Bulletin of Tibetology

NEW SERIES

1981 No. 1

5 FEBRUARY 1981
SIKKIM RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY
GANGTOK, SIKKIM (INDIA)
The Bulletin of Tibetology seeks to serve the specialists as well as the general reader with an interest in this field of study. The motif portraying the Stupa on the mountains suggests the dimensions of the field.

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GANGTOK, INDIA
Price per copy Rs. 10.00
For supply overseas (including air postage)
£ 1.50 (British Sterling)

PRINTED AT THE HIMALINDIA PRINTERS (P) LTD.,
GANGTOK, SIKKIM AND PUBLISHED BY THE
DIRECTOR, SIKKIM RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF
TIBETOLOGY, GANGTOK 737101, SIKKIM
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TI TIBETAN MEDICINE COMPARED WITH ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL WESTERN MEDICINE

By Marianne Winder

It is well known that Tibetan medicine has inherited many features from Indian Ayurvedic medicine (three humours, seven constituents, curing by contraries) and some from Chinese medicine (below and solid organs, pulse diagnosis). What is less known is how many parallels there are with ancient and mediaeval western medicine. The following points deserve attention:

a) humoral pathology
b) ether
c) plesma
d) diseases during seasons
e) seats of humours
f) hot and cold diseases
g) urinocopy
h) bloodletting
i) theory of generation
j) name of Galenos
k) anatomy illustrations

a) Humoral pathology

The three humours in Tibetan medicine are wind (phung), bile (mikchid) and phlegm (baekau). The term 'humour' renders Tibetan sespo, Sanskrit dasha. The Sanskrit word daka means 'fault'. But the three, wind, bile and phlegm, are necessary in the body. They are causes of diseases only when they are unbalanced, that is, when there is too much or too little of any of them com-
pared with the other two. The English word 'humour', therefore, probably expresses its meaning better. It is derived from the Latin humour, Greek khymos (English derivative chyme), which means 'fluid, moisture' as we know it in the English word humidity'. This meaning is exactly right in the case of the western four humours as taught in ancient and medieval times: blood, black bile, yellow bile and phlegm. It does not fit so well the Indian and Tibetan systems with their wind, bile and phlegm, because wind is not a fluid. But if we take 'humour' not in the literal sense of 'fluid' but rather in a metaphorical one for a substance permeating many parts of the body, a case can be made out for it. Indeed, in English the word 'humour' has also undergone a change in its meaning when, after meaning a body fluid it came to mean a temperament caused by the preponderance of that fluid and finally came to mean that sense of the comic which we call humour in modern English.

The term 'wind' for Tibetan rigung, Sanskrit vāra and prāna, may be preferable to 'air' because air is also an element in which case the Sanskrit term for rigung is vāyu. The Sanskrit word for 'element' is dhatu, Tibetan dbangwa. If 'air' is used readers may begin to confuse the five Tibetan elements earth, water, air, fire, ether, with the three humours.

In the west we find the same three humours in Plato's Timæus where wind is called pneuma, bile khole and phlegm phlegmos. 1)

Plato lived from 428 to 348 B.C. The collections of the greatest Ayurvedic writers Caraka and Sushruta are attested during the first centuries of the Christian era but probably go back to much older sources. The Vedas themselves contain allusions to some medicinal ideas. How is it that Plato has the same three humours as the Ayurveda and then Tibetan medicine, while the rest of Greek philosophy and medicine postulates four humours in which the fourth is blood while the Indians and Plato postulate wind? One explanation given is that Plato was a member of the Pythagorean school of thought. 2)

Now, Pythagoras who lived in the 6th century B.C. was assumed by none to have visited India at some time, where he could have learned about Ayurvedic medicine. 3)

(6)
Eduard Zeller in his *History of Greek Philosophy* mentions that Pythagoras was reported to have travelled far and wide and even to have visited the Brahmins but though it is quite possible the testimonies are too uncertain.

There is another possibility which might explain why the theory of the four humours was handed down to Plato and not to the other great Greek thinkers like Hippocrates (about 460-377 B.C.) and much later Galen (129-200 A.D.) who assumed four humours, namely blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm. And it is the four humour theory which was handed down to the European Middle Ages.

The explanation could lie in the fact that Plato travelled to Cyrene, the Greek colony in Libya, and to the Greek colony of Sicily and to Egypt and could have picked up ideas in all those places which differed from the views held on the Greek mainland and its surrounding islands. We know that under King Darius (reigned 521-485 B.C.) the Persian army had conquered part of India and part of Libya so that it is not impossible that Indian medical ideas were current in North Africa and on the opposite shore of Sicily. We read in Herodotus 5) who wrote his *Histories* between 450 and 410 B.C.: "All these people of Libya from Egypt to Lake Trionitis are nomads who live on meat and milk. Cow’s flesh they will not taste, for the same reason as the Egyptians, nor will they keep pigs. Even the women of Cyrene think it wrong to eat cows, because of Egyptian Isis, whose texts and feasts they observe religiously... Many Libyan nomads... take their children when they reach the age of four and burn the veils of their scalps, sometimes of their temples too, with a flame of greasy wool, so they may never thereafter be troubled by phlegm running down from their heads."

We see that both, Egypt and India avoided the eating of cows for religious reasons, and that the Libyans practiced ammoniation and believed that phlegm coming down from the head was the cause of disease. Though the latter was a general Greek belief, other medical ideas like that of ammoniation, may have persisted in North Africa and not percolated to Greece proper.

Plato learned other medical ideas from the Sicilian doctor Philistion of Lokris whom he met during his first Sicilian journey in 386 B.C., but in the fragments of Philistion come down to us, a three humour theory is not mentioned. 6), 7)
The Greek development towards the western medical assumption of four humours including blood was a gradual one. First, a watery fluid corresponding to phlegm coming down from the brain was made responsible by Timothetus of Metapont for most diseases. Then Herodotus postulated two humours: bile and phlegm. 8) Then Philolaus postulated the blood as a third cause of diseases. Though Plato followed Philolaus in his cosmological speculations in the Timaeus, he definitely deviated from him in the assumption of wind as the third humour and not blood. Finally Polybius, the son in-law of Hippocrates, the Father of Western Medicine, divided bile into black and yellow, so that the four humours, that is, blood, phlegm, black bile and yellow bile, were to correspond to the four elements fire, water, air and earth. 9)

In Indian 10) and Tibetan medicine the three humours are each subdivided into five kinds. This elaboration does not exist in western medicine.

b) Ether

In Plato's cosmology, like in the Indian and Tibetan one, there are five elements, the fifth being ether, Sanskrit akasa, Tibetan nam mchba. Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), his pupil, in his Meteorologica has ether, 'ether' as the fifth element.

c) Pneuma

The Greek word pneuma used by Aristotle for the fine substance endowed with generative power and with the stars is the same word Plato and Philolaus use for the humour 'wind', and other writers use for the wind in the weather sense. It is also used in Greek for 'breath' and for 'breath of life' and finally in the New Testament for the Holy Spirit. In Tibetan the word rlung is used for 'wind' as a humour. But in Tibetan embryology many different rlung are mentioned, quite apart from the four subdivisions as in the case of the other two humours.

One might attempt the following correlations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parabrahman</td>
<td>Tshang.pa</td>
<td>Tshanga.pu</td>
<td>Godhead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>Tshang.pa</td>
<td>Pneuma</td>
<td>Spirit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Ātma</em></th>
<th><em>bDag.nid</em></th>
<th><em>Theos,</em></th>
<th><em>Ego Sclf</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Puruṣa</em></td>
<td><em>sKye.bu</em></td>
<td><em>Psykhē</em></td>
<td><em>World Soul</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vayu</em></td>
<td><em>rl-ug</em></td>
<td><em>Aēr</em></td>
<td><em>Pneuma Air</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vāyu</em></td>
<td><em>rlun</em></td>
<td><em>Pneumā</em></td>
<td><em>Wind</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Prāṇa</em></td>
<td><em>dbUgs</em></td>
<td><em>Pneuma</em></td>
<td><em>Breath</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reason why blood can appear instead of pneuma as one of the humours seems to be explained by the doctrine of the Sānic philosophers that the blood is the physical substrate of the pneuma. 11)

The importance of the blood had been observed very early just as that of the breath. For when the breath stopped a patient died, and when he lost too much blood the same happened. Therefore blood came naturally to be connected with disease. 12)

### Diseases during seasons

The view that certain humours predominate during certain seasons can be found in Ayurveda, Tibetan medicine and Hippocrates. The usual approximate date for Hippocrates of Cos is 460–377 B.C. Though there is no doubt that he existed, the treaties ascribed to him were written by a number of authors, some of them centuries later. 11) The Tibetan chief medical work, the rGyud. bris or Four Treatises says: "Diseases of air (wind) accumulate during the spring, break out during the summer and subside during the autumn. Bile diseases accumulate in the summer, break out in the autumn and subside in the winter. Phlegm diseases accumulate in the winter, break out in the spring and subside in the summer." 14)

In the Hippocratic Corpus we find: "Phlegm increases in a man in winter. In spring too phlegm still remains strong in the body, while the blood increases. In summer blood is still strong, and bile rises in the body and extends until autumn. In autumn, blood becomes small in quantity, as autumn is opposed to its nature, while bile prevails in the body during the summer season and during autumn. But in summer phlegm is at its weakest. For the season is opposed to its nature. But in autumn blood becomes least in man. It is black bile which in autumn is greatest and strongest. When winter comes on, bile being chilled becomes small in quantity, and phlegm increases."
Seats of humours

In Tibetan medicine the chief seat of phlegm is the brain. According to the rGyud bshi, 15) ‘the brain produces mucus and is both a basic and an auxiliary cause of ignorance, mental darkness and gloom. Therefore sleepiness and slothiness are mostly felt in the head, ‘and again, principally’, the seat of air (wind) is below the abdomen, the seat of bile in the region between the heart and the abdomen, and the seat of phlegm in the area above the chest.

The head is regarded as the chief seat of phlegm also by Aristotle 15) who contrasts the cold of the brain with the heat of the heart, and ‘when the nutrient steam upwards through the blood vessels, its refuse portion is chilled by the influence of this region, and forms deflations of phlegm and serum. It is the brain again which is the cause of sleep’. 17)

Hot and cold diseases

In the Indo-Tibetan humoral system diseases are divided into hot and cold ones, and diseases are cured by a contrary remedy, that is, hot diseases by cold remedies and vice versa. For instance, Vagbata says in his Ashtanga Hridaya (18) According to the prevalence of the qualities ‘hot’ and ‘cold’, the power in it (in a substance) is taught to be twofold, namely, ‘heating or cooling’. While there is an occasional mention of this kind in Sanskrit medical works, the division of diseases and remedies into hot and cold has become a cornerstone of Tibetan medicine, beginning with the rGyud bshi. Vagbata’s Ashtanga Hridaya was written in Sanskrit in the 7th century and translated into Tibetan in the 11th. According to Tibetan tradition, the rGyud bshi is an 8th century translation of a Sanskrit work going back to the 4th century A.D. According to F. Meyer, 19) it is more likely to be an indigenous Tibetan work because of the passages on diagnosis by means of the pulse and on moli-bation which he regards as Chinese features. Indeed, we know that King Songpro marries a Chinese princess who, with her books, brought medical works to Tibet so that Chinese medical lore may have been woven into an indigenous rGyud bshi, in all other respects indebted to knowledge drawn from Sanskrit works or Ayurvedic teachers. Be that as it may, in one respect the rGyud bshi differs from ancient Sanskrit
and Chinese medical works, and that is the great emphasis put on the difference between hot and cold diseases. Later on, perhaps during the Middle Ages or in modern times, this differentiation may have reached India and South East Asia because it plays an important role in present-day Ayurvedic and in the Burmese and Thai indigenous system of medicine today.

In western medicine hot and cold diseases are mentioned in Galen. 20) However, they are always dealt with together with moist and dry diseases and thus simply divided according to the four Aristotelian qualities. But during the Middle Ages Galenic medicine was developed into an elaborate system of four degrees of cold in diseases which had to be matched with the right one out of four degrees of heat in herbal, mineral and animal remedies. Writers on these ideas were, for instance, Raymondus Lulius (1234-1315) and Arnulphus of Villanova (1225-1285). 21)

a) Urinology

Diagnosis by means of investigation of the urine was practised east and west wherever physiology was based on the system of humoral pathology because the urine was often regarded as the exact outward reflection of the humoral situation within the body 22)

b) Bloodletting

Similarly, bloodletting seems to have been a universal ancient practice. This is the more remarkable as blood was not regarded as a humour in India.

In fact, in Indian and Tibetan medicine the importance of the blood was derived from the idea that the mother’s menstrual blood together with the father’s semen and the right karma had the generative power to produce a new human or animal being. 23) In the same way, Aristotle regarded the blood as born in the human body together with pneuma, the physical substance of finest corporeality treated above under the heading c). The pneuma is the microcosm of the human body, according to this view, corresponds to the ether in the macrocosm, the universe. The idea that man is a small reflection of the universe, a microcosm, repeating the virtues of the macrocosm, is a very old one and occurs in most ancient civilisations. According to this the body fluids running through

(11)
veins and channels can be compared to rivers, the digestive fire which transforms the food in the stomach to the heat of the sun, the bones to the wood of the trees, and so forth. Either, according to Aristotle, as the fifth element, is quite different from the other four elements, and the pneuma in the body, which corresponds to the ether in the universe, is different from the other constituents of the body because it is endowed with generative power. 24)

Because blood was born together with pneuma it was so important. And because it was so important, any bad blood or superfluity of it had to be removed by bleeding. The Indians used leeches, just as was done in the west throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages and in some places right into modern times. The Tibetans were and are more civilised in using a scalpel or a small knife.

1) Theory of generation

There are several east-western parables in the theory of generation. In Indo-Tibetan medicine the following sequence is given: 'There are seven principal constituents which help to sustain life: 1. Saliva, 2. blood, 3. bone, 4. marrow, 5. flesh, 6. fat, 7. sperm. The formation of sperm takes about seven days: on the first day after digestion (use of saliva), the egestment from food forms blood; on the second day blood becomes flesh; on the third day flesh becomes fat; on the fourth day fat becomes bone; on the fifth day bone forms marrow, and on the sixth day marrow forms sperm.' 25)

In Plato's Timaeus we read: 'The natural order is that the flesh and sinews should be made of blood, ... and the glutinous and rich matter which comes away from the sinews and the flesh not only glues the flesh to the bones, but nourishes and imparts growth to the bone which surrounds the marrow, and the result is a part, consisting of the purest and smoothest and oiliest sort of triangles, which filters through the solid texture of the bones, from which it drops like dew and waters the marrow.' 26) Here the flesh, instead of taking the 5th place, comes between the blood and the bone, yet the rest agrees in a remarkable way.

In the Indo-Tibetan embryology the foetus is described as it progresses week by week. 'First week: through the drog-dang'
(that is, breath of life, pneuma) of the father's semen and the *kun.gchi.rnam.shes* (consciousness) in the mother's blood every particle is thoroughly mixed like milk when churned into curds.' (27) Aristotle says: 'What the male contributes to generation is the form and the efficient cause while the female contributes the material. In fact, as in the conglomeration of milk, the milk being the material, the milk juice or rennet is that which contains the curdling principle, so sets the secretion of the male, being divided into parts in the female... each part should correspond to the material being neither too little to concert it and fix it in form, nor too much so as to dry it up.' (29)

This idea was repeated during the Middle Ages by the Abbacus Stiegel von Blingen (1099-1179) (29) and by Michael Scotus (1175-1235) (30).

These various agreements between Indo-Tibetan medicine and Aristotle are too specific and striking to be accidental, especially as they cannot be based on usual independent observation. If the *Susruta-samhitā* and the *Charaka-samhitā* had drawn on Aristotle, it means that the relevant passages cannot date back to earlier than the 4th century B.C. As they are composite works whose beginnings may reach far back into the distant past but which were continually added to, this is no impossible. On the other hand, Aristotle was the tutor of the young Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.) whose subsequent campaign took him right into India. We may give more credence to Piny in his *Natural History* 31) than Alexander von Humboldt did in his *Reisen 32). Piny the Elder* (21-79 A.D.) says: 'King Alexander the Great being fired with a desire to know the natures of animals and having delegated the pursuit of this study to Aristotle as a man of supreme eminence in every branch of science, orders were given to some thousands of persons throughout the whole of Asia and Greece, all those who made their living by hunting, fowling, rod fishing and those who were in the charge of warrens, herds, apriaries, fishponds and apriaries, to obey his instructions, so that he might not fail to be informed about any creature born, anywhere. His enquiries addressed to those persons resulted in the composition of his famous works on zoology, in nearly fifty volumes'. Humboldt asserted that hardly any information about India, except a passage on elephants, is extant in Aristotle's work and that, therefore, Piny's statement must be wrong. But it is
known that Alexander corresponded with his former tutor throughout his campaigns and, considering that much of Aristotle’s work has been lost, the remaining passages agreeing with Indian ideas could well be used as a proof that Pliny’s account of this subject is true.

In the chapter on embryology of the *Shad-rgyun* (32a) the following passage can be found: ‘The signs that most probably a boy is going to be born are that the baby comes on the right side of the belly facing the mother’s backbone, that the right side of the belly is high, and that the milk starts coming in the right breast. For the prognosis of a girl, all this applies to the left side, and when born it faces the front.’ Galen of Pergamon, the Greco-Roman writer on medicine, showed 32b that boys were more likely to come into being on the right-hand, better side of the womb than girls because it is warmer than the left-hand one as the result of being near the liver and the special pathways of the vessels there. ‘Warmth’ was associated with ‘life’, ‘force’ ‘soul’ and higher value. 32c)

Five hundred years before Galen, Aristotle already said the following: ‘It is said by some, as by Anaxagoras, that this antithesis (between male and female) exists from the beginning in the germs or seeds: the male is from the right, the female from the left testis, and so also. the male embryo is in the right of the uterus, the female in the left. 33d)

i. Names of Galenos : had kea

There occurs in the history of Tibetan medicine a certain Doctor Galenos, court physician to King Strong.btsan sgam.po in the 7th century, who came from Persia. What was his connection with the great Galen (129-200 A.D.) who was to dominate the history of Western medicine for a thousand years? Either the Persian doctor assumed the pen-name Galenos, 33) or he had translated Galen, from the Greek, probably into Syriac because translations into Persian were not made at the time and the time of the great translations of the Galen’s work into Arabic had not yet come. If any translations of medical texts mentioned for that period in Tibetan histories were still extant they would be of vital interest to Western as well as Eastern medical history because very

(14)
little has survived of the pre-Islamic period of that part part of
the world.

The Tibetan word for 'phlegm' already occurring in the
rgyuâ'shi, is bad.kan, a word which does not look Tibetan at
all. The Arabic word for 'phlegm' is bâdgham which is obviously
derived from Greek phlegma. It looks as if Tibetan bad.kan, Mongolian bûdghan, was derived from the Arabic. The difficulty
here is that the first Arabic works on medicine were translated
from the Greek in the 9th century, that is, the works of Galen
and of Pauilo of Aegina which were translated by Hunaïn Ibn
Ishâk.

Though the Tibetan word is now pronounced peken it is
likely that it was pronounced bâdghan in the past in which case it
could have been derived from the Arabic because m and n sound
very similar, and (L) can easily turn into d. One need only think of
the Greek names Odyâma becoming Latin Ódysseus, or of the Latin
odor 'odour' being related to Latin olerâ 'to smell' from which
comes Latin oleum, English oil.

If the rgyuâ'shi was translated from the Sanskrit or composed
in 750 A.D. the question is where the word bad.kan came from.
The Persians use the Arabs loan word bûdgham. But they could
not have done so before the Arabs had acquired it from the
Greek. The Mongolian translations of medical works come into
the picture only much later. Thus the etymology of Tibetan
bad.kan presents a great riddle and may be vital in the dating of
the rgyuâ'shi.

k) Anatomy illustrations

Another subject for comparison are the anatomical illustrations.
There exists a series from the Medical College of LChags.porâ
near Lhasa of which a copy found its way to the Young ho.Kung
Temple at Peking. Some of the figures are shown in a squatting
position. 34) This is the position which also appears on a set of
Persian anatomical drawings the extant copies of which probably
date back to the 17th or 18th century but may go back to much
older prototypes. A similar set has been found on 13th century

(15)
European manuscripts. According to Karl Sudhoff (3) the Persian and the European examples may go back to a lost prototype in Alexandria during the Hellenistic period between 300 B.C. and 300 A.D. It is then thinkable the Persian illustrations were imitated in India and reached Tibet in this way. But though there are many fine Indian miniatures in existence, no example of an Indian anatomical illustration has been found unless the yoga diagrams showing macrocosm and microcosm were counted as such. The Tibetan illustrations the date of which is unknown may also go back directly to Persian models.

There is also a Tibetan standard picture of surgical instruments. Some of them are similar to those appearing in the Arabic work of Abulcasis (36) (died c. 1013 A.D.) who lived in Cordoba in Spain. Manuscripts of this work are widely scattered and a beautiful one exists in Patna in India. Transmission certainly could have taken place one way or the other. But until more dates and data are available no conjecture can be made as to in which direction.

Modern application

Until now the parallels have been set down, taking them at their face value. But should this be done, for instance, with the three humour theory? The Indian three humours had early on been associated with the three gunas or chief qualities: Sanskrit sattva (goodness) correlated to wind, Sanskrit rajas (energy) to bile, and Sanskrit tamas (inertia) to phlegm. The humours, in their turn, were brought into connection with the Buddhist three fires: an excess of greed will lead to a wind disease, an excess of hatred to a bile disease, and an excess of spiritual dullness to a phlegm disease. Conversely, an excess of phlegm will make you slow and dull, an excess of bile irritable and irascible, and an excess of wind lustful and greedy. A similar connection of the humours with human temperaments was made in the west: the choleric, angry temperament was conditioned by yellow, hot bile, the melancholic, sad temperament by black, cold bile, the sanguine, optimistic temperament by blood, and the lethargic, phlegmatic temperament by phlegm.

However, in Tibetan medicine the three humours seem to have, in a way, swallowed up the idea of the three gunas as it exists in Hinduism, so that wind, bile and phlegm mean far more
universal quantities than just these substances in the body. They refer to constitutional types the way the temperaments do in the west. In Tibetan medicine, all diseases are divided into hot and cold, and these again subdivided into wind, bile and phlegm diseases of which there is a total of 404. Here the humours have been far more closely systematised than had ever happened in the west. This scheme has survived in Tibetan medicine to the present day, and if it is to be used effectively it has to be reinterpreted in the light of modern knowledge.

Studying the history of Tibetan medicine and adapting it to modern use are two different tasks. For the first we have to study and translate the texts of which only a minimal part has been translated into English, French or German until now. For the second task we have to investigate whether the ideas behind certain practices are valid today or whether the practices can be defocused on new, modern grounds or can be usefully transformed. This investigation can, however, only take place effectively when we have become acquainted with the texts.

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1) There is a third class of disease which may be conceived of as arising in three ways, for they are produced sometimes by wind and sometimes by phlegm and sometimes by bile, Plato, Timaeus 84c, Collected dialogues edited by Edith Hamilton and Huntington Carson, Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 1204-5. Translatica of Timaeus by Benjamin Jowett.

2) ‘Because, as I think you yourself are aware, the Pythagoreans have a theory of the soul which is roughly like this’. Plato, Phaedo 86b, ibid., p. 70, translation by Hugh Tredennick. These words have been put into the mouth of Simmias but Socrates whose point of view represents that of Plato admits the Pythagorean theory that the soul wears out a number of bodies (Phaedo 87d). From other passages, too, it has been conjectured that Plato was a Pythagorean.

3) Jean Filizot, The classical doctrine of Indian medicine, its origins and Greek parallels, Delhi, Manohar, Manohar, (17)
Park, 1900, pp. 26 fl. has been struck on finding in the *Timaeus* — quite aberrant in comparison with Hippocratic
medicine, the classical teaching of Ayurveda, whereby diseases
are provoked by the wind, bile and phlegm. But he believed
that he could refer this teaching back to the *Veda* and
thought that Plato had received it from the Pythagorean
tradition, Pythagoras being reported to have searched for a
medical philosophy in India. It is impossible to accept the
idea that the doctrine in question goes back, in its complete
form, up to the *Veda,* but it is certain that its analogy with the thesis of the *Timaeus* is remarkable.’

4) ‘Selbst zu den Brahmanen soll er gekommen sein ... Die Sache
wäre an sich wohl denkbar, aber die Zeugen sind zu
unsicher’. (he is believed to have reached even the
Brahmins ... The idea itself is quite conceivable but the
testimonies are not convincing enough). Eduard Zeller,
*Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*,
See Clemens of Alexandria (β. 300 A, D.), *Stromata*
§ 304B. German trl. Overbeck, Basle, B. Schwabe, 1836,
Book I, ch. 15, par. 68, 1 : p. 198.

5) The *histories* of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, Book IV, ch.
1962, p. 292.—For direct Greek-Persian connections see story of
Greek physician Democedes curing King Darius, ibid., Bi. III,
ch. 130, p. 217.

6) Maximilian Wellmann, *Die Fragmente der sikelischen Aeste
Akron, Philistien und des Dickles von Karystos,* Berlin,
Weidmann, Band I, 1901, p. 69.

7) *The medical* writings of *Anonymous Landimnestis,* ch. xx, MS
fol. 26, ed. and trl. W. H. S. Jones, Cambridge University

8) Carl Fedrich, *Hippokratische Untersuchungen.* In: *Philologische
Uebersichtungen* herausgegeben von A. Kiesling und Ulrich
(18)


11) Ludwig Stein, Die Psychologie der Stoa Berlin, S. Calway, 1880, p. 141 : 'Offenbar kann diese Pneumaverschlechterung nach stoischer Ansicht nur durch die mangelhafte Qualität der Blutaustauschungen oder durch die schlechte Beschaffenheit der eingetretten Luft erfolgen'. ( The deterioration of pneumonia, according to Stoic views, is due to the bad quality of the exhalations from the blood or the bad quality of the air breathed in.). See also Marienrie Putscher, pneuma. Spiritus, Geist, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974, p. 23.


14) rGyud. bshI, bShad. rgyud, ch. 9, Rechung, Tibetan medicine, p. 58. In the present article, whenever rGyud. bshI is mentioned, the singular is used though the title literally means 'Four treatises'. In actual fact, they are four volumes of the same work - Hippocrates, On the nature of men, ch. 7 ed Littre, Oeuvres completes, Paris, J. B. Baillière vol. 6, 1849, pp. 46-49 ; Hippocrates, Trl. W. H. S. Jones, vol. 4, p. 19.

15) rGyud. bshI bShad. rgyud, ch. 4, Rechung, Tibetan medicine, p. 39.

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22) ‘Wenn nämlich Krankheit auf einer fehlerhaften Mischung der Körpersäfte beruhte, ... so musste dieser krankhafte Zustand auch im Harme achtbar werden’. (If disease was based on a faulty mixture of the humours, so this diseased state had to become visible in the urine). Johanna Bleker, *Die Geschichte der Nierenkrankheiten*, Mannheim, Bothinger, 1972, p. 17. See also Esther Fischer-Homberger, *Geschichte der Medizin*, Berlin, Springer, p. 27.

23) *rgyud, bschi, bSkod*, rgYud, ch. 2, *Rechung, Tibetan medicine* p. 32.

25) gyud. bzhī, bShad rgyud, ch. 2, Rechung, Tibetan Medicine, p. 43, 44.

26) Plato, Timaeus 82 C, D, Collected dialogues, p. 1203.

27) gyud. bzhī, bShad. rgyud, ch. 2, Rechung, Tibetan medicine, p. 33.


32a) gyud. bzhī, bShad rgyud, chapter 2, Rechung, Tibetan medicine, p. 56.


(21)


THE RISE OF CHANGCHUB GYALTSEN AND
THE PHAGMO DRUPA PERIOD

The Director of the Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology has asked me to present a paper on any period in Tibetan history at the Seventeenth annual Conference of the Historical Studies Institute. I have chosen to write about Changchub Gyaltse of Nedong and his rise to power, to become the ruler of Tibet and to establish the Phagmo Drupa lineage, after the overthrow of Sakya regime. I have based my paper on Changchub Gyaltse’s Lang kyi Pudi Siro and on the Fifth Dalai Lama’s Zog-chen Jhond Gonpo.

Changchub Gyaltse was one of the most colourful personalities in Tibetan history. The statues of Changchub is Nedong depict him as a man with droopy eyes and small stature. But he was a man of very strong will and great compassion. He was also a man of deep insight and strong social commitment. The mistreatment he received from the Sakypas, while governor of Nedong, led him to seize the power from them and, unlike many others in history, he rose to power without the aid of foreign allies. When he became the ruler of all Tibet he introduced social reforms which helped to make the Phagmo Drupa period, a period which lasted for more than two hundred years, the most stable and peaceful period in Tibetan history.

From 1253 to 1318 Tibet was ruled by the Sakypas. During their rule, central Tibet was divided into thirteen states and each of these states was governed by a hereditary governor or Tripen. The state of Nedong was governed by the descendants of Lang Lhasi. 1) Earlier a Kargyu lama named Dorje Gyalpo, who lived from 1010 to 1070, built the famous monastery of Dhensa Thel in Phagmo Drupa, a hermitage in Nedong. This lama later became known as Phagmo Drupa Dorje Gyalpo. After his death Dhensa Thel began

1. Mythology. The son of Deity Mengdron Tulisen (the fifty sky deity) and Goddess Menseen.
to deteriorate. Unable to bear the deterioration of such a great monastery a disciple 2) of Phagmo Drupa went Chen-nga Drakpa Junge, his trusted attendant and a descendant of Langtsi, to become the abbot of Dhensa Thel and to renovate the Monastery. Chen-nga Drakpa Junge presided over Dhensa Thel for twenty-six years and rebuilt the monastery to its former grandeur. In 1253 when the Sakyaapas came into power they appointed Dorje Pel, the brother of Chen-nga Drakpa Junge, as Tripon of Nedong. From that time on the Tripon, who was a monk, assumed the seat of government at Nedong and also ruled as abbot at Dhensa Thel and his brothers married in order to perpetuate the family line. This tie with the monastery founded by Phagmo Drupa led to the Tripons of Nedong to become known as Phagdrus (short of Phagmo Drupa) Tripon and their period of rule in Tibet as the Phagmo Drupa period.

In 1302 a son was born to Phagdrup Tripon Ritschen Kyab and he was named Changtsek Gyaltser. At the age of six he was initiated into monkhood at Dhensa Thel. At the age of twelve he went to Sakya in order to become an official in the Sakya government. The Sakya ruler 3) at the time was a man of hot temper and so, fearing that a burst of temper from the ruler would do damage to the name of Phagmo Drupa, Changtsek decided instead to concentrate on his studies. He entered a school run by two Sakya Lamas, Lama Jamdrel and Lama Nyamappa. He studied mathematics, astrology, poetry, art, grammar, logic, tantric and many other subjects. He was always an outstanding student.

Six months out of a year the boys of this school were taken on camping tour. On this tour, Lama Nyamappa required this student to experience first-hand the life of common folk. Each student, by turn, had to fetch the water, gather fuel, build the fire, cook the meal and sweep the floor. Changtsek proved capable of facing hardships. While on this tour the students studied their religious texts with fervor; and they also learned to excel in athletic skills

2 Kyopa Jigdhen Gampo (1143-1217), founder of Drigun Monastery.
3 Dechhen Zangpo Pel
such as stone-throwing, horse-racing, swimming and long distance running. They were also taught public speaking and the art of leadership, and how to sing and how to debate in song. In his autobiography, writes, "I am forever grateful to Lama Nyamepa"

After completing his studies at the age of twenty, Changchub Gyaltse was appointed the Phagdro Tripod of Nedong by the Sakypas in 1322. He was also given the Mongolian title of Teitsu, which means Learned Instructor, and presented with a seal carved in sandal-wood. In Nedong, he appointed new civil administrators and new generals for his army. He built a bridge across the Shamchu river and planted new trees throughout the valley. Two years after Changchub had become governor of Nedong, Atula, the Saka overseer of Livestock, came to Nedong on his round of inspection. One day he summoned Changchub down to the horse stables and pointed to a broken section of the manger and said, "Three pieces of brick can prevent that log from falling down and breaking a horse's leg. To buy a new horse will cost on 'de' of silver which is equal to 8 'sho of gold." 4) Changchub writes in his diary, "After receiving this sound advice, I ordered all the broken fences and walls repaired."

During the governorship of his uncle, the Tripod of Yasang had seized territory and two hundred and eighty families belonging to Nedong. When Changchub became Tripod, he seized back the lost territory and people. A state of hostility existed between the two provinces which led to a court inquiry by the Sakya government. The Tripods of Thangpoche and Tsepal, who were friends of Yasanga, bribed the investigators and the case could not be settled. While the case was in the court, Yasanga led a battle against Nedong and thirteen persons including the relatives of Changchub were killed, and Changchub himself narrowly escaped death. The bribed administrators in Sakya sent one Sonam Gyaltse as the new Tripod of Nedong, claiming him to be a descendent of Lung Lhasi. Changchub refused to hand over the governorship of Nedong to the new man.

A few months later, the Sakya Internal Minister, Wongtson visited Dhok Lama near Nedong. From there he sent an invitation

4 Lang gshi Pudi Sito

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to Changchub. Suspecting treachery, Changchub nevertheless went to meet Wongtson. He was immediately arrested on arrival and commanded to give up his office and his seal to Sonam Gyaltsen. Changchub defiantly refused and replied, It is amazing that a new Tripon should be appointed in my place when I have done no wrong to the Sakya Government nor to my people." 5) He was put under house arrest for 19 days 6) and subjected to torture. Again, Wongtson tried to persuade Changchub to obey his command. He promised Changchub he would restore Nedong to him within a year or two if he would give up his office now. To that Changchub replied "If you wish so much to aid Sonam Gyaltsen you can tie a sealed letter around our neck and send us to Sakya to be judged. Otherwise, ill me now and take over Nedong." 7) Not knowing what to do the minister sent Changchub back to Nedong. Reluctantly, Wongtson returned to Sakya where he told malicious tales about Changchub to the ruler.

At about this time, the Tripods of Yasang, Tsepa, and Thangmoche had a meeting in Lhasa. At the meeting Tripon Yasang boasted that he would soon spend his summers in Yamdrok and his winters in Nedong. "This boast" writes Changchub, "was like an arrow through my heart." 8) In 1351 fighting broke out between Nedong and Yasang, and Changchub emerged the victor. Sakya sent negotiators but they returned having failed to bring peace. Then a meeting was held by the Sakya administrators in which it was decided that Gyalwa Zadjpo, the Prime Minister, should go to Nedong and hold another inquiry. It was also decided that if the parties did not cooperate, Changchub was to be killed and the Tripods of Yasang and Thangmoche were to be expelled; and Sakya was to assume direct control over the states of Nedong, Yasang and Thangmoche. When Changchub heard about the Sakya decision, he

5 Ibid
6 In Trul ghi Demde it is written that changchub was under arrest for 90 days
7 Long ki Pudi Siro
8 Ibid

(26)
undertook a massive strengthening of his army and prepared his people for a revolt against the Sakya. He should the central government unlawfully kill him. He also sent a message to Yandrok Tripong to be ready to come to his aid. After a few months while Gyalwa Zangpo was enroute to Nedong, Changchub went to receive him at Ghonkar. On meeting Gyalwa Zangpo, Changchub offered him a salutary scarf and a lump of gold and said, “I am ready to obey your verdict if you will conduct your investigation honestly; but if you should unlawfully kill me my body will be claimed from all four directions and this will hurt the stability of Sakya.” 9)  

When Gyalwa Zangpo arrived in Nedong, he set up camp on the west bank of the Shanccha river. Tripong Yasangpa and his men camped not far away. Inside the Nedong fort, Changchub gathered his trusted men and bid them that if he should be captured they were not to surrender until a just settlement of the dispute was made. The next day when the disputing parties had assembled in the camp of Gyalwa Zangpo, they were arrested 10) and the inquiry continued separately for three days. Fearing that his seal would be used to falsely command his men Changchub, while under arrest, burned his sandal-wood seal and sent a message to his men telling them that he had burned his seal and they were not to surrender Nedong even though they should bear that his skin was peeled off and that he was being dragged along the ground. At the court of inquiry a number of false accusations were brought against Changchub and he was told to place his seal on these, and when he told them he had burned his seal he was subjected to severe torture. Later Changchub was sent to a prison in Kotel, a town near Sakya. A triangle-shaped hat with a yak’s tail upon it was put on his head; and he was made to ride on a bullock backwards. The citizens of Nedong gathered along the road and openly wept and protested loudly on seeing their leader taken away. As the Sakya soldiers marched across the bridge with their prisoner Changchub, with a shake of his head, tossed his hat into the river and turned to his people and called out to them saying, “Don’t worry about

9 Ibid.

10 In Trul ghi Deme it is writing that Gyalwa Zangpo, Changchub and Yasangpa were assembled on the bridge when suddenly only Changchub was arrested.
me. They have made me ride this bull backwards but I take it as a good sign. I will be back soon.” 11) When Changchub was brought through the streets of Kotel, people jeered at him and threw handfuls of mud at him. He opened his mouth to catch the mud. Laughing, he said, This is a good sign that I will soon be eating Sakya.” 12)

Meanwhile is Nedong, Gyalwa Zango banished Tripa Yasang to Jayul in south Tibet and declared Nedong, Yasang and Thangpoche under direct Sakya control. Leaving a batch of soldiers behind, Gyalwa, Zango returned to Sakya. In reality, Changchub’s men had not surrendered to him.

For some time now, a political rivalry existed between Wongson and Gyalwa Zangpo. Wongson had already been decorated by the Mongol Khan, Togan Timur, and there was talk that the Sakya ruler would make him Prime Minister in Gyalwa Zangpo’s place. Fearing this to be true, Gyalwa Zangpo knew his only hope in remaining in power was to have a strong ally. So he sent Lama Nyamrup to visit Changchub in prison and offer him his release in return for military aid. After only two and half months of imprisonment, Changchub was secretly set free. But openly it was declared he had escaped.

To the surprise of all in Nedong, their leader suddenly arrived amidst them. A joyous welcome reception was held for him. Later Changchub held a meeting at which he praised his men for their steadfast loyalty to him and then he informed them of internal strife within the Sakya government. The split within the House of Sakya 13) and the deep rivalry between the two powerful mitigates had weakened the

11 It was the custom in Tibet to make a prisoner ride a bull when sentenced to banishment. But strangely, here changchub is made to ride the bull backwards. This must be why he took it as a good sign.

12 in Tibetan, the word MUD and the 1st syllable is the name of SAKYA has same spelling and pronunciation. So Changchub is making use of a pun.

13 The family was divided into four. It was agreed that each would, by turn, rule the country.
Sakya government considerably. "Our time is ripe" said Changchub, "none of you must excuse yourself on grounds of illness, old age or religious commitment. All of you must cooperate with me. The iron must be pounded while it is hot". 14) And Nedong made preparation for battle.

Not long after, Gyalwa Zangpo was suddenly put under arrest by Wogtson. Then he sent his forces by two routes to battle against Nedong. Meanwhile word of Gyalwa's arrest had already reached Nedong and Changchub and his ally, Trigon of Yandrok, sent their forces from two directions against Sakya. Soldiers led by Minister Shana Zangpo sped along the road towards Sakya and at Mongardong they clashed with the Sakya forces and easily defeated them. The second Nedong company led by Trompa Laptsum sped over the pass and clashed with Sakya soldiers at Chang Lasha and was victorious. As was the custom in those days, the victors sent back the heads and limbs of the defeated generals. Then Changchub led the third group of forces against Sakya. But the fame of Changchub's might was already wide spread and so as he led his army through Drachi and Ghorgkar the Sakya soldiers turned and fled in all directions, many jumping into rivers or surrendering on the spot, and Changchub and his men hardly saw any action. Fearing the fall of Sakya to Changchub, the Sakya rulers, Khetsun Nagnakpa and Lama Dampa Sorem Gyaltsen, and the leaders of the Chokham (15) received Changchub at Rong. They told him that Gyalwa Zangpo had been set free and they begged him to agree to a truce. In 1355 a truce was set and Nedong's new territory was drawn up. East of Mt. Jomo Khara came under Nedong and the lands west of Mt. Jomo Khara remained under Sakya. The leaders of Ut, Dho-thod (Khun) and Dho-med (Amdo) came to pay obeisance to Changchub and each offered him a letter of allegiance stamped with his own seal.

After a few years there was another crisis within the Sakya hierarchy. This time rivalry between Prime Minister Wogtson and the new Interior Minister, Namkha Tropa resulted in the murder of Sakya Lama Kumpangpa. Also at the same time, Gyalwa Zangpo died mys-

14 Lang ki Pudi Shi 15 The three regions of Tibet, U-Tsang, Dho-thod and Dho-med.
viously 16) at his home estate of Lhate. On hearing this news, Changchub led a large army and headed for Sakya. On his way he met with a few vain attempts to block his path but, like the sunrise pushing back the darkness, Changchub advanced head-on towards Sakya. At Sakya Changchub dehorned the main rabor, Ta On Lodro Gyaltse. He imprisoned more than four hundred Sakya ministers including Wongton and Namkha Yege. He placed Rinphungpa Namkha Zangpo as chief administrator of Sakya and ordered him to put guards around the beautiful Sakya temple and palace to protect the art pieces from the rampage of his soldiers.

On returning to Nedong in 1358, Changchub Gyaltse declared himself the ruler of Tibet. His first order of work was to eliminate the potentially dangerous office of the Tripon and in its place he appointed a man with unquestioned loyalty as Dejongon (District Officer), to administer a small Dzoag (district), and thus he divided the country into many districts. As the study of Sutra was never undertaken by Changchub’s religious sect, the Dhakpo Kargyu, a monastery was built in Tethang to house the school of Sutra. Then he started a major renovation of Dhema Thel, Lhasa Tsuglag khang, Samye Tsuglag-khang and all the major monasteries in Tibet. He banned fishing and hunting of wild animals. He built bridges across rivers and where bridges could not span the rivers he posted ferry boats. For the protection of travellers, he stationed Jigkyabs (police) along solitary roads. At pilgrimage sites he posted families to provide free food and lodging to the pilgrims.

Changchub improved the condition of the nomads and the farmers and gave them relief from unfair taxes. Although the Sakypas had a system of taxation based on the Mongolian system, their tax-collectors misused their power and taxed the people unfairly. Changchub set up a new system whereby the government yearly collected only one-ninth of the produce reaped by the nomads and the farmers. In U, Tsang and Thod he build thirteen fortresses at strategic sites.

Changchub Gyaltse also reformed the system of punishment. During the latter part of the Sakya rule, the constant fighting

16 Zam-dras Rinpoche states that some say he was murdered and others say he died of drunkenness.

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within the ruling family and the frequent change of its ministers diminished the fairness of justice; and also the adoption of Mongolian punitive methods sanctioned the execution of criminals without a hearing and punished the landing the severe punishment for misdemeanors. Changchub adopted the practice of the early kings of Tibet and devised thirteen grades of punishment and decreed that hearings were to be held before a sentence was passed. Because of the firm but fair system of punishments thieves, and bandits virtually disappeared from the land and the Phagmo Drupa period in Tibetan history was also known as the 'Che-no Berkhar' period, meaning a period in which an old woman carrying a big bag of gold could travel from Dharie-cho in the east to Ladhak in the west and not come to any harm by bandits. Changchub Gyaltsen died in 1264 at the age of sixty-two in Nedong.

After Changchub's death, two of his relatives came to the throne in quick succession. The fourth Phagmo Drupa ruler was Chenga Sonam Drakpa. During his four year rule, harvest was bountiful and he became known as the "ruler of good fortune." After his retirement, his nephew, Miwang Drakpa Gyaltsen ascended to the throne in Nedong in 1265. The famous Rapten Kunyang Phagpo, the founder of Pekhor Choe monastery in Gyantse, served as one of his attendants. During Drakpa Gyaltsen's reign, the Chinese Emperor Yung Lo (1403-1424) of the Ming Dynasty sent an invitation to the Tibetan ruler to visit China. Drakpa Gyaltsen refused the invitation and Kanraapa Dashen Shchopa (1384-1415) was invited instead. Kanraapa was given a grand welcome and the Emperor himself went to receive him at the gates of Nanking. Emperor Yong Le also sent representatives, a number of times, to Tsongkhapa (1357-1419), the founder of the Gelugpa sect, inviting him to his court. Tsongkhapa declined the invitation and instead sent a representative 18) to Nanking.

Through the patronage of Drakpa Gyaltsen and his minister, Neu Namkha Zangpo, Tsongkhapa in 1409 instituted the first Monlam (Prayer) festival in Lhasa. Until 1959, when Communist China committed aggression and overthrew the government of Tibet, the Monlam festival was held every Spring for three weeks in Lhasa.

17 In Dob-nor Nagompo it is written that Changchub retired in 1363 and died at Thel monastery in 1373.
18 Jarchen Chogyal Shokya Yeshe.
During the reign of Drakpa Gyaltsen there was peace and prosperity in the land and, for this the people named him "Ghongma Chongyal Changpo" meaning "The Great Religious Emperor".

During the Phagmo Drupa period there lived many learned and famous men in Tibet. It was an era in which there was an outburst of life and beauty and a deep quest for knowledge. Bodhams, Chojle Namgyal, the famous poet and astrologer, was a contemporary of Changchub Gyaltsen. Among his well-known works is the ode he wrote in praise the Nedong government. Tangthong Gyalo (1351-1509), a travelling medicins helped build fifty-three iron-chain bridges across rivers in U and Tsang regions. He is also responsible for introducing the tradition of the opera in Tibet. About the year 1400, the first method of printing was introduced in Tibet by Lochen Tsegoi pel and Gelang Tashi Gyasto. Gos Lotsawa Shenpei, a disciple of Tsongkhapa, also lived in this glorious era. He is known for his famous Deh-der Nogmo, which is an in-depth study of the Buddhist sects in Tibet. Many other famous architects, astrologers, metalurgists, painters, philosophers, poets, and sculptors lived during this period. The names of some are Bhouton Rinchen Drupa, Re-Dawa Shana Lordo, Thuksey Rinchen Namgyal, Khoydrup Gelek Palsang, Je Gedun-drup, Yaltruk Sangye Phel, Rongton Sheja Kunrig, Ngor-chen Kunga Zanpo, Janchen Rebjampa Sangye Phel, Gowo Rabjampa Sonam Sangye, God-truk Kalpa and Taktshang Lotsawa Sherab Rinchen.

Ghongma Drakpa Gyaltsen died in 1432 and his nephew, Che-nga Drakpa Jangne, was enthroned as Nedong Ghongna in 1433. The new Ghongma was also a nephew of Rinpun Norzang of the House of Rinpun. From about this time on, the House of Phagmo Drupa slowly began to lose its political control is Tsang and Thod. The Rinpunpas and, later, the Depa Tsangpas held the reins of government in these regions. Elsewhere the Phagmo Drupa ruler was little more than a figurehead. However it was not until the late 1500s that the power of the Phagmo Drupa finally ceased to exist in Tibet. Although their political power had ended, the descendants of the Phagmo Drupa line were regarded with respect and, for many years after, was addressed as "Ghongma" by all.

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Rje-lrtsun grags-pa, yeal-mthahan, so-skya’ Gzhung-rah rin-chen bang-mdzad
Rgyal-mchog lugs-pa, Rdo-rje-idan gzhon-nu’ dgu-ston.
Tai-situ Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan, Rlang-kyi pu-sti bse-ru.
RGYAN-DRUG-MCHOG-GNYIS

An Art Book (Six Ornaments and Two Excellents) reproduces ancient scrolls (1470 A.D.) depicting Buddha, Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Yamabhushu, Dignaga, Dharmakirti, Gunaprabha and Makyaprabha; reproductions are as per originals today after 300 years of display and worship with no attempt at restoration or recouping. The exposition in English presents the iconographical nomenclature 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.

Price Rupees Seventy Five.

April 1962/1972
PREFACE

The present copy has been transliterated into the Devanagari from a very rare Tibetan manuscript copy being preserved at this institute in consulting with its Tibetan version, commentaries by the 1st Dalai Lama, Gedun dip, the 2nd Dalai Lama, Gedun Gyatso, Sakya scholar Darkpa Gyaltsen and it has been compared with its Lancha (Rajjna) script text as well. The original Sanskrit text does not follow strictly the grammatical rules of the Panini school. There have been found several omissions (perhaps mis-caligraphy) in euphonic combination (sambhi) and metre defects for which a note is given separately.

The Devanagari transliteration is entirely based on its original Sanskrit text in Tibetan script and that of Lancha transcription. The verses and terms were unvisibly kept in exact form as in original Sanskrit text of Tibetan script. According to renowned Sakya scholar Darkpa Gyaltsen, this Tara panegyric belongs to Acharya Nagarjuna’s tradition and it was rendered into Tibetan by Gnyan Lotsawa.

In this transliteration, I have given (1) the original text in Devanagari and along with its Tibetan version, (3) Prose English translation, (3) Index of Sanskrit and Tibetan equivalents, (4) Foot Notes and (5) Differences of different editions of Tibetan version.

1st Dalai Lama 1391-1434
2nd Dalai Lama 1435-1452
Sakya Scholar Darkpa Gyaltsen 1447-1376
Devanagari text of Tarasatra (panegyric) with translations

JAIYA YVIII
सम्यक्लेक्युर्वर्धकालिकाकाठेय सन्तमारेकालिकोक निर्माणाला।

“महाभाषाम भिन्नतप्य हर्षात्मक सान्तको खिदातेजपन भिन्नतप्य हर्षात्मक विकु छिन्नको विकास भनेरभिन्नतप्यको विकासको विकास।”
नमः भवाचारे याताराते देवे

1. नगस्तारंगायोगोपासनायोगे ज्ञातारंगायोगोपासनायोगे
2. भुज्या-विधि भुज्या-विधि भुज्या-विधि
3. नम्बर-संख्या नम्बर-संख्या नम्बर-संख्या
4. भुज्या-विधि भुज्या-विधि भुज्या-विधि
5. नम्बर-संख्या नम्बर-संख्या नम्बर-संख्या
6. भुज्या-विधि भुज्या-विधि भुज्या-विधि
४. नरसंहारातील अभिव्यक्तितानुसार वाचित ।
प्रश्नवाचनांतरानुसार बिंबिल्लित नेत।
५. हृदयाल्पक वस्तिक युक्तकारणाथार्यी।
अभाव वाचककृत्त विशेष विकल्पना ।
अध्ययनाचे विविध विषयांचे विवरण ।
कथा यशी तुलनेत हिमाच्या पृष्ठभाग ।
६. नरसंहारातील विविधताच्या विवरणात ।
संबंधित वाचनांतरानुसार वाचित ।
७. हृदयाल्पक वस्तिक विविध विषयांचा विवरण ।
अभाव वाचककृत्त विशेष विकल्पना ।
अध्ययनाचे विविध विषयांचे विवरण ।
कथा यशी तुलनेत तुलनेत हिमाच्या पृष्ठभाग ।
8. नामनृत्युःतृतीयोऽविष्कारणानां

शुद्धात्माकर्मानाद्रव्येऽविष्कारणानां

9. मुद्रा ्तेषांसर्वं वैदेहसर्वं देशां

पुजनुमनि पुजनुमनि न देशां न देशां

10. नमः

प्रभुविष्करणसुधासोधिनावाचारिनिः

हि हि भूमिस्तरोऽसरससंहरि

11. नमः

समानमुमाला अवलोक्तगतिः

वतनसु वतनसु सतीदलसंहरि

12. नमः

मुद्रां ्तेषांसर्वं वैदेहसर्वं देशां

पुजनुमनि पुजनुमनि न देशां न देशां

13. नमः

भूतानिपरमात्मानर्तमात्मानाः

पदस्थलानि पदस्थलानि न तत्त्वामात्मानाः

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१२. नमः शिशुशारणःतुल्यनकरणःरुपमणम्।
पञ्चितनामसःतुल्यनकरणःरुपमणम्।

१३. नमः गुणःनामःकामःनामःसतीःहृदंसिपद्।
हृदंसिपदेनकामःनामःसतीःगुणः
कर्मप्रयत्नःशरीरसंगममथनमिवः।
भौतिकःतीक्ष्णःदृष्टिःनामः|।

१४. नमः कालासात्मनशत्त्राध्यायः।
न्यूत्रेनात्मकःकालासात्मनशत्त्राध्यायः।

१५. नमः कुरुत्त्रिकाःकालासात्मनशत्त्राध्यायः।
कुरुत्त्रिकाःकालासात्मनशत्त्राध्यायः।
कृत्यानुवादानायः कालासात्मनशत्त्राध्यायः।
कृत्यानुवादानायः कालासात्मनशत्त्राध्यायः।

१६. नमः स्वामिनारायणःशर्मा।
वायुस्वामिनारायणःशर्मा।

१७. नमः गुणःनामःकामःनामःसतीःहृदंसिपद्।
हृदंसिपदेनकामःनामःसतीःगुणः
कर्मप्रयत्नःशरीरसंगममथनमिवः।
भौतिकःतीक्ष्णःदृष्टिःनामः|।
१६। नमः प्रविशितावतरपुषार प्रमोदित | वसालसरकारविनियमारूपारूपित | २४। युगाराधनार्ण गुणर्मभावं गुणप्रत्यग्न गुणम | गुणाशयप्रत्यक्षस्वस्तम | गुणाशयप्रत्यग्न गुणाशयप्रत्यग्न | गुणाशयप्रत्यक्षस्वस्तम |

१०। नमः सुर्यरकार हरिशतकारस्ते | लोकां जिन्दरकार सर्वोपविवरणीन | २०। युगाराधनार्ण विविधकार्बविनियमं | 

१८। नमः सुर्यस्वरूपस्वरूपवर्तकार | वास्तविकारविनियमावर्तनाविनियम | २४। युगाराधनार्ण विविधकार्बविनियमं |
20. घरात छुटकारा सांपुरीन्ता नवविधानसादित नाहे।

21. नपाला तपाईंले वायुमार्गमा चढ्यानुसार अमरामिलन गर्नुहोस्।

22. विश्वमुनीने तीन विद्वानसँग सायाते कार्यरत भएको रहेको मान्ति।

23. अनींत देवीको आगम्य साहित्यमूलक भौतिकता भएको भएको मान्ति।

44
24. ગ્રાહ્યજીવનેરૂપેનુંનાનાગતિઃ 
શિમસાધનાઓરૂપાયામતનાં ખ્યાત
25. કૃતિ ુ દુર્ભાગ્યનાં પૂર્ણકાર્ણિક 
સૂચના કાર પ્રાણચામ્યાહુરે 
26. કૃતિ તર્ફના મહાદેર સ્થાપના સાહિત્ય 
મધ્યાંદાર્ય વાત બાબત પીછેલા ના
27. પ્રખ્યાતિયેલાની પરય પદ્ધતિબિંદાણ 
સાહિત્ય ભાષાના મૂળકાસાધનવિકારિત 
28. યહ ચેરિયાના પુનરૂપ શિંણામાનપ્રણ
સુનામણ ચેરિયાના મૂળકાસાધનવિકારિ 
29. હું જ જનાણે જ જનાણે 
જનાણ ખમે જનાણ ખમે 
30. પીવડાણી સાહિત્યના સત્યસાહિત્યના 
માધ્યમનાનાભાવ ની જનાણે કદમ શિખરે 
31. પૂર્વદિપી પુનઃભૂત સત્યપરચોકના 
સાહિત્યનાનાભાવ ની જનાણે કદમ શિખરે
इति संवारेरुपरीतेऽर्थसंवत्ततिः प्राच्यांग्यार्थार्थगोदाम । तत्रतारीकविवक्षात् तों नाम संग्राम । प्रो तारे तुफारेरुपरेवाह ।

रेखहार्य महस्युरगृहसंरक्ष्यं क । भविष्यपाए । ज्ञाताय उपस्थिताय अरुप्तधारण अरुप्तस्यूरगृहसंरक्ष्यं अरुप्त विनाशस्य महस्य "महस्यस्य जाय" विनाशस्य "विनाशस्य जाय" "विनाशस्य जाय" "महस्यस्य जाय" "विनाशस्य जाय" "महस्यस्य जाय"

व धर्मं हेदुरयानं हेदुरयानं तत्सिद्धोपाध्याय ।
परं व सम्रितो यस्योन्नता" ॥

हेदुरयानं ॥
Salutation to the Exalted One, the Noble One, the Divine One and the Deliverer!

1. Salutation to the Deliverer (1) swift one, (2) amazon, (3) whose eyes are like instantaneous lightening, (who was) emamotised from the unfolded corolla of the lotus-faced (4) saviour (5) of the three worlds (6).

2. Salutation to Her whose face is like the heap of a hundred full moons of summun, (who) shines most brightly like the bright lights from the gathering of thousand stars.

3. Salutation to Her whose hand is adorned with the blue-hued golden (7) lotus, (8) who is embodiment of charity, diligence, penance, (9) tranquility (10) patience, contemplation and perception (11) (gochan).

4. Salutation to Her who has attained supreme victory (12) in all spheres like the Lushnishi (13) of the Thalighatan, being earnestly adored by the Bodhisattvas, who have achieved all transcendent values.

5. Salutation to Her who fills (14) the three realms of desire, direction (15) and radiant space (16) with the letters Tuttara and Hum, who captivates everyone by suppressing the seven worlds (17) with her feet.

6. Salutation to Her who is worshipped by Shakra, Anala (fire-god), Brahna, Mara, Maruta (wind-god), Ishvara; and who faces Brutus (phantoms), Vetical (goblin who re-occupies a dead body), Gandharva (odor-cater) and the Yakshas adoring her.

7. Salutation to Her who destroys the witchcrafts (18) of others with the sounds of TRA and PHA, T who suppresses the seven worlds while bending the right leg (19) and stretching the left, (19) blazing with raging flames.

8. Salutation to Her who subdues the heroes of Mulas (20) (evil spirits) with the great fierce word TURE, who vanquishes all enemies (21) with her lotus face’s indignant (3) expression.

9. Salutation to Her who is adorned at her breast with the finger gesture (24) symbolising the Triple Gem, who is adorned with circles (25) emanating flashing lights which brighten all directions.

10. Salutation to the most joyous (16) and glorious one (22) whose crown radiates garlands of light, who subjugates Mulas and the world by flourishing with the intense jubilation of Tuttara!
Salutation to Her who is capable of attracting all protectors (38) of the earth, who removes all adversities with the word of Hum (39) moved by indignation.

12. Salutation to Her whose head is adorned with the crescent moon and whose ornaments brightly shining, always radiating brilliant rays from Anilabha (30) (who resides) in her knotted hair.

13. Salutation to Her who sits amidst a flaming garland (which is like) the fire at the end of an aceph; having stretched her right leg and bent the left, she is surrounded by joy and destroys completely the host (31) of enemies.

14. Salutation to Her who by the touch of her palm suppresses the earth, striking it with her feet (she) shatters the sevenfold worlds with the indignant expression of Hum (37).

15. Salutation to the Blissful (33), Meritorious (34), and Tranquil One, (35) the perceiver (36) of peace and freedom who purifies all great sins, with the combined sound of SVAHA and OM (37).

16. Salutation to Her who is surrounded by the great joy, (38) who destroys the body (39) of the enemies with the light of knowledge letter Hum (40) inscribed with sound of the ten syllables.

17. Salutation to Her who shakes Mount Meru, Mandara, Kailasa and the three worlds by striking with feet of Ture (41) (Tara) and the seed letter, Hum (42).

18. Salutation to Her who holds in her hand the deer-mark (43) (moon) whose shape is like the lake of gods, who cures all poisons by reciting twice the syllables TARA and PHAT (44).

19. Salutation to Her who is worshiped by deity kings (45), deities and kinnaras (46), who removes obits and bad dreams with the armour of all glorious joy (47).

20. Salutation to Her from whose two moons and sun (48) eyes flash very bright lights, who cures very terrible plagues by uttering twice HARA and TUTTARA (49).

21. Salutation to Her who rightly possesses power (50) of pacifying, by inscribing the three essences (51) OM AH HIM, who is most excellent and swift to subjugate the planet, Vetala and Yakshas.

22. The salutations and praises of the root mantra (52) (to Tara) are twenty one. Having good faith in the Goddess, wise ones recite (this text) zealously.
Having arisen at dawn and evening, remembering the Godless bestows all fearlessness, pacifies all sins effectively and causes all miserable states to vanish.

(54) The reciter of this text will be soon initiated by the seven million Buddhas, thereby gaining higher achievements in this life and will proceed to the ultimate Buddhahood.

One eats and even drinks terrible poisons, whatever kind, either steady or movable will be cured by remembering the Godless.

One can free oneself from the sufferings caused by effect of planets, plagues, poisons and even the (suffering of) other sentient beings are removed, if one recites this text two, three and seven times.

One will get (his or her) desired son, desired wealth, and all desired things without hindrance (and obstacles) will be vanished by themselves.

The twenty one panegyrical salutations to the Exalted One, the Noble One, Godless (and Deliverer) preached by the Fully Enlightened One, the Illuminator (Vārochana) is ended.

49
<table>
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(५०)
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1. तारितः- दुर्गाधिष्ठित ।
2. । धर्मात्- सभ्यतांपति ।
3. । धर्मावेस- शान्तिःकारण ।
4. । धर्मवेशनः- देवीरुपम् ।
5. । तारितं- दुर्गाधिष्ठित ।
6. । धर्मावेशनः- देवीरुपम् ।
7. । तारितं- दुर्गाधिष्ठित ।

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"मुक्तीयत-हिंदू मागण दण्डनुक्र"।

"मोरनिस-कालसंबंध"।

\[ 97 \]. भागीदार-भ्रमण केलेस आर्यूपत्तिक।

\[ 98 \]. विद्याधर-कुंभकोप विभूषण।

\[ 99 \]. महानायक-लक्ष्मणाभिमान।

\[ 100 \]. महासेन-सातवें दिन संपूर्ण।

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\[ 102 \]. भुकट-पुष्प शब्द।

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\[ 104 \]. नार-वृक्षक।

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FOOT-NOTES

Verse (1)

1. Who liberates living beings from the ocean of worldly sufferings.
2. Very swift or active to work for salvation of sentient beings.
3. Tara is boldminded to annihilate defilements of other living beings and man of Mara, evil spirits or devils in struggle to liberate living beings from worldly existence.
4. It is said that Avalokiteshvara, the god of great compassion had liberated as many as sentient beings from suffering world but the quantity of worldly beings is not reduced so he shedded down tear from which a lotus was sprung then Tara was born from that corolla of that lotus in order to help in liberation of beings.
5. It is a synonymous name of the Avalokiteshvara.
6. World of sensual desire (kamadhuta), world of form (rupadhuta) and world of formless (anupadhuta), or according to some scholars, nether world, on the earth and Antarikha (heaven).

V. (1)

7. Blue-hued colour of this Tara is so fine that she is called golden colour Tara.
8. Tara holds a lotus with her thumb and ring-finger of her left hand that represents perfection of the ten transcendental virtues.
9. All commentators referred penance to observation of moral conduct.
10. Tranquilized all defilements and their impressions e.g. laziness, immorality, covetousness, heedlessness, erroneous view etc.
11. Perception of shunyata by the transcendental wisdom.

V. (4)

12. Who overcomes countless Maras, opponents, grievances, of this life, defilement hindrances and obstacles of knowledge.
13. (Sanskrit term) One of thirty two characteristics or physical marks of all Buddhas, a natural crest grows on their head and Tara is being venerated by all Tathagata (Buddha) as their own vahiniha.

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14. Who fills the world of sensual desire and other two worlds with the rays of the mantra TUTTARA HUM.
15. Here direction referred to the world of form.
16. Word radiant space represents the world of formlessness.
17. Seven worlds e.g. narka (hell), preta (hungry spirit) tiryaga (beast), manushya (human being), sensual desire god, god of world of form and formless god.

V. (7)

18. Which utilizes for harmful action.
20. Stretching left leg represents compassion.

V. (8)

21. Maras are four namely (a) Skandhamara (devil personifies aggregation), (b) Kleshmara (devil personifies mental defilement), (c) Devaparitamara (devil who personifies lustfulness) and (d) Mrityupatimara (devil who personifies death).
22. Here enemies referred to mental defilements and obstacles of knowledge.
23. Indignant expression show to insanities of enlightenment.

V. (9)

24. Fore-finger, middle finger and little finger are pointingly kept at her breast.
25. A circle mark in her right palm in gesture of Varadamudra (blessing giving gesture) showing to all round directions.

V. (10)

26. Who is joyful to fulfill wishes of living beings.
27. Overpowers others with her splendid nature.

V. (11)

28. Chief deities of the ten directions realms, e.g. east, West, north, south-east, south-west, north-west, north east, under-earth and above earth.
29. Syllable HUM at chest of her indignant form.
30. Boundless light Buddha who sits on her clotted hair as chief of her spiritual dynasty.

V. (11)

31. Host of enemies is referred to delusion and psychic defilements which opponent to spiritual achievement. In this verse, Sanskrit word Avada, Tibetan Kun-nas-skor (means to encompass) the second Dalai Lama referred it encompassment of fire round Tara, but first Dalai Lama referred it to turning wheel of Dharma then it should be Avastana ? and fire referred to fire of wisdom.

V. (14)

32. The first Dalai Lama places the syllable HUM at her chest, Thug-la but the Second Dalai Lama places it at palm of her right hand.

V. (15)

33- Who possessed Sennuishless blessing.
34- Who is free from all mental delusions.
35- Tranquilized all sufferings and faults.
36- Who perceives Nirvana which is highest peace and emancipation.

37. Mantra that begins with the syllable OM and ending with SVAHA e.g. OM TARE TUTTARE TURE SVAHA.

V. (16)

38. Joy of the ten syllables appear inside her chest.
39. First Dalai Lama referred it to craving of one's own body and that of external belongings which are hindrances to attaining emancipation.

40. OM TARE TUTTARE TURE SVAHA, these ten syllables are mantra of the peaceful form Tara and meditatively inscribe them at her breast and the knowledge letter HUM represents mantra of the wrathful Tara e.g. NAMA: TARE NAMO HARE HUM HARE SVAHA. Here in the Sanskrit stanza's last word DIPITE (Tibetan sgron-ma) is found in the present version and Derje edition Kargyu (Rgyud ca page 43). I have consulted it with several different editions of Tibetan versions all rendered as sgral-ma.

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V. (17)
41. TURE is synonymous term of Tara which means swift or active one.
43. HUM is seed syllable of this Tara who is regarded as propitia-
tor of happiness.

V. (18)
43. The moon resembles shape of nectar lake of god and it
indicates dispelling of poison of psychic defilement.
44. Full Mantra is OM TARE TUTTARE TURE SYAHA TARA
TARA PHAT. Here in original text found HARADVIRUKTA-
PHUTAKARA which against all other editions where it read
TARADVIRUKTA PHATKARA and all commentaries
approved the same.

V. (19)
45. Chief deities like Shakra and Brahma etc.
46. Literally kinnara means (human being or what) some kind
of semigods that a portion of their body resembles human
being.
47. The first Dalai Lama explains that most faithful one who
Re-members all portion or parts of form of peaceful and
wrathful Tara along with armour of their mantra with joyful one
pointed concentration then Tara will remove supit and
bad dream with gloriousness of her blissful. While the second
Dalai Lama says entire divine form of Tara and armor of her
mantra remove same. In this Sanskrit stanza, word BHAGA
and its Tibetan rending GO-CHA which is usually does not
use for it.

V. (20)
48. Most commentaries state that full moon and sun represent
the right eye and the left respectively, while the first Dalai
Lama compares sun with eyes of the wrathful Tara and moon
with the peaceful one’s eyes separately.
49. The first Dalai Lama’s opinion that the twice Hará represents
the mantra of the indignant Tara and word TUTTARA that of
the peaceful Tara. While other commentators state its full
mantra e.g. OM TARE TUTTARE TURE SYAHA HARÁ
PHAT which is very effective to cure dreadful fever.
V. (11).
50. Power that pacifies poisons of all mental defilements.
51. Om is essence of form which concentrationally inscribes on head, essence of speech is syllable A; at throat and essence of thought is letter HUM inside chest respectively.

V. (12)
52. Mantra of wrathful Tara and peaceful one which are given above.

V. (13)
53. The second Dalai Lama explains that at evening devotee should remember wrathful Tara sad at dawn peaceful form one.

V. (14)
54. Here in the second line of Sanskrit stanza word ANTVORVAPADA (अन्त्वर्वर्वपाद) is irrational and its Tibetan rendering is given e.g. Sang-rgyap-go-bhang-mdhor-thug, according to it sanskrit word should be ANTVIRGODA-PADA (Ultimate Buddhahood).

V. (15)
55. The first Dalai Lama refers it to ignorance, hatred and erroneous view.

V. (16)
56. In the commentary of the first Dalai Lama mentions that other persons also get the same result if one recites the text for them in remembering Tara at dawn or evening with full faith.
57. The first Dalai Lama gives different definitions of this line:
(a) It meant according to popular Tara ritual of four mandala offering (introduced in Tibet by Atisha 1057 A.D.), in which recites this text twice in first time, thrice in second time and seven times in third time.
(b) He quotes from work of scholar Spang-lo that meant for number of practitioners e.g. wise one and un-wise but firm faithful one. Three refers to three periods viz. right from dawn till evening, in each period recites the text seven times.
(c) He refers to Bston's definition that two means day and night. Three represents three periods in day as well as in night viz., morning, noon and afternoon. Again evening, before midnight and early dawn. The practitioner recites the text seven times in each period. The second Dalai Lama agrees the same.
INTRODUCTORY:

Verse

1. not लोकहितमा but लोकहितमा, not लोकहितमा बलहालस्थ
2. not सुधारू but सुधारू, not सुधारू भन्न सुधारू
3. not निति हिन्दुस्तान, नवरात्रि but निति हिन्दुस्तान, नवरात्रि
4. not जान्नमा but जान्नमा, जान्नमा बन्दी निम्नलिखितमा in 3rd line
5. not समय.... निति विति.... मा भन्न समय.... निति विति.... मा निम्नलिखितमा
6. not समय but महादेश
7. not धार्मिक but धार्मिक, not धार्मिक धार्मिक
8. not धार्मिक, but धार्मिक, not धार्मिक but धार्मिक, not धार्मिक but धार्मिक...
9. not समय but समय, not समय बन्दी निम्नलिखितमा in 3rd line may be...
10. not समय but समय, not समय बन्दी निम्नलिखितमा in 3rd line. At the end not देव but देव
11. not समय but समय, not समय बन्दी निम्नलिखितमा in 3rd line. At the end not देव but देव
12. not धार्मिक but धार्मिक, not धार्मिक धार्मिक in 3rd line.
13. not धार्मिक, but धार्मिक, not धार्मिक, not धार्मिक in 3rd line.
14. not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग
15. not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग
16. not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग
17. not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग
18. First line unintelligible - not धार्मिक, but धार्मिक, not धार्मिक but धार्मिक
19. not धार्मिक but धार्मिक
20. Second line - not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग, निम्नलिखितमा
21. not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग, not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग
22. Second line quite faulty.
23. not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग, not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग
24. not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग, निम्नलिखितमा
25. not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग, not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग
26. not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग, not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग
27. not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग, not मेंढिंग but मेंढिंग...
Differences of different Tibetan Versalas

TITLE:—  Nam: སྐྱ་ར་ འཇིགས་ལྟེས་ཤེས་དགོན་པོ་

VERSE 1
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V. 3  2  བོད་ལྕ་
V. 4  3  འབང་མ་
V. 5  4  སྐོང་བར
V. 7  6  ཚོགས་
V. 8  7  སྐན་
V. 12  11  ག་ོང་
V. 13  12  ཆ་ོང་
V. 16  14  ཁ་མ
V. 17  15  འཇམ་མོ
V. 18  16  གླྭ་
V. 20  18  དྲུང་
V. 21  19  རང་གོང་
V. 22  20  ང་བོ
V. 25  23  གོང་མའི

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Kadam Phacho

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