THE EIGHTY-FIVE SIDDHAS
THAÑKA IX
Siddha Minadapa (grub thob mi na da pa) in the centre
VIII. Ethnography

28095

THE EIGHTY-FIVE SIDDHAS

BY

TONI SCHMID

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Sincere thanks are due to the late Professor Helmer Smith of Uppsala for interest and encouragement. Also to Professor Giuseppe Tucci of Rome who kindly let me use Tibetan texts in his own library, texts hardly accessible elsewhere in Europe. Also to Professor Ferdinand Lessing of Berkeley and his assistant Mr. A. Wayman for valuable help. Also to the Royal Library in Copenhagen who afforded me access to one of its bsTan'gyur-volumes in Uppsala.

Doctor Gösta Montell and the Sven Hedin Foundation made it possible to publish this set of scrolls acquired during one of Sven Hedin’s expeditions.

I wish to thank very specially Professor James Carney of Dublin for his great kindness in giving some of his time to read through and correct my English. Also Assistant Professor Nils Simonsson for help with the proofs.

The spelling of Tibetan words is not consistent. Well known names and other words occurring frequently in western literature are spelt in the established way. The other words are spelt according to each source. To facilitate reading the syllables forming one Tibetan word are joined if the word occurs several times.
INTRODUCTION

May the sun, the moon, and the multitude of stars fall on the ground,
But I shall not die as I am now, an ordinary being.

(Lalitavistara, Walleser's translation)

In Buddha's times, we are told, there was a great snake that, wishing to become a monk, took human form and went to live among the monks as one of them. But he was discovered when asleep — for in sleep he reassumed his reptile form — and brought before Buddha. Buddha's judgement was that he could not remain a monk. This life he must spend as a snake, but born again, he might be born in human shape, and then attain perfection; for, as a rule, in human shape alone can perfection be achieved.

To gain perfection (and with perfection power over death, and the ability to stand above the laws of nature) has been a common wish of people in different parts of the earth. Those believed to have attained this state were held in high esteem. In India such were called "siddhas", perfect ones or "mahāsiddhas", great perfect ones. The equivalents for "siddha" in Tibetan and in Uigurian are "grub thob" and "bakṣi" respectively. In common speech the word siddha often merely means a very holy man, a saint.

Among the Indian siddhas a group of eighty four is especially venerated by adherents of the Buddhist Vajrayāna as well as by Śvaites. They play an important rôle in the dances. Some of the group are claimed as founders and spiritual ancestors by various schools or sects, and to a number of them highly valued texts are ascribed. In legends their performance often touches upon the fantastic. They are invoked and pictures and statuettes of them are held in veneration. Not unlike our own medieval saints a siddha may be depicted with an implement of his trade on earth or with some symbol of his connection with other worlds.

This trait is not the only one the siddhas have in common with our saints. The likeness goes deeper. They all work for the welfare of mankind. They despise worldly rank and achievement and only value spiritual greatness. Spiritual development is not impaired by low descent or sex — some follow menial trades and many lists of the group of Eighty Four Siddhas contain four women. Their relationship to worlds beyond our earth is heavily stressed, and miracles follow in their trail.

1 Cf. i. i. F. Lessing, Mongolen. 1935, 117 ff.
Naturally there are differences. The most striking is perhaps the conception of how death is conquered.

The Christian imagines his saint as dying “in Domino”. Redeemed by Christ’s blood he passes through death to Heaven. The body is left behind and miracles may happen near the grave. — Not so the siddha. Generally he does not die in the usual sense of the word. Complete with body he passes at will from this earth to another abode. As the Tibetan legends say he “goes skywards” (mkha’ la gsėg). Traces of this conception can however be found in our religious world too. According to the Old Testament the prophet Elia was taken from this earth alive in a fiery chariot. By a canonical letter we are informed that Enoch was transferred to Paradise without enduring death. Both incidents were vividly present in the mind of medieval man, transmitted by calendars, pictures and texts. Paulinus Nolanus beholds Elia and Enoch ascending on the Milky Way:

\[
\text{raptus quadriiugo penetrat sub aere currur}
\]
\[
\text{Elia et solido cum corpore praesuus Enoch}
\]

and in a Swedish sequentia written by the bishop Nicolaus Hermanni († 1391) for the feast of the martyr Botvidus the author alludes to Enoch. Recently the bodily assumption of the Blessed Virgin was made a dogma. Similarly Saint John the Evangelist was believed to have reached heaven without experiencing death. But these examples are exceptions rather than the rule.

A saviour in the Christian sense has no place in the siddha’s scheme of salvation. Though led by a teacher and frequently helped by non-human agents the siddha has to work out his own salvation. A single life-time rarely suffices to become Perfect and he may have to strive after perfection through many incarnations.

Besides these essential differences there are differences in degree. The life of the Indian saint tends to be more extreme, and the tales told about him are more horrifying. It is true that we find some episodes in the Vitae Patrum repugnant, but they are mild when compared, say, with the eating of corpses in a cemetery recounted in the legends of siddhas. Similarly our wonder-tales seem but faint echoes of the eastern legends. Reading these we understand why the siddhas are so often called sorcerers or magicians.

Common points can of course be found. When the siddha Birvapa-Virupa shows his power over the sun this reminds us strongly of what the Lord’s servant Joshua does in the Old Testament. The flying ascetic and the writhing monsters illustrating tales of siddhas are as a rule not found in our western legends, but suggestions of these elements are found in the legend of Saint Anthony the Hermit, and others.

The worship of the siddhas belongs to the tantric phase of Buddhist and non-Buddhist communities. The siddhas are invoked, praised and imitated. The Buddhist worshipper does not ask for his saint’s personal help as we do, for having left this earth the siddha takes no further interest in earthly affairs. Nobody can claim him. True, Nāropa helps Marpa when the latter is in need of scriptures. But otherwise the siddha’s influence is more of the nature of the Holy Scriptures as defined by Saint Jerome: through “praeepta et mandata, testimonia et exempla”.

Bhattacharyya sees the origin of tantrism in the cult of Guhyasamāja much appreciated in Padmavajra’s Guhyasiddhi. He thinks that king Indrabhūti is responsible for its early development.

\[^2\] Regum L. 4, 2, 11. Hebr. 11, 5.
In a limited sense the tantras are esoteric methods for realizing the supreme goal: to become a buddha. These methods and practices include the practising of the six great virtues or pāramitās: from charity (dāna) to knowledge (prajñā). The aspirant passes through ten stages or bodhisattva-bhūmis: from the initial stage of joy (pramuditā) to the last stage where he is enveloped in the cloud of true teaching or dharmamegha.

If we go through the legends of the siddhas, where their teachings are dealt with in popular form, these teachings are rather uniform. They are the converse of the life led by common men. Material achievements are worthless. The one thing worth striving for is freedom from earthly entanglements. To be free, to be “void” makes the Great Change. The means towards this aim is chiefly meditation. Initiations help and mark stages in development — but they do not imply final salvation. A deity may be consulted as a helper towards perfection — but is no saviour. The pupil is guided by a teacher who gives simple precepts. No philosophical discussions are needed. A shoemaker may be taught by meditation on his tools. But before perfection can be attained all pride of caste and learning, all enjoyment of luxury must be overcome. A brahmin must be able to consume pork and alcohol in the cemetery.

When a siddha has reached perfection he is in possession of the siddhis or “the powers”. What do they consist of? In Sumpamkhanpo’s work we read the lines:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sa 'og bsgrod dañ ral gri dañ} & / \\
\text{chad bčad phan 'dogs gņis dag dañ} & / \\
\text{ril bu mig sman gter rnams dañ} & / \\
\text{rkañ ngyog bčud len grub pa brgyad} & / \\
\end{align*}
\]

Grünwedel reproduces a somewhat different reading:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sa 'og bsgrod dañ ral gri dañ} & / \\
\text{char bčad phan 'dogs gņis ka dañ} & / \\
\text{ril bu mig sman gter rnams dañ} & / \\
\text{rkañ 'gyogs dag kyañ bčud kyis len} & / \\
\end{align*}
\]

and translates:

Unter die Erde gehen und das Zauberschwert,  
Anfechtung-Aufheben und Gefügig-Machen,  
die Kügelchen-Siddhi, die Augensalbe und das Schätzefinden,  
Siebenmeilenstiefel: diese alle sind durch das Amṛta zu erlangen.  
To walk underground, the sword,  
To un-charm, to make of use,  
Pill, eye-medicine and treasure,  
swiftness-boots: through Amṛta.

Schiefner enumerates the following eight siddhis: pill, eyemecine, underground-walking, sword, flying through the air, invisibility, immortality and “inner victory”. As interchangeable siddhis he mentions: swiftness-boots (Schnellauf), and the elixir. In his introduction to the Sādhanamāla Bhattacharyya enumerates the eight great siddhis. He begins with the sword-siddhi: khaḍga, aṇījana, pādalepa, antardhāna, rasa-rasāyana, khecara, bhūcara, pātāla.4

* Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 159. — Tāranātha, Chos’byuṅ 304.
Pictures of mahāsiddhas have been found in ancient caves. Single siddhas, painted and modelled, have been described by westerners who have visited lamaistic temples, and both paintings and statuettes of siddhas have been brought to the West.

When painted a complete set of the Eighty Four Magicians, says Hackin in "Asiatic Mythology", consists of seven scrolls. On each of the scrolls which he describes some of these magicians are grouped round a picture of a man who is not a "siddha" in the usual sense of the word, but a buddha or some holy lama of later times. Hackin reproduces two scrolls of such a set (not quite complete) now preserved in Paris. In his edition of legends of the Eighty Four Sorcerers Grünwedel reproduces two scrolls preserved in Hamburg besides single pictures of some siddhas. There exist also single scrolls where all eighty four form the background for some holy personage occupying the centre.

The names of siddhas and the order of picture-subscriptions in the Paris-scrolls and in the Hamburg-scrolls may easily be related to the heroes of the legends translated by Grünwedel and to the order in which they are found there. The same names and on the whole the same order are found in lists of eighty four siddhas published by Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana and Giuseppe Tucci. Approximately the same order is observed in volume 48 of the Paris-Tangyur containing works of siddhas. A list of the Eighty Four Mahāsiddhas provided by a newarpriest of Patan (Nepal) and used locally conforms to the same order. From the scanty description available we cannot decide whether the eighty four siddhas with Uigurian inscriptions found by Grünwedel belong to the same tradition. — These lists and sets of siddhas are headed by the siddha Luyipa from Magadha who is immediately followed by Lilapa. The last siddha of this set is Vyāli-Bṭāli. These lists contain eighty men and four women. One of the women-siddhas is the renowned king Indrabhūṭis equally renowned sister Lākṣmikārā. The legends telling of this group of siddhas name as their author Abhayadattaśri ("Abhayashaśri"), and as the translator into the Tibetan language sMongrubāresrab. As to the author Grünwedel quotes the work of Sumpamkhuen, where a pupil of Vajrāśana is said to have composed stories of the Eighty Four Siddhas.

5 J. Hackin, Asiatic Mythology. 1932, 178 ff.
8 Cordier III 247 (vol. 86, 1), III 247—248 (vol. 86, 2). Cf. vol. 86, 3.
9 Grünwedel, Idikutschari 168 ff. — Grünwedel does not give all the names. He mentions a Ciluka-Caluki among the siddhas and speaks of two of them wearing the serpent-headress. None of these is, however, the first of the set. Grünwedel made some additions in his "Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan" 1912, 212. Number 8 plays the flute, number 51 is holding a bowl — not a sword as said earlier. Number 52 is depicted with the sun — the same story about Padmasambhava. Cf. T’oung Pao 1896, 538 ff. — and number 55 is sitting squarely on an elephant. Number 66 is brown (not grey) and has a dog (Kukkuripa) and number 73 holds a hammer (Kambaripa). Number 79 has a washboard (Dobi) — Grünwedel says that two of these siddhas are depicted with serpent-headresses. One of them very probably represents Nāgarjuna. Number 5 is a potter, number 2 is shown on a ship which reminds us of the Karupa-Karupaka to be spoken of presently.
10 Grünwedel, Geschichten 141, nr. 1, 222.
There are both texts and pictures of siddhas who do not conform to the tradition spoken of. The Tangyur contains a treatise about the appearance of eighty four siddhas beginning with Luyipa and Lilapa but afterwards differing from the names and the order of the names found in the stories. Much akin to this is another text in the “rje bcun bla ma dam pa phun thān ‘jam pa’i dbyaṅs dkon mchod bstan pa’i sgron ma’i dpal bzaṅ po’i gsun ’bum ja pa’i dkar čhang bzugs so”. Giuseppe Tucci in his Tibetan Painted Scrolls has published a list of eighty four siddhas taken from a collection of invocations found in the Tangyur. These invocations give the name of rDorjegdanpa (Vajrāsana) as the author. No translator is mentioned. By Cordier the author is identified with Ratnakaragupta. In the text he is called “lama”.\(^{11}\)

This Vajrāsana-list also consists of eighty four siddhas but it is not like the other ones. All the eighty four magicians are men. The first is Klugrubsniṅpo (Nāgārjunagarbha) followed immediately by Āryadeva. The last magician is Metogpa. Three of the siddhas mentioned in these invocations but absent in the “stories” are painted on a scroll formerly in Peking and now in private possession in the United States.\(^{12}\) Some of the siddhas found in the invocations but not in the “stories” are present in the pictures of single siddhas reproduced by Grünwedel.\(^{13}\) Probably the “Buddhist saints and lamas” — frescoes with inscriptions seen by Francke in the lhakhaṅ of the Alchi Monastery — form part of our particular set of eighty four siddhas.\(^{14}\) All eighty four magicians of the invocations are represented on a set of scrolls bought in Peking and now preserved in the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm. The set is reproduced here and treated of for the first time.\(^{15}\)

The set consists of thirteen scrolls,\(^{16}\) painted on cotton. Each painting is framed: 1. with green cord, now faded; 2. with dark red silk wrought with gold; 3. with yellow silk with gold. The whole is mounted on scarlet silk with gold threads woven into it. Each scroll is protected by a veil of thin khatag silk held in place by two ribbons of yellow silk, now faded. The first scroll is dominated by a large effigy of rDorje’chaṅ (Vajradhara), the mystic Buddha. In the upper corners are seen Maitreya and Mañjuśrī, favourite bodhisattvas of the Yellow Church. The collection of siddhas begins with the figure at the bottom of this scroll to the left: Klugrub (Nāgārjuna). Each siddha is provided with an inscription.

\(^{11}\) Cordier III 92 (vol. 72, 52).
\(^{12}\) Cf. Excursus I.
\(^{13}\) Grünwedel, Geschichten, Fig. 2.
\(^{14}\) A.H. Francke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet. Archaeological Survey of India. New Imperial Series. Vol. XXXVIII. Calcutta 1914, 91. — Unfortunately Francke enumerates only some of the saints: Klugrub, Aryadeba, Naropa, Tilopa, Loipa, Kumara, Dharmakirti, Kamala, Ananta, Shantipa, E(n)trabodhe, Zlabragspa and Kundga’sniṅpo. These names can be found in our set of the eighty four siddhas in Stockholm.
\(^{15}\) Single siddhas of this set have been reproduced earlier, so “the weaver” (p. 64).
\(^{16}\) If the single scroll now in the possession of Mr. Minkenho (cf. Excursus I) once belonged to a complete set of eighty four siddhas this set probably covered considerably more scrolls than the set now preserved in Stockholm, as only three siddhas are reproduced — about half of the number of siddhas on a scroll of the Stockholm-set. — There seem to exist groups of less than eighty four siddhas as well. Cf. Taranathaes de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione Narratio. Ed. A. Schiefer. 1868, Transl. 182. — Also a cave in Nepal on the road from Kathmandu to Kuti is named after “Eighty Mahāsiddhas” only. And the third Panchenlama describes a vision, in which bCoṅkhapa once showed himself surrounded by Eighty Mahāsiddhas; Grünwedel, Śambhala 29.
The names of these scrolls, though sometimes badly deformed, as well as the order in which they are presented conform to one of the lists published by Tucci and drawn from the invocations just mentioned.

In our scrolls the siddhas are not grouped around any buddha or any other holy personage. The centre of each scroll except the first one is occupied by one of the siddhas themselves painted on a slightly larger scale. The siddhas in the centre of each scroll are as follows, the first name being taken from the scrolls and the second from the “litany”:

I. Klugrub — Klusgrubṣniṅpo  
II. Luyipa — Luyipa  
III. Kukuripa — Kukuripa  
IV. Tantrapa — Tantrapa  
V. bZAṅpopa — bZAṅpopa  
VI. Šantipa — Šantipa  
VII. Kama — Kamala  
VIII. Putaloki — Sutaloki  
IX. Minadapa — Minadapa  
X. Khyurapa — Karnapa  
XI. Caṇḍali — Caṇḍali  
XII. Thogsmed — Thogpamedpa  
XIII. Kaladake — Kaladage

The only real difference between the scrolls and the litany is that the scrolls contain an eighty fifth siddha. He is called *Blama rDo rje dgaṅ pa* (Vajrāsanaguru) as its author these two may safely be identified. The man in question is probably the same as the *Blama rDo rje dgaṅ pa* we meet elsewhere. A “Bla ma rDo rje dgaṅ pa (Vajrāsanaguru)” is mentioned as one of the translators of the “šen ge sgra’i sgrub thabs” in the Tangyur. As the author of this work we are given the name of Candragomin who occupies number 20 in our thankas (Candrapa) and in the invocations. A “bla ma rDo rje dgaṅ pa” is further said to have composed the “phags pa de bzin gšegs pa’i gcug tor nas byuṅ ba’i gdugs dkar po čan gyis mi thub pa žes bya ba’i ŋe bar bṣad pa” which was translated by the author himself and by the Bari-locaba.

In fact Tāranātha knows of three sages in Buddhagāya who are called rDorjedgaṇa — Vajrāsana (guru). The first or Mahāvajrāsana was a teacher in Vikramaśila after Dipaṅkaraśrījñāna who left for Tibet in 1042. Three Vajrāsana are also known to the “rjes gnaṅ... thob brgyud” of the “thob yig gsal ba’i me loṅ” of Jaya Paṇḍita. Here they are enumerated between Jetāri and the Bari-locaba Rinchengrags. The line of transmission is: sans rgyas rdo rje ’chan — phyag na rdo rje — je tā la — dgra las lam rgyal — rdo rje dgaṅ pa čhe ’briṅ chuṅ gsum — ba ri lo ca ba rin čhen grags — sa čhen kun ssiṅ. Sumpamkhanpo again mentions two rDorjedgaṇa — čhe chuṅ — between Jetārī and Panchen Puṇaśrīnas Bari-locaba.

The second Vajrāsana Grünwedel identifies with Ratnākaraśānti. And we might as well mention that the great Tibetan Marpa met one Vajrāsana in India who made him teach the Vinaya to two novices.

A rDorjedgaṇa who once is called “lama” appears as the translator of three works of Ārya-

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17 Cordier II 321 (vol. 68, n. 165).
18 Cordier II 363—364 (vol. 69, 166).
19 Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 39.
20 For this reference I am indebted to Mr. Wayman of Berkeley.
21 Sumpamkhanpo 142.
22 Blue Annals 88. — A “bla ma mjon šes čan rdo rje dgaṅ pa” occurs as an author Cordier II 256 (vol. 48, 147).
deva, and is identified with Amoghavajra by Cordier. Lacking, as we do, for accessible Lives of these persons we have to be satisfied with a few dates and suggestions. If the Šantipa who occupies number 34 in our set of thangkas really is identical with the first abbot of bSamyas as suggested, none of the “three Vajrāsana” occupies any number of the Stockholm-set but the last number 85.

There can be little doubt about the invocations being the source and inspiration of the painter, — the first painter of the set. One significant detail pointing to this fact is the occurrence of a Thugsdam in our scrolls. The invocations mention the Thugsdam in connection with a number of siddhas. In four cases — number 9, 43, 66 and 81 — the name of the Thugsdam is not given though a Thugsdam is mentioned. Thirteen times the name is given. In ten of the thirteen cases the Thugsdam is adequately depicted in the scroll: gSaṅ’ dus in number 13, Migyoba in 60, Thugsṛjesgrölma in 62, rTamgrin in 70, sGrolma in 72, bDemkho in 76, Byamspa in 78, dGyespardonje in 80, gŠinrjedmarpo in 82, and Kharsāpanji in 83. Once, in number 56, the Thugsdam seems to have been represented by his (sPyanrasgzig) sakti. Twice the Thugsdam mentioned in the invocation is not depicted at all. The upturned faces of the two siddhas in question — number 36 and 58 however suggest an object. Possibly there was no room available. The corner where Avadhūti (number 62) sits is so crammed with trees and fruits that the painter had to put the Thugsdam sGrolma on the other side of the scroll. On the whole the first illustrator of the invocations seems to have followed the text closely enough.

Somehow the invocations of Vajrāsana remind us of our medieval rhythmical litanies such as that composed by Ratpertus though they are far more explicit. Every siddha is treated in four lines. Every line consists of seven syllables. The third line invariably gives the name of the siddha, and the fourth line contains the invocation proper: “I bow down to the lama.” According to the length of the siddha’s name the third line varies slightly: “called” is expressed by “zhes bya ba yi’” or by “zhes bya ba’i” or by “zhes bya’i”. From the first line we frequently learn the caste to which the man belonged, and the occupation or trade that was his as an individual. The second line may tell how he strove for perfection, which Thugsdam he chose, and how he left this earth. Sometimes these two lines are crammed with information. When the siddha in question is known from other sources as for instance the great Asaṅga we find that the author of the invocations gives essential and significant facts of the siddha’s life. Sometimes however the information is vague and does not facilitate identification.

The vocabulary is necessarily limited. While the loan-word Nilapa (indigo-maker) is used as a personal name, the trade of the same siddha is denoted by the term “rams mkhan” (indigo-maker). “mkhan” occurs frequently when the personal occupation of the siddha is mentioned (lus). So Luipa is a “yig mkhan” and rTogcrepa a “šin mkhan”, scribe and carpenter respectively. Among the castes we find those of the shoemakers — lham mkhan rigs —, the wood gatherers — šin thun rigs —, the heretics — mu stergs rigs —, also the tharu’i rigs, which possibly denotes the aborigines of the Tarai in Nepal, or the “border land people”.

As a rule the name of the siddha is better preserved in the “litany” than in the scroll. In fact it could not easily be changed when once part of the line of seven syllables. Names in inscriptions, or in prose in general, are more likely to suffer corruption.

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23 Cordier III 225—226 (vol. 83, 70, 73, 76).
24 This vision is distinctly descending and therefore cannot belong to any of the siddhas depicted at the bottom. — As to the shape of the Green sGrolma cf. Grünwedel, Mythologie 129.
Several names are trade-names, nick-names or names denoting the country of origin. The individual in question might somewhere else be called by another name. Many, and recently Giuseppe Tucci, have pointed out the difficulties of identifying a siddha. They are not few.

First of all several men may be called by one and the same name. The same name frequently appears in a religious school for members of different generations. On the other hand one man may be called by different names. A Sanskrit name and its Tibetan translation might be misunderstood as names of different persons. With the exception of the nick-names already mentioned and trade-names a new name is conferred upon an initiate at every initiation — or “baptism” as Tucci calls it. In the legend of the Tibetan poet-saint Milaraspa this conferring of a new name is described in detail. A block-print preserved in Oslo shows a picture of Milaraspa where his initiation-name is subscribed instead of the more usual “Mila” or “Milaraspa”. Also several siddhas may be considered incarnations of one and the same personage, e.g. of Nāgārjuna.\(^{25}\) Names may also be shortened. A man called Seṅgepa or Šantipa here may elsewhere have a longer name containing these syllables too. A siddha called by a longer and a shorter name or a siddha called by different names\(^{26}\) might in the course of tradition split up into two or even more siddhas. Nevertheless the name of a siddha and even the remembrance of some small sect he belonged to may have disappeared altogether.

When we now try to identify the siddhas we do it knowing full well that much remains to be done and that identifications are necessarily tentative.

Three groups can be conveniently distinguished: a group of siddhas common to the scrolls (litany) and the stories (Grünwedel), a group extant in the scrolls (litany) not found in the stories but found in other sources, and a third group found in the scrolls (litany) but up to now not identified. The first group contains 38 siddhas (the first number gives the place in the litany, the number in brackets the place in the “stories”):

\(^{25}\) Cf. G. Tucci, Animadversiones 139.

\(^{26}\) F.i. Karmavajra’s disciple bZaṅpo’ižabs — Zlababzaṅpo — Thaṅlopa (if Cordier is right). Cordier III 213 (vol. 83, 28).
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<td>33 (74)</td>
<td>Sarkapa (Sarkapa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (6)</td>
<td>Saraha (Saraha)</td>
<td>36 (44)</td>
<td>Jalandharapa (Jalandhara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 (4)</td>
<td>Dombikeruka (Dombikeruka)</td>
<td>34 (12)</td>
<td>Santipa (Santipa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (3)</td>
<td>Birvapa (Birvapa)</td>
<td>35 (13)</td>
<td>Thagapa (Thagapa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 (41)</td>
<td>Bhusuku (Bhusuku)</td>
<td>39 (62)</td>
<td>Bhavapa (Bhavapa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (52)</td>
<td>Drilbu (rDorjebrilbu)</td>
<td>41 (28)</td>
<td>Kama (Kamala)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 (15)</td>
<td>Nalendrapa (Nalendrapa)</td>
<td>42 (45)</td>
<td>Tamapa (Tamapa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 (34)</td>
<td>Kukurupa (Kukurupa)</td>
<td>43 (11)</td>
<td>Ghinapa (Bhinasa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 (42)</td>
<td>Indrabodhi (Indrabhuti)</td>
<td>46 (14)</td>
<td>Kumara (Kumara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 (20)</td>
<td>Naropa (Naropa)</td>
<td>47 (69)</td>
<td>Chembuapa (Cheupa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 (44)</td>
<td>rTorgrcepa (Torgrcepa)</td>
<td>51 (8)</td>
<td>Minadapa (Minadapa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 (33)</td>
<td>Tantrapa (Tantrala)</td>
<td>56 (83)</td>
<td>Sejgepa (Sejgepa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 (30)</td>
<td>Lxabapa (Laba)</td>
<td>61 (60)</td>
<td>Khyrupa (Karna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 (22)</td>
<td>Tilkapa (Telope)</td>
<td>62 (43)</td>
<td>Avadhulampa (Avadhuti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 (17)</td>
<td>Nagposkyo (Nagpospyoda)</td>
<td>70 (64)</td>
<td>Capari (Capari)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 (5)</td>
<td>Savariapa (Savariapa)</td>
<td>71 (21)</td>
<td>Siyali (Siyali)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 (77)</td>
<td>Dharikapa (Darikapa)</td>
<td>75 (68)</td>
<td>Kalalaika (Kalaka)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second group of the siddhas not found in the stories but known from some other source or sources comprise 34 or 35 men:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Name</th>
<th></th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Padmabjra (Padmabjra)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>sPrangyiugsc (sPrangyiugsc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mChoskhezorjor (mChoskhezorje)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Karupa (Karupaka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sainggyasydse (Sainggyasydse)</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Sirupa (Dasirupa)</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Nagpordjor (Nagpordjor)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Ananta (Ananta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Candrapa (Candragomi)</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Zlababzaipo (Zlababzaipo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Kentopa (Sanita)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Kundja'sniipo (Kundja'sniipo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Marmemjad (Marmemjad)</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Zlabagraspta (Zlabagraspta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Phagchaipa (Phagchaipa)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>sMadjrspta (sMadjrspta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>bZaipo (bZaipo)</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>sKyaabsegn (sKyaabsegn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Kamala (Kamala)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Canjali (Canjali)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Jeteri (Jetari)</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>sGromkhanab (sGromkhanab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>gSerliipa (gSerliipa)</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Nimaaspa (Nimaaspa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Koikana (Koikana)</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>Nagtidbanphug (Nagtidbanphug)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Dharmakirti (Dharmakirti)</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Thogsmed (Thogsmedpa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Nilapa (Nilapa)</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Napata (Napata)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Padmakara (Padmakara)</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>Bhayini (Bhayani)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Sejnepa ? (Sejnepa ?)</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>rDorjegdampa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possibly:

| 44 | Putaloki (Sutaloki) |
The third and last group consists of 12 mahāsiddhas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Marmelha (Marmelha)</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Kubuce (Kuburca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Kadampa (Caraṇa)</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Seṅgepa (Seṅgepa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Glubyaṅsmkhaṇ (Glubyaṅsmkhaṇ)</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Gliṅbupa (Gliṅbumkhan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Bhagha (Bhaghalana)</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>Parasu (Saraṇu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Kontal (Kontal)</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Kaladake (Kaladage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Hilapa (Hilapa)</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Mirtogpa (Metogpa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all the identifications of the siddhas in the first and the second group are safe. Names like Śantipa and Seṅgepa are difficult to trace because they may be only part of a name. Some of the siddhas are seemingly popular figures, with lengthy individual legends. Several are represented in the “Pantheons”. A few are enumerated in the non-Buddhist Sādhanamālā and in the Haṭhayogapradīpika. Others are less known. To some caves are dedicated. Some are mentioned among the spiritual ancestors of the great religious leaders as the Dalailama and the IČaṅskya Rolpa’irdorje.

Judging from the verses of the litany the third group of our siddhas has not any peculiar feature distinguishing it from the other groups. True the Red gShinrje has not been mentioned in connection with the other groups but is mentioned here, and some trades are new.

Compared with the first group the second group of siddhas contains some persons usually not counted as siddhas but rather as learned men and pillars of the buddhist church. Such are Dharmakirti and Asaṅga. Still the litany and the scrolls in Stockholm are not the only collection of mahāsiddhas containing such persons. So we find Dharmakirti (Choskyigragspa) and Vamsbandhu (dByiggœn) in a Description of the 84 siddhas in some editions (or some copies of editions) of the bsTan’gyur, treated in Excursus II.

Our series has, however, one really striking feature: the beginning.
At the head of our scrolls stands Klugrub, in the litany (usually more trustworthy) called Klusgrubsnipto. In the first scroll he is pictured with a headdress of serpents, sitting decorously on a cushioned throne. Before him rises the nāga-king presenting him with a bowl. The name Klusgrubsnipto is, as Grünwedel points out, given to an author in the bsTan'gyur (whom Grünwedel thinks is the Nāgabodhi of "story" 76). This Nāgabodhi does not elsewhere appear in our scrolls or in the litany, as the Nāgabodhi of these sources is identical with "the cattle-herd". The bowl of nectar presented by the nāga-king in our scroll would rather imply the tantric Nāgarjuna of story number 16 where we read about the preparation of the elixir. But whatever his origin his appearance in the picture is far from suggesting a tantric in the more eccentric sense of the word. He rather reminds us of the great founder of the Mahāyāna Nāgarjuna who is said to have got the Prajñāpāramitā from the Nāgas, and to have died on the Śrīparvata. This Klugrub-Klusgrubsnipto is in the first scroll accompanied by Āryadeva, who sits a little lower in a manner suggesting the pupil or disciple. Neither is he dressed in tantric garb. The whole first scroll gives a marked high-church impression. One is reminded of the Pantheon of 360 reproduced by Clark, and beginning with Nāgarjuna and Āryadeva. The author of the litany lays stress on the fact that the siddha Śakyabsegsñen "followed Klugrub", and that the siddha Zlabaggragspa "had Klugrub in mind".

None of the "lineages" or successions of teachers given in certain texts of the bsTan'gyur seems as a whole to have influenced the litany's choice of siddhas.

The description of the "cha lugs" already mentioned, the appearance of the siddhas in the bsTan'gyur is a short treatise extant in some editions and copies of editions. We find it in the copy formerly preserved in Berlin and now in Marburg as well as in the better copy preserved

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27 Grünwedel, Geschichten 214. Cf. f.i. Sendai n. 2225, 2278, 2640, 3839, 4307.
28 Cf. Grünwedel, Mythologie 30.
29 Cf. e.g. the portrait from bKrašisllunpo published by R. Sānkṛtyāyana in Asia, Oct. 1937.
30 Cf. Huth, Tanjur. — The copy preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale does not contain it; Cordier III 475 (vol. 123, 8).
in Copenhagen. The author is said to be dPaldsde from Nepal. The treatise begins with Luyipa. In many cases both the Tibetan and the Sanskrit name of the siddha are given.\textsuperscript{31}

A number of siddhas is common to this treatise and to our scrolls in Stockholm.\textsuperscript{32} If we compare the prescriptions in the treatise for one of those siddhas with his effigy in the scrolls we find differences. In the treatise Klugrub — number 5 — is pictured together with a woman, while 'Phagspalha-Āryadeva is meant to be depicted as a monk. In the scrolls they both appear as dignified single personages. Luyipa is described in the treatise as follows: \textit{lu yi pa du ba'i mdo skyes pa dam lhan gcig pa'o.}\textsuperscript{33} This is what we find in our scroll, though much elaborated and with many details. Telopa is described: \textit{nag po bud med dam lhan gcig pa.}\textsuperscript{34} Our Telopa is not black, he has attendants and an oil-press. For Marmemjad the treatise instructs: \textit{mar me mjad dkar sam gzo . . . bud med dam lhan gcig pa.}\textsuperscript{35} But in our scroll Marmemjad is sitting alone holding a fly-whisk. — These are a few examples out of many.

The Musée Guimet in Paris owns a set of scrolls (not quite complete) with the Eighty Four Siddhas. If we compare siddhas common to this set and to our scrolls we have the same experience as with the treatise. They do not correspond. Nor is this the case with siddhas common to our

\textsuperscript{31} Cf. Excursus II. The Sanskrit name usually appears as a gloss in the next line in smaller print.

\textsuperscript{32} It may be noted that our scrolls and the litany contain Asaṅga but not his brother Vasubandhu. The treatise, on the contrary, has two Vasubandhu and no Asaṅga. Asaṅga's original name is said to have been Vasubandhu.

\textsuperscript{33} Luyipa, smoke-coloured, in the company of a man.

\textsuperscript{34} Black, and with a woman.

\textsuperscript{35} White, and with a woman. — The Tangyur now preserved in Marburg is in bad condition and partly illegible.
scrolls and to the scrolls reproduced by Grünwedel nor with the siddhas found by Albert Grünwedel with nimbus and Uigurian inscriptions.

We have already mentioned one scroll in American possession showing three siddhas belonging to the series of the litany and our scrolls; though the identity of the siddhas is unmistakable, the painter evidently belongs to another school. The “king” is much more elaborately depicted, the ferryman rows a different kind of boat, and the whole way of expressing the muscular play of the human body is different.

Taken as a whole our scrolls show a great variety of holy persons. None has nimbus or gloria. There is a marked difference between the faces of intellectual men, kings and traders. A large group is formed of tantrics with bone-ornaments and with scanty dress or completely naked. They remind us strongly of the description of Śiva by the Tamil poets:

His ears are beringed,
He rideth the bull;
His head is adorned with the crescent moon’s ray;
White is He with ash from the burning-ground swept —
His form is smeared with ashes white,

or:

The snake His strange adornment is —

They are interspersed with ordinary-looking men, some of them — Nāgabodhi and Phagchāṇpa for instance — not too unlike our western saints. The learned men often show little or nothing of tantric appearance. Sāṅgṛgyasyaśeśe carries a skull-cup. Dharmakīrti’s picture might almost follow the tradition of some convent, where pictures of the sages are said to have adorned the walls. The men are mostly bearded. The hair is flowing or bound up in knots. The dress of the siddhas varies. Sometimes the man and the attendant wear little or nothing except the tantric ornaments. Some are clothed in animal skins. Some are dressed in trousers and upper garments. The kings have crowns of varying shape. In fact the pictures in our scrolls look as if they have been gathered from various collections.

Each siddha, alone or with a companion or attendants, forms an independent group. Whenever space allows there are groups of animals after the Chinese fashion: elephants and snakes in scroll I, V, and XII, monkeys in II and VII, gazelles in IV, pigs in V, mountain-sheep in XII, geese and various other birds in XII, dogs and jackals in III and XI, marmots in IX and XI, birds, snakes and lizards. In shape and colour the dog is rather like a Chinese red chowchow. The marmots are apparently some large variety. The most surprising specimen of the fauna are the elephants. Two of them are very small and depicted together with Nāgabodhi. The third which carries the siddha Kalalaṇka-Kalaka is also somewhat undersized.

The two elephants painted as Nāgabodhi’s companions are clearly a substitute for Nāgabodhi-

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36 So have the siddhas in the cave discovered by Grünwedel.
38 For instance our Saint Leonard, or our Saint Anthony the Hermit.
Gorakṣa’s usual cows. How can this error have come about? The “litany” calls him “ba głaṅ” skyoṅ. As Jäschke points out “ba głaṅ” is used both for “ox” and “elephant”. Such a misunderstanding may have given rise to this substitution. This might have happened in a country, where elephants could be imagined to be “the cattle” of India, the home-land of the mahāsiddhas. And we may call to mind that the two bodhisattvas painted above Vajradhara in the first thaṅka both have hutuktsus in Mongolia.

The rich display of both animals and plants reflects a Chinese conception of Buddhist art.

The flora is represented by trees and shrubs and flowers, a considerable part of which grow in or near the water.

The painter’s tradition follows faithfully the intentions of the litany. It is the iconographical tradition that has made the first scroll an impressive piece of high-church piety. It is a sort of glorification not only of Vajradhara and his pair of bodhisattvas, but of Klusgrub (sniṅpo) — here given the philosopher’s name — and Āryadeva. The tantric Klusgrub, teacher of the tantric Candrakīrti at the end of the 9th century, and the tantric Āryadeva are, according to their stories, both connected with the great convent Nālanda (now Bargaon in the district of Patna), once of high reputation throughout the orient.41

The Eighty Four Siddhas are still objects of worship and admiration. rDorjegdanpa’s prayer at the end of the litany may well represent the attitude in which they are approached:42

\[
/ \text{gžan yaṅ gsaṅ sṅags lam rten pa'i} / \\
/ \text{mkhas spyod gṣogs pa thams čad daṅ} / \\
/ \text{dḥos grub thob pa thams čad la} / \\
/ \text{bdag ni gus pas phyag 'chal lo} / \\
/ \text{phyag 'chal gsol ba 'debs pa na} / \\
/ \text{thugs rjes dgoṅs la byin gyis rlobs} / \\
/ \text{de ltar gsaṅ sṅags spyod mjad pa} / \\
/ \text{grub thob brgyad bchu rca bzi la} / \\
/ \text{bdag ŋid gus pas gsol 'debs na} / \\
/ \text{thugs rjes dgoṅs la byin gyis brlab tu gsol} / \\
/ \text{sku yis byin gyis brlab tu gsol} / \\
/ \text{lūs pa de čhen spar du gsol} / \\
/ \text{gsuṅ gis byin gyis brlab tu gsol} / \\
/ \text{dag la nus par byin gis brlobs} / \\
/ \text{thugs kyis byin brlab ye śes phob} / \\
/ \text{sems la 'od gsal bkṣyed du gsol} / \\
/ \text{sku gsuṅ thugs kyis byin gyis rlobs} / \\
/ \text{byin rlabs chu rgyun ma gcod čig} / \\
/ \text{chos sku gčig tu ma gyur par} / \\
\]

40 Grünwedel, Geschichten, story n. 16 and story n. 18.
42 Text from the Paris Tangyur (Narthang edition). Differences in the Oslo Tangyur (Derge edition) are noted.
43 The Oslo Tangyur omits “dgoṅs la”.

22
/ thugs rje'i lcags kyu ma btan žig /
/ khyed la bdag gis gsol btab pa^5 /
/ de las byun ba'i bsod nams kyis /
/ 'gro drug gnas pa'i sens čan don mjad nas...
/ sñiṅ po phyag rgya 'chen po'i don rtogs šog^6 /

Or, in free translation:
With devotion I bow down to
All the scholars gone to heaven
Who supported mystic truths
And to all who won perfection.
Bowing let the prayer be uttered
While the heart feels loving pity
Many secret charms and actions
To the Eighty Four, the Siddhas,
Most respectfully performing
Loving kindness in the heart.
May the pious body-actions
Add to greatness of the body,
May the tongue-produced blessings
Bless the speech to greater power,
Wisdom in the mind increased
In the mind a light may kindle.
Works, words, thoughts may utter blessings,
Prayer-flow be never cut,
Body-of-Doctrines be steadied,
Iron-hook of pity fastened.
Having said my prayers to You:
Guaranteed through joy arising
Be the welfare of the beings' six kinds.
May the heart grasp Mahâmudrâ's sense.

^5 Oslo Tangyur: btab pa.
^6 Oslo Tangyur omits "sñiṅ po".
THAÑKA 1
THE SCROLLS

WITH THE INSCRIPTIONS AND THE INVOCATIONS OF THE LITANY

THAŇKA I

H. 3337

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: Vajradhara: single, one face, two arms
  body: dark blue, nimbus: light green, outer nimbus: dark green
  gloria: orange, with golden rays
  golden ornaments, with jewels
  attitude: vajraparyānika, mudrā: vajrahunīkāra
  holds a golden vajra in his right hand, and a golden bell in his left
  Above him: a garūḍa with a nāga in its beak, and with flame-coloured hair
  Before him: table with sacred objects, in the centre: wheel

Upper left corner: Maitreya, one face, two arms
  body: yellow, golden ornaments
  attitude: paryānika
  right hand holds lotus surmounted by a bumpa
  left hand: varada mudrā
  nimbus: dark green, gloria: dark blue with golden rays

Upper right corner: Mañjuśrī, single
  body: yellow, golden ornaments
  attitude: paryānika
  right hand on right knee, fingers lifted
  left hand holding lotus surmounted by book and sword
  nimbus: green (like Maitreya’s)
  gloria: dark blue, with golden rays

Left corner at bottom: Klugrub, single, no beard
  body: white, before him: wheel, mudrā: dharmacakra
  snakes: 1 whitish, 2 red, 2 green, 2 blue
  dress: orange with gold trimmings, leaves, dark red edged with gold

Rising from the waves: the nāga-king
  face: white, body: green-scaled
  snakes: 1 whitish, 1 green, 1 red, 1 blue

Right corner at the bottom: Āryadeva, single, bearded
  body: white, hands folded, before him: bowl
  dress: orange, head-dress: dark red, both with golden trimmings
RDO RJE 'CHAN

has the inscription:

rgyal ba rdo rje 'chañ la na mo

Glory to Jina rDorje'chañ

And the litany says:

/ bla ma dpal ldan rdo rje 'chañ /
/ bla ma rnam la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the noble lama Rdorje'chañ
And to the lamas

Maitreya and Mañjuśrī have no inscriptions. Maitreya is, of course, the coming buddha, and Mañjuśrī was thought to be incarnated in the emperors of China as well as in bcoṅkhapa. The human series of the siddhas begins with the figure in the left corner at the bottom:

1

KLU GRUB = KLU SGRUB SNIÑ PO

The inscription describes him as a “Reverend One” ('phags pa, ārya):

'phags pa klu grub la na mo

Glory to Ārya Klugrub

In the litany he appears as a priest (dgesloṅ) who was given the elixir by the goddess of the wood:

/ dge sloṅ lus la dṅos grub brñes /
/ nags kyi lha mos bdud rci phul /
/ klu sgrub sñiṅ po ḗes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Klusgrubsniṅpo
To whom the wood-goddess brought nectar
Who obtained perfection as a monk

The “'phags pa klu grub” as a combination of the name with a title is the same as we find in the “Pantheon of the 300”, where the prayer to the great Nāgārjuna runs:

/ dpal mgon 'phags pa klu grub la /
/ gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlbs /
To the Noble Protector, the Reverend Klugrub
I bow down, and devoutly pray

The mudrā is different. Similarly the name is different as the litany’s reading “Klusgrub-
sniṅpo-Nāgārjunagarbha” must be considered the better reading. Nor does the bowl of nectar in the scaly hands of the nāga-king in our scroll tally with the great Nāgārjuna’s story. According
to this story he gets books (the Prajñāpāramitā) from the nāgas, not a bowl of elixir. The elixir is tantric equipment, being one of the eight "powers" (siddhis). Of the elixir we read in the legend of the tantric Nāgarjuna and of the tantric Nāgabodhi his pupil and successor. By Tucci and others this tantric Nāgarjuna is distinguished from the great philosopher Nāgārjuna who is often called the founder of the Mahāyāna, and whose work Mādhyamika-vṛtti was commented on by Candrakīrti; he is stated to have lived about 645. The third Panchenlama in his enumeration of siddhas and holy teachers includes “dpal mgon 'phags pa klu sgrub” — the title is the same as the great Nāgārjuna’s in the Pantheon.¹

In Grünwedel's “Geschichten” the mahāsiddhas Nāgarjuna and Nāgabodhi are treated of in story 16 and story 76 respectively. Both siddhas belonged to the priestly caste and were brahmins. Nāgabodhi seems also to have been called Klusgrubsñinpo. This Nāgabodhi is not to be found elsewhere either in the litany or in our scrolls; the Nāgabodhi numbered 29 in the litany is identical with the (or a) Gorakṣa, possibly the Gorakṣa of the stories.²

The Klugrub in the scrolls may be identical with the mahāsiddha numbered 5 in the Description of the Eighty Four Mahāsiddhas found in the Tangyur.³ A Klugrub is also among the saints in the lha-khaṅ described by Francke,⁴ while a Nāgarjuna is mentioned in the Bauddha-gān O Dohā as number 33. Our strophe in the litany corresponds most closely with the Nāgabodhi of the 76th story. This siddha may, in the course of time, have been mixed up with the tantric Nāgarjuna. Such fusions of saints are not unknown to our western legends.⁵

The picture in our scrolls and the inscription beneath it are clearly intended to suggest similarity to the great philosopher Nāgarjuna, whom Grünwedel has called the “Faust des Buddhismus”. It may be recalled that the tantric Nāgarjuna and his disciple Nāgabodhi were connected with the convent Pūvaraṇa and with the solitudes of Śrī Parvata. Here the great Nāgarjuna is said to have died. In Nepal one is still shown a cave of Nāgarjuna, also the place where he got the book from the Nāgas.

¹ Bhattacharyya in: Śādhanaṃalā II, Introd. XLIII. — According to the Cakrasamvaratantra Nāgarjuna was a disciple of Saraha. He is the author of two sādhanas, one for the worship of Vajratārā and one for that of Ekajata; l.c. XLV. The latter he is said to have rescued from Tibet.
² The Tangyur contains the work “chigs su bčad pa phyed daṅ lha pa žes bya ba’” by Klugrubsñinpo; Sendai 2278, Cordier XLVIII, 19. At the beginning of the work “gčes pa bdus pa’i phrin yig bcun pa čhen po dpal dbyangs kyis bod rje baṅs la rjaṅs pa” Klugrubsñinpo is mentioned; Cordier 3, 490 (vol. 124, 11). The work “sman ’cho ba’i mdo” is attributed to the same; l.c. 469 (vol. 118, 2). — Pantheon of the 300, n. 5.
³ Grünwedel, Sambhala, 48.
⁴ Excursus II.
⁵ l.c.
⁶ So has the beheaded bishop Dionysius been mixed up with Dionysius Areopagita.
A RYA DE VA = ĀRYA DE BA

Our inscription gives only the name and even a title is lacking:

    a rya de va la na mo  Glory to Aryadeva

From the litany we learn he was "lotus born" and respectful towards the lama:

    / bla ma la gus dnos grub brñes /
    / pad ma las 'khruñs lus mchog 'jin /
    / ā rya de ba žes bya ba'i /
    / bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
    I bow down to the lama
    Called Āryadeba
    Who got a precious body, born in a lotus
    Who got perfection, respectful towards the lama

Again, as in the case of the first siddha, we have a man called by the name of a renowned philosopher. Again, he is not identical with him, but a tantric of later times. Being lotus-born, however, as expressly stated in the litany, he equals the great Āryadeva. He is very probably identical with the hero Āryadeva of Grünwedel's story number 18. In the beginning of this story the very denial of a miraculous birth is a pointer to some such legend. From the extant songs of the tantric Āryadeva Bhattacharyya concludes that he was resident in Bengal.

Similarly this tantric has got the appearance of a saintly scholar. One may recall the prayer to the great Āryadeva in the Pantheon of the 300:

    / grub brñes a rya de ba la /
    / gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlbs /
    The perfect Āryadeva
    I invoke, and devoutly pray²

Āryadeva is one of Padmasambhava's names. I do not think this relevant here.

¹ Cf. Buxton II 130.
² Cf. also Blue Annals 360. — Grünwedel reproduces a picture showing Āryadeva preaching in the clouds; Grünwedel, Geschichten, fig. 9. — Cf. also Bhattacharyya, Date 357. — Tāranātha, Chos'byun 83. — An Aryadeba is among the saints described by Francke 1c.
DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 3. Luyipa, bearded, body: mauve, sitting on the belly of a reptile, holding a fish in his right hand, and its guts in his left
meditation-band: orange, with gold
dress: dark red trousers with golden trimmings, bound with sash in two greens, white upper garment with gold trimmings, a green leaf on the head, with golden rays

To the right: man eating entrails of fish, lower garment: dark blue with gold, upper garment: orange, green-edged

Above: 9. Bhusuku, single, flesh-coloured, bearded, the hair cropped
dress: darkred loin-cloth with gold, one golden ear-ring is seen, no tantric ornaments
holding the string of a book in his right hand and a paper-roll in his left

To the left: 8. Birvapa, with helper, sitting on a green mat
moustache, flower-wreath around the turban
holding a skull-cup in his right hand, left hand pointing at the sun
attitude: paryārika
dress: dark red with gold, pink-lined
meditation-band: orange, with gold

Helper: flesh-coloured body, one golden ear-ring, leaf on the head
dress: dark blue lower garment with gold, the upper garment orange with gold, and pink-lined
holding a skull-cup with both hands
(from the water-vessel water runs into a third skull-cup)

To the right: 4. Padrabajra, single, flesh-coloured, bearded, moustache,
golden ear-rings, no tantric ornaments
both hands holding fruit
sitting on a rock, right leg hanging down, left leg lying
dress: orange under-garment with gold, yellow upper garment with gold, green-edged

Beneath central figure: 6. mChoskyesrdorje, with helper
flesh-coloured body, bearded
hair-dress with net
holding a fish with both hands
dress: dark red garment with gold, pink-lined, green sash

Helper: white-bodied, dressed in a dark grey skin
no ornaments, standing on a lotus, holding a water-vessel in both hands
To the left: 7. Dombiheruka, with šakti
  flesh-coloured body, tantric ornaments, bearded
dress: orange with gold
sitting on a tiger, holding a snake with both hands
toes of left foot in a sort of “mano cornuta” -attitude
Šakti: sitting cross-legged on the same tiger
  flesh-coloured body, white dress with gold
  left hand holding a skull-cup, right hand: “mano cornuta”
To the right: 5. Saraha, sitting on leopard-skin spread on rock with šakti
  flesh-coloured body, white hair, no tantric ornaments, ear-rings
  holding an arrow with both hands
  meditation-band: dark red with gold
dress, orange with gold, dark green edge with gold
Šakti: flesh-coloured body, golden earring
  left hand holding skull-cup, right hand raised with thumb touching
  fourth finger
dark red dress with gold, edged with dark green and gold

Groups of animals:
Left upper corner: two birds on a tree: long red beak, red legs,
yellow-black back, yellow-black tuft
dark tree with blue and yellowish leafage
Beneath Padmabajra: couple of monkeys with young
  monkeys: blackish-brown
  young: greyish-brown
LU YI PA = LÙ YI PA

He is the first of our series in the scrolls whom the inscription calls siddha, “grub thob”:

\[
grub\, thob\, lu\, yi\, pa\, la\, na\, mo\, \quad \text{Glory to the siddha Luyipa}
\]

The litany tells of his caste and of his most popular performance:

/ yig mkhan rigs la skal bar ldan /
/ ña lto za žiṅ dūns grub brñes /
/ lū yi pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Lūyipa
Who obtained perfection eating entrails of fish
A blessed one in the caste of scribes

Tāranātha says that Luyipa was the scribe of king Samantaśubha, a king of Udāyiśāna in the West. Hence he would have lived in the 7th century, and Sylvain Lévi and Shahidullah date him accordingly. They think he was an older contemporary of Dipamkara-Atiśa and Bhattacharyya dates him to about 669. In the Tangyur five works are attributed to him, one of which is said to have been revealed to him by Atiśa. This Luyipa often heads a series of the Eighty Four Siddhas. The “story” tells us he was the son of a king in Magadha. A sky-walker helped him to free his mind from all ideas as to caste-pride and clean food. He came to live on entrails of fish, and this practice seems to have become his most popular performance. It is emphasized in the Pantheon of the 300, where he forms a triad together with “The Arrowsmith” and “The Hunter”:

/ grub pa’i dbaṅ phyug ña lto bar /
/ gsol ba ’debs so byin gyis brłobs /
The mighty Perfect-One, the eater of entrails of fish
I invoke, and devoutly pray

In the Description of the 84 siddhas this trait is not mentioned.

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1 Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 20 (Here he is Savari’s disciple).
2 Shahidullah, Introd.
3 De 16—17.
4 Sādhanamālā II. Introd. XLIII. — He is also related as a member of the fisherman’s caste; l.c. XLVII.
5 Cf. De 16—17. — Luipa is among the “saints” in the Alchi monastery described by Francke, l.c. He is also named in the Baudda-Gān O Dohā.
6 Cf. Excursus III (number 1).
LIKE Luipa — the siddha just dealt with — Padmabaja is called "siddha" in the inscription:

\[ \text{grub thob padma baju la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to the siddha Padmabaja} \]

From the litany we learn that he ate tree-fruits and was a householder:

\[
\begin{align*}
/ & \text{khyim pa'i lus la thar bu'i rigs} / \\
/ & \text{šiṅ tog za žiṅ lam mčhog brñes} / \\
/ & \text{padma baju žes bya ba'i} / \\
/ & \text{bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo} / \\
\end{align*}
\]

I bow down to the lama
Called Padmabaja
Who obtained the precious road eating tree-fruits
A householder of tharbu-caste

This man is not among the heroes of Grünwedel's stories, and his picture is not found in the edited Pantheons. As Tucci points out, our siddha number four is probably identical with the "great" Padmavajra who was the teacher of Anaṅgavajra (number 25 in our series) and whose story is told by Tāranātha.¹ He was a brahmin by birth, says this author, and was born in Maru in the West. He won the elixir of life and beheld Vajrasattva. Bhattacharyya has rediscovered Padmavajra's work Guhyasiddhi.² Works of Padmavajra are found in the Tangyur.³ According to Buddhagupta our Padmavajra founded a temple of Hevajra in Maru.⁴ In the Blue Annals Padmavajra the composer of the Guhyasiddhi is said to have been a farmer.⁵ It is certainly this Padmavajra who occupies number 16 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.⁶ There is a Padmavajra among the reincarnated ancestors of the Dalailama (number 50) immediately before the first Dalailama. He cannot have anything to do with our siddha.⁷

¹ Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 43—44.
² Sādhanamālā II. Introd. XLVIII.
³ Cordier II, 250.
⁵ Blue Annals 363.
⁶ Excursus II.
⁷ Stael-Holstein, 2.
Like the two siddhas just dealt with Saraha is also called a “siddha” in the inscription:

\[ \text{grub thob sa ra ha la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to the siddha Saraha} \]

The litany mentions his caste and his profession:

/ bram zé'i rigs gar mkhan lus /
/ dpal gyi ri la dños grub brñes /
/ sa ra ha žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Saraha
Who won perfection on the Noble Mountain
A dancer in the brahmin-caste

This siddha is also called Rāhubladra. An account of his career is found in story number 6 in Grünwedel’s “Geschichten”. He won salvation with the help of an arrow-maker’s daughter. Bhattacharyya dates him to about 633,\(^1\) in the Śādhanamālā he is said to have composed the sādhanā for Trailokyavaśaṅkara.\(^2\) Songs attributed to him are edited by Shahidullah.\(^3\) He is included in the Pantheons, and the Pantheon of the 300 contains the prayer:

/ dpal ldan sa ra ha pa la /
/ gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlobs /

He ought to be identical with number 9 in rjesgnañbyachul who, however, is ordered to be painted without the arrow.\(^4\) The third Pančhenlama mentions the “great brahmin the Noble Saraha”.\(^5\) One of his superhuman helpers is Acala.\(^6\) The dPalgyiri emphasized in the litany was hallowed as the place where the great Nāgārjuna had left our world.\(^7\)

\(^1\) Śādhanamālā II. Introd. XLIII.
\(^2\) I.c.
\(^3\) Shahidullah, Les Chants mystiques de Kāñha et de Saraha 1928. Bagchi’s edition has not been accessible.
\(^4\) Excursus II.
\(^5\) Grünwedel, ŚAMBHALA 48.
\(^6\) Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 12—13. — Likewise the “younger Saraha” or Śavaripa is called a dancer, cf. number 27 in our series. — Cf. Bhattacharyya, Iconography 45. — In the colophon of “rnal 'byor mdor bsdus pa” a “grub pa’i dbañ po” Saraha appears, Cordier III, 130 (vol. 74, 50).
\(^7\) Cf. pp. 38, 40, 102.
MCHO SKYES RDO RJE = MCHO SKYES RDO RJE

Again as in the preceding cases our holy man is called a siddha in the inscription:

grub thob mcho skyes rdo rje la namo  Glory to the siddha mChoskyesrdo-rje

The litany says he was of the “moon” (or: lotus)-caste:

/ zla ba'i rigs la dnos grub brjes /
/ padma ni dañ ldan čig bzhugs /
/ mcho skyes rdo rje žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called mChoskyesrdo-rje
Who won a padmini (?)
Who obtained perfection in the moon-caste

Apparently we find this mahāsiddha in the third Panchenlama’s Šam bha la'i lam yig. The siddha, it is stated, had in the country Maru won the king’s daughter who was a padmini: ... slob dpon mcho skyes kyis rigs ēnan gyi rgyal po'i bu mo pad ma čan rju 'phrul gyis bkug nas las la bkol te bže'ns pa... A mChoskyesrdo-rje is not found in Grünwedel’s “Geschichten” but probably our siddha occupies number 7 in the Description of the 84 siddhas, and also is identical with Sumpamkhanpo’s mChoskyes, and with the Saroruhavajra mentioned in the Tangyur and elsewhere. Also the first Dalailama mentions him. — Our siddha’s master is said to have been Kukuripa. — The bottom of the lotus-flower is called “moon”.

1 Grünwedel, Sambhala 24.
2 Excursus II.
3 Sumpamkhanpo 62.
4 Cordier III 131 (vol. 75, 1). Cf. Ic. 123 (vol. 74, 22), II 75 (vol. 21, 1—5), II 73 (vol. 20, 9), II 66 (vol. 15, 2). — Taranātha, Edelsteinmine 99, 105. — In the Pantheon of the 300 there is a mChoskyesrdo-rje who carries the Padmasambhava-staff and who is addressed:
/ sṅags 'chañ mcho skye'i rdo rje'i žabs /
/ gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlobs /
5 Tempel v. Lhasa 25.
DOM BI HE RU KA = DOM BI HE RU KA

On this occasion the inscription contains only the name, and a title is lacking:

DOM bi he ru ka la na mo

Glory to Dom biheruka

The litany, however, at this point provides us with some significant details:

/ gdi'n ba bti'n nas ga nga brgal /
/ stag la zon nas dnos grub brtis /
/ dom bi he ru ka zhes bya'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Dombiheruka
Who got perfection mounted on a tiger
Who crossed the Ganges, having spread the carpet

The founder of the Yellow Church bCo'nkapa, we are told, once showed himself to his disciples in the shape of this siddha.

The story of this personage we find in number 4 of Grünwedel’s “Geschichten”. He was, we are told, a king of Magadha, who became a disciple of Virupa and got the siddhis from Hevajra. He appears in the Sadhanamala as a follower of the Hevajra Tantra. He is spoken of by Tarana as a contemporary of rDorje drilbu. Bhattacharyya dates him about 777. As “dom bi pa” the same siddha is doubtless described in the Description of the 84 siddhas. Very probably we find the same man as “mahasi siddha Dombipa” in “Die Legenden des Na-ro-pa”, transl. by A. Grünwedel. 1933, 153. The Pantheon of the 300 has a Dombipa who is, I think, also identical with our siddha. The prayer to him runs:

/ che gchug mchog brtis dombi par /
/ gso lba debs so byin gyis brchobs /
Dombipa who got the Jewel in one life-time
I invoke, and devoutly pray

Dombiheruka is mentioned as an author in the Tangyur.}

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1 The Hevajra-sadhana is edited by L. Finot, Manuscrits sanscrits de sadhana's retrouves en Chine, Journal Asiatique 1934, 1 ff.
2 Cf. Bhattacharyya, Date 353.
4 Bhattacharyya Lc.
5 Excursus II (number 27).
6 Cf. Cordier II 30 (vol. 9, 3).
BIR VA PA = BI RÛ PA

From the inscription, as in the case of Đorûbiheruka, we learn only the name:

*bir va pa la na mo*  
Glory to Birvapa

The litany has preserved the original form of the name Birvapa: Birûpa (Virûpa): We are also given some details as to wonderful feats performed by him. He is said to have crossed a river in an extraordinary way — in our scroll he seems to point at that river — and to have pawned the sun for ale:

/ chu bo čhen po gyan la bzlog /  
/ čhaṅ la ŋi ma gte bar bčud⁶ /  
/ bi rû pa žes bya ba yi /  
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /  
   I bow down to the lama  
   Called Birûpa  
   Who gave the sun as a pawn for ale  
   Who crossed the great river

The “great river” is the river Ganges, as we are told in his story, number 3 of the “Geschichten”. He was a native of Magadha in king Dharmapāla’s time. On a certain occasion he came to the river Ganges and asked the goddess Gaṅgā for food and drink but she refused to give him anything. He crossed the river and reached a tavern, and there, having nothing else, he pledged the sun for ale and commanded it to stand still. Finally the king had to pay a ransom in order to free the sun. Other miraculous incidents are recounted in this story, as, for instance, the resuscitation of animals that had been eaten.

Bhattacharyya dates Virûpa to about 777.¹ A statue of Virûpa was visited by Buddhagupta and Tucci has seen his effigy.² The Lhasa Cathedral too contains an effigy. Tāranātha knows of three Virūpas.³ In the Tangyur various works are attributed to a Virûpa or Virûya.⁴ However, it is hardly possible to make a clear distinction between the several authors of this name. A small thāṅka probably shows this siddha only, pointing at the sun.⁵

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¹ Bhattacharyya, Date 353.
² Tucci, Gyantse II 11; he is called “sbir”. Cf. Birvapa Cordier III 238 (vol. 85, 23).
⁵ Excursus III.
⁶ Oslo Tangyur: — gte bar —.
BHU SU KU = BHU SU KU PA

Like the two last inscriptions this also contains only the name of the siddha:

*bhu su ku la na mo*  

*Glory to Bhusuku*

The litany is more explicit. Bhusuku, we read, saw the thugsdam in Nalanda, composed books, and departed skywards:

/ na lendra ru thugs dam gzigs /  
/ bstan bcos rcom žiṅ mkha’ la gšegs /  
/ bhu su ku pa žes bya ba⁶ /  
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo /  

I bow down to the lama  
Called *Bhusukupa*  
Who went skywards, composed scientific books,  
Who saw the thugsdam in Nalanda

Among Grünwedel’s “Geschichten” there is a story (number 41) of the siddha Bhusuku. He was of warrior caste and became a monk in Nalanda. “Bhusuku” was his nickname, given because he was always sleepy and hungry. He was cured of these shortcomings by Mañjuśri in person. (Mañjuśri must be considered as his thugsdam). When his high qualities were revealed he obtained the name Śāntideva.

This monk and our Bhusuku(pa) have quite enough traits in common for us to conclude that they are one and the same person. The difficulty is that our scrolls also present us with a Śantipa (number 21) who has traits in common with the Śāntideva of the story. There are supposed to be several Śāntideva, all of rather uncertain date and country.

Our Bhusuku is certainly identical with the mahāsiddha number 8 — *bu su ku = za ŋal ’chag*  
in the Description of the 84 siddhas.¹

Bhusuku(pa) occurs in the Tangyur.² Bustom, who says that “Bhusuku” was a nickname of Śāntideva, mentions three works.³ A Śāntideva is mentioned in the Tangyur as the author of the “lhan čig skyes pa’i glu” ⁴ and other compositions.⁵

¹ Excursus II.  
² Cordier III 116 (vol. 73, 59, 60). Bhusuku = Śāntideva.  
³ Bustom II 166.  
⁶ Oslo Tangyur: *bu su ku ra žes bya ba’i* /
DESCRIPTION

(the colours cannot be given)

In the centre: 12. Kukuripa, single, holding two dogs, cross-legged, bearded sitting on the inside of a hide, ear-rings, no tantric ornaments, meditation-band and trousers (?)

Above: 11. Nalendrapa, single, floating in mid-air, tantric ornaments, dressed in a human hide, bearded, hair flowing, holding a snake-sword (?)

To the left: 10. Drilbupa, with šakti, on a cloud, ear-rings, tantric ornaments left hand holding a bell, right hand: “ mano cornuta”, antelope-skin (?)

Šakti: tantric ornaments
left hand unseen, right hand holding a bell

To the right: 13. Sañśrgyasyeśes, single, dressed as a monk, sitting on a carpet holding a skull-cup in his right hand, left slightly raised

Vision rising from the skull-cup: Guhyasamāja yab-yum

Beneath central figure: 15. Indrabhodhi, with helper, sitting on a leopard-skin crown and ear-rings, no tantric ornaments right hand: varadamudrā?

holding left hand before his breast

Helper: Laksāmikā?
sitting cross-legged, crown, no tantric ornaments left hand holding a skull-cup right hand raised

To the left: 16. Nāropa, single, bearded, rosary hanging from his neck sitting, left leg lying on right leg meditation-band and garment around his legs left hand on left knee, right hand raised

To the right: 14. Nagpordorje, breathing fire among waves hands emerging, thumb touching fourth finger feet emerging, big toes touching hilt (of sword?) upon head: skull-cup, emerging

Helper: dressed in shawl only, tantric ornaments right hand holding bell, left hand skull-cup left hand: “cornuta”

Groups of animals:

2 birds above Nalendrapa, 2 birds below him
As in several cases already treated the inscription gives the name only:

\[
\text{Dril bu pa la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to Drilbu pa}
\]

The litany tells us he reached perfection in Gaṅgrala-Bhaṅghala, and together with his family:

\[
/ \text{bu smad bças sṅīṅ dṅos grub brñes} / \\
/ \text{ghaṅ giv la ru dṅos grub brñes} / \\
/ \text{rdo rje dril bu žes bya ba'i} / \\
/ \text{bla ma de la phyag 'chals lo} / \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called } r\text{Dorjedrülbu} \\
\text{Who obtained perfection in Gaṅgrala} \\
\text{Who reached perfection together with his family}
\]

The manner in which he became perfect “together with his family” is related in number 52 of Grünwedel’s “Geschichten”. He is tempted by the beautiful young daughter of a harlot and she becomes his mate. Together they win liberation. Before the eyes of the terrified king Devapāla the siddha and his mate change into the sacred pair of Cakrāsāmvara and Vajrāvārāhi.

We meet this siddha as an author in the Tangyur. Tārānātha tells us that he was a contemporary of Dombiheruka and Sukhadeva. Bhattacharyya dates him about 681. In the Cakrāsamvaramānda he is said to have initiated Lvavapa.

Our scroll shows him as an ecstatic tantric while the Pantheon of the 300 represents him as an ascetic with beard and bell. The Description of the 84 siddhas depicts him as saffron-coloured.

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1 F. i. Cordier II 242, III 104 (vol. 73, 2), III 249 (vol. 86, 7), II 34 (vol. 12, 12 ff.), II 192 (44, 16). — A work “grub chen dril bu pa’i lugs kyi bde mchog lha lhar sgrub thabs nag ’gros su bkod pa “is recorded by Schmid and Boethlingk; Saint-Pétersbourg n. 362.

2 Tārānātha, Čhos’byun (transl.) 170.

3 Sādhanamālā II Introd. XLIII.

4 Tārānātha, Edelsteinmine 54.

5 Excursus II (number 71). — On scroll n. 29217 in the Ethnographical Museum, Oslo, he is shown as a pendant to the “grub chen nag po pa”.

6 Oslo Tangyur: bhaṅ giv la ru luṅ bstan thob /
The inscription contains the title “siddha” besides the name:

grub thob na le ndra pa la na mo    Glory to the siddha Nalendrapa

The scroll shows this siddha flying and holding home twisted object in his hands. The litany shows him departing skywards carrying a sword when he had obtained perfection:

/ dka' thub mjad čin dños grub brñes /
/ ral gri khyer nas mkha' la gšegs /
/ na le ndra pa žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag'chal lo /
   I bow down to the lama
Called Nalendrapa
Who went skywards carrying the sword
Who got perfection, doing penance

The name “Nalendrapa” I have not met among the siddhas. But it means no more than “man from Nalendra” (where a famous monastery was situated) and the siddha might be known and recorded under another name. Our siddha who “carries the sword” might be identical with the siddha Khaďga who is the hero of number 15 of Grünwedel’s “Geschichten”. Khaďga is also called “ral gri pa”. He was, the story tells us, a house holder who became a robber and a thief. He was converted by the yogi Carpati. With the help of this yogi, and that of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara himself, he obtained the sword-siddhi. It is recorded of him that a black serpent in his hands changed into a sword. — The twisted object that our siddha holds in his hands in the scroll might well be that serpent-sword. The Description of the 84 siddhas enumerates as number 49 a “ral gri grub pa — khaďga siddha”.

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1 A translator Nalendrapa is found Cordier II 55 (vol. 14, 23). — A translator 'Jam dbyaṅs ral gri l.c. III 506 (vol. 132, 2). — An author Mi'i dbaṅ po (Narendra) f.i. Cordier III 100 (v. 73, 7). — For Nalendra North of Lhasa cf. G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls I 256, nr. 120.
2 Excursus II.
KU KU RI PA = KU KU RI PA

He is described as a siddha in the inscription:

grub thob ku ku ri pa la na mo
Glory to the siddha Kukuripa

In the litany we are informed that he was of low caste and a bhikṣu:

/ dge sloṅ lus la gdol pa'i rigs /
/ phyag rgya ma daṅ diṅs grub brñes /
/ ku ku ri pa žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Kukuripa
Who won the mudrā and perfection
Of low caste, a bhikṣu

In his edition of the “Geschichten” Grünwedel reproduces a picture of a Kukuripa with the inscription:

gdol rigs yum bchas ku ku ri pa'i žabs
Kukuripa of low caste with the šakti

Here we evidently have the same man.¹ Not a man of low caste but a brahmin Kukuripa is the hero of number 34 of the “Geschichten”. He became a beggar and took pity on a bitch. He did not forget her even when in the realm of the 33 gods and came back to her. She turned out to be a skywalker and helped him towards perfection. The brahmin Kukuripa, according to Sumpamkhānpo, brought the Herukasādhana from the skywalkers.² The same author knows also of a Kukurācārya who was a tantric and who loved dogs.³ The “khyimočan” in the Description of the 84 siddhas is probably the same as the man on our scroll.⁴

¹ Grünwedel, Geschichten 140.
² Heruka is the terrible form of Šambara, the tutelary deity of Marpa. He is a form of Akṣobhya. He seems to have originated in a stag worshipped by a non-aryan population; J. Przybiński, Heruka-Šambara. Polski Biuletyn Orientalistyczny. Vol. 1 1937, 42 ff. Heruka does not appear in our scrolls or in the litany.
⁴ Excursus II.
He is the first in our series who is called a "pančhen", a very learned man:

pan čhen saṅs rgyas ye sês la na mo                      Glory to the mahāpaṇḍita Saṅsrgyasyeṣes

This man, the litany tells us, was a bhikṣu who beheld the deity Guhyasamāja:

/ dge sloṅ lus la ye sês spyan /
/ sīṅ kun gnas su gsaṅ 'dus gzigs /
/ saṅs rgyas ye sês žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Saṅsr̥gyasyeṣes
Who saw Guhyasamāja in Sīṅkun
A wisdom-eye in a monk's profession

Sīṅkun, as we are told by Jäschke, is a mountain-pass between Lahoul and Zankar.¹

We do not find this monk among the "Geschichten", but he is otherwise well-known. He appears in the legend of Padmasambhava.² He wrote, says Bustom, fourteen works on the Scripture of Guhyasamāja, was a pupil of Haribhadra and received consecration from the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.³ According to Tāranātha he lived in the time of king Gopāla, worked in Vikramaśīla, and became the king's priest.⁴

¹ The word otherwise means "asa foetida".
² Toussaint 333—25, 467—24.
³ Bustom II 159.
⁴ Tāranātha, Chos'byuṅ 205, 220, Edelsteinmine 88 ff. — Cf. the work "ye sês spyan sgrub pa žes bya ba" Cordier II 20 (vol. 4, 17).
The inscription in our scroll confers upon him the title of “siddha”:

\[ \text{grub thob nag po rdo rje la na mo} \]

Glory to the siddha Nagpodorje

From the litany we learn his peculiar manner of reaching perfection:

\[
/ \text{dka’ thub dor nas spyod pa mjad} /
/ \text{stañ stabs mjad cini dnos grub brñes}^4 /
/ \text{nag po rdo rje žes bya ba’i} /
/ \text{bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo} /
\]

I bow down to the lama
Called Nagpodorje
Who won perfection by various means\(^1\)
Who did the deed declining hardship

This siddha is hardly Kṛṣṇacari or Kāṇha whose poetical work has been published by Shahidullah who calls him (as well as Saraha) a nihilist.\(^2\) The published song certainly teaches the rejection of hardship in striving for perfection and bears out the “dka’ thub dor” of the litany. Our siddha is possibly mentioned as Kṛṣṇavajra as one of the authors in the Tangyur.\(^3\) On the scroll the siddha is breathing fire.

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1. “stabs stañ” or “stañ stabs” = vires exercendi; *Dictionnaire*. Lta stañs = look.
3. *Cordier* II 227 (vol. 47, 44), III 237 (vol. 85, 19). The “dpal nag po rdo rje žabs kyi ni zad pa’i mjod kyi rgya che r’grel pa” is found *Cordier* III 237 (vol. 85, 19). Tāranātha knows of a Nagpodamchigrdorje and a Nagpo’jigsmedrdorje; Edelsteinmine 79, 106. — *Cordier* III 237. dPal nag po rdo rje žabs is also called Nagpopa. — Cf. siddha Nagpospyodpa n. 24.
4. Oslo Tangyur: Lta stañs mjad ~
I NDRA BHO DHI = I NDRA BHŪ TI

He is presented in the inscription neither as a siddha nor as a man of learning, but as a king:

rgyal po i ndra bho dhi la na ma

Glory to king Indrabhodhi

The litany places him in Orgyan and shows him as obtaining perfection together with his sister:

/ rgyal rigs o rgyan gnas na bzung /
/ lchang dañ lhan cig dnos grub brjies /
/ i ndra bhū ti žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Indrabhūti
Who won perfection together with his sister
Who dwelled in Orgyan, of warrior-caste

The lady beside the king in our scroll might well be this sister, as the paintings in our scrolls usually follow the pattern advised by the litany. Grünwedel's "Geschichten" have separate stories of the king (42) and of his sister Lakṣmikarā (82) who, as is the case of all female siddhas, is lacking in our series. It was she who by her example urged him to strive for perfection. The women of the court were taught by the guru Kambala-Lvavapa.¹

Bhattacharyya calls this king the founder of the Vajrayāna and dates him to about 700.² He is located in Orissa and the ruins of his palace were visited by Tārānātha's teacher Buddhagupta.³ In the Tangyur a Kurukullā-sādhana is attributed to this king.⁴ As number 23 he is enumerated in the Description of the 84 siddhas.⁵ He is depicted in a picture-manuscript in Cambridge, and probably in the Alchi monastery.⁶

¹ Tārānātha gives the king's story without speaking of the sister; Edelsteinmine 40 ff.
² Bhattacharyya, Iconography 57 f.
⁴ Cordier II, 236.
⁵ Excursus II.
⁶ Cf. p. 40 n. 4 Francke l.c.
⁷ Oslo Tangyur: — u rgyan —.
NA RO PA = NA RO PA

The inscription gives only the name without any title:

na ro pa la na mo

Glory to Naropa

In the litany we are given information as to his caste and his wonderful capacities:

/ bram ze rañ gi bu mo bsten / 
/ rdo rje brsun čiñ sa 'og bgrod / 
/ na ro pa žes bya ba yi / 
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo / 
I bow down to the lama
Called Nāropa
Who walked underground having stuck down the vajra
A brahmin, keeping to his own woman

This man is considered a pupil of Tilopa-Telopa and a contemporary of Maitripa. He is one of the “ancestors” of the bKa’brgyudpa-order.¹ Legends about him have been published by Grünwedel.² In the Pantheon of the 300 he is called the “sow-winner” — the “sow” being the mighty yidam Vajravāraḥi:

/ phag mo'i rjes bzuñ nā ro par / 
/ gsol ba 'debs so byin gyis brlob /

Bhattacharyya dates him to about 990.³ He appears as an author in the Tangyur.⁴ He is depicted in the Alchi monastery⁵ and Tucci has found his statue among those of other bKa’brgyudpa-saints.⁶ He occupies number 72 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.⁷ The third Panchenlama tells of his stay in Phullahari.⁸

³ Sādhanamalā II Introd. XLIII.
⁴ F.i. Cordier II, 238, III 203 (vol. 82, 101).
⁵ Francke le.
⁶ Tucci, Gyantse II 75 f.
⁷ Excursus II.
⁸ Grünwedel, Sambhala 33.
DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 18. Tantrapā, single, body slightly mauve, bearded sitting on leaves, left leg lying with sole upturned, right knee raised, right leg before left leg
left hand holding skull-cup, right hand raised before breast, thumb touching fore-finger
golden ornaments
gTorma: light grey elephant's head, dark grey pig's head, yellow horse's head, with dark mane, ashy human head, two white skulls
dress: light green undergarment with gold, yellow pink-lined upper-garment with green stripe around the neck, dark red trousers with gold, bound with dark blue sash and ribbons, pink-lined, golden ear- and hair-ornaments. Sandals with sewn soles

Above: 19. Lvavapa, single, mauve body, sitting in a grass-hut
dress: yellow blue-lined upper garment with gold, dark red trousers with gold, bound with green, green hemmed with gold, beige boots with white soles and 6 “spike-heads”
the hanging book has red covers
right foot above left foot, both hands “mano cornuta”
rock in mid-air in front of him

To the left: 23. Tillipa, with 3 attendants, flesh-coloured body, green leaf on shoulders, stamping sesam seeds, hair bound in a knot, yellow pink-lined trousers with gold
Helper carrying a sack: flesh-coloured body, dark red dress with gold, beige sash
Helper behind oil-jar: whitish body
Helper putting fuel into stove: flesh-coloured body, blue dress with gold, beige blue-lined sash

To the right: 17. Togrcapa, single, flesh-coloured body, hair bound into a knot, sitting in a carpenter's boring-machine
dressed in yellow trousers with gold

Below central figure: 22. Marmemjad, single, whitish body, legs unseen, sitting on an antelope-skin
dress: beige green-lined upper garment with gold, yellow blue-lined cap with gold, dark red nether-garment with gold, white fly-whisk
To the left: 21. Kentopa, with śakti, flesh-coloured body,
dress: yellow pink-lined garment with gold, light-green turban
tantric ornaments
Śakti: body: light-flesh-coloured
dress: open dark red jacket with short sleeves, with gold
dark-blue skirt with gold, golden tea-pot
To the right: 20. Candrapa, single, whitish body, golden ear-ornaments and
white necklace
carries kapāla and sacrificial knife
dressed in a green garment with blue and beige stripes, the lining in the
same colours, but darker

Groups of animals:
2 squirrels on tree, brown-yellowish, 2 grey gazelles with whitish bellies

Plants:
upper part: brown tree trunk with green leaves
lower part: dark-grey tree trunk with green-golden leaves
RTOG RCE PA = TOG RCE PA

The inscription calls him “siddha”:

\[ \text{grub thob rto gr ce pa la na mo} \]

Glory to the siddha rTogrcelpa

He is of the tharu-caste, says the litany, and a carpenter:

\[
/ \text{tha ru'i rigs la šin mkhan lus} / \\
/ \text{phyag rgya ma daṅ dā os grub brñes} / \\
/ \text{tog rce pa žes bya ba yi} / \\
/ \text{bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo} / \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called Togrcelpa} \\
\text{Who won mudrā and perfection} \\
\text{A carpenter in the tharu-caste}
\]

The tharu-caste or tharu-tribe lives in the Tarai in Nepal. They are said to be akin to the Newar and not to be susceptible to swamp-fever. “mtha ru” would mean “in the border-land”.

“Togrcelpa” means “the man with the axe”. Our siddha is probably identical with Koṭali whose story is number 44 of the “Geschichten”. The man in this story tills the earth and gets converted by the ācārya Šantipa. They met, the story says, at a place four days’ journey from Rāmeśvara. An author rTogrcelpa’i žabs (Togce) is found in the Tangyur.\(^1\) As number 22 “tog rce pa” is enumerated in the Description of the 84 siddhas.\(^2\) Our rTogrcelpa is seen carrying a stout stick, not an axe.

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\(^1\) Cordier III 249 (vol. 86, 7). — An ācārya Mahākoṭali is mentioned by Tāranātha, Chos’byuṅ 206. — Cf. Sumpa mKhanpo 127.
\(^2\) Excursus II.
Like number 17 this man is called "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob tan tra pa la na mo

Glory to the siddha Tantrapa

He was a brahmin by birth, we are informed in the litany, and did menial work:

/ bram ze dman pa'i spyod pa mjad /
/ thabs kyis 'cho žiṅ dños grub brñes /
/ tan tra la žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Tantrala
Who won perfection living by the method
A brahmin, doing menial work

He is certainly identical with the brahmin Tantrapa of whom Grünwedel has reproduced a picture with the subscription:

bram ze dman spyod mjad pa tan tra pa
Tantrapa, a brahmin, doing menial work

Grünwedel identifies him with number 33 in the "Geschichten": Tandhepa, the dice-thrower who loses his fortune in consequence of indulging in this passion and is converted by a holy man. The story says he is of low caste but the identification seems probable enough.\(^3\) He might be number 52 in the Description.\(^4\)

\(^1\) In Tucci's list number 3 he is called tan ka la.
\(^2\) Grünwedel, Geschichten 140.
\(^3\) The Blue Annals know of a brahmin Catrara; Blue Annals 368. He was a disciple of Rakṣitapāda.
\(^4\) Excursus II.
\(^5\) Oslo Tangyur: thags kyis ~ (= by weaving).
LVA VA PA = LA VA PA

No title is given, the inscription containing the name only:

\textit{lva va pa la na mo} \quad \textit{Glory to Lvavapa}

He was, the litany informs us, a bhikṣu who sat in a grass hut:

\begin{verbatim}
  / dge sloṅ spros med spyod pa mjad /  
  / 'jag sbyil naḥ du dḥos grub brṇes /  
  / la va pa žes bya pa yi /  
  / bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /  
  I bow down to the lama  
  Called Lavapa  
  Who won perfection in the grass hut \footnote{1}  
  A bhikṣu conducting himself without action
\end{verbatim}

This siddha is certainly identical with the bhikṣu Ņabopa shown sitting in a grass hut in a picture reproduced by Grünwedel. The picture has the subscription:

\begin{verbatim}
  dge sloṅ spros med 'jag spyil ŉa bo pa  
  Ņabopa the bhikṣu, without action, in the grass hut \footnote{2}
\end{verbatim}

In our scroll he is looking at a rock dangling before him in mid air, and making the “fascination-mudrā”. This betrays his identity with Kambala, number 30 of the “Geschichten”. Here he is said to be a king and the son of a king. He renounces the world, becomes a yogi and a beggar. His mother, who is a dākini, gives him the abhiṣeka of Samvara. He blasts a rock by merely pointing at it. He also subdued witches who had eaten his cowl and made them vomit it up.\footnote{3} Works of Lavapa are found in the Tangyur.\footnote{4} “Iva ba” means: woollen blanket, Kambala. Our mahā-siddha is probably identical with number 29 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.\footnote{5}

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\footnote{1}{sbyil = spyil. Oslo Tangyur = spyil ~.}
\footnote{2}{Grünwedel, Geschichten 140. — “ňa” stands for “la”.
See also Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 54 ff.}
\footnote{3}{F.i. Cordier II 36 f. (vol. 12, 24, 25), III 514 (vol. 133, 10—11).
Excursus II. — He is said to have been the teacher of the siddha Jalandharapa.}
CA NDIRA PA = CANDRA GO MI

As in number 17 and 18 we find the title “siddha” attached to this man in our inscription:

\[ \text{grub thob ca ndra pa la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to the siddha Candrapa} \]

The litany presents him as a champion in disputation against the “mu stegs”; he is also said to have got Tārā’s protection:

\[
\begin{align*}
/ & \text{mu stegs rcod pa las rgyal žin} / \\
/ & \text{rgya mcho’i gliṅ la sgrol mas skyabs} / \\
/ & \text{candra go mi žes bya ba’i} / \\
/ & \text{bla ma de la phyag’chal lo} / \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called Candragomi} \\
\text{Protected by Tārā on an island in the sea} \\
\text{Who won over a disputing tirthya}
\end{align*}
\]

This man is doubtless the same as he whose picture is reproduced by Grünwedel with the subscription:

\[
\text{rcod rgyal sgrol skyabs ca ndra go mi žabs} \\
\text{Candragomi, protected by Tārā, victor in disputation}
\]

The Tibetan tradition does not, says De, distinguish the tantric Candragomi from the grammarian Candragomi\(^1\) whose works Liebich and Renou have studied.\(^2\) Tāranātha tells us that Candragomi was a learned man and married a king’s daughter whose name was Tārā. As this was the same name as that of his divine protectress he left his wife and became an upāsaka. In Nālandā he met Candrarīti.\(^3\) He seems to have been nicknamed “gliṅ pa”\(^4\).

\(^1\) De 5.
\(^3\) Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 79. — Buston II 132 f. — Grünwedel, Geschichten, Fig. 2. — Cf. the siddha Zlabragspa in our series.
KEN TO PA = ŚAN TI PA

This man, like numbers 17, 18 and 20 is given the title “siddha”:

grub thob ken to pa la na mo  
Glory to the siddha Kentopa

The invocation of the litany says that he examined rice and was a member of the warrior caste:

/ rgyal rigs dman pa'i spyod pa mjad /  
/ 'bras so 'bru žiṅ dūṅs grub brṅs /  
/ śan ti pa žes bya ba yi /  
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /  
I bow down to the lama  
Called Śantipa  
Who won perfection examining rice  
Of warrior caste, doing poor work

The siddha is painted with two gazelles near him. This suggests identification with Śāntideva or Žibalha who resuscitated such animals when accused of having eaten them. Śāntideva was a monk and is said to have been nicknamed Bhusuku. In our scrolls we find a Bhusuku (n. 9) as well as this Śantipa. In Tāranātha’s Chos’byun he is called a great rice-eater. As already mentioned there are supposed to have been several Śāntideva, all of uncertain date and provenance. Legends of them may naturally have become profused. Probably our Bhusuku and this Śantipa are two Śāntideva. The “dman pa’i spyod pa mjad” does not speak for his identity with either Ratnakara Śānti or Śāntirakṣita.¹

¹ As Francke l.c. gives no description or number of the Śantipa in the set of siddhas found by him we can hardly decide with which of our Śantipa he corresponds. Francke identifies his saint with Śāntirakṣita. — The Śāntideva in the Pantheon of the 300 is addressed:

/ byaṅ čhub sems 'byoṅs ži ba lha /  
/ gsol ba ’debs so byin gyis brlobs /  
Žibalha perfect in charity  
I invoke and devoutly pray

A mahāpanḍita Śānti appears in Die Legenden des Nā-ro-pa. Übers. A. Grünwedel. 1933, 153.

² Oslo Tangyur: — ’dru ba —.
MAR ME MJAD = MAR ME MJAD

Again the inscription contains nothing beyond the name:

mar me mjad la na mo  

Glory to Marmemjad

The litany says he was an unequalled master of the five sciences:

/ rig pa'i gnas lha mkhyen pas brgyan /  
/ bdag gzan gnis su med par mjad /  
/ mar me mjad ces bya ba yi /  
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /  
I bow down to the lama
Called Marmemjad
Unequalled
Adorned with wisdom of five sciences

It seems tempting to identify this Marmemjad-Dipamilkara with the great Dipamilkaraśriñāna-Marmemjadpalveśes who went as a missionary to Tibet, and who is usually painted with an object, which is thought by some to be a lamp, by others a stūpa. On a scroll kept in Oslo (number 29217), however, he lacks this object. In the Pantheon of the 300 the following prayer is attached to him:

/ dpal ldan jo bo a ti šar /  
/ gsal ba 'debs so byin gwis brlabs /  
The noble lord Atiśa
I invoke, and devoutly pray

Here he is invoked with his most common name: Atiśa.

De regards him as a pupil of Jetāri and the supposed author of no less than 168 works in the Tangyur. Šastri supposes two different Dipamilkara, De even more than two. Moreover, in the Tangyur we meet a translator Dipamilkara from India. In Tāranātha's works we read of a Marmemjadbzaⁿpo who was Saṅrgyasyeśes' successor in Vikramaśila. The same man is said to have gone to Dramila after Padmākara.

It is not certain, whether our Marmemjad is the great Atiśa or not. He is more surely identical with the siddha number 31 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.

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1 Subscription: jo bo rje dpal ldan a ti ša la na mo.
2 He is said to have been a high priest both in Vikramaśila and in Otantapurī. — De 9.
3 Tāranātha, Chosbyün, 257, 264. — Cordier II 148, 250, 257, etc. Sendai n. 1865.
4 Excursus II.
23

TILLI PA = TE LO PA

Only the name is given in this inscription:

\[
\text{ti lli pa la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to Tillipa}^1
\]

Another of the many varieties of this name we find in the litany which in addition tells us that he stamped sesame and met (the) buddha in Bhaṅgala:

\[
/ \text{til brduñ mčhog gi dños grub brīes} / \\
/ \text{bhaṅ ga la ru sañs rgyas mjal} /^2 \\
/ \text{te lo pa žes bya ba yi} / \\
/ \text{bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo} / \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called Telopa} \\
\text{Who met the buddha(s ?) in Bhaṅgala,} \\
\text{Got precious perfection stamping sesame-seed}
\]

A very short story, number 22 of the “Geschichten”, tells of a Tilopa who is a learned priest, a scribe, and a mendicant. He meets Nāropa. Grünwedel thinks that this siddha has been confused with another, the siddha Teli in number 62 of the “Geschichten”. \(^3\) Tāranātha, however, tells both of the oil-pressing and the meeting with the buddhas.\(^4\)

Bhattacharyya dates Tilopa about 978.\(^5\) The siddha’s name is found among the authors of the Tangyur.\(^6\) He is looked upon as the first human teacher of the bKa’brgyud-pa-school.\(^7\) He is painted in the lhakhaṅ of the Alchi monastery.\(^8\) Tucci has found him modelled together with other saints of the bKa’brgyud-pa-school.\(^9\) Unlike our picture he is described as “black and in the company of a woman” in the Description of the 84 siddhas.\(^10\) In Nepal a cave situated above Pashupatinath is called “ti lo brag phug”, Tilo-cave, and clearly attributed to our saint.

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\(^1\) Also called: Tellopa, Tailopa.
\(^2\) In the Marburg-Tangyur: bhaṅ ga la ru sans rgyas ’jal.
\(^3\) “Teli” = oil-merchant, now often “Jew”.
\(^4\) \text{Tāranātha}, Edelsteinmine 72—73 (“die Buddhas aller zehn Weltgegenden”).
\(^5\) \text{Sādhanamālā II Introd. XLIII.}
\(^6\) \text{Cordier} II 239 (vol. 48, 59), 43 (vol. 13, 24).
\(^7\) Cf. \text{T. Schmid} l.c. 15.
\(^8\) \text{Francke} l.c. 91.
\(^9\) \text{Tucci}, Gyantse 74 f.
\(^10\) Excursus II.
DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 26. bZaṅpopa, with two musicians, sitting on a tiger-skin (?) flesh-coloured body, no ornaments, hair bound up and hanging down dress: dark red upper garment with gold, pink-lined, below green with gold musician with lute: white-faced, blue garment with gold musician with flute: flesh-coloured, yellow garment with gold, green-hemmed and pink-lined

Up to the left: 29. Nāgabodhi, with two elephants, mauve body, bearded sitting on a rock, left leg hanging down white turban, dark red upper garment, with gold and lined with reddish-pink, yellow trousers with gold, green sash left hand holds skull-cup elephants: one white with golden ornaments, one dark greyish-brown

Beneath: 27. Śavariṣa with helper and dog, carries bow, arrow and quiver, walking bearded, flesh-coloured body, hair cropped, no ornaments dark red dress with green sash helper: walking, white body, dress: antelope-skin, carrying water-vessel dog: dark reddish-grey back, red belly

Pendant to the right: 24. Nagposkhoṇi, single, flesh-coloured body, bearded sitting on mat, legs crossed, left leg before right dark red dress with gold, lined with pink-red, blue sash hair hanging and bound, hands touching before knees yellow meditation-band

Beneath central figure: 30. Marmelha, single, bearded, flesh-coloured body tantric ornaments, dark red meditation-band with gold sitting on a rock amidst waves, hair flowing down, yellow dress with gold, left hand touching left knee, right holding serpent serpents: one blue, one green, both with red-pink bellies

To the left: 28. Dārikapa, with śakti, white body, bearded, with skull-cup and water-vessel beside him seated on a cushioned seat, looking into a mirror blue upper garment with gold, dark red nether garment with gold, yellow crown-cap with much gold śakti holds umbrella, flesh-coloured body, golden diadem on scarlet cap dark red dress, green shawl
To the right: 25. Phagchaña with two pigs, mauve body, white-haired, sitting on a rock, right hand on ground, third finger of left hand touching thumb no ornaments, pink trousers with gold, dark red dress with gold, shoes with sewn soles
pigs: black
Groups of animals:
sheep with grey backs and whitish bellies, 2 birds on tree: yellow body, red-capped, wings and tail blue-striped
Tree:
brown trunk and boughs, "leaves" greenish-blue
NAG PO SKYÖN = NAG PO SPYOD PA

This man is called “siddha” in the inscription:

\[ \text{grub thob nag po skyöñ} \quad \text{Siddha Nagposkyöñ} \]

The litany certainly has the better spelling of the name. It also tells us that the development of our siddha was completed in the bardo, the intermediary stage after death:

\[ \begin{align*}
/ & \text{bla ma'i bka' bca'g spyod pa mjad} / \\
/ & \text{srid pa bar dor rjogs sa'ns rgyas} / \\
/ & \text{nag po spyod pa žes bya ba'i} / \\
/ & \text{bla ma de la phyag' chal lo} / \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called Nagpospyodpa} \\
\text{A buddha completed in the bardo} \\
\text{Acting, violating the lama’s word} \\
\end{align*} \]

An uncommonly lengthy legend of this Kṛṣṇacārī or Kāpha we find as number 17 in the “Geschichten”. He became a monk under the guidance of Jālandhāri, but pride impeded his development. When sent to a weaver for guidance his pride again proved a stumbling-block. Harmed by a woman skilled in magic he asked help of a sky-walker who, however, was powerless to help him. He died of stomach trouble and, as the legend puts it, “went to heaven”. He is mentioned in the Baudha Gān o Doḥā.¹

His songs have been published by Shahidullah.² Bhattacharyya dates him about 717.³ Tāranātha says that he introduced the Samputatilaka.⁴ The “senior or great Nagpospyodpa” is mentioned by Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye sses.⁵

¹ Baudha Gān o Doḥā (n. 5). — Cordier III 240—1 (vol. 85, 30, 32, 4).
² l.c.
³ Sādhanamāla II Introd. XLIII.
⁴ Tāranātha Chos'byin 275 f. Cf. Sumpa 110.
PHAG CHAÑ PA = PHAG CHAÑ PA

The litany says he was a brahmin and became a lay-follower:

/ bram ze sañs rgyas dños dañ mjal /  
/ dge bsñen lus la dños grub brñes /  
/ phag chañ pa žes bya ba yi /  
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo /  
I bow to the lama
Called Phagchañpa
Who got perfection as a lay-follower
Who, a brahmin, met Buddha in person

This siddha has another name: Yanlagmedpa’irdorje or Anañgavajra, which seems to be the more common one. He was a pupil of the great Padmavajra. According to Tāranātha he meditated twelve years and then became a swine-herd. In this occupation he reached perfection.¹ He wrote on the Hevajratantra, and the Cakrasamvaratantra was handed on to him by Padmavajra.² In the Description of the 84 his attitude is very different from that shown in our scroll.³

¹ Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 44. Chos’byun 323.
² Sādhanamālā II Introd. XLIX. — His story is not in Grünwedel’s “Geschichten”. Cordier II 90 (vol. 22, 14, 15), II 105 (v. 23, 42).
³ Excursus II (63).
BZAñ PO PA = BZAñ PO PA

The title “siddha” is given him in the inscription:

```plaintext
grub thob bzañ po pa

Siddha bZañpopa
```

In the litany he searched twenty-four places and joined Bhalin:

```
/ ñi su rea bæìi gnas mĕchog bcal /
/ tal ba ñags nas¹ bha liñ sgrogs /
/ bzañ po pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo /

I bow down to the lama.
Called bZañpopa
Who, having gone quickly, joined Bhalin²
Who searched twenty-four places.
```

Tārānātha knows of a bZañpopa’ižabs who was a pupil of Kṛṣṇacāri and a codisciple of Chembupa. Both Kṛṣṇacāri and Chembupa are present in our scrolls. Sumpamkhanpo mentions this pupil of Kṛṣṇacāri as well as other men of that name.³ An ācārya Balin, say the Blue Annals, taught the method of Buddhajñāna.⁴ In the Tangyur an ācārya Balin is mentioned as the author of “mgon po drag gshed kyi dhañ bs dus pa’i lag len” and “chos skyon thams çad pa’i gtor ma’i cho ga”.⁵ Cordier identifies Karmavajra’s pupil Thaklopa with bZañpo’ižabs and Zlabazhañpo.⁶

¹ The Marburg-Tangyur has: ta la bsags, the Oslo Tangyur: ta la gšegs nas (ta la=palmym tree, plantain).
² “sgrogs” also = to read, to sound; sk bali = offering, balin = powerful.
³ Tārānātha, Edelsteinmine 70, Sumpa 82.
⁴ Blue Annals 372. — Cf. the king Citralakṣaṇa 179.
⁶ Cordier III 213 (vol. 83, 28).
The inscription gives him the title of siddha:

\[
\text{grub thob ša va ri pa} \quad \text{Siddha Šavaripa}
\]

The litany tells us that he dwelled on the Noble Mountain as a dancer and achieved perfection together with the one nearest to him:

/ gar mkhan dpal gyi ri la bzung / 
/ yum srin gnis kyi s dnos grub brnyes / 
/ śa va ri pa žes bya ba'i / 
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo / 
I bow down to the lama 
Called Šavaripa
Who got perfection with mother-sister 
A dancer, dwelling on the Noble Mountain

This man is certainly the hero of story number 5 of the “Geschichten”. A hunter, he and his wife lived on animal flesh. He was converted by Āryāvalokiteśvara himself who preached to him and to his wife. He still lives in this Jambudvīpa, says this legend.

Bhattacharyya dates this man about 657. He is mentioned by Sumpamkhanpo and Tāranātha who says he was a pupil of Nāgārjuna. He is called the “younger Saraha” — who was also a dancer. As (the younger) Saraha he occupies number 67 in the Description of the 84 siddhas. With him the cult of Vajrayogini is supposed to have originated. On the dPalgyiri the great Nāgārjuna is said to have died.

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\(^3\) Sādhanamālā II Introd. XLIII.
\(^2\) Sumpa 1, 124. — Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 19—26, 160. Chos'byuṅ 80, 105. — Sumpamkhanpo says he belonged to a tribe of Bengal. He composed a sādhana for the worship of Kurukullā, also one for the worship of Raktavajrayogini; Sādhanamālā II Introd. XLVI, CXV. — In the Tangyur works connected with Mahākāla are among others attributed to a Šabaripa (čhenpo), f.i. Cordier III 206—207 (vol. 83, 1, 2, 6).

\(^1\) Cf. p. 102, n. 3.
\(^4\) Excursus II.
\(^5\) Oslo Tangyur: lčam srin (sister and brother; lčam = wife, sister).
DHA RI KA PA = DÄ RI KA PA

This siddha dressed in royal attire is called "rgyal po" (king) in the inscription:

\[ \text{rgyal po dha ri ka pa} \quad \text{King Dharikapa} \]

The invocation of the litany says that he belonged to the warrior-caste, also that he won the harlot and perfection:

\[
/ \text{rgyal rigs than la spyod pa mjad} / \\
/ \text{smad choñ ma dañ dnos grub brñes} / \\
/ \text{dä ri ka pa žes bya ba'i} / \\
/ \text{bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo} / \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called Dārikapa} \\
\text{Who won the harlot and perfection} \\
\text{Acting in exile,}^1 \text{ of warrior-caste}
\]

He was a king, says story number 77 of the "Geschichten", became the siddha Luipa's disciple, and afterwards the servant of a harlot. Finally he obtained liberation. In a scroll preserved in the Musée Guimet in Paris he is shown flying.\(^2\) Dārikapa = tib. smad 'choñ čan, smad 'choñ ma'i gyog.\(^3\)

Dārikapa composed songs and in one of them mentioned Luipa.\(^4\) Bhattacharyya, however, regards him as a direct disciple not of that siddha, but of Lilāvajra. According to Sāstrī our king and siddha is a native of Bengal.\(^5\) He occurs in the Description of the 84 siddhas as number 62,\(^6\) and probably in a picture-manuscript in Cambridge.\(^7\)

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1. "than" means, according to Jäschke: plain, desert; "than" is the name of a vihāra, Cordier II 50 (vol. 13, 60).
2. Hackin 179.
3. Cf. Cordier II 17 (vol. 4, 3).
6. Excursus II.
NÄGABHODHI = NÄ GA BHODHI

The inscription gives the bare name:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nāgabhodhi</th>
<th>Nāgabhodhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In the invocation he is hailed as the cattle-herd who dwelt on the Noble Mountain:

/ ba glaṅ skyoṅ žiṅ dņos grub brñes /
/lus mčhog dpal gyi ri la bzung s/
/nāgabhodhi žes bya ba'i /
/bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Nāgabhodhi
A precious one who dwelled on the Noble Mountain
Who got perfection herding cattle

This siddha would seem to be identical with “Gorakṣa Nāgabodhi” who appears among the siddhas reproduced by Grünwedel with the subscription:

ba glaṅ skyoṅ ba na ga bho de žabs

There he is shown with two cows. Accordingly his story would be number 9 of the “Geschichten”. He was a cowherd in the time of king Devapāla. He helped the mutilated prince Caurāṇa — another siddha — and was initiated by the yogi Acīa.²

Our siddha is depicted with two elephants, not two cows. This was apparently caused by mistaking the Tibetan word “ba glaṅ; “ba glaṅ” means “ox”, while “ba glaṅ” = bal glaṅ (wool-ox) = “glan ćhen” (big ox) is the common word for “elephant”.

Gorakṣa is still said to be worshipped as a great saint by Buddhists as well as Śaivas.³ The dPalgyiri was hallowed by the death of the great Nāgārjuna.⁴

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¹ Grünwedel, Geschichten 140.
² We find a gorakṣa with cows in a picture in Cambridge; cf. Allgemeine Geschichte hrsg. v. W. Oncken: S. Lefmann, Geschichte des alten Indiens. 1890, 82—83. Also Grünwedel, Geschichten, Fig. 1.
³ G. Tucci, The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sādhu in the Sixteenth Century. The Indian Historical Quarterly 7. 1931, 683 ff. — Our Gorakṣa Nāgabodhi is different from the Nāgabodhi in number 76 of the “Geschichten”; this latter appears in the painting reproduced by Hackin, 44.
⁴ Cf. p. 102, n. 3.
MAR ME LHA = MAR ME LHA

Only the name is recorded in the inscription:

\[ \text{mar me lha} \quad \text{Marmelha} \]

The invocation says that he wore the six ornaments in the burial ground:

/ sna chogs lus la dnos grub brñes /
/ dur khrod gnas su rgyan drug gsol /
/ mar me lha žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Marmelha
Who wore the six ornaments in the burial ground
Who won perfection in various bodies

In the “Geschichten” we do not find a Marmelha nor have I been able to find this name elsewhere as the name of a siddha. The litany is vague. The “sna chogs lus” might remind one of the “sna chogs gzugs čan” or Lilāvajra. Possibly our siddha is the same as Marmebzañpo who is called mahāsiddha.¹ We can hardly identify him with king Agni (tib.: me lha) — datta who according to Tāranātha (Čhos’byuň 43, 54) reigned in “byaṅ phyogs mtha’ ’khob kyi yul nags kyi sa”.

¹ Nothing else in this man’s story is hinted at in the litany, cf. Tāranātha, Čhos’byuň 215, also Cordier II 265. — A Durkhroddeva is mentioned Cordier III 152—153 (vol. 76, 54, 70). — A Marmenjadbzañpo is found Cordier II 341—342 (vol. 69, 31, 16, 17, 18, 9 ff., 12 ff.). Sumpa-mkhanpo mentions Marmenjadbzañpo (121) and Marmenjañyeses (122); the former he calls mahāsiddha (grub pa thob ste etc.). The Sanskrit-equivalent would probably be dīpadeva. Instead of by dipa “lamp” might possibly be rendered by āloka. — An Alarikadeva is mentioned as a translator in the Tangyur. — mes mū ’chig is said of Lilapa, mahāsiddha number 4 in Thob yig gsal ba’i me lon by Bjo bzañ ’phrin las, vol. II, f. 186 r—v. I am indebted to Mr. Wayman for the information.
DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 34. Šantipa, single, flesh-coloured body, water-vessel beside him holding prayer-beads in his hands, sitting on blueish skin, foot partly seen dress: yellow green-lined cap, patched monk’s gown, yellow upper garment with gold, dark red lower garment with gold, pink-lined

Above: 31. IĐingipa, tantric ornaments, with two attendants, bearded, hair bound up flesh-coloured body, holding a yellow green-lined shawl dark red dress with gold and green sash, pink-lined companions: to the left flesh-coloured body, to the right whitish body, dark red dress with gold

To the left: 37. Kamala, single, sitting on a cushion, mauve body upper garment dark blue with gold, pink-lined, yellow-hemmed, with yellow sash dark red meditation-band with gold, left hand: disputation mudrā? legs crossed, both feet seen

To the right: 32. Jeteri, with šakti, flesh-coloured body, sitting on a skin dark red dress with gold, blue-lined, gold-hemmed, holding fruits šakti: slightly mauve body

Beneath central figure: 36. Jalandharapa, single, white body, no ornaments, sitting on leaves, hair flowing down, left hand above right, thumbs almost touching second finger light green vest, yellow garment, green-hemmed and pink-lined

To the left: 35. Thagapa, sitting on cushion, mauve body, with companion, both working at loom dark red garment with trousers, with gold companion: body, golden teapot in front dark red garment with gold, blue-lined

To the right: 33. Sarkapa, single, flesh-coloured body, bearded, tantric ornaments dark red meditation band with gold, hair bound up and hanging down holding a skull-cup in both hands sitting on a skin, spotted, brownish, with white belly left leg lying, right knee raised

Groups of animals:
   a couple of geese: brown-spotted back and neck, grey-striped below, wings dark-striped
Plants:
  tree with green trunk and leaves
  flowers to the left: yellow
  flowers to the right: yellow, white, and pink
LDIƚ GI PA = LDIƚ GI PA

The inscription confers upon him the title "siddha":

grub thob ldiƚ gi pa la na mo

Glory to the siddha lDiƚgipa

According to the litany he beat rice, got perfection and departed skywards:

/ 'bras bu spyod čiň džos grub brñes /
/ mña' 'chod lña brgya mkha' la gšegs /
/ lDiƚ gi pa žes bya ba yi6 /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called lDiƚgipa
Who went skywards (served by?)3 five hundred
Who won perfection beating rice (?)

Our siddha seems to be identical with the brahmin Dîṅka in Grünwedel's story number 31. This man was king Dârikapa's minister and was converted by Luiña at the same time as the king himself. He was sold to a woman who kept a tavern, and became the manager of her business. He was purified of all pride in birth, and finally departed skywards.

The name Dîṅka seemingly was interpreted "kliṅgipa", and this meaning has apparently influenced the painter. "ldiƚ" = to float,2 and in the scroll he is shown floating in the air.3 This our painter's tradition4 differs from the story's and the litany's "rice-beater". In a different shape he is perhaps described in the Description of the 84 siddhas.5

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1 The dictionnaries do not mention "mña' 'chod"; mña' = power, 'chod =to cook. According to the story he is once seen surrounded by five hundred daughters of gods. mña' = mñag?
2 f.i. mkha' lDiƚ = Gårudā. — Cf. sk. dîñ = to fly.
3 This and other forms of the name are noted by Cordier, Cordier III 116 (vol. 73,62). He is mentioned as the revisor of a text composed by Luiña.
5 Cf. Excursus II (number 4).
6 Oslo Tangyur: di ki pa.
JE TE RI = JE TA RI

He is called “siddha” in the inscription:

grub thob je te ri la na mo

Glory to the siddha Jeteri

The litany shows him as victorious in defence, and as winning perfection in “Bhagala”:

/ gžan gyi spyod pa las rgyal žiṅ /
/ bha ga la ru dños grub brñes⁴ /
/ je ta ri žes bya ba yi⁴ /
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Jetari
Who obtained perfection in Bhagala
Victorious against another one’s action

This siddha is very probably identical with the siddha Jetari reproduced by Grünwedel, shown with sword and buckler, and the subscription:

gñan gyi rco pa la rgyal je ta ri
Jetari, victorious against another one’s⁴ action

He might not, as Grünwedel supposes, be identical with the hero of story number 15 but rather with “the younger Jetari” mentioned by Tāranātha. This man composed works in the Tangyur and was the son of Garbhapāda and a queen.² He appears in a “lineage” immediately before the three Vajrāsana-rDorjegdanpa.³

¹ gñan = gžan.
² Grünwedel, Geschichten, Fig. 2. Cf. De 9.
⁴ bhaṅ ga la ru — jai ta ri — in the Oslo Tangyur.
The inscription contains the title “siddha”:

\[ \text{grub thob sar ka pa la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to the siddha Sarkapa} \]

while the litany gives some details as to how he attained spiritual perfection:

\[
/ \text{s(m)on lam dbaṅ gis thugs dam gzigs} / \\
/ \text{yid ches mchog gi dīnos grub brñes} / \\
/ \text{sar ka pa žes bya pa yi} / \\
/ \text{bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo} / \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called Sarkapa} \\
\text{Who by belief won precious perfection,} \\
\text{Beheld the thugsdam by prayer-power} \\
\]

In our scroll he sits on a big leaf. Tucci gives his name as: sa ra ka pa (sic!). He is probably the “lotus-born-One” in number 74 of the “Geschichten”, or possibly the mChoskyes in Tāranātha’s Edelsteinmine.\(^1\) If identical with the former his thugsdam would be Āryāvalokiteśvara.\(^2\) This siddha is called “sa ga ra pa” in one of the scrolls reproduced by Grünewedel.\(^3\)

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1. Cf. number 6 in our series Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 45 ff.
2. This son was born in the garden of king Indrabhūti and meditated for twelve years. Saṅkṛtyāyana, i.e. has Sāgarapa.
3. Grünewedel, Geschichten, Fig. 10. — The Tangyur gives the name of an author rGyamochosrin — Sāgaramegha; Cordier III 382 (vol. 55, 1).
4. Oslo Tangyur: sa ra ka pa žes bya ba’i.
The inscription contains his title "siddha":

grub thob šan ti pa la na mo  
Glory to the siddha Šantipa

The invocation says that he was of the warrior-caste, and skilled in charms:

/ rgyal rigs spyod pa mthar phyin nas /  
/ 'dul 'jin gsah snags diños grub brñes /  
/ šan ti pa žes bya pa yi /  
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /  
I bow down to the lama  
Called Šantipa  
Who grasped Vinaya, won charms, perfection,  
Came to action's end, of warrior-caste

This siddha is depicted as a dignified monk with a chaplet, not unlike the 85th and last siddha of our scrolls. He is certainly identical with the Šantipa reproduced by Grünwedel who is also dressed in a monk's robe, and whose picture has the subscription:

rgyal rigs 'dul 'jin sīags mkhan šan ti pa  
Šantipa of warrior-caste, following Vinaya, mastering spells.

The Tangyur mentions a Šantipa as the author of "bde sdbug gñis bral gyi la ba žes bya ba".

There seem to be two possibilities of further identification. Story number 12 of the "Geschichten" tells of a siddha Šantipa whom Grünwedel identifies with Šantipa-Ratnākaraśānti, also called "the second Vajrāsana". According to the story he was a renowned ācārya. He did not belong to the warrior caste — he was by caste a brahmin. And he is not shown as excelling in spells and wonder-working. On the contrary. He preaches and teaches exclusively, in fact so much so that his pupil Koñal has to show him the way to real perfection. Tāranātha too says Ratnākaraśānti belongs to the brahmin-caste. At the same time he says that some think he was of warrior-caste. Being a devotee of Vajratāra he wrote a sādhana on her mantra: Oṁ Tāra tuttares tvāhā. Buddhagupta holds him in great esteem, and Bhattacharyya dates him about 978—1030.²

The second possibility is Šāntirakośī. Francke found in the Alchi monastery’s lhakhaṇ the picture of a Šantipa. He identifies him with Šāntirakośī. This saint belonged to the royal family of Zahor. He composed the Tattvasamgraha commented on by Kamalakīla. He died 762. He was the first abbot of Tibet’s oldest monastery. This identification is perhaps more likely.³

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¹ Grünwedel, Geschichten, p. 140.
² This would not tally with the chronology of the three Vajrāsana given above.

* Oslo Tangyur: śānti pa.
THA GA PA = THA GA PA

The title “siddha” is conferred upon him in the inscription:

grub thob tha ga pa la na no  
Glory to the siddha Thagapa

According to the invocation he was of low-caste, a weaver, who won perfection:

/ gdol pa’i lus la thags mkhan las /
/ phyag rgya ma dañ dnos grub bräes /
/ thá ga pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag ‘chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Thagapa
Who won mudrā and perfection,
A weaver, an outcast

There is no difficulty about his identity. He is the hero of number thirteen of the “Geschichten”. This is a touching story about an old and very pious father and many ungrateful sons. His wife died. He was put into a small grass-hut in the garden not to disturb the family. Finally the old weaver gets initiated into the Hevajramanḍala by the guru Jalandhari who had come as a guest.

We find “the weaver” as an author in the Tangyur.¹ We probably find the man as number sixty-six (hardly as fifteen which seems to be a misspelling) in the Description of the Eighty-four Siddhas.² According to the Cakrasamvaratantra he was a pupil of Kacchapā.

¹ Cordier II, 238. — The picture in our scroll has been published earlier in: G. Montell, Studier i asiatisk tekstilteknik, Ymer 1934, 54.
² Excursus II.
³ “las” probably: lus. Oslo Tangyur: gdol pa’i rigs la thags mkhan lus.
In the inscription the title “siddha” is bestowed on him:

grub thob ja landha ra pa la na mo  
Glory of the siddha Jalandharapa

The invocation says that he was blessed by Vajravārāhi, and a scholar:

/ rdo rje phag mos byin gyis brlabs / 
/ rgyud sde btsi yi dgoṅs pa mkhas / 
/ ja landha ra žes bya ba'i / 
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo / 
I bow down to the lama 
Called Jalandhara 
A scholar pondering the four classes of tantras 
Blessed by Vajravārāhi

He is surely the man in a picture reproduced by Grünwedel with the subscription:

phag mos byin brlabs ja lan dha ra žabs

In our scroll this deity is absent, though the upturned face of the siddha suggests that he is gazing at some object. In story number 46 of the “Geschichten” we probably hear more of this man. He was a brahmin who was initiated into the Hevajramāṇḍala by a sky-walker. He finally obtained the Mahāmudrāsiddhi.

We know of an author with the same name in the Tangyur.2

Probably there were more than one man called Jalandhari. Tāranātha speaks of a low-caste Jālandhari.3 Our siddha is probably number 18 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.4

Sumpa mKhanpo gives p. 125 the following details: kan ka ra'i rgyal rigs kam bha la pa'am lva ba pa dañ / lva ba pa'i bu slob ja lan dha ra pa.

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1 Grünwedel, Geschichten, Fig. 2.
2 Cordier II 241, etc. Cf. especially Sendai 1237.
3 Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 59. — The Vajravārāhi-sādhana is edited by L. Finot, Manuscrits sanscrits de sādhana's retrouvés en Chine. Journal Asiatique 1934, 1 ff.
4 Excursus II.
5 Oslo Tangyur: já landha ra.
The inscription calls him “siddha”:

grub thob ka ma la la na mo

Glory to the siddha Kamala

The litany specially points out his proficiency in grammar:

/ sgra chad luṅ rig bstan bcos mkhas /
/ rig s'jin che yi dchos grub brjnes /
/ ka ma la žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Kamala
Who got a life-time’s perfection grasping logic
Well versed in the letter and spirit of grammar and logic

This learned man we certainly find in a picture reproduced by Grünwedel, with the subscription:

sgra chad luṅ rig la mkhas ka ma la²

Kamala, well versed in the letter and spirit of grammar an logic

Grünwedel identifies this man with the “book-fool” Catrapa, the hero of number 23 of the “Geschichten”. The facts in the litany do not harmonize well with this story. One cannot help thinking of the Indian monk Kamalaśila — a pupil of Śāntirakṣita and mentioned in the Tangyur — who worked in Tibet together with Padmasambhava. The Lhasa Cathedral contains effigies of him. I think our siddha is identical with him. The same man is probably painted in the lhakhaṇ of the Alchi monastery, and was seen by Tucci.

³ The Tangyur preserved in Marburg has “rig ‘jin”.
² Grünwedel, Geschichten, Fig. 2.
⁴ Francke 9.
⁵ Tucci, Gyantse 81.
THAŃKA VII
H. 3343

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 41. Kama, flesh-coloured body, bearded, with companion white tantric ornaments, golden ear-rings and necklace
dark red meditation-band with gold, water-vessel beside him
sitting on skin, left leg lying, left foot held by right hand
right knee raised, right foot standing before left leg
orange dress with gold, green-edged
Companion: sitting on skin on cushion, “listening attitude”
flesh-coloured body, no ornaments, hair flowing down,
left hand: “mano cornuta”
dark red dress with gold, blue-edged, orange band with gold

Above: 40. Konkana, mauve body, no dress, flying, with companion bearded, hair held by skull-crown, tantric ornaments, left hand holds casket together with companion and Ghinapa
Companion: flesh-coloured body, left hand holding casket, right skull-cup
hair flowing down, naked, tantric ornaments

To the right: 43. Ghinapa, single, flying, flesh-coloured body, hair cropped
dark red dress with gold, orange meditation band with gold
balancing skull-cup on left knee

To the left lower down: 38. gSergünipa, sitting on mat, single, bowl beside him flesh-coloured body, bearded, holding the leaves of a book
light green inner garment with pink collar and gold, orange patched gown, yellow cloak and cap with gold, the cloak edged with dark red and gold, blue-lined

Beneath central figure: 42. Tampaka, with three companions, slightly mauve body, bearded, green-yellowish dress with gold, no ornaments, holding thongs in both hands, hair hanging down
skull-cup and golden jug beside him
Companion behind: light flesh-coloured body, dark blue dress with gold
Companion in front: slightly mauve body, white turban, antelope-skin
Companion behind: light flesh-coloured body, white turban, dark red dress with gold, blue-edged and pink-lined

To the left: 39. Bhavapa, mauve body, bearded, white turban, with 2 helpers red dress with gold, bound with sash,
orange meditation-band with gold
Helper who carries: whitish body,
orange dress with gold, edge and sash dark blue with gold

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Helper who squeezes: flesh-coloured body, dark red dress with gold, pink-lined
None of the three wears ornaments

Groups of animals:
couple of birds: blackish, the wings pink-edged
couple of monkeys with young: dark brown, playing with twig
sea-monsters in shades of red and brown

Plants:
Blueish-brown trees with green foliage
This man is called “lama” in the inscription — a title that in our series is conferred only upon him and one other, number 85:

\[
\text{bla ma gser liṅ pa la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to the lama gSergliṅpa}
\]

The litany lays stress on his meditating upon The Baskets:

\[
/ \text{thabs daṅ šes rab pha rol phyin} / \\
/ \text{sde snod dgoṅs pa thugs la šar} / \\
/ \text{gser gliṅ pa žes bya ba yi} / \\
/ \text{bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo} / \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called gSergliṅpa} \\
\text{In whose mind rose the meditation on the Baskets} \\
\text{(of) the Upāya and Prajñāpāramitā}
\]

This is certainly the same man reproduced by Grünwedel with the subscription:

\[
\text{thabs šes sde snod dgoṅs šar gser gliṅ pa}^3 \\
\text{gSergliṅpa (to whom arose) meditation on the Upāya and Prajñāpāramitā}
\]

Grünwedel and Cordier identify this man with Dharmakīrti. If so, this saint would appear twice in our series. But our siddha might be a different person, identical with the learned man gSergliṅpa whom we find in the small work “The road to Śambhala”. A gSergliṅpa is mentioned in the Tangyur. Kamalarakṣita and Atiśa are said to have been disciples of gSergliṅgi bla ma.\footnote{Cordier III 375 (vol. 33, 87).}

\footnote{\textit{Grünwedel}, Geschichten, Fig. 2. — My translation is somewhat different from Grünwedel's. I think it is justified by the text of the litany.}

\footnote{\textit{Bibliotheca Buddhica} VI: 40. — \textit{Cordier} III 277 (vol. 7, 3). Cf. \textit{Cordier} III 357 (vol. 33, 87), III 309 (vol. 27, 6 and 7), III 326 (vol. 31, 4), II 356 (vol. 69, 120), II 498 (vol. 128, 9).}

\footnote{Number 45.}

\footnote{\textit{Grünwedel}, Śambhala 5.}

\footnote{\textit{Bendall} in \textit{Bibliotheca Buddhica} I (1897—1902, X. — A lama gSergliṅpa is mentioned in connection with the “byaṅ čhub sems dpa’i spyod pa la ’jug pa’i bṣad pa” \textit{Cordier} III 498 (vol. 128, 9). Cordier identifies him with Dharmapāla. A lama gSergliṅpa is mentioned as the author of the “chogs kyi bdag po khrö bo’i sgrub thabs” l.c. 221 (vol. 83, 59). Cordier identifies him with Dharmakīrti. Cf. \textit{Cordier} III 216 (vol. 83, 37). — \textit{Cordier} III 309 (vol. 27 n. 7, 16). — The work “’phags pa ni gyo ba’i sgrub thabs” is in the Tangyur ascribed to gSergliṅpa; \textit{Sendai}, n. 3059.}
BHA VA PA = BHA VA PA

The inscription contains as a title: “oil-merchant”:

mar nag mkhen² bha va pa la na mo  

Glory to the oil-merchant Bhavapa

The litany also states his trade and his caste and goes on with his spiritual proficiencies:

/ gdol pa’i rigs la mar nag mkhan /  
/ phyag rgya ma dañ dnos grub brñes /  
/ bha va pa žes bya ba yi⁴ /  
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo /  
I bow down to the lama  
Called Bhavapa  
Who won mudrā and perfection  
An oil-merchant in a low caste

The story of an oil-merchant is found as number 62 of the “Geschichten”. He is called Deli and lived in Satapuri. He was converted by the pandit Bhabana. Our siddha is probably the same man.² The Bubapa number 20 in the Chalugs might be a misspelling of Bhavapa.³

ⁱ mkhen = mkhan.  
³ Excursus II.  
⁴ Oslo Tangyur: bir ya pa ~.
KOÑ KA NA = KOÑ KA NA

The inscription calls him a siddha:

grub thob koñ ka na la na mo  
Glory to the siddha Koñkana

According to the invocation of the litany he was a master of poetry and went to heaven together with his family:

/ bram ze'i rigs la sñan riag mkhan/  
/ bu smad bchas sñi mkha' la gsegs/  
/ koñ ka na žes bya ba yi/  
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo/  
I bow down to the lama  
Called Koñkana  
Who went sky-wards together with his family  
A master of poetry in the brahmin caste

I do not think that this siddha has anything to do with the king Koñkana in story number 29 of the "Geschichten". He might be identical with the Koñkana-pāda-Kokadatta enumerated in the Śādhanamālā.1 This author specialized in works on the Vajravarāhi-Vajrayogini. Or he might be identical with the author Koñkana in the Tangyur who composed the "spyod pa'i do ha mjad kyi glu žes bya ba".2 Bhattacharyya considers him a contemporary of Anāgavajra (present in our series).3 His devotee Hasavajra, as Tāranātha tells us, initiated  Nghidbañphyuggrags. In this case he is called Koñkana Jinabhadra.4 An author Koñkana-pāda or Koñkasbyin is mentioned in the Tangyur.5

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1 Śādhanamālā II XCIX f.
2 Cordier XLVIII, 7. Sendai 2347.
3 Bhattacharyya, date 357.
4 Tāranātha, Chosbyun (transl. 235).
5 Cordier II, 60—61 (vol. 14, 51—54).
6 "— sñan dñags" — in the Oslo Tangyur.
KA MA = KA MĀ LA

This man is called a siddha in the inscription:

grub ihob ka ma la na mo

Glory to the siddha Kama

The better form of the name is certainly preserved in the litany. The “la” has been mistaken for the Tibetan “dative”. The litany informs us that the siddha was of the warrior-caste and “played the fool”:

/ rgyal rig lugs pa'i spyod pa mjad /
/ gsaṅ spyod mchog gi dūos grub brñes /
/ ka mā la žes bya ba yi' /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Kamāla
Who got perfection in precious secrets
A kṣatriya playing the fool

I do not think that this man is identical with the Kamala in Grünwedel’s picture with the subscription:

sgra chad lун rig la mkhas ka ma la

but possibly with the “fool” Catrapa in the story number 23 of the “Geschichten”. He lived in Sandhonagara and managed — with the help of a yogi — to obtain the Mahāmudrāsiddhi.¹

¹ S. number 37 in our series. — There is a possibility of our Kamala being identical with the Kamala of the Alchi monastery; Francke, l.c. 91.

² Grünwedel, Geschichten 170—171.

³ Oslo Tangyur: pa ka pa la žes bya ba'i.
The inscription gives him the title "copper-smith":

*spraṅs mgar tam pa ka la na mo*  
Glory to the copper-smith Tampaka

We learn from the litany that he was a member of the brahmin-caste and wonderfully swift-footed:

/ bram ze'i rigs la zaṅs mgar lus /  
/ rju 'phrul rkañ mgyogs dnos grub brnês /  
/ tam pa ka žes bya ba yi /  
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /  
I bow down to the lama  
Called Tampaka  
Who got perfection, wondrously swift-footed  
A copper-smith in the brahmin caste

The subscription of a picture reproduced by Grünwedel tells with greater brevity the same facts:

bbram rigs zaṅs mgar rkañ mgyogs tam pa ka
Tampaka the swift-footed copper-smith of brahmin-caste

Story number 45 of the "Geschichten" probably tells of his achievements. Taught by a yogi he obtained the Mahāmudrāsiddhi after six years' exercises. In the Tangyur we find him as Kamari or Kompāripa.¹

¹ Grünwedel, Geschichten Fig. 2.  
² Cordier II, 241.
GHI NA PA = BHI NA SA

In the inscription he is called "siddha":

grub thob ghi na pa la na mo
Glory to the siddha Ghinapa

From the litany we learn of his musical talents, also that he saw the Thugsdam and departed skywards:

/ rgyal rigs pi vañ gliñ bu 'khrul /
/ thugs dam žal gzigs mkha' la gšegs /
/ bhi na sa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Bhinasa
Who saw the Thugsdam, went skywards,
Played1 the lute and flute, of warrior-caste

The name, though misspelt, is easily recognizable. This man is the siddha Viṇāpāda whose story is told in number 11 of the "Geschichten". He was a prince, we are told, who loved to play the lute. In our picture he carries a flute in his right hand. According to the Tangyur he composed the "rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma'i rjogs pa'i rim pa". The Vajraḍākinī might be the Thugsdam. Our siddha is said to be of Virūpa-Birvapa’s lineage.2 He is called Vinapa, Pivañpa, Pivañbrduñ, ~ žabs.3

1 'khrul = 'khrol; Oslo Tangyur: 'khrol.
2 Cordier II, 237—238 (vol. 48, 53).
3 Cf. Cordier II, 84 (vol. 21, 50).
DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 44. Putaloki, light mauve body, sitting on tortoise, with companion, bearded, hair bound with white orange meditation-band with gold
dark red trousers with gold, dark blue upper garment with gold
orange boots with gold, white soles
Figure beside: bearded, walking, carrying water-vessel
white turban, no boots, no band, same dress as the other
Tortoise: brownish mauve with gold, green head and feet

Above: 46. Kumāra, flesh-coloured body, carrying a shoe, with companion bearded, dark red dress with gold, green sash
Companion: white body, kneeling on ground? bearded, hair bound up right forefinger pointing
dark blue lower garment with gold, orange upper garment with gold, green edge and golden cape

To the left: 45. Dharmakirti, single, flesh-coloured body, bearded, lower garment dark red with gold, upper garment orange with gold right hand holding skull-cup, left hand raised with thumb touching third finger

To the right: 47. Chembupa, flying with śakti, bearded, flesh-coloured body, with both hands holding shawl: orange, pink-lined, with gold
Companion: mauve body, dark red dress with gold, mauve-lined left hand touches his head, right hand clasps his right arm
Neither wears ornaments

Beneath central figure: 49. Padmakara, mauve body, with companion bearded, sitting on mat, orange upper garment with gold, green-edged, pink-lined, dark red lower garment and cap with gold feet seen, left hand touching right arm, right hand: forefinger pointing, thumb touching third finger
Companion: white body, green shoes with white soles, dark blue dress with gold, yellow-lined red sash with gold

To the left: 48. Nilapa, legs crossed, on leopard-skin, with companion stirring fluid in vessel, flesh-coloured,
bearded, hair bound in two tufts
Companion: light flesh-coloured, naked, leaning against Nilapa's back right hand raised before breast, left hand on ground
Neither wears ornaments
To the right: 50. Sênnhipa, tantric ornaments, with companion sitting on lion
light mauve body, orange dress with gold,
hair bound over a short golden stick, dark red meditation band with gold
right hand holds green drum, left hand golden bell
Companion: naked, flesh-coloured body, right hand: "mano cornuta"
left hand holding skull-cup
Lion: whitish-grey
Groups of animals:
  upper part: two large birds: whitish green
  right corner at bottom: 2 lizards: blue-white, red crest
  left upper corner: large insect, grey and red
Plants:
  left upper corner: trees, brown and dark green, red berries,
  right corner at bottom: brown trunk, green leaves,
on rocks in the water: green
at bottom: blueish-green
PU TA LO KI = SU TA LO KI

The inscription calls him “siddha”:

grub thob pu ta lo ki la na mo  
Glory to the siddha Putaloki

From the litany we learn that he was a brahmin and attained to perfection:

/ bram ze'i rigs la dman pa'i lus  / 
/ smad 'choi ma dañ dnos grub brñes  / 
/ su ta lo ki žes bya ba'i  / 
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo  / 
I bow down to the lama
Called Sutaloki
Who won the harlot and perfection
An insignificant person in the caste of brahmins

It is difficult to believe that our brahmin is the Putali in number 78 of the “Geschichten”. This latter is said to have been a man of the śūdracaste in Bengal. Such differences in tradition, however, do occur.

This siddha in our scroll is sitting on a tortoise, an animal totally absent in the “Geschichten”. Among the great men of the Faith the third Panchenlama enumerates, between rDorje drilbu and Jalandharapa, one Russbalzabs “Tortoise-lord”, Kacchapapāda.¹ He is also mentioned by Tāranātha,² and Sumpa, and in the Blue Annals.³

A third possibility would be the author Tali-Putalipa-Sutali-Putralipa in the Tangyur, where an author “dpal ldan po ta la ka'i rje bcun” is also found.⁴

¹ Grünwedel, Šambhala, 48. Cf. n. 29 a. — A golden tortoise is met with in the account of the Padmasambhava’s dealings with Mañjuśrī.
² Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 59, 168.
³ Sumpa mKhanpo 143, 109. Blue Annals II 803 (Kūrmapāda).
⁴ The first author’s Tibetan name is “rgyan slañ ba”; Cordier II, 245, Sendai 2418. — Cordier III, 92. — A Bhatalipa appears l.c. II 231.
DHARMA KIRTI = DHA RMĀ KĪ RTI

He is called a mahāpāṇḍita in the inscription, a title very rarely bestowed:

\[ \textit{pan čhen dharma kirti la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to the mahāpāṇḍita Dharmakirti} \]

The litany lays stress on his capacities as a learned man and says he was of the heretics' caste:

\[
\begin{align*}
/ & \text{mu stegs rigs la sgra chad mkhan } / \\
/ & \text{phyir rgol char bčad mkha' la gšegs } / \\
/ & \text{dha rmā kī rti } ėś bya bā'i / \\
/ & \text{bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo } / \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called Dharmākirti} \\
\text{Who went skywards having defeated the opponent} \\
\text{A grammarian-logician, of heretics' caste} \\
\end{align*}
\]

This siddha seems to be identical with the great saint and pandit of the 7th century who fought the brahmīns and who is recorded as one of "Jambudvipa's six ornaments". In the Pantheon of the 300 he is called Čhosgrags. Grünwedel has reproduced a picture of him. He was usually considered a learned teacher rather than a "siddha". His teacher, however, was the siddha Tēnki. Tāranātha states that tantrism was secretly transmitted from the time of Asaṅga to that of Dharmakirti.² He is painted in the ihakhañi of the Ačhi monastery,³ and is number 19 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.⁴

---

¹ Possibly “rta”. Oslo Tangyur: dha rmā ki rti ~.
² Grünwedel, Mythologie 41. Grünwedel identifies him with gSergliṅpa, see n. 38 in. our series.
³ Tāranātha, Čhosbyun 201. — Saṭdhanamālā, Introd. XXVII. — Cordier II, 11.
⁴ Francke, l.c. 91.
⁵ Excursus II.
From the inscription we learn his title “siddha”:

\[grub\ thob\ ku\ mā\ ra\ la\ na\ mo\]

Glory to the siddha Kumāra

The litany says that he was a shoemaker — lham mkhan — and attained to perfection in the burial-place:

\[
\begin{align*}
/ & \ lha(m)\ mkhan\ rigs\ la\ skal\ bar\ Idan\ / \\
/ & \ dur\ khrod\ gnas\ su\ dīnos\ grub\ brīn\ / \\
/ & \ ku\ mā\ ra\ žes\ bya\ ba\ yi\ / \\
/ & \ bla\ ma\ de\ la\ phyag\ 'chal\ lo\ / \\
\end{align*}
\]

I bow down to the lama
Called Kumāra
Who won perfection in the burial-ground
A blessed one in the caste of shoemakers

Probably he is the Kolpagsmkhan-Carmakara in the Description of the 84 siddhas.\(^3\) The “Geschichten” contain one story of a shoemaker-siddha, number 14. His name is Cāmāra (sanskrit: carma-kāra). Our name “Kumāra” very probably has its origin in a misspelling of this name, possibly under the influence of another siddha’s name meaning “potter”.\(^2\) The shoemaker of the story asked instruction from a passing yogi for himself and his wife. After having been taught by him he meditated and gained liberation. — The man seen beside the shoemaker in our picture would be the yogi. The Kumāra of our scroll is probably identical with the Kumara painted in the lhakhaṇ of Alchi.\(^5\) Sumpa mkHanpo speaks of a mahāsiddha Camariṇa.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Excursus II (number 54).
\(^2\) Number 63 in Grünwedel’s series.
\(^4\) Sumpa mkHanpo 125.
CHEM BU PA = CHE’U PA

The inscription calls him “dge chul”, novice or-priest:

dge chul chem bu pa la na mo                     Glory to the dgechul Chembupa

The litany also gives him this title in religion as well as details of his success:

/ dge chul lus pa mje mo mkhur¹ /  
/ ga ṇgar bzung nas mkha’ la gšegs /  
/ che ’u pa žes bya ba yi /  
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo /  
I bow down to the lama  
Called Che’upa  
Who went skywards having dwelled at the Gaṅgā  
An upāsaka, carrying the beautiful one

The siddha’s name means “tailor”. In story 69 we read of a tailor who obtained the help of the skywalker Vetāli and finally the Mahāmudrāsiddhi. The “mjemo” he carries is probably Vetāli, whom, in the picture, he is seen carrying on his back.

¹ Oslo Tangyur: — lus kyis mje ~.
The title “siddha” is given in the inscription:

grub thob ni la pa la na mo

Glory to the siddha Nilapa

“nilā” means “indigo”, and “nilapa” the “indigo-man”, “indigo-maker”. The litany uses this word as a personal name while his trade is indicated by the use of the pure Tibetan word “rams mkhan”:

/ rams mkhan lus la dge bsñen lus /
/ chañs spyod o rgyan gnas na bzhugs* /
/ ni la pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Nilapa
Who dwelled in Orgyan, wholly purified
A lay-follower, an indigo-maker

No indigo-maker appears among the 84 stories translated by Grünwedel, nor have I met him in other sources — where he of course might be called by a name other than his trade-name.¹ A Nilāpāda is found as number 25 in the Bauddha gān o dohā,² and a Nilipa as 83 in the Chalugs.³

¹ “rams mkhan” is found in the Dictionnaire. This paint came from India. The word of “dyer” is: chos rgyag pa.
² Bauddha gān o dohā. — An author Nilakhandha is recorded Cordier II, 246.
³ Excursus I.
* Oslo Tangyur: — u rgyan —.
PADMA KA RA = PADMA KA RA

In the inscription we are given the bare name:

\[ \text{padma ka ra la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to Padmakara} \]

In the litany “the lotusplanter (?)” is said to have subdued a demon:

\[
\begin{align*}
/ & \text{dge slo\' lus kyi phyag rgya bsten} / \\
/ & \text{lho nub srin po\'i kha gnon mjad} / \\
/ & \text{padma ka ra \'zes bya ba\'i} / \\
/ & \text{bla ma de la phyag \'chal lo} / \\
I \text{bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called Padmakara} \\
\text{Who subdued the demon of the south-west,} \\
\text{Demonstrated the mudrā of a dgeslo\'i}
\end{align*}
\]

“Padmākara” is stated to be one of Padmasambhava’s many names but a separate Padmākara is also known. He is said to have worked on the island Dramila. A Padmākara has composed and translated works extant in the Tangyur. He seems to be identical with one Muktaka who composed sādhanas. Bhattacharyya places him about 1100.¹


² Oslo Tangyur: padma kā ra ~.
SENHIPA = SENNE PA

The inscription calls him "siddha":

grub thob senhipa la na mo

Glory to the siddha Senhipa

The litany shows him mounted on a lion and informs us that he belonged to the "skin-caste":

/ šan pa’i rigs la skal bar ldan /
/ sen ge žon nas spyod pa mjad /
/ senne pa žes bya ba yi' /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /

I bow down to the lama
Called Sennepa
Who acted, mounted on a lion,
A blessed one in the skin-caste¹

The spelling of his name seems to have been doubtful and the printers seem to have been troubled about it. In the edition of the Tangyur now preserved in Marburg the name looks like "siddhi pa". Should this be the more correct spelling of the name² our siddha might be identical with the siddha Siddhapāda mentioned in the Haṭhayogaprādipikā.³ The corrupt spelling could be easily explained by his being mounted on a lion. "d" and "a" in Tibetan writing and even in Tibetan print can easily be mistaken.⁴

¹ skin caste: ferryman or butcher.
² Cf. Cordier III, 262 (vol. 86, 66) with siddha in the Mongolian index instead of Sumatisiṇha.
³ Haṭhayogaprādipikā 8.
⁴ One of the authors in the Tangyur is called slobdpon Śṛṣimha-Śrīsiṇṇa, Cordier III, 182 (vol. 82, 22), III 233 (vol. 85, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5), as translator l.c. 6, 7, 8, 9. Again as author III 235 (vol. 85, 10, 11, 12), 237 (l.c. 17).
⁵ Oslo Tangyur: sidha pa ~.
DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 51. Minadapa, flesh-coloured body, bearded, with companion sitting on dark grey antelope skin, hair hanging, dark red dress with gold, apricot-lined left hand holding skull-cup, right hand: thumb touching fourth finger Companion: whitish body, hair bound up, hands with palms to the front dark blue dress with gold, green-edged, yellow-lined Above: 54. Siripa, flesh-coloured body, bearded, hair bound up, single, and flowing, dark red dress with gold, white tantric ornaments To the left: 55. Ananta, flesh-coloured body, bearded, single hair bound up, golden hair-ornaments orange dress with gold, green edge with gold holding head and pulling its red tongue, head: grey, dark-haired To the right: 52. sPringyišugsčan, mauve body, holding skull-cup, with companion golden crown on white turban white neck-cloth, green shawl, dark red garment with gold Companion: light-coloured, hanging hair with golden ornaments dark-blue dress with gold, edge red with gold, pink-lined Beneath central figure: 57. Zlababzaḥpo, mauve body, bearded, with companion golden crown on white turban, sitting on rock in the sea red dress with gold, green-edged and white-lined Companion: whitish-yellow body, hair bound up light blue dress with gold, dark blue edge with gold To the left: 56. Seṅgepa, flesh-coloured body, sitting on skin, with companion hair bound up, lower garment beige with gold, upper garment orange with gold, edge green with gold, yellow-lined golden ear-ring Companion: white body, hair bound up, lower garment: dark red with gold, yellow lined upper garment dark blue with gold sGrolma above: white body, green nimbus, mauve gloria with orange edge and golden rays, dark red and blue dress, with gold To the right: 53. Karupa, steering a boat, yellowish body, single hair bound with gold and red white leg-bindings, beige trousers, dark grey antelope-skin Groups of animals:

91
To the right a couple of brown marmots
Birds: left side: reddish with grey wings and red beak, dark cap
        right side, upper part: brown and blue
        right side, below: brown, blue back, striped tail
Monsters:
of various colours
Trees:
green foliage
He is called “siddha” in the inscription:

grub thob mi na da pa la na mo

Glory to the siddha Minadapa

He belonged to the caste of fishermen, says the litany, and obtained perfection on an island in the sea:

/ ŋa pa′i rigs la dge bsāen lus /
/ rgya mcho′i gliṅ du dchos grub brṅes /
/ mi na da pa žes bya ba′i /
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo /

I bow down to the lama
Called Minadapa
Who won perfection on an island in the sea
An upāsaka in the caste of fishermen

This siddha is certainly identical with the hero of number 8 of the “Geschichten”. Like the prophet Jonah he was swallowed by a large fish, and, inside its belly he managed to meditate for twelve years. He got abhiṣeka from Maheśvara. Our saint is referred to by the name Mina in the Ṣaṭṭhavāgagapradīpipā and elsewhere.¹

SPRIN GYI ŠUGS ČAN = SPRIN GYI ŠUGS ČAN

The man is called “king” (rgyal po) in the inscription:

\[ \text{rgyal po sprin gyi šugs čan} \quad \text{King Springyišugsčan} \]

The litany, however, does not call him “king” but merely states that he belongs to the kṣatriya-caste, and is a learned man:

/ rgyal rigs rig pa'i gnas lha mkhas /
/ nam mkha'i lha dañ the chom med⁶ /
/ sprin gyi šugs čan žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called sPringyišugsčan
The sky-lord, liberated from scruples
Of warrior-caste, master in the five branches of learning

An author sPringyišugsčan is mentioned in the Tangyur.¹ I think he is identical with our siddha. The author in the Tangyur is called “rgyal bu”, not “rgyal po”, “prince”, not “king”. The latter is probably a misreading. The same man apparently appears in the Blue Annals where he is called a prince of Koṅkana.² He is said to have been one of the seventy two teachers of the renowned 'Gos. The third Panchenlama enumerates him between Naggidbaṅphyuggragspa and Sumatikirti.³ In a painting in New York owned by Mr. Minkenhof our siddha is shown wearing royal ornaments. He is called “rgyal po” there.⁴ As “lama” probably the same man is found in Sumpa mKhanpo's work.⁵ His name stands after the mahāsiddha Nagpospyodpa's. — According to Mahāvyutpatti 1555—1559 the “five branches of learning (Pañcavidyāsthānāni)” are:

\[ \text{sgra'i rig pa} \]
\[ \text{gtan chigs kyi rig pa} \]
\[ \text{nañ gi rig pa} \]
\[ \text{gso ba'i rig pa} \]
\[ \text{bzo'i gnas kyi rig pa} \]

¹ Cordier III, 124 (vol. 74, 25), II 205 (45, 8, 9, 10).
² Blue Annals 360.
³ Grünwedel, Śambhala 49.
⁵ Sumpa mKhanpo 142.
⁶ Oslo Tangyur: ~ the chom sel.
KA RU PA = KA RU PA KA

This man in our scroll steers a coracle, at boat made of skin drawn over a wooden structure; the title "siddha" is given in the inscription:

\[ \text{grub thob ka ru pa} \quad \text{Siddha Karupa} \]

The litany says he was a ferryman, and belonged to the tharu-caste:

\[
/ \text{tha ru rigs la m\text{{n}an pa'i lus} /} \\
/ \text{sdug bs\text{\d{n}al rgya mcho kun las rgal} /} \\
/ \text{ka ru pa ka \text{{z}es bya ba'i} /} \\
/ \text{bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo} / \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called Karupaka} \\
\text{Who sailed over all the seas of misery} \\
\text{A ferryman in the tharu-caste} \\
\]

A painting of three siddhas in New York owned by Mr. Minkenhof shows the same siddha. Here his name is given as K\text{{a}marupa.} The "tharu" are a caste or tribe in Nepal. They are said to be akin to the Newar. The Description of the 84 siddhas contains (51) a "ku ma ru pa", in another text called "ka ma ru p\text{\d{a}.}" He cannot be identified with T\text{\d{a}ran\text{{a}}tha's Karopa who is the son of a king. (mtha ru also = people in the border-land).}

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1 Cf. p. 109.
2 The Tangyur mentions one Karopa, to whom a work of Klusgrubs\'niipo was transmitted. \textit{Cordier II}, 222 (vol. XLVII, 19); also II 219 (XLVI, 45). He is called Karmap\text{\d{a}}da.
3 Cf. "tha ru'i brgyud" \textit{Sumpa m\text{\k{h}anpo} 26}. Cf. also W\textit{assiljew}, "Vorrede". Mitg. v. A. Schiefner 1869, 9.
4 Cf. Excursus II. — As to the "ka ma ru pa'i \text{\d{a}} pa \text{\d{z}ig": \textit{Sumpa m\text{\k{h}anpo} 125 cf. Minadapa n. 51.}
This flying siddha is called “siddha” in the inscription:

```
grub thob si ri pa

Siddha Siripa
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He mastered the four classes of tantras, the litany tells us:

```
/ rgyud sde bzi'i sgra don mkhas /
/ dba' bzi rjogs nas mkha' la gsegs /
/ da si ri pa zhes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /

I bow down to the lama
Called Dasiripa
Who went skywards having completed the four initiations¹
A master of word-sense of the four classes of tantras
```

Under the name “Dha ri pa” this same siddha undoubtedly appears in a painting owned by Mr. Minkenhoj of New York. The Klohrdol-list of siddhas reproduced by Tucci gives as number 72: Dhasuripa.² Number 21 in the Description of the 84 siddhas is called “Ka ši ri pa” and n. 50 “dha ki pa” or “dha sa ki pa”.³ Similar though not identical names occur elsewhere. Grünwedel reproduces a picture of one Sisiripa.⁴ We get a description of a Kusiripa (probably Virupa) from the “grub čhen brgyud ču'i rjes gnañ bya chul”.⁵ The same work mentions a Kasiripa. One of Virupa’s existence-forms is called Siropa.⁶ Among Nāropa’s pupils there is a Ririapa and a Kasoripa.⁷ A work “dba' bzi pa'i rnam par bžag pa” is known.⁸

¹ The work “dba' bzi pa'i rab tu byed pa” in the Tangyur is composed by Nāgārjuna, translated by Śāntigarbha and Gos Lhas bcas; Sendai 1799, Cordier XXXIII., 4.
² G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls I.c. list IV.
³ Excursus II.
⁴ Bibliotheca Buddhica VI, pl. 17. This Picture is different from ours, and the man is called ‘gra mgon’. Cf. Sisiripa in Yung Ho Kung 71.
⁵ In the “rje bcun bla ma dam pa phun 'dan 'jam pa'i dhyāna dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron mi (=ma'i) dpal bzañ po'i gsuñ ja pa'i dkar čhang bžugs so”, which Professor Giuseppe Tucci owns, and very kindly let me use. Cf. Excursus II.
⁶ Taranātha, Edelsteinmine 31.
⁸ Cordier III 117 (vol. 73, 63) ; attributed to Vanaratna = Nagskyirinchen. — It might be noted that the siddha Dhahuli also appears as Dhasunipā, Sāṅkṛtyāyana I.c.
A N A N T A = A N A N T A

On this solitary man under a tree with two birds the inscription confers the title “siddha”:

\[ \text{grub thob a na nta} \]

\[ \text{Siddha Ananta} \]

The litany tells us the caste he belonged to and emphasizes his unhindered mind:

/ bram ze’i rigs la spyod pa byed /
/ rtog med sms la rañ dbañ thob /
/ a na nta žes bya yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag’ chal lo /

I bow down to the lama
Called Ananta
Who reached freedom with an unhindered mind,
Performing his deeds in the brahmin caste

Probably our siddha is identical with the siddha Ananta, whose picture is published by Grünewedel with the subscription:

bram ze’i rigs čan rto g bral a na nta

Ananta, the unhindered, of brahmin-caste

Grünewedel hesitantly identifies him with the hero of story number 58 who is a minister of a king in Bengal and of brahmin caste. This identification might well be correct, though there is nothing in the story that could explain our picture of Ananta, where he holds a human head and seems to pull at its tongue — reminding us somewhat of the Vetāla-story told by Tāranātha, and popularly known through one of Mme David-Neel’s books. I rather think our siddha is the Indian pandit, spoken of as one of the 25 Indian pandits, in the Padmasambhava-legend. This siddha is probably painted in the lhakhañ of Alchi.

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1 Grünewedel, Geschichten, Fig. 2.
2 Tāranātha, Chosbyuñ 207.
4 Francke, l.c. 91.
The bare name is recorded in the inscription:

```
seṅge pa
```

According to the litany he was blessed by sPyanrasgzigs:

```
/ spyan ras gzigs kyis byin gyis brlabs /
/ bum pa thogs nas dri ma khrud /
/ se ṭi ge pa žes bya pa yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Seṅgepa
Who, having seized the bumpa, washed off dirt,
Blessed by sPyanrasgzigs
```

In our picture the siddha is surrounded by sea-monsters. This would suggest his identity with the siddha Samudra in story number 83 of Grünwedel’s collection of stories. As other names of Samudra Grünwedel quotes “rgya mcho nas nor bu len mkhan žig” (the one who fetches riches out of the sea) and Seṅgepa. Story number 83 is quite short and gives no hint as to the vision in our scroll. The litany suggests Avalokiteśvara. The vision itself looks more like his śakti Tārā.

This man may have composed the work “phra ba’i rnal ’byor žes bya ba” in the Tangyur.¹

¹ *Cordier* II, 246 (vol. XLVIII, n. 97). — An author Seṅgebzaṅpo is mentioned *Cordier* III, 277 (vol. 6, un., vol. 7, 1, 2). An author Seṅgegočha l.c. III 271. A Seṅgebzaṅpo is mentioned also by *Sumpa mKhanpo* 142—146, in a genealogy from Saṅsrgyas to Bromston.
ZLA BA BZAŃ PO = ZLA BA BZAŃ PO

He wears a king’s crown in our picture. The inscription calls him, not king, but siddha:

grub thob zla ba bzañ po

Siddha Zlababzañpo

The litany says that he was of brahmin caste and a begging yogi:

/ bram ze’i rigs la rnal ’byor lus /
/ ldom bu mjad ciṅ dños grub brñes /
/ zla ba bzañ po žes bya ba’i /
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Zlababzañpo
Who won perfection begging alms
A yogi in the brahmin caste

This is rather vague. We know of a king Zlababzañpo to whom the fundamental Kālacakratantra was revealed. He composed a summary and a commentary and transmitted his work to the people of Sambhala.⁵ We find a king Zlababzañpo in books once brought by Alexander Csoma de Körös and now preserved in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.⁶ In the Tangyur we meet a paññita Zlababzañpo who among other works translated some by the authoress Grubpa’iṅgyalmo,⁷ a king Zlababzañpo who made a commentary,⁸ and a slobdpon chenpo Zlababzañpopratipal as an author⁹. Cordier identifies Zlababzañpo with Karmavajra’s disciple Thaṅlopa.¹⁰

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¹ Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, scroll 178.
³ Cordier III 190 (vol. 82, 59), II 198 (vol. 44, 50, 51, 53).
⁴ L.c. II 26 (vol. 5, 11).
⁵ L.c. II 266 (vol. 49, 1). Cf. II 207 (vol. 45, 22).
⁶ L.c. III 213 (vol. 83, 26).
DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 61. Khyurapa: flesh-coloured body, bearded, with companion
hair hanging, diadem, tantric ornaments
sitting in mid-air, touching two lotuses with forefingers
red trousers with gold, and blue with gold, yellow-lined
Companion: flesh-coloured, drinking from a skull-cup
blue dress with gold, yellow-lined, beneath dark red with gold, pink-lined
Above: 59. Zlabaggragspa, single, with 2 serpents, green and red
bearded, flesh-coloured, patched monk's gown, orange and green, with
gold, yellow-lined, dark red head-dress with gold, lilac trousers with gold
To the left: 60. sMaddkrispa, walking, with companion, flesh-coloured body,
bearded
folded hand, golden ear-ring
dress: checked cloth bound around the knees, dark red blue-lined
garment with gold
Companion: flesh-coloured body, dressed in antelope-skin
Acala in the left corner above them: white body, hair and sword golden
dress: tiger skin (?) and green shawl
To the right: 62. Avadhudhipa, bearded, single, hands joined, mauve body
shoes: green and blue, bound with red
dress: dark red with gold, white shawl
The Thugsrjesgrolma at the other side of the scroll: carrying lotus in
right hand
Beneath central figure: 63. Kadnapa, with companion, sitting on the ground
flesh-coloured body, bearded, golden hair-ornaments
right hand on companion's head, left on ground
dress: dark red with gold
Companion: flesh-coloured, skull-cup in left hand, dress: flame-coloured
To the left: 58. Kundga'sniipo, sitting on skin, mauve body, with companion
skull-cup in left hand, bearded, folded feet, tantric ornaments
hair bound up, dress: flame-coloured with gold
Companion: flesh-coloured body, flower-wreath on head
dress: dark red with gold, green-lined
To the right: 64. Sakyabesggen, sitting on a mat, with companion, flesh-
coloured body
right leg over right arm, skull-cup on ground, hair bound up
dress: dark red meditation band with gold, flame-coloured green-edged
garment with gold
a small skull in his hair-knot

Companion: flesh-coloured body, golden ear-ring, golden hair-ornaments
dress: blue, yellow-lined with gold

Groups of animals:
birds at top: mauve, bluish head and tail
birds at bottom: blue back, mauve-pink belly

Plants:
Left corner at bottom: green and golden plants
KUN DGA’ ŠÑIÑ PO = KUN DGA’ ŠÑIÑ PO

The siddha stares upwards ecstatically. The inscription tells us no more than the name:

\[ \text{kun dga’ sñiñ po la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to Kundga’sñiñpo} \]

He was blessed by the White Tārā the litany informs us:

\[
\begin{align*}
/ \text{sgrol ma dkar mos byin gys brlabs} / \\
/ \text{rnal 'byor rgyud la 'brel pa mjad} / \\
/ \text{kun dga’ sñiñ po žes bya ba’i} / \\
/ \text{bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo} / \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called Kundga’sñiñpo} \\
\text{Who made commentaries to Yogatantra(s)\(^1\)} \\
\text{Blessed by the White sGrolma} 
\end{align*}
\]

Tāranātha speaks of a Kundga’sñiñpo who lived in the time of the king Mahāpāla. He was a native of Magadha. He went to Bhaṅgala to study the yogatantras. He preached, having been invited by the king, and also composed commentaries. He is said to have beheld the “rdo rje dbyiṅs kyi dkyil 'khor čen po”, when striving in the woods for perfection.\(^2\) In the Tangyur we find works ascribed to a Kundga’sñiñpo, and among these the “rdo rje dbyiṅs kyi dkyil 'khor čen po'i čho ga rdo rje thams čad 'byuṅ ba žes bya ba'”.\(^3\) This is evidently the same man, and probably identical with the siddha invoked in the litany and painted in the scroll. The same man, I think, is painted in the lhakḥaṅ of the Alchi monastery where he was seen by Francke.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) The Yogatantra was reserved for those who were considered fit to come into contact with the śaktis. Cf. Bhattacharyya, Śādhanaṃāla II, XLVI. 'brel ba ': 'grel ba.

\(^2\) Tāranātha, Čhosbyuṅ (transl.) 225.

\(^3\) Cordier II 260—261. — Cf. vol. 63, 3, 13.

\(^4\) Francke 91. — Cf. the great Saskya Kundga’sñiñpo in Tempel v. Lhasa 44.

\(^5\) Oslo Tangyur: — 'grel ba —.
ZLA BA GRAGS PA = ZLA BA GRAGS PA

He is dressed in monk’s garb and the litany calls him “teacher”:

\[ \text{slob dpon zla ba grags pa la na mo} \]  
\[ \text{Glory to the teacher Zlabragspa} \]

He was born a Mañjuśrī-sprulpa, as we learn from the invocation of the litany, and he had impressed Nāgārjuna on his mind:

\[
\begin{align*}
&'jam dpal sku'i sprul par khrungs / \\
klu sgrub dgo'is pa thugs la chud / \\
&zla ba grags pa žes bya ba'i / \\
&bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo / \\
&I bow down to the lama \\
&Called Zlabragspa \\
Pondering Klusgrub, impressing him on the mind \\
&Born a Mañjuśrī-sprulpa
\end{align*}
\]

This Zlabragspa-Candrakirti ought certainly to be the well-known rival of Candragomin whom our series calls Candrapa. They had dealings with each other, and Mañjuśrī played an important rôle.\(^1\) In fact an image of Mañjuśrī turned his head on a certain occasion. It was a problem concerning buddhist etiquette: should Candragomin who was only an upāsaka be ceremonially received by the clergy or not? — The Blue Annals record Candrakirti as one of the four foremost pupils of Nāgārjuna,\(^2\) and Busto says Candrakirti relied on Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva.\(^3\) In the Tangyur we meet the man as a translator and an author.\(^4\) He is one of Nāgārjuna’s commentators. Francke saw a fresco of him in the lhakhañ of the Alchi-monastery.\(^5\)

Our picture in itself rather suggests Abhayākaragupta such as Grünwedel shows him, with a snake.\(^6\) With the help of a huge snake he once frightened a king into releasing prisoners condemned to be sacrificed.\(^7\)

\(^2\) Blue Annals 360.
\(^3\) Busto II, 134.
\(^4\) Cordier II, 304 (vol. 68, 37). Sendai 3860, 3861, 3862, 3863, 3864, 3865, 3866, 3867, 3971.
\(^5\) Francke 91.
\(^6\) Grünwedel, Mythologie, 42.
\(^7\) He is said to have evolved the rDor-phaṇ-maṇḍala; Rin 'byuñ 12.
SMAD DKRIS PA = SMAD BKRIS PA

The title “siddha” is given in the inscription:

\[
\text{Grub thob smad dkris pa la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to the siddha smadkrispa}
\]

He dwelt naked in the cemetery, as we are informed in the invocation of the litany, and saw Acala face to face:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mi gyo złal gzigs spyod pa mjad /} \\
\text{gčer bu brtul žugs dur khrod gnas /} \\
\text{smad bkris pa žes bya ba yi /} \\
\text{bla ma de la phyag chal lo /} \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called smaddkrispa} \\
\text{Who dwelt in the cemetery, naked,} \\
\text{Did the deed, beheld Mikyo}
\end{align*}
\]

I have not found a siddha named smaddkrispa in other accessible sources. Nāgopa, a pupil of king Karṇaripa, is also described as “naked”.

The Thugsdam Migyo-Acala we find depicted in the left upper corner of the scroll. He is white and carries a short sword in his right hand. Nāgārjuna also relied on Acala who is the khrodha for moha — bewilderment — of the Vajrayāna and the special protector of the Bromston-sect.

1 “brtul” should here, I think, be understood in its proper meaning, and not = btul as in Citralakṣaṇa 136.
2 Similarly the Tangyur preserved in Marburg has: smad dkris pa.
3 Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 13. — “gčer bu pa” is the name of a sect of ascetics, rivals of the early Buddhists; cf. Citralakṣaṇa, 6. — The pretas are called “naked”, l.c. v. 272, p. 81: “khyod kyi dags gčer thul šog”. — A gčerbuthul is mentioned among the authors of the Tangyur; Cordier III, 475 (vol. 123, 6). The work is called “ri mo’i mchan ſnid (citralakṣaṇa). — An Āryācalasādhana by Aśokaśri in Cordier II, 280 (vol. 61, 19). An author Seṅgemigyoba l.c. II 300 (vol. 68, 17).
KHYU RA PA = KAR NA PA

The inscription and the litany give varying titles. In the inscription he is described as "siddha".

grub thob khyu ra pa la na mo  
Glory to the siddha Khyurapa

The litany, on the other hand, calls him "king" and shows him reaching perfection:

/ rgyal po dman pa'i spyod pa mjad /
/ rigs tan ma dañ dnis grub brjyes /
/ kar na pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Karnapa
Who won a woman of low-caste (?) and perfection
A king doing menial work

Tucci's third list of siddhas in Tibetan Painted Scrolls has: Ko ra ina pa as the name of this siddha. But the number of syllables makes "kar na pa" more probable. There seems be no corresponding figure amongst the kings of the "Geschichten". He might be the king Karnaripa whom we find in Taranatha's work. The Description of the 84 siddhas contains (42) a "Kar nag po", in another list called "Kar na pa".  

1 This would come near to Caurangī.  
2 Story 73 deals with a king Kirava with a different story. In number 60, to which the flowers might point, the king is called Campaka.  
3 Taranatha, Edelsteinmine, 123.  
4 Cf. Excursus II.
The inscription merely tells us the name of this smiling man:

\[
\textit{a va dhu dhi pa la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to Avadhudhipa}
\]

The litany tells us the name of his protectess and some of his achievements:

\[
/ \, \text{thugs rje sgrol mas byin gyis brlabs } / \\
/ \, \text{gnod sbyin 'jigs pa brgyad las thar}^{10} / \\
/ \, \text{a ba dhu ti' žes bya ba'ì } / \\
/ \, \text{bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo } / \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called } \textit{Abadhūti} \\
\text{Freed from the eight frightful gNodsbyin}\,^{2} \\
\text{Blessed by Thugsrjesgrolma}
\]

He is certainly identical with the Avadhutīzabs reproduced by Grünwedel, whose picture has the subscription:

\[
\text{sgrol mas 'jigs skyabs a ba dhu ti žabs}\,^{1} \\
\text{Avadhutīzabs protected by Tārā (from the) frightful (ones?)}
\]

Grünwedel thinks our siddha is identical with the siddha Meko (number 43 in his collection). Maitripa seems to be called Avadhuti as well as Advaya-vajra.\(^4\) The Blue Annals mention the Great Avadhūti as a pupil of Virūpa.\(^5\) A teacher (slobdpon) Avadhutiopa is said to have composed the work “chogs kyi bdag po'i sgrub thabs 'khor lo chen po žes bya ba”. In fact “avadhūti” is one of the three principal “arteries” later taken as women in the ordinary sense.\(^6\) In consequence “avadhutipa” as a name implies a certain stage in development and might be given to several persons.\(^7\)

None of the works in the Tangyur expressly ascribed to an Avadhūti or Avadhutipa seem to treat the Thugsrjesgrolma or the gNodsbyin, judging from their titles.\(^8\)

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1. The Tangyur preserved in Marburg has: a ba dhū ti.
3. Grünwedel, Geschichten, Fig. 2.
8. An Avadhūtipa gZonnuzlabu occurs as an author Cordier II 160 (vol. 42, 5). — An Avadhūta Kamala is mentioned lc. III 120 (vol. 74, 12), cf. also III 80 (vol. 71, 405). Tāranātha speaks of an Avadhūti-yogi Ratnaśīla from Kāmarū, Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 99, cf. n. 3 above. — The leaf-
shoes on our mahāsiddha's feet might possibly hint at the acquisition of one of the siddhis; to wit, miraculous swift-footedness. — It might be noted that the “Maitripa-prayer” in the Pantheon of the 300 does not mention the sGrolma but sPyanrasgzigs.

9 The Thugsrjesgrolma seems to be a specialty of rTagpa'irdorje, Sendai 1737, 1741. — The work “’jigs pa brgyad rmoṅs par byed pa’i i thabs žes bya ba” is ascribed to Bhakhana, Cordier vol. 38, 87. Works of the same kind are attributed to Marmemjadyes, Thamsčad mkhenpa'i-bšesgñen and Yešesrdorje, Sendai 3687, 3681, 3032. Cf. Cordier II 124 (vol. 26, 60), III 72 (vol. 71, 370, cf. 369), A similar work is ascribed to Atiśa III 76 (vol. 71, 386).

10 Oslo Tangyur: gnod byed ~.
KAD ŃA PA = CA RA PA

He is called a "siddha" in the inscription:

\[
grub thob kad Ńa pa la na mo \quad \text{Glory to the siddha Kadnapa}
\]

His spiritual achievements we learn from the invocation of the litany:

\[
/ \text{rca rla}ñ thabs kyi lam la mkhas} /
/ \text{'byu}ñ ba rlun la rañ dbañ thob} /
/ \text{ca ra pa žes bya ba yi} /
/ \text{bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo} /
\]
I bow down to the lama
Called Carapa
A master of the element wind
A master of the vein-wind¹

I have not found this man in other sources.²

¹ rlañ = rluñ, Oslo Tangyur: rluñ.
² A Kaccha — Kacapāda known to Sumpamkhanpo and Tāranātha can hardly be considered. — Cf. the author Carpañi Cordier III, 250 (vol. 86, 8). — The work "rca rlun gi [thig le']i] sgom nas rnal 'byor gyi spyod pa žes bya ba" is attributed to the siddha Ḏombya Cordier II, 239 (vol. 48, 63) = Khrusmkhan.
In the inscription we are told the bare name:

\[ \text{śākya bṣes gñen la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to Śākyabṣesgñen} \]

The litany tells us his caste, and the special line of development he followed:

\[
\begin{align*}
/ \text{śiṅ thun rigs la dīos grub brñes} / \\
/ \text{theṅ čhen klu sgrub rjes su 'brans} / \\
/ \text{śākya bṣes gñen žes bya ba'i} / \\
/ \text{bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo} /
\end{align*}
\]

I bow down to the lama

Called Śākyabṣesgñen

Who followed Mahāyāna and Nāgārjuna

Who got perfection, of the wood-gatherers' caste

The Blue Annals mention Śākyabṣesgñen among Nāgārjuna's four foremost pupils.¹ Tāranātha says that he has heard of a Mahāśākyamitra, but has not seen his biography.² The Padmasambhava-legend mentions a man called by the same name. So does Grünwedel.³ Similarly an author in the Tangyur has this name.⁴ Buston mentions Śākyamitra.⁵ The siddha is mentioned among the spiritual ancestors of the IČaṅskya Rolpa'irdorje.⁶

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¹ Blue Annals 360.
² Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 88.
³ Bibliotheca Buddhica VI, 15, 16. — Grünwedel, Mythologie, 62, 120.
⁴ Sendai 2503.
⁵ Buston I 137, II 161.
DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 65. Canḍali, with companion sitting on a human hide, both holding the same skull-cup
body: flesh-coloured, dress: dark red, pink-lined, with gold
hide: green, blue-lined sash with gold, flame-coloured meditation band with gold
hide: flesh-coloured, dark-haired
Companion: body: white, dress: dark blue with gold, yellow sash, flowers: pink

Above: 66. Glubyaṇismkhan, floating, listening attitude, single, body:
   flesh-coloured, bearded, hair bound up, tantric ornaments
dress: dark red, pink-lined, with gold, whitish shawl

To the left: 70. Caparipa, flying, with companion, bearded, hair bound,
   flowing holding skull-cup in left hand, body: flesh-coloured
dress: flame-coloured, purple-lined, with gold
Companion: body: white, dress: not seen
   body: red

In the left upper corner: rTangrin, with horse’s head above his own

To the right: 68. sGramkhanṇzabs, sitting on the ground with companion, body:
   mauve, bearded, dress: flame-coloured, blue-edged, with gold, skin
Companion: body: flesh-coloured, golden ear-ring, dress: dark red,
   green-edged, with gold
   holding skull-cup in left hand

Beneath central figure: 67. Bhagha, bearded, sitting on rock with companion,
   left hand raised, right grasping left foot, dress: dark red, purple-lined,
   with gold
Companion: body: flesh-coloured, dress: yellowish, dark-edged, with gold

To the left: 69. Kontali, single, carrying stick in left thand, white turban
   body: mauve, dress: yellowish green-lined upper garment with gold,
   flame-coloured lower garment, purple-lined, with gold, yellow sash

To the right: 71. Siyali, with two jackals, no companion, hair bound up,
   bearded
   body: flesh-coloured, white tantric ornaments
dress: dark red, dark edged, with gold
   feeding entrails from a corpse to one of the hyenas, corpse: mauve

The hyenas: one grey, one with bluish belly and brownish back

Groups of animals:
   2 marmots: one brown with white belly, one grey with pink belly
2 birds: yellowish brown back, white belly, dark tail and wings
1 scorpion: dark grey

Plant:
   Tree: brown trunk, green foliage
CA ṇḌA LI = CA ṇḌA LI

This gruesome picture, where the tantric couple sit on a human hide, is subscribed merely with the name and the invocation-formula:

\[
\text{ca ṇḍa li la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to Caṇḍali}
\]

He was of the fishermen’s caste, says the litany, and went naked:

\[
/ \text{ña pa’i rigs la rca rlùn mkhan} / \\
/ \text{bde ba lam sloñs gčer bu mjad} / \\
/ \text{ca ṇḍa li žes bya ba yi} / \\
/ \text{bla ma de la phyag ‘chal lo} / \\
\]

I bow down to the lama
Called Caṇḍali
Naked, walking the happy road,
A vein-wind-master in the caste of fishermen

We have met one “naked” siddha already, sMaddkrispa (number 60). “caṇḍali” like “avadhūti” is the “channel” for the mystical “wind” and is here probably taken as a personal name for Caṇḍalipa. This “wind-master” might be known under another name elsewhere. One might think of siddha 56 of the “Geschichten” who does not appear elsewhere in our series, and who seems to be identical with the author of the “gtum mo’i thig le bkram pa žes bya ba” in the Tangyur. But he is said to have been a brahmīn. The queerly stretched human hide (both hands on one side!) might denote some particularly fierce enemy of heretics or Mohammedans such as Kholpodga. The corpse’s nose is long and curved, its hands are held in the “mano cornuta”-fashion. ²

² Sendai 2409.
² Grünwedel, Mythologie 39.
² As to “caṇḍāli” cf. Sh. Dasgupta, Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengal Literature. 1946, 118 f. — A. gČerbuthul (author) is mentioned Cordier III 475 (vol. 123, 6).
GLU DBYAŃS MKHAN = KLU DBYAŃS MKHAN

He is called a siddha in the inscription:

grub thob glu dbyańs mkhan la na mo

Glory to the siddha Glubyańsmkhan

The litany says he saw the Thugsdam — not specified — and was a poet:

/ rab 'byuñ rten la skoñ ba mjad4 /
/ thugs dam žal gzigs mkha' la gseg /
/ klu' dbyańs mkhan žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Glubyańsmkhan
Who saw the Thugsdam, departed skywards,
A maker of prayer songs5 of the clergy

I have not identified this siddha. The divinity beside him does not belong to "the singer", but to another siddha.

1 The Tangyur preserved in Marburg has: glu dbyańs.
2 Saṅgiti. — The "Vimuktamañjari žes bya ba glu dbyańs" is Cordier III 112 said to be composed by Jalandhara'i žabs, possibly different from our brahmin J. and identical with the low-caste monk spoken of by Tāranātha (Edelsteinmine 58—59). — Poets are mentioned Cordier III 88, II 161. — A "glu dbyańs" of Bharanātha Lc. III 271. — Cf. also Tāranātha, Chosbyuñ 147, 160.
3 I doubt if he is identical with Śridhara who composed a sādhana wholly in verse for Vajrasarasvati. Cf. Sādhhamālā II CXVIII f.
4 Oslo Tangyur: — la bskor ba mjad /
BHA GHA = BHA GHA LA NA

The inscription calls him “siddha”:

grub thob bha gha la na mo

Glory to the siddha Bhagha

The name in the litany is a little different. He is of brahmin caste, we are told, and a dgesloṅ:

/ bram ze'i rigs la dge sloṅ lus /
/ sbyaṅs pa bču gūis spyod pa mjad /
/ bha gha la na žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Bhagha'ana
Who performed the twelve acts,
A dgesloṅ in the brahmin-caste

I have not found this siddha in other sources. The Description of the 84 siddhas contains a Pagalapapa.¹

¹ In Tucci’s list we find the name “vha gha la na”. — As to the twelve acts cf. Buston I 133—136, II 7 ff. — I do not think he has anything to do with the monk Ghagha (Taranatha, Edelsteinmine 149) or with the Buddhist assembly hall Bhāgā-Bhājā (Bimala Churn Law, Geography of Early Buddhism 1932, 79), nor with the translator Bhavyarāja Cordier III 452 (vol. 112, 14, 15). — A pandita Bhagupa is one of the authors of “mchog gi sgrol ma ral pa gcig ma'i man ṅag gi bsgrub thabs” Cordier II 123 (vol. 26, 53). An author Vāgbhaṭa f.i. Sendai n. 4311.
² Excursus II, number 37. — A Bhavyavajra is mentioned in Tempel in Lhasa 53.
SGRA MKHAN ŽABS = SGRA MKHAN ŽABS

He is called a “siddha” in the inscription:

grub thob sgra mkhan žabs la na no

Glory to the siddha sGramkhanžabs

The litany says that he grasped the Māṭrka-tantra in the mountains:

/ ri khrod ma tri’i brgyud pa ‘jin* /
/ phyag rgya čhen po thugs la šar /
/ sgra mkhan žabs žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called sGramkhanžabs
In his heart rose the Mahāmudrā
In the mountains he grasped the Māṭrka-tantra

Apparently he does not appear in Grünwedel’s “Geschichten” but our siddha is certainly the same as the siddha in the picture reproduced by Grünwedel with the inscription:

ri khrod ma tri rgyud ‘jin sgra mkhan žabs
sGramkhanžabs seizing the Māṭrka-tantra in the mountains

We may possibly identify him with the sGramkhanžabs who received the “do ha mjod čes bya ba” from Nagpopa and handed it on to Purapa² but hardly with the siddha number 10 in the Description of the 84 siddhas.³

---

¹ Grünwedel, Geschichten, Fig. 2. He is holding a musical instrument.
² The line is: Birbapa — Nagpopa — sGramkhanžabs — Purapa — Śrī Vairocana, Cordier II 223 (vol. 47, 24). — An author sGradbyaṅs bū gcig pa is mentioned l.c. 140 (vol. 33, 27). — A translator sGramkhanchen porgyalbasñan is mentioned l.c. 303 (vol. 68, 29); the author is Carpaṭi. A translator sGra(pa)chen po jetakarna Cordier III 458 (vol. 116, 2, cf. 1).
³ Excursus II.
⁴ Oslo Tangyur: — mai tri’i —.
KON TA LI = KON TA LI

Only his name and the title “siddha” is given in the inscription:

\[ gr\text{ub }th\text{ob }k\text{on }t\text{a }l\text{i }l\text{a }n\text{a }m\text{o} \quad \text{Glory to the siddha Kontali} \]

The litany mainly tells us about his ascetic behaviour:

\[
\begin{align*}
/ & \text{dur khrod la sogs mtha ru bzung } / \\
/ & \text{skal ldan 'dul \text{"zin} chogs 'khor mjad } / \\
/ & \text{kon ta li \text{"zes bya ba yi } / \\
/ & \text{bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo } / \\
& \text{I bow down to the lama} \\
& \text{Called Kontali} \\
& \text{Happily conquering, making sacrificial offerings} \\
& \text{ Dwelling in the cemetery and the outskirts} \\
\end{align*}
\]

I have not met the name elsewhere and the facts given are very vague.¹

¹* Sumpa mkhanpo 127 mentions a Kantalipa.*
The scroll gives the name only, no title:

\[ \text{ca pa ri pa la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to Caparipa} \]

According to the litany he beheld rTamgrin and departed skywards:

\[
\begin{align*}
/ & \text{rta mgrin žal gzigs gdug pa 'dul} / \\
/ & \text{'dod yon spyod čiṅ mkha' la gšegs} / \\
/ & \text{ca pa ri žes bya ba yi} / \\
/ & \text{bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo} / \\
& \text{I bow down to the lama} \\
& \text{Called Capari} \\
& \text{Who went skywards using wished-for goods,} \\
& \text{Subdued poison, beheld rTamgrin} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The Hayagrīva is painted beside our siddha. He is the krodha of rāga — passion — of the Vajrayāna.¹ The siddha might be the hero of story number 64 of the “Geschichten”. But there is not much in the story to tally with the facts told in the litany.² rTamgrin is not mentioned in the story.

¹ G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls I 238.
² A pupil of Šavaripa (number 27 in our series) called Japaripa or Caparipa is found Cordier II 198—199 (vol. 44, 54—56, 59), an author Carpadi Cordier III 250 (vol. 86, 8) and an author Carapati-Caripa l.c. II 244 (vol. 48, 85).
The inscription calls him a siddha:

\[
\text{grub thob si ya li la na mo} \quad \text{(Glory to the siddha Siyali)}
\]

He was of warrior-caste, the litany informs us, and partook of the Mahāmāṃsa in the cemetery:

\[
\text{/ rgyal rig dman pa'i spyod pa mjad /} \\
\text{/ dur khrod rgyu žin ša čhen gsol /} \\
\text{/ si ya li žes bya ba yi /} \\
\text{/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /} \\
\text{I bow down to the lama} \\
\text{Called Siyali} \\
\text{Who ate the Mahāmāṃsa in the cemetery} \\
\text{Who did menial work, of warrior-caste}
\]

Beyond doubt this man is identical with the siddha reproduced by Grünwedel with the subscription:

\[
\text{dur khrod ša čhen gsol ba si ya li} \\
\text{Siyali eating the Mahāmāṃsa in the cemetery}
\]

In the Tangyur we find an author named sPyana'kyipa\(^1\) and the Description of the 84 Mahāsiddhas enumerates as number 41 a “lce spya žabs — jam bu ka pā da”.\(^2\) Our siddha would seem to be the hero of story number 21. Much afraid of the hyenas he was taught by a monk how to get rid of this fear. Finally he overcame it, and put a dead hyena on his shoulder, and went begging. True the story says its hero was a sūdra. Nevertheless I consider them identical.

\(^1\) Cordier II 238 (vol. 48, 58). Grünwedel, Geschichten, Fig. 2.
\(^2\) Excursus II.
THAŇKA XII
DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 78. Thogsmed, single, bearded, sitting on an antelope-skin,
  body: flesh-coloured
  dress: patched monk’s gown
  holding vajra-sceptre and skull-cup
The vision: (left upper corner): Maitreya, brownish-yellow body,
  on the lotuses: wheel and bumpa, on the head: stūpa,
  nimbus: green, gloria: dark blue with golden rays
  dress: blue and red with gold
Above: 74. Hilapa, on a rock, dressed in leaves, single, bearded, body:
  flesh-coloured
  both hands and one foot seen
  dress:
To the left: 73. Naggidbañphyug, single, bearded, white turban, tantric
  ornaments
  body: flesh-coloured, dress: bluish grey with gold
  wheel beside him: gold
To the right: 75. Kalalañka, single, mounted on elephant, with ankus, body:
  flesh-coloured
  white turban, meditation band: red with gold
  dress: flame-coloured, pink lined, with gold
  Elephant: trunk upturned
  colour: dark grey
Beneath central figure: 77. Señgepa, bearded, sitting on rock, with companion
  body: flesh-coloured, hair bound up,
  dress: around the loins: red, pink lined, blue-hemmed, with gold
  Companion: naked, flowing hair, golden ear-ring and bracelet
To the left: 72. Ñimasbaspa, single, hands joined in lap, sitting on mat,
  cross-legged, meditation-band: red with gold
  dress: a bluish skin
  The vision: small white Tārā with lotus in right hand, nimbus: green
  gloria: dark blue with golden rays
  left hand: varada-mudrā
  dress: red and blue with gold
To the right: 76. Kubuce, bearded, tantric ornaments, serpent around head
  with companion sitting on rock with foldet feet, holding skull-cup
  Companion: body: flesh-coloured, dress: flame-coloured, green-hemmed,
nether: blue, with gold
The vision: bdemchog, yab-yum: his body dark blue, her body red
nimbus: green, gloria: pink with golden rays
he holds vajra and bell, she holds a knife
Flowers:
  bottom, left corner = pink
  ,, right ,, = gold
The inscription calls him “siddha”:

grub thob ēi ma sbas pa la na mo

Glory to the siddha Śīnasbaspa

The litany informs us that he saw sGrolma in person, in fact he is looking up at a small White Tārā:

/ sgrol ma'i žal gzigs lu'n ya'n brtan /
/ gcug lag kha'n du dios grub brñes /
/ ēi ma sbas pa žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Śīnasbaspa
Who won perfection in the vihāra,
Taught the Doctrine, saw sGrolma

He is probably identical with the Śīnasbaspa told of in Tāranātha’s work. This man was an ācārya in the time of king Śīla. He founded twelve schools and conjured up Tārā. According to Sumṣa mKhanpo Śīnasbaspa was initiated into the Tārātantra by Nāgamitra. A Śīnasbaspa is mentioned among the authors of the Tangyur.

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1. The Tangyur preserved in Marburg has: bstan, the Oslo Tangyur: sgrol mas ~.
2. Tāranātha, Chosbyun (translation: 146 (Ravivupta).
3. Sumṣa mKhanpo 90.
4. Cf. G. Huth 274. Cordier III 482 (vol. 123, 29). A Śīnasbaspa of Kashmir is the author of “rje bcun ma 'phags ma sgrol ma la mehan sum ēu rca gnis kyi bstod pa don thams chad grub par byed pa; rin chen brgyan 'dra žes bya ba”, Cordier III 188 (vol. 82, 51). The name of the translator is missing. Cf. the author Śī. who was the pupil of the Paramaguru l.c. III 446 (vol. 108, 3).
NAG GI DBAŃ PHYUG = NAG GI BDAŃ PHYUG

He is called “siddha” in the inscription:

grub thob nag gi dbañ phyug la na mo  Glory to the siddha Naggidbañphyug

He got eye-medicine, as we learn from the invocation of the litany, and belonged to the warrior-caste:

/ rgyal rigs ni ma'i ther la gsogs /
/ ri lu mig sman sa 'og spyod /
/ nag gi dbañ phyug žes bya ba'i /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Naggidbañphyug
(He got) pills, eye-medicine, underground-walking
Went to the sun’s treasure, of warrior caste

Our siddha might be the same as Naggidbañphyuggrags who is spoken of by Tāranātha.\(^1\) This person asked the Cakrasamvaratantra of Hasavajra who was a follower of Koṅkana-Jinabhadra. He worked in Nālanda and Vikramaśīla, also in Nepal.

\(^1\) Tāranātha, Čhosbyuṅ (transl.:) 235. — A Naggidbañphyuggragspa is mentioned as the author of “jam pa'i dbyaṅs dpa' bo gcig grub pa'i bṣod pa gser gyi phreñ ba žes bya ba”, Cordier III 177 (vol. 82, 6). Also as the author of “'chi ba blu ba'i bsdus don” l.c. III 167 (vol. 81, 19). Cf. l.c. III 75 (vol. 71, 380). — A. Vāgiśvara translated Kālacakra-works extant in the Tangyur, Cordier II 25 (vol. 5, 5–7). Cf. Lalou, Répertoire.
The inscription gives him the title "siddha":

\[ \text{grub thob hi la pa la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to the siddha Hilapa} \]

He belonged to a low caste, says the invocation of the litany, and was a bhikṣu:

/ dman pa'i rigs la dge sloi lus /
/ gdan cig mjad chun dnos grub brnes /
/ hi la pa zhes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Hilapa
Who obtained perfection creating a seat
A bhikṣu in a low caste

Saṅkṛtyāyana gives the name "Hālipā" in one of his lists. There the man is number 50, which would correspond to Hadinipa in Grünwedels "Geschichten". This "Medhina" was apparently of low caste but did not become a monk. Nor did he found a "seat". Tāranātha speaks of a siddha Hali without giving any details as to his life or whereabouts.\(^1\) The low caste would correspond to Hādi-siddha who is supposed to be identical with one of the siddhas called Jalandharipa.\(^2\) He once made a path through a dense forest by his Huṃkāra. In the picture our siddha is dressed entirely in leaves. His name is possibly spelled "ti la pa" in the copy of the Tangyur preserved in Marburg.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine 121.  
\(^2\) Cf. Dasgupta Sh., Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature. 1945, 426, 436—7, 439—432, 452 ff.  
\(^3\) The same spelling "Ti la pa" Tucci applies in list number III in Tibetan Painted Scrolls. — An author Kilapāda-Kirapa is mentioned Cordier II 234, (v. 48, 35), cf. Saṅkṛtyāyana l.c. — An author Tilaka (Kalaśa) is mentioned Cordier III 302—3 (vol. 23, 2—4). — For leaves as clothing of Th. Jellinghaus in: Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. 1871, 328.
KA LA LAŇ KA = KA LA KA

According to the inscription he is a “siddha”:

\[ \text{grub thob ka la laň ka la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to the siddha Kalalaňka} \]

Mounted on an elephant he ranged through in the cemetery, we are told in the litany; we also learn that he subdued a king:

/ glaň čhen žon nas dur khrod rgyu /  
/ rgyal po btul nas mkha’ la gšegs /  
/ ka la ka žes bya ba yi /  
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo /  
I bow down to the lama 
Called Kalaka 
Who went skywards having subdued a king 
Ranged through the cemetery mounted on an elephant

A Kalakapa is mentioned in the Tangyur and number 68 of the stories tells of the siddha Kalakapa-Kalakala.\(^1\) Among the siddhas found by Albert Grünwedel one is described as sitting on an elephant like our Kalalaňka-Kalaka.\(^2\) One can hardly think of Kâla who converted king Kanika.\(^3\)

\(^1\) Sendai 1503. Cordier II 48 (vol. 13, 52): Kalâkapa. — In Fig. 10 the siddha is called “ka la ka”, Grünwedel, Geschichten 226—227. — The name in the scroll “ka la laň” reminds one of “kalanka” said to be a Tibetan loan word, cf. Nagendra Narayan Chaudhuri in Calcutta Sanscrit Series X. 1935, 7. The word means “blame” “spot”.

\(^2\) Cf. p. V.

\(^3\) Taranátha, Čosbyuñ. — Sumpa mkhan po 126 speaks of a siddha Kalapa in connection with a cemetery. No elephant is mentioned.
KU BU CE = KU BU RCA

He is called "siddha" in the inscription:

grub thob ku bu ce ra namo

Glory to the siddha Kubuce

The litany shows him putting the great serpent on his head and seeing bDemčhog:

/ bde mčhog žal gzigs spyod pa mjad /
/ dug sprul čhen po dbu la bcins /
/ ku bu rca žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Kuburca
Who put the great venomous serpent on his head
Who did the deed, saw bDemčhog

I have not been able to trace this name. There is not much to connect him with the Kucipa of the stories, who gets the Guhyasamāja-initiation.¹

¹ In this case he would probably be the same as Kujipa or Kupacipa, number 47 in the Description of the 84 siddhas, Excursus II, Oslo Tangyur: ku blu ca.
The inscription calls him “siddha”:


Glory to the siddha Seṅgepa

The invocation of the litany connects him with Orgyan and with an island in the sea:

/ rgya mchö'i gliṅ du dka' thub mjad /
/ o rgyan gnas su dban bzhī rjogs /
/ seṅgepa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo /

I bow down to the lama
Called Seṅgepa
Who in Orgyan completed four initiations
Who was an ascetic on an island in the sea

I am not sure of this siddha’s identity. B ousted knows of a Seṅgebzaṅpo who belonged to the school of the Yogācāra-Mādhyamikas.¹

¹ B uston II 135. — Among the translators in the Tangyur there is a Seṅge-rgyalpo; Cordier II 247; also a Chulkhirimsseṅge, Cordier III 485 (vol. 123, 37); also a ‘Phrogbyedseṅge, Cordier III 255 (vol. 86, 32). An author Seṅge’igdančän (etc.) Cordier II 55 (vol. 14, 22). A Śrīśīṇa, author and translator, Cordier III 235, 234, 233, 237 (vol. 85, 1—12). — The Śesrabseṅge of a later period can hardly be considered. As to Seṅgebzaṅpo cf. p. 74 (Seṅgepa) n. 1.
THOGS MED = THOG PA MED PA

The inscription gives one of the more unusual titles, that of "prince":

rgyal sras thogs med la na mo                      Glory to the prince Thogsmed

He accomplished learned works, we are told in the invocation, and saw Maitreya face to face:

/ nags chal nañ du dkab (1) thub mjad⁹ / 
/ byams pa’i žal gzigs bstan bcos brcams / 
/ thog pa med pa žes bya ba’i / 
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo / 
I bow down to the lama
Called Thogpamedpa
Who accomplished learned works, saw Maitreya,
Was an ascetic in the woods

This "unhindered" or "all-penetrating" man is certainly identical with the

rgyal bas luñ bstan ’phags pa thogs med žabs

mentioned by Grünwedel¹ or the Mahāyāna-teacher Asaṅga in the first half of the fourth century. Tāranātha says he was a brother of Vsubandhu² and conjured up Maitreya.³ By the same author we are informed that the saint had many incarnations as a woman. According to Buston he dwelt in the cave of the mountain called "Cockfoot-mountain" (Kukkutapādāparvata).⁴ — A vision of Maitreya is depicted in our scroll.

He is not in the "stories" nor in the usual lists of siddhas. Tāranātha says that tantrism was secretly transmitted from the time of Asaṅga to that of Dharmakirti.⁵ In the Pantheon of the 300 Asaṅga is called "sa gsum brñes pa". The Tangyur, as well as the Sādhanamālā, attributes works to him.⁶ In a beautiful picture from bKa’ rasishiunpo he is shown sitting, his right hand on a book.⁷ There is said to be a bronze effigy of him in the great temple of Lhasa.⁸

¹ Bibliotheca Buddhica 6.
² Tāranātha, Chosbyun 201.
³ Buston II 136 ff.
⁴ l.c.
⁵ Cf. Sādhanamālā II XCV ff.
⁷ Vsubandhu is seemingly absent in our scrolls. In the Čhulugs (Excursus II), where Thogsmed is missing, Vsubandhu’s name occurs twice. Asaṅga’s original name was Vsubandhu.
⁸ Cf. G. Sandberg, Tibet and the Tibetans. 1906, 179.
⁹ Oslo Tangyur: — dka’ thub —.
THAN Ka XIII
H. 3349

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: 82. Kaladake, balancing on one leg, bearded, with companion tantric ornaments, left hand raised, thumb and fourth finger joined,
body: flesh-coloured
right hand: on companion's knee
dress: dark red and blue lined, with gold, flame-coloured meditation band with gold
Companion: offering a gtorma with heads of animals and one human head
body: flesh-coloured, ornament: gold
dress: blue, green hemmed, with gold
In the upper right corner: Red Yama yab-yum
yab: red
yum: red, lighter shade
Above: 80. Gilbupa, with 2 attendants, sitting on skin spread on rock, bearded
body: flesh-coloured bound up hair, left hand holding skull-cup
dress: beige jacket, dark red nether garment, both with gold
Attendant in front: playing on flute, body: white, dress: blue, greenhemmed, yellow-lined
Attendant behind: playing on flute, body: dress:
In front of the siddha: Hevajra yab-yum, yab: dark blue, yum: lighter shade of blue
To the left: 81. Parasu, single, bearded, toes of feet: seen, sitting on rock
right hand "mano cornuta", left hand holding skull-cup
body: hair bound up,
dress: dark blue, greenhemmed, yellow-lined; beneath: dark red, both with gold
To the right: 79. Napata, with šakti, bearded, none of them wears ornaments
body: flesh-coloured
dress: green-beige, blue lined, with gold
Šakti: naked but for an antelope-skin, body: flesh-coloured
Beneath central figure: 84. Mirtogpa, bearded, with šakti, stepping over waves holding skull-cup in left hand, body: mauve
dress: dark red, green sash, beige trousers, all with gold
Šakti: body: white
To the left: 83. Bhayini, single, belly protruding, bearded, body: flesh-coloured
dress: dark red and blue-lined with gold
sitting on skin spread on rock

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The vision above him: Kharsapani, holding lotus in his right hand, body: white
dress: dark red with gold
To the right: 85. rDorjegdanpa, sitting, bearded
    body: flesh-coloured
dress: patched monk's gown and flame-coloured cap, both with gold
    hands hold dark brown rosary with three blue beads
The male of this couple is called "siddha" in the inscription:

\[ grub thob na pa ta la na mo \]

Glory to the siddha Napata.

From the litany we learn something of his ascetic achievements:

/ dpal gyi ri la bskor ba mjad /
/ o rgyan gnas su dkab thub byas /
/ na ta pa žes bya ba yi /
/ bla ma de la phyag ’chal lo /

I bow down to the lama
Called Natapa.
Who was an ascetic in Orgyan
Who made pradakṣina around the Noble Mountain

An Orgyan-Natapa is enumerated as number 14 in the rjesgnañbyachul.\(^1\) Tāranātha knows of a brahmin Napa.\(^2\) The dPalgyiri is famous because the great founder of the Mahāyāna, Nāgārjuna, died here.\(^3\)

\(^1\) Excursus II.
\(^2\) Tāranātha, Čhos’byun 11.
GLIÑ BU PA = GLIÑ BU MKHAN

The inscription calls him “siddha”:

\[\text{grub thob gliñ bu pa la na mo} \quad \text{Glory to the siddha Gliñbupa}\]

From the invocation we learn that he was blessed by Hevajra:

\[
\begin{align*}
/o\ ta\ pa\ yi\ gcug\ lag\ tu/ \\
gyes\ pa\ rdo\ rjes\ byin\ gyis\ brlabs/ \\
gliñ\ bu\ mkhan\ žes\ bya\ ba\ yi/ \\
bla\ ma\ de\ la\ phyag\ ’chal\ lo/ \\
I\ bow\ down\ to\ the\ lama \\
Called\ Gliñbumkhan \\
Blessed\ by\ dGyespardorje \\
In\ the\ science\ of\ Otapa
\end{align*}
\]

This siddha “flute-master” I have not found in other sources. Hevajra is one of the best known yidams. He plays an important part in the conversion of the mongols.
This grim-visaged man is given the title “siddha” in the inscription:

grub thob pa ra su la na mo GlorY to the siddha Parasu

In the litany we are told that he was an ascetic in “Bhagala” and beheld the Thugsdam in rDorjegdan:

/ bha ga la ru dka’ thub mjad/ 
/ rdo rje gdn du thugs dam gzigs / 
/ sa ra pu žes bya ba yi / 
/ bla ma de la phyag’ chal lo / 
I bow down to the lama
Called Sarapu
Who saw the Thugsdam in rDorjegdan
Who was an ascetic in Bhagala

I have not found this siddha in other sources. — The third Dalailama includes a “rcibs logs daň” (Pārśva) in his list of holy men. Pārśva was the name of Aśvaghoṣa’s teacher. In the Tangyur we find a Šari’ibu. Possibly our siddha Sarapu — this form ought to be considered the better one — might be the mKhonpo Šri Šāriputra Mahāśāṃkara of Vajrāsana found in the Tangyur as the author of “sgrol ma u gra’i mchod pa’i cho ga žes bya ba”. If so we might suspect the sGroima of being his Thugsdam. According to Cordier he is supposed to be identical with a slobdpon rDorjegdanpa bSodsñomspa.


2 Cordier III 183 (vol. 82, 25).

3 Oslo Tangyur: bhañ ga la ru = sa ra ha —, the next (82):

o-rgyan gmas kyi dur khorod du /
mkha’ gro ma yis byin gyis brlabs /
sa ra su ka žes bya ba’i /
bla ma de la phyag’ chal lo /
KA LA DA KE = KA LA DA GE

This man in the centre, who has a very “tantric” appearance, is called “siddha” in the inscription:

grub thob ka la da ke la na mo

Glory to the siddha Kaladake

He was blessed by the Red gSinrje the litany tells us:

/ bha ga la yi byaṅ ʿsar du /
/ gšin rje dmar pos byin gyis brlabs /
/ ka la da ge žes bya baʾi2 /
/ bla ma de la phyag ʿchal lo /
I bow down to the lama
Called Kaladage
Blessed by the Red gSinrje
In the north-east of Bhagala

Tucci in list number 3 in Tibetan Painted Scrolls gives his name as Kalana. The identity of this siddha is doubtful to me. The same Thugsdam that is painted in the upper right-hand corner seems to appear in a picture reproduced by Grünwedel and to represent the tantric gYunstonrdo rje in the act of conjuring up Mahākāla.¹

¹ Grünwedel, Mythologie 57. — gšin rje is Yama, the god of death. He is absent in the whole Sādhanamāla, where Yamari-Yamantaka seems to have taken his place. Nevertheless it was gšin rje whom bCoṅkhapa appointed to be a guardian of the Faith. In our picture he is standing on a bull, carrying the skull-stick in his right hand, and the cup in his left. Usually the Red Yama carries the wish-granting jewel in his right hand. Yama is seen frequently in thankas representing prelates of the Yellow Church. Both Yama and Yamī appear in rGyud XIV 25 and XIX 12 of the Kangyur.

2 Oslo Tangyur (83) : ka la laṅ ge.
The inscription contains neither title, nor invocation — formula, merely the name:

\[ \text{bha yi ni} \quad \text{Bhayini} \]

According to the litany he beheld Khasarpani and led an ascetic life in the Señldeñ-wood:

\[
/ \text{señ Iden nags la dka' thub mjad} /
/ \text{khar sa pa' ni thugs dam gzigs} /
/ \text{bha ya ni ës bya ba yi} /
/ \text{bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo} /
\]

I bow down to the lama
Called Bhayani
Who saw the Thugsdam Kharsapani
Who was an ascetic in the Señldeñ-wood

I have not found a siddha Bhayani or Bhayini in other sources. But the name of the siddha Vyāli — number 84 of the “Geschichten” in rendered Bhyari, Bhalipa, Bhuripa and Byanipa.¹ They might be identical, though there are few points common to the story and the litany. Khasarpani is known as one of the revealers of the “phyag rgya chen po'i brda'i brgyud pa'i glu”². One of the Sthaviras is called Señldeñmagspa and among the authors in the Tangyur we find a Nagskyirinčhen and a Nagskyirinpočhe.³

¹ Cordier II 53 (vol. XIV, 14). Sankṛtyāyana l.c.
The inscription calls this rather "tantric-looking" man with the naked śakti "siddha":

\[
grub\ thob\ mi\ rtog\ pa\ la\ na\ mo\ \hspace{1cm} \text{Glory to the siddha Mirtogpa}
\]

He seems to have dwelt in a cemetery and to have subdued a king in Magadha:

/ ma ga dha ru rgyal po btul / 
/ dur khrod gnas su rol pa mjad / 
/ me tog pa žes bya ba yi / 
/ bla ma de la phyag 'chal lo / 
I bow down to the lama
Called Metogpa
Who frolicked in the cemetery,
Subdued a king in Magadha

I have not found a Metogpa in other sources.\(^2\) "metog" means "flower" and this makes one think of the siddha Vyāli whose story is number 84 of the "Geschichten". This story, however, says nothing of Magadha, of a cemetery, or of the subjugation of a king. The hero of the story is probably identical with the author Bhalipa in the Tangyur.\(^3\) The subjugation of a king is a performance not very rare in legends of holy men. It was done by Dharmapa and Abhayākara and others.\(^4\)

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1. The Tangyur preserved in Marburg has: btul.
2. A king Metog in Central India is mentioned by Sumpa mkhanpo 102 and Tāranātha, Chos'byun 159.
4. Sumpa mkhanpo 127.
RDO RJE GDAN PA

The inscription calls him “lama”, a title conferred only on two persons in our series. 

bla ma rdo rje gdan pa la na mo       Glory to the lama rDorjegdanpa

Our litany contains no invocation for rDorjegdanpa, but at the end we find the following statement:

/ grub thob brgyad cu rca bzi'i gsol 'debs /
/ bla ma rdo rje gdan pas mjads pa rjogs so /
These are the prayers for the Eighty Four Siddhas
Composed by the lama rDorjegdanpa

I think we may safely conclude as to their identity. It was probably the first illustrator who made him the 85th siddha of this series.

Tāranātha knows of three sages in Buddhagayā called rDorjegdanpa-Vajrāsana. In the “rjes gnañ ... thob brgyud” of the “thob yig gsal ba'i me loñ” of Jaya Paññita three Vajrāsana are enumerated between Jetāri and the Bari-locaba Rinchengrags; the line of transmission is: sañs rgyas rdo rje 'chañ — phyag na rdo rje — je tā ri — dgra las rnam rgyal — rdo rje gdan pa çhe t'riñ çhung gsum — ba ri lo ca ba rin çhen grags — sa çhen kun sñīñ —. This passage places them before the Bari-locaba. The Tibetan index of the copy of the Tangyur preserved in Paris mentions the author rDorjegdanpa, by Cordier hesitantly identified with Ratnakaragupta, in connection with the work “gmod sbyin ma kun nas 'khyil pa'i sgrub thabs kyi don bsdus pa'i 'grel pa”. This work was transmitted from Klugrub to rDorjegdanpa who handed it on to the Bari-locaba (= Rinchengrags). 

1 Cordier III 174 (vol. 81, 42), A slobdpon rDorjegdanpa bSodsñomspa who composed “sgrol ma dmar mos 'gro ba dban du bsdu ba'i 'khor lo'i cho ga 'zes bya ba'” is identified by Cordier with Sāriputramahāsvāmin, l.c. (vol. 82, 26). A mkhanpo, rDorjegdanpa known as the author of “gsal byed ni ma'i 'khor los dban du bya ba 'zes bya ba'” is by Cordier indentified with Amoghavajra; the work was translated by Sthāvira and the Bari-locaba (by Cordier identified with Abhayākara-gupta and Ratnakirī respectively) Cordier III 219 (vol. 83, 50). Also translated by the Bari-locaba is the “rje bcun rdo rje gdan gyi sgrub thabs” Cordier III 3 (vol. 71, 1), cf. l.c. 21 (vol. 71, 97, 98, 99).

A rDorjegdanpa received the work “byin gyis brlabs pa'i nag po çhen po'i gsal ba'i sgrub thabs” from Āryadeva and handed it on to Khyuñpo rNal'byorpa; this rDorjegdanpa is by Cordier identified with the above mentioned Sāriputramahāsvāmin, Cordier III 201—202 (vol. 82, 96). The author is Nāgabodhi. Also a rDorjegdanpa who composed the “gsun po khro bo çhen po'i sgrub thabs” is by Cordier identified with Sāriputramahāsvāmin, Cordier III 192—193 (vol. 82, 66).

According to the colophon of the “maññala gyi cho ga” Cordier III 93—94 (vol. 72, 57) the author called “dgos grub slob dpon mkhas pa rin çhen 'byuñ nas sbas pa” (= Ratnakaragupta) is also known as “dge ba'i bṣes gian rdo rje gdan pa”; the Tibetan index gives: rdo rje gdan par grags pa rin çhen; the translator is Dharmakirti.

A “dpañ rdo rje gdan gyi sgrub thabs” without the name of the author is recorded Cordier III 21 (vol. 71, 97) and the great Atiśa composed a “rdo rje gdan gyi rdo rje'i glu'i 'grel pa”, Cordier III 46 (vol. 13, 43).

A dNosgrubbrñes pa slob dpon mkhaspa Rinchen'byuñ gnas sbas-pa or Vajrāsana composed Cordier III 351 (vol. 33, 64) translated by Dharmakirti.
## INDICES

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### b) Personal names (except modern authors) and place names (pl. n.)

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ABBREVIATIONS

De = S. K. De, The Buddhist Tantric Literature, (Sanskrit) of Bengal. New Indian Antiquary I:1. 1938, 1 ff.

Sendai: A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons ed. by Hakuju Ui, Munetada Suzuki etc. Published by Tôhoku Imperial University aided by Saitô Gratitude Foundation. Sendai, Japan. 1934.


Grünwedel, Mythologie = A. Grünwedel, Mythologie des Buddhismus in Thibet und der Mongolei. 1900.


Hatha Yoga = The Hatha Yoga Pradīpikā of Svātmārāma Svāmī tr. by Shrinivās Īyāṅgār publ. with the original text and its commentary by Tookaram Taty. 1893.


Bhattacharyya, Iconography = Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, The Indian Buddhist Iconography. Mainly based on the Śādhanamālā etc. 1924.

Pantheon of the 300 = Bibliotheca Buddhica V.


Tārānātha, Čos’byün = Tārānāthae de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India propagatione narratio, ed. A. Schießner. 1868.


Wassiljew = W. Wassiljew, Der Buddhismus, seine Dogmen, Geschichte und Literatur. 1860.


rJesgnañbyachul = Rje beuñ bla ma dam pā phun thon 'jam pāi dbyais dkon mēchog bstan pāi sgron ma'i dpal bzañ po'i gsun 'bum ja pāi dkar chag bzung so //... grub chen brgbay cu'i rje gnañ bya cha bzung so //.


Mahāvyuttapati = A Tibetan Index to the Mahāvyuttapati. Compiled by Kyoo Nishio. 1936 (Kyoto).


Yung Ho Kung = F. D. Lessing, Yung Ho-Kung, an Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking. Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin. Public. 18. VIII. Ethnography I. Stockholm 1942.


Lalou, Répertoire = Répertoire du Tanjûr etc. par M. Lalou. Paris 1933.


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EXCURSUS I
PLATE XIV

Scroll in the possession of Mr. S. H. Minkenhoft, New York
(The description is made from a photograph and a colour-film
kindly sent by Mr. Minkenhoft)

DESCRIPTION

In the centre: sPringyišugsčan (52), sitting on throne, under umbrella, feet on footstool, royal ornaments
flesh-coloured and bearded, blue dress with trimmings, white shawl,
green and dark red round the waist, dark blue shoes
Man who makes obeisance: fair flesh-coloured, dark blue dress with trimmings
Fruits on table: red, with green leaves
Divinity on rose-coloured cloud: white-skinned, dark red dress and green shawl
Tiger to the right of the throne, yellow, brown stripes, whitish belly
Person behind the throne feeding hare: scarlet dress
Hares greyish-white
Beneath to the left: Kāmarūpa (53), rowing a boat (note the different construction compared with scroll IX!), dark brown skin, black hair and beard, white and flame-coloured ornaments (ear-rings and necklace) white loin-cloth with trimmings,
Companion nearest him: flesh-coloured, white headdress, dark red dress,
Companion to the right: dark-skinned, rose-coloured dress and yellow headdress,
Companion in front: flesh-coloured
To the right: Dharipa (54), right foot and left knee on the ground, flesh-coloured, tantric ornaments,
holding knife in right hand and skull-cup in left hand
red loin-cloth bound with yellow
dark blue shawl
yellow band
Duck in front to the right: greyish-white, red-necked, blue-cheeked

Texts

In the centre: rgyal po sprin gyi šugs čan la na mo  Glory to king sPringyišugsčan
Beneath to the left: grub thob kama ra pa la na mo  Glory to the siddha Kāmarūpa
To the right: grub thob dha ri pa la na mo / Glory to the siddha Dharipa

154
Siddha sPringyišugs can in the centre

(Coll. Minkenhofer, New York)
EXCURSUS II

This treatise is found in the Tangyur, preserved in Copenhagen (Narthang-edition?) volume Go 123, or 211 according to the numeration of the Royal Library in Copenhagen. The volume was not available when I read the proofs. I give the corresponding names in the rjes gnāṇībyachul. The Tangyur preserved in Oslo (Derge-edition) has no Sanskrit equivalents. The title mentions eighty mahāsiddhas only. Other important differences are noted.

Title

// grub thob brgyad ču rca bzh'i čha lugs
'jin chul bzugs so //
Oslo Tangyur: grub thob brgyad ču'i māön par rtogs pa bzugs.

Beginning

// rdo rje sems dpa' la phyang 'chal lo //
Oslo Tangyur: / thams čad mkhyen pa la phyang 'chal lo /

1

lu yi pa du ba'i mdoṅ čan skyes pa daṅ ldan
gčig pa'o (1)

Luyipa, with a smoke-coloured skin,
in the company of a man

This Luyipa is identical with the mahāsiddha number 1 of the stories translated by Grünwedel and number 3 of the litany and our scrolls in Stockholm.

2

li la pa ser po bud med daṅ lhan čig pa'o (2)

Lilapa, yellow and in the company of a woman

The name is not certain. If right, he is identical with number 2 of rjes gnāṇībyachul.

3

gu bi ru pa mdoṅ dkar po bud med daṅ lhan
čig pa'o (3)

Gubirupa, white-coloured and in the company of a woman

The rjes gnāṇībyachul has as number: ku si ri pa, the Oslo Tangyur: ku bi ru pa.

4

dhiṅ gi pa mdoṅ (=mdog) ser po bud med
daṅ lhan gčig pa'o (4)

Dhiṅgipa, yellow-coloured and in the company of a woman

The name is not certain. rjes gnāṇībyachul has: dom ki pa. Oslo Tangyur: deṅ gi pa.
Klugrub — Nagarjuna — saffron-coloured and in the company of a woman

The “gloss” Nagarjuna is here as in several cases written not in the same line as the other text concerning this mahāsiddha but beneath the name on the next line, and in the middle of the text concerning another mahāsiddha. Oslo Tangyur: klu sgrub žabs gur —.

Kakhayalapa with a white skin and in the company of a woman

The same name occurs as number 6 in the rJesgnaṅbyachul. Oslo Tangyur: — kruṅ gi —.

He occupies number 7 in the rJesgnaṅbyachul.

Sarapha, yellow-coloured, with the mudrā of contemplation and in the company of a woman

The “jim” might be an original “sgra bcan ’jin”. Number 8 in the rJesgnaṅbyachul is called “sa ra ha”.

His sanskrit name is somewhat misspelled: ša ra pa > ša ra ba > ša ba ra. The rJesgnaṅbyachul contains “ri khrod pa” as number 9.
11
ség pa'i rdo rje — bajra sīṇgara — mdog ser po rdo rje dril bu'i phyag rgya čan bud med dañ lhan čig pa (11) sGegpa’irdorje — Bajra sīṇgara — yellow-coloured, showing the rDorjedrilbu-mudrā and in the company of a woman
Cf. Mahāvyutpati 5036: sgeg pa = sīṇgāra.

He is the sGegpa’irdorje number 10 in the rJesgnañbyachul. Sarat Chandra Das gives as equivalents for “ség pa'i rdo rje” : lāvanyavajra and līlāvajra.

12
dha ri ka pa mdog ser po skyes pa dañ ldn gčig pa (12) Dharikapa, yellow-coloured and in the company of a man
Dharikapa appears as number 11 in the rJesgnañbyachul. Oslo Tangyur: dā～.

13
ye šes žabs — jñā na pā da — dge sloṅ kha dog dkar po skyes pa dañ lhan gčig pa (13) Yeśesžabs — Jñānapāda — a dGesloṅ, white-coloured and in the company of a man
A “ye šes žabs dge sloṅ” appears as number 12 in the rJesgnañbyachul.

14
o rgyan na ta pa nag po bud med dañ lhan čig p (14) Orgyan-Ñatapa, black, and in the company of a woman
The rJesgnañbyachul has as number 13 “ut tta ta pa” (uttapta). Oslo Tangyur: u ṇḍa ta pa.

15
tha ga pa — tan tra la — ser po bud med dañ lhan gčig pa (15) Thagapa — Tantrala — yellow, and in the company of a woman
The “weaver” we find as number 14 in the rJesgnañbyachul. As we find a weaver number 66, our number 15 may be misspelled (Tantrapa ?).

16
padma rdo rje — padma bajra — kar śam žabs gyas brgyad gyon phyed dkerUNS kyi bar gyis bžugs pa bud med dañ lhan gčig pa (16) Padmardorje — Padmabajra — white hued (?), sitting crosslegged, and in the company of a woman
The same name occurs in the rJesgnañbyachul (15). Kar Śam = in a white gown? Cf. Blue Annals I 278. The Oslo-Tangyur: — dkar — krun gi —.

157
byig gñen — ba su ban dhu — rja gser po’i mdog čan dge sloṅ chos kyi ’khor lo’i phyag rgya čan skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (17)

Cf. number 38! rjesgaṅbyachul has “dbyig gi gñen po” (16). The Oslo-Tangyur: — rja gsar —.

ja lan dha ra mdog ñer ba daṅ mchuṅs pa gar gyi žabs čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (18)

Jalandhara, colour like red pepper (?), dancing and in the company of a woman

This mahāsiddha is mentioned as number 17 in the rjesgaṅbyachul. Oslo Tangyur: jā ~.

chos kyi grags pa — dharma kirtī — gur gum gyi mdog čan dge sloṅ gyi dgyes pa skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (19)

Čhoskyigragspa — Dharmakirtī — saffron-coloured, a dGesloṅ and in the company of a man

This “siddha” appears as number 18 in the rjesgaṅbyachul. dgyes ’:bgyis? Oslo Tangyur: — dges —.

bu ba pa² — [gha...] ser po bud med daṅ ldan gčig pa (20)

Bubapa — [gha...] yellow, and in the company of a woman

A Bhupapa appears as number 19 in the rjesgaṅbyachul. The equivalent is badly damaged.

² = ŋu bo po? du ba = dḥu ma? The Oslo-Tangyur: bu la ser —.

ka ści ri pa — bžen pa — gur gum gyi mdog čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (21)

Kaśiripā — erect — saffron-coloured and in the company of a woman

The same name occurs in rjesgaṅbyachul (20). Oslo-Tangyur: — bžen pa’i —.

tog rce pa — kha ni tam — ljaṅ kha skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (22)

Togrcēpa — Khanitam — green-coloured and in the company of a man

He is certainly identical with number 21 in the rjesgaṅbyachul. According to Turner “Khanti” is a small digging instrument in Nepalese, Sk. Khanitram, Pk. Khaṇīṭṭa.
i ntra bhuti rgyal po'i gyiñ bag gis bžugs pa
sño ljañ bud med dañ lhan gčig pa (23)

Intrabhuti sitting after the manner of a king (?), bluish-green and in the company of a woman

He occupies number 22 in the rjesgnäbyachul.

na ga bo dhi — klu'i byañ chub cog pus gnas
pa spyir do phan skra'i phyag rgya čan nag
po skyes pa dañ lhan gčig pa (24)

Nagabodhi — Klů'ibyañčhub — crouching, hair on the head hanging,³ black and in the company of a man

We find the same name as number 24. Oslo-Tangyur: nag po pa ... spyi bor phregs sgra'i phyag etc.

³ ? — The text is not easily legible. Possibly: Dictionnaire: do ke, do ker = capilli supra caput nodati, phan rgyan čha = ornamenta pensilia. — In the legend N. grew horns by meditation. As Mr. Wayman kindly informed me the Derge-edition has: spyi bor phregs sgra'i; phyag rgya = mudrā, horn = tib. rva, ru.

pra bha ka ra pā da — 'od gzer žabs — rja
gser gyi mdog čan ra lī⁴ bsnams pa bud med
dañ lhan gčig pa (25)

Prabhakarapāda — 'Odgzeržabs — golden coloured clay, holding a sword and in the company of a woman

While our Tibetan name omits "kara" rjesgnäbyachul calls number 25: 'od mjad žabs. So does Oslo-Tangyur continuing: rja gsar etc.

⁴ ra lī = ral gri ? So Oslo-Tangyur.

ma ka na įi pa sño ljañ skyes pa dañ lhan
gčig pa (26)

Makanaṭipa, bluish green and in the company of a man

The rjesgnäbyachul has: ya ka pa dri pa. Oslo-Tangyur: ma ga na įi pa.

dom bi pa dkar šam stag gi smad steñi na
bžugs pa bud med dañ lhan gčig pa (27)

Đombokpa, white-hued, mounted on a tiger's back and in the company of a woman

"dom bhi pa" number 27 is called in the rjesgnäbyachul. Cf. n. 16.

thod pa čan — ka pa li — dkar šam skyes pa

Thodpačan — Kapali — white-hued, and
daṅ lhan gčig pa (28) with a man

The identical name is found as number 28 in the rjes gnāṇbyaḥul.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>29</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la ba pa — la ba pa rabs pa — rja gs(e)r gyi mdoṅ čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labapa — Labaparabspa — the colour of yellow clay and with a woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another Labapa we shall meet as number 65. Number 29 in the rjes gnāṇbyaḥul is called: lva ba pa. “lva ba” = kambala. Oslo Tangyur: la ba pa la ba bsnams pa (holding a cloth) rja —.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti lo pa nag po bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilopa, black and with a woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“tai lo pa” is the name of number 30 in the rjes gnāṇbyaḥul.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>31</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mar me mjad — di paṅ ka ra — dkar șam gšon nu’i čha byad čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marmenjad — Dīpankara — white, young-looking, and with a woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number 56 will show us a “di ba ka ri”. Number 31 in the rjes gnāṇbyaḥul is “mar me mjad”.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>32</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dge gšen zla ba — can tra pa sa ka — sño ljan po ti’i phyag rgya čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa’o (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dGegnenzlabā — Cantrapasaka — bluish green poti-mudrā, and in the company of a woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The man is called dge bsṇen zla ba in the rjes gnāṇbyaḥul and in the Oslo Tangyur.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ra bu ta nag po skyes pa bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabuta, black, in the company of a man and a woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This man appears with exactly the same name and the same number in the rjes gnāṇbyaḥul, as “ra pu ta” in the Oslo Tangyur.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dga’ ba’i rdo rje — ra ta bajra — skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dGa’ba’irdorje — Ratavajra — in the company of a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same man and the same number are met with in the rjes gnāṇbyaḥul, where the mahāsiddha is said to be of a yogi’s appearance: rnal ’byor pa’i čha byad čan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

160
Two pages from Tangyur preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
ka do la pa — phyag sloṅ ba’i snod čan skyes pa dān lhan gčig pa (35)  
Kadolapa, begging, and in the company of a man

The same number, name, and description are found in the rJesgnañbyachul.

čag lham mkhan — lo ha rupa na ka ra —  
dkar po bud med dān lhan gčig pa (36)  
Čaglhammkhan — Loharupanakara — white and in the company of a woman

Number 36 in the rJesgnañbyachul is called: čags lham mkhan, which probably is the better form. As equivalent for “mchil lham mkhan” Grünwedel gives in story number 79 “panaha”. Our Sanskrit-word is probably meant to be: loha + upānat + kara. Oslo-Tangyur: lbsags lham mkhan.

pa ga la pa pa nag po b žeṅs phyag na bum pa bsnams pa skyes pa dān lhan gčig pa (37)  
Pagalapapa, black, erect, holding a bumpa and in the company of a man

His name as number 37 in the rJesgnañbyachul is: pā ga la pa. Oslo-Tangyur: pa ga la pa.

ba su ban dha pa gyas duṅ gyab gyon pas bum pa bsnams pa rja gs(e) r pa lta bu bud med dān lhan gčig pa (38)  
Basubandhapa, a shell-trumpet in his right (hand) and a bumpa in his left, goldish and in the company of a woman

Number 38 in the rJesgnañbyachul is called: ba su ba dha pa. — We have had a “dbyig gn’en” above as number 17. Oslo-Tangyur: — gyas pas rluṅ —.

cā pi ti pa gur gum gyi mdog čan ’jar ’khyim dān ras bsnams pa bud med dān lhan gčig pa (39)  
Capītipa, saffron-coloured, in a rainbow-circle (?), holding a cloth and in the company of a woman

The rJesgnañbyachul has: ca pi tri pa; Oslo-Tangyur: ca pi ti pa.

dam chig rdo rje — bajra pa ma (ya) —  
bud rci’i thod a bsnams pa sṅo ljaṅ bud med dān lhan gčig pa (40)  
Damchigrdorje — Bajrapama(ya) — holding a nectar-skullecup, bluish-green, and in the company of a woman

The name is Vajrasamaya. Number 40 in rJesgnañbyachul carries the same name. The “e-stroke” in “med” is missing.
lçe spyaṅ žabs — jam bû ka pâ da — rja gsar gyi mdoṅ čan skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (41)

This same “jackal-man” occupies number 41 in rjesnaṅbyachul. Oslo Tangyur: če —.

kar nag po sño ljaṅ bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (42)

“kar nag po” may be read “ka ra nag po”. In rjesnaṅbyachul we find: ka ra ma pa. Oslo-Tangyur: ka ra na pa.

dha mu pa phyag na rha ’jin pa nag po skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (43)

Dhamupa, holding a drum in his hand, black, and with a man

44

Dhamapa, yellow, erect and in the company of a woman

The names of number 43 and number 44 are rendered “Dhamupa” and “Dhumapa” in the rjesnaṅbyachul.

ku ma ri pa gţon nu’i gzugs daṅ kha dog čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (45)

Kumariṇa, a young man’s shape and colouring, and in the company of a woman

The identical name is as number 45 found in the rjesnaṅbyachul. Oslo-Tangyur: ku mā ri pa ga nu’i.

ban dhe pa rus pa’i rgyan čaṅ phyang na gri gug daṅ thod pa bsnams pa gar gyi žabs čan bud med daṅ lhan gčig pa (46)

Bandhepa, with bone-ornaments, holding a sacrificial knife and a skull-cup, dancing, and together with a woman

As number 46 a “ba ndé” is found in the rjesnaṅbyachul.

ku pa ji pa (kub ji pa ?) gur gyi mdoṅ čan thod pa bsnams pa skyes pa daṅ lhan gčig pa (47)

Kupajipa, saffron-coloured, holding a skull-cup, and in the company of a man

We find the same name as number 47 in the rjesnaṅbyachul.

162
rin chen myu gu — ratnakura — rin po che'i
bu ram⁵ bsnams pa slio lhan bud med daň lhan göig pa (48)

Rinchenmyugu — Ratnakura — seizing a jewelled globe bluish green, and with a woman

Number 48 in the rjes gnay byacu⁷ has the same name.


ral gri grub pa — khaḍga siddhi — nag po ral gri daň lhuñ bzed kyi phyag rgya čan bgreñ pa skyes pa daň lhan göig pa (49)

Ralgrigrubpa — Khadjasiddhi — black, with sword and alms-bowl, erect and with a man

Number 49 in the rjes gnay byacu⁷ has the identical name.

dha ki pa rja gsar gyi mdog čan rja rña buñ ba bud med daň lhan göig pa (50)

Dhakipa, earth-coloured(?),⁶ holding a drum and in the company of a woman

Number 50 in the rjes gnay byacu⁷ is called : dha sa ki pa.

⁶ As Mr. Wayman kindly informed me, the Lhasa Dictionary by dGebšes Chosgrags has : rja rña čhen po) rja rña kha čig pa) and : rja phor = sa‘i kham por thus : rja = sa, — rja gsar = fresh earth ?, or : ĝser = yellow earth ?

ku ma ru pa gar gyi žabs čan dkar po skyes pa daň lhan göig pa (51)

Kumarupa, dancing, white, and with a man

Number 51 in the rjes gnay byacu⁷ is : ka ma ru pā.

ṭen tra na pa ser po rcva phad buñ ba bud med daň lhan göig pa (52)

Ṭentranapa, yellow, holding a grass bag and together with a woman

Sk. ṭraṇa — grass. The rjes gnay byacu⁷ calls number 52 : ṭan ṭa pa, Oslo-Tangyur : ten ṭa na pa.

spyod pa pa — ča rgya pa — gur gum gyi mdog čan 'greñ ba bud med daň lhan göig pa (53)

sPyodpapa — Ċargyapa — saffron-coloured, erect and in the company of with a woman
(Jäschke notes: spyodpapa — dpyodpapa — mîmâñsaka.) — The same name occurs as number 5 in the rjes ga’i byakchul. — Mahâvyutpatti gives: spyod pa pa = mîmâñsaka (3517) and spyod pa = caryâ (363 etc. etc.).

54

ko lpags mkhan — carmakara — lag ša’ bzuñ ba skyes pa dañ lhan gcig pa (54)  
Kolpagsmkhan — Carmakara — holding a hide in his hand, and with a man


ša = chavi, Mahâvyutpatti.

55

kun ba žabs — sa ma ni gta sa pâ da — gur gum gyi mdog čan bud m(e)d dañ lhan gcig pa (55)  
Kunbažabs — Samanigtasapâda — saffron-coloured and with a woman

Number 55 in the rjes ga’i byakchul is called: kun bzañ = Samantabhadrapâda. Oslo-Tangyur: kun za žabs.

56

dhi pa ka ri til ser po thal mo sbyar ba skyes pa dañ lhan gcig pa (56)  
Dhipakari, sesame-yellow, holding together the palms of his hands, and in the company of a man

Number 56 in the rjes ga’i byakchul is called: dhi ka pa ri. Oslo-Tangyur: di pâ ka ri ti pa.

57

bži gtum nag po bud med dañ lhan gcig pa (57)  
bŽigtum, black and in the company of a woman

“gži gtum” number 57 is called in the rjes ga’i byakchul.

58

dge sloñ bdun skyes rja gsar gyi mdog čan skyes pa dañ lhan gcig pa (58)  
dGesloñ bDunskeyed, earth-coloured, and in the company of a man

This time the rjes ga’i byakchul presents a somewhat different name: dge sloñ mdun phyogs. Oslo-Tangyur: dge sloñ ’dun skyoñ.

59

khrus mkhan — ma rja ra — gur gum gyi  
Khrusmkhan — Marjara — saffron-coloured
mdog čan bud med dañ lhan gcig pa (59) and together with a woman

The same name occurs as number 59 in the rJesgnañbyachul.

60

dho ki ḷi pa ser po bud med dañ lhan gcig pa (60) Đhokiḍipa yellow and together with a woman

"dho ki ḷi pa" is the corresponding name in the rJesgnañbyachul. Oslo-Tangyur: dho ki ḷi pa.

61

be sna sño ljañ bud med dañ lhan gcig pa (61) Besna, Bluish green and together with a woman

"be sna ba" is the name of number 61 in the rJesgnañbyachul.

62

dbyug pa ser po bud med dañ lhan gcig pa (62) dByugpa, yellow and in the company of a woman

Number 62 in the rJesgnañbyachul shows the same name. Oslo-Tangyur: dbyug pa pa.

63

yan lag na pi rdo rje ser po kho bo’i žabs mchan ma bgreñ ba rdo rje dril bu’i phyag rgya čan rus pa’i rgyan čan bud med dañ lhan gcig pa (63)

Yanlagnanpirdorje (= Yanlagmedpa’irdorje) yellow, the sign on his feet, erect, with the Vajraghanta-mudra, and the bone-ornaments, and with a woman

Exactly the same name occurs in the rJesgnañbyachul (63). Oslo-Tangyur: yan lag med pa’i rdo rje ser po khro.

64

’hphags pa lha — a rya de ba — ’greñs pa dge sloñ gyi rañ bžin skyes pa dañ lhan gcig pa (64)

’Phagspalha — Aryadeba — erect, in the likeness of a dGesloṅ, and in the company of a man

The same name occurs (64) in the rJesgnañbyachul. Oslo-Tangyur: ’phags pa’i lha ’greñ ba.

65

la ba pa gur gum gyi mdog čan mñam žag gi phyag rgya čan bud med dañ lhan gcig pa (65) Labapa, saffron-coloured with both hands laid together on the stomach and with a woman

165
The *rjesgnaṅbyachul* contains the same name as number 65. We had a siddha Lvabapa as siddha number 29.

66

thag pa mkhan dkar śam žabs ’khil ba bud med daṅ lhan gcig pa (66)

Thagpmkhan, white, bended legs (?) and in the company of a woman

The corresponding name in the *rjesgnaṅbyachul* (66) is: thag mkhan. Oslo-Tangyur: — *’khil ba* —.

67

sa ra ha nag po ’greñ ba phyag na mda’ gzu bsnams pa skyes pa daṅ lhan gcig pa (67)

Saraha, black, erect, holding bow and arrow, and with a man

This is the “younger” Saraha, or Šavaripa. In the *rjesgnaṅbyachul* he is called “śaripa”.

68

śri (“pri”) dhara dpal ’jin žabs ĝon kyi ’khor lo ’i phyag rgya čan bud med daṅ lhan gcig pa (68)

Śridhara — dPal’jinžabs — showing the dharmacakra-mudrā and with a woman

The name is rendered “dpal ’jin” in the *rjesgnaṅbyachul*, “dpal ’jin žabs” in the Oslo-Tangyur.

69

ci tri la pa gur gum gyi mdog čan bzeń pa bud med daṅ lhan gcig pa (69)

Citrilapa, saffron-coloured, standing, and with a woman

Number 69 in the *rjesgnaṅbyachul* is called: ca ra li pa. Oslo-Tangyur: ca tra li pa.

70

ka ka li pa rja gsar ba’i mdog ’gyid čhas gnas pa bud med daṅ lhan gcig pa (70)

Kakalipa, earth-coloured, having haughty demeanour, and in the company of a woman

He is called: ko ki li pa in the *rjesgnaṅbyachul* and in the Oslo-Tangyur.

71

dril bu pa gur gum gyi mdog čan phyag na rdo rje dril bu bsnams pa rtag... žabs brkyaṅ ba gyon bskum pa bud med daṅ lhan gcig pa (71)

Drilbupa, saffron-coloured, holding a vajragaṅṭa in his hand, right leg stretched out, left contracted, and with a woman

Number 71 in the *rjesgnaṅbyachul* is called “dril bu pa”. Oslo-Tangyur: — rtags laṅs pa žabs gyas brkyaṅ —.
na ro pa mdog sña ljan bud med dañ lhan gčig pa (72)

"na ro pa" occupies number 72 in the rJesnañbyachul, and "nā ro pa" in the Oslo-Tangyur.

khyi mo čan bžens pa me ro'i mdog čan bud med dañ lhan gčig pa (73)

Khyimočan, erect, ash-coloured and in the company of a woman

The same name (otherwise often Kukuripa) is found (73) in the rJesnañbyachul, Oslo-Tangyur: khyi mo čan... me lo'i...

rin čhen 'byuñ gnas ži ba — rat na ya ka ra šan ti — dge sloň ser po phyag na po ti bsnams pa skyes pa dañ lhan gčig pa (74)

Rinčhen'byuṅgnavasžiba — Ratnayakaraśanti — dGesloṅ, yellow, holding a book in his hand and in the company of a man

The rJesnañbyachul shortens the name: rin 'byuñ ži ba.

ka ra li pa ser po gar gyi žabs čan bum pa bsnams pa bud med dañ lhan gčig pa (75)

Karalipa, yellow, dancing, holding a bumpa and in the company of a woman

The rJesnañbyachul calls him: ska ra li pa.

kha mkhan' ser po phyag na dril bu bsnams śin glog⁸ la sdigs 'jug byed pa bud med dañ lhan gčig pa (76)

Khamkhan, yellow, holding a bell in his hand, pointing at the lightning (?) and in the company of a woman

Number 76 in the rJesnañbyachul has exactly the same name. Oslo-Tangyur: — mjub —.

⁸ In the Oslo-Tangyur = mkha' mkhan.
⁹ glog = vidyut = lightning or a shining weapon.

khan dha ri pa me tog ku su ma pa'i mdog čan bya yi čhogs su spro ba skyes pa dañ lhan gčig pa (77)

Khandharipa, the colour of the Kusuma-flower, enjoying birds gathering (=čhogs ?) and with a man

The rJesnañbyachul (77) has: kha ba ta ri pa.

167
gyuṅ mo — Ḍombi — me li'i mdog čan laṅs pa 'bar ba¹⁰ thogs pa bud med daṅ lhan gēg pa (78)

³⁰ phor pa = bowl; 'bar ba = jvāla, jvalana, tejas, uttaptā.

He is called “gyuṅ po” in the rjesgnaṅbyachul and in the Oslo-Tangyur. This gYuṅmočan is probably the “younger” Ḍombipa.

gYuṅmo — Ḍombi — ash — ( = me ro ?) coloured, standing, seizing a pātra (?) and with a woman

byi la čan — om u di³¹ — me lo'i mdog čan bud med daṅ lhan gēg pa (79)

We find “byi ba čan” in the rjesgnaṅbyachul.

³¹ Or: om 'u ri.

byilačan — Oṃ'udi — ash-coloured and in the company of a woman

ka na pa rnal 'byor ma ser mo gar phyag daṅ thod pa 'jin pa skyes pa daṅ lhan gēg pa (80)

Kanaṅpa the woman-yogi, dancing (?), yellow, seizing a skull-cup and in the company of a man

The same name and title occur in the rjesgnaṅbyachul.

rnal 'byor ma me kha la me li'i mdog čan rdo rje dril bu 'jin pa'i phyag rgad par gnas pa bud med daṅ lhan gēg pa (81)

The same name appears in the rjesgnaṅbyachul. — rgad ' : rgya ? Oslo Tangyur: — me la kha la —.

rnal 'byor ma grub pa čan dpal mo sio ljan žabs gyas gyon brkyaṅ ba mi ro'i gandan la gnas pa phyag na rdo rje dril bu 'jin pas rig pa la 'khyud pa rus pa'i rgyan čan bud med daṅ lhan gēg pa (82)

The same name occurs in the rjesgnaṅbyachul. Oslo-Tangyur:

rNal'byorma Mekhala, ash-coloured, holding the vajraghaṇṭa and with a woman

rNal'byorma Grubpačan dPalmo, bluish green, the right leg (outstretched) the left contracted, sitting on a human hide holding a vajraghaṇṭa, hugging a book (?), with bone ornaments and in the company a woman
ni li pa sñon po mol ba'i phyag rgya čan skies pa dañ lhan gčig pa (83)

Nilipa, blue, with the preaching-mudrā, and in the company of a man

"ni lo pa" occupies this number in the rjesnañbyachul. Oslo-Tangyur: ni lo pa.

ye šes myu gu — jñānakura — dkar po mi 'jigs pa'i phyag rgya čan bud med dañ lhan gčig pa (84)

Yeñesmyugu — Jñānakura — white, with the protection — abhaya — mudrā and in the company of a woman

The same name we find as number 84 in the rjesnañbyachul.

rañ rañ gyi las dañ 'thun pa'i chul 'jin pa bçu phrag dañ brgyad dañ bži'i go rim rjogs so //

This is how the 84 should be arranged and depicted

Oslo Tangyur: — dañ rjes su nθhun pa 'i — phrag brgyad —.

mi pham zla ba dañ / bha ba bha tra dan /
dge ba'i go čha dañ / gnas bži'i dnos grub
dañ bčas pa / bal po'i yul gyi bu lon khor
mñams nas / lo niš brgya lha bçu rca gčig
na la zla'i nag phyogs kyi ches drug gi ḋīn
par skar ma lag la / dge sloñ dpal sdes sems
čan thams čad kyi don du bris pa'o //
// dge'o //

For the benefit of all sentient beings has the
dGesloñ dPalsde (Śrīśena) under the con-
stellation Ādrā the 6th day of the dark half
of the month Caitra in the year 251 written
what Miphamrāba, and Bhababhatra and
dGeba'igočha and gNasbźi'idoosgrub together
have heard in Bulonkho in Nepal.

Virtue!

Oslo Tangyur: — bha ba bha ḋa — — grub thob dañ — — bu lon khod pa sñam nas lo niš
brgya dgu bçu rca gčig na / va zla'i nag po phyogs —.
### a) Personal names: siddhas

<table>
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### b) Other persons

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<td>Miphamzlabra</td>
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Pl. XVI

Thaṅka in the possession of the author. Cf. Excursus III

Thaṅka in the possession of the author
Cf. Excursus III

Atiša. Detail of a thaṅka
Oslo
EXCURSUS III

Scroll in the possession of the author

This scroll was purchased in Patan, Nepal, 1955. It is certainly of Tibetan origin. Possibly it once formed part of a larger scroll. Especially the scene with the animals is rather finely executed.

The centre is occupied by a man sitting on a tiger skin spread over a seat. An orange nimbus designs him as a holy man. He wears bone-ornaments, and is pointing at the sun. This seems to denote an incident in the mahāsiddha Virūpa-Birvapa's life: when in need of something valuable as a payment for ale he commands the sun to stand still, and gives her away as a pawn. He is, however, not the only siddha who performs this act. It is also recorded among the great Padmasambhava's deeds.
Musical instruments used in Lama temples
"A book that is shut is but a block"

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