

A vibrant Tibetan wall painting depicting two Mahāsiddhas. The central figure is a dark-skinned man with a fierce expression, wearing a red dhoti and a large, ornate golden crown. He is adorned with multiple necklaces, armlets, and bangles. He is shown in a dynamic, dancing pose, with one leg raised and arms extended. Behind him is a golden, crescent-shaped halo. To his right is a fair-skinned woman, also adorned with jewelry, wearing a green and gold patterned garment. She is looking towards the man. The background is a deep blue, decorated with stylized green leaves and red flowers. The entire scene is framed by a golden, swirling border. At the bottom, there is a red banner with Tibetan script.

EMPOWERED MASTERS

*Tibetan Wall Paintings of
Mahāsiddhas at Gyantse*

མ་རི་པ་ལ་འ་མོ་

ULRICH
VON
SCHROEDER

EMPOWERED MASTERS



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TIBETAN WALL PAINTINGS OF MAHĀSIDDHAS AT GYANTSE

Ulrich von Schroeder

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NOTES ON ROMANIZATION

Transcription of Sanskrit Words

The Sanskrit words are transcribed into Roman script with diacritical marks.

Transcription of Tibetan Words

The transcription of Tibetan words into Roman script used for this publication follows the method proposed by Turrell Wylie.¹ A phonetic rendering of the Tibetan names of mahāsiddhas was out of the question for one simple reason: it would represent an English phonetic rendering of a Tibetan phonetic rendering of an Indian name. As can be seen in the appendices, the situation is already complicated enough with the different Tibetan phonetic renderings. It seems that each Tibetan writer of the past had his own method of recording foreign names phonetically in Tibetan script. So things were not much different in the Tibet of the past as they are now in the West, with many Tibetologists having their own method of phonetic spelling.

Tibetan words in this book appear in Wylie transcription, followed by *dBu can* script. Phonetic rendering of words is restricted to a few frequently reoccurring names.

ཀ	ka	ཁ	kha	ག	ga	ང	nga
ཅ	ca	ཆ	cha	ཇ	ja	ཉ	nya
ཏ	ta	ཐ	tha	ད	da	ན	na
པ	pa	ཕ	pha	བ	ba	མ	ma
ཅ	tsa	ཆ	tsha	ཇ	dza	མ	wa
ཞ	zha	ཟ	za	འ	'a	ཡ	ya
ར	ra	ལ	la	ཤ	sha	ས	sa
ཧ	ha	ཨ	a				
ཨ	i	ཨ	u	ཨ	e	ཨ	o

Although there are no capital letters in Tibetan script, capitalization was considered necessary here for many words as a concession to Western practices. Of the three possibilities of either capitalizing the “first”, the “phonetic”, or the “lexicographic” letter, the method used by René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, known as “internal lexicographic capitalization”, has been chosen, although often only the first syllable is subjected to such capitalization.² This facilitates the finding of words in dictionaries.

Transcription of Tibetan Inscriptions

The transcriptions reflect the actual inscriptions on the wall paintings.

¹ Wylie, T. V. 1959. “A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 22, pp. 261–67.

² Nebesky-Wojkowitz, R. de. 1956. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*. The Hague.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
NOTES ON ROMANIZATION	vi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	viii
INTRODUCTION	12
MAHĀSIDDHA WALL PAINTINGS AT GYANTSE	14
IDENTIFICATION OF MAHĀSIDDHAS AT GYANTSE	19
PLAN OF THE LAMDRE CHAPEL	24
PLATES 1–86	26
ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	194
GLOSSARY	196
APPENDIX I: CONCORDANCE WITH THE ABHAYADATTA TRADITION	197
APPENDIX II: CONCORDANCE OF THE INSCRIBED GYANTSE SIDDHAS	202
APPENDIX III: CONCORDANCE WITH THE VAJRĀSANA TRADITION	207
INDEX TO WALL PAINTINGS	212
INDEX TO MAHĀSIDDHAS	213

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

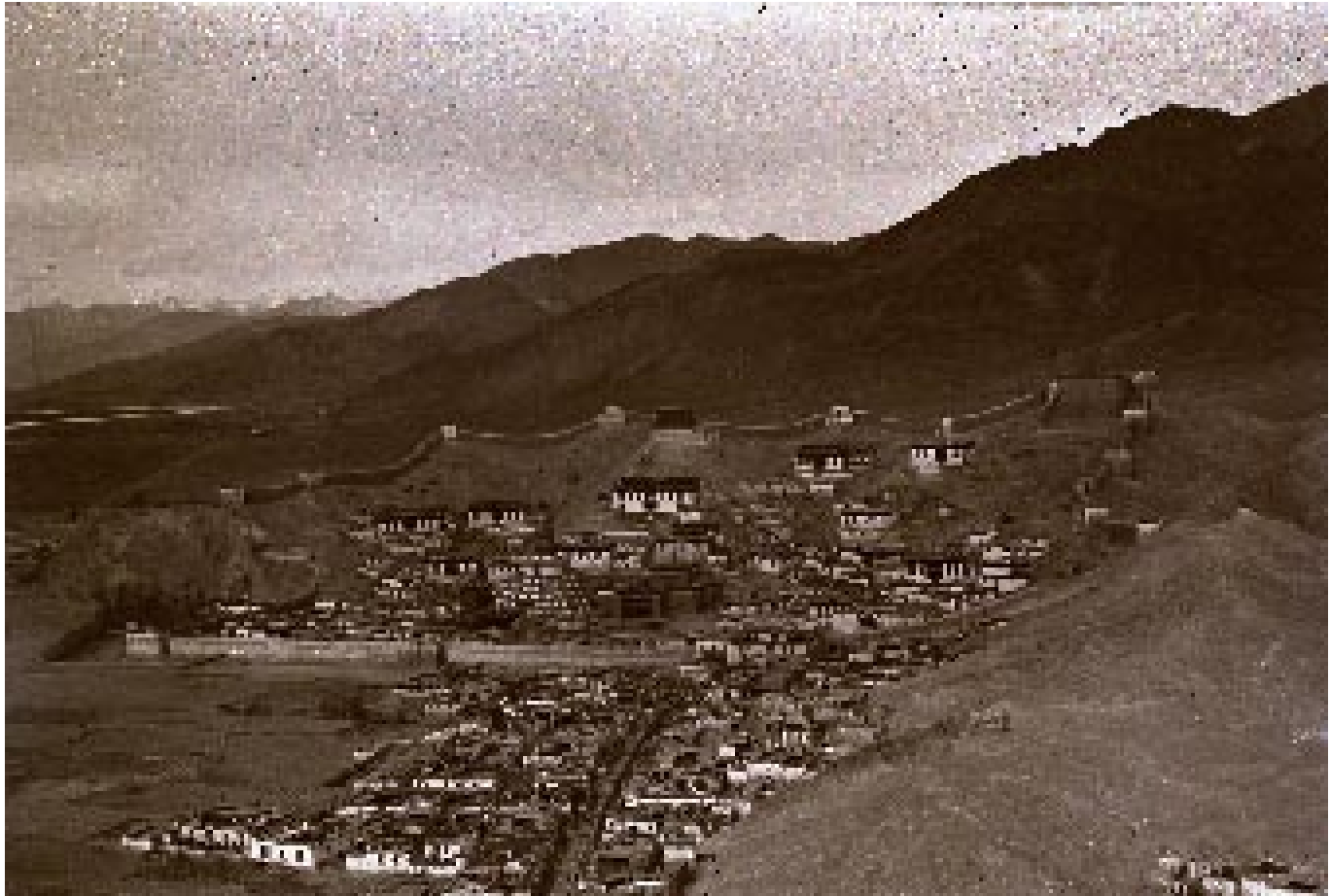
Fig. 1.	Overview of the monastic complex at Gyantse	11
Fig. 2.	Palkhor Chöden or Kumbum, Palkhor Chöde monastic complex at Gyantse	13
Fig. 3.	Palkhor Tsuglagkhang, Palkhor Chöde monastic complex at Gyantse	15
Fig. 4.	Four mahāsiddhas painted on the walls of the Lamdre chapel, Palkhor Tsuglagkhang	18
Fig. 5.	Six mahāsiddhas painted on the walls of the Lamdre chapel, Palkhor Tsuglagkhang	21
Fig. 6.	Mahāsiddhas “Bir wa pa” and “Li la pa”, Lamdre chapel of the Palkhor Tsuglagkhang	23
Fig. 7.	Mahāsiddhas “Ka ta ra” and “Dra nu ri”, Lamdre chapel of the Palkhor Tsuglagkhang	23
Plate 1.	Lu i pa ལུ་ཇི་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Lūipa “The Fish-Entrails Eater”) (CSP 1)	27
Plate 2.	Li la pa ལི་ལ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Līlapa “The Sensual King”) (CSP 2)	29
Plate 3.	Bir wa pa འི་ར་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Virūpa “The Ḍākinī-Master”) (CSP 3)	31
Plate 4.	Ḍoṃ bi he ru ka འོ་འོ་འོ་འོ་འོ་འོ་ (Mahāsiddha Ḍombipa “The Lord of the Low-Caste”) (CSP 4)	33
Plate 5.	Shwa ba ri pa ཤ་བ་རི་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Śavaripa “The Hunter”) (CSP 5)	35
Plate 6.	Sa ra ha ས་ར་མ་ (Mahāsiddha Saraha “The Great Brahmin”) (CSP 6)	37
Plate 7.	Ka ka li ཀ་ཀ་ལི་ (Mahāsiddha Kaṅkāripa “The Widower”) (CSP 7)	39
Plate 8.	Nya nad pa ཉ་ན་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Mīnapa “The Fisherman”) (CSP 8)	41
Plate 9.	Gor kha pa གོ་ར་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Gorakṣa “The Cowherd”) (CSP 9)	43
Plate 10.	Tso rang ki ཚོ་རང་གི་ (Mahāsiddha Cauraṅgipa “The Dismembered Prince”) (CSP 10)	45
Plate 11.	Bin ra pa འི་ན་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Vīṇāpa “The Musician”) (CSP 11)	47
Plate 12.	Zhi ba lha ཞི་བ་ལྷ་ (Mahāsiddha Śāntipa “The Missionary”) (CSP 12)	49
Plate 13.	Tha gan ཐ་གན་ (Mahāsiddha Tantipa “The Senile Weaver”) (CSP 13)	51
Plate 14.	Inscription illegible (Mahāsiddha Cāmāripa? “The Shoemaker”) (CSP 14?)	53
Plate 15.	Klu sgrub ལུ་སྐྱུ་བ་ (Mahāsiddha Nāgārjuna “The Philosopher”) (CSP 16)	55
Plate 16.	Khar ka pa ཀ་མ་ར་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Khaḍgapa “The Swordsman”) (CSP 15)	57
Plate 17.	Ka na pa ཀ་ན་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Kāṇhapa “The Dark Man”) (CSP 17)	59
Plate 18.	Ka na ri ཀ་ན་རི་ (Mahāsiddha Āryadeva, also known as Karṇaripa “The One-Eyed”) (CSP 18)	61
Plate 19.	Tha ga na ཐ་ག་ན་ (Mahāsiddha Thaganapa “The Habitual Liar”) (CSP 19)	63
Plate 20.	Na ro pa ན་རོ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Nāropa “The Unshakeable”) (CSP 20)	65

Plate 21.	Sha mi pa ཤམིཔ་ (Mahāsiddha Śyalipa “The Jackal-Man”) (CSP 21)	67
Plate 22.	Ti lo pa ཉིལོཔ་ (Mahāsiddha Tilopa “The Renowned Renunciate”) (CSP 22)	69
Plate 23.	Ba ta pa བཏཔ་ (Mahāsiddha Catrapa “The Fortunate Beggar”) (CSP 23)	71
Plate 24.	Bra ta pa བྱཏཔ་ (Mahāsiddha Bhadrāpa “The Auspicious Brahmin”) (CSP 24)	73
Plate 25.	Da khan di དཀམན་དེ་ (Mahāsiddha Dukhañdi “The Rag Man”) (CSP 25)	75
Plate 26.	Rud pu ka རུད་ཕུ་ཀ་ (Mahāsiddha Āyogi ? “The Useless”) (CSP 26?)	77
Plate 27.	Par ka li པར་ཀལི་ (Mahāsiddha Kālapa ? “The Handsome Yogi”) (CSP 27?)	79
Plate 28.	Ḍo mi bri ཏོམི་བྲི་ (Mahāsiddha Dhobīpa “The Washerman”) (CSP 28)	81
Plate 29.	Kar ka na ཀར་ཀན་ (Mahāsiddha Kaṅkaṇa “The Master of the Bracelet”) (CSP 29)	83
Plate 30.	Ka ma pa ཀམ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Kambala “The Wool Garment Wearer”) (CSP 30)	85
Plate 31.	De ki pa དེ་ཀི་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Deṅgipa “The Courtesan’s Slave”) (CSP 31)	87
Plate 32.	Sha de pa ཤམ་དཔ་ (Mahāsiddha Bhandepa ? “The Compassionate God”) (CSP 32?)	89
Plate 33.	Te ru sha ཏེ་རུ་ཤ་ (“The Turk”) (unidentified mahāsiddha)	91
Plate 34.	Ma ri pa མ་རི་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Mahīpa “The Great Man”) (CSP 37)	93
Plate 35.	Bu ta pa བུ་ཏཔ་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	95
Plate 36.	So dra bo dhe སོ་དྲ་བོ་དེ་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	97
Plate 37.	Dril bu pa དྲིལ་བུ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Ghaṅṭāpa “The Bell-Ringer”) (CSP 52)	99
Plate 38.	Ra hu la ར་ཀུ་ལ་ (Mahāsiddha Rāhula “The Rejuvenated”) (CSP 47)	101
Plate 39.	Sarba de སར་དེ་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	103
Plate 40.	Sa ta pa ས་ཏཔ་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	105
Plate 41.	Mi ka la [I] མི་ཀལ་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	107
Plate 42.	Ḍa ma pa ཏམ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Dharmapa [I] “The Dharma Man”) (CSP 36)	109
Plate 43.	Ḍan ta pa ཏན་ཏཔ་ (Mahāsiddha Tañtepa “The Gambler”) (CSP 33)	111
Plate 44.	Pa dzu ki པ་དུ་ཀི་ (Mahāsiddha Jogīpa “The Pilgrim”) (CSP 53)	113
Plate 45.	Ku ra ཀུ་ར་ (Mahāsiddha Bhusuku “The Lazy Monk”) (CSP 41)	115
Plate 46.	Ka ma ri ཀམ་རི་ (Mahāsiddha Kaṃparīpa “The Blacksmith”) (CSP 45)	117
Plate 47.	Do khan di དོ་ཁན་དེ་ (Mahāsiddha Dhokarīpa “The Vessel Man”) (CSP 49)	119
Plate 48.	Kaṃ pa ma ཀམ་པ་མ་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	121
Plate 49.	Gu dri ti ཀུ་དྲི་ཏི་ (Mahāsiddha Godhurīpa “The Bird-Catcher”) (CSP 55)	123
Plate 50.	Li kra mi ལི་ཀྲམི་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	125
Plate 51.	Dza pa ka དཙ་པ་ཀ་ (Mahāsiddha Lucikapa “The Fugitive”) (CSP 56)	127
Plate 52.	Mi dri ni མི་དྲི་ནི་ (Mahāsiddha Medhini “The Farmer”) (CSP 50)	129
Plate 53.	Ku ku ri ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་ (Mahāsiddha Kukkurīpa “The Dog-Lover”) (CSP 34)	131
Plate 54.	Ni gun ནི་གུན་ (Mahāsiddha Nirguṇāpa “The Halfwit”) (CSP 57)	133
No. G55	Mahāsiddha painting is destroyed (inscription illegible)	134

No. G56	Tsha pa ri ཚ་པ་རི་ (Mahāsiddha Carbaripa “The Petrifier”) (painting destroyed) (CSP 64)	135
Plate 57.	Ka dzo pa ཀ་འོ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Kucipa “The Goitre-Necked Ascetic”) (CSP 35)	137
Plate 58.	Dra ma pa ད་མ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Acīnta “The Inconceivable”) (CSP 38)	139
Plate 59.	Na li la ན་ལི་ལ་ (Mahāsiddha Nalinapa “The Lotus-Picker”) (CSP 40)	141
Plate 60.	Tsa da ka ཙ་ད་ཀ་ (Mahāsiddha Celukapa “The Great Sleeper”) (CSP 54)	143
Plate 61.	Bri kṣa na འི་ཀླ་ན་ (Mahāsiddha Bhikṣanapa “The Man with Two Teeth”) (CSP 61)	145
Plate 62.	De pa na དེ་པ་ལ་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	147
No. G63	Mahāsiddha painting is destroyed (inscription illegible)	146
Plate 64.	Du la ma ni དུ་ལ་མ་ནི་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	149
Plate 65.	Mi ka la [II] མི་ཀ་ལ་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	151
Plate 66.	Sa dra zhabs ས་ད་ཞབས་ (“The Earth-Like-One”) (unidentified mahāsiddha)	153
Plate 67.	Ka pa li ཀ་པ་ལི་ (Mahāsiddha Kapālapa “The Skull-Cup-Bearer”) (CSP 72)	155
Plate 68.	De pan དེ་པན་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	157
Plate 69.	Ka na kha ya ཀ་ན་ཁ་ཡ་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	159
Plate 70.	Ka ya la ཀ་ཡ་ལ་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	161
Plate 71.	Ka ta ra ཀ་ཏ་ར་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	163
Plate 72.	Dra nu ri ད་རུ་རི་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	165
Plate 73.	Sa ka pa ས་ཀ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Sakara/Saroruha “The Lotus Born”) (CSP 74)	167
Plate 74.	Me dra se མེ་ད་སེ་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	169
Plate 75.	Sa pa dra ga ས་པ་ད་ག་ (Mahāsiddha Sarvabhakṣa “The One Who Eats Everything”) (CSP 75)	171
Plate 76.	Na ga bro di ན་ག་བློ་དེ་ (Mahāsiddha Nāgabodhi “The Cured Thief”) (CSP 76)	173
Plate 77.	Ra ri pa ར་རི་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Dārikapa “The Temple Prostitute’s Slave”) (CSP 77)	175
Plate 78.	Pu ta pa པུ་ཏ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Putalipa “The Icon-Bearer”) (CSP 78)	177
Plate 79.	Sa ra na ས་ར་ན་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)	179
Plate 80.	Ka gi la ཀ་གི་ལ་ (Mahāsiddha Kokilipa “The Cuckoo-Sound Hearer”) (CSP 80)	181
Plate 81.	Sa ra gi ས་ར་གི་ (unidentified female Yoginī Siddhā)	183
Plate 82.	Ni la kha pa ནི་ལ་ཁ་པ་ (unidentified mahāsiddha)” (GsB 48?)	185
Plate 83.	Sa chu ta ས་ཅུ་ཏ་ (unidentified female Yoginī Siddhā)	187
Plate 84.	Na ra pa ན་ར་པ་ (unidentified female Yoginī Siddhā)	189
Plate 85.	Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje གླིང་རས་པ་པདྨ་རོ་རྗེ་ (1128–1188) a ‘Brug pa bKa’ brgyud master	191
Plate 86.	Paṅ chen Shri sh’a ri putra པཎ་ཅེན་ཤྲི་ཤ་རི་ཕཌ་ཏ་, abbot of Bodhgayā (Northern India)	193

CSP = Abhayadatta. *Caturaṣṭī-siddha-pravṛtti* (“The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas”, Sanskrit text, 11th/12th century).

This text is apparently known only through Tibetan translations.



**Fig. 1. Overview of the Palkhor Chöde monastic complex at Gyantse in Southern Tibet.
(Photo: Leslie Weir, 1909–1912).**

INTRODUCTION

Some of the most important Tibetan Buddhist monuments to have survived the Cultural Revolution between 1966 and 1976 are located at Gyantse (rGyal rtse) རྒྱལ་རྩེ་ in Tsang province of Central Tibet. For the study of Tibetan art, the temples of dPal 'khor chos sde དཔལ་འཁོར་ཚོས་སྡེ་, namely the dPal 'khor gTsug lag khang དཔལ་འཁོར་གཏུག་ལག་ཁང་ and dPal 'khor mchod rten དཔལ་འཁོར་མཚོད་རྟེན་, are for various reasons of great importance. The detailed information gained from the inscriptions with regard to the sculptors and painters summoned for the work testifies to the regional distribution of workshops in 15th-century Tsang. The sculptures and murals also document the extent to which a general consensus among the various traditions or schools had been achieved by the middle of that century. Of particular interest is the painted cycle of eighty-four mahāsiddhas, each with a name inscribed in Tibetan script. These paintings of mahāsiddhas, or “great perfected ones endowed with supernatural faculties” (Tib. Grub chen གུབ་ཇེན་), are located in the Lamdre chapel (Lam 'bras lha khang) ལམ་འབྲས་ལྷ་ཁང་ on the second floor of the dPal 'khor gTsug lag khang. Bearing in mind that these murals are the most splendid extant painted Tibetan representations of mahāsiddhas, one wonders why they have never been published as a whole cycle. Several scholars have at times intended to study these paintings, but it seems that difficulties of identification were the primary obstacle to publication.³ Although the life-stories of many of the eighty-four mahāsiddhas still remain unidentified, the quality of the works nevertheless warrants a publication of these great murals.

A *siddha* is a tantric adept who, through practice, has attained perfection and is endowed with special powers. Most renowned among these Indian tantric adepts, who lived mostly during the 9th and 10th centuries, are the mahāsiddhas, who were often listed as a group of eighty-four. The siddhas were a class of ascetics who practiced outside the institutional discipline of the monasteries. Instead of metaphysical speculation, they practiced an existential and unorthodox way of life. Coming from diverse social backgrounds, the mahāsiddhas included the entire variety of human experience. In addition to brahmin priests, monks and nuns, there were also lay practitioners, kings, ministers, merchants, farmers, servants, beggars, thieves and people from every walk of life. Each had a teacher who initiated and instructed him into the practice of meditation of a particular tantric lineage. Whereas scholastic tantric Buddhism was especially practiced in the monastic centres of North-Eastern India, the siddha movement touched all parts of India. The metaphysical content of the siddhas' practice was based on texts known as tantras. About the origin of the tantras one can only speculate, but they seem to have their roots in very ancient ritual magic associated with fertility cults. After being transmitted orally, sometimes for hundreds of years, the tantras were only written down later. The life-stories of the siddhas at Gyantse provide fascinating insight into a wide range of tantric practice. The purpose of this publication is not to present a general study of mahāsiddhas, but rather to make these wonderful wall paintings of Gyantse known to a wider public. Of the eighty-four mahāsiddhas only fifty-seven could be identified with reasonable certainty. The identification of the individual siddhas should be regarded as preliminary, as further studies will certainly reveal more about their often still-obscure identities.

³ Tucci, G. 1941. *Gyantse ed i suoi monasteri, Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. IV, Parte I, pp. 155–56, Parte III, figs. 87–91; Lo Bue, E. & Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, pp. 412–32, pls. 147–60.



Fig. 2. Palkhor Chöden, also known as Kumbum, in the Palkhor Chöde monastic complex at Gyantse in Southern Tibet. The Great Stūpa was consecrated in 1427, the decoration finished in 1439. (Photo: 1980).

MAHĀSIDDHA WALL PAINTINGS AT GYANTSE

The small, picturesque town of Gyantse རྒྱལ་རྩེ in the Nyang valley of Tsang, once the capital of a local kingdom, is the location of the dPal 'khor chos sde དཔལ་འཁོར་ཚོས་སྡེ་ monastic complex, constructed in the 15th century. A high wall separates it from the nearby residential area of Gyantse. The expansive site (Fig. 1) originally included sixteen monasteries, most of which were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Four of the monasteries belonged to the *Sa skya* ས་སྐུ tradition, three to the *Bu lugs* བུ་ལུགས་ tradition, and nine to the *dGe lugs* དགེ་ལུགས་ tradition.⁴ The main architectural structures to have survived are the dPal 'khor gTsug lag khang དཔལ་འཁོར་གཏུག་ལག་ཁང་ (Fig. 3) and the nearby dPal 'khor mchod rten དཔལ་འཁོར་མཚོན་རྟེན་, or sKu 'bum སྐུ་འབུམ་ (“great stūpa”) known as bKra shis sgo mang mchod rten བཀྲ་ཤིས་སློམ་མང་མཚོན་རྟེན་ or sKu 'bum bkra shis sgo mang སྐུ་འབུམ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་སློམ་མང་ (Fig. 2). The foundation of the large and massive structure of the dPal 'khor gTsug lag khang was laid in 1418 by Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags རབ་བརྟན་ཀུན་བཟང་འཕགས་ (1389–1442), the third prince of Gyantse, son of Kun dga' 'phags pa ཀུན་དགའ་འཕགས་པ་ (1357–1412); construction was finished in 1425. Two years later, in 1427, the dPal 'khor mchod rten was consecrated, and the decoration finished in 1439. All the temples contain painted clay statues, and the walls are extensively decorated with murals.⁵

The dPal 'khor gTsug lag khang consists of two stories with a number of temples. On the ground floor, at the back of the large assembly hall, is the inner sanctuary, the gTsang khang གཏུང་ཁང་ (Skt.: *gandhakūṭi*), known as Jo bo'i lha khang ཇོ་བོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་, dedicated to the “Buddhas of the three times”, namely Dīpaṅkara (Mar me mdzad) མར་མེ་མཚན་ (past), Śākyamuni (Śākya thub pa) འགྲུ་སྐུབ་པ་ (present), and Maitreya (Byams pa) བྱམས་པ་ (future). The western wing of the ground floor contains the rDo rje dbyings lha khang རྫོལ་རྒྱུད་སྐུ་ཁང་, dedicated to the cycle of Vajradhātu (Tib.: rDo rje dbyings) རྫོལ་རྒྱུད་སྐུ་. The eastern wing, the Chos rgyal lha khang ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ལྷ་ཁང་, is named after the three great Tibetan “kings of the doctrine” (*dharmarāja*) (chos rgyal) ཚོས་རྒྱལ་: Srong btsan sgam po རྫོང་བཙན་སྐབས་པོ་ (reigned c. 618–649), Khri srong lde brtsan ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྷེ་བཙུན་ (reigned c. 755–797), and Ral pa can རལ་པ་ཅན་ (reigned c. 815–838). This temple is now named rGyal ba Byams pa'i lha khang རྒྱལ་བ་བྱམས་པའི་ལྷ་ཁང་ after the large image of Maitreya, constructed later in the centre of the room by the *dGe lugs pa* དགེ་ལུགས་པ་. Near the entrance is the mGon khang མགོན་ཁང་, dedicated to the wrathful deities. Three temples, or chapels, stand on the upper floor of the dPal 'khor gTsug lag khang, namely the gNas brtan lha khang གནས་བརྟན་ལྷ་ཁང་, the Lam 'bras lha khang ལམ་འབྲས་ལྷ་ཁང་, and the gZhal yas khang གཞལ་ཡས་ལྷ་ཁང་. These chapels were finished in the female wood-snake year, 1425. The gNas brtan lha khang contains large painted clay images of Śākyamuni surrounded by the sixteen *arhats* (Ch.: *lohans*), as well as Hva shang and Dharmatāla – executed in Sino-Tibetan style.⁶ The names of the artists who made the sculptures were not recorded. Beside the gNas brtan lha khang is the Byams pa mchod pa lha khang བྱམས་པ་མཚོན་པ་ལྷ་ཁང་, housing a large number of metal statues.⁷

⁴ The *Sa skya* tradition, founded by Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092–1158); the *Bu lugs* tradition, based on the teachings of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364); the *dGe lugs* tradition, founded by Tsong kha pa (1357–1419).
⁵ E. F. Lo Bue and F. Ricca published an excellent account of this monument. 1993. *The Great Stupa of Gyantse*.

⁶ Lo Bue, E. F. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, pp. 377–411, pls. 132–45.
⁷ Cf. von Schroeder, U. 2001. *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*. Vol. Two: Tibet & China, pls. 37C, 169C, 224D, 231C, 234C, 271C, 277C, 280B, 280C, 280E, 304C, 314C, 317C, 317E, 319C, 322E–F, 327D.



Fig. 3. Palkhor Tsuglagkhang inside Palkhor Chöde at Gyantse in Southern Tibet, completed in 1425. (Photo: 1980).

The Lam 'bras lha khang ལམ་འབྲས་སྒྲུབ་ཁང་, built by Rab 'byor bzang po རབ་འབྲོ་རབ་བཟང་པོ་, contains at its centre a three-dimensional Maṇḍala of Saṃvara based on the tradition founded by Lūipa (Plate 1). The chapel is named after the *lam 'bras* ལམ་འབྲས་ tradition (“path with the result”), especially popular with the *Sa skya* order. The *lam 'bras* teachings were formulated by Virūpa according to instructions received from Ḍākinī Nairātmyā. The most famous practitioners of this tantric tradition survive as statues lined up along the walls. At the centre of the western wall sits Vajradhara (Tib.: rDo rje 'chang) རྩེ་རམ་རྩེ་ on a throne, flanked by two attendant deities. On each side of this central group are nine large painted clay statues, representing the eighteen masters of the lineage. The almost life-size images, modelled with straw and clay on a wooden armature, are of a striking appeal. They are placed against the walls below the paintings of the Mahāsiddhas.⁸

Above the statues of the *lam 'bras* ལམ་འབྲས་ masters is a painted cycle composed of two registers of eighty-four mahāsiddhas and two additional personages. According to the inscription, which runs along the walls, the paintings were

⁸ Lo Bue, E. F. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, pp. 432–60, pls. 161–79; von Schroeder, U. 2001. *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*. Vol. Two: Tibet & China, pp. 870–81, pls. 201–204. In Central Tibet, at sMin grol gling monastery, there survives an intact series of large gilt copper repoussé

sculptures also commemorating *lam 'bras* masters. Cf. von Schroeder, U. 2001. *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*. Vol. Two: Tibet & China, pp. 972–85; pls. 236–41.

executed by dPal 'byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་ from gNas rnying གནས་རྫིང་, south of Gyantse.⁹ There seems to be some confusion about the number of mahāsiddhas painted on the walls of the Lam 'bras lha khang. This is due to the fact that the inscription below the paintings mentions eighty siddhas, whereas actually eighty-four were originally represented.¹⁰ Of these eighty-four siddhas painted on the walls, two are entirely destroyed (G55, G63) and another retains only the lower section; the name has survived (G56). Thus, the inscribed Tibetan names of eighty-two mahāsiddhas are known. Of the original eighty-six paintings, eighty-four represent a cycle of mahāsiddhas (G1–G84).

To fill empty spaces on the wall, two additional Buddhist teachers were added, namely Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje གླིང་རས་པ་པདྨ་རྡོ་རྗེ་ (1128–1188) (G85), a 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud འབྲུག་པ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ master, and Mahāpaṇḍita Śrī Śāriputra (Paṇ chen Shri sh'a ri putra) པཎ་ཆེན་ཤྲི་ཤ་རི་ཕུ་ (G86), abbot of the monastery at Bodhgayā (Gayā district, Bihar, Northern India). In 1414, the latter visited Gyantse on his way to Beijing, following an invitation by the Chinese Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1424).¹¹ It is still not clear why Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje was added to the cycle of the eighty-four mahāsiddhas.¹² He was the spiritual father of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud sub-order and had his residence at Rwa lung རྩ་ལུང་, located about 40 kilometres south-east of Gyantse on the road to Lhasa. It has been suggested that the particular mahāsiddha cycle at Gyantse was adopted by the Sa skya order in connection with the lam 'bras tradition, perhaps as received through Gling ras pa གླིང་རས་པ་ (1128–1188),¹³ though this is unlikely. Yet Gling ras pa was perhaps added to the painted cycle of mahāsiddhas because of his affiliation with the lam 'bras tradition, received from Phag mo gru pa ཕག་མོ་གུ་པ་ (1110–1170), one of his teachers.

A single-line inscription in dBu can དབུ་ཅན་ script painted along the walls beneath the cycle of mahāsiddhas contains information about the donors and painters:

ཞིང་ཁམས་འདི་དེ་དགོས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིན་བདག་གཉེན་ཆེན་རྣམས་ལ་སྐྱེ་མཚན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དཔོན་དུང་རྒྱ་གར་མགོན་སྐྱ་བུ་ཤེགས་པ་བཞེངས། དགོ་བས་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི། སྤྱིབ་གཉིས་བྱང་ཞིང་
 ཆོང་ཆོགས་ཚོགས་ཏེ། ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞབས་དུང་དུ། རྣམ་མཁུན་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཐོབ་པར་ཤོག། རི་མོ་མཁའ་པ་གནས་རྫིང་པ་དཔོན་མོ་ཆེ་དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་དཔོན་སྤོབ་ཀྱིས་གཟབས་ནས་བྲིས་སོ།།
 གུ་བ་ཆེན་བརྒྱུད་ཅུའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་འདི་དེ་དགོས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིན་བདག་གཉེན་ཆེན་དཔོན་བཙུན་དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་གྱིས། རིན་ཅན་པ་མའི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་ཚོགས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་དང་ཅན་གུས་པའི་སྤོབ་སེམས་
 ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི། སྤྱིབ་གཉིས་བྱང་ཞིང་ཆོགས་གཉིས་སྐྱུར་ཚོགས་ཏེ། ཚོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱལ་སྐྱུར་དུ་ཐོབ། རྣམས་ཀྱང་། སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ལ་ཕན་བདེ་བྱིང་པར་ཤོག། ཞིང་ཁམས་ལྗོངས་འདི་
 དགོས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིན་བདག་དབུ་ཅང་དཔལ་མཚོག་པས་མཛོད་མཁའ་པ་གནས་རྫིང་པ་དཔོན་མོ་ཆེ་དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་དཔོན་སྤོབ་ཀྱིས་གཟབས་ས། དགོ་བས་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་སངས་རྒྱལ་སྐྱུར་ཐོབ་
 ཤོག།

Zhing khams 'di'i dgos kyi sbyin bdag gnyer chen rnam sras pa sku mched rnams kyis dpon drung rgya gar mgon sku gshegs pa (....) bzhengs/. dge bas sems can thams cad kyil/ sgrib gnyis byang zhing tshogs rdzogs tel/ chos kyi rgyal po'i (...) zhabs drung du// rnam mkhyen sangs rgyas thob par shog/ ri mo mkhas pa gnas rnying pa dpon mo che dpal 'byor ba dpon slob kyis gzabs nas bris sol/. Grub chen brgyad cu'i [80 mahāsiddhas] zhing khams 'di'i dgos kyi sbyin bdag gnas rnying[pa] dpon btsun dpal 'byor rin chen gyis// drin can pha ma'i thugs dgongs rdzogs phyr du// dad can gus pa'i sgo na[s] sems can thams cad kyil/ sgrib gnyis byang zhing tshogs gnyis myur rdzogs tel/ rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas myur du thob/ nas kyang// sems can rnams la phan bde byed par shog/. Zhing khams phyed po 'di'i dgos kyi

⁹ A painter of the name dPal 'byor rin chen was one of the teachers of sMan bla don grub (born 1409?), founder of the sMan ris school of painting. Jackson, D. P. 1997. "Chronological Notes on the Founding Masters of Tibetan Painting Traditions", *Tibetan Art*, pp. 254–61. Jackson, D. P. 1996. *A History of Tibetan Painting: The Great Tibetan Painters and Their Traditions*.
¹⁰ According to the *Myang chos 'byung*, eighty-eight siddhas are represented. G. Tucci mentions eighty-four, whereas Erberto Lo Bue assumed that only

eighty siddhas were shown, as stated in the inscription. Cf. Lo Bue, E. F. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, pp. 411–32, pls. 147–60.
¹¹ Tucci, G. 1949. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pp. 632, 665–66, 689, 703, nn. 154, 819, 833.
¹² According to a personal communication, Erberto Lo Bue suggests that perhaps Gling ras pa formed part of the teaching lineage of the consecrating monk of the Lam 'bras lha khang.
¹³ Lo Bue, E. F. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, p. 431.

*sbyin bdag dbu mdzad dPal mchog pas mdzad [ri mo] mkhas pa gnas rnying pa dpon mo che dPal 'byor ba dpon slob kyis gzabs [nas bris... bzheng?] s/ dge bas sems can thams cad sangs rgyas myur thob shog/.*¹⁴

Southern wall: “*The particular patrons of this mural section, the gNyer chen rNam sras pa and his brother, had it painted [in memory of ?] the deceased Lord rGya gar mgon. By this virtue may all sentient beings purify the obscurations, complete the preparatory accumulations and, in the presence of the King of Dharma, may they attain the perfect wisdom of Buddhahood!*” **Western wall:** “*The particular patron of the mural section of the eighty[-four] mahāsiddhas, the dPon btsun dPal 'byor rin chen of gNas rnying, [prays through the merit of having them painted] as a memorial for his kind deceased parents, with faith and respect, that the two obscurations of all sentient beings will be purified and two accumulations rapidly completed, and that even after the attainment of perfect Buddhahood, each will bring benefit and happiness to sentient beings!*” **Northern wall:** “*The particular patron for this half of a mural section was dBu mdzad dPal mchog pa. It was carefully painted by the expert chief artist (dpon mo che) dPal 'byor ba of gNas rnying and his assistants. By this virtue may all sentient beings quickly attain Buddhahood!*” (David P. Jackson)

From the inscriptions we can conclude that the sponsors of the southern wall were rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother. The western wall of the temple was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་, dPal 'byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself. The northern wall of the temple was sponsored by a donor named dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་. The inscriptions further records that the paintings were done by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying and his assistants.

¹⁴ Lo Bue, E. F. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, p. 412, n. 119.



Fig. 4. Four mahāsiddhas painted ca. 1425 on the western wall of the Lamdre chapel inside the Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse. Depicted are Ka na pa (Mahāsiddha Kāṅhapa) (Plate 17), Ka na ri (Mahāsiddha Āryadeva, also known as Kaṅṅaripa) (Plate 18), Pa dzu ki (Mahāsiddha Jogipa) (Plate 44), and Ku ra (Mahāsiddha Bhusuku) (Plate 45). (Photo: 1992).

IDENTIFICATION OF MAHĀSIDDHAS AT GYANTSE

To identify the individual painted mahāsiddhas at Gyantse is complicated. The difficulties concern not only their selection and arrangement but also the Tibetan spelling of their Indian names. Tibet has different traditions relating to the mahāsiddhas. Among these traditions, two were particularly popular, namely the Abhayadatta Śrī list and the so-called Vajrāsana list. The number of mahāsiddhas varies between eighty-four and eighty-eight, and only about thirty-six of the names occur in both lists. In many instances more than one siddha with the same name exists, so it must be assumed that fewer than thirty siddhas of the two traditions actually relate to the same historical persons. In the days when the siddhas of the later Tibetan traditions flourished in India, i.e. between the 9th and 11th centuries, it was not uncommon for initiates to assume the names of famous adepts of the past. Sometimes a disciple would have the same name as his guru, while still other names were based on caste or tribe. In such a context the distinction between siddhas of the same name becomes blurred. The entire process of distinguishing between siddhas with the same name of different texts and lineages is therefore to a large extent guesswork. Thus, the purpose of the concordance lists published in the appendices is primarily for the reconstitution of the Indian names, regardless of whether they actually represent the same historical person or not!

For the study of the Gyantse murals, the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP), “*The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas*”, compiled by Abhayadatta Śrī, is more important than the Vajrāsana list because the concordance is identical with thirty-four siddhas. The *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP), a Northern Indian Sanskrit text dating from the 11th or 12th century, comes from a tradition prevalent in the ancient city-state of Campā in the modern district of Bihar. Only Tibetan translations of this Sanskrit text seem to have survived.¹⁵ This text was translated into Tibetan by sMon grub Shes rab ལྷོན་གུབ་ཤེས་རབ་ and is known as the *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi’i lo rgyus* གུབ་ཐོབ་བརྟེན་ལུ་རྩ་བཞི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ or “*The Legends of the Eighty-four Siddhas*”.¹⁶ It has been suggested that Abhayadatta Śrī is identical with the great Indian scholar Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākara Gupta (late 11th–early 12th century), the compiler of the iconographic compendiums *Vajrāvalī*, *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, and *Jyotirmañjarī*.¹⁷ The other major Tibetan tradition is based on the list contained in the *Caturaśīti-siddhābhyarthanā* (CSA) by Ratnākara Gupta of Vajrāsana, identical with Bodhgayā (rDo rje gdan) རོད་རྗེ་གདན་. The Tibetan translation is known as *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi’i gsol’debs* གུབ་ཐོབ་བརྟེན་ལུ་རྩ་བཞི་ལོ་གསལ་འདེབས་ by rDo rje gdan pa རོད་རྗེ་གདན་པ་.

To identify and reconstruct the Indian names of the painted siddhas at Gyantse, it was necessary to compare the inscriptions with the spellings contained in different Tibetan texts. By comparing the names inscribed at Gyantse with the spellings in different Tibetan treatises on the mahāsiddhas, it has been possible to reconstruct the Indian names of almost sixty siddhas.

¹⁵ Abhayadatta. *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti*; (“The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas”); Sanskrit original of the *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi’i lo rgyus*. A condensed version is the *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi’i rtogs pa snying po zhes bya pa* (Rt). [The Sanskrit text dates from the 11th/12th century; numbered in the concordance tables as *CSP 1–CSP 84*].

¹⁶ sMon grub Shes rab. *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi’i lo rgyus*, [Tibetan translation of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti*]. *bsTan’gyur*: sNar thang edition, LXXXVI.

¹⁷ Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, p. 385.

According to the concordance tables, the selection of the mahāsiddhas at Gyantse corresponds to a certain extent with the list used by Abhayadatta Śrī in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP). Consequently, some fifty-eight of the mahāsiddhas can be reasonably identified with those contained in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP). In the case of about thirty-eight mahāsiddhas, the position within the two lists appears to be identical in the Gyantse cycle (G1–G84) and the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 1–CSP 84). In the case of another twenty-one painted mahāsiddhas at Gyantse, the Indian Sanskrit names could be established, although they do not figure in the same position within the two lists. Of some twenty-three of the painted mahāsiddhas of Gyantse, the Indian names could not be reconstructed and we thus know only the Tibetan spelling. Until the discovery of the text used by the painters, it will remain an enigma why only about half of the siddha paintings correspond with the sequence of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti*. The mahāsiddha murals at Gyantse might also have been related to the cycle painted earlier at rTse chen རྩེ་ཆེན་ monastery, which was founded in 1365 by dPal ldan bzang po དཔལ་ལྷན་བཟང་པོ་ (1318–1376), the first prince of Gyantse.¹⁸ There seems to exist no connection with Bu ston Rin chen grub འཇམ་དཔལ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ (1290–1364), who is credited with the drawings of the eighty-four mahāsiddhas at Zhwa lu ཞམ་ལུ་ རྩེ་ལུ་ monastery.¹⁹

For the purpose of identification, the inscriptions of the Gyantse mahāsiddhas were compared with the Tibetan spellings of the Indian names in several Tibetan texts based on the Abhayadatta list. First was the *Grub thob brygad cu rtsa bzhi’i rtogs pa snying po zhes bya pa* གུབ་ཐོབ་བརྟམ་རུ་ཅུ་བཞི་འདི་རྟོགས་པ་སྣོད་པོ་ཞེས་བྲུ་པ་ (RtB) by Dpa’ bo ’od gsal དཔལ་བོ་འོད་གསལ་.²⁰ The spellings were in turn compared with the captions of the blockprints titled *Grub thob brygad cu rtsa bzhi’i sku brnyan* གུབ་ཐོབ་བརྟམ་རུ་ཅུ་བཞི་འདི་སྐུ་བརྟན་ (RtSk).²¹ To increase the number of different Tibetan spellings of the Indian names of siddhas, the list of Klong rdol bla ma མྱོང་རྡོལ་བླ་མ་ was added (KL).²² This text is closer to the Abhayadatta list than the Vajrāsana list.

To further document the diversity of spellings, Tibetan texts based on the Vajrāsana list have also been included in the concordance lists: initially, there were two versions based on the *Grub thob brygad cu rtsa bzhi’i gsol ’debs* གུབ་ཐོབ་བརྟམ་རུ་ཅུ་བཞི་འདི་གསོལ་འདེབས་, the one used by Toni Schmid (GsS)²³ and the one published by A. Egyed (GsB).²⁴ In addition, a set of thirteen thangkas with the names of the eighty-four mahāsiddhas inscribed was included in the research (STh).²⁵ Then there was the list of eighty-eight mahāsiddhas forming part of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Pantheon* (AS).²⁶ The last text to be taken into consideration was the *Caturaśīti-siddhābhisamaya* list of eighty-four mahāsiddhas, written in Nepal by the Newār Śrīseṇa in AD 1131. The Tibetan spellings used in the concordance lists are those of the *Grub thob brygad cu rtsa bzhi’i cha lugs*

¹⁸ Ricca, F. 1997. “Stylistic Features of the Pelkhor Chöde at Gyantse”, *Tibetan Art*, pp. 208, 300, n. 47.

¹⁹ Ruegg, D. S. 1966. *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che*. (Roma: ISMEO), p. 117 (21a). Personal investigations at Zhwa lu revealed no wall paintings or drawings of siddhas. Also, Bu ston’s list of mahāsiddhas neither matches the selection nor the sequence of the Gyantse murals. Rob Linrothe kindly provided a number of lists of Mahāsiddhas, among them one by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364).

²⁰ Dpa’ bo ’od gsal. *Grub thob brygad cu rtsa bzhi’i rtogs pa snying po zhes bya pa* [Budapest], published by Alice Egyed. 1984. *The Eighty-four Siddhas: A Tibetan Blockprint from Mongolia*. [Condensed form of *Grub thob brygad cu rtsa bzhi’i lo rgyus* (LO)]. Numbered in the concordance tables as **RtB 1–RtB 84**.

²¹ *Grub thob brygad cu rtsa bzhi’i sku brnyan*. Block-prints illustrating the *Grub thob brygad cu rtsa bzhi’i rtogs pa snying po zhes bya pa*, published by Alice Egyed. 1984. *The Eighty-four Siddhas: A Tibetan Blockprint from Mongolia*. [Condensed form of the *Grub thob brygad cu rtsa bzhi’i lo rgyus* (Rt)]. Numbered in the concordance tables as **RtBsk 1–RtBsk 84**.

²² Klong rdol bla ma. 1973. *The Collected Works of Longdol Lama*, Parts 1 & 2. Repr. by Lokesh Chandra, Śāta-Piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, Vol.

100, fols. 1057–58. [Numbered in the concordance tables as **KL 1–KL 84**].

²³ *Grub thob brygad cu rtsa bzhi’i gsol ’debs* [Schmid], published by Toni Schmid. 1958. *The Eighty-five Siddhas*. [Numbered in the concordance tables as **GsS 1–GsS 85**].

²⁴ *Grub thob brygad cu rtsa bzhi’i gsol ’debs* [Budapest]; published by Alice Egyed. 1984. *The Eighty-four Siddhas: A Tibetan Blockprint from Mongolia*. [Numbered in the concordance tables as **GsB 1–GsB 84**].

²⁵ Set of inscribed thangkas preserved in the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm. Published by Toni Schmid. 1958. *The Eighty-five Siddhas*. (Stockholm: Statens Etnografiska Museum). [Numbered in the concordance tables as **STh 1–STh 85**].

²⁶ *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Pantheon, Buddhist Iconography* (CBI), Nos. 1082–2203, ed. by Lokesh Chandra, (Kyoto: Rinsen, 1986). [Eighty-eight Mahāsiddhas; cf. nos. 1096–1183.] [Numbered in the concordance tables as **AS 1–AS 88**.] The illustrations, some of them erroneously interchanged, were drawn after the set of thangkas (STh) published by Toni Schmid. 1958. *The Eighty-five Siddhas*. (Stockholm: Statens Etnografiska Museum).



Fig. 5. Mahāsiddhas painted ca. 1425 on the walls of the Lamdre chapel, upper floor of the Palkhor Tsuglagkhang. (Photo: 1992).

'*dzin tshul* གྲུབ་ཐོབ་བརྒྱན་ལུ་འཇིག་ཆ་ལུ་གསལ་འཛིན་རྒྱལ་ in the sNar thang སྤར་ཐང་ edition of the *bsTan 'gyur* བསྟན་འགྲུར་ (Nar).²⁷ The Tibetan lists based on the Vajrāsana text were included mainly for the purpose of having more variations of Tibetan transcriptions of Indian mahāsiddhas names at our disposal, to compare with the Gyantse inscriptions. This relevance applies naturally only to those names of mahāsiddhas that are included in both the Abhayadatta and the Vajrāsana lists. However, as stated above, the same names in different texts does not necessarily mean that they represent the same historical persons. When comparing the different Tibetan texts on mahāsiddhas, we can see that the transcription of the names of the Indian masters into the Tibetan language was inconsistent and confused. The most unsettling example is an illustrated Tibetan text on the mahāsiddhas, where the spellings in the text (*RtB* 1–*RtB* 84) vary greatly from the captions of the xylographs

²⁷ *Grub thob bryad cu rtsa bzhi'i cha lugs 'dzin tshul*. [sNar thang edition (?); Copenhagen *bsTan 'gyur*], published by Toni Schmid. 1958. *The Eighty-five Siddhas*, Excursus II, pp. 155–69, (Stockholm: Statens Etnografiska Museum). The woodblocks of the printed sNar thang edition were carved

between 1730 and 1742. [Numbered in the concordance tables as **Nar 1–Nar 85**]. According to Lokesh Chandra, this list is based on the *Caturaśīti-siddhābhisamaya* written by Śrīsenā in 1130 (Cordier 3.475; Toh. 4317). Cf. Lokesh Chandra, *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography*, Vol. 4, p. 1096.

(*Rtsk* 1–*Rtsk* 84).²⁸ To quote a few examples: Kaṅkāripa (*CSP* 7) is named Kaṅ ka li/Kangga la pa; Gorakṣa (*CSP* 9): Go ra kha/Gau rakṣi; Tilopa (*CSP* 22): Ti la blo ba/Ti lla pa; Dukhaṅdi (*CSP* 25): Dha khan dhi pa/Dwa kanti; Dhobīpa (*CSP* 28): Ṭoṃ bhi pa/Dhu pi ra; Ḍeṅgipa (*CSP* 31): Deng gi pa/Ṭinggi pa; Dhokaripa (*CSP* 49): Dho ka ra/Dhe ki ri pa; Carbaripa (Carpaṭi) (*CSP* 64): Tsa ba ri pa/Tsa rwa ṭi pa; Sakara (*CSP* 74): Phu rtsas ga'/Ka ra pa; Putalipa (*CSP* 78): Pu ta la/Bu ta li, etc. In the same illustrated Tibetan text we find another inconsistency: the alternate use of transcription and translation. Examples are Nāgārjuna (*CSP* 16): Nā ga'i dzu na/Klu sgrub; Āryadeva (Kaṅgaripa) (*CSP* 18): Ka na ri pa/'Phags pa lha; and Ghaṅṭāpa (*CSP* 52): Ghaṅḍa pa/rDo rje dril bu pa, to name a few.

The great variation in phonetic transcription of Indian words into Tibetan may partly be the result of various Tibetan dialects. In the process of copying the Tibetan transcriptions in later times, the spelling often became corrupted to such an extent that the recognition or reconstitution of the original names became all but impossible. Whatever the reasons might be, the Tibetan transcription of Indian names of mahāsiddhas clearly becomes more and more corrupt as time passes.

A few of the paintings depict the mahāsiddhas according to their description in the biographies and thus they can be identified regardless of the inscriptions. Such examples include Lūipa, typically shown in the act of eating the entrails of a fish (Plate 1); Ḍombipa riding on a tigress (Plate 4); and Saraha holding an arrow (Plate 6). But some of the painted representations do not reflect the mahāsiddhas' biographies with any accuracy: Līlapa (Plate 2), who according to his biography should be depicted as a king engaged in sensuous activities, is instead portrayed as a teaching monk; Ghaṅṭāpa (Plate 37) should be depicted with a bell (Skt.: *ghaṅṭā*), but there is no bell present. Another example is the presence of a deer-unicorn in the mural of Mahāsiddha Kambala (Plate 30), which has no association with his hagiography. One somehow gets the impression that in only a few cases did the painter actually depict the siddhas in scenes relating to incidents in their lives, or with details of their profession or status. The scant iconographical references included in the texts dealing with the mahāsiddhas in general is another reason why their representations on thangka paintings vary so widely. The missing specifications in the texts of postures and attributes of the masters will always provide the artist with a certain amount of freedom regarding composition.

Perhaps one day the text will be rediscovered upon which the Gyantse mahāsiddha cycle is based. But for now, the beauty of these murals justifies their preliminary publication, regardless of the shortcomings in the method applied in the identification process. If all eighty-four painted siddhas at Gyantse corresponded with Abhayadatta's "*The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas*", then these mahāsiddhas would have been published long ago – and there would have been no need for this book.

²⁸ Dpa' bo 'od gsal. *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i rtogs pa snying po zhes bya pa* [Budapest] and *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i sku brnyan*, published

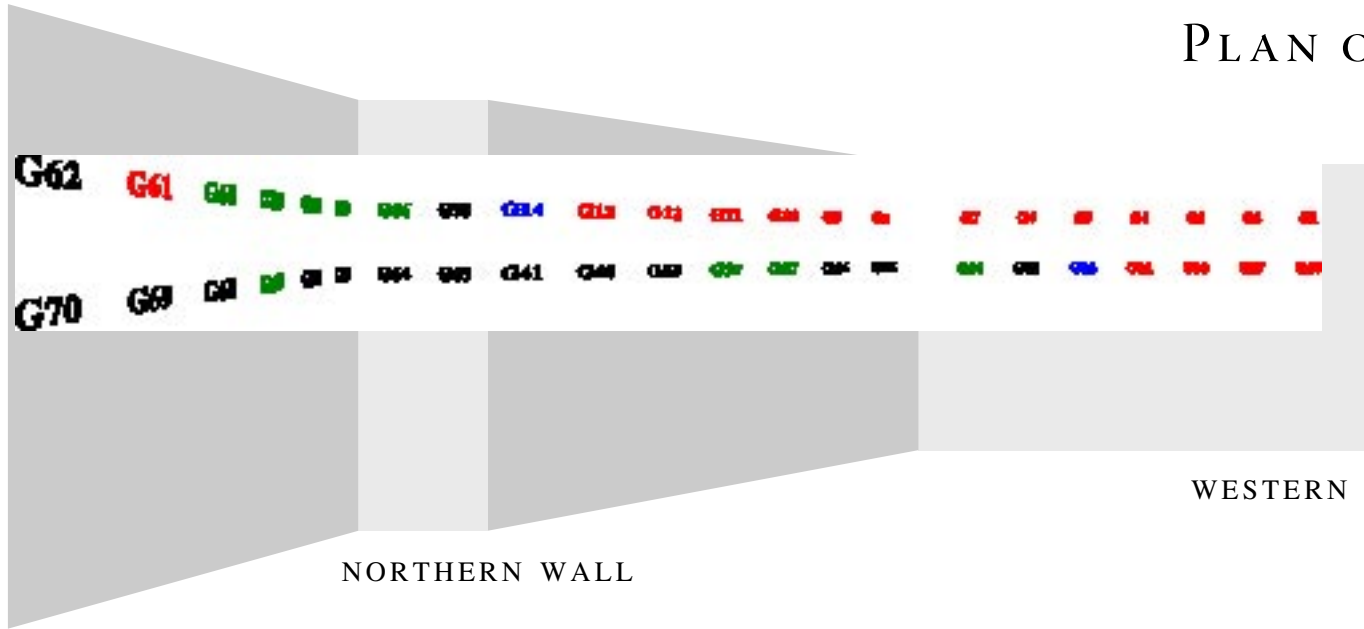
by Alice Egyed. 1984. *The Eighty-four Siddhas: A Tibetan Blockprint from Mongolia*.



Fig. 6. Two of the identified mahāsiddhas, painted ca. 1425 on the western wall of the Lamdre chapel, Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse. Shown are Bir wa pa (Mahāsiddha Virūpa) (Plate 3), and Li la pa (Mahāsiddha Līlapa) (Plate 2). (Photo: 1992).



Fig. 7. Two of the unidentified mahāsiddhas, painted ca. 1425 on the northern wall of the Lamdre chapel inside the Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse. Depicted are Ka ta ra (Plate 71) and Dra nu ri (Plate 72). (Photo: 1992).



INSCRIBED MAHĀSIDDHA PAINTINGS AT GYANTSE (G1–G86)

CSP = Abhayadatta. *Caturaṣṭī-siddha-pravṛtti*; (“The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas”, Sanskrit text; 11th/12th c.)

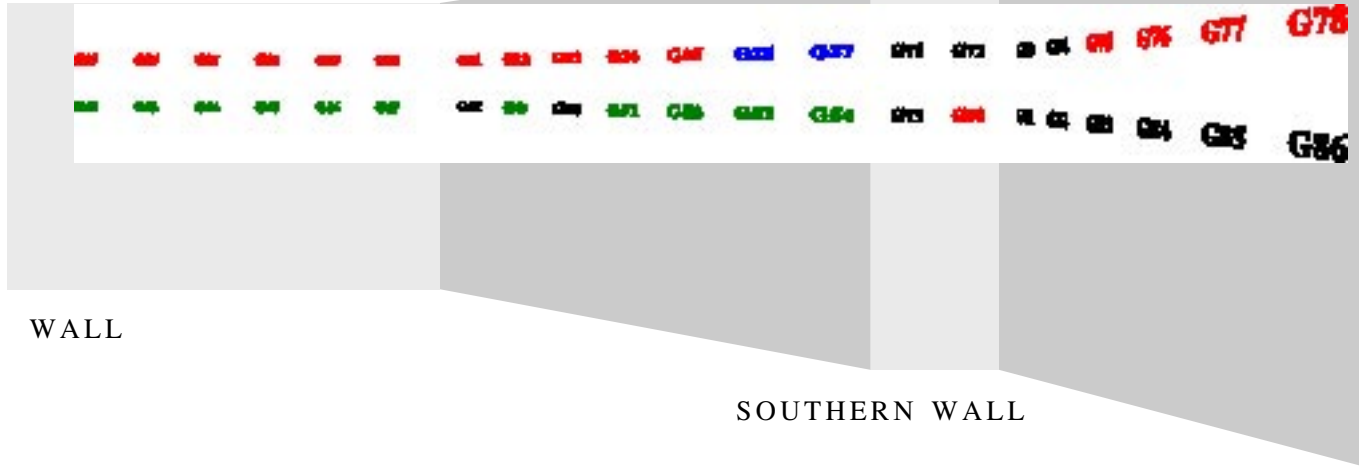
Thirty-four Gyantse Paintings: Concordance the same as Mahāsiddhas of the CSP

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| G1. Lu i pa ལུའི་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Lūipa) (CSP 1) | G19. Tha ga na ཐག་ན་ (Mahāsiddha Thaganapa) (CSP 19) |
| G2. Li la pa ལི་ལ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Līlapa) (CSP 2) | G20. Na ro pa ན་རོ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Nāropa) (CSP 20) |
| G3. Bir wa pa འི་ར་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Virūpa) (CSP 3) | G21. Sha mi pa ཤ་མི་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Śyalipa) (CSP 21) |
| G4. Ḍoṃ bi he ru ka རོམ་བི་ཧེ་རུ་ཀ་ (Mahāsiddha Ḍombipa) (CSP 4) | G22. Ti lo pa ཐི་ལོ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Tilopa) (CSP 22) |
| G5. Shwa ba ri pa ཤ་བ་རི་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Śavaripa) (CSP 5) | G23. Ba ta pa བ་ཏ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Catrapa) (CSP 23) |
| G6. Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཏ་ (Mahāsiddha Saraha) (CSP 6) | G24. Bra ta pa བྲ་ཏ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Bhadrapa) (CSP 24) |
| G7. Ka ka li ཀ་ཀ་ལི་ (Mahāsiddha Kaṅkāripa) (CSP 7) | G25. Da khan di ད་ཁ་ན་དི་ (Mahāsiddha Dukhaṅdi) (CSP 25) |
| G8. Nya nad pa ཉ་ན་ད་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Mīnapa) (CSP 8) | G28. Ḍo mi bri རོ་མི་བྲི་ (Mahāsiddha Dhobīpa) (CSP 28) |
| G9. Gor kha pa གོ་ཁ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Gorakṣa) (CSP 9) | G29. Kar ka na ཀ་ར་ཀ་ན་ (Mahāsiddha Kaṅkaṅa) (CSP 29) |
| G10. Tso rang ki ཚོ་རང་གི་ (Mahāsiddha Cauraṅgipa) (CSP 10) | G30. Ka ma pa ཀ་མ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Kambala) (CSP 30) |
| G11. Bin ra pa བིན་ར་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Vīṅāpa) (CSP 11) | G31. De ki pa དེ་ཀི་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Ḍeṅgipa) (CSP 31) |
| G12. Zhi ba lha ཞི་བ་ལྷ་ (Mahāsiddha Śāntipa) (CSP 12) | G61. Bri kṣa na བྲི་ཀྣ་ན་ (Mahāsiddha Bhikṣanapa) (CSP 61) |
| G13. Tha gan ཐག་ན་ (Mahāsiddha Tantipa) (CSP 13) | G75. Sa pa dra ga ས་པ་དྲ་ག་ (Mahāsiddha Sarvabhakṣa) (CSP 75) |
| G15. Klu sgrub ཀུ་སྐུབ་ (Mahāsiddha Nāgārjuna) (CSP 16) | G76. Na ga bro di ན་ག་བྲོ་དི་ (Mahāsiddha Nāgabodhi) (CSP 76) |
| G16. Khar ka pa ཀ་ཁ་ཀ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Khaḍgapa) (CSP 15) | G77. Ra ri pa ར་རི་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Dārikapa) (CSP 77) |
| G17. Ka na pa ཀ་ན་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Kāṅhapa) (CSP 17) | G78. Pu ta pa པུ་ཏ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Putalipa) (CSP 78) |
| G18. Ka na ri ཀ་ན་རི་ (Mahāsiddha Āryadeva) (CSP 18) | G80. Ka gi la ཀ་གི་ལ་ (Mahāsiddha Kokilipa) (CSP 80) |

Four Gyantse Paintings: Concordance possibly the same as Mahāsiddhas of the CSP

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| G14. Inscr. illegible (Mahāsiddha Cāmāripa?) (CSP 14?) | G27. Par ka li པར་ཀ་ལི་ (Mahāsiddha Kalapa) (CSP 27?) |
| G26. Rud pu ka རུད་པུ་ཀ་ (Mahāsiddha Ajogī?) (CSP 26?) | G32. Sha de pa ཤ་དེ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Bhandepa) (CSP 32?) |

LAMDRE CHAPEL



Twenty-one Gyantse paintings: concordance different than Mahāsiddhas of the CSP

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| G34. Ma ri pa མའིཔ་ (Mahāsiddha Mahipa) (CSP 37) | G52. Mi dri ni མི་དྲི་ནི་ (Mahāsiddha Medhini) (CSP 50) |
| G37. Dril bu pa དྲིལ་བུཔ་ (Mahāsiddha Ghaṅṭāpa) (CSP 42) | G53. Ku ku ri ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་ (Mahāsiddha Kukkuripa) (CSP 34) |
| G38. Ra hu la ར་ཀུ་ལ་ (Mahāsiddha Rāhula) (CSP 47) | G54. Ni gun ཉི་གུན་ (Mahāsiddha Nirguṅapa) (CSP 57) |
| G42. Ḍa ma pa ཏ་མ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Dharmapa [I]) (CSP 36) | G56. Tsha pa ri རྩ་པ་རི་ (Mahāsiddha Carbaripa) (CSP 64) |
| G43. Ḍan ta pa ཏ་ན་ཏ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Tañtepa) (CSP 33) | G57. Ka dzo pa ཀ་འཛོེཔ་ (Mahāsiddha Kucipa) (CSP 35) |
| G44. Pa dzu ki པ་དུ་ཀི་ (Mahāsiddha Jogipa) (CSP 53) | G58. Dra ma pa ད་མ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Acīnta) (CSP 38) |
| G45. Ku ra ཀུ་ར་ (Mahāsiddha Bhusuku) (CSP 41) | G59. Na li la ན་ལི་ལ་ (Mahāsiddha Nalinapa) (CSP 40) |
| G46. Ka ma ri ཀ་མ་རི་ (Mahāsiddha Kamparipa) (CSP 45) | G60. Tsa da ka ཅ་ད་ཀ་ (Mahāsiddha Celukapa) (CSP 54) |
| G47. Do khan di དོ་ཁན་དི་ (Mahāsiddha Dhokaripa) (CSP 49) | G67. Ka pa li ཀ་པ་ལི་ (Mahāsiddha Kapālapa) (CSP 72) |
| G49. Gu dri ti ཀུ་དྲི་ཏི་ (Mahāsiddha Godhuripa) (CSP 55) | G73. Sa ka pa ས་ཀ་པ་ (Mahāsiddha Sakara) (CSP 74) |
| G51. Dza pa ka ཇ་པ་ཀ་ (Mahāsiddha Lucikapa) (CSP 56) | |

Twenty-three Gyantse Paintings: Not Identified with Mahāsiddhas of the CSP

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| G33. Te ru sha ཏེ་རུ་ཤ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) | G68. De pan དེ་པན་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) |
| G35. Bu ta བུ་ཏ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) | G69. Ka na kha ya ཀ་ན་ཁ་ཡ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) |
| G36. So dra bo dhe སོ་ད་བོ་དྷེ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) | G70. Ka ya la ཀ་ཡ་ལ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) |
| G39. Sarba de ས་ར་དེ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) | G71. Ka ta ra ཀ་ཏ་ར་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) |
| G40. Sa ta pa ས་ཏ་པ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) | G72. Dra nu ri ད་རུ་རི་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) |
| G41. Mi ka la [I] མི་ཀ་ལ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) | G74. Me dra se མེ་ད་སེ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) |
| G48. Kam pa ma ཀ་པ་མ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) | G79. Sa ra na ས་ར་ན་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) |
| G50. Li kra mi ལི་ཀ་མི་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) | G81. Sa ra gi ས་ར་གི་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) |
| G62. De pa na དེ་པ་ན་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) | G82. Ni la kha pa ཉི་ལ་ཁ་པ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) |
| G64. Du la ma ni དུ་ལ་མ་ནི་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) | G83. Sa chu ta ས་ཅུ་ཏ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) |
| G65. Mi ka la [II] མི་ཀ་ལ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) | G84. Na ra pa ན་ར་པ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) |
| G66. Sa dra zhab ས་ད་ཞམ་ (unidentified Mahāsiddha) | |

Two Gyantse Paintings and Inscriptions Destroyed

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|---|---|
| G55. Mahāsiddha painting destroyed | G63. Mahāsiddha painting destroyed |
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Two Gyantse Paintings: Not Part of the Cycle of 84 Mahāsiddhas

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| G85. Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje གླིང་རས་པ་པདྨ་རོ་རྗེ་ | G86. Paṅ chen Shri sh'a ri putra པཎ་ཅེན་ཤེ་རི་ཕུ་ཏ་ |
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PLATE 1

Mahāsiddha Lūipa “The Fish-Entrails Eater”¹

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G1
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet

Tibetan inscription reads

Lu i pa la na mo ལུའི་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Lu i pa”

At the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century there lived a young king, later known as Lūipa, who had only recently ascended the throne of Siṅgaladvīpa.² Feeling nothing but contempt for luxury and power, however, his only desire was to abdicate his position and become an ascetic. Having been caught during his first attempt to escape, his movements were henceforth restrained by golden chains. But one night, after bribing the guards and disguising himself in rags, Lūipa fled the palace grounds. Wandering throughout India, he lived as a beggar and slept in cremation grounds. Then one day he encountered a ḍākinī disguised as a courtesan. She recognized the pure nature of his mind, which was obscured by nothing more than a teaspoon of royal pride. The courtesan poured

some rotten food into his clay bowl and sent him off. Disgusted, he threw her inedible food into the gutter, but the courtesan had been watching. She cursed him and asked how he could possibly expect to attain nirvāṇa if merely concerned with the purity of food. As a result of this episode, he started a twelve-year sādhana to destroy his prejudices by eating the entrails of fish discarded by fishermen along the Ganges River.

Lūipa sits on the ground with the help of a meditation band and eats long, noodle-like entrails, which he pulls from the slit belly of a dead fish. He is watched by the ḍākinī disguised as a courtesan, who rests close by in a respectful attitude evidently approving of Lūipa’s accomplishments.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Lu i pa ལུའི་པ་ is identical with Lūipa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 1).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྫིང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Lūipa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachtzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 143–44, no. 1: Lūipā.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 31, no. 3: Lu yi pa = Lū yi pa.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 22–24, no. 1: Lūyipa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 33–38, no. 1: Lūipa.

Published

- Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, p. [421], pl. 152: Lūipa.

¹ The epithets after the names of the mahāsiddhas are sometimes translations of the Indian names, but more often relate to incidents in their lives.

² Siṅgaladvīpa was the name of Sri Lanka, but there existed other kingdoms with this name on the Indian sub-continent.



1. Mahāsiddha Lūpa

PLATE 2

Mahāsiddha Līlapa “The Sensual King”¹

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G2
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Li la pa la na mo ལི་ལ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Li la pa*”

A South Indian king who lived in the second half of the 9th century received one day a visit from a wise yogin. The king took pity on him and said that he certainly must suffer greatly wandering through the kingdom in such a miserable state. The yogin denied this, and replied instead that it was the king who suffered. Baffled by the reply, the king asked why this should be the case. The yogin explained that a king was always frightened that his subjects might rebel and that he might lose his kingdom. He further explained that he possessed the secret teachings on immortality. The king, greatly impressed, took faith in the yogin but said that it was obviously impossible for him to wander around like a beggar. Yet he could certainly meditate in the royal quarters if only the yogin would give him the necessary instructions. Hearing this, the yogin initiated

the king into Hevajra and gave instructions in single-pointed meditation. The king then took up the practice on his throne lined with soft cushions. Due to his fondness of sensual pleasures he became famous as Līlapa. But continuing his practice of single-pointed meditation on the ring of his right hand, he eventually attained the siddhi of Mahāmudrā.

Depicted here is a monk seated on an animal skin in the act of blessing a person prostrating in front of him. A ḍākinī seated in a yogic posture offers a full skull-cup to Līlapa. Above is a long-life vase filled with flowers. The artist of this painting was obviously unaware of the life-story of Līlapa, who should have been depicted as a king engaged in sensual pleasures, rather than as a teaching monk.

According to the inscribed name and the concordance, this mahāsiddha is identical with Līlapa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 2).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྒྱུང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Līlapa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, p. 144, no. 2: Līlāpāda.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 25–26, no. 2: Līlapa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 39–42, no. 2: Līlapa.

Published

Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, p. [421], pl. 152: Līlapa.

¹ As mentioned, the epithet within quotation marks next to the name of each mahāsiddha is not necessarily a translation of the name, but rather a characterization of the personality.



2. Mahāsiddha Lilapa

PLATE 3

Mahāsiddha Virūpa “The Ḍākinī-Master”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G3

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Bir wa pa la na mo འིར་པ་ལ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Bir wa pa*”

Virūpa was born in Eastern India and lived during the first half of the 9th century. Ordained at early age, Virūpa spent twenty-five years as a monk at Somapura monastery.¹ After being expelled from the monastery following a dispute, he became a wandering ascetic. One time, a thirsty Virūpa sat drinking wine all day in a tavern. When asked by the keeper to settle the bill, Virūpa offered to pay when the shadow on the ground reached a certain point. Then he transfixed the sun and prevented it from moving for two days and one night. The perplexed king made enquiries. Upon hearing that the sun had been stopped in its path by a siddha, the king settled the debt. Virūpa then left and the sun continued its course.

Virūpa, shown here in a cheerful mood, is seated with the help of a yoga band in the attitude of royal ease on a tiger skin. He wears a loose cloth with colourful tassles, tied below his large belly, and is decorated with many beaded bone ornaments and pieces of jewellery. His right elbow rests upon the shoulder of a vomiting fellow-drinker, and with his left hand, held in a gesture of great power, he halts the sun in its course. The tavern-keeper, who does not quite succeed in hiding all her charms with a sari, stands in the background. She waits to serve the drunken Virūpa another skull-cup filled with wine.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Bir wa pa འིར་པ་ལ་ is identical with Virūpa (Skt.) of the *Caturaṣṭi-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 3).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྫོང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྲེང་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Virūpa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer (mahāsiddhas)”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, pp. 145–47, no. 3: Virūpa.

Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 36, no. 8: Bir va pa = Bi rū pa.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 27–32, no. 3: Virūpa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 43–52, no. 3: Virūpa.

¹ Modern Pāhārpur, Rajshahi district, Bangladesh.



3. Mahāsiddha Virūpa

PLATE 4

Mahāsiddha Ḍombipa “The Lord of the Low-Caste”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G4
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ḍom bi he ru ka la na mo འོ་བི་ཉི་རུ་གཤམ་ལོ་ “Veneration to Ḍom bi he ru ka”

This mahāsiddha, later to be known as Ḍombipa, lived during the 9th century and was one of the kings ruling Magadha in Northern India. He had been initiated by Virūpa into the Maṇḍala of Hevajra and was regarded as a benevolent ruler. Later, he forcefully took a twelve-year-old girl from a visiting group of low-caste singers, and secretly made her his tantric consort. When after twelve years this became publicly known, the king abdicated in favour of his son and went with his mistress into the forest. After another twelve years, the fortunes of the kingdom had diminished to such an extent that the people invited the former king back onto the throne. Riding on a tigress, the king and his consort came out of the forest. He declared himself to be a low-caste and therefore unfit to rule the kingdom. However, the king promised to rule after being born again. He

requested to be burned in a great fire together with his consort, and as the flames rose high, the couple transformed into Hevajra and his consort. Following this event, he became known as Ḍombipa, “lord of the low-caste”.

The mural depicts Ḍombipa in an intoxicated mood seated on a growling tigress. He drinks from a skull-cup held in his left hand while brandishing a diamond sceptre in the right. Jewellery and beaded bone ornaments, including chains across the chest, adorn his body, and he wears short trousers with circular decorations. His illustrious tantric consort, still looking like the twelve-year-old girl abducted twenty-four years earlier, holds up another skull-cup for Ḍombipa. A visionary ḍākinī with a vase floats in a cloud high above.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ḍom bi he ru ka འོ་བི་ཉི་རུ་གཤམ་ is identical with Ḍombipa, also Ḍombiheruka (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 4).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Ḍombipa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, pp. 147–48, no. 4: Ḍombi.

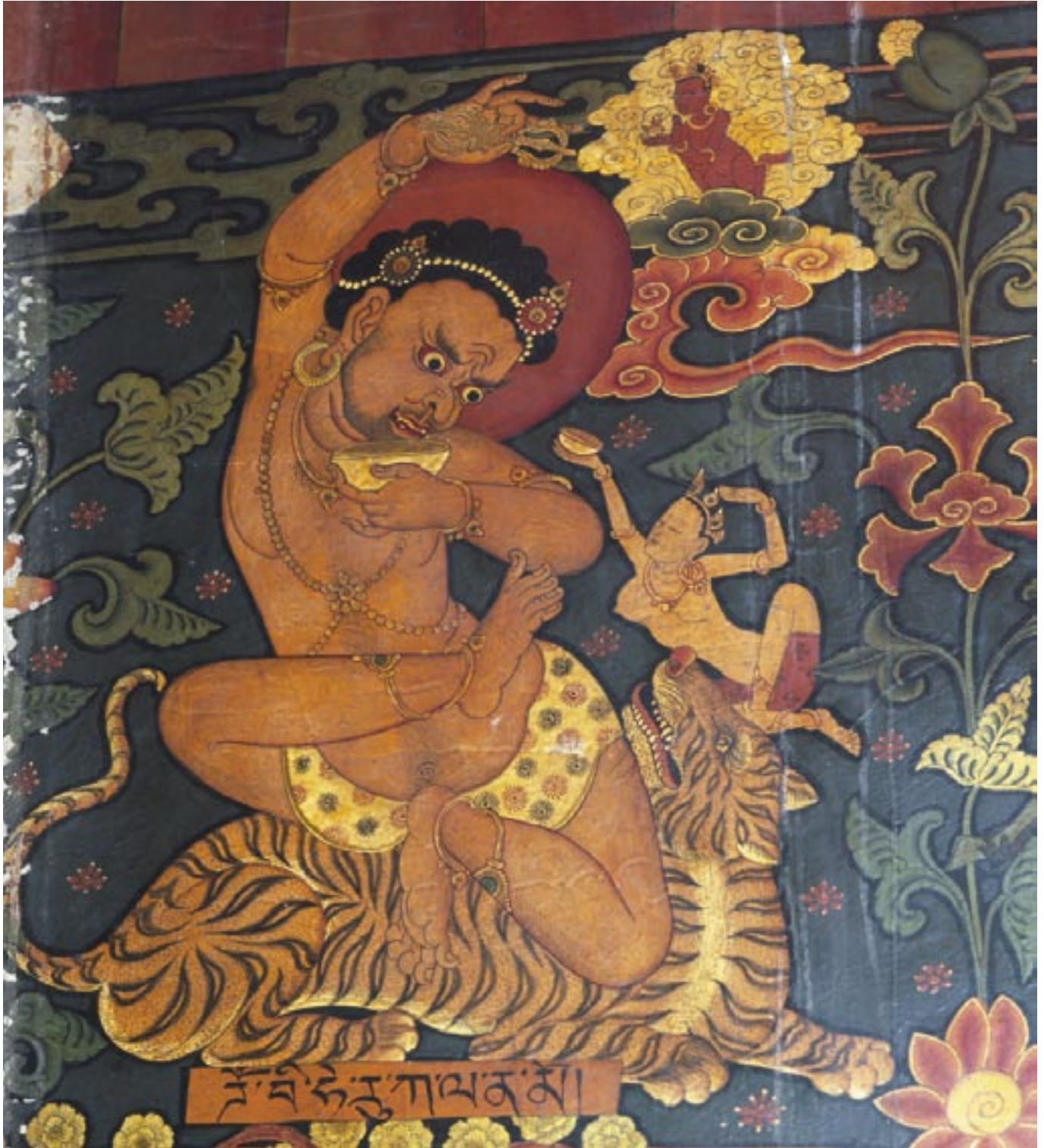
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 35, no. 7: Ḍom bi he ru ka.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 33–36, no. 4: Ḍombipa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 53–59, no. 4: Ḍombipa.

Published

Tucci, G. 1941. *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. IV, *Gyantse ed i suoi monasteri*, Parte I, pp. 155–56; Parte III, fig. 91.



4. Mahāsiddha Ḍombipa

PLATE 5

Mahāsiddha Śavaripa “The Hunter”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G5
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Shwa ba ri pa la na mo ཤ་བ་རི་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Shwa ba ri pa”

Śavaripa was born in the late 8th century into a tribe of hunters and gatherers named the Śabara; living in the Vindhya Hills in Northern India. Śavaripa made his living as a hunter. Avalokiteśvara took pity on Śavaripa’s vicious cycle of being reborn as a hunter due to the killing of animals. In order to convert Śavaripa, the bodhisattva transformed himself into a hunter. He broke the hunter’s pride by shooting one hundred deer with a single arrow. Śavaripa’s request to learn how to shoot an arrow in a similar way was accepted by the bodhisattva, under the condition that the hunter refrain from eating meat for a month. After this period Śavaripa saw himself, together with his wife, burning in hell inside a maṇḍala that

was specially produced by the bodhisattva. The hunter begged to be saved from such a fate, and was advised to refrain forevermore from taking life. After meditating for twelve years, Śavaripa attained the supreme realization of the Mahā-mudrā-siddhi.

Śavaripa, the converted hunter, dances full of joy on an antelope skin. He wields a bow above his head and carries a quiver on his back. Note the two half-carcasses of a wild animal hanging at the ends of the bow. Śavaripa looks amorously at his young dancing consort – perhaps a ḍākinī – who grasps him with one leg while tempting him with a skull-cup full of wine.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Shwa ba ri pa ཤ་བ་རི་པ་ is identical with Śavaripa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 5). Among the Tibetan names is Ri khrod dbang phyug རི་ཁྲོད་དབང་ཕྱུག་ (“mountain lord”), rMa bya gos can རྨ་བྱ་གོས་ཅན་ (“the man who wears peacock feathers”), and Ri khrod mgon po རི་ཁྲོད་མགོན་པོ་ (“mountain hermit”) (RBL).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྫིང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Śavaripa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 148–50, no. 5: Śavari.

Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 60, no. 27: Sha va ri pa.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 37–40, no. 5: Śavaripa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 60–65, no. 5: Śavaripa.

Published

Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, p. [420], pl. 151: Śavari.



5. Mahāsiddha Śavaripa

PLATE 6

Mahāsiddha Saraha “The Great Brahmin”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G6
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Sa ra ha la na mo སར་ཧ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Sa ra ha”

Saraha, a born brahmin, lived in the second half of the 8th century in Eastern India. By day, he observed the laws of the brahmins; at night, he practised the Buddhist way of life and received instructions from Buddhist teachers. This, together with his habit of drinking wine, scandalized the Brahmins, who asked the king to exile Saraha. Refusing to admit his drinking habit, Saraha submitted himself to a trial to prove his innocence. After passing several tests, the king declared that if Saraha had these kinds of powers, he should be allowed to drink. After singing three didactic songs, the brahmins and the king converted to Buddhism. Saraha later married the fifteen-year-old daughter of an arrowsmith and settled in a solitary place. One day, he asked her for a dish of radishes. After preparing the dish, she could not serve him out of fear of disturbing his meditation, so she quietly withdrew. Saraha remained in meditation

uninterruptedly for twelve years. After finally awakening, the first thing he did was to shout to his wife for the radishes. The girl questioned the worth of his meditation, if he wasn't even able to cut off the thought of radishes. Abashed by her words, Saraha devoted himself thereafter to ridding his mind of conceptional thinking. Eventually he attained the siddhi of Mahāmudrā, and together husband and wife entered the realm of the Dākini's Paradise.

The mural depicts a cheerful goat-bearded Saraha seated on a decorated throne with the help of a yoga band. He holds an arrow received from his wife, the arrowsmith's daughter. His wife, dressed in a blouse and short trousers, kneels beside him and mockingly offers a radish. High above, a deity floats on the clouds.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Sa ra ha སར་ཧ་ལ་ is identical with Saraha (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 6). Saraha (“the arrow-shooter”) is rendered in Tibetan mDa' snun མདའ་སྐྱུང་.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྫིང་, dPal 'byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Saraha

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 150–51, no. 6: Saraha.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 33, no. 5: Sa ra ha.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha's Lions*, pp. 41–43, no. 6: Saraha.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 66–72, no. 6: Saraha.

Published

- Tucci, G. 1941. *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. IV, *Gyantse ed i suoi monasteri*, Parte I, pp. 155–56; Parte III, fig. 90.
Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, p. [420], pl. 151: Saraha.



6. Mahāsiddha Saraha

PLATE 7

Mahāsiddha Kaṅkāripa “The Widower”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G7
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ka ka li la na mo ཀཀལིལ་ནལོ་ “*Veneration to Ka ka li*”

In Magadha there once lived a householder of low-caste who married a girl of his own caste. Subsequently he became obsessed with sensual pleasure, and failed to direct his mind towards the virtues of liberation. Following the sudden death of his beloved wife, he took her body to the cremation ground. Lost in sorrow, the householder was unable to leave the corpse. He explained to an inquiring yogin that his hope was exhausted without his wife. To this the yogin replied that the end of birth is death and the end of unity is separation. The yogin further doubted the benefit of guarding a corpse that was like a lump of clay. On request, the yogin initiated the householder and bestowed on him the instructions of the essence of selflessness.

After six years of meditation, the householder overcame all ordinary concepts of his wife through knowing emptiness and bliss. He awoke from ignorance and experienced pure light and great joy. Subsequently he became famous far and wide as the master Kaṅkāripa.

The painting depicts Kaṅkāripa in presumably happy times, dancing with his beloved wife who offers him a full skull-cup. She has a nimbus behind her head, and above that floats a long-life vase with skull-cup. He wears short trousers and is decorated with beaded bone ornaments. Over his left arm hangs a swirling shawl.

Based on the concordance of numerous mahāsiddhas at Gyantse with the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP), it can be assumed that Ka ka li ཀཀལི is identical with Kaṅkāripa (Skt.) (CSP 7). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Kaṅkāripa are Kaṃ ka li ཀཀལི (RtB 7), Kangga la pa ཀངས་ལམ་པ་ (Rtsk 7), and Ko ka li ཀོཀལི (KL 9).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྒྱུད་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Kaṅkāripa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachtzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 151–52, no. 7: Kamkari.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 44–46, no. 7: Kankaripa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 73–75, no. 7: Kaṅkāripa.

PLATE 8

Mahāsiddha Mīnapa “The Fisherman”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G8
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

T

ibetan inscription reads

Nya nad pa la na mo ཉན་དཔ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Nya nad pa”

Mīnapa was a fisherman who used to catch fish in the Bay of Bengal. One day he cast his line baited with meat, and a gigantic fish pulled him into the sea and swallowed him. Since his karmically predestined lifespan had not yet reached its end, the fisherman lived on inside the fish’s belly. During this period, Mahādeva’s divine consort, Umādevī, asked the great god for instructions. To prevent his secret teachings from being overheard, Mahādeva requested Umādevī to build an appropriate shelter under the sea. At the very moment when Mahādeva began preaching the dharma, the fish that had swallowed the fisherman swam nearby. Umādevī fell asleep during the teachings, so it was Mīnapa who acknowledged the understanding on her behalf. After the goddess woke up and further requested to be taught, Mahādeva realized with his superior sight that

the person who had heard and responded was a man inside a fish. After receiving initiation from Mahādeva, the fisherman meditated inside the belly of the fish for twelve years. Later the fish was caught, and when the stomach was cut open, there appeared Mīnapa. The people were astonished, and the fisherman became famous as the siddha Mīnapa.

The painting depicts an emaciated, grim looking Mīnapa staring into the skull-cup held in his right hand. He sits inside the belly of a gigantic fish, rendered by the artist with three fishes resembling a cave. A visionary manifestation of a dancing ḍākinī attends Mīnapa. Just above her floats a long-life vase topped with a skull-cup.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Nya nad pa ཉན་དཔ་ is identical with Mīnapa (Skt.) of the *Caturaṣṭī-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 8). The inscription at Gyantse is a combination of the Sanskrit name Mīnapa and the Tibetan name Nya bo pa ཉན་པ་.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔ་ལ་བྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གན་སྟོང་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Mīnapa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, pp. 152–53, no. 8: Mīnapāda.

Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 93, no. 51: Mi na da pa.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 47–49, no. 8: Mīnapa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 76–80, no. 8: Mīnapa.



8. Mahāsiddha Mīnāpa

PLATE 9

Mahāsiddha Gorakṣa “The Cowherd”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G9
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Gor kha pa la na mo གོར་ཁ་པ་ལ་ལ་རྣམས་ “Veneration to Gor kha pa”

In the 10th century there lived a young cowherd named Gorakṣa. One day Mahāsiddha Mīnapa approached him while searching for someone who could take care of a young prince whose arms and legs had been cut off. For twelve years Gorakṣa performed his services for the dismembered prince. Then one day, when Gorakṣa arrived as usual, he found the prince standing on his own feet. He explained this miracle as the result of a yoga practice learned from Mīnapa. Refusing the offer of instruction by the prince, Gorakṣa returned to Mīnapa. The

cowherd instead received initiation and empowerment at the hands of Mīnapa, who instructed him to teach only those who requested the dharma. Thereafter Gorakṣa taught only those people whose karma had prepared them for initiation.

The painting depicts Gorakṣa, wearing beaded bone ornaments, dancing in an intense, exalted state. He caresses the sheepdog resting beside him, while his consort offers him a full skull-cup.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Gor kha pa གོར་ཁ་པ་ is identical with Gorakṣa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 9). The Sanskrit name Gorakṣa means “cowherd”. The Tibetan names are Ba glang bsrung བགྲང་བསྟུང་ or Ba glang rdzi བགྲང་རྩི་.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱུང་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

References

Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, p. 431: Gor kha pa appears not to be a siddha of the well-known set of eighty-four [not illustrated].

Selected references to the iconography of Gorakṣa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, pp. 153–55, no. 9: Gorakṣa.

Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 62, no. 29: Nāgabodhi = Nā ga bodhi.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 50–53, no. 9: Gorakṣa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 81–85, no. 9: Gorakṣa.



9. Mahāsiddha Gorakṣa

PLATE 10

Mahāsiddha Cauraṅgipa “The Dismembered Prince”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G10
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Tso rang ki la na mo ཙོར་རང་གི་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Tso rang ki”

Cauraṅgipa, son of an East Indian king, was twelve years old when his mother, just before her death, instructed him to avoid all evil even if his life was at stake. Later, the king took another wife from a foreign country, but after only a few days he escaped to the forest to dispel a secret sorrow. Meanwhile, after the stepmother tried unsuccessfully to seduce Cauraṅgipa, she planned instead to murder him – something her attendants refused to do. She therefore tore the clothes from her body and, pretending to be in agony, caused herself to be covered in blood from self-inflicted wounds. When the king returned from the forest she accused her stepson of having violated her. The king, dismayed, ordered the royal executioners to take the prince into the jungle and cut off his arms and legs. These loyal men offered instead to sacrifice one of their own sons, but the prince rejected this proposal. Mīnapa, who was passing by,

gave the prince initiation and empowerment in a particular yoga that would restore his limbs. Among the many miracles of Cauraṅgipa was an encounter with merchants who falsely claimed to be charcoal-makers, only to discover later that their goods had indeed become charcoal, something Cauraṅgipa later reversed. This mahāsiddha, however, known as “the dismembered prince”, refused to teach his secrets to anyone.

The mural shows Cauraṅgipa seated with the help of a yoga band in the attitude of royal ease on an animal skin. The siddha wears flowers in his hair, beaded bone ornaments, and beaded chains across the chest. He holds an oil-lamp in his left hand, and in the background sits a ḍākinī holding a skull-cup. A visionary deity floats in the clouds above.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Tso rang ki ཙོར་རང་གི་ is identical with Cauraṅgipa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 10).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱུང་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

References

Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, p. 431: Tse rang ki appears not to be a siddha of the well-known set of eighty-four [not illustrated].

Selected references to the iconography of Cauraṅgipa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 155, no. 10: Cauraṅgi.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 54–56, no. 10: Cauraṅgi.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 86–90, no. 10: Cauraṅgipa.

PLATE 11

Mahāsiddha Vīṇāpa “The Musician”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G11

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Bin ra pa la na mo འོན་ར་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Bin ra pa*”

Vīṇāpa was born as the only son of the royal house of Gauḍa, at the present border of Bihar and Bengal. At an early age he loved to sit among musicians and soon learned to play the lute (vīṇā). He quickly became absorbed in music to such an extent that he neglected everything else. The king and queen became worried that the heir-apparent possessed no interest at all in the affairs of the kingdom. They hoped to cure the prince of his lute obsession with the help of a highly trained yogin called Buddhapaḍ. He asked the prince if he would be interested in practising a sādhana, with the aim of disciplining the mind as part of dharma practice. The prince agreed, but only on the condition that he need not give up the lute. Buddhapaḍ

instructed him to stop distinguishing between the sound of the vīṇā and the hearing of it. He encouraged Vīṇāpa to meditate with the aim of ceasing all mental obstructions, and to contemplate pure sound free of all distinction between the struck sound and the mental sensation. After nine years of practice, the prince attained the Mahāmudrā-siddhi and became famous as the master Vīṇāpa.

The mural depicts Vīṇāpa in a cheerful dancing attitude. The master of the unstruck sound holds an arrow in his hands as if playing the lute (vīṇā). His dancing consort with the appearance of a ḍākinī offers him a full skull-cup.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Bin ra pa འོན་ར་པ་ is identical with Vīṇāpa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 11).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Vīṇāpa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, pp. 155–56, no. 11: Vīṇāpāda.

Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 81, no. 43: Ghi na pa = Bhi na sa.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha's Lions*, pp. 57–59, no. 11: Vīṇāpa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 91–93, no. 11: Vīṇāpa.



11. Mahāsiddha Viṇāpa

PLATE 12

Mahāsiddha Śāntipa “The Missionary”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G12
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Zhi ba lha la na mo ཞི་བ་ལྷ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Zhi ba lha*”

Śāntipa, also known as Ratnākaraśānti, who was a brahmin by birth, lived in the 11th century and studied at the famous Buddhist monastery of Vikramaśīla in North-Eastern India. He became a highly respected teacher and his fame spread in all directions. At that time, there was a king of Sri Lanka, named Kabina, who had yet to meet with anyone who could teach the dharma. Having heard of the great teacher Śāntipa, Kabina dispatched a messenger to invite him to his country. Having arrived at Vikramaśīla, the messenger delivered splendid gifts to Śāntipa and told him that the king and the people of Sri Lanka sent their most profound respects. He explained that they were barbarians enshrouded in the mist of ignorance, living on a small island at the edge of the world. He requested Śāntipa to take pity on them and come to Sri Lanka to spread

the message of Mahāyāna Buddhism.¹ After due consideration Śāntipa accepted the offer and travelled with an entourage of two thousand monks to Sri Lanka. There they stayed for three years, where they taught the doctrine according to the scriptures. Subsequently they returned home loaded with gifts in great quantities. Śāntipa, who lived to a very old age, attained the highest siddhi of Mahāmudrā and went to the realm of the Ḍāka’s Paradise.

The mural depicts a smiling, compassionate Śāntipa in monk’s garments displaying the gesture of teaching. A visionary manifestation of a ḍākinī wearing a long swirling scarf over her shoulders kneels respectfully beside him.

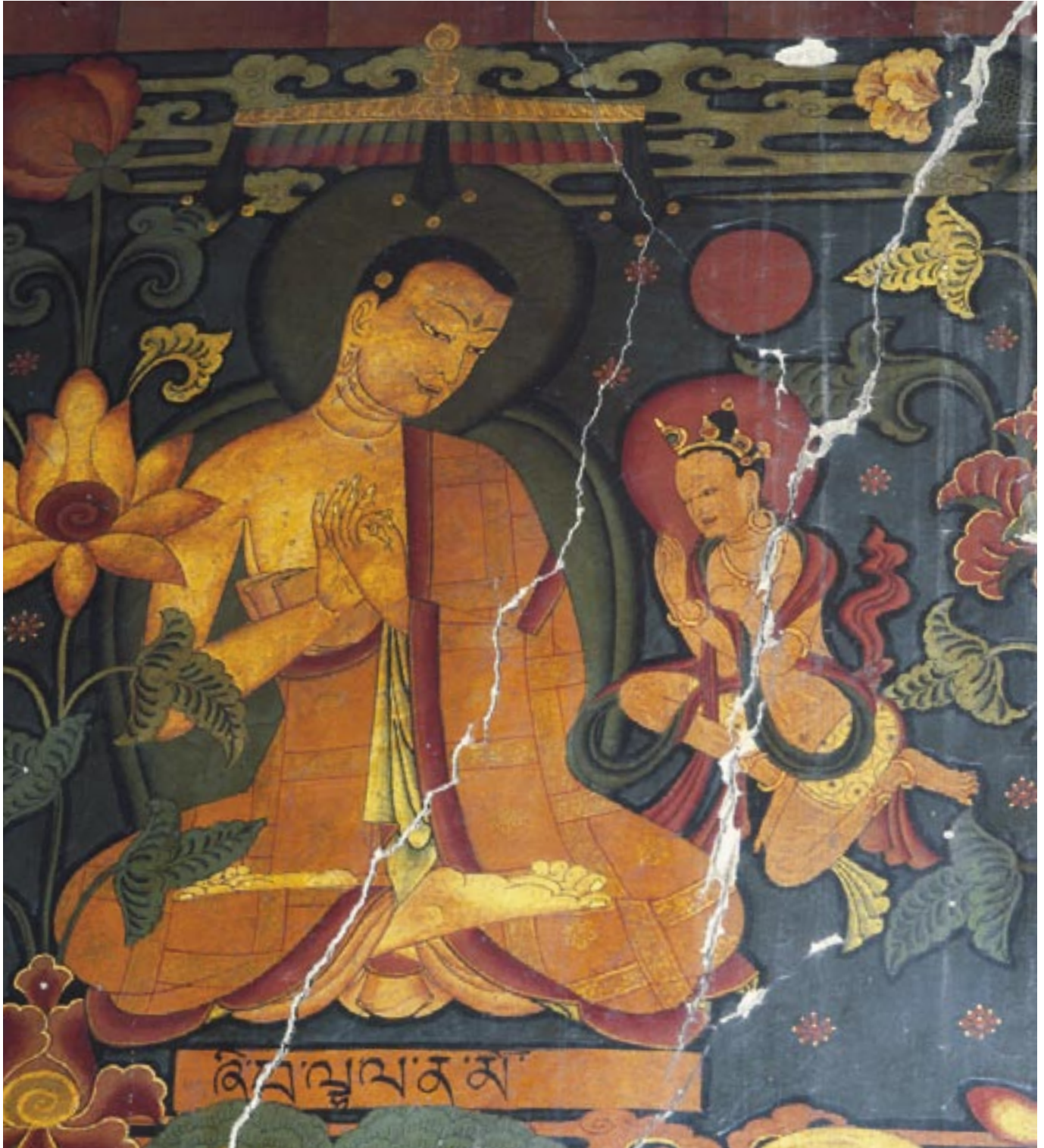
Within the sequence of paintings at Gyantse, this mahāsiddha in monk’s attire is very likely meant to represent Śāntipa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 12). In the spelling of the Tibetan name, however, there has perhaps occurred a confusion with Śāntideva (CSP 41), another mahāsiddha in monk’s robes, whose Tibetan name is Zhi la ཞི་ལ་.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Śāntipa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 156–58, no. 12: Śānti.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, pp. 69–70, no. 34: Shan ti pa.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 60–64, no. 12: Śāntipa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 94–99, no. 12: Śāntipa.

¹ Historians agree that Buddhism was introduced to Sri Lanka in the 3rd century BC. Māhāyana Buddhism flourished alongside the Theravāda order from about the 3rd century AD until at least the 10th c.



12. Mahāsiddha Śāntipa

PLATE 13

Mahāsiddha Tantipa “The Senile Weaver”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G13
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Tha gan la na mo ཐག་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Tha gan*”

Somewhere in North-Western India there lived during the 9th century a weaver with many sons who worked hard all his life and accumulated much wealth. When he was eighty-nine years old, his wife died and he became increasingly senile and an object of ridicule. His daughters-in-law therefore decided to build him a thatched hut in the garden and to feed him there. It so happened that at that time Guru Jālandharapa visited the house of the weaver’s eldest son and asked for food. Instead of accepting an invitation to stay overnight in the house, he asked permission to sleep in the garden. There he met the old weaver who complained about his situation. Jālandharapa gave him initiation into the maṇḍala of Hevajra and other secret instructions. The weaver practised in complete silence

for twelve years. One night, after forgetting to bring food during the day, one of the daughters-in-law approached the weaver’s hut and noticing with great surprise that fifteen maidens and mounds of food surrounded the old weaver. The news spread quickly and many people visited him. He then transformed his body into that of a young man and became famous as Tantipa.

The painting depicts Tantipa with a long beard and long hair inside a hut ornamented with hanging textiles and protected by a wooden roof. Tantipa, seated on a decorated throne, works at a loom fixed to his waist. One of his daughters-in-law, or perhaps a ḍākinī, offers him food in a skull-cup.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Tha gan ཐག་ལ་ན་མོ་ is identical with Tantipa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 13). The presence of a loom in the painting justifies an identification of Tha gan with Tantiḥāda, short form Tantiḥāda, known in Tibetan as Thags mkhan ཐག་ལ་ན་མོ་ (“the weaver”).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གན་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Tantiḥāda

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 158–59, no. 13: Tantiḥāda.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 71, no. 35: Tha ga pa.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 65–68, no. 13: Tantiḥāda.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 100–103, no. 13: Tantiḥāda.



13. Mahāsiddha Tantiṭpa

PLATE 14

Mahāsiddha Cāmāripa (?) “The Shoemaker”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G14
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription is illegible

Long ago there lived in the town of Viṣṇunagar in Eastern India a shoemaker with the name Cāmāripa. Day after day he made new shoes and repaired old ones. But Cāmāripa was unhappy and dreamed of other things. One day he complained to a passing monk that he was sick of this life of passion and stupidity. Cāmāripa revealed that he would like to follow the path of the Buddha, but until now had never encountered a spiritual friend. Following a dinner at the shoemaker's home, the monk advised Cāmāripa to visualize his work as meditation. The shoemaker abandoned his old house and moved to a quiet place in order to meditate. During the twelve years of practice, according to the guru's instruction, Viśvakārmān, the celestial crafts-

man, performed the work of the shoemaker. In time Cāmāripa explained to the ignorant inhabitants of Viṣṇunagar the benefit of a guru's instruction and expounded to them many different doctrines and related techniques. The shoemaker thereafter became famous as the siddha named Cāmāripa.

The painting depicts a master, presumably Cāmāripa, dancing in an exalted state on a tiger skin, brandishing in his left hand a skull-cup. Behind his head is a large, red nimbus. He wears beaded bone ornaments and two beaded chains across the chest. His attendant watches him with patience and devotion.

The Tibetan inscription is illegible. However, the concordance of the first twenty-five mahāsiddha of the Gyantse cycle otherwise correspond with the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP). In spite of the illegible inscription, it is therefore very likely that the painted mahāsiddha in dancing posture represents Cāmāripa (Skt.), “the shoemaker” (CSP 14). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Cāmāripa are Tsa ma'i ri pa ཙམའི་རི་པ། (RTB 14), Tsa ma ri pa ཙམ་རི་པ། (Rtsk 14 & KL 17).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ། and his brother, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ། of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན། and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Cāmāripa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 159–60, no. 14: Cāmāra.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 86, no. 46: Ku mā ra.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha's Lions*, pp. 69–71, no. 14: Camaripa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 104–107, no. 14: Cāmāripa.



14. Mahāsiddha Cāmāripa (?)

PLATE 15

Mahāsiddha Nāgārjuna “The Philosopher”¹

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G15

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Klu sgrub la na mo ལུ་སྐྱུབ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Klu sgrub”

There existed more than one master with the name Nāgārjuna. The earliest one, known as Ārya Nāgārjuna, was born as a brahmin in Southern India in the 2nd century AD. By the time he reached the age of twenty he was famous for his achievements in brahmanical studies. Thereafter he gave up learning and instead searched for sensual pleasures. As a result of the tragic death of three friends during an assault on a woman in a king’s palace, Nāgārjuna renounced the world and became ordained as a Buddhist monk. He mastered in a short time the Tripiṭaka and Mahāyāna Sūtras, but still dissatisfied he wandered all over India in search of “missing sūtras”. He was a great philosopher, able to defeat all challengers in debate including any

brahmin. In time Nāgārjuna wrote the Madhyamika Śāstra as the foundation of his own school. He was also the author of some of the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras and commentaries, and is sometimes called the “Second Buddha”.

The siddha depicted here represents perhaps the Nāgārjuna of the Tibetan lineages, who lived during the later part of the 8th and the early 9th centuries. He was a disciple of Saraha (Plate 6), who initiated him into the *Guhyasamāja* and *Samvara Tantras*. The image depicts Nāgārjuna as a monk with a halo formed by seven snakes. In Tibetan art, he is usually shown in this way. A dancing consort offers Nāgārjuna a full skull-cup.

Klu sgrub ལུ་སྐྱུབ་, depicted with a snake-hood, is beyond any doubt identical with Nāgārjuna (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 16). The prominence of the position next to the central statue of Vajradhara must have been the reason for the exchange of positions between Khaḍḍgapa (CSP 15) and Nāgārjuna (CSP 16). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Nāgārjuna are Nā ga’i dzu na ལུ་གའི་འདུ་ན་ (RtB 16) and Nā gā rdzu na ལུ་གའི་རྩུ་ན་ (KL 19). Among the Tibetan names are Klu sgrub ལུ་སྐྱུབ་ (RtSk 16), Klu sgrub snying po ལུ་སྐྱུབ་སྐྱོང་པོ་ (GsB 1), and Klu sgrub zhabs gur ལུ་སྐྱུབ་ཞབས་གུར་ (RtD 16).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྐྱིང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Nāgārjuna

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 161–63, no. 16: Nāgārjuna.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, pp. 26–27, no. 1: kLu grub = kLu grub snying po.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 75–80, no. 16: Nāgārjuna.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 112–22, no. 16: Nāgārjuna.

¹ This epithet rather fits Ārya Nāgārjuna of Southern India, born in the 2nd century, than the Nāgārjuna of the Tibetan lineages.



15. Mahāsiddha Nāgārjuna

PLATE 16

Mahāsiddha Khaḍgapa “The Swordsman”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G16
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Khar ka pa la na mo ཁར་ཀ་པ་ལ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Khar ka pa*”

Khaḍgapa was born into a low-caste family of farmers somewhere in Northern India at the beginning of the 10th century. He abandoned his work as a farmer to become a professional thief. Once, after an unsuccessful attempt to rob a wealthy household, Khaḍgapa took shelter in a cremation ground and there met the yogin Carpaṭi (Plate 56). When asked by the thief about his presence there, Carpaṭi replied that he was meditating in order to escape the fearful cycle of birth and death. When further questioned about the purpose of meditation, Carpaṭi explained that a yogin could attain a high birth as a result. He told Khaḍgapa that he too might achieve the same goal if only he tried, and questioned him why he failed to practice the Buddha’s teaching. To this Khaḍgapa replied that as a thief he had no time to meditate in a cremation ground, but instead needed the invincibility that would protect him from being caught during the act of stealing. After bestowing initiation and empowerment on the thief, Carpaṭi instructed him in this manner: “Circambulate the statue of Avalokiteśvara in the Gaurī-śankar temple day and night for

twenty-one days until a snake glides out from beneath the statue. You must seize it by the head without fear.” The robber followed these instructions exactly, and as a result the snake turned into a sword. Thus holding the sword of awareness, he purified himself of all intentions of stealing. After this great success he became known as Khaḍgapa, the swordsmen. He preached the dharma for twenty-one days to the people of Magadha, and then continued on to the Realm of the Ḍākinīs in his own body.

The siddha, though apparently resting comfortably on an animal hide with the help of a yoga band, is in a state of intense concentration. Khaḍgapa works diligently with a set of tools, including a small hatchet or hammer held in his right hand. He is dressed in short trousers and wears beaded bone ornaments. A ḍākinī kneeling under a coconut tree offers him food in a skull-cup, but for the moment Khaḍgapa ignores her while he continues with his important job.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Khar ka pa ཁར་ཀ་པ་ is identical with Khaḍgapa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 15). The positions of Khaḍgapa (CSP 15) and Nāgārjuna (CSP 16) are exchanged in order to give the latter the prominent position next to the central statue of Vajradhara.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྫོང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྲོར་རྩོན་རྩོན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Khaḍgapa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 160–61, no. 15: Khaḍga.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 72–74, no. 15: Khaḍgapa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 108–11, no. 15: Khaḍgapa.



16. Mahāsiddha Khaḍḡapa

PLATE 17

Mahāsiddha Kāṇhapa “The Dark Man”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G17
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ka na pa la na mo ཀན་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Ka na pa*”

Kāṇhapa, also known as Kṛṣṇācārya, was a monk of dark complexion who studied at Somapurī monastery in Eastern India. His guru was Jālandhara who initiated him into the maṇḍala of Hevajra. After practising his sādhana for twelve years, Kāṇhapa was rewarded with a vision of Hevajra and his retinue. This inflated his pride to such an extent that he wanted to test his powers. He succeeded in impressing his footprint into a rock and achieved levitation. Ignoring a warning by a dākinī to return to his practice, Kāṇhapa told his disciples that they would all travel together to the island of Śrī Laṅkā to convert the inhabitants. When they reached the strait separating Śrī Laṅkā and India, his inflated pride tempted him to cross the sea by walking on the water. Realizing that even his guru lacked this gift, he sank into the sea and eventually washed ashore. There Kāṇhapa noticed Jālandhara floating in the sky above him. Upon being asked where he wished to go, Kāṇhapa

told his guru of his intentions and, still prideful, boasted that his powers were superior to those of his guru. Jālandhara advised him instead to go to Pāṭaliputra (Bihar) and search for a weaver, who was a pupil of his. “Obey him and you will eventually attain the ultimate truth, which you obviously have not yet mastered,” said the master. Kāṇhapa accordingly went in search of the weaver but failed to obey him faithfully. Yet at the end of his life, when dying, Kāṇhapa finally attained the Dākinī’s Paradise.

Under a large tree, grim-faced Kāṇhapa rides on the back of a naked man, who holds in his right hand a skull-cup while performing with the same hand the gesture of exorcism. Two dākinīs, one light-skinned and one dark-skinned, look upon the spectacle with concern.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ka na pa ཀན་པ་ is identical with Kāṇhapa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśītī-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 17). Kāṇhapa is also known as Kṛṣṇācārya or Kṛṣṇācāri.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying ཀན་པ་རྗེ་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Kāṇhapa

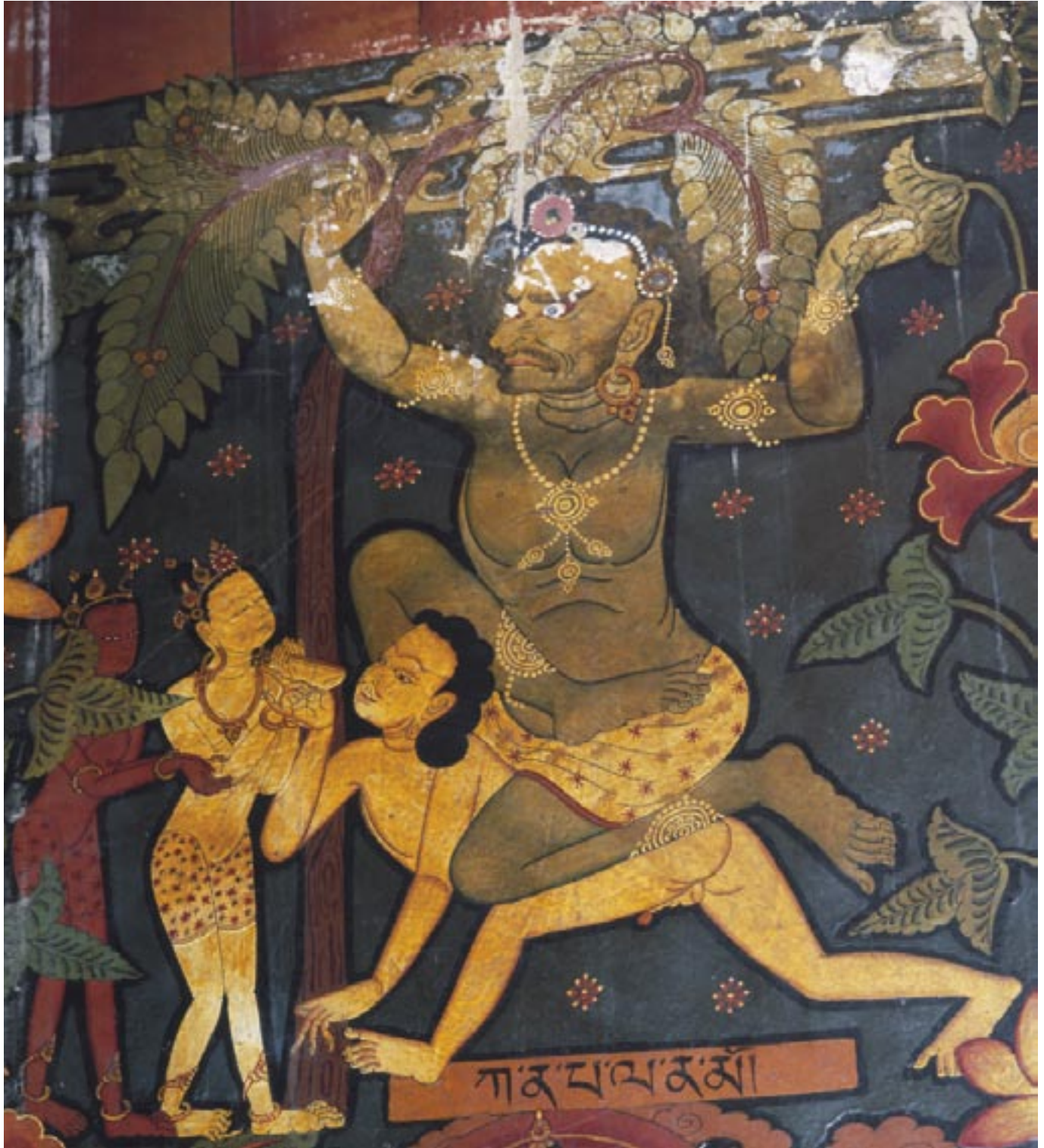
Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, pp. 163–65, no. 17: Kṛṣṇācāri.

Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 57, no. 24: Nag po spyod pa.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 81–85, no. 17: Kāṇhapa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 123–31, no. 17: Kāṇhapa.



17. Mahāsiddha Kāṇhapa

PLATE 18

Mahāsiddha Āryadeva

Also known as Karṇaripa “The One-Eyed”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G18

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ka na ri la na mo ཀ་ན་རི་ལ་ན་རྩོེ་ “*Veneration to Ka na ri*”

Āryadeva was the abbot of the famous monastery of Nālandā in Northern India. Not being satisfied with his achievements, however, he decided to leave the monastery to find the great Nāgārjuna in order to gain liberation. With the help of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in the guise of a fisherman, he eventually found Nāgārjuna in a forest preparing the elixir of immortality. Āryadeva prostrated before the great teacher and humbly asked for instructions. Nāgārjuna initiated him into Guhyasamāja and allowed him to stay with him and practice. When begging for food, Nāgārjuna always collected very little, while Āryadeva would return with piles of delicious food. Nāgārjuna told his disciple that lustful women provided his food and therefore it was unwholesome. The master ordered his disciple to eat in future only what he could lift with the end of a pin. Although restricted to his hut, Āryadeva nevertheless received food from a naked tree-nymph. When Nāgārjuna learned what had happened, he went to the particular tree and called to her. The nymph appeared but modestly refused to

expose herself, claiming that while Āryadeva was free from passion, Nāgārjuna still possessed traces of lust. When he had finished mixing the elixir of eternal youth, Nāgārjuna handed the bowl to his disciple to drink some of it. Āryadeva instead smashed the bowl against a tree, which instantly burst into flower. After this he took a bucket of water, urinated into it, and handed this to his guru, who threw the contents at another tree, which also bloomed spontaneously. Nāgārjuna realized that his disciple had mastered the realizations. Later Āryadeva was approached by a woman who said that she needed one of his eyes. After plucking out his right eye to give to her, he became known as Karṇaripa, “the one-eyed”, and proceeded to teach countless beings.

The mural depicts Āryadeva not as a monk, but as a dancing siddha together with an attendant, who offers him food in a skull-cup. One wonders whether the illustration actually depicts a different siddha than Āryadeva.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ka na ri ཀ་ན་རི་ is identical with Āryadeva (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 18), who is also known as Karṇaripa (“the one-eyed”).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྩིང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Āryadeva

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 165–67, no. 18: Karṇari.

Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 28, no. 2: A rya de wa = Ā rya de ba.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 86–89, no. 18: Karṇaripa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 132–37, no. 18: Āryadeva (Karṇaripa).



18. Mahāsiddha Āryadeva

PLATE 19

Mahāsiddha Thaganapa “The Habitual Liar”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G19

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Tha ga na la na mo ཐག་ན་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Tha ga na”

Thaganapa was a habitual liar of low caste, who lived in Eastern India. One day while sitting on a tree trunk, planning ways of cheating people, a Buddhist monk passed by. Upon being asked by the monk what he was doing, Thaganapa replied that he did not want to tell him. “Do not tell lies,” the monk said. “If you speak untruly, your karma will be affected in various ways and you will be reborn in hell. The more you tell lies, the more you believe that telling lies is the normal way, and the more your habit of lying is reinforced. As a result, your breath smells foul, and your speech is unconvincing and therefore ineffectual.” Thaganapa, who had never thought about the results of his lying, became very scared and addressed the monk truthfully: “I am called Thaganapa because I am always telling lies, and I wonder what I can do about this habit.” Asked by the monk if he would like to practice the dharma, Thaganapa agreed if he could receive the teachings. “But since I have been accus-

tomed to lying all my life, it may not be possible for me to stop.” The monk replied that there existed a way, which did not require giving up lying. “This particular meditation utilizes deception as a remedy to deception.” As instructed by the monk, Thaganapa meditated seven years upon perceptual knowledge as deception, and his belief in deception as a lie. Because of this practice, Thaganapa obtained siddhi, and after instructing many others accordingly, finally attained the Dākinī’s Paradise.

Thaganapa appears as a friendly, preaching monk seated under a tree. His right hand shows the gesture of argumentation; in his left hand is a full skull-cup. He is attended by a dancing woman, distinguished as married by the blouse she wears.¹ Although the monk is identified by the inscription as Thaganapa, another siddha might actually be depicted.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Tha ga na ཐག་ན་ is identical with Thaganapa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 19). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Thaganapa are Tha ga na ཐག་ན་ (RtB 19) and Tha ka na ཐག་ན་ (Rtsk 19). In Tibetan, he is known as rDzun smra ba རུན་སྐྱེ་བ་ (“the liar”) and rTag tu rdzun smra ba རྟག་ཏུ་རུན་སྐྱེ་བ་ (“he who always lies”).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གན་སྐྱེ་བ་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Thaganapa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, pp. 167–68, no. 19: Thaganapa.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 90–92, no. 19: Thaganapa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 138–41, no. 19: Thaganapa.

¹ As such she is distinct from the consorts and dākinīs with bare breasts depicted in other paintings.



19. Mahāsiddha Thaganapa

PLATE 20

Mahāsiddha Nāropa “The Unshakeable”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G20
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Na ro pa la na mo ནཱ་རོ་པ་ལ་ལ་ནཱ་མོ་ “Veneration to Na ro pa”

Nāropa, supposedly the offspring of a mixed-caste union, earned his living as a wood-gatherer in Pāṭaliputra (Bihar). Not satisfied with his life, and after hearing about the great Tilopa, he decided to leave Pāṭaliputra in search of him. Travelling all over Northern India, he asked everywhere about the whereabouts of Tilopa. After many years in search of his guru, he finally met him on the road, and after prostrating in the dust, addressed Tilopa as guru. “I am not your guru, and neither are you my disciple!” answered the enraged Tilopa, who then hit him furiously. Nāropa’s devotion was unshaken, however, and he went in search of food and brought it to Tilopa. The master ate, and then beat Nāropa again in fury. For twelve years Nāropa served his guru without complaint, and only then, after presenting a particularly delicious curry,

did Tilopa bestow the proper initiation and instruct him in meditation. It took Nāropa just six month of practice to attain the Mahāmudrā-siddhi.

The above synopsis of the life of Nāropa, as described in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 20), does not do justice to this famous teacher. Nothing is mentioned about Nāropa being the son of a royal Bengali brahmin family, or that he might have been the abbot of the famous Buddhist University of Nālandā in Bihar. Nāropa was a great practitioner of various tantras, especially those concerning Saṃvara, Hevajra, and Kālacakra. As a teacher of Mar pa མར་པ་ (1012–1097) and other Tibetans who visited India, Nāropa had a great impact on the development of the *bKa’ brgyud* བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ tradition in Tibet.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Na ro pa ནཱ་རོ་པ་ is identical with Nāropa (956–1040) (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 20). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Nāropa are Nā ro ནཱ་རོ་ (RtB 20), Nā ro pa ནཱ་རོ་པ་ (Rtsk 20), and Na ro pa ནཱ་རོ་པ་ (KL 24). In Tibetan, he is known as rTsa bshad pa རྩ་བཤད་པ་.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྫིང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Nāropa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 168–69, no. 20: Nāro.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 45, no. 16: Nā ro pa.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 93–95, no. 20: Nāropa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 142–47, no. 20: Nāropa.



20. Mahāsiddha Nāropa

PLATE 21

Mahāsiddha Śyalipa “The Jackal-Man”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G21
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Sha mi pa la na mo ཤམིཔ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Sha mi pa”

Śyalipa was of low-caste and lived near the cremation ground of the city of Vighāśura. At night packs of jackals would roam the cemetery in search of bones. Their howling terrified him to such an extent that the fear became an obsession. Then one day a Buddhist monk came to his hut to beg for food. Śyalipa brought him food and drink. The monk in return preached about the rewards of generosity. Śyalipa acknowledged the discourse with thanks and addressed the monk: “Could you please be so generous as to teach me how to overcome fear?” When asked by the monk about the object of his fear, Śyalipa specified: “I live near the cemetery, and I have become terrified of the jackals that roam there every night”. “I know a mantra that will help you cure your fear,” the monk replied. “But first you should take initiation.” Śyalipa offered what little gold and silver he had as an initiation fee. After bestowing empowerment upon him, the monk gave him instruction upon “the fear that destroys fear”. He continued and instructed

Śyalipa to meditate constantly upon all sounds as identical to the howl of a jackal. “First you must build a little hut inside the cemetery and live there,” the monk advised. Śyalipa acted accordingly, and through meditation he realized that all sounds were inseparable from emptiness, and thus overcame his fear of the howling of the jackals. After nine years of meditation he purified the stains of mind and body and obtained the siddhi of Mahāmudrā. He wore a jackal skin and became known as the jackal-man or jackal-siddha.

The painting depicts a joyful Śyalipa wearing a pair of tight, short trousers, sitting under an umbrella on a jackal skin in a yoga posture with the aid of a yoga band. He is drinking from a skull-cup. His consort, a ḍākinī with bare breasts clad identically, stands under a tree in the background, ready to attend to the master.

Although the Tibetan spelling is inaccurate, the mahāsiddha inscribed as Sha mi pa ཤམིཔ་ is likely identical with Śyalipa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 21). Śyalipa or Śalipa is derived from Śṛḡalapāda (“jackal-man”), translated in Tibetan as sPyan ki pa སྤྱན་ཀི་པ་. Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Śyalipa are Sha yi pa ཤམིཔ་ (RtB 21), Sha li pa ཤམིཔ་ (KL 25), and Si ya li སིཡལ་ལི་ (AS 70).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོ་གཤམ་, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྲུང་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Śyalipa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 169–70, no. 21: Śāli.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 118, no. 71: Si ya li.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha's Lions*, pp. 96–97, no. 21: Śalipa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 148–50, no. 21: Śyalipa.



21. Mahāsiddha Śyalipa

PLATE 22

Mahāsiddha Tilopa “The Renowned Renunciate”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G22
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ti lo pa la na mo ཁྱིལོཔ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Ti lo pa”

The renowned sage Tilopa was the teacher of the king of Viṣṇunagar in West Bengal. For his services to the king and his teachings of the Buddha’s doctrine to countless disciples, he received every day the princely sum of five hundred gold coins. Still, Tilopa felt uneasy and reflected on the meaninglessness of his existence. When he tried to resign, his followers did everything to prevent him from leaving. One day he finally decided to escape. To accomplish this, he exchanged his monastic robes for patched rags. Before leaving, he left a note in his room announcing that he would not return, and advising that nobody should follow him. Tilopa proceeded to Kāñcī and settled down in a cremation ground. Daily he practised

his sādhana and begged for food. Following the encounter with Nāropa (Plate 20), his daily needs were taken care of by this new disciple. After many years of practice he attained Mahāmudrā-siddhi, and became famous as the master Tilopa.

Tilopa is depicted as an anxious man lost in his thoughts, resting his head on his hands, which in turn are supported by a standing oil-lamp. He wears the beaded bone ornaments of a tantric ascetic, with two beaded chains across his chest. At the side a spirit-like manifestation, armed with a sword and a shield, is possibly the result of a hallucination by Tilopa.¹

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ti lo pa ཁྱིལོཔ་ is identical with Tilopa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 22). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Tilopa are Ti la blo pa ཁྱིལོཔ་ (RtB 22), Ti lla pa ཁྱིལོཔ་ (Rtsk 22), Tai lo pa ཁྱིལོཔ་ (KL 23), Ti lli pa ཁྱིལོཔ་ (STh 23), and Te lo pa ཁྱིལོཔ་ (AS 27). His Tibetan names include sNum pa ལྷུམ་པ་, Mar nag ’tsong mkhan མར་ནག་འཕོང་མཁན་, and Til brdung mkhan ཁྱིལོཔ་བརྟན་མཁན་.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Published

Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, p. [422], pl. 153: Tilopa.

Selected references to the iconography of Tilopa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 170, no. 22: Tillo.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 54, no. 23: Ti lli pa = Te lo pa.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 98–99, no. 22: Tilopa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 151–55, no. 22: Tilopa.



22. Mahāsiddha Tilopa

PLATE 23

Mahāsiddha Catrapa “The Fortunate Beggar”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G23

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ba ta pa la na mo བཏམ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Ba ta pa”

Catrapa, a low-caste beggar who lived in Sandhonagar, always carried a manuscript with him. It happened one day that he encountered a well-disciplined yogin who asked him what he was doing. Catrapa replied that he was begging for his livelihood. When asked by the yogin if he required a path for his next life, the beggar requested the way to be explained. The yogin then bestowed upon Catrapa the initiation and empowerment of the deity Hevajra, together with these instructions: “Confess all your sins; meditate upon pleasure day and night. Consider your body as the result of past actions, and your future as dependent on your mind. If you meditate this way for a long period of time, signs of success will arise progres-

sively and you will accomplish Buddhahood in this lifetime.” After receiving these instructions from the guru, Catrapa practised his meditation accordingly. After six years he obtained Mahāmudrā-siddhi. As a result, he became famous as the master Catrapa, and eventually, after seven-hundred years, he entered the Dākinī’s Paradise.

The bearded Catrapa, dressed in monk’s robes, sits in a relaxed and contented mood on an animal skin. At the side kneels a dākinī, the right hand cupped at the ear to improve her hearing. In her left hand she holds a skull-cup.¹ Luxuriant foliage – leaves, stalks, flowers, and trees – surrounds the entire scene.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ba ta pa བཏམ་ is identical with Catrapa, or properly Cattrapāda (Skt.), “the one with the book” (Tib.: Chos khur nas blong) མོས་ལུང་ནས་ལྷོད་, of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 23). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Catrapa, are Tsi tra ri pa ཅི་ཏྲ་རི་པ་ (RtB 23), Tsa ta pa ཅ་ཏམ་ (KL 26), and Tsa tra pa ཅ་ཏམ་ (RtP 23).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Published

Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, p. [422], pl. 153: Ba ta pa.

Selected references to the iconography of Catrapa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, p. 170, no. 23: Catra.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 100–102, no. 23: Catrapa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 156–58, no. 23: Catrapa.

¹ In Tibetan paintings, Catrapa is often shown as a monk reading.

PLATE 24

Mahāsiddha Bhadrapa “The Auspicious Brahmin”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G24
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Bra ta pa la na mo བླ་ཏ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Bra ta pa”

In a place named Maṇidhara, a brahmin lived a luxurious life with a circle of friends. One day, when staying alone at his home, he saw the approach of a well-disciplined yogin who was begging for food. “You are impure!” shouted the brahmin. “Get out before my friends return and see you!” After the yogin quietly inquired about what was impure, the brahmin barked: “Unwashed, naked, carrying a skull-bowl, consuming polluted food, born of low caste!” “These things are not impure,” the yogin replied. “Meanness in body, speech, and mind, those are impure and cannot be washed away.” The yogin further explained that only by bathing in the guru’s instructions, pure from the beginning, could one become pure. The brahmin was impressed and asked for further instructions. “Give me food, and I will instruct you.” The brahmin replied that his friends and household would object, and that it would be better to visit the yogin at his home. “I live in the cemetery,” the yogin replied. “Come, and bring wine and pork.” The brahmin

wincing,¹ but agreed to visit him only at night, when nobody could see him. When darkness fell, the brahmin went to the dwelling of the yogin and served him with pork and wine. As a first instruction, in order to break his pride and to demonstrate correct vision, the yogin told the brahmin to sweep the latrine and plaster the hut. The brahmin realized the symbolic meaning of these actions. He forsook his caste, became an ascetic, and after six years achieved the Mahāmudrā-siddhi. Famous as the siddha named Bhadrapa, he eventually attained the Dākinī’s Paradise.

The siddha Bhadrapa dances in an exalted state on an animal hide, brandishing in his right hand a skull-cup. He is clad in a pair of short, tight trousers decorated with blue and red stars, and wears precious ornaments. His consort watches him attentively while dancing in a somewhat restrained state of excitement.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Bra ta pa བླ་ཏ་པ་ is identical with Bhadrapa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 24). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Bhadrapa, which is a corrupt form of Bhadrapāda (“aus-picious one”), are Bha ta pa བླ་ཏ་པ་ (RtB 24) and Bha dra pa བླ་ཏ་པ་ (RtSk 24).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོ་གཤམ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Bhadrapa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 171–72, no. 24: Bhadra.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 103–105, no. 24: Bhadrapa.
Downman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 159–62, no. 24: Bhadrapa.

¹ Among other taboos, brahmins are not permitted to touch pork meat or wine.



24. Mahāsiddha Bhadrapa

PLATE 25

Mahāsiddha Dukhaṅdi “The Rag Man”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G25
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Da khan di la na mo དཀའ་ཁན་དེ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Da khan di”

In a city called Gandhapur there lived Dukhaṅdi, a man of the sweeper caste, who lived by scavenging rags, which he skillfully patched together. One day he met an accomplished yogin who asked him how he could live such a miserable life of poverty. After being asked if his life would not be more profitable through practising the dharma, Dukhaṅdi doubted that anyone would be willing to teach him. To this the yogin replied that he would be more than willing to give him initiations and the necessary instructions. And so it was done; the yogin initiated the beggar into Cakrasaṃvara and gave him the instructions into the Developing Stage, the Perfecting Stage, and their ultimate Integration. The scavenger attempted to meditate, but was distracted by his preoccupation with stitching rags. Dukhaṅdi complained to his guru that he was unable to visualize the deity and concentrate upon the recitation of the mantra.

The yogin thus gave his disciple the instructions that would transform his thoughts into the path itself. Following these, Dukhaṅdi gradually succeeded in dissolving all his thoughts about stitching, the deity, and the mantra into the realm of dharma-nature. After twelve years, he succeeded in the realization of the Mahāmudrā-siddhi, and serving countless living beings, Dukhaṅdi finally attained the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.

The painting depicts a dark-skinned Dukhaṅdi under an umbrella, clad in short, green trousers, wearing bone ornaments and a rag tied around his head. He sits in a relaxed attitude on an animal skin with the aid of a yoga band, and looks attentively upwards. The manifestation of a sparsely dressed ḍākinī kneels beside him and offers a skull-cup presumably filled with an intoxicating drink.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Da khan di དཀའ་ཁན་དེ་ is identical with Dukhaṅdi (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 25). In Tibetan, he is also known as gNyis gcig tu byed pa གཉིས་གཅིག་དུ་བྱེད་པ་ (“he who makes two into one”, or “he who unites duality”).

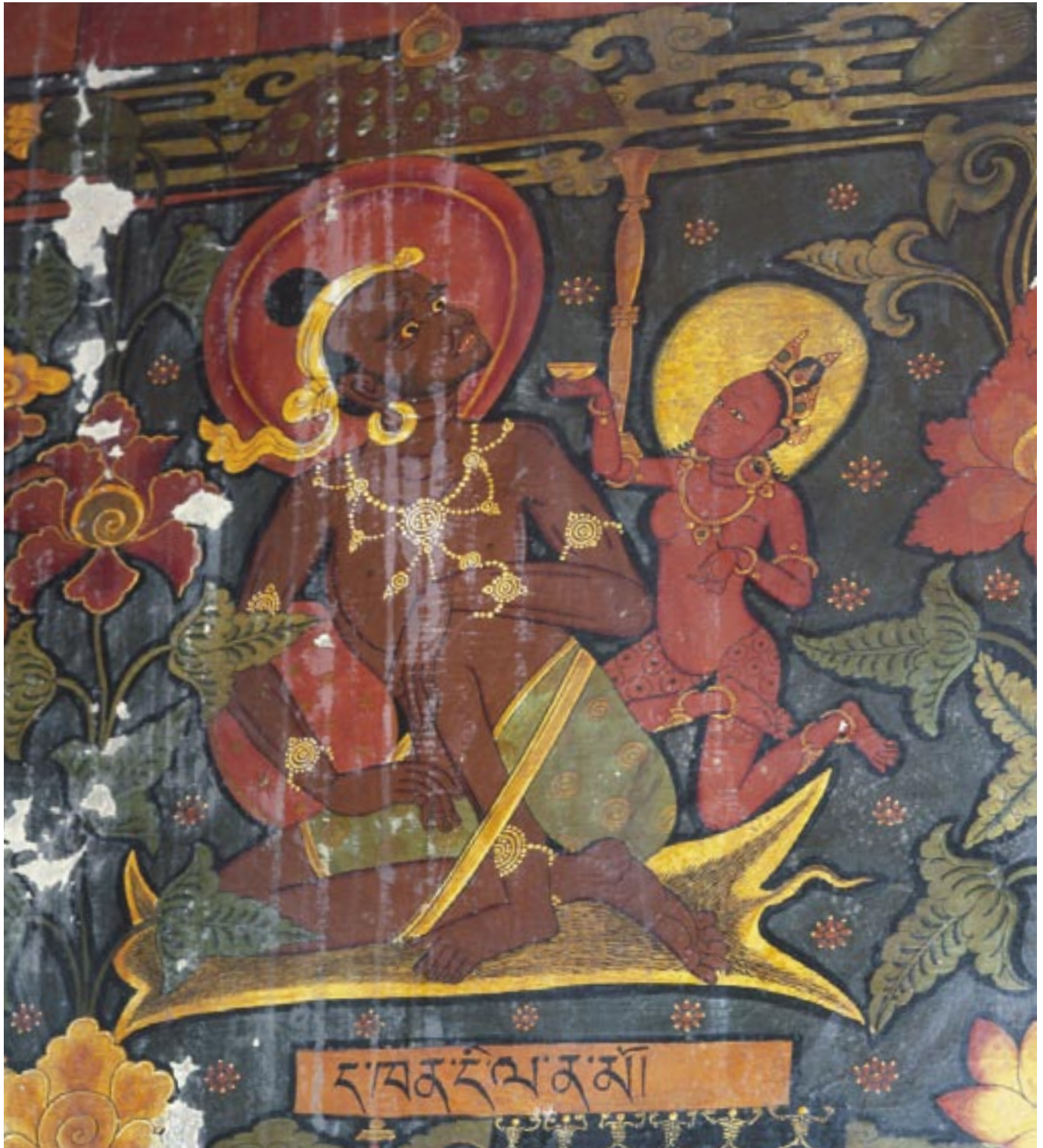
According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་པ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Dukhaṅdi

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 172, no. 25: Khaṅḍi.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 106–107, no. 25: Dhukhandi.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 163–65, no. 25: Dukhaṅdi.



25. Mahāsiddha Dukhaṅdi

PLATE 26

Mahāsiddha Āyogi (?) “The Useless”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G26
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Rud pu ka la na mo རུད་པུ་ཀ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Rud pu ka”

In the city of Pāṭaliputra (Bihar) lived a wealthy householder blessed with a son. As he grew up, the son became so fat he was unable to stand or walk or sit up and eat by himself. His parents grew increasingly worried, for neither encouragement nor abuse was of any use. Eventually, they carried him to the cemetery ground and abandoned him. After a while, a yogin took notice of the boy and brought food. However, he was unable to sit up and eat. The yogin then asked how he could do anything if he was incapable of even sitting up. To this the boy replied that he was entirely useless and thus his parents had abandoned him in the cemetery to die. The yogin then asked the boy if he would be able to practice the dharma while lying down. The boy confirmed his willingness if only someone would be ready to teach him. The yogin proceeded to give

him the initiation of Hevajra and the instructions of the stages of lesser consummation, advising the boy to meditate by condensing the three world systems into a drop the size of a white mustard seed, on the tip of your nose. Meditating this way, the boy finally succeeded in dissolving the three worlds and the mustard seed into emptiness. After nine years of meditation he realized the Mahāmudrā-siddhi and became renowned as the siddha named Āyogi.

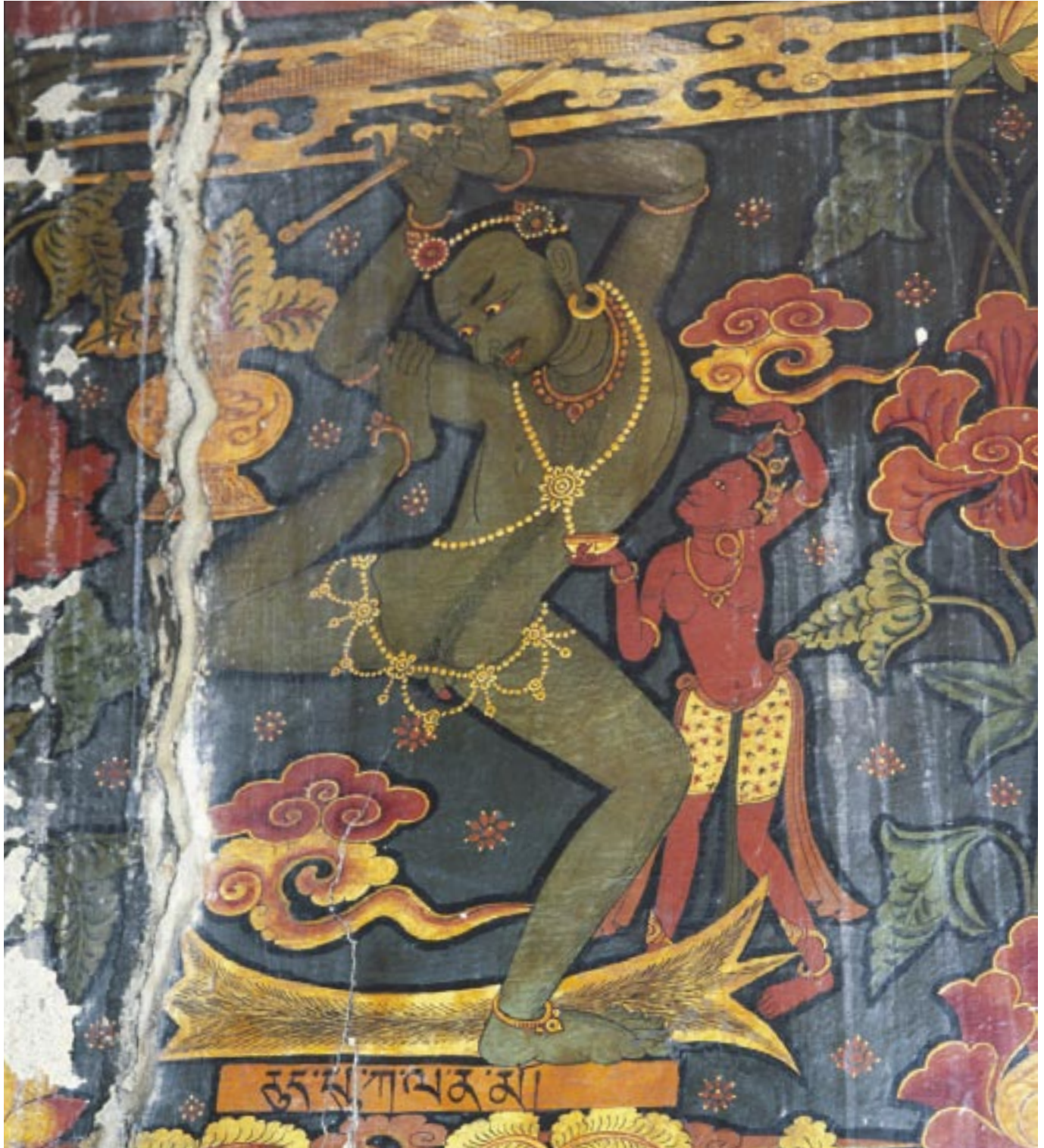
The painting depicts the naked siddha wearing bone ornaments and two beaded chains across the chest. Wielding a staff, he is dancing in an exalted state on an animal skin. A ḍākinī looks up at him full of admiration and offers a full skull-cup.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Da khan di དཀའ་ཁྱེད་ཅི་ is identical with Dukhaṅdi (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 25). In Tibetan, he is also known as gNyis gcig tu byed pa གཉིས་གཅིག་དུ་བྱེད་པ་ (“he who makes two into one”, or “he who unites duality”).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོ་གཤམ་, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་པ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Dukhaṅdi

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 172, no. 25: Khaṅḍi.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha's Lions*, pp. 106–107, no. 25: Dhukhandi.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 163–65, no. 25: Dukhaṅdi.



26. Mahāsiddha Āyogi (?)

PLATE 27

Mahāsiddha Kālapa “The Handsome Yogi”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G27
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Par ka li la na mo བར་ཀ་ལི་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Par ka lī”

During the 12th century there lived in Rājapura an extraordinarily handsome man named Kālapa. As a result of meditating on patience in a previous life, he was endowed with very attractive features. This caused people in the streets to stop and stare at him, which irritated Kālapa so much that he decided to renounce the world and go live in a cremation ground. A yogin who sympathized with his plight offered him initiation and instructions into Cakrasaṃvara. Meditating upon the meaning of creative and fulfilment meditation, Kālapa succeeded in dissolving the dualistic perception of self and other beings. His resulting spontaneous behaviour, free of all embarrassment, prompted the people of Rājapura to call him crazy. After

explaining that his actions arose from the non-dualistic power of bliss, he levitated to the height of seven palms and displayed miracles. This changed the attitude of the people, who thereafter called him Siddha Kālapa. He eventually reached the Dākinī’s Paradise.

The painting depicts an animated Kālapa seated beside a bag with his belongings, under an umbrella. The location is obviously a cemetery, as indicated by the five skulls upon which he is seated. In his right uplifted hand he brandishes a diamond sceptre while gesticulation with the left hand. Behind the yogi kneels an attendant holding an empty skull-cup.

Based on the concordance of numerous mahāsiddhas at Gyantse with the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP), it can be assumed that Par ka li བར་ཀ་ལི་ (G27) is identical with Kālapa (Skt) (CSP 27). Among the Tibetan trans-literation of the Sanskrit name Kālapa, which is possibly a corrupt form of Kaṣapāda (“the mute one”), are Ka la ba ཀ་ལ་བ་ (RtB 27) and Ka la pa ཀ་ལ་པ་ (Rtsk 27). His Tibetan name is sMyon pa མྱོན་པ་ (“madman”).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱེད་པ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Kālapa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 173–74, no. 27: Kala.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 110–11, no. 27: Kalapa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 169–72, no. 27: Kālapa.



27. Mahāsiddha Kālapa

PLATE 28

Mahāsiddha Dhobīpa “The Washerman”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G28
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ḍo mi bri la na mo ལོ་མི་བྲི་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Ḍo mi bri”

In the Northern Indian city of Pāṭaliputra there lived a family of washermen (Skt.: dhobīs). It happened one day when a young dhobī was washing clothes that a yogin passed by and begged for alms. After giving him food, the dhobī asked if the yogin needed anything washed. The yogin handed him a piece of charcoal and asked the dhobī if he could clean it. The washerman replied that it was not possible for him to make black charcoal white. The yogin agreed and replied that superficial washing can never erase the stains of internal poisons. He further explained that he possessed the ultimate secret, by which it was sufficient to wash things just once. Following the request of the dhobī, the yogin gave him first the Cakrasaṃvara initiation followed by the blessings with mantras, mudrās, and samādhis. The washerman accordingly performed the instructions and

thus purified his body, speech, and mind. As a result of obtaining the virtue of the Mahāmudrā-siddhi, clothes received for washing were spontaneously cleaned by themselves. When the people saw this, they realized that the washerman had gained the powers of a Buddha, and he became renowned as the siddha Dhobīpa. Working for the benefit of all sentient beings, he finally attained the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.

The painting depicts Dhobīpa holding a scarf and dancing in a frenzied state on a spotted (leopard?) skin. He is clad with a cloth tied below his belly and wears bracelets in addition to two beaded chains across the chest. At his side a dark-skinned elderly Ḍākinī dances likewise.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ḍo mi bri ལོ་མི་བྲི་ is identical with Dhobīpa (Skt.) of the *Caturaṣṭi-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 28). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Dhobīpa are Ṭoṃ bhi pa ལོ་མི་པ་ (RTB 28) and Dhu pi ra ལྷུ་པི་ར་ (RTSK 28). The name Dhobīpa (Skt.), meaning “washerman”, translated into Tibetan is Khru mkhan ལྷུ་མཁན་.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Dhobīpa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 174, no. 28: Dhombī.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 112–13, no. 28: Dhombīpa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 173–75, no. 28: Dhobīpa.



28. Mahāsiddha Dhobīpa

PLATE 29

Mahāsiddha Kañkaṇa “The Master of the Bracelet”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G29
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Kar ka na la na mo ཀར་ཀ་ན་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Kar ka na*”

In a place known as Viṣṇunagar there lived a king who ruled over a prosperous kingdom and enjoyed all the amenities of life. It happened one day that the king was visited by a yogin begging alms. In return for the food, the yogin offered some unsolicited advice. He reminded the ruler that his kingdom was without any substance, and that his Majesty would do better to be without attachments, and instead devote himself to the dharma. The king replied that he could only agree to practice a sādhana if there was no need to renounce his way of life. The yogin agreed to this request and gave him the following instructions: “Your Majesty, you must direct your mind to the bracelet on your left arm and visualize the light of the gemstone and your desireless mind as being one and the same.” As a result of his gaze upon the jewel, the king gained insight into the true nature of his mind, and after just six months he attained

siddhi. One day his servants, peering through a crack in the door, noticed their ruler seated on his throne surrounded by a host of goddesses. Later, after having been approached by his household, the king agreed to reveal the secrets of his power. He taught them that because realization of the mind was the real king, and intense pleasure the kingdom, they should practice likewise. Preaching to many people, he became famous as Kañkaṇa, the venerable siddha of the bracelet.

The painting depicts the gesticulating Kañkaṇa seated with the aid of a meditation band on an animal skin. He has on a pair of colourfully decorated short trousers and wears bracelets and beaded chains across the chest. A dark-skinned ḍākinī kneels under a flowering tree beside Kañkaṇa and offers him a full skull-cup.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Kar ka na ཀར་ཀ་ན་ is identical with Kañkaṇa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 29). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Kañkaṇa are Kaṃ ka na ཀཀ་ན་ (RtB 29), Kangka na ཀང་ཀ་ན་ (Rtsk 29), and possibly Kam ka ra ཀམ་ཀ་ར་ (KL 45). The name Kañkaṇa (Skt.), meaning “bracelet”, translated into Tibetan is gDu bu can གདུ་བུ་ཅན་ (“bracelet-wearer”).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Kañkaṇa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 174–75, no. 29: Kañkaṇa.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 114–16, no. 29: Kañkana.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 176–78, no. 29: Kañkaṇa.



29. Mahāsiddha Kañkaṇa

PLATE 30

Mahāsiddha Kambala “The Wool Garment Wearer”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G30
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ka ma pa la na mo ཀམ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Ka ma pa*”

The King of Kaṅkarama in Eastern India had two sons. After the king died, the subjects crowned the elder prince as king. During his first year as a ruler, he never met his mother, who was in mourning. After a second year had passed, the mother finally appeared at the court, weeping. She explained that seeing her elder son on the throne in the wretched business of ruling made her sad. He abdicated in favour of his younger brother and became a Buddhist monk. Later she returned twice weeping, asking the first time that he abandon this crowded place for an isolated spot; the second time requesting him to give up the communal monastic life to become a solitary yogin. Subsequently, his mother, who was actually a ḍākinī, initiated him into Cakrasaṃvara. After practising in a cemetery for twelve years, he attained the Mahāmudrā-siddhi and levitated into the sky. There he met his mother with her retinue of ḍākinīs. She advised him that instead of showing off his power

in such a way, he should work for the benefit of humankind. The siddha returned to earth and travelled widely with the selfless intention of serving all people. After overcoming many obstacles caused by ḍākinī-witches, including an elaborate series of events involving the recovery of his woolen blanket, which was precious to him, he became known as Kambala, the “wool garment wearer”. Finally, after serving countless people, he bodily attained the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.

The mural depicts Kambala as a bearded and vigorously dancing monk. He wields a vajra-staff in his right hand and displays the famous wool garment, which enfolds his body and clearly makes him happy. At his side a tame deer-unicorn looks up to Kambala, who seems unaware of the attendant in the background offering him a skull-cup.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ka ma pa ཀམ་པ་ is identical with Kambala (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 30). The name Kambala (Skt.) means “wool garment”.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྫོང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Kambala

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, pp. 175–77, no. 30: Kambhala.

Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 50, no. 19: Lwa wa pa = La wa pa.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 117–20, no. 30: Kambala.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 179–85, no. 30: Kambala.



30. Mahāsiddha Kambala

PLATE 31

Mahāsiddha Ḍeṅgipa “The Courtesan’s Slave”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G31

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

De ki pa la na mo དེཀིཔ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to De ki pa”

The brahmin later known as Ḍeṅgipa was the minister of King Indrapāla at Pāṭaliputra (Bihar). They both became disgusted with their karmic situation and went to the cremation ground to meet Lūipa (Plate 1). As they had nothing on them that could serve as an initiation fee, Lūipa accepted the offering of their bodies as slaves, and initiated them into the maṇḍala of Cakrasaṃvara. Then he took them to Orissa in Eastern India where the king was sold to a temple prostitute.¹ Lūipa and the brahmin continued their journey to Jayantipur, where the former minister was sold to a wine-selling woman [chief courtesan of a brothel in other texts]. One day, the woman forgot to send him his food, but when she remembered she sent some servants with provisions. To their amazement they found the brahmin in the garden, his body radiating light, being served

by divine maidens. Upon hearing this news, the wine-selling woman apologized to her slave for not having realized his exalted status. Ḍeṅgipa, as he became known, preached the dharma to her and many others and eventually went to the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.²

An elderly, grim-looking Ḍeṅgipa, supporting himself with his left hand on the branch of a magnificently flowering tree, works a foot-treadle with his right foot. Ḍeṅgipa carries, among many others names, the Tibetan title ’Bras-rdung ba འབྲས་རདུང་བ་, “rice-pounder”, and thus he is clearly engaged in husking the pile of rice at the feet of his consort. This ḍākinī, elegantly decorated with ringed jewellery, and wearing a shoulder bag, watches the master with great attention.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as De ki pa དེཀིཔ་ is identical with Ḍeṅgipa (Skt.) of the *Caturaṣṭi-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 31). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Ḍeṅgipa are Deng gi pa དེང་གི་པ་ (RTB 31), Ṭinggi pa འིང་གི་པ་ (Rtsk 31), Da ki pa དཀིཔ་ (GsB 31), Dhe ki pa དྷེཀིཔ་ (RtP 31), and lDing gi pa ལྷིང་གི་པ་ (AS 36). The Tibetan name is ’Bras-rdung ba འབྲས་རདུང་བ་ (“rice-pounder”).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྫིང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Ḍeṅgipa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 177–78, no. 31: Diṅka.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 66, no. 31: lDing gi pa.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 121–23, no. 31: Ṭeṅgipa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 186–90, no. 31: Ḍeṅgipa.

¹ The story of how the king was sold is related in the legend of Dārikapa (Plate 77).

² With regard to the stories of the king and his minister, there seems to be confusion among the various Tibetan renderings of “*The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas*”.



31. Mahāsiddha Deñgipa

PLATE 32

Mahāsiddha Bhandepa “The Compassionate God”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G32

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Sha de pa la na mo ཤཱེཏ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Sha de pa*”

Within the clouds of Śrāvastī, Bhandepa was a god living in the sky. One day he observed an arhat progressing through the sky dressed as a monk, carrying a bowl, a staff, and a parasol. An amazed Bhandepa asked Viśvakarma for an explanation about this phenomenon. Viśvakarma explained to Bhandepa that this was a saintly arhat who had forsaken all temptations and defilements. Bhandepa, longing to become like the arhat, descended to earth in search of a teacher. Approaching Kṛṣṇācarī, also known as Kāṇhapa (CSP 17), Bhandepa received the initiation of Guhyasamāja and the instructions of the yogin’s protection – the four boundless states of mind. Through his practice, Bhandepa acquired the fruits of compassion, happiness, friendliness, and equanimity. Because of his meditation, Bhandepa eventually succeeded in cleansing his mind of all delusions, gained the Mahāmudrā-

siddhi, and became famous as the siddha Bhandepa.¹ When Viśvakarma observed the return of Bhandepa to the sky-realm above Śrāvastī, he asked him about the goals he had attained. Bhandepa replied: “Vision without perceptions, unremitting meditation, deeds like mother and father, and results vast as the sky.” Serving the people of Āryāvarta, Bhandepa eventually attained the Dākinī’s Paradise.

Bhandepa sits in the attitude of meditation inside a jewelled enclosure and displays the hand gesture of teaching. Smiling confidently and dressed in intricately decorated monk’s garments, he is fully aware of his powers and radiates the aura of an exalted state of mind. To the right, a male onlooker, envious and irritated, hangs over the edge of the sacred space, wanting to bother or perhaps get close to the master.

Based on the concordance of numerous mahāsiddhas at Gyantse with the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP), it can be assumed that Sha de pa ཤཱེཏ་པ་ is identical with Bhandepa (Skt.) (CSP 32). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Bhandepa are Bha na dha ཐྱན་ཏ་ (RtB 32), Bandhe pa བན་ཏེ་པ་ (RtSk 32), Ban dhe pa བན་ཏེ་པ་ (Nar 46), and Bha de pa ཐྱན་ཏེ་པ་ (KL 47). The Tibetan name is རྣོ་ལ་འཛིན་པ་ Nor la ’dzin pa.

This mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྣམ་པུ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་, dPal ’byor Rin chen འཕམ་འབྲོང་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Bhandepa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, p. 178, no. 32: Bhande.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 124–25, no. 32: Bhandepa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 191–94, no. 32: Bhandepa.

¹ Bhandepa, originally an adherent of Theravāda Buddhism, nevertheless succeeded in attaining mahāmudrā-siddhi after receiving a tantric initiation and Mahāyāna precepts.



32. Mahāsiddha Bhandepa

PLATE 33

Mahāsiddha Te ru sha “The Turk”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G33
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)
Tibetan inscription reads

Te ru sha la na mo ཏེ་རུ་ཤ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Te ru sha*”

Te ru sha – “the Turk” – is an unidentified mahāsiddha depicted in a joyful mood in company with a male attendant, perhaps his spiritual mentor. The bearded, smiling master sits with the help of a yoga band in the attitude of royal ease on an animal skin. He wears tight, short trousers decorated with a red and black star pattern, identical to those of his companion. Te ru sha is adorned with a necklace and bracelets at the arms and

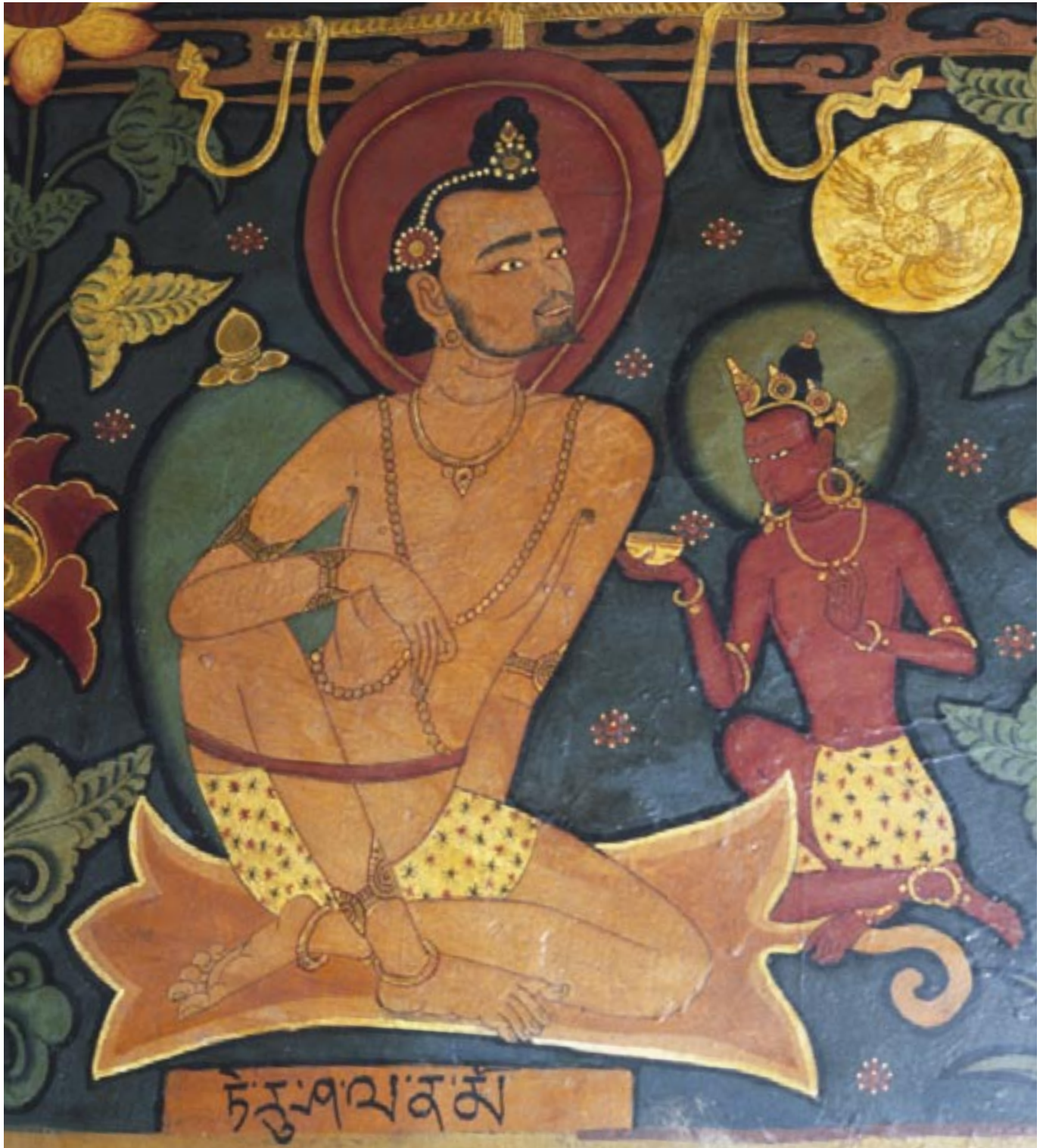
feet, in addition to two beaded chains worn across the chest. At his side kneels the male attendant, who looks on attentively at Te ru sha and offers him with his right hand a skull-cup; he also wears jewelled ornaments, a pair of large earrings, and a five-leaved crown. Above, the image of a phoenix in the moon symbolizes loyalty and devotion.

It is not possible to identify Te ru sha ཏེ་རུ་ཤ་ with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྒྱུང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Published

Tucci, G. 1941. *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. IV, *Gyantse ed i suoi monasteri*, Parte I, pp. 155–56; Parte III, fig. 90.
Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, pp. [428], 431, pl. 159: Te ru sha appears not to be a siddha of the well-known set of eighty-four.



33. Mahāsiddha Te ru sha

PLATE 34

Mahāsiddha Mahipa “The Great Man”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G34

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ma ri pa la na mo མ་རི་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Ma ri pa”

Mahipa, the “great man” of Magadha, was of low caste. Being of incredible physical power, he was a man of great pride, believing he could defeat any living being. One day he encountered on the street a yogin who stared at him and asked Mahipa what he was thinking about. Mahipa denied thinking about anything. The yogin recognized the lie and probed further: “Aren’t you thinking that you are invincible?” Hearing this, the arrogant Mahipa became humble, bowed down, and paid homage to the yogin. “Get rid of your humiliating arrogance!” commanded the yogin. “Please show me how I can achieve this,” begged Mahipa. The yogin gave him initiation and the precept of transforming physical strength into spiritual power. “Comprehend appearances as a product of the mind, identify your strength with emptiness, and you will become

truly invincible,” the guru continued. The instructions posed no problems for Mahipa, since the very obstacles in his way were used as the path to liberation. Eventually he attained the Dākinī’s Paradise.

Mahipa is dancing on an animal skin, with a look of intense concentration on his face. He is clad with a simple cloth and wears jewelled ornaments in addition to two beaded chains across the chest. His consort, with bare breasts, is also dressed with a single piece of cloth. She clings closely to Mahipa, with one arm around his shoulder and one leg around his left thigh. The consort also wears jewelled ornaments, including a pair of earrings and a five-leaved crown.

Ma ri pa མ་རི་པ་ is identical with Mahipa (Skt.) of the *Caturaṣṭi-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 37). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Mahipa, a short form of Mahipāda (“great man”), are Ma hi la མ་ཁི་ལ་ (RtB 37) and Mi hi la མི་ཁི་ལ་ (Rtsk 37). In Tibetan, he is recognized as Ngar rgyal can འཇུག་མཚན་ (“the man of pride”).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྫིང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Published

Tucci, G. 1941. *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. IV, *Gyantse ed i suoi monasteri*, Parte I, pp. 155–56; Parte III, fig. 89.
Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, pp. [428], 431, pl. 159: Ma ri pa appears not to be a siddha of the well-known set of eighty-four.

Selected references to the iconography of Mahipa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 181, no. 37: Mahi.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 136–37, no. 37: Mahipa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 210–12, no. 37: Mahipa.



34. Mahāsiddha Mahipa

PLATE 35

Mahāsiddha Bu ta pa

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G35
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Bu ta pa la na mo བུ་ཏ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Bu ta pa*”

Bu ta pa, an unidentified Indian mahāsiddha, sits on a throne with his right leg bent flat under him and the left leg hanging down. He joyfully embraces his consort, who is seated on his lap; the two are joined as a loving couple. Bu ta pa’s hands are crossed in front of him and turned inward, with the right hand holding a diamond sceptre and the left a bell.¹ The siddha and

his consort both wear short trousers opened and adjusted in such a way as to facilitate their lovemaking, and the consort hugs him completely with arms and legs. Both are crowned and wear jewelled ornaments. They stare into each other’s eyes, completely oblivious to the outer world as they sit inside an aureole of flames.

It is difficult to identify Bu ta pa བུ་ཏ་པ་ (G35) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

¹ *Prajñāliṅganābhinaya-mudrā*: the diamond sceptre (*vajra*) represents the male principle, the indestructible, transcendent diamond, a symbol of

the spiritual path. The bell (*ghaṅṭā*) represents the female principle of the transcendent void, a symbol of absolute wisdom.



35. Mahāsiddha Bu ta pa

PLATE 36

Mahāsiddha So dra bo dhe

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G36
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

So dra bo dhe la na mo སོ་དྲ་བོ་དྲེ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to So dra bo dhe”

So dra bo dhe, an unidentified Indian mahāsiddha, is dancing in an ecstatic mood on an animal skin. His whole attitude gives the impression of being totally removed from this world and totally unaware of the presence of his consort. He wears short, tight trousers and jewelled ornaments, including ear-plugs. The fact that the siddha wears a sacred thread across his chest might indicate that he is of brahmanic descent. Strings of pearls decorate his long hair, which is arranged with a knot. An equally

entranced ḍākinī consort is dancing at So dra bo dhe’s side. She tries in vain to get his attention in order to hand him the skull-cup held in her right hand. With her breasts uncovered, she too wears short trousers around her slim waist and also jewelled ornaments. The row of dancing skeletons above So dra bo dhe might indicate that this dance is taking place in a cremation ground.¹

It is difficult to identify So dra bo dhe སོ་དྲ་བོ་དྲེ་ (G36) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Published

Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, pp. [429], 431, pl. 160: So dra bo dhe appears not to be the name of a siddha of the well-known set of eighty-four.

¹ A number of mahāsiddhas lived part of their life near cremation grounds.



36. Mahāsiddha So dra bo dhe

PLATE 37

Mahāsiddha Ghaṇṭāpa “The Bell-Ringer”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G37
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Dril bu pa la na mo འིལ་བུ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Dril bu pa”

Ghaṇṭāpa, as he was later called, used to be a monk of the famous Nālandā monastery and had mastered the five sciences. One day the monk settled under a tree at Saliputra, the seat of the mighty king Devapāla. The king, a religious man, wished to meet this superior master. The monk refused the invitation on the grounds that a kingdom is an evil thing. After pleading for forty days without success, the king and his people grew angry. The ruler promised half of the kingdom to anyone who could cause the monk to abandon his purity. A shrewd prostitute told the king that she could accomplish this through her dazzling twelve-year-old daughter. The courtesan instructed her to pay continuous reverence to the monk until he accepted her as a patron. One day she stayed a while longer, waiting for the rain to stop. Then, claiming that it was too late for her to return home safely, she begged to be allowed to sleep there. Being so

close, the inevitable took its course, and after living together for a year a son was born to them. One day they decided to go somewhere else. On their way they met the king who accused the monk of being a sinner himself. The monk threw the child and a bottle to the ground where they turned into a diamond sceptre (vajra) and a bell (ghaṇṭā). As a result, the king and the people took faith, and the monk became famous as Ghaṇṭāpa.

Ghaṇṭāpa, with twisted limbs and hands clasped above his head, dances cheerfully on an antelope skin and is clearly enjoying himself. He wears beaded bone ornaments and decorations in his hair. Beside him kneels his joyful consort, offering him a skull-cup. Enigmatically, this portrayal of “The Bell-Ringer” displays no bell anywhere.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Dril bu pa འིལ་བུ་པ་ is identical with Ghaṇṭāpa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 52). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Ghaṇṭāpa, which is a short form of Ghaṇṭāpāda (“the man with the bell”), are Ghaṇḍa pa གྲམ་པ་ (RtB 52), and Ghandha pa གྲམ་པ་ (RtP 52). In Tibetan, he is known as Dril bu pa འིལ་བུ་པ་ (“bearer of the bell”) (KL 40) or rDo rje dril bu pa འིལ་བུ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ (“bearer of the diamond sceptre and bell”) (Rtsk 52).

This mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྲོང་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Published

Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, pp. [429], 431, pl. 160: Dril bu pa appears not to be a siddha of the well-known set of eighty-four.

Selected references to the iconography of Ghaṇṭāpa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 192–95, no 52: Ghaṇṭāpāda.

Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 39, no. 10: Dri bu pa = rDo rje dril bu.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 174–79, no. 52: Ghaṇḍhapa.

Downman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 267–75, no. 52: Ghaṇṭāpa.



37. Mahāsiddha Ghaṇṭāpa

PLATE 38

Mahāsiddha Rāhula “The Rejuvenated”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G38
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ra hu la la na mo རཱཱཱཱ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Ra hu la”

The low-caste Rāhula spent all his life in Kāmarūpa, located in Assam. After he grew old he lost the capacity of controlling his bodily functions. As a result, his family cursed him about his senility, and he felt truly miserable. Worried about his rebirth, he would visit the cemetery in the hope of meeting a guru. Then one day, he was asked by a yogin what he was doing there. He explained his situation and confessed that his only hope was to find peace in death. To this the yogin replied that indeed the torrents of childhood, youth and old age had taken their toll, and now the time of death was unavoidable. The yogin then asked Rāhula if he wouldn't like to practice the dharma as a provision for death. Rāhula replied his readiness but also expressed his doubt that anybody would care to teach a poor old man like him. To this the yogin replied with a song that the nature of the mind is free of aging, and faith – the true wealth – never fades away. The yogin then gave the old man initiation.

He further instructed him in the meditation practice of how to transform the concept of duality into the realization of non-duality. The old man meditated as instructed, and as a result his old body was transformed into the body of a sixteen-year-old. Eventually he obtained the virtue of the Mahāmudrā-siddhi, and in his very body attained the Ḍākinī's Paradise.

The rejuvenated Rāhula is shown here in a relaxed mood drinking from a skull-cup. He is seated comfortably in the attitude of royal ease on an antelope skin, with the help of a cloth band often used as a support in yoga. Rāhula is clad simply with a shorts-like garment and wears ear-plugs and bracelets, in addition to two beaded chains across the chest. At his side, like a shadow, rests an old man with a plain long-sleeved dress and head-scarf – Rāhula prior to the rejuvenation, which represents his own presumably overcome past.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ra hu la རཱཱཱཱ་ is likely identical with Rāhula (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 47). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Rāhula are Ra hu la རཱཱཱཱ་ (RtB 47) and Rā hu la རཱཱཱཱ་ (Rtsk 47). In Tibetan, he is known as sGra gcan 'dzin སྐྱག་ཅན་འཛིན་.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་པ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Rāhula

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, pp. 189–90, no. 47: Rāhula.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha's Lions*, pp. 163–65, no. 47: Rāhula.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 252–55, no. 47: Rāhula.

¹ A number of mahāsiddhas lived part of their life near cremation grounds.



38. Mahāsiddha Rāhula

PLATE 39

Mahāsiddha Sarba de

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G39
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Sarba de la na mo སར་དེ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Sarba de”

The mahāsiddha named Sarba de rests comfortably in the so-called attitude of royal ease on an animal skin, and leans against a pillow held in place by a small tree. Sarba de, with his head set against a circular red nimbus, is dressed in an array of monastic robes. The yellowish-red upper garment decorated with flower patterns is rendered with a few folds and covers the left shoulder only. The hem of the brown lower garment is also visible. With the exception of simple ear-plugs, the monk is bare of ornaments. With the left arm in an inactive pose, the friendly monk performs with the right hand a gesture as if lecturing or inviting others to join him. To the right are two

attendants; the fair-skinned male in front kneels in adoration with his hands on the animal skin, almost as if touching the monk. His dark-skinned female companion offers to the monk a skull-cup with the right hand, while the left is raised in reverence. Both wear short, tight, dhoti-like garments decorated with flower motifs. They also wear jewelled ornaments. It is left to the imagination of the viewer to guess what episode could be illustrated here. The background is filled with flower motifs as well as a vase and a circular disk representing perhaps the sun or the full moon.

The mahāsiddha depicted here is named according to the inscription in the cartouche below as Sarba de སར་དེ. Unfortunately, none of the names of the eighty-four mahāsiddhas listed in Abhayadatta's work *“The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas”* bears any similarity with the name inscribed.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Sarba de

Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, p. 431: Sa rba de appears not to be a siddha of the well-known set of eighty-four [not illustrated].



39. Mahāsiddha Sarba de

PLATE 40

Mahāsiddha Sa ta pa

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G40

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Sa ta pa la na mo སྟེ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Sa ta pa”

The mahāsiddha named in the inscription as Sa ta pa appears to dance in a kind of frantic mood under a flowering tree. The rather dark-skinned ascetic, characterized by a tall knot of hair secured by a scarf, appears to be fully intoxicated. He leans with his left arm on the shoulder of his youthful consort, who, in comparison, appears small and frail. Nevertheless, she seems to enjoy the situation as well, although one might detect a sign of worry in her expression. Sa ta pa wears a pair of tight short trousers decorated with stripes and flowers; above is his protruding belly and he wears beaded bone ornaments, including a long beaded sacred thread across the chest. The siddha, with the expression of a madman and the belly of a gourmet,

appears to be attracted more by the tray of food beside him than his fair-skinned agile consort clinging to him. She too is naked except for a short dress dotted with red and blue flowers and an array of jewelled ornaments. It is a pity that this mahāsiddha could not be identified with one of those in “*The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas*”. But even so, the viewer of the painting is assured that Sa ta pa did not succumb to sadness, but rather was engulfed in the pleasurable mundane aspects of life. The red nimbus, however, confirms that the unidentified siddha had reached a level of achievement and respect sufficiently high to be included in the illustrious brotherhood of the mahāsiddhas.

The mahāsiddha depicted here is named according to the inscription in the cartouche below as Sa ta pa སྟེ་པ་. Unfortunately, none of the names of the eighty-four mahāsiddhas listed in Abhayadatta’s work “*The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas*” bears any similarity with the name inscribed.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.



40. Mahāsiddha Sa ta pa

PLATE 41

Mahāsiddha Mi ka la [I]

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G41
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Mi ka la la na mo མི་ཀ་ལ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Mi ka la*”

The image of the mahāsiddha named in the inscription as Mi ka la is partly damaged. Nevertheless, one is able to recognize that a rather dark-skinned mahāsiddha, bent slightly forward, looks in consternation at a pair of tusked male elephants in front of him. Elephants play a part in the life-stories of some mahāsiddhas, but none of the stories seems to match our painting. As our mahāsiddha remains unidentified and his life-story is shrouded in mystery, there exists the possibility that he was a farmer rather than a mahout in charge of the elephants. These animals can appear in Tibetan paintings as a result of confusion with spelling and vocabulary. In the Tibetan language, the word for “ox” is *ba glang* བགྲང, while *bal glang* བལ་གྲང, or “wool-ox”, is the common word for elephants.¹ Of course there is no certitude whether this is a case of misspelling or

whether elephants actually played a role in the life of Mi ka la. To make matters worse, there is another unidentified mahāsiddha painted at Gyantse also inscribed as Mi ka la (G65). The reason for the consternation of Mi ka la might also be that the white elephant is standing on his feet. In addition, both elephants trample with their rear legs on something that perhaps resembles fishes. The two elephants, one light and one dark, carry on their backs green saddles placed on ornamented carpets strapped around the bellies. With such an outfit, they certainly do not look like elephants used for heavy field labour. In the background, safely distanced from the two elephants, stands a sparsely dressed ḍākinī wearing jewelled ornaments. Her posture gives the impression that she is not amused by what is happening in front of her.

The mahāsiddha depicted here is named according to the inscription in the cartouche below as Mi ka la མི་ཀ་ལ་ (G41). Unfortunately, none of the names of the eighty-four mahāsiddhas listed in Abhayadatta’s work “*The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas*” bears any similarity with the name inscribed. The identification is further complicated by the fact that another painted mahāsiddha at Gyantse (G65) has the same name.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འཕྱོང་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Published.

Tucci, G. 1941. *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. IV, *Gyantse ed i suoi monasteri*, Parte I, p. 156; Parte III, fig. 87.

¹ Cf. Schmid, Toni. 1958. *The Eighty-five Siddhas*, p. 62, no. 29 of thangka V.



41. Mahāsiddha Mi ka la

PLATE 42

Mahāsiddha Dharmapa “The Dharma Man”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G42

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ḍa ma pa la na mo ཏཱ་མ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Ḍa ma pa”

Dharmapa was a brahmin by birth and studied at the famous Buddhist monastery of Vikramaśīla in North-Eastern India. He studied diligently but realized that he lacked both the analytical insight and the wisdom of meditation. Then one day he was approached by a yogin in need of assistance. Dharmapa candidly admitted to the visitor that although he had studied at length all aspects of the dharma, he was not able to offer any teachings. He begged the yogin instead to teach him a method to overcome his shortcomings. The yogin gave Dharmapa the initiation on how to integrate multiplicity. The yogin taught him that, like the smith who fuses molten pieces of metal into a single ingot, he should dissolve the fragments of knowledge and unify them in the mind's nature. Through this initiation Dharmapa understood the meaning of this instruction and

realized in his mind the unified wholeness of all doctrines he had studied. Eventually, Dharmapa accomplished the realization of the Mahāmudrā-siddhi and in his own body attained the Ḍākinī's Paradise.

Dharmapa sits in a relaxed mood in the attitude of ease on an animal skin and leans against a pillow placed against a flowering tree. With the right hand he displays the gesture of argumentation, while leaning slightly on the left arm. In the background stands a sparsely dressed young girl trying in vain to get the mahāsiddhas attention with a full skull-cup. Evidently she fails to distract Dharmapa from his contemplation – or at least up to this moment.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ḍa ma pa ཏཱ་མ་པ་ is perhaps identical with the first of the two siddhas named Dharmapa (Skt.) in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 36 & 48). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Dharmapa, which is a short form of Dharmapāda (“the man of the *dharma*”), are Dha ma pa ཏཱ་མ་པ་ (*RtB* 36), Dha ma b ཏཱ་མ་བ་ (*Rtsk* 36), and Dhar ma pa ཏཱ་མ་པ་ (*KL* 36).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྒྱུང་, dPal 'byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Published

Tucci, G. 1941. *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. IV, *Gyantse ed i suoi monasteri*, Parte I, pp. 155–56; Parte III, fig. 88.

Selected references to the iconography of Dharmapa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, p. 11, no. 36: Dhama.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha's Lions*, pp. 134–35, no. 36: Dharmapa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 207–209, no. 36: Dharmapa.



42. Mahāsiddha Dharmapa

PLATE 43

Mahāsiddha Tañtepa “The Gambler”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G43
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ḍan ta pa la na mo རྩན་ཏཱ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ *“Veneration to Ḍan ta pa”*

Tañtepa was a man of low caste living in Kauśāmbī in Northern India. As a result of his obsession with gambling he lost everything he owned. Yet he compulsively continued to play until his credit was exhausted and everyone avoided him. Finally, fully disillusioned, he went to a cremation ground and remained there. A yogin found him and inquired what he was doing there. Tañtepa confessed that he was a compulsive gambler who had lost his entire fortune and was anguished in body and mind. The yogin asked him if meditation would be of any help. Tañtepa replied that if there existed a practice of meditation that would not force him to give up dice playing, he would be interested. The yogin acknowledged that such a method existed and bestowed upon the gambler initiation and empowerment. The yogin encouraged him to visualize the three realms of sensual experience, form and formlessness as empty as his purse

after losing at the game. He lectured him that just as you can get rid of a fortune by dice, you can liberate your mind from conceptual thought. Following this method, the gambler eventually realized the empty nature of everything. As a result of his practice, Tañtepa accomplished the comprehension of the Mahāmudrā-siddhi and went to the realm of the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.

Tañtepa appears to be practising inside a cave. He rests on an animal skin with the help of a yoga band, in the attitude of royal ease. He wears beaded bone ornaments, including two chains across the chest. The gambler makes an astonished face, as if just realizing the empty nature of all conceptions. Behind him sits his consort, looking up attentively and full of admiration for Tañtepa.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ḍan ta pa རྩན་ཏཱ་པ་ is likely identical with Tañtepa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 33). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Tañtepa are Tan dha na རྩན་ཏཱ་ན་ (RtB 33), Tante pa རྩན་ཏཱ་པ་ (Rtsk 33), and Tan ta pa རྩན་ཏཱ་པ་ (KL 48). Other names include Tam ba ka རྩན་ཏཱ་པ་ཀ་ (GsB 42), Tam pa ka རྩན་ཏཱ་པ་ཀ་ (STh 42) and Tam pa ta རྩན་ཏཱ་པ་ཏ་ (AS 25). In Tibetan, he is known as Cho lo pa རྩན་ཏཱ་པ་ (“dice man”).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྩེ་རྩེ་, dPal ’byor Rin chen འཕྲོ་ལྷོ་འཕྲོ་ལྷོ་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Tañtepa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 179, no. 33: Tandhe.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 126–27, no. 33: Tandhepa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 195–98, no. 33: Tañtepa.



43. Mahāsiddha Tañtepa

PLATE 44

Mahāsiddha Jogipa “The Pilgrim”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G44
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Pa dzu ki la na mo བརྩུག་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Pa dzu ki”

Jogipa, who lived in Odantapurī,¹ was a member of the low Caṇḍala caste. His guru, Śavaripa (Plate 5), granted Jogipa the initiation and empowerment of Hevajra. Śavaripa further instructed him in the creative and fulfilment meditation of the highest classes of tantras. However, when Jogipa attempted to meditate, he realized that he did not understand the meaning of his guru’s instructions. Jogipa returned to Śavaripa and asked for meritorious exercises of body and speech instead. The guru obliged and taught him the mantra of Vajra-Heruka and advised Jogipa to carry out his practice by making a pilgrimage to the twenty-four sacred power-places. Jogipa followed the guru’s instructions. After twelve years of pilgrimage the stains of his mind had been eradicated and he obtained the virtue of the Mahāmudrā-siddhi. Jogipa thus demonstrated that

the kriyāyoga practice of pilgrimage and recitation of mantra can lead to the same goal as the highest tantric practice. There the power-places are substituted by twenty-four focal points of energy as part of yoga-practice. Jogipa told others about his realizations and aided many by various means, before finally attaining the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.

Jogipa is naked except for his bracelets and bone ornaments. He obviously greatly enjoys the company of his naked consort who is held close to his body with his bent right leg. Although restricted in her movements, the consort seems not to object to his amorous advances. The two gaze into each other’s eyes as Jogipa touches her breasts with the right arm and hand; the left hand holds a skull-cup and a sceptre.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Pa dzu ki བརྩུག་ is very likely identical with Jogipa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 53). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Jogipa are rDzo gi pa རྩོག་པ་ (RtB 53), and Dzo ki pa རྩོག་པ་ (Rtsk 53). In Tibetan, he is known as rNal ’byor pa རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ (DMM).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྣམས་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Jogipa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 181, no. 53: Jogī.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 180–81, no. 53: Yogipa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 276–79, no. 53: Jogipa.

¹ Odantapurī Mahāvihāra (modern Bihar Sharif, Patna district, Bihar, N.-E. India).



44. Mahāsiddha Jogipa

PLATE 45

Mahāsiddha Bhusuku “The Lazy Monk”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G45
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ku ra la na mo ཀུ་ར་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Ku ra”

Bhusuku of the warrior caste, later known as Śāntideva, was admitted as a monk at the famous monastery of Nālandā in Northern India. The monks were well provided for by king Devapāla (ruled c. 812–850). The abbot was in general satisfied with the progress of his students. The only exception was the lethargic Śāntideva, who was named by the king Bhusuku – “lazy bum”. It was the custom at Nālandā that the monks took turns reciting the Sūtras. Though not qualified, Bhusuku nevertheless accepted his turn. The abbot knowingly advised Bhusuku to recite the whole night the mantra of Mañjuśrī. During the night Mañjuśrī appeared and promised the endowment of knowledge. Next morning the assembly hall was cramped with monks, lay people and the king, all ready to have a good laugh. Bhusuku took a seat on the throne and inquired whether he should recite the Sūtras in the manner done previ-

ously, or in a way that had never been done before. The people laughed and the king remarked to Bhusuku that, because his method of laziness was unique, he should go ahead and preach the dharma as nobody had done before. Bhusuku then gave his recitation of the “Bodhicaryāvatāra”, and subsequently rose up into the air. The crowd was stunned and everybody took faith, claiming that he was not a “bhusuku” but a master, and called him Śāntideva – “peaceful deity”. Afterwards they asked him to become the abbot, but Śāntideva declined, disrobed and left the monastery.

Bhusuku of the warrior caste, with a grim look on his face, stares into the void in front of him. Dressed in tight short trousers and wearing beaded bone ornaments, he appears oblivious to the pair of attendants trying in vain to cheer him up.

If the name Ku ra is considered a short form of Bu su ku ra འུ་སུ་ཀུ་ར་ (GsB 9), then the mahāsiddha is possibly identical with Bhusuku (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 41), who is also known as Ācārya Śāntideva (Skt.). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Bhusuku are Bhu su ku འུ་སུ་ཀུ་ (RtB 41), and Bu su ku ra འུ་སུ་ཀུ་ར་ (GsB 9). His Tibetan name is Zhi la ཞི་ལ་, and also Sa’i snying po སའི་སྤྱིང་པོ་.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྒྱུང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Bhusuku

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 183–85, no. 41: Busuku.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 37, no. 9: Bhu su ku = Bhu su ku pa.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 145–49, no. 41: Bhusuku.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 222–28, no. 41: Bhusuku (Śāntideva).



45. Mahāsiddha Bhusuku

PLATE 46

Mahāsiddha Kaṃparipa “The Blacksmith”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G46
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ka ma ri la na mo ཀམ་རི་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Ka ma ri*”

In the land of Pāṭaliputra (Bihar) there lived Kaṃparipa, who was born into a family of out-caste smiths. It happened one day that a yogin came to his working place and inquired about his life. The blacksmith replied that he was just continuing with what his ancestors had been doing all their lives. When asked if he enjoyed his life, Kaṃparipa complained about being tormented by fire, sparks and heat. The yogin then asked if the blacksmith could spare some food. While he ate, Kaṃparipa and his wife expressed their surprise about the yogin accepting food from the hands of low-caste people. The yogin in turn inquired whether they practiced the dharma. They denied this, saying that nobody would give instructions to such low-caste people. The yogin then said that he would be willing to give them instructions if they believed in the dharma and promised to practice it accordingly. The yogin proceeded to give them initiation, which transferred spiritual power. He instructed

them to visualize the three psychic channels as objects of meditation. He advised them to transform their daily tasks into meditation. Ignite the coals of conceptual thought. Kindle the flame of wisdom and awareness with the intention to melt the iron, the three poisons and the five passions. Experience the delight of stainless dharma consciousness. After six years of practice Kaṃparipa obtained the virtue of the Mahāmudrā-siddhi. Everybody remained ignorant of his achievement until his iron works began to appear spontaneously. And eventually Kaṃparipa attained the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.

Kaṃparipa is seated in the attitude of royal ease on an ante-lope skin. He listens attentively to the yogin seated beside him. Judging from the face, it seems as if the blacksmith is depicted at the very moment of spontaneous understanding of the yogin’s instructions.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ka ma ri ཀམ་རི་ is identical with Kaṃparipa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 45). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Kaṃparipa, a corrupt form of Karmarapāda (“blacksmith”), are Kaṃ ri pa ཀམ་རི་པ་ (RtB 45) and Ka ma ri pa ཀམ་རི་པ་ (Rtsk 45). His Tibetan name is mGar pa མག་པ་ (“blacksmith”).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying གནས་རྫོང་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྲོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Kaṃparipa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 188-89, no. 45: Kampari.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 80, no. 42: Tam pa ka.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 158–60, no. 45: Kaṃparipa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 242–44, no. 45: Kaṃparipa.



46. Mahāsiddha Kamparipa

PLATE 47

Mahāsiddha Dhokaripa “The Vessel Man”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Western wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G47
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Do khan di la na mo དོཀམ་དེ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Do khan di”

Dhokaripa was a low-caste beggar in the land of Pāṭaliputra (Bihar). He always carried a bowl in which he placed whatever he received as alms, or whatever he could scavenge. Then one day, when he had neither found nor received anything at all, he sat down at the foot of a tree. Later a yogin passed by and asked him for something to eat. Dhokaripa apologized for being unable to provide any food. To his astonishment, the yogin responded by inquiring from the beggar if he would appreciate the teaching of the dharma. Dhokaripa replied that indeed he would, and he would practise it, if a spiritual friend would teach him. The yogin thus initiated the beggar into the empowerment of Hevajra and gave him instructions into the Developing Stage and the Perfecting Stage: “Put all the nourishment of recognition into your bowl of pure space, and then visualize its ultimate integration.” Through extended meditation, Dhokaripa succeeded in comprehending the meaning, and

after three years of practice attained the Mahāmudrā-siddhi. Nevertheless, Dhokaripa continued to carry his bowl around with him. When the people of Pāṭaliputra would inquire about what he was carrying, he would reply: “I carry the vessel of emptiness and collect the alms of pure pleasure. You people, do you understand that Dhokaripa’s desire is fulfilled?” Having narrated his experiences, he became famous as the yogin Dhokaripa and eventually attained the Dākinī’s Paradise.

Dhokaripa is seated on a tiger skin in a particular yoga posture, with the aid of a yoga band. His right arm rests on the bent right knee while holding a presumably empty bowl, and he listens attentively to the instructions of the yogin seated beside him. The yogin perhaps acts simply as a medium; his dharma teachings might actually originate from Avalokiteśvara, whose image appears above.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Do khan di དོཀམ་དེ་ is likely identical with Dhokaripa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 49). This siddha should not be confused with Mahāsiddha Dukhaṅdi (CSP 25), who is inscribed as Da khan di དཱཀམ་དེ་ (G25). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Dhokaripa (“man carrying a vessel”) are Dho ka ra ལྷོཀམ་ (RtB 49), Dhe ki ri pa ལྷེཀི་རི་པ་ (Rtsk 49), and Dho ka ri pa ལྷོཀམ་རི་པ་ (KL 37).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by the noble master from gNas rnying ལན་ས་རྩེ་, dPal ’byor Rin chen དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་, presumably the painter himself.

Selected references to the iconography of Dhokaripa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 191, no. 49: Dhokari.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 168–69, no. 49: Dhokaripa.
Downman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 260–61, no. 49: Dhokaripa.



47. Mahāsiddha Dhokaripa

PLATE 48

Mahāsiddha Kaṃ pa ma

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G48

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

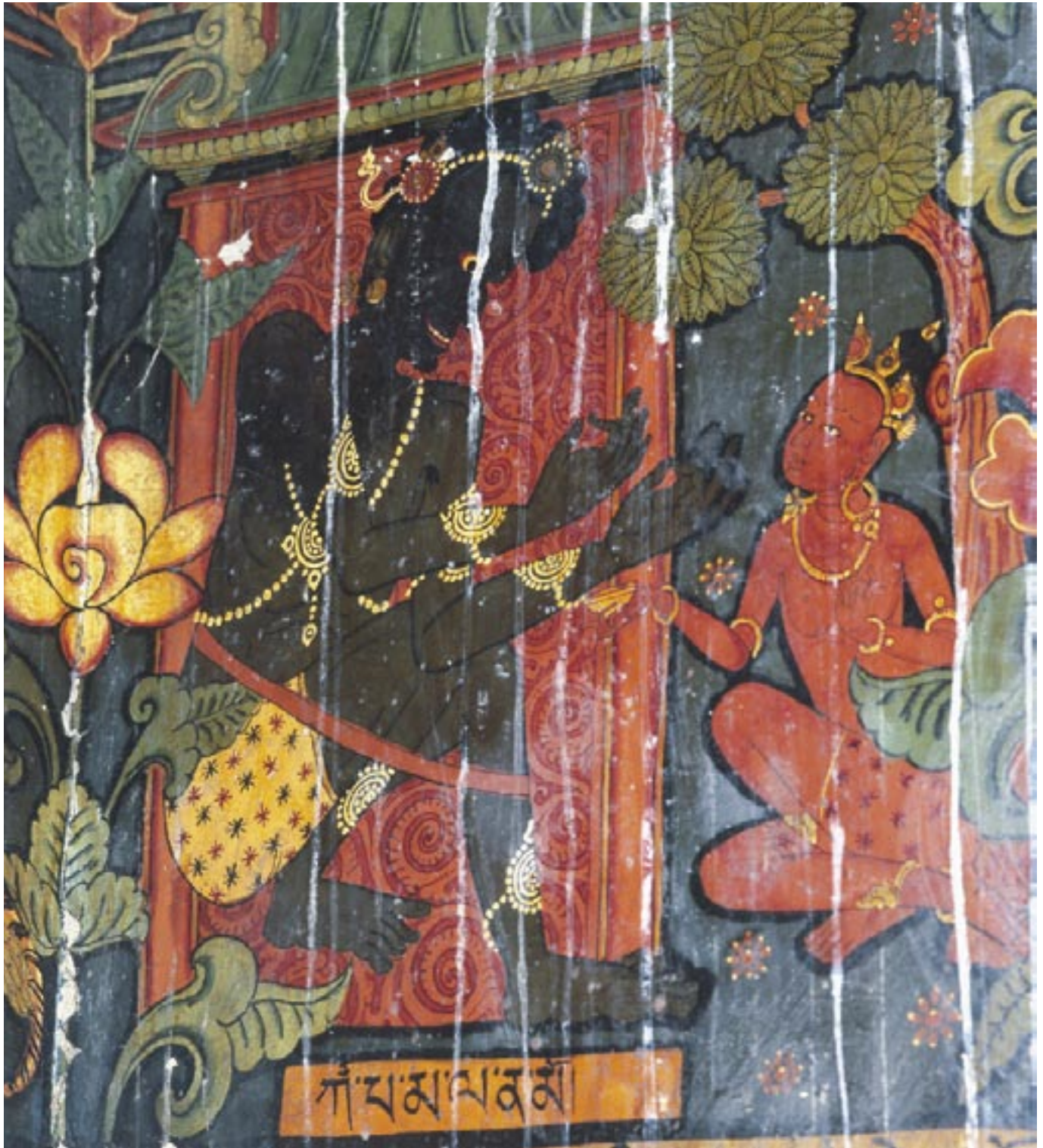
Kaṃ pa ma la na mo ཀམ་པ་མ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Kaṃ pa ma*”

Kaṃ pa ma remains one of the unidentified Gyantse mahāsiddhas. The old, dark-skinned siddha is seated inside the porch of a house with elaborately painted walls. Above one can see the bottom section of a massive roof, which offers protection and nearly touches Kaṃ pa ma’s head. He is seated with the help of a yoga band and wears short tight trousers decorated with a red and black star pattern. His jewellery, made of beaded bones, contrasts strikingly with his dark skin. Kaṃ

pa ma is receiving a male visitor, who sits comfortably outside the porch at the foot of a large tree. The smiling, animated siddha, apparently excited about something, substantiates his arguments with vivid gestures. The visitor, perhaps a manifestation of a ḍāka, appears to be listening attentively, yet a touch of scepticism can perhaps be discerned in the expression. Nevertheless, he reverently offers a bowl to Kaṃ pa ma.

It seems to be impossible to identify Kaṃ pa ma ཀམ་པ་མ་ with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.



48. Mahāsiddha Kaṃ pa ma

PLATE 49

Mahāsiddha Godhuripa “The Bird-Catcher”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G49

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Gu dri ti la na mo གུ་དྲི་ཏི་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Gu dri ti*”

Godhuripa, a bird-catcher of Disunagar, earned his living by trapping birds in a net. One day a yogin passed by and asked Godhuripa what he was doing. He replied that, as a result of the evil karma accumulated in a former life, he had been reborn into the caste of bird-catchers. He explained that he felt miserable, but had no other choice than to earn his living by taking the life of birds. The yogin replied that past karma was obviously determining his present karma, resulting not only in a wretched present life but also in the next one to follow. He proceeded to ask the bird-catcher why he was not practising the dharma. To this Godhuripa replied that if anyone would care to give instructions to such a miserable sinner, he would certainly not refuse to practice the dharma. So the yogin granted him the initiation that transfers spiritual power. He then instructed Godhuripa in the meditation technique that

focuses on a single object of contemplation omnipresent in the mind: “Contemplate that all sounds are like the sounds of birds until the many sounds become one sound. Then fuse your conscious awareness and the single sound into oneness, and eventually free your mind of any resonance.” Godhuripa meditated accordingly and purified his mind, and after nine years of practice attained the Mahāmudrā-siddhi. Working for the benefit of all sentient beings, he finally attained the Dākinī’s Paradise.

Godhuripa, freed from the karmic bondage of a bird-catcher, dances with great joy on an antelope skin. He curiously glances sideways at his dancing consort, who holds a skull-cup as she grasps him tightly. Godhuripa perhaps wonders whether she is real or simply a visionary manifestation of a dākinī.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Gu dri ti གུ་དྲི་ཏི་ is likely identical with Godhuripa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 55). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Godhuripa, which is possibly a corrupt form of Vāgurapāda (“the man with the net”), are Go ru ra གོ་རུ་ར་ (RtB 49), Go ru pa གོ་རུ་པ་ (Rtsk 55), and Ghu dhu ri pa གུ་དུ་རི་པ་ (KL 43). In Tibetan, he is known as Bya ba ཐུ་བ་ (“the bird-man”).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོ་གཤམ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Godhuripa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 196, no. 55: Gorura.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 184–85, no. 55: Gorura.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 283–85, no. 55: Godhuripa.



49. Mahāsiddha Godhuripa

PLATE 50

Mahāsiddha Li kra mi

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G50

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

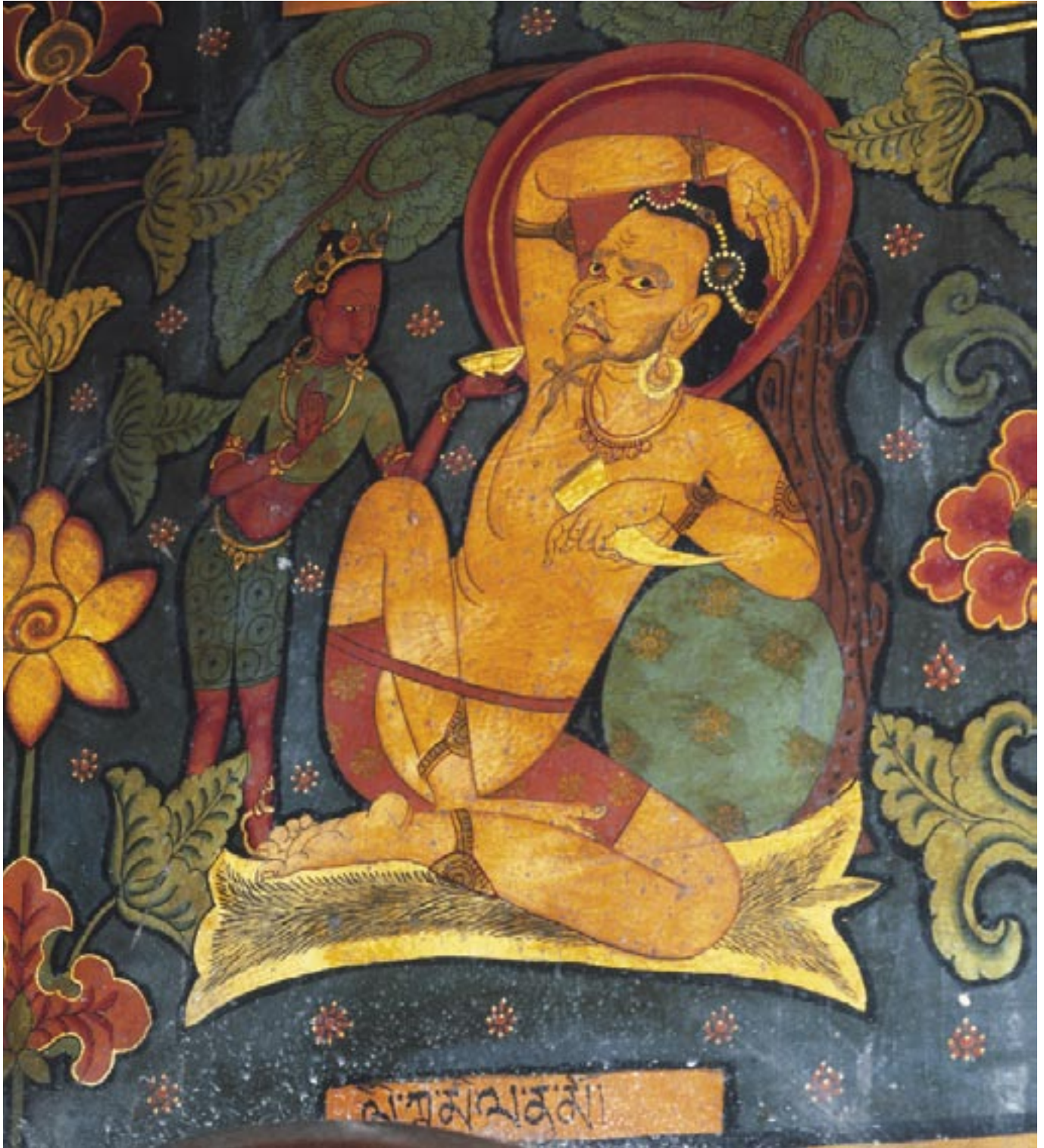
Li kra mi la na mo འི་གྲ་མི་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Li kra mi”

Li kra mi, an unidentified Indian mahāsiddha, rests comfortably under a large tree and is seated in the attitude of royal ease on an animal skin with the help of a yoga band. He leans against a decorated pillow or perhaps a bag which contains his personal belongings, placed against a weathered tree trunk. The bearded siddha rests his right arm on the head and holds with his left

hand an horn cup. Li kra mi, apparently completely lost in his thoughts, is unaware of the presence of his wife – characterized as such by the blouse she is wearing. She tries to get his attention by offering a skull-cup of wine, but obviously without any success.

It is difficult to identify Li kra mi འི་གྲ་མི་ (G50) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོགཔ་, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.



50. Mahāsiddha Li kra mi

PLATE 51

Mahāsiddha Lucikapa “The Fugitive”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G51
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Dza pa ka la na mo ངེ་པ་ཀ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Dza pa ka”

Lucikapa was a brahmin who lived in Eastern India. He was unable to enjoy life because, witnessing the death of so many people around him, he became dismayed. When he realized the unavoidability of death, he developed an aversion towards worldly existence in general and thus left his home and sought refuge in a hermitage. But without instructions Lucikapa was unable to practice the dharma. One day it happened that a yogin passed the hermitage. Lucikapa prostrated in homage before the yogin, who was astonished and asked for the reason for such a display. The brahmin explained to the yogin that he had accumulated a revulsion against saṃsāra and would like to practice the dharma instead. He continued that because he had yet to encounter a guru who could instruct him, he was not able to practice. The yogin granted Lucikapa the initiation into

the empowerment of Cakrasaṃvara and gave him the instructions into the Developing Stage and the Perfecting Stage. After twelve years of meditation, his distinction between saṃsāra and nirvāṇa dissolved. He thus attained the Mahāmudrā-siddhi and became renowned as Lucikapa. Working for the benefit of all sentient beings, he finally attained the Dākinī’s Paradise.

A dark-skinned, naked Lucikapa wearing beaded bone ornaments and holding a skull-cup is shown squatting on three skulls. A yoga band supports his legs. The skulls symbolize his preoccupation with death; it was this preoccupation that motivated his revulsion against all worldly pleasures. Lucikapa appears to be in deep concentration, oblivious to the presence of his guru seated nearby.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Dza pa ka ངེ་པ་ཀ་ is identical with Lucikapa (Skt.) of the *Caturaṣṭī-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 56). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Lucikapa are Lu tsi ka ལུ་ཧུའི་ཀ་ (RtB 56), Lu tsi ka pa ལུ་ཧུའི་ཀ་པ་ (Rtsk 56), and Lu ci ka ལུ་ཧུའི་ཀ་ (KL 44). Lucika is probably from the Sanskrit *luñcaka* (“one who pulls out”) (RBL). In Tibetan his name is rendered as Tsog ’dug kog lang mkhan མོག་འདུག་གོག་ལངས་མཁན་ (“he who sitting down, stands up”) (DMM).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Lucikapa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 196–97, no. 56: Lucika.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 186–87, no. 56: Lucika.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 286–87, no. 56: Lucikapa.



51. Mahāsiddha Lucikapa

PLATE 52

Mahāsiddha Medhini “The Farmer”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G52

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Mi dri ni la na mo མི་དྲི་ནི་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Mi dri ni*”

Medhini was a low-caste farmer who lived in Pāṭaliputra (Bihar). One day, while taking a rest from the exhausting fieldwork, he was approached by a yogin. The visitor asked the farmer if he wouldn't rather practice yoga than continue such a miserable life. Medhini enthusiastically promised that, indeed, he would practice if only he could receive instructions. The yogin granted him initiation and gave him instructions in creative and fulfilment meditation. But regardless of how hard the farmer tried to concentrate, his thoughts of farm work interfered with his meditation. Medhini thus returned to his guru and inquired if there existed a method of meditation more in harmony with his thoughts. The guru instructed him accordingly: “With consciousness as the plough, feelings of pleasure and pain as the oxen, work the field of your conditioned being,

scatter the seed of cognitive experience, and harvest an endless crop of pure pleasure, the bliss of the dharma-nature.” After twelve years of meditation the farmer's conventional concepts had dispersed and he obtained the Mahāmudrā-siddhi. Medhini levitated to the height of seven palm trees and from there narrated his experiences to the people of Pāṭaliputra until he finally attained the Ḍākinī's Paradise.

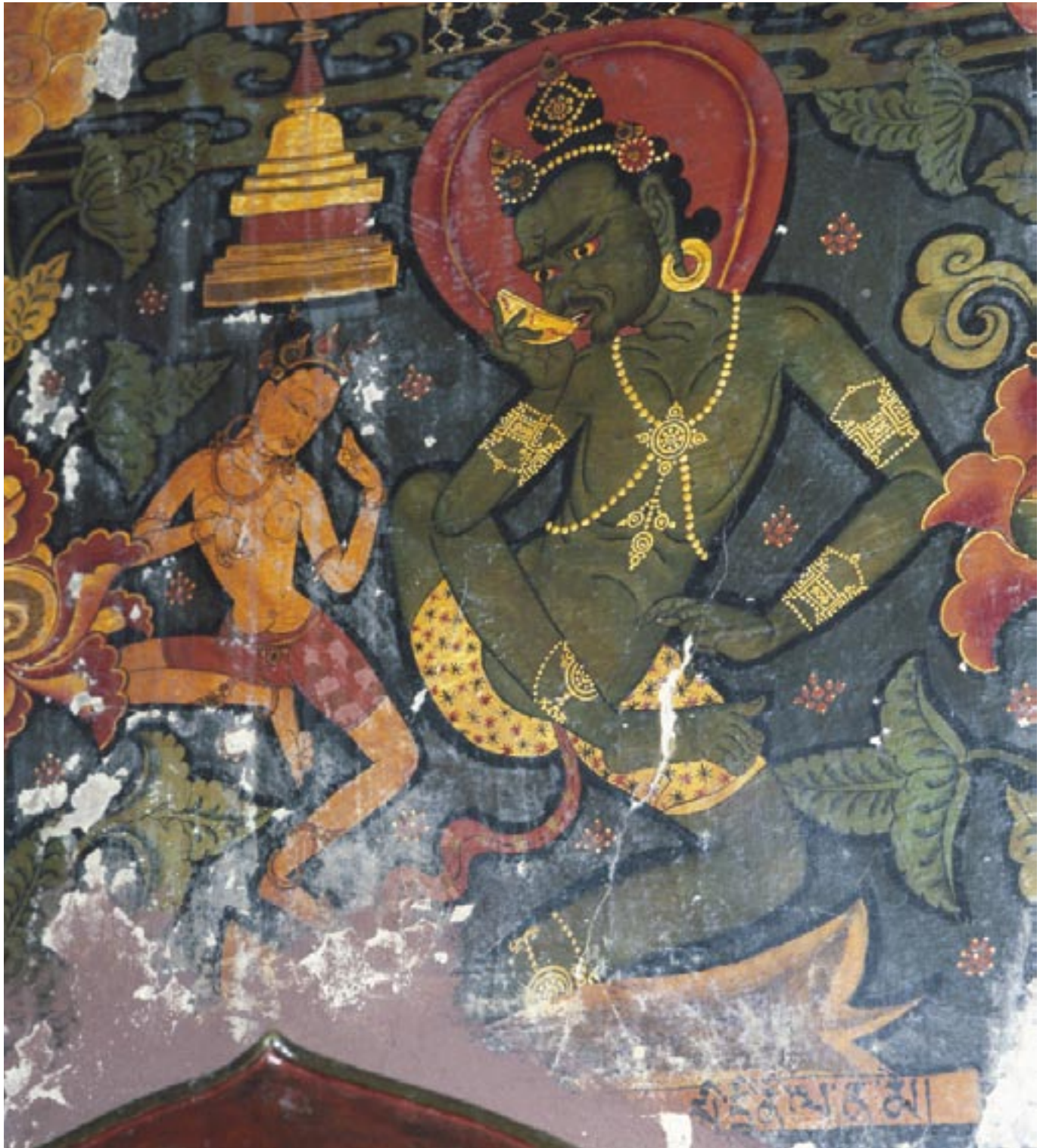
Medhini – the low-caste farmer – dances full of joy on an antelope skin while drinking from a skull-cup held in the right hand. He wears decorated short trousers and is adorned with elaborate beaded bone ornaments. A visionary manifestation of a joyful dancing ḍākinī attends Medhini. The space above her is filled with a *stūpa*.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Mi dri ni མི་དྲི་ནི་ is identical with Medhini or Medhina (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 50). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Medhini, derived from *medhina* (“sacrifice”), are Me dhi na མེ་དྲི་ན་ (*RtB* 50), Mi dhi na pa མི་དྲི་ན་པ་ (*Rtsk* 50), and Me dha ni མེ་དྲཱ་ནི་ (*KL* 38). In Tibetan, his names are Thang lo pa ཐང་ལོ་པ་ (“man of the plains”) (*RBL*), or Shing las can ཤིང་ལས་ཅན་ (*DMM*).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟིང་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Medhini

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 191–92, no. 50: Medhina.
- Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha's Lions*, pp. 170–71, no. 50: Medhina.
- Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 262–63, no. 50: Medhini.



52. Mahāsiddha Medhini

PLATE 53

Mahāsiddha Kukkuripa “The Dog-Lover”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G53
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ku ku ri la na mo ཀུཀུརིལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Ku ku ri*”

At Kapilavastu there used to live a brahmin who chose the way of renunciation and became a yogin. One day, while begging for provisions along the way towards Lumbinī, he came across a starving bitch. Feeling pity for the dog, he took her along and eventually they found shelter in a cave. Whenever the brahmin would beg for provisions he would leave the puppy behind in the cave. After twelve years of practice, the brahmin obtained the worldly siddhas, which became manifest in powers such as clairvoyance. This resulted in being invited to the heaven of the thirty-tree gods. Left alone, the dog dug the earth of the cave and found sufficient water and food to remain there. Although the brahmin indulged in the luxurious life provided by the gods, he nevertheless could not forget the dog. When he told the gods that he must return to care for the animal they tried to discourage him on the grounds of being foolish. But

eventually his affection prevailed and the brahmin returned to the cave. There, while patting her on the head, the bitch turned into a dākinī. She praised him for having resisted the temptations provided to him as a worldly siddha. The dākinī then bestowed upon him the teachings of skilful means and perfect insight. As a result he obtained the highest siddhi and everyone thereafter called him Kukkuripa; eventually he attained the Dākinī’s Paradise.

The painting depicts a happy Kukkuripa holding in one hand a skull-cup of wine and in the other arm his beloved dog. Obviously they seem to enjoy each other’s company very much. A visionary manifestation of the dākinī, who for so long was embodied in the dog, dances at the side, trying to shift Kukkuripa’s attention away from the animal.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ku ku ri ཀུཀུརི is identical with Kukkuripa (Skt.) of the *Caturaṣṭī-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 34). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Kukkuripa, derived from Kukkurapāda (“the man with the dog”), are Ku ku ri pa ཀུཀུརིཔ་ (RtB 34), Ku kku ri pa ཀུཀུརིཔ་ (Rtsk 34), Ku ku ripa ཀུཀུརིཔ་ (KL 49), and Ku ku ri ཀུཀུརི (AS 12).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོགཔ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྲོང་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Kukkuripa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, Baessler-Archiv, Band V, pp. 179–80, no. 34: Kukkuri.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 41, no. 12: Ku ku ri pa.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 128–30, no. 34: Kukkuripa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 199–203, no. 34: Kukkuripa.



53. Mahāsiddha Kukkuripa

PLATE 54

Mahāsiddha Nirguṇapa “The Halfwit”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G54
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ni gun la na mo རྟི་གུན་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Ni gun*”

Nirguṇapa was the son of low-caste householders in the country of Pūrvadeśa (Eastern India), and his birth was received with great celebration. But as he grew up it became evident that the boy was unwilling and unable to perform even the simplest tasks. His parents became disillusioned and stated that it would have been better had this moron never been born. Feeling thoroughly depressed and unable to endure such comments any longer, he left home and laid himself to rest in a secluded spot. Eventually a yogin found him and told him to get up and beg for alms. But Nirguṇapa replied that he was unable to get up. The yogin, out of pity, gave him some food and further inquired if he had any skills. He addressed the yogin with great respect and said that a person who is called a moron has no skills whatsoever. Questioned by the yogin whether or not he was afraid of death, Nirguṇapa replied that indeed he was, and added that there was nothing he could do about it.

The yogin then asked Nirguṇapa whether he would be willing to practice if given the proper instructions. “If I can practice while lying down, then please teach me!” The yogin, hearing this, initiated him and taught the meditation of the indivisibility of manifestation and emptiness. Nirguṇapa followed these instructions and eventually realized their unity as a clear light. Later, whenever encountering people, he would gaze into their eyes and start to weep. And those people who understood this as a result of his compassion would weep with him. As a result of his actions, Nirguṇapa gained the siddhi of Mahāmudrā and finally attained the Dākinī’s Paradise.

An anguished Nirguṇapa sits cross-legged on an animal skin with the help of a yoga band. His site of solitary meditation is inside a pavilion with a tiled roof, enclosed on three sides with textile drapery.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ni gun རྟི་གུན་ is likely identical with Nirguṇapa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 57). Nirguṇapa or Nirguṇapāda is derived from *nirguṇa* (“without quality”). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Nirguṇapa or Naguṇa (DMM), are Na gu na ར་གུན་ (RtB 57), Na ku na ར་ཀུན་ (Rtsk 57), and Ni gu na རྟི་གུན་ (KL 60). His Tibetan name is Yon tan med pa ཡོན་ཏན་མེད་པ་.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟིང་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Nirguṇapa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 197, no. 57: Naguṇa.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 188–90, no. 57: Niguṇa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 288–90, no. 57: Nirguṇapa.



54. Mahāsiddha Nirguṇapa

PAINTING G55

Mahāsiddha Painting Destroyed

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G55

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

The Tibetan inscription and wall painting are entirely destroyed.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

PAINTING G56

Mahāsiddha Carbaripa “The Petrifier”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G56
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet
Wall painting is entirely destroyed

Tibetan inscription reads

Tsha pa ri la na mo ཚལ་རི་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Tsha pa ri”

In a certain district of Magadha in Northern India there lived a wealthy farmer who owned more than a thousand buffaloes. Following the death of his father, the farmer hosted a great feast and invited the entire population of the district. One morning, while the whole family and all of the guests went down to the Ganges to bathe, the young wife of the farmer and her child remained alone in the house. At that precise time Guru Carbaripa materialized and asked the young wife for some food. When he noticed her fear and hesitation about entertaining him, Carbaripa told her to come to his place should her family become angry. When the husband returned and noticed

the remains of the meal, he did become angry. The young wife then fled to the hermitage of Carbaripa, where she and the child were sprinkled with consecrated water that miraculously turned them into stone images of the Buddha. Thus they no longer needed any food. The husband went in search of his wife and eventually pursued her to the yogin’s hermitage. There the same happened to him, and so successively to all those who followed in the search – all were turned into stone images of the Buddha. The only person to escape this fate was the son of the wealthy farmer who gained the eight great siddhis and became famous as Dumapa.

Although the painting of Mahāsiddha Carbaripa is destroyed, the story related above gives some brief information about “the petrifier”.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Tsha pa ri ཚལ་རི་ is likely identical with Carbaripa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 64). Another name is Carpaṭi (Skt.), derived from carpaṭa (“ear”). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Carbaripa are Tsa ba ri pa ཚབ་རི་པ་ (RtB 64), Tsa rwa ṭi pa ཚར་རྟེ་པ་ (Rtsk 64), Tsa pa ri pa ཚལ་རི་པ་ (KL 61), Tsa pa ri ཚལ་རི་ (As 68), Tsa ba re ཚབ་རེ་ (GsB 70), Ca pa ri pa ཚལ་རི་པ་ (STh 70), and Ca pi ṭi pa ཚལ་རི་པ་ (Nar 39).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྲོང་བ་ of gNas rmying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Carbaripa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 201–202, no. 64: Capari.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 117, no. 70: Ca pa ri pa = Ca pa ri.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 205–207, no. 64: Caparipa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 309–312, no. 64: Carbaripa (Carpaṭi).

PLATE 57

Mahāsiddha Kucipa “The Goitre-Necked Ascetic”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G57
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ka dzo pa la na mo ཀའ་འཇོ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Ka dzo pa”

Kucipa was a low-caste farmer working the fields in a place called Kahari. One day, as a result of his previous karma, a goitre began to grow on his neck. It grew and grew and became more and more painful, so Kucipa, out of shame, sought refuge in a lonely place. Then one day the venerable Nāgārjuna (CSP 16) was passing by. Kucipa instantly took faith and addressed him respectfully: “How wonderful that you have finally come! I am tortured permanently by great pain as a result of my past karma. Please teach me a method to end my suffering!” Nāgārjuna replied that indeed there existed a method of liberation if practised diligently. Acknowledging Kucipa’s eagerness to practice accordingly, Nāgārjuna granted him initiation and revealed the maṇḍala of Guhyasamāja. His instructions included the technique of utilizing agony as the path within the context of creative and fulfilment modes of meditation. “As the objective of

the creative stage, meditate that your goitre is growing! Then, as the objective of the fulfilment stage, meditate that all existing things are contained inside your goitre! Then meditate that the inherent nature of all existing things is empty!” The farmer meditated accordingly. At first the goitre continued to grow, but eventually it disappeared entirely and with it all the grief. He realized the virtue of the imageless Mahāmudrā, became famous as Kucipa – “the goitre-necked ascetic” – and eventually attained the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.

Leaning with his lower back against a tree, Kucipa is resting in a comfortable pose on an animal skin. Kucipa – clearly portrayed as an old man – looks upward and gesticulates. The farmer, now free of his goitre, appears to be totally oblivious to the ḍākinī who, in a respectful pose, has manifested herself in a cloud.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ka dzo pa ཀའ་འཇོ་པ་ is likely identical with Kucipa (Skt.) of the *Caturaṣṭī-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 35). Kucipa is probably a corrupt form of Kubjikapāda (“the bent or hump-backed man”), translated in Tibetan as lTag ba can ལྷག་བཅན་. Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Kucipa are Ku tsi pa ཀུ་ཙེ་པ་ (RtB 35), Khu dzi pa ཀུ་འཇོ་པ་ (Rtsk 35), Ku dznyā li ཀུ་འཇོ་ལི་ (KL 50), Ku bchu tsa ཀུ་བཅུ་ཙ་ (GsB 76), Ku bu ce ཀུ་བུ་ཙེ་ (Sth 76), Ku bu tsa ཀུ་བུ་ཙ་ (AS 75), and Ku pa ji pa ཀུ་པ་ཇེ་པ་ (Nar 47).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Kucipa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 180, no. 35: Kuci.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 125, no. 76: Ku bu ce = Ku bu rca.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 131–33, no. 35: Kucipa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 204–206, no. 35: Kucipa.



57. Mahāsiddha Kucipa

PLATE 58

Mahāsiddha Acīnta “The Inconceivable”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G58
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Dra ma pa la na mo འཇིགས་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Dra ma pa”

In the city of Dhanirūpa there lived a poverty-stricken man who made his living as a wood-seller. The only thoughts in his head were wealth and prosperity and how to obtain them. Tormented by his daydreams, which never materialized, he became discouraged and withdrew to a lonely spot to brood. There he was discovered by the yogin Kambala, who spoke to the wood-seller: “You succeeded to retreat from the people, but what about your thoughts?” The hermit confessed to Kambala that he was obsessed with the idea of money and unable to think of anything else. The yogin then inquired if he would practice if there were instructions to acquire prosperity and fortune. To this the wood-seller replied that it was impossible to practice without a method. The yogin then initiated the wood-seller into Cakrasaṃvara and gave him the instructions into the Perfecting Stage: “Give up your daydreams and free your mind from thoughts of obtaining fortune by mere wishful

thinking. Contemplate instead on your body as the heavens, visualize your thoughts as the stars, and eventually you will manifest yourself as the god of wealth. Meditate, then, free of colour and shape and there will be nothing to be desired!” As a result of realizing the proper meaning of the instructions, the hermit eventually obtained the Mahāmudrā-siddhi and became famous as Guru Acīnta, “The Inconceivable”. After instructing countless others in the ultimate nature of things, Acīnta attained the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.

The bearded Acīnta stands with a walking stick under a tree. He stares to the ground in front of him, with his gaze locked onto a white conch. It is not evident whether he is still daydreaming about wealth or whether he perceives the conch free of colour and shape. The manifestation of a consort watches Acīnta in admiration.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Dra ma pa འཇིགས་པ་ is identical with Acīnta (Skt.)¹ of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 38). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Acīnta (“the inconceivable”) are A tsin dha འཇིགས་ཏུ (RtB 38), A rtsinta pa འཇིགས་པ་ (Rtsk 38), and A cin ta འཇིགས་ཏུ (KL 53). His Tibetan names are bSam mi khyab pa བསམ་མེ་ལྷག་པ་ (“the one covered by thought”) or Dran med pa འཇིགས་མེད་པ་ (“the one without thoughts”) (RBL).

This mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་པ་ of gNas mying གནས་མྱེད་པ་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Acīnta

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 182, No. 38: Acīnta.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 138–40, no. 38: Acīnta.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 213–15, no. 38: Acīnta.

¹ Acīnta is also one of the names of Mīnapa (CSP 08) as well as Maitripa, the teacher of Mar pa.



58. Mahāsiddha Aciṅṭa

PLATE 59

Mahāsiddha Nalinapa “The Lotus-Picker”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G59
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Na li la la na mo ན་ལི་ལ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Na li la*”

In the Northern Indian city of Pāṭaliputra there once lived a prince by the name Nalinapa, who through misfortune was diminished to a life of desperate poverty. He gained his living by collecting lotus roots from the lakes. Then one day he met a yogin who preached the suffering of existence in saṃsāra and the boundless enjoyment of nirvāṇa. Nalinapa experienced a revulsion against the cycle of rebirth and asked the yogin for guidance on the path of liberation. The yogin gave him initiation and empowerment of Guhyasamāja, together with the instructions of “reliance upon one’s own body”. The yogin further advised Nalinapa in the transformation of the different levels of joy attainable through the senses, into the desireless joy of emptiness – a joy detached from either sensual or mental associations, indistinguishable from mahāsukha or “pure pleasure”, and inseparable from emptiness. Nalinapa

meditated accordingly on the consecutive stages of joy created in the four focal points or cakras of his own body. After nine years of practice, he managed to disperse the defilements of his mind, realized the definitive truth, and obtained the siddhi of Mahāmudrā. After instructing many others, Nalina finally attained the Dākinī’s Paradise.

Two personages are visible in the partly damaged painting. The person resting in sleep presumably represents Nalinapa in the realm of saṃsāra, according to the cycle of rebirth. Behind him we see the dark skinned yogin who preached to Nalina about the suffering of existence in saṃsāra and the boundless joy of nirvāṇa. At his side is a long-life vase crowned with a skull-cup.

One wonders whether this mural actually depicts Celukapa the great sleeper (Plate 60).

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Na li la ན་ལི་ལ་ is identical with Nalinapa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 40). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Nalinapa (“the one with the nalina flower”) are Na li na ན་ལི་ན་ (RTB 40) and Na li pa ན་ལི་པ་ (KL 55). The Tibetan know him also as Pad ma’i rtsa ba བད་མཁི་རྩུབ་ (“root of the lotus”) (RBL).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Nalinapa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 183, no. 40: Nalina.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 143–44, no. 40: Nalina.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 219–21, no. 40: Nalinapa.



59. Mahāsiddha Nalinapa

PLATE 60

Mahāsiddha Celukapa “The Great Sleeper”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G60
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Tsa da ka la na mo ཙ་དཀ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Tsa da ka”

In Maṅgalapura there lived a man of low caste with the name Celukapa. He was forever effortless, overpowered by lethargy, and mostly succumbing to sleep. Celukapa in general felt oppressed by the experience of saṃsāra. One day while sitting under a tree, the yogin Maitripa passed by and inquired what he was doing there. Celukapa answered that he had thought about practising the dharma, but he was too lazy to even begin to look for a teacher. He continued to tell that he was so lethargic and permanently ready to fall asleep that he was not able to start any effort. Celukapa then asked the yogin whether he could teach him how to overcome such extreme apathy. Maitripa granted Celukapa the initiation and empowerment of Cakrasaṃvara and gave him the tuition into the profound fulfilment meditation upon psychic channels and

energies. Celukapa accomplished the unification of the objective and subjective poles of mentality, visualized as a lake from which the swan of cognition feeds upon the nectar of immortality, which is intrinsic in everything. After meditating for nine years, Celukapa attained the realization of the Mahāmudrā-siddhi and finally rose to the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.

Although this painting is very much damaged, it is still possible to recognize that the image depicts a siddha holding a skull-cup while he dances with a Ḍākinī on an animal skin placed under a tree. However, the story of Celukapa, the great sleeper, would more likely match the painting to the right of this one (Plate 59).

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Tsa da ka ཙ་དཀ་ is likely identical with Celukapa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 54). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Celukapa (“the one with a small pot”) are Tsa lu ka ཙ་ལུ་ཀ་ (RtB 54), Tsa lu ki pa ཙ་ལུ་གི་པ་ (Rtsk 54), and Tsa lo ki ཙ་ལོ་གི་ (KL 42).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Celukapa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 195–96, no. 54: Caluki.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 182–83, no. 54: Caluki.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 280–82, no. 54: Celuka.



60. Mahāsiddha Celukapa

PLATE 61

Mahāsiddha Bhikṣanapa “The Man with Two Teeth”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G61
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Bri kṣa na la na mo འབྲུག་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Bri kṣa na*”

Bhikṣanapa was a man of low descent who lived in the town of Pāṭaliputra (Bihar). As a result of squandering his inheritance, he was forced to live by begging. Then one day, after struggling in vain and obtaining nothing, he withdrew to a lonely spot. While sitting there and contemplating his misery, a dākinī appeared and inquired about his troubles. He confessed his anxieties and told her that if there existed a method of acquiring what he desired, he would like to receive that teaching. The dākinī replied that indeed she had the means to fulfil his wishes. Upon his requesting to receive the teachings, she asked what he would give her in return. He immediately bit together two teeth, one lower and one upper, and after extracting all the other teeth, offered them to her as payment. She then realized that Bhikṣanapa was indeed a man of conviction capable of practising. The dākinī proceeded with the initiation and instructions on the conjoining of proficient method and faultless wisdom. He meditated as instructed and after seven years of practice he experienced the truth. The former beggar then

continued to roam the countryside and instructed all those ready for the teachings, based on his realizations. He became famous as the Guru Bhikṣanapa, and acting selflessly for the benefit of others, he finally attained the Dākinī’s Paradise.

This bearded, grim-looking mahāsiddha, named Bri kṣa na in Tibetan, rests comfortably in an unconventional attitude on an animal skin placed upon a rug. He leans against a bag or pillow. The siddha wears ear-plugs and a flower garland in his hair, with the head set against a circular red nimbus. He wears a pair of tight short trousers decorated with red and blue dotted flowers or stars, and on his arms and legs are four pairs of bracelets in addition to the two beaded chains across his chest. With the right hand he displays the gesture of argumentation, while the left arm rests on his left thigh. The mahāsiddha appears to be in conversation with the male person seated in the background, who is not Bhikṣanapa’s female spiritual mentor.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Bri kṣa na འབྲུག་ is likely identical with Bhikṣanapa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 61). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Bhikṣanapa (“the man with two teeth”) are Bhikṣa na འབྲུག་ (RTB 61), Bhi kṣa na pa འབྲུག་པ་ (RTsk 61), and Bhi ṣa na འབྲུག་ (KL 63).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་པ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Bhikṣanapa

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 199–200, no. 61: Bhikṣana.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 301–302, no. 61: Bhikṣanapa.



61. Mahāsiddha Bhikṣanapa

PLATE 62

Mahāsiddha De pa na

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G62
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

De pa na la na mo དེཔན་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to De pa na”

De pa na, an unidentified bearded Indian mahāsiddha, perhaps a former king, rests in the attitude of ease on an intricately ornamented throne covered with a cloth hanging down in front. He appears to be fully preoccupied with his consort and oblivious to the world around him. The young girl sits on his right thigh and holds De pa na around the neck. With their eyes interlocked, he holds her around the belly with the left arm, while fondling her breasts with his free right hand. They are both

still wearing short, decorated trousers, but considering how far things have gone, this might not be the case for much longer – they might soon be removed! Behind the throne lingers what is perhaps a visionary manifestation of a ḍākinī. But instead of holding on to a lover, she has to be content with grasping a tree. Her expression does not indicate whether she is pleased with what she observes or whether she is jealous – perhaps she is a little bit of both.

It is difficult to identify De pa na དེཔན (G62) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་ཡོད་པ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

PAINTING G63

Mahāsiddha Painting Destroyed

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G63
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

The Tibetan inscription and wall painting are entirely destroyed.



62. Mahāsiddha De pa na

PLATE 64

Mahāsiddha Du la ma ni

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G64
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

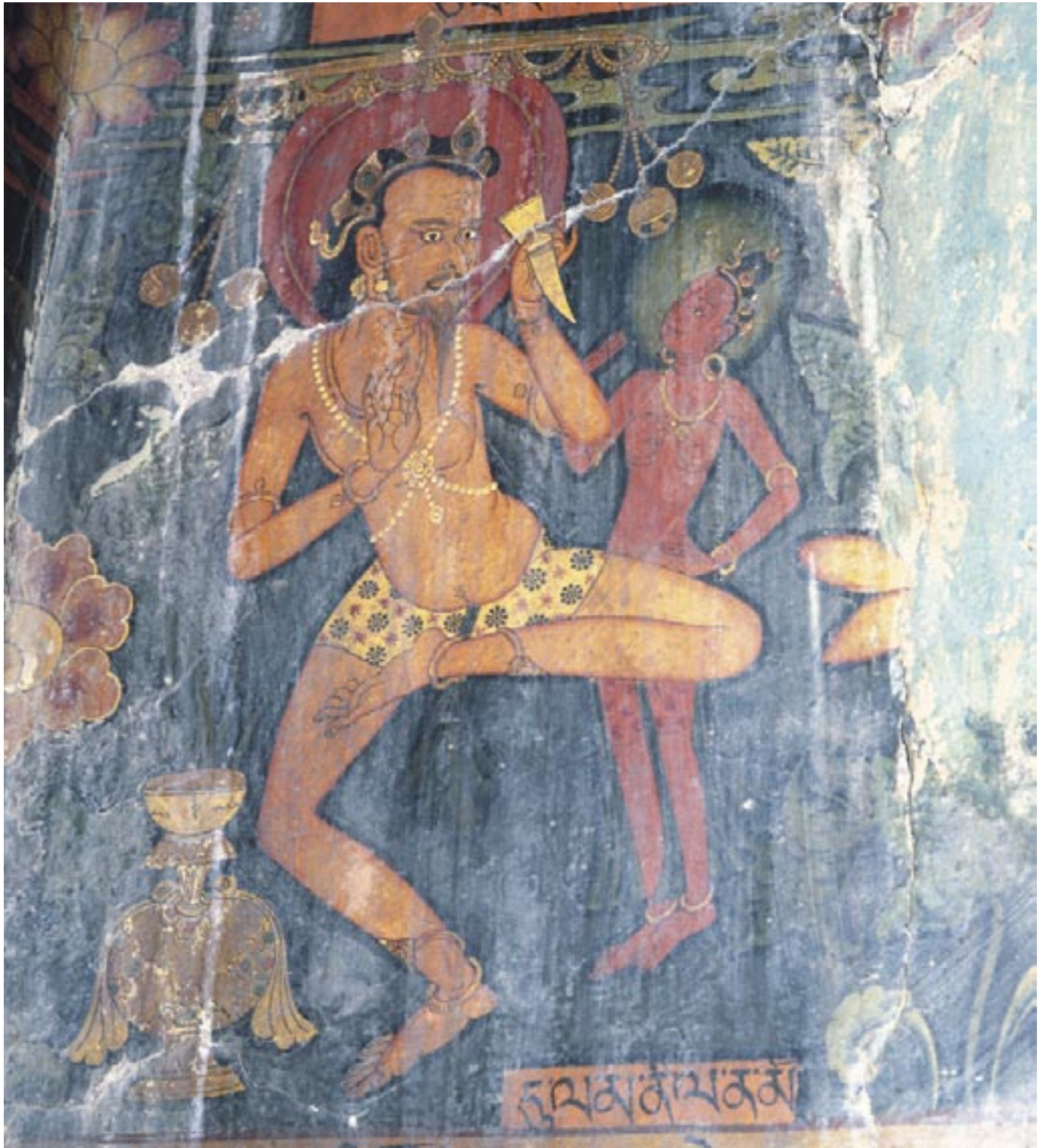
Du la ma ni la na mo འུ་ལ་མ་ནི་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Du la ma ni”

The goat-bearded mahāsiddha named Du la ma ni, wearing ear-plugs and a five-pointed crown, cannot be identified with any of the well-known eighty-four mahāsiddhas. The unidentified siddha, with his head set against a circular red nimbus, is protected by an umbrella with beaded hangings and attached bells. Du la ma ni dances with great joy. He wears a pair of short, tight trousers decorated with red stars and blue rosettes; on his arms and legs are bracelets and two beaded chains across

the chest. With the right hand he displays the gesture of argumentation, while the left hand holds an animal-horn drinking cup. As indicated by his gesture of argumentation, he seems to be conversing with the attentive and admiring dākinī who stands beside him. Note the long-life vase crowned by a skull-cup standing on the ground at lower left, next to Du la ma ni’s knee. Could the crown and the umbrella be an indication that Du la ma ni was a former king?

It appears impossible to identify Du la ma ni འུ་ལ་མ་ནི་ (G64) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaṣṭī-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.



64. Mahāsiddha Du la ma ni

PLATE 65

Mahāsiddha Mi ka la [II]

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G65
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

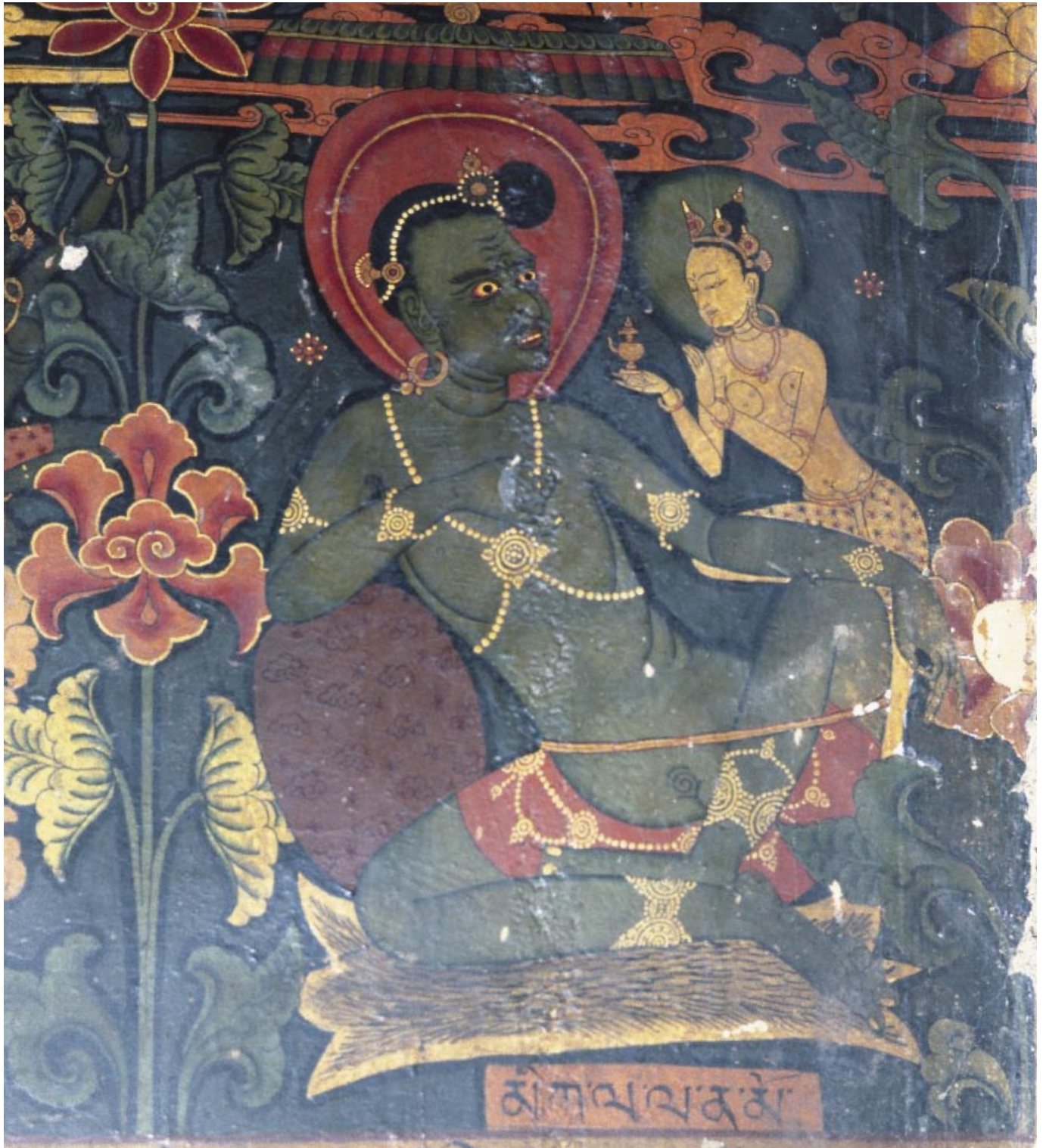
Mi ka la la na mo མི་ཀ་ལ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Mi ka la*”

The mahāsiddha named Mi ka la cannot be identified with any of the well-known eighty-four mahāsiddhas. The dark skinned master is seated comfortably in the attitude of royal ease on an antelope skin with the help of a yoga band and leans against a pillow decorated with foliate motifs. Mi ka la is clad with a simple cloth of brownish colour and wears an array of beaded bone ornaments. These include, in addition to the ornaments in his hair, earrings and bracelets at the upper arms, wrists and ankles, two beaded chains worn across the chest, and an apron.

This unidentified siddha, with his head set against a circular red nimbus, is protected by a dark-blue and red umbrella. With the right hand he holds an unidentified object, while the left hand rests freely on the left knee. As indicated by the gesture of argumentation, he seems to be conversing with the ḍākinī standing beside him. She is fully attentive and presents a water flask to Mi ka la. Unfortunately, it is not known what episode is represented.

The mahāsiddha depicted here is named according to the inscription in the cartouche below as Mi ka la མི་ཀ་ལ་ (G65). Unfortunately, none of the names of the eighty-four mahāsiddhas listed in Abhayadatta’s work “*The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas*” bears any similarity with the name inscribed. The identification is further complicated by the fact that the same name is attributed to another of the painted mahāsiddhas at Gyantse (G41), also not identified.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.



65. Mahāsiddha Mi ka la

PLATE 66

Mahāsiddha Sa dra zhabs “The Earth-Like One”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G66

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Sa dra zhabs la na mo ས་དྭ་ཞབས་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Sa dra zhabs”

The mahāsiddha named Sa dra zhabs cannot be identified with any of the well-known eighty-four mahāsiddhas. The bearded master, with his grim appearance, is looking upwards. The bushy eyebrows increase the intensity of his look. It is not evident whether he is kneeling on the foliate scrolling or whether he is elevated in the air. Dressed in a simple cloth textile bare of any decoration, Sa dra zhabs wears an array of beaded bone

ornaments. While the right hand rests near the hip, he holds in the raised left hand a flower that appears to be a lily. At his back appears a long-life vase crowned by a skull-cup. Almost invisible, a dark-skinned fairy lady dances in the background. Looking attentively at Sa dra zhabs, she appears to be touching him with her right hand. Sa dra zhabs, however, seems totally oblivious of her presence.

It is difficult to identify Sa dra zhabs ས་དྭ་ཞབས་ (G66) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་ཡོན་པ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.



66. Mahāsiddha Sa dra zhabs

PLATE 67

Mahāsiddha Kapālapa “The Skull-Cup-Bearer”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G67

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ka pa li la na mo ཀཤའི་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Ka pa li*”

In the country of Rājapurī there lived a low-caste man who had a wife and five sons, all of whom he loved dearly. When his young wife died at her appointed time, he carried her corpse to the cemetery. While he was grieving over the death of his wife, news reached him that his five sons had also died. He then also carried their bodies to the cremation ground and laid them beside his wife. He was torn by misery and sorrow when the yogin Kṛṣṇācārī approached him and inquired what was the matter. “I am desolate because my wife and sons are all dead and I am unable to tear myself away from their bodies.” Kṛṣṇācārī replied that all beings are subject to the same suffering, and continued: “Your misery has rendered you useless, and if you are scared of life and death you should practice a sādhana!” The widower acknowledged eagerly his interest in teachings that would allow him to banish the fear. Kṛṣṇācārī thus initiated Kapālapa into the maṇḍala of Hevajra and instructed him in the creative and fulfilment stages of

meditation. Kṛṣṇācārī then carved out of the sons’ bones the future master’s ornaments and made of the wife’s head a skull-bowl. “Visualize the skull as creative meditation and its emptiness as fulfilment meditation!” After nine years of meditation the widower achieved total integration and obtained the virtue of the Mahāmudrā-siddhi. As a result of his achievements, he became famous as the Guru Kapālapa and worked selflessly for the benefit of others, before finally attaining the Dākinī’s Paradise.

Kapālapa is seated on a striped animal skin inside the cremation ground. He is grieving over the loss of his wife and sons and meditates on skulls as part of his practice to overcome the fear of death: three skulls, staring at him, float before his eyes. He is assisted in his efforts by a ḍāka or ḍākinī manifestation in the background.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ka pa li ཀཤའི་ is identical with Kapālipa (Skt.) of the *Caturaṣṭī-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 72). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Kapālipa, derived from Kapālapāda (“the one with the skull-cup”), are Ka pā la ཀཤའ་ (RtB 72) and Ka pa li pa ཀཤའི་པ་ (KL 74). The fact that this mahāsiddha does not carry a skull-cup reflects the artist’s ignorance about the actual meaning of the name.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱེད་པ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Kapālapa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, p. 208, no. 72: Kapāla.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 222–23, no. 72: Kapalapa.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 336–38, no. 72: Kapālapa.



67. Mahāsiddha Kapālapa

PLATE 68

Mahāsiddha De pan

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G68

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

De pan la na mo དེ་པན་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to De pan”

De pan, an unidentified Indian mahāsiddha of an advanced age, as indicated by the emaciated body, is seated in a relaxed posture on a pillow covered with a carpet, decorated with foliate scrolling. He is clad in a plain, loose cloth and wears beaded bone ornaments, including two beaded chains across the chest which are attached in front and back to an ornament. Large circular earrings hang from his ears. He rests the left leg on the right one and holds a scarf in both hands. He looks astonished at the elephant in front of him, whose extended trunk points directly towards the siddha. A dancing dākinī, holding

on to a tree with one hand, watches the scene carefully. She seems to be wondering about how events will develop between the elephant and her beloved ascetic. In the background stands a long-life vase crowned by a skull-cup; perhaps this is a memento mori, that even a long life must one day come to an end. But while it lasts there is an oil-lamp above, preventing the darkness from engulfing everything. The dancing skeletons above De pan’s head might indicate that he was an ascetic living in a charnel ground. Unfortunately, it cannot be discerned what role the elephant plays in the life of De pan

It is difficult to identify De pan དེ་པན་ (G68) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists. The presence of the elephant is not sufficient to permit the identification of the mahāsiddha.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.



68. Mahāsiddha De pan

PLATE 69

Mahāsiddha Ka na kha ya

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G69
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ka na kha ya la na mo ཀ་ན་ཁ་ཡ་ལ་ལ་རྩོམ་ “*Veneration to Ka na kha ya*”

Ka na kha ya, another unidentified Indian master, dances joyfully and energetically on an animal skin. He wields a vajra-staff above his head. Ka na kha ya wears a pair of tight, short trousers that are beautifully decorated with scrolling leaves and flower patterns. In addition to ear-plugs, the yogin displays beaded bone ornaments in his hair and on his arms and legs; in addition two chains are worn across the chest. Ka na kha ya looks lustfully at his young dancing consort – perhaps a *dākinī* – who appears to touch him on one leg as a gesture of temptation. This might not be necessary, as the siddha appears to have no inhibitions about becoming completely lost with his real or visionary consort. Whatever might happen, she approaches

fully confident in the presence of her companion. In a trance-like state of mind, with eyes lowered, she dances steadily towards him. To the far side of Ka na kha ya rests a red bundle, which contains all of his worldly belongings and everything he might need. The bundle’s small size indicates that Ka na kha ya is not a householder with lots of possession to worry about. The long-life vase painted above the consort ensures that their joy is long lasting – even if it does not go on forever. Ka na kha ya seems too young to require a long-life vase crowned with a skull-cup. His happiness and that of his consort is very much in the present moment, and they do not seem to worry much about the future.

It is difficult to identify Ka na kha ya ཀ་ན་ཁ་ཡ་ (G69) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP). He is perhaps identical with Ka na ka ཀ་ན་ཀ་ (KL 70) listed by Klong rdol bla ma ལྷོང་རྡོ་བཤམ་.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འཕྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Published

Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, p. [423], pl. 154: Ka na kha ya.



69. Mahāsiddha Ka na kha ya

PLATE 70

Mahāsiddha Ka ya la

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Southern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G70
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ka ya la la na mo ཀཡལ་ལ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Ka ya la*”

Ka ya la is another Indian ascetic who, although not identified, seems to thoroughly enjoy his stay in the realm of saṃsāra. Reclining comfortably on a tiger skin and presumably living in the hot Indian climate, he dresses only to the extent that modesty requires. While resting his large stomach on his right bent leg, Ka ya la props his upper body on his right arm. To further increase his comfort, he additionally leans against a pillow, or voluminous bag, which perhaps holds his possessions needed for a comfortable life. Although he drinks from a skull-bowl and is attended by a real or visionary ḍākinī, he nevertheless appears slightly worried. He is certainly not troubled by the possibility of running out of alcohol; the pitcher beside his shoulder guarantees that the drinking will last a while longer.

Then why does he have that troubled look? Is it his age that makes him uneasy in the presence of a lively, doting young consort? Being less vigorous than he once was, would he prefer to continue drinking in her presence rather than becoming more intimately involved? Maybe it would make Ka ya la feel better to assume that the consort is nothing more than just a vision, and they need go no further than to share a cup of wine together. We will never find out his real thoughts or motivations, but even such mundane concerns should not be understood in a negative way. There can be no doubt that our unidentified master, named Ka ya la, is a man greatly respected and possessed of great powers.

It is difficult to identify Ka ya la ཀཡལ་ལ་ (G70) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by rNam sras pa རྣམ་སྲས་པ་ and his brother, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.



70. Mahāsiddha Ka ya la

PLATE 71

Mahāsiddha Ka ta ra

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G71

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ka ta ra la na mo ཀཏཱ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Ka ta ra*”

Although the identity of this siddha could not be established, there can be no doubt that Ka ta ra is portrayed as someone who fully enjoys saṃsāra in all its aspects. Dancing almost in a yogic posture on an animal skin, with the right foot interlocked with the right upper arm, he seems to be in a delirious state of body, mind, and soul. With his right hand he swirls a small double-drum, while the left hand helps to support an umbrella additionally secured by the left foot. From his left hand hangs a fretted bag, the contents of which remain obscure. Ka ta ra wears a pair of short decorated trousers that set off his substantial stomach. In addition to large round earrings, the master wears beaded bone ornaments in his hair, on his arms and legs, and he has two beaded chains worn across the chest. Ka ta

ra seems to be oblivious of the presence of a young dancing consort. Perhaps her restrained mood and movements are a result of his indifference to her presence. Still, she indicates her readiness for a more direct contact with her beloved by shyly putting a foot on his animal skin. Her attempt might succeed, because Ka ta ra seems to be young in age with no need to add a long-life vase to the composition – even less so one with a skull-bowl cover. All indications point to a joyful encounter, one that will last for a good while. Great bliss will eventually envelop them – one can be assured – and the large, jewelled pitcher at the side guarantees that they will not suffer from scarcity of wine.

It is difficult to identify Ka ta ra ཀཏཱ་ (G71) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Published

Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, pp. [426], 431, pl. 157: Ka ta ra appears not to be a siddha of the well-known set of eighty-four.



71. Mahāsiddha Ka ta ra

PLATE 72

Mahāsiddha Dra nu ri

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G72
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Dra nu ri ga la na mo འཇུ་རི་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Dra nu ri”

Dra nu ri is an unidentified Indian ascetic whose age and experience seem to restrain the extent of his ecstasy. Rather than trying to impress his consort with an outburst of uncontrolled energy, he approaches the situation with elegance. His restrained smile and clarity of expression reveal a connoisseur who knows the rules of etiquette, while he dances with controlled movements on an animal skin. His real or imagined consort plays her part with a similar sense of balance. Although her dreamy look gives her away, the reserved stance allows

this moment of no return to to live on forever in the frozen state of a painting. Dra nu ri outwardly personifies everything desirable: his hair carefully done up with beautiful flowers, his body adorned with finest beaded ornaments, his loins covered with short, star-patterned trousers. From his waist a two-colour sash of floral shapes hangs in three sections, one enticingly between his legs. If against all odds the encounter fails in its utter satisfaction, then the long-life vase to the left promises some leverage of time.

It is difficult to identify Dra nu ri འཇུ་རི་ (G72) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Published

Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, pp. [426], 431, pl. 158: Dra nu ri appears not to be a siddha of the well-known set of eighty-four.



72. Mahāsiddha Dra nu ri

PLATE 73

Mahāsiddha Sakara (Saroruha) “The Lotus Born”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G73

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Sa ka pa la na mo ས་ཀ་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Sa ka pa”

In the land of Kāñchī there was a ruler named Indrabhūti who had no son. He invoked both mundane forces and heavenly gods to intervene, and eventually his wife became pregnant. After six months of pregnancy, the queen had a dream in which the child carried the sun and the moon on his shoulders, drank the ocean, ate Mount Meru, and put his feet on the three realms of the cosmos. The astrologers and brahmin priests interpreted this dream as a sign that a bodhisattva, a “king of the dharma”, would be born. On the tenth night of the ninth month, a son was born on a lotus in the centre of a lake, and he became known as Saroruha (Sakara is an alternate name). From the sky a downpour of wealth attended his birth and the people remained prosperous and happy through the merit of this miraculous child. Later the queen gave birth to another son, who eventually became king after Saroruha declined his royal birthright and decided to become a monk instead. Along the way he met his guru, Ārya Avalokiteśvara disguised as a monk. In time Saroruha received the initiation of Hevajra together with all the instructions, and then Avalokiteśvara disappeared. Throughout his practice,

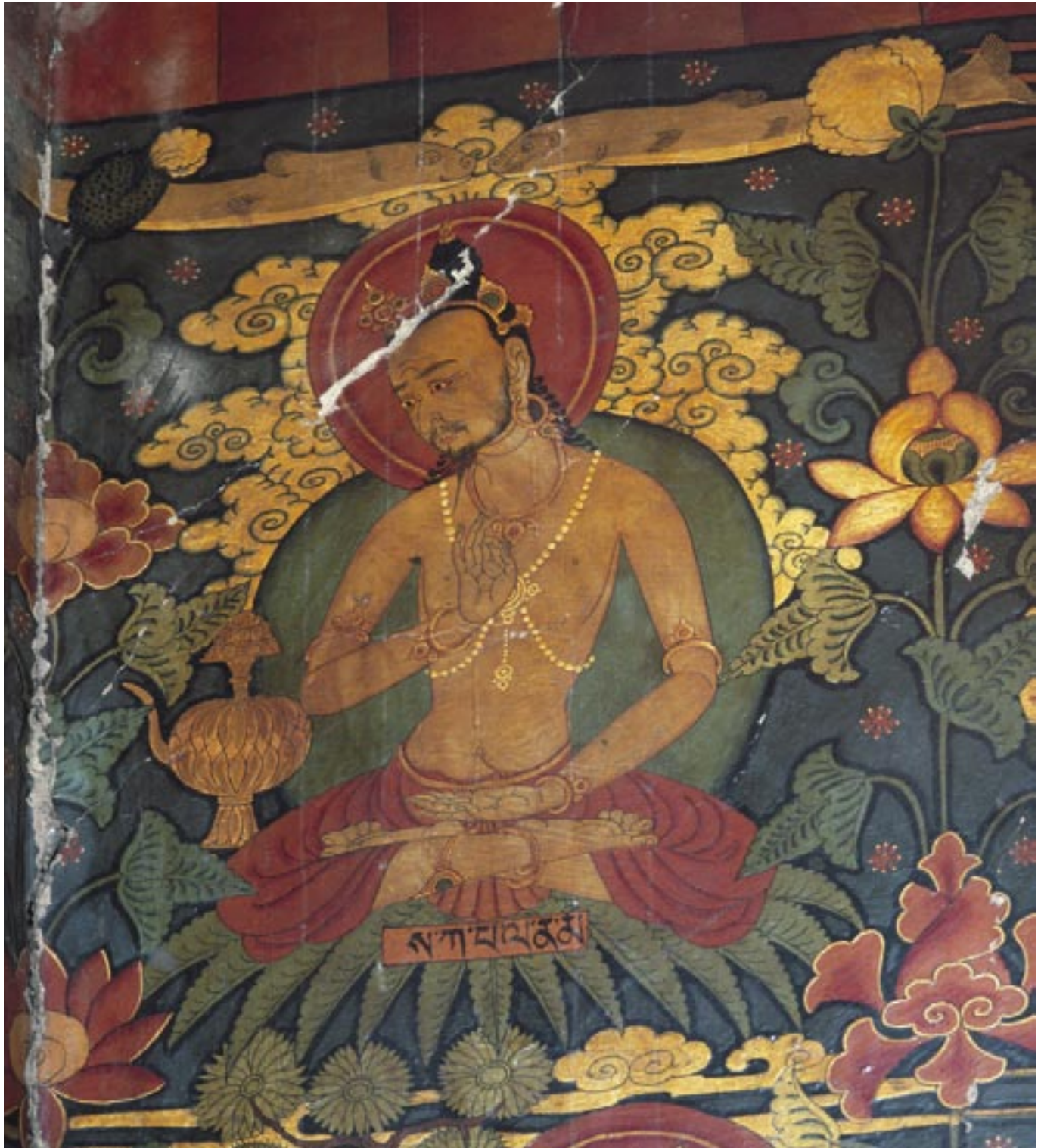
Saroruha was attended by a faithful servant who was promised as a reward for his devotion the initiation into Hevajra, once the master gained siddhi. At this time a great famine struck the land, but the servant kept silent in order not to disturb Saroruha’s practice. One day, when the servant fell due to weakness from starvation, he could no longer hide the calamity. Saroruha replied in anger that he should have been informed earlier because he had the power to bring rain and comfort to the suffering people. Saroruha then coerced the eight Great Nāga Kings to shower the land with food, wealth, and rain, after which he entered the realm of the Ḍākini’s Paradise.

Saroruha, sitting with a solemn expression, meditates on a throne of ferns, not the expected lotus petals. With the right hand he displays the gesture of argumentation, while the left hand rests in his lap. The pair of fish above the nimbus might serve as a reminder that Saroruha was born in a lake; in addition, fish symbolize happiness, freedom, and abundance. Saroruha is not attended by a consort, which is rare among the Gyantse siddhas.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Sa ka pa ས་ཀ་པ་ is identical with Sakara (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 74). His names include Saroruha, Padmavajra (Skt.) (Tib. mTsho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་རྒྱལ་རྗེ་, “lake-born vajra”) (KL 76), and Phu rtsas ga’ ལུ་རྩ་ས་ག་ (RtB 74). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Sakara are Ka ra pa ཀ་ར་པ་ (Rtsk 74) and Pa ga ra པ་ག་ར་ (RtP 74).

Selected references to the iconography of Sakara

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachtzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 212–13, no. 74: Sakara.
- Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 34, no. 6: mCho skyes rdo rje.
- Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 227–30, no. 74: Sakara.
- Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 342–46, no. 74: Sakara (Saroruha).



73. Mahāsiddha Sakara

PLATE 74

Mahāsiddha Me dra se

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G74

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Me dra se ga la na mo མེང་སེལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Me dra se”

Me dra se, an unidentified Indian mahāsiddha, is seated in a relaxed posture on an animal skin placed upon a soft pillow. An umbrella decorated with beaded chains and garlands protects him overhead. The gently smiling ascetic is dressed in a pair of short, tight trousers that have a pattern of tiny flowers or stars; he also wears a set of jewellery evidently not made of bone. Although Me dra se is embraced by his naked consort, he nevertheless seems to be conversing with a dark-skinned male in front of him, who dances or stands on one leg while holding a fan-like flower in the right hand. This male visitor, perhaps

a visionary messenger of tantric teachings, is dressed in clothing similar to that worn by Me dra se. It is unclear whether Me dra se displays with the right hand the gesture of fearlessness and greeting or whether he wishes the visitor to stay away. His naked consort displays the same gesture with her left hand, but here it rather seems to be a reflex. The relaxed expression of Me dra se indicates that he does not expect any real trouble, and why should he? The nimbus surrounding the head of the dark visitor confirms that he is an enlightened being and not just an ordinary servant being told to stay away.

It is difficult to identify Me dra se མེང་སེ (G74) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaṣṭi-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.



74. Mahāsiddha Me dra se

PLATE 75

Mahāsiddha Sarvabhakṣa “The One Who Eats Everything”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G75
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Sa pa dra ga la na mo ས་པ་དྲ་ག་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Sa pa dra ga”

In the city of Ābhira, ruled by king Singhacandra, there lived a man of low caste known as Sarvabhakṣa, “the one who eats everything”. It is recorded that he had an enormously large belly as a result of eating anything he could find. One day, after finding nothing to eat, he simply sat down, lost in his thoughts about food. At that moment Saraha (Plate 6) happened to pass by and inquired what he was doing. Sarvabhakṣa complained that he was suffering from hunger! Saraha then asked him what he would do after being reborn as a hungry ghost, if already such a small hunger could result in pain and distress. A frightened Sarvabhakṣa asked how he could escape from being reborn as a hungry ghost. Saraha then instructed him: “Visualize your stomach as empty and the size of the sky. Let your digestive heat burn like fire. Regard the world as edible and drinkable and, when you eat, consume it entirely.” Sarvabhakṣa practiced accordingly with such intense devotion that the sun and

moon became scared and hid themselves behind Mount Meru. Deprived of light, the people were frightened, and Saraha had to intervene. He advised Sarvabhakṣa to visualize everything he ate as empty. As a result he eventually realized the integration of appearance and emptiness and attained siddhi. After narrating his experiences to countless people, Sarvabhakṣa entered the realm of the Dākinī’s Paradise.

Sarvabhakṣa sits happily under a tall flowering tree, just finishing the contents of his skull-cup. He reclines comfortably on an animal hide with the help of a yoga band. The siddha stares upwards with large, open eyes, towards the sky or the flowers above. Judging from the size of his belly, he has apparently overcome his obsession with food. Sarvabhakṣa is admired by an attendant who stands respectfully beside him.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Sa pa dra ga ས་པ་དྲ་ག་ is perhaps identical with Sarvabhakṣa (Skt.) of the *Caturaṣṭi-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 75). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Sarvabhakṣa (“the one who eats everything”) are Sarba bhakṣa ས་ར་བཀམ་ (RTB 75), Sarba du kṣa ས་ར་དུ་ཀམ་ (Rtsk 75), and Sarba bha ba ས་ར་བམ་པ་ (KL 77). His Tibetan name is Thams cad bza’ ba ཐམས་ཅད་བཟའ་བ་.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོ་གཤམ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Sarvabhakṣa

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 213–14, no. 75: Sarvabhakṣa.
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 231–32, no. 75: Sarvabhakṣa.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 347–49, no. 75: Sarvabhakṣa.



75. Mahāsiddha Sarvabhakṣa

PLATE 76

Mahāsiddha Nāgabodhi “The Cured Thief”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G76
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Na ga bro di la na mo ནག་བློ་དེ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Na ga bro di*”

One day when the holy Nāgārjuna (Plate 15) was residing at Suvarṇa monastery, a brahmin from Western India who had become a thief came to his door. Seeing the golden dish from which Nāgārjuna was eating food, the thought came to him to steal it. Nāgārjuna, reading the mind of the visitor, made this unnecessary by throwing the golden plate to the thief. The perplexed brahmin asked Nāgārjuna why he made it unnecessary to steal the dish. “All my wealth is for others,” explained Nāgārjuna, “because when we die there is no use in possessing wealth.” He further invited the thief to stay and eat and drink all he could so that there would be no need to steal. The thief was very impressed and begged Nāgārjuna to be cured of his compulsion. He was then initiated into the Guhyasamāja Tantra and received the instructions of how to use greed as a method of liberation. He instructed the thief to visualize all the objects he desired as a large horn on his head. Meditating accordingly, a great horn gradually grew out of the skull of

the thief. When asked by Nāgārjuna about his progress, the thief admitted to being in a miserable condition. His guru then advised him to meditate on the emptiness of all things. Once he realized the inseparability of life and death, he reached his goal and became famous as Nāgabodhi. Later Nāgārjuna appointed him as the successor to his lineage of teaching and advised him to work for the benefit of others. Nāgabodhi then attained the eight great powers of siddhi.

The thief who later became known as Nāgabodhi is seated on an animal skin in the attitude of meditation. Apparently perplexed, he seems troubled in the presence of the two golden ewers protected by a pair of upwardly coiling snakes (*nāgas*), which rise above his shoulders. With hair tied up in the shape of a horn, Nāgabodhi appears to be meditating according to the first instructions received by Nāgārjuna. Note the absence of any consorts.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Na ga bro di ནག་བློ་དེ་ is identical with Nāgabodhi (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 76). His Tibetan name is Klu'i byang chub ལྷུ་ལི་བྱང་ཅུབ་.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱུང་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Nāgabodhi

- Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 214–15, no. 76: Nāgabodhi.
Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 62, no. 29: Nāgabodhi = Nā ga bodhi. [Proposed Gorakṣa Nāgabodhi identification is unconvincing].
Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha's Lions*, pp. 233–35, no. 76: Nāgabodhi.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 350–54, no. 76: Nāgabodhi.



76. Mahāsiddha Nāgabodhi

PLATE 77

Mahāsiddha Dārikapa “The Temple Prostitute’s Slave”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G77

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ra ri pa la na mo ར་རི་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Ra ri pa”

One day, when Indrapāla, the king of Pāṭaliputra, returned from hunting, he met Lūipa (Plate 1). He told the ascetic to give up eating rotten fish entrails and offered him everything he desired, including his kingdom and his daughter. Lūipa replied that the only things he would accept were deathlessness and eternal youth. On hearing these words, Indrapāla developed an instant revulsion for this life and abdicated in favour of his son. Together with his brahmanic minister, Deṅgipa, the king went to the cremation ground to meet Lūipa. As they had nothing on them that could serve as an initiation fee, Lūipa accepted the offering of their bodies as slaves, and initiated them into the maṇḍala of Cakrasaṃvara. Then he took them to Orissa in Eastern India, where first the minister was sold. Lūipa and the king continued their journey to Jayantipur, where Lūipa sold him to Darima, chief courtesan of seven hundred dancing girls who performed the services of worship in a great temple. King Indrapāla served Darima devotedly for twelve years. Then one

day a king named Janapa arrived as a client. That night, being troubled by having eaten too much food, Janapa ventured into the garden, where he found Darima’s slave seated on a throne, being served by fifteen maidens who had recognized his exalted status and great spiritual achievements. Upon hearing this news, the chief courtesan apologized to her slave for not having realized his true nature. He preached the dharma to her and many others, and becoming famous as Dārikapa, the prostitute’s slave. Eventually Dārikapa went to the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.¹

A cheerful Dārikapa, seated on an animal skin under a tree, is being served by two girls, one of whom he embraces with his left arm. Both he and the dark-skinned courtesan hold skull-cups for drinking. These two lovers are attended by a fair skinned ḍākinī who dances beneath an umbrella.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ra ri pa ར་རི་པ་ is likely identical with Dārikapa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 77). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Dārikapa are Dha ri ka pa ཇ་རི་ཀ་པ་ (RtB 77), Dā ri ka pa ཇ་རི་ཀ་པ་ (Rtsk 77), and Dā ri ka ཇ་རི་ཀ་ (AS 32). The Tibetan name is sMad ’tshong can སྐད་འཛོང་ཅན་ (“man of the prostitutes”) or sMad ’tshong ma’i g.yog སྐད་འཛོང་མའི་གཡོག་ (“servant of the prostitutes”) (RBL).

Selected references to the iconography of Dārikapa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*,

Band V, pp. 215–16, no. 77: Dārika.

Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, no. 28: Dha ri ka pa = Dā ri ka pa.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 236–39, no. 77: Dārika.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 355–58, no. 77: Dārikapa.

¹ The story of how the minister was sold is related in the legend of Deṅgipa (Plate 31). Concerning the stories of the king and his minister, there is

confusion among the various Tibetan renderings of “*The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas*”.



77. Mahāsiddha Dārikapa

PLATE 78

Mahāsiddha Putalipa “The Icon-Bearer”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G78

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Pu ta pa la na mo ཐུཏཱ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Pu ta pa”

A low-caste man named Putalipa lived in Bengal and was approached one day by a yogin begging for alms. The man provided the yogin food and drink, and as a result of the holy man’s presence, Putalipa took faith in him and asked for initiation. The yogin thereafter granted the empowerment of Hevajra, including teachings upon its spiritual path, and then presented Putalipa with a small painted scroll of the Hevajra deity. He further advised him to hang the painting from his neck while begging his way from place to place. Putalipa acted accordingly and after twelve years of roaming the country, he attained siddhi, although unnoticed by anyone. At some later time, while begging at the palace of a king, the ruler grew irate when he saw that the image of Hevajra was trampling and sitting upon Hindu gods sacred to him. The king cursed and demanded to know why Putalipa’s deity used the king’s deity as a throne. Putalipa answered calmly that he had not painted the scroll himself, and although it might give offence

to some people, it was indisputably correct. He continued to explain that his deity was also the deity of the king’s god. As proof, Putalipa said, any painting commissioned by the king with the positions of the deities exchanged, would be reversed during the night. The king promised, and affirmed that if this proved to be true, he would follow the teachings of Putalipa. A court artist proceeded to carefully paint an identical icon, but with Hevarja in the subordinate position. As foretold, the deities changed places during the night, and as a result the whole kingdom was converted. Putalipa became famous and eventually attained the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.

Putalipa is depicted in an exalted state dancing on an animal skin, protected by a baldachin and backed by a large, red nimbus. His eyes are interlocked with the ḍākinī resting at his side; she looks up to Putalipa in admiration.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Pu ta pa ཐུཏཱ་ is identical with Putalipa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 78). Among the Tibetan transcriptions of the Sanskrit name Putalipa are Pu ta la ཐུཏཱ་ (RtB 78), Bu ta li ཐུཏཱ་ལི་ (Rtsk 78), and Pu ta li ཐུཏཱ་ལི་ (KL 79). Other variations of the name are Sutali, Tali, Satapa and Purali (RBL). The Tibetan name is rGyan slang ba རྒྱལ་སྤང་བ་ (“ornament beggar”) (DMM).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Putalipa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 216–17, no. 78: Putali.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 240–41, no. 78: Putali.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 359–61, no. 78: Putalipa.



78. Mahāsiddha Putalipa

PLATE 79

Mahāsiddha Sa ra na

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G79

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Sa ra na la na mo སར་ན་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Sa ra na”

Sa ra na is another Indian mahāsiddha whose identity could not be established and whose life-story remains a secret for the time being. The ascetic, who is evidently beyond the prime of youth, nevertheless radiates an air of physical fitness. Sa ra na is seated with the help of a yoga band in a particular yoga posture on an animal skin. He is dressed in short, tight trousers decorated with red and black stars, and wears beaded jewellery that is evidently not fashioned of human bone. At his side rests a sparsely dressed ḍākinī in the attitude of royal ease, who with

her eyes modestly lowered presents the yogin with a skull-cup, presumably filled with alcohol. Sa ra na in turn looks at his real or visionary consort and presents her with a tall oil-lamp. Both seem to harbour mutual respect for one another and remain at a respectful distance. On the ground between them burns an oil-lamp, perhaps indicating that they meet in the darkness of night. The long-life vase above guarantees that they will live long enough to develop, perhaps, the passion to sit more closely without losing their mutual respect.

It is difficult to identify Sa ra na སར་ན་ (G79) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP) or any of the other lists.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གན་སྟེང་ and his assistants.

Published

1990. Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. *Gyantse Revisited*, pp. [425], 431, pl. 155: Sa ra na.



79. Mahāsiddha Sa ra na

PLATE 80

Mahāsiddha Kokilipa “The Cuckoo- Sound Hearer”

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G80

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ka gi la la na mo ཀ་གི་ལ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “*Veneration to Ka gi la*”

There once lived a king in Campārṇa who could not endure the heat of the palace in summertime. He would then retire to the cool surroundings of his mango grove and enjoy the pools of cool water nearby, and the fragrance and colours of the fruits and flowers. There he would linger comfortably upon silks and satins while young maidens took care of all his needs and desires; some fondled him, others fanned him, while still others sang and danced and strewed flowers about him. One day the king was again wasting his life in this excess of self-indulgence when a disciplined monk approached the garden begging for food. Upon hearing this from his guards, the king invited the monk inside and served him provisions. The king then asked the monk which of their two life-styles provided more joy. The monk replied that from the viewpoint of a child it would be the king’s way of life. But he continued, that for a wise man it was clear that such a life was poison.

The monk explained that the three poisons – greed, hate, and delusion – combined with power, led to the lower realms. The king was shaken thoroughly and took refuge in the monk. He then abdicated in favour of his son so that he could change his life. He received the initiation and empowerment of Saṃvara, and while meditating on the sound of the cuckoo, practiced the “sudden dissolution of whatever arises in the mind”. Within a mere six months the king succeeded in generating the five-fold awareness of a wise man instead of the harvest of lust and hatred of a fool. He became famous as Kokilipa, named after the bird upon which he meditated, and eventually attained the Dākinī’s Paradise.

The king is dancing in a frantic mood on an animal skin, drinking from an horn while holding a flower and an umbrella. A shepherd boy, kneeling beside, watches the episode calmly.

The mahāsiddha inscribed as Ka gi la ཀ་གི་ལ་ is very likely identical with Kokilipa (Skt.) of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP 80). Among the Tibetan trans-literations of the Sanskrit name Kokilipa, derived from kokila (“cuckoo”), are Ko ka la ཀོ་ཀ་ལ་ (RtB 80), Ko ki li pa ཀོ་ཀི་ལི་པ་ (Rtsk 80), Ko ki la ཀོ་ཀི་ལ་ (RtP 80), and Ko ka li ཀོ་ཀ་ལི་ (KL 81). The Tibetan name is Ko la la’i skad du chags ཀོ་ལ་ལ་འི་སྐད་དུ་རྒྱལ་མཁས་ (RBL).

Published

Lo Bue, E. and Ricca, F. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*, pp. [425], 431, pl. 156: Ka gi la. Is Ka gi la a misspelling for Kakipa, one of Mahipa’s alternative names (?)

Selected references to the iconography of Kokilipa

Grünwedel, A. 1916. “Die Geschichten der Vierundachtzig Zauberer [mahāsiddhas]”, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, pp. 217–18, no. 80: Kokilī.

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 244–46, no. 80: Kokali.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 365–67, no. 80: Kokilipa.



80. Mahāsiddha Kokilipa

PLATE 81

Yoginī Siddhā Sa ra gi

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G81

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Sa ra gi la na mo སར་གྱི་ལ་ན་རྗེ་ “Veneration to Sa ra gi”

In the town of Agarce there lived a wealthy householder who had a thirteen-year-old daughter named Mañibhadṛā. Although engaged to a man, she still lived with her parents and would do so until she reached the proper age to become a wife. Then one day Guru Kukkuripa¹ happened to visit their home in search of food. The girl asked him why he wore patched robes and begged for food instead of taking a wife and living in comfort. Kukkuripa replied that because he was terrified of rebirth, his effort in life was to search for the great joy of liberation. He continued, saying that by taking a wife he would break the vow of chastity, and all his ambitions would be null and void. The girl was deeply impressed and requested the guru to show her the way of liberation. Kukkuripa said for this she would need to visit him in the cremation ground. That very night Mañibhadṛā went to see him. Recognizing her spiritual maturity, Kukkuripa initiated her into Cakrasaṃvara and gave her the instructions into the Developing Stage, the Perfecting Stage, and their Integration. After practising for several days, Mañibhadṛā

returned home to find her parents in a rage – so angry they even beat her. She calmly announced that she would continue all her life to work towards liberation. Even though she married one year later, Mañibhadṛā nevertheless continued with her practice. She gave birth to a boy and two girls. After twelve years had passed since meeting the guru, it happened one day that Mañibhadṛā tripped after fetching water and broke a water pot. She just stood there and gazed at the broken pitcher. When she did not return home, her husband went looking for her, and when asked what the matter was, she remained silent and continued to stare at the broken pot. Full realization and awakening came to her about the meaninglessness of human life. It was nightfall when she finally declared that, as a result of breaking the pot, she would not return to her home in saṃsāra, but instead go to the Great Bliss. Mañibhadṛā then rose up into the sky and for twenty-one days explained her realization to the people of Agarce; she then attained the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.

It is not possible to identify Sa ra gi སར་གྱི་ (G81) with any of the four female Yoginī Siddhās of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP). To enable the inclusion of some of the stories of the Yoginī Siddhās, the Yoginī inscribed as Sa ra gi has been chosen to illustrate the story of Mañibhadṛā (CSP 65).

This mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོ་གཤམ་, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱུང་པ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྫོང་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Mañibhadṛā

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 208–210, no. 65: Mañibhadṛā.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 313–16, no. 65: Mañibhadṛā.

¹ Not necessarily identical with Kukkuripa, the “dog-lover” (Plate 53).



81. Female Yoginī Siddhā Sa ra gi

PLATE 82

Mahāsiddha Ni la kha pa

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G82
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Ni la kha pa la na mo རྗེ་ལ་ཁ་པ་ལ་ལ་རྗེ་མོ་ *“Veneration to Ni la kha pa”*

Ni la kha pa, an unidentified Indian mahāsiddha, is dancing in a joyful mood in what seems to be a cremation ground. It is rare among the ascetics painted on the walls to find one who is not dancing on an animal skin. The colour of Ni la kha pa’s skin gives the impression that he has covered himself with ashes. The long-life vase below his right knee rests on three small skulls – a reminder that even the longest life comes to an end. Beside him, almost invisible against the dark background, is

a real or visionary consort seated in the attitude of royal ease. Presented without a nimbus, she seems to be real rather than just an illusion; she presents Ni la kha pa with a skull-cup presumably filled with some intoxicating liquid. Though aware of her offering, the siddha at this moment prefers to continue with his dancing. Yet his sidelong glance lets us know that it is probably just a matter of time until he succumbs to the temptation of the consort and the full skull-cup.

It is difficult to identify Ni la kha pa རྗེ་ལ་ཁ་པ་ (G82) with any of the mahāsiddhas accounted for in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP). However he may be identical with Ni la pa རྗེ་ལ་པ་ of the *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi’i gsol’debs* (GsB 48).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་པ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟིང་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Ni la pa

Schmid, T. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas*, p. 88, no. 48: Ni la pa.



82. Mahāsiddha Ni la kha pa

PLATE 83

Yoginī Siddhā Sa chu ta

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G83

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Sa chu ta la na mo སུཅུཏ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Sa chu ta”

In the town of Devīkoṭa there lived a householder who had two daughters named Mekhalā and Kanakhalā. They were to be married to the two sons of a boatman. Although the two sisters had done nothing wrong, everybody gossiped about them. Kanakhalā, the younger sister, suggested one day to Mekhalā that they should go and live somewhere else to end this injustice. The elder sister replied that moving elsewhere would make no difference, since they obviously did not have a positive accumulation of karma. It happened just then that Guru Kṛṣṇācārya, also known as Kāṇhapa (Plate 17), passed nearby. The sisters decided that they should approach him and explain how everybody maligned them for no reason. They thus visited Kṛṣṇācārya, poured out their sorrows, and asked him for a sādhanā to practice. The yogin, hearing all this, initiated the two sisters and bestowed upon them the instructions of Vajravārāhī on visualization, meditation, practice, and total integration. Mekhalā and Kanakhalā henceforth practiced accordingly for

twelve years until they both attained siddhi. Afterwards they returned to their guru in his hermitage and prostrated in front of him. Kṛṣṇācārya, however, did not recognize them, so they had to remind him of their first encounter. Hearing of their successful practice and realization, he demanded offerings in return. The two sisters replied that they would give him whatever he requested. Upon hearing this the guru ordered them to present their heads. With swords of wisdom drawn from their mouths, Mekhalā and Kanakhalā cut off their own heads and offered them to Kṛṣṇācārya. At that moment he came to know that the two sisters had attained total integration of their practice. He then advised them that, because they had reached their goal with great joy, they should from now on practice for the benefit of other beings. With these words Kṛṣṇācārya restored the heads on their shoulders without leaving any mark or disfigurement. Mekhalā and Kanakhalā attained the highest siddhi of Mahāmudrā, and eventually went to the Realm of the Dākinīs.

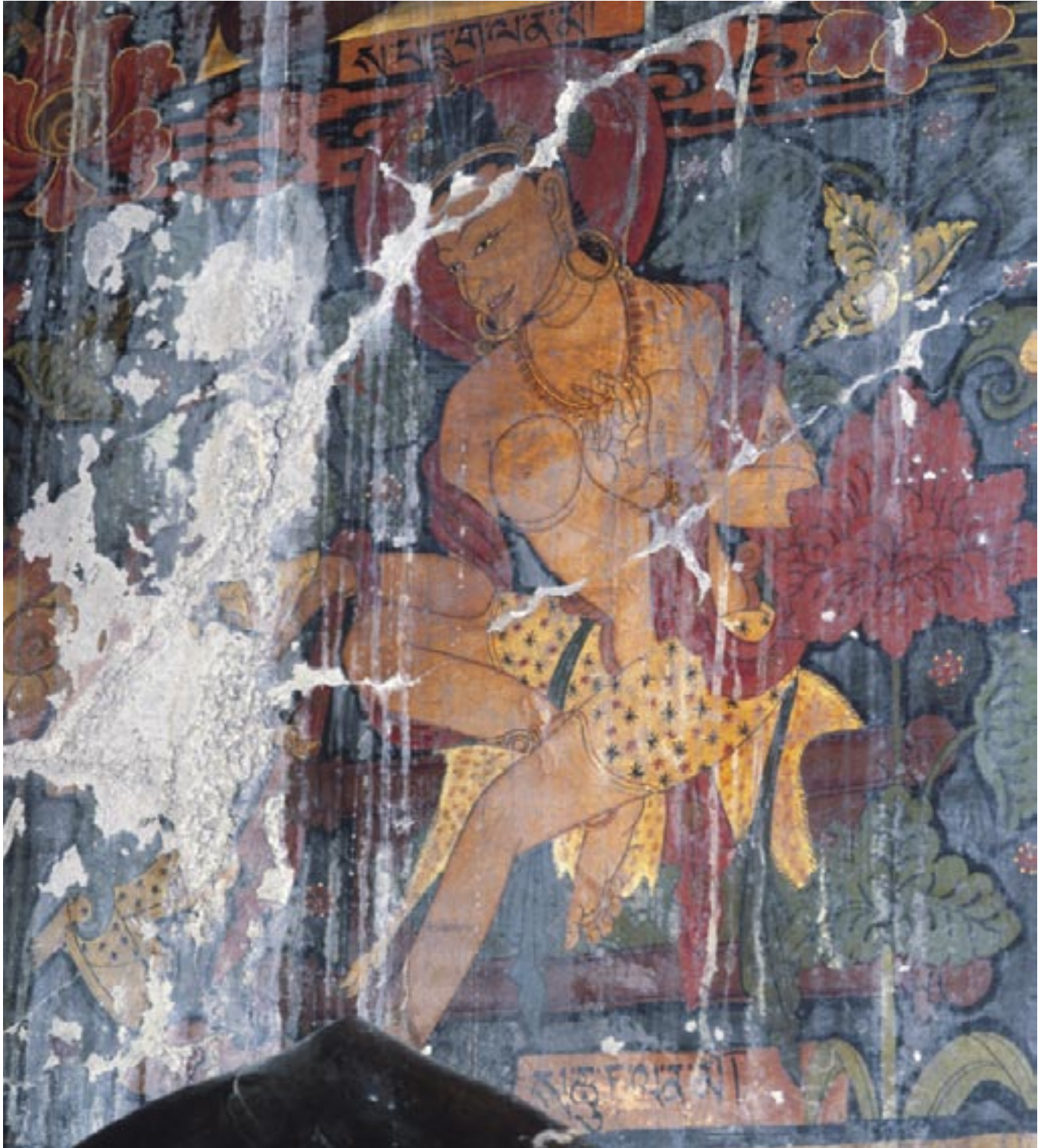
It is not possible to identify Sa chu ta སུཅུཏ་ (G83) with any of the four female Yoginī Siddhās of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP). To enable the inclusion of some of the stories of the Yoginī Siddhās, the Yoginī inscribed as Sa chu ta has been chosen to illustrate the story of the two sisters Mekhalā and Kanakhalā (CSP 66 & 67).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱུང་པ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Mekhalā and Kanakhalā

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha's Lions*, pp. 211–13, nos. 66 & 67: Mekhalā and Kanakhalā.

Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 317–21, nos. 66 & 67: Mekhalā and Kanakhalā.



83. Female Yogini Siddhā Sa chu ta

PLATE 84

Yoginī Siddhā Na ra pa

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G84
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Na ra pa la na mo ན་ར་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Na ra pa”

Indrabhūti, ruler of the kingdom of Sambhola in Oḍḍiyāṇa, had a sister named Lakṣmīṅkarā. Since early age she had the advantage of her noble background and was able to receive teachings from distinguished masters such as Kambala (Plate 30), among others. As a result of these teachings she understood the meanings of many tantras. Despite her virtues, her brother had betrothed her to the son of king Jalendra, ruler of Laṅkāpurī. So when an escort arrived from her husband-to-be, Lakṣmīṅkarā departed from Sambhola with a large dowry and a retinue of Buddhist friends. But once arrived in Laṅkāpurī, she was refused admittance to the palace on the grounds that the day was inauspicious. While waiting outside the palace, she noticed with great irritation that the people were not Buddhists. Her despair deepened when shortly later the prince and his entourage returned from the hunt carrying with them the carcasses of many animals. She loudly protested that her brother had sent her to marry an impious pagan, and then collapsed. After Lakṣmīṅkarā recovered she sent her attendants

home and began to disperse her dowry among the poor townspeople. Once inside the palace she acted demented, cutting her hair, stripping herself naked, and smearing herself with oil and ashes. She escaped from the palace to live in the cremation ground to continue with her practice, and after seven years she attained siddhi. Lakṣmīṅkarā was a successful teacher of a sweeper of the king’s latrine, who had served her quietly over the years. Then one day king Jalendra became lost during a hunting party and stumbled upon Lakṣmīṅkarā’s cave. Peering inside he saw the yoginī, her body radiating light, and perfect faith arose inside him. Prostrating before Lakṣmīṅkarā, he humbly begged her for instructions. She denied his request and told him that one of his latrine sweepers would be his guru. The king sat the sweeper upon his throne, prostrated before him, and received instruction in the creative and fulfilment stages of Vajravārāhī. Lakṣmīṅkarā together with the king’s latrine sweeper eventually attained the Ḍākinī’s Paradise.

It is not possible to identify Na ra pa ན་ར་པ་ (G84) with any of the four female Yoginī Siddhās of the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* (CSP). To include the stories of the four Yoginī Siddhās contained in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti*, the Yoginī inscribed as Na ra pa has been chosen to illustrate the story of Lakṣmīṅkarā (CSP 82). The fact that Na ra pa is seated on a throne somehow fits with the story of princess Lakṣmīṅkarā narrated here.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

Selected references to the iconography of Lakṣmīṅkarā

Robinson, J. B. 1979. *Buddha’s Lions*, pp. 250–53, no. 82: Lakṣmīṅkarā.
Dowman, K. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 372–75, no. 82: Lakṣmīṅkarā.



84. Female Yoginī Siddhā Na ra pa

PLATE 85

Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje (1128–1188)

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm

Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G85

Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Gling ras pa la na mo ལྷིང་རས་པ་ལ་ན་མོ་ “Veneration to Gling ras pa”

The murals at Gyantse have, in addition to the eighty-four mahāsiddhas, two more personages who were added to fill the empty space in the lower register: Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje, also known as Gling ras pa (1128–1188), and Mahāpaṇḍita Śrī Śāriputra (Paṅ chen Shri sh’a ri putra) (Plate 86). Gling ras pa, regarded as the spiritual father of the *’Brug pa bKa’ brgyud pa* འབྲུག་པ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པ་ sub-order, once studied for three months as a disciple of Phag mo gru pa ཕག་མོ་གུ་པ་ (1110–1170), founder of gDan sa mthil གདན་ས་མཐིལ་. In time, gDan sa mthil developed into the first great *bKa’ brgyud pa* monastery. It is interesting to know that among other teachings he also received from Phag mo gru pa the *lam’bras* ལམ་བྲས་ tradition (“path with the result”). Gling ras pa was perhaps added to the painted cycle of mahāsiddhas because of his affiliation with this tradition. He learned the system of Vārāhī from Zhang Bla ma རྩང་བླ་མ་, formerly a disciple of both the translator of Rwa རྩ་ and dPyal Kun dga’ rdo rje

དབྱུང་ལྷན་དགའ་དོན་མེད་, the great practitioner of the *dPyal* དབྱུང་ tradition. Gling ras pa had his residence at a place named Rwa lung རྩ་ལུང་, located some 40 kilometres south-east of Gyantse beneath dramatic snowy peaks. The monastery of Rwa lung was founded at the same site in 1180 by gTsang pa Ye shes rdo rje གཙང་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་རཏོ་རེ་ (1161–1211), a disciple of Gling ras pa.

The bearded *bKa’ brgyud pa* practitioner, identified in the inscription as Gling ras pa, is placed in a rocky landscape. He is seated in the attitude of meditation on an animal skin, placed upon a pillow covered by a red textile decorated with lotus flowers. Gling ras pa displays the “gesture of the wheel of the doctrine”. He is not dressed in monastic garments but rather clad in the robes of a tantric master, leaving his chest and prominent belly bare.

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal ’byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.



85. Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje

PLATE 86

Mahāpaṇḍita Śrī Śāriputra

Wall painting. Height approx. 50 cm
Northern wall of the Lamdre chapel: painting no. G86
Palkhor Tsuglagkhang at Gyantse in Southern Tibet (Photo: 1993)

Tibetan inscription reads

Paṇ chen shri sh'a ri putra la na mo པཎ་ཆེན་གྱི་ཤྲི་ཤུ་ལ་ན་མོ་
“*Veneration to Paṇ chen Shri sh'a ri putra*”

Mahāpaṇḍita Śrī Śāriputra, together with Gling ras pa (1128–1188) (Plate 85), were added to the cycle of eighty-four mahāsiddhas to fill the empty space in the lower register. During the early part of the 15th century, Śrī Śāriputra was the abbot of the famous Buddhist monastery at Bodhgayā (District Gayā, Bihar, North India). This place is famous as the location of Śākyamuni’s defeat of Māra (*māravijaya*) and represents one of the “eight great places” (*aṣṭamahāsthāna*) of Buddhist pilgrimage. Following an invitation by the Chinese emperor Yongle (reigned 1403–1424), Śrī Śāriputra visited Gyantse in

the year 1414 on his way to China.¹ The fact that Śrī Śāriputra appears here testifies to the fame of Bodhgayā, known to the Tibetans as rDo rje gdan (Skt.: Vajrāsana).

The abbot, identified in the inscription as Paṇ chen shri sh'a ri putra, is seated in the attitude of meditation on an elaborately decorated throne. With the right hand he displays the gesture of argumentation and rests the left hand on his knee. The benign, friendly abbot is clad in monastic garments, and wears the characteristic hat of a mahāpaṇḍita.

Śrī Śāriputra is not one of the eighty-four mahāsiddhas listed in the *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravrṭti* (CSP).

According to the inscription, this mural section was sponsored by dPal mchog pa དཔལ་མཚོག་པ་, and painted by dPal 'byor ba དཔལ་འབྱོར་བ་ of gNas rnying གནས་རྟེན་ and his assistants.

¹ Tucci, G. 1949. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pp. 632, 665–66, 689, 703, nn. 154, 819, 833.



86. Mahāpaṇḍita Śrī Śāriputra

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AS** *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Pantheon*, in *Buddhist Iconography*, nos. 1082–2203, ed. Lokesh Chandra. (Kyoto: Rinsen, 1986). [Eighty-eight Mahāsiddhas; cf. nos. 1096–1183. Numbered in the concordance tables as AS 1–AS 88. Published earlier in *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, Śata-Piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, Vol. 21, Part 16, (Delhi: 1967). The illustrations, some of them erroneously interchanged, were drawn after the set of thangkas (STh) published by Toni Schmid. *The Eighty-five Siddhas*. (Stockholm: Statens Etnografiska Museum, 1958)].
- CBI** Chandra, Lokesh. *Buddhist Iconography*. (Kyoto: Rinsen, 1986). [Eighty-eight Mahāsiddhas (nos. 1096–1183), numbered in the concordance tables as AS 1–AS 88].
Cordier, P. *Index du bsTan 'gyur: catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Deuxième Partie (Paris: 1909).
- CSA** *Caturaśīti-siddhābhyarthanā* by Ratnākara Gupta of Vajrāsana (Bodhgayā; Tib. rDo rje gdan). [Tibetan translation known as *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i gsol 'debs* by rDo rje gdan pa].
- CSP** Abhayadatta. *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti*; [“*The Lives of the Eighty-four Siddhas*”: Sanskrit original of the *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus* (LO). A condensed version is known as *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i rtogs pa snying po zhes bya pa* (Rt)]. The Sanskrit text dates from the 11th/12th century and is the oldest one used in the concordance lists. [Numbered in the concordance tables as CSP 1–CSP 84].
Dasgupta, S. B. *Obscure Religious Cults*. (Calcutta: Firma KLM, revised 3rd edition, 1969).
- DMM** Dowman, Keith. 1985. *Masters of Mahamudra: Songs and Histories of the Eighty-Four Buddhist Siddhas*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985). [English translation of the *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus* (LO)].
Dowman, Keith. *Masters of Enchantment: The Lives and Legends of the Mahasiddhas*. (London: Arkana, 1985). [English translation of parts of the *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus* (LO)].
- EES** Egyed, Alice. *The Eighty-four Siddhas: A Tibetan Blockprint from Mongolia*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984).
- G** The inscribed Mahāsiddha mural paintings of the Lam 'bras lha khang of the dPal khor gTsug lag khang finished in 1425. Monastic complex of the dPal khor chos sde at Gyantse in Southern Tibet. [Numbered in the concordance tables as G1–G84 and illustrated in this publication as Plates 1–86].
- GGZ** Grünwedel, Albert (transl.). “*Die Geschichten der vierundachtzig Zauberer aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt*”. (Leipzig: Baessler Archiv, Band V, 1916). [German translation of the *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i rnam thar* (Rt)].
- Gs** *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i gsol 'debs*, by rDo rje gdan pa. [Tibetan translation of the *Caturaśīti-siddhābhyarthanā* by Ratnākara Gupta of Vajrāsana (Bodhgayā; Tib. rDo rje gdan)].
- GsB** *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i gsol 'debs* [Budapest], published by Alice Egyed, *The Eighty-four Siddhas: A Tibetan Blockprint from Mongolia*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984). [Numbered in the concordance tables as GsB 1–GsB 84].
- GsDO** *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i gsol 'debs* [Derge Edition; Oslo *bsTan 'gyur*], as quoted by Toni Schmid. *The Eighty-five Siddhas*. (Stockholm: Statens Etnografiska Museum, 1958).

- GsS** *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i gsol 'debs* [Schmid], published by Toni Schmid. *The Eighty-five Siddhas*. (Stockholm: Statens Etnografiska Museum, 1958). [Numbered in the concordance tables as GsS 1–GsS 85].
- GsP** rDo rje gdan pa. *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i gsol 'debs*, [Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition], ed. D. T. Suzuki, (Tokyo: 1962), No. 4578; as quoted by Alice Egyed. *The Eighty-four Siddhas: A Tibetan Blockprint from Mongolia*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984).
- KL** Klong rdol bla ma (1719–1794). *The Collected Works of Longdol Lama*. Parts 1 & 2. Reproduced by Lokesh Chandra, Śata-Piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, Vol. 100. (Delhi: 1973). [Numbered in the concordance tables as KL 1–KL 84]. [Comments: This list is used in the concordance tables of G. Tucci (*TPS*) and A. Egyed (*EES*). However, the spellings fail to correspond in many cases. The transcription of *EES* was used].
- LO** sMon grub shes rab. *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus*. [Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition], ed. D.T. Suzuki, (Tokyo: 1962), No. 5091. [Translated in *GGC*, *RBL*, *DMM*. For a condensed form cf. *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i rtogs pa snying po zhes bya pa (Rt)*].

GLOSSARY

arhat (Skt.) –	Lohan (Ch.); a saint who has attained <i>nirvāṇa</i> in this human existence. He is a “fully enlightened one”. <i>Arhattva</i> or “Arhatship” is the goal of the Theravādins; [more or less synonymous with <i>sthavira</i>].	Mahāyāna (Skt.) –	“Great Vehicle”; form of Buddhism with texts in Sanskrit, stressing the ideal of the Bodhisattva and predominant in the Himalayas and Tibet; [see also Theravāda]
Bodhisattva (Skt.) –	“one whose essence is perfect knowledge”. The Mahāyāna doctrine considers the Bodhisattva status a higher goal than the <i>arhat</i> of the Theravādins. For a Bodhisattva, the liberation of all beings is more important than his personal attainment of <i>nirvāṇa</i> . Bodhisattva is a Sanskrit masculine noun. Female Bodhisattvas do not exist in Indian and Tibetan Buddhist literature.	maṇḍala (Skt.) –	“circle”; psycho-cosmic diagram, mystic diagram of the cosmos; <i>maṇḍalas</i> are used in all Indian religions
ḍāka (Skt.) –	consorts of <i>ḍākinīs</i> and spiritual mentors. Companions in biographies and visionary accounts / visionary messenger of the tantric teachings	nirvāṇa (Skt.) –	“extinction of rebirth”; liberation from the cycle of rebirths by extinguishing all desire; [see also <i>mahāparinirvāṇa</i>]
ḍākinī (Skt.) –	“she who goes through the sky”; female embodiment of intrinsic awareness, often serving as a muse or messenger of the tantric teachings	siddha (Skt.) –	“perfected, endowed with supernatural faculties”; class of religious adepts who have attained perfection (<i>siddhi</i>) in one of the tantric rites; [see also Mahāsiddha]
dharma (Skt.) –	“doctrine, law, practise, justice, religion”; name for the Buddhist teaching	tantra (Skt.) –	“warp, net”: magic formula of ritualistic character in Hinduism and Buddhism. There exists four classes of Buddhist <i>tantras</i> : <i>kriyā tantras</i> ; <i>caryā tantras</i> ; <i>yoga tantras</i> ; and <i>anuttarayoga tantras</i> .
ghaṇṭā (Skt.) –	“bell, prayer-bell”; female principle of the transcendent void as a symbol of absolute wisdom. [N.B. when the bell is surmounted by a <i>vajra</i> , it is called <i>vajraghaṇṭā</i>].	Theravāda (P.) (Skt.)	“School of the Elders”; orthodox form of Buddhism, with texts written in Pāli; predominant in Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam; synonymous with Hīnayāna (“Little Vehicle”)
guru (Skt.) –	“master”; a title given to a respected teacher	vajra (Skt.) –	generally interpreted as “diamond sceptre”; male principle; the transcendent diamond which cannot be destroyed, as a symbol of the spiritual path
mahāparinirvāṇa (Skt.) –	“the passing away into final <i>nirvāṇa</i> ” of the Buddha Śākyamuni at Kuśīnagara (Kasia, Uttar Pradesh, N. India); [see also <i>nirvāṇa</i>]	yoga (Skt.) –	“the act of joining” together the various physical and spiritual practises
Mahāsiddha (Skt.) –	“great perfected one, endowed with supernatural faculties”; name of a historical group of Indian Tantric adepts, of which traditionally eighty-four are listed; [see also <i>siddha</i>]	yogapaṭṭa (Skt.) –	“yoga band” used during long sessions of meditation to keep the body in the same position.
		yoginī (Skt.) –	term used for female Yoga practitioners

APPENDIX I

Concordance with the Abhayadatta Tradition

Abhayadatta Tradition/Gyantse Siddhas/Vajrāsana Tradition

CSP (Sanskrit)	Abhayadatta Tradition			Gyantse Inscription	Vajrāsana Tradition			Śrīsenā Narthang	
	<i>rTogs pa</i> (text)	<i>rTogs pa</i> (illus.)	<i>Klong rdol</i>		<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsB)	<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsS)	Thangkas (S)		<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā</i>
Lūpa (Sanskrit)	Lo hi ba ལོ་ཁི་བ་	Lū yi pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་	Lū hi pa ལུ་ཁི་པ་	Lu i pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་	Lū yi ma ལུ་ཡི་མ་	Lū yi pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་	Lu yi pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་	Lū i pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་	Lu yi pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་
CSP 01	<i>RtB</i> 01	<i>Rtsk</i> 01	<i>KL</i> 01	G01	<i>GsB</i> 03	<i>GsS</i> 03	STh 03	AS 02	Nar 01
Lilapa (Sanskrit)	Li la pa ལི་ལ་པ་	Li la pa ལི་ལ་པ་	Li la pa ལི་ལ་པ་	Li la pa ལི་ལ་པ་					Li la pa ལི་ལ་པ་
CSP 02	<i>RtB</i> 02	<i>Rtsk</i> 02	<i>KL</i> 04	G02					Nar 02
Virūpa (Sanskrit)	Birla ba བི་རུ་བ་	Bi ra ba བི་ར་བ་	Bir wa pa བི་ར་ལ་པ་	Bir wa pa བི་ར་ལ་པ་	Bi ru pa བི་རུ་པ་	Bi rü pa བི་རུ་པ་	Bir wa pa བི་ར་ལ་པ་	Bir wa pa བི་ར་ལ་པ་	Gu bi ru pa གུ་བི་རུ་པ་
CSP 03	<i>RtB</i> 03	<i>Rtsk</i> 03	<i>KL</i> 05	G03	<i>GsB</i> 08	<i>GsS</i> 08	STh 08	AS 07	Nar 03
Ḍombipa, Ḍombiheruka (Sanskrit)	Ṭom̐ bhi ba [I] ཌོམ་བི་བ་	Ṭo mbhi he ru ka ཌོམ་བི་ཁེ་རུ་ཀ་	Ḍom̐ bhi pa ཌོམ་བི་པ་	Ḍom̐ bi he ru ka ཌོམ་བི་ཁེ་རུ་ཀ་	Ḍo bi he ru ka ཌོ་བི་ཁེ་རུ་ཀ་	Ḍom̐ bi he ru ka ཌོམ་བི་ཁེ་རུ་ཀ་	Ḍom̐ bi he ru ka ཌོམ་བི་ཁེ་རུ་ཀ་	Ḍom̐ bhi he ru ka ཌོམ་བི་ཁེ་རུ་ཀ་	Ḍom̐ bi pa ཌོམ་བི་པ་
CSP 04	<i>RtB</i> 04	<i>Rtsk</i> 04	<i>KL</i> 06	G04	<i>GsB</i> 07	<i>GsS</i> 07	STh 07	AS 09	Nar 27
Śavarīpa (Sanskrit)	Sha wa ra pa ཤ་ལ་ར་པ་	Sha wa ri ཤ་ལ་རི་	Sha wa ri pa ཤ་ལ་རི་པ་	Shwa ba ri pa ཤ་ལ་རི་པ་	Sha ba ri pa ཤ་ལ་རི་པ་	Sha wa ri pa ཤ་ལ་རི་པ་	Sha wa ri pa ཤ་ལ་རི་པ་	Sha wa ri ཤ་ལ་རི་	
CSP 05	<i>RtB</i> 05	<i>Rtsk</i> 05	<i>KL</i> 07	G05	<i>GsB</i> 27	<i>GsS</i> 27	STh 27	AS 31	
Saraha (Sanskrit)	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཁ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཁ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཁ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཁ་	Sa ra ha [I] ས་ར་ཁ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཁ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཁ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཁ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཁ་
CSP 06	<i>RtB</i> 06	<i>Rtsk</i> 06	<i>KL</i> 08	G06	<i>GsB</i> 05	<i>GsS</i> 05	STh 05	AS 01	Nar 67
Kaṅkāripa (Sanskrit)	Kaṅ ka li ཀ་ཀ་ལི་	Kangga la pa ཀང་ག་ལ་པ་	Ko ka li [I] ཀོ་ཀ་ལི་	Ka ka li ཀ་ཀ་ལི་					Ka ka li pa ཀ་ཀ་ལི་པ་
CSP 07	<i>RtB</i> 07	<i>Rtsk</i> 07	<i>KL</i> 09	G07					Nar 70 (?)
Minapa (Sanskrit)	Mi na ba མི་ན་བ་	Mi na pa མི་ན་པ་	Mi na pa མི་ན་པ་	Nya nad pa ཉ་ན་ད་པ་	Mi na ra pa མི་ན་ར་པ་	Mi na da pa མི་ན་ད་པ་	Mi na da pa མི་ན་ད་པ་	Mi na ra མི་ན་ར་	
CSP 08	<i>RtB</i> 08	<i>Rtsk</i> 08	<i>KL</i> 10	G08	<i>GsB</i> 51	<i>GsS</i> 51	STh 51	AS 56	
Gorakṣa (Sanskrit)	Go ra kha གོ་ར་ཁ་	Gau rakṣi གོ་ར་ཁྲི་		Gor kha pa གོ་ར་ཁ་པ་					
CSP 09	<i>RtB</i> 09	<i>Rtsk</i> 09		G09					
Cauraṅgipa (Sanskrit)	Tso rang gi ཙོ་རང་གི་	Tsau ranggi pa ཙོ་རང་གི་པ་	Tsa'u ra ཙོ་ལུ་ར་	Tso rang ki ཙོ་རང་གི་					
CSP 10	<i>RtB</i> 10	<i>Rtsk</i> 10	<i>KL</i> 12	G10					
Viṅāpa (Sanskrit)	Bi na pa བི་ན་པ་	Wi na pa བློ་ན་པ་	Bi na pa བི་ན་པ་	Bin ra pa བི་ན་ར་པ་	Bhi na sa བློ་ན་ས་	Bhi na sa བློ་ན་ས་	Ghi na pa གློ་ན་པ་	Bhi na pa བློ་ན་པ་	
CSP 11	<i>RtB</i> 11	<i>Rtsk</i> 11	<i>KL</i> 13	G11	<i>GsB</i> 43	<i>GsS</i> 43	STh 43	AS 43	
Śāntipa (Sanskrit)	Shanti pa ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་	Shanti pa ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་	Shān ti pa ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་	Zhi ba lha ཞི་བ་ལྷ་	Shānti pa [III] ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་	Shan ti pa [II] ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་	Shan ti pa ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་	Shānti pa ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་	
CSP 12	<i>RtB</i> 12	<i>Rtsk</i> 12	<i>KL</i> 14	G12	<i>GsB</i> 34	<i>GsS</i> 34	STh 34	AS 33	
Tāntipa (Sanskrit)	Tanti pa ཏ་ན་ཏི་པ་	Tanti pa ཏ་ན་ཏི་པ་	Tha ga pa ཐ་ག་པ་	Tha gan ཐ་ག་ན་	Tha ga pa ཐ་ག་པ་	Tha ga pa ཐ་ག་པ་	Tha ga pa ཐ་ག་པ་	Thag ga pa ཐ་ག་ག་པ་	
CSP 13	<i>RtB</i> 13	<i>Rtsk</i> 13	<i>KL</i> 22	G13	<i>GsB</i> 35	<i>GsS</i> 35	STh 35	AS 35	
Cāmāripa (Sanskrit)	Tsa ma'i ri pa ཙོ་མ་འི་རི་པ་	Tsa ma ri pa ཙོ་མ་རི་པ་	Tsa ma ri pa ཙོ་མ་རི་པ་	[illegible]	Ku mā ra ཀུ་མ་ར་	Ku mā ra ཀུ་མ་ར་	Ku mā ra ཀུ་མ་ར་	Ku ma ra ཀུ་མ་ར་	Ku ma ri pa ཀུ་མ་རི་པ་
CSP 14	<i>RtB</i> 14	<i>Rtsk</i> 14	<i>KL</i> 17	G14	<i>GsB</i> 46	<i>GsS</i> 46	STh 46	AS 45	Nar 45
Khadgapa (Sanskrit)	Khadga ba ཁ་དག་པ་	Khadga ཁ་དག་	Khadga pa ཁ་དག་པ་	Khar ka pa ཁ་ར་ཀ་པ་					
CSP 15	<i>RtB</i> 15	<i>Rtsk</i> 15	<i>KL</i> 18	G16					

CSP (Sanskrit)	Abhayadatta Tradition			Gyantse Inscription	Vajrāsana Tradition			Aṣṭasāhasrikā	Śrīsenā Narthang
	rTogs pa (text)	rTogs pa (illus.)	Klong rdol		gSol 'debs (GsB)	gSol 'debs (GsS)	Thangkas (S)		
Nāgārjuna (Sanskrit)	Nā ga'i dzu na ནག་འཛིན་	Klu sgrub ལུ་སྒུབ་	Nā gā rdzu na ནག་འཛིན་	Klu sgrub ལུ་སྒུབ་	Klu sgrub snying po ལུ་སྒུབ་སྐྱོང་པོ་	Klu sgrub snying po ལུ་སྒུབ་སྐྱོང་པོ་	Klu grub ལུ་གུབ་	Klu sgrub ལུ་སྒུབ་	Klu grub Na ga rju na ལུ་གུབ་ནག་རྒྱ་ནག་
CSP 16	RtB 16	Rtsk 16	KL 19	G15	GsB 01	GsS 01	STh 01	AS 03	Nar 05
Kāṅhapa (Kṛṣṇācārī)	Ka hna pa ཀ་ཁྱེ་པ་	Kahni pa ཀ་ཁྱི་པ་	Nag po pa ནག་པོ་པ་	Ka na pa ཀ་ན་པ་	Nag po spyod pa ནག་པོ་སྐྱོད་པ་	Nag po spyod pa ནག་པོ་སྐྱོད་པ་	Nag po skyong ནག་པོ་སྐྱོང་པ་	Nag po spyod ནག་པོ་སྐྱོད་པ་	Ka na pa [female?] ཀ་ན་པ་
CSP 17	RtB 17	Rtsk 17	KL 20	G17	GsB 24	GsS 24	STh 24	AS 50	Nar 80 (?)
Āryadeva (Kaṅgarīpa)	Ka na ri pa ཀ་ན་རི་པ་	'Phags pa lha འཕགས་པ་ལྷ་	Ārya de ba ཨླུ་དེ་བ་	Ka na ri ཀ་ན་རི་	Ārya de ba ཨླུ་དེ་བ་	Ārya de ba ཨླུ་དེ་བ་	A rya de wa ཨླུ་དེ་བ་	'Phags pa lha འཕགས་པ་ལྷ་	
CSP 18	RtB 18	Rtsk 18	KL 21	G18	GsB 02	GsS 02	STh 02	AS 04	
Thaganapa (Sanskrit)	Tha ga na ཐག་ན་	Tha ka na ཐག་ཀ་ན་		Tha ga na ཐག་ན་					
CSP 19	RtB 19	Rtsk 19		G19					
Nāropa (Sanskrit)	Nā ro ན་རོ་	Nā ro pa ན་རོ་པ་	Na ro pa ན་རོ་པ་	Na ro pa ན་རོ་པ་	Nā ro pa ན་རོ་པ་	Nā ro pa ན་རོ་པ་	Na ro pa ན་རོ་པ་	Na ro pa ན་རོ་པ་	Nā ro pa ན་རོ་པ་
CSP 20	RtB 20	Rtsk 20	KL 24	G20	GsB 16	GsS 16	STh 16	AS 28	Nar 72
Śyalipa (Sanskrit)	Sha yi pa ཤཡི་པ་	Phya li pa [?] ཕལ་ལི་པ་	Sha li pa ཤལ་ལི་པ་	Sha mi pa ཤལ་མི་པ་	Si ya li སི་ཡལ་ལི་	Si ya li སི་ཡལ་ལི་	Si ya li སི་ཡལ་ལི་	Si ya li སི་ཡལ་ལི་	Si ya li སི་ཡལ་ལི་
CSP 21	RtB 21	Rtsk 21	KL 25	G21	GsB 71	GsS 71	STh 71	AS 70	
Tilopa (Sanskrit)	Ti la blo ba ཏི་ལ་བློ་བ་	Ti lla pa ཏི་ལ་པ་	Tai lo pa ཏི་ལོ་པ་	Ti lo pa ཏི་ལོ་པ་	Te lo pa ཏེ་ལོ་པ་	Te lo pa ཏེ་ལོ་པ་	Ti lli pa ཏི་ལ་ལི་པ་	Te lo pa ཏེ་ལོ་པ་	Ti lo pa ཏི་ལོ་པ་
CSP 22	RtB 22	Rtsk 22	KL 23	G22	GsB 23	GsS 23	STh 23	AS 27	Nar 30
Catrapa (Sanskrit)	Tsi tra ri pa ཙི་ཏྭ་རི་པ་	Tsa tā pa [?] ཙ་ཏཱ་པ་	Tsa ta pa ཙ་ཏ་པ་	Ba ta pa བ་ཏ་པ་	Pa ka pa lā པ་ཀ་པ་ལཱ་	Ka mā la [II] ཀ་མཱ་ལཱ་	(= Catrapa) ཀ་མཱ་ལཱ་	Ka ma la [II] ཀ་མཱ་ལཱ་	
CSP 23	RtB 23	Rtsk 23	KL 26	G23	GsB 41	GsS 41	STh 41	AS 26 (?)	
Bhadrapa (Sanskrit)	Bha ta pa བླ་ཏ་པ་	Bha dra pa བླ་དྭ་པ་	Bha ta pa བླ་ཏ་པ་	Bra ta pa བླ་ཏ་པ་					
CSP 24	RtB 24	Rtsk 24	KL 27	G24					
Dukhaṅdi (Sanskrit)	Dha khan dhi pa དཱ་ཀ་ཁྱེ་པ་	Dwa kanti དཱ་ཀ་ན་ཏི་	Dho śanti དཱོ་ཤ་ན་ཏི་	Da khan di དཱ་ཀ་ཁྱེ་དི་					
CSP 25	RtB 25	Rtsk 25	KL 28	G25					
Ajogi (Sanskrit)	A rdzi gi ཨ་རྩི་གི་	A dzo ke pa ཨ་རྩོ་ཀེ་པ་	A dzu gi ཨ་རྩུ་གི་	Rud pu ka རུད་པུ་ཀ་					
CSP 26	RtB 26	Rtsk 26	KL 29	G26 (?)					
Kālapa (Sanskrit)	Ka la ba ཀལ་བ་	Ka la pa ཀལ་པ་		Par ka li པར་ཀལ་ལི་					
CSP 27	RtB 27	Rtsk 27		G27 (?)					
Dhobipa (Sanskrit)	Ṭom bhi pa [II] ཏོམ་བེ་པ་	Dhu pi ra དཱུ་པི་རཱ་		Ḍo mi bri ཏོམི་བྲི་					
CSP 28	RtB 28	Rtsk 28		G28					
Kaṅkaṅa (Sanskrit)	Kaṅ ka na ཀཱ་ཀ་ན་	Kangka na ཀཱ་ཀ་ན་	Kam ka ra ཀཱ་ཀ་ར་	Kar ka na ཀར་ཀ་ན་					
CSP 29	RtB 29	Rtsk 29	KL 45 (?)	G29					
Kambala (Sanskrit)	Ki pa la ཀི་པ་ལཱ་	Kampa la ཀཱམ་པ་ལཱ་	Kam pa li ཀཱམ་པ་ལི་	Ka ma pa ཀཱམ་པ་	La ba pa ལཱ་བ་པ་	La wa pa ལཱ་ལཱ་པ་	Lwa wa pa ལཱ་ལཱ་ལཱ་པ་	Lwa wa pa ལཱ་ལཱ་ལཱ་པ་	La ba pa [I] La ba pa rabs pa ལཱ་བ་པ་ལཱ་བ་པ་རབས་པ་
CSP 30	RtB 30	Rtsk 30	KL 46	G30	GsB 19	GsS 19	STh 19	AS 17	Nar 29
Ḍeṅgipa (Sanskrit)	Deng gi pa དེང་གི་པ་	Ṭinggi pa ཏིང་གི་པ་		De ki pa དེ་གི་པ་	Da ki pa དཱ་གི་པ་	lDing gi pa ལྷིང་གི་པ་	lDing gi pa ལྷིང་གི་པ་	lDing gi pa ལྷིང་གི་པ་	Dhing gi pa དྷིང་གི་པ་
CSP 31	RtB 31	Rtsk 31		G31	GsB 31	GsS 31	STh 31	AS 36	Nar 04
Bhandepa (Sanskrit)	Bha na dha བླ་ན་ཏྭ་	Bandhe pa བན་ཏྭེ་པ་	Bha de pa བླ་དེ་པ་	Sha de pa ཤཱ་དེ་པ་					Ban dhe pa བན་ཏྭེ་པ་
CSP 32	RtB 32	Rtsk 32	KL 47	G32 (?)					Nar 46

CSP (Sanskrit)	Abhayadatta Tradition			Gyantse Inscription	Vajrāsana Tradition			Aṣṭasāhasrikā	Śrisena Narthang
	rTogs pa (text)	rTogs pa (illus.)	Klong rdol		gSol 'debs (GsB)	gSol 'debs (GsS)	Thangkas (S)		
Taṅtepa (Sanskrit)	Tan dha na ཏན་ཏྟན་	Tante pa ཏནྟེ་པ་	Tan ta pa ཏན་ཏཏ་པ་	Ḍan ta pa ཏན་ཏཏ་པ་					
CSP 33	RtB 33	Rtsk 33	KL 48	G43					
Kukkuripa (Sanskrit)	Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku kku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ripa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ri ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་	Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ri ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་	
CSP 34	RtB 34	Rtsk 34	KL 49	G53	GsB 12	GsS 12	STh 12	AS 12	
Kucipa (Sanskrit)	Ku tsi pa ཀུ་ཙི་པ་	Khu dzi pa ཀུ་ཙི་པ་	Ku dznyā li ཀུ་ཙི་པ་	Ka dzo pa ཀུ་ཙི་པ་	Ku bchu tsa ཀུ་ཙི་པ་	Ku bu rea ཀུ་ཙི་པ་	Ku bu ce ཀུ་ཙི་པ་	Ku bu tsa ཀུ་ཙི་པ་	Ku pa ji pa ཀུ་ཙི་པ་
CSP 35	RtB 35	Rtsk 35	KL 50	G57	GsB 76	GsS 76	STh 76	AS 75	Nar 47
Dharmapa [I] (Sanskrit)	Dha ma pa ཏྟམ་པ་	Dha ma ཏྟམ་པ་	Dhar ma pa ཏྟམ་པ་	Ḍa ma pa ཏྟམ་པ་					Dha ma pa ཏྟམ་པ་
CSP 36	RtB 36	Rtsk 36	KL 36	G42					Nar 44
Mahipa (Sanskrit)	Ma hi la མཁྱིལ་	Mi hi la མཁྱིལ་		Ma ri pa མཁྱིལ་					
CSP 37	RtB 37	Rtsk 37		G34					
Acīnta (Sanskrit)	A tsin dha ཨ་ཙིན་ཏྟ་	A rtsinta pa [?] ཨ་ཙིན་ཏྟ་	A cin ta ཨ་ཙིན་ཏྟ་	[=Acīnta] ཨ་ཙིན་ཏྟ་					
CSP 38	RtB 38	Rtsk 38	KL 53	G58					
Babhaha (Sanskrit)	Ba bha ha བ་བླ་ཏྟ་	Ba bha ha བ་བླ་ཏྟ་							
CSP 39	RtB 39	Rtsk 39							
Nalinapa (Sanskrit)	Na li na ན་ལི་ན་	Na li na ན་ལི་ན་	Na li pa ན་ལི་པ་	Na li la ན་ལི་ལ་					
CSP 40	RtB 40	Rtsk 40	KL 55	G59					
Bhusuku (Śāntideva)	Bhu su ku བླ་ལུ་ཀུ་	Bhu su ku བླ་ལུ་ཀུ་	Bhu su ku བླ་ལུ་ཀུ་	Ku ra ཀུ་ར་	Bu su ku ra བླ་ལུ་ཀུ་ར་	Bhu su ku pa བླ་ལུ་ཀུ་པ་	Bhu su ku བླ་ལུ་ཀུ་	Bhu su ku བླ་ལུ་ཀུ་	Za nyal 'chag བླ་ལུ་ཀུ་
CSP 41	RtB 41	Rtsk 41	KL 56	G45	GsB 09	GsS 09	STh 09	AS 08	Nar 08
Indrabhūti (Sanskrit)	Indra bhu ti ཨིན་ཏྟ་བུ་ཏི་	Indra bu dhi ཨིན་ཏྟ་བུ་ཏི་	In dra bhū ti ཨིན་ཏྟ་བུ་ཏི་	Indra bhū ti ཨིན་ཏྟ་བུ་ཏི་	I ndra bhū ti ཨིན་ཏྟ་བུ་ཏི་	I ndra bho dhi ཨིན་ཏྟ་བུ་ཏི་	I ndra bhu ti ཨིན་ཏྟ་བུ་ཏི་	I ndra bhu ti ཨིན་ཏྟ་བུ་ཏི་	I ntra bhuti ཨིན་ཏྟ་བུ་ཏི་
CSP 42	RtB 42	Rtsk 42	KL 57	G58	GsB 15	GsS 15	STh 15	AS 15	Nar 23
Mekopa, Avadhūtipa (Sanskrit)	Me ko pa མེ་ཀོ་པ་	Mi ko pa མི་ཀོ་པ་	Me ko pa མེ་ཀོ་པ་		A wa dhū ti ཨ་ཡ་ཏྟ་བུ་ཏི་	A wa dhū ti ཨ་ཡ་ཏྟ་བུ་ཏི་	A wa dhu dhi pa ཨ་ཡ་ཏྟ་བུ་ཏི་པ་	A wa dhū ti'i zhabs ཨ་ཡ་ཏྟ་བུ་ཏི་འཇམ་མེགས་	
CSP 43	RtB 43	Rtsk 43	KL 32		GsB 62	GsS 62	STh 62	AS 62	
Koṭālipa (Sanskrit)	Ko ta la ཀོ་ཏཏ་ལ་	Tog rtse ba ཏོག་རེ་བ་	Tog tse pa ཏོག་རེ་པ་		Tog tse ba ཏོག་རེ་བ་	Tog rce pa ཏོག་རེ་པ་	rTog rce pa ཏོག་རེ་པ་	Tog tse pa ཏོག་རེ་པ་	Tog rce pa ཏོག་རེ་པ་
CSP 44	RtB 44	Rtsk 44	KL 15		GsB 17	GsS 17	STh 17	AS 16	Nar 22
Kamparipa (Sanskrit)	Kaṃ ri pa ཀཾ་རི་པ་	Ka ma ri pa ཀཾ་མ་རི་པ་	Ka ma ri pa ཀཾ་མ་རི་པ་	Ka ma ri ཀཾ་མ་རི་	Taṃ ba ka ཏཾ་བ་ཀ་	Tam pa ka ཏཾ་པ་ཀ་	Tam pa ka ཏཾ་པ་ཀ་	Tam pa ta ཏཾ་པ་ཏ་	
CSP 45	RtB 45	Rtsk 45	KL 33	G46	GsB 42	GsS 42	STh 42	AS 25	
Jālandhara (Sanskrit)	Dza lan dha ra ཇཾ་ལན་ཏྟ་ར་	'Bar 'dzin zhabs འབར་འཇིན་འཇམ་མེགས་	Dza lendra pa ཇཾ་ལན་ཏྟ་པ་		Dzā landha ra ཇཾ་ལན་ཏྟ་ར་	Ja landhara ཇཾ་ལན་ཏྟ་ར་	Ja landha ra pa ཇཾ་ལན་ཏྟ་ར་པ་	Dza landha ra'i zhabs ཇཾ་ལན་ཏྟ་ར་འཇམ་མེགས་	Ja lan dha ra ཇཾ་ལན་ཏྟ་ར་
CSP 46	RtB 46	Rtsk 46	KL 59		GsB 36	GsS 36	STh 36	AS 37	Nar 18
Rāhula (Sanskrit)	Ra hu la ར་ཏུ་ལ་	Rā hu la ར་ཏུ་ལ་	Rā hu la ར་ཏུ་ལ་	Ra hu la ར་ཏུ་ལ་					
CSP 47	RtB 47	Rtsk 47	KL 35	G38					
Dharmapa [II] (Gharbari)	Dharma pa ཏྟམ་པ་	Dhar ma pa ཏྟམ་པ་							
CSP 48	RtB 48	Rtsk 48							
Dhokaripa (Sanskrit)	Dho ka ra ཏྟོ་ཀ་ར་	Dhe ki ri pa ཏྟོ་ཀི་རི་པ་	Dho ka ri pa ཏྟོ་ཀ་རི་པ་	Do khan di ཏོ་ཁན་དི་					
CSP 49	RtB 49	Rtsk 49	KL 37	G47					

CSP (Sanskrit)	Abhayadatta Tradition			Gyantse Inscription	Vajrāsana Tradition			Aṣṭasāhasrikā	Śrisena Narthang
	<i>rTogs pa</i> (text)	<i>rTogs pa</i> (illus.)	<i>Klong rdol</i>		<i>gSol 'debs</i> (<i>GsB</i>)	<i>gSol 'debs</i> (<i>GsS</i>)	Thangkas (S)		
Medhini (Sanskrit)	Me dhi na མེདྱིན་	Mi dhi na pa མིདྱིན་པ་	Me dha ni མེདྱིན་	Mi dri ni མིདྱིན་					
CSP 50	<i>RtB</i> 50	<i>Rtsk</i> 50	<i>KL</i> 38	G52					
Pañkajapa (Sanskrit)	Samga dza སྐག་ཇེ་	Shangka dza pa ཤང་གཞེ་པ་	Sa ga dza la སྐག་ཇེ་ལ་						
CSP 51	<i>RtB</i> 51	<i>Rtsk</i> 51	<i>KL</i> 39						
Ghaṅṭāpa (Sanskrit)	Ghaṅṭa pa གླུ་པ་	rDo rje dril bu pa རྡོ་རྗེ་དྲིལ་བུ་པ་	Dri bu pa དྲིལ་བུ་པ་	Dril bu pa དྲིལ་བུ་པ་	rDo rje dril bu རྡོ་རྗེ་དྲིལ་བུ་	rDo rje dril bu རྡོ་རྗེ་དྲིལ་བུ་	Dril bu pa དྲིལ་བུ་པ་	Dri bu pa དྲིལ་བུ་པ་	Dri bu pa དྲིལ་བུ་པ་
CSP 52	<i>RtB</i> 52	<i>Rtsk</i> 52	<i>KL</i> 40	G37	<i>GsB</i> 10	<i>GsS</i> 10	STh 10	AS 10	Nar 71
Jogipa (Sanskrit)	rDzo gi pa རྫོག་པ་	Dzo ki pa ཚོག་པ་		Pa dzu ki པ་དུ་གི་					
CSP 53	<i>RtB</i> 53	<i>Rtsk</i> 53		G44					
Celukapa (Sanskrit)	Tsa lu ka ཙ་ལུ་ག་	Tsa lu ki pa ཙ་ལུ་གི་པ་	Tsa lo ki ཙ་ལོ་གི་	Tsa da ka ཙ་དམ་ག་					
CSP 54	<i>RtB</i> 54	<i>Rtsk</i> 54	<i>KL</i> 42	G60					
Godhuripa (Sanskrit)	Go ru ra གོ་རུ་ར་	Go ru pa གོ་རུ་པ་	Ghu dhu ri pa གུ་དུ་རི་པ་	Gu dri ti གུ་དྲི་ཏི་					
CSP 55	<i>RtB</i> 55	<i>Rtsk</i> 55	<i>KL</i> 43	G49					
Lucikapa (Sanskrit)	Lu tsi ka ལུ་ཙི་ག་	Lu tsi ka pa ལུ་ཙི་ག་པ་	Lu ci ka ལུ་ཙི་ག་	Dza pa ka ཇེ་པ་ག་					
CSP 56	<i>RtB</i> 56	<i>Rtsk</i> 56	<i>KL</i> 44	G51					
Nirguṇapa (Sanskrit)	Na gu na ནག་ལུ་ན་	Na ku ṇa ནག་ལུ་ན་	Ni gu na ནི་ག་ལུ་ན་	Ni gun ནི་གུ་ན་					
CSP 57	<i>RtB</i> 57	<i>Rtsk</i> 57	<i>KL</i> 60	G54					
Jayānanda (Sanskrit)	Dza nanta ཇེ་ནན་ཏ་	Dza yā pante pa ཇེ་ཡལ་པ་ནེ་པ་							
CSP 58	<i>RtB</i> 58	<i>Rtsk</i> 58							
Pacaripa (Sanskrit)	Pa tsa ri པ་ཙ་རི་	Tsa ri pa ཙ་རི་པ་							
CSP 59	<i>RtB</i> 59	<i>Rtsk</i> 59							
Campaka (Sanskrit)	Tsam pa ka ཙམ་པ་ག་	Tsam pa ka pa ཙམ་པ་ག་པ་	Tsam pa ka ཙམ་པ་ག་						
CSP 60	<i>RtB</i> 60	<i>Rtsk</i> 60	<i>KL</i> 62						
Bhikṣanapa (Sanskrit)	Bhikṣa na བློ་སྐྱོན་	Bhi kṣa na pa བློ་སྐྱོན་པ་	Bhi ṣa na བློ་སྐྱོན་	Bri kṣa na བློ་སྐྱོན་					
CSP 61	<i>RtB</i> 61	<i>Rtsk</i> 61	<i>KL</i> 63	G61					
Dhilipa, Telipa (Sanskrit)	Dhi li pa དྱི་ལི་པ་	Dhi le pa དྱི་ལེ་པ་			Bir ya pa བིར་ཡ་པ་	Bha wa pa བླ་ཤ་པ་	Bha wa pa བླ་ཤ་པ་	Bha wa pa བླ་ཤ་པ་	
CSP 62	<i>RtB</i> 62	<i>Rtsk</i> 62			<i>GsB</i> 39	<i>GsS</i> 39	STh 39	AS 23	
Khumbaripa (Sanskrit)	Kuṃ bha ri pa ཀུ་བླ་རི་པ་	Ku mba re pa ཀུ་མཐ་རེ་པ་	Ku mā ri pa ཀུ་མ་རི་པ་						Ku ma ru pa ཀུ་མ་རུ་པ་
CSP 63	<i>RtB</i> 63	<i>Rtsk</i> 63	<i>KL</i> 65						Nar 51
Carbaripa (Carpātī)	Tsa ba ri pa ཙམ་རི་པ་	Tsa rwa ṭi pa ཙམ་རྩི་པ་	Tsa pa ri pa ཙམ་པ་རི་པ་	Tsha pa ri ཙམ་པ་རི་	Tsa ba re ཙམ་པ་རེ་	Ca pa ri ཙམ་པ་རི་	Ca pa ri pa ཙམ་པ་རི་པ་	Tsa pa ri ཙམ་པ་རི་	Ca pi ṭi pa ཙམ་པ་རི་པ་
CSP 64	<i>RtB</i> 64	<i>Rtsk</i> 64	<i>KL</i> 61	G56	<i>GsB</i> 70	<i>GsS</i> 70	STh 70	AS 68	Nar 39 (?)
Mañibhadra [female]	Ma ṇi bha dra [female ?]	Ma ṇi bha dra [female ?]	Ma ṇi bha dra [female ?]						
(Sanskrit)	མ་ཤེ་བླ་བྲ་	མ་ཤེ་བླ་བྲ་	མ་ཤེ་བླ་བྲ་						
CSP 65	<i>RtB</i> 65	<i>Rtsk</i> 65	<i>KL</i> 67						
Mekhalā [female]	Me kha pa [female ?]	Mi la wa [female ?]	Me kha la [female ?]						rNal 'byor ma Me kha la [fem?]
(Sanskrit)	མེ་ཁ་པ་	མི་ལ་ཡ་	མེ་ཁ་ལ་						རྣམ་འབྲོར་མ་མེ་ཁ་ལ་
CSP 66	<i>RtB</i> 66	<i>Rtsk</i> 66	<i>KL</i> 68						Nar 81
Kanakhalā [female]	Ka ma kha la [female]	Ka ma kha ma [female]	Ka na kha [female]						
(Sanskrit)	ཀ་མ་ཁ་ལ་	ཀ་མ་ཁ་མ་	ཀ་ན་ཁ་						
CSP 67	<i>RtB</i> 67	<i>Rtsk</i> 67	<i>KL</i> 69						

CSP (Sanskrit)	Abhayadatta Tradition			Gyantse Inscription	Vajrasana Tradition			Aṣṭasāhasrikā	Śrisena Narthang
	<i>rTogs pa</i> (text)	<i>rTogs pa</i> (illus.)	<i>Klong rdol</i>		<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsB)	<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsS)	Thangkas (S)		
Kilakilapa (Sanskrit) CSP 68	Ka la ka la ཀལ་ཀལ་ RtB 68	Ka ma ka la ཀམ་ཀལ་ Rtsk 68			Ka la ka ཀལ་ཀལ་ GsB 75	Ka la ka ཀལ་ཀལ་ GsS 75	Ka la lang ka ཀལ་ལང་ཀལ་ STh 75	Ka la lang ka ཀལ་ལང་ཀལ་ AS 76	
Kantalipa (Sanskrit) CSP 69	Ka na ta la ཀན་ཏལ་ RtB 69	Gandha le pa གན་ཏལ་པ་ Rtsk 69	Kan tha li ཀན་ཐལ་ལི་ KL 71		Tshim bu pa ཚེས་བུ་པ་ GsB 47	Che 'u pa ཚེ་ལུ་པ་ GsS 47	Chem bu pa ཚེས་བུ་པ་ STh 47	Tshem bu pa ཚེས་བུ་པ་ AS 44	
Dhahulipa (Sanskrit) CSP 70	Dha hu la ཏྲུལ་ RtB 70	Dhā hu li pa ཏྲུལ་ལི་པ་ Rtsk 70							
Udhilipa (Sanskrit) CSP 71	U dhi la ཡུ་ཏྲུལ་ RtB 71	U dhi li pa ཡུ་ཏྲུལ་ལི་པ་ Rtsk 71	U dha ri pa ཡུ་ཏྲུལ་རི་པ་ KL 73						
Kapālapa (Sanskrit) CSP 72	Ka pā la ཀཔལ་ RtB 72	Ka pā la ཀཔལ་ Rtsk 72	Ka pa li pa ཀཔལ་ལི་པ་ KL 74	Ka pa li ཀཔལ་ལི་ G67					
Kirapālapa (Sanskrit) CSP 73	Ki ral la ཀི་རལ་ལ་ RtB 73	Ki rab lo pa ཀི་རལ་ལོ་པ་ Rtsk 73	Ki ra pa ཀི་རལ་པ་ KL 75						
Sakara (Sroruhavajra) (Sanskrit) CSP 74	Phu rtsas ga' ཕུ་རཏ་ས་གཤམ་ RtB 74	Ka ra pa ཀར་པ་ Rtsk 74	mTsho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐུས་རྗེ་ KL 76	Sa ka pa ས་ཀཔལ་ G73	mTsho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐུས་རྗེ་ GsB 06	mCho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐུས་རྗེ་ GsS 06	mCho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐུས་རྗེ་ STh 06	mTsho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐུས་རྗེ་ AS 06	mCho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐུས་རྗེ་ Nar 07
Sarvabhakṣa (Sanskrit) CSP 75	Sarba bhakṣa སའ་བློན་ RtB 75	Sarba du kṣa སའ་དུ་ཀྲ་ Rtsk 75	Sarba bha ba སའ་བློན་པ་ KL 77	Sa pa dra ga ས་པ་དྲག་ G75					
Nāgabodhi (Sanskrit) CSP 76	Na ga bo dhi ནག་བོ་ཏྲི་ RtB 76	Na ga bo dhi ནག་བོ་ཏྲི་ Rtsk 76	Nā ga bo dhi ནག་བོ་ཏྲི་ KL 78	Na ga bro di ནག་བོ་དེ་ G76	Nā ga bodhi ནག་བོ་ཏྲི་ GsB 29	Nā ga bhodhi ནག་བོ་ཏྲི་ GsS 29	Nā ga bodhi ནག་བོ་ཏྲི་ STh 29	Nā ga bho dhi ནག་བོ་ཏྲི་ AS 29	Na ga bo dhi Klu'i byang chub ནག་བོ་ཏྲི་ལྷུ་འཇུག་ ལྷུ་ Nar 24
Dārikapa (Sanskrit) CSP 77	Dha ri ka pa ཏྲུ་རི་ཀཔལ་ RtB 77	Dā ri ka pa ཏྲུ་རི་ཀཔལ་ Rtsk 77	Dā ri ka pa ཏྲུ་རི་ཀཔལ་ KL 02	Ra ri pa ར་རི་པ་ G77	Da ri ka pa ད་རི་ཀཔལ་ GsB 28	Dā ri ka pa ད་རི་ཀཔལ་ GsS 28	Dha ri ka pa ཏྲུ་རི་ཀཔལ་ STh 28	Dā ri ka ཏྲུ་རི་ཀལ་ AS 32	Dha ri ka pa ཏྲུ་རི་ཀཔལ་ Nar 12
Putalipa (Sanskrit) CSP 78	Pu ta la ཕུ་ཏལ་ RtB 78	Bu ta li བུ་ཏལ་ལི་ Rtsk 78	Pu ta li ཕུ་ཏལ་ལི་ KL 79	Pu ta pa ཕུ་ཏལ་པ་ G78					
Upanaha (Sanskrit) CSP 79	Pa na ta པན་ཏ་ RtB 79	Pa na ha pa པན་ཏ་པ་ Rtsk 79							
Kokilipa (Sanskrit) CSP 80	Ko ka la ཀོ་ཀལ་ RtB 80	Ko ki li pa ཀོ་ཀལ་ལི་པ་ Rtsk 80	Ko ka li [II] ཀོ་ཀལ་ལི་ KL 81	Ka gi la ཀལ་གི་ལལ་ G80					
Anāṅgapa (Sanskrit) CSP 81	A nang go ཨ་ནང་གོ་ RtB 81	A nang go li ཨ་ནང་གོ་ལི་ Rtsk 81	A na ka ཨ་ནག་ KL 82						
Lakṣmīṅkarā [female] (Sanskrit) CSP 82	Lakṣmi ka ra [female] ལལ་མི་ཀར་ RtB 82	Lakṣmi ka ra [female] ལལ་མི་ཀར་ Rtsk 82						La kṣmi kara [female] ལལ་མི་ཀར་ AS 88	
Samudra (Sanskrit) CSP 83	Sa mu tra སམུ་ཏྲ་ RtB 83	Mu tra pa མུ་ཏྲ་པ་ Rtsk 83	Sa mudra སམུ་ཏྲ་ KL 83						
Vyālipa/ Vyāḍīpa (Sanskrit) CSP 84	Bya li pa བྱལ་ལི་པ་ RtB 84	Byi li pa བྱི་ལི་པ་ Rtsk 84	Bya ri pa བྱལ་རི་པ་ KL 84						

APPENDIX II

Concordance of the Inscribed Gyantse Siddhas

Gyantse Siddhas/Abhayadatta Tradition/Vajrāsana Tradition

Gyantse Inscription	CSP (Sanskrit)	Abhayadatta Tradition			Vajrāsana Tradition			Aṣṭasāhasrikā	Śrisena Nar thang
		<i>rTogs pa</i> (text)	<i>rTogs pa</i> (illus.)	<i>Klong rdol</i>	<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsB)	<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsS)	Thangkas (S)		
Lu i pa ལུཡིཔ་	Lūpa (Sanskrit)	Lo hi ba ལོའིཔ་	Lū yi pa ལུཡིཔ་	Lū hi pa ལུའིཔ་	Lū yi ma ལུཡིམ་	Lū yi pa ལུཡིཔ་	Lu yi pa ལུཡིཔ་	Lū i pa ལུཡིཔ་	Lu yi pa ལུཡིཔ་
G01	CSP 01	RtB 01	Rtsk 01	KL 01	GsB 03	GsS 03	STh 03	AS 02	Nar 01
Li la pa ལིལཔ་	Līlāpa (Sanskrit)	Li la pa ལིལཔ་	Li la pa ལིལཔ་	Li la pa ལིལཔ་					Li la pa ལིལཔ་
G02	CSP 02	RtB 02	Rtsk 02	KL 04					Nar 02
Bir wa pa བིརལཔ་	Virūpa (Sanskrit)	Birla ba བིརླཔ་	Bi ra ba བིརཔ་	Bir wa pa བིརལཔ་	Bi ru pa བིརུཔ་	Bi rū pa བིརུཔ་	Bir wa pa བིརལཔ་	Bir wa pa བིརལཔ་	Gu bi ru pa གུབིརུཔ་
G03	CSP 03	RtB 03	Rtsk 03	KL 05	GsB 08	GsS 08	STh 08	AS 07	Nar 03
Ḍom bi he ru ka ཌོམ་བི་ཧེ་རུ་ཀ་	Ḍombīpa, Ḍombiheruka (Sanskrit)	Ṭom bhi ba [I] ཌོམ་བི་པ་	Ṭo mbhi he ru ka ཌོམ་བི་ཧེ་རུ་ཀ་	Ḍom bhi pa ཌོམ་བི་པ་	Ḍo bi he ru ka ཌོ་བི་ཧེ་རུ་ཀ་	Ḍom bi he ru ka ཌོམ་བི་ཧེ་རུ་ཀ་	Ḍom bi he ru ka ཌོམ་བི་ཧེ་རུ་ཀ་	Ḍom bhi he ru ka ཌོམ་བི་ཧེ་རུ་ཀ་	Ḍom bi pa ཌོམ་བི་པ་
G04	CSP 04	RtB 04	Rtsk 04	KL 06	GsB 07	GsS 07	STh 07	AS 09	Nar 27
Shwa ba ri pa ཤལ་བའི་པ་	Śavarīpa (Sanskrit)	Sha wa ra pa ཤལ་རཔ་	Sha wa ri ཤལ་རི་	Sha wa ri pa ཤལ་རིཔ་	Sha ba ri pa ཤལ་བའི་པ་	Sha wa ri pa ཤལ་བའི་པ་	Sha wa ri pa ཤལ་བའི་པ་	Sha wa ri ཤལ་རི་	
G05	CSP 05	RtB 05	Rtsk 05	KL 07	GsB 27	GsS 27	STh 27	AS 31	
Sa ra ha སར་ཧ	Saraha (Sanskrit)	Sa ra ha སར་ཧ	Sa ra ha སར་ཧ	Sa ra ha སར་ཧ	Sa ra ha [I] སར་ཧ	Sa ra ha སར་ཧ	Sa ra ha སར་ཧ	Sa ra ha སར་ཧ	Sa ra ha སར་ཧ
G06	CSP 06	RtB 06	Rtsk 06	KL 08	GsB 05	GsS 05	STh 05	AS 01	Nar 67
Ka ka li ཀཀལི་	Kaṅkāripa (Sanskrit)	Kaṃ ka li ཀཀལི་	Kangga la pa ཀང་གལ་པ་	Ko ka li [I] ཀོ་ཀལི་					Ka ka li pa ཀཀལིཔ་
G07	CSP 07	RtB 07	Rtsk 07	KL 09					Nar 70 (?)
Nya nad pa ཉནདཔ་	Minapa (Sanskrit)	Bi na ba བིནཔ་	Mi na pa མིནཔ་	Mi na pa མིནཔ་	Mi na ra pa མིནརཔ་	Mi na da pa མིནདཔ་	Mi na da pa མིནདཔ་	Mi na ra མིནར	
G08	CSP 08	RtB 08	Rtsk 08	KL 10	GsB 51	GsS 51	STh 51	AS 56	
Gor kha pa གོརཀཔ་	Gorakṣa (Sanskrit)	Go ra kha གོརཀཔ་	Gau rakṣi གོརཀྲི་						
G09	CSP 09	RtB 09	Rtsk 09						
Tso rang ki ཙོརང་ཀི་	Caurāṅgīpa (Sanskrit)	Tso rang gi ཙོརང་གི་	Tsau ranggi pa ཙོརང་གིཔ་	Tsa'u ra ཙུར					
G10	CSP 10	RtB 10	Rtsk 10	KL 12					
Bin ra pa བིནརཔ་	Viṅāpa (Sanskrit)	Bi na pa བིནཔ་	Wi na pa བླིནཔ་	Bi na pa བླིནཔ་	Bhi na sa བླིནས་	Bhi na sa བླིནས་	Ghi na pa བླིནཔ་	Bhi na pa བླིནཔ་	
G11	CSP 11	RtB 11	Rtsk 11	KL 13	GsB 43	GsS 43	STh 43	AS 43	
Zhi ba lha ཞིབ་ལྷ་	Śāntīpa (Sanskrit)	Shanti pa ཤནྲིཔ་	Shanti pa ཤནྲིཔ་	Shān ti pa ཤནྲིཔ་	Shānti pa [II] ཤནྲིཔ་	Shan ti pa [III] ཤནྲིཔ་	Shan ti pa ཤནྲིཔ་	Shānti pa ཤནྲིཔ་	
G12	CSP 12	RtB 12	Rtsk 12	KL 14	GsB 34	GsS 34	STh 34	AS 33	
Tha gan ཐགན་	Tantīpa (Sanskrit)	Tanti pa ཏྲླིཔ་	Tanti pa ཏྲླིཔ་	Tha ga pa ཐགཔ་	Tha ga pa ཐགཔ་	Tha ga pa ཐགཔ་	Tha ga pa ཐགཔ་	Thag ga pa ཐགགཔ་	
G13	CSP 13	RtB 13	Rtsk 13	KL 22	GsB 35	GsS 35	STh 35	AS 35	
[illegible]	Cāmāripa (Sanskrit)	Tsa ma'i ri pa ཙམའིརིཔ་	Tsa ma ri pa ཙམརིཔ་	Tsa ma ri pa ཙམརིཔ་	Ku mā ra ཀུམ་རཔ་	Ku mā ra ཀུམ་རཔ་	Ku mā ra ཀུམ་རཔ་	Ku ma ra ཀུམ་རཔ་	Ku ma ri pa ཀུམ་རིཔ་
G14	CSP 14	RtB 14	Rtsk 14	KL 17	GsS 46	GsS 46	STh 46	AS 45	Nar 45

Gyantse Inscription	Abhayadatta Tradition				Vajrasana Tradition				Śrisena Nar thang
	CSP (Sanskrit)	rTogs pa (text)	rTogs pa (illus.)	Klong rdol	gSol 'debs (GsB)	gSol 'debs (GsS)	Thangkas (S)	Aṣṭasāhasrikā	
Klu sgrub ལུ་སྐྱུབ་ G15	Nāgārjuna (Sanskrit) CSP 16	Nā ga'i dzu na རྣམ་འཛིན་ RtB 16	Klu sgrub ལུ་སྐྱུབ་ Rtsk 16	Nā gā rdzu na རྣམ་འཛིན་ KL 19	Klu sgrub snying po ལུ་སྐྱུབ་སྐྱིད་པོ་ GsB 01	Klu sgrub snying po ལུ་སྐྱུབ་སྐྱིད་པོ་ GsS 01	Klu grub ལུ་སྐྱུབ་ STh 01	Klu sgrub ལུ་སྐྱུབ་ AS 03	Klu grub- Na ga rju na ལུ་སྐྱུབ་རྣམ་འཛིན་ Nar 05
Khar ka pa ཁར་ཀ་པ་ G16	Khadgapa (Sanskrit) CSP 15	Khadga ba ཁད་ག་པ་ RtB 15	Khadga ཁད་ག་ Rtsk 15	Khadga pa ཁད་ག་པ་ KL 18					
Ka na pa ཀ་ན་པ་ G17	Kāṅhapa (Kṛṣṇacāri) (Sanskrit) CSP 17	Ka hna pa ཀ་མ་ན་པ་ RtB 17	Kahni pa ཀ་ཁྱི་པ་ Rtsk 17	Nag po pa ནག་པོ་པ་ KL 20	Nag po spyod pa ནག་པོ་སྐྱོད་པ་ GsB 24	Nag po spyod pa ནག་པོ་སྐྱོད་པ་ GsS 24	Nag po skyong ནག་པོ་སྐྱོང་ STh 24	Nag po spyod ནག་པོ་སྐྱོད་ AS 50	Ka na pa [female?] ཀ་ན་པ་ Nar 80 (?)
Ka na ri ཀ་ན་རི་ G18	Āryadeva (Karaṇipā) (Sanskrit) CSP 18	Ka na ri pa ཀ་ན་རི་པ་ RtB 18	'Phags pa lha འཕགས་པ་ལྷ་ Rtsk 18	Ārya de ba ཨླུ་དེ་པ་ KL 21	Ārya de ba ཨླུ་དེ་པ་ GsB 02	Ārya de ba ཨླུ་དེ་པ་ GsS 02	A rya de wa ཨླུ་དེ་ལྷ་ STh 02	'Phags pa lha འཕགས་པ་ལྷ་ AS 04	
Tha ga na ཐག་ན་ G19	Thaganapa (Sanskrit) CSP 19	Tha ga na ཐག་ན་ RtB 19	Tha ka na ཐག་ན་ Rtsk 19						
Na ro pa ན་རོ་པ་ G20	Nāropa (Sanskrit) CSP 20	Nā ro རྣ་རོ་ RtB 20	Nā ro pa རྣ་རོ་པ་ Rtsk 20	Na ro pa ན་རོ་པ་ KL 24	Nā ro pa རྣ་རོ་པ་ GsB 16	Nā ro pa རྣ་རོ་པ་ GsS 16	Na ro pa ན་རོ་པ་ STh 16	Na ro pa ན་རོ་པ་ AS 28	Nā ro pa རྣ་རོ་པ་ Nar 72
Sha mi pa ཤམི་པ་ G21	Śyalipa (Sanskrit) CSP 21	Sha yi pa ཤམི་པ་ RtB 21	Phya li pa [?] ཕལ་ལི་པ་ Rtsk 21	Sha li pa ཤམི་པ་ KL 25	Si ya li སི་ཡ་ལི་ GsB 71	Si ya li སི་ཡ་ལི་ GsS 71	Si ya li སི་ཡ་ལི་ STh 71	Si ya li སི་ཡ་ལི་ AS 70	
Ti lo pa ཏི་ལོ་པ་ G22	Tilopa (Sanskrit) CSP 22	Ti la blo ba ཏི་ལོ་བོ་པ་ RtB 22	Ti lla pa ཏི་ལོ་པ་ Rtsk 22	Tai lo pa ཏི་ལོ་པ་ KL 23	Te lo pa ཏི་ལོ་པ་ GsB 23	Te lo pa ཏི་ལོ་པ་ GsS 23	Ti lli pa ཏི་ལོ་པ་ STh 23	Te lo pa ཏི་ལོ་པ་ AS 27	Ti lo pa ཏི་ལོ་པ་ Nar 30
Ba ta pa བ་ཏ་པ་ G23	Catrapa (Sanskrit) CSP 23	Tsi tra ri pa ཙྱི་ཏ་རི་པ་ RtB 23	Tsa tā pa [?] ཙྱཱ་ཏ་པ་ Rtsk 23	Tsa ta pa ཙྱཱ་ཏ་པ་ KL 26	Pa ka pa lā པ་ཀ་པ་ལ་ GsB 41	Ka mā la [II] (= Catrapa) ཀ་མ་ལ་ GsS 41	Ka ma la [II] ཀ་མ་ལ་ STh 41	Ka ma la [II] ཀ་མ་ལ་ AS 26 (?)	
Bra ta pa བྲ་ཏ་པ་ G24	Bhadrapa (Sanskrit) CSP 24	Bha ta pa བྲ་ཏ་པ་ RtB 24	Bha dra pa བྲ་ཏ་པ་ Rtsk 24	Bha ta pa བྲ་ཏ་པ་ KL 27					
Da khan di དཀ་ཁན་དི་ G25	Dukhaṅdi (Sanskrit) CSP 25	Dha khan dhi pa ཏྲཱ་ཁན་ཏི་པ་ RtB 25	Dwa kanti དྲཱ་ཀ་ན་ཏི་ Rtsk 25	Dho ṣanti ཏྲཱ་ཤ་ན་ཏི་ KL 28					
Rud pu ka རུད་པུ་ཀ་ G26	Ajogi (Sanskrit) CSP 26 (?)	A rdzi gi ཨ་རྩི་གི་ RtB 26 (?)	A dzo ke pa ཨ་རྩོ་ཀེ་པ་ Rtsk 26 (?)	A dzu gi ཨ་རྩུ་གི་ KL 29 (?)					
Par ka li པར་ཀ་ལི་ G27	Kālapa (Sanskrit) CSP 27 (?)	Ka la ba ཀ་ལ་པ་ RtB 27 (?)	Ka la pa ཀ་ལ་པ་ Rtsk 27 (?)						
Do mi bri དོ་མི་བྲི་ G28	Dhobipa (Sanskrit) CSP 28	Ṭom bhi pa [II] ཏོམ་བེ་པ་ RtB 28	Dhu pi ra ཏྲཱུ་པི་ར་ Rtsk 28						
Kar ka na ཀར་ཀ་ན་ G29	Kaṅkaṇa (Sanskrit) CSP 29	Kaṅ ka na ཀ་ང་ཀ་ན་ RtB 29	Kangka na ཀ་ང་ཀ་ན་ Rtsk 29	Kam ka ra ཀ་མ་ཀ་ར་ KL 45 (?)					
Ka ma pa ཀ་མ་པ་ G30	Kambala (Sanskrit) CSP 30	Ki pa la ཀི་པ་ལ་ RtB 30	Kampa la ཀ་མ་པ་ལ་ Rtsk 30	Kam pa li ཀ་མ་པ་ལི་ KL 46	La ba pa ལ་བ་པ་ GsB 19	La wa pa ལ་ལ་པ་ GsS 19	Lwa wa pa ལ་ལ་པ་ STh 19	Lwa wa pa ལ་ལ་པ་ AS 17	La ba pa [II] ལ་བ་པ་ལ་བ་པ་ར་བ་པ་ Nar 29
De ki pa དེ་ཀི་པ་ G31	Deṅgipa (Sanskrit) CSP 31	Deng gi pa དེང་གི་པ་ RtB 31	Ṭinggi pa ཏིང་གི་པ་ Rtsk 31		Da ki pa ད་ཀི་པ་ GsB 31	IDing gi pa ཡིང་གི་པ་ GsS 31	IDing gi pa ཡིང་གི་པ་ STh 31	IDing gi pa ཡིང་གི་པ་ AS 36	Dhing gi pa ཏིང་གི་པ་ Nar 04

Gyantse Inscription	Abhayadatta Tradition				Vajrasana Tradition				Śrisena
	CSP (Sanskrit)	rTogs pa (text)	rTogs pa (illus.)	Klong rdol	gSol 'debs (GsB)	gSol 'debs (GsS)	Thangkas (S)	Aṣṭasāhasrikā	Nar thang
Sha de pa ཤཱེད་པ་	Bhandepa (Sanskrit)	Bha na dha བླ་ན་ཏུ་	Bandhe pa བཅའ་རྒྱུ་ལ་	Bha de pa བླ་ཏུ་ལ་					Ban dhe pa བཅའ་རྒྱུ་ལ་
G32	CSP 32 (?)	RtB 32 (?)	Rtsk 32 (?)	KL 47 (?)					Nar 46 (?)
Te ru sa ཏེ་རུ་ས་	Skt. (?)								
G33									
Ma ri pa མ་རི་པ་	Mahipa (Sanskrit)	Ma hi la མ་གྱི་ལ་	Mi hi la མི་གྱི་ལ་						
G34	CSP 37	RtB 37	Rtsk 37						
Bu ta pa བུ་ཏུ་པ་	Skt. (?)								
G35									
So dra bo dhe སོ་དྲ་བོ་དྲེ་	Skt. (?)								
G36									
Dril bu pa དྲིལ་བུ་པ་	Ghaṅṭāpa (Sanskrit)	Ghaṅṭa pa གླུ་པ་	rDo rje dril bu pa རྫོང་རྒྱལ་བུ་པ་	Dri bu pa དྲི་བུ་པ་	rDo rje dril bu རྫོང་རྒྱལ་བུ་	rDo rje dril bu རྫོང་རྒྱལ་བུ་	Dril bu pa དྲིལ་བུ་པ་	Dri bu pa དྲི་བུ་པ་	Dri bu pa དྲི་བུ་པ་
G37	CSP 52	RtB 52	Rtsk 52	KL 40	GsB 10	GsS 10	STh 10	AS 10	Nar 71
Ra hu la ར་ཁུ་ལ་	Rāhula (Sanskrit)	Ra hu la ར་ཁུ་ལ་	Rā hu la ར་ཁུ་ལ་	Rā hu la ར་ཁུ་ལ་					
G38	CSP 47	RtB 47	Rtsk 47	KL 35					
Sarba de སེའུ་དེ་	Skt. (?)								
G39									
Sa ta pa ས་ཏུ་པ་	Skt. (?)								
G40									
Mi ka la [I] མི་ཀ་ལ་	Skt. (?)								
G41									
Ḍa ma pa ཌ་མ་པ་	Dharmapa [I] (Sanskrit)	Dha ma pa ཌ་མ་པ་	Dha ma ཌ་མ་	Dhar ma pa ཌ་ར་མ་པ་					Dha ma pa ཌ་མ་པ་
G42	CSP 36	RtB 36	Rtsk 36	KL 36					Nar 44
Ḍan ta pa ཌ་ན་ཏུ་པ་	Taṅṭepa (Sanskrit)	Tan dha na ཏན་ཏུ་ན་	Tante pa ཏན་ཏུ་པ་	Tan ta pa ཏན་ཏུ་པ་					
G43	CSP 33	RtB 33	Rtsk 33	KL 48					
Pa dzu ki པ་ཌུ་གྱི་	Jogipa (Sanskrit)	rDzo gi pa རྫོ་གྱི་པ་	Dzo ki pa རྫོ་གྱི་པ་						
G44	CSP 53	RtB 53	Rtsk 53						
Ku ra ཀུ་ར་	Bhusuku (Śāntideva)	Bhu su ku བླ་སྐ་ཀུ་	Bhu su ku བླ་སྐ་ཀུ་	Bhu su ku བླ་སྐ་ཀུ་	Bu su ku ra བུ་སྐ་ཀུ་ར་	Bhu su ku pa བླ་སྐ་ཀུ་པ་	Bhu su ku བླ་སྐ་ཀུ་	Bhu su ku བླ་སྐ་ཀུ་	Za nyal 'chag-Bu su ku ཟན་ལ་འཆག་བུ་སྐ་ཀུ་
G45	CSP 41	RtB 41	Rtsk 41	KL 56	GsB 09	GsS 09	STh 09	AS 08	Nar 08
Ka ma ri ཀ་མ་རི་	Kaṃparipa (Sanskrit)	Kaṃ ri pa ཀ་མ་རི་པ་	Ka ma ri pa ཀ་མ་རི་པ་	Ka ma ri pa ཀ་མ་རི་པ་	Taṃ ba ka ཏཱ་པ་ཀ་	Tam pa ka ཏཱ་པ་ཀ་	Tam pa ka ཏཱ་པ་ཀ་	Tam pa ta ཏཱ་པ་ཏ	
G46	CSP 45	RtB 45	Rtsk 45	KL 33	GsB 42	GsS 42	STh 42	AS 25	
Do khan di དོ་ཁན་དི་	Dhokaripa (Sanskrit)	Dho ka ra ཌོ་ཀ་ར་	Dhe ki ri pa ཌེ་གྱི་རི་པ་	Dho ka ri pa ཌོ་ཀ་རི་པ་					
G47	CSP 49	RtB 49	Rtsk 49	KL 37					
Kaṃ pa ma ཀ་པ་མ་	Skt. (?)								
G48									
Gu dri ti གུ་དྲི་ཏི་	Godhuripa (Sanskrit)	Go ru ra གོ་རུ་ར་	Go ru pa གོ་རུ་པ་	Ghu dhu ri pa གྲུ་དྲུ་རི་པ་					
G49	CSP 55	RtB 55	Rtsk 55	KL 43					

Gyantse	Abhayadatta Tradition				Vajrasana Tradition				Śrisena
Inscription	CSP (Sanskrit)	rTogs pa (text)	rTogs pa (illus.)	Klong rdol	gSol 'debs (GsB)	gSol 'debs (GsS)	Thangkas (S)	Aṣṭasāhasrikā	Nar thang
Li kra mi ལི་ཀ་མི་	Skt. (?)								
G50									
Dza pa ka ཇོ་པ་ཀ་	Lucikapa (Sanskrit)	Lu tsi ka ལུ་ཙི་ཀ་	Lu tsi ka pa ལུ་ཙི་ཀ་པ་	Lu ci ka ལུ་ཙི་ཀ་					
G51	CSP 56	RtB 56	Rtsk 56	KL 44					
Mi dri ni མི་དྲི་ནི་	Medhini (Sanskrit)	Me dhi na མེ་དྲི་ན་	Mi dhi na pa མི་དྲི་ན་པ་	Me dha ni མེ་དྲཱ་ནི་					
G52	CSP 50	RtB 50	Rtsk 50	KL 38					
Ku ku ri ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་	Kukkuripa (Sanskrit)	Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku kku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ripa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ri ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་	
G53	CSP 34	RtB 34	Rtsk 34	KL 49	GsB 12	GsS 12	STh 12	AS 12	
Ni gun ནི་གུན་	Nirguṇapa (Sanskrit)	Na gu na ན་གུ་ན་	Na ku ṇa ན་གུ་ཎ་	Ni gu na ནི་གུ་ན་					
G54	CSP 57	RtB 57	Rtsk 57	KL 60					
[painting & inscr. are destroyed]									
G55	CSP ?								
Tsha pa ri ཙ་པ་རི་	Carbaripa (Carpati) (Sanskrit)	Tsa ba ri pa ཙ་པ་རི་པ་	Tsa rwa ṭi pa ཙ་རྩ་ཉི་པ་	Tsa pa ri pa ཙ་པ་རི་པ་	Tsa ba re ཙ་པ་རེ་	Ca pa ri ཅ་པ་རི་	Ca pa ri pa ཅ་པ་རི་པ་	Tsa pa ri ཙ་པ་རི་	Ca pi ṭi pa ཅ་པི་ཉི་པ་
G56	CSP 64	RtB 64	Rtsk 64	KL 61	GsB 70	GsS 70	STh 70	AS 68	Nar 39 (?)
Ka dzo pa ཀ་ཇོ་པ་	Kucipa (Sanskrit)	Ku tsi pa ཀུ་ཙི་པ་	Khu dzi pa ཁུ་དྲི་པ་	Ku dznyā li ཀུ་དྲཱ་ལི་	Ku bchu tsa ཀུ་བཅུ་ཙ་	Ku bu rca ཀུ་བུ་ར་	Ku bu ce ཀུ་བུ་ཅེ་	Ku bu tsa ཀུ་བུ་ཙ་	Ku pa ji pa ཀུ་པ་ཇི་པ་
G57	CSP 35	RtB 35	Rtsk 35	KL 50	GsB 76	GsS 76	STh 76	AS 75	Nar 47
Dra ma pa [= Aciṅta]	Aciṅta (Sanskrit)	A tsin dha ཨ་ཙིན་དྲ་	A rtsinta pa [?] ཨ་རྩིན་ཉི་པ་	A cin ta ཨ་ཙིན་ཏ་					
G58	CSP 38	RtB 38	Rtsk 38	KL 53					
Na li la ན་ལི་ལ་	Nalinapa (Sanskrit)	Na li na ན་ལི་ན་	Na li na ན་ལི་ན་	Na li pa ན་ལི་པ་					
G59	CSP 40	RtB 40	Rtsk 40	KL 55					
Tsa da ka ཙ་ད་ཀ་	Celukapa (Sanskrit)	Tsa lu ka ཙ་ལུ་ཀ་	Tsa lu ki pa ཙ་ལུ་ཀི་པ་	Tsa lo ki ཙ་ལོ་ཀི་					
G60	CSP 54	RtB 54	Rtsk 54	KL 42					
Bri kṣa na བྲི་ཀྣ་ན་	Bhikṣanapa (Sanskrit)	Bhikṣa na བྲི་ཀྣ་ན་	Bhi kṣa na pa བྲི་ཀྣ་ན་པ་	Bhi ṣa na བྲི་ཤ་ན་					
G61	CSP 61	RtB 61	Rtsk 61	KL 63					
De pa na དེ་པ་ན་	Skt. (?)								
G62									
[painting & inscr. are destroyed]									
G63									
Du la ma ni དུ་ལ་མ་ནི་	Skt. (?)								
G64									
Mi ka la [II] མི་ཀ་ལ་	Skt. (?)								
G65									
Sa dra zhabs ས་དྲ་ཞབས་	Skt. (?)								
G66									
Ka pa li ཀ་པ་ལི་	Kapālapa (Sanskrit)	Ka pā la ཀ་པ་ལ་	Ka pā la ཀ་པ་ལ་	Ka pa li pa ཀ་པ་ལི་པ་					
G67	CSP 72	RtB 72	Rtsk 72	KL 74					
De pan དེ་པ་ན་	Skt. (?)								
G68									

Gyantse Inscription	Abhayadatta Tradition				Vajrasana Tradition				Śrisena Nar thang
	CSP (Sanskrit)	rTogs pa (text)	rTogs pa (illus.)	Klong rdol	gSol 'debs (GsB)	gSol 'debs (GsS)	Thangkas (S)	Aṣṭasāhasrikā	
Ka na kha ya ཀནཀལལ་ G69	Skt. (?)			Ka na ka ཀནཀཀ KL 70 (?)					
Ka ya la ཀལལ་ G70	Skt. (?)								
Ka ta ra ཀཏར་ G71	Skt. (?)								
Dra nu ri དྲཱུརི G72	Skt. (?)								
Sa ka pa སཀཔ་ G73	Sakara (Saroruhavajra)	Phu rtsas ga'	Ka ra pa rdo rje	mTsho skyes rdo rje	mTsho skyes rdo rje	mCho skyes rdo rje	mCho skyes rdo rje	mTsho skyes rdo rje	mCho skyes rdo rje
	(Sanskrit)	ཕུརུསཀཔ་	ཀརཔ་དྲེ་	མཚོ་སྐུས་དྲེ་	མཚོ་སྐུས་དྲེ་	མཚོ་སྐུས་དྲེ་	མཚོ་སྐུས་དྲེ་	མཚོ་སྐུས་དྲེ་	མཚོ་སྐུས་དྲེ་
	CSP 74	RtB 74	Rtsk 74	KL 76	GsB 06	GsS 06	STh 06	AS 06	Nar 07
Me dra se མེདཤེ་ G74	Skt. (?)								
Sa pa dra ga སཔཔདཀཀ་ G75	Sarvabhakṣa	Sarba bhakṣa	Sarba du kṣa	Sarba bha ba					
	(Sanskrit)	སཔཔལྒྱུ་	སཔཔདུལྒྱུ་	སཔཔལྒྱུ་					
	CSP 75	RtB 75	Rtsk 75	KL 77					
Na ga bro di ནག་བོ་དྲི་ G76	Nāgabodhi	Na ga bo dhi	Na ga bo dhi	Nā ga bo dhi	Nā ga bodhi	Nā ga bhodhi	Nāgabodhi	Nā ga bho dhi	Na ga bo dhi- Klu'i byang chub
	(Sanskrit)	ནག་བོ་དྲི་	ནག་བོ་དྲི་	ནག་བོ་དྲི་	ནག་བོ་དྲི་	ནག་བོ་དྲི་	ནག་བོ་དྲི་	ནག་བོ་དྲི་	ནག་བོ་དྲི་ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ལྷུ་
	CSP 76	RtB 76	Rtsk 76	KL 78	GsB 29	GsS 29	STh 29	AS 29	Nar 24
Ra ri pa རའིཔ་ G77	Dārikapa	Dha ri ka pa	Dā ri ka pa	Dā ri ka pa	Da ri ka pa	Dā ri ka pa	Dha ri ka pa	Dā ri ka	Dha ri ka pa
	(Sanskrit)	དྲཱིཀཔ་	དྲཱིཀཔ་	དྲཱིཀཔ་	དའིཀཔ་	དྲཱིཀཔ་	དྲཱིཀཔ་	དྲཱིཀཔ་	དྲཱིཀཔ་
	CSP 77	RtB 77	Rtsk 77	KL 02	GsB 28	GsS 28	STh 28	AS 32	Nar 12
Pu ta pa ཕུཏཔ་ G78	Putalipa	Pu ta la	Bu ta li	Pu ta li					
	(Sanskrit)	ཕུཏཔ་	བུཏཔ་	ཕུཏཔ་					
	CSP 78	RtB 78	Rtsk 78	KL 79					
Sa ra na སརན་ G79	Skt. (?)								
Ka gi la ཀཀིལ་ G80	Kokilipa	Ko ka la	Ko ki li pa	Ko ka li [II]					
	(Sanskrit)	ཀོཀལ་	ཀོཀིལཔ་	ཀོཀལཔ་					
	CSP 80	RtB 80	Rtsk 80	KL 81					
Sa ra gi (Fem.) སརགི་ G81	Skt. (?)								
Ni la kha pa ནིལཀཔ་ G82	Nilapāda				Ni la pa	Ni la pa	Ni la pa	Ni la pa	Ni li pa
	(Sanskrit)				ནིལཔ་	ནིལཔ་	ནིལཔ་	ནིལཔ་	ནིལཔ་
	[CBI 1143]				GsB 48 (?)	GsS 48 (?)	STh 48 (?)	AS 48 (?)	Nar 83 (?)
Sa chu ta (Fem.) Skt. (?) སཚུཏ་ G83	Skt. (?)								
Na ra pa (Fem.?) Skt. (?) ནརཔ་ G84	Skt. (?)								

APPENDIX III

Concordance with the Vajrāsana Tradition

Vajrāsana Tradition/Gyantse Siddhas/Abhayadatta Tradition

Vajrāsana Tradition				Gyantse	Abhayadatta Tradition				Śrisena
<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsB)	<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsS)	Thangkas (S)	<i>Aṣṭasahasrikā</i>	Inscription	<i>CSP</i> (Sanskrit)	<i>rTogs pa</i> (text)	<i>rTogs pa</i> (illus.)	Klong rdol	<i>Nar thang</i>
Klu sgrub snying po ལྷ་སྐྱེད་སྡོམ་པོ་	Klu sgrub snying po ལྷ་སྐྱེད་སྡོམ་པོ་	Klu grub ལྷ་སྐྱེད་	Klu sgrub ལྷ་སྐྱེད་	Klu sgrub ལྷ་སྐྱེད་	Nāgārjuna (Sanskrit)	Nā ga'i dzu na རྣ་གཤམ་འཛོལ་ན་	Klu sgrub ལྷ་སྐྱེད་	Nā gā rdzu na རྣ་གཤམ་རྩལ་ན་	Klu grub - Na ga rju na ལྷ་སྐྱེད་རྣ་གཤམ་རྩལ་ན་
GsB 01	GsS 01	STh 01	AS 03	G15	CSP 16	RtB 16	Rtsk 16	KL 19	Nar 05
Ārya de ba ཨླ་རྩུ་དེ་བ་	Ārya de ba ཨླ་རྩུ་དེ་བ་	A rya de wa ཨླ་རྩུ་དེ་མ་	'Phags pa lha འཕགས་པ་ལྷ་	Ka na ri ཀ་ན་རི་	Āryadeva (Kaṇaripa) (Sanskrit)	Ka na ri pa ཀ་ན་རི་པ་	'Phags pa lha འཕགས་པ་ལྷ་	Ārya de ba ཨླ་རྩུ་དེ་བ་	
GsB 02	GsS 02	STh 02	AS 04	G18	CSP 18	RtB 18	Rtsk 18	KL 21	
Lū yi ma ལུ་ཡི་མ་	Lū yi pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་	Lu yi pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་	Lū i pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་	Lu i pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་	Lūipa (Sanskrit)	Lo hi ba ལོ་ཧི་བ་	Lū yi pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་	Lū hi pa ལུ་ཧི་པ་	Lu yi pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་
GsB 03	GsS 03	STh 03	AS 02	G01	CSP 01	RtB 01	Rtsk 01	KL 01	Nar 01
Padma badzra པདྨ་བཟོན་	Padma bajra པདྨ་བཟོན་	Padma bajra པདྨ་བཟོན་	Padma badzra པདྨ་བཟོན་		Padmavajra (Sanskrit)				
GsB 04	GsS 04	STh 04	AS 05		[CBI 1100]				
Sa ra ha [I] ས་ར་ཧ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཧ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཧ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཧ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཧ་	Saraha (Sanskrit)	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཧ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཧ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཧ་	Sa ra ha ས་ར་ཧ་
GsB 05	GsS 05	STh 05	AS 01	G06	CSP 06	RtB 06	Rtsk 06	KL 08	Nar 67
m'Tsho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐྱེས་རྗེ་	mCho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐྱེས་རྗེ་	mCho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐྱེས་རྗེ་	m'Tsho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐྱེས་རྗེ་	Sa ka pa ས་ཀ་པ་	Sakara (Saroruhavajra) (Sanskrit)	Phu rtsas ga' ཕུ་རུ་ས་གཤམ་	Ka ra pa rdo rje ཀ་ར་པ་ར་དོ་རྗེ་	m'Tsho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐྱེས་རྗེ་	mCho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐྱེས་རྗེ་
GsB 06	GsS 06	STh 06	AS 06	G73	CSP 74	RtB 74	Rtsk 74	KL 76	Nar 07
Do bi he ru ka དོ་བོ་ཧི་རུ་ཀ་	Doṃ bi he ru ka དོམ་བོ་ཧི་རུ་ཀ་	Doṃ bi he ru ka དོམ་བོ་ཧི་རུ་ཀ་	Doṃ bhi he ru ka དོམ་བོ་ཧི་རུ་ཀ་	Doṃ bi he ru ka དོམ་བོ་ཧི་རུ་ཀ་	Doṃbipa, Doṃbiheruka (Sanskrit)	Ṭoṃ bhi ba [II] ཏོམ་བོ་པ་	he ru ka ཧི་རུ་ཀ་	Doṃ bhi pa དོམ་བོ་པ་	Doṃ bi pa དོམ་བོ་པ་
GsB 07	GsS 07	STh 07	AS 09	G04	CSP 04	RtB 04	Rtsk 04	KL 06	Nar 27
Bi ru pa བི་རུ་པ་	Bi rū pa བི་རུ་པ་	Bir wa pa བི་ར་མ་པ་	Bir wa pa བི་ར་མ་པ་	Bir wa pa བི་ར་མ་པ་	Virūpa (Sanskrit)	Birla ba བི་ར་པ་	Bi ra ba བི་ར་བ་	Bir wa pa བི་ར་མ་པ་	Gu bi ru pa གུ་བི་རུ་པ་
GsB 08	GsS 08	STh 08	AS 07	G03	CSP 03	RtB 03	Rtsk 03	KL 05	Nar 03
Bu su ku ra བུ་སུ་ཀུ་ར་	Bhu su ku pa བུ་སུ་ཀུ་པ་	Bhu su ku བུ་སུ་ཀུ་	Bhu su ku བུ་སུ་ཀུ་		Bhusuku (Śāntideva) (Sanskrit)	Bhu su ku བུ་སུ་ཀུ་	Bhu su ku བུ་སུ་ཀུ་	Bhu su ku བུ་སུ་ཀུ་	Za nyal 'chag - Bu su ku ཟ་ནལ་འཚག་བུ་སུ་ཀུ་
GsB 09	GsS 09	STh 09	AS 08		CSP 41	RtB 41	Rtsk 41	KL 56	Nar 08
rDo rje dril bu རྗེ་དྲིལ་བུ་	rDo rje dril bu རྗེ་དྲིལ་བུ་	Dril bu pa དྲིལ་བུ་པ་	Dri bu pa དྲི་བུ་པ་	Dril bu pa དྲིལ་བུ་པ་	Ghaṇṭāpa (Sanskrit)	Ghaṇḍa pa གྲུང་པ་	rDo rje dril bu pa རྗེ་དྲིལ་བུ་པ་	Dri bu pa དྲི་བུ་པ་	Dri bu pa དྲི་བུ་པ་
GsB 10	GsS 10	STh 10	AS 10	G37	CSP 52	RtB 52	Rtsk 52	KL 40	Nar 71
Na le ndra pa ན་ལེ་ནང་པ་	Na le ndra pa ན་ལེ་ནང་པ་	Na le ndra pa ན་ལེ་ནང་པ་	Na lendra ན་ལེ་ནང་		Nalendra (?) (Sanskrit)				
GsB 11	GsS 11	STh 11	AS 11		[CBI 1106]				
Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ri ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་	Ku ku ri ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་	Kukkuripa (Sanskrit)	Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku kku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	Ku ku ripa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་	
GsB 12	GsS 12	STh 12	AS 12	G53	CSP 34	RtB 34	Rtsk 34	KL 49	
Sangs rgyas ye shes སངས་རྒྱས་ཡེ་ཤེས་	Sangs rgyas ye shes སངས་རྒྱས་ཡེ་ཤེས་	Sangs rgyas ye shes སངས་རྒྱས་ཡེ་ཤེས་	Sangs rgyas ye shes སངས་རྒྱས་ཡེ་ཤེས་		Buddhajñāna (Sanskrit)				
GsB 13	GsS 13	STh 13	AS 13		[CBI 1108]				
Nag po rdo rje ནག་པོ་རྗེ་	Nag po rdo rje ནག་པོ་རྗེ་	Nag po rdo rje ནག་པོ་རྗེ་	Nag po rdo rje ནག་པོ་རྗེ་		Kṛṣṇāvajra (Sanskrit)				
GsB 14	GsS 14	STh 14	AS 14		[CBI 1109]				

Vajrasana Tradition				Gyantse	Abhayadatta Tradition				Śrisena
<i>gSol 'debs (GsB)</i>	<i>gSol 'debs (GsS)</i>	Thangkas (S)	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā</i>	Inscription	<i>CSP (Sanskrit)</i>	<i>rTogs pa (text)</i>	<i>rTogs pa (illus.)</i>	Klong rdol	<i>Nar thang</i>
Indra bhū ti	I ndra bhū ti	I ndra bho dhi	Indra bhu ti		Indrabhūti	Indra bhu ti	Indra bu dhi	In dra bhū ti	I ntra bhuti
ཨིནྱ་བྱུ་ཏི་	ཨིནྱ་བྱུ་ཏི་	ཨིནྱ་བྱུ་ཏི་	ཨིནྱ་བྱུ་ཏི་		(Sanskrit)	ཨིནྱ་བྱུ་ཏི་	ཨིནྱ་བྱུ་ཏི་	ཨིནྱ་བྱུ་ཏི་	ཨིནྱ་བྱུ་ཏི་
<i>GsB 15</i>	<i>GsS 15</i>	<i>STh 15</i>	<i>AS 15</i>		<i>CSP 42</i>	<i>RtB 42</i>	<i>Rtsk 42</i>	<i>KL 57</i>	<i>Nar 23</i>
Nā ro pa	Nā ro pa	Na ro pa	Na ro pa	Na ro pa	Nāropa	Nā ro	Nā ro pa	Na ro pa	Nā ro pa
ན་རོ་པ་	ན་རོ་པ་	ན་རོ་པ་	ན་རོ་པ་	ན་རོ་པ་	(Sanskrit)	ན་རོ་	ན་རོ་པ་	ན་རོ་པ་	ན་རོ་པ་
<i>GsB 16</i>	<i>GsS 16</i>	<i>STh 16</i>	<i>AS 28</i>	G20	<i>CSP 20</i>	<i>RtB 20</i>	<i>Rtsk 20</i>	<i>KL 24</i>	<i>Nar 72</i>
Tog tse ba	Tog rce pa	rTog rce pa	Tog tse pa		Koṭālipa	Ko ta la	Tog rtse ba	Tog tse pa	Tog rce pa
ཏོག་ཙེ་བ་	ཏོག་རེ་པ་	རྟོག་རེ་པ་	ཏོག་ཙེ་པ་		(Sanskrit)	ཀོ་ཏ་ལ་	ཏོག་རེ་པ་	ཏོག་ཙེ་པ་	ཏོག་རེ་པ་
<i>GsB 17</i>	<i>GsS 17</i>	<i>STh 17</i>	<i>AS 16</i>		<i>CSP 44</i>	<i>RtB 44</i>	<i>Rtsk 44</i>	<i>KL 15</i>	<i>Nar 22</i>
Tantra la	Tan tra la	Tan tra pa	Tantra pa		Tantrapa				Tha ga pa -
ཏྲུ་ལ་	ཏྲུ་ཏྲ་ལ་	ཏྲུ་ཏྲ་པ་	ཏྲུ་ཏྲ་པ་		(Sanskrit)				Tan tra la
<i>GsB 18</i>	<i>GsS 18</i>	<i>STh 18</i>	<i>AS 18</i>		[CBI 1113]				ཐ་ག་པ་ཏྲུ་ཏྲ་ལ་
									La ba pa [I]
La ba pa	La wa pa	Lwa wa pa	Lwa wa pa	Ka ma pa	Kambala	Ki pa la	Kampa la	Kam pa li	La ba pa rabs pa
ལ་བ་པ་	ལ་ལ་པ་	ལ་ལ་པ་	ལ་ལ་པ་	ཀ་མ་པ་	(Sanskrit)	ཀི་པ་ལ་	ཀ་མ་པ་ལ་	ཀ་མ་པ་ལི་	ལ་བ་པ་ལ་བ་པ་རབས་པ་
<i>GsB 19</i>	<i>GsS 19</i>	<i>STh 19</i>	<i>AS 17</i>	G30	<i>CSP 30</i>	<i>RtB 30</i>	<i>Rtsk 30</i>	<i>KL 46</i>	<i>Nar 29</i>
Tsandra go mi	Candra go mi	Ca ndra pa	Tsandra go mi		Candragomi				
ཙྰ་སྐྱོ་མི་	ཙྰ་སྐྱོ་མི་	ཙྰ་སྐྱོ་པ་	ཙྰ་སྐྱོ་མི་		(Sanskrit)				
<i>GsB 20</i>	<i>GsS 20</i>	<i>STh 20</i>	<i>AS 20</i>		[CBI 1115]				
Shānti pa [I]	Shan ti pa [I]	Ken to pa	Kan ta pa		Skt. (?)				
ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་	ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་	ཀེན་ཏོ་པ་	ཀ་ན་ཏ་པ་						
<i>GsB 21</i>	<i>GsS 21</i>	<i>STh 21</i>	<i>AS 19</i>						
Mar me mdzad	Mar me mjad	Mar me mjad	Mar me mzdad		Dīpaṃkara				Mar me mjad -
མར་མེ་མཚད་	མར་མེ་མཚད་	མར་མེ་མཚད་	མར་མེ་མཚད་		(Sanskrit)				Di paṃ ka ra
<i>GsB 22</i>	<i>GsS 22</i>	<i>STh 22</i>	<i>AS 22</i>		[CBI 1117]				མར་མེ་མཚད་རྟེན་པ་ཀར་
Te lo pa	Te lo pa	Ti lli pa	Te lo pa	Ti lo pa	Tilopa	Ti la blo ba	Ti lla pa	Tai lo pa	Ti lo pa
ཏི་ལོ་པ་	ཏི་ལོ་པ་	ཏི་ལེ་ལི་པ་	ཏི་ལོ་པ་	ཏི་ལོ་པ་	(Sanskrit)	ཏི་ལ་བློ་བ་	ཏི་ལ་ལ་པ་	ཏི་ལོ་པ་	ཏི་ལོ་པ་
<i>GsB 23</i>	<i>GsS 23</i>	<i>STh 23</i>	<i>AS 27</i>	G22	<i>CSP 22</i>	<i>RtB 22</i>	<i>Rtsk 22</i>	<i>KL 23</i>	<i>Nar 30</i>
Nag po spyod pa	Nag po spyod pa	Nag po skyong	Nag po spyod	Ka na pa	Kāṅhapa	Ka hna pa	Kahni pa	Nag po pa	Ka na pa
ནག་པོ་སྐྱོད་པ་	ནག་པོ་སྐྱོད་པ་	ནག་པོ་སྐྱོང་པ་	ནག་པོ་སྐྱོད་པ་	ཀ་ན་པ་	(Sanskrit)	ཀ་ཀྱ་ན་པ་	ཀ་ཀྱ་ནི་པ་	ནག་པོ་པ་	[female?]
<i>GsB 24</i>	<i>GsS 24</i>	<i>STh 24</i>	<i>AS 50</i>	G17	<i>CSP 17</i>	<i>RtB 17</i>	<i>Rtsk 17</i>	<i>KL 20</i>	<i>Nar 80 (?)</i>
Phag tsad pa	Phag chang pa	Phag chang pa	Phag tshang pa		Anaṅgavajra				
ཕག་ཙཱ་པ་	ཕག་ཇང་པ་	ཕག་ཇང་པ་	ཕག་ཇང་པ་		(Sanskrit)				
<i>GsB 25</i>	<i>GsS 25</i>	<i>STh 25</i>	<i>AS 42</i>		[CBI 1137]				
bZang po pa	bZang po pa	bZang po pa	bZang po pa		Bhadrapāda				
བཟང་པོ་པ་	བཟང་པོ་པ་	བཟང་པོ་པ་	བཟང་པོ་པ་		(Sanskrit)				
<i>GsB 26</i>	<i>GsS 26</i>	<i>STh 26</i>	<i>AS 30</i>		[CBI 1125]				
Sha ba ri pa	Sha wa ri pa	Sha wa ri pa	Sha wa ri	Shwa ba ri pa	Śavaripa	Sha wa ra pa	Sha wa ri	Sha wa ri pa	
ཤ་བ་རི་པ་	ཤ་ལ་རི་པ་	ཤ་ལ་རི་པ་	ཤ་ལ་རི་	ཤ་ལ་རི་པ་	(Sanskrit)	ཤ་ལ་ར་པ་	ཤ་ལ་རི་	ཤ་ལ་རི་པ་	
<i>GsB 27</i>	<i>GsS 27</i>	<i>STh 27</i>	<i>AS 31</i>	G05	<i>CSP 05</i>	<i>RtB 05</i>	<i>Rtsk 05</i>	<i>KL 07</i>	
Da ri ka pa	Dā ri ka pa	Dha ri ka pa	Dā ri ka	Ra ri pa	Dārikapa	Dha ri ka pa	Dā ri ka pa	Dā ri ka pa	Dha ri ka pa
ད་རི་ཀ་པ་	ད་རི་ཀ་པ་	དྭ་རི་ཀ་པ་	ད་རི་ཀ་	ར་རི་པ་	(Sanskrit)	དྭ་རི་ཀ་པ་	ད་རི་ཀ་པ་	ད་རི་ཀ་པ་	དྭ་རི་ཀ་པ་
<i>GsB 28</i>	<i>GsS 28</i>	<i>STh 28</i>	<i>AS 32</i>	G77	<i>CSP 77</i>	<i>RtB 77</i>	<i>Rtsk 77</i>	<i>KL 02</i>	<i>Nar 12</i>
Nā ga bodhi	Nā ga bhodhi	Nāgabodhi	Nā ga bho dhi	Na ga bro di	Nāgabodhi	Na ga bo dhi	Na ga bo dhi	Nā ga bo dhi	Na ga bo dhi -
ནྱ་ག་བོདྷི་	ནྱ་ག་བོདྷི་	ནྱ་ག་བོདྷི་	ནྱ་ག་བོདྷི་	ནག་བྲོ་དེ་	(Sanskrit)	ནག་བོདྷི་	ནག་བོདྷི་	ནྱ་ག་བོདྷི་	Klu'i byang chub
<i>GsB 29</i>	<i>GsS 29</i>	<i>STh 29</i>	<i>AS 29</i>	G76	<i>CSP 76</i>	<i>RtB 76</i>	<i>Rtsk 76</i>	<i>KL 78</i>	ནག་བོདྷི་ལྷི་བྱུང་རྩལ་
Mar me lha	Mar me lha	Mar me lha	Mar me lha		Skt. (?)				
མར་མེ་ལྷ་	མར་མེ་ལྷ་	མར་མེ་ལྷ་	མར་མེ་ལྷ་						
<i>GsB 30</i>	<i>GsS 30</i>	<i>STh 30</i>	<i>AS 41</i>						
Da ki pa	lDing gi pa	lDing gi pa	lDing gi pa	De ki pa	Ḍeṅgipa	Deng gi pa	Ṭinggi pa	Dhing gi pa	
ད་ཀི་པ་	ལྷིང་གི་པ་	ལྷིང་གི་པ་	ལྷིང་གི་པ་	དེ་ཀི་པ་	(Sanskrit)	དེང་གི་པ་	འིང་གི་པ་	ལྷིང་གི་པ་	
<i>GsB 31</i>	<i>GsS 31</i>	<i>STh 31</i>	<i>AS 36</i>	G31	<i>CSP 31</i>	<i>RtB 31</i>	<i>Rtsk 31</i>	<i>Nar 04</i>	

Vajrasana Tradition				Gyantse	Abhayadatta Tradition			Śrisena	
<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsB)	<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsS)	Thangkas (S)	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā</i>	Inscription	<i>CSP</i> (Sanskrit)	<i>rTogs pa</i> (text)	<i>rTogs pa</i> (illus.)	Klong rdol	<i>Nar thang</i>
Dzai ta ri ཇཾི་ཏཾི་	Je ta ri ཇཾི་ཏཾི་	Je te ri ཇཾི་ཏཾི་	Dzai ta ri ཇཾི་ཏཾི་		Jetāri (Sanskrit)				
GsB 32	GsS 32	STh 32	AS 46		[CBI 1141]				
Sa ra ka pa སར་ཀལ་	Sar ka pa སར་ཀལ་	Sar ka pa སར་ཀལ་	Sar ka pa སར་ཀལ་		Sagarapāda ? (Sanskrit)				
GsB 33	GsS 33	STh 33	AS 34		[CBI 1129]				
Shānti pa [II] ཤཱན་ཏི་པ་	Shan ti pa [III] ཤཱན་ཏི་པ་	Shan ti pa ཤཱན་ཏི་པ་	Shānti pa ཤཱན་ཏི་པ་	Zhi ba lha ཞི་བ་ལྷ་	Śāntipa (Sanskrit)	Shanti pa ཤཱན་ཏི་པ་	Shanti pa ཤཱན་ཏི་པ་	Shān ti pa ཤཱན་ཏི་པ་	
GsB 34	GsS 34	STh 34	AS 33	G12	<i>CSP</i> 12	<i>RtB</i> 12	<i>Rtsk</i> 12	<i>KL</i> 14	
Tha ga pa ཐག་པ་	Tha ga pa ཐག་པ་	Tha ga pa ཐག་པ་	Thag ga pa ཐག་གཤམ་	Tha gan ཐག་ན་	Tantipa (Sanskrit)	Tanti pa ཏྲླི་པ་	Tanti pa ཏྲླི་པ་	Tha ga pa ཐག་པ་	
GsB 35	GsS 35	STh 35	AS 35	G13	<i>CSP</i> 13	<i>RtB</i> 13	<i>Rtsk</i> 13	<i>KL</i> 22	
Dzā landha ra ཇཾི་ལྷ་ར་	Ja landhara ཇཾི་ལྷ་ར་	Ja landha ra pa ཇཾི་ལྷ་ར་པ་	zhabs ཇཾི་ལྷ་ར་འཇཾི་ལྷ་		Jālandhara (Sanskrit)	Dza lan dha ra ཇཾི་ལྷ་ར་	zhabs ཇཾི་ལྷ་ར་འཇཾི་ལྷ་	Dza lendra pa ཇཾི་ལྷ་ར་པ་	Ja lan dha ra ཇཾི་ལྷ་ར་པ་
GsB 36	GsS 36	STh 36	AS 37		<i>CSP</i> 46	<i>RtB</i> 46	<i>Rtsk</i> 46	<i>KL</i> 59	Nar 18
Ka ma la ཀམ་ལ་	Ka ma la [I] ཀམ་ལ་	Ka ma la [I] ཀམ་ལ་	Ka ma la [I] ཀམ་ལ་		Kamala (Sanskrit)				
GsB 37	GsS 37	STh 37	AS 39		[CBI 1134]				
gSer gling pa གསེར་གླིང་པ་	gSer gling pa གསེར་གླིང་པ་	gSer ling pa གསེར་ལིང་པ་	gSer ling pa གསེར་ལིང་པ་		Suvarṇadvīpika (Sanskrit)				
GsB 38	GsS 38	STh 38	AS 21		[CBI 1116]				
Bir ya pa བིར་ཡལ་	Bha wa pa བླ་ལམ་	Bha wa pa བླ་ལམ་	Bha wa pa བླ་ལམ་		Dhilipa, Telipa (Sanskrit)	Dhi li pa ཧྱི་ལི་པ་	Dhi le pa ཧྱི་ལེ་པ་		
GsB 39	GsS 39	STh 39	AS 23		<i>CSP</i> 62	<i>RtB</i> 62	<i>Rtsk</i> 62		
Kongka na ཀོང་ཀམ་ན་	Kong ka na ཀོང་ཀམ་ན་	Kong ka na ཀོང་ཀམ་ན་	Kong ka na ཀོང་ཀམ་ན་		Kaṅkaṇa (Sanskrit)				
GsB 40	GsS 40	STh 40	AS 24		[CBI 1119]				
Pa ka pa lā པ་ཀལ་ལ་	Ka mā la [II] ཀམ་ལ་	Ka ma la [III] (= Catrapa) ཀམ་ལ་	Ka ma la [III] ཀམ་ལ་	Ba ta pa བཏལ་	Catrapa (Sanskrit)	Tsi tra ri pa ཙྱི་ཏྲཾི་པ་	Tsa tā pa [?] ཙྱཾི་པ་	Tsa ta pa ཙྱཾི་པ་	
GsB 41	GsS 41	STh 41	AS 26 (?)	G23	<i>CSP</i> 23	<i>RtB</i> 23	<i>Rtsk</i> 23	<i>KL</i> 26	
Tam̐ ba ka ཏྲམ་པ་ཀ་	Tam pa ka ཏྲམ་པ་ཀ་	Tam pa ka ཏྲམ་པ་ཀ་	Tam pa ta ཏྲམ་པ་ཏ	Ka ma ri ཀམ་རི་	Kaṃparipa (Sanskrit)	Kaṃ ri pa ཀླཾི་པ་	Ka ma ri pa ཀམ་རི་པ་	Ka ma ri pa ཀམ་རི་པ་	
GsB 42	GsS 42	STh 42	AS 25	G46	<i>CSP</i> 45	<i>RtB</i> 45	<i>Rtsk</i> 45	<i>KL</i> 33	
Bhi na sa བླིན་ས་	Bhi na sa བླིན་ས་	Ghi na pa བླིན་པ་	Bhi na pa བླིན་པ་	Bin ra pa བིན་ར་པ་	Viṇāpa (Sanskrit)	Bi na pa བིན་པ་	Wi na pa བླིན་པ་	Bi na pa བླིན་པ་	
GsB 43	GsS 43	STh 43	AS 43	G11	<i>CSP</i> 11	<i>RtB</i> 11	<i>Rtsk</i> 11	<i>KL</i> 13	
Su ta lo ki སུ་ཏཾི་ལོ་ཀི་	Su ta lo ki སུ་ཏཾི་ལོ་ཀི་	Pu ta lo ki ཕུ་ཏཾི་ལོ་ཀི་	Su ta lo ki སུ་ཏཾི་ལོ་ཀི་		Skt. (?)				
GsB 44	GsS 44	STh 44	AS 38						
Dharma kirti ཏྲམ་ཀཾི་རྟི་	Dha rmā ki rti ཏྲམ་ཀཾི་རྟི་	Dharma kirti ཏྲམ་ཀཾི་རྟི་	Dharma ki ti ཏྲམ་ཀཾི་རྟི་		Dharmakirti (Sanskrit)				
GsB 45	GsS 45	STh 45	AS 40		[CBI 1135]				
Ku mā ra ཀུ་མ་ར་	Ku mā ra ཀུ་མ་ར་	Ku mā ra ཀུ་མ་ར་	Ku ma ra ཀུ་མ་ར་	[illegible]	Cāmāripa (Sanskrit)	Tsa ma 'i ri pa ཙྱཾི་མ་འི་རི་པ་	Tsa ma ri pa ཙྱཾི་མ་རི་པ་	Tsa ma ri pa ཙྱཾི་མ་རི་པ་	Ku ma ri pa ཀུ་མ་རི་པ་
GsB 46	GsS 46	STh 46	AS 45	G14	<i>CSP</i> 14	<i>RtB</i> 14	<i>Rtsk</i> 14	<i>KL</i> 17	Nar 45
Tshim bu pa ཚེམ་བུ་པ་	Che 'u pa ཚེ་བུ་པ་	Chem bu pa ཚེམ་བུ་པ་	Tshem bu pa ཚེམ་བུ་པ་		Kantalipa (Sanskrit)	Ka na ta la ཀམ་ན་ཏཾི་ལ་	Gandha le pa གན་ཏྲཾི་ལེ་པ་	Kan tha li ཀན་ཐཾི་ལི་	
GsB 47	GsS 47	STh 47	AS 44		<i>CSP</i> 69	<i>RtB</i> 69	<i>Rtsk</i> 69	<i>KL</i> 71	
Ni la pa ནི་ལ་པ་	Ni la pa ནི་ལ་པ་	Ni la pa ནི་ལ་པ་	Ni la pa ནི་ལ་པ་	Ni la kha pa ནི་ལ་ཁ་པ་	Nilapāda (Sanskrit)				Ni li pa ནི་ལི་པ་
GsB 48	GsS 48	STh 48	AS 48	G82 (?)	[CBI 1143]				Nar 83
Padma kā ra པདྨ་ཀཾི་ར་	Padma ka ra པདྨ་ཀཾི་ར་	Padma ka ra པདྨ་ཀཾི་ར་	Padma ka ra པདྨ་ཀཾི་ར་		Padmākara (Sanskrit)				
GsB 49	GsS 49	STh 49	AS 47		[CBI 1142]				
Sidha pa སིདྨ་པ་	Sengnge pa སེང་ངེ་པ་	Sengnghipa སེང་ངེ་པ་	Si dha pa སིདྨ་པ་		Siddhapāda (?) (Sanskrit)				
GsB 50	GsS 50	STh 50	AS 58		[CBI 1153]				

Vajrasana Tradition				Gyantse	Abhayadatta Tradition				Śrisena
<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsB)	<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsS)	Thangkas (S)	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā</i>	Inscription	<i>CSP</i> (Sanskrit)	<i>rTogs pa</i> (text)	<i>rTogs pa</i> (illus.)	Klong rdol	<i>Nar thang</i>
Mi na ra pa	Mi na da pa	Mi na da pa	Mi na ra	Nya nad pa	Minapa	Bi na ba	Mi na pa	Mi na pa	
མི་ན་པ་	མི་ན་ད་པ་	མི་ན་ད་པ་	མི་ན་ར་	ཉན་ད་པ་	(Sanskrit)	བི་ན་བ་	མི་ན་པ་	མི་ན་པ་	
GsB 51	GsS 51	STh 51	AS 56	G08	CSP 08	RtB 08	Rtsk 08	KL 10	
sPrin kyi shugs can	sPrin gyi shugs can	sPrin gyi shugs can	sPrin shugs can		Skt. (?)				
སྤྱིན་ལྷི་ཤུགས་ཅན་	སྤྱིན་ལྷི་ཤུགས་ཅན་	སྤྱིན་ལྷི་ཤུགས་ཅན་	སྤྱིན་ལྷི་ཤུགས་ཅན་	AS 54					
GsB 52	GsS 52	STh 52							
Ka ru pa ka	Ka ru pa ka	Ka ru pa	Ka ru pa		Kāmarūpa (?)				
ཀ་རུ་པ་ཀ་	ཀ་རུ་པ་ཀ་	ཀ་རུ་པ་	ཀ་རུ་པ་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 53	GsS 53	STh 53	AS 52						
Da si ri pa	Da si ri pa	Si ri pa	Da si ri		Skt. (?)			Dha su ri ba	Ka shi ri pa
ད་སི་རི་པ་	ད་སི་རི་པ་	སི་རི་པ་	ད་སི་རི་					ཏྲ་སུ་རི་བ་	ཀ་ཤི་རི་པ་
GsB 54	GsS 54	STh 54	AS 53					KL 72	Nar 21
A nanta	A na nta	A na nta	A nanta		Ananta				
ཨ་ནན་ཏ་	ཨ་ན་ན་ཏ་	ཨ་ན་ན་ཏ་	ཨ་ན་ན་ཏ་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 55	GsS 55	STh 55	AS 86		[CBI 1181]				
Seng ge pa [I]	Se ngge pa [I]	Seng ge pa [I]	Seng ge pa [I]		Siṃhapāda (?)				
སེང་གེ་པ་	སེང་གེ་པ་	སེང་གེ་པ་	སེང་གེ་པ་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 56	GsS 56	STh 56	AS 60		[AS 60 & AS 78]				
Zla ba bzang po	Zla ba bzang	Zla ba bzang po	Zla ba bzang		Skt. (?)				
ཟླ་བ་བཟང་པོ་	ཟླ་བ་བཟང་	ཟླ་བ་བཟང་པོ་	ཟླ་བ་བཟང་						
GsB 57	GsS 57	STh 57	AS 49						
Kun dga' snying po	Kun dga' snying po	Kun dga' snying po	Kun dga' snying po		Ānandagarbha (?)				
ཀུན་དགའ་སྦྱིང་པོ་	ཀུན་དགའ་སྦྱིང་པོ་	ཀུན་དགའ་སྦྱིང་པོ་	ཀུན་དགའ་སྦྱིང་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 58	GsS 58	STh 58	AS 55		[CBI 1150]				
Zla ba grags pa	Zla ba grags pa	Zla ba grags pa	Zla ba grags		Candrakīrti				
ཟླ་བ་གྲགས་པ་	ཟླ་བ་གྲགས་པ་	ཟླ་བ་གྲགས་པ་	ཟླ་བ་གྲགས་པ་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 59	GsS 59	STh 59	AS 51		[CBI 1146]				
sMad dkris pa	sMad bkris pa	sMad dkris pa	Smad dkris pa		Skt. (?)				
སྐད་དཀྱིས་པ་	སྐད་དཀྱིས་པ་	སྐད་དཀྱིས་པ་	སྐད་དཀྱིས་པ་						
GsB 60	GsS 60	STh 60	AS 57						
Karṇa pa	Kar na pa	Khyu ra pa	Karna pa		Karṇaripa (?)				
ཀརྲ་པ་	ཀར་ན་པ་	ལྷུ་ར་པ་	ཀརྲ་པ་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 61	GsS 61	STh 61	AS 59						
A wa dhū ti	A wa dhū ti	A wa dhu dhi pa	A wa dhū ti'i zhabs		Mekopa, Avadhūtipa	Me ko pa	Mi ko pa	Me ko pa	
ཨ་ཤ་རྒྱུ་ཏི་	ཨ་ཤ་རྒྱུ་ཏི་	ཨ་ཤ་རྒྱུ་ཏི་པ་	ཨ་ཤ་རྒྱུ་ཏི་འཁོར་བ་		(Sanskrit)	མེ་ཀོ་པ་	མི་ཀོ་པ་	མེ་ཀོ་པ་	
GsB 62	GsS 62	STh 62	AS 62		CSP 43	RtB 43	Rtsk 43	KL 32	
Tsa rya pa	Ca ra pa	Kad nga pa	Tsarya pa		Caryāpāda (?)				
ཅན་པ་	ཅར་པ་	ཀད་ང་པ་	ཅན་པ་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 63	GsS 63	STh 63	AS 61		[CBI 1156]				
Shākya bshes gnyen	Shākya bshes gnyen	Shākya bshes gnyen	Śākya bshes gnyen		Śākyamitra				
ཤཱ་ཀྱ་བཤེས་གཉེན་	ཤཱ་ཀྱ་བཤེས་གཉེན་	ཤཱ་ཀྱ་བཤེས་གཉེན་	ཤཱ་ཀྱ་བཤེས་གཉེན་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 64	GsS 64	STh 64	AS 64		[CBI 1159]				
Tsaṅḍa li	Ca ṅḍa li	Ca ṅḍa li	Tsanda li		Caṅḍālipāda				
ཅན་ཏ་ལི་	ཅན་ཏ་ལི་	ཅན་ཏ་ལི་	ཅན་ཏ་ལི་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 65	GsS 65	STh 65	AS 63		[CBI 1158]				
Glud dbyangs mkhan	Klu dbyangs mkhan	Glu dbyangs mkhan	Klu dbyangs can		Skt. (?)				
གླུ་དབྱངས་མཁན་	གླུ་དབྱངས་མཁན་	གླུ་དབྱངས་མཁན་	གླུ་དབྱངས་ཅན་						
GsB 66	GsS 66	STh 66	AS 67						
Bha ga la na	Bha gha la na	Bha gha	Bhaṃ ga la		Skt. (?)				
བླ་གཏལ་ན་	བླ་གླལ་ན་	བླ་གླ་	བླ་གལ་						
GsB 67	GsS 67	STh 67	AS 65						
sGra mkhan zhabs	sGra mkhan zhabs	sGra mkhan zhabs	sGra mkhan zhabs		Skt. (?)				
སྐྱུ་མཁན་ཞབས་	སྐྱུ་མཁན་ཞབས་	སྐྱུ་མཁན་ཞབས་	སྐྱུ་མཁན་ཞབས་						
GsB 68	GsS 68	STh 68	AS 72						

Vajrasana Tradition				Gyantse	Abhayadatta Tradition			Śrisena	
<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsB)	<i>gSol 'debs</i> (GsS)	Thangkas (S)	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā</i>	Inscription	<i>CSP</i> (Sanskrit)	<i>rTogs pa</i> (text)	<i>rTogs pa</i> (illus.)	Klong rdol	<i>Nar thang</i>
Kontam li	Kon ta li	Kon ta li	Kon ta li		Kotalipa (?)				
ཀོན་ཏེ་ལི་	ཀོན་ཏེ་ལི་	ཀོན་ཏེ་ལི་	ཀོན་ཏེ་ལི་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 69	GsS 69	STh 69	AS 69						
Tsa ba re	Ca pa ri	Ca pa ri pa	Tsa pa ri	Tsha pa ri	Carbaripa	Tsa ba ri pa	Tsa rwa ṭi pa	Tsa pa ri pa	Ca pi ṭi pa
ཙ་བ་རེ་	ཙ་པ་རི་	ཙ་པ་རི་པ་	ཙ་པ་རི་	ཙ་པ་རི་	(Carpati)	ཙ་བ་རི་པ་	ཙ་རྩ་ཏི་པ་	ཙ་པ་རི་པ་	ཙ་པ་ཏི་པ་
GsB 70	GsS 70	STh 70	AS 68	G56	CSP 64	RtB 64	Rtsk 64	KL 61	Nar 39 (?)
Si ya li	Si ya li	Si ya li	Si ya li	Sha mi pa	Śyalipa	Sha yi pa	Phya li pa [?]	Sha li pa	
སི་ཡ་ལི་	སི་ཡ་ལི་	སི་ཡ་ལི་	སི་ཡ་ལི་	ཤ་མི་པ་	(Sanskrit)	ཤ་ཡི་པ་	ཕྱ་ལི་པ་	ཤ་ལི་པ་	
GsB 71	GsS 71	STh 71	AS 70	G21	CSP 21	RtB 21	Rtsk 21	KL 25	
Nyi mas sbas pa	Nyi ma sbas pa	Nyi ma sbas pa	Nyi ma sbas		Ravigupta (?)				
ཉི་མ་སྐུ་པ་	ཉི་མ་སྐུ་པ་	ཉི་མ་སྐུ་པ་	ཉི་མ་སྐུ་པ་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 72	GsS 72	STh 72	AS 66		[CBI 1161]				
Nag gi dbang phyug	Ngag gi dbang phyug	Ngag gi dbang phyug	Nag gi dbang		Vāgīśvara (?)				
ནག་གི་དབང་ཕྱུག་	ངག་གི་དབང་ཕྱུག་	ངག་གི་དབང་ཕྱུག་	ནག་གི་དབང་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 73	GsS 73	STh 73	AS 73		[CBI 1168]				
Hi la ba	Hi la pa	Hi la pa	Hi la pa		Skt. (?)				
ཧི་ལ་བ་	ཧི་ལ་པ་	ཧི་ལ་པ་	ཧི་ལ་པ་						
GsB 74	GsS 74	STh 74	AS 74						
Ka la ka	Ka la ka	Ka la lang ka	Ka la lang ka		Kilakilapa	Ka la ka la	Ka ma ka la		
ཀ་ལ་ཀ་	ཀ་ལ་ཀ་	ཀ་ལ་ལང་ཀ་	ཀ་ལ་ལང་ཀ་		(Sanskrit)	ཀ་ལ་ཀ་ལ་	ཀ་མ་ཀ་ལ་		
GsB 75	GsS 75	STh 75	AS 76		CSP 68	RtB 68	Rtsk 68		
Ku bchu tsa	Ku bu rca	Ku bu ce	Ku bu tsa	Ka dzo pa	Kucipa	Ku tsi pa	Khu dzi pa	Ku dzyā li	Ku pa ji pa
ཀུ་བཅུ་ཙ་	ཀུ་བུ་ར་	ཀུ་བུ་ཙེ་	ཀུ་བུ་ཙ་	ཀ་རྩོ་པ་	(Sanskrit)	ཀུ་ཙི་པ་	ཀུ་དེ་པ་	ཀུ་དེ་ལི་	ཀུ་པ་ཇི་པ་
GsB 76	GsS 76	STh 76	AS 75	G57	CSP 35	RtB 35	Rtsk 35	KL 50	Nar 47
Seng ge pa [II]	Sengge pa [III]	Seng ge pa [II]	Seng ge pa [II]		Simhapāda (?)				
སེང་གེ་པ་	སེང་གེ་པ་	སེང་གེ་པ་	སེང་གེ་པ་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 77	GsS 77	STh 77	AS 78		[AS 60 & AS 78]				
Thogs pa med pa	Thog pa med pa	Thogs med	Thogs med		Asaṅga				
ཐོགས་པ་མེད་པ་	ཐོགས་པ་མེད་པ་	ཐོགས་མེད་	ཐོགས་མེད་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 78	GsS 78	STh 78	AS 80		[CBI 1175]				
Na ta pa	Na ta pa	Na pa ta	Na ta pa		Nāthapāda (?)				
ན་ཏ་པ་	ན་ཏ་པ་	ན་ཏ་པ་	ན་ཏ་པ་		(Sanskrit)				
GsB 79	GsS 79	STh 79	AS 77		[CBI 1172]				
Gling bu mkhan	Gling bu mkhan	Gling bu pa	Gling bu pa		Skt. (?)				
གླིང་བུ་མཁན་	གླིང་བུ་མཁན་	གླིང་བུ་པ་	གླིང་བུ་པ་						
GsB 80	GsS 80	STh 80	AS 79						
Sa ra ha [III]	Sa ra pu	Pa ra su	Pa ra pu si		Skt. (?)				
ས་ར་ཧ་	ས་ར་པུ་	པ་ར་སུ་	པ་ར་པུ་སི་						
GsB 81	GsS 81	STh 81	AS 81						
Sa ra su ka					Skt. (?)				
ས་ར་སུ་ཀ་									
GsB 82									
Ka la lam ge	Ka la da ge	Ka la da ke	Ka la da ge		Skt. (?)				
ཀ་ལ་ལམ་གེ་	ཀ་ལ་དམ་གེ་	ཀ་ལ་དཀ་གེ་	ཀ་ལ་དམ་གེ་						
GsB 83	GsS 82	STh 82	AS 82						
Bha ya ni	Bha ya ni	Bha yi ni	Bha yi ni		Skt. (?)				
བླ་ཡ་ནི་	བླ་ཡ་ནི་	བླ་ཡི་ནི་	བླ་ཡི་ནི་						
GsB 84	GsS 83	STh 83	AS 83						
Me tog pa	Me tog pa	Mi rtog pa	Me tog		Skt. (?)				
མེ་ཏོག་པ་	མེ་ཏོག་པ་	མི་རྟོག་པ་	མེ་ཏོག་						
GsB 85	GsS 84	STh 84	AS 84						
rDo rje gdan pa	rDo rje gdan pa	rDo rje gdan pa	rDo rje gdan pa		Skt. (?)				
རྫོང་གདན་པ་	རྫོང་གདན་པ་	རྫོང་གདན་པ་	རྫོང་གདན་པ་						
GsB 86	GsS 85	STh 85	AS 85						

INDEX TO WALL PAINTINGS

- arrow, **Plates 5, 6, 11**
- bag, **Plates 27, 31, 50, 65, 69, 71**
 beggar, **Plate 23**
 bell, **Plates 27, 35, 37, 52, 64, 67**
 bird, **Plates 49, 80**
 bird-catcher, **Plate 49**
 blacksmith, **Plate 46**
 blouse, **Plates 6, 7, 19, 50**
 bow and arrow, **Plate 5**
 bowl, **Plate 40**
 box (?), **Plates 28, 38**
- carcass, **Plate 5**
 carpet, **Plates 45, 61, 68, 74**
 cave, **Plates 43, 85**
 coconut tree, **Plate 16**
 conch, **Plate 58**
 cowherd, **Plate 9**
 cremation ground, cemetery, **Plates 27, 51, 59, 67, 82**
 cuckoo, **Plate 80**
- deer, **Plate 30**
 diamond sceptre (*vajra*), **Plates 4, 27**
 dog, **Plates 9, 53**
 double-drum, **Plate 71**
 drum, **Plate 71**
- eating, **Plates 1, 75**
 elephant, **Plates 41, 68**
- farmer, **Plate 52**
 female Yoginī Siddhās, **Plates 81, 83, 84**
 fish, **Plates 1, 8, 41?, 73**
 fish cave, **Plate 8**
 fish entrails, **Plate 1**
 fisherman, **Plate 8**
 flask, **Plates 16, 65, 70, 71, 73, 76, 77, 78**
 foot-treadle, **Plate 31**
- gambler, **Plate 43**
- ghaṇṭā* and *vajra*, **Plate 35**
ghaṇṭā, **Plate 37**
- handbag, **Plate 31**
 hat, **Plate 86**
 hatchet, hammer, **Plate 16**
 horn cup, **Plates 50, 64, 80**
 house, **Plates 13, 48, 52**
 human skin, **Plate 20**
 hunter, **Plate 5**
- jackal skin, **Plate 21**
- levitation, **Plate 66**
 liar, **Plate 19**
 loom, **Plate 13**
 lovers, **Plates 5, 34, 35, 40, 44, 49, 62, 72, 77**
 lute (*vīṇā*), **Plate 11**
- monk, **Plates 2, 12, 15, 19, 23, 32, 39, 86**
 musician, **Plate 11**
- net-bag, **Plate 71**
 nude, **Plates 17, 26, 35, 44, 51, 74**
- oil-lamp, **Plates 2, 10, 22, 25, 68, 79**
 old man, **Plate 38**
- penis, **Plates 17, 26, 35, 51**
 phoenix, **Plate 33**
 pillow, **Plates 50, 61, 62, 65, 70, 74, 75, 79, 81, 85**
 prostitute, **Plates 31, 37, 77**
- radish, **Plate 6**
 rag, **Plate 25**
 rice-pounder, **Plate 31**
 rocks, **Plates 43, 85**
 roof, **Plates 13, 48, 52**
 rug, **Plates 45, 61, 68, 74**
- sari, **Plate 3**
 saddle, **Plate 41**
 sceptre, **Plate 44**
 sexual intercourse, **Plate 35**
 sheepdog, **Plate 9**
 shoemaker, **Plate 14**
 shuttle, **Plate 13**
 skeleton, **Plates 11, 36, 46, 68**
 skulls, **Plates 27, 51, 59, 67, 82**
 slave, **Plates 31, 77**
 sleep, **Plates 59, 60**
 snake, **Plates 15, 76**
stūpa, **Plates 22, 52**
 staff, **Plates 26, 30, 31, 44, 58, 69, 80**
 sun, **Plate 3**
 sweets, **Plates 40, 79**
- table, **Plate 15**
 textiles, **Plates 13, 19, 23, 30, 32, 38, 39, 54, 58, 61, 80, 81, 84–86**
 thief, **Plate 76**
 throne, **Plates 6, 13, 35, 62, 73, 83, 84, 86**
 tiger skin, **Plates 3, 14, 47, 70**
 tigress, **Plate 4**
- umbrella, **Plates 7, 9, 12, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 33, 42, 62, 64, 65, 67, 70, 71, 73?, 74, 76, 77, 78, 80**
 unicorn, **Plate 30**
- vajra* and *ghaṇṭā*, **Plate 35**
vajra, *vajra*-staff, **Plates 4, 27, 69**
 vase, long-life, **Plates 2, 7, 8, 14, 15, 24, 28, 39, 46, 49, 53, 57, 59, 61, 62, 64, 66, 68, 69, 72, 79, 81, 82**
 vase, tall, **Plate 74**
- washerman, **Plate 28**
 weaver, **Plate 13**
 wife, **Plates 6, 7, 19, 50**
- yab yum*, **Plate 35**

INDEX TO MAHĀSIDDHAS

For the convenience of the reader, Tibetan and Sanskrit names are here, in the same index, arranged according to the English alphabet. The Tibetan names are listed according to their lexicographic capitalized letters. (Skt.) = Sanskrit; (Tib.) = Tibetan.

AS *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Pantheon*

CBI Chandra, Lokesh. *Buddhist Iconography*

CSP *Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti*

G Inscribed and illustrated Gyantse paintings

GsB *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i gsol 'debs* [Budapest]

GsS *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i gsol 'debs* [Schmid]

KL Klong rdol bla ma. *The Collected Works of Longdol Lama*

Nar *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i cha lugs 'dzin tshul.*
[sNar thang edition]

RtB *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i rtogs pa snying po zhes bya pa*
[Budapest]

RtP *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i rtogs pa'i snying po shes bhya*
ba. [Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition]

Rtsk *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i sku brnyan*

STh Set of inscribed thangkas. Ethnographical Museum Stockholm

A

Aciṅta (Skt.) (*CSP* 38); **Plate 58**

A dzo ke pa འཇོ་ཀེ་པ། (*Rtsk* 26) = Ajogi (Skt.)
(*CSP* 26)

A dzu gi འཇོ་གི། (*KL* 29) = Ajogi (Skt.)
(*CSP* 26)

A gangga badzra འགང་ག་བཟའ་ (*KL* 11) =
Skt. (?)

A jo'i ka འཇོ་འི་ཀ། (*RtP* 26) = Ajogi (Skt.)
(*CSP* 26)

A na ka འན་ཀ། (*KL* 82) = Anaṅgapa (Skt.)
(*CSP* 81)

Anaṅgapa (Skt.) (*CSP* 81) [not identified
among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]

A nang go འནང་གོ། (*RtB* 81) = Anaṅgapa
(Skt.) (*CSP* 81)

A nanggo li འནང་གོ་ལི། (*Rtsk* 81) = Anaṅgapa
(Skt.) (*CSP* 81)

A nang ko འནང་ཀོ། (*RtP* 81) = Anaṅgapa
(Skt.) (*CSP* 81)

A nanta འནན་ཏ། (*GsB* 55) (*GsS* 55) (*AS* 86)
(*STh* 55) = Ananta (Skt.) [*CBI* 1181]

A rdzi gi འར་ཇི་གི། (*RtB* 26) = Ajogi (Skt.)

(*CSP* 26)

A rtsinta pa (?) འར་སྲིང་པ། (*Rtsk* 38) = Aciṅta
(Skt.) (*CSP* 38)

Arya de ba འརྱ་དེ་བ། (*GsB* 02) = Āryadeva
(Kaṇṇaripa) (Skt.) (*CSP* 18)

Ārya de ba འརྱ་དེ་བ། (*KL* 21) (*GsS* 02) =
Āryadeva (Kaṇṇaripa) (Skt.) (*CSP* 18)

Āryadeva (Kaṇṇaripa) (Skt.) (*CSP* 18);

Plate 18

A rya de wa འརྱ་དེ་ལ། (*STh* 02) = Āryadeva
(Kaṇṇaripa) (Skt.) (*CSP* 18)

A tsin dha འཇིན་ཏ། (*RtB* 38) (*RtP* 38) =
Aciṅta (Skt.) (*CSP* 38)

A tsin ta འཇིན་ཏ། (*KL* 53) = Aciṅta (Skt.)
(*CSP* 38)

Avadhūtipa, Mekopa, (Skt.) (*CSP* 43)

[not identified among the Gyantse
mahāsiddhas]

A wa dhu dhi pa འཇུ་ཏྱི་པ། (*STh* 62) =
Mekopa, Avadhūtipa (Skt.) (*CSP* 43)

A wa dhū ti'i zhabs འཇུ་ཏྱི་འི་ཞབས། (*AS* 62) =
Mekopa, Avadhūtipa (Skt.) (*CSP* 43)

A wa dhū tī འཇུ་ཏྱི། (*GsB* 62) = Mekopa,

Avadhūtipa (Skt.) (*CSP* 43)

A wa dhū ti འཇུ་ཏྱི། (*GsS* 62) = Mekopa,
Avadhūtipa (Skt.) (*CSP* 43)

Āyogi (Skt.) (*CSP* 26); **Plate 26**

A yo gi འཇོ་གི། (*KL* 41) = Skt. (?)

B

Babhaha (Skt.) (*CSP* 39) [not identified
among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]

Ba bha ha བཟའ་ (*Rtsk* 39) (*RtB* 39) (*RtP* 39)
= Babhaha (Skt.) (*CSP* 39)

Ban dhe pa བན་ཏྱེ་པ། (Nar 46) = Bhandepa
(Skt.) (*CSP* 32)

Bandhe pa བན་ཏྱེ་པ། (*Rtsk* 32) = Bhandepa
(Skt.) (*CSP* 32)

'Bar 'dzin zhabs འབར་འཇིན་ཞབས། (*Rtsk* 46) =
Jālandhara (Skt.) (*CSP* 46)

Ba ta pa བཏཱ་པ། (Tib.) (G23); according
to sequence identical with Catrapa
(*CSP* 23); **Plate 23**

Ba su ban dha pa བསུ་བན་ཏྱེ་པ། (Nar 38) =
Basubandhapa (?) (Skt.)

Be sna བེ་ས། (Nar 61) = Skt. (?)

Bha de pa ལྷ་དེཔ་ (KL 47) = Bhandepa (Skt.) (CSP 32)

Bha dhe ལྷ་དྷེ་ (RtP 32) = Bhandepa (Skt.) (CSP 32)

Bhadrapa (Skt.) (CSP 24); **Plate 24**

Bha dra pa ལྷ་དྷེཔ་ (Rtsk 24) (RtP 24) = Bhadrāpa (Skt.) (CSP 24)

Bha ga la na ལྷ་ག་ལ་ལ་ (GsB 67) = Skt. (?)

Bha gha ལྷ་ག་ (STh 67) = Skt. (?)

Bha gha la na ལྷ་ག་ལ་ལ་ (GsS 67) = Skt. (?)

Bha la ha ལྷ་ལ་ཀ་ (KL 54) = Skt. (?)

Bhaṃ ga la ལྷ་མག་ལ་ (AS 65) = Bhaṅgala (?) (Skt.)

Bha na dha ལྷ་ན་དྷ་ (RtB 32) = Bhandepa (Skt.) (CSP 32)

Bhandepa (Skt.) (CSP 32); **Plate 32**

Bha ta pa ལྷ་ཏེཔ་ (RtB 24) (KL 27) = Bhadrāpa (Skt.) (CSP 24)

Bha wa pa ལྷ་ཤེཔ་ (STh 39) (GsS 39) (AS 23) = Dhilipa, Telipa (Skt.) (CSP 62)

Bha ya ni ལྷ་ཡ་ནི་ (GsB 84) (GsS 83) = Skt. (?)

Bha yi ni ལྷ་ཡི་ནི་ (STh 83) (AS 83) = Skt. (?)

Bhikṣa na ལྷི་ཀྲ་ན་ (RtB 61) = Bhikṣanapa (Skt.) (CSP 61)

Bhikṣanapa (Skt.) (CSP 61); **Plate 61**

Bhi kṣa na pa ལྷི་ཀྲ་ན་པ་ (Rtsk 61) = Bhikṣanapa (Skt.) (CSP 61)

Bhikṣa ni ལྷི་ཀྲ་ནི་ (RtP 61) = Bhikṣanapa (Skt.) (CSP 61)

Bhi na ba ལྷི་ན་པ་ (RtP 11) = Vīṅāpa (Skt.) (CSP 11)

Bhi na pa ལྷི་ན་པ་ (AS 43) = Vīṅāpa (Skt.) (CSP 11)

Bhi na sa ལྷི་ན་ས་ (GsB 43) (GsS 43) = Vīṅāpa (Skt.) (CSP 11)

Bhi ṣa na ལྷི་ཤ་ན་ (KL 63) = Bhikṣanapa (Skt.) (CSP 61)

Bhusuku (Skt.) (CSP 41); **Plate 45**

Bhu su ku ལྷུ་སུ་ཀུ་ (RtB 41) (RtP 41) (Rtsk 41) (KL 56) (STh 09) (AS 08) = Bhusuku (Śāntideva) (Skt.) (CSP 41)

Bhu su ku pa ལྷུ་སུ་ཀུ་པ་ (GsS 09) = Bhusuku (Śāntideva) (Skt.) (CSP 41)

Bi na ba ལི་ན་པ་ (RtB 08) = Mīnāpa (Skt.) (CSP 08)

Bī na pa ལི་ན་པ་ (KL 13) = Vīṅāpa (Skt.) (CSP 11)

Bi na pa ལི་ན་པ་ (RtB 11) = Vīṅāpa (Skt.) (CSP 11)

Bin ra pa ལི་ར་པ་ (Tib.) (G11) > Vīṅāpa (Skt.) (CSP 11); **Plate 11**

Bi ra ba ལི་ར་པ་ (Rtsk 03) = Virūpa (Skt.) (CSP 03)

Bir pa ལི་ར་པ་ (RtP 03) = Virūpa (Skt.) (CSP 03)

Bir la ba ལི་ར་པ་ (RtB 03) = Virūpa (Skt.) (CSP 03)

Bi ru pa ལི་རུ་པ་ (GsB 08) = Virūpa (Skt.) (CSP 03)

Bi rū pa ལི་རུ་པ་ (GsS 08) = Virūpa (Skt.) (CSP 03)

Bir wa pa ལི་ར་ཤེཔ་ (Tib.) (G3) (KL 05) (STh 08) (AS 07) > Virūpa (Skt.) (CSP 3); **Plate 3**

Bir ya pa ལི་ར་ཡ་པ་ (GsB 39) = Dhilipa, Telipa (Skt.) (CSP 62)

Bra ta pa ལྷ་ཏེཔ་ (Tib.) (G24) > Bhadrāpa (Skt.) (CSP 24); **Plate 24**

Bri kṣa na ལྷི་ཀྲ་ན་ (Tib.) (G61) > Bhikṣanapa (Skt.) (CSP 61); **Plate 61**

Bu ba pa ལུ་པ་པ་ (Nar 20) = Skt. (?)

Bu su ku ra ལུ་སུ་ཀུ་ར་ (GsB 09) = Bhusuku (Śāntideva) (Skt.) (CSP 41)

Bu ta li ལུ་ཏེལི་ (Rtsk 78) = Putalipa (Skt.) (CSP 78)

Bu ta pa ལུ་ཏེཔ་ (Tib.) (G35); **Plate 35**

Bya li pa ལྷ་ལི་པ་ (RtB 84) (RtP 84) = Vyālipa or Vyāḍīpa (Skt.) (CSP 84)

Bya ri pa ལྷ་རི་པ་ (KL 84) = Vyālipa or Vyāḍīpa (Skt.) (CSP 84)

dByig gnyen-Ba su ban dhu འཇམ་གཉེན་པ་སུ་བན་དུ་ (Nar 17) = Basubandhu (?) (Skt.)

Byi la can - Om 'u di ལྷི་ལ་ཚན་ཨོའི་ལུ་དི་ (Nar 79) = Skt. (?)

Byi li pa ལྷི་ལི་པ་ (Rtsk 84) = Vyālipa or Vyāḍīpa (Skt.) (CSP 84)

dByug pa འཇམ་ལུག་པ་ (Nar 62) = Skt. (?)

C

Cāmāripa (Skt.) (?) (CSP 14); **Plate 14**

Cag lham mkhan - Lo ha rupa na ka ra ཚག་ལྷ་མ་མཁན་ལོ་ཀ་རུ་པ་ན་ཀ་ར་ (Nar 36) = Loharupanakara (?) (Skt.)

ICam legs smin ka ra ལྷ་མ་ལེགས་སྒྲིན་ཀ་ར་ (KL 58) = Skt. (?)

Campaka (Skt.) (CSP 60) [not identified among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]

Ca ṅḍa li ཚཏེ་ལི་ (GsS 65) (STh 65) = Caṅḍālīpāda (Skt.)

Candra go mi ཚང་རྒྱ་གོ་མི་ (GsS 20) = Candragomi (Skt.) [CBI 1115]

Ca ndra pa ཚང་རྒྱ་པ་ (STh 20) = Candragomi (Skt.) [CBI 1115]

Ca pa ri ཚཔ་རི་ (GsS 70) = Carbaripa (Carpati) (Skt.) (CSP 64)

Ca pa ri pa ཚཔ་རི་པ་ (STh 70) = Carbaripa (Carpati) (Skt.) (CSP 64)

Ca pi ṭi pa ཚཔི་ཏི་པ་ (Nar 39) = Carbaripa (Carpati) (Skt.) (CSP 64) (?)

Ca ra pa ཚར་པ་ (GsS 63) = Caryāpāda (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1156]

Carbaripa (Skt.) (CSP 64) (G56) [painting at Gyantse is destroyed]

Catrapa (Skt.) (CSP 23); **Plate 23**

Caurāṅgipa (Skt.) (CSP 10); **Plate 10**

Celukapa (Skt.) (CSP 54); **Plate 60**

ICe spyang zhabs - Jam bū ka pā da ལྷེ་སྤང་ཞབས་ཇམ་བུ་ཀ་པ་ད་ (Nar 41) = Jambukapāda (?) (Skt.)

Che 'u pa ཚེ་ལུ་པ་ (GsS 47) = Kantalipa (Skt.) (CSP 69)

Chem bu pa ཚེ་མ་བུ་པ་ (STh 47) = Kantalipa (Skt.) (CSP 69)

mCho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྤྱི་ས་རྫོང་ (GsS 06) (STh 06) = Sakara (Saroruhavajra) (Skt.) (CSP 74)

mCho skyes rdo rje Bajra sa ra si མཚོ་སྤྱི་ས་རྫོང་བཟང་ས་ར་སི་ (Nar 07) = Sakara (Saroruhavajra) (Skt.) (CSP 74)

Chos kyi grags pa - Dharma kīrti ཚོས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པ་
ལ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་ (Nar 19) = Dharmakīrti (?) (Skt.)
[CBI 1135]
Ci tri la pa ཅི་ཏྲི་ལའ་པ་ (Nar 69) = Skt. (?)

D

Da khan di དཀའ་མན་དེ་ (Tib.) (G25) > Dukhañdi
(Skt.) (CSP 25); **Plate 25**
Da ki pa དཀའ་པ་ (GsB 31) = Deṅgipa (Skt.)
(CSP 31)
Ḍa ma pa ཏ་མའ་པ་ (Tib.) (G42) > Dharmapa [I]
(Skt.) (CSP 36); **Plate 42**
rDa ma pa ར་མའ་པ་ (KL 51) = Skt. (?)
Dam chig rdo rje - Bajra pa ma [ya] དམ་ཚིག་རྩོམ་རྒྱུ་
བརྒྱུ་མའ་པ་ (Nar 40) = Vajrasamaya (?) (Skt.)
Ḍan ta pa ཏ་ན་ཏ་པ་ (Tib.) (G43) > Tañtepa (Skt.)
(CSP 33); **Plate 43**
Dā ri ka ད་རི་ཀ་ (AS 32) = Dārikapa (Skt.)
(CSP 77)
Dārikapa (Skt.) (CSP 77); **Plate 77**
Da ri ka pa ད་རི་ཀ་པ་ (GsB 28) = Dārikapa
(Skt.) (CSP 77)
Dā ri ka pa ད་རི་ཀ་པ་ (GsS 28) (Rtsk 77)
(KL 02) = Dārikapa (Skt.) (CSP 77)
Dā si ri ད་སི་རི་ (AS 53) = Skt. (?)
Da si ri pa ད་སི་རི་པ་ (GsB 54) (GsS 54) =
Skt. (?)
De ki pa དེ་ཀའ་པ་ (Tib.) (G31) > Deṅgipa (Skt.)
(CSP 31); **Plate 31**
Deṅgipa (Skt.) (CSP 31); **Plate 31**
Deng gi pa དེང་གི་པ་ (RtB 31) = Deṅgipa (Skt.)
(CSP 31)
De pan དེ་པན་ (Tib.) (G68); **Plate 68**
De pa na དེ་པན་ (Tib.) (G62); **Plate 62**
Dha hu la ཏ་ཀུ་ལ་ (RtB 70) (RtP 70) =
Dhahulipa (Skt.) (CSP 70)
Dhahulipa (Skt.) (CSP 70) [not identified
among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
Dhā hu li pa ཏ་ཀུ་ལི་པ་ (Rtsk 70) = Dhahulipa
(Skt.) (CSP 70)
Dha khan dha ཏ་ཀའ་ན་དེ་ཏ་ (RtP 25) = Dukhañdi
(Skt.) (CSP 25)
Dha khan dhi pa ཏ་ཀའ་ན་ཏི་པ་ (RtB 25) =

Dukhañdi (Skt.) (CSP 25)
Dha ki pa ཏ་ཀའ་པ་ (Nar 50) = Dhakipa (?) (Skt.)
Dha ma ཏ་མ་ (Rtsk 36) = Dharmapa [I] (Skt.)
(CSP 36)
Dha ma pa ཏ་མའ་པ་ (RtB 36) (Nar 44) =
Dharmapa [I] (Skt.) (CSP 36)
Dha mu pa ཏ་མུ་པ་ (Nar 43) = Dhamupa (?)
(Skt.)
Dha ri ka pa ཏ་རི་ཀ་པ་ (RtB 77) (RtP 77) (Sth
28) (Nar 12) = Dārikapa (Skt.) (CSP 77)
Dharma kīrti ཏ་མ་རྟེན་ (GsB 45) =
Dharmakīrti (Skt.) [CBI 1135]
Dha rmā kī rti ཏ་མ་རྟེན་ (GsS 45) =
Dharmakīrti (Skt.) [CBI 1135]
Dharma kīrti ཏ་མ་རྟེན་ (Sth 45) =
Dharmakīrti (Skt.) [CBI 1135]
Dharma ki ti ཏ་མ་རྟེན་ (AS 40) =
Dharmakīrti (Skt.) [CBI 1135]
Dharma pa ཏ་མ་པ་ (RtB 48) (RtP 48) (KL 36) =
Dharmapa [I] (Skt.) (CSP 36)
Dharmapa [I] (Skt.) (CSP 36); **Plate 42**
Dharmapa [II] (**Gharbari**) (Skt.) (CSP 48)
[not identified among the Gyantse
mahāsiddhas]
Dhar ma pa ཏ་མ་པ་ (Rtsk 48) = Dharmapa [II]
(Gharbari) (Skt.) (CSP 48)
Dha su ri ba ཏ་སུ་རི་བ་ (KL 72) = Skt. (?)
Dhe ki pa ཏེ་ཀའ་པ་ (RtP 31) = Deṅgipa (Skt.)
(CSP 31)
Dhe ki ri pa ཏེ་ཀའ་རི་པ་ (Rtsk 49) = Dhokaripa
(Skt.) (CSP 49)
Dhe li pa ཏེ་ལི་པ་ (RtP 62) = Dhilipa, Telipa
(Skt.) (CSP 62)
Dhobīpa (Skt.) (CSP 28); **Plate 28**
Dhokaripa (Skt.) (CSP 49); **Plate 47**
Ḍho ki ḍi pa ཏ་ཀའ་ཏི་པ་ (Nar 60) = Dhokidīpa
(?) (Skt.)
Dhi le pa ཏི་ལེ་པ་ (Rtsk 62) = Dhilipa, Telipa
(Skt.) (CSP 62)
Dhilipa, Telipa (Skt.) (CSP 62) [not
identified among the Gyantse
mahāsiddhas]
Dhi li pa ཏི་ལི་པ་ (RtB 62) = Dhilipa, Telipa

(Skt.) (CSP 62)
Dhing gi pa ཏིང་གི་པ་ (Nar 04) = Deṅgipa (Skt.)
(CSP 31)
Dhi pa ka ri ཏི་པ་ཀ་རི་ (Nar 56) = Dhīpakari (?)
(Skt.)
Dho ka ra ཏ་ཀ་ར་ (RtB 49) = Dhokaripa (Skt.)
(CSP 49)
Dho ka ri ཏ་ཀ་རི་ (RtP 49) = Dhokaripa (Skt.)
(CSP 49)
Ḍho ka ri pa ཏ་ཀ་རི་པ་ (KL 37) = Dhokaripa
(Skt.) (CSP 49)
Dho ṣanti ཏ་ཤ་འཇིག་ (KL 28) = Dukhañdi (Skt.)
(CSP 25)
Dhu pi ra ཏུ་པི་ར་ (Rtsk 28) = Dhobīpa (Skt.)
(CSP 28)
IDing gi pa ཇིང་གི་པ་ (GsS 31) (Sth 31)
(AS 36) = Deṅgipa (Skt.) (CSP 31)
Ḍo bi he ru ka ཏོ་བི་ཧེ་རུ་ཀ་ (Tib.) (G4) (GsB 07)
> Ḍombīpa, Ḍombīheruka (Skt.) (CSP 4);
Plate 4
Do khan di ཏོ་མའ་ན་དེ་ (Tib.) (G47) > Dhokaripa
(Skt.) (CSP 49); **Plate 47**
Ḍom bhi pa ཏོ་མ་བྱི་པ་ (KL 06) = Ḍombīpa,
Ḍombīheruka (Skt.) (CSP 04)
Ḍom bhi he ru ka ཏོ་མ་བྱི་ཧེ་རུ་ཀ་ (AS 09) =
Ḍombīpa, Ḍombīheruka (Skt.) (CSP 04)
Ḍom bi he ru ka ཏོ་བི་ཧེ་རུ་ཀ་ (GsS 07) (Sth
07) = Ḍombīpa, Ḍombīheruka (Skt.)
(CSP 04)
Ḍombīpa, Ḍombīheruka (Skt.) (CSP 4);
Plate 4
Ḍom bi pa ཏོ་མ་བི་པ་ (Nar 27) = Ḍombīpa,
Ḍombīheruka (Skt.) (CSP 04)
Ḍo mi bri ཏོ་མི་བྱི་ (Tib.) (G28) > Dhobīpa
(Skt.) (CSP 28); **Plate 28**
Ḍom ki pa ཏོ་མ་ཀའ་པ་ (KL 03) = Skt. (?)
rDo rje bhi pu ར་ཏོ་རེ་བམི་པུ་ (KL 31) = Skt. (?)
rDo rje dril bu ར་ཏོ་རེ་འཇིག་པུ་ (GsB 10) (GsS 10) =
Ghañṭāpa (Skt.) (CSP 52)
rDo rje dril bu pa ར་ཏོ་རེ་འཇིག་པུ་པ་ (Rtsk 52) =
Ghañṭāpa (Skt.) (CSP 52)
rDo rje gdan pa ར་ཏོ་རེ་གདན་པ་ (GsB 86) (GsS 85)
(Sth 85) (AS 85) = Vajrāsanapa (Skt.)

among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
 Je ta ri ཇེ་རི་ (GsS 32) = Jetāri (Skt.)
 [CBI 1141]
 Je te ri ཇེ་རི་ (STh 32) = Jetāri (Skt.)
 [CBI 1141]
Jogipa (Skt.) (CSP 53); **Plate 44**

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Kad nga pa ཀད་ངམ་ (STh 63) = Caryāpāda (?)
 (Skt.) [CBI 1156]
 Ka do la pa ཀདོ་ལམ་ (Nar 35) = Kadolapa (?)
 (Skt.)
 Ka dzo pa ཀའ་པོ་ (Tib.) (G57) > Kucipa (Skt.)
 (CSP 35); **Plate 57**
 Ka gi la ཀག་ལེ་ (Tib.) (G80) > Kokilipa (Skt.)
 (CSP 80); **Plate 80**
 Ka hna pa ཀམ་པ་ (RtB 17) (RtP 17) =
 Kāṅhapa (Kṛṣṇacārī) (Skt.) (CSP 17)
 Kahni pa ཀམ་པ་ (RtSk 17) = Kāṅhapa
 (Kṛṣṇacārī) (Skt.) (CSP 17)
 Ka ka li ཀཀ་ལེ་ (Tib.) (G7) > Kaṅkāripa (Skt.)
 (CSP 7); **Plate 7**
 Ka ka li pa ཀཀ་ལེ་པ་ (Nar 70) = Kaṅkāripa
 (Skt.) (CSP 07)
 Ka kha ya la pa ཀཀ་མ་ལེ་ལམ་ (Nar 06) = Skt. (?)
 Ka la ba ཀལ་པ་ (RtB 27) = Kālapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 27)
 Ka la da ge ཀལ་དམ་གཉི (GsS 82) (AS 82) =
 Skt. (?)
 Ka la da ke ཀལ་དམ་གཉི (STh 82) = Skt. (?)
 Ka la ka ཀལ་ཀལ་ (GsB 75) (GsS 75) =
 Kilakilapa (Skt.) (CSP 68)
 Ka la ka la ཀལ་ཀལ་ལམ་ (RtB 68) (RtP 68) =
 Kilakilapa (Skt.) (CSP 68)
 Ka la lam ge ཀལ་ལམ་གཉི (GsB 83) = Skt. (?)
 Ka la lang ka ཀལ་ལམ་ཀལ་ (STh 75) (AS 76) =
 Kilakilapa (Skt.) (CSP 68)
Kālapa (Skt.) (CSP 27); **Plate 27**
 Ka la pa ཀལ་པ་ (RtSk 27) = Kālapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 27)
 Ka ma ka la ཀམ་ཀལ་ལམ་ (RtSk 68) = Kilakilapa
 (Skt.) (CSP 68)
 Ka ma kha la [female] ཀམ་མེ་ལམ་ (RtB 67) =

Kanakhalā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 67)
 Ka ma kha ma [female] ཀམ་མེ་ལམ་ (RtSk 67) =
 Kanakhalā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 67)
 Ka ma la ཀམ་ལམ་ (GsB 37) = Kamala (Skt.)
 Ka ma la [I] ཀམ་ལམ་ (GsS 37) (STh 37) (AS 39)
 = Kamala (Skt.)
 Ka ma la [II] ཀམ་ལམ་ (STh 41) (AS 26) =
 Catrapa (Skt.) (CSP 23)
 Ka mā la [III] ཀམ་ལམ་ (GsS 41) = Catrapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 23)
 Ka ma pa ཀམ་པ་ (Tib.) (G30) > Kambala
 (Skt.) (CSP 30); **Plate 30**
 Kaṃ pa ma ཀམ་པ་མམ་ (Tib.) (G48); **Plate 48**
 Ka ma ri ཀམ་རི་ (Tib.) (G46) > Kaṃparipa
 (Skt.) (CSP 45); **Plate 46**
 Ka ma ri pa ཀམ་རི་པ་ (RtSk 45) (KL 33) =
 Kaṃparipa (Skt.) (CSP 45)
Kambala (Skt.) (CSP 30); **Plate 30**
 Kaṃ ka li ཀམ་ཀལ་ལེ་ (RtB 07) = Kaṅkāripa (Skt.)
 (CSP 07)
 Kam ka li ཀམ་ཀལ་ལེ་ (RtP 07) = Kaṅkāripa
 (Skt.) (CSP 07)
 Kaṃ ka na ཀམ་ཀལ་ན་ (RtB 29) = Kaṅkaṇa (Skt.)
 (CSP 29)
 Kam ka ni ཀམ་ཀལ་ནི་ (RtP 29) = Kaṅkaṇa (Skt.)
 (CSP 29)
 Kam ka ra ཀམ་ཀལ་ར་ (KL 45) = Kaṅkaṇa (Skt.)
 (CSP 29) (?)
 Kam pa la ཀམ་པ་ལམ་ (RtP 30) = Kambala (Skt.)
 (CSP 30)
 Kampa la ཀམ་པ་ལམ་ (RtSk 30) = Kambala (Skt.)
 (CSP 30)
 Kam pa li ཀམ་པ་ལེ་ (KL 46) = Kambala (Skt.)
 (CSP 30)
Kaṃparipa (Skt.) (CSP 45); **Plate 46**
 Kam ri pa ཀམ་རི་པ་ (RtP 45) = Kaṃparipa
 (Skt.) (CSP 45)
 Kaṃ ri pa ཀམ་རི་པ་ (RtB 45) = Kaṃparipa (Skt.)
 (CSP 45)
 Ka na ka ཀམ་ཀལ་ (KL 70) = Skt. (?)
Kanakhalā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 67)
 [not identified among the Gyantse
 mahāsiddhas]

Ka na kha [female] ཀམ་མེ་ལམ་ (KL 69) =
 Kanakhalā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 67)
 Ka na kha ya [male] ཀམ་མེ་ལམ་ (Tib.) (G69);
Plate 69
 Ka na pa [female?] ཀམ་པ་ (Nar 80) = Skt. (?)
 Ka na pa [male] ཀམ་པ་ (Tib.) (G17) >
 Kāṅhapa (Kṛṣṇacārī) (Skt.) (CSP 17);
Plate 17
 Ka na ri ཀམ་རི་ (Tib.) (G18) > Āryadeva
 (Kaṃparipa) (Skt.) (CSP 18); **Plate 18**
 Ka na ri pa ཀམ་རི་པ་ (RtB 18) (RtP 18) =
 Āryadeva (Kaṃparipa) (Skt.) (CSP 18)
 Ka na ta la ཀམ་ཏེ་ལམ་ (RtB 69) = Kantalipa
 (Skt.) (CSP 69)
 Kangga la pa ཀང་གལ་པ་ (RtSk 07) = Kaṅkāripa
 (Skt.) (CSP 07)
 Kangka na ཀང་ཀལ་ན་ (RtSk 29) = Kaṅkaṇa (Skt.)
 (CSP 29)
Kāṅhapa (Kṛṣṇacārī) (Skt.) (CSP 17);
Plate 17
Kaṅkaṇa (Skt.) (CSP 29); **Plate 29**
Kaṅkāripa (Skt.) (CSP 7); **Plate 7**
 Kanta la ཀམ་ཏེ་ལམ་ (RtP 69) = Kantalipa (Skt.)
 (CSP 69)
Kantalipa (Skt.) (CSP 69) [not identified
 among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
 Kan ta pa ཀམ་ཏེ་པ་ (AS 19) = Tantapa (Skt.)
 (Dict 1096)
 Kan tha li ཀམ་ཏེ་ལེ་ (KL 71) = Kantalipa (Skt.)
 (CSP 69)
 Ka pā la ཀཔ་ལམ་ (RtB 72) (RtP 72) (RtSk 72) =
 Kapālapa (Skt.) (CSP 72)
Kapālapa (Skt.) (CSP 72); **Plate 67**
 Ka pa li ཀཔ་ལེ་ (Tib.) (G67) > Kapālapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 72); **Plate 67**
 Ka pa li pa ཀཔ་ལེ་པ་ (KL 74) = Kapālapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 72)
 Ka ra li pa ཀར་ལེ་པ་ (Nar 75) = Skt. (?)
 Ka ra pa ཀར་པ་ (RtSk 74) = Sakara
 (Saroruhavajra) (Skt.) (CSP 74)
 Kar ka na ཀར་ཀལ་ན་ (Tib.) (G29) > Kaṅkaṇa
 (Skt.) (CSP 29); **Plate 29**
 Kar nag po ཀར་ནག་པོ་ (Nar 42) = Skt. (?)

- Karna pa ཀརྐལ་ (AS 59) = Karnaripa (?) (Skt.)
 Karṇa pa ཀརྐལ་ (GsB 61) = Karnaripa (?) (Skt.)
 Kar na pa ཀརྐལ་ (GsS 61) = Karnaripa (?) (Skt.)
 Karnaripa (Skt.) > **Āryadeva** (Skt.) (CSP 18); **Plate 18**
 Ka ru pa ཀརུཔ་ (AS 52) (STh 53) = Kāmarūpa (?) (Skt.)
 Ka ru pa ka ཀརུཔ་ཀ་ (GsB 53) (GsS 53) = Kāmarūpa (?) (Skt.)
 Ka shi ri pa ཀཤིརིཔ་ (Nar 21) = Kaśiripa (?) (Skt.)
 Ka ta ra ཀཏར་ (Tib.) (G71); **Plate 71**
 Ka ya la ཀཡལ་ (Tib.) (G70); **Plate 70**
 Ken to pa ཀེན་ཏོཔ་ (STh 21) = Skt. (?)
 Kha ḍa pa ཀཤཎཔ་ (RtP 15) = Khaḍgapa (Skt.) (CSP 15)
 Khadga ཀཤག་ (Rtsk 15) = Khaḍgapa (Skt.) (CSP 15)
 Khadga ba ཀཤག་བ་ (RtB 15) = Khaḍgapa (Skt.) (CSP 15)
Khaḍgapa (Skt.) (CSP 15); **Plate 16**
 Khaḍga pa ཀཤག་པ་ (KL 18) = Khaḍgapa (Skt.) (CSP 15)
 Kha mkhan ཀཤམཀམ་ (Nar 76) = Skt. (?)
 Khan dha ri pa ཀམན་ཏཱ་རིཔ་ (Nar 77) = Khandaripa (?) (Skt.)
 Khar ka pa ཀམར་ཀཔ་ (Tib.) (G16) > Khaḍgapa (Skt.) (CSP 15); **Plate 16**
 Khrus mkhan - Ma rja ra ཀམར་མཀམ་མར་ར་ར་ (Nar 59) = Skt. (?)
 Khu dzi pa ཀུཊིཔ་ (Rtsk 35) = Kucipa (Skt.) (CSP 35)
Khumbaripa (Skt.) (CSP 63) [not identified among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
 Khyi mo chan ཀམི་མོ་ཅན་ (Nar 73) = Skt. (?)
 Khyu ra pa ཀམུ་ར་པ་ (STh 61) = Karnaripa (?) (Skt.)
Kilakilapa (Skt.) (CSP 68) [not identified among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
 Ki pa la ཀིཔ་ལ་ (RtB 30) = Kambala (Skt.) (CSP 30)
 Ki ra ba la ཀིར་བ་ལ་ (RtP 73) = Kirapālapa (Skt.) (CSP 73)
 Ki rab lo pa ཀིར་བ་ལོཔ་ (Rtsk 73) = Kirapālapa (Skt.) (CSP 73)
 Ki ral la ཀིར་ལ་ལ་ (RtB 73) = Kirapālapa (Skt.) (CSP 73)
 Ki ra pa ཀིར་པ་ (KL 75) = Kirapālapa (Skt.) (CSP 73)
Kirapālapa (Skt.) (CSP 73) [not identified among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
 Klu dbyangs can ཀུལ་དབྱེང་ས་ཅན་ (AS 67) = Skt. (?)
 Klu dbyangs mkhan ཀུལ་དབྱེང་ས་མཁན་ (GsS 66) = Skt. (?)
 Klu grub - Na ga rju na ཀུལ་གུར་- ལ་ག་རུ་ན་ལ་ (Nar 05) = Nāgārjuna (Skt.) (CSP 16)
 Klu sgrub ཀུལ་སྐྱུར་ (Tib.) (G15) (Rtsk 16) (AS 03) > Nāgārjuna (Skt.) (CSP 16); **Plate 15**
 Klu sgrub snying po ཀུལ་སྐྱུར་སྤྱིེང་པོ་ (GsB 01) (GsS 01) = Nāgārjuna (Skt.) (CSP 16)
 Ko ka la ཀོ་ཀ་ལ་ (RtB 80) = Kokilipa (Skt.) (CSP 80)
 Ko ka li [I] ཀོ་ཀ་ལི་ (KL 09) = Kañkāripa (Skt.) (CSP 07)
 Ko ka li [III] ཀོ་ཀ་ལི་ (KL 81) = Kokilipa (Skt.) (CSP 80)
 Ko ki la ཀོ་ཀི་ལ་ (RtP 80) = Kokilipa (Skt.) (CSP 80)
Kokilipa (Skt.) (CSP 80); **Plate 80**
 Ko ki li pa ཀོ་ཀི་ལི་པ་ (Rtsk 80) = Kokilipa (Skt.) (CSP 80)
 Ko lpags mkhan - Carmakara ཀོ་ལཔ་གསལ་མཁན་ ཅམ་ཀར་ (Nar 54) = Carmakara (?) (Skt.)
 Kom pa la ཀོམ་པ་ལ་ (RtP 63) = Khumbaripa (Skt.) (CSP 63)
 Kong ka na ཀོང་ཀ་ན་ (AS 24) = Kañkaṇa (Skt.)
 Kongka na ཀོང་ཀ་ན་ (GsB 40) = Kañkaṇa (Skt.)
 Kong ka na ཀོང་ཀ་ན་ (GsS 40) (STh 40) = Kañkaṇa (Skt.)
 Kon ta li ཀོན་ཏཱ་ལི་ (GsS 69) (STh 69) (AS 69) = Kontali (?) (Skt.)
 Kontam li ཀོན་ཏཱ་ལི་ (GsB 69) = Kotalipa (?)
 Ko ta la ཀོ་ཏ་ལ་ (RtB 44) (RtP 44) = Koṭālipa (Skt.) (CSP 44)
Koṭālipa (Skt.) (CSP 44) [not identified among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
Kṛṣṇacārī (Skt.) > **Kāṇhapa** (Skt.) (CSP 17); **Plate 17**
 Ku bchu tsa ཀུ་བཅུ་ཅ་ (GsB 76) = Kucipa (Skt.) (CSP 35)
 Ku bu ce ཀུ་བུ་ཅེ་ (STh 76) = Kucipa (Skt.) (CSP 35)
 Ku bu rca ཀུ་བུ་ར་ཅ་ (GsS 76) = Kucipa (Skt.) (CSP 35)
 Ku bu tsa ཀུ་བུ་ཅ་ (AS 75) = Kucipa (Skt.) (CSP 35)
Kucipa (Skt.) (CSP 35); **Plate 57**
 Ku dzyā li ཀུ་དེ་ལི་ (KL 50) = Kucipa (Skt.) (CSP 35)
Kukkuripa (Skt.) (CSP 34); **Plate 53**
 Ku kku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་ (Rtsk 34) = Kukkuripa (Skt.) (CSP 34)
 Ku ku ri ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་ (Tib.) (G53) (AS 12) > Kukkuripa (Skt.) (CSP 34); **Plate 53**
 Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་ (RtB 34) (RtP 34) (KL 49) (GsB 12) (GsS 12) = Kukkuripa (Skt.) (CSP 34)
 Ku ku ri pa ཀུ་ཀུ་རི་པ་ (STh 12) = Kukkuripa (Skt.) (CSP 34)
 Ku ma ra ཀུ་མ་ར་ (AS 45) = Cāmāripa (Skt.) (CSP 14)
 Ku mā ra ཀུ་མ་ར་ (GsB 46) (GsS 46) (STh 46) = Cāmāripa (Skt.) (CSP 14)
 Ku mā ri pa ཀུ་མ་རི་པ་ (KL 65) = Khumbaripa (Skt.) (CSP 63)
 Ku ma ri pa ཀུ་མ་རི་པ་ (Nar 45) = Cāmāripa (Skt.) (CSP 14)
 Ku ma ru pa ཀུ་མ་རུ་པ་ (Nar 51) = Khumbaripa (Skt.) (CSP 63)
 Ku mba re pa ཀུ་མ་བ་རེ་པ་ (Rtsk 63) = Khumbaripa (Skt.) (CSP 63)
 Kuṃ bha ri pa ཀུམ་བ་མ་རི་པ་ (RtB 63) = Khumbaripa (Skt.) (CSP 63)
 Kun ba zhabs - Sa ma ni gta sa pa da ཀུན་བཟམས་མཁན་གྲགས་ལྷན་ (Nar 55) Skt. (?)
 Kun dga' snying po ཀུན་དགའ་སྤྱིེང་པོ་ (GsB 58)

(GsS 58) (STh 58) = Ānandagarbha (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1150]
 Kun dga snying ཀུན་དགའ་སྡིང་ (AS 55) = Ānandagarbha (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1150]
 Ku pa ji pa ཀུཔ་ཇི་པ་ (Nar 47) = Kucipa (Skt.) (CSP 35)
 Ku ra ཀུར་ (Tib.) (G45) > Bhusuku (Skt.) (CSP 41); **Plate 45**
 Ku tsi pa ཀུཌི་པ་ (RtB 35) (RtP 35) = Kucipa (Skt.) (CSP 35)

L

La ba pa ལ་བ་པ་ (GsB 19) = Kambala (Skt.) (CSP 30)
 La ba pa rabs pa ལ་བ་པ་རབས་པ་ (Nar 29) = Kambala (Skt.) (CSP 30)
 La kṣmi kara [female] ལ་ཁྲ་མི་ཀར་ (AS 88) = Lakṣmīkarā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 82)
 Lakṣmi ka ra [female] ལ་ཁྲ་མི་ཀར་ (RtB 82) (RtSk 82) = Lakṣmīkarā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 82)
Lakṣmīkarā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 82) [not identified among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
 La wa pa ལ་ཡ་པ་ (GsS 19) = Kambala (Skt.) (CSP 30)
 Li kra mi ལི་ཀར་མི་ (Tib.) (G50); **Plate 50**
 Li la pa ལི་ལ་པ་ (Tib.) (G2) (RtSk 02) (RtB 02) (RtP 02) (Nar 02) > Līlapa (Skt.) (CSP 2); **Plate 2**
Līlapa (Skt.) (CSP 2); **Plate 2**
 Lī la pa ལི་ལ་པ་ (KL 04) = Līlapa (Skt.) (CSP 02)
 Lo hi ba ལོ་མི་བ་ (RtB 01) = Lūipa (Skt.) (CSP 01)
Lucikapa (Skt.) (CSP 56); **Plate 51**
 kLu grub ལུ་གུབ་ (STh 01) = Nāgārjuna (Skt.) (CSP 16)
 Lū hi pa ལུ་མི་པ་ (KL 01) = Lūipa (Skt.) (CSP 01)
 Lu i pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་ (Tib.) (G1) > Lūipa (Skt.) (CSP 1); **Plate 1**
Lūipa (Skt.) (CSP 1); **Plate 1**

Lū i pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་ (AS 02) = Lūipa (Skt.) (CSP 01)
 Lu yi pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་ (Nar 01) = Lūipa (Skt.) (CSP 01)
 Lu tsi ka ལུ་ཌི་ཀ་ (RtB 56) (RtP 56) (KL 44) = Lucikapa (Skt.) (CSP 56)
 Lu tsi ka pa ལུ་ཌི་ཀ་པ་ (RtSk 56) = Lucikapa (Skt.) (CSP 56)
 Lū yi ma ལུ་ཡི་མ་ (GsB 03) = Lūipa (Skt.) (CSP 01)
 Lū yi pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་ (RtP 01) (RtSk 01) (GsS 03) = Lūipa (Skt.) (CSP 01)
 Lu yi pa ལུ་ཡི་པ་ (STh 03) = Lūipa (Skt.) (CSP 01)
 Lwa wa pa ལྷ་ཡ་པ་ (STh 19) (AS 17) = Kambala (Skt.) (CSP 30)

M

sMad bkris pa སྐད་བཀྲིས་པ་ (GsS 60) = Skt. (?)
 sMad dkris pa སྐད་དཀྲིས་པ་ (GsB 60) (STh 60) (AS 57) = Skt. (?)
 Ma hi la མ་མི་ལ་ (RtB 37) (RtP 37) = Mahipa (Skt.) (CSP 37)
Mahipa (Skt.) (CSP 37); **Plate 34**
 Mai tri pa མཛི་རྟི་པ་ (AS 87) = Maitrīpāda (Skt.) [CBI 1182]
 Ma ka na ṭi pa མ་ཀ་ན་ཉི་པ་ (Nar 26) = Makaanāṭipa (Skt.) (?)
Mañibhadra [female] (Skt.) (CSP 65) [not identified among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
 Ma ṇi bha drā [female?] མ་ཉི་བ་རྩ་ (KL 67) = Mañibhadra [female] (Skt.) (CSP 65) (?)
 Ma ṇi bha dra [female?] མ་ཉི་བ་རྩ་ (RtB 65) (RtP 65) (RtSk 65) = Mañibhadra [female] (Skt.) (CSP 65) (?)
 Ma rdi la མ་རྩི་ལ་ (KL 52) = Skt. (?)
 Ma ri pa མ་རི་པ་ (Tib.) (G34) > Mahipa (Skt.) (CSP 37); **Plate 34**
 Mar me lha མར་མེ་ལྷ་ (GsB 30) (GsS 30) (STh 30) (AS 41) = Skt. (?)
 Mar me mdzad མར་མེ་མཛད་ (GsB 22) = Dīpaṃkara (Skt.) [CBI 1117]

Mar me mjad མར་མེ་མཛད་ (GsS 22) (STh 22) = Dīpaṃkara (Skt.) [CBI 1117]
 Mar me mjad - Di paṃ ka ra མར་མེ་མཛད་དི་པ་མ་ཀར་ (Nar 31) = Dīpaṃkara (Skt.) [CBI 1117]
 Mar me mdzad མར་མེ་མཛད་ (AS 22) = Dīpaṃkara (Skt.) [CBI 1117]
Medhini (Skt.) (CSP 50); **Plate 52**
 Me dha ni མེ་དམ་ནི་ (KL 38) = Medhini (Skt.) (CSP 50)
 Me dhi na མེ་དམི་ན་ (RtB 50) = Medhini (Skt.) (CSP 50)
 Me dhi ni མེ་དམི་ནི་ (RtP 50) = Medhini (Skt.) (CSP 50)
 Me dra se མེ་དྲ་སེ་ (Tib.) (G74); **Plate 74**
Mekhalā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 66) [not identified among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
 Me kha la [female?] མེ་ཁ་ལ་ (KL 68) = Mekhalā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 66) (?)
 Me kha li [female?] མེ་ཁ་ལི་ (RtP 66) = Mekhalā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 66) (?)
 Me kha pa [female?] མེ་ཁ་པ་ (RtB 66) = Mekhalā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 66) (?)
Mekopa, Avadhūtipa (Skt.) (CSP 43) [not identified among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
 Me ko pa མེ་ཀོ་པ་ (RtB 43) (RtP 43) (KL 32) = Mekopa, Avadhūtipa (Skt.) (CSP 43)
 Me tog མེ་ཏོག་ (AS 84) = Skt. (?)
 Me tog pa མེ་ཏོག་པ་ (GsB 85) (GsS 84) = Skt. (?)
 Mi dhi na pa མི་དམི་ན་པ་ (RtSk 50) = Medhini (Skt.) (CSP 50)
 Mi dri ni མི་དྲི་ནི་ (Tib.) (G52) > Medhini (Skt.) (CSP 50); **Plate 52**
 Mi hi la མི་མི་ལ་ (RtSk 37) = Mahipa (Skt.) (CSP 37)
 Mi ka la [I] མི་ཀ་ལ་ (Tib.) (G41); **Plate 41**
 Mi ka la [II] མི་ཀ་ལ་ (Tib.) (G65); **Plate 65**
 Mi ko pa མི་ཀོ་པ་ (RtSk 43) = Mekopa, Avadhūtipa (Skt.) (CSP 43)
 Mi la wa [female?] མི་ལ་ཡ་ (RtSk 66) = Mekhalā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 66) (?)

Mi na da pa མིན་པ་ (GsS 51) (STh 51) =
 Mīnapa (Skt.) (CSP 08)
 Mi na pa མིན་པ་ (RtP 08) (KL 10) = Mīnapa
 (Skt.) (CSP 08)
Mīnapa (Skt.) (CSP 8); **Plate 8**
 Mī na pa མིན་པ་ (Rtsk 08) = Mīnapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 08)
 Mī na ra མིན་པ་ (AS 56) = Mīnapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 08)
 Mi na ra pa མིན་པ་ (GsB 51) = Mīnapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 08)
 Mi rtog pa མིན་པ་ (STh 84) = Skt. (?)
 Mi tra dzo ki མིན་པ་ (AS 71) = Mitrayogin
 (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1166]
 Mu tra pa མིན་པ་ (Rtsk 83) = Samudra (Skt.)
 (CSP 83)

N

Nā ga bho dhi ལྷ་གཞི་ (AS 29) = Nāgabodhi
 (Skt.) (CSP 76)
 Nā ga bhodhi ལྷ་གཞི་ (GsS 29) = Nāgabodhi
 (Skt.) (CSP 76)
 Nā ga bodhi ལྷ་གཞི་ (GsB 29) = Nāgabodhi
 (Skt.) (CSP 76)
 Nā ga bo dhi ལྷ་གཞི་ (KL 78) = Nāgabodhi
 (Skt.) (CSP 76)
 Na ga bo dhi ལྷ་གཞི་ (RtB 76) (RtP 76) (Rtsk
 76) = Nāgabodhi (Skt.) (CSP 76)
 Nāgabodhi, [Gorakṣa-] Nāgabodhi (?) (STh
 29) = Gorakṣa (Skt.) (CSP 09)
 Na ga bo dhi - Klu'i byang chub ལྷ་གཞི་ལྷ་གཞི་
 ལྷ་གཞི་ (Nar 24) = Nāgabodhi (Skt.) (CSP 76)
 Na ga bro di ལྷ་གཞི་ (G76) > Nāgabodhi
 (Skt.) (CSP 76); **Plate 76**
 Nā ga 'i dzu na ལྷ་གཞི་ (RtB 16) = Nāgārjuna
 (Skt.) (CSP 16)
 Nā gā rdzu na ལྷ་གཞི་ (KL 19) = Nāgārjuna
 (Skt.) (CSP 16)
 Nā gā rdzuna ལྷ་གཞི་ (RtP 16) = Nāgārjuna
 (Skt.) (CSP 16)
Nāgārjuna (Skt.) (CSP 16); **Plate 15**
 Nag gi dbang ལྷ་གཞི་ (AS 73) = Vāgīśvara
 (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1168]

Nag gi dbang phyug ལྷ་གཞི་ (GsB 73) =
 Vāgīśvara (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1168]
 Nag po pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (KL 20) = Kāṅhapa
 (Kṛṣṇacārī) (Skt.) (CSP 17)
 Nag po rdo rje ལྷ་གཞི་ (GsB 14) (GsS 14)
 (STh 14) (AS 14) = Kṛṣṇāvajra (Skt.)
 [CBI 1109]
 Nag po skyong ལྷ་གཞི་ (STh 24) = Kāṅhapa
 (Kṛṣṇacārī) (Skt.) (CSP 17)
 Nag po spyod ལྷ་གཞི་ (AS 50) = Kāṅhapa
 (Kṛṣṇacārī) (Skt.) (CSP 17)
 Nag po spyod pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (GsB 24)
 (GsS 24) = Kāṅhapa (Kṛṣṇacārī) (Skt.)
 (CSP 17)
 Na gu na ལྷ་གཞི་ (RtB 57) = Nirguṇapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 57)
 Na kalba [female] ལྷ་གཞི་ (RtP 67) =
 Kanakhalā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 67)
 Na ku ṅa ལྷ་གཞི་ (Rtsk 57) = Nirguṇapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 57)
 Na lendra ལྷ་གཞི་ (AS 11) = Nalendra (Skt.)
 [CBI 1106]
 Na le ndra pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (GsB 11) (GsS 11)
 (STh 11) = Nalendra (?) (Skt.) [CBI
 1106]
 rNal 'byor ma Grub pachan dPalmo ལྷ་གཞི་
 ལྷ་གཞི་ (Nar 82) = Skt. (?)
 rNal 'byor ma Me kha la [female?] ལྷ་གཞི་
 ལྷ་གཞི་ (Nar 81) = Mekhalā [female] (Skt.)
 (CSP 66) (?)
 Nā li kṣa na [female] ལྷ་གཞི་ (RtP 82) =
 Lakṣmīṅkarā [female] (Skt.) (CSP 82)
 Na li la ལྷ་གཞི་ (Tib.) (G59) > Nalinapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 40); **Plate 59**
 Na li na ལྷ་གཞི་ (RtB 40) (RtP 40) (Rtsk 40) =
 Nalinapa (Skt.) (CSP 40)
Nalinapa (Skt.) (CSP 40); **Plate 59**
 Na li pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (KL 55) = Nalinapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 40)
 Na pa ta ལྷ་གཞི་ (STh 79) = Skt. (?)
 Na ra pa ལྷ་གཞི་ [female Yoginī Siddhā] (G84)
 (Tib.); **Plate 84**
 Nar gu na ལྷ་གཞི་ (RtP 57) = Nirguṇapa (Skt.)

(CSP 57)
 Nā ro ལྷ་གཞི་ (RtB 20) (RtP 20) = Nāropa (Skt.)
 (CSP 20)
 Na ro pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (Tib.) (G20) > Nāropa (Skt.)
 (CSP 20); **Plate 20**
 Na ro pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (AS 28) = Nāropa (Skt.)
 (CSP 20)
Nāropa (Skt.) (CSP 20); **Plate 20**
 Nā ro pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (Rtsk 20) (KL 24) (GsB 16)
 (GsS 16) = Nāropa (Skt.) (CSP 20)
 Na ro pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (STh 16) (Nar 72) = Nāropa
 (Skt.) (CSP 20)
 Na ta pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (GsB 79) (GsS 79) (AS 77) =
 Nāthapāda (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1172]
 Ngag gi dbang phyug ལྷ་གཞི་ (GsS 73)
 (STh 73) = Vāgīśvara (?) (Skt.) [CBI
 1168]
 Ni gun ལྷ་གཞི་ (Tib.) (G54) > Nirguṇapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 57) (?); **Plate 54**
 Ni gu na ལྷ་གཞི་ (KL 60) = Nirguṇapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 57)
 Ni la kha pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (Tib.) (G82) > Nīlapāda
 (Skt.) [CBI 1143]; **Plate 82**
 Ni la pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (GsB 48) (GsS 48) (STh 48)
 (AS 48) = Nīlapāda (Skt.) [CBI 1143]
Nīlapāda (Skt.) [CBI 1143]; **Plate 82**
 Ni li pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (Nar 83) = Nīlapāda (Skt.)
 [CBI 1143]
 Ni mas sbas pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (GsB 72) =
 Ravigupta (?) [CBI 1161]
Nirguṇapa (Skt.) (CSP 57); **Plate 54**
 Nya nad pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (G8) > Mīnapa (Skt.)
 (CSP 8); **Plate 8**
 Nyi ma sbas ལྷ་གཞི་ (AS 66) = Ravigupta (?)
 [CBI 1161]
 Nyi ma sbas pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (GsS 72) (STh 72) =
 Ravigupta (?) [CBI 1161]
O
 O rgyan a ta pa ལྷ་གཞི་ (Nar 14) =
 Skt. (?)

P

Pacaripa (Skt.) (CSP 59) [not identified among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
 Padma badzra བུ་བུ་འཛམ་ (GsB 04) (AS 05) = Padmavajra (Skt.) [CBI 1100]
 Padma bajra བུ་བུ་འཛམ་ (GsS 04) (STh 04) = Padmavajra (Skt.) [CBI 1100]
 Padma ka ra བུ་ཀ་ར་ (GsS 49) (STh 49) (AS 47) = Padmākara (Skt.)
 Padma kā ra བུ་ཀ་ར་ (GsB 49) = Padmākara (Skt.)
 Padma rdo rje-Padma bajra བུ་རོ་རྗེ་པདྨ་བཟང་ (Nar 16) = Padmavajra (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1100]
 Pa dzu ki པ་འཇུ་གི་ (Tib.) (G44) > Jogipa (Skt.) (CSP 53); **Plate 44**
 Pa ga la pa pa པ་གཤམ་པ་པ་ (Nar 37) = Pagalapapa (?) (Skt.)
 Pa ga ra པ་གར་ (RtP 74) = Sakara (Saroruhavajra) (Skt.) (CSP 74)
 Pa ka pa lā པ་ཀ་པ་ལ་ (GsB 41) = Catrapa (Skt.) (CSP 23)
 Pam ka dza པམ་ཀ་ཇ་ (RtP 51) = Pañkajapa (Skt.) (CSP 51)
 Pa na ha པ་ན་ཧ་ (RtP 79) = Upanaha (Skt.) (CSP 79)
 Pa na ha pa པ་ན་ཧ་པ་ (RtSk 79) = Upanaha (Skt.) (CSP 79)
 Pa na ta པ་ན་ཏ་ (RtB 79) = Upanaha (Skt.) (CSP 79)
 Paṇ chen shri sh'a ri putra པཎ་ཅེན་ཤེ་ལྷི་ཤེ་རི་པུ་རྩ་ (Tib.) (G86) > Śri Śāriputra (Skt.); **Plate 86**
Pañkajapa (Skt.) (CSP 51) [not identified among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
 Pa ra pu si པ་ར་པུ་སི་ (AS 81) = Skt. (?)
 Pa ra su པ་ར་སུ་ (STh 81) = Skt. (?)
 Par ka li པ་ར་ཀ་ལི་ (Tib.) (G27) > Kālapa (Skt.) (CSP 27) (?); **Plate 27**
 Pa tsa ri པ་ཙ་རི་ (RtB 59) = Pacaripa (Skt.) (CSP 59)
 Pa tsi པ་ཙི་ (RtP 59) = Pacaripa (Skt.) (CSP 59)

Phag chang pa བཞག་ཇང་པ་ (GsS 25) (STh 25) = Skt. (?)
 'Phags pa lha འཕགས་པ་ལྷ་ (RtSk 18) (AS 04) = Āryadeva (Karnaripa) (Skt.) (CSP 18)
 'Phags pa lha - A rya de ba འཕགས་པ་ལྷ་ཨ་རུ་དེ་བ་ (Nar 64) = Āryadeva (Karnaripa) (Skt.) (CSP 18) (?)
 Phag tsad pa བཞག་ཙད་པ་ (GsB 25) = Anaṅgavajra (Skt.) [CBI 1137]
 Phag tshang pa བཞག་ཙང་པ་ (AS 42) = Skt. (?)
 Phu rtsas ga' ལུ་རུ་ས་གཤམ་ (RtB 74) = Sakara (Saroruhavajra) (Skt.) (CSP 74)
 Phya li pa (?) ལུ་ལི་པ་ (RtSk 21) = Śyalipa (Skt.) (CSP 21)
 Pra bha ka ra pā da-'Od gzer zhabs ལྷ་རྒྱལ་པ་ཤེ་འོད་གཟེང་ཞབས་ (Nar 25) = Prabhakarapāda (?) (Skt.)
 sPrin gyi shugs can ལྷིན་གྱི་ལུགས་ཅན་ (GsS 52) (STh 52) = Skt. (?)
 sPrin kyi shugs can ལྷིན་གྱི་ལུགས་ཅན་ (GsB 52) = Skt. (?)
 sPrin shugs can ལྷིན་གྱི་ལུགས་ཅན་ (AS 54) = Skt. (?)
 Pu ta la པུ་ཏ་ལ་ (RtB 78) = Putalipa (Skt.) (CSP 78)
 Pu ta li པུ་ཏ་ལི་ (KL 79) = Putalipa (Skt.) (CSP 78)
Putalipa (Skt.) (CSP 78); **Plate 78**
 Pu ta lo ki པུ་ཏ་ལོ་གི་ (STh 44) = Skt. (?)
 Pu ta pa པུ་ཏ་པ་ (Tib.) (G78) > Putalipa (Skt.) (CSP 78); **Plate 78**

R
 Ra bu ta ར་བུ་ཏ་ (Nar 33) = Rabuta (?) (Skt.)
Rāhula (Skt.) (CSP 47); **Plate 38**
 Rā hu la ར་ཁུ་ལ་ (RtP 47) (RtSk 47) (KL 35) = Rāhula (Skt.) (CSP 47)
 Ra hu la ར་ཁུ་ལ་ (Tib.) (G38) (RtB 47) > Rāhula (Skt.) (CSP 47); **Plate 38**
 Ral gri grub pa - Khaḍga siddhi རལ་གྱི་གུར་པ་ - མཎ་ཏ་གཤམ་མེད་ལྷི་བྱེད་ (Nar 49) = Khaḍgasiddhi (?) (Skt.)
 Ra ri pa ར་རི་པ་ (Tib.) (G77) > Dārikapa (Skt.) (CSP 77); **Plate 77**

Ratnākaraśānti (Skt.) > **Śāntipa** (Skt.) (CSP 12); **Plate 12**
 Ri khrod pa - Śa ra pa རི་ཁྲོད་པ་ - ཤ་ར་པ་ (Nar 10) = Śabara (Skt.)
 Rin chen 'byung gnas zhi ba - Rat na ya ka ra shan ti རིན་ཅེན་འབྲུང་གནས་ཞིབ་རྟན་ཡ་ཀ་ར་ཤམ་ཏི་ (Nar 74) = Ratnayakaraśānti (?) (Skt.)
 Rin chen myu gu - Ratnakura རིན་ཅེན་མུ་གུ་ར་རྒྱལ་ལུ་ (Nar 48) = Ratnakura (?) (Skt.)
 Rud pu ka རུད་པུ་ཀ་ (Tib.) (G26) > Āyogi (Skt.) (CSP 26) (?); **Plate 26**

S
 Sa chu ta ས་ཅུ་ཏ་ [female Yoginī Siddhā] (Tib.) (G83); **Plate 83**
 Sa dra zhabs ས་ད་ཞབས་ (Tib.) (G66); **Plate 66**
 Sa ga dza la ས་གཤམ་ཇ་ལ་ (KL 39) = Pañkajapa (Skt.) (CSP 51)
 Sa ha ra ས་ཧ་ར་ (Nar 09) = Sahara (?) (Skt.)
 Sa ka la ས་ཀ་ལ་ (KL 30) = Skt. (?)
 Sa ka pa ས་ཀ་པ་ (Tib.) (G73) > Sakara, Saroruhavajra (Skt.) (CSP 74); **Plate 73**
Sakara, Saroruhavajra (Skt.) (CSP 74); **Plate 73**
 Saṅga dza སེ་གཤམ་ཇ་ (RtB 51) = Pañkajapa (Skt.) (CSP 51)
Samudra (Skt.) (CSP 83) [not identified among the Gyantse mahāsiddhas]
 Sa mudra ས་མུ་དྭ་ (RtP 83) = Samudra (Skt.) (CSP 83)
 Sa mudra ས་མུ་དྭ་ (KL 83) = Samudra (Skt.) (CSP 83)
 Sa mu tra ས་མུ་ཏ་ (RtB 83) = Samudra (Skt.) (CSP 83)
 Sa na ha ས་ན་ཧ་ (KL 80) = Skt. (?)
 Sangs rgyas ye shes སངས་རྒྱལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ (GsB 13) (GsS 13) (STh 13) (AS 13) = Buddhajñāna (Skt.) [CBI 1108]
Śāntipa (Skt.) (CSP 12); **Plate 12**
 Sa pa dra ga ས་པ་ད་ར་ག་ (Tib.) (G75) > Sarvabhakṣa (Skt.) (CSP 75); **Plate 75**
 Sa ra gī ས་ར་གི་ [female Yoginī Siddhā] (Tib.) (G81); **Plate 81**

Saraha (Skt.) (CSP 6); **Plate 6**

Sa ra ha སར་ཀ་ (Tib.) (G6) (RtB 06) (RtP 06) (Rtsk 06) (KL 08) (GsS 05) (STh 05) (AS 01) (Nar 67) > Saraha (Skt.) (CSP 6);

Plate 6

Sa ra ha [I] སར་ཀ་ (GsB 05) = Saraha (Skt.) (CSP 06)

Sa ra ha [II] སར་ཀ་ (GsB 81) = Skt. (?)

Sa ra ka pa སར་ཀ་པ་ (GsB 33) = Sāgarapāda (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1129]

Sa ra na སར་ན་ (Tib.) (G79); **Plate 79**

Sa ra pu སར་པུ་ (GsS 81) = Skt. (?)

Sa ra su ka སར་སུ་ཀ་ (GsB 82) = Skt. (?)

Sarba bha ba སར་བ་བ་ (KL 77) = Sarvabhakṣa (Skt.) (CSP 75)

Sarba bhakṣa སར་བ་ཀ་ (RtB 75) = Sarvabhakṣa (Skt.) (CSP 75)

Sarba bhi kṣa སར་བ་ཀི་ཀ་ (RtP 75) = Sarvabhakṣa (Skt.) (CSP 75)

Sarba de སར་དེ་ (Tib.) (G39); **Plate 39**

Sarba du kṣa སར་དུ་ཀ་ (Rtsk 75) = Sarvabhakṣa (Skt.) (CSP 75)

Sar ka pa སར་ཀ་པ་ (GsS 33) (STh 33) (AS 34) = Sāgarapāda (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1129]

Saroruhavajra (Skt.) > Sakara (Skt.) (CSP 74); **Plate 73**

Sarvabhakṣa (Skt.) (CSP 75); **Plate 75**

Sa ta pa སར་ཏ་པ་ (Tib.) (G40); **Plate 40**

Śavaripa (Skt.) (CSP 5); **Plate 5**

Seng ge pa [I] སེང་གེ་པ་ (GsB 56) (STh 56) (AS 60) = Siṃhapāda (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1155]

Se nge pa [II] སེང་གེ་པ་ (GsS 56) = Siṃhapāda (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1155]

Seng ge pa [III] སེང་གེ་པ་ (GsB 77) (STh 77) (AS 78) = Siṃhapāda (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1155]

Sengge pa [II] སེང་གེ་པ་ (GsS 77) = Siṃhapāda (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1155]

Sengnge pa སེང་ངེ་པ་ (GsS 50) = Siddhapāda (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1153]

Sengnghipa སེང་ངེ་ཤི་པ་ (STh 50) = Siddhapāda (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1153]

gSer gling pa གསེར་གླིང་པ་ (GsB 38) (GsS 38) = Suvarṇadvīpika (Skt.) [CBI 1116]

gSer ling pa གསེར་ལིང་པ་ (STh 38) (AS 21) = Suvarṇadvīpika (Skt.) [CBI 1116]

Sha ba ri pa ཤ་བ་རི་པ་ (RtP 05) (GsB 27) = Śavaripa (Skt.) (CSP 05)

Sha de pa ཤ་དེ་པ་ (Tib.) (G32) > Bhandepa (Skt.) (CSP 32); **Plate 32**

Shākya bshes gnyen ཤ་ཀྱ་བཤེས་གཉེན་ (AS 64) (GsB 64) (GsS 64) (STh 64) = Śākyamitra (Skt.) [CBI 1159]

Sha li pa ཤ་ལི་པ་ (RtP 21) (KL 25) = Śyalipa (Skt.) (CSP 21)

Sha mi pa ཤ་མི་པ་ (Tib.) (G21) > Śyalipa (Skt.) (CSP 21); **Plate 21**

Shangka dza pa ཤ་ཀ་ང་པ་ (Rtsk 51) = Pañkajapa (Skt.) (CSP 51)

Shānti pa ཤ་ཤ་ནི་པ་ (RtP 12) (AS 33) = Śāntipa (Skt.) (CSP 12)

Shānti pa [I] ཤ་ཤ་ནི་པ་ (GsB 21) = Skt. (?)

Shānti pa [III] ཤ་ཤ་ནི་པ་ (GsB 34) = Śāntipa (Skt.) (CSP 12)

Shan ti pa ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་ (STh 34) = Śāntipa (Skt.) (CSP 12)

Shan ti pa [I] ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་ (GsS 21) = Skt. (?)

Shan ti pa [III] ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་ (GsS 34) = Śāntipa (Skt.) (CSP 12)

Shān ti pa ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་ (KL 14) = Śāntipa (Skt.) (CSP 12)

Shanti pa ཤ་ན་ཏི་པ་ (RtB 12) (Rtsk 12) = Śāntipa (Skt.) (CSP 12)

Sha wa ri ཤ་བ་རི་ (Rtsk 05) (AS 31) = Śavaripa (Skt.) (CSP 05)

Sha wa ri pa ཤ་བ་རི་པ་ (GsS 27) (STh 27) = Śavaripa (Skt.) (CSP 05)

Shā wa ri pa ཤ་བ་རི་པ་ (KL 07) = Śavaripa (Skt.) (CSP 05)

Sha wa ra pa ཤ་བ་ར་པ་ (RtB 05) = Śavaripa (Skt.) (CSP 05)

Sha yi pa ཤ་ཡི་པ་ (RtB 21) = Śyalipa (Skt.) (CSP 21)

Shwa ba ri pa ཤ་བ་རི་པ་ (Tib.) (G5) > Śavaripa (Skt.) (CSP 5); **Plate 5**

Si dha pa སི་ཏ་པ་ (AS 58) = Siddhapāda (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1153]

Sidha pa སི་ཏ་པ་ (GsB 50) = Siddhapāda (?) (Skt.) [CBI 1153]

Si ri pa སི་རི་པ་ (STh 54) = Skt. (?)

Si ya li སི་ཡ་ལི་ (GsB 71) (GsS 71) (STh 71) (AS 70) = Śyalipa (Skt.) (CSP 21)

So dra bo dhe སོ་ད་བོ་ད་ཏེ་ (Tib.) (G36); **Plate 36**

Spyod pa pa - Ca rgya pa སྤྱོད་པ་པ་ཙ་ར་རྒྱ་པ་ (Nar 53) = Cargyapa (?) (Skt.)

Śri dhara - dPal 'jin zhabs སྤྱི་ཏ་ར་ལ་དཔལ་འཇིན་ཞབས་ (Nar 68) = Śrīdhara (?) (Skt.)

Śri Śāriputra (Skt.); **Plate 86**

Su ta lo ki སུ་ཏ་ལོ་ཀི་ (GsB 44) (GsS 44) (AS 38) = Sataloki (Skt.) (?)

Su ta pa སུ་ཏ་པ་ (RtP 78) = Putalipa (Skt.) (CSP 78)

Śyalipa (Skt.) (CSP 21); **Plate 21**

T

Tai lo pa ཏེ་ལོ་པ་ (RtP 22) (KL 23) = Tilopa (Skt.) (CSP 22)

Ta ma ཏ་མ་ (RtP 36) = Dharmapa [I] (Skt.) (CSP 36)

Taṃ ba ka ཏཱ་བ་ཀ་ (GsB 42) = Kamparipa (Skt.) (CSP 45)

Tam pa ka ཏམ་པ་ཀ་ (GsS 42) (STh 42) = Kamparipa (Skt.) (CSP 45)

Tam pa ta ཏམ་པ་ཏ་ (AS 25) = Kamparipa (Skt.) (CSP 45)

Tan dha na ཏན་ཏྭ་ན་ (RtB 33) (RtP 33) = Tañtepa (Skt.) (CSP 33)

Tañtepa (Skt.) (CSP 33); **Plate 43**

Tante pa ཏན་ཏེ་པ་ (Rtsk 33) (KL 48) = Tañtepa (Skt.) (CSP 33)

Tantipa (Skt.) (CSP 13); **Plate 13**

Tanti pa ཏན་ཏི་པ་ (RtB 13) (RtP 13) (Rtsk 13) = Tantipa (Skt.) (CSP 13)

Tantra la ཏན་ཏྭ་ལ་ (GsB 18) = Tantrapa (Skt.) [CBI 1113]

Tan tra la ཏན་ཏྭ་ལ་ (GsS 18) = Tantrapa (Skt.) [CBI 1113]

Tantra pa ཏན་ཏྭ་པ་ (AS 18) = Tantrapa (Skt.)

- [CBI 1113]
Tan tra pa དྲན་ཏུ་ལ་ (STh 18) = Tantrapa (Skt.)
[CBI 1113]
Te lo pa ཏེ་ལོ་པ་ (GsB 23) (GsS 23) (AS 27) =
Tilopa (Skt.) (CSP 22)
Ten tra na pa འཇམ་ཏུ་ན་པ་ (Nar 52) = Tenranapa
(?) (Skt.)
Te ru sha ཏེ་རུ་ཤ་ (Tib.) (G33); **Plate 33**
Tha gan ཐག་གན་ (Tib.) (G13) > Tantipa (Skt.)
(CSP 13); **Plate 13**
Tha ga na ཐག་གན་ (Tib.) (G19) (RtB 19)
(KL 22) (GsB 35) (GsS 35) (STh 35) >
Thaganapa (Skt.) (CSP 19); **Plate 19**
Thaganapa (Skt.) (CSP 19); **Plate 19**
Tha ga pa-Tan tra la ཐག་གན་པ་དྲན་ཏུ་ལ་ (Nar 15) =
Tantrapa (Skt.) [CBI 1113]
Thag ga pa ཐག་གན་པ་ (AS 35) = Tantipa (Skt.)
(CSP 13)
Thag pa mkhan ཐག་པ་མཁན་ (Nar 66) = Skt. (?)
Tha ka na ཐག་ན་ (RtP 19) (Rtsk 19) =
Thaganapa (Skt.) (CSP 19)
Thod pa chan - Ka pa li ཐོད་པ་ཚལ་ཀ་པ་ལི་
(Nar 28) = Kapali (?) (Skt.)
Thog pa med pa ཐོག་པ་མེད་པ་ (GsS 78) = Asaṅga
(Skt.)
Thogs med ཐོག་པ་མེད་ (STh 78) (AS 80) =
Asaṅga (Skt.)
Thogs pa med pa ཐོག་པ་མེད་པ་ (GsB 78) =
Asaṅga
Ti la blo ba ཏི་ལ་བློ་བ་ (RtB 22) = Tilopa (Skt.)
(CSP 22)
Til brdung pa ཏི་ལ་བརྟུང་པ་ (KL 64) = Skt. (?)
Ti lla pa ཏི་ལ་ལོ་པ་ (Rtsk 22) = Tilopa (Skt.)
(CSP 22)
Ti lli pa ཏི་ལ་ལི་པ་ (STh 23) = Tilopa (Skt.)
(CSP 22)
Tilopa (Skt.) (CSP 22); **Plate 22**
Ti lo pa ཏི་ལོ་པ་ (Tib.) (G22) (Nar 30) > Tilopa
(Skt.) (CSP 22); **Plate 22**
Tindra pa ཏིང་རྩ་པ་ (KL 16) = Skt. (?)
Tinggi pa ཏིང་གི་པ་ (Rtsk 31) = Deṅgipa (Skt.)
(CSP 31)
rTog rce pa ཏོག་རེ་པ་ (STh 17) = Koṭālipa
(Skt.) (CSP 44)
Tog rce pa - Kha ni tam ཏོག་རེ་པ་མ་ཁ་ཉི་ཏམ་
(Nar 22) = Koṭālipa (Skt.) (CSP 44)
Tog rce pa ཏོག་རེ་པ་ (GsS 17) = Koṭālipa (Skt.)
(CSP 44)
Tog rtse ba ཏོག་རེ་བ་ (Rtsk 44) = Koṭālipa
(Skt.) (CSP 44)
Tog tse ba ཏོག་ཅེ་བ་ (GsB 17) (AS 16) =
Koṭālipa (Skt.) (CSP 44)
Tog tse pa ཏོག་ཅེ་པ་ (KL 15) = Koṭālipa (Skt.)
(CSP 44)
Ṭom bhi ba [I] ཏོམ་བེ་བ་ (RtB 04) = Ḍombipa,
Ḍombiheruka (Skt.) (CSP 04)
Ṭom bhi ba [II] ཏོམ་བེ་བ་ (RtB 28) = Dhobīpa
(Skt.) (CSP 28)
Ṭo mbhi he ru ka ཏོ་མེ་བེ་ཧེ་རུ་ཀ་ (Rtsk 04) =
Ḍombipa, Ḍombiheruka (Skt.) (CSP 04)
Tombhī pa ཏོམ་བེ་པ་ (RtP 04) = Ḍombipa,
Ḍombiheruka (Skt.) (CSP 04)
Ṭom bhi pa ཏོམ་བེ་པ་ (RtP 28) = Dhobīpa (Skt.)
(CSP 28)
Tsa ba re ཅལ་རེ་ (GsB 70) = Carbaripa
(Carpati) (Skt.) (CSP 64)
Tsa ba ri pa ཅལ་རི་པ་ (RtB 64) = Carbaripa
(Carpati) (Skt.) (CSP 64)
Tsa da ka ཅད་ཀ་ (Tib.) (G60) > Celukapa
(Skt.) (CSP 54); **Plate 60**
Tsa'u ra ཅུ་རུ་ར་ (KL 12) = Cauraṅgipa (Skt.)
(CSP 10)
Tsa lo ki ཅལ་ལོ་ཀི་ (KL 42) = Celukapa (Skt.)
(CSP 54)
Tsa lu ka ཅལ་ལུ་ཀ་ (RtB 54) (RtP 54) = Celukapa
(Skt.) (CSP 54)
Tsa lu ki pa ཅལ་ལུ་ཀི་པ་ (Rtsk 54) = Celukapa
(Skt.) (CSP 54)
Tsa ma'i ri pa ཅམ་འི་རི་པ་ (RtB 14) = Cāmāripa
(Skt.) (CSP 14)
Tsa ma ri pa ཅམ་རི་པ་ (RtP 14) (Rtsk 14)
(KL 17) = Cāmāripa (Skt.) (CSP 14)
Tsam pa ka ཅམ་པ་ཀ་ (RtB 60) (RtP 60) (KL 62)
= Campaka (Skt.) (CSP 60)
Tsam pa ka pa ཅམ་པ་ཀ་པ་ (Rtsk 60) = Campaka
(Skt.) (CSP 60)
Tsanda li ཅན་ད་ལྷི་ (GsB 65) (AS 63) =
Caṅḍālīpāda (Skt.)
Tsandra go mi ཅན་ད་གོ་མི་ (GsB 20) (AS 20) =
Candragomi (Skt.) [CBI 1115]
Tsa pa ri ཅཔ་རི་ (AS 68) = Carbaripa (Carpati)
(Skt.) (CSP 64)
Tsa pa ri pa ཅཔ་རི་པ་ (KL 61) = Carbaripa
(Carpati) (Skt.) (CSP 64)
Tsa ri pa ཅརི་པ་ (Rtsk 59) = Pacaripa (Skt.)
(CSP 59)
Tsa rwa ṭi pa ཅར་ཏི་པ་ (Rtsk 64) = Carbaripa
(Carpati) (Skt.) (CSP 64)
Tsarya pa ཅར་ཡུ་པ་ (AS 61) = Caryāpāda (?)
(Skt.) [CBI 1156]
Tsa rya pa ཅར་ཡུ་པ་ (GsB 63) = Caryāpāda (?)
(Skt.) [CBI 1156]
Tsa ta pa ཅར་ཏ་པ་ (KL 26) = Catrapa (Skt.)
(CSP 23)
Tsa tā pa (?) ཅར་ཏ་པ་ (Rtsk 23) = Catrapa (Skt.)
(CSP 23)
Tsa tra pa ཅར་ཏ་པ་ (RtP 23) = Catrapa (Skt.)
(CSP 23)
Tsau ranggi pa ཅོ་རང་གི་པ་ (Rtsk 10) =
Cauraṅgipa (Skt.) (CSP 10)
Tsha pa ri ཅཔ་རི་ (Tib.) (G56) > Carbaripa
(Skt.) (CSP 64) (painting destroyed)
Tshem bu pa ཅེམ་བུ་པ་ (AS 44) = Kantalipa
(Skt.) (CSP 69)
Tshim bu pa ཅེམ་བུ་པ་ (GsB 47) = Kantalipa
(Skt.) (CSP 69)
Tsho rang ki ཅོ་རང་གི་ (Tib.) (G10)) >
Cauraṅgipa (Skt.) (CSP 10); **Plate 10**
mTsho skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐྱེས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ (GsB 06)
(AS 06) = Sakara (Saroruhavajra) (Skt.)
(CSP 74)
mTs'o skyes rdo rje མཚོ་སྐྱེས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ (KL 76) =
Sakara (Saroruhavajra) (Skt.) (CSP 74)
Tsi tra ri pa ཅི་ཏ་རི་པ་ (RtB 23) = Catrapa (Skt.)
(CSP 23)
Tso rang gi ཅོ་རང་གི་ (RtB 10) = Cauraṅgipa
(Skt.) (CSP 10)
gTso rang gi གཅོ་རང་གི་ (RtP 10) = Cauraṅgipa
(Skt.) (CSP 10)

