

PART II: *Mural Paintings of the Sakya Founding Masters with Two Hevajra Lineages*

BY MATHIAS FERMER

INTRODUCTION

Among the surviving murals that date to the founding of Gongkar Chöde, two outstanding panels exist on the ground floor in the main assembly hall that illustrate Khyentse Chenmo's broad artistic range and genius. Monks who lived in the monastery before 1959 similarly assert that the old paintings decorating the front walls to the right and left of the entrance to the temple's central sanctum were painted by Khyentse Chenmo.

Each of those walls depicts a Hevajra lineage, one of which was for the crucial Lamdre practice of the Sakya school. When viewed together with the depictions of tantric deities and narrative scenes described earlier in this chapter, these murals demonstrate Khyentse Chenmo's mastery of another essential artistic subject: portrayal of Buddhist teachers, and, in particular, of tantric guru lineages.

The importance of these lineage murals as an iconographic subject is expressed by their position at the front of Gongkar Chöde's spacious assembly hall, where the entire community gathers regularly for collective rituals and prayer. (See Fig. 4.43.) The murals depict as their main subject two trios of prominent Sakya founding masters who enjoyed the highest veneration in the monastic tradition established by Gongkar Dorjedenpa Kunga Namgyal. (See Figs. 4.45, 4.52, and 4.54.)



These paintings caught the attention of Giuseppe Tucci, the eminent Tibetologist who visited the monastery in the summer of 1948. No photos from his prolonged stay at Gongkar Chöde have so far been identified from among the surviving photographs of his journey.²⁸⁷ But while he was there, the Italian scholar established a close relationship with the previous Gongkar Dorjedenpa Rinpoche Jampel Lungtok Chökyi Gyaltsen (For a tinted photograph of the previous Dorjedenpa *trulku*, see Fig. 12.10.) and repeatedly expressed his excitement about the high quality of art preserved here.²⁸⁸ About the lineage paintings in the assembly hall, Tucci noted in his

FIG. 4.43
Monks gathered in the new assembly hall, 2012
Photo courtesy of Jampal Shedrup

travelogue: "On the walls right and left of the cell were painted the Lamas of the Sakyapa sect and the main events of their lives: dignified but spirited and lively pictures, free from the hieratic stiffness that too often burdens Tibetan art."²⁸⁹

These two murals, which Tucci witnessed about seventy years ago in a state much closer to their original splendor, can be counted among the most important paintings that survive at Gongkar Chöde, documenting as they do



FIG. 4.44
Lobpön Sönam Tsemo as one of Three
White-Clad Ones of Sakya
Detail, left wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Rob Linrothe, 2007

FIG. 4.45
Three Red-Clad Ones of Gongkar with
surrounding Hevajra Lineage
Right wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Kazuo Kano, 2007

FIG. 4.46
Wooden doorway leading into the inner
sanctum, with new main Buddha image
Assembly hall, Gongkar Chöde
Photo: Mathias Fermer, 2015

the origin and transmission of the community's main tradition of tantric instructions (the Lamdre) and its main tantric cycle (the Hevajra).²⁹⁰ The walls to both sides of the inner sanctum's entrance were seen by all pre-1959 visitors who approached the central chapel to pay respects to its huge, two-story Buddha image (*thub chen*), the original of which was also crafted by Khyentse Chenmo.²⁹¹

The thick walls and four large pillars of the inner sanctum are important parts of the building's structure. They support the chapels that lie directly above them on the upper floors: the Vajradhātu Chapel on the third floor, the



Guru Chapel, with images of the Lamdre lineage masters, on the fourth floor, and the (now missing) topmost chapel, called the “line chapel” (*thig khang*), which presumably provided a place for preparing or practicing the basic lines of mandalas.²⁹²

CONDITION OF THE MURALS

The murals survive in a mediocre condition, with areas of pigment loss and surface abrasion across the entire wall. The lower parts, in particular, suffered heavy abrasion, apparently due to their being within the reach of worshippers or pilgrims (before 1959) or due to mistreatment while the building was taken over for more than two decades (during the period 1960s–1984/85). During those years the assembly hall was used as collective grain storage (*gro khang*), and the upper floors were emptied and converted into offices for the local government. In 1985, when monastic life was reintroduced at Gongkar Chöde, the few monks who could return to their monastery immediately began restoring the defunct temple. A young monk who had then just joined the monastery remembers that some of them began restoring (*bskyar gso*) the covered walls on the ground floor, even while government officials still retained offices in the upper floors of the building. With just water and a wet cloth, the young monks tried to wipe off the layer of whitewash (*dkar rtsi*) that had been protectively applied to the walls before the monastery’s confiscation.²⁹³

The overhasty removal of whitewash damaged the surface of the wall and took away much of the mural’s original color and intensity. (See Fig. 4.47.) As a result of that forceful and uneven cleaning, a light-brown ground shows through in several locations. In places, ornamental elements and even a few minor lineal gurus disappeared, not leaving a trace of the original pigment



or even the underlying outlines (*phyi thig*) or proportional measurements (*thig tshad*). Figure 4.48 shows the worst spot on the right wall, where gurus number 4, 6, 8, and 10 of the Hevajra Mūlatantra Lineage are seen above, but three teachers are missing below: from left to right, guru numbers 12, Ngari Salnying, 14, Sachen Kunga Nyingpo, and 16, Jetsün Trakpa Gyaltshe.

However, some damaged areas provide a glimpse into the composition of the murals. The exposed portions

FIG. 4.47
Damaged surface near the bottom of the wall; this detail depicts Drakthokpa Sönam Sangpo as guru number 22 in the Lamdre Lineage
Detail, left wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Roberto Fortuna, 2011, courtesy Knud Larsen

FIG. 4.48
Gurus from the Hevajra Mūlatantra Lineage; damaged section
Detail, right wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Kazuo Kano, 2007

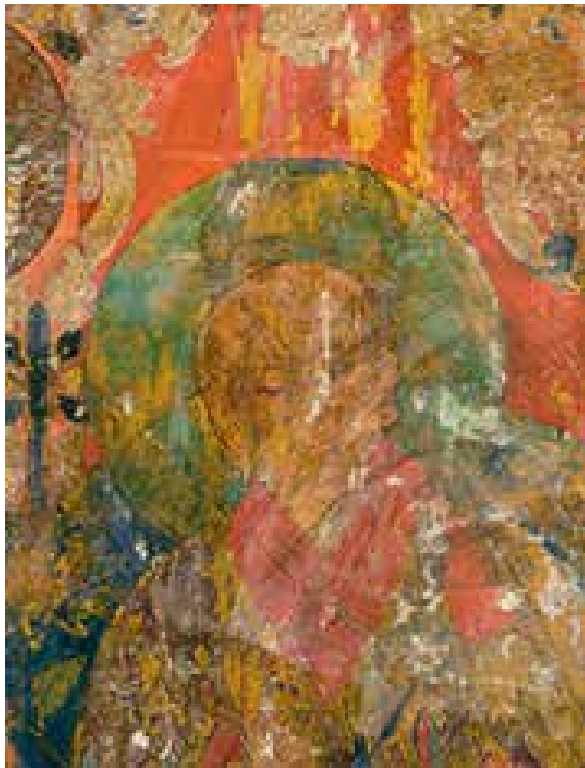


FIG. 4.49
The underlying sketch is visible in this detail depicting Trakpa Gyaltsen as one of the main figures
Detail, left wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Wang Peng, 2010

reflect the different stages of the artist's work. If we look carefully, we can find facial outlines (*zhal thig*) of figures as well as the faded color code numbers or letters (*tshon yig*) that originally indicated which colors were meant to be applied. (In Figures 4.49 and 4.56, the Tibetan letter *pa* can be found as a color code where green pigment was applied to head nimbuses.)

Even while at a very early phase of his work, Khyentse seems to have modified his sketch fairly drastically, though the revisions were later hidden by the final coloring. For example, a reworked section is visible in the upper center of the left wall in Figure 4.50 (see the claws of the dragon's left leg and the green recoloring of the ornamental element to its lower right). In the same mural, the head nimbus belonging to the master



FIG. 4.50
Dragon with visible underlying lines
Detail, left wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Wang Peng, 2010

Trakpa Gyaltsen (1147–1216), who sits to the proper left of the large central figure, reveals an earlier (very similar) sketch of the same figure's face under the faded paint (as we see in Figure 4.49). The unskilled removal of whitewash in the 1980s thus brought to light here what are likely the rejected drawings of the master painter at work. Khyentse Chenmo, probably for artistic reasons, reworked his initial sketch of the face in order to position the master slightly lower in relation to the central figure.

In another case (Fig. 4.51) a prominent vertical and horizontal line shines through the worn-away pigment of a head nimbus. (Shang Dode Pal is depicted in a landscape setting, as guru number 19 of the Hevajra Mūlatantra Lineage.)

Fortunately, the lineage paintings on the ground floor were spared from repainting or recoloring (*mtshon gso*), while numerous murals on the second floor were “renovated” during the 2000s. The restoring of the lineage murals here involved just a little repairing in the form of filling cracks and minor background repainting along the upper parts of the two walls.

FIG. 4.51
Shang Dode Pal depicted in a landscape setting, as guru number 19 of the Hevajra Mūlatantra Lineage
Detail, right wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Mathias Fermer, 2010





ICONOGRAPHIC THEME

The group of teachers that Tucci recognized as “Lamas of the Sakyapa sect” represent successive masters from two specific Hevajra lineages that are practiced or studied mainly within the Sakya school. Hugh Richardson in a brief survey of monasteries, temples, and forts in Tibet before 1950 mentioned Gongkar Monastery and its contents.²⁹⁴ The lineage depicted in the great temple hall, he asserted, was that of “lama Rdo-rje gdan-pa,” the monastery’s founder, who commissioned the murals between 1464 and 1476. Although Richardson did not visit Gongkar Chöde personally, his statement about the lineage paintings was correct.

The mural paintings on the front wall of the inner sanctum consist of two separate panels, which we can call the left and right walls. They depict parallel compositions and are linked with each

other through the identities of their main figures. Framed by the circumambulation path on their outer edges, they each measure approximately 420 centimeters (ca. 165 inches) high and 600 centimeters (236 inches) wide.

Each wall depicts three main central figures (*gtso bo*) seated on wooden thrones with elaborate throne backs. The largest main figure is flanked by two smaller masters depicted about half his size. On each wall the three main figures, together with the Indian adepts and other Tibetan lamas surrounding them, represent an unbroken transmission line of masters (*bla [ma] brgyud [pa]*; Skt. *guruparampara*) in the Gongkar tradition. The minor figures are arranged on five horizontal lines within a sketchy background landscape that surrounds the throne construction with the main figures. Both lineages begin at the top center and run in chronological order

FIG. 4.52

Three White-Clad Masters of Sakya with the Lamdre Lineage

Left wall, entrance to inner sanctum

Photo: Wang Peng, 2010

down to a final master of the transmission in the bottom row. The lineage gurus descend alternating from left to right (relative to the viewer), while the transmission is interrupted by the main figures in the center.

The three main figures play a prominent role for the overall composition of each mural. Thanks to their distinctive iconography, they can be easily recognized as hierarchs from the Khön family who founded their tradition at Sakya Monastery.²⁹⁵ On the left wall (Fig. 4.52) we see Sachen Kunga Nyingpo (1092–1158) and his sons Lobpön Sönam Tsemo (1142–1182) and



FIG. 4.53
Three White-Clad Masters of Sakya
Mural, Kunzang Tse College; 1930s–1940s
Photo: Jampal Shedrub, 2012

Jetsün Trakpa Gyaltshe (1147–1216). All three are shown according to their standard iconography with long hair and wearing white garments that were permitted for lay adherents. The three first throne-holders of Sakya were not monks and hence are shown wearing inner garments with long sleeves colored faint purple or pink, in addition to their white capes and lower robes. Sachen and his two sons are traditionally known as the “Three White-Robed Ones” (*dkar po rnam gsum*), being the first three of

the illustrious “Five Founding Masters of Sakya” (*sa skya gong ma lnga*). (Fig. 4.53 is a much later mural of this same standard iconographic grouping in Kunzang Tse College of Gongkar Chöde. Note the pair of dragons to the right and left of Sachen, which were repeated.)

The backrest of the three early founders on the left wall features no fewer than six writhing dragons curling around the main supporting pillars. On the right wall, we will also see decorative dragons, but just two in all, one at the top of each outer vertical support, such as above Phakpa’s left shoulder. (The two inner pillars of this mural feature little boys (*bu chung/mi chung*) who playfully clamber up the ornamental backrest to the left and the right of the central figure; the boys are depicted in a Chinese-looking manner and might be a motif adopted from Ming-period decorative arts.) Another key decorative feature of the left wall is the complicated silk canopy directly above the central figure, with elaborate tassels that hang so low that they impinge upon Sachen’s head nimbus.

The right wall (Fig. 4.54) depicts a different trio of Sakya founding masters. Its central figure (Fig. 4.55) is Sakya Paṇḍita, who was Trakpa Gyaltshe’s nephew and immediate follower on the abbatial throne of Sakya. To his proper right is his nephew Phakpa Lodrö Gyaltshe (1235–1280), his abbatial successor at Sakya. This pair of uncle and nephew (*sa paṇ khu dbon* or *sa skya pa khu dbon*) is famed for establishing a spiritual relationship with two different Mongol overlords, and they are also commonly called the “Two Red-Robed Ones” (*dmarmar po rnam gnyis*). Sakya Paṇḍita and Chögyal Phakpa were fully ordained monks and hence are portrayed wearing the red robes and lama vests of a Tibetan monk. They are also counted as the last two of the Five Founding Masters of Sakya.



FIG. 4.54
The Three Red-Clad Masters of Sakya with
the Hevajra Mūlatantra Lineage
Right wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Wang Peng, 2010

FIG. 4.55
Sakya Paṇḍita, as one of the Three Red-
Clad Masters, and as guru number 17 in the
Hevajra Mūlatantra Lineage
Detail, right wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Rob Linrothe, 2007

As its third main figure (Fig. 4.56), the right wall depicts Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltsen (1312–1375). This outstanding master came from the Rinchengang Palace branch of the same Sakya Khön family, and he served as Sakya throne-holder around a century after Phakpa. He extensively traveled Ü province (dBus) of central Tibet and promoted Sakya traditions under the



devoted patronage of the Phagmotrupa rulers at Nedong. Lama Dampa together with Sakya Paṇḍita and his nephew are typically called the “Three Red-Robed

Ones” (*dmar po rnam gsum*) by Gongkar monks. Within their tradition, Lama Dampa enjoyed and still enjoys exceptional authority and veneration, comparable to that of the Five Sakya Founders. Dorjedenpa wrote annotations to at least two of Lama Dampa’s works and is believed to have manifested as him in one of his previous existences.²⁹⁶

In particular, Sönam Gyaltsen’s tantric exegesis was esteemed and followed by the monastic community at Gongkar Chöde. Early masters, including the monastery’s founder, became involved in long doctrinal disputes with the Ngorpa sub-sect of the Sakya school. The proponents from Gongkar prominently quoted Lama Dampa’s explanations in support of their positions, arguing that his understanding was no different from that of the Five Founding Masters. The authority of Lama Dampa and his exegetical tradition at Gongkar



FIG. 4.56
Lama Dampa as one of the Three Red-Clad Masters of Gongkar, as guru number 22 in the Hevajra Mūlatantra Lineage
Detail, right wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Rob Linrothe, 2007

also becomes evident in several of Dorjedenpa's writings. In a versified refutation of the Ngorpa system, compiled in the form of a petition addressed to the Five Founders, Kunga Namgyal explains the "teaching tradition of the noble master" (here referring to Lama Dampa's exegesis) to be the unsurpassed "tradition of the founders" (*gong ma'i lugs*).²⁹⁷ Lama Dampa is even prominently featured in an illustration at the head of a Gongkar xylograph edition of a Hevajra *sadhana*. (See Figure 4.57.)

The exceptionally high esteem in which Kunga Namgyal and his followers held Lama Dampa reflected itself artistically when Gongkar Chöde was founded. This is the only explanation of his appearing in the murals as the third red-robed Sakya master, next to Sakya Paṇḍita and Chögyal Phakpa, on the same level and with the same size as Phakpa. As he was added to the group of the Five Sakya Founders as a veritable sixth founder, Lama Dampa's scriptural authority in the tradition found iconographic expression in Khyentse's



FIG. 4.57
Lama Dampa
Front-page Illustration of Xylograph, fol. 1v right, block print of Gongkarwa's Hevajra *sadhana* written in 1467; fifteenth century
Photo courtesy of Jampal Shedrup

respectful portrayal.²⁹⁸ Gongkarwa, the founder, must have decided to portray him so, with Khyentse Chenmo following his directions, giving Lama Dampa's exceptional status this iconographic form for the first time.

At Gongkar Monastery, the extended group of Five Sakya Masters with Sönam Gyaltsen became a standard iconographic group. Depictions of them were also preserved in a small mural panel at Kunzang Tse College (See chapter 5, Fig. 5.13) and on the upper walls at Drepung College, where they were worked into an arrangement of eleven lineage gurus of the Lamdre instructions. Though not mentioned in the available texts from Gongkar, these "Three Red-Robed Ones" remained an important iconographic model for the tradition (See Fig. 4.58).²⁹⁹

LINEAGE AND COMPOSITION

Khyentse Chenmo's impressive lineage murals have been researched for two recent publications. In 2013, Zhong Ziyin published the results of his art-historical analysis in a Chinese-language

journal.³⁰⁰ In his short article, he provides a diagram of the figure's placement and a listing of those teachers he identified. By means of iconographic comparison with parallel Sakya lineages, Zhong established the chronology of both lineages down to the painting's main figures. He accurately identified the first part of the respective lineages (down to the second row) and linked them with the central figures. Zhong gave a valuable clue about the transmissions Khyentse depicted here, although he wrongly assumed that the two transmission lines were connected through the main figures in both murals.

Prior to that, in 2010, Tsechang Penba Wangdu clarified the identity of the two distinct lineages. In his article on the life and art of Khyentse Chenmo, Penba Wangdu quoted Changchup Wanggyal on the lineage murals.³⁰¹ Gyatön writes:³⁰²

The right side of the inner sanctum (i.e., to the viewer's left) has the Three White-Robed Sakya Founders as main [figures], surrounded by the successive masters from the lineage of the Path with the Result, and the left side (i.e., to the viewer's right) [shows] the *mahāsattva* Sakya Paṇḍita, Phakpa Rinpoche, and Peldan Lama Dampa as main [figures], surrounded by the guru lineage from the transmission of the [Hevajra] Root Tantra.

According to this passage, the murals in the front of the inner sanctum depict two lineages from the Hevajra cycle: to the left, for the meditative tradition of the Lamdre known as the "Tradition of Practical Precepts" (*man ngag lugs*), and, to the right, for the exposition of the Hevajra Mūlatantra (*rtsa rgyud*), namely for the "Second Fascicle" (*brtag pa gnyis pa*) of the Hevajra Root Tantra. The crucial information provided by Gyatön in his life story of Gongkarwa



FIG. 4.58
Three Red-Clad Masters of Gongkar, a
modern adaption
Pigment on cloth
painted by Rigdzin Chödak, Dehradun,
India, 2004
Photo courtesy of Gongkar Chöde, Laldang,
Uttarakhand, India

enables us to reconstruct Khyentse's lineage depictions, even though the murals lack inscriptions and several of the lineal gurus depicted are so damaged as to be unrecognizable. (Both paintings feature several pasted-on 1980s-vintage paper labels with names of Lamdre gurus, which I have ignored.)

Generally speaking, Tibetan teaching lineages, whether received and practiced by a single master or by his community, are documented by the histories and liturgies of those traditions.³⁰³ In the case of Gongkar Chöde, the two Hevajra lineages publicly displayed in

the temple hall are recorded in a handful of written works, which include most notably the monastery's main lineage prayer (*bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*), Kunga Namgyal's record of teachings received (*gsan yig*), and his main life story by Gyatön. In the coming pages I will rely upon those sources, describing the two lineages and identifying their individual figures.

(1) *The White-Clad Founding Masters and the Hevajra Lineage of the Lamdre*

The wall to the left of the entrance of the inner sanctum depicts the three early founding masters, Sachen and his two sons, surrounded by the lineage gurus of the Path with the Result Instructions (*lam 'bras bla brgyud*). At Gongkar Monastery, the representation of lineal masters from the Lamdre was perhaps the most prominent iconographic theme of all. Not only do we find it featured here, but also the Lamdre Chapel on the second floor included a set of gilt-copper images (*gser zangs*) of the same lineage, while the Guru Chapel on the third floor also possessed realistic sculptures of this same lineage in clay (*'jim sku*).³⁰⁴ Moreover, Changchup Wanggyal reports the existence of two Lamdre thangka sets in the biography of his master,³⁰⁵ and a modern history of Gongkar Chöde mentions a lost set of gilt-copper sculptures of the complete Lamdre masters that formerly existed in the private chambers of the Dorjedenpa Trulku.³⁰⁶

Another group of murals showing Gongkarwa's main Lamdre lineage that survives in the Kunzang Tse College of Gongkar will be discussed in chapter 5. (See Figures 5.5, 5.8, 5.11, 5.16, 5.19–5.24.) Painted in around the 1930s or early 1940s, the local Khyenri artist at work here seems to have copied existing models such as older thangkas or Khyentse's magnificent interpretation

FIG. 4.59

Lineal Masters Avadhutipa and Shangtön Chubar, as Lamdre Gurus number 6 and 10
Detail, left wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Mathias Fermer, 2010

of the subject matter in the great assembly hall.

Here also, the masters in the left wall's mural represent the main Lamdre lineage in the Gongkar tradition. The painting shows twenty-three gurus, including the three main figures and the twenty minor figures surrounding them. The main figures are Sachen Kunga Nyingpo (guru number 11; Fig. 3.1) in the center, flanked by his two sons—Sönam Tsemo (number 12; Figs. 3.2 and 4.44), to the right, and Trakpa Gyaltsen (number 13; Fig. 4.49), to the left. As I mentioned above, the three early throne-holders of Sakya in the white garments are shown in their role as the “Three White-Robed Ones” (*dkar po rnam gsum*) from among the Five Founding Masters (*gong ma lnga*). Each holds the stem of a lotus in both hands, and upon that flower rests a sword, to the right, and a volume of scriptures, to the left.

The lineage begins at the top center with the primordial teacher Vajradhara (guru number 1) and ends with Dorjedenpa Kunga Namgyal (guru number 23), the last master in the transmission. The lineage descends, alternating to the left and right, and ends at the bottom center. The lineage is interrupted in the middle by the three main figures, jumping from Shangtön Chubar (number 10) in the second row (Fig. 4.59) to Sachen (number 11) in the very center, from whom it passes to his elder son. (Fig. 4.60 might depict Nyenchenpa Sönam Tenpa as Lamdre guru number 17; note the realistic lines of his face and the individually drawn dragon scales to his right. This master holds a rosary with both hands, an iconographic feature that is otherwise



used for showing Namsa Drakphukpa; see Figures 1.31 and 4.61, row six of the right-side column.)

The line of transmission from Vajradhara down to Kunga Namgyal matches exactly the murals at Kunzang Tse College. As will be seen in the following chapters, this main Gongkar lineage of the Path with the Result was also followed in the murals of Drathang Monastery elsewhere in Lhokha.

In his record of teachings received, Kunga Namgyal lists the main lineage that he had received from Drakthokpa Sönam Sangpo, himself a follower of Thekchen Chöje from the Lhakhang Labrang at Sakya.³⁰⁷ Down to Lama

Dampa's teacher (number 18, Namsa Drakphukpa) the lineage is identical with the main Lamdre lineages of Ngor.³⁰⁸ Gyatön in his biography of Gongkarwa provides a slightly different line for the same transmission.³⁰⁹ This variant version of the lineage (which omits 16b, Shang Könchok Pal, and 20b, Sakya Butön Wangchuk Dar) is depicted by Khyentse, as it evidently was the main and standard lineage for the Path with the Result instructions for his patron and teacher Gongkarwa. It is also followed in the Lamdre lineage recitations at Gongkar Chöde in India.³¹⁰

The Gongkar lineage of the Path with the Result is as follows (The



FIG. 4.60
Possibly Nyenchenpa Sönam Tenpa as lineal guru number 17
Detail, left wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Mathias Fermer, 2010

structure of the mural is given in Diagram [C-2]:

1. Vajradhara
2. Nairātmyā
3. Virūpa
4. Kṛṣṇapāda or Kāṇha (Shar phyogs Nag po pa)
5. Ḍamarupa
6. Avadhutipa
7. Pañchen Gayadhara (d. 1103)
8. Drokmi Lotsāwa Shākya Yeshe (992–1072/77?)
9. Setön Kunrik (1025–1122)
10. Shangtön Chubar (1053–1135)
11. Sachen Kunga Nyingpo (1092–1158) (main figure)

12. Lobpön Sönam Tsemo (1142–1182) (main figure)
13. Jetsün Trakpa Gyaltsen (1147–1216) (main figure)
14. Sakya Paṇḍita (1181–1251)
15. Chögyal Phakpa (1235–1280)
16. Tshokgom Kunga Pal (1210–1307)
- [16b. Shang Könchok Pal (Zhang dKon mchog dpal, b. 1240); according to the transmission recorded by Gongkarwa. He was also a teacher of 18.]
17. Nyenchenpa Sönam Tenpa
18. Namsa Drakphukpa Sönam Pal (1277–1350)
19. Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltsen (1312–1375)
20. Sazang Mati Panchen (1294–1376)
- [20b. Sakya Butön Wangchuk Dar]
21. Thekchen Chöje Kunga Tashi (1349–1425)
22. Drakthokpa Sönam Sangpo (d. mid-15th century)
23. Dorjedenpa Kunga Namgyal (1432–1496)

The Gongkar transmission of the Lamdre is also shown in a lineage thangka (*bla brgyud [kyi] sku thang*) of Hevajra that survives in a private collection (Fig. 4.61).³¹¹ Except one guru, the succession of the twenty-three Lamdre masters in the painting matches exactly the Gongkar line of transmission above.³¹² This early Khyenri thangka depicts the main lineage of the Path with the Result instructions, which Kunga Namgyal listed in his record of teachings received. It runs from Chögyal Phakpa

(guru number 15) through his disciple Könchok Pal from the Shang family (guru number 16b) down to the master Namsa Drakphukpa (here number 17) and Lama Dampa (number 18). Kunga Namgyal occupies position 22 in this condensed lineage, here prominently placed above to the left of the main deity. In the same row, to the right side he faces his lineal successor, who is the final guru in the transmission. This master with the number 23 can be identified as the great *upādhyāya* Chödrup Sengge (mKhan chen Chos grub seng ge, b. 1451), who headed the Gendungang (dGe ‘dun sgang) community at Gyaling (rGyal [chen] gling) in Dranang (see Fig. 1.19 for earlier abbots of the Gendungang branch.).

(2) *The Red-Clad Founding Masters and the Lineage of the Hevajra Mūlatantra*

To the right side of the inner sanctum’s entrance, the mural depicts Sakya Paṇḍita (guru number 17; Fig. 4.55), his nephew Chögyal Phakpa (number 18), and Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltsen (number 22; Fig. 4.56) as the three main figures. Lama Dampa is portrayed here as the third of the “Three Red-Robed Ones” (*dmār po rnam gsum*), added to the common group of the “Two Red [Founding Masters]” (*dmār po rnam gnyis*). As pointed out above, the triad of Sakya Founding Masters wearing red monastic robes is special to the Gongkar tradition. The hands of each master are held in the gesture of teaching; each left hand grasps the stem of a lotus that supports a volume of sacred scriptures at shoulder level.

Around the main figures this mural depicts the guru lineage of the Hevajra Root Tantra (*rtsa rgyud*). Transmitted through the *siddha* Ḍombi Heruka (number 4), this lineage is also referred to as the “Tradition of Ḍombi” (*dom bhi [he ru ka ‘i] lugs*) or the “Commentarial Tradition” (*‘grel pa lugs*) by lamas of Ngör

[C-2]									
8	6	4	2	1	3	5	7	9	
15	10						14	16	
17				11				18	
19		12				13		20	
(a)		21		23		22		(b)	



FIG. 4.61
Hevajra with Lineage Passing through
Dorjedenpa
second half of the fifteenth century; possibly
Dranang, Lhokha, central Tibet
Pigments on cloth
Private Collection
Photo: Christian Luczanits, 2015



FIG. 4.62
Lochen Changchup Tsemo or Sazang Mati
Panchen as lineal guru number 19 and
Drakthoka Sönam Sangpo, below, as guru
number 21
second half of the fifteenth century; possibly
Dranang, Lhokha, central Tibet
Detail, pigments on cloth
Private Collection
Photo: Christian Luczanits, 2015

and Sakya monasteries.³¹³ (See Fig. 4.63 for Dombi Heruka depicted sitting on a tiger with his consort.)

The lineage consists of twenty-five masters, with three main figures and twenty-two minor figures surrounding them. It starts at the top center, with Nairātmyā (guru number 2) in union with Hevajra. For some unknown reason, the original Buddha Vajradhara, from whom the lineage originates, is missing in this painting.

The transmission alternates to the left and right, as in the previous mural. The sequence is interrupted twice by the main figures in the center. From Trakpa Gyaltsen (guru number 16) on the right margin of the second row, the lineage descends to Sakya Paṇḍita (number 17) and further to Chögyal Phakpa (number 18). Again, the transmission continues in right-left alternation until reaching Palden Sengge (number 21) at the left edge of row four. (See Fig. 4.66.) According to my interpretation, he passes the lineage to Lama Dampa

(number 22), who appears as a main figure, who then transmits it to the disciple just to his right, the great *upādhyāya* Shedorwa (number 23) (Fig. 4.67).

The lineage then continues down to Dorjedenpa Kunga Namgyal (number 26), who is seated atop a rocky crag to the right side of the bottom row. Like the Lamdre instructions, he had also received the Hevajra Root Tantra explication from his chief teacher, Drakthok Chöje Sönam Sangpo (number 25).³¹⁴ He is shown with a round, very young-looking face (compare with Figures 5.24 and 12.7), which is correct for him. Though the lineage does not end in the middle of the bottom row as on the left wall, guru number 26 must be Gongkarwa. (See Fig. 4.68.) This slightly unusual placement in the right corner of the bottom might hint at his role as the commissioning patron.

If my identification and ordering are correct, number 25, Drakthokpa is depicted as central teacher on the lower row with his hands in the teaching



FIG. 4.63
Dombi Heruka as Hevajra Mūlatantra lineal
guru number 4
Detail, right wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Mathias Fermer, 2010

FIG. 4.64
Three Indian and Two Tibetan Teachers
from the Hevajra Mūlatantra (from left to
right guru numbers 9, 7, and 5, and
numbers 13 and 11 below)
Detail, right wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Mathias Fermer, 2010



FIG. 4.65
Lotsāwa Chokden or Jamkya Namkha Pal
as Hevajra Mūlatantra lineal guru
number 20
Detail, right wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Mathias Fermer, 2010

FIG. 4.66
Lama Palden Sengge as Hevajra Mūlatantra
lineal guru number 21
Detail, right wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Mathias Fermer, 2010



gesture. He is portrayed as an old master wearing a red *pandita* hat with earflaps tucked in (which is a common iconography for him, see Figs. 1.23 and 7.39.) His prominent positioning in the center of the bottom row I at first believed indicated his role as current main teacher of the lineage, but, here for identifying him, facial appearance trumps his position in the lineage order.

The details of the depicted lineage can be established from Kunga Namgyal's teaching record. However, for the Hevajra Mūlatantra lineage, that source omits three lineage gurus: 8. Jayaśrījñāna, 15. Lobpön Sönam Tsemo, and 22. Lama Dampa.³¹⁵



FIG. 4.67
Khenchen Shedorwa as Hevajra Mūlatantra
lineal guru number 23
Detail, right wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Mathias Fermer, 2010

Problems with this transmission were also noticed by the Fifth Dalai Lama, who was a later recipient of the lineage passing through Gongkarwa. For the Hevajra lineage in the *Ḍombi Tradition of the Sakyapa*, the Great Fifth adds an explanatory gloss to his own lineage record, noting that although the Indian master Jayaśrījñāna was missing in the lineage as traced by Kunga Namgyal, that omission was probably an error since the name does appear in the record of “Thartsepa” (i.e., Drangti Panchen [1535–1602]) in the relevant passage. Though the Fifth Dalai Lama lists Sönam Tsemo in his correct position within the transmission, the lineage

he records does *not* pass through Lama Dampa.³¹⁶

The later Gongkar master Trinle Namgyal also recorded the Hevajra Mūlatantra lineage passing through Dorjedenpa. His lineage gives Jayaśrījñāna and Sönam Tsemo in their correct positions, but it, too, skips Lama Dampa seven gurus later in the lineage.³¹⁷ I think that we can assume that an alternative transmission of the Mūlatantra exposition existed, which jumped directly from Lama Palden Sengge (guru number 21) to Khenchen Shedorwa (number 23). But could we expect the Gongkar lineage of the Hevajra Root Tantra to omit Lama Dampa? After all, he was portrayed here by Khyentse as a central figure on the same level as the two Red-Robed Sakya Founding Masters, Sapaṇ and Phakpa.

A solution to this is found in another section of Gongkarwa’s record of teachings received. In the passage listing the teachings from Kangyurwa Shākya Gyaltsen (bKa’ ’gyur ba



FIG. 4.68
Gongkarwa as Hevajra Mūlatantra lineal
guru number 26
Detail, right wall, entrance to inner sanctum
Photo: Mathias Fermer, 2015

Shākya rgyal mtshan), Dorjedenpa records an alternative lineage of the Hevajra Root Tantra. This lineage omits Ngari Salnying (number 12) and Gyichuwa (number 13), and gives Khön Könchok Gyalpo (‘Khon dKon mchog rgyal po, guru number 12b) as the one who passed on the Root Tantra to Sachen. Shang Dode Pal (here guru number 18), then passes it on to Jamkya Namkha Pal (‘Jam skya Nam mkha’ dpal, d. 1309), who transmitted it to Lama Palden Sengge, who bestowed it upon Lama Dampa.³¹⁸ (Note that Namkha Pal replaces Lotsāwa Chokden in the transmission; Fig. 4.65 showing lineal guru number 20 could thus depict either

Namkha Pal *or* Lotsāwa Chokden.) This alternative lineage, which also descends down to Gongkarwa, explains Lama Dampa’s presence in the lineage depiction of the Hevajra Mūlatantra on the right wall, prominently shown as a Sakya Founding Master. The arrangement of the lineage of teachers is as in Diagram [C-3].

The lineage, according to Dorjedenpa’s record of teachings received, is (with omitted masters restored between square brackets):

1. Vajradhara
2. Nairātmyā (in union with Hevajra)
3. Virūpa
4. Ḍombi Heruka
5. Alalavajra (A la la vajra)
6. Naktröpa (Nags khrod pa)
7. Garbharīpa (Garbha ri pa)
- [8. Jayaśrījñāna (bSod snyoms pa rGyal ba dpal gyi ye shes); restored from other sources.]
9. Durgacandra / Durjayacandra (Mi thub zla ba)
10. Bhikṣu Viravajra / Prajñendtaruci (dGe slong dpa’ bo rdo rje or Shes rab dbang po mdzes pa)
11. Drokmi Lotsāwa Shākya Yeshe (992–1072/77?)
12. Ngari Salnying (mNga’ ris gsal snying)
- [12b. Khön Könchok Gyalpo (1034–1102); according to the alternative transmission. He was also a teacher of number 14.]
13. Gyichuwa Dralabar (sGyi chu ba dGra bla ‘bar)
14. Sachen Kunga Nyingpo (1092–1158)

- [15. Lobpön Sönam Tsemo (1142–1182); restored from other sources.]
16. Jetsün Trakpa Gyaltshe (1147–1216)
17. Sakya Paṇḍita (1181–1251) (main figure)
18. Chögyal Phakpa (1235–1280) (main figure)
19. Shang Dode Pal (Zhang mdo dpal) (fl. 13th century)
20. Lotsāwa Chokden (Lo tsā ba mChog ldan)
- [20b. Lama Jamkya Namkha Pal (d. 1309); according to the alternative transmission.]
21. Lama Palden Sengge (Bla ma dPal ldan seng ge)
- [22. Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltshe (1312–1375)] (main figure); restored from the alternative lineage.]
23. Khenchen Shedorwa (mKhan chen Shes rdor ba)
24. Chögowa Chöpal Sherab (Chos sgo ba Chos dpal shes rab)
25. Drakthokpa Sönam Sangpo (d. mid-15th cent.)
26. Dorjedenpa Kunga Namgyal (1432–1496)

In the bottom-left and -right corners of both right and left walls, two additional deities seem to stand guard, which I have indicated through the letters (a) through (d) in the diagrams. They evidently depict the Four Great Kings (*rgyal chen rigs/sde bzhi*; Skt. *Caturmahārāja*). If so, they may be: (a) protector of the east, Dhṛtarāṣṭra (Yul ’khor srung; white-skinned); (b)

protector of the west, Virūpākṣa (Mig mi bzang; red-skinned); (c) protector of the north, Vaiśravaṇa (rNam thos sras; yellow-skinned); and (d) protector of the south, Virūḍhaka (’Phags skyes po; blue-skinned). Though some are too damaged to see their crucial iconographic details, number (a) does seem to be holding a plate with offerings in the left hand, and (b) has reddish skin but holds the handle of a censer. Number (c) grasps the stem of a lotus, but other details are lost, while (d), the final one, holds something thin and rectangular in his hand that could be the blade of a dark-blue sword.

[C-3]

9	7	5	3	2	4	6	8	10
15	13	11				12	14	16
19				17				20
21		18				22		23
(c)		24		25		26		(d)

- 249 Tsechang Penba Wangdu 2010, 2, line 10, through 4, line 7. In his footnote, Penba Wangdu cites rGya ston Byang chub dpal (2001 ed.), *rDzong pa kun dga' rnam rgyal rnam thar*, p. 173, line 6.
- 250 I here have corrected *bsod nyams* to *gson nyams*.
- 251 The “ten years of unrest” refers to the Cultural Revolution.
- 252 See Tsechang Penba Wangdu 2010, 5–10.
- 253 See the Fifth Dalai Lama 1983 (his autobiography), vol. 2, *Dukula'i gos bzang*, 176.
- 254 Those in the Yamāntaka chapel are mentioned by Gyatōn. I do not know if they survive.
- 255 Rob Linrothe in a communication of Jan. 2016 observed that one thing that stuck him about the Khyenri style of paintings of tantric yidam in the Hevajra divine palace was a consistent way of arranging the headdresses that was quite visible in Figs. 3.12 and 3.13. There was a high piled, but relatively thin chignon that is wrapped as if by thick bands of filigree. Same with Fig. 3.11 (Vaiśravana) but the chignon was a little fatter and orange and black. Not the same in the Mahasiddha paintings illustrated by Figs. 3.25 and 3.26, but very close to what you see in the Jonang Phüntshokling porch.
- 256 Penba Wangdu 2012, note 6, referred to Dungdkar blo bzang phrin las 2002, *Dungdkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, entry 2330.
- 257 Penba Wangdu 2012, note 7, referred to the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography (1991 ed.), vol. 1, p. 443. Though new murals are mentioned in this passage, it does not refer to any specific chapels painted by the Khyenri artists, so their existence was ascertained through Penba Wangdu's research.
- 258 Penba Wangdu 2012, note 8, referred to: “1998 (6): 66, *Annals of 1890 for Gyantse Prefecture* (in Chinese).”

CHAPTER 4: PART I

- 259 For two descriptions of Gongkar Dorjeden Monastery by Tibetan pilgrims of the past, see Kah thog Si tu 1972, 156–160 (fols. 78b–80b), and Si tu Pan chen 1968, 90.5 (fol. a 45b). Both were impressed by Khyentse Chenmo's art. Shakabpa 1976, vol. 1, 106. On Gongkar Dorjedenpa and the founding of the Gongkar monastic center, see Zhwa lu 1971, 175. On other religious patronage by Gongkar Dorjedenpa, see Jackson 1983, 7–16, and Jackson 1987, 74.
- 260 Henss 2014, 347f
- 261 See Jackson 1996, 139.
- 262 This chapel was called Kye rdor khang by Kathok Situ.
- 263 Fermer 2009, note 191: rGya ston Byang chub dbang rgyal, *Ngo mtshar gter mdzod*, pp. 113.11–146.8. I have emended Fermer's translation.
- 264 Gyatōn 2001, 139: *skor sa'i nang gi ngos la thub pa'i dbang pos zhing 'di mdzad pa bcu gnyis kyi bstan pa'i bkod pa ji lta ba la gtso bo sku che ba drug dang bcas pal*.

- 265 Mathias Fermer could recently photograph all twelve larger Buddhas, as the whitewash on the upper parts had been removed further between 2010 and 2015.
- 266 See Bhikkhu Ñānamoli 2001, 263.
- 267 See Gyatōn 2001, 139: *gung gi mthong g.yab kyi ngos rings la/ ston pa gnas brtan bcu drug hwa shang dang dhharma ta la gnyis kyi mtha' brten pal*.
- 268 Batchelor 1987, 224.
- 269 Mathias Fermer, email of January 15, 2016.
- 270 Cf. the similar rabbits found below in Figs. 8.14 and 9.8.
- 271 Gyatōn 2001, 138: [...] *gnas de'i phyi'i ngos rings skor sa dang bcas pa la ston pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyi skyes pa'i rabs shin tu rgyas pa dpag bsam 'khri shing du grags pa yab rgyal po dge ba'i dbang pos mdzad pa'i sa bdag rab gsal gyi rtogs brjod nasl khyim bdag cas gtsang gi rtogs brjod kyi bar yal 'dab brgya phrag gcig dang bdun la bkra shis kyi grangs kha skong ba'i slad du sras zla ba'i dbang pos mdzad pa'i brgyad pa sprin gyi bzhon pa'i rtogs brjod de brgya rtsa brgyad tshang ba'i yal 'dab gnyis gnyis la gtso bo sku tshad [p. 139] che ba re sku'i 'gyur ba khri rgyab yol sogs rnam grangs tha dad pa bzugs pa rnams la skyes rabs nyid nas bsdu shing go bder bkrol ba'i so sor kha byang dang bcas te bkod pa nil*.
- 272 A transcript of Gongkar's *Avadānakalpalatā* inscriptions was published in India in 2013. As Mathias Fermer informed me, it was published by the Gongkar monks in the compilation *dPal ldan rdzong pa'i chos 'byung dang rnam thar gces btus*, Sam bho ta'i dbon brgyud dpe tshogs, vol. 1, pp. 1–157. Fermer also has an input version made by the monks in India.
- 273 Cf. A mes zhabs, *rGyal ba'i rtogs brjod dpag bsam 'khri shing gi don 'grel legs par bshad pa tshogs gnyis bsam 'phel nor bu'i phreng mdzes*, who mentions it in the colophon (fol. 357.2–3): *gongdkar rdo rje gdan gyi 'du khang gi logs bris la dpag bsam 'khri shing gi zhing bkod yod pa'i zhal byang/ 'jam dbyangs byang chub dbang rgyal gyis mdzad pa nyid yal 'dab so so'i gsal byed du sbyar zhing / gongdkar rdo rje gdan gyi gtsug lag khang gi logs bris dpag bsam khri shing gi zhal byang rje yangs pa can pas mdzad pal*. The same work is also mentioned in A mes zhabs's biography; cf. Byams pa bsam gtan rgya mtsho, *dPal sa skya pa sngags 'chang bla ma thams cad mkhyen pa chen po ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rtogs pa brjod pa ngo mtshar yon tan rin po che 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho*, A mes zhabs gsung 'bum (2000 ed.), vol. 28 (sa): *'du khang chen mo'i ldebs ris la dpag bsam 'khri shing nas 'byung ba'i rgyal ba'i skyes rabs shin tu legs pa bris nas yod pa rnams la thugs rtog zhib dpyod mdzad del phyis su yang gongdkar chos sde'i ldebs ris la yod pa'i 'khrungs rabs kyi bkod pa de gzhān las rmad du byung ba zhib yod ces yang yang gsungs shing / de dus 'khrungs rabs so so'i zhal byang ldebs ris la yod pa de zhal bshus mdzadl*.
- 274 Marilyn Kennell, letter of October 1994.
- 275 Concerning the term *Glo 'bur*, the Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary, *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, English transl. p. 569: “buttress, projecting bay, projection.” Henss 2014, 833, defines

Lobur (*glo 'bur*) as “nave” and “annex building.”

- 276 Gyatōn 2001, 134.
- 277 Masaki and Tachikawa 1997.
- 278 Masaki and Tachikawa 1997, 63.
- 279 Gyatōn 2001, 130.
- 280 On the two forms of Vajrapāṇi, see Willson and Brauen 2000, nos. 159 and 160.
- 281 Masaki and Tachikawa 1997, 101.
- 282 Gyatōn 2001, 141–43.
- 283 Lammergeiers (bearded vultures) only eat bones and bone marrow, Himalayan vultures disdain offal and only eat old carrion flesh, and cinereous vultures (Eurasian black vultures) eat all kinds of carrion.
- 284 On “Yakṣa Vaiśravaṇa and the Eight Horsemen,” see also the deity “Large Yellow Vaiśravaṇa with Eight Horsemen” (*rnam sras ser chen lha dgu*) in Willson and Brauen 2000, no. 300; on p. 320, they describe this group of eight horse-riding *yakṣas* in detail.
- 285 Gyatōn 2001, 143.
- 286 See Gyatōn 2001, 116, last line: the expression *'phrul* in this context is unknown to me.

CHAPTER 4: PART II

- 287 The photographic collection of the expedition's main photographer, Pietro Francesco Mele (b. 1923), is accessible at the ethnographic museum in Zurich (VMZ), while photographs from other expedition members survive in the Tucci Archives in Rome. The Mele collection in Zurich does not contain a single image taken at Gongkar Chöde, though it was a major destination during Tucci's final journey to Tibet. Likewise, the large collection of black-and-white negatives and photo prints from the 1938/39 Schäfer-expedition (i.e. BArch Bild 135) does not include photographs taken at Gongkar Chöde; research visit, German Federal Archive, Koblenz, November 2015.
- 288 Tucci 1956, *To Lhasa and Beyond*, 150f.
- 289 Ibid., 151.
- 290 Before 1959, the annual Hevajra practice (*kye rdor sgrub mchod*) took place on the ninth and the tenth day of the eighth Tibetan month at Gongkar; see Gendün Rabsal, *Gongdkar chos sde dgon pa'i lo rgyus rags bsdu rin chen do shal*, 15b.
- 291 The main Buddha sculpture by Khyentse Chenmo is mentioned in the context of Ameshab's visit at Gongkar Chöde in his extensive biography compiled by Jampa Samten Gyatsho (Byams pa bsam gtan rgya mtsho); see *dPal sa skya pa sngags 'chang bla ma thams cad mkhyen pa chen po ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rtogs pa brjod pa ngo mtshar yon tan rin po che 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho*, (Ameshab, *Collected Works* 2000, vol. 28), 399: *chos sde chen po de'i rten gyi gtso bo mkhyen brtse chen mo'i phyag bzo thub chen 'khor bcas/ [...] la rten mjal legs par mdzadl*.

- 292 On the main temple's structure, see chapter 4a.
- 293 Interview, Dehradun, 2015.
- 294 H. Richardson 1998, "Some Monasteries, Temples and Fortresses in Tibet before 1950," 315.
- 295 Chan 1994, 479; Dowman 1988, 151; Tsechang Penba Wangdu 2005, 107.
- 296 Gyatön, 12f. and 159.
- 297 Gongkar Dorjedenpa, *rJe btsun sa skya pa gong ma rnams la zhu ba'i 'phrin yig* [Petition to the Venerable Sakya Founders], 467: *des na dpal ldan bla ma yi/ lugs 'di mchog tu gong ma'i lugs/ 'yin na sdang zhugs can ma gtogs/ /dam pa su zhig 'di mi byed/*. Also *ibid.*, 469: *spyir na rje btsun gong ma dang / bla ma dam pa mi mthun med/*. In his biography Kunga Namgyal is described as a major proponent of Lama Dampa's teaching system; Gyatön, 12f.
- Among the Sakyapa, the authority of Lama Dampa's writings was widely discussed in the seventeenth century; see Jonang Tāranātha (1575–1634), *sTag lung zhabs drung gi gsung lan* (Collected Works 2008, vol. 36), 466: *bla ma dam pa'i 'khrid yig 'di glegs bam rang dang mthun nges lags shing / rtsom pa po gang zag gi dbang du byas na'ang / mkhas btsun bzang gsum gyi yon tan 'gran zla med cing / gong ma lnga las kyang mi zhan pa yin/ dge bshes phal pa ma yin sprul pa'i sku yin par 'dug pas/ rang re khong gi 'khrid yig la rtsis po cher byed pa yin lags/*. Moreover, Ameshab's collected writings contain two treatises that each discuss and juxtapose the Ngorpa and the Dzongpa traditions' exegesis of the Hevajra and the Lamdre, respectively; see Ameshab, Collected Works 2000, vol. 24, 1–302 and 303–528.
- 298 David Jackson mentioned elsewhere that the choice of the main figure/s in a painting is directly linked with the "immediate spiritual wishes or priorities" of the patron commissioning the work; Jackson 2005c, 9, 13.
- 299 Gyatön, for instance, does not refer to them by this term in Gongkarwa's life story; see Gyatön, 137f. (as in note below). The only written source that lists three instead of the two later red-robed Sakya founders is Longdol Lama's (1719–1794) biographical history, i.e., *sKyes bu rgya bod ming gi rnam grangs*; see A. Vostrikov 1970, 65, n. 186.
- 300 Zhong Ziyin 钟子寅 2013, "Lamdre Patriarch Lineage Murals in the Main Hall of Gongkar Chöde Monastery in Shannan of Tibet and Their Significance in Art History." [in Chinese], 法音 (*The Voice of Dharma*), no. 350 (2013), 35–39.
- 301 Tsechang Penba Wangdu 2010, section on Khyentse Chenmo (*Gong dkar sgang stod mkhyen brtse chen mo'i skor/*).
- 302 Gyatön, 137f.: *gtsang khang gi ngos g.yas la/ rje sa skya pa dkar po rnam gsum gtso bor gyur pa la gsung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i brgyud pa'i rim pa'i bla ma rnams kyi (sic!) bskor ba dang / [138] g.yon ngos la bdag nyid chen po sa skya pañḍi tal 'phags pa rin po che/ dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnams gtso bor gyur pa la rtsa rgyud kyi brgyud pa'i bla ma'i rim pa rnams kyis bskor bar bzhugs so/*.
- 303 This was noted long ago by D. Jackson 1990, 133.
- 304 See chapter 4, part I, *Original Structure of the Main Temple* and chapter 5, *The Khyenluk Tradition of Sculpture* respectively.
- 305 Gyatön, 146. Also chapter 7, *Teachers of the Lamdre Lineage*.
- 306 Gendün Rabsal, *Gong dkar chos sde dgon pa'i lo rgyus rags bsdu rin chen do shal*, 8b4: *de'i nub tu gzim chung chen po'i gzim dkyil la gtso bo brdci khyim gyi thub dbang dang kun mkhyen rin po che'i yab rgyal ba shes rab kyi 'dra sku/ gser zangs kyi lam 'bras bla rgyud cha tshang [...]*
- 307 Gongkar Dorjedenpa, *Record of Teachings Received*, 6–8. See also Gongkar Trinle Namgyal, *Record of Teachings Received* (ed. 2008), 22f.
- 308 See, for instance, Ngorchén's record of teachings received; see D. Jackson 1990, 133f.
- 309 Gyatön, 120–123; 135 and Fermer 2009, 381f. See also chapter 5, *Iconographic Links with Surviving Murals in the Kunzang Tse College* and appendix B.
- 310 See *gSung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i bla ma brgyud pa la gsol ba 'debs pa dngos grub rin po che'i char 'bebs* [Lamdre Lineage Prayer] (16 fols., modern computer input, Gongkar Chöde, Dehradun), 2–6.
- 311 I am very grateful to Christian Luczanits (SOAS, London), who provided his personal photos of the painting for this catalog. Moreover, he kindly shared with me the draft of a forthcoming paper in which he discusses this thangka and its iconographic and historical links with the Lamdre repoussée sculptures from Drathang, that are dealt with in chapter 5.
- 312 An inscription below guru number 19 identifies him as Chang[chup] Tse[mo] (Byang [chub] rtse [mo], 1303–1380), a close disciple of Lama Dampa and another important teacher of Thekchen Chöje. As above in the main Gongkar lineage, one would expect Sazang Mati or Sakya Bütön in this position. This is reinforced by the fact that Thekchen Chöje is recorded to have received the Lamdre from Mati Panchen and Butön Rinpoche Wangchuk Dar, but not from Changchup Tsemo; see *Theg chen chos kyi rgyal po chen po'i gsan yig ngo bshus* [Record of Teachings Received], 9a and 18a–b. Instructions (other than the Lamdre) that he obtained from Lochen Changchup Tsemo are recorded in *ibid.*, 12b–15a, and in Thekchenpa's life story by Dzongpa Kunga Gyaltsen; see Kunga Gyaltsen Palzangpo, *Theg chen chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam thar rgyas pa*, 211f., 220.
- 313 The Gongkar transmission of the Hevajra Root Tantra after Phakpa through gurus 19, Shang Dode Pal, and 20, Lotsāwa Chokden, and so on down to Lama Dampa is not exactly identical with the main Ngorpa and Sakya lineages. See D. Jackson 1986, 185–187; and J. Sobisch 2008, 77–79. (Sobisch, 79, inserts Lama Dampa between Drakphukpa and Palden Tshultrim, but Ngorchén records a separate line for Lama Dampa beginning with Phakpa's disciple Jamkya Namkha Pal and continuing to Palden Sengge, Lama Dampa, and Palden Tshultrim. See Jackson 1986, 191.) Ngorchén's lineage is recorded by his record of teachings received; see D. Jackson 1986, 190f.
- 314 Gyatön, 41 and Gongkar Dorjedenpa, *Record of Teachings Received*, 3.
- 315 Gongkar Dorjedenpa, *Record of Teachings Received*, 3: *kyai rdo rje dombhi* (gloss: *rgya dper gdol pa mo ma dom bhi ni 'dug pas 'di yang dom bhi thob bam/*) *he ru ka'i lugs kyi dbang / de'i dkyil chog rje btsun rtse mos mdzad pa'i steng nas thob pa'i brgyud pa ni/ [1] rdo rje 'chang / [2] bdag med ma/ [3] birwa pa/ [4] dombhi ba/ [5] a la la badzra/ [6] nags khrod pa/ [7] garbha ri pa/ [8] [missing] [9] mi thub zla ba/ [10] dpa' bo rdo rje/ [11] 'brog mi lo tsa ba/ [12] mnga' ris pa gsal snying / [13] sgyi chu ba dgra bla' bar/ [14] sa chen pa/ [15] [missing] [16] rje btsun pa/ [17] chos rje sa pañ/ [18] bla ma 'phags pa/ [19] zhang mdo sde dpal/ [20] lo tsha ba mchog ldan/ [21] bla ma dpal ldan seng ge [22] [missing] [23] grub chen sher rdor ba/ [24] bla ma chos sgo ba/ [25] pha chos kyi rje/ des [26] bdag la' ol. A dbu med-manuscript (287 fols.) of Gongkarwa's record of teachings gives the same corrupted lineage; see *rJe btsun rdo rje gdan pa thams cad mkhyen pa kun dga' rnam rgyal dpal bzang po'i gsan yig yongs su rdzogs pa*, 3a–b.*
- 316 Fifth Dalai Lama's *Record of Teachings Received* (vol. 1), 381f.: *rje btsun sa skya pa yab sras la kye rdor bka' babs bzhi bzhugs pa [382] las rnal 'byor dbang phyug birwa pa dang ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro gnyis kyis dngos su byin gyis brlabs pa'i grub chen dombhi he ru kas legs par bkral ba'i kye rdor dombhi lugs su grags pa lha dgu'i ras bris kyi dkyil 'khor du theg chen rin po ches mdzad pa'i mngon rtogs yan lag drug pa las dang po pa 'jug bde dang dkyil chog kye rdor rnam par rol pa la brten nas dbang bzhi rdzogs par nos pa'i brgyud pa ni/ rdo rje 'chang/ bdag med ma/ birwa pa/ dombhi he ru ka/ a na (sic!) la badzra/ nags khrod pa/ garbha ri pa/ dza ya shrt dnyā na/ (gloss: 'di gong dkar ba'i gsan yig na mi 'dug kyang thar rtse pa'i gsan yig na snang bas chad dam snyam/ mi thub zla ba/ dpa' bo rdo rje/ 'brog mi lo chen/ mnga' ris pa gsal ba'i snying po/ 'khon sgye chu ba dgra lha 'bar/ sa chen/ rtse mo/ rje btsun pa/ sa pañ/ 'phags pa rin po che/ zhang mdo sde dpal/ lo tsa ba mchog ldan/ bla ma dpal ldan seng gel mkhan chen shes rab rdo rje/ chos sgo ba chos dpal shes rab/ brag thog pa bsod nams bzang po/ kun mkhyen rdo rje gdan pa/ [...]*
- 317 Gongkar Trinle Namgyal, *Record of Teachings Received* (dbu med-manuscript), fascicle ka, 15a–b: *kye rdor rgyud lugs su grags pa gsum gyi dang po/ dombhi he ru ka'i lugs dgyes pa rdo rje phyag bcu drug pa lha dgu'i rdul tshon gyi dkyil 'khor du/ mngon rtogs slob dpon rtse mo/ dkyil chog theg chen chos rje'i nas/ dbang bzhi rdzogs par thob pa'i brgyud pa ni/ rdo rje 'chang / bdag med ma/ birwa pa/ dombhi pa/ a la la badzra/ nags khrod pa/ garbha ri pa/ bsod snyoms pa rgyal ba dpal ye shes/ mi thub zla ba/ dpa' bo rdo rje/ 'brog mi lo tsa/ mnga' ris gsal snying / sgyi chu ba dgra bla 'bar/ bla ma sa skya pa chen po/ slob dpon rin po che/ rje btsun rin po che/ 'jam dbyangs sa pañḍi tal 'gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa/ zhang mdo sde dpal/ lo tsa ba mchog [15b] ldan/ bla ma dpal ldan seng ge mkhan chen shes rab rdo rje/ bla ma chos sgo ba/ rje btsun brag thog pa/ thams cad mkhyen pa rdo rje gdan pa/ mkhas grub rnam rgyal rin chen/ yongs 'dzin shākya kun dga' kun spangs rin chen dbang sgrol/ (gloss: *yar rgyab pa'i zhal ngo btsun mo/*) *bla chen ye shes dbang po/ g.yu lo bkod**

pa rgyal mtshan rdo rje/ rtsa ba'i bla ma pan chen bsod nams mchog ldan/ des bdag la'ol. Also Gongkar Trinle Namgyal, *ibid.* (2008 ed.), 20.

- 318 See Gongkar Dorjedenpa, *Record of Teachings Received*, 176f.: gnyis pa/ kyee rdo rje'i skor la/ rtsa ba'i rgyud/ bsod pa'i rgyud/ rgyud phyi ma/ phyi ma'i phyi ma/ bshad pa'i rgyud/ snying po'i rgyud/ 'bras bu'i rgyud bdun gyi dang po/ rtsa ba'i rgyud kyee rdo rje 'bum phrag lnga pa las bsod pa'i kyee rdo rje zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po/ brtag pa dang po la le'u bcu gcig pa/ brtag pa gnyis pa le'u bcu gnyis pa/ pañḍi ta ga ya dha ra [177] dang / lo tsā ba 'brog mi shākya ye shes kyi bsgyur ba/ 'di la dkyil 'khor drug yod do/ / gnyis pa/ de'i thun mong ma yin pa'i bshad rgyud/ mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur zhes bya ba le'u bco lnga pa 'gyur byang snga ma dang 'dra'ol / 'di la dngos su dkyil 'khor bcu gtso bo 'pho ba'i dbye bas drug cu rtsa gnyis su 'gyur ro/ (gloss: rtsa bshad 'di gnyis/ pha chos kyi rje [i.e. Drakthokpa Sönam Sangpo] las thob pa'ol) / de gnyis kyi brgyud pa ni/ [1] rdo rje 'chang / [2] bdag med ma/ [3] birwa pa/ [4] dom bhi ba/ [5] a la la badzra/ [6] nags khrod pa/ [7] garbha ri pa/ [8] bsod snyoms pa rgyal ba dpal gyi ye shes/ [9] mi thub zla ba/ [10] dge slong dpa' bo rdo rje/ [11] 'brog mi shākya ye shes/ [12] 'khon dkon mchog rgyal po/ [13] sa chen kun snying / [14] slob dpon bsod nams rtse mo/ [15] rje btsun grags pa rgyal mtshan/ [16] chos rje sa pañ/ [17] 'phags pa rin po che/ [18] zhang mdo dpal/ [19] 'jam skyal/ [20] bla ma dpal ldan seng ge [21] bla ma bsod rgyal/ [22] mkhan chen shes rdor ba nas gong bzhin no/.

Dorjedenpa received the same transmission of the Hevajra Mūlatantra (from Vajradhara down to Khenchen Shedorwa) also from Ngoktön Sönam Döndrup (rNngog ston bSod nams don grub); see *ibid.*, 416.

CHAPTER 5

- 319 I have adapted these introductory paragraphs on Khyentse's statues from Jackson 1996, 139 and 142.
- 320 Kaḥ thog Si tu 1972, 156 (78b): mgon khang ka brgyad ma na mkhyen brtse chen mo'i phyag bzos 'bur sku 'jigs rung nyams mtshar 'dom phyed gsum tsam re.
- 321 Tucci 1956, 151.
- 322 Kaḥ thog Si tu 1972, 159.5 (80a): bla ma dngos yin snang skye ba/ pra rtsi legs po snum nas bton ma thag pa lta bu sha stag/.
- 323 The Tibetan text, in Gyatön Changchup Wangyal 2001, 123: sku 'di dag ni sgrub dus bzo khang mthil du bgyis te legs par grub nas/ gnas 'di ru bca' bde bar spyen drangs pa yin pa la/ physis rjes btsun dam pa nyid kyi gser sku sku tshad ma da lta kun dga' rwa ba'i dbus na bzugs pa 'di bzhangs dus/ gos rgyud la sogs pa'i dpe blang ba'i phyir/ bdag nyid chen po sa skya pañḍi ta'i sku 'di nub kyi sgo mang mdun du spyen 'dren par brtsams pa na/ thabs 'phrul ji ltar byas kyang cung zad tsam yang g.yo bar ma nus pas/ ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba'i gnas su gyur pa yin no/ / de lta bzugs pa so sor gang 'os kyi sku'i rnam 'gyur ngo mtshar ba las kyang ches ngo mtshar ba'i mngon sum pa'i snang tshul spyen gyi gzigs pa sgyur ba dang / gsung gi sgra dbyangs stsal bzhin pa'i nyams dang ldan pa

byin rlabs [B:39a] kyi gzi 'od dang bcas pa rnams la go ling khyad par can gyi na bza'i brtsegs du ma dang / rgya'i rdo rje dril bu sogs mchod cha tshang ma re dang bcas pa/ gzhan yang rin po che gser zangs las grub pa'i bla ma de dag gi sku tshad cung gzhan pa tshar gcig khri na bza' dang bcas te bzugs [A:124] pa'ol/.

- 324 bstan pa'i gtso bo mnyam med shākya'i rgyal po'i sku mtshan dang dpe byad kyi spras pa/ lta bas chog mi shes pa dzambu chu bo'i gser lan brgyar byugs pa lta bu'i 'od zer kun nas 'phro ba la/ go ling bzang po'i na bza' padma rā ga'i mdog can/ gos dar yug sna tshogs pa rnams dbang po'i gzhu ltar bkra bas snyan shal mdzes par byas pa/ lha dang bcas pa'i 'gro ba rnams kyi bsod nams kyi zhing dam par tham me than ne lhang nger bzugs pa'ol /. Maybe go ling is a variant or misspelling of 'go ling or mgo ling (mngon brjod), a rare term meaning "branch" (yal ga).
- 325 Heller 1999, 128.
- 326 von Schroeder 2001, vol. 2, 972.
- 327 See von Schroeder 2001, vol. 2, 972, notes 926 and 927.
- 328 von Schroeder 2001, vol. 2, 911–993.
- 329 von Schroeder 2001, vol. 2, 974.
- 330 Lee-Kalisch et al. 2006, 120.
- 331 Lee-Kalisch et al. 2006, 121.
- 332 Lee-Kalisch et al. 2006, 121.
- 333 Lee-Kalisch et al. 2006, 122, my translation.
- 334 Henss 2014, 370–72.
- 335 Henss 2014, 371.
- 336 See Ngag dbang phun tshogs 1994, p. 50, which mentions a blessed statue of Kunga Namgyal among the gilt statues of the Sakyapa Lamdre masters: sa skya'i lam 'bras kyi sku gser zangs las grub pa rdo rje gdan pa kun dga' rnam rgyal gyi sku byin can mi tshad tsam.
- 337 For the Palkhor Chöde set, see von Schroeder 2001, vol. 2, 874–81, plates 201–204.
- 338 The need for Sakya Butön in the lineage is also discussed in Stearns 2006, 242, translating a passage from Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk's history of the Lamdre.
- 339 Bernadette Bröskamp was BB in the catalog of Jeong-hee Lee-Kalisch et al. 2006. At LIRI in Lumbini I also saw a draft of a paper she later gave at a conference in Beijing in 2009.
- 340 The autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama 1983, vol. 1, 673, mentions a thangka, portraying Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltshen with his footprints and hand prints, that was given to the Fifth Dalai Lama.
- 341 See also the mural painting of Thekchen Chöje at Gyantse stupa, Lam 'bras Lha khang, chapel 4/2 (southern wall) as published in Lo Bue and Ricca 1990, plate 92. The available photo does not clearly show his head or hat.
- 342 Kunga Namgyal's record of teachings has been published in 2005 by the rGyal yongs sa chen in Bodhnath, Kathmandu.

CHAPTER 6

- 343 See von Schroeder 2006, nos. 13, 15, 17.
- 344 Naljorpa Rinchen Dorje, *sKu'i rnam 'gyur drug gi zin bris* ("Notes on the Bodily Forms of Virūpa"), Collected Writings of Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo 1, 533, fol. 264r–264v.
- 345 Colophon: zhes pa rnal 'byor pa rin chen rdo rjes gong ma'i gsung thor bu pa rnams las btus pa'o. Cf. Himalayan Art Resource, <http://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=1988>.
- 346 See Stearns 2006, 143.
- 347 The sacred volume is said to have been either a Hevajra Tantra or volume of the Prajñāpāramitā Sutra; see C. Stearns 2006, *Taking the Result*, 146.
- 348 P. Welch 2008, p. 140. A *qilin* (Jap. *kirin*) is also sometimes called a unicorn, because it is sometimes shown with one horn, though it can also have two or three. See W. Eberhard 1990, p. 303. C. A. S. Williams 1976 also calls it a unicorn and stresses its gentle and benevolent nature, listing it with phoenix, tortoise, and dragon as one of the four intelligent creatures. Hean-Tatt Ong 1993, 115–119, adds much lore about this mythical beast, such as that it is considered the prince of mammalian beasts.
- 349 Mathias Fermer pointed this out in an email, July 2015.
- 350 Mathias Fermer also explained to me that Tshultrim Tashi was a contemporary of Gongkar Trinle Namgyal ('Phrin las rnam rgyal), author of the record of teachings received *Thob yig bum pa bzang po* that I saw in Gongkar in 1986, and who was from the same residence (*gzims shag*) of Nyimaling (Nyi ma gling) in Gongkar. Yangpachen (Yangs pa can) was the residence (*gzims shag*) where Gyatön Changchup Wangyal (Gongkarwa's biographer) resided a century or two earlier.
- 351 See Stearns 2006, 234.
- 352 The inscription below the main figure reads: rje btsun rin po che rdo rje 'dzin pa grags pa rgyal mtshan la na mol. Below the small lama: rje btsun kun dga' rnam rgyal la na mol.
- 353 Jackson 1987, 27.
- 354 Cf. Debreczeny, fig. 4.4, "monkey stealing a mushroom," an arhat composition in which a monkey similarly dangles from a limb.
- 355 During an interview in October 2003, one of the lamas of Gongkar told me that they had so far only located one thangka from the old set: this portrait of Sakya Pañḍita, hanging high above the seats in the main assembly hall.
- 356 See van der Kuijp 1993a, 149 and note 2.
- 357 Henss 2014, 524.
- 358 For the exchange of letters between Phakpa and Jomden Raldri, see Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009, 7, and note 11.
- 359 Shakabpa 1984, 68.
- 360 Kapstein 2006, 111.
- 361 See also Franz-Karl Ehrhard 2004, 245, note 2. He cites the published Paris lectures of Seyfört Ruegg 1995, and the *Hor chos 'byung* of Jigme Rigpe Dorje, p. 114.16.