain a clearer understanding of the exact structure of the Namgyal Sūtra collection, it is useful to take a bird’s eye view by comparing its entire contents with another collection that is more widely used, such as the Derge Kanjur. To this effect, we have applied a method developed by Bruno Lainé, in which the location and sequence of individual texts in different collections are compared and the resulting comparative table is rendered into a visual graph, which allows for a more direct grasp of the respective relations. In the following comparison (Fig. 308), every single text of the first collection, in this case Derge, is compared to the location of the text in a second collection, in this case Namgyal. If a certain text in Derge is placed later in the Namgyal collection, the height of the graph increases, and if it is placed earlier, it decreases. If the text is not contained in Namgyal, there is a gap. In order to better understand the arrangement of texts according to their topical sections, the most important section headings of the Derge Kanjur were added.

24 For a detailed description of this method, see Lainé 2009. This comparison can be performed online at the rKTs website: https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/rktsneu/structure/index2.php (accessed April 28, 2020). The accurate interpretation of the graph depends on reading the comparative tables, which can be accessed through the rKTs comparative tool.

25 For reasons of clarity and due to spatial limitations, indications of smaller sections that are less relevant for the current comparison were omitted. This pertains to the sections of
Table 1: Comparison of contents between the two nya volumes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume nya, original collection (Book 9)</th>
<th>Secondary volume nya (Book 77)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) དཀོན་མཆོོག་གི་ཟ་མ་ཏོག་ཅིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་མདོ་</td>
<td>1) དཀོན་མཆོོག་གི་ཟ་མ་ཏོག་ཅིེས་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་མདོ་</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) དཔོན་པོ་གཞི་པོ་དེ་དེ་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ</td>
<td>2) དཔོན་པོ་གཞི་པོ་དེ་དེ་བྱོ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆོེན་པོའིི་མདོ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) བཞིིག་སྟེང་ལན་པ་</td>
<td>3) བཞིིག་སྟེང་ལན་པ་</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Obviously, this comparison between a fully developed Kanjur and a Sūtra collection is somewhat problematic, as one cannot expect that all the different sections of the earlier are also represented in the latter. This is also apparent in the overall size of the collections, with the Namgyal Sūtra collection (325 texts) being much smaller than the Derge Kanjur (1,107 texts). As the comparison of the contents of the various sections shows, their equivalence in the Namgyal collection varies, and some of these are missing completely. For example, none of the texts listed in the Vinaya section (here v) at the beginning of the Derge Kanjur is found in Namgyal. From the subsequent Prajñāpāramitā section (here pp), only two smaller texts are present in the Sūtra collection, that is, the Candragarbhaprajñāpāramitāsūtra (rKTs 27, Ng 28.57) and the Prajñāpāramitāsamantabhadrasūtra (rKTs 28, Ng 18.1). In the visual graph, also the ŚSPP is considered, which is a separate set at Namgyal. The Avataṃsaka is missing completely, and among the Ratnakūṭa section (here rk) again only two texts are contained in Namgyal, that is, the Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchāsūtra (rKTs 62, Ng 14.12) and the Acintyabuddhaviṣayanirdeśasūtra (rKTs 79, Ng 14.11). As expected, much textual content is shared with regard to Sūtra, and thus 221 works from the Derge Sūtra section (here mdo sde) are also identified in the Namgyal collection, but there are no significant parallels in the arrangement of these texts. It is striking that altogether seventy-four works that are listed under the Tantra section (here rgyud ‘bum) in Derge are also found in the Sūtra collection. This pertains mostly to dhāraṇīs, but also several shorter texts labelled as sūtras as well as a few mantras and short verse compositions. However, there are also major gaps: In particular, none of the texts from the first ten volumes of the Derge Tantra section is found in Namgyal.

We also note an absence in the Namgyal collection of any text labelled as tantra (rgyud). Further, also none of the texts classified as Old Tantra (rnying rgyud) in Derge are found in Namgyal. A comparison of the Dhāraṇī section (here gzungs ’dus) indicates a similar coverage as found in Tantra. Here, sixty-three texts from Derge are also present in Namgyal, again mostly dhāraṇīs, but also a few shorter sūtras, mantras, and verse compositions. Several works appear in more than one section in Derge, which indicates that the sectional attribution of individual works is not always exclusive. That said, the prominent presence of dhāraṇīs and other shorter works that later Kanjurs have listed in their Tantra and Dhāraṇī sections in a collection explicitly labelled as Sūtra may be regarded as a remarkable feature of the Namgyal manuscripts.

While this comparison provides a better understanding of the overall coverage of texts in the Namgyal collection, it also indicates some features of the relationship between Derge and Namgyal. As obvious from the irregular comparative pattern, there are no clear affiliations with regard to the sequence of the texts contained in both collections.

A closer examination reveals further discrepancies between Namgyal and Derge as well as other Kanjurs of the mainstream traditions. Among the texts contained in the Sūtra collection, there are several works that are not found in any of the commonly used Kanjurs:

Avatamsaka, Old Tantray (rnying rgyud), and Kālacakra Commentary (dus ’khor ’grel bshad).

26 That is, without counting the ŠSPP (one text) and the duplicated works in the alternative volume nya (seventeen texts).

27 Here, the numbers from the rKTs database are used as universal identifiers. For texts of the Namgyal collection (Ng), the first digit refers to the volume count and the second to its position in that volume.

28 A useful overview of the contents of the Derge Kanjur is found in Schaeffer 2009, 156; a detailed handlist of the contents can be retrieved from the rKTs archive.

29 The categorization of dhāraṇīs is obviously ambiguous. Some Kanjurs do not even feature this separate category, and even Kanjurs with a separate Dhāraṇī section place many of them in the Sūtra or Tantra sections (see Tauscher 2015a, 105).
ff. 74a7–77b4 (also in the duplicate vol. nya, ff. 114b4–118a1, Ng 45.5); rKTs 1291

no Tibetan or Sanskrit title at the beginning of the text, the Tibetan title is taken from the colophon, Ng 22.15, mdo, vol. za, ff. 58a8–59a4; rKTs 1387

no Tibetan or Sanskrit title at the beginning of the text, the Tibetan title is taken from the colophon, Ng 28.45, mdo, vol. sa, ff. 124a4–129a8; rKTs 1388

no Sanskrit title at the beginning of the text, Ng 28.46, mdo, vol. sa, ff. 129a8–133b6; rKTs 1389

Notably, all of these five works lack the standard opening sequence that states both the title in the source language, most often Sanskrit, and the Tibetan title.

Three of these works are without this preamble, while the two others only state their Tibetan title. This might indicate that the authenticity of these texts, in terms of an articulated link to their original source, was no longer proven, and hence they were then excluded in the editorial processes of the later mainstream Kanjurs. However, all of these works can be traced to a less commonly known network of canonical collections of which the Namgyal collection must be regarded as an essential part.

The first work, a praise to Buddha Maitreya in twenty-one chapters, is also found in Hemis (He 56.2), in various versions in the collections at Basgo (X 55.2, Ba 42.2, Ba 43.2, Ba 44.1), in Lang (Lg 8.4), and in the Early Mustang catalogue (EM 570). The second text appears to be appended to the first and contains also a praise to Buddha Maitreya as noted in the colophon. This text is also found in all of the collections just mentioned, where it invariably follows the preceding praise (He 56.3, X 55.3, Ba 42.3, Ba 43.3, Ba 44.2, Lg 8.5, EM 571). Note that the Early Mustang catalogue documents yet another work of praise to Maitreya, which is not
present in Namgyal. The third text, a short sūtra that discusses eight types of suffering, is also found in Hemis (He 78.16), Lang (Lg 29.21), and Basgo. Based on the parallel arrangement of the order of these texts, it might further be identical with a similar title listed in Early Mustang (EM 707). The two latter dhāraṇīs are only found in the Sūtra collection from Lang Monastery, where they occur in the same order as in Namgyal (Lg 28.11, Lg 28.12).

Since the respective collections in Hemis, Basgo, and Lang (glang), which will be discussed in more detail below, were documented only recently, these works had hitherto remained unknown in academic contexts and their contents are yet to be explored.

Two further titles may be added to this list of uncommon texts. These are found not only in Namgyal and its close textual networks but also in other collections whose contents were already made accessible by published catalogues:

30 Eimer 1999, 104. The relationships between these texts seem worthy of a more detailed investigation.

31 For Basgo, see X, mdo, vol. ngi, fols. 71b7–73a3. This collection is only partially catalogued, and hence some of its contents are not yet registered in the rKTs archive. I thank Helmut Tauscher for pointing out the identification of this text and several others.

32 In the Early Mustang catalogue, this text is listed as Sdug bsgal rgyun gcod kyi mdo (see Eimer 1999, 118).

33 See X, mdo, vol. ci, fols. 38b4–58b6. This is not yet included in the online catalogue.

34 For the latter, see Eimer 2012, 128.

35 Kapstein 2007, 354–55. See also Berounský 2012, 127, who clarifies a mistaken identification of this text by Jampa Samten.


37 In this regard, Chen 2018, 117–122 provides exemplary discussions from Butön, Dési Sanggyé Gyatso (de srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 1653–1705), and the compiler of the Lithang Kanjur. The latter passage is particularly important for the present context and hence will be discussed in more detail below.

38 Harrison 1994, 299–301.
In the Namgyal Sūtra collection, we find three texts that were excluded from the Kanjurs of both Tselpa and Tempangma and placed in the Tanjur instead. The first of these is the Jātakamālā (Tib. skyes pa’i rabs kyi rgyud, rKTs 981), a rather famous collection of stories about the previous lives of the Buddha ascribed to the Indian master Āryaśūra (ca. fourth century). The Namgyal version (Ng 25.1) does not include a colophon that would point to its author, and one might speculate that its human authorship was not known, or, more likely, not considered. The latter assumption is supported by the second example. Like the former work, the Saptakumārikāvadāna (Tib. gzhon nu ma bdun gyi rtags pa brjod pa, rKTs 1294) is also a narrative compilation and attributed to Gopadatta (fifth to eighth century). In the case of this text, however, its human authorship is indeed given in the colophon of the Namgyal version (Ng 13.16), without this leading to an exclusion from the Sūtra collection. Further, the Namgyal collection also includes the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānakārikā (Tib. dam pa’i chos dran pa nye bar gzhag pa’i tshig le’ur byas pa, rKTs 947), a short compilation of contemplative verses written by a certain Dhārmikasubhūtighoṣa. In contrast to the Derge version, the colophon in Namgyal (Ng 22.47) does not mention the human author of the text.

The presence of these texts in a Sūtra collection is certainly remarkable, but this feature is also shared with several other canonical collections. The Jātakamālā is found not only in Namgyal but also in Lang (Lg 27.1) as well as in a collection of canonical manuscripts from Chharang Monastery in Kinnaur (Ch 1.1). Gopadatta’s Saptakumārikāvadāna in turn is also included in Lang (Lg 14.3), Hemis (He 64.15), and Basgo, and it is also listed in the Early Mustang catalogue (EM 636). As expected, also the final example of the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānakārikā again is included in Lang (Lg 23.13), Hemis (He 79.09), and Basgo, and it is further also documented in the collections from Gondhla (Go 25.11).

On the one hand, this presence points to possible connections between these collections. It might further indicate that these collections reflect a stage of canonical development at which the identification of works authored by humans and a strict separation of these from works ascribed to the Buddha, that is, the principle bifurcation into Kanjurs and Tanjurs, was still emerging.

That the Namgyal material might, at least partially, predate many later Kanjurs is also supported by observations on the textual level. Numerous textual differences can be noted when compared with the texts as preserved in the Derge Kanjur. These range from minor deviations such as differences in the exact phrasing of shorter passages to major structural discrepancies such as the omission or addition of entire chapters, or even the presence of entirely different versions of texts. While some generalities of these variations will be touched upon below, the exact relationships between different versions of individual texts will need to be established by more detailed, individual case studies. For now, we simply note the presence of alternative versions of individual texts as a further characteristic of the Sūtra collection from Namgyal.

Using mainstream Kanjurs as templates for comparison, we can point out four principle remarkable features of the Namgyal collection: a) the occurrence of many dhāraṇīs and other shorter works that later Kanjurs have listed in their Tantra and Dhāraṇi sections in a collection termed Sūtra; b) the presence of several works with dubious identification not found in mainstream collections; c) the inclusion of a few works by human authors otherwise listed in Tanjurs; and d) the presence of alternative versions of individual texts.
All of these four aspects are addressed in a historical document about the production of Kanjurs in the fourteenth century. The following passages are taken from the colophon of the Sūtra section of the Lithang Kanjur (1608–1621)46 and describe the standards that governed the editorial processes when the Sūtra section of the earlier Tselpa Kanjur (1347–1349) was compiled from various sources, mostly smaller, independent Sūtra collections (the term used is mdo mangs), but also a larger collection from Narthang, that is, the so-called “Old Narthang Kanjur.”47 Here it is stressed that all the texts included in the new Kanjur underwent revision, which involved the standardization of terminology according to guidelines laid out in central manuals for Indo-Tibetan translation, i.e., the Mahāvyutpatti and the Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa, the elimination of regional idioms (yul skad) and colloquialisms (phral skad), as well as an update to current orthographic conventions, that is, the correction of archaic spellings, which is a consistent feature also in the Namgyal manuscripts.47 The colophon also describes two central interventions of restructuring the collections and of placing individual texts into other sections. First of all, the earlier collections contained smaller tantric works, i.e., “dhāraṇis which are not real sūtras but belong to the tantric section,” which were hence “inscribed into the collection of tantras (rgyud ’bum).”48 Secondly, they also contained texts by human authors, which were accordingly regrouped to the Tanjur: “[Works] like the Jātakamālā, the Varṇārvaṁbhavatobuddhasya-stotreśakṣayastavanāma, or the Saptakumārikāvadāna were composed later by scholars of the sāstras, such as Ācārya Śūra and others, and hence [...] were inscribed into the Tanjur (bstan bcos ’gyur ro cog) [...].”49 Again, not only the general features but also some of the explicitly mentioned titles suggest parallels to the Sūtra collection of Namgyal. Lastly, this part of the colophon concludes with the emphasis that the new Sūtra section contains only those texts that were “ascertained as sūtras of the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna,”50 a phrase suggesting that spurious works were detected in the earlier collections and hence excluded from later Kanjurs.

All of these reported editorial changes accord with the specific characteristics documented for the Namgyal collection and seem to indicate that the contents and structure of the Sūtra collection reflect a stage of canonical production that predates the production of structured Kanjurs as documented from the fourteenth century onward. This, however, does not mean that the Namgyal collection acted as a concrete source for the collections of the mainstream lineages, as the following systematic comparison with the contents of other collections will reveal.

Connections to Other Collections: Evidence from Structural Comparison

As indicated above, a computerized comparison of catalogue data can be used as a powerful methodological tool to reveal relationships between individual collections. We have already noted that for the Derge and Namgyal collections there is no connection in terms

45 Following Imaeda 1982, 84.
46 A rough translation of the colophon of the Sūtra section and its Tibetan text is provided in Samten and Russell 1987, 21–24 and 29–32. However, the text has to be checked against the original in Lithang, mdo sde, vol. aH, fols. 294a8–297a3. The passage in question is also discussed in Harrison 1994, 298–99. On the production of structured Kanjurs from earlier, smaller collections, see further Skilling 1997, esp. pp. 97–98, and Eimer 2002, 4.
47 See Lithang, mdo sde, vol. aH, fol. 295a2–7. The passage explicitly mentions the erasure of features like ma ya btags, da drag, etc., as documented with regard to the orthographic conventions of the Namgyal manuscripts in chapter 1 of the present study.
48 Lithang, mdo sde, vol. aH, fol. 295b7–8: mdo drnyos ma yin pa rgyud sder gtos pa'i gzungs rnam ni rgyud 'bum gyi nang du bris shing /. This phrasing seems to imply that there were in fact some texts labelled as dhāraṇi that were of a more “sūtric nature” and hence remained placed in the Sūtra sections, which corresponds to what is found in later Kanjurs, namely, that occasionally dhāraṇis are also found in Sūtra sections, even in cases of Kanjurs that have separate Dhāraṇi sections.
49 Lithang, mdo sde, vol. aH, fol. 296a1–4: skyes rabs dang sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das la bstod pa bsnags pa la bstan bcos pa'i bstod pa rnam dang / gzhon nu ma bdu re bstan bcos pa brjod pa la sog pa rnam ni phyi slob don dpa' bo la sog pa bstan bcos mkhan po rnam rgyis mzdad pa yin pa'i phyir [...] bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gi nang du bris pas [...].
50 Lithang, mdo sde, vol. aH, fol. 296a4: theg pa che chung gi mdor nges pa rnam.
of the order of texts. With reference to the data of other catalogues included in the rKTs database, we can further state that this is also the case for most other collections, in particular for all collections grouped in the mainstream Tselpa and Tempangma traditions. However, significant connections appear in a network of collections in the West and Central Himalayas, as we have already observed above in the discussion of individual features of the contents of the Sūtra collection.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, some of these pertain to other canonical collections in the Mustang area. While the existence of other manuscript Kanjurs and textual collections in Mustang has already been known, these are yet to be investigated. Of particular interest in this regard are the so-called “Golden Kanjurs” of Lo Möntang and Tsarang, that is, deluxe editions of Kanjurs written with gold and silver ink on dark blue paper (mthing shog). For a brief description of these Kanjurs, see Mathes 1997. The documentation and analysis of this material largely depends on the cooperation with local stakeholders.

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52 Eimer 1999; see also his earlier evaluation in Eimer 1994.

Fig. 323: Comparison between Early Mustang (diagonal red line) and Namgyal (blue graph) with the additional structure of Early Mustang sources: a manuscript of a Kanjur catalogue procured from Mugu (mu gu) district in West Nepal, that is, west of Mustang and also west of Dolpo, and, secondly, from a Kanjur catalogue contained in the writings of Ngorchen Künga Zangpo (ngor chen kun dga’ bzang po, 1382–1456), a famous master from Sakya who was involved in the production of several Kanjurs in Mustang in the fifteenth century. While it remains unknown whether the contents presented in this catalogue exactly correspond to any of the collections that still exist in the area, it is safe to assume that the catalogue must have a close relationship to the Kanjurs produced under Ngorchen’s supervision in the middle of the fifteenth century.54

53 See Heimbel 2017 for a detailed description of his life. Of greatest importance to the present investigation is his discussion of Ngorchen’s activities in Mustang that involved the production of several sets of canonical literature (see Heimbel 2017, 271–343).

54 Eimer 1999, 11–12 relates the catalogue to a “Golden Kanjur” for the royal family of Mustang, which according to Ngorchen’s
A computerized comparison and visual rendering of the catalogue data from Early Mustang with the Namgyal collections reveals striking parallels. The addition of another layer representing the content and structure of the Early Mustang Kanjur facilitates a better understanding of the relation between the two collections (Fig. 323).

The most striking feature here is an almost parallel arrangement of texts in the latter half of the diagram. Notably, this segment corresponds exactly to a section in the Early Mustang catalogue that is termed “various sūtra” (mdo sil bu pa) and structured in forty volumes. Although the extent of individual volumes differs—with the Sūtra collection from Namgyal containing a total of only thirty volumes—and a few individual texts are not arranged in a parallel fashion, the overall matching order must still be seen as a definitive proof of close historical connections between the Namgyal texts and the Sūtra section of the Early Mustang Kanjur. Further, this structural comparison again reveals features that were also encountered in the comparison with the Derge Kanjur: The Namgyal collection does not contain any text from the Tantra section (rgyud ’bum) or from the Vinaya section (here v). There is only one text from the Prajñāpāramitā section (here pp), that is, the ŚSPP, which is a separate set in the Namgyal collections, and a few texts that in Early Mustang are grouped under “four big sūtras” (mdo che bzhi), a label which also includes the Avatamsaka and Ratnakūṭa sections. Besides the Sūtra section, most of the other Namgyal texts are found in Early Mustang in the two Dhāraṇi sections (gzungs ’dus and gzungs ’bum). In Namgyal, most of these shorter texts, to a large extent dhāraṇis, are gathered in volume sa (28). The placement of these texts in the Dhāraṇi sections of the Early Mustang Kanjur, however, shows no parallel arrangement in Namgyal. How then can these two principle features—a close relationship within the Sūtra section but major discrepancies with regard to the rest of the collection—be brought together?

A possible explanation might be gained from the account of Ngöch’en’s first sojourn in Mustang in 1427–1428, as reported by his biographer Sanggyé Püntsok (sangs rgyas phun tshogs, 1649–1705). He describes the context and process of producing a Kanjur in the following way: “At first, there was no complete bKa’ ’gyur available in that land. [Ngö chen] then entirely commissioned [one set, taking] the Tantra section from Sa skya and searching in all directions for original [manuscripts] of the other [sections]. For an extensive [presentation], [one] should take a look at the bKa’ ’gyur catalogue written by the Lord.” As Sanggyé Püntsok relates, the new Kanjur was not created entirely from scratch. Instead, Ngöch’en based his efforts on existing collections that he gathered from Sakya and other places in his endeavour to form a new Kanjur. The rationale for compiling a new Kanjur in the first place is also important, namely, that there was no complete Kanjur available in Mustang. This seems to indicate that collections of canonical texts did in fact exist at the time, but that these were not seen to represent a complete Kanjur according to Ngöch’en’s Central Tibetan standards. Given the strong parallels in the Sūtra section and the fact that the Namgyal texts are definitely older than the collection represented by the Early Mustang catalogue, it is plausible that canonical collections in the Namgyal fashion existed at the time when Ngöch’en visited Mustang, but that he did not regard these to represent a fully-fledged Kanjur and hence compiled a new one, in which he incorporated these older collections as part of the Sūtra section.

55 The contents of Eimer’s Early Mustang catalogue were entered into the rKtS database, where they are now openly available for search and comparison.

56 Translation in Heimbel 2017, 284–85, who provides the following Tibetan text (appendix, p. 551): dang po yul der bka’ ’gyur tshang ma mi bzhugs pa la/ rgyud ’bum sa skya nas/ gzhan rnam phyogs mtha’ dag nas ma phyi btsal nas tshang bar bzhengs/ rayas par rjes mdsad pa’i bka’ ’gyur dkar chaq tu blsa’. The formulation given in this very catalogue (dkar chaq) differs only slightly, insofar it emphasizes that individual volumes got lost and hence a Kanjur with all volumes complete was not available (see Heimbel 2017, 319–20, and Eimer 1999, 11).
Alternatively, it is possible that what was found at Namgyal is only part of a collection that once was more extensive, or that it should be regarded as a fragment of a Kanjur that never came to completion. This explanation was suggested by Helmut Tauscher and Bruno Lainé, who were the first to note the close relationships between Early Mustang and different Kanjurs in Ladakh. They therefore speculated about the existence of an “Old Mustang Kanjur” as a prototype for the form of Kanjurs that existed in Mustang at the beginning of the fifteenth century, prior to the arrival of Ngorchen.57 While that is certainly possible, recent findings rather indicate an independent status of the Sūtra collection of Namgyal and similar textual collections, which by themselves probably acted as a canon, or “mini canon,” of some sort.58 This particular issue will be further discussed below; here it suffices to acknowledge the importance of this close relationship between Early Mustang and Namgyal.

Based on the connections between the Early Mustang Kanjur and the collections of Hemis and Basgo in Ladakh, Helmut Tauscher and Bruno Lainé postulated the existence of a larger network of canonical collections between Mustang and Ladakh, which they provisionally termed “the Mustang group.”59 The structural connections between different textual collections laid out in this present chapter provide further evidence for their principle assumption and contribute to elucidate many related issues in the wake of the recent textual findings.

In Ladakh, the better known Kanjurs of Shey and Stog are connected to the Tempangma group and were probably created on the basis of models from Bhutan.60 Other Kanjurs, however, fall out of this pattern and show no structural similarities to the mainstream traditions. In particular, this pertains to fragmentary Kanjur collections that were discovered in Hemis and Basgo and recently investigated by the Tibetan Manuscript Project Vienna (TMPV). At Hemis Monastery, the majority of the canonical manuscripts discovered in 2007 by local monks in a room underneath the Tsom Lhakhang (tshoms lha khang) were later identified as fragments of two handwritten Kanjurs: a larger one, measuring ca. 70 x 20 cm, and a smaller one with ca. 50 x 15 cm.61 Both these Kanjurs seem to be related to the reviser Namkha Pelgön (nam mkhaʻ dpal mgon), who is mentioned in their colophons and who is famous for his engagement in textual production at the time of King Senggé Namgyel (seng ge rnam rgyal, r. 1590–1620). This would place these Kanjurs in the first half of the seventeenth century. Provisional catalogues of both collections were added to the rKTs database, with the larger one receiving the label He (Hemis I) and the smaller one the label Hi (Hemis II). As Tauscher and Lainé have already pointed out, these Kanjurs have a close connection to the arrangement of texts in the Early Mustang catalogue, specifically with regard to their Sūtra sections.62

This close relationship is also evident in their relation to the Namgyal collection, although there are also major differences in the overall structure. Both of the Hemis Kanjur fragments contain most of the larger components that are found in structured Kanjurs and which are also indicated in the Early Mustang catalogue. Thus, Hemis I (He) includes individual sections for Vinaya, Prajñāpāramitā, Ratnakūṭa, Avataṃsaka, and Sūtra,63 with the latter organized in forty volumes. This volume count as well as the entire structure

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57 See Tauscher and Lainé 2015, as well as Tauscher 2015b.
58 See Silk 2015, 27–28, who uses the term “mini canons” for smaller anthologies of specific importance within a larger body of canonical literature, that is, canons within canons. Whether this also applies to the compilation of these Sūtra collections and whether ritual use can be seen as a driving force, as is the case in some other such “mini canons,” remains to be investigated.
59 Tauscher and Lainé 2015.
60 On this, see also Tauscher and Lainé 2008.
61 Further also fragments of a so-called “Golden Kanjur,” perhaps a heterogeneous conglomerate rather than a unified collection, were investigated; however, these show no connection to Mustang Kanjurs.
62 Tauscher and Lainé 2015, 472–75.
63 The sequence of the individual sections is somewhat arbitrary. The order given here is taken as a likely arrangement from the rKTs archive. Since the volumes of different sections do not share a continuing volume signature, its original order cannot be determined.
down to the arrangement of individual texts shows close parallels with Early Mustang. However, since Hemis I is only a fragmentary Kanjur, the catalogue of Early Mustang contains a larger number of texts than Hemis I. In particular, the manuscripts of Hemis I do not feature a Tantra section, but the ones of Hemis II (Hi) do. While the latter displays the same structure as Hemis I, it also contains fragments of a Tantra section and one volume of Old Tantras (rti'n dbyung). Naturally, connections to Namgyal can only pertain to texts either in the Namgyal Sūtra collection or the SSPP set. With regard to the contents of the Sūtra collection, the parallels in the sequential order of the texts is striking (Fig. 324).

There is a parallel arrangement especially in relation to Hemis I, here in blue, with the exception of several intervening texts. These parallels notably break off with the final three volumes of Namgyal, which perhaps, as some of the other features noted, could be attributed to the fragmentary character of Hemis I. This is even more the case for Hemis II. Here, there are some obvious similarities in the arrangement of texts in the first eleven volumes of the Namgyal Sūtra collection, but given the fragmentary data of Hemis II it seems difficult to prove any definitive connection.

A similar problem arises when comparing Namgyal with Basgo. The Serzang Lhakhang (gser zangs lha khang), a temple within the larger complex of the Basgo Fort, houses a rich collection of fragmentary canonical collections. In particular, TMPV investigated a Kanjur whose individual manuscripts mostly date from the early seventeenth century, but which was brought together to form a set only in the second half of the twentieth century. Most of its contents can be accessed through a preliminary but incomplete catalogue in the rKts archive (X). There is also a collection of fragments of up to six other Kanjurs, whose exact structure is still to be determined. Only parts of this collection were included in rKts (Ba). Further, Basgo

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64 This is evident from a cross-comparison of He and EM; since the focus here is on Namgyal, these comparative charts are not included.
also hosts a so-called “Golden Kanjur,” which was, however, not accessed by the TMPV team. Due to the fragmentary character of the Basgo collections and also the fact that more detailed catalogue data is not yet available, a detailed comparison between Namgyal and Basgo seems premature. However, as already indicated by Tauscher and Lainé, also the material in Basgo shows close connections to Mustang and must be seen as being part of the same network: “As the Hemis and Basgo Kanjurs are closely related and very much alike in every aspect, for the present purpose they are treated as representing the same line of textual transmission, although the Basgo catalogue is not yet completed.” These connections were also evident in the comparison of individual volumes between Early Mustang, Hemis, and Basgo.

For now, we have witnessed the close relationships between the Namgyal collection and several Kanjurs. Given the estimated time of production of the individual collections, it would seem feasible to assume an influence from Namgyal to Early Mustang and then further to the collections in Hemis and Basgo. However, it is also possible that such influences were transmitted through a different and hitherto untraced textual network. In any case, the point to be stressed and discussed here is that all of the later collections were Kanjurs in which the most typical textual components were present. Namgyal, in contrast, only features a Sūtra collection along with the ŚSSP set as a representative of the Prajñāpāramitā. In light of this consideration, would it then not be compelling to assume that also the Namgyal material represents only a fragmentary collection that was once larger, similar to a “standard” Kanjur? While this is certainly possible, indications that point to a rather different assumption come from another textual collection that was documented and investigated in more detail only recently.

The monastery of Nesar (gnas gsar), located at Bicher (also Vijer or Jicher, from Tib. byi gcer) village in Upper Dolpo, houses an incredible treasure of 642 mostly canonical volumes with altogether some 160,000 folios, 150 of them illuminated. In the 1990s, some material from this collection was studied by Klaus-Dieter Mathes, mostly with an eye toward reconstructing monastic histories. In 1996, the library was walled up by the head lama Tendzin Gyeltser (bstan ’dzin rgyal mtshan) to protect it against theft. Only five years later, this wall was taken down again in the context of the Pritzker-Roncoroni expeditions of 2000 and 2001, which provided an opportunity for a study of the monastery and its textual treasures as well as a more general support of the village. In this setting, Amy Heller accomplished a preliminary documentation of the manuscripts and produced a first study of the material, focusing mainly on the illuminations and some selected historical prefaces of the canonical volumes. As outlined by Heller, the volumes actually stem from three different monastic collections. Most of the volumes originally belonged to Nesar, but one collection of ninety-eight volumes was relocated from nearby Lang Monastery (glang dgon pa), and another collection of seventy-one volumes from nearby Serkhang Temple (gser khang). In 2014, the head lama Tendzin Gyeltser kindly prepared photographs of a “complete Kanjur set” from Nesar for TMPV. The rKTs database refers to these eighty-eight volumes as “Dolpo Kanjur.” During recent field work in summer 2018, it was understood that these eighty-eight volumes were actually culled from all of the three collections of Nesar, Lang, and Serkhang, and in that sense they represent an artificial collection, although close connections between textual sources from these monasteries must certainly be assumed. It was therefore decided to initially focus on the systematic documentation of a single collection, including images of all individual folios of all volumes.

66 Tauscher and Lainé 2015, 472.

67 Mathes 2003. Among the textual material that was microfilmed is also a version of the Tathāgatagarbhasūtra. A preliminary analysis of this text by Michael Zimmermann is appended to Mathes’ article, according to which it shows similarities to the Phugdrag versions of the text.
69 For the close connections between Lang and Nesar, see again Mathes 2003.
Since the images that were previously received had pointed to interesting features in the texts of the Lang collection, this was chosen first for a complete digitalization.

The volumes from Lang also include a Sūtra set of thirty volumes, which is termed “extensive Sūtra collection” (mdo sde rgyas pa) and features a structure similar to Namgyal. The textual material is much more disorganized than in the case of Namgyal, and the many folios interchanged between the volumes make it difficult to establish which volume belongs exactly to which set, but a preliminary catalogue of this Sūtra collection was still produced and can now be used for computerized comparison. Unsurprisingly, such a comparison reveals close connections between Namgyal and Lang collections (Fig. 325).

Within the first twenty-eight volumes, but also volume 30 (a), there are clear connections in the arrangement of texts. The overall picture, however, does not display an exactly parallel order. Instead, smaller groups of texts are found in similar order, but they are placed in groups in different volumes. While the order of the first nine volumes of Lang is quite similar to that in Namgyal, major discrepancies occur in the following. An especially noteworthy example is the parallel placement of the first thirty-seven texts of volume 29 (ha), which are found in Namgyal in a similar order in volume 22 (za). The large gap in the latter half of the graph can be explained in the context of volume 29 (ha). First of all, it must be considered that this volume is entirely missing from the Namgyal collection, hence its contents cannot be indicated. Further, the volume from Lang is unusually extensive. While the entire Sūtra collection from Lang contains 433 texts (as opposed to 325 in Namgyal), a total of 140 texts is found in volume 29 (ha) alone, which contains many extremely short and often obscure dhāranīs. This comparison demonstrates that the collections from

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70 A detailed analysis of the contents of the Lang collection is envisioned as a forthcoming study. Catalogue data of the Lang Sūtra collection is available at the rKTs archive.

71 Note again that this includes numerous texts that cannot be traced in the mainstream Kanjurs.
Lang and Namgyal are clearly related, but most likely not in a direct way.

Besides the issue of text order, it is also interesting to look at the overall contents of the Lang collection, which contains altogether ninety-eight volumes. Considering that most later Kanjurs consist of around one hundred volumes, this seems like a fitting number for a Kanjur. However, Lang does not feature any of the typical components of Kanjurs that were encountered in the structure of the Kanjurs from Hemis and Basgo or the Early Mustang catalogue. Instead, most of the other volumes are also fragments of Sūtra collections and ŚŚPP sets, thus pointing to contents similar to the ones in Namgyal. Besides the thirty volumes of the Sūtra collection examined in detail, there are another thirty-one Sūtra volumes that can be grouped into two further sets. Six of these volumes seem to form a fragment of an older Sūtra collection, perhaps to be placed in the early fourteenth century, while the “extensive Sūtra collection” discussed above is to be dated slightly later, between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.72 The remaining twenty-five volumes seem to be part of a subsequent set, which was produced over a longer period of time and contains many volumes that were dedicated by individual sponsors for specific purposes.73 While the contents of these sets and their mutual relationships will need to be studied in detail, for the present purpose it is significant to consider that all of them follow the same model that is also present in Namgyal: a Sūtra collection in thirty volumes.

The other larger group of texts from Lang consists of twenty-three ŚŚPP volumes. It is estimated that these stem from at least three different sets and can be dated to a similar time frame as the Sūtra volumes, but also these demand a more detailed investigation. Of the remaining fourteen volumes, two contain Tibetan indigenous works. The other twelve volumes comprise canonical literature and contain altogether thirteen canonical works.74 Most of these volumes were produced later than the Sūtra collections and ŚŚPP sets. The crucial point is that the collection as a whole does not reflect the model of “standard Kanjurs” with their typical structural elements, but that here a larger collection that figures as a canon of some sort consists mainly of Sūtra collections and ŚŚPP sets, parallel to the situation in Namgyal. Strikingly, a similar overall structure is also found in other monastic and private collections in this area.75 While it may be rather speculative at the currently limited state of knowledge, it does seem plausible to assume that in this borderland area forms of larger textual collections existed that were rather different from the Central Tibetan models of structured Kanjurs. However, it is equally plausible to assume that there was an occasional conflation of such collections, and that smaller Sūtra collections and perhaps also ŚŚPP sets were incorporated into larger Kanjurs, as it seems to be reflected in the set-up of the Kanjurs from Hemis and Basgo as well as the catalogue of the Early Mustang Kanjur. The close connections between these borderland collections can be observed not only on the structural level of the order of texts but also with regard to the texts themselves.

CONNECTIONS TO OTHER COLLECTIONS: TEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

As indicated above, the methodological approach of a computerized comparison of the catalogue data cannot, by its nature, provide proof for textual relations. While it does seem plausible to assume close textual connections where close relationships are evident in terms of the arrangement of texts, the latter could also be the result of following the same organizing principle of a specific structure, for example a specific

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72 These rough dates are solely based on some of the codicological, orthographic, and paleographic features of the manuscripts and will have to be confirmed by a more detailed investigation.

73 See Heller 2007 and 2009 for details on some of the dedications that often preface these younger volumes.

74 As noted in Heller 2009, 226, L89 contains two different texts that were bound together into a single volume.

75 This was confirmed by an initial glimpse into the collection of canonical manuscripts at Shey Monastery (shel dgon pa), in a private collection in Saldang, and in different monasteries in the Tarap valley. A detailed documentation of some of these collections is envisioned for the future.
catalogue. As can be seen in the case of the Early Mustang Kanjur, such catalogues have a life of their own and are transmitted in different textual settings.

An analysis of the precise textual relations between the different collections will have to start with critical editions of a significant amount of individual texts. This obviously cannot be accomplished in the context of the present study. However, by documenting, introducing, and providing open access to this material through the rKTs archive, the importance of this material will hopefully become more commonly known, and future research on its individual texts on the basis of this material should contribute to a better understanding of the larger developments of these collections. In fact, some ventures in this direction have already been undertaken.

In 2014, James Apple published a critical edition of a Dunhuang Tibetan version of the Mañjuśrīvihārasūtra together with a study of the relations between its different textual witnesses. Apart from five textual sources from the Dunhuang material, he also considered seventeen Kanjur editions, among them also the manuscript Kanjurs of Basgo and Hemis. Based on a phylogenetic comparison of all variants, Apple concluded that Basgo and Hemis must be seen as independent witnesses and part of a larger Western Tibetan group, and that “the Basgo (Ba) and Hemis (He) manuscript Kanjurs therefore contain readings which are older than the Tshal-pa based witnesses [...].” In view of the close relations between the Basgo and Hemis material on the one hand and the collections of Namgyal and Lang on the other, one might speculate whether such an observation would also hold true for these and other witnesses from Mustang and Dolpo.

Such close textual connections were in fact proven by Ruixuan Chen’s recent text-critical study of the Nandimitrāvadāna, for which he investigated eight different canonical versions. Among these, he also considered the versions from Basgo and Dolpo, the latter being from the collection of Lang Monastery, as representatives of the “Mustang group.” The textual variations pointed to close relations between Basgo and Lang and, on the other hand, a clear distance from the other mainstream Kanjurs. According to his observations, the “Mustang group” might be closer to the Tempangma than the Tselpa and perhaps share a common source with the former.

Further, in a forthcoming study Helmut Tauscher observes textual parallels between Namgyal, Lang, Hemis (He), and Basgo (Ba and X) in the case of selected passages from the Laṅkāvatārasūtra. Most strikingly, all of these Western and Central Himalayan versions share a different convention in referencing the title of the sūtra.

In the process of cataloguing the contents of the Namgyal collections, numerous textual features were noted. First, these indicate a distance to the Derge Kanjur as well as to other mainstream Kanjurs. Secondly, they underline strong textual connections between collections of Mustang, Dolpo, and Ladakh. While these observations often pertain to more technical aspects, such as variants in marking chapters or bam po-sections as well as textual variants in titles or colophons, they also point to the existence of versions of texts that differ from the more commonly known versions contained in the mainstream Kanjurs. This will be exemplified by the following textual glimpses.

The Namgyal collection (Ng 5.4) features a Mañjuśrīparipṛcchāsūtra (rKTs 172), whose Tibetan title is given as ’Jam dpal gyis zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo (i.e., The Discourse of the Great Vehicle Called “The Request of Mañjuśrī”). Not only the Derge version but also all other mainstream Kanjurs have a slightly different title, insofar as they read dris pa (“ask”) instead of the honorific zhus pa (“request”). Strikingly, many other collections from the Western and Central Himalayas concur with the title variant from Namgyal, that is, Hemis I (He 51.4), Hemis II (Hi 53.06), Basgo (X 52.4), Lang (Lg

76 See Apple 2014, 293–300 for the relations between different textual sources.
77 Apple 2014, 300.
79 Tauscher, forthcoming as “Chinese whispers? Transmitting, transferring and translating Buddhist literature.”
Early Mustang (EM 538), further also Gondhla (Go 26,07), and Tholing (Th 1340-14). These latter versions also include a colophon that mentions Prajñāvarman and Yéshédé (ye shes sde) as translators, an information that is not found in the mainstream Kanjurs. As evident from a comparison between Namgyal and Derge, significant differences are also observed on the textual level.

A similar case is the Ratnacandrāparipṛcchāsūtra (rKTs 164). In Namgyal (Ng 5.16), the personal name in the title is given as Ratnacandra ("The young Ratnacandra," Tib. khye'u rin chen zla ba). Again, this deviation from mainstream Kanjurs is found as a consistent feature in many Western and Central Himalayan collections: Hemis I (He 52.6), Hemis II (Hi 54.02), Basgo (X 53.7), Basgo fragments (Ba 36.7), Lang (Lg 5.18), Early Mustang (EM 546), further also in Gondhla (Go 26,16). All of these lack a colophon, which is provided in the version of the mainstream traditions. As Tauscher has remarked in the context of the Gondhla collection, the text in general is significantly shorter than the mainstream version, a fact that is also reflected in major textual differences. The Phugdrag Kanjur, it seems, preserves both of these versions (F 117 & F 380).

In the mainstream Kanjurs, the Sarvapuṇya samuccayāsamādhi sūtra (rKTs 134) is listed with its accordant Tibetan title (Bsod nams thams cad bs dus pa'i ting nge 'dzin ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo). In Śāntideva’s Śikṣāsamuccaya, however, the same work—or an alternate version of it—is referred to as Nārāyaṇaparipṛcchāsūtra. In the Namgyal version (Ng 6.4), the Sanskrit title concurs with the Sanskrit title found in many other Kanjurs, while the Tibetan title (Sred myed kyi bus zhus pa'zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo') renders the Sanskrit title as mentioned by Śāntideva. The same alternative Tibetan title is also found in the network of the usual suspects: Hemis I (53.2), Hemis II (Hi 55.02), Basgo (X 54.2), Lang (Lg 6.5), and Early Mustang (EM 555). Despite this drastic difference in the title, the colophons as well as the texts seem to principally correspond in the different collections and Kanjurs.

The Derge colophon of the Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra (rKTs 175) mentions only Dharmatāśīla as translator. In the Namgyal version (Ng 9.7), both Jinamitra and Dharmaśīla are listed. Apart from Namgyal, this pair also occurs only in Lang (Lg 9.7). Interestingly, two other manuscripts of the text that were likely produced during Ngorchen’s activities in Mustang in the fifteenth century give yet another alternative with Jinamitra and Dharmatāśīla as translators, which in turn concurs with the information in Hemis I (He 57.4) and Basgo (Ba 46.4). According to Philipp Maas, who has investigated the two Mustang manuscripts, these generally fall into the Tselpa recension of the text, which differs from Tempangma in terms of both textual reading as well as structure. While the former is arranged in seven bam po-sections, the latter has only five. The Namgyal version is also structured in seven bam po-sections, but its readings seem to deviate significantly from the Derge text, and hence it remains to be seen how this is to be placed into the transmission history of this work.

In his work on the Sandhinirmocanasūtra (rKTs 106), John Powers distinguished between two fundamentally different translations of the work found in common Tibetan Kanjurs: one group includes the Kanjurs of Lhasa, Cone, Derge, Narthang, and Peking, and the other is constituted by the Kanjurs from Stog and Tokyo (the one procured by Kawaguchi, hence abbreviated K in Powers’ system). Both of these in turn

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80 For a translation, see Tenpa Tsering 2020.
81 Tauscher 2008, 77.
82 See Samten 1992, XIX.
83 For a translation, see Dharmachakra Translation Committee 2016.
84 See Wedemeyer 2013, 227.
85 Eimer 1999, 102 identified this title as D 684, which bears a similar name. However, a comparison of the actual text shows that it must be regarded as a different work.
86 An edition and translation of this work is provided in Braarvig 1993a and 1993b, the former also discusses the principle relationships between the different witnesses. See also Braarvig and Welsh 2020.
87 See Maas 2003.
88 For an English translation of this work from a Tibetan version, see Powers 1995.
must be distinguished from a third strand of texts of much older dating, which is constituted by two manuscripts from Dunhuang. The version of the sūtra preserved in Namgyal (Ng 13.7) differs significantly from the Dunhuang version as well as from both Derge and Stog. First of all, the latter two include chapter markings that structure the text into nine (Derge) or ten (Stog) chapters, but these are notably lacking in the Namgyal version. Furthermore, also the text itself seems to reflect an entirely different version of the work. However, this version concurs with Hemis I (He 64.6) and Lang (Lg 11.8) both in terms of the lack of chapter markings and the textual readings.

As pointed out in earlier research, the Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchāsūtra (rKTs 62) exists in two different versions with two distinct Tibetan titles. The more common version (Yul 'khor skyong gis zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo) is found in the mainstream Kanjurs. This version, next to a second and slightly more extensive version (F 296) with a different title (Pho brang 'khor skyong zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo), is listed in the Phugdrag Kanjur. The other and less commonly known title occurs also in the Newark (Ne 132) and Tawang (O 137) Kanjurs. It is also included in the Namgyal collection (Ng 14.12) as well as in Hemis I (He 65.08), Lang (Lg 14.12), Basgo (X), and Early Mustang (EM 645), in the latter with a slightly different title (Pho brang yul 'khor skyong ba zhes bya ba'i mdo).

The Vimalākīrtinirdeśasūtra (rKTs 176) figures among the most widely known works of Buddhism. Its Tibetan title (Dri ma med par grags pas bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo) is a straightforward rendering of the Sanskrit title and also occurs in the Namgyal collection. The colophon of the Namgyal version (Ng 15.3), however, gives a much more extensive Tibetan title (Phags pa dr'i ma myed par grags pas bstan pa phrags su 'breld pa phy-ir bzog pa bsgrub pa bsam gyis my-i khyab pa 'i theg pa chen po'i mdo), which is not found in any of the common Kanjurs. Further, also the labelling of individual chapters in the Namgyal version differs markedly from the chapter titles as provided, e.g., in Derge. Striking differences are encountered also on the textual level, which suggest that the text in Namgyal reflects an entirely different version than the one in Derge. The sūtra seems not to occur in the Hemis collections, but the features of the Namgyal version correspond with the versions included in Lang (Lg 15.12) and Basgo (X).

A similar case is the Saṃvṛtiparamārthasatyanirdeśasūtra (rKTs 179). As pointed out by Jampa Samten, there is an alternative translation of this sūtra, which includes varying titles in both Sanskrit (Satya dvayāvatārānirdeśasūtra) and Tibetan (Bden pa gnyis la 'jug pa bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo). While the Phugdrag Kanjur contains both versions of the sūtra, only the alternative translation is listed in the Namgyal collection (Ng 15.13). The same situation is found in Lang (Lg 16.9) and Basgo (X).

The Namgyal collection further contains a version (Ng 22.42) of the Vimuktimārgadhauta-gunanirdeśa (rKTs 306), which is not only significantly more extensive than the version found in Derge but also different on a textual level. For an English translation, see Thurman 1976, also Thurman 2017. An edition of Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions was published by the Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature (see Takahashi 2004).

89 Powers 1993, 203–4. This principle distinction of the Tibetan texts into Eastern and Western recensions as well as versions from Dunhuang is also maintained by Kato 2006.
90 This is evident from a comparison with some of the passages of Stein Tib. No. 194, discussed in Hakamaya 1984.
92 This must be distinguished from an extremely short sūtra by the same name, rKTs 166. The more common sūtra was first investigated in Ensink 1952, and later translated and studied in Boucher 2008. A new translation from the Tibetan is currently prepared by a group of students at the University of Vienna.
93 See X, mdo, vol. zha, fols. 191b5–232b6. This is not yet included in the online catalogue.
94 For an English translation, see Thurman 1976, also Thurman 2017. An edition of Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions was published by the Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature (see Takahashi 2004).
95 See X, mdo, vol. 'a, fols. 152a5–241b3. This is not yet included in the online catalogue.
96 For a translation, see Dharmachakra Translation Group 2014.
97 Samten 1992, XVIII.
98 See X, mdo, vol. sha, fols. 1b1–30b5. This is not yet included in the online catalogue.
level, although the same translators are mentioned. This longer version seems to accord with the one found in Hemis I (He 79.04), Basgo (X),99 and Lang (Lg 23.12). However, its reading differs from both of the versions of the work listed in the Phugdrag Kanjur (F 260 & F 327).100

For the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Fool* (*Mdzangs blun zhes bya ba'i mdo*, rKTs 341) a different version is reported in the Phugdrag Kanjur.101 This contains altogether fifty-two chapters, including an additional chapter seven with the story of Prince Sujāta, which is missing in the versions of the mainstream Kanjurs. According to Ulrike Roesler, this version with the story of Sujāta is not only distant from both Tselpa and Tempangma lineages but also closer to the original.102 The version preserved in Namgyal (Ng 25.2) also features the story of Sujāta in its seventh chapter. Its textual readings, however, do not only distinctively deviate from the Derge version but also slightly differ from Phugdrag, Hemis I (He 79.10), Basgo (X),103 and Lang (Lg 27.2) also include the story of Sujāta.

As explained by Jampa Samten, the *Bodhimaṇḍalalakṣālāṃ kāra dhāraṇī* (rK Ts 507) is a particularly interesting case, since it was missing from earlier Kanjurs and hence was translated anew from the Chinese in 1744 and then included in the Lhasa and Derge Kanjurs. An older version, however, is found in the Phugdrag Kanjur (F 550).104 Another earlier version is also preserved in the Namgyal collection (Ng 30.7), which shows textual variants to not only Derge but also Phugdrag. Similar versions are further documented for the Golden Kanjur of Hemis (Hg 05-007) and Lang (Lg 30.12), further also Gondhla (Go 36,18) and the Dunhuang manuscript collections (PT 555).

This list of eleven rather prominent examples of Buddhists works will suffice to indicate the range of differences and similarities that are encountered when individual works are investigated more closely. The connections between the collections of Hemis, Basgo, Early Mustang, Lang, and Namgyal that were observed on the structural level are obviously also confirmed on the more detailed level of individual textual readings. This further supports the assumption of a network of canonical collections in the Western and Central Himalayas that share close relations and must be regarded as an important avenue of textual transmission next to the mainstream traditions of the Tselpa and Tempangma lineages, given its geographical scope and number of witnesses. It is also noteworthy that the examples discussed above are drawn from the complete range of the thirty volumes of the Sūtra collection and hence are somewhat representative of the collection as a whole. That said, each text needs to be investigated individually in order to determine its precise relationships to alternative versions and to understand the textual connections within different members of the so-called “Mustang group,” their possible relations to other local Kanjurs, and their connections to and differences from the mainstream traditions.

It must further be emphasized that the above list of eleven samples is by no means exhaustive. Many more such cases of minor and major textual differences are noted in the respective catalogue section. Clearly, these indications are of a preliminary nature. Whether a specific reading is part of recensional differences, the outcome of different translation activities, or based on a different source text in the first place will need to be determined by more detailed philological studies. It is obvious, however, that the Namgyal collection and others like it in the Himalayan borderlands offer extremely interesting and often novel textual material for many of the more and less prominent core texts of Buddhism preserved in Tibetan canonical collections.

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99 See X, mdo, vol. ci, fols 20a4–36b8. This is not yet included in the online catalogue.

100 See Samten 1992, XVIII, for the latter.

101 Samten 1992, XII.

102 Roesler 2007, 413.

103 See X, mdo, vol. ci, fols. 66a1–298b3. This is not yet included in the online catalogue.

104 See Samten 1992, XXVI–XXVII.
Concluding Remarks

Historical Traces, Visual Pointers, and Potential Prospects of the Namgyal Manuscripts

The manuscript collections preserved at Namgyal Monastery are without doubt a tremendously important source for furthering our understanding of the formation and production of larger illuminated collections of Buddhist canonical literature in the Himalayas. Among them the Sūtra collection stands out for its sophisticated illumination program, the earliest of this type known so far in Buddhist literature. This program sheds light on the complex process of adopting, adapting, classifying, and arranging South Asian Buddhist imagery, and it adds a visual subtext to the collection. Both collections also provide interesting insights into the relationship of images and texts. Historically and symbolically, that is, in terms of their religious value, the two manuscript collections are a cultural treasure not only for Namgyal Monastery but also for the Himalayas and beyond.

This importance, however, stands in a marked contrast to the little information the collections reveal about their historical background. As outlined in the previous chapters, codicological and art-historical considerations suggest that the Prajñāpāramitā set and the Sūtra collection were originally not part of the same collection but produced in different settings sometimes between the late thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century, with the Prajñāpāramitā set being senior to the Sūtra collection. This likely date of production places them in a period before the Mustang kingdom and its targeted support of Buddhist institutions in Mustang from the second quarter of the fifteenth century onwards. While Buddhism was firmly established in the region prior to that, the sources on Buddhist activities in this period

Fig. 326: Monks at Namgyal wrapping one of the volumes in cloth
The cloth wrappings and new labels were provided by the research project. Photo Jaroslav Poncar 2017.
remain limited. Moreover, even in cases of concrete reports about the production of manuscripts and manuscript collections, such as those found in later times, it would be difficult to claim a definitive association to an extant manuscript collection, since similar collections were produced at various places over an extended time period. Some of the later manuscripts at Namgyal do contain more extensive colophons or poetical prefaces that preserve certain details on their historical placement. However, in the case of these two early collections we have to rely on art-historical analysis, scattered notes, and partly erased inscriptions for providing a few additional leads regarding the history of their manuscripts.

The Prajñāpāramitā set does not include a formal colophon or preface, but some of the individual volumes seem to have contained brief dedicatory notes on their backsides, of which only parts have survived. In the case of volume ca, for example, the first layer of paper of the verso side of the final folio was thoroughly scraped off and while it is obvious that it formerly contained a text of four to five lines, the few remaining traces are completely illegible (Fig. 122).

Also the verso side of the last folio in the first volume (ka) preserves traces of text, while large portions of it appear to have been actively and purposefully removed. The verso side of the folio originally contained a set of four stanzas of four verses each, written in headed (dbu can) script (Fig. 121). Although the text cannot be read in its entirety, it preserves phrases that are of historical relevance. The first verse of the first stanza mentions a monastery of Tsachu (tsha chu'i dgon pa). The third verse appears to mention a clan of Dzang (dzang gi rus) and contains two references to sponsors, Nêten Wangdrak (gnas brtan dbang grags) and Möpa Shérap (mos pa shes rab).

The backside of volume nga contains some brief dedicatory notes, and while the folio as a whole is severely damaged, there is no indication that text was purposefully erased. Given the damages, the lack of contextual information, and the many anomalies in spelling, it is difficult to make sense of all the details, but some fragments of historical information do emerge (Fig. 327). This note also relates to the production in the place of Tsachu, when it refers to a “Divine Palace of Tsachu” (tsha chu lha'i pho brang), most likely a synonym for the monastery indicated in the earlier note. It confirms that indeed a manuscript of the “Great Mother” (yum chen), that is, the ŚSPP, was produced there, and it lists the main agents involved in the manuscript’s production: two sponsors (yon bdag), Wangdrak (dbang grags), perhaps the same person mentioned at the end of volume ka as Nêten Wangdrak, and a certain Tsünsar (tsun gsar); the officiating lamas (mchod tsho); and lastly the scribe Dzangtruk Yungrung (gdzang phrug g.yung rung).

It is likely that the first part of the scribe’s name refers to the family of Dzang (dzang) documented previously. These contents together with the overall character of the notes as well as their paleographic features suggest

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1 See Vitali 2012, in particular pp. 22 ff. and the historical summary in the introduction to this publication.
2 For example, Lobo Khenchen (glo bo mkhan chen, 1456–1532) reports about the production of Sūtra collections (mdo mang), and other larger collections as well as the production of deluxe volumes of individual texts, see Kramer (2008, 88, 243, 252–53). Given the overall similarities in the scope of contents, there could potentially be a connection to the various volumes stored at Namgyal, in particular with regard to the Sakya Kabum manuscripts. Two catalogues of Sūtra collections (mdo mang) are listed among Lobo Khenchen’s works. These seem not directly related to the Sūtra collection of Namgyal, but their contents and historical significance certainly deserve a closer examination.
3 The entire first line of this verse reads: yul la zhag chags tsha chu'i dgyong pa la.
4 The references to sponsors are found in the second and fourth line of this verse, which seem to contain the phrases yon dag gnas brtan db[ang] grags and y[lo]n dag mos pa sh[es] rab la[gs]. The original is barely legible, estimated letters were added in parenthesis.
5 A tentative transliteration of the text as found in the manuscript is given here ('bum, nga, fol. 409b):

\[l.1\] @_/kye lags tsha chu lha'i pho brang na_/yum chen _ gsor ma [b]
zhengs pa [l.2] tsha chu gnas pa'i lugs_za yon nas su 'jal ba yon tag dbang grags _ lugs [l.3] nas_la sbrang du shes pa [y]on tag tsun gsar
lugs_/yl[ri] ge ha r'u 'dod pa mchod [l.4] tso spis kyi lugs_/shes tshad bzabs nas 'bri ba gdzang phrug g.yung (l.5) rung lugs_/lar bzang bzang
_/spro spro _/_rja mor byung // [l.6] byang chub thob bar shog cig //.
6 This is likely a misspelling of btsun gsar.
7 According to Classical Tibetan rules, the letter combination _/gsa_ is not possible. Further, rung seems to be a misspelling of drung.
that they were indeed written in or close to the context in which the set was produced.

Unfortunately, we have not been able to identify the place of Tsachu. It is said that there are around one thousand hot springs along the Himalayan geothermal belt, and the name used to refer to the monastery could be a local shorthand rather than its official name recorded in the literature. We thus have to rely on the art-historical and codicological assessment presented above for an approximation of the production of this set.

In addition to these earlier texts there are numerous notes, scribbles, and writing exercises that were added at later stages. These are mostly in headless (dbu med) script and found scattered across the volumes on the folio margins. Among these, there is one longer note with historical significance. It reports that the “Mother” (yum), that is, the ŚSPP, was donated by the people of Tsachu (tsha chu ba). The note further seems to document two historical figures: a certain Yönten Gyeltse (yon tan rgyal mtshan), who acted as a medium for a protective deity (chos skyong), and a certain Lama Gyelséba (bla ma rgyal sras ba), the initially intended recipient of the manuscript. The text states, however, that the manuscript was not donated to the Lama due to the great blessing (byin rlabs che ba) attributed to it. These people cannot be identified with any certainty, but in the context of the life story of Ngorchen,

8 The text is difficult to decipher. The following provides a tentative transliteration (‘bum, tha, fol. 204b): yum ’di tsha chu bas phul dus chos skyon gnyes nas/ yon tan rgyal mtshan la babs nas/ tsha chu bas ster rnyed ’atsh-ra sprad pa la lo legs byung nas kras shis par byung balags de nas bla ma rgyal sras ba la bul zer byung ba la spud krahabs nas/ yum ’di/ dus tshes bzang po bzang po la rab gnas byas nas byin rlabs che ba yin pas/ bla ma la ma ’bul zer nas ma bul ba lags so/ ces kramdzad par zhu/ yum ’di la sngan skyes mkhyan byung na chos skyong mi gnyes pa byed shes yin pas go bar gyis.
a Yönten Tsültrim Gyeltsen (yon tan tshul khrims rgyal mtshan) is mentioned as the abbot (mkhan po) of Jamling (byams gling) Monastery, further also a certain Lama Gyelsé (bla ma rgyal sras). Both figures were active in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Interestingly, also other phrases on the manuscript margins allow a connection to Jamling (byams gling) Monastery. For example, one folio mentions the “spiritual community of Jampaling” (byams pa gling pa'i dge ba'i bshes gnyen). Another phrase, although extremely short, points explicitly to Jamling as a place of provenance. It only states: “This ‘Mother’ (yum) is that of Jamling.”

While the context of production and the historical interpretation of such notes requires evaluation through further research, these clues nevertheless point to a fundamental aspect of such texts, namely their nature as mobile items not fixed at a certain place. In light of these considerations, it seems obvious that the volumes of the Prajñāpāramitā set were not originally produced at Namgyal, but rather brought there from other places. They were produced at the unidentified place of Tsachu and kept for some time at Jamling Monastery. Notably, this information is in line with the history of Namgyal Monastery itself. The present inhabitants are well aware that the monastery collection and its monastic population have diverse origins. As outlined in the introduction, the expansion of Namgyal Monastery in the fifteenth century led to the merger of three smaller monasteries, and further objects were brought to Namgyal also from other places. The Jamling Monastery mentioned in the marginal notes could be a shorthand for Jampa Shédrupling (byams pa bshad sgrub gling), one of the three smaller establishments, and hence identified with that monastery.

Similar observations can be made from an analogue analysis of the Namgyal Sūtra collection, which in the documented form contains neither an extensive colophon nor a preface. In the case of this collection, however, most of the outside surfaces of the first folio recto and the last folio verso were reinforced by later repairs, and we rarely see the surface of the original folio. Yet, three of the volumes contain brief dedicatory notes on the recto side of their final folio that provide some contextual information. Volume kha adds the consecration verse (ye dharma formula) and a four-verse stanza in praise of the sponsors at the end of the last text. It refers to them as a couple (stangs zhal), but it does not provide any personal names. The dedicatory note at the end of volume ca has a similar character, but it is somewhat longer and more interesting in historical terms. It also points to a couple (although with stang gzhal the term is spelled slightly different here) but adds Lhaseng (lha seng, literally “Lion of Gods”), which could be a personal or family name or a more generic eulogistic epithet. Furthermore, it locates the production of the manuscript at a place called Lungdur (lung dur), which is mentioned at the beginning and the end of the note. A third dedicatory note is preserved at what seems to have originally been the end of volume

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9 See Heimbel 2017, 305 and 54, respectively.

10 This phrase is found twice on the same folio (‘bum, tha, fol. 96b, left margin), albeit with a different and incorrect spelling.

11 See ‘bum, nya, fol. 167b, bottom left: yum di ni byams sling [sic] gi yin no.

12 For details, see the section about the history of Namgyal Monastery in the introduction of this book.

13 Also in other sources Jamling is possibly used as an abbreviated form of Jampa Shédrupling, see Heimbel 2017, 307 and 334, and also Kramer 2008, 63.

14 See mdo, kha, fol. 328a7–8: swa sti / dad pa brtson 'grus ldan ba'i yon dag stangs zhal gyis // hwa lents 'dzam du 'dzom ba'i mchod tsho spyan drangs nas // mdo' sde khyad du 'phags pa'i rin chen 'di bzhengs pas // yon mchod bla myed byang chub gom pang myur thob sho //.

15 See mdo, ca, fol. 299a6–7: yul gyi snying po lung dur yul gyi dbus // / hkar gyi dam pa skye mar rin chen mdzod // / skye ba rjes su dran ba'i lha seng stang gzhal gyis // / smon lam dbang gyis mikhas pa rnams dang mjal // / bod du 'gyur ba'i chois rnams glebs ban chen por bris // / yig 'bru sum cu bder gshegs sprul pa'i sku // / ma nor lugs dang mthun pa ya rabs rkyen tu rung // / dein phyir ma bcu gcig gom phang bgro pao 'i / de 'dra'i choi ni shin tu 'ang rnyed par dka' ba'i // / lung dur ba'i ma dpe de la mdzod //.
ya to which folios from volume sha were then added. 16 This note also relates the manuscript to Lungdur (here spelled lung dur), and it refers to sponsors but does not indicate any names. Thus, it states that this “extensive sūtra” (mdo rgyas) was sponsored by a father and his children (pha spad), along with a statue of a deity (yi dam).

All three dedicatory notes are written in clear and regular headed script, without indications of later deletion. As with the Prajñāpāramitā set, their placement, contents, and paleographic as well as orthographic features may justify the hypothesis that these were written within or close to the context of the manuscripts’ original production. However, none of them actually aligns with the donor depictions found towards the end of the manuscript collection and the few fragmentary names preserved there. 17

Several clues of potential historical importance are also found among the various notes and scribbles that were added at later times in different contexts. The place of Lungdur, for example, is documented again twice, 18 but without any information that would allow its identification. Another note mentions the place of Püntsok Samtenling (phun tshogs bsam gtan gling), 19 a temple where Lobo Khenchen was active. 20 Yet another one brings up “a Sūtra collection from Phu phag” (phu phag pa'i mdo sde), 21 likely referring to the monastery of Pupak Samtenling, which also played a role in the new foundation of Namgyal. While these pieces of evidence are too short and obscure to clarify the exact trajectory of the Sūtra collection, they do again highlight the mobile history of the volumes. After being produced at Lungdur, a place yet to be identified, the volumes came to Namgyal at a later date, quite likely in the context of its restructuring through Ngorchen in the fifteenth century.

A similarly complex picture is revealed by the relationship of the illuminations to their captions. While the illuminations are most likely part of the production process, all captions appear to be later additions considerably removed in time. This is not only clear from the discordan content of some captions in relation to the respective illumination, but also from the variety of used scripts and the overall inconsistency of their application. This has broader repercussions for the evaluation of manuscript illuminations by means of captions, as clear from a review of Hidden Treasures of the Himalayas (Heller 2009), which deals with a manuscript collection from which selected text corpora were already utilized in this study. 22 For example, it is quite clear that the captions in red ink on the folios published on pp. 156–177 are later additions. In fact, at times the author struggles to reconcile the discrepancy between image and text. This is particularly apparent on the folios that do not depict the Buddha’s life, such as Fig. 118, where neither of the captions makes any sense. There, a blue, earth-touching Buddha is identified as Vajrasattva, and the lady offering a jewel on the second illumination on the same folio as the merchant’s daughter. In such cases, our tendency to favour textual evidence over the pictorial one not only negates the potentially complex history of such manuscript collections but also the value of the art-historical evidence.

16 See mdo, vol. ya, fol.359/360a7–10: kye lags // yul yangs pa can gyi lung ‘dur du //diad can yon dag pha spad bnyis //t she ‘di dang phyi ma gnyis don du //yi dam mdo rgyas gnyis su bzhengs //mchod nas blo dol mkhas btus bsog / zas nor gnyis la chags myed spyad //dge ba ‘di bgyis byin ruls kyis //yon dag pho mo gnyen bshes dang //bdag dang mtha’ yas sens can rnams //bla myed byang chub myur thob shog // //k ye lags //bdag rang mchod nas’ phags pa lags / /spyod pa dal’ byor yangs pa yin // tshig ni rwa myed yu bo yin // /yi ge stod kyi nyang langs lags // /gsre mas ma gos mngos kyi lags // /.

17 The most important of these depictions is in Sūtra volume sha, last folio recto, where only the fragmentary names of the two females are preserved (see Fig. 304).

18 The spelling of the name varies but obviously indicates the same place. Vol. tha, fol. 167a, right margin, refers to it as lung thur, vol. 2ha, fol. 369b8 as lung dur.

19 See mdo, sa, fol. 15b, bottom margin. Here, the name is spelled phun tshogs gsam stan gling. This note further mentions a certain Künga Gyeltsen (kun dga’ rgyal mtshan), albeit in an incorrect spelling (bskun dga’ rgyal tshan).

20 See Kramer 2008, 88 and 248–49.

21 See mdo, za, fol. 327a, bottom margin. Here mdo sde is spelled incorrectly as dmo sde.

22 In particular in chapter three, when referencing the Lang (glang) collection, which is part of the same manuscript collection.
Another more general point evinced by this detailed study of the Namgyal collections is the consideration of iconographic idiosyncrasies in the evaluation of depictions. The Namgyal illuminations of the Eight Medicine Buddhas has already triggered a separate study on the establishment of iconographic conventions around this group of Buddhas, which also demonstrates that iconographic idiosyncrasies are particularly prevalent in the fourteenth century.\(^{23}\) Thus, it is no surprise that the Namgyal illuminations are full of such idiosyncrasies, as illustrated for example by the male Uṣṇīṣavijaya (Fig. 279). It is easy to dismiss such divergences as mistake and ignore them, but this also eliminates the information they provide about the religious milieu of the time, the production context of the illuminations, and possibly even their origin. In fact, be it in the case of texts or illuminations, we hope that this study demonstrates the importance of such idiosyncrasies.

In both cases, the overvalued relevance of captions and the assumption that illuminations must be ‘correct,’ may be conditioned by much later printed manuscripts with captioned illuminations, some of which were used to establish a canon of Tibetan Buddhist iconography exactly because they combine text and image.\(^{24}\) However, it can be easily demonstrated that the reliability of these sources does not differ much from that of the Namgyal collections.\(^{25}\) It can thus be argued that despite its idiosyncrasies the illuminations of the Namgyal Sūtra collection are at least as relevant as the much later printed pantheons and actually represent the earliest known precedence for them. Even more, the divergences found within the Namgyal Sūtra collection actually constitute its value, not only in terms of the texts but also for its illuminations, marginal notes, and captions.

The idiosyncratic emergence and mobile past of the manuscript collections are not only interesting in historical terms but also need to be considered with regard to their future preservation. As indicated by the historical clues presented above, larger canonical collections as studied in this book are often not strictly tied to a single place, but their production, usage, and preservation involved a number of different agents and institutions. Equally, the production of the illuminations and their subsequent reinterpretations are expressions of a number of agents, but they are also extremely informative about the transmission of visual material to the Himalayas and their local reinterpretations. Also in this sense, the Namgyal manuscript collections must be regarded as a common cultural heritage, the preservation of which should equally be regarded as a joint obligation.

Fortunately, this vision is shared by the current monastic body of Namgyal Monastery under the leadership of Khenpo Tsewang Rigzin. From the very beginning, the Khenpo actively supported the documentation and academic study of the manuscript collections. Likewise, several monks from Namgyal assisted in the digitization of the manuscripts and their illuminations. Most importantly, Namgyal Monastery agreed to make all of the photographed material publicly accessible through the Viennese Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies (rKTs) archive and enabled the publication of this volume. This will serve two immediate purposes. First, the complete digitization of the two collections and their illuminations will ensure their long-term preservation at least in digital form. Since the original manuscripts remain in the monastery, they can still serve their religious purposes, while they should be immune to theft as the provenance of every single manuscript leaf and illumination can now be proven. The documented importance of these manuscript collections will further certainly contribute to preserving the physical manuscripts and their remaining illuminations, which will be an integral part of the newly established main

\(^{23}\) See Luczanits 2020.

\(^{24}\) Particular pertinent examples are Clark 1999, Chandra 1991, and Chandra and Bunce 2002.

\(^{25}\) A good example in this regard is the so-called Padnavikāsana Avalokita (spyīn ras gzigs padma dbang 'byed), which is depicted and listed among as the 159th among the 360 deities (see Chandra and Bunce 2002, no. 159; Chandra 1999–2005, 454–55, no. 56). It cannot be traced anywhere else under this name or the depicted iconography.
temple at Namgyal. Second, the accessibility of the textual material and the illuminations is expected to significantly enhance related research.

The illuminations provide unique insights into the transmission process of visual material and the effects of production on this process. Studies on the transmission of any of the themes covered by the illuminations will need to consider their evidence and the implications to be drawn from them. The available texts will enable further comparative studies in the structural set-up and historical development of larger canonical collections as well as their mutual relationship, also between later structured Kanjurs and the different forms of collections preceding these. Studies in codicological and material aspects may be helpful to delineate these developments also with regard to manuscript features. Lastly, with regard to specialized textual studies, not only do the Namgyal manuscripts serve as an important repository for readings not documented in other collections, but such studies will also be essential for understanding the historical development of different versions of individual texts as well as possibly the collections in which these are contained.

The above facets will be crucial for a more comprehensive understanding of the context in which such manuscript collections were assembled and produced. Such an investigation will be supported by considering other historiographical and visual sources, and, as exemplified in this publication, by mining the manuscripts themselves for information. Of course, gains in related knowledge will also depend on the further documentation and accessibility of other textual collections, several of which exist in Mustang and other Himalayan and Tibetan contexts. Of immediate importance for understanding the development of canonical collections in Mustang after the fifteenth century are the famous so-called “Golden Kanjurs” now preserved at Lo Möntang and Tsarang. We hope that the present documentation and study of the Prajñāpāramitā set and the Sūtra collection of Namgyal demonstrates the historical importance of a detailed study of such collections, and that it therefore will facilitate the future study of further collections.
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INDICES

All indices are ordered according to the Roman alphabet. Sanskrit titles refer to the standard title of the individual catalogue entries, but without the prefixed ārya. The Tibetan equivalent (phags pa) is also omitted. Tibetan titles are given as reported in the Namgyal manuscripts and include variations in spelling or even mistakes. In cases where an alternative spelling is found in the first syllable of a title and hence affects the placement in the index, the more common way of spelling the title is also listed. Tibetan titles are ordered according to their first letter in Romanized transliteration.

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