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CLUES FOR A DATING OF THE THREE-STOREYED TEMPLE (SUMTSEK) IN ALCHI, LADAKH

Roger Goepper

All major publications dealing with the Buddhist temples in Alchi, Ladakh, date the two oldest buildings, the Assembly Hall ('Du-khañ) and the Three-storeyed Temple (gSum-brtsegs) to the 11th or 12th century A.D.¹. In any case the date *post quem* for their erection is the well-established activity of temple founding in Western Tibet and Ladakh by Rinchen Zangpo (Rin-chen bzañ-po, 958-1055)². All authors agree in the assumption that the temples in Alchi have not been built under the direct influence on this famous propagator of Buddhism but that they have to be attributed to a slightly later date.

Inscriptions discovered and published by Snellgrove and Skorupski inside the temple buildings give the name of a priest called Kalden Sherab (sKal-Idan Shes-rab) as founder of the Dukhang, and of Tshulthim Ö (Tshul-khrims 'Od) for the Sumtsek, both priests being descendants of the famous 'Bro clan, immigrated from Central to Western Tibet probably during the prosecution of Buddhism during the reign of Langdarma³. Assuming that the two priests lived not too much later than Rinchen Zangpo, the erection of the two temples in question could be placed in the range of the 11th to 12th centuries.

Apart from this dating for the buildings and the main decoration of the temples, some authors tended to move some of the murals in the Sumtsek down to a considerably later date, f.i. the 14th century A.D.⁴, or even to

- 1 D.L. Snellgrove and T. Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*, Warminster, 1977. I, 79-80 (11th cent., but possibly also 12th cent.); Ch. Genoud and T. Inoue, *Peinture bouddhique du Ladakh*, Genève, 1978. 36; and P. Keilhauer, *Ladakh und Zanskar*, Lamaistische Klosterkultur im Land zwischen Indien und Tibet, Köln, 1980, 225; P. Pal and L. Fournier, *A Buddhist Paradise. The Murals of Alchi, Western Himalayas*, Hongkong, 1982. 33 (mid 11th cent.); P. Pal, "Kashmir and the Tibetan Connection", P. Pal (ed.), *Art and Architecture of Ancient Kashmir*, Bombay, 1989, 128.
- 2 Cf. the monograph by G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica II*, Rome, 1932. English edition: *Rin-chen-bzañ-po and the Renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet Around the Millennium*, New Delhi, 1988; also D. Snellgrove and T. Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*, Warminster, 1980. II, 83-98.
- 3 L. Petech, *The Kingdom of Ladakh, C.950-1242 A.D.*, Serie Orientale Roma LI, Rome, 1977. 165-166.
- 4 Snellgrove-Skorupski, I, 79.

see the influence of Islamic Mughal painting in some of them and to place them as late as the 17th century A.D.⁵.

The present author intends to prove that, apart from obvious retouchings and more or less clumsy repaintings, the bulk of the murals in the Sumtsek is basically from the same period, i.e. from the decades immediately following the year 1200 A.D., and that they are a unique source of information about the splendour of the late Buddhist culture which was at that period still living in Kaśmîr, apart of being the only and up to now rather neglected specimen of late North-West Indian-Kaśmîrî wall painting still preserved in a comparatively excellent state⁶.

A series of murals, accompanied by inscriptions, on the entrance wall of the third and uppermost storey of the Sumtsek, and a lengthy inscription on a beam carrying the clay *stûpa* inside the so-called "Great Stûpa" (Snellgrove's no.J¹)⁷ which have not been noticed before, now present the possibility for a closer, but at the same time later dating of the Sumtsek and its murals⁸.

Two inscriptions published by Skorupski⁹ give the name of the founder of the Sumtsek as Tshulthim Ö (Tshul-khrims 'Od), one text being written by a person called Graggs-Idan 'Od, the other one by a monk of the 'Gar family, both inscriptions being possibly later than the activity of Tshulthim Ö. Formulations used in both of the newly found inscriptions, on the other hand, prove that they were composed, if not even written by Tshulthim Ö himself.

The inscription in the "Great Stûpa" contains the following sentences:

5 Genoud-Inoue, 36.

6 Since 1981 several journeys to Alchi have been undertaken by the author and Jaroslav Poncar, Fachhochschule Köln, in order to document the murals in the Dukhang and the Sumtsek by photographs. These journeys were mainly possible by the help of the Orientstiftung zur Förderung der Ostasiatischen Kunst, Köln, founded by Hans Siegel, but also with grants from other persons, all of whom the author would like to thank. A first survey of our studies was published under the title *Alchi. Buddhas, Goddesses, Mandalas*, Köln, 1984. The present author is preparing the publication of his *Alchi Studies* in near future.

7 Snellgrove-Skorupski, I, 78.

8 The inscription was discovered in 1983 while photographing the Great Stûpa. It is hardly recognizable and even less legible since it is covered by dust and mud. It was deciphered by our Ladakhi friend, priest Konchok Panday. Reading and translation were checked by Prof. K. Sagaster, University of Bonn. The full text of the lengthy inscription containing more interesting facts about the history and meaning of the Alchi temples will be published in the *Alchi Studies* announced above.

9 Inscriptions nos. 6 and 7. Snellgrove-Skorupski, II, 135-139, 147-148.

“In this excellent place in the range of the snowy mountains one region of the country is Upper mÑa-ris (mÑa-ris stod), the especially selected Lower Ladakh (La-dvags smad)..... here in Alchi..... I myself, a monk of the 'Bro (clan), Tshul-khrims 'Od, because of my former unpurified vows (*prañidhi*), was born in this period of accumulation of the three bad defilements¹⁰. After I had obtained the precious body of man¹¹, and after being ordained already during the time of my youth, having paid my respect to (the feet of) the teachers and *upādhyāyas* (*bla-ma mkhan-po*), I then have spoken a little about my mental activities (*prapañca*)¹², and I have learned (practiced) the three teachings (*tri-sīkṣā*) for which one has to strive (*brtson-bya slap-pa*)¹³. The small amount (of merit) previously accumulated.....

After I had realized that the riches and possessions accumulated by me eventually (will vanish?).....

I offered them to my jewel-like Teachers. For the wholesome roots (*kuśala-mūla*)¹⁴ I made Symbols of Body, Speech and Mind.

As Symbols for the Body I made the following: I have built up this (temple?) Pile of Jewels (*Rin-chen brtsegs-pa*).”

The last sentence states beyond doubt that Tshulthim Ö commissioned the erection of the Sumtsek. And it possibly also gives the name of the building as “Pile of Jewels”.

The second inscription is important since it provides the possibility for the dating of the Sumtsek. It is to be found included in murals on the front wall with window in the inaccessible third storey of the Sumtsek. These paintings are here reproduced for the first time¹⁵.

Above the window and stretching across the width of the whole wall there is a frieze with beautiful representations of three wrathful deities who otherwise do not appear in the two old temples of Alchi (colour pl. 1).

10 Or: the three bad modes of existence, *ñon-son gsum*.

11 For the “precious body of man” cf. H.V. Guenther, *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation by sGampopa*, Boulder, 1981. 14.

12 After the young adept has found his teacher he speaks to him about his thoughts, his “mental activities”, *spros-pa*, *prapañca*, in order that the teacher can give him appropriate advice and teaching.

13 The Three Teachings are the backbone of the Buddhist way towards enlightenment. See K. Kasawara, *The Dharma-saṅgraha*, Oxford, 1885. No. 140.

14 Cf. Kasawara, no. 138. A different set is given by T. Skorupski, *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra*, New Delhi, 1983. 111.

15 The walls were photographed under difficult conditions by J. Poncar in 1984. The importance of the paintings and inscriptions was only discovered after developing the films. The intention to re-photograph the inscriptions more clearly in 1989 had to be given up because of the increased danger caused by the bad condition of the building.

The center is occupied by Acala (Mi-g'yo-ba) in *pratyâliḍha* attitude. He is surrounded by flames, has blue complexion and yellowish hair, standing on ends, and three eyes. He is clad in tiger skin skirt, wears snakes as ornaments and skulls in his crown. In his right raised hand he brandishes a sword and in his left he holds an only faintly visible *pâśa*. He stamps down Gaṇapati and projects six tiny little auxiliary deities of blue and red complexion into his halo of flames.

Acala is flanked by two versions of the Indian God of Wealth. To his right (the left to the viewer) a greyish Ucchuṣma strides in *pratyâliḍha* on a prostrate figure of Dhanada in Kaśmîrî dress and boots. The god's appearance is similar to that of Acala, but his right hand lifts a skull-cup (*kapâla*), and in his left he hides a mongoose (*nakula*) the dark grey head of which peeps out of the fist. A multicoloured halo surrounds the whole figure instead of the flames as in the case of Acala¹⁶. His counterpart on the other side is a yellow Jambhala with similar halo. He is sitting in an easy pose (*lilâsana*) on two white lions with blue manes. He has only two eyes, wears the normal jewellery, a Kaśmîrî crown with three points and floating white ribbons and a reddish brown skirt. His right hand shows the *varaḍa-mudrâ*, his left is holding a blue *nakula*, similar to Ucchuṣma.

The two wall parts to each side of the window have rectangular panels divided into three friezes, each of which contains three large figures of priests, altogether nine on each side of the window. Underneath them there is another row with smaller figures of monks.

The nine priests on the right hand wall (colour pl. 2) are rather similarly represented. They all wear reddish brown mantles covering the entire body and hiding the hands. An open triangle near the neck reveals a white undergarment. Two priests are grey-headed and bare-headed, one wears a pointed white cap, the others the flat conical hat typical for many priests in the murals of Alchi. The brownish complexion of all these priests seems to identify them as Kaśmîrîs, but perhaps also as belonging to the local Ladakhi clergy since similar figures are represented as adorants in configurations in the niches of the Sumtsek. Underneath these nine priests there is an additional group of smaller monks.

Most important, though, for our present study is the corresponding panel underneath Ucchuṣma to the left of the window. Here we also find

16 The representation of Ucchuṣma closely follows the text of *sâdhana* no. 295 in the *Sâdhanamâlâ* (ed. by B. Bhattacharya, vol. II), Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 41, 2nd. ed., 1968. Cf. also B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1968. 179.

nine priests represented in three rows, but here they are clearly identifiable by inscriptions giving their names. Between the figures there appear square black altars, seen strictly from above, beset and surrounded by ritual implements. Between the first two priests in the upper frieze the figure of the blue Vajradhara (rDo-r je-chañ) is represented in a smaller scale.

The spelling of the accompanying inscriptions is rather poor and full of mistakes, and in the lowest line the scribe seems to have had difficulties with the spacing of the text: The lines are drooping while they develop towards the right. Beneath a line written in smaller and more cursive letters containing Sanscrit *mantras* the spelling of which is, by the way, also corrupt, the important text written in U-chen opens with the following statement¹⁷:

I, the monk called Tshul-khrims 'Od, bow respectfully and take refuge to the *bhagavân* Vajradhara (rDo-rje-chañ) (who is) the essence (*bdag-ñid*) of Body, Speech and Mind of all the Buddhas of the Three Times.

This short adoration formula is then repeated nine times in the white bands above the three friezes with the figures of the nine priests¹⁸. Within the friezes the priests are arranged in a sequence from right to left, i.e. beginning near the window.

A. Upper frieze (colour pl. 3)

1. The first priest to the right has brown complexion and seems to be completely nude apart from white ornaments, probably of bone. He has turned to the second priest as in conversation with him. He is sitting on a cushion covered with an animal hide (*ajina*). In his right hand he holds a fish, in his left a scull cup. The inscription calls him Tilopa (spelled: 'Dre-lo-pa), the famous Tântic master from Bengal who was later classified as the first patriarch of the Kagyüpa-Order of Tibet¹⁹.

2. The priest facing him and represented in a nearly identical manner, but holding a small *damaru* and a *kapâla*, is identified as Nâropa (Na-ro-pa) (ca. 956-1040), the well known pupil of no. 1 and famous propagator of Tântic Buddhism²⁰. Above the altar between the two priests the smaller figure of Vajradhara appears like floating in the air.

17 The spelling has been counter-checked by Mr. Tsering Tashi Thingo, Köln.

18 We therefore extract only the names of the priests, giving in brackets the spelling as it appears in the inscriptions.

19 Cf. H. Hoffmann, *Die Religionen Tibets*, Freiburg-München, 1956. 137-141.

20 See the excellent monograph by H.V. Guenther, *The Life and Teaching of Nâropa*, London, 1963.

3. The third priest has white complexion and is thereby contrasted as a Tibetan against the two dark skinned Indians²¹. He wears a tight fitting coat with long sleeves, a white belt and boots. A brown mantle is draped over his shoulders. As emblems he is holding *vajra* and bell in an attitude typical for Vajradhara or Vajrasattva²². According to the inscription he is Mar-pa (Mar-pa lo-tsa) (1012-1096), pupil of no. 2 and actual founder of the Kagyüpa-Order, also known under the name Chos-kyi blo-gros²³.

B. Middle frieze (colour pl. 4)

4. The white monk to the right seems to be nude apart of a white shawl loosely draped around his waist and left arm. The right hand forms a kind of *varada-mudrâ* while the left hand holds an object that appears to be a book. By the inscription he is specified as the famous poet Mi-la-ras-pa (Myi-la-ras-pa) (1040-1123) who is traditionally listed as pupil of no. 3. He is here represented in a slightly smaller format than his two neighbors²⁴.

5. The middle priest wears a patched brown *kaṣāya* and a lighter brown undergarment without sleeves. A mantle is draped over his shoulders. His hands are raised in *dharmacakra-mudrâ*. The text above identifies him as Dvags-po chen-po (Dags-po chen-po), the famous scholar sGam-po-pa (1079-1153) who was pupil of no. 5 since 1111²⁵.

6. Behind him the only bearded priest among the nine is sitting in mediation (*dhyâna-mudrâ*), his *kaṣāya* covering both his shoulders. He is characterized as Dags-po On who is probably to be identified with Dvags-po rGya-ras, named as teacher of no. 7 in the Blue Annals²⁶.

21 This pictorial distinction between Indian and Tibetan monks is also used for the "portraits" of the priests painted inside of the small clay *stûpa* set up in the Great Stûpa (J¹).

22 The portraits of Kûkai (774-835), founder of the Esoteric Shingon school of Japanese Buddhism show him in the same attitude. Cf. R. Goeppe, *Shingon. Die Kunst des Geheimen Buddhismus in Japan*, Köln, 1988. No. 46, pp. 198-199. Japanese specialists explain the cramped way of holding the *vajra* in front of the chest as an expression of a certain stage of mind reached during concentrated meditation.

23 Cf. D. Snellgrove and H. Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet*, Boston, Mass., 1968. 118-129; D.L. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors*, London 1987. 497-498.

24 H. Hoffmann, 148-153; W.E. Evans-Wentz, *Tibet's Great Yogî Milarepa*, London, 2nd ed., 1951.

25 His biography and teachings are treated by H.V. Guenther, *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation by sGampopa*, Boulder, 1981.

26 G.N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 2nd. ed., Delhi 1976. 132.

C. Lower frieze (colour pl. 5)

7. This priest appears in the same attire as nos. 5 and 6. His right hand forms the *varada-mudrâ* while the left is hidden in his cloak. The inscription calls him Dags-po On chuñ-ba who appears as Sañs-rgyas Dags-chuñ in the Blue Annals and is there qualified as pupil of no. 6²⁷.

8. The monk represented in teaching gesture is shown in the same outfit as no. 7 and identified as Phag-mo gru-pa ('Phag-mo bgrub-pa) (1110-1170), the well-known Kagyüpa patriarch who is named among the pupils of sGam-po-pa (no. 5)²⁸.

9. The last priest is again similarly clad as the preceding two and holds his hands in a preaching attitude. The inscription clearly calls him 'Bri-'guñ-pa ('Bri-'khuñ-pa). It is the famous 'Jig-rten mgon-po (1143-1217)²⁹, founder of the 'Bri-khuñ-pa sub-sect of the Kagyüpa order.

If we analyse the facts presented above we must conclude that Tshul-khrims 'Od, the founder of the Sumtsek and the commissioner of its murals, must be contemporary or even slightly later than the last priest named and portrayed in the painted series. One may also conclude that 'Bri-khuñ-pa must at that time have been a celebrity among the Buddhist clergy, well established as member in the succession line of patriarchs; or he might even already have passed away.

The paintings and the accompanying inscriptions therefore cannot have been formulated much before about 1200 A.D., most likely even after the turn of the century, probably between 1200 and 1220 A.D.

But even if we should regard the inscriptions with the names as spurious or as later additions – which seems highly improbable in view of the style of writing and the orthography – the succession line of nine priests starting with Tilopa and Nâropa would inevitably bring us down to about the same date.

The occurrence of 'Bri-khuñ-pa as last member in the line need not puzzle us since the influence of the 'Bri-khuñ-pa sub-sect of the Kagyüpa order must have been much stronger in Western Tibet and Ladakh during the period in question than we thought up to now³⁰. Whether the still

27 Cf. preceding note.

28 Roerich, 552-563; Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, 488.

29 Roerich, 596-601; Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, 489. Our dating of 'Bri-khuñ-pa's death follows the Blue Annals. Other authors give the date as 1212.

30 L. Petech, "The 'Bri-gun-pa Sect in Western Tibet and Ladakh", *Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium*, Budapest, 1978. 313-325. The article does not contain information about the connection between the sect and the temples in Alchi.

active 'Bri-khuñ-pa temples in Ladakh house undiscovered historical material in their libraries would have to be checked in future research³¹.

But the question could also be raised whether the whole decoration of the front wall of the third storey of the Sumtsek, including inscriptions and paintings, actually are of the same early period as the other murals or not. To substantiate our assumption that they cannot be attributed to a later date we would like to present at least some clues which could easily be multiplied.

Although the three protective deities in the register above the window do not reappear in other murals of the Sumtsek or Dukhang many of their details can be related to other scenes.

The head of the central Acala corresponds in many respects to those of the Mahākālas over the entrance doors of the Sumtsek and even over the possibly slightly earlier Dukhang. This pertains especially to the structure of the hair with its small triangular gap in the centre of the forehead. The ornamental bands of the headdress are also practically identical. The decoration of the shawls over Acala's shoulders is the same as on that worn by Mahākāla in the groundfloor of the Sumtsek.

The colour and the method of shading the body in the figure of Jambhala to the right reappears in the corpse under the feet of the Mahākāla just named. The white pearls on a stripe of black bordering Jambhala's halo have a close counterpart in the halo of Nāropa inside the "Great Stūpa" (Snellgrove's no. J¹). And the white lions serving the god as his *vāhana* are closely comparable to the ones shown under Mañjuśrī on the left inner wall of the back niche housing the monumental figure of Maitreya (niche II).

The human figure stamped to the ground by Ucchuṣma to the left has its counterparts in some of the flying *apsaras* occupying the outer regions of *maṇḍalas* in both temples, the Sumtsek and the Dukhang, and also in the pairs of *devas* painted onto the triangular panels in the ceiling of the Great Stūpa.

The nine priests on the panel to right of the window are exact brothers to several other priests represented in different places of the Sumtsek, for instance on both lateral walls of the left niche (Snellgrove's no. I) with the tall clay sculpture of Avalokiteśvara. Even priests with grey beards are not missing there.

31 Kushok Togdan Rinpoche, head of the Brikung Kagyupa Order of Ladakh, has signalled interest and help during future research in this respect.

But also the nine historical persons named in the inscriptions on the left panel do not look like strangers in the context of the Alchi murals. The brown faces of the two Indian masters Tilopa and Nâropa closely resemble those of Buddha's disciples on the right side-wall of Maitreya's niche (no. IIb) and in the upper scene of the back wall in the upper floor of the Sumtsek. The bearded face of Dags-po On (no. 6) finds its matching counterpart in that same niche of Maitreya, and Mar-pa's (no. 3) white dress repeats the one worn by a priest in the panel with Amitâbha's Paradise among the group of Paradises of the Five Tathâgatas on the left side of the back wall in the upper floor of the Sumtsek.

To quote one last example: The ornamental festoons hanging down between the priests from the upper margin of the friezes are to be found in an exactly corresponding form in several murals of the Three-storeyed Temple, for instance on the left lateral wall in the back niche with the monumental Maitreya.

All the features quoted are typical for the style of the Sumtsek murals and do not appear, for instance, in the paintings of the somewhat later Lhakhang Soma (New Temple). Therefore the paintings and inscriptions on the front wall in the third storey of the Sumtsek have to be accepted as of the same period as the rest of the decoration. At the same time they provide a clue for a more correct dating of these important vestiges in the style of late Kaśmîrî art.

Appendix: Tibetan texts

A. Extract from the dedicatory inscription on the front beam supporting the smaller clay *stûpa* inside the Great Stûpa (J¹) in Alchi:

gnas mchog gañs can 'di'i rgyud na // sa'i phyogs gcig mña' ris stod //
 mchog tu bton pa'i la dvags smad // al lci 'dir // dños rañ 'bro ban tshul
 khirms 'od // sña ma'i smon lam ma dag pas // ñan gsum tshogs pa'i dus
 'dir skyes // mi lus rin chen thob nas ni // chuñ ñu'i dus su rab byuñ nas //
 bla ma mkhan po'i shabs btud nas // sems kyi spros pa cuñ shig bśad //
 brtson bya slab pa gsum la slabs // sña ma'i bsags pa phra mo dañ //
 rgyu nor loñs spyod bsags nas kyañ // tha ma ... yin sñam nas // bla ma
 dkon mchog phyogs su btañ // bsod nams tshogs cig bsag sñam nas // 'dus
 byas kyi dge ba'i rtsa ba la // sku gsuñ thugs kyi rten rnam bsheñs // sku
 yi rten du bsheñs pa ni // lha ... rin cen brtsegs pa bsheñs // ...

- B. Inscriptions on the inside of the front wall, third floor of the Sumtsek, above the three friezes with portraits of priests (plates 3-5); corrected reading in brackets:

bdag dge sloñ tshul khirms b'od (= 'od) ces bgya (= bya) ba // 'dus gsum gi sañs rgyas thams cad gyi sku gsum (= gsuñ) thugs kyi bdag ñid // bcom ldan 'das rdo rje 'chañ la // phyag 'tshal shiñ skyabs (su) 'chi'o (= mchi'o) // bla ma dre (= ti) lo pa la phyag 'tshal shiñ sbyabs (= skyabs) su 'chi'o (= mchi'o) // bla ma na ro pa la phyag 'tshal shiñ sbyabsu (= skyabs su) 'chi'o (= mchi'o) // bla ma Mar pa lo tsa la phyag 'tshal shiñ sbyabsu (= skyabs su) 'chi'o (= mchi'o) // bla ma myi (= mi) la ras pa la phyag 'tshal shiñ sbyab (= skyab) su cha'o (= mchi'o) // bla ma dags (= dvags) po chen po la phyag 'tshal shiñ sbyabsu (= skyabs su) 'chi'o (= mchi'o) // bla ma dags (= dvags) po on la phyag 'tshal shiñ sbyabsu (= skyabs su) 'chi'o (= mchi'o) // bla ma dags (= dvags) po on chuñ ba la phyag 'tshal shiñ sbyabsu (= skyabs su) 'chi'o (= mchi'o) // bla ma phag mo bgrub (= gru) pa la phyag 'tshal shiñ sbyabsu (= skyabs su) 'chi'o (= mchi'o) // bla ma 'bri 'guñ pa la phyag 'tshal shiñ sbyabsu (= skyabs su) 'chi'o (= mchi'o) //

Illustrations

1. Three protective deities above the window in the third storey of the Sumtsek in Alchi. From left to right: Ucchuşma, Acala, Jambhala
2. Panel to the right of the window in the third storey of the Sumtsek. Series on nine unidentified priests
3. Upper frieze on the left side of the window. Small figure of the blue Vajradhara. Three priests from right to left: Tilopa, Nâropa, Mar-pa
4. Middle frieze on the left side of the window. Three priests from right to left: Mi-la ras-pa, Dags-po chen-po (sGam-po-pa), Dags-po On (probably: Dvags-po rGya-ras)
5. Lower frieze on the left side of the window. Three priests from right to left: Dags-po On chun-ba (Sañs-rgyas Dags-chun), Phag-mo gru-pa, 'Bri-gun-pa ('Jig-rten mgon-po)









