

Shao, Ziyi (2024)

Pantheons of the Emperor: the Translation and Adaption of Tibetan Buddhist Iconographic Programs.

PhD thesis. SOAS University of London.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25501/SOAS.00042748>

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this thesis, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given e.g. AUTHOR (year of submission) "Full thesis title", name of the School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination.

**Pantheons of the Emperor: the Translation and Adaption of Tibetan Buddhist  
Iconographic Programs**

By  
Ziyi Shao

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD  
2023  
Department of History of Art and Archaeology  
SOAS, University of London

## Abstract

### Pantheons of the Emperor: the Translation and Adaption of Tibetan Buddhist Iconographic Programs in *Three Hundred Deities*, *Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*, and Fanhualou

The present thesis discusses three Tibetan Buddhist pantheons created by the Qianlong court, namely the woodblock print *Three Hundred Deities*, the hand-illustrated *Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*, and the sculpture assemblies in Fanhualou. Primarily focused on the pantheons' iconographic composition and organisation, visual features and their enactments within the court culture, this thesis explores how the concept of Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, which is inherently contingent, is utilised and translated for distinctive purposes. Notwithstanding that these pantheons have been widely considered as the results of iconographic standardisation initiated by Changkya Rölpe Dorjé, the national preceptor and the root guru of the Qianlong emperor, each pantheon conveys distinctive religious meanings and fulfils various functions that go far beyond the presumed feature of establishing and solidifying the Tibetan Buddhist iconographic orthodoxy. The title of the thesis, *Pantheons of the Emperor*, underscores the primary role of the Qianlong emperor in not only promoting the production and reproduction of Tibetan Buddhist pantheons as a meritorious act but also engaging extensively throughout the process of the translation and appropriation of the pantheon's visual representations and religious contents. This was achieved with the purpose of solidifying his exceptional status both in the mundane aspect, as a devoted and righteous emperor, and in the super-mundane aspect, as a supreme being integrating kingship and religious authority.

The first chapter compares the differences in the visual features, functions and circulations between the *Three Hundred Deities* and the *Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*. Both pantheons are involved in the process of replication albeit through distinct methods, serving unique purposes that are reflected in their iconographic compositions. The second chapter is dedicated to the six pantheons in the side rooms of Fanhualou, a Tibetan Buddhist shrine within the Forbidden City. Through an iconographic investigation, it becomes evident that the six pantheons exhibit a highly unusual iconographic anomaly, primarily due to the identical configuration of the side rooms and the compartmentalised interior design of the entire building. This is followed by chapter three which examines the integrated parts of the six side rooms, the six stupas, showcasing noticeable stylistic hybridity derived from both Tibetan and Chinese

traditions. One of the most significant discoveries of the thesis is that the design process of the stupas was primarily initiated and determined by the emperor. As a result, the stupas not only distinguish and re-contextualize the six pantheons within the context of the Manchu court but also shed light on Qianlong's affirmation of the distinctive design of the six rooms. The final chapter reveals how the specific configuration of the central rooms as well as the spatial composition of the entire building, allow the Qianlong emperor to project himself as the apparition of Mañjuśrī in the centre of the building. Each chapter coheres around the heterogeneous facets of the pantheons in translation and expansion, and collectively outlines the significance of pantheons in shaping the religious landscape of the Qing court.

## Acknowledgements

I cannot fully express my gratitude towards my first supervisor, Dr Christian Luczanits, who guided me and encouraged me compassionately and selfishly throughout my master's study and my PhD research. His unique, witty, humorous mentoring style has illuminated the path of my academic career, and brought me a lot of joy in seeking knowledge and cultivating my own thinking and voice. I admire his generosity and kindness in supporting academia and monastics from all over the world, as well as his strength of long-time concentration and hard-working, balancing the fieldwork among the Himalayan mountains and teachings at SOAS. It always confuses me how he knows precisely when it is the right time to provide a nudge in the right direction, ensuring that I do not stumble or get trapped by the hurdles I created for myself. For a wavering PhD student like me, there is nothing better than knowing there is a person who constantly reminds you what Krishna said to Arjuna in Bhagavadita, “Stand up and face your problems!”

I have also benefitted enormously from the mentorship of my second supervisor, Professor Shane McCausland, who generously guided me and helped me with his wealth of knowledge. Through my interactions with him, I've developed a heightened sense of appreciation for the elegance and beauty inherent in well-crafted academic writing—a cornerstone of my professional goals. I cannot forget the day when I mustered the courage to knock on his office door and asked him to be my second supervisor. “It seems I have no other choice”, he smiled and agreed. It was the start of many meetings with him, during which he never failed to open up new ideas and horizons in a magical way.

During my field trip, I had the privilege of being hosted by the Eighth Tukwan Rinpoche in Qinghai who gave me unforgettable teachings on integrating bodhicitta with academic pursuits and kindly arranged my visit to Labrang monastery. In Beijing Luo Wenhua graciously opened the door of Fanhualou and Yuhuage for me. He not only guided me through both structures but also shared his insights on Tibetan Buddhist art within the Manchu court. This dissertation cannot be possibly written without the publication of *Fanhualou* by the Palace Museums in Beijing under the initiation of Luo Wenhua. I have also cherished the precious friendships of my supportive and intelligent friends and classmates. A warm expression of gratitude to Pu

Lan, my dearest friend, with whom I can always have a joyful and giggling conversation on Buddhism and art; Agneta Niklasson, my talented classmate from whom I have learned so much through her project; Dobdon Maksarov, our esteemed Geshe la, who consistently unveils the profundity of Buddhist philosophy with his extensive knowledge; Ngawang Jungney, the cutest lama in SOAS with the biggest ambition and ability; and my Tibetan teachers Tsering Sumdrup, Dorje, Tenzin Choephel, and Darig Thokmey, who always respond to my questions with unwavering patience. I would like to express my gratitude, in particular to Andrea Kwiatkowski, my Yoga teacher, who instilled in me the yogic principles of being frontal, aligned, balanced, and focused. Her teachings consistently remind me of the importance of "saying what you mean and meaning what you say" — not only in writing a doctoral dissertation but also in living a life with full strength, clarity, precision, and devotion.

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband Lestin Liu, my guardian angel who provides the best love and care one can find in the world.

## **A Note on Language and Transliteration**

The study examines a large number of Tibetan Buddhist iconographic pantheons made during the Qianlong reign. As a result, it involves names and terms in Tibetan and Chinese. Chinese names and terms are transcribed using pinyin. Tibetan names, for example, Rölpe Dorjé, have been phoneticised using the THL Simplified Tibetan Phonetics System developed by David Germano and Nicolas Tournadre. For English-reading audiences, the pinyin and Tibetan Phonetics System offer easier pronunciation.

The inscriptions of the original Tibetan scripts and Chinese characters of the deity names are provided in parentheses, followed by their transcribed names in Romanized form. The original prefaces and inscriptions of the three pantheons, as well as Chinese palace archives associated with Fanhualou, are provided in their original languages. This is necessary for further comparisons aimed at discerning the originality and sources of the deity iconographies, ensuring the precise and specific iconographic identification of the deities. The names of deities in abbreviated forms are completed with the missing parts enclosed in square brackets.



## Table of Contents

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| <b>Introduction .....</b>  | <b>13</b>  |
| Tibetan Buddhist pantheons in the Qianlong court.....  | 16         |
| Rölpé Dorjé, the compiler?.....  | 19         |
| Methodological framework: The iconographic pantheons in translation.....                                       | 21         |
| Outline of chapters.....   | 25         |
| <b>Chapter 1 300 and 360: Pantheons in Replication and Translation.....</b>                                    | <b>28</b>  |
| The Three Hundred Deities (300).....   | 29         |
| The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (360).....                                   | 32         |
| The iconographic contents of 300.....  | 34         |
| The iconographic contents of 360.....  | 42         |
| The comparison between 300 and 360: the iconographies, the materialities and the functions.....                | 49         |
| 300: the triads of <i>tshogs zhing</i> in replication.....   | 49         |
| 360, the aim of the materials of translation: tsha-tsha, illustrations, and eulogies.....                      | 52         |
| Conclusion .....   | 58         |
| <b>Chapter 2 The Six Classes On Display: the Iconographic Analysis of the Six Side Rooms in Fanhualou.....</b> | <b>60</b>  |
| Fanhualou, An Example of <i>liupinfolou</i> .....  | 60         |
| The spatial division and room composition .....  | 66         |
| The inscriptions and the deities' names in translation .....   | 69         |
| The iconographic pantheons from Room 1 to Room 6.....  | 71         |
| Room 1 Room of Prajñāpāramitā.....   | 71         |
| Room 2 Room of Father Tantra .....   | 80         |
| Room 3 Room of Mother Tantra.....  | 92         |
| Room 4 Room of Yoga Tantra.....  | 100        |
| Room 5 Room of Caryā Tantra.....   | 112        |
| Room 6 Room of Kriyā Tantra.....   | 121        |
| The iconographic interpretation.....   | 128        |
| The integration of the Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle with the Mantra Vehicle .....                                    | 128        |
| Nine Main Deities: non-identical emphasises of each room.....  | 132        |
| Cabinet Deities: the fragmentary pantheons.....  | 135        |
| The overall iconographic plan of the upper side rooms.....   | 137        |
| Deities on the lower floor: supplementing the pantheon .....   | 139        |
| Conclusion .....   | 141        |
| <b>Chapter 3 The Royal Invention: The Six Stupas of Fanhualou.....</b>   | <b>143</b> |
| The stupas of Fanhualou, Baoxianglou and other <i>liupinfolou</i> .....  | 145        |
| The iconographical and stylistic formation of the six stupas.....  | 146        |
| Stupa in Room 1.....   | 146        |
| Stupa in Room 2.....   | 148        |
| Stupa in Room 3.....   | 151        |
| Stupa in Room 4.....   | 154        |
| Stupa in Room 5.....   | 157        |
| Stupa in Room 6.....   | 159        |
| The connection between the six stupas and the six classes.....   | 161        |
| Qianlong's involvement.....  | 164        |
| The miniaturisation and transformation of Chinese pagodas.....   | 166        |

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| The inheritance of Tibetan stupa tradition and the stylistic hybridity.....                                  | 168        |
| <b>Chapter 4 The Centre of the Centre: the Enactment of Qianlong and the central Rooms of Fanhualou.....</b> | <b>171</b> |
| The Lower Central Room .....   | 173        |
| Thangka paintings of Jātakamālā .....  | 175        |
| The Upper Central Room.....  | 181        |
| The multiple representations of Tsongkhapa.....  | 186        |
| Dragon Throne: the absence and presence of the emperor.....  | 188        |
| Staging in the centre and refashioning the pantheon .....  | 192        |
| <b>Conclusion .....</b>  | <b>195</b> |
| <b>Bibliography.....</b>   | <b>198</b> |
| <b>Illustration.....</b>   | <b>209</b> |
| <b>Appendices .....</b>  | <b>297</b> |

## LIST of ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig.1.1 Folio No. 22 in 三百佛像集=Three Hundred Deities
- Fig.1.2 Preface Page 1 in 三百佛像集=The Three Hundred Deities
- Fig.1.3 The cover of the five volumes of 诸佛菩萨圣像赞=The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas
- Fig.1.4 Cakrasaṃvara and the eulogy of 诸佛菩萨圣像赞=The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas
- Fig.1.5 Fragmented palace rescript
- Fig.1.6 (Left): Tsha-tsha of Kanakavaṛṇa Tārā  
(Right): Kanakavaṛṇa Tārā in 诸佛菩萨圣像赞=The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas
- Fig.1.7 Mould for Tsha-tsha
- Fig.1.8 Kāśyapa in 诸佛菩萨圣像赞=The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas
- Fig.1.9 Kālacakra in 诸佛菩萨圣像赞=The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas
- Fig.1.10 (Left) Jāṅgulī Tārā in 诸佛菩萨圣像赞=The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas  
(Right) Detail of Fig.1.5
- Fig.1.11 Painting of Guan Yu
- Fig.1.12 Tsha-tsha assembly in Cininggong Palace
- Fig.1.13 Tsha-tsha assembly in Xumifushouzhimiao Temple.
- Fig.1.14 (Upper) Pañcarakṣā in 三百佛像集=Three Hundred Icon  
(Lower) Pañcarakṣā in 诸佛菩萨圣像赞=The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas
- Fig.2.1 The interior of Fanhualou
- Fig.2.2 The main entrance of Fanhualou
- Fig.2.3 Lower central room of Fanhualou
- Fig.2.4 Upper central room
- Fig.2.5 Room 5 of Fanhualou
- Fig.2.6 Eastern Cabinet of Room 1 of Fanhualou
- Fig.2.7 Stupa in Room 1 of Fanhualou
- Fig.2.8 Inscriptions on the upper part of the corridor
- Fig.2.9 Nine Main Deities in Room 1 in Fanhualou
- Fig.2.10 Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 1 on the paintings of Northern (top), Western (middle) and Eastern Wall (bottom) in Fanhualou
- Fig.2.11 Nine Main Deities of Room 2 in Fanhualou
- Fig.2.12 Woodblock of Śaṅmukha Yamari
- Fig.2.13 Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 2 on the paintings of Northern (top), Western (middle) and Eastern Wall (bottom) in Fanhualou
- Fig.2.14 Nine Main Deities of Room 3 in Fanhualou
- Fig.2.15 Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 3 on the paintings of Northern (top), Western (middle) and Eastern Wall (bottom) in Fanhualou
- Fig.2.16 Nine Main Deities of Room 3 in Fanhualou
- Fig.2.17 (Left) Sarvārthasiddhi as one of the Nine Main Deities of Room 4  
(Right) Jagadvinaya as one of the Nine Main Deities of Room 4
- Fig.2.18 (Left) Mañjuśrījñānasattva, Serkhang, Lalung  
(Right) Mañjuśrījñānasattva as one of the Nine Main Deities of Room 4
- Fig.2.19 The thirty-seven deities Vajradhātu maṇḍala with pink marks
- Fig.2.20 Navoṣṇīṣa maṇḍala of the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra with green marks
- Fig.2.21 Central palace of the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala with blue marks
- Fig.2.22 Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 4 on the paintings of Northern (top), Western (middle) and Eastern Wall (bottom) in Fanhualou
- Fig.2.23 Nine Main Deities of Room 5 in Fanhualou
- Fig.2.24 Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 5 on the paintings of Northern (top), Western (middle) and Eastern Wall (bottom) in Fanhualou
- Fig.2.25 Nine Main Deities of Room 6 in Fanhualou
- Fig.2.26 (Left) Hālāhala-Lokeśvara  
(Right) Hariharivāhana-Lokeśvara
- Fig.2.27 (Left) Hālāhala-Lokeśvara in 诸佛菩萨圣像赞=The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.  
(Right) Hariharivāhana-Lokeśvara in 诸佛菩萨圣像赞=The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.
- Fig.2.28 Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 6 on the paintings of Northern (top), Western (middle) and Eastern Wall (bottom) in Fanhualou
- Fig.2.29 Thangka of Jinasāgara Avalokiteśvara and yellow label
- Fig.3.1 Stupa of Room 1 in Fanhualou
- Fig.3.2 Precious jewel inlaid gold stupa
- Fig.3.3 (Left) Kadampa Stupa. Late 13<sup>th</sup> century  
(Right) Kadampa Stupa. 1800-189

- Fig.3.4 Stupa of Room 2 in Fanhualou  
 Fig.3.5 Stupa of Room 3 in Fanhualou  
 Fig.3.6 Stupa of Room 3 in Fanhualou  
 Fig.3.7 Stupa of Room 3 in Baoxianglou  
 Fig.3.8 Stupa of Room 3 in Baoxianglou  
 Fig.3.9 Statuette of dākinī within the victory stupa of the stupa in Room 3  
 Fig.3.10 Precious jewel inlaid gold stupa  
 Fig.3.11 (Left) Kālacakra stupa  
 (Right) Kālacakra stupa in Kumbum Monastery  
 Fig.3.12 Stupa of Room 4 in Fanhualou  
 Fig.3.13 Seven Medicine Buddha statuettes within stupa of Room 4 in Fanhualou  
 Fig.3.14 The Imperial Summer Palace, Beijing, China: the pagoda  
 Fig.3.15 Huachengge pagoda in Qingyiuyan.  
 Fig.3.16 Medicine Buddha thangka  
 Fig.3.17 Stupa of Room 5 in Fanhualou  
 Fig.3.18 Glass painting illustrating Mārīci on a chariot on the stupa of Room 5 in Fanhualou  
 Fig.3.19 Ten-armed Mārīci Thangka, Qing Dynasty  
 Fig.3.20 Eight-armed Mārīci in a stupa, Qing Dynasty  
 Fig.3.21 Stupa of Room 6 in Fanhualou  
 Fig.3.22 Gold stupa, Qing Dynasty  
 Fig.3.23 The stupa remains of Zhongxianglou  
 Fig.4.1 (Left) Painting of Acalā  
 (Right) Painting of Vajrapāṇi  
 Fig.4.2 (Left) Painting of Acalā  
 (Right) Painting of Vajrapāṇi  
 Fig.4.3 Standing Buddha in the lower central room of Fanhualou  
 Fig.4.4 (Left) Detail of Fig. 4.7.  
 (Right) Detail of the second thangka of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set.  
 Fig.4.5 Jātakamālā thangka on the northern wall in Fanhualou  
 Fig.4.6 Jātakamālā thangka on the eastern wall in Fanhualou  
 Fig.4.7 Jātakamālā thangka on the western wall in Fanhualou  
 Fig.4.8 Painting on the northern wall of the upper central room in Fanhualou  
 Fig.4.9 Painting on the western wall of the upper central room in Fanhualou  
 Fig.4.10 Painting on the eastern wall of the upper central room in Fanhualou  
 Fig.4.11 Tsongkhapa life stories thangka  
 Fig.4.12 Tsongkhapa life stories thangka  
 Fig.4.13 Tsongkhapa life stories thangka  
 Fig.4.14 Tsongkhapa life stories thangka  
 Fig.4.15 Tsongkhapa life stories thangka  
 Fig.4.16 Tsongkhapa life stories thangka  
 Fig.4.17 Tsongkhapa life stories thangka  
 Fig.4.18 Tsongkhapa life stories woodblock prints  
 Fig.4.19 The reconstruction of the original thangka painting set  
 Fig.4.20 Tsongkhapa on a dragon throne.  
 Fig.4.21 Concluding section of *Pictures of Ancient Playthings*  
 Fig.4.22 Portrait of Qianlong  
 Fig.4.23 Painting of Shuxiang Si's Mañjuśrī on a lion  
 Fig.4.24 (Left) Painting of Mahāmāyūrī  
 (Right) Painting of Mahāpratisarā  
 Fig.5.1 *The Qianlong Emperor as Manjusri, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom*  
 Fig.5.2 *Fifth Karmapa (1384 – 1415) Initiating Yongle Emperor as Sacral Ruler*

# Introduction

Tibetan Buddhist pantheons have always exerted fascination due to their scale and complexity of their contents. The dazzling assemblies of countless gods and goddesses, Buddhist masters and protective deities, depicted with multiple heads and hands in murals or sculptural assemblies throughout the history of Tibetan art, appeal as much to those with visual sensibilities as to those who favour doctrinal analysis. The imposing visual effects of numerous deities depicted on various materials keep reminding the audiences of the extravagant cost and the religious significance, while the systematic categorisations and the iconographic representations not only convey significant information on the symbolism of deities or deity groupings, but also raise questions about their function, agency, and how they are characterized by the changing phase of Buddhist doctrines, as well as the diverse historical and cultural circumstances in which they were created.

Before delving into the complexity of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, it is necessary to revisit what exactly a Tibetan Buddhist pantheon is, and why it is called a “pantheon”. According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, some of the earliest uses of the term “pantheon” refer to one of the most important architectural monuments of all time, the Roman temple in Rome built more than 19 centuries ago.<sup>1</sup> The origin of the term comes from Greek word, *pantheon*, which combines *pan-* (“all”) and *theos* (“god”), describing a temple worshipping all the gods. The literal meaning of pantheon as “all the gods” has been continually used in English, as it is commonly believed that Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma are the most important deities of “Hindu pantheon”; Isis is the ideal of femininity in “Egyptian pantheon”, or Guanyu or Guandi, the Chinese God of War were incorporated into “Tibetan Buddhist pantheon” in Qing period. In these examples, the term “pantheon” refers to a collection of deities within a specific belief system. The idea of pantheon also suggests that there is a hierarchy among these deities, as well as a sense of harmonization or cohesion within the group. Rather than representing a dramatic legend or unique characteristic of individual god and goddess, each deity in the pantheon is seen as an integral part of an organized religious infrastructure.

---

<sup>1</sup> Merriam-Webster. “Pantheon.” *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*. Accessed August 26, 2024. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pantheon>.

Nevertheless, the term “Tibetan Buddhist pantheon” requires some clarification at the beginning of this thesis. Different from the depictions of iconographic groupings and maṇḍala assemblies in Tibetan Buddhism, which are associated with specific kinds of rituals or invocations, liturgies, functions and spatial concepts, “Tibetan Buddhist pantheon” in this thesis refers to the specific visual representations of the collection of deities that aim to reflect the idea of the entirety and infinity of “all the gods.” In this sense, despite their dramatic volume, the Thousand Buddhas of this Fortunate Aeon is not considered a pantheon, as those one thousand Buddhas are prophesied to appear in succession during this aeon. I would also not regard the Twenty-one Taras or the deity assemblies of the maṇḍala of Vajrāvalī as explained in Niṣpannayogāvalī as pantheons. The former is an iconographic grouping associated with specific liturgy, while the latter is a compendium of maṇḍala assemblies that does not intend to reflect the idea of all-encompassing entirety.

Although there is no exact equivalent term for “pantheon” in Tibetan language, depictions of Tibetan Buddhist pantheons have been widely rendered across the Himalayan region. The most famous example is the Kumbum, one of the largest stupas in Gyantse. “Kumbum”, meaning “a hundred thousand images,” connotes the infinite deities depicted within the monument. The complex iconographic program of the gilt sculptural assemblies of the Tashi Gomang type stupas in Densatil Monastery, described by Tucci as “the whole Olympus of Mahayana,” is also a veritable pantheon of deities in six tiers, containing more than two thousand deities.<sup>2</sup> Each tier's deities constitute one or more maṇḍala assemblies, making the whole stupa, as phrased by Christian Luczanits in the title of an essay, a “maṇḍalas of maṇḍalas,” emphasizing that it is a complete collection (maṇḍala) of constituent parts (maṇḍala and maṇḍala assemblies).<sup>3</sup>

Christian Luczanits refers to the monuments containing the representations of an extremely complicated pantheon in hierarchical order as “encyclopaedic monuments,” and he identifies that a number of Kumbum chöten, as exemplified by the Gyantse Kumbum, as well as mural paintings of Shalu monastery and Wanla

---

<sup>2</sup> Giuseppe Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond: Diary of an Expedition to Tibet in the Year 1948* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1956), 128.

<sup>3</sup> Christian Luczanits, “Mandalas of Mandalas: The Iconography of a Stupa of Many Auspicious Doors for Phag mo gru pa,” in *Tibetan Art and Architecture in Context: Tibetan Studies. PIATS 2006: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies* (Andiaast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2010), 281–310.

monastery, fit to this type.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that each “encyclopaedic” representation of the pantheon, as listed above, has its own unique pictorial, iconographical, and stylistic features. On the other words, the shape and the structure of each pantheon vary, offering diverse view of deities of infinity, while reflecting religious authority and supremacy of those who organize the deities into a single, stable, and tangible totality.

---

<sup>4</sup> Christian Luczanits, "Beneficial to See: Early Drigung Painting," in *Painting Traditions of the Drigung Kagyu School*, ed. David Paul Jackson (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2015), 299, n. 87.

## Tibetan Buddhist pantheons in the Qianlong court

It is widely known that the Qianlong Emperor, who is renowned for his incredible sixty-year reign from late 1735 to his abdication at the end of 1795, enthusiastically supported the Geluk school. Whether the support is because of a politically charged manipulation of Buddhist belief to consolidate control over Tibetan and Mongolian areas, or a genuine and devoted religious fervour seeking homage and legitimation, Tibetan Buddhism plays a crucial role in the cultural and religious landscape of the Qianlong court. A large outpouring of Tibetan Buddhist images was created and circulated, while remarkably a number of Tibetan Buddhist pantheons rendered in all kinds of materials and forms, including woodblock prints, tsha-tsha sets, thangka paintings, and sculpture assemblies, were commissioned by the Qianlong Emperor. Characterised by the hybrid “sino-Tibetan” style and, in many circumstances, inscribed with multiple languages, these pantheons are visually rich, crowded, and typically multivalent. It is not exaggerated to say that pantheon is one of the most exemplary visual imagery forms of displaying Tibetan Buddhist images made by the Manchu court.

Patricia Berger described these pantheons as “offering different readings to different viewers, whose expectations and assumptions may change over time,”<sup>5</sup> which precisely points out the idiosyncratic, enticing but daunting aspects of the pantheons: why the Manchu court created so many pantheons, and do these pantheons mean differently from each other; how do the audiences with ethnic diversity appreciate these pantheons with intricate Tibetan Buddhist contents; and did the court artists from China, Tibet and Mongolia who were involved with creating the pantheons really understood the iconography and iconometry, the most fundamental features of Tibetan and Himalayan art. The complexity of Tibetan Buddhist pantheons has mainly been interpreted by scholars through two associated although seemingly contradicting perspectives: on the one hand, the pantheon stands for canonisation, authorisation and authenticity, which is the result of Qianlong’s attempt to standardise Tibetan Buddhist image production, or simply “getting things right” with the help from his personal guru and the national preceptor Changkya Hutukhtu Rölpe Dorjé (Tib. Lcang skya Hutukhtu Rol pa’i rdo rje, Ch. Zhangjia hutuketu ruobi duojie 章嘉胡土克圖若必多吉, Skt. Lalitavajra,

---

<sup>5</sup> Patricia Ann Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 10.



1717-1786), who is regarded as the principal person behind the creation of a number of pantheons in various materials; On the other hand, the concept of the pantheon is also conceived as the perfect manifestation of “shifting forms”. Berger observed that none of the painted, printed, or sculpted pantheons are identical, with deities often reappearing inconsistently. This inconsistency reflects a sense of iconographic fluidity and openness, suggesting that the pantheon envisioned by Rölpe Dorjé was not a fixed entity.

The duality of a pantheon is eloquently presented by Berger in her seminal book, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*, as an example of the Tibetan Buddhist images patronised by the Manchu court. According to Berger, the Manchu rulers conspicuously commissioned Tibetan Buddhist images in abundance as a means of establishing themselves as religious kings on secular levels, and at the same time, pursuing religious transcendence and superiority through the ultimate message these images embodied, namely the “emptiness”. In the story of Vimalakīrti, which Berger referred to at the beginning of her book, the raining blossoms spread by the goddess during the debate between Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī, are “neither constructual thought nor discrimination”,<sup>6</sup> but optimal for the divine moment unfolding the beauty of non-duality and emptiness.<sup>7</sup> In this sense, the pantheons are likened to the flowers: their intricate and complex contents signify religious power and authority; while their mysteriousness and incomprehensibility connote their nature of contingency and impermanence, which stands for “emptiness”, the principle Buddhist philosophical idea and the true, irreversible nature of all the sensory world.

The exposition of emptiness is the most central and complicated topic in Buddhist philosophy and has triggered many disputes at soteriological, ontological and epistemological levels throughout history. Without a doubt, emptiness is not the same as impermanence or nothingness, and cannot be perceived through impermanence or nothingness, since emptiness is rather the absence of a falsely imagined type of existence.<sup>8</sup> Especially for Tsongkhapa and his followers, the “incomprehensibility” of a pantheon does stand for a reason, and the existence of the pantheons, namely its contents can be measured and analysed at different levels. Driven by the urge to explore further the reasons behind the mysterious inconsistency and a level of

---

<sup>6</sup> Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*. 1.

<sup>7</sup> The story of "The Visit of Manjusri to Vimalakīrti" is derived from the Vimalakīrti Sutra and is frequently depicted in Chinese art. In this episode, Vimalakīrti conducted a debate with Manjusri. As the debate unfolds, a goddess showers the space with flowers. In response, Śāriputra, the Buddha's disciple, attempts to shake off the flowers and questions why a goddess would inhabit a female body, which he considers inferior. The texts suggest that Śāriputra fails to comprehend the “emptiness”, the intrinsic nature of the phenomenal world and consequently holds incorrect views.

<sup>8</sup> Robert E. Buswell Jr and Donald S. Lopez Jr, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton University Press, 2013), 872.

“randomness”, as well as the distinctive “dependent arisen” of the iconographic composition of pantheons, this thesis originally planned to study Rölpe Dorjé and his art achievements and intended to deepen the understanding of the three major pantheons associated with Rölpe Dorjé in the perspective of Tibetan Buddhism. They are namely the woodblock-printed book *The Three Hundred Deities (300)*, the hand-painted volume of *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (360)*, and the sculptural and painted deity assemblies in Fanhualou, one of the most complete Buddhist shrines in the Forbidden City. I presumed that by deciphering the religious message concealed by him and exploring the standardisation associated with him, the iconographic selections and organisations of each pantheon could be related to Rölpe Dorjé’s Buddhist practices and intellectual achievements. I even speculated that his role might be comparable to that of another great Buddhist Master and systematiser Buton Rinchen Drub (b.1290 - d.1364) in Shalu monastery. By sifting texts following historical and exegetical criteria, Buton drew the pictorial plan of the maṇḍalas, designed deities assemblies, and provided instructions for building temples, which greatly influenced the establishment of iconographic models in central and southern Tibet.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Erberto Lo Bue, "Iconographic Sources and Iconometric Literature in Tibetan and Himalayan Art," in *Indo-Tibetan Studies: Papers in Honour and Appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's Contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies*, ed. David L. Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski (Tring, U.K.: Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1990), 182.

## Rölpé Dorjé, the compiler?

Rölpé Dorjé held an unrivalled position of influence and importance within the Qianlong court, as evidenced through various aspects. His political significance and academic achievements have been widely recognised by modern schools: originally from Amdo and came to Beijing when he was a child, he received his title of National Preceptor at the age of 30 and had witnessed the time when the dynasty's vision of expansion reached the climax.<sup>10</sup> As a tantric master, he was believed as the person to whom the emperor relinquished his authority over spiritual affairs in particular moments.<sup>11</sup> His academic achievements have also been celebrated in both Chinese and Tibetan areas, and a large number of Buddhist texts, including *sādhana*, and philosophical discourses, particularly on Madhyamaka, are widely distributed and studied nowadays.

The role of Rölpé Dorjé in systematising and standardising Tibetan Buddhist images in the Qing court is incomparable, and he is undoubtedly the chief Buddhist master who provided detailed explanations and instructions on iconographies. As Berger referred to Rölpé Dorjé's biography, his contribution is mainly due to the request from the emperor, who once said,

“When the Han and the Mongols arrive at court, they all present quantities of Buddhist images, Buddhist sutras, Buddhist stupas, and so forth, so many that they cannot be counted. Nor can we differentiate between the materials used to make the images or the details of their appearances, making it difficult to put them in order. I ask that you take these Buddhist images, categorize them, and indicate their names in Mongolian and Tibetan script.”<sup>12</sup>

Indeed, there are a number of examples recorded in various resources illustrating how Rölpé Dorjé responded to the emperor's request. For instance, he was called upon to explain the set of *thangka* paintings of Seven Buddhas of the Past, which was gifted to the emperor by the Pañchen Lama in 1777. This set of *thangka* was later replicated and engraved in the stone pillars of Qifota (Seven Buddha Pagoda) in Beihai.<sup>13</sup> The inscriptions on the renowned set of paintings of the Sixteen Arhats by Chinese painter Ding Guanpeng,

---

<sup>10</sup> Wang Xiangyun, “Tibetan Buddhism at the Court of Qing: The Life and Work of lCang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1717–1786)” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1995), 112.

<sup>11</sup> Marina Illich, “Selections from the Life of a Tibetan Buddhist Polymath: Changkya Rolpai Dorje (Lcang Skya Rol Pa'i Rdo Rje), 1717–1786” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2006).

<sup>12</sup> Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*. 83.

<sup>13</sup> Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*. 186.

which were written by the Qianlong emperor, claim that the sequences and names of the arhats in Tibetan and Sanskrit, are also based on Rölpe Dorjé's exegesis.<sup>14</sup> Rölpe Dorjé's name appeared on most of the imperial yellow inventory labels of the Tibetan Buddhist thangkas, sculptures and ritual implements Qianlong received as royal collections because he was the main person supervising the multilingual information of the objects' iconographic identification, provenance as well as the protocols and occasions of receiving. He participated in the compilation of *Bidian zhulin* (*Secret Hall of the Grove of Beads*), the official collection catalogue of Buddhist and Daoist paintings and calligraphies, which is the counterpart to *Shiqu baoji* (*Precious Bookbox of the Stone Drain*), the compilation of secular paintings and calligraphies. He was also the advocator and collaborator of *Zaoxiang liangdu jing* (*Sutra on iconometry*) translated by Gonbujab, which endeavours to establish the standard measurements for the proportions of depicting Buddhist icons. Most remarkably, he initiated a number of translation projects, one of them being *Source of Correct Words by Learned Man*, a highly influential and comprehensive Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary,<sup>15</sup> as well as the monumental compilation of Mongolian *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*, and the Manchuria *Kanjur*, *Tanjur*, and *Tripitaka*.<sup>16</sup>

Rölpe Dorjé was indeed at the centre of the design and manufacturing process of a number of pantheons. He personally wrote the Tibetan preface for *300*, and he was mentioned as the chief designer of *360* in its preface. According to his hagiography by the Third Tukwan, Lobzang Chokyi Nyima (b.1737 - d.1802), Rölpe Dorjé's idea served as the basis for the design of Yuhuage, the imperial Buddhist shrine in the palace that houses a sculptural pantheon. He is also documented in the palace archives as the author of the Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchuria inscriptions for the six side rooms in Fanhualou. These pantheons have long been acclaimed for their intricate contents and systematic organisation, with the deities assumed to be carefully selected and approved by Rölpe Dorjé himself. For this reason, the iconographies of these pantheons have seldom been compared and studied, as they are attributed to the results of a series of attempts by Rölpe Dorjé to translate, regulate and categorise the Tibetan Buddhist images.

---

<sup>14</sup> Zhang Changhong, “乾隆帝定名羅漢畫名相考(上) = The Study on Emperor Qianlong's Compilation of the Names and Appearances of Arhat Paintings (Part One),” *故宮博物院院刊 = Palace Museum Journal* 9 (2021): 54–67.

<sup>15</sup> Wang Xiangyun, “Tibetan Buddhism at the Court of Qing,” 141.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

## **Methodological framework: The iconographic pantheons in translation**

Notwithstanding his polymathic achievements and dominant influences, there is no definitive evidence to suggest that the three pantheons were directly conceived or designed by him, although they are all associated with him in various way. It remains uncertain whether the iconography of these pantheons fully reflects his doctrinal perspectives on the development of the Gelug school. Unlike *tongwen yunpu*, another translational project Rölpe Dorjé initiated, which compiles the standard pronunciations of mantra and dhāraṇī for ritual practices conducted by monastics from various ethnic backgrounds, neither of these pantheons makes any direct and solid reference to specific religious texts, nor do they reveal an attempt to establish the correct way of representing deities. The structures of iconographic pantheons have been broadly attributed to embody the entity of the concept of the Four Classes of Tantra in previous scholarship, the most renowned doxographic division, which is widely accepted as associated with the Geluk school. Nevertheless, all three pantheons associated with Rölpe Dorjé have their unique iconographic compositions and organisations. Each pantheon represents Tibetan Buddhist doxography in its distinctive organisational methods. Even the names of the same deities in different pantheons frequently show discrepancies, which suggests that the involvement of Rölpe Dorjé is even more speculative.

The ambiguous connection between the pantheons and Rölpe Dorjé has received limited attention, raising questions about the precise interpretations of the iconographic representations and the underlying rationale of the organisation of these three pantheons. In the context of Tibetan Buddhism, an image of a deity is incredibly rich in content. The tiny shifts in attributes, mudrās, postures, and whether the deity is embracing a consort, all denote the deity's different religious functions, transmissions, and even their originality or historical contexts. It's important to note that the same deity may manifest differently in various contexts, revealing different emphases and facilitating diverse practices. The hierarchical order of a group of deities also conveys specific iconographic messages, which can be altered by rearranging the order of the deities. The iconographic representation, composition, and structural formation not only encapsulate the religious meaning of each individual deity but also the historical contexts of the entire pantheons, revealing how the pantheons are supposed to be perceived and venerated.

To explore these complexities further, I intend to approach the three pantheons through an in-depth iconographical analysis. This involves exploring their doctrinal meanings, purpose of selection, artistic representations, and their interconnectedness with other deities. Through the examinations of the iconographic, compositional, and spatial features of each deity, as in Christian Luczanits's words, the pantheons will speak for themselves. Nonetheless, the process of iconographic identification at such a grand scale is challenging. The Tibetan names found in the inscriptions are frequently either abbreviated or contain errors. In Fanhualou, only the names of the nine main deities are provided in four languages, while the names of the cabinet deities are solely inscribed in Chinese. This underscores not only the necessity for critically examining the extant translations, but also the need for comparing the iconographic compositions and sequences of these pantheons. The appearances of deities and deities groupings in more than one pantheons reflect the iconographic popularity of the Geluk school in the Manchu court, while the unique selections and representations of certain icons also connote the specific emphasis on rituals practices or doctrines, which are crucial for understanding the logic of the compilation of the pantheons.

In this thesis, textual sources from Geluk's treatises and commentaries are primarily employed for iconographic identification. Consequently, the collected works known as *sung bum* (Tibetan: གསུང་འབུམ་) of significant lineage holders such as Tsongkhapa, Rölpe Dorjé, and the third Tukwan Lobzang Chokyi Nyima hold particular value. These works contain direct and reliable information about the authors' endorsement of the transmissions and practices related to specific deities. The comparisons between the doxographic categorisation of the three pantheons with Kanjur and significant iconographical compilations are also essential, as they shed light on the distinctive doxographic interpretation of the deities, particularly in the six side rooms of Fanhualou. That encompasses works such as *Vajrāvalī* by Abhayākaragupta and its commentary by the Second Changkya Ngawang Lobzang Choden, the previous incarnation of Rölpe Dorjé, and *Tantra-samuccaya*, commonly known as the *Ngor Maṇḍala of Tibet* of the Sakya school.

This shift in the direction of my research, moving from studying Rölpe Dorjé and his doctrinal and artistic strategies in formulating these pantheons to conducting iconographic examinations of each pantheon, has yielded fruitful results. It not only demonstrate the inherent flexibility of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon as theorized by Berger, but also reflect that their diverse religious and cultural meanings extend beyond the

presumed feature of establishing and solidifying the Tibetan Buddhist iconographic orthodoxy. Rendered in distinctive styles and materials unforeseen to the Tibetan context, these pantheons underwent unique processes of encoding and decoding within the multicultural and multiethnic environment of the Manchu court. The inconsistent iconographic compositions, on the other hand, served as a malleable mechanism that can be re-contextualized, appropriated and extended into a new cultural form, allowing them to convey their idiosyncratic messages. This approach leads to a comprehensive examination of the pantheons' contextualization, including how they were perceived, understood, or misinterpreted by the diverse group of individuals involved in their commission, creation and reception - not only Rölpe Dorjé but also others, many of whom may not have possessed in-depth familiarity with the subject matter.

Central to the historization of the pantheons is the question of agency in the process of articulating and reinventing the concept of pantheon. While Rölpe Dorjé is debatably credited for compiling the iconographic composition, the ultimate ownership of Fanhualou and its counterparts in the Forbidden City, imperial garden, and Chengde monastic complex undoubtedly rests with the Qianlong emperor. To what extent does the iconographic pantheon retain its original religious meaning and identity, independent of imperial agendas? Alternatively, does the pantheon's inherent flexibility render it susceptible to imperial manipulation and adaptation to serve the political and cultural goals of the emperor? These questions certainly requires the consideration of the design and manufacturing process of Fanhualou, which unexpectedly reveals Qianlong's direct intervention in shaping the pantheon. Given the scarcity of textual evidence detailing how Fanhualou were used, a visual and spatial analysis of the building's pictorial contents, forms, and styles becomes also crucial for deciphering not only the symbolic and religious meaning of the pantheon, but also the underlying intentions of Qianlong's involvement.

Over the past three decades, there has been a deliberate shift-away from a Sino-centric perspective in the historical narrative of the Qing dynasty, with a greater emphasis now placed on the significance of Inner Asian culture and traditions in discussions of the rulership of the Manchu. The deployment of Tibetan Buddhism has been widely recognized as one of the most essential components in the crafting of the divine kingship of the Manchu emperor. David M. Farquhar's seminal work, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire," eloquently details how Qianlong asserted his role as a Manjushri

cakravartin bodhisattva, an idea deeply embedded in both Tibetan and Chinese historical traditions. It particularly shed the light on the importance of the repetitive construction of the form of pantheon as an example of Fanhualou, as evidence suggests that the appropriation and manipulation of the pantheon's iconographical and visual representations were largely initiated, or at least influenced, by the emperor himself. To what extent does the pantheon reflect the comprehensive array of artistic, cultural, and ritual methods undertaken by the emperor to crystallize his bodhisattva kingship? How do the dynamics between the emperor and Tibetan clergies, particularly Rölpe Dorjé, in designing and perceiving the pantheon reaffirm or refine our understanding of their patron-priest relationship? Examining Fanhualou within the broader framework of New Qing History provides a deeper understanding of how the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon was translated and adapted to the multicultural environment of the Great Qing. The specific process of translating the concept of “all the deities” through a doxographic method, also encourages further exploration of the emperor's own interpretation of Tibetan Buddhism within his religious and political dominion, complicating the significance of Fanhualou and its role in Qing imperial ideology.



## Outline of chapters

Chapter 1 focuses on the woodblock print of 300 and the illustration of 360. 300 features three hundred deities presented in one hundred folios. Each folio renders a triad of Buddhist masters or deities in hierarchical positions. This means that the three hundred deities is not a continuous succession, but rather an assembly of one hundred triads. Each triad is an independent configuration, conveying significantly more complex meanings than three deities in three separate images; the hundred triads' set consequently offers multiple ways of reading across the pantheon, as the central deities of each triad are conceptually aligned and hierarchically sorted. By amplifying the multiplicity and complexity of the pantheon, the iconographic arrangement effectively enhances the religious efficacy and perception of the infinite. The effect is aligned with the purpose of the medium of the pantheon, the woodblock print, which repetitively reproduces the deities' images with precision and efficiency as a meritorious act. In other words, the iconographic pantheon of 300 is created to be replicated, distributed and stored, as the full name of the pantheon *Three Hundred Deities of the Tshogs zhing of Lama, Yidam, Three Precious Jewels, and Guardian Deities* reveals, it is a *tshogs zhing*, a field of accumulation.

The iconographic composition and function of the 300 starkly contrast with the hand-painted album of *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (360), which illustrates the set of three hundred and sixty tsha-tsha sculptures, accompanied by inscriptions of the names and eulogies of each deity. The original tsha-tsha set was commissioned by the emperor and regarded as compiled by Rölpe Dorjé collectively as a group as a votive act, intended for display and replication. The iconographic study reveals that the illustration of the tsha-tsha sculpture in the album not only translates the materiality, but also introduces additional aesthetic and cultural dimensions to the pantheon, particularly within a Chinese context. Although the renditions of the icons, as well as their Chinese eulogies, indicate the artist's inadequate knowledge of Tibetan language and iconography, the specific format and visual features of the 360 reveal that the pantheon is adapted to not only express devoutness towards the pantheon but also pay tributes to the emperor who commissioned the original tsha-tsha.

Both the 300 and the 360 challenged the preconceived notion of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheons as a schematically organised system, while neither of them is as assumed in previous scholarships as strictly tied to specific ritual texts. It is noticeable that both pantheons of the 300 and the 360 are named after numbers that represent not only the actual numerical value but also the concept of completeness and the nature of all-encompassing. This is to say that the inner division or the categorisation within the pantheon is not accentuated. It contrasts with Fanhualou, the significant Buddhist shrine in the Forbidden City, also known as “*liupinfolou*”, the Hall of the Six Buddhist Classes. The shrine incorporates six side rooms, each following the exact same format and dedicated to one of the Tibetan Buddhist doxographic division. The iconographic examination in Chapter 2 reveals not only their heterogeneous strategies employed in selecting and organising deities, highlighting specific doctrinal expressions and ritual practices, but also uncovers the iconographic anomaly within the compact, orderly and repetitive visual representation, that has been scarcely noticed and considered. Deities and their groupings are not consistently and schematically represented, not due to deliberate impenetrability or a refusal to convey meaning (and they do yield meanings), but rather because they need to be adapted to accommodate the inflexible configuration of each side room. In essence, the structure of each pantheon predetermines the iconographic formulations, which are then supplemented with deities accordingly. This inherently requires compensating for iconographic choices and modifying the sizes of the deities to fit the available space.

Despite the presence of an iconographic anomaly, it is crucial to acknowledge that the purpose of the six rooms is not merely to “proliferate forms”. The iconographic meanings are effectively and concisely elucidated in the inscriptions accompanying each room, which were written by Rölpe Dorjé. However, the remarkable flexibility of the iconographic expressions and the unconventional visual features also suggest that these pantheons ought to be considered beyond the imagery and doxographic traditions of Tibetan Buddhism and ought to be interpreted as an integral component of the overall spatial arrangement of the building. This is further demonstrated by the presence of the six stupas, which are spatially integrated with the six side rooms and iconographically correspond to the religious contents of each pantheon through the icons displayed within the stupas. Chapter 3 delves into how the six distinctive stupas, which constitute an unprecedented combination of both Tibetan stupas and Chinese pagodas, were designed to associate the six pantheons with a transcultural mode and an alternative identity, that is not entirely Tibetan or Chinese. The

attempts were deliberate, and the design and manufacturing process of the six stupas were primarily initiated by the Qianlong Emperor, who was the only key participant documented in the palace archives throughout the design and manufacturing process of the six stupas. Whilst the presence of the Qianlong Emperor may not be immediately apparent, it is evident that the opulent cost, conspicuous appearances, and stylistic hybridity of the stupas could not have been achieved without imperial support and satisfaction. Through his effort, the group subverts the concept that the styles of stupas are coterminous with the ethnic or religious environments, while at the same time, distinguishing the six pantheons from merely the assembly of Tibetan Buddhism icons and skillfully recontextualising and translating the six pantheons within the Manchu court culture.

Under the Qianlong emperor, the six stupas not only became the locus for an agglomeration of signs that aimed to project his power and authority, but also explicitly reflected the emperor's own understanding and approval of the contents, sub-divisions, and the strikingly equalised and geometric layout of the six side rooms. In Chapter 4, the eventual goals and spatial logic for the compactly organised, taxonomically oriented building containing six pantheons will be explained through the close examination of the lower and upper central rooms. The contents and layout of both rooms counterpoint each other, as the lower central room exhibits a sculpture of Buddha Śākyamuni in the centre surrounded by panel thangka paintings of his previous life stories, whereas the upper central room positions Je Tsongkhapa in the most prominent position, surrounded by three horizontal paintings of his life stories. The analogous configuration and the upper and lower spatial rendition accentuate Tsongkhapa's unsurpassed status above Buddha Śākyamuni, while the unusual placement of the Tsongkhapa sculpture above the imperial throne in the centre of the room, as well as the specific iconographic interrelationship between the various representations of Tsongkhapa in the centre and surroundings, all reveal that Qianlong is the main protagonist above the dragon throne manifesting in the form of Tsongkhapa. Situated in the uppermost space of the building, his enactment in the upper central room precedes the deities' assemblies of the entire building, and metaphorically transforms the meticulously categorised six classes of deities into his own subsidiary delegations, gathered to convey his religious transcendency.

## Chapter 1 300 and 360: Pantheons in Replication and Translation

*The Three Hundred Deities* (300) and *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (360) are two iconographic compilations attributed to Changkya Rölpe Dorjé. 300 is widely regarded as the pantheon created to broaden the theoretical and practical interests of Tibetan-style monks,<sup>17</sup> or possibly to assist artists of Tibetan Buddhist art.<sup>18</sup> It is also considered as an authoritative and incontrovertible pantheon, bearing the sanctioned vision of Rölpe Dorjé.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, 360 is interpreted as an instructional pantheon created by Rölpe Dorjé, who intended to standardise the translations and practices of Tibetan Buddhist rituals. Both pantheons' images have been used as valuable resources for contemporary iconographic studies, while their inscriptions are regarded as essential benchmarks for the development of Tibetan Buddhist iconography.

As the name suggests, 300 comprises three hundred lamas and deities in the format of Tibetan *pecha* in woodblock print accompanied by an undated preface by Rölpe Dorjé. On the other hand, 360 consists of three hundred and sixty hand-illustrated images presented in the format of a Chinese book, although 360 was not simply an addition of sixty more deities to 300. In this chapter, I will delve into the iconographical and compositional variation between the two pantheons, along with their respective materials, functions, production methods, and circulation. These distinct features raise inquiries regarding the formation of the pantheons, as well as the factors contributing to their discrepancies.

---

<sup>17</sup> Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003). 114

<sup>18</sup> Erberto Lo Bue, 'Iconographic Sources and Iconometric Literature in Tibetan and Himalayan Art', in *Indo-Tibetan Studies: Papers in Honour and Appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's Contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies*, ed. David L. Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, *Buddhica Britannica* 2 (Tring, U.K.: Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1990). 171-197, 185.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

## The Three Hundred Deities (300)

The woodblock print *The Three Hundred Deities* (Chinese: 三百佛像集; Tibetan: ལྷ་བརྟན་བརྩེ་ཕག་གསུམ་), compiles three hundred same-sized illustrations of lamas and deities into one hundred folios. The print of this pantheon has attracted significant scholarly interest in the West since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was mentioned by Eugen Pander that he discovered the print of the pantheon in Yonghegong in which a Khenpo had written the Chinese and Manchu names of the deities.<sup>20</sup> The pantheon was first published in German by Eugen Pander under the title *Das Lamaische Pantheon* in 1889. A subsequent edition in English, edited by Sushama Lohia in 1994, includes translations and descriptions based on the works of Eugen Pander. This edition also published the woodblock print as well as the redrawing by Albert Grünwedel, under the title *Lalitavajra's Manual of Buddhist Iconography*. The title references the author of the preface, Rölpe Dorjé, also known as Lalitavajra, and indicates the function of the print as a “manual of iconography”. However, the preface of the print was not included in the publication.

A complete print was published in 1994 by Beijing Tibetology Publishing House (Chinese: 中國藏學出版社), with a preface by Zhou Shaoliang, the former head of the Chinese Buddhist Books and Cultural Relic Museum (Chinese: 中國佛教圖書文物館). In the preface, Zhou Shaoliang mentions that the original carving blocks are almost nonexistent, while the Chinese Buddhist Books and Cultural Relic Museum owns an incomplete volume of the original prints created during the Qianlong reign, printed in red ink. The institution also owns a complete print in black ink, which was published as the book.<sup>21</sup> The Northwestern University Libraries Faculty Collections contain a few pages of the red ink print, confirming the existence of this red edition. For example, Fig.1.1 shows page twenty-two of the pantheon, depicting Kālachakra in the centre, flanked by Mahācakra Vajrapāṇi on his right and Hevajra on his left (Fig.1.1). The Chinese publication of the prints also includes an undated preface by Rölpe Dorjé, written in both Tibetan and Mongolian. Engraved in folio format with a distinct page numbering system, the preface captures the general categorization and

---

<sup>20</sup> Eugen Pander, “The Pantheon of the Changcha Hutukhtu,” in *Lalitavajra's Manual of Buddhist Iconography*, ed. Sushama Lohia (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1994), 62.

<sup>21</sup> Zhou Shaoliang, “Preface,” in 三百佛像集 = *The Three Hundred Deities* (Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, 1994).



across the Buddhist world, including India, Sri Lanka, Tibet, China, Japan, and beyond. According to Yael Bentor, the dhāraṇī deposited in stupas is understood as an alternative to physical relics, symbolizing the essence of the Buddhist teachings given by the Buddha. Bentor also mentions that the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, listed the Pratīyasamutpāda Dhāraṇī as one of the Five Great Dhāraṇīs related to stupas.<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> Yael Bentor, “On the Indian Origins of the Tibetan Practice of Depositing Relics and Dhāraṇīs in Stūpas and Images” in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 2 (1995): 248-261.

## The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (360)

The original hand-painted album of 360 was housed in the Chinese National Library and published by the Chinese Tibetan Studies Publisher in 2008.<sup>24</sup> The album consists of five separate volumes (Fig.1.3). The first two volumes have covers inscribed with the title “The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (Chinese: 諸佛菩薩聖像贊; Pinyin: *zhu fo pu sa sheng xiang zan*)”, while the covers of the remaining three volumes are left blank. Each volume measures 29 x 16.9 centimetres.<sup>25</sup> The illustrations of the Buddhist deities and masters are depicted on each page of the album in monochrome with shading techniques, accompanied by inscriptions of their names in red ink, written in four languages. The eulogy corresponding to each painting is arranged on the opposite page of the image, as shown in Fig.1.4, with a eulogy dedicated to Cakrasaṃvara on the left and the image of Cakrasaṃvara on the right. All the illustrations in the album are categorised into twenty-three sections, and the corresponding section character is indicated on the lower left corner of each page. The character system used in the album is based on the *Thousand Characters Classics*, a sixth-century Chinese poem consisting of exactly one thousand characters. The preface of the album, written anonymously, provides the names of each section and the number of the deities in each section.

All illustrations in 360 exhibit uniformity in size and style. The deities and masters are depicted seated on the same type of double lotus throne, accompanied by a mandorla at the back. The lotus throne, consisting of seventeen petals on the upper and lower parts, is portrayed from a higher perspective, indicating the viewing angle. A shading technique is consistently applied to all paintings, emphasising the volume of the deity and the throne. The deities are rendered in a distinct Chinese figural style, as evidenced by the inclusion of rock formations, floral elements, and various miniature landscapes in the background. This style is also evident in the facial features and the garments worn by the masters and deities.

---

<sup>24</sup> Luo Wenhua, “Introduction,” in 諸佛菩薩聖像贊 = *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, 2009), 1.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.



The album gained recognition in the West from as early as the 1930s when photographs of the album were published in the book *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* by Harvard University Press, featuring an introduction by Eugene Clark. According to Eugene Clark the album belonged to the National Library of Peiping, however when Baron A. von Staël-Holstein photographed the album, it was owned by a Chinese bookseller.<sup>26</sup> The publication of *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, which also includes a complete set of photographs of the bronze statuettes of Baoxianglou and the illustrations of 360, does not include the Chinese preface as well as the eulogies of the album. Nonetheless, Eugene Clark observed the connection between this album and the tsha-tsha set produced in the Qianlong court, stating, “The book (360) seems to have been the original from which a certain type of Lamaistic plaque, found in large numbers in Peiping and western museums, was made during the reign of Ch’ien-lung.”<sup>27</sup> In 2002, the album was recompiled and published as *Three Hundred Sixty Buddhist Deities* by Musashi Tachikawa, Masahide Mori, and Shinobu Yamaguchi in Delhi, using the same films from Baron A. von Staël-Holstein.<sup>28</sup> All the drawings were enlarged to 10.5 x 16 cm, allowing for more details to be visible. It is important to note that the current five-volume hand-painted album of the 360 remains the only copy in the world.

---

<sup>26</sup> Walter Eugene Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937). x.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>28</sup> Tachikawa Musashi, Mori Masahide, and Yamaguchi Shinobu, *Three Hundred and Sixty Buddhist Deities* (Adroit Publishers, 2001).

## The iconographic contents of 300

This section is greatly indebted to the translations of the inscriptions of each icons as well as the respective dhāraṇī in 三百佛像集=*The Three Hundred Deities* by China Tibetology Publishing House in 1994. It should be noted that no internal categorization of the deities within the pantheon is specified, and the categorization below is based on the iconographic contents conducted by myself. The names of three hundred icons corresponding to their places in the folios are listed in Appendix 1. As implicated in the preface by Rölpe Dorjé as mentioned before, the three-hundred deities are arranged in hierarchical order, starting from Buddhist masters and followed by the Highest Yoga Tantra deities, other yidam deities and guardian deities. The detailed iconographic analysis is as follows:

- Folio No. 1 and No. 2 to No. 18: Indian and Tibetan Masters

300 starts with the Folio of Buddha Śākyamuni performing the *bhūmisparśamudrā* flanked with Maitreya on the left and Mañjuḥṣa on the right, both performing the *dharmacakramudrā* with lotus branches on the shoulders. All three deities are sitting frontally on a lotus throne, while Buddha Śākyamuni is arranged with a double-rimmed halo at the back, emphasising his central position. The so-called “Six Ornaments”, are placed at the beginning of the section on Indian and Tibetan Masters.<sup>29</sup> In Folio No. 2, Nāgārjuna in the centre is flanked by Asaṅga on the right and Āryadeva on the left, and in Folio No. 3, Dignāga is flanked by Dharmakīrti on the right and Vasubandhu on the left. In total, 300 comprises fifty-one figures of Indian and Tibetan Masters from Folio No. 2 to Folio No. 18. This selection of Indian masters is notably not the direct origin of the Geluk school, but they were later incorporated into the Geluk monastic curriculum. For instance, Folio No. 12 portrays Machig Labdrön proceeding Tönyön Samdrup and Padampa, who are the three most renowned lineage holders of Chöd. Tönyön Samdrup transmitted the Chöd practice that would become part of the Geluk sect.<sup>30</sup> Another example is Folio No. 13, featuring Sakya Pandita Künga Gyeltsen in the middle, accompanied by Butön and Lhodrak Namkha Gyeltsen, a Nyingma master and teacher of Tsongkhapa.

---

<sup>29</sup> The “Six Ornaments” are Nāgārjuna Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. For more details, see Robert E. Buswell Jr and Donald S. Lopez Jr, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton University Press, 2013). 337. The group also appears at the beginning of 360.

<sup>30</sup> John C. Huntington and Dina Bangdel, *The Circle of Bliss: Buddhist Meditational Art* (Serindia Publications, Inc., 2003). 155.

All the Buddhist masters from Folio No. 14 to Folio No. 18 are Geluk masters. It starts with Tsongkhapa flanked by his two disciples, Gyeltsab Dharma Rinchen on the left and Khedrub Geleg Pelsang on the right, followed by Sherab Sengge, one of the students of Tsongkhapa, flanked by the First Dalai Lama Gendun Drub on the left and the Third Pañchen Lama, Lobzang Dondrub. All the masters on the sides of the Folio No. 14, Folio No. 15, Folio No. 16 and Folio No. 18 are illustrated facing towards the central figures who are performing the dharmacakra mudrā, accentuating that they are designed as triads, rather than independent icons. For instance the Folio No. 16 arranges the Fourth Pañchen Lama flanked by Ngawang Chenpo, the Fifth Dalai Lama, who is also the student of the Fourth Pañchen Lama on the left and the Fifth Pañchen Lama Lozang Yeshé on the right. Uniquely Folio No. 17 renders the Seventh Dalai Lama Kalzang Gyatso in the centre, flanked by Ngawang Chokden, which is very possibly the Fifty-fourth Ganden Tripa, Ngawang Chokden (b.1677 - d.1751) in the left and the Sixth Pañchen Lama Palden Yéshé in the right. All three masters are seating frontally.

The final folio in this category, Folio No. 18, presents Rölpe Dorjé in the centre, with Lobzang Pelden Nyima (b. 1689 - d. 1762), the supreme abbot of Rongwo Monastery on the left,<sup>31</sup> and the Seventh Tatsak Jedrung, Lobzang Pelden (b. 1708 - d. 1758), the abbot of Yonghegong, on the right. Both side figures were renowned great masters of the Geluk school during the contemporaneous time of Changkya Rölpe Dorjé. The Seventh Tatsak Jedrung, Lobzang Pelden, accompanied Changkya Rölpe Dorjé to Kham in 1737 and was highly valued by Qianlong.<sup>32</sup> The selection of the three figures as the last folio of the section of Buddhist masters not only indicates the date for the compilation is no earlier than the first half of the eighteenth century, but also implicate the significant role of Changkya Rölpe Dorjé within this pantheon.

- Folio No. 19 to No. 25: Deities of Highest Yoga Tantra

The deities depicted in Folio No. 19 to Folio No. 25 are all the Highest Yoga Tantra deities. The sequence begins with Vajradhāra preceding the Five Buddha Families in Folio No. 19 and Folio No. 20. These six deities are all presented in a one-faced, two-armed *yab yum* form, constituting the assembly of Six Buddha

<sup>31</sup> Sushama Lohia suggest this figure is the Six Pañchen Lama Lobsang Palden Yeshe (1738–1780) in *Lalitavajra s Manual of Buddhist Iconography* by Sushama Lohia (International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1994), 98. However it is unlikely that Pañchen is described by རྒྱལ་པོ་, “the supreme abbot” rather than the lineage name Pañchen. The term རྒྱལ་པོ་, which means the supreme abbot, are frequently used for the abbot of Genden Monastery.

<sup>32</sup> See more from Dorje Sonam, “The Seventh Tatsak Jedrung, Lobzang Pelden Gyeltse,” *The Treasury of Lives*. Accessed August 19, 2023, <http://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Seventh-Tatsak-Jedrung-Lobzang-Pelden-Gyeltsen/9693>.

Families. Following them is Folio No. 21, which showcases Vajrabhairava, Guhyasamāja, and Cakrasaṃvara, the three most important yidam deities of the Geluk School, along with various other proliferating Highest Yoga Tantra deities within the Geluk School. In Folio No. 22 the deity on the left is Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi, which is misidentified as Śrīmahācakra.<sup>33</sup> Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi is a highly popular yidam deity and depicted in the same iconography as the main deity in the room of Father Tantra in Fanhualou, which will be explained in Chapter 2.

Father and Mother Tantra are not differentiated in this section. The majority of the Highest Yoga Tantra deities featured in 300 can also be found in 360, with the exception of Vajrasattva and Guhyasādhana Avalokiteśvara in Folio No. 25. In 360, Vajrasattva is depicted in the same *yab yum* form as in 300, although the deity is categorised under *Yu*: Various kinds of Yoga Tantra Deities instead of the section of Highest Yoga Tantra. From here we will see more examples of the same deity categorized in different tantric classes of iconographic pantheons, reflecting distinctive emphasizes of the features of the deity. Generally in Gelug school Vajrasattava is rarely practiced as a yidam deity with the Highest Yoga Tantra empowerment like Vajrabhairava, Guhyasamāja, and Cakrasaṃvara, and this is possibly the reason of his absence in 360 and Fanhualou as a Highest Yoga Tantra deity. However it is important to note that Vajrasattava in the *yab yum* form is practiced and frequently associated with purification and preliminary practices in the Gelug school. The inclusion of Vajrasattava as a Highest Yoga Tantra deity might suggest a more general, non-sectarian and historical view of the deity in the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon.

- Folio No. 26 to No. 32: Other Yidam Deities

Folio No. 26 to No. 32 include seven triads of deities of Yoga, Caryā and Kriyā Tantra. Vajradhātu [Vairocana] is placed at the beginning of the section preceding Durgatipariśodhana on the right and Sarvavid Vairocana, indicating the doctrinal importance of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgrahatantra (STTS)* in Folio No. 26.<sup>34</sup> It is followed by the triad of the “Three Families”: Folio No. 27 centres Shakyā Rikwang flanked by Gyelchok Rinchen and Metog Cher rgyasas the name suggested, the three deities of the Buddha, Ratna

---

<sup>33</sup> The inscription of the deity is དབུ་འཁོར་ལོ་ཆེན་པོ།. It was identified as Srimahācakra in *Lalitavajra s Manual of Buddhist Iconography* by Sushama Lohia (International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1994), 98.

<sup>34</sup> The Tibetan inscription of Vajradhātu [Vairocana] is རྡོ་རྗེ་དབྱིངས།, the abbreviation of རྡོ་རྗེ་དབྱིངས་པོ།.

and Padma family. Folio No. 28 centres Vairocanābhisambodhi<sup>35</sup> flanked by Caryānta Amitāyus and Bhūtadāmara; Folio No. 29 centres Trisamayavyūhamuni<sup>36</sup> flanked by Amitāyus and Vajrāsobhya. Both folios arrange the deity of Buddha family flanked by a form of Amitāyus and a deity of Vajra family. It is then followed by the triad of “Three Protectors”, centred Caturbhūja Avalokiteśvara flanked by Raktapita Mañjuḥṣa and Vajrapāṇi in Folio No. 30. Folio No. 31 and Folio No. 32 depict the three different forms of Mañjuḥṣa and three different forms of Avalokiteśvara.

- Folio No. 33 to No. 45: the Thirty-Five Buddha

Folio No. 33 to No. 44 represents the “Thirty-five Buddha of Confession” in a continuous sequence. The first Buddha of the group, Śākyamuni, is posited on the left side of the Folio No. 33, while the second Buddha, Vajragarbhā, is posited in the centre of the folio, followed by Ratnārcis on the right side. In Folio No. 44, Amitābha is added on the right side to finish the last triad of Thirty-Five Buddha, after Śailendrarāja, the last Buddha of the group. However, in Folio No. 45, Nāgesvararāja, the fourth Buddha of the group, reappears in the centre, flanked by another two Buddhas Vimaloṣṇīṣa and Samantadarśin. Vimaloṣṇīṣa is the personification of the Vimaloṣṇīṣa dhāraṇī (“stainless uṣṇīṣa”), the main dhāraṇī of the *Sarva-prajñāntapāramitāsiddhacaityadhāraṇī* (Dhāraṇī for a Caitya Perfectly Constructed with Complete Knowledge. Toh 601), which teaches detailed preparations for the construction of caityas or tsha-tsha. Originated from *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha* (Toh 59), the buddha of Samantadarśin is the name of Mañjuśrī when he becomes a buddha.<sup>37</sup> The association between Samantadarśin and Mañjuśrī is indicated by the depiction of Samantadarśin in 300 as flanked by two lotus branches at the shoulder level, with a sword and a book placed on top—attributes of Mañjuśrī. Samantadarśin also appears in the 360 deities under the category of *Ying*: Various kinds of Buddhas. However, in 360 the deity is not illustrated with a sword and a book; instead, he is portrayed holding a flower to his chest. Neither of Amitābha, Vimaloṣṇīṣa and Samantadarśin has direct association with the Thirty-Five Buddha and they are selected to complete the thirteen folios of the iconographic group.

<sup>35</sup> Vairocanābhisambodhi is originated from *Vairocanābhisambodhitānta*, the most important text of Caryā tantra. It is the central deity in the room of Caryā Tantra in Fanhualou.

<sup>36</sup> Originated from the *Trisamayavyūhatantra*, a Kriyā Tantra text, Trisamayavyūhamuni is not included in 360 and Fanhualou.

<sup>37</sup> “The Array of Virtues of Mañjuśrī’s Buddha Realm (*Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha*, Toh 59,” 84000 *Translating The Words of The Buddha*. Accessed August 19, 2023, <https://read.84000.co/translation/toh59.html>.

- Folio No. 46 to No. 48 Seven Medicine Buddhas

Folio No. 46 to No. 48 include the group of the Seven Medicine Buddhas. In Folio No. 48, Bhaiṣajyaguru is placed on the left side closing the iconographic group, while Siṃhanāda and Ratnaśikhin, another two Buddhas, are added to complete the triad. In the middle of the folio, Siṃhanāda is depicted holding a bowl in the left hand and performing *vitarkamudrā* with the right hand. The Buddha also appears in the Room of Prajñāpāramitā at Fanhualou, holding a vase in the left hand and performing *bhūmisparśamudrā* with the right hand. Differentiating from Siṃhanāda Mañjuḥṣa under the category of Mañjuśrī in 360, Siṃhanāda is mentioned in *Ratnākara* (Toh 124) as one of the Buddhas in the past.<sup>38</sup> Ratnaśikhin is also a Buddha from the past and appears in several texts, including the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (Toh 1-6) and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Toh 543). Noticeably both Siṃhanāda and Ratnaśikhin are included under the category of *Ying*: Various Kinds of Buddhas in 360.

- Folio No. 49 to No. 52: Eight Great Bodhisattvas and Bodhisattvas

Folio No. 49 to No. 51 include the Eight Bodhisattvas in the two-armed peaceful form. Vajrapāṇi is placed in the centre of Folio No. 49, preceding Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuḥṣa. Jnānaguru, which is a bodhisattva but not one of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, is added to the last triad in Folio No. 51. This is followed by Folio No. 52, depicting another triad of bodhisattvas, with Prañidhānamati in the middle flanked by Prabhāketu and Sāntendriya. Both Prabhāketu and Sāntendriya are uniquely depicted sitting towards the centre and wearing a scarf flying around the shoulder. Interestingly the three deities are elucidated after the Eight Bodhisattvas in the visualisation process of the assembly of gurus and meditational deities as the merit field of Guru Yoga.<sup>39</sup>

- Folio No. 53 to No.64: Goddesses, Wrathful Deities and Pañcarakṣā

300 does not contain the full program of Twenty-one Tārās, instead it arranges three triads of popular peaceful female goddesses from Folio No. 53 to Folio No. 55, one triad of Hayagrīva in Folio No. 56, one triad of Vajrapāṇi in Folio No. 57, and one triad of wrathful deities of vajra family in Folio No. 58, followed

---

<sup>38</sup> “The Jewel Mine (Ratnākara, Toh 124),” 84000 Translating The Words of The Buddha. Accessed August 20, 2023, <https://read.84000.co/translation/toh124.html>.

<sup>39</sup> Tsultrim Nyima Gyalrong, ‘A Letter of Final Testament Sent upon the Wind: A Guide to Mahāmudrā Combined with the Uncommon Guru Yoga of the Ensa ORal Transmission Endowed with Pith Instructions and Oral Teachings’, in *Stages of the Path and the Oral Transmission : Selected Teachings of the Geluk School*, trans. Thupten Jinpa, vol. 6 (Wisdom Publications, 2022).

by two triads of Pañcarakṣā with the wrathful goddess Ucchuṣma in her peaceful form in Folio No. 59 and Folio No. 60. Inscribed as ཁྲོ་མོ་སྒྲུབ་བརྟེན་གསལ།, the wrathful goddess Ucchuṣma, the deity is unique within 300 and not included in 360 and Fanhualou. The selection of the Ucchuṣma is another example of how deities of the associated category are selected to complete the triads of certain iconographic groupings. The transmission of the wrathful goddess Ucchuṣma has been active within the Gelug school, and the Fourth Pañchen Lama, Lobzang Chokyi Gyeltsen even wrote a sadhana dedicated to this deity.<sup>40</sup>

Folio No. 61 features another three peaceful goddesses, namely Vasudhāra flanked by Ārya Jānguli and Śramaṇa. The latter two goddesses are both included under the category of *Lai: Various Goddesses with iconographic discrepancies* in 360, as Ārya Jānguli is depicted as one-headed and two-armed in 300, whereas three-headed and six-armed in 360. Śramaṇa is depicted as holding a moon-like disc in her right hand in 300, but holding a stick in 360. Vasudhāra, the deity of abundance, commonly regarded as the consort of Jambhala, is absent from both 360 and Fanhualou. However this triad of three goddesses associated with bestowing wealth and purification are all popular within the Geluk school. Although Śramaṇa is seldomly illustrated, many Geluk masters, including the First Dalai Lama, Gendun Drub, and the Third Tukwan, Lobzang Chokyi Nyima, wrote sadhanas dedicated to the deity. The goddess is particularly popular in the Mongolian area, and her sadhanas are compiled in various Mongolian liturgical text collections, for instance “རང་གཞན་ལ་དགོ་མཚན་སྤེལ་བའི་ཚོགས་དགོ་ལེགས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཆར་འབེབས་སོགས། (bdr:WA1NLM2667).”

It is followed by Folio No. 62, which depicts three manifestations of Garuḍa. The positioning of Garuḍa indicates they are regarded as protective deities, contrasting with the two forms of Garuḍa under the category of Highest Yoga Tantra in 360. In Folio No. 63, it depicts three Ḍākinīs of tiger face, lion face and bear face with the lion-faced Siṃhavaktrā Ḍākinī in the centre, whereas in 360, only the Siṃhavaktrā Ḍākinī are included under the category of Dharmapāla. The section finishes with three wrathful goddesses, Dhvajāgrakeyūrā flanked by Pratyāṅgirā in her peaceful form and Blazing Uṣṇīṣa. Only Dhvajāgrakeyūrā in the folio is included in 360 as one of the goddesses of the category of *Lai: Various Goddesses*. Overall, this section includes twelve folios of various goddesses and wrathful deities. However the different kinds of

<sup>40</sup> The sadhana is “ཁྲོ་མོ་སྒྲུབ་བརྟེན་གསལ་པའི་ལྷ་འཕགས་བཀྲ་ལྷན་རྒྱུ་བསྐྱེད་ལཱ་ལྷ་མཚན་དང་བཅས་པ།” in the collect work of the Fourth Pañchen Lama, Lobzang Chokyi Gyeltsen ཤ, vol. 4, Mongolian Lama Gurudeva, 1973, pp. 775–84. རང་གཞན་དགོ་ཚོགས་སྤེལ་གནས། (BDRC) , [purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW23430\\_E362EE](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW23430_E362EE). [BDRC bdr:MW23430\_E362EE]

goddesses and wrathful deities are interwoven with each other rather than clearly differentiated according to their categories.

- Folio No. 65 to No.70: Eighteen Arhats

Folio No. 65 to No. 70 comprise the group of Eighteen Arhats depicted in a continuous manner. The sequence begins with Aṅgaja on the left side of Folio No. 65 and concludes with *Hu shang*, the phonetics of monk in Chinese on the right side of Folio No. 70. Notably, the arhats on the sides of the folios are illustrated facing towards the central figure. Each arhat is depicted with a halo surrounding the head, set against mountain landscapes.

- Folio No. 71 to No. 100: Krodha Deities, Dākinīs, Mahākāla and other Guardian Deities

The closing section of 300 includes various wrathful deities, wealth deities, and long life deities. Folio No. 71 to No. 74 include the ten krodhas deities in their *yab yum* form and two additional wrathful deities. The ten krodhas constitute the retinue of the Vajrabhairava maṇḍala centred the Vajrabhairava in solitary form,<sup>41</sup> and they are noticeably different from the “ten krodhas” of the Vajrakīlaya maṇḍala. The last deity Vajrapātāla of the group of ten krodhas is flanked by Mahāpratyaṅgirā and Trailokyavijaya. Both side deities are illustrated in solitary form and are included in 360 under the last category, *Dong*: Dharmapāla, whereas the ten krodhas deities are not part of 360. Folio No. 75 and Folio No. 76 exhibit six dākinī as a group, namely the dākinī of Buddha, Vajra, Ratna, Karma, Padma and Viśva. Folio No. 77 includes Ṣaḍbhujā Mahākāla preceding another two forms of Mahākāla, namely Sita Cīntāmani Mahākāla and Āyuspati Mahākāla. The retinues of Ṣaḍbhujā Mahākāla, namely Kṣetrapāla, Jinamitra, Ṭakkirāja and Trakṣad are placed in the Folio No. 78 and Folio No. 79 with another two forms of devī to complete the folio. The group is followed by Folio No. 80, which illustrates three different manifestations of Dharmarāja. It is interesting to note that Ṣaḍbhujā Mahākāla, his four retinues, and four different Dharmarāja are the nine supplementary deities of the Room of Father Tantra in Fanhualou, although the selections of the various forms of Dharmarāja in 300 and Fanhualou are different. In Folio No. 81 another three forms of Mahākāla appears again, namely Pañjaranātha Mahākāla, Brāhmanarūpadhara Mahākāla and Caturbhujā Mahākāla. All three Mahākāla are included in the Room of Mother Tantra in Fanhualou.

---

<sup>41</sup> “Khro Bcu,” *BUDA*. Accessed August 21, 2023, <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:T2354>.



Following the folio of Mahākāla, Folio No.82 to No. 84 depict nine different devī on mounts that include the “goddesses of four seasons”, which also collectively appear in Room of Yoga Tantra in Fanhualou and 360. Folio No.85 renders Jamsring preceding Citipati (Śmaśāna Adhipati) and Daṇḍa Mahākāla, followed by Folio No. 86 encompassing three exact same Bhagavad Mahākāla with the same inscriptions, which collectively constitute the “Three brothers of Bhagavad Mahākāla.” The “Three brothers of Bhagavad Mahākāla” are illustrated as a triad in one *tsag li* painting of Rinjung Gyatsa which I will explain later,<sup>42</sup> whereas the three brothers of Bhagavad Mahākāla is illustrated individually in 360. The last folio of Mahākāla, Folio No.87 renders Śailadeva Mahākāla flanked by Vyāghravāhana Mahākāla and Trakṣad Mahākāla, respectively the Mahākāla riding on a tiger and the Mahākāla riding on a lion.

Folio No. 88 to No. 90 feature three forms of Vaiśravaṇa, three forms of Jambhala, and another two forms of Jambhala flanking Damchen Dorje Lekpa. Illustrated as riding upon a snow lion and wearing a wide-brimmed hat, Damchen Dorje Lekpa is misidentified as Samayī Vajrasādhu.<sup>43</sup> Damchen Dorje Lekpa is widely believed as a crucial worldly protective deity of the Nyingma school, although he is also an important protective deity of bestowing wealth for the Geluk school. Many Geluk lineage holders, including the Second Jamyang Zhepa, Konchok Jigme Wangpo (b.1757 - d.1849), Lobzang Gyeltsen Sengge (b.1757 - d.1849), and Rölpe Dorjé have written liturgies dedicated to him.<sup>44</sup>

Folio No. 91 and Folio No. 92 include the “Five Sisters of Long Life” with the goddess Bhaiṣajyadevi at the end, while Folio No. 93 include Brahma and Indra with another goddess Pṛthvī, the first deity under the category of *Dong*: Dharmapāla in 360. It is followed by the “Four Great Kings” with Dhṛtarāṣṭra flanked by Nīla Duṣpradhara and Rakta Abhimukha in Folio No. 95, Vāyu flanked Agni and Varuṇa in Folio No. 96, three forms of Nāgarāja in Folio No. 97 and the “Eight Auspicious Goddesses” with Goddess of Long life at the end.

<sup>42</sup> Martin Willson, *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism: The Zürich Paintings of the Icons Worthwhile to See*: : Bris Sku Mthoñ Ba Don Ldan (Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publ., 2001).153.

<sup>43</sup> Sushama Lohia, *Lalitavajra s Manual of Buddhist Iconography* (International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1994).

<sup>44</sup> The liturgy of Damchen Dorje Lekpa by Rölpe Dorjé is “དམ་ཅན་རྗོ་རྩེ་ལེགས་པ་ལ་མཚོན་གཏོར་འབུལ་ཞིང་འཕྱིན་ལས་འཚོམ་བའི་ཚུལ་དཔའ་བོའི་བླ་དབུངས།” In གསུང་འབུམ། རྩེ་ལེགས་པའི་རྗོ་རྩེ།, 5:365–72. [Pe Cin]: [Krung Go Bod Brgyud Mtho Rim Nang Bstan Slob Gling Nang Bstan Zhib 'jug Khang], 1995. Accessed August 21, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW28833\\_DB848D](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW28833_DB848D). [BDRC bdr:MW28833\_DB848D]

## The iconographic contents of 360

The translation of the names of the 360 deities by Mori Masahide is placed in Appendix 2 at the end of the thesis. The categorization of the deities as well as the number of deities under each category are also indicated in this list. The thesis significantly benefits from this translation. Meanwhile 諸佛菩薩聖像讚=*The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* published by China Tibetology Publishing House in 2009 also lists the Sanskrit translation, and Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchuria transliteration of the deities names, from which this thesis also greatly benefits.

- *Tian*: Great Masters of Prajñāpāramitā

Same as 300, 360 starts with Buddhist Masters, which reveals the prominent positions of gurus in Tibetan Buddhism. This section also starts with the so-called “Six Ornaments”, the six great commentators on the Buddha’s teachings, and followed by the “Two Supreme Ones”, Guṇaprabha and Śākyaprabha. The last two masters of the section, Candrakīrti and Śāntideva are both renowned commentators of Prāsaṅgika school of Mādhyamika, which had significant impacts on Tsongkhapa’s philosophical view.

- *Di*: Great Masters in India <sup>45</sup>

The second category contains eight mahāsiddhas, and most of them are associated with Nāgārjuna. As mentioned in the treatise of *Philosophical Tenets on Madhyamaka* by Rölpe Dorjé, Saraha, the first mahāsiddha in this section, is one of Nāgārjuna’s teachers, while Lūhipāda, Ghaṇṭāpāda, Kṛṣṇacārin, Nāropa and Maitrīpa were all followers of Nāgārjuna.<sup>46</sup>

- *Yuan*: Great Masters in Tibet <sup>47</sup>

The third category concisely outlined the transmission of Geluk School from Atiśa to the disciple of Atiśa Dromtönpa, followed by Tsongkhapa and his disciples Gyeltsap Jé and Khédруп Jé. It is followed by great

---

<sup>45</sup> The section is termed in the preface as “*mi mi zu shi* (Chinese: 秘密祖師)”, which directly translates to “the secret masters”.

<sup>46</sup> Xu Mingyin, ‘章嘉宗義書〈中觀派章〉漢譯(上)=A Chinese Translation (Part One) of the Madhyamaka Chapter of LCang Skya’s Grub Mtha’, 法光學壇=*Dharma Light Lyceum*, 1 January 2004, 53–92.

<sup>47</sup> The section is termed in the preface as “*mi mi dao zu shi* (Chinese: 秘密道祖師)”, which directly translates to the secret method masters.”

lineage holders such as the First Dalai Lama Gendün Druppa, the First Pañchen Lama Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen, the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso) the Fifth Pañchen Lama Lozang Yéshé, and the Seventh Dalai Lama Kelzang Gyatso (b.1708 - d.1757). It is important to note that Rölpe Dorjé is not included in the section, although he was the teacher and confidant of the Seventh Dalai Lama Kelzang Gyatso.<sup>48</sup> This signifies that the iconographic selection within this category solely centres on the Dalai Lama and Pañchen Lama lineages and is differentiated from 300, which includes Tibetan Buddhist masters from various schools and concludes with wih Rölpe Dorjé and his contemporaneous figures.

- *Huang*: Various kinds of Highest Yoga Tantra Deities<sup>49</sup>

The category encompasses thirty-four Highest Yoga Tantra deities. Similar to the arrangement in 300, it commences with Vajradhāra, the ādibuddha, followed by various manifestations of Guhyasamāja, Saṃvara, Vajrabhairava, Yamāri, Hevajra, and other prominent Highest Yoga Tantra deities. Notably, the concept of the Five Buddha Families or Six Buddha Families is not incorporated as in 300, and different forms of the same deity are grouped together. Deities of Father and Mother Tantra are not differentiated. Additionally, the category includes several deities not present in the 300, such as Yogāmbara, Kurukullā, and Padmanarteśvara-Hayagrīva.

- *Yu*: Various kinds of Yoga Tantra Deities<sup>50</sup>

The category contains fourteen deities of Yoga Tantra. The order of the deities roughly reflects the sub-division of the deities in Yoga Tantra. The section starts with Amitāyus and Caturbhuja Amitāyus, which are deities of the Lotus Family. It is followed by deities of the Buddha Family, namely Vajradhātu, Vairocana Śākyasiṃha, Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara, and Sarvavid Vairocana. Next, there are deities of the Vajra Family, including various forms of Vajrapāṇi. The last deity of the group is Hayagrīva with the Iron Sword (Tibetan: རྩ་མགྲིན་ལྷགས་པལ་ཅན). Depicted as one-faced and two-armed, holding a sword in the right hand, this form of Hayagrīva is a unique figure in 360, while notably absent in both Fanhualou and 360. The practices

<sup>48</sup> Matthew Kapstein, 'The Seventh Dalai Lama, Kelzang Gyatso', The Treasury of Lives. Accessed August 22, 2023, <http://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Seventh-Dalai-Lama-Kelzang-Gyatso/3107>.

<sup>49</sup> The section is termed in the preface as “*da mi mi fo* (Chinese: 大秘密佛)”, which directly translates to “the great secret Buddha”.

<sup>50</sup> The section is termed in the preface as “*zhu yang mi mi fo* (Chinese: 諸樣秘密佛)”, which directly translates to “the various secret Buddhas” in English. The titles of the sections suggest that the distinction between Highest Yoga Tantra and Yoga Tantra is not made in the Chinese language. However, the remaining section titles accurately depict their corresponding contents.

associated with this deity are transmitted within the Geluk school and are particularly favoured by the Second Dalai Lama, Gendun Gyatso, who composed a number of liturgical texts dedicated to him.<sup>51</sup>

- *Zhou*: Five Buddha family

This category lists the Five Buddha Families that originated from the *Compendium of Principles of All Buddhas (STTS)*. The sequence of the five deities starts with Vairocana in the centre, followed by Akṣobhya in the East, Ratnasambhava in the South, Amitābha in the West, and Amoghasiddhi in the North. All five deities are illustrated in their one-faced, two-armed manifestations, indicating that they are deities within the context of Yoga Tantra, rather than representations in the Highest Yoga Tantra manifestation where the five Buddhas embrace their consorts as in 300.

- *Hong*: Thirty-five Buddhas

The names and iconographies of thirty-five Buddhas are identical to the same group in 300 with minor discrepancies in the mudrās.

- *Huang*: Buddhas of Ten Directions

The ten directions consist of the four cardinal directions, the four inter-cardinal directions, the zenith, and the nadir. There are seven Buddhas of the group appear in the Room of Prajñāpāramitā in Fanhualou, bearing the same inscriptions of names in Chinese. The Tibetan inscriptions of the Buddhas in 360 are highly fragmentary and full of errors. However, it is still identifiable that the group originated from the Mahayana text *Dispelling the Darkness of the Ten Directions (Skt. daśadigandhakāraḍidhvamaṣanasūtra; Tib.*

*འཕགས་པ་ཕྱགས་བརྒྱའི་མུན་སེལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་མེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་མདོ།*. Toh 269), categorised under the General Sūtra Section in Kangyur. The sequence of the group starts from Buddha of the East to the North and from Buddha of the Northeast to the Northwest, finishing Buddha of the above to the Buddha of the beneath.<sup>52</sup> The Chinese names of the group

---

<sup>51</sup> For example Gendun Gyatso. “དཔལ་རྟ་མགིན་ལྷགས་རལ་ཅན་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་མེ་མཐུན་ཕྱགས་ལས་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐད་དབྱངས།” In གསུང་འབྲས། དགོ་འདུན་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ཉེད་ཀར་མཛོལ་པར་གྲོ།, 1:347–49. [Dkar Mdzes]. Accessed August 28, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW861\\_2DEC93](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW861_2DEC93). [BDRC bdr:MW861\_2DEC93]

<sup>52</sup> The names translated in English, the original Tibetan names from the text, and the Chinese names in 360 are namely: Buddha Following Deeds (Tibetan: སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་སྐྱོད་པ་; Chinese 隨應佛), East direction; Buddha Free from Darkness (Tibetan: སངས་རྒྱལ་མུན་པ་དང་ནག་གི་ཚོགས་བཅོམ་པ་; Chinese 顯聖王佛), South direction; Buddha Subduing Malice and Arrogance (Tibetan: སངས་རྒྱལ་ལོན་དང་རྒྱགས་པ་རྒྱལ་བར་གཞོན་པ་; Chinese 善滅諍識佛), West direction; Buddha with a Jewelled Body of Radiant Light (Tibetan: སངས་རྒྱལ་རིན་ཆེན་གཟུགས་བཞོད་འོད་ལྗང་; Chinese 寶身光輝佛), North direction; Buddha Subduing and Destroying All Demon and two pointed minds (Tibetan: སངས་རྒྱལ་བདུད་དང་ཡིད་གཉིས་ཀུན་འཛོམས་རྣམ་པར་གཞོན་; Chinese 善滅魔障佛), Northeast direction; Buddha First Generating Mind,

in 360 are directly translated from the Tibetan names instead of originating from Chinese sources, for instance the Buddha of the ten directions from *The Discourse on the Ten Stages* (*Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā*, Chinese: 十住毗婆沙論).<sup>53</sup>

- *Ri*: Six Buddhas of the Past

The deities included in this group, along with Buddha Śākyamuni, constitute the “Seven Buddhas of the Past,” which is one of the most popular groupings in the Qing court. This group was specifically mentioned in the inscription of Room 1 of Fanhualou which will be explained in detail in next chapter. The images of the Seven Buddhas, as well as the imperial edicts written in four languages by Qianlong, were inscribed on the steles of the Seven Buddha Steles Stupa in what is now Beihai Park. The imperial edict provides information on the names, origins, and parentage of the seven Buddhas, which was the result of Rölpe Dorjé’s study requested by the Qianlong emperor.<sup>54</sup>

- *Yue*: Bhaiṣajyaguru

This category contains the Seven Medicine Buddhas. The names and mudrās of the Seven Medicine Buddhas are identical with the same group in 300.

- *Ying*: Various kinds of Buddhas

As mentioned earlier, Simhanāda, Ratnaśikhin and Samantadarśin in this category all appear in 300 as Buddhas finishing the triads of certain iconographic groups.

- *Ze*: Various kinds of Mañjuśrī

---

Having the Glory of Irreversible Wheel (Tibetan: ལངས་རྒྱལ་མཉམས་དང་པོ་བསྐྱེད་བའི་ཕྱིར་མི་ཚོགས་པའི་འཁོར་ལོ་འབྱུང་བའི་; Chinese 不迴吉祥輪佛), Southeast direction; Buddha Jewelled Parasol with Superior Radiance (Tibetan: ལངས་རྒྱལ་ཟིན་ཆེན་གདུགས་འཕགས་རྣམ་; Chinese 寶傘勝佛), Southwest direction; Buddha Subduing Bodhisattvas (Tibetan: ལངས་རྒྱལ་མཉམས་བྱང་རྒྱལ་མཉམས་དཔལ་འདུལ་བ་; Chinese 隨引菩提佛), Northwest direction; Buddha the Clearly Superior King of Concentration Without Fear and Free of Darkness (Tibetan: ལངས་རྒྱལ་མཉམས་མེད་ལྷན་གྱིང་འཛིན་མཛོན་འཕགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་; Chinese 無畏滅冥佛), Buddha of the above; Buddha Abiding in Cutting Off Doubt and Agitating Afflictions (Tibetan: ལངས་རྒྱལ་དང་པོ་ལམས་བསྐྱེད་ལྷེ་ཚམས་གཙོང་མཛད་ཉོན་མོངས་བསྐྱེད་ Chinese 初慈決疑佛), Buddha of the beneath. The Tibetan names and directions are from ‘CHOG-CHU MUN-SEL: Dispelling the Darkness of the Ten Directions’, Saraswati Publications. Accessed August 23, 2023, <https://www.saraswatipublications.org/product/chog-chu-mun-sel-dispelling-the-darkness-of-the-ten-directions/>.

<sup>53</sup> The Buddhas of the ten directions are described in *The Discourse on the Ten Stages* as “東方善德佛, 南栴檀德佛, 西無量明佛, 北方相德佛, 東南無憂德, 西南寶施佛, 西北華德佛, 東北三行佛, 下方明德佛 上方廣眾德。” From “十住毘婆沙論卷第五 易行品第九”. In 大正新脩大藏經. *CBETA*, [https://betaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1521\\_005](https://betaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T1521_005) (Accessed July 1, 2024).

<sup>54</sup> Sha Zhou and Penglin Lou, ‘北京北海西天梵境七佛塔碑記考= A Textual Research on the Inscriptions of the Seven Buddhist Pagodas in the West Heavenly Brahma Realm of Beihai, Beijing’, 中國藏學=China Tibetology 第三期 (2011): 81–86.

The category includes thirteen manifestations of Mañjuśrī, with most of them being esoteric forms. However, no wrathful form is included.

- *Chen*: Various kinds of Avalokiteśvara

This section contains twenty different forms of Avalokiteśvara and majority of the them are highly unusual. Māyājālakrama-Avalokiteśvara is the only wrathful form in the group.

- *Su*: The Bodhisattvas in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala

This section includes the sixteen bodhisattvas of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, organised in a rather unusual anti-clockwise direction: it starts with Vajrasandhi,<sup>55</sup> Vajrayakṣa, Vajrarakṣa, and Vajrakarma of the Karma Family in the North, followed by Vajrabhāṣa, Vajrahetu, Vajratīkṣṇa and Vajradharma of the Padma Family in the West, Vajrahāsa, Vajradhvaja,<sup>56</sup> Vajrasūrya,<sup>57</sup> Vajraratna of the Ratna Family in the South and finally, Vajrasādhu, Vajrarāga, Vajrarāja and Vajrasattva of the Vajra Family in the East.

- *Lie*: Various kinds of Bodhisattvas

The category includes two forms of Maitreya, two forms of Samantabhadra, as well as Ākāśagarbha, Kṣitigarbha, and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin. Notably, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, and Vajrapāṇi are not included in this section, likely to avoid repetitions with the previous sections.

- *Zhang*: Pañcarakṣā

The Pañcarakṣā, the "Five Protections", are one of the most ancient and proliferating goddesses group throughout the transmission of Tibetan Buddhism. Nevertheless, the iconographies of the five goddess are illustrated differently from the same group in 300.

- *Han*: Tārā

---

<sup>55</sup> It was translated as Vajramuṣṭi in Appendix II 'Listing of "The Three Hundred and Sixties Buddhist Deities"', by Masahide Mori, Asian Iconographic Resources. Accessed June 14, 2019, [http://air.w3.kanazawa-u.ac.jp/AIR/PDF/360deities\\_list.pdf](http://air.w3.kanazawa-u.ac.jp/AIR/PDF/360deities_list.pdf).

<sup>56</sup> The Tibetan name of the deity is རྩེ་གུ་མཚན་. It was translated as Vajraketu as in Appendix II.

<sup>57</sup> The Tibetan name of the deity is inscribed as རྩེ་ལྗེ་བཟུང་. It was illustrated as holding a circle in his right hand while resting his left hand on the lap. The eulogy of the bodhisattva describes the attribute holding on the bodhisattva's right hand as the "precious mirror". It should be the bodhisattva is Vajrasūrya of the Ratnasambhava Family. According to the textual and imagery tradition, the bodhisattva holds in the right hand a vajra sun circle. It was very possibly misunderstood as a mirror in 360. In the "Listing of "The Three Hundred and Sixties Buddhist Deities" it was translated as Vajratejas.

This category contains twenty-two Tārās. It begins with Khadiravani Tārā, the most common and prominent form of Tārā, followed by the group of twenty-one Tārā. The twenty-one Tārās are depicted in the Sūryagupta tradition, as each Tārā are rendered differently. According to Luo Wenhua, the Chinese names of the twenty-one Tārās in 360 and the fragmentary Twenty-One Tārā thangka in Yuhua are identical, although they are illustrated in different iconographies.<sup>58</sup>

- *Lai*: Various kinds of Goddesses

This category contains forty-four female deities. Various forms of Tārā, Cundā, and Mārīcī are included.

- *Shu*: Eighteen Arhats

This category includes the group of Eighteen Arhats. The group represents the Tibetan vision of the Sixteen Arhats, with the addition of two more arhats, Dharmatāla and Cloth Bag Monk (Chinese: 布袋和尚; Pinyin: bu dai he shang) . The sequence and names of the arhats are identical to the group depicted in 300, and the attributes, postures, and iconographies are similar as well.

- *Wang*: Various kinds of Arhats

Although the category is termed “Various Arhats,” it actually consists of the “Seven Patriarchs.”<sup>59</sup> These seven Buddhist masters were the successors who transmitted the teachings from the Buddha, serving as reminders of the Buddha’s presence.

- *Qiu*: Various kinds of Mahākāla and other protective deities<sup>60</sup>

The category includes twenty protective deities, with the majority of them being Mahākāla. It begins with Ṣaḍbhujā-Mahākāla, the six-armed Mahākāla, the chief protective deity in the Geluk school. The category also includes four retinue deities of Ṣaḍbhujā-Mahākāla, namely Ṭakkirāja, Jinamitra, Kṣetrapāla, and Kṛṣṇa-

---

<sup>58</sup> Luo Wenhua, 龍袍與袈裟：清宮藏傳佛教文化考察 = *Dragon Robes and Cassocks: Tibetan Buddhist Cultural Tents in Qing Palaces* (北京：紫禁城出版社 = The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2005), 108.

<sup>59</sup> Lobsang N. Tsonawa, trans., *Indian Buddhist Pandits from The Jewel Garland of Buddhist History”: Biography of the Indian Buddhist Pandits* (Dharamshala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2005).xi.

<sup>60</sup> The category is termed as *yong bao hu fa* (Chinese: 勇保護法), which literally means “brave Dharmapāla.” In 360 and Fanhualou Mahākāla is translated as *yong bao hu fa* in Chinese. However this category also includes a number of other protective deities.

Ṭakṣad. However, unlike in the Room of Highest Father Tantra in Fanhualou and in 300 they are not arranged together as a distinct group.

After Pañjara Mahākāla, Caturbhujā Mahākāla, Brāhmanarūpadhara Mahākāla and Kṛṣṇa-Ṭakṣad, Śaṅkhapālī (Chinese: 頂螺天母護法; Tibetan: ལྷ་མོ་དུང་སྐྱོང་སྐ་མོ) and Dhūmavatī Devī (Chinese: 能烘諸敵天母護法; Tibetan: ལྷ་མོ་དུང་སྐ) are included in the category. This sequence is similar to the arrangement of the Folio No. 82 presenting Pañjara Mahākāla flanked by Brāhmanarūpadhara Mahākāla and Caturbhujā Mahākāla, followed by the Folio No. 83 of Dhūmavatī Devī flanked by Caṇḍikā and Śaṅkhapālī. The buffalo-headed Dharmarāja is also included in this group.

- *Shou*: Various kinds of Vaiśravaṇa

The category presents five different manifestations of Vaiśravaṇa, with Sita-Āyurvardhana-Vaiśravaṇa at the beginning. The other forms of Jambhala are included in the next section. The arrangement contrasts with 300 in which various kinds of wealth deities are grouped together.

- *Dong*: Various kinds of Dharmapāla

The last category contains thirty-eight protective deities. It starts from Pṛthivī, and Nartakavara-Vaiśravaṇa, followed by the Four Guardian Kings, noticeably excluding Vaiśravaṇa. Brahman and Śatakratu, another form of Indra, along with Caṇḍikā and the Goddesses of Four Seasons, as well as various forms of wrathful deities, are also included in this category.



## The comparison between 300 and 360: the iconographies, the materialities and the functions

### 300: the triads of *tshogs zhing* in replication

Berger observes that 300 is designed as a compact and portable handbook consisting of one hundred pages, and she notices each image in the square is accompanied by the *dhāraṇī*, a ritual text providing instructions for the practice and visualisation of the deity.<sup>61</sup> Based on this observation, Berger speculates that the purpose of the pantheon is to assist Mongolian monks who are able to read Tibetan in conducting initiations and engaging in visualisations.<sup>62</sup> The speculation implicates 300 is the compilation of Tibetan *tsag li* paintings, the set of miniature paintings as initiation cards, used in rituals for aiding visualisation. One of the most renowned and relevant examples is the *Icons Worthwhile to See*, which was also produced or kept in Mongolia or China in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, constituting 510 miniature paintings of deities of Rinjung Gyatsa, Narthang Gyatsa, and Vajrāvalī.<sup>63</sup> The text of Rinjung Gyatsa was composed by Tāranāta in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It is a comprehensive compilation that contains *sādhana*s of over three hundred deities belonging to the Four Classes of Tantra,<sup>64</sup> while the practices and transmissions of Rinjung Gyatsa are still ongoing today. Narthang Gyatsa is a compendium of initiations of deities, composed of a cycle of thirty-three *sādhana*s by Chim Namkha, the abbot of Narthang Monastery from 1251-1228.<sup>65</sup> The last text, Vajrāvalī, which will be explained in detail in the next chapter, was composed by Abhayākara Gupta during the 11<sup>th</sup> century. However, the section on Vajrāvalī in the collection of *tsag li* paintings of *Icons Worthwhile to See* is based on the commentary on Vajrāvalī by the Second Changkya, Ngawang Lobzang Choden (b.1642 - d.1714), who expanded the original twenty-six maṇḍalas to forty-five maṇḍalas and reorganised them according to the concept of the Four Classes of Tantra. These three compendiums indicate that the compilation of *Icons Worthwhile to See* is specifically associated with the ritual practices and transmissions of these three texts, suggesting their practical application in reality.

---

<sup>61</sup> Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 114.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Martin Willson, *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism: The Zürich Paintings of the Icons Worthwhile to See: : Bris Sku Mthoṅ Ba Don Ldan*, 4.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 231.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 379.

In contrast, 300 does not directly correlate with specific textual or ritual practices. This absence of direct text-image relationships complicates its utility in aiding memorization or visualization of Buddhist practices. The format, organized into one hundred folios, inevitably disrupts traditional iconographic groupings such as the thirty-five Buddhas, Seven Medicine Buddhas, and Eight Great Bodhisattvas, which are spread across different folios. Consequently, other deities, not originally part of these groupings, are selected to complete triads, blurring the distinction of these iconographic groupings. Furthermore, the lack of an index for deity identification complicates navigation, contrasting with the texts associated with *Icons Worthwhile to See* and the categorization of twenty-three sections as indicated in the preface of 360. In other words, finding a specific deity or grouping within the one hundred folios is not an easy task. It requires not only quick judgment regarding the deity's position within the one hundred folios but also an understanding of the iconographic composition of the deities within the triad.

Thus, what is the intention behind creating 300? The 300 is undoubtedly a collection of three hundred icons; however, compared to individual images presented in continuous succession, as in 360, the one hundred triads convey much more complex meanings. Deities can be read not only individually, but also as part of a triad, which generates additional iconographic meanings. For instance, Vajrabhairava, Guhyasamāja, and Cakrasaṃvara in Folio No. 21, and Vajrapāṇi, Mañjughoṣa, and Avalokiteśvara in Folio No. 49 are not merely collections of three deities. The former represents three main Gelug deities, which at certain stages can be practiced in a combined manner, while the latter represents the so-called “Lords of the Three Families,” symbolizing the combination of the Buddha, Lotus, and Vajra families. The central deities of the one hundred triads are rendered frontally and are hierarchically organized, allowing for multiple readings and interpretations across different dimensions of the pantheon. For instance, the central figures of the Gelug lineage depicted from Folio No. 14 to Folio No. 18, namely Tsongkhapa, Sherab Sengge, the Fourth Paṅchen Lama, the Seventh Dalai Lama, and Rölpe Dorjé, can be regarded as an even more succinct lineage transmission within the section of fifteen Gelug masters.

The extremely complex and intricate iconographic meanings further magnifies the concepts of infinity of 300, which conceptually embody the entirety of Tibetan Buddhist deity. As explicitly indicate by the preface, 300 is not merely an assembly of three hundred icons, but a *tshogs zhing*, which means “the field of

accumulation”,<sup>66</sup> as expressed in name of the pantheon “the Three Hundred Deities of the *Tshogs Zhing* of Lama, Yidam, Three Precious Jewels, and Guardian Deities”. The term *tshogs zhing* not only emphasis the multi-dimensional structure of deities within the field rather than a linear and lexiconic compilation, but also indicates the enormous accumulation of merits and wisdom attained through the veneration of a vast assembly of deities, which surpasses the merit attained by solely venerating a single deity.<sup>67</sup> It is important to note that the term *tshogs zhing* referred in 300 is not related to the religious practices prescribed by the *Lam rim* literature or the *Bla ma mchod pa* text, which pertain to the exoteric and esoteric liturgical traditions associated with the guru devotion liturgies. Unlike the *tshogs zhing* visualisation practices, which aim to receive blessings and knowledge from an adept and centre around specific figures like Buddha Śākyamuni or Tsongkhapa, 300 does not emphasize any specific central figure nor is it associated with any specific liturgy or related ritual practice.<sup>68</sup>

The preface also specifies the meritorious function of 300 as, “each image is accompanied by a dhāraṇī, and (collectively) constitutes the magnificent composition. Individuals who display and venerate this superior merit field with faith and respect will attain great merit,”<sup>69</sup> as well as the manufacturing procedure of creating the pantheon which generate merits at the end of the preface, as “the carving is made for the numerous faithful individuals from various statuses to see and venerate based upon.”<sup>70</sup> The specific mention of “carving” highlights the significance of the woodblock printing process in relation to the purpose of the pantheon, implying that 300 was designed to be replicated as a votive act for multiple audiences. This cost-effective method ensures the accuracy and authenticity of the representation, while the replication of one hundred triads not only greatly shortens the process of replicating the three hundred images, but also facilitates the designation of the pantheon for generating infinite merit through amplifying the iconographic multiplicity and complexity.

<sup>66</sup> Robert E. Buswell Jr and Donald S. Lopez Jr, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton University Press, 2013), 928.

<sup>67</sup> The term *tshog zhing* implies the “two accumulations (Skrit. sambhāradvaya; Tibetan: ཚོགས་གཉིས)” , namely the accumulation of merit and wisdom. In the Tibetan interpretation, the “two accumulations” are related to the six paramitas, as practices related to the first three paramitas give accumulation of merit, and practices related to the last three give accumulation of wisdom. Adapted from a personal conversation with Dobdon Maksarov.

<sup>68</sup> Filippo Lunardo , “The iconography of Tsong kha pa in the *Bla ma mchod pa tshogs zhing*, the spiritual field for the accumulation of merits by offering and devotion to the Guru”, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, No.1, (2018)

<sup>69</sup> “དམིགས་ཉེ་རང་རང་གཟུངས་ལྡན་པའི་བུ་མོ་དང་པའི་མཚན་པར་བུ་བཞུགས། དལ་བའི་རྟེན་ལ་སྐྱེས་པའི་ལོ་ལྷན་འདྲིན་རྒྱུ་ལ། ཞིང་གི་མཚོག་ལ་དང་གུས་བསྐྱེན་བཀུར་གྱི།” From “Preface” by Rölpe Dorjé, in *三百佛像集=The Three Hundred Icons*.

<sup>70</sup> “དང་ལྡན་མཚོག་དམན་དུ་མའི་ལྷག་མཚོད་ལོགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་དུ་ལྷད་ཆེ་བར་མཚོང་ནས་པར་དུ་བཞོས་པའི་ལ་བྱང་དུ།” From “Preface” by Rölpe Dorjé, in *三百佛像集= The Three Hundred Icons*.

### 360, the aim of the materials of translation: tsha-tsha, illustrations, and eulogies

The anonymous preface of 360 outlines the history of the compilation process that is significantly different from 300: the author of the preface, who received a set of three hundred and sixty deity sculptures compiled by Changkya Khutuktu under the emperor's command, subsequently commissioned or created the illustrations based on the sculptural set and composed eulogies for each deity.<sup>71</sup> The set of sculptures, as the preface suggests, “are made of purified earth, while (the making process) is like gathering sand to create a Buddha; although each sculpture is small, they were said to manifest an enormous body when observed. (The sculpture) is smaller than one *chi*, although it is able to represent the grandeur of a golden body of the Buddha of six *zhang*”.<sup>72</sup> These descriptions strongly suggest that the original sculptures were likely a collection of small-sized clay sculptures, possibly tsha-tsha. This speculation is further supported by Luo Wenhua, who compares the illustrations of 360 with sets of tsha-tsha sculptures exhibited in Xianruoguan (Hall of Inherence) of Cininggong Palace (Palace of Compassion and Tranquillity). The discovery of a fragmentary palace rescript in Zhongzhengdian, which contains the names of 185 deities in four languages (Fig.1.5), also provides additional evidence for this hypothesis.<sup>73</sup> According to Luo Wenhua, in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong reign (1749), the emperor commissioned two sets of positive and negative (*yin* and *yang*) three hundred and sixty bronze tsha-tsha moulds, and a palace rescript in Zhongzhengdian was created as the documentation for the names on the tsha-tsha moulds.<sup>74</sup> These moulds were subsequently given to Prince Zhuang, who was responsible for making the sets of three hundred and sixty tsha-tsha from the set of moulds. Prince Zhuang also received a set of three hundred and sixty tsha-tsha. According to Luo, Prince Zhuang was very possibly the person who commissioned the illustrations of 360, based upon the set of tsha-tsha;<sup>75</sup> the compiler of the original tsha-tsha set was Rölpe Dorjé, while the sets of tsha-tsha have been

---

<sup>71</sup> “惟祈諸佛慈靈佑予闔家康泰，仰荷皇上之恩賜，又得我佛之垂慈，故將諸佛繪成圖像，每尊敬系以贊，以期志虔誠與無替雲爾。” From, ‘Preface’, in *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*.4.

<sup>72</sup> “淨土為胎，宛聚沙成佛，舉小見大，不盈尺而參丈六金身” From, ‘Preface’, in *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*, 4. One “*zhang*” equals to three meters approximately, while one “*chi*” equals 30 centimetres approximately.

<sup>73</sup> Luo Wenhua, “Introduction” in *諸佛菩薩聖像=Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (China Tibetan Study Publisher, Beijing, 2008),16.

<sup>74</sup> Wenhua Luo and Ming Wen, ‘咸若館供藏擦佛整理研究 -- 兼及《諸佛菩薩聖像贊》之比較=A Comparative Study between the Tsa-Tsas Enshrined in Xianruo Guan, Cining Garden, The Forbidden City and Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (Zhufu-Pusa Shengxiang Zan)’, *故宮博物院院刊=Palace Museum Journal* 145, no. 第五期 (2009): 26–55, 47.

<sup>75</sup> Luo Wenhua, “Introduction” in *Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*, 17.

widely replicated and distributed, and more than four thousand tsha-tsha are still housed in Xianruoguan Palace.<sup>76</sup>

However, these tsha-tsha sculptures preserved in Xianruoguan Palace, which are regarded as the tsha-tsha set that the illustrations of 360 were based upon, posed a limitation to the ability of Chinese artists to depict the deities with absolute precision. All the tsha-tsha are approximately six centimetres wide and eight centimetres high.<sup>77</sup> The back of the tsha-tsha is applied with red lacquer, and the front-facing side is covered with gold pigment.<sup>78</sup> The small-scale and specific material of the original sculptures greatly hinder the precision of the illustration, for instance the tsha-tsha of Kanakavarṇa Tārā as shown on Fig.1.6, which barely shows the facial features and attributes held by the ten arms of the Tārā. In contrast, the illustration of Kanakavarṇa Tārā in 360 not only accurately captures the decorative pattern at the back of the deity, but also presents much more iconographic details: Kanakavarṇa Tārā is carefully depicted as holding a rosary, sword, arrows, stick, lasso, string, bow and bell. Many of the details in the illustrations, for example, the wrinkles on the upper abdomen, the tied bow at the lower belly and the bejewelled crown on the head, are not showing on the tsha-tsha sculpture. These visual features indicate that 360 is less likely illustrated directly from the tsha-tsha sculptures, but supplemented by other painted or sculptural models associated with the tsha-tsha set, possibly the set of metal moulds used to create the tsha-tsha sculptures. These metal moulds would have allowed for capturing more intricate details that are not present in the tsha-tsha sculptures, as shown in Fig.1.7 the tsha-tsha mould of Buddha performing *varadamudrā* and *vitarkamudrā* in both hands. The illustrations in 360, as shown in Fig.1.8, accurately and successfully portray the wave pattern within the halo, the decorative pattern on the rim of the mandorla, as well as the floral and leafy branches surrounding the Buddha in the metal mould.

Nevertheless, it is also noticeable that the illustrations reveal the artists' lack of skills and knowledge regarding Tibetan imagery traditions and the Tibetan language. Deities are mostly depicted disproportionately, and the middle section of each deity is particularly elongated. Most of the wrathful deities, such as Kālacakra (Fig.1.9), are portrayed with very short and emaciated legs, while some male

---

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

deities, like Vajrapāṇi, even exhibit female characteristics such as breasts. The names of the deities are inscribed in Chinese, Manchuria, Mongolian, and Tibetan, respectively on the top, left, right, and bottom of each page. Compared to the delicacy of the Chinese, Manchuria, and Mongolian writings of the deities' names, the Tibetan inscriptions at the bottom are surprisingly inaccurate, for example, in Fig.1.10, the Tibetan name of Jāngulī Tārā (Chinese: 除諸惡毒救度佛母; pinyin: *chi zhu e du jiu du fo mu*), which literally means Tārā of dispelling poison, is mistakenly written as བདུག་ནག་སེལ་བེའ་སྐྱོལ་མ་ when it should be དུག་ནག་སེལ་བེའ་སྐྱོལ་མ་, as inscribed on the fragmentary palace rescript in Zhongzhengdian, as shown for comparison.

In the album, each deity is depicted as occupying an entire individual page, accompanied by their names, categorisation numbers, and eulogies as appropriate. This format provides a more direct means of examining the images of the deities and comprehending the symbolic meanings of the deities. The title, “The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas”, signifies its dedication to the sacred images, referred to as “*sheng xiang*,” as well as the accompanying eulogies, known as “*zan*.” These eulogies of the deities and masters not only praise their names or their specific visual attributes, but also expand upon the iconographic significance of the images, focusing on various popular Buddhist themes such as non-duality, emptiness, wisdom, auspiciousness, and compassion. Nevertheless, the eulogies also demonstrate a lack of proper understanding regarding the religious and iconographical meanings associated with the depicted figures. For instance, the eulogy for the Fifth Dalai Lama inaccurately describes him as “holding sutra with no characters in hand, manifesting lotus on the palm, enduring five incarnated lives, and making splendid wishes to liberate all sentient beings.”<sup>79</sup> However, he is illustrated holding a Tibetan *pecha* in his left hand and a flower branch in his right hand. This means the Tibetan *pecha*, symbolising scholarly achievement in Tibetan art, is misunderstood as a “no-character book,” signifying the indecipherable treatise in ancient Chinese culture. A similar misinterpretation occurs with Vajravārāhī in 360, where she is mistakenly portrayed with a horse head instead of the correct boar head atop her main head. The eulogy describes her holding a nectar-filled bowl, whereas Vajravārāhī typically holds a blood-filled skull-cup (*kapāla*), a common ritual implement in Tibetan Buddhism.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> “無字經手中持，妙蓮華掌上現。轉五輩住人間，度眾生宏誓願。” Anonymous, from *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*=诸佛菩萨圣像赞. 428.

<sup>80</sup> “敬睹金剛亥母 甘露一盃在手 佛門萬劫長存 任他鳥飛兔走。” Anonymous, from *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*=诸佛菩萨圣像赞. 56.

The lack of necessary skills and knowledge to ensure the accuracy of the inscriptions and the iconometry of the deities is especially notable considering that Prince Zhuang Hoshi Zhuang Qinwang Yinlu (1695-1767) is regarded as the commissioner of the album. Since he not only enjoyed a high status in the court but also actively participated in a number of projects of Tibetan Buddhist imagery production with Rölpe Dorjé. Prince Zhuang is recognised as one of the authors of the five prefaces of *Sutra on Iconometry* (Chinese: 造像量度經; pinyin: *Zao xiang liang du jing*), an Indian text translated by Gonbujab, which elucidates the methods for portraying Buddhist images with appropriate measurements and proportions.<sup>81</sup> Commanded by the Qianlong emperor, Prince Zhuang also collaborated with Rölpe Dorjé on compiling the *Qin ding tong wen yun tong* (Chinese: 清同文韻譜), which established the standardisation of transliterations for mantras and dhāraṇī in Manchuria, Chinese, Mongolian, and Tibetan. A Guan Yu painting, part of a set of “water and land” rituals currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, bears the inscription of “Respectfully commissioned by the imperial Prince Zhuang” (Fig.1.11). It is likely that the work was not commissioned by the Prince Zhuang associated with 360, but rather by the first holder of this title, his ancestor the powerful Manchu prince Boggodo (1650–1723). However the painting's intricate details and splendid craftsmanship align more closely with the style seen in paintings connected to princely figures in the Qing court.

The artist's inadequacy in Tibetan language and iconography, yet meticulous attention to details of the deities in 360, noticeably contrasts with the set of three-hundred-and-sixty tsha-tsha sculptures, which has been extensively reproduced for display purposes in the Manchu court. As shown in Fig.1.12, they are exhibited in the twenty-four hanging niches at the western and eastern ends of the Xianruoguan palace.<sup>82</sup> Within a grid framework, this configuration creates immersive visual effects, adds great richness to the architectural space, and visually resembles the “thousand-Buddha” motif. The density and multiplicity of the display create a stark contrast with the nearby large-scale thangka paintings, while diminishing the visual variation among individual small tsha-tsha. The practice of displaying tsha-tsha was common in both the Manchu court and imperial temples during the Qing dynasty. For instance, the Xumifushouzhimiao Temple in Jehol reportedly contains 15,686 tsha-tsha, and a photo of the temple's interior (Fig.1.13) shows tsha-tsha exhibited within

---

<sup>81</sup> Berger, *Empire of Emptiness*, 84.

<sup>82</sup> Ming Wen, ‘慈寧春猶在：覽勝慈寧宮花園= The Spring of Compassion and Tranquility Is Still Here: Visit the Garden of Compassion and Ning Palace’, 紫禁城=Forbidden City 7 (2015): 70–85.. 73.

small niches covering the entire wall.<sup>83</sup> Achieving such large-scale installations was made possible by the inexpensive mass production of tsha-tsha, as creating these small devotional clay tablets does not require high firing temperatures or advanced craftsmanship.

Making tsha-tsha has widely been regarded as a votive act performed for merit accumulation, and it is the most cost-effective process of making the object of veneration with precision. The translation from tsha-tsha and the reinterpretation or misinterpretations bring into focus the intention behind the illustration of 360 with eulogies, especially regarding the significant human efforts required. Unlike the replicas of aggregated tsha-tsha sculptures, the images of deities in 360 are reinvented through Chinese painting techniques, complemented with the categorisation using the Thousand Character numerical system and expanded by Chinese eulogies. Each volume measures 29 x 16.9 centimetres, much larger than the tsha-tsha sculptures, which are only approximately 6.2 x 7.7 cm. centimetres.<sup>84</sup> This album format introduces new rationales for representation, greatly accentuating iconographical and material features of Buddhist masters and deities. Although executed in an arduous and awkward manner, the illustrations reveal visual details like rays of light, miniature landscapes, flames, and rocks in the background, which could not possibly be discerned from tsha-tsha placed on a wall. The album format alters the viewer's interaction with the tsha-tsha, allowing for further study and comparisons among the deities. The effort put into the illustrations and eulogies indicates 360 was not intended to reproduce the tsha-tsha pantheons with accuracy and efficiency like 300. Instead, it reveals the artist's or commissioner's attempt to render the pantheons observable, readable and comprehensible, particularly within the Chinese cultural context.

Why the three-hundred and six deities ought to be readable and comprehensible within the Chinese cultural context? Uniquely in the preface of the album, the author extensively expresses not only his veneration of the Buddhist pantheons but also his piety towards the emperor. He credits the creation of the original tsha-tsha set compiled by Rölpe Dorjé to the emperor and praises the emperor's faithful practice of Tibetan Buddhism

---

<sup>83</sup> Jing Ma, “外八廟館藏擦擦佛淺賞= A Brief Appreciation of Tsha-Tsha Buddha in the Collection of Outer Eight Temple,” *中國民族博覽= China National Exhibition*, no. 01 (2016).. 224

<sup>84</sup> Luo Wenhua and Wen Ming, ‘咸若館供藏擦擦佛整理研究 -- 兼及《諸佛菩薩聖像贊》之比較=A Comparative Study between the Tsa-Tsas Enshrined in Xianruo Guan, Cining Garden, The Forbidden City and Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Boddhisattvas (Zhufu-Pusa Shengxiang Zan)’, *故宮博物院院刊=Palace Museum Journal* 145, no. 第五期 (2009): 26–55. 29.



and great efforts in regulating the production of Buddhist imagery by tracing the tradition back to India. As elucidated in the preface,

“the three-hundred and sixty Buddhist images are (the manifestations) of our emperor’s eminent physiognomy and austere life from day to night; and originated from his passion for Indian Buddhist treaties and pursuing the splendid Buddhist images originality... ( I ) only wish the Buddha could bestow the auspiciousness to the whole family; while I fully appreciate the emperor’s auspices and the Buddha’s benevolence. Therefore images of the Buddhas were depicted and eulogised for expressing my piety and the uniqueness (of the deity).”<sup>85</sup>

When the iconography of the three-hundred and sixty Buddhist images is regarded as the result of the emperor’s command, or even metaphorically reflecting the emperor’s eminent physiognomy, the illustration of 360 serves not merely as a votive act, but as an extension of the emperor’s passion and a means of fulfilling the emperor’s vision of Buddhist images. Instead of replicating Tibetan Buddhist images through conventional formats, for example, tsha-tsha or woodblock prints, the imperfect execution of incorporating Tibetan images into the Chinese context, on the contrary, even more demonstrates the reverence and gratitude of the creator of 360 to the emperor, through the painstaking effort put into the renderings and accompanying eulogies.

---

<sup>85</sup> 粵稽三百六十尊佛像乃我皇上德契金容，極晨昏之齋肅，心周貝葉，溯寶相之莊嚴.....唯祈諸佛慈靈佑予闔家安泰，仰荷皇上之恩賜，又得我佛之垂慈，故將諸佛繪成圖像，每尊敬系以贊，以期志虔誠與無替雲爾。From “Preface”, in *諸佛菩薩聖像贊*=*The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*, 4.

## Conclusion

The prefaces of both compilations indicate the involvement of Rölpe Dorjé. In 300, Rölpe Dorjé, as the author of the preface, emphasised the significance and meritorious effects of the 300. In 360, he is considered the one who compiled the original set of sculptures as requested by the emperor. However, neither pantheon firmly demonstrates Rölpe Dorjé's authentic and doctrinal views on iconographic standardisation, as both pantheons were created for reproduction, primarily aimed at merit making targeted at distinctive groups of people. It is not surprising, therefore, that although both pantheons roughly reflect the hierarchical relationships among the "Four Classes of Tantra" -- the most important and widely promoted doxographic scheme -- neither pantheon explicitly mentions the concept.

Significant iconographic presentations or groupings of the Geluk school in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, such as Sita-Saṃvara, Thirty-five Buddhas, the Eighteen Arhats, the Seven Bhaiṣajyaguru, and Ṣaḍbhujā-Mahākāla, are included in both compilations. However, the same iconographic groupings are frequently illustrated differently in both pantheons. For example, both pantheons include the group of Pañcarakṣā, as shown in Fig.1.14. In 300, Mahāsāhasrapramardanī is depicted as one-faced and four-armed, while in 360, she is depicted as one-faced and six-armed. Similarly, Mahāśītavatī is depicted as one-faced and eight-armed in 300, but as one-faced and four-armed in 360. These iconographic differences suggest that the two pantheons are possibly not based on the same textual or imagery resources. In some cases, the same deity is portrayed differently to emphasise different aspects. For instance, in both pantheons, Vajradhara is placed as the first deity in the Highest Yoga Tantra category. In 360, Vajradhara is depicted in a solitary form whereas in 300, Vajradhara is portrayed in the *yab yum* form preceding the Five Buddha Family, all of which in the *yab yum* form, indicating they are the assembly of Six Buddha Families.

360 strongly emphasises the various manifestations of the same deities, as indicated by the names of the categories. For example, the category of Mañjuśrī includes thirteen different forms of Mañjuśrī, and the category of Avalokiteśvara includes twenty different forms of Avalokiteśvara. Many of these manifestations of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, and Mahākāla are rarely practised or portrayed in both Tibetan and Chinese contexts, for example, Aṣṭadaśbhujā-Padmanarteśvara and Māyājālakrama-Avalokiteśvara. These less

commonly depicted forms were likely selected to complete the entire pantheon of 360, or to highlight the importance of their respective categories. In contrast, there is no internal categorisation of the deities in the 300. Certain deities are strategically selected to complete triads when the iconographic groupings fail to form complete triad of three.

Despite their iconographic differences, the assigned numbers of both two pantheons, 300 and 360, carry not only the literal meaning of the number of deities but also serve as “numeric metaphors” that symbolise infinity and totality within the pantheons. The number 300 implies the presence of one hundred triads, emphasising a sense of completeness. This concept is further reinforced through the complexity of the iconographic structures, which allow for multiple interpretations across the folios and view the folios as a consecutive sequence. The number 360, representing the number of days in a year, similarly emphasizes the all-encompassing nature of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon. While replicating either pantheon would generate infinite merit, it is notable that the illustration of the 360 is a conscious adaptation of the original tsha-tsha set, intended to convey piety towards Qianlong, who played an indispensable role in promoting Tibetan Buddhism in the Manchu court, as explained in later chapters.

## Chapter 2 The Six Classes On Display: the Iconographic Analysis of the Six Side Rooms in Fanhualou

### Fanhualou, An Example of *liupinfolou*

Situated in the Northeast part of the Ningshougong Palace (Tranquil Longevity Palace) and constructed between the 37<sup>th</sup> year and the 41<sup>st</sup> year of Qianlong reign (1772 - 1776),<sup>86</sup> Fanhualou houses one of the most complicated Tibetan Buddhist pantheons throughout history. Formulated in a highly systematic and compartmentalised method, the pantheon is constituted by more than seven hundred sculptures, more than ten thangka paintings sets of deities and life-story of Tsongkhapa and Śākyamuni, various offerings and six distinctive cloisonné stupas. The mammoth deity assembly has always been described as the most authentic and complete iconographic pantheon, mainly because of its systematic organisation and connection with Rölpe Dorjé. The building is also frequently described as “completely demonstrates the honouring altars of the four sections of exoteric and esoteric Buddhism in the form of six-class Buddhist pavilion,”<sup>87</sup> since the inscriptions of the building make the reference that the rooms are respectively dedicated to Prajñāpāramitā and the so-called “Four Classes of Tantra”, the most famous and authoritative doxographic theme of Tibetan Buddhism.

The collective and systematic representation of the Buddhist images in the six rooms of Fanhualou is particularly important since Fanhualou is one of the eight “*liupinfolou*”, which literally means “Hall of the Six Buddhist Classes”, a term commonly appears in various palace archives referring to the form of a building before the building was officially named. For example, Fanhualou is recorded as “the newly built *liupinfolou* in Ningshougong Palace” in the 36<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong reign (1771),<sup>88</sup> when the interior of the building is under preparation. All the *liupinfolou* were constructed during the Qianlong reign over two

---

<sup>86</sup> Wang Jiapeng, ed., *Fanhualou Volume 1* = 梵華樓 第一卷 (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 14.

<sup>87</sup> Wang Jiapeng, ed., *Fanhualou Volume 4* = 梵華樓 第四卷 (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 30.

<sup>88</sup> Wang Jiapeng, ed., *Fanhualou*, Volume 4, 1352.

decades and the locations of *liupinfolou* are all strategically positioned in the most important palaces of the Qianlong emperor in and around Beijing and Chengde. The construction of the first *liupinfolou*, Huiyaolou, was completed in 1758. The building is located in the Established Happiness Palace (Jianfugong),<sup>89</sup> one of the earliest palaces reconstructed by the Qianlong emperor on the site where he spent time as a child.<sup>90</sup> Jianfugong Palace holds significant historical and cultural value and Qianlong composed numerous poems in its honor. According to Zhang Shuxian, besides Jingyixuan, the residential palace in Jianfugong Palace, the palace encompasses two main types of structures: leisure palaces and Buddhist buildings, including Huiyaolou, Jiyunlou, and various Buddhist shrines situated within other buildings.<sup>91</sup> The architectural style and layout of Jianfugong Palace were later adopted by the Ningshougong Palace, where Fanluahou, the last *liupinfolou* constructed in the Forbidden City is located. Not only Huiyaolou were reproduced as Fanluahou, but also other buildings were reconstructed in a similar fashion. It is notable that the Ningshougong Palace was renovated after Qianlong's sixtieth birthday as a palace for his future retirement, commemorating his wish, made at the beginning of his coronation, to reign as emperor for sixty years. Respectively connected to the youth and retirement phases of Qianlong's life, Jianfugong Palace and Ningshougong Palace undoubtedly reflect his retrospective and personal contemplation on his remarkable sixty-year reign. As the names of the two palaces connote, "*jian fu*" can be literally translated as "established happiness," representing his ambition for establishing prosperity. The name "*ning shou*", as elaborated by Qianlong in an article dedicated to the palace, expresses his achievement and wishes for peace and longevity.<sup>92</sup> The construction of *liupinfolou* in both Ningshougong Palace and Jianfugong Palace, intimately linked to Qianlong's scholarly pursuits and Confucian ideals, highlights not only Tibetan Buddhism's prominence within the imperial court but also its profound personal significance to the emperor beyond its political significance.

---

<sup>89</sup> Luo Wenhua, "清宫六品佛樓模式的形成——以梵華樓為主=The Formation of the Model of the Buddhist Shrine of Six Classes in the Qing Palace——Fanluahou as the Main Example", in *Fanluahou, Volume 4*, 1331.

<sup>90</sup> Nancy Zeng Berliner, *The Emperor's Private Paradise: Treasures from the Forbidden City* (New Haven, Conn.: Peabody Essex Museum in association with Yale University Press, 2010), 76.

<sup>91</sup> Zhang Shuxian, "建福宮花園建築歷史沿革考= A Study on the Historical Evolution of the Garden Architecture of Jianfu Palace," *故宮博物院院刊= Palace Museum Journal*, no. 5 (2005): 157-71, 170.

<sup>92</sup> Wang Zilin, "乾隆太上皇宮寧壽宮營建考= On the Construction of the Palace of Tranquil Longevity (Ningshou gong) for Emperor Qianlong Emeritus (r. 1736-1795)," *故宮學刊= Journal of Gugong Studies* 1(2011):123-143, 141.

As recorded in the palace achieves, the later *liupinfolou* were all constructed based on the format of Huiyaolou with minor adjustments. Apart from the two *liupinfolou* as mentioned above, Qianlong also constructed Baoxianglou and Danyuanlou within the Forbidden City. The former one is located in the Cininggong Palace (Palace of Compassion and Tranquillity), in which the mother of the Qianlong emperor lived. The latter is situated behind the Zhongzhengdian Palace (Hall of Central Uprightness), the centre of imperial Buddhist activities in the Forbidden City that is responsible for both Tibetan Buddhist rituals and the creation of thangkas and sculptures.<sup>93</sup> It is noteworthy that despite occupying prominent locations within the most significant palaces, the four *liupinfolou* did not function as the sole Buddhist shrines within their respective complexes. For example, the Cininggong Palace housed the Dafotang (Great Buddhist Hall), a Tibetan Buddhist shrine of even greater scale associated with the Qianlong Emperor's mother. Zhongzhengdian complex encompassed Baohuadian, Yuhuage, and Xiangyunting. These structures all functioned as consecrated Buddhist spaces, each likely featuring distinct iconographic programs. This co-existence with other Buddhist structures within the palace complex suggests a need for further investigation into their specific function, as they may not have fully accommodated all the ritual demands of Tibetan Buddhism in the court.

The repeated construction of *liupinfolou* across multiple palaces not only demonstrate the iconographical significances, but also suggest a potential symbolic meaning and unique functions within the broader imperial architectural program, which is not limited within the Forbidden City. Between 1757-1762, Qianlong constructed the second *liupinfolou*, Fanxianglou, in the Hanjingtang (Classic Hall) of the Changchunyuan (External Spring Garden) in Yuanmingyuan,<sup>94</sup> a massive garden Qianlong emperor used as a retreat. The garden which is inspired by his trips to Jiangnan Region, also reflect his fervent imagination of European gardens and palaces.<sup>95</sup> In Chengde, Qianlong built three *liupinfolou*: Zhongxianglou, Putuozongshengzhimiao and Xumifushouzhimiao, respectively from 1760 to 1768 in Zhuyuansi Temple, from 1767 to 1771 in the architectural compound of Putuozongshengzhimiao (also called the Potala Temple),

---

<sup>93</sup> Luo Wenhua, “清宮六品佛樓模式的形成——以梵華樓為主=The Formation of the Model of the Buddhist Shrine of Six Classes in the Qing Palace——Fanhualou as the Main Example”, in *Fanhualou, Volume 4*, 1337.

<sup>94</sup> Luo Wenhua, “清宮六品佛樓模式的形成——以梵華樓為主=The Formation of the Model of the Buddhist Shrine of Six Classes in the Qing Palace——Fanhualou as the Main Example”, in *Fanhualou, Volume 4*, 1331.

<sup>95</sup> Nancy Zeng Berliner, *The Emperor's Private Paradise: Treasures from the Forbidden City*. 80.

and around 1780 within the architectural compound of Xumifushouzhimiao, which is built in the model of Tashi Lunpo Monastery.<sup>96</sup> The Putuozongshengzhimiao was the project to celebrate his imperial sixtieth birthday, which coincided with the return of the Torghut Mongols to their ancestral land; The Xumifushouzhimiao was constructed for not only the imperial seventieth birthday but also the arrival of the Sixth Paṅchen Lama. As excerpted by Luo Wenhua, the palace archives revealed the transfer of Buddhist materials from Baoxianglou to Putuozongshengzhimiao in 1771 and to Xumifushouzhimiao in 1778, in order to expedite the completion of construction projects before the two significant diplomatic events.<sup>97</sup>

The construction of *liupinfolou* in Chengde, the “Inner Asian Capital”, significantly broadened the potential audience beyond the confines of the imperial palace and gardens favoured by Qianlong. Described as the “practical and symbolic command centre from which the Manchu rulers coordinated relations between China, an expanding Russian empire, and Inner Asia,”<sup>98</sup> it is not surprising that Chengde held religious ceremonial gatherings joined by the peoples of those territories in submission to the Qing and special audiences, for example the Six Paṅchen Lama as mentioned above. It is interesting to note that during his celebratory journey from Tibet to Chengde and eventually Beijing for the Qianlong Emperor's 70th birthday in 1780, the palace archives excerpted by Wang Jiapeng reveal that the Paṅchen Lama also visited the Fanhualou in the Ningshougong Palace and offered the statues enshrined within the stupas.<sup>99</sup> This may be the only archive documenting visitors or audiences of *liupinfolou*. After Rölpe Dorjé, the National Preceptor and the personal guru of the emperor passed away in 1786, no more *liupinfolou* was constructed.

Xumifushouzhimiao, constructed in 1780, thus become the last of its kind.

Nowadays apart from Fanhualou and Baoxianglou, none of the other *liupinfolou* survived. During the 1920s, Baron von Staël-Holstein and his associate photographer Benjamin March photographed all the sculptures as

---

<sup>96</sup> Luo Wenhua, “清宮六品佛樓模式的形成——以梵華樓為主=The Formation of the Model of the Buddhist Shrine of Six Classes in the Qing Palace——Fanhualou as the Main Example”, in *Fanhualou, Volume 4*, 1336.

<sup>97</sup> Luo Wenhua, “清宮六品佛樓模式的形成——以梵華樓為主=The Formation of the Model of the Buddhist Shrine of Six Classes in the Qing Palace——Fanhualou as the Main Example”, in *Fanhualou, Volume 4*, 1335.

<sup>98</sup> Ruth W. Dunnell and James A. Millward, “Introduction”, in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, ed. Ruth W. Dunnell et al. (Routledge, 2004), 2.

<sup>99</sup> Wang Jiapeng, “清宮六品佛樓梵華樓考——清代宮廷佛堂典型模式= An examination of the Fanhualou, the the Buddhist Shrine of Six Classes in the Qing Dynasty—the typical model of the palace Buddhist hall in the Qing Dynasty” in *Fanhualou, Volume 4*, 1328.

well as the inscriptions of the upper side rooms in Baoxianglou. These photographs were published by Harvard University Press as *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* in 1937, with the 360 comprising one of the two pantheons. In the introduction, Eugene Clark also referred the xylograph of 300 as composed by Rölpe Dorjé, 360 as ascribed to an unnamed Changkya Hutukhtu, as well as the complete set of “Five Hundred Gods of Narthang” along with the collection of 787 sculptures of Baoxianglou as the iconographic pantheon known at that time.<sup>100</sup>

Sadly Baron von Staël-Holstein and his team were unable to complete the photographic documentation of the lower floor due to the project's termination by palace authorities. At present the contents of Baoxianglou have been lost: the bronze deities have no longer stayed in their original place in Baoxianglou and only the cloisonné stupas still sit in situ. This makes the documentation of *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* particularly meaningful. The names of the cabinet deities inscribed on the pedestal of the sculpture as well as the names of deities of 360 are translated while the book provides Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese indexes for names of deities in Baoxianglou, 360, 300 and “Five Hundred Gods of Narthang”. However, although the numerical coding system used for Baoxianglou sculptures distinguishes between the main deities and cabinet deities, it lacks specificity regarding the latter's original placement within the cabinets.<sup>101</sup> In this research, the Sanskrit names of the cabinet deities are appended in the Baoxianglou part of Appendix 3 The Iconographic Pantheon of Fanhualou and Baoxianglou, and the sequence of the names of the deity follows the order in the book.

In 2009, the Forbidden City Publishing House released a four-volume catalogue of Fanhualou, edited by Wang Jiapeng, comprehensively documenting its extant contents. This invaluable documentation serves as the primary source for this thesis. The catalogue's translations of deity names have corrected several errors found in *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, providing a crucial foundation for the iconographic analysis presented herein. While this thesis will present different interpretations of the pantheons' iconographic meaning, the meticulous translation work of the four-volume catalogue deserves significant acknowledgment and credit.

---

<sup>100</sup> Walter Eugene Clark, *Two Lamaistic*. x. The “Five Hundred Gods of Narthang” mentioned by Eugene Clark is misleading, as it refers to a Mongolian collection of approximately five hundred woodblock prints. This collection was later published as *Icon worth to see*, the Tibetan title of the set, by Wisdom Publications in 2000. This will be explained later in this chapter.

<sup>101</sup> It only mentioned the cabinet deities of the left (north) and right (south) or the central altar in Room 1 are numbered A1-61 and B1-61. However, it does not provide specific details regarding the initiation point of the coding system or the directional sequence (left to right, or otherwise) employed in its application.



The names of deities in Fanhualou are listed in the Fanhualou part of Appendix 3 The Iconographic Pantheon of Fanhualou and Baoxianglou. Unlike the Baoxianglou section, the tables indicate the positioning of the deities in Fanhualou. It is important to note that the deities names in the Baoxianglou section of Appendix 3, created by *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, are corrected and modified based on the translation in *Fanhualou*, ensuring consistency. A direct comparison of the iconographic content in both pantheons reveals that they are identical, underscoring the deliberate nature and significance of these compositions. This similarity also suggests that the iconographic composition, which will be examined in detail below, represents the original arrangement and remains unaltered despite the inherent portability of bronze sculptures.

## The spatial division and room composition

The name of Fanhualou, the “Hall of Buddhist Efflorescence”,<sup>102</sup> implicates the complexity of the contents of the building, as “*fan*” can mean Indian, or it can broadly refer to anything related to Buddhism. “*Hua*” is generally used to describe the flowery, colourful and luxuriant developmental process like blooming flowers. The two-story building’s exterior is no different from any other architecture within the Forbidden City. A collonaded porch is set in front of the latticed windows, and the south-facing entrance of the whole building is situated in the centre (Fig.2.1). A staircase connecting the upper and lower floor is positioned at the western side, outside the rooms. The stair also connects this building with Forilou, another Buddhist shrine in the Ningshougong Palace. Consequently, visitors can only access the upper floor by exiting through the western end of the ground floor, ascending the staircase, and re-entering through the upper floor entrance. Unlike multi-layered architectural spaces where visitors are guided to observe the interior and gradually ascend to the uppermost part of the building, the disruption of the visiting route naturally distinguishes the contents of the two floors, as reflected in the iconographical arrangement I will explain later. Since the Fanhualou is connected with Forilou by the staircase, it lacks a *kora*, or circumambulation area, which is traditionally used for walking around the sacred spaces as a form of devotional practice.

A compelling feeling of geometric order permeates the organisation of the building. Anyone who enters the building would immediately recognize its interior as a spatial complex, demarcated into distinct sections. The building is horizontally constituted of seven same sized rooms (3.54 meters wide and 4.53 meters long) with a long corridor connecting them on both floors. Right behind the entrance is the lower central room (Fig.2.2), which exhibits a set of nine *thangka* paintings covering the upper part of the northern, western and eastern walls surrounding a standing sculpture of Buddha Śākyamuni flanked by Maitreya and Vajradhāra and two pairs of stupas (Fig.2.3). Each wall is constituted with three individual *thangka* panels mounted by red brocades, and each *thangka* painting depicts a seated Buddha surrounded by his previous life stories. Various offerings are displayed on two long wooden tables in front of the marble platform. In the centre of the shrine, there is an open space which could be used for rituals and prostration. Right above the lower central room is

---

<sup>102</sup> Berger, 108.

the upper central room, which exhibits three horizontal thangka paintings on the upper northern, and western and eastern walls depicting the life stories of Tsongkhapa (Fig 2.4). The lacquered sculpture of Tsongkhapa is placed on a dragon throne in the centre of the room, right behind a lacquered table. Another bronze statuette of Tsongkhapa and various offerings are placed on the table.

Different from the central room, the six side rooms are arranged in the same format (Fig. 2.5). In each upper side room, a horizontal hanging thangka painting occupying the entire upper northern wall depicts nine main deities sitting or standing on a lotus throne surrounded by distinctive halo and mandorla. Each painting portrays a main deity in the centre, with a parasol above and four more minor deities surrounding them in diagonal directions. Additionally, another two pairs of deities are positioned symmetrically on the painting - one pair is at the same level as the main deity flanking the deities of the central part of the painting, while the other two are positioned at the lower corners of the painting. The deity in the centre is rendered relatively larger, while the rest of the eight deities are all the same size. On the front of the painting, a set of same-sized bronze sculptures of the nine deities is placed on top of a long wooden carved table. Each sculpture is approximately 39 centimetres high and 28 centimetres wide, and the bronze group covers the lower section of the thangka painting.

On the western and eastern sides of each side room, flanking the main nine deities on the painting, are two cabinets (Fig. 2.6). The upper part of the cabinet is composed of sixty-one square pigeonhole-like niches on five vertical lines. Each line respectively contains thirteen, twelve, eleven, twelve and thirteen niches, and each niche houses a statuette. Thus each room in sum contains 122 statuettes in the cabinets. Deities in the middle level of the cabinet are sculpted in the largest size, which is 19.5 centimetres high, while the other two sizes are relatively 15.8 and 13.5 centimetres tall to fit in their respective spaces in the cabinet. Each deity's Chinese name is inscribed at the bottom of the statuette. The lower part of the cabinet is a storage space for various Buddhist texts, ritual implements and costumes, covered by six carved wooden panels. The carvings of the wooden panels of the six rooms are all non-identical.

The upper room floor has a square opening in the centre, surrounded by sandalwood panels and connecting to the lower floor (Fig. 2.7). Objects from the lower floor, such as the huge cloisonné stupa, placed right in the centre of each side room on the lower floor, could be observed through the opening. In each lower side room, the upper part of its northern, western and eastern walls are entirely covered by three hanging scroll paintings depicting nine supplementary deities in three triads. The central deity of the triads is relatively larger, indicating its superiority among the three.

## The inscriptions and the deities' names in translation

The spatial connection between the upper and lower rooms is further confirmed by the inscriptions of the building. Each upper and lower side room has two pieces of inscriptions on a blue-black background. Each piece has inscriptions in two languages, placed on both sides of the upper part of the corridor in front of each room (Fig. 2.8). The Zaobanchu archive records that the Chinese inscription, which is termed as “shuoyu”, was written by a Hanlin, an imperial academician. In contrast, the Manchuria, Tibetan and Mongolian inscriptions were written by Rölpe Dorjé.<sup>103</sup> As the only contemporaneous written sources of the building, the inscriptions elucidate the central themes of each room as dedicated to six “vehicles”, namely, Prajñāpāramitā, Father Tantra, Mother Tantra, Yoga Tantra, Caryā and Kriyā Tantra. The inscriptions number the six rooms from east to west as rooms one to six, and the upper and lower room, which are connected through the opening, are both numbered as the same room. The inscriptions also provide the names of the nine main deities on the upper floor and the nine supplementary deities on the lower floor, in addition to one or more key doctrinal texts of the room, as well as an extra list of deities' names.

The six side rooms are the only ones equipped with polyglot inscriptions, while the upper and lower central rooms lack any inscriptions. Therefore this chapter will only focus on the pantheon in the six side rooms in which deities are arranged in this highly repetitive and standardised composition. In the subsequent analysis of each room, both the Chinese and Tibetan inscriptions are transcribed, and the Tibetan inscriptions are translated into English. The comparison between the Chinese and Tibetan inscriptions indicates that the Tibetan inscriptions are the original language, as reflected in the palace archives, while the Chinese versions are translations containing less information. As mentioned earlier the names of the nine main deities of the upper room, the cabinets' deities, and the nine supplementary deities on the lower floor are represented in Appendix 3 The Iconographic Pantheon of Fanhualou and Baoxianglou indicating their respective spatial positions within the group, based on the translation of the four volume catalogue *Fanhualou* by the Forbidden City Publishing House. The errors in the translations will be corrected in this chapter with the original translation and the reasons for modification in the footnote. Meanwhile, cabinet deities of the same

---

<sup>103</sup> Wang Jiapeng, ed., *Fanhualou*, Volume 1, 24.

iconographic groupings or assemblies are marked with the same colours on tables. The identification of the possible iconographic groupings or assemblies, as well as the analysis of the iconographic pantheon will be critically examined as follows, based on the Tibetan root texts, Geluk commentaries, and will take into account the iconographic compositions of the pantheon of Fanhualou itself, as well as the religious environment within the Manchu court.

## The iconographic pantheons from Room 1 to Room 6

### Room 1 Room of Prajñāpāramitā

#### The Upper Room

- Chinese and Tibetan inscription, and the translation based on Tibetan inscription

第一妙吉祥大寶樓上供奉如是佛說大乘般若經品內一切調御丈夫天人師釋迦牟尼及文殊菩薩 金剛菩薩 觀世音菩薩 地藏王菩薩 除諸障菩薩 虛空藏菩薩 彌勒菩薩 普賢菩薩八大弟子等 諸如過去七佛 八大藥師如來 三十五佛 賢劫千佛皆可供奉 其經則三大般若 華嚴 寶積等以及諸經論菩提路等大乘注疏 皆宜藏度 是为最上福田 功德不可思議

དང་པོ་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་ཁང་བཞེགས་འདིར་ལ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་མདོ་ལྡེ་ལས་འབྱུང་བའི་སྐྱེས་བུ་འདུལ་བའི་ལ་ལོ་བསྐྱར་བ་ལྷ་མའི་སྟོན་པ་ཤུག་ལུ་བ་འཁོར་བྱང་རྩལ་སེམས་དཔའ་འཇམ་  
དཔལ་དབྱངས། ཕྱག་ན་དོ་རྗེ། ཕུན་རས་གཟིགས། ས་ཡི་སྦྱང་པོ། སྐབ་པ་རྣམ་སེལ། རྣམ་མཁའི་སྦྱང་པོ། བྱམས་པ། ལུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་སྟེ་ཉེ་བའི་སྐབ་ཆེན་བརྒྱད་སོགས་དང་།  
འདིས་མཚན་ནས་སངས་རྒྱལ་དཔའ་བོ་བདུན། སྐན་ལྷ་བདེར་གཤེགས་བརྒྱད། ལྷུང་བཤགས་ཀྱི་སངས་རྒྱལ་སུམ་ལུ་སོ་ལྔ། ཆོས་ནི་ཤེར་ཕྱིན་རྒྱས་འབྲིང་བལྟས་པ། པལ་པོ་ཆེ།  
དཀོན་མཚན་བཞེགས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་མདོ་ལྡེ་རྣམས་དང་། དེ་དག་གི་དགོངས་འགྲོལ་དུ་མ་དང་།  
བྱང་རྩལ་ལས་ཀྱི་རིམ་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཐེག་ཆེན་ཕུན་སོང་བའི་གསུང་རབ་རྣམས་ལྷ་ཁང་འདིར་མཚོད་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ལགས་པས།  
བསོད་ནམས་གསོགས་པའི་ཞིང་ས་ངོ་མཚར་རྣམ་དུ་འབྱུང་བ་ལ་མཚོད་པའི་ཕན་ཡོན་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྲུབ་པ་ལགས་སོ།

In the first excellent upper shrine, originating from the sūtras of the Vehicle of Prajñāpāramitā is the charioteer taming men, the teacher of gods and human Śakyamuni and his retinue, the Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara, Kṣitigarbha, Sarvanivaransviskambhin, Ākāśagarbha, Maitreya, Samantabhadra, the eight great near sons etc., and starting with these the seven Buddhas of the past, the eight medicine Buddhas, the thirty-five Buddhas of Confession.<sup>104</sup> As regards the dharma [these conform to] the sūtras of the large, medium and short versions *Prajñāpāramitā*,<sup>105</sup> *Avataṃsaka*, *Ratnakūṭa*, and also their

<sup>104</sup> There is a discrepancy between Chinese and Tibetan inscriptions: the Chinese inscription lists Bhadrakalpa Thousand Buddha (Chinese: 賢劫千佛. Pinyin: xian jie qian fo), or at the end of the sentence, whereas the Tibetan inscription does not contain the term.

<sup>105</sup> The corpus of the Prajñāpāramitā is comprising three versions, the large, medium and short versions. In the Chinese inscription, it is described as Three Major Wisdom (Chinese: 三大般若).

many commentaries,<sup>106</sup> *Stages of the Path of Enlightenment*<sup>107</sup> etc., the Mahāyāna's collective scriptures. As this temple causes ritual offerings to be made, the benefits of these ritual offerings to/in this marvellous realm of merit accumulation are incomprehensible.

#### - The Nine Main Deities in Room 1

Room 1 is the only room where the nine main deities can collectively constitute a group (Fig.2.9). As described in the inscription, the eight deities surrounding the central deity are Śākyamuni's retinue, the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, a group of eight principle bodhisattvas, namely Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara, Kṣitigarbha, Sarvanivaransvīkambhin, Ākāśagarbha, Maitreya, and Samantabhadra. All the bodhisattvas are beautifully illustrated as sitting on a lotus throne supported by a stalk growing from the greenish ground in which precious jewels, water ponds, floras and clouds are scattered. Heavenly beings holding various offerings and banners among clouds on the upper part of the painting are all facing toward the parasol on top of the Buddha Śākyamuni in the centre, who is surrounded by a bejewelled mandorla and flanked by lotus flowers.

The Eight Great Bodhisattvas are widely worshipped in Mahāyana Buddhism, and the representation is prevalent in Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist contexts. The eight bodhisattvas surrounding a buddha in the centre could also compose the Aṣṭa-mahābodhisattva Maṇḍala assembly, originated from the Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka Sūtra, which was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra.<sup>108</sup> In earlier representations, the central buddha could be either Śākyamuni, Amitābha or Vairocana and the aims of the worship are primarily mundane, which relates to the fulfilment of desire and protection from illness.<sup>109</sup> The group also appears in later tantric texts; for example, it appears in Guhyasamāja Maṇḍala flanking Akṣobhya and its expanded version, the

---

<sup>106</sup> The correct spelling is དཀོངས་འགྲོ་བཤེས།. It refers to the commentary written to elucidate the intent of a teaching given by some earlier person.

<sup>107</sup> The correct spelling is བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པ། instead of བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པ།, referring *Lamrim*, the "stages of the path to enlightenment," a broad textual tradition for the study and practice of the complete Buddhist path to awakening, as well as the name for a major genre of Tibetan literature describing that path. *Lamrim* is commonly associated with Geluk school since Tsongkhapa composes the *Great Treatise on the Stages of Path* or *Lamrim Chenmo*, the best-known works belong to *lamrim*. See Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 465.

<sup>108</sup> Phyllis Granoff, "A Portable Buddhist Shrine from Central Asia." *Archives of Asian Art* 22 (1968): 80-95..

<sup>109</sup> Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 73.



sixteen bodhisattvas of the Bhadrakalpa, appear in many Yoga Tantra Maṇḍalas including the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala.

Neither 300 nor 360 contains the Eight Great Bodhisattvas as a group, while 360 only includes the Bodhisattvas Section, including Caturbhuja-Maitreya, Dvibhuja-Maitreya, Ākāśagarbha, Kṣitigarbha, Samantabhadra, Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin and Hastivāhana-Samantabhadra. The full representation of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas and Buddha Śākyamuni, who is also regarded as a bodhisattva before his enlightenment, accentuates the principal aspirational role of bodhisattvas in the "Vehicle of Prajñāpāramitā", the first room of the "Great Vehicle", which is characterised by the destination, namely the Buddhahood, and the means or path by which one progresses, namely the "training in the Bodhisattva deeds—the six perfections."<sup>110</sup> Specifically, in the *Great Exposition of Secret Mantra*, Tsongkhapa refers to Nagarjuna's *Precious Garland*, as "the subject concern with the bodhisattva deeds, were not described in the Hearers' Vehicle. But were explained in the Great Vehicle. Hence the wise should accept it (as Buddha's word),"<sup>111</sup> which delineates the fundamental differentiation between the Great Vehicle and the Lesser Vehicle is the bodhisattva's deed. As mentioned earlier, apart from the Buddha Śākyamuni sitting on a lion throne, all the Eight Great Bodhisattvas are sitting on a lotus supported by a stalk growing from the ground. The different renditions of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas reflect the general Buddhist belief that bodhisattvas are born in the Tuṣita heaven before taking their final birth in the human world and attaining Buddhahood.<sup>112</sup> It further accentuates the principle feature of Bodhisattva opposing Buddha, as a "being (sattva) intent on achieving enlightenment (bodhi)". In this sense, the Eight Great Bodhisattvas are not only the retinues of Buddha Śākyamuni but also the embodiment of the altruistic intention to become enlightened.

The table of the nine main deities of Room 1 shows that the arrangement of the nine main deities in the painting does not reflect the sequence of the nine main deities in the inscription. In the inscription, Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara, the so-called "Protectors of the Three Families", which are widely represented

---

<sup>110</sup> Tsongkhapa, "The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra," in *The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra, Volume One: Tantra in Tibet* (Revised Edition) (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2016), 82.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>112</sup> Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 930.

across Tibet, are listed after Śākyamuni, followed by Kṣitigarbha, Sarvanivaraṇsvikambhī, Ākāśagarbha, Maitreya and Samantabhadra. Whereas in the painting, Mañjuśrī, and Vajrapāṇi, which embody the fundamental Buddhist value of wisdom and power, are depicted on the shoulder level of Śākyamuni, right above Samantabhadra and Maitreya. The postures of the sculptures and the deities in the painting are also slightly different: the bodhisattvas in the painting are sitting in the full-lotus posture with legs crossed, while the bronze bodhisattva sculptures, as well as the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in the cabinets, are sitting in the posture of royal ease (*lalitāsana*) with flying ribbons around the shoulders. These differences indicate that different workshops created the painting and the sculpture according to non-identical iconographic models.

#### - The Iconographic Groupings Constituted by the Cabinet Deities

Following the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, the inscription of Room 1 further lists the Seven Buddhas, the Eight Medicine Buddhas, and the Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession. The Chinese inscription also mentions the Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpika, although the Tibetan inscription does not. The iconographic groupings found within the cabinets, along with a comparison between the inscriptions' contents and the deities within the cabinets, are analysed and explained as follows.

#### • Seven Buddhas

The Seven Buddhas are namely Vipasyī Buddha, Śikhī Buddha, Viśvabhū Buddha, Krakucchanda Buddha, Kanakamuni Buddha, Kāśyapa Buddha and Śākyamuni.<sup>113</sup> It is a popular artistic theme during the Qianlong reign and widely represented on thangkas and even engraved on stone steles. Although mentioned in both the Tibetan and the Chinese inscriptions of the room, the group does not appear in the cabinets collectively as only Buddha Śākyamuni is placed in the Western cabinet, which may be designated to formulate another iconographic grouping, for instance, the Eight Medicine Buddhas or the Thirty-five Buddha of Confession.

#### • Eight Medicine Buddha

Medicine Buddhas are all marked in blue on the chart, and apart from Buddha Śākyamuni is sculpted as large size, all of them are placed on the Eastern cabinet as median size. In the cabinet, Śākyamuni might be

---

<sup>113</sup> “Manushi, Mānusi, Mānuṣī, Manuṣī: 16 Definitions”, *wisdomlib.org*. Accessed March 23, 2022, <https://www.wisdomlib.org/definition/manushi#tibetan-buddhism>.

designated to formulate other iconographic groupings. However, the inscription terms the group as Eight Medicine Buddha, which Seven Medicine Buddha complemented by Śākyamuni constitutes. The Chinese names of the Eight Medicine Buddha in Fanhualou differ from the Seven Medicine Buddha in 360. In contrast, the latter group's names are identical to the Buddhas' names in *Sūtra of the Bhaiṣajyaguru Seven Buddha* (Chinese: 藥師琉璃光七佛本願功德經), translated by Xuanzang during the Tang dyansty.<sup>114</sup>

- The Thirty-five Buddha of Confession

The Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession in the cabinet are all sculpted in three different sizes and marked green on the table. They are scattered in both cabinets, however their sizes indicate a unique pattern which is reflective of the sequence of the group. The first five Buddha of the Thirty-five Buddha of Confession Śākyamuni, Vajrapramardin, Ratnārcis, Nāgeśvararāja, and Vīrasena, are placed in the middle row of the Western cabinet as the largest size. Following the sequence, Vīranandin, Ratnaśrī, Ratnacandraprabha, Amoghadarśin, Ratnacandra, Virmala, Śūradata, and Brahman are presented as the medium size in the Western cabinet; Brahmadata, Varuṇa, Varuṇadeva, Bhadraśrī, Candanaśrī, Anataujas, Prabhāśrī, Aśokaśrī and Nārāyaṇa, are presented as small size in the Eastern cabinet. Following Nārāyaṇa, Buddha Kusumaśrī, Brahmajyotirvikrīḍitābhijña, Padmajyotirvikrīḍitābhijña, Dhanaśrī, Smṛtiśrī, Suparikīrtitanāmadheyaśrī, Indraketuḍhvajarāja, and Suvikrāntaśrī are presented in the medium size of the Western cabinet. The rest of the four Buddha, Vicitrasmkrama, Vikrāntagāmī, Samantābhāsavyūhaśrī, Ratnapadmavikrāmī, Ratnapadmasupratīṣṭhita-śailendrarāja are the in small size and placed in the Western cabinet.

The names of the Thirty-five Buddhas in the Fanhualou and 360 are identical, and they are directly translated from the Tibetan texts *Ascertaining the Discipline: the Sutra of Upali's Questions* (Toh 68, Skt. *Vinayaviniścayopālipariṣchāsūtra*).<sup>115</sup> It is important to note that the names in Fanhualou show discrepancies with the Chinese names of the Thirty-five Buddha in *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra*, a proliferating

<sup>114</sup> Yijing= 義淨, trans., “藥師琉璃光七佛本願功德經”, in 大正新脩大正藏經 Vol. 14, No. 451, Accessed September 2, 2023, [http://buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/BDLM/sutra/chi\\_pdf/sutra9/T14n0451.pdf](http://buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/BDLM/sutra/chi_pdf/sutra9/T14n0451.pdf).

<sup>115</sup>(tr.). Determining the Vinaya: Upāli's Questions (*Vinayaviniścayopālipariṣchā*, Toh 68). 84000: *Translating the Words of the Buddha*, 2023: <https://read.84000.co/translation/toh68.html>

Mahāyāna text translated during the Tang dynasty.<sup>116</sup> It indicates the Chinese text is not the direct resource of the composition.

- Buddha of Bhadrakalpika

Buddha names marked in red on the tables are from the thousand Buddhas of Bhadrakalpika. The cabinets contain Śakyamuni and Maitreya, as well as the group of twelve continuous Bhadrakalpika Buddha straight after Maitreya. They are Siṃha, Pradyota, Muni, and Kusama in the large size, Punarapi Kusuma, Sunetra, Sārthavāha, and Mahābāhu in the medium size, Mahābalā, Nakṣatrarāja, Oṣadhi, Yaśahketu in the small size. *Bhadrakalpakasūtra* is an important Mahāyāna scripture in both Tibetan and Chinese Buddhism. The Tibetan *Bhadrakalpakasūtra*, which is placed as the first sūtra in the sūtra section in Kanjur, extolls the names of the Thousand Buddhas of the present bhadrakalpa, or the “auspicious aeon”, as well as their residences, parents and so on.<sup>117</sup> The Tibetan Bhadrakalpakasūtra is commonly used by the Tibetan biographies or hagiographies of important religious figures to claim their subjects as the rebirth of one of the thousand Bhadrakalpika Buddhas.<sup>118</sup>

- Buddha of the Ten Directions

The cabinets contain seven of the Buddha of the Ten Directions, which are marked in yellow on the table. In Fanhualou, apart from Anucārin, all the other six Buddhas are in small size. The names of the existing seven Buddhas are identical to the names of the Buddha of the Ten Directions in 360. The full names of the Buddha of the Ten Directions and the textual source are listed in *Footnote 58*. The “Ten Directions” are namely the eight directions of the compass plus up and down, indicating the existence of the buddha field in

---

<sup>116</sup> The Thirty-Five Buddhas of Confession in the *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra* are listed as “南無釋迦牟尼佛, 南無金剛不壞佛, 南無寶光佛, 南無龍尊王佛, 南無精進軍佛, 南無精進喜佛, 南無寶火佛, 南無寶月光佛, 南無現無愚佛, 南無寶月佛, 南無無垢佛, 南無離垢佛, 南無勇施佛, 南無清淨佛, 南無清淨施佛, 南無娑留那佛, 南無水天佛, 南無堅德佛, 南無栴檀功德佛, 南無無量掬光佛, 南無光德佛, 南無無憂德佛, 南無那羅延佛, 南無功德花佛, 南無蓮花光遊戲神通佛, 南無財功德佛, 南無德念佛, 南無善名稱功德佛, 南無紅炎帝幢王佛 南無善遊步功德佛, 南無鬪戰勝佛, 南無善遊步佛, 南無周匝莊嚴功德佛, 南無寶花遊步佛, 南無寶蓮花善住娑羅樹王佛.” From Bodhiruci= 菩提流志, “大寶積經卷九十”, *cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw*. Accessed January 24, 2023, [https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T11n0310\\_p0515c28](https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T11n0310_p0515c28). 娑留那佛 (Pinyin: suo luo na fo) is absent in Fanhualou and 360. Instead, they contain 清淨光遊戲神通佛 (Skt. Brahmajyotirvikrīḍitābhijña; Tibetan. ཚེངས་པའི་འོད་ཟེར་རྣམ་པར་འོས་པ་མངོན་པར་མཐུན་པ་), which is not found in *Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra*.

<sup>117</sup> Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 106.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

all directions.<sup>119</sup> The juxtaposition of the Thousand Buddhas of Bhadrakalpika and Buddha of the Ten Directions in visual form appears in Cave 98 of Dunhuang,<sup>120</sup> as well as in the stone carving of Juyongguan Stupa in Beijing,<sup>121</sup> which makes the evocation that all Buddha throughout space and time are presented.

- The Sixteen Arhats, other Arhat and Buddhist Masters

The sixteen arhats are marked in pink on the table. Aṅgaja, Ajita, Vanavāsin, Kālika, Vajrīputra, Bhadra and Kanakavatsa are rendered as medium size, whereas Kanakabharadvāja, Bakula, Rāhula, Cūḍapanthaka, Piṇḍolabharadvāja, Panthaka,<sup>122</sup> Nāgasena, Gopaka, Abheda are rendered as small size. Their Chinese names are all different from 360 and Room 1 does not contain Dharmatāla and Cloth Bag Monk as in 360.

The cabinets also contain another eight arhats, namely Śāriputra, Kātyāyana, Maudgalyāyana, Kāśyapa as medium size, Gavāṃpati, Rāhula, Aśvajit, and Ānanda as small size are marked grey on the table. Among them, Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Kātyāyana, Rāhula, and Ānanda are disciples of the Buddha's Ten Principal Disciples. Meanwhile, the cabinet contains Tsongkhapa, Milarepa and Dalai Lama, the only three Tibetan Buddhist Masters in the room.

- Other Deities

The Eight Great Bodhisattvas reappears in the Western cabinet and all of them are rendered in small size. The identification and origination of the deities marked black on the table are unclear, nevertheless, all of them are various forms of Buddhas.

## The Lower Room

- Chinese and Tibetan inscription, and the translation based on Tibetan inscription

---

<sup>119</sup> Shen Hsueh-man, *Authentic Replicas: Buddhist Art in Medieval China* (University of Hawaii Press, 2018).79.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 81

<sup>121</sup> Xiong Wenbin, *元代藏漢藝術交流 = Tibetan and Chinese Art Exchanges in the Yuan Dynasty* (河北教育出版社, 2003), 108.

<sup>122</sup> Panthaka is translated as White-Saṃvara in *Fanhualou Volume 1*, Wang Jiapeng, ed., 254.

第一妙吉祥大寶樓下供奉般若經品護法 白勇保護法 持國天王 增長天王 廣目天王 財寶天王 梵王 帝釋 難陀龍王 優波難陀龍王等像 諸如大諸天 大龍王 大藥剎將護法 大神祇往昔曾於佛前各各發大誓願 若有皈依三寶 敬信長者居士 常隨擁佑 如是護法等像 皆可供奉

དང་པོ་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་འོག་རིམ་འདིར་པ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་མདྲ་ལྗེ་ལས་འབྱུང་བའི་མགོན་པོ་ཡིན་བཞིན་གྱི་འོར་བུ། རྒྱལ་ཆེན་ཡུལ་འཁོར་བསྟུང་། འཕགས་སྐྱེས་པོ།  
 ལྷན་མི་བཟང་། རྣམ་ཐོས་སྐྱེས། ཚངས་སུ། བརྒྱ་བྱིན། ལྷའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དགའ་བོ། ཉེར་དགའ་བོ་རྣམས་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་ལྷ་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་དང་། ལྷའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་དང་།  
 གཞོན་སྤྱོད་གྱི་ལྷ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་དང་། ཚོས་སྦྱོང་བའི་འབྱུང་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་དག་དང་།

བཙམ་ཕྲན་འདས་གྱི་ལྷན་ཕྲར་བཟུན་པ་བསྟུང་ཞིང་སྐྱབས་པ་པོ་ལ་མགོན་སྐྱབས་བྱེད་པར་དམ་བཅས་པ་རྣམས་གྱི་སྐུ་བརྟན་གྱི་རིགས་འདིར་མཚོན་པར་བྱེད་ཆུ་ཡིན་ལགས་སོ།  
 བཙམ་ཕྲན་འདས་གྱི་ལྷན་ཕྲར་བཟུན་པ་བསྟུང་ཞིང་སྐྱབས་པ་པོ་ལ་མགོན་སྐྱབས་བྱེད་པར་དམ་བཅས་པ་རྣམས་གྱི་སྐུ་བརྟན་གྱི་རིགས་འདིར་མཚོན་པར་བྱེད་ཆུ་ཡིན་ལགས་སོ།

In the first excellent lower shrine, originating from the sūtras of the Vehicle of Perfection of Wisdom are Mahākāla the Wish-fulfilling Jewel, the Great King Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūdhaka, Virūpākṣa, Vaiśravaṇa, Brahmā, Indra, Nandā, Upananda and so on. Furthermore, the great deities, Nāga kings, Yakṣa's great leader, Dharmapāla's great beings, and those who received teachings in front of the Buddha and the gods who made vows, their images are worshipped here.

- The Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 1

The three thangka paintings on the northern, western and eastern walls depict nine deities in three triads (Fig.2.10). The chief deities of the group, Mahākāla the Wish-fulfilling Jewel, the central deity of the northern wall, is rendered as one-faced, three-eyed, six-armed framed within a flaming mandorla and trampling on two white Gaṇapati, which is derived from Gaṇeśa. The wish-granting jewel and the skull cup containing a vase filled with various jewels held in both his main hands towards the chest, as well as the precious vase, corals and jewels offered in front of him, remind this form of Mahākāla is a wealth deity in Tibetan Buddhism, who supports the economic well-being of tantric practitioners in particular.<sup>123</sup>

The other two deities flanking Mahākāla the Wish-fulfilling Jewel are Brahmā and Indra, standing on lotus thrones with offerings placed on top of lotuses grown from the water pond. Both deities are enclosed by

<sup>123</sup> Robert N. Linrothe and Marylin M. Rhie, eds., *Demonic Divine: Himalayan Art and Beyond* (New York: Rubin Museum of Art; Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2004), 90.

variegated clouds, which might be an indication of their heavenly status as the king of the Brahmāloka and the king of Trāyastriṃśā.<sup>124</sup> The Four Great Kings and two forms of Nāga kings are depicted in the western and eastern paintings which formulate a symmetrical composition. The Four Great Kings are arranged in the inner part of the room, and each of them is standing on a stone platform surrounded by the sea; while Nāgarāja and Upananda are arranged in the outer part. Half of their bodies are within the ocean, and both of them are holding a jewel to their chest and enclosed by greenish clouds. The placement of the Four Great Kings does not correspond to their assigned directions: Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Virūḍhaka, the Great King of the East and the South are allocated in the innermost part of the room. In all three paintings, Heavenly beings amidst clouds holding various musical instruments, parasols, ribbons etc, are intricately illustrated above the deities, whereas rocky landscapes with scattered jewels and forests, as well as a waterfall and steams are depicted at the bottom.

Brahmā and Indra, Four Great Kings and the two Naga Kings, Nandā and Upananda are popular non-tantric iconographic groups and frequently depicted as subsidiary deities on the bottom of a Buddha image, while Mahākāla the Wish-fulfilling Jewel by contrast, is actually the only tantric deities in Room 1 of the upper and lower floor, although he is seen as a playful emanation of Avalokiteśvara (Padmapani) rather than an extremely wrathful and secret tantric deity.<sup>125</sup> Normally categorised as a deity of Kriyā Tantra, Mahākāla the Wish-fulfilling Jewel was greatly promoted by the Second Dalai Lama Gendün Gyatso (b.1476 - d.1542),<sup>126</sup> and he has been a major deity of Mongolia since the time of the conversion of Atlan Khan by the Third Dalai Lama in the 1570s.<sup>127</sup> His usual allocation as the chief deity in the context of “Vehicle of Prajñāpāramitā” accentuates his un-ignorable status as a counterpoint to Six-armed Mahākāla in Room 2, and Pañjaranātha Mahākāla in Room 3 which will explain in the later part of the chapter.

---

<sup>124</sup> Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 141.

<sup>125</sup> Linrothe and M. Rhie, eds. *Demonic Divine*. 90.

<sup>126</sup> John C. Huntington and Dina Bangdel, *The Circle of Bliss: Buddhist Meditational Art* (Serindia Publications, Inc., 2003), 341.

<sup>127</sup> Linrothe and M. Rhie, eds. *Demonic Divine*. 90.

## Room 2 Room of Father Tantra

### The Upper Room

- Chinese and Tibetan inscription, and the translation based on Tibetan inscription

第二妙吉祥大寶樓上供奉如是大乘秘密經四大根本內無上陽體根本品內密跡不動金剛 密跡文殊金剛  
佛 宏光文殊金剛佛 秘密文殊室利佛 威羅瓦金剛佛 六面威羅瓦金剛佛 紅威羅瓦金剛佛 黑敵金剛佛 大  
輪手持金剛佛等 其經則大密跡根本經以及觀自在密跡佛 四十九威羅瓦金剛佛 一勇金剛佛 八起尸圍  
繞金剛佛 啤聲金剛佛 甘露滴佛 內秘密文殊佛 乘水牛威羅瓦金剛佛 射勢紅威羅瓦金剛佛等無上湯體  
根本經內所本意佛像 又若諸佛出生根本經 講義根本經 同義根本經以及諸經輪觀想法 壇城儀軌二觀  
秘密法 諸品行持法等註疏 皆宜藏度 是為最上福田功德不可思議

གཉིས་པ་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚེགས་པའི་ཁང་བཅུགས་འདིར་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་གསང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ལྡེ་བཞིའི་ནང་ཚན་སྒྲ་མེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ལས་པ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ལས་འབྱུང་བའི་གསང་འདུས་མི་སྤྱོད་དོན་རྗེ།

གསང་འདུས་འཇམ་པའི་དོན་རྗེ། རྣམ་རྒྱུད་འཇམ་པའི་དོན་རྗེ། འཇམ་དབྱེད་གསང་སྐབས། རྗེ་རྗེ་འཇིགས་བྱེད། གདོད་དུག། །གཤེན་རྗེ་གཤེད་དམར། དག་ནག།

ཕྱག་དོར་འཁོར་ལོ་ཆེན་པོ་སོགས་དང། ཚེས་ནི་དཔལ་གསང་བ་འདུས་པའི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྒྲིག་བམ་དང། འདིས་མཚན་ནས་གསང་འདུས། འཇིག་རྟེན་དབང་ཕྱག། འཇིགས་བྱེད་ཞེ་དག་མ།

དབང་པོ་གཅིག་པ། རོ་ལང་བརྒྱད་མོར། དོན་རྗེ་མཛད། བདུད་རྩི་ཐེག་པ། འཇམ་དབྱེད་ནང་སྐབས། འཇིགས་བྱེད་མ་ཉེའི་གདན་ཅན།

དམར་པོ་མདའ་འགོང་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྒྲ་མེད་པ་རྒྱུད་ནས་བཤད་པའི་ཡི་དམ་ལྷ་ཡི་སྐྱ་བརྟན་དང། དེ་དག་གི་ཙ་རྒྱུད། བཤད་རྒྱུད། ཕྱགས་མཐུན་གྱི་རྒྱུད།

དགོངས་འབྲེལ་གྱི་བརྟན་བཅོས་སྐབས་ཐབས་དཀྱིལ་མཚན་རིམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མན་དག་ལས་ཚེགས་སོགས་ཀྱི་གསུང་རབ་རྣམས་ལྷ་ཁང་འདིར་མཚན་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ལྷས་པས།

བསོད་ནམས་གསོགས་པའི་ཞིང་ས་ངོ་མཚར་རྣམ་དུ་འབྱུང་བ་ལ་མཚན་པའི་ཕན་ཡོན་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ལྷས་སོ།

In the second excellent upper shrine, originating from the Father class of Highest Yoga of the four classes of Mahāyāna's secret mantra are Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra, Guhyasamāja-Mañjuvajra, Vairocana-Mañjuvajra, Secret Practice Mañjuśrī,<sup>128</sup> Vajrabhairava, Ṣaṅmukha Mañjuśrī Yamāri,<sup>129</sup> Ratka Yamāri, Kṛṣṇa Yamāri,<sup>130</sup> Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi etc.

<sup>128</sup> “འཇམ་དབྱེད་གསང་སྐབས” is an abbreviation. of “གསང་བའི་སྐབས་ཐབས” in which case it means secret (level) sādhana. The term “གསང་སྐབས” which literally means “Secret Practice” is usually found in systems where there are outer, inner and secret levels of a particular practice. From: Tony Duff, *The Illuminator Tibetan-English Encyclopaedic Dictionary*. Kathmandu: Padma Karpo Translation Committee, 2009.

<sup>129</sup> “གདོད་དུག” is the abbreviation of “གཤེན་རྗེ་གཤེད་གདོད་པ་དུག་པ”.

<sup>130</sup> “དག་ནག” is the abbreviation of “འཇམ་དབྱེད་གཤེན་རྗེ་གཤེད་དག་ནག”.



As regards the dharma there is the book of Śrī Guhyasamāja's, and illustrated through it the aspiration deities Guhyasamāja, Guhyasamāja Lokeśvara,<sup>131</sup> Forty-Nine Deity Vajrabhairava<sup>132</sup>, Solitary Hero Vajrabhairava,<sup>133</sup> Vajrabhairava surrounded by Eight Vetālas,<sup>134</sup> Vajrahūmkāra, Vajrāmṛta, Inner Practice Mañjuḥṣa,<sup>135</sup> Vajrabhairava seating on a buffalo, Red Vajrabhairava with bow and arrow,<sup>136</sup> and so on explained from the Highest Father tantra and namely root tantras, conforming tantras, treaties that comment on the intent, sādhana, maṇḍala rituals, Two Stages,<sup>137</sup> and practice discourses. As this temple causes ritual offerings to be made, the benefits of these ritual offerings to this marvellous realm of merit accumulation are incomprehensible.

#### - The Nine Main Deities in Room 2

The central deity Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra and the deities on his shoulder level, namely Guhyasamāja-Maṅjuvajra and Vairocana-Maṅjuvajra, are three principal deities originating from the *Guhyasamājantra* (Fig.2.11). They are all three-headed and six-armed, embracing their respective consorts sitting on lotus thrones. Their associated maṇḍalas are all based on the basic Thirteen Deities Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra Maṇḍala described in the first chapter of *Guhyasamājantra* -- the central deity is surrounded by four Buddhas in four cardinal directions namely Vairocana in the East, Ratnasambhava in the South, Amoghasiddhi in the North and Amitābha in the West.

The three deities of Guhyasamāja highlight the prominent position of *Guhyasamājantra* as the most important tantra in the Geluk school. As the founder of the Geluk school, Tsongkhapa regards the *Guhyasamājantra*, especially the Ārya school, as the highest in tantric Buddhism and he champions the

<sup>131</sup> “འཇིག་རྟེན་དབང་ལྷག་” is the abbreviation of “དཔལ་གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་འཇིག་རྟེན་དབང་ལྷག་”.

<sup>132</sup> Clearly here refers to the Forty-Nine Deity Vajrabhairava maṇḍala. Both the *Ngor Collection of Tibetan Maṇḍala* by Sonam Gyatso and the *Tantra Samuccaya* include the Forty-Nine Deity Vajrabhairava in the categories of Highest Yoga tantra. In both compilations, the Forty-Nine Deity Vajrabhairava is listed according to Zhang traditions.

<sup>133</sup> “དབའ་བོ་གཅིག་པ་” is the abbreviation of “འཇིགས་བྱེད་དཔའ་བོ་གཅིག་པ་”.

<sup>134</sup> “རྩ་ལང་བརྒྱད་ལྔ་” is the abbreviation of “རྩ་ཇེ་འཇིགས་བྱེད་རྩ་ལང་བརྒྱད་ལྷག་མཚན་སོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་བ་”.

<sup>135</sup> “འཇམ་དབྱངས་ནང་རྒྱབ་” is the abbreviation of “འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱངས་ནང་རྒྱབ་”. This form of Mañjuḥṣa is closely connected with Tsongkhapa. See more from Ngawang Jampa, “ཇི་བཅུན་འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱངས་ནང་རྒྱབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱབ་ཐབས་ཤེས་རབ་རྣམ་མཛོད་”, in *གསུང་འབྲུམ། དག་དབང་བླ་མ་པ།*, 2:119–36. New Delhi: Ngawang Sopa, 1973–1974. Accessed August 17, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1229\\_81EAC1](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1229_81EAC1). [BDRC bdr:MW1229\_81EAC1]

<sup>136</sup> “དམར་པོ་མདའ་འགོད་” is the abbreviation of “དཔལ་རྩི་ཇེ་འཇིགས་བྱེད་དམར་པོ་མདའ་གཞུ་འགོད་སེམས་པ་”.

<sup>137</sup> Two stages refers the “development stage” and “completion stage”.

value and authority of Guhyasamāja cycle over all the other Highest Yoga systems.<sup>138</sup> He is best known for his exposition of *Guhyasamājantra* based on Indian commentaries and writes a number of texts elucidating the associated rituals and practices.<sup>139</sup> The three deities are also depicted together as a triad in a woodblock print in *Icons Worthwhile to See* under the section of *Vajrāvalī* as mentioned in Chapter 1,<sup>140</sup> which is compiled according to the commentary of the Second Changkya Ngawang Lozang Chöden, the previous incarnation of Rölpe Dorjé, although Vairocana-Mañjuvajra is placed in the central position.

Below Guhyasamāja-Mañjuvajra and Vairocana-Mañjuvajra are two manifestations of Mañjuśrī, namely Secret Practice Mañjuśrī and Vajrabhairava. The Secret Practice Mañjuśrī is different from one of the nine main deities, Guhya-Mañjuśrī in Room 4, although both of them are translated as Guhya-Mañjuśrī in the *Fanhualou* Catalogue. He is depicted as one-headed and two-armed in a peaceful manifestation, holding a vajra and bell and embracing his consort. This form of Mañjuśrī is rarely depicted and is excluded in all popular iconographic compilations, although its sādhanas are transmitted within the Geluk school, for example in the *Means of Achievement of the Secret Practice Mañjuśrī and the Permission* written by Geluk master Kyisho Zhabdrung Tulku Ngawang Tenzin Trinle (1639-1682), student of the Fourth Pañchen Lama Chokyi Gyalsten (1570-1662) and the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso (1617-1682).<sup>141</sup> In the texts, the Secret Practice Mañjuśrī is described as saffron-coloured, two-armed holding vajra and bell. His consort is holding a hooked knife in her right hand and a Kapāla bowl in her left hand, which is precisely depicted in the painting.<sup>142</sup>

---

<sup>138</sup> Ryugen Tanemura, “Guhyasamāja,” *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism Online*. Accessed November 1, 2020. [https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-buddhism/guhyasamaja-COM\\_0028](https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-buddhism/guhyasamaja-COM_0028).

<sup>139</sup> For example: Tsongkhapa. "གསང་འདུས་མེ་བསྐྱོད་དོན་རྒྱུ་ཚུལ་གྱི་དུང་རབ་ལུ་གསལ་བ། (the initiation of the Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra Maṇḍala rite)" 1 vols. Mongolia: དགའ་ལྷན་ཟེག་ཆེན་གླིང་།. Accessed September 2, 2023. <http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1NLM916>. [BDRC bdr:MW1NLM916], and Tsongkhapa. "གསང་འདུས་འཇམ་པའི་དོན་རྒྱུ་ཚུལ་ཐབས་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་དགོངས་པ་གསལ་བ། (explanation of the guhyasamaja manjuvajra-sadhana)." གསུང་འབུམ། ཚོང་ལ་པ་ རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་, 8:119–60. New Delhi, India: Mongolian Lama Guru Deva, 1978–1979. Accessed September 2, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW635\\_F88AD2](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW635_F88AD2). [BDRC bdr:MW635\_F88AD2]

<sup>140</sup> Willson, *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism*, 188.

<sup>141</sup> Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso, "འཇམ་དབྱངས་གསང་སྐྱབ་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ཐབས་དང་རྗེས་གནང་། རྩི།" གསུང་འབུམ། དག་དབང་བསྐྱེད་འཛིན་འཕྲིན་ལས།, 661–64. ལྷ་ས།: རྒྱལ་བར་ཁང་གསལ་བ།, 2000. Accessed August 18, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW22116\\_80AB5C](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW22116_80AB5C). [BDRC bdr:MW22116\_80AB5C]

<sup>142</sup> "རྗེ་བསྐྱེད་འཇམ་དབྱངས་སྐྱེ་མདོག་གུར་ཀུམ་གྱི་མདངས་ཅན་ཞལ་གཅིག་ལྷག་གཉིས་དོན་རྒྱུ་ཚུལ་ཐབས་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་དགོངས་པ་གསལ་བ། གསུང་འབུམ་ཞིང་། གཡོན་བདུད་ཚེས་གང་བའི་ཐོད་པ་འཛིན་བས་ཡབ་གྱི་མགུལ་ནས་འབྱུང་བ། ཡབ་དོན་རྒྱུ་ཚུལ་གྱི་དང་ཡུམ་པ་ལྷོ་བའི་རྒྱུ་ཚུལ་གྱི་དང་གསལ་བའུགས་" From "འཇམ་དབྱངས་གསང་སྐྱབ་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ཐབས་དང་རྗེས་གནང་། རྩི།" Ibid.

Juxtaposing the Secret Practice Mañjuśrī, Vajrabhairava is depicted as nine-faced, thirty-four-armed, sixteen-legged, embracing his consort and enclosed by blazing flame. As a wrathful manifestation of Mañjuśrī, Vajrabhairava is one of the three principal deities of the Geluk school (along with Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra and Cakrasaṃvara). It is widely known that Tsongkhapa was a devoted practitioner of Vajrabhairava from an early age, undertook many Vajrabhairava intensive retreats and composed a number of texts dedicated to this deity.<sup>143</sup>

As shown on the table of this room, the Chinese inscription does not differentiate the Vajrabhairava and Yamāri and renders both deities as *wei luo wa jin gang fo*. Based on the Chinese inscription, another two forms of Yamāri deity, namely the Ṣaṇmukha Mañjuśrī Yamāri and Ratka Yamāri, which are respectively placed on the right of Vairocana-Mañjuvajra and on the left of Guhyasamāja-Mañjuvajra, are translated as Ṣaṇmukha Bhairavavajra and Ratka-Bhairavavajra in the *Fanhualou* Catalogue. Ṣaṇmukha Yamāri is depicted as six-faced, six-armed, six-legged, standing with two front legs in *vajrāsana* posture, two legs trampling on a buffalo on top of a dwarf, and two legs hanging in between. Impenetrably the sculpture of the same deity is portrayed as four-legged, although the rest of the appearance is exactly the same. The colour of his body and main face in the painting is dark blue. The two faces on his right are yellow and white, while the other faces on his left are red and green. All his six faces show a protruding tongue. The iconography of the deity in bronze is identical to the deity listed as the No. 41 in the *Mitra Gyatsa*, which is illustrated on a 19th-century woodblock print (Fig.2.12) inscribed as Ṣaṇmukha Yamāri. The maṇḍala of this deity transmitted from the Vajrabhairava master Ra Lotsāwa Dorje Drakpa (b.1016 - d.1128?) is also listed as the No. 53 in the *Ngor Collection*, and he is translated as Ṣaṇmukha Mañjuśrī Yamāri.<sup>144</sup> This form of the deity is also described in *Sādhanamālā* as a variety of Six-armed Yamāri, which is generally represented as three-faced and six-armed, and also six-faced and six-legged with the same attributes on hands.<sup>145</sup>

---

<sup>143</sup> Thupten Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa: A Buddha in the Land of Snows* (Shambhala Publications, 2019), 304.

<sup>144</sup> Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan Maṇḍalas: Vajrāvalī and Tantra-Samuccaya* (International Academy of Indian Culture, 1995). 125

<sup>145</sup> Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography: Mainly Based on the Sādhanamālā and Cognate Tāntric Texts of Rituals* (Mukhopadhyay, 1958), 177.

Placed in the symmetrical position of *Ṣaṅmukha Yamāri*, *Rakta Yamāri* is illustrated as red-coloured, one-faced, two-armed, and three-eyed, embracing his consort. This deity is one of the three most important Yamāri deities, namely *Kṛṣṇa Yamāri*, *Rakta Yamāri* and *Vajrabhairava*, which are all included in the group. *Kṛṣṇa Yamāri* and *Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi* are respectively posited in the lower left and right corners. Both of the deities are three-faced, six-armed and two-legged, although the former is the only solitary form of deity within the group, and the latter is embracing his consort. As a principal meditational Highest Yoga Tantra deity in Geluk school, *Mahācakra Vajrapāṇi* is particularly favoured by Rölpe Dorjé, who composes a number of texts dedicated to this deity.<sup>146</sup>

To sum up, the unique selection of the nine main deities is constituted by the yidam deities of the peaceful and wrathful emanations of *Mañjuśrī*, as well as *Mahācakra Vajrapāṇi*. The peaceful emanations of *Mañjuśrī*, namely the three deities in the centre and Secret Practice *Mañjuśrī*, are all enclosed by blueish halos finely decorated with golden strips. Wrathful offerings are placed in front of *Vajrabhairava*, *Kṛṣṇa Yamāri* and *Rakta Yamāri* which might indicate they are a group. It is interesting to note that the canopy on top of the central deity of Room 2, Room 3 and Room 4 is uniquely elevated by strings held by two heavenly beings floating on clouds whereas in Room 1, Room 5, and Room 6 no heavenly beings are depicted. In Room 2 *Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra* is sitting on a lotus throne supported by a stalk grown from a water pond with a precious jewel and white conch placed in front. This rendition can be traced back to the *Root Tantra of Mañjuśrī (Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa)*, the early Esoteric Buddhist text that provides detailed instructions by the Buddha on the performance of rituals and consecrations.<sup>147</sup> The greenish rocky ground, water ponds and mountains in the background are intricately illustrated, forming elegant and tranquil landscapes in which the nine main deities dwell.

---

<sup>146</sup> This include Rölpe Dorjé, "དཔལ་གསང་བའི་བདག་པོ་འཁོར་ལོ་ཚེན་པོའི་རས་བྱིས་དང་བསམ་གཏན་གྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་རྒྱབ་མཚན་བྱ་ཚུལ་མེད་གསུམ་བཞག་གས་དབུང་འཛོམས་བྱེད་དོན་འབར་བའི་འཁོར་ལོ།" *གསུང་འབུམ།* རོལ་པའི་རྫོང་། རྒྱ་རམ་ལ་ལོ།, 3:363–96. Dharamsala: Library Of Tibetan Works And Archives, 2003. Accessed September 2, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW29035\\_5B6E36](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW29035_5B6E36). [BDRC bdr:MW29035\_5B6E36] and Rölpe Dorjé, "གསང་བདག་འཁོར་ཚེན་ལྷན་རྒྱུས་རྒྱབ་ཐབས།" *གསུང་འབུམ།* རོལ་པའི་རྫོང་།, 3:397–420. [Pe Cin]: [KrunG Go Bod Brgyud Mtho Rim Nang Bstan Slob Gling Nang Bstan Zhib 'jug Khang], 1995. Accessed September 2, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW28833\\_294898](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW28833_294898). [BDRC bdr:MW28833\_294898]

<sup>147</sup> "(11.194) First one should visualize a huge lotus stalk supporting a big lotus flower. It is adorned with big petals and made of beautiful-looking jewels." See more from Dharmacakra Translation Committee (tr.). *The Root Manual of the Rites of Mañjuśrī (Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Toh 543). 84000: Translating the Words of the Buddha*, Accessed August 30, 2023, <https://read.84000.co/translation/toh543.html>.

- The Iconographic Groupings Constituted by the Cabinet Deities

After the nine main deities, the second part of the inscription lists Guhyasamāja, Guhyasamāja Lokeśvara, Forty-Nine Deity Vajrabhairava, Solitary Hero Vajrabhairava, Vajrabhairava surrounded by Eight Vetālas, Vajrahūmkāra, Vajrāmṛta, Inner Practice Mañjuḥṣa, Vajrabhairava seating on a buffalo, Red Vajrabhairava with bow and arrow. The cabinets do not contain Vajrabhairava surrounded by Eight Vetālas, Vajrabhairava seating on a buffalo and Red Vajrabhairava with bow and arrow. The yidam deities in the cabinet are namely Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra, Vajrahūmkāra, Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi, Guhyasamāja-Mañjuvajra, Vairocana-Mañjuvajra, Mahāvajradhāra, Guhyasādhana-Mañjuvajra, Antarsādhana-Mañjuḥṣa, Vajrāmṛta, Guhyasamāja-Lokeśvara, Vajrabhairava, Solitary Hero Vajrabhairava, Ṣaṇmukha Mañjuśrī, Kṛṣṇayamāri and Vajrabhairava with bow and arrow. The rest of the deities are the secondary deities of maṇḍala assemblies or part of the maṇḍala assemblies. Identifying which Maṇḍala assembly the cabinet deities are constituting is difficult, since there are many yidam deities of the Guhyasamāja cycle and Yamāri cycle in the cabinet, and their maṇḍala compositions are very similar.

• Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra Maṇḍala

Apparently, the cabinets contain the deities of the maṇḍala of *Guhyasamājantra* since the cabinet contains principal deities of Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra, Vairocana-Mañjuvajra, Guhyasamāja-Mañjuvajra and Guhyasamāja-Lokeśvara, as well as the three-faced, six-armed Four Buddha in the cardinal directions, namely Vairocana, Ratnaketu,<sup>148</sup> Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi all in medium size, and the four Buddha mothers, namely Tārā, Pāṇḍaravāsīnī, Māmakī and Buddhalocanā all in small size. However Padmāntaka, the gatekeeper of the western direction of the basic thirteen deities Guhyasamāja Maṇḍala is absent while Vighnāntaka, the gatekeeper of the North direction is depicted as one-headed, six-armed. Meanwhile, the cabinet contains the three-faced, six-armed Eight Great Bodhisattvas and the six wrathful deities, namely Ṭakkirāja, Mahābala, Nīladaṇḍa, Acala, Uṣṇīṣacakravartin, and Sumbha. Deities associated with *Guhyasamājantra* are all marked blue on the table.

---

<sup>148</sup> Ratnaketu (Chinese. 寶生佛) is translated as Ratnasambhava in Wang Jiapeng, ed., *Fanhualou Volume 2* = 梵華樓 第二卷 (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009).

Vairocana-Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala contains the sixteen Bodhisattvas and ten Yamāntaka deities, which are not presented here; therefore the maṇḍala cannot be completed by the cabinets deities. The nineteen-deity Guhyasamāja-Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala of the Jñānapāda school and nineteen-deity Guhyasamāja Lokeśvara are exactly the same despite having different principal deities. However, in both maṇḍala, the central deity is surrounded by another 6 female offering deities: Vajrarūpā, Vajrasābdā, Vajrarasā, Vajragandhā, Sparśavajrā and Dharmadhatuvajrā while in Room 2, the cabinets do not contain Sparśavajrā and Dharmadhatuvajrā.

Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra Maṇḍala of Ārya tradition consists of thirteen deities basic maṇḍala with five adamantine goddesses, eight mahābodhisattvas, and six wrathful deities,<sup>149</sup> which are all presented in the cabinet. The five adamantine goddesses are Vajrasābdā, Vajrarūpā, Vajrarasā, Vajragandhā and Sparśavajrā while Sparśavajrā is the consort of the main deity Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra. This is to say the cabinet deities are more possibly composing the Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra Maṇḍala of Ārya tradition. As Kimiaki Tanaka notes, the nineteen-deity Guhyasamāja-Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala, which was later included as the first maṇḍala in *Vajrāvalī*, were more important than the Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra for the masters at Vikramaśīla.<sup>150</sup> However, under Tsongkhapa's influence, the Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra Maṇḍala of Ārya tradition became particularly important in the Geluk school.<sup>151</sup> It is worth noting that the name of one of the five buddhas, which is inscribed as *bao sheng fo*, translated as Ratnasambhava, should be corrected to Ratnaketu, since the name Ratnaketu in *Guhyasamājantra* is originated from an older text *Suvarṇaprabhā sūtra* instead of *Sarvatathāgata Tattvasaṃgraha*, in which the Ratnasambhava, one of the Five Buddha Families is originated.<sup>152</sup>

- Maṇḍala of Yamāntaka Cycle: Seventeen-deity Vajrabhairava Maṇḍala, thirteen-deity Kṛṣṇa Yamāri Maṇḍala or thirteen-deity Vajrabhairava Maṇḍala, Śaṅmukha Yamāri Maṇḍala
- Seventeen-deity Vajrabhairava Maṇḍala

---

<sup>149</sup> Kimiaki Tanaka, *An Illustrated History of the Mandala*, 179.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 166

The nine main deities in Room 2 contain four Yamāntaka: Vajrabhairava, Ṣaṇmukha Mañjuśrī Yamāri, Ratka-Yamāri and Kṛṣṇa Yamāri while in the second part of the inscription, it further mentions Solitary Hero Vajrabhairava, Vajrabhairava surrounded by Eight Vetālas, Vajrabhairava seating on a buffalo, Red Vajrabhairava with bow and arrow. In the cabinets, there are five Yamāntaka deities: Vajrabhairava, Vairocana-Bhairava (?), Solitary Hero Vajrabhairava,<sup>153</sup> Ṣaṇmukha Vajrabhairava, Kṛṣṇayamāri and Red Vajrabhairava with bow and arrow. So which Maṇḍala is it representing?

In the cabinet, there is a unique group of eight female deities trampling on birds, all marked green on the table. They are Aṅkuśadharā on a vulture, Pāsādhārā on an owl, Sphoṭadhārā on a falcon, Āveśā on a crow, Duti(?)Ceti(?) on a water fowl, Daṃṣṭrādhārā on a wild duck, Daṇḍadhārā on a crane, and Kālarātri on a peacock. These unique groups of female wrathful deities are the deities of the seventeen-deity Vajrabhairava Maṇḍala transmitted by Kyo Lotsawa Özer Jungnée, which is categorised as the No. 56 Maṇḍala in the *Ngor Collection*.<sup>154</sup> In the maṇḍala there are another eight wrathful deities with consorts. All of them also appear in the cabinet as Ya ba ti, Chos rgyal (Dharmarāja), Tel ba nag po (Di la ba), glang mgo can, rMig pa, Phya sangs, Ras pa tshar dug (Ral pa tsaar dgu) and Mig dmar, all marked green on the table.<sup>155</sup> The last deity Mig dmar, is inscribed as *hong ri xing* which literally means red eyes star. It is translated as Aṅgāraka by the *Fanhualou* Catalogue, and I argue that the deity is actually Mig dmar since *mig* means eye and *dmar* means red. All of the eight wrathful deities are depicted as one-faced, two-armed and holding their respective attributes on their right hand. The main deity of the maṇḍala is the nine-headed, thirty-four-armed Vajrabhairava while the cabinets contain this form of Vajrabhairava in *yab yum* form. Therefore the seventeen-deity Deities Vajrabhairava Maṇḍala transmitted by Kyo Lotsawa Özer Jungnée is represented completely.

- Thirteen-deity Kṛṣṇa Yamāri Maṇḍala or thirteen-deity Vajrabhairava Maṇḍala

---

<sup>153</sup> Solitary Hero Vajrabhairava is translated as Ekavīra-Bhairavavajra in Solitary Hero Vajrabhairava is translated as Ekavīra-Bhairavavajra in Wang Jiapeng, ed., *Fanhualou Volume 2* = 梵華樓 第二卷 (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009).

<sup>154</sup> Sonam Gyatso, *The Ngor Maṇḍalas of Tibet: Listings of the Maṇḍala Deities*, ed. Musashi Tachikawa et al., *Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum* 4 (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1991), 101.

<sup>155</sup> Sonam Gyatso, *The Ngor Maṇḍalas of Tibet*, 101.

Noticeably the cabinets contain two groups of Mohayamāri, Matsaryayamāri, Rāgayamāri, Īrṣyāmāri, Padmayamāri, Khaḍgayamāri, Mudgarayamāri, Daṇḍayamāri, all marked red on the table. However their iconographies are different. In the Western cabinet Mohayamāri, Matsaryayamāri, Rāgayamāri, Īrṣyāmāri, Mudgarayamāri, Padmayamāri, Daṇḍayamāri and Khaḍgayamāri are all one-faced, two-armed without their consort. While the other Mudgarayamāri<sup>156</sup> and Daṇḍayamāri in the Western cabinet are three-faced, six-armed in *yab yum* form. In the Eastern cabinets Mohayamāri, Matsaryayamāri, Rāgayamāri, Īrṣyāmāri, Khaḍgayamāri and Padmayamāri are all three-faced, six-armed in *yab yum* form. Thus the cabinets contain two groups of eight Yamāri deities, one group in *yab yum* form, while the other in solitary form.

The Eastern cabinet contains the four wrathful goddesses Gaurī, Vārāhī, Sarasvatī, Carcikā, all of them are three-faced and six-armed in *yab yum* form. Therefore the eight three-faced and six-armed Yamāri deities as mentioned above, the four wrathful goddesses and the Kṛṣṇa Yamāri or the Vajrabhairava, compose the thirteen-deity Kṛṣṇa Yamāri Maṇḍala as transmitted by Ra Lotsāwa Dorje Drak, as the No. 52 Maṇḍala in the *Ngor Collection*, or the thirteen-deity Vajrabhairava Maṇḍala also transmitted by Ra Lotsāwa Dorje Drak, which is the No. 55 Maṇḍala in the *Ngor Collection* and the No. 15 Maṇḍala in Vajrāvalī. Both maṇḍalas consist of the same thirteen deities except for the main deity.

#### - Twenty-one-deity Ṣaṇmukha Yamāri Maṇḍala

Since the cabinet contains the eight offering deities (Puṣpa, Dīpā, Dhūpā, Gandhā, Lāsyā, Gīlā, Mālyā and Nṛtyā, which are marked pink on the table), the four buddha mothers (Buddhalocanā, Mamakī, Pāṇḍaravāsini and Tārā, which are marked blue on the table), the four Yamāri (Mohayamāri, Matsaryayamāri, Rāgayamāri, Īrṣyāmāri, which are marked red on the table), the four gatekeepers (Vajrāṅkuśa, Vajrapāśa, Vajrasphoṭa, Vajrveśa, all marked orange on the table), the cabinet deities can constitute the twenty-one Ṣaṇmukha Yamāri Maṇḍala by Ra Lotsāwa Dorje Drakpa, the No. 53 Maṇḍala of the *Ngor collection*. Noticeably that Ṣaṇmukha Yamāri in the cabinet has no consort and all the gatekeepers Vajrāṅkuśa, Vajrapāśa, Vajrasphoṭa, Vajrveśa are rendered as *yab yum* form.

---

<sup>156</sup> The three-faced, six-armed Mudgarayamāri in the later group is inscribed as 持鍾威羅瓦金剛 (Pinyin: *chi chui wei luo wa jin gang*), while the one-faced, two-armed Mudgarayamāri in the first group is inscribed as 持鐘威羅瓦金剛 (Pinyin: *chi zhong wei luo wa jin gang*). It is possible that they are the two manifestations of the same deity, and the discrepancy in Chinese inscriptions is because of the artisan's mistake.



- Eleven-deity Vajrahūmkāra Maṇḍala

Vajrahūmkāra is mentioned in the second part of the inscription, although the deity does not appear in the cabinets. The eleven-deity Vajrahūmkāra Maṇḍala, which is the No. 11 Maṇḍala of the Vajrāvalī, contains the central deity Vajrahūmkāra surrounded by ten Krodhas. The ten Krodhas are all presented in the cabinets, namely Vajradaṇḍa, Anarārka, Vajraṣṇīṣa, Vajrakuṇḍalī, Vajrayakṣa, Vajrakāla, Mahākālavajra, Vajrabhisana, Uṣṇīṣacakravartin and Vajrapātāla, all marked yellow on the table.<sup>157</sup> All of them are *yab yum* deities. Nevertheless, the sizes of the ten Krodhas do not correspond to their hierarchal position in the maṇḍala, as in the maṇḍala Vajradaṇḍa, Anarārka, Vajraṣṇīṣa, Vajrakuṇḍalī, Vajrayakṣa, Vajrakāla, Mahākālavajra, Vajrabhisana are surrounding the central deity in equal while Uṣṇīṣacakravartin and Vajrapātāla are placed in the outer circle. In the cabinet, Vajrakuṇḍalī, Vajradaṇḍa, Vajraṣṇīṣa, Anarārka, and Vajrayakṣa are rendered as medium size, and the rest of the ten Krodhas are small-sized.

• Eighteen-deity Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi Maṇḍala

Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi is one of the nine main deities. Together with their consorts, the four gatekeepers (Vajrāṅkuṣa, Vajrapāśa, Vajrasphoṭa, Vajrveśa), dBud las rgyal byed, rNgam pa sgra sgrogs, Amṛtakuṇḍalin, rDo rje gzi brjid and the three-faced six-armed Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi are able to compose the eighteen-deity Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi Maṇḍala, the No.46 Maṇḍala in the *Ngor Collection* and marked orange in the table.

In sum, the cabinet deities are able to compose the maṇḍala assemblies of thirty-two-deity Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra Maṇḍala, seventeen-deity Vajrabhairava Maṇḍala transmitted by Kyo Lotsawa Ozer Jungne, the thirteen-deity Vajrabhairava or Kṛṣṇa Yamāri Maṇḍala transmitted by Ra Lotsāwa Dorje Drak, twenty-one-deity Ṣaṅmukha Yamāri, eleven-deity Vajrahūmkāra Maṇḍala, and eighteen-deity Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi Maṇḍala. Some iconographic groupings appear in both *yab yum* and single forms. In the Western cabinet, a mysterious group of four female wrathful goddesses manifesting the four elements earth, water, fire and air as indicated on their names, namely Vajrabhūmi, Vajrodakā, Vajrānalā, Vajrānilā, are not the deities of any

---

<sup>157</sup> Vira and Chandra, *Tibetan Maṇḍalas: Vajrāvalī and Tantra-Samuccaya*. 46.

maṇḍala assembly. These four deities might associated with *Guhyasamājantra*, which homologises the deities with certain dogmatic notions like five aggregates and four elements.<sup>158</sup> In the root text of *Guhyasamājantra* the four elements are symbolised by the four Buddha consorts Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā and Tārā and the four goddesses in the cabinet of Room 2 might be the result of later exegetical development of the homologization in *Guhyasamājantra*.

### The Lower Room

- Chinese and Tibetan inscription, and the translation based on Tibetan inscription

第二妙吉祥大寶樓下供奉六臂勇保護法 護國護法 尊親護法 宜帝護法 大黑雄威護法 柔善法帝護法，增威法帝護法 權德法帝護法 雄威法帝護法等像 諸如大智勇保護法所現成就一切功德 種種化身法帝護法所現種種化及護法夫人並諸子眷屬等像 種種觀想經典內外秘密供像誓戒器具皆可供奉

གཉིས་པ་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་འོག་རིམ་འདིར་མཚོན་པའི་ལྷ་མཚན་མགོན་པོ་ལྷག་བྱུག་པ། ལྷོ་ཉ་པ་ལ། ཇི་ན་མི་ཉ། ཏ་ལྷོ་ར་ལྷོ། ཏ་ལྷོ་བ། ཞི་བའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ།  
 རྒྱལ་པའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ། དབང་གི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ། ཏ་ལྷོ་བའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐ་བརྟན་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་ལྷ་མཚན་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མགོན་པོའི་འཕྲིན་ལས་ལྷ་ཚོགས་པའི་རྣམ་འགྲུ་མང་པོ་དང་།  
 གཤམ་ཇི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐའི་རྣམ་འགྲུ་མང་པོ་རྣམས་དང་། དེ་དག་གི་ཡུམ་སྐལ་འཁོར་ཚོགས་དུ་མའི་ལྷ་མཚན་དང་གྲུབ་ཡིག་བེའུ་འབྲུམ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྣམས་དང་ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་བའི་རྟེན་དང་།  
 དམ་ཚོག་གི་རྣམ་པ་སྐ་ཚོགས་པ་ཇི་སྟེད་ཅིག་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་འདིར་མཚོན་པར་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ལགས་སོ།

The second excellent lower shrine worships the images of Six-armed Mahākāla, Kṣetrapāla, Jinamitra, Takkirāja, Drakṣad, Dharmarāja of Pacification, Dharmarāja of Enrichment, Dharmarāja of Magnetization; and Dharmarāja of Destruction and so on. Furthermore, here (the temple) offers the Six-armed Mahākāla's charismatic activities' various manifestations; many of the Yama Dharmaraja's manifestation, as well as their many consorts, sons and retinues' images and handbooks of ritual magic and so on; the outer, inner and secret's support (images); and all kinds of different vow symbol objects.

- The Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 2

The nine supplementary deities are composed of two groups: the Six-armed Mahākāla group and the Dharmarāja group (Fig.2.13). All the nine deities are enclosed with blazing flame at back and offered with

<sup>158</sup> Tanemura, Ryugen. “Guhyasamāja.” *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism Online*. Accessed November 1, 2020. [https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-buddhism/guhyasamaja-COM\\_0028](https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-buddhism/guhyasamaja-COM_0028).

wrathful offerings in front, indicating their ferocious nature in a gloomy and cloudy natural environment. The main deity, Six-armed Mahākāla or the Ṣaḍbhujā Mahākāla is the most prominent protective deity within Geluk school and one of the major forms of Mahākāla in Tibetan art. He is portrayed as one-faced, three-eyed, six-handed, holding a chopper, skull rosary, hand drum (ḍamaru) in his three right hands, kapāla, trident and lasso in his left three hands trampling on an elephant. Kṣetrapāla, Jinamitra, Ṭakkirāja and Trakṣad are his retinues, which sometimes called "ministers of the Ṣaḍbhujā Mahākāla ".<sup>159</sup> They are arranged in the inner part of the room, hierarchically superior to the rest of the guardian deities.

The other four deities are the four Dharmarāja personifying the "four activities", namely Dharmarāja of Pacification, Dharmarāja of Enrichment, Dharmarāja of Magnetization; and Dharmarāja of Destruction, which are respectively depicted as white, yellow, red and blue. All of them are rendered with buffalo faces and trampling on a buffalo. The four Dharmarāja are the retinues of the "inner" form of Yama Dharmarāja,<sup>160</sup> and they are frequently depicted together in thangka paintings.

Dharmarāja, Vaiśravaṇa, and Six-armed Mahākāla are the three principal protectors of the Gelug school and are particularly associated with the *lamrim* teachings,<sup>161</sup> thus are sometimes depicted together below the portraits of Tsongkhapa. The iconographic composition in Room 2 on the lower floor reveals the great accentuation of the Six-armed Mahākāla as the chief protector among all the protective deities within tantric classes, and also reflects that the inner form of Yama Dharmarāja is the inner protector of the Vajrabhairava cycle,<sup>162</sup> which is one of the major themes on the upper floor of Room 2.

---

<sup>159</sup> René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities* (Books Faith India, 1996), 39.

<sup>160</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, 83.

<sup>161</sup> Robert Thurman, *The Life and Teachings of Tsongkhapa*. (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives."1982),7, quoted in *Mind Seeing Mind: Mahamudra and the Geluk Tradition of Tibetan Buddhism* by Roger R. Jackson,(Simon and Schuster, 2019).

<sup>162</sup> Linrothe and M. Rhie, eds., *Demonic Divine*. 177.

### Room 3 Room of Mother Tantra

#### The Upper Room

- Chinese and Tibetan inscription, and the translation based on Tibetan inscription

第三妙吉祥大寶樓上供奉如是大乘秘密經四大根本內無上陰體根本品內上樂王佛 白上樂王佛 持嘎巴拉喜金剛佛 持兵器喜金剛佛 大幻金剛佛 佛陀嘎巴拉佛 時輪王佛 瑜伽虛空佛 佛海觀音佛等 其經則大上樂王根本經以及本生上樂王佛 大黑鵬 上樂王佛 空行母佛 金剛亥母 智行佛母 花大鵬金剛佛 黑大鵬金剛佛 白空行佛摩 獅像佛母等無上陰體根本經內所出本意佛像 又若諸佛出生根本經 講義根本經 同義根本經及諸經論觀想法 壇城儀軌二觀秘密法 諸品行持法等注疏 皆宜藏度 是為最上福田功德不可思議

གསུམ་པ་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་ཁང་བརྟེན་ལ་འདྲིའི་ཐོག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་གསལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་ལྡེ་བཞིའི་ནང་ཚན་ལྷ་མེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་ལས་མ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ལས་འབྱུང་བའི་དཔལ་འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚོགས་། །བདེ་མཚོགས་དཀར་པོ་། ། ཀྱི་རྗེ་རྟོག་པོ་ཅན་། ཀྱི་རྗེ་མཚོན་ཆ་ཅན་སྐྱུ་མ་ཆེན་པོ་། ། སངས་རྒྱལ་ཐོད་པ། དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ། རྣལ་འབྱོར་ནམ་མཁམ། ལྷན་རས་གཟིགས་རྒྱལ་བ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་སོགས་དང་། ཚོས་ནི་འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚོགས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སློག་བཅའ་དང་། འདྲིས་མཚོན་ནས་བདེ་མཚོགས་ལྷན་སྐྱེས། བདེ་མཚོགས་མཁའ་ལྷིང་ནག་པོ། མཁའ་ལྷོད་མ། རྡོ་རྗེ་ལག་མོ། ཀྱུ་བ་ཀྱུ་ལྱི། རྡོ་རྗེ་ལྷུང་ལ། ལྷུང་ནག། མཁའ་ལྷོད་མ་དཀར་པོ། མེང་གོ་གདོང་པ་ཅན་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྐ་མེད་མ་རྒྱུད་ནས་ནས་བཤད་པའི་ཡི་དམ་ལྷ་ཡི་སྐྱ་བརྟན་དང་། དེ་དག་གི་ཙུ་རྒྱུད་བཤད་རྒྱུ། ལྷོགས་མ་ཕུན་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ། དགོངས་འགྲེལ་གྱི་བརྟན་བཅོས་སྐབས་ཐབས། དཀྱིལ་མཚོགས། རིམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མན་དག་ལས་ཚོགས་སོགས་ཀྱི་གསལ་རབ་རྣམས་ལྷ་ཁང་འདྲིའི་མཚོན་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ལགས་པས། བསོད་ནམས་གསོགས་པའི་ཞིང་ས་ངོ་མཚར་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་བ་ལ་མཚོན་པའི་ཕན་ཡོན་བསམ་གྱིས་མེད་ཀྱི་འཁྲུག་པོ་སྐྱས་སོ།

In the third excellent upper shrine, originating from the Mother class of the Highest Yoga of the Four classes of Mahāyāna's secret mantra are Cakrasaṃvara, White-Saṃvara, Hevajra Kapāladhara, Hevajra Śaṣṭradhara, Mahāmāyā, Buddhakapāla, Kālacakra, Yogāmbara, Avalokiteśvara Jinasāgara and so on. As regards the dharma there is the book of *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, and illustrated through it the aspiration deities Cakrasaṃvara Sahaja,<sup>163</sup> Khecarā Khachōma, Vajravārāhī, Kurukullā, Vajragaruḍa, Black Garuḍa, White Khecarā, Siṃhamukhā and so on explain from the Highest Mother tantra, namely root tantra, conforming tantras, treaties that comment on the intent, sādhana, Maṇḍala rituals, two stages instructions, and practice

<sup>163</sup> It is another manifestation of Cakrasaṃvara. Cakrasaṃvara Sahaja is one-faced and two-armed. From 'Cakrasaṃvara Sahaja (བདེ་མཚོགས་ལྷན་སྐྱེས)', *BDRC*. Accessed September 2, 2023, <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:T573#main-info>.

discourses. As this temple causes ritual offerings to be made, the benefits of these ritual offerings to this marvellous realm of merit accumulation are incomprehensible.

- The Nine Main Deities in Room 3

The nine main deities are the combination of two forms of Cakrasaṃvara, two manifestations of Hevajra, and five other yidam deities, Mahāmāyā, Buddhakapāla, Kālacakra, Yogāmbara and Jinasāgara Avalokiteśvara (Fig.2.14). All the nine deities are sitting or standing on a lotus throne surrounded by reddish mandorla on the back. They are rendered in the *yab yum* form and two forms of Saṃvara are placed in the most prominent positions, which indicates the importance of *Samvaratantra*, as Khedrup Je explains, the chief tantra of the Mother Tantra.<sup>164</sup> The two manifestations of Saṃvara are respectively the four-faced, twelve-armed Cakrasaṃvara in the centre and the one-faced, two-armed White-Saṃvara on the right of Cakrasaṃvara. It should be noted that White-Saṃvara was particularly popular during the Qianlong court and vigorously promoted by Rölpe Dorjé, who wrote a number of texts dedicated to this deity,<sup>165</sup> mainly because of White-Saṃvara's association with longevity. The deity is included in 360 and 300 while according to Zhang Yajing, all images of White-Saṃvara now in the Palace Museum and made by the imperial workshop were made during the Qianlong reign.<sup>166</sup> Historically the seated White-Saṃvara was not a popular form of Saṃvara and was absent in most of the famous iconographic compilations.

On the left of Cakrasaṃvara and below White-Saṃvara are Hevajra Kapāladhara, or the skullcap-bearing Hevajra and Hevajra Śaṣṭradhara, the weapon-bearing Hevajra. Both forms of Hevajra are depicted as eight-faced, sixteenth-armed and four-legged embracing their respective consorts. The former one holds sixteen skull cups containing various gods and animals while the latter one holds a variety of weapons in each hand.

---

<sup>164</sup> Khedrupje Gelek Pelzang, *Introduction to Buddhist Tantric Systems: Translated from Mkhas Grub Rje's Rgyud Sde Spyihri Nnam Par Gzag Pargyas Par Brjod with Original Text and Annotation* (Motilal Banarsidass, 1993), 267.

<sup>165</sup> These texts by Rölpe Dorjé are "བདེ་མཚོག་དཀར་པོ་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་གླེ་མའི་རྣམ་འབྱུང་། [BDRC bdr:MW28833\_6BCDCC]",

"བདེ་མཚོག་དཀར་པོ་འདི་སྐོ་ནས་ཚུབ་བྱ་ཚུལ་འཛེ་བདག་འཛོམས་པའི་མཚན་ཆ། [BDRC bdr:MW28833\_65331F]", "བདེ་མཚོག་དཀར་པོ་འདི་སྐོ་ནས་ཚུབ་བྱ་ཚུལ་འཛེ་མེད་བདད་ཅིའི་བྱ་མཚན་ [BDRC bdr:MW28833\_963FC2]", "བདེ་མཚོག་དཀར་པོ་འདི་སྐོ་ནས་ཞབས་བརྟན་འབྲེལ་ཚོག [BDRC bdr:MW28833\_539D57]", "

བདེ་མཚོག་དཀར་པོ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་ལ་ཚེའི་དངོས་གྲུབ་འདི་སྐོ་ནས་གསོལ་འདེབས་བདེ་ཚེན་བདད་ཅིའི་བྱ་མཚན་བཟང་། [BDRC bdr:MW28833\_1F900C]. "

<sup>166</sup> Zhang Yajing, "清宮藏'白上乐王佛'图像溯源 = Tracing the Origin of the Image of White-Saṃvara Collected in the Qing Palace," *Palace Museum Journal* 168 (2013): 46–160. <https://doi.org/10.16319/j.cnki.0452-7402.2013.04.005>.

The two form Hevajra are originated from different textual sources as Kapāladhara Hevajra is originated from the *Hevajratantra* and Śaśtradhara Hevajra is originated from the *Samputatantra*.<sup>167</sup>

The four-faced, four-armed Mahāmāyā is placed in the symmetrical position of Hevajra Śaśtradhara under Hevajra Kapāladhara in the central of the painting. Kālacakra, which is translated as Kālacakraraja in the *Fanhualou* catalogue, and Buddhakapāla, which is placed in the symmetrical place of Kālacakra, are rendered on the same level as Cakrasaṃvara, flanking White-Saṃvara and Hevajra Kapāladhara. Yogāmbara and Jinasāgara Avalokiteśvara are arranged on the two lower corners. All the five deities are proliferating yidam deities within the Geluk school and are included in 360, although they are depicted differently. Yogāmbara, which is illustrated as three-faced and six-armed in Room 3, are one-faced, and two-armed in 360; Jinasāgara Avalokiteśvara, which is three-eyed, holding a lotus and a rosary in Room 3, is two-eyed and holding two vajra in both hands sitting on a lotus in 360; Mahāmāyā which is three-faced, six-armed in Room 3 is illustrated as one-faced, four-armed in 360.

The iconographic structure of the nine main deities reflects a unique interpretation of the Highest Mother Tantra within the Geluk school. According to Khedrupje Gelek Pelzang, the categorization of the Hevajra and Kālacakra under the Mother Tantra is a specific Geluk school doxographic method, as he refutes the divisions of Highest Yoga Tantra into Father tantra, Mother Tantra and Non-dual Tantra and particularly lists *Samvaratantra*, *Hevajratantra*, *Kālacakratantra*, and *Mahāmāyātāntra* as Mother Tantras.<sup>168</sup> In Room 3, all nine deities' associated maṇḍalas are formulated in the same structures, namely the central deity is surrounded by either four or eight ḍākinis in the inner palace. This structure is crucial for the design of the stupa on the ground floor of Room 3, which will be explained in detail in the next chapter. It is worth noting that none of the female yidam deities, for example, Vajrayoginī is not selected as the main nine deities in Room 3, although Vajrayoginī, which is traditionally regarded as the secret meditational deity of Tsongkhapa, is extremely popular and Rōlpé Dorjé himself is a vigorous practitioner of Vajrayoginī. It is possible because the nine deities in Room 2 are all selected in *yab yum* form and Vajrayoginī were never

---

<sup>167</sup> Huntington and Bangdel, *The Circle of Bliss*, 456.

<sup>168</sup> Khedrupje Gelek Pelzang, *Introduction to Buddhist Tantric Systems*, 267.

incorporated into the curriculums of Geluk tantric institutions and ought to be practised privately.<sup>169</sup> The backgrounds of the nine main deities are illustrated similarly in Room 2, although the lotus throne of the central deity Cakrasaṃvara is not depicted as emerging from a water pond but rather placed upon the ground. The natural backdrop surrounding the deities appears clearer and more tranquil, with notably fewer clouds. Wrathful offerings are only positioned in front of Buddhakapāla and Kālacakra, rendered on a smaller scale amidst the precious jewels strewn across the ground.

#### - The Iconographic Groupings Constituted by the Cabinet Deities

The second part of the inscription identifies the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* as the chief tantra and then lists the aspiration deities as Innate Cakrasaṃvara, Cakrasaṃvara Sahaja, Khecarā, Vajravārāhī, Kurukullā, Vajragaruḍa, Kṛṣṇa-Garuḍa, White Khecarā, Siṃhamukhā, while the cabinets contain more yidam deities, namely White-Saṃvara, Saṃvara, Pancabuddha-Saṃvara, Sahaja-Saṃvara, Vajravārāhī, Nāroḍākini, Garuḍa-Saṃvara, Yogāmbara, Buddhakapāla, Mahāmāyā, Śastradhara-Hevajra, Kapāladhara-Hevajra, Kālacakra, Kṛṣṇa-Garuḍa, Puṣpa-Garuḍa, Jinasāgara-Avalokiteśvara, Kurukullā, Indraḍākini, Siṃhamukhā. The cabinets also contain two mahāsiddhas: Ghaṇṭāpāda, and Virūpa. The cabinets of Room 2 also contain Sābari, which is known as "the Great Brahmin". The three mahāsiddhas are the only mahāsiddhas in Fanhualou, and their presence has no direct association with the contents of each room.

The cabinet deities can constitute the maṇḍala assembly of Pañcaḍāka Maṇḍala, which is the No. 24 Maṇḍala in Vajrāvalī. Deities of the Pañcaḍāka Maṇḍala are marked green in the chart. The whole Maṇḍala is composed of five small maṇḍalas. Each maṇḍala is centred on a ḍāka, and the five central ḍāka are namely Viśvaḍāka (north), Buddhaḍāka (east), Vajraḍāka (centre), Padmaḍāka (west), and Ratnaḍāka (south). The subsidiary deities in the central maṇḍala are Gaurī, Caurī, Vetālī, Ghasmarī, Pukkasī, Śabarī, Caṇḍālī and Dombinī; in the eastern maṇḍala are Saṃdamśā, Paśinī, Vāgurā, Aṅkuśī, Puṣpā, Dhūpā, and Gandhā; in the southern maṇḍala are Sūryahastā, Dīpā, Ratnolkā, Taḍitkarā, Lāsya, Mālā, Gitā, and Nṛtyā; in the western maṇḍala are Padmā, Dharmodayā, Sphoṭā, Svāśleṣā, Vaṃśā, Vīṇā and Mukundā (Muraja is missing here); in the northern maṇḍala are Tālikā, Kuñcī, Kapātā, Paṭadhārini, Buddhalocanā, Tārā, Pāṇḍaravāsini, and

---

<sup>169</sup> Joona Repo, "Phabongkha Dechen Nyingpo: His Collected Works and the Guru-Deity-Protector Triad," in *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* no. 33 (October 2015): 68.

Māmakī. Although the main maṇḍala assembly in which is unmentioned in the inscription, Pañcaḍāka Maṇḍala is developed from Hevajra Maṇḍala. As mentioned by Kimiaki Tanaka, this maṇḍala is described in the Vajrapañjara tantra, which is an explanatory tantra of the Hevajra cycle.<sup>170</sup>

Mysteriously the rest of the deities in the cabinets are a group of heavenly deities. Their Chinese names are all finished with *tian* or god. In sum it contains four gods of the Nine Planets, namely Sūrya, Candra, Budha, Ketu;<sup>171</sup> eight of the Twelve Zodiacal Signs, namely Siṃha, Kanyā, Tulā, Vṛścika, Dhanu, Makara, Kumbha, Mīna;<sup>172</sup> four of the Ten Principal Hindu deities, namely Brahmā, Bhṛṅgiriṭi, Gaṇapati, Mahākāla;<sup>173</sup> four of the Eight Dikpālas, namely Yama, Varuṇa, Agni, Vāyu.<sup>174</sup> The Nine Planets, Twelve Zodiacal Signs, Ten Principal Hindu deities, and Eight Dikpālas are iconographic groupings which can be found in both the Kālacakra Maṇḍala or the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala. The Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala is one of the main themes in Room 4, thus these incomplete groups might belong to the Kālacakra Maṇḍala.

The Eastern cabinet contains the seven one-faced, four-armed, three-eyed goddesses trampling on a dwarf and holding various attributes, marked orange in the table. They are Vajraśabdā, Pṛthivīvajrā, Vajrayakṣī, Vajrasaumyā, Rāgavajrā, Vajrabimbā, Vajraraudrī, all in the smallest size. They are the subsidiary deities of the seventeen-deity Hevajra Maṇḍala in Vajravālī.<sup>175</sup> The central deity of the maṇḍala is two-armed Hevajra, although the deity is excluded in the cabinets. Meanwhile the Eastern cabinet contains another group of seven goddesses naked blue in the chart, namely Caṇḍālī in small size, and Śabarī, Pukkasī, Ghasmarī, Vetālī, Gaurī, and Caurī in medium size. All of them are marked as blue on the table. They are the subsidiary deities of the central maṇḍala in Pañcaḍāka as mentioned above, although their attributes are different from the same group of deities in the Western cabinet.

---

<sup>170</sup> Kimiaki Tanaka, *An Illustrated History of the Mandala: From Its Genesis to the Kalacakra Tantra* (Simon and Schuster, 2018), 213.

<sup>171</sup> The Nine Planets are : Āditya, Candra, Maṅgalā, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu, and Ketu. For more details, see Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 367–78.

<sup>172</sup> Twelve Zodiacal Signs are: Meṣa, Vṛṣabha, Mithuna, Karka, Siṃha, Kanyā, Tulā, Vṛścika, Dhanu, Makara, Kumbha and Mīna. For more details, see Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 383

<sup>173</sup> Ten Principal Hindu deities are: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, Kārttikeya, Vārāhī, Cāmuṇḍā, Bhṛṅgī, Gaṇapati, Mahākāla, Nandikeśvara. For more details, see Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 363-366.

<sup>174</sup> The Eight Dikpālas are: Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, Īśāna, Agni, Nairṛṭī, Vāyu. For more details, see Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 352-363.

<sup>175</sup> Vira and Chandra. *Tibetan Maṇḍalas: Vajravālī and Tantra-Samuccaya*, 30.



## The Lower Room

- Chinese and Tibetan inscription, and the translation based on Tibetan inscription

第三妙吉祥大寶樓下供奉宮室勇保護法 四面勇保護法 四臂勇保護法 婆羅門勇保護法 專畢尼 簪植禮  
喇克义西 僧嘎禮底微 沙嘛沙納拔低等像 諸如最勝大力威德神通廣遍服外道諸魔大護法所現種種化身  
及護法夫人並諸子眷屬等像 種種化身及護法夫人並諸子眷屬等像 種種觀想經典內外秘密供像 誓戒器  
具皆可供奉

གསུམ་པ་ལུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་འོག་རིམ་འདྲིའི་མཚན་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མགོན་པོ་གུར། མགོན་པོ་ཞལ་བཞི་པ། མགོན་པོ་ཕྱག་བཞི་པ། དཔལ་མགོན་རྩམ་ཟེའི་གཟུགས་ཅན། ཡུང་མོ།  
གཏུམ་མོ། སྲིན་མོ། སིང་ག་ལི། དུར་ཁྲོད་བདག་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབ་བརྟན་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་།  
བརྟན་བསྐྱེད་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་དང་རྩེ་འཕུལ་གྱི་པ་རོལ་ཏུ་སོན་ཅིང་བརྟན་དགའི་གཤེད་མར་ལྷུང་བ་དེ་དག་གི་སྐྱེའི་རྣམ་འགྲུར་མང་པོ་རྣམས་དང་།  
འདི་དག་གི་ཡུམ་སྲས་འཁོར་ཚོགས་ཏུ་མའི་ལྷང་བརྟན་དང་། སྐབ་ཡིག། བཱ་འབྲུམ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྣམས་དང་།  
ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་བའི་རྟེན་དང་དམ་ཚིག་གི་རྩལ་རྣམ་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་པ་འི་སྟེང་ཅིག་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་འདྲིའི་མཚན་པར་བྱེད་སྐྱེད་ལགས་སོ།

The third excellent lower shrine worships the images of Pañjaranātha Mahākāla, Four-faced Mahākāla, Four-armed Mahākāla, Brahmarūpa Mahākāla, Ḍombinī, Caṇḍālī, Rākṣasa, Rakṣā,<sup>176</sup> Śmaśāna Adhipati etc.; furthermore, the room worships the great power guardian of teachings, the miraculous emanation of (who) changed the gods of vengeance to the other sides, and many of their manifestations, their mothers and sons as wells as retinues, their images, sādhana, and handbook of magic ritual and so on, the images of their outer, inner and secret practices, and various kinds of indispensable samaya objects.

### • The Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 3

The nine supplementary deities on the paintings are the Pañjaranātha Mahākāla preceding Caturmukha Mahākāla, four wrathful goddesses of Caturmukha Mahākāla, Brahmarūpa Mahākāla, Caturbhujā Mahākāla and Śrīśmaśānādhipati (Fig.2.15). Whereas in the inscription the four goddesses are listed after the three forms of Mahākāla and before Śrīśmaśānādhipati. The principal guardian deity in the middle of the northern

<sup>176</sup> The names of the four goddesses are using the Sanskrit translation from Lokesh Chandra, *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography Volume 1,2* (International Academy of Indian Culture, 1999). 3384.

wall, the Pañjaranātha Mahākāla, is known as the “Lord of the Pavilion”.<sup>177</sup> He is depicted as black-coloured, one-faced, two-armed holding a knife and a skull cup with a stick (gaṇḍī) across the forearms and trampling on a dwarf. Wearing the garland of human heads, green snake cord and white skull crown, he is standing frontally and surrounded by blazing flames, backed by dark-coloured clouds. This form of Mahākāla is one of the most proliferating guardian deities, specifically within the Sakya school. Pañjaranātha Mahākāla is the special protector of the Hevajra cycle, one of the key themes in Room 3, while his iconography is described in the *Vajrapañjaratantra*, a commentary of the *Hevajratantra*.<sup>178</sup> Pañjaranātha Mahākāla is frequently depicted with Hevajra on thangka paintings and is regarded as the lord of the exterior vajra enclosure surrounding the whole Hevajra Maṇḍala palace and the charnel ground.<sup>179</sup>

On the right of Pañjaranātha Mahākāla is the four-faced, four-armed Caturmukha Mahākāla. Caturmukha Mahākāla is holding a chopper and a skull cup in his lower two hands, a sword and a ritual staff (khaṭvāṅga) in his upper hands. His body and main face are dark blue, and his right and left face are respectively white and red. The top face above is brownish. Flanking Caturmukha Mahākāla and Pañjaranātha Mahākāla are the four retinues, or the female messenger demonesses of Caturmukha Mahākāla,<sup>180</sup> namely Ḍombinī, Caṇḍālī, Rākṣasa, Rakṣā. All goddesses are depicted as naked, three-eyed and holding a chopper and a skull cup and respectively rendered as black, red, yellow and green.

The four goddesses are arranged in the inner part of the room, hierarchically superior to the other three deities, namely Brahmarūpa Mahākāla, Caturbhuja Mahākāla, and Śmaśāna Adhipati. Brahmarūpa Mahākāla, the central protector on the western wall, takes the form of an elder Brahman and is depicted in the typical Geluk representation which is grey in colour. He is regarded as a less wrathful manifestation of Caturmukha Mahākāla. Caturbhuja Mahākāla, which is depicted on the right of the central deity on the eastern wall, is one-faced, three-eyed, four-armed holding a sword and ritual staff (khaṭvāṅga) in the upper two hands, a skull-cup and a fruit in his lower two hands. Although in Sakya tradition Caturmukha Mahākāla

---

<sup>177</sup> Linrothe and M. Rhie, eds. *Demonic Divine*. 47.

<sup>178</sup> Huntington and Bangdel, *Circle of Bliss*, 335

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 335

<sup>180</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, 61.

is considered the principal protector of the Guhyasamaja cycle, in Geluk school, Caturmukha Mahākāla is a protector of Cakrasaṃvara cycle,<sup>181</sup> and sometimes is depicted below Cakrasaṃvara.<sup>182</sup>

Śrīśmaśānādhipati, or Citipati, the last deity in the list of inscriptions is depicted in a typical Geluk representation: the male dancing skeleton is holding a skull cup and a bone stick while the female consort is holding a vase in her left hand and stock of grain on her right hand. They are both standing on the lotus throne in dancing postures. Citipati is regarded as associated with the Cakrasaṃvara cycle and is often depicted as the protector of Vajrayoginī.<sup>183</sup> All the nine deities are enclosed by swirling flaming on the back with wrathful offerings in front. Human bones are scattered on the dark background ground, indicating the symbolic connections between the supplementary deities and the charnel ground. Uniquely, flowers grown from rocks are illustrated at the lower corner of the paintings, which might remind the feminine characters of the four goddesses.

---

<sup>181</sup> This can be supported by Phabongkha, who wrote lengthy texts on Caturmukha Mahākāla as the protector of Cakrasaṃvara. See more from Joona Repo, "Phabongkha Dechen Nyingpo: His Collected Works and the Guru-Deity-Protector Triad," 68.

<sup>182</sup> Huntington and Bangdel, *Circle of Bliss*, 302

<sup>183</sup> Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 194

## Room 4 Room of Yoga Tantra

### The Upper Room

- Chinese and Tibetan inscription, and the translation based on Tibetan inscription

第四妙吉祥大寶樓上供奉如是大乘秘密經四大根本內瑜伽根本經內智慧盧佛 金剛界佛 度生佛 成就佛 能勝三界佛 最上功德佛 密德文殊室利佛 法界妙音自在佛 九頂佛等 其經則除諸惡趣根本經以及瑜伽根本金剛勇識佛 月明尊者所傳黃文殊室利佛 白手持金剛佛 火焰光佛 大安樂佛 青不動佛 青不動金剛佛 不動姓佛等瑜伽根本經內所出本意佛像 又若諸佛出生根本經 講義根本經 同意根本經跡諸經論觀想法 壇城儀軌秘密法 諸品行持法等註疏 皆宜藏度 是為最上福田功德不可思議

བཞི་པ་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་ཁང་བརྗེ་གསུང་འདིར་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་གསང་ཕྱགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ཟེ་བཞིའི་ནང་ཚན་ནལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཟེ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ཀུན་རིག་རྣམ་པར་རྣམ་མཛད་རྗེ་རྗེ་དབྱིངས། འགོ་བ་འདུལ་བ།  
དོན་ཐམས་ཅད་གྲུབ་པ། ལམས་གསུམ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དཔལ་མཚོག་དང་པོ། འཇམ་དཔལ་གསང་ལྡན། ཚོས་དབྱིངས་གསུང་དབང། གཞུག་དགུ་སོགས་དང་།  
ཚོས་ནི་དན་སོང་སྤོང་བའི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་གྲེག་བམ་དང་། འདིས་མཚོན་ནས་རྣལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྗེ་རྗེ་སེམས་དཔལ་དང་། ཅན་གྱི་མིའི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་འཇམ་དཔལ་སེར་པོ། ཕྱག་རྗེ་དཀར་པོ།  
མེ་ལྷར་འབར་བ། བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོ། མི་འབྲུགས་པ་ཚོན་པོ། མི་གཡོ་བ་ཚོན་པོ། སྐྱ་གདུང་བརྟན་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྣལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱུད་ནས་བཤད་པའི་ཡི་དམ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཡི་སྐྱ་བརྟན་དང་།  
དེ་དག་གི་རྩ་རྒྱུད། བཤད་རྒྱུད། རྩོགས་མཐུན་གྱི་རྒྱུད། དགོངས་འགྲེལ་གྱི་བཟུན་བཅོས། ལྷབས་ཐབས། དཀྱིལ་ཚོག། ཁམན་ངག།  
ལས་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གསུང་རབ་རྣམས་ལྷ་ཁང་འདིར་མཚོན་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ལགས་པས། བསོད་ནམས་གསོགས་པའི་ཞིང་ས་ངོ་མཚར་རྣམས་འབྲུང་བ་ལ་མཚོན་པའི་ཕན་ཡོན་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ལ་གསུང་སོ།

In this fourth excellent upper shrine, originating from the Yoga class of the tantra sections of Mahāyāna's secret mantra are Sarvavid Vairocana, Vajradhātu [Vairocana], Jagadvinaya, Sarvārthasiddhi, Trailokyavijayā, Paramādyā, Mañjuśrījñānasattva, Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara, Śākyamuni Navoṣṇīṣa,<sup>184</sup> etc. As regards the dharma the sacred images are explained from the Yoga Tantra such as the book of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (*Tantra for the Purification of All Bad Transmigrations*), and illustrated through it the aspiration deities Yoga Tantra Vajrasattva, Yellow Mañjuśrī of the tradition of Candragomin,<sup>185</sup> White Vajrapāṇi, Blazing like Fire, Mahāsukha, Blue Akṣobhya, Blue Acalā, Kudung

<sup>184</sup> “གཞུག་དགུ” is the abbreviation of “གྲུ་གྲུབ་པ་གཞུག་རྗེ་དཀར་པོ་”.

<sup>185</sup> Candragominis an accomplished seventh-century Indian scholar and poets. I think here it refers to Candragomin's commentary of *Arya-Mañjuśrīnmasarhgitī-nama-mahatīka*. (3363 in Tengjur, Beijing Edition) This commentary is particularly recorded in Tāranātha's account of the Life of Candragomin as one of the major surviving works. See more from Mark Tatz, The Life of Candragomin in Tibetan Historical Tradition, *The Tibet Journal* Vol. 7, No. 3 (Autumn 1982):3-22.

Tenpa and so on explained from the Yoga tantra, and their root tantras, explanatory tantras, conforming tantra, treaties that comment on the intent, Sādhana, maṇḍala rituals, oral instructions, and practice discourses. By making offerings in this temple the benefits of these ritual offerings to this marvellous realm of merit accumulation are incomprehensible.

- The Nine Main Deities in Room 4

• Sarvavid Vairocana and Navoṣṇīṣa

The luminous white-coloured, four-faced Sarvavid Vairocana in the centre of the painting is sitting in a meditative posture, holding a cakra in both hands, enclosed by the foliage and fruits around his halo, with a parasol on above. Offerings of cakra, conch and precious jewels are posited on top of a lotus grown from the water pond in front of the deity. Whereas Navoṣṇīṣa is posited in the lower right corner of the painting performing dharmacakra mudrā as the last deity of the nine main deities in the hierarchical structure of the painting and on the list of the inscription.

Most of the nine main deities in Room 4 are rarely depicted during the contemporaneous time of Fanhualou, especially Jagadvinaya, Sarvārthasiddhi, and Mañjuśrījñānasattva. It is mainly because the practices of Yoga Tantra were already surpassed by Highest Yoga Tantra and they are not considered the most efficient, cutting-edge and powerful as they were when they were first transmitted and assimilated in Tibet. The only exception is the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (SDP), the key text highlighted in the inscription and the only Yoga Tantra which is widely practised,<sup>186</sup> since it is the major source of rituals for the fortunate rebirth of the dead, which was widely commented upon.<sup>187</sup> Both Sarvavid Vairocana and Navoṣṇīṣa are associated with the different versions of the SDP, *while the central position of Sarvavid Vairocana highlights the prominent role of text*. In Tibet there are two versions of the tantra, which were respectively translated at the end of the eighth century and in the thirteenth century.<sup>188</sup> The later translation is also known by an alternate title: the *Navoṣṇīṣatantra* or *Nine Crown Protuberances Tantra*.<sup>189</sup> Sarvavid Vairocana Maṇḍala originated

---

<sup>186</sup> Kimiaki Tanaka, 161.

<sup>187</sup> Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 779

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 146

<sup>189</sup> Steven Neal Weinberger, *The Significance of Yoga Tantra and the "Compendium of Principles" ("Tattvasamgraha Tantra") within Tantric Buddhism in India and Tibet* (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2003), 146.

from the older translation while Navoṣṇīṣa Maṇḍala originated from the later translation. Both two Maṇḍalas have the same function which is to purify all bad transmigrations and negative karma.<sup>190</sup>

- Vajradhātu [Vairocana], Trailokyavijayā, Jagadvinaya, Sarvārthasiddhi

The four deities, Vajradhātu [Vairocana], Trailokyavijayā, Jagadvinaya, and Sarvārthasiddhi are the central deities of the four mahāmaṇḍalas of the *STTS*. *STTS* is arguably one of the most important Buddhist tantras. The pervasive five Buddha family concept and five-fold maṇḍala structure it establishes, are crucial for the later development of tantric Buddhism. In the *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric System*, Khedrup Je specifically emphasizes the fundamental role of the texts as well as their commentaries.<sup>191</sup> He elucidates the four sections of the tantra, namely Vajradhātu, Trailokyavijayā, Jagadvinaya, and Sarvārthasiddhi as well as their associated buddha family, namely Tathāgata Family, Vajra family, Padma family and Ratna family.<sup>192</sup> In the root text, the four sections in sum explain twenty-eight maṇḍalas and each of the four sections contains one mahāmaṇḍala, namely Vajradhātu Mahāmaṇḍala, Trailokyavijayā Mahāmaṇḍala, Jagadvinaya Mahāmaṇḍala and Sarvārthasiddhi Mahāmaṇḍala. All of the maṇḍalas explained in *STTS* are based on the basic thirty-seven-deity Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, this is to say that all of the maṇḍalas are the modified versions of the basic Vajradhātu Maṇḍala.

It is important to note that the root tantra of *STTS* does not fully explain the iconographies of the four mahāmaṇḍala and their representation is associated with certain *commentarial traditions*, in which the iconographies of the deities are not entirely identical. On the lower right of the central deity, Vajradhātu [Vairocana], is depicted as four-faced, eight-armed and identical to the description in Niṣpannayogāvalī, as

“Vairocana is seated in Vajraparyāṅka and is white in colour. His four faces show white, yellow, red and green colours. He is eight-armed. With the two principal hands holding the Vajra he exhibits the Bodhyaṅgī or the *dharmacakramudrā*.<sup>193</sup> With the second pair of hands he

---

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>191</sup> Khedrubje Gelek Pelzang, *Introduction to Buddhist Tantric Systems*, 215.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 216

<sup>193</sup> Bodhyaṅgī is the mistranslation of *bodhyagrīmudrā*, which refers to the "hand gesture of the highest awakening". See more from 'Bodhyagrīmudrā, Bodhyagrīmudrā, Bodhyagri-Mudrā: 1 Definition', *wisdomlib.org*. Accessed June 10, 2022, <https://www.wisdomlib.org/definition/bodhyagrīmudrā>.

shows the *dhyānamudrā*. The two remaining right hands hold the rosary and the arrow, and with the two remaining left he carries the discus and the bow.”<sup>194</sup>

Trailokyavijayā on the lower right of the Sarvavid Vairocana, is the principal deity of the *mahāmaṇḍala* of the second section of *STTS*. As the name Trailokyavijayā suggests, the deity symbolises the subjugation of the three worlds and the completed elimination of all kinds of spiritual obstacles. The Trailokyavijayā *Mahāmaṇḍala* is revealed by a wrathful form of *Vajrapāṇi*. In the painting, it is depicted as dark blue-bodied, one-headed, and two-armed and can be easily identified because of the deity's wrathful nature. The iconography is identical to the descriptions of Trailokyavijayā in the root text of *STTS* as

In the centre (of the first *Maṇḍala*), one should draw the Mahāsattva *Vajrapāṇi* who has the colour of the brilliant dark blue lotus, and is united with *Vajrahūmkāra*. He has a face with dreadful prominent teeth, and also a smiling face together with a wrathful face. He has a bowman's stance (*Pratyālīḍha*) with his left foot forward and right drawn back, his splendour wrapped by the blazing garland. The sole of his left foot should be drawn pressing *Maheśvara* and the sole of his right foot positioned on *Umā*'s breast.<sup>195</sup>

On the upper left of Sarvavid Vairocana, *Jagadvinaya* is depicted as white in colour, performing the *varadamudrā*, while *Sarvārthasiddhi* on the lower right is depicted as red and holding a *viśvavajra* (crossed vajra) in his right hand (Fig.2.17). As mentioned earlier in *STTS*, *Jagadvinaya Mahāmaṇḍala* and *Sarvārthasiddhi Mahāmaṇḍala* have the same basic structure as that of the *Vajradhātu Mahāmaṇḍala*. The thirty-seven deities of *Jagadvinaya Mahāmaṇḍala* are the manifestations of *Avalokiteśvara*,<sup>196</sup> while the deities of *Sarvārthasiddhi Mahāmaṇḍala* are the manifestations of *Ākāśagarbha*.<sup>197</sup> Differentiated from the two *mahāmaṇḍala* of the first and second section, the *Jagadvinaya* and *Sarvārthasiddhi mahāmaṇḍala* both have *Buddha Vairocana* in the centre and the deity *Jagadvinaya* and *Sarvārthasiddhi* are both in the centre of

---

<sup>194</sup> Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 54. In contrast, Ānandagarbha's commentary describes *Vajradhātu Vairocana* in the *Vajradhātu Mahāmaṇḍala* is not multi-armed nor multi-headed. This is to say Fanhualou does not follow Ānandagarbha's commentary on *STTS*. See more from Do-Kyun Kwon, *Sarva Tathāgata Tattva Samgraha, Compendium of All the Tathāgatas: A Study of Its Origin, Structure and Teachings* (PhD diss., SOAS, University of London, 2002), 68.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 213

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

the eastern quarter of their respective mahāmaṇḍala. However the iconography depicted in the painting is not identical to the descriptions of the root tantra as

Lokesvara (Jagadvinaya) when emitting all forms (called Jagadvinaya) has the whitish-red body and hands, and holds a lotus stalk with his left hand and opens the lotus over his heart with his right hand.<sup>198</sup>

Sarvārthasiddhi (in the centre of the eastern quarter) has an image of Vajragarbha forming with his right hand 'the gesture of bestowing gems' which indicates the hand-gesture of placing on the knee with the palm of the right hand facing upwards.<sup>199</sup>

Interestingly in the painting Jagadvinaya is illustrated as white in colour, performing *Varadamudrā* in the right hand and Sarvārthasiddhi is illustrated as red in colour and holding a *viśvavajra*. It is possible that the deities are mixed in the painting or in the inscriptions, while the lotus stalk is misunderstood as a *viśvavajra*, since the depictions of the two deities are exceedingly rare and can be only found in Fanhualou, despite their prominent doctrinal significances.

- Paramādyā-Vajrasattva

On the upper left corner the Paramādyā-Vajrasattva, which is depicted as one-faced, two-armed holding vajra and *ghaṇṭā* is the principal deity of Paramādyā-Vajrasattva Maṇḍala. The seventy-seven deities Paramādyā-Vajrasattva Maṇḍala is listed as the No. 26 maṇḍala in the *Ngor Collection* and also included in the *Mitrayogin's 108 Maṇḍalas*. The whole maṇḍala structure of the Paramādyā-Vajrasattva Maṇḍala is similar to the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala as the central deity Paramādyā-Vajrasattva is also surrounded by four Buddhas: Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi in their respective cardinal directions outside the innermost palace. Kimiaki Tanaka notes that the Paramādyā-Vajrasattva played an important role in the genesis of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala and can be regarded as the prototype of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala.<sup>200</sup>

---

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 216

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 252

<sup>200</sup> The assimilation of the Four Buddhas from Paramādyā-Vajrasattva *Maṇḍala* to Vajradhātu Maṇḍala is very complicated since the Four Buddhas' colours and mudrās in Vajradhātu Maṇḍala and Paramādyā-Vajrasattva *Maṇḍala* are not identical. Nevertheless, the association between Vajradhātu Maṇḍala and Paramādyā-Vajrasattva Maṇḍala is apparent. See more: Kimiaki Tanaka, *An Illustrated History of the Maṇḍala*, 145.



- Mañjuśrījñānasattva ("the gnosis-being Mañjuśrī)

Mañjuśrījñānasattva on the upper right of the painting is depicted as six-faced and two-armed. One face is placed on top of the five other faces. Each of his hands is holding a lotus with a book on top of it. This manifestation of Mañjuśrī is not very common and the only existing example is found in Serkhang Lalung, one of the earliest Western Himalayan Tibetan Buddhist monuments in Spiti. As shown in the picture (Fig.2.18), although the two books of Prajñāpāramitā of the Serkhkang Mañjuśrī, as well as the two heads between the bottom three heads and top head, are all missing, its unique gesture of holding lotuses and the number of heads are identical with Mañjuśrījñānasattva illustrated in Fanhualou. The iconography is described in the Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī, a commentary of *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* by Vilāsavajra, an 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century Indian tantric scholar as

“with six faces, radiant like the autumn moon, with the best of sapphires in his beautiful hair, with a halo that has the brilliance of the orb of the newly risen sun, with all the Tathāgatas as [head-]ornaments, immersed in meditative concentration (samādhi), seated on a variegated lotus throne, with two books of the Prajñāpāramitā above blue lotuses held in his two hands.”<sup>201</sup>

As noted by Anthony Tribe, “the Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī interprets the *Nāmasaṃgīti* within the context of a tantric *sādhana*, one based on an expanded version of the *Tattvasaṃgraha's yoga tantra* Vajradhātu-*maṇḍala*.”<sup>202</sup> The *maṇḍala's* principal deity is a four-faced Mahāvairocana, and Ādibuddha is located in the heart of Mahāvairocana. The Ādibuddha is not the terminus of the interiorisation process in the commentary, as at the Ādibuddha's heart a *prajñācakra* (“wisdom wheel”) is visualised and at the centre of the *prajñācakra*, a final form is generated, that of Mañjuśrījñānasattva (“the gnosis-being Mañjuśrī”).<sup>203</sup>

In the other words, Mañjuśrījñānasattva is the innermost central deity of the *maṇḍala*, in the heart of Ādibuddha, who is posited in the heart of Mahāvairocana, the central deity of the *maṇḍala*. The structure of the *maṇḍala* is the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, and the Tathāgatas of the four cardinal directions are allocated in

---

<sup>201</sup> Anthony Tribe, “Mañjuśrī as Ādibuddha: The Identity of an Eight-Armed Form of Mañjuśrī Found in Early Western Himalayan Buddhist Art in the Light of Three Nāmasaṃgīti-Related Texts”, in *Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions Essays in Honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 539–68, [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004432802\\_024](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004432802_024). 547.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 547.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

their assigned directions.<sup>204</sup> The meditative process indicates the commentary is composed from the perspective of the Highest Yoga Tantra, as the Mañjuśrījñānasattva is generated from the Vajradhātu maṇḍala through Ādibuddha.

- Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara

The deity on the bottom left is Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara, which is depicted as four-faced, eight-armed and holding various attributes in the hands. He is the main deity of the famous Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala and his iconography corresponds to descriptions in the *Sādhnamālā* as

“The worshipper should think himself as the god Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara who is eight-armed, four-faced and of reddish-white colour. His right face is red, the face behind is of lotus-red colour, and the left is of yellowish-red colour. He holds the bow and the arrow in one pair of hands, the noose and the goad in another pair, the Prajñāpāramitā manuscript and the sword in the third and the Ghaṇṭā and the Vajra in the fourth.”<sup>205</sup>

The maṇḍala of the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara is an extremely complex maṇḍala. *The central deity of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala is surrounded by eight uṇīṣa deities* in the central palace, while the central palace is further surrounded by the four Buddha families of the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala in the cardinal directions.

- Conclusion

The nine main deities' associated maṇḍala in Room 4 show a symmetrical pattern: the four deities surrounding the central deity are the four principal deities of the four mahāmaṇḍala of the STTS. All of the four mahāmaṇḍala have the same thirty-seven-deity maṇḍala structure. Both Paramādyā-Vajrasattva Maṇḍala and Mañjuśrījñānasattva Maṇḍala on the upper corner of the painting have the same five-fold Maṇḍala structure; while Navoṣṇīṣa Maṇḍala and Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala, which are placed on the lower corner of the painting, are surrounded by the eight uṇīṣa deities in their respective maṇḍala.

- The Iconographic Groupings Constituted by the Cabinet Deities

---

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 104.

- Vajradhātu Maṇḍala

Vajradhātu deities are marked pink on the table and in the line drawing of Vajradhātu Maṇḍala (Fig.2. 19). The cabinet contains the Five Buddhas, the sixteen vajra-Bodhisattvas and the four internal offering deities while the rest of the deities, namely the outer offering goddess Dhūpā, Puṣpā, Dīpā, Gandhā as well as the four gatekeepers Vajrāṅkuśa, Vajrapāśa, Vajrasphoṭa, Vajraghaṅṭa are missing.

It is questionable if Vajradhātu Maṇḍala are intended to be presented in the cabinet as both the Vajradhātu and Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala have the same core assemblies of the four Buddha Families.

Nevertheless, the four Buddhas, namely Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi appears more than one time in both cabinets while Vajradhātu-Vairocana and Vairocana as well as Dharmavajrī, Ratnavajrī, Sattvavajrī and Karmavajrī, the four female bodhisattvas surrounding Vairocana also appear in the Western cabinet.

Therefore it is possible that the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala is intended to be presented while the sixteen vajra-bodhisattvas of the four Buddha Families are “shared” by both Vajradhātu and Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala. The phenomena of “sharing” deities between Maṇḍalas are very rare, but not totally unprecedented, for example in Tabo Monastery, the earliest Tibetan Buddhist monument in the Western Himalayan area, the sixteen vajra-bodhisattvas are also shared between Vajradhātu Maṇḍala and Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala.<sup>206</sup> However the case in Fanhualou is far less sophisticated than in Tabo since none of the maṇḍala is completed while what the cabinet deities are supposed to represent is actually unknown. Nevertheless, it is still very possible that Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, which is greatly emphasised in the composition of nine main deities, is presented in the cabinet.

---

<sup>206</sup> Differentiate with Fanhualou, in Tabo Monastery both maṇḍalas are represented in their entirety and deities are placed according to their spatial interrelationships. Generally the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala has been regarded as more progressive and advanced than the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, since it includes consorts for four of the five Buddhas as postulated by the Guhyasamājatantra, which will be explained in the section of Room 5. "Sharing" of the bodhisattvas, as Christian Luczanits argues, is the result of two maṇḍalas' converge and the intertwinement. It thereby emphasises the doctrinal connection and progression between the two maṇḍalas within the same architectural space. More from: Christian Luczanits, "Mandalas Intertwined: Why Minor Goddesses in the Tabo Main Temple Matter", *Burlesque of the Philosophers. Indian and Buddhist Studies in Memory of Helmut Krasser*, ed. Vincent Eltschinger et al. (Bochum, Freiburg: projekt verlag, 2019), 363–93.

- The Navoṣṇīṣa Maṇḍala

Deities of the Navoṣṇīṣa Maṇḍala are marked green in the table and in the line drawing of Navoṣṇīṣa Maṇḍala (Fig.2.20). The cabinets contain seven of the eight “uṣṇīṣa” deities of the Navoṣṇīṣa Maṇḍala, and the Chatroṣṇīṣa is missing. It also contains the four offering deities surrounding the eight “uṣṇīṣa” deities in the cardinal directions, namely Gītā, Mālyā, Lāsyā, Nṛtyā, although presented in different sizes. The four deities might also be “shared” with the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala and marked with two colours on the table. Although there is a lack of the other four offering deities on the cardinal directions of the outer palace, the cabinets contain the fifth of the sixteen bodhisattvas as Amṛtaprabha is missing. The four gatekeepers are not included either.

- Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala

Deities of the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala are marked blue in the table and in the line drawing of the central palace of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala (Fig.2.21). The cabinets contain all of the eight “uṣṇīṣa” deities of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala in the bottom layer of the Western cabinet and sculpted in exactly the same iconography, as all of the eight deities are seating on a lotus throne, holding a wheel in front of the chests on the right hands. As mentioned above, surrounding the central sanctum are the four Tathāgata families in cardinal directions. All deities of the four Buddha families are presented here although the four Buddha mothers, Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍara and Tārā, as well as the four gatekeepers, are missing. In the second palace, the twelve Bhūmi Goddesses of the eastern part, the twelve Pāramitā goddesses of the southern part, and the twelve Vaśitā of the western part of the palace are all presented in the cabinet. However, the dhāraṇī deities of the northern part of the second palace are totally absent. Mysteriously the gatekeeper of the second palace, the four Pratisaṃvit deities, namely Dharma-Pratisaṃvit, Artha - Pratisaṃvit, Nirukti-Pratisaṃvit and Pratibhāna-Pratisaṃvit are all represented in the cabinets. This is to say the first and second palaces of the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala are both fragmentary while the rest of the assembly is also absent in the cabinets.

- Conclusion

The deities of the two cabinets in Room 4 compose the fragmentary maṇḍala assemblies of Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, Navoṣṇīṣa Maṇḍala and Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala. It also shows deities of the same

hierarchical position in a maṇḍala are rendered in inconsistent sizes. Certain deities could be “shared” by different maṇḍala since certain parts of the three maṇḍala are overlapped.

### The Lower Room

- Chinese and Tibetan inscription, and the translation based on Tibetan inscription

第四妙吉祥大寶樓下供奉吉祥天母護法 柔善天母護法 增盛天母護法 權德天母護法 雄威天母護法 值  
春天母護法 值夏天母護法 值秋天母護法 值冬天母護法等像 諸如最勝大力威德神通廣邊降伏外道諸  
魔 慾界自在天母護法所限種種化身 一切眷屬等像 種種觀想經典內外秘密供像 誓戒器具皆可供奉

བཞེ་བ་ལུན་སྤྱུ་ཚོགས་བའི་གཞུག་ལག་ཁང་འོག་རིམ་འདྲི་མཚོན་བའི་དབལ་ལྔ་དམག་ཐོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ། ཞི་བའི་ལྷ་མོ། རྒྱས་བའི་ལྷ་མོ། དབང་གི་ལྷ་མོ། དྲག་པོའི་ལྷ་མོ། དཔྱིད་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ།  
དབྱར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ། ལྷོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ། དལུན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་རྣམས་གྱི་སྐྱབ་བརྟན་དང་།

གཞན་ཡང་སྟོབས་དང་རྩུ་འཕུལ་གྱི་པ་རོལ་ཏུ་སོན་ཤིང་བཟུན་དགའི་གཤེད་མར་རྒྱུ་བ་འདོད་བཤམས་གྱི་དབང་ལྷག་མ་འདི་ཉིད་གྱི་སྐྱའི་རྣམ་འགྲུ་མང་པོ་དང་།

དེ་དག་གི་འཁོར་ཚོགས་དུ་མའི་རྣམ་བརྟན་དང་། སྤྱབ་ཡིག་ བེད་འབྲུམ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྣམས་དང་།

ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་བའི་རྟེན་དང་དམ་ཚིག་གི་རྣམ་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཇི་སྟེད་ཅིག་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་འདྲི་མཚོན་བའི་བྱེད་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ལགས་སོ།

The fourth excellent lower shrine worships the images of Makzor Gyelmo, Goddess of Pacifying, Goddess of Increasing, Goddess of Magnetizing, Goddess of Subjugating, Vasanta-devī, Varṣā-devī, Śarad-devī and Hemanta-devī, etc.; Furthermore, powerful and miraculous one who transforms the enemy of the teaching, the kāmadhātu's powerful goddess, and many of their manifestations, and their retinues' images, established syllables, handbook of ritual magic etc., the outer inner and secret of their images, and various indispensable samaya objects, whatever may arise are worshipped here.

- The Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 4

The supplementary deities are composed of nine ferocious female deities (Fig.2.22). All the nine deities are depicted as one-headed, two-armed, riding on various livestock animals, including mules, horses and camels. Animals on the eastern and western walls are all facing towards the southern direction while on the northern wall, they are depicted as heading towards the western direction. The central deity of the group is Makzor Gyelmo, the Queen who has the Power to Turn Back Armies, which is believed as the wrathful aspect of the

peaceful goddess Sarasvati.<sup>207</sup> Her appearance is ferocious: riding on a mule standing above the sea of blood, the goddess is dark blue in colour, holding a club in her right hand and a blood-filled skull in her right hand. A little white lion and a coiled snake are rendered above her right and left ears. Her bridle is made of snake and embellished with human skulls. A beautiful parasol trimmed with peacock feathers and embellished with flying ribbons is illustrated above the goddess.

The rest of the eight goddesses are all Makzor Gyelmo's retinue deities.<sup>208</sup> The four goddesses in the inner part of the room are the so-called Goddesses of the Four Activities,<sup>209</sup> personifying the classification of Buddhist rituals based on the means of the ritual.<sup>210</sup> All four goddesses are one-faced, three-eyed, and two-armed, riding on mules, with the offerings of a couch and jewels on the front. In the central painting, both the Goddess of Pacifying and the Goddess of Increasing have peaceful and beautiful faces, while wearing delicate jewels and flowing silky robes, enclosed by variegated clouds with a greenish halo surrounding the head. According to René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, the attributes held on the left and right hand of the Goddess of Pacifying are a mirror of silver showing the happenings in the visible world and a vessel filled with various medicines.<sup>211</sup> The Goddess of Increasing on the right of the painting is yellow-coloured, performing the same postures of the Goddess of Pacifying, holding a golden vase in the right hand and a pan of jewels in the left hand towards the heart.

On the right of the western painting, the red-coloured Goddess of Magnetising is holding a hook and snare in both hands. On the left of the eastern painting, the blue-coloured Goddess of Subjugating is holding a stick in her right hand, and a stick with a snare in her left hand. She also carries human skin on both hands covering her upper back. Both goddesses are decorated with a whitish round pattern on the chests and wearing skull diadems, surrounded by greenish clouds on the back.

---

<sup>207</sup> Linrothe and M. Rhie, eds., *Demonic Divine*, 168.

<sup>208</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, 25.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>210</sup> Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 171.

<sup>211</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, 26.

The rest of the four goddesses, Vasanta-devī, Varṣā-devī, Śarad-devī and Hemanta-devī are the so-called Goddesses of Four Seasons.<sup>212</sup> They are also the retinue deities of the Makzor Gyelmo,<sup>213</sup> and are frequently depicted surrounding Makzor Gyelmo in thangka paintings. The group of four goddesses appear independently in 360 under the category of dharmapālas, while in 300 they are placed on the sides of the Folios flanking Kāmadhātviśvarī and Svayambhū devī.<sup>214</sup> The Goddesses of Four Seasons are respectively blue, red, yellow and blue and each of them is holding a skull cup full of blood in the left hand. Vasanta-devī, and Varṣā-devī, the two goddesses in the middle of the western and eastern paintings are offered with wrathful offerings, whereas the other two Goddesses of Four Seasons are venerated with precious jewels on the front.

Makzor Gyelmo is the chief guardian goddess of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, and regarded as one of the dharma protectors of the Tibetan government.<sup>215</sup> Her importance of Makzor Gyelmo to the Dalai Lama lineage and the Gelug school cannot be overstated. The presence of Makzor Gyelmo here is most probably due to her eminent position among all the Geluk protective deities.

---

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>214</sup> The Tibetan inscription of Kāmadhātviśvarī is འདོད་ལམས་དབང་ལྷག་དམག་ཐོང་མ, indicating it is another form of Makzor Gyelmo.

<sup>215</sup> Christopher Bell, *The Dalai Lama and the Nechung Oracle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 125.

## Room 5 Room of Caryā Tantra

### The Upper Room

- Chinese and Tibetan inscription, and the translation based on Tibetan inscription

第五妙吉祥大寶樓上供奉如是大乘秘密經四大根本內德行根本品內宏光顯耀菩提佛 伏魔手持金剛 善行手持金剛佛 黑摧碎金剛佛 白馬頭金剛佛 佛眼佛母 嘛嘛基佛母 白衣佛母 青救度佛母 其經則大宏光顯耀菩提根本經 以及大宏光顯耀菩提根本 伏魔手持金剛根本等德行根本品內所出本意佛像 皆宜藏度 是為最上福田 功德不可思議

ལྷ་པ་ཕུན་སྲུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་ཁང་བརྟེན་འདིར་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་གསང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ལྡེ་བཞིའི་ནང་ཚན་སྦྱོང་པའི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ལས་འབྱུང་བའི་རྣམས་ལ་མངོན་བྱང་། ཕྱག་རྗེར་འབྱུང་པོ་འདུལ་བྱེད་།

ཕྱག་རྗེར་འགོ་བ་བཟང་པོ། རྣམ་འཛོམས་མཐིང་ནག། །རྟ་མགིན་དཀར་པོ། སངས་རྒྱས་ལྷན་མ། ལྷ་མ་གེ། །གོས་དཀར་མོ། སྦྱོལ་མ་ཐོན་མོ་རྣམས་དང་།

ཚོས་ནི་རྣམ་པར་སྣང་མཛད་མངོན་པར་བྱང་རྒྱུ་ལེ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྒྲིག་བམ་དང་། འདིས་མཚོན་ནས་རྣམ་པར་སྣང་མཛད་མངོན་པར་བྱང་རྒྱུ་ལེ་རྒྱུད་དང་།

འབྱུང་པོ་འདུལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ལ་སོགས་པ་ནས་བཤད་པའི་ཡིད་དམ་ལྷ་ཚོགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བརྟན་རྣམས་ལྷ་ཁང་འདིར་མཚོད་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ལགས་པས།

བསོད་ནམས་གསོགས་པའི་ཞིང་ས་ངོ་མཚར་རྟེན་དུ་འབྱུང་བ་ལ་མཚོད་པའི་ཕན་ཡོན་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྲུབ་པ་ལགས་སོ།

In the fifth excellent upper shrine, originating from the Caryā class of the Four Classes of Mahāyāna's secret mantra are Vairocanābhisambodhi, Bhūtaḍāmara-Vajrapāṇi, Blue-clad Blessed Vajrapāṇi<sup>216</sup>, Blue-black Vajravidarana, White Hayagrīva, Buddhalocanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍaravāsini, Blue Tārā etc. As regards the dharma there is the book of *Vairocanābhisambodhitantra*, and illustrated through it the aspiration deities and heavenly gods, etc. explained by *Vairocanābhisambodhitantra*, *Bhūtaḍāmaratantra* and so on, which are worshipped in this shrine. As this temple causes ritual offerings to be made, the benefits of these ritual offerings to/in this marvellous realm of merit accumulation are incomprehensible.

- The Nine Main Deities in Room 5

The nine main deities in Room 5 are constituted by the principal deity Vairocanābhisambodhi, four standing wrathful deities in the central area surrounding Vairocanābhisambodhi, and another four sitting female

---

<sup>216</sup> This form of Vajrapāṇi is translated as Caryā-Vajrapāṇi in Wang Jiapeng, ed. *Fanhualou Volume 3* = 梵華樓 第三卷. 紫禁城出版社 = The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009. However “ཕྱག་རྗེར་འགོ་བ་བཟང་པོ” is the abbreviation of “ཕྱག་རྗེར་གོས་ཐོན་ཅན་འགོ་བཟང་ལྷགས་”. It literally means "blue-clad Vajrapāṇi nice walks".



goddesses, situating among the greenish mountain landscape in Chinese painting style with gentle river flow through (Fig.2.23). Vairocanābhisambodhi is exquisitely illustrated as yellow-coloured, one-faced, two-armed, sitting in meditative posture on a lotus throne with finely rendered details such as a five-leaf crown on the head and flying curling ribbons flanking his shoulders. He is enclosed in a blue and orange-coloured halo and surrounded by thick foliage and flowers. A dharma cakra is posited in front of the deity upon the water pond in front of the deity.

As elucidated in the inscription, the chief tantra under the category of Caryā Tantra is the *Mahavairocanaabhisambodhitantra* (hereafter *MVT*), in which the deity Vairocanābhisambodhi originated. The highly influential and seminal text was composed during the early phase of tantric development around the first half of the seventh century,<sup>217</sup> preceding the Yoga and Highest Yoga Tantra, for example, the STTS discussed earlier. Although the practice of *MVT* gradually lost its popularity, the transmission was still in existence at least until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as Lobzang Chokyi Gyeltsen (1570-1662), a renowned Geluk master from Tashi Lhunpo Monastery, wrote the commentary *Maṅḍalavidhi of Vairocanābhisambodhi*.<sup>218</sup> This commentary might play a crucial role in formulating the iconographic composition of the cabinet deities in the same room which will be explained in the next section.

- The two forms of Vajrapāṇi, Kṛṣṇa-Vajravīdāraṇā and white Hayagrīva

The four wrathful deities surrounding the central deity are all standing with the left leg stretched (*pratyālīḍha*) and all characterised by their red flaming mandorla on the back. On the upper right of Vairocanābhisambodhi, is the popular one-faced, four-armed Bhūtaḍāmara-Vajrapāṇi holding vajra and lasso in his upper right and left hand. He is standing on a white-coloured and four-armed dwarf with a human face. On the upper left of the central deity is a very unique form of Blue-clad Blessed Vajrapāṇi. He is portrayed as three-eyed and two-armed, holding a vajra and bell in both his hands and wearing tiger skin on his neck and loin. A snake or a string is chewed in his mouth. A small seated Buddha Akṣobhya is illustrated right

<sup>217</sup> Stephen Hodge, *The Maha-Vairocana-Abhisambodhi Tantra: With Buddhaguhya's Commentary* (London: Routledge, 2005), 11.

<sup>218</sup> Lobzang Chokyi Gyeltsen "རྣམ་ལུང་མཛོད་ཐུང་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གི་ཚོགས་གཤམ་འདོན་དུ་བསྐྱེགས་པ།" གསུང་འབུམ། རྫོག་བཟང་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན།, 3:715–56. [Bkra Shis Lhun Po?]: [Tibet]. Accessed August 18, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW9848\\_798AE7](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW9848_798AE7). [BDRC bdr:MW9848\_798AE7]

above his head. The deity is uniquely flanked by two small deities respectively yellow on the right and red on the left, riding on an elephant and a horse.

On the lower left of Vairocanābhisambodhi is White Hayagrīva, which is depicted as white-coloured, one-headed, two-armed, holding a stick, with a leafy garland around his neck. The White Hayagrīva in the solitary form is highly unusual although his skin colour and attributes match the descriptions of White Hayagrīva written by the Fourth Pañchen Lama Tenpai Nyima (1782-1853).<sup>219</sup> It is possible that the White Hayagrīva is “adjusted” from the *yab yum* form to the solitary form in order to be more compatible with the context of Caryā Tantra. On the lower right of Vairocanābhisambodhi is the Blue-black Vajraidāraṇā, the Vajra Crusher, which is depicted as one-headed, two-armed, holding a *viśvavajra* and a *ghaṇṭā* in his right and left hand.

The four wrathful deities and their associated text are also classified as the Kriyā Tantra in other complications, for example in Pañchen Sönam Dragpa's (1478-1554) *General Presentation of the Tantra Sets: Captivating the Minds of the Fortune*, the *Bhūtaḍāmaratantra* and the *Vajraidāraṇātāntra* are categorised as the tantras of the Lord of the Vajra Lineage of the Kriyā Tantra.<sup>220</sup> It should be noted that the composition of the nine main deities contradicts what Khedrubje stated about the absence of a Padma Family in the Caryā Tantra,<sup>221</sup> since White Hayagrīva, which is generally regarded as the wrathful manifestation of Avalokiteśvara or Amitābha, is represented in Room 5. Overall, the composition of the four deities of the inner corner emphasises the protective and wrathful features of the Caryā deities, while also creating a balance with the four goddesses on the outer corner of the nine main deities.

- Buddhalocanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍaravāsini, and Tārā

---

<sup>219</sup> " ཏྲ་མཚོག་འོ་པ་སྐུ་མདོག་དཀའ་ལ་དམར་བའི་མདངས་ཅན་ བྱུག་གཡས་བསྐྱེས་མཚན་པའི་དབྱུག་པ་འཕྱར་བ་ གཡོན་བན་མའི་(?) །ཞགས་པ་འཛོན་པས་ཡུམ་ལ་འཁྱུང་བ་ ཕད་ཉིའི་སྐེང་དུ་གཡོན་བརྒྱད་བའི་སྐབས་ཀྱིས་བཞུགས་ཐམས་ཅན་གནོན་པ། དབྱའི་སྐེང་དུ་ཏྲ་མགོ་ཚོན་པོ་ཅན་ཁོ་བའི་རྒྱན་དང་ཆ་ལྟགས་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པའི་ཡུམ་རལ་གཅིག་མ་ཚོན་མོ་གྱི་གྱུག་དང་ཚོད་པ་འཛོན་བས་འཁྱུང་བ།" From: Fourth Pañchen Lama Tenpai Nyima, ཡི་དམ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྐུ་ཐབས་རིན་ཆེན་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་སྐོན་ཐབས་རིན་འབྱུང་དོན་གསལ།. International Academy Of Indian Culture, 1974. རན་བསྐྱར་དཔེ་ཚོགས་ལྷ་གནས། (BDRC), [purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1KGG10237](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1KGG10237). [BDRC bdr:MW1KGG10237]

<sup>220</sup> The Dalai Lama and Tsongkhapa, *The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra*, Volume Two: Deity Yoga (Boulder, CO: Shambhala Publications, 2017), 264.

<sup>221</sup> Khedrubje Gelek Pelzang, *Introduction to Buddhist Tantric Systems*, 207.

The four peaceful goddesses, Buddhhalocanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍaravāsinī, and Tārā are all illustrated as seating on a lotus throne in the posture of ease, *lalitasana*, flanking the five deities in the centre of the painting. They are wearing the same kind of five-pointed crown and dress, with a silky scarf surrounding the shoulder. The yellowish Buddhhalocanā holding a bejewelled crown in both hands and the blue-coloured Māmakī holding a vajra are placed on the same level as Vairocanābhisambodhi. Both the white Pāṇḍaravāsinī and the blue Tārā are holding a lotus and respectively placed on the lower left and right corners of the painting.

The four goddesses are certainly not considered as yidam deities individually in the contexts of Caryā Tantra or signifying any particular ritual practice of Caryā Tantra. It also has never been depicted solely as a group. However, the four goddesses appear in the *MVT* and apart from Buddhhalocanā, the other three goddesses' iconographies are identical to their descriptions in the texts:

On his right there is the Goddess known as the great Tārā. She is virtuous and removes fear, light green in colour, with various forms. She has the proportions of a young woman; in her clasped hands she also holds a blue lotus, she is encircled with rays of light, and is wearing garments of white.<sup>222</sup>

Nearby to Tārā, the wise one should draw Pāṇḍaravāsinī. She has braided locks and wears white; in her hand she holds a lotus.<sup>223</sup>

To his right, the mantrin should draw the Goddess called Māmakī; she is adorned with vajra ornaments, and holds a vajra in her hand.<sup>224</sup>

To his right, the mantrin should draw the Goddess called Buddhhalocanā. Her face is smiling slightly, and her aura of light extends six feet outwards; her unequalled body is very gracious, and she is the mother of Śākyamuni.<sup>225</sup>

---

<sup>222</sup> Hodge, *The Maha-Vairocana-Abhisambodhi Tantra*, 108.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>224</sup> In Buddhaguhya's commentary Māmakī is further described as "She is the consort of Vajrapāṇi and she is the Perfection of Insight, endowed with the Awareness of Accomplishing Activities in nature. She holds a vajra in her hand: she holds a three-pointed vajra, the symbol that she is Awareness in nature." From *ibid.*, 111.

<sup>225</sup> In Buddhaguhya's commentary, Buddhhalocanā is described as "the embodiment of the Mother Insight of the Buddhas should be drawn on the right-hand side of Śākyamuni. She is called the Mother of the Buddhas because the Buddha Śākyamuni arose from that Insight. She is called '*Buddha-locanā*' (Buddha-eye) since the nature of the eye is to see, so it refers to the Insight." From *ibid.*, 114

In the painting, Buddhalocanā holds a crown, which is constituted by a golden five-pointed tiara on the bottom and a dark blue gourd-shaped body. The unusual attribute might be the result of the attempt to depict the group with uniformity as each of them is holding an attribute in their hands, since the text of Buddhalocanā does not specify what the goddess is holding. However the four goddesses are not a group in the Vairocanābhisambodhi Maṇḍala and they are not even placed in the same palace of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Maṇḍala. Specifically, Pāṇḍaravāsīnī and Tārā are categorised under the Avalokiteśvara Group, Māmakī is under the Vajra Group while Buddhalocanā is under the Śakyamuni Group.<sup>226</sup>

Regardless of the iconography of each individual goddess, the four deities as a group surrounding the central deity would immediately resonate with the four Buddha consorts in the basic thirteen deities Guhyasamāja Maṇḍala as well as the Dharmadhatuvagiśvara Maṇḍala. In Guhyasamāja Maṇḍala, the four goddesses are the consorts of the four Buddhas and are placed at the same levels as the four Buddhas. This is to say they are also placed at the cardinal directions of the principal deity Guhyasamāja of the maṇḍala. Their colours, attributes and assigned directions are associated with their respective Buddha families. Specifically, the white-coloured Buddhalocanā is the consort of Vairocana, the yellow-coloured Māmakī is the consort of Ratnasambhava, the red-coloured Pāṇḍaravāsīnī is the consort of Amitābha, and green-coloured Tārā is the consort of Amoghasiddhi.

Apparently, Buddhalocanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍaravāsīnī and Tārā in Room 5 are differentiated from the four Buddha consorts of Guhyasamāja Maṇḍala since they have different colours, and attributes and are posited in different directions.<sup>227</sup> The allocation of the four goddesses as described in the MVT surrounding the central deity Vairocanābhisambodhi, demotes or "recontextualises" the famous concept of Four Buddha consorts of

---

<sup>226</sup> Kimiaki, 65 .

<sup>227</sup> According to Kimiaki Tanaka, the four Buddha consorts in the Guhyasamāja Maṇḍala originate from the Susiddhikaramahātantra, an early esoteric tantra which is generally regarded as Kriyā Tantra. In *Susiddhikaramahātantra*, Buddhalocanā, Pāṇḍaravāsīnī and Māmakī become the mothers of the Buddha, Lotus and Vajra families and the mantras of Buddhalocanā and Pāṇḍaravāsīnī in the *Susiddhikaramahātantra* are similar to those in Guhyasamāja Tantra. This is to say the concept of the four Buddha consorts originate from neither the Guhyasamājatāntra nor the MVT. See more from Kimiaki Tanaka, *An Illustrated History*, 47.

Guhyasamāja Maṇḍala in the Room of Caryā tantra, and consequently accentuates the connections between the lower Tantra and Highest Yoga Tantra.

- The Iconographic Groupings Constituted by the Cabinet Deities

The cabinet deities compose two incomplete maṇḍala assemblies, namely the majority part of Vairocanābhisambodhi Maṇḍala and the central part of Bhūtaḍāmara Maṇḍala. Both maṇḍala assemblies are respectively marked in blue and pink in the chart. The Vairocanābhisambodhi Maṇḍala which is explained in the *Vairocanābhisambodhitāntra* and commented on by Buddhaguhya, is included in the *Ngor Collection* under the Caryā Tantra category. Kimiaki Tanaka first notices the cabinet deities in Room 5 of Baoxianglou consist of the main deity Vairocanābhisambodhi to Paritrāṇāśayamati and the iconographies are most closely with a manual *Maṇḍala Vidhi of Vairocanābhisambodhi* by Lobzang Chokyi Gyeltsen (1570-1662).<sup>228</sup> Nevertheless, although the two cabinets could contain 122 deities while the Vairocanābhisambodhi Maṇḍala in sum contains 122 deities, neither the Kṣitigarbha Group nor Ākāśagarbha Group of the Vairocanābhisambodhi Maṇḍala is presented in the cabinets.

The cabinets also contain the core part of the Bhūtaḍāmara Maṇḍala assembly. Four deities Varuṇa, Indra, Nairṛtī and Yama could also be "shared" by both Vairocanābhisambodhi Maṇḍala and Bhūtaḍāmara Maṇḍala. Apart from the maṇḍala deities, the cabinets contain four deities Hayagrīva, Bhṛkuṭī, Sudhanakumāra and Tārā. The four deities can constitute a very ancient grouping surrounding Khasarpaṇa from Khasarpaṇa-sādhana in *Sāadhanamālā* as Luo Wenhua argues.<sup>229</sup> However, the four deities can accompany not only Khasarpaṇa but also other forms of Avalokiteśvara, for example, Amoghapāśa or Padmanarteśvara, while in room 5 there is no form of Avalokiteśvara at all.<sup>230</sup> To sum up, although none of the maṇḍala assemblies of the iconographic group is completed, the fragmentary Vairocanābhisambodhi Maṇḍala and Bhūtaḍāmara Maṇḍala, as well as the groupings associated with Avalokiteśvara, represent the

---

<sup>228</sup> Kimiaki Tanaka, *An Illustrated History of the maṇḍala*, 68.

<sup>229</sup> Luo, 龍袍與袈裟：清宮藏傳佛教文化考察 = *Dragon Robes and Cassocks: Tibetan Buddhist Cultural Tents in Qing Palaces*, 228.

<sup>230</sup> Thomas E. Donaldson, *Iconography of the Buddhist Sculpture of Orissa: Text* (Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2001), 267

specific emphasis of Buddha and Vajra Families supplemented by peaceful deities -- the same strategy as reflected in the nine main deities of the same room.

### The Lower Room

- Chinese and Tibetan inscription, and the translation based on Tibetan inscription

第五妙吉祥大寶樓下供奉紅勇保護法，持棒勇保護法，騎虎勇保護法，騎獅大黑雄威護法，妙舞財寶天王，白財寶天王，白布祿護法，黃布祿護法，黑布祿護法，諸如善信眾生隨其所欲作大饒益護法化身及護法夫人並諸子眷屬等像，種種關想經典內外秘密供像，誓戒器具皆可供奉。

ལྷ་པ་ལུན་གྱི་མཚན་མཉམས་པའི་གཞུག་ལག་ཁང་འོག་རིམ་འདྲིའི་མཚན་པའི་དྲེགས་པ་ལྷ་མ་སྲིང་། མགོན་པོ་བེང་། མགོན་པོ་སྐྱལ་ཞེན། དྲུང་སེང་ཞེན།  
རྣམ་སྲས་གར་མཁན་མཚོག། རྣམ་སྲས་དཀར་པོ་ཚོ་འཕེལ། རྣམ་སྲས་ལ་དཀར་པོ། རྣམ་སྲས་ལ་སེང་པོ། རྣམ་སྲས་ལ་དཔེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བརྟན།  
གཞན་ཡང་སྐབས་པ་པོ་ལ་འདོད་དགའི་ཆར་འབེབ་པའི་ཚོས་སྦྱང་འདི་དག་གི་སྐྱེའི་རྣམ་འགྲུའི་མང་པོ་དང་།  
དེ་དག་གི་ཡུམ་སྲས་འཁོར་ཚོགས་དུ་མའི་སྤང་བརྟན་དང་གྲུབ་ཡིག་བུའུ་འབྲུམ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྣམས་དང་། ལྷུ་ནང་གསང་བའི་ཉེན་དང་།  
དམ་ཚིག་གི་རྣམ་པ་སྐྱེ་ཚོགས་པ་ཇི་སྟེང་ཅིག་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་འདྲིའི་མཚན་པར་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ལགས་སོ།

The fifth excellent lower shrine worships the images of Jamsring, Dandadhara Mahākāla, Mahākāla Riding on a Tiger,<sup>231</sup> Lion-mounted Trakṣad Mahākāla, Nartaka Vaiśravaṇa, Life-extending White Vaiśravaṇa, White Jambhala, Yellow Jambhala, Black Jambhala etc. Furthermore, the many manifestations of the dharmapāla who fulfil the desires and their many mother and sons retinues' images, established syllables, handbook of ritual magic and so on; the outer, inner and secret support (images); and all kinds of different indispensable samaya objects whatever may arise are worshipped here.

- The Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 5

The principal protective deity of Room 5, Jamsring, “brother and sister” is a war god (Fig.2.24).<sup>232</sup> In Room 5 Jamsring is depicted as red-coloured, three-eyed, two-armed, holding a flaming sword and a heart of enemy to his mouth in his right and left hand. Trampling on a corpse of a human and a horse, he is enclosed

<sup>231</sup> "མགོན་པོ་སྐྱལ་ཞེན" is the abbreviation of "མགོན་པོ་བེང་སྐྱལ་ཞེན་མ".

<sup>232</sup>Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, 88

by a black-coloured flame at the back. The deity's originality is rather vague and it started to be worshipped in Geluk school in a rather later period, as René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz noted, in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>233</sup> It was recorded that Jamsring was subdued by the Third Dalai lama Sonam Gyatso (1543–1588) when he was on a journey to Mongolia,<sup>234</sup> while interestingly the deity was also described as "the one and the same" with Lord Guandi in the biography of Changkya Rölpé Dorjé by the third Tukwan Lobzang Chokyi Nyima.<sup>235</sup>

On the northern wall, Jamsring is preceding two different kinds of Mahākāla, both surrounded by blazing flame. On Jamsring's right is Dandadhara Mahākāla, depicted as blue-coloured, three-eyed, holding a club and a bowl respectively in his right and left hand trampling on a corpse on top of a lotus throne. On Jamsring's left, is Mahākāla Riding on a Tiger. He is black-coloured, three-eyed, holding a club and a bowl respectively in his right and left hand, wearing a skull crown and standing on a tiger. Wrathful offerings are placed in front of the three deities, which accentuate their ferocious nature. Both the Jamsring and Mahākāla are quintessential Geluk protective deities, which were offered with ritual cakes and praised in Geluk institutions periodically.<sup>236</sup> It is worth noting that the Chinese inscriptions do not differentiate the Mahākāla and Jamsring as both of them are described as *bao hu fa*, whereas Jamsring and Mahākāla are different deities.

On the western wall, it depicts the Life-extending White Vaiśravaṇa sitting on a blue lion flanked by the Yellow Jambhala on his right and the Lion-mounted Trakṣad Mahākāla on his left. Standing on a lion and waving a trident with a human head attached, the Lion-mounted Trakṣad Mahākāla is surrounded by blazing flame, which draws dramatic difference from the Life-extending White Vaiśravaṇa in the centre, which is enclosed by luminous halos and flowers and sitting on a blue lion, as well as the Yellow Jambhala, which is sitting on a lotus throne with precious jewels and vase on front. The natural background of the painting is

---

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> Solomon George FitzHerbert, "The Geluk Gesar: Guandi, the Chinese God of War, in Tibetan Buddhism from the 18th to 20th Centuries", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 53, mars 2020, pp. 178–266. 223

<sup>236</sup> Brenton Sullivan, *Building a Religious Empire: Tibetan Buddhism, Bureaucracy, and the Rise of the Gelukpa*, 1st edition, Encounters with Asia (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), 145.

much more peaceful and idyllic: amidst the rocks near the flowing springs, the lower ground is adorned with an abundance of flowers of different colours.

On the eastern wall, the central deity White Jambhala is flanked by the three-faced, sixteen-armed Nartaka Vaiśravaṇa and Black Jambhala. All three deities are enclosed by blazing flames at the back. White Jambhala is prominently sitting on a blue dragon floating above the water pound. Brandishing a trident with the right hand and holding a mongoose in the left hand, this form of Jambhala is illustrated according to the style of Atīśa.<sup>237</sup> Although no offerings are illustrated in front of the deities, the greenish landscaped is dotted with tiny, glistening jewels. Overall, the nine supplementary deities are constituted of four wrathful deities and five wealth deities, which clearly illustrate the primary aims of Caryā Tantra at removing obstacles, vanquishing enemies, and attaining wealth.

---

<sup>237</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, 75.



## Room 6 Room of Kriyā Tantra

### The Upper Room

- Chinese and Tibetan inscription, and the translation based on Tibetan inscription

第六妙吉祥大寶樓上供奉如是大乘秘密經四大根本內功行根本品內善住世無量壽佛及十一面觀世音  
四臂觀世音 尊勝佛母 白傘蓋佛母 白救度佛母 綠救度佛母 積光佛母 隨求佛母等像 其經則無量壽佛觀  
世音大根本以及獅音文殊佛 白文殊佛 敏捷文殊佛 獅吼觀世音 如意觀世音 不空絹索佛 摧碎金剛佛 白  
不動金剛佛 穢跡金剛 般若佛母 五金剛圈佛母等功行根本等經 皆宜藏度 是为最上福田 功德不可思议

དུག་པ་ལུན་ལུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་ཁང་བརྟེན་འདིར་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་གསང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ལྡེ་བཞིའི་ནང་ཚན་བྱ་བའི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ལས་འབྱུང་བའི་བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་མགོན་པོ་ཚོ་དཔག་མེད་དང་།

ལྷན་རས་གཟིགས་བསུ་གཅིག་ལཱ། ལྷན་རས་གཟིགས་ལྷག་བཞི་པ། གཙུག་ཏོར་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་མ། བཅོམ་ལྷན་གདུགས་དཀར་ཅན།

སྐྱེལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ། །ལོང་ལྡོང་ནགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོལ་མ། ལྷ་མོ་འོད་ཟེར་ཅན་མ། སོ་སོར་འབྲང་མ་ཆེན་མོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབ་བརྟན་དང་། ཚས་ནི་མགོན་པོ་ཚོ་དཔག་མེད་དང་།

ལྷན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ལྷག་བམ་འདིས་མཚན་ནས་འཇམ་དབྱངས་སྣ་བའི་སེང་གེ། །འཇམ་དབྱངས་དཀར་པོ། །འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྩྭ་ནོན་པོ། །ལྷན་རས་གཟིགས་སེང་གེའི་སྐྱ།

སེམས་ཉིད་ངལ་གསོ། །དོན་ཡོད་ལགས་པ། དོ་རྩེ་རྣམ་འཛོམས། མི་གཡོ་བ་དཀར་པོ། །ཁྲོ་བོ་སྐྱ་བརྟེན།

ལུམ་ཆེན་མོ་བསྐྱུང་བ་ལྷ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བྱ་རྒྱུད་རིགས་གསུམ་གྱི་གསུང་རབ་རྣམས་ལྷ་ཁང་འདིར་མཚོང་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ལགས་པས།

བསོད་ནམས་གསོགས་པའི་ཞིང་སང་མཚར་རླང་དུ་འབྱུང་བ་ལ་མཚོང་བའི་བན་ཡོན་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ལགས་སོ

In the sixth excellent upper shrine, originating from the Kriyā class of the Four Classes of Mahāyāna's Secret Mantra are images of Amitāyus, Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara, Four-armed Avalokiteśvara, Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Sitātapatrā, White Tārā, Khadiravaṇī Tārā, Māricī, and Mahāpratisarā, etc. As regards the dharma there is the book of the *Aparimitāyurjñānasūtra* (Toh 674).<sup>238</sup> (Deities) starting from Mañjuśrī Vadiṣiṃha, White Mañjuśrī, Acute Mañjughoṣā, Lion's roar Avalokiteśvara, Avalokiteśvara Cittavisramana, Amoghapasha, Vajravīdāraṇā, White Acalā, Wrathful Bhurkumkuta, Prajñāparamita, Pañcarakṣā and so on from the scriptures of the Three Families of the Kriyā. As this temple causes ritual offerings to be made, the benefits of these ritual offerings to/in this marvellous realm of merit accumulation are incomprehensible.

<sup>238</sup> "ཚོ་དཔག་མེད" is the abbreviation of "ཚོ་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པའི་མངོན་པོ།" Although the title of the text the "*Aparimitāyurjñānasūtra*" identifies it as a sūtra, it is placed in all Kangyurs with the Kriyā Tantras.

## - The Nine Main Deities in Room 6

The central deity Amitāyus is depicted as red-coloured, holding a vase containing the amṛta, the elixir of immortality and sitting in a meditative posture on a lotus throne, with various foliage and flowers around his halo (Fig.2.25). Mountains amidst clouds are rendered flanking Amitāyus and between the standing Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara and Four-armed Avalokiteśvara, which are posited on the shoulder level of Amitāyus's right and left. Right below the two forms of Avalokiteśvara are Uṣṇīṣavijayā and Sitātapatrā, both portrayed as white in colour, sitting on a lotus throne above the rocky ground.

Two forms of Tārā, White Tārā and Khadiravaṇītārā are arranged at the same level as the Amitāyus flanking the five deities in the central of the painting. Mārīcī, the goddess on the lower left of the painting, is standing on her chariot driven by seven pigs on the bottom. The rim of her halo is depicted in rainbow colours, which might refer to her radiant nature. Mahāpratisarā, one of the Pañcarakṣa is depicted in the lower right corner of the painting. Notably she is sitting on a lotus that is held above the pond by a sturdy central stalk. Mountains, forests and waterfalls are depicted on the left and right of the paintings as the background of the nine deities below the celestial beings on the clouds.

The nine deities are characterised by the decorative elements surrounding the halo, as the two Avalokiteśvara, Uṣṇīṣavijayā and Sitātapatrā are surrounded by clouds in various colours, whereas the two forms of Tārā are both surrounded by leafy tree branches, while Mārīcī and Mahāpratisarā, are surrounded with foliage and flowers. The rendition might connote the deities amidst clouds are regarded as higher above the mundane world.

As the inscription in Room 6 mentions, retrospectively the scriptures of Kriyā Tantra are divided into “three families”. According to Khedrupje, the concept of the Three Families are namely Tathāgata Family, Padma Family and Vajra Family, respectively regarded as highest, middle and lowest. Each family is subdivided, as the Lord and Master of the Tathāgata Family are Śākyamuni and Mañjuśrī; the Mothers of the Tathāgata Family are Mārīcī and Pañcarakṣā; the Uṣṇīṣa of the Tathāgata Family are Uṣṇīṣavijayā and Sitātapatrā. The

Lord, Master, and Mother of the Padma Family are respectively Amitāyus, Avalokiteśvara and Tārā; while the Lord, Master and Mother of the Vajra Family are Akṣobhya, Vajrapāṇi and Vajrājita.<sup>239</sup>

The comparison between the iconographic composition in Room 6 and the categorisation of “three families” reveals the fact that no deity in Room 6 belongs to the Vajra Family. Amitāyus, the two forms of Avalokiteśvara and two forms of Tārā belong to the Padma Family; Mārīcī, Mahāpratisarā, Sitāpatrā and Uṣṇīṣavijayā, the four deities on the lower part of the painting belongs to the Tathāgata family.<sup>240</sup> This is to say the concept of the “three families” is not collectively represented in Room 6 and the nine main deities are not selected to reflect all the important families under the category of Kriyā Tantra. Nevertheless, the absences deliberately avoid repetition of Vajraśarāṇā and Vajrapāṇi in Room 5 and all the deities in Room 2, the Room of Father Tantra, since all the yidam deities of the Highest Father Tantra belong to the Vajra Family, which is a defining characteristic of the Highest Yoga Tantra. It also accentuates the popularity of the current group, in which Amitāyus, White Tara and Uṣṇīṣavijayā are included. The three deities are frequently depicted as a triad as the Three deities of Long Life.

- The Iconographic Groupings Constituted by the Cabinet Deities

• Deities in various forms

The second part of the inscription further lists Mañjuśrī Vadisiṃha, White Mañjuśrī, Acute Mañjughoṣā, Lion's roar Avalokiteśvara, Avalokiteśvara Cittavisramana, Amoghapasha, Vajraśarāṇā, White Acalā, Wrathful Bhurkumkuta, Prajñāparamita, and Pañcarakṣā, although the cabinets do not contain all the deities as mentioned. In the cabinets, there are sixteen different forms of Avalokiteśvara in three sizes, which are marked pink on the table. The selection is different from the twenty different manifestations of Avalokiteśvara in 360, as in 360 it includes the wrathful and the *yab yum* form of Avalokiteśvara, whereas in Room6, all the forms of Avalokiteśvara are peaceful.

In the *Fanhualou* Catalogue 騎吼觀世音菩薩 (Pinyin: *qi hou guan shi yin pu sa*) and 騎吼自在觀世音菩薩 (Pinyin: *qi hou zi zai guan shi yin pu sa*) are both translated as Hālāhala (Fig.2.26). The former one is three-

---

<sup>239</sup> Khedrup Gelek Pelzang, *Introduction to Buddhist Tantric Systems*. 103-131.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

faced, six-armed, with a crescent ornament on the head and iconographically identical to the Hālāhala-Lokeśvara in 360, which is inscribed as 騎吼觀世音 (Pinyin: *qi hou guan shi yin*); whereas the later one is one-faced, six-armed and iconographically identical to the Hariharivāhana-Lokeśvara in 360, which is inscribed as 騎吼自在觀世音 (Pinyin: *qi hou zi zai guan shi yin*, Fig.2.27). Thus their translation should be corrected accordingly.

The cabinets also contain two forms of Maitreya, seven forms of Mañjuśrī, five forms of Mārīcī, eight forms of Tārā, four forms of Jambhalavajra and a number of peaceful and wrathful goddesses. The strategy of presenting various forms of certain deities in Room 6 is unique among the six rooms, as they do not constitute any iconographic groupings or maṇḍala assemblies.

- Bhaiṣajyaguru Maṇḍala and Mārīcī Maṇḍala without central deities

Deities of the Bhaiṣajyaguru Maṇḍala are marked blue in the table. As one of the most prevalent Maṇḍalas for all Tibetan Buddhist schools, the Bhaiṣajyaguru Maṇḍala arranges the medicine Buddha, Bhaiṣajyaguru surrounded by eight Buddhas including the Buddha Śākyamuni as the expositor as the inner palace, which is further surrounded by sixteen bodhisattvas in the second ring and ten Gods, twelve Yakṣa Generals in the third palace. The cabinet contains Sūryavairocana, and Candravairocana, the two attendants of Bhaiṣajyaguru, as well as the Sixteen bodhisattva and the twelve Yakṣa Generals, all presented in different sizes. Even the statuettes of Sūryavairocana or Candravairocana, the two attendants of Bhaiṣajyaguru are respectively in large and medium size.

Mysteriously there is no Medicine Buddha in the cabinets of Room 6. Luo Wenhua cites Kimiaki Tanaka that the absence of the Eight Medicine Buddha is because the group appears in Room 1, the Room of Prajñāpāramitā,<sup>241</sup> although even if the cabinets in Room 6 add the Eight Medicine Buddha, it is still not able to compose the completed Maṇḍala assembly of the fifty-one-deity Bhaiṣajyaguru Maṇḍala since the Ten Gods and the Four Guardian Kings are absent. In Room 1, the inscription specifically mentions Eight Medicine Buddha as a principal Prajñāpāramitā iconographic concept in Room 1, juxtaposing the Seven

---

<sup>241</sup> Luo, *龍袍與袈裟：清宮藏傳佛教文化考察 = Dragon Robes and Cassocks: Tibetan Buddhist Cultural Tents in Qing Palaces*, 233.

Buddha of the past, Thirty-five Buddha, and Bhadrakalpa Buddha. It might also be because the group of Eight Medicine Buddhas appears within the stupa of Room 5, which will be explained in Chapter 3.

The deities of Mārīcī Maṇḍala and various manifestations of Mārīcī are marked green in the charts. The Eastern cabinet contains the goddesses Arkamasī, Markamasī, Tejomasī, Antardhānamasī, Udayamasī, Gulmamasī, Vanamasī, Cīvaramasī, Varāhamukhī, Padākramamasī in different sizes. They are the goddess of the inner palace of the twenty-five-deity Mārīcī Maṇḍala, the 17th maṇḍala in *Vajrāvalī*. The principle deity of the Mārīcī Maṇḍala is the three-faced, six-armed Mārīcī, which is actually absent in the cabinets, although other four different forms of Mārīcī are presented in the cabinets.

### The Lower Room

- Chinese and Tibetan inscription, and the translation based on Tibetan inscription

第六妙吉祥大寶樓下供奉騎獅黃財寶天王 馬王布祿護法 馬王善滿護法 馬王妙寶護法 宮毗羅護法 馬王真識護法 馬王靜住護法 馬王五樂護法 馬畢資軍荼利護法等 諸如善信眾生隨其所欲作大饒益護法 化身 以及護法夫人並諸子眷屬等像 種種觀想經典內外秘密供像 誓戒器具皆可供奉

རྟུག་པ་ལྷན་སྐྱམ་ཚོགས་པའི་གཞུག་ལག་ཁང་འོག་རིམ་འདིར་མཚོན་པའི་རྣམ་སྲས་སེར་ཚེན། ཉ་བདག་ཇ་མ་བ་ལ། ཉ་བདག་གང་བ་བཟང་པོ། ཉ་བདག་ནོར་བུ་བཟང་པོ། ཉ་བདག་ཀྱུ་བེར།  
 ཉ་བདག་ཡང་དག་ཤེས། ཉ་བདག་འཕྲོག་གནས། ཉ་བདག་མུ་ཚེན། ཉ་བདག་མི་ཚེ་ཀྱ་ནཏ་ལི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབ་བརྟན་དང།  
 གཞན་ཡང་བསྐྱབ་བསྐྱང་ཚེན་པོ་སྟོབས་དང་རྩ་རྩུལ་གྱི་པ་རོལ་ཏུ་སོན་ཤིང་བསྐྱབ་དབུལ་གཤེད་མར་གྱུར་པ་འདི་དག་གི་ཡུམ་སྲས་འཁོར་ཚོགས་ཏུ་མའི་སྐྱང་བརྟན་དང།  
 སྐབ་ཡིག། །བུ་འབྲུམ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྣམས་དང། སྤྱི་ནང་གསང་བའི་རྟེན་དང། དམ་ཚོགས་གི་རྣམ་པ་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་པ་ཇི་སྟེད་ཅིག་ཡོན་པ་རྣམས་འདིར་མཚོན་པར་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ལགས་སོ།

The sixth excellent lower shrine worships the images of the Great Yellow Vaiśravaṇa, the Horse King Jambhala, Horse King Completely Happy, Horse King Precious Jewel, Horse King Kubera, Horse King Authentic Cognition, Horse King Solitude Abide, Horse King Five Play, Horse King the Coil.<sup>242</sup>

Furthermore, the great powerful guardian of the teachings and the miraculous one who transforms the enemy of the teaching, and their many mother and sons retinues' images, syllables, and handbook of ritual magic

<sup>242</sup> The name of the Horse King the Coil described in the inscription is ཉ་བདག་མི་ཚེ་ཀྱ་ནཏ་ལི, which should be the Sanskrit or Mongolian spelling. The name in Tibetan is འབྲུམ་བུ. From Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, 68.

etc., the outer, inner and secret's support (images); and all kinds of different indispensable samaya objects whatever may arise are worshipped here.

- The Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 6

Khedrup Je further lists the three Mundane families of the Kriyā Tantra, namely the Wealthy Family, the Family of the Five (pañca-kula), and the Family of the Worldlings (laukika-kula).<sup>243</sup> On the lower floor, the central deity on the Northern Wall is the Great Yellow Vaiśravaṇa, the god of wealth, who is the principal deity of the Wealthy Family (Fig.2.28). He is depicted as holding a parasol in his right hand, a mongoose in his left hand and riding on a white lion. Although his name is the “Great Yellow Vaiśravaṇa”, he is red in colour and flanked by his retinues “the Eight Masters of the Horses,”<sup>244</sup> all dressed in armour. Each of the horse kings is holding a mongoose in the left hand and distinctive weaponry in the right hand, riding a horse towards the central deity. Specifically, Horse King Jambhala and Horse King Completely Happy flanking the Great Yellow Vaiśravaṇa on the northern wall are both in yellow colour. Horse King Jambhala on the right is holding a precious vase while Horse King Completely Happy on the left of the painting is holding a triple jewel. The three horse kings on the western wall from left to the right of the painting, namely Horse King Precious Jewel, Horse King Authentic Cognition, and Horse King Five Play are respectively yellow in colour, holding a palace, white in colour, holding a dagger and yellow in colour, holding a black jewel. The three horse kings on the eastern wall from left to the right of the painting, namely Horse King Kubera, Horse King Solitude Abide, and Horse King the Coil are respectively blue in colour holding a sword, blue in colour holding a spare and white in colour holding a sword, with a tiger-faced shield on the upper arm. All the nine deities are offered precious jewels, white conchs and corals on the front and surrounded by densely illustrated multicoloured clouds indicating the feature of bringing wealth and prosperity as well as the ferocious nature of the deity. Water ponds, rocks, and flowers are illustrated at the bottom of the painting; while heavenly beings are floating on the clouds above the deities as well as the mountain scenes in the background.

---

<sup>243</sup> Khedrup Gelek Pelzang, *Introduction to Buddhist Tantric Systems* .133-135

<sup>244</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, 68.



## The iconographic interpretation

### The integration of the Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle with the Mantra Vehicle

Despite the eight replications *liupinfolou*, the only textual information about the building are the four-language inscriptions on each upper and lower side room, which list room numbers, names, principal deities, key tantras and sutras, and the meritorious function of the the room. The comparison between the Chinses and Tibetan inscription shows that the Tibetan language is the initial language of the inscription, and in some cases, the Chinese translations are unable to differentiate between deities like Vajrabhairava and Yamāri, which are both inscribed as *wei luo wa jin gang fo*, or Jamsring and Mahākāla, which are both inscribed as *bao hu fa*. Crucially absent is a textual explanation for the unprecedented integration of Prajñāpāramitā into the “Four Classes of Tantra” as six distinct classes, and the specific numerical arrangement of the six rooms. As indicated in the inscription, the Room of Prajñāpāramitā is posited as Room 1, followed by the “Four Classes of Tantra” in the sequence from the Highest Yoga tantra to lower tantra classes. The “Four Classes of Tantra” is categorised into five classes—the Highest Yoga tantra is constituted of Father Tantra and Mother Tantra, while the Father Tantra is perceived as the highest tantric class preceding the rest of the classes, as elucidated in the beginning of the inscription of Room 2, “in the second excellent upper shrine, originating from the Father class of Highest Yoga of the four classes of Mahāyāna’s secret mantra are Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra...”.

The clear statement accentuates the importance of the doxographic method applied in the six rooms, particularly the concept of “Four Classes of Tantra”, according to which the 300 and 360 are also categorised without being mentioned it. Originally introduced by the Sakya school, the “Four Classes of Tantra” is widely accepted as associated with the Geluk school since its popularity is regarded as the result of the promotion by Tsongkhapa. Nevertheless, the interpretations and subcategorization of the “Four Classes of Tantra” varies among different schools since the concept itself is part of a long tradition of the ever-developing taxonomy of tantric literature, or “doxography” as many scholars tend to use. Originally referred



to the collected summaries of different views asserted by the Greek philosophers,<sup>248</sup> doxography in the Indian and Tibetan contexts, refers to the classification of ritual practices as well as tantric literatures.<sup>249</sup> Different criteria were employed by different Buddhist scholars at different times, while different texts were prioritised for different concerns.

The contents of the six rooms in Fanhualou aligns with the doxographic system explained in Tsongkhapa's *Great Exposition of Secret Mantra*, one of the most renowned texts which present the major characteristics of the Buddhist tantric classes as well as the difference between the category of sūtra and tantra. Through analysing a variety of earlier opinions and interpretations of Indian and Tibetan scholars, Tsongkhapa distinguishes the Lesser Vehicle and the Great Vehicle in terms of the destination and method: the ultimate aim of the Lesser Vehicle is the state of a "Hearer or Solitary Realizer Foe Destroyer" and of the Great Vehicle is the "Buddhahood"; the Great Vehicle has the altruistic intention whereas the Lesser Vehicle does not.<sup>250</sup> The Great Vehicle is subdivided into a two-fold system, namely Sūtra Vehicle and Mantra Vehicle. Both have the same goal of "Buddhahood" and the same altruistic intention.<sup>251</sup> The Mantra Vehicle which is characterised by the "additional technique of deity yoga", is further divided into the four-fold system of Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga and Highest Yoga Tantra and the four tantras are "differentiated by way of four modes of practice and four types of trainees whose abilities correspond to these four types of practices."<sup>252</sup>

It is not my aim here to fully represent and analyse Tsongkhapa's exposition of the doxographic system as the meanings and complexity behind it are far beyond the scope of this research. However, it is important to note that his exposition on doxography is not a catalogue of definitions or opinions. As noted by Jeffrey Hopkins the text is to "adjudicate conflicting systems of explication, thereby establishing a radically new

---

<sup>248</sup> David T. Runia, 'Doxography', in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780415249126-A045-1>.

<sup>249</sup> Jacob Dalton, "A Crisis of Doxography: How Tibetans Organized Tantra during the 8th–12th Centuries," *JIAS* 28.1, pp. 115–181.

<sup>250</sup> Jeffrey Hopkins, "Preface," in *The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra, Volume One: Tantra in Tibet (Revised Edition)* trans. Jeffrey Hopkins (Shambhala Publications, 2016). viii.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> Dalai Lama, "Essence of Tantra" in *The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra, Volume One: Tantra in Tibet*, 59.

one.”<sup>253</sup> Throughout history, doxography has been used as one of the principal strategies for integrating different doctrines and ritual practices within a cohesive system in order to establish the superiority of certain doctrinal development. It not only reflects how each vehicle is measured and compared within certain historical contexts but also aims to preserve unity and establish the authority of the Buddhist traditions in the face of contradictory views. The divisions of Tsongkhapa are further expounded and clarified by Khedrupje in his *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems* where the fundamental tantric texts or tantric deities under each category are explained, for example, the Vairocanaḥhisambodhi Tantra, STTS, Saṃvara Tantra and Guhyasamāja Tantra are listed respectively as the most fundamental tantra of Caryā, Yoga, Mother Tantra and Father Tantra.<sup>254</sup> In Fanhualou these texts are respectively the key text of Room 5, Room 4, Room 3 and Room 2 and the central deities of the nine main deities of the rooms are respectively associated with the key text. Khedrupje specifically elucidates the “tripartition” of the Highest Yoga Tantra, namely Mother, Father and Non-dual Tantra according to various reasons, are not a Geluk way of categorisation while in Fanhualou there is no Non-dual tantra, therefore, Kālacakra and the two manifestations of Hevajra which are classified as Advaya Tantra (non-dual) in Tantra-Samuccaya, are categorised in the Room of Mother Tantra.

It can be speculated that positioning the Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle as the first room of the six reveals the seminal function of the Prajñāpāramitā, the perfection of wisdom, as accentuated by Tsongkhapa. While the so-called Mantra Vehicle offers a potentially faster path to merit accumulation, both the Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle and Mantra Vehicle have the “same fruit and the same wisdom”, which refers the goal of Buddhahood, the wisdom of emptiness and the altruistic motivation.<sup>255</sup> In fact the Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle and the three lower tantras alone are not sufficient for the attainment of Buddhahood. This is the reason that 300 and 360 and most of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, deities of the Highest Yoga Tantra are particularly prioritised and arranged in the most prominent positions, since tantra teachings are generally considered more precious, sufficient and powerful compared to non-tantric teachings and require a higher level of spiritual accomplishment of the practitioner. As Rölpe Dorjé explains that “in the precious tantras and in

---

<sup>253</sup> Jeffrey Hopkins, “Quintessential points,” in *The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra, Volume One: Tantra in Tibet*, 192.

<sup>254</sup> Khedrup Je, *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems*, trans. Alex Wayman and Ferdinand Lessing (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1993).

<sup>255</sup> Dalai Lama, “Essence of Tantra,” in *The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra, Volume One: Tantra in Tibet (Revised Edition)* trans. Jeffrey Hopkins (Boulder, CO: Shambhala Publications, 2016). viii.

many commentaries that even those trainees of the Mantra Vehicle who have low faculties must have far greater compassion, sharper faculties, and a superior lot than the trainees of sharpest faculties in the Perfection Vehicle (Prajñāpāramitā vehicle).<sup>256</sup>

However Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle encapsulates the core tenets distinguish from the Lesser Vehicle, namely the ultimate goal of the practice, and the cultivation of altruistic practices as the path. Specifically the practitioner of the Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle aim to attain Buddhahood in order to help all sentient beings, whereas the practitioner of the Lesser Vehicle are not able to attain Buddhahood, and their primary motivation is to release themselves from cyclic existence. The arrangement of the Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle as the initial room within Fanhualou does not appear to be influenced by Chinese Buddhism, as neither the room inscriptions nor deity assemblies in upper and lower floor exhibit such affiliations. Instead, this ordinal placement mirrors Tsongkhapa's systematic exposition of the Great Vehicle's subdivisions, prioritizing the Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle's significance in contributing to the overall doxographic structure rather than its inherent superiority.

Within Tsongkhapa's doxographic framework, both the Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle and the Four Classes of Tantra share the ultimate goal of Buddhahood, cultivate altruistic practices, and pursue the same wisdom of emptiness. This shared foundation likely explains the unique juxtaposition of the Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle with the Four Classes of Tantra in Fanhualou, which not only encompasses the totality of Great Vehicle teachings but also highlights their common ground in terms of goal, path, and wisdom, irrespective of specific methods, prerequisites, or practitioner qualities. It is worth noting that the number six as referred in the “Hall of the Six Buddhist Classes”, has never been used in the Tibetan Buddhist canon or the history of doxography including Tsongkhapa's work. This is one of the most mysterious features of Fanhualou that remains an enigma within the framework of Tibetan Buddhist doctrine, which will be further explored in Chapter 3 and 4.

---

<sup>256</sup> Daniel Cozort and Daniel G. Cozort, *Highest Yoga Tantra: An Introduction to the Esoteric Buddhism of Tibet* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1986), 31.

### **Nine Main Deities: non-identical emphasises of each room**

Each room of the six classes contains nine deities in both painted and sculptural form in the exact same format. Names of nine main deities are listed in the inscriptions while the sequence of the deities enumerated in the inscription, mostly starts from the central deity on the paintings and continues from left to right and upper to lower, from the inner to the outer of the image, which is a common arrangement for deities or spiritual lineage in thangka and mural paintings. All the nine main deities of the six rooms are posited in paralleling positions, therefore Śākyamuni, Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra and Cakrasaṃvara, the central deities of Room 1 to Room 3, visually counterpoint Vairocanaḥhisambodhi, Sarvavid Vairocana and Amitāyus, the central deities of Room 4 to Room 6.

The study in this chapter shows that the nine main deities in Room 1 are Buddha Śākyamuni and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas. The combination of Buddha Śākyamuni and Bodhisattvas, the Buddha to be, symbolically represents the distinctiveness of the Great Vehicle, also known as the Bodhisattva Vehicle, the altruistic aspirations to the highest enlightenment. The iconographic composition also implicates the idea of the Prajñāpāramitā, the perfection of wisdom, which refers to the wisdom associated with or required to achieve the ultimate goal, the Buddhahood. It is noted here but will be analysed in the chapter on the Middle Room that the concept of Prajñāpāramitā is not only crucial within the doxographic framework represented in the six rooms as explained but also associated with the middle room on the lower floor. In the centre of the room, the statue of Buddha is surrounded by the thangka painting of the jātaka stories, the previous lives of the Buddha demonstrating or manifesting the ten pāramitās, the qualities or virtue practised by the Bodhisattva on the path to becoming a buddha.

The nine main deities from Room 2 to Room 6 are all yidam deities or meditational deities, who are able to encompass their respective maṇḍala and represent their associated ritual practices or canonical doctrines. All the central deities of the nine main deities from Room 2 to Room 6 are associated with the key texts mentioned in the inscriptions, as Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra is originated from the text of *ŚrīGuhyasamāja Tantra*, Cakrasaṃvara is originated from the text *Cakrasaṃvara Tantra*, Sarvavid Vairocana is originated

from the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra*, Vairocanābhisambodhi is originated from the *Vairocanābhisambodhi Tantra*, and Amitāyus is originated from the *Protector Amitāyus Boundless Life*. All the central deities, Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra, Cakrasaṃvara, Sarvavid Vairocana, Vairocanābhisambodhi and Amitāyus are the most frequently practised deities within Geluk school.

The main deities from Room 2 to Room 6 barely compose any popular iconographic groupings or Maṇḍala assemblies, for example, Five Esoteric Buddhas, which are proliferating in the Qing court and collectively appear in the category of Yoga Tantra section in 300 and 360, are not even included as main deities in Fanhualou. The selection of the nine main deities of the five rooms of the tantric contexts reveals different emphasises: in Room 2, Room 3 and Room 6, deities of the Highest Yoga Tantra and Kriyā Tantra are selected according to their ritual and doctrinal significances as deities of the two tantric classes are intensively practised within the context of Manchu court. Certain deities in prominent positions are particularly advocated by Rölpe Dorjé, for example, the Sitā Saṃvara and Amitāyus, which are closely related to the concept of longitivity.

In contrast, many deities of Yoga and Caryā Tantra are selected for their theoretical importance rather than their ritual and practical usages since most of the practices of Yoga and Caryā Tantra had already been surpassed by the Highest Yoga Tantra. In Room 4 the four deities surrounding Sarvavid Vairocana in the inner area of the painting, namely Vajradhātu, Trailokyavijayā, Jagadvinaya, Sarvārthasiddhi are the central deities of the four mahāmaṇḍalas of the *STTS*. In Room 5, the four goddesses Buddhalocanā, Pāṇḍaravāsini, Māmākī and Blue Tārā in the outer area of the paintings are deities originated from the *Mahavairocanaabhisambodhi Tantra* although the group itself is a Highest Yoga Tantra concept. These two groups of deities have never been included in any iconographic compendium or performed solely for the purpose of ritual. The images of Jagadvinaya and Sarvārthasiddhi in Fanhualou are possibly the only visual depictions that existed nowadays. Their appearances on one hand accentuate the importance of their associated texts, and on the other hand, reflect the fact that there are comparatively few texts categorised under the categories of Yoga and Caryā Tantra and the deities are selected according to different strategies in order to formulate the iconographic structure of each room.

It is worth noting that the criteria for classifying deities were not fixed or consisted overtime in the Geluk tradition, for instance, Jinasāgara Avalokiteśvara, one of the nine main deities in Room 3, the Room of Highest Mother Tantra, was identified as Father Tantra by Changkya Rölpe Dorjé in the 48<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong reign as indicated on the inscriptions of a thangka painting (Fig. 2.29). Similarly the classification of the four wrathful deities under the Caryā Tantra in Room 5 may differ in various Geluk compilations, since the classification can be influenced by the way the same deity is interpreted and understood. At the same time, the iconographic compositions of the nine main deities also show deliberate attempts to avoid the repetition of the same deity in different manifestations across all six rooms. It is mainly reflected in Room 6, the Room of Kriyā Tantra, in which the inscriptions mentioned the concept of “Three Families”, although no deity of the Vajra Family, for example, Vajrapāṇi and Vajravidāraṇa is included in the nine main deities. This is because Room 5, the Room of Caryā Tantra, includes two forms of Vajrapāṇi and one form of Vajravidāraṇa whereas Room 2, the Room of Father Tantra includes Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi and all the nine main deities in the room are deities of Vajra Family. Overall, this suggests that the main deities of the six rooms are primarily considered a whole rather than six independent entities while the selection and classification of the yidam deities enjoy a certain degree of flexibility.

## **Cabinet Deities: the fragmentary pantheons**

The iconographic study indicates that the one-hundred and twenty-two cabinet statuettes of each side room are either individual yidam deities or subsidiary deities constituting maṇḍala assemblies and popular iconographic groupings. In many circumstances, yidam deities, maṇḍala assemblies and popular iconographic groupings they constituted are associated with the nine main deities of their respective room and elucidated in the inscriptions. However, there are also many exceptions. For example, in Room 2 the assemblies of Vajrahūmkāra Maṇḍala are presented on the cabinets, although the central deity Vajrahūmkāra is not one of the nine main deities. Similarly, the assemblies of Pañcaḍāka Maṇḍala are presented in the cabinets of Room 3, while Vajraḍāka, the central deities of Pañcaḍāka Maṇḍala are neither the nine main deities of Room 3 nor mentioned in the inscriptions. The iconographic groupings of “Buddha of the ten directions”, “the Sixteen Arhats” in Room 1 and the incomplete assemblies of Bhaiṣajyaguru Maṇḍala in Room 6 are all absent in the inscriptions.

It should be emphasised again that this study shows that regardless of the spatial arrangements and the sizes of the statuettes, the iconographic contents of the cabinet deities of each room in Fanhualou and Baoxianglou are exactly identical. Consequently the cabinet deities in Fanhualou are very possibly the original contents. However, all of the maṇḍala assemblies and iconographic groupings composed by the cabinet deities are surprisingly fragmentary. Even one of the most important maṇḍala of Geluk school, the Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra maṇḍala of Ārya tradition, is not completed in the cabinets of Room 2, as the gatekeeper is missing. The incomplete and enigmatic iconographic compositions of the cabinet deities are not accidental. In Room 5 the two cabinets together contain 122 statuettes, and the completed maṇḍala assemblies of Vairocanābhisambodhi Maṇḍala has 122 deities. Nevertheless, only the core part of the maṇḍala assemblies of Vairocanābhisambodhi Maṇḍala are represented in the cabinets along with the core part of the assemblies of Bhūtaḍāmara Maṇḍala, which is also one of the central themes of the room. This is to say although the cabinet has the ability to encompass the entire maṇḍala assemblies of Vairocanābhisambodhi Maṇḍala, it includes both fragmentary parts of the maṇḍala assemblies.

The sizes of the statues also hardly reflect their places within the maṇḍala. In many circumstances, the subsidiary deities are the same size or even bigger than the principal deities of the same maṇḍala, for example, the goddesses of the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala in both cabinets of Room 2 are sculptured as the largest size and placed in the middle of the cabinet juxtaposing Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara, although these goddesses are posited on the second palace of the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala. The deities of the same group are also frequently created in different sizes. These highly unusual phenomena indicate that the cabinet deities are less likely to be used collectively as maṇḍala assemblies for ritual performance. The form of the cabinet, which is a typical *duo bao ge* or *Bo gu ge*, the “cabinet of many treasures”, is not specifically used for religious purposes but is a popular and versatile form of displaying cabinet in the Manchu court during the High Qing period. Normally the upper section of this form of cabinet is divided into open compartments in different sizes and used for housing a wide range of precious antiques and art objects.



## The overall iconographic plan of the upper side rooms

Despite the iconographic compositions of the cabinet deities being anomalously fragmentary, the relationship between the cabinet deities and the contexts of the whole room cannot be neglected. It expands the contents of their respective room by either presenting the core part of the maṇḍala assemblies or adding on other forms of yidam deities or iconographic groupings. In Tibetan Buddhism, a yidam deity can be encompassed by different maṇḍala assemblies in different maṇḍala. The cabinet deities of each room provide information about the specific maṇḍala transmissions of the deity which are intended to be included without being mentioned in the inscriptions. For example, Vajrabhairava is one of the main nine deities of Room 2 and specifically the 17-deity Vajrabhairava Maṇḍala transmitted by Kyo Lotsawa Ozer Jungne is represented in the cabinets Room 2.

The distinguished format of representing the nine main deities preceding smaller cabinet deities raises questions about the textual resources of the composition. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya first highlights the connection between the iconography pantheon in Baoxianglou and Vajrāvalī, since he notices a large number of the Chinese inscriptions of the cabinet deities in Baoxianglou can be found in Niṣpannayogāvalī and these deities have no descriptive parallels in Chinese literature.<sup>257</sup> Composed by Abhayākara Gupta, a twelfth-century Indian tantric master, Vajrāvalī explains the construction, consecration and installation of twenty-six maṇḍalas with a number of additional maṇḍalas while Niṣpannayogāvalī is the complementary work of Vajrāvalī, describing the iconography of the maṇḍalas' deities.<sup>258</sup> There is also evidence showing that during the Qing dynasty the production of the thangka paintings of Vajrāvalī based on the commentary of *The stages of practice of the rituals of the Niṣpannayogāvalī and Vajrāvalī, set out so as to be easy to practise*, by the Second Changkya Ngawang Lozang Chöden, the previous incarnation of Rölpe Dorjé, was also proliferating.<sup>259</sup>

---

<sup>257</sup> Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākara Gupta (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1949)*, 13.

<sup>258</sup> Masahide Mori, (2008), 'The Vajrāvalī Maṇḍala Series in Tibet', in *Esoteric Buddhist Studies: Identity in Diversity. Proceedings of the International Conference on Esoteric Buddhist Studies, Koyasan University, 5 Sept.-8 Sept. 2006*, ed. ICEBS Editorial Board (Kōyasan: Kōyasan University, 2008), 223–41.

<sup>259</sup> A group of thangka paintings of Vajrāvalī Maṇḍalas with inscriptions mentioning the second Changkya Ngawang Lobzang Chöden, and Prince Yintao (1686-1763), appears in the market in recent years. See more from 'Important Thangka Imperial D'un Maṇḍala Vajramrita', *Christies.com.cn*. Accessed August 31, 2023, <https://www.christies.com.cn/zh-cn/lot/lot-6263680>.

Nevertheless, Vajrāvalī is not one of the root resources of the iconographic composition of the six side rooms. Even in the commentary of Vajrāvalī, the expanded list only includes six maṇḍalas the lower Tantra, namely Vajradhātu Vairocana, Śākyasiṃha, Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara, Bhūtaḍāmara Vajrapāṇi, Mārīcī and Pratisarā Maṇḍalas, which is far not enough for the nine main deities of the six side room; the selections of the Highest Yoga Tantra maṇḍalas include a number of maṇḍalas entered on female yidam deities, for example, Kurukullā, Vajra-tārā, and three different forms of Vajravārahī, which are not included in Fanhualou. Meanwhile, the deities in the cabinet indicate many Maṇḍala transmissions are not included in Vajrāvalī, nor the commentary of Vajrāvalī, for example, the Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi and 18-Deities Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi Maṇḍala in Room 2, Sita-Saṃvara and Jinasāgara Avalokiteśvara in Room 3 and the Bhaiṣajyaguru Maṇḍala in Room 6.

The iconographic composition of the nine main deities of six room also shows noticeable differences with renowned iconographic compilations like Ngor Collection of the *Compendium of Tantras* compiled by Jamyang Loter Wangpo (1847-1914), Rinjung Gyatsa and Narthang Gyatsa discussed in Chapter one, and Mitrayogin's Collection of One Hundred Maṇḍalas (*Mitra brgya rtsa*). Comparing the iconographic program in Fanhualou and other iconographic compilations indicate that the iconographic compositions of the upper six side rooms do not derive from any specific iconographic text or compilation, either individually or as a whole. The difference is principally characterised by the inclusion of the Prajñāpāramitā vehicle and the identical format of each room, which entails varied strategies for selecting and organising deities. Each room's pantheon has its own specific emphasis and focuses, supplemented by the deities, iconographic groupings and maṇḍalas assemblies.

### **Deities on the lower floor: supplementing the pantheon**

Each lower side room contains nine deities illustrated as three triads on the northern, western and eastern walls surrounding the stupa in the centre of the room. The iconographic study shows all the deities in the lower side rooms are regarded as deities helping ensure worldly benefits, such as health, wealth, longevity and removal of obstacles. It is important to note that they are not merely “guardian deities” despite their protective nature. All the deities in the lower side rooms are “Enlightened Protectors” or “those who have passed beyond the six spheres of existence”, opposing “Dangerous Protectors”, who “cannot directly help the cause of enlightenment or spiritual attainments”.<sup>260</sup> The Enlightened Protectors are usually the principal protector of particular teachings, practices or lineages, for example, the three main protectors of Tsongkhapa, Six-armed Mahākāla, Yama Dharmarāja and Vaiśravaṇa are all included in the side rooms. Makzor Gyelmo, the chief deity in Room 4 is the special protector of the Dalai Lama. Yama Dharmarāja of Room 2 is also the inner protector of the Vajrabhairava cycle and the Pañjaranātha Mahākāla in Room 3 is the special protector of the Hevajra cycle.

Different from the nine main deities on the upper floor, the supplementary deities are constituted by deities and their retinues. The phenomenon is addressed in the inscriptions as the deity’s various manifestations, retinue, ritual books and so on are worshipped in the room. The inscriptions from Room 2 to Room 6 on the lower floor do not specifically mention the tantra class it represents as the inscriptions in upper rooms do, for example, the inscriptions on the upper floor of Room 3 starts as “in the third excellent upper shrine, originating from the Mother class of the Highest Yoga of the Four classes of Mahāyāna’s secret mantra are Cakrasaṃvara...” in contrast to the inscriptions in the lower floor of Room 3 as “the third excellent lower shrine worships the images of Pañjaranātha Mahākāla...”. The difference implicates the nine supplementing are comparatively less important and less representative of the doctrinal themes of their respective room. Nevertheless, the iconographic study reveals the supplementary deities are either iconographically connected to the nine main deities, or doctrinally reflect the functions and aims of the room. Apart from the examples of the deity as the special protector of a certain tantric cycle, in Room 3 Caturmukha Mahākāla is a protector of

---

<sup>260</sup> Robert N. Linrothe and Marilyn M. Rhie, eds., *Demonic Divine: Himalayan Art and Beyond*, 18.

the Cakrasaṃvara cycle and Citipati is also regarded as associated with Cakrasaṃvara cycle, which is the key theme of Room 3. Jamsring and Great Yellow Vaiśravaṇa well correspond to the mundane focus of Kriyā and Caryā Tantra. Overall, the iconographic correlation clearly indicates that the upper and lower rooms, which are connected through the opening above the stupa and referred to by the same number in the inscriptions, are designed as a single entity.

The only deity which is slightly out of the place is the Mahākāla the Wish-fulfilling Jewel, the chief deity of Room 1. Although this form of Mahākāla is less wrathful than the Six-armed Mahākāla and Pañjaranātha Mahākāla, Mahākāla the Wish-fulfilling Jewel is the only tantric deity in Room 1. The selection of Mahākāla the Wish-fulfilling Jewel is mainly due to the popularity of the deity within the Geluk school. Particularly he has been a principal deity of Mongolia since the time of the conversion of Altan Khan by the Third Dalai Lama in the later 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>261</sup> The great emphasis on the deities of Mongolia is also reflected in Jamsring and Great Yellow Vaiśravaṇa. The former was also converted by the Third Dalai Lama in Mongolia in the year 1575;<sup>262</sup> the latter was rediscovered by Buton (1290-1365) within Sakya school and became popular in later Tibetan art. This is to say, the idiosyncratic strategy for selecting the supplementary deities is similar to that used for selecting the nine main deities of each room, which is based on the iconographical and doctrinal meanings of the deities, as well as their significance within the Geluk school.

---

<sup>261</sup> Robert N. Linrothe and Marilyn M. Rhie, eds., *Demonic Divine: Himalayan Art and Beyond*, 90.

<sup>262</sup> René de Nebesky-Wojtkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, 88.

## Conclusion

This chapter reveals that the iconographic compositions of the six upper and lower side rooms which accentuate the integration of Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle and Mantra Vehicle are categorised according to the specific doxographic method of Geluk school. Neither a particular vehicle nor any deity or practice is prioritised since the six rooms are arranged in parallel positions and in identical format. However the strategies of organising the pantheon of each room varies since deities are selected according to either their practical or intellectual importance, while those that are popular within the Geluk school, particularly in the Manchu court are emphasised. Each upper and lower room is designed as an entity, although the iconographic compositions of the cabinets are fragmentary.

The unique features of the non-identical strategies for organising the pantheon and the anomaly of the iconographic composition in the cabinets are predominantly attributable to the exact same format of the six side rooms, which restricts the numbers and hierarchical relationships between the deities. In other words, the unusual repetitive interior structure of Fanhualou predetermines the formulas, which are then filled with deities accordingly. Each side room is not only an iconographic pantheon, but also a visual pattern of the overall design of the building. The iconographic compositions are contingent on the visual mode of the display, thus consequently entail adaptation and appropriations on the contents and organisation of the pantheon.

Interestingly the most enigmatic features of the pantheons, the fragmentary iconographic compositions in the cabinets, are noticeably absent in the inscriptions, the only direct and contemporary sources of the pantheons in the six side rooms. Originally composed in Tibetan, the inscriptions elucidate the religious meanings of each room and explain the initial iconographic plan, which is clearly designed by a Tibetan clergy, presumably Rölpe Dorjé, who wrote the inscriptions as recorded in the archives. The absence implies that the iconographic compositions of the cabinets, whose completeness is influenced by the design of the furniture, are not directly taken into account in the overall plan of the iconographic pantheon. At the same time, the six rooms can only be read from left to right following the numbering of the rooms, which differentiates from

the typically read from the centre to the sides and from the top to the bottom of the symmetrical or schematic structures in thangka or mural paintings. These unique visual features adumbrate that the iconographic pantheon, which emphasises the concept of completeness and the Geluk doxographic method, cannot be understood exclusively within the imagery tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. In the following chapters, the rest part of the side rooms, namely the six idiosyncratic stupas surrounded by the nine supplementary deities will be explored. The complex interactions between the pantheons and the stupas, as well as the benefactors and the designer of the stupas, will further explain the reasons for the unique design of the pantheon.

## Chapter 3 The Royal Invention: The Six Stupas of Fanhualou

Dominating the six lower side rooms on the ground floor, are six distinctive and sumptuous stupas, the most prominent but mysterious objects in the entire building. Each of the six stupas has approximately the same dimensions, standing at over two meters in height and over one meter in width. Surrounded by paintings of nine supplementary deities on the northern, eastern and western walls, each stupa occupies the lower side room, leaving little space for circumambulation. Thus the body of the stupa can only be observed from the corridor in front of the room. All six stupas in Fanhualou are made of cloisonné, individually placed on a double lotus sandalwood seat, which is placed on top of a white marble base. The appearances of the six stupas form a collection of iconographical and structural elements drawn from both Tibetan and Chinese traditions. A Qianlong reign mark, *da qing qian long jia wu nian jing zhi*, indicating that the stupa was made in the year 1774, is placed on the southern part of each stupa, and can be viewed from the corridor. The tip of the stupa almost pierces through the opening right above the stupa, connecting the upper and lower floors. It visually directs the visitor's gaze towards the upper room, emphasising the pantheons on the upper floor and the stupa on the lower floor as a single entity within the architectural space.

Originally referred to as the structure containing the relics of the Buddha or Buddhist masters, stupas have undergone significant modifications in terms of iconography and functions throughout history. A stupa can convey a variety of meanings in both Tibetan and Chinese cultural contexts. However, despite the prominent size and splendid appearance, the six stupas are not mentioned or described in the inscriptions of each room. The relationship between the stupa and its respective upper room also has never been explored, not to mention the religious and cultural symbolism of each stupa, and their collective roles within the building. Why are the six stupas placed under the iconographic pantheons, how did they get characterised by both Tibetan and Chinese visual traditions, and how do the six stupas, with stylistic hybridity, associate with the concept of doxography in Tibetan Buddhism? In this chapter, I will answer these questions by not only analysing their iconographic compositions and decorative elements, but also examining the unique design process of the six stupas as documented in the palace archives. By identifying how the court artists, Tibetan clergies and noticeably the emperor himself participated in the project, I will shed light on the agency of the

stupa, specifically how they engage with the viewers in the environment of the Qing court and how the stupas reshape the six classes and the entire building.



## The stupas of Fanhualou, Baoxianglou and other *liupinfolou*

To date, the six stupas of both Fanhualou and Baoxianglou remain in their original positions. The sequences, materials and iconographies of the stupas in Fanhualou and Baoxianglou are exactly the same. It corresponds to the palace archives that all the interiors, including the stupas, of all the *liupinfolou*, were based on the first *liupinfolou*, Huiyaolou, which does not exist anymore, with minor discrepancy.<sup>263</sup> Fortunately, the recordings of the design and manufacturing of the interiors and the six stupas of Huiyaolou registered in the palace archives including *Huojidang*, *Zouxiaodang*, and *Chenshedang*, are selected and published in the four-volume catalogues of *Fanhualou* by the Forbidden City Publishing House. Nevertheless the archives provide evidence that the six stupas in Huiyaolou were made of six different materials, namely gold, silver, bronze, glass, sandalwood and cloisonné,<sup>264</sup> and the change of materials according to Luo Wenhua was principally due to the high cost of the distinctive materials which could not be sustained.<sup>265</sup> E.g. in the 26<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong reign (1761), the imperial workshop (*zaobanchu*) even needed to use the gold supply from the Privy Purse (*guangchusi*) for the purpose of making the gold stupa in Fanxianglou which in sum needed approximately 3400 *liang* of gold (126.8 kilograms).<sup>266</sup> In the following section, I will compare the six cloisonné stupas of Fanhualou with the documentation of Huiyaolou, to identify the initial materials and analyse how the design was formulated, modified and inherited.

---

<sup>263</sup> Luo Wenhua, “清宮六品佛像模式的形成，以梵華樓為主,” in *Fanhualou*, Volume 4, 1334.

<sup>264</sup> Appendix. Wang Jiapeng, ed, “The extract of palace achieves”, *Fanhualou*, Volume 4, 1347.

<sup>265</sup> Luo Wenhua, “清宮六品佛像模式的形成，以梵華樓為主,” in *Fanhualou*, Volume 4, 1335.

<sup>266</sup> “（乾隆二十六年）於二月初二日為成造金塔一座約用八六色金三千四百兩，因造辦處金不足應用，請動用廣儲司八六色金二千四百兩，七五色金五百兩，七成金五百兩，均可對化，可得八二色金色金三千四百兩，實屬應用,” in Wang Jiapeng, ed., “Appendix. The Extract of Palace Archives,” *Fanhualou*, Volume 4, 1347. The conversion is generated from the Research Centre for Digital Humanities, NTU. *Measurement Converter*. (2011). Retrieved from [http://doi.org/10.6681/NTURCDH.DB\\_THDL/SERVICE/measure](http://doi.org/10.6681/NTURCDH.DB_THDL/SERVICE/measure).

## The iconographical and stylistic formation of the six stupas

### Stupa in Room 1

The cloisonné stupa in Room 1 can be immediately recognised as a Kadampa Stupa, because of its prominent bell-shaped dome sitting directly above the double lotus base (Fig.3.1). The cloisonné body of the stupa is placed right above a round-shaped sandalwood double lotus base on top of another multi-layered round white marble base. The lower part of the cloisonné body of the stupa is a double lotus base. The upper and lower rims of the lotus base are intricately embellished with beaded ornaments and each lotus petal is decorated with colourful patterns, and two lotus bases in different materials are stacked together. The reign mark is posited on the bottom of the dome above the cloisonné lotus base, facing the North direction. The bell-shaped dome is divided into three sections by two strings of beaded decorations. The bottom part of the dome is decorated with flower scrolls; the middle part is decorated with the eight auspicious emblems; the upper part is decorated with various flowers and *kīrtimukha* with bejewelled tassels. Multi-layered harmikā embellished with triple jewels is placed in between the vase and the thirteen wheels, which is topped by an umbrella with tassels. Above the umbrella, a lotus flanked by curly ribbons supports the moon, sun, and the spherical pinnacle on the summit of the stupa.

It is commonly believed that the Kadampa Stupa was introduced to Tibet by the Indian scholar Atisha (982-1054), who is the forefather of the Kadampa school.<sup>267</sup> However the stupa in Room 1 can also be identified as the Parinirvāṇa stupa, the last stupa of the Eight Great Stupas, the most proliferating typology of the stupas in Tibetan Buddhism, which signifies the Buddha's Eight Great Events and the associated eight sites. The Parinirvāṇa Stupa commemorates the Buddha's final teaching, the parinirvāṇa (final nirvāṇa), which the Buddha achieved at the time of his demise at Kuśinagarī. Different from all the other Eight Great Stupas, the Parinirvāṇa Stupa does not contain any steps between its vase and the cap. Although the palace archive does not specify the material and iconography of the stupa of Huiyaolou, it can be speculated that it was made of bronze and the ribbons on the top of the stupa were designed by the emperor himself, as recorded in

---

<sup>267</sup> Elena Pakhoutova, *Reproducing the Sacred Places: The Eight Great Events of the Buddha's Life and Their Commemorative Stupas in the Medieval Art of Tibet (10th -13th Century)*, (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2009), 61.

November, the 24<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong Reign (1759), the emperor made a royal decree that the ribbons on the design of the bronze stupa on paper were too small, and thus needed to be modified according to his own ink drawing.<sup>268</sup> Apart from that, no further modifications are made under the emperor's supervision.

The stupa in Room 1 is the only stupa with “flying ribbons,” although ribbons are not always rendered as an iconographic element of the Kadampa stupa or the Parinirvāṇa Stupa. For instance, Fig.3.2 depicts an extremely sumptuous golden stupa adorned with precious jewel inlays, which was also made in the Qing court. Both the domes of the golden stupa and the stupa in Room 1 are divided into three sections with two strings in the middle, and both domes' upper parts are embellished with kīrtimukha adorned with bejeweled tassels. However, despite the very similar features in proportion and decorative elements, the golden stupa does not contain any flying ribbons. The attention towards the flying ribbons of the stupa in Room 1 reveals the fact that the iconography and proportion of the Kadampa stupa or Parinirvāṇa stupa are deliberately retained under the will of the emperor. The design concept of the ribbons by the emperor shows similarities with the early form of the Kadampa stupa with ribbons in Central Tibet, as shown in Fig.3.3, and the design influence was also inherited in Mongolia. The emperor's adjustment of the ribbons might also imply a sense of approval or even conferral of status to the kind of stupa within the room.

---

<sup>268</sup> “乾隆二十四年 與十一月十三日，郎中白世秀，員外郎金輝將畫得銅塔紙樣一張持進，交太監胡世傑呈覽。奉旨：銅塔上風帶小了，著按御筆墨道另呈樣，再查銅塔铸造的好，打造的好？回奏。钦此。(胶片 105，案卷号 3501),” in Wang Jiapeng, ed., "Appendix. The extract of palace achieve", *Fanhualou*, Volume 4, 1343.

## Stupa in Room 2

The stupa in Room 2 is a composite stupa, constituted by various structural elements from both Tibetan and Chinese traditions (Fig.3.4). The wooden double lotus base and the white marble base on the bottom are both square. The bottom section of the cloisonné body of the stupa is also a square throne, a typical lower section of the Eight Great Stupas, consisting of a main facade in the centre, multi-layered steps on the top and a plinth at the bottom. The central panel of the main facade is decorated with a Chinese-styled illustration of a coral in an offering bowl and the multiple layers above and below the main facade are fully decorated with various scroll patterns. The reign mark is inscribed on the front-facing side of the top layer of the throne and the vase of the stupa is placed right above the throne without any steps. The cross-section of the vase is also square; each cardinal side of the vase is an inverted trapezoid and contains a mandorla-shaped niche. The four niche of the stupa house four identical seated sculptures of Vajradhara, which is sitting on a double lotus throne, holding a vajra and a bell in his hands and embracing his consort.<sup>269</sup> The bottom of the vase is decorated with a band of red and blue-coloured waves located below the shrine, and the entire body of the vase is blueish in colour and is covered with the pattern of the Eight Auspicious Signs.

Uniquely, the upper section of the stupa is a seven-tiered, four-sided Chinese-style pagoda. Each tier's size decreases progressively from the bottom to the top and is installed with eaves imitating the timber structure of a pagoda. The four corners of each tier are adorned with mini monster heads, a sheath covering for a cantilevered beam used in traditional Chinese architecture. A line of dark blue Lantsha scripts is applied on the red background of the central body of each tier, creating a visual imitation of the wooden framed windows of a pagoda.

Both the unusual installations of the four sculptures in the cardinal directions within the vase of the stupa and the Chinese pagoda as the upper section of the stupa are recorded in the palace archives: in October, the 24<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong reign (1759), the emperor approved the four "bronze buddhas" for a cloisonné stupa.<sup>270</sup> It can be inferred that the stupa in Room 2 was originally made of cloisonné since it is the only stupa that

---

<sup>269</sup> Wang Jiapeng, ed, *Fanhualou*, Volume 2, 474

<sup>270</sup> "於十月二十二日，郎中白世秀，員外郎金輝將做得法瑯塔內銅佛四尊持進，交太監胡世傑呈覽," in Wang Jiapeng, ed, "Appendix. The extract of palace achieve", *Fanhualou*, Volume 4. 1343.

contains four statuettes. In the following year (1760), the emperor approved the four statuettes of the Avalokiteśvara Jinasagara, specifically for the cloisonné stupa,<sup>271</sup> distinguishing it from the current arrangement of the four statuettes of Vajradhara within the stupa of Fanhualou. In November 1759, the emperor commissioned the mantra of the cloisonné stupa to be written by Arjia Khutuktu and one month later, he approved the mantra's design and specified that the colour of the mantra should be blueish, and the "tiles" should be green.<sup>272</sup> This record corresponds to the Lantsha scripts inscribed on the seven-tiered pagoda and the greenish decorations imitating tiles on top of the Lantsha scripts. However, in November 1760, the emperor asked to change the upper section and the throne of the cloisonné stupa's *ta du*, which literally means the stupa's belly. As documented in archives two cloisonné stupas were commissioned: one with the old *ta du* and new upper sections and throne, and the other one with the old upper section and throne and a new *ta du*.<sup>273</sup>

No records of the changes from Avalokiteśvara Jinasagara to Vajradhara were documented. From a doctrinal perspective, Vajradhara is more concordant with the religious environment of Father Tantra as he is regarded as the primordial buddha, or ādibuddha, the highest manifestation of enlightenment of the tantric systems within not only Gelug school but also Sakya and Kagyu schools.<sup>274</sup> Nevertheless, Vajradhara does not appear in either the nine main deities or the cabinet deities in Room 2, whereas Avalokiteśvara Jinasagara is not one of the nine main deities in Room 2 and on the contrary, he is one of the nine main deities of Room 3, the room of Mother Tantra.

Although the documentation is not able to reveal the intentions and logic of the emperor's participation in the stupa, it indicates that the emperor was not only well aware of the multivalent design of this composite stupa

---

<sup>271</sup> "於六月十三日，郎中白世秀，員外郎金輝將畫得法瑯塔內佛海觀世音紙樣一章持進，交太監胡世傑呈覽。奉旨：照樣先撥蠟樣呈覽。欽此。於七月初九日員外郎金輝將撥得法瑯塔內佛蠟樣一尊持進，交太監胡世傑呈覽。奉旨：照樣准造四尊。欽此。十月二十二日，郎中白世秀，員外郎金輝將做得法瑯塔內銅佛四尊持進，交太監胡世傑呈覽。奉旨：著鍍金，臉像泥金，染青髮。欽此，" in Wang Jiapeng, ed, "Appendix. The extract of palace achieve", *Fanhualou*, Volume 4, 1344.

<sup>272</sup> "於十一月十七日，郎中白世秀，員外郎金輝將畫得法瑯塔紙樣一張持進，交太監胡世傑呈覽。奉旨：照樣準做，其塔七層上歡門俱各不要，著阿嘉呼圖克圖擬咒，欽此。於十二月初二日，郎中白世秀，員外郎金輝將畫得法瑯塔紙樣一張上寫得喇嘛咒語持進，交太監胡世傑呈覽。奉旨：照樣準做，其咒語要青字，瓦片要綠的。" *Ibid.*, 1343.

<sup>273</sup> "於本日總管李裕將掐絲琺瑯塔一座安在問津前呈覽。奉旨：此塔肚另配上身，下座，成做塔一座。其現做的塔另配塔肚一件，共做掐絲琺瑯塔二座。欽此。" *Ibid.* 1345.

<sup>274</sup> Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 954

but also attempted to perpetuate the state of hybridity as was revealed on his request for the Lantsha scripts specifically written by Tibetan clergy, imitating the exterior of a Chinese pagoda. However the iconography of the stupa and the original four Avalokiteśvara Jinasagara enshrined within the stupa, barely show a direct link with the religious environment of Room 2, the room of Father Tantra. The hybridity of styles indicates that representing the conventional Tibetan or Chinese Buddhist imagery tradition was not the primary concern during the design process and different sections of the stupa could be separated and replaced.

### Stupa in Room 3

The stupa in Room 3 is also a composite stupa (Fig.3.5). The entire cloisonné stupa, presenting a whitish hue rests atop a polygonal-shaped sandalwood double lotus base and a white marble base. The bottom section of the cloisonné stupa is a polygonal-shaped Lion Throne of the Eight Great Stupas. On top of the top of the throne, there is a big central stupa surrounded by eight small stupas. The central stupa contains polygonal-shaped four-tiered steps as the lower section, an elliptical vase as the middle section, and a unique elongated harmikā, thirteen wheels and a vase-shaped pinnacle as the upper section. The vase is divided by a band of decorations in the middle, and the lower part of the vase contains a shrine that houses a four-faced, twelve-armed Cakrasaṃvara, holding various kinds of weapons while embracing his consort. The eight surrounding small stupas can be identified as the Eight Great Stupas. As shown in Fig.3.5, the three small stupas in front of the central stupas are the Enlightenment Stupa in the middle, the Reconciliation Stupa on the left and the Victory Stupa on the right, as identified by their respective four square steps, four octagonal steps, and three circular steps. It is possible that the small stupas are not fastened on top of the Lion Throne, as there are variations in different photos taken at different times of the same stupa. One picture of Fanhualou shows no small stupa in front of the central stupa (Fig.3. 6); while another picture of Baoxianglou shows two stupas on the left and right edges in front of the central stupa (Fig.3.7). However, a photo of Baoxianglou captured in the 1930s shows that the same central stupa was flanked by three stupas on the left and right sides, while there were no stupas placed right in the front (Fig.3.8).

The stupa and the statuettes within the stupa in Room 3 of Huiyaolou were made of silver, as it is recorded that in June, the 25<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong reign (1760), the emperor approved the design of a wax sculptural model for a golden stupa and a wax sculptural model along with eight small statuettes of the surrounding small stupas.<sup>275</sup> The emperor further commissioned the gold sculpture for the golden stupa and the silver sculpture for the silver stupa. In March of the following year (1761), the emperor examined the “silver buddha” of the silver stupa of Huiyaolou, and asked a lama to identify if the sculpture was “flawless”. Three days later, he commissioned another silver sculpture of Cakrasaṃvara using the melted silver of a previous

---

<sup>275</sup> “於六月二十六日，郎中白世秀，員外郎金輝將撥得金塔內主佛蠟樣一尊，銀塔內主佛蠟樣一尊並銀塔周圍小塔內佛蠟樣八尊呈覽。奉旨：照樣準做，其金塔成造金佛，其銀塔成造銀佛，得時臉像泥金，染金髮。欽此，” in Wang Jiapeng, ed, "Appendix. The extract of palace achieve", *Fanhualou*, Volume 4, Ibid., 1343.

sculpture.<sup>276</sup> As explained in the *Fanhualou* catalogue, each of the surrounding stupas houses a statuette of a *ḍākinī*. However, only the *ḍākinī* of the Victory Stupa, which is a one-faced, two-armed holding a knife and a skull cup in both hands, is published while the iconography of the rest of the seven *ḍākinī* is unknown (Fig.3.9). Luo Wenhua argues that the eight *ḍākinī* in the eight small surrounding stupas are the eight *ḍākinī* of the Cakrasaṃvara Maṇḍala, who are assigned to eight directions.<sup>277</sup> Another stupa made by the Qing court with the same iconography, as shown in Fig.3.10, is consequently described as “Cakrasaṃvara style” representing the “Tibetan Buddhist cosmology”.<sup>278</sup> The central stupa contains an Amitāyus instead of a Cakrasaṃvara, however neither the stupa in Room 3 nor this stupa renders all the eight small surrounding stupas in the cardinal and intermediate directions.

In the Cakrasaṃvara Maṇḍala, Cakrasaṃvara in the *yab yum* form is surrounded by four concentric circles. Each circle contains four or eight deities and all the subsidiary deities are assigned to either the four cardinal directions or the four intermediate directions. The most common retinues of Cakrasaṃvara are the four goddesses *Ḍākinī*, *Lāmā*, *Khaṇḍorohā*, and *Rūpiṇi* from the Mahāsukhacakra, the first circle. The eight *ḍākinī* of the Samayacakra in the Cakrasaṃvara Maṇḍala are also frequently depicted with Cakrasaṃvara as the retinue deities. Four of the *ḍākinī* who are the four gatekeepers of the maṇḍala, namely *Kālāsyā*, *Ulūkāsyā*, *Śvānāsyā*, and *Śūkarāsyā* are animal-headed, while the other four placed on the intermediate corners, namely *Yamadāhī*, *Yamadūtī*, *Yamadaṃṣṭrī*, and *Yamamathanī* are bicoloured.<sup>279</sup> Considering the shifting spatial arrangement of the eight small stupas and the incomplete identification of all the *ḍākinī*, it is impossible to confirm whether the arrangement of the central stupa surrounded by the eight small stupas is dedicated to the Cakrasaṃvara Maṇḍala.

The origin of the stupa in Room 3 remains unclear, although the format of the main stupa surrounded by small stupas bears similarities to the Kālacakra stupa, as illustrated in the mural painting of Labrang

---

<sup>276</sup> “（乾隆二十六年）於三月十九日郎中白世秀將上樂王佛一尊持進，交太監胡世傑呈覽。奉旨：將新造上樂王佛著供去，其做樣之佛著喇嘛認看錯了無錯。欽此。於三月二十二日郎中白世秀將慧曜樓銀塔內銀佛一尊持進，交太監胡世傑呈覽。奉旨：著熔化，用此銀成做上樂王佛一座。欽此。” Ibid., 1345.

<sup>277</sup> Luo, *龍袍與袈裟：清宮藏傳佛教文化考察 = Dragon Robes and Cassocks: Tibetan Buddhist Cultural Tents in Qing Palaces*, 133.

<sup>278</sup> Luo Wenhua, “金累絲嵌珠寶塔=Gold Silk Inlaid Jewellery Pagoda,” *dpm.org.cn*, Accessed August 31, 2023, <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/tinware/232554.html>.

<sup>279</sup> Huntington and Bangdel, *The Circle of Bliss*, 244.



Monastery and as constructed in the Kumbum Monastery (Fig.3.11). However, it's important to note that each of the steps of the Kālacakra stupa contains shrines in the four cardinal directions, while the small subsidiary stupas are not placed on the same platform as the central stupa.

## Stupa in Room 4

The stupa in room 4 is a miniature of a Chinese tower-pavilion-style pagoda in three tiers (Fig.3.12). The bottom part of the cloisonné stupa is a double lotus base, with lotus petals illustrated upon it. The upper part of the cloisonné body is intricately made to imitate the timber-frame structure. The ground tier is four-sided and contains four shrines in the cardinal directions and the reign mark of the stupa is placed on the front-facing side of the roof beam above the central shrine on the ground tier. Above the double eaves, the octagon-shaped middle tier contains two shrines installed on the northern and southern sides. By contrast, the top floor is circular and only one shrine is placed in the southern part, facing towards the viewer. The three-layered eaves on the top floor are also circular, topped by a vase-shaped pinnacle.

The pagoda houses seven statuettes within the seven shrines and the statuettes can be identified as the Seven Medicine Buddha according to their specific mudrās (Fig.3.13). The positioning of the Seven Medicine Buddha within the stupa of Room 4 is documented in the palace archives as particularly under the emperor's royal decree, as in the 25<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong Reign (1761), the emperor granted the design of the sandalwood stupas according to the *liuli* stupa in Fahuisi Temple after his viewings of the stupa model in Yangxindian (Hall of Mental Cultivation Palace) and he further asked to place the Seven Medicine Buddha inside the pagoda.<sup>280</sup> The stupa in Room 4 is the only stupa containing seven statuettes, it thus can be inferred that the predecessor of the stupa in Room 4 was made of sandalwood.

The *liuli* stupa in Fahuisi Temple (Wisdom of the Buddhist Law Temple), as mentioned in the archives, is not a wooden stupa but a coloured glaze pagoda. It is located in Changchunyuan (Eternal Spring Garden), where Fanxianglou, the second *liupinfolou* was situated. The royal garden of Changchunyuan is an expansion of Yuanmingyuan and was constructed as the retirement home of the emperor Qianlong.<sup>281</sup>

According to the research by Young-tsu Wong, the *liuli* Fahuisi pagoda is originally 73.5 feet tall and sits on

---

<sup>280</sup> "於六月初一日郎中白世秀，員外郎金輝來說，太監胡世傑傳旨，現在另做紫檀木塔，仍按此尺寸照法慧寺琉璃塔樣款一樣成做，先呈樣。欽此"。"於六月二十四日，郎中白世秀，員外郎金輝將照琉璃塔做紫檀木塔樣安在養心殿呈覽。奉旨，照樣準做，上供藥師佛七尊，欽此。" in Wang Jiapeng, ed, "Appendix. The extract of palace achieve", *Fanhualou*, Volume 4, 1344.

<sup>281</sup> Young-tsu Wong, *A Paradise Lost: The Imperial Garden Yuanming Yuan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000). 51

a large white jade terrace.<sup>282</sup> A photograph taken in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century shows that the pagoda was covered entirely by bas-reliefs. Each of the three tiers of the pagoda was octagonal shaped and contained four Buddhist shrines (Fig.3.14).

Qianlong emperor constructed several glazed pagodas of a similar style that served as prominent landmarks in his gardens. One of these pagodas, the Huachengge Pagoda located in Qingyiyuan (Summer Palace), remains in its original position to this day (Fig.3.15). This kind of structure was referred to as *duo bao liu li ta*, owing to their coloured glaze tiles and conceptual association with the *duo bao fo*, “many treasures Buddha,” or the Prabhūtaratna, as in the stele of the Chenghuage pagoda, the eulogy written by Qianlong emperor declares, “wherever the Lotus Sutra is preached, the treasure pagoda will rise up.”<sup>283</sup>

The comparison between the Fahuisi pagoda, the Chenghuage pagoda and the pagoda in Room 4 reveals that the latter is not an exact replication of the original model, even though it was recorded as made in the style of the Fahuisi pagoda. This difference is primarily due to the fact that the interior of the Fahuisi stupa was neither a timber-frame structure nor designed with accessible shrines. A series of adjustments were specifically needed in order to accommodate the placements of the statuettes of the Seven Medicine Buddhas within the wooden tower-pavilion-style structure. The attempt is amplified by the special placement of the reign mark above the roof beam above the central shrine of one Buddha, imitating the horizontal plaque in Chinese tradition dedicated to inscribing the name of the architecture.

It is important to stress that although the Seven Medicine Buddha is extremely popular in both Mahāyāna and Vajrayana contexts, the tantric transmissions of the Seven Medicine Buddha are normally categorised under the Kriyā Tantra instead of Yoga Tantra. Nevertheless, the Seven Medicine Buddha is occasionally depicted as dwelling within his celestial palace. In early Mahāyāna tradition, Medicine Buddha is believed to be dwelling in his own mystical paradise named Vaidūryanirbhāsa or Pure Lapis Lazuli in the remote east, where sickness is exterminated.<sup>284</sup> In the Tibetan tradition, the Medicine Buddha is also frequently depicted

---

<sup>282</sup> Ibid. 54

<sup>283</sup> “若在在处处有说法华者宝塔皆涌出,” In Qianlong, “御制万寿山多宝佛塔颂,” in *欽定日下旧闻考 (四库全书本)/卷 084*, ed. 于敏中, Accessed August 1, 2023, [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/wiki/欽定日下舊聞考\\_\(四庫全書本\)](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/wiki/欽定日下舊聞考_(四庫全書本)).

<sup>284</sup> Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 109.

in a three-tiered pavilion, as shown in Fig.3.16, a thangka from Hahn Cultural Foundation, the Seven Medicine Buddhas which perform their respective mudrās, are allocated in the compartments of the architecture while the Śākyamuni flanked by Sūryaprabha and Candraprabhā is illustrated in the centre. The unusual placement of the Seven Medicine Buddha in the pagoda of Room 4 might be related to the pictorial tradition of the Medicine Buddha's celestial palace, although no visual or textual evidence can further demonstrate this hypothesis.

## Stupa in Room 5

The stupa in room 5 is a composite stupa (Fig.3.17). The cross sections of all parts of this stupa are hexagonal. The lower part of the cloisonné body of the stupa is the Lion Throne of the Eight Great Stupa. On top of the cap of the throne, there are in total nine steps, each progressively decreasing in size from the bottom to the top. The reign mark is placed on the front-facing side of the highest step. Atop the nine steps sits a miniature Liao dynasty-styled Chinese pagoda, characterized by a hexagonal prism at the bottom and eleven tiers above it, with a jewel-like pinnacle at its apex. Each tier also decreases in size progressively from the bottom to the top. A band featuring the *wan* motif is rendered on the second eave, possibly intended to imitate the balcony of a traditional pagoda.

Each face of the hexagonal prism includes a small niche, each of which contains a glass painting of the goddess Mārīci in her three-faced, eight-armed manifestation (Fig.3.18). Surrounded by a luminous halo, she is sitting on a red chariot drawn by seven pigs and supported by a grotesque deity underneath, that is most likely Rāhu, the charioteer of the sun.<sup>285</sup> Above the scene of Mārīci, five parinirvāṇa stupas are depicted on top of an architectural frame. The six paintings are applied to the inner surface of the glass, and the background of the paintings is coated with mercury creating a mirror-like effect.<sup>286</sup> The combination of the gleaming surface and the transparency of the materials enhances the goddess's sublime nature. As her name, Mārīci indicates she is the goddess of the light and is believed to banish darkness and connect to the sun-rise.

In Tibetan Buddhist art, Mārīci is frequently depicted within a stupa, as shown by a thangka brought to Beijing by the Sixth Paṇchen Lama in 1780 (Fig.3.19). In this thangka a five-faced, ten-armed standing Mārīci occupies the vase of the stupa, which is topped by the upper section of the Eight Great Stupa. As an emanation and consort of Vairocana, Mārīci is always believed to reside in the womb of a Caitya, since Vairocana is the lord of the sanctum of the temple or the stupa.<sup>287</sup> However, Mārīci is not associated with any specific type of stupa or pagoda, for example, the sculpture of Mārīci also made by the imperial workshop sculpture of the Qing court is rendered as standing within an Enlightenment Stupa (Fig.3.20).

---

<sup>285</sup> Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 533,

<sup>286</sup> Wang Jiapeng, ed, *Fanhualou Volume 3*, 1008.

<sup>287</sup> Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 206.

As documented by the palace archives, the stupa in Room 5 of Huiyaolou was made of glass and the original model of the glass stupa had thirteen steps. In April, the 25<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong reign after the emperor viewed the "wooden model of the glass stupa", he decided to change the original thirteen steps to nine steps.<sup>288</sup> A month later, the emperor authorised the use of the materials from stock for the "hexagonal glass stupa",<sup>289</sup> and commissioned the glass paintings by Ding Guanpeng.<sup>290</sup> No reason for the changes in the number of steps is recorded, although the modification reflects the emperor's particular attention to the steps, which elevate the paintings of Mārīci at the centre of the room, approximately at the same level as the supplementary deities and much higher above the offering tables.

---

<sup>288</sup> “於二十五年四月初一日郎中白世秀，員外郎金輝將玻璃木樣持進，交太監胡世傑呈覽。奉旨：照樣準做，包角壓邊處要銅鍍金的，其十三層改做九層，塔頂並下座牙子著做紅玻璃的，欽此。” In Wang Jiapeng, ed, “Appendix. The extract of palace achieve,” *Fanhualou Volume 4*, 1343.

<sup>289</sup> “於五月初三郎中白世秀，員外郎金輝將六方玻璃塔一座，將挑得庫存有錫玻璃畫得墨道呈覽。奉旨：准用庫存有錫玻璃。” *Ibid.*, 1343.

<sup>290</sup> “其玻璃塔內佛著丁觀鵬畫。” *Ibid.*, 1344.

## Stupa in Room 6

The stupa in room 6 is a typical Victory Stupa, one of the Eight Great Stupas. This form of the stupa is characterised by the three circular steps at the bottom of the vase of the stupa (Fig.3.21). The sandalwood double lotus base and the white marble base are both square. The bottom part of the cloisonné body is the Lion Throne, with a pair of lions flanking a crossed vajra on the main facade. The reign mark is positioned on the front-facing side of the top layer of the throne. Both the three circular steps and the Thirteen Wheels on top of the vase are embellished with dark blue dhāraṇī in the Lantssha scripts. The vase of the stupa is entirely covered with scrolled lotus flowers and a band of beads on its shoulders.

The vase of the stupa contains a shrine that houses the statue of Uṣṇīṣavijayā in her most common three-faced and eight-armed form, sitting on a double lotus throne. The iconography of the sculpture is exactly the same as the painting of Uṣṇīṣavijayā as one of the nine main deities in the same room. Historically, Uṣṇīṣavijayā has always been depicted within a stupa or stupa-like architectural framework in both Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist spheres. The earliest recording of the connection between the goddess and stupa can be found in a seventh-century text, the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā Dhāraṇī Sūtra*, which states that Uṣṇīṣavijayā dwells in the womb of a Caitya since she is an emanation of Vairocana, who also resides within the stupa.<sup>291</sup>

It is interesting to note that Uṣṇīṣavijayā and the Victory Stupa share the same name in the Chinese language, known as *zun sheng fo mu*, the goddess of *zun sheng*, and *zun sheng ta*, the stupa of *zun sheng*, and both of them have the connotation of longevity, although they are not iconographically associated. Along with White Tārā and Amitāyus, Uṣṇīṣavijayā is one of the "three deities of the Long life", while the Victory Stupa was built to commemorate the event when the historical Buddha agreed to extend his life for three months in Vaiśālī. The symbolism of the Victory Stupa has received significant acclaim and recognition in the Qing court; for example, four years after the stupa in room 6 of Fanhualou was created (1777), the Qianlong emperor commissioned a gold Victory stupa to commemorate his mother's passing away (Fig.3.22). The iconography, proportions and decorative patterns of both stupas are very similar. Both the Lion Thrones are

---

<sup>291</sup> Natasha Kimmet and Kozicz Gerald, "Ushnishavijaya: On the Relationship Between a Buddhist Deity and Her Architectural Framework in Ladakh," *Orientalia* 43, no. 5 (2012): 44–52, 45.

embellished with a lion flanking a cross vajra, and the thirteen wheels are both decorated with a mantra in Lantsha scripts. Nevertheless, instead of Uṣṇīṣavijayā, the gold stupa houses a sculpture of Amitābha within the *go khyim*, the small niche within the vase of the stupa, along with the hair of the Queen Mother.



## **The connection between the six stupas and the six classes**

The close examinations above reveal that the six stupas can be categorised into two major styles: the stupa in Room 1, Room 3 and Room 6 are typical Tibetan stupas, whereas the stupas in Room 4 and Room 5 by contrast are Chinese-style pagodas. Specifically, the stupas in Room 1 and Room 6 are the Kadampa stupa or Parinirvāṇa stupa and the Victory stupa, one of the Eight Great Stupas. The stupa in Room 2 is a composite stupa featuring a seven-tiered pagoda as the upper part, resting on top of an Eight Great Stupa's vase and Lion Throne. A rather striking fact is that the iconography of each stupa does not directly reflect the religious environment of its respective room. The Parinirvāṇa stupa, which commemorates the final teaching of the Buddha, is not directly linked with Prajñāpāramitā; the composite four-sided stupa with a seven-tiered pagoda on top is not associated with Father Tantra; the composite stupa with the main stupa surrounded by Eight Great Stupas is not exclusively designed for Cakrasaṃvara of Mother Tantra; while the pavilion styled pagoda, the elevated hexagonal pagoda and the Victory Stupa are not directly related to Yoga, Caryā and Kriyā Tantra.

The correlations between the stupas and their respective rooms are primarily reflected through the Buddhist icons displayed within the stupas. Except for Room 1, where no deities are exhibited in the stupa, the stupas in Room 2 to Room 6 respectively contain Vajradhara, Cakrasaṃvara and eight ḍākinīs, Seven Medicine Buddhas, Mārīci and Uṣṇīṣavijayā. None of the deities is particularly associated with the iconography of the respective stupa, whereas most of these deities are concordant with the religious contents of their respective rooms: Vajradhara and Cakrasaṃvara are deities of Father and Mother Tantra; Mārīci and Uṣṇīṣavijayā are well suited in the rooms of Caryā and Kriyā Tantra.

The only iconographic group that is out of place is the Seven Medicine Buddhas in the three-tiered pavilion-like stupa in Room 4, the Room of Yoga Tantra, since Medicine Buddha is normally categorised under the Sutrā or Kriyā Tantra in Kanjur. The group is mentioned in the inscriptions of Room 1, the room of Prajñāpāramitā, as one of the key iconographic groups, although the group is actually absent in the two cabinets of Room 1. Similarly, the secondary deities of the maṇḍala assemblies of the Bhaisajyaguru Maṇḍala are also displayed in Room 6, the Room of Kriyā Tantra, although the eight medicine buddha does not appear in the cabinet. This deliberate absence of the Medicine Buddhas in Room 1 and Room 6, could be an attempt to avoid repetition, as the group of Medicine Buddhas are primarily designed within the stupa of Room 4, specifically under the emperor's command. Qianlong's particular favour of the group is also

reflected in the palace archives, as the term “the Seven Medicine Buddhas” was mentioned by the emperor when the set of sculptures was commissioned. In comparison, the gold sculpture of Uṣṇīṣavijayā, the silver sculpture of Cakrasaṃvara, and the paintings of Mārīci were only recorded by their materials instead of their iconographies.

The only stupa with no deities exhibited is the stupa of Room 1, the Parinirvāṇa stupa. It is important to note that in the Qing court, a Parinirvāṇa stupa can have a *go khyim*, a small niche within the vase of the stupa, for example, the gold stupa lavishly embellished with precious stones as shown in Fig. 3.2. The absence of central deities in the stupa draws attention to the iconography of the Parinirvāṇa stupa itself, and accentuates the differentiation between the religious contents of Room 1 and the rest of the building. I speculate that the specific design aims to make a hint of the deity yoga, or the devatāyoga, which Tsongkhapa views as the key feature differentiating the Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle and the Mantra Vehicle. As explained in the previous chapter, in the *Great Exposition of Secret Mantra*, Tsongkhapa intricately explains the doxographic division of the two vehicles and elucidates their commonality in terms of “the goal, wisdom of emptiness and altruistic motivations”<sup>292</sup>, and he clarifies that the profound distinction between the two vehicles is the deity yoga, which involves imagining oneself presently and physically as the deity, or the ideal, altruistically active being. Jeffery Hopkins further summarises the distinction as, “in Mantra there is meditation in which one meditates on one’s body as similar in aspect to a Buddha’s Form Body, whereas in the Sūtra Great Vehicle there is no such meditation”<sup>293</sup>.

Although it is much beyond the scope of this research to discuss the meaning and features of the deity yoga, it is still worth stressing that according to Tsongkhapa, the deity yoga is a distinctive feature of Tantra and it occurs in all Four Classes of Tantra.<sup>294</sup> Hence when considering the Kadampa stupa or the Parinirvāṇa stupa within the group of the six stupas, the plain and untouched iconography of the stupa in Room 1 may be more metaphorical and beyond merely symbolising the passing away of the Buddha or associating with Atisha, and it might signify the non-existence of deity yoga within the context of Prajñāpāramitā Vehicle. However, does it mean that the Parinirvāṇa stupa can be replaced by other stupas or the iconography of the rest of the five stupas can be switched, altered or replaced if the Buddhist icons within the centre of the stupa remain in the room? Why are the six stupas distinctive in iconographies and styles, if their connections are solely

---

<sup>292</sup> Jeffrey Hopkins, “Supplement,” in *The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra, Volume One: Tantra in Tibet* (Revised Edition), trans. Jeffrey Hopkins (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2016), 168.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

reflected through the deities exhibited within? And why do the six stupas associated with the six classes represent both Tibetan and Chinese stupa/pagoda visual characters? These questions cannot be answered without further examining how the diversified representational modes were selected and formulated throughout the process of creating the stupas.

## Qianlong's involvement

Despite their distinctive appearances and hybridity of Tibetan and Chinese styles, it is important to note that the six stupas were initially designed as a group, noticeably under Qianlong's command. In the 24<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong reign (1759) during the preparation of the first *liupinfolou*, Huiyaolou, the emperor viewed the design drawing on paper of a gold stupa, and finalised the installations of all six stupas on top of the sandalwood lotus base, resting on a white marble base, with uniform height "as tall as the bronze stupa", and made of six different materials, namely gold, silver, bronze, glass, cloisonné and sandalwood.<sup>295</sup> Qianlong further commanded that the shapes of the stupas need to be differentiated, with "lamas" designing the stupas in square, hexagon and circle shapes. All the stupas in the archives are documented according to their specific materials, rather than their respective room numbers or stylistic features. Upon analysis, the stupas in Huiyaolou from Room 1 to Room 6 are made of bronze, cloisonné, silver, wood, glass and gold. The change of materials from the initial design to cloisonné implies that the materials do not play essential roles in constructing the symbolic meaning of the stupas, although the appearances of the six cloisonné stupas in Fanhualou partially reflect the materials of their predecessors, with the stupa in Room 3 and Room 6 presenting a silver and golden hue respectively; the stupa in Room 4 intricately imitating the timber frame structure; and the stupa in Room 5 contains six paintings on glass.

Before delving into the intentions of the emperor and the logic behind his decision-making in formulating the six stupas as a unified group with distinctive materials, iconography, and styles, it is important to stress the emperor's constant presence and decisive role throughout the design and constructing process of the stupas, as evident from the study above. The emperor not only served as the commissioner and viewer but also actively collaborated with the Tibetan clergies and designers, contributing a significant amount of time and effort to their design and manufacture. His active participation included tasks such as approving, modifying, and commissioning design details, which is in contrast to his limited involvement in creating the pantheons on the upper floor, where he solely focused on supervising the aesthetic qualities of the sculptures. His endeavours are not immediately visible, although it is obvious that the sumptuous cost, the gigantic volume, the conspicuous appearances, as well as the mix of artistic styles of the stupas are not possibly achieved without imperial support and contentment. Throughout the process, Qianlong frequently sought approval

---

<sup>295</sup> “乾隆二十四年二月分大器作）於十月十九日郎中白世秀，員外郎金輝將畫得金塔罩紙樣香几一張持進，交太監胡世傑呈覽。奉旨：不必配罩，著照灑沙子石座樣配石座，石座上配紫檀木座，座上安金塔，要與銅塔一般高，再做銀塔，銅塔一座，玻璃塔一座，掐絲琺瑯塔一座，紫檀木塔一座，著喇嘛擬四方，六方，圓的樣式，俱照金塔一樣高成做，得時在慧曜樓供。欽此。” In Wang Jiapeng, ed., “Appendix. The extract of palace achieve”, *Fanhualou*, Volume 4, 1342.

from the Tibetan lamas, which included the Arjia Khutuktu, on the group's initial design as mentioned earlier, as well as the decorative elements, the iconography of the statues displayed within and the iconography of the stupa itself. Certain statues of the stupa were also asked to be confirmed, for example, as documented that the iconography of the Cakrasamvara sculpture within the silver stupa was specifically requested to be checked by the Tibetan lama. The mantra inscribed on the cloisonné stupa (the stupa in Room 2) was also commanded by the emperor to be written by “Tibetan lamas”.

However, most of the decision makings of Qianlong were conducted without the consultancy of the Tibetan clergies. Through the process of creating the stupa, Qianlong revealed his excellent expertise and strong aesthetic tastes: the painting of Mārīci was commissioned to be illustrated by Ding Guanpeng and the craftsmanship of tin-mercury techniques was specified to be used for the mirror paintings. Even the materials of the white jade for the sun and moon of the pinnacle of the gold stupa in Room 6, were commended by the emperor to be requested from Wish-Fulfilling Studio (Ruyiguan). Significant iconographic decisions were also initiated by the emperor, which included changing the upper and lower sections of the stupa in Room 2, commissioning the sandalwood stupa of Room 4 to be designed according to the Fahuisi *liuli* pagoda after rejecting the previous design by a Khutuktu, and transforming the steps of the hexagonal stupa in Room 5 from eleven-tiered to nine-tiered steps. It is documented that no examinations or confirmations from Tibetan Lamas were requested by the emperor. The reason is obvious: the stupas in Room 2, Room 4 and Room 5 are all Chinese miniature pagodas or stupas with the elements of pagodas. The absence of an established typology of Chinese pagoda with fixed iconographies, proportions and symbolic meanings, which is seen in the Eight Great Stupas in Tibetan Buddhism, determined that these stupas do not need to be certified by Tibetan lamas to guarantee their religious efficacy and authority. However the situation raised even more questions about how they were incorporated into the group, and how they were specifically modified by the emperor.

## The miniaturisation and transformation of Chinese pagodas

Derived from Indian stupas, a Chinese pagoda inherits the stupa's original function of enshrining Buddhist relics. However it distinctively emphasises verticality as a key architectural aspect, through which religious significance is conveyed and ritual efficacy is performed. Chinese pagodas are constructed as multi-level tall architectural landmarks towering above the landscape, most commonly incorporated within religious temples or monastic complexes, e.g., the *liuli* pagoda in Fahuisi Temple, which is the prototype for the stupa in Room 4. In some cases, a pagoda is even adapted as a soaring ritual signpost that facilitates the deceased's journey into the afterlife and evokes dark supernatural forces in pacifying demons.<sup>296</sup> Limited in height and confined within the same architectural space, the stupas in Room 4 and Room 5, in a straight sense, resemble miniature pagodas rather than typical pagodas characterised by vertical sprawl. Compared to pagodas which elevate viewers or instruct their gaze through height, the bodies of all stupas in Fanhualou engage its visitors through the sumptuous appearances at eye level and naturally draw their attention towards the Buddhist icons displayed within the centre of the stupas. The typical architectural elements of Chinese pagodas, such as the densely constructed eaves and the timber wood structures, were adapted to facilitate such purposes. The transformation can be demonstrated by the result of a series of cautious attempts from the emperor in the design process, as documented in the archives: the stupa of Room 4 was transformed from the *liuli* pagoda in Fahuisi Temple, which has no accessible interior, to the deliberate formulation of a pavilion housing Seven Medicine Buddhas in three tiers; the steps of the stupa of Room 5 were adjusted to position the six images of Mārīci at the centre of the stupa; similarly, the upper portion of the stupa in Room 2, a square-shaped seven-tiered pagoda above the vase, structurally replaces the thirteen wheels of the Eight Great Stupas and draws viewers' attention to the four shrines of Vajradhara in the cardinal directions of the vase of the stupa.

The adaptation of architectural components of Chinese pagodas initiated by the emperor reflects ideas that the distinctive iconography and stylistic features, do not merely carry their symbolic meanings or perform their significance through the interior. They were reformulated as mechanisms to not only impress the viewers, but also prescribe the viewers to look into the structure and examine the Buddhist icons within. The process of miniaturisation and transformation also simultaneously achieved a level of homogeneity within

---

<sup>296</sup> Eugene Y. Wang, "Tope and Topos: The Leifeng Pagoda and the Discourse of the Demonic," in *Writing and Materiality in China: Essays in Honor of Patrick Hanan*, ed. Judith Zeitlin and Lydia Liu (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 488–552, 490.

the group of six stupas: apart from the stupa in Room 1 which does not display any icons, the Buddhist icons in the stupas are aligned at the centre of the side rooms on the lower floor. This is to say that regardless of their distinctive style, material, and structural composition, the way in which all the stupas engage with the viewer was unified and conceptualised. They structurally unpack their religious import through enshrining or not enshrining the Buddhist icons, and they draw attention towards the spatial and doctrinal connections between stupas and their respective rooms. However, the question of why the emperor intended to combine and collage the Chinese visual tradition within the stupas group remains and ought to be solved by comparing them with the formulation of their counterpart, the Tibetan stupas within the group.

## **The inheritance of Tibetan stupa tradition and the stylistic hybridity**

As mentioned earlier, Qianlong emperor's engagements throughout the project comprised four categories of actions: his approval of the painted or sculpted preparation of the stupas and the statues within them, his requests for specific materials for the stupas, his modifications of the decorative elements of the stupas, and his adjustments of the iconography of the stupas. The first three categories of actions applied to all six stupas, whereas the adjustments on iconography are remarkably absent on the bronze stupa of Room 1, the silver stupa of Room 2 and the gold stupa of Room 6. Qianlong drew the design of the flying ribbons at the very top of the stupa of Room 1, although the flying ribbons are not principal decorative elements of the Parinirvāṇa stupa and do not carry significant iconographical and symbolic meanings. No royal decree was documented on specifying or modifying the iconography of these three stupas or the statues within, contradicting to the heavy-handed adjustments of the cloisonné stupa of Room 2, the sandalwood stupa of Room 4 and the glass stupa in Room 5.

The conservative attitude of Qianlong towards the three stupas is not difficult to comprehend, as the three stupas are all Tibetan stupas. Even their materials are the most common choices for constructing precious and portable Tibetan stupas, compared to materials like cloisonné, wood and glass. Their religious identities are easily recognisable: the stupas in Room 1 and Room 6 are respectively the Kadampa Stupa or Parinirvāṇa Stupa and the Victory Stupa. The established appearances and the proportions of these two stupas were thoroughly and cautiously inherited without any change or intervention by the emperor, although as explained, their placement within their respective room is not associated with their intrinsic symbolic meaning. The shapes of the three Tibetan stupas are differentiated significantly, which is also very possibly a deliberate choice, as apart from the Parinirvāṇa Stupa, the Eight Great Stupas can be identified solely by their structural formation of the steps. This is to say that if all three Tibetan stupas were the Eight Great Stupas, two stupas in the group would be visually very similar, and the iconic steps would be unavoidably and exceedingly stressed.

Qianlong's differentiated involvements in the Chinese and Tibetan stupas of the group reveal his deliberate endeavour to associate the six stupas with an alternative identity, which is not entirely Tibetan or Chinese. Through his effort, the group subverts the concept that the styles of stupas are coterminous with the ethnic or



religious environments, as Tibetan stupas are placed in Tibetan temples and Chinese pagodas are placed in Chinese areas. The selective following of Tibetan clergies and the strong personal preference determine that the linkage of the stupas and pantheons cannot be conventional or consistent. However, the stupa group with stylistic hybridity is not a simple or mindless collage, since each of the stupas endures a different level of re-contextualisation and appropriation in order to yield new meanings associated with a sutra or tantra class and emerges collectively as a unified group characterised by the concept of doxography, totality and authority. Neither their sequence, nor their iconography could be changed or replaced as each stupa correlates to the contents of their respective room, and reflects the emperor's own understanding towards the contents of each class as well as his attempts to formulate an unprecedented but meaningful visual form as an integrated part of the whole building.

Although the adoption of both Tibetan and Chinese codes can be seen as a general phenomenon of the religious environment in the Qing court, why did Qianlong specifically participate in creating the stupas and assert his will by perpetuating a state of differentiation within the group? Before answering the question, it is necessary to recognise that the six stupas visually render the six classes legible on the ground floor: They underline the equal status of each class through the identical size and positioning, accentuate the variation of the contents of the six classes through different materials and iconographic formulations, and reinforce the importance of the doxographic categorisation of the six classes through their gigantic volume. It distinguishes the six classes from the other pantheons, like 300 and 360, by leading the visitors to not only observe the stupas but also further contemplate the connections between the stupa and the respective class, when their gaze is led from the body of the stupa through the opening on above and towards the Buddhist icons on the upper floor. Even the remnants of the white marble base of the six stupas (Fig. 3.23) evoke the bygone existence of the entire building, rather than merely suggesting the presence of six juxtaposed discrete stupas.

More importantly, the transcultural and multivalent modes of the stupas denote that the six classes ought to be appreciated and comprehended from both perspectives of Tibetan and Chinese Buddhism. The relationship between the six classes and the six stupas is consequently not metonymic but constitutive: the stupas do not stand for the pantheons; they are not the auxiliary part of the six classes. Instead, the stupa group marks a kind of "auto-interpellation". Referred by Finbarr Barry Flood in the discussion of the

adoption of Turko-Persian sartorial modes by the royal figure at Alchi, the term was developed by French philosopher Louise Althusser to describe a mechanism whereby the subject is constructed by pre-given structures within specific categories of identity, particularly through being named or called.<sup>297</sup> The six stupas represent a similar attempt: they accentuate the fact that the entire building is not an alienated assembly of symbols of Tibetan Buddhism as they have been assimilated as a recognisable and comprehensible cultural form within Qing court culture.

While many modern scholars perceive the visual languages of the six stupas are arbitrary and lack consistency and obvious principles of organisation, the amalgamation of styles and patterns starkly reflect the idea that the stupas are far beyond demonstrating the emperor's religious devotion. They not only signify Qianlong's own comprehension of each of the classes, but also his perception of the concept of pantheon. The stupa's repeated presences indicate the emperor's endorsement of the enigmatic number six as referred in the "Hall of the Six Buddhist Classes", which has never been used in the Tibetan Buddhist canon or the history of doxography. Through the eight time replication of this kind of building within the imperial palaces and the monastic complex in Chengde, the systematic pairing of six stupas with six classes in a symmetrical arrangement is formalized into a new authoritative framework. It consequently lead to the examination of the upper and lower central room, the locus of the building where no gigantic stupas as well as openings are installed. From a doxographical perspective, the central room interrupts the numerical order of the six side rooms, leading to a division of two parts that does not align with the doctrinal significance or meanings of the six classes. Nevertheless the six stupas, whose peaks almost pierce the upper floor, visually establish a hierarchical relationship, also functioning as supplementary elements to the upper central room, a topic which will be explored in the next chapter.

---

<sup>297</sup> Finbarr Barry Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval 'Hindu-Muslim' Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 75.

## Chapter 4 The Centre of the Centre: the Enactment of Qianlong and the central Rooms of Fanhualou

The central themes of Fanhualou are among its most pronounced and unique characteristics, different from the iconographic formulation from 300, 360, and other Tibetan Buddhist iconographic pantheons created during the Qianlong reign. The central rooms on both floors are referred to as “*mingjian*” in various palace archives, a traditional Chinese architectural term that signifies the central bay of a building. As the focal point of the building, the iconographic contents and configurations of the central rooms hold decisive importance in shaping the visual logic, methodological proposition and religious meaning of the entire structure. Both rooms noticeably distinguish themselves from the six side rooms, which are arranged in identical configurations. Constituted with a combination of paintings, sculptures, stupas, and furniture and arranged in distinct layouts, the upper and lower central rooms are counterpointed to each other, respectively dedicated to Tsongkhapa and Buddha Śākyamuni.

Two paintings, an Acalā holding a sword and a Vajrapāṇi-holding a vajra, are positioned in front of the lower central room, on the upper part of the corridor flanking the entrance to the room (Fig.4.1). Both deities are illustrated in an identical posture, standing in *pratyāliḍhāsana* with the right leg bent and the left leg straight, holding its attribute up in the right hand, while performing *karanamudrā* towards the heart with the left. The deities are both surrounded by a burning flame mandorla situated atop of a single lotus throne. In front of the throne, dharma wheels, conches, and triple jewels are placed as offerings. The upper part of the background features a clear bluish sky and clouds, while the lower part showcases a greenish mountainous landscape with spring waters and grass.

It is noticeable that as the entry point of the building, walking under the paintings of Vajrapāṇi and Acalā, is inevitable for visiting the rest of the building, which entails a sense of initiation or protection. Interestingly another two larger paintings of Acalā and Vajrapāṇi are posited on the western and eastern ends of the corridor on the lower floor (Fig.4.2). Both deities are also illustrated in identical postures, attributes and garments with paintings in front of the lower central rooms. What distinguishes the paintings at the ends of

the corridor is that the upper parts of both paintings are depicted with a seated Akṣobhya wearing a crown flanked by heavenly beings amidst the clouds. Acalā and Vajrapāṇi are both deities of the Vajra family, while Akṣobhya is also the Buddha of the Vajra family. The iconographic rendition of Acalā, Vajrapāṇi and Akṣobhya signifies the nature of the indestructibility of the deities of the Vajra family while at the same time underscoring the confines of the sacred space of the entire building as an entity and accentuating the centrality of the lower central room.

## The Lower Central Room

The upper part of the northern, western, and eastern walls are completely adorned with a set of hanging scrolls. Each wall consists of three individual thangka panels mounted with red brocades. Each panel painting depicts a seated Buddha in the *bhūmiśparśamudrā* with an Amitāyus on the top. In front of the panel paintings, three Buddhist statues are prominently placed on a white marble platform. The central statue is a standing Buddha Śākyamuni, performing the *dharmacakrāmudrā* (Fig.4.3). This particular form of Buddha statue is known as the Udhyana type, believed to be modelled after the first image of the Buddha, which was created under the patronage of the Indian King Udhyana during the Buddha's teaching in the realm of the thirty-three gods. According to the *Fanhualou* Catalogue, this standing Buddha, which is over two meters in height, is the largest bronze Buddha statue in the Forbidden City.<sup>298</sup> The *Zaobanchu* Archive indicates that the statue was originally installed in the Sheng'an temple in Beijing. During the 40<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong reign, it was added with a gold-gilded bronze pedestal and a pair of offering stupas flanking the Buddha for the reinstallation in Fanhualou.

As identified by the *Fanhualou* Catalogue, sculptures of seated Maitreya and Vajradhāra are respectively positioned on the left and right sides of the standing Śākyamuni (Fig.2.3 ). Both sculptures are approximately 80 centimetres in height and made from silver while exhibiting very similar facial characteristics and body proportions.<sup>299</sup> Vajradhāra is holding a vajra and a bell in both hands, whereas the attributes of Maitreya are lost. Next to the standing Buddha are two pairs of identical stupas, which are approximately 77 centimetres in height.<sup>300</sup> They can be identified as one of the Eight Great Stupas, the Stupa of the Descent, by the staircase running on the terraced base below the dorm. This stupa type might correspond to the iconographic symbolism of the Udhyana Buddha statue in the middle, as both stupas and the Udhyana Buddha refer to the sojourn of the Śākyamuni Buddha in the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven to teach his mother.<sup>301</sup> On the sides of the

---

<sup>298</sup> Wang Jiapeng, ed., *Fanhualou Volume 1*, 104.

<sup>299</sup> Wang Jiapeng, ed., *Fanhualou Volume 1*, 106.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>301</sup> Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 921.

table, flanking the triad of Śākyamuni, Maitreya, and Vajradhāra, there is a pair of Chinese-style pagodas, which are seventy-two centimetres high, slightly shorter than the two side statues.<sup>302</sup>

Buddha Śākyamuni is frequently flanked by Dipamkara, the Buddha of the past, and Maitreya, the Buddha of the future, constituting the Buddhas of the Three Times. The highly unusual combination of Śākyamuni, Maitreya and Vajradhāra, along with two pairs of stupas by contrast, indicates the lower central room is not dedicated to the Mahāyāna teachings only, as Vajradhāra is the primordial deity of the highest authority in the tantric traditions. The central position of the standing Buddha preceding Vajradhāra and Maitreya also suggests the iconographic complexity of the central Buddha, which encompass not only the historical Buddha as signified by the Udhyana type, but also the Buddha in esoteric and celestial dimensions. The multiplicity of the concept of the Buddha is further accentuated by the illustration of the Jātakamālā stories of the Buddha on the thangka panels, which will be explained in detail in the following section.

In front of the marble platform where the statues are placed, there are two long side tables displaying various incense burners, candle holders and vases in different materials. A long tin incense pot is placed under the offering table. The space in front of the tin pot of the lower central room is the only space in Fanhualou which enables the visitors to perform rituals that include prostrations, meditations or lighting incense. The specific spatial position implies that the rituals conducted in the lower central room are dedicated to both the iconographic configuration of this room, but also the entire building. The lower central room consequently becomes a kind of "transitional space": for ritual purposes, one does not need to visit any other rooms except for the lower central room; the rituals conducted within the lower central room are also preliminary for entering the realm of the six pantheons.

---

<sup>302</sup> Ibid., 128.

## Thangka paintings of Jātakamālā

The illustrations of the central Buddhas in each thangka panel are nearly identical to the central Buddha of the nine main deities in Room 1. They share similar facial features, body proportions, and garments with silky textures, as well as a ribbon tie around the waist area. The decorative elements of the pointed mandorla and the lavishly adorned reddish lion throne are also nearly indistinguishable. It is plausible to suggest that the nine-panel paintings were commissioned specifically for the lower central room, during the same period when the other thangka paintings of Fanhualou were created. On the background of the central Buddha, the nine-panel paintings illustrate the thirty-four stories of the Jātakamālā, the previous life episode of the Buddha. The text of Jātakamālā, which is also referred to as the *Thirty-Four Birth Stories* or the *Garland of Birth Stories*, is composed by the second-century Indian poet and scholar Āryaśūra. It is widely proliferated in Tibet and plays a crucial role in the ritual tradition within the Geluk school. It is also closely associated with Tsongkhapa, who founded the Great Prayer Festival and established the teaching of the Jātakamālā on the opening day of the festival as an exemplification of bodhicitta, the “mind directed toward awakening.”<sup>303</sup> On the upper left of the central panel, there are depictions of Chinese city walls, palaces, and pagodas, suggesting that the Buddha's previous life episodes are portrayed within a Han Chinese context. The landscape, flora, fauna, and costumes of the monastics and lay people are all rendered in the style of Chinese painting. However, there are also elements in architecture that imitate Tibetan features. For instance, in the lower right corner of the left panel on the western wall, there is a building with a protruding pagoda on the top of its roof (Fig.4.4). This architectural rendition bears similarity to the depictions found in the thirty-one thangka set of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, which is based on the renowned Tibetan *Snar thang* thirty-one woodblock print set, dated by Tucci to the last decades of the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>304</sup> This is probably the reason that the Fanhualou Catalogue misidentifies some scenes of these thangka paintings as depictions of *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, a text compiled by the Kashmir scholar Kṣemendra (c. 990/1010 -1070), and depictions of the *Hundred Birth-Stories of the Buddha Śākyamuni* compiled by the Third Karmapa Rangjung Dorje (1284 - 1339).<sup>305</sup> All three texts mentioned above consist of the paradigmatic life narratives of the

---

<sup>303</sup> Nancy Grace Lin, *Adapting the Buddha's Biographies: A Cultural History of the Wish-Fulfilling Vine in Tibet, Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, (PhD diss., UC Berkeley, 2011), 22.

<sup>304</sup> Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1949), 441.

<sup>305</sup> Wang Jiapeng, ed., *Fanhualou Volume 1*, 112.

Buddha Śākyamuni. Certain stories are shared by all three texts, while occasionally the illustrations of the Jātakamālā and the *Hundred Birth Stories* are depicted together. The misidentification is also possibly due to the popularity of the visual representation of *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* in the Manchu Palace. A set of forty-one panels *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* thangka and a set of thirty-one *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* thangka are both housed in Forilou, the Tibetan Buddhist shrine which shares the same staircase with Fanhualou.<sup>306</sup> The Seventh Dalai Lama's autobiography also records that the Qianlong emperor was gifted by the Seventh Dalai Lama a set of forty-one thangka paintings of *Wish-Fulfilling Vine*, and the set of the thangka is displayed in Wanfoqe in Yonghegong.<sup>307</sup> Both the Jātakamālā thangka set in Fanhualou and the two sets of *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* thangka in Forilou are constituted by thangka panels which render a large iconic Buddha seated in the centre surrounded by scenes illustrating the previous lives of the Buddha painted in a very similar stylistic manner. However, compared to the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set, the Jātakamālā set in Fanhualou does not contain any donor images, crucial monastic figures, or any protective deities as secondary figures above or below the central Buddha.

The illustrations of the thirty-four stories of Jātakamālā in the background of the thangka paintings in Fanhualou are identified through comparison with a set of nineteenth-century, thirty-five individual paintings of Jātakamālā in the Zanabazar Museum.<sup>308</sup> The central title and the stories of each painting of the Zanabazar collection are explained in Himalayan Art Resources. In the following analysis, I will continue to use the title of each story of the Zanabazar collection. The illustrations of the first to fourteenth stories of the Jātakamālā are arranged starting from the central panel on the northern wall and continuing on the left and right panels (Fig.4.5). In the central panel, the upper right section depicts the story of the *Starving Tigress*, the upper left section portrays the story of the *King of the Śibi*, and the left middle section illustrates the story of the *Small Portion of Gruel*. Moving to the left panel on the northern wall, the fourth to seventh stories of the Jātakamālā are depicted. The fourth story, known as the *Merchant*, can be identified by the depiction of the merchant boldly stepping into the fire. The fifth story, the *Invisible One*, can be identified by Aṅgī holding

---

<sup>306</sup>Wang Jiapeng, 梵華樓藏寶·唐卡 = *Thangkas in the Sanctuary of Buddhist Essence* (Beijing: The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2013), 86–134.

<sup>307</sup> Nancy Grace Lin, "Adapting the Buddha's Biographies," 76,

<sup>308</sup> Collection of Zanabazar: Jataka Stories," *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed September 10, 2023, <https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=920>.



a sickle. The sixth story, the *Rabbit*, is indicated by the depictions of the rabbit, otter, jackal, and monkey on the upper left of the painting. The seventh story, *Ajastya the Ascetic*, is illustrated on the upper left and shows Brahman Ajastya distributing his possessions while leaving his house to devote his life to spiritual development. The right panel on the northern wall illustrates the eighth to ninth stories of the *Jātakamālā*. In the upper left section, there are five Yakṣa disguised as five Brahmans conversing with a cowherd surrounded by cows, indicating that it is the story of the *Strength of Love*. The right half of the panel depicts the story of *Viśvantara*. Starting from the scene in the upper right, Prince Viśvantara is shown giving alms to his people. It is followed by a depiction of an elephant being given to a group of Brahmans. At the lower right, the prince, along with his wife and two children, is shown in exile.

The eleventh to fourteenth stories of the *Jātakamālā* are continued on the central panel of the eastern wall (Fig.4.6). The eleventh story, *Śakra*, is illustrated on the upper left of the central panel. It depicts the Demi-gods, who are jealous of Śakra's rule, attempting to invade his palace located above the clouds. On the upper right of the painting, the story of *Brahman* is depicted. In this story, the bodhisattva refuses to please his teacher by stealing from others, displaying his moral integrity. Moving to the lower left of the panel, we encounter the thirteenth story, *She Who Drives Men Mad*. This story portrays a king who becomes infatuated with a woman in a building while he is riding in a chariot. The lower right of the panel illustrates the story of *Supāraga*. The protagonist is depicted standing on a ship in the midst of a terrible storm, seeking safety from the sky and ocean gods.

Notably, the stories are followed from the left, middle, and right panels on the western wall instead of the panels on the eastern wall (Fig.4.7). The left panel on the western wall illustrates the fifteenth to eighteenth stories of the *Jātakamālā*. Starting from the fifteenth story, the *Fish*, the upper left of the painting, depicts the bodhisattva standing by a lotus pond, supplicating to the gods for rain in order to save the fish from a flock of birds. Moving to the upper right of the painting, the flame among the forests indicates the pictorial representation of the sixteenth story, the *Baby Quail*. On the lower right of the panel, it depicts the seventeenth story, the *Jar of Liquor*. The bodhisattva is illustrated as persuading the king to cease drinking by appearing in front of the king as an apparition above a cloud. Finally, the eighteenth story *Wealthy Prince* is on the lower left. The protagonist, the bodhisattva, appears twice: he is shown sitting in his palace as a

wealthy prince, as well as practising asceticism in a forest. In the painting, the bodhisattva is seen conversing with people who try to persuade him to return to the city.

The narratives of the middle panel on the western wall start from the upper left, depicting the nineteenth story, the *Lotus Root*. In this scene, the six brothers, along with their servants and elephants, are shown sitting by a lotus pond in solitary meditation. Moving to the upper right of the painting, the twentieth story, the *Treasurer*, is illustrated. In this scene, the bodhisattva is depicted meditating in the forest, while other bodhisattvas wearing the same garments are seen leaving the palace. On the lower left is the twenty-first story, *Kuddhabodhi*. It illustrates the moment when the king falls in love with Kuddhabodhi's wife as they pass through the forest. On the lower right, the twenty-second story, the *Noble Geese*, is portrayed. The protagonist of the story, a king of geese and its chief, are captured by two men on a boat but are later set free above the palaces.

The twenty-third to twenty-sixth stories of the *Jātakamālā* are portrayed on the right panel on the western wall (Fig.4.7). The twenty-third story, the *Wise One*, is arranged on the upper right. It depicts the bodhisattva Mahabodhi as an ascetic meditating in a cave and also flying throughout the land. The twenty-fourth story, the *Great Monkey*, is arranged in the upper left. It shows a man who fell into a chasm from a tree and is saved by a monkey. On the lower right, the twenty-fifth story, the *Fabulous Śarabhā Deer*, is depicted. It shows the king preparing to string his bows and shoot the grey deer, while he is also depicted as falling into a chasm and then being carried out by the deer. The lower left of the panel illustrates a very similar story, the twenty-sixth story, the *Ruru Deer*. In this scene, a man falls into a river and is saved by a deer. He then leads the king to hunt for the deer, and the painting portrays the moment when the man points to the deer, causing his hand to fall off. The deer is subsequently mounted in the royal chariot and brought to the capital to teach the dharma.

The left panel on the eastern wall illustrates the twenty-seventh to thirtieth stories of the *Jātakamālā* (Fig.4.7). In the upper right corner, the multiple representations of the monkey indicate the twenty-seventh story, the *Monkey King*. Moving to the lower right of the painting, the twenty-eighth story, *Teacher of Restraint*, is depicted. This scene portrays the bodhisattva having his hand chopped off by a jealous king. On

the lower left, the floating celestial form of the bodhisattva indicates the twenty-ninth story, the *Visitor from Brahma*. Lastly, in the thirtieth story, the *Elephant* is arranged on the upper left of the panel. This scene showcases a large elephant heroically and selflessly sacrificing its body as food for a group of starving people.

The right panel on the eastern wall illustrates the thirty-first to the thirty-fourth stories of the *Jātakamālā* (Fig.4.6). In the upper left of the painting, the thirty-first story, *Sutasoma*, is depicted. It portrays a dreadful scene of slaughter caused by Kalmāṣapāda, a ferocious man-eater wearing a grey garment and a white turban. The bodhisattva confronts him and convinces him to stop eating flesh. Moving to the upper right, the thirty-second story, *Prince of the Iron House*, is illustrated. It showcases four episodes of the prince's life, including him living in the iron house as a beloved prince, departing for a flower festival, preaching in front of people, and finally meditating as an ascetic in the forests. The lower left of the panel depicts the scene of a huge buffalo being violently struck by a monkey. A yakṣa appears and stops the fierce monkey. This represents the thirty-third story, the *Buffalo*. The last story of the *Jātakamālā*, the *Woodpecker*, is depicted in the lower right corner. A group of woodpeckers is beautifully illustrated as flying above lions who refuse to share a meal with their life saver.

As noted by Peter Khoroch, the major theme of the *Jātakamālā* is that of the virtuous ruler, while both its contents and the style of the text reflect a courtly milieu. The theme of cakravartin or Buddhist kingship is accentuated by the depiction of the “Seven Jewels of a Cakrāvartin”, the emblems of Buddhist royalty symbolising the great monarch who rules in accordance with the Buddha dharma at the bottom part of the central panel of the northern wall (Fig.4.5). It is beautifully represented as a procession: to the right, the general is holding a sword and a tiger shield, followed by the horse surrounded by a group of attendants holding flags and various jewels, heading towards the centre; to the left, two ministers are respectively holding the wish-fulfilling jewel and corals, followed by the queen holding a vase and a richly decorated white elephant mounting a precious vase. A wheel emerges at the centre of the procession, within a radiance of rainbow colours in the shape of a comet tail. Noticeably, this wheel, known as the cakraratna and one of the “Seven Jewels of a Cakrāvartin” representing world sovereignty, is depicted just below the dharma wheel on the offering table positioned in front of the Buddha in the central panel. Both wheels are placed along the

central axis of the painting and serve as visual counterparts, although the wheel of the 'Seven Jewels' is slightly smaller. The parallel representations of the two kinds of cakra reflect the unique emphasis of both Buddha dharma and Buddhist kingship, a theme that also recurs in the upper central room and plays a crucial role in formulating the central message of the building, which will be explained in the following section.

It is interesting to note that the jātaka stories are closely associated with the prajñāpāramitā, the principal theme of Room 1, while the main rationale for the establishment of the genre of jātaka texts is the ten pāramitās even before the closing of the Theravāda canon.<sup>309</sup> In a very broad sense, the jātaka stories can be conceived as embodying the Buddhist path of achieving Buddhahood, as exemplified by the Buddha in his previous lives as a Bodhisattva, a Buddha to be. The integration of the depiction of Jātakamālā on the thangka, surrounding the standing Buddha of Udhya type flanked by the seated Maitreya and Vajradhāra, reveals the central focus of the lower central room is the Nirmāṇakāya, the body of the Buddha to appear to ordinary beings, which is extended to the past lives through the jātaka stories, and to the future and cosmic dimensions, as manifested in Maitreya and Vajradhāra. Different from the Saṃbhogakāya which are only visible to advanced beings, Nirmāṇakāya is able to be viewed by lesser beings, such as humans.<sup>310</sup> This characters of the Nirmāṇakāya of the Buddha is also connoted through the spatial rendition of the lower central room: the lower central room is the first one encountered upon entering the building without passing under the paintings of Vajrapāṇi and Acalā; it is also the room directly beneath the upper central room, which is dedicated to Tsongkhapa, symbolising the hierarchical relationship between Tsongkhapa and the Nirmāṇakāya of the Buddha.

---

<sup>309</sup> Naomi Appleton, *Jataka Stories in Theravada Buddhism: Narrating the Bodhisatta Path* (London: Routledge, 2016), 132.

<sup>310</sup> Buswell and Lopez, *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 749.

## The Upper Central Room

Much like the lower central room, the upper central room features three hanging scroll paintings on its northern, eastern, and western walls (Fig.2.4). However, unlike the nine vertical panels of the Jātakamālā sets framed by red brocade in three sets with wide borders in the lower central room, these three paintings in the upper central room are horizontal and framed by slim red brocade with no inner divisions. This arrangement creates the visual effect of mural paintings surrounding the central sculptures of Tsongkhapa. The paintings depict the seated Tsongkhapa in various forms, encompassing his life stories from previous incarnations to his final parinirvāṇa. All three horizontal paintings in the upper central room have a height of 172 centimetres, although the two thangka paintings on the side walls are slightly wider. The central painting has a width of 295 centimetres, while the side paintings' width is 308 centimetres.<sup>311</sup> Starting with the central painting on the northern wall, three main presentations of Tsongkhapa are arranged in the centre and the centre of the left and right halves of the painting (Fig.4.8). They are depicted in their most iconic form as the emanations Mañjuśrī, performing the *dharmacakramudrā* and flanked by two lotuses on shoulder level, with a sword and a book placed on the top. The main representation of Tsongkhapa in the centre of the northern wall is accompanied by his two disciples, Khedrubje and Gyeltsabje, seated on the same level as his throne. Each of the side paintings contains only one main representation of Tsongkhapa in a three-quarter profile, notably facing outward instead of towards the central painting. These representations portray Tsongkhapa as a monastic seated on a dharma seat, emphasising the intriguing aspect of his mystical life—his special relationship with Mañjuśrī. On the western wall, a monumental moment is depicted when Tsongkhapa has a vision of Mañjuśrī appearing in front of him in the winter of 1393 during his retreat in Gya Sokphu Hermitage, in the Menlung region of Dakpo (Fig.4.9).<sup>312</sup> As shown in the painting, a sword extends from Mañjuśrī's heart to Tsongkhapa's heart. At the bottom of Tsongkhapa's throne, a group of disciples receives the amṛta flowing from Tsongkhapa's heart. On the opposite eastern wall, the main representation of Tsongkhapa shows him holding both hands together to his chest and facing the floating Mañjuśrī on his upper left (Fig.4.10). It is widely known that Tsongkhapa was able to communicate with Mañjuśrī in his own visions, and he explicitly spoke about these special experiences on several occasions.

---

<sup>311</sup> Wang Jiapeng, 梵華樓藏寶·唐卡= *Thangkas in the Sanctuary of Buddhist Essence*, 52.

<sup>312</sup> Thupten Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa: A Buddha in the Land of Snows*, 131.

The life episodes of Tsongkhapa are portrayed starting in the middle of the northern wall (Fig.4.8). Below the lotus throne of the central main representation, there is an illustration of Tsongkhapa's previous incarnation as the son of a Brahmin meeting Śākyamuni Buddha and offering him a crystal rosary in Bodhgaya. Above this scene, the painting depicts Tsongkhapa's birth in Amdo. The painting on the northern wall focuses on Tsongkhapa's early education in different monasteries under the guidance of various teachers. However, the chronological accounts of Tsongkhapa's life stories do not entirely follow the sequence from the Eastern to the Western painting. The story continues on the right half of the eastern painting (Fig.4. 10): on the upper right of the main representation, it depicts the moment when Tsongkhapa and his eight disciples were on a boat to Wölkha in the year of 1392.<sup>313</sup> In Wölkha, they performed Maṇḍala offerings to the Thirty-Five Buddhas as illustrated in the upper right section. The lower right section depicts Mañjuśrī appearing in an aureole above Umapa and Tsongkhapa. This signifies the transmission of teachings on Mañjuśrī from Umapa to Tsongkhapa in the year 1392. It is considered to be Tsongkhapa's first direct vision of Mañjuśrī.<sup>314</sup> However, the following episodes continue on the left half section of the western painting (Fig.4.9). Above the main representation, it depicts the restoration of the standing Maitreya statue at Dzingchi (rDsing ji) Monastery. The restoration was carried out by Tsongkhapa, who received instructions from Mañjuśrī in the year 1393.<sup>315</sup> On the upper left it renders Tsongkhapa's multiple visions of Mañjuśrī, a group of Indian masters, and Vajrabhairava in the year 1393 at Gya Sokphu.<sup>316</sup> Kālacakrā and Sarasvatī are illustrated on the lower part of the section, symbolising Tsongkhapa's dream and vision of these deities in Nyal after his pilgrimage to Tsari Mountain in the year 1396.<sup>317</sup>

The narrative continues on the left half section of the eastern painting (Fig.4.10). In the lower part, a spectacular scene is depicted: the first Great Prayer Festival in Jokhang Monastery in 1407. To the left of this scene, it shows Tsongkhapa receiving offerings from the representatives of the Ming emperor in 1408.<sup>318</sup> However, the significant events of the last period of Tsongkhapa's life are depicted in the right section of the

---

<sup>313</sup> Ibid., 117.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid., 126.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid., 154.

<sup>318</sup> Wang Jiapeng, 梵華樓藏寶·唐卡= *Thangkas in the Sanctuary of Buddhist Essence*, 62.

Western painting (Fig.4.9). In the lower right, it portrays Tsongkhapa's intensive visualisations of Vajrabhairava, various forms of Mahākālā, Kālarūpa, as well as Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Tārā, Sitātapatrā, Bhaiṣajyaguru, Amitāyus, and other deities after he fell ill at Ganden Monastery in 1412. Tsongkhapa's parinirvāṇa is illustrated in the upper right corner, where he is depicted within a stupa surrounded by his disciples and various celestial beings.

The iconographic analysis reveals that the depictions of Tsongkhapa's consecutive life episodes begin with the painting on the northern wall, continue to the right half of the eastern painting, and then move to the left half of the western painting. The narrative further continues in the left half of the eastern painting and concludes in the right half of the western painting. The current sequences of the three paintings deviate from the conventional arrangement of thangka paintings, which are typically read from the centre across to the left, then across to the right, and then alternating below. Noticeably Tsongkhapa's parinirvāṇa is positioned in the inner part of the room, adjacent to the depictions of his early career on the northern wall; while the main representations of Tsongkhapa on the side paintings are both uniquely facing outward, instead of facing the main representation on the northern painting.

It is important to stress that the three horizontal paintings depicting Tsongkhapa's life stories are not entirely new creations. They are derived from a set of seven thangka paintings portraying Tsongkhapa's life stories, with pictorial adjustments. Among the original set, three of the thangka feature the main representations of Tsongkhapa sitting frontally, while the remaining four thangka paintings depict the main representation of Tsongkhapa in profile, facing towards the centre. Specifically, the middle and left part of the central painting on the northern wall are based on the two thangka paintings, as shown in Fig.4.11 and Fig.4.12; the painting on the eastern wall is based on the same painted models as shown on Fig.4.13 and Fig.4.14; painting on the western wall is based on the same painted models as shown on Fig.4.15 and Fig.4.16.

While the original thangka paintings have not been discovered as a complete set, and only reproductions of six paintings are currently available, it is evident that they formulate a set portraying the consecutive life stories of Tsongkhapa in chronological order, and they are the original painted model for the set in Fanhualou. These individual thangka paintings are popular and widely replicated. For instance, the thangka

as shown in Fig.4.17 in a private collection, appears to be based on the same painted models with the thangka as shown in Fig.4.11. It is worth mentioning here that during the contemporaneous time, a set of fifteen paintings depicting the life story of Tsongkhapa gained significant popularity and the corresponding set of woodblock prints was widely distributed (Fig.4.18). The set of fifteen paintings is based on a text composed by the First Jamyang Zhepa, Jamyang Zhepai Dorje (b.1648 - d.1721/1722).<sup>319</sup> Stylistically the set of fifteen paintings depicting the life stories of Tsongkhapa is more similar to the nine paintings of the Buddha in the lower central room. Each painting presents Tsongkhapa in an *en face* position at the centre, surrounded by various episodes from his life.

Differentiating from the set of fifteen thangka paintings, the set of seven thangka paintings that the Fanhualou paintings are based on greatly accentuate the various aspects of the main representations of Tsongkhapa sitting both as the manifestation of Mañjuśrī sitting frontally and a great monastic receiving instructions from Mañjuśrī, sitting in profile. Nevertheless, the comparisons between the horizontal painting on the eastern wall with Fig.4.13 and Fig.4.14, as well as the painting on the western wall with Fig.4.15 and Fig.4.16, indicate that although each of the side horizontal paintings is merged from the two thangka paintings, each horizontal painting only retains one main representation of Tsongkhapa sitting in profile. This is to say, the main representation of the other thangka painting is accommodated as a subsidiary depiction in the background. Specifically in Fig.4.13, the main depiction of Tsongkhapa holding a maṇḍala offering and receiving blessings from Nāgārjuna and other Indian Buddhist masters in his dream in 1393 in Gya Sokphu,<sup>320</sup> is still included on the left side of the western painting in Fanhualou, although its size is significantly diminished as a subsidiary depiction. Similarly, the main representation of Tsongkhapa, sitting on a chair with legs down in the posture of *pralambapādāsana*, connected by a string with a medicine Buddha in the upper front and surrounded by disciples at the bottom (Fig.4.16), is reduced in size and placed on the bottom right of the western painting.

---

<sup>319</sup> Jamyang Zhepai Dorje Ngagwang Tsondu. "ཚོང་ཁ་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་རས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་བརྒྱ་དང་པག་ལུ་མ་པ་ཅི་རྣམ་མའི་ཐེང་བ།" གསུང་འབུམ། འཇམ་དབྱངས་བཞད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུ། རྒྱ་བོད་མཁའ་མ་གཞི་བསྐྱར་པར་མཉམས།, vol. 4, Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1972–1974, pp. 298–349. རྒྱ་བོད་མཁའ་མ་གཞི་བསྐྱར་པར་མཉམས། (BDRC) , [purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1KG9409\\_320D76](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1KG9409_320D76). [BDRC bdr:MW1KG9409\_320D76]

<sup>320</sup> Thupten Jinpa, *Tsongkhapa: A Buddha in the Land of Snows*, 129.



The comparison between the current placement of the three horizontal paintings in Fanhualou and the reconstruction of the thangka set, as shown in Fig.4.19, indicates that the side paintings on the western and eastern walls were switched from the original arrangement. Consequently, the sequences of the life episodes are not continuous, and the main representations of Tsongkhapa on the side paintings face outwards of the room instead of facing towards the central painting on the northern wall. This raises questions as to whether the two horizontal paintings were mistakenly positioned in the opposite order or if it was a deliberate arrangement intended to create a new visual and spatial expression within the room. To address this question, it is necessary to conduct a comprehensive examination of the relationship between the paintings, other representations of Tsongkhapa in the room, and the space itself.

## The multiple representations of Tsongkhapa

The adaptation of seven vertical thangka panel paintings to three horizontal paintings differentiates the panel paintings in the lower central room. Rather than functioning as individual, portable thangka sets, the three horizontal paintings are constitutive elements of the visual and physical space of the upper central room, and create an immersive environment. The specific arrangement generates mural-like visual effects that encircle the lacquered sculpture in the centre of the room, portraying Tsongkhapa as the manifestation of Mañjuśrī (Fig.4.20). Sitting on a double lotus throne, this Tsongkhapa is wearing a monastic robe, performing *dharmacakrāmudrā*. Flanking him on the shoulder level are two branches of lotuses, with a sword and book resting on top, symbolising the dissipation of ignorance and wisdom. The sculpture, slightly larger than life-size at 135 centimetres in height, is prominently positioned atop a dragon throne, with a lacquer footstool in front. Intricately carved with nine dragons on the back and armrest, the golden-coloured throne which symbolises the divine imperial status is normally regarded as the seat of the emperor. In front of the dragon throne, there is a lavishly carved, gold lacquered table measuring 132 centimetres in length and 94 centimetres in height. On top of the table, a copper alloy statuette of Tsongkhapa is displayed, wearing a monastic robe and seated on a lion throne. According to the inscription on the back of the statuette, it was created during the 46<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong reign as a replica of a Tsongkhapa statuette from Tashilunpo Monastery. This suggests that the statuette was likely added to the original setting later. Additionally, a set of cloisonné torma, a pair of ceramic dharmacakrā, and a set of five offerings comprising an incense burner, a pair of candle holders, and a pair of vases are placed in front of the Tsongkhapa statuette on the table (Fig.2.4).

There is no inscription elucidating the religious contents of the central room. Only the palace archives can offer a glimpse of how the design was generated and noticeably initiated and approved by the Qianlong emperor. On the 37<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong reign, the emperor approved the design drawing of the lacquered sculpture of Tsongkhapa as well as the dragon throne and the lacquered table.<sup>321</sup> On the first month of the 38<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong reign, the emperor further requested the lacquered sculpture to be added with semi-

---

<sup>321</sup> Wang Jiapeng, ed., *Fanhualou Volume 1*, 74

precious stone inlay on the lotuses near shoulder.<sup>322</sup> The meticulous attitudes indicate that the careful alignment between the pictorial depiction of Tsongkhapa on the horizontal painting of the northern wall and the Tsongkhapa represented on the dragon throne is not an accident. The aureole surrounding Tsongkhapa in the painting precisely encircles the head of the central lacquered sculpture of Tsongkhapa. As a result, the three representations of Tsongkhapa as the manifestation of Mañjuśrī - namely, the sculpture on the dragon throne, the illustration on the painting, and the small bronze statuette on the table - form a triad of Tsongkhapa in the central row of the room. This triad is noticeably interlocked with another triad in the centre, as the unconventionally outward-facing Tsongkhapa on the side walls and the Tsongkhapa sculpture on the dragon throne also formulate a triad. The distinctive arrangement of the two triads primarily indicates that the current placement of the horizontal paintings on the side walls is intentional. Placing the paintings in the opposite arrangement, where the main representations of Tsongkhapa sit in profiles towards the northern wall, would visually conflict with the positioning of the lacquered sculpture in the centre. The speculation is further supported by the size of the representations of Tsongkhapa on the side paintings, being not only bigger than the original painted models but also much bigger than the main representation of Tsongkhapa in the centre of the northern wall. This implies that the main representations of the three paintings are not designed initially as a group as in the original thangka set. The side representations of Tsongkhapa, which depict him as a monastic receiving teachings from Mañjuśrī, were actually intended as subsidiary depictions flanking the central sculpture of Tsongkhapa as the manifestation of Mañjuśrī on the dragon throne.

The distinctive arrangement of space and the iconographic symmetry serves to accentuate the centrality of the lacquered sculpture of Tsongkhapa. It also articulates the hierarchical relationships between the various representations: the Tsongkhapa depicted as the manifestation of Mañjuśrī holds a superior status compared to the Tsongkhapa portrayed as a monastic figure sitting in profile; the sculpture of Tsongkhapa seated on the dragon throne holds a higher position than both the small bronze statuette of Tsongkhapa on a table and the illustration of Tsongkhapa, although all three depict him in a similar manifestation. It consequently raises the question of the significance of Tsongkhapa, particularly the Tsongkhapa placed on the dragon throne right in the upper central room.

---

<sup>322</sup> Ibid.

## Dragon Throne: the absence and presence of the emperor

The positioning of Tsongkhapa in the upper central room, right above the room iconographically dedicated to Buddha Śākyamuni and proceeding to the six side rooms, unambiguously proclaims the paramount position of Tsongkhapa within the entire building. The configurations of the life stories depicted in the paintings and sculptures of the Buddha and Tsongkhapa are counterpointed, highlighting Tsongkhapa's superior role, who is also hailed as the “Second Buddha”, over the representation of the Nirmānakāya of Buddha. The symmetrical and compartmentalised interior spatial division of the whole building thus emerges as a methodological proposition, which indicates Tsongkhapa's most prominent and decisive role in formulating the overall iconographic program. Elevated and enfolded by layers of deities and symbols, his presence characterises the six pantheons as a composite entity of the Geluk School. The doxographic division and the elucidations of the key texts of each sutra and tantra class are consequently attributed to him, whose scholarly achievements are widely celebrated. This is demonstrated by the iconographic analysis of the six rooms, as the integration of Prajñāpāramitā and the Four Classes of Tantra, the subdivision of Father and Mother Tantra, as well as the accentuation of certain yidam deities and texts, all correspond to the unique doxographic system explained in *Tsongkhapa's Great Exposition of Secret Mantra*, which is explained detailed in Chapter 2.

Despite the significance of Tsongkhapa as reflected in the centre of the building, the sophisticated configuration of Tsongkhapa with the lacquered Tsongkhapa placed on the dragon throne in the centre is highly unusual. It is widely known that Buddha's throne has always been regarded as a crucial icon symbolising the presence of the Buddha, or a sacred place where Buddha once appeared. Similarly the dragon throne, the seat of the emperor and the emblem of divine imperial power, is a highly revered ritual object which signifies the presence of the emperor. As a mandate of Emperor Yongzheng in 1723 reads: “in the days that follow, should one walk pass any site that contains a royal throne, one must harbour a sense of humility and reverence, and make a few quick steps. This is considered the appropriate manner.”<sup>323</sup> This is to say, even when the emperor was absent from the throne, everyone was still required to maintain their

---

<sup>323</sup>Decree made on June 22, 1723, cited in *Zijincheng* (The Forbidden City) 328, no. 1 (2014): 129, from Hong Wu, *空間的美術史 = Art History of Space* (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2018), 311.

austerity as if the emperor were seated. The combination of the throne and table is also modelled upon actual imperial residences, as depicted in the concluding section of the Qing dynasty handscroll showing Chinese antiquities at the British Museum (Fig.4.21). The transformation from the seven vertical thangka paintings set to the three horizontal paintings surrounding the central Tsongkhapa even creates similar visual effects of free-standing screen paintings surrounding the dragon throne. As an indispensable part of royal furnishing, screen painting symbolically protects the person surrounded by the screen and enhances a sense of privacy and supremacy. Similarly, the three paintings equivalently define the space of the upper central room and accentuate that the area belongs to the central figure on the dragon throne.

The “humanised” configuration, particularly noticeable in the yellowish embroidered cushion on the top and back of the dragon throne, as well as the footstool and lacquered table in the colour of imperial yellow, explicitly emphasises that the Qianlong emperor is the main protagonist of the room. The combination of the dragon throne and footstool closely mirrors the setting of official portraits of imperial figures during the Qing Dynasty, which depict the emperor or empress dressed in court robes, seated upright and facing forward on the dragon throne, while stepping on the footstool, projecting an air of serenity and authority (Fig.4.22). Such portrait paintings served as a means of familial documentation and contributed to affirming the status and constructing the imperial role and identity. The configuration in the upper central room implicitly suggests that the hypothetical body of the emperor, which is built in the design of the dragon throne, and the lacquered sculpture of Tsongkhapa, placed upon the dragon throne, are artfully imbricated, hinting at a sense of interchangeability between each other.

It is interesting to note that both figures are regarded as the emanations of Mañjuśrī: Tsongkhapa's enlightenment and intellectual achievements are fundamentally associated with Mañjuśrī and believed to embody the wisdom of Mañjuśrī; while it is also widely known that Qianlong asserted himself as a cakrāvatin-Mañjuśrī frequently through a wide range of textual and visual materials. At least eight monumental thangkas render the emperor dressing in a monastic robe, holding a cakrā in his left hand while performing *vitarkamudrā* in his right hand, sitting in crossed leg position among a huge number of deities

and lineage holders.<sup>324</sup> However despite their associations with Mañjuśrī, the entire configuration of the room also carefully articulates the differentiation between Tsongkhapa and Qianlong. It is interesting to note that Tsongkhapa is seldomly associated with the notion of Buddhist kingship, but he is widely appreciated for his political astuteness. The horizontal painting on the western wall illustrates the scene when Tsongkhapa was generously gifted with splendid amounts of gifts from the Ming Yongle emperor after he was entitled as Daci Fawang (Great Compassionate Dharma King) and declined the invitation to visit the court. The placement of Tsongkhapa on the dragon throne does not indicate that Tsongkhapa becomes the emperor. Elevated by the dragon throne, the central sculpture of Tsongkhapa is conceptually transformed as the agent or medium of the emperor, consequently, the central sculpture of Tsongkhapa holds a superior position compared to the rest of the representations of Tsongkhapa as both a monastic and the manifestation of Mañjuśrī. In other words, the lacquered sculpture on the dragon throne is the manifestation of the emperor, who concealed himself in the guise of the icon of Tsongkhapa.

The skilful visual strategy of leveraging the potent religious cult of Mañjuśrī and manipulating the iconic representation to establish Qianlong's persona as a Buddhist king remained constant throughout his sixty-year rule. A study by Wen-shing Chou intriguingly analyses how Ding Guanpeng's painting of Mañjuśrī was "humanized" by accentuating the "realistic" features (Fig.4.23). For instance, the depiction of an angular, elongated face, wider eyelids, and darker pupils create the impression of an active human gaze. These features, making the subject appear more human-like, result in a substantial ontological shift from the portrayal of a sculpture of Mañjuśrī to the portrayal of Qianlong, who underwent a ritual transformation into his cakravartin-Mañjuśrī emanation.<sup>325</sup> Whereas in Fanhualou, the appropriation of the image of Tsongkhapa was conducted through an opposite approach, as the emperor's presence is presented through his absence on his royal throne. The intentional invisibility even enhances the emperor's allure, as the setting indicates his ability to imply the superimposition with Tsongkhapa beyond physical resemblance. Instead of directly appearing as Mañjuśrī and reiterating the concept of emperor-as-bodhisattva as illustrated in the thangkas and paintings mentioned above, the absence of the emperor not only generates the entire building charged

---

<sup>324</sup> Wen-shing Chou, "Imperial Apparitions: Manchu Buddhism and the Cult of Mañjuśrī," *Archives of Asian Art* 65, no. 1 (2016): 139–79.

<sup>325</sup> Wen-shing Chou, "Imperial Apparitions: Manchu Buddhism and the Cult of Mañjuśrī," 158.

with his latent anticipation, but also proclaims the hypothetical body of the emperor, the true owner of the seat who manifests as Tsongkhapa, is even more eminent than the sculpture in physical form.

### **Staging in the centre and refashioning the pantheon**

The staging of Qianlong as Tsongkhapa, the emanation of Mañjuśrī who founded the Geluk school, implies not only a profound connection but also the appropriation of the religious and doctrinal authority that Tsongkhapa has embodied for several centuries, now manifesting in the imperial realm. This implication, anchored by the imperial furnishings in the upper central room, is further stressed by the distinctive pair of ceramic cakrā placed on the lacquered table, flanking the copper-alloy statuette of Tsongkhapa, alongside the set of cloisonné torma and five offerings. The presence of the two cakrā corresponds to the two cakrā illustrated in the central panel of Jātakamālā thangka set in the lower central room—one stands for the Buddhist dharma placed in front of the Buddha, and the other one stands for Buddhist kingship as one of the “Seven Jewels of a Cakrāvartin”. The assertion of the royal emblems in the central axis of the building also reinforces the domains of the emperor throughout both floors, conceptually encompassing the mundane and the heavenly spheres. This is particularly indicated in the paintings posited in the corridors. Counterpointed to the paintings of the Acalā and Vajrapāṇi in front of the lower central room, the paintings of Mahāmāyūrī and Mahāpratisarā, the two protectresses of the Pañcarakṣā, are posited on the upper part of the corridor flanking the upper central room (Fig.4.24). The three-headed, six-armed, green-coloured Mahāmāyūrī gracefully sits on a single lotus throne and is surrounded by a luminous halo with a blueish hue. The four-faced, eight-armed Mahāpratisarā in white colour is illustrated as identical to the Mahāpratisarā as one of nine main deities in Room 6, the Room of Kriyā Tantra. Although the bottom part of the painting of Mahāmāyūrī is fragmentary, the paintings show goddesses are posited in identical settings, with offerings like triple jewels and conch in the front. Flowers are beautifully illustrated around their halos, while clouds are scattered in the background from top to bottom, accentuating their celestial existence in heavenly realms, as opposed to the worldly environments with mountains, rivers, and cliffs where Acalā and Vajrapāṇi are situated. This spatial relationship is further affirmed by the other paintings of Acalā and Vajrapāṇi at the end of the corridors, with a seated Akṣobhya on top, flanked by celestial beings amidst the clouds, implying the division between the worldly and heavenly realms of the lower and upper floors.

The conceptual distinctiveness between the heavenly and mundane realms of the upper and lower central rooms corresponds to their functional differences. The lower central room is the only space in the building



that allows rituals, as opposed to the upper central room, which is designated solely for the imperial furniture configuration. This suggests that the true countenance of the emperor, as the manifestation of Tsongkhapa, exists above the ordinary, external, and accessible spheres. In other words, the true imperial and divine space, which can only be recognised by discerning the hidden messages, is not primarily designed for seeking homage, burning incense, or performing prostration. This is the room exclusively for Qianlong, where he stages and embodies his manifestation in the celestial realm, subtly merging with the representation of Tsongkhapa. Situated in the uppermost space of the building, Qianlong's enactment in the upper central room also precedes the deities' assemblies of the building and metaphorically transforms the meticulously categorised six classes of deities into his own subsidiary delegations, gathered to convey his religious transcendency. The repetitive configuration of each side room and the symmetrical organisation of the six classes, as explained in Chapter 2 against the doxographic and iconographic tradition, greatly accentuates the centrality of Qianlong's enactment as celestial, wheel-turning and embodying the entity of Tibetan Buddhist teachings and practices. It is not far-fetched to say the whole building is Qianlong-oriented; thus, the hierarchical relationships of the Four Classes of Tantra and the conventional arrangement of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, which ensures the iconography displayed in completeness and order throughout, is compromised in order to elevate the emperor's own supremacy.

Qianlong's staging as the principal figure preceding all deities in six classes, raises the question of who was responsible for this grand show, which is enabled by the distinctive spatial composition in Fanhualou. Should we attribute it again to Rölpe Dorjé, who was supposed to be the compiler of all the pantheons made in the Qianlong court according to previous studies, or was Rölpe Dorjé once more a shadowy figure whose involvement cannot be verified? While the lack of detailed palace archives means the answer to this question may never be confirmed, Qianlong's passionate, strong-minded and determinative participation in the six stupas of the six sides room may shed light on this. As explained in Chapter 3, the stylistic hybridity of the six prominent and distinctive stupas, which indicates that the six rooms ought to be considered within both Tibetan and Chinese contexts, was the result of Qianlong's participation. The manufacturing process of these stupas involved Qianlong's adjustments of the stupa's iconographies, modification of their materials, and even his own painting of the designs. Collectively reflecting the emperor's own understanding towards the contents of the six classes, the six stupas and their placements in the lower side rooms, also reveal the

emperor's affirmation or even commendation of the unusual spatial demarcation of the six rooms flanking his royal seat. The stupas visually stress the allocation of the six classes, which encompass the entirety of Tibetan Buddhist teachings, while spatially integrated with the six pantheons, constituting this opulent and systematic program, orchestrated to signify Qianlong's religious supremacy above all the deities in the sutra and tantra classes. To a certain extent, the stupas can also be seen as Qianlong's agency, which not only renders the six rooms visible but also symbolises the transformation of the six pantheons from doctrinal expressions to the six stupas' iconographic expansions in identical configurations.

The general name of this kind of building, the “Hall of the Six Buddhist Classes”, reminds us that the building is about the six classes, while six has never been used as a significant number in Tibetan Buddhist doxographic tradition. The accentuation of six, which exhibits the incredible stretchability of the concept of the pantheon, also subtly poses the question regarding the uniqueness of the number: why is it six classes? Certainly the spatial composition of the six side rooms does not align with the doxographic tradition in Tibetan Buddhism, although the six side rooms are all conspicuously adorned with the six stupas. The unusual number of six distinguishes it from all the other conventional pantheons and reveals the fact that the building is not primarily constructed for perpetuating the Geluk orthodoxy or establishing iconographic standardisation. The deliberate spatial division of six side rooms, complemented by the prominent presence of six stupas signifies the conscious and purposeful transformation from a site of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon into an unprecedented “Hall of the Six Buddhist Classes”. Affirmed by the six stupas, the iconographic assemblies of six classes physically accentuate and elevate the emperor's enactment as a superior Buddhist king in the guise of Tsongkhapa, and metaphorically embody the Qianlong emperor's view of himself in the centre of the assemblies of deities, organised in six classes and signifying the entirety of Tibetan Buddhism transmissions and teachings.

## Conclusion

Despite the absence of concrete archival records detailing the building's usage and the challenges in fully comprehending Qianlong's intentions, it is evident that Fanhualou presents a unique pantheon of deities rarely, if ever, found in Tibet. It is not a site of “imperial replicas”, unlike the imperial monasteries in and around Beijing that are “modelled after” originals at Mount Wutai, as eloquently studied by Wen-shing Chou, or Yuhuage, the four floored Buddhist shrine which is recorded in Rölpe Dorjé’s biography as inspired by the Golden Temple at Tholing. Fanhualou does not replicate or refer to an existing sacred site. While the construction of eight *liupinfolou* constitutes a form of replication, it lacks a direct genealogical link, suggesting it’s an independent development rather than a process of emulation.

The unprecedented iconographical arrangement of Tsongkhapa on a dragon throne presents significant challenges in interpreting the meaning and symbolism of this design, especially the connection between Qianlong and Tsongkhapa is relatively tenuous. While both Qianlong and Tsongkhapa are identified as emanations of Mañjuśrī, no evidence support that Qianlong claims him as a incarnation of Tsongkhapa, or emphasizing any direct lineage transmission originating from Tsongkhapa. In the renowned emperor as lama thangka (Fig.5.1), Tsongkhapa is depicted within the lineage section, positioned above Qianlong and flanked by his two primary disciples, Khedrubje Gelek Pelzang and Gyeltsabje Darma Rinchen, emphasizing Tsongkhapa’s foundational role in the Gelug school. However, above Tsongkhapa, Rölpe Dorjé is prominently displayed with the inscription “root guru (Tibetan: ལཱ་ལོ་ལྷ་མོ་)” suggesting a closer personal connection to Qianlong. The arrangement align with *lama shuo*, in which Qianlong mentioned Tsongkhapa as the founder of the “Yellow church”, providing the dates of his birth and nirvana, and lists the masters of the two principle lineages originated from Tsongkhapa, namely the Dalai and Pañchen lama. While emphasizing his role as patron of Tibetan Buddhism and criticizing the Mongol Yuan’s adulations to the Tibetan clergies, Qianlong still notably highlights the history of the Changkya lineage as the sole national preceptor of the Manchu imperial family in this highly controversial royal proclamation.

However, it can be confidently asserted that Qianlong materialized and visualized a doxographic system that can be attributed to Tsongkhapa in the form of a pantheon. The visual presentation is not without confusion.

Apart from the unconventional placement of Tsongkhapa on a dragon throne, the iconographic anomaly of the cabinet deities, the numerical symbolism of six, the identical format of each classes in equal positioning, as well as the six stupas with stylistic hybridity, these unusual visual characters reflect a deliberate efforts to construct a new kind of authority of its own, instead of perpetuating the authority of Tsongkhapa's system or generating a Tibetan tradition. Fanhualou is not a shrine of emperor's personal devotion and meditation, nor a place accentuating his connection with Mañjuśrī or Tsongkhapa, but a site of translating the concept of Tibetan Buddhist pantheon based on Tsongkhapa's system, into a tangible expression of the crafting of his own imperial legacy.

Qianlong's willingness and ability to establish Fanhualou as a site for translating and transforming the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon into a new cultural form distinguishes him from other imperial figures, such as the Yongle Emperor, who also engaged with Tibetan Buddhism as a central aspect of imperial identity. Deeply interested in recreating the relationship between Qubilai and Phakpa in the relationships with his own relationship with the Fifth Karmapa Dezhin Shekpa, Yongle portrayed himself sitting on his dragon throne with his legs down, at the lower left of the dharma throne of Karmapa (Fig.5.2). Albeit surrounded by a aureole on the head signifying the sacredness, Yongle's diminutive stature in relation to Karmapa underscores a posture of deference. While challenging the traditional Chinese historical perspective, the visual narrative portrays Yongle as a much more devoted disciple, emphasizing his role as a recipient of empowerment and a loyal supporter of the lineage. In contrast, the depiction of Qianlong places him at the centre of the lineage, attempting to merge his perceived spiritual superiority with his political power into a single icon surrounded by a vast assembly of masters and deities.

It is not my intention to simplify the difference between Yongle and Qianlong's motivations of their lavish patronage of Buddhism, although the comparison of their self-representation offer insights into the involvement of Qianlong in the development of *liupinfolou*, as well as the noticeable absence of the substantial recordings regarding of Rölpe Dorjé's role in its formulation and construction. Throughout the process, Qianlong was not merely the promoter of Tibetan Buddhist imagery production, nor was he obsessed with the bloated over-decoration and the assumed character of "standardisation" of the pantheons. Instead, he demonstrated a keen awareness of the adaptive nature of the concept of pantheon and exhibited

remarkable skills and creativity in adjusting the doctrinal expression of iconographic compositions. The entire arrangement of the building also suggests that Qianlong's primary concern was not to establish the most authentic Tibetan Buddhist pantheon. Rather, he was more focused on transplanting the religious allure into his own construction of the Buddhist king persona, elevating himself beyond the likeness of any deity and surpassing the authority of lineage masters like Tsongkhapa.

These unusual adjustments of the building, which could be only conducted by the emperor, inevitably eclipse the role of upholding the doctrinal accuracy and authority of Gelug school by Rölpe Dorjé. Despite holding an unrivalled religious position in the Manchu court and participating in nearly all major imperial Tibetan Buddhist projects, concrete evidence of Rölpe Dorjé's direct artistic or literary contributions remains elusive. It is challenging to find a single painting, sculpture, or compilation of books produced by the imperial workshop that fully and explicitly embodies his personal ideas. It is also impossible to determine whether Rölpe Dorjé personally selected each deity of the three pantheons - 300, 360, and Fanhualou. However, these pantheons reveal that he presented not only to Qianlong but to all of us, an imaginative vision of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, that is organized, complete, meritorious, miraculous, doctrinally meaningful and religiously authentic. Most importantly, this vision is adaptable, capable of being shaped and developed to fulfil its purposes, which are ultimately determined by the emperor in the case of *liupinfolou*.

After the construction of the last *liupinfolou*, Xumifushouzhimiao in Jehol for the seventieth birthday of Qianlong in 1780, no more this kind of building were built. The impact of this iconographic composition and the special arrangement was short-lived. One can attribute the ephemerality of the design to its close relationship with the emperor. The subsequent emperors, with no need to reaccentuate Qianlong's reconfiguration of the pantheon signifying the totality of the teachings of the Gelug school, were less inclined to invest heavily in such grandiose projects. Or maybe the *liupinfolou* did create a long-lasting impact, which may have been a deliberate part of the emperor's strategic plan. The latent participation of the emperor, combined with the completed representation of doxographic system of Tsongkhapa validated by Rölpe Dorjé, not only shaped modern viewers' perception of the building as an authoritative representation of Gelug scholasticism, but also influenced our broader understanding of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon.

## Bibliography

84000 Translating The Words of The Buddha. "Determining the Vinaya: Upāli's Questions (Vinaya-viniścayopāli-pariprcchā, Toh 68)." *84000.co*. Accessed August 30, 2023. <https://read.84000.co/translation/toh68.html>.

———. "The Array of Virtues of Mañjuśrī's Buddha Realm (Mañjuśrī-buddhakṣetra-guṇa-vyūha, Toh 59)." *84000.co*. Accessed August 19, 2023. <https://read.84000.co/translation/toh59.html>.

———. "The Jewel Mine (Ratnākara, Toh 124)." *84000.co*. Accessed August 20, 2023. <https://read.84000.co/translation/toh124.html>.

———. "The Questions of Ratnacandra (Ratnacandrapariprcchā, Toh 164)." *84000.co*. Accessed August 20, 2023. <https://read.84000.co/translation/toh164.html>.

———. "The Root Manual of the Rites of Mañjuśrī (Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, Toh 543)." *84000.co*. Accessed August 30, 2023. <https://read.84000.co/translation/toh543.html>.

Anonymous. "現在賢劫千佛名經 (T0447b)." In *大正新脩大正藏經*. Accessed April 1, 2022. <https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T14n0447bp0383b24>.

Abhayākaragupta, Mahāpaṇḍita. *Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta*, edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 109. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1949.

Āryaśūra. *Once the Buddha Was a Monkey: Arya Sura's 'Jatakamala'*. University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Berliner, Nancy Zeng. *The Emperor's Private Paradise: Treasures from the Forbidden City*. With contributions from Mark C. Elliott [et al.]. New Haven, Conn.: Peabody Essex Museum in association with Yale University Press, 2010.

Berger, Patricia Ann. *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003.

Bentor, Yael. "On the Indian Origins of the Tibetan Practice of Depositing Relics and Dhāraṇīs in Stūpas and Images." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 2 (April 1995): 248-261. <https://doi.org/10.2307/604668>.

Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh. *The Indian Buddhist Iconography, Mainly Based on the Sādhana-mālā and Cognate Tāntric Texts of Rituals*. 2nd ed., rev. and enl. Calcutta: Firma KLMukhopadhyay, 1968.

Bodhiruci=三藏法師. "大寶積經卷第九十." *cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw*. Accessed January 24, 2023. [https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T11n0310\\_p0515c28](https://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw/zh/T11n0310_p0515c28).

BUDA. "Cakrasamvara Sahaja=བདེ་མཚན་ལྷན་སྐྱེས།." Accessed April 1, 2022. <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:T573#main-info>.

———. "Khro Bcu." Accessed August 21, 2023. <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:T2354>.

CCTV 纪录. 《故宫100》第91集 尘封佛国 | CCTV 纪录. 2014. YouTube. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1AARi6dI1Qo>. Accessed August 27, 2024.

Chandra, Lokesh. *Iconography of the Thousand Buddhas*. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1998.

Chandra, Lokesh, and International Academy of Indian Culture. *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography*. Mumbai: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1999.

Chou, Wen-shing. "Imperial Apparitions: Manchu Buddhism and the Cult of Mañjuśrī." *Archives of Asian Art* 65, no. 1 (2016): 139–79. <https://doi.org/10.1353/aaa.2016.0004>.

———. "Ineffable Paths: Mapping Wutaishan in Qing Dynasty China." *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 1 (2007): 108–29.

———. *Mount Wutai: Visions of a Sacred Buddhist Mountain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018.

———. "Reimagining the Buddhist Universe: Pilgrimage and Cosmography in the Court of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876–1933)." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 73, no. 2 (May 2014): 419–45. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911813002441>.

———. "The Visionary Landscape of Wutai Shan in Tibetan Buddhism from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6zh1k9c2>.

Christie's. "Important Thangka Imperial D'un Maṇḍala Vajramrita." Accessed March 7, 2023. <https://www.christies.com.cn/zh-cn/lot/lot-6263680>.

Clark, Walter Eugene. *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937.

Cozort, Daniel, and Daniel G. Cozort. *Highest Yoga Tantra: An Introduction to the Esoteric Buddhism of Tibet*. Boston: Snow Lion Publications, 1986.

Dalai Lama, and Tsongkhapa. *The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra, Volume Two: Deity Yoga*. Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2017.

———. *The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra, Volume Three: Yoga Tantra*. Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2017.

Dalton, Jacob. "A Crisis of Doxography: How Tibetans Organized Tantra during the 8th–12th Centuries." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 115–181.

Debreczeny, Karl. "Sino-Tibetan Artistic Synthesis in Ming Dynasty Temples at the Core and Periphery." *The Tibet Journal* 28, no. 1/2 (2003): 49–108.

Donaldson, Thomas E. *Iconography of the Buddhist Sculpture of Orissa: Text*. Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2001.

Duff, Tony. *The Illuminator Tibetan-English Dictionary*. Fully ed. new electronic ed. Tibetan Dictionaries, Texts, and Software. S.l.: Padma Karpo Translation Committee / Tony Duff, 2000.

Dunnell, Ruth W., Mark C. Elliott, Philippe Foret, and James A. Millward. *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

FitzHerbert, Solomon. "The Geluk Gesar: Guandi, the Chinese God of War, in Tibetan Buddhism from the 18th to 20th Centuries." *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* no. 53 (March 2020): 178–266.

Flood, Finbarr Barry. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval 'Hindu-Muslim' Encounter*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Gendun Gyatso. "དཔལ་ཏྟ་མགྲིན་ལྷགས་རལ་ཅན་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་མི་མཐུན་ཕྱོགས་ལས་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐྱ་དབྱངས།" In ལུང་འབྲུམ་དགོ་འདུན་རྒྱ་མཚོ། [Dkar Mdzes], 1:347–49. Accessed August 28, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW861\\_2DEC93](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW861_2DEC93). [BDRC bdr]

Granoff, Phyllis. "A Portable Buddhist Shrine from Central Asia." *Archives of Asian Art* 22 (1968): 80–95.

Gyalrong, Tsultrim Nyima. "A Letter of Final Testament Sent upon the Wind: A Guide to Mahāmudrā Combined with the Uncommon Guru Yoga of the Ensa Oral Transmission Endowed with Pith Instructions and Oral Teachings." In *Stages of the Path and the Oral Transmission: Selected Teachings of the Geluk School*, translated by Thupten Jinpa, vol. 6. Wisdom Publications, 2022.

HAR. "Buddhist Protector: Shri Devi, Magzor Gyalmo (Introduction)." *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed March 10, 2022. <https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=2125>.

———. "Buddhist Protector: Shmashana Adhipati (Chitipati)." *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed April 1, 2022. <https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=160>.

———. "Buddhist Protector: Yama Dharmaraja Main Page." *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed April 1, 2022. <https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=178>.

———. "Medicine Buddha of Hahn Cultural Foundation." *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed July 30, 2023. <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/98927>.

———. "Stupa (Buddhist Reliquary)." *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed May 19, 2023. <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/50255>.

———. "Yamari, Krishna." *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed August 31, 2023. <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/79075>.

Hodge, Stephen. *The Maha-Vairocana-Abhisambodhi Tantra: With Buddhaguhya's Commentary*. London: Routledge, 2005.



Hopkins, Jeffrey, ed. *The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra, Volume One: Tantra in Tibet (Revised Edition)*. Translated by Jeffrey Hopkins. Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2016.

Huntington, John C., and Dina Bangdel. *The Circle of Bliss: Buddhist Meditational Art*. Chicago: Serindia Publications, Inc., 2003.

Jackson, David. "Lineages and Structures in Tibetan Buddhist Painting: Principles and Practices of an Ancient Sacred Choreography." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* no. 1 (October 2005): 1-40

Jackson, Roger R. *Mind Seeing Mind: Mahamudra and the Geluk Tradition of Tibetan Buddhism*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2019.

Jagaddarpaṇa. *Kriya-samuccaya: A Sanskrit Manuscript from Nepal Containing a Collection of Tantric Ritual*. New Delhi: Sharda Rani, 1977.

Jamyang Zhepai Dorje Ngawang Tsondru. " མཇུག་ལ་ཚེན་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་རས་བྱི་རྒྱུ་བརྒྱ་དང་འགྲུ་མ་པའི་ཚེན་མ་ཞིབ་ཐོབ་པ། " གསུང་འབྲུ་མ། འཇམ་དབྱེར་པའི་བཞད་པའི་དོན་རྗེ། རྒྱ་བྲལ་པའི་བསྐྱེད་པའི་མཛུགས།, vol. 4, Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1972–1974, pp. 298–349. རང་བསྐྱེད་དཔེ་ཚོགས་ལྷེ་གནས། (BDRC) , [purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1KG9409\\_320D76](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1KG9409_320D76). [BDRC bdr:MW1KG9409\_320D76]

Jia, Wei Wei. " The Image and Text Study of the Portraits of Duowen Tianwang and the Eight Horse Lords in Xialu Temple. " *藏学学刊* 15 (2018): 154–70.

Jinpa, Thupten. *Tsongkhapa: A Buddha in the Land of Snows*. Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2019.

Jr, Robert E. Buswell, and Donald S. Lopez Jr. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Kapstein, Matthew. " The Seventh Dalai Lama, Kelzang Gyatso. " *The Treasury of Lives*. Accessed August 22, 2023. <http://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Seventh-Dalai-Lama-Kelzang-Gyatso/3107>.

Khedrupje Gelek Pelzang. *Introduction to Buddhist Tantric Systems: Translated from Mkhas Grub Rje's Rgyud Sde Spyih'i Rnam Par Gzag Pargyas Par Brjod with Original Text and Annotation*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1993.

Kimmet, Natasha, and Kozicz Gerald. " Ushnishavijaya: On the Relationship Between a Buddhist Deity and Her Architectural Framework in Ladakh. " *Orientalia* 43, no. 5 (2012): 44–52.

Kwon, Do-Kyun. "Sarva Tathagata Tattva Samgraha, Compendium of All the Tathagatas: A Study of Its Origin, Structure and Teachings. " Ph.D. diss., SOAS, University of London, 2002. <https://doi.org/10.25501/SOAS.00028567>.

Lin, Nancy Grace. " Adapting the Buddha's Biographies: A Cultural History of the Wish-Fulfilling Vine in Tibet, Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries. " Ph.D. diss., UC Berkeley, 2011. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/50750573>.

Linrothe, Robert N., and Marilyn M. Rhie, eds. *Demonic Divine: Himalayan Art and Beyond*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art; Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2004.

Cary Y. "Concepts of Architectural Space in Historical Chinese Thought. " In *A Companion to Chinese Art*, edited by Martin J. Powers and Katherine R. Tsiang, 195–211. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.

Lo Bue, Erberto. "Iconographic Sources and Iconometric Literature in Tibetan and Himalayan Art." In *Indo-Tibetan Studies: Papers in Honour and Appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's Contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies*, edited by David L. Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, 19–38. Buddhica Britannica 2. Tring, U.K.: Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1990.

Lo Bue, Erberto, and Bray John. *Art and Architecture in Ladakh: Cross-Cultural Transmissions in the Himalayas and Karakoram*. Leiden: BRILL, 2014.

Lobzang Chokyi Gyaltsen. "རྣམ་ལུང་མངོན་བྱུང་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འདོན་ཏུ་བསྐྱེགས་པ།. " In གསུང་འབྲུག་ རྫོག་བཟང་ཚོས་གྱུ་རྒྱལ་མཚན།, 3:715–56. [Bkra Shis Lhun Po?]: [Tibet]. Accessed August 18, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW9848\\_798AE7](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW9848_798AE7). [BDRC bdr:MW9848\_798AE7]

———. "ཁོ་མོ་ལྷོ་བ་བརྟེན་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཐབས་བཀྲ་བྱུང་བསྐྱེད་གསུམ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དང་བཅས་པ།. " In གསུང་འབྲུག་ རྫོག་བཟང་ཚོས་གྱུ་རྒྱལ་མཚན།, vol. 4, Mongolian Lama Gurudeva, 1973, pp. 775–84. ནང་བཟུན་དཔེ་ཚོགས་ཏེ་གནས། (BDRC) , [purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW23430\\_E362EE](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW23430_E362EE). [BDRC bdr:MW23430\_E362EE]

Lobzang Chokyi Nyima. " རྣམ་སྐུ་ལེན་ཚེན་གྱི་གཏོར་ཚོག་གི་ནུ་བཟུས་པ་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཚར་འབེབས། སྐད་རིགས། བོད་ཡིག . " *BUDA*. Accessed March 19, 2023. <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:WA0XL32FAEFDEFAD3>.

Lohia, Sushama. *Lalitavajra's Manual of Buddhist Iconography*. International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1994

Lopez, Manuel. " Contemplative Practice, Doxographies, and the Construction of Tibetan Buddhism: Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé and *The Lamp for the Eye in Meditation*," *Religions* 9, no. 11 (2018): Article 360. <https://doi.org/10.3390/REL9110360>.

Luczanits, Christian." Mandalas Intertwined – Why Minor Goddesses in the Tabo Main Temple Matter. " In *Burlesque of the Philosophers. Indian and Buddhist Studies in Memory of Helmut Krasser*, ed. Vincent Eltschinger, Jowita Kramer, Parimal Patil, and Chizuko Yoshimizu, 363-394. Bochum, Freiburg: projekt verlag, 2023.

Luo Wenhua. *龍袍與袈裟：清宮藏傳佛教文化考察=Dragon robes and cassocks: An investigation of Tibetan Buddhist culture in the Qing Dynasty*. Beijing: 紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2005.

Luo, Wenhua, and Ming Wen. " 咸若館供藏擦擦佛整理研究 -- 兼及《諸佛菩薩聖像贊》之比較” =A Comparative Study between the Tsa-Tsas Enshrined in Xianruo Guan, Cining Garden, The Forbidden City and Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (Zhufo-Pusa Shengxiang Zan). " *故宮博物院院刊=Palace Museum Journal* 145, no. 第五期 (2009): 26–55.

Ma, Jing. " 外八廟館藏擦擦佛淺賞=A Brief Appreciation of Tsha-Tsha Buddha in the Collection of Outer Eight Temples". *中國民族博覽= China National Exhibition*, no. 01 (2016).

Merriam-Webster. " Pantheon. " *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*. Accessed August 26, 2024. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pantheon>.

Mian, Guo. " 明間 Míngjiān. " *Architectura Sinica*. Accessed April 4, 2022. <https://architecturasinica.org/keyword/k000171>.

Mori, Masahide. "Listing of 'The Three Hundred and Sixties Buddhist Deities'." *Asian Iconographic Resources*. Accessed June 14, 2019. [http://air.w3.kanazawa-u.ac.jp/AIR/PDF/360deities\\_list.pdf](http://air.w3.kanazawa-u.ac.jp/AIR/PDF/360deities_list.pdf).

———. "The Kalacakra and Tantric Deities Preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts." In *Buddhist and Indian Studies in Honour of Professor Sodo Mori* Hamamatsu: Kokusai Bukkyoto Kyokai (International Buddhist Association), 2002.

———. "The Vajrāvalī Maṇḍala Series in Tibet." In *Esoteric Buddhist Studies: Identity in Diversity. Proceedings of the International Conference on Esoteric Buddhist Studies*, edited by ICEBS Editorial Board, 223–41. Koyasan University, 2008.

———. *The Vajrāvalī of Abhayakaragupta: A Critical Study, Sanskrit Edition of Selected Chapters and Complete Tibetan Version*. PhD diss., University of London, 1997.

Ngawang Jampa, " རྗེ་བཙུན་འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱངས་ནང་སྐབ་ཀྱི་སྐབ་ཐབས་ཤིས་རབ་སྐྱང་མཛོད་ ཉེན་ལེན་. " in གསུང་འབྲུག་ འགྲེལ་བཤད་བུ་མཚན་པ།, 2:119–36. New Delhi: Ngawang Sopa, 1973–1974. Accessed August 17, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1229\\_81EAC1](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1229_81EAC1). [BDRC bdr:MW1229\_81EAC1]

Ngawang Lobzang Gyatso, " འཇམ་དབྱངས་གསང་སྐབ་ཀྱི་སྐབ་ཐབས་དང་རྗེས་གནང་ ཉེན་ལེན་. " In གསུང་འབྲུག་ འགྲེལ་བཤད་བུ་མཚན་པ།, 661–64. ལྷ་ས།: རྗེས་བཟང་འབྲུག་གསར་པ།, 2000. Accessed August 18, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW22116\\_80AB5C](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW22116_80AB5C). [BDRC bdr:MW22116\_80AB5C]

Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René de. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*. New Delhi: Book Faith India, 1996.

Pakhoutova, Elena. *Reproducing the Sacred Places: The Eight Great Events of the Buddha's Life and Their Commemorative Stupas in the Medieval Art of Tibet (10th -13th Century)*. PhD diss., Virginia University, 2009.

Pal, Pratapaditya. "A Note on the Maṇḍala of the Eight Bodhisattvas". *Archives of Asian Art* 26 (1972): 71–73.

———. *Tibetan Paintings: A Study of Tibetan Thankas Eleventh to Nineteenth Centuries*. New York: Ravi Kumar, 1984.

Qianlong. " 御制万寿山多宝佛塔颂. " In *欽定日下旧闻考 (四库全书本)/卷084*, edited by 于敏中. Accessed August 1, 2023. [https://zh.m.wikisource.org/wiki/欽定日下舊聞考\\_\(四庫全書本\)](https://zh.m.wikisource.org/wiki/欽定日下舊聞考_(四庫全書本)).

Repo, Joona. "Phabongkha Dechen Nyingpo: His Collected Works and the Guru-Deity-Protector Triad". *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 33 (2015): 5–72.

Rhie, Marilyn M., and Robert A. F. Thurman. *A Shrine for Tibet: The Alice S. Kandell Collection*. Tibet House US, 2009.

Rigpa Shedra, " Thirty-Five Buddhas of Confession." *rigpawiki.org*. Accessed February 15, 2022. [http://www.rigpawiki.org/index.php?title=Thirty-five\\_buddhas\\_of\\_confession](http://www.rigpawiki.org/index.php?title=Thirty-five_buddhas_of_confession).

Rölpe Dorjé. 三百佛像集=*The Three Hundred Icons*. 中國藏學出版社=*China Tibetology Publishing House*, 1994.

———. "གསང་བདག་འཁོར་ཆེན་ལྷན་སྐྱེས་སྐབ་ཐབས།." In གསུང་འབུམ། རོལ་བའི་དོ་རྗེ།, 3:397–420. [Pe Cin]: [Krung Go Bod Brgyud Mtho Rim Nang Bstan Slob Gling Nang Bstan Zhib 'jug Khang], 1995. Accessed September 2, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW28833\\_294898](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW28833_294898). [BDRC bdr:MW28833\_294898]

———. "དཔལ་གསང་བའི་བདག་པོ་འཁོར་ལོ་ཆེན་པོའི་རས་བྱིས་དང་བསམ་གཏན་གྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་སྐབ་མཚན་བྱ་ཚུལ་སྲིད་གསུམ་བཞག་གས་དབུང་འཛོམས་བྱེད་དོ་རྗེ་འབར་བའི་འཁོར་ལོ།." In གསུང་འབུམ། རོལ་བའི་དོ་རྗེ། རྟོ་རམ་ས་ལཱ།, 3:363–96. Dharamsala: Library Of Tibetan Works And Archives, 2003. Accessed September 2, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW29035\\_5B6E36](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW29035_5B6E36). [BDRC bdr:MW29035\_5B6E36]

———. "དམ་ཅན་དོ་རྗེ་ལེགས་པ་ལ་མཚན་གཏོར་འབུལ་ཞིང་འཕྲིན་ལས་འཚོལ་བའི་ཚུལ་དཔལ་བོའི་སྐད་དབྱངས།." In གསུང་འབུམ། རོལ་བའི་དོ་རྗེ།, 5:365–72. [Pe Cin]: [Krung Go Bod Brgyud Mtho Rim Nang Bstan Slob Gling Nang Bstan Zhib 'jug Khang], 1995. Accessed August 21, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW28833\\_DB848D](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW28833_DB848D). [BDRC bdr:MW28833\_DB848D]

———. 諸佛菩薩聖像讚=*The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*. 中國藏學出版社=*China Tibetology Publishing House*, 2009.

ROM. "Mould for Buddha Calling the Earth to Witness". *collections.rom.on.ca*. Accessed September 1, 2023. <https://collections.rom.on.ca/objects/297873/mould-for-buddha-calling-the-earth-to-witness;jsessionid=90A843DB71B83614FBCE87B0D015E9FC>.

Runia, David T. "Doxography." In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 1st ed. London: Routledge, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780415249126-A045-1>.

Saerji. "How the Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon First Aspired to Awakening: The Pūrva-Praṇidhānas of Buddhas 1–250." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University for the Academic Year 2013* (Tokyo 2014), Vol. 17, pp. 245–291.

———. "How the Buddhas of the Fortunate Aeon First Aspired to Awakening: The Pūrva-Praṇidhānas of Buddhas 251–500." *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University for the Academic Year 2015* (Tokyo 2016), Vol. 19, pp. 149–192.

Saraswati Publications. "CHOG-CHU MUN-SEL: Dispelling the Darkness of the Ten Directions." *saraswatipublications.org*. Accessed August 23, 2023. <https://www.saraswatipublications.org/product/chog-chu-mun-sel-dispelling-the-darkness-of-the-ten-directions/>.

Shen, Hsueh-man. *Authentic Replicas: Buddhist Art in Medieval China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2018.

Sonam, Dorje. "The Seventh Tatsak Jedrung, Lobzang Pelden Gyeltsen." *The Treasury of Lives*. Accessed August 19, 2023. <http://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Seventh-Tatsak-Jedrung-Lobzang-Pelden-Gyeltsen/9693>.

Sonam Gyatso. *The Ngor Mandalas of Tibet: Listings of the Maṇḍala Deities*. Tokyo : Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1991.

Sullivan, Brenton. *Building a Religious Empire: Tibetan Buddhism, Bureaucracy, and the Rise of the Gelukpa*. 1st edition. Encounters with Asia. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021.

Tanaka, Kimiaki. *An Illustrated History of the Mandala: From Its Genesis to the Kalacakrantra*. Somerville, MA : Wisdom Publications, 2018.

———. *Mitrayogin 's 108 Mandalas: An Image Database*. Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2013.

Tanemura, Ryugen. "Guhyasamāja." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism Online*. Brill, 1 November 2020. [https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-buddhism/guhyasamaja-COM\\_0028](https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-buddhism/guhyasamaja-COM_0028).

Tatz, Mark. "The Life of Candragomin in Tibetan Historical Tradition." *The Tibet Journal* 7, no. 3 (1982): 3–22.

Tenpai Nyima, ཡི་དམ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྐུ་ཐབས་རིན་ཆེན་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ལྷན་ཐབས་རིན་འབྲུང་དོན་གསལ།. International Academy Of Indian Culture, 1974. ནང་བསྟན་དང་ཚོགས་ལྷན་གནས། (BDRC) , [purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1KG10237](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1KG10237). [BDRC bdr:MW1KG10237]

Tenzin Fedor Stracke. "Drakpa Shedrub." *The Treasury of Lives*. Accessed April 1, 2022. <http://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Drakpa-Shedrub/2931>.

Tenzin Gyatso. *The World of Tibetan Buddhism: An Overview of Its Philosophy and Practice*. Boston : Wisdom Publications, 1995.

The Met. "Guan Yu." *metmuseum.org*. Accessed September 1, 2023. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/62002>.

The Palace Museum. "梵华楼= Fanhualou." *dpm.org.cn*. Accessed September 1, 2023. <https://www.dpm.org.cn/explore/building/236572.html>.

———. "佛海觀世音菩薩唐卡= Jinasāgara Avalokiteśvara Thangka." *dpm.org.cn*. Accessed September 1, 2023. <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/religion/230996.html>

———. "金髮塔= Gold Hair Stupa." *dpm.org.cn*. Accessed July 30, 2023. [https://www.dpm.org.cn/Home.html?\\_wap=1](https://www.dpm.org.cn/Home.html?_wap=1).

———. "金嵌玉石佛塔= Gold Jade Inlaid Stupa." *dpm.org.cn*. Accessed July 30, 2023. <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/tinware/232593.html>.

———. "金累絲嵌珠寶塔= Gold Silk Inlaid Jewellery Stupa." *dpm.org.cn*. Accessed August 31, 2023. [https://www.dpm.org.cn/Home.html?\\_wap=1](https://www.dpm.org.cn/Home.html?_wap=1).

———. "乾隆皇帝朝服像軸= Emperor Qianlong's Court Clothes Portrait." *dpm.org.cn*. Accessed September 1, 2023. [https://www.dpm.org.cn/Home.html?\\_wap=1](https://www.dpm.org.cn/Home.html?_wap=1).

———. "十臂積光佛母唐卡= Ten-armed Mārīcī Thangka." *dpm.org.cn*. Accessed July 30, 2023. <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/religion/231011.html>.

———. "紫金八臂積光佛母像= Bronze Eight-armed Mārīcī Sculpture." *dpm.org.cn*. Accessed July 30, 2023. <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/religion/231061.html>.

———. " 御制满汉蒙古西番合璧大藏全咒. " *dpm.org.cn*. Accessed August 27, 2024. <https://www.dpm.org.cn/ancient/nation/163492.html>.

Tony Duff, *The Illuminator Tibetan-English dictionary*, Fully ed. new electronic ed., Tibetan dictionaries, texts, and software. Nepal, Kathmandu: Padma Karpo Translation Committee, 2000

Tribe, Anthony. " Mañjuśrī as Ādibuddha: The Identity of an Eight-Armed Form of Mañjuśrī Found in Early Western Himalayan Buddhist Art in the Light of Three Nāmasaṃgīti-Related Text. " In *Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions Essays in Honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson*, 539–68. Brill, 2020. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004432802\\_024](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004432802_024).

———. *Tantric Buddhist Practice in India: Vilāsavajra's Commentary on the Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṃgīti*. London: Routledge, 2016.

Tsering, Sonam. "The Role of Texts in the Formation of the Geluk School in Tibet during the Mid-Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." PhD diss., Columbia University, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.7916/D8-WN60-Y533>.

Tsinghua University School of Architecture= 清華大學建築學院. 頤和園=Summer Palace. 中國建築工業出版社=China Construction Industry Press, 2000.

Tsonawa, Lobsang N., trans. *Indian Buddhist Pandits from "The Jewel Garland of Buddhist History": Biography of the Indian Buddhist Pandits*. Dharamshala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2005.

Tsongkhapa. " གསང་འདུས་འཇམ་པའི་དོ་རྗེའི་སྐུ་ཐབས་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་དགོངས་པ་གསལ་བ། (Explanation of the Guhyasamāja Manjuvajra-Sadhana). " In གསུང་འབྲུག་ མོང་ཁ་པ་ རྒྱལ་ལྷོ་, 8:119–60. *New Delhi, India: Mongolian Lama Guru Deva, 1978–1979*. Accessed September 2, 2023. [http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW635\\_F88AD2](http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW635_F88AD2). [BDRC bdr:MW635\_F88AD2]

———. " གསང་འདུས་མི་བསྐྱོད་དོ་རྗེའི་དབྱིས་ཚག་དབང་གི་དོན་གྱི་དེ་ཉིད་རབ་ཏུ་གསལ་བ།(The Initiation of the Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra Maṇḍala Rite) " 1 vols. Mongolia: དགའ་ཕྱན་ཐེག་ཆེན་རྒྱུང་།. Accessed September 2, 2023. <http://purl.bdrc.io/resource/MW1NLM916>. [BDRC bdr:MW1NLM916],

Tsongkhapa, and Jeffrey Hopkins. *Tantra in Tibet: The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra*. Wisdom of Tibet Series. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1977.

Tucci, Giuseppe. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. SDI Publications, 1999.

Vira, Raghu, and Lokesh Chandra. *Tibetan Maṇḍalas: Vajrāvalī and Tantra-Samuccaya*. International Academy of Indian Culture, 1995.

Vistacreat. " Kumbum Monastery, Ta'er Temple: A Tibetan Buddhism Free Stock Photo and Image. " *create.vista.com*. Accessed July 30, 2023. <https://create.vista.com/unlimited/stock-photos/313391676/stock-photo-kumbum-monastery-taer-temple-a/>.

Wang, Eugene Y. " Tope and Topos: The Leifeng Pagoda and the Discourse of the Demonic. " In *Writing and Materiality in China*, 488–522. 1 January 2003.

Wang Jiapeng, ed. *Fanhualou Volume 1= 梵華樓 第一卷*. Beijing:紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009.

———. ed. *Fanhualou Volume 2* = 梵華樓 第二卷. Beijing: 紫禁城出版社 = The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009.

———. ed. *Fanhualou Volume 3* = 梵華樓 第三卷. Beijing: 紫禁城出版社 = The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009.

———. ed. *Fanhualou Volume 4* = 梵華樓 第四卷. Beijing: 紫禁城出版社 = The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009.

———. 故宮唐卡圖典 = *Forbidden City Thangka Illustration*. Beijing: 故宮出版社 = The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2011.

———. 梵華樓藏寶·唐卡 = *Thangkas in the Sanctuary of Buddhist Essence*. Beijing: 故宮出版社 = The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2013.

Wang, Xiangyun. "Tibetan Buddhism at the Court of Qing: The Life and Work of LCang-Skya Rol-Pa'i-Rdo-Rje, 1717-86." PhD diss., Harvard University, 1995.

Watt, Jeff. "Buddhist Protector: Shri Devi, Magzor Gyalmo (Introduction)." *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed March 10, 2022. <https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=2125>.

Wayman, Alex. *Buddhist Tantras: Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul PLC, 1974.

Weinberger, Steven. "The Yoga Tantras and the Social Context of Their Transmission to Tibet." *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 23 (2010): 131–66.

Weinberger, Steven Neal. "The Significance of Yoga Tantra and the 'Compendium of Principles' ('Tattvasamgraha Tantra') within Tantric Buddhism in India and Tibet." PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2003.

Wen, Ming. "慈寧春猶在：覽勝慈寧宮花園 = The Spring of Compassion and Tranquility Is Still Here: Visit the Garden of Compassion and Ning Palace." *紫禁城 = Forbidden City*, 7 (2015): 70–85.

Wen, Ming, and Wenhua Luo. "鹹若館供藏擦擦佛整理研究兼及與諸佛菩薩聖像讚之比較 = *Research on the Collection and Restoration of the 'Mao Ruoguan' Buddha and Comparisons with Various Buddha and Bodhisattva Images*". *故宮博物院院刊 = Palace Museum Journal*, no. 5 (2009): 26-55.

Whiteman, Stephen H. "From Upper Camp to Mountain Estate: Recovering Historical Narratives in Qing Imperial Landscapes." *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 33 (2013): 249–79.

———. *Where Dragon Veins Meet: The Kangxi Emperor and His Estate at Rehe*. University of Washington Press, 2020.

Willson, Martin. *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism: The Zürich Paintings of the Icons Worthwhile to See: : Bris Sku Mthor Ba Don Ldan*. Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publ., 2001.

Wisdom Library. "Bodhyagrimudra, Bodhyagrīmudrā, Bodhyagri-Mudra: 1 Definition." *Wisdomlib.org*. Accessed June 10, 2022. <https://www.wisdomlib.org/definition/bodhyagrimudra>.

———. "Manushi, Mānusi, Mānuṣī, Manuṣī: 16 Definitions." *Wisdomlib.org*. Accessed August 3, 2014. <https://www.wisdomlib.org/definition/manushi#tibetan-buddhism>.

———. "Vajrabhairava, Vajra-Bhairava: 1 Definition." *Wisdomlib.org*. Accessed April 7, 2018. <https://www.wisdomlib.org/definition/vajrabhairava>.

Wellcome Collection. "The Imperial Summer Palace (Yuan Ming Yuan), Beijing, China: The Pagoda. Photograph by Felice Beato, 1860." *Wellcome Collection*. Accessed July 30, 2023. <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/azx9ygmj/items>.

Wu, Hong. *空間的美術史=Art History of Space*. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2018.

Wu, Lan. "Refuge from Empire: Religion and Qing China's Imperial Formation in the Eighteenth Century." PhD diss., Columbia University, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.7916/D8JS9Q58>.

Xiong, Wenbin. "西藏山南貢嘎寺主殿集會大殿《如意藤》壁畫初探-*Preliminary Study of the 'Wish-Fulfilling Vine' Murals in the Main Hall of Gongga Monastery, Shannan, Tibet.*" *China Tibetology* no. 2 (2012): 176–87.

Xu, Mingyin. "章嘉宗義書〈中觀派章〉漢譯(上)=A Chinese Translation (Part One) of the Madhyamaka Chapter of LCang Skya's Grub Mtha)." *正觀雜誌社*, no. 40 (2007): 111–87.

Yijing= 義淨, trans. "藥師琉璃光七佛本願功德經=The Sutra of the Medicine Buddha's Seven Vows". In *大正新脩大正藏經 [Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō]* Vol. 14, No. 451. Accessed September 2, 2023. [http://buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/BDLM/sutra/chi\\_pdf/sutra9/T14n0451.pdf](http://buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/BDLM/sutra/chi_pdf/sutra9/T14n0451.pdf).

Zhang, Changhong. "“乾隆帝定名羅漢畫名相考(上)= The Study on Emperor Qianlong's Compilation of the Names and Appearances of Arhat Paintings (Part One)”. *故宮博物院院刊=Palace Museum Journal*. no. 9 (2021): 54–67.

Zhang, Yajing. "“清宮藏‘白上乐王佛’图像溯源=Tracing the Origin of the Image of White-Saṃvara Collected in the Qing Palace”. *故宮博物院院刊=Palace Museum Journal* vol. 168 (2013): 46–160.

Zhou, Sha, and Penglin Lou. "北京北海西天梵境七佛塔碑記考=A Textual Research on the Inscriptions of the Seven Buddhist Pagodas in the West Heavenly Brahma Realm of Beihai, Beijing." *中國藏學=China Tibetology* no. 3 (2011): 81–86.



## Illustrations



Fig. 1.1 Folio No. 22 Kālachakra (center), Mahacakra Vajrapāṇi (on his right), and Hevajra (on his left), *Three Hundred Icons*. Faculty Collections, Northwestern University Libraries, Rob Linrothe Image Collection. Accessed August 23, 2024. <https://dc.library.northwestern.edu/items/1e5430eb-0432-4248-ad5b-b889173b7acd>.

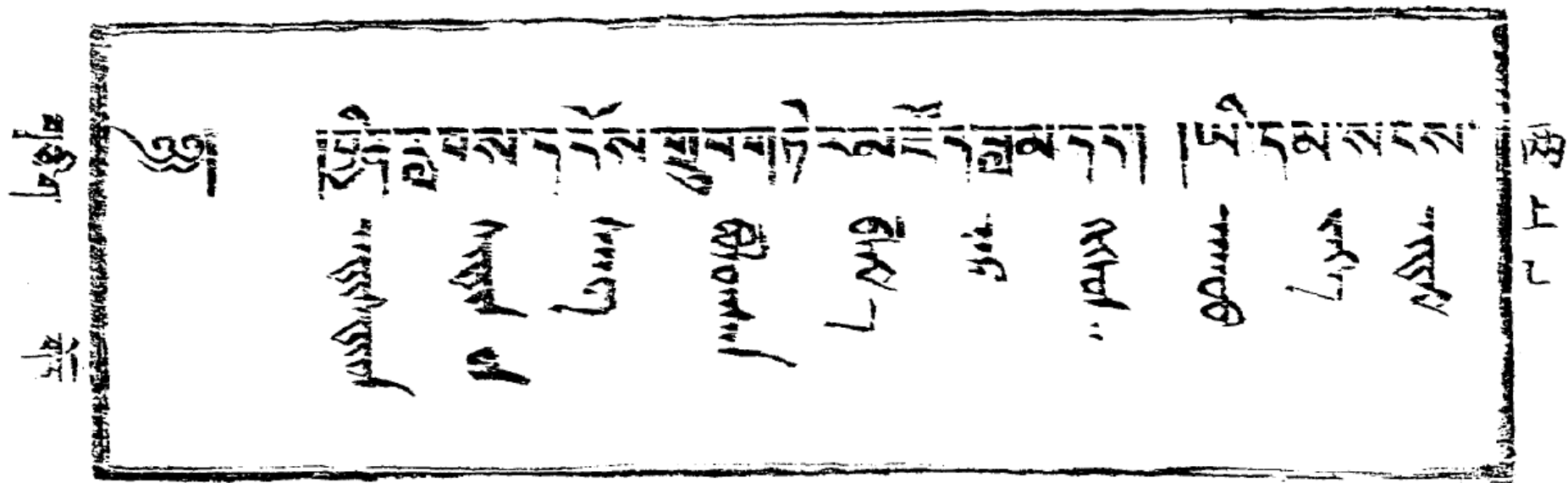


Fig.1.2 Preface Page 1 in 三百佛像集= *The Three Hundred Icons*, Qing dynasty, woodblock-printed book. After 三百佛像集= *The Three Hundred Icons* (中國藏學出版社= China Tibetology Publishing House, 1994).

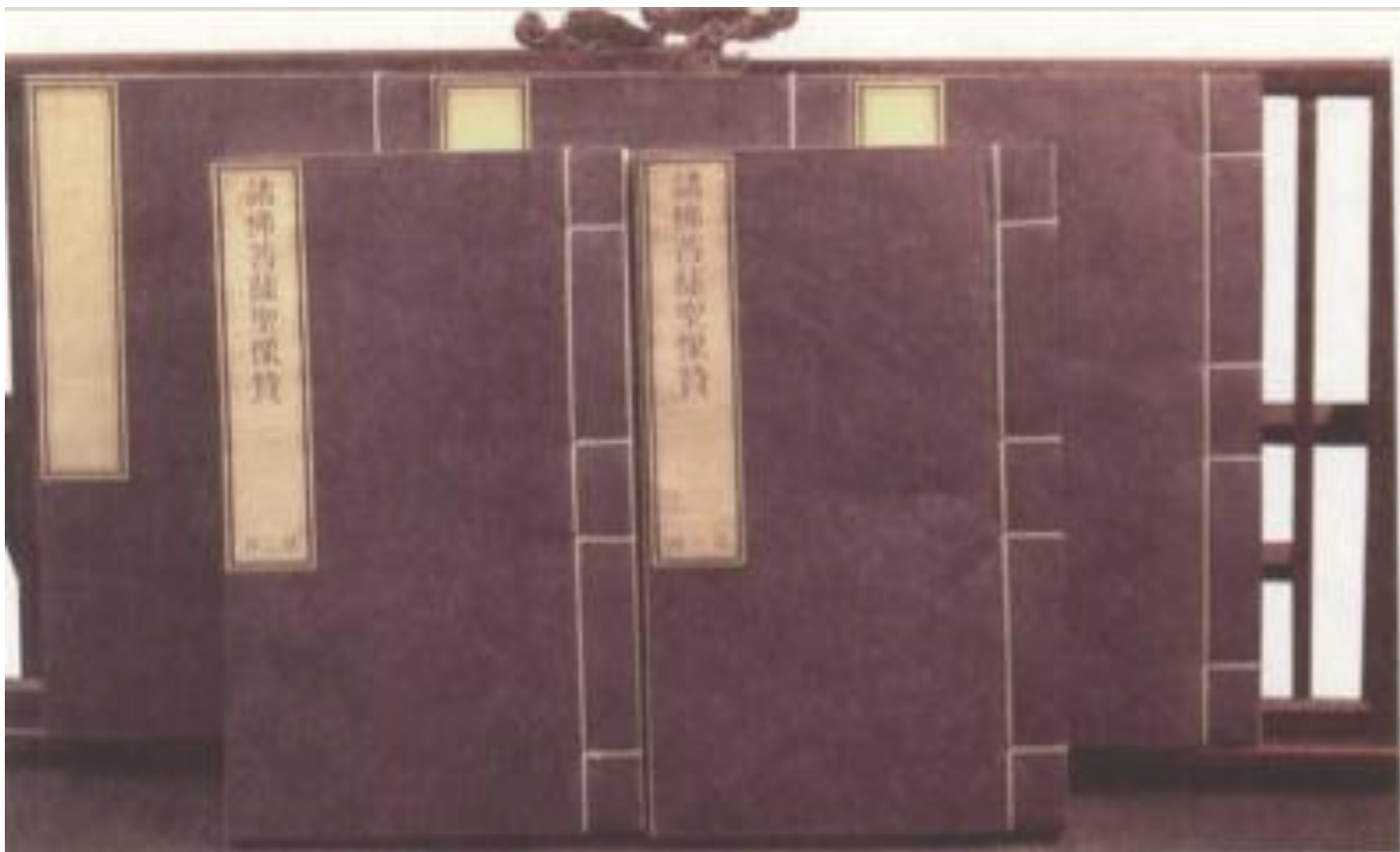


Fig.1.3 The cover of the five volumes of 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*. After 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (中國藏學出版社= China Tibetology Publishing House, 2009), 2.



Fig.1.4 Cakrasaṃvara and the eulogy of 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*, colour on paper, 29 x 16.9 cm. After 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (中國藏學出版社= China Tibetology Publishing House, 2009), 11.

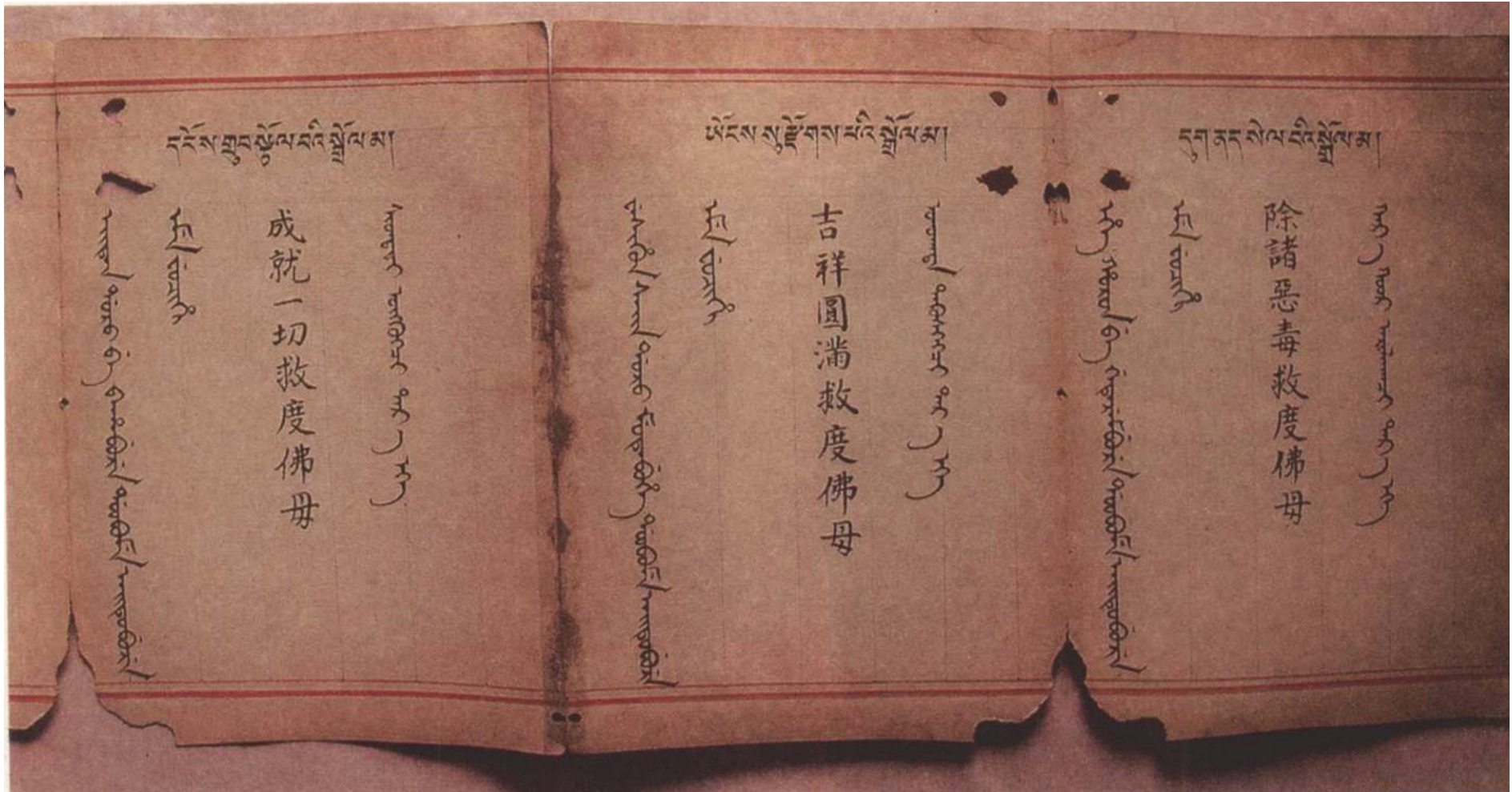


Fig.1.5 Fragmented palace rescript; After 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (中國藏學出版社= China Tibetology Publishing House, 2009), 15.

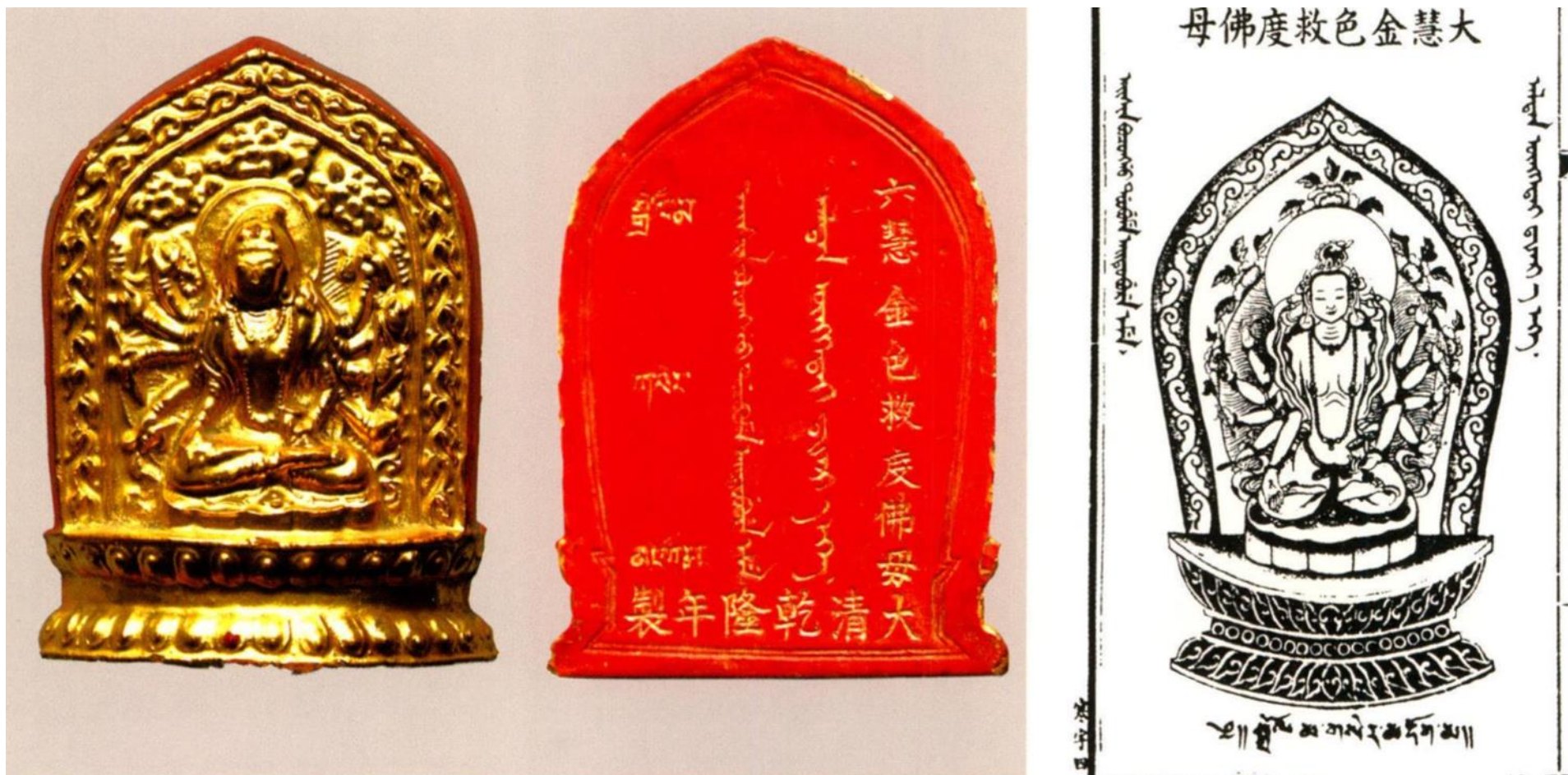
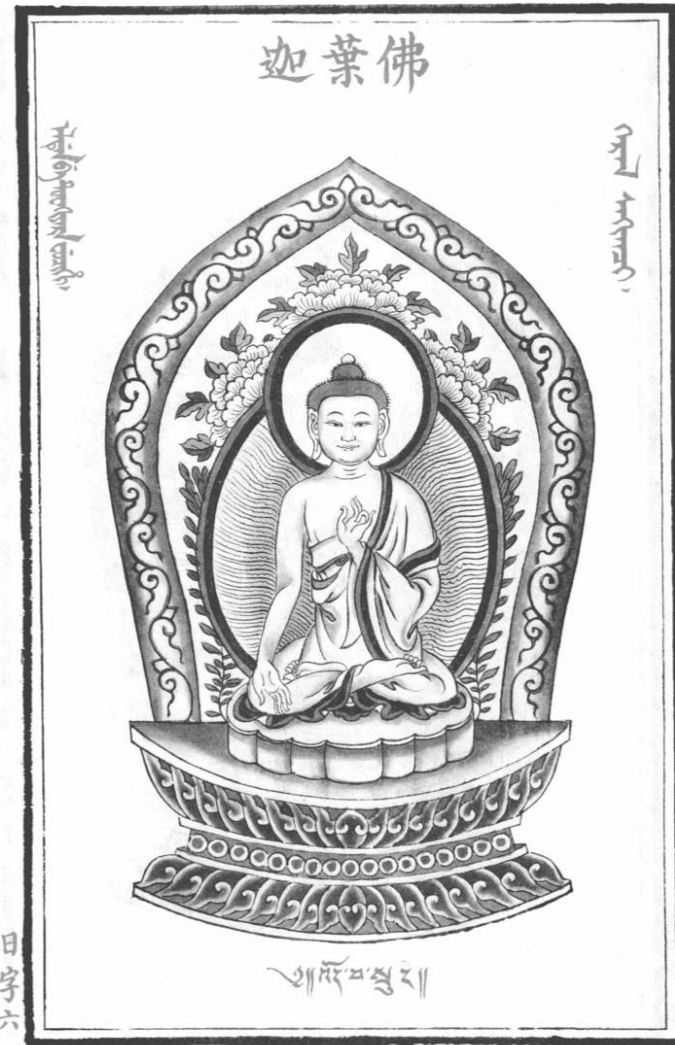


Fig.1.6 (Left) Tsha-tsha of Kanakavarṇa Tārā, clay, 6.2 x 7.7 cm. After Luo Wenhua and Wen Ming, "咸若館供藏擦擦佛整理研究 -- 兼及《諸佛菩薩聖像贊》之比較=A Comparative Study between the Tsa-Tsas Enshrined in Xianruo Guan,Cining Garden,The Forbidden City and Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas(Zhufo-Pusa Shengxiang Zan)", *Palace Museum Journal*, 145, no. 第五期 (2009): 26–55. 45.

Fig.1.6 (Right) Kanakavarṇa Tārā, ink on paper, 29 x 16.9 cm. After 諸佛菩薩聖像贊= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (中國藏學出版社= China Tibetology Publishing House, 2009), 211.



(Left) Fig.1.7 Mould for Tsha-tsha, cast bronze, Qianlong Period, 10 x 8 x 3 cm. Royal Ontario Museum. Accessed 1 September 2023, <https://collections.rom.on.ca/objects/297873/mould-for-buddha-calling-the-earth-to-witness;jsessionid=90A843DB71B83614FBCE87B0D015E9FC>.

(Right) Fig.1.8 Kāśyapa in 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*, ink on paper, 29 x 16.9 cm. After 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (中國藏學出版社= China Tibetology Publishing House, 2009), 11.



Fig.1.9 Kālacakra in 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*, ink on paper, 29 x 16.9 cm. After 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (中國藏學出版社= China Tibetology Publishing House, 2009), 37.



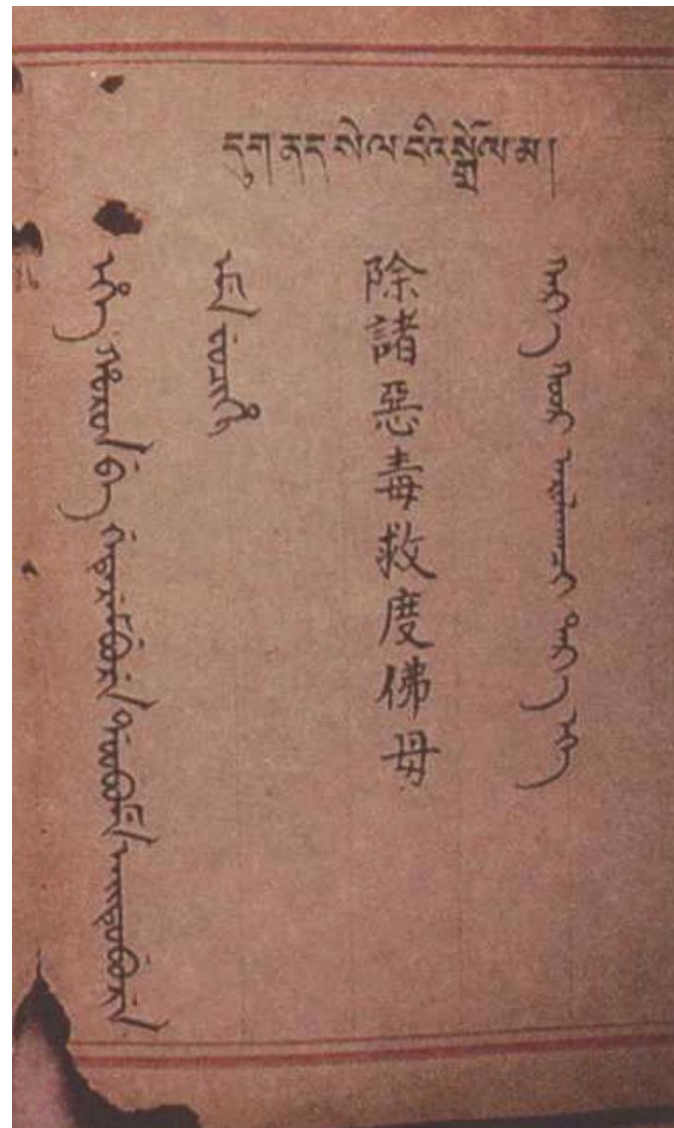
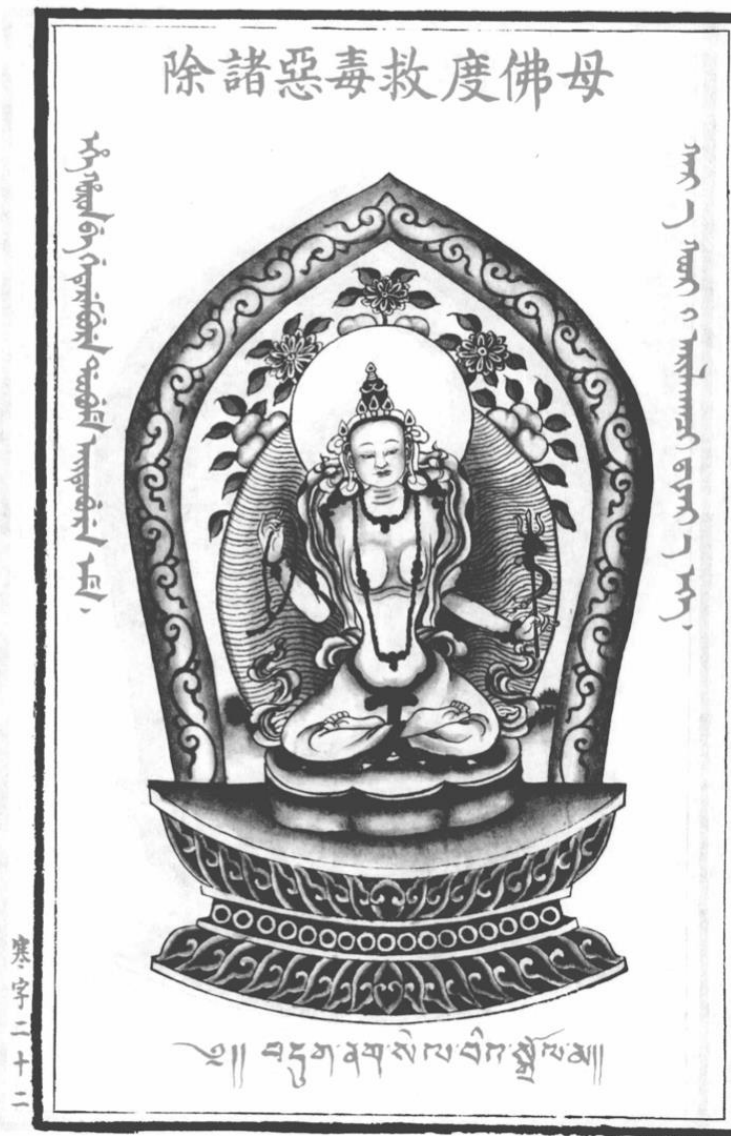


Fig.1.10 (Left) Jāngulī Tārā in 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*, ink on paper, 29 x 16.9 cm. After 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (中國藏學出版社= China Tibetology Publishing House, 2009), 11.

Fig.1.10 (Right) Detail of Fig.1.5



Fig.1.11 Unidentified artist, Painting of Guan Yu. Hanging scroll, ca. 1700, ink, colour, and gold on silk, 173 x 92.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Accessed 1 September 2023, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/62002>.



Fig.1.12 Tsha-tsha assembly in Cininggong Palace. After Ming Wen, "慈寧春猶在：覽勝慈寧宮花園= The Spring of Compassion and Tranquility Is Still Here: Visit the Garden of Compassion and Ning Palace", 紫禁城= *Forbidden City* 7 (2015): 70-85.



Fig.1.13 Tsha-tsha assembly in Xumifushouzhimiao Temple. After Jing Ma, "外八廟館藏擦擦佛淺賞= A Brief Appreciation of Tsha-Tsha Buddha in the Collection of Outer Eight Temples", *中國民族博覽= China National Exhibition*, no. 01 (2016).



Fig.1.14 (Upper) Pañcarakṣā in 三百佛像集= *The Three Hundred Icon*, woodblock print. After 三百佛像集= *The Three Hundred Icon* (中國藏學出版社= China Tibetology Publishing House, 1994). Folio No. 56, folio No. 57.

Fig.1.14 (Lower) Pañcarakṣā in 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*. After 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (中國藏學出版社= China Tibetology Publishing House, 2009), 203-207.



Fig.2.1 The exterior of Fanhualou. After "梵华楼 = Fanhualou.", *dpm.org.cn*, Accessed 1 September 2023, <https://www.dpm.org.cn/explore/building/236572.html>.



Fig.2.2 The main entrance of Fanhualou. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., *梵華樓 第一卷= Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009). 34.



Fig.2.3 The lower central room of Fanhualou. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., *梵華樓 第一卷= Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009). 103-104. Many images from the four-volume catalogue of Fanhualou span two pages for additional details. Therefore, when referring to a complete image here, it comprises different parts.





Fig.2.4 The upper central room of Fanhualou. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第一卷= *Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 74-75.



Fig.2.5 Room 5 of Fanhualou. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第三卷= *Fanhualou Volume 3* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 878-879.



Fig.2.6 Eastern cabinet of Room 1. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., *梵華樓 第三卷= Fanhualou Volume 3* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 27.



Fig.2.7 Stupa of Room 1. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第一卷= *Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 279.



Fig.2.8 Inscriptions of side rooms. The dark blue background inscriptions are located on the upper part of the corridor in front of each side room. The side rooms are not included in this photo. In reality, they are to the left-hand side of the inscriptions from the perspective of this photo. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第一卷= *Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 27.



Fig.2.9 Nine main deities of Room 1, Painting on cloth. Measurement 163 x 295 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第一卷= *Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 144-145.



Fig.2.10 Nine supplementary deities of Room 1 on the paintings of Northern (top), Western (left) and Eastern (right) walls. Painting on cloth. Measurement: 226 x 335 cm (top); 226 x 309 cm (left and right). After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第一卷= *Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 280-297.



Fig.2.11 Nine main deities of Room 2, Painting on cloth. Measurement 163 x 295 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第二卷= *Fanhualou Volume 2* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 340-341.





Fig.2.12 Woodblock of Śaṅmukha Yamari. After "Yamari, Krishna", *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed 31 August 2023, <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/79075>.



Fig.2.13 Nine supplementary deities of Room 2 on the paintings of Northern (top), Western (left) and Eastern (right) walls. Painting on cloth. Measurement: 226 x 335 cm (top); 226 x 309 cm (left and right). After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第二卷= *Fanhualou Volume 2* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 476-499.

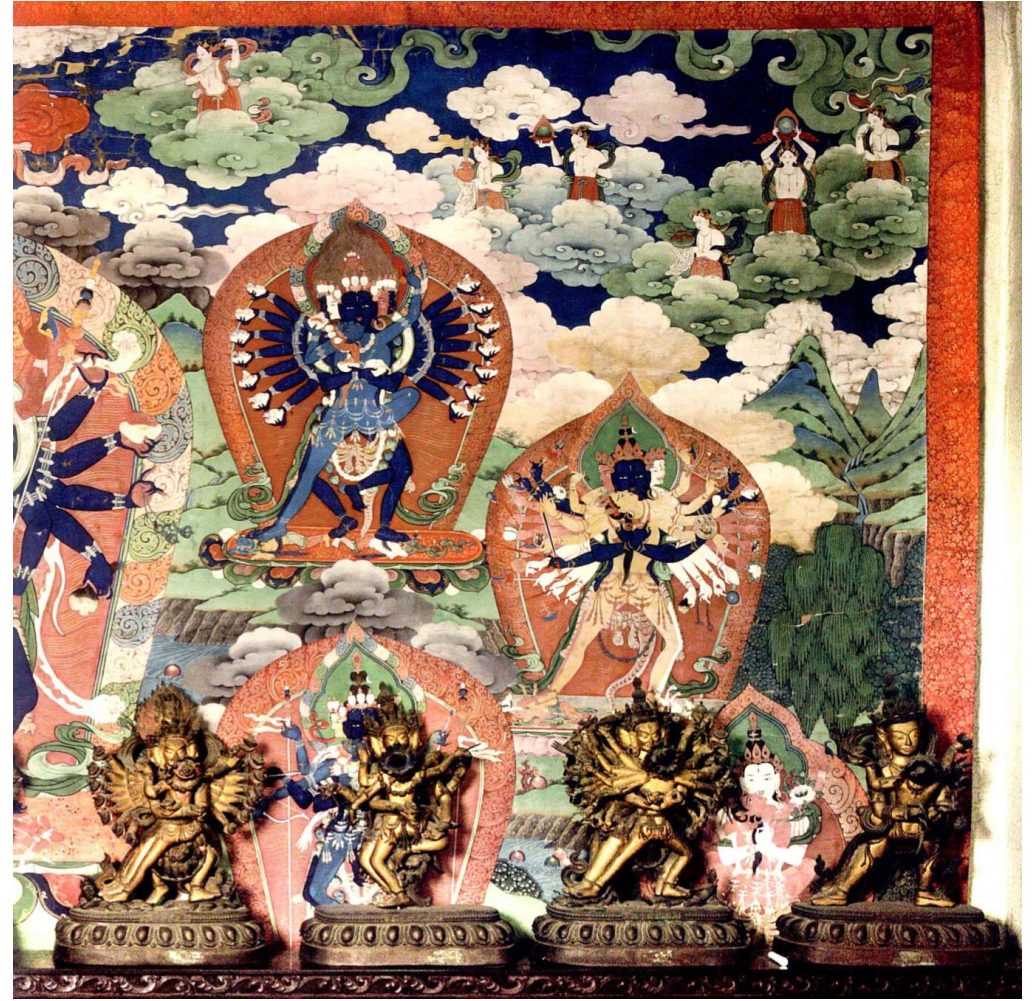


Fig.2.14 Nine main deities of Room 3, Painting on cloth. Measurement 163 x 295 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第二卷= *Fanhualou Volume 2* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 516- 517.

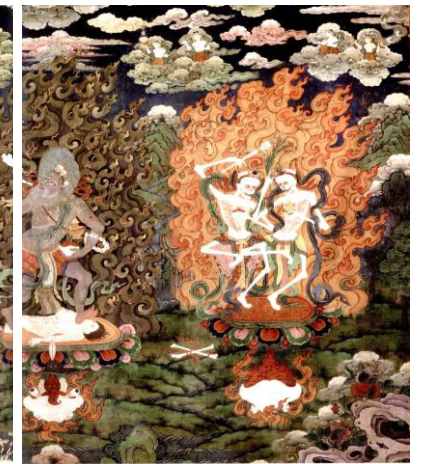


Fig.2.15 Nine supplementary deities of Room 3 on the paintings of Northern (top), Western (left) and Eastern (right) walls. Painting on cloth. Measurement: 226 x 335 cm (top); 226 x 309 cm (left and right). After Wang Jiapeng, ed., *梵華樓 第二卷= Fanhualou Volume 2* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 652-675.

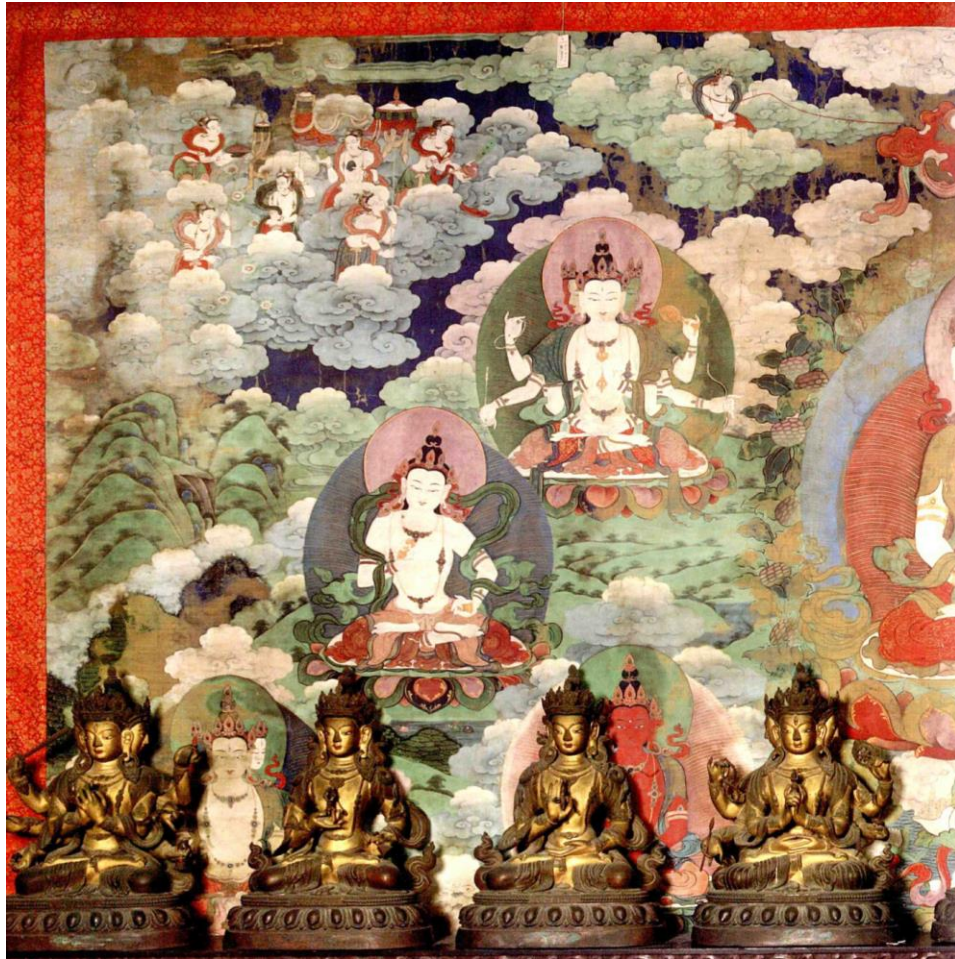


Fig. 2.16 Nine main deities of Room 4, Painting on cloth. Measurement: 163 x 295 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第三卷= *Fanhualou Volume 3* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 606-707.

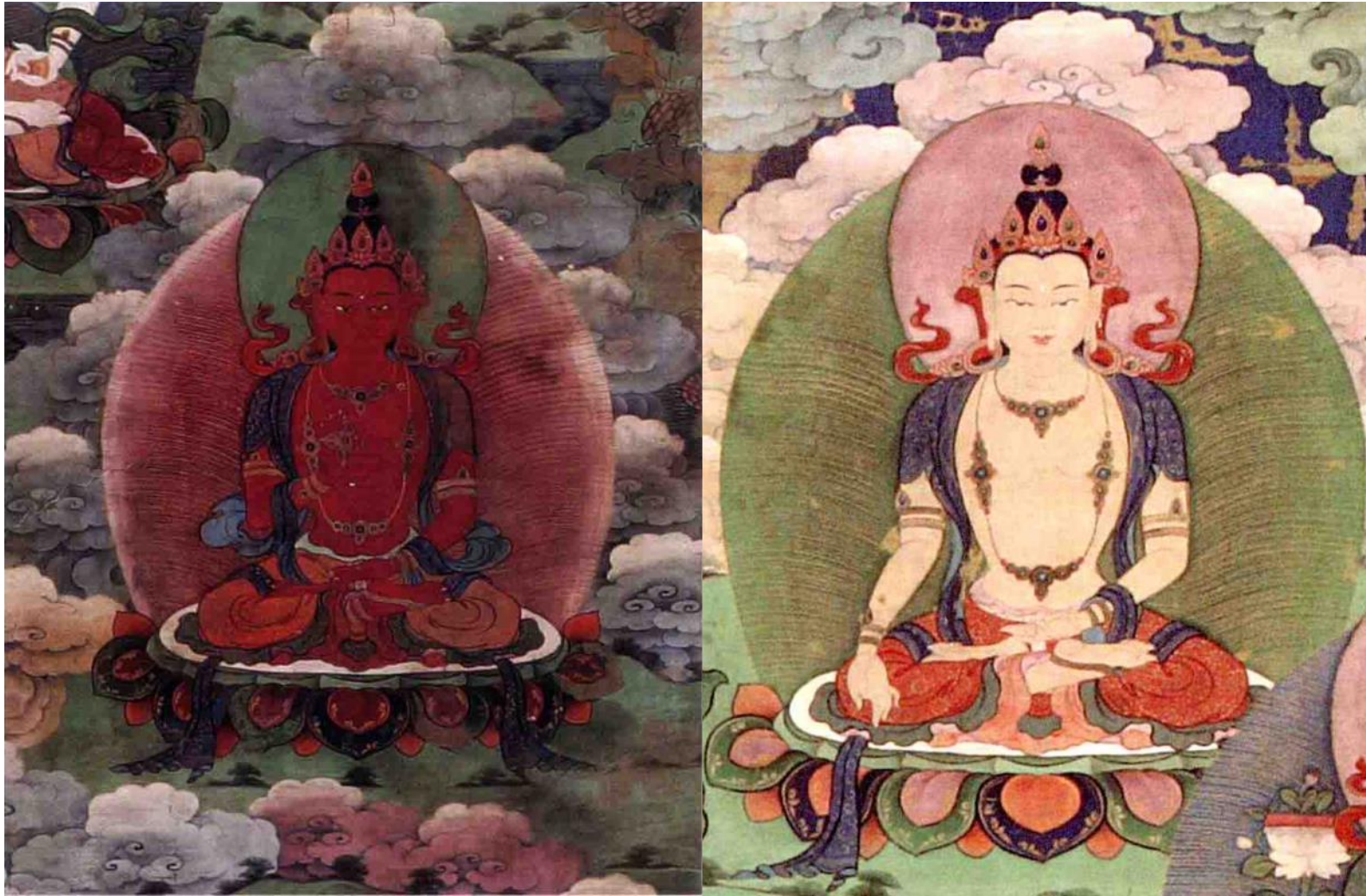


Fig.2.17 (Left) Sarvārthasiddhi, one of the nine main deities of Room 4. After Wang Jiapeng, 梵華樓藏寶·唐卡= *Thangkas in the Sanctuary of Buddhist Essence* (故宮出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2013), 116.

Fig.2.17 (Right) Jagadvinaya, one of the nine main deities of Room 4. After Wang Jiapeng, 梵華樓藏寶·唐卡= *Thangkas in the Sanctuary of Buddhist Essence* (故宮出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2013), 117.



Fig.2.18 (Left) Mañjuśrījñānasattva, Serkhang, Lalung. Photograph by Christian Luczanits (CL91 52,6 WHAV). After "Mañjuśrī as Ādibuddha: The Identity of an Eight-Armed Form of Mañjuśrī Found in Early Western Himalayan Buddhist Art in the Light of Three Nāmasaṃgīti-Related Texts", by Anthony Tribe, in *Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions Essays in Honour of Alexis G.J.S. Sanderson* (Brill, 2020), 539–68, [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004432802\\_024](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004432802_024).

(Right): Mañjuśrījñānasattva, one of the nine main deities of Room 4. After Wang Jiapeng, *梵華樓藏寶·唐卡= Thangkas in the Sanctuary of Buddhist Essence* (故宮出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2013), 117.

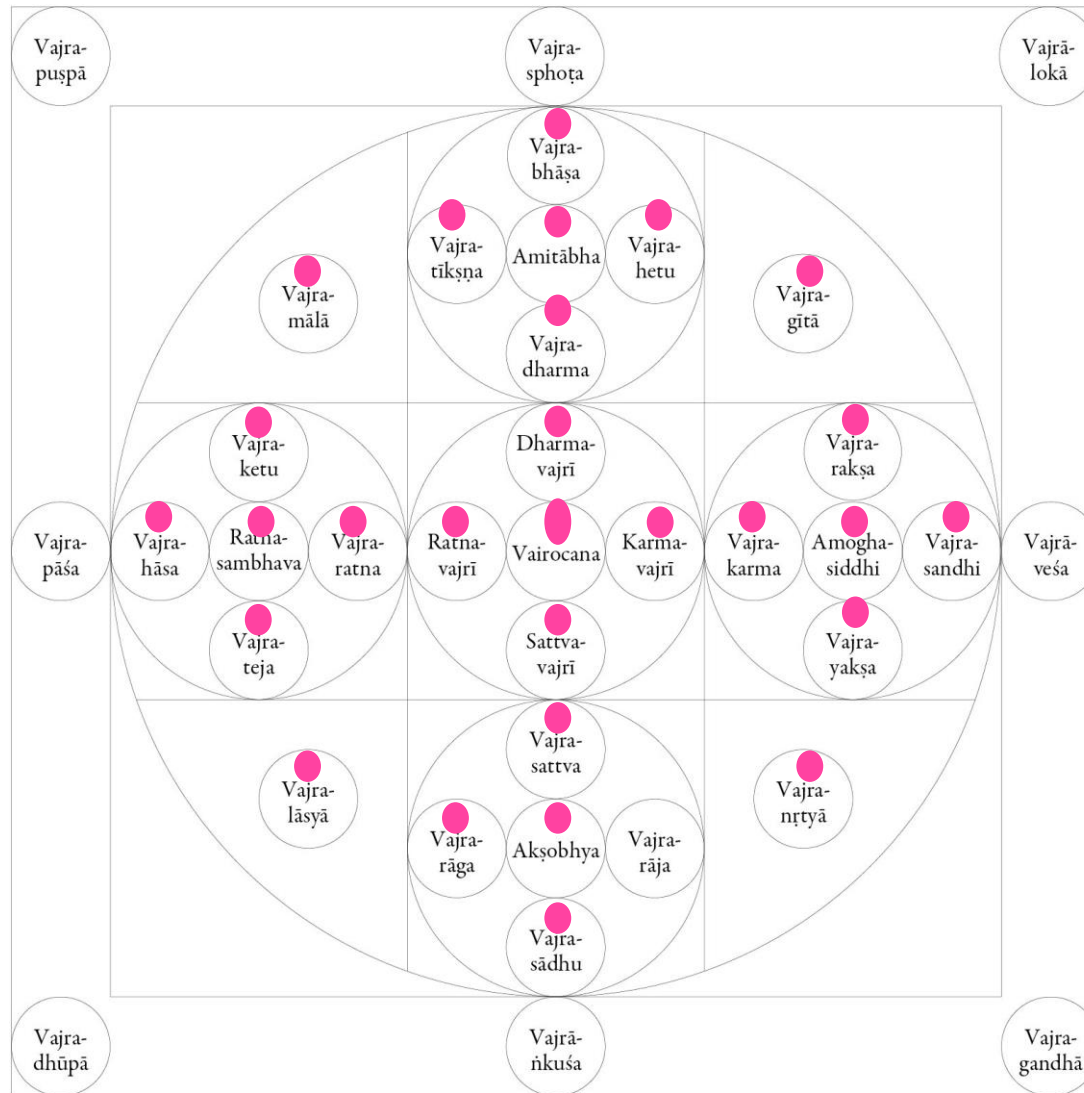


Fig.2.19 The thirty-seven deities Vajradhātu Maṇḍala with pink marks. Original line drawing after Kimiaki Tanaka, *An Illustrated History of the Mandala: From Its Genesis to the Kalacakra Tantra* (Simon and Schuster, 2018), 131.



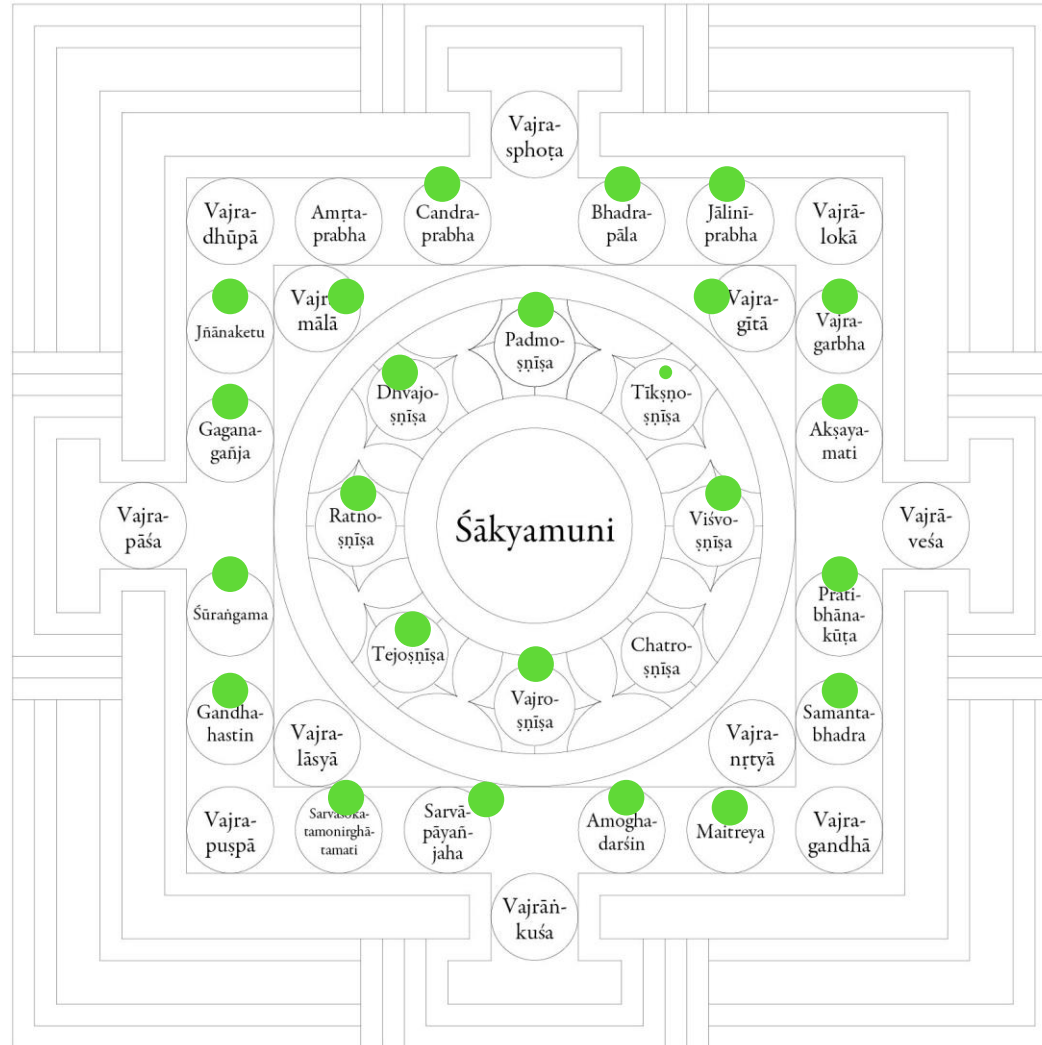


Fig.2.20 Navoṣṇīṣa Maṇḍala of *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* with green marks. Original line drawing after Kimiaki Tanaka, *An Illustrated History of the Mandala: From Its Genesis to the Kalacakratantra* (Simon and Schuster, 2018), 161.

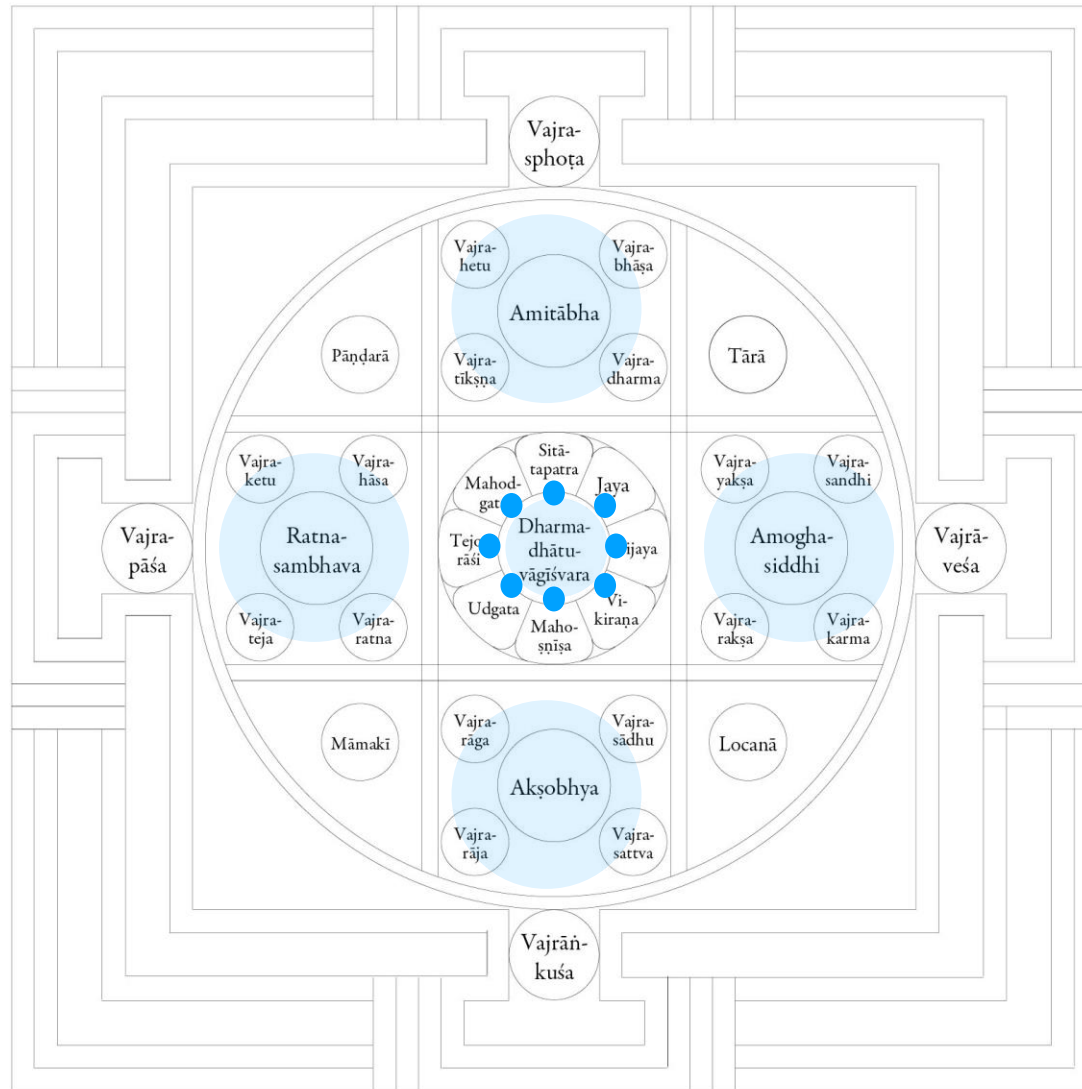


Fig.2.21 Central palace of the Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala with blue marks. Original line drawing after Kimiaki Tanaka, *An Illustrated History of the Mandala: From Its Genesis to the Kalacakratantra* (Simon and Schuster, 2018), 162.



Fig.2.22 Nine supplementary deities of Room 4 on the paintings of Northern (top), Western (left) and Eastern (right) walls. Painting on cloth. Measurement: 226 x 335 cm (top); 226 x 309 cm (left and right). After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第三卷= *Fanhualou Volume 3* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 836-859.



Fig.2.23 Nine main deities of Room 5, Painting on cloth. Measurement:163 x 295 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第三卷= *Fanhualou Volume 3* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 880-881.



Fig.2.24 Nine supplementary deities of Room 5 on the paintings of Northern (top), Western (left) and Eastern (right) walls. Painting on cloth. Measurement: 226 x 335 cm (top); 226 x 309 cm (left and right). After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第三卷= *Fanhualou Volume 3* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 1010-1027.



Fig.2.25 Nine main deities of Room 6, Painting on cloth. Measurement:163 x 295 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第四卷= *Fanhualou Volume 4* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 1084-1085.



Fig.2.26 (Left) Hālāhala-Lokeśvara in cabinet of Room 6. Height: 13.2cm. Width: 11 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., *梵華樓 第四卷= Fanhualou Volume 4* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 1122.

Fig.2.26 (Right) Hariharivāhana-Lokeśvara in cabinet of Room 6. Height: 13.5cm, Width: 11.2 cm, After Wang Jiapeng, ed., *梵華樓 第四卷= Fanhualou Volume 4* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 1203.



Fig.2.27 (Left) Hālāhala-Lokeśvara in 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*. Woodblock print. Measurement: 29 x 16.9 cm. After 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (中國藏學出版社= China Tibetology Publishing House, 2009), 164

Fig.2.27 (Right) Hariharivāhana-Lokeśvara in 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*. Woodblock print. Measurement: 29 x 16.9 cm. After 诸佛菩萨圣像赞= *The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas* (中國藏學出版社= China Tibetology Publishing House, 2009), 168



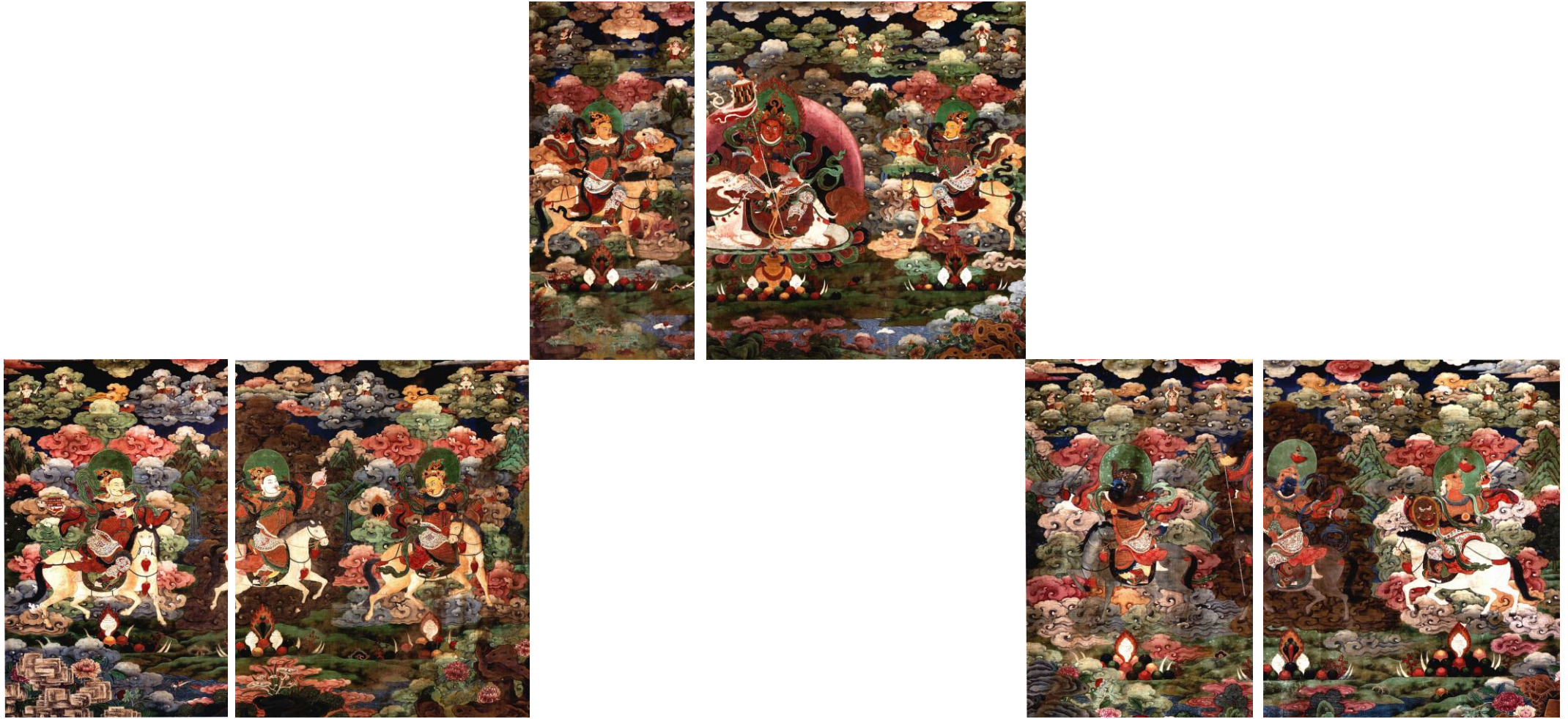


Fig.2.28 Nine supplementary deities of Room 6 on the paintings of Northern (top), Western (left) and Eastern (right) walls. Painting on cloth. Measurement: 226 x 335 cm (top); 226 x 309 cm (left and right). After Wang Jiapeng, ed., *梵華樓 第四卷= Fanhualou Volume 4* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009),1218-1235 1010-1027.

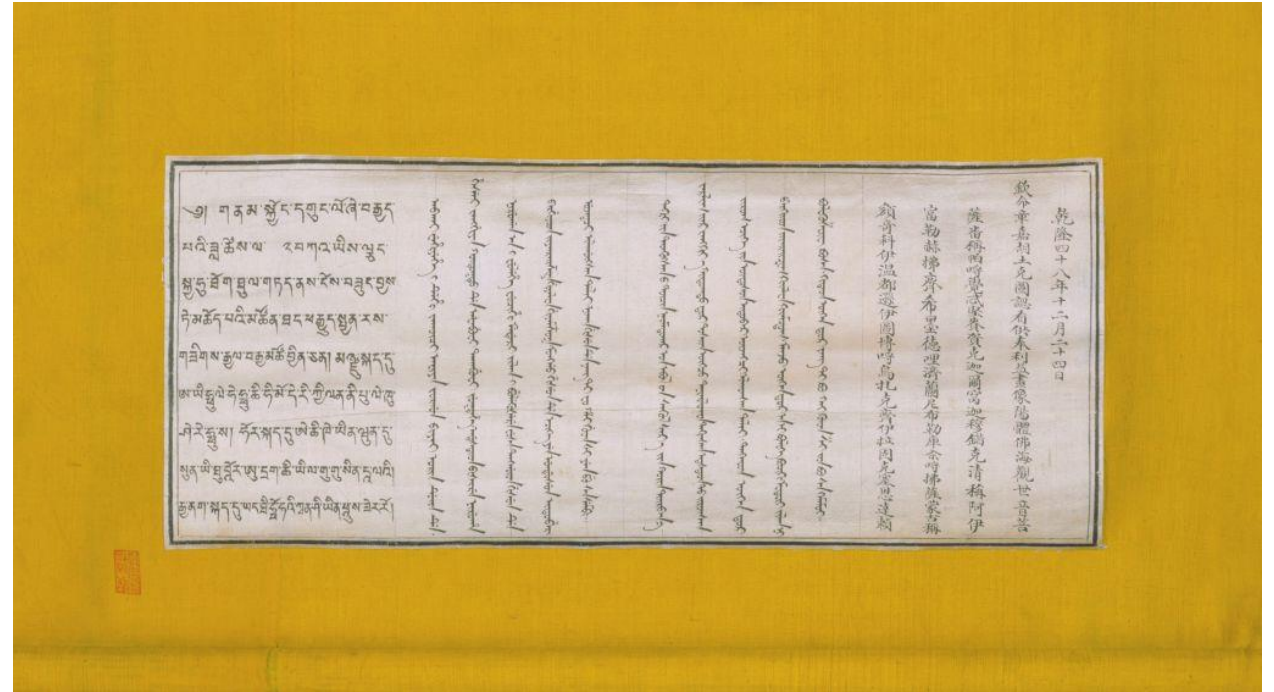


Fig.2.29 Thangka of Jinasāgara Avalokiteśvara and the yellow label, Painting on cloth, 18th century. Measurement: 137 x 75 cm. Accessed 1 September 2023, <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/religion/230996.html>.



Fig.3.1 Stupa of Room 1, cloisonné, sandalwood, marble, 130 x 338 cm. After 梵華樓 第一卷= *Fanhualou Volume 1* (Beijing: 紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009). 55.



Fig.3.2 Precious jewel inlaid gold stupa, Qing dynasty, 25 x 44cm. Palace Museum Beijing. Accessed 30 July 2023, <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/tinware/232593.html>.



Fig.3.3 (Left) Kadampa Stupa, late 13th century, central Tibet, 47.75 cm x 16.5 cm. After Marilyn M. Rhie and Robert A. F. Thurman, *A Shrine for Tibet: The Alice S. Kandell Collection* (Tibet House US, 2009). 94.

Fig.3.3 (Right) Kadampa Stupa, 1800-1899, Mongolia. After "Stupa (Buddhist Reliquary)", *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed 19 May 2023, <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/50255>.

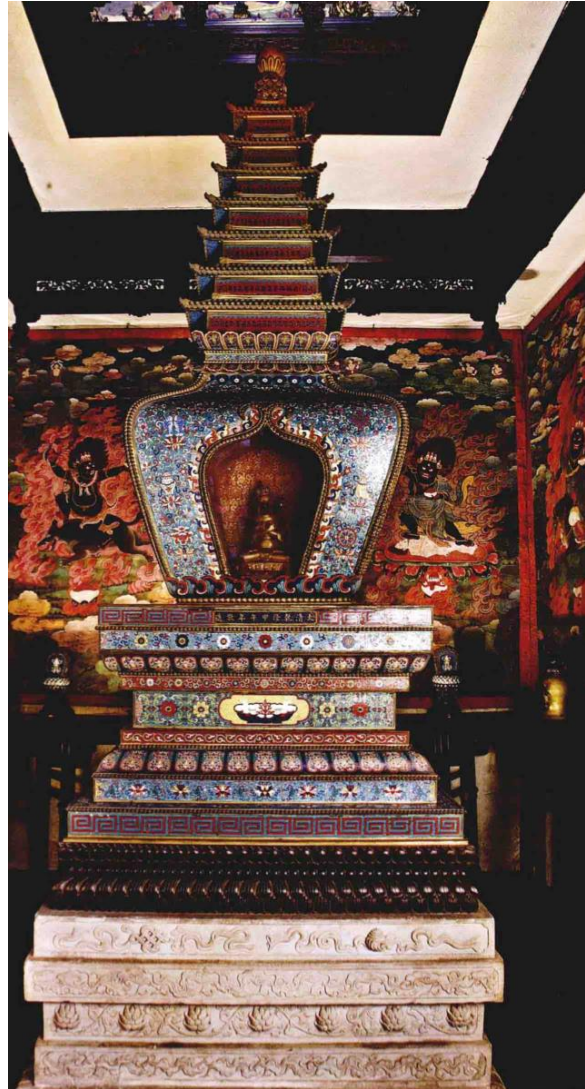


Fig.3.4 Stupa of Room 2; cloisonné, sandalwood, marble, 116 x 339 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., *梵華樓 第二卷= Fanhualou Volume 2* (Beijing: 紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009). 473.



Fig.3.5 Stupa of Room 3; cloisonné, sandalwood, marble; 112 x 336 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第二卷= *Fanhualou Volume 2*, (Beijing: 紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009). 649.



图 2.3-1-15 梵华楼塔三

Fig.3.6 Stupa of Room 3 of Fanhualou, date: unknown. After Wenhua Luo, *龍袍與袈裟：清宮藏傳佛教文化考察*= *Dragon robes and cassocks: An investigation of Tibetan Buddhist culture in the Qing Dynasty* (Beijing: 紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2005).139.





Fig.3.7 Stupa of Room 3 in Baoxianglou, date: unknown. After Wenhua Luo, *龍袍與袈裟：清宮藏傳佛教文化考察*= *Dragon robes and cassocks: An investigation of Tibetan Buddhist culture in the Qing Dynasty*, (Beijing: 紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2005).139.



Fig.3.8 Stupa of Room 3 in Baoxiangou. The photo was taken in the 1930s. After Ming Wen, "慈寧春猶在：覽勝慈寧宮花園= The Spring of Compassion and Tranquility Is Still Here: Visit the Garden of Compassion and Ning Palace", 紫禁城= *Forbidden City* 7 (2015): 70–85.

顶立日月，下为圆盘，垂瓔  
 圆盘下为十三周绿色塔刹相  
 下为覆钵形塔身，白色地，  
 和环珞。塔身为三层收分  
 白色地饰红色仰莲纹。圆  
 为方形须弥座，白色地，束  
 缠枝莲纹，束腰上下饰缠枝  
 巴达马饰仰覆莲纹，上下台  
 的回纹。小塔塔身正中设一  
 空行母一尊。

底径1.5厘米。  
 母为黄铜铸造，通体鎏金，  
 料染成蓝色。一面二臂，葫  
 微嗔相。赤裸上身，腰缠  
 手捧嘎巴拉碗，右手举钺  
 立于椭圆形单层覆莲底座

十二臂，每面各三目。头戴骷髏冠，  
 葫芦形发髻，嗔怒相。赤裸全身，  
 肩披帛带，身背象皮，腰缠兽皮，  
 佩饰项链、臂钏、手镯、脚镯、骷髏  
 和新鲜人头项鬘。左手手持金刚铃，  
 右手手持金刚杵，双臂相交于胸前并  
 拥抱明妃；副手分两层，外层左手持  
 嘎巴拉鼓，右手持喀章嘎；内层左  
 副手自上而下分别握象皮一角、捧嘎  
 巴拉碗、持箭索、提人头，右副手自  
 上而下分别握象皮一角、持金刚斧、  
 钺刀、三尖叉。展右立，双足下各踩  
 一人。左足下之人一面四臂，主臂双  
 手合十，另两手各施期克印，仰卧。  
 右足下之人亦一面四臂，主臂双手合  
 十，左副手捧嘎巴拉碗，右副手持钺  
 刀，俯卧。明妃一面二臂，头戴骷髏  
 冠，葫芦形发髻，嗔怒相。左手捧嘎  
 巴拉碗，右手高举钺刀。双腿环绕主  
 尊腰向。椭圆形单层覆莲底座。



图598  
 铜质胜利小塔

图599  
 空行母

图600  
 铜质主佛

Fig.3.9 Statuette of dākinī within the victory stupa of the stupa of Room 3; bronze; 4 x 1.5 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第三卷= *Fanhualou Volume 3* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 650.



Fig.3.10 Precious jewel inlaid gold stupa, Qing Dynasty, 70x 38 cm. Palace Museum Beijing. Accessed 31 August 2023, <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/tinware/232554.html>.



Fig.3.11 (Left) Kālacakra stupa. Photograph by Christian Luczanits

Fig.3.11 (Right) Kālacakra stupa in Kumbum Monastery. After "Kumbum Monastery, Ta'er Temple A Tibetan Buddhism Free Stock Photo and Image", *create.vista.com*, Accessed 30 July 2023, <https://create.vista.com/unlimited/stock-photos/313391676/stock-photo-kumbum-monastery-taer-temple-a>.

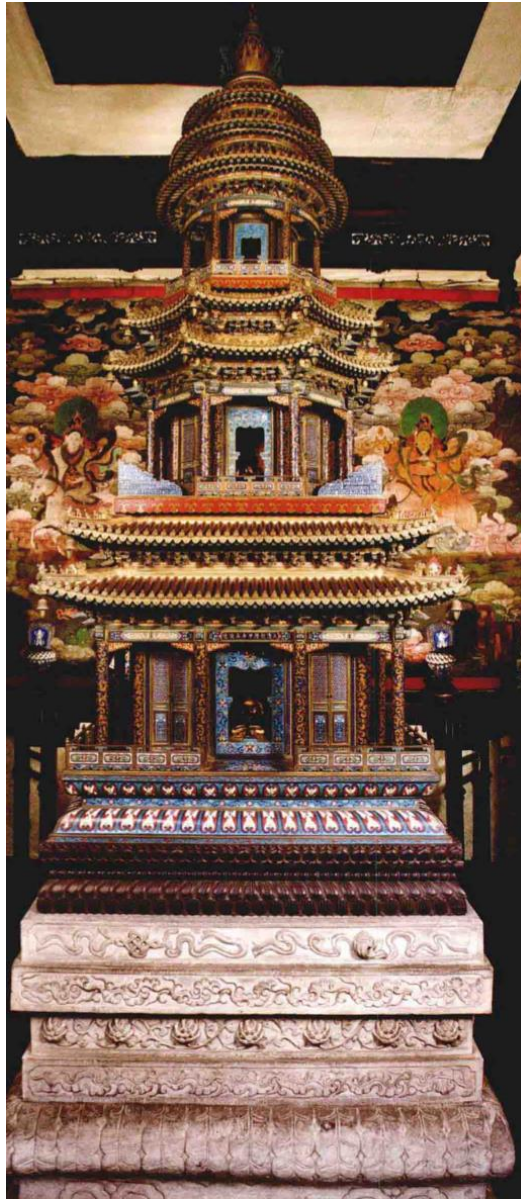


Fig.3.12 Stupa of Room 4; cloisonné, sandalwood, marble, 110 x 338 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第三卷= *Fanhualou Volume 3* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 831.



Fig.3.13 Seven Medicine Buddha within stupa, bronze, each sculpture 21 x 15 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第三卷= *Fanhualou Volume 3* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009). 832-835.

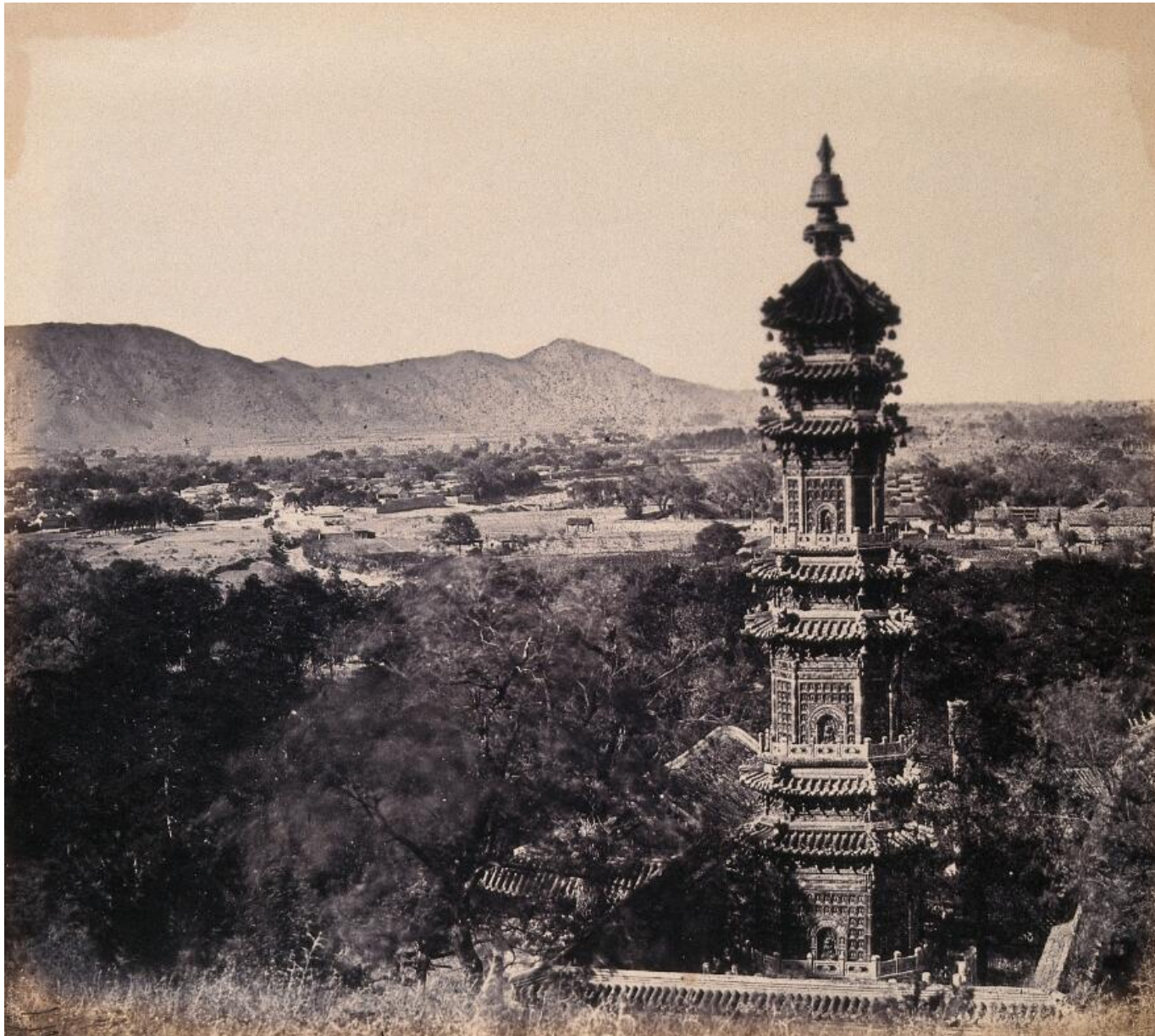
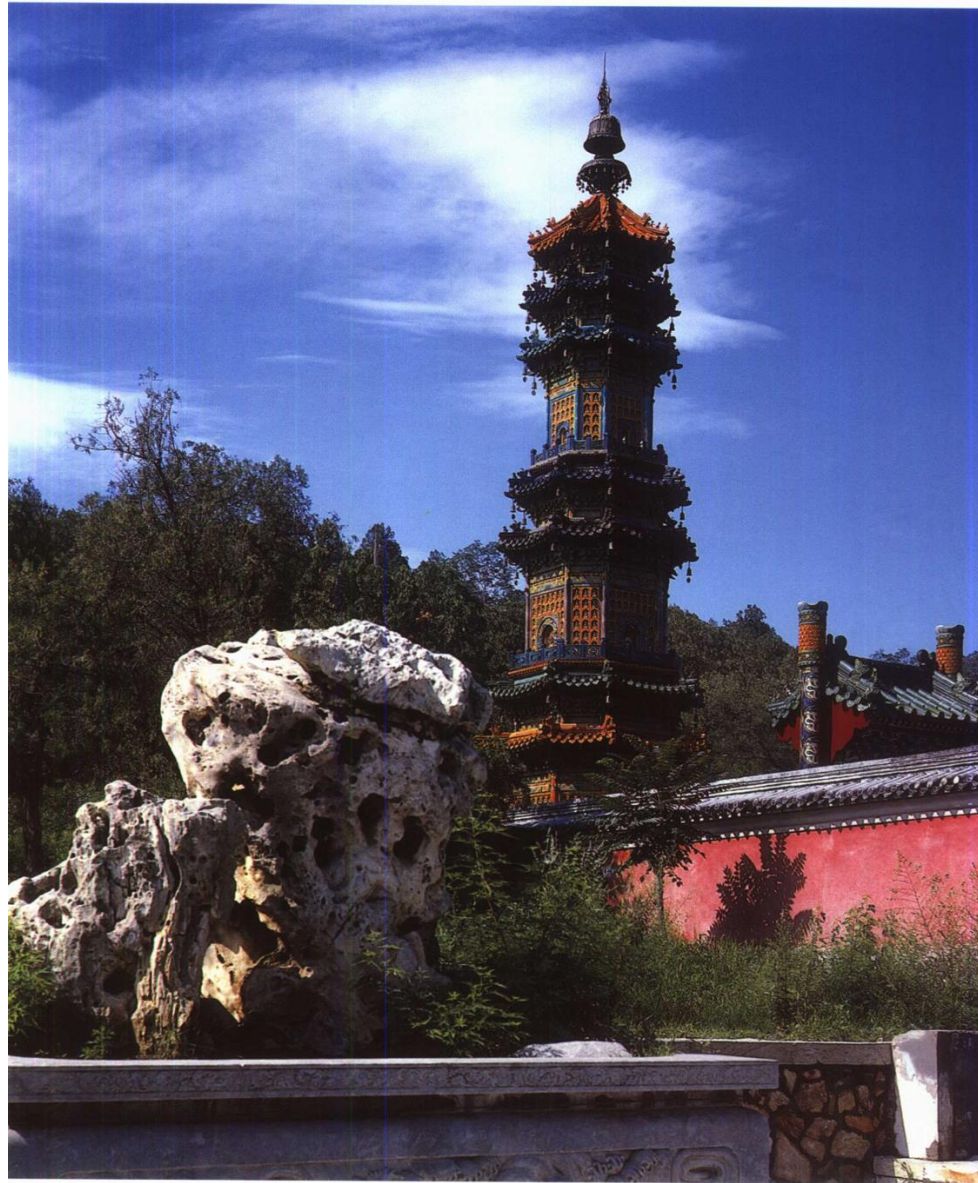


Fig.3.14 The Imperial Summer Palace, Beijing, China. Photograph by Felice Beato, 1860. After "The Imperial Summer Palace", *Wellcome Collection*, Accessed 30 July 2023, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/azx9ygmj/items>.





151. 花承閣琉璃寶塔

Fig.3.15 Huachengge pagoda in Qingyiyuan ; After 清華大學建築學院= Tsinghua University School of Architecture, 頤和園= Summer Palace (中國建築工業出版社= China Construction Industry Press, 2000). 273



Fig.3.16 Medicine Buddha thangka, measurement: unknown, date: unknown. After "Medicine Buddha of Hahn Cultural Foundation", *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed 30 July 2023, <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/98927>.



Fig.3.17 Stupa of Room 5; cloisonné, sandalwood, marble; 66.5 x 337 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., *梵華樓 第三卷= Fanhualou Volume 3* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 1006.



Fig.3.18 Glass painting illustrating Mārīci on a chariot. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第三卷= *Fanhualou Volume 3* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 1009.



Fig.3.19 Ten-armed Mārīci Thangka, Qing dynasty, 67x 45cm. Palace Museum Beijing. Accessed 30 July 2023, <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/religion/231011.html>.



Fig.3.20 Eight-armed Mārīci in a stupa; Height: 93 cm; Qing Dynasty; Palace Museum Beijing. Accessed 30 July 2023, <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/religion/231061.html>.



Fig.3.21 Stupa of Room 6; cloisonné, sandalwood, marble; 113 x 338 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第三卷= *Fanhualou Volume 3* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 1215.



Fig.3.22 Gold stupa, Qing Dynasty, 70 x 70 x 147 cm. Palace Museum Beijing. Accessed 30 July 2023, <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/tinware/228209.html>.





Fig.3.23 The stupa remains of Zhongxianglou; date: unknown. After Wenhua Luo, *龍袍與袈裟：清宮藏傳佛教文化考察*= *Dragon robes and cassocks: An investigation of Tibetan Buddhist culture in the Qing Dynasty* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2005), 138



Fig.4.1 (Left) Painting of Acalā, colour on cloth. 71.5 x 100 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第一卷= *Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 125.

Fig.4.1 (Right) Painting of Vajrapāṇi, colour on cloth. 71.5 x 100 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第一卷= *Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 126.



Fig.4.2 (Left) Painting of Acalā, colour on cloth. 178x 72 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第一卷= *Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 303.

Fig.4.2 (Right) Painting of Vajrapāṇi, colour on cloth. 178x 72 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第一卷= *Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 126.



Fig.4.3 Standing Buddha of the Lower Central Room of Fanhualou. Ming dynasty. The throne was added in Qianlong's reign. Gold-plated bronze, 210 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., *梵華樓 第一卷= Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 105.



Fig.4.4 (Left) Detail of Fig.4.7



Fig.4.4 (Right) Detail of the second thangka of the *Wish-Fulfilling Vine* set. After Jiapeng Wang, 故宫唐卡图典=Forbidden City Thangka Illustration (Beijing: 故宫出版社=The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2011). 136.



Fig.4.5 Jātakamālā thangka on the northern wall of the lower central room, colour on cloth. 226 x 335 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, 梵華樓藏寶·唐卡= *Thangkas in the Sanctuary of Buddhist Essence* (故宮出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2013). 18-19.



Fig.4.6 Jātakamālā thangka on the eastern wall of the lower central room, colour on cloth. 226 x 335 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, 梵華樓藏寶·唐卡= *Thangkas in the Sanctuary of Buddhist Essence* (故宮出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2013). 38-39.



Fig.4.7 The Jātakamālā thangka on the western wall of the lower central room, colour on cloth. 226 x 335 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, 梵華樓藏寶·唐卡= *Thangkas in the Sanctuary of Buddhist Essence* (故宮出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2013). 28-29.





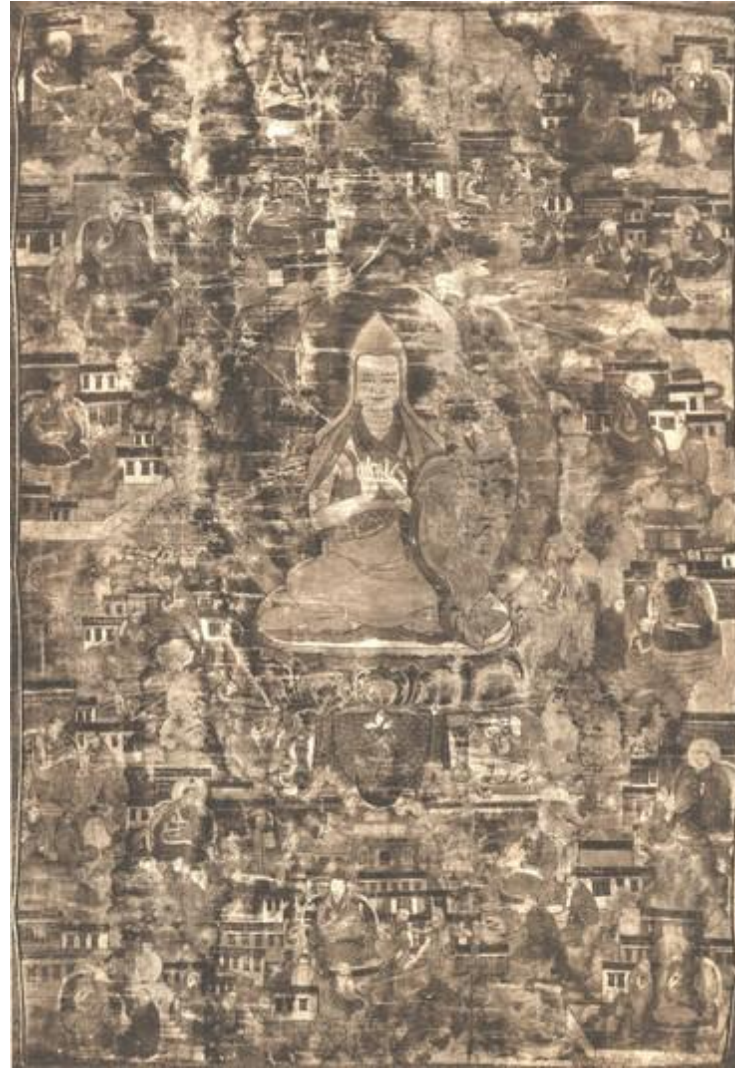
Fig.4.8 Painting on the northern wall of the upper central room, colour on cloth, 172 x 295 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, *梵華樓藏寶·唐卡= Thangkas in the Sanctuary of Buddhist Essence* (故宮出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2013). 52-53.



Fig.4.9 Painting on the western wall of the upper central room, colour on cloth, 172 x 308 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, *梵華樓藏寶·唐卡= Thangkas in the Sanctuary of Buddhist Essence* (故宫出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2013), 68-69.



Fig.4.10 Painting on the eastern wall of the upper central room, colour on cloth, 172 x 308 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, *梵華樓藏寶·唐卡= Thangkas in the Sanctuary of Buddhist Essence* (故宮出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2013), 60-61.



(Left) Fig.4.11 Unknown Artist, Tsongkhapa life stories thangka, colour on cloth, measurement unknown. After *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed 28 July 2023. <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/74095>.

(Right) Fig.4.12 Unknown Artist, Tsongkhapa life stories thangka, colour on cloth, measurement unknown. After *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed 28 July 2023. <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/74096>



(Left) Fig.4.13 Unknown Artist, Tsongkhapa life stories thangka, colour on cloth, measurement unknown. After *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed 28 July 2023. <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/65845>.

(Right) Fig.4.14 Unknown Artist, Tsongkhapa life stories thangka, colour on cloth, measurement unknown. After *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed 28 July 2023. <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/74098>.



(Left) Fig.4.15 Unknown Artist, Tsongkhapa thangka life stories, colour on cloth, measurement unknown. After *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed 28 July 2023. <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/74097>

(Right) Fig.4.16 Unknown Artist, Tsongkhapa thangka life stories, colour on cloth, measurement unknown. After *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed 28 July 2023. <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/57040>



Fig.4.17 Unknown Artist, Tsongkhapa life stories thangka, colour on cloth, measurement unknown. After *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed 28 July 2023. <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/24335>.



Fig.4.18 Unknown Artist, Eight Tsongkhapa Life Story woodblock prints, measurement unknown. After *Himalayan Art Resources*. Accessed 28 July 2023.  
<https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=509>





Fig.4.19 The reconstruction of the original thangka painting set.



Fig.4.20 Tsongkhapa on a dragon throne of the upper central room. Height: 135 centimetres. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., *梵華樓 第一卷= Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 77.



Fig.4.21 Unknown Artist. Concluding section of *Pictures of Ancient Playthings*= 古玩圖. Colour on paper. The measure of the whole scroll painting is 62.5 x 2000 cm. British Museum. Accessed 13 September 2023. [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A\\_PDF-X-01](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_PDF-X-01).



Fig.4.22 Unknown Artist. Portrait of Qianlong. 18th century. Colour on silk, 142 x 271 cm. Palace Museum. Beijing. Accessed 1 September 2023, [https://www.dpm.org.cn/Home.html?\\_wap=1](https://www.dpm.org.cn/Home.html?_wap=1).

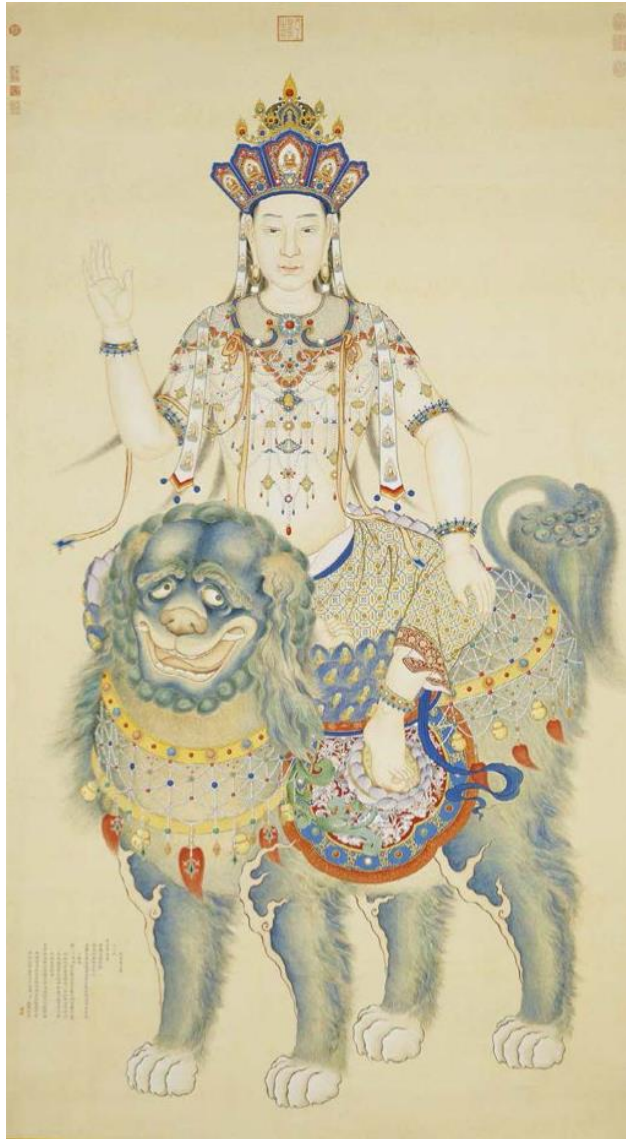


Fig.4.23 Ding Guanpeng, *Shuxiang si's Mañjuśrī on a lion*. 1761. Hanging Scroll. Ink and colours on paper. 297.3 x 159.1 cm. Palace Museum, Taipei. Accessed 1 September 2023, <https://digitalarchive.npm.gov.tw/Painting/Content?pid=13614&Dept=P>.

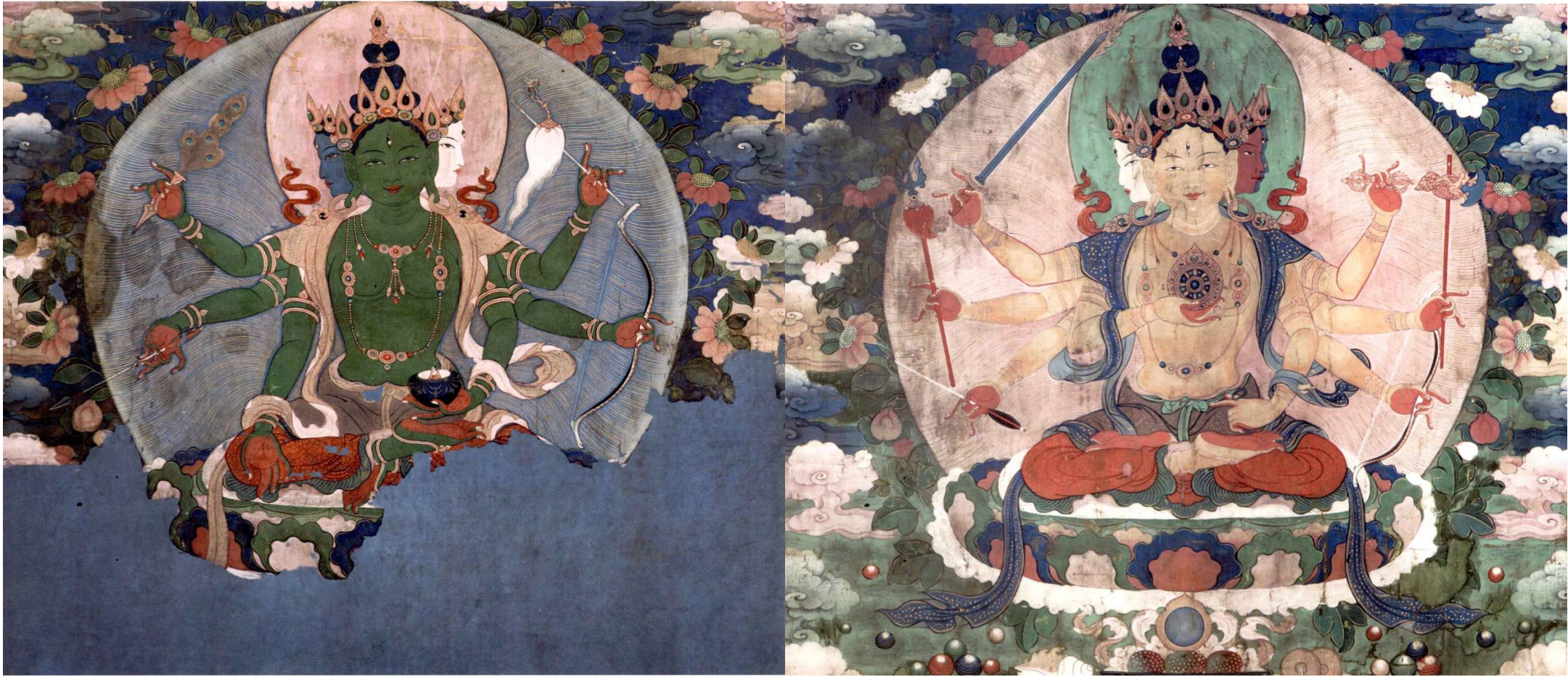


Fig.4.24 (Left) Painting of Mahāmāyūrī, colour on cotton. 64 x 71 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第一卷= *Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 100.

Fig.4.24 (Right) Painting of Mahāpratisarā, colour on cotton. 64 x 71 cm. After Wang Jiapeng, ed., 梵華樓 第一卷= *Fanhualou Volume 1* (紫禁城出版社= The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2009), 100.



Fig.5.1 *The Qianlong Emperor as Manjusri, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom*. Mid-18th century. Ink, color, and gold on silk. Artist: Imperial workshop. Emperor's face painted by Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining). Freer Gallery of Art. Accessed August 26, 2024. [https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/the-qianlong-emperor-as-manjusri-the-bodhisattva-of-wisdom-0003/BwGUY\\_fTviUD7A](https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/the-qianlong-emperor-as-manjusri-the-bodhisattva-of-wisdom-0003/BwGUY_fTviUD7A).



Fig.5.2. *Fifth Karmapa Initiating Yongle Emperor as Sacral Ruler*. 18th century. Pigments on cotton, 39 3/8 x 23 5/8 in. (100 x 60 cm). Private collection. After Pratapaditya Pal, *Tibetan Paintings: A Study of Tibetan Thangkas Eleventh to Nineteenth Centuries* (New York: Ravi Kumar, 1984), pl. 92. Accessed August 26, 2024.

<https://www.asianart.com/articles/faith-empire/1-16.html>.



# Appendices

Appendix 1 The Iconographic Pantheon of the Three Hundred Icons (300)

Appendix 2 The Iconographic Pantheon of The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (360)

Appendix 3 The Iconographic Pantheons of Fanhualou and Baoxianglou

### Appendix 1 The Iconographic Pantheon of the Three Hundred Icons (300)

|    |                                     |   |                         |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| 1  | Maitreya                            | Śākyamuni                                       | Mañjuḥoṣa               |
| 2  | Āryadeva                            | Nāgārjuna                                       | Asaṅga                  |
| 3  | Vasubandhu                          | Dignāga   | Dharmakīrti             |
| 4  | Sāvaripāda                          | Sarahapāda                                      | Lūhipāda                |
| 5  | Lalitavajra                         | Ghaṇṭāpāda                                      | Kṛṣṇacārin              |
| 6  | Nāḍapāda (Naropa)                   | Tailakapāda(Tilopa)                             | Maitrīpāda              |
| 7  | Ajapālīpāda                         | Ḍombīpāda                                       | Mañjuśrīmitra           |
| 8  | Candrakīrti                         | Buddhapālita                                    | Śāntideva               |
| 9  | Śāntarakṣita                        | Saroruhavajra                                   | Siddheśvara Hūmkāra     |
| 10 | Dromtön                             | Atiśa   | Ngok Lekpé Sherab       |
| 11 | Milarepa                            | Marpa   | Gampopa                 |
| 12 | Padampa                             | Machig Labdrön                                  | Tönyön Samdrup          |
| 13 | Butön                               | Sakya Paṇḍita Künga Gyeltsen                    | Lhodrak Namkha Gyeltsen |
| 14 | Gyaltsab Jé                         | Jé Tsongkhapa                                   | Khé drup jé             |
| 15 | Gendun Drub                         | Jé Sherab Sengge                                | Lobzang Dondrub         |
| 16 | Ngawang Cheno, the Fifth Dalai Lama | Panchen Lozang Chögyen, The Fourth Paṇchen Lama | Panchen Lozang Yeshé    |
| 17 | Ngawang Chokden                     | Kalzung Gyatso                                  | Panchen Palden Yéshé    |
| 18 | Trichen Lozang Tenpé Nyim           | Jé Changkya Rölpai Dorjé                        | Lozang Palden           |

|    |                          |                           |                             |
|----|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 19 | Yab-yum Vairocana        | Vajradhāra                | Yab-yum Akṣobhya            |
| 20 | Yab-yum Ratnasambhava    | Yab-yum Amitābha          | Yab-yum Amoghasiddhi        |
| 21 | Vajrabhairava            | Guhyasamāja               | Cakrasaṃvara                |
| 22 | Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi      | Kālacakra                 | Hevajra                     |
| 23 | Mahāmāya                 | Guhyasamāja Manjuvajra    | Buddhakapāla                |
| 24 | Vajra Catuṣpīṭha         | Kṛṣṇa Yamāri              | Rakta Yamari                |
| 25 | Sita Saṃvara             | Vajrasattva               | Guhyasādhana Avalokiteśvara |
| 26 | Sarvavid Vairocana       | Vajradhātu [Vairocana]    | Durgatipariśodhana          |
| 27 | Jinavara Ratnapani       | Sākyakulendra             | Samkusūmita                 |
| 28 | Caryānta Amitāyus        | Vairocanābhisambodhi      | Bhūtaḍāmara                 |
| 29 | Amitāyus                 | Trisamayavyūhamuni        | Vajrākṣobhya                |
| 30 | Raktapita Mañjughoṣa     | Caturbhūja Avalokiteśvara | Vajrapāṇi                   |
| 31 | Sita Mañjughoṣa          | Vādisimha Mañjughoṣa      | Kumarabhūta Mañjughoṣa      |
| 32 | Simhanāda Avalokiteśvara | Mahakarunika Ekadasamukha | Ārya Amoghapāsa             |
| 33 | Śākyamuni                | Vajragarbha               | Ratnārcis                   |
| 34 | Nāgeśvararāja            | Vīrasena                  | Vīranandin                  |
| 36 | Ratnāgni                 | Ratnacandraprabha         | Ratnacandraprabha           |
| 36 | Ratnacandra              | Vimala                    | Śūradatta                   |
| 37 | Brahmā                   | Brahmadatta               | Varuṇa                      |
| 38 | Varuṇadeva               | Bhadraśrī                 | Candanaśrī                  |
| 39 | Anantaujas               | Prabhāśrī                 | Aśokaśrī                    |

|    |                                  |                           |   |
|----|----------------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| 40 | Nārāyaṇa                         | Kusumaśrī                 | Brahmajyotirvikrīḍitābhijña               |
| 41 | Padmajyotirvikrīḍitābhijña       | Dhanaśrī                  | Smṛtiśrī                                  |
| 42 | Suparikīrtitanāmaśrī             | Indraketuḍhvajarāja       | Suvikrāntaśrī                             |
| 43 | Yuddhajaya                       | Vikrāntagāmiśrī           | Samantāvabhāsavyūhaśrī                    |
| 44 | Ratnapadmavikrāmin               | Śailendrarāja             | Amitābha                                  |
| 45 | Vimaloṣṇīṣa                      | Nāgesvararāja             | Samantadarśin                             |
| 46 | Suparikīrtitanāmaśrī             | Svaraghoṣarāja            | Suvarṇa-bhadra-vimala-ratna-prabhāsavrata |
| 47 | Aśokottamaśrī                    | Dharmakīrtisāgaraghoṣa    | Abhijñānarāja                             |
| 48 | Bhaiṣajyaguru-Vaidūryaprabhārāja | Jina Siṃhanāda            | Ratnaśikhin                               |
| 49 | Mañjughoṣa                       | Vajrapāṇi                 | Avalokiteśvara                            |
| 50 | Kṣitigarbha                      | Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhin   | Ākāśagarbha                               |
| 51 | Maitreya                         | Samantabhadra             | Jnānaguru                                 |
| 52 | Prabhāketu                       | Prañidhānamati            | Sāntendriya                               |
| 53 | Sarasvatī                        | Prajñāpāramitā            | Cunda                                     |
| 54 | Sita Tārā                        | Khadiravanī Tārā          | Sitātapatrā                               |
| 55 | Māricī                           | Uṣṇīṣavijayā              | Parṇaśabarī                               |
| 56 | Lohakhaḍga Hayagrīva             | Guhyasādhana Hayagrīva    | Ārya Krama Hayagrīva                      |
| 57 | Cunda Vajrapāṇi                  | Nilāambaradhara Vajrapāṇi | Raudra Vajrapāṇi                          |
| 58 | Bhurkumkūṭa                      | Vajravidāraṇa             | Krodha Acala                              |
| 59 | Mahāsāhasrapramardanī            | Pratisarā                 | Mahāmantrānusāriṇī                        |
| 60 | Mahāmāyūrī                       | Mahāśītavatī              | Ucchuṣma                                  |

|    |                            |                          |                         |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 61 | Ārya Jānguli               | Vasudhāra                | Śramaṇa                 |
| 62 | Kṛṣṇā Garuḍa               | Śābala Garuḍa            | Suvarna Garuḍa          |
| 63 | Vyāghravaktrā Ḍākinī       | Siṃhavaktrā Ḍākinī       | Ṛkṣavaktrā Ḍākinī       |
| 64 | Pratyāṅgirā                | Dhvajāgrakeyūrā          | Blazing Uṣṇīṣa          |
| 65 | Aṅgaja                     | Ajita                    | Vaṇavāsin               |
| 66 | Kālika                     | Vajrīputra               | Bhadra                  |
| 67 | Kanakavatsa                | Kanakabharadvāja         | Bakula                  |
| 68 | Rāhula                     | Cūḍapanthaka             | Piṇḍolabharadvāja       |
| 69 | Panthaka                   | Nāgasena                 | Gopaka                  |
| 70 | Abheda                     | Dharmatāla               | Monk                    |
| 71 | Aparājita                  | Yamāntaka                | Hayagrīva               |
| 72 | Kāmarāja                   | Amṛtakunḍalī             | Nīladanda               |
| 73 | Uṣṇīṣacakravartī           | Mahābala                 | Acala                   |
| 74 | Mahāpratyāṅgirā            | Vajrapātāla              | Trailokyavijaya         |
| 75 | Buddha Ḍākinī              | Vajra Ḍākinī             | Ratna Ḍākinī            |
| 76 | Karma Ḍākinī               | Padma Ḍākinī             | Visva Ḍākinī            |
| 77 | Sita Cintāmani Mahākāla    | Ṣaḍbhujā Mahākāla        | Āyuspati Mahākāla       |
| 78 | Devī                       | Kṣetrapāla               | Jinamitra               |
| 79 | Ṭakkirāja                  | Śrīdevī                  | Trakṣad                 |
| 80 | Bāhyasādhana Dharmarāja    | Antarasādhana Dharmarāja | Guhyasādhana Dharmarāja |
| 81 | Brāhmanarūpadhara Mahākāla | Pañjara Mahākāla         | Caturbhujā Mahākāla     |

|     |                                     |                                     |                                     |
|-----|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 82  | Caṇḍikā                             | Dhūmavatī Devī                      | Śaṅkhapālī Devī                     |
| 83  | Vasanta-devī                        | Kāmadhātviśvarī                     | Varṣā-devī                          |
| 84  | Śarad-devī                          | Svayambhū devī                      | Hemanta-devī                        |
| 85  | Citipati (Śmaśāna adhipati)         | Jamsring                            | Daṇḍa Mahākāla                      |
| 86  | Bhagavad Mahākāla (Legden Mahākāla) | Bhagavad Mahākāla (Legden Mahākāla) | Bhagavad Mahākāla (Legden Mahākāla) |
| 87  | Vyāghravāhana Mahākāla              | Śailadeva Mahākāla                  | Trakṣad Mahākāla                    |
| 88  | Raktaśūla Vaiśravaṇa                | Great Yellow Vaiśravaṇa             | Āyurvardhana sita Vaiśravaṇa        |
| 89  | Pīta Jambhala                       | Sita Jambhala                       | Kṛṣṇa Jambhala                      |
| 90  | Prāṇasādhana Rakta Jambhala         | Dorje Lekpa                         | Trimukha Ṣaḍbhujā Jambhala          |
| 91  | Ting gi Shyal Zangma                | Tashi Tseringma                     | Lozangma                            |
| 92  | Dro Zangma                          | Drin Zangma                         | Bhaiṣajyadevi                       |
| 93  | Śatakṛatu                           | Brahma                              | Pṛthivī                             |
| 94  | Virūḍhaka                           | Vaiśravaṇa                          | Virūpākṣa                           |
| 95  | Nīla Duṣpradharṣa                   | Dhṛtarāṣṭra                         | Rakta Abhimukha                     |
| 96  | Agni                                | Vāyu                                | Varuṇa                              |
| 97  | Nanda Nāgarāja                      | Varuṇa Nāgarāja                     | Upananda Nāgarāja                   |
| 98  | Goddess of Goldfish                 | Goddess of Umbrella                 | Goddess of Shell-trumpet            |
| 99  | Goddess of Endless Knot             | Goddess of Victory Banner           | Goddess of Vase                     |
| 100 | Goddess of Lotus                    | Goddess of Wheel                    | Goddess of Long life                |

## **Appendix 2 The Iconographic Pantheon of The Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (360)<sup>1</sup>**

---

<sup>1</sup> The list was created by Mori, Masahide. 'Listing of "The Three Hundred and Sixties Buddhist Deities"'. Asian Iconographic Resources. Accessed 14 June 2019. [http://air.w3.kanazawa-u.ac.jp/AIR/PDF/360deities\\_list.pdf](http://air.w3.kanazawa-u.ac.jp/AIR/PDF/360deities_list.pdf).

## Listing of "The Three Hundred and Sixties Buddhist Deities"

### I. Great Masters of Prajñāpāramitā-yāna 般若祖師

|    |                 |             |
|----|-----------------|-------------|
| 1  | Klu sgrub       | Nāgārjuna   |
| 2  | Thogs med       | Asaṅga      |
| 3  | 'Phags pa lha   | Āryadeva    |
| 4  | dByig gnyen     | Vasubandhu  |
| 5  | Phyogs glang    | Dignāga     |
| 6  | Chos grags      | Dharmakīrti |
| 7  | Yon tan 'od     | Guṇaprabha  |
| 8  | Shā kya 'od     | Śākyaprabha |
| 9  | Zla ba grags pa | Candrakīrti |
| 10 | Zhi ba lha      | Śāntideva   |

### II. Great Masters of Mantra-yāna in India 秘密祖師

|    |                 |               |
|----|-----------------|---------------|
| 11 | Sa ra ha        | Saraha        |
| 12 | Lu hi pa        | Lūhipāda      |
| 13 | Dril bu pa      | Ghaṇṭāpāda    |
| 14 | Nag po spyod pa | Kṛṣṇacārin    |
| 15 | La li ta        | Lalita[vajra] |
| 16 | Ḍo mbi pa       | Ḍombīpāda     |
| 17 | Te lo pa        | Tailakapāda   |
| 18 | Nā ro pa        | Nāḍapāda      |

### III. Great Masters of Mantra-yāna in Tibet 秘密道祖師

|    |                       |       |
|----|-----------------------|-------|
| 19 | Jo a ti sha           | Atīśa |
| 20 | 'Brom ston pa         |       |
| 21 | bTsong kha pa chen po |       |
| 22 | rGyal tshab rje       |       |



- 23 mKhas grub rje  
 24 dGe 'dun grub pa  
 25 rJes pan chen blo bzang chos kyi<sup>1</sup> rgyal mtshan  
 26 rJe ngag dbang blo bzang rgyal po  
 27 Pan chen blo bzang ye shes  
 28 Tā la'i bla ma skal bzang rgya<sup>2</sup> mtsho

**IV. Great Deities of Mantra-yāna 大秘密仏**

- 29 rGyal ba rdo rje 'chang  
 30 gSang 'dus 'jam pa'i rdo rje  
 31 'Jam dbyangs nang sgrub  
 32 gSang 'dus mi bskyod<sup>3</sup> rdo rje  
 33 gSang 'dus 'jigs rten dbang phyug  
 34 sPyan ras gzigs rgyal ba rgya mtsho  
 35 Dus kyi 'khor lo  
 36 dPal 'khor lo sdom pa  
 37 bDe mchog<sup>4</sup> dkar po  
 38 bDe mchog<sup>5</sup> rdor sems  
 39 bDe mchog<sup>6</sup> lhan skyes  
 40 bDe mchog<sup>7</sup> mkha' lding  
 41 rDo rje<sup>8</sup> khyung khra  
 42 'Jigs byed  
 43 dGra nag

- Vajradhara  
 Guhyasamāja-Mañjuvajra  
 Antarasādhana-Mañjughoṣa  
 Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra  
 Guhyasamāja-Lokeśvara  
 Jinasāgara-Avalokiteśvara  
 Kālacakra  
 Śrīcakrasaṃvara  
 Sita-Saṃvara  
 Vajrasattva-Saṃvara  
 Sahaja-Saṃvara  
 Garuḍa-Saṃvara?  
 Vajragaruḍa (śabala)?  
 Bhairava  
 Kṛṣṇāri?

<sup>1</sup>The caption below the figure reads kyi.

<sup>2</sup>Caption: rgyal.

<sup>3</sup>Caption: skyod.

<sup>4</sup>Caption: mchogs.

<sup>5</sup>Caption: mchogs.

<sup>6</sup>Caption: mchogs.

<sup>7</sup>Caption: mchogs.

<sup>8</sup>Caption: rjes.

44 gDong po drug pa  
 45 gShin rje<sup>9</sup> gshed mar  
 46 'Jigs byed dpa' gcig  
 47 Kyai rdo rje  
 48 sNying po kyai rdo rje  
 49 rDo rje bdud rtsi<sup>10</sup>  
 50 Ma hā ma ya  
 51 Sangs rgyas thod pa  
 52 Ye shes mkha' 'gro  
 53 bDag med  
 54 rDo rje phag mo  
 55 mKha' 'gro<sup>11</sup> ma  
 56 rDo rje hūṃ mdzad  
 57 rDo rje gdan bzhi  
 58 rNal 'byor nam mkha'  
 59 Phyang rdor<sup>12</sup> 'khor chen  
 60 Ku ru ku le  
 61 rTa mgrin gsang sgrub  
 62 rTa mgrin padma gar dbang

**V. Mantra-yāna Deities** 諸様秘密仏

63 Tshe dpag med phyag bzhi ba  
 64 Tshe dpag med  
 65 rDo rje dbyings  
 66 rNam<sup>13</sup> snang shā kya seng ge

Ṣaṅmukha?  
 Rakta-Yamāri  
 Ekavīra-Bhairava  
 Hevajra  
 Garbha-Hevajra?  
 Vajrāmṛta  
 Mahāmāyā  
 Buddhakapāla  
 Jñānaḍākinī  
 Nairātmyā  
 Vajravārāhī  
 Ḍākinī  
 Vajrahūṃkāra  
 Vajracatuḥpīṭha  
 Yogāmbara  
 Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi?  
 Kurukullā  
 Guhyasādhana-Hayagrīva  
 Padmanarteśvara-Hayagrīva

Caturbhuja-Amitāyus  
 Amitāyus  
 Vajradhātu  
 Vairocana-Śākyasiṃha

<sup>9</sup>Caption: rjes.

<sup>10</sup>Caption: rtsis.

<sup>11</sup>The caption adds spyod below 'gro ma.

<sup>12</sup>Caption: tor.

<sup>13</sup>Caption: mams.

67 Chos dbyings<sup>14</sup> gsung gi dbang phyug  
 68 Kun rig nmam<sup>15</sup> par snang mdzad  
 69 rDo rje sems dpa'  
 70 rNam snang mngon byang<sup>16</sup>  
 71 Phyag rdor 'byung po 'dul byed  
 72 Phyag rdor gos sngon can  
 73 Phyag rdor gtum chung  
 74 Phyag rdor u tsa rya  
 75 gTum po zhal gsum phyag drug pa  
 76 rTa mgrin lcags ral can

Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara  
 Sarvavid-Vairocana  
 Vajrasattva  
 Vairocanābhisambodhi  
 Bhūtaḍāmara-Vajrapāṇi  
 Nīlāmbaradhara-Vajrapāṇi?  
 Caṇḍa-Vajrapāṇi  
 Ucchraya(?) -Vajrapāṇi  
 Trimukhaṣaḍbhujā-Caṇḍa  
 Hayagrīva?

**VI. Pañca-Tathāgata** 五方仏

77 rNam snang  
 78 Mi bskyod pa  
 79 Rin 'byung  
 80 'Od dpag med  
 81 Don 'grub

Vairocana  
 Akṣobhya  
 Ratnasambhava  
 Amitābha  
 Amoghasiddhi

**VII. Thirty-five Buddhas** 三十五仏

82 Shā kya thub pa  
 83 rDo rje'i snying pos rab tu 'joms pa  
 84 Rin chen 'od 'phro<sup>17</sup>  
 85 Klu dbang gi rgyal po  
 86 dPa' bo'i sde  
 87 dPal dgyes  
 88 Rin chen me

Śākyamuni  
 Vajragarbhapramardin  
 Ratnārcis  
 Nāgeśvararāja  
 Vīrasena  
 Vīranandin  
 Ratnāgni

<sup>14</sup>Caption: dbying.

<sup>15</sup>Caption: nmams.

<sup>16</sup>Caption: rNams snang mngon byangs.

<sup>17</sup>Caption: 'phros.

89 Rin chen zla 'od  
 90 mThong ba don yod  
 91 Rin chen zla ba  
 92 Dri ma med pa  
 93 dPal byin  
 94 Tshangs pa  
 95 Tshangs pas byin  
 96 Chu lha  
 97 Chu lha'i lha  
 98 dPal bzang  
 99 Tsan dan dpal  
 100 gZi brjid mtha' yas  
 101 'Od dpal  
 102 Mya ngan med pa'i dpal  
 103 Sred med kyi bu  
 104 Me tog dpal  
 105 Tshangs pa'i 'od zer rnam par rol bas mngon par mkhyen pa  
 106 Padma'i 'od zer rnam par rol bas mngon par mkhyen pa  
 107 Nor dpal  
 108 Dran pa'i dpal  
 109 mTshan dpal shin tu yongs sbgrags  
 110 dBang po'i tog gi rgyal mtshan gyi rgyal po  
 111 Shin tu rnam par gnon pa'i dpal  
 112 g'Yul las shin tu rnam par rgyal ba  
 113 rNam par gnon pa'i gshegs pa'i dpal  
 114 Kun nas snang ba bkod pa'i dpal  
 115 Rin chen padmas rnam par gnon pa  
 116 Sangs rgyas ri dbang gi rgyal po

Ratnacandraprabha  
 Amoghadarśin  
 Ratnacandra  
 Vimala  
 Śūradatta  
 Brahmā  
 Brahadatta  
 Varuṇa  
 Varuṇadeva  
 Bhadraśrī  
 Candanaśrī  
 Anantaujas  
 Prabhāsaśrī  
 Aśokaśrī  
 Nārāyaṇa  
 Kusumaśrī  
 Brahmajyotirvikrīḍitābhijña  
 Padmajyotirvikrīḍitābhijña  
 Dhanaśrī  
 Smṛtiśrī  
 Suparikīrtitanāmaśrī  
 Indraketuḍhvajarāja  
 Suvikrāntaśrī  
 Yuddhajaya  
 Vikrāntagāmiśrī  
 Samantāvabhāsavyūhaśrī  
 Ratnapadmavikrāmin  
 Śailendrarāja

### VIII. Buddhas of Ten Directions 十方仏

|     |   |                                     |
|-----|---|-------------------------------------|
| 117 | Sangs rgyas rje su spyod pa                   | Anucārin?-Buddha                    |
| 118 | Sangs rgyas mngon 'phags rgyal po             | Abhyudgatarāja-Buddha               |
| 119 | 'Khon dang (?) rgyags pa nam gnon             |                                     |
| 120 | Sangs rgyas rin chen gzugs bkod 'od snang     | RatnāṅgavyūhadyutiBuddha            |
| 121 | Sangs rgyas bdud dang yid gnyis kun 'joms (?) |                                     |
| 122 | Phyir mi ldog pa'i 'khor lo 'byung ba'i dpal  | Avaivartikacakrasambhavaśrī?        |
| 123 | Sangs rgyas rin gdugs 'phags                  | Ratnacchattrodgata-Buddha           |
| 124 | Sangs rgyas byang sems 'dul ba                |                                     |
| 125 | sKrag med mun bral rgyal po                   | Nirbhayavigatatamorāja?             |
| 126 | Dang po sems skyed the tshom gcod mdzad       | Prathamacittotpādasamaṣayacchedika? |

**IX. Six Buddhas of the Past** 六勇仏 (過去仏)

|     |                        |              |
|-----|------------------------|--------------|
| 127 | Sangs rgyas rnam gzigs | Vipaśyin     |
| 128 | gTsug tor can          | Śikhin       |
| 129 | Thams cad skyob        | Viśvabhū     |
| 130 | 'Khor ba 'jig          | Krakucchanda |
| 131 | gSer thub              | Kanakamuni   |
| 132 | 'Od bsrung             | Kāśyapa      |

**X. Bhaiṣajyaguru** 藥師仏

|     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| 133 | mTshan legs yongs grags dpal gyi rgyal po  | Suparikīrtitanāmaśrīrāja                                |
| 134 | Sangs rgyas rin po che dang zla ba dang padmas rab tu brgyan pa mkhas pa gzi brjid sgra dbyangs kyi rgyal po | Ratnacandrapadmapratimaṇḍitapaṇḍita?tejaḥsvaraghoṣarāja |
| 135 | gSer bzang dri med rin chen snang brtul zhugs pa   | Suvarṇabhadravimalaratnaprabhāsavrata                   |
| 136 | Mya ngan med mchog <sup>18</sup> dpal  | Aśokottamaśrī   |
| 137 | Chos sgrags rgya mtsho'i dbyang  | Dharmakīrtisāgaraghoṣa                                  |
| 138 | Chos rgya mtsho mchog gi blos nam par rol bar mngon par mkhyen pa'i rgyal po                                 | Dharmasāgarāgra?mativikrīḍitābhijñārāja                 |
| 139 | sMan gyi bla bai dū rya'i 'od kyi rgyal po   | Bhaiṣajyaguru-Vaiḍūryaprabhārāja                        |

<sup>18</sup>Caption: mchogs.

**XI. Buddhas** 諸様仏

- 140 rGyal ba seng ge'i nga ro  
141 rDo rje mi 'khrugs pa  
142 'Od zer kun 'phags dpal brtsegs<sup>19</sup> rgyal po  
143 rGyal ba kun gzigs  
144 Rin chen gtsug tor can

Simhanāda  
Vajrākṣobhya  
Raśmisamudgataśrīkūṭarāja  
Samantadarśin  
Ratnaśikhin

**XII. Mañjuśrī** 文殊化像菩薩

- 145 'Jam dbyangs dkar po  
146 'Jam dbyangs<sup>20</sup> dpal gzhon nur gyur ba  
147 'Jam dbyangs brtan pa'i 'khor lo  
148 'Jam dbyangs<sup>21</sup> gsang sgrub  
149 'Jam dbyangs<sup>22</sup> seng ge'i sgra  
150 'Jam dbyangs<sup>23</sup> ngag gi rgyal po  
151 'Jam dbyangs chos dbyings gsung gi dbang phyug brgyad pa  
152 'Jam dbyangs sgra bzang dbang phyug rgyal po  
153 'Jam<sup>24</sup> dpal rgyal po rol ba  
154 'Jig gsum lhag par dbang du byed pa'i 'jam dbyangs  
155 mTshan brjod kyi 'jam dbyangs phyag bzhi pa  
156 'Jam dbyangs shes rab 'khor lo dang po  
157 'Jam dpal mon po

Sita-Mañjughoṣa  
Kumārabhūta-Mañjuśrī  
Sthiracakra-Mañjughoṣa  
Guhyasādhana-Mañjughoṣa  
Simhanāda-Mañjughoṣa  
Vādirāḍ-Mañjughoṣa  
Aṣṭabhūja-Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-Mañjughoṣa  
BhadrasvareśvararājaMañjughoṣa  
Rājalīlā-Mañjuśrī  
Trailokyavaśyādhikāra Mañjughoṣa  
Caturbhūja-NāmasaṃgītiMañjughoṣa  
Prajñācakra-Mañjughoṣa  
Ṭikṣṇa-Mañjuśrī

**XIII. Avalokiteśvara** 觀世音菩薩化像

- 158 sPyan ras gzigs phyag bzhi pa

Caturbhūja-Avalokiteśvara

<sup>19</sup>Caption: brtsags.

<sup>20</sup>Caption: omits dbyangs.

<sup>21</sup>Caption: dbyang.

<sup>22</sup>Caption: dbyang.

<sup>23</sup>Caption: dbyang.

<sup>24</sup>Caption: 'Jams.

159 sPyan ras gzigs padma dbang 'byed  
 160 sPyan ras gzigs kha sar pa ni  
 161 sPyan ras gzigs seng ge'i sgra  
 162 'Jig rten dbang phyug halhala  
 163 sPyan ras gzigs rdo rje chos  
 164 sPyan ras gzigs padma gar dbang phyag gnyis pa  
 165 Padma gar dbang phyag bco brgyad pa  
 166 'Jig rten dbang phyug ha ri ha ri la zhon pa  
 167 Khams gsum dbang 'dus spyan ras gzigs  
 168 'Jig rten dbang phyug dmar po phyag bzhi pa  
 169 'Jig rten dbang phyug mgrin sngon can  
 170 sGyu 'phrul<sup>25</sup> dra ba'i rim pa'i spyan ras gzigs  
 171 Don yod zhags pa  
 172 sPyan ras gzigs bhu kham dmar po  
 173 bCu gcig zhal  
 174 Nam mkha'<sup>26</sup> rgyal po  
 175 sPyan ras gzigs sems nyid ngal gso  
 176 sPyan ras gzigs yid bzhin nor bu  
 177 sPyan ras gzigs rdo rje<sup>27</sup> snying pos rab tu 'joms pa

Padmavikāsana-Avalokiteśvara  
 Khasarpaṇa-Avalokiteśvara  
 Siṃhanāda-Avalokiteśvara  
 Hālāhala-Lokeśvara  
 Vajradharma-Avalokiteśvara  
 Dvibhuja-Padmanarteśvara Avalokiteśvara  
 Aṣṭadaśabhuja-Padmanarteśvara  
 Hariharivāhana-Lokeśvara  
 Trailokyavaśaṃkara Avalokiteśvara  
 Caturbhuja-rakta-Lokeśvara  
 Nīlakaṇṭha-Lokeśvara  
 Māyājālakrama-Avalokiteśvara  
 Amoghapāśa  
 Mahābhūmika?-rakta Avalokiteśvara  
 Ekādaśamukha[-Avalokiteśvara]  
 Gaganarāja  
 Cittaviśrāmaṇa-Avalokiteśvara  
 Cintāmaṇi-Avalokiteśvara  
 Vajragarbhapramardin Avalokiteśvara

**XIV. Sixteen Bodhisattvas in Vajradhātumaṇḍala** 毘盧仏壇場内菩薩

178 rDo rje khu tshur  
 179 rDo rje gnod sbyin  
 180 rDo rje bsrung  
 181 rDo rje las  
 182 rDo rje smra ba  
 183 rDo rje rgyu  
 184 rDo rje mnon po

Vajramuṣṭi  
 Vajrayakṣa  
 Vajrarakṣa  
 Vajrakarma  
 Vajrabhāṣa  
 Vajrahetu  
 Vajratīkṣṇa

<sup>25</sup>Clark's index: 'phul.

<sup>26</sup>Caption: mkhas.

<sup>27</sup>Clark's index: rje'i.

185 rDo rje chos  
 186 rDo rje bzhad pa  
 187 rDo rje rgyal mtshan  
 188 rDo rje gzi brjid  
 189 rDo rje rin chen  
 190 rDo rje legs pa  
 191 rDo rje chags pa  
 192 rDo rje rgyal po  
 193 Byang chub rdo rje sems dpa'

Vajradharma  
 Vajrahāsa  
 Vajraketu  
 Vajratejas  
 Vajraratna  
 Vajrasādhu  
 Vajrarāga  
 Vajrarāja  
 Vajrasattva Bodhisattva

**XV. Bodhisattva** 諸樣菩薩

194 Byams pa phyag bzhi pa  
 195 Byams pa phyag gnyis pa  
 196 Nam mkha'<sup>28</sup> snying po  
 197 Sa'i snying po  
 198 Kun tu bzang po  
 199 sGrib pa rnam sel  
 200 Kun tu bzang po glang chen po

Caturbhujā-Maitreya  
 Dvibhujā-Maitreya  
 Ākāśagarbha  
 Kṣitigarbha  
 Samantabhadra  
 Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin  
 Hastivāhana-Samantabhadra

**XVI. Pañcarakṣā** 保護怙母

201 sTong chen mo  
 202 rMa bya chen mo<sup>29</sup>  
 203 bSil ba'i tshal  
 204 gSang sngags rjes 'dzin  
 205 So sor 'brangs ma

Mahāsāhasrapramardanī  
 Mahāmāyūrī  
 Śītavatī  
 Mantrānusāriṇī  
 Pratisarā

**XVII. Tārā** 救度怙母

<sup>28</sup>Caption: mkha'i.

<sup>29</sup>Caption: po.



206 Seng ldeng nag 'bye sgrol ma  
 207 Myur shing dpa'i sgrol ma  
 208 sGrol ma zla mdang ma  
 209 sGrol ma gser mdog ma  
 210 gTsug tor sgrol ma  
 211 sGrol ma hūṃ sgra sgrogs ma  
 212 rNam par rgyal ba'i sgrol ma  
 213 sGrol ma gzhan gyis mi thub pa  
 214 sGrol ma bdud 'joms ma  
 215 Mya ngan sel ba'i sgrol ma  
 216 'Gro ba 'gugs pa'i sgrol ma  
 217 bKra shis skye ba'i sgrol ma  
 218 sGrol ma smin byed ma  
 219 sGrol ma khros ma nag mo  
 220 Zhi ba<sup>30</sup> chen mo'i sgrol ma  
 221 Chags pa 'joms pa'i sgrol ma  
 222 bDe ba sbyin pa'i sgrol mo  
 223 sGrol ma rnam par rgyal ma dkar mo  
 224 sDug bsngal bsregs pa'i sgrol ma  
 225 dNgos grub stsol ba'i sgrol ma  
 226 Yongs su rdzogs pa'i sgrol ma  
 227 Dug<sup>31</sup> nag sel ba'i sgrol ma

Khadiravaṇī-Tārā  
 Pravīra?-Tārā  
 Candrakānti?-Tārā  
 Kanakavarṇa-Tārā  
 Uṣṇīṣa-Tārā  
 Hūṃsvaranādinī-Tārā  
 Vijaya-Tārā  
 Aparājita-Tārā  
 Mārasūdana-Tārā  
 Śokavinodana-Tārā  
 Jagadvaśī?-Tārā  
 Maṅgalotpādana-Tārā  
 Pācaka-Tārā  
 Kruddha-kālī-Tārā  
 Mahāśānti-Tārā  
 Rāganisūdana-Tārā  
 Sukhada-Tārā  
 Sita-Vijaya-Tārā  
 Duḥkhadahana-Tārā  
 Siddhida-Tārā  
 Paripūrṇa-Tārā?  
 Jāṅgulī-Tārā

**XVIII. Female Deities** 諸様仏母

228 Gur las gzungs pa'i rdo rje sgrol ma  
 229 rGya nag rim pa'i sgrol ma  
 230 sGrol dkar yid bzhin gyi 'khor lo

[Vajra]pañjarabhāṣitaVajratārā  
 Cīnakrama-Tārā  
 Cintāmaṇīcakra-sita-Tārā

<sup>30</sup>Caption: ba'i.

<sup>31</sup>Caption: bDug.

231 Yid bzhin rgyal mo phyag bzhi ma  
 232 sGrol dkar phyag drug ma  
 233 sGrol ma nor sbyin ma  
 234 Ngan song las sgrol ba'i sgrol ma  
 235 Don thams cad sgrub pa'i sgrol ma  
 236 'Phags ma dug sel ma  
 237 lHa mo ral gcig phyag nyi shu rtsa bzhi ma  
 238 sNa chogs yum  
 239 lHa mo ral gcig ma  
 240 lHa mo tsundā phyag bzhi ma  
 241 lHa mo tsundā phyag mang  
 242 'Od zer can phyag bcu ma  
 243 'Od zer can phyag brgyad ma  
 244 'Od zer can phyag gnyis ma  
 245 'Od zer can bdud rtsi'i ma  
 246 'Od zer can rdo rje dbyings kyi dbang phyug ma  
 247 gTsong tor nam<sup>32</sup> rgyal ma  
 248 'Phags ma gdugs dkar po can  
 249 Lo ma gyon ma phyag drug ma  
 250 Lo ma gyon ma phyag bzhi ma  
 251 Sher phyin phyag gnyis ma  
 252 Sher phyin phyag bzhi ma  
 253 rDo rje dbyangs can ma phyag drug ma  
 254 rDo rje dbyangs can ma phyag gnyis ma  
 255 Pi wang dbyangs can ma  
 256 lHa mo khro gnyer can  
 257 rDo rje tsa rtsig<sup>34</sup>

Caturbhujā-Cintāmaṇirājñī  
 Ṣaḍbhujā-sita-Tārā  
 Dhanada-Tārā  
 Durgottāriṇī-Tārā  
 Sarvārthasādhana-Tārā  
 Ārya-Jāṅgulī  
 Caturviṃśatibhujā-Ekajaṭā  
 Viśvamāṭṭ  
 Ekajaṭā  
 Caturbhujā-Cundā  
 Bahubhujā-Cundā  
 Daśabhujā-Mārīcī  
 Aṣṭabhujā-Mārīcī  
 Dvibhujā-Mārīcī  
 Mārīcī  
 Vajradhātviśvarī-Mārīcī  
 Uṣṇīṣavijayā  
 Ārya-Sitātapatrā  
 Ṣaḍbhujā-Parṇasābarī  
 Caturbhujā-Parṇasābarī<sup>33</sup>  
 Dvibhujā-Prajñāpāramitā  
 Caturbhujā-Prajñāpāramitā  
 Ṣaḍbhujā-Vajrasarasvatī  
 Dvibhujā-Vajrasarasvatī  
 Viṇā-Sarasvatī  
 Bhṛkuṭī  
 Vajracarcikā

<sup>32</sup>Caption: nams.

<sup>33</sup>Ch. 二臂. The deity is depicted in two-armed figure.

258 Sor 'brangs phyag gnyis ma  
 259 Phyr bzlog ma  
 260 rGyal mtshan rtse mo'i dpung rgyan  
 261 gZhan gyis mi thub ma  
 262 rDo rje gandha ri  
 263 Chos kyi rdo rje ma  
 264 Las kyi rdo rje ma  
 265 Sems ma rdo rje ma  
 266 Rin chen rdo rje ma  
 267 lHa mo shra ma ṅa  
 268 Nor sbyin ma  
 269 gZa' yum  
 270 Pad dkar shes rab gsal byed  
 271 Phag mo don thams cad sgrub pa

Dvibhuja-Pratisarā  
 Mahāpratyaṅgirā  
 Dhvajāgrakeyūrā  
 Aparājitā  
 Vajragāndhārī  
 Dharmavajrī  
 Karmavajrī  
 Sattvavajrī  
 Ratnavajrī  
 Śramaṇā  
 Dhanadā  
 Grahamāṭṭkā  
 Prajñālokakṛtya-sitaVajravārāhī  
 Sarvārthasādhana-Vārāhī

**XIX. Eighteen Arhats** 十八羅漢

272 Yan lag 'byung  
 273 Ma pham pa  
 274 Nags na gnas  
 275 Dus ldan  
 276 rDo rje mo'i bu  
 277 bZang po  
 278 gSer bi'u  
 279 Ba ra dhwā dza gser can  
 280 Ba ku la  
 281 sGra gcan 'dzin  
 282 Lam phran  
 283 Ba ra dhwā dza bsodod snyoms les

Aṅgaja  
 Ajita  
 Vaṇavāsin  
 Kālīka  
 Vajrīputra  
 Bhadra  
 Kanakavatsa  
 Kanakabharadvāja  
 Bakula  
 Rāhula  
 Cūḍapanthaka  
 Piṇḍolabharadvāja

---

<sup>34</sup>Clark's index: rtsiga.

284 Lam bstan  
 285 Klu'i sde  
 286 sBed byed pa  
 287 Mi phyed pa  
 288 dGe bsnyen dharma ta la  
 289 Hwa shang dge bsnyen

**XX. Arhats** 諸樣羅漢

290 'Od bsrung chen po  
 291 Kun dga' bo  
 292 Sha na'i gos can  
 293 Nyer sbas  
 294 Dhi dhi ka  
 295 Nag po  
 296 Legs mthong

**XXI. Dharmapāla** 勇保護法

297 mGon po phyag drug pa  
 298 'Brong zhal can  
 299 Ṭa kṣad seng ge zhon pa  
 300 mGon po ṭa kṣad-?  
 301 mGon po stag zhon  
 302 mGon po legs ldan  
 303 mGon po beng  
 304 Las mgon bya rog gdong can  
 305 mGon po gur  
 306 mGon po phyag bzhi pa  
 307 Zhal bram gzugs  
 308 Ṭa kṣad nag po  
 309 lHa mo dong skyong ma

Panthaka  
 Nāgasena  
 Gopaka  
 Abhedā  
 Upāsaka-Dharmatāla  
 Upāsaka-Hwa-shang

Mahākāśyapa  
 Ānanda  
 Śāṅkavāsin  
 Upagupta  
 Dhītika  
 Kāla  
 Sudarśana

Ṣaḍbhujā-Mahākāla

Simhavāhana-Ṭakṣad  
 Mahākāla-Ṭakṣad  
 Vyāghravāhana-Mahākāla  
 Bhagavad-Mahākāla  
 Daṇḍa[dhara]-Mahākāla  
 Kākāśya-Karmanātha  
 Mahākāla-pañjara?  
 Caturbhujā-Mahākāla  
 Brāhmaṇarūpa[-Mahākāla]  
 Kṛṣṇa-Ṭakṣad  
 Śaṅkhapālī

310 lHa mo dong sol ma  
 311 dPal ldan lha mo phyag gnyis ma  
 312 Chos rgyal  
 313 Ṭa kki ra dza  
 314 Dzi na mi ṭra  
 315 Kṣe tra pa la  
 316 Tshe bdag mgon po<sup>35</sup>  
 317 mGon dkar yid bzhin nor bu

Dhūmāvati  
 Dvibhuja-śrīmatī-Devī  
 Dharmarāja  
 Ṭakkirāja  
 Jinamitra  
 Kṣetrapāla  
 Āyuspati-Mahākāla  
 Sita-Cintāmaṇi-Mahākāla

**XXII. Vaiśravaṇa** 財宝天王

318 rNam sras tshe 'phel dkar po  
 319 rNam sras drag byed nag po  
 320 rGyal chen mam thos sras  
 321 rNam sras mdong dmar  
 322 rNam sras ser chen

Sita-Āyurvardhana-Vaiśravaṇa  
 Raudra-kṛṣṇa-Vaiśravaṇa  
 Mahārāja-Vaiśravaṇa  
 Raktaśūla-Vaiśravaṇa  
 Mahāpīta-Vaiśravaṇa

**XXIII. Dharmapāla** 諸様護法

323 Sa'i lha mo brtan ma  
 324 rNam sras gar mkhan mchog  
 325 'Phags skyes po  
 326 sPyan mi bzang  
 327 Yul 'khor bsrung  
 328 brGya byin  
 329 Tshangs pa  
 330 lHa mo tsaṅdi ka  
 331 dPyid kyi lha mo  
 332 dByar gyi lha mo  
 333 sTon gyi lha mo

Dṛḍhā-Pṛthivī  
 Nartakavara-Vaiśravaṇa  
 Virūḍhaka  
 Virūpākṣa  
 Dhṛtarāṣṭra  
 Śatakratu  
 Brahman  
 Caṅḍikā  
 Vasanta-devī  
 Varṣā-devī  
 Śarad-devī

<sup>35</sup>Caption: pa.

334 dGun gyi lha mo  
 335 bKra shis tshe ring ma  
 336 Beg tse  
 337 Dur khrod bdag po  
 338 Mi g'yo ba sngon po  
 339 Dzam bha la ser po  
 340 Mi g'yo ba dkar po  
 341 Dzam bha la phyag drug pa  
 342 Khro bo stobs po che  
 343 'Jig rten gsum rgyal  
 344 Dzam bha la nag po  
 345 Gegs mthar byed  
 346 bDud rtsi 'khyil pa  
 347 rDo rje lcags sgrog ma<sup>36</sup>  
 348 Mi g'yo ba spre'u brgyad pa  
 349 Me ltar 'bar ba  
 350 Mi g'yo ba phyag bzhi pa  
 351 Khro mo sme brtsegs  
 352 rDo rje rnam 'joms  
 353 Zhang blon rdo rje bdud 'dul  
 354 gNod sbyin gang ba bzang po  
 355 Dzam bha la dkar po 'brug zhon  
 356 Khro bo sme<sup>37</sup> brtsegs  
 357 Seng gdong ma  
 358 bCom ldan reg tshig  
 359 rDo rje hūṃ mdzad  
 360 Tshogs bdag dmar chen

Hemanta-devī  
 Maṅgaladīrghāyus  
  
 Citipati  
 Nīla-Acala  
 Pīta-Jambhala  
 Sita-Acala  
 Śaḍbhujā-Jambhala  
 Krothamahābala  
 Trailokyavijaya  
 Kṛṣṇa-Jambhala  
 Vighnāntaka  
 Amṛtakunḍalin  
 Vajraśṛṅkhālā  
 Aṣṭakapi-Acala  
 Jvālānala  
 Caturbhujā-Acala  
  
 Vajravīdāraṇī  
  
 Yakṣa-Pūrṇabhadra  
 Sita-nāgavāhana-Jambhala  
  
 Siṃhavaktrā  
 Bhagavad-Bhayanāśana  
 Vajrahūṃkāra  
 Mahārakta-Gaṇapati

<sup>36</sup>Caption: omits ma.

<sup>37</sup>Caption: me.

### Appendix 3 The Iconographic Pantheon of Fanhualou and Baoxianglou

#### Fanhualou

##### Nine Main Deities of Room 1

|   |  |  |   |   |   |
|---|--|--|---|---|---|
| <p>Avalokiteśvara<br/>觀世音菩薩<br/>བྱུང་པ་གཞིགས་</p>             |  | <p>Mañjuśrī<br/>文殊菩薩<br/>འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱུངས་</p>     | <p>Śākyamuni<br/>釋迦牟尼佛<br/>འཕྲ་ཐུབ་པ་</p> | <p>Vajrapāṇi<br/>金剛菩薩<br/>ཕྱག་ལྗོན་མེ</p> | <p>Kṣitigarbha<br/>地藏王菩薩<br/>ས་ཡི་སྡིང་པོ་</p>    |
| <p>Sarvanivaraṅsviṣkambhin<br/>除諸障菩薩<br/>རྫོང་པ་རྒྱམ་སེལ་</p> |  | <p>Samantabhadra<br/>普賢菩薩<br/>ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་</p> |   | <p>Maitreya<br/>彌勒菩薩<br/>བྱམས་པ་</p>      | <p>Ākāśagarbha<br/>虛空藏菩薩<br/>ནམ་མཁའི་སྡིང་པོ་</p> |

### Western Cabinet Deities in Room 1

|                                |                                    |                                 |  |                                      |   |                       |                           |   |                                       |  |                      |                      |   |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|---------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| Vikrānta-gāmī<br>善遊步佛          | Samantāvabhā-savyūhaśrī<br>周匝莊嚴功德佛 | Vicitrasaṃ-krama<br>鬥戰勝佛        | Ratna-padma-supraṭiṣṭhita-śailendrarāja<br>須彌山王佛 | Ratna-padma-vikrāmī<br>寶華遊步佛         | Maitreya<br>慈氏菩薩                        | Mañjuśrī<br>文殊菩薩      | Saman-tabhadra<br>普賢菩薩    | Avalokiteśvara<br>觀世音菩薩                     | Sarvanivāraṇa-<br>Viṣkambhin<br>除諸障菩薩 | Kṣiti-garbha<br>地藏王菩薩                    | Vajrapāṇi<br>手持金剛菩薩  | Ākāśagarbha<br>虛空藏菩薩 | 1 |
| Indraketu-dhvajarāja<br>紅焰帝幢王佛 | Muktiskandha<br>解積佛                | Vairocana(?)<br>明照佛             | Vīranandin<br>精進喜佛                               | Ratnaśrī<br>寶火佛                      | Ratna-candra<br>寶月佛                     | Virmala<br>無垢佛        | Punarapi<br>Kusuma<br>華氏佛 | Mahābāhu<br>大手佛                             | Śūradatta<br>勇施佛                      | Ratna-candra-prabha<br>寶月光佛              | Amoghadarśin<br>現無愚佛 | 2                    |   |
| Tsongkhapa<br>宗喀巴              | Muni<br>牟尼佛                        | Kusuma<br>妙華佛                   | Śākyamuni<br>釋迦牟尼佛                               | Vajra-pramardin<br>金剛不壞佛             | Ratnārcis<br>寶光佛                        | Nāgeśvararāja<br>龍尊王佛 | Vīrasena<br>精進軍佛          | Pradyota<br>明焰佛                             | Simha<br>獅子佛                          | Milarepa<br>密拉祖                          | 3                    |                      |   |
| Sunetra<br>妙目佛(?)              | Sārthavāha<br>導師佛                  | Suvikrāntaśrī<br>善遊步功德佛         | Mahā-prabha<br>大光佛                               | Suparikīrtita-nāmadheyaśrī<br>善名稱功德佛 | Padma-jyotirvikrīḍitabhijña<br>蓮華光遊戲神通佛 | Kusumaśrī<br>功德華佛     | Dhanaśrī<br>財功德佛          | Smṛtiśrī<br>德念佛                             | Brahman<br>清淨佛                        | Brahma-jyotirvikrīḍitabhijña<br>清淨光遊戲神通佛 | Sūryagarbha<br>日藏佛   | 4                    |   |
| Pradīpa<br>明燈佛                 | Arthadarśin<br>觀義佛                 | Dhyānā-bhyudgata-rāja<br>禪定顯聖王佛 | Bhinnakleśa<br>除煩惱佛                              | Ratna-cchattroḍgata-prabha<br>寶傘勝光佛  | Avaivartikaśrī-<br>cakra<br>不迴吉祥輪佛      | joms?<br>善滅魔障佛        | Rathāngadyuti<br>寶生光輝佛    | vKhon-dang(?)<br>rgyas parnam gnon<br>善滅淨傲佛 | Abhy-udgata-rāja<br>顯聖王佛              | Vaidya<br>妙醫佛                            | Prabhūta<br>勢成佛      | (empty)              | 5 |



## Eastern Cabinet Deities in Room 1

|                    |                               |                               |                    |                             |                               |                     |                             |                                  |                                       |                               |                               |               |   |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---|
| Prabhā-saśrī 光德佛   | Canda-naśrī 旃檀功德佛             | Anataujas 無量掬光佛               | Varuṇa-deva 水天中天佛  | Brahma-datta 清淨施佛           | Bhadraśrī 賢德佛                 | Varuṇa 水天佛          | Nakṣatra-rājavikrīdita 遊宿王佛 | Yaśaḥketu 名相佛                    | Mahābala 大力佛                          | Nārāyaṇa 那羅延佛                 | Oṣadhi 修藥佛                    | Aśokaśrī 無憂德佛 | 1 |
| Jina Siṃhanāda 獅吼佛 | Ajita 阿資達尊者                   | Aṅgaja 昂機達尊者                  | Vanavāsin 拔那巴斯尊者   | Vajrīputra 拔厘補達喇尊者          | Bhadra 拔達喇尊者                  | Kanakavatsa 嘎那嘎幹斯尊者 | Kālika 嘎禮嘎尊者                | Śarīputra 舍利佛                    | Kātyāyana 迦咀延                         | Maudgalyāyana 目犍連             | Kāśyapa 迦舍                    | 2             |   |
| Aśoka 無憂佛          | Suprabha 妙光佛                  | Arciṣmat 光焰佛                  | Ratna-sambhava 寶生佛 | Dīpaṅkara 燃燈佛               | Dalai Lama 達賴喇嘛               | Amitābha 阿彌陀佛       | Candraketu 月相佛              | Amoghasiddhi 成就佛                 | Parvatadhara-rāja 持山王佛                | Maitreya 彌勒佛                  | 3                             |               |   |
| Guṇa-prabha 德光佛    | Pradyota 焰明佛                  | Mālādhārin 持珠佛                | Tiṣya 宿王佛          | Dharmaghoṣa Tathāgata 法音如來佛 | Agramati-rāja 聖慧王如來佛          | Anucārin 隨應佛        | Aśokottamaśrī(?) 無憂如來佛      | Suparikīrtitanā madheyaśrī 善名如來佛 | Suvarṇa-ratnaprabhā Tathāgata 金色寶光如來佛 | Ābhāsvara (?) Tathāgata 光音如來佛 | Bhaiṣajyaguru Tathāgata 藥師如來佛 | 4             |   |
| Gavāmpati 嘎班巴的     | Kanaka—bhara--dvāja 嘎那嘎拔喇危匝尊者 | (Sita-Saṃvara) Panthaka 班塔嘎尊者 | Bakula 巴沽拉尊者       | Cūḍa-panthaka 祖吒班塔嘎尊者       | Piṅḍola-bhara-dvāja 賓達拉拔喇多匝尊者 | Rāhula 喇乎拉尊者        | Rāhula 羅候羅                  | Gopaka 鍋巴嘎尊者                     | Aśvajit 阿說示                           | Nāgasena 那嚙塞那尊者               | Abheda 阿必達尊者                  | Ānanda 阿難     | 5 |

### Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 1

|  |                                |  |                                    |   |
|--|--------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|---|
|  | <p>Brahmā<br/>梵王<br/>ཚངས་པ</p> | <p>Mahākāla the Wish-fulfilling<br/>Jewel<br/>白勇保護法<br/>མགོན་པོ་ཡིན་པའི་ན་མཁོན་གྱི་འོ་ལུ</p> | <p>Indra<br/>帝釋<br/>བརྒྱུ་ཕྱིན</p> |   |
| <p>Dhṛtarāṣṭra<br/>持國天王<br/>རྒྱལ་ཚེན་ཡུལ་འཁོར་བསྐྱེད</p> |                                |  |                                    | <p>Virūḍhaka<br/>增長天王<br/>འཕགས་སྐྱེས་པོ</p> |
| <p>Virūpākṣa<br/>廣目天王<br/>སྤུན་མི་བཟང</p>                |                                |  |                                    | <p>Vaiśravaṇa<br/>財寶天王<br/>རྣམ་ཐོས་སྤུས</p> |
| <p>Nāgarāja<br/>難陀龍王<br/>ལྷ་འི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དགའ་འཕོ</p>       |                                |  |                                    | <p>Upananda<br/>優波難陀龍王<br/>ཉེར་དགའ་འཕོ</p>  |

### Nine Main Deities in Room 2

|   |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| <p>Ṣaṇmukha Yamāri<br/>གདོད་བླུག<br/>六面威羅瓦金剛佛</p> |  | <p>Vairocana-Mañjuvajra<br/>རྣམ་ལྷན་འཇམ་པའི་རྫོང་།<br/>宏光文殊金剛佛</p>           | <p>Guhyasamāja-<br/>Akṣobhyavajra<br/>密跡不動金剛<br/>གསང་འདུས་མི་སྲོད་རྫོང་།</p> | <p>Guhyasamāja-<br/>Mañjuvajra<br/>གསང་འདུས་འཇམ་པའི་རྫོང་།<br/>密跡文殊金剛佛</p> |  | <p>Ratka Yamāri<br/>紅威羅瓦金剛佛<br/>ག་འི་མཛེ་ག་འེད་དམར་</p>                |
| <p>Kṛṣṇa Yamāri<br/>དགའ་མཁའ་<br/>黑敵金剛佛</p>        |  | <p>Secret Practice<br/>Mañjuśrī<br/>གསང་འདུས་འཇམ་པའི་རྫོང་། 秘<br/>跡文殊室利佛</p> |  | <p>Vajrabhairava<br/>རྫོང་འཛིན་གསལ་བྱེད་<br/>威羅瓦金剛佛</p>                    |  | <p>Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi<br/>ཕྱག་རྫོང་འཁོར་ལོ་ཚེ་མཐོ་བོ་<br/>大輪手持金剛佛</p> |

## Western Cabinet Deities in Room 2

|                                      |                                 |                                   |   |                                    |  |  |                                  |                                  |                                       |                            |   |                                 |   |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|--|--|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|
| Prajñāntaka<br>般若滅除金剛                | Hayagrīva<br>馬頭金剛               | Vighnāntaka<br>滅除魔王金剛             | Acala<br>不動金剛                             | Nīladaṇḍa<br>藍棒金剛                  | Takkirāja<br>欲王金剛                          | Mahābala<br>大力金剛                           | Uṣṇīṣa-<br>cakravartin<br>金剛頂轉輪王 | Sumbha<br>毒嚴金剛                   | Duti(?)Ceti(<br>?)<br>使役獄母            | Kālarātri<br>時相獄母          | Daṃṣṭrā-<br>dharā<br>持牙獄母                     | Daṇḍa-<br>dharā<br>持棒獄母         | 1 |
| Ākāśagarbha<br>虛空藏菩薩                 | Vajrapāṇi<br>手持金剛菩薩             | Lokeśvara<br>自在觀世音                | Kṣitigarbha<br>地藏王菩薩                      | Mañjuśrī<br>文殊菩薩                   | Sarva-<br>nivarāṇa-<br>viṣkambhin<br>除諸障菩薩 | Saman-<br>tabhadra<br>普賢菩薩                 | Yamāntaka<br>除滅鬼王金剛              | Aṅkuśa-dharā<br>持鉤獄佛母            | Pāśadharā<br>持繩獄佛母                    | Sphoṭadharā<br>持錫獄佛母       | Āveśā<br>降臨獄母                                 | 2                               |   |
| Guhya-samāja-<br>Akṣobhya<br>秘密金剛不動佛 | Vajra-hūmkāra<br>吽威聲金剛          | Mahācakra-<br>Vajrapāṇi<br>大輪手持金剛 | Guhya-<br>samāja-<br>Mañjuvajra<br>秘密文殊金剛 | Vairocana-<br>Mañjuvajra<br>宏光文殊金剛 | Mahā-<br>vajradhāra<br>大持金剛                | Guhya-<br>sādhana-<br>Mañjuvajra秘<br>密成就文殊 | Mohayamāri<br>癡威羅瓦金剛             | Matsarya-<br>yamāri格威羅<br>瓦金剛    | Rāgayamāri<br>貪威羅瓦金剛                  | Īrṣyāyamāri<br>嫉威羅威金剛      | 3   |                                 |   |
| Vajrānīlā<br>金剛風母                    | Vajraodakā<br>金剛水母              | Vajrabhūmi<br>金剛地母                | Vajrānalā金<br>剛火母                         | Amogha-<br>siddhi<br>成就佛           | Amitābha<br>無量光佛                           | Ratnaketu<br>(Ratnasambha<br>va)<br>寶生佛    | Vairocana<br>毗盧佛                 | Lohanāḍi-<br>Vajrapāṇi<br>鐵管手持金剛 | Antar-sādhana-<br>Mañjuhoṣa<br>內成精明文殊 | Vajrāmṛta<br>甘露滴金剛         | Guhya-<br>samāja-<br>Lokeśvara<br>秘密自在觀世<br>音 | 4                               |   |
| Mudgaray-<br>umāri<br>持錘威羅<br>瓦金剛    | Daṇḍa-<br>yamāri<br>持棒威羅瓦<br>金剛 | Tārā<br>救度佛母                      | Vajra-śabdā<br>金剛聲佛<br>母                  | Vajrarūpā<br>金剛色佛<br>母             | Vajrarasā金<br>剛味佛母                         | Pāṇḍaravāsi<br>nī 白衣佛母                     | Vajra-<br>gandhā金<br>剛香佛母        | Maitreya<br>彌勒菩薩                 | Mudgara—<br>yamāri<br>持鐘威羅瓦<br>金剛     | Daṇḍayamāri<br>持棒威羅瓦<br>金剛 | Padma-<br>yamāri<br>持蓮花羅瓦<br>金剛               | Khadga-<br>yamāri<br>持劍羅瓦<br>金剛 | 5 |

## Eastern Cabinet Deities in Room 2

|                               |  |   |   |                                      |                                  |  |                                   |   |                                    |                                    |                                     |                              |   |
|-------------------------------|--|---|---|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| Vajrapāṇi 小<br>手持金剛           | Vajrāṅkuṣī<br>Mother 金<br>剛鉤母          | Vajrasphoṭī<br>Mother 金<br>剛鐺母                    | Vajrapāṣī<br>Mother 金<br>剛繩母                  | Vajraghaṅṭā<br>Mother 金剛<br>鈴母       | Mahā-<br>kālavajra<br>大黑金剛       | Vajra-<br>bhīṣaṇa<br>施畏金剛                                    | Uṣṇīṣa-<br>cakravartin<br>轉輪頂     | Garuḍayuta-<br>Vajrapāṇi 聯<br>續大鵬手持<br>金剛 | Vajrapātāla<br>金剛畢拉<br>達           | Krodha-<br>Vajrapāṇi<br>忿怒手持金<br>剛 | Amoghatrāṇa-<br>Vajrapāṇi<br>成護手持金剛 | Vajrakāla<br>金剛時             | 1 |
| Vajrapāśa 金剛<br>繩             | Vajrakuṅḍali<br>金剛潭<br>(Vajrakundalin) | Vajraspho<br>ṭa<br>金剛鐺                            | Vajraghaṅṭā<br>(Vajrveśa)<br>金剛鈴              | Vajradaṅḍa<br>金剛棒                    | Vajrasṇīṣa 金<br>剛頂               | Anarārka<br>金剛日  | Vajrayakṣa 金<br>剛藥叉 (Yab-<br>yum) | Puṣpa<br>持花母                              | Dīpā<br>持燈母                        | Dhūpā<br>持香母                       | Gandhā 持香<br>水母                     | 2                            |   |
| Sābari<br>沙幹哩                 | Vajrabhairava<br>威羅瓦金剛<br>Yab-yum      | Vairocana-<br>Bhairavavajra<br>(?)<br>宏光威羅瓦<br>金剛 | Solitary Hero<br>Vajrabhairava<br>一勇威羅瓦<br>金剛 | Ṣaṅmukha-<br>Yamāri<br>六面威羅<br>瓦金剛   | Kṛṣṇayamāri<br>黑敵威羅瓦金<br>剛single | Red<br>Vajrabhairava<br>with bow and<br>arrow<br>射勢威羅瓦<br>金剛 | Ya ba ti (Ya wa<br>ti)<br>牙瓦的     | Dharmarāja<br>法帝                          | Tel ba nga po<br>(Di la ba)<br>地拉巴 | gLang mgo can<br>阿瓦牛頭獄主            | 3                                   |                              |   |
| Ral pa tshar<br>dgu 髮九股獄<br>主 | Phya sangs 茶<br>桑                      | Mig dmar<br>(Aṅgāraka)<br>紅目星                     | rMig pa<br>蜜克巴                                | Gaurī<br>高哩佛母                        | Sarasvatī<br>喇噶喇底佛<br>母          | Vārāhī<br>幹喇希佛母  | Rāga-<br>yamāri<br>貪威羅瓦金<br>剛     | Moha-yamāri<br>癡威羅瓦金<br>剛                 | Matsarya-<br>yamāri<br>慳威羅瓦金剛      | Carcikā<br>嘸噶資噶佛母                  | Īrṣyāmāri 嫉威<br>羅瓦金剛                | 4                            |   |
| Māmaki<br>無我佛母                | Buddha-<br>locanā 佛言<br>佛母             | Khadga-<br>yamāri 持劍<br>威羅瓦金剛                     | Padma-<br>yamāri<br>持蓮花威羅<br>瓦金剛              | dBud las<br>rgyal byed<br>能勝魔障<br>金剛 | rNgam pa<br>sgra sgrogs<br>烈聲金剛  | Amṛta-<br>kuṅḍali-vajra<br>甘露潭金剛                             | Vajrāṅkuṣa<br>金剛鉤                 | Lāsyā<br>遊戲母                              | Gītā<br>歌唄母                        | Mālyā<br>持髮母                       | Nṛtyā 妙舞母                           | rDo rje gzi<br>brjid<br>威光金剛 | 5 |

### Nine Supplementary deities in Room 2

|   |  |   |   |  |
|---|--|---|---|--|
|   | <p>Kṣetrapāla<br/>護國護法<br/>ཀེཏྲཔཱལ</p> | <p>Six-armed Mahākāla<br/>六臂勇保護法<br/>ལྷ་མཛད་མགོན་པོ་ཕྱག་དུག་པ</p> | <p>Jinamitra<br/>尊親護法<br/>ཇོན་མི་ཏུ</p> |  |
| <p>Ṭakkirāja<br/>宜帝護法<br/>ཏཱ་ཀི་རུ་རྩེ</p>                          |  |   |   | <p>Trakṣad<br/>དྲཱཀྱད<br/>大黑雄威護法</p>                               |
| <p>Dharmarāja of Pacification<br/>ཞི་བའི་ཚེས་རྒྱལ།<br/>柔善法帝護法</p>   |  |   |   | <p>Dharmarāja of Enrichment<br/>རྒྱས་པའི་ཚེས་རྒྱལ།<br/>增威法帝護法</p>  |
| <p>Dharmarāja of Magnetisation<br/>དབང་གྱི་ཚེས་རྒྱལ།<br/>權德法帝護法</p> |  |   |   | <p>Dharmarāja of Destruction<br/>དྲག་པོའི་ཚེས་རྒྱལ།<br/>雄威法帝護法</p> |

**Nine Main Deities in Room 3**

|   |  |  |  |  |  |   |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|---|
| <p>Buddhakaṇḍala<br/>སངས་རྒྱལ་ཐོད་པ་<br/>佛陀嘎巴拉佛</p> |  | <p>White-Saṃvara<br/>བདེ་མཚོག་དཀར་པོ་<br/>白上樂王佛</p>            | <p>Cakraṃvara<br/>དཔལ་འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚོག་<br/>上樂王佛</p> | <p>Hevajra Kapāladhara<br/>ཀྲེ་རྩོར་ཐོད་པ་ཅན་<br/>持嘎巴拉喜金剛佛</p> |  | <p>Kālacakra<br/>དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་<br/>時輪王佛</p>                                    |
| <p>Yogāmbara<br/>རྣལ་འབྱོར་ནམ་མཁའ་<br/>瑜伽虛空佛</p>    |  | <p>Hevajra Śaṣṭradhara<br/>ཀྲེ་རྩོར་མཚོག་ཆ་ཅན་<br/>持兵器喜金剛佛</p> |  | <p>Mahāmāyā<br/>ལྷ་མ་ཚེན་པོ་<br/>大幻金剛佛</p>                     |  | <p>Jinasāgara<br/>Avalokiteśvara<br/>སྤུན་རས་གཟིགས་རྒྱལ་བ་རྒྱལ་མཚོ་<br/>佛海觀音佛</p> |

### Western Cabinet Deities in Room 3

|                           |                          |                  |                                    |                               |                      |                         |                    |                    |                           |                            |                      |                      |   |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| Dharmodayā<br>达呀嘛達都<br>佛母 | Padmaḍāk<br>a 蓮花吒<br>噶佛母 | Padmā持蓮<br>花佛母   | Gītā歌唄佛<br>母                       | Nṛtyā妙舞<br>佛母                 | Lāsyā遊戲<br>佛母        | Mālyā持鬘<br>佛母           | Sphoṭā持鐺<br>佛母     | Budha布達<br>天       | Svāśleṣā交腕<br>手印佛母        | Hārītī鬼母天                  | Dhanus達努<br>天        | Aṅgāraka呀<br>克達卡天    | 1 |
| Sūryahastā<br>持日佛母        | Dīpā<br>持雙燈佛母            | Gandhā持塗<br>佛母   | Ratna-ḍāka<br>寶貝吒噶                 | Dhūpā持香<br>佛母                 | Dīpā<br>持燈佛母         | Taḍitkarā持<br>電佛母       | Ratnolkā持<br>流星佛母  | Gaṇapati(?)<br>隆寓天 | (Li xi tian)<br>離西天       | Makara<br>麻嘎呀天             | Yama 獄主天             | 2                    |   |
| Ghaṅṭāpāda<br>甘吒巴         | Sita-Saṃvara<br>白上樂王     | Saṃvara 上<br>樂王佛 | Pancabuddha<br>-Saṃvara 五<br>佛上樂王佛 | Sahaja-<br>Saṃvara 本生<br>上樂王佛 | Vajravārāhi金<br>剛亥母  | Vajradākini 金<br>剛岳機尼佛母 | Śakra帝釋天           | Candra 月天          | Mīna蜜那天                   | Sūrya日光天                   | 3                    |                      |   |
| Nāroḍākini那羅<br>吒機尼佛母     | Vajra-ḍāka<br>金剛吒噶佛      | Gaurī高哩<br>佛母    | Garuḍa-<br>Saṃvara嘎<br>嚕底上樂王<br>佛  | Vetalī<br>白伯答哩佛<br>母          | Caurī<br>造哩佛母        | Pukkasi補嘎<br>西佛母        | Ghasmari嘎<br>斯麻哩佛母 | Agni<br>火天         | Dūti使役窩<br>特麻母            | Kumbha右穆<br>巴天             | Ṣaṣṭhī Kalā底提<br>喀扎母 | 4                    |   |
| Paśinī持繩<br>佛母            | Ankuśī持<br>鉤佛母           | Puṣpā持花<br>佛母    | Vāgurā持綱<br>佛母                     | Buddha-<br>ḍāka<br>補達吒噶佛      | Caṅḍālī<br>簪達裏佛<br>母 | Ḍōmbī專必尼<br>佛母          | Saṃdamśā<br>持鉗佛母   | Śabarī沙幹<br>哩佛母    | Aṣṭamī-<br>Kalā底提阿<br>喀扎母 | Saptamī-Kalā<br>底提薩布達<br>母 | Navamī-Kalā<br>底提那瓦母 | Daśamī-Kalā<br>底提達沙母 | 5 |



### Eastern Cabinet Deities in Room 3

|                     |                             |                    |                          |                           |                            |                         |   |                                    |                             |                            |                    |                                     |   |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|---|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Brahmā<br>梵王天       | Dvādaśī<br>Kalā多瓦那<br>達沙天   | Siṃha西達<br>天       | Ekādaśī<br>Kalā厄嘎<br>達沙天 | Vajraśabdā<br>金剛聲佛母       | Prthivīvajrā<br>金剛地佛<br>母  | Vajrayakṣī<br>吒機尼佛<br>母 | Vajra-<br>saumyā金剛<br>柔善佛母              | Rāgavajrā金<br>剛愆佛母                 | Vajrabimbā<br>金剛色相佛<br>母    | Vajraraudrī金<br>剛忿怒佛母      | Caṇḍālī<br>簪達哩佛母   | ze la ba la ga<br>fo mu 則喇<br>巴喇嘎佛母 | 1 |
| Śanaīscara山沙<br>咎呀天 | Vāyu四臂風<br>天                | Kanyā嘎那<br>牙天      | Yakṣa藥叉天                 | Śabarī沙幹<br>哩佛母           | Pukkasi補<br>嘎西佛母           | Ghasmarī嘎<br>斯麻哩佛母      | Vetalī伯答哩<br>佛母                         | Gaurī高哩佛<br>母                      | Tārā救度佛<br>母                | Pāṇḍara-<br>vāsīnī白衣佛<br>母 | Māmakī嘛嘛<br>基佛母    | 2                                   |   |
| Nandin樂自在天          | Trayodaśī<br>Kalā達呀月<br>嚩沙天 | Vṛścika巴呀<br>沙雜扎天  | Nairṛti離實<br>天           | Yogāmbara 瑜<br>伽虛空佛       | Buddha-<br>kapāla佛陀嘎<br>巴拉 | Mahāmāyā大<br>幻金剛        | Śastradhara-<br>Hevajra<br>持兵器喜金剛       | Kapāladhara-<br>Hevajra持嘎布<br>拉西金剛 | Kālacakra<br>時論王佛           | Virūpa必呀幹巴                 | 3                  |                                     |   |
| Tula<br>都拉天         | Bhr̥ngirīti畢<br>穆格哩底天       | Ghaṇṭākarna<br>鈴墜天 | Mahākala大<br>黑天          | Vaṃśā持管<br>佛母             | Kṛṣṇa-<br>Garuḍa大黑<br>鵬    | Puṣpa-Garuḍa<br>花大鵬     | Jinasāgara-<br>Avalokiteśvar<br>a 佛海觀世音 | Kurukullā沽<br>嚕咕勒佛母                | Indraḍākini<br>因達喇吒機<br>尼佛母 | Caurī<br>造哩佛母              | Siṃhamukhā<br>獅面佛母 | 4                                   |   |
| Ketu<br>計都星天        | Varuṇa<br>水天                | Kālāgni<br>時火天     | Viṣṇu遍入<br>天             | Buddha-<br>locanā<br>佛眼佛母 | Paṭadhārini<br>持幔佛母        | Kapātā持門<br>佛母          | Kuñcī持鑰匙<br>佛母                          | Tālika持門鎖<br>佛母                    | Viśva-dāka<br>諸品吒噶<br>佛     | Tabla持腰鼓佛<br>母             | Mukunda持<br>圓鼓佛母   | Vīṇā持琵琶<br>佛母                       | 5 |

### Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 3

|   |  |   |                                    |   |
|---|--|---|------------------------------------|---|
|   | <p>Four-faced Mahākāla<br/>(Caturmukha Mahākāla)<br/>མགོན་པོ་ལམ་བཞི་པ<br/>四面勇保護法</p> | <p>Pañjaranātha Mahākāla (Great<br/>Black Lord of the Tent)<br/>ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མགོན་པོ་གུར<br/>宮室勇保護法</p> | <p>Ḍombinī<br/>དལུང་མོ<br/>專畢尼</p> |   |
| <p>Caṇḍālī<br/>གཏུམ་མོ<br/>簪楂禮</p>                          |  |   |                                    | <p>Rākṣasa<br/>རྣམ་མོ་གློ་མོ<br/>喇克义西</p>                             |
| <p>Rakṣā<br/>སིང་ག་ལི<br/>僧嘎禮底微</p>                         |  |   |                                    | <p>Brahmarūpa Mahākāla<br/>དཔལ་མགོན་རྣམ་ཟེའི་གཟུགས་ཅན<br/>婆羅門勇保護法</p> |
| <p>Caturbhujā Mahākāla<br/>མགོན་པོ་ཕྱག་བཞི་པ<br/>四臂勇保護法</p> |  |   |                                    | <p>Śmaśāna Adhipati (Citipati)<br/>དུར་ཚོང་བདག་པོ<br/>沙嘛沙納拔低</p>      |

### Nine Main Deities in Room 4

|  |  |   |   |  |  |
|--|--|---|---|--|--|
| <p>Paramādyā-Vajrasattva<br/>དཔལ་མཚོག་དང་པོ་<br/>最上功德佛</p>       |  | <p>Vajradhātu [Vairocana],<br/>རྫོག་པོ་དབྱིངས་<br/>金剛界佛</p> | <p>Sarvavid Vairocana<br/>ཀུན་རིག་རྣམ་པར་སྣང་མཛོད་<br/>智慧盧佛</p> | <p>Jagadvinaya<br/>འགྲོ་བ་འདུལ་བ་<br/>度生佛<br/>yellow</p> | <p>Mañjuśrījñānasattva<br/>འཇམ་དཔལ་གསང་ལུ་ལ།<br/>密德文殊室利佛</p> |
| <p>Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara<br/>ཚོས་དབྱིངས་གསུང་དབང་<br/>法界妙音自在佛</p> |  | <p>Sarvārthasiddhi<br/>དོན་ཐམས་ཅད་གྲུབ་པ་<br/>成就佛</p>       |   | <p>Trailokyavijayā<br/>ཁམས་གསུམ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་<br/>能勝三界佛</p>  | <p>Navoṣṇīṣa<br/>གཡུག་དགུ་ལོགས་<br/>九頂佛</p>                  |

### Western Cabinet Deities in Room 4

|                                   |  |                                 |                                    |                           |   |                                |  |                           |                              |                            |                             |                               |   |
|-----------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|--------------------------------|--|---------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Pranidhāna-<br>Pāramitā 愿波<br>羅蜜母 | Upāyaka<br>uśālya-<br>Pāramitā<br>方便波<br>羅蜜母 | Dhyāna-<br>Pāramitā 禪定<br>波羅蜜母  | Vīrya-<br>Pāramitā 精<br>進波羅蜜<br>母  | Vajrateja 金<br>剛威光菩薩      | Vajraratna<br>金剛寶菩<br>薩                       | Ratna-<br>sambhava 寶<br>生佛     | Vajrasādhu<br>金剛賢菩<br>薩                | Vajrarāga<br>金剛慾菩薩        | Vajrarāja<br>金剛王菩薩           | Vajrasattva<br>金剛勇識菩薩      | Akṣobhya<br>不動佛             | Karma—<br>vajrī 金剛業<br>佛母     | 1 |
| Ksānti-Paramitā<br>忍辱波羅蜜母         | Sila-<br>Pāramitā<br>持戒波羅<br>蜜母              | Dāna-<br>Pāramitā<br>惠施波羅蜜<br>母 | Prajñā-<br>Pāramitā 智<br>慧波羅蜜<br>母 | Dharma-<br>vajrī<br>金剛法佛母 | Ratnavajrī<br>金剛寶佛<br>母?                      | Sattvavajrī<br>金剛勇識佛<br>母      | Vajradhātu-<br>Vairocana<br>金剛界比盧<br>佛 | Amogha-<br>siddhi<br>成就佛  | Amitābha<br>無量光佛             | Ratna—<br>sambhava 寶<br>生佛 | Akṣobhya<br>不動佛             | 2                             |   |
| Prabhākari 發光佛<br>母               | Vimalā<br>無垢佛母                               | Pramuditā<br>歡喜佛母               | Adhimukticy<br>ā-Bhūmi<br>發心行地佛母   | Jagadvinaya<br>度生佛        | Dharma—<br>dhātu—<br>vāgīśvara<br>法界妙音自<br>在佛 | Guhya-<br>Mañjuśrī 秘密<br>文殊室利佛 | Vajradharma 金<br>剛法佛                   | Vairocana 宏<br>光比盧佛       | Sita-Vajrapāni<br>白手持金剛      | Saravid-Vairocana<br>普慧比盧佛 | 3                           |                               |   |
| Dūramgamā<br>遠行佛母                 | Abhimukhī<br>現前佛母                            | Sudurjaya<br>難勝佛母               | Arcismati<br>光輝佛                   | Dhvajo—<br>ṣṇīṣa 幢頂佛      | Tejorāśyu—<br>ṣṇīṣa 威光頂<br>佛                  | Viśvoṣṇīṣa 諸<br>品頂佛            | Padma—<br>ṣṇīṣa<br>蓮花頂佛                | Ratnaṣṇīṣa 寶<br>頂佛        | Vajraṣṇīṣa 金剛<br>頂佛          | Sākya--<br>Simha 釋迦獅<br>子佛 | Amogha--<br>siddhi 成就佛      | 4                             |   |
| Samanta—<br>prabhā 普<br>光佛母       | Dharma—<br>meghā 法雲<br>佛母                    | Sādhu-mati<br>善慧佛母              | Acalā 不動<br>佛母                     | Jayoṣṇīṣa 勝<br>頂佛(?)      | Mahodgato-<br>ṣṇīṣa 大頂佛                       | Udgato-<br>ṣṇīṣa<br>超頂佛        | Vikirano-<br>ṣṇīṣa 火焰<br>光頂佛           | Vijayo—<br>ṣṇīṣa 尊勝<br>頂佛 | Tejorāśyu-<br>ṣṇīṣa 威光頂<br>佛 | Mahoṣṇīṣa 大<br>頂佛          | Tikso-<br>ṣṇīṣa 敏捷<br>頂佛(?) | Sitā-patro-<br>ṣṇīṣa 白傘<br>頂佛 | 5 |

### Eastern Cabinet Deities in Room 4

|                                 |                                |                           |                            |                        |                                |                           |                                       |                           |                       |                            |                      |                      |   |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| Pratibhāna-Pratiṣaṃvit<br>解實辯才母 | Nirukti-Pratiṣaṃvit<br>解真實句母   | Artha-Pratiṣaṃvit<br>解義實母 | Dharma-Pratiṣaṃvit<br>解法實母 | Samanta-bhadra<br>普賢菩薩 | Aksayamatī<br>無盡智菩薩            | Vajra-garbha<br>金剛藏菩薩     | Jālinī-prabha<br>綱光菩薩                 | Pratibhāna-kūṭa<br>積智菩薩   | Bhadra—pāla<br>善隆菩薩   | Candra-prabha<br>月光菩薩      | Amitābha<br>無量光菩薩(?) | Jñāna-keṭu<br>智慧頂菩薩  | 1 |
| Buddha-bodhi<br>佛陀菩提母           | Tathatā<br>如性母                 | Dharma-Vaśitā<br>自在法母     | Jñāna-Vaśitā<br>自在智母       | Gaganagaṇja<br>虛空藏菩薩   | Sūramgama<br>勇行菩薩              | Gandha-hahastin<br>香象菩薩   | Sarva-śokataṃonirghātanamati<br>消憂智菩薩 | Sarvā-pāyamjaha<br>接引三塗菩薩 | Amoghadarśin<br>現無愚菩薩 | Maitreya<br>彌勒菩薩           | Nṛtya<br>妙舞佛母        | 2                    |   |
| Ratnapadma-Pāramitā<br>蓮花行波羅蜜母  | Vajrakarma-Pāramitā<br>金剛行波羅蜜母 | Jñāna-Pāramitā<br>智波羅蜜母   | Bala-Pālamitā<br>力波羅蜜母     | Jvālānala<br>火焰光佛      | Paramādyā-Vajrasattva<br>最上功德佛 | Trailokya-vijayā<br>能勝三界佛 | Nīla-Acalāvajra<br>青不動金剛              | Amoghasiddhi<br>成就佛       | Vajrasattva<br>金剛勇識佛  | Akṣobhya<br>不動佛            | 3                    |                      |   |
| Karma-Vaśitā<br>自在行母            | Pariskāra-Vaśitā<br>自在佛母       | Citta-Vaśitā<br>自在意母      | Āyur-Vaśitā<br>自在壽母        | Vajrahetu<br>金剛因菩薩     | Vajratīksna<br>金剛敏捷菩薩          | Vajradharma<br>金剛法菩薩      | Amitābha<br>無量光佛                      | Vajrahāsa<br>金剛笑菩薩        | Vajraketu<br>金剛幢菩薩    | sKu-dgung-brtan-pa<br>不動性佛 | Mahāsukha<br>大安樂佛    | 4                    |   |
| Pranidhāna-Vaśitā<br>自在願母       | Adhimukti-Vaśitā<br>自在發心母      | Rddhi-Vaśitā<br>自在幻化母     | Upapatti-Vaśitā<br>自在生母    | Gīta<br>歌唄佛母           | Mālya<br>持鬘佛母                  | Lāsyā<br>遊戲佛母             | Vajra-sandī<br>金剛拳菩薩?                 | Vajrayakṣa<br>金剛藥意菩薩      | Vajrarakṣa<br>金剛佑菩薩   | Vajra-karma<br>金剛業菩薩       | Amogha-siddhi<br>成就佛 | Vajra-bhāsa<br>金剛語菩薩 | 5 |

### Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 4

|  |  |  |   |  |
|--|--|--|---|--|
|  | <p>Goddess of Pacifying<br/>         རི་བའི་ལྷ་མོ་<br/>         柔善天母護法</p> | <p>Makzor Gyelmo<br/>         吉祥天母護法<br/>         དཔལ་ལྷན་དམག་ཟེར་ལྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་</p> | <p>Goddess of Increasing<br/>         རྒྱལ་པའི་ལྷ་མོ་<br/>         增盛天母護法</p> |  |
| <p>Goddess of Magnetizing<br/>         དབང་གི་ལྷ་མོ་<br/>         權德天母護法</p> |  |  |   | <p>Goddess of Subjugating<br/>         དྲལ་པོའི་ལྷ་མོ་<br/>         雄威天母護法</p> |
| <p>Vasanta-devī<br/>         值春天母護法<br/>         དབྱིད་ལྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་</p>      |  |  |   | <p>Varṣā-devī<br/>         值夏天母護法<br/>         དབྱུང་ལྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་</p>          |
| <p>Śarad-devī<br/>         ལྷོ་ལྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་<br/>         值秋天母護法</p>          |  |  |   | <p>Hemanta-devī<br/>         值冬天母護法<br/>         དལུན་ལྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་</p>         |

### Nine Main Deities in Room 5

|   |  |   |   |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|---|---|--|---|
| <p>Buddhalocanā<br/>         བདམ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད་མ<br/>         佛眼佛母</p> |  | <p>Bhutadamara-Vajrapāṇi<br/>         ཕྱག་རྡོར་འབྱུང་བོ་འདུལ་བྱེད<br/>         伏魔手持金剛</p>       | <p>Vairocanābhisambodhi<br/>         རྣམ་སྒྲུང་མངོན་བྱུང<br/>         宏光顯耀菩提佛</p> | <p>Blue-clad Blessed<br/>         Vajrapāṇi<br/>         ཕྱག་རྡོར་འགོ་བ་བཟང་བོ<br/>         善行手持金剛佛</p> |  | <p>Māmakī<br/>         ལྷ་མ་གྱི<br/>         嘛嘛基佛母</p>          |
| <p>Pāṇḍaravāsīnī<br/>         བོ་སྨ་དཀར་མོ<br/>         白衣佛母</p>    |  | <p>Blue-black<br/>         Vajravīdāraṇa<br/>         རྣམ་འཛོམས་མཐིང་ནལ<br/>         黑摧碎金剛佛</p> |   | <p>White Hayagrīva<br/>         རྩ་མགྲིན་དཀར་བོ<br/>         白馬頭金剛佛</p>                                 |  | <p>Blue Tārā<br/>         སྤོལ་མ་ཕྱོད་མོ<br/>         青救度佛母</p> |

## Western Cabinet Deities in Room 5

|  |                         |                               |                                    |                                   |                                    |                                |                               |                         |                         |                                       |                                     |                        |   |
|--|-------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|---|
| Nandin<br>樂自在天                           | Rāhu<br>囉睺星天            | Āditya 日<br>宮天                | Gaṇapati<br>聚主天                    | Angiras<br>昂機哩天菩薩                 | Vasistha<br>幹施斯義<br>天菩薩            | Khadga<br>噶呼噶達<br>天菩薩          | Mārkanda<br>嘛呼噶達<br>天菩薩       | Kāśyapa<br>飲光天菩薩        | Gautama<br>高達嘛天菩<br>薩   | Agni 火天                               | Svaraviśruti 善<br>稱名揚天菩<br>薩        | Manojava<br>速急意天菩<br>薩 | 1 |
| Kārttikeya<br>基呼底噶天                      | Brahma 梵王<br>天          | Visnu 遍入<br>天                 | Maheśvara 大<br>自在天                 | Raśmimālin 花<br>光鬘天菩薩             | Īśvara 自在<br>天                     | Tejoraśyu-<br>snisa 威光蘊<br>頂菩薩 | Vikirano-<br>snisa 最能散<br>鹿菩薩 | Vijayosnīsa<br>尊勝菩薩     | Jayosnīsa 佛<br>頂菩薩      | Sitāpatro—<br>snīsa 白傘蓋菩<br>薩         | Anantasvara-<br>Ghosnīsa 無邊<br>聲音菩薩 | 2                      |   |
| Mahosthavajra 大<br>唇金剛                   | Mahā—<br>bhāga 大勝金<br>剛 | Vajra—<br>damstra 金剛<br>齒菩薩   | Vajracakra 金<br>剛輪菩薩               | Yaśodharā 美<br>名佛母                | Mahāsthāma-<br>prāpta 大勢至<br>菩薩    | Bhrkutrī 鬘眉<br>佛母              | Tāra 藍救度<br>佛母                | Avaloiteśvara 觀<br>自在菩薩 | Gaganalocanā 虛<br>空目菩薩  | Vairocana-<br>bhisambodhi 宏光<br>顯耀菩提佛 | 3                                   |                        |   |
| Vajrapadma-<br>Viśālanetra 能<br>壞惡言金剛    | Vajrāga<br>令甚調伏<br>金剛   | Suvajra—<br>dhāra 普特金<br>剛    | Śivavajra<br>令安金剛                  | Gananāmala<br>無垢虛空菩<br>薩          | Krodha-<br>candratilaka 忿<br>怒妙月金剛 | Vajraśrnkh<br>ala<br>金剛鎖佛<br>母 | Vajrasūci 金<br>剛尖佛母           | 嘛嘛基佛母<br>Māmakī         | Blue Vajrapāṇi<br>藍手持金剛 | Hayagrīva 馬<br>頭金剛                    | Pāṇḍara—<br>vāsīnī 白衣佛<br>母         | 4                      |   |
| Bhūdadāmara<br>-Vajrapāṇi<br>調伏生手持<br>金剛 | Nilavajra<br>護魔金剛       | Aprapañca-<br>vihārin<br>勝敵金剛 | Gaganānan-<br>tavikrama 調<br>伏毒惡金剛 | Abhyudgato<br>-snīsa<br>勝發頂菩<br>薩 | Maho-<br>dगतosnīsa<br>大發頂菩<br>薩    | Ūrnā 白毫<br>佛母                  | Buddha-<br>locanā<br>眼光菩薩     | Śākyamuni 釋<br>迦牟尼佛     | Abhimukha 現<br>前菩薩      | Durdharsa 調<br>伏難調菩薩                  | Trailokya-<br>vijayā 能勝三<br>界菩薩     | Acalā 不動<br>金剛         | 5 |



### Eastern Cabinet Deities in Room 5

|                     |                     |                           |                                |                                |                                   |   |                                 |  |                  |                |                    |                   |   |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|--|------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|---|
| Hayagrīva<br>馬頂金剛   | Bhrkutī<br>忿怒母      | Sudhanaku<br>māra妙寶<br>童子 | Tārā救度母                        | Paritrānāśa-<br>yamati念佑菩<br>薩 | Sarvā-<br>pāyamjaha<br>棄諸惡趣菩<br>薩 | Sarvā-<br>sattvābhaya<br>mdada施無<br>畏菩薩 | Kautūhala<br>奇妙菩薩               | Sarva-<br>nīvarana-<br>viskambhin<br>除蓋障天<br>母 | Ākarsanī<br>能拘天母 | Citrā諸品天<br>母  | Upakeśini同<br>妙髮天母 | Vasumatī財帛<br>天母  | 1 |
| Bhūsana莊嚴母          | Jagatpālīni隆<br>眾生母 | Ratneśvari寶<br>自在母        | Varahārini<br>奪尊母              | Keśini妙髮<br>天母                 | Ratnamukut<br>a寶冠菩薩               | Vimala-<br>prabhā-<br>kumāra<br>無垢光童子   | Jalinīprabhā-<br>kumāra網光<br>童子 | Mañjuśrī<br>施妙金剛                               | Upananda白<br>龍母  | Prthivī土地      | Nanda白龍王           | 2                 |   |
| Umā烏麻母              | Śaśin明月母            | Tilottomā明<br>點尊母         | Śrī最勝母                         | Cāmundā匝們<br>支天母               | Vārāhī幹呀<br>希天母                   | Vaisnavī那羅<br>延天母                       | Kaumārī幼天<br>母                  | Kālarātri時相<br>天母                              | Mṛtyu降伏獄<br>鬼菩薩  | Yama黑法帝        | 3                  |                   |   |
| Vibhūti福自<br>在母     | Surasundarī天<br>容母  | Sarasvatī妙<br>音母          | Ratna-<br>vijayā寶最<br>勝母       | Prthivī地天<br>母                 | Brahman梵<br>天                     | Vijayā尊勝<br>天母                          | Sūrya日天                         | Varuṇa水天                                       | Indra帝釋          | Nairṛti羅叉      | Jaya勝天母            | 4                 |   |
| Surahārīnī<br>右刷哈哩母 | Padmavatī<br>貝蓮花母   | Vibhūti尊<br>勝母            | Siṃhadhvaj<br>adhārīnī獅<br>子幢母 | Aparajitā無<br>能勝忿怒天<br>母       | Aparajitā無<br>能勝忿怒<br>金剛          | Candra月<br>天                            | Umā伍嘛<br>天母                     | Sankara令<br>安天母                                | Vāyu風天           | Skanda使羸<br>延天 | Nārāyaṇa<br>那羅延天   | Sarasvatī<br>妙音天母 | 5 |

### Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 5

|   |   |   |  |  |
|---|---|---|--|--|
|   | <p>Dandadhara Mahākāla<br/>མགོན་པོ་བེད<br/>持棒勇保護法</p> | <p>Jamsring<br/>རྟེན་གསལ་ཕུམ་སྲིད<br/>紅勇保護法</p> | <p>Mahākāla riding on a tiger<br/>མགོན་པོ་སྐྱུག་ཞེན<br/>騎虎勇保護法</p> |  |
| <p>Lion-mounted Trakṣad Mahākāla<br/>དྲུང་ལེད་ཞེན<br/>騎獅大黑雄威護法</p>          |   |   |  | <p>Nartaka Vaiśravaṇa<br/>རྣམ་སྲས་གར་མཁན་མཚོག<br/>妙舞財寶天王</p> |
| <p>Life-extending White Vaiśravaṇa<br/>རྣམ་སྲས་དཀར་པོ་ཚོ་འཕེལ<br/>白財寶天王</p> |   |   |  | <p>White Jambhala<br/>ཇི་ལྷ་ལ་དཀར་པོ་<br/>白布祿護法</p>          |
| <p>Yellow Jambhala<br/>ཇི་ལྷ་ལ་སེར་པོ་<br/>黃布祿護法</p>                        |   |   |  | <p>Black Jambhala<br/>ཇི་ལྷ་ལ་དཔེ་རྣམས་<br/>黑布祿護法</p>        |

### Nine Main Deities in Room 6

|   |  |   |   |   |   |
|---|--|---|---|---|---|
| <p>White Tārā<br/>         སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཡིད་བཞིན་འཁོར་ལོ་<br/>         白救度佛母</p> |  | <p>Eleven-faced<br/>         Avalokiteśvara<br/>         སྤུན་རས་གཟིགས་བརྒྱ་གཅིག་<br/>         唵 十一面觀世音</p> | <p>Amitāyus<br/>         བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་མགོན་པོ་ཚོ་<br/>         དཔག་མེད་<br/>         無量壽佛</p> | <p>Four-armed<br/>         Avalokiteśvara<br/>         སྤུན་རས་གཟིགས་ལྷ་བཞི་པ་<br/>         四臂觀世音</p> | <p>Khadiravaṇītarā<br/>         སེང་ལྗང་ནགས་ཀྱི་སྒྲོལ་མ་<br/>         綠救度佛母</p> |
| <p>Mārīcī<br/>         ལྷ་མོ་འོད་ཟེར་ཅན་མ།<br/>         隨求佛母</p>              |  | <p>Uṣṇīṣavijayā<br/>         བཀུ་གཏོར་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་མ་<br/>         尊勝佛母</p>                                  |   | <p>Sitātapatrā<br/>         བཅོམ་ལྷན་གདུགས་དཀར་ཅན་<br/>         白傘蓋佛母</p>                             | <p>Mahāpratisarā<br/>         སོ་སོར་འབྲང་མ་ཚེན་ལོ་<br/>         隨求佛母</p>       |

### Western Cabinet Deities in Room 6

|   |                                      |                              |   |  |                                |  |                                |  |  |   |   |  |   |
|---|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|--|---|---|--|---|
| Anila<br>頽彌羅藥<br>叉大將                    | Mekhila迷<br>企羅義大<br>將                | Vajra(?)<br>跋拆囉藥<br>叉大將      | Kiṃbhīra<br>宮毗盧藥叉<br>大將                   | Sarva-<br>śokatamonirg<br>hātamati實破<br>闍慧菩薩 | Sudarśana<br>善現菩薩              | Amogha-<br>vikrama不<br>虛超越菩<br>薩           | Pratibhā-<br>ṇakūṭa智積<br>菩薩    | Padma—<br>narteśvara-<br>Avalokiteśvara<br>蓮花妙舞自在<br>觀世音菩薩 | Hālāhala-<br>Lokeshvara<br>騎吼觀世<br>音菩薩       | Mahābhūmika-<br>Avalokiteśvara<br>大地觀世音菩<br>薩 | Caturmukhā-<br>ṣṭabhujā-<br>Hayagrīva—<br>vajra四面八<br>臂馬頭金剛 | Trimukha-<br>caturbhujā-<br>Maitreya<br>三面四臂彌<br>勒菩薩 | 1 |
| Mahāmeru-<br>śikharadhara<br>持須彌王菩<br>薩 | Gadgadasvara<br>微妙音菩薩                | Merukūṭa須<br>彌積菩薩            | Suvincentita<br>(?)明慧菩薩                   | Maitreya<br>慈氏菩薩                             | Mahāmāti大<br>慧菩薩               | Avaloki-<br>teśvara<br>觀世音菩薩               | Candra<br>vairocana 月<br>光遍照菩薩 | Kṛṣṇa-<br>Jambhala-<br>vajra黑布祿金<br>剛                      | Vajra-<br>śrīṅkhālā金<br>剛鐺佛母                 | Vajragāndhārī<br>金剛甘達哩佛<br>母                  | Pīta Aparājita<br>黃無能勝佛母                                    | 2  |   |
| Vajrapāṇi<br>手持金剛菩薩                     | Sūrya-<br>vairocana日<br>光遍照菩薩        | Trāṇamukta<br>救脫菩薩           | Mañjuśrī文殊<br>菩薩                          | Sita-<br>Acalāvajra白<br>不動金剛                 | Hayagrīva—<br>vajra馬頭金<br>剛    | Siṃha-<br>vāhana-<br>Mañjuśrī騎獅<br>文殊菩薩    | Mañjuśrī<br>文殊菩薩               | Siṃha—<br>vāhana-<br>Avalokiteśvara<br>獅吼觀世音菩<br>薩         | Caturbhujā-<br>Avalokiteśvara<br>四臂觀世音菩<br>薩 | Ekādaśamukha-<br>Avalokiteśvara 十一<br>面觀世音菩薩  | 3   |  |   |
| Samgrāmatārī<br>ñī解脫斗站佛<br>母            | Dhvajāgrakey<br>urā幢頂臂嚴<br>佛母        | Mahā—<br>pratyaṅgirā<br>大迴佛母 | Pīta-Māricī<br>黃積光佛母                      | Dhvajāgra<br>(?)<br>幢頂佛                      | Tikṣṇā-<br>Mañjuśrī 敏<br>捷文殊菩薩 | Māricī<br>積光佛母—                            | Vajrapāṇi手<br>持金剛              | Khasarpaṇa-<br>Avalokiteśvar<br>a 水月觀世音<br>菩薩              | Īsvara-<br>Avalokiteśva<br>ra自在觀世<br>音菩薩     | Sitātapatrā<br>白傘蓋佛母                          | (Standing)Maitre<br>ya站像彌勒佛                                 | 4  |   |
| Pīta-<br>Jambhala-<br>vajra黃布<br>祿金剛    | Catur-bhujā-<br>Acalāvajra四<br>臂不動金剛 | Rakta-<br>Sarasvatī紅<br>妙音佛母 | Ṣaḍbhujā-<br>Jambhala-<br>vajra六臂<br>布祿金剛 | Jāṅgulī除毒<br>佛母                              | Viśvamātā<br>自諸品佛<br>母         | Sarvārtha-<br>sādhana-<br>Tara成就一<br>切救度佛母 | Śramaṇā沙<br>門佛母                | Sāhasrapra<br>mardanī千<br>摧碎佛母                             | Mahā-<br>mantrā-<br>nusārīṇī密咒<br>隨持佛母       | Mahā-<br>sītavati寒林<br>佛母                     | Mahā-māyūrī<br>大孔雀佛母  | Prajña-<br>pāramitā般<br>若佛母                          | 5 |

### Eastern Cabinet Deities in Room 6

|                         |                                      |   |                                       |  |   |  |  |  |   |  |   |  |   |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--|---|--|--|--|---|--|---|--|---|
| Varāha—<br>mukhī害彼<br>母 | Padā--<br>krama-masī<br>巴達呀嘎<br>呀嘛西母 | Mahā—<br>cīvara—<br>masī嘛哈呀<br>雜瓦呀嘛<br>西母 | Antar-<br>dhāna-masī<br>蘭穆達呀達<br>那嘛西母 | Ṣaḍbhujā-<br>Sarasvatī六<br>臂妙音佛<br>母                       | Trimu-<br>khāṣṭa—<br>bhujā-rakta-<br>Hayagrīva-<br>vajra三面八<br>臂紅馬頭金<br>剛 | Ṣaḍ-bhujā-<br>Parṇaśabarī<br>六臂葉衣佛<br>母                      | Dvādaśabhu-<br>ja-Māricī十<br>二臂積光佛<br>母                        | (?) Māricī璧<br>組積光佛母   | Daśa-bhujā-<br>Māricī十臂<br>積光佛母                               | Catur—<br>bhujā-Cundā<br>四臂準提佛<br>母                      | Dvi-bhujā-<br>Ekajāṭā二<br>臂一髻佛<br>母                             | Durgottariṇī-<br>Tārā除惡趣<br>救度佛母                 | 1 |
| Tejomasī威嚴<br>母         | Markamasī<br>嘛呀嘎嘛西<br>母              | Arkamasī<br>阿呀嘎嘛西<br>母                    | Udayamasī<br>月光母                      | Jayadā施勝<br>佛母   | Trimukha-<br>ṣaḍbhujasita<br>Tārā<br>三面六臂白<br>救度佛母                        | Caturbhujā-<br>Cintā—<br>maṇicakra-<br>Tārā<br>四臂如意輪<br>救度佛母 | Aṣṭa-<br>bhujāvajra<br>Tārā八臂金<br>剛救度佛母                        | Cīna Tārā震<br>旦救度佛母  | Nāmasaṅgīti-<br>Mañjuśrī<br>真實名文殊菩<br>薩                       | Bhramarasvara<br>-Mañjuśrī蜂音<br>文殊菩薩                     | Rajālīla-<br>Mañjuśrī遊戲王<br>文殊菩薩                                | 2  |   |
| Pāyila婆夷羅藥<br>叉大將       | Indala<br>因陀羅藥叉<br>大將                | Ṣaṅghīla娑你<br>羅藥叉大將                       | Manila<br>末你羅藥叉<br>大將                 | Khadiravaṇī<br>Tārā<br>紫竹林救度佛<br>母                         | Pravīra Tārā<br>速勇救度佛<br>母  | Pīta-<br>Jambhalavajra<br>黃布祿金剛                              | Khro mo sme<br>brtsegs<br>忿怒威積佛<br>母                           | Vajra—<br>vidāraṇa摧碎<br>金剛   | Dhanad永財佛<br>母  | Uṣṇīṣavijayā尊勝佛<br>母                                     | 3   |  |   |
| Vikala毗羯羅<br>羅藥叉大將      | Caundhula朱<br>杜羅藥叉大<br>將             | Cidāla真達<br>羅藥叉大將                         | Mahāla薄呼<br>羅藥叉大將                     | Vighnāntakav<br>ajra除魔金剛                                   | Vahābala-<br>vajra大力金<br>剛  | Sita-<br>Mañjuśrī白<br>文殊金剛                                   | Jāṅgulī<br>Tārā<br>除毒佛母  | Ṣoḍaśabhujā-<br>Avalokiteśvara<br>十六臂觀世音<br>菩薩                                     | Pratisarā隨<br>求佛母   | Amitāyus無<br>量壽佛   | Sita Tārā白救度<br>佛母  | 4  |   |
| Vanamasī<br>金剛大寶<br>母   | Cīvara—<br>masī鐵鎖母                   | Gulma—<br>masī無能勝<br>母                    | Ugra—<br>masī<br>大急忿母                 | Dvibhujā-<br>Dharma-<br>dhātu-<br>vāgīśvara<br>二臂法界妙<br>音佛 | Anaṅgavajra<br>無支金剛菩<br>薩   | Śri-<br>Vaḍīrat<br>功德語王<br>菩薩                                | Amogha-<br>paśa-<br>Avaloki-<br>teśvara<br>不空眷鎖自<br>在觀世音菩<br>薩 | Pañcamukh<br>advādaśabh<br>uja-kṛṣṇa<br>Avaloki-<br>teśvara<br>黑五面十二<br>臂觀世音菩<br>薩 | Nilakaṅṭhaī<br>śvara-<br>Avaloki-<br>teśvara<br>青頂自在觀<br>世音菩薩 | Caturbhujā-<br>rakta-Avaloki-<br>teśvara<br>紅四臂觀世音<br>菩薩 | Trailokya—<br>vaśamkara<br>Avaloki-<br>teśvara權衡三<br>界觀世音菩<br>薩 | Harihari-<br>vāhana-<br>Lokeśvara騎<br>吼自在觀世<br>音 | 5 |

### Nine Supplementary Deities in Room 6

|  |  |   |  |   |
|--|--|---|--|---|
|  | <p>Horse King Jambhala<br/>         ཏྲ་བདག་རྩོམ་བའ་ཡ<br/>         馬王布祿護法</p> | <p>Great Yellow Vaiśravaṇa<br/>         རྒྱལ་སྤུལ་སེར་ཚེན་<br/>         騎獅黃財寶天王</p> | <p>Horse King Completely Happy<br/>         ཏྲ་བདག་གདང་བ་བཟང་པོ་<br/>         馬王善滿護法</p> |   |
| <p>Horse King Precious Jewel<br/>         ཏྲ་བདག་འོར་བུ་བཟང་པོ་<br/>         馬王妙寶護法</p>  |  |   |  | <p>Horse King Kubera<br/>         ཏྲ་བདག་ཀུབེར་<br/>         宮毗羅護法</p>                            |
| <p>Horse King Authentic Cognition<br/>         ཏྲ་བདག་ཡང་དག་ཤེས་<br/>         馬王真識護法</p> |  |   |  | <p>Horse King Solitude Abide<br/>         ཏྲ་བདག་འགྲོག་གནས་<br/>         馬王靜住護法</p>               |
| <p>Horse King Five Play<br/>         ཏྲ་བདག་ལྷས་ཅེན་<br/>         馬王五樂護法</p>             |  |   |  | <p>Horse King Pi tsi ku nata(?) li<br/>         ཏྲ་བདག་ཕི་ཚི་ཀུ་ནཏཱ་ལི་<br/>         馬畢資軍荼利護法</p> |

## The Iconographic Pantheon of Baoxianglou

| Western Cabinet Deities in Room 1 |   | Eastern Cabinet Deities in Room 1 |           |
|-----------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| 1                                 | Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏菩薩                           | Piṇḍolabharadvāja                 | 賓達拉拔喇多匝尊者 |
| 2                                 | Maitreya 慈氏菩薩                               | Panthaka                          | 班塔嘎尊者     |
| 3                                 | Samantabhadra 普賢菩薩                          | Nāgasena                          | 那噶塞那尊者    |
| 4                                 | Kṣitigarbha 地藏王菩薩                           | Gopaka                            | 鍋巴嘎尊者     |
| 5                                 | Yaśahketu 名相佛                               | Abheda                            | 阿必達尊者     |
| 6                                 | Oṣadhi 修藥佛                                  | Arthadarśin                       | 觀義佛       |
| 7                                 | Naksatrarājavikrīdita 遊宿王佛                  | Pradīpa                           | 明燈佛       |
| 8                                 | Mahābala 大力佛                                | Prabhūta                          | 勢成佛       |
| 9                                 | Sarvanivaraṇsviṣkambhin 除諸障菩薩               | Vaidya                            | 妙醫佛       |
| 10                                | Vajrapāṇi 手持金剛菩薩                            | Aśvajit                           | 阿說示       |
| 11                                | Avalokiteśvara 觀世音菩薩                        | Gavāṃpati                         | 嘎班巴的      |
| 12                                | Mañjuśrī 文殊菩薩                               | Ānanda                            | 阿難        |
| 13                                | Ratnapadmasupratīṣṭhita-śailendrarāja 須彌山王佛 | Rāhula                            | 羅候羅       |
| 14                                | Sūryagarbha 日藏佛                             | Kālīka                            | 嘎禮嘎尊者     |
| 15                                | Vairocana(?) 明照佛                            | Vajrīputra                        | 拔匝哩補達喇尊者  |
| 16                                | Muktiskandha (?) 解積佛                        | Bhadra                            | 拔達喇尊者     |
| 17                                | Mahāprabha 大光佛                              | Kanakavatsa                       | 嘎那嘎幹斯尊者   |
| 18                                | Mahābādu 大手佛                                | Tiṣya                             | 宿王佛       |

|    |                                      |                                 |
|----|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 19 | Sārvhāvāha 導師佛                       | Pradyota 焰明佛                    |
| 20 | Sunetra 妙目佛                          | Mādhārīn 持珠佛                    |
| 21 | Kusama the second (?)華氏佛             | Guṇaprabha 德光佛                  |
| 22 | Suvikrāntaśrī 善遊步功德佛                 | Śāriputra 舍利佛                   |
| 23 | Indrakēdudhvajarāja 紅焰帝幢王佛           | Maudgalyāyan 目犍連                |
| 24 | Suparikīrtitanāmagheyaśrī 善名稱功德佛     | Kātyāyana 迦咀延                   |
| 25 | Smṛtiśrī 德念佛                         | Kāśyapa 迦舍                      |
| 26 | Kusama(?) 妙華佛                        | Dalai Lama 達賴喇嘛                 |
| 27 | Muni 牟尼佛                             | Parvatadhararāja 持山王佛           |
| 28 | Pradyota 明焰佛                         | Maitreya 彌勒佛                    |
| 29 | Simha 獅子佛                            | Dīpaṅkara 燃燈佛                   |
| 30 | Vīrasena 精進軍佛                        | Ratnasambhava 寶生佛               |
| 31 | Nāgeśvararāja 龍尊王佛                   | Amitābha 阿彌陀佛                   |
| 32 | Ratnārṣiṣ 寶光佛                        | Amoghasiddhi 成就佛                |
| 33 | Vajrapramardī 金剛不壞佛                  | Candraketu 月相佛                  |
| 34 | Śākyamuni 釋迦牟尼佛                      | Arciṣmat 光焰佛                    |
| 35 | Milarepa 密拉祖                         | Suprabha 妙光佛                    |
| 36 | Tsongkhapa 宗喀巴                       | Aśoka 無憂佛                       |
| 37 | Dhanaśrī 財功德佛                        | Bhaiṣajyaguru Tathāgata 藥師如來佛   |
| 38 | Padmajyotirvikrīditābhijña 蓮華光遊戲神通佛  | Suparikīrtitanāmadheyaśrī 善名如來佛 |
| 39 | Brahmajyotirvikrīditābhijña 清淨光遊戲神通佛 | Suparikīrtitanāmadheyaśrī 光音如來佛 |



|    |                                 |   |
|----|---------------------------------|---|
| 40 | Kusumaśrī 功德華佛                  | Suvarṇaratnaprabhā Tathāgata 金色寶光如來佛    |
| 41 | Brahmān 清淨佛                     | Aśokottamaśrī (?) 無憂如來佛                 |
| 42 | Śūradatta 勇施佛                   | Dharmaghoṣa Tathāgata 法音如來佛             |
| 43 | Vimala 無垢佛                      | Agramatirāja 聖慧王如來佛                     |
| 44 | Ratnacand 寶月佛                   | Anucārin 隨應佛                            |
| 45 | Amoghadarśi 現無愚佛                | Siṃhanāda 獅吼佛                           |
| 46 | Ratnacandraprabha 寶月光佛          | Aṅgaja 昂機達                              |
| 47 | Ratnāgni 寶火佛                    | Ajita 阿資達尊者                             |
| 48 | Vīranandī 精進喜佛                  | Vanavāsin 拔那巴斯尊者                        |
| 49 | Ratnapadmavikramī 寶華遊步佛         | Abhyudgatarāja 顯聖王佛                     |
| 50 | Samantāvabhāsavīyūhaśrī 周匝莊嚴功德佛 | vKhon-dang (?) rgyas pa rnam gnon 善滅諍傲佛 |
| 51 | Vikrāntagāmī 善遊步佛               | Ratnāṅgadyuti Buddha 寶身光輝佛              |
| 52 | Vikrāntagāmī 鬥戰勝佛               | joms? 善滅魔障佛                             |
| 53 | Nārāyaṇa 那羅延佛                   | Avaiartikaśrīcakra 不迴吉祥輪佛               |
| 54 | Aśokaśrī 無憂德佛                   | Ratnacchattrodgataprabha 寶傘勝光佛          |
| 55 | Prabhāsaśrī 光德佛                 | Sui yin pu sa fo 隨引菩提佛                  |
| 56 | Anantaūjas 無量掬光佛                | Dhyānābhyudgatarāja 禪定顯聖王佛              |
| 57 | Candanaśrī 旃檀功德佛                | Bhinnakleśa 除煩惱佛                        |
| 58 | Bhadraśrī(?) 賢德佛                | Kanakabharadvāja 嘎那嘎拔喇危匝尊者              |
| 59 | Varuṇadeva (?) 水天中天佛            | Bakula 巴沽拉尊者                            |
| 60 | Varuṇa 水天佛                      | Rāhula 喇乎拉尊者                            |



| Western Cabinet Deities in Room 2 |                          | Eastern Cabinet Deities in Room 2 |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1                                 | Daṇḍadhara 持棒獄母          | Vajrapātāla 金剛畢拉達                 |
| 2                                 | Daṃṣṭrādhara 持牙獄母        | Garuḍayuta-Vajrapāṇi 聯續大鵬手持金剛     |
| 3                                 | Duti(?)Ceti(?) 使役獄母      | Krodha-Vajrapāṇi 忿怒手持金剛           |
| 4                                 | Kālarātri 時相獄母           | Amoghatrāṇa-Vajrapāṇi 成護手持金剛      |
| 5                                 | Khaḍgayamāri 持劍羅瓦金剛      | Vajrapāṇi 小手持金剛                   |
| 6                                 | Padmayamāri 持蓮花羅瓦金剛      | Lāsyā 遊戲母                         |
| 7                                 | Daṇḍayamāri 持棒威羅瓦金剛      | Mālyā 持髮母                         |
| 8                                 | Mudgarayamāri 持鐘威羅瓦金剛    | Gīta 歌唄母                          |
| 9                                 | Sumbha 毒嚴金剛              | Nṛtya 妙舞母                         |
| 10                                | Uṣṇīṣacakravartin 金剛頂轉輪王 | Vajrakuśī 金剛鉤母                    |
| 11                                | Mahābala 大力金剛            | Vajrapāśī 金剛繩母                    |
| 12                                | Nīladaṇḍa 藍棒金剛           | Vajrasphoṭī 金剛鐺母                  |
| 13                                | Ṭakkirāja 欲王金剛           | Vajraghaṇṭā 金剛鈴母                  |
| 14                                | Āveśā 降臨獄母               | Anarārka 金剛日                      |
| 15                                | Sphoṭadhara 持鐺獄佛母        | Vajrasṅgī 金剛頂                     |
| 16                                | Pāśadhara 持繩獄佛母          | Vajrakuṇḍalī 金剛潭                  |
| 17                                | Aṅkuśadhara 持鉤獄佛母        | Vajrayakṣa 金剛藥叉                   |
| 18                                | Vajrānilā 金剛風母           | rMig pa 蜜克巴                       |

|    |                                  |  |
|----|----------------------------------|--|
| 19 | Vajradakā 金剛水母                   | Phya sangs 茶桑                            |
| 20 | Vajrānalā 金剛火母                   | Aṅgāraka 紅日星                             |
| 21 | Vajrabhūmi 金剛地母                  | Ral pa tsaar dgu 髮九股獄主                   |
| 22 | Yamāntaka 除滅鬼王金剛                 | Puṣpa 持花母                                |
| 23 | Samantabhadra 普賢菩薩               | Dhūpa 持香母                                |
| 24 | Sarvanivaraṇaṣṭkambhin 除諸障菩薩     | Dīpā 持燈母                                 |
| 25 | Mañjuśrī 文殊菩薩                    | Gandhā 持香水母                              |
| 26 | Īrṣyāyamāri 嫉威羅威金剛               | Sābari 沙幹哩                               |
| 27 | Rāgayamāri 貪威羅瓦金剛                | Vajrabhairava<br>威羅瓦金剛                   |
| 28 | 恪威羅瓦金剛 Matsaryayamāri            | Vairocana-Bhairavavajra 宏光威羅瓦金剛          |
| 29 | Mohayamāri 癡威羅瓦金剛                | Vajrabhairava Ekāntanāyaka 一勇威羅瓦金剛       |
| 30 | Guhyasādhana-Maṅjuvajra 秘密成就文殊   | Ṣaṅmukha Yamāri 六面威羅瓦金剛                  |
| 31 | Vairocana-Maṅjuvajra 宏光文殊金剛      | Kṛṣṇayamari 黑敵威羅瓦金剛                      |
| 32 | Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra 秘密文殊金剛 | Vajrabhairava with bow and arrow 射勢威羅瓦金剛 |
| 33 | Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi 大輪手持金剛       | Ya wa ti 牙瓦的                             |
| 34 | Vajrahūmkāra 吽威聲金剛               | Dharmarāja 法帝                            |
| 35 | Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhya 秘密金剛不動佛     | Di la ba 地拉巴                             |
| 36 | Mahāvajradhāra 大持金剛              | gLang mgo can 阿瓦牛頭獄主                     |
| 37 | empty                            | Mohayamāri 癡威羅瓦金剛                        |
| 38 | Ākāśagarbha 虛空藏菩薩                | Matsaryayamāri 慳威羅瓦金剛                    |

|    |                               |                            |
|----|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 39 | Vajrapāṇi 手持金剛菩薩              | Rāgayamāri 貪威羅瓦金剛          |
| 40 | Kṣitigarbha 地藏王菩薩             | Īrṣyāmāri 嫉威羅瓦金剛           |
| 41 | Amoghasiddhi 成就佛              | Carcikā 呬嚶資嚶佛母             |
| 42 | Amitābha 無量光佛                 | Vārāhī 幹喇希佛母               |
| 43 | Ratnaketu (Ratnasambhava) 寶生佛 | Sarasvatī 喇嚶喇底佛母           |
| 44 | Vairocana 毗盧佛                 | Gaurī 高哩佛母                 |
| 45 | Lohanāḍi-Vajrapāṇi 鐵管手持金剛     | Vighnāntaka 滅除魔王金剛         |
| 46 | Antarsādhana-Mañjuḥṣa 內成精明文殊  | Empty                      |
| 47 | Amṛtabinduvajra 甘露滴金剛         | Empty                      |
| 48 | Guhyasamāja-Lokeśvara 秘密自在觀世音 | Empty                      |
| 49 | Acalā 不動金剛                    | Mudgarayumāri 持錘威羅瓦金剛      |
| 50 | Empty                         | Daṇḍayamāri 持棒威羅瓦金剛        |
| 51 | Hayagrīva<br>馬頭金剛             | Padmayamāri 持蓮花威羅瓦金剛       |
| 52 | Prajñāntaka 般若滅除金剛            | Khḍḍgayamāri 持劍羅瓦金剛        |
| 53 | Maitreya 彌勒菩薩                 | dBud las rgyal byed 能勝魔障金剛 |
| 54 | Vajrarasā 金剛味佛母               | rDo rje gzi brjid 威光金剛     |
| 55 | Vajragandhā 金剛香佛母             | rNgam pa sera sgrogs 烈聲金剛  |
| 56 | Vajraśabdā 金剛聲佛母              | Amṛtakunḍalivajra 甘露潭金剛    |
| 57 | Vajrarūpā 金剛色佛母               | Vajrāṅkuṣa<br>金剛鉤          |

|    |                       |                          |
|----|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 58 | Tarā<br>救度佛母          | Vajrakāla<br>金剛時         |
| 59 | Pāṇḍaravāsīnī<br>白衣佛母 | Mahākālavajra<br>大黑金剛    |
| 60 | Māmākī<br>無我佛母        | Vajrabhīṣaṇa<br>施畏金剛     |
| 61 | Buddhalocanā<br>佛言佛母  | Uṣṇīṣacakravartin<br>轉輪頂 |

| Western Cabinet Deities in Room 3 |                     | Eastern Cabinet Deities in Room 3 |  |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1                                 | Aṅgāraka 呀克達卡天      | Rāgavajrā 金剛愆佛母                   |  |
| 2                                 | Hārīti 鬼母天          | Vajrasaumya 金剛柔善佛母                |  |
| 3                                 | Dhanus 達努天          | Vajrayakṣī 吒機尼佛母                  |  |
| 4                                 | Budha 布達天           | Pr̥thivīvajrā 金剛地佛母               |  |
| 5                                 | Navamī Kalā 底提那瓦母   | Vajraśabdā 金剛聲佛母                  |  |
| 6                                 | Daśamī Kalā 底提達沙母   | Viṣṇu 遍入天                         |  |
| 7                                 | Aṣṭamī Kalā 底提阿喀扎母  | Kālāgni 時火天                       |  |
| 8                                 | Saptamī Kalā 底提薩布達母 | Varuṇa 水天                         |  |
| 9                                 | Svāśleṣā 交腕手印佛母     | Ketu 計都星天                         |  |
| 10                                | Aṅkuṣī 持鉤佛母         | Siṃha 西達天                         |  |
| 11                                | Dharmodayā 达呀嘛達都佛母  | Ekādaśī Kalā 厄嘎達沙天                |  |
| 12                                | Padmā 持蓮花佛母         | Dvādaśī Kalā 多瓦那達沙天               |  |
| 13                                | Padmaḍāka 蓮花吒噶佛母    | Brahmā 梵王天                        |  |
| 14                                | Yama 獄主天            | Empty                             |  |
| 15                                | empty               | Ghasmarī 嘎斯麻哩佛母                   |  |
| 16                                | Gaṇapati(?) 隆寓天     | Pukkasi 補嘎西佛母                     |  |
| 17                                | Makara 麻嘎呀天         | Śabarī 沙幹哩佛母                      |  |
| 18                                | Ṣaṣṭhī Kalā 底提喀扎母   | Mahākāla 大黑天                      |  |
| 19                                | Kumbha 右穆巴天         | Ghaṇṭākarna 鈴墜天                   |  |

|    |   |                       |
|----|---|-----------------------|
| 20 | Dūti 使役高特麻母                             | Bhṛṅgiriti 畢穆格哩底天     |
| 21 | Agni 火天                                 | Tula 都拉天              |
| 22 | Taḍitkarā 持電佛母                          | Yakṣa 藥叉天             |
| 23 | Ratnolkā 持流星佛母                          | Kanyā 嘎那牙天            |
| 24 | Dīpā 持雙燈佛母 Buddha Mother with two lamps | Vāyu 四臂風天             |
| 25 | Sūryahastā 持日佛母                         | Śanaīścara 山沙咎呬天      |
| 26 | Sūrya 日光天                               | Virūpa 必呬幹巴           |
| 27 | Mīna 蜜那天                                | Paṭadhāriṇi 持幔佛母      |
| 28 | Candra 月天                               | Empty                 |
| 29 | Śakra 帝釋天                               | Empty                 |
| 30 | Dīpā 持燈佛母                               | Empty                 |
| 31 | Empty                                   | Buddhakaṇṭhā 佛陀嘎巴拉    |
| 32 | Empty                                   | Yogāmbara 瑜伽虛空佛       |
| 33 | Pancabuddha-Saṃvara 五佛上樂王佛              | Nairṛtī 離實天           |
| 34 | Sita-Saṃvara 白上樂王                       | Vṛścika 巴呬沙雜扎天        |
| 35 | Saṃvara 上樂王佛                            | Trayodaśī Kalā 達呬月嚩沙天 |
| 36 | Ghaṇṭāpāda 甘吒巴                          | Nandin 樂自在天           |
| 37 | Ratnaḍāka 寶貝吒噶                          | Empty                 |
| 38 | Empty                                   | Empty                 |
| 39 | Empty                                   | Gaurī 高哩佛母            |
| 40 | Dhūpā 持香佛母                              | Kurukulla 沽嚕咕勒佛母      |



|    |                       |                                 |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 41 | Pukkasi補嘎西佛母          | Jinasāgara-Avalokiteśvara 佛海觀世音 |
| 42 | Ghasmari嘎斯麻哩佛母        | Puṣpa-Garūḍa 花大鵬                |
| 43 | Vetalī 白伯答哩佛母         | Kṛṣṇa-Garūḍa大黑鵬                 |
| 44 | Caurī 造哩佛母            | Vaṃśā 持管佛母                      |
| 45 | Gaurī高哩佛母             | Māmakī 嘛嘛基佛母                    |
| 46 | Garūḍa-Saṃvara嘎噌底上樂王佛 | Pāṇḍaravāsīnī 白衣佛母              |
| 47 | Vajradāka 金剛吒噶佛       | Tārā 救度佛母                       |
| 48 | Nṛtyā妙舞佛母             | Empty                           |
| 49 | Nāroḍākini那羅吒機尼佛母     | Vīṇā 持琵琶佛母                      |
| 50 | Gītā 歌唄佛母             | Mukundā 持圓鼓佛母                   |
| 51 | Empty                 | Empty                           |
| 52 | Empty                 | Viśvaḍāka 諸品吒噶佛                 |
| 53 | Empty                 | Tālikā 持門鎖佛母                    |
| 54 | Aṅkuśī 持鉤佛母           | Kuñcī 持鑰匙佛母                     |
| 55 | Vāgurā 持綱佛母           | Kapātā 持門佛母                     |
| 56 | Paśīnī 持繩佛母           | Paṭadhāriṇī 持幔佛母                |
| 57 | Saṃdamśā持鉗佛母          | Buddhalocanā 佛眼佛母               |
| 58 | Buddhaḍāka<br>補達托噶佛   | ze la ba la ga fo mu 則喇巴喇嘎佛母    |
| 59 | Ḍombī專必尼佛母            | Caṇḍālī 簪達哩佛母                   |
| 60 | Caṇḍālī 簪達裏佛母         | Vajraraudrī 金剛忿怒佛母              |



| Western Cabinet Deities in Room 4 |                               | Eastern Cabinet Deities in Room 4 |  |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1                                 | Pranidhāna-Pāramitā 愿波羅蜜母     | Jālinīrabha 綱光菩薩                  |  |
| 2                                 | Upāyakaūśalya-Pāramitā 方便波羅蜜母 | Vajragarbha 金剛藏菩薩                 |  |
| 3                                 | Dhyāna-Pāramitā 禪定波羅蜜母        | Aksayamati 無盡智菩薩                  |  |
| 4                                 | Vīrya-Pāramitā 精進波羅蜜母         | Pratibhānakūṭa 積智菩薩               |  |
| 5                                 | Samantaprabhā 普光佛母            | Samantabhadra 普賢菩薩                |  |
| 6                                 | Dharmameghā 法雲佛母              | Upapatti-Vaśitā 自在生母              |  |
| 7                                 | Sadhumatī 善慧佛母                | Rddhi-Vaśitā 自在幻化母                |  |
| 8                                 | Acalā 不動佛母                    | Adhimukti-Vaśitā 自在發心母            |  |
| 9                                 | Vajrateja 金剛威光菩薩              | Pranidhāna -Vaśitā 自在願母           |  |
| 10                                | Vajraratna 金剛寶菩薩              | Dharmapratīsamvit 解法實母            |  |
| 11                                | Ratnasambhava 寶生佛             | Nirukti-pratīsamvit 解真實句母         |  |
| 12                                | Vajrasādhu 金剛賢菩薩              | Arthapratīsamvit 解義實母             |  |
| 13                                | Vajrarāga 金剛慾菩薩               | Pratibhānapratīsamvi 解實辯才母        |  |
| 14                                | Ksānti-Pāramitā 忍辱波羅蜜母        | Sarvaśokatamonirghātanamati 消憂智菩薩 |  |
| 15                                | Sila-Pāramitā 持威波羅蜜母          | Gandhahastin 香象菩薩                 |  |
| 16                                | Dāna-Pāramitā 惠施波羅蜜母          | Sūramgama 勇行菩薩                    |  |
| 17                                | Prajñā-Pāramitā 智慧波羅蜜母        | Gaganagañja 虛空藏菩薩                 |  |
| 18                                | Dūramgamā 遠行佛母                | Āyur-Vaśitā 自在壽母                  |  |
| 19                                | Abhimukhī 現前佛母                | Citta-Vaśitā 自在意母                 |  |

|    |                              |                             |
|----|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 20 | Sudurjaya 難勝佛母               | Pariskāra-Vaṣitā 自在行母       |
| 21 | Arcismati 光輝佛                | Karma-Vaṣitā 自在行母           |
| 22 | Dharmavajrī 金剛法佛母            | Jñāna-Vaṣitā 自在智母           |
| 23 | Ratnavajrī 金剛寶佛母             | Dharma-Vaṣitā 自在法母          |
| 24 | Sattvavajrī 金剛勇識佛母           | Tathatā 如性母                 |
| 25 | Vajradhātu-Vairocana 金剛界比盧佛  | Buddhabodhi 佛陀菩提母           |
| 26 | Prabhākārī 發光佛母              | Akṣobhya 不動佛                |
| 27 | Vimalā 無垢佛母                  | Vajrasattva 金剛勇識佛           |
| 28 | Pramuditā 歡喜佛母               | Amoghasiddhi 成就佛            |
| 29 | Adhimukticyā-Bhūmi 發心行地佛母    | Nīla-Acalāvajra 青不動金剛       |
| 30 | Jagadvinaya 度生佛              | Trailokyavijayā 能勝三界佛       |
| 31 | Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara 法界妙音自在佛 | Paramādya-Vajrasattva 最上功德佛 |
| 32 | Guhya-Mañjuśrī 秘密文殊室利佛       | Jvālānala 火焰光佛              |
| 33 | Pancabuddha-Saṃvara 五佛上樂王佛   | Bala-Pālamitā 力波羅蜜母         |
| 34 | Vajradharma 金剛法佛             | Jñāna-Pāramitā 智波羅蜜母        |
| 35 | Vairocana 宏光比盧佛              | Vajrakarma-Pāramitā 金剛行波羅蜜母 |
| 36 | Sita-Vajrapāṇi 白手持金剛         | Ratnapadma-Pāramitā 蓮花行波羅蜜母 |
| 37 | Saravid-Vairocana 普慧比盧佛      | Mahāsukha 大安樂佛              |
| 38 | Amoghasiddhi 成就佛             | sKu-dgung-brtan-pa 不動性佛     |
| 39 | Ratnasambhava 寶生佛            | Vajraketu 金剛幢菩薩             |
| 40 | Akṣobhya 不動佛                 | Vajrahāsa 金剛笑菩薩             |

|    |                     |                       |
|----|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 41 | Dhvaḥjōsnīsa 幢頂佛    | Amitābha 無量光佛         |
| 42 | Tejorāśyusnīsa 威光頂佛 | Vajradharma 金剛法菩薩     |
| 43 | Viśvosnīsa 諸品頂佛     | VajraTikṣṇā 金剛敏捷菩薩    |
| 44 | Padmasnīsa 蓮花頂佛     | Vajrahetu 金剛因菩薩       |
| 45 | Ratnasnīsa 寶頂佛      | Nṛtyā 妙舞佛母            |
| 46 | Vajrasnīsa 金剛頂佛     | Maitreya 彌勒菩薩         |
| 47 | SākyaSiṃha 釋迦獅子佛    | Amoghadarśin 現無愚菩薩    |
| 48 | Amoghasiddhi 成就佛    | Sarvāpāyamjaha 接引三塗菩薩 |
| 49 | Vajrarāja 金剛王菩薩     | Vajrabhāsa 金剛語菩薩      |
| 50 | Vajrasattva 金剛勇識菩薩  | Amoghasiddhi 成就佛      |
| 51 | Akṣobhya 不動佛        | Vajrakarma 金剛業菩薩      |
| 52 | Karmavajri 金剛業佛母    | Vajraraksa 金剛佑菩薩      |
| 53 | Jayosnīsa 勝頂佛       | VajraYakṣa 金剛藥叉菩薩     |
| 54 | Mahodgatosnīsa 大頂佛  | Vajrasandi 金剛拳菩薩      |
| 55 | Udgatosnīsa 超頂佛     | Lāsyā 遊戲佛母            |
| 56 | Vikiranōsnīsa 火焰光頂佛 | Mālyā 持鬘佛母            |
| 57 | Vijayosnīsa 尊勝頂佛    | Gītā 歌唄佛母             |
| 58 | Tejorāśyusnīsa 威光頂佛 | Jñānaketu 智慧頂菩薩       |
| 59 | Mahōsnīsa 大頂佛       | Amitābha 無量光菩薩        |
| 60 | Sitāpatrosnīsa 白傘頂佛 | Candraprabha 月光菩薩     |
| 61 | Tikṣosnīsa 敏捷頂佛     | Bhadrapāla 善隆菩薩       |

| Western Cabinet Deities in Room 5 |                               | Eastern Cabinet Deities in Room 5 |  |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1                                 | Nandin 樂自在天                   | Sarvanīvaranaviskambhin 除蓋障天母     |  |
| 2                                 | Rahu 囉睺星天                     | Kautūhala 奇妙菩薩                    |  |
| 3                                 | Āditya 日宮天                    | Sarvāsattvābhayamdada 施無畏菩薩       |  |
| 4                                 | Gaṇapati 聚主天                  | Sarvāpāyamjaha 棄諸惡趣菩薩             |  |
| 5                                 | Bhūdadāmara-Vajrapāṇi 調伏生手持金剛 | Paritrānāśayamati 念佑菩薩            |  |
| 6                                 | Gaganānantavi-krama 調伏毒惡金剛    | Siṃhadhvajadhārīnī 獅子幢母           |  |
| 7                                 | Aprapañcavihārin 勝敵金剛         | Vijayā 尊勝母                        |  |
| 8                                 | Nilavajra 護魔金剛                | Padmavati 貝蓮花母                    |  |
| 9                                 | Angiras 昂機哩天菩薩                | Surahārīnī<br>右刷哈哩母               |  |
| 10                                | Vasistha 幹施斯義天菩薩              | Tārā 救度母                          |  |
| 11                                | Khadga 噶呼噶達天菩薩                | Sudhanakumāra 妙寶童子                |  |
| 12                                | Mārkaṇḍa 嘛呼噶達天菩薩              | Bhrkutī<br>忿怒母                    |  |
| 13                                | Gautama 高達嘛天菩薩                | Hayagrīva 馬頂金剛                    |  |
| 14                                | Kārtikeya 基呼底噶天               | Jalinīprabhākumāra 網光童子           |  |
| 15                                | Brahma 梵王天                    | Ratnamukuta 寶冠菩薩                  |  |
| 16                                | Viṣṇu 遍入天                     | Vimalaprabhākumāra<br>無垢光童子       |  |
| 17                                | Maheśvara 大自在天                | Keśini 妙髮天母                       |  |
| 18                                | Vajrapadma-Viśālanetra 能壞惡言金剛 | Ratnavijayā 寶最勝母                  |  |

|    |                              |                 |
|----|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 19 | Vajrāga 令甚調伏金剛               | Sarasvatī妙音母    |
| 20 | SuVajradhāra 普持金剛            | Surasundarī天容母  |
| 21 | Śivavajra 令安金剛               | Vibhūti福自在母     |
| 22 | Raśmimālin 花光鬘天菩薩            | Varahārini奪尊母   |
| 23 | Īśvara 自在天                   | Ratneśvarī寶自在母  |
| 24 | Tejoraśyusnisa 威光蘊頂菩薩        | Bhūsanā莊嚴母      |
| 25 | Vikiranosnīsa 最能散鹿菩薩         | Jagatpālīni隆眾生母 |
| 26 | Mahosthavajra 大脣金剛           | Yama黑法帝         |
| 27 | Mahābhāga 大勝金剛               | Mṛtyu降伏獄鬼菩薩     |
| 28 | Vajradamstra 金剛齒菩薩           | Kālarātri時相天母   |
| 29 | Vajracakra 金剛輪菩薩             | Kaumārī 幼天母     |
| 30 | Yaśodharā 美名佛母               | Vaiṣṇavī那羅延天母   |
| 31 | Mahāsthāmaprāpta 大勢至菩薩       | Vārāhī幹嚳希天母     |
| 32 | Bhrkutī 顰眉佛母                 | Cāmundā 匠們支天母   |
| 33 | Tārā 藍救度佛母                   | Śrī最勝母          |
| 34 | Avaloiteśvara 觀自在菩薩          | Tilottomā明點尊母   |
| 35 | Gaganalocanā 虛空目菩薩           | Śaśin明月母        |
| 36 | Vairocanabhisambodhi 宏光顯耀菩提佛 | Uma烏麻母          |
| 37 | Vijayosnīsa 尊勝菩薩             | Nairṛtī羅叉       |
| 38 | Jayosnīsa 佛頂菩薩               | Indra帝釋         |
| 39 | Sitāpatrosnīsa 白傘蓋菩薩         | Varuṇa水天        |

|    |                               |                   |
|----|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| 40 | Anantasvara-Ghososnīsa 無邊聲音菩薩 | Sūrya日天           |
| 41 | Gananāmala 無垢虛空菩薩             | Vijaya勝天母         |
| 42 | Krodhacandratilaka 忿怒妙月金剛     | Vijayā尊勝天母        |
| 43 | Vajraśrnkhala 金剛鎖佛母           | Brahman梵天         |
| 44 | Vajrasūci 金剛尖佛母               | Prthivī地天母        |
| 45 | Māmakī 嘛嘛基佛母                  | Prthivī土地         |
| 46 | Nila- Vajrapāṇi 藍手持金剛         | Nanda白龍王          |
| 47 | Hayagrīva 馬頭金剛                | Upananda白龍母       |
| 48 | Pāṇḍaravāsīnī 白衣佛母            | Mañjuśrī<br>施妙金剛  |
| 49 | Kāśyapa 飲光天菩薩                 | Sarasvatī<br>妙音天母 |
| 50 | Agni 火天                       | Nārāyaṇa<br>那羅延天  |
| 51 | Svaraviśruti 善稱名揚天菩薩          | Skanda使羸延天        |
| 52 | Manojava 速急意天菩薩               | Vāyu風天            |
| 53 | Abhyudgatosnīsa 勝發頂菩薩         | Sankara令安天母       |
| 54 | Mahodgatosnīsa 大發頂菩薩          | Umā伍嘛天母           |
| 55 | Ūrnā 白毫佛母                     | Candra 月天         |
| 56 | Buddhalocanā 眼光菩薩             | Aparājita無能勝忿怒金剛  |
| 57 | Śākyamuni 釋迦牟尼佛               | Aparajitā無能勝忿怒天母  |
| 58 | Abhimukha 現前菩薩                | Upakeśini同妙髮天母    |



|    |                        |              |
|----|------------------------|--------------|
| 59 | Durdharsa 調伏難調菩薩       | Citra諸品天母    |
| 60 | Trailokyavijaya 能勝三界菩薩 | Vasumatī財帛天母 |
| 61 | Acala 不動金剛             | Ākarsanī能拘天母 |

| Western Cabinet Deities in Room 6 |  | Eastern Cabinet Deities in Room 6               |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|---|--|
| 1                                 | Anila 頹彌羅藥叉大將                              | Māricī 壁組積光佛母                                   |  |
| 2                                 | Mekhila 迷企羅義大將                             | Dvādaśabhūja-Māricī 十二臂積光佛母                     |  |
| 3                                 | Vajra(?) 跋拆囉藥叉大將                           | Ṣaḍbhūja-Parnaśabarī 六臂葉衣佛母                     |  |
| 4                                 | Kiṃbhīra 宮毗盧藥叉大將                           | Trimukhāṣṭabhūja-rakta-Hayagrīvavajra 三面八臂紅馬頭金剛 |  |
| 5                                 | Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati 實破闇慧菩薩           | Ṣaḍbhūja-Sarasvatī 六臂妙音佛母                       |  |
| 6                                 | Sudarśana 善現菩薩                             | Ugramasī 大急忿母                                   |  |
| 7                                 | Amoghavikrama 不虛超越菩薩                       | Gulmamasī 無能勝母                                  |  |
| 8                                 | Pratibhāṇakūṭa 智積菩薩                        | Cīvaramasī 鐵鎖母                                  |  |
| 9                                 | Padmanarteśvara-Avalokiteśvara 蓮花妙舞自在觀世音菩薩 | Vanamasī 金剛大寶母                                  |  |
| 10                                | Hālāhala-Lokeśvara 騎吼觀世音菩薩                 | Antardhānamasī 蘭穆達呀達那麻西母                        |  |
| 11                                | Mahābhūmika-Avalokiteśvara 大地觀世音菩薩         | Mahācīvaramasī 嘛哈呀雜瓦呀麻西母                        |  |
| 12                                | Caturmukhāṣṭabhūja-Hayagrīvavajra 四面八臂馬頭金剛 | Padākramamasī 巴達呀嘎呀麻西母                          |  |
| 13                                | Trimukhacaturbhūja-Maitreya 三面四臂彌勒菩薩       | Varāhamukhī 害彼母                                 |  |
| 14                                | Mahāmeruśikharadhara 持須彌王菩薩                | Aṣṭabhūjā-Vajratārā 八臂金剛救度佛母                    |  |
| 15                                | Gadgadasvara 微妙音菩薩                         | Caturbhūja-Cintāmanīcakra-Tārā 四臂如意輪救度佛母        |  |
| 16                                | Merukūṭa 彌積菩薩                              | Trimukhaṣṭabhūja-sita-Tārā 三面六臂白救度佛母            |  |
| 17                                | Suvinīta (?) 明慧菩薩                          | Jayadā 施勝佛母                                     |  |
| 18                                | Maitreya 慈氏菩薩                              | Mahāla 薄呼羅藥叉大將                                  |  |

|    |                                      |                            |
|----|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 19 | Mahāmati 大慧菩薩                        | Cidāla 真達羅藥叉大將             |
| 20 | Avalokiteśvara 觀世音菩薩                 | Caundhula 朱杜羅藥叉大將          |
| 21 | Candravairocana 月光遍照菩薩               | Vikala 毗羯羅羅藥叉大將            |
| 22 | Kṛṣṇa-Jambhalavajra 黑布祿金剛            | Udayamaśī 月光母              |
| 23 | Vajraśṛṅkhālā 金剛鐺佛母                  | Arkamaśī 阿呼嘎嘛西母            |
| 24 | Vajragāndhārī 金剛甘達哩佛母                | Markamaśī 嘛呼嘎嘛西母           |
| 25 | Pīta-Aparājita 黃無能勝佛母                | Tejomamaśī 威嚴母             |
| 26 | Vajrapāṇi 手持金剛菩薩                     | Uṣṇīṣavijaya 尊勝佛母          |
| 27 | Sūryavairocana 日光遍照菩薩                | Dhanad 永財佛母                |
| 28 | Trāṇamukta 救脫菩薩                      | Vajravidāraṇa 摧碎金剛         |
| 29 | Mañjuśrī 文殊菩薩                        | Khro mo sme brtsegs 忿怒威積佛母 |
| 30 | Sita-Acalāvajra 白不動金剛                | Pīta-Jambhalavajra 黃布祿金剛   |
| 31 | Hayagrīvavajra 馬頭金剛                  | Pravīra-Tārā 速勇救度佛母        |
| 32 | Siṃhavāhana-Mañjuśrī 騎獅文殊菩薩          | Khadiravaṇī-Tārā 紫竹林救度佛母   |
| 33 | Mañjuśrī 文殊菩薩                        | Manila 末你羅藥叉大將             |
| 34 | Siṃhavāhana-Avalokiteśvara 獅吼觀世音菩薩   | Santhila 娑你羅藥叉大將           |
| 35 | Caturbhūja-Avalokiteśvara 四臂觀世音菩薩    | Indala 因陀羅藥叉大將             |
| 36 | Ekādaśamukha-Avalokiteśvara 十一面觀世音菩薩 | Payila 婆夷羅藥叉大將             |
| 37 | Samgrāmatāriṇī 解脫斗站佛母                | Sita-Tārā 白救度佛母            |
| 38 | Dhvajāgrakeyurā 幢頂臂嚴佛母               | Amitāyus 無量壽佛              |
| 39 | Mahāpratyaṅgirā 大迴佛母                 | Pratisarā 隨求佛母             |

|    |                                   |   |
|----|-----------------------------------|---|
| 40 | Pīta-Māricī 黃積光佛母                 | Ṣoḍaśabhujā-Avalokiteśvara 十六臂觀世音菩薩                     |
| 41 | Dhvajāgra (?) 幢頂佛                 | Jāṅgulī-Tārā 除毒佛母                                       |
| 42 | Tikṣṇā-Mañjuśrī 敏捷文殊菩薩            | Sita-Mañjuśrī 白文殊金剛                                     |
| 43 | Māricī 積光佛母                       | Vahābalavajra 大力金剛                                      |
| 44 | Vajrapāṇi 手持金剛                    | Vighnāntakavajra 除魔金剛                                   |
| 45 | Khasarpaṇa-Avalokiteśvara 水月觀世音菩薩 | Rajātila-Mañjuśrī 遊戲王文殊菩薩                               |
| 46 | Īsvara-Avalokiteśvara 自在觀世音菩薩     | Bhramarasvara-Mañjuśrī 蜂音文殊菩薩                           |
| 47 | Sitātapatrā 白傘蓋佛母                 | Nāmasaṅgīti-Mañjuśrī 真實名文殊菩薩                            |
| 48 | (Standing)Maitreya 站像彌勒佛          | Cīna-Tārā 震旦救度佛母  |
| 49 | Pīta-Jambhalavajra 黃布祿金剛          | Hariharivāhana-Lokeśvara 騎吼自在觀世音                        |
| 50 | Caturbhujā-Acalāvajra 四臂不動金剛      | Trailokyavaśaṅkara — Avalokiteśvara 權衡三界觀世音菩薩           |
| 51 | Rakta-Sarasvatī 紅妙音佛母             | Caturbhujā-rakta-Avalokiteśvara 紅四臂觀世音菩薩                |
| 52 | Ṣaḍbhujā-Jambhalavajra 六臂布祿金剛     | Nīlakaṅṭhāśvara-Avalokiteśvara 青頂自在觀世音菩薩                |
| 53 | Jāṅgulī 除毒佛母                      | Pañcamukhadvādaśabhujā-kṛṣṇa Avalokiteśvara 黑五面十二臂觀世音菩薩 |
| 54 | Viśvamātā 自諸品佛母                   | Amoghapaśa-Avalokiteśvara 不空眷鎖自在觀世音菩薩                   |
| 55 | Śramaṇā 沙門佛母                      | Śrī-Vaḍīrat 功德語王菩薩                                      |
| 56 | Sarvārthasādhana-Tārā 成就一切救度佛母    | Anaṅgavajra 無支金剛菩薩                                      |
| 57 | Sāhasrapramardanī 千摧碎佛母           | Dvibhujā-Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara 二臂法界妙音佛                   |
| 58 | Mahāmantrānusāriṇī 密咒隨持佛母         | Durgottāriṇī-Tārā 除惡趣救度佛母                               |

|    |                     |                         |
|----|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 59 | Mahāsītavati 寒林佛母   | Dvibhuja-Ekajaṭā 二臂一髻佛母 |
| 60 | Mahāmāyūrī 大孔雀佛母    | Caturbhuja-Cundā 四臂準提佛母 |
| 61 | Prajñāpāramitā 般若佛母 | Daśabhūja-Māricī 十臂積光佛母 |