

ROBERTO VITALI

Dharamshala

The cult of the Tsan dan Jo bo has not received much attention from the people of Tibet, even though its popularity is ancient and widespread in Central Asia and China, for it was diffused in many of the latter lands already during a time that corresponds to the proto—history of the Tibetan plateau. Despite a conspicuous number of shifts in location, the sandalwood statue of Buddha Shakyamuni never found a home in Tibet, unlike other wondrous statues that were brought to the plateau during its imperial period and thereafter.

Knowledge of the Tsan dan Jo bo in Tibet has remained rather marginal. The Tibetan literature talks about it cursorily; most authors who dealt with the image and its worship belonged to the late periods, bar one earlier case which, however, is only apparently an exception to this state of affairs (see below). Indeed the sources associate the statue's worship with India and China, and there are few traces of its cult on Tibetan soil, where awareness of this statue was mainly confined to literary accounts.

The study of this image is intriguing, then, because it gives a researcher the opportunity to see how Tibetan culture handles a topic extraneous to its direct domain.

In the few literary cases in which it appears, the image has been relegated to brief references in encyclopaedic works, such as sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's *Bai du rya g.ya'sel* or Kong sprul's *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod*. The only major monographic work on the Tsan dan Jo bo is that of lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, which is published here.

Most of what these few Tibetan texts talk about concerns the statue's legendary origin. They somewhat accept as beyond dispute that the sculpture is a likeness of the Buddha executed during his lifetime and describe the legendary circumstances of its making in heaven while the master was there to impart teachings to his mother.

This is hardly tenable in the light of the archaeological evidence documenting the creation of the Buddha image at Mathura and in Gandhara after centuries of symbolical representations of Shakyamuni. Therefore, one cannot but consider the hypothesis that the tradition of depicting of the Buddha had developed anthropomorphically already during his lifetime as pure fancy.



Also in consideration of the fact that the Tsan dan Jo bo has nothing to do with the creation of the Buddha image, the physionomic traits of the Tsan dan Jo bo seem to me to betray a post–Gandharan origin (see fig.1), perhaps not much predating the period in which the sandalwood statue is said to have been transferred to Central Asia from the Indian North–West.

The tradition holds that the statue, after remaining over 1,000 years in India, was taken to the Silk Route oasis of Kucha by the Kashmiri master Kumārayāna, the father of the great Kumārajīva (344–409), hence sometime before 344, when the latter was born at this locality chosen by his father as the family residence.

The Tsan dan Jo bo was then transferred to metropolitan China after Kumārajīva was taken prisoner in Kucha in 384, in a war that another legend says was waged by the Chinese in order to acquire Kumārajīva's teachings and to take possession of the statue (see Terentiev, *The Sandalwood Buddha of the King Udayana* p.20).

mGon po skyabs favours another account of the Tsan dan Jo bo's transfer to Central Asia, similar to the other legends in spirit but not in letter. He summarises his version of those events in *rGya nag chos 'byung* urging the reader to consult his monograph dedicated to the sandalwood statue (*Tsandan Jo bo'i lo rgyus*), which remains untraced. He says that the ruler Hphu ki yan waged a war against India in pursuit of three objectives: to win rig 'dzin Ku ma ra shri (i.e. Kumārajīva's father) and the Tsan dan Jo bo for his kingdom and to conquer Indian territories. Hence it is not question here of taking Kumārajīva captive in Kucha and of seizing the statue in the process.

mGon po skyabs's *rGya nag chos 'byung* (p.73 lines 4–11) reads:

"Rig'dzin Ku ma ra shri zhes pa rig pa'i gnas lnga mthar son cing mngon shes dang rdzu 'phrul thogs med mnga' ba de'i grags pa Hor rigs kyi rGya rgyal Hphu ki yan gyis thos pas mi ring ba zhig na blon po ltas mkhan gyis bkra shis pa'i skar ma shar ba'i rgyu mtshan zhu bar mtha' khob pa chen po zhig phan grogs su 'byung bar lung bstan pas/ zhor la rGya gar gyi yul khams 'ga' zhig 'thob tu 'dod pas dmag dpon Lu'i kwang dpung chen po dang beas btang bas pandi ta dang Tsandan Jo bo gdan drangs pa sogs (line 11) phal cher bdag gis Tsandan Jo bo'i lo rgyus su bshad zin//"; "Rig 'dzin Ku ma ra shri brought his knowledge of the five sciences to the ultimate stage (mthar son sic for mthar song). Hphu ki yan, ruler of China of Hor extraction, heard the fame of his clairvoyance and miracles, and not long thereafter, owing to [the advice of] a discerning minister, while wondering about a cause that could make his lucky star shine, ordered to avail of the help of that one great barbarian. Since he wished to conquer some regions of the land of rGya gar, he sent the great general Lu'i kwang off with a huge army. The latter indeed drew the pandi ta and





the Tsandan (spelled so) Jo bo [to China], [events] that are mentioned in the *Tsandan Jo bo'i lo rgyus* penned by me".

Kong sprul records another version of the legend, one which makes a marvelous claim for the Tsan dan Jo bo as belonging to the category of flying statues, for it says that it crossed the sky in order to reach China. There are several stories in Tibetan literature of flying objects which went from India to the plateau. To mention here a couple of instances I have cited in my past work, Rin chen bzang po's flying mask depicting Gur mGon crossed the sky, from Kha che to mNga' ris skor gsum, following Lo chen on his way back to his lands (see my "Sa skya and the mNga' ri skor gsum legacy: the case of Rin chen bzang po's flying mask"). A Thugs rje chen po, the image destined to become the principal statue at Zhwa lu, flew behind the monastery's founder ICe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas while he was returning to gTsang from rGya gar (*Early Temples of Central Tibet*, see the work entitled "Zhwa lu and the Newar Style of the Yuan Court").

It should be noted that the Tibetan tradition obviously tends to focus on the objects that flew to the plateau. It is interesting then that, among the many that concern magical flights in the traditions of India and China, at least one case of a religious object that flew from the Noble Land to Central Asia and China is mentioned in the Tibetan literature.

The belief that the statue was carved during the lifetime of the Buddha found again its way into the most important work on the sandalwood statue preserved in the Tibetan canon. This work, mentioned above, is much older than, for instance, those of the *sde srid* and Kong sprul consequently—an indication that a remarkable gap occurred on the plateau within the literary interest shown for the statue. This short work on the history of the Jo bo, bearing the title *Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul (bsTan 'gyur, rGyud lxxxv)* is included in the 1681 Peking edition of the Canon (see Suzuki's catalogue).

Its colophon says that it was translated from the Chinese to Yu gur by one Am chang in fire pig 1227 (the year of the definitive capitulation of Byang Mi nyag to Jing gir rgyal po (Gengis Khan)), and from the latter language into Tibetan by one Da na si (seemingly not a Tibetan, perhaps an Indian?) in water pig 1263.



<sup>1</sup> Kong sprul Yon tan rgya mtsho, *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod* (stod cha) (p.572 lines 15–18): "rGya nag dge phyir bzhud ces bcom ldan 'das kyis bskul bas mkha las gshegs te lta da'ang rGya nag du bzhugs pa Tsan dan Jo bo zhes 'dra bshus kyis Si thang yang mang du 'byung ba 'bur sku'i thog ma ni 'di dag go//"; "Owing to the exhortation of the Buddha that [the statue] should go to China to promote virtue, it crossed the sky and even now is kept in China. The depiction of the Tsan dan Jo bo having been copied, there are many Si thang of the first tridimensional image [of Buddha Shakyamuni]".

The text is an enumeration of the whereabouts of the statue, as it was transfered from place to place over many centuries, giving the length of stay in each place. It was kept at a good number of localities in Central Asia and China, and received remarkable royal reverence. The history of the Tsan dan Jo bo documents that, in the regions of Central Asia and China through which it was moved throughout the centuries after its transfer from India, the role of the statue was to sanctify royal power by its very presence.

Cung, the Chinese original translated from the Yu gur language into Tibetan under the title *Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul*, tells the history of the Tsan dan Jo bo in rather different terms from the legend mentioned above. It says that the statue was transferred from India to Khotan (Li yul), and from there to the Ordos region (Byang ngos) before ending in China. It adds that it was taken to eleven different countries in this land.

*Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul* (f.154a line 1–f.155a line 4) reads:

"Om Swasti Siddham. bCom ldans 'das sku bltam sa nas Sangs rgyas kyi bar dang/ Tsan dan sku'i 'byung tshul rGya'i lugs kyi mDo rabs bsdus pa la/ rgyal rabs Tshe'u zhes bya ba'i ring la rgyal bu bzhi pa Ce'ung bang zhes bya ba rgyal sar bton nas lo nyi zhu rtsa bzhi lon pa'i dus su/ shing stag lo kyi nyi nang/ zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes brgyad nyi nang/ rab bltams nas zhag bdun lon pa'i dus yum sKyum chen mo 'das nas lha'i yul du skyas/ rgyal po Ce'u dbang gyal sar bton nas lo bzhi bcu zhe gnyis lon pa'i dus su/ rgyal bu Donn grub lo beu dgu lon nas khyim dor nas grong khyer gyi phyi rol tu gshegs nas gangs kyi ri la dka' ba mdzad nas/ Ce'u dbang gi rgyal rabs lnga pa Mu dbang zhes bya ba rgyal sar bton nas lo gsum lon pa'i chu lug lo la rgyal bu Don grub lo sum cu lon pa'i dus su Sangs rgyas nas lo brgyad lon pa'i tshe yum gyi drin dgongs nas gSum bcu rtsa sum lha'i yul du gshegs te yum la chos bshad nas lha'i yul du dbyar zla ba gsum bzhugs pa la/ rgyal po U tra ya nas bcom ldan 'das dran nas Mou dgal gyi bu la zhus pas/ Mou dgal gyi bus rdzu 'phrul gyi zo bo sum cu gnyis dang/ tsan dan dmar po smug po dang beas pa blangs nas lha'i yul du khyer te/ bcom ldan 'das sku bltan tshig mi zhes pa mtshan sum cu rtsa gnyis yongs su rdzogs par bzod nas mi'i yul gdan drangs te/ rGya'i yul gyi Ce'u mu dbang zhes bya ba rgyal sar bton nas lo bcu gcig lon pa'i dus su leags yos lo la beom ldan 'das lha'i yul du dbyar zla ba gsum mi'i yul du byon pa'i dus su tsan dan gyi sku mchog 'di (f.154b) bcom ldan 'das la dbu bkug nas sku khams 'dri ba'i tshul du bzhengs te/ de nas bcom ldan 'das phyag brkyang te sku mchog de nyid lha mi'i don rgya chen po mdzad par gyur ro zhes bka' stsal te/ de nas zung nas tsan





dan gyi sku mchog 'dis rGya gar du lo stong gnyis brgya brgyad cu gya lnga bzhugs/ de nas Byang gNam lo brgya dun cu don gsum la bzhugs/ de nas Ha nam gyi yul du lo sum brgya drug cu re bdun bzhugs/ de nas yang Byang gNam du phyir gshegs nas lo nyi shu rtsa gcig bzhugs/ de nas Thin ho zhes bya ba'i lo dgu pa dus su lcags phag lo la Byang phyogs su byon nas/ Cung do'i Su'i Sang shi zhes bya ba'i sder lo bcu gnyis bzhugs Su'i Sang shi'i sde ding sang Shing ngag si 'di yin no/ de nas Sang kying zhes bya ba'i mkhar du de'i Cung kying si zhes bya ba'i sde ru lo nyi zhu bzhugs/ de nas Cung ci'i rgyal rabs kyi Dai thing zhes bya ba'i rgyal po rgyal sar lo gsum lon pa'i dus su/ chu lug lo la yang Cung Hor gdan drangs nas rgyal po'i pho brang du lnga bcu rtsa lnga bzhugs/ de nas Da'i cha 'u zhes bya ba'i rgyal po'i dus su Hor byung nas me glang lo zla ba gsum pa'i tshes dgu pa rgyal po'i pho brang shigs pas/ Cang shus ja 'khun kyi tshi gis yang blangs na sngon gyi gnas Shing ngan si'i sde la bzhugs nas/ ding sang bar du mtshad pa (f.155a) byas so/ me glang lo nas chu phag yan cad la lo bzhi bcu zhe bdun lon/ tsan dan gyi sku mchog 'di bzhengs nas chu phag yan cad la lo nyi stong lnga bcu rtsa lnga lon pa vin no/ 'di'i lugs kyi bcom ldan 'das mya ngan lan 'das nas chu phag yan cad la lo nyi stong dang beu gsum lon pa yin no Cung zhes bya ba'i lo rgyus kyi nang du rdzogs par yong par snang/ mdor bsdud pa 'di chu mo phag zla ba gnyis pa'i tshes bcu gsum la rGya'i skad las Yo gur skad sgyur mkhan A mchas zhes bya ba dang/ Yo gur skad las Bod du sgyur mkhan Dan si zhes bya ba gnyis kyis legs par sgyur ba'o// ".

"As for a brief treatment of the Chinese version concerning how the Tsan dan Jo bo statue came to exist [during the period] between the birth of the Buddha and his enlightment, during the time of the Tshe'u dynasty, in the twenty-fourth regnal year after the fourth prince Ce'u dbang took over the throne, [Shakyamuni] was born on the eighth day of the fourth month of the year of the wood tiger. His mother, sGyum chen po, died seven days after [delivering] and passed to the land of the gods. Fortytwo years after King Ce'u dbang's took over the throne, Prince Don grub, having reached nineteen years of age, abandoned his household and went to practise penance in the snow mountains. In water sheep, three years after Mu dbang, the fifth generation in the Ce'u dynasty, took over the throne, rgyal bu Don grub attained enlightment at thirty years of age. Eight years later, thinking of his mother's kindness, he went to the paradise of the Thirty-three Gods and preached the religion to his mother. He stayed in the paradise for three months. King U tra ya na [of Wa ra na se] asked Mou gal bu about making an image of the Buddha.





Mou gal bu gathered thirty—two miraculous artists along with dark red sandalwood,² and brought them to the paradise. They made a statue of the Buddha complete with his thirty—two distinctive marks, which was brought to the world of the humans. Eleven years after Mun dbang, [ruler of] the Ce'u of China, took over the throne, in the year of the iron hare, having completed his three month summer retreat, [the Buddha] returned to the world of the humans. This extraordinary Tsan dan statue

2 The dark red variety of sandalwood used for the statue of Buddha Shakyamuni is named *tsan dan gor shi sa* by the Tibetan tradition (spelled *go shirsha* in Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Tshig mdzod chen mo* p.1652b lines 16–17).

On the issue of the various kinds of sandalwood, the most precious or perhaps the one with the most legendary properties is the tsan dan sbrul gvi snying po, apparently called so because snakes seem to be attracted by its scent. It seemingly is found in South India and a piece of it, together with the statue of sPyan ras gzigs bCu gcig zhal with eight arms in the same species of tree, the vi dam of Srong btsan sgam po, was collected by the miraculous dge slong Shri la a ka ra ma ti and placed as consecrational object inside the clay statue of bCu gcig zhal of Licchavi manufacture, made for installation in Ra sa 'Phrul snang during the time of Srong btsan sgam po (Nyi ma'i rgyal rabs p.359,5-p.360,3): "The miraculous monk Shri la A ka ra ma ti, who had been sent to rGya gar, came back carrying with him a sPyan ras gzigs bCu geig zhal with eight arms, one khru in size, made of tsan dan sbrul gvi snying po which spontaneously came from a great sandalwood tree in South India; one piece of tsan dan sbrul gyi snying po; one piece of tsan dan gor shi sha from the Po ta la; one bundle of grass from rGya mtsho Glo; a mchod rten with a bum pa coming from grong khyer Ke ru; (p.360) a relic from the Sangs rgyas gsum; [a piece of] the Bodhi tree and sand from the gnas chen brgyad as much as one bre; the sand from the bank of the Ne ra dza ra (spelled so for Na ra dza ra), wetted by the water from bCom ldan 'das's bowl; and jewels, as much as one *bre*. These were used to fill the interior of the bCu gcig zhal statue that was made".

Among the several sources dealing with these miraculous findings, the earlier Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan's *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (completed in 1368) tells a slightly dissimilar story (ibid. p.79 lines 5–16). It says that this self–originated *yi dam* statue of Srong btsan sgam po, made of *tsan dan sbrul gyi rnyng po*, was found in South India on the shore of the ocean deviding it from Singga la, but does not talk about the piece of the same material used as consecrational object inside the Ra sa 'Phrul snang image and the other findings.

The Ra sa 'Phrul snang's bCu gcig zhal statue survived until the Cultural Revolution when the temple was desecrated. My friend Tamdin Dorje Tuladhar, who was a young man in those days in lHa sa trying to do what he could to help his fellow Tibetans, has told me in one of our conversations that, when the statue was torn to pieces, the heroics of the rGyud smad monk Byams pa rgyal mtshan saved the main head, a secondary head and the piece of *tsan dan sbrul gyi sning po*. They were eventually taken to Dharamshala for safe keeping.







(f.154b) was made in the act of bending one's head to the Buddha and enquiring about his health (bcom ldan 'das la dbu bkug nas sku khams 'dri ba'i tshul du bzhengs). Then the bcom ldan 'das, after prostrating to the extraordinary statue in sheer delight, uttered the following prophecy: "1,000 years after my *nirvana*, [my statue] will go to the great realm of China and will render a great service to both the *lha*—s and the humans". The extraordinary statue stayed in India for 1,285 years starting from that point. It remained in the land of Li yul, known as Ku sen, for eighty-six years. Then it remained at Byang ngos in Mi nyag for forty years. Then it remained in Kyin cha ja zur for seventeen years. Then it remained in Byang gNam for 173 years. Then it remained in the region of Ha nam for 367 years. [The statue] then went back to Byang gNam and remained there for twenty-one years. After it had been at Thin ho for nine years, it went to the north in iron pig year\*\*. It stayed with the community known as Sang shi in Cung do. The Zhang si community of the Su is nowadays the Shing ngan. [The statue] remained twenty years in the castle of the Cung kyin si, known as Sang. Then while it was for the third year at the capital of rgyal po Thing of the bCung ci dynasty, it was taken to Cung in water sheep 1163 and remained in its royal palace for fifty–five years. Then during the time of the king known as Da' cha'u, the Hor came and destroyed the royal palace on the ninth of the third month of fire ox 1217. Since it remained with the Shing ngan si community at a place where it had been previously received by the Cang shus ja 'kun gyi tsi even at present, veneration (f.155a) is paid [to the statue]. Forty-seven years elapsed from me glang (fire ox 1217) up to [the present] chu phag (water pig 1263); 2,055 years elapsed from the making of this excellent Tsan dan Jo bo statue up to this chu phag (water pig 1263) (i.e. made in 791 BCE). On the basis of this system, 2,013 years elapsed from the *parinirvana* up to this chu phag (749 BCE). [This account] in the historiographical text known as Cung ends [here]. In brief, on the thirteenth [day] of the second month of fire female pig (1227) [this work] was translated from Chinese by the Yo gur translator Am chang, and [then in 1263] from the Yo gur language into the Tibetan language by Da na si, two [translators] in all".

Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul is essentially a bstan rtsis (or "chronological table") of the sandalwood statue's presence in various localities within a widespread stretch of lands of Central Asia and China after it was moved there from India. It can be subdivided into two spans of time of remarkably uneven duration. The first one covers a very long period (seemingly some one millennium and a half). The second one concerns events happening





during the 100 years or so preceding the writing of the Chinese chronicle, namely *Cung*, from which *Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul* draws information.

The first chronology covering centuries and centuries is questionable, for it does not match the shorter and successive chronology which seems to be reliable. One and a half extra *rab byung* or sexagenary cycle seems to have been added to it. There is a further small discrepancy of five years, which does not help again to harmonise the two chronologies with one another. These five years should be discounted from the calculations possibly because calendrical peculiarities must have occurred in that long span of time.

I wonder whether the number of years during which the Tsan dan Jo bo remained in India is at the basis of the excess in the computation. This would bring the date of the transfer of the Tsan dan Jo bo from India to Central Asia—to Li yul according to *Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul*, to Kucha according to the legends mentioned by Terentiev—closer to the life time of Kumārajīva (344–409). However, a substantial difference in time remains between the two sets of accounts, for *Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul* would fix the transfer of the statue from India to the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century even after the amendment that deduces one and a half sexagenary cycle, while the above mentioned legends place it during the 4<sup>th</sup>.

### Dubious chronology

(covering the earlier period in the existence of the Tsan dan Jo bo)

- made in 791 BCE, the statue was kept in India for 1285 years;
- 91 1285 = 493 CE, year of its transfer to Li yul;
- 493 + 86 = 578, year of its transfer to Byang ngos;
- 578 + 49 = 614, year of its transfer to Kyin cha ja zur;
- 614 + 17 = 630, year of its transfer to Byang gNam;
- 630 + 173 = 802, year of its transfer to Ha nam;
- 802 + 367 = 1168, year in which it went back to Byang gNam;
- 1168 + 21 = 1188, year of its transfer to Thin;
- 1188 + 9 = 1196, year of its transfer to the north; it stayed with the Sang shi community in Cung do;
- 1191 + 19 = 1210, year of its transfer to the capital of rgyal po Thing of the bCung ci dynasty.

#### Sounder chronology

(covering events in the years 1131–1263)

• iron pig 1131, year of its transfer to the north, where it was kept by the Sang shi





community in Cung do; it stayed twenty years in the Sang castle of the Cung kyin si;

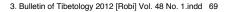
- 1131 + 19 = 1150, year of its transfer to the capital of rgyal po Thing of the bCung ci dynasty;
- water sheep 1163, year of its transfer to Cung, at the royal palace;
- 1163 + 55 = 1217, year of its transfer to the Shing ngan si community, at a place where it had been previously kept by the Cang shus ja 'kun gyi tsi (i.e. Cung do?), after the Hor destroyed the royal palace of King Da' cha'u on the ninth of the third month of this year;
- 1217 + 49 = 1263 it has been kept at the same locality for the last forty–seven years and it was still there at the time of writing.

In approaching the material on the Tsan dan Jo bo I have proceeded chronologically, beginning with the earliest document. I first translated *Tsan dan* gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul before considering the modern article by Hwang sMin zhin bSod nams rgya mtsho ("Tsan dan Jo bo'i lo rgyus", sBrang char 1986,2 (originally in Chinese), see Appendix Three) which makes use of both this text and the short monograph on the Tsan dan Jo bo by lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786) (Tsan dan Jo bo'i lo rgyus skor tshad phan yon mdor bsdus rin po che'i 'phreng ba, see Appendix Two). Hwang sMin zhin bSod nams rgya mtsho's article, based on an analysis of the 1263 document, is an excellent compendium of the two texts: it deals with *Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs* pa'i byon tshul, which ends its treatment in 1263, and with the historical excursus penned by lCang skya for the centuries thereafter. It calculates the length of the Tsan dan statue's stay at the localities mentioned in both works and attempts geographical identifications. The works of Hwang sMin zhin bSod nams rgya mtsho and lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje have been accordingly appended below for the reader's perusal. Devoting some attention to them is highly recommended.

# TIBETAN CULTIC EVIDENCE: THE GNAS RNYING SCROLL

Hardly any major evidence is available that the sandalwood image was worshipped in Tibet. Unlike the plethora of replicas of the Po ta la's 'Phags pa Lokeshvara and sKyid grong's 'Phags pa Wa ti bzang po, the Tsan dan Jo bo seldom appears in the religious imagery of the plateau, its depiction being confined to scanty and rather insignificant pieces of statuary.<sup>3</sup>





<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to my friend Amy Heller for sending me, besides old and recent pictures of the scroll, the photograph of a small bronze that bears a striking resemblance to the Tsan dan Jo bo (fig.2), enough to be legitimately considered a replica of the sandalwood statue.

The exception to this almost complete neglect is a single but significant religious specimen documenting, besides the above mentioned literary references, that the cult of the Tsan dan Jo bo did reach Tibet. This object is preserved in a monastery of Tibet with steadfast links to Sikkim during the centuries before the loss of Tibetan independence. It is, therefore, fitting that the present article should be published in the Bulletin of Tibetology, a journal that deals with Tibetan culture often from a 'Bras ljongs—oriented perspective.

In the early days of my studies of the Tibetan culture I tended to approach the Tsan dan Jo bo in terms of the tenuous historical implications that derive from the phases the statue underwent in the course of centuries owing to Vostrikov's work, who dedicates a few sentences in his volume (*Tibetan Historical Literature*) to the Tsan dan Jo bo in connection with the dates of the life of the historical Buddha.

Years ago Andrey Terentiev gave a lecture on great Russian Tibetologists at the LTWA (Dharamshala). This was a good occasion for me to talk with him about Vostrikov, one of the true pioneers in the studies. We ended up briefly speaking about the Tsan dan Jo bo. Terentiev did not spend too many words about it. He only said that the statue would make a perfect topic for another lecture. Knowing that he had dedicated several years to the study of the Tsan dan Jo bo, I asked him if he could teach me something about it. I am obliged to him for spending one afternoon talking to me about it.

There was a follow—up to this in November 2011 in Delhi, when he gifted me a copy of the monograph on the statue (*The Sandalwood Buddha of the King Udayana*) he had published in 2010.

Just after conceiving the idea of working on a piece dedicated to a great Jo bo statue for the Bulletin of Tibetology, a picture of the famous gNas rnying scroll caught my eye while perusing publications. It took only a few seconds to realise that the painting was a depiction of the Tsan dan Jo bo. This identification was facilitated by the visual documentation published by Terentiev in his book. The features which made me realise that the gNas rnying scroll (cm. 250x130) is a portrait of the sandalwood statue of Buddha Shakyamuni (see fig.3, 4 and 5) are:

- the Buddha's physiognomy;
- his eyes which are slightly gnam gzigs (or "staring at the sky", in search of spiritual inspiration) (see fig.6 and 7);<sup>4</sup>
- the *mudra*–s;







<sup>4</sup> The *gnam gzigs* pictorial solution is an old Buddhist tradition that has found its way in Tibet, too. Proverbial are, for instance, the portraits of the Great Fifth Blo bzang ngag dbang rgya mtsho (1617–1682), whose most accurate depictions are those with his eyes staring at the sky.

- the shape and folds of the robe;
- the overall post–Gandharan style of the image; and
- the reddish—white jewel secured to the front of the *ushnisha*.

There are many depictions of standing Buddha—s in Tibet with the same *mudra*—s as the Tsan dan Jo bo, but the Tsan dan Jo bo is stylistically different from the Buddha statuary that flourished there. Despite the many layers of restoration applied to it down through the centuries, it has a general Gandharan look that makes it quite recognisable in comparison with other renditions of Shakyamuni.

The silk scroll depicts the Tsan dan Jo bo in a red robe standing on a lotus pedestal against a greyish background. One *bla ma* is placed in each upper corner. Two inscriptions (one in Chinese on the actual left of the statue, the other in Tibetan on the actual right, as prescribed by bilingual etiquette) are written on either side of the image.

An extremely brief description of the sandalwood statue is found in sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's *Bai du rya g.ya sel* (p.644 line 5). It says that the image has a robe with folds and brocade borders, the *ushnisha* displays a flaming crystal resplendent with light, and the hands and feet bear the mark of the wheel; and concludes that the statue is endowed with the power to stop the movement of 100 suns in the sky. The term adopted in the text to refer to the jewel (*me shel*) is rather mysterious and Tibetans, knowledgeable for their command of the language, are hesitant to identify it with any precious stone.

Indeed the gNas rnying scroll translates pictorially the *sde srid*'s description of the gem in the *ushnisha* of the Jo bo scroll. The jewel ornamenting the head of the Tsan dan Jo bo has a transparent core that renders well how a crystal (*shel*) looks like, surrounded by a vibrant red area that aims at reminding one of flames (*me*). This visual solution shows that there was a tradition about the manner of portraying the Tsan dan Jo bo, which travelled the centuries from the early 15<sup>th</sup> to the late 17<sup>th</sup> at least. Elsewhere outside Tibet the jewel was rendered in the artist's vision in a different way (see below fig.8 for a painting of the Tsan dan Jo bo in the Seryoji, Kyoto, wich has a red jewel in his crown).

Despite my convinction that the gNas rnying scroll depicts the famed sandalwood statue of Buddha Shakyamuni, I was not immediately able to confirm my intuition. My pictures of the scroll, taken way back in 1986 and more importantly my 1986 transcription of the Tibetan inscription were momentarily inaccessible to me, kept as they are inside a container in Europe, while I am living in the Himalaya. I had not paid much attention to the gNas rnying scroll in the past, even during my study of bSwi gung nyams med Rin chen's gNas rnying skyes bu rnams kyi rnam thar, also known as Gyen tho chen mo (see, for instance,







my article for the Ninth Seminar of the Intermnational Association for Tibetan Studies, entitled "The history of the lineages of gNas rnying summarized as its "ten greatnesses" (a survey of the period from the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the Sa skya pa rule)"). In the 1980s I considered the scroll a fascinating work but not enough to write an article about it. The fact that I had in the meantime developed interest in the Tsan dan Jo bo lately sent me back to it.

It was the benevolent unfolding of *karma* that Thomas Laird was in Dharamshala in those days, and we bumped into one another. I found out that he had pictures of the scroll's inscriptions with him, which he generously put at my disposal. I was also eventually able to get my transcription of the gNas rnying scroll inscription from Europe, and it is that which I am publishing here (see fig.9 for a picture of the Tibetan epigraph on the scroll and the Appendix below for my transcription). That the contents of the Chinese inscription, which I did not transcribe then (I do not read Chinese), are similar to the Tibetan epigraph was confirmed by my friend Elliot Sperling to whom I am grateful (see fig.10).

The first line of the Tibetan inscription states that the image on the scroll is indeed a Ta Ming depiction of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue, conceived as a praise to the sandalwood image. It reads:

"Ta'i Ming rgyal pos mdzad pa'i Tsan dan gyi Jo bo'i sku gzugs la bstod pa ni//";

"This is an encomium of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue, composed by the Ta'i Ming emperor".

This attribution has significant consequences. Both the 1263 text included in the Peking edition of the *bsTan 'gyur* (already showing that more attention was paid to the statue outside the borders of Tibet) and the Ta Ming scroll are cultural imports into Tibet rather than autochthonous or spontaneous expressions of a Tsan dan Jo bo cult.

The scroll dates to 1412 (the tenth Yung-lo year) and was painted and donated under the imperial patronage of Cheng-tzu, for the last line of the inscription reads:

"Yung lo bcu pa lo'i zla ba bzhi pa'i bcu bdun gi (sic) nyin//";

"The seventeenth day of the fourth month of the tenth Yung lo year".

The scroll's inscription is a eulogy of the Tsan dan image. Despite the fact that comes from the imperial throne, the genre relates to the religious sphere, so that the typical features of an edict—the expressions of secular authority—are absent altogether. It does not open, then, with the typical official formulae of imperial court pronouncements, only one line attributing patronage of both the painting and the inscriptions to the emperor. The epigraph goes on to describe the legendary circumstances surrounding the creation of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue.







In concentrating on the significance of the sandalwood statue, it says next to nothing about the background to the making of the gNas rnying scroll. There is no indication of the recipient of the scroll, which suggests that the scroll was not painted with a specific future owner in mind. This may mean that more than one scroll of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue was painted and sent out (to Tibet or elsewhere?). The only other historical allusion in the epigraph to the circumstances of its making, besides its imperial origin, is the date of the inscription (and the painting) in its last line.

The epigraph can be subdivided into the following parts:

- the above mentioned opening, which attributes the encomium of the Tsan dan Jo bo and the making of the scroll to the Ta Ming emperor Cheng-tzu;
- verses in honour of the sandalwood image, other eulogistic expressions and religious admonitions;
- dates in the life of the historical Buddha related to the reign of Chinese emperors;
- the circumstances that led to the making of the statue and the identities of the Chinese rulers reigning during the life of the Buddha;
- a reference to its transfer to China;
- succinct (and insignificant) statements on the circumstances surrounding the making of the scroll;
- further eulogies of the teachings and the statue;
- the date of the inscription.

The scroll is an early Tibetan appraisal of the statue. Its making falls after the end of the Yuan dynasty, whose most important emperor, Khubilai Khan, is documented as having been especially devoted to the Tsan dan Jo bo (see lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's text included in this article). This means that, at least in this case, the Ta Ming did not subverse cultural values established during the rule of the Mongols of China.

Another major point about the gNas rnying scroll is that, apart from the 1263 text in the *bsTan 'gyur* which is not originally Tibetan, the painting predates the indigenous literature dedicated to the statue by several centuries. This establishes that the cult of the Tsan dan Jo bo in Tibet, although perhaps restricted to some enclaves, was sensibly earlier than most of the local literature which focus on it. However, the gNas rnying scroll must have not been an isolated donation to a Tibetan monastery during the Yung–lo reign, given this emperor's munificence in favour of Tibetans.

The Tibetan inscription neither records the involvement of Chinese or Tibetan religious masters nor does it mention the name of the artist who painted the image or the person who penned the eulogy.





In the absence of accompanying epigraphs, the two *bla ma*—s in the top corners of the gNas rnying scroll are difficult to identify. They seem to be Tibetan and this would mean that the scroll was made for a Tibetan destination, but the matter is more complex than at first glance (see the postscript below).

### A FEW REMARKS ON THE SI/ZI THANG GENRE OF THE GNAS RNYING SCROLL

In his work on artistic styles entitled *Kun gsal tshon gyi las rim me tog mdangs ster 'ja 'od 'bum byin*, De'u dmar dge bshes bsTan 'dzin phun tshogs (b.1665?) associates the Tsan dan Jo bo with the Zi/Si thang (also Si'u thang) style of China. He says that the idiom, whose creation he assigns to Zi thun phu sa then, a minister who served under an unspecified Chinese ruler, was originally formulated when he painted a picture of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue.

De'u dmar dge bshes's description of the style echoes features of Chinese landscape painting in Western understanding but ones with a more articulated colour palette, and adds that the idiom underwent developments after the Tsan dan Jo bo's basic depiction. This is supported by his description of such stylistic developments in the Si/Zi thang style as do not in fact matching the features of the gNas rnying scroll.

The Tsan dan Jo bo painting at gNas rnying is thus an early 15<sup>th</sup> century specimen of the Si/Zi thang style, which in turn goes back to remarkable but imprecise antiquity. Hence the "famous gNas rnying si thang" mentioned by David Jackson (*A History of Tibetan Painting* p.111–112) is the Yung–lo scroll of 1412, although he thinks it was a different one. Coming from China and depicting the Tsan dan Jo bo, the gNas rnying scroll is a rare extant specimen of the Si/Zi thang style in Tibet, in a formulation that is close to the original conception of this idiom.

With reference to the adoption of the Si/Zi thang style on the plateau, De'u dmar dge bshes says that it was first diffused in Tibet during the time of Khri srong lde btsan. Although this may be another stereotypical association of religious activities undertaken during the imperial period (in this case a style used to depict images of the deities) with that king, it is possible that the Tibetans relied on an artistic tradition of China during the period of this king's reign.

However, the little that exists in what literary references say it is the Si/Zi thang style, are works of art which seem to have been executed in China itself. No specimens of the related and derivative Si/Zi thang style from Tibet which allegedly arose during the reign of Khri srong lde btsan are mentioned in the literature, although there may be cases in the sources that have escaped my attention.

In his autobiography, Si tu Pan chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas defines as in the Si/Zi thang tradition a painting of the *mdzad pa bcu gnyis/gnas brtan bcu drug*,







which was especially inspirational for him when formulating his own unique style (*Dri bral shel gyi me long*, f.78b line 3ff).

The wondrous visionary scroll painting created at the Chinese court and offered in fire pig 1407 to the fifth Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa (1384–1415) by the the Yung–lo emperor Cheng–tzu (the same ruler who had the gNas rnying scroll painted) belongs to the genre is known as the Si thang ngo mtshar 'ja' sa (see *Precious Deposits Volume Three: Yuan Dynasty and Ming Dynasty* p.94–137). *Thang ka*–s donated by this emperor to dGa' ldan are considered to be Si/Zi thang–s.<sup>5</sup>

All this indicates that the physical support of these paintings is not the determinative criterion for qualifying as a Si/Zi thang. Indeed De'u mar says that Si/Zi thang were painted on silk, cotton or paper. The first of the three supports was the most favoured choice, given that Si/Zi thang itself is the Chinese term for this type of material. Neither is the pictorial genre the decisive factor, there being a wide range of subjects. Rather it is the style, applied in different themes and on different supports, although principally on silk. The use of the Si/Zi thang pictorial technique and related material support underwent an evolution in the Si/Zi thang style down through the centuries, the assessment of which is a task for Sinologists and art historians.

Structurally the gNas rnying scroll is related to at least one specimen from China published by Terentiev (see fig.11) with lengthy inscriptions occupying the entire space left free by the statue's image on both sides, and one short epigraph



In the group of Si'u thang—s donated to dGa' ldan by the Yung—lo emperor there were works depicting the gNas brtan bcu drug (Phur bu lcog Ngag dbang byams pa, *Grva sa chen po bzhi* f.15a line 3: "gNas brtan bcu drug sogs kyi si'u thang ngo mtshar ba nyis shu rtsa drug"), and also the rGyal chen bzhi and gSang 'dus. These *thang ka*—s were unveiled in the *gtsug lag khang* for a few days on the sixth month of every year during a festival named the dGa' ldan Si'u thang, manifestly called so after the type of paintings on display.

<sup>6</sup> Do Si/Zi thang—s embody the transfer of the *patra* style from India to China, based on a rendition that has features of a post—Gandhara idiom? Is Si thang corresponding to *patra*? Rather than an original Chinese style, as De'u dmar says, does it represent the adoption of an Indian pictorial genre in China? This possibility cannot be ruled out, however remote. From the little that is known about the ancient Indian painted scrolls, one can say that *patra*—s were eminently religious, whereas Si/Zi thang—s dealt with natural and secular themes. Indeed there was reluctance in the Indian tradition to include details of nature and everyday life in paintings during the periods prior to the advent of the Pala dynasty, during which restrained use of naturalistic details was made to fill limited areas in the background. However, the original Si/Zi thang style, represented by the Tsan dan Jo bo paintings, seems to have been devoid of naturalistic or daily life details.

in Tibetan reading "dGa' ldan khri ba bzang". However, the gNas rnying scroll's is a much more faithful rendition of the statue in that it echoes the Gandharan style distantly and does not display Chinese physiognomic traits, unlike the work published by Terentiev.

The presence of two *bla ma*—s in the upper corners of the gNas rnying painting directly links the scroll to the world of the plateau given the masters depicted on it, a typical feature of the Tibetan art lexicon. In the absence of comparative works, it is difficult, however, to suggest an artistic paternity of the painting, whether a Chinese Si/Zi thang or the opus of a Tibetan painter in China.

It is a vivid and realistic depiction of the statue and contains Tibetan elements of the type one would expect of a Tibetan adaptation of the Si/Zi thang style of China painted beyond rather than on the plateau, the latter case said by De'u dmar to be rare.

#### FAINT HISTORICAL SIGNS

The scroll inscription does not devote a single word to the circumstances surrounding the donation of the painting to gNas rnying. This seems to indicate that the painting was not commissioned specifically for its abbot or the monastery.

No reference to the scroll is found in the sources that deal with gNas rnying, including *Myang chos 'byung* and Si tu Chos kyi rgya mtsho's *dBus gTsang gnas yig*, not to mention the *gNas rnying gdan rabs* monograph dedicated to this monastery, entitled *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar*. One would be led to doubt that the scroll was originally meant for gNas rnying, were it not for a passage in *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* that links its abbot with activities undertaken by the Yung–lo emperor of benefit to this monastery's throne holder soon after the completion of the scroll.

Rab brtan kun bzang phags kyi rnam thar (p.49 line 18–p.50 line 18) says:

"In particular, during that year (i.e. 1413), upon the occasion of the emperor Ye wang sending an invitation to chos rje pan chen Sha ri pu tra, [appointments] were announced to many *sde dpon* of dBus gTsang [note in the text: [what was sanctioned were] offerings to chos rje Theg chen [and] the Karma pa; (p.50) a golden roof cover at mTshur phu; the title of *ta'i gu shri* to bdag po bZhi thog pa, a *'ja'sa* [granting] the *dbang* [rank] to bdag po dBang pa and [the title of] *gu shri* to his younger brother, an order [bestowing the title of] *gu shri* on the sNar thang *mkhan chen pa* and the gNas rnying *mkhan chen pa*, a *si tu'u 'ja' sa* for Hor bSod nams dpal ba and lHo pa Grags pa dpal; a whitewashing of the 'Phags pa Shing kun *mchod rten*; and a '*ja'sa* for the dBus pa to take over the abbotship of lHa khang chen mo]. Five *ta bzhin*, headed by the *ha ho ta bzhin* and the

 $\bigoplus$ 









gsung ta bzhin, together with a retinue of 500, left from the great palace on the eighth day of the fifth month of that year [to convey the orders] and reached [their destination] during the twelvth month.

Having received the [imperial] order, the *chos kyi rgyal po* (i.e. Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags) and his brother (i.e. Rab 'byor bzang po) went to Pho brang rtse (i.e. rGyal mkhar rtse). They escorted [one of the] *ta bzhin* from Tshong 'dus [gur mo]. On the fifth day, a 'ja'sa was read out. Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags was given the rank of Yung lo Ho ta si tu and awarded the great distinction of a *tham ga* (spelled so) with a knob, made of one *bre chen* of silver. Arrangements were made [for him to use] a red personal seal from that year on. Likewise an order was issued for the benefit of his younger brother Rab 'byor bzang po bestowing upon him [the rank] of *nang chen* and a *tham ga* (spelled so). The grants [for the *sde dpon*—s of dBus gTsang] were sanctioned [by] the various *ta bzhin* in the presence [of Sha ri pu tra, when he,] the *chos rje pan chen*, was in [La stod] Byang. Although in a few documents it is stated that the above mentioned orders were announced in the second month of the year of the horse 1414, [the dates mentioned by me] are correct'.

The date 1412 that appears in the inscription of the Tsan dan Jo bo scroll helps to attribute both the making of the painting and its donation to gNas rnying within the abbotship of 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan (1364–1422), an important *gdan sa* of this monastery.

Rin chen rgyal mtshan was born at Byang gi phug pa of gCung mChog dkar gnas 'og;<sup>7</sup> was ordained to the *rab tu byung* vow in 1373, and ten years later, in 1383, to the *bsnyen rdzogs* vow at mDon rtsa.<sup>8</sup> He ascended the abbatial throneof



<sup>7</sup> *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.41b lines 3–4): "['Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] was born, amidst extraordinary signs, at Byang gi phug pa of gCung mChog dkar gnas 'og on the eighth of *tha skar zla ba* of wood male dragon 1364, under the waxing moon. When he was three months old, rnam mkhyen Rin chen bsam gtan named him Chos skyed rgyal mtshan".

<sup>8</sup> *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.42b line 3–6): "Upon reaching twenty years of age (1383), according to the saying: "One cannot receive the next [teachings] without the *bsnyen par rdzogs pa* vow", in order to enter into the successive stages of teachings ['Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] was ordained to the *bsnyen rdzogs* vow at mDo rtsa by gu ru Shes rab byang chub [acting] as *mkhan po*, mkhas grub lHa dbang as *slas slob*, Rong pa bSod nams lhun grub as *gsang ston*, rTogs ldan Grub pa dpal mgon as *dus go ba*, [and in the presence of] chos rje Ba ri ba, chos rje Chos rgyal etc., in the middle of twenty–five *dge slong*, on the fourth of *dbyug pa zla ba* of water male rat (i.e. wood male rat 1384?), with the waxing moon".

gNas rnying in water female ox 1373,9 and held it until his death.<sup>10</sup> He was a master calligrapher of the eighteen forms of Tibetan script, an erudite in the disciplines of palmistry, mathematics, linguistics (*sgra'i sa rig*), all astrological sciences, medicine and pharmacology. He was a great abbot, a patron of the literature and the arts,<sup>11</sup> and had a special knack for assisting the secular elite of his day in the







sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar (f.42a lines 2–6): "When he was eight years old (1371), ['Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] received many teachings from rnam mkhen dKa' bzhi pa, such as bKa' gdams Lam rim and Chos spyod thar rgyun. He received rTa mgrin yang gsang from mkhan po Rin chen blo gros. When he was aged ten (1373), thinking to go to dGa' ba gdong to be ordained, dpal ldan bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan said: "Today a noble being will come. I dreamt last night that the bka'srung—s were surrounding 'phags pa Don yod shags pa". After that, this rje arrived. He was ordained by Sa skya pa chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan [acting] as mkhan po, Brag thog pa gZhon nu tshul khrims as slas slob, rdo rje 'dzin pa bSod nams dpal as grib tshad pa and slob dpon Kun 'byung as dus go ba, in brief, in the midst of many thousands of monks who came from our own gNas rnying—residents and visitors. He was given the other name Rin chen rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po. Then, in water female ox (1373), on the occasion of taking dngos grub on the fourteenth of tha skar zla ba at dpal gNas rnying, with ta'i si tu 'Phags pa rin chen as sponsor, the yon mchod (i.e. 'Phags pa rin chen) having been convened (zhal rgyas), the rje rin po che was elevated to the great throne".

<sup>10</sup> sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar (f.45b line 5): "In water male tiger (1422) when he was fifty–nine years old, ['Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] died on the tenth of Hor zla [ba], at dawn".

<sup>11</sup> sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar (f.45a line 2–f.45b line 1): "On one occasion, ['Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] made editions of rare or damaged manuscripts of Tantric texts belonging to sngags rnying ma and gsar ma, rGyud and rGyud sde bzhi, translated both before and after pandi ta sMri ti and lo chen Rin chen bzang po; of the three Vehicles—long, middle length and short—all of them accurately made; as well as authentic works from rIndia and China. [All these collections] were complete editions. They were made for Zha (spelled so) lu, Chos lung, bSam yas and La stod Byang, for sTod and sMad. He offered beautifully decorated wrappers, wood covers [for those books], and rkong rdzes (sic for bskang rdzas?, i.e. substances used to appease the protective deities?). He appointed a keeper [and] an administrator [to look after these items]. These were installed in Zur spe lha khang. Moreover, with dedicated effort, he collected precious materials from far and near, precious brocades from rGya [and] Hor, gold and silver, a beautiful shining image of the ston pa rin po che (i.e. Buddha) with decorations and a robe, and an auspicious banner. He bought them with no thought to the price. Having summoned mtheb dpon ("chief thumb", i.e. supreme artist) dPal 'byor rin chen and dpon bKra shis dpon, master painters and stitchers, he restored their vows and blessed their instruments. The appliqué masters involved in the work (lag len pa) rendered great service, under the guidance of this rje, concerning the measurements (bso'i chag tshad), the placement of the gods (lha'i gral bkod); the colour combinations (kha rtog gi spel); the cutting (gras) and tailoring

handling of political affairs. Given his skills in the field of religion and politics and his widespread knowledge, I think of him as a second *bla ma dam pa*. By the way, he did indeed take the *rab tu byung* vow from the great Sa akya master bSod nams rgyal mtshan himself.

Rin chen rgyal mtshan was the catalyst of a gTsang pa alliance for decades, the political sympathies of which leaned towards Sa skya and had ambitions to exercise its rule over the region before the surge to power of the Rin spungs pa princes, despite being largely subservient to the Phag mo gru pa of rTsed thang. A passage in *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.44a line 7–f.44b line 6) illustrates the political make—up of this alliance, composed of fifteen members of important families that included three generations of Shar kha pa princes (ta'i si tu 'Phags pa rin chen, nang chen Kun dga' 'phags and Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags); rulers of rTse chen (such as ta'i si tu bSod nams dpal *yab sras*, i.e this ruler and his sons rGya mtsho and Rin chen 'phags pa; see *rGya Bod yig tshang* p.384 lines 5–7); Hin du lHun grub rgyal mtshan, the lord of Ya 'brog; the Thar pa mkhan chen (i.e. of the dPyal family from Man lung) and Zhwa lu mkhan chen (i.e. of the lCe family from this locality).<sup>13</sup>

(tshem) of the images of the ston pa rin po che and the gNas brtan bcu drug, bearing mantra—s painted in saffron and the gso sbyong gi mdo (the "mdo to restore vows"), with 102 bundles (yug) of brocade, 60 bundles (yug) of silk, two times four gan chung (?), two times seven ber thul (?), one gsang lam (?), two bundles (yug) of thon ti (?), a number of squares of gros (?) and silk, and uncountable pearls for the robes. This aesthetically pleasing gos sku chen mo, which is worth seeing, hearing of, remembering and venerating by everyone, must be traditionally praised, for it leads people on the great path of virtue. Because of his wide—ranging compassion—a great chariot of the teachings—(f.45b) ['Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] was enthroned as the chos kvi rgval po of the three realms".

- 12 sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar (f.43a line 2–3): "When ['Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] was twenty–two years old, in the ox year (wood female ox 1385), [a disagreement] arose between Shar kha ba snga gsar (the "earlier and later generations" [of the Shar kha pa family]). Despite his being compelled to sit as mediator at their meeting place in mDa' rdo, they did not listen to him and there was a misconception that he was taking sides. He did not pursue matters further (thugs cung sgyid lug ("lazy, passive") pas), and confined himself to hermitages". But he was eventually called back (ibid. f.43a line 3).
- 13 *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.44a line 7–f.44b line 6): "He was a master of *yig rigs bco brgyad* (the "eighteen types of scripts"), palmistry, mathematics, *sgra'i sa rig* (idiomatic expressions?), the whole science of *rtsis* ("astrological calculations") and medical science which are important. Through his a great contribution to pharmacology, people were freed from diseases. First of all, in order to benefit sentient beings, he was the abbot of dpal gNas rnying, the *gdan sa gong 'og* ("upper and lower main seat") and of its branch monasteries. He [gave assistance to wielders of]





The religious masters with whom he interacted included rje btsun Red mda' pa, Tsong kha pa, gZhon nu rgyal mchog, rGyal ba bSod seng, lHo rGyam pa, Byams chos pa, mkhas btsun Yon tan grags, the La ston, the Kong ston, the dGas rong dka' bcu pa, Grangs chen Kun dga' dpal, mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal (1385–1438) and the four abbots of the Tshogs sde bzhi. 14

He was the last *mkhan po* of gNas rnying doctrinally affiliated to the Sa skya school. In 1427, a few years after Rin chen rgyal mtshan's death (1422), mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal took refuge at gNas rnying after his falling out with Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags at rGyal rtse. He was visited there by rGyal tshab rje Dharma rin chen (1364–1432), the great disciple of Tsong kha pa, and the dGe lugs pa history of the monastery began around that time.

The circumstances surrounding the 1413 grant are another point that is not elucidated in the literature. The gift of the basics of a royal cult (the sandalwood statue itself was kept in the palace of the Yung–lo emperor) to religious practitioners of Tibet in the form of a painting depicting the Tsan dan Jo bo apparently took place without the involvement of any local secular power. The scroll inscription does not say a word in this regard, leaving open the possibility that the donation occurred under the auspices of the Shar kha principality of rGyal rtse, given that its chieftains (Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags and Rab 'byor bzang po) under whom gNas rnying was at the time, were awarded patents. The biography of the rGyal rtse prince does not provide reasons for such entitlements.

All one can surmise is that the present affair was a typical case of the Ming policy to extend recognition to religious masters (e.g. the *gu shri* title to the gNas







political power [including] the Shar kha ba members (*zhal ngo*) ta'i si tu 'Phags pa rin chen and nang chen Kun dga' 'phags *yab sras* (i.e. himself and Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags), rta'i bsri tu (spelled so) bSod nams dpal *yab sras*, altogether fifteen *zhal ngo* ("members of noble families"); Ya 'brog pa Hin du lHun grub rgyal mtshan, Thar pa mkhan chen, Zha lu mkhan chen and mkhan chen g.Yag.pa Sangs rgyas dpal, and the *tshogs dpon* of many monks and disciples".

<sup>14</sup> *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.44a line 7–f.44b line 6): "rJe btsun Red mda' pa, Shar Tsong kha pa, chos rje gZhon nu rgyal mchog, rGyal ba bSod seng, lHo rGyam pa, Byams chos pa, mkhas btsun Yon tan grags, the La ston, the Kong ston, the dGas rong dka' bcu pa etc.; and Grangs chen Kun dga' dpal, mKhas grub dGe legs dpal, the four abbots of the Tshogs sde bzhi, and the *chos dpon*–s ("religious leaders") of the communities had religious relations with him. Moreover, among his direct disciples and the *dka' bcu, dka' bzhi, sum sbrel, nyis sbrel*, more than 5,000 *dge bshes*; the disciples and sponsors connected with sde dpon sTobs po che, La stod Byang pa'i bdag po 'Jam dbyangs chen po and bdag po chos rgyal chen po dKon mchog legs pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, all of them, received the empowerment of *bDe mchog* [according to the system of] *Dril bu pa* [from him]".

rnying *mkhan po* and the award of the scroll) and the promotion of a policy of minimal political interference in Tibet. But several of those who received titles on the occasion were lay dignitaries.

As mentioned above, *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* is not profuse on the subject of contacts between the monastery and the Chinese court during the abbotship of 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan or at any other time in the history of the former, but it does contain one account that links these events to the gNas rnying abbot. <sup>15</sup> Following the conferral of the *gu shri* rank in 1413, Rin chen rgyal mtshan's emissary dNgos grub rin chen went to gCong rdo, one of the imperial residences in the area of Peking, and met the emperor Cheng–tzu on his master's behalf.

Although *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* does not refer to the Tsan dan Jo bo scroll specifically, it says that the Yung–lo emperor Cheng–tzu bestowed unidentified lavish gifts upon the gNas rnying abbot. It is possible that the scroll travelled to Tibet with dNgos grub rin chen.

One wonders whether the succinct enumeration of objects awarded to Rin chen rgyal mtshan by the emperor may contain a veiled reference to the Tsan dan Jo bo scroll. The expression *gos phyi nang* used to refer to some items gifted by Cheng–tzu could speculatively be taken as works in brocade (framed in brocade?) of secular (*phyi*) and religious (*nang*) subjects. *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.45b lines 1–2) reads:

"Moreover, it is well known that the emperor of China heard of the immaculate fame of this *rje* (i.e. Rin chen rgyal mtshan). Persuant of an order of the *chos kyi rgyal po* of China, the great dNgos grub rin chen went to rGya nag gCong rdo. On behalf of the gNas rnying abbot, he was given a crystal seal empowering [Rin chen rgyal mtshan] over the great land [of gNas rnying] and the grant of this kingdom (i.e. gNas rnying)





<sup>15</sup> The scroll is not included among the "ten greatnesses" of gNas rnying (gNas rnying gi skyes bu dam pa'i rnam thar f.8a lines 5–6) which are:

<sup>1)</sup> the 'ja'sa of the religious king, lord of the earth;

<sup>2)</sup> the prophecy of the *sngags 'chang grub thob chen po* (i.e. rGya 'Jam dpal gsang ba);

<sup>3)</sup> the prophecy and consecration of Di pam ka ra;

<sup>4)</sup> the signs of siddhahood [displayed] by the Yol ston brothers;

<sup>5)</sup> the prophecy of rje btsun sPyan ras gzigs;

<sup>6)</sup> the lineage of transmission of Phyag drug Ye shes mGon po;

<sup>7)</sup> the abbotship of 'Bre chen po Shes rab 'bar;

<sup>8)</sup> the promise made by bstan srung Ma ha ka la;

<sup>9)</sup> the three *grub thob* who were the best disciples;

<sup>10)</sup> the Sems can—s who came in succession as [holders] of the excellent lineage.

through [the bestowal of] a 'ja'sa. [dNgos grub rin chen] received secular and Buddhist (phyi nang) [works in] brocade. This was because of the noble power of the rje's (i.e. Rin chen rgyal mtshan's) deeds". 16

The passage is material to the issue of the gift of the Tsan dan Jo bo scroll to gNas rnying because the conferral of the *gu shri* rank upon Rin chen rgyal mtshan in the last month of water snake 1413 is a *terminus post quem* for the ensuing mission of dNgos grub rin chen. No details are given concerning the circumstances of the latter's journey, whether he travelled alone or the length of his sojourn.

He was the only Tibetan mentioned in the sources dealing with the history of the Shar kha pa principality and gNas rnying, who went to the imperial court in connection with the bestowal of the 1413 ranks.<sup>17</sup> The probable date of dNgos grub rin chen's presence in gCong rdo is 1414, sometime after the scroll had been finished in 1412. It is unclear when dNgos grub rin chen reached back to gNas rnying, probably carrying the gifts for the monastery's abbot. In any case, there seems to be a link between the 1412 painting of the Tsan dan Jo bo, the 1413 granting of ranks and privileges, and the 1414 mission of dNos grub rin chen.

Apart from the many issues surrounding the Tsan dan Jo bo, which impinge on the domain of Sinologists, several questions concerning the gNas rnying scroll need be asked, whose answers are not easily forthcoming. Was the scroll painted in China by a Tibetan or by a Chinese artist? Was the Si/Zi thang style adapted to







<sup>16</sup> Tucci (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls* p.665b and p.703 n.827) and Jackson (*A History of Tibetan Painting* p.135 n.267) read the passages in Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags's biography that report these events in two remarkably different ways. Tucci has it that Rab brtan did not go to China; Jackson believes he indeed did so. I think that Tucci is correct. There is nothing in the 1413 episode mentioned in *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* indicative of a journey on the part of Rab brtan and his younger brother Rab 'byor bzang po to the imperial court. That the two received awards and privileges at their own seat rGyal rtse is evidence against such a journey.

<sup>17</sup> It should be stressed that these endowements from Cheng-tzu to Tibetan dignitaries were coeval with the invitation extended by the emperor to Sha ri pu tra. He was the great master of Dus 'khor from rDo rje gdan, who preceded on the plateau Vana ratna, the other great Indian master who visited Tibet in those years. lNga pa chen po Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho confirms the association of Sha ri pu tra with La stod Byang, mentioned in the passage of *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* under study. *dPyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs* (p.14 lines 8–12) says that the La stod Byang ruler rNam rgyal grags bzang received teachings from Sha ri pu tra and the great Bo dong pa master Phyogs las rnam rgyal.

Judging from the narrative in *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* one should come to the conclusion that there was no specific relation between the grants to Tibetan dignitaries and the invitation of Sha ri pu tra to China, if not that two differents tasks were assigned to the same mission.

a Tibetan audience, as the *bla ma*—s painted in the upper corners seem to indicate? Was the painting consequently executed with its Tibetan destination in mind? What was the purpose of donating a painting of the Tsan dan Jo bo? Was it to diffuse the popularity of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue in Tibet? Does this imply, as it seems to do, that the cult was popular in China but much less so in Tibet? Why was the portrait of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue meant for gNas rnying in particular? Was there some undescribed reason that gNas rnying would have been especially receptive to the cult of the statue? Answers may be perhaps found in Chinese imperial documents.

#### **POSTSCRIPT**

Details of the two monks in the top corners of the scroll reveal that they have been left unfinished. Code letters of the Tibetan alphabet, customarily used as guidelines in order for the artist to apply the selected colour shades, are visible around the faces of the monks and other anatomical details that have been fully painted. Every letter corresponds to a different shade. This lettering, for instance, is found in the halos and the sword and book implements (see fig. 12 and 13). It is somewhat stunning to realise that a painting originating from the Ming imperial court and bearing the name of the emperor in person has not been completed in these minor details. In the absence of any historical clue useful to explain why the painting is in such an ackward state, there is no other alternative than to venturing into the realm of conjectures.

Two contrasting alternatives come to mind. The first, based on the idea of the possibility of a unfinished painting sent out from the imperial court of China by an emperor such as Cheng-tzu who was especially keen in the promotion of the arts as tokens given to religious masters, is that the two monks are a later addition, whose completion was abandoned for unknown reasons. Originally the scroll would have had the top corners empty.

Pursuing this line of thought in historical terms, one could envisage that the two monks were painted at any later time after the scroll came into the possession of the gNas rnying abbot. I dare here to attempt an art historical remark that needs confirmation and approval by experts. Given the kind of hat worn by the two monks, a wide range of school afffiliations should be ruled out. One school which seems to remain valid in this exclusion process is the dGe lugs pa. Again in the opinable realm of aesthetics, one could see in the monks the adoption of an art style that is posthumous to 1412. If the history of gNas rnying is taken into consideration, one needs to realise that, as mentioned above, the monastery underwent a sectarian reform after 1427, when mKhas grub rje went to reside in its premises for a few years before becoming the dGa' ldan khri pa. gNas



rnying, which experienced several changes of religious affiliation throughout its long history, became dGe lugs pa. I wonder whether the scroll, following the monastery's conversion to the school of Tsong kha pa, betrays visually a dGe lugs pa appropriation of the imperial painting. Especially during the formation period of dGa' ldan pho brang there have been several cases of fictitious links to a glorious heritage that did not exist originally.

On the other hand, one is led to think that hardly anyone would have dared to alter a scroll depicting a remarkably holy image, and moreover issued by an emperor of China himself. If this hypothesis is credited, one should conclude that the scroll is an unfinished work.

The painting is thus even more interesting, for it carries with itself a piece of unsolved history.

#### APPENDIX ONE

# TEXT IN TRANSLITERATION OF THE TIBETAN INSCRIPTION ON THE GNAS RNYING SCROLL

// //Ta'i ming rgyal pos mdzad pa'i tsan dan gyi jo bo'i sku gzugs la bstod pa ni/ nged kyi <u>bsam pa la</u>/ de bzhin gshegs pa'i lam ni/ 'jig rten gsum las rnam par grol ba'i mgon cig po// sprul pa sna tshogs yang dag par mdzad nas/ kun la mthun zhing thogs pa med pa/rmongs pa rnams kyi sgrib pa bsal bar mdzad cing/gzugs la brten nas sgrub pa yang ma yin/ sgra'i brjod par bya ba yang ma yin te/ sems nyid kho na sangs rgyas yin/ sangs rgya kyang sems nyid kho na yin te/ sems las chos gzhan gang yang med/ chos las kyang gzhan du sems nyid gang yang med do/ 'on kyang gzugs la ma brten na/ rmongs pa rnams kyi sangs rgyas ring du spong bas/ de'i don gyis na/ de <u>bzhin</u> gshegs pa 'phrin las sna tshogs kyi brgyan te/ yon tan gyi skur snang ba/ kun gyis mchod pa'i brten du gyur zhing/ gzugs la brten nas gzugs mang ba nyid la 'jug pa/ gzugs yod pa rnams kyi gzugs med pa nyid du rnam par grol ba/ dper na gru la brten nas/ rgya mtsho'i pha rol tu grol nas gru mi dgos pa lta bu 'am/ gdar rdo blangs te mtshon cha btar nas rno phyung ba dang gdar rdo spangs pa bzhin no/ gal te dam pa'i don la yang dag par ma rtogs na/ ci la brten nas don dam pa stong nyid rig/ nges pa'i tshul lugs ni khyad par gang yang med de/ rtag tu de bzhin yin no/ de'i phyir du/ gzugs brnyan la brten nas/ sangs rgyas kyi zhal mthong zhing/ sangs rgyas la brten nas sems kyi ngo bo mthong ba/ myu gu btsugs nas 'bras bu skrun pa re ba lta bu/ lam la zhugs nas khyim la bsnyags pa lta bu'o/ mdo' rnams la snang ba ltar na ni/ rgyal ba shakya thub pa de ni/ rgya nag gyi rgyal po ji'u ja'u wa rgyal sar bzhugs nas lo nyi shu rtsa bzhi lon pa'i dus/ stag gi lo zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes brgyad la rgyal po zas gtsang ma'i sras su 'khrungs nas/ zhag bdun na yum sgyu ma lha mdzes 'das nas/ thabs bral gyis lhar skyes/ de nas rgyal po ji'u ja'u wang ces pa rgyal sar bzhugs nas lo





bzhi bcu rtsa gnyis lon pa'i spre'u yis lo la rgyal bu don grub dgung lo bcu dgu bzhes nas/ rgyal pa'i (po'i) khab spangs ste rab tu byung nas sgrub pa mdzad/ de yang rgya nag gyi rgyal po de'i sras ji'u wang ces pa rgyal sar bzhugs nas lo gsum lon pa'i lug gis lo la mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas/ de nas ji'u mu wang rgyal sar lo brgyad lon pa'i yos bu'i lo <u>la</u> bcom ldan 'das yum gyi drin <u>bskor</u> ba <u>dgongs</u> te/ thabs bral du byon nas yum la chos gsungs so/ de'i tshe yul dbu rgyan gyi rgyal po sangs rgyas la 'jal bar 'dod na/ de'i thabs gang yang ma byung bas/ tsan dan la sangs rgyas kyi sku brko bar bcams pa na/ de'i tshe mi'u 'gal gyi bus dgongs pa la sangs rgyas kyi sku ci <u>lta ba 'dra</u> ba mi yongs snyam nas/ rang gi rdzu 'phrul gyis bzo bo gsum bcu so gnyis lan gsum du thabs bral du khrid nas sangs rgyas kyi sku bltas nas/ de nas sangs rgyas kyi sku gzugs ci lta ba bzhin du tsan dan la legs par bsgrub ste/ de la rgyal blon 'bangs la scogs pas mchod pa dang bkur sti byas zhing/ de'i lo la bcom ldan 'das kyang thabs bral kyi gnas nas/ 'dzam bu'i gling du bab/ de'i tshe tsan dan gyi sku gzugs de nyid bzhens nas bsu ba la byon/ dbu 'dud pa dang bcas pa mdzad cing/ bcom ldan 'das la sku bab zhus pas/ bcom ldan 'das kyi phyag gyi tsan dan sku'i spyi bor bzhag ste/ nga yongs su mya ngan las 'das nas lo stong lon pa'i rjes su/ khyod shar phyogs rgya nag gyi yul du song la lha mi 'gro ba mang po la phan pa rgya chen po gyis zhes sogs pa'i lung bstan/ da lta nged kyi chos kyi don la dpyad nas/ sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis/ 'gro ba rnams la byams pa sbyin pa dang/ dge ba'i lam la bkod pa dang/ byams dang snying rje'i sgo nas kun la byin gyi brlabs pa dang/ thabs kyis dngos po kun la phan pa rgya chen po mdzad cing/ de la bstod pa na de'i yon tan brjod gyi mi langs/ don dam chos kyi bdag nyid mtshon par byed pa dang/ sems can rnams kyi bsod nams bsags pa dang/ skye bo rnams kyi zhal 'jal ba tsam gyis/ de dag gi rgyud la phan par bya ba'i phyir/ nged kyi tsan dan jo bo'i sku 'dra bzhengs nas/ ched du bstod pa ni/ 'di skad du/ bde bar gshegs pa dam pa chos kyi sku/ gsum bcu so gnyis mtshan ldan rnam par mdzes/ bai dur rya dang gtso ma'i gser gyi mdog/zhal ni zla ba rgyas ltar 'od zer 'phro/spyan gnyis pad ma'i 'dab ltar dkyus ring/ tshems ni kha ba ltar dkar mnyam thag bzang/ phyag zhabs 'jam zhing 'khor lo rtsis stong ldan/ sku bstod seng ge rgyal po'i ro stod 'dra/ ye shes dam pa rgyas zhing dpal dang ldan/ yon tan kun ldan 'dran zla rnam par bral/ 'gro dang 'ong ba gnas kyang yod min te/ mchod par 'os zhing bsod nams zhing du gyur/ ye shes pha rol phyin dang thams cad mkhyen/ las 'bras snang zhing zhabs su ldan pa dang/ byang chub dam pa bde bar gshegs pa dang/ 'jig rten mkhyen dang don dam rnam par rtogs/ bla na med cing skyes bu mchog tu gyur/ skyes bu 'dul ba byams dang ye shes can/ lha mi ston pa rgya chen 'dren par mdzad/ don dam dag pa gzhal nas 'jig rten mgon/ gzi brjid che zhing rdzu 'phrul che ba dang/ zab cing rnam par dag pa dang/ sems can kun gyi rgyud bstun rnam par 'dul/ bskal pa rdul snyed zhing sgrol chos 'khor bskor/ mi g.yo' (g.yo'i ) rtag tu gnas zhing de bzhin





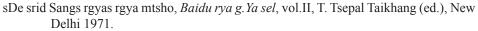
no/'gro'ong thogs med kun tu khyab pa dang/ don dam stong pa'i chos nyid rnam par bshad/ sna tshogs gsung dbyangs phyogs beur rgyas pa dang/ chos kyi sprin ni mnyam pa nyid du sprin/kun tu char 'bab khyad par med pa dang/byams dang snying rje thabs ni rnam par spyod/ chos kyi bdud rtsis sgo mo rgyas (SEVERAL SYLLABLE LACUNA)/ mun pa'i gling du rtag tu sgron me spar/ nyon mongs rgya mtsho rnam par dag pa dang/ sdug bsngal gdung rnams bde la rab bkod nas/ mun pa thoms pa rnams kyang 'od zer thob/ nyon mongs gdungs pa rnams la 'ang bsal bar 'gyur/ dri mas gos pa rnams ni dag byed cing/ 'khor ba bying ba rnams la bcom ldan 'das/ bla med byang chub du ni grol mdzad nas/ sngon tshe thabs bral du ni rnam par gshegs/ nyid kyis yan la <u>sa</u>rnams legs ston tshe/ dbu rgyan rgyal pos rgyal ba'i sku dran nas/ sprul pa'i (SEVERAL SYLLABLE LACUNA) sku gzugs bzhengs/ ga (SEVERAL SYLLABLE LACUNA) sku gzugs bzhengs dang gnyis su med pa dang/ sku gzugs dngos dang sgyu ma'i sku gzugs ni/ mi gzugs me long nang du shar ba bzhin/ phan tshun 'dud na khyad par med pa dang/ mi sor me long gzugs brnyan med pa yin/ rdzu 'phrul dam pa bsam gyi mi khyab pa/ zla ba gsal ba nam mkhar 'gro ba bzhin/ skad cig tsam na skal bzang 'das par 'gyur/ sems yod tsam gyi mchod par gyur pa dang/ bdag gi dge ba'i lam chen la bsam nas/ bstan pa dar phyir 'gro la bde ba sbyin/ gtso ma'i gser dang tshon na lna sogs pa'i/ brgyan te tsan dan sku 'drar bzhengs nas/ 'gro ba thams cad bde la 'god pa dang/ nyi ma stong 'ong phyogs beur khyab pa ltar/ phyogs rnams kun du drin gyi khyab par 'gyur/ ri dang rgya mtsho kun g.yes pa'i//lha klu la sogs kun gyis skyobs pa dang/ mthong ba tsam gyi kun gyis dang ba skyed/rtag tu bden pa'i lam la mi ldog cing/ phan yon rgya chen bsam gyis mi khyab pa'o// yung lo bcu pa'i lo zla ba bzi pa'i bcu bdun gi nyin// //

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- dPyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs: rGyal ba lnga pa chen mo Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, Gangs can yul gyi sa la spyod pa'i mtho ris kyi rgyal blon gtso bor brjod pa'i deb ther rdzogs ldan gzhon nu'i dga' ston dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Beijing reprint 1988.
- Phur bu lcog Ngag dbang byams pa, *Grva sa chen po bzhi*: Phur bu lcog Ngag dbang byams pa, *Grva sa chen po bzhi dang rgyud pa stod smad chags tshul*, xylograph in sixty–two folios.
- rGya Bod yig tshang: dPal 'byor (Shribhutibadra), rGya Bod yig tshang chen mo, Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las ed., Si khron mi rigs dpa skrun khang, Chengdu 1985.
- mGon po skyabs, *rGya nag chos 'byung*, Krung go'i Bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, reprint Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Zi ling 1998.
- Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan, *rGyal rab gsal ba'i me long*, rgyal sras Ngag dbang blo bzang and mGon po rgyal mtshan eds., Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Beijing 1981.







- Kong sprul Yon tan rgya mtsho, *Shes bya kun khyab dzod*, stod cha, Mi rings dpe skrun khang, Pe cin 2002.
- lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, *Tsan dan jo bo'i lo rgyus skor tshad phan yon mdor bsdus rin po che'i phreng ba, dbu can* xylograph, lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje'i gsung 'bum vol. *ja*, LTWA, 2003.
- Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul, bTsan 'gyur, rGyud 'grel, vol. Ru, f.154a line 1–f.155a line 4 in D.T. Suzuki, *The Tibetan Tripitaka*, 87, The Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, Tokyo–Kyoto 1957.
- Hwang sMin zhin bSod nams rgya mtsho, Tsan *dan Jo bo'i lo rgyus Bog sgyur skyon sel*, sBrang char 1986, 2.
- gNas rnying skyes bu rnams kyi rnam thar (also known as Gyen tho chen mo): bSwi gung nyams med Rin chen, sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam par thar pa rin po che'i gter mdzod ces bya ba gzhugs so, xylograph.
- De'u dmar dge bshes bsTan'dzin phun tshogs, *Kun gsal tshon gyi las rim me tog mdangs ster 'ja 'od 'bum byin, dbu can* xylograph.
- Si tu Pan chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Dri bral shel gyi me long*, *The Autobiography and Diaries of the Si tu PaNchen*, Lokesh Chandra ed., Sata Pitaka Series, Vol. 77, International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi 1968.
- Si tu Chos kyi rgya mtsho, *dBus gTsang gnas yig*: kAh thog Si tu'i dBus gTsang gnas yig, Gangs can rig mdzod n.33, Bod ljongs Bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, IHa sa 1999.
- Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar: 'Jigs med grags pa, Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar, Bod ljomgs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, Zi ling 1987.
- Jackson D., *A History of Tibetan Painting*, Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie des Wissenschaften, Wien 1996.
- Precious Deposits Volume Three: Yuan Dynasty and Ming Dynasty, Morning Glory Publishers, Beijing 2000.
- "Silk Painting of the Ming Dynasty in the Naining Qude Temple, Kangma County", Tibet Southern Ethnology and Archaeology, vol. 4, 1991, Sichuan University.
- Terentiev A., *The Sandalwood Buddha of the King Udayana*, self published, St. Petersburg 2010.
- Tucci G., Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Libreria dello Stato, Rome 1949.
- Vitali R., Early Temples of Central Tibet, Serindia, London 1990.
- Vitali R., "Sa skya and the mNga' ris skor gsum legacy: the case of Rin chen bzang po's flying mask", in R. Vitali ed., *Aspects of Tibetan History*, Lungta 14, Spring 2001.
- Vitali R., "The history of the lineages of gNas rnying summarized as its 'ten greatnesses' in the sources (a survey of the period from the second half of the 8th century to the beginning of the Sa skya pa rule)", in H.Blezer ed., *Tibet Past and Present*, vol. I of the *Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies* (Leiden 2000), Leiden 2002.





Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature*, H.C. Gupta (transl.), Soviet Indology Series n.4, Calcutta 1970.







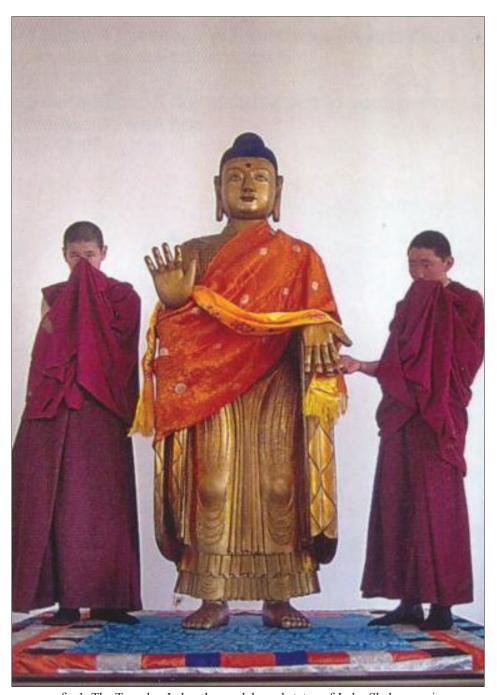


fig.1. The Tsan dan Jo bo, the sandalwood statue of Jo bo Shakyamuni (after A. Terentiev, *The Sandalwood Buddha of the King Udayana* pl. 17)



fig.2. A small statue being a replica in metal alloy of the Tsan dan Jo bo (photo courtesy A. Heller)

fig.3. The gNas rnying scroll depicting the Tsan dan Jo bo (Copyright, 2010, Thomas Laird. Photography by T.Laird and C.Clemens)

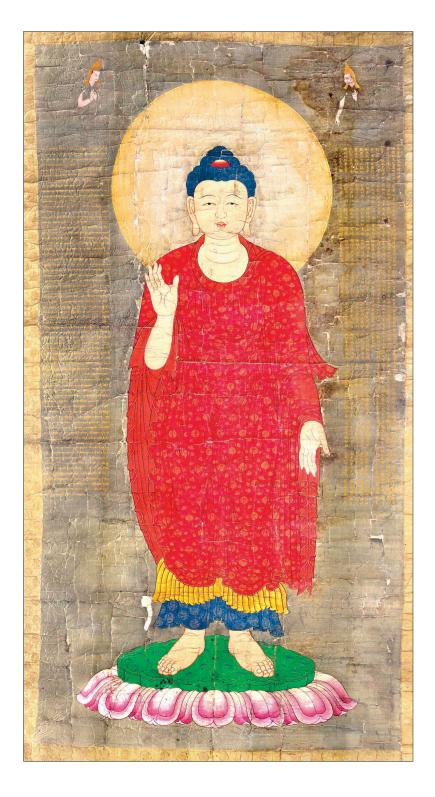








fig.4. An old picture of the gNas rnying scroll depicting the Tsan dan Jo bo (after "Silk Painting of the Ming Dynasty in the Naining Qude Temple, Kangma County" pl. 6)



fig.5. Detail of the gNas rnying scroll (photo courtesy L. Fournier)









fig.6. The face of the Tsan dan Jo bo being slightly *gnam gzigs* ("staring at the sky") in the gNas rnying scroll (Copyright, 2010, Thomas Laird. Photography by T.Laird and C.Clemens)



fig.7. The *gnam gzigs* glance on the face of the sandalwood statue (after A. Terentiev, *The Sandalwood Buddha of the King Udayana* pl. 9)

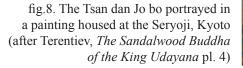








fig.9. The Tibetan text of the inscription on the gNas rnying scroll (Copyright, 2010, Thomas Laird. Photography by T.Laird and C.Clemens)



fig.10. The Chinese text of the inscription (Copyright, 2010, Thomas Laird. Photography by T.Laird and C.Clemens)







fig.11. A 15<sup>th</sup> century Chinese rendition in ink
of the Tsan dan Jo bo, structurally similar
to the gNas rnying scroll
(after A.Terentiev, *The Sandalwood Buddha of the King Udayana*(Supplement) p.86–90 and plate on p.92)







fig.12. Detail of the monk in the top corner of the gNas rnying scroll (left side) (Copyright, 2010, Thomas Laird. Photography by T.Laird and C.Clemens)

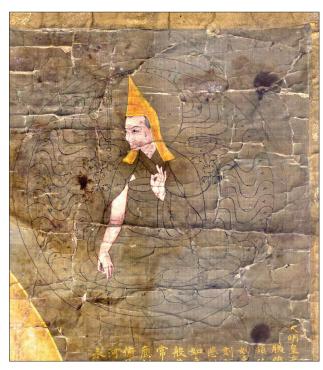


fig.13. Detail of the monk in the top corner of gNas rnying the scroll (right side ) (Copyright, 2010, Thomas Laird. Photography by T.Laird and C.Clemens)





## APPENDIX TWO

# 

वस्याला विचानक्र्यस्यक्षेत्रस्य नेत्रस्य नित्रस्य नेत्रस्य नेत्य नेत्रस्य नेत्य नेत्रस्य नेत

ट्रानिश्चर्नाः में प्रक्षाः भीतः हुरान्यश्चाः ने शार्त्राः मान्यः मान्यः

वृक्षःक्ष्यःग्रीःश्रुद्धःत्वेदःत्वर्यःश्रुद्धः व्यावाः क्ष्या।

वृक्षःक्ष्यःग्रीःश्रुद्धः त्वेदःत्वर्यःश्रुद्धः व्यावाः व्यावः वृक्षः ग्रीः वृक्षः व

तायद्देश्चरविर्भे विष्ट्यात्र्यः स्यान्त्रः स्यान्तः स्यानः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यानः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यानः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यान्तः स्यानः स्यान्तः स्यानः स्यान्तः स्यानः स्यानः स्यान्तः स्यानः स्यानः स्यानः स्यान्तः स्यानः स्यान्तः स्यानः स्यानः स्यानः स्यान्तः स्य

#### APPENDIX 2

वीकाः भूगविकाः सुः सेवकाः सदिः रेविः वादकाः गुदः स्रोः सम्रुदः सः नदः। वेदः ग्रीः वगायः यगुरः द यनुषानाषुरान्द्रदेवायदानसनामदेशसर्ने सँग्रायसम्भूग्नकृतायने कृतायने स्वार् अर्दे. द्वाचिरः त्वाः ये। यु. यु. यु. त्वाः यु. त्वाः प्रथाः प्रथाः विष्यः विष्यः विष्यः विष्यः विष्यः विष्यः व विरम्भागिरामुनाम्भानरार्मेरायमार्ने,यध्यारी सूर्यात्यीराज्यास्यान्धिरायाता ૹૄૼ૱ૠ૽૽ૼઌ૿૽૱ૹ૿ૢ૾ૺૺ૾ૹઌ૽૽ૼૹ૬ઌઌ૬ૹઌૺૺ૾ૹ૿૽ૢ૽ઌઌઌ૱ઌઌૢ૽ઌૡૣઌઌ૾ૺૹૹ૽ૺૹ૽ૹ૽૽ૡૺૹઌૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺ ૹૢૢ૾ૺ૱ઌ૽૽૽૽ૢૺૡૺઌ૽ૢ૽ૡૼઌઌૡઌ૽૽૱ઌૡઌઌઌ૽૱૱૱ઌઌ૽૽૱ઌ૽૽ૢ૽ૡ૽ૺૠ૾ૢઌઌઌઌૡ૱ઌ इससाह्यासु नबुदानदे के दार् भूदे पुषा दु नविनाया है। देश ह्वा नासुसा द्वारा वार्यायम् वर्षवाया महावी त्यायम् द्वार्यायम् वर्षायम् वर्षायम् वर्षायम् वर्षायम् वर्षायम् वर्षायम् वर्षायम् वर्षायम् पुरु देर र्रेट वर्ष भेर मिर्ट राष्ट्र मेर् क्षु प्रति मुर्ग प्रति मेर् *ફે.* સુંઉ. યાતા શું. વે. તા સુંયા કે અ. ગ્રાદ: વર્ફે. સું સાવસા યા સું સાર્જે કે. વાંફે અ. ધ્રિંદ. દે. દે. त्र्वा त्रीया के त्राप्त के त्राप इ.फ्रे.चधुर.लूर.ज.चिवर.श.वेश.स.व.कूँर.सश.क्रि.प्रॅंट.ची.यचीश.र्रे.स्चमा स्रे.चखुरश. क्रेचर्यास्य नवियोयानद्वर्याञ्चयोयानक्ष्यःस्य स्थान्य स्थान्यः त्यास्य स्थान्य स्थान्य स्थान्य स्थान्य स्थान्य अक्षरं नवत्त्वे विरासम्बन्धाः भेरायानुस्य । स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप्ताः स्वाप निवेरमानाभिन हेरा देवे के निवास मान्य के निवास मान्य निवास मान्य निवास मान्य निवास मान्य निवास मान्य निवास मान्य र्षेर्-पार्यान्ये नुकारे छु रेकासर निस्नु नका रेप्पर सूँदायरे नुदास्तर्या मुकारी का चित्रनात्मान्यस्य विष्याचे त्याचे त्य



ଷ୍ମ୍ୟୁୟ, ଅ. ଲି. ଜ୍ୟୁ ଅ. ଜ୍ୟୁ कुर.त्.चीर्चाश्वार्यार.त्.चोश्रर.ची.ली.च.२४.चाबिर.च.चोबिचश्वाच्यश्वाती.क्षे. इत्रश्व १८८०० वार्षेद्रायस्यकुः विदादाण्यान्यास्यादे स्वादे प्यादा कर्षे विवादा वार्षेद्राया वार्पेद्राया वार्षेद्राया वार्येद्राया वार्षेद्राया वार्षेद्राया वार्षेद्राया वार्षेद्राया वार्येद्राया वार्येद्र्येद्राया वार्येद्राया वार्येद्राया वार्येद्राया वार्येद्राया वार्येद्राया वार्येद्राया वार्येद्राया वार्येद्र्येद्राया वार्येद्र्येद्र्येद्र्येद्र्येद्र् दर्ने निष्यका ग्री खेरी रेस निष्य राज्य रा मिल.कुर.चधुदुःरुथा.मी.कें.इशका.मीका.ट्रै.चवट.सुदुःस्था.सूचायात्तराचरीया.पे.सूर यः स्टः केट्र मेब्रा भ्रुक्षः त्रुक्षः ब्राक्षः ब्रब्धं क्रियः विदेशे विदेशे में स्टिश्चे स्टान् स्टिश्चे स्टिश्चे स वित्राष्ट्रराष्ट्रयायेग्युद्वादेशस्याद्वात्राप्त्रात्य्यात्रात्य्याय्वात्रात्याय्याये देवे के दिनों क्वें दिनों दिन स्वयं दिन किया के किया के किया के किया किया के दिन किया के किया किया के किया किया ૢ૽ૺૹ.ઌ૮ઌૺ.<u>ૡૢ</u>ૣૣ૾૾ૹૣૣ<sup>ૢ</sup>ૹ૽ૹઌઽૢ૽ૺૹ.૪૮.૪૮.ઌૢૺ.ૹૢઌઌ૽ૢ૱ઌઌૢ૱ૹૹૢૣઌૺૹૹ૾ૣ૾ઌૣૹઌૹ૽૽ૹૣૢઌૺૹ.ઌ૱ૢૣઌૺૹૡૹ. चर्युःचःचुर्याञ्चवर्याञ्च्यःचङ्गद्रवाद्याद्यायात्रःवयायात्रःक्रियायःचुवाचर्युर्याते। ञ्चु ર્ટ્સ-૮૮: બદબઃ સેવબ.૮વે.વીવી.વીવી.સ.જવ.વીજીય.વીજા.સી.વિજ્ઞઅ.જટ્ટે.વહુ.જ્જા.જાદ્રી बूँद्र प्रभः श्रु प्रकृद प्रदेते प्रतिया प्राप्य प्राप्य स्व मिर्य हे प्रविवा द्रया स्व साम्य स्व व्दर्भावमा ।वरः सुँग्नार है वदे । सुलानु ।हिंदा ।वसूव ।दर वर्षे । सव ।देव । । कुर्या प्रेट. यहाँ य. ये. प्रा. क्री. हे. त्या. प्रा. प्र प्रा. प्र प्रा. प्र प्रा. प्र प्रा. प्र प्रा. प्र प्रा. प्र प्रा. प्र प्रा. प्र प्रा. प्र यायदी, स्तु, यसून, याया चु, याचुना विस्क्षेते, र्वे स्त्राया प्रस्ति स्त्राया स्त्रीय स्त्राया स्त्रीय स्त्राय मुःषुटान्यायरासुरायान्या वाबरायटा येयस्यायस्य स्वान्याम् येरायदान्यान्यः सावा वश्चेर्यस्त्रः वाष्ट्री श्रेवाःश्चेत्रः त्वास्य स्त्रेत्रः श्चर्यः श्चर्यः श्चरः स्त्रेत्रः वास्य विवायः सद्यः



श्चु वक्क् द विदेश सदे श्चेंया वायर पु विदेश हिंद पर द विदेश व यो द श्चेया व ५८। खेटु.र्चर.सूब.पीटा ग्री.क्विंत.सू.क्ष्यं.ल्यंचां.सू.ल्यंचां.सू.सू.स्वंतंत्रः. र्चे अ.वेच. १९८१ त.ज्ञच्याचर नर्षे अ.यू. खेया हु अ.यी. ज्ञान्य न्याच्याच हुरी हे. - रमासरायब्यामा - दे.समाप्तिः कुषुः ब्रेमाचुः नामी प्यापारः स्पानु विष्या है। सम्बन्धा <u> २.सैयक.की.र्या.मु.की.कील.क.घट.वीर.वी.वी.वी.कुर.वीर.वीकायबीट.यदुःसैयका.लुराज.</u> <u> देत्रःब्रिङ्क्षयःस्र्यंतुःगुक्क्ष्यंद्रम्यन्द्र्यद्रयुद्यःगृदःबेश्यःयःक्वःन्यःग्रेःधुत्यःद्र्यस्नश</u> कु.चार.चु.लेज.संब.जचार.खेचा.रचट.र्ने.चर्नेश हि.चुटु.स्री.चश्चेष.दर्न.रट्सूब.सट्ट.हूट नर्भेषामू रे रे के न म्हे मि मु सर्मे स्थान निष्ठ र मि से स्थित निष्ठ र में स्थान निष्ठ र स्थान निष् न्द्रे म्यायद्वात्रेयार्टाचीयास्यायायात्त्राचन्नेयायार्थयार्थ्यार्थया रें अ.बी.अ.श्र.ष्ट्रें प.च.व.व.व.व.च.त्या दें अ.व.व.व्या वें स.क्षेत्र. वें स्वाप्त हैं बियात्वरास्त्रे मेद्रासीरायक्षेत्रसासेरासुदराक्षेत्रसामरार्टी मेद्रस्थन्यायार्थर्ट्रया र्या न्व्यून्यत्र्वाः क्वाः व्याः वाः प्रायः व्याः व न्व्यून्यः व्याः व्य व्याः व हिर्मुयार्स्सार्ट्रे नेति स्तु न्दरवियान्तु दर्म है नि इसस्य करास्त्र स्त्रिम नु नि नि नि पब्चि। जना विस्तायम् पुराने प्रवेश विष्या विषय । वर् बः ब्रेंट्स्वाः वेंट्रचितः वर्षदः ब्रुंचः ग्रीः ब्रें । षरः दुः चर्ड्वावायः वेंवावायः वर्ष्ववः यायः नश्चेत्रनगुरक्षिकेरत्व्या देख्रस्यु नङ्ग्दर्दि हैदि केदर्से बरन्तु स्वेत्वायर्भे न्यासु શુઃૹૅવ.૮૮.એ. તુવ.૧૮૮.૧૫૯૮.વવ. શૂનાંગા.હુ૮. જા.ટી.જાર. મૈળા. શુ. ધજારા. દીવા.વા૮વ. इन्याने तर्यो ना समया प्राया निर्मान सम्मानि । विन्तु सम्मानिया । दे निर्माहर





चैकारीरार्षः ग्रीदाची क्षियार्यकासी सार्वका ग्रीका ग्रीरार्के चिरादरा नी ख्रानिरानी बदार्रा नावर-त्-नान्द-न्-र-के-क्रिन्य-स्नुमा ने-दस-न्दे-प्र्व-विस-स-क्रेद-स्-र्के-न्त्री-त्स-शुःब्रेटाखर् रावेयायदे ख्रापटार् सक्ट्रिटा हिटासर ये केर क्रिया सेंदे र्या सुर्ट ख्रेदे अर्क्टर्-हेर्-र्गर-र्ये-चलेर्-रा-पदि-चार्य-पाले-पर्-र-पार्द्धवा-प्यना-विदःकेर्-र्य-वायर-र्-चबेरका हे 'नवो 'यनुका ची 'से 'चर्ड नका वैराहे के राया सर्के नाम मान स्वारा से नाम स्वारा से साम स्वारा से साम र्ट्रेम् नु कुषाम्यका द्वीः स्राह्म स्राह्म न्या केदार्थे स्रोह्म निष्या सुष्या स्राह्म निष्या स्रोह्म निष्या न्ताः मृः नित्त्वायाः यथाः यथाः यः उत्ताः क्रेयः केटः नीः नृषाः निर्मेषु निर्मेषः विषयः प्रदेशः नृत्रिन्यः ર્વેન્સ કેન્ કું ઢેંચ શું કુય મેં કુનાય દે કર્યું અના એમ અનમ શું રન મેં તુન રન અદે છે તન नमानुनानुमार्भेनामानुमानुमान्या हैर्ने देवे स्वाप्तान्य नामान्य स्वाप्तान्य हैर्ने देवे र्ये के प्रदे के दारे राजा दार दार का है। हे दा की पार्के के राजा वृज्ञ वा वार दारे दे रे के वि रवी.र्ज्य.राष्ट्र.पीयोगायहूय.राष्ट्र.रवी.पर्टेय.वी.र्ज्ञ.श्र.श्र्यां भारत्र.वीश्रो विश्व सीट्यां स्थापय.त्र्रा के. इ. यटया मैया मैया यक्ष मंत्री या ने व. इया या या मेर में के दे में मेर में यो या र्रासकेंद्रियां प्राचित्रका की की विवासका निक्षेत्र की प्राचित्र की की विवासका निक्षित्र की कि की विवासका निक्षित्र की कि की विवासका निक्षित्र की कि की विवासका निक्षित्र की विवासका निक्षित की विवासका निक्षित्र की विवासका निक्षित निक्षित्र की विवासका निक्षित निक्षित निक्षित्र की विवासका निक्षित्र की विवासका निक्षित निक्षित निक्षित निक्षित निक्षित्र की विवासका निक्षित नि यक्षेत्रतग्राम्यत्रम् अति कुत्रपहुं वात्रायाः स्वात्राश्चरायत्रे विश्वतायाः स्वात्रायाः स्वात्रायाः स्वा <u>ૢ૽ૺૡૹ੶</u>ઽ੶ૡૢઌ૽ૺ੶ૡਫ਼ૹ੶ઽૡઌ੶ઽૢઌૄઽૹ૽ૹૼૹ੶ઌૄ૿ૢ૽ૺ૽૽ઌૄઌ૽ઽ૽ૼૻૹ૽૽૱૽ૼૼૻઌઽૢ૾૽ૡ૾ૢઽ૽ઌ૿ૢ૽ૺ૽ઌ૱ૡઌ૽૽ૹ૽ૹ૽ઌ૽૿ૢ૽</u> सुनाः र्सेयान बरासें में दायसेया नु सह नि <u>૽૽ૺૡૢૻૣૣૣૣૻ૱ૡઌ૾ૺૡૣ૿ૡઌઌ૽ૼઌ૱૽૽ૼૼૼૺૼૼૼૺઌૢ૱ઌ૱૱૱૱૽૽ૼ૱૽ૢૼૺ૽૱ૡ૽ૺૺૺઌૹ૾ઌ૱૽ઌ</u>

### APPENDIX 2

त्यः वर्षरः हुन् भ्रीः वर्षितः कुन् कुन् सून् नयः न्यान्यः कुन् नयः वर्षः कुन् नयः कुन नयः कुन् नयः कुन नयः कुन् नयः कुन्

े २ : २ : तुर्वे : श्रु : ना हुना अ : यदे : के द के द के द के कि : यक्ष : यह के स्वार्थ ना कि : ना हु : ना हुन नसूरक्षे अर्दे द पर्से न्या अर्द्ध द देशे इस्र स न्या प्राची पर्ने पर इस्र स विषय । दर्ने र.स.स.क्र्यू र.स.इ. क्रिय. ब्रेट. बर. क्रिय. यो ब्राची त्राची त्रा श्चे म् वस्य र र र में र दिये प्रहे न साम स्था श्चें न सार र । न में द सके न श्चें द सी सुन क्रियायर्त्त्रीतः इस्रयास्त्रित्यां स्थाने यो विषया यो विषया यक्षासूनवार्गीवानिद्यानवार्षे नदे देवायात्रयापर र्से प्राप्त से ना ष्ठ्रवार्यामानः र्हेराहाहार्यया कुराता विवर्धाय विवर्धाय विवर्धाय विवर्धाय विवर्धाय विवर्धाय विवर्धाय विवर्धाय ॅर्ट्स-त-इंब-ची-यम-बूँट-पॅर्-पा य<u>च</u>े-चू-योबर-चीका-प्र-अं-ह-कंम्य-पंप्र-अंदि-क्षराहिः भूष्यान्त्र विद्याप्तान्त्र विद्याप्तान्त्र विद्याप्तान्त्र विद्या त.र्षक्षक.र्टर.कीज.सूर्य.श्रीर.यर्य.र्टर.र्जर.र्षक्षका.ग्रीक्ष.काह्य.श्रीयका.श्री.जय.रूट्. व्रर. दर्स् नः सूर्यायाः ग्री : अर्ह्यः बैदः रे. अर प्रदेशः न रहा। वर रेटः हिया नहेलः रेवा सूर्याया स्थाना इयमःग्रीमःनार्ययानः सःनार्रनाः प्रमानः व्यमःन्दिः स्यमःनुः सुन्दिमःग्रीः सूदःनः શ્રુભા કે. નવિયાના ત્રવીય તમાલા દરા તાલું યાત્રા શ્રી છે. વહુ ખૂર કરા વજા સીયા જ્ઞાવિયાના ના કહે. वर-टु-प्यट-गुब-प्य-सञ्ज्ञ सूट-टु-तुव-य-टे-विद-प्यन्य-स्ग्री



चकी श्रेश दे विश्व स्वास्त्र स्वीया स्वीया निराम स्वास्त्र स्वीया स्वास्त्र स्वीया स्वास्त्र स्वीया स्वीया

त्रेन्यङ्ग विरःक्ष्यः सक्त्यां स्वास्त्र स्वस्त्र स्वास्त्र स्वस्त्र स्वास्त्र स्वास्

वर्ड् र होर छिरा । वि.सर र र हे सेवा र र सावर केवर र । । इ. र किर वाड्या श्रीर वि. द्रुटर्टरा ।का.मू.४.८.४च.पे.श्रे४.५चुर.ना ।ट्र.८च. घषका.४८.घट.क्य.ब्रूच.तर.५चुरा वियानीयीटयात्वेदा विदायमातुः वर्षेत्रायात्वेयायवे वर्षेत्राया वर्षेत्रायाः विवायायाः विवायायाः विवायायाः विवाय चीत्रचार्याः स्त्रीः सर्दे त्यस्य स्वार्याकवास्याय्यस्य स्वर्यस्य स्वर्याः दया विह्नानेत्रस्त्रस्ति स्क्रेंत्रस्त्रा सुरिव्नानर्स्रेर्यस्ति । क्रिस्नर्यन्त्र ୢୡ୵ଵ୶୶୵ଵ୵ୖୄ୵୲ୗଌ୕୵ଢ଼୳ୖୖୣଌ୵୷ୢୖୄ୕ୡ୵୳ୡୢ୵ଢ଼୲ୗ୕୕ଽ୳୵୵ଊ୕ଽୢଌ୵ୢୢଌୖ୵ୢୢ୕ୢ୕୷୕ୢ୶୶୷ୡ୳ୗ୳୶ୄ୶୵ वन्नयास्वराद्येन्द्रवायास्य स्वाप्ता । स्वर्क्ष्म्रायास्वराद्या । स्वरायस्य रिश्रक्षेत्राचर्रम् नश्चर्यात्ये । श्चर्मिश्चरम् नश्चर्यात्रे । नश्चर्यात्रे श्वर्यात्रे श्वर्यात्रे श्वर्यात्र रवः अहेराना । अहेरानरानुनः तर्ने न्यानानिका । अर्नेनाः ध्रमना बुनारान्ने सुरासुरा ষ্ট্রবাঝা বিষ্ণুর-ট্রীঝ-দ্রবাঝ-বম-বঞ্জীর-ম-১৮। বিষ্ণী-১৮-ফ্রেরিম-বম-দের্টীমা ाये:यॅ:इब:पु: विक्रायव्या । दे:दे:धुना:इट:दूर:क्रेर:वव्या । पर्युट:द्यायव्यायः हु.य.जुरी प्रहुर्वा.प्रेय.क्र्यूय.य.अथ्य.यिय.यथा ।लट.रट.लट.रे.यक्रे.केट.युरी ।यरवा. શ્રુર.સૂર.તતુ.જૂય.કૂય.યો ારે.યુ.જૂય.ત.શૂરય.જી.વર્ગ્યીમાં ક્ષિમ.રે.રેટ.તા.કૂવ.વર્ગ્યેમ ष्टा क्रिंग:र्रेय: हे: चष्टेय: यानय: यरः वर्चेरा क्रिंट: र्रेय्य: विय: प्राःचित्र: प्राःचित्र: वर्षेय: यान्या विवास्य इयमा सु भी वरा वर्षा । निवाय विद्या सु मार्च प्रवास मार्च यमराबेरासेरासूरसेता पर्दसानुदेशक्षेरासानारायरानुरा वितासरास्तरानी रेनासा यह्राता र्रिस्यु वर्षेयतार् भ्रेष्ट्री हो रियय वर्षेयत्य स्थायम् स्थापम स्थित्य 

ट्रा । रिसल. रेट. चीत्र. यह रे. किंब. सम्प्रतिमा । चित्रा त्रु. खे. ला. कु. ल. रे. रेट. । विद्या वित्रा क्रिं क्षित्र क्षेत्र हिं ता हिं ता है ता तरत्वीरा रियानभूरक्षायळू.क्याकराजी वित्यीयालानु वाराभूया भिरायनु न्यान्त्रान्त्रस्याञ्च । क्यान्त्रः क्ष्यान्तरः व्युम । विविद्यायाः वर्षुयाः क्री रिव.क्रव.चर्व.रट.र्जव.तर.पर्वीरी विजासूर.वार्याययाययायरयाचीयाजा |ME.रेट.ME.रे.यर्डु.र्झर.झेट.वुर। |पर्ट.यय.वु.पर्त्यय.अ.झ.रुथ.यी |यूट.यय.यटथ.क्य. न्नरःवेदानुः तम्रवान्ययान्या । ने निष्वेदानु दे निषयास्य न्या । भू निष्य विदे रु'त्रसुत्य'नवाद'न्टा ।नवट'श्चर'दहवास'स'सेन्'सरत्युरा ।सर्केन्द्रेन्द्र'नर्स्नेर'नर्ज्युर बन्दी । देन्द्रेन्स्यस्य स्वर्तेन्द्रियाः हेवन्तु । स्वर्त्यस्य देन्द्रम् सुनास्य स्वर्तेन्त्र नःतेृदःसःषी । नष्ट्नारुःसःनभूषःसःतेुःनरःषदः। । निर्हेदःसरुः बदःसरःतुःस्रेःत्रुः। |श्र.ख्रेच।चिरःक्ष्यःस्रम्भरायश्चेरःस्या ।ह्र्यःसद्यःस्रक्ष्ट्रःह्रेयःस्वाःतक्ष्यःचा ।ट्र.युःचश्चरा यानु नरायरा । वसायर पेराबेराव बेराकी त्यूरा । पहिना हे वा से व हेबाया विद्वार् वर्ष्ट्रेम्य वर्षे । विदाय व्यवस्था वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे । यदःश्रवाः भ्रवारव्युम्। । अर्केन हे बार वर्षे मान वर्षे । वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे । वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे वर्षे । | सर्वेद,त्रु, रूपे, ग्रीय, तर्व्य, प्रचीय, ख्रीटा । रूपे, श्रुव, इस्य, प्रचे, श्रिट्य, प्रचार, प्रचीय। । सर्व्य हेद नर्भे र न नुष्य द दी । यह ५८ दें न्य ५८ खूद पर व नुरा । दे दे त्ये त्ये दे र प्रचीर.धुरा ।ध्या.पे.यय.लूर.कंथ.तर.पर्चीरा ।अक्ट्र.धुर.यश्चर.य.चेत्र.य.थु। ।यर्झ्य.

वित्रुवानम्ब केराव्य । वित्र वित्य व बावसायरायसूरा ।से प्राप्त मुनापराय स्वापन જ્ઞાતવીંત્રા વિવસતા. શુ. કુ. કૂ. વીયા કૂ. વીયા જી! 132. તત્ર વીયા વેશ તેયા છે. તેયા છે. વેશ વિશ્વર્યો हेद.वर्श्सेर्यन्तिकादःदी स्त्रियरायद्रिरादराध्यायद्रिराद्रा वित्राह्याद्र्यकार्याय्याया ୢୖୢୄଌ୕୳୵୵୲୕୲୷୕ଌ୕୷୶ୢୖ୷୶୲ଌ୕୵୳୵୷ୡ୶୶୷୳୵୷ୣ୕ଌ୕୵୲୕୲ୠ୵ଢ଼୶ୢୄଌ୳୳ୢୖୄଌ୕୵୳ୡୖ୵ଢ଼୲ |दे.बु.पर्ट्रेट.स.मु.मुंब.बुटा । पुरु.गुट.चार्बट.प.मुंग्य.चार्बटा । वार्बट.मुंग्य. न्यर्थात्र श्रीत्र । विद्यान्यश्रीत्रात्र सार्वे । यविद्यान्य स्वर्थान्य स्वर्थान्य स्वर्थान्य स्वर्थान्य स्वर ૹ૾૽૱ૹ૿૽<sup>ૢ</sup>૾ઽઽ.ૡ.ૡૺ૽૽ૹ.૨૾ૡૻૹૹૻૢૻૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૣૹૣ૱ૡૺૡ૽ૹૡ૽૽૾ૢ૾ૢૢઌૢઌ૱ઌૡ૽ૺૺૼ૱ૡૢઌૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૺૹ૽ૹૢઌ૽૱ઌ૽૽ૺૹઌઌ૽૽ઌ૽૽ૹૢ૽ઌઌ૽૽ઌ૽૽ૹૢ૽ઌઌ૽૽ઌ૽ नर्स्नेर्यदेश्चन्यक्षी क्रिंड्यमास्तरी रहलो हुन्द्रस्था हरम्नाहुन्यस् गुँ नुडू न्या ५५ म्रा खेँ रहे रहे अन् रहे। रह ने हं प्रस्तु परवा वर्से नि बेश्यःयः नाहेश्यः नादः दुदः यदेवः यविषः यशः यञ्ज्ञे रः वेः यद्यः यहः विष्यः यहः विश्वः यहः विश्वः यहः विश्वः य श्री तिविष्यात्रात्र विश्वत्यात्रात्रात्र विष्यात्र विषयात्र विषयात्र विषयात्र विषयात्र विषयात्र विषयात्र विषय য়ৄঀৗ৵৻য়য়৻ঀৗয়ৣ৸৻৻ৼৢঀ৵৻৸৻য়ৣঀ৾৸৻৸৻ঢ়ৣ৾ৼ৻ঀড়ৢঀ৻য়য়৻ঀৠৣৼ৻ঀ৻ঀৢয়৻ঀ৻য়ৼৣ৻৸৵৻৻ঢ়ঀৣৼ৻ चत्रः सदः स्त्रः दे । द्वाः वाद्यः स्त्रच्याः सुः सदः द्वाः वादः द्वाः स्त्रः वादः द्वाः वादः द्वाः स्तरः स्त्र र्ये इस्रमायमा बराया नृत्या विष्या वर्षेत्र क्षेत्र प्रमाय वर्षेत्र प्रमाय प्रमाय वर्षेत्र प्रमाय वर्षेत्र प्रमाय वर्षेत्र प्रमाय प्रमाय वर्षेत्र प्रमाय वर्षेत्र प्रमाय प्रमाय वर्षेत्र प्रमाय प्रम र्युयोषाः क्रियाः ताराः देताः क्षेत्राः क्षेत्राः स्वीतः द्वारा ताराः यास्य स्वाराः ताराः स्वीतः ताराः स्वीताः सदःर्पेदःस्रवतःस्रमः गुदःतीःसर्देदःसुसःनुः नुनःस्रमःस्रेन्यःस्रुः नुसःन्यःनदेदःहेदःयःस्रुः મું.ખુર.તવુ. ઘવજા વિરાત્તર. જ્યારે. ક્ષે.વે.ખા વક્રુયાન દવી. તજ્જા. ખૂર્યો



#### ROBERTO VITALI

जियात्राज्ञा । जिह्न-जूमा

जिह्म-जूम् निर्माण्यात्राच्यात्राच्याः निर्माण्यात्राच्याः निर्माण्याय्याः निर्माण्यायः निर्

र्तुया.चीरथा. २८८५—२०७ यम.यथा.बेम.टे.बीरथा.सात्र्या जैस.भेरी.मु.जा.सादु.मू.हुदु.याश्वेस.ययेशा सूर्य.हासा सूर्य.की.येन.शहूर्य.विस्ता वे.मथा.था ५००४ रेवीय.हुदु.

## APPENDIX THREE

# इय्ट्रिस्सुर्ज्यः क्रिया च्ट्रियचीरः श्रीयः श्रापा

# न्दरश्चेत्र विद नर्से द दस्य राम् अर्द्ध

र्चेर-लिनानी नम्रुव प्रज्ञु राये छेव र्ययराय सुर्येर वेना रेंग १५४ वर " ४व र्वत सुरी भ्रु कु दवा-दय-चब्वाय-वदे-चुँद-छ्य-" वेय-चु-च-खु-च्य-भू--प्य-चॅ-५-भू--नु-चु--च-ष्ट्रेना नवुनामा नेरायोवर क्रून मये यहार मार्च केतु र नवर हिर्मे के मुर समित है। र्थे:र्बे्द न्त्री:क्वेन ख़ूर निक्व को राही सुन सम्बद्ध (1027) दे स्वेर नु र वे का व्यापन विद्यास युन्यश्रिक्षः न्वान्य। अनुः हेदः देः कुः न्यारः दयः योः खुया देः दयः कुः दनः नीः विदः यः दुः यरः चारवर्ट्यासदुःलीजाचीःशूरुशुदुःशुद्रम्भभानीःस्थरःस्थरःसूर्यःसूर्यःसूर्यःसूर्यःसूर्यः ग्रीकाञ्चा नार्रका बुराळनाका अटार् गुट्टानका देटाकट नी प्युका नु गारार्टानाट प्येदायका कुर्राह्रअ.५हूर्य.२५१४.२२.४१.३८१ मि.४५१.मु.४१.४१.४३.५१३५१.५५५४५४५४ तदःस्याचित्रान्तः प्रत्यानम्यित्स्य । वर्ष्ट्ययः क्षेत्रान्त्यान्तः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रान्तः र्ट्सिंशस्त्रुद्धा नावदः पट्सिंगुर्का वर्दे । नहस्रक्षा वर्द्धा वर्षे । वर्षे । वर्षे । वर्षे । वर्षे । वर्षे । त्रर्देशाया वाताने वाब्दाने दे केवा बेदासूर सुं अकेवा विद्या द्या कु स्वा विदेश प्र कर्रायायाः देशः मूर्यायु ४ १ मृत्यायु १ साम् । सूर्यायाः स्वायायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्व प्ययात्मात्मे अर्मे दार्यात्म अवस्थात्मे अर्थे प्रत्यात्म के प्रत्यात्म के अर्थे प्रत्यात्म अर्ये प्रत्यात्म अर्ये प्रत्यात्म अर्ये प्रत्यात्म अर्थे प्रत्यात्म अर्ये प्रत्यात्म प्रत् क्री. अक्षर. ताट. प्रचारा चर्चा चर्

ख़ॖॸॱॷॖढ़ॱढ़॔ढ़ॱॸढ़ॱॾॕॱॸॕढ़॓ॱऒ॔ॱक़ॗॖॴऒॣॕॸॱॺढ़ॱऒ॔ढ़ॱऒ॔ॸॕॸॸॺॖॣॴॸऀढ़ॱय़ॕॱक़॓ढ़ऀॱॺॗ॓ॸॱॸऻॱॾॕॴ दर्से तम् "र्वेन् ग्री नगद दर्गु राद त्यान तुर नर देन त्यान त्यान स्वापन स्वापन स्वापन स्वापन स्वापन स्वापन स्व नक्ष्रादि, धेरान्ष्राचारम् अस्ति स्थान्ति स्थान्ति स्थान्ति स्थान्ति स्थान्ति स्थान्ति स्थान्ति स्थान्ति स्थान लयाक्यानमञ्जूराबेरादेतीत्रामुरायायायम् सूरावयादे विवेदातु विद्याम् । । । सूर् त.कुये.चीर.ची.र्था.चीर.कंचा. (क्री.जू.क्र्य.ची. 1052) ज.पचिरथाता.यश.चक्रयातर.र.कंषु. क्रेब-सं-क्रेट-वी-वाबसः क्रुंट-त्रे-सं-स्-व-सुवाब-सं-स्वा-वी-त्रे-(क्रुं-त्रे-1770) वदे-हेब-स्ट्रंट-नर्वः नक्षः में नर्वः धेवः परः सूरः वेदः। सुः नव्यायः यर्दे छेरः सूवः पदे व्याद्यः स्वाद्यः स्वाद्यः स्वाद्यः त्रकृत्यासुन्न (क्ष्रुं प्र. १९०) यात्रहेत्यासरात्रवत्त्री" हियानासुन्या याने द्यायमान्त्रा क्षेत्र क्ष શુઃઇન્ડમાં તાલાનકૃતાવશુમાં કેતું ક્વામાં અવે :&વા કેતું : કેલા સું : વર્ષ કરાયું : બન્ડ અદજા શ્રેજા શે. દય. તજા હાદજા વચા ખૂ. સૂંદ ખૂર તહુ. છુ. જ્વર દય શું. સ્ત્રું શ્રેજા શ્રેજા શ્રેય છે. વચા છે. હતું. દૂય. व्रेन्यम्भुद्रान्यस्यायानस्यायः वेशकेयः कुष्यायम्भेनव्यायः स्विन्न्द्रान्यस्य दर्चे.च.ळे.ब्र्.सचे. (ह्री.ज्रू. 1593) ज.र्ड्रश्चाराश्ची.ट्चे.जश्चर्याय्ये.व्यायाः निर्मित्रासायम्बर्केन्यासार्वे कर्मेन्यान्य निर्मित्रास्त्राचित्राम्य निर्मित्रास्त्राम्य निर्मित्रास्त्राम्य वु देश र जेंद्र क्षेत्र क्षेत्र भाषा (क्षेत्र) प्रका प्रका क्षेत्र क्ष यश्चित्रा प्रदेशः स्वाप्त्रा श्री स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त्र स्वाप्त स्वाप

 त्तेयाची देर देर्यू द्या द्या श्वया श्वर सामाश्वया खेरा तीया दे . यो चे यो या प्रेया ता क्र्या चवर्षर्भाष्ट्रते,तीकार्रे,रचिराञ्च,चोश्चिराचर्षेचीयात्ताका चितातू,रे,शितात्रयाचरूषाक्रियः यन्तरम्बर्ग्यः न्वायः मुख्यः व्यायः विष्यः व्यायः विष्यः मुख्यः स्वायः मुख्यः विष्यः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः स्वाय વકુલાર્ક્સત્વરત્યાની સી.વર્કાય છૂવા શા. ઇયા તા જાજુય શેજા જે. શ્વ. વહુજા ભૂત જા. શે. કૂ. વાજ यरः वर्डेर् द्रश्राक्षेत्रे 'सुत्य पुर्व 'तुर्व 'तुर्व सुत्रे 'सुत्य चु रहेतु (सुर) द्रवरः द्रिश नु रव कुलासरावर्तेदादसार्यावद्वाविवार्यदायदे प्रासु सुवासार्यसा (ध्वीर्या १९००) ઌૣૼૼૼૼૼઌઌ૱ૣૢૹૻઌૼૡૺૹૡ૽ૼઌૢઌૺઌૺૺ૽ૼૺૺ૾ૺૺઌ૿૽૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱ઌૢ૽ઌ૽ઌ૽૽૱૱૱૱૱૱ઌૢઌ द्य.रेथ.मी.भी.षक्र्या.पर्द्या.यर्द्र्य.जैय.पर्द्या.जेय.पर्देय.जा.पर्वी.य्योया.यथा.भी.विष्यया.पर्दे.यदुः क्ष्यानित्राने। देवसान्द्र्याष्ट्रदायद्याणुः स्वानम्हत्याने सुर्यादेशः मुन्यस् चवनाः दयः प्रदेः श्रदः द्वेयः खुदः चश्रदः हो। दः खेदयः खुः खुः ह्वः दयः ययः विद्यादयः विद्यादयः ततु.कु.ची.स्य.कुर.सु.इ.कीलाविष्या.सी.चीर्याया.धे.की.सु.सु.सु.कुर.सू.सहर.तर. त्त्वुरः देखेशः नगतः श्रुतः ही। दे वका नबुदः वका ईवः दवः मुः श्रुः स्ट्रिशः स्वानाः देवः निरः देवः बूर्द्रभावक्षावक्षर्रञ्चाय्याया वि.श्रद्रावेशयीयायायाया चकुर्-चब्नाया रे-दयाक्षे-१ना-ध्या-कु-चुर-र्द्य-सु-र्य-विन्यु-राव्नाया रे-दय-ग्रीद-करः ह्रास्यावरु वत्रावत्वाया दे त्रया स्टारामा द्यार् स्याच्या वत्रा स्टार्व स्वास्या व्याया दे'दश्यान्द्रव्यानी'पुत्यान् र्यो'सुयानम् नुनान्द्राने निद्यानिष्या दे'दश्यापार नुरान्वया न् सुरान्वेनायात्राक्षात्राक्षे स्वासान्वाना ने त्रया हेत्रे हे या सुरान्ति । स्वाप्ति । र्य. यी. सैवायासवा. जू. (क्वी. जू. 1131) वीट. सूवाया यी. तूव. वया विट. ट्रेंट, यीट्ट. खट. यी. ख्या विया वी.

यदः ब्रेस्प्रायञ्ज्ञात्रियायत्वाया सुदे लस्येदः ब्रेस्यस्विस्य विस्तर्भायदे प्रवेदार्थे। दि કથા-અન્યનીન્યુનિયનનુ-નાવે આવમન્નુ-નેવે કુન્યુન્યોને એન્યુન્યને એન્યુને અનિવાયા ને दशःनङ्गः केते :कुषामनशःग्री : दते :ब्रेसः विषानु :नते :कुषाः में प्राया श्वासः स्वासः विषान्त्रः । र्याखी कै.जैया.जू. (श्रृै.जू. 1163) जालटा बैटा पूरायीर्थ देश स्थायीजा सुकु सूर्य स्थायी त्रुटःर्ते. (ह्युःर्ते. 1217) ध्रायानीश्रेत्रात्तपुत्रात्तपुत्रात्तपुत्रात्तपुत्रात्तपुत्रात्तपुत्रात्तप्त्रा दर्भ। ट्रेट:सट:चर:ट्र:सर्केट:सर:वृक्ष:स्र्) ।स्रे:त्रूट:स्यःकु:सवा (श्रुट:स्यः 1263) प्यदः करायार्यानिकान्युः वे नित्रार्येद्या उदार्दर श्रीः भ्रायकेना यदी निवेर्याद्या स्वाप्यद ૹ૨.ઌ.ઌૣૣ.૾ૢ૾૱ૢ૾ૢૻૣૻૣૣૣૣૣૣઌ*૽*ૢૹ.ઌ૽૾ૣ૿૾ૺ૱ૹ૽૾ૺ૱ૹ૽૾૾ૹ૽૽ઌૢ૾૱૱૽૽ઌ૽૱ૹ૽૽ૺઌૺઌ૱૽૽ૢ૿ૺૺ૾ઌ૱ૣૹ૽ૻૹ૽૽ૺ૱ ભૂય.તા.ભૂય.સૂ! હિંદ.હુંચ.ધી.વહુ.ખૂ.ધૈંચ.ગ્રી.યંદ.રે.કૂંચોચ.તમ.ભૂર.તમ.સૈંદા જારૂમ.વર્સેંચ. য়৻৻৻ঢ়ৣ৻য়ৣ৻৻য়ঀ৾৻ড়ৣ৻ৣয়৻য়৻ঀ৻ড়ৢয়৻য়৻ঢ়ৣয়৸য়ড়ৢয়৻য়৻ৠৢঢ়৻ৠৢঢ়৻য়য়ৼৠৢৼৠৢৼ য়ঢ়য়ড়য়ড়ৼ৻ড়য়৻ঀৢ৽য়৽ঀৼঀ৻ড়ৢ৽ঀৢৼয়ৢঀ৽য়য়৽ঀ৾ঀৼয়ৢঀৼঀৢয়ৢৼয়ঢ়য়৽ঀয়৽ঀয়৽ঀৢ৽য়৽ বার্ক্তর-শূর্রাকার্যন্তর-প্রস্তুর-প্রর্ক্তা 

२ वेद रेंदि से प्राप्त स्वाप्त के कि स्वाप्त के कि स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त स्वाप

### ROBERTO VITALI

- र रदे. ह्यर स्प्राचा सुस्राचा सुना है। स्था किया हैं र किया नक्षा रे वा सुस्रा (1163) धिस्र
- दे द्वेर कुर हो त्वेर हो त्येर हे त्या हो त्येर हो त्या स्वाप के प्रत्य प्रत्य के प्र
- यः श्चीः त्याः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः त्वेत्रः त्वेत्रः त्वान्त्यः त्याः त्याः विद्याः त्याः त्याः त्याः विद्याः विद्य

स्.कैंब.ट्र.क्रॅ्र.ज.क्.ल्या.ची.ट्रीट.याष्ट्र.ल्या.क.याङ्क.क्.च.याश्वरा.ल्ट.ट्री

- ण्ड 釋成 古 वेया पर वेया भी प्राप्त प्र प्राप्त प्राप्त

ख्रैर:श्रुत:नाशुर:नर:कु:धेनारदे:नाहेश:ग्रु:नर्गेरश:र्नेद:सुनशःनाहेना:हु:हेत:क्षेना: व्युर:श्रुत:नाशुर:नर:कु:धेनारदे:नाहेश:ग्रु:नर्गेरश:सेनारान्द्रेना:स्वाधःनाहेना:हु:हेत:क्षेना: क्र्रं क्रीट, क्री. क्र्रं क्रांता विश्व क्रांता क्रिया क्रांता वित्र क्रांता क्रियं क्रियं

ब्री.बु.लय.ब्रॅट्विर.लुया ब्रीय.कर.के.बुयास.पे.बट.बीज.ब्रीट.ब्री.बीज.या.बिट.लय.च्री ट्रेट.यट.बेय.बु.खुट.कुर.

### ROBERTO VITALI

| तब्रुद,दसुर।                    |            | פיץ                      | 35.31         | नश्वर तहेराया नन्या                   | क्षाचराई स्टा |      |
|---------------------------------|------------|--------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|------|
| ध्यान स्                        | लें'चारका' | ল<br>ড<br>ড              | यत्रम्थाययः य |                                       |               |      |
| चि.च.                           | 1285       | क्व.च.                   | 1285          | क्षे.चं क्षेत्र १९१ दत्राक्षे में २०० | 西土            | 1285 |
| ন্ত্ৰ-মান্ত                     | 89         | ति<br>१८<br>१८<br>१८     | 89            | क्षे.में 294 दता <sup>.</sup> 362     | 龟数            | 89   |
| क्ष.कृषा-वी.चुन:देकाः           | 40         | भेषदाकेदुः               |               | क्षु'वें' ३६२ दत्रा' ३७६              | 平均            | 14   |
| શુંધ હતા.                       | 17         | ক্রমজের                  |               | क्षे.च्यं ३७६ दत्रा ३९३               | 水             | 71   |
| নুদ্যদাধ্য                      | 173        | ગુવત્વન                  |               | क्षे.चें ३९३ दसः ५६५                  | 江南            | 173  |
| <i>न</i> ,दब                    | 367        | कृदः वतः                 |               | क्षे में ५६५ दत्रा १३३                | 罹果            | 367  |
| গ্ৰন্থনাধ্য                     | 21         | M.<br>454.               |               | क्षे.चें' १३२ दत्ता १५३               | 江南            | 21   |
| (र्स्टन्धिमानुःक्टनः)           |            | (वॅद-धिया-मृ.कद-)        |               | क्षे.चे. १९३ दत्रा ११३१               | 长             | 177  |
| डटार्ट्सेट खुदे बिट की          | 12         | मेत्र केत्र सम्बद्धाः सा | (G) (A)       | क्षु वे ११३१ दत्रा ११४३               | 燕京圣安寺         | 12   |
| <b>ଷ</b> ସଂଶ୍ୱିଦୀସ୍ପର୍ଗ ଶ୍ୱିଦୀକ | N 20       |                          |               | क्षे में 1143 दत्रा 1163              | 上京大储庆寺        | 20   |
| उदानियास्य या                   | \$         | संस्थात्र जात            |               | क्षे में 1163 दता 1217                | 燕京内殿          | 75   |
|                                 |            |                          |               |                                       |               |      |

## APPENDIX 3

| नश्चन त्यार                | <b>H</b>                              | IR<br>Les                       | नक्षुत्र तहेत्र ते . न न                          | で<br>( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) |        |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|--|--------|
| क्षयः च                    | सें चार्याः                           | ध्यतायु चन्नम्याचित्रम्         | ंग्रं   |  |        |
| विदादत्राधारकुः यापाध्यत्र | गु <sup>-</sup> ध्यड् <sub>र</sub> 46 | ब्रेन:धव:श.                     | क्षे.चें <sup>,</sup> 1217 दक्ष <sup>,</sup> 1275 | 圣安寺  | 59     |
|                            |                                       | बर्केन् हेदान्गर-येषे पाद्यापाष | मिने क्षे.सं. 1275 दत्र 1289                      | 万岁山仁智殿                                       | 14     |
| নষ্ট্রনম'ব'ট্রব'           | 2104                                  | क्षे.चे. १६६५ दसः १७७० वरः      | মু'ন্' 1289 বন 1316                               | 圣安寺后殿  | 27     |
|                            |                                       | श्रुदाहे खेदायीय यापदा          | क्षे.वें १९१ दह्य क्षे.वें १३१६ महत्तें २३०७      | हिन 2317 सर्वेष्याचित्र                      | .N. 6  |
|                            |                                       |                                 |   | गार्धेसायदे संग्वहा बसायायी स् २३०७          | 1 2307 |
|                            |                                       |                                 |   | वश्रद्भ वहेत्र यः स्वत्रात्तः सम्बन्दा       | अव ने  |
|                            |                                       |                                 |   |  |        |



याश्चर्या शुर् श्वर्त्ते (梅本寺) ब्रेयास नेराय नेराय स्वर्त्त्र स्वर्त्त स्वर्त स्वर्त्त स्वर्त स्वर्त्त स्वर्त स्वर्त्त स्वर्त

दे दशार्थे नहु नहिशार्थे रामदे हिरासूना हु र्थे । 1275 या सदासु रे पूर्व के रे वेदे के देवा है । के विकास के व

रे. 4 श. ज्या. प्रश्ने. प्राचित श्री. ज्या. विश्व वि

देन्द्र्याकुं त्यन्यस्य मुक्तिस्य विषय स्थाप्त स्थाप्

यान्तर्भित्तर प्रस्ति विष्ण स्त्र स

ने न्या द्या विवा व श्रु हे द प्यने ये किए बुच मे ते किए हु स्था विवा मु कि प्यन्य ये है में नाम कि मानवा कि स्था कि

श्चै र्ते 1644 विरश्चेतार्तेर मृ स्नेद कुतार्श्वर विरा

स्वित्यत्तिः भूति । विद्युष्यात्त्र प्रत्य । विद्युष्य । विद्युष्

क्र-त्वरःल्य-अर्-र-वर्ष्वयः प्रचान्त्रः क्र-त्वरः क्र-त

ब्रेन्यः व्या भ्रेन्यः व्याप्तः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः क्षेत्रः व्याप्तः व्यापतः व्याप्तः व्यापतः वयापतः व्यापतः व

ROBERTO VITALI

क्षुैं तें 1956 तुः नः नत्त्र पते क्षेत्र हेर नत्त्र हैता कु नर गू के गार मू कि का कु ने ति नामर त्यीं र्यायर विया यो शः श्रुपा बुवाया हे . यह रायदा व तव विवाया बेरा हुटा। हे . या बवा है . यह रा નવ.વટ. નર્સવ. જરીવ. જૂના અ. ગ્રીઅ. ટુંગ. જ્વ. ટવ. ગ્રી. શ્રું. નાહુ અ. ભૂટ. કુંગ

৾ঀ৾৾৽য়৾য়৽য়ৢ৽য়৾৽য়৾৽য়য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়৽য়য়৸

बेशपायदि दी वरवा वी देश हर द्वा साम् से से खेला विस्रमास से वासी विस्रमा है ५८। १ अंतर्नि र्भेनानी ५वें तर्स्नि अस्मिन स्वरंभ द्वरंभे कित्रं मी के अधित निर्मा के तर्दर हैं। र्वेदे र्स्नेर न्त्री नावश्व ख्यापट प्यायाय त्री नावट प्या पुवर रेट नर नु त्यव नायय र्वे ૡૢઌૺૺઌૡ૽ૼૺૺ૾ૹ૽૽૽ૼૺૺૺૺૺ૾ઌૹ૽૱ઌૹૹઌઌ૽૽ઙૢૣૻૢૻૻૹઌ૱ઌ૽ૢૼૣૺ૱૱ઌૢઌ૱ૠ૾ૢ૽ૺૺૺૺૺૹૺૹ૽૱ૹ૱૱ `ব্৴৻৸৾৾৻ঀ৾৻৴৾৻য়৻য়ৼ৸৻ঽ৻য়য়৸৻ঀৣ৾ঀ৾৸৸৻ঀৡঀ৾৻৸৾৴ঀৠৢ৾ঀ৾৸৻ঀ৵৻ঀ৴৻ঽয়৻ঀৢ৾য়৻৸৻৻ৄ৾৻ र्बेट.कर। sere तर्र्य.ब्रट्या उ <u>ध्</u>या.येट्य. r3-rr यर.येथ.बेर.टे.वीटय.त्या