1st published
5 November, 1966
Reprinted
1 September, 1991

Printed at
Impression
Gangtok

Published by
The Director
Namgyal Institute of Tibetology
Gangtok
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A TALE OF ASOKA

H. W. BAILEY

Asoka has been interpreted in the speculations of historians for his public acts authenticated by his own inscriptions, though known new inscriptions have been added from Afghanistan. But another side is displayed in the legendary record. He is the great patron of Buddhism, the cycle of his acts fills an avadana, a narrative, of his religious career. Two of the episodes of this religious epic of Asoka were translated into the language of Gstan-a-desa, that is, modern Khotan, and have survived in two copies, both incomplete; now in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. They have been published in transcription in my book, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts* (1951, KST), pp. 40–44. Here I offer a first attempt to render the text in English. Asoka is also the subject of a legend in Tibetan. In the Tanjur, in the Lihi-yul lung-ten-ma, the origin of the Khotan Saka kingship is traced to a son of Asoka who is here called Dharma ‘Asoka.’ Allusion to this genealogy in a Saka text from Ch‘ien-f‘e-tung is made in my book *Khotanese Texts* 2.53. Here we read in a paraphrase that Vis‘ Darma’ king of Gstanadesa derives from the ancient family: vātsa pudra mūl mahakama rama ṣya yula fia naraṇa, issued from the family of royal Mahasenmata the king of sure family. This is followed by reference in a list to Vañaramana the deva ‘Asum (=Asoka) and Cy-yam the king, who is called in Tibetan Cy-yam and Cy-yam.

A Sogdian reference to Asoka occurs in a Manichaean text in a list of evil-doers: swk MLKy by prw k‘m‘w swk psw‘ prw wsw‘ dēm the king Asoka who slandered the Buddha Sakyamuni. Is the tenth century word? In Sanskrit and Tibetan the name Bud. Skt Dhammasrigora is given as rgyal po Darma’ Ang in Tibetan. This is near to the Tibetan

2. Translated in F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, 1968; a new translation has been made by R. E. Emmerick, and will shortly be printed with a transliterated text.
3. A translation of this text is in preparation in the Text Volume to be joined to my four portfolios of facsimiles of Saka Documents, See earlier *BSOAS* 1968-9.
4. W. B. Henning, JRAS, 1944, 141.
form which has given in Khotan Saka Asw (indicating the sound Asw) and Asw, here the -a- has been replaced by -u- as usual in Saka dialects. From this same Prakrit came the older Chinese A-ju for an older A-zu, now pronounced in Japanese A-ku, showing the older -k-. The Bud. Skt Asoka, is written in Saka Asokas as the name of four Buddhas of the Bhadrakalipa-sutra. In KT 3.116. 10v4 occurs namu nisaikiva nama tathagatau, the revered Asoka, by name, the tathagatas.


The whole avadana of Asoka is preserved in a Chinese translation from Sanskrit, from which J. Przyluski made his rendering into French with an introductory essay. The Buddhist story is told in Sanskrit in the Divyavadana (pp. 362-434) and has recently been studied again by Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya in his book The Asokavadana, 1963, The Kunal episode of the avadana is published with a facsimile of a Bud- dhist Sanskrit manuscript by G. M. Bongard and O. F. Volkova in their Legenda o Kunale in Moscow 1963, reviewed by J. de Jong, in the Indo- Iranian Journal 8:233-240. The tale of the man’s head is told in the Sutramankara (French translation by Ed. Huber, p. 90 ff.). The Tibetan version is in the Kunalavadana (Tanjur Mdo, facsimile Pekin 127, 294-302).

The Saka avadana reads in English translation as follows.

TRANSLATION

Goshtham, So I have heard. When this revered dasabalcakravartin Sakyamuni, deva of devas, the Buddha had completed the work of bodhi, there also the present vaśyas were sought and delivered, the time (of death) arrived for him. Then he drew near to the bank of the Naiṣānāja river under the yamaka-sāla trees he entered upon the sama- dhana called Mahapariṇirvāna when over him the first watch of the night had passed.

7. La légende de Pemereu Asoka.
Then here in Jambudvipa in Pataliputra a king named Asu' sat in sovereignty. He brought under his own control the whole continent of Jambudvipa as far as the verge of ocean; all who were kings in Jambudvipa acclaimed him and did his commands. In Jambudvipa he made 18000 caityas, in all of them he placed saries (relics) of the Buddha. This king had two queens, and 8000 in his anthaipura—Of the first queen the name was Padmavati and the name of the second Tisyaaraksita.

Then at another time the queen Padmavati became pregnant and after the passing of ten months she bore a king's son like a devaputa. The queen took him up in a swaddling and gave him to the king. The king received him in his arms. To the queen he spoke delightedly, saying, To the measure of a hundred years forward may you live with this prince as in the clear asana the graha (planets), the nakṣatra (constellations), and the moon and sun shine out. At the time of Jatinaha (birthday feast) they named a name for him and they gave the name prince Varnavardhana.

Then at another time the king Asu' desired to look at the eyes of the prince Varnavardhana. And he ordered his amatyas, saying, You should look at the prince's eyes, whether anything on earth resembles such eyes which are his. The amatyas spoke with respect, saying, Deva, in a rumour we have heard on Mount Gandhamādanaya there is a bird by name kunala and his eye is so fine that if he should not resemble it, on earth no being exists who resembles it. Deva, the prince's eyes are such eyes as if one put two chalcedony jewels upon a blue lotus leaf. If he looks straight at us suddenly, it seems that amata flows into our throat, or that in it are brilliant jewels lying there. Then the king ordered, saying, Bring, bring a kunala bird from Gandhamadana. When they had brought it for comparison, saying, The eyes are like one another, then they gave to prince Varnavardhana the name Kunala.

Then the prince Kunala quickly grew up and became adult as in cool water the celestial utpala lotuses grow.

Then at another time the king Asu' conducted the prince Kunala to a samghaana. Kunala was a delight to the sāthavāra Upaphota. When the sāthavāra had finished the dharma dwasana, then the king returned again. There at another samgharama he set with the acaya Senavika and with his forehead he went with homage to his feet. In his following was an amatyas. He was exceedingly devoid of faith. He reproved
the king, he spoke so, saying, Dign not to make the sovereignty contemptible. To every red-clad person that you may see, you go with homage. A king is necessarily fierce and bold with exalted punyas (merits). It is not fitting, Deva, for the sovereignty that he (the king) should roll on the earth. Then the king returned to the palace. Thereupon he issued an order, saying, All amatyas, you shall assemble. Thereupon 7000 amatyas gathered. The king ordered this, saying, Every amaty is to bring a head, Yasa for his part will bring a man’s head, but do not in any way cause pranatipata (death to breathing beings). Early next morning they all brought before the king a head. The king ordered this saying, Take them to the market, and sell them at a price. When they brought them to the market, the sold all of them at a price. When they saw that the amaty Yasa on his part carried a man’s head, honor was felt, in all ways they fled. With abuse they spoke to him, saying, Do not a second time design to offer that, such a disgusting thing, stuffed with worms as is this head. If indeed he orders, saying. Take it into your hand, indeed, he will suffer great trouble, who buys that at a price. Then the amatyas returned to the palace and they made a report, saying All other heads we could sell at a price, but the man’s head the amaty Yasa has been unable to sell at a price. Then the king ordered him, saying, What fault do you see in it which you deemed to search out? Yasa the amaty spoke, saying, In every one are the same faults. Deva, it is in no one because of peculiar qualities; disgusting it is, stinking, inauspicious, the same. The king ordered him, Is only that one disgusting, or are all disgusting? Yasa the amaty spoke to him, saying, All in fact have no marks, Deva. The king ordered him, saying, This my head which possesses exalted punyas, how is it to be thought of? Speak truly. Yasa the amaty spoke, saying, This too is precisely like the other heads, Deva. Then the king ordered him, saying, It is such a disgusting thing as this man’s head is, for which not even a place can be found where you may put it. Then, amaty, does it not please you when with it I revere the deva Buddha’s pupil who actually appears with the aṣaya: (mind) of the foremost gotra: (family) of the ascans? These good qualities of all kinds, approved, have, they not become subjects recognisable by you? One can know the number of the drops of water in the ocean, then they will know the good qualities possessed by the pravrajitas (wanderers). Then Yasa the amaty begged pardon of the king Asu’, and he spoke, saying, I have not done well, I did not understand that the many good qualities are possessed by the pravrajitas.

And then at another time the inhabitants of Taissila rebelled
against the king Isu, his command they did not obey, and they withheld his taxes. Then Isu, the king in Patiliputra mounted and led an army to Takasila. He brought the people of Gandhara back to his command. Long time he remained there. Then he in Patiliputra the queen Tisyarakasita desirous to call prince Kunala. When the prince came before her, he greeted her with his forehead humbly he sat, and the queen spoke to him so saying: When your father went away, he placed the country and the land in your hand, but a month passes for you, you do not come to the palace. The prince spoke to her saying, As much as is my love to my own mother, so much is it to the devi, queen. Because here in the palace there is gossip and talk. I dared not enter. These are those whom you draw to come to the palace, and still more that the king is now not present. Then the queen Tisyarakasita tried the fortiude of the prince Kunala by way of love sports. But the prince refused to agree, and he went out from them. Then the queen felt fierce displeasure, she thereupon sough, revenge against him. Then Isu, the king returned from Takasila. When he came to Patiliputra there Padmavati and Tisyarakasita the queen, the prince Kunala asked after his health and the fatigue of the road. They spoke (each) to him, saying, My heart is greatly pleased here, that you have come to your throne. We see the Deva in good state, calm, in health and efortune.

Then at another time the queen Tisyarakasita remembered the grief against prince Kunala, Yasa the amaty he desired to disclose that earlier hostility against him Yasa the amaty spoke, saying, The prince formerly put me to shame before men. My hat fell off and he struck me six strokes upon the head. This hatred therefore is not yet forgotten. Together they formed a plot against him. And they worked upon the king Isu so that they induced him to send prince Kunala to Takasila to rule in his own native land. (The rest is missing.)

COMMENTARY

These Saka text are still full of difficulties. A short commentary is therefore necessary.

Line 7. simaham simhavasa he entered into simadhana; the same time is mentioned in KT v 137, 1 2 panihrwana kasa-saasya, but with the madhyama yame the middle watch

19. hadikana, loc. sg. only here, is from the context the cloth in which the child is carried; in form it is hada-with suffix -ika-connected
with buda-clothing, see Transactions of the Philological Society 1954, 195, and the Barr Festschrift; Georgian loan-word ardag mantle, and Amanerian ans- are likely to be the same word.

22. faram, B text 139 fua 2 sg. conjunctive, may you live, to jute he lives.

24. such-to name, call from a base sushi-familiar in Baltic Lithuanian suku, sukti, Lettish sukt to name, see Indo Iranian Journal 2, 186-7.

36. karakirina, raman B text 163 karakirina, chacedony stone, Siddhasara 137vi kirikyan for Bud. Skt ambug-man. elsewhere Skt karkeanta-. Zoroastrian Pahlavi karkehan, Arab, karkehan, see Asiatica, Festschrift Wolfer, 14-5.

37. vixam vi, B text 137 vixa vi in the throat, here only. from the base vi-so turn, elder *viss-to var-i-to turn, see Asia Major, new series 11, 114.

42. parbatsa he became adult, as Bud. Skt divyavada 3, 17 mehan samayatva.

48. isada infidal, from Prakrit Gandhari asadha-. Bud. Skt avadha-.

53. bith- to turn, twist, from older *bhr-ya- attested in Sihdha era. 121v 4 bithana-. Bud. Skt udvaravi-Tibetan drill-be be twisted, with proverb Sid 18v 2 hambith, Bud. Skt gahi- Tib. sat-bar byed.

83. kusa-palace, Bud. Skt raja-kula-prajipsda-camtal, Bud. Skt raja-dhani, from older *kausa-das in Avestan kauza-, and with suffix -da in Middle Persian kosk.

65. pisaravāya renders Bud. Skt jumagala-in Divy 382, 25.

73. kasa. infinitive to kusa-, Bud. Skt a vimarga seeking.

79. sama has been taken as Bud Skt sama-same, same.

85. pisima, B text 203 pisima, is derived from pimaa-to know, hence pimaa-yu-rencthiton.

104. spasti is elsewhere rupastī, from Prakrit; Bud. Skt viravaa-with suffix-ya, occurring also Jataka-stava.

104. cauka play, sport, game, plural for older tarka-, which renders Bud. Skt rast.

104. ha ni anarvintya aurye he did not approve of agreeing, he refused to consent.

105. stava vasts then for him, with stava-adjective from ta-belonging.
to that time or place, in loc. sg. same with pronoun yi.

113. gchanlit grief trouble, Siddhasara 125v2 gchanlit jue, Tib. gdungs misery.

117. baoci vihaste the hat fell down, in the Chinese version kl' kwun juan it his hat fell to the ground.

117. rgyi blids. Chinese r'ou head, found also in KT (=Khotones elements) 2, 111 rongyu boda smonja rendering Chinese r'ou fa hair on the head.

117. kl' pala kl'vase he struck six light strokes, in Chinese p'ai he struck lightly.

118. somboj spomdo they bound an agreement. Here sambhoj is from Prakrit to Bud. Skt sam-vad-yoga-planning together, not the more usual Saka sambhoj to be successful, prosper from sambodyak.

123. raste rule, sovereignty, acc. sg. to elder runda acc. sg. ruts, abstract to runda-king.
ON THE ICONOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN OF LCAM-SRING, THE GOD OF WAR

- JUAN RÖGER RIVIERE

In the series of the Defenders of the Faith, in Sanskrit Dharmapala (दधर्मपाल) in Tibetan Chos-skhyong (chos), who execute the will of the tutelaries, one of them has a special figure for Tibetan theology: Lcam-sring (lcam-sring), the God of War. The representation of these Defenders is of the fiercest kind, drag-gsamt (drag-gsamt) or drag-gsamt (drag-gsamt), and there was the problem of the origin of such iconographical conceptions. Some authors think that they are metamorphoses of the Hindu Kali Devi (काली देवी); others speak of a Chinese influence or a Tibetan origin, such representations coming possibly from ancient native gods or goddesses of the Khams (khams) culture, for instance, The Red Tiger devil, I shall study here the iconography of the God of War; as in my particular collection of Thankas I have some representations of this dharma-pala, they helped me in my work.

The usual representation which is in some of my Tibetan thankas is the following one:

He is red coloured and treads a horse with his right foot, and, with his left one, a naked man. With his right hand he brandishes a sparkling sword and between, his lips he mothes a human heart. In his left hand he carries a box and a spear with a red flag green cornered. He has a frontal eye. His armour is covered by a floating vestment with sleeves. At his left, accompanying him, is Srog-bdag (srog-bdag) covered by an armour, sitting on a dark-gray wolf, in his right hand he carries a sword, and in his left one, a noose. At his right side appears Rig-ba-mo (rig-ba-mo), sitting on a light grey lion, with a knife in his right hand, and a 'gru-ba (gru-ba) in the left one. He is surrounded by red devils, the "knife holders" (ger-thags) who cut the corpses which cover the battlefield, and who raven hearts, etc. They all carry a sword in their right hand, it is a terrible Dharma-pala. His head has the colour of yellow (k'ra-ro) of all those divinities and, just like his hands, it is red coloured. On his three-eyed 'forehead a skulls' wreath is placed. From his back hangs a chain of severed heads. In another Thanka (thanka), he is covered by a golden armour, and with his right foot, he treads a horse and with the left one a naked man. With his right hand he brandishes
a sword, its pommel pur-bu shaped, and between his lips he
mouths a human heart. His left arm carries a bow and a spear, he
has a frontal eye, and on his head he bears a crown formed by five
skulls. Hanging from his waist we can see the great garland of human
heads symbol of these terrible divinities. He is surrounded by ten
emanations of himself. In the upper part there are three figures; in the
middle, Chay-Kha pa ( ), sitting on a lotus in the attitude of muni-
tation—his hands resting on his chest and holding the stems of two
lotuses crowned, the right one by the sword, and the left one by the book
He is accompanied by two of his disciples: Mika grub ( ) at the
right side, and Rgyal-dad ( ) at the left one.

On another image, this god is distinct from his usual iconogra-
phy; he is there on foot on a lotus, and no one is around him. With
his right hand he brandishes a sword, he is devouring a human heart
and carries a spear. The sun and the moon appear above. The paint-
ing is black, brown and yellow, red and white strokes. The divinity
is surrounded by fiery clouds. Below, a fantastic background covered
by bones.

It is well known that the Dха-mepalas have always a terrific
appearance, bordered by flames, with sword, spear and whip. They
are always of the fiercest fiendish kind. The Lha-nmo ( ) or pat-bum-
lta-no ( ) 'the queen of the warfare weapon', is one of them;
she is surrounded by flames, riding on a white-faced mule, upon a
saddle made out of the skin of her own son; she is clad in human
skins and is eating a human body and drinking blood from a skull;
often she has supports around her. As it is known she is worshiped
for seven days at the end of the twelfth month, and the offerings
are placed in a bowl made out of a human skull. The identification
Lha-nmo with the Sīr Devī, (622) or the Lālī (649) of the Hindu my-
thology is evident, in the case of Lha-nmo there is also a big influence
of the prototype of the goddess Durgā (642).

According to Granvedel and Pozdnev, Lha-mtse belongs
to the group of the bza-grod, the "Terrible Eight" which are really the
following nine gods: Rha-mtse ( ); Lha-mtse ( ); 'Tigay-skod
( ); Gia-ta (647); Mgon (647); Lha-mtse ( ); Gia-ta (647); Lam-
šar-ses ( ); Granvedel has doubt about the
origin of Lha-mtse, he is thinking of Kārttikeya (647) or Skanda
(647) the God of War of Hinduism, son of Siva (647) and Purush
(रूढ) according to most of the Puranic texts. He notes the outstand-
ing part played by the God of ‘War in the Tsam’ ( ) dance. But I do not see in the Hindu iconography of Skanda anything which recalls the Tibetan God of War.

For my part, I think that almost every one of these terrible gods and goddesses, defenders of Buddhism, are coming from the same representations in Hinduism around the great Devi (सति) in her destructive or transforming aspect; Camunda, (कामुका) for instance, is an emanation of Durga (दुर्गा) and the Markandeya Purana (मार्कण्देय पुराण) gives the description of the black goddess with a sword, a whip, a noose, a collar of skulls and with her eyes full of blood and fury. The Devi takes the forms of the Yogini (योगिनी), the witches and ogresses who accompany Durga and of the Dakini (दक्षिणी), the demons, eaters of human flesh and companions of Kali (काली): we have, in the hindu demonology, the Grahi, witches who come into the body of new born and kill them, the Bhairavi (भैरवी), who assist Siva (शिव), and Durga, the Sakini (साक्षिनी) who help the black goddess. All these forms are the female side of the gods of awe and terror, like Rudra (रुद्र), Bhairava (भैरवा), Bhuteshvara (भूतेश्वर), the ‘chief-of-the-phantoms’, with the serpents on his head and the color of skulls. All around these aspects of Siva-Rudra (शिव-रूढ) there is a very rich iconography which has had certain consequences on Tibetan mythology. All the gods of the Drag po kind have their Hindu counterpart: Rta-mgin la Hvaugshe (र्ता म्दिन ला हवाग्सिन), Yel’m-tse gzi’ed la Yameri (ये ल्द्रे-ग्स्ते ल’ये ला यारे), the Miktah-’gro-ma are the dakini, the demo-
nical tutelaries. Surely, all these black Tibetan gods are coming from local and primitive deities but the theological conception and definition issue from Hinduism. The tantric rites from Bengal brought these deities and they were assimilated with local genii, many of them from the Don cult.

I think that put God of War. Lsam-sring, belongs to that same class; all his characteristics are coming from the fiercest kind of Siva as Rudra (रुद्र) and Kali (काली); the frontal eye, the sword, the noose, the serpents, the skulls, the eyes full or rage. He is a destroyer, and, in this aspect, a Tibetan masculine copy of Kali, the transformer of the World, the ‘Black’ who is symbol of the destruction of the Creation; her black colour represents the darkness of the Void of the Universe, as Kali is said ‘to be clad with Space’, digambari (दिगम्बरी). She is the Great Mother who unceasingly creates forms but life continues only by Death and Renewal. Kali is the goddess of the Infinite Power who creates, transforms and dissolves the manifestation of the Universe. This
aspect of transmigration is represented by terrific instruments she carries, as the skulls, the blood, the exsanguins, and the human corpses which surround her. Lcam-tsug is also a destructive form of god; for this reason, he bears all the iconographical symbols of the Great Goddess, and his appearance is very close to some representations of the Hindu Black Goddess.
THE LAMA
—NIRMAL C. SINHA

I

Tibetan or Mongolian Buddhist monk—that is how the Concise Oxford Dictionary explains the word Lama and this no doubt reflects the current English (or European) usages. Phrases like ‘Land of Lamas’, or ‘Lamasery’ are coined on this meaning of the word. Yet in Tibet, as in any other Land of Lamas, the word Lama (properly transcribed BLAMA) is restricted to a few categories of monks and priests and is not used indiscriminately for all monks and priests.

The word Lama means the Superior One or “the one who has no superior” and is taken to correspond to Guru or Uttara in Sanskrit; a specific connotation is that one who can administer initiation (Skt. Diksa—Tib. Dbang) is a Lama. A Lama is thus not necessarily an incarnate (Tib. Brol ma; Skt. Nimānakaya), while any incarnate is not ipso facto a Lama. Both Tibetan religious literature and Mongol/Manchu regulations testify to the spiritual authority and temporal immunities of the Lamas. Not unoften these immunities were claimed and enjoyed by other ranks of monks and priests and this added piquancy to the politics of Inner Asia.

II

The word Lama meaning preceptor or priest was in currency in Tibet before the advent of Buddhism and the priest in the pre-Buddhist Bon religion was as is still, called Lama. Thus no new coinage was needed to render into Tibetan the Indian term Guru abounding in the Mahayana literature, particularly the treatises and tracts on Tantra; there are numerous examples in Kanjur and Tanjur authenticating Lama for Guru. A historic example, and perhaps the first such, designating an Indian master as Lama is noticed in the grammar of Thonmi Sambhota, the reputed author of Tibetan script (circa 640). In his grammar Thonmi makes obeisance ‘to all the Lamas’ (bla-ma rnam-la). Who are all these Lamas? They would no doubt include the Indian masters with whom Thonmi studied Indian script Indian grammar and Indian metres. Shalu Lotsava in his commentary on Thonmi’s grammar identifies two of these Lamas as Devavidya Simha and Lipidatta and calls them Thonmi’s “own Lamas” (bdag nyid kyi bla-ma).

The label of Lama for a Buddhist priest in Tibet commenced with
Padmasambhava (circa 753). Appropriately known as Mahaguru or Guru Rinpoche, Padmasambhava not only enshrouded the priests of Bon religion in encounter of miracle and polemic but also instituted an order of native priests for the preservation and propagation of the Dharma. The seven Tibetans ordained as monks by the Mahaguru are the first Lamas of Buddhism. They and their successors became the First Estate of the country and even monarchy took precedence after the Lamas. A royalist reaction allied with the Bon and launched a most cruel persecution of Buddhism. In desperation and against heavy odds the Lamas engineered a regicide (842). The monarchy was discredited; the royal house was divided and got dispersed while the Lamas grew in popularity and strength.

Without a spiritual guide an eclectic system (Skt. Tantya-Tib. Rgyud), as was the form of Dharma propagated in Tibet, cannot succeed. Thus Buddhism in Tibet begins with Guru (Lama) and the savior of Buddhism in Tibet, Padmasambhava, goes down in history as the Guru. In the two centuries following the regicide (842) and the Buddhist priests return to the Court, the formula for "Refuge in Three Gens" came to be prefixed with "Refuge in Lama." At the outset the refuge in Lama was for purely spiritual or moral needs, being the custodian of the scriptures (as import from the Land of Enlightenment) and being the organizer of the educational system (all schools were monastic), the Lama was destined to be the refuge in a much wider sense. On the breakup of centralized monarchy and on the dissolution of ancient land-holding, the abbot of a well-organized monastery would be the natural refuge for the common man in the neighbourhood. It is thus appropriate to note that government of the Sakya Lamas for about a century (1250-1390) was as much due to the internal forces calving for monastic leadership as to the support of the Mongol Emperors. The Kagyü Lamas also, though to a lesser extent wielded political power in parts of Tibet before the rise of the Gelugpas (Yellow Sect) at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Dalai Lamas ruled as Kings over all Tibet for roughly three centuries (1642-1950); it was admittedly the reign of Lamas. It is not necessary in the present context to detail the events of the Sakya, Kagyü and Dalai Lamas. Besides the complexities and niceties of the Lamaist pith cannot be handled in the space of this essay. It is however necessary to note here that much of the sectarian wars sprang from indisputable privileges and immunities of the Lamas.

In Mongolia propagation was first made in the thirteenth and
fourteenth centuries, that is, during the period of the Great Khans, Kublai promulgated "a decree of two principles" laying down the relations between Church and State thus: "the Lama is the root of the high Religion and the lord of the Doctrine; the Emperor, the head of the Empire and the master of the secular power. The laws of the True Doctrine, like the sacred silk cord, cannot be weakened; the laws of the Great Emperor, like the golden yoke, are indestructible". The White Annals, a contemporary chronicle obviously compiled under the Emperor's blessings, records this decree. (The excerpt is made from Zancaranc; The Mongol Chronicles of the Seventeenth Century by Loewenthal, Wiesbaden 1955.) Several Mongol chronicles and the Tibetan chronicle I. u- lha-dub-tser (The Red Annals, Gungtok 1961) refer to the decrees of Jenghiz Khan and his successors confirming the special prerogatives of the Lamas. All priests were exempted from taxes, military service and manual work for non-monastic purpose while the top ones enjoyed precedence over nobles and secular dignitaries. The Church-State relations in Mongolia, under the Great Khans, recall the Brahmanical theory of relations between the Purohita (Brahmin) and the Raja (Kshatriya) as in the colourful portrait of Coomaraswamy: Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government (New Delhi 1942).

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the second propagation and the final victory of the Dharma in Mongolia. This propagation was made by the Gelugpas (Yellow Sect) and all temples and monasteries in Mongolia eventually subscribed to the Yellow Sect. By the middle of the seventeenth century the Yellow Sect became the central temporal authority in Tibet and shortly afterwards the head of the Yellow Sect, the Dalai Lama, became the priest and ally of the Manchu Emperor. In Mongolia thus the Lamas soon became the First Estate par excellence.

The Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung (1735 95) in his famous Dissertation on Lamaism (1792), which he got inscribed on a marble stele in the Lamaist cathedral in Peking, said: "Buddhism originated in India and spread eastward ... Its sectarian priests are traditionally known as Lamas. The word Lama does not occur in Chinese books...... I have carefully pondered over its meaning and found that in Tibet means "superior" and in means "none". So also means "without superior"...... Lam means also stands for Yellow Religion." (From Lessing's translation In Yung Hoi-lang, Stockholm 1942).

The Lama was indeed "without superior" both in Tibet and Mongolia and the head of the Yellow Religion was the supreme "without superior".
The head of the Yellow Sect—the incarnation of Avalokitesvara (Tib. Spyam-ma-gi-gi)—was the temporal ruler of Tibet. In Tibet he was known as Skyal-mug-ma Rin-poche (Precious Prime Refuge) or Rgyal-wa Rin-poche (Precious Conqueror). The Mongols addressed him as Dalai Lama. It is of historic significance that the Mongol form gained currency all over the steppes of Eurasia and the Mongol expression Dalai (ocean) formed a prized loan-word in Tibetan language.

At the opening of the twentieth century the relations between the Dalai Lama and the Manchu Emperor had deteriorated due to fuller Confucianization of the Manchu House and the imperialistic designs of China. On the Expulsion of the Manchu (1911-1912), Dalai Lama XIII formally declared himself sovereign of Tibet by Command of the Buddha (summer 1912). Even then the Lamaist Buddhists in China continued to adore the Dalai Lama as the Refuge or Protector because the priest-disciple relations transcended secular or territorial loyalties.

In their first memorandum to the Tripartite Conference between Britain, China and Tibet the Tibetan Delegation described the situation thus: “Firstly, the relations between the Manchu Emperor and the Protector, Dalai Lama the fifth, became like that of the disciple towards the teacher. The sole aim of the then Government of China being to earn merits for this and for the next life, they helped and honoured successive Dalai Lamas and treated the monks of all the monasteries with respect ....... Gradually the Chinese Emperor lost faith in the Buddhist religion, and he treated the previous Protector, the Dalai Lama, with less respect ....... At last the Tibetans, driven by sheer desperation, had to fight, which ended in the defeat of the Chinese ....... The people of Mongolia and China send monks to the different monasteries in Tibet and also pay vast tributes to the monasteries. The Buddhist monasteries and other religious institutions in Mongolia and China recognize the Dalai Lama as their religious head .......” (English text as that of Lobsang Shatra reproduced on pages 1-6 of The Boundary Question between China, Britain and Tibet: A Valuable Record of the Tripartite Conference held in India 1903-1914, Peking 1910.)

III

Tibetan scholars with knowledge of Hindu society would liken the word ble-ma to Sanskrit brahman and brahma. The literary and historical evidence culled above no doubt indicates that the Lama's status was not inferior to that of the Brahmans in Hindu society.
The present writer is not a student of linguistics but would venture to point out a few facts in this connection. It is not possible to transcribe satisfactorily in Tibetan brhra-ma or brhra-ma as in Skt. bhrāma and bhrāma in br has the round d. A Bhrāmin (who usually comes from Nepal) was called brm (pronounced brm) and afterwards bhr-ze (pronounced bhr-zé) after Nepalese Raja (cf. Sarat Das: Dictionary p. 890). On the other hand Skt. bhrāma could change into Tib. bha-ma through dialects of eastern India. In the eastern dialects r often changes into l as Professor Sunnili Kumar Chatterji emphatically demonstrated four decades ago (Origin and Development of Bengali Language, Calcutta 1926, PP 494-5). So bhrāma to bha-ma would be natural for the Mongolid groups not adequately 'Aryanised.' These were groups living in and around dengal and Assam, in parts of Bengal and Assam h is not pronounced with the result that in common speech bhrāma and bhrāma are pronounced as bha-ma and bha-ma. On the loss of b and aspirates in Nepali and Bengali see Chatterji: op. cit., PP 444, 557 and same author's Indo-Aryan & Hr, Calcutta 1960, PP 111-13.) If we add to this the fact that in Tibetan there is no short a and that every a is long a it is not difficult to accept bha-ma as the Tibetan for bhrāma.

In Tibet itself change of r into l would not be unusual. When Ra-sa (place of goats) became the cathedral city the change of name was no problem. It was called Leh-sa (place of goats.)

It is relevant to cite here the suggestion of an Assamese scholar, Mr. Bishnu Rajba, that the name of the river Brahmaputra is derived from Mongolid Shlaim-bhur (making a gurgling sound). Vida Chatterji: Kirata-faca-sti Calcutta 1951, PP 47-48. It was not a one-way traffic; if Sanskrit r could change into Mongolid l, Mongolid l could change into Sanskrit r.)

IV

The present paper notices any similarity between the status (and role) of the Brahmana and that of the Lama and does not suggest any identity in the charismas sported by both. That question entails investigation into (1) the respective theories of salvation in Brahmanism (Hinduism) and Buddhism (Mahayana) and (2) the mechanics of living among predominantly agricultural and sedentary people as in the plains of India and among predominantly pastoral and nomadic peoples as in the highlands of Tibet. While this task will take considerable time to complete, it may be stated in conclusion here that a Brahmana is born with the status while a Lama is not born with such status.
JO ATISA IN SERLING AND THOLING

—S. R. CHATTERJI

In the latest edition (1934) of his *Histoire Ancienne d’États Hindous de l’Ouest et d’Extreme Orient* Professor G. Coedes writes that King Chudhamanivarmanadeva was reigning in Sriwijaya early in the 11th century A.D. It was in his reign that the Acharya Dharmakirti composed a commentary on the text *Abhisamayalankara*. In the sub-title of the Tibetan translation of this work, entitled *Dumchodalka* which is attributed to Atisa, it is stated that it was composed in the reign of Chudhamanivarmanadeva of Sriwijayapura at Malayapura (Malaya?),—now known as Jambi north of Palembang, the former capital Sriwijaya in Suvarnadiva (Sumatra). Professor Coedes quotes M. J. Nandou on this point.

Dharmakirti continued to reside in Suvarnadiva in the reign of the succeeding monarch Maresvijayatungavarmanadeva, for, according to the Tibetan Bu-ston, it was in the period 1011-1022 A.D. that Atisa was studying under Dharmakirti, the head of the Buddhist congregation in the Isle of Suvarnadiva in the reign of King Dharmakuta. This name Dharmapala does not appear among the royal names in Sriwijaya annals. Probably it was the title ‘Protector of the Law’ of Maravijaya. This Dharmapala, King of Suvarnadiva, was also (according to M. J. Nandou quoted by Coedes) a teacher of Atisa and of Kamarakita and was the author of several works relating to Bodhicaryavatara. As further evidence of Atisa’s stay in Suvarnadiva we find an early 11th century manuscript with miniatures in which the first miniature has the explanatory note—Diyasakra (Atisa) in Yavadvipa. Yavadvipa often means Sumatra as well as Java.

The text of the Tibetan Bu-ston, translated by Sast Chandra Das, gives in greater detail the career of Atisa (Diyasakra Srijana). Diyasakra (the future Atisa) born in the royal family of Guada, was ordained in the highest order of Bhiksu at the age of 31. At last he resolved to go to Acharya Dharmakirti, the High Priest of Suvarnadiva. These are a country filled with precious minerals called Suvarnadiva (Sumatra). Though Acharya Dharmakirti (who belonged to the royal family of that country and had been instructed in the Dharma at Vajrasana—i.e. Budhagaya) resided in Suvarnadiva, his name became known everywhere abroad. In the company of some merchants Diyasakra embarked for Suvarnadiva. The voyage was long extending over several months. At this time Suvarnadiva was the head-quarters of Buddhism in the

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East and Its High Priest was considered to be the greatest scholar of his age. Dipankara resided in Suvannadivipa for 12 years in order to master the pure teachings of the Buddha of which the key was possessed by Dhammakiri alone. He returned to India accompanied by some merchants in a vessel visiting Tambradivipa (Ceylon) on the way. After his return from Suvannadivipa he resided at Vajrasana (Buddhagaya) and acquired the fame of being the foremost Buddhist scholar of India. Hearing of this fame King Mahipala invited him to Vikaramasila. During his stay here Atisa (Dipankara was now known by this name) received three earnest invitations from King Ye-ses-od of Guge (in W. Tibet). At the third appeal, Atisa left Vikaramasila, in spite of the protests of the Pala King, in the company of the Tibetan monk Nag-tso. It is the account given by this monk which is the primary source of information about Atisa’s visit to Tibet.

Atisa passed through Nepal and reached the shore of Manasa Sarovara where he performed ‘tarpana’. Then he was escorted by Tibetan generals to Tholing, the monastery of the king of Western Tibet, where his majesty King Ye-ses-od was waiting for him. At Tholing (the Toting of Sven Hedin) Atisa preached the Mahayana doctrine to the people of Nah-ri (W. Tibet), “in short he revived the practice of the pure Mahayana doctrine by showing the right way to the Lamas of Tibet who had become Tantrik”. After a residence of 13 years in different parts of Tibet, Atisa died near Lhasa in 1053 A. D. He was the guru of Bronton, the founder of the first grand hierarchy of Tibet.

It may not be inappropriate in this context to relate how we found ourselves before the gates of the Tholing shrine on the evening of 14 August 1922. The intrepid mountaineer Professor Shyam Ram Kashyap of the Indian Educational Service had led a party of four lecturers (including myself) of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, across the Lipu Lekh pass to Manasa Sarovara and Kailasa. After finishing our circumambulation of Kailasa, in stead of going back the way we came, we travelled in a westerly direction starting from the source of the Sutlej near Rakshas Tal (the sister lake of Manas Sarovara). Passing through Gyaniima, a well known mart of W. Tibet, Daba, and Mangnang with its artistic wall paintings, we reached Tholing after a fortnight’s journey from the foot of Kailasa. The approach to this great monastery, situated in the deep gorge of the Sutlej, was through an intricate labyrinth of deep canyons. Both Sven Hedin and Tucci have described it as a night-marre landscape.

On 15 August (1922) we obtained permission to enter what Tucci
(the Italian Tibetologist) calls the White Temple at Tholing. Here is the entry in my diary (mine and my colleague S. Kashmiri Singh's) on that date: "In the porch there were four huge figures—two on each side. Our companion, a Naga sanyasi, called them the four 'Yugas' (Satya, Treta, Dvapara and Kali). Inside the room there were two gigantic deerpibles or doorkeepers. In the central room was something like an altar partitioned from the main room which contains a colossal image of the Buddha seated on a great lotus. The face had the sweet comeliness and repose of divine wisdom and the eyes seemed to be smiling with love. It certainly was the work of a great artist. On both sides of the Buddha were rows of life-size standing figures representing worshippers paying homage to the Lord Buddha. The lofty roof was supported by tall pillars of dragon trunks which must have been brought from a great distance as no large tree can grow in the cold desert of West Tibet. We then entered another room which had a 'murti' of a four-headed deity (Brahma) as our Naga sanyasi said; surrounded by figures of other gods. They were of clay but they showed artistic finish. This room had four other rooms on its four sides full of images. There was one perhaps of Sakyamuni with a vina in her hands. On the walls were paintings which reminded us of the Ajanta murals. Outside the main building there was a 'parikrama' (for going round the shrine) on the other side of which there were cells full of brass and clay images. In some cells we found old manuscripts scattered about carefully. In one cell we saw a great standing figure with a sun-flower in his hand (Surya?)

The final comment in this entry is: "Really, the main temple of Tholing would well repay the careful study of a learned orientalist". This wish of ours has been fulfilled by the great Italian savant Tucci who has visited this shrine since then and has written a valuable book on Tholing.

At that time (1922) we had no idea of the great importance of Tholing in Tibetan history. We heard at that time only the tradition among Hindu sanyasis that this main temple of Tholing was the Adi Badrinath: when Sankaracharya visited this shrine he thought that it was too difficult for Indian pilgrims to reach this place across the Himalayas. There, so he established the present temple of Badrinath on the Indian side of the Himalayas.

(23) After a stay of five days there we left Tholing on 20th August. On 26th August we reached the Mana Pus and after passing through
Himalayan scenery in its sublimest aspect we returned to India (north of Badrinath) on the same evening.

I shall just add that it was in 1925, while working on the early history of Southeast Asia and the spiritual conquests of Buddhist and Brahman sages that I found in Indian Pundits in the Land of Snow by Sarat Chandra Das the true significance of Tholing.
THE TAMANG LAMA: तामाङ लामा

As Gorkha and Nepali are considered to be synonymous terms, so are Tamang and Lama. The term Gorkha became famous since the Anglo-Gorkha war (1814-16). In order to pursue vigorously an expansionist policy and to perpetuate British hegemony on Asia, the British adopted a policy of recruiting the Gorkhas in the British Army, acknowledging the fighting qualities of the Gorkha.

It is presumed that the British recruitment policy was dictated by religious and communal considerations. As the Buddhists are the followers of the Lord Buddha, who had preached that "Non-violence is a great Dharma," the British considered the "psychosis" of Buddhist community and adopted a policy not to recruit the Tamang Buddhists in the British Army.

During the last century, the Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal was perpetually under-developed; the economy was in a tottering condition and the people were illiterate and naturally superstitious. The poverty of the people of Nepal was the opportunity for the British, who needed first class soldiers at lowest pay roll. Since Tamang community was an integral part of Gorkha population, they began to appear in the British Gorkha Army as Lamas, and not as Tamangs. The British recruiting officer was satisfied that the caste name Lama was not in the banned group. The recruit was satisfied that he did not disown his Lamaist faith.

A study reveals that the Tamang community occupies a unique position in the social structure in Nepal, Darjeeling District and SikKim. Tamangs are Buddhists by religion, yet they are equally at ease with some social customs of the Nepali Hindus including the observance of festivals like Dasai (Durga Puja) and Tihar (Bhai Tika). While performing the obscurities and religious ceremonies the Tamangs are guided by Buddhist Lamastic rites and rituals, they follow Nepali Hindu pattern in social customs including the marriage ceremony.

Tamang scholars might be able to tell us about the connotation of the word 'Tamang'. According to one school, Tamang is a corruption of the Tibetan word 'Ta-margar', i.e. many hives. This theory holds that groups of horsemen migrated from Tibet and settled down in Eastern Nepal and managed to take wives onto themselves. The offspring were the Tamangs. According to another school, the word 'Tamang' is the corrupt form of the Tibetan word Ta-marpo, meaning thereby a household looking after a herd of wild horses in the Himalayan
pasture. This Ta-marpo tribe crossed over the Himalayas and began to settle in Nepal. In the process of settlement, they married Gorkha women. The children born out of such marriages began to follow the religious practices of their fathers as well as the social customs of their mothers.

In Tamang sociological pattern, the Buddhist religious practices and Hindu social system co-existed and thrived which would explain the obvious paradox of Tamang society. The theory of mixed origin has been supported by Risley when he says, "The physical characteristics and the fact that their exogamous divisions bear Tibetan names seem to lend support to the opinion that they are descended from a Tibetan stock, modified more or less by admixture with Newar." The Tamang community has its own dialect and folk songs. The Damphu is a dance peculiar to Sunvars and Tamangs. The Tamang folk songs sung in harmony with the beating of Damphu (tambourine) are composed either in Tamang dialect or in Nepali language. In my primary school days I often heard my Tamang class friends singing:

'Bara Tamang Athara Jat
Goru ko Tauko Dhana ko Bhat,'

In simple language the song explains the Tamang tribe-cum-caste structure. The last line explains the food habit of Tamangs when it says that rice will go well with beef. Here again the Tamang scholars may throw light on Bara Tamang (twelve Tamangs) and Athara Jat (eighteen castes) in near future.

It is an interesting fact that Tamangs either write Lama or kindred names such as Moktan, Ghising, Bal, Yonjen etc. after their names. According to some the custom of using titles, such as Subha or Pradhan, or kindred names such as Moktan, originated in Darjeeling schools. The leading personalities of Tamang community in Sikkim write Lama after their names such as the late Mr. Dakman Lama, Mr. Setey Lama, Mr. N.D. Lama, Mr. Sanman Lama, Mr. Ramu Lama, Mr. Dilbir Lama, Mr. Karnaethian Lama and so on and so forth. Besides the Lamas of Sikkim's monasteries, some members of the Bhutia-Lepcha community write Lama after their names, as the title Lama carries prestige and status. In 1920s however the word Lehna as surname was not much current. Ralph Turner, the famous Indologist, does not enter Lama as a surname in his encyclopaedic work; A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language (London 1931).

C. D. Rai
Professor B. R. Chatterji with his characteristic modesty confines his article (opra pp. 23.6) to the two sites of which he has on-the-spot knowledge. A few observations, for the non-specialist reader of this Bulletin, may be made here.

(i) Confrontation and coalescence of Buddhism (Mahayana) and Brahmanism (Saila) in South-east Asia form an important chapter in the history of Indian religions. B. R. Chatterji himself collected much data. Vide his India and Java (Calcutta 1933) and Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia (Calcutta 1925). Mention may be made of N. R. Ray: Sankrit Buddhism in Burma (Calcutta 1938) and K. C. Majumdar: Inscriptions of Kanhuja (Calcutta 1953).

(v) Tholing/Thotling is variously spelt and explained in Tibetan sources. Waddell: The Buddhism of Tibet (Cambridge 1934) on page 283 and Wyllie: The geography of Tibet according to the ‘She-mdan-rin-rgyas-brjod’ (Rome 1952) on page 125 record such data. Chatterji records the Hindu tradition that the main temple of Tholing was the Adi Badranath.


(iv) Researches made after Srestha Chandrak Das have brought forth further information about Atisa as well as origins of Lama hierarchy. Vide Introduction to the reprint (Calcutta 1989) of Indian Pandita in the Land of Smo, Giuseppe Tucci covers Atisa in Indo-Tibetica (Rome 1932-41) and Tibetan Printed Scrolls (Rome 1949).

(v) A prized item in the non-Tibetan collection of the Nangyal Institute of Tibetology is a commentary on Prajñaparamita by Rathnakassant, the teacher of Atisa. This is a palm leaf manuscript in Newari script and paleographical grounds is dated to the eleventh century after Chrift. It is therefore nearly contemporaneous with Atisa (A 1054). It was obtained from a Śākyan monastery in October 1968.
In Vol I, No. 2 of this Bulletin we started a symposium on the Tantra with an article by Professor Nalinaksha Dutt. In Vol II, No. 1 we had an article from Lama Anagarika Govinda. In Vol II, No. 2 wrote Mr. Marco Pelle. One principal point discussed by all these eminent authorities related to the question of kinship between the Hindu and Buddhist Tantra. In his article Marco Pelle referred to the views of late Dr. Shashishibhushan Dasgupta. Extracts from Dasgupta's Obscure Religious Cults (Calcutta 1942) are quoted below. We express our thanks to Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay (61A Ranthnabem Akur Lane, Calcutta 12), publishers of this book, for their kind permission for the excerpts in extenso.

Dasgupta found that the different systems could be apprehended from three points. (i) One of the fundamental tenets of all the esoteric schools is to hold that the human body is the epitome of the universe; all truth (satya) is contained within the body. (ii) Both the Hindu and the Buddhist Tantras have another fundamental feature common to them—a theological principle of duality in non-duality. Both Tantras hold that ultimate reality has two aspects negative (nirvâna) and positive (parvâna), and (iii) The Hindu metaphysical principles of Siva-Sakti are as much manifested in the material world as the Buddhist metaphysical principles of Prajna-Upanyâsa. (See Obscure Religious Cults Introduction and An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, Calcutta University 1958, Introduction).

The excerpts from Obscure Religious Cults are given under heads (i), (ii) & (iii).

(i) "The principles of the Siva and Sakti or Upanya and Prajna are represented by man and woman, and it is, therefore, that when through the process of Sadhana man and woman can realise their pure nature as Siva and Sakti, or Upanya and Prajna, the supreme bliss arising out of the Union of the two becomes the highest state whereby one can realise the ultimate nature of the absolute reality."

(p. 121)

(ii) "....we have seen that the union of the Sakti with the Siva is what is meant by perfection in Tantric Yogs. Corresponding to this Siva-kundalini Sakti of the Hindu Tantras we find the conception..."
(ii) "These conceptions of Prajna and Upaya have important ontological and cosmological bearing on the four schools of Nepalese Buddhism. (The four schools are:— (i) Svetabhikata, (ii) Alavarta, (iii) Kar-mika and (iv) Yatnika. The Svetabhikata school holds that there is no immaterial ultimate truth in the form of the soul substance; matter is the primordial substance, from which the world proceeds. This matter as the ultimate substance has two modes which are called Pravrtti and Nivrtti. action and rest, dynamic and static, concrete and abstract.

Prajna and Pravrtti is the Upaya. We have seen that Prajna and Upaya are defined as the Adi Prajna and the Adi-Buddha, and the visible world is said to be created through their union, Buddha as the principle of active power first proceeds from Nivrtti or Adi-Prajna and then associates with her and from their union proceeds the actual visible world. The principle is symbolised as Prajna being first the mother and then the wife of Buddha. In some of the Hindu Tantras also we find that the goddess has been given more prominence than Lord, the former being conceived as the first principle In some places, it has been pointed out, the primordial lord is seen floating in water. What is this water? It is, according to some Tantras, Sakti, who is pervading the whole universe in the form of water. This belief influenced the Nepalese Buddhists also, who have often conceived of Adi-Prajna in the form of primordial water. (प्राति वन्यप्रायां। प्राति वन्य वन्यप्रायां।)

This Adi-Buddha or Adi-Prajna or Adi-devi are the original father and mother of the world. In the Svetambara-Pramana Prajna is described as the Sakti of Siva, as the mother of the three worlds, the void of the voids the mother of the Buddhas, the mother of all the gods .......
(iii)

(a) "The point to be emphasised here is that in the Buddhist Tattvas a tendency was manifest always to conceive the Supreme Lord in the image of Siva and the female counter-part of the Lord in the image of Sakti, and these Lord and Lady of the Buddhists were in still later times identified completely with the Siva and Sakti of the Hindus."

(p. 281)

(b) "This conception of the Supreme Lord and the consort, as expounded in later Buddhism, developed itself into the idea of the Adi-Buddha and Adi-Prajna in the Nipallem Buddhism. This Adi-Buddha or the primal Enlightened One is the self-created one (Svayambhu) of the Svayambhu parama. He is described as the Lord Supreme, who is worshipped by all the gods, Yakshas and Rakshas in the mountain of Gauri-zing in the country of Nepal. He is described as of the nature of ultimate substance (dharma-dhatu). He is often conceived as Lord Varocana with the other four Tathaogitas placed in the four quarters round him. Again, the Lord is often said to be Sakyamuni, who is called both Jagannatha as well as Dharmaraja. This Lord Supreme is called both Svayambhu (i.e. the self-originated one) and Simbhu (literally, the Lord of Welfare), which is the most common epithet applied to Lord Siva; the name Siva also implies that the deity is without itself. The Adi-Buddha, who is the Svayambhu and who is called the Dharmaraja is sometimes described as of the nature of the three jewels (tri-ratna).

(p. 282)

(c) "In the Svayambhu-parama Prajna is described as the Sakti of Siva, as the mother of three worlds, the void of voids—the mother of the Buddhists—the mother of all the gods."

(p. 341)

It is clear from the original sources used by Dauphal that Siva-Sakti and Prajna-upaya are intero-angeadic expressions and corresponding concepts.

EG

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Notes & Topics

RELICS OF MADHYAMA AND KASYAPAGOTRA

In the last issue (Vol. III, No. 2) of this Bulletin, Professor Nalini N. Dutt in his article entitled ‘Buddhism in Nepal’, referring to the two great Buddhist missionaries who preached in the Himalayan regions, wrote: “Relics of both of whom have been discovered in a niche-urn at Sanchi,” (P. 27).

Nearly a century ago Alexander Cunningham and a team of engineers found the relics of ten Arahats in four separate caskets contained within a big casket of white sandstone beneath a Stupa adjacent to the Stupa in which the relics of Sariputra and Maudgalyayana were found. The names of the ten Arahats inscribed on the caskets, included those of Madhyama and Kasyapagotra. While the Memoirs and Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India preserve the details of discovery and identification of the relics, the general reader will find in Valisinha: Buddhist Shrines in India (Calcutta 1948) a good account.

These relics were, however, later taken to the United Kingdom and kept in the Victoria & Albert Museum, South Kensington. The relics of Sariputra and Maudgalyayana were returned to India, a few years after India became independent and are now enshrined in Sanchi. The relics of Madhyama and Kasyapagotra were returned in 1958. The Government of India, under the advice of the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, presented these relics to this Institute in Sikkim.

The caskets containing these relics were kept back in the United Kingdom as mementos to the British discoverer. The Government of India, on short notice, had stored these in a Kashmir rose-wood casket. An enthusiast of Tibet now settled in India, Yabshi Phunkhang Gombo Tsering, the leading representative of the House of Dalai Lama XI, has presented to the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology a beautiful silver Stupa with carvings, gold mountings and gems for enshrinement of these relics.