WORLDS OF TRANSFORMATION

TIBETAN ART OF WISDOM AND COMPASSION

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Foreword by His Holiness the Dalai Lama

With an Essay by David P. Jackson

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TIBETAN PAINTING: STYLES, SOURCES, AND SCHOOLS

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In the past decade with the unprecedented influx of new materials for the study of Tibetan painting, a virtually new field in Buddhist art history has emerged. Various scholars have begun to discern and unravel the complexities of the history, chronology, iconography, stylistic sources, and schools that this new field presents.[1] Though the outlines of the developments of Tibetan painting are gradually becoming clear, much remains unresolved. In supplement to the art historical essay in *Wisdom and Compassion, the Sacred Art of Tibet* that addressed the chronology and regional styles of Tibetan sculpture and painting and the special aesthetic qualities of Tibetan art, this essay focuses on further assessment of the styles, sources, and traditions or schools of Tibetan painting, presented within a general chronological framework.

The Shelley and Donald Rubin Private and Foundation Collections, one of the world's premier collections of Tibetan art, presently numbers nearly one thousand works. Since its major strength is in the middle and later periods of Tibetan painting, dating from the 14th century onwards, it especially contributes to identifying some of the complex trends and clarifying many developments, permutations, and variations in Tibetan painting during that time. Not only do the collections offer examples which enlarge our vision of known schools, but they also contain as yet undefined or unknown stylistic schools or variants, not to speak of the amazing variety of iconography, lineage lama portraits, and hitherto unknown examples of special forms based on particular liturgies. In this essay an attempt is made to introduce some of these extraordinary paintings and to make some initial assessments and groupings as a basis for continued study – although more paintings still keep entering the collections with such speed, it is impossible to assimilate and define them all here.

I. THE 7TH TO 9TH CENTURY: THE YARLUNG DYNASTY

The Beginnings of Buddhist Painting and the Tibet–Dunhuang Connection

This first major period of Buddhism in Tibet was in the 7th to the 9th century during the Yarlung Dynasty. Knowledge of Tibetan painting of that period still remains largely elusive. So far, the best indications about it come from assessments of the "Tibetan style" paintings from Dunhuang, site of the major Buddhist cave complex and strategic oasis on the main communication route (the so-called Silk Road) between China, Central Asia, and the West. This region became part of the Tibetan empire created by the Tibetan King Trisong Detsen (r. 755–797) and his immediate successors and was ruled by Tibetan governors from ca. 787–848. A group of seven silk banner paintings from Dunhuang with standing bodhisattvas in a possibly "Tibetan" style were made during this period, probably ca. 800, though there is still some debate concerning the date.[2] As first pointed out by Roberto Vitali, this now famous group of banner paintings shows stylistic compatibility with the sculptures of the Kachu monastery in Central Tibet, which was patronized by Dro Trisumjey (*Bro Khrisumje*), a prominent Tibetan military leader active in the Tibetan campaigns in northwest China and Central Asia in the late 8th to the early 9th century. He was

Fig. 1. *Six-armed Goddess (Prajñaparamita?).* Wall painting in the Zhal.ras khang (chapel overlooking the Jowo statue), upper floor, east wing, Jokang temple, Lhasa. Yarlung period, 9th century (corresponding to *Zhongguo bihua zhuanji bianji weiyuanhui*, ed., 1989, fig. 16).

probably the governor of Dunhuang for a time between ca. 787 and ca. 810.[3] This link between art produced in Dunhuang and in Central Tibet, though seemingly improbable at first, is actually not surprising, considering the connection of the Tibetans with Dunhuang since their occupation of the area in 787. By that time Dunhuang was a great storehouse of Buddhist art that undoubtedly served as a source of widespread artistic inspiration and knowledge of Buddhist art.

Several stylistic points distinguish these Dunhuang banners from contemporaneous Chinese Buddhist paintings and suggest the banners may well have been painted by Tibetan artists. Notably, the color tends to be richer with a wide range of tonality – a liberal use of red and a decidedly shocking use of blue, green, and white – and the patterned textile designs are non-Chinese. Also, the physiognomies of the figures are more western; the line is not as flowing, soft, and flexible as that of a Chinese artist; the scarves are straight and simply folded; and there is a sense of fuller dimension in the forms than is customary in the languid forms preferred by the Chinese.

Other paintings at Dunhuang have inscriptions with the names of Tibetan artists in Tibetan script.[4] Some are clearly painted in the Chinese style, indicating that at least some Tibetan artists were trained in the Chinese painting tradition. Wall paintings in Caves 85 and 14 at Dunhuang and in Cave 25 at the Yulin cave site in Anxi (near Dunhuang), all dating in the 9th century, have styles clearly related to Pala Indian art. They may well reflect painting in Tibet, although we cannot yet be certain about this.

Generally thought to survive from the Yarlung Period is a pair of wall paintings (one of which is in shown fig. 1) from the secret chamber (*Zhal-ras khang*)[5] which overlooks the Jowo statue and is on the top floor of the Jokhang temple in Lhasa, the most sacred temple of Tibet, founded ca. 640 by the first Buddhist King Songzen Gambo. These paintings show stylistic affinities with some Dunhuang silk paintings of ca. the mid-9th century, such as the Amoghapasa Mandala in the Musée Guimet (Pelliot collection, in *Les Arts de l'Asie Centrale*, 1994, vol. 1, pls. 80.1–80.5). The delicate surfaces, sensitive curvatures of the torso, very selective and subtle delineation of the jewelry, and sense of sublime innocence and purity in each attest to a similar style. In fig. 1, the quality of mass in the forms, such as in the Naga king making offerings, the fullness of the lotus stalk and leafy ornament of the pedestal, and the generally soft and delicate quality of the figures may well be related to trends in the Pala art of India of the early 8th century, where the same kind of youthful, slender, graceful form is the norm in sculpture at this time. Similarities also appear with figures in Indian wall paintings, such as with the figures of ca. 850 in a lotus pond at the Jain cave at Sittanavasal in south India. Spiral-ended armbands similar to those in the Jokhang wall paintings occur in the wall paintings of Ellora Cave 32 of about the same time (Barrett and Gray, 1963, plates on pp. 40–41 and 36). Although these Jokhang wall paintings cannot yet be dated with certainty, nor can we yet determine if they are perhaps executed by Indian artists, they may well represent the finest earliest paintings we know from Tibet proper.

II. THE LATE 10TH TO 12TH CENTURY: RENEWAL, MASTERY, AND MOMENTUM

With the fall of the Yarlung Dynasty in the mid-9th century, Buddhism was suppressed and virtually disappeared for the next one hundred years from the Central Regions. Monks fled eastward to preserve the teachings there, and a collateral branch of the Yarlung Dynasty line established a kingdom in Western Tibet, known as the Ngari Korsum, with Purang (south of Mt. Kailash and Lake Manosarovar) as its political center. The second king, Yeshe Ö, who became a Buddhist monk, and his immediate successors created magnificent Buddhist establishments, notably the great monastery at Tholing in the Guge region (northwest of Mt. Kailash), the religious center of the kingdom (fig. 2). With the efforts of Yeshe Ö from around the third quarter of the 10th century together with the renowned translator monk, Rinchen Sangpo, in Western Tibet, with the return of the monk Lume and others from far northeastern Tibet to the Central Regions of Tibet, and with the beginnings of temple building in Tsang in 997 and in Ü in 1009, Buddhism once again began to take root in Tibet, in what is termed the "Second Diffusion of Buddhism." The next several centuries saw the production of some of Tibet's most brilliant monuments and expressions of Buddhist art and architecture.

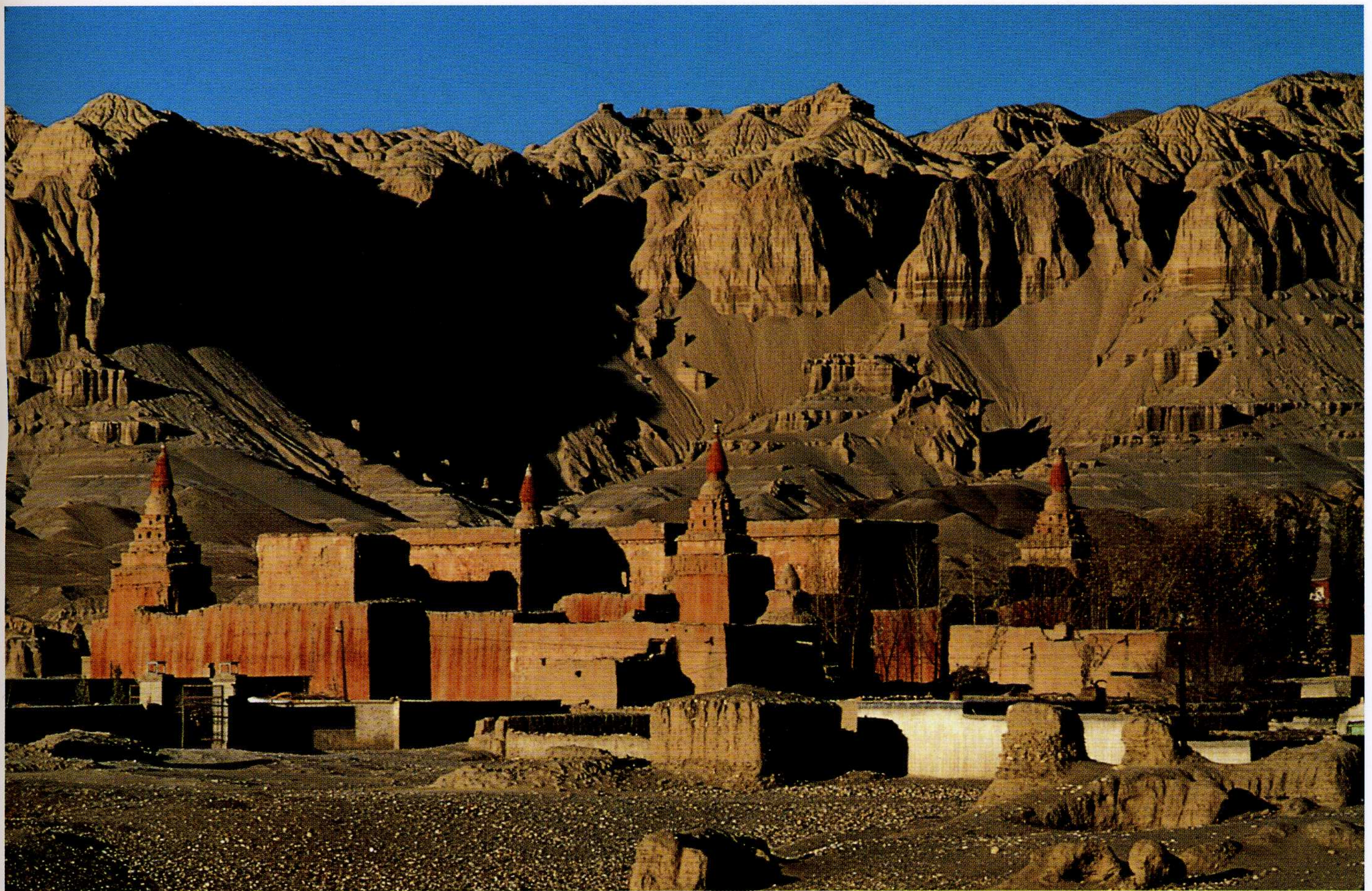

Fig. 2. Tholing monastery, Ngari, Guge, Western Tibet. (photo: Edwin Bernbaum, 1988).

A. Western Tibet and Ladakh: Wall Paintings

New discoveries and research are beginning to amplify and complement with more detail the pioneer studies of Western Tibetan art made by Guiseppe Tucci in the 1930s.[6] Little now remains of the paintings and sculptures in the early halls of Tholing monastery (fig. 2), the supreme monument of Western Tibet.[7] However, the wall paintings of the two early temple halls at Mangnang monastery, located in a valley southeast of Tholing, as well as those of Tabo monastery in Spiti, provide important evidence about the painting of this flourishing, active period in Western Tibet.

According to the history of the kingdoms of Guge and Purang, the two temple halls at Mangnang were founded by Jangchub Ö (grand-nephew of Yeshe Ö and ruler around the mid-11th century), probably around the second quarter or mid-11th century. The great Bengali Buddhist master Atisha is known to have resided there for one year sometime between 1042 and 1045 when he came to this area at the invitation of Yeshe Ö and Jangchub Ö.[8] Sadly, the Mangnang wall paintings are no longer extant, but the now rare photographs taken by Tucci and Ghersi in 1933 reveal that they deserve a prominent place in the history of early Guge Western Tibetan painting for the skill of their drawing and boldly imaginative modelling (fig. 3).[9] The languorous yet muscular forms, as seen in the celestial goddess in fig. 3, reflect the gracefully articulated, naturalistically conceived forms known to us from Indian art from at least as early as the Ajanta wall paintings of the Gupta period, from the third quarter of the 5th century. More than likely the work of invited artists from Kashmir, the Mangnang paintings retain the Indian richness and realism, with a sense of detached transcendence conveyed by idealistic form and abstract patterns of modelling. The strong line shows a mastery of drawing that matches the full strength of the modelling, a characteristic of many of the Western Tibetan wall paintings of the 10th to the 13th century, with their undoubted links to sources in Kashmiri painting.

A number of studies have appeared since 1990 on the justly famous Tabo monastery in Spiti at the western border of the Purang-Guge kingdom. The most recent is a comprehensive study by D. Klimburg-Salter and others, with photographs by J. Poncar.[10] The temple was founded by Yeshe Ö, most likely in 996, but the Main Hall (Tsuglagkhang) was renovated around 1042 by Jangchub Ö, according to the important "Renovation Inscription" in the hall. A majority of the wall paintings date from this renovation, though some remain from the period of its founding (most in the old Entry Hall); these reveal a rougher and simpler style than the more sophisticated paintings of the renovation period, of which the seated Buddha (fig. 4) from the Assembly Hall (upper part of the south wall) is one of the many masterworks.[11] The harmony of planes of color and the strongly patterned modelling of the fleshy areas again show the genius of this developed Western Tibetan painting style. When compared with the paintings at Mangnang monastery (fig. 3), the Tabo paintings of ca. 1042 have in general a slightly more abstract quality and may date slightly later. Interesting curves of the drapery hems are highlighted by just a modicum of modelled fold lines, a technique known in mid-10th century paintings at

Fig. 3. *Goddess Personifying Offerings*. Wall painting. Mangnang Temple, Guge, Western Tibet. (after Tucci, 1973, fig. 115).

Kashmiri artists. There is, in addition, a remarkable similarity between the Cave 1 painting and a wood carving from Tabo monastery (Tucci, 1973, fig. 129), possibly from the Serkhang, as noted by T. Pritzker, and also probably dating from ca. the late 11th century. Both figures have stocky proportions, smooth, large planes, a strong upper body, and a gracefully relaxed stance.

The important historical text *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang*, recently translated by R. Vitali, reports that the Guge and Purang parts of the kingdom split into two separate kingdoms in the late 11th century (after 1083 and before 1090, according to R. Vitali's determination), with the new Guge kingdom establishing its political center in Dungkar.[13] These Dungkar cave paintings are stylistically related in some respects to those of Mangnang and Tabo and they appear to date earlier than the Sumtsek hall paintings at Alchi in Ladakh from the late 12th to early 13th century. At least these two Dungkar caves, then, and probably a number of others, were likely made following the establishment of the Guge capital at Dungkar ca. the late 11th century, before the period of the two Garlok invasions in the first half of the 12th century and the subsequent further factional division of Guge into two separate kingdoms.[14]

In the wall paintings of the Dukhang hall at Alchi in Ladakh, a temple founded by the prominent aristocratic 'Bro family probably in ca. the mid-12th century, there is a solidification of the sensitive naturalism seen in the Dungkar Cave 1 paintings.[15] The Kashmiri-Western Tibet idiom culminates in the wall paintings of the Sumtsek hall at Alchi. These have been extensively studied by a number of scholars, most notably R. Goepper, whose work, along with the superb photography of J. Poncar, established the date of this premier remains as ca. the late 12th to early 13th century.[16] Inscriptions and paintings

Dunhuang and seen later in the 14th and 15th century paintings of the Central Regions. The stunning clarity of the curvilinear forms and the vivid resonance of the color patterns create an unforgettably potent vigor and beauty in these 1042 renovation period Tabo wall paintings.

Wall paintings in the caves at Dungkar and Piyang, both recently re-discovered sites near Tholing monastery, the former with one hundred sixty and the latter with nearly one thousand caves, according to the preliminary report of the Chinese, possess a major group of early paintings from the late 11th to the early 12th century.[12] Stylistically and iconographically these paintings appear to offer many new interesting features still waiting to be studied in depth. Among the caves at Dungkar is one with a large, lanternendecke-type ceiling and another with a circular, mandala-type ceiling, both intricately painted with figures and designs of mandalas (Dungkar Caves 1 and 2 respectively). The figure painting is extraordinary, some with extremely sensitive and soft modelling (Pritzker, 1997, fig. 170), which clearly relates to the technique seen in some of the Mangnang paintings (Tucci, 1973, fig. 114). The image of the eleven-faced, one-thousand-armed Avalokiteshvara attended by two female bodhisattvas (probably Taras) from Cave 1 (fig. 5) is one of the finest paintings of this important deity in all Asian art. His full, almost stocky form, and the poses and garb of his attendants, recalling forms known in Kashmir sculpture of the 9th century and earlier, may reflect a revival of these earlier styles in Western Tibet, perhaps by or under the direction of

Fig. 4. *Buddha*. Wall painting. Assembly Hall, Tabo monastery, Spiti. Ca. 1042, Guge, Western Tibet. (after Pritzker,1989, fig. 15).

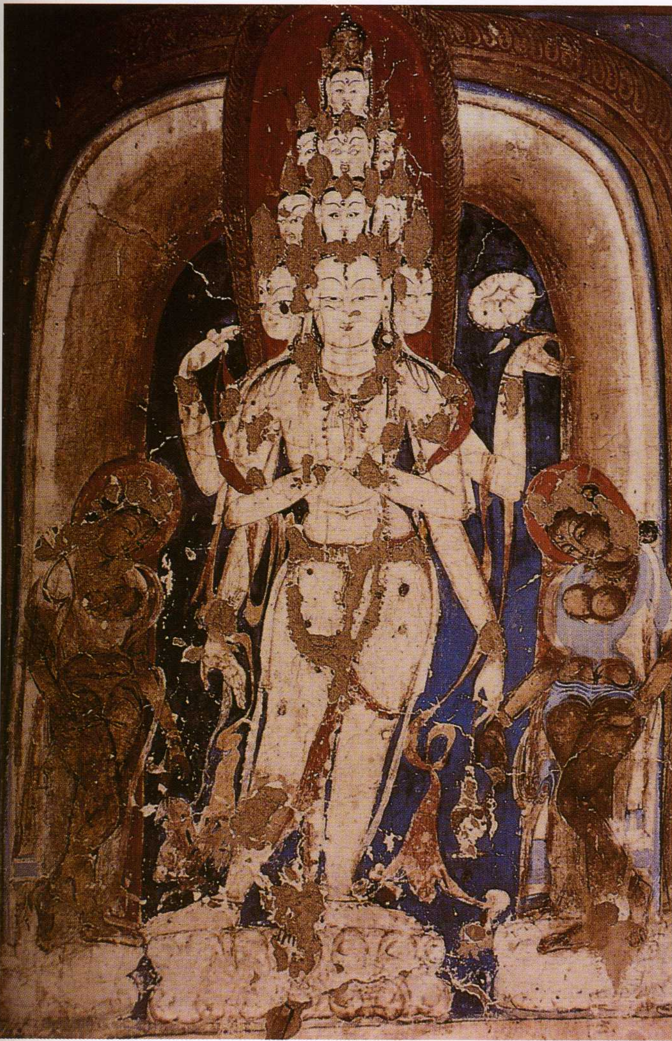

Fig. 5. *Eleven-faced Avalokiteshvara*. South wall, Cave 1, Dungkar, Western Tibet. Ca. late 11th–early 12th century. (after Pritzker, 1996, fig. 16).

show that the patron was a follower of the Drigungpa order, suggesting that this order made inroads into the Ladakh region of Western Tibet by the late 12th century.[17] With surviving original sculpture and complex ensembles of wall paintings on three floors, the Sumtsek is unsurpassed as a treasured monument of its time in the Western Tibet-Kashmir orbit. The marvelous array of paintings generally shows a style delicate in modelling and line, rich and laden with vividly colorful textiles, and imperious yet fanciful and imaginative in the characteristic Alchi Sumtsek artistic mode, which represents what appears to be the final major flowering of one of India's greatest artistic offspring.

B. Western Tibet: Manuscript Paintings

A core corpus of early Western Tibetan manuscript painting is emerging, with the major discovery of the illustrated *Prajñaparamita* text from Poo (fig. 6) in upper Kinnaur, not far from Tabo monastery; the illustrated manuscript pages of the Tanjur from Tabo; a few individual folios from Tholing monastery, including the famous *Prajñaparamita* text now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; and a few other manuscript fragments, such as the one found by T. Pritzker in the ruins of Mangnang monastery.[18] These works may constitute the earliest known manuscript paintings from Tibet. They reveal not only a regional style distinct from the painting styles of the Central Regions but also expand the parameters of our understanding of the stylistic character and developments within the Western Tibetan school and of the Kashmir-Himachal Pradesh painting schools, about which little is known. These works will have an impact as well on the study of Indian manuscript painting of the 10th to 12th century.

The earliest in the group appears to be the Poo *Prajñaparamita*, whose vivid, energetic style is produced by the wide range of brilliant color (including a distinctive purplish-rose), meticulous varieties of textile designs (possibly based directly on textiles from the Gujarat region, as suggested in studies of D. Klimburg-Salter and E. Wandl),[19] and the alert, angular postures, round faces, and bright modelling of some figures (fig. 6). Most closely related to the wall paintings of Tabo Phase I (ca. 996), the Poo manuscript may date around the same time, ca. the late 10th to the early 11th century. Features of both include a rather simple body outline and round face with tiny features (see D. Klimburg-Salter, 1994, figs. 10–13, compared with Tabo wall paintings in D. Klimburg-Salter, 1996, figs. 14–15). Though probably related to the otherwise little known painting schools from the Kashmir and/or the Himachal Pradesh regions, it is also interesting to note that this style has some distinct similarities with the 9th century manuscripts from Turfan in Central Asia, particularly the notable Manichean manuscripts,

Fig. 6. Detail from front page, illustrated *Prajñaparamita* manuscript from Poo. Upper Kinnaur. Ca. late 10th–early 11th century. Colors and gold on paper. (after: Klimburg-Salter, 1997b, fig. 222).

Fig. 7. *Buddha and attendants.* Wall painting. Dukhang, Dranang (Drathang) monastery, southern Tibet. Ca. 1081–1093. (after Henss, 1997, fig. 176).

which have a similar clustering of figures, emphasis on large heads, and bright modelling with red and orange colors.[20] Remarkably, according to the research of E. Wandl and D. Klimburg-Salter, the paper of the Poo manuscript is also similar to that of manuscripts from Dunhuang. This has interesting ramifications for the study of Indian miniature painting, as the earliest paper manuscript otherwise known in India dates from the 12th century and paper was not widely used in Indian manuscript paintings until the 13th to the14th century. As for the Tabo Kanjur illustrations, they show more naturalism than the Los Angeles County Museum's Tholing manuscript paintings, but both have a freedom of drawing and broad handling of surfaces that may indicate a dating ca. the mid-11th century for each.[21]

C. The Central Regions: Wall Paintings and Tangkas

The oldest Buddhist constructions in the Tibetan Central Regions of Ü and Tsang are linked to disciples of Lumey and others around the late 10th and early 11th century.[22] The research by G. Tucci years ago and by R. Vitali and others more recently has disclosed that the early wall paintings at Yemar and Shalu monasteries date around this time, before ca. 1047, and that those at Dranang monastery, south of the Tsangpo River in the Dranang Valley, date ca. 1081–1093.[23] The Yemar wall paintings in the central and the Amitayus chapels, now practically all lost, reveal seated buddhas with sharp, clear-cut figures with indented waists and pert, angular arm positions (Tucci, 1932–41, 1988 translation, part 3 (plates), figs. 45, 53; Vitali, 1990, fig. 13). Some of the Shalu paintings show monks and bodhisattvas with large curving eyes, long noses, and a pronounced lower lip typical of the Pala Indian style. Others reveal a more Central Asian style, according to H. Stoddard, and some show a tougher style that can be associated with the works at Dranang from the end of the century.[24] Wall paintings in the Jokhang temple, published by H. Stoddard and dated by her to the 11th century, appear to be related to the sensitive style of the earlier Shalu monastery paintings (Stoddard, 1994).

The Dranang monastery paintings, on the other hand, have a strong, flat appearance with wiry line and bold outlining of features; the style is not so much sensitive as it is forthrightly appealing in its power. Some costumes and faces seem to have a Central Asian character, and some buddhas and attendants have the loose robes associated with Chinese rather than Indian styles.[25] There is an interesting correspondence in form, drapery, and even halo designs with the sculptural ensemble dated 1038 in the Liao dynasty at the Lower Huayensi monastery in Tatung, northern Shanxi province, China. Also, some of the fold motifs, such as the flat pleats over the arms of some buddhas (fig. 7), find counterparts in the Xixia sculpture of ca. the early 12th century.[26] Some robes with wide lapels and sleeves resemble the robes worn by monks and others in the Tabo wall paintings, perhaps indicating a Tibetan mode of dress used even for the robes of buddhas (fig. 7).[27] Though perhaps not as pronounced as those traceable to Indian sources, stylistic elements from the northeastern area of Tibet, northwest China, and other areas of Central Asia, while still difficult to pinpoint, nevertheless constitute a major ingredient in the early painting styles of the Second Diffusion period in the Central Regions.

The Jokhang temple wall paintings from the 12th century[28] show sophisticated refinement and elaboration of the forms developed in the 11th century. They are often badly worn and offer only rare glimpses of the original works, yet they afford some standard, as do all these wall paintings, by which to judge contemporary tangkas.

A body of tangkas from this early period is gradually being identified through the detailed studies of various scholars.[29] Among these, several can be singled out as certainly representative of the Kadampa order, founded by Dromtonpa (1017–1064). He was the lay disciple of the great Indian master Atisha, whose journey from India, first to Western Tibet and then to the Central Regions, to teach and clarify the Buddhist Dharma is legendary in the annals of Tibetan history and momentous for its Buddhist culture.

The lama painting in fig. 8 may be of Dromtonpa, who again appears seated with Atisha in the shrine above the main figure's left shoulder. This shrine is balanced by another on the opposite side containing two lamas, possibly the other two noted disciples of Atisha, Khu and Ngog. The central lama is garbed in rather discretely decorated robes, unlike the more gorgeous designs seen on the lamas of later centuries, and is seated on a simply portrayed throne with leogryphs decorating the side, a red cloth over the back, and lotus vines floating at the sides. Garments and throne are all simpler than those of the later 12th century and are more akin to the Kronos collection Atisha portrait of ca. the late 11th century (Singer, 1994, fig. 16).

Fig. 8. *Dromtonpa*. Central regions. 12th century. Tangka; sized pigments on cotton. Private collection, Switzerland. (photo: Young H. Rhie).

Deities, lamas, and Indian adepts line the top and sides in small niches surrounded by stylized mountain peaks whose shape is less modelled and more individually treated than similar forms in some 12th and 13th century paintings. As noted in *Wisdom and Compassion* (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, p. 49), similar mountain peaks are found in Indian art and also in Korean art many centuries earlier and seem to be a persistent motif in Tibetan paintings of the Central Regions into the mid-15th century. The prominent two-dimensionality of this and other early paintings undoubtedly derives from Indian prototypes.

The particularly monumental effect achieved by this compositional method and two-dimensional setting is clearly witnessed in the Green Tara in fig. 9, a superb work which is another Kadampa order painting, as Dromtonpa and Atisha appear prominently in the area above the main group. Though still clearly Indian in overall appearance and somewhat related in stylistic elements to 11th century wall paintings from South India (Tanjore), its broad planes of saturated color and bold designs bespeak a freer Tibetan interpretation. It is similar in its robust forms to some of the wall painting fragments in the Jokhang of ca. the 12th century (*Xizang yishu,* 1991, fig. 5). It is also associated stylistically with some tangkas of the Khara Khoto group, a particularly important group that dates from the last quarter of the 12th century to the early 13th century (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, Nos. 128, 133, 135).[30] It also has interesting motif elements that relate to a number of 11th to 12th century Tibetan paintings from the Central Regions: the crown and head halo are the type used in the early Green Tara tangka in the Ford collection, and the full body halo incorporating the head halo in the two main standing attendant figures (a rather rare manner) occurs as well in the Metropolitan Museum's early Amitayus (Kossak and Singer, 1998, Nos. 3 and 1 respectively). In general, the strong, broad planes of color may most resemble the usage of color in paintings of ca. the late 12th century (*Ibid.*, Nos. 10, 20) and in the Khara Khoto tangkas. Other paintings that can be associated with the Kadampa order are the Green Tara in the Ford collection of ca. the late 11th to the first half of the 12th century, and a ca. 12th century portrait of Atisha and Dromtonpa seated together, still preserved in Tibet.[31]

Two of the earliest Rubin collection paintings can be grouped with the 12th century tangkas. One is the outstanding drawing of the eleven-faced Chenrezi (No. 154), especially interesting for the appearance of the three famous royals of the 7th century Yarlung Dynasty: King Songzen Gambo and his two foreign wives, Wen-cheng of China and Bhrikuti Devi of Nepal. This is also the earliest known painting to show Songzen Gambo with the head of Amitabha Buddha in his crown.[32] Another early work is the Vighnantaka (No. 92); though a simple rendering, it has the solid, and in this case somewhat delicate, planes of color utilized in a number of works of ca. the late 12th century.[33]

Fig. 9. *Green Tara*. Central regions. 12th century. Tangka; sized pigments on cotton. 25 × 16½″ (64 × 42 cm). Private collection, Switzerland. (photo: Peter Schibli).

III. THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURY: GROWTH AND CREATIVITY

Elements of Chinese, Central Asian, and Indo-Nepalese art, along with elements of the Indian and Kashmir traditions, can be seen in some Tibetan art from the preceding centuries, but it is during the 13th and 14th century that the former became more prevalent factors. However, it must be emphasized that Tibetan artists always transformed these elements to be their own, creating a distinctive Tibetan style unmistakably different from that of the Nepalese, Indian, Central Asian, and Chinese styles. Though some tangkas clearly can be said to be affiliated with a particular Tibetan Buddhist order, by virtue of the figures portrayed, or sometimes by specific inscriptions, it also appears that certain artists or schools of artists may have worked primarily for certain monasteries at certain times, causing some styles to become associated with those monasteries and their orders. However, in general, artistic styles cannot be classified by sectarian affiliation. Many diverse stylistic strands – perhaps nearly as many as individual artists or schools of artists – can be discerned in the increasingly complex development of Tibetan painting. No universal, clear, satisfactory, and consistent criteria have emerged as yet to classify the paintings of this period stylistically; so, whenever possible, it is best to use date, region, and even temple of origin. The Tibetan's own classification of styles into Kashmiri, Nepalese, Indian, Central Asian, and Chinese schools, a classification used by J. Huntington and also recently by H. Stoddard, has a certain validity and usefulness for determining stylistic sources. However, it does not help to establish the art chronologically, except in a very general way, and it is often not so precise in dealing with hybrid styles. Here, as a matter of interest and for increasing awareness of the developments within specific orders during this complex period, a few trends are discussed in terms of grouping paintings with a particular Tibetan Buddhist order or suborder; however, these groupings should not be taken as constituting stylistic schools or movements until or unless more evidence can justify such a means of classification.

A. Tangkas and Wall Paintings of the Kagyupa and Stylistically Related Works

One of the most spectacular developments in the art history of this period is the recent appearance of a large number of paintings of the Taklung suborder of the Kagyupa. These have been most systematically investigated by Jane Singer in several articles in which she discusses the inscriptional data, history, and personages. She offers, through these materials, a chronology of the group, which spans the 13th to the 14th centuries.[34] Though changes are evident over time, this group of paintings is remarkably conservative, especially the lama paintings, which show a tendency to stay within rather narrow stylistic limits. For these two centuries, this group possibly creates a credible "school," or "two schools" (as suggested by J. Singer, one from Central Tibet and another from the Eastern Tibetan Taklung Riwoche monastery in Kham). After this, the stylistic lineage seems to die out or change. Many of the tangkas that can be assigned to this group with certainty are those of the lama hierarchs in the Taklung lineage, or those with the lama lineages included, but there may well be others from the Taklung groups without such identifying marks. In general, the tangkas are characterized by a supremely rich palette with generous amounts of gold in the rather bold designs of the garb of the main figure. The technique is so precise as to elicit universal praise for its clarity and controlled energy in coloring and line. Over time, the style became a bit repetitious and formal, but never lost its pure beauty of color and sense of clarity of design. While still maintaining their richness of surface patterning and high intensity of bright colors, the Taklung tangkas from the early 14th century are further invigorated by incorporating some of the freedom of curvilinear line and exquisitely refined detail noted in other artistic trends of that time, such as the Shalu monastery wall paintings of the late 13th to ca. the first half of the 14th century (see below).[35]

The tangka in fig. 10 of Amitayus is stylistically related to, if not actually part of, the Taklung group. It represents the sublime heights achieved in Tibetan painting around the mid-13th century. The modelling of the face contains elements closely resembling the techniques seen in the Cave 465 wall paintings at Dunhuang, which appear to date ca. the third quarter of the 13th century.[36] The refinement of the details and the gentle contours of the body are seen in other works of ca. the first half of the 13th century and predate the more vigorous and evolved forms of Tibetan painting in the Shalu monastery wall paintings of ca. 1290–1335.

A few tangkas can be identified as from the Karmapa suborder of the Kagyupa by the presence of the Black Hat

Fig. 10. *Amitabha.* Central regions. Ca. mid-13th century. Tangka; sized pigments on cotton. Private collection, Switzerland. (after Singer, 1994, Fig. 19).

Fig. 11. The Serkhar Guthog Tower, built by Milarepa (1040–1123), Lhodrak, southern Tibet. Ca. 1078–84. (photo: Becky Martin, 1996).

Drigungpas until the arrival of the charismatic Gelukpa teacher, Ngawang Drakpa, a direct disciple of Tsong Khapa, in 1424.

Wall paintings have recently come to light in the Serkhar Guthog Tower at Lhodrak, near the border with Bhutan, built by Milarepa (1040–1123) for his teacher Marpa (d. 1098) (fig. 11). Painted on the walls of the third floor chapel ("Marpa's Chapel") of the tower, they include paintings of Marpa and Milarepa as well as Tilopa, Naropa, and the Five Tathagatas (fig. 12).[39] These rare wall paintings seem to date ca. the mid-13th century or a little later in a style descended from that displayed in the Cleveland Museum's Vairochana of the second half of the 12th century, but were executed in a drier, boldly simple yet masterful style, which shows the same kind of linear power noted earlier in the late 11th century Dranang monastery wall paintings (fig. 7). Possibly this is a local, regional characteristic, since Dranang and Lhodrak are not far apart. A four-deity tangka in the Musée Guimet (Fournier collection) also has elements of this style, as do the mid-13th century *tsakali* miniatures introduced by A. Heller, the paintings introduced by V. Reynolds from a stupa now in the Newark Museum, and the impressive, long, vertical paintings of the Kagyupa order, one formerly in the Rossi collection and another still in Tibet.[40] The wall paintings of the Lhakhang Soma temple hall at Alchi in Ladakh may have been a collateral development of this mid-13th century style, indicating that the sources of painting in Ladakh had by this time shifted from Kashmir to the Central Regions of Tibet, perhaps inspired by the presence of the Drigungpa order in the area.[41]

Karmapa.[37] In style they tend to be less refined than the Taklung school, which indeed was known as the wealthiest order at this time. It may well be that the Karmapas were influential in transmitting Tibetan Buddhist art to the Xixia kingdom in the latter part of the 12th century. It is known from both Chinese and Tibetan sources that the Lama Tsang Sopa, a disciple of the Black Hat Karmapa, went to Xixia at the invitation of Renzhong (r. 1139–93), king of the Xixia, in ca. 1159. It would appear that the considerable group of Khara Khoto tangkas dates from this period before the fall of the Xixia to the forces of Ghenghis Khan in 1227.[38]

The Rubin tangka No. 111 is probably a Kagyupa lama (from perhaps the Drigungpa or the Pagmodrupa suborders) and may come from Western Tibet, though the style is markedly similar to paintings of the Central Regions of ca. the late 13th to the first half of the 14th century. If it does come from Western Tibet, it probably indicates the movement of artists from the Central Regions into that area, along with the establishment of these influential orders: the Drigungpa in the late 12th century and the Pagmodrupa in the mid-13th century. From around the late 13th century Sakyapa alliances increased their power in Guge and Purang, though the Drigungpa continued to have power in the area under the Eighth Drigungpa hierarch (in office 1296–1314). Despite the fact that the Sakyapa became dominant in this region from around the mid-14th to first quarter of the 15th century (Vitali, 1996, pp. 411–500), the rulers of sTod (including Yartse) continued to favor the

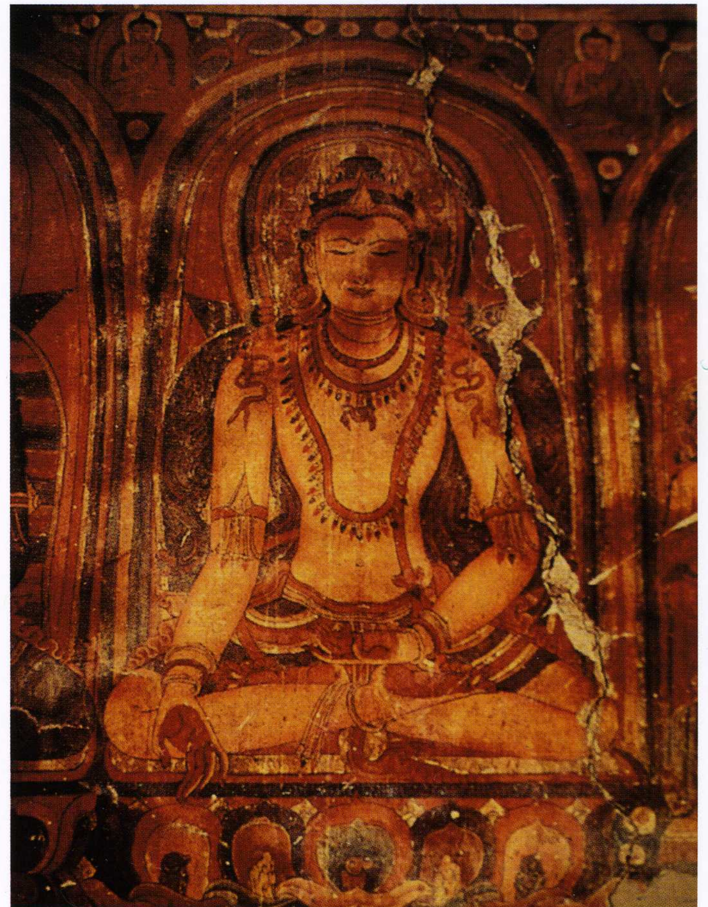

Fig. 12. *Ratnasambhava*. Wall painting, right wall, third floor chapel, Serkhar Guthog Tower, Lhodrak. Ca. mid-13th century. (after *National Geographic*, July, 1997; photo: Christopher Baumer).

B. Paintings of Narthang and Shalu Monasteries and of the Sakyapa Order

A group of three tangkas published in 1957 (Liu, 1957, figs. 18, 19, 23) are said to have been at that time in Narthang, a major monastery (with first Kadampa and later Sakyapa affiliations) established in 1153 in Tsang. They reveal evident Nepalese traits in the motifs of the shrines and in the figure style, and the format remains the traditional two-dimensional one characteristic of the Indo-Nepalese tradition. Yet some also display elements that relate to Chinese art and to the Shalu monastery wall paintings of ca. the late 13th century to ca. 1335. These latter paintings, in the estimation of R. Vitali and others, are strongly associated with the artists trained by the great Nepalese master Aniko (d. 1306), who worked in Beijing for the early Yuan Dynasty Mongol emperors.

The tangka in fig. 13, formerly at Narthang monastery and said to be of the great Sakya Pandita (1182–1251), probably dates to ca. the second half of the 13th or early 14th century. It is one of the most magnificent lama portraits of the time, with refined facial expression mixed with boldly patterned garments that show a mastery of floral and geometric designs, carried over into the throne back and halo as well. Interestingly, the standing bodhisattva attendants are garbed in Chinese style drapery and scarves, again showing the eclectic freedom in the works of this time. This portrait is quite similar in style to that of Shangton Chökyi Lama of ca. 1250, also from Narthang monastery (Singer, 1997b, fig. 46). Both show a style somewhat different from, though generally resembling, the Taklungpa and Karmapa portraits of the same time; mainly, the central lama is larger in overall proportion within the format with a resulting monumentality that is usually lacking in the Taklungpa works. Wall paintings at Narthang monastery, now only known through G. Tucci's publications (Tucci, 1949, text figs. 42–49) display intriguing elements of landscape that are important precursors of the Gyantse Kumbum landscape style.

Fig. 13. *Sakya Pandita*. Tangka from Narthang Monastery, Tsang. Second half of the 13th century. (after: Liu, I-se, 1957, fig. 18).

Fig. 14. *Ratnasambhava*. Wall painting, east side of south wall, chapel with the rhino skin door; Shalu monastery, Tsang. Ca. 1307–1333. H. 9′10¼″ × W. 5′9″ (2.8 m × 1.75 m). (after Vitali, 1990, Pl. 71).

The Nepalese artist Aniko was invited to work for Kublai Khan in China at the instigation of the powerful Sakya Lama Pakpa, who was preceptor to the Khan from ca. 1250 until his death in 1279. Recent studies on Aniko have drawn attention to the probable repercussions of the Nepalese-Aniko-Chinese artistic styles in some Tibetan works, such as the splendid Cleveland Green Tara, probably of ca. the mid-13th century, and the wall paintings of Shalu monastery from the late 13th and early 14th century (executed in three phases: 1290–1306, 1307–1333, and 1333–1335).[42] The style exhibited in the Shalu wall paintings reaches a pinnacle of sophisticated detail, refined modelling, luxurious floral motifs and ornate thrones (fig. 14) and is distinct from the stylistic tradition used, for example, in the Khara Khoto group (Piotrovsky, 1993), in the mid-13th century works related to the Taklung (fig. 10), and in the paintings of the Kadampa noted above (figs. 8 and 9).

The icons of gigantically powerful Father-Mother (*yab-yum*) and fierce figures that appear in some tangkas of the Sakyapas and are also seen in the Shalu monastery wall paintings, become a major development in this period and reach a high level

during the first half of the 14th century. Notable examples are the Vajrapani in the McCormick collection, the Paramasukha Chakrasamvara formerly of the Tucci and Ellsworth collections, and a number of terrific deities in the Shalu wall paintings.[43] This is a period in which the Sakyapas, who had favored relations with Mongol China from the mid-13th century, began to experience a decline in support. Nevertheless, Sakyapa power was maintained in Tsang and even into the Ngari area of Western Tibet well into the 15th century, and this served to maintain the Sakyapa leadership in the production of Buddhist art during this period.

At the end of the 14th century, a school of painting that seems to be mainly associated with the Sakya order is affirmed by the Raktayamari painting in the Zimmerman collection and others of a similar style (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 75). The Raktayamari painting, inscribed as the meditation tangka for Jangpukpa, Lama Khedzun Kunga Lekpa, one of the teachers of the great master Tsong Khapa (1357–1419), presents a sleek, fresh vision, portraying figures with alert postures, and using pen-like drawing and fastidious filling designs with various vine motifs. The surfaces are extremely smooth and the colors varied and rich, with a predominance of red and moss-colored green. In Sakyapa tangkas of this period, the ten world gods are frequently found as small subsidiary figures.

C. Nyingmapa, Jonangpa, Kadampa, and Related Paintings

Though apparently much fewer in number, some Nyingma works survive from the 14th century, notably the large Padma Sambhava formerly in the Ford collection (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 46). Aside from the small figure of Padma Sambhava in the McCormick mandala of ca. the late 12th century (Leidy and Thurman, 1997, No. 16), this is possibly the earliest major painted representation of this important master.

The Jonang stupa wall paintings and the wall paintings of the Gyang stupa photographed by G. Tucci also help document the 14th century to early 15th century period (Vitali, 1990, pl. 84, figs. 18–23). According to R. Vitali, the Jonang stupa dates ca. 1330 and was completed before 1354. The stupa at Gyang near Lhatsey is probably from ca. the early 15th century (Vitali, 1990, p. 128). These paintings help to chart the course of Tibetan paintings in the western part of Central Tibet. The Jonang wall paintings appear close in style to those of Shalu monastery, but the Gyang paintings (Tucci, 1949, text figs. 25–40) reveal a strength, simplicity, and power that suggest a slightly different, local regional style.

A major work in the Rubin collection, No. 1, Shakyamuni Buddha, with Arhats, Life Scenes, and Jatakas, also has similarities to the Shalu and Jonang stupa paintings of ca. the early to mid-14th century. It is a magnificent work, extraordinarily large in size, which reveals the stylistic trends of this time, as well as contributing to the study of the arhats, Life Scenes, and Jatakas of Shakyamuni Buddha, subjects that start to be depicted with some frequency in the 14th century. The Rubin tangka No. 161 is a rare example, not only from Western Tibet but also from the Kadampa order at this time. It relates to the Gyang style in its bold, forthright use of line, perhaps thereby showing some contemporaneous compatibility between the styles of the Lhatsey and Western Tibetan regions.

Though elements of Nepalese and Chinese art can be noted in some paintings already discussed, other tangkas affected by elements of the Nepalese and Chinese artistic traditions are not yet assignable to a particular Buddhist order. These include tangkas which use the elaborate throne and shrine of Nepalese inspiration and those that begin to utilize more and more the loose, flowing garments of the Chinese tradition. Several examples of the mixing of these styles from the 14th century are the Ushnishavijaya from the Fournier collection in the Musée Guimet and the Guhyasamaja from a private collection in Switzerland (Rhie and Thurman, 1996a, No. 217 and 1996b, No. 181).

D. The Early Arhat Tangkas, the Drigung Tangkas, and the Beginnings of Landscape Painting

The great arhat paintings may have been developed within both the Sakyapa and Kadampa orders, though this is not yet known for certain. The arhats become a significant category of art that will be discussed more in the next section. These early arhat paintings were discussed in Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, in the arhat section, but it can be noted here that the Los Angeles County Museum arhat probably remains the earliest known prime example of this category, dating from ca. the first half of the 14th century, while the examples formerly from the Tucci collection are probably from the mid to the second half of the 14th century (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, Nos. 12 and 13 respectively). The latter two paintings display considerable but not complete Chinese elements. In particular, the landscape in these two works, interestingly enough, does not appear to be significantly influenced by the Chinese style, unless it radically changes the Chinese prototypes or reflects a type of Chinese landscape with arhats not now known to us.

With respect to the Los Angeles County Museum arhat, a later arhat painting in the Rubin collection (No. 24) has a significant bearing on its probable identification. The Los Angeles County Museum arhat has previously not been identified with certainty, but his exact posture and his holding of the Ju-i, a Chinese teaching staff, precisely resemble those features of the Rubin arhat, which is inscribed as the great arhat Lamtren, the Tibetan name for the arhat Chudapanthaka. This strongly suggests that the famous Los Angeles arhat is also Chudapanthaka.

Several tangkas were published by Liu in 1957 as being then at the Drigung monastery in Central Tibet. They appear to date from the period of the 14th to the first half of the 15th century and to have strong elements from Chinese Yuan and early Ming Dynasty painting, especially the realism of the faces and body, the loose folds of drapery, and the considerable usage of landscape as a setting for the main figures (Liu, 1957, figs. 22, 24). Also, the paintings of arhats and great king deities in the Cleveland Museum, recently studied by Stephen Little and dated by him to ca. 1340–1370, afford important evidence of the assimilation of Chinese painting styles and techniques into Tibetan works (Little, 1992). The Shalu monastery wall paintings of ca. 1307–1335, as well as some at Narthang monastery, demonstrate sophisticated usage of ponds, mountains, trees, and architecture as discrete units – a style which remains in the Tibetan repertoire and is further developed in the Gyantse Kumbum wall paintings of the second quarter of the 15th century. However, with the exception of the Drigung tangkas and the Cleveland paintings, the landscape in these works does not strongly relate to Chinese landscape painting

and must therefore, perhaps by default, be assumed to derive, at least in part, from landscape elements in Nepalese and/or Indian painting traditions. Although these early trends in the use of landscape in Tibetan painting are still not well understood, the usage of landscape in these works heralds a major change in Tibetan painting, one which came to full prominence only in the second half of the 15th century, with the work of the great painters Menla and Khyentse, and reached universal acceptance as the setting for deities only from the 17th century.

IV. THE 15TH CENTURY: MATURITY AND CHANGE

A. The Gyantse Kumbum (ca. 1427–1439)

The harmonious integration of the fully mature Shalu and Narthang monastery wall painting styles with new elements of Nepalese and Ming Dynasty Chinese Buddhist painting is achieved in the spectacular wall paintings in the many chapels of the Kumbum stupa at Gyantse. In their commendable study of this great milestone in Tibetan art, F. Ricca and E. LoBue disclose in detail the stages of building and decorating this structure under the patronage of the local ruler Rapten Kunsang Pakpa: the laying of the foundations in 1427 (the Fire Female Sheep year); the completion of the major construction in ca. 1439; the final placement of the finial in 1472; and the consecration ceremony in 1474 (the Wood Male Horse year).[44] Praise of the sculptural and painting programs in this grand temple-stupa can hardly do justice to its complex and meaningful layout and the mastery of the artists, many of whom are named in inscriptions.

The rich and profound art of the Gyantse Kumbum embodied and fulfilled a century or more of Tibetan Buddhist art and yet stood at a time poised for the dawn of new developments, which would irrevocably turn Tibetan art in another stylistic direction in the second half of the century. Influences of the Kumbum art, however, continued well into the 16th century before the tide completely turned in favor of the three-dimensional realism and transcendent idealism based on a major reassessment of artistic elements, inspired at least in part by Ming Dynasty Buddhist painting of the 15th century, which was experiencing a period of florescence in China. The wall paintings of the Kumbum were affected by these influences to a degree, as can be seen by comparing a Kumbum painting with one from the Fahaisi temple near Beijing of ca. 1434 (Yang and Wu, eds., 1995, pls. 8, 17, 23). The Tibetan artist's hand would never adopt, however, the soft and malleable qualities of Chinese art, but it would learn the beauty of lyrical line, complexity of folded robes and scarves, flexibility of form, and placement of figures within a three dimensional setting. Whether related in greater or lesser degree to the Buddhist prototypes of India, Nepal, Kashmir, Central Asia, or China, the elements were always assimilated into a completely Tibetan style, with its characteristic clarity and purity of form, crispness and lyrical tension of line, underlying humor in certain details and figures, immediacy of impact – whether two dimensional or three dimensional – which stuns and delights the viewer, true understanding of the ideally beautiful and the horrifically awful, and color of such intensity as to always appear to go beyond the real in order to represent a more intense reality.

Tangkas from the first half of the 15th century in most cases can be related to the Kumbum styles in one way or another. Examples, such as the Ford Vajradhara (Rhie and Thurman, 1996, No. 229) and the Rubin Amitayus (No. 186), show the vivid spectrum of dense color, loosely folded garments with shaded folds, floral qualities of the lotus petals, freedom of line, and abbreviated simplicity in the smaller figures. The rare portrayal of White Mahakala in No. 97 shows a surprisingly gentle interpretation in the typical Kumbum style of the Nepalese stylistic heritage. Others, such as the spectacular Ushnishavijaya in No. 160 and the Maitreya in No. 32, show marked similarities to the Kumbum paintings, but may represent a slightly earlier stage and/or a different regional variant, very possibly from Western Tibet. These tangkas are part of a growing body of important Western Tibetan paintings between the 13th century and the great renaissance under Gelukpa order patronage from around the second quarter of the 15th century.

B. The Arhat Series

One of the most significant and interesting developments in 15th century Tibetan painting comes with the depiction of the arhats, generally in a series of seventeen or eighteen arhats. As noted above, tangkas from at least two major series are known from the 14th century. Another, the important series of eighteen arhats in the British Museum probably dates from the early 15th century, possibly ca. 1400–1425.[45] This set shows marked

Fig. 15. *Arhat Bhadra*. Central regions (Tsang). Ca. first quarter of the 15th century. Tangka; sized pigments on cotton. British Museum, London. (photo: M. Rhie).

Fig. 16. *Arhat*. Ink and colors on silk, inscribed with Yongle regnal era (1403–1425). The Brooklyn Museum. (photo: M. Rhie).

developments in landscape and the harmonious setting of figures within a single, credible landscape (fig. 15). This set clearly derives from Chinese prototypes of the late Yuan and early Ming dynasties, primarily Lohan (arhat) paintings from ca. the second half of the 14th to the early 15th century, probably from the pre or early Yongle period (1403–1424) of the Ming.

Because of the influential role of early Ming painting in some artistic styles of 15th to 16th century Tibetan painting, awareness of the chronology of early Ming painting can be useful as a comparative guideline for dating related Tibetan works of the time. Many of the Chinese works are dated and studies on the evolution of Ming painting are already quite advanced, so the parameters of Ming style, both in figure and landscape painting, are generally well known. For this reason, and because some Rubin tangkas figure prominently in the arhat genre, it is worthwhile to assess these relationships in some detail, with the understanding that, in the absence of more specific Tibetan data, they provide not an absolute dating or chronology, but a generally reasonable one for some Tibetan paintings.

The British Museum arhats (with the four lokapalas – heavenly guardian kings of the four quarters) have a sober, serious quality (fig. 15). The tonality is dark and the setting rather austere, with mostly layered rocks and a close-up tree. Flowers are for the most part conspicuously lacking and only occur in a few examples. Richness is achieved through the fine gold patterns of the arhat's garments. The drawing is superb and surprisingly delicate and precise, a trait that is even maintained in the landscape, where the rocks are edged with very delicate, somewhat erratic, gold lines. Space is indicated by the placement of the arhat in a shallow mid-ground, but three-dimensional, atmospheric, naturalistic space is not really actualized, as everything appears to exist virtually on the flat plane. It is of great interest that details such as the manner of edging the garments as well as the delicacy of the line correspond very directly with the linear usage in garment edges and similar delicacy of line in the Chinese painting, dated to 1412, of a standing Buddha photographed in Tibet at Nenying monastery (10 km south of Gyantse) by Helmut and Heidi Neumann and published by D. Jackson, 1996, fig. 42. This painting not only helps to confirm the dating of the British Museum arhats to around the same time, but some of its patterns and techniques are clearly observable in the Gyantse Kumbum paintings as well, such as in the figure of Buddhaguhya by Dondrub Kyabpa in chapel "4NE" (Ricca and LoBue, 1993, pl. 105). This Chinese painting was likely brought to Tibet in the Yongle period, a period known in written sources as one of active relationships between the Chinese Yongle emperor and Tibetan Buddhist orders. This painting may well have been one of the influential paintings for Tibetan artists of this time.[46]

Paintings from a set of Chinese arhat paintings, two of which are signed in gold with the Yongle regnal era (1403–1424), have surfaced in the past few years and provide a basis for further understanding the developments in Tibetan arhat painting in the 15th century. Three from the set are in the Brooklyn Museum of Art and a fourth in the Museum of Greg C. King and Sumei Liu, San Francisco (Bartholomew, 1997, fig. 92, where she states that these paintings have come out of Tibet). In fig. 16, the arhat, positioned in the near mid-ground area and in relatively natural proportion to the landscape, is set within, but not necessarily well integrated with, a landscape that presents a unified view of cliffs, streams, and trees. There are some small flowers, and the color scheme is idealistic, using brilliant blues and greens for the landscape. The brushstrokes for the figures are fluid and modulated, and for the landscape elements, they are rather delicate and thin. The trees are modelled with a naturalistic sense of the bark and interest in the details of the leaves. The arhat Vajraputra painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Weidner, 1994, color pl. 11; Pal, 1984, pl. 59), which is probably Tibetan, is so closely related in style that it could be considered to date as early as the Yongle period or a little later, possibly ca. the mid-15th century.

Another Tibetan arhat painting, probably of Angaja, in the Kumar collection in New York (fig. 17), also shows stylistic features markedly similar to those of the Yongle paintings and may date around the second quarter of the 15th century. Interestingly, the painting in fig. 18 is nearly identical to it in many ways, but with a certain brightness, particular embellishments, and an exaggeration of space that point to a probable 18th century execution date. That is, fig. 18 is probably an 18th century copy/adaptation of a painting from an earlier set of arhats of which fig. 17 seems to be an example. Fig. 18 is part of a set of the Eighteen Arhats with Shakyamuni, presumably in the Yonghegong monastery in Beijing.[47] The Dharmatala in the 18th century Yonghegong set replicates in many ways the Dharmatala painting of ca. the mid-15th century in the Rubin

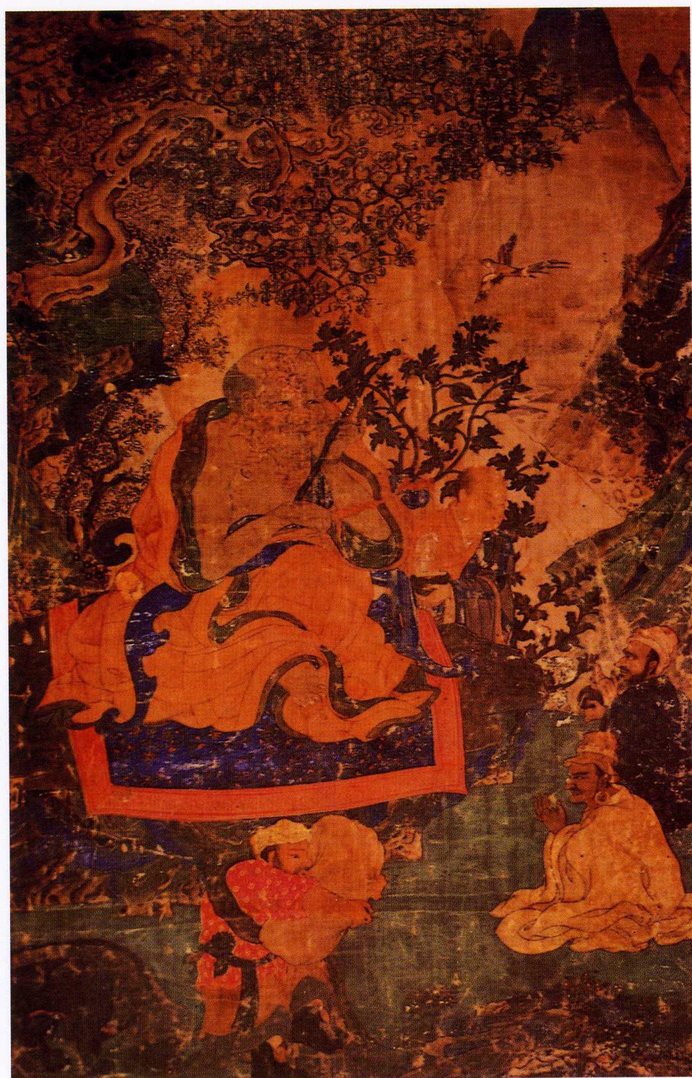

Fig. 17. *Arhat Angaja*. Sized pigments on cotton. Kumar collection. (after Pal, 1984, Pl. 58).

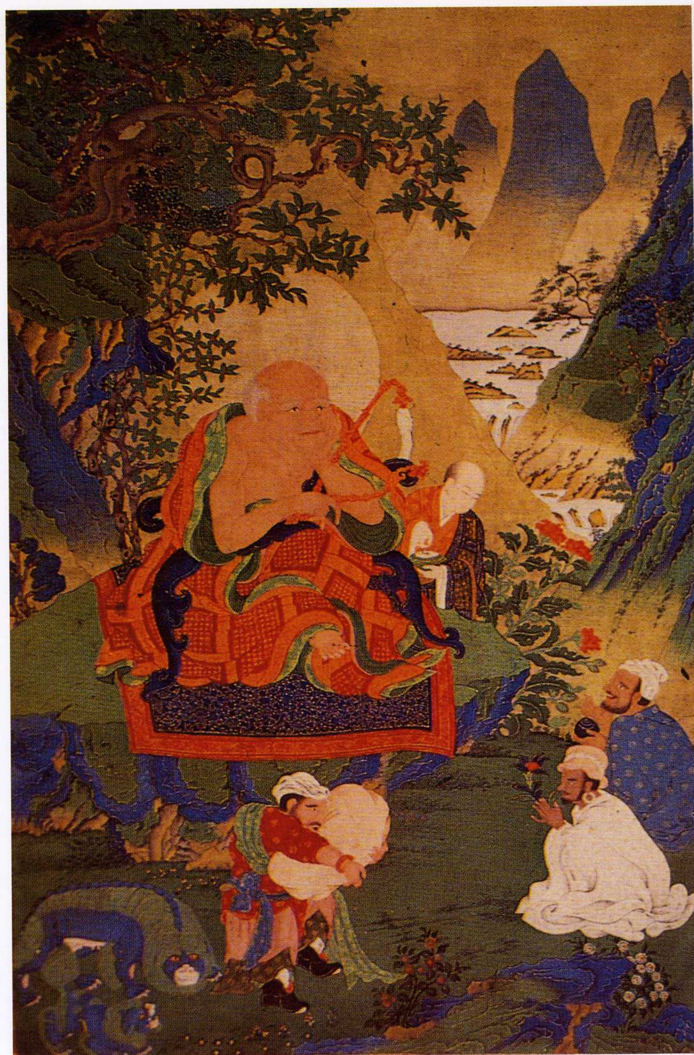

Fig. 18. *Arhat Angaja*. 18th century copy of Yongle period tangka. (after postcard from the Yonghegong, Beijing).

collection (No. 15). This may indicate that the Rubin Dharmatala belongs to the same, or a similar, set as does the Kumar Angaja in fig. 17, since both are related to the 18th century Yonghegong set. The 18th century set shows the complete form of the set, so some idea can be obtained of the earlier and probably famous original set of ca. the mid-15th century, now likely to be mostly lost.

Other traditions of arhats, not necessarily with Yongle elements, also appeared in the 15th century. Though Chinese elements are detectable in the arhat Rahula in the Ford collection (Rhie and Thurman, 1996, No. 165), these elements are not as manifestly new "Yongle elements" as in the British Museum arhats, but are elements more subtly subsumed in relation to a landscape that clearly has its roots in the older 14th century tradition of Tibetan arhat paintings. Thus the Ford arhat, even though it has the looser robes and sense of a consistent, albeit shallow, plane, retains the playful touches of figures, trees, and hills, the patterned ground, and the powerful impact of color planes, including the bright malachite green, of the earlier, 14th century tradition. Several arhat paintings in the McCormick collection partake of this style with an even bolder sense of patterning,[48] possibly a feature that could connect them with the Lhodrak region painting style, though this is as yet hard to determine.

Two superb large arhat tangkas from the Rubin collection are important in showing what may be a "second generation" of the impact of the Yongle style arhat tradition, probably in the late 15th century (No. 16; Rhie and Thurman, 1996, No. 167). In this handsome pair, the ideal beauty of the arhats and their elegant robes and their relatively deep setting within a prominent, basically unified, and naturalistic landscape distinguishes them from the Ford and McCormick arhats, but allies them stylistically with the tradition of the earlier British Museum set (fig. 15). However, the change of proportions, the ease of setting the figure in the landscape, the more varied elements of landscape, and slightly more spatial definition express later developments. From certain obvious characteristics, it is clear that this set probably dates in the late 15th to the early 16th century and is following developments apparent in the Chinese set of arhats dated to the Yongle era (1403–1424). These factors become more apparent with a closer examination of individual elements.

The Rubin arhat pair closely reflects Chinese paintings of the Yongle period in composition, pose of the arhat, and particulars of the setting, including forms of the rocks and trees. However, despite this, these two arhats differ from Chinese paintings of that period in manner of execution and details, which relate more closely to Chinese paintings of the second half of the 15th century. For example, the specific manner of executing the trees

amazing freedom and originality the Rubin set, however, presents both increased realism and increased patterning. In what appears to be a melee of elements, everything is interesting and inventive, every tree and rock is a fascinating pattern in itself. At the same time the arhats, without halos, and almost lost in the landscape, show a degree of bold, relaxed, simplified naturalism in their posture and garments. But this naturalism is overtaken by a rich imagination and total disregard for the laws of natural space and perspective. The red line drawing and facial type are techniques also found in the Ngorchen portrait in No. 84 of ca. the mid-15th century and in other lama paintings of ca. the late 15th to the early 16th century (No. 89). The drapery with its somewhat coarse gold patterns is similar to the mode in the Victoria and Albert Museum's Padma Sambhava of ca. the mid-15th century (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 48) and to some paintings perhaps associated with the developments in the Menri tradition in the later part of the 15th century.

C. Lama Paintings of the Four Orders

Paintings of lamas, whether portrait or idealized, certainly constitute one of the great genres of Tibetan art from at least as early as the 11th to 12th century (fig. 8). This genre was never developed in India, Nepal, China, Korea, or Japan to the extent that it seems to have flourished in Tibet, producing one of the world's finest genres of portraits of religious teachers. Even the Chan, Son, and Zen portraits of East Asia did not measure up to the quantity produced in Tibet. No doubt the popularity of this subject is due to the veneration afforded to the high lamas, who were considered to be virtual buddhas or bodhisattvas. Paintings in the Rubin collection offer especially rich and various examples for this genre from the 14th century onwards, some of incredible beauty, some presenting a style not otherwise known, and all representing important historical documentation of the living heritage of the lineages of Tibetan hierarchs.

The Rubin collection possesses two early paintings of Tsong Khapa (1357–1419), the great clarifier of the Buddhist Dharma and founder of the Gelukpa order (Nos. 123, 124). Both appear to date ca. the mid-15th century, and in both cases Tsong Khapa is attended by his two main disciples, Gyaltsab and Khedrub. No. 123 is the more conservative in its style, using the solid arch and throne and halo motifs known since the 11th to the 12th century period. The style of the face is similar to that seen in some of the 14th to the early 15th century tangkas (Rhie and Thurman, 1996, Nos. 164, 220) and the drapery has a bold pattern that dominates the painting. No. 124, a monumentally grand and obviously important painting, presents the master in a more elegant and fresher style of ca. the mid-15th century. It uses the compositional mode of horizontal registers for the depiction of his Life Scenes – a manner also seen in Western Tibetan tangkas of the mid and later 15th century (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, Nos. 4, 79, 97). Above him are a group of lamas representing the masters of the compassion and wisdom lineages, a configuration which becomes more pronounced and developed in later tangkas of Tsong Khapa. The face and drapery are supremely elegant with a lyrical grace related to the Gyantse Kumbum styles. The crimson and gold colors are vivid and effective, making this a sparkling painting, in a certain way a precursor of the red and gold tangkas of later times.

Another Tsong Khapa painting which should be grouped with these early Gelukpa order works is in the Cleveland Museum

Fig. 21. *Tsong Khapa*. Mid-15th century. Tangka detail; sized pigments on cotton with raised gold. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

(fig. 21). The lone Tsong Khapa sits on a flowery lotus pedestal similar to others popular in the second quarter of the 15th century, as is the richly bordered halo, a factor that helps date this work to that time. The raised gold in the robe highlights its vigorous folds. The detail, finely executed, also recalls the patterns used in the Gyantse Kumbum paintings of the second quarter of the 15th century. These three Tsong Khapa paintings do not constitute a "Gelukpa style" at this time, as these styles appear across all sectarian lines; but they, in conjunction with the two McCormick Tsong Khapa tangkas of the second half of the 15th century (Rhie and Thurman, 1996, Nos. 210, 211) do show an emerging "Gelukpa type" in the representation of Tsong Khapa. Clearly they are examples of artistic styles of various artists who may work for other orders as well.

Two Rubin paintings from the Sakya order show comparable variety in style, but nevertheless have some interesting differences. The masterwork in No. 84, which depicts Ngorchen Kunga Sangpo Rinpoche, founder of the Ngor Monastery in 1428, can be compared in its rich elaboration to the Cleveland Tsong Khapa (fig. 21), which probably dates ca. the mid-15th century, or possibly a bit earlier. However, the drapery in No. 84 retains the long, elegant curved lines rather than the dizzying movements of the baroque-like contours of the Cleveland Tsong Khapa. Also, the face maintains the three-quarter profile so often seen in the Sakyapa portraits, including the great one of ca. 1429 (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 61). Beside the liberal use of oranges and reds, it is the stunning usage of

malachite green that is so effective in enriching the areas surrounding the master, a factor that ties the painting to those of the Central Regions at the time of the Gyantse Kumbum.

For the Nyingma at this mid-century point, the Victoria and Albert Padma Sambhava is a major example (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 48). The face relates to that in the Rubin Tsong Khapa, No. 124, and the drapery design to that in the Rubin arhats, Nos. 17, 18. Examples from the Rubin collection of Kagyupa masters, Nos. 103–104 from one set, and No. 105, probably of the Karmapa suborder, use the format of two lamas seated together, often teacher and disciple, popular in all orders from the earlier centuries. Here the drapery becomes even freer and looser than noted in the Tsong Khapa and Sakyapa lamas above – and they may date a bit later – yet the style is strongly related.

D. The Master Painter Menla and the Menri Tradition

The recent study of D. Jackson has uncovered and made accessible information concerning the history and work of the renowned artist known as Menla Dondrub (ca. 1425–1505), founder of a tradition later known as Menri (the Men style). Originally from sMan-thang in northern Lhodrak in the southern part of Tibet adjoining Bhutan, he may have worked at Nenying monastery and at Gyantse during the 1430s and/or 40s. One of his main patrons was said to have been Gendun Drubpa, the First Dalai Lama (1391–1474), who commissioned works from him at Tashi Lhunpo monastery in 1458 and again in 1468. Menla is said to have mastered many styles and created his own innovative style by incorporating and adapting elements of Chinese landscape and figure painting.[49] D. Jackson has suggested that some wall paintings in Tashi Lhunpo monastery that were published in 1982 were in the Menri tradition. His perceptive recognition of these wall paintings has afforded the best assessment of this master's work which we have at this time. Although Jackson suggested these paintings could be 17th century in date, which would rule out their being by Menla himself, it is quite possible that several of the Tashi Lhunpo wall paintings, including those mentioned by Jackson, do in fact date to the latter half of the 15th century and therefore could have been by the hand of Menla or a close follower. The paintings exhibit a number of elements that are clearly 15th century, derived from Ming painting of that time. Menla's work is known to have used Chinese elements in his works, though in these wall paintings the hand of the artist is clearly stronger than in comparable Chinese examples.

Fig. 22. *Birth of Buddha*. Detail of wall painting. Tashi Lhunpo Monastery, Tsang. Probably by Menla. Ca. third quarter of the 15th century. (after *Selected Tibetan Jataka Murals*, 1982, fig. 53).

Fig. 23. *Celestial Musician*. Embroidery. 26¼ × 17¾″ (66.5 × 45 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund. (after Watt and Wardwell, 1997, No. 61).

A closer look at various elements indicates the relation of these wall paintings to 15th century Ming painting. The figure, drapery, and scarf elements, such as seen in the Queen Maya figure in the Buddha's Birth Scene (fig. 22) strongly resemble those elements in an embroidered offering figure probably dating ca. 1460 (fig. 23).[50] The shape of the three-quarter view face, the hair ornament, the particular swirl of the scarves, the

manner of placing the bare feet, the rather heavy and long overlap of the skirt, the wide, dark border, the heavy arms, the specific hand portrayal – all appear remarkably similar. Specific fold patterns can be linked to the drapery seen in the arhat in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 20). The textile designs, coarser in comparison with the earlier 1412 Chinese Buddha painting at Nenying (Jackson, 1996, fig. 42) and the British Museum arhat style (fig. 15), also are similar to the Boston arhat of ca. the late 15th to the early 16th century (fig. 20), though they are a bit bolder and simpler in the wall paintings. As a matter of interest, the kneeling figure of Indra in the wall painting scene depicted in side view is a type derived closely from a typical figural style seen in the wall paintings of Kizil near Kucha in Central Asia dating from many centuries earlier.[51] This kind of figure is not known in the wall paintings of Dunhuang or others in northwest China other than Kizil or Turfan, but it seems somehow to have made its way to Tibet.

Tree and flower elements also match those in 15th century Ming painting: trees have individual leaves and branches and flowers are relatively small and a rather brilliant white and red, instead of being, as they later become, larger and more pastel in color. Elements such as the specific cloud shape appear in the embroidered tangkas of Five Arhats of ca. 1500 (Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1995, No. 34). Some of the mannerisms of brush stroke in the folds of the drapery, such as in the arhat in the lower left corner of the embroidered tangka just noted, are also quite similar to those in the Maya scene. In sum, the style of the three wall paintings published in *Selected Tibetan Jataka Murals* (1982), figs. 53, 55, 56, clearly shows a similarity to Chinese works, especially embroideries, of ca. the second half of the 15th century. These wall paintings, then, are likely products of that time, either by Menla or by an artist working in the Menri style. Since Tashi Lhunpo was founded by the First Dalai Lama in 1447, these paintings therefore might represent some of the earliest known wall paintings commissioned within the newly revived Kadampa order tradition, just then being renamed the Gelukpa order. Menla's style was continued by his son and his nephew into the 16th century; and it became one of the major painting traditions in the 17th century, when it was revitalized by the work of Chöying Gyatso, who gave birth to the "New Menri" tradition, although the older Menri tradition continued as well.

E. The Master Khyentse Wangchuk (ca. 1420–1500) and His Tradition

A contemporary colleague of Menla Dondrub, Khyentse Wangchuk came from Gongkar, south of Lhasa in the Lhokha district of Ü. It is also D. Jackson who has recently presented the materials that give new access to understanding this second most famous artist in Tibetan history.[52] Some of the wall paintings surviving at Gongkar Dorjedan Monastery may be by this artist himself, or at least in his style. From these we can detect some parameters of his style and technique: a majestically flowing line, powerful forms, intense energy in the poses of fierce deities, and rolling green hills in the subsidiary landscape (fig. 24). The style as seen in fig. 24 and others at Gongkar monastery (Jackson, 1996, pls. 10–23) can also be confirmed as dating to ca. the second half of the 15th century by virtue of elements observable in other paintings indisputably from that time. For example, the halo patterns in fig. 24 clearly resemble

Fig. 24. *Buddha*. Wall painting. Gongkar Monastery, Ü. Probably by Khyentse Wangchuk. (after Jackson, 1996, pl. 20).

those in the Gyantse Kumbum wall paintings (second quarter of the 15th century); the degree of movement in the drapery is similar to that in the Boston arhat painting in fig. 20; and the posture of fierce figures is close to that used in Western Tibetan paintings in the Mandala Temple at Tsaparang of ca. the second half of the 15th century and in the Yamantaka Temple of ca. the first half of the 16th century, all of these last revealing a radically stretched pose that is typical of this period. Such a pose also appears in the beautiful Chakrasamvara formerly in the Tucci collection, which may well be a painting by Khyentse or a close follower (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 70). The lyrically graceful line in the Gonkar monastery wall paintings is rather close to that in the Menri style wall paintings at Tashi Lhunpo monastery discussed above, though it is a bit more refined; trees are naturalistic and individually treated; rocks are delicately edged; clouds have scalloped contours; architecture has some perspective and space; and flames have an individual sharpness and nuanced shading.

The style in a few spectacularly beautiful paintings in the Rubin collection seems to resemble that seen in these Gongkar wall paintings, and may represent the Khyenri style as continued in later generations. Such Rubin paintings are here published as the Shakyamuni (No. 2), Guhyasamaja (No. 165), Raktayamari (No. 95), Nyima Öser (No. 61), and a set of arhats with lokapala guardian kings (Nos. 24–27 , 51–52). These works constitute an important body of materials for the study of the later Khyenri tradition.

The Shakyamuni Buddha in No. 2 is not as massive and flowing as Khyentse's Buddha in fig. 24, but it is nonetheless a wonderful painting in his basic style with the large image close to the frontal plane and set within a spreading landscape. Despite considerable modification, resulting in the differences in the halos, the lack of clouds, the lack of the vest in Shakyamuni's robe, and so on, this work seems to derive from the work of Khyentse in large part. By the presence of the Fifth Dalai Lama, it can be established as a Gelukpa order painting, probably of ca. the late 17th century.

The Guhyasamaja Buddha in No. 165 is also in Khyentse's style, with the large image near the frontal plane and a stylized halo that resembles the patterns in some Gongkar wall paintings (Jackson, 1996, pl. 11), as do the facial types. The grandeur and elegance of the Khyenri style is certainly reflected here, as in several tangkas in this tradition also published by D. Jackson (Jackson, 1996, pl. 25 and fig. 78). The superb and stunningly colorful Raktayamari Buddha in No. 95 may also be in the Khyenri tradition, as it certainly has the main characteristics of his compositional style. It actually retains older modes of representation without the newer developments of the 17th century. The same is true of the richly beautiful Nyima Öser in No. 61, with landscape elements enhancing the dominant main image, which nevertheless remains isolated with its gorgeous halo, as in the Khyenri mode.

Of the arhats with lokapala guardian king deities in Nos. 24–27 and 51–52, the Rubin collection has nearly the entire set, which, though executed later, appear to follow a composition and basic style of the late 15th century. It is apparently based on a famous set of that time that is different from the Yongle group, from the Boston arhat in fig. 20, and from the earlier Rubin set of arhats with lokapala guardian kings (Nos. 17–18, 50), all discussed above. The Rubin set of paintings present powerful images, with ingenious touches of character and design, but not overly burdened with detail. The line is fluid and masterful, the color strong and rather limited. The cloud forms are simple, the trees similar to those of the 15th century, but all simplified to a certain degree, which gives a strongly patterned effect. Because the set is nearly complete, it offers a rich legacy of an undoubtedly earlier masterwork, but it belongs most probably to the continuing Khyenri tradition in the 17th century, judging from the powerful fluidity of line and the monumentality of the figures, features which, however, are definitely also found in the Gongkar wall painting style.

The four guardian kings (lokapalas) from this magnificent set contrast with the famous four guardian kings of the British Museum set of ca. 1400–1425. They have powerful, majestic forms, set within a minimum landscape that allows them to emerge as monumental beings of great presence. Not only do the kings of this set match with the great Buddhist paintings of Gongkar monastery, but they also reflect Ming painting of the second half of the 15th century. For example, the "Protector" painting attributed to Jiang Zicheng (ca. the late 14th to the early 15th century) in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Wu Tung, 1997, p. 263, upper middle figure), though a little earlier, shows many characteristics of dress, face, monumentality of setting against clouds, and so on, similar to those seen in the Rubin set. This set probably shows with even more fidelity the greater elaboration of the later 15th century Chinese style, as seen in the painting dated 1454 in the Musée Guimet (fig. 25) and the painting dated 1477 in the University of Oregon Museum (Weidner, 1994, pl. 3). The Rubin guardian kings stylistically follow the 15th century Ming tradition and not the later Ming or Qing styles. Whether the hand can be attributed to Khyentse is another and more difficult question. The paintings may be lacking in depth, but in setting, form, color, and skill of line they are within Khyentse's style, though probably by a later artist in the 17th century. D. Jackson notes that the Khyenri tradition continues, especially in the 17th to the early 18th century (Jackson, 1996, pp. 159, 161), and this set may be by an artist or artists of that time closely following the Khyentse idiom or possibly even an original model.

Fig. 25. *Lokapala.* Detail from a hanging scroll. Ming dynasty, dated 1454. Ink and colors on silk. Musée Guimet. (after Gyss-Vermande, 1994, color pl. 1).

Overall, the Rubin collection is a rich source of paintings which clearly follow the Khyenri tradition, mostly by artists of the 17th century. Further research may eventually be able to refine the dating and attribute these works to specific artists known to be working in his tradition. It is the distinctive Khyenri style of presenting a monumental figure in a landscape setting that is retained during the later years of Tibetan painting, in clear preference to the tradition of presenting a large figure in a two-dimensional setting inherited from the earlier Indo-Nepalese sources. Khyentse was able to utilize the monumental capabilities of the large image and yet adapt it to the emerging interest in the realistic landscape as a setting; and it is his vision that persisted as the primary model for this kind of portrayal in the later centuries of Tibetan painting.

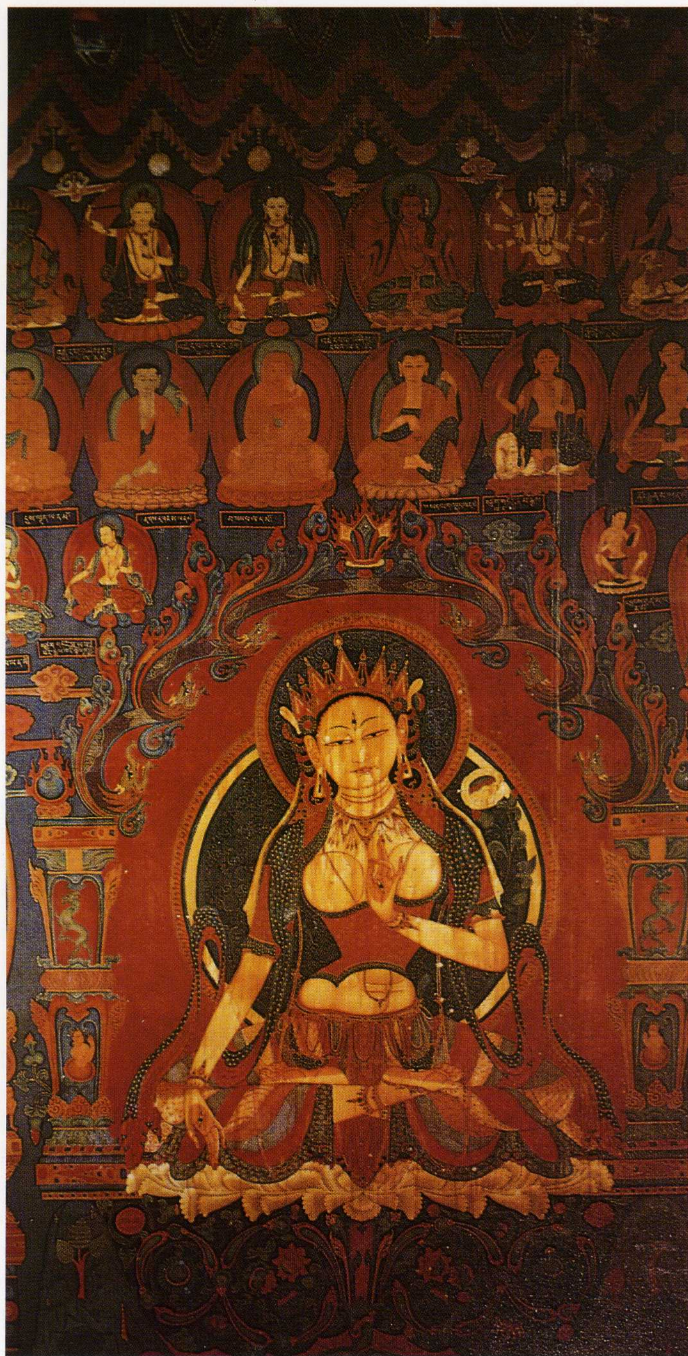

Fig. 26. *White Tara* panel. Wall painting. Red Temple, Tsaparang, Guge, Western Tibet. Ca. the last quarter of the 15th century. (after *Zhongguo bihua zhuanji*, 32, 1991, pl. 83).

F. Western Tibet

As the Menri and Khyenri masters were making their prominent place in the history of Tibetan art, working in the Central Regions of Tibet during the second half of the 15th century, another renaissance was occurring under the influence of the Gelukpa order during the Guge Dynasty in Western Tibet. Wall paintings and tangkas of extraordinary beauty from Tsaparang, capital of the Guge, and from sites such as Tabo monastery in Spiti show elegance and sophistication equal to that of the magnificent 15th century works in the Central Regions. The movement flowered in particular at Tholing monastery and in the Red Temple at Tsaparang during the second half of the 15th century, but the momentum continued into the 16th century as well. The wall paintings in the Red Temple, for example, are of extraordinary skill and detail, fully rivaling the Gyantse Kumbum works of the second quarter of the 15th century. Although the style reflects a little of the newer movements of the Menri and Khyenri traditions, mostly in the draped robes of the buddhas, in general, it continued the great Indo-Nepalese-Tibetan lineage. However, the Western Tibetan interpretation with its fanciful elaboration and imaginative designs – also well known characteristics in the earlier painting styles of Western Tibet – shows the continued energy and vitality in this regional tradition. Every panel and detail is amazing for its perfection, clarity, energy, expressive charm, and beauty of line, color, and detail (fig. 26). Designs on the ceiling and some of the Buddhas' thrones show Ming floral patterns very similar to those in the Boston arhat (fig. 20) and in some early Ming textiles.[53]

R. Vitali's translation of the history of the Guge kingdom sheds light on both religious and political events in Guge at this time. Ngawang Drakpa, a disciple of Tsong Khapa and the author of the history, returned to Guge, his homeland, in 1424 where he worked intensively under five successive kings of Guge, thus firmly establishing the Gelukpa order in Guge. He dominated the religious scene in Guge until his death at the end of the 15th century and was the moving force behind the rebuilding of the important religious establishments, which had fallen into disuse and were mostly destroyed by the 15th century. According to R. Vitali, he was probably responsible for building the new Tholing Chödey monastery, the Tholing Dukhang hall and Lhakhang Karpo chapel. The Tholing Serkhang chapel and various temples at Tabo can be credited to him as well as to the donor Lhawang Lotro, probably around the third quarter of the 15th century under King Namri Sangyaldey (crowned 1449). Construction at Tsaparang, notably the Red Temple, is attributed to Tsunmo Dondrubma, wife of King Losang Rapten, probably in the last quarter of the 15th century (Vitali, 1996, pp. 514–538).

V. THE 16TH TO EARLY 17TH CENTURY: ASSIMILATION AND SYNTHESIS

During the 15th century Tibetan artists had remarkable achievements, bringing the potential of the Indo-Nepalese traditions to new heights and fully incorporating the invigorating, stimulating developments in 15th century Ming Buddhist painting. During the first half of the 16th century, they seemed to settle down and, as it were, to assimilate these developments, reflect on them, and develop inwardly a masterful synthesis.

In Western Tibet the momentum continued. The splendid White Temple, Yidam Temple, and Yamantaka Temple at Tsaparang reveal once again the extraordinary resources of the Tibetan artist to re-invent new and spirited works following the older traditions (fig. 27).[54] The refinement and compact detail, while perhaps showing a slight tendency to formal repetition, is nevertheless enlivened by manneristic distortions, wild movements, and extremes of color. Narrative scenes abound with figures floating on a flat ground of color or prancing over bizarre mountains and rocks, as the dizzying array of detail disorients the viewer (*Zhongguo Bihua Zhuanji Bianji Weiyuanhui*, ed., 1991, pls. 7–57).

Choice remains of tangkas parallel the wall paintings of the second half of the 15th to the first half of the 16th century (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, Nos. 6, 129). A tangka of Vajradhara with eighty-four great adepts in the Rubin collection

Fig. 27. Wall Painting. White Temple, Tsaparang, Guge, Western Tibet. Ca. first half of the 16th century. (after *Xizang fojiao siyuan bihua ishu*, 1994, fig. 62).

(No. 168) clearly is related to the wall paintings in the White Temple in style, coloring, and wiry forms, but may represent a slightly earlier, quite vigorous phase. It is interesting to note that the theme of Vajradhara and the eighty-four adepts was painted at Tashi Lhunpo monastery by Menla during the period of the First Dalai Lama in 1468 (Jackson, 1996, pp. 114–115). This Rubin tangka helps in understanding the breadth of styles in Western Tibetan painting ca. the 15th to the early 16th century. The tangka of Sonam Gyatso, the Third Dalai Lama, is a major landmark of ca. the third quarter of the 16th century (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 97). The Padma Sambhava (*Ibid.*, No. 49) of ca. the late 16th to the early 17th century reflects the changes occurring in the Central Regions, as do the paintings in the "Pandit's Hall" (also called the Yidam Hall) at Tsaparang, where figures of Tsong Khapa and others are draped in heavy robes, and have the restrained decor of the textiles, and a more somber palette as seen in the Padma Sambhava (*Zhongguo Bihua Zhuanji Bianji Weiyuanhui*, ed., 1991, pls. 152–185).

Regarding painting in the Central Regions and eastern Tibet during this period, the Rubin collection is particularly strong, and substantially contributes to the understanding of the artistic trends in paintings in this rather complex and difficult period. This period will be discussed here by grouping the Rubin works into the lama and arhat paintings, and deity paintings, the latter including discussion on the usage of landscape.

A. Paintings of Lamas and Arhats

Tangka Nos. 85–91 offer a significant array of lama paintings that virtually presents a major line of evolution of this particular genre, especially as developed within the Sakyapa monastic sphere. This does not mean that other orders did not use the same artists or necessarily had a different course of development, but for the 16th to the early 17th century period these developments seem to be most clearly documented by the paintings of the Sakyapa order, though the Kagyupa and to a certain extent the Jonangpa and Gelukpa orders had a role as well.

Tangka Nos. 85–88 suggest a distinct lineage based on the older Indo-Nepalese-Tibetan traditional mode of presenting the figures on a two dimensional ground with smaller lineage masters arranged in regular rows around the central master or masters. No. 85 reveals some influence of the late 15th century in the robe patterns and use of clouds and halo designs. No. 86 is a splendid figure from the famous set from Ngor monastery, probably of ca. the mid- or third quarter of the 16th century.[55] Here the dry but exquisite treatment of shrine, halo, throne, and so on hearken back to the Gyantse Kumbum style and even further back with respect to the Nepalese shrine and pillar styles. The pure beauty of color, flawless line, and delicate realism of the face elevate this group as a stunning late expression of this tradition. The results are an ethereal, light essence that lifts the style to the heights of transcendence. No. 87 shows a loosening of the rigid format in the composition and freedom in the individual figures, but it does not give way to usage of the three dimensional setting which is developing in painting generally at this time. No. 88, which dates to the early 17th century by virtue of its identification with a dated set, one example from which exists in the Essen collection,[56] has a modicum of green landscape and dark blue sky, but essentially covers it quite heavily with multi-colored figures that create an earthy quality quite unlike No. 86.

Seemingly parallel to the group comprised of Nos. 85–88 are tangkas Nos. 89–91, which, though not unrelated to the others, nevertheless stand out due to their experiments with different layouts, the inclusion of natural elements (trees, vines, flowers), and their generally light, fluid qualities of line and lighter color. Nos. 89 and 90 may have some influence from the Khyenri school. No. 89 has interesting similarities to the paintings of the White Temple at Tsaparang, which suggest this lama tangka probably dates in the first quarter or first half of the 16th century. Considering No. 125 of Tsong Khapa, a relatively rare Gelukpa example from the 16th century, in comparison with these, it is clearly more developed than Nos. 89 and 90, and probably dates before No. 91, which has a greater sense of space. No. 91, a major large painting possibly from the Jonangpa order, is considerably evolved and probably reflects the style around the first half of the 17th century. In this splendid painting the foliage is prominent, the landscape is an outstanding factor and the integration of the figures into the landscape is accomplished in a more natural way. A number of paintings of diverse subject matter can be associated with this style (Nos. 112, 117).

The magnificent arhat painting No. 21 from around the mid-16th century is representative of the tendency to incorporate landscape at this time in the paintings of the Central Regions. Other elements of the time include a naturalistic tree around the

arhat, and focus on a very finely delineated and garbed arhat, whose large size relates him more to the Khyenri tradition than to the 15th century Ming arhat tradition as seen in No. 16.

A number of Kagyupa order lama paintings in the Rubin collection offer some examples from ca. the mid-16th to the early 17th century: Nos. 110, 112, and 113. No. 110 shows an interesting, if conservative, manner of presenting the Buddha's Life Scenes in horizontal registers around the central figure. The extent of landscape in these scenes is quite extraordinary, contrasting interestingly with Western Tibetan paintings like that of Sonam Gyatso (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 97). No. 112 is very similar to No. 91, and No. 113 seems to have a style developed from that of earlier Sakyapa lamas in Nos. 89 and 90.

No. 106, a tangka of the Ninth Karmapa Wangchuk Dorjey (1556–1603), is most extraordinary and may reflect the Karma Gardri style evolving in the late 16th to the early 17th century. The so-called Karma Gardri style comes from the school of painting that emerged in the often mobile court of the Karmapa Lamas, called the Karmapa encampment (*sgar*). It is traditionally said to have emerged in the second half of the 16th century with the artist Namka Tashi, who is considered an emanated incarnation of the Eighth Karmapa, Mikyö Dorjey (1507–1554) (Jackson, 1996, p. 169). Though they are in a looser style, some elements of the landscape setting in No. 106 relate this tangka to the Ford painting of Shavaripa and Dharikapa of ca. the second half of the 16th century (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 39). The rock forms certainly relate to the Yongle style and the Boston arhat style in fig. 20, but with more freedom of design. The colors retain a transparency and freshness that seem to predate the more brilliant styles influenced by Qing Dynasty Chinese painting in the 18th century. The grace and lyrical simplicity in the treatment of the garments is especially skillful, perhaps another reason for attributing this tangka to the Karma Gardri school at this time. The drawing of a figure such as the standing attendant monk in detail 106.1 clearly reflects the stance and long, curvilinear, graceful contours seen in Persian painting of the mid-16th century, such as in the Houghton Shahnama. Of the various trends in the use of landscape in these lama and arhat paintings of this time, No. 106 displays the closest relationship with the earlier Yongle-influenced works. It may indeed reflect the literary accounts that mention the preference of the Karma Gardri artists for the blue-green landscapes of the Chinese Ming style.

B. Deities and Landscape

The development of landscape as a setting seen in the lama paintings also occurs in the paintings of deities. A selection from the many deity paintings in the Rubin collection aptly demonstrates this. No. 136 would appear to show a relatively early stage of this, from ca. the first half of the 16th century, and exhibits elements of Menri and Khyenri styles in the figures, small grasses, and flowers. Nos. 117 and 79 display more developed landscape usage, tending towards a single view deep plane moving towards a horizon line of small mountains. Layered plateaus create zones or areas within the ground plane in a somewhat zigzag manner. The figure styles utilize Menri and Khyenri elements to a greater or lesser degree. The landscape usage in this group does not seem to be the result of new elements coming from Chinese painting, which is engaged at this time in bizarre, fantastic, and highly eccentric or individualistic modes that tend to be extreme, with fantastically tall mountain peaks and strange rocks in the landscapes. Also, at this time, Buddhist painting in China apparently is much less abundant than in the 15th century. On the other hand, written sources tell about the influence of Chinese landscape painting in the Karma Gardri style, which developed in the second half of the 16th century. However, judging from No. 106, as noted above, that tangka as well as this group seem to develop more from internal growth and assimilation of the older Yongle motifs than from a new external impetus.

A number of other interesting styles appear at this time, though they do not seem to be as dominant as the general stylistic group noted above. The tangkas of this group include No. 167 from a set of five probably dating ca. 1600. They have a distinct variation consisting of relatively soft and simple tones of color, gentle, sweet expressions, and restrained designs. These are unusual traits in Tibetan painting and probably represent a regional school not yet identified. No. 95, Raktayamari Father-Mother, already discussed as a work probably in the Khyenri tradition, by contrast shows vivid, strong coloring and richer designs. While successfully using some elements that appear traceable mainly to the Khyenri style and that impart a somewhat conservative cast to the painting, including the outlined dark clouds and the stylized halo, it has such startling new elements in the arrangement of figures and the typical landscape of the late 16th to the early 17th century that it provides a remarkably successful synthesis.

Nos. 70, 182, and 71, along with a painting of Padma Sambhava in the Copper Mountain Palace in the Zimmerman collection (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 50), constitute another interesting group from the second half of the 16th century. Here the background is somber with multiple, tiny, conical hills delicately outlined in gold. This may be a style associated with a Nyingma monastery since all three appear to come from that order. They have a particular delicate quality and mysterious charm engendered by the coloring.

Finally, at least two paintings, probably from the second half of the 16th or early 17th century, seem to come from Eastern Tibet, perhaps Amdo, because of their strong Chinese characteristics. These are the Ford collection Adepts (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 39) and the Maitreya Bodhisattva in the Rubin collection (No. 33). Both use individual rock and tree elements in a Chinese mode, yet are clearly by a Tibetan artist.

Though considerable diversity in styles marks this period, the innovations are less dramatic than in the 15th century with Menla and Khyentse, whose work truly seems to be the basis of many paintings for the following century and a half. Tibetan artists advance in ease of assimilating the styles received from these masters and also innovate creatively, especially in the further integration of lamas and deities in landscape settings. At the current state of scholarly knowledge, the Karma Gardri style is still a problematic factor; it would appear to offer a major new artistic impetus, but it is still difficult to establish this with certainty. Aside from No. 106 discussed above, it may be, for example, that paintings such as the pair of Milarepa tangkas, Nos. 100 and 101, represent aspects of the Karma Gardri, with prominent landscape using layers of rocks, as seen in the Boston arhat in fig. 20, in juxtaposition with conical mountains, as seen in the British Museum Shakyamuni with Jataka Scenes of ca. 1600, which may be from Eastern Tibet (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 7).

Fig. 28. *Shakyamuni Buddha*. Detail from a tangka, probably by Chöying Gyatso. The Potala Palace, Lhasa. Ca. the third quarter of the 17th century. (after *Xizang Tangjia*, 1985, fig. 41).

VI. THE SECOND HALF OF THE 17TH CENTURY: RENEWAL AND INNOVATION

Momentous historical events for Tibet occurred in the second half of the 17th century, especially during the period of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the temporal and secular head of Tibet from 1642 until his death in 1682, which was concealed for 15 years until 1697. These generated a tremendous surge of activity in the creation of Buddhist art. This was no more evident than at the great Gelukpa monasteries and at the newly constructed Potala Palace, thereafter the seat of government and residence of the Dalai Lamas in Lhasa. The work of the artist Chöying Gyatso was central to the development of a rich, monumental artistic style, primarily used for the wall paintings and various tangkas sponsored by the Great Fifth himself and by his teacher the Panchen Lama at Tashi Lhunpo monastery in Shigatse. Chöying Gyatso is known as the reviver of the Menri tradition; his work, the traditions based on it, and his later followers are known as the New Menri school.

A. The Master Chöying Gyatso (ca. 1615–1685) and the New Menri School

D. Jackson has presented new data from Tibetan sources on the activity of Chöying Gyatso and has discussed some surviving wall paintings and tangkas as by him or a close follower.[57] Chöying Gyatso apparently worked primarily at Tashi Lhunpo monastery for the First Panchen Lama, Losang Chökyi Gyaltsen (1567–1662), from ca. the 1640s and was later invited to participate in the decorating of the Potala Palace ca. the 1670s. He seems to have lived mainly in Tashi Lhunpo and is known to have painted not only wall paintings there, but also a series of tangkas on the incarnations of the Panchen Lama and the Fifth Dalai Lama. Two works said to be by his hand have been published in *Xizang Tanjia*, pls. 41 and 75, and a series in the Musée Guimet (see note 57) may be by his hand, or be copies or works of a close follower. From these works one can discern certain characteristics of Chöying Gyatso's style and see why he is called the New Menri Master, as elements of his work closely resemble those of the work of Menla Dondrub, as understood from the earlier Tashi Lhunpo wall paintings in the style of the late 15th century (fig. 22).

Peculiar to Chöying Gyatso is an especially lyrical, sensitive, and soft line (figs. 28, 29). This line is not dramatic, but moves with a sense of change between dark and light, especially noticeable in the Buddha's robes (fig. 28). He does not overburden figures with drapery or ornament – this is done by later followers of his style, who exaggerate and dramatize his fine and subtly modulated style. In his smaller or secondary figures,

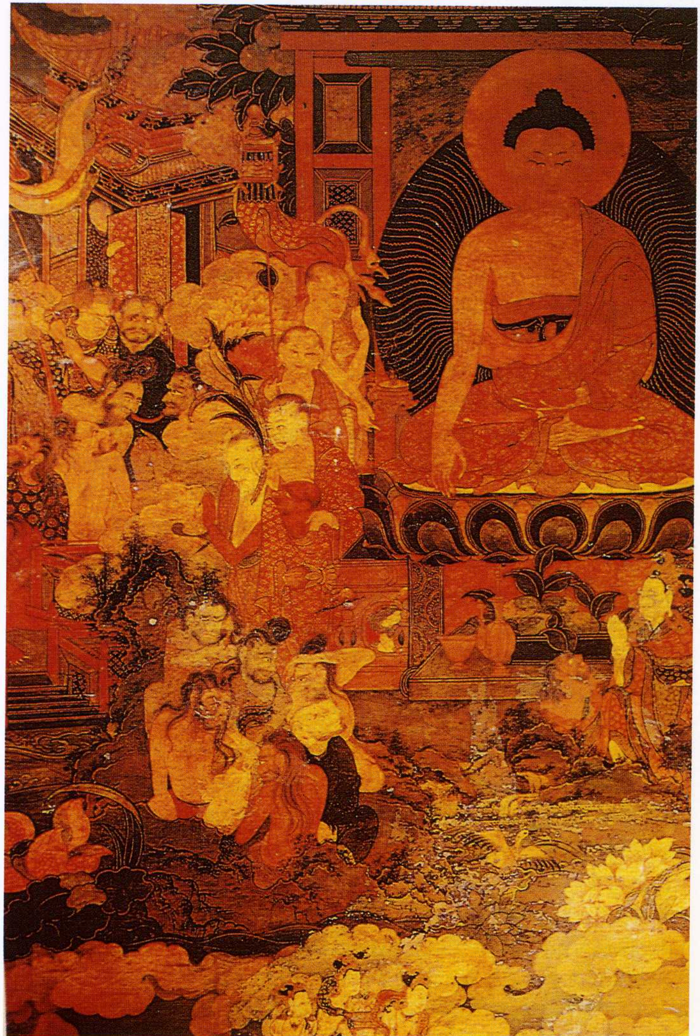

Fig. 29. Detail from a wall painting. Tashi Lhunpo Monastery, Shigatse, Tsang. Probably by Chöying Gyatso. Ca. third quarter of the 17th century. (after *Selected Tibetan Jataka Murals*, 1982, fig. 119).

he presents varied gazes and poses and is particularly adept at yogis and strange characters, to whom he gives life and interesting touches, not the least of which are twisted limbs, bony faces, intense, deep, black eyes, and the finest soft, long hair, sometimes blond or red (fig. 29).

In landscape elements, his rocks are small and have broken edges, usually in gold, his leaves are soft-edged and supple, his flowers are small, and his trees especially beautiful and natural with textured bark. All in all, in his sense of space, suppleness, flexibility, and natural texture of forms, he projects a greater naturalism than is seen in Tibetan paintings of the 16th to the early 17th century. He does not exaggerate, but maintains a norm in size relationships and does not resort to dry or formal repetition, so his elements breathe life and inner movement.

A painting of a lama (No. 132) in the Rubin collection has much of the Chöying Gyatso style, though it is difficult to say if it is by the master's hand – if not, then it is by a close follower who does not go to the excesses of the later 17th to 18th century. The sizing of the figures, the apparent simplicity of line, the small, broken dabs of gold at the rock edges, the slanting plane of the ground, the particular sensitivity of the offering yaksha and his fluffy hair, and the wonderful set of trees with naturally craggy bark, forming the head of a downward plunging dragon – a technique known in the painting of the famous Mughal painter Basawan of the late 16th century – all reveal his style.[58] Several other Rubin paintings have closely similar style with that of Chöying Gyatso (Nos. 144 and 145); though they may not be by the master's hand, they probably date around the mid-17th century. A fine painting of Hvashang, the "associate" of the arhats and beloved of children (No. 21), is a example of Chöying Gyatso's New Menri style, though a bit of stiffness, lack of true depth, and greater crispness probably denote a different hand. The features of the leaves, emphasis on the textiles, and the prominent group of richly garbed donors are all elements of the style which became known as the New Menri.

The ability to integrate figures with landscape in a meaningful way links Chöying Gyatso to the work of Menla, who earlier harmonized the two by bringing to splendid prominence the naturalistic landscape as a setting for the figures. Chöying Gyatso, through his sense of texture, soft modelling, and linear skills raises the Menri tradition to great heights of sublime naturalism, seldom so effectively and sensitively produced. Only the premier Mughal master Basawan is perhaps a comparable figure in achieving this harmony and degree of naturalism.

From the Potala Palace wall paintings and collection of tangkas one can see the elaborate complexity which the New Menri style achieved by the last quarter of the 17th century (*Xizang Potalagong*, 1996, vol. 2, pls. 84–89, 92–95, 120–122, 153–165; and *Xizang Tangjia*, 1985, pls. 52, 59, 77, 78; which are from the period of the Fifth Dalai Lama and his successor). This style became a national one used predominantly by artists working for the major Gelukpa monasteries of the Central Regions and eventually throughout Tibet. It also spread internationally to Mongolia and China, which had close relations with the Gelukpa order. The paintings overflow with figures and every space is filled with floral or landscape elements in a rich tapestry effect of designs, dense, brilliant color and complex, fluid forms. It is a handsome and complex style, which can overpower the viewer with its mass of detail, but it has the power to project immensity and dynamic energy.

B. Red Tangkas and Black Tangkas

The genre of black tangkas probably began much earlier. They are known in 9th century silk paintings from Dunhuang and in Chinese paintings influenced by Tibetan style from the second half of the 15th century. Paintings of gold on red ground are also known in 9th century Dunhuang examples and are known in Korea in dated works from at least the mid-16th century.[59] Some beautiful examples of both the black and red types appear in the Rubin collection, and the black tangka group is especially helpful in tracing the evolution of this type in the 17th to the 19th centuries, the period of their greatest florescence.

The Fifth Dalai Lama in gold on red (No. 129) clearly reflects Chöying Gyatso's style, probably dating a little later than the Ford collection young Dalai Lama, also gold on red and also in the Chöying Gyatso style (Rhie and Thurman, 1996, No. 214). The red and gold Pure Land of Maitreya (No. 184) is an example of a deity with foliage and architecture of great refinement in the red tangka tradition that also produced such works as the Shadakshari and Tsong Khapa in the Ronge collection (*Ibid*., Nos. 174 and 212).

Black tangkas apparently became a favored genre by the second half of the 17th century and continued to develop into the 18th and early 19th century. A number of fine examples appear among the Rubin tangkas. The 17th century ones may be tentatively chronologically arranged as follows: No. 125, though rather individualistic, may belong to the 17th century; No. 119 is an important example from ca. the mid-17th century, dating close to the Penden Lhamo (ca. 1630s, before 1642) formerly in the Ford collection (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 115); No. 74 is an exceptionally fine example, which has similarities to the Newark Guru Drakpochey, probably dating ca. the second half of the 17th century (*Ibid*., No. 59); No. 144 may be considered an early work in the genre from ca. the second half of the 17th century, with some elements of Chöying Gyatso's style; No. 120 presents a rather complex work dating ca. the second half of the 17th to the first half of the 18th century; No. 147 is from the same set as the Begtse of the Essen collection (Rhie and Thurman, 1996, No. 216), both splendid paintings which probably date ca. the late 17th or early 18th century; and No. 98, which is also a fine work of ca. the late 17th or early 18th century. Besides the figures in these tangkas, cloud and flame forms are the most dominant elements at this stage, though some rocks do appear. Some of the works have more color than others, but color does not appear to be used to excess during this period.

C. Eastern Tibet

The ubiquitous Eastern Tibetan styles associated primarily with the Kagyupa orders remain difficult to assess for this period. However, the portrait of a Red Hat Shamarpa (Rhie and Thurman, 1998, No. 113) may well belong to ca. the mid-17th century. It resembles the lama in No. 132 in its simplicity and effective use of subdued planes of color in the landscape, and it has some similarities to the work of the Tenth Karmapa (1604–1674) presented by D. Jackson (Jackson, 1996, ch. 9). Paintings presented in the Wisdom and Compassion exhibition, such as the Ford collection Jataka and the arhat Angaja, the latter now in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, are probably part of the Eastern Tibetan creations around this time (Rhie and

Thurman, 1991 and 1996, Nos. 8, 18). The superb great adept group in No. 42 may be a Karma Gardri work. The beauty of color, lyrical restraint of line, fine patterning, and heightened idealistic beauty of the finely drawn figures, with their refined features and ornaments, certainly denote the hand of a master, probably from an Eastern Tibetan school. The painting shows stylistic associations with developments of Persian paintings of the mid-16th century, a topic worthy of further study in the future. A painting, possibly of the late 17th or early 18th century of the four arhats in No. 22 shows incorporation of the some New Menri modes. Though quite diverse stylistically, these latter two paintings in part reflect the complex stylistic trends developing in Eastern Tibet at this time.

VII. THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY: NEW MOVEMENTS AND FORMALIZATION

A. The New Menri: Tradition and Influence

The New Menri tradition flourished in the 18th century and a number of Rubin tangkas are associated with that movement. The lovely, small paintings from a set of which the Rubin collection has four, undoubtedly of the Twenty-one Taras, show the mesmerizing effects of the dense, bright green landscape around the central figure (Nos. 34–35). The Narthang woodblocks of ca. the 1730s document Chöying Gyatso's style, probably of ca. the 1670s, and suggest his work as the likely basis for many works actually executed in the 18th and 19th centuries, such as the series on the life of the Panchen Lama, including No. 130, probably from the second half of the 18th century, and No. 131, probably from the first half of the 19th century. Variations of the New Menri, however, are practically as many as there were individual artists: No. 183 of the 18th century, possibly from Eastern Tibet, retains the lyrical grace and full composition of the style, but gives it a delicacy and transparency not usually seen; and No. 5 is main stream New Menri from ca. the second half of the 18th century, but dramatizes the darker tonality.

Elements of the New Menri continue in some of the Eastern Tibetan schools of this time. No. 134 is an example of an Eastern Tibetan work of ca. the mid-19th century that incorporates New Menri elements but has the Eastern Tibetan mode of more open space, brighter color scheme, and specific mannerisms in the clouds, water, and flowers. By the turn of the century, under the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the main New Menri schools in Lhasa and around Tashi Lhunpo monastery in Shigatse produced tangkas of distilled beauty, capturing the fullest potential of the brilliant mineral pigments to produce fresh and bright hues. No. 14 partakes of the classic New Menri painting style of the early period of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, probably executed in the Lhasa "court style."

B. Black Tangkas: Further Developments

Black tangkas continued to be a popular mode in the 18th century. From the Rubin collection, the following appear to belong to this period: No. 93, an exceptionally fine Hevajra, probably from the first half of the 18th century; No. 146, a rare and highly individualistic rendering of Penden Lhamo with elements of the Situ Panchen style from ca. the mid-18th century (see below); No. 81, possibly from the late 17th to the first half of the 18th century; No. 75, a magnificent four-armed Mahakala Father-Mother from ca. the mid-18th century; No. 143 from the second half of the 18th century; No. 142 from the time of the Eighth Dalai Lama, making it an important benchmark for the late 18th to the early 19th century; No. 121, which may be Bhutanese of about this time; No. 80 from ca. the second half of the 18th to the first half of the 19th century; No. 76 from the 19th century; and No. 122, probably from the 19th century in Bhutan. The black tangkas of this phase, some of which are highly individualistic, in general use more accents of color effectively, add more elements of landscape, and heighten the intensity of the main central figure. In the 19th century tangkas, the colors become sharper and, in the quest for greater and greater intensity, tend to detract from the overall unity. Here, the soft and mysterious effects of the black tangkas of the 17th and first half of the 18th century disappear in favor of a dramatically vivid clarity.

C. Eastern Tibet: The Situ Panchen Style

New inspiration and momentum in the 18th century came from another source, the work of the Situ Panchen, Tai Situ Chökyi Jungnay (1700–1774). He flourished in the Eastern Tibetan province of Kham, and his followers perpetuated his style into the 19th century as a major artistic lineage of the Kagyupa order. Once again the work of D. Jackson provides the outline of his history and the identification of his style, thus making possible an understanding of this great master and his school. The Rubin collections have a number of superb works from this school, thus offering an opportunity to become acquainted with the variations, techniques, and beauty in this major branch of 18th century Tibetan Buddhist art and its impact on the 19th century schools (see Jackson essay below).

Situ Panchen was a reincarnate lama in a prominent position within the Karmapa suborder of the Kagyupa. In 1729 he established the great Palpung Monastery near Derge in Kham. He was noted as an artist and had many followers. He apparently commissioned and set the composition for a number of great series of paintings, including the Jatakas, arhats, and major tantric deities. Some of the Rubin Jataka paintings appear to belong to this school, and may be after Situ Panchen's famous set at the Palpung Monastery (Nos. 7–8). Other Jataka tangkas in the Rubin collection may be related to the Amdo or Kham schools, of which we as yet know relatively little aside from the introduction in D. Jackson's work. No. 9 is an exceptionally fine early example, probably contemporary with Nos. 7 and 8, but from the Amdo school; and No. 10 is one of a set of which the Rubin collection has several others, possibly also from Amdo but dating a bit later into the late 18th to the early 19th century. Some superb tangkas of the Amdo school of ca. the mid-18th century are represented in the Potala Palace collection, such as fig. 30. The rich detail and heavier qualities of the Amdo school distinguish it from the lighter, more atmospheric and ethereal cast of the Kham Situ Panchen tradition, but many of the motifs, such as water and clouds, are similar in the two schools.

Aside from the Jatakas No. 7 and 8 mentioned above, particularly outstanding among the Rubin tangkas in the Situ Panchen style, and possibly dating close to the period of Situ Panchen himself, if not by his own hand, are the superb small tangka of a Wealth Deity (No. 53), the peerless Arhat Abheda

Fig. 30. *Jataka*. Tangka from a series said to have been commissioned by the Eighth Dalai Lama (1758–1804) and painted by an artist from Amdo. The Potala Palace, Lhasa. (after *Xizang Tangjia*, 1985, pl. 33).

(No. 28), and a lovely Karmapa (No. 109). Others close to his style include the Great Adepts (No. 41) and a lovely example from a series of the Life Scenes of Shakyamuni (No. 12). A small, extremely sensitive and artistic Penden Lhamo tangka seems to be from the Situ Panchen tradition from ca. the mid-18th century (No. 146). Two supremely beautiful works in his style may date from the second half of the 18th century: the Amitayus Pure Land (No. 187) and the Padma Sambhava as Secret Dorjey Drolö (No. 78), which has clear elements influenced by Qing painting. Probably dating from the second half of the 18th or possibly into the early 19th century, the following three examples testify to the continued vigor of the Situ Panchen style in some Eastern Tibetan schools: No. 156 of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteshvara, No. 55 of the King of Shambhala, and No. 6 of Shakyamuni and Arhats.

In the large Jataka landscape paintings, the genius of Situ Panchen for incorporating essential details of the narrative and specifics of the settings and juxtaposing them within an ethereally spacious landscape suggestive of great distance and space is the antithesis of the New Menri style. In Situ Panchen's style, pale tones of subtly graded color-planes of blue and green set an ideal mood, while sparks of brilliant color in the architecture and figures allow these elements to capture the imagination and draw the viewer into the scene, like entering into a far-off place by looking through a telescope. One focuses closely on details and yet is surrounded by open space that seems to give one total freedom. This is unlike the 18th century New Menri style, evolving mainly in the Ü and Tsang regions, in which the congested, yet intriguing and forceful, usage of landscape enfolds the viewer within the calm vortex of the deity. Both of these late traditions integrate figures and landscape into oneness, but in different ways, thus offering two profound methods of presenting the Buddhist ideals. These two styles dominated the late 18th to the early 19th century and then began to combine their elements in variations during the latter part of the 19th and into the 20th century.

D. Eastern Tibet: Proliferation and Florescence

Other schools emerged from the variations noted above, as outlined by D. Jackson (1996, ch. 13). Among them was the Karshod School of Kham, of which the Nagarjuna and Aryadeva tangka is a major example, probably from ca. the second half of the 18th century (No. 40). Jackson's research also suggests that there was an earlier and a later phase in the Karshod School, the latter being influenced by the work of Situ Panchen, presumably from ca. the mid-18th into the 19th century. It could be suggested that Nos. 107 and 108 might belong to the early group, as they show the general asymmetrical format characteristic of the Karshod School, but lack the specific stylistic character of Situ Panchen's school. No. 199, the King of Shambhala, clearly fits with the later Karshod School with some Situ Panchen style elements, especially the use of translucent washes. The asymmetric placement of the large main figure, space moving through one side, and highly decorative rocks and flowers are typical of the Karshod School. No. 127 perhaps a work of the Karshod School, is finely executed with an asymmetrical composition and numerous interesting motifs of rocks, mountains, large trees, and so on. Though the elements are perhaps too disparate to make a cohesive composition, the tangka is painted with a sense of volume and space.

In Eastern Tibet during the 18th and 19th century the artistic scene was extremely diverse with a number of prominent and active schools in Chamdo and Derge in Kham province, and also in Amdo province. Perhaps the superb arhat tangka in No. 23 with its stunning array of rocks is from Kham in the first half of the 18th century, from a Karma Gardri school other than the Situ Panchen tradition. No. 46, a fine work of the adept Ghantapada, may be classed similarly. No. 45 of Dombi Heruka is related to No. 46, but clearly from a later time, possibly the first half of the 19th century, before the more fantastically inventive styles arose in the late 19th century. No. 43, a fine tangka of adepts surrounding a main adept, is probably from the mid-17th to the early 18th century and may also be from a Karma Gardri school. The tangka No. 47, an example from a set of which the Rubin collection has several, probably represents a continuation of the Situ Panchen school in the second half of the 18th or early 19th century. D. Jackson suggests in his essay below that it is based on a design by Situ Panchen. In it, elements of the Situ Panchen tradition have been distilled to nearly plain atmospheric space and a few rather ingenuously detailed yet familiar forms, not without special interest and charm, such as in the lively rendering of the rocks.

The Derge region produced works of some originality, using startling ultramarine tones of blue and some bizarre interpretations that reveal the fertile imagination of the artists, usually based on variations and combinations of the earlier schools. The Rubin collections have a sampling of the Derge genre from the 19th into the 20th century: Birth of Buddha (No. 11), patterned after a Derge xylographic wood block print; Wheel of Life (No. 180); Machig Pure Land (No. 196); and possibly Tsong Khapa (No. 126) and Shakyamuni (No. 6). In general the school offers in vigor what it may sometimes lack in refinement. For example, a painting such as the Machig Pure Land (No. 196) comes across with a power, forthrightness, and freshness that the somewhat brusque style reinforces rather than detracts from, thereby producing a work of immediacy and earthy realism, which, at one level, is very effective and pleasing.

The Birth of Buddha (No. 11) is painted from the pattern in the well-known Derge xylographic wood-block series of scenes from the life of the Buddha, originally made by the 19th century artist Chamdo Phurbu Tsering, of the Drupatsang family of prominent artists from the Dzachu Valley of Chamdo (Jackson, 1996, p. 328). The standards of the diverse schools are in some cases preserved in xylographs, which are helpful in assessing these movements. This xylographic series provides a standard for Derge painters ca. the second half of the 19th century. No. 11 uses darkly shaded, crisply scalloped clouds, wide, flat, parallel bands of rainbow-colored rays of light, a few straight horizontal lines under cloud banks, and a few rocks and large, colorful flowers, which balance the clouds and add some bright spots. The figures have oval faces, graceful postures, and floating scarves. The composition presents a few moderately large scenes at the sides, architecturally defined in the Menri mode. These surround the compact main group in the center. The translucent, infinite space so conspicuous in the Situ Panchen tradition is not used; instead, creating a strangely abstract mood, a strong ultramarine blue color is used for the dense sky and a bright, solid green for the ground. Despite the suggestion of a ground plane, there is little sense of true space. The scene does not seem like an ideal three-dimensional world as in the Situ Panchen style, but rather like a well-known statement of reality, portrayed in familiar forms in a somewhat dry yet engagingly vigorous way. It is likely that No. 48 of the adept Saraha is related to this xylograph series as well, though it gives slightly more attention to the atmospheric sense of space, indicating more connection with the Situ Panchen tradition, perhaps a reason for dating it a bit earlier.

No. 55, the King of Shambhala, may well be an example from Derge ca. the mid-19th century, and No. 37, Tara as Savioress from the Perils, may be an early example from the first half of the 19th century. The Tara in No. 38 may well be from the same region from the first half of the 19th century, but of a different tradition, perhaps combining elements of the Situ Panchen school with those of the 18th century style associated with Shuchen Tsultrim Rinchen (Jackson, 1996, ch. 12). A similar kind of composition and ground plane appears in No. 13, a late 18th century painting, attributed to his school by Jackson (1996, pl. 63), a fine painting of Shakyamuni which could be an 18th century work from the Derge region having some New Menri compositional traits.

The Amdo region is still difficult to assess, especially as much work awaits to be done in examining the wall paintings and tangkas that may still be preserved in that area, including temples around Xining in the current Qinghai province. It is possible to readily associate the xylograph published by Jackson (1996, fig. 173) with No. 178, Penden Lhamo in her Palace, where the distinctive mountains with their double-line, Y-shaped valleys are immediately recognizable. The xylograph also shows usage of a mannered rippling edge on the rocks – more exaggerated than in the arhat set Nos. 24–27. No. 189 of Tara has similar Amdo style Y-shaped waterfalls, design of waves in wide parallel lines with a little clump of foam, and very brusque, saw-toothed edges for mountains and rocks. Such strange distortions in the rocks also appear in No. 49, possibly also from the Amdo school, emphasizing the large central figure amidst boldly simplified, radically eccentric, abstracted forms of rocks, trees, and clouds.

Much investigation is needed to unravel the complexities of these schools and the multiple trends of the 18th to the 20th century period, as well as those of the earlier periods. The Rubin collections, only partially studied here in order to further clarify the schools, dates, and sources of Tibetan painting, offer many resources for this future study. They are particularly rich in paintings of the later schools of Eastern Tibet, one of the many exciting areas in Tibetan painting that has barely begun to be known, assessed, and understood.

NOTES

1. S. Huntington and J. Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree*, Seattle, 1990; Vitali, 1990; M. Rhie and R. Thurman, 1991 and 1996; J. C. Singer, "Painting in Central Tibet, ca. 950–1400," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. LIV, 1/2, 1994, pp. 87–136; H. Stoddard, "Early Paintings: Sources and Styles (Eleventh–Fourteenth Centuries A.D.)," *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. XLIX, 1996, pp. 26–50; D. Jackson, 1996; and others.
2. The seven banners were among the many works found in Cave 17, known as the "secret cave" at Dunhuang. It was walled up around the mid-10th century after being filled with scrolls, texts, and paintings. Aurel Stein in late May and early June, 1907, managed to purchase many of the objects from the Daoist priest in charge of the site. These were later divided between the National Museum in New Delhi and the British Museum in London. Of the seven banner paintings, four are in the British Museum and three in the National Museum in New Delhi. See A. Stein, *Serindia*, 4 vols., Oxford, 1921, vol. IV (plates), pl. LXXXVII, upper; R. Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia*, 3 vols., London, 1982–1983, vol. 1 (1982), color pls. 46–48; Vitali, 1990, figs. 5 and 6. Whitfield suggests that these banners may have been made after the mid-9th century and that some may have "come from a different centre than Dunhuang, possibly western Tibet or Khotan." (Whitfield, 1983–85, vol. 2, p. 22).
3. See R. Vitali, 1990, pp. 17–24. Tibetans conquered Dunhuang in 787 and controlled it until 848. The famous Tibetan general Dro Trisumjey, a signatory of the 822 peace treaty between Tibet and China under King Relwajen, was at one time, probably early in his career, residing at Dunhuang and is known to have built a temple there. In 810 he was promoted to be a state minister and from that time may have resided in the Kachu area. R. Vitali suggests he may have been the patron of the second phase of work at Kachu monastery, probably ca. 822.
4. For the paintings with Tibetan inscriptions at Dunhuang, see Whitfield, 1982–1983, vol. 1, color pl. 17, vol. 2, color pls. 47–49; H. Stoddard Karmay, London, 1975, pp. 8–14 and fig. 4 (datable to 836), where she also shows inscriptions of the Tibetan artist Pelyang who was working at Dunhuang.
5. Vitali, 1990, pl. 45. He suggests the two paintings from this secret room may be mid-7th century. A. Heller, "Eighth-and Ninth-Century Temples and Rock Carvings of Eastern Tibet," in Singer and

Denwood, 1997, p. 101, suggests the affinity of these wall paintings with the Amoghapasa Mandala painting from Dunhuang in the Musée Guimet of ca. the mid-9th century. H. Stoddard in discussing the "restoration" processes within the Jokhang temple presents these wall paintings as Yarlung period ca. 650–850 (H. Stoddard, "Restoration in the Lhasa Tsuglagkhang and the Fate of Its Early Wall Paintings," *Orientations*, June, 1994, pp. 69–73).

6. G. Tucci and E. Ghersi, *Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale (1933)*, Rome, 1934; Tucci, 1932–41 (English translation, 1988).
7. For some fragmented early remains from Tholing monastery, see D. Klimburg-Salter, "A Thangka Painting Tradition from the Spiti Valley," *Orientations*, vol. 28, No. 10 (November, 1997), figs. 8 and 9; M. Henss, "Wall Paintings in Western Tibet," in *On the Path to Void*, ed. by P. Pal, Bombay, 1996, figs. 3 and 6; C. Luczanits, "A Note on Tholing Monastery," *Orientations*, vol. 27, No. 6 (June, 1996), pp. 76–77.
According to the history of Guge-Purang, by the time of Shiwa Ö most of the monuments of Tholing had been built. On the plain were the Main Temple (Tsuglagkhang) and the Serkhang, a three-storied hall dedicated to Maitreya. The latter was built between 1067–1071 by Shiwa Ö when Tsedey was the king of Guge. He employed two hundred twenty-three masters and assistants, including an Indian master artist from Magadha (as pointed out by Vitali, this is an exceedingly interesting factor, since it shows that artists were brought from India proper and not solely from Kashmir). On the Shingdra hill overlooking the plain were the Padma Maydu Jungbai Tsuglagkhang, the Kardra, and a golden chorten built in 1067 (Vitali, 1996, pp. 311–312).
8. The two early temples at Mangnang are credited to Jangchub Ö in the *History of the Kingdoms of Guge-Purang* (Vitali, 1996, p. 308). According to this same work, Atisha stayed one year at Mangnang, the last year of his stay in this area before he went to Ü-Tsang in 1045 (*Ibid.*, pp. 297–298).
9. For other paintings from Mangnang, see G. Tucci, *Transhimalaya*, Geneva, 1973, figs. 113–144; 116–122; Tucci, "Indian Paintings in Western Tibetan Temples," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 7, 1937, figs. 2–14. When Tucci visited the Mangnang site in 1933, he found two groups of temples: one on the hill on the right bank of the Mangnang River and another, a lower group, on the plain of the left bank. Above the monastery were many caves. He reports that wall paintings were in the two chapels in the temple along the river, the finest wall paintings being in the "small chapel" (or "first temple"), which had mandalas and large independent images but no trace of inscriptions. He could discern several different artists' hands in the wall paintings and considered the artists to be Kashmiri, possibly part of the group summoned by Rinchen Sangpo (*Ibid.*, pp. 191–201; and Tucci, 1973, pp. 91–92).
D. Klimburg-Salter groups these Mangnang paintings with her Tabo Phase II (ca. 1042) Group C style wall paintings (see note 11 below), which she says are of Kashmiri lineage, but possibly executed by local artists (Klimburg-Salter, 1997b, p. 56).
10. D. Klimburg-Salter, *Tabo, a Lamp for the Kingdom*, New York and Milan, 1997. See also D. Klimburg-Salter, *The Silk Road and the Diamond Path*, Los Angeles, 1983, pp. 157–164; O. C. Handa, *Tabo Monastery and Buddhism in the Trans-Himalaya*, New Delhi, 1994; T. Pritzker, "The Wall Paintings in the Dukhang of Tabo," in Singer and Denwood (1997), pp. 150–159.
11. Based on inscriptions and on archaeological and art historical data, D. Klimburg-Salter divides the earliest work of the Tabo Main Hall (Tsuglagkhang) into two phases. Phase I is the founding, ca. 996. The wall paintings (including a non-Buddhist protectoress) that now survive in the old Entry Hall, some wall paintings in the Ambulatory (covered by later painting), some in the transition zone leading to the apse, and some of the sculptures in the cella – all may belong to this phase. Phase II is associated with the "Renovation Inscription" of 1042 under Jangchub Ö. She has postulated four stylistic groups of wall paintings from Phase II: Group A, consisting of some major paintings in the Ambulatory, Kashmiri-derived and possibly by Kashmiri master painters; Group B (clearly associated with the Renovation Inscriptions of 1042), consisting of the narrative paintings and the Assembly Hall protectoress, also possibly by Kashmiri artists; Group C, consisting of paintings of the top zone in the Assembly Hall, all of which are buddha and bodhisattva images, possibly executed by local artists in a style similar to Group A; and Group D, consisting of paintings in the cella and on the east wall of the Ambulatory – the latest of the groups and possibly executed by local artists in Kashmiri style. She dates these four groups close to 1042, possibly with a span of a few years to allow for completion of the total ensemble. She notes that the temple does not seem to have been particularly associated with Rinchen Sangpo (Klimburg-Salter, 1997b, pp. 45–63; 207–208).
12. Preliminary accounts appear in T. Pritzker, "A Preliminary Report on Early Cave Paintings of Western Tibet," *Orientations*, vol. 27, No. 6 (June, 1996), pp. 26–47; T. Pritzker, "The Wall Paintings in the Dukhang of Tabo," in Singer and Denwood (1997), pp. 150–159; and a recent report by the Chinese on the 160 caves at Tonca (Dungkar) and nearly 1,000 caves at Pico (Piyang) surveyed in 1992 and 1994 by the University of Sichuan (*Wen Wu*, 1997, No. 9, pp. 6–22).
13. Vitali, 1996, pp. 343–344.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 347, 355.
15. For the Alchi Dukhang, see P. Pal, *A Buddhist Paradise: The Murals of Alchi*, Basel and Hong Kong, 1982, pls. D1–D26.
16. R. Goepper with photography by Jaroslav Poncar, *Alchi, the Sumtsek*, Boston, 1996.
17. Vitali, 1996, pp. 381, 389–391.
18. Klimburg-Salter, 1997b, figs. 222, 224, 225, 229. For more on the Poo manuscript, see D. Klimburg-Salter, "Tucci Himalayan Archives Report, 2: the 1991 Expedition to Himachal Pradesh," *East and West*, vol. 44, No. 1 (March, 1994), pp. 62–67 and D. Klimburg-Salter, "A Decorated *Prajñaparamita* Manuscript from Poo," *Orientations*, vol. 25, No. 6 (June, 1994), figs. 3–7, 10–13, 16. For the Tabo Kanjur see also E. Steinkellner, "A Report on the 'Kanjur' of Ta.pho," *East and West*, vol. 44, No. 1 (March, 1994), pp. 115–136. For the Los Angeles County Museum manuscript, see Pal, 1983, color pls. 1, 2. For the Mangnang fragment see Pritzker, 1996b, fig. 31.
19. Klimburg-Salter, 1994, pp. 58–59.
20. A. v. LeCoq, *Die Buddhistische Spatantike Mittelasiens*, II. Die Manichaischen Miniaturen, Graz, 1973, vol. 2, pls. 7a, 8a, 8b.
21. Klimburg-Salter, 1997b, figs. 225, 229 for the Tabo Tanjur. Paper appears in Western Indian illustrated manuscripts from ca. mid-12th century (the 1147 dated Kalpasutra ms from the Bandar of Vijaya Nemi Sui), but did not occur regularly until the 13th century for ms illustration. M. Chandra, "An Illustrated Manuscript of the Kalpasutra and Kalakacharya Katha," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 4, 1953–54, p. 41.
22. More detail concerning the re-introduction of Buddhism in the Ü and Tsang areas in the late 10th and early 11th century is provided by Vitali, 1990, pp. 37 and 54, and by Stoddard, 1996, pp. 29–30. According to the writing of Dromtonpa, the great disciple of Atisha, activities started in 978 (or 997) in Tsang with the founding of Gyangong by Loton and Dorjey Wangchuk, and 1009 in Ü with the founding of Moragyal temple by Lumey. The early phase revolves around "activities of Lumey, Sumpa and their companions, disciples and disciples' disciples." A second phase with the coming of Atisha in 1045 "brought a wind of orthodoxy and a faithful reinterpretation of Buddhist practice in Ü and Tsang" (Vitali, 1990, p. 37).
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 89–122; H. Kreijger, "Mural Styles at Shalu," in Singer and Denwood, 1997, pp. 170–177.
24. F. Ricca and L. Fournier, "Notes Concerning the mGon-khan of Zwa-lu," *Artibus Asiae*, 66, 3/4: 343–363.
25. Vitali, 1990, pp. 49–61; M. Henss, "The Eleventh-Century Murals of Drathang Gonpa," in Singer and Denwood, 1997, pp. 160–169.
M. Henss and H. Stoddard have noted the Central Asian characteristics of the Drathang monastery wall paintings. Stoddard associates them with Minyag and the tradition of Gongpa Rabsal in the "northeast." She notes that the founder of Drathang, Drapa Ngonshey was an ordained disciple of Lumey, leader of the "Ten Men of Ü and Tsang" and had close family links with Samyey, thus suggesting that the earliest style of painting found at Drathang and Shalu is linked with Central Asia, specifically Minyag (a somewhat unsettled term possibly for northeast Tibet – not Kham, but probably the Tangut territory) (Stoddard, 1996, pp. 29–32, 37). Vitali (1990, pp. 53–54, 58) notes that Drathang is considered one of the four main temples connected with the Lumey tradition, though it was built later, after Lumey had passed away. He suggests it is "quite feasible that they [the men of Ü and Tsang] brought with them the religious ideas

that were popular in the northeast and Hsi-hsia. It is likely that artistic influences also traveled the same route." He further identifies the Liluk style with Minyag rather than with Khotan, a view supported by Stoddard. The sculpture of Drathang has clear stylistic links with the sculptures of Yemar, Nesar, and Khyangbu, all of which show stylistic affinities with the art of Central Asia as known though the wall paintings of the mid-10th century at Bazaklik near Turfan (M. Rhie, "Eleventh-Century Monumental Sculpture in the Tsang Region," in Singer and Denwood, 1997, pp. 38–51).

26. For the Lower Huayensi sculptures, see *Huayensi*, Beijing, 1980, figs. 55 and 56. For the Xixia sculpture see *Xixia wenwu*, Beijing, 1988, figs 248–250.
27. For example, see Klimburg-Salter, 1997a, figs. 48–50, 121, 139, 142, 151, and 229.
28. Vitali, 1990, pp. 78–83. See also J. Singer, 1994, pp. 95–96; and H. Stoddard, 1996, pp. 37–38.
29. J. Singer, 1994; J. Singer, "Early Thangkas: Eleventh–thirteenth Centuries," in Pal, 1996, pp. 180–195; Stoddard, 1996, and the catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition by S. Kossak and J. Singer, *Sacred Visions, Early Painting from Central Tibet*, New York, 1998, which presents a number of paintings from the 11th–12th centuries (Nos. 1–13), some hitherto unpublished.
30. Most of the Khara Khoto paintings in the Tibetan style from the famous stupa discovered by Kozlov and now in the Hermitage Museum date from the late 12th to early 13th century (see M. Piatrovsky, gen. ed., *Lost Empire of the silk Road*, Milan, 1993). A 16th century record (translated into Chinese) of major importance is often not taken into account in the study of the Khara Khoto Tibetan style art; the invitation by king Renzong (Lirenxiao), who ruled the Xi Xia from 1139–1193 and was an active supporter of Buddhism in his nation, to Dusum Kyenpa (1110–1193), the First Karmapa Lama, to come to the Xi Xia court (also see Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, p. 49) Though the First Karmapa did not go, his main disciple, Tsang Sopa (*gTsang soba*), did go ca. 1159. He was given the title of Shangshi, Supreme Teacher, by King Renzong, in accord with a practice from the early days in China for rulers to honor their distinguished Buddhist teachers. Though it does not preclude earlier contact and influences, this record is a strong indication of the infusion of Tibetan Buddhism in the Xi Xia state from that time. Tsang Sopa is also mentioned in the *Blue Annals (*G. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 1988, p. 517).
    The Tibetan style painting in Xi Xia appears to begin from around this time. It is seen in some tangkas from the area of the Xi Xia capital at Zhongxing (present-day Yinchuan) in Ningxia province, such as those from the Baisikou west stupa and the Hongfo stupa in Helan county (R. Linrothe, "New Delhi and New England: Old Collections of Tangut Art," *Orientations*, vol. 27, No. 4, (April, 1996), figs. 7, 9 and 22).
31. *Xizang yishu*, 1991, fig. 198. Kossak and Singer have identified several other probable Kadam paintings (Kossak and Singer, 1998, Nos. 10, 11).
32. The well-known statue of Songzen Gambo in the Potala Palace, dated by this writer to ca. the 830s, has a head of Amitabha in his turban crown. However, this may be a later addition and would need to be checked first-hand. The silk painting of Footprints and Deities in the Zimmerman collection, dated by P. Pal to the 10th–11th century, portrays Songzen Gambo and his two foreign queens. Here the king wears a turban crown, but it is not surmounted by the Buddha's head (Pal, 1991, No. 79). A later statue (14th–15th century) in the Essen collection shows the Buddha's head, cast together with the image, above the crown (Essen and Thingo, 1989, I-63).
33. See the Ford collection Kadampa Lama in Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 95; the Vajravarahi Mandala datable to the early 13th century (before 1210) in Singer, 1994, fig. 26; Singer, 1997, fig. 40, and Kossak and Singer, 1998, No. 20; the Vajravarahi in Pal, 1984, pl. 12; and the McCormick collection Mandala of Chemchok (Mahashri) Heruka of the late 12th century in D. Leidy and R. Thurman, *Mandala, The Architecture of Enlightenment*, New York, 1997, No. 16.
34. J. Singer, "Taklung Painting," in Singer and Denwood, 1997, pp. 52–67.
35. Examples include the splendid tangka of Jñanatapa in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which has been shown by J. Singer to date ca. the mid-14th century and to be from the Taklung monastery of Riwoche in Kham (Singer, 1997, pp. 53, 65). The tangka has the unusual malachite green background widely known in the Dunhuang wall paintings. Also, the fine painting of Marpa in Singer, 1997, fig. 48, probably, according to her, from the main Taklung center in Tsang, shows the looser folds of drapery around the knees and the mannered elements of design of ca. mid-14th century.
36. For Dunhuang Cave 465, see M. Rhie, "An Early Tibetan Thangka of Amitayus," *Orientations*, October, 1998.
37. See The Second Karmapa, Karma Pakshi (1206–1283) in the McCormick collection in Rhie and Thurman, 1998 (Taiwan catalogue of Wisdom and Compassion, in Chinese), No. 118; and Feet of the Third Karmapa (1284–1339) in Singer, 1994, fig. 32.
38. See also note 30. The Khara Khoto tangkas are most extensively published in the catalogue *Lost Empire of the Silk Road* (Piatrovsky, 1993), and some are included in Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996 (Nos. 21, 91–93, 128, 133, 135). H. Stoddard suggests that the Black Hat Karmapa in No. 133 is Karma Pakshi, who established a temple in China in ca. 1255–56. The identification appears to be based mainly on the appearance of the figure, although the face could just as easily be that of the First Karmapa, who also had a beard, as seen in the 14th century statue in Rhie and Thurman, 1996, No. 205.
39. M. Henss, "Milarepa's Tower: An Early Treasure of Tibetan Art and Architecture Rediscovered," *Oriental Art*, vol. 43, No. 2 (1997/98), p. 20.
40. Béguin, 1990, No. 3; A. Heller, "A Set of Thirteenth Century Tsakali," *Orientations*, Vol. 28, No. 10; V. Reynolds, *Tibetan Collection*, (vol. III: Sculpture and Painting), Newark, 1986, P2 (Ink on paper drawing from inside chorten S9-C, radio carbon dated ca. 1230), pp. 137–139; Rossi and Rossi, 1994, No. 2; *Xizang yishui*, 1991, fig. 158.
41. P. Pal and L. Fournier, *A Buddhist Paradise, the Murals of Alchi*, Hong Kong, 1982.
42. For the Cleveland Green Tara see S. Kossak, "Sakya Patrons and Nepalese Artists in Thirteenth-Century Tibet," in Singer and Denwood, eds., 1997, pp. 26–37; Kossak and Singer, 1998, No. 37. For Shalu see Vitali, 1990, pp. 89–122; H. Kreijger, "Mural Styles at Shalu," in Singer and Denwood, eds., 1997, pp. 170–171; and *Xizang fojiao siyuan bihua yishu*, 1994, pls. 188–265.
43. *Xizang fojiao siyuan bihua yishu*, 1994, pls. 170, 171, 177, 179, 184, 185, 190.
44. Ricca and Lo Bue, 1993.
45. Béguin, 1977, No. 83; Rhie and Thurman (1991 and 1996), No. 14 where the set is dated "early 15th century, probably ca. 1425."
46. Karmay, 1975, pp. 79–80. Gifts of images and texts were sent at least six times between 1408 and 1419 from the Yongle emperor to high Tibetan lamas.
47. A set of postcards obtained by the author in 1982 at the Yonghegong in Beijing, the main Gelukpa temple in the capital, shows a complete set of paintings of the Eighteen Arhats with Shakyamuni. The set dates stylistically to the 18th century and presumably belongs to the Yonghegong, but the author has been unable to confirm this. This set appears to follow the pattern of an earlier, probably 15th century set of paintings.
48. See Rhie and Thurman, 1998, Nos. 11 and 12.
49. Mentangpa ("the man from Man-thang") was born in the Man-thang district of northern Lhodrak (bordering Bhutan). He was known later as Menthang Chenmo (the great master of Mantling), Menla, or Manthangpa. D. Jackson places his birth in the second or third decade of the 15th century and his early working years in the 1430s or 1440s (Jackson, 1996, p. 103). He apparently worked at Gyantse during the embellishment of the Kumbum stupa temples. His major accomplishment was the successful utilization of Chinese style landscape and space in painting, thereby abandoning altogether the two-dimensional background with decorative filling inherited from Newari painting that dominated the work of the 14th and early 15th century, as it did in the Gyantse murals. This introduction of landscape and space eventually revolutionized Tibetan painting. He was patronized by the First Dalai Lama, Gendun Drubpa (1391–1474) and in 1458 painted murals for the main temple of Tashi Lhunpo (founded in 1447 by Gendun Drubpa), including the Twelve Deeds of the Buddha, the Four Lokapala Guardian Kings, Vajradhara and the Eighty-four Adepts, Achala and Hayagriva, and the Pure Land of Tara. In 1468 he

produced a large cloth appliqué for Tashi Lhunpo. His dates are not known precisely, but he may have worked into the 16th century. His son and a nephew continued his style and his stylistic lineage re-emerged in the mid-17th century with the work of Chöying Gyatso, whose work established the "New Menri" tradition, based on the "Old Menri" tradition of Manthangpa (*Ibid.*, pp. 114–115).

50. This is an offering figure playing a celestial lute in the Chris Hall Collection Trust, Jobremo Limited Trustee, in *Heaven's Embroidered Cloths: One Thousand Years of Chinese Textiles*, Hong Kong, 1995, No. 27, where it is dated ca. 1460 by radio carbon 14 test (Oxford sample No. P. 1814). Another, a goddess offering a bowl of curds, is in the Cleveland Museum of Art and is published in J. C. Y. Watt and A. E. Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles*, New York, 1997, No. 61, where it is dated to the 14th century.
51. *Kiziru sekkutsu*, in *Chugoku sekkutsu*, 3 vols., Tokyo, 1983, 1984, and 1985, vol. I, fig. 97 and vol. II, fig. 4.
52. According to D. Jackson's work on Khyentse Wangchuk (Jackson, 1996, pp. 139–168), "one source says he preceded Manthangpa and was first to establish the first excellent Tibetan style" (p. 139). He flourished in the 1460s and in the second half of the 15th century, making him contemporaneous with Menla, and like Menla, he may have studied with the painter Dopa Tashi Gyalpo. He was from Gongkar (the Lhokha district of Ü, south of Lhasa). His best surviving work is found in the paintings from the Gonkar Dorjedan monastery, where he worked ca. 1464–65 under the monastery's founder Gonkar Dorjey Danpa Kunga Namgyal (1432–1496). He was a skillful sculptor as well as painter, but the sculptures he made for Gongkar have not survived. He may have worked on some murals for the Champaling stupa (p. 140). He is known to have incorporated Chinese influences "but not as much as Menla and he excelled in tantric deities." Though he worked extensively for the Sakyapa lamas, it was not exclusively so. As a stylistic tradition, his lineage was active from the 17th to the 18th century and even into recent times.
53. For the textile designs in the ceiling of the Red Temple, see *Zhongguo Bihua Zhuanji*, 32: *Tsang Chwan Bihua*, 1 (in *Zhongguo Meishu Fenlai Zhuanji*, Tiantsin, 1991, fig. 68), which shows designs of floral vines similar to the embroidered votive panels of the early Ming (Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1995, No. 22h).
54. For the White Temple, see *Zhongguo Bihua Zhuanji*, 1991, figs. 6–57; Jürgen Aschoff, *Tsaparang – Konigsstadt in West Tibet*, Munich, 1989, pp. 138–147 and 116–117. For the Pandit's Temple (also called the Yidam Temple), see *Ibid.*, pp. 136–137 and 152–155; *Zhongguo Bihua Zhuanji*, 1991, figs. 152–166; for the Yamantaka Temple see *Ibid.*, figs. 186–188; Aschoff, 1989, p. 156.
55. Other examples from this well-known set are in the Essen collection (Essen and Thingo, 1989, vol. 1, p. 75); Zimmerman collection (Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 64); the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Pal, 1983, p. 154); Ford collection (Lauf, 1976, pl. 25), Volkerkunde Museum, Zürich; Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (Béguin et al, 1977, fig. 16); and Musée Guimet (Béguin, 1995, No. 305, former Fournier collection).
56. Essen and Thingo, 1989, vol. 1, p. 229.
57. See Jackson, 1996, ch. 8. For the Musée Guimet paintings, either by the hand of Chöying Gyatso or a close follower, see Jackson, 1996, pl. 31; Béguin, 1995, color pl. 45, black and white Nos. 320–323; Rhie and Thurman, 1991 and 1996, No. 42. For tangkas by the master in the Potala Palace, see Jackson, 1996, pl. 45 and *Xizang Tangjia*, Beijing, 1985, pls. 41 and 75. For wall paintings at Tashi Lhunpo monastery most likely by the hand of Chöying Gyatso, see Jackson, 1996, pl. 34–44 and *Selected Jataka Murals*, Kyoto, 1982, figs. 34, 117, 119, 121 and 122.
58. See "Foppish Dervish Rebuked," from the Baharistan, ca. 1595, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where the tree in the courtyard embodies the head of a goat in its branches (S. C. Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, New York, 1978, pl. 8).
59. For the black silk paintings from in the 8th to the 9th century at Dunhuang, see Whitfield, 1982–83, vol. 2, figs. 30, 34–35. For the black tangkas of the 15th century, see Béguin, 1977, No. 80 (Simhavaktra, dated 1468) and No. 81 (Mahakala, dated 1478), both in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. For 9th century silver on red silk paintings from Dunhuang, see *Les Arts de l'Asie Centrale*, 1994, vol. 1, pls. 57–59. For the Korean examples of the mid-16th century, see Hongnam Kim, *The Story of a Painting*, New York, 1991, fig. 15, a gold on red silk painting dated 1565 where the inscription calls it a "gold" painting as distinct from a "colored" painting.