

诸佛菩萨圣像赞

Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Boddhisattvas

中国藏学出版社

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导 读*

罗文华

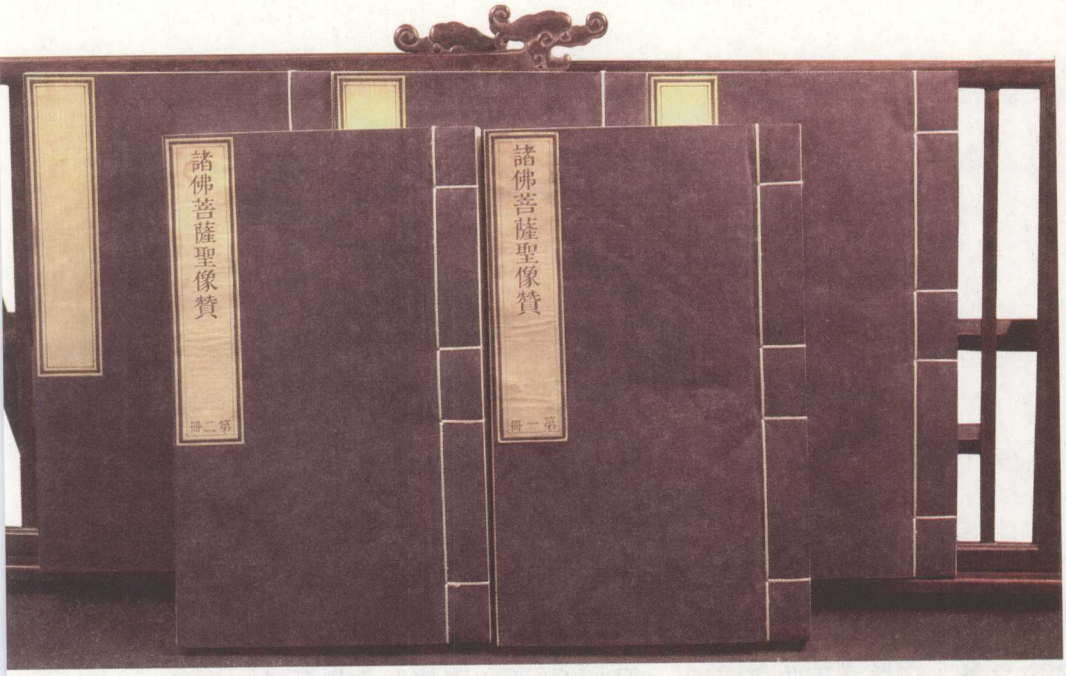
20世纪，藏传佛教图像学(Iconography)的研究取得了长足的进步。学者们除了对于藏传佛教的经典文献资料进行了广泛而深入的校勘、研究之外，还着意于收集雕塑、绘画和雕版印刷的形象化资料，并在深入研究的基础上加以出版。这其中《三百佛像集》、《五百佛像集》和《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》(下文简称《诸佛》)曾对学术界产生过重要的影响，成为学者们案头必备之书。这里我们所要介绍的《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》占有更为特殊的重要地位。

笔者关注此书已经有五六年之久，借到欧美考察的机会，或者与各国学者交流的机会，收集到几乎所有的西方的相关出版物，但是遗憾得很，其中图片采用的全部都是以钢和泰和罗扈·毗罗(Raghu Vira)的黑白照片为底本，图片模糊老旧，且均未提到原书现藏中国国家图书馆。此次中国藏学出版社将国家图书馆保存的这部重要著作全部影印出版，对于学术研究将有十分重要的意义。下面，笔者将就本书的主要内容、研究现状、出版意义等方面提出自己的看法，希望读者和学者提出宝贵意见。

一、《诸佛》介绍与相关问题的提出

《诸佛》现存国家图书馆善本书库(下文简称“国图本”)，编号A01587，注明抄绘本，共五册(图一)，原册纵29厘米，横16.9厘米；裱后每册纵33.5厘米，横16.9厘米，较原书尺寸放大，应是收藏国图以

* 本导读由美国藏学家巢夫(Ed Hunter)先生译为英文。Ed的译文精严，不仅查阅了很多的资料，还增加了一部分注释，以方便西方读者的理解。笔者借此向他表示深深的谢意。英文导读见附录。



图一　中国国家图书馆藏《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》

后的装裱。前两册封面题名“诸佛菩萨圣像赞”，今天国家图书馆的图书检索目录上采用的就是这个书名。最初钢和泰看到的可能就是这个书名。这个书名一直为学术界所沿用。可以肯定，这个书名不是收藏后的新定名，因为在钢和泰的文章中已经使用了这个书名，说明当他在1928年北平图书馆收藏此书以前，在书商手里见到此书时，已经题有书名。问题是，此书名是书商所加？还是原始书名？因为在本书的序文中只提到“三百六十尊佛像赞”，而没有使用“诸佛菩萨圣像赞”。所以日本学者立川武藏在他的书中直接定名为《三百六十尊佛像》(Three hundred and sixty Buddhist deities)，虽然只有一点小小的变化，也足见编者之严谨。笔者认为，此书在编纂成书之时可能并无书名，即使到庄亲王允禄请人绘画诸尊，编次成册时也没有正式书名。现在的书名可能是后人追补上去的。理由如下：首先，清宫内务府的档案中并未提到此图册曾有过任何正式书名，只称“画佛像三百六十尊”；其次，序文作“三百六十尊佛像赞”，也不像正式的书名，也证实此书可能并无书名。此书只是庄亲王允禄私人收藏的一部画佛像集，不是公开出版物，所以我们目前仅见此一册，既无其它刊本，也不见任何重绘本存世，没有题书名也很正常。

全书共收录尊神360尊，每页有刊印黑边框，边框内，佛像的大背光、身光、莲座和莲座上的莲瓣、云纹、连珠纹都是墨线

刊印轮廓，再以墨线勾勒轮廓，局部以淡墨晕染，以增加其立体感，尊神像及背景装饰部分为手绘。附汉文像赞360节，一像一赞，每赞为六言四句，往往提及尊神的名号、所持法器、身体姿势、法力功能等内容，应是对照尊神图像而撰写[1]。每像上方题汉文，下方题藏文，左边题满文，右边题蒙古文。汉、满、蒙古文及千字文编号均是朱字，藏文为浓硃堆书，有凸起感。由于是用毛笔书写，所以藏文与满蒙文相比，字体不太规整。且满蒙藏文均有拼写错误，本次出版为了保持全书原貌基本未作校改。尊名汉文书写较为稚拙，与赞文的汉文书体严谨端正相比，水平相去甚远(图二)。另外，部分尊神背面头、喉、心间(分别代表人的身、语、意)书有朱红色藏文字OṂ、ĀḤ、HŪṂ，作为开光的标志。篇首有汉文序。



图二　上乐王佛像及赞辞，《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》第36尊

笔者第一次提看国图本时发现五册中仅前三册保存了题有书名及每册编号的白绫签，注为“诸佛菩萨圣像赞　第X册”字样，但已经散落，夹于书页中，且有顺序错误，后二册书名，题签已逸失，遂根据前言，重新排列，现已经恢复正常。本文中所用的顺序是经笔者修订过的：第一册从“天”字一“龙树祖师”开始，至“黄”字三十四“莲花妙舞自在马头金刚”(1–62)；第二册从“宇”字一“四臂阴阳无量寿佛”开始，至“荒”

[1]　比较赞文的内容，我们发现原书中“莲花妙舞自在马头金刚”(62)“布袋和尚”(289)的赞文位置相互错乱，应是原书在编辑时即已经发生的错误。

字十“初慈决疑佛”(63- 126)；第三册从“日”字一“毗婆尸佛”，至“张”字五“随求佛母”(127- 205)；第四册从“寒”字一“除诸恶难救度佛母”，至“暑”字十八“布袋和尚”(206-289)。第五册从“往”字一“大迦叶”，至“冬”字三十八“红部落王金刚”(290-360)[2]。每个画框纵24厘米，横15.2厘米，对折，右页面绘像，左页面书汉文赞。用皮纸，较脆。

本书序文篇幅不长，其内容却对了解此书的历史背景提供了极为重要的线索。现将全文钞录于下：

三百六十尊佛像赞　粤稽三百六十尊佛像乃我皇上德契金容，极晨昏之斋肃；心周贝叶，溯宝相之庄严。爰命章嘉胡图克图捡藏经中诸佛宝号永宜供奉者，排集尊次，编列字号。天字号般若祖师十尊，地字号秘密祖师八尊；元字号菩提道祖师十尊；黄字号大秘密佛三十四尊；宇字号诸样秘密佛十四尊；宙字号五方佛五尊；洪字号三十五佛三十五尊；荒字号十方佛十尊；日字号六勇佛六尊，月字号药师佛七尊；盈字号诸样佛五尊；昃字号文殊化像菩萨十三尊；辰字号观世音菩萨化像二十尊；宿字号毗卢佛坛场内菩萨十六尊；列字号诸样菩萨七尊；张字号保护佛母五尊；寒字号救度佛母二十二尊；来字号诸样佛母四十四尊；暑字号十八罗汉十八尊；往字号诸样罗汉七尊；秋字号勇保护法二十一尊；收字号财宝天王五尊；冬字号诸样护法三十八尊，共三百六十尊，成二十三堂，朝夕崇祀，功德之大，直括龙藏全备之义。荷蒙眷注，亲承赏赐，祗拜之下，瞻净土为胎，宛聚沙成佛。举小见大，不盈尺而参丈六金身。斗室之中，俨觐灵山千亿。其排序成堂，由祖师而次及金刚、秘密诸佛、菩萨、天行佛母、罗汉尊者、护法天王等像，乃参悟灌念之后先，又升堂入室之阶级也。猗欤，盛哉！惟祈诸佛慈灵佑予合家康泰，仰荷皇上之恩赐，又得我佛之垂慈，故将诸佛绘成图像，每尊敬系以赞，以期志虔诚于无替云尔。

总结序文的内容可以发现有如下要点：

第一，此书的体例和内容是由章嘉国师奉皇帝的御旨而编纂的。其尊神共分为二十三堂，三百六十尊。如下表：

[2] 此处以及文中每位尊神后括号内所注阿拉伯数字为360尊神像的顺序编号，可以在下文提到各书中作相应的检索。

每堂的千字文编号	分类	尊数
天	般若祖师	10
地	秘密祖师	8
元	菩提道祖师	10
黄	大秘密佛	34
宇	诸样秘密佛	14
宙	五方佛	5
洪	三十五佛	35
荒	十方佛	10
日	六勇佛	6
月	药师佛	7
盈	诸样佛	5
昃	文殊化像菩萨	13
辰	观世音菩萨化像	20
宿	毗卢佛坛场内菩萨	16
列	诸样菩萨	7
张	保护佛母	5
寒	救度佛母	22
来	诸样佛母	44
暑	十八罗汉	18
往	诸样罗汉	7
秋	勇保护法	21
收	财宝天王	5
冬	诸样护法	38

第二，本书的作者，或者称为施主更为恰当一些，得到皇帝赏赐的一套360尊佛像的擦擦并供奉在私家佛堂中，于是请人(？)绘制图尊，并为每尊撰赞辞一首，编纂成书，这就是今天我们所见的《诸佛》一书。

第三，此书二十三堂尊神的顺序与灌顶修行的次序相同，实际上反映的就是资粮田供养(Tshogs zhing)尊神排列顺序(详见结论部分)。

序文对于本书编纂的缘起和内容作了清晰的交待，但遗留下来的问题也不少，主要有：

首先，文中提到的章嘉国师究竟是哪一世？是康熙时期的二世章嘉国师阿旺洛桑却丹(Ngag-dbang blo-bzang chos-ldan，1642-1715年)，

还是雍正乾隆时期的三世若必多吉(Rol-pa'i rdo-rje，1716-1786年)?

其次，此书的作者或者施主究竟是什么人物？他不但有幸得到皇帝的赏赐，而且还知道章嘉国师的编辑思想?

最后，也是最为重要的一点，此书究竟成书于什么时间？是否有特殊的历史背景?

在回答这些问题之前，我们先来看看，此前的学者们究竟给出了什么样的答案。

二、研究现状与存在的问题

此书的发现应归功于著名学者钢和泰的慧眼识珠。钢和泰(Baron A. von Staël-Holstein)(1877-1937年)，出身帝俄所领属的爱沙尼亚的老贵族家庭，世袭男爵，自小受到严格的教育，学过8年的拉丁文、6年的希腊文。自多尔帕特大学(Dorpat University)毕业后，到德国柏林大学(Berlin University)和弗里德里克斯大学(Vereinigte Friedrichs-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg，即今天的马丁·路德大学Martin-Luther-Universität)攻读梵文，获得语言学博士学位。回到俄国，充任外交部亚洲司印度处译员。有机会亲往印度探险学习，发表了《印度旅行记》，对玄奘法师十分崇敬。后任教于彼得格勒大学东方语文系。他一直梦想来中国，研究这里收藏丰富的藏文和蒙古文文献。1916年5月，他离开彼得格勒来到北京，给北京学术界带来极大的喜悦和轰动。经过英国驻日本大使、前香港大学校长查尔斯·埃利奥爵士(Sir Charles Eliot)的推荐，钢和泰首先找到北大文科学长胡适先生，胡适将他请到北京大学教梵文和印度古宗教史[3]。他的重要学术贡献在于通过多语文对照的方法研究佛典以及通过梵汉经咒研究中国古音韵学等方面，藏传佛教图像学研究并不是他的主项。

1928年，钢和泰在北平的一位书商那里发现了一部彩绘有360尊藏传佛教尊神的旧书，并拍摄了照片，后来此书由当时国立北平图书馆

[3] 王尧编著：《平凡而伟大的学者：于道泉》，第311－313页，河北教育出版社，2001年。有关钢和泰的生平，同时参见《读书》1997年第1期第49－54页刊出的钱文忠一篇伤感的文章：《男爵和他的幻想：纪念钢和泰》。Serge Eliseef, A Great French Sinologist, Harvard Journal of Asian Studies, vol.3, n° 1, pp.1-8, 1938.

(国家图书馆的前身)收藏。钢和泰撰文极力推崇此书[4]。他的论点可以概述如下：

1. 此书的价值：此前，德国学者潘德(Eugen Pander)刊行了被“确认”是由三世章嘉国师若必多吉编纂的图像学著作《三百佛像集》(下文简称《三百》)[5]。钢和泰强调《诸佛》是章嘉国师的第二部重要著作。《三百》是木刻本，有蒙藏合璧序文，录有尊神300尊，每尊像下注出藏文名号，背后给出藏文咒语，未见汉文名号，潘德所注汉文名号均非原书所有；《诸佛》为“世间唯一”之稿本，且以四种文字标注尊名，二书不仅所录尊神数目多寡不一，且尊神多有不同，并非是在300尊佛像之上，再加60尊凑成，故此书价值远在《三百》之上(图三)。

2. 使用功能：他发现当时的北京和欧洲各国博物院中收藏了一批乾隆年间所制的藏传佛教擦擦佛，就是依照此书的画像所造，二者特征相同：正面凸出，全身贴金，背面标出满、蒙古、汉、藏四种文字



图三　五世达赖喇嘛像及赞辞，《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》第26尊

[4] Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, Remarks on the Chu Fo P'u Sa Sheng Hsiang Tsan, pp.1-4, Bulletin of the Metropolitan Library, Vol. 1, 1928.钢和泰男爵著，于道泉译：《馆藏诸佛菩萨圣像赞跋》第5-9页，《国立北平图书馆刊》1928年第1期。

[5] Eugen Pander, Das Pantheon Des Tschangtscha Hutuktu, Berlin,1890.有关《三百佛像集》的讨论请参阅：拙编：《图像与风格：清宫藏传佛教铜造像》前言部分《藏传佛教神系的成立与完善》第12-13页，18页，注18，20，紫禁城出版社，2002年。笔者以为，《三百》很有可能不是章嘉本人所编，或是其弟子所为，章嘉仅为之作序而已。

各像名号、汉文“大清乾隆年敬造”款、千字文序号以及传统汉文数字。其中千字文用来区分尊神类别，数字表示此尊为所属类别中的第几尊。他还发现在故宫咸若馆保存有类似的完整擦擦佛数套，四千余尊，这些佛像上均无千字文号和数字，但形制与本书完全一致，而且他在北京见到做此类擦擦佛的铜模百余件，他本人也曾买到两件。

3. 对于此书的创作时间，他作了很有意思的讨论。《三百》中章嘉本人的像也列祖师像中，这说明，他在编《三百》时，“自以为功行圆满，可厕身于诸天之列”。而《诸佛》不见，“大概系年事尚轻，不敢将个人画像置诸众圣之间也。”依此可知，《诸佛》的成书当在《三百》之前。另外，他根据赞文中提到“章嘉胡图克图”名号所用的“章嘉”二字推定，二世章嘉圆寂于1714年，当时称为“张家”，此后则改用“章嘉”，可知，此书当编成于1714年之后，同时根据擦擦佛上有“大清乾隆年敬造”款，故其成书不应晚于1797年。

他的观点代表了当时学术界对《诸佛》了解的最高水平。

1928年，钢和泰应邀前往哈佛大学做访问学者时将他在中国收集的一批图像学资料交由哈佛大学图书馆作研究用。这批资料由当时著名的梵文教授克拉克(W. E. Clark)精心编辑，在钢和泰教授去世的那年(1937)陆续发表于《哈佛－燕京丛书》卷三、卷四中，1965年再版，编为合订本，是为《两种喇嘛教神系》[6]。克拉克教授对这部著作倾注了极大的心血，对当时所能见到的重要的藏传佛教图像学资料也作了十分精严的整理工作。他不仅将两部最新的图像学资料(即故宫宝相楼上786尊铜造像[7]以及《诸佛》)中所有的图片全部发表，同时根据

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[6] Walter Eugene Clark ed., Two Lamaistic Pantheons Edited with Introduction and Indexes by Walter Eugene Clark, From Materials collected by The late Baron A. Von Staël-Holstein, Paragon Book Reprint Corp. New York, 1965.

[7] 宝相楼位于紫禁城内外西路慈宁宫南花园内，是乾隆时期清宫所建八座六品佛楼之一。所谓六品佛楼，即按照藏传佛教格鲁派显密修行次第的思想，分别以般若品、功行品、德行品、瑜伽品、无上瑜伽品父续、无上瑜伽品母续六部分为主题依据各品重要的曼陀罗尊神，范铜为像，上刻汉文名号与各间品号，供奉于楼上壁龛内，每间各122尊小铜像，桌上各9尊大像，六品合计786尊。钢和泰此前获准进入宫中将宝相楼上铜造像一一拍照。有关详情敬请参阅拙作：《清宫六品佛楼模式的形成》，《故宫博物院院刊》2000年第4期第 64－79页；拙作：《龙袍与袈裟：清宫藏传佛教文化考察》(上)，第179页，紫禁城出版社，2005年。

当时的学术成果复原了相应的梵文名号，而且建立了对四部图像学资料(包括宝相楼、《诸佛》、《三百》和《五百佛像集》［下文简称《五百》］)中所有诸尊的梵、藏、汉尊神名号检索，他的著作迄今仍是这一领域最完善最方便的研究工具书。

对于《诸佛》一书，他完全重复了钢和泰的观点。但在出版时，本书的汉文序文和赞辞均略去不刊，且没有蒙古、满文尊名的检索。这是他的著作白璧微瑕之处。

印度著名的学者罗扈·毗罗(Raghu Vira，1902－1963年)于1956年曾在中国进行了3个月的考察，也拍摄了《诸佛》一书的胶片。1981年，德国满文学者哈尔穆特·瓦拉文斯(Hartmut Walravens)在《百藏丛书·印－亚文献》(Śata-Piṭaka Series Indo-Asian Literatures)第379卷中全文发表了此书的序文、赞词和满、藏、汉尊名检索[8]。

至此，《诸佛》的全貌得以完整发表，除蒙古文以外，诸尊的名号检索堪称完备，但有关此书的研究仍停留在钢和泰教授的观点上，并无进展。

21世纪对《诸佛》的研究突然出现一个小高潮。日本学者立川武藏和印度学者罗克希·昌德拉(Lokesh Chandra)先后将此图像集重新出版。

立川武藏的书名叫《佛教三百六十尊神》[9]，在《亚洲图像学丛书》第二册发表，并将小图片放大出版，以便研究者可以直接从图片上比较各尊神的图像学特征。据该书的简短前言介绍，克拉克书中的每幅图大小只有5×8厘米，而此书中将其放大到10.5×16厘米。每幅图像的汉文编号和赞辞都保留下来，但赞辞缩小，放在右下角。每位尊神给出藏文和梵文名号，书后附藏文名号索引。他的底本仍是罗扈·毗罗的胶片。

2002年，印度学者罗克希·昌德拉与美国印第安那州立大学荣誉退

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[8] Hartmut Walravens, Buddhist Literature of the Manchus: a catalogue of the Manchu holdings in the Raghu Vira Collection at the International Academy of Indian Culture, Śata-Piṭaka Series Indo-Asian Literatures Volume 379, New Delhi: The Academy, 1981.

[9] Musashi Tachikawa, Masahide Mori, Shinobu Yamaguchi, Three hundred and sixty Buddhist deities,Asian Iconography Series-II, Delhi: Adroit Publishers, 2001.

休教授邦斯(Fredrick W. Bunce)合作出版了《西藏之佛、菩萨及其他诸尊图像学：唯一的神系》[10]。

尽管昌德拉对《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》书名的英译出现了明显的错误[11]，但他的其他观点还是很值得介绍的。克拉克教授曾认为慈宁花园中的宝相楼铜佛供奉与乾隆帝的母亲孝圣宪皇太后(1692–1777年)有关，他对此观点作了延伸，认为此书应是这位皇太后70大寿期间所编，即1761年，但并没有指出文献依据。他还第一次提到，此书是1955年其父亲罗扈·毗罗教授从中国北京图书馆拍摄的一套缩微胶片。所以，印度所藏与克拉克所刊为同一底本，前者是胶片，后者是照片，由于时代和技术的不同，后者远较前者清晰。在此次出版中，他们利用胶片和电脑处理技术，将图片放大并作了修补，增加了画面的清晰度。昌德拉推测此书的绘制人明显是一位汉族艺术家，很可能是当时著名的艺术家丁观鹏。实际上这也只是一个想象出来的结论，没有丝毫的证据，他甚至连二者之间艺术风格的比较也没有做。他还特别对顰眉佛母(256)的图像学特征与印度佛教文献及实际造像之间的不同作了比较，指出章嘉国师显然依据了众多西藏资料，根据他的文集也许能找到一些线索。

在导论部分，邦斯教授作了更为细致，甚至有点繁琐的研究。

首先，他对克拉克将此书定义为独一无二的“稿本”(manuscript)表示异议。他认为这种措词是不准确的，因为此书既不是手写本(handwriting)，也不是插图(illustration)，不能称为真正意义上的手写本。

他从照片上发现，在每幅图像的宽边内侧及尊神之间有一条时断时续的细线边框，证明这是一个木刻刊本。但从尊神的莲座、部分衣褶和一些山水构图中都发现有明暗变化，增加了画面的立体效果，这是雕版印刷所达不到的，更像是绘本，显然二种情况存在一些矛盾。

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[10] Lokesh Chandra & Fredrick W. Bunce, The Tibetan Iconography of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and other Deities: a Unique Pantheon, New Delhi : D.K. Printworld, 2002.

[11] 他在前言中将书名译为：Eulogies and figures of all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and holy ones，汉意为“一切佛、菩萨及尊神之像与赞”，实际上根据汉语书名本意应译为：Eulogies of holy figures of Various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas。



图四　一勇威罗瓦金刚像及赞辞，《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》第46尊

他对此的解释是，可能是印刷之后再添色形成的效果，或者是复版(multiple block)印刷形成的(图四)。

他指出，此书的唯一性表现在四个方面：1.大量的尊神并未见于其他已有的神系中，如《三百》和《五百》等；2.尊神形象有一些不同寻常的民族特点；3.偏爱寂静尊神；4.采用了各种山水背景。他依此四点展开如下论述：

首先，他将此书与其他同时代的图像学资料(如《三百》、《五百》和宝相楼的铜造像)作了详尽的比较，认为其中很多尊神是唯一出现在此书中，说明此书有特别的图像学资料来源，也许其原始资料不为人所知，或未能保存下来。

其次，此书的绘画技法有很浓重的汉地因素，如莲座形式、山水背景及其表现方式，尤其是身体比例和眼、手、足等细部的描绘，第四十八尊喜金刚手持如意法作为法器以及龙的形象等都具有明显的汉风。

再者，经过对各图像学资料的统计比对后，他发现此书中寂静尊神的比例与《三百》最为接近。由于后者在西方学者中多认为是三世章嘉的作品，所以此书有可能是他的另一部作品。

最后一点，各种背景的处理经过了艺术家的精心安排，并遵循

了许多的传统和法则。例如，忿怒尊神背后有火焰纹装饰，或者全是火焰纹；花、果和叶等图案见于重要的诸佛、菩萨等的头光和背光周围，而且对称排列。特别是，在祖师像和罗汉像的背后有山水画背景，更是其他图像学资料中所仅见。他还根据尊神身体细节表现的细微差别，断定刻工不止一人。

由于此次再版时，将尊神图像、赞文一同刊出，而且还附有每位尊神四种文字和梵文名号的转写及其图像学特征的说明，所以邦斯对于每位尊神的图像学特征有更为精细的研究。他指出，由于胶片上的图片很小，一些尊神所持法器无法识别，另有一些法器形式完全不见记载。虽然这种情况并不多，但却是图像学研究的问题所在，有待更多的比较和研究。

邦斯还对电脑处理画面清晰度的原则作了特别说明，即，将画面有污迹、霉迹、灰尘、划痕等和不清晰的地方加以处理，使画面更加干净，但对于原画面的线条均未作任何变动，以保持其原貌。

总之，此为是目前对《诸佛》研究最为深入的一本书。其中每张图经过电子处理后，更加清晰，图像学特征更易识别，而且还有详尽的图像学特征的描述，足见编者所下的苦功。虽然有些图片放大以后画面有点模糊，另外，每幅尊神画框左下角的千字文编号也被人为删去，十分可惜；此外，还有一些小的瑕疵，比如图174与175的赞文位置互相错乱，但总的看来无伤全书的成功。

以上诸学者的努力，对《诸佛》研究的进一步开展打下了良好的基础。但是由于此研究时间跨度较长，且几乎所有的研究人员均不谙汉语，钢和泰以后的学者对于保存在中国国家图书馆的原书都未作参考，甚至只字不提，造成本来很清楚的刊本或绘本的问题至今仍争执不休，至于《诸佛》与宫廷的关系、与三世章嘉的关系以及绘画的背景更是臆测多于事实。所以对以上所有的研究均有重新检讨和澄清的必要。

综合以上诸位学者的研究，可以发现，既有进展也存在问题：

1. 关于作者与时代：序文中提到的章嘉胡图克图是指三世章嘉若必多吉的观点已经得到了一致认可。《诸佛》的成书年代在乾隆时期也是毋庸置疑。钢和泰认定此书的编纂应早于《三百》，但是，目前

学术界所认定的《三百》的编纂年代跨度很大[12]。他的观点，对于我们确认《诸佛》的编纂年代并无帮助。此外，几乎所有的学者都把本书的编者(施主)，即序文的作者冷落一旁，置之不理，这是一个明显的失误。

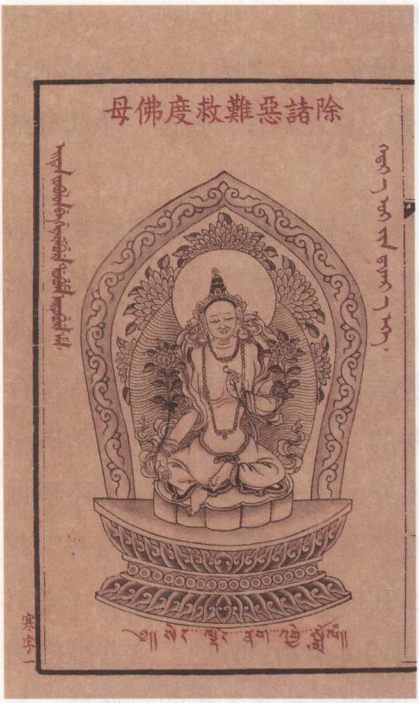
2. 《诸佛》成书的背景。钢和泰认为乾隆时期一批擦擦是按照此书做成的。这个提法是有问题的，序文明确指出，《诸佛》是根据完整的360尊擦擦佛绘画的，而不是相反。所以此书并不是这些擦擦的底本，章嘉若必多吉所编的才是原始底本，可惜他的底本并没有保存下来。不过，钢和泰的观点却是很重要的，但一直未受到其他学者应有的重视。至于乾隆为什么会突然提出要编这么一本书，同时还根据它做成铜佛模，称作擦擦佛，一直没有答案。昌德拉将此书与慈宁花园咸若馆和乾隆母亲的生日相联系是没有根据的。据清内务府《奏销档》记载，乾隆三十七年(1772年)咸若馆内部重新装修时，这些擦擦佛才供奉在此[13]，而这只是整个慈宁花园修建和装修工程的一部分，与乾隆帝的母亲孝圣宪皇太后的生日并没有关系。

3. 手绘本还是刊本。笔者相信，钢和泰本人当年见到《诸佛》并拍摄照片时绝不会想到时至今日学者们居然在此书究竟是刊本还是绘本的问题上引起争论。所幸中国国家图书馆还保存了当年钢和泰教授所见到的《诸佛》原书，稍加翻阅这个问题就可以迎刃而解。

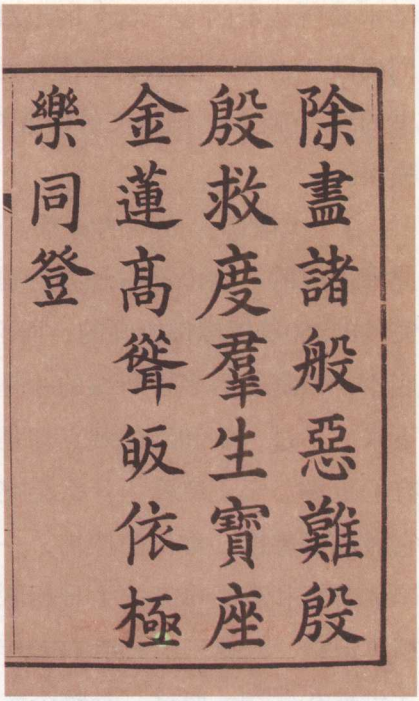
从国图本可以清晰地看出，所有的尊神像包括背景装饰和头光、背光、莲座等部分的晕染全是手绘。以大迦叶(第290尊)为例，其背光中绘山岩和云彩，座面以淡墨绘。再以阿难(第291尊)为例，其身后绘莲花。有的还以汉地山水、古树、怪石作背景(如第272尊迦里迦尊者

[12] 最近，美国柏克利大学(Berkeley University)的教授白瑞霞女士(P. Berger)在她的著作《空灵的帝国》(The Empire of Emptiness, Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China, p.115, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 2003)对此进行了专门研究，她根据该集中收录了六世班禅像(1738－1780年)和七世达赖像(1708－1757年)，根据二者的生卒年可知，此文集不会早于1738年，不会晚于1757年。也就是说此集应编成并刊行于乾隆三年至二十二年间，也就是章嘉国师22岁至41岁间，是他精力最旺盛、最多产的年龄，《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》也成书于此期间，实不为怪。参阅：拙作：《龙袍与袈裟：清宫藏传佛教文化考察》(上)，第60页。

[13] 中国第一历史档案馆藏：《奏销档》胶片98，第310册，第8－10页，乾隆三十七年三月初六日。



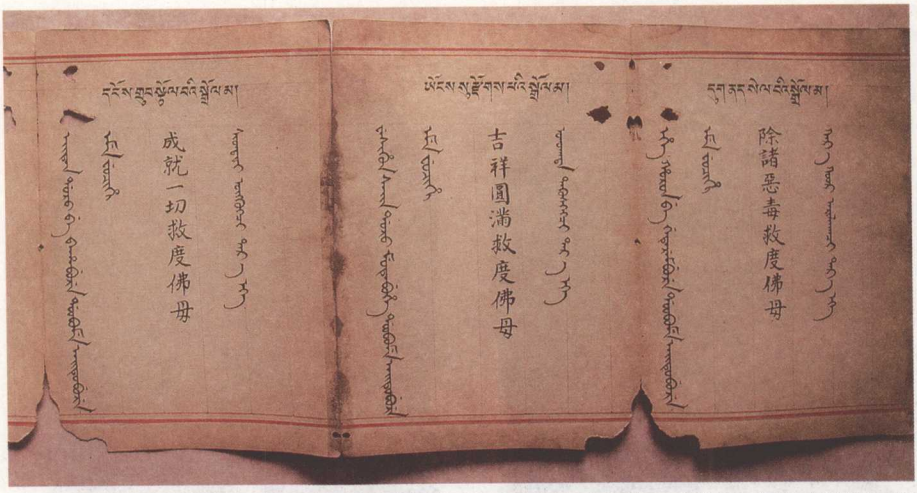
图五　除诸恶难救度佛母像，《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》第227尊



图六　除诸恶难救度佛母赞辞，《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》第227尊

和第288尊达摩多罗等)，本尊和护法多以火焰纹为背景。笔者认为，仅从诸尊形象、背景装饰图案，明暗、深浅效果的晕染法以及线条表现来看，此书很可能是汉族画师绘画，而且显然不止一位画师，而是由多位画师共同完成的(图五、六)。

邦斯提出在粗线框的内侧四边有一条细线边框，是刊印的痕迹，确是事实。原书中每个页面均有刊印的边框，印框是一细线，框面尺寸纵23.2厘米，横14.2厘米，所有的尊神就是画在画框内的，同时又在细线画框外用墨线画了一道粗线框。所有人物、背景装饰、莲座均是用浓淡墨色绘画，从而形成了明显的立体效果，这在中国绘画中是很常见的技法，不足为奇。邦斯的观察不可谓不细，但其结论却是错误的，他所提出的种种疑问、解释都是错误的，或者说是毫无必要的。钢和泰明白无误地指明这是绘本，克拉克显然是知道这个信息的，所以接受了这种说法，邦斯只是从照片入手，疑问自然产生了。此书藏于中国国家图书馆，而且可以很轻易查找到书名和书目，他却说无缘得见原本，可见，汉语的障碍，对其研究产生了很大的影响。



图七　故宫新发现《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》诸尊名号“摺子”一部分：“成就一切救度佛母”(第225尊)、“吉祥圆满救度佛母”(第226尊)和“除诸恶难救度佛母”(第227尊)名号

三、清宫档案所证《诸佛》的成书时代与编者

在中国第一历史档案馆所藏《造办处活计档》中保留了一批重要的档案资料，涉及《诸佛》成书以及流传的内容(见文后附录：档案摘录)，现据此概述如下。

乾隆十四年四月十一日(1749年5月26日)，宫中造办处收到满文字画佛像折子一件，上面绘有佛像360尊，并奉旨立即照此画像铸铜佛模。根据此360尊之数，可以肯定，此折子必是《诸佛》最初的绘本无疑，且设计之初即是为铸铜佛模之用，诸尊唯注满文名号。档案记载，到乾隆十五年十二月十一日当这批铜佛模子铸造出来后，奉旨背后刻四种文字、“大清乾隆年敬造”款，并编千字文号[14]。至此，所有的尊神名号改为四种文字，《诸佛》一书的轮廓基本形成。故宫新近从中正殿火场残留物中发现了一些写着四种文字尊神名号(没有绘画)的“摺子”，两面墨书，共包括《诸佛》中185尊的名号[15]，双面书写

[14] 中国第一历史档案馆藏：《造办处活计档》胶片91,档案号3423－3427(见文后档案摘录第1条)。

[15] 包括般若祖师3尊，秘密祖师3尊，诸样秘密佛4尊，五方佛5尊，三十五佛34尊；十方佛10尊；六勇佛6尊；药师佛4尊；文殊化像菩萨4尊；观世音菩萨化像20尊、毗卢佛坛场内菩萨13尊、诸样菩萨8尊、保护佛母3尊、救度佛母7尊、诸样佛母15尊。



图八　故宫咸若馆保存的《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》擦擦佛第206尊“除诸恶难救度佛母”正面



图九　故宫咸若馆保存的《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》擦擦佛第206尊“除诸恶难救度佛母”背面

(图七)。经比较后发现与《诸佛》诸尊的排列顺序基本一致[16]，虽没有千字文号，但基本可以肯定，就是当时清宫为擦擦佛模子添加四种文字而存留的底本，应在乾隆十五年完成。

所谓佛模即钢和泰所提到的做擦擦的铜模。造办处做的佛模分为铜镀金阳模和阴模，各360尊。阳模即尊神形象凸出，仅能作为供奉用；阴模则尊神形象凹进，用于模印泥擦擦。佛模背板上刻满、蒙古、汉、藏四体字尊神名号，下方刻“大清乾隆年制”款，并在阴阳模内膛刻千字文号。这批阴阳双模于乾隆二十二年十一月初十日(1757

[16] 但二者之间有一些不同：最明显的一点是在诸样菩萨中有一位“广大智慧菩萨”，藏文作Byang chub sems dpav blo gros cher rgyas，档案中他排列在“除诸障菩萨”(199)和“骑象普贤菩萨”(200)之间，未见《诸佛》中。另外，在汉文名号中有一些错别字，如将三十五佛中的“金刚不坏佛”(83)写成“金刚不动佛”，“无忧德佛”(102)写成“无量德佛”等。藏文名号差异较大，《诸佛》书中藏文名词多用行书中常见的合写形式，且名号多用全称，后面常带礼敬语“la na mo”等，而档案中，藏文多正规书写，不用合写形式，名号常用简称，或省略Byang chub sems dpav或省略Sangs rgyas等，不带礼敬语。各种文字的排列也不同，《诸佛》中左右排列满蒙文，上下排列汉藏文。档案中，上面排列藏文，下面左中右排列满、汉、蒙古三种文字。诸样佛母中“诸相佛母”(238)、“二臂一髻佛母(239)”、“四臂准提佛母”(240)、“广臂准提佛母”(241)和“十臂积光佛母”(242)五尊缺藏文名，稿本特点比较明显。这些差异说明当时的稿本与实际铸造擦擦佛模子时又有差别，并经过了反复修改。

年12月20日)最后完成[17]。

二十年十二月二十七日(1756年1月28日)在佛模镀金完成后，呈进时，乾隆帝下旨将其中阴佛模交给庄亲王，长期存放在中正殿(即后来的淡远楼)中。阳佛模则配做紫檀木三层八方出廊楼式塔龛一座，“塔龛通高一丈四尺，径六尺”，每一层供120尊，每一尊安一玻璃欢门供奉。但在二十一年八月初七日做完之后，乾隆帝又改变主意，将此塔改供它处，而阳佛模似乎也没有供在里面[18]。据二十三年正月十二日(1758年2月19日)的一份档案记载，这些铜佛最初改在慧曜楼西墙的格子龛内供奉，最后仍供在紫檀木塔中，地点可能还是在万寿山无量殿内[19]。尽管档案中对最终的供奉地点的记载十分含糊，但像这样大的紫檀木塔恐怕很难有别的地方适合供奉。

庄亲王可能负有专为宫中造擦擦之责。据记载，他曾造细泥擦擦佛两套，分别供奉在慧曜楼东西墙的格子龛内，而且所做的泥擦擦佛有贴金与不贴金之分[20]。

结合整个乾隆时期《活计档》的资料来看，在乾隆十四年或更早，宫中已经确定要做一套包括大部分重要藏传佛教尊神的擦擦佛铜模，故有画佛像折子的出现。档案中并没有明确提到作者，根据《诸佛》的序文，我们知道此人就是三世章嘉若必多吉。但佛模在二十二年完成以后却并没有大规模使用。其阳佛模不适于造佛之用，仅作为法物供在万寿山无量殿紫檀木塔内；阴佛模则赐给庄亲王允禄，命他做了两套细泥擦擦，供在当时新建成的第一座六品佛楼慧曜楼内。另外，在乾隆二十二年正月初六日的档案中提到，在赏赐给达赖喇嘛和班禅额尔德尼的物品中各有印子佛一套360尊[21]。印子佛即泥擦擦。可见当时宫中使用这套模子造像至少有4套。此后，这套擦擦佛还在不停地印作。最近故宫正在对封存的咸若馆文物进行整理，从现在的结果来看，咸若馆曾经供奉了12套完整的360尊擦擦，总数达4320尊(图八、九)。这与当年钢和泰所见

[17] 中国第一历史档案馆藏：《造办处活计档》胶片91，档案号3423－3427(见文后档案摘录第1条)。
[18] 中国第一历史档案馆藏：《造办处活计档》胶片100，档案号3469(见文后档案摘录第2条)。
[19] 中国第一历史档案馆藏：《造办处活计档》胶片104，档案号3497(见文后档案摘录第3条)。
[20] 中国第一历史档案馆藏：《造办处活计档》胶片104，档案号3497(见文后档案摘录第3条)。
[21] 中国第一历史档案馆藏：《造办处活计档》胶片102，档案号3487。

完全一致。现在只有一套是完整无缺的，其余各套都有残缺。在各国博物院所藏《诸佛》的泥擦擦数量也不少，但360尊完整无缺的仅见美国纽约的自然史博物馆(American Museum of Natural History)收藏[22]。

那么，绘写本《诸佛》的作者又是谁呢？

正如序言作者所说："仰荷皇上之恩赐，又得我佛之垂慈，故将诸佛绘成图像，每尊敬系以赞，以期志虔诚于无替云尔。"显然《诸佛》实是由序文作者(即受赐人)请人照泥擦擦绘成(或者作者自绘？)，并非宫中所藏旧本，其赞辞也是新补充的，清宫绘本应当没有。

至于此序文作者的身份，从文中口气判断，决非一般人物，而是与乾隆帝关系极为密切的人物。如果我们把档案中将阴佛模赐给庄亲王的记载与此序文联系起来考虑，我们就可以断定庄亲王即是序文的作者。

庄亲王允禄(1694–1767年)的事迹记载不多，也十分简略。他是康熙帝的第十六子，因裕亲王死后无嗣，雍正元年(1722)过继为子，袭爵位，历时康雍乾三朝，事迹并不显赫。他的学问颇负盛名，曾经承康熙帝面授《音韵阐微》，对音韵学有相当的了解；与雍正帝关系至密，是雍正帝修禅的重要成员之一，法号爱月居士，对佛教造像的造诣颇深；乾隆时期他一度主管内务府事务，作为一个虔诚的佛教信徒，宫廷中很多的藏传佛教建设均与他有密切的关系，十三至十五年(1748–1750年)，主持编纂《同文韵统》，二十三至三十二年(1758–1767年)，主持编纂《大藏全咒》一书。三十二年卒[23]。

如果这种推测成立的话，则现在所见的《诸佛》的绘本应在二十年十二月庄亲王受赐铜模，开始负责承造泥擦擦之后，很有可能在二十一年或稍晚。

现将上述的结论整理如下：乾隆十四年由章嘉国师初次编定了一个藏传佛教的图像集，仅用满文注明尊神名号，用于铜佛模铸造；次

[22] 美国自然史博物馆和其它一些博物馆也有零散收藏。借此，笔者对于美国自然史博物馆的Laila Williamson女士表示诚挚的感谢。她不仅帮助允许让我在网上检索藏品目录，而且还一直陪同我在他们的藏品库内让我看到他们宝贵的清代藏传佛教藏品。令人惊讶的是，该馆保存了这套完整的360件泥擦擦佛。

[23] 《清史稿》第30册，第9049－9050页，中华书局标点本。冯尔康：《雍正传》，人民文学出版社，1985年。《御选语录》卷19。《永宪录续编》第358页。

年，做铜佛模时改用满、蒙古、藏、汉四体文字注诸尊名号。从十四年至二十二年间宫中造办处铸造完成阴阳佛模各一套，阳佛模供于皇家佛堂中，乾隆帝将阴佛模和360尊擦擦一套赐给庄亲王。庄亲王请人将其绘编成册，这就是我们今天所见到的《诸佛》。

从莲花台座的画法和背光中云纹、火焰纹和花蔓等装饰纹饰的效果来看，明显带有擦擦造像的特点，这是以往研究所明显忽视的。这一点证实了序文的记载，即这批插图是以擦擦为原本描绘的，而不是以某画本为底本的摹本。由于擦擦体量较小，所以绘者采取了俯视的角度，而《三百》、《五百》等则采取了平视的角度，二者的不同显然是由于依据的绘画对象不同造成的。尤其是其一成不变的半月形莲花台座，弯钩形的莲花瓣图案以及腹部的连珠纹，均与擦擦佛造型一样。

最后我们还是要谈到《诸佛》的立意问题。360是一个很不寻常的数字。在中国古代的观念中，它是一个很具体的数字，与通常说整数(如300、350等)不同，也不是传统的吉祥数字。因此，它必有所指。在亚洲的两大文明古国古印度和古代中国都把一年定为360天，又以月亮的圆缺变化为依据，把一个月定为30天，一年12个月(有时加上闰月，但仍称为12个月)，以此编制历法。而12(个月) × 30(每月天数) = 360天(一年的天数)，这个数字正好是《诸佛》的总尊数。在慈宁花园咸若馆中，我们看到，东西两边三面墙上共安装了12个供擦擦的佛架，每个佛架十二层，每层供十五尊。每两个佛架正好供完一套360尊。两壁加起来正好十二套，而十二也正好是一年的月份数。我们可以作这样的推测：《诸佛》的360尊之数是乾隆帝钦定的，以示一年12个月所含总的天数，咸若馆的供奉设计正好说明了这一点，暗示对于佛像的永久供奉之义。

四、《诸佛》对研究乾隆时期宫廷藏传佛教图像学的意义

本书所采用的底本是国家图书馆的原绘本，图像清晰，文字清楚，特征准确，这是此前所有各本所无法比肩的。基本可以避免以前由于照片的模糊不清，给学者们带来使用和研究的不便和误导，对于学术研究和普通读者都有很大的帮助。

无论是《三百》还是《诸佛》，其分类模式都与资粮田唐卡中所表现的尊神排列顺序一致，反映出藏传佛教神系的基本框架。《三百》将尊神分成七大类，即上师(包括：印度祖师、西藏祖师和大成就者)、本尊、佛类、菩萨、声闻缘觉(罗汉)、勇士空行母和护法。这种分类与《诸佛》二十三堂相比粗略得多。《诸佛》是目前所见到的汉文资料中对于藏传佛教尊神分类最为完善和详细的著作。除了遵循资粮田尊神排列模式之外，《诸佛》还专门有“文殊化像菩萨”、“观世音菩萨化像”、“毗卢佛坛场内菩萨”等类，将单尊神与同类组神、曼陀罗中组合神等结合起来，很有创意，内容也更为丰富。再者，《诸佛》中很多尊神的汉文名号与当时传统的汉文名号出入很大，明显都进行了重新翻译，而这些名号在清宫的唐卡、造像和各种题记中均可以见到并被普遍使用。最明显的是大黑天被译为勇保护法，这是只在宫廷使用的名号，另外很多名号的翻译更加文雅，组神的名号长短一致，音律流畅，如二十一度母等，显然针对了汉文阅读者。这个图像集画面清晰，做工精细，对宫廷佛教造像的研究最为便利，直接反映了章嘉国师本人的图像学与神系思想。虽然这个图像集的尊神不如《五百》收录的全备，但是这毕竟是第一部带汉文名号的藏传佛教图像集。《三百》、《五百》显然为懂藏文的蒙古族喇嘛所编；《诸佛》却是宫中独家使用的图像学著作。

但是这一个图像集的影响也不宜过分夸大。正如档案所记载的，从它绘画成册，至做成阴阳佛模，真正用于做泥擦擦的次数很少，基本上用于供奉。这一点削弱了它本应发挥的影响。具体说，其图像并没有作为宫中唐卡或造像的粉本，只是造擦擦的模式而已；但诸尊四体名号以及图像学特征成为清宫造像绘画的轨范应是可以肯定的[24][**]。

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[24] P. Berger, The Empire of Emptiness, Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China, pp.110-113, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2003

[**] 《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》为我社推出的《藏传佛教图像学丛书》的第一种。为了让读者比较详尽地了解该作品的创作时代、背景、督造者，以及问世以来的研究状况，我们特请故宫博物院的研究人员罗文华先生撰写了导读，并作了梵文、藏文、蒙古文和汉文的检索。同时还特别将导读和目录翻译为英文，以方便更多的读者。另，在征得国家图书馆同意后，我们还将影印的佛菩萨圣像里的汉文尊名全部调整为从左向右的顺序，并将赞词改为简体字，以适应现代读者的阅读习惯。特此说明。
读者如果要了解乾隆时期成书的《诸佛菩萨圣像赞》版本的原貌，请关注也是由我社推出的全图影印本。此版本也附有由罗文华先生所撰写的导读(含英译文)及梵、藏、蒙古、汉四种文字检索。 ——编注

附：《造办处活计档》摘录

1．乾隆十四年四月十一日杂活作司库白世秀来说，太监胡世杰交满洲字画佛像折子一件上画佛像三百六十尊，传旨：着做铜模子。钦此。

于七月初五日司库白世秀将做得阴阳做法佛模子二件持进，交太监胡世杰呈览，奉旨：照样准做，先做阳的。钦此。

于本年七月十三日员外郎白世秀、司库达子将做得悬胳膊铜佛模子一件、实板铜佛模子一件拨得蜡，有座子的佛模样子一尊，悬胳膊佛模子共三百六十尊，共约估银六千五百余两；实板佛模子共三百六十尊，共约估银八千三百余两，缮写折片二件持进，交太监胡世杰呈览。奉旨：准照悬胳膊佛模子一样做。其印佛六(？)面像贞处(此处疑有错字，文意不通——引者注)照实板佛一样做，其座子照拨得蜡样须泥座一样做，其于束腰上着刻乾隆年敬造，系何佛名即刻何佛名，其边线空处着添花纹，先拨样呈览。钦此。

于十五年十一月初三日员外郎白世秀、司库达子将做得铜阴佛模三尊，铜阳台撒佛模三尊持进，交太监胡世杰呈览。奉旨：阴阳佛模子俱做得甚好，照样准做。铜阳台撒佛模做得时镀金。钦此。

于十二月十一日员外郎白世秀、司库达子将做得阴阳佛模子持进，交太监胡世杰呈览，奉旨：阴佛模子上不必刻佛名，束腰上亦不必刻乾隆年敬造，背后做四样字，印子编千字文字号，其阴阳模子并印子，要一个号数。再阳模子蜡样不准外雇，着喇嘛拨蜡样，赏给饭食。钦此。

于十六年十二月初三日七品首领萨木哈将做得佛模子，铜背板上凿得四样字持进，交太监胡世杰呈览。奉旨：准做四样字，底下添边线，内凿大清乾隆年制，字号准在背后刻；其阴佛模子背后亦刻字号，底下刻大清乾隆年制，俟得时，着章嘉胡涂克图看次序，将佛排在文字号内。钦此。

于十六年十二月初四日七品首领萨木哈将做得阴阳佛模子上贴得千字文字号并大清乾隆年制款样持进，交太监胡世杰呈览。奉旨：准着戴临写。钦此。

于二十年十一月二十六日员外郎白世秀将做得铜佛模背上贴天字一号至十号样，并每尊镀金用金四分八厘五毫约估单一件持进，交首领张玉、太监胡世杰呈览。奉旨：准其镀金，俱不必刻字号二字，阴佛模着在里面墙上刻天一至天十字样背板，切在背后刻，其余佛模俱按此样刻做。钦此。

于二十年十二月初十日员外郎白世秀将铜镀金阳佛模子十尊持进，交太监胡世杰呈览。奉旨：着装脏，其脸像不必泥金染发。钦此。

于二十二年十一月初十日将做得阴阳佛模子七百二十尊呈进讫。(胶片91，档案号3425)

2．乾隆二十年十二月二十七日广木作员外郎白世秀将做得镀金阳佛模三百六十尊、阴佛模三百六十尊，随节活安在养心殿呈览。太监胡世杰传旨：将阴佛模三百六十尊交庄亲王，其阳佛模三百六十尊配做三层塔一座，每一层供一百二十尊，每一尊安一玻璃欢门，先做样呈览。钦此。

于乾隆二十一年正月初四日造佛处笔帖式老格、德格领去阴阳佛模三百六十尊。

于乾隆二十一年正月二十五日员外郎金辉、白世秀将画得三层塔龛纸样大小三张持进，交太监胡世杰呈览。奉旨：准照八方龛纸样另做大样呈览。钦此。

于乾隆二十一年二月十二日员外郎金辉、白世秀将做得杉木八方龛样一件持进，安在奉三无私呈览。奉旨：照样准做紫檀木的。钦此。

于乾隆二十一年四月初十日和硕果亲王臣等谨奏，为奏闻事。遵旨：成造紫檀木四层八方出廊塔龛一座，臣等派员踏勘得塔龛通高一丈四尺，径六尺，下层须弥座雕巴达马；束腰安铃杵、梭花、岔角、抱角牙、火焰三宝珠、聚宝盆；番字汉纹夔龙式栏杆、挂面板、流云宋龙欢门；巴达马佛座上层安重昂斗料(科)、垫拱板、大脊、瓦片、滴水、猫儿头；内里楠木天花。随红铜镀金吻兽、狮、马、瓦片、欢门、璎珞等项，共约用雕銮、锯木、錾花等匠一万八千四百七十一工，用银二千八百四十四两五钱三分四厘，买办鱼鳔、黄蜡等项物料用银三十三两四钱二分一厘二，共物料工价银二千八百七十七两九钱五分五厘，镀金叶十一两三钱六分一厘，并用铜、锡、木植等项另缮细数清单一并恭呈御览，缮折持进，交首领张玉、太监胡世杰转奏。奉旨：知道了。钦此。

于乾隆二十一年五月初二日员外郎金辉、白世秀将插得八方塔龛杉木小样一座持进，安在奉三无私呈览，奉旨：照样准做。钦此。

于乾隆二十一年八月初七日委署总管内务府大臣吉庆面奏，现做紫檀木大塔完竣，奉旨：将此塔于本月初十日安在养心殿呈览，俟呈览后配一石座，在万寿山无量殿内安供。钦此。

于八月十一日郎中白世秀、员外郎金辉将做得紫檀木大塔一座呈览，奉旨：着交三和另看地方安。钦此。(胶片100，档案号3469)

3．乾隆二十三年正月记事录十二日员外郎金辉来说，太监胡世杰传旨：将三十五佛模并阴阳佛模送进呈览。钦此。

于本日员外郎金辉将紫檀木八方塔内铜镀金阳佛模二十一尊，中正殿收贮之阴佛模八尊持进交太监胡世杰呈览。奉旨：将铜镀金阳佛模三百六十尊会同三和在慧曜楼西墙格子内供，其换下之泥擦擦佛交三和应供之处供奉。再着庄亲王将细泥擦擦佛印造二分，不必贴金，得时，交造办处画芸香露，一分在慧曜楼东墙格子内供，一分在紫檀木八方塔内供。钦此。(中略)

于本月十四日郎中白世秀、员外郎金辉将紫檀木八方塔内铜镀金阳佛模并泥擦擦佛持进，交太监胡世杰呈览。奉旨：将铜镀金阳佛模仍供在紫檀木八方塔龛内，其庄亲王印造泥擦擦佛二分不必贴金，得时，交造办处画芸香露，在慧曜楼东西墙格子内供，其换下贴金擦擦佛着交三和，有应供之处供。钦此。

于三月初七日接得员外郎达子押帖一件，内开，为三月初二日太监胡世杰传旨：将擦擦佛仍交中正殿着喇嘛画颜色，得时，珐琅处再上芸香露。钦此。(胶片104，档案号3497)

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三百六十尊佛像赞

粤稽三百六十尊佛像。乃我皇上德契金容，极晨昏之斋肃；心周贝叶，溯宝相之庄严。爰命章嘉胡图克图捡藏经中诸佛宝号永宜供奉者，排集尊次，编列字号。天字号般若祖师十尊；地字号秘密祖师八尊；元字号菩提道祖师十尊；黄字号大秘密佛三十四尊；宇字号诸样秘密佛十四尊；宙字号五方佛五尊；洪字号三十五佛三十五尊；荒字号十方佛十尊；日字号六勇佛六尊；月字号药师佛七尊；盈字号诸样佛五尊；昃字号文殊化像菩萨十三尊；辰字号观世音菩萨化像二十尊；宿字号毗卢佛坛场内菩萨十六尊；列字号诸样菩萨七尊；张字号保护佛母五尊；寒字号救度佛母二十二尊；来字号诸样佛母四十四尊；暑字号十八罗汉十八尊；往字号诸样

罗汉七尊；秋字号勇保护法二十一尊；收字号财宝天王五尊；冬字号诸样护法三十八尊。共三百六十尊，成二十三堂，朝夕崇祀，功德之大，直括龙藏全备之义。荷蒙眷注，亲承赏赐，祇拜之下，瞻净土为胎，宛聚沙成佛。举小见大，不盈尺而参丈六金身。斗室之中，俨觐灵山千亿。其排序成堂，由祖师而次及金刚、秘密诸佛、菩萨、天行佛母、罗汉尊者、护法天王等像，乃参悟灌念之后先，又升堂入室之阶级也。猗欤，盛哉！惟祈诸佛慈灵佑予合家康泰，仰荷皇上之恩赐，又得我佛之垂慈，故将诸佛绘成图像，每尊敬系以赞，以期志虔诚于无替云尔。



宝号妙称龙树，人天万象皈依。
端坐莲台默默，心心大发慈悲。



自是西方大觉，慧根六尘俱脱。
看破五蕴皆空，祖师一毫无着。



瞻仰金容蔼吉，佛门功德无边。
成就梵王妙果，当号祖师圣天。



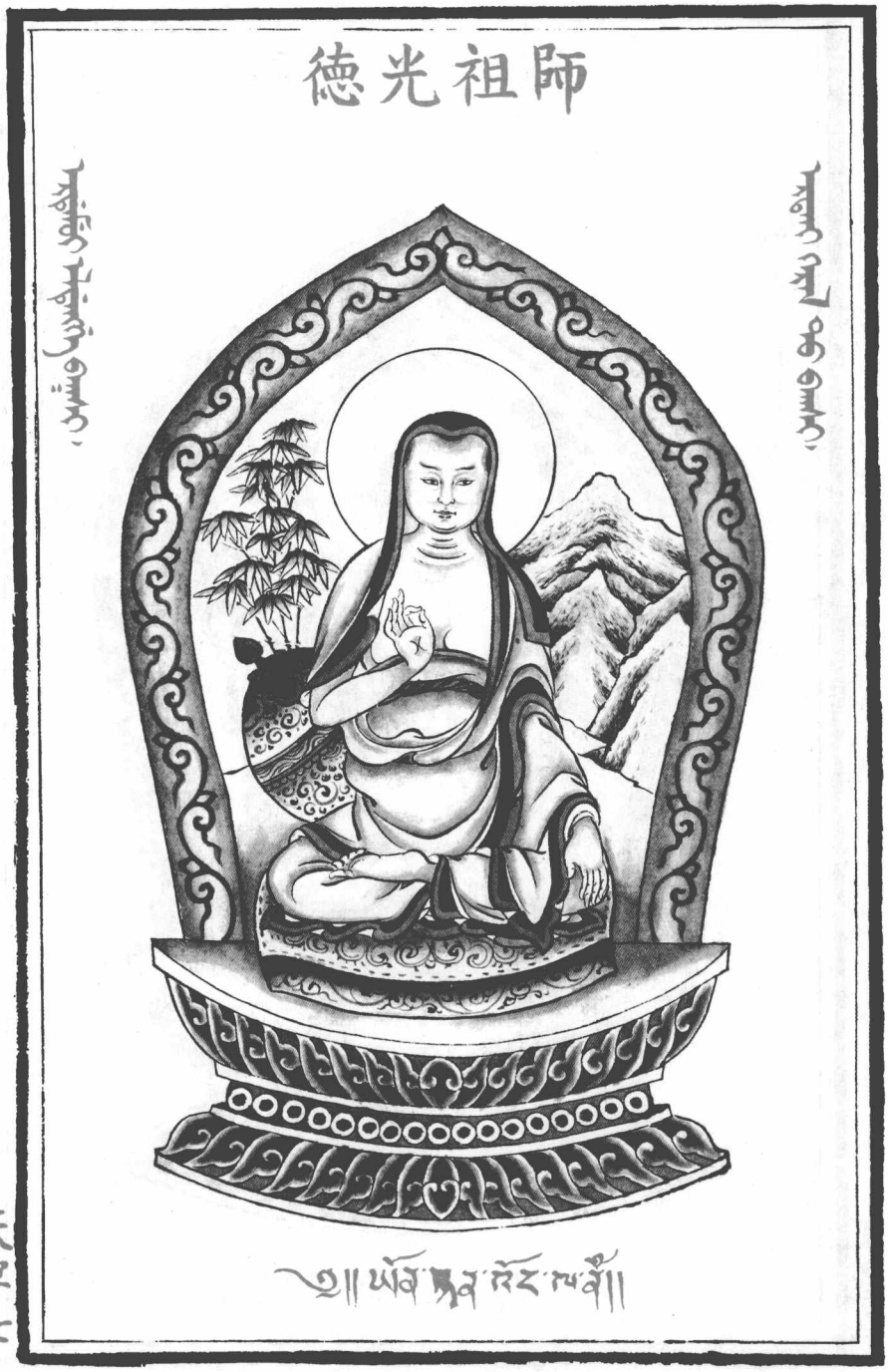
默捧金经一卷，慈恩不可思议。
瞻礼田亲祖师，愿授如来妙谛。



顶礼祖师明象，法界慧灯朗朗。
现此妙光无两，万代众生景仰。



静里海潮音泛，祖师宝号法声。
仗此无声梵呗，慈悲好度众生。



跏趺证果西方，念念不舍法王。
佛恩万劫难忘，祖师阐发德光。



天字八

湛然独坐宝床，慧眼遍观十方。
传布释迦之光，祖师妙道无疆。



端然湛湛如如，慧眼大开青目。
祖师无尽宏慈，亿兆受兹遐福。



默持佛印端然，千秋宝相留传。
共尊祖师善天，宏仁普被大千。



凛须眉慑恶魔，拈一矢妙用多。
宝罐里贮金波，度众生乐安和。



祖师金身无垢，持得蛇儿在手。
却是把来入口，试他有毒没有。



问宝号甘扎巴，祖师位实堪夸。
持铃杵退魔邪，使观者敬畏加。



祖师钵中何有，可是非空即色。
若能空色两忘，方知钵中消息。



露体一丝不挂，本来面目可睹。
若非行满功圆，焉得成佛作祖。



座下调伏山君，祖师庄严妙相。
手中法宝长持，济度永无尽藏。



庄严也自寻常，自具慧心大德。
昂然须发垂垂，端居不动声色。



赤着身无一丝，深意存知者寡。
那罗巴祖师号，佛门中大器也。



手内作何佛印，塔中舍利有否。
要问祖师端的，不过点头摇首。



祖师法像年少，端坐拈花微笑。
看兹欢喜形容，了悟佛门灵窍。



琪卉灵葩围绕，端然稳坐莲花。
千秋善男信女，尽顶礼宗喀巴。



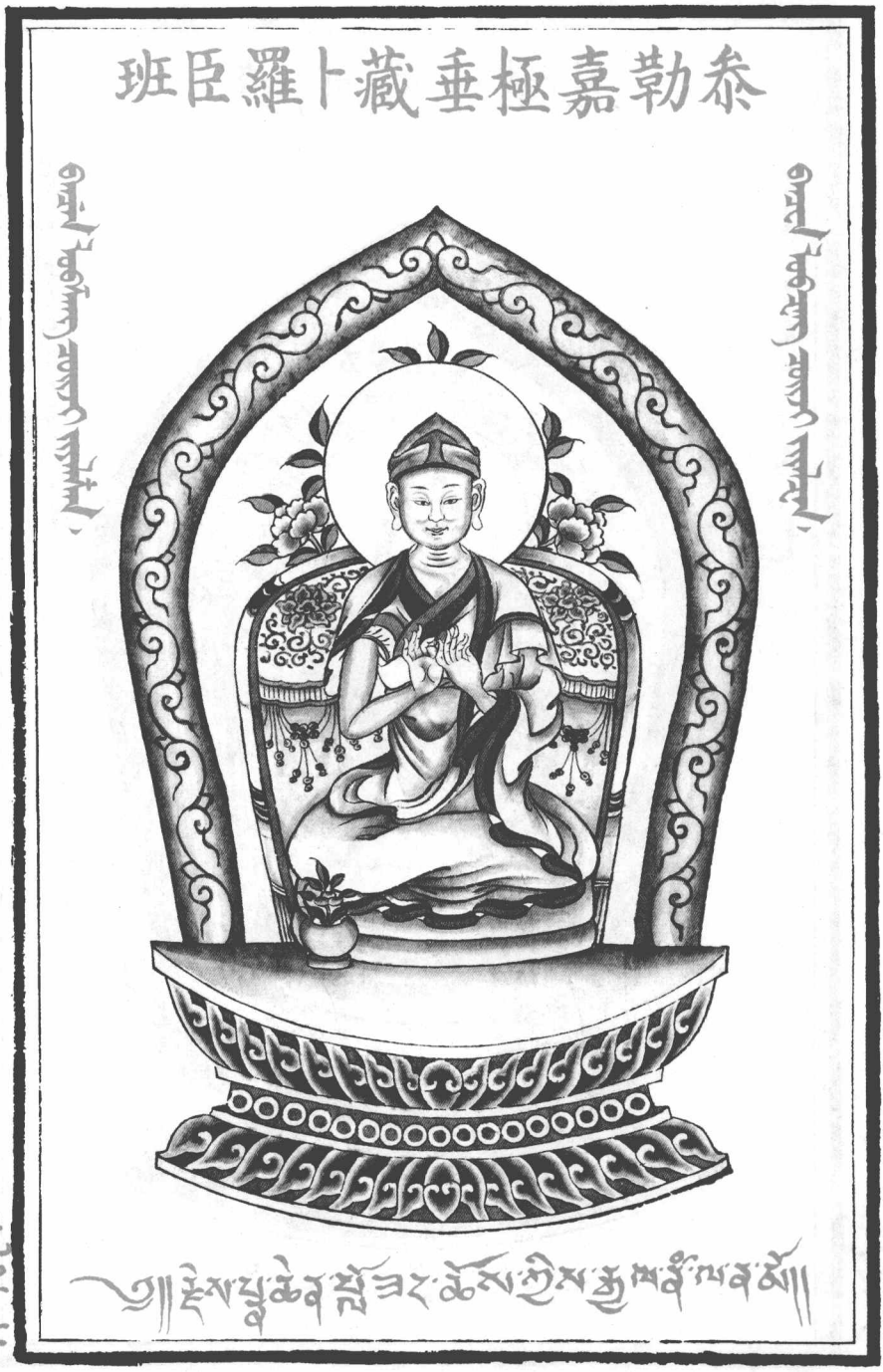
膝上卷内何经，不知有字无字。
若是无字金经，还求祖师见赐。



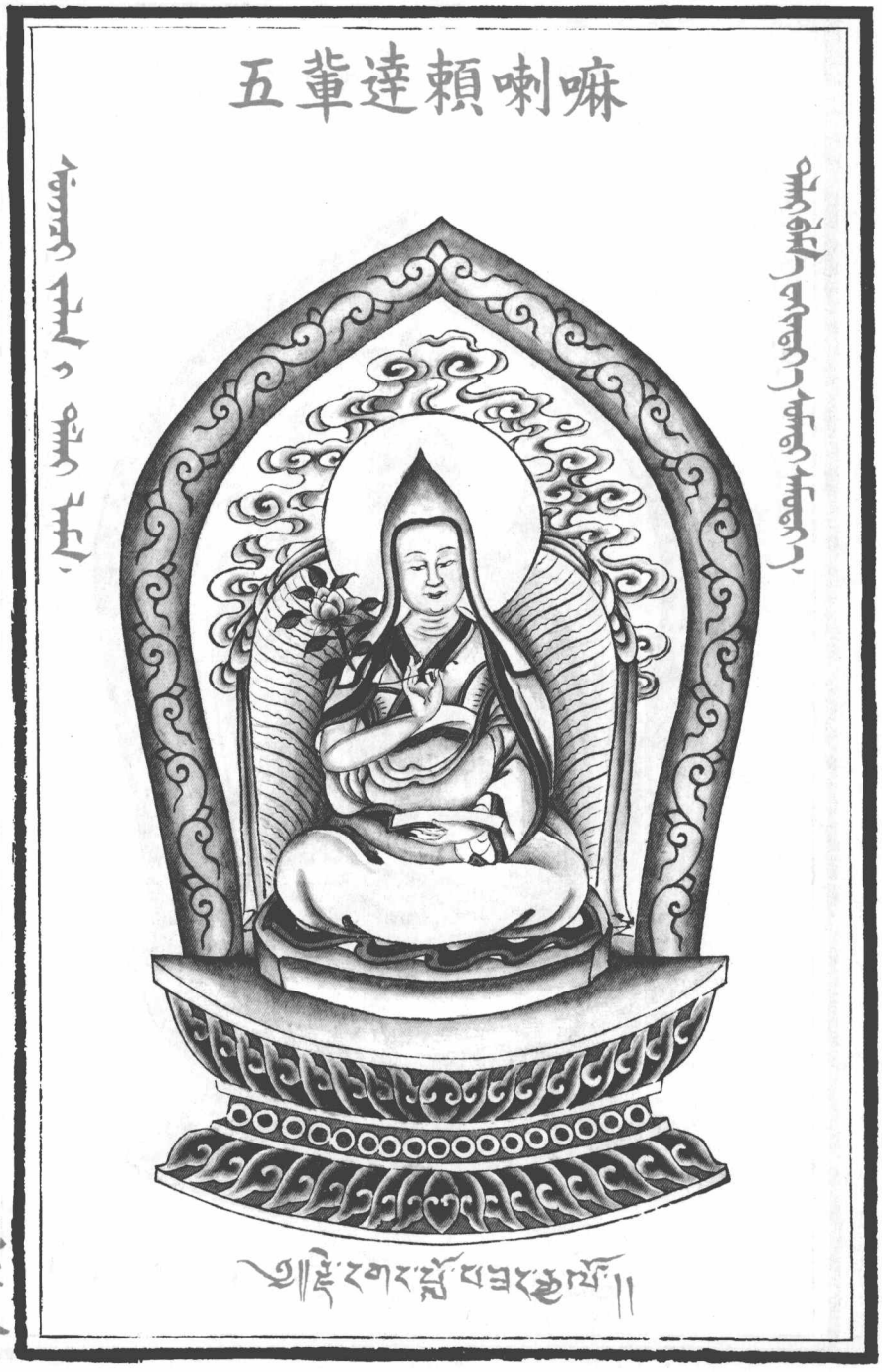
座放莲花端坐，看来好个观瞻。
祖师金身半袒，不离西域庄严。



出世本具慈悲，大教演从西藏。
传来代代不磨，功德无休难量。



佛土传来手印，昙花旁列芬芳。
尊者具何根行，佳名万古传扬。



无字经手中持，妙莲花掌上现。
转五辈住人间，度众生宏誓愿。



元字九

一手托定金钵，一手拈来佛印。
功果妙证梵天，谁不皈依敬信。



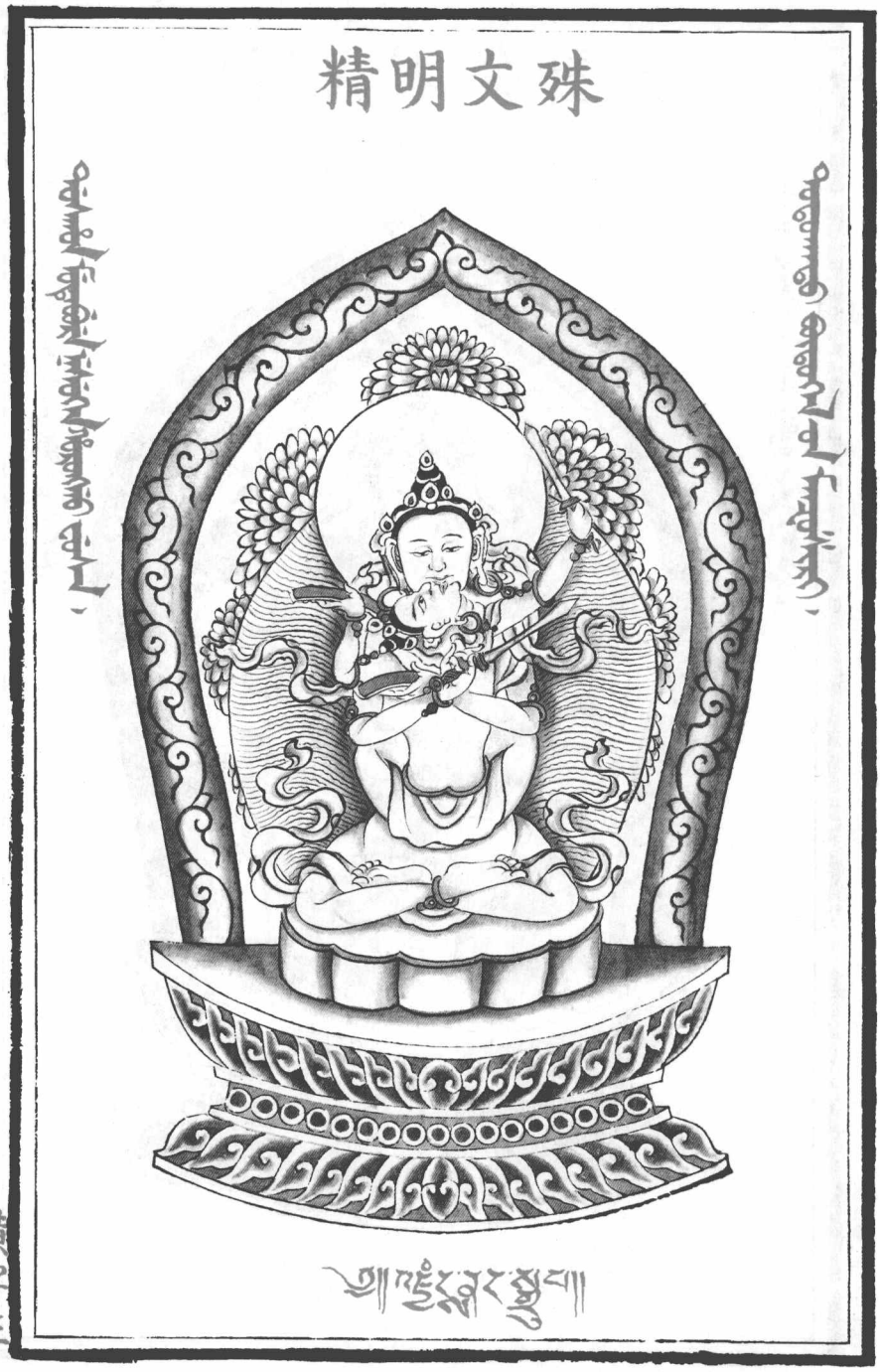
宝号虽云有异，本是我佛住世。
常向阎浮界中，要使众生乐利。



毫光四射无际，叉手铃杵双持。
证得金刚大号，千秋共仰慈悲。



金刚文殊秘密，成佛作祖法力。
妙像阿谁参得，果证无声无色。



功德威严浩渺，文殊宝号精明。
可是神通无限，诸般毒恶潜形。



不动难分尔我，金刚秘密谁知。
悟得此中妙理，方知我佛慈悲。



静里观观自在，真秘密谁参解。
智珠明神通大，端坐在极乐界。



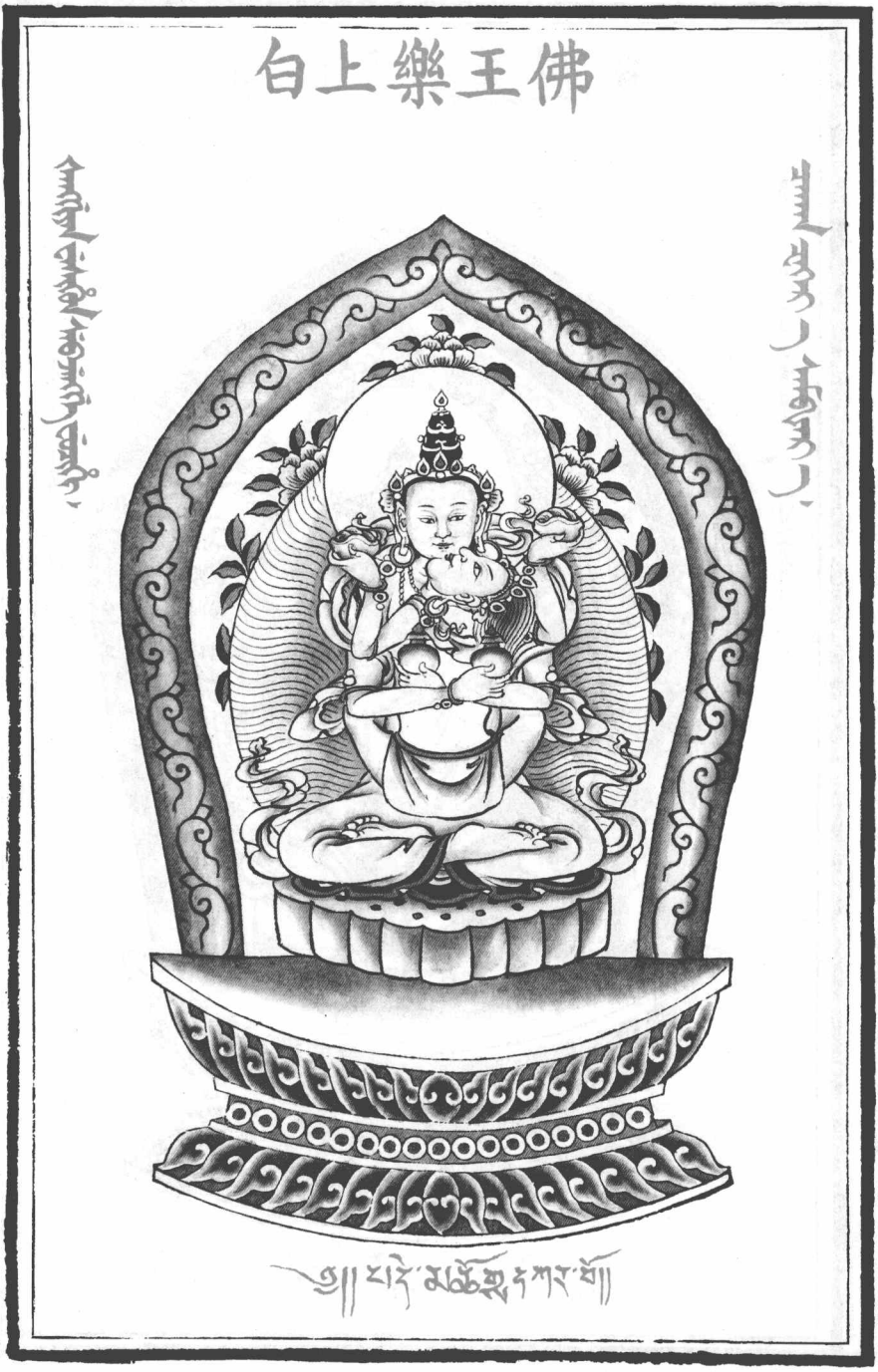
世音不以耳听，佛海观音独步。
金身意外庄严，消息阿谁能悟。



幻化身外之身，能使大地生春。
时时慧轮常转，救拔一切沉沦。



极乐从来无上，上乐是何形状。
悟得上乐真形，何非上乐本相。



他是我我是他，魔即佛佛即魔。
上乐王共合和，真趣味伊知么。



面面照临十地，手手坚持法器。
勇识上乐王佛，鸿慈无所不备。



本生上乐王佛，万古声名赫奕。
任他魔怪纠缠，遇了神威敛迹。



狰狞法体坚刚，慧力鬼伏神降。
在我佛极乐乡，称大鹏上乐王。



双展摩空羽翼，不亚孔雀明王。
大鹏金刚威力，证成佛果西方。



多足多臂多首，幻像庄严知否。
妙哉果是金刚，万古名传不朽。



瞻黑敌威罗瓦，般般佛宝手把。
金刚不坏身躯，好使众生心写。



黄字十六

六面六臂六足，威罗瓦金刚体。
般般佛宝加持，好把群魔净洗。



红威罗瓦金刚，庄严度世皮囊。
卧牛足踏当场，妙哉欢喜吉祥。



金刚身天龙首，一勇威垂悠久。
如来宝常在手，除魔怪功不朽。



黄字十九

消除烦恼称喜，座上无分彼此。
透得金刚意指，方算佛门弟子。



多日遍观四大，众手群擎法宝。
喜心喜得心喜，万劫永无烦恼。



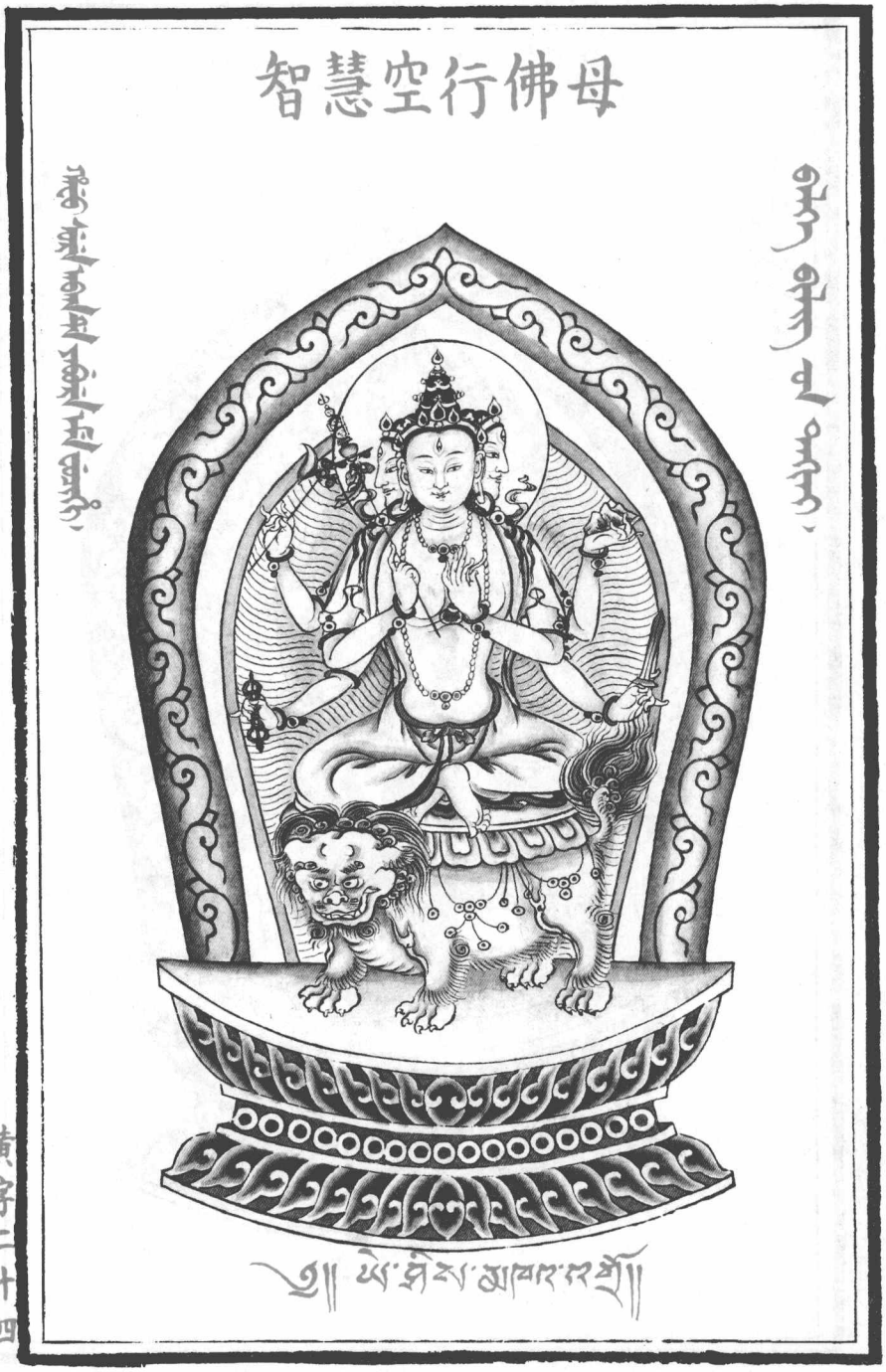
巍巍一个金身，化现天魔归附。
宏慈度脱群迷，大地遍沾甘露。



金刚尊名大幻，立定金身璀璨。
要知法度有缘，可是超登彼岸。



省得金刚形状，许汝佛门一望。
若是错认金刚，可是自生孽障。



驯得灵狮座下，一吼动地惊天。
智慧空行佛母，度人无量无边。



佛母万千变化，法相庄严妙可。
原来一视同仁，慈念原无尔我。



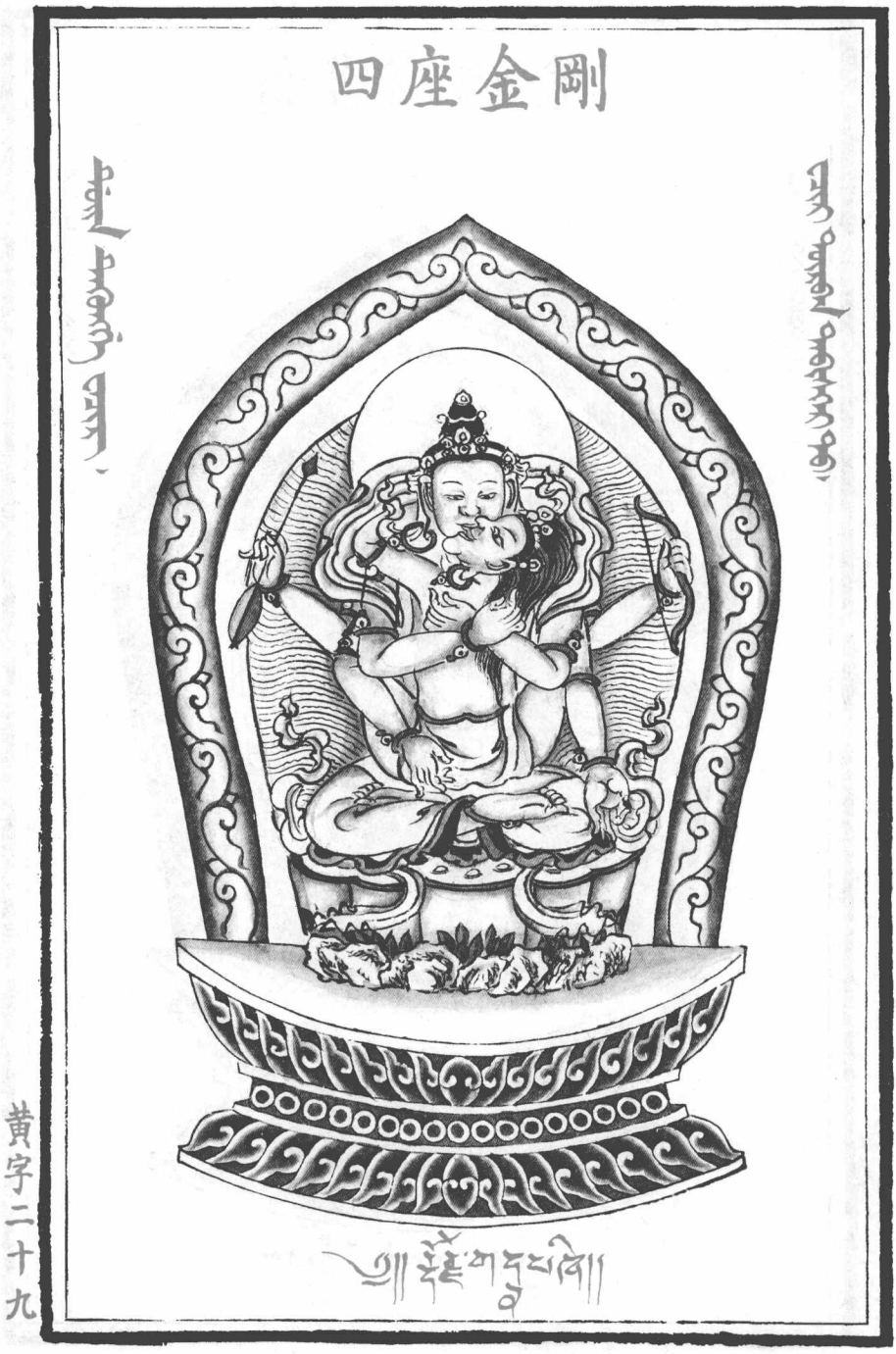
敬睹金刚亥母，甘露一盂在手。
佛门万劫常存，任他鸟飞兔走。



赤体一丝不沾，行脚无分昏旦。
执着佛母空行，可是佛门痴汉。



金刚吽声威猛，此音哪个能省。
座中旁列一尊，同至如来圣境。



金刚号为四座，毫无矫揉造作。
能把趣味参破，不离行住坐卧。



幻化金身显像，我佛何等慈悲。
若悟个中滋味，还须静里追思。



毒蛇伏恶魔降，威神力颂金刚。
大轮转护法王，度众生德无疆。



看去雕弓满月，一矢慑服诸怪。
佛母智行妙高，端居莲花世界。



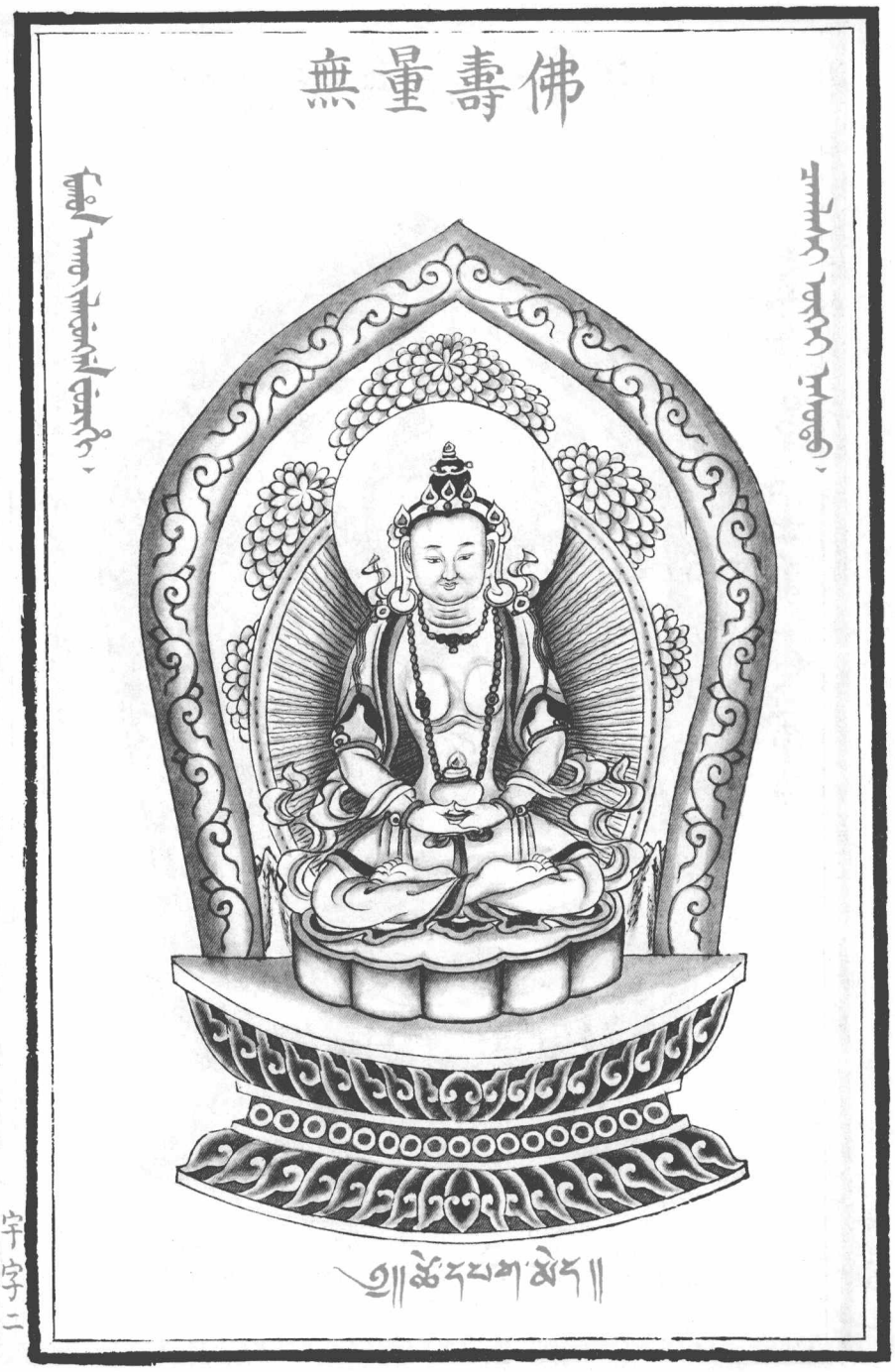
金刚马头作冠，由来意马牢拴。
六蕴皆空谁悟，黑漆桶内盘桓。



布袋无穷妙用，包藏百二山河。
镇日大开笑口，看他日月如梭。



四臂撑持九有，慈悲超度万物。
阴阳显化一身，尊称无量寿佛。



功德普被十方，慈辉垂布汪洋。
无量寿佛恩光，众生万代称扬。



围首露得多面，不论向背都见。
六臂法宝持来，金刚性中操炼。



祇园普放光华，顶礼宏光释迦。
慈悲无量无涯，功德遍满恒沙。



法性无异智性，妙音即是潮音。
自在西方吾佛，善哉一片婆心。



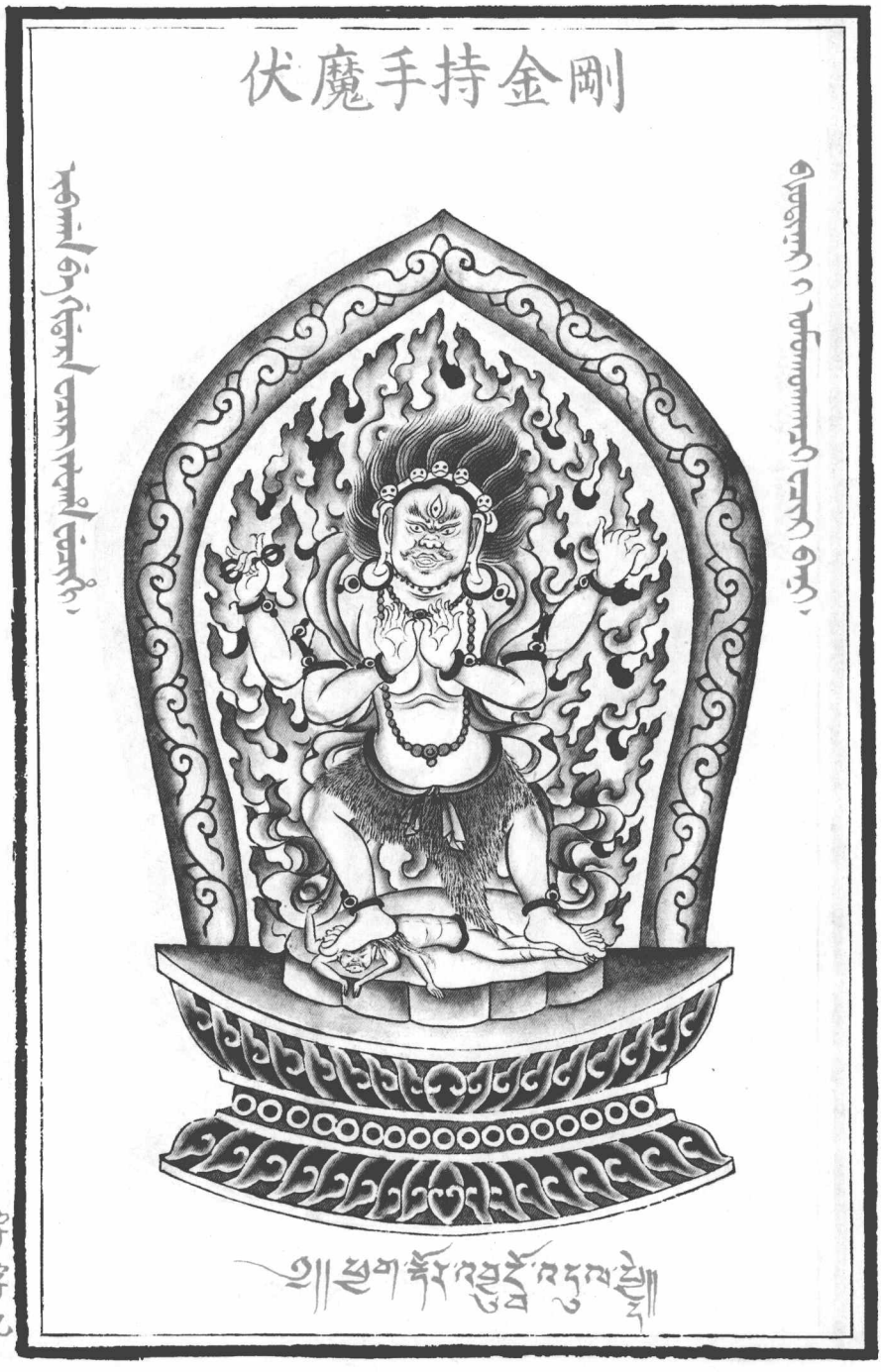
手执法轮常转，普慧宏光不浅。
邪魔外道俱遣，遍体毫光大展。



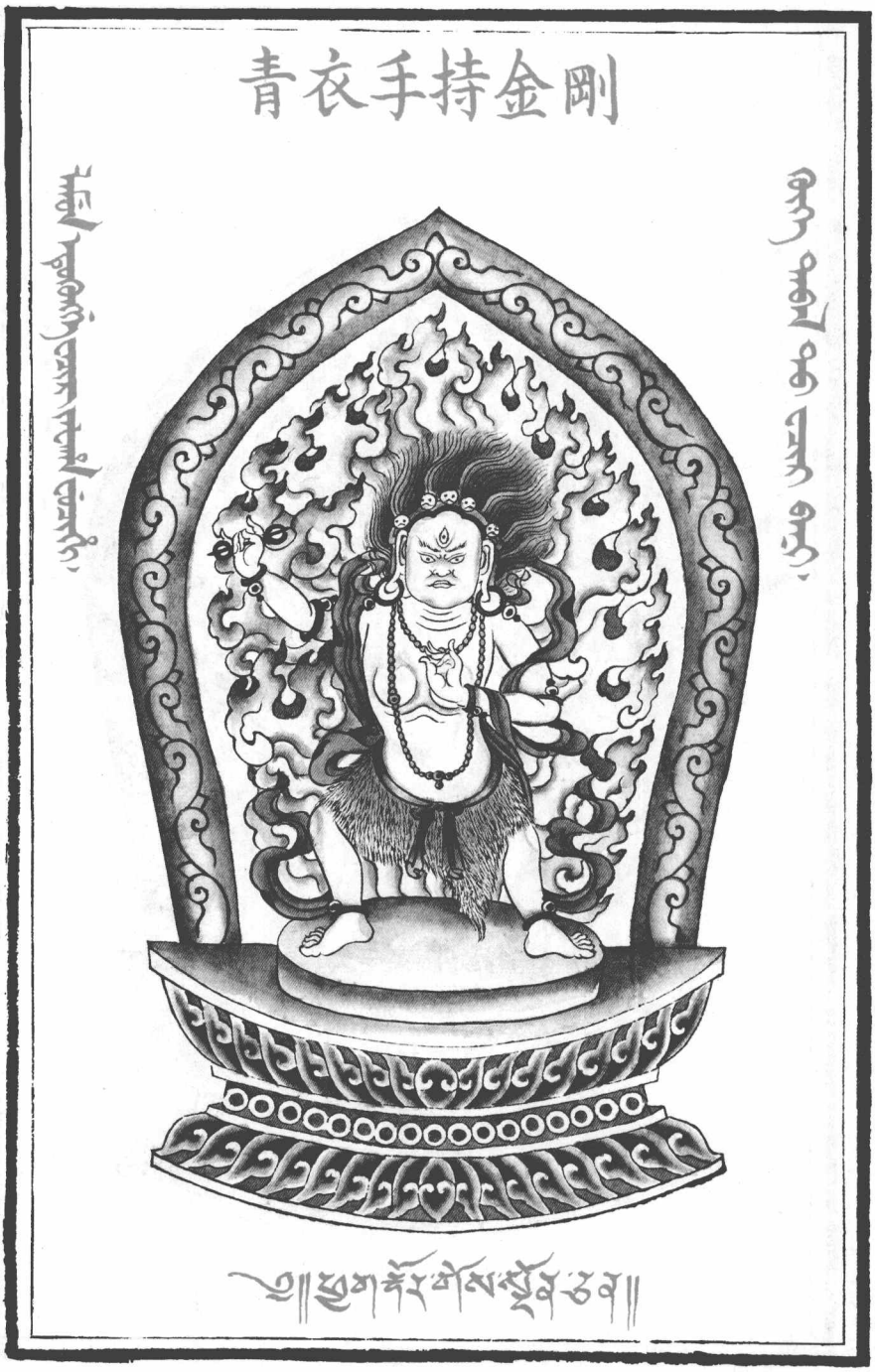
妙哉金刚勇识，西土称佛作祖。
怜渠不解禅宗，瞎证盲参最苦。



善根结就菩提，堪称宏光显耀。
至诚顶礼慈辉，觉路金绳普照。



两手护持佛印，修成慧力功多。
果证灵山胜境，维持正道伏魔。



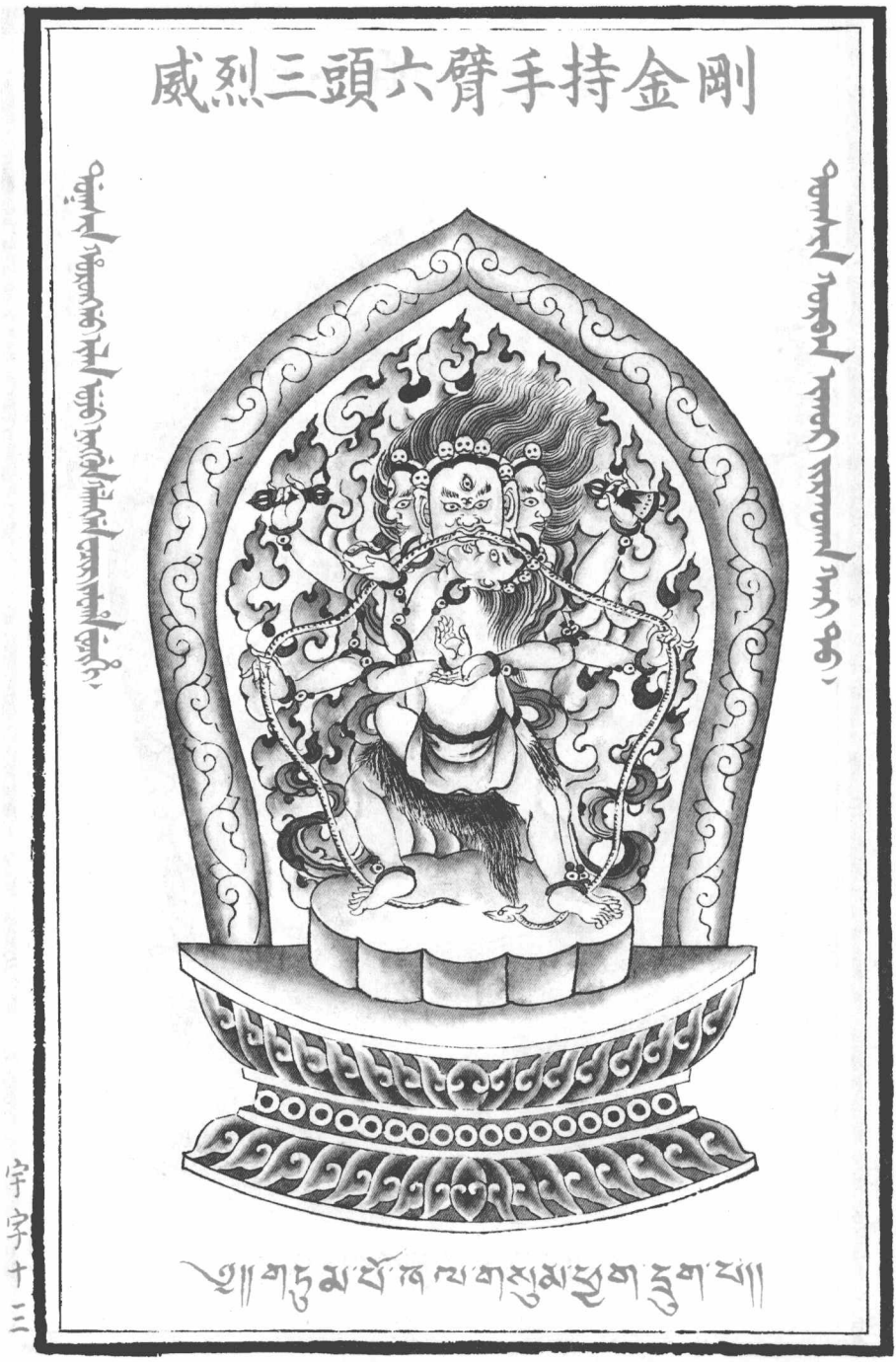
青衣手持金刚，永作西方护法。
慈容煞是威严，好把群迷救拔。



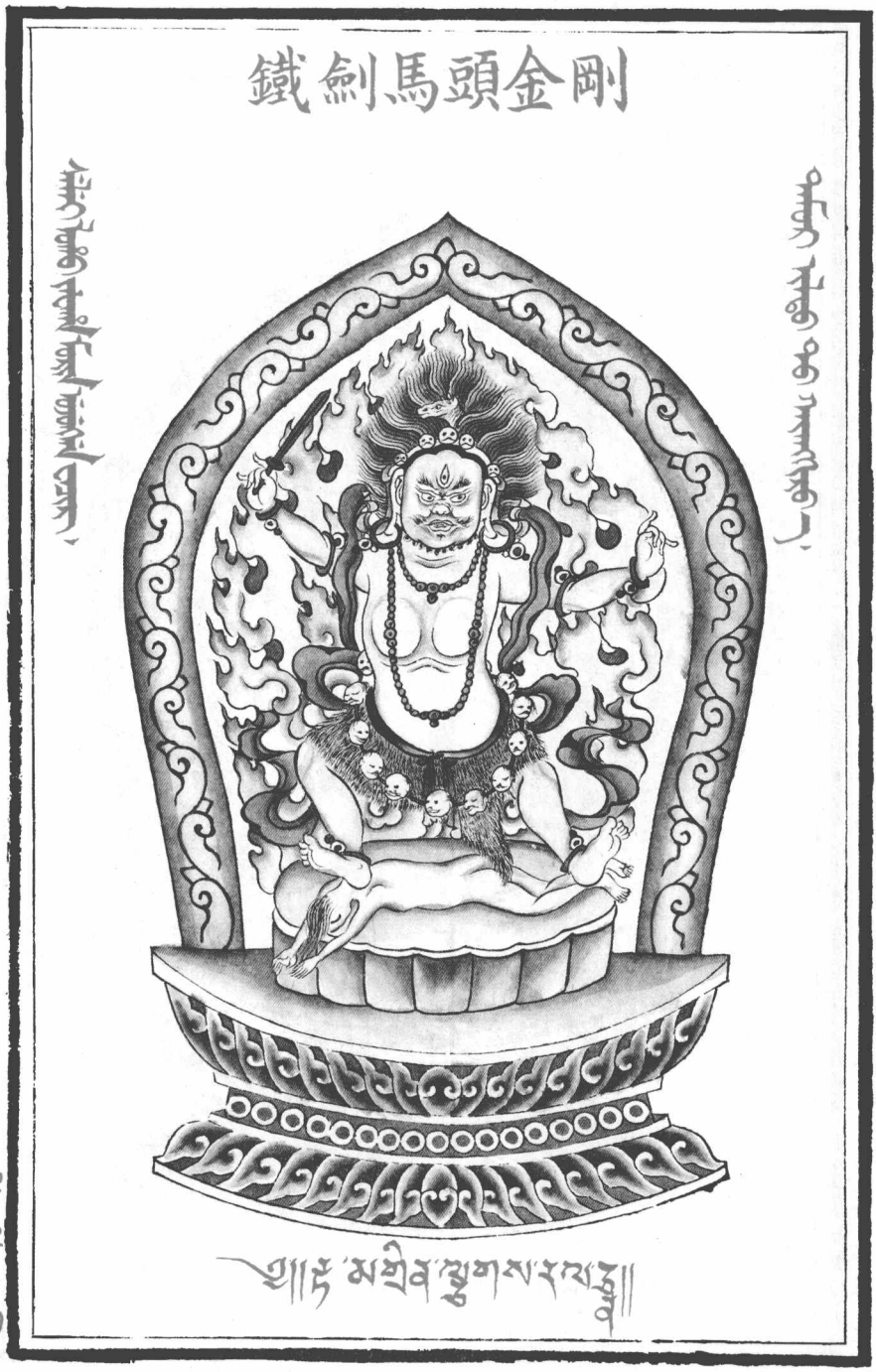
威烈手持金刚，庄严何等堂皇。
金铃宝杵叮咚，护法佛门永庆。



法相狰狞端俨，智行万年自显。
能使恶邪迹敛，金刚功德不浅。



瞻仰金刚威烈，三头六臂昂然。
扫尽腾蛇毒焰，优游化日光天。



铁剑马头金刚，降伏魔怪威彰。
神功非比寻常，万年姓字馨香。



妙相端庄方正，万古称佛称圣。
只伸二指示人，务要追求毕竟。



不动方能有动，我佛慈悲面孔。
众生领略佛心，方能开得懵懂。



人见佛手无宝，诧异何称宝胜。
要知此宝根由，面壁三年再定。



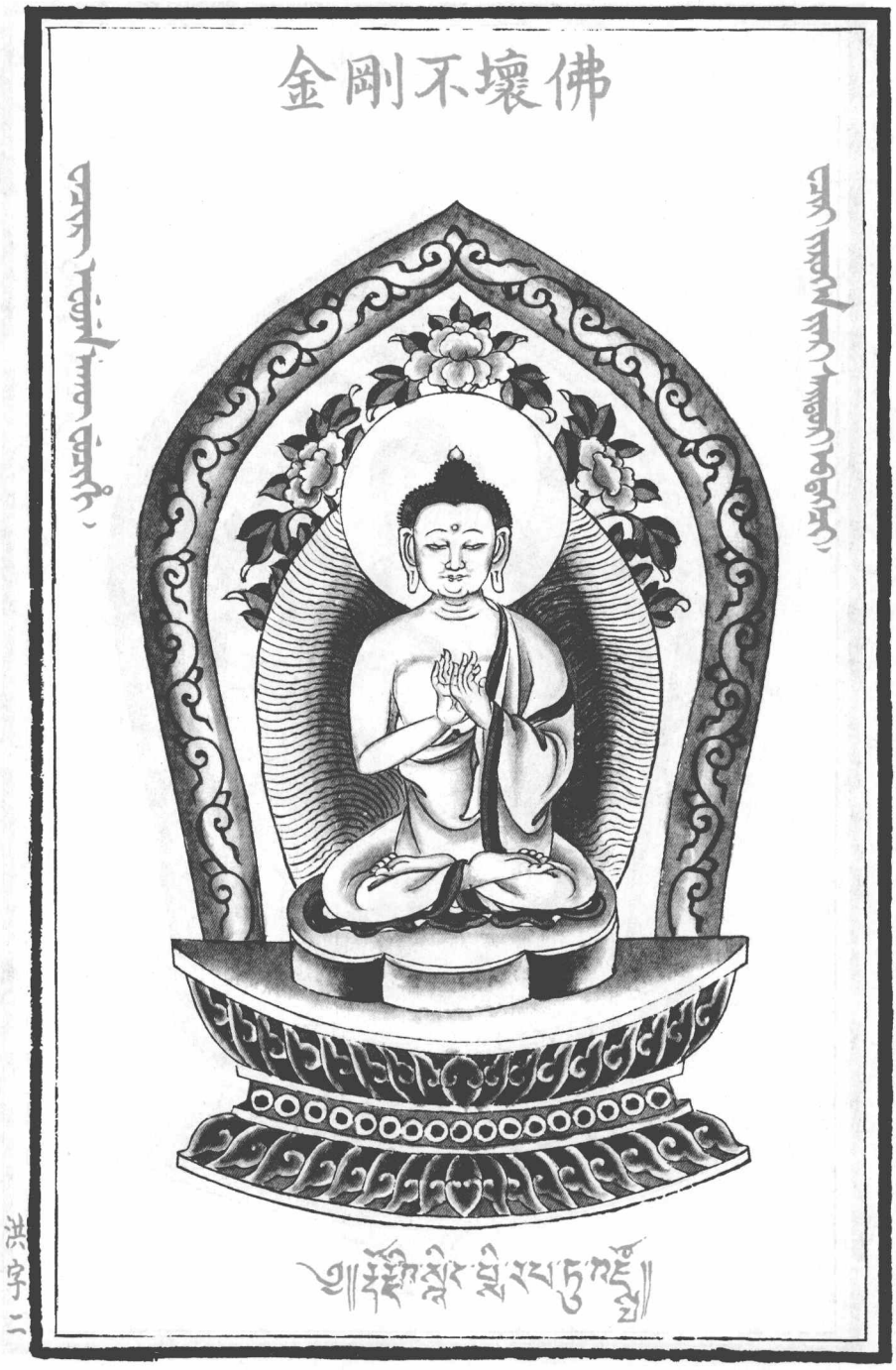
阿弥陀佛称呼，若大若小都晓。
晓得此号者多，参透此号者少。



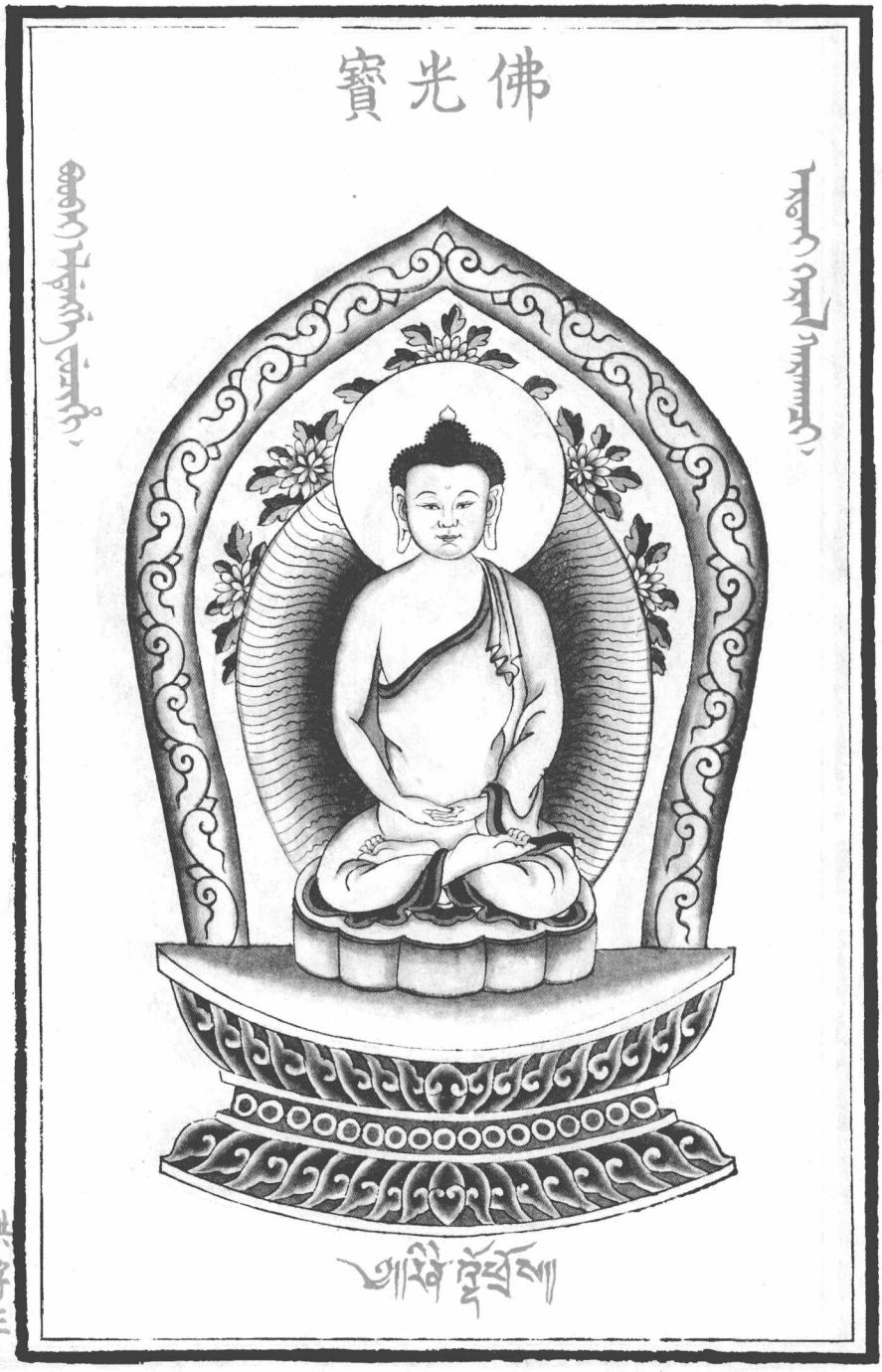
此尊佛称成就，与天地同万寿。
参中宵礼白昼，敬皈依祈保佑。



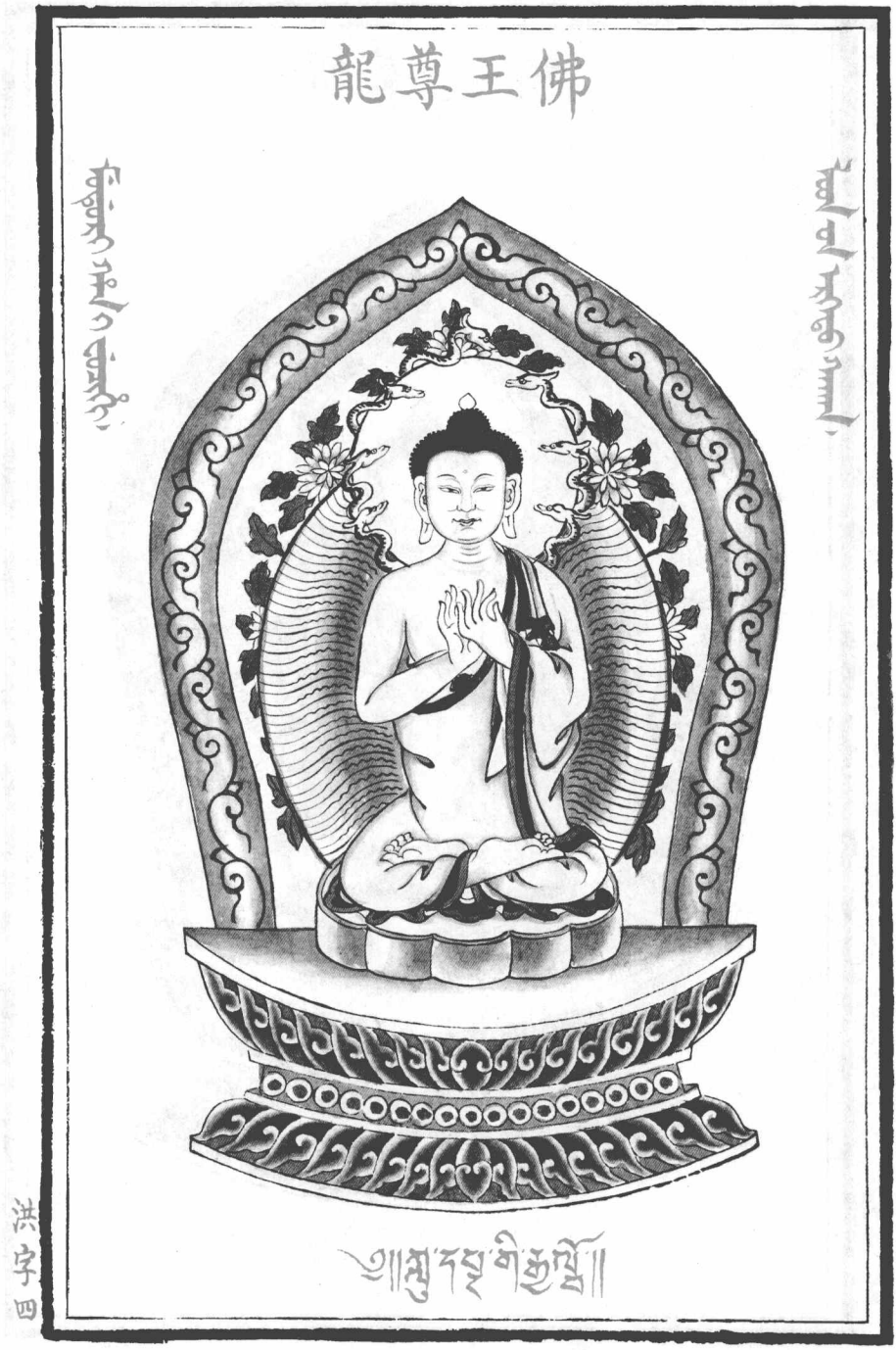
我佛释迦牟尼，尊号个个皆知。
知者无穷无尽，惜乎悟者云稀。



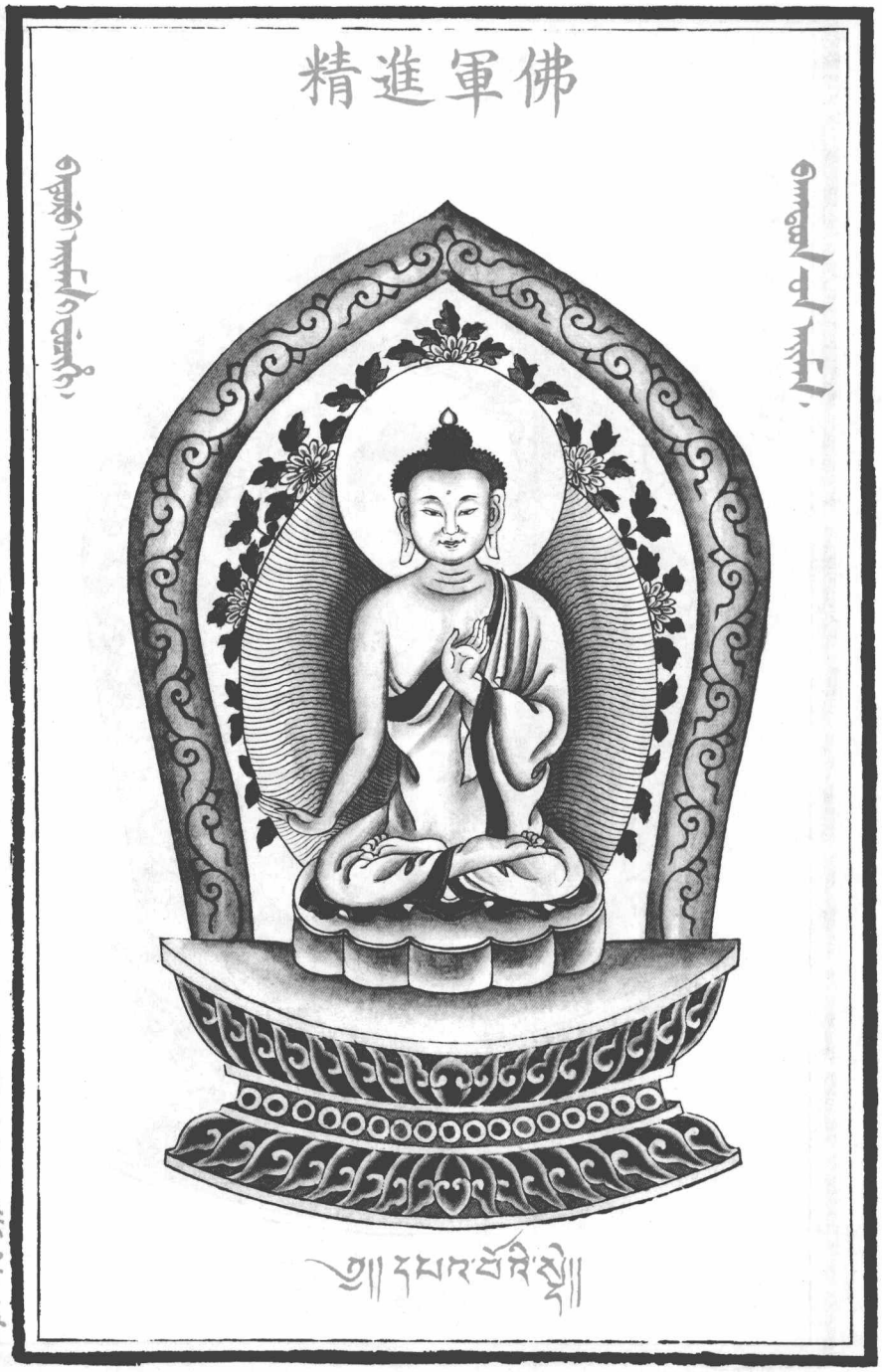
佛体金刚不坏，趺坐宝莲世界。
慧心静观自在，能使群生爱戴。



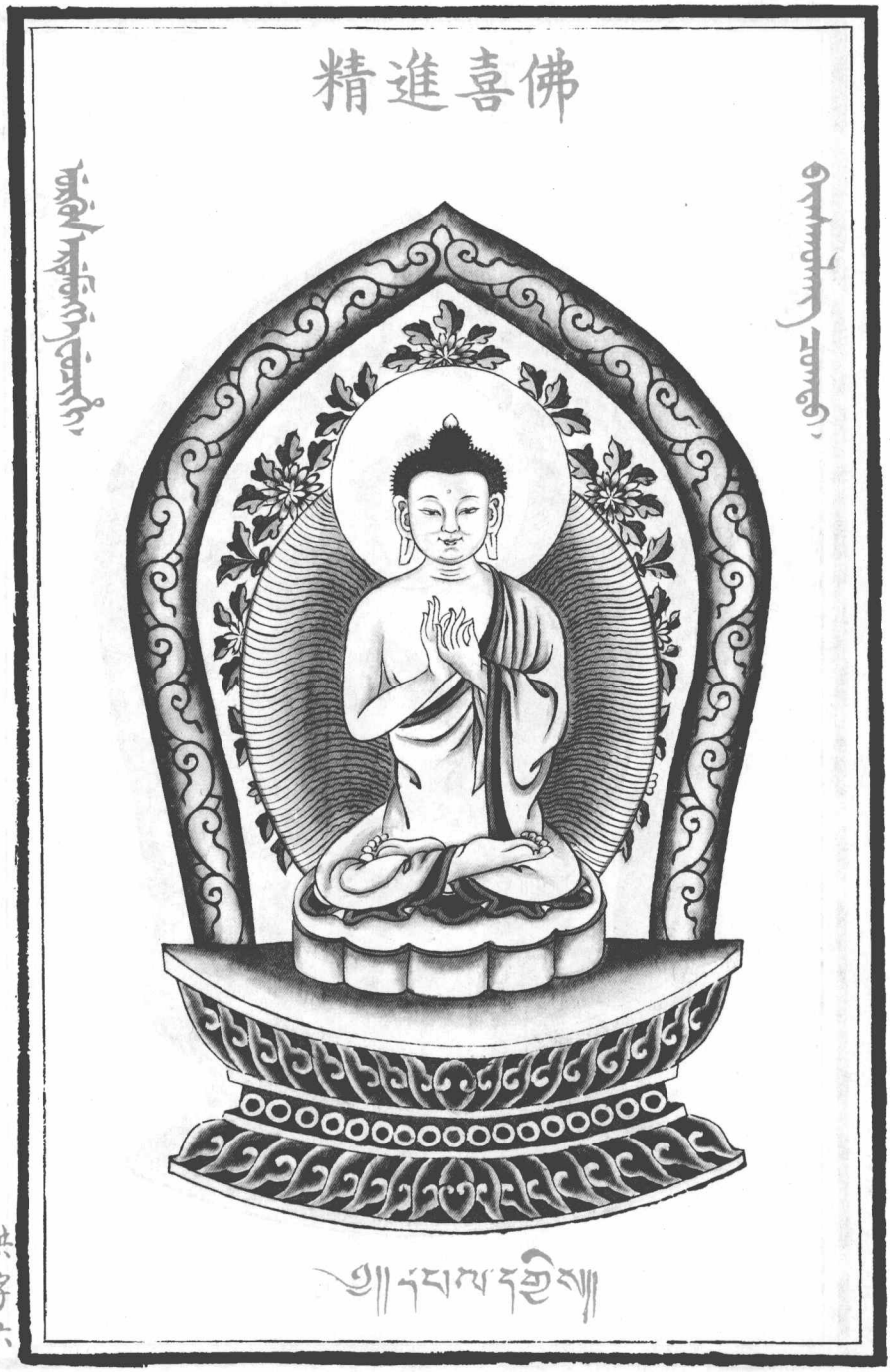
佛光堪称至宝，破除无限烦恼。
尊容妙像庄严，万劫永垂梨枣。



我佛称号龙尊，盘膝默默无言。
慈光四射绸缪，阿谁参透因原。



慧光普照乾坤，精进军佛称尊。
参者莫稍懈怠，须当拔树寻根。



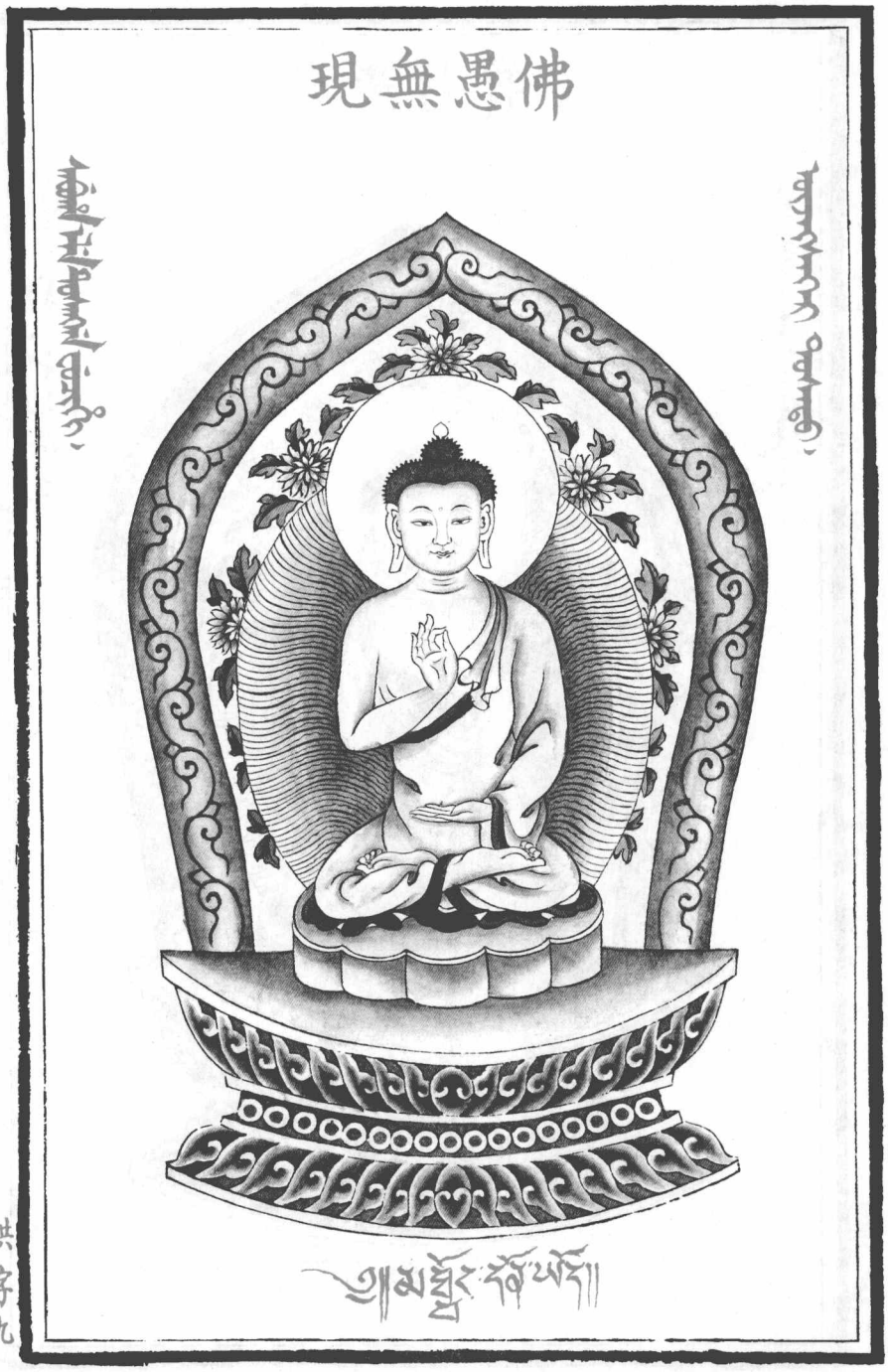
精进方能心喜，佛号大有所指。
众生被得洪恩，实是沦肌浃髓。



三昧是真是幻，迷者难详难辨。
若要穷究根由，叩求宝火佛案。



一轮宝月光光，佛传此号无疆。
莲台端坐堂堂，瞻依大是吉祥。



洪字九

善男子猛丈夫，悟禅机趣味殊。
不在智不在愚，此佛号拔泥途。



一轮宝月在天，我佛把来作号。
放出二指机关，谁悟此指消耗。



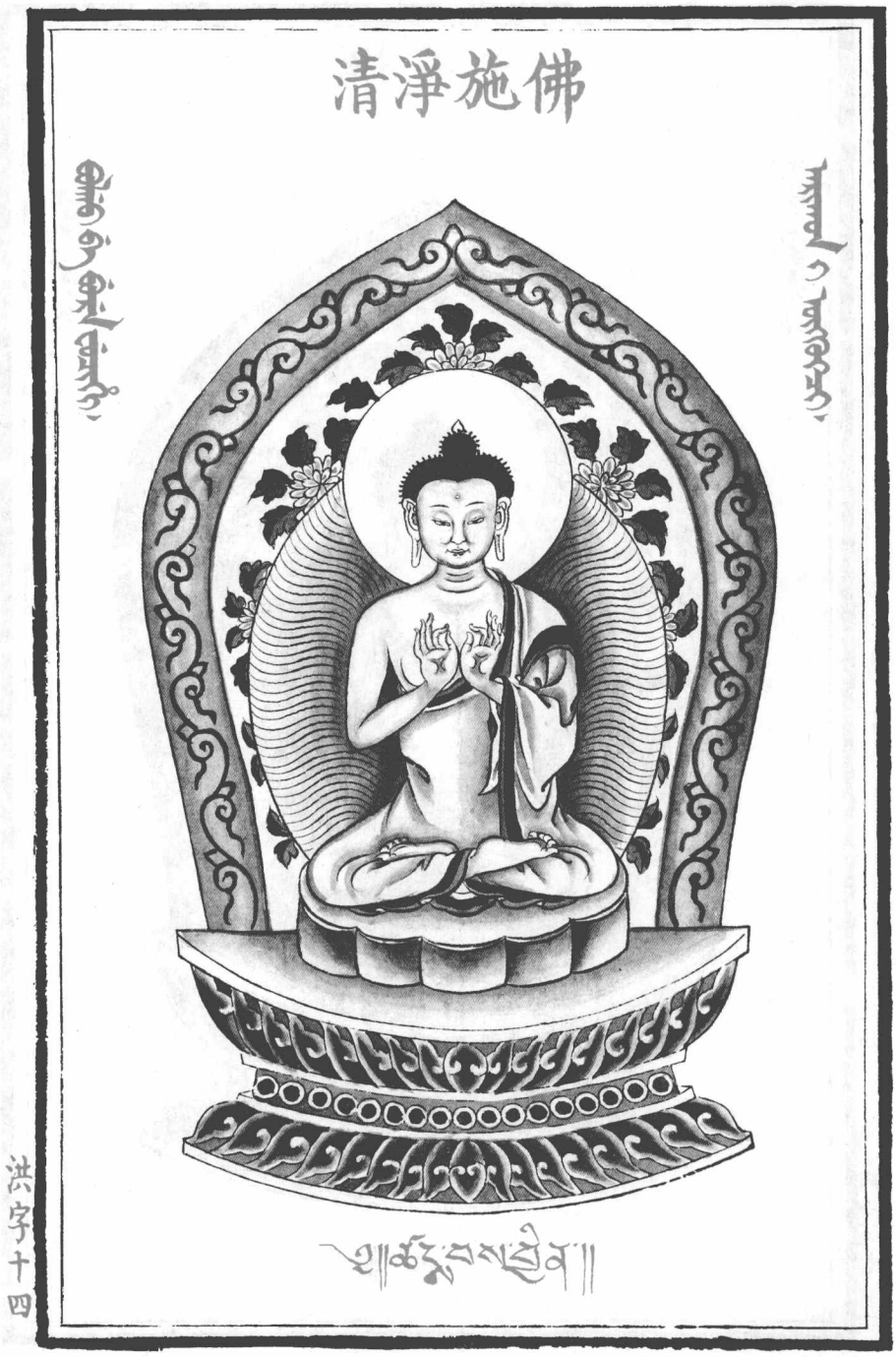
端居清净道场，炼得慧根灵秀。
佛光水月圆澄，毫无微尘之垢。



金身妙像威仪，万代顶礼无疑。
猛省勤修精进，才明吾佛勇施。



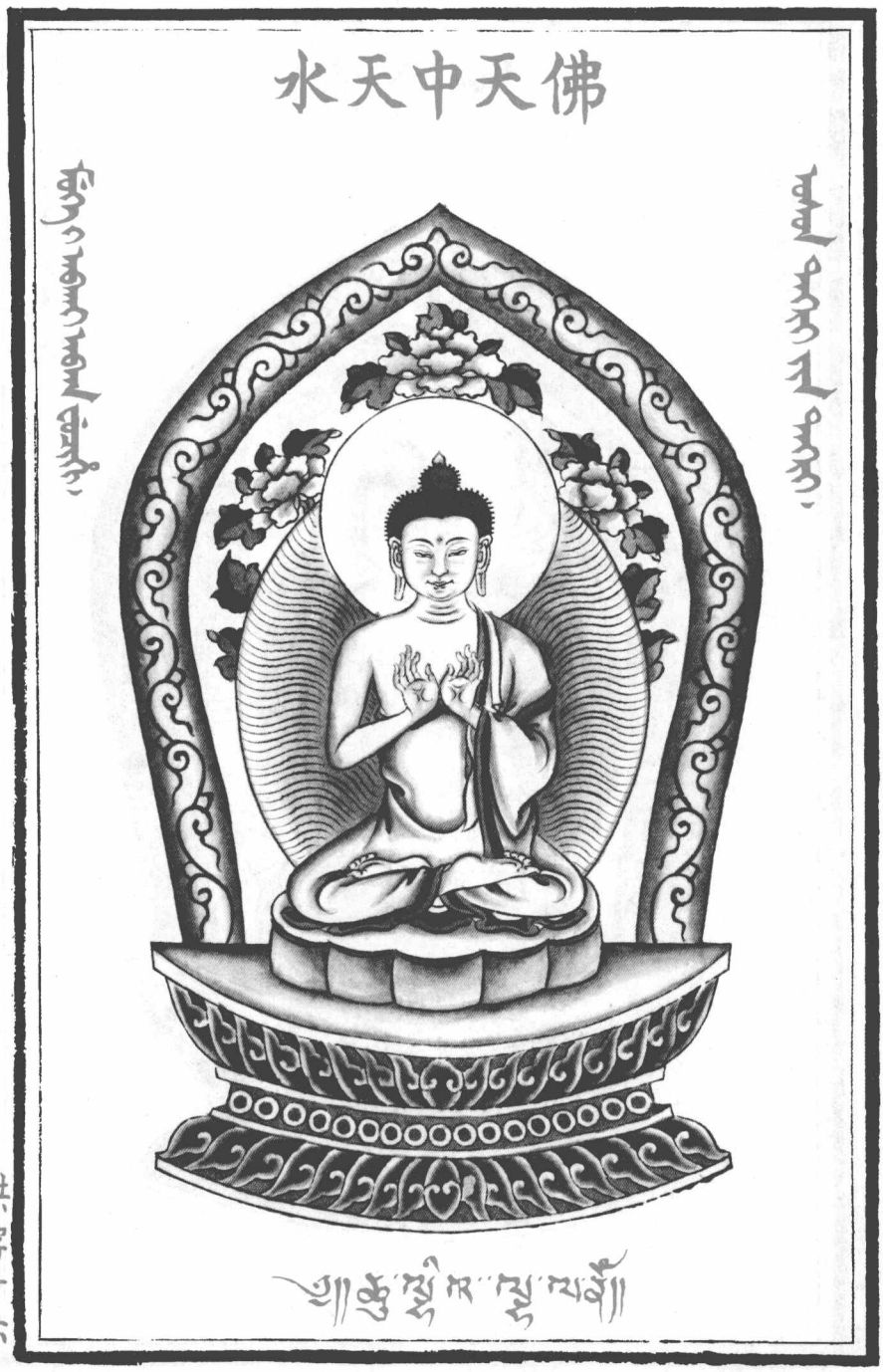
性定清如止水，心空净却微尘。
现出本来面目，一朵莲花化身。



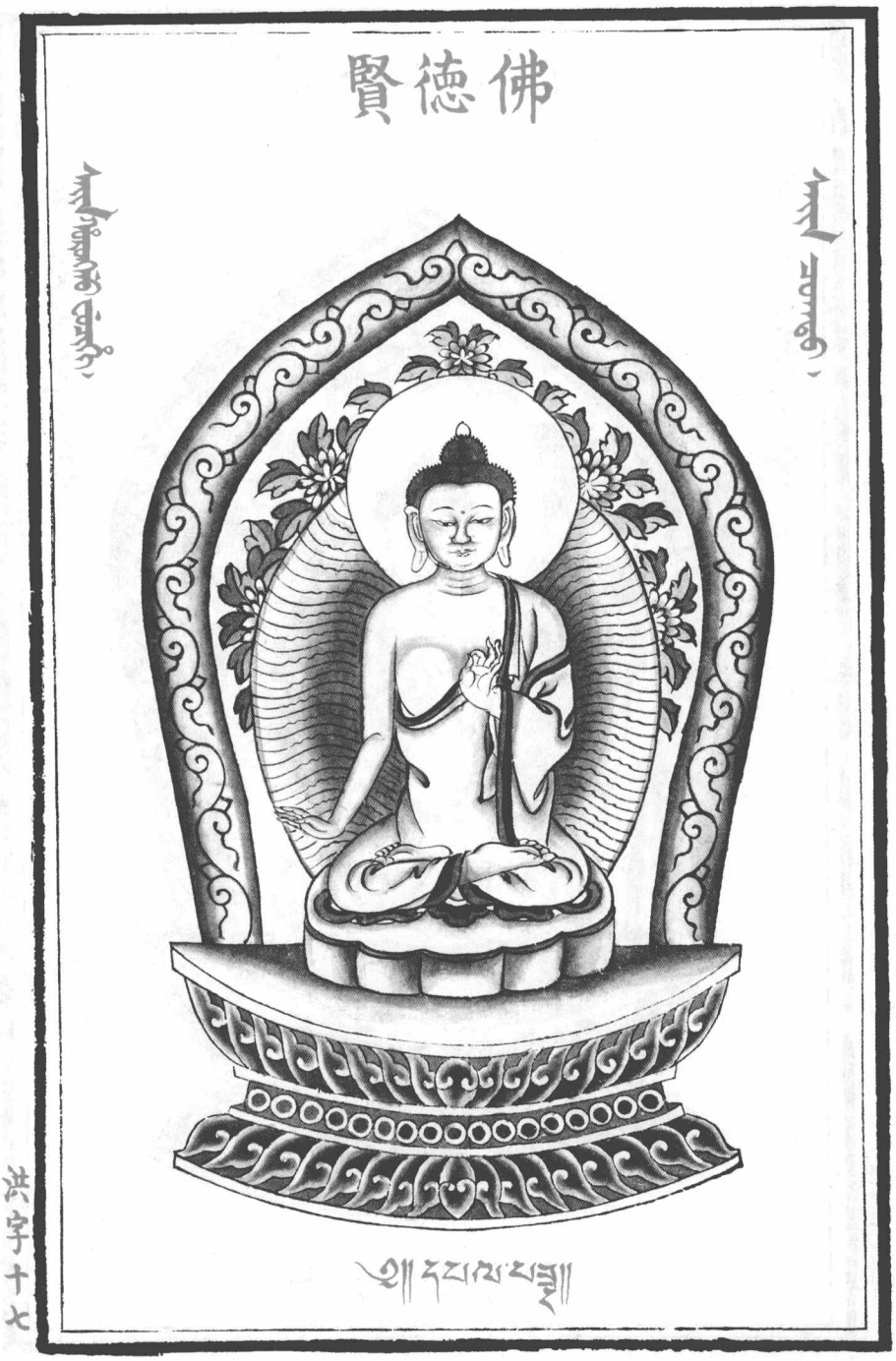
我佛清净为施，慈悲推己及物。
众生苦志坚修，方得依稀仿佛。



天连水水接天，佛在中湛湛然。
参得透默会焉，参不透歪厮缠。



号称水天中天，吾佛智慧无边。
安居九品金莲，何人悟得真诠。



尊号称为贤德，端坐莲台默默。
如如不动金身，大展无声无色。



栴檀香遍九天，功德撑持十地。
安然高坐莲台，妙喜吉祥如意。



双耳垂肩妙像，无量掬光称佛。
光风霁月襟怀，绝非凡胎俗骨。



宝光根从大德，大德结就宝光。
两手传来佛印，善哉普济十方。



与世开方便门，引人入修行路。
自然生欢喜心，永脱离烦恼趣。



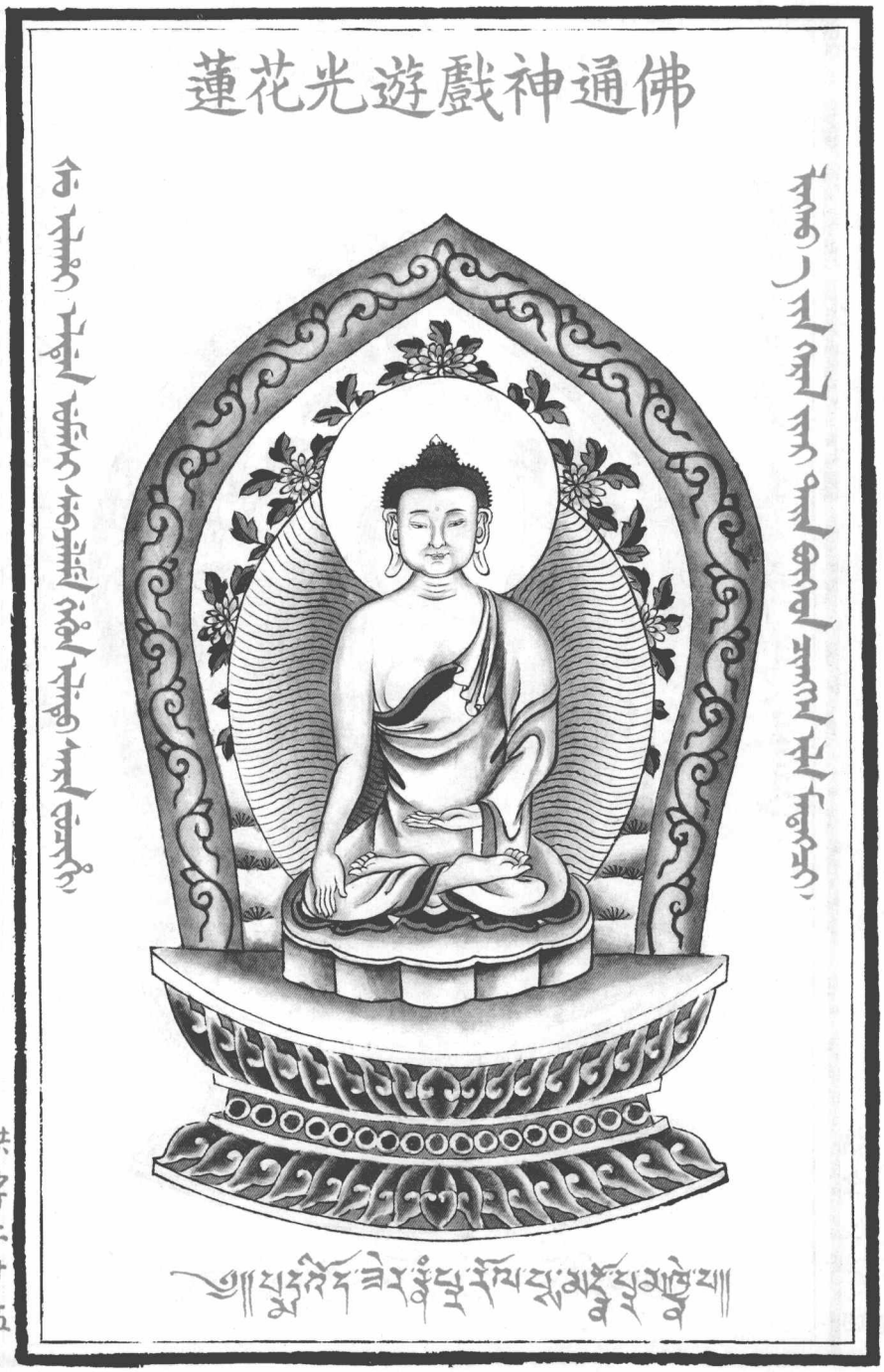
宝诀不离两手，慧泽沾遍人天。
叩问吾佛圣号，共称曰那罗延。



身似菩提宝树，自然功德生华。
结就因缘法果，妙香遍满金沙。



我佛游戏神通，沐浴清净光中。
人人信心顶礼，永享极乐无穷。



莲花无异慧灯，巍然安居上位。
若言吾佛神通，不过游戏三昧。



法施财施具足，大千世界沾沐。
端为众生作福，慈悲至优至渥。



慈德常存念念，一体兼全万善。
度世婆心一片，炉熏名香恭献。



万善总归一指，鹫岭无穷妙喜。
善名称赞功德，恒河沙数难比。



洪字二十九

红焰放大毫光，共瞻礼帝幢王。
布宏慈及万方，遍人天沛泽长。



虽称善游步佛，却是如如不动。
操持慧剑跏趺，功德阿谁能懂。



斗战胜却魔军，我佛千年洪愿。
修者要悟慈心，莫教六贼滋蔓。



虽坐莲台不动，宝号称善游步。
周巡寰宇无休，一切众生普度。



不肯满着袈裟，不肯双垂法履。
我佛周匝庄严，功德人天欢喜。



虽然游步称名，其实何曾游步。
宝华香遍三千，行脚不离净土。



我佛坐宝莲花，又须弥山善住。
痴呆分作两岐，难入宗门觉路。



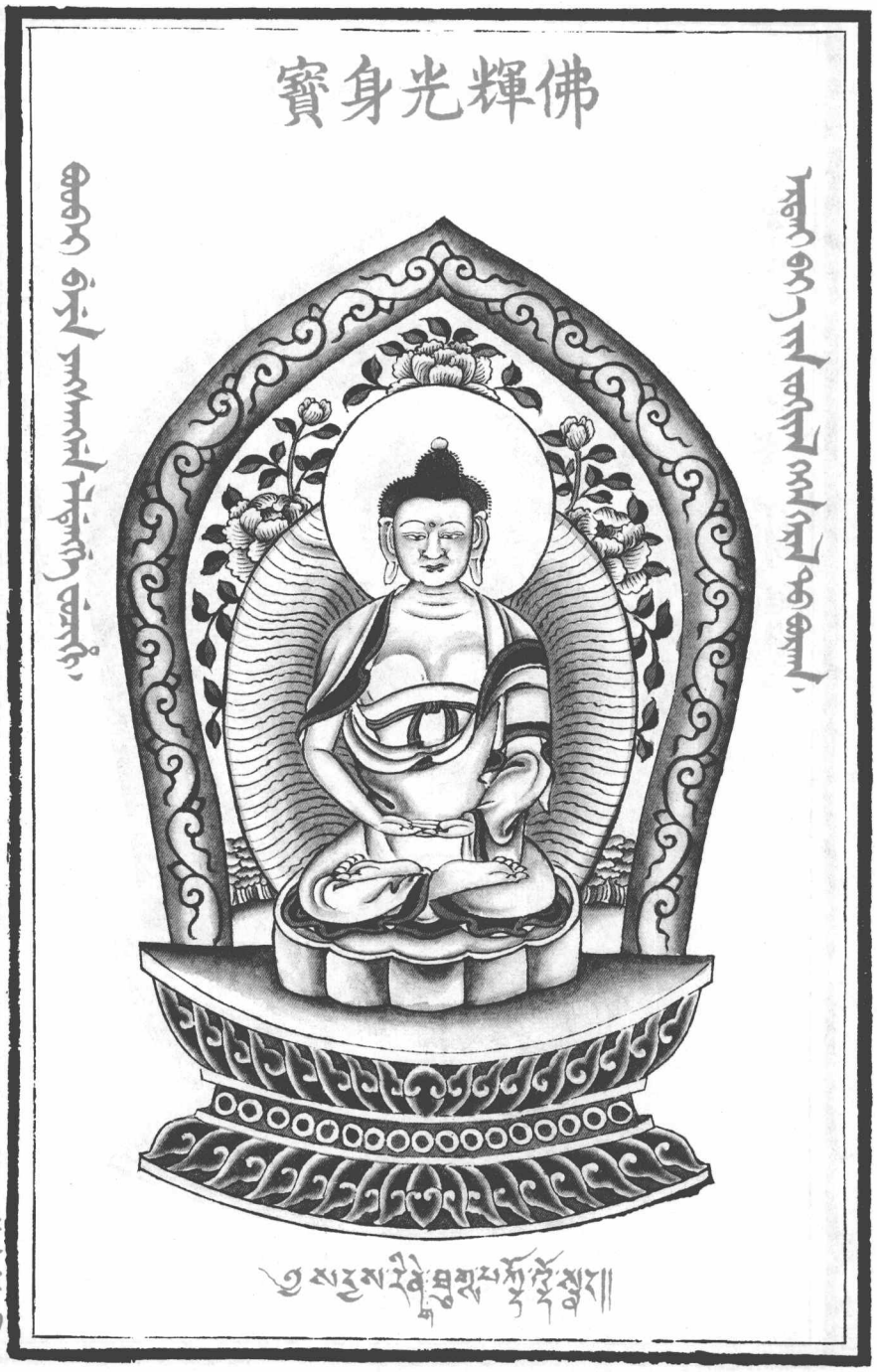
心佛原无差别，随应自然而然。
满月金容昭现，端居九品香莲。



妙道显而愈显，我佛圣不自圣。
修成显圣法王，常住西方胜境。



智光圆如宝镜，慈辉四射无边。
善灭诤谴之佛，破尽野狐之禅。



一体包罗万宝，净土庄严恁好。
时时普放光辉，照破众生烦恼。



荒字五

魔障易生难灭，我佛威猛善灭。
铺张化日光天，证得无生无灭。



当胸法宝持定，不回吉祥轮名。
执着不回二字，可是如瞽如盲。



八吉祥中一宝，张处撑持四大。
慈悲覆冒众生，超度功德为最。



慧剑灭却魔堆，金绳觉路宏开。
随引菩提慈悲，有缘得脱凡胎。



恐怖远离颠倒，梦想究竟涅槃。
无畏灭冥看破，全无半点遮拦。



荒字十

世人碍于多疑，所以不能入道。
我佛初慈决疑，剖决上乘微妙。



双手一垂一仰，大道明如指掌。
家中至宝常存，啼鸟山花供养。



看来四大皆空，一身了无挂碍。
识破撒手悬崖，方悟金身不坏。



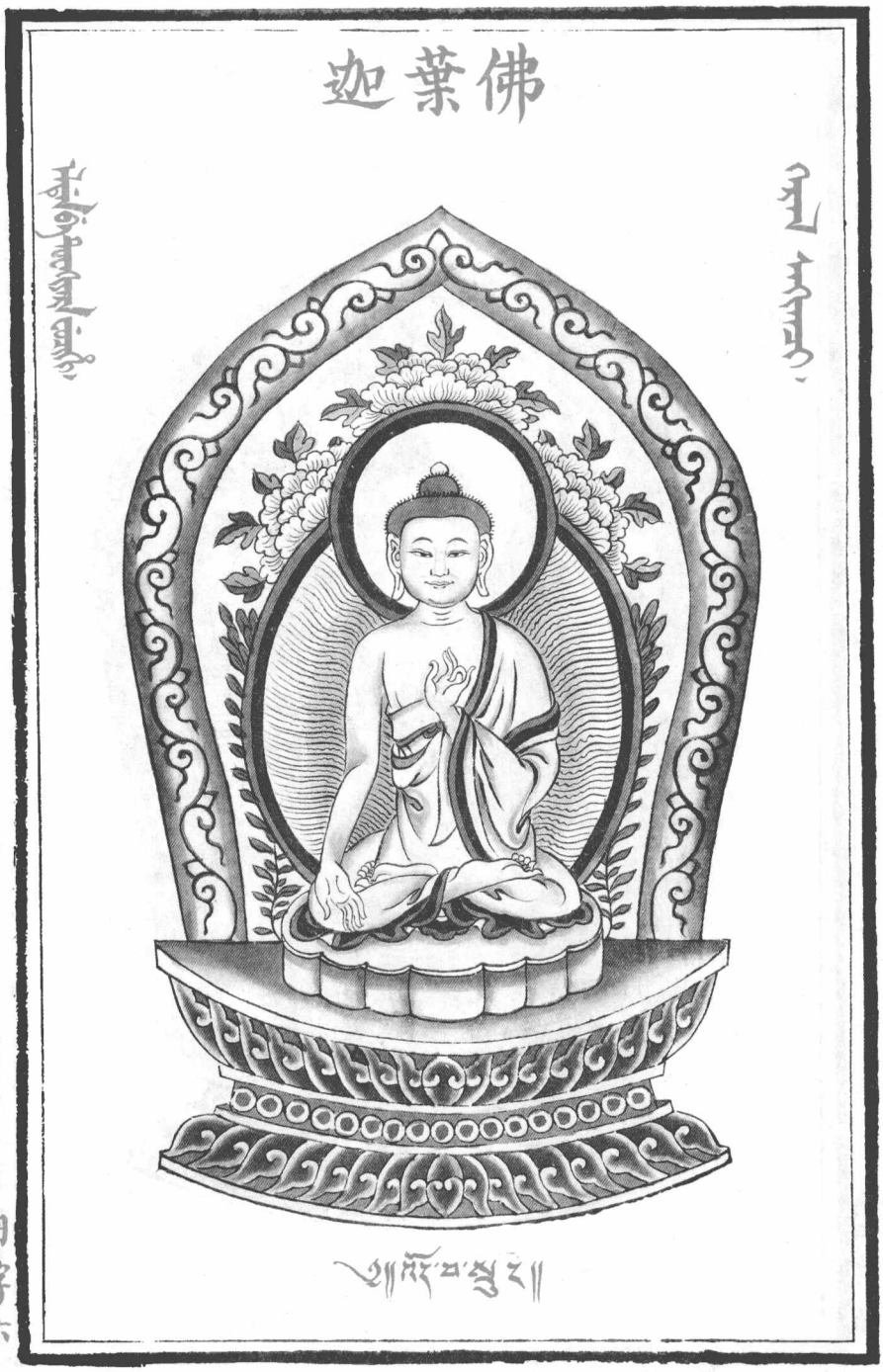
大地一似浮沤，要悟不定而定。
可是六勇尊佛，携手超凡入圣。



趺坐莲台自在，如如静里真宗。
瞻礼拘留孙佛，慧根超脱愚蒙。



手印透出心印，佛心心佛如如。
万殊从来一本，迷者较量锱铢。



一手掐来佛印，真诠默地宣扬。
迦叶佛身证果，端居极乐之乡。



善名称吉祥王，大慈悲登三宝。
结众生欢喜缘，住西方庄严好。



智严宝月生光，可是大自在王。
如来妙旨周详，谁能参透行藏。



妙体炼成金色，智珠发出宝光。
妙行端的成就，极乐世界无疆。



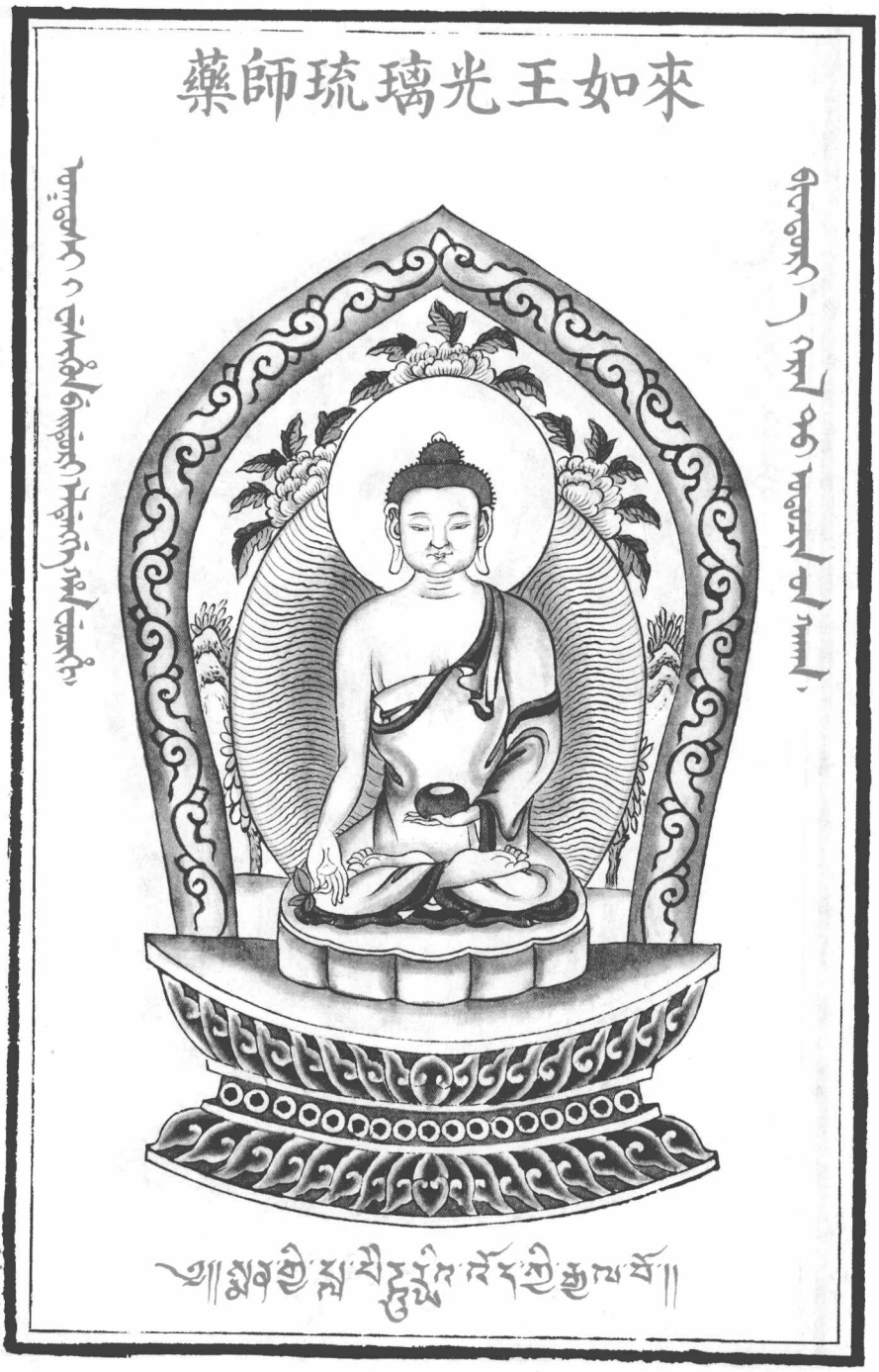
无忧胜却烦恼，如来普现吉祥。
现身在极乐地，引人登欢喜场。



性海澄如法海，审音永住雷音。
只此本来面目，何须根外搜寻。



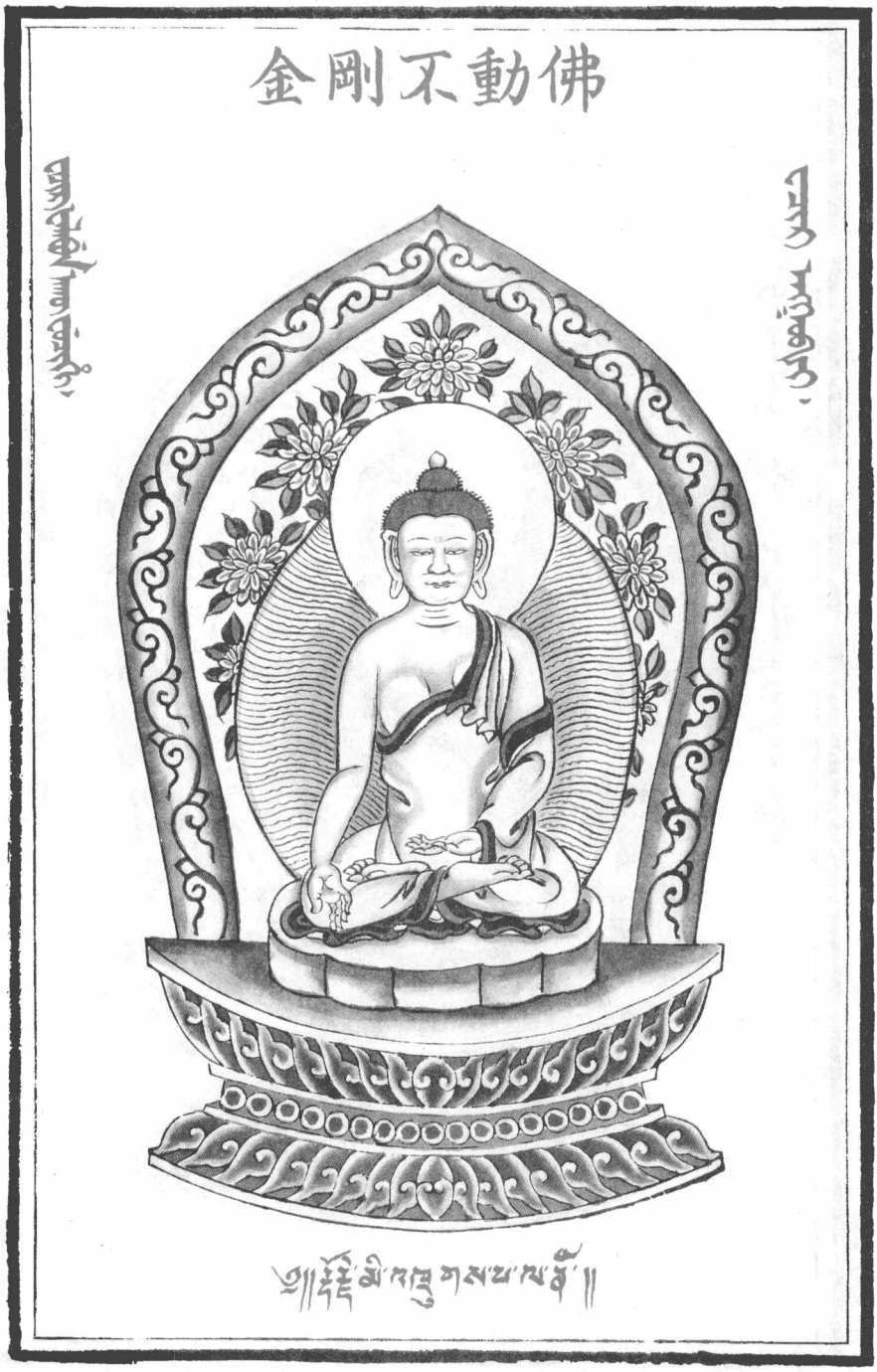
游戏何曾游戏，神通大是神通。
法海无边胜慧，要知非色非空。



托钵盂持贝叶，琉璃光无生灭。
药师王万千劫，称如来西方歇。



执得金钵在手，大地一声狮吼。
不知狮吼之声，诸人能听得否。



法体妙证金刚，宝地安然不动。
执着不动金刚，可是未醒痴梦。



偏袒稳坐昂藏，积成智慧金光。
光中普现吉祥，西方无上法王。



拈来普慧之花，香色普充无际。
金身普世皈依，众生普沾慈惠。



白毫放从宝顶，灵光普照群迷。
掌里示人妙谛，我佛微露禅机。



两手开放莲花，花里金经慧剑。
善哉大白文殊，一派慈心普现。



特庄严童子身，还不离文殊号。
持慧刃断群邪，无字经传妙道。



文殊师利金身，自能永住法轮。
右举降魔宝剑，左持无字灵文。



魔尽方能成佛，非佛不能降魔。
借此秘密机关，看渠执贝鸣螺。



端拱跏趺莲座，当胸一朵金莲。
座下狮王大吼，一声震破人天。



金身环绕莲花，常住西方佛地。
文殊幻想无穷，宝号妙语尊帝。



十日十方共观，八臂八方无碍。
法性妙语圆通，净土文殊自在。



双叠手跏趺坐，定了睛作功课。
此妙音谁得闻，此自在谁参破。



游戏却非游戏，自在不著自在。
个中是耶非耶，滋味阿谁能解。



三头六臂巍然，大胜人天三界。
庄严端坐莲台，众生虔诚叩拜。



面面观察六合，手手接引鸿恩。
端坐灵山极乐，千秋真实名尊。



金经超脱群迷，慧刃消除魔怪。
文殊永转慧轮，万劫金身不坏。



四臂各持宝物，巍然敏捷文殊。
大展慈悲度世，众生得拔泥途。



合掌念念慈悲，金身毫光普放。
何须甘露杨枝，才是观音本相。



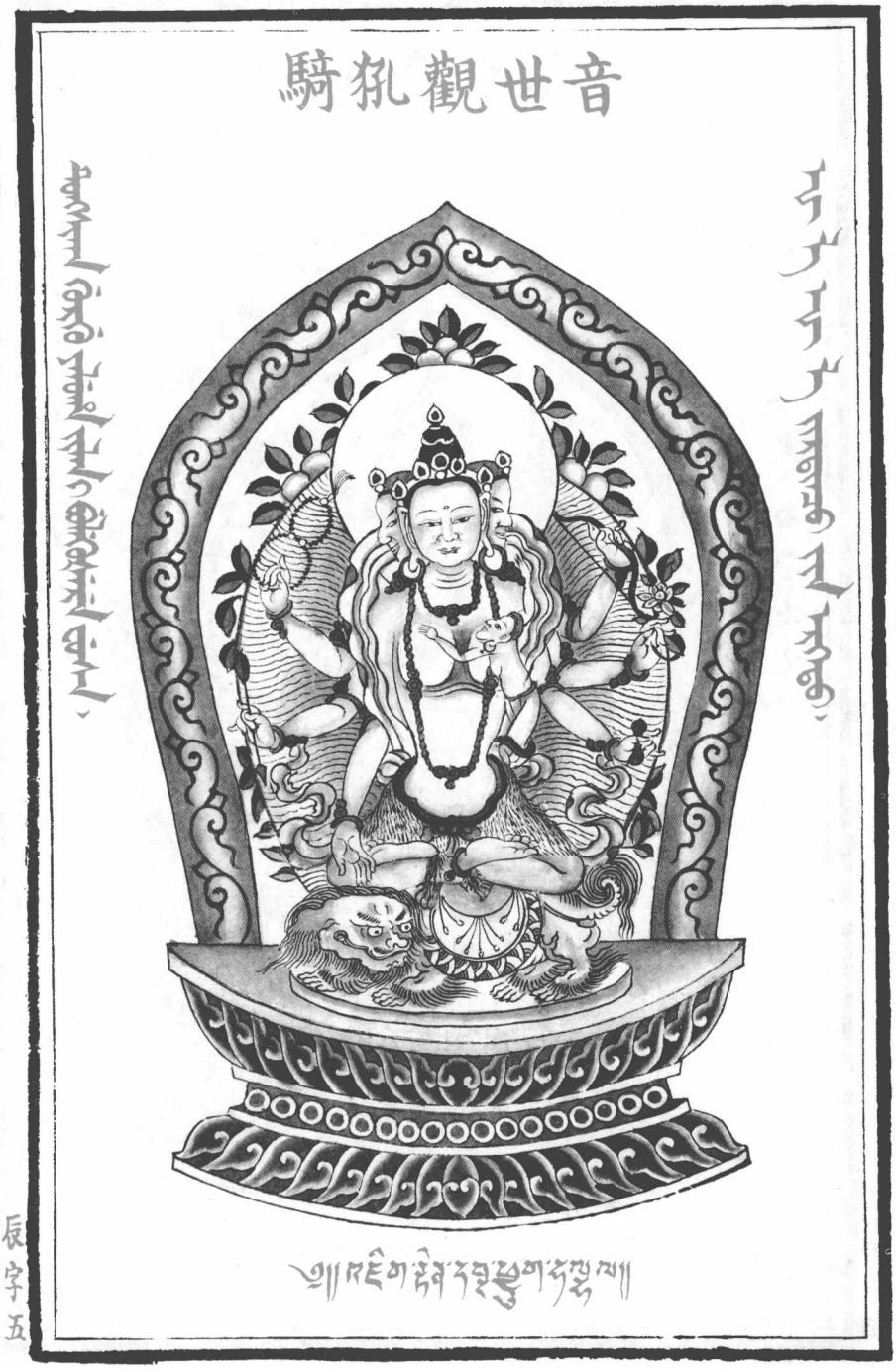
不须杨柳枝头，开遍妙莲花朵。
大千甘露均沾，大士庄严妙可。



如水清如月明，观世音众所称。
度群迷救众生，紫竹林化相呈。



调驯座下狮王，大是庄严威力。
普门幻相谁参，想是善财能识。



幻像三头六手，骑狮周行九有。
深意阿谁分剖，许汝脱离尘垢。



六其手三其面，恶魔消慈心现。
金刚身神而变，微妙法谁能辨。



辰字七

降伏镜里魔军，大作梦中佛事。
莲花妙舞称扬，自在观音大士。



罗刹即是菩萨，菩萨却非罗刹。
宝臂一十有八，莲花妙舞超拔。



不是文殊师利，不是三眼天魔。
骑狮静观自在，慈悲显相普陀。



权衡全赖大慈，三界视如平等。
无轻无重如如，法力天人共领。



白衣化作红光，莲座如如自在。
暂抛鹦鹉杨枝，超出人天三界。



自在号尊青项，万相不出一相。
闻声感应三千，众生顶礼回向。



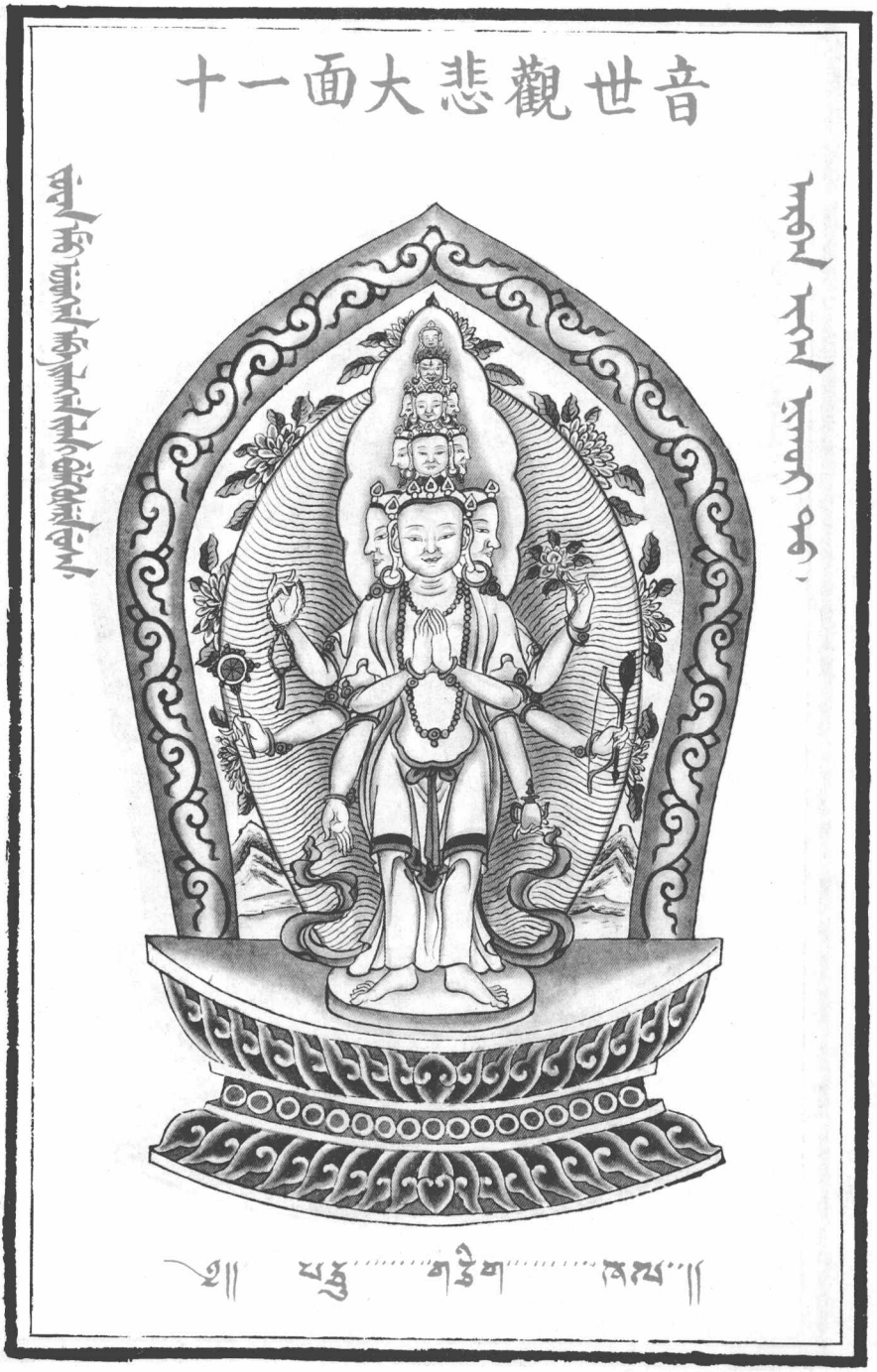
慈悲心夜叉面，变金身重叠见。
甚深法广而幻，普陀崖称妙善。



落伽化相无穷，大士名称成锁。
威严警世慈悲，超度无分尔我。



慧光照彻三界，大地遍覆红云。
伸手慈怀接引，普济一切迷津。



辰字十六

八只臂十一面，大悲心神而幻。
紫竹林万千变，拔沉沦登彼岸。



十一首不为多，十手也不为少。
要知幻相菩萨，悟得虚空了了。



如意自在威仪，端然趺坐披衣。
金莲高耸琼枝，不须龙女军持。



辰字十九

转法轮持法贝，大宝相庄严异。
离南海来济世，遇善缘皆如意。



落伽化现威仪，超出红尘世界。
甚深妙法无边，万劫金刚不坏。



菩萨大慈大悲，满握金刚拳印。
足令龙象皈依，顶礼金容心信。



宝号虽称夜叉，却是慈容欢喜。
手中法器双持，谁识其中妙旨。



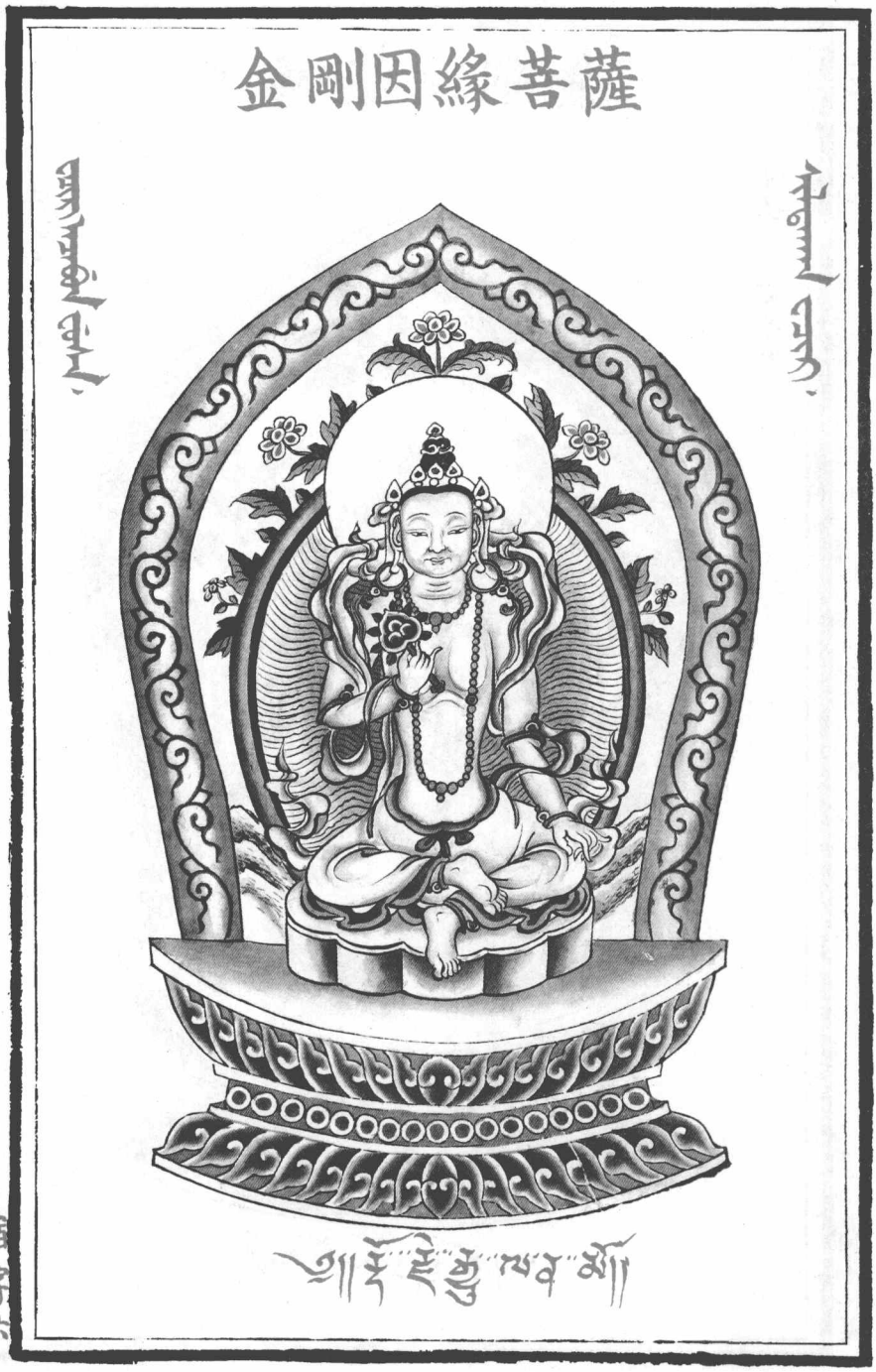
慧光有感斯通，妙诀无微不度。
十方一切含灵，永赖金刚保护。



宝杵能降外道，金铃震醒群迷。
智行普周十地，众生莫不皈依。



金刚说法莲台，百万人天瞻仰。
其如示诸斯乎，趺坐仰伸双掌。



慈悲度尽人天，结成欢喜因缘。
手中法宝谁传，如来妙谛真诠。



左持一卷金经，右仗一把慧剑。
金刚敏捷菩萨，外道邪魔难见。



宝莲拥护金身，堪称金刚妙法。
仰赖菩萨慈悲，万类同登宝筏。



金容喜笑颜开，破除烦恼沉埋。
慈悲度脱凡胎，众生共跻春台。



不是白伞盖佛，又非增长天王。
借此金刚幢盖，慈阴笼罩十方。



手捧一轮宝镜，光明遍照无边。
菩萨金刚德威，恩辉具足明圆。



欣然梵贝高擎，自是金刚大宝。
庄严莲座威仪，永住西天不老。



宝杵永镇西天，金铃妙偈真传。
大悲普度三千，共颂金刚善贤。



趺坐引矢张弓，穿破迷关普度。
菩萨好个威仪，顶礼金刚喜慕。



菩萨智慧无穷，尊号金刚大帝。
执此如来法宝，破尽邪魔外祟。



端拱持铃在座，金刚勇识功课。
若问妙谛真诠，不离行住坐卧。



三面三光对照，四臂四相领要。
不识弥勒化身，但看袒腹微笑。



同瞻弥勒金身，欢喜世界生春。
左献如来法贝，右展释帝金轮。



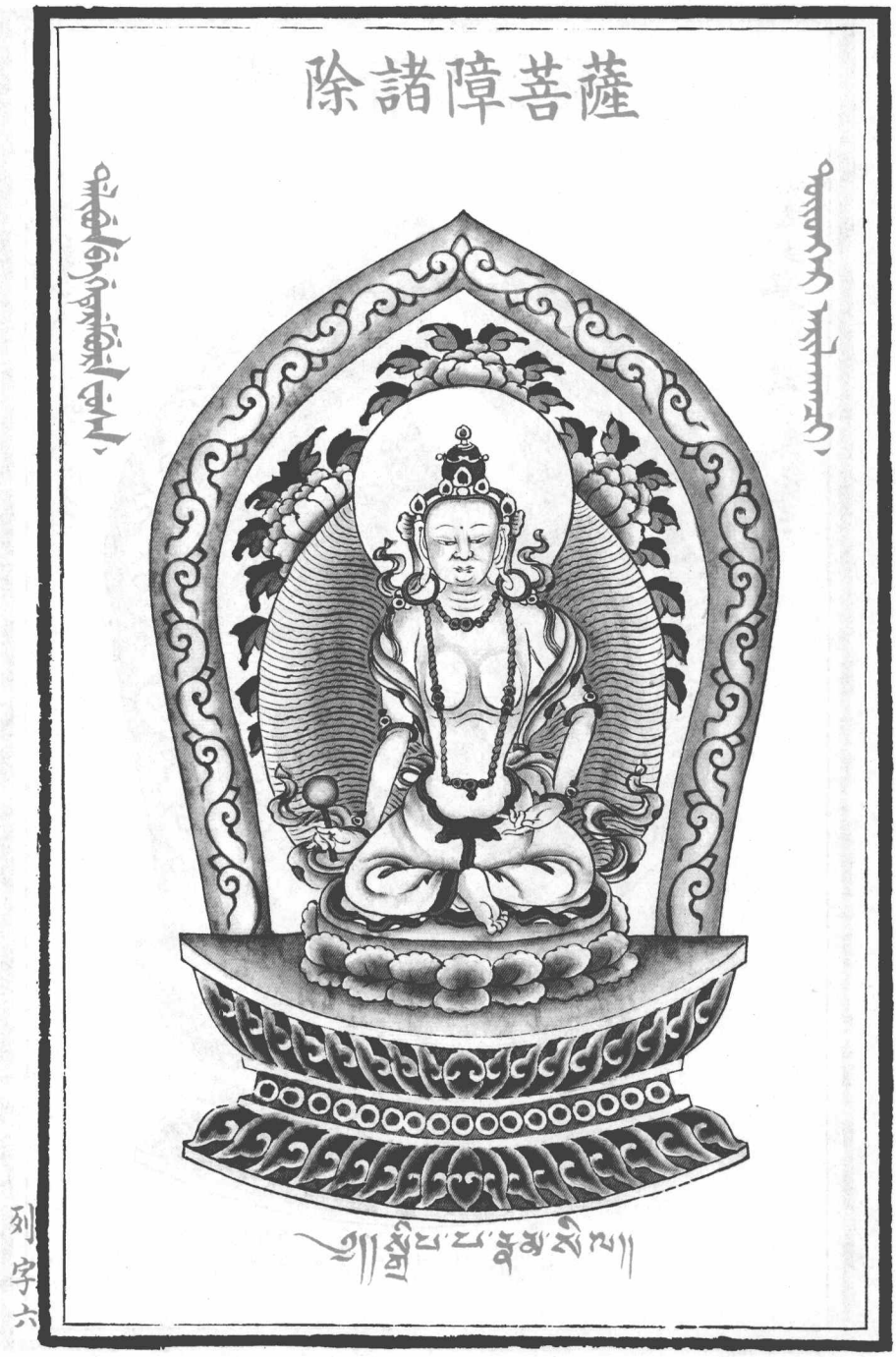
持宝珠比月圆，光遍满虚空藏。
莲座上自跏趺，度尽了众生障。



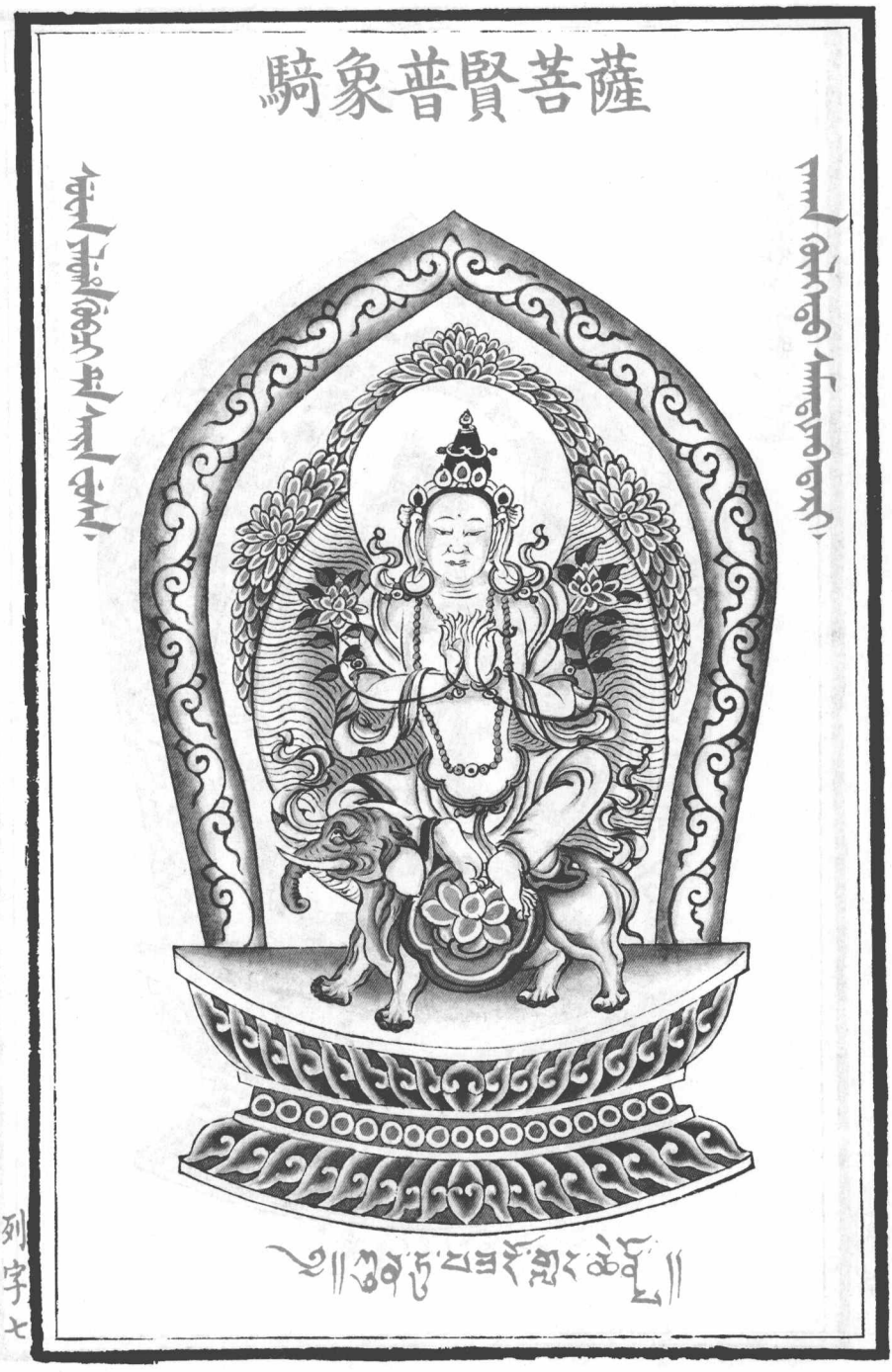
主张轮回无竟，地藏法王妙用。
镜花点化手中，指引泉台果证。



端坐不言而笑，普贤菩萨神妙。
世界虽是三千，一点灵光普照。



色是空空是色，除诸障大功德。
宝镜辉开茅塞，万千秋住佛国。



座下白象调驯，宝相庄严成就。
普贤大士神慈，一切众生蒙佑。



手持诸般法宝，欲度众生了了。
佛母摧碎大千，超登多罗三藐。



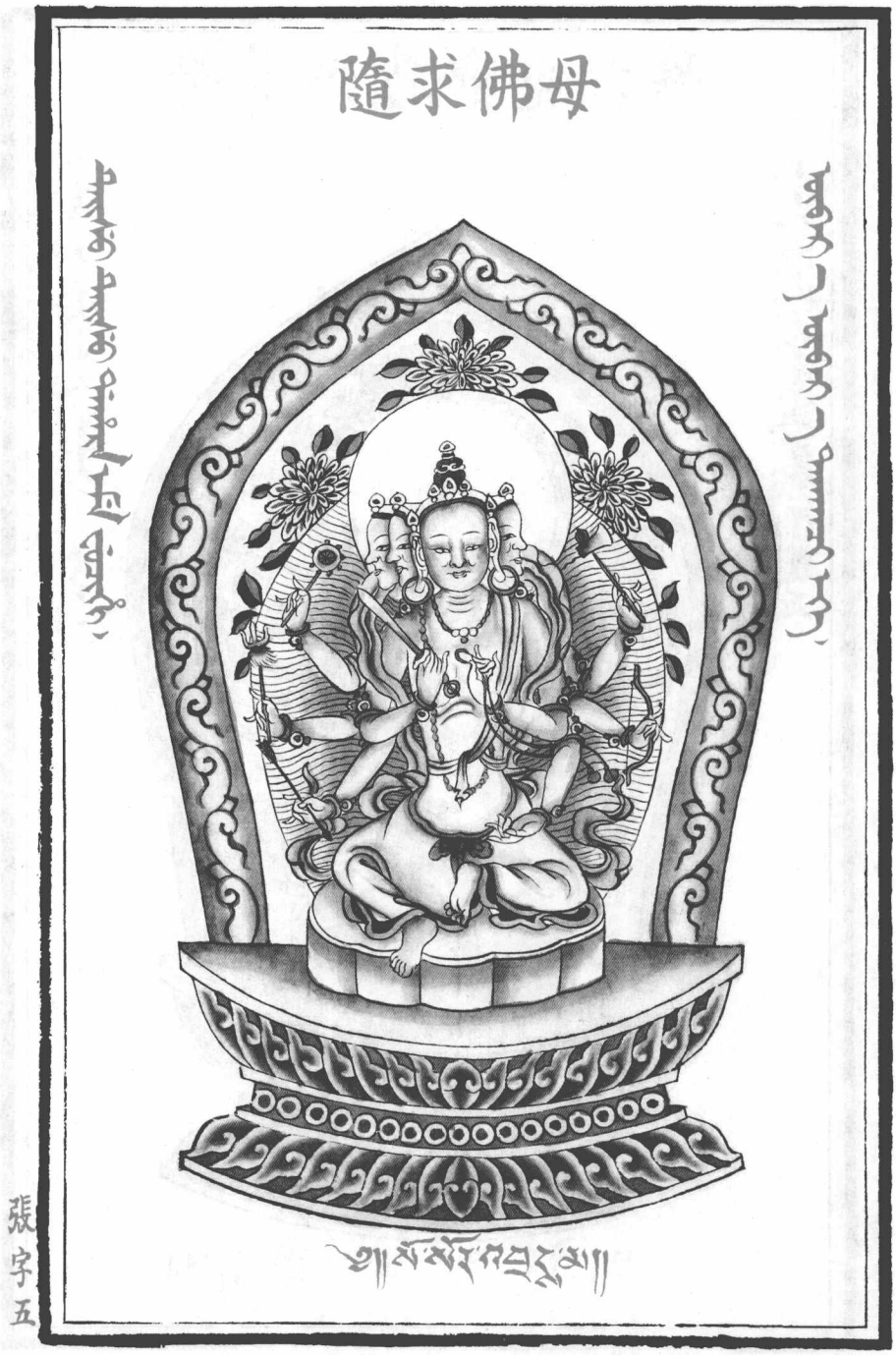
坐莲台居极乐，共瞻仰大孔雀。
醒愚蒙恩普博，礼佛母群踊跃。



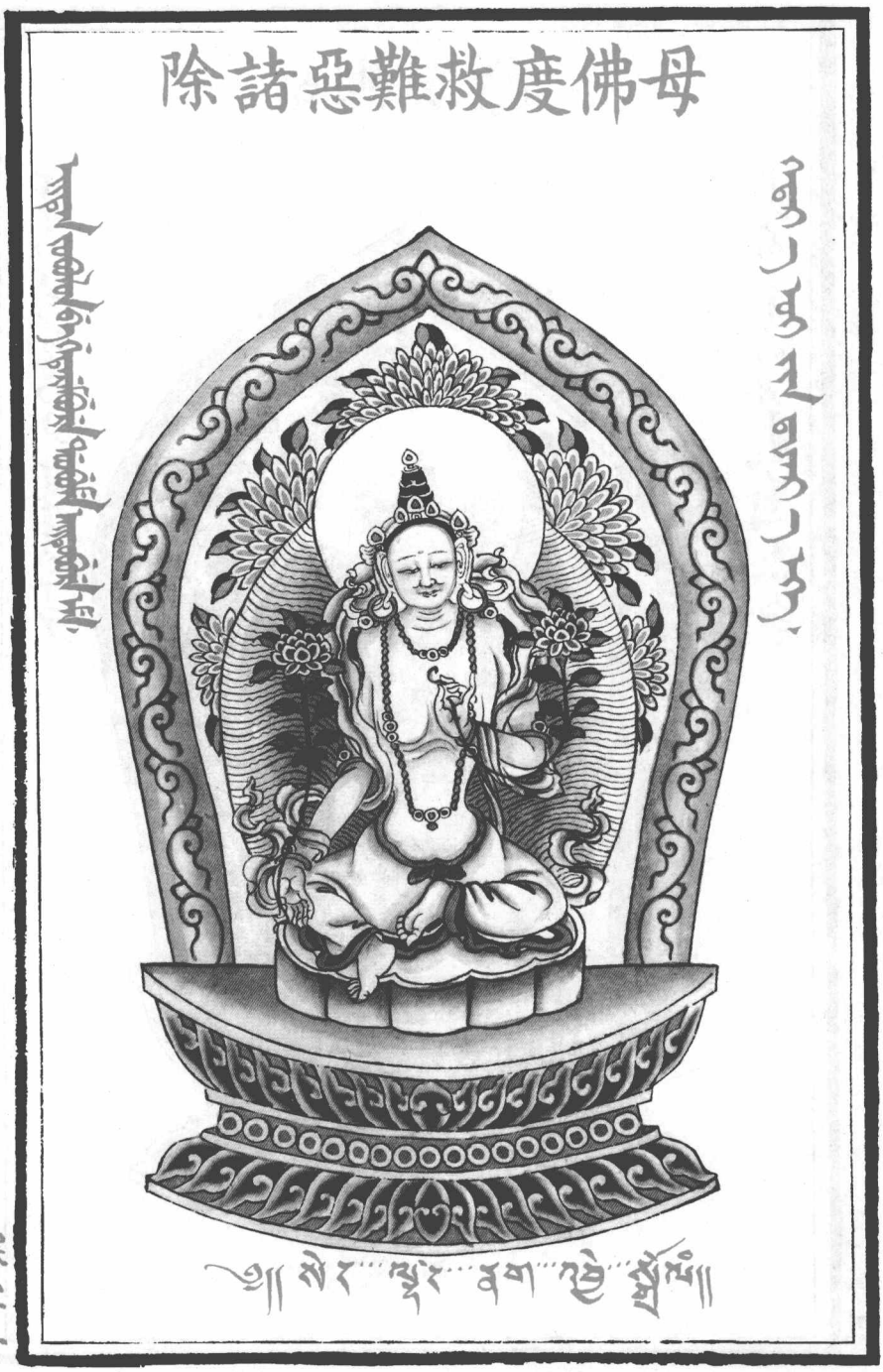
大寒林中佛母，救众生之疾苦。
功德周而遍普，恒河沙兮难数。



密咒随持佛母，救济无所不周。
执定如来法海，一任极乐遨游。



慈悲无处不周，感应随人所求。
普遍四大部洲，金容万载长留。



除尽诸般恶难，殷殷救度群生。
宝座金莲高耸，皈依极乐同登。



庄严尊者威仪，速勇称为宝号。
仗兹救度洪深，破尽邪魔外道。



瞻法相何精洁，妙庄严难尽说。
大善心如秋月，救度功无休歇。



现十手之法相，具大慧之威仪。
仰金色之宝体，施救度之慈悲。



大地一切含灵，尊胜慈容共领。
宝罐垂恩救度，愿把醍醐灌顶。



吽音遍布虚空，可是无边无际。
大慈救度三千，百万人天益利。



无遮无障无碍，能胜人天三界。
救度佛母慈悲，万劫金身长在。



寒字八

慈力能摧恶敌，金绳慧刃加持。
更把法轮常转，普增佛日光辉。



大智能摧怒魔，万载众生回向。
佛母救度生灵，大地沾恩无量。



救度百千万劫，宝号涅槃寂灭。
除魔降怪金身，瑞霭祥光朗彻。



神索灵幡持握，能使诸邪摄伏。
世间普赖佛缘，虔诵灵文修福。



履正锡以迪吉，作善降之百祥。
以此化脱众生，佛母惠泽汪洋。



火自心生如炽，佛母救度拯济。
仰瞻轮箭双持，灭却邪魔救世。



尘世谁来棒喝，孽眉威相我佛。
三头六臂金身，立地恶邪失魄。



佛母号大柔善，加持慈悲念念。
救度世上众生，一切俱登彼岸。



明咒吽声救度，佛母恩光无碍。
哪有外道邪魔，万载众生顶戴。



莲座香腾贝叶，手捧镜光不辍。
度脱衰败众生，照彻不生不灭。



寒字十八

一手高擎何物，三手垂伸何故。
能动三界金身，慈悲救度佛母。



寒字十九

佛法无量无边，覆被毫无分别。
佛灯照彻三千，诸苦立地消灭。



佛法无巨无细，不二门中真谛。
手捧一盏慧灯，光射大千无际。



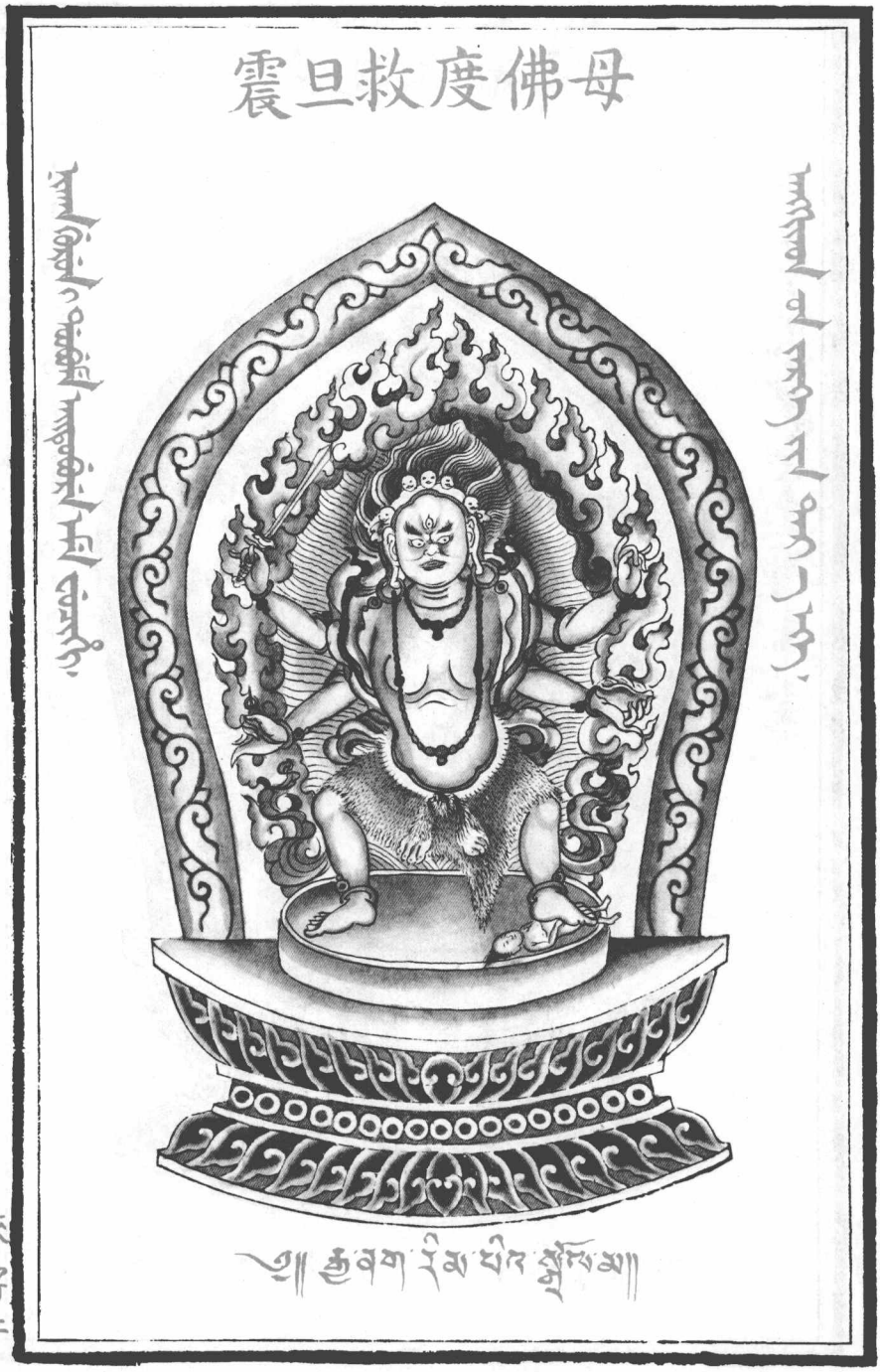
吉祥圆满救度，极乐西方长住。
佛母宝罐端持，盛贮醍醐甘露。



佛母除诸恶毒，感应人天迅速。
众生尽在覆育，瞻礼金身丈六。



救度佛母多名，此位金刚宫室。
天花散布人天，法力神通秘密。



足下摄伏魔祟，举剑神威可畏。
震旦救度生灵，谁晓个中滋味。



三目通彻三光，如意宝轮度世。
莲台笑拈昙花，法像天开云霁。



佛母如意自在，救度苍生依赖。
如如不染纤尘，全仗慈悲覆盖。



参礼西方佛母，不是化相观音。
幻就三头六臂，白衣万载称尊。



摩尼珠掌中陈，捧一册无字文。
布金田救度殷，拔群生出迷津。



除尽诸般恶趣，救度佛母恩该。
净扫泥犁疾苦，共教合掌莲台。



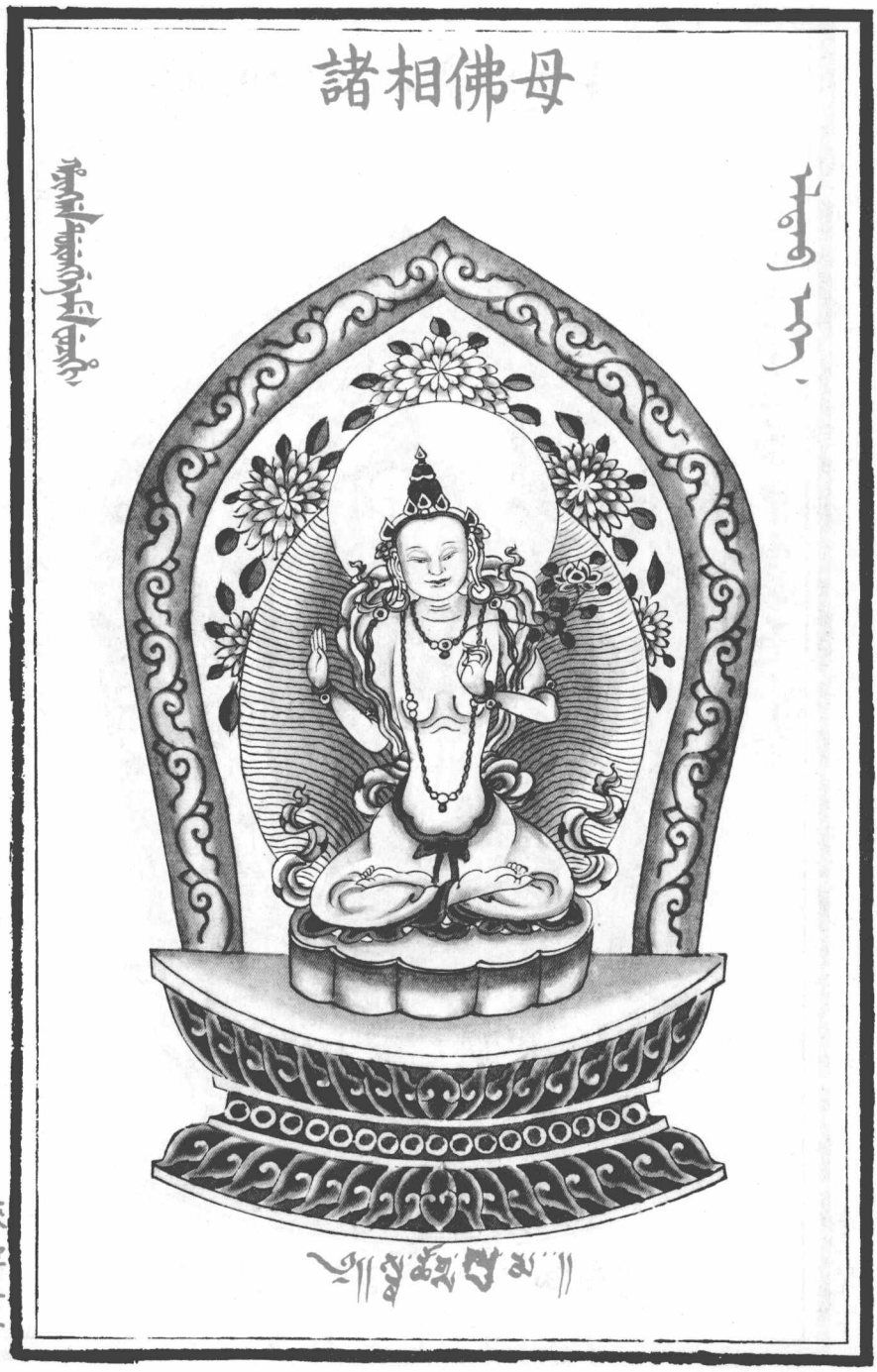
一切善缘成就，幻相神威灵佑。
足下收伏邪魔，大地众生普救。



神其威定其性，大而化明而圣。
诸恶毒除清净，显威灵在佛境。



亿劫尊称佛母，二十四臂金身。
一髻皈依万法，要知我佛能仁。



无相方成诸相，跏趺九品金莲。
要把释迦宝谛，掌中秘示真传。



二臂一髻慈和，众生受益良多。
慧光千载难磨，焚香虔诵南无。



双手示显佛花，双手金钵捧定。
瞻依四臂准提，永住西方圣境。



手手不离法宝，端居足踏莲葩。
广臂准提佛母，慈容万劫堪夸。



两手护持日月，积得佛光照彻。
金身高驾仙车，万姓志心叩谒。



三界照临三面，八臂护持八方。
秘受如来多宝，佛母号称积光。



积成三昧佛光，照彻幽明因果。
座下白象调驯，掌握妙莲一朵。



足踏邪魔伏首，变象威灵知否。
多般法宝坚持，制服毒龙在手。



极乐世界佛母，炼就金刚智性。
顶礼宝像庄严，积得慧光上乘。



宝罐满贮醍醐，掌托佛身清净。
三千大千之中，无人不理尊胜。



化相威超三界，尊号曰白伞盖。
度群生咸依赖，大功德同覆载。



皈依叶衣佛母，庄严何必袈裟。
制伏邪魔外道，三头六臂光华。



金容看去狰狞，一片慈心圣善。
叶衣佛母尊严，一切含灵称赞。



尊般若号佛母，救生灵诸疾苦。
妙莲花生净土，捧金经誓愿普。



身似菩提宝树，心存般若波罗。
大展我佛宝卷，慧光度世云多。



特在极乐西方，幻化三头六臂。
但知金刚妙音，谁解佛母妙谛。



手执金经一卷，不知有字无字。
瞻仰金刚妙音，好与吾佛无异。



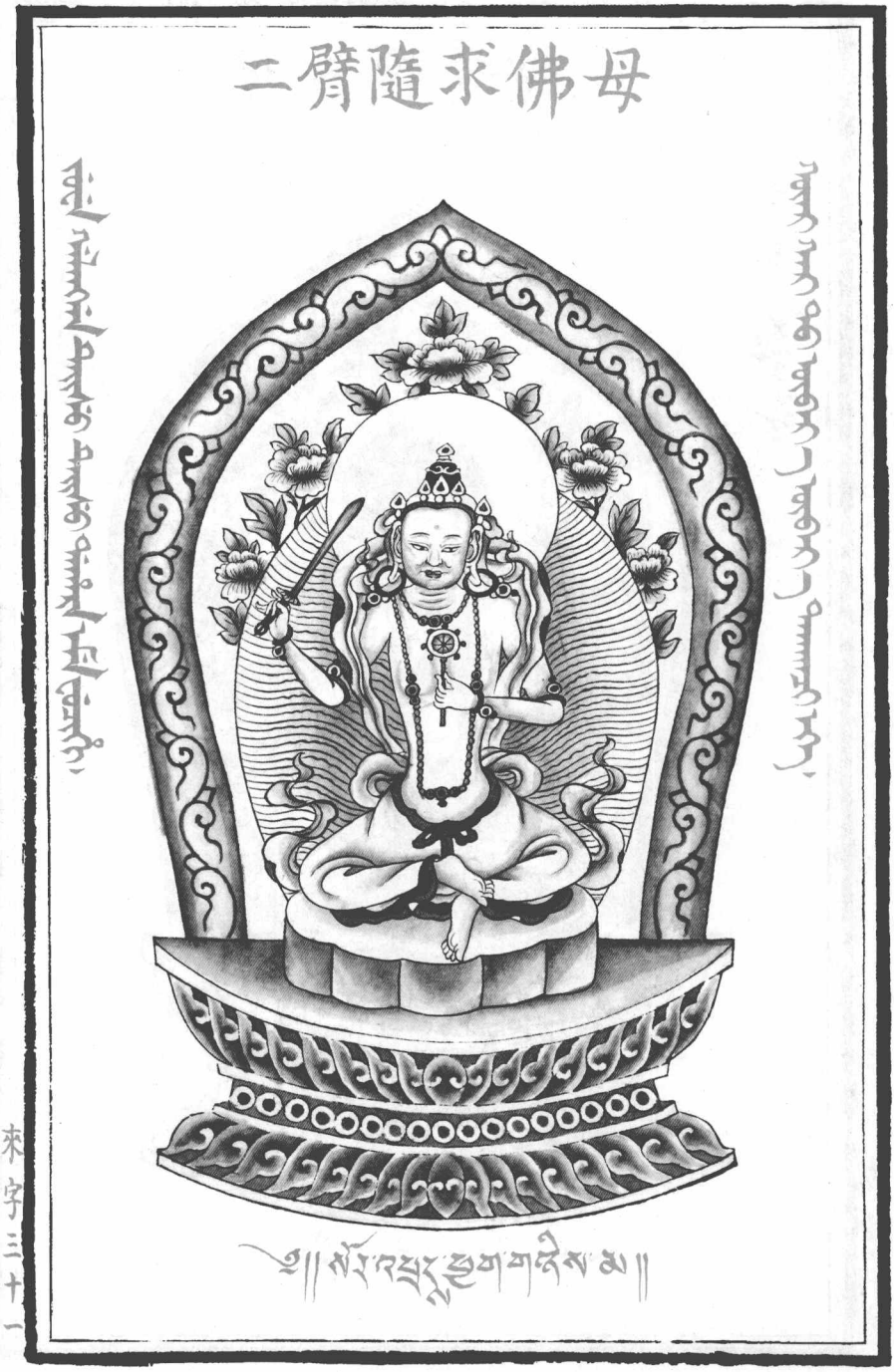
佛母端坐莲花，怀中震动琵琶。
妙音普遍恒沙，慈悲感应无涯。



宝塔玲珑在手，颦眉作号知否。
慈悲救度婆心，顶礼天高地厚。



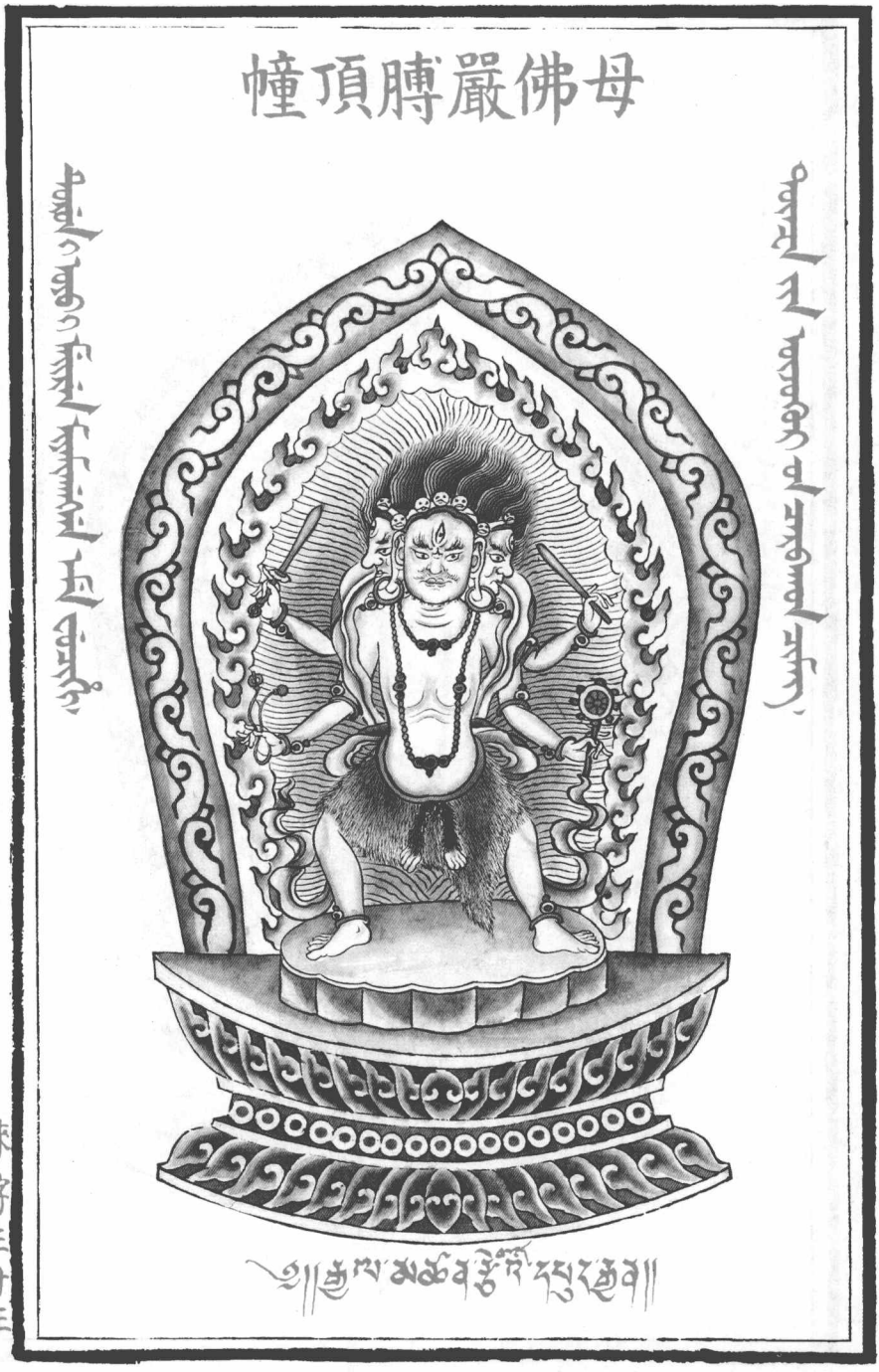
座下收伏魔头，可是佛母威力。
宝号匝呼訾嘎，普度无穷无极。



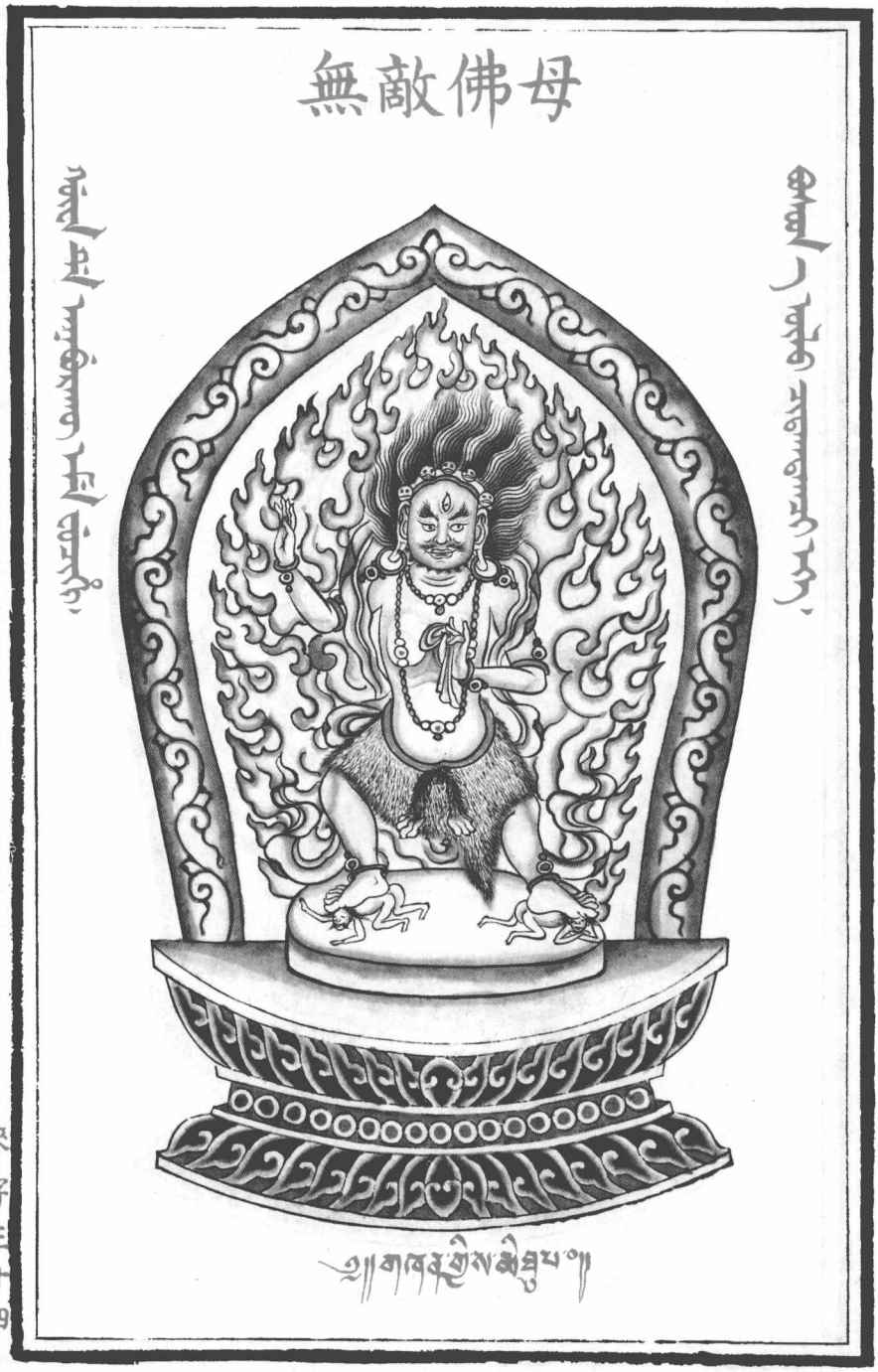
慧剑斩断魔头，金轮光照九州。
慈悲随人所求，救度无所不周。



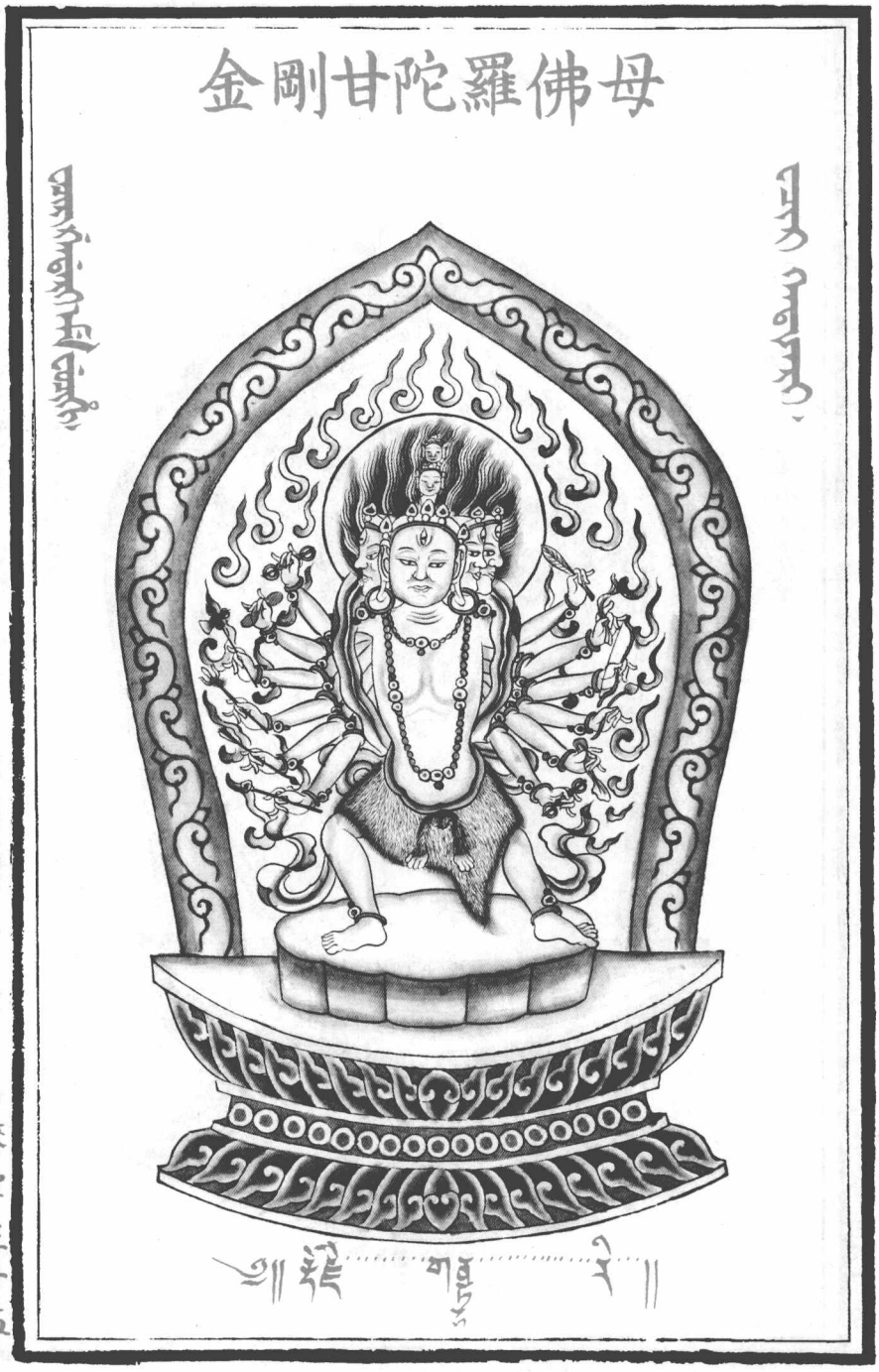
慧剑持法轮转，举金钩执宝伞。
妙莲花手中展，佛母容实冠冕。



法相威而不猛，慈心化而通神。
幢顶膊严佛母，慈悲显化金身。



妙智神光无敌，收伏邪魔清净。
慧光焰焰腾辉，位列西天上圣。



手中法器多般，无非降魔至宝。
万众合掌皈依，欢喜永除烦恼。



修得无穷妙法，净土不染纤尘。
佛母金刚性智，拯拔一切沉沦。



上透三十三天，下遍十八地狱。
大悲无处不周，智行金刚具足。



勇是非常神勇，识则无边大识。
西天佛母灵通，涵育群生无极。



好个大宝金刚，一位巍巍法王。
顶上放白毫光，慧明照耀十方。



不在莲台端坐，立地接引众生。
沙罗门为宝号，万姓顶戴虔诚。



佛母大慈大悲，万类均沾化育。
阎浮世界众生，普遍受兹长禄。



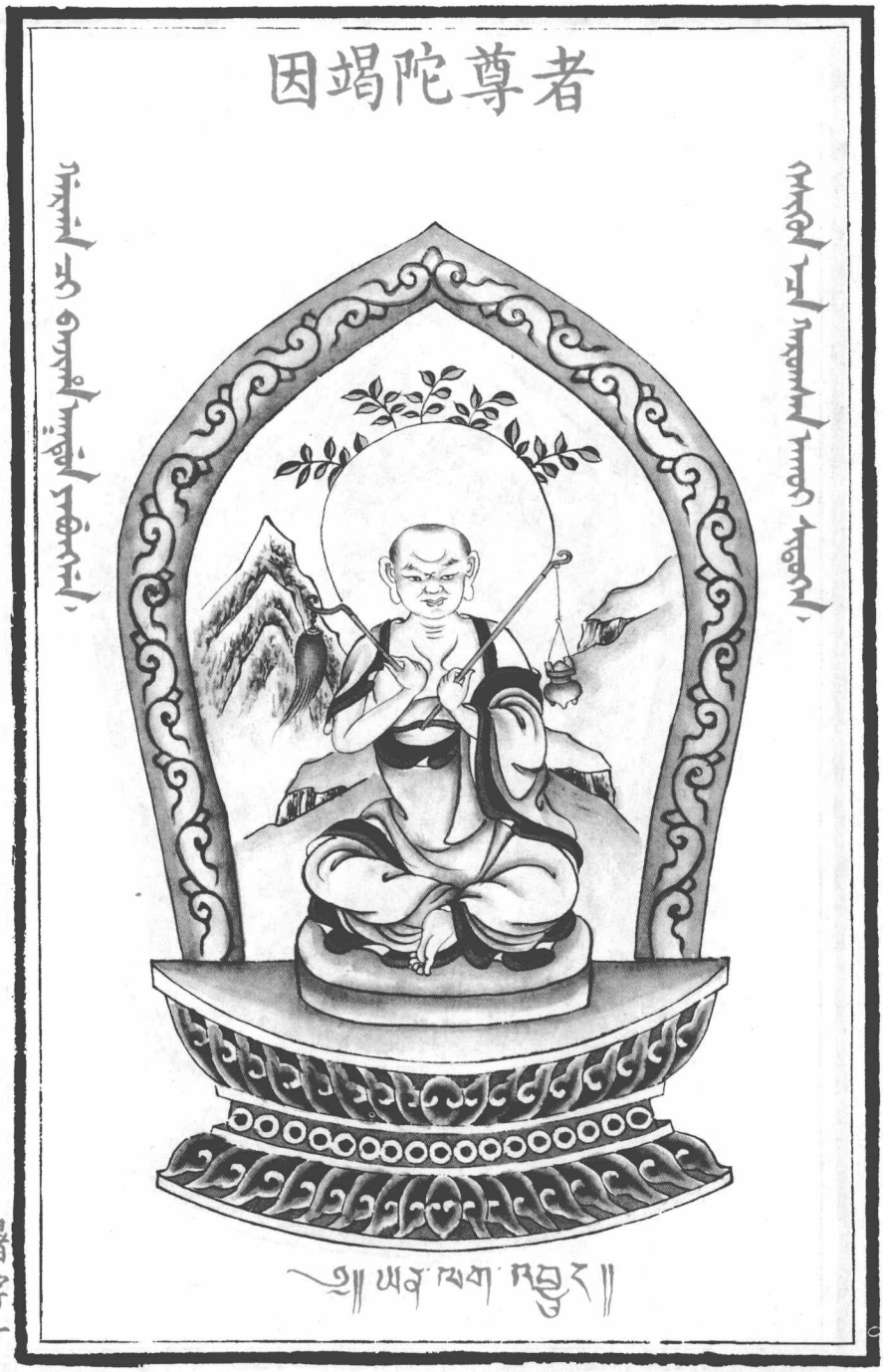
法相位尊北极，灵明感应无差。
端坐布金世界，尘寰普染光华。



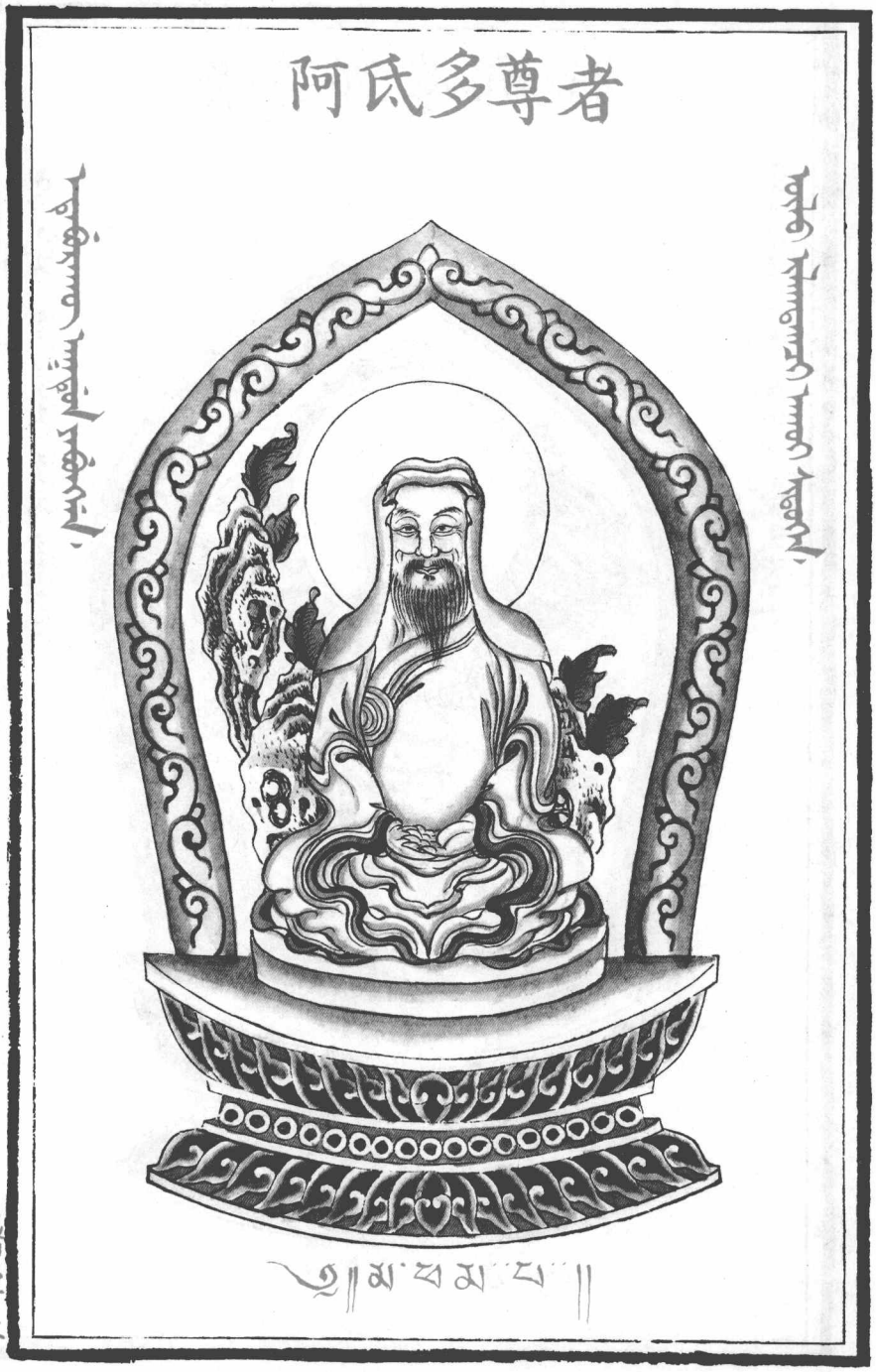
法贝满盛甘露，宝幡接引人天。
明慧金刚亥母，白毫光射无边。



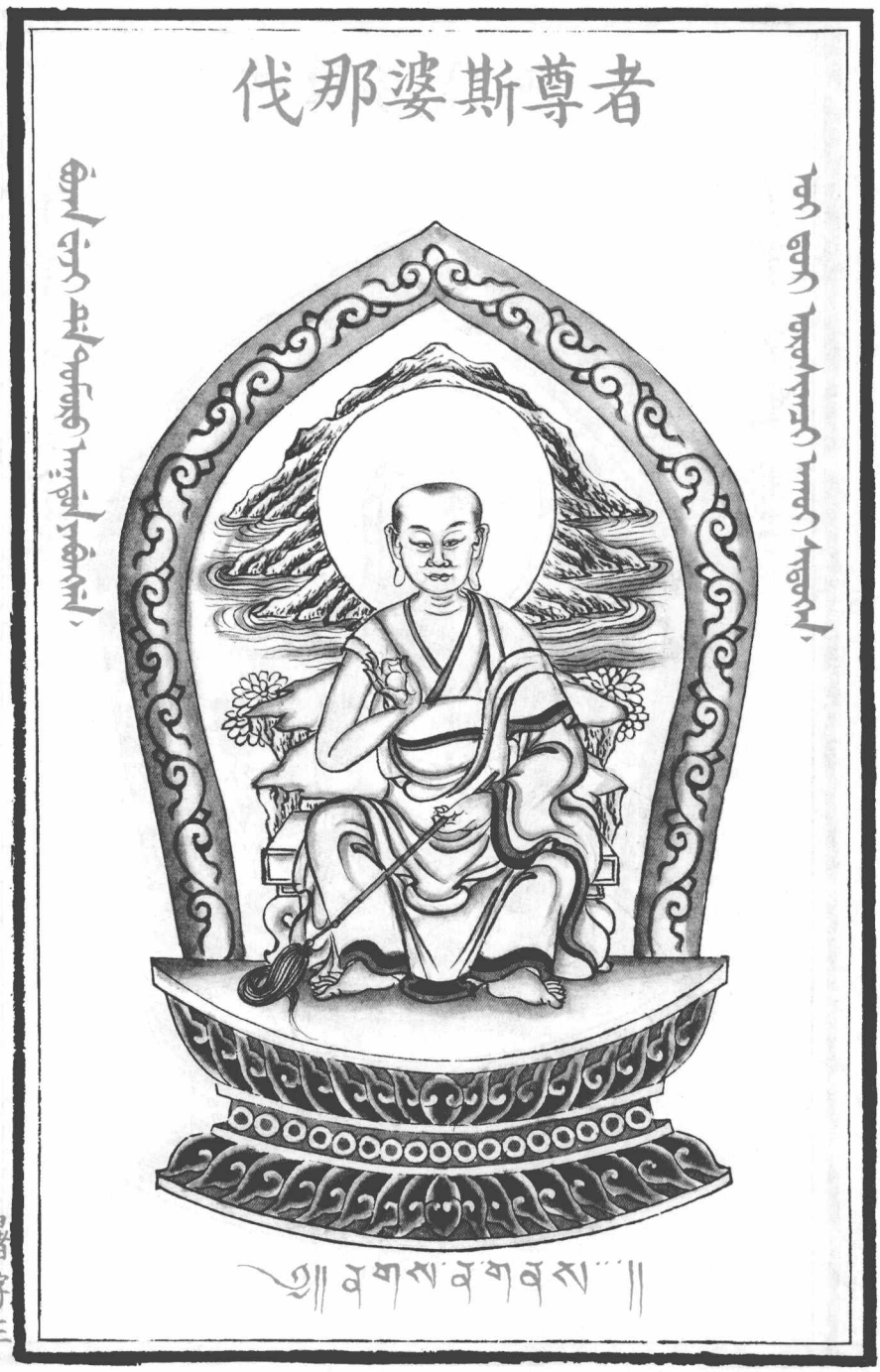
足踏妖魔镇定，亥母金刚智行。
成就一切功德，妙道堪称堪庆。



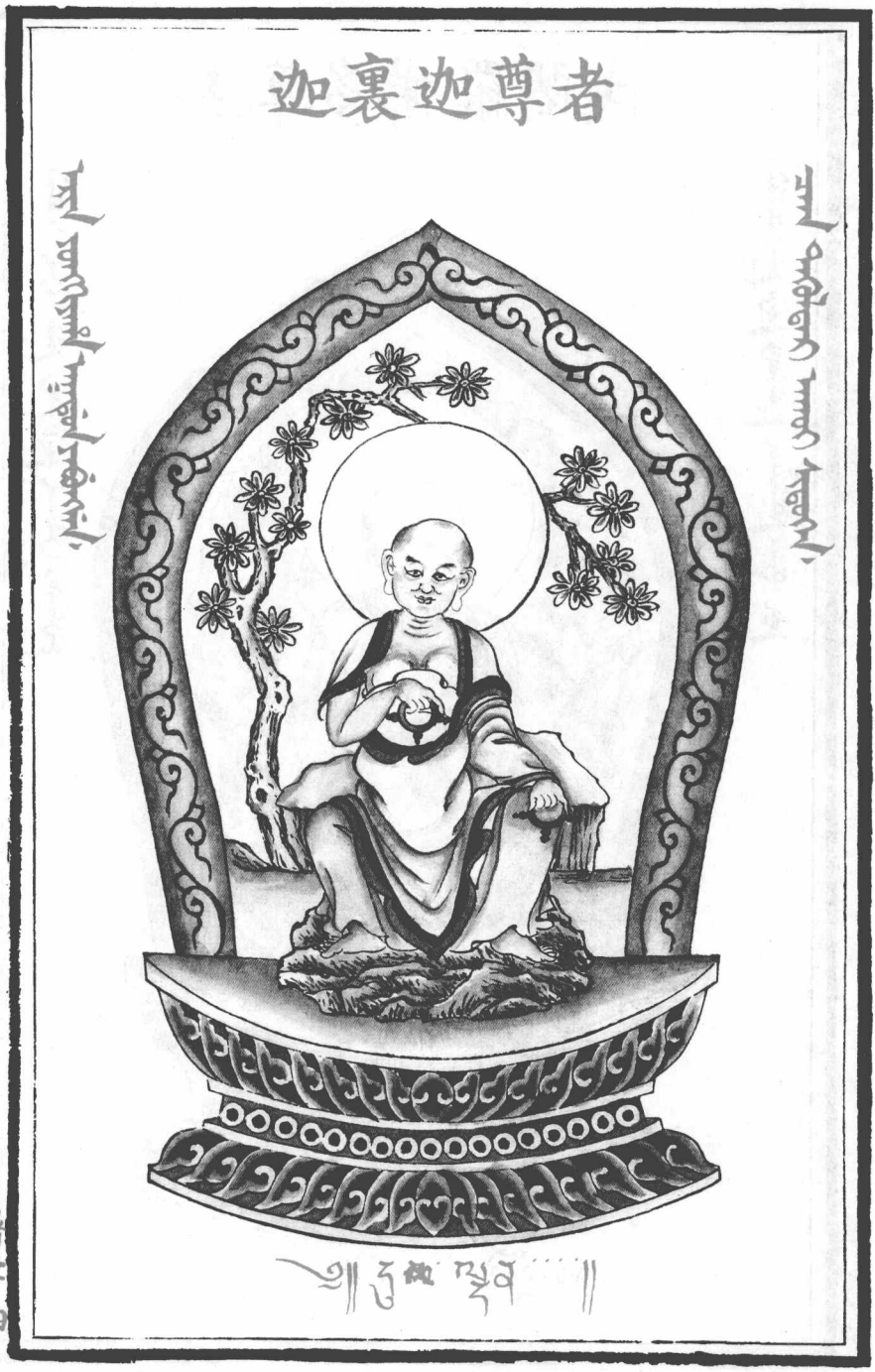
拂子扫尽尘霾，炉烟熏陶世界。
慈悲遍被人天，度脱了无障碍。



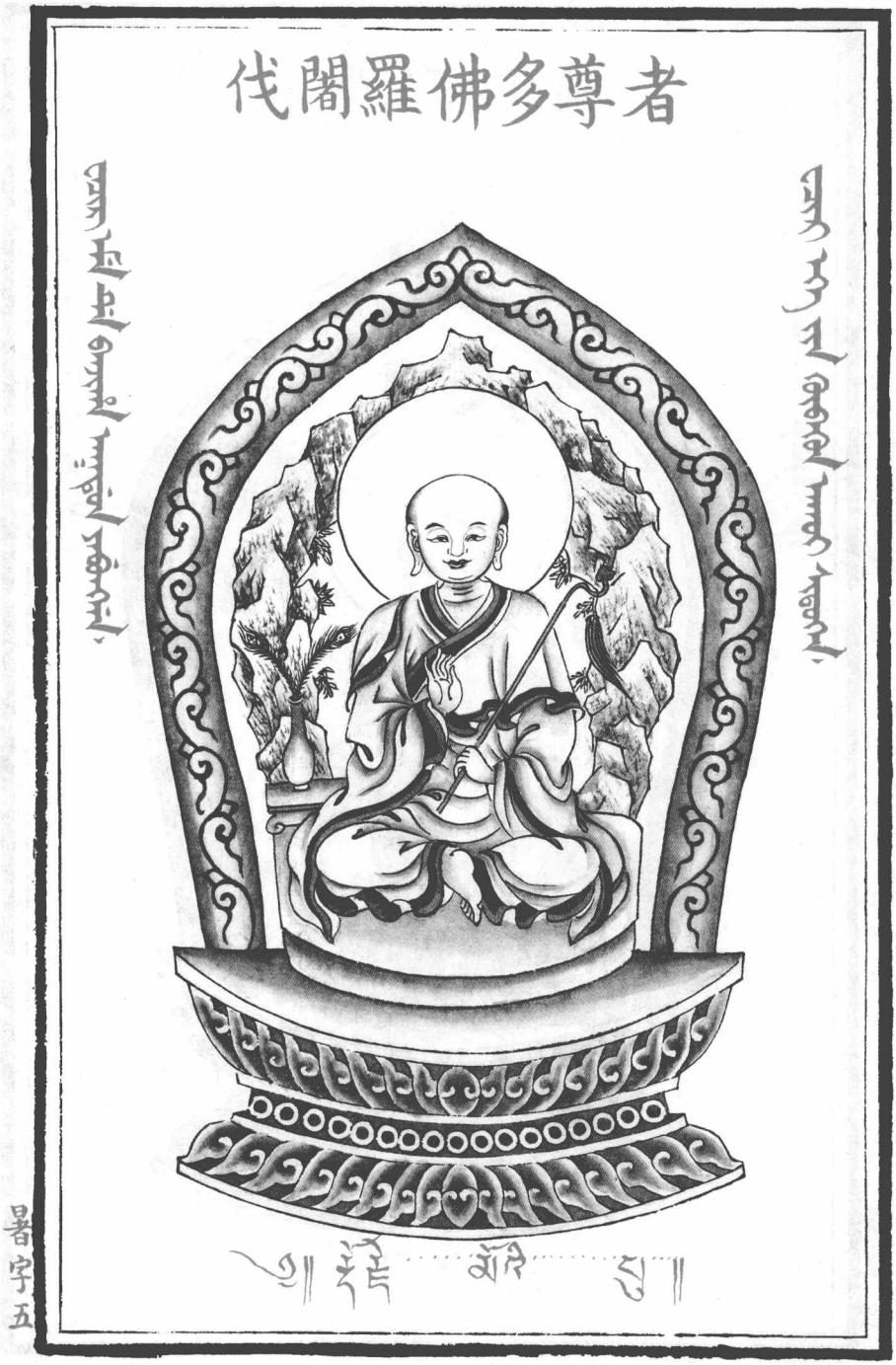
削发因除烦恼，留须为表丈夫。
普度世间无量，浑如化相文殊。



位证西方极乐，拂子手中拈着。
伐那婆斯尊者，普度皈依正觉。



两手分执双环，应是调狮驯象。
位证尊者大名，无不皈依法相。



拂子指挥如意，心心念念菩提。
座列军持甘露，谁参尊者机微。



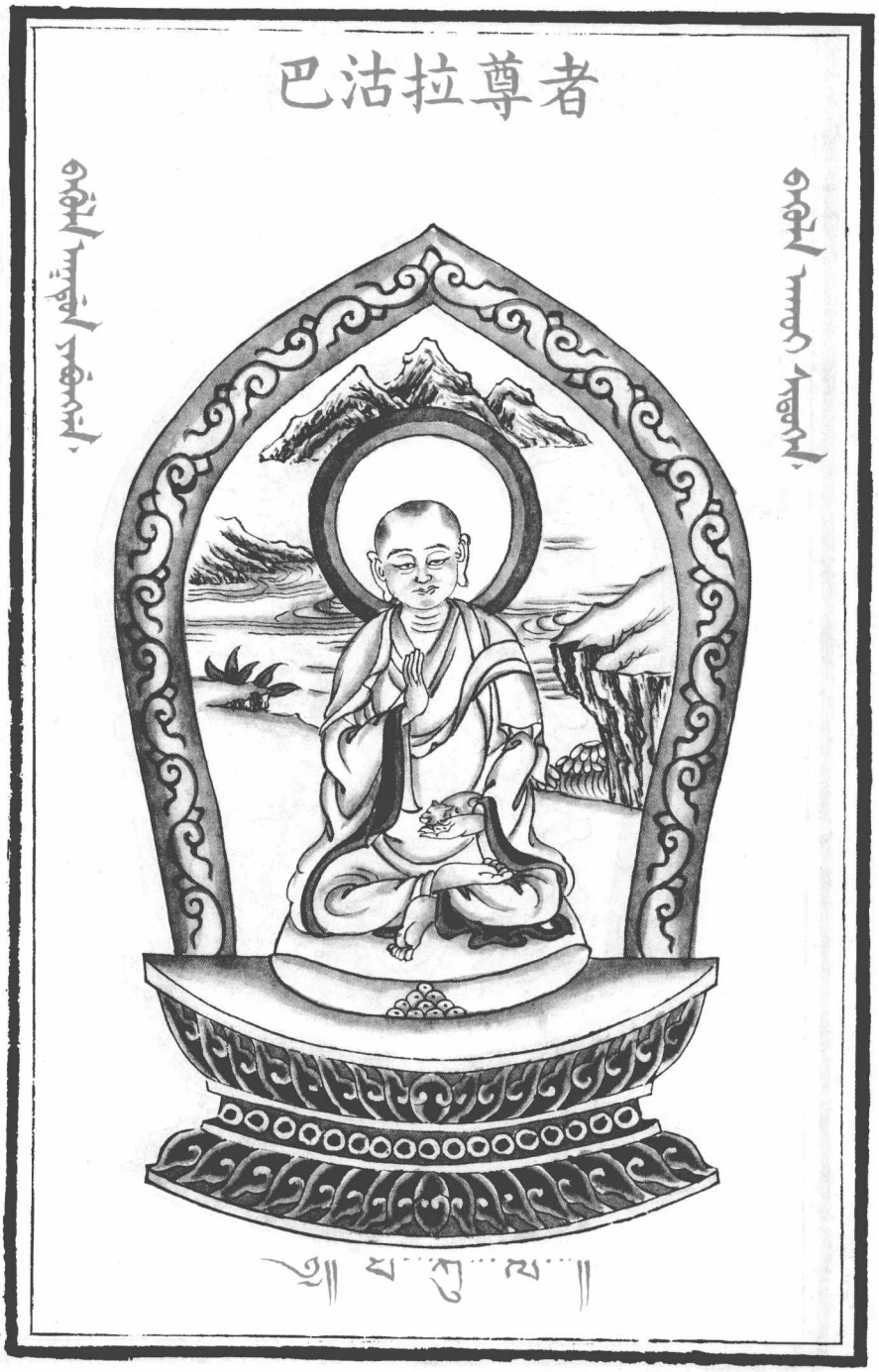
跋陀罗群顶戴，瞻法相大自在。
度众生三千界，信心殷共展拜。



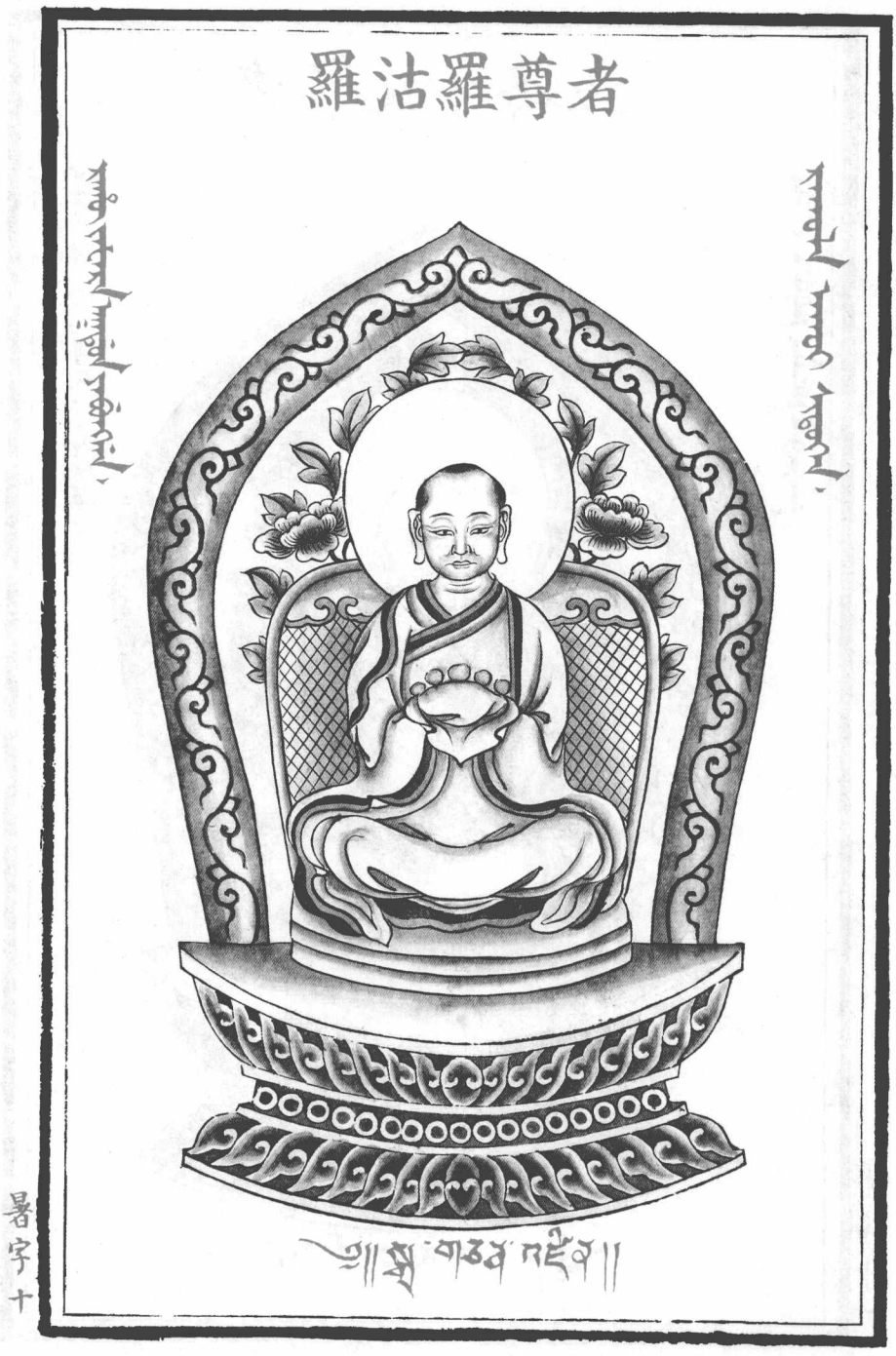
迦诺迦伐蹉尊，跏趺莲台不动。
双球两手分持，好个慈悲面孔。



霩霩祥云护体，谁悟尊者就里。
如如在在禅心，皓月清风可比。



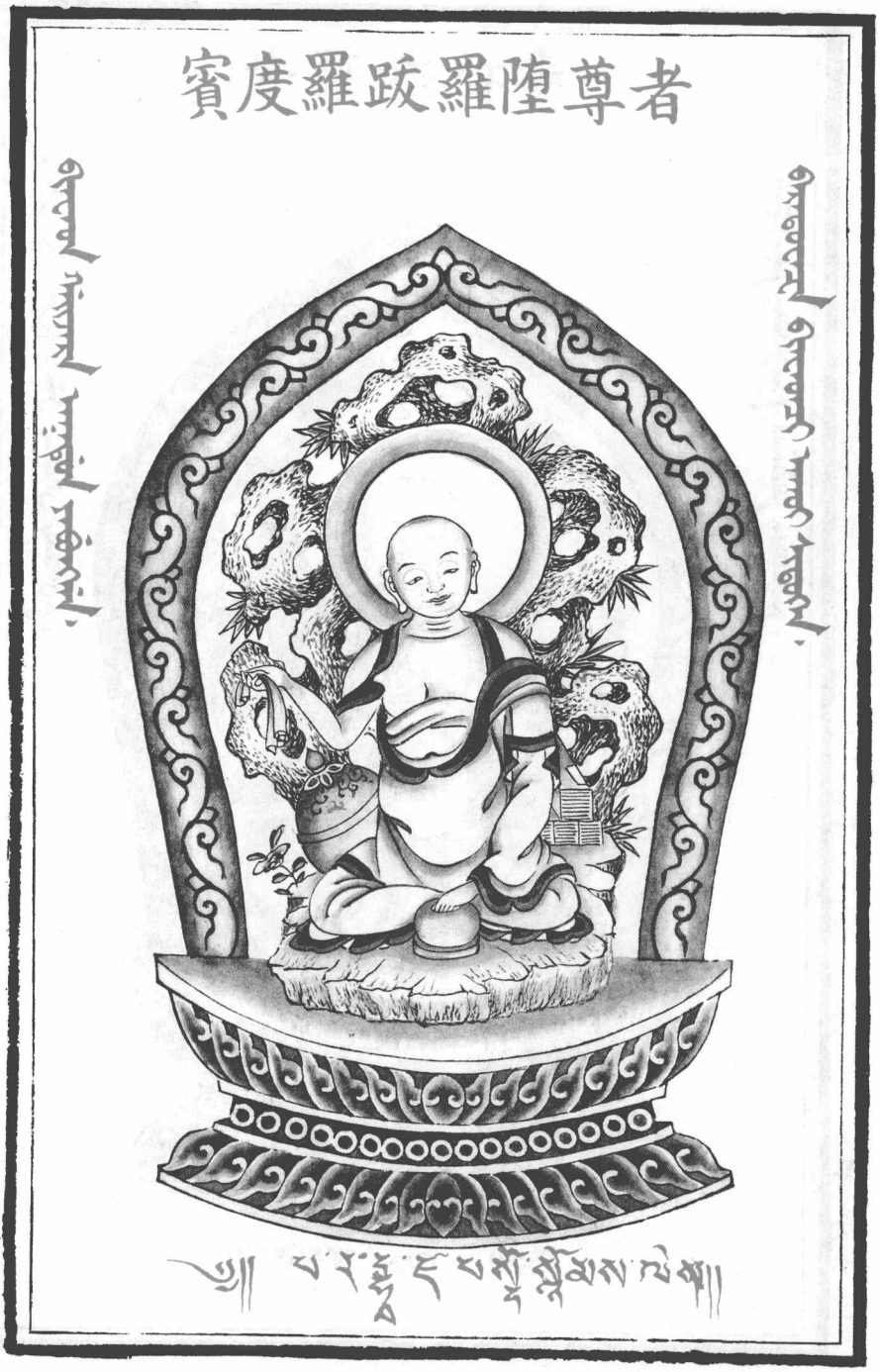
危坐一手问讯，放出毫光如镜。
端的尊者仪容，令人瞻依起敬。



双手端拱在座，一切有无看破。
号称罗沽罗尊，应是西方首坐。



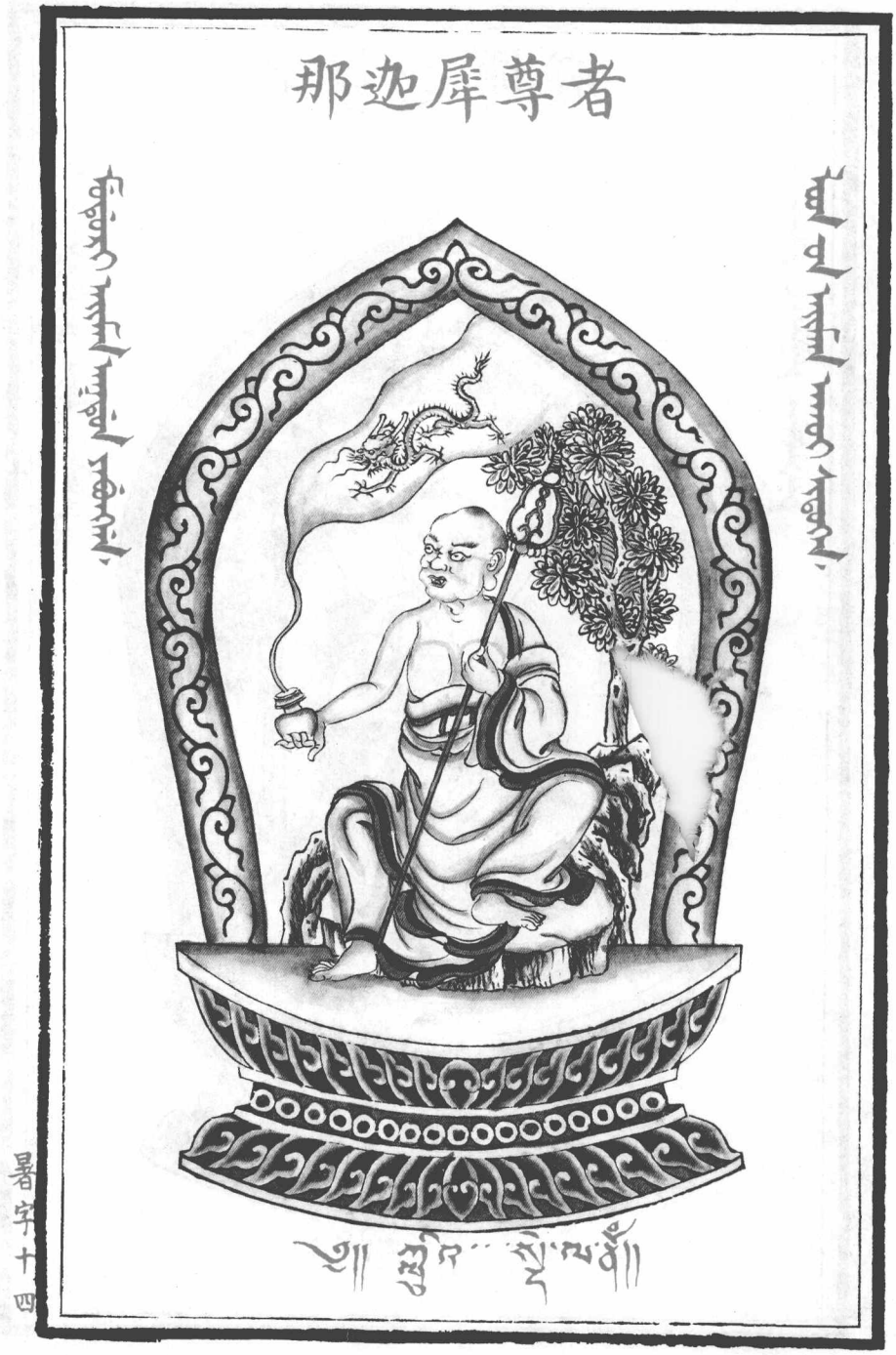
慈容欢喜生春，婆心永无休歇。
注茶半托尊者，万载无生无灭。



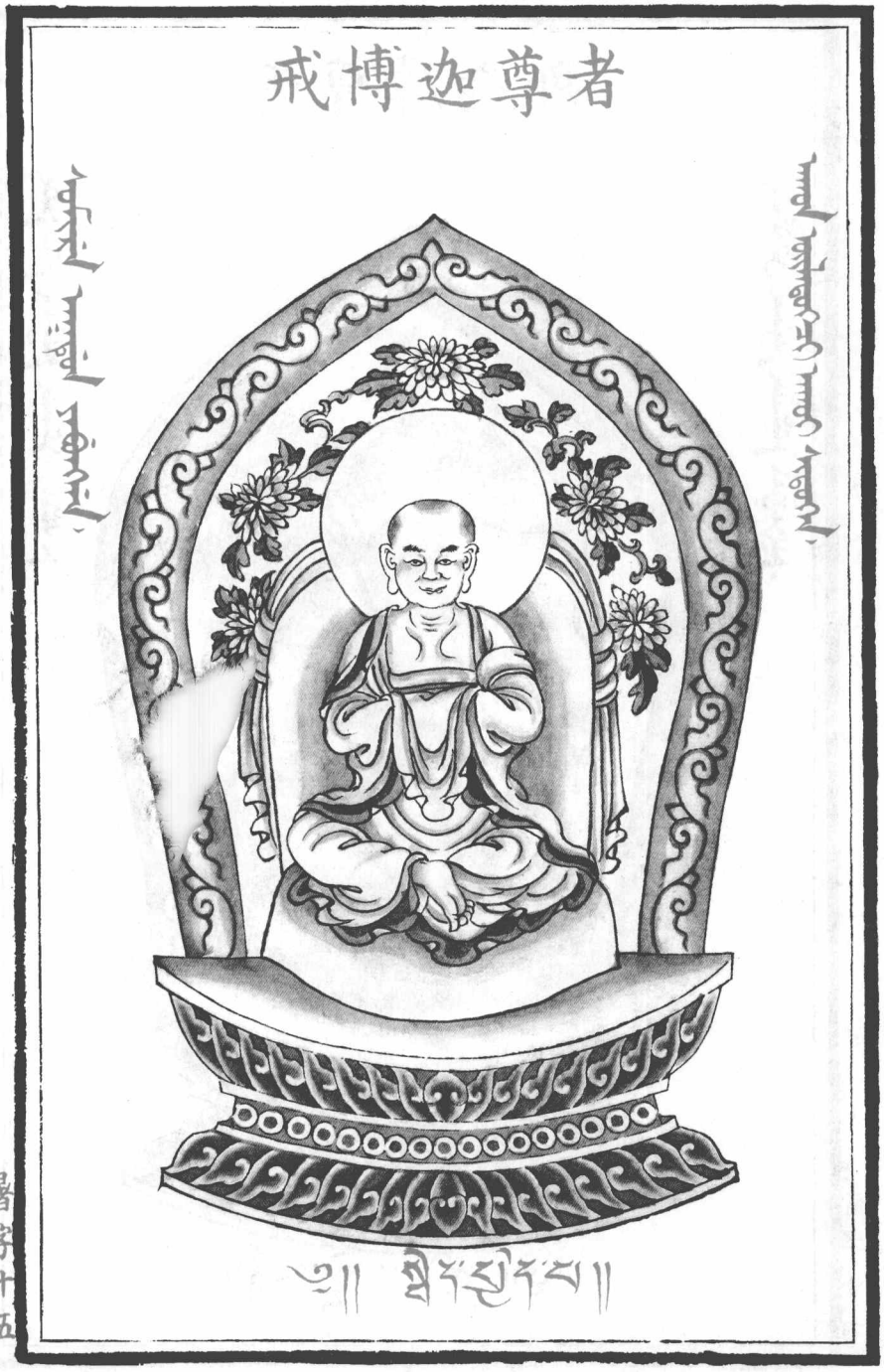
座畔金经数卷，手探钵里醍醐。
想为众生济拔，洗涤一切烦枯。



一册金经在手，个中多少禅机。
若问有字无字，唯有尊者能知。



坐携九环锡杖，炉中香霭缁缊。
制伏毒龙在座，同瞻那迦犀尊。



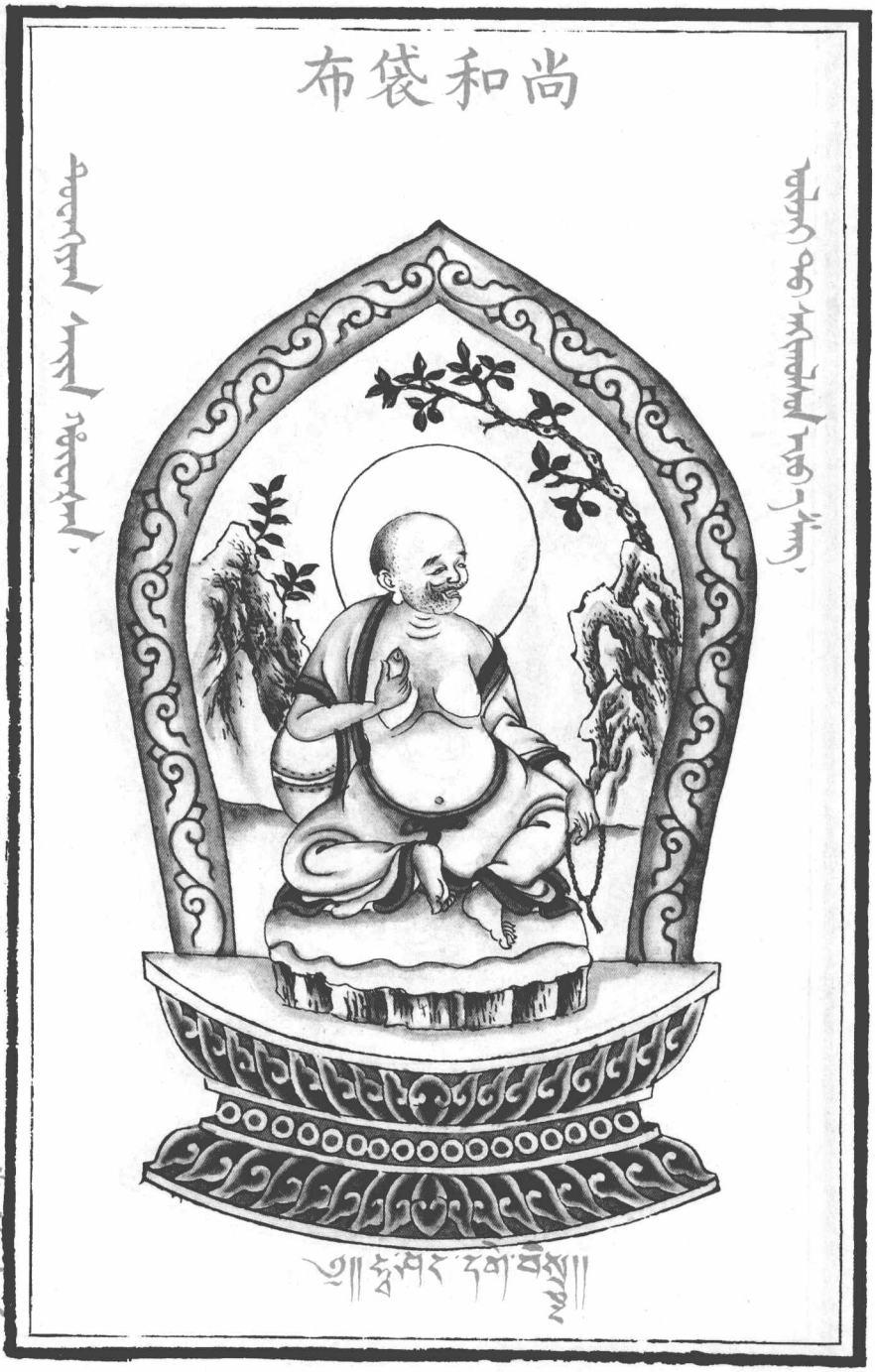
手捧一卷金经，莫认语言文字。
戒博迦尊者容，大露禅机妙意。



手托着灵山塔，灵山塔在心头。
阿秘特婆心切，诸烦恼一时休。



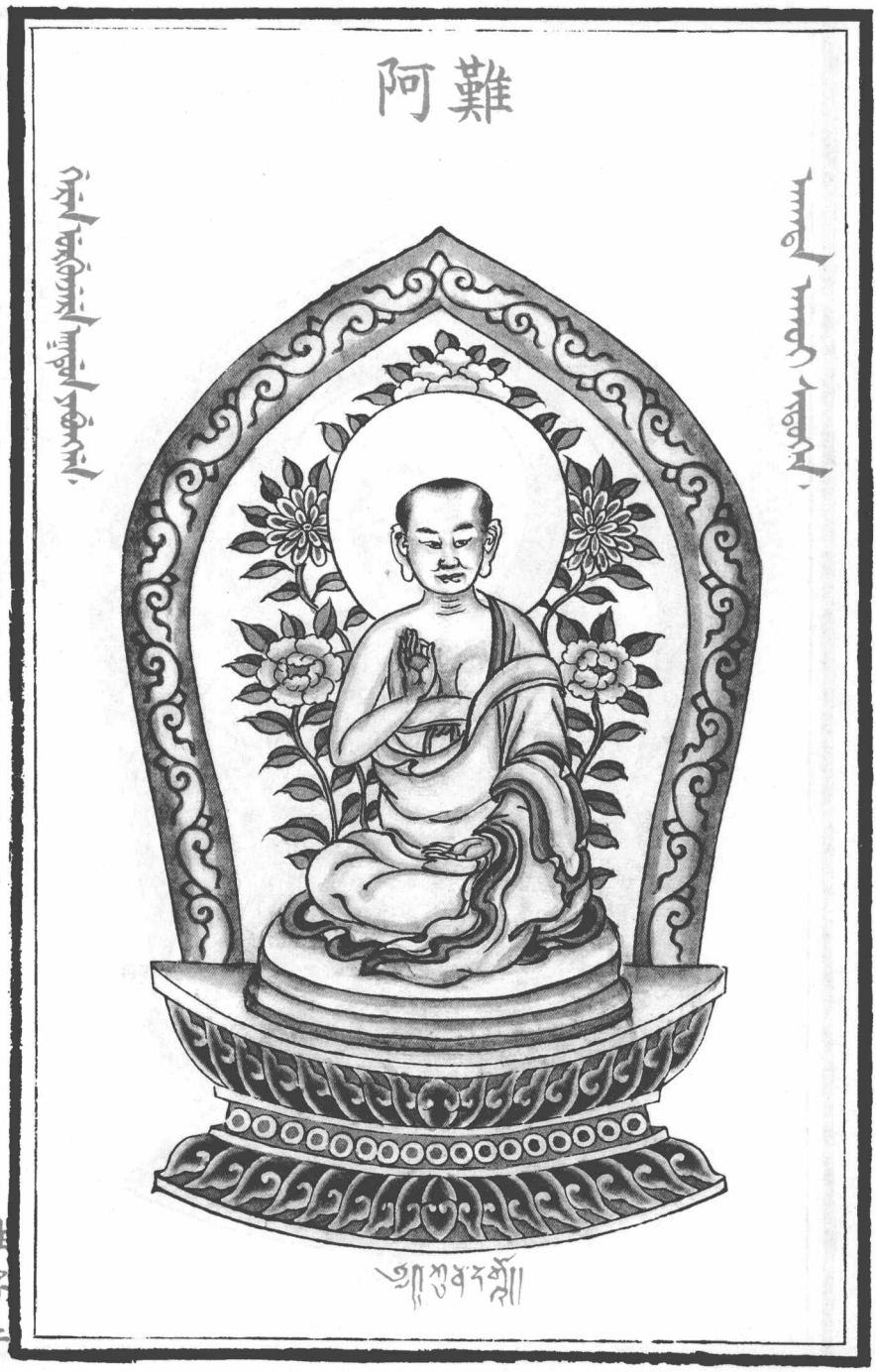
负经函执拂子，现佛身生欢喜。
伏猛虎随衣履，大功行应无比。



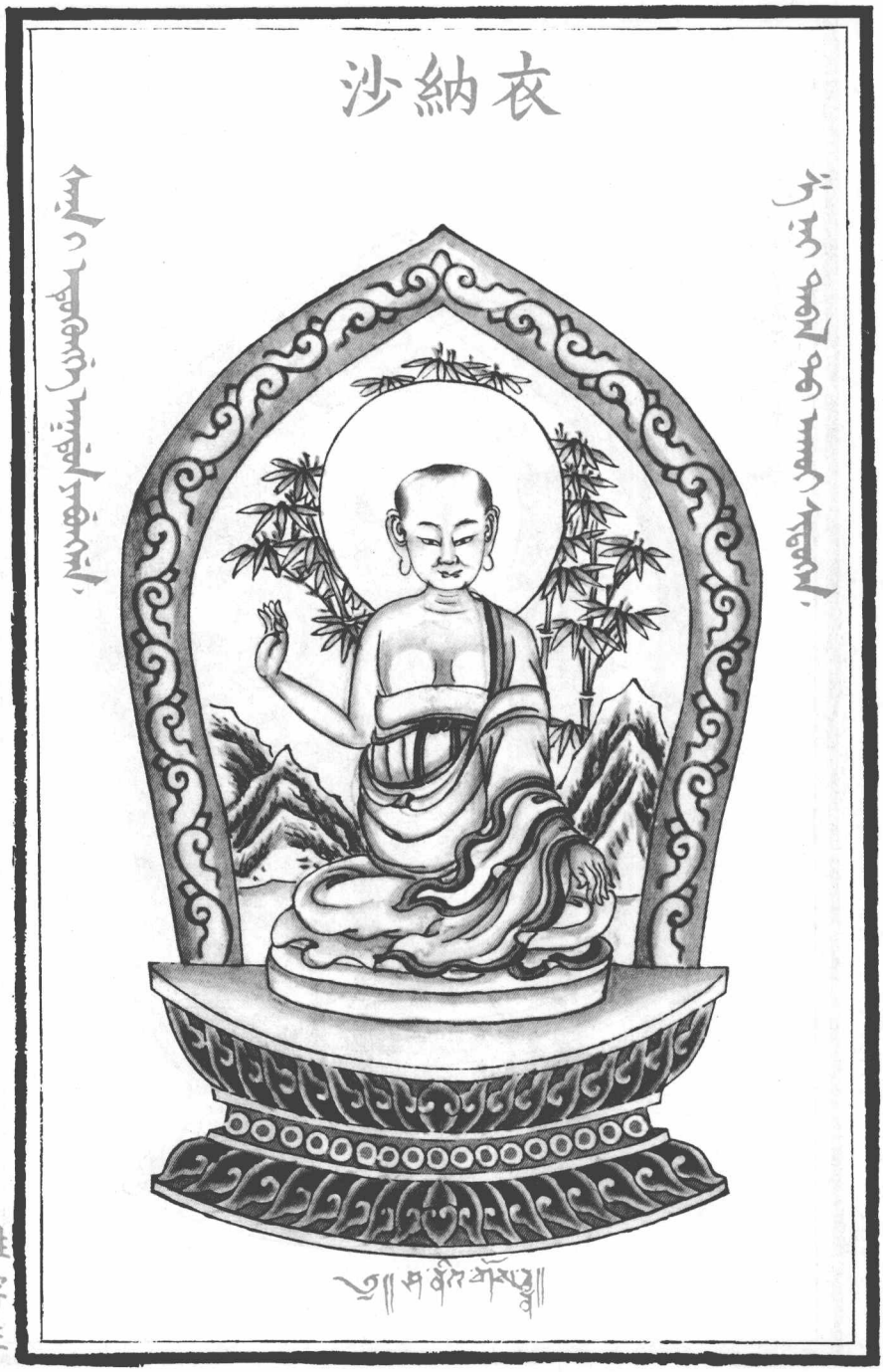
宝号莲花妙舞，面庞幻化神奇。
成就金刚法体，千秋万载名垂。



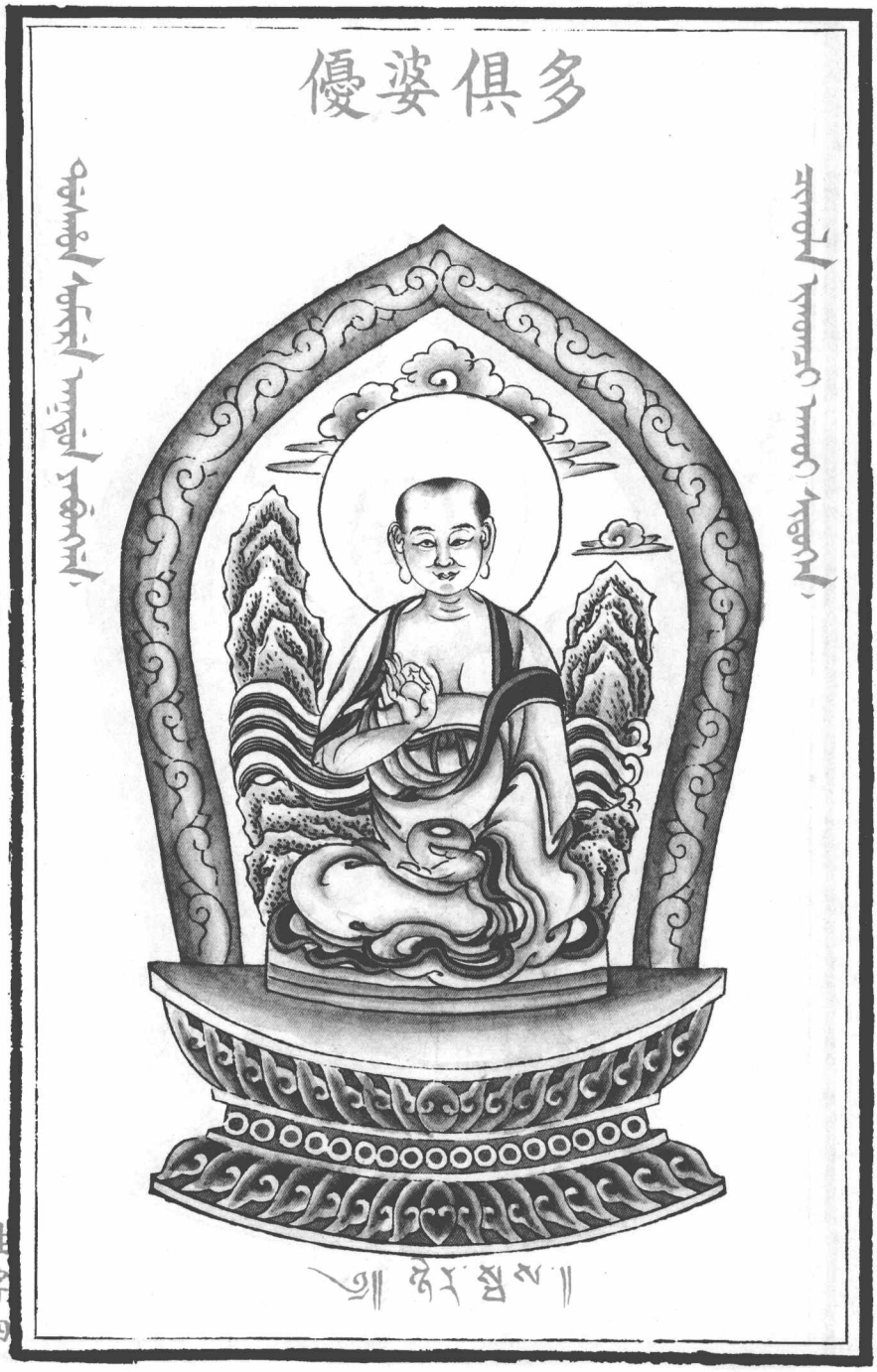
曾与阿难尊者，相共对侍莲台。
化像湛然端坐，心心常向如来。



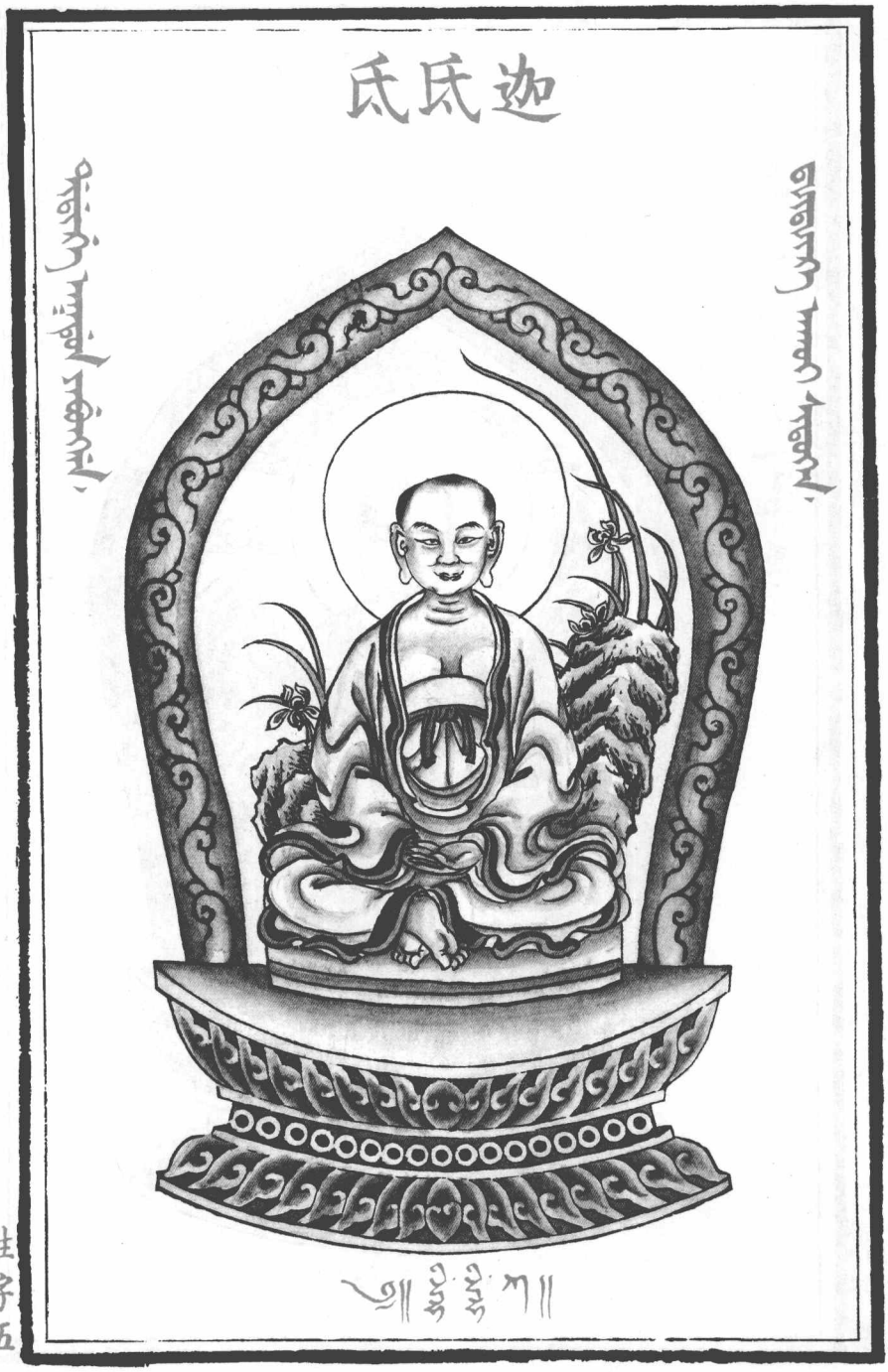
终朝侍从如来，因得如来妙谛。
特来趺坐莲台，指点迷途开示。



不是普门化相，竹林妙现慈悲。
指示人天觉路，共称是沙纳衣。



一个金钵在手，五蕴四大皆空。
优婆俱多在座，千秋大阐宗风。



搭其手盘其足，度世心优而渥。
妙兰葩散芬馥，得此味受清福。



稳坐蒲团一个，披衣灌想功课。
此味有谁尝过，叩求慈悲说破。



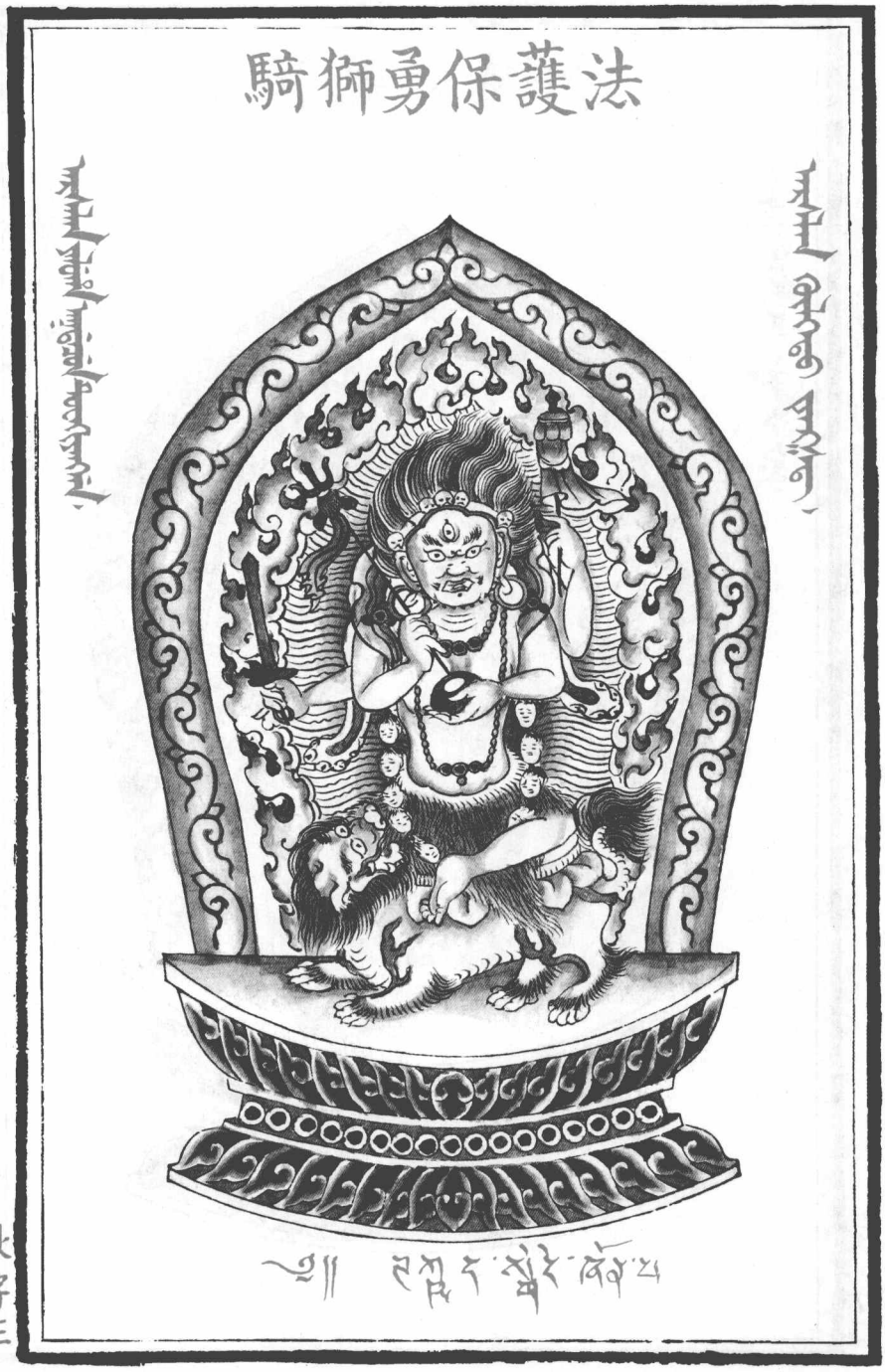
善观善观自在，端坐莲花世界。
伸掌若有所思，此意阿谁能解。



化成狰狞法像，制伏脚底一象。
护持道法威名，万劫巍巍荡荡。

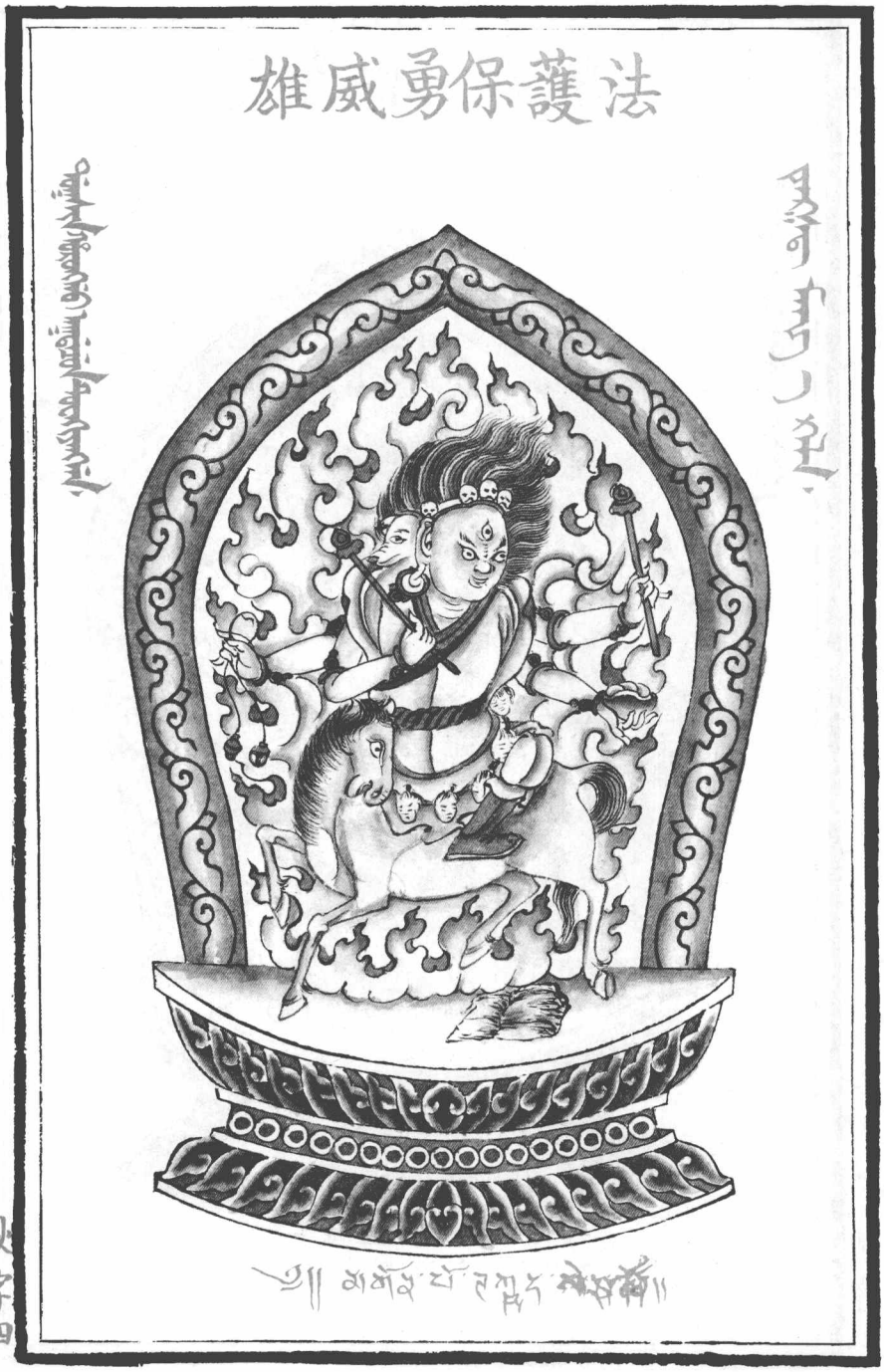


佛法全恁护法，牛首猛若金刚。
极乐场中安享，沙门勇保无疆。

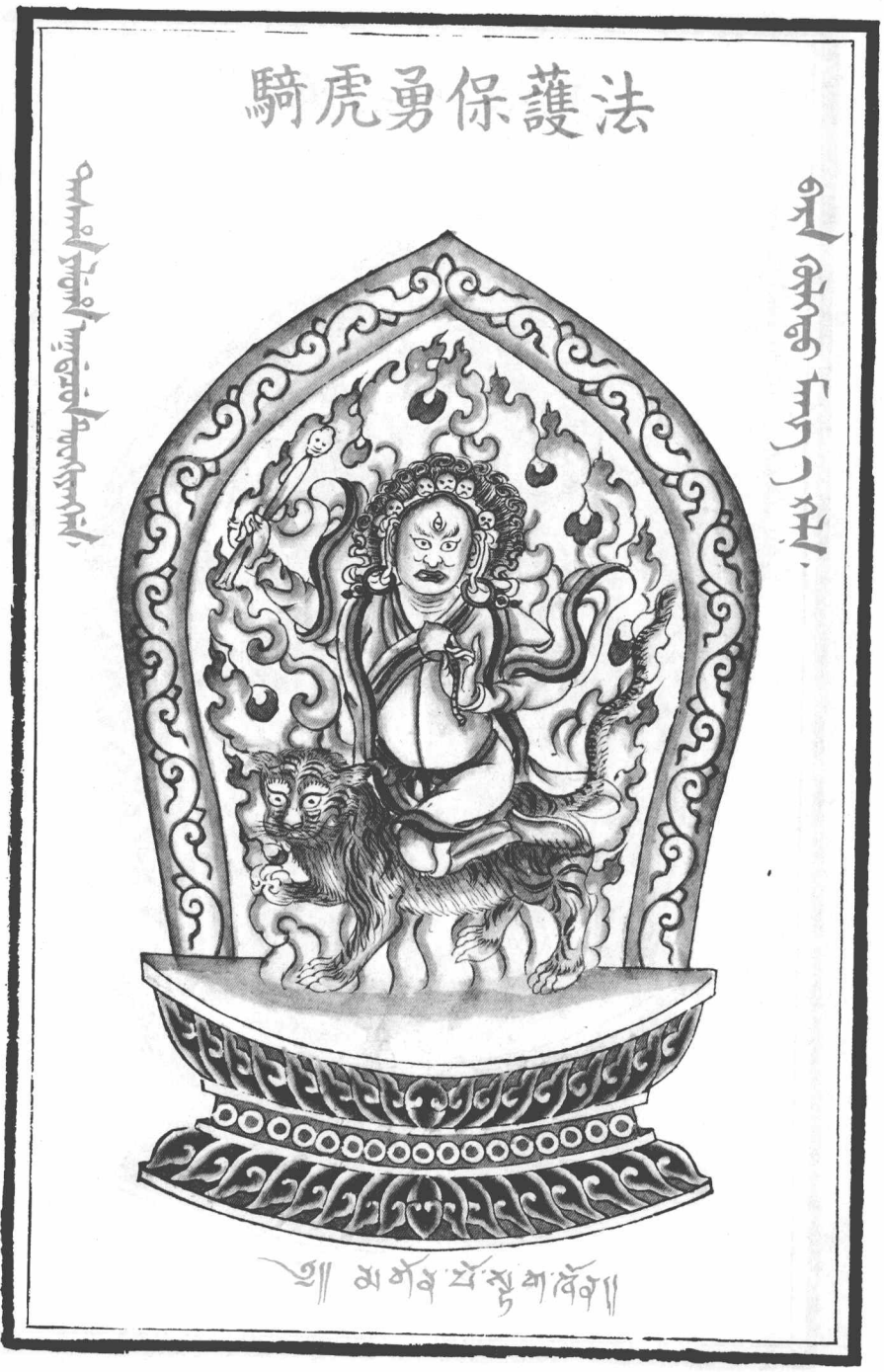


秋字三

浑如师利化身，调摄狮王安静。
多般法贝随身，护法西方胜境。

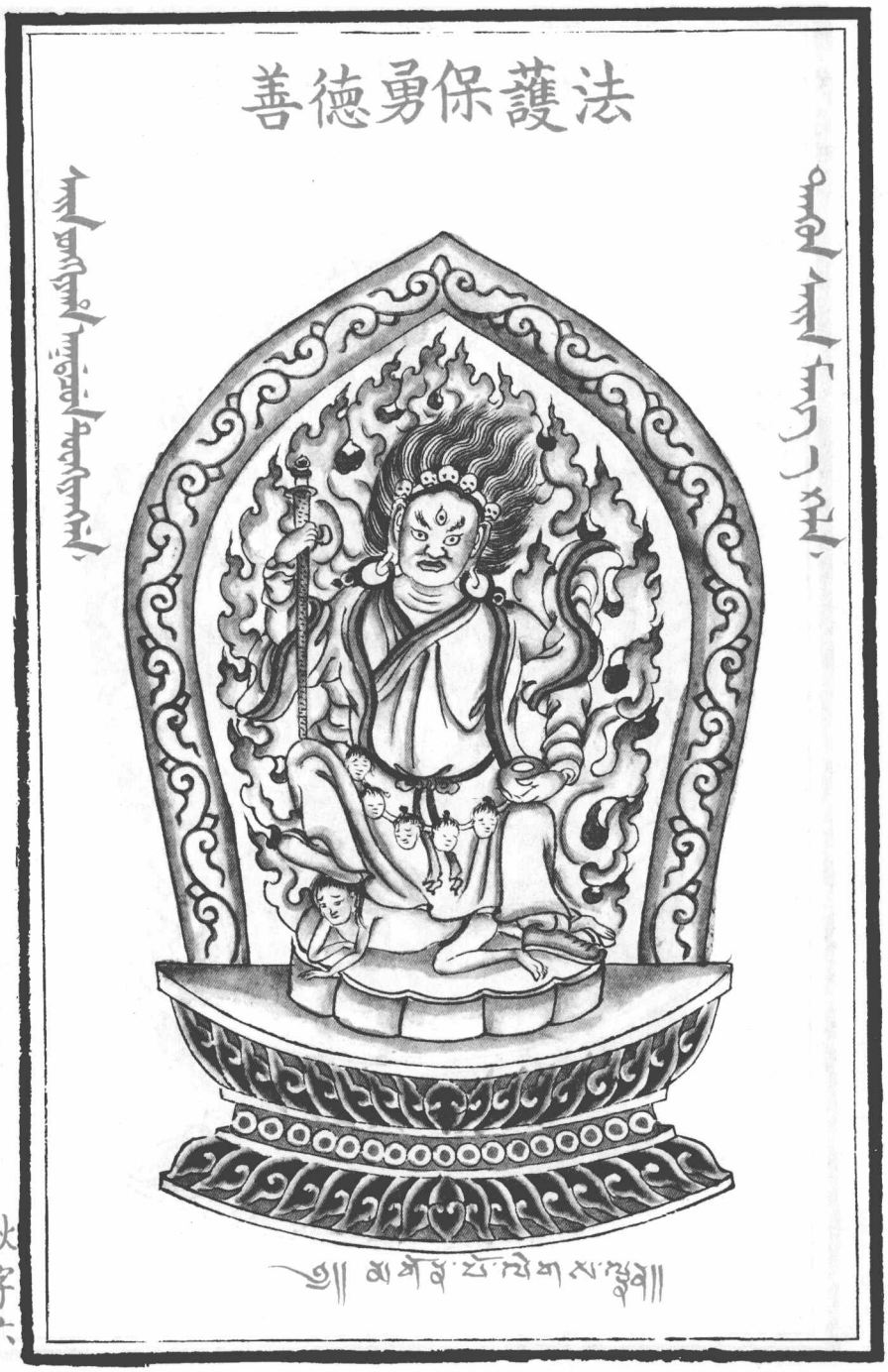


骑天马执法宝，睹金容庄严好。
震雄威称勇保，护妙法常不老。



秋字五

手中举定金锤，调驯山王顷刻。
仗此勇保护法，永镇佛门赫赫。



善德勇保护法，剑钵不离两手。
伏魔足下神威，永住西天悠久。



持棒永住佛门，勇保西方极乐。
护法神威耿耿，毫无矫揉造作。



不是孔雀明王，不是大鹏护法。
面称慈乌威严，念念慈悲救拔。



脚踏魔王归服，手中法宝二事。
宫室勇保护法，令人五体投地。



一剑制服妖邪，一伞覆临万类。
佛门护法威灵，妙旨谁能参会。

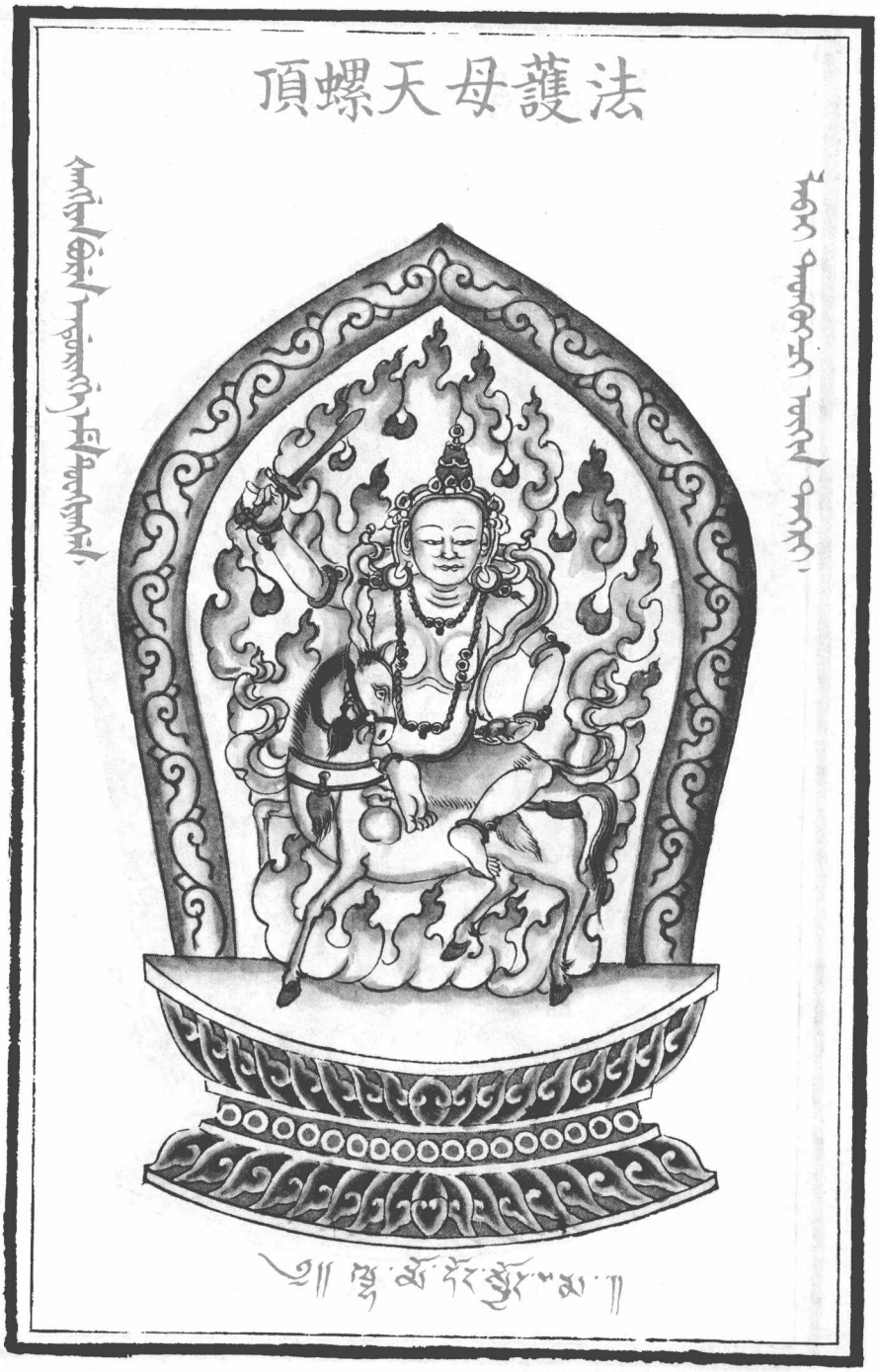


秋字十一

宝伞张施慈荫，梵音震动喧喧。
佛法全资护法，颇罗门号称尊。



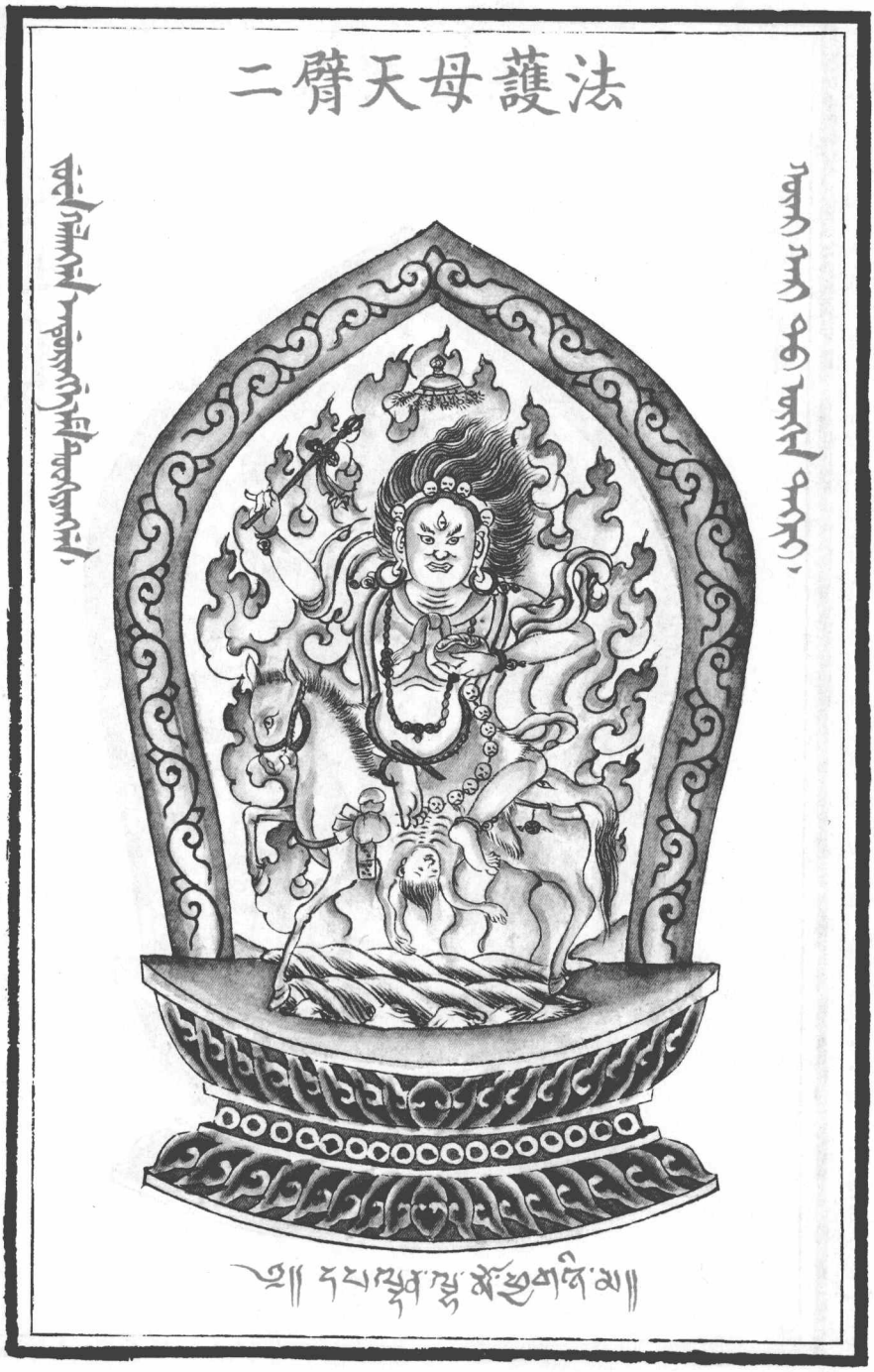
大黑雄威护法，端然稳驾良骥。
手持法贝金枪，一切怪魔藏避。



现慈容无尔我，妙庄严无不可。
顶螺称成妙果，大慈悲群感荷。



法体神而又神，能烘诸敌施仁。
天母护法金身，功行图满精纯。

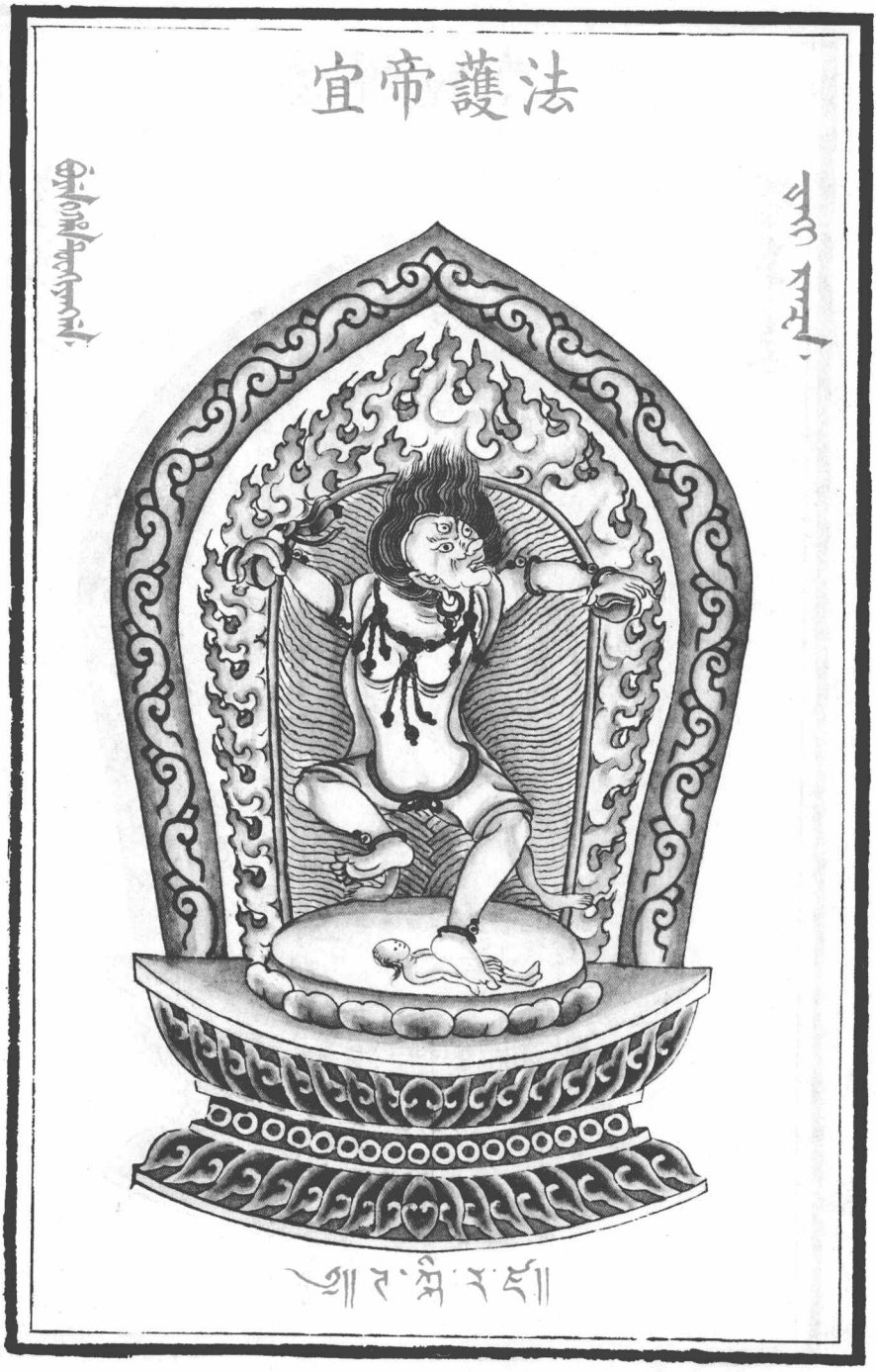


秋字十五

顶上祥生宝盖，慈悲无所不周。
暂离莲台趺坐，欲从四大巡游。



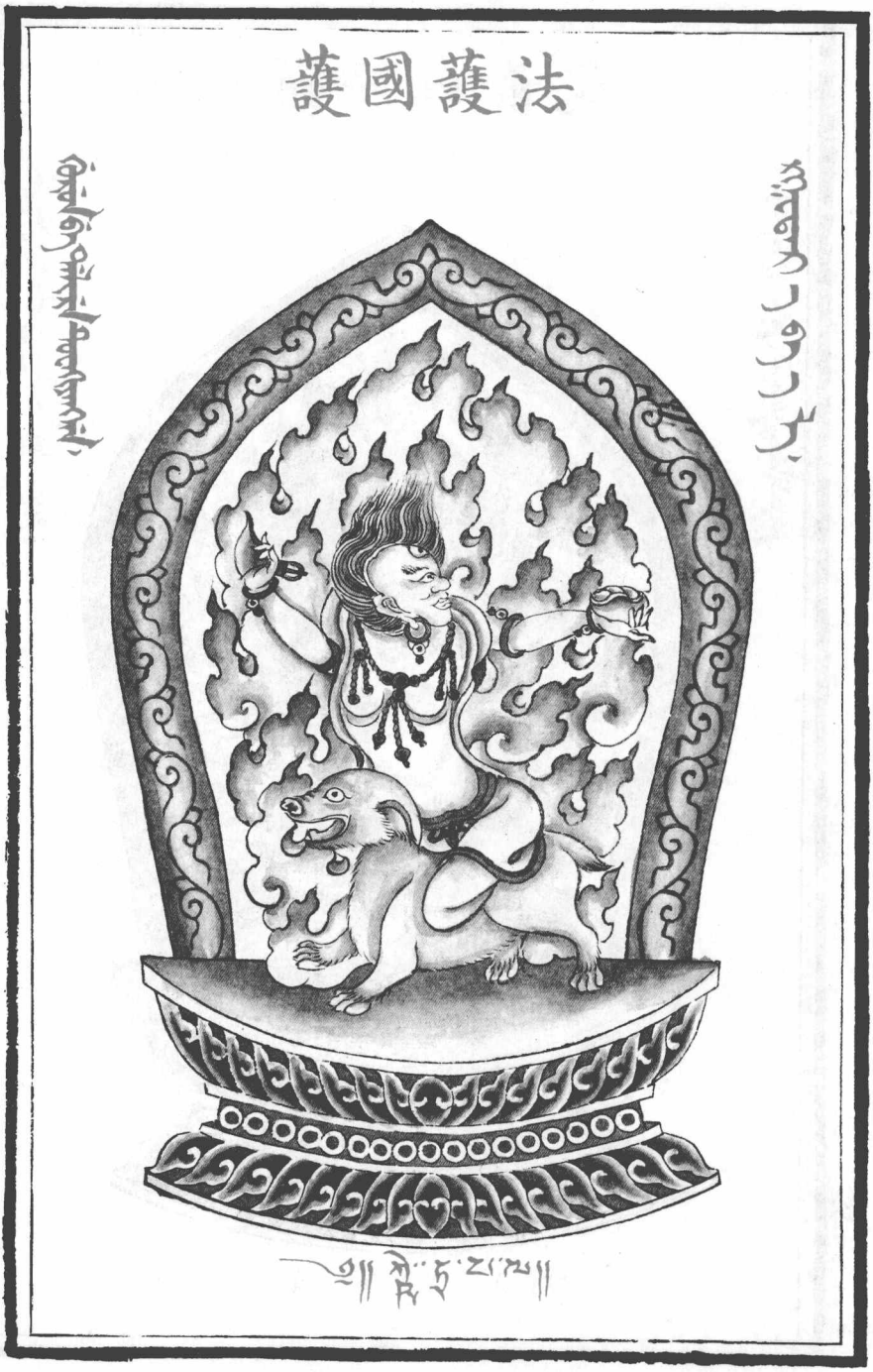
一时魔怪全降，服德畏威普济。
正道仰赖维持，莫不皈依法帝。



尊号宜帝护法，雄威赫赫原殊。
保护梵天正道，许多外道蠲除。

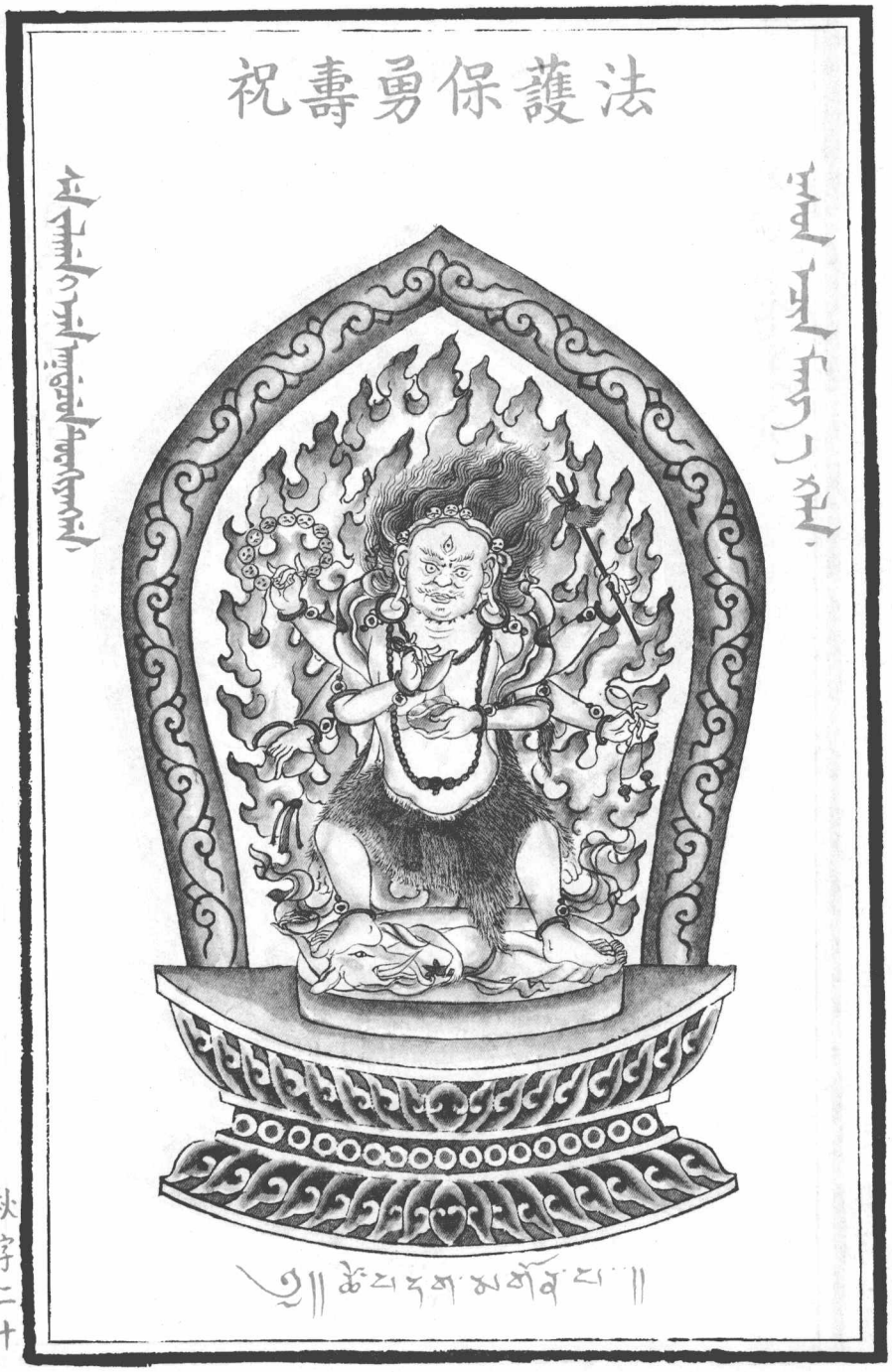


宝器中藏甘露，法鼓震动天人。
可是恒河沙界，瞻依莫不尊亲。



秋字十九

妙相威严赫奕，雄风耀武婆娑。
护国又兼护法，佛门万载难磨。



六臂持来法器，永护佛门左右。
钦羡广大神通，普度众生仁寿。



像狰狞心善慈，除魔障惠泽垂。
众法宝任施为，阎浮世尽称奇。



护法将狮骑了，度脱众生烦扰。
大白祝寿财宝，利益人天多少。



把慧剑挺金戈，驰天马舞婆娑。
贯介胄震邪魔，佑生灵利益多。



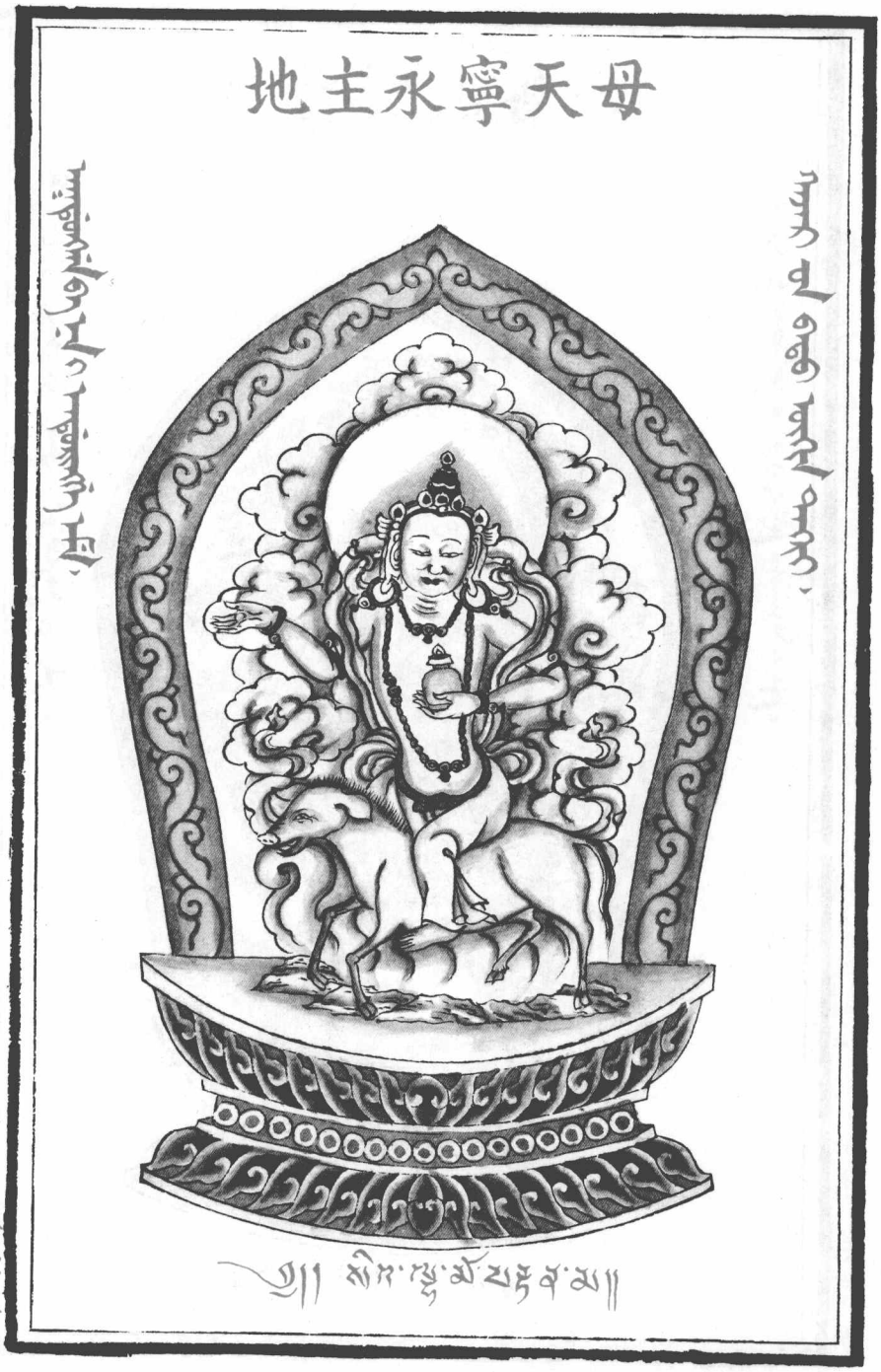
灵通宝伞端持，奕禩佛门永镇。
妙哉财宝天王，万类同沾庇荫。



堪作佛门上将，人人瞻仰大雄。
戟钺宝幢护法，维持吾佛宗风。



座下狮王大吼，宝盖高擎在手。
护持妙道悠久，金色庄严不朽。



宝罐醍醐满贮，经行四大部洲。
地主永宁天母，慈悲恩德难酬。



披金甲驭飞龙，称妙舞现慈容。
护正法保真宗，享极乐功德隆。



宝剑能驱诸恶，尊号增长天王。
智慧雄威兼具，发愿永镇西方。



手托灵山宝塔，心存多宝如来。
广目天王大愿，万年长护莲台。



持国天王宝号，琵琶端执当胸。
震响梵音普被，法门永护无穷。



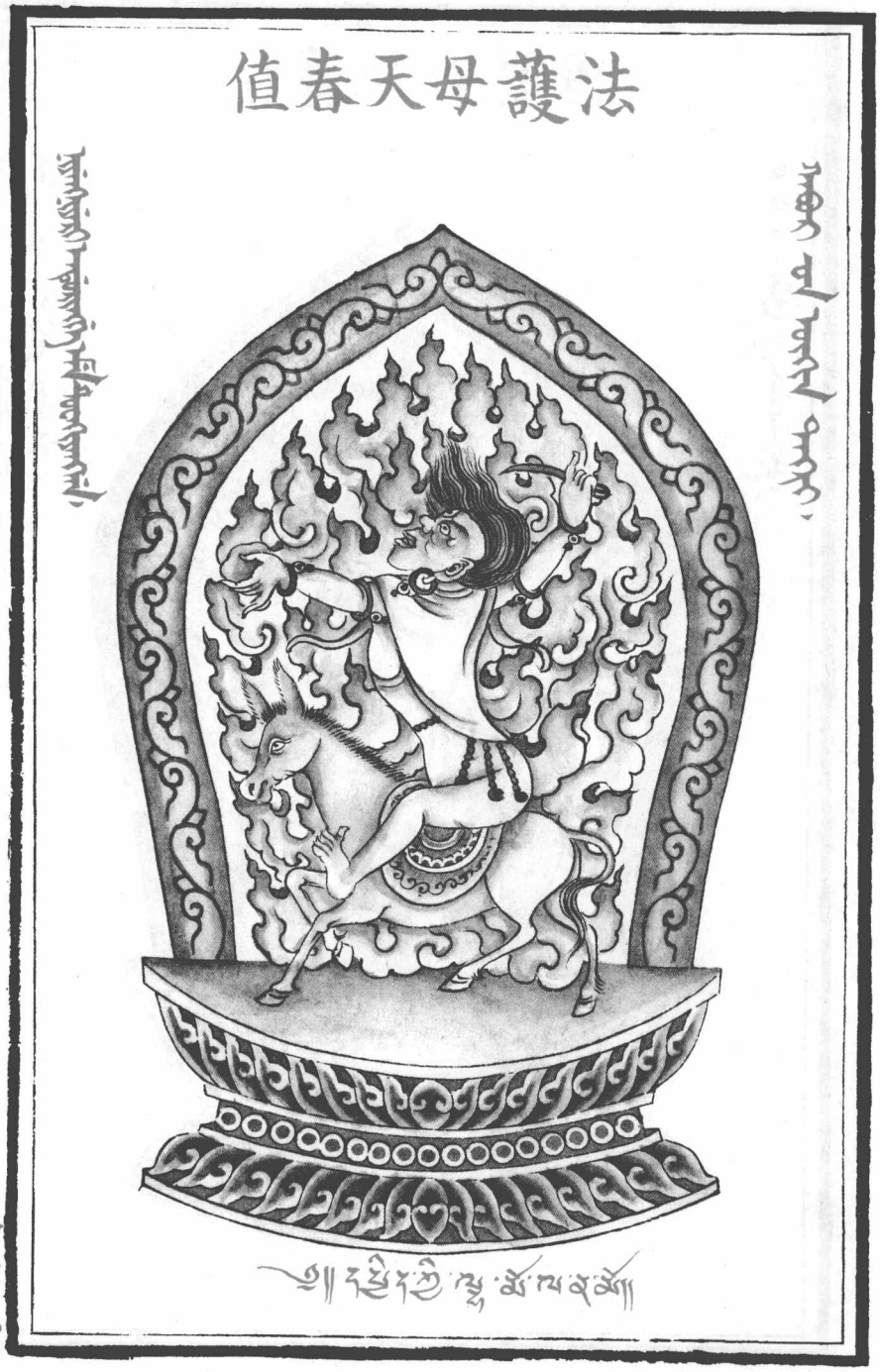
心存接引人天，好个帝释宝像。
法螺两手高擎，唤醒痴修妄想。



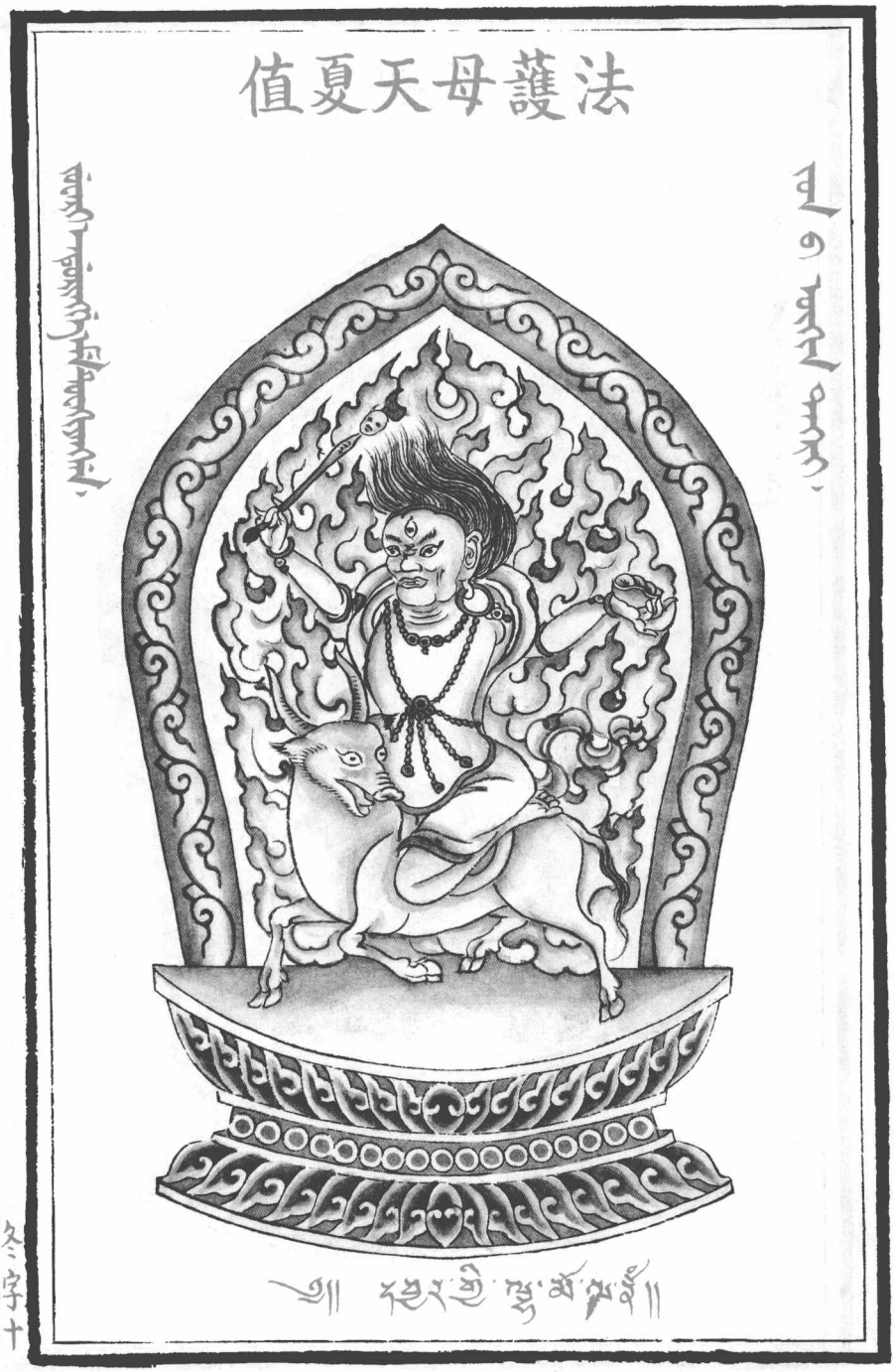
不指天不指地，转法轮引群类。
梵王恩人天备，使众生感寤寐。



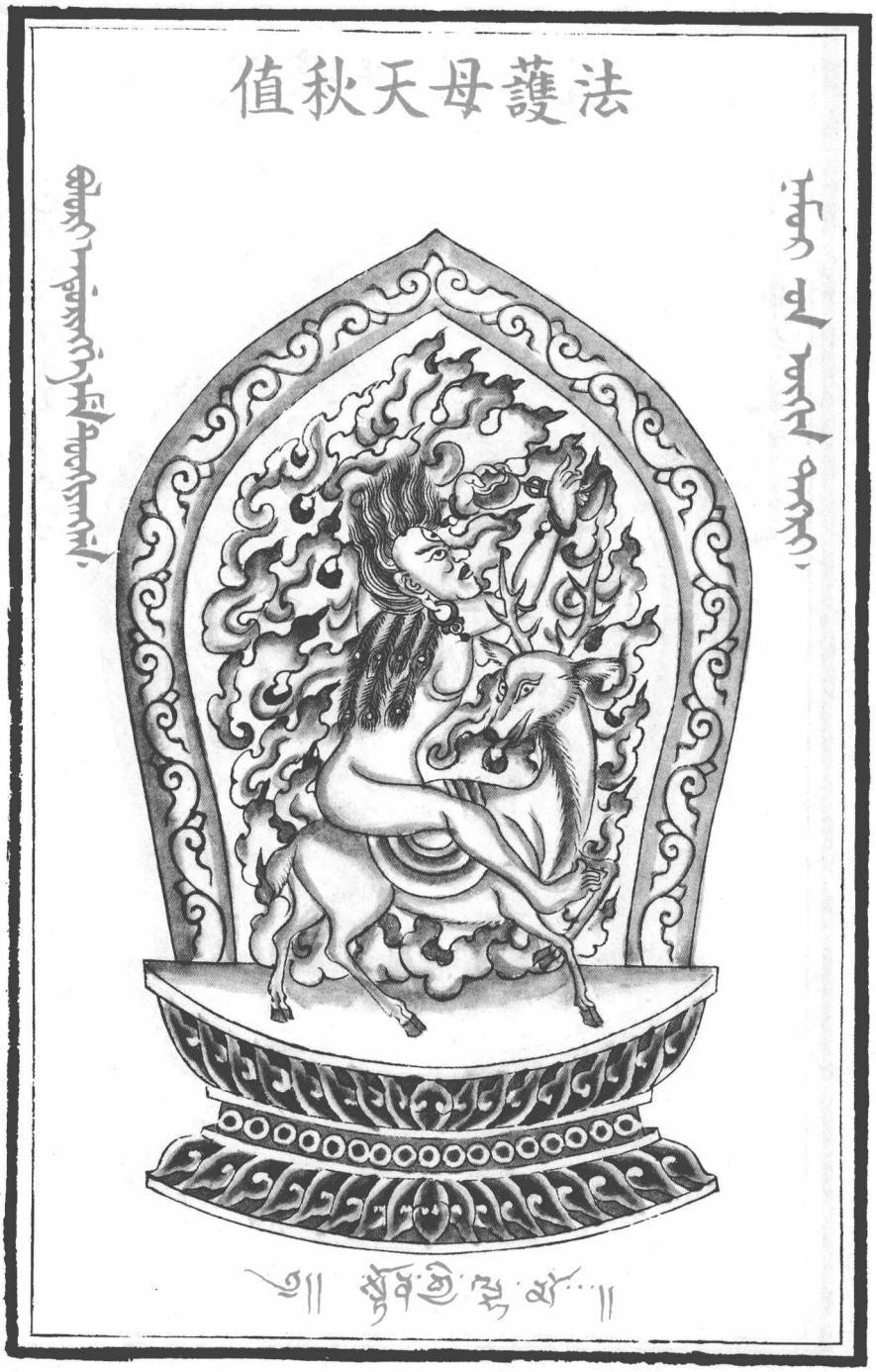
本是面慈心善，法相圣而且神。
向簪芝噶天母，拈香展拜频频。



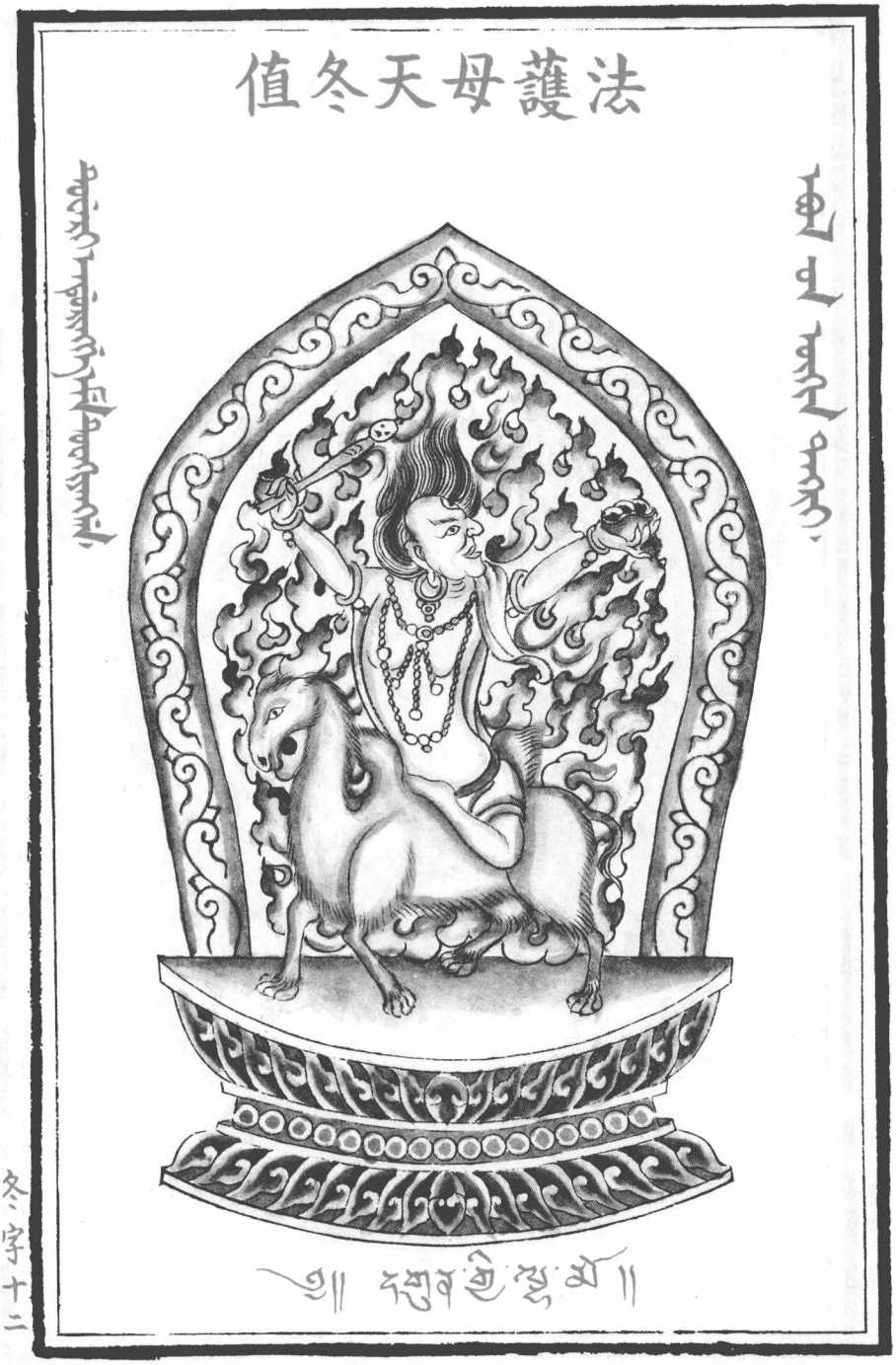
法体装成罗刹，阳和泽溥宏仁。
一片慈悲济度，欢喜天母值春。



手中佛宝加持，护法威灵妙也。
心与造化同功，全资天母值夏。



护法骑来仙鹿，手持灵宝遨游。
法相幻而非幻，瞻依天母值秋。



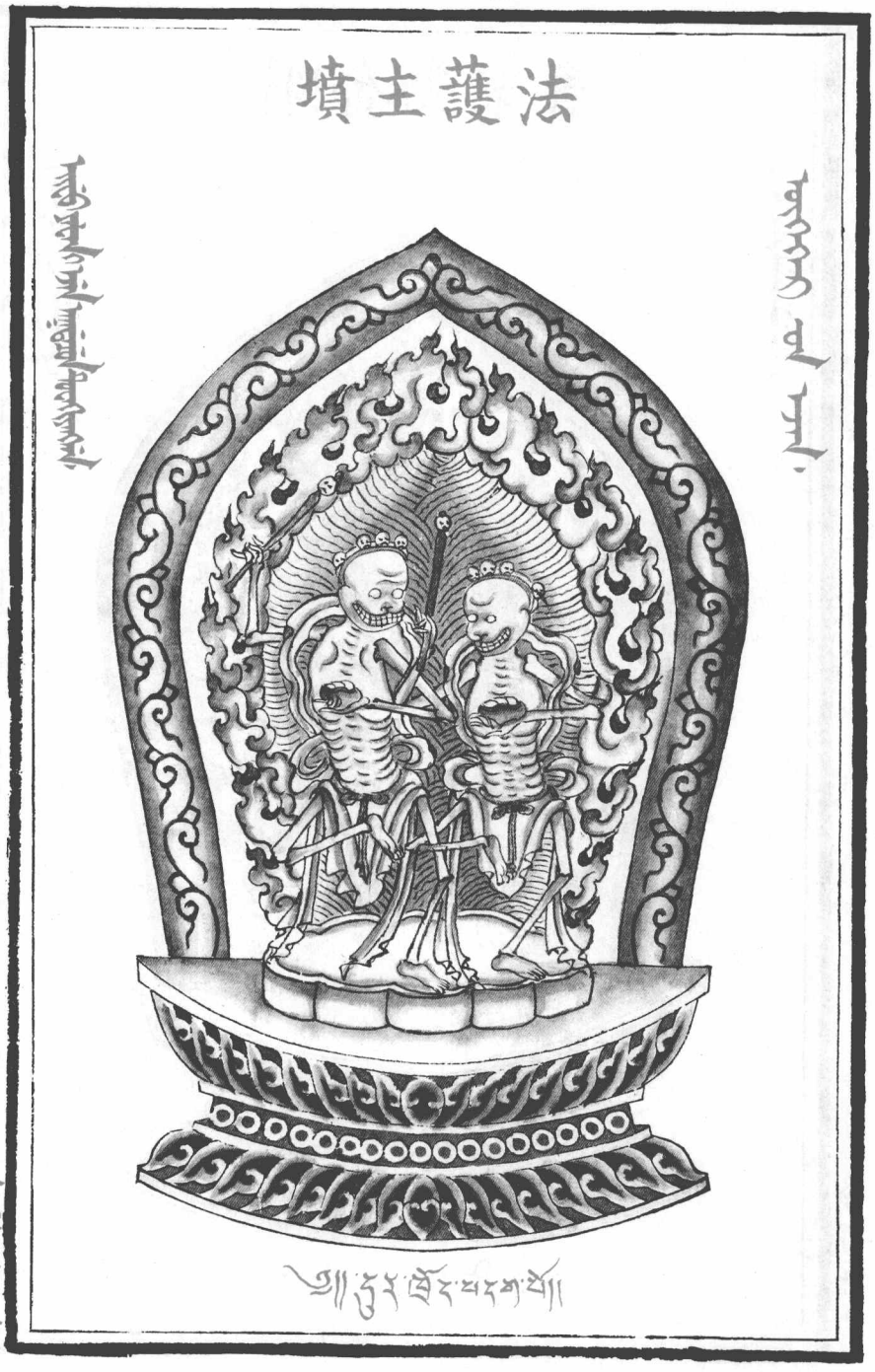
一手收来法海，虔诚顶礼慈容。
成就佛门功行，万劫天母值冬。



吉祥长寿天母，护法佛门无疆。
赖此慈悲因果，众生长寿吉祥。



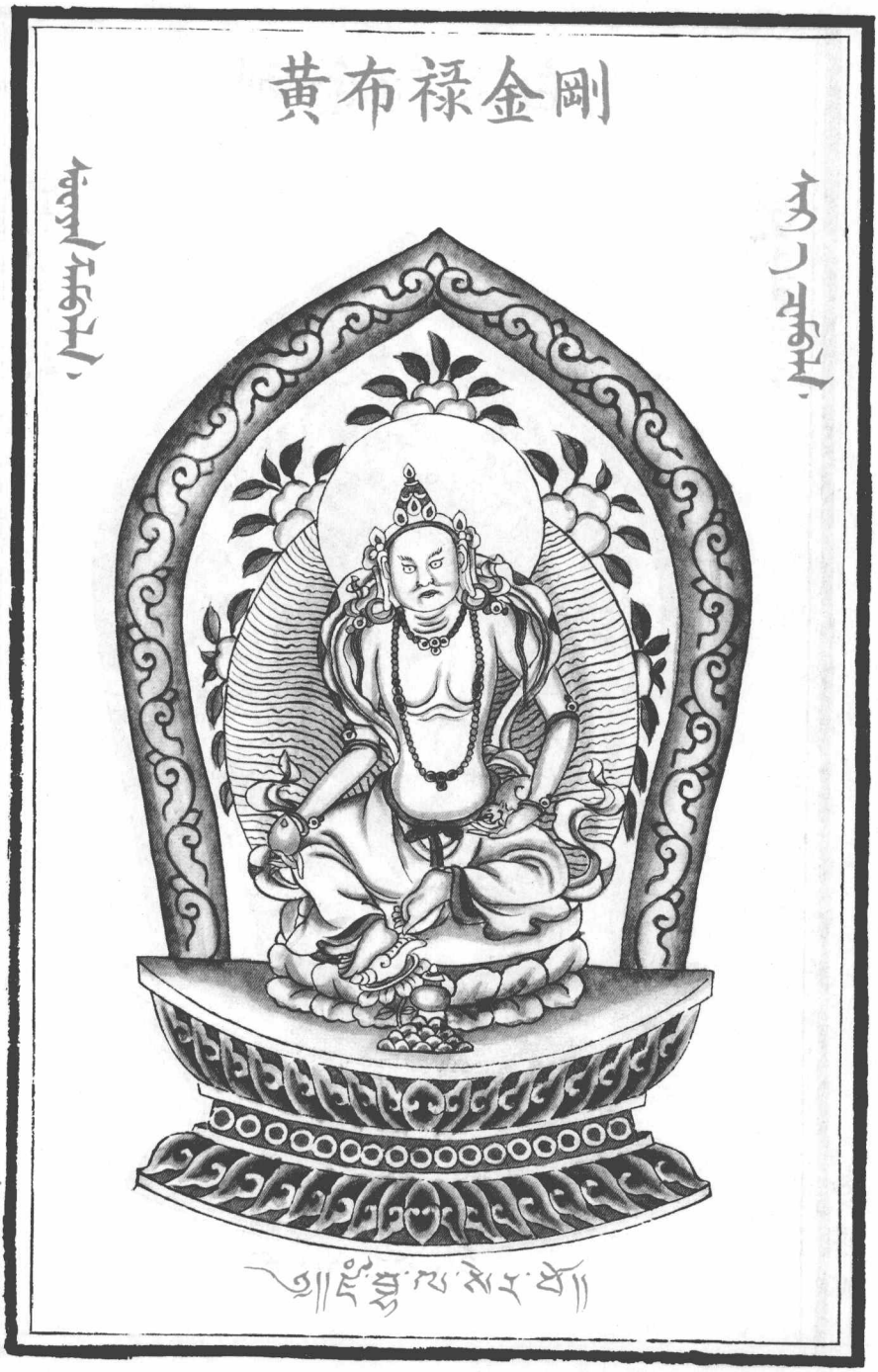
口近一朵青莲，大红勇保名高。
脚下魔怪全收，可是护法功劳。



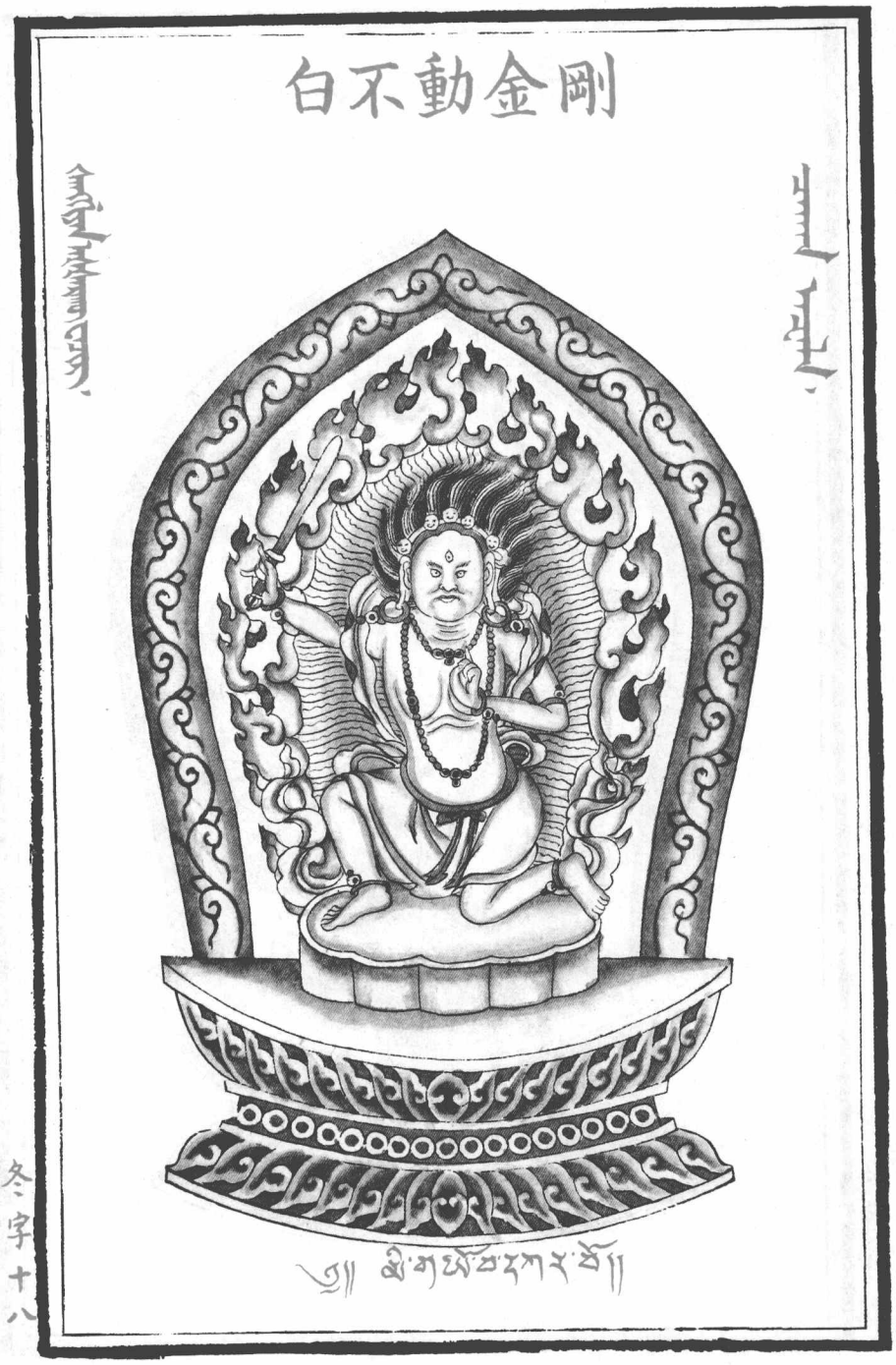
不同面然大士，金身幻作骷髏。
慈悲九幽度彻，谁参就里根由。



青青不动金剛，慧刃外道全降。
金身普散毫光，梵天长享安康。



睹黄布禄金刚，庄严委实唐皇。
法施财施具足，人天利益无疆。



金刚号称不动，宝剑威震西天。
位证佛门大器，善因妙果兼全。

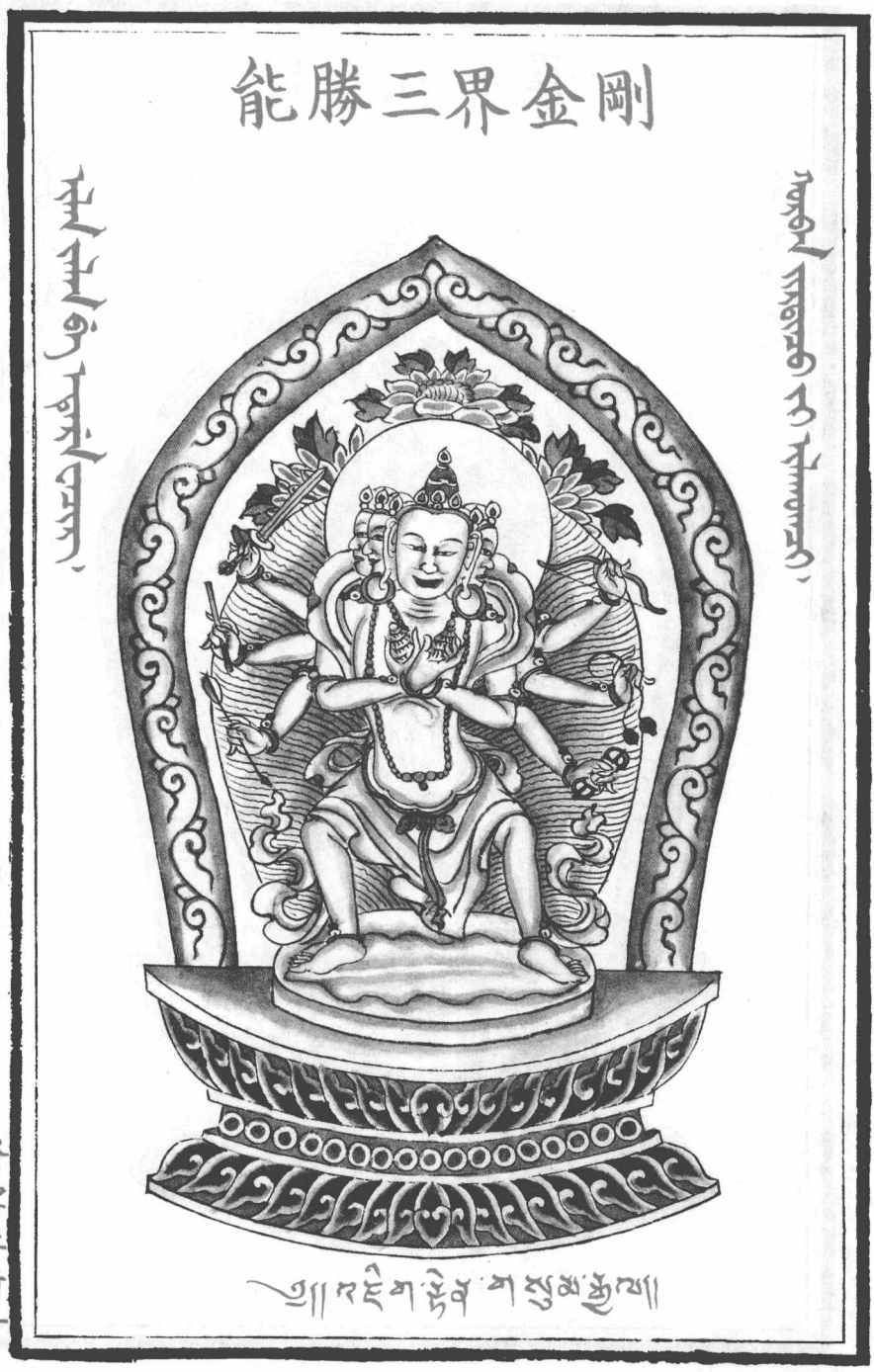


冬字十九

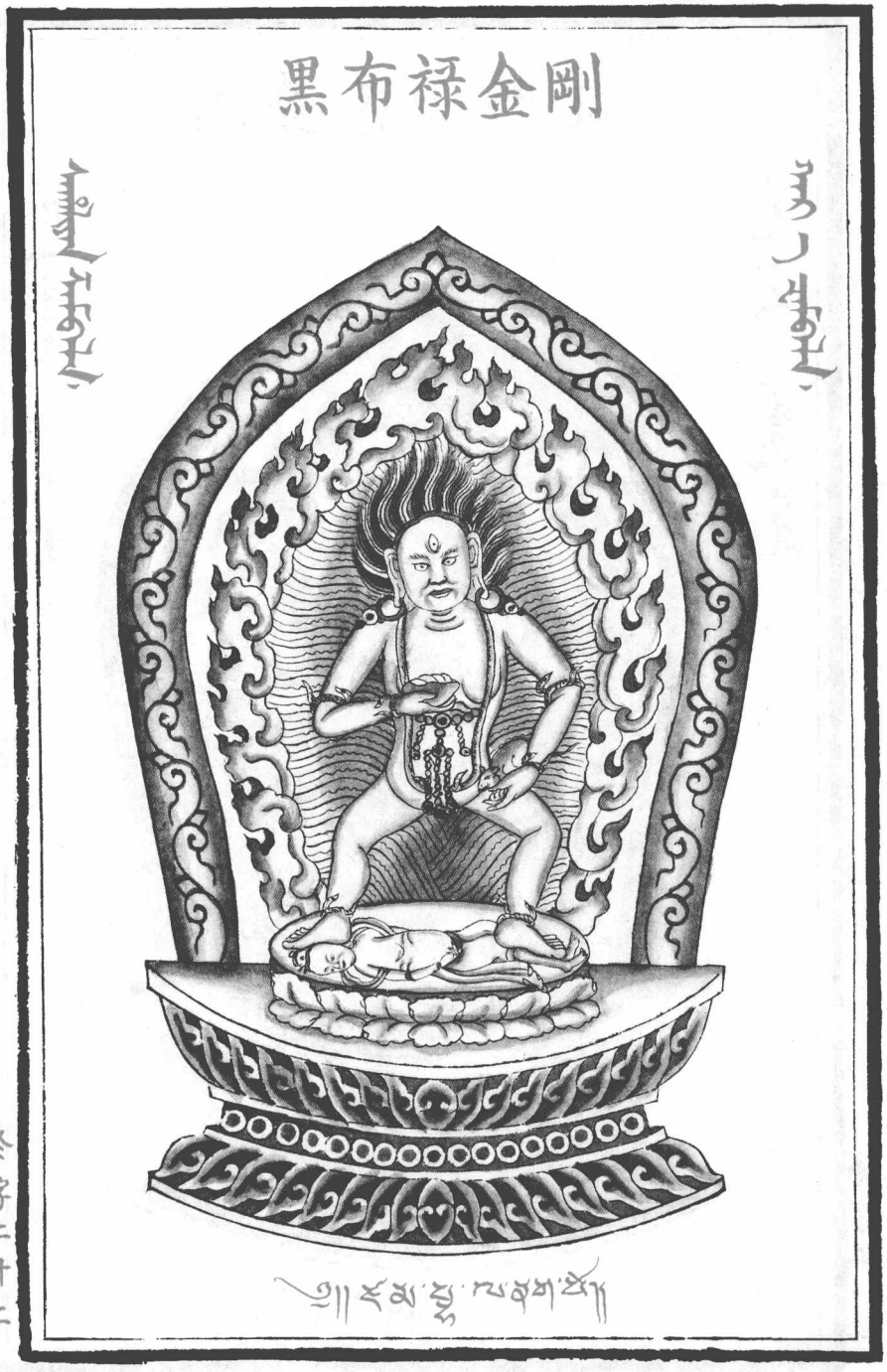
法体三头六臂，金容满露慈悲。
布禄恩光广被，人人莫不皈依。



赖此大力金刚，震动神威无比。
顶礼赫赫金容，恩德沦肌浃髓。



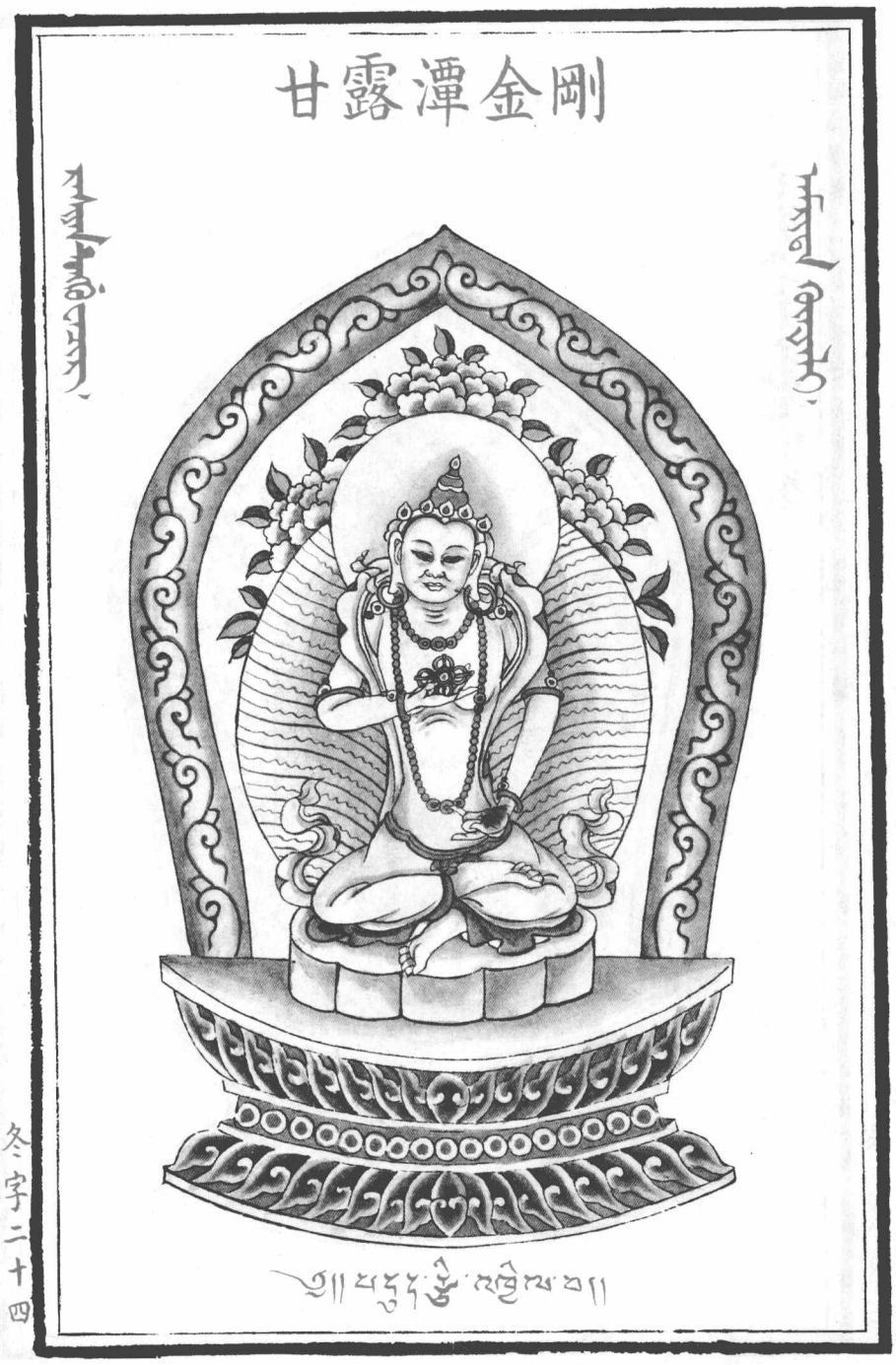
至宝无所不持，佛境优游自在。
功行遍满恒沙，金刚能胜三界。



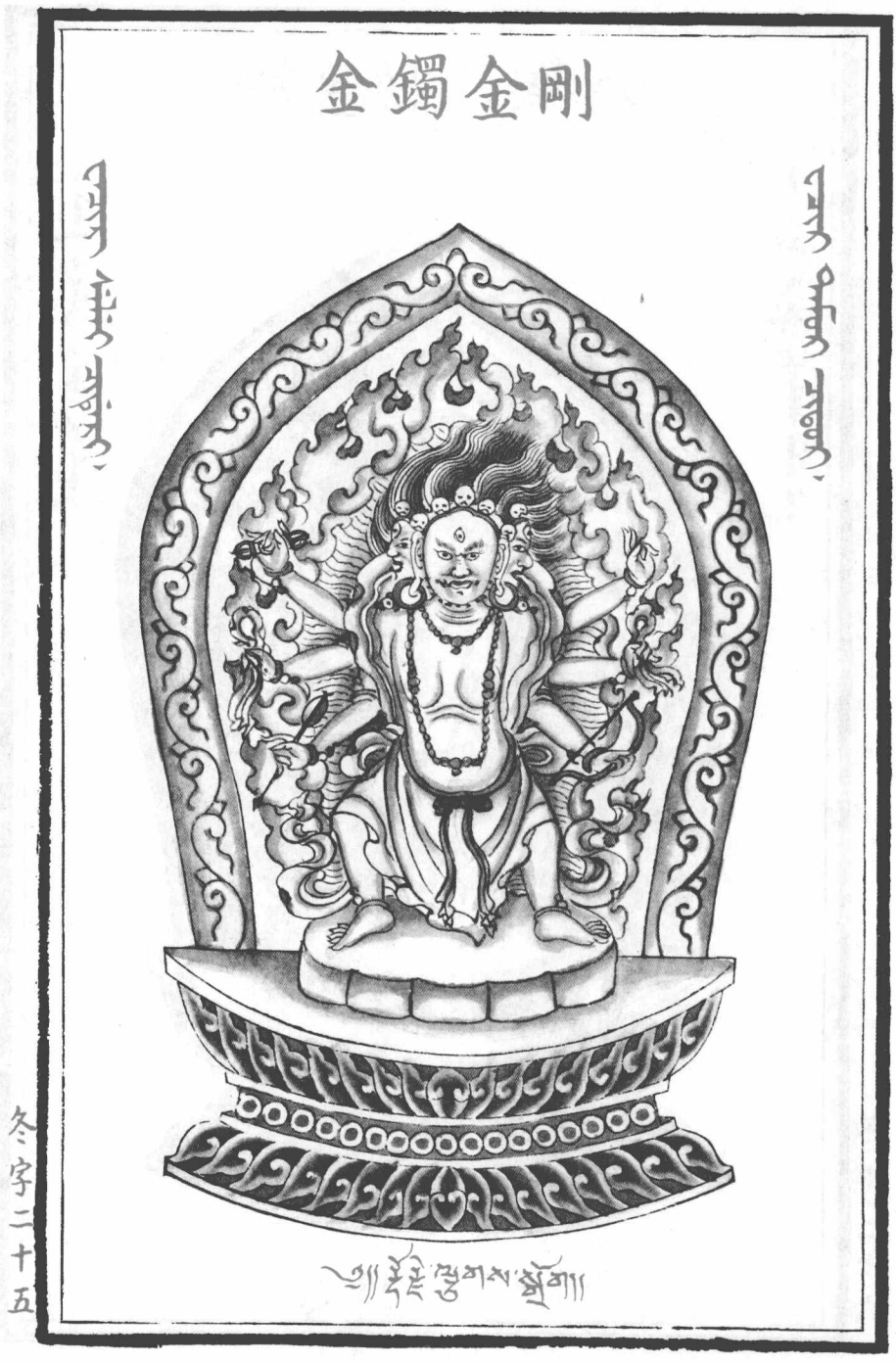
足下邪魔收伏，算来功行无边。
黑布禄金刚体，众生顶礼诚虔。



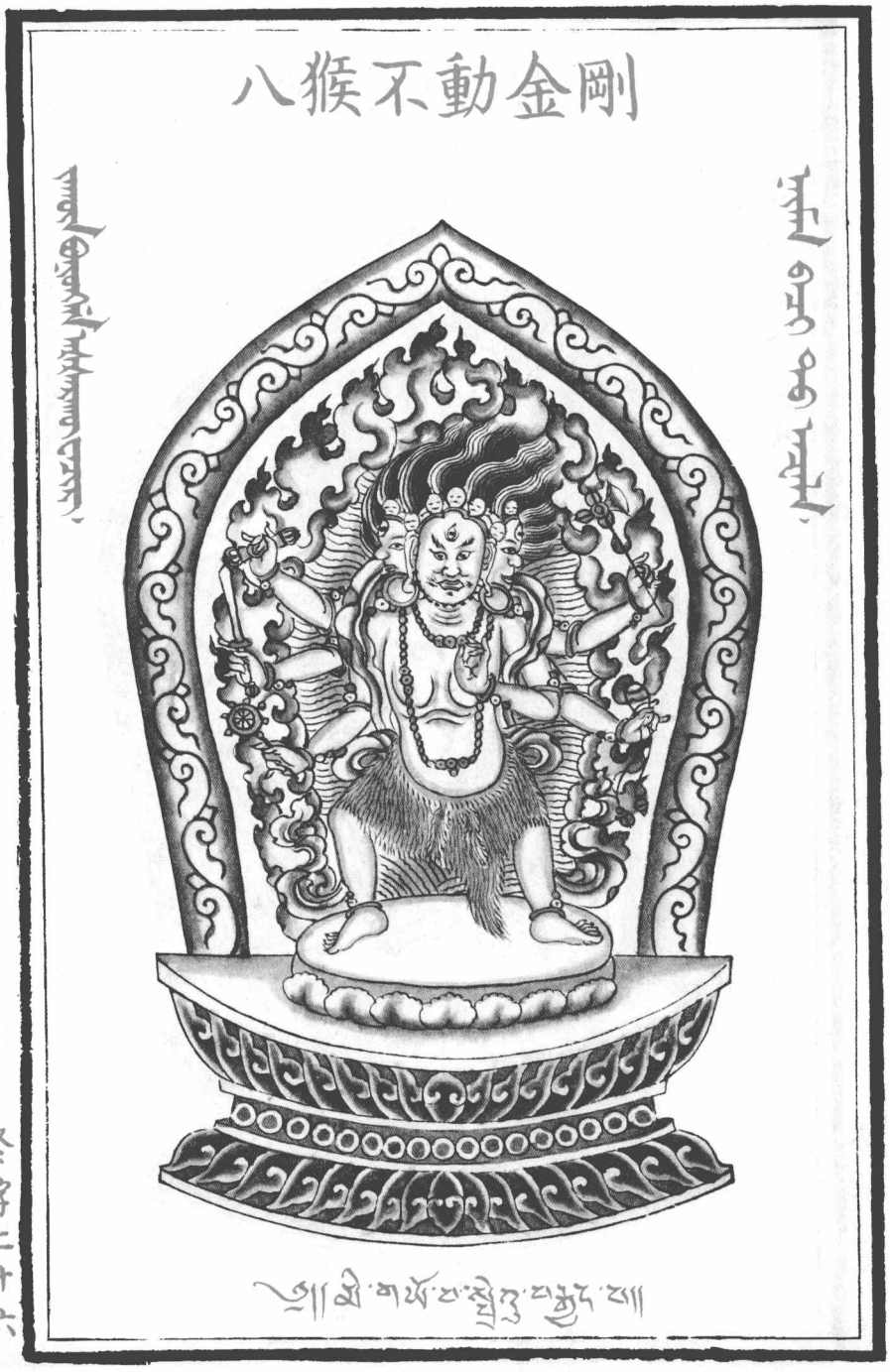
金绳觉路宏开，灭怪除魔清净。
仗兹宝杵灵通，振作佛门毕竟。



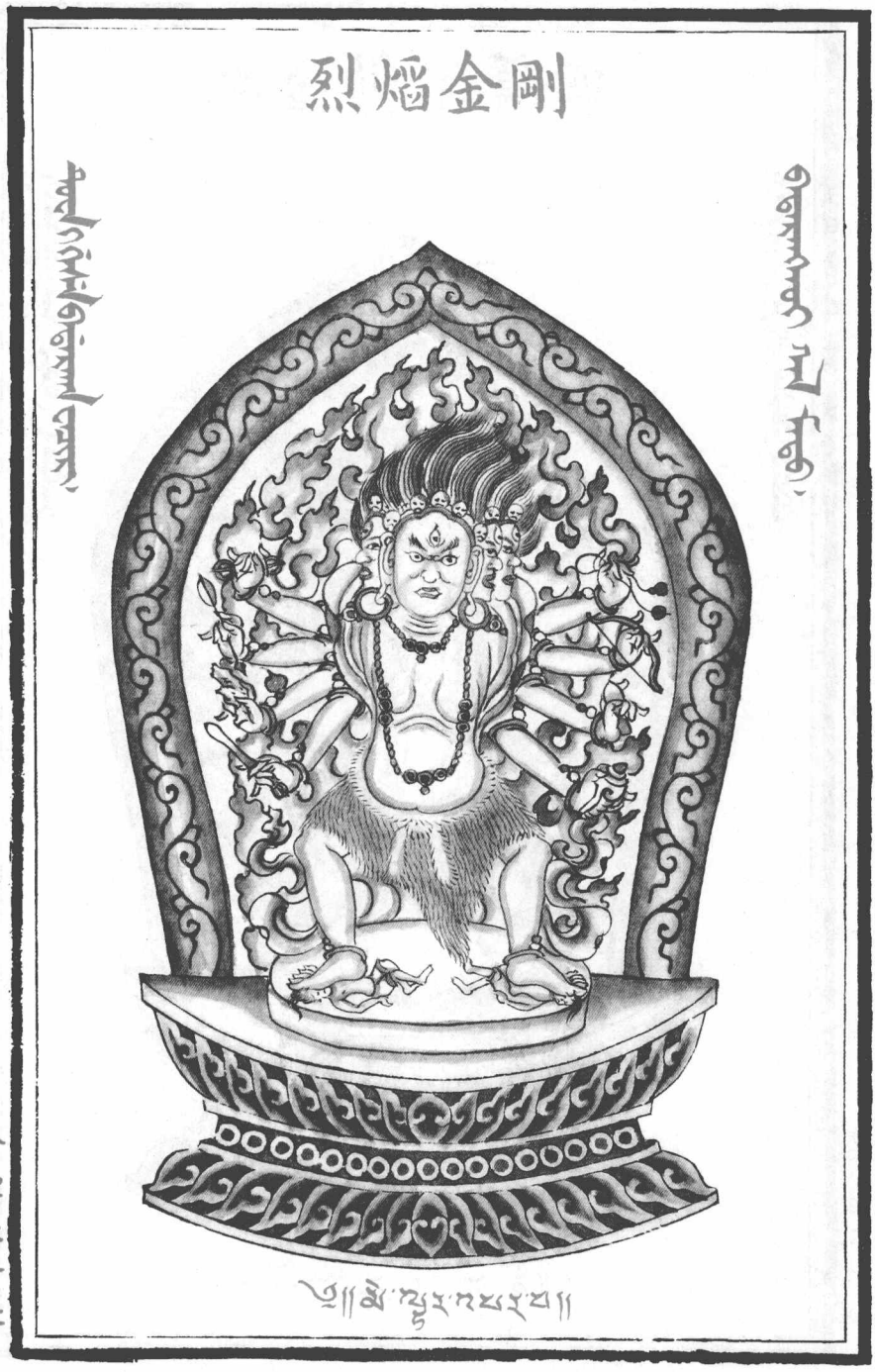
金刚甘露为潭，跏趺大妙庄严。
天人万类均沾，端然永侍瞿昙。



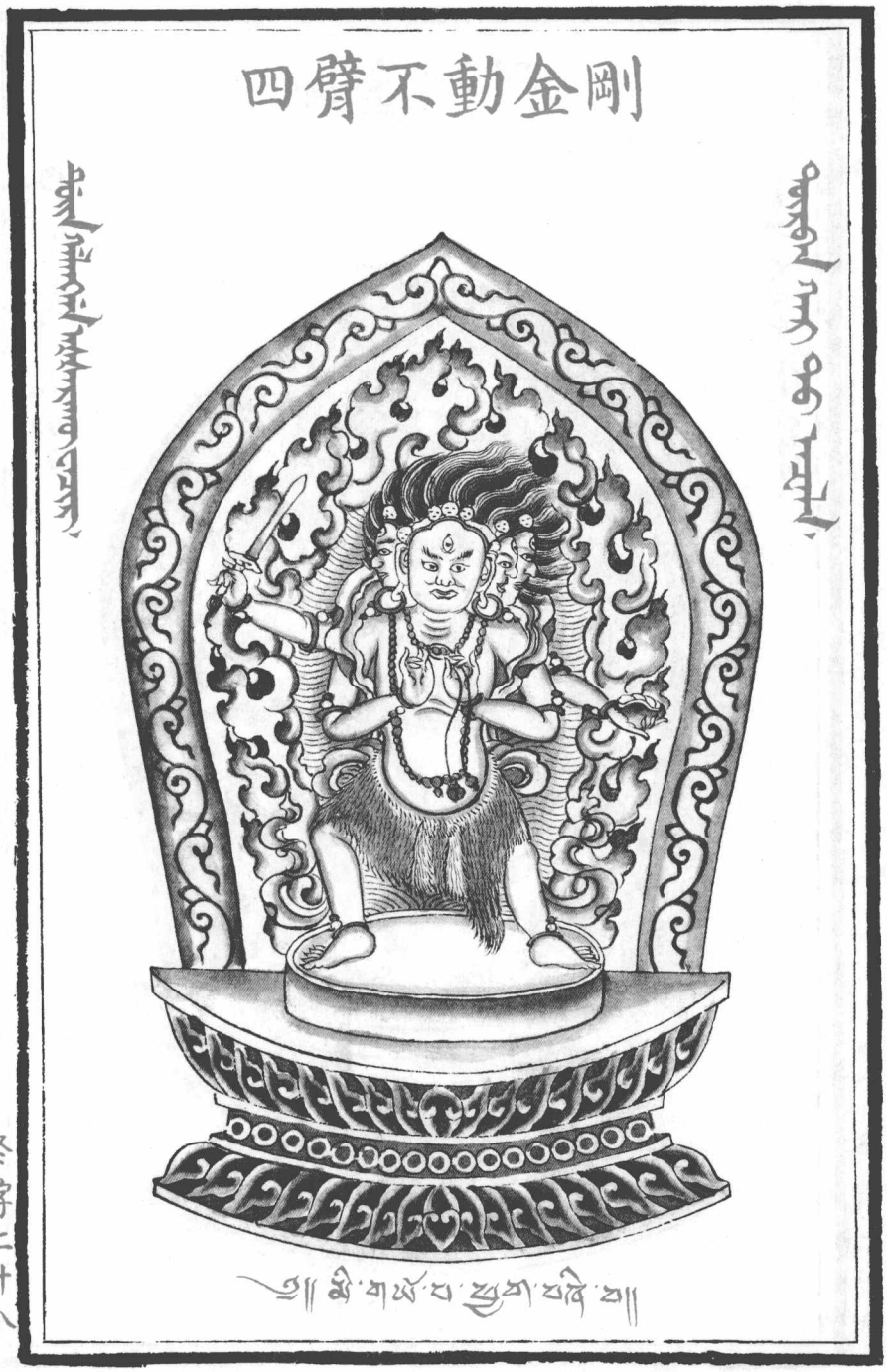
六臂撑持六合，三目慧映三光。
具足无边法力，方称金镯金刚。



传来佛宝多般，法相万年无损。
八猴不动金刚，生灵仰赖接引。



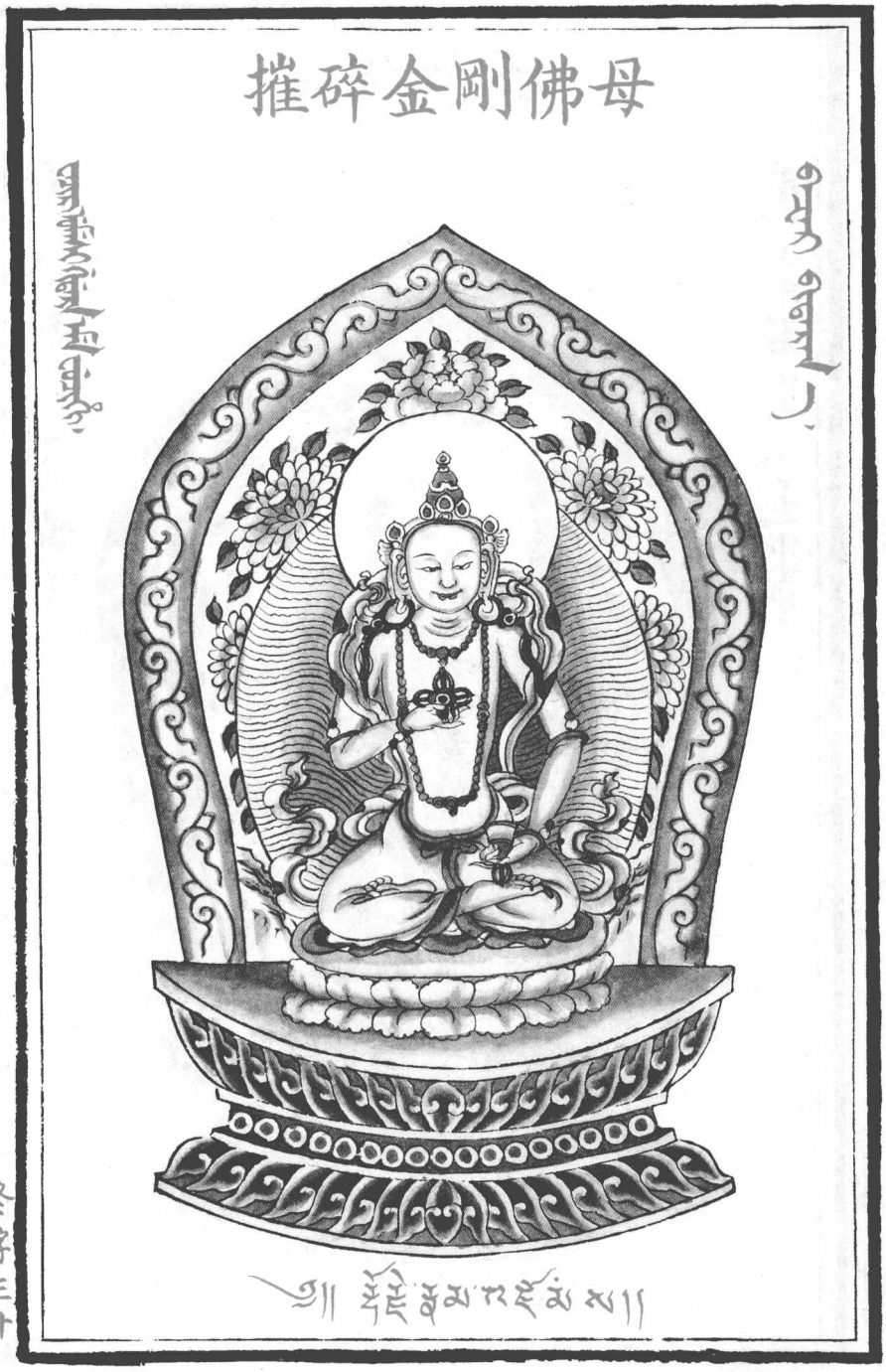
狰狞丈六金身，普照慧光烈焰。
金刚法力宏深，好把怪魔煅炼。



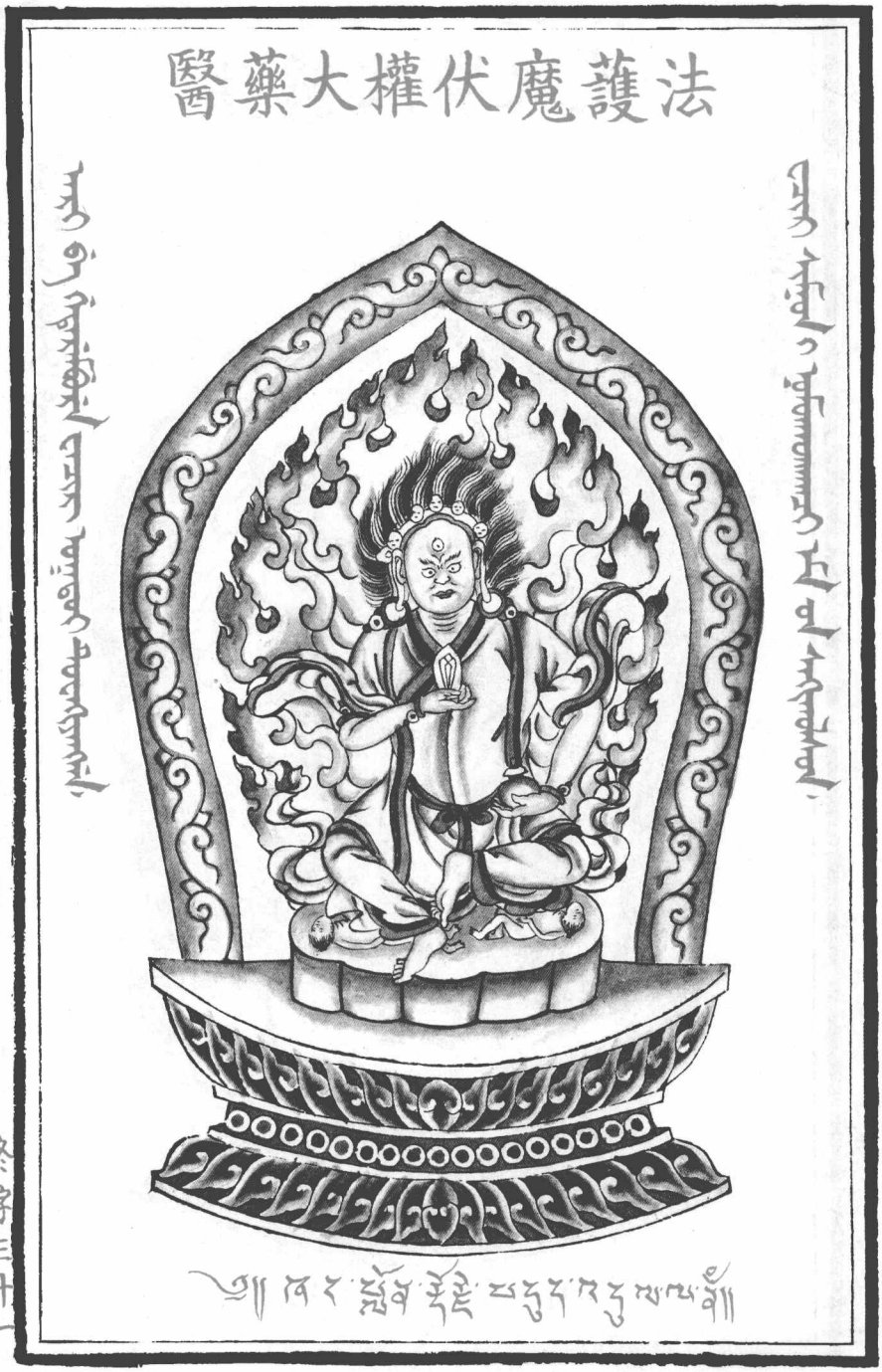
看去威猛形容，原来不动姿格。
千秋功行宏深，岂是一朝一夕。



宝号共称威积，慈容大是雍和。
宝罐醍醐在手，消除世界烦疴。



执金铃杵在手，欢喜容慈恩厚。
摧碎了众生咎，住西天称佛母。



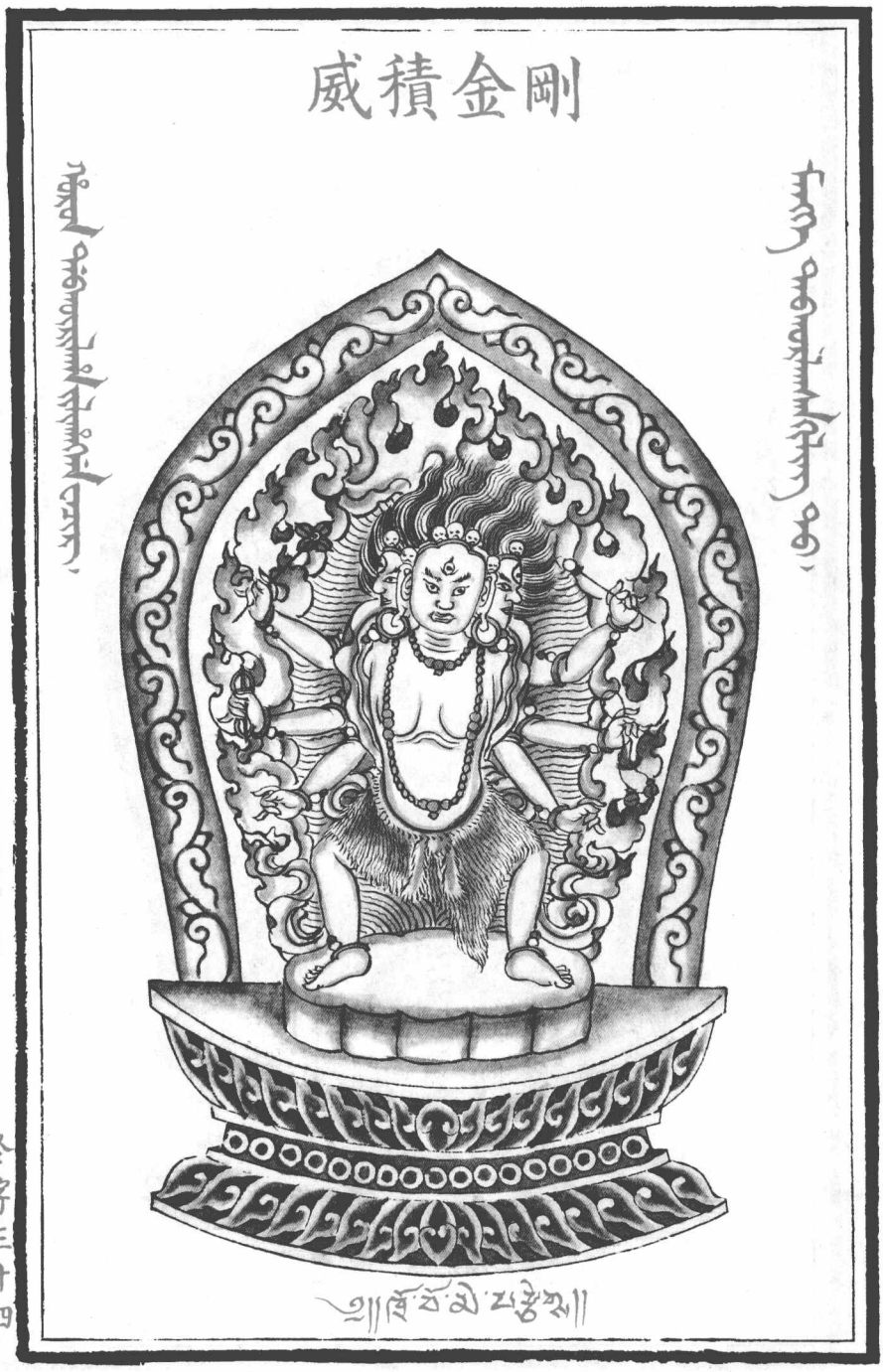
医药大权伏魔，万年护法西天。
众生五体投地，慈悲疾困都蠲。



全装甲胄威风，护法功德不浅。
骑来天马巡游，共诵夜叉贤满。



座下飞龙独跨，游行四大部洲。
布向世间天禄，慈悲无所不周。



三头六臂金刚，无限天威毕积。
许多法宝加持，救度众生大益。

獅面佛母

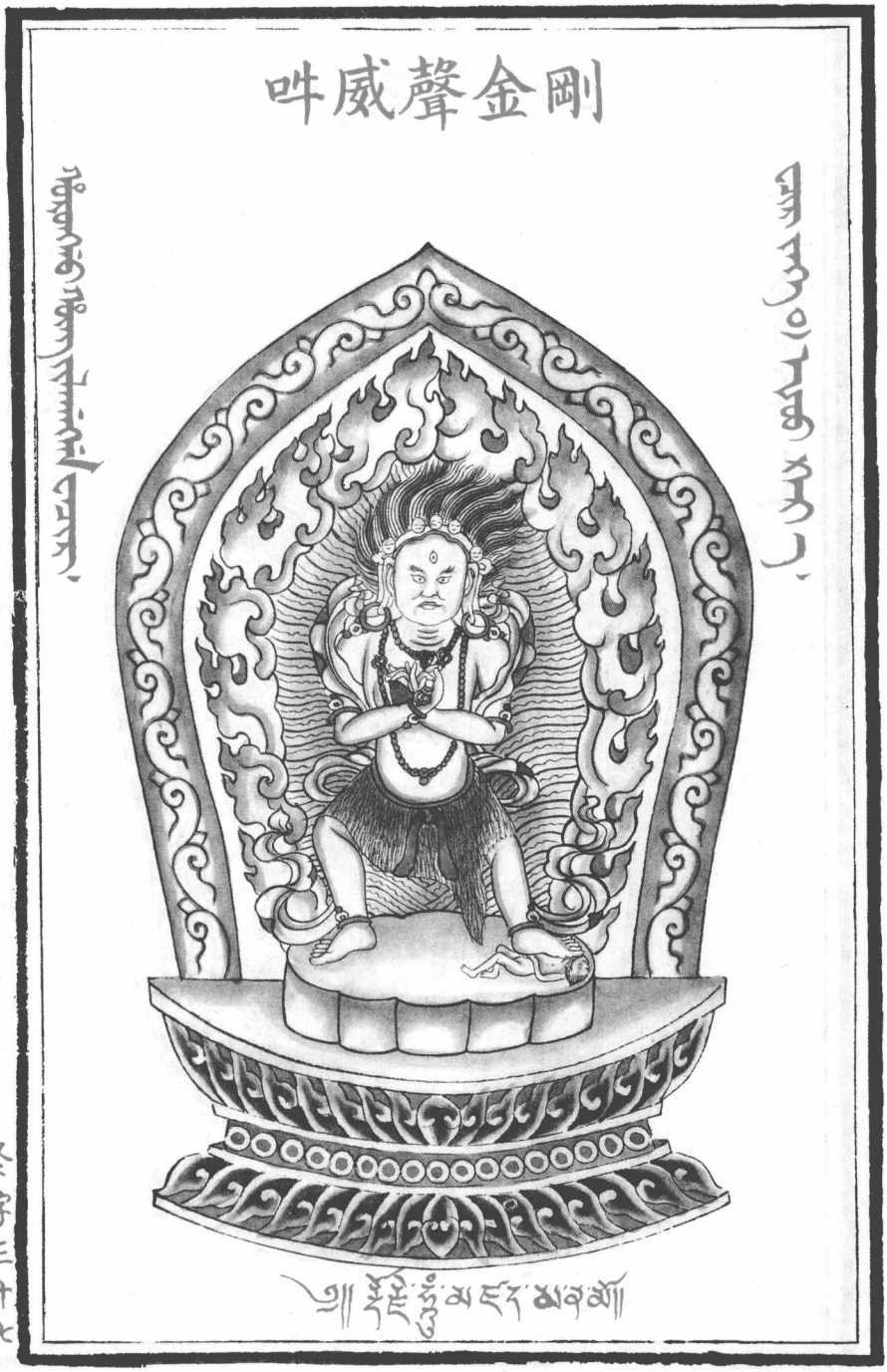


冬字三十五

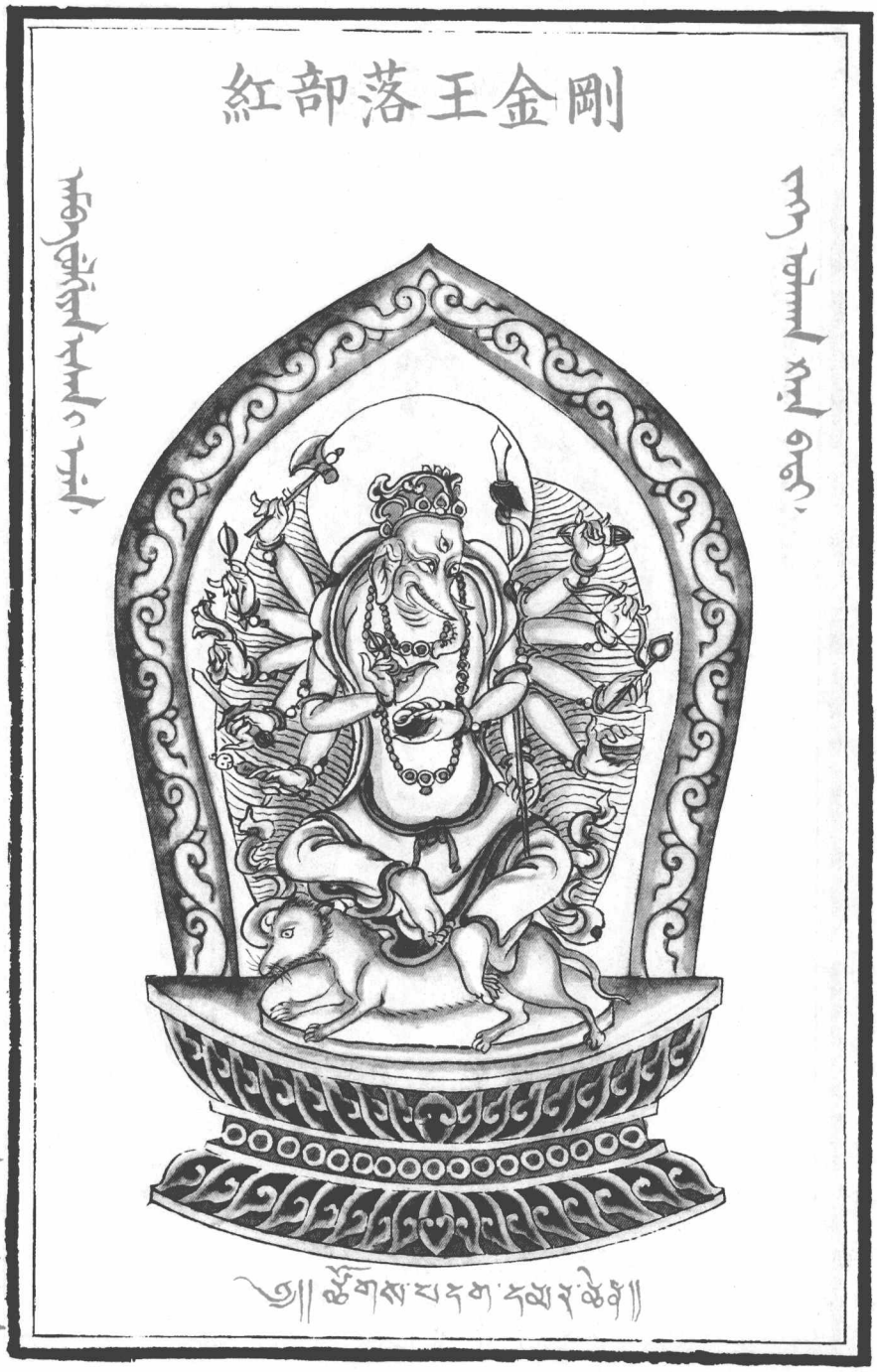
幻就狮王面目，大慈大悲为心。
佛母神威大力，自然魔怪难侵。



金刚诸障能烘，永侍梵王之宫。
宝像若个能通，包涵至道无穷。



两手铃杵交持，四面神光芜蔚。
金刚一吽威声，多少妖魔退畏。



一十二臂昂藏，梵王异相金刚，
灵宝授自西方，共称红部落王。



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Introduction

by LUO Wenhua

Translator Ed Hunter

Over the course of the 20th century scholars *outside of the practicing religious tradition* have made rapid advances in their research into Tibetan Buddhist iconography. In addition to wide ranging and in depth research into the classic texts as well as their collation, they have painstakingly collected images found in sculptural, painted and wood block print form and have published these relying on a solid foundation in research. Among these, *Sanbai Foxiang* (*Three Hundred Buddhist Images*), *Wubai Foxiang* (*Five Hundred Buddhist Images*), and *Zhu Fo Pusa Shengxiang Zan* (*Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Boddhisattvas*, henceforth *Zhufo*), have exerted a particularly strong influence on scholars in this field, becoming perennial fixtures atop their desks. The *Zhufo* occupies a particularly important position within this group.

Over the last five or six years the author has made a concerted study of the *Zhufo* taking advantage of visits to Europe and the United Sates and interchanges with scholars from various nations in addition to assembling nearly every related foreign publication. Much to be regretted, however, all of the pictures used in these publications are drawn from Baron A. von Staël-Holstein or Raghu Vira's old and somewhat fuzzy photographs; none have used the original text now preserved in the National Library of China. The China Tibetology Press's photo offset publication of this important work is of great significance to academic research. Below I will discuss the content of the book, the current state of research, and the significance of the present publication. I would greatly appreciate any comments, suggestions or criticisms readers or my fellow scholars may have.

I. The Preface to the *Zhufo* and Related Issues

The *Zhufo*, currently kept in the rare books department of the National Library of China, (inventory number A01587), is clearly identified as a handwritten and painted work in the library's catalogue. Each of the original five volumes measures 29 by 16.9 cm (figure 1). As currently mounted (subsequent to its acquisition by the National Library), it measures 33.5 by 16.9 cm. The fronts of the first two volumes are inscribed "*Zhu Fo Pusa Shengxiang Zan*" ("*Eulogies to the Sacred Images of Buddhas and Boddhisattvas*"). The National Library has used this as the book's title in their cataloguing system and this may well be the name by which von Staël-Holstein knew the work when he first encountered it. In any event, this is the name by which the work has been known by in the scholarly community. It is certain that the work was not newly christened subsequent to its collection as a review of von Staël-Holstein's writings show him referring to the work by this name while it was still in the hands of the book dealer prior to its acquisition by the Beiping Library (now the National Library of China). The question remains whether this name was given by the book dealer or whether it was the book's original name. The preface to the work refers to

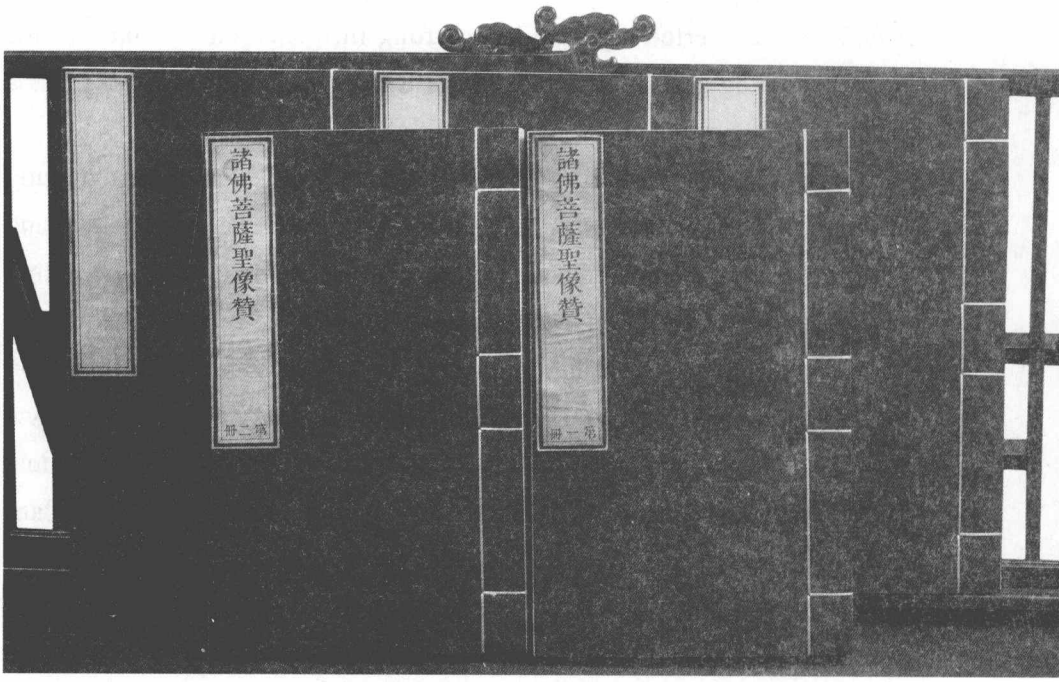


Figure 1. *Zhufo*. (National Library of China)

"*three hundred and sixty Buddhist images*" and does not mention "*eulogies to the sacred images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas*". For this reason the Japanese scholar Musashi Tachikawa consistently refers to the *Zhufo* as *Three Hundred and Sixty Buddhist Deities* in his work. This is a relatively insignificant variation in title, yet serves to demonstrate his editorial rigor. In my opinion when the book was compiled it perhaps was not given a name and still did not have a formal name by the time the Qianlong Emperor's uncle Yunlu, Prince Zhuang, had the images painted and the work assembled into volumes. The name we now use was added subsequently. Documents from the Qing Imperial Household Department never referred to this work by a formal name, only calling it "*three hundred sixty painted Buddhist images*". Moreover, "eulogies to three hundred sixty Buddhist images" as wsed in the preface does not seem to be the proper name of a book, further comfirming that the work may not have been given. It was a compendium of painted Buddhist images for Prince Zhuang's private collection, not for the general public, hence there remains a single copy. There were no other block print editions and no hand copies have been found. Given these circumstances it seems quite natural that it was not given a name.

The work as a whole comprises 360 images. Each page is framed with a block printed black line within which are found the image's mandorla, aureoles, lotus throne with its lotus petals, cloud scrolling and pearling all also print outlined in black. These print outlines were then traced over in ink by the painter. The deities and portions of the ornamentation backing them were hand painted. Some areas have shading in pale black from darker to lighter increasing the feeling of depth. Each of the three hundred sixty images is accompanied by four six character lines in Chinese. These inscriptions state the deity's name, its attributes, asana and dharmic function in correspondence with the image depicted to the right[1]. Each image has its name written in Chinese above, Tibetan below,

[1] The eulogies accompanying *Hwa shang dge bsnyen* (289), and *Padmanarteśvara-Hayagrīva* (62), have been transposed as a review of their contents makes clear. This mistake dates back to when the book was first assembled.



Figure 2. *Śrī-cakrasaṃvara*, (36) *Zhufo* (National Library of China)

Manchu to the left and Mongolian to the right. The Chinese, Manchu and Mongolian are all written in vermilion. The deep vermilion Tibetan letters are raised and seem to bulge from the page. As they are written with a brush the Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu inscriptions are not particularly standardized. The Chinese characters above the images are somewhat artless, falling far short of the austere, well formed characters of the eulogies (figure 2). As part of the consecration ceremony the Tibetan syllables for *Oṃ, Āḥ, HŪṃ* were written on the reverse of some deity images at the head, throat and heart (symbolically corresponding to the mind, word and body). The eulogies and images are preceded by a preface written in Chinese.

The first time I examined the book in the National Library I discovered that only the first three folios had silk slips with name of the work and number of the volume (e.g. *Zhu Fo Pusa Shengxiang Zan*, 2nd volume), but these were already detached and found interlaid between pages. The silk slips with the title and volume number for the last two volumes were lost. The volumes themselves were out of order. Relying on the context provided by the preface the volumes were subsequently reassembled in their proper order. Relying on the author's

revised ordering the first volume begins with the first deity in the *tian* (天)[2] category *Nāgārjuna*, and continues to the final deity in the *huang* (黄) category *Padmanarteśvara-Hayagrīva* (1-62); the second volume begins with the first deity in the *yu* (宇) category *Caturbhuja-Amitāyus* and ends with the last deity in the *huang* (荒) category *Prathamacittotpādasaṃśayacchedika* (63-126) ; the third begins with the first deity in the *ri* (日) category *Vipaśyin* and ends with the last in the *zhang* (张) category *Pratisarā* (127-205); the fourth begins with the first deity in the *han* (寒) category *Khadiravaṇī-Tārā* and ends with the last in the *shu* (暑) category *Hwa shang dge bsnyen* (206-289); the fifth begins with the first deity in the *wang* (往) category *Mahākāśyapa* and ends with the last in the *dong* (冬) category *Mahārakta-Gaṇapati* (290-360)[3]. The frame around each painting is 24 by 15.2 cm. The right hand side of the folio page has the painted image and the left hand side has the eulogy in Chinese. The mulberry paper used is today relatively brittle.

While the work's preface is not long, it provides clues of exceeding importance to understanding the work's historical background. The preface in full reads as follows:

Our emperor's virtue is found to be as that of the Buddha, from dawn to dusk in devout worship, surrounding his mind with the Buddhist scriptures, seeking out the cherished Buddhist deities. For this reason the emperor decreed that the *LCang skya* Khutukhtu collect the precious names of the Buddhist deities from the Buddhist scriptures, suitable for perpetual offerings, sequencing them by their category: the *Tian* (天) category ten *Great Masters of Prajñāpāramitā*; the *di* (地) category eight *Great Masters of Mantrayāna in Indian*; the *yuan* (元) category ten *Great Masters of Mantrayāna in Tibetan*; the *huang* (黄) category the thirty four *Great Deities of Mantrayāna*; the *yu* (宇) category fourteen Other

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[2] The book is divided into categories using the Qianziwen system, a "numbering" or ordinal system commonly used in traditional China. The *Qianziwen* was a sixth century composition written using one thousand characters none of which repeat. In subsequent generations it was used as a primer to teach children to read (and also as a set showpiece for calligraphers). As the one thousand characters were memorized, they could be readily recalled in their proper order and could function as the alphabet does in western countries as a sequencing system. So *tian, di, xuan, huang* would function as would a,b,c,d. (As a practical matter only the *Qianziwen*'s beginning characters, not all one thousand, would be needed in almost all instances.)

[3] Here and elsewhere in the present text the number in parentheses following each deity refers to the Arabic numeral corresponding to its sequence in the original which corresponds to the numbering used in other works on the subject.

Mantrayāna Deities; the *Zhou* (宙) category the five *Pañca-tathāgata*; the *Hong* (洪) category the *Thirty Five Buddhas*; the *huang* (荒) category the *Buddhas of Ten Directions*; the *ri* (日) category six *Buddhas of the Past*; the *yue* (月) category seven *Bhaisajyaguru*; the *ying* (盈) category five *Buddhas*; the *ze* (昃) category thirteen *Manifestations of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva*; the *chen* (辰) category twenty *Manifestations of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara*; the *xiu* (宿) category sixteen *Bodhisattvas of the Vajradhātu-Maṇḍala*; the *lie* (列) category seven *Bodhisattvas*; the *zhang* (张) category five *Pañcarakṣā*; the *han* (寒) category twenty two *Tārās*; the *lai* (来) category forty four *Female Deities*; the *shu* (暑) category *Eighteen arhats*; the *wang* (往) category seven *arhats*; the *qiu* (秋) category twenty one *Great Dharmapālas*; the *shou* (收) category five *Vaiśravaṇa*; the *dong* (冬) category *thirty eight Dharmapālas*. Altogether 360 deities in twenty three categories to be worshiped and sacrificed to from morning to night, achieving great merit, equal to that of complete possession of the substamce of the Longzang Tripiṭaka.

Honored to receive (the emperor's) loving solicitude, to receive his beneficence in his presence. While in reverent worship (of the *tsa-tsa*) I saw that to use the pure earth to make them was like piling the grains of sand to make a stupa. The great manifests within the small offering, although less than a *chi* tall the mind's eye sees a Buddhist image seventeen *chi* high. In my humble room as I pay homage to them it is as if I am paying homage to the hundred billion Buddhist deities of *Gṛdhrakūṭa*. The images have been arranged in order by associations from the *Great Masters* to *Vajradhara* to the *Great Deities of Mantrayāna* to the *Bodhisattvas* to the *Ḍākinīs* to the *arhats* to the *Dharmapalas*, comprehending the succession of Buddhist practice, ascending and entering stage after stage. Magnificent! I give prayers that the *Buddhas* in their compassion bless my entire family with health and peace. As I am the recipient of the emperor's beneficence and the loving kindness of our Buddhist deities I shall have images painted of each deity and each praised with its own eulogy, hoping in this way to express my boundless devotion.

The preface presents the following key points.

First, the Emperor directed the State Preceptor LCang skya to compile the *Zhufo* who determined its contents and organization. The three hundred sixty deities were divided into twenty three categories as in the following table.

Qianziwen category	Group	Number
Tian	Great Masters of Prajñāpāramitā	10
Di	Great Masters of Mantrayāna in India	8
Yuan	Great Masters of Mantrayāna in Tibet	10
Huang	Great Deities of Mantrayāna	34
Yu	Mantrayāna Deities	14
Zhou	Pañca-tathāgata	5
Hong	Thirty Five Buddhas	35
Huang	Buddhas of the Ten Directions	10
Ri	Buddhas of the Past	6
Yue	Bhaiṣajyaguru	7
Ying	Buddhas	5
Ze	Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva	13
Chen	Manifestations of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara	20
Xiu	Bodhisattvas in Vajradhātu-Maṇḍala	16
Lie	Bodhisattvas	7
Zhang	Pañcarakṣā	5
Han	Tārās	22
Lai	Female Deities	44
Shu	Eighteen Arhats	18
Wang	Arhats	7
Qiu	Great Dharmapālas	21
Shou	Vaiśravaṇas	5
Dong	Dharmapālas	38

Second, the book's author, or more accurately the book's patron, received the emperor's grant of a set of three hundred sixty *tsa-tsa* which he offered within a private chapel. Thereupon this person requested that someone unknown create painted depictions of the deities. He also composed a eulogy praising each deity and combined the paintings and eulogies in a book format, the book we have today.

Third, the ordering of the twenty three groups of deities is identical to that in abhiṣeka practice. This reflects the arrangement used in field of merit offerings (*tshogs zhing*) (as will be discussed in greater detail below).

The preface provides a clear explanation of how the project was initiated and of its content, but other questions remain.

First, which State Preceptor lCang skya is referred to? Is it the Kangxi era second State Preceptor lCang skya (Ngag-dbang blo-bzang chos-ldan, 1642-1715)? Or is it the Qianlong era third State Preceptor lCang skya (Rol-pavi rdo rje, 1716-1786)?

Second, who exactly is the author or patron of the book? He was not

only the fortunate recipient of the emperor's largesse, but was also privy to the State Preceptor's lCang skya thought regards the book's editing. Finally, and most importantly, when was the book completed and what were the particular historical circumstances surrounding its compilation?

Before addressing these questions, I will review the answers put forth in prior scholarship.

II. The Current State of Research and Present Issues

Credit for the discovery of this work goes to the discerning eye of the eminent scholar Baron A. von Staël-Holstein (1877-1937). Von Staël-Holstein was born into an old aristocratic family of the baronial rank in Estonia, then under the control of Tsarist Russia. From childhood he received a rigorous education including eight years of Latin and six years of Greek. Following his graduation from Dorpat University (now the University of Tartu), he specialized in Sanskrit at the Universität zu Berlin (now Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), and received a doctorate in linguistics from Vereinigte Friedrichs-Universität Halle-Wittenberg (now Martin-Luther-Universität). Returning to Russia, he took up a position as translator in the Indian Office of the Asian Department of the Foreign Ministry. This provided him with an opportunity to extend his studies exploring India in depth, later publishing an account, *Travel Notes on India*. He was a great admirer of Xuanzang, the Tang dynasty Buddhist monk and translator who famously traveled to India and beyond. He subsequently taught in the Department of Asian Languages of St. Petersburg University. During this time he dreamed of coming to China to study the many work in Tibetan and Mongolian collected there. In May of 1916 he left St. Petersburg for Beijing exciting a stir the city's scholarly community. Through the recommendation of the British ambassador to Japan and former head of Hong Kong University Sir Charles Eliot he was able to meet the Beijing University Dean of Liberal Arts Hu Shi. Hu invited him to teach Sanskrit and the history of Indian religions at the university. His most important work was done in researching Buddhist scriptures through comparative studies using versions in various languages and reconstructing the pronunciation of ancient Chinese through the study of Sanskrit words and phrases transliterated into

Chinese in scriptures, *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs*[4]. Tibetan Buddhist iconography was not his specialized field of study.

In 1928 looking through the inventory of a Beiping (modern Beijing) bookseller von Staël-Holstein found and photographed an old book illustrated with images of 360 Tibetan Buddhist deities. Subsequently, the book was acquired by the then recently established Beiping Library (the former incarnation of today's National Library). Later that year von Staël-Holstein published an article extolling the value of the book he had seen[5]. His arguments are summarized as follows.

1) The book's value. Prior to this time the German scholar Eugen Pander had published "confirmation" that the *Sanbai Foxiang Ji* (*A Collection of Three Hundred Buddhist Images*, henceforth *Three Hundred Images*), was based on the iconography of the third LCang skya State Preceptor, Rol-pavi rdo-rje[6]. Von Staël-Holstein stresses that the *Zhufo* was the State



Figure 3. rJe ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, (26), *Zhufo* (National Library of China)

[4] See Wang Yao ed., *Pingfan er weida de xuezhe: Yu Daoquan* (*An Ordinary Yet Great Scholar: Yu Daoquan*), Hebei Education Press, 2001: 311-313, for von Stael-Holstein's life. Also see Qian Wenzhong's moving essay "*Nanjue he tade Mengxiang: Jinian Gang Hetaiqin*", ("*A Baron and his Dream: Remembering von Stael-Holstein*"), *Dushu*, 1997, no. 1: 49-54. Serge Eliseef, "*A Great French Sinologist*", Harvard Journal of Asian Studies, vol. 3, no. 1, (1938): 1-8.

[5] Baron A. von Stael-Holstein, "*Remarks on the Chu Fo P'u Sa Sheng Hsaing Tsan*", *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Library*, vol. 1, (1928): 1-4.

[6] Please refer to Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon Des Tschangtscha*, (Berlin, 1890) for further discussion of Pander's views on the *Three Hundred Images*. The present author's views may be found in his introduction to *Tuxiang yu Fengge; Gugong Zangchuan Fojiao Zaoxiang*, (*Iconography and Styles: Tibetan Statues in the Palace Museum*). Beijing, Zijincheng Chubanshe, 2002, pp.12-13, p. 18, p. 20. I feel that it is quite possible that the *Three Hundred Images* was not complied by the LCang skya Khutukhtu himself, rather by one of his disciples with the LCang skya writing only the preface.

Preceptor's lCang skya second major work. The *Three Hundred Images* was printed from woodblocks and exists in multiple copies. The preface is written in Tibetan and Mongolian, paralleled on each page. Three hundred Buddhist deities are depicted, each with its name in Tibetan below and a *mantra* in Tibetan on the verso. Nowhere are the deities given names in Chinese. Pander notes that none of the Chinese names elsewhere used in subsequent editions were included in the original book. The *Zhufo*, on the other hand, was a unique manuscript. The name of each deity is given in four languages. Not only do the two works differ in the number of deities included, many of the deities are not the same. It was not a case of simply adding sixty deities to the three hundred found in the *Three Hundred Images*. In this way the *Zhufo*'s value exceeded that of the *Three Hundred Images* (figure 3).

2) Purpose of the work. Von Staël-Holstein discovered that museums in Beijing and various European countries had a number of Qianlong era Tibetan Buddhist *tsa-tsa* which were made in accordance with the images in the *Zhufo* suggesting to him that the painted image were their source. The two sets of images' attributes were identical. The images on these tsa-tsas are portrayed in relief, their bodies covered in gold leaf. On the reverse the name of each deity is written in Manchu, Mongolian, Chinese and Tibetan, along with "Reverently Made in the Qianlong Reign of the Great Qing" in Chinese, its designation within the qianziwen system and numbering in the traditional Chinese fashion. The *qianziwen* designation classifies the image within a larger typology (e.g. *Dharmapāla*), while the numbering corresponds to the deity's sequence within this category. The design was completely consistent with that of the *Zhufo*. Von Staël-Holstein saw more than one hundred of the copper molds used to make the *tsa-tsa* and purchased two.

3) Von Staël-Holstein had a very interesting discussion regarding the date when the *Zhufo* was created. As he explains, the LCang skya's own image is included in the listing of ancestral teachers in the *Three Hundred Images*. This clearly indicated that at the time the work was composed the lCang skya considered his cultivation perfected, that he could be included

in the ranks of the deities. He is not, however, to be found in the *Zhufo*, probably because he was still young and didn't dare place himself amid the holy masters. This would indicate that the *Zhufo* was produced before the *Three Hundred Images*. In addition, he pointed to the characters used in the preface to write lCang skya Khutukhtu. lCang skya (Zhangjia in pinyin Chinese), were originally written using the characters 张家. Following the second Cangkya's death at an early age in 1714 two different characters with the same pronunciation were used章嘉. Relying on this distinction he dates the book to after 1714. Based on the reign mark on the tsa-tsa he establishes a terminus ante quem for the tsa-tsa of 1797, the final year of the Qianlong reign.

His interpretation represents his era's highest level of understanding of the *Zhufo*.

In 1928 von Staël-Holstein was invited to Harvard University as a visiting scholar. He brought along him with iconographical materials he had collected in Beijing which he gave to the Harvard University Library for research purposes. These materials were meticulously edited by the noted Sanskrit professor W.E. Clark. In 1937, the year of Professor von Staël-Holstein's death, Clark published *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* in two volumes (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, volumes 3 and 4). (A one volume edition was published by Paragon in 1965.)[7] Clark poured his heart into this work, rigorously sorting and ordering the important materials on Tibetan Buddhist iconography he was able to see at that time. In addition to publishing all the photographs of the most recently available iconographic materials as supplied to him by von Staël-Holstein, (the seven hundred sixty six bronze images housed in the Baoxiang Hall in the old imperial

[7] Clark, Walter Eugene ed., *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*. New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp, 1965.

palace[8] and the *Zhufo*), he also supplied the Sanskrit names for the images in accordance with contemporary scholarship and indexed the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese names for the deities contained in the four great works for the study of iconography, the Baoxiang Hall bronzes, the *Zhufo*, the *Three Hundred Images* and *A Collection* of *Five Hundred Buddhist Images* (henceforth *Five Hundred Images*). To this day his work has provided the most complete and convenient reference for research in this field.

Clark's views regards the *Zhufo* echo those of von Staël-Holstein. Unfortunately, he did not publish the *Zhufo*'s preface or the eulogies accompany each image. Neither did he include Mongolian or Manchu in his indexes. These were the only small flaws in his excellent work.

In 1956 while on a three month research excursion to China the eminent Indian scholar Raghu Vira (1902-1963), photographed microfiche of the *Zhufo*. In 1981 the German Manchu studies scholar Harmut Walravens working from Raghu Vira's materials published the *Zhufo*'s preface, the eulogies and provided a cataloguing of the Manchu, Tibetan and Chinese names of the deities[9].

With this, the book had been published in full and, with the exception of the Mongolian, the cataloguing of the deities could be called complete.

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[8] The Baoxiang Hall, a two story building, located in the Cining Garden on the western side of the Forbidden City, is one of the eight "six tantras" Buddhist structures erected during the Qianlong era. These buildings were organized in accordance with the six levels of tantric practice in the Gelukpa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism: *Prajñāpāramitā* class, *Caryayoga* class, *Kriyāyoga* class, *Yoga* class, *Supreme yoga* class- father tantras and *Supreme Yoga* class- mother tantras. A chapel devoted to a tantric class would be populated by the important deities of the maṇḍalas of that class. Bronze images were cast of the major maṇḍala deities of each these classes of tantric practice with the name of the individual deity, (e.g.*Śākyamuni*), inscribed in Chinese on the front of the base and its class of practice, (c.g.*Prājñāpāramtā* clsaa), on the back the images were offered in shrines built into the wall. Each chapel had one hundred twenty two smaller bronze images in the wall shrines and nine larger images placed on an alter table, for a total of seven hundred eighty six images for all six classes. Von Staël-Holstein had gotten permission to enter the Baoxiang Hall and photograph the images individually. For further information, please refer to my "*Qinggong Liupin Folou Moshi de Xingcheng*", ("*Formation of the Model for the Six Tantras Buddhist Structures in the Qing Palace*") (*Gugong Bowuyuan Yuankan*) (*Palace Museum Journal*), 2000 no.4: 64-79 and *Longpao yu Jiasha:Qinggong Zangchuanfojiao Wenhua Kaocha* (*The Dragon Robe and the Kasaya: Tibetan Buddhist Culture in the Qing Palace*), vol. I, p.179, (Beijing, Zijincheng Chubanshe, 2005).

[9] Harmut Walravens. *Buddhist Literature of the Manchus; A Catalogue of the Manchu Holdings in Raghu Vira Collection at the International Academy of Indian Culture. Śata-Piṭaka Series Indo-Asian Literatures*, vol. 379. New Delhi, 1981.

However research into the *Zhufo* had not been advanced beyond those insights supplied by Professor von Staël-Holstein.

Our present century has suddenly seen something of a high tide of *Zhufo* studies with new publications by the Indian scholar Lokesh Chandra and the Japanese scholar Musashi Tachikawa.

In Tachikawa's work *Three Hundred and Sixty Buddhist Deities*, published as the second volume of The Asian Iconology Series, the photographs were blown up allowing researchers to distinguish the image's iconographic attributes[10]. The book's brief introduction states that the 5×8 cm pictures in Clark's book had been enlarged to 10.5×16 cm. The Chinese name and accompanying eulogy were provided for each image, but the eulogy was reduced in size and placed in the lower right hand corner. The name for each deity was given in Tibetan and Sanskrit and in the back of the book there was an index of Tibetan names. His work is reliant on Raghu Vira's photographs.

In 2002 Lokesh Chandra and Fredrick W. Bunce (Professor Emeritus of Art, Indiana State University), collaborated on the publication of *The Tibetan Iconography of Buddhas, Boddhisattvas and other Deities- A Unique Pantheon*[11].

While Chandra makes a clear error in his translation of the *Zhufo*'s title into English, his comments provide a very valuable introduction to the work[12]. Professor Clark had suggested that the offering of the images housed in the Baoxiang Hall (in the imperial Palace's Cining Garden), should be associate with the Qianlong emperor's mother, the empress dowager Xianshengxian(1692-1777). Chandra extended this argument suggesting that the *Zhufo* was compiled for the empress's seventieth birthday in 1761. However he did not provide a documentary basis for this

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[10] Musashi Tachikawa, *Masahide Mori, Shinobu Yamaguchi. Three Hundred and Sixty Buddhist Deities. Asian Iconography Series-II*. Delhi: Adroit Publishers, 2001.

[11] Lokesh Chandra & Fredrick W. Bunce. *The Tibetan Iconography of Buddhas, Boddhisattvas and other Deities: A Unique Pantheon*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2002.

[12] In his introduction Chandra translates the *Zhufo*'s title as *Eulogies and Figures of all Buddhas, Boddhisattvas and Holy Ones*. This would more properly be translated *Eulogies to the Sacred Images of the Buddhas and Boddhisattvas*.

assertion. He also for the first time explained that his father Prof. Raghu Vira had taken a set of microfiche images of the *Zhufo* at the National Library in Beijing when he visited China in 1955. So, while better technology available at the later date allowed clearer reproduction, both the images now held in India and those published by Clark were from the same source, the former microfiche and the latter photographs. For their publication Chandra and Bunce computer enhanced the photographs of the microfiched images, enlarging them and increasing clarity. Chandra felt the *Zhufo*'s artist was clearly Han Chinese, quite possibly the famous contemporary artist Ding Guanpeng. This, however is purely supposition unsupported by any evidence provided, not even a comparison of artistic styles. He draws particular attention to differences between the iconographic attributes of *Bhṛkuṭī* (256), and those described in the Indian Buddhist literature and found in other extant images, continuing that this indicated that the State Preceptor lCang skya must have drawn upon multiple Tibetan sources and that clues might be found in his collected works.

In his introduction Professor Bunce's research proves still more fastidious, perhaps at times a bit overly so.

First, he disagrees with Clark's statement that the *Zhufo* is a unique manuscript. He objects that as the text of *Zhufo* is not handwritten and its illustrations hand illuminated it cannot properly be termed a manuscript (L. manus scriptus).

Examining the photographs he discovered that there are breaks characteristic of a wood-cut print in the border surrounding each image. However, there is a gradation in the shading in the lotus thrones, garment folds and some of the landscape elements adding an increased dimensionality to the images, an effect not normally possible with wood block printing. This would imply that the images were painted. Bunce attempts to resolve this contradiction suggesting the effect was possibly achieved through hand coloring after the printing or that the multiple block method was used (figure 4).

Drawing on comparisons with other relevant systemizations of deities (*Three Hundred Images*, *Five Hundred Images* etc.), he gives four reasons

why the *Zhufo* might be considered unique. 1). There are a large number of deities contained in the *Zhufo* that are not to be found in the other sets. 2). The formal and stylistic depiction of the deities differs from the Tibetan influenced style of the comparable sets. 3). There is a greater tendency towards calmer or more peaceful deities. 4). The use of different kinds of landscape background elements. These four points were elaborated as follows.

Following a thorough comparison of contemporary iconographic materials, (e.g. the *Three Hundred Images*, the *Five Hundred Images* and the Baoxiang Hall metal images), he has concluded that many deities included in the *Zhufo* can only be found there. This would seem to clearly indicate that the *Zhufo* had an unusual iconographic source. Perhaps the source is not preserved or is otherwise unknowable.

Next, stylistically the painting technique has pronounced Chinese elements such as the form of the lotus thrones, the presence of landscape and floral/vegetal backgrounds and their rendering and in particular the proportions of the deities bodies and the way that the eyes, hands and feet are drawn. Attention is drawn to a *ruyi* scepter held by the *Hevajra* (48) and the dragon vehicle of the white *Jambhala* (355), both clearly stylistically Chinese.

Having calculated the relative occurrence of peaceful and wrathful deities in the various contemporary iconographic materials he has ascertained that the proportion of peaceful deities is closest to that of the *Three Hundred Images*. As many western scholars consider the *Three Hundred Images* to be a product of the Third lCang skya, the suggestion is made that the *Zhufo* might also be his work.

Finally, the background for each image was carefully arranged by the artist. In most instances the artist was necessarily constrained by tradition and iconographic requirements; for example wrathful deities should be surrounded with flames. The artist was more at liberty with the symmetrical flower, fruit and leaf designs found about the head and body nimbuses of the major Budhhas and Bodhisattvas. This may be seen even more with the teachers and arhats who are often placed in landscape settings. This



Figure 4. Ekavīra-Bhairava (46) *Zhufo* (National Library of China)

phenomenon is rarely seen in the other contemporary sources. Noting slight differences in the handling of deity's features, he states that the work was clearly the work of multiple artisans.

In Chandra and Bunce's publication the images were published side by side with the corresponding eulogy. The names of the deities given in four languages in the original are romanized and also given in romanized Sanskrit. Bunce has carefully researched the iconographic characteristics of each image and provides an explanation for each. He notes that as the pictures on the microfiche he was working with are quite small in some instances the hand held attributes were impossible to distinguish. Other attributes were identifiable but did not accord with those defined in the various sources. While these instances are infrequent, they do present a problem for iconographic research which will require further comparative study and investigation.

Bunce takes pains to explain his decision to computer enhance the images available to him. The original negatives were in some places stained, foxed, scratched, dusty or for other reasons unclear. In these cases he was able to clean up the image without altering the original lines thus preserving its original likeness.

In sum, Chandra and Bunce's book provides the most thoroughgoing research into the *Zhufo* to date. Computer enhancement of each image has

heightened clarity greatly facilitating the identification of iconographic attributes. The detailed descriptions of each image's iconographic characteristics amply demonstrate the author's painstaking efforts. The enlargements of a few images are a little muddy. Particularly to be regretted the *qianziwen* designation in the lower left hand corner of the border surrounding each image has been deleted. There are moreover a few other small flaws, for example the eulogies for images 174 and 175 have been transposed but none diminishes the accomplishment of the book as whole.

The above authors' industry has provided a fine basis for further research on the *Zhufo*. However, while this work has been studied for quite some time nearly all of those doing research are less than proficient in the Chinese language. Scholars subsequent to von Staël-Holstein have not actually examined the work at the National Library of China nor even mentioned that the book itself was preserved there with the result that what should be the answerable question of whether the images are printed or painted is still contested. Even questions as to the relationship between the *Zhufo* and the Qing court or the third lCang skya are subject to conjecture rather than fact. Accordingly there is a need to reexamine and clarify the previous scholarship.

Examined as a whole, the work of the scholars described above represents considerable progress, yet some issues remain.

1) When did the author live? That the lCang skya Khutukhtu referred to in the preface is the third lCang skya Rol-pavi rdo-rje is universally accepted. That the work was completed during the Qianlong reign is also unquestioned. Von Staël-Holstein claimed that the *Zhufo* was compiled prior to the *Sanbai*. However, contemporary scholars range widely in their dating of the *Sanbai*[13].Von Staël-Holstein's supposition is not of use. Moreover

[13] Recently Professor Patricia Berger of Berkley University explored this question in her work *The Empire of Emptiness, Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2003, p. 115.). Relying on the inclusion of the Sixth Panchen Lama, (1738-1780), and the Seventh Dalai Lama, (1708-1757) and their dates of birth and death she determines that the work could not have been compiled before 1738 or after 1757. This would be between the third and twenty second years of the Qianlong reign when the State Preceptor lCang skya was between the ages of twenty two and forty one. That the *Zhufo* was produced at the age when he would be at his most vigorous and prolific is not surprising. My own thoughts on this issue can be found in my *The Dragon Robe and the Kasaya: Tibetan Buddhist Culture in the Qing Palace*, vol. I, p. 60.

nearly all scholars have put the question of the book's compiler or patron, the author of the preface, to the side. This is a clear error.

2) What were circumstances surrounding the *Zhufo*'s production? Von Staël-Holstein considered the group of Qianlong period tsa-tsa he had seen to be based on the images in the *Zhufo*. There is a problem with this correspondence as formulated. The preface clearly states that the paintings in the *Zhufo* are entirely based on three hundred sixty Buddhist deity *tsa-tsa*, not the other way around. This book is not the source for the *tsa-tsa*. A work by lCang skya Rol-pavi rdo-rje was the original source, but regrettably that work has not survived. Von Staël-Holstein's suggestion was valuable but it never received the necessary reexamination and questioning by other scholars. Why the Qianlong emperor suddenly decided that Rol-pavi rdo-rje's work be compiled and at the same time have metal molds made based upon the images in that book and then have *tsa-tsa* made using the molds has not been answered. Chandra's suggestion that this book and the Xianruo Hall in the Cining Garden are related to Qianlong's mother's birthday is without foundation. The Imperial Household Department's Expenditure Registers Archives for the 37th year of Qianlong's reign (1772), records that this group of *tsa-tsa* was presented as an offering when the interior of the Xianruo Hall was being refurbished[14].This was simply a part of the Xianruo Hall construction and renovation project and had no connection with the Qianlong Emperor's mother, the Dowager Empress Xiaosheng's, birthday.

3) Hand painted or block-printed? I don't think that back when he first saw and photographed the *Zhufo* von Staël-Holstein could have imagined that the question of whether the images contained therein were hand painted or block printed would still be being debated by scholars today. Happily, the book von Staël-Holstein photographed is still preserved in the National Library of China and a fleeting examination easily answers this question.

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[14] Collection of the First Historical Archive of China: "*Expenditure Registers Archives*" Microfiche 98, vol. 310, pp. 8-10, thirty seventh year, third month, sixth day of the Qianlong reign.

Looking at the National Library copy one can clearly see that all of the deities and their backgrounds, as well as the their shading of aureoles, mandorlas and lotus bases, are hand painted. By way of example, the rocky crags and clouds within the mandorla backing *Mahākāśyapa* (image 290) and the vertical face of the base are lightly drawn in ink as are the lotuses behind *Ānanda* (291). The landscapes, old twisted trees and fantastic stones are all clearly in the Chinese style (see *Kālika* (275) and *Dharmatāla* (288) etc.). This may also be seen in the flames surrounding the *Yi dams* and *Dharmapālas*. Looking only to the deities' forms, the arrangement and patterning of the background elements, the shading, the dimensionality achieved through color gradation and the handling of line it seems very probable not only that each image was painted by a Han Chinese artist but that clearly more than one artist was involved. This was a joint work completed by multiple artists (figures 5,6).

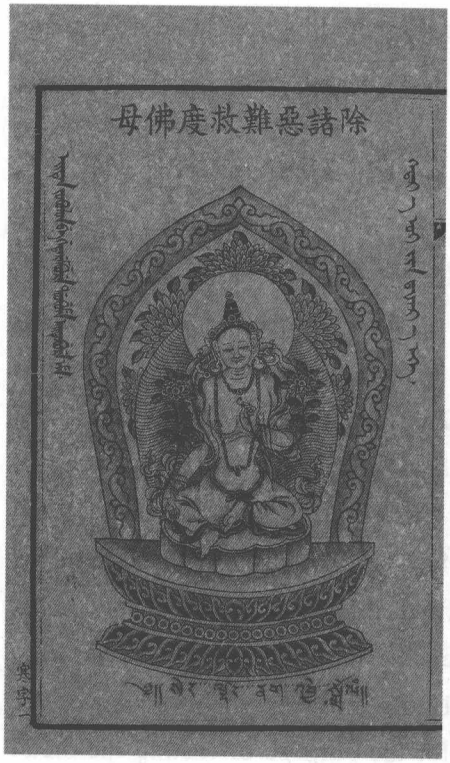


Figure 5. Jāṅgulī-Tārā (227)*Zhufo* (National Library of China)

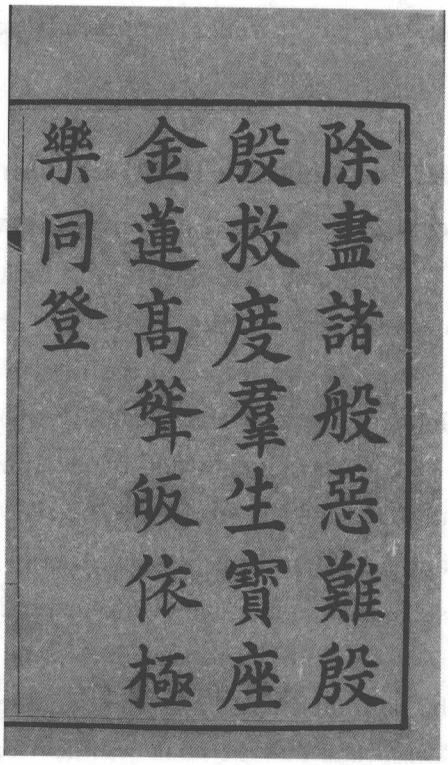


Figure 6. Eulogy for Jāṅgulī-Tārā (227) *Zhufo* (National Library of China)

Bunce notes that within the four sides of the thicker outer border there is a finer border, an imprint left from printing. This is correct. Each page in the original has thin border defining an area 23.2 cm by 14.2 cm. Each image was painted within this frame and at the same time a thicker outer border was drawn in ink outside the finer border. All of the deities, background elements and lotus thrones are done in lighter or darker ink and color giving the images depth and presence. This is an oft seen technique used in traditional Chinese painting and nothing to be surprised at. Bunce's examination of the images cannot be called less than meticulous, but in this instance he is in error. The questions he raises and explanations he gives are mistaken or, to put it another way, are simply unnecessary. Von Staël-Holstein clearly indicated that the images were painted and Clark also knew this. Bunce's questions arose because he only worked with the photographs. The book is readily available in the National Library of China and can be looked up under its title in the catalogue. He said that he had no way to see the original. It would seem the obstacle presented by the Chinese language negatively impacted his research.

III. Evidence in the Qing court archives regards the *Zhufo*'s compiler and date of compilation

Important archival materials relating to the dating of the *Zhufo* and its contents are preserved in the "*Record of Works Produced in the Imperial Workshop*" collected in the First Historical Archive (see the appendix: Excerpts from the Historical Records). These will be outlined below.

On the eleventh day of the fourth month of the fourteenth year of the Qianlong reign (May 26, 1749), the imperial workshops received an accordion form book written in Manchu painted with three hundred sixty Buddhist images with instructions to immediately cast metal molds in accordance with the images. Given the number of images, we may be confident that this was undoubtedly the initial painted version of the *Zhufo* and that the book was devised for the purpose of casting the metal molds. The images were labeled only in Manchu. The archives further record that on eleventh day of the twelfth month on the fifteenth year of the

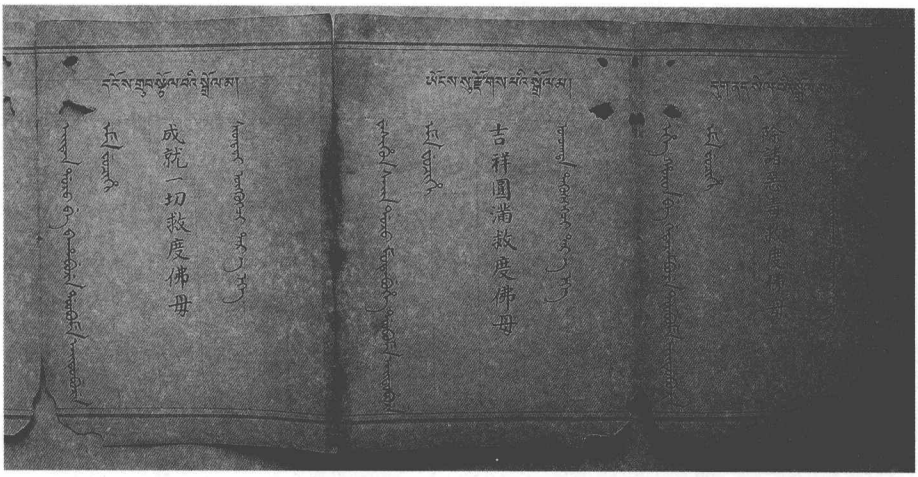


Figure 7. Detail of the accordion form book with the names used in the *Zhufo* newly discovered in the Forbidden City. Siddhida-Tārā (225), Paripūrṇa-Tārā, (226) and Jāṅgulī-Tārā (227).

Qianlong reign following the casting of the molds it was directed that their cover plates be inscribed with the names of the deities in four languages, "Reverently made in the Qianlong reign of the Great Qing" and the deity's categorization under the *qianziwen* system[15].At this point the names of all the deities were converted into the four languages and the key contents of the *Zhufo* as we know it were basically in place. Recently several accordion form books with the names of deities in the four languages on both sides of the paper, (but without the painted images), were found amongst the remnants of the Zhongzheng Hall, site of an earlier fire. These list one hundred eighty five deities with names the same as those in the *Zhufo* (figure 7)[16]. The ordering of the deities is basically identical to that used in the

[15] Collection of the First Historical Archive of China: "*Record of Works Produced in the Imperial Workshop*" Microfiche 91, Archive no. 3423-3427 (See appendix section 1).

[16] Three of the *Great Masters of the Prajñāpāramitā*, three of the *Great Masters of Mantrayāna in India*, four of the *Mantrayāna Deities*, five of the *Pañca-tathāgata*, thirty four of the *Thirty Five Buddhas*, ten of the *Buddhas of the Ten Directions*, six of the *Buddhas of the Past*, four *Bhaiṣajyaguru*, four *Manifestations of Mañjuśrī Boddhisattva*, twenty *Manifestations of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara*, thirteen of the *Boddhisattvas of the Vajradhātu-Maṇḍala*, *eight Bodhisattvas*, three of the *Pañcarakṣā*, seven *Tārās* and fifteen *Female Deities*.

Zhufo[17].While they do not have the *qianziwen* numbering it seems that this is the source for the addition of the names in the four languages to the metal molds as ordered by the Qing court. The molds then would have been completed in the fifteenth year of the Qianlong reign (1750).

The "Buddhist deity molds" named in the archives were the copper molds used to make the *tsa-tsa* discussed by von Staël-Holstein. The molds made by the imperial workshops were of two types, each sets of three hundred sixty: positive molds made of gilded copper and negative molds. The images of the deities projected from the surface of the positive molds and accordingly they were only suited to serve as offerings whereas the images of the deities on the negative molds were recessed and thus suitable for impressing clay to produce *tsa-tsa*. The cover plates for these molds were incised with deities' names in Manchu, Mongolian, Chinese and Tibetan and below with "Made in the Qianlong Reign of the Great Qing". In both types the qianziwen designation is incised in the well. The molds were completed on the tenth day of the eleventh month of the 22nd year of the Qianlong reign (December 20, 1757)[18].

On the twenty seventh day of the twelfth month of the twentieth year of

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[17] However, there are differences between the two. Most noticeably, in the manuscript recovered from what was once Zhongzheng Hall Guang da Zhi hui Pu sa ("*vast prajñā Bodhisattva*"), (Tib. *Byang chub sems dpav blo gros cher rgyas*), not included in the *Zhufo* is found between *Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin* (199), and *Hastivāhana-Samantabhadra* (200). In addition, there are several transcription errors in the names given in Chinese. For example, *Vajragarbhapramardin*,(83), of the Thirty-Five Buddhas (Chin. Jin gang Bu huai Fo), is written as Vajra Akṣobya (Chin. Jin gang Bu dong Fo). Aśokaśrī, (102) (Chin. Wu you De Fo), is written as Wu liang De Fo. The differences in the Tibetan names are more substantial. In the *Zhufo* the Tibetan letters are often joined in a kind of cursive. The names are given in full and are often followed with honorific "la na mo". The letters used in the Tibetan names in the Zhongzheng Hall manuscript are standardized and written separately. The names themselves are often in a simplified or shortened form, e.g. Byang chub sems dpav, Sangs rgyas, etc., and are not followed by the honorific. The arrangement of the names in the four languages also differs. In the *Zhufo* the names in Manchu and Mongolian are found on the left and right and the Chinese and Tibetan above and below. In the Zhongzheng Hall manuscript the Tibetan name is above and the Manchu, Chinese and Mongolian names are arranged left to right along the bottom. Five of the Female Deities, Viśvamātṛ (238), Ekajaṭā (239), Caturbhuja-Cundā (240), Bahubhuja-Cundā (241), and Daśabhuja-Mārīcī (242), are missing the Tibetan inscription. It seems fairly clear that this manuscript was intended as a draft transmitting information and not as a finished product. These differences indicate that there were multiple revisions between the time of the manuscript's writing and the time the *tsa-tsa* molds were actually cast.

[18] Collection of the First Historical Archive of China: "*Record of Works Produced in the Imperial Workshop*", Microfiche 91, Archive no. 3423-3427 (See appendix section 1).

the Qianlong reign (January 28, 1756) having been gilded the molds were presented to the Qianlong Emperor whereupon he decreed that the set of negative molds be given to Prince Zhuang, to be held long term in the back hall of the Zhongzheng Hall, (late known as the Danyuanlou)[19] and that a trilevel octagonal Chinese style stupa-form shrine be constructed of *zitan* wood for the positive molds. "The pagoda shrine should be one *zhang*, four *chi* tall (4.48 meters) with a diameter of six *chi*" (1.92meters). Each level would house 120 images with each image set behind an ornamented glass covered portal. However, following the shrine's completion, the Qianlong Emperor changed his mind and decided the stupa shrine was to be offered in a different location and apparently that the positive molds would not be placed within it[20]. According to the entry recorded on the twelfth day of the first month of the 23rd year of the Qianlong reign (February 19, 1758), the images were first placed as offerings in a shrine cabinet with open square faced compartments along the west wall of the Huiyao Hall. In the end, however, the images were ultimately offered in the zitan wood stupa shrine, probably in the Wuliang Hall on Wanshoushan[21]. The records are extremely ambiguous as to the ultimate placing of the offering, but given the enormous size of the *zitan* wood pagoda it is difficult to think of an another suitable location.

Prince Zhuang may have been responsible for producing *tsa-tsa* for the court. According to the records he at one time made two sets of fine clay *tsa-tsa* which were placed in cabinet shrines composed of open square faced compartments, one set each along the east and west walls of the Huiyao Hall. Some of these were painted with gold leaf and some were not[22].

Looking at the materials from the Qianlong era "*Records of Works Produced in the Imperial Workshop*" in their entirety, it seems that by the

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[19] From archival documents recently discovered in the remains of the Zhongzheng Hall, destroyed by fire:"The storehouses of the Zhongzheng Hall received Buddhist deity molds, śarira, gdden stupas, and offering items", the twenty second year of the Qianlong reign(1757).

[20] Collection of the First Historical Archive of China: "*Record of Works Produced in the Imperial Workshop*", Microfiche100, Archive no. 3469 (See appendix section 2).

[21] Collection of the First Historical Archive of China: "*Record of Works Produced in the Imperial Workshop*", Microfiche104, Archive no. 3497 (See appendix section 3).

[22] Collection of the First Historical Archive of China: "*Record of Works Produced in the Imperial Workshop*", Microfiche104, Archive no. 3497 (See appendix section 3).

fourteenth year of the Qianlong reign (1749), or earlier the court had already decided to produce a set of copper molds for making *tsa-tsa* which would include the majority of the deities of Tibetan Buddhism. For this purpose an accordion form book with painted images of the deities was produced. The records do not clearly state who the author of this work was. Reading the preface of the *Zhufo* we know this person was the third lCang skya Rol-pavi rdo-rje. However subsequent to their completion in the twenty second year of the Qianlong reign the molds were not extensively used. The positive molds were not suitable for making Buddhist images and served only as ritual items installed in the zitan wood pagoda shrine in the Wuliang Hall on Wanshoushan. The negative molds were granted to Prince Zhuang with the command to make two sets of *tsa-tsa* to be offered at the Huiyao Hall, the then newly constructed first of the halls dedicated to the *Six Tantras*. To this may be added that the records for the sixth day of the first month of the 22nd year of the Qianlong reign state that the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdini were each bestowed with a set of 360 imprinted Buddhas along with other items[23]. From this it can be seen the court by that time had used the molds to produce at least four sets. Subsequently these *tsa-tsa* images were recurrently made. Currently the Palace Museum is in the process of sorting through the relics housed in the Xianruo Hall. Judging from what has been discovered so far, at one time the Xianruo Hall had offerings of twelve complete sets of the 360 *tsa-tsa*, a total of 4320 images (figures 8, 9). These are identical to those seen by von Staël-Holstein. Currently only one set is complete. Many *tsa-tsa* from the *Zhufo* set can be found in the collections of museums in a number of countries. However the only complete set outside of China can be found in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City[24].

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[23] Collection of the First Historical Archive of China: "*Record of Works Produced in the Imperial Workshop*", Microfiche102, Archive no. 3487.

[24] The American Museum of Natural History and other museums also have individual *tsa-tsa* from incomplete sets. Here I would like to take the opportunity to sincerely express my heartfelt thanks to Laila Williamson of the American Museum of Natural History. She not only helped me to gain online access to the museum's catalogue where I could look up items in their collection but also accompanied me to the museum's storage areas where I could see the priceless Qing dynasty Tibetan Buddhist items that are kept there. To my astonishment, I found that the museum had preserved a complete set of the three hundred sixty clay *tsa-tsa*.

Who then is the author of the *Zhufo*?



Figure 8. Kanakavarṇa-Tārā, tsa-tsa from the *Zhufo* set kept in the Xianruo Hall on the Forbidden City, front.



Figure 9. Kanakavarṇa-Tārā, tsa-tsa from the *Zhufo* set kept in the Xianruo Hall on the Forbidden City, reverse.

The writer of the preface addresses this exact question: "As I am the recipient of the emperor's beneficence and the loving kindness of our Buddhist deities I shall have images painted of each deity and each praised with its own eulogy, hoping in this way to express my boundless devotion." Clearly, the images in the *Zhufo* were painted based on the deities depicted on the *tsa-tsa* at the request of the writer of the preface (the recipient of the emperor's grant of the *tsa-tsa*), (although it is theoretically possible the writer of the preface himself painted the images). They were not based on an old work preserved in the palace. The eulogies were also newly added. There was not a previous version in the Qing palace.

As for the status of the preface's author, judging by the tone of his language he is certainly not an ordinary person, rather someone with an especially intimate relationship with the Qianlong emperor. If we consider that the records state that the negative molds were bestowed upon Prince Zhuang and link that to the preface itself we can determine that Prince Zhuang is the author of the preface.

Prince Zhuang (Yunlu, 1694-1767), has a comparatively scant presence in the records. He was the sixteenth son of the Kangxi Emperor. When

Prince Yu died without male issue in the first year of the Yongzheng reign (1722), Yunlu was adopted to continue the line, inheriting princely rank. Over the course of the three reigns of Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong he was not in the least conspicuous. He did enjoy a rather high reputation for scholarship and had a deep understanding of phonology, at one time receiving personal instruction from the Kangxi Emperor in the study of the Yinyun Chanwei (Exposition on the Profundities of Phonology). He was very close to the Yongzheng Emperor and was an important member of the group studying Chan Buddhism with the emperor, taking the dharma name Aiyue Jushi (upasika loving the moon). He achieved considerable intellectual attainment in the study of Buddhist images. During the Qianlong era he was for a time in charge of the affairs of the Imperial Household Department. Devout in his Buddhist practice, he was intimately involved in the construction of a great many palace buildings associated with Tibetan Buddhism. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth years of the Qianlong reign (1748-1750), he presided over the compilation of the TongwenYuntong (Unifying Language Through Phonology) and from the twenty third year to his death in the thirty second year (1758-1767), over compilation of the Da Zang Quan Zhou (All the Mantras in the Tripiṭaka)[25].

If this conjecture is accepted, the *Zhufo* would have been made after the copper molds were bestowed upon Prince Zhuang and he had taken charge of making the *tsa-tsa*, most probably in the twenty first year of the Qianlong reign (1756), or slightly later.

Distilling the preceding, in the fourteenth year of the Qianlong reign (1749), the State Preceptor lCang skya first compiled a collection of images of Tibetan Buddhist deities which were clearly labeled with the deities' names, but only in Manchu. This was to be used to produce copper molds of the deities. The following year when the copper molds were to be made the labeling was changed so that the name of each deity appeared in four languages: Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan and Chinese. Between the

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[25] *Qing shigao* (*History of the Qing Dynasty*), Zhonghua Shuju Biaodianben, vol. 30, pp. 9049-9050. Feng Erkang *Yongzheng Zhuan*, (*Biography of Emperor Yongzheng*), Renmin Chubanshe, 1985. *Yuxuanyu Lu*, (*A Record of Selected Imperial Quotations* (by Emperor Yongzheng Concerning Buddhism)). *Yongxianlu xubian*, (A Continuation of the Ever Abiding Historical Recard).

fourteenth year and the twenty second year of the Qianlong reign (1749-1757), the palace workshops completed the casting of two sets of molds, one positive and one negative. The positive molds were offered within an imperial chapel. The Qianlong Emperor bestowed the negative molds and a set of 360 tsa-tsa on Prince Zhuang. Prince Zhuang asked someone to paint images based on the tsa-tsa to be compiled in a book format. This book is the *Zhufo* we have today.

An examination of how the lotus thrones are painted, the cloud scrolling and flames in the mandorlas, the branches and tendrils of the flowers and other decorative elements clearly reveals their resemblance to the *tsa-tsa* images. This is something previous research has evidently overlooked. This further confirms what the preface records, that this group of figures as portrayed was drawn based on the *tsa-tsa* and was not a copy of some other painted version. As the scale of the *tsa-tsa* is relatively small, the painter's perspective when using them as models was from slightly above. In contrast, the images in the *Three Hundred Images* and the *Five Hundred Images* are viewed straight on. Where the *Zhufo* and the latter two differ it is evidently because they were painted using two different models. This may be seen in particular in the invariable semilunar lotus throne, the line of the lotus petals, which curves slightly outwards before hooking back, and the pearling around the recessed waist of the pedestal.

Finally we will discuss the conception behind the *Zhufo*. Three hundred sixty is a very unusual number. In the ancient Chinese view three hundred sixty is an unusually specific number, different than the round numbers often referred to, e.g. three hundred or three hundred fifty. Neither is it an auspicious number. Accordingly it must refer to something else. The two great civilizations of ancient Asia were India and China. Both calculated the year as three hundred sixty days and based on the waxing and waning of the moon recognized twelve months of thirty days (From time to time an intercalary month would be added, but the cycle would still be called twelve months). This is the way the calendrical system was worked out. Twelve months of thirty days makes 360 days in a year, the number of deities included in the *Zhufo*. As we have seen, the east and west walls of the Xianruo Hall in the Cining Garden each have twelve cabinets installed

for offering *tsa-tsa*. Each cabinet has twelve shelves each able to hold fifteen images. Thus, every two cabinets could hold a complete set of 360 deities. Combining those on the east and west walls there are twelve complete sets, six per side. Twelve is the number of months in a year. We can put forth the following conjecture. The number of deities in the *Zhufo*, three hundred sixty, was determined by the Qianlong Emperor's order, indicating the number of days contained in the twelve months of the year. The design for the offerings in the Xianruo Hall illustrates exactly this, the twelve sets subtly underscoring that the offering of the images continued in perpetuity.

IV. The Significance of the *Zhufo* for the Study of Palace Tibetan Buddhist Iconography of Qianlong Period.

The present publication was produced using the original painted *Zhufo* held in the National Library of China. The illustrations and text are reproduced clearly and precisely, so the deities' attributes and characteristics can be accurately determined. The quality of reproduction is unmatched by any previous edition. The fuzzy, somewhat difficult to use and at times misleading photographs previously employed by scholars for reference and research can be set aside. This should be a great help both to scholars doing research as well as the general reader.

The classificatory model of both the *Three Hundred Images* and the *Zhufo* is consistent with the arrangement and sequencing of deities found in field of merit thangkas reflecting a basic framework coming out of the Tibetan Buddhist system. In the *Three Hundred Images* the deities are divided into seven types: masters (including Indian lineage masters, Tibetan lineage masters and Mahāsiddhas), *Yi dams*, *Buddhas*, *Boddhisatvas*, *arhats*, *heroes* and *Ḍākinīs* and *Dharmapālas*. This classification is relatively cursory compared to the twenty three groupings used in the *Zhufo*. The *Zhufo* is the most consummate and detailed Chinese language source addressing the classification of Tibetan Buddhist deities. Beyond its adherence to the field of merit arrangement model the *Zhufo* has added categories such as the Manifestations of *Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī* and of *Boddhisattva Avalokiteśvara* and the *Bodhisattvas of the Vairocana-Maṇḍala*, integrating individual deities, and other deities of the same class and the deities making

up a maṇḍala. This is a very creative conception, abundant in content. The Chinese names given many deities in the *Zhufo* diverge greatly from the traditional names then used in China. This clearly indicates that these names had been translated anew. These new names can be seen on all Qing palace thangkas, sculptures and inscriptions of different sorts and were everywhere used. Most notably, *Mahākāla*, commonly called *Da Hei Tian* (the *Great Black One*), is called *Yong Bao Hu Fa* (*Courageous Protector Dharmapāla*). This name was only used in the palace. Many other names were rendered in words more literary and refined. The number of characters in each name of each group of deities was made uniform. Their pronunciation is more musically regular and smoothly flowing, as exampled in the names given the Twenty One *Tārās*. The brushwork of the illuminations is clear and distinct and characterized by meticulous workmanship. This collection of illustrations greatly facilitates the study of palace style Buddhist images, directly reflecting the State Preceptor lCang skya's own thought regards iconography and systemization of deities. Although this collection of deities is not as complete as that in the *Five Hundred Images*, it is the first collection of Tibetan Buddhist iconography with the names given in Chinese. While the *Three Hundred Images* and the *Five Hundred Images* was apparently compiled for Mongolian lamas who understood Tibetan, the *Zhufo* was an iconographic work made exclusively for use in the palace.

Still, the influence of this collection of images is hard to exaggerate. While it is true, as is recorded in the archives, from the images first being painted and assembled in a book format through their use in the making of the positive and negative molds, they were only used a limited number of times for making tsa-tsa. They were basically used as an offering and that was it. This somewhat reduced their original influence. However, while they did not provide the pattern for palace thangkas or sculptures and were only used as the model for the *tsa-tsa*, that the names that were given the deities in the four languages and the deities' iconographic characteristics became the standard for the thangkas and sculptures made in the palace is certain[26].

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[26] P. Berger, *The Empire of Emptiness, Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2003, 110-113

Appendix

Extracts from the Record of Works Produced in the Imperial Workshop

1. Qianlong fourteenth year, fourth month, twenty first day of the Qianlong reign, Warehouseman Bai Shixiu came and reported that the Palace Eunuch Hu Shijie delivered an accordion form book with 360 painted images of Buddhist deities with characters written in Manchu and relayed the Emperor's order that copper molds be made (in accordance with painted images). By the emperor's own order.

On the fifth day of the seventh month Warehouseman Bai Shixiu submitted a positive and a negative mold to the Palace Eunuch Hu Shijie who presented them to the Emperor for his inspection. The Emperor directed that the molds be made in accordance with the standard of the two molds presented, first making the positive molds. By the emperor's own order.

In the same year on the thirteenth day of the seventh month Vice Director Bai Shixiu and Warehouseman Da Zi completed wax models for making one positive copper Buddhist deity mold with the deity's arms raised from the surface and making one copper mold with the deity's arms flush with the surface. One sample Buddhist mold with a base was made. The cost for three hundred and sixty molds with the deity's arms raised from the surface was estimated to be approximately six thousand five hundred *tael* of silver. The cost for three hundred sixty molds with the deity's arms flush with the surface was estimated to be approximately eight thousand three hundred *tael* of silver. The two written reports were submitted to the Palace Eunuch Hu Shijie who presented them to the emperor for his inspection, whereupon the emperor directed that the copper molds of Buddhist deities be

made in accordance with the standard of the mold with the arms raised from the surface. The "liumianxiangzhen" area was to be done in accordance with the molds with the deity's arms flush with the surface. The bases were to be done in accordance with the *Mount Sumeru* base of the wax model. The recessed area around the waist of the base was to be inscribed "Reverently Made in the Qianlong Reign" and the name of the particular Buddhist deity inscribed. Decorative patterning should be added to the empty spaces along the edges. Wax models are first to be presented to the emperor for his inspection. By the emperor's own order.

Fifteenth year, eleventh month, third day of the Qianlong reign, Vice Director Bai Shixiu and Warehouseman Dazi completed three negative copper Buddhist deity molds and three positive Buddhist deity molds made using the *taisa*, (metalworking) technique and submitted them to the emperor. The Palace Eunuch Hu Shije presented these to the emperor for his inspection, whereupon the emperor declared that the positive and negative molds were done very well and that the other molds should be made in accordance with the same standards; when the positive molds made using the taisa technique were made they were to be gilded. By the emperor's own order.

On the twelfth month, eleventh day Vice Director Bai Shixiu and Warehouseman Da Zi submitted the completed positive and negative molds, giving them to the Palace Eunuch Hu Shijie to present to the emperor for his inspection, whereupon the emperor directed that the negative molds not be inscribed with the name of the Buddhist deity and that the recessed waist of the base not be inscribed with "Reverently Made in the Qianlong Reign". The backs were to be inscribed (with the names of the deities) in the four languages. The imprinted clay *tsa-tsa* were to be ordered according to the *qianziwen* classification and numbering. The numbering on the positive and negative molds and the imprinted clay *tsa-tsa* should be the same. Furthermore, it is not permitted to hire outside artisans to make the wax models for the positive molds. Have lamas make them and reward them with food offerings. By the emperor's own order.

Sixteenth year, twelfth month, third day, Seventh Grade (eunuch)

Director Samuha having completed the Buddhist deity molds and had inscriptions in the four languages inscribed on the copper covers submitted them to the Emperor. The Palace Eunuch Hu Shijie presented these to the Emperor for his appraisal and inspection, whereupon the Emperor declared that the molds were to be made with the inscriptions in four languages as in the samples, that a border line be added to the bottom within which would be inscribed "Made in the Qianlong Reign of the Great Qing" and that the *qianziwen* classification and numbering be inscribed on the cover plates. The backs of the negative molds would also be inscribed with *qianziwen* classification and numbering and below inscribed with "Made in the Qianlong Reign of the Great Qing". During the time waiting for this work to be completed the lCang skya Khutukhu is directed to designate their proper order and the Buddhist images are then be arranged in that order (using the *qianziwen* system). By the Emperor's own order.

Sixteenth year, twelfth month, fourth day, Seventh Grade (eunuch), Director Samuha submitted the completed negative and positive molds with samples of the *qianziwen* designation and the "Made in the Qianlong Reign of the Great Qing" inscription pasted to them to the Palace Eunuch Hu Shijie presented them to the Emperor for his inspection, whereupon the Emperor declared that (the Hanlin calligrapher) Dai Lin write the characters. By the Emperor's own order.

Twentieth year, eleventh month, twenty sixth day, Vice Director Bai Shixiu submitted completed copper Buddhist deity molds with samples of the (qianziwen) category Tian numbers one to ten for the inscriptions pasted to their backs and an estimation that gilding each image would require approximately four *fen* eight *li* five *hao* of gold (approximately 1.8 grams). The (eunuch) Director Zhang Yu and the Palace Eunuch Hu Shijie presented this to the Emperor for his inspection, whereupon he declared that the gilding should proceed as described, but that the qianziwen category and numbering not be done as described. A sample with the (*qianziwen* category) *Tian*, numbers one to ten inscribed on one side of the interior of the cover plates of the negative molds should be made and the cover plates inscribed in accordance with it. The remaining Buddhist deity molds should

all be done in accordance with this example. By the Emperor's own order.

Twentieth year, twelfth month, tenth day, Vice Director Bai Shixiu submitted ten gilded positive Buddhist deity molds. Palace Eunuch Hu Shijie presented these to the Emperor for his inspection, whereupon the Emperor directed that consecration materials be placed within the molds and that the images' faces not be coated with cold gold and the hair not be painted. By the Emperor's own order.

Twenty second year, eleventh month, tenth day, the seven hundred twenty completed negative and positive Buddhist deity molds were presented to the Emperor (Microfiche 91, page 3425)

2. Qianlong twentieth year, twelfth month, twenty seventh day, in celebration of the holiday Vice Director Bai Shixiu had the three hundred and sixty completed gilded positive molds and three hundred sixty completed negative molds installed in the Yangxin Hall along with the other completed items for presentation and inspection. The Palace Eunuch Hu Shijie related the Emperor's direction that the three hundred and sixty negative Buddhist deity molds be given to Prince Zhuang. A trilevel stupa was to be made for the positive Buddhist deity molds. Each level would house one hundred twenty deities with each deity (niche) fronted by an ornamented, glass coverde portal. A model of the stupa would first be made for presentation and inspection. By the Emperor's own order.

Twenty first year, first month, Laoge and Dege, clerks from the Manufactory for Buddhist Images took possession of the three hundred sixty negative and positive Buddhist deity molds.

Twenty first year, first month, twenty fifth day, Vice Directors Jin Hui and Bai Shixiu submitted three prototypes of varying size on paper for the trilevel stupa shrine. The Palace Eunuch Hu Shijie presented these to the Emperor for his inspection, whereupon the Emperor directed that the octagonal shrine presented on paper be used and that a large scale prototype be made and presented for inspection. By the Emperor's own order.

Twenty first year, second month, twelfth day, Vice Directors Jin Hui and Bai Shixiu presented a prototype of the octagonal shrine made of *shan* wood (Chinese fir), installing it in the Fengsanwusi (a hall in the old

Summer Palace). The Emperor directed that the *zitan* wood stupa be made in accordance with the model. By the Emperor's own order.

Twenty first year, fourth month, tenth day, He Shuo Prince Guo and others solemnly presented a memorial informing the Emperor of the circumstances (surrounding the manufacture of the stupa). Obeying the directive they would manufacture a four level *zitan* wood octagonal stupa shrine. Prince Guo and the others would send an underling to watch, measure and record that the stupa shrine be one *zhang*, four *chi* tall, with a diameter of six *chi*. The lower level would be a *Mount Sumeru* style base carved with padma (lotuses). The recessed waist will be decorated with ghantas and vajras, suo flowers, chajiao, joined rhinoceros horns and elephant tusks, flaming triratna, basins heaped with jewels, balustrades decorated with Tibetan and Sanskrit letters and Chinese characters and *Kui* dragon patterns, *guamianban* (ornamental wooden plaques attached to the outside of stupas), portals ornamented with flowing clouds and Song (style) dragons. The upper level of padma (lotus) base will be decorated with dougong bracketing with doubled ang projections and ornamental wooden panels below, roof beams, (wooden replicas of) tiles, *dishui* antifixa (rain guards), and kirtamukhas. The interior ceilings will be done in *nan* wood. *Wenshou* (the ceramic animals seen on palace or temple roof ridges), lions, horses, tiles, portals, necklaces of jade and pearls and other items will be made of gilded copper. This will take the ornamental woodworkers, woodcutters, woodcarvers and other artisans 18471 man-days and cost 2,844.534 *tael* of silver. The purchase and preparation of decocted fish parts adhesive, beeswax and other materials used will cost 33.421 *tael* of silver. The materials and artisan labor will together cost 2877.955 *tael* of silver. 11.361 *tael* of gold leaf will be used. A detailed accounting of the copper, tin, wood and other items used will be written separately and along with all the others will be respectfully presented for imperial inspection. The document was written and submitted to Director Zhang Yu and grand Eunuch Hu Shijie who presented it to the Emperor. The Emperor answered "understood". By the Emperor's own order.

Twenty first year, fifth month, second day, Vice Directors Jin Hui and

Bai Shixiu submitted a small *shan* wood model of the octagonal stupa shrine placing it in the Fengsanwusi for presentation and inspection. The Emperor directed that this model be used as a prototype. By the Emperor's own order.

Twenty first year, eighth month, seventh day Deputy Grand Minister Supervisor of the Imperial Household Department Ji Qing personally presented a memorial stating that the great *zitan* wood stupa was completed, whereupon the Emperor directed that the stupa be placed in the Yangxin Hall on the tenth day of the same month for presentation and inspection. After the presentation and inspection the stupa was to be paired with a stone pedestal and placed as an offering in the Wuliang Hall on Wanshoushan. By the Emperor's own order.

Eighth month, eleventh day, Director Bai Shixiu and Vice Director Jin Hui presented the completed great zitan wood stupa for inspection, whereupon the Emperor directed that it be turned over to San He to look for another place to install it. By the Emperor's own order (Microfilm roll 100, archive no. 3469)

3. Qianlong twenty third year, first month, twelfth day, Vice Director Jin Hui came and spoke, the Palace Eunuch Hu Shijie passed on the Emperor's directive that the thirty five Buddhist deity molds and the negative and positive Buddhist deity molds be brought in and presented for inspection. By the Emperor's own order.

The same day Vice Director Jin Hui took twenty one gilt copper positive Buddhist molds from the *zitan* wood octagonal stupa and eight negative Buddhist deity molds kept in the Zhongzheng Hall and submitted them to Palace Eunuch Hu Shijie for presentation and inspection, whereupon the Emperor directed that Jin Hui and Sanhe place the three hundred sixty gilt copper Buddhist deity molds as offerings in the shrine with square open faced compartments on the west wall of the Huiyao Hall. The clay *tsa-tsa* that were offered in the shrine should be entrusted to San He to be offered elsewhere. Moreover Prince Zhuang should imprint two sets of fine clay Buddhist deity *tsa-tsa*. These need not be covered in gold leaf. After being completed they should be given to the Imperial Workshop to be painted with essence of rue. One set should be placed as an offering in the shrine with

open square faced compartments on the east wall of the Huiyao Tower and one set should be offered in octagonal zitan wood stupa. By the Emperor's own order.

The same month, the fourteenth day Director Bai Shixiu and Vice Director Jin Hui submitted the gilt copper positive Buddhist deity molds in the octagonal *zitan* wood stupa and the clay *tsa-tsa* to Grand Eunuch Hu Shijie who presented them for inspection, whereupon the Emperor again directed that the gilt copper positive Buddhist deity molds be placed as offerings inside the octagonal zitan wood stupa shrine. The two sets of clay *tsa-tsa* imprinted by Prince Zhuang did not need to be covered in gold leaf. After being completed they should be given to the Imperial Workshop to be painted with essence of rue and then placed as offerings in the shrines with open square faced compartments on the east and west walls of the Huiyao Tower. The Buddhist deity *tsa-tsa* covered in gold leaf now in the shrine should be entrusted to San He to be placed as offerings elsewhere. By the Emperor's own order.

Third month, seventh day, a document was received with the mark of Vice Director Dazi which read that on second day of the third month the Palace Eunuch Hu Shijie passed on the directive that the Buddhist deity tsa-tsa were be transferred to the Zhongzheng Hall to have colors painted by a lama. After completion essence of rue should again be applied to the enameled area. By the Emperor's own order. Microfilm roll 104, archive no. 3497).

图片目录
Icons of The Illustrations

S=梵文 = Sanskrit
T=藏文 = Tibetan
Mg=蒙古文 = Mongolian
Mn=满文 = Manchu
C=汉文 = Chinese

1
S: Nāgārjuna
T: Klu sgrub
Mg: Nagajuvan-a baysi
Mn: Muduri juktehe baksi
C: 龙树祖师

2
S: Asaṅga
T: Thogs med
Mg: Asaṅga baysi
Mn: Tookan akü baksi
C:无着祖师

3
S: Āryadeva
T: vPhags pa lha
Mg: Ariyandib-a baysi
Mn: Colgoroko enduringge baksi
C: 圣天祖师

4
S: Vasubanhu
T: dByig gnyen
Mg: Basuvandu baysi
Mn: Ulan-i sadun baksi
C:田亲祖师

5
S: Dignāga
T: Phyogs glang
Mg: Dig nā ga baysi
Mn: Mergen sufan baksi
C: 明象祖师

6
S: Dharmakīrti
T : Chos grags
Mg : Darma kiriti baysi
Mn : Doro be algimbuha baksi
C : 法声祖师

7
S: Guṇaprabha
T: Yon tan vod
Mg: Erdeni gerel tü baysi
Mn: Erdemui eldengge baksi
C: 德光祖师

8
S: Śākyaprabha
T: Shā kya vod
Mg: Śākya gerel-tü baysi
Mn: Śagiya eldengge baksi
C:释迦光祖师

9
S: Candrakīrti
T: Zla ba grags pa
Mg: Candra kiriti baysi
Mn: Zanjagirdi baksi
C: 青目祖师

10
S: Śāntideva
T: Zhi ba lha
Mg: Śantidiva baysi
Mn: Nesuken enduringge baksi
C:善天祖师

11
S: Saraha
T: Sa ra ha
Mg: Saraha baysi
Mn: Saraha baksi
C:喜乐和祖师

12
S: Lūhipāda
T: Lu hi pa
Mg: Luiba baysi
Mn: Luhiba baksi
C: 鲁兮巴祖师

13
S:Ghaṇṭāpāda
T: Dril bu pa
Mg: Gaṇṭaba baysi
Mn: G'anjabe baksi
C: 甘扎巴祖师

14
S: Kṛṣṇacārin
T: Nag po spyod pa
Mg: Kirsnaba baysi
Mn: Girsnaba baksi
C: 吉礼斯纳巴祖师

15
S: Lalita [vajra]
T: La li ta
Mg: Lalita baysi
Mn: Lalida baksi
C: 拉礼达祖师

16
S: Ḍombīpāda
T: Ḍo mbi pa
Mg: Jombiba baysi
Mn: Jombiba baksi
C:庄秘巴祖师

17
S: Tailakapāda
T: Te lo pa
Mg: Tiloba baysi
Mn: Deloba baksi
C: 德乐巴祖师

18
S: Nāḍapāda
T: Nā ro pa
Mg: Nā ro ba baysi
Mn: Naroba baksi
C: 那罗巴祖师

19
S:Atīśa
T:Jo a ti sha
Mg:Joo Atiśa baysi
Mn:Joo adiśa baksi
C:阿第沙祖师

20
S:
T: vBrom ston pa
Mg: Kebroma baysi
Mn: Buruma baksi
C: 布伦祖师

21
S:
T: bTsong kha pa chen po
Mg: Yeke bo gda congkaba baysi
Mn: Enduringge Zungk'aba baksi
C: 宗喀巴祖师

22
S:
T: rGyal tshab rje
Mg: Gyalcab baysi
Mn: Jiyalz'ab baksi
C: 嘉勒擦布祖师

23
S:
T: mKhas grub rje
Mg: Kijuba baysi
Mn: K'aijub baksi
C: 开主补祖师

24
S:
T: dGe vdun grub pa
Mg: Dalai blama saṅgaśidi
Mn: Sucungga jalan-i dalai lama
C:头辈达赖喇嘛

25
S:
T: rJes pan chen blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mshan
Mg: Pancen Lobcang Čoyiji jiyalcan
Mn: Bancen lobcang coiji jiyalcan
C: 班臣罗卜藏垂极嘉勒参

26
S:
T: rJe ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho
Mg: Dalaiblama Vāgindra sumati-samudra
Mn: Sunjaci jalan-i dalai lama
C:五辈达赖喇嘛

27
S:
T: Pan chen blo bzang ye shes
Mg: Pancen lobcang isi
Mn: Bancen lobzang yesi
C: 班臣罗卜藏叶施

28
S:
T: Tā lavi bla ma skal bzang rgya mtsho
Mg: Dalai blama Kalsang jiyamcu
Mn: Dalai lama galsang jiyamz'o
C: 达赖喇嘛噶勒藏佳穆磋

29
S: Vajradhara
T: rGyal ba rdo rje vchang
Mg: Ilaγuγsan včir dara
Mn: Wacir jafaha da fucihi
C: 大持金刚

30
S: Guhyasamāja-Mañjuvajra
T: gSang vdus vjam pavi rdo rje
Mg: Niγuča quriyangγui ǰügelen včir
Mn: Wacir nesuken horonggo somishün fucihi
C: 金刚文殊秘密佛

31
S: Antarasādhana-Mañjughoṣa
T: vJam dbyangs nang sgrub
Mg: Totoγadu bütügel-un Mañjusiri
Mn: Doshon mutebure nesuken horonggo fusa
C: 精明文殊

32
S: Guhyasamāja-Akṣobhyavajra
T: gSang vdus mi bskyod rdo rje
Mg: Niγuča quriyangγui Aksobhi včir
Mn: Aśśan akü wacir somishün fucihi
C: 不动金刚秘密佛

33
S: Guhyasamāja-Lokeśvara
T: gSang vdus vjigs rten dbang phyug
Mg: Niγuča quriyangγui yirtinčü-yin erketü
Mn: Jalan-i toosengga somishün fucihi
C: 观自在秘密佛

34
S: Jinasāgara-Avalokiteśvara
T: sPyan ras gzigs rgyal ba rgya mtsho
Mg: Nidüber üǰegči ilaγsan dalai
Mn: Fucihi mederi jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 佛海观世音

35
S: Kālacakra
T: Dus kyi vkhor lo
Mg: Čaγ-un kürdün
Mn: Erin-i kurdun fucihi
C:时轮王佛

36
S: Śrī-cakrasaṃvara
T: dPal vkhor lo sdom pa
Mg: Čoγ-tu Jakara sambhara
Mn: Wesihun sebjengge fucihi
C:上乐王佛

37
S: Sita-Saṃvara
T: bDe mchog dkar po
Mg: Čaγan Jakara sambhara
Mn: Śanggiyan wesihun sebjengge fucihi
C: 白上乐王佛

38
S: Vajrasattva-Saṃvara
T: bDe mchog rdor sems
Mg: Jakara sambhara včir satuva
Mn: Wacir baturu güningga wesihun sebjengge fucihi
C: 金刚勇识上乐王佛

39
S: Sahaja-Saṃvara
T: bDe mchog lhan skyes
Mg: Qamtu turügsen Jakara sambhara
Mn: Banin-i banjinjiha wesihun sebjengge fucihi
C:本生上乐王佛

40
S: Garuḍa-Saṃvara
T: bDe mchog mkhav lding
Mg: Oγtaryui-ber qaliγči Jakara sambhara
Mn: G'arudi Wesihun sebjengge fucihi
C: 大鹏上乐王佛

41
S: Vajragaruḍa(śabala)?
T: bDo rje khyung khra
Mg: Včir alak Garudi
Mn: G'arudi wacir fucihi
C: 大鹏金刚佛

42
S: Bhairava
T: vJigs byed
Mg: Včir Ayuγuluγči
Mn: Ilmun han be isebure wacir
C: 威罗瓦金刚

43
S: Kṛṣṇāri?
T: dGra nag
Mg: Qara-a dayisu-tu
Mn: Sahaliyan batangga wacir
C:黑敌威罗瓦金刚

44
S: Ṣaṇmukha?
T: gDong po drug pa
Mg: J̌irγuγan qangsiyartu
Mn: Ninggun ujungga wacir
C: 六面威罗瓦金刚

45
S: Rakta-Yamāri
T: gShin rje gshed dmar
Mg: Ulaγan včir ayuγuluγči
Mn: Ilmun han be isebure fulgiyan wacir
C: 红威罗瓦金刚

46
S: Ekavīra-Bhairava
T: vJigs byed dpav gcig
Mg: Qaγača baγatur včir ayuγuluγči
Mn: Emteli baturu ilmun han be isebure wacir
C:一勇威罗瓦金刚

47
S: Hevajra
T: Kyai rdo rje
Mg: Bayasqulang-tu včir
Mn: Urgungge wacir
C:喜金刚

48
S: Garbha-Hevajra?
T: sNying po kyai rdo rje
Mg: Bayasqulang J̌irüken včir
Mn: Urgungge niyaman wacir
C:喜心金刚

49
S: Vajrāmṛta
T: rDo rje bdud rtsi
Mg: Včir rasiyan
Mn: Rasiyan wacir
C: 甘露金刚

50
S: Mahāmāyā
T: Ma hā ma ya
Mg: Mahamaya
Mn: Amba walingga wacir
C: 大幻金刚

51
S: Buddhakapāla
T: Sangs rgyas thod pa
Mg: Buddha-kapala
Mn: Budda g'abala wacir
C: 佛陀嘎巴拉金刚

52
S: Jñānaḍākinī
T: Ye shes mkhav vgro
Mg: Belge bilig-ün dakini
Mn: Hafu sure abka de yabure eme fucihi
C:智慧空行佛母

53
S: Nairātmyā
T: bDag med
Mg: Bi ügei eke
Mn: Bi akü eme fucihi
C:无我佛母

54
S: Vajravārāhī
T: rDo rje phag mo
Mg: Včir γaγai eke
Mn: Wacir ulgiyan eme fucihi
C: 金刚亥母

55
S: Ḍākinī
T: mKhav vgro ma
Mg: Oγtaryui-ber yabuγči eke
Mn: Abkai de feliyere eme fucihi
C: 空行佛母

56
S: Vajrahūṃkāra
T: rDo rje hūṃ mdzad
Mg: Včir yeke hūṁkāra
Mn: Amba horonggo hüng wacir
C: 大威吽声金刚

57
S: Vajracatuḥpīṭha
T: rDo rje gdan bzhi
Mg: Včir dörben tebiseger-tu
Mn: Duin tekungge wacir
C:四座金刚

58
S: Yogāmbara
T: rNal vbyor nam mkhav
Mg: Oγtaryui yoga
Mn: Abkai yog'a fucihi
C:瑜伽虚空佛

59
S: Mahācakra-Vajrapāṇi?
T: Phyag rdor vkhor chen
Mg: Yeke kürdü-tü Včir bani
Mn: Amba kurdun wacir jafaha da fucihi
C: 大轮手持金刚

60
S: Kurukullā
T: Ku ru ku le
Mg: Oqaγči eke
Mn: Ulhisu yabungga eme fucihi
C:智行佛母

61
S: Guhyasādhana-Hayagrīva
T: rTa mgrin gsang sgrub
Mg: Niγuča bütügsen qayanggirva
Mn: Somishün morin ujungga wacir
C: 秘密马头金刚

62
S: Padmanarteśvara-Hayagrīva
T: rTa mgrin padma gar dbang
Mg: Lingqua büčig-ün erketü qayanggirva
Mn: Šu ilhai maksin toosengga morin ujungga wacir
C: 莲花妙舞自在马头金刚

63
S: Caturbhuja-Amitāyus
T: Tshe dpag med phyag bzhi ba
Mg: Dörben γar-tu Čaγlasi ügei nasutu eke alta
Mn: Duin galangga a e yongkiyaha mohon akü jalafungga fucihi
C:四臂阴阳无量寿佛

64
S: Amitāyus
T: Tshe dpag med
Mg: Čaγlasi ügei nasu-tu
Mn: Mohon akü jalafungga fucihi
C:无量寿佛

65
S: Vajradhātu
T: rDo rje dbyings
Mg: Bajir dadhu
Mn: Wacir baningga fucihi
C: 金刚性佛

66
S: Vairocana-Śākyasiṃha
T: rNam snang shā kya seng ge
Mg: Teyin geyigülügči Śākya arslan
Mn: Amba eldengge śagiya arsalan fucihi
C: 宏光释迦狮子佛

67
S: Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara
T: Chos dbyings gsung gi dbang phyug
Mg: Darma dadhu vagīšuvara
Mn: Doro banin-i gisun toosengga fucihi
C: 法性妙音自在佛

68
S: Sarvavid-Vairocana
T: Kun rig rnam par snag mdzad
Mg: Qotala-ki on(q)aγči Bivrovajana
Mn: Eiten be ulhire amba eldengge fucihi
C: 普慧宏光佛

69
S: Vajrasattva
T: rDo rje sems dpav
Mg: Bajir satuva
Mn: Wacir baturu güningga fucihi
C: 金刚勇识佛

70
S: Vairocanābhisambodhi
T: rNam snang mngon byang
Mg: Bivrovajana ila bovadhi
Mn: Amba elden iletuleme eldembuhe bodi fucihi
C: 宏光显耀菩提佛

71
S: Bhūtaḍāmara-Vajrapāṇi
T: Phyag rdor vbyung po vdul byed
Mg: Bhutinari nomuγadqaγči Včir bani
Mn: Ibagan be gidara wacir jafaha fucihi
C: 伏魔手持金刚

72
S: Nīlāmbaradhara-Vajrapāṇi?
T: Phyag rdor gos sngon can
Mg: Köke debel-tü Včir bani
Mn: Lamun etukungge wacir jafaha fucihi
C: 青衣手持金刚

73
S: Caṇḍa-Vajrapāṇi
T: Phyag rdor gtum chung
Mg: Ücügen doγsin Včir bani
Mn: Doksin horonggo wacir jafaha fucihi
C:威烈手持金刚

74
S: Ucchraya(?)-Vajrapāṇi
T: Phyag rdor u tsa rya
Mg: Ujarya Včir bani
Mn: Iletu yabungga wacir jafaha fucihi
C:显行手持金刚

75
S: Trimukha-ṣaḍbhuja-Caṇḍa
T: gTum po zhal gsum phyag drug pa
Mg: Togsin γurban niγur J̌irγuγan γar-tu
Mn: Doksin horonggo ilan uju ninggun galangga wacir jafaha fucihi
C:威烈三头六臂手持金刚

76
S: Hayagrīva?
T: rTa mgrin lcags ral can
Mg: Temür iltu-tu qayanggirva
Mn: Selei loho jafaha morin ujungga wacir
C:铁剑马头金刚

77
S: Vairocana
T: rNam snang
Mg: Masi geyigülügči
Mn: Umesi eldemure fucihi
C: 毗卢佛

78
S: Akṣobhya
T: Mi bskyod pa
Mg: Ülü hütelügči
Mn: Aśśan akü fucihi
C: 不动佛

79
S: Ratnasambhava
T: Rin vbyung
Mg: Erdeni γaruγči
Mn: Boobai banjibure fucihi
C: 宝胜佛

80
S: Amitābha
T: Vod dpag med
Mg: Čaγlasi ügei gerel-tü
Mn: Mohon akü eldengge fucihi
C: 阿弥陀佛

81
S: Amoghasiddhi
T: Don vgrub
Mg: Tusa bütügegči
Mn: Tusa mutebure fucihi
C: 成就佛

82
S: Śākyamuni
T: Shā kya thub pa
Mg: Sikemuni
Mn: Śigiyamuni
C:释迦牟尼佛

83
S: Vajragarbhapramardin
T: rDo rjevi snying pos rab tu vjoms pa
Mg: Včir J̌irüken iyer sayitur ebdegči
Mn: Wacir efujen akü fucihi
C: 金刚不坏佛

84
S: Ratnārcis
T: Rin chen vod vphro
Mg: Erdeni gerel γarγaγči
Mn: Boobai eldengge fucihi
C: 宝光佛

85
S: Nāgeśvararāja
T: Klu dbang gi rgyal po
Mg: Luus-un erketü qaγan
Mn: Muduri han-i fucihi
C: 龙尊王佛

86
S: Vīrasena
T: dPav bovi sde
Mg: Baγatuud-un ayimaγ
Mn: Baturu aiman-i fucihi
C: 精进军佛

87
S: Vīranandin
T: dPal dgyes
Mg: Bayasqulang čoγ-tu
Mn: Urgun erdemungge fucihi
C: 精进喜佛

88
S: Ratnāgni
T: Rin chen me
Mg: Ɣal erdeni
Mn: Boobai tuwa fucihi
C: 宝火佛

89
S: Ratnacandraprabha
T: Rin chen zla vod
Mg: Erdeni saran gerel-tü
Mn: Boobai biyai eldengge fucihi
C:宝月光佛

90
S: Amoghadarśin
T: mThong ba don yod
Mg: Ücegseger tusa-tu
Mn: Sabuha ele tusangga fucihi
C:现无愚佛

91
S: Ratnacandra
T: Rin chen zla ba
Mg: Erdeni saran
Mn: Boobai biya fucihi
C:宝月佛

92
S: Vimala
T: Dri ma med pa
Mg: Kker ügei
Mn: Icihi akü fucihi
C:无垢佛

93
S: Śūradatta
T: dPal byin
Mg: Čoγ i öggügči
Mn: Toose bure fucihi
C:勇施佛

94
S: Brahman
T: Tshangs pa
Mg: Ariγun Burqan
Mn: Bolgongo fucihi
C: 清净佛

95
S: Brahmadatta
T: Tshangs pas byin
Mg: Ariγun-i öggügči
Mn: Bolgo be bure fucihi
C: 清净施佛

96
S: Varuṇa
T: Chu lha
Mg: Üsün tengri
Mn: Muke-i abka fucihi
C:水天佛

97
S: Varuṇadeva
T: Chu lhavi lha
Mg: Üsün tengri-yin tengri
Mn: Muke-i abkai abka fucihi
C:水天中天佛

98
S: Bhadraśrī
T: dpal bzang
Mg: Sayin čoγ-tu
Mn: Sain horonggo fucihi
C:贤德佛

99
S: Candanaśrī
T: Tsan dan dpal
Mg: Čoγ-tu candan
Mn: Zandan gungge erdemungge fucihi
C:栴檀功德佛

100
S: Anantaujas
T: gZi brjid mthav yas
Mg: Kiǰaγlal ügei sür jibqulang-tu
Mn: Mohon akü horonggo fucihi
C:无量掬光佛

101
S: Prabhāsaśrī
T: Vod dpal
Mg: Čoγ gerel-tü
Mn: Gungge erdemui eldengge fucihi
C: 光德佛

102
S: Aśokaśrī
T: Mya ngan med pavi dpal
Mg: Γasalang ügei čoγ-tu
Mn: Gasacun akü erdemungge fucihi
C:无忧德佛

103
S: Nārāyaṇa
T: Sred med kyi bu
Mg: Qurical ügei-yin köbegün
Mn: Buyen akü-i jui fucihi
C: 那罗延佛

104
S: Kusumaśrī
T: Me tog dpal
Mg: Čicig-ün čoγ-tu
Mn: Ilhai gungge erdemungge fucihi
C: 功德华佛

105
S: Brahmajyotirvikrīḍitābhijña
T: Tshangs pavi vod zer rnam par rol bas mngon par mkhyen pa
Mg: Ariγun gerel-iyer teyin böged cinggen ile medegči
Mn: Bolgo elden-i umesi sebjeleme gehun iletu sara fucihi
C: 清净光游戏神通佛

106
S: Padmajyotirvikrīḍitābhijña
T: Padmavi vod zer rnam par rol bas mngon par mkhyen pa
Mg: Lingqua-yin gerel-iyer teyin böged cinggen ila medegči
Mn: Śu ilhai elden umesi sebjeleme gehun iletu sara fucihi
C: 莲花光游戏神通佛

107
S: Dhanaśrī
T: Nor dpal
Mg: Ed-ün čoγ-tu
Mn: Ulin-i gungge erdemungge fucihi
C: 财功德佛

108
S: Smṛtiśrī
T: Dran pavi dpal
Mg: Duradqui-yin čoγ-tu
Mn: Jondoro gungge erdemungge fucihi
C: 德念佛

109
S: Suparikīrtitanāmaśrī
T: mTshan dpal shin tu yongs sbgrags
Mg: Ner-e-yin čoγ masi uγuγada aldarasiγsan
Mn: Gungge erdemungge colo umesi algika fucihi
C:善名称功德佛

110
S: Indraketudhvajarāja
T: dBang povi tog gi rgyal mtshan gyi rgyal po
Mg: Erke-tü-yin oki duvaja-yin qaγan
Mn: Toose-i oyo durun-i han fucihi
C: 红焰帝幢王佛

111
S: Suvikrāntaśrī
T: Shin tu rnam par gnon pavi dpal
Mg: Masi teyin böged daruγči čoγ-tu
Mn: Fuhali gidara umesi horonggo fucihi
C:善游步功德佛

112
S: Yuddhajaya
T: g-Yul las shin tu rnam par rgyal ba
Mg: Bayilduγan-ece masi teyin böged ilaγuγsan
Mn: Dain be fuhali etehe fucihi
C: 斗战胜佛

113
S: Vikrāntagāmiśrī
T: rNam par gnon pavi gshegs pavi dpal
Mg: Teyin böged daruγči čoγ-tu
Mn: Umesi eteme enggelenjire fucihi
C:善游步佛

114
S: Samantāvabhāsavyūhaśrī
T: Kun nas snang ba bkod pavi dpal
Mg: Qamuγ-a geyigülün ǰokiyaγči čoγ-tu
Mn: Gubci be genggiyen-i eldembure fucihi
C:周匝庄严功德佛

115
S: Ratnapadmavikrāmin
T: Rin chen padmas rnam par gnon pa
Mg: Erdeni lingqua-ber teyin böged daruγči
Mn: Śu ilhai fuhali gidara fucihi
C:宝华游步佛

116
S: Śailendrarāja
T: Sangs rgyas ri dbang gi rgyal po
Mg: Aγulan-un erketü qaγan burqan
Mn: Boobai śu ilha de saikan tehe Sumir alin-i han fucihi
C:宝莲花善住须弥山王佛

117
S: Anucārin?-Buddha
T: Sangs rgyas rje su spyod pa
Mg: Taγan yabuγči Burqan
Mn: Gosime tuwakiyara fucihi
C:随应佛

118
S: Abhyudgatarāja-Buddha
T: Sangs rgyas mngon vphags rgyal po
Mg: Ilede qetürkei qaγan burqan
Mn: Iletu colgoroko han fucihi
C:显圣王佛

119
S:
T: vKhon dang(?) rgyags pa rnam gnon
Mg: Üs kiged omug-i teyin daruγči
Mn: Kimun cokto be fuhali gidara fucihi
C:善灭诤谦佛

120
S: Ratnāṅgavyūhadyuti-Buddha
T: Sangs rgyas rin chen gzugs bkod vod snang
Mg: Erdeni bey-e-yin jokiyal gegen gerel-tü burqan
Mn: Boobai beye yangsangga eldengge fucihi
C:宝身光辉佛

121
S:
T: Sangs rgyas bdud dang yid gnyis kun vjoms
Mg: Simnus kiged qoyar setgel bükün-idarun masida Burqan
Mn: Eiten ari buhiyecun be fuhali gidame mayambure fucihi
C:善灭魔障佛

122
S: Avaivartikacakrasambhavaśrī?
T: Phyir mi ldog pavi vkhor lo vbyung bavi dpal
Mg: Qarin ülü ničugči-yin kürdün ece boluγsan čoγ-tu
Mn: Bedererakü kurdun be tucibure gungge fucihi
C: 不回吉祥轮佛

123
S: Ratnacchattrodgata-Buddha
T: Sangs rgyas rin gdugs vphags
Mg: Ülemǰi gerel-tü erdeni šikür Burqan
Mn: Boobai sara colgoroko eldengge fucihi
C: 宝伞胜佛

124
S:
T: Sangs rgyas byang sems vdul ba
Mg: Nomuqadqaγči baγatur bodisatu-borqan
Mn: Bodisadu be yarhüdira fucihi
C:随引菩提佛

125
S: Nirbhayavigatatamorāja?
T: sKrag med mun bral rgyal po
Mg: Ayul ügei qarangγui -ača anggijiraγsan qaγan borqan
Mn: Gelecun akü farhün ci aljaha fucihi
C:无畏灭冥佛

126
S: Prathamacittotpādasaṃśayacchedika?
T: Dang po sems skyed the tshom gcod mdzad
Mg: Angqa sedkil egüsken sesig tasulun ǰokiyaγči Burqan
Mn: Bodi mujilen deribume saka kenehunjere be lashalaha fucihi
C: 初慈决疑佛

127
S: Vipaśyin
T: Sangs rgyas rnam gzigs
Mg: Teyin üǰigči Burqan
Mn: Hafu bulekušere fucihi
C: 毗婆尸佛

128
S: Śikhin
T: gTsug tor can
Mg: Usnir-tu
Mn: Giyolonggo fucihi
C:尸弃佛

129
S: Viśvabhū
T: Thams cad skyob
Mg: Qamuγ-i aburaγči
Mn: Geren be aitubure fucihi
C: 毗舍浮佛

130
S: Krakucchanda
T: vKhor ba vjig
Mg: Orčilang-i ebdegči
Mn: Jobolon jalan be efulere fucihi
C: 拘留孙佛

131
S: Kanakamuni
T: gSer thub
Mg: Altan čidaγči
Mn: Aisin mutehe fucihi
C: 拘那舍牟尼佛

132
S: Kāśyapa
T: Vod bsrung
Mg: Gerel sakiγči
Mn: Elden be tuwakiyara fucihi
C: 迦叶佛

133
S: Suparikīrtitanāmaśrīrāja
T: mTshan legs yongs grags dpal gyi rgyal po
Mg: Nere sayitur uγuγada aldarsiγsan čoγ-tu qaγan
Mn: Sain colo umesi algika gungge erdemungge han fucihi
C:善名称吉祥王如来

134
S: Ratnacandrapadmapratimaṇḍitapaṇḍita?-tejaḥ-svaraghoṣarāja
T: Sangs rgyas rin po che dang zla ba dang padmas rab tu brgyan pa mkhas pa gzi brjid sgra dbyangs kyi rgyal po
Mg: Erdeni saran lingqua ber sayitur čimegsen mergen sür jibqulang-un daγun egesig-tü qaγan
Mn: Boobai biya šu ilhai yangselame miyamiha mergen horonggo jilgan mudan-i han fucihi
C:宝月智严光音自在王如来

135
S: Suvarṇabhadravimalaratnaprabhāsavrata
T: gSer bzang dri med rin chen snang brtul zhugs pa
Mg: Kkir ügei sayin altan erdeni-yin gerel-ün türü yosun bütügsen
Mn: Icihi akü sain aisin genggiyen boobai doro yosonggo fucihi
C: 金色宝光妙行成就如来

136
S: Aśokottamaśrī
T: Mya ngan med mchog dpal
Mg: Degedü γasalang ügei čoγ-tu
Mn: Gasacun akü wesihun gungge fucihi
C:无忧胜吉祥如来

137
S: Dharmakīrtisāgaraghoṣa
T: Chos sgrags rgya mtshovi dbyang
Mg: Nom daγurisqaγči dalai egesig
Mn: Nomun-i mederi mudan algiśaha fucihi
C: 法海审音如来

138
S: Dharmasāgarāgra(?)mativikrīḍitābhijñārāja
T: Chos rgya mtsho mchog gi blos rnam par rol bar mngon par mkhyen pavi rgyal po
Mg: Degedü nom-un dalai-yin orun-iyer teyin böged čenggen il-medegči qaγan
Mn: Wesihun sure-i nomun-i mederi de sebjeleme iletu bulekuśere fucihi
C: 法海胜慧游戏神通如来

139
S: Bhaiṣajyaguru-Vaiḍūryaprabhārāja
T: sMan gyi bla bai dū ryavi vod kyi rgyal po
Mg: Bivadury a gerel-tü otočin-un qaγan
Mn: Oktosi-i wesihun beiduri eldengge han fucihi
C:药师琉璃光王如来

140
S: Siṃhanāda
T: rGyal ba seng gevi nga ro
Mg: Ilaγuγsan arslan kürkirel-tü
Mn: Arsalan jilangga fucihi
C:狮吼佛

141
S: Vajrākṣobhya
T: rDo rje mi vkhrugs pa
Mg: Včir akṣobhi
Mn: Wacir falabun akü fucihi
C:金刚不动佛

142
S: Raśmisamudgataśrīkūṭarāja
T: Vod zer kun vphags dpal brtsegs rgyal po
Mg: Qamuγ-a ülemǰi čoγ dabqurlaγsan gerel-tü qaγan
Mn: Colgoroko eldengge hüturi dabkürilaha han fucihi
C: 积光吉祥王佛

143
S: Samantadarśin
T: rGyal ba kun gzigs
Mg: Ilaγuγsan qotala-ki üǰegči
Mn: Eiten be bulekuśere fucihi
C: 普慧佛

144
S: Ratnaśikhin
T: Rin chen gtsug tor can
Mg: Erdeni usnir-tu
Mn: Boobai giyolonggo fucihi
C: 宝顶佛

145
S: Sita-Mañjughoṣa
T: vJam dbyangs dkar po
Mg: Čaγan Mañjuśiri
Mn: Śanggiyan nesuken horonggo fusa
C: 大白文殊

146
S: Kumārabhūta-Mañjuśrī
T: vJam dbyangs dpal gzhon nur gyur ba
Mg: Jalaγu Mañjuśiri
Mn: Asigan nesuken horonggo fusa
C:童子文殊

147
S: Sthiracakra-Mañjughoṣa
T: vJam dbyangs brtan pavi vkhor lo
Mg: Batu kürdü-tü Mañjuśiri
Mn: Akdun kurdungge nesuken horonggo fusa
C:永轮文殊

148
S: Guhyasādhana-Mañjughoṣa
T: vJam dbyangs gsang sgrub
Mg: Niγuča bütügel-ün Mañjuśiri
Mn: Somishün mutebure nesuken horonggo fusa
C: 秘密文殊

149
S: Siṃhanāda-Mañjughoṣa
T: vJam dbyang seng gevi sgra
Mg: Arslan daγu-tu Mañjuśiri
Mn: Arsalan jilangga nesuken horonggo fusa
C:狮吼文殊

150
S: Vādirāḍ-Mañjughoṣa
T: vJam dbyangs ngag gi rgyal po
Mg: Ügülekü-yin qaγan Mañjuśiri
Mn: Gisuṅ nesuken horonggo han-i fusa
C: 妙语尊帝文殊

151
S: Aṣṭabhuja-Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-Mañjughoṣa
T: vJam dbyangs chos dbyings gsung gi dbang phyug brgyad pa
Mg: Naiman γar-tu nom-un töb ǰarliγun erketü Mañjuśiri
Mn: Jakün galangga doro banin-i gisun toosengga nesuken horonggo fusa
C: 八臂法性妙语自在文殊

152
S: Bhadrasvareśvararāja-Mañjughoṣa
T: vJam dbyangs sgra bzang dbang phyug rgyal po
Mg: Kelen-ü erketü qaγan Mañjuśiri
Mn: Gisun toosenggga han nesuken horonggo fusa
C: 妙音自在文殊

153
S: Rājalīlā-Mañjuśrī
T: vJam dpal rgy al po rol ba
Mg: Čenggeldügči qaγan Mañjuśiri
Mn: Sebjengge han nesuken horonggo fusa
C:游戏自在文殊

154
S: Trailokyavaśyādhikāra-Mañjughoṣa
T: vJig gsum lhag par dbang du byed pavi vjam dbyangs
Mg: Γurban yirtinčü-ki ülemǰi de erkeber bolγaγči Mañjuśiri
Mn: Ilan jalan be umesi tooselame nesuken horonggo fusa
C: 大胜三界自在文殊

155
S: Caturbhuja-Nāmasaṃgīti-Mañjughoṣa
T: mTshan brjod kyi vjam dbyangs phyag bzhi pa
Mg: Dörben γar-tu nere ögülekü-yin Mañjuśiri
Mn: Duin galangga colo be yargiyalame gisurere nesuken horonggo fusa
C:真实名尊四臂文殊

156
S: Prajñācakra-Mañjughoṣa
T: vJam dbyangs shes rab vkhor lo dang po
Mg: Bilig-ün kürdü-tü Mañjuśiri
Mn: Sure kurdungge nesuken horonggo fusa
C: 慧轮文殊

157
S: Ṭīkṣṇa-Mañjuśrī
T: vjam dpal rnon po
Mg: Qurča Mañjuśiri
Mn: Dacun nesuken horonggo fusa
C: 敏捷文殊

158
S: Caturbhuja-Avalokiteśvara
T: sPyan ras gzigs phyag bzhi pa
Mg: Dörben γar-tu Qomsim Bodhisatuva
Mn: Duin galangga jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C:四臂观世音

159
S: Padmavikāsana-Avalokiteśvara
T: sPyan ras gzigs padma dbang vbyed
Mg: Lingqua aman negegči Qomsim Bodhisatuva
Mn: Śu ilha ilkan jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 开花观世音

160
S: Khasarpaṇa-Avalokiteśvara
T: sPyan ras gzigs kha sar pa ni
Mg: Khesarpani Qomsim Bodhisatuva
Mn: Mukei fulehungge jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C:水月观世音

161
S: Siṃhanāda-Avalokiteśvara
T: sPyan ras gzigs seng gevi sgra
Mg: Arslan daγu-tu Qomsim Bodhisatuva
Mn: Arsalan-i jilgangga jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C:狮吼观世音

162
S: Hālāhala-lokeśvara
T: vJig rten dbang phyug halhala
Mg: Halahala yirtinčü-yin erketü
Mn: Tungsika gurgu yaluha jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 骑犼观世音

163
S: Vajradharma-Avalokiteśvara
T: sPyan ras gzigs rdo rje chos
Mg: Bajar darma Qomsim Bodhisatuva
Mn: Wacir nomun-i doroi jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 金刚妙法观世音

164
S: Dvibhuja-Padmanarteśvara-Avalokiteśvara
T: sPyan ras gzigs padma gar dbang phyag gnyis pa
Mg: Qoyar mudur-tu lingqua büjig-un erketü Qomsim Bodhisatuva
Mn: Juwe galangga śu ilhai maksin goosengga jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 二臂莲花妙舞自在观世音

165
S: Aṣṭadaśabhuja-Padmanarteśvara
T: Padma gar dbang phyag bco brgyad pa
Mg: Arban naiman γar-tu lingqua büǰigun erketü
Mn: Juwan jakün galangga śu ilhai maksin toosengga jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C:十八臂莲花妙舞自在观世音

166
S: Harihārivāhana-Lokeśvara
T: vJig rten dbang phyug ha ri ha ri la zhon pa
Mg: Harihari d ur qolgelegsen yirtinčü-yin erketü
Mn: Tungsika gurgu yaluha jalan-i toosengga jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 骑狨自在观世音

167
S: Trailokyavaśaṃkara-Avalokiteśvara
T: Khams gsum dbang vdus spyan ras gzigs
Mg: Γurban orun-i erke-ber bolγaγči Qomsim Bodhisatuva
Mn: Ilan jalan-i toosengga jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 权衡三界观世音

168
S: Caturbhuja-rakta-lokeśvara
T: vJig rten dbang phyug dmar po phyag bzhi pa
Mg: Dörben γar-tu ulaγan yirtinčü-yin erketü
Mn: Duin galangga fulgiyan jalan-i toosengga jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C:四臂红自在观世音

169
S: Nīlakaṇṭha-lokeśvara
T: vJig rten dbang phyug mgrin sngon can
Mg: Köke koγulai-tu yirtinčü-yin erketü
Mn: Lamun meifengga jalan-i toosengga jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 青项自在观世音

170
S: Māyājālakrama-Avalokiteśvara
T: sGyu vphrul dra bavi rim pavi spyan ras gzigs
Mg: Yilvi qubilγan tour-un ǰerge-yin Qomsim Bodhisatuva
Mn: Wali isangga jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 重叠广幻观世音

171
S: Amoghapāśa
T: Don yod zhags pa
Mg: Amoga-paśa
Mn: Tusangga fuda jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 成锁观世音

172
S: Mahābhūmika(?)-rakta-Avalokiteśvara
T: sPyan ras gzigs bhu kham dmar po
Mg: Delekei tügemel ulaγan Qomsim Bodhisatuva
Mn: Amba biretei na ulgiyan jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 大地红色观世音

173
S: Ekādaśamukha[-Avalokiteśvara]
T: bCu gcig zhal
Mg: Arban nigen niγur-tu
Mn: Juwan emu ujungga amba jilangga jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C:十一面大悲观世音

174
S: Gaganarāja
T: Nam mkhav rgyal po
Mg: Oγtarγui-yin qaγan
Mn: Abkai han jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C:虚空王菩萨

175
S: Cittaviśrāmaṇa-Avalokiteśvara
T: sPyan ras gzigs sems nyid ngal gso
Mg: Sedkil-i amuγuluγči Qomsim Bodhisatuva
Mn: Mujilen be elhe obure jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 如意观世音

176
S: Cintāmaṇi-Avalokiteśvara
T: sPyan ras gzigs yid bzhin nor bu
Mg: Küsel-i qangγaγči Qomsim Bodhisatuva
Mn: Güniha songkoi acabure boobai jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 大宝如意观世音

177
S:Vajragarbhapramardin-Avalokiteśvara
T:sPyan ras gzigs rdo rje snying pos rab tu vjoms pa
Mg: Včir ǰirüken-iyer sayitur ebdegči Qomsim Bodhisatuva
Mn: Wacir efujen akü jilan-i bulekuśere fusa
C: 金刚不坏观世音

178
S: Vajramuṣṭi
T: rDo rje khu tshur
Mg: Včir nitoraγa
Mn: Wacir nujangga fusa
C: 金刚拳印菩萨

179
S: Vajrayakṣa
T: rDo rje gnod sbyin
Mg: Včir qour öggügči
Mn: Wacir yakca fusa
C: 金刚夜叉菩萨

180
S: Vajrarakṣa
T: rDo rje bsrung
Mg: Sakiqui včir
Mn: Wacir karmacun fusa
C: 金刚保护菩萨

181
S: Vajrakarma
T: rDo rje las
Mg: Üile včir
Mn: Wacir yabungga fusa
C: 金刚智行菩萨

182
S: Vajrabhāṣa
T: rDo rje smra ba
Mg: Ögülekü včir
Mn: Wacir hafukiyame gisurere fusa
C: 金刚说法菩萨

183
S: Vajrahetu
T: rDo rje rgyu
Mg: Siltaγan včir
Mn: Wacir acabun fusa
C: 金刚因缘菩萨

184
S: Vajratīkṣṇa
T: rDo rje rnon po
Mg: Qurča včir
Mn: Wacir dacun fusa
C: 金刚敏捷菩萨

185
S: Vajradharma
T: rDo rje chos
Mg: Včir nom
Mn: Wacir doronggo fusa
C: 金刚妙法菩萨

186
S: Vajrahāsa
T: rDo rje bzhad pa
Mg: Včir müsiyel-tü
Mn: Wacir injere fusa
C: 金刚喜笑菩萨

187
S: Vajraketu
T: rDo rje rgyal mtshan
Mg: Včir duvaǰa
Mn: Wacir turun fusa
C: 金刚幢盖菩萨

188
S: Vajratejas
T: rDo rje gzi brjid
Mg: Včir ǰibqulang-tu
Mn: Wacir goronggo fusa
C: 金刚德威菩萨

189
S: Vajraratna
T: rDo rje rin chen
Mg: Erdeni včir
Mn: Wacir boobai fusa
C: 金刚大宝菩萨

190
S: Vajrasādhu
T: rDo rje legs pa
Mg: Sayin včir
Mn: Wacir sain fusa
C: 金刚善贤菩萨

191
S: Vajrarāga
T: rDo rje chags pa
Mg: Včir tačiyangγui
Mn: Wacir buyen fusa
C: 金刚喜慕菩萨

192
S: Vajrarāja
T: rDo rje rgyal po
Mg: Včir qaγan
Mn: Wacir-i han fusa
C: 金刚大帝菩萨

193
S: Vajrasattva Bodhisattva
T: Byang chub rdo rje sems dpav
Mg: Bodhisatuva včir satuva
Mn: Baturu güningga wacir fusa
C: 金刚勇识菩萨

194
S: Caturbhuja-Maitreya
T: Byams pa phyag bzhi pa
Mg: Dörben ɣar-tu Mayidari
Mn: Duin galangga gosingga fucihi
C:四臂弥勒

195
S: Divbhuja-Maitreya
T: Byams pa phyag gnyis pa
Mg: Qoyar ɣar-tu Mayidari
Mn: Juwe galangga gosingga fucihi
C: 二臂弥勒

196
S: Ākāśagarbha
T: Nam mkhav snying po
Mg: Oɣtarɣui-yin J̌irüken
Mn: Abkai niyaman fusa
C:虚空藏菩萨

197
S: Kṣitigarbha
T: Savi snying po
Mg: Γaǰar J̌irüken
Mn: Na-i niyaman fusa
C: 地藏王菩萨

198
S: Samantabhadra
T: Kun tu bzang po
Mg: Samandhabadara Bodisatu
Mn: Gubci de sain fusa
C: 普贤菩萨

199
S: Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin
T: sGrib pa rnam sel
Mg: Tüidker arilɣaɣči
Mn: Dalibun be geterembure fusa
C: 除诸障菩萨

200
S: Hastivāhana-Samantabhadra
T: Kun tu bzang po glang chen po
Mg: J̌aɣan kölge-tü samandha-badari
Mn: Sufan yaluha gubci de sain fusa
C: 骑象普贤菩萨

201
S: Mahāsāhasrapramardanī
T: sTong chen mo
Mg: Yeke mingɣan-i sayitur daruɣči eke
Mn: Amba minggan be umesi gidara eme fucihi
C: 大千摧碎佛母

202
S: Mahāmāyūrī
T: rMa bya chen mo
Mg: Yeke toɣus eke
Mn: Amba tojingga eme fucihi
C: 大孔雀佛母

203
S: Śītavatī
T: bSil bavi tshal
Mg: Serigün oi
Mn: Serguwen bujan-i eme fucihi
C: 大寒林佛母

204
S: Mantrānusāriṇī
T: gSang sngags rjes vdzin
Mg: Niɣuča tarni-yi daɣan bariɣči
Mn: Somishün tarni be karmame jafara eme fucihi
C: 密咒随持佛母

205
S: Pratisarā
T: So sor vbrangs ma
Mg: Öber-e öber-e daɣaɣči eke
Mn: Teisu teisu dahara eme fucihi
C: 随求佛母

206
S: Khadiravaṇī-Tārā
T: Seng ldeng nag vbye sgrol ma
Mg: Kadr-a oi-yin dhar-a eke
Mn: Eiten jobolon be geterembure doobume aitubure eme
C: 除诸恶难救度佛母

207
S: Pravīra?-Tārā
T: Myur shing dpavi sgrol ma
Mg: Türgen baɣatur dhar-a eke
Mn: Hüdun baturu doobume aitubure eme
C:尊者速勇救度佛母

208
S: Candrakānti?-Tārā
T: sGrol ma zla mdang ma
Mg: Saran önggetei dhar-a eke
Mn: Bolori biyai boconggo doombume aitubure eme
C: 大善秋月救度佛母

209
S: Kanakavarṇa-Tārā
T: sGrol ma gser mdog ma
Mg: Altan öngge-tei dhar-a eke
Mn: Aisin boconggo doobume aitubure eme
C: 大慧金色救度佛母

210
S: Uṣṇīṣa-Tārā
T: gTsug tor sgrol ma
Mg: Usniγ-a dhar-a eke
Mn: Giyolonggo doobume aitubure eme
C: 灌顶尊胜救度佛母

211
S: Hūṃsvaranādinī-Tārā
T: sGrol ma hūṃ sgra sgrogs ma
Mg: Huu-un daγun-i daγurisqaγči dhar-a eke
Mn: Hüng jilgangga doobume aitubure eme
C:虚空吽音救度佛母

212
S: Vijaya-Tārā
T: rNam par rgyal bavi sgrol ma
Mg: Teyin böged ilaγuγsan dhar-a eke
Mn: Ilan jalan be umesi etehe doobume aitubure eme
C: 能胜三界救度佛母

213
S: Aparājita-Tārā
T: sGrol ma gzhan gyis mi thub pa
Mg: Busud-a ülü čidaγdaγči dhar-a eke
Mn: Güwa de anaburakü doobume aitubure eme
C: 能摧恶敌救度佛母

214
S: Mārasūdana-Tārā
T: sGrol ma bdud vjoms ma
Mg: Simnus-i ebdegči dhar-a eke
Mn: Ari ibagan be gidara doobume aitubure eme
C: 能摧怨魔救度佛母

215
S: Śokavinodana-Tārā
T: Mya ngan sel bavi sgrol ma
Mg: Γasalang-i arilγaγči dhar-a eke
Mn: Kasacun be geterembure doobume aitubure eme
C: 涅槃寂灭救度佛母

216
S: Jagadvaśī?-Tārā
T: vGro ba vgugs pavi sgrol ma
Mg: Amitan-i bökeyilgegči dhar-a eke
Mn: Ergenge be hukśebure doobume aitubure eme
C:摄伏世间救度佛母

217
S: Maṅgalotpādana-Tārā
T: bKra shis skye bavi sgrol ma
Mg: Ölǰei üileduγči dhar-a eke
Mn: Hüturi fengśen bahabure doobume aitubure eme
C: 能生吉祥救度佛母

218
S: Pācaka-Tārā
T: sGrol ma smin byed ma
Mg: Bolbasuraγuluγči dhar-a eke
Mn: Badarame wembure doobume aitubure eme
C: 如火炽盛救度佛母

219
S: Kruddhakālī-Tārā
T: sGrol ma khros ma nag mo
Mg: Kilingtei qar-a dhar-a eke
Mn: Fehereme jindara doobume aitubure eme
C: 顰眉威相救度佛母

220
S: Mahāśānti-Tārā
T: Zhi ba chen movi sgrol ma
Mg: Amurlingqui dhara eke
Mn: Amba miyambure doobume aitubure eme
C: 大柔善救度佛母

221
S: Rāganisūdana-Tārā
T: Chags pa vjoms pavi sgrol ma
Mg: Tačiyangγui-ki daruγči dhar-a eke
Mn: Hüng seme buyen be geterembure doobume aitubure eme
C: 明咒吽声救度佛母

222
S: Sukhada-Tārā
T: bDe ba sbyin pavi sgrol mo
Mg: Amuγulang-i öggügči dhar-a eke
Mn: Jirgacun be bure doobume aitubure eme
C: 度脱衰败救度佛母

223
S: Sita-Vijaya-Tārā
T: sGrol ma rnam par rgyal ma dkar mo
Mg: Teyin böged ilaγuγsan čaγan dhar-a eke
Mn: Ilan oron be eteme colgoroko doobume aitubure eme
C: 能动三界救度佛母

224
S: Duḥkhadahana-Tārā
T: sDug bsngal bsregs pavi sgrol ma
Mg: J̌obalang-i tülegči dhar-a eke
Mn: Jobolon be mayambure doobume aitubure eme
C: 能灭诸苦救度佛母

225
S: Siddhida-Tārā
T: dNgos grub stsol bavi sgrol ma
Mg: Siddhi öggügči dhar-a eke
Mn: Eiten doro be bahabure doobume aitubure eme
C: 成就一切救度佛母

226
S: Paripūrṇa-Tārā?
T: Yongs su rdzogs pavi sgrol ma
Mg: Uguγada tegüskegči dhar-a eke
Mn: Wesihun sain doro mutebuhe doobume aitubure eme
C: 吉祥圆满救度佛母

227
S: Jāṅgulī-Tārā
T: Dug nag sel bavi sgrol ma
Mg: Qar-a qour-i arilγaγči dhar-a eke
Mn: Ehe horon be geterembure doobume aitubure eme
C: 除诸恶毒救度佛母

228
S: [Vajra]pañjarabhāṣita-Vajratārā
T: Gur las gzungs pavi rdo rje sgrol ma
Mg: Gür-eče nomlaγsan včir dhar-a eke
Mn: Gurung de giyangnaha doobume aitubure wacir eme fucihi
C: 金刚宫室救度佛母

229
S: Cīnakrama-Tārā
T: rGya nag rim pavi sgrol ma
Mg: Nangkiyad-un J̌erge-yin dhar-a eke
Mn: Nikan gurun-i doobume aitubure eme fucihi
C:震旦救度佛母

230
S: Cintāmaṇicakra-sita-Tārā
T: sGrol dkar yid bzhin gyi vkhor lo
Mg: Čindamani kürdü-tü dhar-a eke
Mn: Güniha songkoi acabure kurdungge śanggiyan doobume aitubure eme fucihi
C: 如意宝轮白救度佛母

231
S: Caturbhuja-Cintāmaṇirājñī
T: Yid bzhin rgyal mo phyag bzhi ma
Mg: Dörben γar-tu küsel qangγaγči dhar-a eke
Mn: Duin galangga güniha songkoi acabure toosengga doobume aitubure fucihi
C:四臂如意自在救度佛母

232
S: Ṣaḍbhuja-sita-Tārā
T: sGrol dkar phyag drug ma
Mg: J̌irγuγan γar-tu čaγan dhar-a eke
Mn: Ninggun galangga śanggiyan doobume aitubure eme fucihi
C: 六臂白衣救度佛母

233
S: Dhanada-Tārā
T: sGrol ma nor sbyin ma
Mg: Ed öggügči dhar-a eke
Mn: Ulin bure doobume aitubure eme fucihi
C: 布田救度佛母

234
S: Durgottāriṇī-Tārā
T: Ngan song las sgrol bavi sgrol ma
Mg: Maγui J̌ayaγan-ača getülgegči dhar-a eke
Mn: Ehe banjin ci Doobume doobume aitubure eme fucihi
C: 除恶趣救度佛母

235
S: Sarvārthasādhana-Tārā
T: Don thams cad sgrub pavi sgrol ma
Mg: Qamuγ tusa bütügegči dhar-a eke
Mn: Eiten tusangga baita be mutebure Doobume aitubure eme fucihi
C:一切成就救度佛母

236
S: Ārya-Jāṅgulī
T: vPhags ma dug sel ma
Mg: Qutuγtai qour-i arilgagči eke
Mn: Ehe horon be geterembure enduringge eme fucihi
C: 大圣除毒佛母

237
S: Caturviṃśatibhuja-Ekajaṭā
T: lHa mo ral gcig phyag nyi shu rtsa bzhi ma
Mg: Qorin dörben γar-tu ekaǰati ökin tengri
Mn: Orin duin galangga emu soncohonggo eme fucihi
C: 二十四臂一髻佛母

238
S: Viśvamātṛ
T: sNa chogs yum
Mg: Eldeb eke
Mn: Hacingga durunggae eme fucihi
C:诸相佛母

239
S: Ekajaṭā
T: lHa mo ral gcig ma
Mg: Qoyar γar-tu ekaǰatai ökin tengri
Mn: Juwe galangga emu soncohonggo eme fucihi
C: 二臂一髻佛母

240
S: Caturbhuja-Cundā
T: lHa mo tsundā phyag bzhi ma
Mg: Dörben γar-tu cunda ökin tengri
Mn: Duin galangga jondoro eme fucihi
C:四臂准提佛母

241
S: Bahubhuja-Cundā
T: lHa mo tsundā phyag mang
Mg: Olan γar-tu cunda ökin tengri
Mn: Labdu galangga jondoro eme fucihi
C: 广臂准提佛母

242
S: Daśabhuja-Mārīcī
T: Vod zer can phyag bcu ma
Mg: Arban γar-tu marici eke
Mn: Juwan galangga uldengge eme fucihi
C:十臂积光佛母

243
S: Aṣṭabhuja-Mārīcī
T: Vod zer can phyag brgyad ma
Mg: Naiman γar-tu marici eke
Mn: Jakün galangga uldengge eme fucihi
C: 八臂积光佛母

244
S: Dvibhuja-Mārīcī
T: Vod zer can phyag gnyis ma
Mg: Qoyar γar-tu marici eke
Mn: Juwe galangga uldengge eme fucihi
C: 二臂积光佛母

245
S: Mārīcī
T: Vod zer can bdud rtsivi ma
Mg: Biju marici eke
Mn: Bizu uldengge eme fucihi
C: 璧组积光佛母

246
S: Vajradhātvīśvarī-Mārīcī
T: Vod zer can rdo rje dbyings kyi dbang phyug ma
Mg: Nom-un töb erketü marici eke
Mn: Wacir banin-i toosengga uldengge eme fucihi
C: 金刚性王积光佛母

247
S: Uṣṇīṣavijayā
T: gTsug tor rnam rgyal ma
Mg: Usniq-a bijay-a eke
Mn: Giyolonggo umesi etehe eme fucihi
C:尊胜佛母

248
S: Ārya-Sitātapatrā
T: vPhags ma gdugs dkar po can
Mg: Qutuγtai čaγan sikürtei
Mn: Śanggiyan sarangga enduringge eme fucihi
C: 大圣白伞盖佛母

249
S: Ṣaḍbhuja-Parṇaśabarī
T: Lo ma gyon ma phyag drug ma
Mg: J̌iryuγan γar-tu nabčin debel tü eke
Mn: Ninggun galangga abdaha etukungge eme fucihi
C: 六臂叶衣佛母

250
S: Dvibhuja-Parṇaśabarī
T: Lo ma gyon ma phyag bzhi ma
Mg: Qoyar γar-tu nabčin debel tü eke
Mn: Juwe galangga abdaha etukungge eme fucihi
C: 二臂叶衣佛母

251
S: Dvibhuja-Prajñāpāramitā
T: Sher phyin phyag gnyis ma
Mg: Qoyar γar-tu bilig baramid eke
Mn: Juwe galangga sure-i cargi dalin de akünaha eme fucihi
C: 二臂般若佛母

252
S: Caturbhuja-Prajñāpāramitā
T: Sher phyin phyag bzhi ma
Mg: Dörben γar-tu bilig baramid eke
Mn: Duin galangga sure-i cargi dalin de akünaha eme fucihi
C:四臂般若佛母

253
S: Ṣaḍbhuja-Vajrasarasvatī
T: rDo rje dbyangs can ma phyag drug ma
Mg: J̌iryuγan γar-tu včir egesig-tü eke
Mn: Ninggun galangga wacir mudangga eme fucihi
C: 六臂金刚妙音佛母

254
S: Dvibhuja-Vajrasarasvatī
T: rDo rje dbyangs can ma phyag gnyis ma
Mg: Qoyar γar-tu včir egesig-tü eke
Mn: Juwe galangga wacir mudangga eme fucihi
C: 二臂金刚妙音佛母

255
S: Vīṇā-Sarasvatī
T: Pi wang dbyangs can ma
Mg: Biba egesig-tü eke
Mn: Fifan jafaha mudangga eme fucihi
C: 持琶妙音佛母

256
S: Bhṛkuṭī
T: lHa mo khro gnyer can ma
Mg: Kiling ayuriltu ökin tengri
Mn: Faitan fehereme jolidara eme fucihi
C: 顰眉佛母

257
S: Vajracarcikā
T: rDo rje tsa rtsig
Mg: Včir carcika
Mn: Wacir zarzik'a eme fucihi
C:匝哼訾嘎佛母

258
S: Dvibhuja-Pratisarā
T: Sor vbrangs phyag gnyis ma
Mg: Qoyar γar-tu öber-e öber-e dayayči eke
Mn: Juwe galangga teisu teisu dahara eme fucihi
C: 二臂随求佛母

259
S: Mahāpratyaṅgirā
T: Phyir bzlog ma
Mg: Činaγsi yekede qariγuluγči eke
Mn: Ambarame bederebure eme fucihi
C: 大廻佛母

260
S: Dhvajāgrakeyūrā
T: rGyal mtshan rtse movi dpung rgyan
Mg: Dovaja-yin üǰügür-ün čarbaγun čimeg
Mn: Turun-i oyo-i meiren miyamiyangga eme fucihi
C: 幢顶膊严佛母

261
S: Aparājitā
T: gZhan gyis mi thub ma
Mg: Busud-a ülü čidaγdaγči eke
Mn: Güwa de anaburakü eme fucihi
C:无敌佛母

262
S: Vajragāndhārī
T: rDo rje gandha ri
Mg: Včir gandhari
Mn: Wacir g'angdari fucihi
C: 金刚甘陀罗佛母

263
S: Dharmavajrī
T: Chos kyi rdo rje ma
Mg: Nom-un včir eke
Mn: Nomun-i doroi wacir eme
C: 妙法金刚佛母

264
S: Karmavajrī
T: Las kyi rdo rje ma
Mg: Üile-yin včir eke
Mn: Weilen wacir eme
C:智行金刚佛母

265
S: Sattvavajrī
T: Sems ma rdo rje ma
Mg: Satuva včir eke
Mn: Baturu güningga wacir eme
C:勇识金刚佛母

266
S: Ratnavajrī
T: Rin chen rdo rje ma
Mg: Erdeni včir eke
Mn: Boobai wacir eme
C: 大宝金刚佛母

267
S: Śramaṇā
T: lHa mo shra ma ṇa
Mg: Sirama-ṇa ökin tengri
Mn: Śarman enduringge eme
C: 沙罗门佛母

268
S: Dhanadā
T: Nor sbyin ma
Mg: Ed öggügči eke
Mn: Enteheme ulingga eme fucihi
C: 长禄佛母

269
S: Grahamātṛkā
T: gZav yum
Mg: Grag-un eke
Mn: Amba usiha eme
C: 斗母

270
S: Prajñālokakṛtya-sita-Vajravārāhī
T: Pad dkar shes rab gsal byed
Mg: Bilig-i geyigülügči čaγan γaqai eke
Mn: Sure be genggiyelere śanggiyan ulgiyan eme
C: 白明慧金刚亥母

271
S: Sarvārthasādhana-Vārāhī
T: Phag mo don thams cad sgrub pa
Mg: Qamuγ tusa bütügegči γaqai eke
Mn: Eiten tusangga baita mutebure ulgiyan eme
C:一切成就金刚亥母

272
S: Aṅgaja
T: Yan lag vbyung
Mg: Geśigün-eče γaruγsan aqui sitügen
Mn: Garangga ci banjiha akdun yabungga
C:因竭陀尊者

273
S:Ajita
T:Ma pham pa
Mg:Ülü ilaγdaγči aqui stitügen
Mn:Eteburakü akdun yabungga
C:阿氏多尊者

274
S: Vaṇavāsin
T:Nags na gnas
Mg: Oi-dur orusiγči aqui sitügen
Mn: Bujan weji de doloro akdun yabungga
C: 伐那婆斯尊者

275
S: Kālika
T: Dus ldan
Mg: Čaγ tegülder aqui sitügen
Mn: Erin yongkiyaha akdun yabungga
C: 迦里迦尊者

276
S: Vajrīputra
T: rDo rje movi bu
Mg: Včir eke-yin köbegün aqui sitügen
Mn: Wacir eme de banjiha akdun yabungga
C: 伐阇罗佛多尊者

277
S: Bhadra
T: bZang po
Mg: Badr-a aqui sitügen
Mn: Sain akdun yabungga
C: 跋陀罗尊者

278
S: Kanakavatsa
T: gSer bivu
Mg: Altan tuγultu aqui sitügen
Mn: Aisin-i tukśan akdun yabungga
C: 迦诺迦伐蹉尊者

279
S: Kanakabharadvāja
T: Ba ra dhwā dza gser can
Mg: Baradovaja altatu aqui sitügen
Mn: Aisin akdun yabungga
C: 迦诺迦跋黎堕阇尊者

280
S: Bakula
T: Ba ku la
Mg: Bakula aqui sitügen
Mn: Bagula akdun yabungga
C: 巴沽拉尊者

281
S: Rāhula
T: sGra gcan vdzin
Mg: Raqula aqui sitügen
Mn: Rahü jafara akdun yabungga
C: 罗沽罗尊者

282
S: Cūḍapanthaka
T: Lam phran
Mg: Narin mör aqui sitügen
Mn: Ajige jugün akdun yabungga
C:注荼半托尊者

283
S: Piṇḍolabharadvāja
T: Ba ra dhwā dza bsdod snyoms les
Mg: Baradovaja binvadči aqui sitügen
Mn: Binwat gaijara akdun yabungga
C:宾度罗跋罗堕尊者

284
S: Panthaka
T: lam bstan
Mg: Mör üǰügülügči aqui sitügen
Mn: Jugün de tuwabuha akdun yabungga
C: 半托迦尊者

285
S: Nāgasena
T: Kluvi sde
Mg: Luus-un ayimaγ aqui sitügen
Mn: Muduri aiman akdun yabungga
C: 那迦犀尊者

286
S: Gopaka
T: sBed byed pa
Mg: Aγun üiledügči aqui sitügen
Mn: Somire akdun yabungga
C: 戒博迦尊者

287
S: Abheda
T: Mi phyed pa
Mg: Ebderesi ügei aqui sitügen
Mn: Alcarakü akdun yabungga
C: 阿秘特尊者

288
S: Dharmatāla
T: dGe bsnyen dharma ta la
Mg: Dharm-a da-la ubasi
Mn: Dharmadala baksi
C: 达摩多罗

289
S:
T: Hwa shang dge bsnyen
Mg: Üljai-tü saqiγulsun-hüwasang
Mn: Tuwakiyan sain hüwaśan
C: 布袋和尚

290
S: Mahākāśyapa
T: Vod bsrung chen po
Mg: Mahā kasib aqui sitügen
Mn: Elden be tuwakiyara akdun yabungga
C: 大迦叶

291
S: Ānanda
T: Kun dgav bo
Mg: Ananda aqui sitügen
Mn: Geren urgunjere akdun yabungga
C: 阿难

292
S: Śāṇakavāsin
T: Sha navi gos can
Mg: Śa nai debel-tü aqui sitügen
Mn: Śana-i etukungge akdun yabungga
C: 沙纳衣

293
S: Upagupta
T: Nyer sbas
Mg: Čiqula niγuγči aqui sitügen
Mn: Doshon somire akdun yabungga
C:优婆俱多

294
S: Dhītika
T: Dhi dhi ka
Mg: Dhithika aqui sitügen
Mn: Didig'a akdun yabungga
C: 氏氏迦

295
S: Kāla
T: Nag po
Mg: Qala aqui sitügen
Mn: Sahaliyan akdun yabungga
C: 吉利纳

296
S: Sudarśana
T: Legs mthong
Mg: Sayitur uqagči aqui sitügen
Mn: Sain sabure akdun yabungga
C: 善观

297
S: Ṣaḍbhuja-Mahākāla
T: mGon po phyag drug pa
Mg: J̌iryuγan γar-tu Mahākala
Mn: Ninggun galangga akdacun tuwakiyangga
C: 六臂勇保护法

298
S:
T: vBrong zhal can
Mg: Mahi qangsiyar-tu Mahākala
Mn: Buka cirangga akdacun tuwakiyangga
C: 牛首勇保护法

299
S: Siṃhavāhana-Ṭakṣad
T: Ṭa kṣad seng ge zhon pa
Mg: Arslan kölgetü dakṣad
Mn: Arsalan yaluha akdacun tuwakiyangga
C: 骑狮勇保护法

300
S: Mahākāla-Ṭakṣad
T: mGon po ṭa kṣad-?
Mg: Dakṣad Mahākala
Mn: Doksin horonggo akdacun tuwakiyangga
C:雄威勇保护法

301
S: Vyāghravāhana-Mahākāla
T: mGon po stag zhon
Mg: Bars kölgetü Mahākala
Mn: Tasha yaluha akdacun tuwakiyangga
C: 骑虎勇保护法

302
S: Bhagavad-Mahākāla
T: mGon po legs ldan
Mg: Tegüs sayin Mahākala
Mn: Sain yongkiyaha akdacun tuwakiyangga
C: 善德勇保护法

303
S: Daṇḍa[dhara]–Mahākāla
T: mGon po beng
Mg: Bing Mahākala
Mn: Mukśan jafaha akdacun tuwakiyangga
C: 持棒勇保护法

304
S: Kākāsya-Karmanātha
T: Las mgon bya rog dgong can
Mg: Keriy-e qangsiyar-tu üileči Mahākala
Mn: Holon gaha cirangga akdacun tuwakiyangga
C:慈乌面勇保护法

305
S: Mahākāla-pañjara?
T: mGon po gur
Mg: Gür Mahākala
Mn: Gurung akdacun tuwakiyangga
C: 宫室勇保护法

306
S: Caturbhuja-Mahākāla
T: mGon po phyag bzhi pa
Mg: Dörben γar-tu Mahākala
Mn: Duin galangga akdacun tuwakiyangga
C:四臂勇保护法

307
S: Brāhmaṇarūpa[-Mahākāla]
T: Zhal bram gzugs
Mg: Biraman dürsütü Mahākala
Mn: Biraman akdacun tuwakiyangga
C: 颇罗门勇保护法

308
S: Kṛṣṇa-Ṭakṣad
T: Ṭa kṣad nag po
Mg: Dakṣad nagbo
Mn: Sahaliyan baturu horonggo tuwakiyangga
C: 大黑雄威护法

309
S: Śaṅkhapālī
T: lHa mo dong skyong ma
Mg: Labai tedkurči ökin tengri
Mn: Śanggiyan buren enduringge eme tuwakiyangga
C: 顶螺天母护法

310
S: Dhūmāvatī
T: lHa mo dong sol ma
Mg: Simnus-i arilγaγči ökin tengri
Mn: Ari be deijire enduringge eme tuwakiyangga
C: 能烘诸敌天母护法

311
S: Dvibhuja-śrīmatī-Devī
T: dPal ldan lha mo phyag gnyis ma
Mg: Qoyar γar-tu ökin tengri
Mn: Juwe galangga enduringge eme tuwakiyangga
C: 二臂天母护法

312
S:Dharmarāja
T: Chos rgyal
Mg: Nom-un qaγan
Mn: Nomun-i doroi han tuwakiyangga
C: 法帝护法

313
S: Ṭakkirāja
T: Ṭa kki ra dza
Mg: Ṭaki rāna
Mn: Buyen-i han tuwakiyangga
C:宜帝护法

314
S: Jinamitra
T: Dzi na mi ṭra
Mg: Činamidr-a
Mn: Fucihi sadun tuwakiyangga
C:尊亲护法

315
S: Kṣetrapāla
T: Kṣe tra pa la
Mg: Kṣedar-a bala
Mn: Gurun be dalire tuwakiyangga
C: 护国护法

316
S: Āyuṣpati-Mahākāla
T: Tshe bdag mgon po
Mg: Nasun eǰin Mahākala
Mn: Se jalgan-i ejen akdacun tuwakiyangga
C:祝寿勇保护法

317
S: Sita-Cintāmaṇi-Mahākāla
T: mGon dkar yid bzhin nor bu
Mg: Küsel-i qangγaγči Mahākala
Mn: Güniha songkoi acabure boobai śanggiyan akdacun tuwakiyangga
C: 如意大白勇保护法

318
S: Sita-Āyurvardhana-Vaiśravaṇa
T: rNam sras tshe vphel dkar po
Mg: Nasun nemegülügči čaγan Bisman tengri
Mn: Jalafun nonggibure śanggiyan ulin-i ejen tuwakiyangga
C: 大白祝寿财宝护法

319
S: Raudra-kṛṣṇa-Vaiśravaṇa
T: rNam sras drag byed nag po
Mg: Doγsin üiledügči qara Bisman tengri
Mn: Doksin sahaliyan ulin-i ejen tuwakiyangga
C: 大黑雄威财宝护法

320
S: Mahārāja-Vaiśravaṇa
T: rGyal chen rnam thos sras
Mg: Yeke qaγan Vayisiravani
Mn: Elgiyen donjihangge-i jui amba han
C: 财宝天王

321
S: Raktaśūla-Vaiśravaṇa
T: rNam sras mdong dmar
Mg: Ulaγan ǰidatu Bisman tengri
Mn: Fulgiyan gidangga ulin-i ejen tuwakiyangga
C: 红戟财宝护法

322
S: Mahāpīta-Vaiśravaṇa
T: rNam sras ser chen
Mg: Sir-a Bisman tengri
Mn: Amba suwayan ulin-i ejen tuwakiyangga
C: 大黄财宝护法

323
S: Dṛḍhā-Pṛthivī
T: Savi lha mo brtan ma
Mg: Γaǰar-un batu ökin tengri
Mn: Akdungga ba na-i enduringge eme
C: 地主永宁天母

324
S: Nartakavara-Vaiśravaṇa
T: rNam sras gar mkhan mchog
Mg: Büǰigči degedü qar-a Bisman tengri
Mn: Wesihun maksingga ulin-i ejen tuwakiyangga
C: 妙舞财宝护法

325
S: Virūḍhaka
T: vPhags skyes po
Mg: Yeke qaγan Birōwadaki
Mn: Colgoroko han amba han
C:增长天王

326
S: Virūpākṣa
T: sPyan mi bzang
Mg: Yeke qaγan Birōwabaγṣa
Mn: Horonggo yangsangga amba han
C: 广目天王

327
S: Dhṛtarāṣṭra
T: Yul vkhor bsrung
Mg: Yeke qaγan Diritistri
Mn: Gurun be karmatara amba han
C: 持国天王

328
S: Śatakratu
T: brGya byin
Mg: Qormusda
Mn: Abkai han hormosta
C: 帝释

329
S: Brahman
T: Tshangs pa
Mg: Esrun
Mn: Abkai han asrun
C: 梵王

330
S: Caṇḍikā
T: lHa mo tsaṇḍi ka
Mg: Candika ökin tengri
Mn: Zan j'i g'a enduringge eme tuwakiyangga
C:簪芝噶天母护法

331
S: Vasanta-devī
T: dPyid kyi lha mo
Mg: Qabur-un ökin tengri
Mn: Niyengniyeri enduringge eme tuwakiyangga
C:值春天母护法

332
S: Varṣā-devī
T: dByar gyi lha mo
Mg: J̌un-u ökin tengri
Mn: Juwari enduringge eme tuwakiyangga
C:值夏天母护法

333
S: Śarad-devī
T: sTon gyi lha mo
Mg: Namur-un ökin tengri
Mn: Bolori enguringge eme tuwakiyangga
C:值秋天母护法

334
S: Hemanta-devī
T: dGun gyi lha mo
Mg: Ebül-ün ökin tengri
Mn: Tuweri enguringge eme tuwakiyangga
C:值冬天母护法

335
S: Maṅgaladīrghāyus
T: bKra shis tshe ring ma
Mg: Ölǰei nasun-i uritudqaγči eke
Mn: Se golmin hüturingge enduringge eme tuwakiyangga
C: 吉祥长寿天母护法

336
S:
T: Beg tse
Mg: Ulaγan Mahā kala
Mn: Fulgiyan akdacun tuwakiyangga
C: 大红勇保护法

337
S: Citipati
T: Dur khrod bdag po
Mg: Ükeger-ün eǰen
Mn: Eifu yafan-i ejen akdacun tuwakiyangga
C: 坟主护法

338
S: Nīla-Acala
T: Mi g-yo ba sngon po
Mg: Köke Acala
Mn: Lamun aśśarakü wacir
C: 青不动金刚

339
S: Pīta-Jambhala
T: Dzam bha la ser po
Mg: Sir-a J̌ambala
Mn: Suwayan zambala
C: 黄布禄金刚

340
S: Sita-Acala
T: Mi g-yo ba dkar po
Mg: Čaγan Acala
Mn: Śanggiyan aśśarakü wacir
C: 白不动金刚

341
S: Ṣaḍbhuja-Jambhala
T: Dzam bha la phyag drug pa
Mg: J̌irγuγan γar-tu J̌ambala
Mn: Ninggun galangga zambala
C: 六臂布禄金刚

342
S:Krodhamahābala
T: Khro bo stobs po che
Mg: Kiling-tu Maqabala
Mn: Amba hüsungge jilihangga wacir
C: 大力金刚

343
S: Trailokyavijaya
T: vJig rten gsum rgyal
Mg: Γurban yirtinčü-ki ilaγuγči
Mn: Ilan jalan be etere wacir
C: 能胜三界金刚

344
S: Kṛṣṇa-Jambhala
T: Dzam bha la nag po
Mg: Qar-a J̌ambala
Mn: Sahaliyan zambala
C: 黑布禄金刚

345
S: Vighnāntaka
T: Gegs mthar byed
Mg: Todqar-i ečüdkegči
Mn: Heturen be samsibure wacir
C: 除魔金刚

346
S: Amṛtakuṇḍalin
T: bDud rtsi vkhyil pa
Mg: Amrita-künḍali
Mn: Rasiyan tunggu wacir
C: 甘露潭金刚

347
S: Vajraśṛṅkhalā
T: rDo rje lcags sgrog ma
Mg: Včir temür čidür
Mn: Wacir selei cideri
C: 金镯金刚

348
S: Aṣṭakapi-Acala
T: Mi g-yo ba sprevu brgyad pa
Mg: Naiman bači-tu Acala
Mn: Jakün bonionggo aśśarakü wacir
C: 八猴不动金刚

349
S: Jvālānala
T: Me ltar vbar ba
Mg: Badarangγui Gal metü
Mn: Tuwa-i gese badaraka wacir
C: 烈焰金刚

350
S: Caturbhuja-Acala
T: Mi g-yo ba phyag bzhi pa
Mg: Dörben γar-tu Acala
Mn: Duin galangga aśśarakü wacir
C:四臂不动金刚

351
S:
T: Khro mo sme brtsegs
Mg: Mengge dabqurlaγsan kiling-tü eke
Mn: Horon dabkürilaha jilihangga eme fucihi
C:威积佛母

352
S: Vajravidāraṇī
T: rDo rje rnam vjoms
Mg: Bajar bidaran-a
Mn: Wacir umesi gidara eme fucihi
C: 摧碎金刚佛母

353
S:
T: Zhang blon rdo rje bdud vdul
Mg: Včir simnus-i nomuqadqaγči em-ün sakiγulsun
Mn: Ari be geterembure wacir oktoi tuwakiyangga
C:医药大权伏魔护法

354
S: Yakṣa-Pūrṇabhadra
T: gNod sbyin gang ba bzang po
Mg: Yakṣ-a Burani badr-a
Mn: Jalu sain yakca tuwakiyangga
C:夜叉贤满护法

355
S: Sita-nāgavāhana-Jambhala
T: Dzam bha la dkar po vbrug zhon
Mg: Luu kölgetü čaγan J̌ambala
Mn: Muduri yaluha śanggiyan zambala
C: 骑龙白布禄金刚

356
S:
T: Khro bo sme brtsegs
Mg: Mengge dabqurlaγsan kiling-tü
Mn: Horon dabkürilaha jilihangga wacir
C:威积金刚

357
S: Siṃhavaktrā
T: Seng gdong ma
Mg: Arslan terigütü eke
Mn: Arsalan cirangga eme
C:狮面佛母

358
S: Bhagavad-Bhayanāśana
T: bCom ldan reg tshig
Mg: Ilaǰu tegüs kürülčin tülegeči
Mn: Tunggalame deijire wacir
C:能烘诸障金刚

359
S: Vajrahūṃkāra
T: rDo rje hūṃ mdzad
Mg: Včir yeke hūṃkāra
Mn: Horonggo hüng jilgangga wacir
C: 吽威声金刚

360
S : Mahārakta-Gaṇapati
T : Tshogs bdag dmar chen
Mg : Yeke ulaγan gaṇa bati
Mn : Amba fulgiyan isan-i ejen
C : 红部落王金刚

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