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IN PRAISE OF *STŪPAS*: THE TIBETAN EULOGY  
AT CHÜ-YUNG-KUAN RECONSIDERED

The Chü-yung-kuan monument is located at the Great Wall, sixty kilometers northwest of Peking. An arched gateway constructed in ca. 1343 C.E., it originally had three *stūpas* on top. The surface of the walls within the arch is entirely covered with carvings of mandalas, Buddhas and protectors, as well as inscriptions in six scripts: Lantsha (Sanskrit), Tibetan, 'Phags-pa (Mongolian), Uighur, Hsi-hsia (Tangut) and Chinese. Besides two *dhāraṇīs* related to *stūpas*, the inscriptions include eulogies to the Buddha and *stūpas* in general, to the Chü-yung-kuan monument in particular, and to the Yüan imperial house. These inscriptions have been the subject of studies since at least 1871 (Wylie 1871). The Tibetan version of the eulogy was translated into French by Lévi in 1894;<sup>1</sup> into Japanese by Teramoto (1909) and by Nagao (1957); and into English by Nagao in 1985. Our concern here is confined to the opening verses of the Tibetan eulogy devoted to *stūpas* (vv. 2–6). By consulting earlier Tibetan language works (both compositions by Tibetans and translated Indian works preserved in Tibetan) on this subject, a better understanding of these verses can be achieved.

According to the inscription itself (v. 16), the highest ranking religious official in charge of the monument, and the one who performed the consecration ritual, was the Imperial Preceptor (Ti-shih) Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1310–1358), a member of the 'Khon family, the leading family of the Sa-skyapa order, and of the Lha-khang Bla-brang of the Sa-skyapa.<sup>2</sup> Nagao has observed: "Compared with the other four versions, the Tibetan version of the eulogy is by far the richest in content. In style it is highly readable and accomplished; the author seems to have been an intellectual who possessed an accurate and extensive knowledge of Buddhism" (1985: 838). In the second part of the inscription the author paraphrases four *sūtras* on the merit of constructing *stūpas* and alludes to stories about *stūpas* found in other Buddhist scriptures.

The basis for the following discussion will be a work by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147–1216), one of the early Sa-skyapa (Sa-skyapa Gong-ma) of the 'Khon family. We do not advance the claim that this work was the immediate source of the author of the inscription, although this might very well be the case. The work by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan is one of the earliest Tibetan-authored works on the topic preserved for us today. It is entitled



*/yon-tan kun-ldan khang-bu'i rnam-ldan mchod-rten kun-la  
phyag 'tshal-lo/*

Because idle elaboration (*prapañca*) was removed, there are [overturned bowls (*pāta*)]; because victory was won over the *māras*, there are banners of victory (*dhvaja*):

Endowed with all such virtues, and in the form of storied buildings, are the caityas (constructed at those sites) — to all of them I bow.

Grag-pa-rgyal-mtshan (p. 239.1.1—4) has the following.

*de-la yang-dag-par rdzogs-pa'i sangs-rgyas-kyi rten ni gsum-ste/  
[A] chos-kyi-sku dang/ [B] longs-spyod rdzogs-pa'i sku dang/ [C]  
sprul-pa'i sku'i rten-no/ [A] dang-po chos-kyi sku'i rten-yang  
dkyil-'khor chen-po zhes-bya-ba'i rgyud-la brten-nas/ slob-dpon  
'phags-pa klu-sgrub-kyis mdzad-pa'i mchod-rten-gyi rtog-pa zhes-  
bya-ba-las 'byung-ba/ de-bzhin-gshegs-pa'i chos-kyi sku'i rten ni  
gsum-ste/ [1] lhung-bzed kha-phub-pa ltar yongs-su grags-pa dang/  
[2] khang-bu ltar yongs-su grags-pa dang/ [3] rgyal-mtshan ltar  
yongs-su grags-pa'o/ [1] dang-po ni gdan padma dang zla-ba'i  
dkyil-'khor-gyi lteng-du lhung-bzed kha-phub-pa ltar yongs-su  
zlum-po-ste/ 'di ni chos-kyi sku mtshan-ma thams-cad dang bral-  
ba mtshon-pa ste/ bimba zhe-bya-ba yin-no/ [2] gnyis-pa ni/  
khang-bu ltar gru bzhi-pa shin-tu mdzes-pa rkyang-pa'am brtsegs-  
pa-'ang-rung-ste/ 'di ni chos-kyi sku yon-tan thams-cad rdzogs-  
shing/ mnyam-pa nyid mtshon-pa'i rtags-te/ khang-bu zhes brjod-  
pa yin-no/ [3] gsum-pa ni/ mchod-rten-gyi rnam-pa ste/ 'di-la  
brgyad yod-de/*

This might be translated as,

Furthermore, there are three receptacles of the utmost perfect Buddha: [A] receptacles of the *dharmakāya*, [B] of the *sambhogakāya*, and [C] of the *nirmāṇakāya*. [A] First, with regard to receptacles of the *dharmakāya*, in dependence on the Tantra called *Dkyil-'khor chen-po zhes-bya-ba'i rgyud* it emerges from the *Mchod-rten-gyi rtog-pa* written by the master Ārya-Nāgārjuna<sup>3</sup> that there are three receptacles of the *dharmakāya* of the Tathāgata: [1] The one which is well known as an upside down almsbowl; [2] the one which is well known as a small edifice; [3] the one which is well known as a banner of victory.

[1] The first is completely round like an upside down almsbowl [and is situated] on a lotus and a lunar disk. It symbolizes the *dharmakāya* devoid of any mark and is called *bimba*.<sup>4</sup> [2] The second is like a small edifice, square and very beautiful, either single- or multi-storied is suitable.<sup>5</sup> It is a symbol which illustrates the completion of all the qualities of the *dharmakāya* and [its] sameness; it is called a small edifice. [3] The third has the form of *stūpa*. Among them there are eight.

By consulting with Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's explanation, it becomes clear that verse 4.3—4.4 of the Tibetan eulogy expresses homage to the three types of *stūpas*, and might therefore be translated as follows:

I bow down to all *stūpas* endowed with the appearance of  
 [1] upside down almsbowl [indicating] freedom from mental  
 elaboration; [2] banner of victory [indicating] victory over Māra;  
 and [3] small edifice endowed with all qualities.<sup>6</sup>

*Stūpas* shaped like upside down almsbowls seem to refer to the earlier type of *stūpas* forming a low hemisphere such as the one found at Sāñci.<sup>7</sup> *Stūpas* shaped as small edifices may refer to the later configuration of the *stūpa* resembling a tower,<sup>8</sup> and those shaped as victory banners are the usual eight Tibetan *stūpas*, as Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan continues to explain (p. 239.1.4—3.1).<sup>9</sup>

[0] 'di-la bryad yod-de/ thams-cad-du-'ang gdan-'khri'i rnam-pa-la  
 ni nges-pa med-de/ gru bzhi-'am/ zlum-po-'am/ padma-'am/ zla-  
 gam la-sogs-pa ji-ltar mdzes-pa-ste/ 'di ni rmang dge-ba bcu zhes-  
 bya-ba yin-no/ mgur-chu zla-ba'i dkyil-'khor yan-chad ni thams-  
 cad mthun-te/ 'on-kyang sgo-mangs-kyi bum-pa-la ni phyogs  
 bzhir sgo-re 'byung-ste/ 'di-dag-gi rnam-par dag-pa ni 'og-tu brjod-  
 par bya'o/

[1] bar-gyi bang-rim thog-ma padma brtsegs-pa ni zlum-po  
 padma'i 'dab-ma-can bzhi-'am bdun phyogs bzhir brtsegs-pa'o/ 'di  
 ni ser-skya'i grong-'khyer-du bltams-pa bstan-pa'i mchod-rten-te/  
 bde-gshegs mchod-rten zhes-bya-ba yin-no/

[2] gnyis-pa byang-chub chen-po'i mchod-rten zhes-bya-ba ni  
 bang-rim bzhi-pa-ste/ 'di ni rdo-rje'i gdan-du byang-chub-kyi  
 rten-du gyur-ba'i mchod-rten zhes-bya-ba yin-no/

[3] gsum-pa bkra-shis sgo-mangs chos-kyi 'khor-lo'i mchod-

*rten-ni/ phyogs-re-la sgo bzhi-'am brgyad-dam bcu-gnyis-sam  
bcu-drug-tu yod-pa-ste/ bden-pa bzhi-'am/ rnam-par thar-pa  
brgyad-dam/ rten-'brel bcu-gnyis-sam/ stong-pa-nyid bcu-drug-ste/  
mdor-na chos-kyi sgo du-ma ston-pa'i mtshon byed-de/ vārāṇasīr  
ye-shes-kyi mchod-rten zhes-bya-ba yin-no/*

[4] *bzhi-ba cho-'phrul chen-po bstan-ba'i mchod-rten ni/ phyogs  
bzhi-na 'bur bzhi yod-pa bang-rim bzhi-pa-ste/ 'di ni mnyan-du-  
yod-pa-na mu-stegs pham-mdzad-gyi mchod-rten zhes-bya-ba yin  
no/*

[5] *nga-pa lha-las babs-pa'i mchod-rten ni phyogs bzhi nas skas-  
gdang lta-bu yod-pa-ste/ de bde-bar-gshegs-pa-rnams sems-can-gyi  
don-la byon-par mtshon-pa-ste/ 'di ni grong-khyer gsal-ldan-du/  
sum-cu'i lhas mchod-pa'i mchod-rten zhes-bya-ba yin no/*

[6] *drug-pa dge-bdun-gyi dbyen-'dum-pa'i mchod-rten ni/ bang-  
rim bzhi-pa de-dag-gi zur-yang bcad-pa lta-bu-ste/ bang-rim  
re-re-la zur brgyad dang logs brgyad yod-par mngon-pa-ste/ rnam-  
par 'phrul-pa du-mas sems-can-gyi don mdzad-par mtshon-pa-ste/  
'di ni rgyal-po'i-khab-tu byams-dngos mchod-rten zhes-bya-ba  
yin-no/*

[7] *bdun-pa sku-tshe byin-gyis brlabs-pa'i mchod-rten-ni/ rnam-  
par thar-pa'i sgo gsum mtshon-pa bang-rim gsum-pa zlum-po-ste/  
'di ni yangs-pa-can-du sku-tshe'i 'du-byed byin-gyis brlabs-pa'i  
byin-rlabs mchod-rten zhes-bya-ba yin-no/*

[8] *brgyad-pa chos-rgyal mya-ngan med-pa ni/ gdan-khri gang-  
yang rung-ba'i steng-du mgur-chu yan-chad bzhugs-pa-ste/ 'di ni  
spros-pa thams-cad nye-bar zhi-ba'i mtshon byed-de/ 'di ni grong-  
khyer rtswa-mchog-tu mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i mchod-rten zhes-  
bya-ba yin-no/*

[0] Among them there are eight. The form of the throne is not fixed for them. There are squares, rounds, lotuses, semi-circles etc., whatever is beautiful. Here, [below] the base called the ten righteous actions [and] above the lunar disk of the base of the vase<sup>10</sup> all [eight *stūpas*] accord.<sup>11</sup> However, in the vase of the [*stūpa*] of manifold doorways (no. 3 below) there is a door in each of the four directions.<sup>12</sup> The precise<sup>13</sup> account of these will be told below.<sup>14</sup>

[1] As for the first, *Stūpa* of the Stacked Up Lotuses, the steps (*bang-rim*) in the middle<sup>15</sup> are round and there are four or seven lotus petals stacked up in the four directions. This is the *stūpa* which indicates the birth in Kapila(vastu)-nagara. It is called the Sugata *stūpa*.<sup>16</sup>

[2] The second is called the *Stūpa* of the Great Enlightenment and has four steps. It is called the *stūpa* of turning into a receptacle of enlightenment in Bodhgaya.

[3] The third is [the *Stūpa*] of Auspicious Manifold Doorways — the *stūpa* of the wheel of *dharmā*. At each direction there are four doors or eight or twelve or sixteen which symbolize the four noble truths or the eight deliverances<sup>17</sup> or the twelve inter-dependent originations or the sixteen emptinesses;<sup>18</sup> in short the displaying of the manifold doorways of *dharmā*. It is called the *stūpa* of complete knowledge in Vārāṇasī.

[4] The fourth is the *Stūpa* of Displaying the Great Miracle. In the four directions there are four projections [in the center of each of] the four steps. It is called the *stūpa* of defeating the heretics in Śrāvastī.

[5] The fifth is the *Stūpa* of the Descent From the Gods. On the four directions it has something like a staircase. It symbolizes the coming of the Sugatas for the sake of sentient beings. It is called the *stūpa* of the offerings made by the gods of the thirty three in the city of Kāśī(?).<sup>19</sup>

[6] The sixth is the *Stūpa* of Reconciling Dissension Among the *Sanḡha*. The corner of [each of] the four steps is as if again cut off [to form octagons]. Each step actually has eight corners and eight sides. It symbolizes the [Buddha's] acting for the sake of sentient beings through many miraculous transformations. It is called the *stūpa* of true compassion in Rājagṛha.<sup>20</sup>

[7] The seventh is the *Stūpa* of Supernaturally Controlling the Life-Span. It has three round steps which symbolize the three doors of deliverance.<sup>21</sup> It is called the blessed *stūpa* of supernaturally controlling the compositional factors of life-span in Vaiśālī.<sup>22</sup>

[8] The eighth is [the *Stūpa*] of the *Nirvāna* of the King of

*Dharma*. The base of the vase rests on top of a suitable throne [there are no steps in between]. It symbolizes the complete pacification of all mental elaborations. It is called the *stūpa* of *nirvāṇa* in Kuśinagara.<sup>23</sup>

This corresponds to verses 2.3—4.2 of the Chü-yung-kuan, edited and translated by Nagao as follows:

[2.3—4] /*dus-gsum rgyal-ba'i bltam dang byang-chub chos-kyi 'khor-lo xxx*<sup>24</sup>/  
/mya 'das<sup>25</sup> zhes-bya spyi'i mdzad-pa<sup>26</sup> bzhi-po dag-la phyag  
'tshal-lo/

During the three periods (of past, future, and present) he enacted princely birth, enlightenment, [turning of] the Dharma-wheel, And *nirvāṇa*, the four deeds common (to all the Buddhas). To him I pay homage.

[3] /*sha-kya'i rgyal-po sha-kya seng-ge'i dgos-kyi mdzad-pa rmad-byung gang*/  
/yum-kyi don dang dge-'dun dbyen<sup>27</sup> -'dum mu-stegs pham  
mdzad cho-'phrul dang/  
/sku-tshe byi . . . . . [bsdus] bya tshul [chen]-po ste/  
/bkra-shis sgro-mangs<sup>28</sup> la-sogs mtshan-ldan chos-sku'i rang-  
bzhin kun-la 'dud/

His needful and wondrous acts as the Śākya-lion, king of the Śākya, were

(To preach) for the benefit of (his) mother, to reconcile the discord in the *saṃgha*, to defeat the heretics, to exhibit miracles, [To control] his own lifetime [by supernatural power] . . . . . the way of performing [in attracting] . . . was [great];

(Therefore) he had the marks of the auspicious manifold-doorways (of learning), and others, and the essential nature of Dharma-body: to him, (the doer of) all these, I bow.

[4.1—2] /*ser-skya mg- . . . . . [rgya]l-po'i khab*/  
/fyangs-pa-can] dang (?) mnyan-du-yod-par mdzad-pa mdzad-pa'i  
gnas brgyad dang/

Kapila(vastu), Maga[dha . . . . . Rāja]gṛha, [Vaiśālī], and Śrāvastī are the eight places where (the Buddha) performed (Buddha) acts.

Nagao makes the following remark on these verses: “Various events in the Buddha’s life are mentioned in this verse; according to the Chinese version, there are ‘eight events’ in all, but they cannot be fully identified” (1985: 845). The Indo-Tibetan tradition clearly emphasizes eight important events in the life of the Buddha as already pointed out with reference to *stūpas* by Tucci (1932/1988: 21–24), Bagchi (1941), Maue and Röhrborn (1979), Nakamura (1980), etc.<sup>29</sup> There is also a traditional list of twelve acts of the Buddha which does not concern us here.<sup>30</sup> The four major events<sup>31</sup> appear in the second half of verse 2, which can now be translated as:

Homage to the four general acts of the Victorious One [the Buddha]<sup>32</sup> of the three times, namely: birth, enlightenment, [turning] the wheel of *dharma* and *nirvāṇa*.

The four secondary events in the life of the Buddha are listed in verse 3.1–3.3. It should be noted that *mu-stegs pham mdzad cho-'phrul*, translated by Nagao as two separate acts: “to defeat the heretics, to exhibit miracles,” (1985: 845) is referring to only one act, His exhibiting of miracles for defeating the heretics.<sup>33</sup> The other three secondary acts of the Buddha are (1) preaching for the benefit of His mother in Heaven,<sup>34</sup> (2) reconciling dissension among the *saṅgha*, and 3) supernaturally controlling His life-span. Part of the verse referring to the last act is missing in the inscription which has only *sku tshe byi . . .* According to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (no. 7, above), this lacuna could be filled as: *sku tshe byin-brlabs* or *sku tshe byin-gyis brlabs-pa*. The expression *sku-tshe'i 'du-byed byin-gyis brlabs-pa* which appears in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (*ibid.*) is also the title of chapter 23 of the *Buddhacarita*.<sup>35</sup> This event in the life of the Buddha is related to the problematics of His death and emphasizes His ability to control His life-span.<sup>36</sup> In conclusion, the first part of verse 3 until the lacuna may be rendered as,

All the obligatory<sup>37</sup> wonderful deeds of the king of Śākya, the Śākya lion: [acting] for the sake of His mother, reconciling dissension among the *saṅgha*, exhibiting miracles for defeating the heretics, and [supernaturally controlling] His life-span . . .

The last line of verse 3 could be translated,

I bow down to all [*stūpas*, which are] the nature of *dharmakāya*, endowed with the characteristics of auspicious manifold doorways and so forth.

While Nagao took this verse as referring to the Buddha, hence translating



*bkra-shis sgo-mang la sogs mtshan-ldan chos-sku'i rang-bzhin* as “he had the marks of the auspicious manifold-doorways (of learning), and others, and the essential nature of Dharma-body” (1985: 845), after reading Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s explanation it is clear that this line refers rather to *stūpas*, the symbols of the *dharmakāya*.<sup>38</sup> These *stūpas* are endowed with various characteristics, such as “auspicious manifold doorways” of the *stūpa* of turning the wheel of *dharmā* (no. 3 in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, as above), as well as other forms characterizing each of the other seven *stūpas*.

The first part of verse 4 refers, as Nagao indicates, to the eight places where these *stūpas* were located. Three names are completely missing in the Tibetan inscription. According to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, these places are Vārāṇasī (no. 3), Gsal-ldan (Kāśī?, no. 5) and Rtsa-mchog (Kūśinagara, no. 8).<sup>39</sup> Note that these shorter forms of these names fit the size of the lacuna in the inscription better than the Lha-yul-nas-bab (Devāvatāra or Sāṃkasya) and Ku-sha’i Grong-khyer (Kūśinagara) suggested by Nagao (1985: 846). The name of the place of the second *stūpa*, the *stūpa* of Enlightenment, appears in only a partial form in the inscription. Only the letters “m” and “g” appear. Nagao reconstructed this as Magadha, a reading provided also by Bo-dong-pa (p. 295).<sup>40</sup>

The fifth verse of the inscription, as edited and translated by Nagao, is as follows:

*/srog-shing ye-shes bcu'i rang-bzhin dmang (?) ni dge-ba'i las kyi  
lam/  
/dran-pa nyer-bzhag gsum dang stobs bcu'i 'khor-los nye-bar  
mdzes-pa-can/  
/gro-ba kun-la gcig-tu khyab-pa'i thugs-rje'i gdugs-kyis rab brgyan  
pa/  
/bde-bar gshegs-pa'i mchod-rten zhes-bya mchod [pa mchog] pa  
kun-la 'du/*

Their poles have the nature of the ten knowledges; their thrones  
are the (tenfold) good path of action;  
They are ornamented with wheels that are the three mindful  
applications and the ten powers,  
And adorned with the parasols of compassion which universally  
embrace all living beings:  
To all the supreme objects of worship celebrated as caityas of  
the Well-gone (*sugata*), I bow down.

Nagao’s remarks on this: “The word ‘throne’ appears in the Chin., which

I followed, but I do not know to which part of a *stūpa* it refers. The corresponding Tib. is dubious; Insc. seems to give *dmang ni*, *dmār ni*, *dam rin*, or *dmangs ni*, none of which make sense” (Nagao 1985: 847). Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (p. 239.3.1—4) makes good sense out of this in his explanation which immediately follows the previously cited passage.

*de lta bu'i mchod-rten-gyi rnam-par dag-pa ni/ rmang dge bcu dang/ bang-rim dang-po ni dran-pa nye-bar gzhaḡ-pa bzhi dang/ gnyis-pa ni yang-dag-par spong-ba bzhi/ gsum-pa ni rdzu-'phrul-gyi rkang-pa bzhi/ bzhi-pa ni dbang-po lnga/ bum-rten mgur-chu ni stobs lnga/ bum-pa ni byang-chub-kyi yan-lag bdun/ pu-shu-ste bre ni/ 'phags-pa'i lam yan-lag brgyad/ srog-shing ni shes-pa bcu/ 'khor-lo brtsegs-ma bcu-gsum-las/ bcu ni stobs bcu- lhaḡ-ma gsum ni dran-pa nye-bar gzhaḡ-pa gsum-mo/ char-khebs-te gdugs ni thugs-rje chen-po'o/ tog ni mnyam-pa med-pa chos-kyi sku'i rang-bzhin-te/ 'di-dag ni mchod-rten-gyi ngo-bo yin-no/*

As for the precise account of such a *stūpa*, the base is the ten righteous actions (*daśa-kuśala*, Mvy. 1685—1698); the first step<sup>41</sup> is the four applications of mindfulness (*catvāri-smṛty-upasthāna*, Mvy. 952—956); the second is the four perfect abandonments (*catvāri-saṃyak-prahāṇa*, Mvy. 957—961); the third is the four bases of supernatural powers (*catvāri-ṛddhi-pāda*, Mvy. 966—970); the fourth is the five faculties (*pañca-indriya*, Mvy. 976—981); the base of the vase is the five powers (*pañca-bala*, Mvy. 982—987); the vase is the seven limbs of enlightenment (*sapta-bodhy-aṅga*, Mvy. 988—995); the *phu-shu*<sup>42</sup> or the *bre* (*harmikā*) is the eightfold noble path (*aṣṭārya-marga*, Mvy. 996—1004); the life-wood is the ten knowledges (*daśa-jñāna*, Mvy. 1233—43). From among the thirteen stacked up wheels the [first] ten are the ten powers (*daśa-bala*, Mvy. 119—129) and the remaining three are the three applications of mindfulness (*tri-smṛty-upasthāna*, Mvy. 188—190); the rain cover or parasol is great compassion (*mahā-karuṇā*, Mvy. 154); the top is the nature of the unequalled *dharmakāya*. These are the essence of the *stūpa*.<sup>43</sup>

The symbolism of the various parts of the *stūpa* has been discussed in western languages by Tucci (1932/88: 40—43); Bénisti (1960); and especially by Roth (1980) who compared the different accounts in the *Mchod-rten-gyi Cha Dbye-ba 'Dul-ba-las Byung-ba'i Mdo* (Toh. 3078);

*Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana* and the *Kriyā-saṃgraha* (Toh. 2531, two accounts).<sup>44</sup> To these can be added also the works of Zhi-ba'i-snying-po and Atiśa discussed below, as well as Bo-dong-pa (pp. 306—7), etc.<sup>45</sup> The *stūpa* as a whole is conceived as the *dharmakāya* in its meaning of 'corpus of the Teachings'. Each part of the *stūpa* is regarded as a component of the teachings which together constitute the *dharmā* in its entirety. Furthermore, these components of the teachings comprise the path to enlightenment. The consecration ritual of Atiśa found in the Tibetan Tanjur (Toh. 2496, p. 514) includes the blessing of each of the *stūpa*'s layers as a foundation of the teachings, as follows.

*byin-brlabs sa-gzhi chos-kyi dbyings/  
seng-khri mi-'jigs bzhir byin-brlab/  
rmang ni dge bcu khri-'pang ni/  
dang-po dran-pa nyer gzhag-bzhi/  
gnyis-pa yang-dag spong-ba bzhi/  
gsum-pa rdzu-'phrul rkang-ba bzhi/  
bzhi-pa snang-ba'i dbang-po lnga/  
bum-rten stobs lngar byin-gyis-brlab/  
bum-pa byang-chub yan-lag bdun/  
kha-khyer 'phags lam yan-lag brgyad/  
de-dag-rgyu-chos byin-brlab-ste/  
'bras-bu'i chos-su 'di-ltar brlab/  
srog-shing mkhyen bcu bre-legs ni/  
ye-shes bzhi dang rnam-thar bzhi/  
'khor-lo bcu-gsum sa bcu dang/  
dran-pa nyer-gzhag gsum-ru brlab/  
char-khebs gdugs ni thugs-rje'i skyabs/  
tog ni chos-dbyings ngo-bo nyid/  
phyi ni sku gsum nang gzhal-yas/*

The blessings are: bless the foundation as *dharmā-dhātu*; the lion throne as the four fearlessness, the base as the ten righteous actions; as for the terraces,<sup>46</sup> the first as the four applications of mindfulness, the second as the four perfect abandonments, the third as the four bases of supernatural powers, the fourth as the five faculties; bless the base of the vase as the five powers, the vase as the seven limbs of enlightenment; the *kha-khyer* as the eightfold noble path. These are the blessings of the cause *dharmā*. The following are blessed as the result *dharmā*. The life-wood as the ten knowledges, the good *bre* as the four

enlightened wisdoms and the four deliverances; bless the thirteen wheels as the ten *bodhisattva* grounds, and the three applications of mindfulnesses; the parasol [or] the rain cover as the protection of compassion; the top as *dharmadhātu*, the essence; [the *stūpa* as a whole] outside as the three bodies, inside as a divine palace.<sup>47</sup>

Also, Zhi-ba'i-snying-po (Toh. 2652, p. 607.1) instructs those who built a *stūpa* to accomplish (*grub-pa*)<sup>48</sup> its components as the following doctrinal foundations.

*yang-na gzugs 'di-ltar grub-pa ni sku gsum-gyi tshul yin-te rmang dge-ba bcu dang/ bang-rim dang-po nas kha-khyer-gyi bar-du byang-chub-kyi phyogs-kyi chos sum-cu rtsa-bdun dang/ srog-shing shes-pa bcu'i bar-du rgyu'i chos bsod-nams-kyi tshogs yin-te sprul-pa'i sku yin-pa dang/ khor-lo bcu-gsum stobs bcu dang/ ma 'dres-pa'i dran-pa nye-bar gzhas-pa gsum dang/ char-khebs thugs-rje chen-po dang . . . /*

Or the accomplishment of the form like that is in the manner of the three bodies. The base is the ten righteous actions; from the first step until the *kha-khyer* — the thirty-seven *dharma*s of the limbs of enlightenment; the life-wood — the ten knowledges. Until here these are the cause *dharma*, the accumulation of merit, the *nirmānakāya*. The thirteen wheels are the powers and three applications of mindfulness; the rain cover — great compassion . . .<sup>49</sup>

According to these works, as part of the consecration ritual, the various components of the *stūpa* are blessed as, or transformed into, the stages leading to enlightenment.

The 'life-wood' (*srog-shing, yaṣṭi*) is the central pole of the *stūpa*. An inscription dated to the second century B.C.E. already records the gift of a *yaṣṭi* for the construction of a *stūpa* (Schopen 1989: 97). *Stūpa*-poles have been found in a large number of archaeological excavations of early *stūpas*.<sup>50</sup> The *yaṣṭi* appears also in relatively early literary sources, including the *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*,<sup>51</sup> the *Divyāvadāna*,<sup>52</sup> and the *Adbhuta-dharma-paryāya* (Bentor 1988). The symbolism of the *stūpa*-pole has been debated in recent scholarly works.<sup>53</sup> Some, led by Irwin, find cosmological and cosmogonical symbolism in the *stūpa*-pole. Relatively late literary sources, including the *Mchod-rten-gyi Cha Dbye-ba 'Dul-ba-las Byung-ba'i Mdo*,<sup>54</sup> Zhi-ba'i-snying-po's *Mchod-rten Sgrub-pa'i Cho-ga*,<sup>55</sup> Atiśa's consecration

work,<sup>56</sup> Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's consecration work,<sup>57</sup> Bo-dong-pa,<sup>58</sup> as well as the Chü-yung-kuan inscription, only mention the meaning of the 'ten knowledges'.

The 'base' (*dmang* or *rmang*) is located above the throne of the *stūpa*, and below its steps (see illustration). It symbolizes the ten righteous actions (*dge bcu*) which are the basis for the thirty-seven limbs of enlightenment as the base (*rmang*) supports the *stūpa*, which in its totality symbolizes the path to enlightenment (see below).

The two other components of the *stūpa* appearing in the inscription belong to the upper part of the *stūpa*. As Atiśa and Zhi-ba'i-snying-po said in the above quotes, while the lower part of the *stūpa* correlates with doctrinal terms pertaining to the cause of enlightenment, in other words the *bodhisattva* path, the upper part symbolizes the result, the qualities of an Enlightened Being.<sup>59</sup> The thirteen wheels (*'khor-lo*) on top of the *harmikā* symbolize the ten powers and the three applications of mindfulness, while the parasol (*gdugs*) which covers the wheels symbolizes great compassion.<sup>60</sup> These qualities are fourteen out of the eighteen characteristics unique to a Buddha (*sangs-rgyas-kyi chos ma 'dres-pa bco-brgyad*, or *aṣṭādaśāveṇikāḥ buddhadharmāḥ*) according to the *Abhidharma-kośa*.<sup>61</sup> As Tucci (1932/1988: 43) pointed out, most of the doctrinal terms symbolized by the structure of the *stūpa* are common to non-Mahāyāna schools as well.

The sixth verse of the Chü-yung-kuan inscription as edited and translated by Nagao is as follows:

*'phags-pa rgyun-zhug[s lan-cig-phyir]-'ong ma-'ong dgra-bcom  
rang-rgyal-gyi/  
/mchod-rten-rnam-kyi gdugs-kyi rim-pa rim-bzhin gcig dang  
gsum-dag dang/  
/nga dang bdun-te steng dang 'og dang bar-[ba] phyogs dang  
phyogs-'tshams dang/  
sku-gdung bcas dang med-kyang rung-ste mchod-rten 'di-la-'ang  
ph[yag 'tshal-lo]/*

Streamwinner, [Once-returned], Never-returned, Arhat, and  
Pratyeka-buddha — these sages'  
Caityas, with parasols arranged in tiers — one, three twice,  
Five, and seven in number respectively, (are) above, below, and  
between, and at the cardinal and intermediate points;  
And whether they contain relics or not, to these caityas too [I  
bow].

This translation might be rearranged as the following:

Homage to the *stūpas* above, below, and in between,<sup>62</sup> in the cardinal and intermediate directions, with one, three twice,<sup>63</sup> five, and seven rows of parasols [according to whether they are] *stūpas* of the Saints, Stream-enterers, (Once-returners), Never-returners, Arhats [or] Pratyekabuddhas, respectively; whether they contain relics or not it is suitable.

The term ‘parasol’ (*gdugs*) is used here in a different sense than in the previous verse. Nagao comments on this, “In the previous verse, the Tib. *’khor-lo* (wheel) is in Chin. *lun* (wheel), but *gdugs* (parasol) in this verse also corresponds to Chin. *lun* (while in the previous v. *gdugs* is given as *lun-san* or wheel-parasol). This usage suggests that the Chinese author had in mind something like a pole with nine rings, a feature peculiar to Chinese towers but differing from both Indian and Tibetan *stūpas* or *caityas*” (1985: 847). Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (p. 239.3.4–6) opens his exposition of this topic with a more convincing explanation for the use of the term ‘parasol’ here.

*de-’ang lung-las ’khor-lo-rnams-la ni gdugs zhes-bya-ste/ sangs-rgyas-kyi mchod-rten-la ni gdugs-bcu-gsum-mo/ rang-sangs-rgyas-la ni bdun-no/ dgra-bcom-pa-la ni lnga’o/ lan-cig-phyir-’ong-ba dang phyir-mi-’ong-ba-la ni gsum-mo/ rgyun-du-zhugs-pa-la ni gcig-go/ so-so skye-bo-rnams-kyi ni mchod-rten byi-po yin-no zhes gsungs-so/ de-yang chos-kyi sku’i ring-bsrel zhes-bya-ba/ gzungs bzhugs-na ni sangs-rgyas-kyi mchod-rten-du ’gyur-ba’i phyir thams-cad-la-’ang ’khor-lo bcu-gsum thob-pa yin-no/*

Furthermore, the scriptures call the wheels parasols. A *stūpa* of the Buddha has thirteen parasols; of a Pratyekabuddha — seven; of Arhats — five; of Once-Returners and Non-Returners — three; of Stream-Enterers — one; and a *stūpa* of an ordinary person is a bald *stūpa*. Still if one deposits *dhāraṇīs*, the so called relics of the *dharmakāya*, therein it would turn into a *stūpa* of the Buddha. Therefore all *stūpas* have thirteen wheels.<sup>64</sup>

The scriptural authority to which Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan makes reference here is the *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu* whose terminology is different from the texts explaining the symbolism of the various components of the *stūpa* referred to in verse 5. What the *Vinaya* calls ‘parasol’ (*gdugs*) is termed in those other texts ‘wheels’ (*’khor-lo*, as depicted in the illustration).<sup>65</sup> This

passage of the *Vinaya* discussing the number of parasols (or wheels) of *stūpas* of the various non-Mahāyāna saints was already studied by La Vallée Poussin (1937); Bareau (1962: 236); Roth (1980: 184), etc. The *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu* has the following:

A *stūpa* of the Tathāgata should be complete in all its aspects; the Pratyekabuddha's should have the rain cover left out; the Arhat's should have four parasols; the Non-Returner's three; the Once-Returner's two; the Stream-Enterer's one; for virtuous ordinary people, a bald *stūpa* should be made.<sup>66</sup>

While the last part of verse 6 of the Chü-yung-kuan inscription expresses homage to *stūpas* whether they contain relics or not, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan mentions relics for other reasons. His purpose seems to be to provide an explanation for the fact that in Tibet most *stūpas* had thirteen wheels. By depositing *dhāraṇīs*, the relics of the *dharmakāya* (cf. Gyalzur & Verwey 1983; Bentor 1992) in a *stūpa* of any saint, it would become a *stūpa* of the Buddha worthy to have thirteen wheels in its spire.

A parallel idea is expressed by Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba who, after explaining the various *stūpas* of Śākyamuni Buddha, says the following:

Also nowadays, even though [a *stūpa*] is constructed for the sake of any person, if relics of the Tathāgata are deposited there it is necessary to make all the elements in the form of any one among the eight which is suitable.<sup>67</sup>

Hence all *stūpas* built in Tibet are considered to be *stūpas* of the Buddha when His relics are deposited there. These relics are not restricted to physical relics. Relics of the *dharmā* or the *dharmakāya* may serve this function as well (cf. Bentor 1992).

#### CONCLUSION

The opening verses (vv. 2—6) of the Tibetan Chü-yung-kuan inscription praise the various types of *stūpas*. There are three basic classifications of *stūpas*, one of them further includes the eight *stūpas* associated with the eight foremost deeds of the Buddha. While these deeds took place in India, the eight *stūpas*, characterized by different forms, serve to transfer the sacred geography of India to other Buddhist countries. A pilgrimage to such a *stūpa* carries some of the power a visit to the corresponding place in India would have. The Chü-yung-kuan Tibetan inscription further praises the *stūpa* as the *dharmā* body of the Buddha. The various teachings of the

Buddha are conceived as embodying different structural elements of the *stūpa*. The consecration of *stūpas* came to include a ritual of blessing or empowering each part of the *stūpa* with specific teachings. Finally, the Chü-yung-kuan eulogy alludes to an important scriptural source on the *stūpa*, which relates the number of wheels it possesses to various non-Mahāyāna saints. This relation seems to have less relevance in Tibet where the greater number of *stūpas*, including those constructed specifically as a reliquary for a certain lama, are considered to be *stūpas* of the Buddha as well, by virtue of His relics deposited within them. To conclude, the Chü-yung-kuan Tibetan inscription is a rich and sophisticated eulogy which reflects important elements in the Indo-Tibetan concept of the *stūpa*. It is itself a cultural monument of great significance for understanding the early religious architecture of Asia.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Ligeti (1978) has investigated verses 9 and 13 of the eulogy (according to the numeration in the Tibetan version) a study which should be read together with de Jong 1981.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nagao 1985: 855; Tucci 1949/80: I 253, n. 53; Ruegg 1966: 109; Dpa'-bo II Gtsug-lag-'phreng-ba (lived 1504—1566) vol. 2, p. 603.3.

<sup>3</sup> This citation of Nāgārjuna is found in various works on *stūpas*, including Bo-dong Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (lived 1306—1386; p. 293); Padma-'phrin-las (lived 1641—1717; p. 292); 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa II (lived 1648—1721/2; p. 863), Gung-thang-pa (lived 1762—1823; p. 446). I have not been able, despite my best efforts, to locate the original context so far.

<sup>4</sup> Its name, *bimba*, means 'sphere' or 'reflection' (MW 731). The spherical shape, like the mandala in Tantric Buddhism, symbolizes the unity of the *dharmakāya*, devoid of any mark. The alternative meaning of 'reflection' may refer to a reflection of the *dharmakāya* (no doubt more like a complete sphere) in the phenomenal world in the shape of a hemisphere. The Tibetan loanword from *bimba*, the word 'bi-'bi (pronounced 'bimbi') is used in Tibetan works for small spherical pieces of clay out of which *tsha-tshas* in the shape of *stūpas* are made with the help of moulds (cf. Toh. 3107, a work by Padma-lcags-kyu, Derge vol. 74, p. 401; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 240.3). In more complex *stūpas*, such as those common in Tibet, the vase of the *stūpa* (*bum-pa*, *kumbha*) is correlated with the *dharmadhātu*. In explaining the various parts of the *stūpa*, Bodhisattva says, "the round vase is the *dharmadhātu*, free of mental elaborations" (*chos-dbyings spros-med bum-pa zlum-po-la*, Toh. 3069, Derge vol. 74, p. 318).

<sup>5</sup> For multi-storied edifices (*khang-bu brtsegs-pa*, *kūṭāgāra*) see, de Vreese 1947; Franz 1981; and Bollee 1986.

<sup>6</sup> According to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's explanation, the 'qualities' here refers to qualities of the *dharmakāya*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Lamotte 1958; 341—342. According to Hsüan-tsang (I 47—48) the Buddha instructed his disciples how to construct the first *stūpa* by placing his garments folded as a square on the ground, "... over these he placed as a cover his begging-pot, on which he erected his mendicant's staff. Thus he placed them in order, making thereby (the figure of) a *stūpa*" (*ibid.*). According to Bo-dong Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (pp. 292—293), Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba (born 1405; fols. 10—11), Padma-'phrin-las (p. 292), Gung-thang-pa (p. 446, whose account



is somewhat different) such a *stūpa* belongs to a *śrāvaka*. “A *stūpa* of a *śrāvaka* is like folding the monk’s garment into quarters, placing on top of it the almsbowl upside down and on it the staff. A *stūpa* of a Pratyekabuddha has on top of a square base twelve square or round steps and a wheel with eight spokes. With regard to Mahāyāna *stūpa*, Nāgārjuna said: [1] a round vase like upside down almsbowl and [2] like a small ediface and [3] eight *stūpas* like victory banners etc.” *Nyan-thos-kyi mchod-rten chos-gos bzhi bltab-gyi* [Gung-thang-pa: *ltab byas-pa'i steng-du lhung-bzed spub-pa-la 'khar-gsil bisugs-pa lta-bu dang/ rang-rgyal-gyi mchod-rten rmad* [Stag-tshang: *rmang*; Bo-dong: *dmang*] *gru-bzhi'i steng-du ngos gru-bzhi* [Stag-tshang adds 'am; Bo-dong: *ngos-gzhi'i zlum-po*. Bo-dong’s text may be translated as: “on top of a square base a round main part with 12 steps and a wheel with eight spokes.”] *zlum-po bang-rim bcu-gnyis-pa 'khor-lo rsibs brgyad-pa can dang/ theg-chen-gyi mchod-rten klu-sgrub-kyis/* [Bo-dong: *theg-pa chen-po'i mchod-rten dkyil-'khor chen-po bkod pa'* (sic) {The Mahāyāna *stūpa* is arranged as a great mandala}] *lhung-bzed spub-pa ltar* [Stag-tshang: *lta-bū-'am*; Bo-dong: *lta-bu*] *bum-pa* [Stag-tshang: *bim-pa'i*; Bo-dong omits] *zlum-po dang/ khang-bu lta-bu* [Bo-dong adds: *gru-bzhi*, ‘square’] *dang/ rgyal-mtshan lta-bu'i mchod-rten brgyad-la sogs-pa gsungs/* (Padma-’phrin-las, p. 292). According to these Tibetan authors, the three types of *stūpas* listed in the Chü-yung-kuang inscription are Mahāyāna *stūpas*, while the two other *stūpas* mentioned here are classified as belonging to non-Mahāyāna schools. ’Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa II provides yet a different classification. He lists four kinds of *stūpas* for ordinary persons, *śrāvakas*, Pratyekabuddhas and Tathāgatas. The *stūpas* of the Tathāgatas are further divided into those like upside down almsbowls, those like multi-storied edifices and those like victory banners (pp. 862–863).

<sup>8</sup> This evolution of the *stūpa* is discussed, for example, in Mitra 1971: 30.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the similar account of the *Vaidūrya g.ya'-sel* (Tucci 1932/1988: 118–121, translated *ibid.* 127–132).

<sup>10</sup> This refers to the lower and upper parts of a *stūpa*, below the base of the four steps (*bang-rim*) [called *rmang*, see below] and above the base of the vase (*bum-rten*) [see illustration].

<sup>11</sup> In sets of eight *stūpas* constructed nowadays the *nirvāṇa stūpa* (no. 8) has also a different vase.

<sup>12</sup> This is not found in sets of eight *stūpas* constructed nowadays in which the *stūpa* of manifold doorways indeed has many doors in the four directions; still, its upper and lower parts are similar to the other *stūpas* (besides no. 8).

<sup>13</sup> Literally ‘pure’ or ‘immaculate’ (*rnam-pa dag-pa*).

<sup>14</sup> A somewhat different introduction to the description of the eight *stūpas* is found in Bo-dong Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (p. 294).

<sup>15</sup> Between the base of the steps (*dge-bcu*) and the base of the vase (*bum-rten*, see illustration).

<sup>16</sup> The lotuses symbolize that “even though the Victorious Ones are born from the mud of *samsāra*, this mud of *samsāra* does not cling [to them]” (*rgyal-ba-rnams 'khor-ba'i 'dam-nas 'khrungs-kyang/ 'khor-ba'i 'dam-gyis ma gos-la*. Bo-dong, p. 308).

<sup>17</sup> Skt: *vimokṣa*, cf. Mvy. 1511–8.

<sup>18</sup> Skt: *sodaśa-sūnyatā*.

<sup>19</sup> The staircase denotes the Buddha’s ascent to and descent from the Heaven of the 33 gods where his deceased mother resided (cf. Fa Hsien 1886/1965: 47–53). For a description of this *stūpa* as it existed in India in the eighth century, see the account of Hye Ch’o (1987: 42). For various reliefs depicting this event, see Parimoo 1982; figs. 72–75. Most often the site for this event is given as Sāṃkāśya (cf. Maue and Röhrborn 1979, etc.).

<sup>20</sup> The cutting off of the corners to form octagons symbolizes the cutting off of dissension, or the cutting off of the three poisons and views which are causes of dissension (*dbyen-gyi rgyu dug gsum blta-ba dang bcas-pa'i gra-zur bcad-nas/ zil-gnon-nas*, Bo-dong, p. 308).

- <sup>21</sup> Emptiness, signlessness and wishlessness (cf. Rigzin 1986: 236).
- <sup>22</sup> This will be discussed below.
- <sup>23</sup> The round shape of this *stūpa* which lacks steps (*bang-rim*), symbolizes *nirvāṇa*, pacification of all mental elaborations (cf. Bo-dong, p. 308).
- <sup>24</sup> Note by Nagao: “the three missing syllables can be conjectured as *rab-tu-skor*”.
- <sup>25</sup> Note by Ngao: “As inscribed, but probably the equivalent of *myang-'das* or *mya-ngan-'das-pa*”.
- <sup>26</sup> For *mdsad* (*sic*).
- <sup>27</sup> For *dben* (*sic*).
- <sup>28</sup> Note by Nagao: “The insc. reads *sgro-mangs*. I have taken it as *sgo-mang* (many-doorways) in accordance with the Chinese *chī-hsiang-men* (auspicious gate)”.
- <sup>29</sup> The classification of these eight *stūpas* is not systematized in the earlier sources. They are, however, different from the eight *stūpas* built on the relics of the Buddha according to the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*. Our group of eight *stūpas* seem to have been known to I Tsing even though they are not listed in his travel records (1896: 108). They appear also in Indian art (Parimoo 1982). For further mentions see the works just listed in the text of this article. For one of the earliest paintings of these eight *stūpas*, see Klimburg-Salter 1988: Figs. 16–19. Among the lists of the eight *stūpas* found in the Tibetan Tenjur are Toh. 1133, 1134, 1168, 3069 (Derge, vol. 74, p. 311).
- <sup>30</sup> The vast majority of sources relate a series of eight *stūpas* to eight events in the life of the Buddha. An exceptional example for correlating *stūpas* with the twelve events in the life of the Buddha is found in Mkhas-pa-lde'u, p. 74.
- <sup>31</sup> Cf. *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* Waldschmidt 1951: III 388–390; *Mahāparinibbhāna Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya* II 140–141 (Walshe 1987: 263–264); the Tibetan Vinaya (cf. Waldschmidt 1951: III 391); Fa Hsien 1886/1965: 90 (note that on p. 68 the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three replaces the birth of the Buddha); *Divyāvadāna* 244; Bénisti 1960: 73–81; etc.
- <sup>32</sup> Nagao's translation of *dus gsum rgyal-ba* is mistaken. He takes *dus gsum* (‘three times’) adverbially, “during the three periods (of past, future, and present)” and *rgyal-ba* as an adjective, “princely”, for *bltam*, ‘birth’; in fact, it is a common epithet of the Buddha. Lévi 1894: 369 is correct.
- <sup>33</sup> Lévi 1894: 369 has the correct interpretation. See also *Buddhacarita*, canto 20.54–55 (Johnston 1937: 98–99); Toh. 1133, p. 162 (translated by Nakamura 1980: 264); Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, no. 4, etc. Various miracles are said to have occurred in Śrāvastī (see Foucher 1917: 147–184; Parimoo 1982: 44–51; Law 1935; etc.). Yet, the tradition of the eight *stūpas* relates the *stūpa* of Śrāvastī to the miracles exhibited for defeating the heretics.
- <sup>34</sup> See note 18 above and *Buddhacarita* canto 20.57–58 (Johnston 1937: 99).
- <sup>35</sup> Peking # 5656, vol. 129, pp. 160.5.6–162.2.4; Johnston 1937: 231–238; see esp. vv. 63–75.
- <sup>36</sup> There are varying versions of this event. Most accounts relate that after Ānanda, under the influence of Māra, had failed to request the Buddha to remain in the world, the Buddha complied with Māra's wish and announced His death in three months. See *Mahāparinibbhāna Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya* II 106–109 (Walshe 1987: 246–248); *Buddhacarita* (see previous note); *Divyāvadāna* 203.7–8 discussed in BHSD pp. 13 & 542; Fa Hsien 1886/1965: 74; Hsüan Tsang 1885, 2, 69–70; *Abhidharma-kośa* II 10.a; Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya mtsho (lived 1635–1705, in Tucci 1932/88: 118–119 & 128); Padma-phrin-las, p. 295; etc.
- <sup>37</sup> All Buddhas need to manifest these acts.
- <sup>38</sup> See also Toh. 1133; Derge Tenjur, vol. 1, p. 163.
- <sup>39</sup> Similar names are listed also by other authors writing on the eight *stūpas*, such as Bo-dong-pa (pp. 294–6), Stag-tshang Lo-tśā-ba (fols. 12–13) and 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa II (p. 878). The praise of the eight *stūpas* included in the Tibetan Tenjur (Toh. 1133, Derge,

vol. 1, p. 162) has Ku-sha'i grong for Rtsa-mchog. The Fifth Dalai Lama (lived 1617–1682; fol. 3a–b) and Padma-'phrin-las (pp. 293–7) have Yangs-pa-can in place of Gsal-ldan. For other sources see the chart in Maue & Röhrborn 1979: 313.

<sup>40</sup> The reading found in Bo-dong-pa is “Magata”, probably a wrong reading for Magadha. Unlike the seven other place names, there is inconsistency in the various accounts of the 8 *stūpas* with regard to the location of the second *stūpa*. Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba (fol. 12b), the Fifth Dalai Lama (fol. 3b), Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho (Tucci 1932/88: 118); Padma-'phrin-las (p. 293), and 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa II (p. 878) give Rgyal-po'i Khab (Rājagrha), listed again for *stūpa* no. 6. Toh. 1133 calls the place the Nairāṅjana River (Chu-bo Nairanydzan, p. 162) and adds, ‘in front of the *bodhi* tree of Magadhā (*Ma-ga-dhā-yi byang-chub shing drung-du*). Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan has Rdo-rje-gdan (Bodhgaya), a reading shared also by Bodhisattva (Toh. 3069; Derge, vol. 74, p. 311) and Tshe-mchog-gling Yongs-'dzin Ye-shes-rgyal mtshan (lived 1713–1793; p. 309).

<sup>41</sup> Beginning with the first step up until the *harmikā* (*bre*) the equivalence are the 37 limbs of enlightenment *byang-phyogs-so-bdun* (*sapta-triṃśat-bodhi-pakṣaka-dharma*).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Tucci 1932/88: 40; Roth 1980: 188.

<sup>43</sup> For a quite distinct explanation of the components of the *stūpa* based on Tantras, see Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba (fols. 10–11); Padma-'phrin-las (p. 290), etc.

<sup>44</sup> See also Harvey 1984: 69–81; Snodgrass 1985: 366–369, etc.

<sup>45</sup> The proportions of the components of the *stūpa* are discussed in *mchod-rten-gyi Dbye-ba 'Dul-ba-las Byung-ba'i Mdo* (Toh. 3078); *Kriyā-saṃgraha* (see Bénisti 1960); Bu-ston; Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba, fols. 25 ff., etc.

<sup>46</sup> From the context here it seems that Atiśa uses the term *khri-'pang* to refer to the terraces or steps at the bottom of a *stūpa*. A similar term (*rmang-gi khri-'phang*) is used also by Bodhisattva (Toh. 3069, p. 318.3). A more common Tibetan term for this component of the *stūpa* is *bang-rim* (translated here as steps, see Bodhisattva, *ibid.*; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan in the passage above; *Mchod-rten Cha Dbye-ba*, Toh. 3078, p. 346.7; *Mchod-rten Sgrub-pa'i Cho-ga*, Toh. 2652, p. 607.1; Tucci 1932/1988: 14; etc.). The Sanskrit term may have been *vedī* (see Bénisti 1960: 90; Roth 1980: 194; etc., but note that the Tibetan translation of the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* for *vedī* is *stegs-bu*). Most often the first *khri-'pang* or *bang-rim* symbolizes the four applications of mindfulness.

<sup>47</sup> On the whole, Atiśa's equivalents are similar to those of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. Atiśa relates the eightfold noble path to the *kha-khyer* and adds the symbolism of the *bre* (*harmikā*) as the four enlightened wisdoms and four deliverances; he also explains the ten first wheels as the ten *bodhisattva* grounds (*bhumi*), while Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan calls them the ten powers, as does *Mchod-rten-gyi Cha Dbye-ba 'Dul-ba-las Byung-ba'i Mdo* (Toh. 3078). The *Kriyā-saṃgraha* (Bénisti 1960: 91 and see also Roth 1980: 196) calls them the thirteen grounds.

<sup>48</sup> This is from the same root as *sgrub-thabs*, *sādhana*. It does not mean simply to ‘make’.

<sup>49</sup> Note that four of the five elements mentioned by Zhi-ba'i-snying-po appear in the Chü-yung-kuan inscription as well. These are the basic components of the *stūpa* which appear in the *Vinaya-ksudraka-vastu* as well (except the *rmang* — *dge-bcu*).

<sup>50</sup> Such evidence was collected by Irwin 1979. The argument made there should, however, be read together with de Jong 1982 and Fussman 1986.

<sup>51</sup> Tog Palace, vol. 9, p. 732. See also La Vallée Poussin 1937: 276–279.

<sup>52</sup> Kuiper 1959; La Vallée Poussin 1937; de Jong 1982.

<sup>53</sup> Including Irwin 1978, 1979, 1980; de Jong 1982; Harvey 1984; Snodgrass 1985; Fussmann 1986.

<sup>54</sup> Toh. 3078, p. 347.6.

<sup>55</sup> Toh. 2652, p. 607.1.

<sup>56</sup> Toh. 2496, p. 514.5, where the ten knowledges are translated as *mkhyen bcu*.

<sup>57</sup> P. 239.3.3, etc.

<sup>58</sup> Bo-dong-pa also lists 8 among the 10 knowledges, p. 306. See also Roth 1980; Tucci 1932/88: 40–43. According to the *Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana*, however, the *yasti* represents the eightfold Noble Path (Roth 1980: 194), while the *Kriyāsamgraha* omits the *yasti* (Roth 1980: 205, n. 54).

<sup>59</sup> See also Bodhisattva, Toh. 3069; Derge, vol. 74, p. 323.4–5; Tucci 1932/1988: 44, etc.

<sup>60</sup> The wheels and the parasol appear in the *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu* as well. However, the terms used for these parts of the *stūpa* are different. What is called here *'khor-lo* is called in the *Vinaya gdugs* and what is called here *gdugs* is called in the *Vinaya char-khebs* — ‘rain cover’ (see below). The *varṣa-sthāla* (‘rain cover’) appears in other sources such as *Divyāvadāna* (244, 7 ff) as well. According to the *Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana*, the wheels carry the same symbolism as in the Chü-yung-kuan inscription, but the equivalent of the parasol is located above the wheels which represents great compassion is called *uṣṇīṣa* (Roth 1980: 194).

<sup>61</sup> For other lists of these 18 qualities, see Bentor 1988: 25–6. The four additional qualities are the four fearlessnesses (*catvāri-vaisāradya*, Mvy. 130–134) which are correlated to the pillars (*rdo-ring*), one of the secondary elements of the *stūpa* (cf. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 239.4.1; Roth 1980: 191; Tucci 1932/1988: 43).

<sup>62</sup> That is to say, in the three worlds (cf. MW 906).

<sup>63</sup> Note that four types of *stūpas* (with one, three, five and seven parasols) correspond here to five types of Saints. According to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s text (provided below) the *stūpas* of both Once Returners and Non-Returners are endowed with three parasols. Hence *dag* in *gsum-dag* here might be a particle of duality. Therefore, I follow Nagao in translating *gsum-dag* as ‘three twice’.

<sup>64</sup> Dad-pa Mkhan-po’s much later account (he lived ca. 1770—ca. 1835) is somewhat different: “A *stūpa* of an ordinary person is bald, a *stūpa* of a Stream-enterer has two *dharma*-wheels, a *stūpa* of a Once-returner has three *dharma*-wheels, a *stūpa* of a Non-returner has four *dharma*-wheels, a *stūpa* of an Arhat has five *dharma*-wheels, and a *stūpa* of a Tathāgata has thirteen wheels.” (p. 67.4)

<sup>65</sup> This is explained also by Bo-dong-pa (p. 293); Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba (fol. 11.2), etc.

<sup>66</sup> *de-bzhin-gshegs-pa’i mchod-rtēn ni nram-pa thams-cad rdzogs-par bya’o/ rang-sangs-rgyas-kyi ni char-khab mi gzhaḡ-par bya’o/ dgra-bcom-pa’i ni gdugs bzhi’o/ phyir-mi’ong-ba’i ni gsum-mo/ phyir’ong-ba’i ni gnyis-so/ rgyun-du-zhugs-pa’i ni gcig-go/ so-so’i skye-po dge-pa-rnams-kyi ni mchod-rtēn ni byi-bor bya’o/ Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu* Tog Palace, vol. 9, p. 733. This passage is also quoted by Bu-ston (p. 553). A note in his text explains that a *stūpa* of an ordinary person should not have a *stūpa* pole (*srog-shing*) as well. A paraphrase of this passage is found also in Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba (fol. 11) who also adds classifications according to the four different classes of Tantra. See also Bo-dong (p. 293) and Padma-phrin-las (pp. 292–293). The latter relies on Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba. Also Gung-thang-pa paraphrases this passage from the *Vinaya* (pp. 445–446). For a still different account of the number of parasols of *stūpas* for the various saints see *Kriyā-samuccaya* (Peking 5012, vol. 86, p. 135.1.1–2, cited in Gung-thang-pa, p. 447; see also Roth 1980: 198).

<sup>67</sup> *deng-sang yang de-bzhin-gshegs-pa’i ring-bsrel bzhugs-na ni gang-zag su’i ched-du bzhengs kyang/ brgyad-po gang rung-gi nram-pa-can nram-pa thams-cad-pa bya dgo/so/’i* (fol. 13b).

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