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## Shaping Space, Constructing Identity: The Illuminated *Yum chen mo* Manuscript at Pooh, Kinnaur\*

Recent finds of manuscripts in Western Tibet, their documentation and analysis<sup>1</sup> as well as those of regions in Nepal (Dolpo) (see Heller 2009), which were historically linked, have substantially enlarged our knowledge of early Tibetan miniature painting. On the basis of the illustrations in the *Yum chen mo* (*Prajñāpāramitā*) manuscript (abbreviated YM) at Pooh, Upper Kinnaur, in historical Western Tibet, the processes of cultural transfer will be examined and the integration of models to make a wholly new artistic entity, creating an entirely new type of manuscript in comparison to those produced in India and Nepal. The following study will focus on the relationship between text and image, as it were transcending the “traditional” borders between genres. The close connection between manuscripts

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<sup>1</sup> See Allinger 2006; Harrison 2007, 2009; Allinger and Kalantari 2012; Allinger, Tsering Gyalpo and Kalantari 2012, Allinger and Luczanits, “A Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of Tabo monastery”, this volume; Melzer, forthcoming. (Earlier works dealing with selected aspects of this manuscript are Klimburg-Salter 1994a, 1994b and 1994c: 62–64.)

Furthermore, in recent years a huge body of manuscripts has come to light in many places, some brought from hiding places to monasteries or found in locked chambers in temples (such as in Khorchag), which makes it possible to undertake comparative research on manuscripts from various centres of historical Western Tibet.

and mural paintings will be illustrated with concrete examples. In addition, this study will examine both how local architectural features and elements of courtly material culture and luxury art were transformed to represent a typical sacred space and the way in which the importance of the donors and the ruling elite of the emerging West Tibetan dynasty was emphasised in a previously unknown form.

The village of Pooh (Fig. 1) lies on an important position on the trade route that once connected the north-west Indian plains with the Western Himalayas, and in particular the area of historical Western Tibet (mNga’ ris skor gsum). The historical importance of the village as part of the West Tibetan kingdom is shown inter alia by a carved stone pillar (*rdo ring*) with an inscription recording the name of Ye shes ’od (Jahoda 2011, Jahoda and Kalantari, “Power and religion in pre-modern Western Tibet: The monumental Avalokiteśvara stela in ICog ro, Purang”, this volume, pp. 34–35).<sup>2</sup>



1. Pooh village with the Translator’s temple (Lotsāba *lha khang*), Pooh, Upper Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh, India (C. Kalantari, 2009).

2. *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Yum chen mo*) MS, folio 1 verso (C. Kalantari, 2009).



<sup>2</sup> Earlier contributions regarding the historical classification of this *rdo ring* are by Thakur 1994, Vitali 1996 and Petech 1997.



3. *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, final page, Dolpo (after Heller 2009: fig. 136).

4. Pooh, Lotsāba *lha khang*, *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* MS, detail Fig. 2 (left): Māravijaya (C. Kalantari, 2009).

The provenance of the YM is not entirely certain. Today it is stored in a small temple called the “Translator’s temple” (Lotsāba *lha khang*), the sanctum of which contains wooden images that are the temple’s only remaining ancient artefacts (Luczanits 2004: fig. 62). While the latter are datable on stylistic basis to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the manuscript is perhaps from a later, perhaps 12<sup>th</sup> century date, as will be shown, due to stylistic similarities with paintings in the Nako Lotsāba *lha khang*. Thus the manuscript perhaps cannot be directly related to the time of foundation of the temple at Pooh. However, the quality, in technological and stylistic terms, as well as the use of gold (in contrast to simpler renderings produced at the same period, as can be seen in various libraries such as Tabo and Khorchag), suggests an aristocratic donorship, perhaps in connection with the decoration or restoration of a temple, associated with the local elite.

The manuscript has been identified as a *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Allinger and Kalantari 2012). Folio 2 *recto* gives the title of the book in the first line: *rgya gar skad du* [in Indian language] *sha ta sa ha sri ka prad nya pa ra myi ta* [*Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*], *bod skad du* [in Tibetan language] *shes rab kyi pha rold tu phyind pa stong phrag brgya pa* [*Prajñāpāramitā* in 100,000 stanzas, *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*], and also indicates the volume (*dum bu dang po*, first volume) and section (*bam po thog ma*, first section).<sup>3</sup>

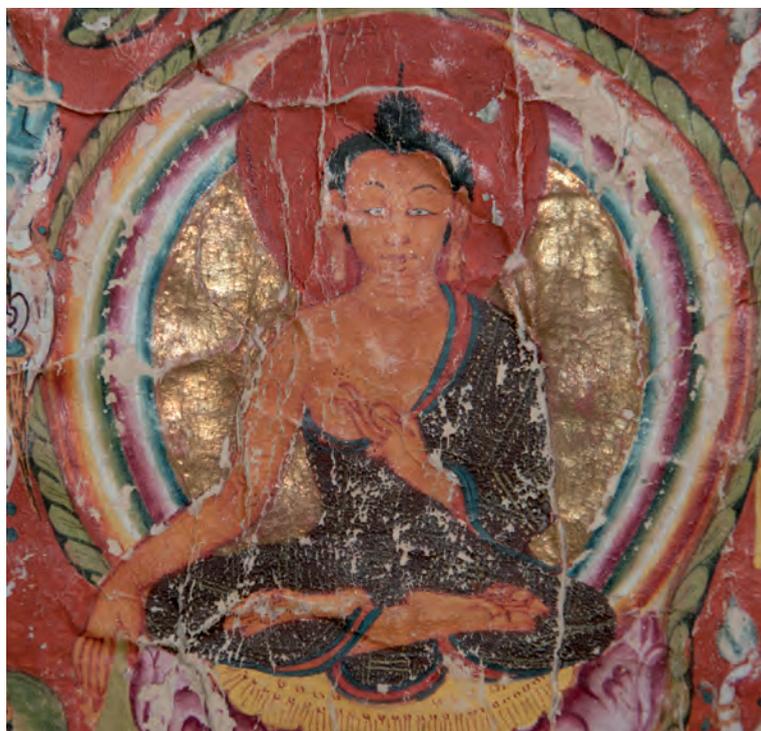
The book (Fig. 2; Cat. nos. 1 and 2, pp. 387–388) has the typical oblong format and horizontal orientation and consists of pages made

<sup>3</sup> *Bam po* are placed as “titles” at the beginning of the section, whereas chapter indications (*le’u*) are always at the end of the chapter (see Steinkellner 1994 on the structure of foliation or pagination system of West Tibetan manuscripts). The extant YM at Pooh contains the first five chapters of this text as the last folio (*Ka Nga* 26, this is folio 326 *recto*) ends with *le’u lnga pa’o*, “[end of] chapter five”. Thus the volume contains roughly one tenth of the whole text (as the various editions are divided into 72 to 77 chapters; see Allinger and Luczanits, “A Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of Tabo monastery”, this volume, n. 6, p. 344, referring to research by Gudrun Melzer).



of fine, ivory-toned paper with illustrations commonly on the *recto* side. The wooden cover is perhaps a later (13<sup>th</sup> century) addition. The format and the two circles are reminders of the original palm-leaf manuscripts of the Indian tradition, indicating that they were held together by thread. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century the palm leaf was replaced by paper. The folios are typically first wrapped in a textile cover (*dpe ras, na bza'*), then they are placed between the wooden covers (*glegs shing*) and bound together with thread (*glegs thag*). The manuscript kept at Pooh comprises 326 folios, which are published here for the first time as an entirety. Folio 1 (Fig. 2) is smaller than the rest of the pages and measures 18.0/18.5 to 53 cm, while the following folios (starting with folio 2; Fig. 7) are ca. 19.5 high and 65 cm wide. The cover is slightly larger (ca. 22 x 73 cm). There are ten lines of text on each page and—beginning with folio 1 *verso* (Fig. 2)—an illustration (ca. 6.8 x 7 cm), with a few exceptions in the centre of the *recto* side.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Based on the photographic documentation of the YM by the author in October 2009 and a re-examination by Patrick Sutherland (University of the Arts, London) and Dechen Lhundup from Tabo village in Pooh in December 2012 (as contained in a report sent to Christian Jahoda on Dec. 10, 2012), the pagination of the first one hundred folios (1 to 100) is identified by the letter *Ka* (written in red) and the written number. The first folio has no pagination. On the *recto* side at the centre is the short title of the text (*Yum chen mo shes*



5. Pooh, Lotsāba *lha khang*, *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* MS, detail Fig. 2 (left): Māravijaya (C. Kalantari, 2009).

6. Pooh, Lotsāba *lha khang*, *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* MS, detail Fig. 2 (right): Buddha assembly (C. Kalantari, 2009).

As shown in Allinger (2006) and Allinger and Kalantari (2012), the concept and organisation of the illuminated books in Western Tibet developed independently of their Indian models. On the first illustrated folio (folio 1 *verso*) (Fig. 2) there is a large image in both the left-hand and right-hand margins, and the intervening panel with text is richly inscribed—with a graceful and confident script—in gold on a dark ground. As a unique feature, the verses on the first folio command the reader to approach the text—the true teachings of the Buddha—with intensiveness and respect. Also the relation between text and image shows a completely new approach: not only does the image on the first page refer to the succeeding text in a previously unknown form, but also the text on the intervening panel, the text for an invocation, is interrelated with the image on this folio

*rab kyī pha rol du phyin pa bzhugs so*; see Cat. no. 2). On folio 2 *recto* the pagination starts with *Ka gnyis*, etc. up to folio 100. There is no folio 57 but folio 56 is paginated 56/57. The second hundred folios (from 101 to 200) are identified by the letters *Ka Na* (*na* is subscribed under *ka*) and the next (from 201 to 300) are identified by *Ka Ma* (*ma* is subscribed under *ka*). The rest of the folios (up to folio 326) are identified by *Ka Nga*. This system corresponds to Volume Pagination III (“letter volume signature and hundreds marked noted by subscript letters”) in Scherrer-Schaub’s classification (Scherrer-Schaub 1999: 22). [editor’s note/CJ].

and the subsequent text. Though this text follows specific Sanskrit models, it usually does not occur in this position in books, as has been shown by Gudrun Melzer, who also provided a translation (see Allinger and Kalantari 2012: Appendix). Usually the last page with the colophon has detailed images of donors and their families (cf. the folio in the Pritzker collection, Fig. 3). In this respect there must have been established rules in Nepal and Western Tibet, while in Indian palm-leaf manuscripts donors are mentioned in the colophon but as a rule not depicted.

### The Frontispiece

The first illustrated page is remarkable for the ample use of brilliant colours and highlights, with gold and silver, creating a space bathed in the light of the rising sun. Folio 1 *verso* shows Māra’s assault in the left-hand margin (Figs. 2, 4, 5) and a Buddha assembly in the right (Fig. 6). The latter scene is perhaps referring to descriptions of the Buddha realm at the beginning of the book, as will be shown.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>5</sup> In previous research, the close relation to the scene of Māra and typical iconographic elements namely gazelles and a wheel which appear to be depicted in the upper level of the shrine’s superstructure led me to identify this as the First Sermon of the Buddha. Recent findings of related textual sources suggest an identification as a Buddha assembly.

scene features a palace, or rather two-dimensional throne-frame, of the Buddha consisting of an assemblage of architectonic elements used as set-pieces in a very decorative form, not intending to mimic real architecture. Complex architectonic thrones—which developed parallel to thrones crowned by animals—are a *leitmotif* of Western Himalayan art in different media. We find a combination of abstract geometric elements, zoomorphic forms, features of buildings (perhaps alluding to wooden temples as well as wood-stone architecture typical in this region) and honorific furniture,<sup>6</sup> all arranged in a planar fashion. Also the seat of the Buddha with its sumptuous textile decoration is folded flat to create a decorative element of the abstract frame. This throne or sacred space transcends the heaviness of substance rather than resting on a ground and thus combining an earthly/mundane and a metaphysical space. The decorative appearance of this throne is enhanced through the application of high-relief and gold, rather recalling metalwork. Furthermore, the gold script (chrysography) on the dark blue background enhances the magic and sumptuousness of this sacred space. A very similar hybrid, even more “fantastic” architectonic space combining a throne and palace can be found on a folio in the Pritzker collection (Fig. 3) and another one in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art/LACMA (cf. Pal 1983: Fig. j on p. 125).

The horizontal beams of the shrine provide a grid system for the listeners, gods and humans who have come to hear the teaching of the Buddha. These symmetrically arranged groups of devotees do not create a depth of (mundane) space but they are also arranged in a very planar, decorative manner, without gravity. The donors—members of local elite—are prominently depicted within this space, embedded in the radiance and glory of the sphere of the Buddha.<sup>7</sup>

*The Large Sutra of Perfect Wisdom* (Conze 1979)<sup>8</sup> gives detailed descriptions of the wonderful qualities of the Buddha while demonstrating the *dharma*, recalling the approach towards space of

<sup>6</sup> This approach to ornament is faintly reminiscent of European manuscript illumination, e.g. an 11<sup>th</sup> century frontispiece (preface/eulogy before the liturgy) from Canterbury (cf. Pächt 1984: fig. 45).

<sup>7</sup> Of interest is the position of the theme at the beginning of a book cover, C-14 dated to 9<sup>th</sup> century, attributed by P. Pal (2008: fig. 5) to Kashmir, featuring a Buddha assembly flanked by donors, Indic gods—such as Brahmā—and *nāgas* in the lower zone, all guarding the threshold to the sphere of the Buddha. However, a geographic attribution of this fine piece is extremely difficult. Both the size and the style are unique; while certain figural features recall the Gilgit manuscript covers (*ibid.*), features like the characteristic trapezoid throne rather recall the art of Nepal.

<sup>8</sup> Here I use Conze’s work, whose translation is based mainly on the version in 25,000 lines, while passages for chapters 1–21 are from the version in 100,000 lines. Thus parallels between text and image can only be drawn in a general manner.

the enthroned Buddha in the YM.<sup>9</sup> At the beginning of the book the scene is described:

“Thereupon the Lord, having himself arranged the Lion Seat, sat down [...] he entered into the concentration [...]. Thereupon the Lord, mindful and self-possessed, emerging from his concentration [...] surveys with the Heavenly Eye the entire world system. His whole body became radiant.” (Conze 1979: 38).

“And through these rays this great trichiliocosm was illumined and lit up. And in the East world systems as numerous as the sands of the Ganges were, by this great illumination of rays, lit up and became illumined. [...] And the beings who were lit up and illumined by his great illumination of rays, they all became fixed on the utmost, right and perfect enlightenment.” (*ibid.*: 39).

“There the Tathagata stood in all his glory, shone forth, gleamed and shed light, surpassing with his splendour, lustre, brilliancy and beauty world systems [...]. Thereupon the lord exhibited His own natural body on this great trichiliocosm. The gods of the world of sense desire and of the world of form [...] saw the glorified body of the Tathagata. They took celestial flowers, incense, perfume, garlands, ointments, powders, robes, parasols, flags, banners, and streamers; [...] and they approached with them the glorified body of the Tathagata. [...] In this great trichiliocosm, and in all the world systems, the same thought occurred to each one of these gods and men: ‘It is for me that the Tathagata, seated there, demonstrates Dharma.’” (*ibid.*: 41).

As a characteristic feature of West Tibetan manuscript painting, luxury and status culture of the ruling elite are integrated and transformed into an expression of the glory and radiance of the Buddha and his realm, as will be shown below. In this religio-artistic sphere, luxury also signifies the wealth of offerings from this elite to the religious establishments in their realm as a means of securing social cohesion and legitimacy; of course the act of donations of sumptuous garments and other costly paraphernalia is a constant element of ritual and redemption in Buddhist culture from very early on.

Also on an iconographic level there are significant parallels with the beginning of the book describing the scene of the sermon:

<sup>9</sup> Conze (1979: 2) described the “wonderful qualities of the Buddha and his great wonder-working power [...] taken as tokens of his capacity to teach the real truth about the actual facts of existence. [...] The descriptions wish to magnify the Buddha’s stature in the eyes of the reader, and to generate and foster an attitude of pure faith in his authority. At the same time [...] they try to give an idea of his true body and personality which are immense and inconceivable.”

“Thus have I heard at one time. The Lord dwelt at Rajagriha, on the Vulture Peak, together with a large gathering of monks, with 1,250 monks, all of them Arhats [...] great Serpents, their work done, their tasks accomplished, their burden laid down, their own weal accomplished, with the fetters that bound them to becoming extinguished, their hearts well freed by right understanding, in perfect control of their whole minds—with 500 nuns, laymen, and laywomen, all of them liberated in this present life—and with hundreds of thousands of niyutas of kotis of Bodhisattvas—all of whom had acquired the Dharaṇis [...]” (*ibid.*: 37).

The *nāgas* below the throne and the group of Indic gods on the top, among them Brahmā, as well as laymen and laywomen depicted in the YM correspond to this description.

Also the Māravijaya scene (featuring the Buddha displaying *bhūmiśparśamudrā*, standing for the victory over Māra and enlightenment) (Figs. 4–5) shows a specific approach towards nature and ornament: the aureole is encircled by the leaves of a tree (the Bodhi tree, the place of enlightenment of the Buddha). Nature is permitted an expression of an inner emotion and it participates in the situation by the tree protectively embracing the Buddha.<sup>10</sup> The expressive drawings outside the cartouche with the sitting Buddha in them are remarkable. Featuring demonic creatures and scrollwork characterised by a confident, spontaneous stroke, these images appear to transcend the pictorial space and to intrude into the space of script, emphasising the symbiosis of text and image in this folio.<sup>11</sup> As already observed by Allinger (2006), although the image is intended to represent a sequence of events, it initially gives the impression of a coherent group in an imaginary space.

As mentioned above, another characteristic feature is that the organisation of illustrations in West Tibetan manuscripts gradually changed in comparison to their Indian models. The YM images in the first folio refer directly to the succeeding text in the manuscript.<sup>12</sup> In his book *Mittelalterliche Buchmalerei* (a lecture series held at the

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also comparable symbolism of trees in the *jātaka* of the starving tigress, the *Vyāghrī-* or *Mahāsattvajātaka* depicted in the Zhag cave (see Gu ge Tse ring rgyal po and Kalantari, “Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga’ ris, Western Tibet”, this volume, 416–417). Cf. also Pächt 1984: 178 for comparable phenomena in European medieval book illuminations.

<sup>11</sup> Comparable graphic depictions in black showing astonishing variations of human types and facial expressions are depicted at Nako (Lotsāba *lha khang*, protector deity Agni, positioned outside the *maṇḍala*).

<sup>12</sup> Another folio from Tabo featuring the veneration of the *Yum chen mo* manuscript mentions this episode in the text of the same folio (Allinger and Luczanits, “A Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of Tabo monastery”, this volume, Fig. 9, p. 345).



University of Vienna in 1967/68 and published 1984), Otto Pächt described this process of change in the image-text relationship in European medieval art of the book: “Das Wort ist Bild geworden” (Pächt 1984: 42). A comparable process is also observable in Western Tibet. Accordingly, the book becomes a space that is physically and spiritually graspable while leafing through the book. A parallel phenomenon can also be found in the decorative programme temples (see below).<sup>13</sup> To summarise, the frontispiece plays an integral role in the organism of the book, representing Māra’s assault, an invocation text and the essential Buddhist theme of the Mahāyāna assembly. The last of these aim at inviting the local devotees to reflect on and follow the *dharma* significant in this phase of propagation of the new belief system, which was in the region.

### The Second Folio and the Theme of the 1000 Buddhas on the Following Pages

So far the information in the first line of folio 2 *recto* containing the title, volume and section number of the book has not yet been accounted for, nor has the iconography of the images been fully understood (Fig. 7; Cat. no. 4).<sup>14</sup> The text starts in the second line of folio 2 *recto* with the beginning of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* (see Conze 1961). The images on this folio feature vignettes of two seated figures in the centre—one of them is a Buddha while the second is without *uṣṇīṣa*—and two divinities on the margins (Figs. 8–10). There is an 18-armed female deity on the left-hand side and a green bodhisattva on the right. The female goddess represents Cundī, also called the “mother of all Buddhas” and often equated

<sup>13</sup> A reciprocal process is also observable, namely, “the image became word”, as seen in the intervening panel of the Pooh frontispiece describing the intention of the painting, and later in a different way in inscriptions in the *jātaka* of the Zhag cave, which comment and explain the individual pictures, rather than representing independent excerpts of the text as shown at Tabo (cf. Steinkellner 1996).

<sup>14</sup> Klimburg-Salter (1994a: fig. 9) published a part of this folio but without providing an identification.

7. Pooh, Lotsāba *lha khang*, *Satasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, folio 2 (*Ka gnyis*) *recto* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

8–10. Details *Śatasāhasrikā*  
*Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript,  
folio 2 (*Ka gnyis*) recto  
(C. Kalantari, 2009).



with the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Her function is related to the cult of the book, i.e. rituals with purifying effects from which the donor and any devotee who recites the *mantra* can benefit. Her position at the beginning of the book also supports this assumption, but her function in this context needs further examination.<sup>15</sup> She is shown in one of her different forms, but without attributes (cf. de Mallmann 1986: 143–144). The deity sits on a lotus, is yellow/golden or white, the palm of each hand is marked with an eye. The ‘painterly’ style with subtle shading is comparable to that of a female deity at Nako representing a local Kashmir-inspired school (Fig. 11). As a characteristic feature of a group of folios at the beginning of the book, silver can be found in the inner circle of the halo and

it is also used as highlights. This is also the case at Nako (Lotsāba *lha khang*, south wall). The whole composition and the position and gestures of the gods suggest an inner relationship between them, typical of mandalic configurations in this period. The text on this folio representing the beginning of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* describes a conversation between the Buddha and an elder.

“The lord said to the Venerable Subhuti, the Elder: Make it clear now, Subhuti, to the Bodhisattas, the great beings, starting from perfect wisdom, how the Bodhisattvas, the great beings go forth into perfect wisdom.” (Conze 1975: 89).

The middle scene with a preaching Buddha and a monk facing him recalls this conversation and also a bodhisattva is mentioned in this text. Although Subhuti is one of the most important discussion partners of the Buddha in the text, he is not mentioned on this folio and so the attribution as Subhuti must remain speculative.

At the level of an iconographic configuration and spatial position in a temple it is reminiscent of Bodhisattva Pramuditarāja requesting Buddha Śākyamuni to teach the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (*skal pa bzang po'i mdo*). The bodhisattva is depicted in a discourse scene with the Buddha in the entrance (east wall) of the Tabo sanctum’s ambulatory (Fig. 12). At Tabo—in close relation to the latter scene—protectors are positioned directly above the door (Indra, Brahmā, and perhaps a form of Avalokiteśvara, as a six-armed multi-headed deity with horse-head on the top),<sup>16</sup> which recalls the protective function of the left-hand-side goddess in the manuscript; also the position, closest



11. Nako, Lotsāba *lha khang*, female deity  
(C. Kalantari, 2009).

<sup>15</sup> Among the earliest textual sources of Cundī and the Cundī Dhāraṇī is the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* centered around the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and that also introduces the popular *mantra om maṇi padme hūṃ* (cf. Studholme 2002: 175, n. 145). According to de Mallmann (1986: 143) Cundī/Cundā is titular of three *sādhanas* (*Sāadhanamālā* 129 to 131). The deity was integrated into Buddhist legends as the one who offered the Buddha the last meal before the *parinirvāṇa*. Mallmann (*ibid.*) remarks that she was perhaps originally considered impure and thus of lower rank, which is confirmed by her appearance as *dhāraṇīs*.

According to de Mallmann (1986: 150) the *dhāraṇīs*, or queens of ‘magic science’ belong to the oldest texts of tantric character; they are short formulas charged with magic power and used for specific purposes. Furthermore in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (21) and *Kriyāsamgraha* the term *dhāraṇī* denotes a series of deities—among them is also Cundī/Cundā—placed in specific positions, namely the second circle of the *maṇḍala* of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara. The ten *dhāraṇīs* and the deities associated with them are visualised and worshipped with their formulas during tantric Buddhist rituals described in the aforementioned *Kriyāsamgraha*, representing acts of worship “to accumulate merit for the benefit of the construction of monastic buildings”, which transform the monastic ground into a perfect abode of deities (Skorupski 2002: 6; cf. *ibid.* also p. 33 on Cundā).

<sup>16</sup> Among other objects, the god holds a lotus and pot. For a comparison see Pal 1975: fig. 78; in this the author proposes influences by the demonic Brahmanical god Hayagrīva.



12. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, ambulatory, bodhisattva above the portal (C. Kalantari, 2009).

13. Manuscript folio, Khorchag, Purang District (Tsering Gyalpo, 2004).

14. Nako, Lotsāba *lha khang*, detail, *maṇḍala* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

15. Nako, Lotsāba *lha khang*, detail, *maṇḍala* (C. Kalantari, 2009).

to the “portal” of the first page, is similar. This page of the YM is thus another indication of the close relation between image and text and how the book can be perceived spatially.

In contrast to the sumptuous first page and configuration of deities, or Buddha-conversation on the second page, the subsequent folios have rectangular vignettes of single Buddhas and some images of the life of the Buddha (Cat. nos. 192, 194, 201, 221), which appear to be randomly dispersed and no inner relationship is observable. These feature the Buddha with a monkey holding a bowl, representing the miracle of Vaiśālī, the first bath of the Buddha and the Buddha sitting in *bhadrāsana* (representing Buddha in Tuṣita heaven). The scenes are of high technical and artistic quality, reminiscent of the first page.

The single Buddhas most likely represent the widespread spiritual programme of the 1000 Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa (present auspicious aeon) popular in this region from very early on.<sup>17</sup> The Buddhas are depicted sitting on lotus bases and encircled by nimbs (*prabhāmaṇḍala*). Gold is not found on these later pages, in contrast to a manuscript folio at Khorchag featuring a single Buddha in gold executed in a magnificently unique quality (Fig. 13). The single Buddhas, as a rule, have almond-shaped eyes and small, narrow lips. Facial features such as eyes and eyebrows are drawn in a graphic manner with thin black strokes, while at the same time the faces show subtle shading along the contours; these stylistic features are also characteristic of Nako (Fig. 14 and 15). The almost boneless fingers performing different types of *mudra* are also characteristic; these

mainly serve for variation rather than representing iconographically fixed types. The robe covers the left shoulder, leaving the body below visible or draped around the whole body forming a U-shaped neck. Folds of the robe are indicated with fine line-drawings. Where patterns of textiles are depicted, they flatten the overall impression of the figure, creating a very decorative, planar figural style.

In her 2006 article, Allinger reconstructed processes of divided labour and workshop hierarchies defining four distinct groups of illuminations. She demonstrated that the figures of the Buddha at the beginning of the manuscript may have been drawn by an experienced master, while throughout the book details such as nimbs were done by another artist. One group (the fourth and last group identified by Allinger 2006: 7; folios 311–326 [*Ka Nga* 11–*Ka Nga* 26], all *recto*; see Cat. nos. 312–327) shows renderings of faces in a much simpler form, indicating perhaps another individual group of artists, but the Buddhas are wearing a wide variety of fine textiles decorated with very detailed ornaments. Due to the fact that comparable patterns are found on the first page, it is possible that they were painted on the basis of a sketchbook by the master artist who painted the frontispiece (Figs. 2, 4–6).<sup>18</sup>

There are significant stylistic and technical commonalities—on account of the use of gold—in the depictions of the theme of 1000 Buddhas outside the *maṇḍala* in the Nako Lotsāba *lha khang* (Fig. 15). Eva Allinger (2006) did not even exclude the possibility that the

<sup>17</sup> An inscription in the “Great Stūpa” at Alchi states that Tshul khriṃs ‘od of the noble ‘Bro clan donated images of the Thousand Buddhas and his intention to “attain Enlightenment in one Kalpa” associated with them (Goepfer 1993: 114).

<sup>18</sup> Folios were also found at Khorchag (though from different books)—attributable on stylistic and iconographic basis to the same period—that include elaborate styles and simple styles simultaneously. In earlier publications (Harrison 2007, 2009), chronological sequences were derived from these differences, though they may rather reflect different backgrounds of donors and workshop hierarchies.



16. Zhag, cave temple, Thousand Buddha wall, detail (Tsering Gyalpo, 2009).

same workshop of a master artist at Nako may have also created the YM. Thus a dating of the manuscript to the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century can be proposed.<sup>19</sup>

Most instructive for the definition of the characteristics of this early 12<sup>th</sup>-century style of Pooh and Nako is the comparison with later depictions of this theme in the Zhag cave. Luczanits and Allinger ("A Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of Tabo monastery", this volume, pp. 358–359) define two contrasting styles: a graphic (harder modelling) interest in robes, with large patterns under which the bodies disappear represented at Alchi and Tholing and in a related manuscript from Tholing in the LACMA; on the other hand a painterly style with softer modelling at Tabo and Nako, to which also the YM can be attributed as well as a manuscript from Tabo ("Running No. 5") in a local style featuring a *maṇḍala*. A third type can be added to this stylistic attribution; this is seen in the 12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century images of the Dungkar (Dung dkar) and those in the Zhag cave, which differ from the styles both of the Tabo-Nako group and Tholing-Alchi group.

At Zhag the theme of the 1000 Buddhas covers the four walls of the main space of the cave surrounding a *stūpa* (*mchod rten*) in the centre. With regard to the painting process of the individual Buddhas, it is clear from variations in painting styles that different hands were at work, comparable to the YM. While the subtle shading and modelling of some seated Buddhas is at first sight reminiscent of the figural style of the YM, a closer look at the treatment of the individual figures reveals interesting contrasting features to styles in earlier periods (Fig. 16; cf. also Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, pp. 407–430).<sup>20</sup> Some of the monk's are represented in a rather naturalistic manner, but most of them suggest that the painter/s did not understand or were not interested in the logic behind the function and use of the robes and how they are draped around the body; this is a contrasting feature to the YM. In particular there is almost no variation in the lower part of the garment, uniformly following the scheme of a loop between legs outlined in white. It thus appears that the robes are not painted

<sup>19</sup> Klimburg-Salter (1994a, 1994b) proposed stylistic relationships with the paintings in the Tabo 'du khang, suggesting an earlier, mid 11<sup>th</sup> century date.

<sup>20</sup> If one compares two Buddha images the faces have been painted by different artists and perhaps also the whole outlines of the figures: some of them have subtle shading with finely drawn facial features, in contrast another is drawn with thick strokes, giving a crude and patchy impression. At the same time, the planar treatment of the robe is similar in both images. This may indicate that elements like ornaments on textiles and perhaps lotus bases were applied using division of labour, reflecting a strict workshop hierarchy.

from direct models and were perhaps realised from sketchbooks or illustrations in manuscripts. Some of the clothes seem like coats or poncho-like robes with round necks and wide sleeves. In contrast, the standing Buddhas in the corners may reflect different (perhaps Newari-influenced) sartorial and figural traditions.<sup>21</sup>

Most of the robes are in a simple patchwork pattern, treated in a flat fashion, which is often crudely applied on the parts of the figure reserved for the robe. Other designs have decorations applied in thin lines that subtly follow the movement of the body and the fabric (in particular on that of a standing Buddha, perhaps drawing from different models).

In general there are few decorative designs (some of the Buddha's upper garments are adorned simple patterns of leaves, but these are the exception. In general the robes are single-coloured with a border in a different colour. This contrasts with earlier Kashmir-inspired Indo-Tibetan styles in Himachal Pradesh and Western Tibet (Khorchag). In general it appears that the patterns on textiles were not known from direct contact either, but indirectly through other artistic media. This contrasts with the Pooh manuscript, where one finds a clear understanding of the technique of how to decorate cotton fabrics, namely various reserve techniques characteristic of Indian cotton textiles. Some patterns of earlier periods found at Nako are repeated in the ceiling of the entrance hall at Zhag,<sup>22</sup> perhaps from sketchbooks. The intention behind these is perhaps the continuation of a tradition, and to give the temple a time-honoured appearance rather than to represent real textiles.

A contrasting and unique feature in typology and style are the standing monks on lotus buds and rosettes filling the spaces in the corners. These are reminiscent of the standing Buddhas at Dungkar, placed in the niches flanking the eight clay Buddhas flanked by protectors.<sup>23</sup> One standing monk/Buddha at Zhag is remarkable for his

<sup>21</sup> Round-necked clothes consisting of a thin, sleeved lower garment above which are draped rectangular pieces of cloth of a heavier material are reminiscent of a monk's robes. They are typically made of patchwork laid around the body in various ways.

<sup>22</sup> The decoration of the entrance room's vault contrasts with a ceiling above the main space featuring a large rosette of lotus scrolls covering the ceiling. This new concept contrasts with earlier planar, architectonic grid-systems of organisation of ornament and it temporally coincides with a period in which the upper boundary of the temple is conceived as cosmological vision, either in form of a *maṇḍala* or a composition that opens into a three-dimensional space with freely dispersed figures (cf. a unique cave sanctuary at Nyi dbang in the Tsamda [rTsa mda'] District; see also Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, "Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga' ris, Western Tibet", this volume, pp. 409–411).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Luczanits 2004: 116ff. (and 2010) for the discussion of the stylistic characteristics. In some aspects the extremely elongated figural characteristics



facial features drawn with a few confident lines: full red lips, delicately drawn black eyebrows, a sharply drawn nose, a white complexion and a slight smile. The figures appear to show movement and display knowledge of the organic relation between parts of the body, which contrasts to the weightless, schematic figures in the YM. These individual features at Zhag appear to reflect new, perhaps Newar-style artistic trends at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>24</sup>

To summarise, the style of the YM at Pooh can be defined as a “decorative style” with strong Indo-Tibetan features. In particular, ornament and the aspect of variation is a feature of the quality of the YM and the early Buddhist art of this region. The textiles depicted at Tabo and at Pooh possibly related to the ornamental and textile tradition of Kashmir (Papa-Kalantari 2007) as well as Gujarat, as proposed by Wandl (1996) in her master’s researches and thesis. Cf. also Klimburg-Salter 1994b. It appears that patterns on costumes at Tabo and Pooh were painted from direct experience. The textile representations are particularly rich and naturalistic in the images of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang* wall paintings while the ceilings reflect different ornamental styles and symbolism (most of them imitating Iranianising luxury textiles also to be found on Kashmir-style bronzes).<sup>25</sup> The painters still appear to have understood the function and use of the sartorial and textile traditions in the YM, and perhaps they were known from direct experience, indicating close interaction with artists from the Indian plains. This contrasts with the later paintings at Dungkar and Zhag—there the relation of body and robes is rendered in a completely different way, most likely also reflecting the different climatic conditions in Tibet in comparison to the Indian models, and little knowledge of (or interest in) fine cotton fabrics decorated with characteristic patterns.

Although in the figural style of the YM there is modelling around the contours of faces and body and subtle shading of the internal

are also reminiscent of the clay sculptures at Dungkar; the latter are closely related to sculptures in raised niches at the rear wall of the sanctuaries of that period at Dunhuang. Apart from striking parallels regarding the spatial conception (raised niche for Buddhas in clay with flanking protectors; cf. Cave 159, Whitfield 1996: 97) there, too, monks often flank the main Buddha image.

<sup>24</sup> Some aspects of the wider religio-political background of this phenomenon are discussed in another article (Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, “Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga’ ris, Western Tibet”, this volume, pp. 407–430) but this still needs to be defined in more detail in the future.

<sup>25</sup> In general, material culture, luxury art, textile, ornament reflect the culture of status and prestige of the aristocratic elite as well as devotional traditions. These depictions were translated into the medium of painting, contributing to the majesty of the Buddha. Originally, textile depictions in Buddhist art have a mythic genealogy, reflecting the non-iconic phase of Buddhism, when the Buddha was represented as a throne decorated with textiles representing him in non-personal form (cf. Kalantari 2016).

details, the figures are rather schematic, almost “weightless”. While the body is typically hidden behind the costumes, these are defined in greatest detail; thus naturalism is rather represented on the level of material culture. In general, variation and fantasy on the level of ornament is a feature of the originality of the art of this region. In this decorative style—characterised by symmetry and planarity—a supramundane space is created which is to be splendid and glorified. Completely new stylistic trends are to be found in succeeding periods, such as at Zhag and Dungkar, with their interest in naturalism, the physical presence of “mundane” figures and almost “portrait-like” human emotions. As will be shown, these innovative tendencies in the evolutionary history are characterised by a new approach towards an illusionist space, in particular in narrative paintings and ceiling depictions, and an interest in naturalistic forms, such as depictions of “real” architecture.

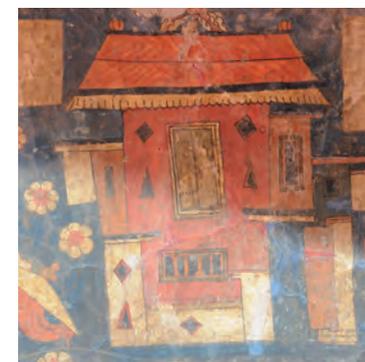
### Sacred Spaces in the Medium of Books and Wall Paintings

A characteristic and innovative feature in Western Himalayan Tibetan art is its distinctive treatment of architectural representations in various different media. The depiction of the Buddha assembly on the right-hand side of the frontispiece of the YM is one of the early examples of this tradition, featuring a group depiction with an elaborate throne setting (Fig. 6). As already mentioned, here we find an accumulation of various architectural themes consisting of a throne and a palace-like structure.

The Buddha is encircled by an aureole in rainbow colours and seated on a (wooden) throne,<sup>26</sup> with a multi-tiered palatial structure resting on it. The upper levels of this structure are topped by a pitched roof with sheltering eaves, and the whole is crowned by an *āmalaka* and a finial. This light, airy structure imitates certain elements of built architecture seen in wooden temples as well as in forts in the region. A significant feature is the rectangular window frame with characteristic elongated horizontal wooden members in the uppermost part of the shrine in the YM. This demonstrates that such shrine depictions were also inspired by local West Tibetan palace and tower architecture, combining wooden structures and mud mortared stone walls with carved wooden elements for windows, doors and balconies depicted in narrative paintings in Tabo (Fig. 17; cf. Tucci 1935: fig. 29) and Alchi (Fig. 18).<sup>27</sup> Such set pieces—together with characteristic pitched roofs and wooden pilasters—are assembled in the manuscript in a planar structure of great decorative value. The ornamental qualities are

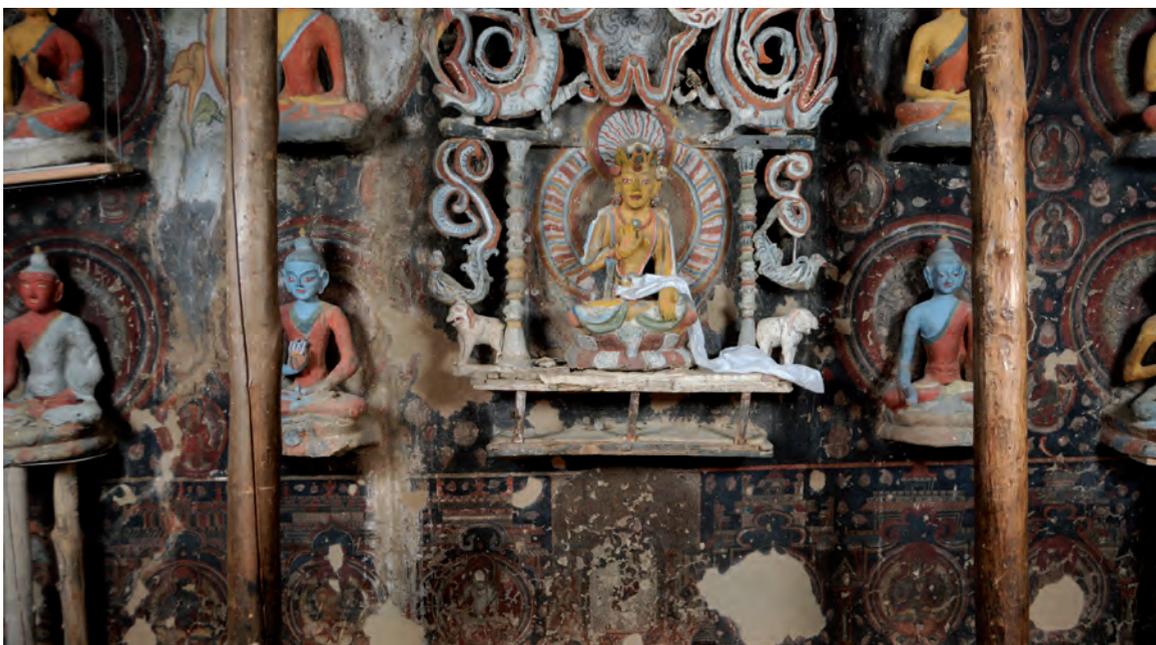
<sup>26</sup> The wooden throne is comparable to those depicted in the wall paintings of the Nako Lotsāba *lha khang*.

<sup>27</sup> See Goepper 1996: 49 for an image of a royal palace.



17. Tabo, Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, Assembly Hall (*du khang*), detail of Sudhana story (P. Sutherland, 2009).

18. Image of a multi-storey wood-stone temple (perhaps dressed with mud) on the *dhoti* of the monumental Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in clay (after Goepper 1996: 59).



19. Nako, IHa khang gong ma, main wall (C. Kalantari, 2009).

20. Nako, IHa khang gong ma, main wall: Tārā of the Eight Perils flanked by donors below (C. Kalantari, 2009).

21. Detail heavenly palaces, Nako, IHa khang gong ma (C. Kalantari, 2009).

further enhanced through the representation of material culture and luxury art; the gold on pastiglia relief mirrors a parallel development in the wall paintings of the region, notably the paintings of the Nako Lotsāba *lha khang* (Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh, India) (Figs. 14 and 15). The style of the manuscript can best be compared to folios recently re-discovered at Khorchag monastery (mNga' ris, Tibet Autonomous Region, PR China) (Fig. 13), which show a sacred space filled with light using luminous and vibrant colours; the use of gold is further evidence of this tendency.

A comparable throne or celestial palace theme can be found featuring images of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas (Figs. 19–21) on the lowest register of the main (west) wall at the Nako Gongma temple (IHa khang gong ma)—below a *maṇḍala* which covers the wall above. However, the individual elements and solidity of the structures are reminiscent of actual built forms. The bodhisattvas are in a row of multi-tiered palaces of various shapes linked by massive pilasters forming separate compositional units. Between the supporting wooden elements are walls that are often decorated with textile patterns, underlining the important role of textiles in wood-mud-brick architecture in the region. In general, architectural niches and animal-framed thrones that are used to define separate compositional units are a common feature in western Himalayan portals. The prototypical *torāṇa* of Khorchag is a paradigm for the interrelation between wood carvings of portals and various other genres, such as paintings in temples and manuscripts, on the levels of motifs, composition and symbolism (Fig. 22). In particular, carved wooden panels from a lost portal at Tabo featuring standing Buddhas in elaborate architectonic frames are stylistically close to Nako (cf. Tucci 1935, Tav. XLVI, XLVII).

At the centre of this ensemble at Nako is a depiction of Tārā as protectress against the Eight Dangers being venerated by the local elite (Fig. 20). One of the architectonic units flanking Tārā features a bodhisattva sitting beneath a multi-lobed arch in front of a temple (like the *gavākṣas* or horseshoe-shaped arches that decorate Indian temples and shrines) (Fig. 21). The inner frame partly takes up the theme of the rainbow aureole. The innermost celestial abode of the deity is filled with light, represented as an aureole and a nimbus encircling the body and the head respectively. The lotus throne on which the god is seated appears to be growing out of a lotus pond that constitutes the background of the whole composition. The palaces consist of superimposed recesses of diminishing width, with small towers or *stūpikas* at the top, perhaps also including dormer windows. Some of the palaces have smaller shrines at the edges of the lower recesses.

A comparable theme of linked celestial palaces, or rather multi-foiled arches resting on massive pillars, with a Buddha at the centre can be found on the entrance wall of the Tabo 'du khang, albeit in a much simpler form (Fig. 23).<sup>28</sup> Monks and bodhisattvas paying homage to the Buddha are depicted on the lateral borders, like the Buddha assembly on the Pooh frontispiece folio, as discussed below. In contrast to Tabo, the palaces at Nako have a more architectural

<sup>28</sup> However, the latter displays interesting features reflecting ritual practices such as the decoration of shrines with pearl bands and bells as well as the offering of streamers tied onto the pilasters by devotees.



character, constructive logic and gravitation, recalling both the sacred architecture in the art of the Indian subcontinent and in contemporary Indian book art, particularly that from Bihar and Bengal (Fig. 24), and local built forms.<sup>29</sup> Significant commonalities between individual motifs in West Tibetan celestial palaces and Indian shrines or *śikhara* structures can be observed, in particular multi-tiered structures are absent in the architectural ornament of Kashmir.<sup>30</sup> The commonalities can also be studied in the temple with the oldest decorative

<sup>29</sup> While this type of *śikhara* or shrine-like architecture is used on the late ca. 9<sup>th</sup> century door frame at Ribba for the main deities and in the Tabo 'du *khang* for the central Buddha, thus indicating a hierarchy, in later phases it appears in representations of different iconographic types.

<sup>30</sup> Bautze-Picron (1998) was one of the first scholars to define the elements of Indian shrine depictions and trace their evolutionary history in Tibetan art. Some of these characteristic transformations of the Indian models are also to be observed in early (ca. 13<sup>th</sup> century) Tibetan thangka (ibid.: figs. 1–2).



22. Khorchag, IHa *khang chen mo*, portal, detail of upper lintel featuring Buddhas in their heavenly palaces (C. Kalantari, 2010).

23. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, 'du *khang*, entrance wall (C. Kalantari, 2009).

24. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, folio 337 *recto*: Green Tārā (courtesy, London, British Library, Or.6902).

25. Tārā image, depicted in the Nako Lotsāba *lha khang* (west wall) above an image of donors (C. Kalantari, 2009).

programme at Nako, namely in the Lotsāba *lha khang*. A little-studied Tārā image above a donor representation—as if blessing the founder of the temple—is closely related to an ideal Indic architectural model, perhaps ultimately deriving from Pāla-style manuscripts. A comparative example is provided by a book cover in the LACMA, featuring a deity in a shrine identified as Tārā by Bautze-Picron (2010: fig. 30, “Book cover A”) and dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The sacredness of Indian architectural forms must have been in particular strong due to the inherent value of a witness (Riegl’s “Zeugniswert”) and the authentic transmission of a tradition. The faithfulness to an ideal model perhaps also enhances the idea of the transfer of the sacredness of a specific cult image. The construction of a tradition and the emphasis of an authentic, uninterrupted transmission is a constant strategy of legitimacy in the Tibetan cultural sphere. Architectural forms sanctified by tradition and their representation in different media of course plays a special role in this context; thereby real or imagined forms from the Buddhist heartland in India were overlain by locally developed traditions of sacred spaces.

Among the most characteristic elements of the celestial palaces in the Gongma temple at Nako is the combination of pilasters bearing multi-tiered palatial structures, reminiscent of multi-storey temples such as the Alchi Sumtsek (Figs. 26 and 27). At Nako massive pilasters rest on bases reminiscent of *pūrṇaḥaṭa* crowned by capitals with volutes. Among the characteristic decorative elements on pilasters in India are rhomboid shapes with foliate ornamentation, also executed as triangles (cf. Bautze-Picron 1998: fig. 41). These motifs “move upwards” at Nako, where they crown the pilasters between the temples. In this transformed use they are similar to constructive elements in West Tibetan architecture, namely triangular or pediment arches that imitate wooden elements as well as the typical pent roof



26. Alchi, Sumtsek, view of the veranda (C. Kalantari, 2000).

27. Alchi, Sumtsek, detail of veranda (C. Kalantari, 2000).

28. Kashmir, sun temple, Martand (C. Kalantari, 2004; WHAV).

29. Kashmir, sun temple, Martand (C. Kalantari, 2004; WHAV).

structures of the stone temples in Kashmir, which are a *leitmotif* in the art of this region, together with a wide variety of pillars (Fig. 21). The idiom of the pedimented trefoil arch resting on pilasters was also transferred to ornamental shrines or “blind niches” (Fig. 28), as first observed by Romi Khosla (1979: 34–35; Fig. 29).<sup>31</sup> The pillars on the first upper level are also significant, like struts supporting an overhanging roof. Together with the main pillars with bases resembling overflowing vases, they imitate wooden architectural ornamentation in the region, one comparative example being the richly carved pediment arches alternating with triple pilasters and ornamental features such as vases (*pūrṇaghaṭa*) carved in deep relief on the wooden elements of the

<sup>31</sup> Romi Khosla (1979) presented a genesis of the motif of tri-foiled arches in combination with gable roof motifs from Kashmir to Ladakh.

Alchi Sumtsek’s veranda (Figs. 26–27). The pitched roofs crowning the different levels at Nako (Fig. 30) can be also traced back to wooden temples in the region and in particular in Kinnaur (both in Buddhist and Hindu temples),<sup>32</sup> an example of the latter being the Lotsāba *lha khang* in Ribba (Fig. 31). A comparable type of superstructure can also be found in wooden buildings in Kashmir (Fig. 32) and in Baltistan (cf. the Mir Aref shrine and tomb at Tagas; Fig. 33). At Nako the roofs appear to be covered with coloured tiles,<sup>33</sup> however, it is possible that these may be intended to imitate the stone slabs that are a characteristic building material in these regions.

Tower-like structures and single-chamber, centralised buildings with pitched roofs must have also played an important role in the tradition of sacred spaces in historical Western Tibet. A tower with pitched roof is depicted in the Sadāprarudita legend in the Tabo ambulatory (Fig. 34). A related type of building appears to be reflected in the interior of the Alchi Mañjuśrī *lha khang*, ca. 1200 (Fig. 35); featuring an umbrella-shaped ceiling design with fanning beams. The latter system may have once also existed in the Padmasambhava *lha khang* at Nako, stemming from the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup> At Lalung, there are ceiling designs resembling wooden coffins, which are raised in the

<sup>32</sup> Steep roofs in Kashmir are derived from wooden prototypes, but only in the “sub-Himalayan valleys of Himachal Pradesh [do] shrines built of deodar, the locally available cedar, still stand” (Michell 2000: 64). Pent-roofed temples are typical of various parts of Himachal Pradesh, in regions where the deodar played an important role in the construction of temples. The slanting roofs of slates in Kinnaur are adapted to the climate and the amount of rain and snow, whereas temples in Tibet are typically solid and flat, used for storage; however, there must have been a greater variety of roof forms in the early period. Some of the single-chamber buildings or those with superimposed (multi-storey) roofs of diminishing width may allude to the honorific function of umbrellas. In procession local devtas are carried in palanquins, and one or more umbrellas held above them, the local deities are wrapped in clothes, protecting them from direct view (Papa-Kalantari 2008: fig. 193). Temples with a vertical repetition of multi-tiered towers with fanning beams, have an important role to play in the architecture in Buddhist Nepal and Hindu Buddhist temples in Himachal Pradesh. As Kramrisch has put (1976 I: 190): “The superstructure of superimposed and diminishing slabs of stone forming a stepped pyramid surmounted by an amalaka is a pristine type of superstructure of the temple. In decreasing size, slab upon slab are placed on the roof of dolmen type shrines in South India and the Himalayas as well,” as examples she mentions Baijnath Temple, Kangra, founded at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The author further describes that the verticality or cosmic axis is most suitable for the ideal of the spiritual ascent of devotee (*ibid.*: 184).

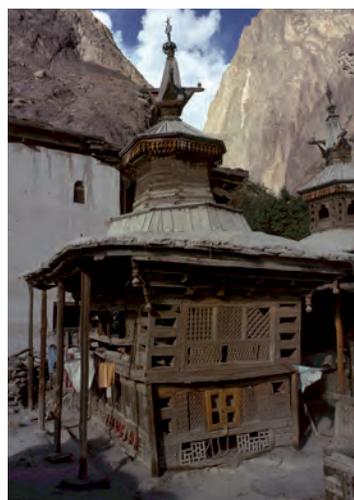
<sup>33</sup> This was first suggested by Di Mattia 2007: 65. Cf. also a building with a pitched roof (perhaps covered with blue ) depicted in the *jātaka* of the starving tigress at Zhag cave (cf. Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, “Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga’ ris, Western Tibet”, this volume, Fig. 19, p. 416).

<sup>34</sup> The author identified temple ceiling planks that were originally organised in a radial pattern and decorated with textile depictions (cf. Conservation Report 2002-2004, Nako Research and Preservation Project, University of Vienna).



30. Nako, detail heavenly palace, lHa khang gong ma, main wall (C. Kalantari, 2009).

31. Ribba, Lotsāba lha khang: roof structure (C. Luczanits, 2004).



central section, suggesting that ceiling alludes to a complex, stepped, roof system of a centralised space, as also seen in the heavenly palaces as abodes of main deities in the sculptures covering the walls (Fig. 36). In addition, at Lalung further types of tiered structures can be found on the main wall: one with five spires or turrets on the different levels, reminiscent of Buddhist and Hindu sanctuaries with four towers in the corners and a central cupola depicted on one of the bodhisattva's *dhoti* in the Alchi Sumtsek (Goepper 1996: figs. on pp. 59, 64).

Another type has a stepped superstructure, with *stūpikas* on the different levels (Fig. 37; cf. Luczanits 2004: fig. on p. 97).

In Ladakh specific types of *stūpas* had both the function of a reliquary and a temple, one example being the "Great Stūpa"<sup>35</sup> at

Alchi made of mud-bricks and with a wooden lantern ceiling (or rather a temple enshrining a *stūpa*; cf. Kalantari, "Note on the spatial iconography of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* in context", this volume, p. 263) featuring four turrets or elongated *stūpikas* in the corners and

(*mchod rten*), i.e. "The *Stūpa* with Many Auspicious Doors of the One Hundred Thousand Visions", first published by Goepper (1993: 115, 140). The inscription further states that the model is from India, "taking as an example the Svayambhū-śrī-Dhānyakaṭaka, as it exists in Central India" (*ibid.*: 115), which according to the author is perhaps an allusion to Amarāvati, popular with Tibetan pilgrims. This article also discusses the designation of the *stūpa* by locals and the architectural context and genesis of this building type, which originally had four doors in the cardinal directions, comparable to the *pañcāyatana* temple complexes and *stūpas* in Central Asia and Kashmir.

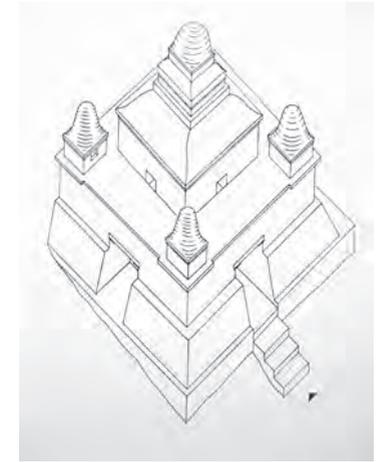
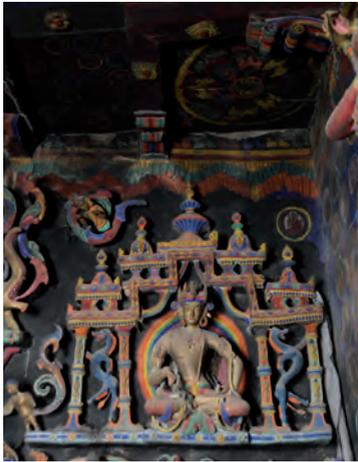
32. Srinagar (Kashmir), mosque (M. Klimburg, 2007).

33. Baltistan, Mir Aref shrine and tomb at Tagas (M. Klimburg, 2001).

34. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, ambulatory: Tower in the Sadāparurudita legend (C. Kalantari, 2009).

35. Interior of the Alchi Mañjuśrī lha khang, ca. 1200 (C. Kalantari, 2009).

<sup>35</sup> In the inscription the structure is called 'Bum mthong bkra shis sgo mangs



36. Lalung, gSer khang, heavenly palace (C. Kalantari, 2009).

37. Lalung, gSer khang, heavenly palace of the Buddha on the right-hand side (C. Kalantari, 2009).

38. "Great Stūpa" at Alchi (C. Kalantari, 2009).

39. "Great Stūpa" at Alchi, isonometric representation (drawing by G. Wiesel, Cologne; after Goepper 1993: 130).



40. *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, Tabo (Harrison 2009: cat. no. 1.1.2.7), folio depicting a bodhisattva in a shrine (E. Allinger, 2009).

41. Tabo, folio featuring Dharmodgata in the tower representing the teaching (E. Allinger, 1994).

a central cupola (Figs. 38 and 39).<sup>36</sup> At Lalung<sup>37</sup> this type of sacred space is reserved for the image of the Buddha on the main wall, representing the focus of devotion in the temple. Another example is a folio of a MS at Tabo featuring a bodhisattva in a temple with *stūpas* in the corners (Fig. 40). Another Tabo folio, showing the tower of Dharmodgata and thus the realm of *dharmakāya*, features *stūpas* on the horizontal levels and on the top of the superstructure (Fig. 41). This type of shrine is frequently also depicted in manuscripts from Dolpo, Nepal (see Allinger and Kalantari 2012: fig. 13; Heller 2009: fig. 77). It thus appears that the built architecture of the region (perhaps alluding to even specific pilgrimage places)—the *stūpa* as well as

different types of centralized sanctuaries with superimposed turrets and *stūpas* common in Western Tibet in particular—were gradually integrated into the symbolism of heavenly palaces. The second upper roof level of the Nako shrine is crowned by a characteristic *āmalaka* (Fig. 42) which here—in contrast to its Indian prototype—is treated as a purely decorative element, whereas the rows of petals together with characteristic rows of appendages resembling wooden pendants<sup>38</sup> between the different levels are closer to their models.

A consistent element in Western Himalayan art is the rich use of textile motifs: in Indian shrine depictions these originally adorn the cushions of the throne and also decorate the cloth draped over the front of its base. At Nako decorative elements deriving from textile art fill the spaces between the different recessive levels of the superstructure (Fig. 43).<sup>39</sup> This decorative system is reminiscent of the actual architecture in the region, and in particular the rich tradition of local mud-brick structures in which textile covers prevent dust from falling down through the mud-filled roof, as seen in historical buildings as actual textiles (Tabo, Tholing) or painted fabrics (Alchi, Fig. 44) well as in local buildings up to the present day.<sup>40</sup> The great variety of textile depictions and their careful rendering are typical

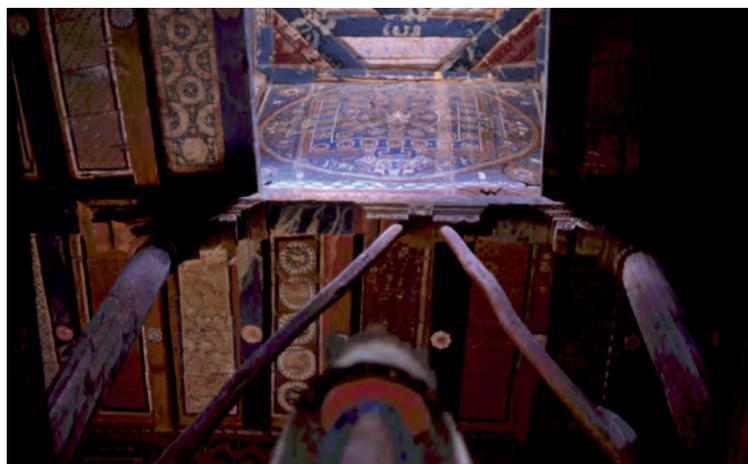
<sup>36</sup> Comparable complex superstructures are also found in the Tholing Gyatsa.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. also Goepper (1996: fig. 71) featuring a shrine with a Buddha image; there are three small *stūpas* on the complex, funnel-shaped roof, perhaps imitating wooden constructions.

<sup>38</sup> Originally these were functional elements that channelled rainwater off the roof, thus protecting the façade of the temple.

<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, this tendency is also found at Pagan, as already noted by Bautze-Picron (1998: 34). The constant interest in textile patterns in throne depictions preserves the memory of the *vajrāsana*, the seat of the Buddha's Enlightenment set up in the time of Aśoka Maurya, and is thus part of the long and enduring tradition of the non-iconic representation of the Buddha.

<sup>40</sup> The same textile motifs can be found on the ceiling of the IHa khang gong ma at Nako and even in depictions of *maṇḍala* palaces on the side walls of the early temples at Nako.



42. Nako, IHa khang gong ma, main wall, detail: celestial palace (C. Kalantari, 2009).

43. Nako, IHa khang gong ma, main wall, detail: celestial palace (C. Kalantari, 2002; WHAV).

44. Alchi, Sumtsek, ceiling (C. Kalantari, 2000).

of this style and also provide evidence of the offering of sumptuous garments to the temple by pious donors as well as their ritual use in the attiring of Buddhist temples. The donation of precious textiles as a central component of Buddhist ritual practice is also shown in donor depictions portraying the local aristocratic elite at Tsaparang (Papa-Kalantari 2007). The Western Himalayan Tibetan ornamental style reflects the transferral of symbols and values from the culture of luxury and status of the local royal elite to aristocratic and decorative features in the medium of art designed to portray the deities residing in sacred spaces of colourful splendour. Another important element in the definition of sacred shrines is the aspect of devotion and sensual interaction with the holy image on the part of the devotee, which is reflected not only in the textiles decorating the various storeys but also in the depiction of ropes of pearls and bells hung on the shrine with the Buddha in it at Tabo (cf. Fig. 45).

The depictions of the Eight Bodhisattvas on the main wall display an ambivalent approach toward pictorial space: the sacred realm of the deities is defined by an illusionistic architectural structure as well as the two-dimensional hieratic throne frame. This artistic mode allows compositions that incorporate both temporal and spiritual space.

A slightly later date (12<sup>th</sup> century) can be assumed for the manuscript folios from Tabo monastery (cf. Figs. 40, 41). Here there is a fusion of the shrine type discussed above and a stepped frame with superimposed *stūpas*—its colour scheme alluding to an aureole. The result is a simplified, abbreviated architectural space transformed into to a planar frame for the divinity.

To sum up, the representation of divine imagery in their sacred abodes shows a transfer of models rooted in the art of the Indian subcontinent. As Bautze-Picron (1998: 41) has rightly pointed out,

some elements of shrine architecture in India functioned as objects of iconographic value which were then transformed into decorative elements in later periods. While the overall architectural layout of the celestial palaces in Western Tibet takes up the tradition of the sacred images as replicas of the holy sites with multi-tiered, *śikhara*-type superstructures (in particular the Mahābodhi temple, where the Buddha experienced his Great Enlightenment),<sup>41</sup> the ornamental details integrate local ornamental language and elements of luxury art specific to the region as well as actual built forms in the Western Himalayas. As a result there is an evolutionary history from a planar, decorative throne frame with architectural features (such as in the YM) to an architectural throne frame (Nako) and finally to an illusionist temple or shrine as a throne and backdrop for deities, perhaps alluding to actual pilgrimage places. Among the most elaborate examples illustrating the latest stage of this development are images of sacred structures of various types at Dungkar (Cave II), in the lowest zone of the wall featuring enthroned deities and donors which flank a *maṇḍala*. One example features an Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara in an aureole in front of an illusionist temple with multiple roofs crowning the storeys of solid walls, resembling Tibetan mud-brick buildings (Fig. 47). Such tall, tiered structures of course are reminiscent of the famous temple architecture in the Kathmandu valley, Nepal (cf. Gutschow 2011: 54).

To sum up, while at Tabo and Nako elements of heavenly palaces may have been linked to the symbolism of sacred stone architecture—in particular the vertical, tower-like superstructure, the *śikhara*, of temples in India combined with wooden temples

<sup>41</sup> It was the premier site of pilgrimage, visited by great numbers of Tibetans, and many replicas were made of it and brought back to Tibet.

of the region—later this type was perhaps superimposed by the architectonic idea of the *stūpa*, which of course had a high status as building type in the Tibetan architectural tradition as well as by different types of single-chamber sanctuaries, perhaps designed for much-revered cult-images, with complex superstructures featuring turrets and *stūpas* positioned in the cardinal directions, suggesting cosmological allusions in architecture, which developed in this region.

By virtue of this assembly of built and imaged forms in the architectural thrones and heavenly palaces of deities in the YM and at Nako, motifs of extreme visual complexity and colourful splendour are achieved in Western Tibet. In particular the decorative architectural throne in the YM does not represent real architecture but rather sacred spaces designed to enhance the majesty of the deity and that of the realm in which it resides. The artists integrated these elements, thus creating independent and innovative types of sacred space and styles of architectural ornament.

This type of Western Himalayan shrine is found as a significant feature both in wall paintings and manuscripts and in specific positions in the spatial layout, as will be demonstrated below, leading us to the question of its possible iconological function.

### Sacred Spaces and Lay Imagery in Western Himalayan Painting

Another important independent feature of Western Himalayan book illumination and wall painting is the strong presence of royal and noble donors in the pictorial programme.<sup>42</sup> Indian sculptures often feature representations of donors shown as small kneeling figures on the base.<sup>43</sup> In the art of Kashmir, Ladakh and Baltistan these depictions of lay people commemorate the act of donation as a central form of Buddhist devotion. This tradition is continued in Western Tibet and features large-scale compositions that commemorate contemporary rituals and ceremonies. Portraits of the ruling elite even assume an important role in iconographic ensembles of religious imagery. In addition a synchronisation of lay imagery and religious iconography can be observed on different levels. In the lowest zone of the Nako main wall discussed above, the donor depictions are below the central Tārā of the Eight Perils in a mode of veneration featuring

<sup>42</sup> In general, while in the early paintings in the Tabo entrance hall (*sgo khang*) the donor images represent a hieratic, ceremonial style, later images are more vivid, showing the ruling elite (perhaps of varying status) engaged in various actions and rituals.

<sup>43</sup> Among the most famous examples are medieval bronzes from Kashmir: e.g. a Buddha from the Norton Simon Foundation (see Pal 1975: figs. 22a, b) and sculptures from Kurkihar/Nālandā—for example a bronze statue of the Buddha showing *bhūmisparsāmodrā* in the Patna Museum (see Huntington 1984: fig. 177).

offerings in the centre, and they are also engaged in a ritual (Fig. 20). The composition resembles a manuscript folio in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.81.90.6 for an image see Pal 1983: 123) featuring a Prajñāpāramitā and, below, a symmetrically arranged group of lay donors and a monk. The group is shown in an offering scene with ritual paraphernalia at its centre.

The presence of the local elite in religious imagery as part of the whole religious programme, and in relation to a specific thematic assemblage with didactic imagery in particular, is a characteristic feature of West Tibetan art. The monumental assembly of the lay and monastic elite headed by the Royal Lama (*lha bla ma*) Ye she 'od in the Tabo entrance hall is a paradigm in this respect. By contrast, the dominant presence of donors is unknown in Indian manuscripts. Another specific feature in the evolutionary history of Western Himalayan donor depictions is the fact that the scenes become increasingly vivid, showing the ruling elite engaged in various actions reflecting actual rituals and historical events. They are often shown together with their families, or in genre-like scenes commemorating not only religious rituals but also different types of genre scenes, reflecting values of wealth (extended to the temple) and procreation and even echoing typologies found in representations of Indic tutelary gods (Kalantari, "Hārītī and Pāñcika at Tabo", this volume, pp. 301–325). One of the most fascinating examples of this genre-like type of donor depiction is shown on the final page of a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript from Dolpo, featuring a female member of a noble clan depicted as a nursing mother; other genre scenes include, for example, a man spinning wool with a spindle (cf. Fig. 3). Such scenes in various media of West Tibetan art appear to provide a medium of self-representation for aristocratic donors in their striving for legitimacy and respectability vis-à-vis the local population and constitute a constant independent feature of this art. This reflects a religious landscape marked by the propagation of Buddhism by the royal and aristocratic elite. The programmatic text of the Pooh frontispiece (Fig. 2)—which contrasts with Indian manuscripts in terms of both content and structure—is a further indication of the function of this type of imagery.

The frontispiece is highly significant with regard to the form and function of donor depiction in Western Tibetan religious imagery. The assembly on the right-hand side of the folio shows a "Sacred Conversation"<sup>44</sup> or gathering of protectors, the lay and monastic

<sup>44</sup> This term was coined in connection with European Renaissance painting and generally shows the enthroned Madonna in "conversation" with saints in a unified pictorial space; historical persons can also be present in such compositions.



elite, crowned by an ensemble of Hindu deities above (among them Brahmā and Śiva). The text in the centre of the folio is significant by virtue of its unique content. It encourages the devotee to engage with the teaching of the Buddha (and with that of Prajñāpāramitā in particular) and to follow those who have attained perfect peace and joy through his wisdom.<sup>45</sup>

By virtue of its position at the beginning of the book, this combination of text and image—integrating the representation of the local elite—can be read as a conscious propagation of Buddhism in the region and as encouragement to follow the Buddha’s path. This type of text appears to be related to didactic inscriptions in wall paintings.

### Sacred Ordering of Space in a West Tibetan Temple

Interestingly, the combination of the “didactic” text and the sermon found on the Pooh frontispiece in certain ways resembles a configuration in the entrance hall (*sgo khang*) of the main temple (*gtsug lag khang*; ca. end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century) at Tabo, which has recently been cleaned by the Archaeological Survey of India. There a non-historical inscription below the depiction of a Buddha—making the boon-giving gesture (*varadamudrā*)—is shown in the upper left-hand corner of the entrance wall (thus positioned at the “beginning” of the temple’s programme; cf. Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po and Kalantari, “Guge kingdom-period murals in the Zhag grotto in mNga’ ris, Western Tibet”, this volume, Fig. 5, p. 409). The image of the Buddha together with the caption below accompanies a *samsāracakra* (Wheel of Rebirths) as prescribed in the *Vinaya* (monastic regulations) of the Mūlasarvāstivādins concerning the decoration of entrance halls.<sup>46</sup> The inscription was first transcribed and translated by Luczanits (1999: 115–16). The verses encouraging conversion to Buddhism read as follows:

“Commence, go forth [and] join the Buddha’s teaching!  
Destroy Māra’s host, as an elephant [destroys] a reed-hut!  
Whoever conscientiously observes the [Buddhist] monastic rules  
(*dharmavinaya*) will leave the circle of rebirth, and reach the end

<sup>45</sup> See the appendix by Gudrun Melzer in Allinger and Kalantari 2012 for a transliteration and translation of the text and the discussion of the content.

<sup>46</sup> As has been shown by Schlingloff (1988: 169), the text next to the Wheel of Rebirths in the Buddhist art of Ajanta is from the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (MSV). The thematic ensemble also conforms to the instructions on how to decorate the entrance hall of a temple in the MSV (cf. also Panglung 1981: 141; Zin and Schlingloff 2007: 22). Luczanits demonstrated that the MSV is also the source for the caption above the wheel at Tabo (Luczanits 1999: 115). The inscription on the entrance wall of the Tabo entrance hall and the wheel of rebirth is also mentioned in Klimburg-Salter et al. (1997: 81).

of suffering’, thus it is said.” (Luczanits 1999: 116, n. 61; translation to a large extent following the German translation in Schmidt 1989: 79).

The text above the painting of the *samsāracakra* is related to the teaching of dependent origination and through its connection with the enlightenment can be regarded as the quintessence of the teaching of the Buddha (Zin and Schlingloff 2007: 124–125).<sup>47</sup> Its intention in the temple is to encourage conversion to Buddhism and to follow the Buddha’s path towards ultimate liberation. The thematic assemblage represented in the Tabo entrance hall is reminiscent of the iconography on the veranda—corresponding to the entrance hall of a monastery—of the *vihāra*-type Cave XVII at Ajanta featuring a Wheel of Life plus “didactic” inscription and Avalokiteśvara as the saviour from dangers together with local protectors (for an image see Zin and Schlingloff 2007: Appendix).

As a contrasting feature at Tabo we find a monumental depiction of an assembly of eminent historical personalities together with the laity and the monastic community on the side walls flanking the entrance wall. At the centre of the ensemble of historical personalities (on the south wall) is the portrait of Ye shes ’od, the founder of the temple (according to the Renovation Inscription), who—perhaps together with *lo chen* Rin chen bzang po—was the principal personality responsible for the re-establishment of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Western Tibet from the late 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards (a period which later became known as *bstan pa phyi dar* or the “Later Diffusion of Buddhism”).

Above the latter are ensembles of Indic protectors, while a local territorial deity (*srung ma*), described in an inscription below as Wi nyu myin and protectress of the main temple (cf. Luczanits 1999: 114), together with guardians of the temple watch over the sphere leading to the main hall. The Tabo *sgo khang* (comparable to the early old entrance hall of Shalu<sup>48</sup> is a unique early Buddhist example in the Western Himalaya, where donors/lay persons and Hindu

<sup>47</sup> The assemblage of themes: *samsāracakra*—image of the Buddha and the accompanying caption—reflects one of the “most essential tenets of the Buddha’s teaching” (Bechert and Gombrich 1995: 28), namely the Chain of Dependent Origination resulting in the cycle of suffering and rebirth; a component of the Four Noble Truths expounded by the Buddha in the First Sermon after his enlightenment (*ibid.*: 49). The devotees entering the entrance hall or veranda of the temple at Ajanta perhaps equated the Wheel of Rebirths with their own existence and contemplated the possibility of escaping from the cycle of rebirth, as suggested by Zin (Zin and Schlingloff 2007: 157).

<sup>48</sup> While this strong presence of lay imagery is unknown in Indian art, it is a consistent feature in early Buddhist art in Tibet, e.g. in the old entrance hall of Shalu (Zha lu, Central Tibet; ca. 1030).

and Indic deities integrated as protectors into the sacred order of Buddhism occupy an independent space as opposed to the sacred sphere of the *maṇḍala* in the main hall.

In the sacred ordering of spaces at Tabo, not only the iconographic programme but also ornament plays an important role. Exemplary for this is the architectural ornament on the transition zone between assembly hall and ambulatory-cum-sanctum, which does not imitate textiles but rather carved wood, alluding to a monumental portal or *torāṇa*. Ornament here appears to signal the ritual use of the temple and its hierarchisation: it articulates a sensitive zone and demarcates the border to the space of highest spiritual rank, the sanctum. (Cf. Kalantari, “Note on the spatial iconography of the Nyarma *gtsug lag khang* in context”, this volume, Fig. 6, p. 261.) Comparative material for specific elaborate ornament on portals is provided by the magnificent Khorchag portal (Fig. 22).

### The Heavenly Palace as Border and Interface

A related composition of a “Sacred Assembly” organised in linked palaces appears above the portal of the chronologically later *’du khang* (assembly hall) at Tabo (Fig. 23), featuring a central Buddha (performing *dhyānamudrā*, the gesture of meditation) attended by Avalokiteśvara and Samantabhadra and flanked by a community of monks above a local territorial deity, perhaps Dorje Chenmo (rDo rje chen mo). The placing of the latter above the door leading to the sacred sphere of the *’du khang* appears to be significant. In this depiction above the *’du khang*’s portal, the Buddha is shown in a palatial structure flanked by the monastic community and gods, recalling the same theme depicted on the frontispiece of the Pooh manuscript. Although the Buddha images are shown making various *mudrās* in the book illuminations and wall paintings of this theme, they are related to central moments in his life when he discovered the Chain of Dependent Origination, which was the basis of his enlightenment and thus the core of his teaching.<sup>49</sup> Another little known example of the decisive iconological function of “Sacred Assemblies” is to be found in a monumental depiction to the right of the entrance wall of the Nyag temple at Khartse (mKhar rtse, rTsa mda’ District, mNga’ ris Prefecture) featuring the Buddha within a large community of monks in Tibetan monastic robes. However, an

<sup>49</sup> Despite the chronological distance from Tabo, in this context it should be mentioned that the veranda of Cave 17 in Ajanta contains a depiction of a Great Assembly (*mahāsamāja*), in which gods from all regions and heavenly spheres came to be present during the preaching of the Buddha before his monks (Zin and Schlingloff 2007: 114). However, the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins prescribes the Great Miracle rather than this image (*ibid.*).

elaborate throne architecture is absent in this example.<sup>50</sup> Regarding the position of heavenly palaces in the organism of the book, in contrast to the YM, in a Tabo manuscript (running no. 5) architectural representations are not only to be found on the frontispiece but also inside the book. On one folio Bodhisattva Dharmodgata is shown in a palace, which, as has been shown, refers to an episode in the respective story (Fig. 41). However, in this manuscript bodhisattvas are also depicted in shrines which are purely decorative and have no relation to the text. There are also Buddha images on various different architectural thrones in the Hanle (Waṃ le) MS (Ladakh), displaying the close relation between shrine and the figural image in this region. The shrines in which the figures reside are not related to the text, but are mainly designed to add stability, variation and a sense of visual wealth to the composition. This approach towards architectonic ornament appears to be characteristic for manuscripts in later periods of this artistic phase.<sup>51</sup>

### The Symbolism of the Tower in Literature

The architectural throne, palace or tower with a niche-like opening not only reflects the close relation of figure and shrine in Buddhist religious imagery, it also features as a constant metaphor to illustrate the process of pilgrimage and salvation in West Tibetan painting. In the Sadāprarudita story, too, the tower represents the teaching and the *dharmakāya* (Fig. 34). The Sudhana legend—depicted as a complete cycle on the murals of Tabo—is exemplary for the progress of pilgrimage towards bodhisattva-hood. In one of the last chapters his teacher or spiritual advisor is Bodhisattva Maitreya, who sends the young man onward to visit the Buddha Vairocana’s tower of inexhaustible adornment (Cleary 1993: 365).<sup>52</sup> The Vairocana tower stands for the splendid realm of *dharmadhātu*, which the devotee can enter. The text describes the majesty of the *vihāra*, as a delicately decorated tower of peerless beauty, with shining garlands of jewellery,

<sup>50</sup> In this, historical figures are represented as direct witnesses of the teaching Buddha and they are thus perhaps connoted with the religious prestige of the first disciples of the Buddha. The image documented by Tsering Gyalpo (see: Tshering rgyal po and Papa-Kalantari 2009: fig. 20) shows a large assembly of monks listening to the teaching of the Buddha, with one prominent monk to the left, most probably an eminent religious personality of that time associated with the foundation of the temple or another specific historic moment.

<sup>51</sup> I wish to thank Gudrun Melzer for allowing me to study the images (see Allinger 2017: figs. 1–80, pp. 153–171).

<sup>52</sup> “Go into this great tower containing the adornments of Vairocana and look—then you will know how to learn the practice of enlightening beings, and what kind of virtues are perfected in those who learn this.’ Then Sudhana respectfully circumambulated the enlightening being Maitreya and said, ‘Please open the door of the tower, and I will enter.’” (Cleary 1993: 365).



and as a realm of the highest spiritually developed Mahāyāna adept, the bodhisattva. The elaborate three-dimensional architectonic frame of the freestanding four-bodied Mahāvairocana at Tabo—seated on a lotus throne and in front of the cella that allows for circumambulation—may allude to the abode of Vairocana described in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* in which the devotee can enter through meditation.

Among the most elaborate architectonic forms in West Tibetan painting, in the last scene in the Sudhana legend at Tabo—next to passage leading to ambulatory—the abode of Samantabhadra (Fig. 45), a key figure in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* can be seen described as splendid realm filled with light and adorned by flowers, jewels, fragrant trees and garlands (Cleary 1993: 378ff.).<sup>53</sup> In this realm Samantabhadra blesses Sudhana who realized the states of consummate knowledge (*ibid.*: 384). These towers are typically depicted at Tabo and Nako at decisive positions in the temple leading from one space to spiritually more elevated ones (see also Fig. 46 featuring the first scene of the Life of the Buddha on the opposite wall leading to the ambulatory at Tabo).

### The Tower as an Architectural Threshold

It should be mentioned in this context that Linrothe (2010: 125, 134) suggested an interlocking of sacred texts, sculptures, wall paintings and architecture in his article presenting a new interpretation of “the western and eastern tower of the future Buddha at Mangyu.” He proposed that they may function as a thresholds with resemblances

<sup>53</sup> On a formal level it echoes the first scene of life of the Buddha on the wall to the right side of the entrance to the sanctum.



45. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, Assembly Hall (*‘du khang*), wall leading to sanctum (l.) (*dri gtsang khang*): Vairocana’s tower (P. Sutherland, 2009).

46. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, Assembly Hall (*‘du khang*), wall leading to sanctum (r.) (*dri gtsang khang*): first scene of the Life of the Buddha (P. Sutherland, 2009).

to the towers “described in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, when Sudhana encounters Maitreya who lead him to the tower of the adornment of Vairocana and encourages him to enter” (*ibid.*: 134). Thus the tower appears to represent the enlightening vision that is Sudhana’s goal. This space is actually represented as tower and threshold to the temple at Mangyu and Alchi.<sup>54</sup> It can thus be assumed that in the medium of painting architectural representations also serve as images of contemplation for the devotee—the deepening of the teachings—when physically performing the meditative walk in the temple, moving through spaces of increasing sacredness.

To summarise, the motif of the heavenly palace as the setting for a “Sacred Conversation” has hitherto also been admired as a purely decorative element. However, such architectural themes have specific iconological functions. In particular the multi-tiered palatial structure of the Buddha assembly in the *Yum chen mo/Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript at Pooh marks a symbolically decisive border: it shows the devotee the path to the sacred realm of the teaching of the Buddha, a core element of the doctrinal system of that time. It is thus also a border and interface between the mundane and the transmundane.

The local elements in this type of shrine architecture in various media signal that the guide between these spheres can be provided not only in distant lands of the Buddha but also in the temples newly established by the local Buddhist elite in the Land of Snow. Accordingly, the portal of a temple or the threshold between

<sup>54</sup> Cf. also Luczanits 2010 for a discussion of the translation of religious ideas into built architectural forms.

47. Dungkar (Cave II), enthroned deity, flanking a *maṇḍala*, lower zone of wall (courtesy Rob Linrothe, 2001).





48. Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, Assembly Hall (*‘du khang*): folio with a book in an aureole (E. Allinger, 1994).

49. *Śatasahasrika Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, Tabo (Harrison 2009: cat. no. 1.1.1.23), folio featuring *Sadāprarudita* and devotees in veneration of the book (E. Allinger, 1994).



distinctive spaces in a temple are meaningful locations for this theme.<sup>55</sup>

The palace represented in the first folio of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Yum chen mo*) manuscript at Pooh is thus also a portal to the sacred sphere of the Buddha. Accordingly, the frontispiece of the manuscript with its text commanding the reader to approach the teaching—usually not found in Indian manuscript tradition in this position—can perhaps be regarded as the spatial equivalent of the ordering of space in a temple, which is a unique feature found only in Western Himalayan book illumination.<sup>56</sup> The religious content of the space in which humans (lay and monastic personalities) and gods listen to the teaching of the Buddha, both in the temple—represented in the entrance hall or above the portal—and at the beginning of a sacred book, is to create a cohesion between the local population, the monastic community and the world of the “Enlightened One”.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> One example is an image on the wall leading from the *‘du khang* to the sanctum or *dri gtsang khang* at Tabo; Fig. 46. In the earliest phase of decoration of the Tabo *tsug lhag khang* the entrance hall appears to have had this function as border and interface, reflecting the horizontal tripartite hierarchy of spaces.

<sup>56</sup> When reading the text the devotee is thus also present in a virtual sense in a world ordered according to Buddhist precepts. While such temple depictions are found on the frontispieces of manuscripts or on the entrance walls (Tabo) in earlier phases, they are later represented in the lowest zone of a complete composition, as found on the main wall at Nako. Accordingly, the rows of temples depicted in the lowest zone of the main wall in the Nako IHa khang gong ma temple are not only decorative; they delineate and protect the space on the border zone with the *maṇḍala* represented in the centre of this wall. Accordingly the Eight Bodhisattvas are also conceived of as guarding their respective direction. The palaces are thus also windows or “gateways” to the sacred sphere—both stylistically and on symbolic level—comparable to the verandas which are a constant feature in the spatial layout of West Tibetan temples.

<sup>57</sup> This space represents a border zone between the worldly and the sacred realm. In addition, the division of the (public) entrance hall and (sacred) main hall

### On the Relation between Text, Image and Temple

In the Tibetan cultural sphere holy scripts are representatives of the word of the Buddha (*gsung rten*). Thus great respect is shown in their use, they are treated like cult images. In early West Tibetan Buddhist culture in particular, sacred texts were essential elements and parts of the accoutrements of temples. An inscription in the “Great Stūpa” at Alchi states that the temples there were built as manifestations of “body, speech and mind” of the Buddha; thus, the book, representing speech, is an integral part of the ensemble of a temple’s foundation and was perhaps commissioned in relation to the erection and decoration of the temples.<sup>58</sup> These books may have been regarded like icons, as seen in a folio at Tabo (Fig. 48). Another 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup>-century illustration from Tabo features donors/devotees in veneration of a book (Fig. 49). It shows donors and the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata, who preaches the teaching of the “Perfection of Wisdom” which is represented as a book.<sup>59</sup> Another example is a folio from the Pritzker collection, the last page of a manuscript, which perhaps illustrates the consecration of the book in the presence of the donors (Fig. 3).<sup>60</sup>

perhaps reflects specific cultic needs: while the first appears to be mainly a place where the devotee performs ritual offerings (which is still the case, as noted by Christian Jahoda, verbal communication, 2.2011), the latter is mainly dedicated to the liturgical ceremonies of the monastic community, and the devotee is not usually admitted while rituals are being performed. Buddha Śākyamuni flanked by devotees can also be considered in the Buddhist doctrinal system as a one of three Buddha manifestations, namely that of the fragile temporary body (*nirmāṇakāya*) of the Buddha, an aspect of the Buddha intended to instruct mankind. The iconological content of such scenes is clearly to propagate the teaching of the Buddha and to provide a place for the devotee at the “entrance” of the manuscript or to the temple in order that he or she might deepen contemplation and the meditation on the teaching.

<sup>58</sup> The Alchi inscriptions in the ‘Great Stūpa’ describe that Tshul khriims ‘od donated as Symbols of Speech (*gsung gi rten*) fourteen volumes of the large version of the (most probably) *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* “on extremely precious paper, not caring about price and costs” (Goepper 1993: 114, 143). I am grateful to Christian Jahoda for directing my attention on this inscription.

<sup>59</sup> For the sacredness of scripts see also Losty (1982); for the cult of the book Schopen (2005), describing how sacred scripts even had the status of “shrines”; cf. also Kim (2008). A related aspect of the cult of the book is practised at Nako where children walk under them, held aloft by women.

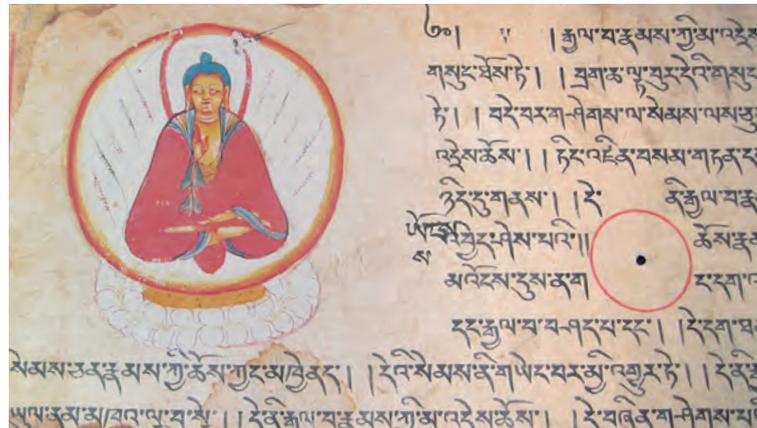
<sup>60</sup> Books must have been positioned in central positions in temples or kept in separate structures. Specific architectonic types of single spaced structures may have been used for their storage in Western Tibet. As observed by Luczanits (2010), there is a tower in front of the Alchi ‘Du khang (recalling descriptions of sacred architecture in relevant texts popular at that time), flanking the entrance portal, which may have served for storage of books and perhaps also as sacred spaces for veneration. Towers were also used as temple forms as can be seen on one of the *dhotis* of sculptures in the Alchi Sumtsek, featuring a multi-storey tower topped by a funnel-shaped roof with a cult image (Tārā) in the uppermost part (Goepper 1996: 59). Of course old manuscripts are also to be found in *stūpas*, reflecting different forms of devotion.

As a characteristic feature of the early Buddhist tradition of this region and the specific culture of donorship of the local religio-political elite, strong interrelations between sacred texts and decorative programmes in temples existed at the early Buddhist period of temples in the region; exemplary of this is a group of folios at Tabo (running no. 5), which was identified by Allinger and Luczanits (“A Vajradhātu *maṇḍala* in a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of Tabo monastery”, this volume, pp. 343–361) as a Dharmadhātuvāgīśvaramaṅjuśrī *maṇḍala*. While the paintings appear to be independent of the text in the book, they represent an iconographic ensemble that can also be found in the Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, where the MS was found, as well as at Nako. Another example is folios from Tabo showing episodes of the Sadāprarudita story (*ibid.*: Figs. 8–11, pp. 345–346). The illustrations appear in the respective chapter of a manuscript (i.e. the last chapters of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, namely the story of Sadāprarudita in the search of the Perfection of Wisdom) (Fig. 49). Not only is this close text-image relation unknown from the manuscript tradition in India, in addition the story is depicted in the Tabo ambulatory, as a narrative identified by Luczanits as the story of Sadāprarudita. The story is thus depicted in the space of the highest sacredness in the temple, representing the highest spiritual level represented by this last part of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, associated with the “Perfection of Wisdom” (cf. Luczanits 2010).

In particular, the *Prajñāpāramitā* teachings must have been very popular in Western Tibet and they were prominently represented in temples from earliest times around the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century. As already mentioned, they can be found on the walls of the ambulatory around the sanctum of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang*. A folio in the LACMA (11<sup>th</sup> century), from Tholing, features the veneration of *Yum chen mo* as a deity by donors, symmetrically arranged like donor images at the Nako Gongma temple (Figs. 19, 20).<sup>61</sup> At Nako she is prominently

Due to the increasing number of books in a temple they were often also placed in raised shelves along the side walls in the temple also giving opportunity to walk under them during the meditational walk inside the temple as can be seen at Samye, Shalu and Khorchag. Books were perhaps later stored in places that provided special protection; one such place are towers typical of Himachal Pradesh (examples are temples—plus storehouse—at Sarahan; Gondhla tower near Rohtang pass, the latter was perhaps originally a fort or palace). Towers are also to be found in Ladakh (e.g. Hanle [Wam le]).

<sup>61</sup> Elements of the programme, such as donors in the entrance hall, protectors above a portal and narratives running along the lower part of the wall to the sanctum, give a dynamic perception of space (typical of the Tabo *gtsug lag khang*, with its tripartite, longitudinal layout), reflecting traditions of devotion like circumambulation. Later, such as at Nako, featuring single-chamber buildings, the focus of worship is on the back wall, featuring more symmetric compositions, representing objects of contemplation, such as thangka or images in manuscripts.



50. Khorchag, single manuscript folio (Tsering Gyalpo, 2004).

depicted in sculptural form flanking the sanctum in the Lotsāba temple and at the centre of a *maṇḍala* in the Gongma temple.

Not only are the text and the goddess objects of veneration as books or icons but, as has been shown, also on a formal level—i.e. with regard to the arrangement of the illustrations in the Pooh YM—there are interactions and mutual influences with the decorative programme of temples.

With regard to the overall programme of the YM, the individual Buddhas most likely represent the spiritual programme of the 1000 Buddhas, which appears to be independent of the text on which it is written, while the theme is frequently depicted in the temples of this region. The theme of the 1000 Buddhas is comparable to the space surrounding the sanctum or shrine at Tabo or the *stūpa* at the Zhag cave as well the space outside the *maṇḍala* in the early temples at Nako. Thus the first two pages featuring a Buddha assembly (with donors and protectors) and a second folio, with the beginning of the text illustrated with a discourse scene guarded by a protectress, leads from *nirmāṇakāya* to the realm of the 1000 Buddhas, giving it a cosmological dimension. This spatial opposition is comparable to spatial hierarchy in a temple.

Clear mutual influences and interrelations between book illuminations and wall paintings can also be found at a stylistic level and with regard to workshop organisation. Perhaps the same groups of artists were often commissioned by aristocratic donors, as appears to be the case at Tholing (Gudrun Melzer, forthcoming). At Tholing a unique case of close similarities between folios collected by Tucci, now in the LACMA and wall paintings from ca. 11<sup>th</sup> century correspond, giving important insight into workshop processes and also providing actual evidence of the possibility of mutual exchanges between these genres. In motifs and style there are astonishing parallels between paintings in Nako and those of the *Yum chen mo*

51. Khorchag, Jo khang, side wall of assembly hall, raised shelves (*kun dga' ra ba*, literally meaning "pleasure grove"), housing books and statues for the honorific walk below by the devotee (P. Sutherland, 2010).



manuscript, and further between Tabo and a single folio at Khorchag (Fig. 50). The latter represents a unique painterly style rather related to the medium of wall paintings rather than illuminations suggesting the artist was also responsible for wall paintings in temples.

To conclude, interrelations between manuscripts and temples are observable at various levels:

1. With regard to iconographic themes and spiritual programmes;
2. At the level of donor depictions, namely regarding their dominant presence on the first or last page in MS and in compositions in wall paintings;
3. At the level of sacred ordering of space in books and temples;
4. Perhaps also at the level of workshop organisation, although too few examples are known today to arrive at a final conclusion at this point.

The study of the relationship between text and image and in particular of the spatial arrangement of lay imagery in Western Himalayan manuscripts is at present in its infancy. This preliminary study shows that there are parallel characteristics both in book illumination and wall painting. Accordingly, it is also relevant as regards questions relating to the spiritual programmes and sacred ordering of space in temples as well as to problems of chronology in West Tibetan art. Both the spiritual anchoring of the miniatures in the book, as well as the anchoring of the book in the temple (Fig. 51) and its connectedness with other elements of the sacred space such as cult images and *stūpas*—perceived as manifestations of body speech and mind of the Buddha—are essential for the understanding of illuminated manuscripts and their ritual use in West Tibetan culture.

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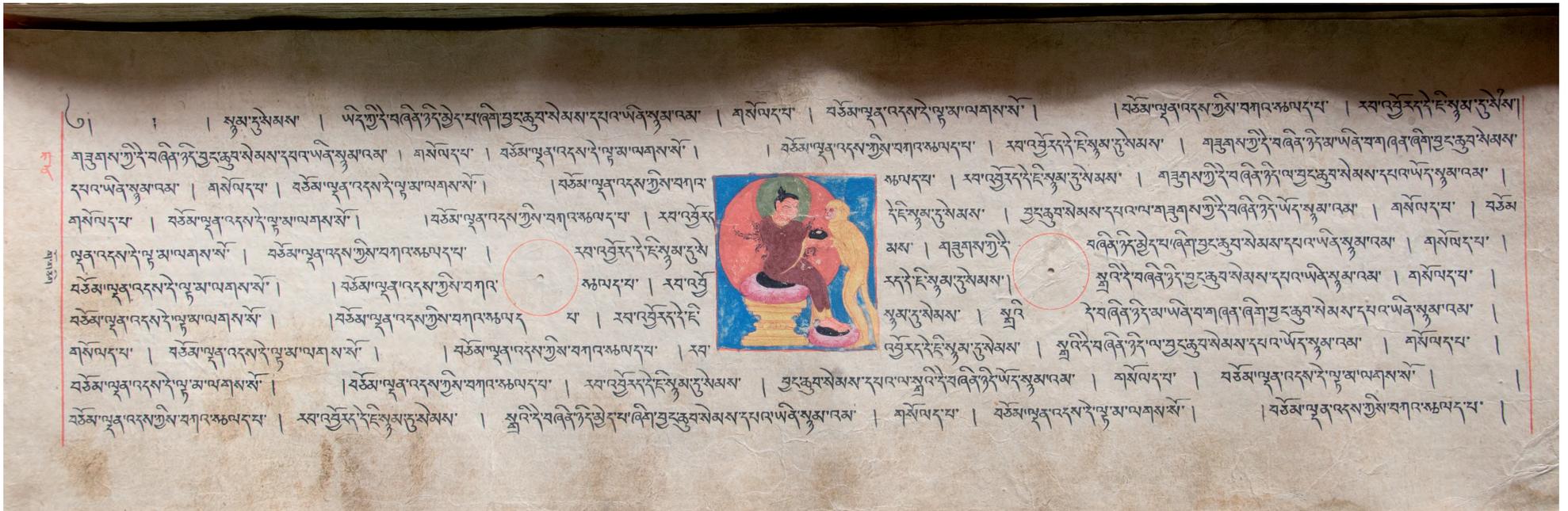


## Documentation



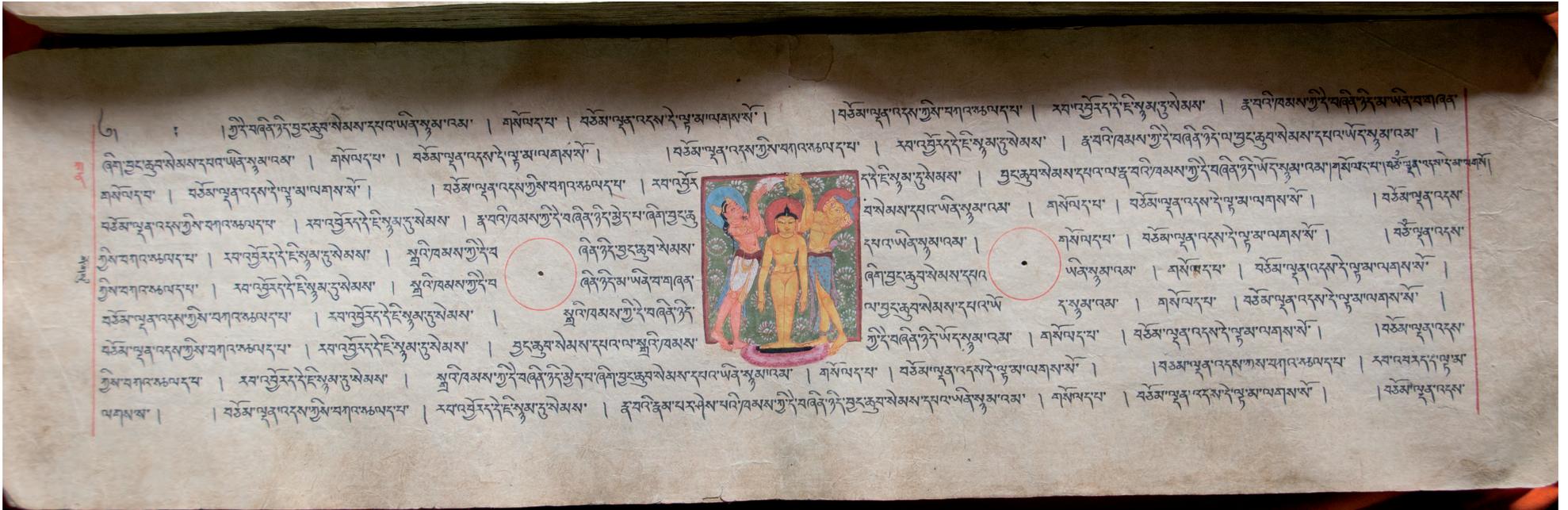
Cat. no. 1: *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Yum chen mo*) manuscript, wooden book cover (ca. 13<sup>th</sup> century), Pooh (all photography by C. Kalantari, 2009).





Cat. no. 4: Śatasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (Shes rab kyi pha rold tu phyin pa stong phrag bryga pa) manuscript, folio 2 (Ka 2), recto: Cundi (left), two seated figures (a Buddha and a monk) in discussion (centre), a green Bodhisattva (right).

Cat. no. 5: folio 191 (Ka Na 91), recto: scene from the life of the Buddha featuring the "Gift of the monkey to the Buddha at Vaiśālī".



Cat. no. 6: folio 193 (Ka Na 93), recto: scene from the life of the Buddha featuring the "First Bath of the Buddha".

Cat. no. 7: folio 316 (Ka Nga 16), recto: Buddha.



Cat. no. 8: folio 2 (*Ka* 2) recto: Cundi; Cat. no. 9: folio 2 (*Ka* 2) recto: green Bodhisattva; Cat. no. 10: folio 191 (*Ka Na* 91), recto: scene from the Life of the Buddha featuring the "Gift of the monkey to the Buddha at Vaiśālī".

Cat. no. 11: folio 193 (*Ka Na* 93), recto: scene from the Life of the Buddha featuring the "First Bath of the Buddha"; Cat. no. 12: folio 200 (*Ka Na* 100), recto: scene from the Life of the Buddha (preaching Buddha seated on an elaborate throne); Cat. no. 13: folio 200 (*Ka Ma* 20), recto: scene from the life of the Buddha (preaching Buddha seated on an elaborate throne).



Cat. nos. 14 -19: folio 3 r. (Ka gnyis); folio 4 r. (Ka 4); folio 5 r. (Ka 5); folio 6 r. (Ka 6); folio 7 r. (Ka 7); folio 8 r. (Ka 8).  
 Cat. nos. 20 -25: folio 9 r. (Ka 9); folio 10 r. (Ka 10); folio 11 r. (Ka 11); folio 12 r. (Ka 12); folio 13 r. (Ka13); folio 14 r. (Ka 14).  
 Cat. nos. 26 -31: folio 15 r. (Ka 15); folio 16 r. (Ka 16); folio 17 r. (Ka 17); folio 18 r. (Ka 18); folio 19 r. (Ka 19); folio 20 r. (Ka 20).  
 Cat. nos. 32- 37: folio 21 r. (Ka 21); folio 22 r. (Ka 22); folio 23 r. (Ka 23); folio 24 r. (Ka 24); folio 25 r. (Ka 25); folio 26 r. (Ka 26).



Cat. nos. 38-43: folio 27 r. (Ka 27); folio 28 r. (Ka 28); folio 29 r. (Ka 29); folio 30 r. (Ka 30); folio 31 r. (Ka 31); folio 32 (Ka32).  
Cat. nos. 44-49: folio 33 r. (Ka 33); folio 34 r. (Ka 34); folio 35 r. (Ka 35); folio 36 r. (Ka 36); folio 37 r. (Ka 37); folio 38 (Ka 38).  
Cat. nos. 50-55: folio 39 r. (Ka 39); folio 40 r. (Ka 40); folio 41 r. (Ka 41); folio 42 r. (Ka 42); folio 43 r. (Ka 43); folio 44 (Ka 44).  
Cat. nos. 56-61: folio 45 r. (Ka 45); folio 46 r. (Ka 46); folio 47 r. (Ka 47); folio 48 r. (Ka 48); folio 49 r. (Ka 49); folio 50 (Ka 50).



Cat. nos. 62-67: folio 51 r. (Ka 51); folio 52 r. (Ka 52); folio 53 r. (Ka 53); folio 54 r. (Ka 54); folio 55 r. (Ka 55); folio 56/57 r. (Ka 56/57).

Cat. nos. 68-73: folio 58 r. (Ka 58); folio 59 r. (Ka 59); folio 60 r. (Ka 60); folio 61 r. (Ka 61); folio 62 (Ka 62); folio 63 (Ka 63).

Cat. nos. 74-79: folio 64 r. (Ka 64); folio 65 r. (Ka 65); folio 66 r. (Ka 66); folio 67 r. (Ka 67); folio 68 (Ka 68); folio 69 (Ka 69).

Cat. nos. 80-85: folio 70 r. (Ka 70); folio 71 r. (Ka 71); folio 72 r. (Ka 72); folio 73 r. (Ka 73); folio 74 (Ka 74); folio 75 (Ka 75).





Cat. nos. 86-91: folio 76 r. (Ka 76); folio 77 r. (Ka 77); folio 78 r. (Ka 78); folio 79 r. (Ka 79); folio 80 r. (Ka 80); folio 81 r. (Ka 81).  
Cat. nos. 92-97: folio 82 r. (Ka 82); folio 83 r. (Ka 83); folio 84 r. (Ka 84); folio 85 r. (Ka 85); folio 86 r. (Ka 86); folio 87 r. (Ka 87).  
Cat. nos. 98-103: folio 88 r. (Ka 88); folio 89 r. (Ka 89); folio 90 r. (Ka 90); folio 91 r. (Ka 91); folio 92 r. (Ka 92); folio 93 r. (Ka 93).  
Cat. nos. 104-109: folio 94 r. (Ka 94); folio 95 r. (Ka 95); folio 96 r. (Ka 96); folio 97 r. (Ka 97); folio 98 r. (Ka 98); folio 99 r. (Ka 99).



Cat. nos. 110-115: folio 100 r. (Ka 100); folio 101 r. (Ka Na 1); folio 102 r. (Ka Na 2); folio 103 r. (Ka Na 3); folio 104 r. (Ka Na 4); folio 105 r. (Ka Na 5).

Cat. nos. 116-121: folio 105 r. (Ka Na 6); folio 107 r. (Ka Na 7); folio 108 r. (Ka Na 8); folio 109 (Ka Na 9); folio 110 r. (Ka Na 10); folio 111 r. (Ka Na 11).

Cat. nos. 122-127: folio 112 r. (Ka Na 12); folio 113 r. (Ka Na 13); folio 114 r. (Ka Na 14); folio 115 r. (Ka Na 15); folio 116 r. (Ka Na 16); folio 117 r. (Ka Na 17).

Cat. nos. 128-133: folio 118 r. (Ka Na 18); folio 119 r. (Ka Na 19); folio 120 r. (Ka Na 20); folio 121 r. (Ka Na 21); folio 122 r. (Ka Na 22); folio 123 r. (Ka Na 23).



Cat. nos. 134: folio 124 r. (Ka Na 24); folio 125 r. (Ka Na 25); folio 126 r. (Ka Na 26); folio 127 (Ka Na 27); folio 128 r. (Ka Na 28); folio 129 r. (Ka Na 29) .  
Cat. nos. 140: folio 130 r. (Ka Na 30); folio 131 r. (Ka Na 31); folio 132 r. (Ka Na 32); folio 133 (Ka Na 33); folio 134 r. (Ka Na 34); folio 135 r. (Ka Na 35).  
Cat. nos. 146: folio 136 r. (Ka Na 36); folio 137 r. (Ka Na 37); folio 138 r. (Ka Na 38); folio 139 (Ka Na 39); folio 140 r. (Ka Na 40); folio 141 r. (Ka Na 41).  
Cat. nos. 152: folio 142 r. (Ka Na 42); folio 143 r. (Ka Na 43); folio 144 r. (Ka Na 44); folio 145 (Ka Na 45); folio 146 r. (Ka Na 46); folio 147 r. (Ka Na 47).



Cat. nos. 158-163: folio 148 r. (Ka Na 48); folio 149 r. (Ka Na 49); folio 150 r. (Ka Na 50); folio 151 r. (Ka Na 51); folio 152 r. (Ka Na 52); folio 153 r. (Ka Na 53).  
 Cat. nos. 164-169: folio 154 r. (Ka Na 54); folio 155 r. (Ka Na 55); folio 156 r. (Ka Na 56); folio 157 r. (Ka Na 57); folio 158 r. (Ka Na 58); folio 159 r. (Ka Na 59).  
 Cat. nos. 170-175: folio 160 r. (Ka Na 60); folio 161 r. (Ka Na 61); folio 162 r. (Ka Na 62); folio 163 r. (Ka Na 63); folio 164 r. (Ka Na 64); folio 165 r. (Ka Na 65).  
 Cat. nos. 176-181: folio 166 r. (Ka Na 66); folio 167 r. (Ka Na 67); folio 168 r. (Ka Na 68); folio 169 r. (Ka Na 69); folio 170 r. (Ka Na 70); folio 171 r. (Ka Na 71).



Cat. nos. 182-187: folio 172 r. (Ka Na 72); folio 173 r. (Ka Na 73); folio 174 r. (Ka Na 74); folio 175 r. (Ka Na 75); folio 176 r. (Ka Na 76); folio 177 r. (Ka Na 77).  
 Cat. nos. 188-193: folio 178 r. (Ka Na 78); folio 179 r. (Ka Na 79); folio 180 r. (Ka Na 80); folio 181 r. (Ka Na 81); folio 182 r. (Ka Na 82); folio 183 r. (Ka Na 83).  
 Cat. nos. 194-199: folio 184 r. (Ka Na 84); folio 185 r. (Ka Na 85); folio 186 r. (Ka Na 86); folio 187 r. (Ka Na 87); folio 188 r. (Ka Na 88); folio 189 r. (Ka Na 89).  
 Cat. nos. 200-205: folio 190 r. (Ka Na 90); folio 191 r. (Ka Na 91); folio 192 r. (Ka Na 92); folio 193 r. (Ka Na 93); folio 194 r. (Ka Na 94); folio 195 r. (Ka Na 95).



Cat. nos. 206 -211: folio 196 r. (Ka Na 96); folio 197 r. (Ka Na 97); folio 198 r. (Ka Na 98); folio 199 r. (Ka Na 99); folio 200 r. (Ka Na 100); folio 201 r. (Ka Ma 1).

Cat. nos. 212-217: folio 202 r. (Ka Ma 2); folio 203 r. (Ka Ma 3); folio 204 r. (Ka Ma 4); folio 205 r. (Ka Ma 5); folio 206 r. (Ka Ma 6); folio 207 r. (Ka Ma 7).

Cat. nos. 218-223: folio 208 r. (Ka Ma 8); folio 209 r. (Ka Ma 9); folio 210 r. (Ka Ma 10); folio 211 r. (Ka Ma 11); folio 212 r. (Ka Ma 12); folio 213 r. (Ka Ma 13).

Cat. nos. 224-229: folio 214 r. (Ka Ma 14); folio 215 r. (Ka Ma 15); folio 216 r. (Ka Ma 16); folio 217 r. (Ka Ma 17); folio 218 r. (Ka Ma 18); folio 219 r. (Ka Ma 19).



Cat. nos. 230-235: folio 220 r. (Ka Ma 20); folio 221 r. (Ka Ma 21); folio 222 r. (Ka Ma 22); folio 223 r. (Ka Ma 23); folio 224 r. (Ka Ma 24); folio 225 r. (Ka Ma 25).  
 Cat. nos. 236-241: folio 226 r. (Ka Ma 26); folio 227 r. (Ka Ma 27); folio 228 r. (Ka Ma 28); folio 229 r. (Ka Ma 29); folio 230 r. (Ka Ma 30); folio 231 r. (Ka Ma 31).  
 Cat. nos. 242-247: folio 232 r. (Ka Ma 32); folio 233 r. (Ka Ma 33); folio 234 r. (Ka Ma 34); folio 235 r. (Ka Ma 35); folio 236 r. (Ka Ma 36); folio 237 r. (Ka Ma 37).  
 Cat. nos. 248-253: folio 238 r. (Ka Ma 38); folio 239 r. (Ka Ma 39); folio 240 r. (Ka Ma 40); folio 241 r. (Ka Ma 41); folio 242 r. (Ka Ma 42); folio 243 r. (Ka Ma 43).



Cat. nos. 254-259: folio 244 r. (Ka Ma 44); folio 245 r. (Ka Ma 45); folio 246 r. (Ka Ma 46); folio 247 r. (Ka Ma 47); folio 248 r. (Ka Ma 48); folio 249 r. (Ka Ma 49).  
 Cat. nos. 260-265: folio 250 r. (Ka Ma 50); folio 251 r. (Ka Ma 51); folio 252 r. (Ka Ma 52); folio 253 r. (Ka Ma 53); folio 254 r. (Ka Ma 54); folio 255 r. (Ka Ma 55).  
 Cat. nos. 266-271: folio 256 r. (Ka Ma 56); folio 257 r. (Ka Ma 57); folio 258 r. (Ka Ma 58); folio 259 r. (Ka Ma 59); folio 260 r. (Ka Ma 60); folio 261 r. (Ka Ma 61).  
 Cat. nos. 272-277: folio 262 r. (Ka Ma 62); folio 263 r. (Ka Ma 63); folio 264 r. (Ka Ma 64); folio 265 r. (Ka Ma 65); folio 266 r. (Ka Ma 66); folio 267 r. (Ka Ma 67).





Cat. nos. 278-283: folio 268 r. (Ka Ma 68); folio 269 r. (Ka Ma 69); folio 270 r. (Ka Ma 70); folio 271 r. (Ka Ma 71); folio 272 r. (Ka Ma 72); folio 273 r. (Ka Ma 73).  
Cat. nos. 284-289: folio 274 r. (Ka Ma 74); folio 275 r. (Ka Ma 75); folio 276 r. (Ka Ma 76); folio 277 r. (Ka Ma 77); folio 278 r. (Ka Ma 78); folio 279 r. (Ka Ma 79).  
Cat. nos. 290-295: folio 280 r. (Ka Ma 80); folio 281 r. (Ka Ma 81); folio 282 r. (Ka Ma 82); folio 283 r. (Ka Ma 83); folio 284 r. (Ka Ma 84); folio 285 r. (Ka Ma 85).  
Cat. nos. 296-301: folio 286 r. (Ka Ma 86); folio 287 r. (Ka Ma 87); folio 288 r. (Ka Ma 88); folio 289 r. (Ka Ma 89); folio 290 r. (Ka Ma 90); folio 291 r. (Ka Ma 91).



Cat. nos. 302-307: folio 292 r. (Ka Ma 92); folio 293 r. (Ka Ma 93); folio 294 r. (Ka Ma 94); folio 295 r. (Ka Ma 95); folio 296 r. (Ka Ma 96); folio 297 r. (Ka Ma 97).  
 Cat. nos. 308-313: folio 298 r. (Ka Ma 98); folio 299 r. (Ka Ma 99); folio 300 r. (Ka Ma 100); folio 301 r. (Ka Nga 1); folio 302 r. (Ka Nga 2); folio 303 r. (Ka Nga 3).  
 Cat. nos. 314-319: folio 304 r. (Ka Nga 4); folio 305 r. (Ka Nga 5); folio 306 r. (Ka Nga 6); folio 307 r. (Ka Nga 7); folio 308 r. (Ka Nga 8); folio 309 r. (Ka Nga 9).  
 Cat. nos. 320-325: folio 310 r. (Ka Nga 10); folio 311 r. (Ka Nga 11); folio 312 r. (Ka Nga 12); folio 313 r. (Ka Nga 13); folio 314 r. (Ka Nga 14); folio 315 r. (Ka Nga 15).



Cat. nos. 326-331: folio 316 r. (Ka Nga 16); folio 317 r. (Ka Nga 17); folio 318 r. (Ka Nga 18); folio 319 r. (Ka Nga 19); folio 320 r. (Ka Nga 20); folio 321 r. (Ka Nga 21).  
Cat. nos. 332-337: folio 322 r. (Ka Nga 22); folio 323 r. (Ka Nga 23); folio 324 r. (Ka Nga 24); folio 325 r. (Ka Nga 25); folio 326 r. (Ka Nga 26); folio 327 r. (Ka Nga 27).