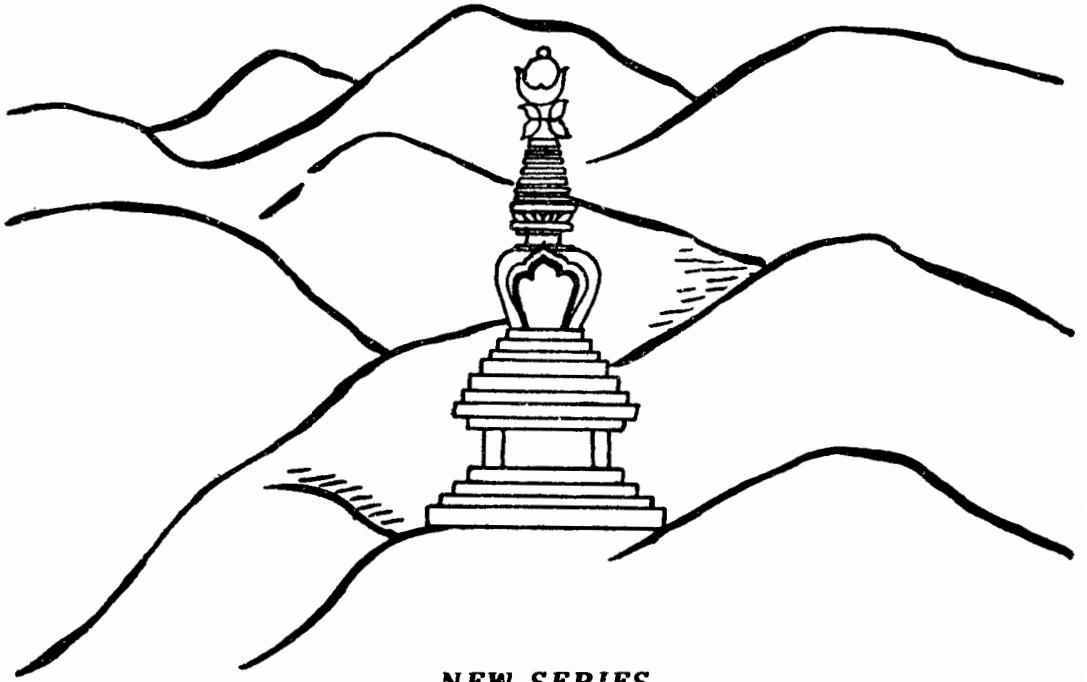


Bulletin of Tibetology



NEW SERIES

1987

No. 1

28 February 1987

**SIKKIM RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY
GANGTOK, INDIA**

-The Bulletin of Tibetology seeks to serve the specialist 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-

EDITORS

NIRMAL C. SINHA
JAMPAL K RECHUNG

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INNER ASIA AND INDIA THROUGH THE AGES

—Nirmal C. Sinha

PROLOGUE

Inner Asia and this sub-continent known as India have been closely connected through impact on each other for over four thousand years down to our times. The impact of India on Inner Asia in ancient times is common knowledge thanks to discoveries and explorations of Western scholars like Aurel Stein if only one name is to be mentioned. Inner Asia's impact on India is however not as well known. Among reasons of our ignorance is our preferential reading of history, that India radiated enlightenment all over Asia. Positive evidence of religion and philosophy, arts and culture from India migrating and thriving for centuries in Inner Asia pampers our amour propre. Reproduction of Ajanta in Tun Huang, replica of Kailasa Monolith on the Khullam or the work of Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow monopolises our academic pursuits. The words Ratna, Mani and Guru in Tibet and Mongolia, and the transformation of the word Vihara into Bokhara or of Sartha into Sart in Western Turkestan are no doubt survivals of Indian culture there. I need not amplify this point.

I would devote myself here into the other side of the medal, that is, what Inner Asia has meant for India's history and civilization. I humbly draw inspiration from the greatest savant of this century, Rabindranath Tagore, who not only in his famous poem but in many of his writings and utterances highlighted the role of Inner Asian peoples in our past. I own with pride the lessons I had at the feet of Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, who in my knowledge, was the first scholar to highlight as a historian the role of Inner Asia in the life and culture of the entire country.

A few scholars had earlier written on the races from Inner Asia finding their permanent habitat in India. James Tod in the last century wrote his monumental work on the tribes and dynasties later known as Rajput.

Text of Prabodh Bagchi Memorial Lecture at Visva-Bharati on 19 January 1987. The four notes, printed at the end, were read as prefatory to the Lecture.

Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, in the first quarter of this century, wrote on foreign elements in Indian population, particularly of Western India. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee wrote on foreign diction in Indian languages particularly in Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindi. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi from around 1925 made a survey of "Central Asian nomads" setting in, or passing through, India from pre-historic times. He did not confine himself to ethno-linguistic or regional aspects, but presented his findings as a historian of the entire sub-continent, in a few writings, which are not less important than his great contributions as Sinologist or Sanskritist.

Professor Bagchi's untimely death (1956) took place when the Soviet archaeologists had unearthed in Western Turkestan an enormous haul of Kushana antiquities. If he had lived for five years more, I am certain, Professor Bagchi would have ably supplemented the findings of Western scholars like Harold Bailey, Bongard Levin or Litvinsky. India's loss in the field of Inner Asian studies remains irreparable.

I am neither an antiquarian nor a linguist and I am not fit to follow the trail blazed by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi. My homage to the great polymath is an exercise to condense four thousand years' contacts between Inner Asia and India in an hour long essay. As a student of history I am well aware of the pitfalls in such summing up whether in twenty pages or in as many volumes. I feel diffident when I remember the lapses of the foremost historical scholar of our times Arnold Toynbee, whether in his mammoth work *A Study of History* or in his interesting monograph *Between the Oxus and the Jumna*. I thank the Visva Bharati Vice-Chancellor for this gracious invitation to deliver the Bagchi Memorial Lecture. I thank my fellow students and my fellow teachers that you bear with me for an hour.

WHAT IS INNER ASIA? WHAT IS INDIA?

The expressions Inner Asia and India may be explained at the outset. Why not Central Asia and why not Bharat?

The expression 'Central Asia' has been variously understood. For most, Central Asia includes Pamirs and all Turkish speaking regions within Russia and China. Some would include only Uzbek, Kirghiz, Kazak and Tadzhik areas of Russia and Sinkiang of China. Some recently have included Afghanistan. Many on the otherhand exclude Afghanistan, and with good reason include Tibet and Inner Mongolia. In fact all these regions have been so much interconnected from pre-historic times through folk movements and in historical times through commerce and trade that the expression 'Inner Asia' provides a commodious form. Inner Asia comprehends, in my submission, all the Asian highlands and steppes which are landlocked that is, far away from

the warm waters of the high seas or oceans. 'High seas' is more relevant because to peoples of this landlocked landmass all lakes - big or small -- have all through been 'seas'. In my study I thus include the mass of lands spreading clockwise from the Baikals in the northeast to the Caspian in the southwest. The southern limits marked by the mountains like the Himalayas are clear while the northern limits are lost in the snows and steppes. To use modern geographical terms People's Republic of Mongolia; Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Amdo, Kham and Tibet regions of People's Republic of China; and Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tadzhik, Uzbek and Turkmen besides Buriat, Kalmyk and Tuva republics of USSR constitute Inner Asia. The Baikals in the north and the Pamirs in the south are within Inner Asia as much as Kokonor in the east and Aral Sea in the west.

India in my study here denotes the sub-continent known in our old popular writings as Jambudvipa and in ancient Greek writings vaguely as Indies. In the Mughal period the expression Hindostan was used without any religious or sectarian tone. I use 'India' not as a synonym for 'Bharat' as in our Constitution. I use the term for the Indic sub-continent which includes in modern terms India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal besides eastern regions of Afghanistan. I do so as a student of history and need emphasise that all parts of this sub-continent came under Inner Asian impact.

PRE-HISTORIC GEOGRAPHY

Some observations on the pre-historic geography of both Inner Asia and India are needed as the memories of these pre-historic times continued in the legends and myths, idiom and imagery, of the peoples and races inhabiting the lands down to the opening centuries of the Christian era.

Inner Asia for ages prior to the Paleolithic was mostly in ice age and several areas had glaciers or glacial rivers. In warmer Paleolithic age, the rivers and lakes became prized landmarks for the races around. Even in historical times the rivers and lakes would often wander and sometimes disappear. The ancient Greek belief that in most ancient times the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes flowed direct into the Caspian Sea is not turned down by modern geologists. Appearance of Aral Sea in its present dimensions cannot be dated today. Lake Lobnor has shifted from place to place in the age of Chinese travellers as even during the days of Sven Hedin and Aurel Stein once. Rivers have changed courses as Oxus, Jaxartes and Tarim in the first millennium after Christ. The Jaxartes now pouring into the Aral Sea used to be tributary of the Oxus in the first millennium A.D. Some rivers in Gobi and its north are now altogether lost in sands and steppes. The Tsangpo (Brahmaputra) in Tibet changed its direction from west to east.

Even with all these changes, a firm concept of 'Seven Rivers', whatever be their location, was in the mind of Inner Asian man from the Paleolithic times. Iranian 'Hapta Hindu' Sanskrit, 'Sapta Sindhu', Slav 'Semirechye' or Turkish 'Jiti -su' are echoes from the pre-historic past. Only geologists and antiquarians cannot be precise about the Seven Rivers. I may add another peculiarity of Inner Asian soil. Upheavals upto 1000 ft. or more are well-known. What is not so well-known is that swamps or sandbogs have turned into rocky soil in even less than three centuries. I have on-the-spot knowledge of what was a Dam (swamp) even in early eighteenth century and in 1950s a ready landing ground for supersonic aircraft in Tibet Region of China.

In India particularly in the north, physical geography underwent great changes in pre-Paleolithic times. The most notable change is that of the North Indian River. I cannot do better than speak in the words of Geologist Wadia, whom I had the privilege to know. "Ample evidence is found on the common ancestry of the Brahmaputra, Ganges and Indus rivers, their reversal and capture before attaining their present state which has influenced the course of Indian history at many a turn and corner. It was the notable pre-historic river, named the Siwalik, that flowed from the head of the Sindh gulf to the Punjab and thence at the feet of embryonic Himalaya chains through Simla and Nainital to Assam. Post-Siwalik earth movements in the Punjab brought about a dismemberment of this river system into three subsidiary systems: (1) the present Indus from North-West Hazara; (2) the five tributary rivers of the Indus; and (3) the rivers belonging to the Ganges system which finally took a south-eastern course". I need only emphasise that the common ancestry of these rivers continues to be in the catchment area of Kailas-Manas. I add that the estuaries of the Indus and the Ganges have changed their outlets considerably through last fifteen centuries. I also add how the thirsty Thar swallowed up the Saraswati in post-Vedic centuries.

GIFTS FROM INNER ASIA

In Post-Vedic literature, in Buddhist as well as Hindu legends, mountain Meru (Sumeru or Hemameru) and the neighbouring regions featured as Devakshetra. Mount Meru or the mountain system Meru has to be spotted somewhere from the Kun Lun in the east to the Pamirs in the west. The location of Meru as that of Bindu Sarovar is long forgotten in India while the veneration for these regions were adored as treasure lands. In grateful imagination of our remote forefathers Jambudvipa, south of Himavat, had the choicest gifts from the Devabhumi, north of Himavat. Tribistaba or Tibet, was in these Deva regions.

History bears testimony to these gifts counted in our legends as innumerable and immeasurable. I may reduce the count to "three", an auspicious number both in Inner Asia and India in ancient times. The three are : RIVER, MAN and HORSE. The river fed by eternal snow, the man with brains and brawns and the mount with majesty and mobility shaped the history of India since ancient most times.

While the rivers and the races attract much notice through this essay, for obvious reasons, the horses cannot command the notice they deserve. I may quote here how the Vedic Rishis portrayed the noble animal.

hayo bhutvā devān avahad vājī gandharvān
arvā asurān aśvo manuṣyān

(This animal carried the Deva as Haya, the Gandharva as Vajin, the Asura as Arvan and the Manushya as Asva.)

As is well known even today with "mechanized cavalry", say around the Pamirs, the old fashioned "hoofed carrier" is handy and indispensable for reconnoitring, scouting and supply services. Internal combustion engine has not completely replaced the "Ass from Asia" as the ancient Egyptians described the strange animal used by some Hyksos warriors. Till the Indus script is deciphered we have to be in the dark to know how the Indus people described the mount of the Aryan invader. Even an animal less noble, that is, Asvatara or mule, was of use to the Aryan and succeeding immigrants from Inner Asia.

THE RIVERS

A country is rightly described as the gift of a river, if the history or life of the people there is determined by the river. Thus we have the saying "Egypt is the gift of Nile". It will not be wrong to say that the entire continent of Asia is the gift of its great rivers.

All the great rivers of Asia, except the four in Deccan (South India) and the two in Mesopotamia (Iraq), rise in Inner Asia and flow into the warm waters of high seas. These great rivers may be mentioned clockwise. These are Amur, Hwang Ho, Yantze Kiang, Mekong, Salween, Irawaddy, Brahmaputra, Ganges and Indus. The two great beneficiaries, from the Inner Asian fons et origo are China and India. China from ancient times considered the great streams as indispensable material wealth to be systematically drawn upon. India from ancient times esteemed the great streams as divine waters: āpo devīh or āpo divyāh. In later times even the Muslims or Christians of Indian

stock would prize the rivers as gifts of God rather than bounties from Nature. It is only from the beginning of the current century that a materialist attitude to our great rivers may be noticed. From the middle of the century all countries of the Indic sub-continent are fully awake to the material or mundane merits of the divine water.

The river as a deity was possibly there among the Pre-Aryan peoples, Dravidian or Kolarian. But the divinity, sanctity or sublimity attached to the rivers of Jambudvīpa may be traced to the Rig Veda, that is, the Aryan invaders who settled down in the Punjab. The rivers are referred to with respect in Rig Veda and the object of highest veneration in Saraswati, the Nāditama. The honorific for a river was Sindhu, though this term was principally for the Indus in the beginning and exclusively for the Indus later. This honorific, Sindhu, was in respect of seven rivers only, as is evidenced from a number of occurrences in Rig Veda and later Samhitas. It is however not clear what are the seven rivers, though Indus itself and the river par excellence Saraswati would certainly be in Sapta Sindhu, if the seven rivers were in the land where Rig Veda was composed.

Hindus and Buddhists in Jambudvīpa preserved the tradition of Seven Rivers down the centuries. In Puranas and like literature rivers flowing out of Bindu Sarovara were named also. The elite as well as the common folk in India however never bothered much about the exact rivers collectively called Sapta Sindhu. Max Muller, at the end of the last century, identified the seven as the Indus with its five tributaries plus Nāditama Saraswati. Other scholars preferred Kapisa (Kubha/Kabul) or Oxus in place of Saraswati. Macdonnell and others held that the "seven sacred streams" of Rig Veda should not be identified with any actual physical streams. (Vide Vedic Index). This theory is no mere running away from any historical reality. Sri Aurobindo, the sage of Pondichery, has the last word when he says that the seven streams of Rig Veda are symbolic of the virtues like Energy, Light or Truth. In my submission the Sapta Sindhu of Rig Veda had no reality in physical world. The expression no doubt was a firm reality, come with the Aryans from their earlier habitat in the Oxus-Jaxartes plains. It may have some legendary origins or it may be that some seven rivers were conspicuous in pre-historic Inner Asia. The Aryans carried the imagery of seven rivers down to Punjab and much beyond. It should however be noted that at least 27 rivers find mention in Rig Veda. In my submission Sapta Sindhavah, occurring only once in Rig Veda, did not refer to Punjab. I may add here that even in the evolution of the word 'Sindhu' Han, Tokhar and Hittite elements are noticed. Not unlikely both Sindhu and Sapta Sindhu were in the dialect of the Aryans before they crossed the Hindukush.

Sri Aurobindo is right in his warning that comparative philology or physical geography cannot guide us to the inner metaphysical meaning of the Veda. The Vedic words and expressions have an external as well as an internal connotation. It is beyond the scope of my present task, as also beyond my abilities, to speak on the inner metaphysical meanings of Sindhu, Sapta Sindhu and other terms in Rig Veda. Sri Aurobindo's writings (1914-16) later collected in the book On the Veda (Pondicherry 1956) may be consulted.

SAPTA SINDHU

The point I contend is that the imagery or nomenclature of Seven Rivers was so firm in the mind of the Aryan immigrants that they christened the rivers around their new settlement as Sapta Sindhu. No amount of research can establish beyond caveat the names and locations of the Seven Rivers of Rig Veda.

Post Vedic literature - Buddhist, Jain and Puranic - records traditions of seven streams radiating from lake or lakes across the Himalayas: Lake Bindusaras being most commonly cited. The seven rivers streaming out of Bindusaras are Ganga, Nalini, Plavani, Hladini, Sita, Chakshu and Sindhu. Ganga or Ganges, Sindhu or Indus, Sita or Jaxartes and Chakshu or Oxus are clear and legible. D.C. Sircar identified, tentatively, Hladini with upper Brahmaputra (Tsangpo in Tibet), Plavani with Irawaddy, and Nalini with Salween or Mekong. (Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India Varanasi 1960). S.M. Ali, a geographer drawing upon ancient literary sources as also modern geological data, holds that the waters from this legendary lake "not only flowed through visible outlets but also through subterranean channels, which according to the Puranas were legitimate outlets for enclosed watersheds." (The Geography of the Puranas New Delhi 1966). The orthodox belief that Gangotri has subterranean feeders from Manas-Kailas area is not rejected by geologists today. S.M. Ali's conjecture that Yangtze Kiang is the principal eastern river from the legendary lakes seems correct; the source of Salween or Irawaddy would be far away from the legendary spot.

If Sapta Sindhavah of Rig Veda referred to any definite land, it was in their homeland dominated by some seven streams.

SEVEN RIVERS IN INNER ASIA AND INDIA

Geology confirms that in pre-historic as well as historic times there have been many rivers spread over Inner Asia. Of these many, the several inland rivers, that is, those which did not reach any high seas or oceans were of vital importance in the life and welfare of the races, nomadic or sedentary. Geology can not be sure about the seven particular rivers.

The memory of races and tribes of Inner Asia however has preserved the imagery of seven rivers down to the days of Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin. Thus Sanskrit Sapta Sindhu made room for some Tokhar expression whose Turki equivalent in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was Jiti-su, rendered in Russian as Semirechye. Semirechye, in Russian administrative geography, comprised only the eastern side of the Oxus-Jaxartes plains and mainly the basins of the lakes Issik-Kul and Balkhash. In the period of Mongol Empire and till the seventeenth century Semirechye included portions of Eastern Turkestan (Sinkiang). Scholars, like Vasily Vladimir Barthold, hint about the changing boundaries of the land of seven rivers in the middle ages. (Vide for example Barthold's "History of the Semirechye" in Four Studies in the History of Central Asia Leiden, 1962). The concept of Sapta Sindhu as a geographical fact or a historical reality was subject to changes in frontiers or dimensions in Inner Asia, and likewise in India.

Rig Veda refers to Sapta Sindhu conspicuously but never names the seven Sindhus. The Tenth Mandala refers to 21 rivers and names them; Verse 75 gives the most comprehensive list. More significant than curious is the first name in the list, that is, Ganga; and strangely enough Sindhu with its western tributaries are named at the end. The last Mandala of Rig Veda was composed when the Aryans had on-the-ground knowledge of Ganga and Yamuna. The Verse 75, in my submission, not only upholds the sanctity of Ganga but also hints a sanctity far higher than that of Sindhu.

When Aryanisation of the entire country was complete and when the sacred rivers had to be located, only seven were found worthy. Ganga, Yamuna, Godavari, Saraswati, Narmada, Sindhu and Kaveri. Jambudvipa Bharatavarsha was now become Sapta Sindhavah and each Sindhu in the list was declared as holy as Ganga.

The sages of Mahabharata recognise in the form of ablution prayer that the Seven Rivers were the springs of our material as well as moral wealth.

PRE-ARYANS FROM INNER ASIA

It is generally thought that the Aryans or Indo-Aryans were the first invaders from Inner Asia. Some scholars suggest that a Mongoloid race, may be called Tibeto-Burman, were first such invaders or immigrants in fair numbers. A Tibeto-Burman race movement beginning from the Pamirs marched southeast along both sides of the Himalayas. Those on the southern tracks completed their wanderings in Burma, Thailand and Cambodia. Some however sought home in the Himalayas.

In the Harappa sites, besides large numbers of Dravidian and Aryan skeletal remains, not insignificant quantity of Mongoloid skulls and bones have been

found. Mongoloid traders and travellers to Indus Valley cannot be ruled out in those days because of esoteric mystic cult flourishing in Indus Valley with Pamirs-Kailas as focal point in such religion. (cf. Mircea Eliade: Shamanism London, 1964). Some scholars hold that the Aryans had with them Mongoloid soldiers who were already familiar with northern parts of the Indus Valley. A British archaeologist, serving as a Brigadier during the War, used very modern terms to describe these Mongoloids of 2000 B.C. He put the question "Did the Aryan invaders have with them Gurkha scouts and pioneers?" (Mortimer Wheeler): Indus Civilization Cambridge, 1953).

The Tibeto-Burman migration through the plains below the southern slopes of the Himalayas began c. 2000 B.C. and continued for nearly a thousand years. Around 1000 B.C. all over the Himalayas from Ladakh to Lohit there were colonies of Tibetan speaking population. It is such pre-Aryans from Inner Asia who gave this country words or names like Ganga, Anga, Vanga and Kalinga. Even the word Linga first occurring in later Vedic literature was a Tibetan word (Gling), later Aryanized and Indianized. Ganga for example is Sanskrit form of Gang-ri-mo (daughter of snow mountain) or Gang-mo (daughter of snow). Along with such diction, Mongoloid esoteric mysticism got duly Indianised. It is not necessary to digress here into the subject of Tibetan Tantra in Indian system. (Vide Prabodh Bagchi: Studies in the Tantras Calcutta 1939; Mircea Eliade: Yoga New York 1969; and works of Arthur Avalon/John Woodroffe,) It is necessary to emphasise that such foreign elements go back to the Pre-Aryan period. (Vide Bagchi: Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India Calcutta 1929).

THE INDO-ARYANS

The branch of Aryans who invaded and settled in India are designated Indo-Aryans. The invasion may be dated between 2000 B.C. and 1500 B.C. Their first military encounters were with the people who had built a rich civilization in the Indus Valley and were progressing eastward inside the sub-continent. Destruction of forts, cities and even waterworks, as evidenced from the ruins of the so-called Harappa sites, speaks of total victory of the Indo-Aryans.

Horse, the new engine of war, was no doubt superior to elephant and bull. A superior weapon of war was also used by the invader. The Indo-Aryan weapon was of the hardest metal known to man ever since. It was iron against which copper or bronze was of no avail. From the legendary period of sage Dadhichi to the historical period of poet Rudyard Kipling, it is iron -- cold iron -- which has decided the course of battles in Punjab, India and all over the world.

May be the Deva worshippers had perfected the iron tool earlier. The Asura Vritra would be a Dravidian if he was slain when Rig Veda was composed. I accept the brilliant suggestion of Kalyan Kumar Ganguli that Vajra marks the transition from stone or bronze to iron. Indra's weapon was perhaps blessed by the sage who donated his bones to breathe mystic spirit into it.

It was, however, neither horse nor sword, which primarily accounted for Aryan expansion over the entire sub-continent: in the north upto the estuary of the Ganges within a few centuries; in the south upto Kumarika within a thousand years. All Jambudvipa, south of Himavat, was by and large Aryanized, when Gautama Buddha preached a religion different from the Vedic system. The Indo-Aryan victors were as great statesmen as warriors. The victors were masters and could not readily treat the conquered natives as their equals. The Indo-Aryans, however, wanted to be at home in their homeland; there was thus no question of segregation or apartheid. "There are no slaves in India" was the pithy remark of Greek observers of Chandragupta Maurya's time. Co-operation of the conquered was warmly sought; gods and rituals of the vanquished were tolerated and even adopted or adapted; the learning or knowledge of the victors was duly shared with eligibles. As a result Jambudvipa was the Golden Hind when Cyrus the Great (c. 550 B.C.) invaded Gandhara.

I cannot deny, nor do I admire, the evil features like "caste". I praise the merits of the Indo-Aryans to affirm that the later Inner Asian invaders like Sakas, Kushanas and Hunas merely followed the wise tradition of being at home in their new homeland.

In fact I do not intend to speak on the grand achievements in arts and sciences or philosophies and religions traceable to the Aryans. I should refer you to the testimony of foreigners. Well-known are the names of William Jones, Max Muller, Woodroffe, Zetland, and my late lamented friend Basham. I better mention only three and none of them Indologist: Arthur Schopenhauer, Henri Bergson and Romain Rolland.

QUINTESENCE OF INDO-ARYAN LEGACY

I must however present the quintessence of the legacy of these great nomads from Inner Asia. This is usually little noticed because the long lists of achievements in arts and sciences or philosophies and religions divert one from the highest truth of Indo-Aryan way of life.

Vedic religion has been described with so many different words: pantheism, polytheism, henotheism, monotheism, monism, mysticism and what not. The Vedic seers summed up:

Ekaṁ Sat : Viprā bahudhā vadanti

That which Is, is One. Wise men speak of It in many ways. (Eng. Tr. Suniti Kumar Chetterji). Whether we date this wise saying to 1500 B.C. or 1000 B.C., here we have the first recorded statement that the Absolute or Transcendental may be described or realized in diverse ways. In no other religion, earlier or later, we come across such sentiments. Inspiration of this wise saying could have been in the wonderful environment of Inner Asia. "My religion right or wrong or "My God is true God" was never practised in Inner Asia till the middle of the last century. I shall refer to this later again. I, however, anticipate a little known fact: Islam did not use sword much in Turkestan.

"God has many names" or that "Different beliefs are different routes to the summit" is the Indo-Aryan legacy for the world. The legacy was given to world in modern times by Ramakrishna Paramahansa through Swami Vivekananda. Definition of the Absolute was considered a dogma and as is well-known Buddha was altogether silent on God.

No reference to Buddha can be worthwhile if it is not emphasised that Buddha was the first prophet to preach a religion for all. Confucius, Moses, Zoroaster and even the Vedic seers preached for their own people and all these religions were ethnocentric. Buddha's religion was for all mankind and it is an undisputed fact that Dharma was not propagated with sword. In all countries Sthaviras or Theras were welcome and in many countries Buddhist missionaries went on invitation. In Inner Asia even when Dharma had full state patronage, believers in other religions did not suffer any disability. I may anticipate here that the Mongol Khans had high seats for the Lamas in open court where all else had to stand all the time. Yet in Mongol administration, both civil and military, there were Confucians, Hebrews, Christians and Moselms in high offices.

LEGACY FOR INDIA

Ya eko'varṇo bahudhā śaktiyogāt
 Varnān anekān nihitārtho dadhāti
 Vicaiti cānte viśvam ādau sa devaṇ
 Sa no buddhyā śubhayā Saṁyunaktu

He who is one, who is above all colour distinctions, who dispenses the inherent needs of men of all colours, who comprehends all things from their beginning to the end, let Him unite us to one another with wisdom which is the wisdom of goodness. (Eng. Tr. Rabindranath Tagore).

To be at home in their new homeland, the Aryans had to recognise the original or earlier inhabitants as indispensable both for material and moral development. Thus exchange of religious speculations, rituals or deities at

different levels, in different regions, was a spontaneous process spread over centuries. there was no compulsion on either side.

Sanskrit, the language of the scriptures, was for the elite, Aryan or not. Vernaculars of the pre-Aryans were supported while popular dialects (Prakrit) were permitted to grow. Sanskrit alphabet, after the invention of Brahmi, naturally became the alphabet of even Dravidian languages with modifications. Even if the script of every language was not all conformist to the Brahmi, a common Varnamala effectively united the different languages and those who spoke these languages. Loan words in Sanskrit from native languages strengthened the ties between the Aryans and the non-Aryans. Sanskrit accommodating non-Aryan deities and rituals became sacred for the non-Aryans. The Use of Vermilion for rituals or any auspicious occasion was learnt from the Mundari people (Source : Sarat Chandra Roy & Nirmal Kumar Bose). In due course Vermilion became the mark of sanctity as well as prosperity all over the Aryanised sub-continent. The master colour, SINDURA, united all castes and all colours.

The daily remembrance of the Seven Rivers – Ganga, Yamuna, Godavari, Saraswati, Narmada, Sindhu, Kaveri – was more than an act of piety. It was a reminder of the unity of the vast country which drew sustenance from the seven rivers. Fundamental unity of India was the workmanship of Indo-Aryan sages.

POST-ARYAN NOMADS

Sanskrit literature, Hindu as well as Buddhist provide long lists of invaders and immigrants from Inner Asia besides the Yavanas and Parasikas from West. The most important from Inner Asia were Saka, Kushana and Huna.

In Sanskrit accounts the Sakas precede the Yavanas, that is, the Greeks. Western scholars found this wrong on the basis of Chinese evidence that the Sakas entered India in first century B.C. Prabodh Bagchi made a thorough examination of the movements of different groups of Saka race from Sanskrit, Chinese as well as Greek accounts and concluded firm that a group or tribe of Saka race had invaded and settled in India long before the establishment of Yavana rule in India. (Vide Bagchi's Presidential Address to Indian History Congress, Aligarh in the Journal of Greater India Society, Calcutta 1943). This conclusion has cleared up several obscure points in our ancient history. We have also to thank Prabodh Bagchi for his finding that the famous Kamboja people, associated with Gandhara, were post-Aryan immigrants from Inner Asia. Both Saka and Kamboja peoples are known to have left their legacy in Sanskrit diction. Much has been revealed by researches of P.C. Bagchi, H.W. Bailey and F.W. Thomas to mention only three such scholars. The epithet 'Tathagata' for Buddha and "the spotless white horse" associated with Gautama siddhartha are, according to many scholars, of Inner Asia background.

SAKA KUSHANA HUNA

The Sakas came in much larger numbers in the first century B.C. and settled down mostly in Punjab, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra. There were Saka colonies in Gangetic plains and perhaps in Karnataka in South. They became completely Indianized in a century or so and became patrons or protectors of Indian religion(s). The Kshatrapas or Mahakshatrapas are well known figures of our history and I need not detail their achievements. The growth of Vaishnavism or Bhagavata Cult and the spread of sun worship through Sakadvipi Brahmanas are attributed to Saka patronage. I would draw your notice to Saka Era (beginning with 78 A.D.) Whoever might have invented this era had studied the longterm atmospheric and consequent seasonal changes so scientifically that Meghnad Saha advised the government of Independent India to fix the reckoning of months Vaisakha onward as in Saka Era for our national calendar. It may be noted that Meghnad Saha, besides being the leading astro-physicist, probed deep into all ancient calendars including those of Babylon, Chaldea and Egypt.

Parthians, an Iranian tribe with much Inner Asian associations, came almost the sametime with the Sakas, and ruled in the Indus Valley till the rise of Kushanas. The Parthians seemed to have introduced Surya Puja which had much patronage of the Sakas.

The Sakas, Parasikas and Kushanas brought in a number of icons of which Amitabha and Avalokitesvara are final Indianized forms. Manjusri, a deity associated with Prajna Paramita: the basic scripture of Mahayana, was no doubt come from far in the northeast, the border regions of Mongolia-Manchuria, the earliest habitat of Yueh-chi race. The recent finds of Kushana antiquities in Western Turkestan support the hypothesis that iconic forms of Dharmakaya, Sambhogakaya and Nirmanakaya Buddhas were in the making there independent of Hellenistic inspiration. (Vide Gafurov, Bongard Levin etc: Kushan Studies in USSR Calcutta 1970).

Ignoring the fresh controversies in the chronology of the Sakas and Kushanas, I may highlight an important outcome of Saka Kushana rule in political thought. In Vedic and Post-Vedic periods monarchy and republican tribes were the normal institutions while divinity for kings was unknown. Buddha even spoke of contract in tracing the origins of state and kingship. Concept of Son of Heaven (Devaputra) came with the Yueh-chis and the concept of Rex Imperator as semi-divine came with the Saka. Yueh-chis were under Han influence and Sakas were under influence of Caesarism.

This concept of Divine Monarchy was prized by Purana compilers and the great Gupta kings were nothing short of Parama Daivata, Parama Bhatta-

raka or Parama Bhagavata. Divine Right became an integral part of Hindu philosophy. The Hunas, who invaded Gupta Empire, also brought the Han doctrine of Son of Heaven but it was no novelty for India then.

The Hunas were notorious for their violent acts and cruel treatment of the conquered. Even then, when they found permanent homes in the conquered land; they sought admission to the religion or way of life of the natives. Their descendants mostly settled in Punjab, Rajasthan and Gujarat became good Hindu and as is well-known under names like Gurjara, Pratihara, Paramara, Chauhana or Rathora their descendants fought and successfully resisted the Arabs, Afghans and Turks who came with a mission to preach their religion and settle in India with their religion as the state religion. I return to this later.

Meanwhile I speak on several racial groups collectively called Tukhara in Sanskrit accounts. Tukhara as distinguished from Kushana and Huna was in India during the Kushana rule and later during Harsha's reign. What exactly happened to them and when some of them got Indianized will remain a problem till the chronology of Kushana rule and the affinities of numerous foreign invaders till Harsha's time (606-647) are satisfactorily fixed.

I may note the important Tukhara contribution in Indian vocabulary. The word 'Thakura', unknown to Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, does not occur in Sanskrit literature before 500 A.D. The word was possibly current in many north Indian dialects before the Imperial Guptas. Sylvain Levi, Frederick Thomas and Harold Bailey among foreign scholars and Prabodh Bagchi, Suniti Chatterji and Buddha Prakash among Indian scholars agree on 'Thakura' being a loan word from Inner Asia, Tukhara regions. (Vide Buddha Prakash in Central Asiatic Journal Vol III, No. 3). It may be noted that in South India among orthodox Brahmins, Thakura or Thakur is not a popular term obviously because of its Tukhara or Turuska background.

Expressions like Saka-Huna or Saka-Kushana-Huna generally stand for all Post-Aryan nomads from Inner Asia till the advent of Islam. Puranas and Buddhist texts give long lists which cannot be incorporated in this summary view. Besides all the races and/or tribes listed cannot be satisfactorily identified. Kamboja and Tukhara, mentioned earlier, still defy both ethnologists and linguists. Khasa, featuring in Sanskrit accounts, settled in Central Himalayas, and the principal language of Nepal, Khaskura, is a reminder of the Khasa immigrants. Did the Khasas come from Kashgar? Some hold the Khasas to be a branch of the Kassities migrating to the Pamirs. An additional problem is that when the different successive nomads settled down they would sometimes be mixed up through marriages or common occupations. Gujars in many places of Punjab and Rajasthan have both Saka and Huna blood in their veins.

I notice two peoples, Murundas and Chulikas, about whom Prabodh Bagchi made pioneer comments. Murundas were often bracketed with Sakas in some inscriptions and books. Bagchi highlighted the Puranic knowledge of the Murundas as quite distinct from Sakas, and traced their advent much before the foundation of the Gupta empire and spread upto Pataliputra in third century, A.D. From Chinese records, Bagchi noticed an interesting event, that in the middle of third century, a Murunda king of Pataliputra exchanged gifts with a king of Funan. The Murunda king's presents included "four horses of Yueh-chi country". Murunda expansion to Anga, Pundra and Radha regions is now accepted.

Bagchi made a very important contribution about the ancient ancestors of the Chalukyas and presented cogent facts to trace the first Chalukyas to the Sogdians come into northwest India along with Saka-Yavana-Pahlava invaders about the Christian Era. These Sogdians, mostly mercantile and agricultural were known in Prakrit as Sulika or Chulika. The Sulkis who settled down in the northwest mainly around Multan, long after Indianization, came to be known as the Sud Khettris. But many of the Sogdians are known to have gone towards south along with the Sakas. The tribal name Sulika or Chulika had many variants in South: Sulika, Solaki or Solanki; and Chalika, Chulika, or Chalukya. (Vide P.C. Bagchi: India and Central Asia Calcutta 1955).

I refer to the Murundas and Chulikas to draw your notice to my submission made at the beginning that all the Inner Asian invaders made their impact all over this sub-continent. The horses with Murundas were either from Mongolia or from Kirghiz-Kazakh regions as later also till the mid-nineteenth century. The Multani Khettris, I may emphasise, used to have their own mercantile agencies in Samarkand, Tashkent, Bokhara and around till the middle of the last century. Their decline followed the rising encounter between British and Russians from about the seventies of nineteenth century.

INVADERS AND RULERS FROM WEST

The first Muslim invasion was that of Sind by Arabs in 711. The Arabs could not penetrate further because of the Rajputs, descendants of Saka-Huna settlers. A century later Arab merchants visited regularly the Saurashtra coast. The Rashtrakuta rulers who had given asylum to the Iranian (Parsi) refugees on condition that the refugees would respect the religious beliefs of this country, gave facilities to Arab merchants for trade but no rights to proselyte. In mid-tenth century arose the Kingdom of Ghazni with both secular and religious aspirations. Sultan Mahmud (998-1030) invaded India seventeen times, and looted the rich towns and temples including Multan in

Punjab, Kangra in Himalayas, Kanauj and Mathura in Gangetic plains and Somnath in Gujarat. Mahmud could not build an empire in India but drained the material resources of the country and damaged the morale of the people. India posed no difficulty to the Pathans and Turks in Afghanistan. India was now open for conquest and conversion

From 1192 when Prithviraja Chauhana lost to Muhammad Ghori till 1526 when Ibrahim Lodi lost to Babur Mughal, Muslim Sultans ruled over North India and Deccan. They were zealous believers, directly concerned with the conversion of natives to their faith and professed allegiance to the Caliph of Islam.

INVADERS FROM INNER ASIA

Zahiruddin Babur (1526-1530) called himself Padshah and did not recognise the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph. His ancestors on mother's side, Chengiz Khan and immediate successors, had conquered Turkestan from the Caliphate (1208-20; 1235; 1255). His paternal ancestor Timur (Tamerlane) had proclaimed himself Grand Amir of Transoxania (c. 1370) and even invaded Syria-Mesopotamia (c. 1400). The Ottoman Caliph was a mere phantom for Turkestan when Babur was born (1483). Ironically in Europe since 1453 the Ottoman Sultan on his Divan of Constantinople was a dreaded barbarian

Arabs brought Islam into Western Turkestan from about 750 and Semirechye was converted about 960. Islam spread over Eastern Turkestan in eleventh and twelfth centuries. Buddhism was in decline and Shamanism was reviving. Therefore Islam had not to use sword much. On the otherhand Muslim scholars and priests would probe into Buddhist learning; and according to Barthold and others, the first Madrasas were inspired by the Buddhist Viharas. This spirit of respect for merits of non-believers very much flourished when the Mongol Khans conquered Turkestan in the thirteenth century. I may refer to the well-known Mongol patronage to scholars and administrators of all religions though the Mongol State religion was Mahayana Buddhism. After the fall of Mongol Khanate, the Mongols in Turkestan intermarried with the Turks and underwent conversion into Islam. The spirit of co-existence continued in Turkestan. Even the great Timur was more interested in conquest than in conversion. Turkestan in the fourteenth century produced a scholar-scientist in Mirza Ulugh-beg (1394-1449). Ulugh-beg's astronomical tables and astronomical observatory at Samarkand were pioneer efforts which inspired similar projects in other countries including India. Ulugh-beg was not very orthodox and was murdered by men professing to be orthodox.

Inner Asia in the second half of fifteenth century was not the special preserve of one particular religion. The great saint of medieval Asia, Guru Nanak (1469-1538), made pilgrimage to holy places of all religions. Among the regions the great saint visited was Oxus Valley and Kailas-Manas. I repeat that the environment or ethos of Inner Asia proclaims the varied and vast grandeur of the Transcendental. Concord and peace follow realization of this truth. The first Great Mughal, Babur, though loyal to his own faith, came from the land which fostered concord and peace.

The Mughal Empire in India was the first Islamic state to be outside the authority of the Caliphate; and from its inception till the accession of Aurangzeb (1657) this Empire had no special mission to proselyte or to treat the Hindus or other non-Muslims as second class citizens.

To be fair to the pre-Mughal rulers, I have to point out two names. Shah Zainul Abidin (1420-1470) of Kashmir and Sher Shah the last Pathan Emperor (1539-1545) ruled as the protector of all communities and could recognise merits in their subjects irrespective of their religious beliefs. These two names stand out as exceptions to the norm of the Pre-Mughal Muslim regime in India.

The Inner Asian tradition of "five faiths as five fingers on one's hand", proclaimed by the Mongol Khans, found its finest efflorescence in the reign of the Greatest Mughal, Jalaluddin Akbar (b. 1542, acc. 1556 & d. 1605). It is not necessary to detail here Akbar's administrative measures and reforms, his matrimonial alliances with the descendants of the Sakas/Hunas and his wise or unwise formulation of a religion for all. A British bureaucrat-cum-historian, Vincent Smith, aptly describes Akbar's new city Fatehpur Sikri with a forum for all faiths as "the reflex of Akbar's mind". Akbar's two immediate successors Jahangir and Shah Jahan were no doubt smaller than Akbar and committed a few indiscreet acts against the Hindus. Even then the spirit of mutual understanding or respect for others' beliefs continued till Aurangzeb won the War of Succession and killed his eldest Dara Shukoh (1657). Dara Shukoh was extremely well-read in the Vedanta, the Talmud, the New Testament and the Sufi writings. A leading administrator of the Company Raj, William Sleeman, while watching the grave of Dara Shukoh thought aloud that had Dara lived to occupy the throne the nature of education and therewith the destiny of India would have been different.

Before I proceed with Aurangzeb and the later Mughals, I must emphasise the greatness of the Great Mughals till 1657. In contemporary Europe the state policy was 'cujus regio ejus religio' (religion of the king is the religion of the region) as most bigotedly inscribed in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). Hindus had protection while on pilgrimage to Kailas-Manas or Sita Chakshu and the Hindu merchants from Multan and Shikarpur freely operated in

Kashgar, Bokhara or Semarkand. Tibetan merchants and pilgrims came to Gaya and Varanasi and some would go upto Swat associated with Guru Padmasambhava. (Vide Tucci : Tibetan Pilgrims in Swat Valley Calcutta 1939).

THE AGE OF VASCO DA GAMA

Though Aurangzeb (1658-1707) was the last Great Mughal and he ruled over the largest extent of this sub-continent, the fall of this great empire began with him. Disunity and discord between different communities and rise of independent states both Hindu and Muslim began during Aurangzeb's reign, and invited the distant Western powers to prospects of conquering the Golden Hind. The Age of Vasco da Gama had already begun (1498). Reference to the advent of European powers has to be made for the simple reason that these powers would utilize all means for conquest or control: trade, sword and religion. Some powers like British and French would assign low priority to conversion and introduce the diplomacy of 'divide and rule' not only between different countries but also between different creeds in the Asiatic continent. Relevant to my subject is how such diplomacy was operated in Inner Asia and with India as background.

Indian pilgrims and Indian merchants, both Hindu and Moslem, continued in Inner Asia beyond the fall of the Mughal Empire. Khettris of Multan, Amils of Shikarpur, and Moslems of Kashmir valley traded all over Turkestan; and the Newars of Nepal and Muslims of Ladakh traded in Tibet. Fakirs and Sadhus moved all over what was called High Asia in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The British while exploring trade prospects in Inner Asia found the different communities living in absolute harmony - a phenomenon unknown in Europe. The British, however, found a field for divide and rule in the fact that the vast plains of the two rivers: Oxus and Jaxartes had Muslim population while the rulers were Christians called Russian. The British sympathy for the subject Turk was thus provoked, while in India after the Mutiny (1857) and with Wahavi Movement, the British had antipathy for the Muslim. So most amazing events took place all over Asia and eastern Mediterranean which exposed the inner contradictions of Pax Britannica.

EPILOGUE : ARMA GEDDON

To a student of history, Inner Asia, the ancient home of sublime harmony is today the theatre of supreme conflict. A few events in the preceding hundred years will tell the tale.

From about 1870 Britain had to woo Ottoman Turkey for controlling the Near East and was all out to shed tears for the Muslims of Inner Asia. Only

British Liberals and Romanov Tsars would cry against Armenian Massacres and Bulgarian Atrocities committed by the Ottoman Sultan, venerated as Caliph by orthodox Muslims. When Kaiser Wilhelm II, German Emperor, swore eternal friendship with the Caliph, British moved towards reconciliation with Russia. In 1907 Britain and Russia became best friends on the stipulation that Britain would not be friends of Muslims in Turkestan and Russia would give Britain and China freehand in Tibet. During the First World War (1914-18) Britain managed to sabotage and break up the Ottoman Empire by sponsoring Arab nationalism, and at the same time -- without Arab knowledge -- promising restoration of the homeland for Jews. The War ended also in the victory of the Caliph's internal enemy, Mustafa Kamal Pasha, who changed his name to Kamal Ata Turk, not only terminated Caliph's office and introduced some democratic reforms but also modernized Turkey so much so that Islamic orthodoxy was put an end to. The Grey Wolf standard of Kamal Pasha symbolized as it were the ancient Mongol tradition of place for all beliefs.

Britain again encountered Russia now Communist in Inner Asia. Tears for the Muslims of Turkestan again rolled down the Whitehall corridors while in New Delhi some British bureaucrats would don Fez cap. Second World War again brought Britain and Russia on the same side but in the aftermath the encounter was on a world wide scale. America with Britain as good second would try to engage Soviet Russia around Pamirs. More curious is that USA and People's Republic of China would be meeting on Karakoram heights to contain Soviet Russia. The end of the Heartland Story is not yet in sight. In sight is the spectrum on the horizon of India as well as Tibet.

NOTES

1. Use of first person singular is calculated. This is to emphasise my own individual responsibility, for facts, opinions and conclusions in my presentation here. I have been associated with several official and academic bodies engaged in study of subjects like Inner Asia or India, past or present, but these official or academic bodies are in no way responsible for the facts or views I state here. Use of words 'I', 'my', 'me' or 'myself' is not to claim scholarship but to disown responsibility of the academic and official bodies I have served for years.
2. The spellings of proper names in Roman transcription are generally as current in the middle of this century. The recent Chinese reform like Beijing for Peking is not followed, because such new nomenclature for Sinkiang, Tibet or Inner Mongolia would be confusing for reading the past history. For same reason place names in the Indian sub-continent are spelt as till the middle of this century.

3. Technical terms of geology and anthropology are avoided.
4. A basic premise in my study is that the so-called Aryans or that the race who spoke Vedic Sanskrit and composed the Rig Veda were not autochthonous in this sub-continent. I subscribe to Bal Gangadhar Tilak's finding that these Aryans, the Indo-Iranians, were settled in the vast valleys of the rivers: Oxus and Jaxartes, before they migrated South to Iran, Afghanistan and India. This conviction need not bind one to Tilak's other finding that the original home of The Aryans was in the Arctic. I also hold a basic premise that the authors of the Indus Civilization were pre-Aryan settlers who were Dravidian. Even before the Vedic Age was over the Aryans had to adopt and adapt a number of items from Dravidian religion and speech. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, a Bengali Brahmin, proudly called himself a Dravida (1925-30) and was not popular with all Brahmins who clung to their belief of Aryan ancestry. Two Western scholars, Burrows and Emeneau, have later listed the Dravidian loan words in Sanskrit; these words are for three thousand years now as sacred as those of Vedic vocabulary. I cite only two words: Pinda and Pandita.

CHOS-DBYINGS RDO-RJE, THE TENTH BLACK HAT KARMAPA

—H. E. Richardson

Two books on Lamas of the Karmapa tradition have been published recently: "Karmapa, the Black Hat Lama of Tibet" by Nik Douglas and Meryl White (Luzac, 1976) and "The History of the Sixteen Karmapas of Tibet" by Karma Thinley (Prajna Press, 1980). The former contains short accounts of the lives not only of the Black Hat (Zhwa Nag) but also of the Red Hat (Zhwa Dmar) incarnations and of several other great lamas of the Karma Bka'-brgyud sect. The second concerns only the sixteen Black Hat Lamas.

The accounts in both books are collated from a number of sources but neither author refers to the Rnam-thar Chen-mo of each great lama, mentioned in such works as vol. pa of the Chos-'byung of Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag 'phreng-bo, which are presumably the 'official' version. If any of these have survived in India it would be valuable to have them published in accessible form.

The existence of the two books mentioned above may seem to make it unnecessary to attempt any more biographies of the Karmapa Lamas; but neither of them is actually a translation from any of the sources. There are, in fact, few full translations of Tibetan rnam-thar in western languages. The Padma Bka'-thang is in a category of its own; but we have the magnificent hagiography of the lives of Marpa by Jacques Bacot and of Milarepa by Evans Wentz, the more straightforward biography of the great scholar Bu-ston by David Ruegg, and the lives of four simple lamas of Dolpo by David Snellgrove. The Karmapas were for some five centuries not only religious leaders but were actively involved in the politics of Tibet and I would like to convey the original flavour of Karmapa biography by translating the rnam-thar of at least one of their famous statesman-lamas.

The lives I find of particular interest are those of the Fifth Black Hat, De-bzhin gshegs-pa who established a close connection with the Ming Emperor Yung Lo; the Fourth Red Hat, Chos-grags ye-shes who, in alliance with the Rin-spungs princes, was the most influential figure in Tibet after the eclipse of Phag-mo-gru about 1492; and the Tenth Black Hat, Chos-dbyings rdorje, in whose time the power of the Karmapa was supplanted by that of the Gelugpa through the might of the Oirat Mongol armies of Gushri Khan. As an experiment I have started with the last which is the shortest of those to which I have access because I can use only one source – the series of brief lives in "Chos-rje Karmapa sku-'phreng rin-byon gyi rnam-thar mdor bsdud dpag-bsam khri-shing date 1851 and attributed by Thinley to Mendong Tshampa Rinpoche Ngaydon Tenjay.

The text is rather staccato and elliptical here and there. Some obscure points have kindly been clarified by the Tibetan scholar Samten Karmay but there are probably passages, especially relating to religious practices, which I have misinterpreted. Nevertheless, I hope that the course of events and the style of the biography have in general been fairly represented.

Several of the incidents appear in a different light from that in the two works mentioned above. The "invitation" to the court of the Golok ruler Chang Mowa (Lcags-mo-ba) is seen to have been virtually the kidnapping of the child by two Lcags-mo lamas for the sake of gain. There is no hint in the other biographies of the difficulty the Zhwa Dmar had in obtaining care of the child, or of various other unpleasant intrigues. The part said to have been played by Chos-dbyings rdo-rje in averting a Mongol invasion in 1635 is here, more probably, attributed to the Rgyal-tshab Rinpoche. The Lama's suffering and hardship during his flight from the Mongol army are related in more vivid and moving language than in the other works, as is the devotion of his personal attendant, the Rim-gro-pa, who served him faithfully in adversity for over thirty years. And the relationship of the Karmapa with the Fifth Dalai Lama, though touched on only briefly, seems more realistic than the account in Thinley's work.

There is a strange discrepancy from the chronology in Gelugpa histories in the attribution of the attack on the Karmapa's Camp to the year 1644 rather than 1642.

The stories are, of course, written from one point of view and to get a balanced picture of the period other sources such as the history by W.D. Shakabpa could be consulted. But the rnam-thar is not to be read as history but as the progress through earthly vicissitudes of a Lama whose character is well depicted, in the closing pages, as gentle, compassionate, retiring, unworldly, indifferent to misfortune, contemplative, artistic, a lover of animals, and essentially good.

In the translation which follows, suggested readings for the few passages where the text is illegible, are shown in brackets.

The sayings in verse of the Lama when a child are shown by asterisks.

A short rnam-thar of the tenth incarnation, Rgyal-mchog-chos-dbyings-rdo-rje.

As was foretold in a detailed communication by the late lama, at the time of his death, to Gar-dbang Thams-cad mkhyen-pa(1) about the place where the next holy incarnation would appear, in the lowest gorge of the eighteen great gorges of Mdo-khams, a country nowadays known as 'Gu-log(2), a father named Dhi-tsha khyi-ku-thar and a mother named A-mtsho had three sons, the eldest, Nam-mkha', the middle one A-'bum and the youngest, this present Lord born on the 28th day of the first month of the wood-dragon year (1604) at sunrise, without any difficulty to his mother. While he was still in the womb his mother had seen in a dream the form of Guru Padma, all radiant with light, enter her body; and she had other such wonderful dreams. She therefore called him O-rgyan skyabs. As soon as he was born he sat up on his haunches. He took a pace in each direction and uttered the essence of the six-letter formula and the Rdo-rje gcod-pa. When he was one year old his mother asked for an initiation from a certain lama but the child would not hear it. When they said "He is the Khyi-thul incarnation of the Guru" the child said "He is not Kyi-thul, he is Rang-byung Dga'-rab rdo-rje"; and he did reverence to him and received the initiation and blessing.

The late Lama in his lifetime was not greatly skilled as an artist but when his attendant the Lha-bris Sprul-sku Phan-bde laughed about that the child said "Later, I shall make you ashamed"; and accordingly, while he was still quite small, he painted pictures of deities and made rosary beads of many coloured wools. He made (a little seat) of straw from a bundle he was carrying on his back saying "Good Fortune!" and he said "I am the Karmapa, sound the rgya-qling well."

Having taken rebirth as one full of compassion, he said at the time of sheep-shearing "Do not harm the creatures in this way", and he wept. Loving all sentient creatures as dear friends and sacred beings, he said "Whenever I see flocks of sheep and cattle I regard them as myself and it pleases my mind". One day when his father was carrying him on his lap on horseback he said "Give me the whip and the reins" and when they were given to him he said "This creature by its nature goes where it pleases but if one instructs it regularly it becomes easy to govern, one should so instruct living creatures everywhere and direct them straight to deliverance and peace". Again, when he washed in a flowing stream or in rainwater he said "Water cleans the body; the whole flowing river of the scriptures cleans away the impurities of the mind". When it was time to eat and drink he told his rosary and repeated the six-letter formula.

At that time when it was widely reported that the Karmapa incarnation had been born in 'Gu-log country, the Lcags-mo Lamas, uncle and nephew, devised a wicked trick and giving many presents to the 'Gu-log Governor, Padma and to the father and mother, they constrained the incarnation together with his father and mother to be presented to Zla-ma(3) of Lcags-mo and installed him there. When he was five years old, being covetous of wealth, they took him towards the Rma-chu. Rma Sgom-ra(4) escorted him and there was a shower of rainbow light and flowers. Many wild animals accompanied him. The Lcags-mo uncle and nephew grabbed the many presents that were offered to him.

At one time when a rumour arose that the reincarnation of the Karmapa had been born at 'Bri-khung, the Lcags-mo-pa saying "Wherever this boy under our roof, the father and son, may go, let us go too", and they also went to Dbus. The All-knowing Zhwa Dmar who was staying at that time at Rtsa-ri Mtsho-dkar, sent his Gzim-dpon Mngon-dga' secretly together with servants, and gave the child the name Chos-dbyings rdo-rje as Ordained by the Adamantine Word of O-rgyan Chen-po, and he offered services of confirmation and a letter expressing his respect. Offerings of tea, and homage in large measure came from the king of 'Jang Sa-tham and from Dbus and Gtsang. When he was seven years old the Yang-ri(5) Drung-pa, who was known as Shag-rog-pa, in the guise of a monk offering flowers, invited him to the assembly tent and made a pretence of offering a service of good fortune. Then on the 14th day of the twelfth month more than three thousand monks of the Great Camp(6) of the All-knowing Zhwa Dmar and of Zur-lcog and Nyin-byed came there. On the fifteenth day, at Rgyal Phur 'Prod, the Father and Son met together. On the 23rd day of the first month of the Lo-gsar the All-knowing Gar-dbang, with incense in his hand, invited him to the Great Camp and performed the enthronement on the lion throne and the ceremony of good fortune. He gave into his care the black hat(7) with the gold frontlet, the seal, the umbrella and so on; and he made the great offering of lamps and incense. All the religious communities separately paid homage to him; and he put on the hat and performed the prayer of dedication. The All-knowing Zhwa Dmar said that the incarnation with his father and mother should be entrusted to him but the Yang-ri drung-pa and the Lcags-mo-ba did not agree and fearing that if they made over the child to the Zhwa Dmar they would not be able to get possession of his wealth, they were not willing to give him up. Then the Si-tu Rinpoche also came but the Yang-ri-ba and Lcags-mo-ba would not allow him to make a peaceful settlement.

The Sog-po king Kho-lo-ji(8) invited the Father and Son but, fearing that the Sog-po and the Sgar-pa might carry off the child, Yang and Lcags took him to another place as a means of evasion. At that time by severing the

connection with the hundreds of blessings of long life resulting from the meeting of Father and Son, all the ways to good fortune were thwarted and it was widely said to have caused great damage to the Karmapa faith.

One day when a stone, the size of a man's head, by the side of a river was broken open and many green worms came out, in pity for creatures in hell he uttered "Om Mani padme hum" and as soon as he cast his eyes on them they effected transmigration. At the age of eight he showed skill in the mystic dances expounded in the tantras. The many images, both painted and carved, which he made were really a delight to the eye(9). He received great gifts from the Emperor WenLi -- fifty rgya-ma of white sandal wood, two hundred lengths of silk for outer and inner garments, and so on. Also many gatherings of the faithful from other places offered great gifts when he gave them audience. An invitation was received from the King of 'Jang Sa-tham." (10)

In those days, treasuring dearly the rosary given him by the All-knowing Zhwa Dmar, the wishes of his heart were set only on prayers for a speedy meeting. Taking as his model the best petitions from Dbus and Gtsang and by exercising his artistic skill, he became without an equal in writing and reading. At 'Bum-nyag' he left the imprint of his foot on a stone. Accompanied by the deity Kam-po Rdo-rje dpal-brtsegs he came to Gnas-nang, Kong-po and Ri-chab and other places made offerings. He settled quarrels and disputes.

At this time, thinking mostly how the needs of the future might be met, when the king of 'Jang and the Sog-po king once again invited him, he went to Sog-yul. He imposed vows against taking life upon king Da'i-ching (11) and all others, monk and lay. When a fire broke out on a mountain he quenched it by laying on his hands. At the age of eleven he went to Dbus. At Pha-bong Zhabs-chen two of his foot-prints appeared. At the invitation of Tsher-lung Drung-chen and the Gar-dbang he went to Zur-mang, he proceeded to Tshog-dbu of Bde-mchog. On the occasions when he performed the ceremony of wearing the hat at those places, because the Karmapa and Zur-mang-pas took the side of the Zhwa-Dmar, the Yang-ri-ba and Lcags-mo-ba were afraid that he might be abducted and they increased their precautions.

At Spam-gzhung a deer pursued by a hunter's hound came to the door of his tent to seek refuge. He blessed it by the rite of G-yung-drung Nor-bu and, tying a knotted scarf round its neck, he gave it absolution. The deer and the hound became like mother and son. He paid the price to the hunter who made a vow not to take life. And on all beings on the way by which he went by bestowing religious teachings and presents he imposed the rule of the ten virtues and so on, and gave them the purpose of severing the chain of cause and effect. When the god Gnyen-chen Thang-lha himself came to welcome

him everyone saw a fair-complexioned youth with his hair in five braids, carrying a crystal censer in his hand. The Lama's living tent was filled with rainbow-coloured rays and a shower of flowers fell. With an ever-increasing array of escorts he came to Yangs-pa-can (12) and Mtshur-phu. (13) He was installed on the great lion throne. The whole region of Mtshur-phu and Gnas-nang was bathed in rainbow light and so on, just like the sort of wonderful magical manifestations there were on the occasion when Dezhin gshegs-pa went to the Chinese imperial palace.

When he was twelve the Lama Dpa-bo Gtsug-lag rgya-mtsho performed the rite of offering his hair-lock and ordained him dge-bsnyen in front of the Gandola shrine. He gave him the name Dpal-ldan 'Jig-rten gsum-gyi 'dren-pa sku-bzhi lhun-grub Chos-dbyings kun-tu khyab pa'i 'phrin-las rtag-pa'i rdo-rje 'Gyur-med Yi-bzhin snying-po rgyas-pa zla-med mngon-par mtho-ba'i dpal (The glorious leader of the three worlds, the self-originated four-fold body, the glory of the changeless essence of all wishes, the peerless manifestly exalted thunderbolt who perpetuates the good deeds and doctrine of all-covering heaven). Guided by his firmness and the encouragement of Sgrol-dkar, with regard to the precious Bka'-gyur of the Buddha, the tantras, oral indoctrinations, commentaries and explanations of commentaries, the granting of initiation, the collected works of the late Karmapa's and so on he received, beyond measure, initiations, empowerments and instruction of great profundity. That is all set out in the greater nam-thar.

The Chos-rje addressed his teacher the Dpa-bo Rin-po-che and asked "How long will you live?" He replied "since I have not the gift of foreknowledge and the like, I do not know." The Chos-rje answered "I assure you you will live to be sixty three". He meditated unceasingly on a selection of the sutras. Having been invited by the Gtsang Sde, (14) on the way, at Na-ga ring Lake when he had thrown in the proper offerings, the second the music was heard from within the lake and the sky was filled with rainbow light. At Zab-phu-lung he had a vision of O-rgyan Rin-po-che with his retinue. Received on a grand scale by the Gtsang Sde Phun-tshogs nam-gryal; he pitched camp at Rnam-gling Klu-sding. Great offerings were made. At Gsung-rab-gling when he saw a fresco painted by the Ninth Lama he said "This is strangely unlike the work of a mere maker of images".

When Yang and Icags were constantly making demands on the Lho-brag Sgar-pa the Lama himself issued an order not to do so in future. At Pa-nam a boy of turquoise-blue colour came and bowed before him. The Lord Dpa-bo said that because of three Klu Demon brothers whom the Lord Rang-byung-pa had formerly bound by an oath of subjection, there was turquoise colour everywhere.

With the Gtsang-Sde escorting him on grand scale he came to Bsam-rtse Klu-sding. He performed the ceremony of wearing the hat. Great offerings were made: hats for a regular wear, robes, a gold seal and so on were presented. The prince Karma Bstan-skyong dbang-po made the great offering (incense, lamps, flowers and so on) when he was received in audience.

At that time he heard an interpretation of picture of Ka-la-pa (Shambhala). As for poetry no sooner did he hear the mnemonic verses of Lord Dbon Nam-mkha' than he knew them. He was unrivalled in his knowledge of the substances and measurements of the three symbolic offerings (sku, gsung, thugs); and he was especially fond of Ladakhi bronze.

Yang and Lcags together slandered the father and mother and two nephews to the Gtsang Sde and caused them to be evicted from the Camp. The Byang Bdag-po and others came for audience, with presents. A golden letter arrived from the Chinese Emperor Da Ming Wan Li with great presents of eighty lengths of silk for outer and inner garments, and so on. In Lho-brag the Lord Dpa'-bo gave great presents. When going to the Rong-po Rdza-la he left imprints of his feet. The Sa-skyong (15) ruler together with his court officials and ministers having provided a great escort, he came to Sne'u Gdong-rtse. At the time there arrived a golden letter and many especially valuable gifts from China and 'Jang presented by the Sa Tham King.

He went towards Tsa-ri. At Dga' Ma-mo he set up sixteen thousand four hundred images of the Sixteen Arhat disciples. In general, wherever he went, he satisfied the converts with the three blessings. When anyone offered to take the vows of a hermit he gave him an image of the Lord Mi-la; and to those who took the vow to repeat continually the Six Letter Prayer he gave a picture of 'Phags-pa Spyan-ras-gzigs drawn by himself. To the householders in general he administered the vow not to take life and not to accept banquets of meat and chang nor to provide these for others. If they wanted long life, let them not take life. If they wanted good fortune, not only should they utter their worship to the Precious Ones but also they should refrain from offering worship to demons by the repetition of Bon Spells.

In Kong-po, Rig-'dzin 'Ja'-mtshon snying-po came to meet him. In accordance with secret instructions in the Chos-bdag (?) he presented a group of images of the Precious Ones, a horse and a pig, hidden treasures he had discovered. Smyung-gnas Ras-chen, seated on a litter because he was of ripe old age, surrounded by a retinue of several hundred smyung-gnas-pa came to meet him and gave many presents of robes and so on. When the Lord Dpa-bo fell ill, the Chos-rje himself performed religious ceremonies and even acted as attendant on the sick man who was thus relieved of his illness.

Although he had continuously listened to sermons for many years he did not himself pronounce any.

When the Lord Dpa'-bo caused the evil deeds of Yang and Lcags to be revealed, the Sku-rab-pa (16) and the Gtsang Sde took counsel together and made each of them go into retirement separately. The other Lcags-mo-ba were banished to their own country and the obstacles troubling the Great Camp were removed afar. After that, at the instigation of Sde-pa Speldmar, the Gtsang Sde put Yang and Lcags in prison. Although the Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che made an appeal to him, accompanied by presents, the Gtsang Sde disregarded this and made war on the Sku-rab-pa. The Chos-rje sent to enquire from the Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che about an auspicious day for an urgent meeting and asked that protection should be given to the Sku-rab Governor and his people who had committed no offence. The All-knowing Zhwa Dmar came; and there were excellent results from the meeting of Father and Son, The Zhwa Dmar and Zhwa Nag together with Dpa'-bo and Tre-ho. The father and mother and two nephews of Chos-rje also entered the Camp. Although the Father and Son together gave instructions restraining the Gtsang Sde and Sku-rab, the Gtsang Sde would not listen. Because the Gtsang Sde seeming to be victorious at that time, disobeyed the orders of the Lama it happened to him according to the saying that the fate of one who regards only his present actions is as different as it is from thinking of a field and possessing one; and on his way up the Gtsang Sde died of small pox. Although the Father and Son were invited to Gtsang they did not go there; and the representatives abused them greatly. It was well known that Shag-ram-pa, the Yang-ri Drung-pa had given the impression that in future he would control both religious and temporal affairs and because of great hatred for the Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che who was responsible for that former wish not being fulfilled, he became a great obstacle to the good of the Father and Son.

At that time gifts sent by the Cha-gar king and the Khar-kha king, from among the Yu-gur people, were received. The Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che gave to the Rgyal-ba'i dbang-po all his possessions, his camp, his estates and his monk attendants. The reincarnation of the Rgyal-tshab Rin-po-che was recognized. After that, the Gtsang Sde having invited them they went together. Great gifts were offered.

In his twenty-first year, with the Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che acting as mkhan-po, Dpal Gtsug-lag rgya-mtsho as slob-dpon and Si-tu Chos-rje Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan as gsang-ston he was fully ordained in the presence of the assembled monks. By way of Lhasa and the Gnam Mtsho he came to Mtshur-phu. The Zhwa Dmar and Zhwa Nag together made the vases to be buried for the subjection of the earth when the precinct wall was being built. From the Lord Gar-gyi dbang-po he heard much religious doctrine and from the Lord Dpa'bo he heard an abundance of sermons. The Chos-rje offered many images of the deities painted by himself.

On the further invitation from the Gtsang Sde they went there. With a mounted escort and a procession of monks they came to Gyantse. Great offerings were made and all prisoners were released. From there they went gradually to Sa-skya and there was a meeting between the Bdag-chen and the Chos-rje. On the Rtsib-ri he had a vision of the Siddhas. At Ding-ri Gling-'khor he meditated extensively and he had a vision of Dam-pa kundga'. With the deity Tshe-ring-ma escorting him he came to Chu-dbar. He had a vision of Rje-Mi-la wearing monk's robe and smiling at him. Father and Son both carried stones on their backs for building a chapel. When fire broke out on a hill he quenched it by reciting the Bden-tshig. Then the Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che went on pilgrimage to Nepal and Chos-rje went on pilgrimage to Gangs Ti-se. There many remarkable signs such as visions. He saved the lives of all the animals offered to him by the 'Brog-pa herdsmen. When he went to Skyi-grong the news came that the All-knowing Zhwa Dmar was going to India; he was very sad and shed tears. Having asked advice from the Lord Dbon Nam-mkha' how to prevent this he sent a letter to the Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che with a present of gold.

At Ding-ri Glang-'khor Dpal-mo-thang an assembly of monastic patrons petitioned him saying "why should you travel without a fixed abode rather than stay here as Priest for the King?" He answered each of them with a verse. Going to Chu-dbar he painted many thangkhas. When he went to welcome the All-knowing Zhwa Dmar, the Father and Son met at Spro-bde Bkra-shis-sgang. He offered a jar of precious water from Mtsho Ma-pham and they washed in it. The Lord Zhwa Dmar gave him many special gifts from India and Nepal. Carrying on his back the Lord Zhwa Dmar's religious books and ritual ornaments the Chos-rje went to Chu-dbar. When a letter arrived from Lho-brag that the Dpa'-bo Rin-po-che had died the Chos-rje was greatly grieved; and soon after, the Zhwa Dmar Rin-po-che, having given a promise about the place where his reincarnation would appear, manifested the signs of passing into the Void. Tre-ho Rin-po-che then became the personal attendant of the Chos-rje. The precious body was brought to Mtshur-phu with religious ceremonies every day. The 'Jang king presented two hundred srang of silver and many pearl rosaries. Many of the faithful gave their personal possessions and the memorial ceremony was performed on a grand scale. The Chos-rje himself laid the foundation of the precious mchod-rtan for the Rin-po-che's remains and carried stones on his back for building its chapel. He painted many images for the memorial ceremony and fetched water on his back for tea and thug-pa for the assembly of monks.

He sent one hundred and eight mystic adepts to Chu-dbar after enquiring about their religious devotion. Perceiving that there was a change of faith in Dbus and Gtsang he formed the wish to go to Mdo-khams; and he sang many

songs of sorrow and repentance. The Umbrella-holding Mongol kings Ar-pa-lang and Chog-thu (17) and others asked for a meeting but it was not granted. Saying that the Be-ri king who refused to let the Mongols pass, although a Bon-po seemed to be a true Karmapa he pardoned him for having previously blocked the road. Then the Chos-rje went on foot on pilgrimage to Tsa-ri. Then he returned to Lho-brag and performed a hundred thousand circumambulations, outside and inside, round the images of each Jo-bo Sha-ka. He offered to the Jo-bo Rin-po-che three silk scarves tied with ribbon; and the next day he received round his neck from the Jo-bo Rin-po-che a scarf with three knots. He caused the faithful to have greatly increased faith in the two forms of Jo-bo Sha-ka and so to perform virtuous acts such as prostrating themselves on the circuit around the images.

An invitation from the Sa-tham king arrived and the Lord and his attendant went there gradually. He invited the Rgyal-tshab Chen-po Grags-pa mchog dbyangs and took part in meditation (? rjes sgrub mdzad;) secured his help?)

The O-rod Bstan-' dzin Chos-rgyal (18) launched an attack on Gtsang. Before this when a Mongol army had come, the Rgyal-tshab Chen-po Grags-pa Mchog dbyangs, at the request of the Gtsang Sde, was able to turn it back. But this time, although the Father and Son gave orders to stop, they were not able to turn them back. Through the Panchen Rin-po-che they appealed to the Great Fifth. The Panchen gave a reply to the Rgyal-ba'i dbang-po to this effect. "I guarantee that in relations between the Dge-lugs-pa and Karmapa there is no disagreement and I know nothing of such deeds concerning the Karmapa faith". But although the Karmapa received a written order granting their independence, malicious persons caused disturbances and because a great war broke out the Chos-rje went to Lho-brag. He recognized Kun-tu bzang-po as the Dpa'-bo incarnation.

To his attendant Kun-tu bzang-po he gave a bowlful of curds, a bell in a case, five pens, and a thousand rolls of paper, telling him he was needed as his personal disciple. The evil deeds of the Gtsang Sde once again caused the Chos-rje great concern. Although some of the ministers, because of the disgrace brought on the court, explained that they did not agree with the Gtsang Sde his purpose did not change; and when a Kong-po army arrived the Chos-rje said "This has happened because you would not keep still before. Now go back and contrive to keep quiet. But if you do not obey, you yourself must bear responsibility to the Karmapa doctrine of which Mtshur-phu is head. I am going to submit to the Great Fifth". It was generally said that because a demon was sitting in the hearts of those leaders of the Karmapa way so that they relied on the Gtsang-pa and abandoned their responsibility to the Karmapa faith, the Great Fifth therefore disregarded his order that the Karmapa faith should be independent. The Chos-rje saw that the condition of ruler is like honey mixed with poison since the Karmapa and

the Gtsang-pa sought to combine religious rule with affairs of state and so brought about the evil deed of war, and that a wound that strikes this way into the centre of the faith of one's heart is in accordance with the repeated pronouncements of O-rgyan Chen-po that by the fortunes of men nothing can be achieved. After that, Father and Son went into religious retreat at Lho-brag for a short time. He made many pictures of deities and he began to distribute all his wealth to the poor. He went to Mtshur-phu, gnas-nan and Gtsang Nyin-byed. An inauspicious conjunction of stars prevented the Chos-rje and Rim-gro-pa from going to Khams. On the New Year day of the water-sheep year (1643) he conferred full ordination, upon the Rgyal-tshab Chen-po and the Rding-tsha incarnations and first vows upon the dpa'-bo Sprul-sku. In the monkey year (1644) Stag-lung Bkra-shis dpal-grub came to meet him. (19).

An order came from the Priest and Patron of the Government (the Dalai Lama and Gushri Khan) that the Karmapa should take an oath not to subvert the interests of the Dge-lugs-pa. To which the Chos-rje replied "It is not necessary to do so. I formerly took an oath that I would never subvert or cause dissension between the Karmapa and the Dge-lugs-pa." And because at the time of the Gtsang Sde Phun-tshogs Rnam-rgyal he disobeyed orders in the matter of the Sku-rab-pa the Chos-rje had been greatly troubled and it was undoubted that the purposes of the Gtsang-pa and the Great Camp were quite different, he therefore thought he should be allowed to take an oath that, let alone any question that he might cause subversion, he had never done so in the past. But the priest and Patron misinterpreted his meaning and became angry. The Skyi-shod-pa and the Mongol army surrounded the Great Camp. The Chos-rje and the Rim-gro-pa escaped from the camp and went to Mkhan-pa Ljongs. Some of the soldiers saw him as a deer; some saw him as a vulture, and although they pursued him they could not catch him. The armies destroyed the Great Camp. Some monks were wounded some were killed. During the time of his flight there were many different reports; that the Chos-rje with four disciples had been seen to come to Bsam-yes; that he had been seen to come to Lhasa; that he had been seen to come to Kong-po Rgod-tshang. The soldiers sought but could not find him. For twelve days between the monkey year and the bird year (1644-1645) the Chos-rje and his disciple, those two lacked food and clothing but O-rgyan Rin-po-che gave them nectar and they suffered neither hunger nor cold.

For three years from this time the Rim-gro-pa Kun-tu bzang-po never loosened his waist band, and for thirty years he continued untiringly in the service of the Lama. After that time the Chos-rje shared his seat with him and by giving him many of the three symbols (rtan) and consecrating them and in other ways, he showed his great regard for him.

Then they went to Tsa-ri. Offerings were made to them of the necessities for making the upper circuit. When they went to the seven Klo-pa houses they were offered many gifts of honey and so on. When he was offered the choice between a roll of red brocade and one of soft woollen cloth, he compared the thickness and choose the woolly cloth saying "This is real Klo-pa stuff". A musk deer which they gave him followed close behind him. About a hundred monkeys came to meet him and gave a display of their gambolling. He went to Mtsho-dkar and saw many visions. In the fire-dog year (1646) he came to Ka-nam Se-ba-sgang at the time of Lo-gsar. The gifts that were showered on him like rain he immediately gave for religious offerings. Knowing that the Zhwa Dmar reincarnation had been born he sent Karma Snying-rje and Karma Don-'grub to perform religious ceremonies and to present nectar, a white carpet and a rosary, together with a letter and a gold srang for the father and mother.

In the pig year (1647) an invitation came from the Sa-tham king. He went to Kha-ba dkar-po. Escorted on a grand scale by the Sa-tham king's Chief Minister Karma Stobs-ldan and others, he came to Rgyal-thang. The king 'Chi-med Lha-dbang, the father with his son and queen together offered a great ceremony at the Lo-gsar of the wood-mouse year. There were boundless gifts. He performed the ceremony of wearing the black hat, and preached virtue. There was display of fireworks after which the Chos-rje, seated in a tent of white cotton at the summit of a hill-pass, offered prayers for all blessings. As special presents at their first meeting, the king gave a golden Wheel of the Dharma, a white conch shell with a golden fin and so on. Putting his head on the Lama's feet he asked for prayers of compassion for his late father Mi-pham Tshe-dbang. On the next day, for about three rgyang-grags (about five miles) along the road on the right and left many thousands of people, kneeling, set out holy water, incense and flowers on table in front of each of them. Accompanied by religious ceremonies, with the sound of many kinds of musical instruments, the camp was pitched by them in the Bha-she pleasure park. Then when the palace had been splendidly decorated both outside and within, he was invited by a great welcoming party of some five ministers and took his seat on a golden throne. Great gifts were presented: the Eight Lucky Signs in pure gold, the Seven Jewels of Monarchy, a bre (about 1 lb.) of gold and one of silver, silk stuffs, and so on. He performed the ceremony of wearing the hat and gave initiations in the recitation of the Yig-ge drug-pa. He expounded the merits of 'Phag-pa Spyan-rasgzigs according to the words of Dam-chos Pad-kar and he gave extensive religious instruction about causes and effects with regard to the prince more than all other, and about the necessity following therefrom of praying to that tutelary deity and repeating the Yig-ge drug-pa. Then the nine great ministers each invited him separately and did him

reverence. He caused them to understand the meaning of cause and effect in everything; and to the accumulation like a great cloud by way of presents and wealth offered as a religious duty from below, he gave blessing from above.

Up to the time of the Seventh Karmapa, the 'Jang king had been one who worshipped heaven and offered living sacrifices, but when the All-knowing Mi-bskyod Zhabs visited that country the elephants saluted him and when he wished to ride they knelt down to the ground; so the king, thinking he must be a god, obeyed whatever he said and followed his command to accept the ten virtues. And until the present time the kings have been converts to the Karmapa doctrine. It is said that in that country there are more than one hundred and twenty households.

Then the king distributed to the Rim-gro-pa and all the other teachers great quantities of possessions and made a complimentary speech in excellent style on his success in inviting so holy a saint. One hundred zho of gold were given for the funeral rites of his father and the Chos-rje made a prediction that he would attain the body of a god. Although the king asked him to stay there forever, he did not like the bustle and noise and went towards Rgyal-thang. At Bya-rqod Dgon many people of Spo, 'Bor, Sga and 'Dan came to meet him and he satisfied all with religious teaching and material goods. Then, intending to meet the Zhwa Damar reincarnation, he gave all his possessions to the Rim-gro-pa; and the Chos-rje himself, dressed as a beggar, having loaded all his necessities on one horse, went alone into 'Gu-log country. His horse and clothes and whatever he had were looted by robbers and as he went begging, barefooted, both his feet suffered sores from the frost and cold. When he had neither food nor clothing someone gave him a bowl that had been broken into five pieces and joined together with thread; someone else gave him a felt cloak, and he enjoyed comfort in these. When the wounds on his feet would not heal, a householder brought him medicines. One day when he was scouring the inside of his broken bowl with ashes he drew a picture of the Bodhisattva Stag-mo lus-sbyin and did reverence to it. Then as he went on his way some people recognized him and many came to meet him. About one hundred horses from the 'Brog-pa tribes and many other offerings were made to him.

When the Zhwa-Dmar came to know of it, one of his relatives arrived to escort him. Then the Sprul-sku himself came to welcome him and doing great reverence, presented a pearl rosary. The Chos-rje gave the Sprul-pa'i-sku gold, silver and so on, all objects to give him every pleasure; and he also satisfied his kinsmen with riches. When he went to his birth place he saw his house destroyed and the country **devasted**, all signs of the transitory nature of the world. In a pleasure garden he composed a eulogy of the Twelve Deeds of the Buddha and sent it together with news of his condition

to the Rim-gro-pa. From all directions many people came to meet him. The horse that had been stolen by robbers was returned to him. And the Rim-gro-pa not wanting to stay in Li-yul came from there. The Father and Son together preached sermons of all sorts. He recognized the reincarnation of the Lord Dpa'-bo. He took the hair-lock of the Zhwa Dmar incarnation; and he gave final ordination to several monks. The Sixth Gar-dbang and the Lord himself repeatedly performed acts of penitence. When he was fifty years of age an invitation was received from China but he did not go. Again great presents were sent. In the same year, the Great Fifth who had gone to China in the water-dragon year (1652) returned from there.

In the wood-sheep year (1655), the Chos-rje acting as Mkhanpo and the Rim-gro-pa as Slob-dpon, together with others, gave final ordination to the Si-tu incarnation, Chos-rgyal mi-pham 'phrin-las rab-brtan; and in the same year he gave monastic vows and final ordination to about a thousand monks of 'Janq-yul. Then having been invited by the Sa-tham king, Priest and Patron took part in many initiations and religious instructions. At this time, from Mtshur-phu, the Rgyal-tshab Chen-po, thinking he was about to die, sent word that his reincarnation would appear in that region. At the time of merriment at the iron-mouse New Year (1660), the Rim-gro-pa gave a New Year feast to the Chos-rje Karmapa, the Zhwa Dmar, Si-tu, Dpa'-bo, Phag-mo, Zhabs-drung, Zhwa-sgom and other incarnations. The Sa-tham king also offered a new year entertainment. A messenger arrived with a letter from the Emperor Shun-rtsi. The Chos-rje gave detailed instruction to the Zhwa Dmar and many others in the mudras of the Rdo-rje and dril-bu and in the realization of the Six Principles of the Doctrine and so on. Again presents were received from the Emperor Shun-rtsi, his queen, sons, and ministers. The Emperor requested that the seal should be changed and recognition accorded in the manner in which it had been done during the reign of the Ta-Ming. He replied "I have no desire to receive a new seal which is a worldly matter". Although his attendants urged him, he said "Nothing of the sort is necessary. You simply seem to want the presents of silk. By my foreknowledge I see many parts of China engulfed in a sea of blood". The Si-tu incarnation especially, finding it difficult to bear the great deterioration of the Karmapa doctrine, requested that he might be reborn as a prince of China and so restore the religion. But the Chos-rje prevented him, saying "Nowadays even if you were to do that, the doctrine would not become perfect. There is no need for mere simulacra of the faith. If you hold that idea, it will be an obstacle to you meeting me regularly".

He recognized the reincarnation of the Rgyal-tshab Rin-po-che. Formerly when the Mongol troops captured the Great Camp and all the Karma monasteries were seized, the Rgyal-tshab Chen-po Grags-pa Mchog-dbyangs and the Lord Ngag-dbang bkra-shis dpal-grub composed a very able

petition and so some twenty-one houses of religion, above all Mtshur-phu, Yangs-pa-can, Nyin-byed-gling; Legs-bshad-gling, and 'Od-zer-gling were granted to them. In gratitude for that all the Karmapa monasteries caused him to take charge of Mtshur-phu and appointed him as head of each of the religious communities; and the embers of the faith were kept alive. He went to Lhasa with a suitable welcoming party from the capital. The Priest and Patron of the Government did him great honour. When the Chos-rje himself was staying for the time at Mtshur-phu or in Lho-brag a letter from the Fifth Dalai Lama was sent through the Stag-lung Zhab-drung Bkra-shis dpal-grub that if he (the Karmapa?) would act in the same way as the Rgyal-tshab Rinpoche had been doing he would become a welcome chaplain. But by reason of the destiny of sentient beings that would not be beneficial. When there were recriminations between the Stag-lung Zhab-drung and the monastic communities because of that, the Lord (Rgyal-tshab) himself went to Lhasa and explained the situation. An oath had to be obtained from the Zhab-drung. After that he went to Lhasa to explain how some persons had sought to cause dissension with the Priest and Patron of the Government. He had audience with the Great Fifth, the Priest, and the Patron and as well as convincing them he gave great presents. Presents of recognition were received from the Gtsang Sde and the Oirat queen. When the Great Fifth arrived back from China the Rgyal-tshab went to Lhasa and accompanied by a simple escort from Rtse and Shod (monk and lay officials) he was received by the ruler and they had much cordial conversation. The Mkhan Hu-thug-thu of the Oirat royal lineage sought audience and initiation from him and prayed that later he might take rebirth in his retinue. This Lama's successful achievements for the Karmapa doctrine were very great and the Stag-lung Zhab-drung was his equal. In the earth dog year (1658) at the age of fortytwo he passed away in the Zhal-ras chapel at Mtshur-phu. Having acquired freedom to choose his own reincarnation, by the power of his perfect vow, he was born as the son of a householder in 'Jang-yul where the Great Karmapa was living. And because he would have to control the monastic seat of Mtshur-phu until the next most excellent incarnation of the Chos-rje should appear, he had promised to become a son of the Lama's Lineage. From his birth, before he was grown up, he remembered his past residence and told many tales of Mtshur-phu. He was installed at the age of three and at the age of eight he took the dge-bsnyen vows. He was given the name Dpal Nor-bu bzang-po 'gro-'dul Kun-tu dga'-ba'i rgya-mtsho rnam-par rol-po dgos-'dod char-du 'bebs-pa bzang-po dpal.

The Chos-rje gave to the Zhwa Dmar, the Si-tu and the Rgyal-tshab headdresses of red and gold which he himself had made. To the Zhwa Dmar, the Si-tu, Rgyal-tshab, Dpa'-bo, Phag-mo Karma Rin-chen, Sprul-sku Chos-skyong bzang-po, Sprul-sku Bskal-bzang snying-po and many others, he gave verbal instruction in the Precious Bka'-'gyur. When Rig-'dzin

Mi-gyur rdo-rje met him for the first time, he presented a self-formed golden crescent moon, a hidden treasure which he himself had discovered. The Chos-rje recognized him as a genuine gter-ston. He made very extensively all those offerings of valuables prescribed in the Vinaya. Then, since it was necessary to instal the Zhwa Dmar, the Rgyal-tshab and the Dpa'-bo incarnations, he gradually processed towards Dbus, he satisfied with preaching and with material gifts all the communities of monks and laymen on the way. At Spro-lung he met the Zhabs-drung and they had extensive and pleasant conversation. He went to the Potala and met the Great Fifth who enquired at length about his travels and his religious practices. Since the Chos-rje was advanced in years and hard of hearing the conversation was conducted through the Rim-gro-pa. A banquet and excellent presents were provided. When he visited the Jo-bo at Lhasa visions without number were seen. The Chos-rje himself seemed to become Srong-brtsen sgam-po of old and to merge into the heart of the Jo-bo. When the Dalai Lama gave permission, he left; and not long after, his illusory outward appearance contracted and at the age of seventy-one, on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of the wood tiger year (1674), at dawn, he passed peacefully into the infinite. About that time his whole room was filled with a white radiance and there were other such wonderful portents which it is not necessary to detail. His precious body was brought to Mtshur-phu and the incarnation lamas who were his spiritual sons, with the Rim-gro-pa and others, took part in the perfect performance of the funeral rites, offering lamps, building the silver tomb, carrying out religious ceremonies and offerings, and consecrating the tomb.

Briefly, the progress to perfection of this late most excellent Lama was that by his compassion, so far from harming any creature even an ant, he loved them all as one loves an only son. He specially loved dogs and beggars, all the poor and needy and afflicted, and satisfied them all lavishly with gifts from his own hand. So far from ever doing harm, in return for harm he would lovingly confer benefits. Being perfectly accomplished in his understanding of the Phyag-rgya Chen-po, he perceived the visible world as illusion, and through the vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity he was never affected by feelings of happiness or sorrow. By his nature devoted to intensely calm concentration in progressive meditation on his personal deity the compassionate One, he constantly repeated the Six Letter Prayer. Fierce spells and magical practices had no place in his mind. Meat and chang never touched his tongue. He never failed to make confession twice a month. He passed his time in the creation of the three precious symbols and in making offerings; and the religious paintings he completed were without number. He himself said "In poetry and painting there is no one in Tibet better than I am" -- Saying also "I am one who delights in Spyan-ras-gzigs", the works of his hand were like nectar for the eyes.

The band of disciples of that Lama were: the Zhwa Dmar Ye-she snying-po who became the guide of the next Most Excellent Incarnation the continuer of the lineage of possessors of wisdom; the Rgyal-tshab Chen-po Grags Mchog unparalleled in good deeds for the Karmapa doctrine; and his equal, the Zhabs-drung Bkra-shis dpal-grub; the Rim-gro-pa Kun-tu bzang-po, without peer in his service to the person of the Lama; Si-tu Chos-rgyal mi-pham; Dpa'-bo Kun-tu bzang-po; and his reincarnation 'Phrin-las rgya-mtsho; Rgyal-tshab sprul-sku Nor-bu bzang-po; Mkhas-grub Ra'-ga-asya; Mkha-reg Karma Bstan-srung; Khyab-bdag Grub-dbang; Phag-mo Zhabs-drung; Zhwa-sprul Bskal-bzang snying-po; Sprul-sku Karma Chos-skyong; Sa-tham Lha-btsun Karma Rin-chen; Rgyal-sras Kar-phun; Karma Bstan-skyong; Karina Bsam-grub; Karma Chos-'Phags; Karma Don-grub; 'Bam-chen Dbon Jo-stan mkhan-po; Ri-bo-che'i Chos-rje; Rdi-tsha sprul-sku; Ne-ring Chos-rje; Yol-mo sprul-sku; Zur-mang Gar sprul Rin-snying; Rtogs-Iden Blo-gros; those who have shown renunciation of worldly affairs (bya-btang bstan rnam); Che-tsang sprul-sku; Rtse-le sprul-sku; Tsher-lung drung-pa; Rgod-tshang sprul-sku; Nor-bu rgyan-pa; Rig-'dzin 'Ja'-mtshon snying-po; Zhabs-drung Dkon-mchog; Gong-ra lo-chen; with other personal disciples in general from among those holy beings and several whose minds were united by the bond of the holy religion.

"Lord of all beings at a time when the age was full of dissension. By the power of his compassion like a banquet of pure food. When the heart of the doctrine was assaulted by foreign troops; when the great expanse of the earth was crowded with corpses; when through the destruction of the three precious symbols all beings were in misery; he then by the power of his compassion was Lord of beings who had no lord. Who but he was the second Ruler of the Sakya?" Thus it was said.

NOTES

1. Gar-dbang Thams-cad mkhyen-pa: the Sixth Zhwa Dmar, Chos-kyi dbang-phyug.
2. 'gu-log, 'Go-log, Mgo-log, Ngo-log: a fierce nomadic tribe living near the Rma-chu, the upper waters of the Yellow River and the Am-nye Rma-chen range, much given to brigandage.
3. Zla-ma: a monastery in the 'Go-log country.
4. Rma-Sbom-ra: the mountain deity of the Am-nye Rma-chen range -
5. Yangri: a great monastery of the 'Bri-khung Bka'-brgyud-pa about 65 miles N.E. of Lhasa.

6. The Great Camp : The Zhwa Nag and Zhwa Dmar Lamas spent much of the year travelling between their many monasteries and the headquarters of their lay patrons, and maintained what was virtually a tented monastery with a regular retinue of officials and servants known as Sgar-pa.
7. The Black Hat is a mystic treasure of the Karmapa, said to be made from the hair of a hundred thousand Mkha'-'gro-ma and given by the Chinese Emperor Yung Lo to the Fifth Karmapa, De-bzhin gshegs-pa. It is worn ritually at a special ceremony by the Zhwa Nag Lama.
8. Kho-lo-ji : a prince of the Tumed Mongols and a great nephew of Altan Khan.
9. Three Beautiful images carved from rhinoceros horn by Chos-dbyings rdo-rje, now in Rumtek monastery, are illustrated in Nik Douglas book.
10. 'Jang-Sa-tham : a Nakhi kingdom centered on Likiang on the upper Yangtze.
11. Da'i-ching : a title of Kho-lo-ji (n. 8)
12. Yangs-pa-can : the principal monastery of the Zhwa Dmar Lama, on the upper waters of the Lho-rong Chu in Snye-mo.
13. Mtshur-phu : the principal monastery of the Zhwa Nag Lama, in the Stod-lung valley, founded in 1187.
14. The Gtsang Sde : Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal, ruler of the greater part of Central Tibet at that time.
15. The Sa-skyong : the representative of the enfeebled former ruling family of Phag-mo-gru.
16. Sku-rab-pa : Governor of a region in Dvags-po.
17. Ar-pa-lang (Ar-sa-lang) and Chog-thu : for the curious history of their intervention in Tibet see W.D. Shakabpa "Tibet" pp 103-104.
18. Bstan-'dzin Chos-rgyal : Gushri Khan.
19. The account of chronology and events following Gushri's attack on Gtsang is sketchy and difficult to reconcile with other sources. The final defeat of Karmapa resistance was in 1642 or early 1643 at latest, not 1644. Its centre was Rdzing-phyi north of 'Ol-kha. It is not clear whether Chos-dbyings-rdo-rje was there or in one of the other centres perhaps Lho-brag. The Mkhan-po Ljongs where he took refuge is probably the semi-legendary secret valley in north Bhutan which would agree with the story of Douglas' version that he was miraculously transported to Kurtod (Skur-stod) in northern Bhutan. At all events he made his escape and is next recorded in Tsa-ri.

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