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INTRODUCTORY

The Pratitya-Samapada-Hridaya-Karika, along with its comment, is one of the several treatises composed by Acarya Nagarjuna, the founder of the Madhyamaka school of Buddhism. His authorship of this short tract has been attested more than once by Chandrakirti (v. भावर्द्ध, pp. 428, 431) and Prajvalkaratma (v. Panjika, pp. 355, 350). Its composition in a catechetical form further confirms its antiquity. The text consists of originally 5 verses in Arya metre and two Anustubh verses in its Chinese and Tibetan versions. Of his several metrical compositions we have only two texts in Arya metre, viz. the present text and the क्रिकलाराजी.

The explanatory portion of this text is also ascribed upon Nagarjuna by the Chinese and Tibetan translators. This fact does not appear improbable when we consider the statement made by Chandrakirti: "Acarya Nagarjuna (Nagarjuna) while composing a short comment on the विकारालेखिका does not employ any prayoga, a sentence embodying any logical proposition" (क्रिकलाराजी, p. 251.6). This confirms the fact the author could be credited also with some prose compositions. Of such compositions the Jñataprasādā-vyakhya-Sutra (महानामकवार्तिकार सेत्रा) also preserved in its Chinese translation ranks the foremost (v. Prof. E. Lamotte's 'French Translation with copious annotations; the first two volumes published so far). We may next notice a small tract both in verse and prose, द्वारात्मकलिंग also preserved in Chinese translation (v. the present writer's rendering it into Sanskrit in the Vīra-bhairavī Amalā, Vol. XI) claiming him as its author; a claim which has fairly been justified by Chi-sang (v. my introductory Note, pp. vlii). The same Chinese authority attributes to Chong-mu the prose portion of the Madhyamaka Sutra. Thus the authorship of the commentary known as तन्त्रवा as attributed to Nga by the Tibetan authorities becomes uncertain.

Of his metrical compositions the most important is 1) the Madhyamaka Sutra; it has been re-editrionally edited by Prof. Lois de Vallee Pousin. 2) The Vīrakapradīya with its comment has been discovered and published by Rahul Saksitaiya (Bihar Research Society, 1950). 3) The Rāmisvali and 4) the Ākṣaraśāstra have been edited in part by Dr. G. Tucci. 5) The Yukti-samikāra, 6) Surya-nāti-pārāti and 7) Śulakṣeṇa.
are not available to us in their original Sanskrit. Nos. 5 and 7 are translated by Schaeffer and H. Wendel respectively. (v. my Bibliography in the Sal, supra). No. 6 is known only in quotation, V. Bhadana- 
khya, p. 24, a verse pleading for a fundamental tenet of the author, viz. अनात्मताः non—origination—theory. Two verses are cited from the text in Bodhicaryavat.

1. The ideas of "I" and "mine" are expressed by the Buddha for some purpose. Likewise skandha, dhyana and dhatus are all stated (p. 379).

2. What comes into being due to causes does not exist p. 400; the same in Madh. utti. p. 413.

3. One more line from Yukti is found in Math. utti. p. 9: What is produced on account of such and such causes originates not in its nature. This cited in full in the Madh. utti. p. 388.

To draw parallels to the ideas of Madh-Satra Candrakirti cites more frequently verses from the Patañjali (R. hereafter). Since they bear out true marks of Nāgārjuna's way of thinking we may acquaint ourselves with their gist on this occasion:

1. To the idea of the Sutra: Those who view things as existent and those who do so as non-existent, both of them do not perceive the quietude निर्बुधि of things (M. Sutra V, 8) R. has: the heterodox reaches the hell and the orthodox the heaven; but the man situated in Non-dualism नाम अवस्था reaches Release, Moksha, because of his realizing the truth निर्वाणम् v. M. Vr. p. 133.

2. The action and its agent are ridiculed in M. Sutra VIII, 2; R. does the same in 3 verses: The world resembles a mirage; it is an illusion to consider it existent or non-existent and a man of illusion gets not released. Something is postulated as a result of ignorance; latter, at a close scrutiny one cannot secure its existence; then how can there be its non-existence? (p. 188).

3. Non-dualism नाम अवस्था is possible only in Madhyamaka Systen (XV. II); k. confirms the same in 3 verses; Approach anyone of the Saṁkhyā, Vaisēka, Nigraṇtha, or the advocate of Purgala or Skarīdha, and see whether they say anything beyond the existence or non-existence; therefore understand that the Buddha's dispensation alone is too deep and goes beyond the existence or non-existence (p. 175).
4. The negation of soul intended even in the empirical plane सन्तुष्ट्याः in XVIII, 1, is echoed in R. 4 vv. One's own image is reflected in the mirror, but the image cannot be stated to be either the same with or different from the face; likewise the notion of ‘I’ arises on the basis of aggregates अनुभव, but it is not identical with the latter. The reflection of one's image does not arise in the absence of mirror; likewise the ‘I’ notion is not in the absence of the aggregate. Listening to this characteristic Dharma venerate Ananda obtained Dharma; Eyee, this fact he himself declared to his fellow monks now and then (p.144).

5. Candraśekhara says. In the wake of realizing the Soul-non-subs- tance is अनवरतम् non-substantiality non-substantiality of things pertaining to the soul अनवरतम् is also realized. The same is confirmed in R. 2 vv. The aggregate are born from the I-notion अनन्तर which is false in truth; one who thinks the soul as false, how could its spouse be true for him? In the wake of the aggregate being viewed as false the I-notion is extinguished; at the extinction of I-notion the aggregate arise no longer (p.146). They are cited again on page 438 to confirm the idea of suspicion or auspiciousness or false as it is based on the false background वनस्पति.

6. The fact that Buddha preached neither Soul nor non-Soul (XVIII, 4) is corroborated in R. 2 vv.: Neither soul nor non-soul is asserted is truth. The great size shrutis from us the two views caused by the soul and non-soul. He declared what is seen and what is heard are neither true nor false. If there is a thesis, then there will be an antithesis; so both are not admissible in fact (p.159).

7. Again 3 vv. from R. to show that the Buddha preached differently to different pupils. A grammarian would teach even the alphabet; likewise the Buddha preached his pupil (ब्रह्मभ) dharma according to their capacities. He preached to some the law in order to deter them from wrong deeds, to some a dichotomic law in order to increase merits, to some a deep non-dichotomic law which instigates the taut person, and to some the bond-factor embodied in kindness and compassion, नूतनत्व-सुकृतम् (p.159-60).

8. The object like the blue, etc. (विषाणु) are non-existent even in the empirical plane. The same is in R.; Ether is only a nominal because of its being devoid of colour, रंग In the absence of the great elements where is the colour, रंग? (p.411).
9. Voidness, शून्यता, being grasped as either an entity or a non-entity destroys the aspirer. So also says R.-When the preacher ill-conceives the voidness, as a result of this, the listener, the ignorant, becomes spoiled and falls downword in the अवैधि निर्य (p.496).

10. As to Nagarjuna's conception of Nirvana, R. says - When Nirvana is not a non-entity, how can it be an entity? What is Nirvana is as an end of both entity and non-entity (p.574).

Candrakirti has made only 4 citations from the Catustasa:

1. The world resembles an echo, and is neither identifies with nor different from its cause. You (Buddha) have comprehended what is beyond continuity and discontinuity. (p.115, Cat.u.l. 13).

2. Heretics consider the misery created either by self, other or both or causelss; but you have preached it as dependently originated (p.15, Cat.u.ii.19).

3. You have stated: In case a definition is different from the defined, the latter would be devoid of the former; in case they are identical, they would become non-entity (p.66-C.II.15).

4. Things that are produced from the causes are non-existent as the latter itself is a non-entity. Is it not plain then that they are similar to reflections? (p.453-C.II.4 Bolh.p.453).

The Catustasa is more favorite with Prajinakarami who refers to it more frequently on the following subjects:

1. Teaching of voidness-necessity is for removal of all wrong conceptions (प्रकृित pp.519-415=C.II.11).

2. Sarvastisme truth falls not within the cognizance of senses (p.365 = C.III.18).

3. Voidness is nothing but dependent origination (p.417 = C.II.20).

4. The action and its agent are (admissible) in the worldly talk; there is neither agent nor enjoyer in truth. Merit and demerits are dependently produced, and hence unborn (p.476 = C.II.4-9)
5. Buddha has no Samsara-idea (in himself) but has it towards the down-trodden due to compassion (p.408 = III.8).

6. Things are desireless, non-substantial, dependently originated and void. (p.409 = III.13).

7. Things are beginningless and endless; hence अविद्या calm from the outset (p.428 = III.7).

8. Dependent origination जग्गार्थ = जग्गार्थ = जग्गार्थ (p.428 = II.34, III.18).

9. वाद = प्रश्न = वाक्य = वाच्य; Buddha is because of realizing this (p.428 = III.39).

10. Origination is similar to magic. The world is caused by a constructive thought विकृत्त; hence no beginning and no end. Neither permanent thing transmigrates nor impermanent thing. So transmigration resembles a dream (p.531 = II.16-18).

11. The world is born, stays and perishes; all these are mere imaginations (p.573 = II.34).

12. The same as No.4 of M.Vrtti above stated (p.583 = II.4).

13. Things come into being neither as existing nor non-existent, and neither by themselves nor by others (p.587 = III.9).

14. Buddha is अविद्यानुत्तम hence no difference between Him and others (p.590 = III.40).

   There are some citations of unspecified source made under the heads of Acaryaपुगा अन्तर्गत resembling Nagarjuna's ideas:

1. Something being present some other thing is (conceived) to exist (as its relative) e.g. the idea of short and long (M.Vrtti, p.10).

2. Mirage appears like water; but it is not so in fact. Likewise five aggregates appear as the Soul; but they are not so in truth (M.Vrtti, p.347, 1 verses).

3. Release is (secured) because of voidness-vision अविद्यानुत्तम; for this purpose the contemplation of everything as void (Both, p.4,48).

9
4. The whole theory of causation (operates) in the empirical plane (Bodhi, p.475).

THE PRESENT TEXT

The ideas that are expounded in the above citations are all unique characteristics of Nagarjuna’s philosophy of thinking and they are quite in agreement with the ideas expressed in the short tract. Hence Nagarjuna’s authorship of this text cannot be doubted as it has been further attested by Candrakirti and Prajnakaramati. However, the two anuvrata verses at the end of the text as well as the comment do not appear to be of Nagarjuna’s origin, and are quite affirmative in their contents. The first verse affirms that to negate an absolute subtle entity (i.e. a nihilistic view) is to misapprehend the import of Dependent Origination—probably a Yogacara’s affirmation. I could not trace its original Sanskrit anywhere. The second instructs that the vision of things as they are अब्दाल्पूर्व-वर्तन leads to Release. It is Asvaghosa who propounded this idea as a part of his exposition of the Buddha’s teachings in his Saundarananda, XIII, 44, 51:

नालोकबन्धान: विनिर्जन विशेष नान्यं विज्ञान।
प्रत्ययं नुवनी नृत्य यात्रा क व यत॥
अनुभविनन्दन विनयमय हि करण॥
सत्यं विविधं ज्ञातं नृत्य विविधनं॥

The idea of these stanzas are made into one in the Ratnapuruśottama thus: नालोकबन्धान: विनिर्जन न निर्जन।
प्रत्ययं नुवनी नृत्य नृत्यस्य निविधनम॥ 1, 154, p. 76.

It is again cited in the Ācāryaśatasāstra p.32 with this difference नालोकबन्धान न निर्जन as though it is from the Math, Sutra. It is not, therefore, unlikely that the last two verses of the text were added by a later writer who was perhaps inclined towards the yogacara standpoint. The vision of अब्दाल्पूर्व as a factor of Release is also acceptable to Nagarjuna (v.r. cited above No.1) though its import may be different for him.

The purpose of this composition is, according to the introductory remark made at the outset of the comment, to expand in brief the twelve causal links preached by the Master to an intelligent disciple who approached Nagarjuna with a request to that effect. He asks:

How are the twelve links grouped? The author replies: They are grouped into three categories: 1) Defilement, 2) Action and 3) Suffering.
The first-category consists of the causal links Nos. 1, 8 and 9—ignorance, thirst and clinging respectively. The second is formed of Nos. 2 and 10—formation and becoming; the other links are included in the third category. From the first category arises second and from the latter the third arises. The disciple asks: Who is the over lord above all and what is His function towards them? The author replies: The Universe is an interplay of series of causes and effects and there is no overlord of any kind.

Question: Who is that travels from this world to the next one.

Reply: There does not exist even a subtle particle that travels from this world to the next one. Nevertheless the void things are produced from the void things. From the five causes, i.e. deliteration and action which are void; i.e. devoid of the soul and anything pertaining to the soul are produced seven results, i.e. suffering that are void, etc. The following examples are cited to make the point clear: Mouth-to-Mouth preaching लाल्पासा-lamp, seal, mirror, sound, sun-stone and seed, etc. It is argued that the if what is uttered by the teacher reaches the pupil, then the passage uttered by the teacher would be devoid of the latter. The passage uttered by the pupil does not come from any other source because the other source cannot be its cause. It could hardly be possible to determine whether the passage uttered by the pupil and the passage uttered by the teacher are identical or different. Likewise the rebirth-mind of the future life is produced on the basis of the death-moment mind and the former cannot be said to be either identical with or different from the latter.

Other examples: light is produced from the other light; reflection appears on the mirror from the face, an impression of the seal is brought out from the seal; the fire is kindled from the sun-stone; from the seed are produced sprout, fruit etc.; the sour fruit produces salvia in the mouth, and the sound produces an echo. All these effects are neither identical with nor different from their causes.

Likewise the wise should understand that there is continuity of five aggregates नित्या; nevertheless there is no transmigration, भावानुवाद. Though the five aggregates appear in continuity as a result of their mutual relationship, there does not exist even a subtle particle moving from this world to the next. This theory of अनात्म्य is common to all schools of Buddhism (v. my Introduction XII, if, to भावानुवाद-नित्या) with the exception, perhaps of Sammātīyas.

The author finally explains how one realises the ultimate release. He should not view pervertedly an impersonal thing as permanent, an unpleasant thing as pleasant and a soulless thing as soul-embodied one.
When he gets rid of such perverted views, he will have no more a desire for them. In the absence of desire no hate arises; in the absence of hate no action is undertaken; in the absence of action he does not cling to anything; in the absence of clinging he manifests no becoming and in the absence of becoming he does not suffer a rebirth. Thus a new fruit in the form of body and mind is stopped for ever; that is to be understood as the ultimate release. The wise should, therefore, shun all the wrong views: Eternalism, Nihilism and others.

This, though the treatise is very short, the author has well elucidated in it the creed of the Buddhist doctrine under two heads: 1) The universe is nothing but an interplay of causes and effects - a scientifically tenable approach; and there is no super-human presiding over the destiny of mankind which is, on the other hand, governed by its own law of action. 2) Release, moksha, is a freedom from ever-rotating wheel of life and death and it is perhaps something like merging of individuality into an impersonal and undivided whole. We should not miss here to take note of the author's eloquent exposition of Nirvana in its Sautrana.

The Substance of the utterance may be this: Life and death of elements are conditioned or activated that is the world, samsara. The same elements become un-conditioned or inactivated, i.e. brought to a dead stop अवस्थानम् that is preached as Nirvana. It may be clear now that this conception of Nirvana does not in the least touch the fringe of Nihilism.

The Arya verses of this text and its commentary upto 33rd verse are adopted from Dr. V.V. Gokhale's paper published in Studia Indoligica, 1955, pp.10-106. Luis de Vallee Poussin first translated into French the text विप्रिष्ठ in his Théories des Douze Causes. p. 122-74. An English translation of the whole text from its Chinese version has also been published by me in 1940.

The Tibetan texts that are published here are copied from Tanjur, Mdo, gl.2:260, 4 ff, and collated with the same texts in Mdo, thus, f. 166, ff, noting their important differences in a separate page.
प्रतीतिमुखाद्धुद्ध्वकारिका

गार्गावरान्त कहानी

होम गोधुमधोणे 
मुनिनेविहारः
सतीत्वमुखः
केलेकयमं रुतेवम्
सद्युतितिर्हि यथापन्नः

वादात्मकमः स्थः
कथा कर्महि विज्ञापाती च
थेशः सतं वर दुर्लभी निर्माणहि
होम तु भर्गः

हिमो भवति होम इत्येवभविनः
क्ष इत्येवभविनः 

हेघुकलाः

स्वाधीन संसारामर्यादा

tथमनामासतिरितिः

वाप्स्येवम् एव शून्यव तरः

प्रवहल धर्मभवः

स्वाधीनसंसारावबत्तिकालाकालीसः

स्वभाविनामासदस्यकम्बा

व उच्चोऽवः

प्रतीतिसंसारामर्यादाविविधाः

राक्ष्यागमितमार्यादाविविधाः

रामेव कृतीते मूले

विमूलये

प्रतीतिमुखाद्धुद्ध्वकारिका

अतिरेयगार्गावरान्त

रामायानं

13
प्रलोककुमारसुब्रमण्यायायम्

आयामाण्यामः

शुद्ध कष्टत शुचिप्रयासः धनेण तत्त्वं पराग्निहोरेदश्यक्ष्यक: शिवं आधारत्यं पार च [ पुलि ] साधयं तत्त्वंप्रायायायायमभायत्यं धर्मपञ्चात्रु—पञ्चनकु तत

हाद्या वेदंविभेदं मुक्तिपूर्वकः आसराण्यतः।

देशते प्रभृतिः देशते प्रभृतिः प्रभृतिः।

तस्य कृष्णं भट्टमाणी तस्य कृष्णरमणी भट्टमाणी।

ते भीतारमन्त्यर्मक: भीतारमन्त्यर्मक: भीतारमन्त्यर्मक: भीतारमन्त्यर्मक:।

सत सत य दोष दोष हाद्या। अद्वैतविवेचार अद्वैतविवेचार:।

स्थायुप्रजुपामाः उपर: कामाक्षतामाः ग्यायुमः।

ते मुनिविवेचार विवेचार: प्राध्यात्मिक: विवेचारयावरूपः।


हाद्याविभेदायस्तवः लोको हाद्याविभेदायस्तवः।

का हिंदु श्रीयायामृतः लोको हिंदु श्रीयायामृतः।

अयौर्य श्रीयाय तरुक्त्यायाय मिति वः श्रीयाय श्रीयाय।

महाविभेदायस्तवः।

पुष्पावियत: कृमि रूपान्तर रूपा शेषितः।

किं वर्म: किं दुःख: गृहे दुःख दुःख सम्बन्धितः।

आयामाण्यामः: रूप: विभेदः।

हाद्यामृतोनिवेद्याय [ कविं ] आशाविवेचार, आर्यी तुपाना, नवमुण्यायायः

इन्द्री स्वयं विभेदार्थायामः: विवेचारनामः।

किं कर्म: कर्म विभेदार्थायामः।

स्वत: स्वत: स्वत: स्वत: स्वत: स्वत: स्वत: स्वत:।

नहि ताहिः कर्मसंधीताहिः विभेदिताहिः।

सः सः कर्मान् कर्मान् कर्मान् कर्मान् कर्मान् कर्मान् कर्मान्।

गृह: कर्मान् कर्मान् कर्मान्।

कर्मान्यापं शास्त्रपीठाः [ पुलि ] निर्देशिताः से गृहः [ द्वितीयाः ] विभेदिताः: सः सः सः सः सः सः सः सः।

सधा सहस्त्राविसंवादम् पार्थम्।
वेन्द्रा आतिस्वरूपम्। न एकः द्विगुणोत्तरायितं निश्चलं निष्कृतिः।

विविधवर्गाया हेतु बनम्। ॥ २ ॥

अत ततो वेदात्मा चन्द्रं कन्तु केतुलता [सन] वैद्यानाथ: । [कुमुद] विश- बायमानोभिर एकः । ज्ञानमम अवस्ते शुद्धितमपरिमिति निष्कृतिः ॥ २ ॥।

पुनःस्वतः। कन्तुकामीकुशः शराम् [सन]। किमपुरुषस्य शरीरं कन्तनाथस्य समर्पितः। नामः।

सिद्धं भविष्यति केतुः,
कन्तुकामीकुशास्त्रं कन्तुकामीकुशास्त्रं।
द्वाराभविमाता सब
हुसङ्कल्पं। प्रेमसिद्धं।

उत्तरवर्तिनः
कन्तुकामी। वेन्द्रशिराय: कन्तुकामी कन्तुकामी।

पुनःस्वतः तु नामस्य परमायति भवयतः ॥ ३ ॥।

एकः कन्तुकामीकुशास्त्रं।[सन] वै [सन] बनमानान्तरत्नं। नेषु पुरुषस्योऽस्मि
लोकं एवं धर्मं रिहायति । हुसङ्कल्पं निन्दिताः। व्यायवाम नान्तरायताः । ग्या भव्यामुक्तस्य भव्यामुक्तं।
न वर्तमाणं अन्यं तयाः। [सन] वै [सन] निन्दिताः ज्ञातरम्। ॥ ३ ॥।

पुनःस्वतः। कन्तु परमेषतः। हुसङ्कल्पं । भव्य तत्र विनाय कृत्यं तस्य।

हेतुकामी विनाय कृत्यं
परमायति: कन्तुकामी। कन्तुकामी नातिस्वतः। कन्तुविप्रायितं (काम) रहस्यमे सबौभव्यत। ॥ ७ ॥।

पुनःस्वतः। कन्तुपरमेषतः। कन्तुपरमेषतः तस्योऽस्मि रहस्यमें न नातिस्वतः। कन्तु कामे ॥ १५ ॥।
मे 'उत्तरें प्रत्येकप्रकारुपिता०भागु।
प्रतिलक्ष-वित्ताचंद्रकिता ० न पापित। ० ४।
गाणेचमा: विकल्पक्रमे प्रथोत्तरि भागु विकल्पु।
भूल्लिवृत्तें दृष्टा भूल्लिवृत्तें विविधाने। ० ७।
आयोगयान्त्रिकता०कृता
प्रतिलक्ष-वित्ताचंद्रकिता—
व्याकरण समासः।
SKT. TEXT NOTES

1. Tibetan has literally: अवस्थितानामावय विद्यार्थीन—अवस्थितानामावय विद्यार्थीन—.
2. lit. गदायति ए (दि)
3. lit. =ववीको.
4. "—सस्तिको.
6. खण्डित्व = $\text{क्ष} \text{ण्डित्व}$, पुण्य = $\text{पुण्य}$, परि-उच्चकर्म = $\text{परि-उच्चकर्म}$
7. चार = $\text{चार}$, देवर = $\text{देवर}$, वास्तव = $\text{वास्तव}$
8. यथेष्ठ = $\text{यथेष्ठ}$, प्रमाणित्व = $\text{प्रमाणित्व}$, पदार्थ = $\text{पदार्थ}$?
10. स्रोत नाम गदावय विद्यार्थीन—cp. Sarat Chandra, Das Dc. p. 829:
11. वदुस्यित्वान्ति देवर विद्यार्थीन—devout of religion and intellect.
12. lit. अभिसिद्धान्त धर्मशास्त्रानि:
13. एद्राजून एद्राजून एद्राजून
14. यथायथाः = $\text{यथायथाः}$, श्रीयो = $\text{श्रीयो}$, वार्श = $\text{वार्श}$, चोय = $\text{चोय}$, आधारण = $\text{आधारण}$, श्री = $\text{श्री}$, असामान = $\text{असामान}$
15. केवल वाल्मीकिकाः
16. केवल कोम्पन्त = $\text{केवल कोम्पन्त}$ Popuar expression: विनोभ.
17. अर्थात् स्यूत्याः
18. See Introduction.
1. འཕགས་པར་བཤད་གཅིག་ལ་བཟང་པོ་ནི་ཐོན་པ་ལེན།
རྒྱ་འདྲ་གྱི་ཐོན་པ་ལེན་མེད།

2. མདོར་བཞི་བཟང་པོའི་དེར་བཟུང་།
རྟེན་པའི་དོན་གཅིག་སྐྱེས་ལེན།

3. འཕགས་པར་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཐོན་པ་ལེན།
རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཐོན་པ་ལེན་མེད།

4. དོན་དངོས་བཟང་པོའི་དེར་བཟུང་།
རྟེན་པའི་དོན་གཅིག་སྐྱེས་ལེན།

5. འཕགས་པར་བཤད་གཅིག་ལ་བཟང་པོ་ནི་ཐོན་པ་ལེན།
རྒྱ་འདྲ་གྱི་ཐོན་པ་ལེན་མེད།

6. འཕགས་པར་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཐོན་པ་ལེན།
རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཐོན་པ་ལེན་མེད།

7. འཕགས་པར་བཤད་བཟང་པོ་ལ་བཟང་པོ་ནི་ཐོན་པ་ལེན།
རྒྱ་འདྲ་གྱི་ཐོན་པ་ལེན་མེད།

8. འཕགས་པར་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཐོན་པ་ལེན།
རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཐོན་པ་ལེན་མེད།
FOOTNOTES


2. Tsa. ภวภวภวภว.

3. Tsa. ภวภว probably Supports a reading in Asvaghosa's verse ι. Introduction.
བོད་ཡིག་ལ་ཐེག་ཆེན་བསྡུ་བཤད་བཤད་ཐེག་ཆེན་བསྡུ་བཤད་བཤད་
་ཞེས་ཤིང་མངོན་ཞེས་ཤིང་མངོན་ཞེས་ཤིང་
བོད་ཡིག་ལ་ཐེག་ཆེན་བསྡུ་བཤད་བཤད་ཐེག་ཆེན་བསྡུ་བཤད་བཤད་
་ཞེས་ཤིང་མངོན་ཞེས་ཤིང་མངོན་ཞེས་ཤིང་

ཐོག་མེད་བོད་ཡིག་ལ་ཐེག་ཆེན་བསྡུ་བཤད་

གོང་མིང་བོད་ཡིག་ལ་ཐེག་ཆེན་

བོད་ཡིག་ལ་ཐེག་ཆེན་བསྡུ་བཤད་བཤད་ཐེག་ཆེན་བསྡུ་བཤད་བཤད་

ཀུན་བོད་ཐེག་ཆེན་བསྡུ་བཤད་བཤད་ཐེག་ཆེན་བསྡུ་བཤད་བཤད་

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བུད་པར་མཁྱེན་པའི་ལམ་འོག་ལས་བསུབས་ལ། ཡི་གཞག་མཐོང་འཐུག་པ་

ཆོས་ལ.Handbook of Tibetan Script}
ក្នុងការដំណើរការត្រូវបានបង្កើតជាផ្ទៃក្នុងក្បីស្ថិតិកម្មក្នុងការបង្កើតមេឃជាប្រជាជន។ ទំណាងអំពីប្រធានក្នុងការធ្វើការប្រជាជន។ ក្នុងការធ្វើការ៖

- ក្នុងការបង្កើតមេឃជាប្រជាជន
- ក្នុងការធ្វើការប្រជាជន

ព្រមទាំងក្នុងការបង្កើតមេឃជាប្រជាជនចេញពីការការដំណើរការ។

ក្នុងការធ្វើការនេះ ប្រធានក្នុងការបង្កើតមេឃជាប្រជាជន។

ព្រមទាំងក្នុងការបង្កើតមេឃជាប្រជាជន

- ក្នុងការបង្កើតមេឃជាប្រជាជន
- ក្នុងការធ្វើការប្រជាជន

ព្រមទាំងក្នុងការបង្កើតមេឃជាប្រជាជន

- ក្នុងការបង្កើតមេឃជាប្រជាជន
- ក្នុងការធ្វើការប្រជាជន

ព្រមទាំងក្នុងការបង្កើតមេឃជាប្រជាជន
FOOT-NOTES

1. Tangur, Mdo gi, No.91 fol. 216b–219a; Mdo, tsa, No. 15, fol. 166a–168b.

2. Tsa: ख्रिस्वान्नकृतम्

3. =pada-mola

4. Tsa. व

5. " adīś: श्यास्य

6. " उस्त

7. There is nothing in Sanskrit corresponding to this phrase.

8. Tsa. शैवं श्रीन्द्रिः वाश्रिय: ॥

9. " श्यास्य

10. " उस्त

11. " शास्त्र

11a. " श्यास्य " may be a better reading.

12. Xy. l. appears to read नव
AN ART BOOK FROM NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY

RGYAN-DRUG MCHOG-GNYIS (Six Ornaments and Two Excellent) reproduces ancient scrolls (1670 A.D.) depicting Buddha, Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dignaga, Dharmakirti, Gunaprabha, and Sakyaprabha; reproductions are as per originals today after 300 years of display and worship with no attempt at restoration or retouching. The exposition in English presents the iconographical niceties and the theme of the paintings, namely, the Mahayana philosophy; the treatment is designed to meet also the needs of the general reader with an interest in Trans-Himalayan art or Mahayana. A glossary in Sanskrit-Tibetan, a key to place names and a note on source material are appended. Illustrated with five colour plates and thirteen monochromes.

April 1961.

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THE SKYABS-MGON

—NIRMAL C. SINHA

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The incarnation of Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara is universally known as Dalai Lama.

The title Dalai Lama (tale bla-ma) is of Mongol origin meaning "vast as the ocean". The Manchu Emperor used this term; the Western envoys to the Manchu court got this usage from the Chinese while the Russians got this direct from the Mongols, Buriats and Kalmyks.

In Tibet (and Tibetan speaking countries) the Dalai Lama is variously called Gyalwa Rimpoche (rgyal-ba rim-po-che, that is, lha-srung or precious conqueror), Kunlu (kun-lu, that is, omnipresence), Gong-tsa (one on the highest Bhumi, that is, sovereign), Kyanggon Rimpoche (skyabs-mgon rim-po-che, that is, precious lord of refuge) or Kyanggon Bu’k (skyabs-mgon bsk-gor or inmost lord of refuge). The last, that is, Kyanggon appears to be the official designation or lawful title used in State-papers; other titles could be added in official correspondence etc.

British official report: about Tibet during the rule of Dalai Lama XIII speak of two titles, Kyanggon and Gyalwa Rimpche (1). Charles Bell (in enumerating the titles(2) gives priority to "The Precious Protector" (Kyanggon Rimpoche). The English text of the first Tibetan memorandum to the Simla Conference (10 October 1913) described the Dalai Lama as Precious Protector or Protector (3). In the famous petition (1913) to the Dalai Lama XIII praying for his long life Tibetans addressed him as Kyanggon(4). The present Dalai Lama, that is, Dalai Lama XIV uses the title Kyanggon with prefix Gongsa in the Tibetan text of the Constitution promulgated on 10 March 1943(5).

All dates are in Christian era.

Diacritical marks are not used. Passages in Sanskrit and Tibetan appended in the Notes are in respective scripts.

Pronunciation of Tibetan words as in Central dialect.
The terms Lama (bha-sa Skt. guru), Chang-chub-sampa
(kyang-chub-sampa-dpal Skt. bodhisattva), Chen-re-slik (gnyen-re-slig skt. avalokitesvara) and Kya-mong (skyabs-mgon Skt. not known) are discussed in this paper, the second in the series 'Prolegomena to Lamaist Polity'. As in the previous paper the bearing of doctrinal terms on secular life is studied.

II

"Previous to the Lama even the name of the Buddha did not exist" (6).

The spirit enshrined in this Tibetan adage was neither un-Buddhist nor un-Indian; though it might have been equally true of pre-Buddhist Tibetan norm (Bon: Shaman) in which the priest wielded considerable power.

In India the veneration for the preceptor/teacher/master is traceable to the Vedic age; in early Vedic times the word Acharya was more popular while later the word Guru; the word Sasta was also current before the Buddha.

The indispensability of teacher is admitted in the Upanishads. The etymological meaning of the term Upanishad is 'sitting down near', that is, sitting down near the teacher. There is an element of esoteric in the Upanishad as there is a process of dialectic therein. Both presume a teacher. This need is so obvious that there may be no need to use the word for teacher even. As in the most famous exhortation for "seeking the best teacher", the actual expression is "seeking the best". Katha 1, 3:14. Mundaka 1, 2:12 advises search for a Guru who is learned in the scriptures and has realized the Absolute. In Taittiriya, 1, 11:12 the pupil on graduation is enjoined to be one to whom the Acharya in the Deva. The concluding verse of Svetasvatara declares that the highest mystery of the Vedanta reveals to the high souled seeker who has the highest devotion for the Deva and for his Guru as for Deva(7). Katha and Taittiriya are admittedly pre-Buddhist. Mundaka is a post-Buddha work. The Svetasvatara, according to Nalinaksha Dutt, "is no doubt post-Buddhist and very likely formed the basis of the teachings of Alara Kaliman and Rudraka Ramaputra, the spiritual teachers of Siddhartha Gautama" (8).

Beihad-devata, a compendium of the deities and myths of the Rig Veda—composed acc. to Arthur MacKenzie after 500 B.C. but in style and diction a Vedic workmanship acc. to the same authority—uses both the terms Acharya and Guru and sometimes synonymously(9). Guru is

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however an omnibus word connoting any superior while Acharya, unlike repugnant to the context, is an intellectual superior like the teacher. It is not relevant to present here the first distinction or descriptive classifications of Smriti (like Manu) or Dharmasutra (like Apastamba or Gautama) (10). It is however necessary to notice the steady rise of the priest (Purohita; Brahmana) as a superior (Guru) from early Vedic times. The Purohita was the indispensable authority at the consecration of the king. Horizontal crystallization of society into Varna with Brahmana on the top set the protocol between the priest and the king. Even though the colourful picture of the sacred authority electing the temporal power as drawn by Jayaswal and Coomaraswamy cannot be so faithful to facts (11), the legend of Brahmana as the source of Kshatra was the relic of social consensus. While the Bhagavatyato description of the Brahmana as "the womb out of which the Kshatra issued" (13) was no doubt metaphorical, the Purohita of the Vedic consecration was the matrix for the Rajaguru in medieval Hindu Rasatra.

Be it for intellectual or spiritual objective the first stage in striving was to attach oneself to a teacher. It is significant that after renunciation Prince Siddhartha did not immediately make for a retreat in the mountains or forests; he sought teachers and began disciple of Alara Kalama and Udraksha Rasaputra successively. He no doubt rejected their doctrines (11) and through different disciplines and processes forged his own way to Enlightenment. As at the beginning of his quest the Buddha sought teachers so at its end he sought disciples and, before he began his missionary life, converted his. The Brahmana ascetics. "There was no Acharya equal to him" (14) and for nearly half a century he was "the Sasta of all mortals and gods" (15). Sasta like Guru is an omnibus word and would mean ruler (rasana karta/raja) and parent (pita) as well as a teacher versed in the Sattras. Sasta became the shtet of Buddha in chaste expression. Later, when the Guru (preceptor/teacher) was equated to the Buddha, Guru was a good synonym for Buddha.

In the beginning Bhagavata was the most popular form of addressing the Buddha; Sasta, that is, Guru had an intellectual or academic tone. With the growth of Tantra, grew the cult of spiritual preceptor and Sasta or Guru became a popular form of describing the Buddha; the original preceptor. It is not necessary for the present context to trace the beginnings of Tantra and digress into the several theories which profess to cancel each other. It is sufficient to note that in one form or other Tantra was known to the Indian Civilization (c. 1500-1500 B.C.) as also to the Vedic Civilization (c. 1500 B.C.). Tantra was thus in existence in the Buddha's time; it is not known in what form and to what degree the Buddha accepted it.
When Buddhism was split into two Vehicles (say in the first century after Christ), Mahayana had fully accepted Tantra. Nagarjuna, the discoverer of Prajnaparamita, furnished a new philosophy for Tantra; by the doctrine of Sunyata, the corpus of legends about Nagarjuna’s alchemy and magic cropped up later when the cult of Guru was in full swing. The second great figure, Asanga (c.350), was the founder of Yoga school in Buddhism. Curiously enough Tantra and Guru-cult characterized contemporary Brahmanical religion. There is positive epigraphic evidence on Sivite hagiology. The Mathura Inscription (c.380) speaks of adoration of Guru, lineage of Guru and even the gallery of Guru images.(16) The Devi Bhagavata—though its extant texts were composed much later—expresses the sentiments of the age of saint Asanga and scholar Amarakosha as if to corroborate the data from the Mathura Inscription. It says “The Guru is Brahma, the Guru is Vishnu and the Guru is Mahesvara. Salutation to the Guru who is the real Absolute”(17).

The period which witnessed the spread of Buddhism in Tibet (c.600-1100) was roughly the period when Tantra was the dominant cult in India. There was regular flow of the fresh developments from India into Tibet. In such process the quest for the right teacher was natural. Buddhist treatises on Tantra gave full sanction to such. Extracts may be made from three works of the eight century: Abhayinibbhi, Jnanasiddhi and Prajnaparamissimbya-siddhi.

“"In this world and other worlds there is none better than a Guru through whose kind offices the wise obtain so many perfections”.

"The Guru is Sugata, Buddha and Dharmakaya”.

"The Guru with requisite qualifications is nothing short of a ruler or a leader of the country"(18).

Buddhism in Tibet begins its victorious career with Padmasambhava (c.750-850) and significantly in Tibet he is known as Guru Rinpoche or Mahageuru. Padmasambhava and Santa-rakshita ordained the first ‘Lamas’. The Tibetan word Lama corresponded to the Sanskrit word Guru and as the term Guru was not to be indiscriminately applied so the term Lama has been through centuries used in respect of a few categories of monks and priests and even lay scholars.

Tibetan canonical literature based on Indian sources as well as the arts and treatises composed by Tibetan scholars and priests bear testimony to the paramount position of the Lama. The tract on the Awakening of Supreme Bliss (bde-bzhing-par-gnyug) says "‘The Lama is the Bodhika, the Lama is the Dharm and likewise the Lama is the Sangha”.
(10). To Ngaruna is attributed this formula: "Abandon offerings to all others and make your sole offerings to the Lama. When the Lama is pleased you gain the wisdom of the omniscient" (10). Milarepa (1040-1123) begins a song on old age and death thus: "I bow at the feet of the teacher, the Buddha of the three times" (21). An ancient Tibetan proverb affirms that without the auspices of the Lama even the blessings of the Buddha do not operate (22). Sakya Lama Drags-pa-gyal-mothan (1143-1216) enjoined that the first salutation should be to the feet of the Lama (13).

Tibetan liturgy and iconography fully reflect the paramount position of the Lama. In the temples and monasteries from the Himalayas to the Atlas, the image of the founder or early preceptor of the sect (Guuru Rimpoche, Jo Atta, Milarepa, Sakya Pandita or Tsong-khapa) is conspicuous. Even the most illiterate devotee knows that this practice does not suggest any slight for the Buddha because the Guru is nearer than the Buddha. Besides the more literate is conscious that there is no distinction between a Bodhisattva and a Buddha. The Yellow Sect (dge-legs-pa) portrayal of the Buddha-field with Tsong-khapa (1357-1419) in the centre and Siddhartha Gautama among the surrounding host of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas has sanctity in this sentiment. Tsong-khapa himself had enjoined (14):

whether for this life or the next
one must follow the noble friend (Lama).

Tsong-khapa’s disciples evinced ability to administer the temporal needs of those who sought refuge in the Lama. This role was in accord with the ideology of Phyang-chub-sems- dpah (Bodhisattva).

III

"A hero with Bodhi-chitta takes upon himself the burden of others" (15).

A Bodhisattva thus figures in Tibetan imagery.

It is neither possible nor necessary to attempt an adequate exposition of the doctrine of Bodhisattva within the limits of this enquiry into political theories and institutions. The stages in the history of the Bodhisattva concept—from the Bodhisattva (singular) of the Jataka to the Bodhisattva (collective) on the eve of Mahayana’s migration to Tibet—with its ever expanding contents and facets belong to the field of religion and philosophy (26). Facts precisely necessary for an understanding of Bodhisattva as an institution in the Sansara are culled here from the Indian context. Etymologically a Bodhisattva is an

33
Enlightenment-Being, as Gautama himself was in his numerous previous lives (Jataka aspiring for Bodhi). In Mahayana a Bodhisattva could be either celestial or terrestrial and in each category there could be many as in a way all the Bodhisattvas in different categories and grades were phantom or apparitional bodies (Nirmanakayas) of the Absolute (Paramatma or Bodhi).

The concept of Nirmanakaya, the Mahayana thinkers affirmed, was as old as Gautama Buddha and modern scholars do not reject this belief (17). Gopinath Kaviraj, savant and seer, traces the concept to a period anterior to Gautama Buddha; he notices the usage Nirmanachitta by the founder of Samkhya (i.e. Kapila who must have been a few generations earlier than Alara Kalama) and would find the beginnings of the doctrine of ‘magical self-multiplicative power of the Supreme’ in the Rig Veda (18).

The Sadiharmasa-pundraika (composed in the first century B.C. and elaborated in the third & fourth centuries A.C.), one of the nine basic books of Mahayana and ‘the crown jewel of all Sutras’, present (19) a glorious pageant of the Bodhisattvas: their might and majesty and their wisdom and compassion. If the book suffers from an ubiquity of Bodhisattvas it does not manipulate barriers between terrestrials and celestials. In fact the total effect of the pageant is to awaken faith in the terrestrial Bodhisattvas. The terrestrial Bodhisattva was immanent with the community of believers while the celestial was transcendent.

The Prajnaparamita (Transcendental Wisdom) in its earliest stage was a highly intellectual recipe for nihilism and quite beyond the grasp of the ordinary mind (20). In their endeavour to transform the doctrine for the highbrows and intellectuals into a religion for the masses, the tantric-thinkers (Acharayas) of Mahayana shifted the emphasis from Prajna (Wisdom) to Sraddha (Faith). Likewise the accent was shifted from the spiritual Conqueror (Jina) to the material Saviour (Bodhisattva). It was more desirable to awaken faith in a Bodhisattva (Manjari, Avalokitesvara or Samantabhadra) than to meditate on an ethereal/hypothetical Kula (Akhobhya, Aimitabha or Vairocana). And between the two Bodhisattvas (celestial and terrestrial) the one near at hand would be naturally more prized.

The Manushi Bodhisattva was in fact ‘the ideal Man of the Mahayana’ as Edward Conze describes him (21). He could be householder or recluse; he could be reborn as a wealthy man or king. Obviously as a Nirmanakaya he could take any shape because his duties and functions would determine the choice. For preaching the Dharma the Bodhisattva would be a recluse or monk (22). The Sangha would therefore be better
described as the Gana of Bodhisattvas; an usage traceable in the Saddharmapundarika(3).

The altruism of Bodhisattva found its classic exposition in Bodhisattvavatamsa of Sañcīdeva (5th century).—A Bodhisattva feels the joys and sorrows of others as his own; he loves and guards others as he loves and guards himself; he identifies with the poor and the lowly. A Bodhisattva’s resolve is of great use in the Samsara or material world (14).

The Bodhisattvabhumi ( Asanga: c. 350) enumerates the acts of common welfare expected of a Bodhisattva; these include supply of material needs of life and provision of refuge. The grant of refuge is further emphasized as one of the five constant duties of a Bodhisattva (15). Sañcīdeva’s Sādha-Samdhiśāsana quotes the Gandhāraśa Sama to say that the resolve of the Bodhisattva in the foundation of all material and moral good, the annihilator of all poverty and the refuge of all beings (16).

Thus for the ordinary man, with ordinary intelligence and ordinary resources, the Bodhisattva could be the patron saint for their material welfare as well. In Tibet “the ideal Man of the Mahayana” became the national ideal. Sañcīdeva, the joint founder of the first monastery (Samye), is immortalized under the epithet “Bodhisattva as scholar”. The kings propounding the Dharma were recognized as Bodhisattva as well as Nirmānakāya. The element of hero in a Bodhisattva was emphasized in translating the term from Sanskrit into Tibetan; the suffix ‘dāpa’ (i.e. ‘dāpa-po’ or hero) was added after ‘byang-chub-sems’ instead of a simple ‘pa’ as adjectival termination (17). One might be a great man otherwise but his popularity would be assured only if he was called a Byang-chub-sems-dāpa. A Guru (Lama) could be one par excellence if he was known to be a Bodhisattva (Byang-chub-sems-dāpa). Down to our times a popular heronifer for Byang-chub-sems-dāpa, in Central Tibet at least, is Slipau-la (Nirmānakāya). This has been so for the simple reason that a Slipau-la of a celestial or terrestrial being was by and large “the ideal Man of the Mahayana”, the Saviour for this world and/or the other world. The Lama as the custodian of the script, the organizer of schools, the master of occult and the adviser of the king could no doubt be the Bodhisattva for the entire community in times of distress. Besides the layman could come very near ‘the house of Lamas’ (ba-ling) as much because of the socio-economic climate of Tibet (18) as for the needs of firm propagation; there was no distance between the monks and common men as was in India or in a Therivada country to-day. Thus in times of distress refuge in the Bodhisattva-gana, the Bramaha-brang, was in the logic of history.

35
May Lokesvara protect you as he sits,
surrounded by his mass of rays,
on Mount Potalaka, which echoes
with the roar of its deep caves;
who thus is like the moor within the mass of waves
churned in the Sea of Milk by the mountain Mandara,
whirling with heavy roar
and unwavering because of its great speed

Jnanairimitra (19)

This verse composed in Bengal around 1050 could have been a
typical reflex of Tibetan mind in 1650 when the Great Fifth incarnation
of Avalokitesvara ( apiun-ras-gri-gri) “looked down from on high” the
soaring palace-temple on Marpo Ri (Red Hill) which he called Potala.

In the Mahayana pantheon as fully developed in India and followed
later in Tibet and Mongolia, also China and Japan, Avalokitesvara is the
protector and saviour of all living beings: the lord and sovereign of all
suffering world. Yet his origin is obscure; Har Daul and Edward Conze
find Mañjúśrī and Mithra elements in the conception (40). However the
basic Mahayan texts, the Śūdraśa-pundarīka, in the concluding chap-
ters, depict Avalokitesvara in no uncertain light. He is definitely a
prominent Bodhisattva though he has to share this prominence with
Mañjúśrī. A full chapter (XXIV) is devoted to Avalokitesvara and his
powers and capabilities. Faced with any mortal danger—fire or water,
monster or demon, fall from precipice or hit with thunderbolt,
host of armed enemies or swords of executioners, witchcraft or fell
disease—the afflicted on mere invocation will be protected by Avalokites-
vara. Positive boon like a child to chibwâs can like wise be obtained from
Avalokitesvara. He can infallibly eradicate all mundane sufferings (41).

His compassion is not a passive virtue or static quality; his is an
active personality, full of dynamism; he is "unwavering because of great
speed" to use the words of Jnanairimitra. To the afflicted mortals he
is the jewel of the Bodhisattvas; he is the Sangha (Bodhisattva-Guru)
Rune.

In the early Mahayana eight Bodhisattvas are prominent viz. Mañjúśrī,
Vajrapāni, Avalokitesvara, Kshitigarbha, Sarvaśravaravibhajñakāśita, Aka-
sagarbha, Maitreya and Sarantabhadra. These are ‘a group of equal rank.
Perhaps Mañjúśrī is regarded as primum inter pares. In the later Mahayana
the oligarchy is changed into an absolute monarchy. Avalokitesvara is

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first and the rest nowhere. He absorbs all the virtues, powers, functions and prerogatives of the other Bodhisattvas, because he is the Lord of Mercy. He occupies the supreme position in the Universe and reigns without rival". [Har Daya](43).

The grandeur of Avalokitesvara is depicted in Avalokitesvara-pundarika-sagara (abbb. Kanadaryuha): the detailed description of the basket of the qualities of Avalokitesvara. Its text composition dates considerably earlier than the fourth century while the complete extant text (44) perhaps belongs to the seventh century. Its scheme is the glorification of the compassionate and mighty redeemer Avalokitesvara and is punctuated with his many exploits of rescue. The historic value of the Kanadaryuha however lies in the exposition of the Six Mystic Syllables: OM MANI PADME HUM which Avalokitesvara the creator of the world donated to the world(44).

In Tibet (and other Lamasit countries) OM MANI PADME HUM symbolizes the Dharma and even the formula about the origin of all objects, VE DHARMA HEPU PRAJNAVA, takes a second place. In Tibetan legend Avalokitesvara in his compassion took the shape of a monkey and begot the Tibetan race. (i.e. mankind). The ubiquitous notice of the Six Mystic Syllables — on rocks and boulders, stupas and temples, prayer wheels and altars—is in the present writer’s observation, a thanksgiving for the precious gift of human life, an opportunity for working towards Buddhisthood. Besides the legend is a reminder to modern science that a millennium before Charles Darwin, the Tibetan intuition grappled with the doctrines of ‘natural selection’ and ‘survival of the fittest’.

As the begetter of the Tibetan race Sphan-ras-grigs was naturally thought of as its protecting deity. The first great king Srong-btsan-sgampo (542-649) was recognized as the Spul-sku (Nirmanakaya) of the Father of the People while his scholar-minister Thonsi Sambiha was found to be Hyan-dpal (Manjuri). Only two of the great king’s successors were found to be Spul-sku of the same. The incarnation of Sphan-ras-grigs, the topmost of ninety one Byang-chub-sen-dpal, could not be a routine affair and his mortal forms were few and far between. The tradition about Sphan-ras-grigs however grew from strength to strength.

In their adoration for the Founder and Protector, the Tibetans moved towards the summit of monotheism (and not mere heathenism with myths of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Dharma-palas etc) when they described Sphan-ras-grigs as the sole God of the Land of Snows(44). Indian reformer Atisa and his Tibetan disciple Hbron-sten (1043-1064) reckoned with this spirit and enumerated the four Mgdon-skyabs (Lor6 of
Refuge thus: Gautama Buddha, merciful avakiteswara, goddess Tara and guardian of faith Achala[46].

The three royal patrons of Dharma — Song-bstan-rgyud-po, Khri-strong- ]gle-]stan and Rab-pa-chen — were incarnations of Sway-thang-giigs and the next was Shbron-stan himself. The traditions, recorded in successive centuries, agree on these four names. The next name unani-
mously agreed in different traditions is that of Wa-chen Kungphu-ringpo (1097-1158). There was no attempt in any particular lineage (monas-
tical or mendicant) to have the incarnation to themselves[47]. The followers of Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419) made the bold bid and got approval of all Tibetans to fourteen successive Sprul-skus of the Sole God of Tibet: Dge-dun-grub (1391-1475) to Bstan-]han Rigs-]man-]sri (b. 1955).

V

"Lord, Thou art the most excellent Refuge to go for"

Dum-chos-palmo-dkar-po

When the hierarch of the Yellow Sect was accepted by people of all sects as the incarnation of the Sole God of Tibet, the hierarch’s title to the sole kingship or monastic sovereignty was a foregone conclu-
sion, particularly because the other sects did not accept the reforms introduced by Tsong-kha-pa and his two disciples. Loyalty to the Dalai Lama[48] was in expectation to the topmost Bodhisattva who could protect against sufferings this world and in gratitude to the father of the People; this would not demand surrender of doctrinal sentiments. The two great, Fifth and Thirteenth Dalai Lamas, far from supporting the Yellow Sect bigotry (which included suppression and forcible con-
version of Old Sect monasteries), tolerated the Old Sect teachings and even drew upon these teachings[49]. Thus for other sects the Sole God was above the Established Church. The Dalai Lama was the allien tie which held together the different sects and the dispersed areas. The pleiatides potentissim of the Dalai Lama rested on the popular obedience while the potente limitans of the Heavenly Kingdom (Dge-lus-pho-brang) originated in the Established Church[50].

Each of the roles BLA-MA, BYANG-CHUB-SEMS-DPAH and SPYAN-RAS-GZIGs had sanction for exercise of temporal authority and the three roles combined in the hierarch of Yellow Sect could render him the Rex in Western expression. But the monks of Ganden, Drepung and Sera had the genius to seek the raison d'être of political power in the fundamentals of the Dharma. They traced this back to the earliest teachings known and accepted over the entire Buddhist world in both Vehicles. They designated their hierarch as SKYAB-
MGGN. From the very beginning the grant of Skylabs (Skt. Sarasa) has been the right as well as the obligation of Mgon (Skt. Niguma). As the Tibetan rendering of the Sambhogakāya it is a devotee addressing the Buddha: "Mgon-po, Thou art the most excellent Skylabs" (42). The Buddha had offered, as the Sakya Lama (Chos-rgyal-lha-pa 11-7-1286) put it, "Skylabs to one who has no Mgon" (42). Through parables and prophecies the Buddha had promised appearance at the end of the world or in time of distress (41), not unlike that in the Bhagavadgītā (44)

When Righteousness Declines, O Bharata! When Wickedness Is strong, I rise, from age to age, and take Visible shape, and move a man with men, Succeeding the good, thwarting the evil back, And setting Virtue on her seat again.

(Edwin Arnold's translation in verse)

Such appearance (Nirmansakaya or sprul-skū) was never so badly needed as in times of anarchy.

The kingdom built by Srong-btsan-sgam-po (c. 641-650) came to an end with the assassination of the apostate Glang-darma (c. 842). A process of slow but steady disintegration set in. There was no central power and the rise and fall of numerous principalities did not make for peace and security for the people. The native chronicles are as confused as the events for three centuries and a half (c. 842-1250). Two facts stand out clearly. First, after a period of stagnation, the Dharma made a full resurgence, a manifestation, with Atisha's propagation (1047-1054). Second, both for their own protection as well as for that of their 'parish' the nobles of different sects began building monasteries; two sects, Kagyu and Sakya, did well. In grandeur and authority they soon superseded and replaced the castles of the pastoral and nomadic lords. People oppressed by the decadent monocrats or the ruling brighati came for refuge to their respective monasteries and the abbots did not disappoint them.

The rule of the Sakya Lamas or that of the Kagyu Lamas (and Phag-mo-gru-pa) needed no narration here (45). The Lama cults of the thirteenth century and following saved Tibet from Mongol anarchy while all countries and peoples from Serk (Valagrad) to Pambalik (Peking) had experienced these. Be it their mastery of occult or the impact of their Dharma on the eclectic Mongol mind, the savages had proved their statesmanship; the Bodhisattva as statesman became the the Rajaguru (Tsuri or Rabsha) of the most warlike dynasty on record in Asia and Europe. The Sword of Transcendental Knowledge—the Sakya Lamas were in the lineage of Manjusri—brought down the Sword of
naked power. The Adamantine Thunderbolts—the Kargyu Lamas were in the lineage of Vajradhara—calmed down the thunder from Altai-Kara-korum. The Lamas not only saved Tibet from invasions; they made Tibet a first-class power of the day.

The titles of these Lamas, who organized full refuge from internal disorder and external aggression, are of direct interest in the present discussion. A Lama ruler would jinpo-jato be Cho-rgyud (Dharmaraja) and was so in fact and fora. To the devotees in general a Lama ruler was Mgon-skabs (Lord of Refuge) in both temporal and spiritual sense. These Lamas themselves did not use the epithet Mgon-skabs or Skabs-mgon for reasons not clear today. In oral tradition down to our day the devotees are known to have called them so. In correspondence addressed to the Sakya hierarchy down to our day the title Skabs-mgon has been customary.(46).

Thus when the Yellow Sect rose into political ascendancy, from the Third Incarnation Ronzan Rgya-mtsho onwards, Skabs-mgon was in current usage. If the Great Fifth made official use of the title, it was only appropriate for Rgyan-ras-gzig: the Sole God and Protector of Tibet. The Dalai Lama was indeed the Skabs-mgon par excellence(57).
NOTES

0. It is necessary to mention several theories and controversies if only to affirm that these theories do not affect the historicity or sequence of the events as narrated in this paper.

The various dates for Saddharmapundarika (chs I-XX) are first century B.C., first century A.C., and second century A.C. The later chapters (XXI-XXVII) are dated fourth century to sixth century.

Karanayaka was composed between fourth and seventh centuries.

Nagarjuna’s dates range from 58 B.C. to 150 A.C. Asanga is dated between 350 and 450 A.C.; definitely after Nagarjuna as in Tibetan tradition also.

Thonmi Sambhota was not the first to introduce Indic script into Tibet. It is even suggested (Roy Andrew Miller) that Thonmi is a fictitious figure. (Fact remains that adaptation of Indic script was finalized in the seventh century and if Stong-tsan-gampo had a scholarly minister the latter was apotheosized as Manjusri).

No epigraphic or contemporary evidence is available so far to vouch for the usage Lama (bla-ma) in the seventh century and even in the eighth. In the beginning the word used was Kan-de, Nub-dpon, Rab-hyung or Mikhan-po. (The terminology does not affect the role and status of Guru).

The treatises Mani-bkah-bhram (attributed to seventh century) and Padma-bkah-chang (attributed to eighth century) were padded with later events, prophecies etc. till the seventeenth century. (This paper sticks to the position till 1650.)

Likewise bkah-gdams-pa-chos and bkah-gdams-hu-chos attributed to Atisa and his disciples were enlarged through centuries. (Narrative in this paper guards against anachronism.)

Giuseppe Tucci: Tibetan Painted Scrolls (Rome 1949) discusses the traditions of Tibetan literature,

1. Military Report on Tibet (Calcutta 1910) lists (p.115) the titles thus: Kyanggon Rimpoches, Gyalwa Rimpoches, Bok Lama and Kyanggon Bak. Who’s Who in Tibet (Calcutta 1938) lists (p.1) thus: Gyawa
Rimpoche, Kyangon Rimpoche or Khandu, My own impression is that during the Regency, when there was no Dalai Lama functioning, the title Gyalwa Rimpoche was in greater use. Living Athing Sonam Tsecho confirms this.

4. English translation of the petition and the Dalai Lama's reply will be found in Bell: op. cit pp 337-332.
5. སྒྲོལ་མོང་ལྡན་ལྡན། མི་ཐོབ་ཐོབ། རབ་ཐོབ།
6. ཕྱོགས་མཐོང་ཁྲིམ་པར་ཁྲིམ་པར། བཟང་པོ་གཞི་ཞེ་ཞེ་བཟང་པོ་གཞི་ཞེ་ཞེ།
7. ཅི་བང་བཤད་དང་བཤད་བདེ་མིན། བཤད་བདེ་མིན། བཤད་བདེ་མིན།

12. भाषा भर दोस्त आनन्दीकाेव तन्के तथा बस्थाव। तेन्दुऽ प्रसरलयुक्त परवर्ती विशेष देशा लाभार्थीनेत्र वर्णा सोनो च। ग्रंथिन भोज युगी पारिवर्त्तित हृदन्त। भाषामय अभिप्रय गद्याल उपस्मक सांस्कृतिक राजस्व से तथा शासकी भतार भगतर सरस्वतीस्वरूप हृदन्त।

13. For the disciples Guatama learned from Akura Kajama and Rudraka Rasagupta see Dutt: Early Monastic Buddhism, p.88. Radhakrishan sums up the situation thus: “He possibly learned from them the need for belief, good conduct, and the practice of meditation, though the content of their teaching seemed to him unsound”. The Dharmapada (London 1920), Introduction, p.7.
The inscription as read by Devdatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar is reproduced in *Epigraphic Index*, Vol.XXX.

Present study is about impact of Dharma on the temporal milieu. No asperion on the merits and needs of the institution (Guru) is meant. The most democratic religious movement in India (Sikh) accepted this institution in the preparatory stage. When Gandhi addressed Tagore as Gurus he was certainly not a left-handed complainant.


44
मूलभूत रूपम् कथयः साधस्याः सत्य हि।
प्राप्तसङ्ग्रहम् साधृः सत्य रद्दसः सत्यं।
यह अनुप्रयोगमा जन्तुप्रयोगम्।
को प्राप्तसङ्ग्रहम् जन्तुप्रयोगम्।
यह अनुप्रयोगमा जन्तुप्रयोगम्।
रद्दसः साधस्याः सत्य हि।
स गुणः जन्तुप्रयोगमा सत्य हि।
हृदयज्ञ अन्यायोऽमोऽमः सुगुणः सुकृतः।
रद्दसः साधस्याः सत्य हि।
सत्याध्यात्मम् पुरुषोत्तमार्थम्।

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FeastimgayatishagatidishahandJnansiddhiarereproducedinBenoytoshBhattacarya;TwoEpigraphsWork(GaekwadOrientalSeries).
For similarsentimentsinBrahmanicalTantra,JohnWoodroffe(Arthur
Avalon);PrinciplesofTantra(Madras1960),chsXII&XIVandIntroductiontoTantraSutras(Madras1956),pp65-67maybeseen.
For the sublime aspects of Guru see also Max Arthur Macauliffe: The
SikhReligion (Oxford1909).

19. 

20. 

[चर्चा]

[चर्चा]

22. पुस्तितैतुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु तुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु

[सूत्रस्तुताय तुल भिक्षु]

23. पुस्तितैतुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु तुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु

[कृष्णस्तुताय तुल भिक्षु]

24. पुस्तितैतुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु तुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु

[विष्णुस्तुताय तुल भिक्षु]

25. पुस्तितैतुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु तुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु याकनीतुल भिक्षु

[विष्णुस्तुताय तुल भिक्षु]


28. Gopinath Kaviraj: Aspects of Indian Thought (Burhawn University 1946), pp. 137-147. This subject is involved with another "parallel
development' in Brahmanism and Buddhism: Atrra and Tathagatagarbha. Considerations of space forbid any attempt to present the findings of Suzuki, Conez and Gokhale.

29. A standard English translation is by Kern in The Sacred Books of the East. Nalinaksha Dutt (and Mironov) edition of the text (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta) is followed in this paper.

30. In this paragraph I generally follow the analysis and chronology of Edward Conez: The Development of Prajnaparamita Thought in Buddhism and Culture (Suzuki Ninetieth Birthday Volume 1960) and The Prajnaparamita Literature (The Hague 1960). The accent on Manushi Bodhisattva is my own.


32. Saddharmapundarika, ch i, verses 13-43

33. Saddharmapundarika, ch IX, lines preceding verse 12; ch XIV, para two; ch XX, para three.

34. बोधिषतवाधिकारं संसारसीपि पारं महत्।

30. बोधिष्ठानिधारं, 1, 10

अनत्तात्राय नाम: सार्वभौम मात्राय।

पारंपूर्वैं च नौनून: रक्षस्य स्वरुपम एव च ॥

31. बोधिष्ठानिधारं, 1, 17

हृदाभिशेषमात्र इत्या परवर्तनप्रव भावाय।

भावायेऽव्र नानाव निषिद्धकन्यनेन आत्मः॥

बोधिष्ठानिधारं, 5, 140

जगद्यज्ञानवेदनं चैव 'ज्ञात्वसमुस्मितं

विश्वविश्वसाताऽत्तैं ज्ञाति:भावायं ॥

हुःपुरुत्नेन रक्षस्य सार्वभौमाः नारायणाः।

जगद्यज्ञानवेदनं उदाहरणमिदायम् ॥

बोधिष्ठानिधारं, 1, 35-10

35. अनत्तात्राय च दूसरात्राः क्षणानागमानवेदनानां नानावाक्याय।

अनेकं सत्तवं [इव-वित्तवं] अतित्वतित्वं तत्त्ववाक्यं।

36. तथायत्स्मृतस्मृतस्मृतस्मृताः साध्वित्वनां बोधिष्ठानिधारं देवराजाः


47
37. "The hero as Bodhisattva" would be the appropriate English form for Tibetan expression Byang-chub-sems-dpa'i. A Tibetan dissertation on Heroes and Hero-Worship would be on the hero par excellence: Bodhisattva.

38. This question of the Tibetan ecology and Mahayana is under detailed study elsewhere.


41. Saddharmapundarika ch XXIV particularly the verses at the end.

42. Pp. 45-46. Mahasvayapti lists 91 Bodhisattvas with 3-valokiteśvara as topmost. His numerous forms (including a set of 108 as in Nepal) and his two popular forms (4-handed as the Jewel of the Sangha and 11-headed as the Great Compassion) express the paramountcy of Avalokiteśvara. For these forms see Bhattacharyya: op.cit., Walter Clark: Two Lamaistic Pantheons (Harvard 1937/New York 1965) and Alice Getty: Guo of Northern Buddhism (Oxford 1938/Tokyo 1962).


45. अनुसरणमिवकेरियान

46. तदोऽस्यमार्गश्रवणमिवकेरियान

47. The different traditions recording the lineage of Spyan-ras-grags are found in *Bkah-giems-phu-chos, Lorge-za-chen-pshi-madred-rnam, Kong-rod gong bsam* etc. Giuseppe Tucci: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Vol I may be seen.

Sarat Chandra Das in *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (Calcutta 1931/1965) presents the current (1880-96) Gelugpa version of Atisha having inspired and Shrom-ston having founded the Groud Hierarchy (i.e. the lineage of the Dalai Lamas).

For a detailed exposition of the lineage of Spyan-ras-grag down to Dalai Lama VII as in a set of painted scrolls from Peking, see Ton Schmidt: *Survivors of Mankind* (Stockholm 1961).

48. 'Loyalty to the Dalai Lama' is the subject matter of an elaborate study shortly. It is not capable of presentation within the limits of this paper. Besides brevity is ruled out when ideas and institutions of one language (Tibetan) are expressed in another (English). For a satisfactory account of 'The Dalai Lama: His function, his associates and his birth' Marco Pallis had to resort to Sanskrit, Tibetan, Greek and Latin coinage in his *The Way and the Mountain* (London 1960).

It may be noted here that the Tibetan loyalty to the Dalai Lama is deeper - though different in quality - than loyalty to the national emblem in modern (Western) sense. It is not to be confused with the personality cult which a modern nation sports today.

49. This is little recognized by even the Tibetologists. Helmut Hoffmann in *The Religions of Tibet* (London 1961) is an exception; he makes clear reference to Dalai Lama V's deep interest in Old Sect teachings, pp. 177-4. I have it on the authority of several trustworthy monks and scholars in Central Tibet that Dalai Lama XIII, in spite of the
puritas Pha-hong-kha, was most deeply tolerant of Old Sect teachings. This is confirmed by Denzong Gyalum Kunzang Dechen Tshomo, a daughter of the ancient Ragsha House and a considerable scholar herself.

During my sojourn in Central Tibet twelve years ago I learned that the present Dalai Lama (XIV) and the present Karmapa Lama (XVI) had made such friendly relations which reduced the ancient tension between the Gelugpa and the Kargyupa. (The Karmapa lineage began in 1110 while the Gelugpa in 1391.)

50. There is a danger in using the terminology of Roman Law in connexion with a medieval Asian society as I have shown in Tibet: Considerations on Inner Asian History (Calcutta 1967), pp. 19-25. A few Latin expressions are used now with confidence in their suitability.

The Dalai Lama enjoyed absolute homage and allegiance, a multitude of powers which it would be sacrilege for a Tibetan to deny. The government called the Heavenly Kingdom had somewhat limited powers arising from (a) several instruments of executive working as checks and balances and (b) its fundamental weakness of being a Gelugpa orientated “Czecral Tibet” government. Loyalty to the Dalai Lama is distinct from loyalty to the Heavenly Kingdom may be illustrated from the Khampa attitude.

It is well known that the tribes of Khams were not law abiding. What is not so well known is that they were not loyal or submissive to the Heavenly Kingdom and its agents. While the Khampas had no compunction in robbing the London treasury and bureaucrats besides refusing to pay taxes, their anxiety to send offerings to the Dalai Lama or to restore robbed baggage found to be Dalai Lama’s has gone into legend.

The Chinese (Manchu and Republican) drive to the west and consequent expansion of Inner Tibet (Chinese Tibet) were possible because of the Heavenly Kingdom’s loose hold over Khams, where large blocs of Old Sect believers lived. Khampa nationalist reforms programmes involving both Old Sects and Gelug had early support from the Chinese; this made the Chinese Liberation of Khams easy. George Patterson: Tibet in Revolt (London 1946) gives some interesting details.

When the Khampas realized that the liberation would be completed with the end of their Dharma and Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, they did not wait for the word from the Heavenly Kingdom. The Khampa revolt (1950-51) was a typical Khampa affair. They crowned their movement with the escorting of the incarnation into safety (March 1950) and several in the escort party returned to light and die in typical Khampa fashion.

50
The Dalai Lama’s Flight is rightly prized as a remarkable feat of bravery and organization. The Khamjias did it with “tears, blood and sweat”. Their loyalty to the Dalai Lama was in inverse ratio to their submission to the Heen-only Khidka.

51. बलमा एकहों—“इ, महाराज, समय के उन्नति असिय, समय के उन्नति असिय, जीवन जीवन। इसे अड़ान, जीवन जीवन। इसे अड़ान, जीवन जीवन। इसे अड़ान, जीवन जीवन। इसे अड़ान, जीवन जीवन।

52. बलमा एकहों—“इ, महाराज, समय के उन्नति असिय, समय के उन्नति असिय, जीवन जीवन। इसे अड़ान, जीवन जीवन। इसे अड़ान, जीवन जीवन। इसे अड़ान, जीवन जीवन। इसे अड़ान, जीवन जीवन।

53. बलमा एकहों—“इ, महाराज, समय के उन्नति असिय, समय के उन्नति असिय, जीवन जीवन। इसे अड़ान, जीवन जीवन। इसे अड़ान, जीवन जीवन। इसे अड़ान, जीवन जीवन। इसे अड़ान, जीवन जीवन।

54. यह ऐसा है वर्षा कालिनिष्ठ भारत। निर्मलस्वात सबमें तनावसान मृदुस्वात। तास मिली।


57. The people of Inner Mongolia called the Dalai Lama Sakyabantu. Mchog perhaps to distinguish him from others (like Panchen or Sakyab) also called Sakyabantu.

51
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