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EDITORS
JAMPAL K. RECHUNG
KUNGA YONTEN ROCHOTSANG
BHAGAVINDA GHOSH
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CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE:

HUGH EDWARD RICHARDSON Leading authority on Tibetan past and present, epigraphist and historian, reads, writes and speaks Tibetan like one born in Tibet; lived more than two decades in Asia: 1934-40, Tibet and China; held diplomatic assignments in Lhasa (1936-40 and 1946-50) and Chungking (1942-44); for several terms professor in Tibetan language and History at University of Washington, Seattle, USA; recipient of the Gold Medal of the Royal Central Asian Society, UK; Fellow, Keble College, Oxford; Fellow British Academy.

HELMUT KIENER Born 1936 in Pomerania (Stettin); studied classical philology, Sanskrit and Tibetan at Hamburg, Berlin and Bonn; specializes in Northern Buddhist traditions and literary sources; authority on life and works of Dipankara Atisa; currently with theology, Seminar of Frederick William University of Bonn.

JAMPAL KUNZANG RECHUNG Comes of the Yabshi Phuerkhang House, Lhasa; had higher studies in Drupung Monastic University of Loling Patsang and was conferred the title of Geshe Larampa; had studied modern subjects in India, Holland and England collaborating with Tibetologists; currently Director, Sakkim Research Institute of Tibetology. Author of Tibetan Medicine.

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The Origin of the Tibetan Kingdom

— HUGH RICHARDSON

In the Tunhwang Chronicle there is a list of forty-two kings down to 'U-ti-dun-brtan, Glang derma, who died c. 842 A.D. Most are little more than shadows; some are clearly mythical; others legendary; some, perhaps, real persons of whom oral tradition has preserved little but their names; only of the last eleven has history anything definite to say.

The early part of the genealogy is seen by Professor Petech as representing Bon cosmology and the first seven names seem to fall into that category. The list begins with Yab-blis bdag-drug who dwelt above high heaven and had six sons, with one more, Khri'il bdun-thigs making seven. Although those names might appear to mean Six High Father Lords and the Line of Seven Enthroned Ones, they only account for two persons in the list, and it is a point of little consequence since they are clearly denizens of the outer world. With Nyag-khri bstan-po divinity descends briefly to earth. In the poetic language of the Chronicle ʻhe came like a shower of rain to this sheltered place, as lord of the Hidden Land, to become ruler of Tibet of the six divisions; after which he went to heavenʻ. In a ninth century inscription from Rkone-po his name appears as Nya-gru and his line is said to have dwelt for seven generations at Phyang-bu Stag-tse which is identified with the ruined castle near the ancient royal burial ground at Phyang-nayan. Later tradition, without any basis in early documents, changes the name to Gnya-khri and elaborates a legend that he was carried on the necks (gnya) of his new subjects.
According to the Chronicle Nyag-khri was succeeded by five kings with the syllable Khri in their names, of whom it is said that when the son was old enough to ride a horse the father withdrew to heaven, suggesting a ritual - and violent - termination of these early reigns. Later tradition recounts how the kings returned to heaven on a magic rope. Although that myth is not found in surviving early texts, that does not necessarily imply that it was not current in the early centuries.

After the seven Khri kings, who had special links with heaven, comes a line headed by Dri-gum btsan-po who, although a son of the last heavenly Khri, was involved in earthly conflict and death. In an obscure story he challenged one Lo-ngam rta-rdi who succeeded in neutralizing the magic powers with which Dri-gum was protected and so was able to kill him. The encounter took place at Lo-ngam’s capital Myang-ro sham-po. Although there is mention of Dri-gum’s protecting deity Lde-bla gung-rgyal - The mountain god ‘O-lde gung-rgyal? - being driven in defeat to the snows of Gang Ti-tse it is unlikely that it was so far in the west. Later tradition sees the site as being in the valley of the Nyang - chu near Gyantse; while the pundit Nain Singh of the Indian Survey found a similar story current near the Dangra Yum-maho, a lake sacred to the Bon-po; but many indications point to the valley of the Rkong-po Nyang-chu. The two sons of Dri-gum who had been taken into banishment in Rkong-po eventually avenged their father by killing Lo-ngam in his palace of Myang-ro sham-po. According to the Chronicle, the younger Nya-khyi became ruler of Rkong-po while the elder Sha-khyi betook himself to Phying-ba - that is the capital of the Tibetan Kings. The story is adumbrated in a ninth century inscription from Rkong-po with the difference that Nya-khyi is described as the elder and Sha-khyi, who became Lha-btsan-po, ruler of Tibet, as the younger. That may reflect an earlier tradition about their common ancestry which the Tibetans sought to reverse in order to claim seniority after they had reduced the rulers of Rkong-po to the position of royal phren - feudatory Prince. A hint of an earlier tradition may also be seen in the Btsun-no bka’-’thang where the mountain on which the legendary founder of the Tibetan royal line descended - usually held to be in Yarlung - is described as Rkong-po Lha-ril rgyang-do. That
might be identified with the sacred Lha-ri east of the Aroa lake and pass seen by the Abbe Huc and Gabot and by pandit Nain Singh. The story may be an amalgam of hazy memories from different groups or tribes of people of Tibetan stock from the east coming into conflict with other such immigrants already settled in the country.

In the Chronicle Shal-khyi, Spu-lde gung-rgyal, is succeeded by seven kings with the syllable leg or lde; in their name, followed after one generation by a line of kings whose names mostly included the syllable lde — regarded later as the royal etymology — and also lde-mo which was part of the names of almost all the kings down to U'il-dun-Dran.

Into this seemingly coherent genealogical tree must somehow be fitted a name of prime importance which is not included there. In the inscription on the pillar at the tomb of Krii lde-long-brtan and in that on the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar at the Lhasa Jo-Khang it is 'O-lde Spu-rgyal who appears as the founding ancestor who came from being a god to rule over men. He is similarly described in a document from Tung-huang recording a prayer at the foundation of a temple on the frontier in celebration of the establishment of peace. The Lhasa inscription also quotes a sort of poem, using words like those in the Chronicle about Nyag-khi, describing Tibet as the centre of high mountains, the source of great rivers, a high country, a pure land. From that it might appear that the two were one and the same, and in the fifteenth century they were so identified by 'Gos Lo-swa'ba in his Deb Sengne where he quotes the Lhasa treaty inscription as saying that the kings held sway since the divine 'Od-lde Spu-rgyal (sic) founded the kingdom; and he goes on to comment that since Gnya-khi Pho-bran-po 'Od-lde (sic) there were forty-two kings.

The use of similar language about different personages — especially divine beings — does not necessarily mean that they were identical. Both Gnya-khi Pho-bran-po and Spu-lde gung-rgyal are described as coming like rain upon the earth; and Spu-lde gung-rgyal who was also Shal-khyi and Grang-mgo gnem ges brsag was eighth in descent from Nga-khi and clearly not the same person. His divine powers seem, moreover, to have been compro-
nised when his father who had the power to return bodily to heaven, was defeated and killed and his body thrown into the river, while his sons were bound and exiled. But one should not look too critically into the language and dogmas of mystical divinity; and the Tibetan kings down to Dhu'i - dun-britan were always referred to as sons of god.

In addition to his appearance in the two royal inscriptions and the prayer, 'O-ide spu-rgyal is mentioned in the chronicle at the end of a passage enumerating the rival principalities by which Tibet was surrounded. Apart from other lists of principalities, some clearly mythical relating to kingdoms of gods and demons and princesses skilled in poisons and cures, those in the Chronicle and in Pellet Tibetan 1290 deal with real places which came to form part of the Tibetan kingdom and whose rulers have an appearance of verisimilitude. Of them it is said that by internal feuding they destroyed one another and in the end were not a match for 'O-ide spu-rgyal.

This would seem to bring 'O-ide down virtually to historical times for some of the places named - e.g. Ngas-po, Klun-ro and Skyi-ro were conquered by Gam-ri ston btsan, while Dags-po, Nyang-po and Rkong-po were finally subjugated in the time of his son Srong-britsan sgam-po; and Zhang-zhung not until much later. Perhaps by the ninth century a haze of legend had come to attribute the conquest of the neighbouring principalities to 'O-ide spu-rgyal as a symbol or personification of Spu-rgyal Tibet, much as John Bull stands for Britain and Uncle Sam for the U.S.A., without any exact idea of chronology.

In this context there is a lively contribution from Chinese historians who are known for their habitual and rational recording of events and for their interest in the doings of peoples beyond the frontier who might disturb their peace. In the earlier of two versions of the Tang Annals it is related that the origin of the Tibetans is uncertain but some say they are descended from T'ou-ia Li-jia-kou of the Southern Liang. He had a son, Fanou, who was quite young when his father died in 414 A.D., and, after various misfortunes, fled westward across the Huang-ho and founded an extensive state among the Ch'lang who followed him enthusiastically. He changed his name
to Suu-pou-ye and called his dynasty T'o-pa which became corrupted into T'o-pan. The later version starts with an ancestor among the Ch'iang who was called Hou-lou-pou-sou-ye. It goes on to repeat the alternative story about Fanni; and then records the names of seven successors of the first prince (Hou-ti pou-sou-ye) as follows: K'ia-si-long-so: T'ou-tou-tou; K'ia-li-che-jio; F'ou-long-jo; K'ia-so-lo; Louen-tsan-sou; K'i-lung-long-tsan also called K'ia-sou-nong whose clan was Fo-ye. Among these names 'O-ide spu-rgyal, Tho-go-nya-brsamin, Ssum-brtshan and Srong-brtshan can be recognized; they and the others, must have been provided by a Tibetan informant about the middle of the tenth century; while the Fanni story seems to have come from Chinese sources.

There is nothing improbable in a Ch'iang tribe accepting the leadership of a dynamic prince from some other people, in the kaleidoscopic pattern of dynasties of short or long duration and of greater or less territorial extent created by the medley of peoples in north China and neighbouring central Asia during the fourth and fifth centuries there was, as Professor W. Eberhard has pointed out, no real national unity and tribes or groups of one people might readily join or be absorbed by another. The southern Liang, whose territory was in eastern Kansu, were Helen-pi, a basically Mongol people containing Han and Turkic elements. Before the Southern Liang there had been a powerful kingdom, described by Eberhard as Tibe-tan, spreading from Tunhuang to Chengdu where they were neighbours and rivals of the Helen-pi; and it is just when the Tibetan kingdom broke up that Fanni is supposed to have created his kingdom among them. It is noticeable that the names of 'O-ide spu-rgyal's successors in the Tang Annals number only six before Srong-brtshan sgam-po who was born c. 610 A.D. That would go back to Khril-thing-brisman in the Tibetan Chronicle's list and to a possible date around 410-420, the supposed time of Fanni. If it is intended that Hou-ti pou-sou-ye, Fanni, immediately preceded K'ia-si-long-so that would make him the seventh predecessor of Srong-brtshan sgam-po and contemporary or identical with Khri-sgrsas shung-brtshan of the Chronicle.

It is noticeable also that Khri-sgrsas shung-brtshan is the first king to whom is attributed a queen from a historically recorded clan; and that practice is followed rea-
larily after him, from his time the genealogical tree may have some more substance — though tenuous — than what has gone before. Five generations or so is no great stretch of time for oral tradition in a society without written records to preserve a reasonably consistent family memory.

Khrig-brtan's successor Lha-tho-do snya-brtan has a special place in later literature perhaps because of the syllable "Lha" in his name. It is said that the first trace of Buddhism reached Tibet in his reign when volumes of scripture fell on the roof of his palace but no one was able to read them. He is said also to have lived to the age of one hundred. Recent calculations of his date, shown on the Tibetan coinage, put his birth at the year 173 according to W.D. Shakabpa and at 254 according to Zurhun Shappe. That is to stretch the longevity of Srong-brtan's predecessors beyond the bounds of credulity and a more reasonable estimate would be c. 460 A.D.

Nothing in these diverse traditions clarifies the relationship between Nyag-khrig brtan-po and 'Od-lde spu-rgyal. It emerges only that for the Buddhist Chos-rgyal the divine first ancestor was 'Od-lde spu-rgyal while Nyag-khrig brtan-po holds that place for the rulers of Rong-po — of whose religious persuasion there is no certainty. A prince of Rong-po witnessed the edict of Khrig Lde-srong-brtan to maintain the Buddhist faith but that might have been a political as much as a religious act; and in later days Rong-po together with Dvag-po and Nyang-po had a bad reputation as "poisonous countries" which might imply some religious shortcomings. At last, with the reign of Stag-bu snyata-grags, Lha-tho-dos great-grandson and Srong-brtan sgra-po's grandfather, wilder speculations can be left behind and it is possible to trace some history in the annals: and the story as told in the Chronicls is so lively that it is surprising it has made virtually no impact on later histories.

The king, Stag-bu snyata-grags, third in succession from Lha-tho-do snya-brtan, had his capital at Phyin-ri Stag-rjes. His neighbour at Nyen-kar snying-po was Zang-po-rje Stag-skya-po, prince of Ngya-po in the Skyi Chu and Pho-po valleys, who was an arrogant and tyrannical ruler, men among his ministers — leaders of great clans
or families — Mnyan 'Dzi-zung Nag-po warned him of the disastrous consequences of such behaviour, he deposed him and ignored his advice. 'Dzi-zung in disgust took refuge with another prince, Zing-po-po Re Khril-pangs-sum of O-yul whose capital was at Yu-sne of Snugur-ba. With his support 'Dzi-zung killed Stag-skye-bu whose territory of Klum and Yel fell to Khril-pangs-sum. As his reward 'Dzi-zung received the castle of Snugur-ba and lands in the lower part of Klum. Among the subordinate landholders or bondsmen (dron) in those states who became his subjects were two leading members of the Myan clan, Nam-to-re khril-bi and his son Sim-o-to-re Tseng-skru, who also had formerly been ministers of the defeated Zing-po-rje of Nsas-po. Mynau 'Dzi-zung's wife, the lady of Pu-sashab, so grievously insulted and humiliated her new subjects that they complained to Khril-pangs-sum, the overlord of Myan 'Dzi-zung, but he ignored their complaint. Not long after, one of Khril-pangs-sum's own ministers, Dba's Bahos-to-re Khril-bi was killed in a duel with the prince's Son-po priest, Gshen Khril-bi she 'Dron-kung. Beho-to-re's elder brother Phan-a-to-re Dbyi-sashab, appealed to the prince for blood-money but was rudely rebuffed. He got in touch with Myan Tseng-skru, who was equally resentful of the ill treatment he had suffered. The two of them, with Tseng-skru taking the lead, decided to offer their allegiance to Btsam-po spu-rigal, that is to say Stag-bu snya-gzigs, whom they described in a short allusive song as a son of man who is indeed a son of god, a true lord whom it would be good to serve. They swore an oath of enmity to Zing-po-rje and loyalty to Spu-rigal Btsam-po, Dba's Dbyi-sashab then recruited into the conspiracy his uncle Bzhong-to-re of Moon and when the uncle died his son took his place. Myan Tseng-skru similarly took into his confidence Nag-segn Tshes-pong, a follower of Stag-bu snya-gzigs, who became the go-between through whom Myung and Dba's Communicated their purpose to the king. Stag-bu snya-gzigs was at first hesitant to take part in the feud because his sister was married to Zing-po-rje; also his wife appears to have been a kinswoman of Zinpo-rje for her name was Stong-dung 'bron-ga of 'O1-god (''01 = 'O-yul?), but he agreed to go along with them.

The conspirators made their way secretly to Phying-ba to take an oath of loyalty to Stag-bu snya-gzigs in

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person. Their movements aroused suspicion among the men of Yar who attempted to seize them; and before action could be taken against Zing-po-je, Stag-bu snya-gzigs was dead. The brief mention in the Chronicle conceals none of the circumstances but Professor Geza Uray in an important article in Acta Hungarianica 1972 cites Pollit Tibetean 1144, an unpublished fragment, in which a few scattered words tell that the King Sug-bu was captured by '01-god, Lord of Yar-'brog and was handed over to Klu-dur, king of Lho-brag, who imprisoned him. There is also a fragmentary mention of his wife.

A more detailed account of the fate of Stag-bu snya-gzigs is found in the Sngyal-phae Bon-gyi byung gnas, showing that Bon histories often have some special acquaintance with early traditions. It is related how Stag-po gnyan-gsal (sic) subdued the twelve nyel phan-feudatory principalities, and then made war on Phan-ra-rje, king of Lho-brag but was defeated and imprisoned, Stag-po gnyan-gsal's Bon-po priest, the Snyag-gshen Khri-me-khod rescued him by his magical powers. In gratitude the king made over the kingdom to him. This is a rather different version from that of the Chronicle. It implies that Stag-bu gnyan-gzigs was the aggressor whereas the Chronicle says he died before action could be taken against Zing-po-je Khri-pangs-sum -- Phan-ra-rje in the Bon story is clearly a variant of that name. The implication of '01-god of Yar-'brog suggests that the conspiracy which the men of Yar appear to have detected gave an excuse for their ruler '01-god, who was a vessel of Khri-pangs-sum, to take action against Stag-bu snya-gzigs on behalf of his lord. Yar and Yar-'brog do not necessarily imply the country round the Yar-'brog Misho but may just as well be the upland grazing lands near the Or-su mtshe at the head of the Yar-tung valley. There is no mention in the Chronicle of Lho-brag or Klu-dur but it appears from its brief comment that Stag-bu snya-gzigs did not survive whatever incident may have occurred.

An obscure 'all-piece in the Chronicle story after referring to the death of Stag-bu snya-gzigs seems to suggest that the conspiracy was somehow disclosed by one Spug gyim-lung rnam-ba, a follower of Tshes-pung Nga-seng the man who acted as go-between to the king. Spug gyim-
tang at first would not share his bed with his wife for fear of betraying the plot in his sleep; but after wandering nightly in the hills he eventually returned to sleep with her. For some reason they quarrelled and he bit out her tongue so that she died. He also died without issue before an attack was made on Zin-po-rje. Other members of the clan, however, continued to be active in Tibetan affairs and one Spug Gyim-rtang rma-chung was sent in 653 to govern Zhang Zhung.

The conspirators evidently came out of the affair unscathed. They added three more to their number, and undeterred by the death of Stag-bu snya-gzig, took an oath of allegiance to his two sons, Slom-ntschan and Slon-kol. This seems to have been done at the request of the princes, who had the duty of avenging their father. The words of the oath are recorded in some length in archaic language passed down, perhaps, in the family tradition of the noble ministers who swore it. A number of other members of the Myung, Tshes-pong and Dba's clans also joined in the oath.

Why, it may be asked, were they so ready to give their loyalty to Stag-bu snya-gzig and later to his two young sons. Their domain seems to have been quite small and was threatened on the north by more powerful rulers in Ngaspo and 'O-lul and on the south from Yar-throg. The answer must lie in the name Spu-rgyal which has an aura of special sacred and mystic qualities. It was to bsan-po Spu-rgyal that loyalty was pledged, not to any king or prince by name. Nor Myung and Dba's, Btsan-po Spu-rgyal though a man was also a son of god. One of his ancestors Tho-don snya-btsan had the name "Lha". The Rkong-po inscription relates how one of Dri-gum btsan-po's two sons became Lha Btsan-po, the divine btsan-po, and went to rule at Phyig-ba stag-rtse; and even when the influence of Buddhism was well established, the kings, with the title of Lha sras or Lha btsan-po, harked back in their inscriptions to their descent from 'O-lide spu-rgyal. The essence of that sacred quality is nowhere spelled out; but, if spu-rgyal means "hairy king" it might point to the monkey ancestor revered in the primitive beliefs of the Ch'ang people in their ancestral home on the north-west borders of China, a myth later to be adapted rather laboriously into the hagiology of Tibetan Budd
him. But whatever its source, it was that sanctity that held together in fealty a kingdom depending greatly on ministers from different parts of the kingdom, often rivals of one another and sometimes more powerful than the btsan-po himself.

After the oath-taking a plan of campaign was made and Slon-mtshan set out at the head of an army of ten thousand men while his younger brother stayed with the queen-mother. The princes were quite young and the phrase rabs kyi gtauos describing the start of Slon-mtshan’s expedition may imply that this was the first venture of his majority. Similar expressions used of a child’s first steps and a young man setting up an independent household for the first time; and it is applied also later to Stong-brtan sgam-po’s first military expedition.

The campaign against Zing-po-rje, here described as Dgu-gri a title probably annexed from Dgu-gri Zung-po-rje of Ngas-po whom he had conquered, is recorded very briefly. Its climax was the capture of the castle of Yu-gna by damming a river in Khum so that the defence works were flooded. Zing-po-rje was in this way destroyed. His territory as far as Bre-sna in Rkong-po (West of the Nyang-chu) was annexed by the btsan-po who proclaimed that the country of Ngas-po should be known as ‘Phan-yel. His ministers and subjects greeted him by the title of Btsan-po; he took the name Guam-vi Slon-mtshan and he rewarded suitably all those ministers who had delivered Zing-po-rje’s dominions into his hands. Nyang Tsang-skya received the castle of Sngr-ba which had belonged to ‘Dzi-zung who had insulted him; Dba’s Dbyil-tshab got those of the Gshiin who had killed his brother; all received numbers of handmen (bmen). Nyang, Dba’s, Mnon, and Tshes-pung became Councillors of the king.

The authority of the btsan-po and his ministers at this time was established in a comparatively small stretch of country in the valleys of the Skyi-chu and the Gtsang-po from Var-jung and on to the borders of Rkongs-po. But the rising sun of Btsan-po Spu-rgyal soon attracted adherents from farther afield.

Outstanding among these was Khyung-po Spung-sad Tsas, a vigorous, ambitious, arrogant and unscrupulous figure
who was active in Tibetan affairs for many years. He
comes on the scene in the reign of Skon-mdshon, claiming
to have shown his allegiance by decapitating Mar-mun, rular of Nsang-bod and giving twenty thousand households
to the Atong-po who forthwith returned them to him as
a reward. The location of Nsang-bod is debatable but
it might be north of the Gsang-po around and north-west
of Shenga and Shigatse. The prompt return of the subjects
suggests that it was not seen at that time as suitable
for direct rule.

The next show of loyalty by Zu-tse was in announcing
the minister Mong Sgon-po as guilty of treachery and
encompassing his death. Mong is shown in a list of minis-
ters in an earlier section of the Chronicle as having had
some connection with the fall of Mar-mun; but he does
not appear to have taken any part in the confederacy
to support Slag-bu snying-grigs or Slon-mdshon, i.e., how-
ever, claimed for Zu-tse, as another proof of loyalty,
that he somehow supported the campaign against Zing-po-
rje. This seems out of chronological order for the cam-
paign took place before the supremacy of Slon-mdshon as
established while, in the Mar-mun incident, he is described
as Atam-po. If there is anything in the claim it may
mean only that Zu-tse approved of what had been done.

He next appears in the record when a campaign was
being planned against Jags-po which is described as having
rebelled — perhaps it was part of Zing-po-rje's territory
which had been taken over by Slon-mdshon. When one Seng-
go nyi-chen volunteered to undertake the task Zu-tse in-
sulted and humiliated him. Seng-go was, nonetheless,
successful. Then Myang Zhang-sun the son of Myang Tshang-
sku was appointed to the royal service and a banquet
was held at which Sampa-sad Zu-tse vaunted his own achieve-
ments. He swells on his conquest of Nsang-bod and his
suppression of Mong Sgon-po. He does not mention Zing-
po-rje; but Myang Zhang-sun, having been urged to reply,
praised the great deeds of his father and Dha's Phungtsa-
to-re in the defeat of Zing-po-rje. That throws doubt
on the claim that Zu-tse was involved in that affair;
and the proud reply by Zhang-sun and his promotion
to high office seems to have aroused enmity and envy
on the part of Zu-tse.

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In the list of ministers one Ngag Khri-sgra 'dzil-rmun is shown as succeeding Mong Srong-po before Myang Zheng-snang was appointed Chief Minister with the title Mang-po-rje. Myang became an all-powerful figure after the death of Gnas-ci Slim-mthshen, while Stong-brtseas was too young to take effective action, and suppressed a widespread rebellion that followed Gnas-ci's death. Some time after that Spung-sad Zwa-tse falsely accused him of disloyalty and brought about his dismissal and execution.

Myang Mang-po-rje Zheng-snang is said to have been succeeded by another minister of the Ngag clan who also fell under an accusation and committed suicide. Spung-sad Zwa-tse then became Chief Minister, a post he had probably coveted for some time. In it he won a great reputation for wisdom and boldness; and he conquered all the northern Zang-shung for the brtan-po. Ye was succeeded by Ngag Stong-brtseas Yul-zung. There is no information about when or why this took place; but in the end Zwa-tse fell victim to the same accusations and suffered the same fate which, in that world of intrigue and rivalry, he had brought on others. In his retirement in old age he is said to have invited Khrri Stong-brtseas to his palace with treacherous intent and that this was detected by Ngag Yul-zung whoupon Zwa-tse committed suicide, but much was to happen before that.

According to a damaged passage at the beginning of the Annals, some time after the fall of Myang Mang-po-rje Zheng-snang the brtan-po set out on an expedition against the 'A-ri (Tu-yu-kun) and China. The Chronicle puts the event before the fall of Myang but it might be expected that the evidence of the Annals is the more acceptable.

Although the haphazard arrangement of the Chronicle, as we have it, leaves much to be conjectured, an incident recorded there may well be placed soon after the fall of Myang. In his old age Dba's Phags-po-rje Dbyi-tsab, who had been a partner of Myang Mang-po-rje's father-in-allegiance to Stag-bu snyig-rgyal and in establishing Khrri Slim-mthshen as bstan-po, sought and was granted a visit at his own house from Khrri Stong-brtseas in order that he and his family could take an oath of loyalty to the
btshan-po in person. Perhaps the Dba's had been suspected of sympathising with their former colleagues the Myang, and Phanges-to-re was eager to dispel that idea by openly condemning the disloyalty of Myang Mung-po-ri-je Zhang-snang. The btshan-po himself first took an oath, praising the loyalty of the Dba's and vowing to protect them and their estates so long as they remained in fidelity. He promised also to build a tomb for the Dbyi-tshab and to sacrifice a hundred horses there: and he sang one of those allusive songs which enrich and enliven the Chronicle. Dba's Dbyi-tshab replied in kind. Then he and his six sons took the oath of loyalty on a white stone which the btshan-po afterwards set up as the foundation of the tomb to be built for the Dbyi-tshab. The impressive words of the King's vow and that of the Dba's are recorded at length in archaic language which must have been transmitted in the Dba's family from generation to generation together with the insignia of the golden letter bestowed upon them.

Although in neither the Chronicle nor the Annals is there a clear sequence of chronology for these events, a fixed point is provided by the invaluable Chinese historians. Already in the period 581-600 of the Sui dynasty there was some knowledge of a Tibetan ruler Luntsan Solung-tsan, who must have been Gnam-ri Slon-ntsas, with an army of 100,000 men and a kingdom extending to the borders of India but it is the Tang Annals in which the first fire date is found when they record the arrival in 634 of the first mission from Tibet. The Chinese responded with a return mission in the wave of which the Tibetans sent another. They had heard that the Turks and the Tu-yu-hun had been given princesses in marriage to their rulers and they requested one for their btshan-po. When this was refused the btshan-po set out on a punitive expedition against the Tu-yu-hun ('A-zha), as recorded in the Tibetan Chronicle, whom they held responsible for the refusal. Having defeated and scattered them he besieged the Chinese border town Sung chou and renewed the demand for a princess in threatening terms. He defeated one Chinese force sent against him but when a larger army arrived he withdrew with some losses. The Chinese, nevertheless, realizing that they had underrated the Tibetans and had a new power to face, granted a princess. In 642 Mgar Stong-rtsan was sent with lavish presents to receive her
and escort her to Tibet. That momentous event is recorded also in the Tibetan Annals and forms virtually the starting point for a continuous Tibetan history.

Before that another remarkable but otherwise unknown incident is related in a damaged passage in the Annals. There was enmity between the Bes-sgo-po, the elder brother Srong-rtsan and the younger brother Btsan-srong. As the result of treachery by a servant Btsan-srong died by burning.

Although no precise dates are given in the Annals after the arrival of the Chinese princess until the dog year, 650 A.D., from when events are recorded annually, it is said that after three years Lig Snya-shur was destroyed and all the Zhang-zhung were brought under subjection. There may be some question whether this event c. 644 relates to Spung-sad Zutse's claim to have conquered all the northern Zhang-zhung. The name of the Zhang-zhung ruler said to have been conquered by Zutse, according to a divination document from Fung-huang-Pollet Tibetain 1047 - is Lig Myi-rhya. And it is victory over Lig Myi-rhya that is celebrated in the Chronicle as the achievement of Khri Srong-btsan and his minister Stong-rtsan in another of those splendid exchanges of song. The relation between Lig Myi-rhya and Lig Snya-shur is not clear. The latter appears in several of the lists of principalities and according to F.W. Thomas it figures also in Bon writing. If the conquest of Zhang-zhung in 644 was effected by Spung-sad Zutse it would mean that his career in Tibetan affairs extended for almost half a century.

Sadly there is nothing in the Annals about the achievements of the last six years of Srong-btsan's life; it is said only that he lived with the Chinese princess for three years. She survived Srong-btsan by twenty-two years. That suggests that she was very young when she came to Tibet and dispels the aura attached to her name as the Ba lady of the Jo-khang. A little more can be gleaned from the edict in the Chronicle which relates in general terms that he was responsible for organizing the internal administration of the state, agricultural systems, the taxa, and for introducing texts of the religious law. Inscriptions of his successors also attribute to him the
foundation of the Jo-khang. But it is to the Tang Annals that one must turn for factual information. There it is recorded that in 646 Srong-britsan sent Mgur Stong ritsun (Lutungtsan) to congratulate the Emperor on his victory over korea with a flowery message and the present of a jar, in the shape of a gomde, made of solid gold, seven feet high. In 648 when a Chinese envoy was plundered in India Srong britsan sent an army to chastise the offending Indian leader; and the evidence that the two Chinese emperors with whom he was contemporary -- Tai Thung and kuo - tsung -- treated him with admiration and respect as a powerful and independent ruler and ally enhances the unquestioned greatness of Srong-britsan Sgam-po as the real founder of a great Tibetan Kingdom.
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Price Rs. 150/-
Nag tsho Tshul khrims rgyal ba's
Bstod pa brgyad cu pa
in Its Extant Version

Transliterated by
HELMUT EIMER (Bonn)

Of the Bstod pa brgyad cu pa by Nag tsho Tshul khrims rgyal ba' there appears to exist only one complete version contained in the Legs par bashad pa bka' gdamgs rin po che'i gsung gi gees btsus nor bu'i bang mdzod, a collection of smaller works belonging to the Bka' gdamgs school. If we consider the special position of this hymn of praise within the biographical tradition concerning Atiśa Dipamkaraśrījñāna (A.D. 982-1054), it is remarkable that most probably no other complete version is found anywhere.

The accessible blockprint of the Legs par bashad pa bka' gdamgs rin po che'i gsung gi gees btsus nor bu'i bang mdzod seems to


2 This xylograph was in the library of the late khris byang Rin po che, Loden Sherap Dagyab Rinpoche prepared a microfilm of it. I would like to express my sincere thanks for the permission to use this copy from the personal library of L. S. Dagyab Rinpoche. The Bstod pa brgyad cu pa covers in this edition the leaves 1552 to 20a6.

3 For an investigation of the role played by the early hymns of praise within the tradition concerning Atiśa see H Elimer, Berichte, pp. 300-325 (paras 8. to 8.3.2.3.).
come from Central Tibet. Its colophon does not indicate the place of issue, but it is named 'Jam chen tri kwang rgyal po (A.D. 1420-1493) as having owned one of the manuscript copies before the book was printed. By this a terminus post quem is given, i.e. the xylograph cannot have been prepared before the middle of the XIXth century.

In the extant version of the Bstdod pa brgyad cu pa a brief gloss is given after line 29. It says that the preceding lines, i.e. lines 1 to 29, are regarded by Bstdod nam rgyal mtshan and Las chen (Kun dga' rgyal mtshan), as having been adopted from the Jo bo'igs phyin sem tshogs par bstdod pa' composed by Sa'i Stonpo, an Indian pandit who accompanied Atisha to Tibet. This gloss cannot have been inserted into the text before the beginning of the XVIIth century, because Bstdod nam rgyal mtshan finished his Bka' gdam pa rin po che'i chos 'byung rnam thar nyin mo' byed pa'i 'bdud stong (short title: Bka' gdam chos 'byung rnam thar) in A.D. 1494 and Kun dga' rgyal mtshan finalized his Bka' gdam kyi rnam par thar pa bka' gdam chos in A.D. 1506.

* The book comprises 297folios (1b and 2a three lines, 2b and 3a five lines, other pages six lines), the marginal legend up to fol. 12a is bang mdzad. The actual size is not known to us. The Bstdod pa brgyad cu pa covers folios 15b1 to 20b6.

* On fol. 290b6.

* This title of the present hymn of praise is not recorded elsewhere, in the Jo bo'igs phyin sem tshogs pa (fol. 22b1) the reference runs as follows: ... po (A.D. 1708) and of the same sgrub sem tshogs pa' sge nas bstdod pa ... 7 For references within the biographical tradition concerning Atisha see H. Eiter, Kham brgyud pa Materialien zu einer Biographie des Atisha (Diplomarbeit, Münster 1979, part 1, p. 359 (s.v. Pandi ta Sa'i shin po) and p. 407 (s.v. Sa'i shin po).

* Manuscript in the library of the late Burmick Athing, Gangtok (Sikkim), reprinted in Gompo TSETEN, Two Histories of the Bka'-gdam-pa Tradition. Gangtok 1977.
Bstod pa brgyad cu pa

\(\text{byung gsal ba\'i} \text{ sgron me}\) (short title: Bka’ gdams chos \(\text{byung sgron me}\)) ten years later.

It could well be that the extant Bstod pa brgyad cu pa was not copied from a full version of that hymn of praise handed down by tradition. We may assume that it was compiled out of those lines which appear as quotations from the original version in other more recent works. Thus, for instance, more than 300 lines appearing in the extant version of the said hymn of praise have been found quoted in the Bka’ gdams chos \(\text{byung sgron me}\) by Kun sga’ rgyal mtshan.

The present communication is meant to make the Bstod pa brgyad cu pa as given by the Legs pa ba\text{ha}\text{ts} pa bka’ gdams rin po che’i gsung gi goe bsu nar bu’i bang mdud available for further studies. For the sake of precise reference, in the

9 Xylograph comprising 417 folios in the personal library of Loden Sherap Dgyas Rinpoche; a reprinted edition was prepared by B. Jamyang Norbu, Bka’ gdams kyi rhun par thar pa bka’ gdams chos \(\text{byung gsal ba’i} \text{sgron me}\). A detailed account of the spread of the Kadampa sect in Tibet. Reproduced from a khampa sbu-med ed. New Delhi 1972.


11 G. S. CYBKOV, Lam-rim čen-po (Stepeni puti k bik-jenstvu). Sbírení Czechohry v mongolském i ruském převedou. Vyprac. II. Russký převed s předpisovou í přímečkami. Vydalovatel 1913 (Institut Vostokhsova institutu, 12-13 god Iskandia, 1910–1911 Akademický god., tom XXXVIII, pp 4–10), presents a Russian rendering of the verses from the Bstod pa brgyad cu pa quoted in the Mongol version of Tsongkhapa’s Lam rim chen mo. Some verses have been rendered into English by G. N. BOERICH, Blue Annals, I, in the notes to pp. 241 and 543. About ninety lines have been translated into English by H. EINER,
transliteration the single lines, not the stanzas, are numbered. The glosses and the colophon are given in italics. References to folio, page and line of the xylograph appear enclosed in parentheses. A survey of which lines are quoted in some important works going back to an early tradition is added by way of appendix.

Atiśa (Dīpankaraśrījñāna)
Blockprint of the Brgyad stong ma, Lhasa, about A.D. 1950


For analytical studies see H. EIMER, "The Hymn of Praise in Eighty Verses", pp. 1–2, and H. EIMER, Berichte über das Leben des Atiśa (Dīpankaraśrījñāna), pp. 138–145 and 305–325.
Bo tsho lo tsed bas mdzad pa ni l

- na mo gu ru ma nyhzhu gho sa ya l

| shar phyogs za hor yul mehog na l | 001 |
| de na grong khayer chen po yod l | 005 |
| bi km ma ni pu ra yin l | |
| de yi dbus na rgyal po'i khab l | |
| sho brang shin tu yangs pa yod l | |
| gzer avi rgyal mtshan can (3) zhes bya l | |
| longs spyin mnga' thang 'byor pa ni l | |
| rgya nag stong khun rgyal po 'dra l | |

stong khun ni rgya nag skad de shar rgyal po zer l

| khyim ni 'bum phrag nyl shu bshun l | 010 |
| yul de'i rgyal po dge ba'i dpal l | |
| btsun mo dpal mo'i 'od zer can l | |
| yab yum gnyis (4) la sras gsum mnga' l | |
| pa dma'i snying dang zla ba'i snying l | 015 |
| dpal gyi snying po zhes bya 'o l | |
| rgyal bu pa dma'i snying po la l | |
| btsun mo lnga yod sras ni dgu l | |
| sras kyi thu bo bsod nams dpal l | |
| da lta'i dus na mkhes pa che l | |
| dha na shri zhes bya bar grags l | |
| (6) 'bring po zla ba'i snying po ni l | 020 |
| da lta bla ma rje btsun yin l | |
Nag tsho Tshul khrims rgyal ba's

I chung ba dpal gyi snying po ni l
I dge slong b'i rya tsa ndra yin l
I de ita bu y'i bham ga la' l
I rgyal srid spangs nas thar par gshegs l

'di yan je bo' ri rigs phun sum tahse par bsdod pa pa n'i ta sa'i
snying pos mdozad (6) par bsod nams la'i dbang po dang las
chen gnyis gsungs l

I khyod ni yon tan kun gyl byung gnas te l
I yon tan rgya mtsho litar zab thugs rje can l
I mkhas pa chen po khyod kyi yon tan las l
I don dang ldan par bdag gs 'bstod par bgyi l
I (16u) rig pa'i gnas lnga dag gi mkhyen pa rgyas l
I b'dag dang gzhana gyl mo'ya pa nyid du mdozad l
I yab ni bdag gzhana bjre bar mdozad pa yi l
I dpal ldan mar me mdozad la phyag 'tshal le l
I rang don yai bar (2) don nas gzhana gyl don l
I lhur mdozad de ni bdag gi bla ma lags l
I dngos sam brgyud pas gzhana don rtag tu mdozad l
I bla ma snying rje can la phyag 'tshal lo l
I khyod ni nyen thos thog pa'i sgor zhugs nas l
I tshul khrims g'rgag (3) rnga bahin du b'stang mdozad pa'i l
I tshangs sphyod dpal dang ldan pa'i dge slong mtshog l
I gnas btan 'dol ba 'dzin la phyag 'tshal lo l
I khyod ni pha rol phyin pa'i sgor zhugs nas l
I lhag pa'i bram pa rnam par dag pa yi l
I byang chub (4) sems kyi' g'o rnam mi grong ba'i l
I blo ldan snying rje can la phyag 'tshal lo l
I khyod ni gsal sngags thog pa'i sgor zhugs nas l
I rang lhav gongs shing rho rje'i thugs dang ldan l
I rnal 'byor dbang phyug a va chul ti pa l

26
'bsod (6) pa'i brtsul bzugs 'dzin la phyag 'tshul lo l 050
rigs kyi nang nas mchog gyur pa l
khyod ni rgyal po' ri rigs su 'khrungs l
dregs pas myes pa thams cad kyang l
zhabs kyi pa dmor spyi bos gtugs l
khor ba'i skyon dang mtshang (6) gzigs nas l
bha nggs la yi rgyal srid de l
mchil ma'i thal ba bzhiin bor nas l
sangs rgyas bstam pa 'rgyas par mzdod l
o ta nta yi pu ri nas l
rab byung l 'pa phrag phyed dang gsun l
bi kri ma ni shi la na l
rab byung brgya phrag ma longs (16b) tsam l
rtsa ba'i sde bzhis tshang bar bzugs l
sde pa'i khrungs drigs khyod ni mzdod l
ma ga dha yi yul gyi ni l
ignas gzi ma lus thams cad kyi l
ston sa'i khor ni bzhi so yi l
kon gyi gtsug gi nor dur gyur l
khyod ni sde pa bco bzrug (2) kyi l
kon gyi spyi la bzugs pas na l
thams cad kyi ta lung shing len l
khyod kyi 'jig rten chos bzrug po l
thams cad khyod du bsad nas ni l
gzhan dag gi itar mos pa yi l
sems dang bstun pa'i spyod pa mzdod l
gzhan (3) dag dad par mi 'gyur zhing l
mi rnam sams dang较好 gyur pa l
gshe zhing skur ba 'thea la sogs l
gzhan gyi sdig rkyim khyod mi mzdod l

27
I nam yang gzhan dag ml dad pa l
I dug dang 'dra bar spong bar mzdad l
I slob ma ji litar (4) 'dod pa yi l
I chos kyi gdams ngag gsungs par mzdad l
I 'jig rten ml rnams thams cad kyi ls
I brnyas shing skur ba 'debs pa dang l
I phrag dog rngan can byed na yang l
I gnyen po bsten nas phyir la 'gyes l
I khyod kyi sku lus (5) mthong ba na l
I thams cad mthun par shin tu mos l
I sku mdangs 'jam zhing gsal ba dang l
I dang po tha ma'i mig chags 'gyur l
I rnam par 'tsho ba spangs pa yis l
I khyed kyi sku la snyun ml mnga l
I bsod nams tshogs ni bsags (6) pa yis l
I zhal mthong tsem gyis dad pa byed l
I khyod ni spyod lam thams cad du l
I chos dang mthun par mzdad pa yis l
I 'jig rten kia na ma tho ba l
I grags pa ngan pas khyod ml go l
I tshul khrims rnam par dag gyur pas l
I skyob pa (17a) shad kya se nag ye l
I zab pa dang ni rgya che bu l
I btan pa khyod kyi thugs la gnas l
I sangs rgyas btan pa rin po che l
I bekur dang 'dzin dang skyong ba yi l
I 'dren pa khyod ni 'das pa na l
I btan pa rol du nub dang (2) 'dra l
I mtho dang dma' dang mnyam pa la l
I phrag dog rngan can 'gzan ml mnga l
1 de liar khyod nj thams ral kyis l
1 gryo bo bzhin du bkur ba yin l
1 la na nyi shi rtsa gcig ra 1
1 agyu rtsal drug cu rtsa bzhhi dang l
1 bzo yi gnas na thams (5) cad dang l
1 legs pa shyar bai shad dang nl l
1 sgra yi bstan bcos chams cad dang l
1 tshad ma kun la mkhas pa lags l
1 bla ma bzang po mang bsten pas l
1 khyod nj thos sa'i rgyan gyi brgyud l
1 theg pa gsum dang sde siod gsum l
1 khyod nj mkhas (4) pa chen po yin l
1 khyod nj mchas pa mags po yil l
1 bdra la bsar bai skyes bu yin l
1 bdag dang gzhan gy' rgol ba nl l
1 kun kyang tshar bjad phan pa= mdzad l
1 sangs rgyas ye shes zhal sngas yi l
1 slob ma brgyud pa'i brgyud du 'khrungs l
1 khyod kyi (6) mkhan po shyor lam pa l
1 yin par kun 'la grags pa lags l
1 rtag tu bsten pa'i bla ma nl l
1 sha nti pa dang gser gling pa l
1 bha dra bo bshi dzin'ya n shri l
1 dngos grub thob pa mang po dang l
1 khyad par du yang klu sarub nas l
1 gcig nas gcig tu brgyud pa (6) yi l
1 zab pa dang ni rgya che bai l
1 gcams pa khyod la mnga' ba yin l
1 khyod ni sangs rgyas thams cad ky l
1 byin riabs thugs la skye ba yin l
Nag taho Tahul khrims rgyal ba’u

1. Khyod ni bolab pa gsun idan pas l
2. Thal ba’u tahul khrims baal ba yin l
3. Tahul (17b) khrims dri ngad idan pas na l
4. Ring na gnas pa rnam kyang ‘de l
5. Kha na ma the phre rak la ‘lung l
6. Thugs ni shin ta ‘jigs pas mdzad l
7. Dran dang shee byin idan pa yis l
8. Tahul buzin ma yin yid mi mdzad l
9. Bag yod dran dang tyo sgyu (2) med l
10. Lting ba’u ryes pas khyod ma poz l
11. ‘Di la mi sbyin ‘di la sbyin l
12. ‘Di la mi ‘bul ‘di la ‘bul l
13. Thugs ni kun la snyoms gyur pas l
14. Gang la’ang bye brag dbyer mi mdzad l
15. Dkon mcog gsun dang thugs dam lha l
16. Bla ma rnam (3) dang ‘gro ba lnga l
17. ‘Di drug nga yi lha dang ni l
18. Jo bo yin zhes rtag tu gsungs l
19. Khyod ni srong nyid rnal ‘byor pa l
20. Rtag tuchos siku’ngang la gnas l
21. Guugs sgu nyid kyi thugs dam lha l
22. Thun mthams rnal ‘byor yogs mi mdzad l
23. Dpal (4) idan dgyes pa’i rdo ’je dang l
24. Oms thalg skod pa’i rgyal po dang l
25. Dpas bo ’jig rten dbang phyug dang l
26. Jo mo rje btsun bsrol ma sogs l
27. Thal zigs gnang ba thok pas na l
28. Mi lan na ‘am mngon sun du l
29. Zab pa dang ni rgya che ba’u l
30. Dam (5) chos rtag tu gsan pa lags l

30
I gsang sngags theg pa'i gzhung litar na i
I bkhyod pa'ri rim pa'ri bstan par nges i
I pha rol phyin pa'li gzhung litar na i
I skyor ha'li lam pa yin par gsal i
I rang rhar byin gyal brabs es zhes i
I grags pa shyan (6) pas phyogs beur khyab i
I khyod ni gsang sngags rnal 'byor pa i
I dri med rdo rdje thugs dang idan i
I khyod sngon so ma pu ri na i
I rtog ge 'bar ba gsungs pa'li tshe i
I da ni lo ni nyl shu na i
I tshe yi 'du byed g tong 'gyur gsung i
I de nas lo ni (18a) lon pa na i
I bod du 'byon pa'i dus su ni i
I bl kram la shi lar ni i
I da ni lo ni bco brgyad na i
I tshe yi 'du byed btsang nas ni i
I lus 'di bod du 'jog ko gsungs i
I i skad gsungs bzhin ma 'khrul par i
I byung ba de ni ngo mthar (2) che i
I khyod kyi rnam smin sku lus de i
I bod kyi yul du bzhag nas su i
I smon lam gyls ni sku lus de i
I byams pa'i spyan sngar dga'i idan du i
I 'khrungs par sgrel mas lung bstan gsungs i
I nam mkha'i dri med ces bya ha'i i
I tha yi bur ni 'khrungs (3) par 'gyur i
I zab pa dang ni rgya che la'i i
I chos ni byams pa'i mgon las gsal i
I des na khyod ni 'byam gling gi i
Yag tsho Tahul khrims rgyal ba'

rgyas du gyur pa chen po yin
i
snyan par grags shing 'gran sia med
i
mkhas pa brams kyi bla ma 'ros
i
dpal ldan rdo rje sems (4) dpa' yis
i
gsungs pa'i gsang engags rgyud sde bshis
i
rim pa gnyis pa'i man ngag ni
i
mkhas pa mang po'i bgyud pa mnga'
200
i
gsang engags phyi nang rgyud sde dang
i
mkhas pa mang pos mdzad pa'i gzhung
i
ylugs dang gsan dang bshad (5) pa yis
i
gzhung la shin tu goms pa mdzad
i
khyod kyls slob ma'i tshogs la ni
i
gdams ngag itsa bar gsungs pa ni
i
bsags pa'i yo byad thams cad ni
210
i
'khor ba'i rgyur ni ma bhang gsungs
i
gzhan gyls brnyas thabs byas pa (6) dang
i
i
glos bur snyon mong sbyes pa dang
i
i
gzhan dang rtsod pa tshung nas yang
i
i
snyon gyis pa'i sbyin pa'i 'bras bu yis
i
gzhan gyls bsags pa khyod la 'bul
i
i
yo byad mnga' ba thams cad 'yang
215
i
longs (18b) spyod hrugs phyir chud mi gzol
i
dge ba mdzad pa thams cad 'kyang
i
i
khor ba'i rgyu ni srang ba'i phyir
i
khor gnas yongs su dag pa dang
i
i
store pas ma zin gang yang med
220
i
dge ba'i bshes snyen dang bral zhung
i
theg chen mdo sde ma thos (2) pas
i
i
ngi yas las byung byung chub sems
bsod pa bgyad cu pa

i spangs nas gsang angags 'ba' zhig spyod i
i gnud sbyin lag na rdo rje dang i
i erin po sha za sogs par skyi i
i khyod kyi shes rab thugs rje yis i
i shing rtsi chen po'i lam du lugs i
i rgyud kyi dgongs (3) pa mi shes par i
i sgra bzhiin 'jug pa'i angags pa kun i
i log pa'i lam du zhugs gzigs nas i
i khyod kyi sngang dag lam du bralod i
i ita ba mi nthun sna thogs pa i
i sngon gyi slob dpon rjes 'brangs nas i
i so sor mi nthun rtag pa kun i
i (4) khyod kyiis lung dang rig pas bkrol i
i khyod ni sngags sgyes bstan pa yi i
i kha 'byod nyl ma'i 'od zer yin i
i phyin ci log gi ita 'dzin pa i
i khyod kyiis yang dag bstan la btsue i
i kyang chu'h chen po'i pho brang du i
i thams cad 'du' shing 'thogs (6) pa na i
i rtag dang gzhon gri sde pa yi i
i grub mcha' njan pa'i tshol pa kun i
i sngag ge nga ro'i sgra skad kyiis i
i thams cad kyi ni khad pa' 'kems i
i chos kyi dbylinga na rtsag bzugs pas i
i ye shes thogs ni rdzogs par mdzad i
i theg chen mdo sde (6) las gsungs pa'i i
i thabs kyiis bsod nams thogs bsags mdzad i
i khyad jar can gyi bsod nams thogs i
i myur du rdzogs par mdzad pa'i phyir i
i gsang sngags rgyud sde thabs kyiis ni i
Nag taho Tshul khrima rgyal ba's

l 'lad pa med par rdzogs par mdzad l
l khyod (19a) ni mthong dang thos pa dang l
l reg par gyur pa thams cad kyi's l
l dad cing bshyen bkur byed la brtsan l
l khyod 'dra 'dzam bu gling na dkon l
l khyod ni sku na bgres na yang l
lthag pa'i bsam pa rnam dag pas l
l (2) gzhon don gtsos ber mdzad pa'i phylir l
l to zla shul yang bgrod par mdzad l
l sesms can sding bangal can gzigs na l
l thugs kyi's ni bzod spyan chab byung l
l snying rjes thugs ni gdungs pa khyod l
l stang tu gzhon don 'ba' zhig mdzad l
l (3) des na khyed la thams cd kyis l
l bshyen bkur chen po bya bar rigs l
l gang zag dam pa khyod lta bu l
l yul phyogs gang ma'ang yod ma yin l
l rgyal po nai rya pha la dang l
l nub phyogs ka rna'i rgyal po gnyis l
l rtsod pa chen po byung ba'i tahe l
l nub (4) phyogs ka rna'i rgyal po yis l
l ma ga dhar ni dam drangs pas l
l grong khyer ma thub gnas gzhir drangs l
l rab byung dge bshyen inga yang bsdad l
l yo byad mang po nang du khyer l
l khyed la zhe sdang mi mnga' bas l
l ko long ma mdzad snying rje 'khrungs l
l (5) g.yul log tsho na damg mil skyabs l
l byas nas bla mas bdum mdzad de l
l 'taho ba'i yo byad ma gto gs pa l

34
Bo to pa brgyad cu pa

1 yo byad thag ma ma par btang l
1 lus dang sem glog la ma gziugs par l
1 chu bo chen po yang yang brgal l
1 de gnyis bedum (6) nas mdza' bor mdzad l
1 saying rje sems can ni gtong bas l
1 thub pa'i brtiul zhugs khyod kyis barungs l
1 khyod la bdag dang gshen medi pas l
1 dgra zun pham la khenga dregs med l
1 kun gyi pha ma khyod lita bu l
1 deng seng dus na ngi (196) mtha'er che l
1 rgyu'bras brel ba chud gzon pa'i l
1 gshen dag sdig pa byed gziugs ra l
1 'di ni'gro ba cir 'gyur zhes l
1 thugs kyis mi bsod spyan chab 'byung l
1 yon tan bsngags pa mtha' ras pas l
1 phyogs bcu'f brag (2) pa snyen pas khyab l
1 bdag gi gdong ba sel ba phyir l
1 bla ma rje bsun la bsod pa l
1 bdag giis bo to pa ma zad kyi l
1 gang zag gshen rma'as khyod la bsod l
1 bsod pa dang ni smad pa yis l
1 khyod la dges dang ni dges med l
1 yon (3) tan rgya mtha'o khyod bsod pas l
1 bdag gi yid ni shin tu chen l
1 khyod mthong nas ni dad gyur nas l
1 kun kyang bsnyen bhur byed la brtoson l
1 khyod ni gzhan la pas pa dang l
1 bde mdzad thugs ni chung gyur pas l
1 gshen gyiis ji litar zhus pa (4) bzhin l
1 mi gnyen bar ni khyod mi mdza' l

290
296
300
306
310
315
35
Nag tsho Tshul khrims rgyal ba's

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \text{i bla ma bod du ma byon na i} & 320 \\
1 & \text{i thams cad long ba bzhin du 'gyur i} \\
1 & \text{i mkhyen pa rgyas pa khyod byon pas i} \\
1 & \text{i bod du ye shes nyl ma shar i} \\
1 & \text{i bod du byon pas 'brom ston dang i} \\
1 & \text{i khu ston rnyog ston la sogs pa i} \\
1 & \text{i (5) khyod la dad cing 'dun pa yl i} & 325 \\
1 & \text{i slob ma'i tshogs ni ma lus pa i} \\
1 & \text{i thams cad ji 'ltar 'dod pa bzhin i} \\
1 & \text{i kus gyl yid ni chim par rdzad i} \\
1 & \text{i khyed la chos 'brel slob na ni i} \\
1 & \text{i chud ni za bar mi 'gyur te i} & 330 \\
1 & \text{i skyes bu chen po'i chos lugs slob i} \\
1 & \text{i (6) shing rta chen po'i lam du 'dzud i} \\
1 & \text{i bla ma dge ba'i bshes gnyen dam pa khyod i} \\
1 & \text{i lo ni bcn dgu rtzen cing 'grogs na yang i} \\
1 & \text{i khyod kyi sku guung thugs la 'khruul pa yl i} & 335 \\
1 & \text{i nyes pa'i dri ma byung ba mthong re skan i} \\
1 & \text{i ma ga rta yi bday po ni i} \\
1 & \text{i rgyal po (22a) nai rya pha la yin i} \\
1 & \text{i longs sphyod 'byor pa mnga' thang sogs i} \\
1 & \text{i 'di tsam zhes ni bzhod par dka'i i} & 340 \\
1 & \text{i dmag dpun 'bum phrag mang por Idan i} \\
1 & \text{i rab rtsan sa srunugs bu lta bur i} \\
1 & \text{i dregs pas rgyams shing 'gving ba yang i} \\
1 & \text{i khyod kyi zhab(2) gnyis spyi bor len i} & 345 \\
1 & \text{i gzi bzhid ldan pa'i lha rnams dang i} \\
1 & \text{i mthu dang rdzu 'phrub stobs ldan pa'i l} \\
1 & \text{i gnod sbyin tshogs rnams ma lus pa i} \\
1 & \text{i bsung zhing bsnyen bkur byed la brtson i} \\
\end{align*}
\]
Bstod pa brgyad cu pa

I khyod kyi yon tan tran pas na i
I mch'i ma k ruin zhing ba spu Idang i
I btsa ma (3) rje btaun khyod dang ni l
I dga' ldam gnas su 'grogs par shog
I nag tsho dge slong tshul khrims rgyal ba yis l
I rang gi btsa ma rje btaun bstod pa yis i
I rang gi bu la byams pa'i 'gro ba lnga i
I thams cad dge' ldam gnas su 'grogs par (4) shog
I tshigs b-rad brgyad cu thams pa yis i
I btsa ma rje btsun bstod pa yis i
I slob ma gnyis slob gsum slob sogs i
I khyod la bstod cing 'dun pa rtogs i
I shin tu dad pa'i yid kyis ni l
I tsho bstod pa byul shig ces i
I tshul khrims (5) rgyal bas gsal ba 'dehs II

ces khang gsum chos kyi rgyal po dpal ldam mar me mdzad ye
shes la bstod pa'i rab tu byed pa tshigs breq brgyad cu pa 'di II
nag tsho lo tsho ba bstul rgyal bas shyar ba rtsogs so II

Atms (Despaṅkarācāryāna)
Blockprint of the lam yig

37
Appendix

In the Lam rim chen mo, Rnam thar rgyas pa, Bka' gdams chos byung rnam thar and the Bka' gdams chos byung sgron me are quoted:
Lines 1-8; 10-19; 22-23; 20-21; 129-136

In the Lam rim chen mo, Rnam thar rgyas pa, and the Bka' gdams chos byung sgron me are quoted:
Lines 34-37; 38-41; 42-45; 46-49; 58-67; 68-70; 111-112; 161-168; 246-251

In the Lam rim chen mo and the Rnam thar rgyas pa are quoted:
Lines 111-114, line 116; lines 127-128; 145-148

In the Lam rim chen mo are quoted:
Lines 169 and 172

In the Rnam thar rgyas pa are quoted:
Lines 24-25, 87 and 90; 153-156; 177-186; 248-251; 260-265, 268-271; 276-292; 334 and 336

In the Bka' gdams chos byung sgron me are quoted:
Lines 50-55; 54-57; 71-74; 75-80; 81-82; 83-86; 87-90; 91-94; 95-98; 99-102; 103-106; 115-116; 117-120; 121-124; 127-138; 139-142; 143-148; 149-152; 157-158; 159-160; 169-174; 175-176; 177-188; 189-197; 198-201; 202-209; 210-217; 218-219; 220-221; 222-225; 226-231; 232-239; 234-237; 238-245; 252-253; 254-255; 264-267; 268-275; 296-302; 309-310; 315-318; 319-322; 323-324; 326-328; 329-330; 331-332; 333-336; 337-344; 345-348; 349-352; 361-363.

38
The Wheel of Life which is called "Srid-pa'i 'khorlo" in Tibetan and "Bhava Chakra" in Sanskrit should be painted as fresco on the entrance wall of the Vihara (竺嘎-lag-khang) as mentioned in the Vinaya-vibhanga (lung-rnam-b'ye). This is also mentioned in the Mala Commentary written by the great Pandita Gunaprabha in his Vinaya Sutra (Mdo-rigs-wa). The reason for having the fresco on the entrance wall of the Vihara is for the purpose of meditation on the Four Noble Truths (Tib, Bden-pa-bshi, Skt. Ca'vrai Satyam) i.e. (i) the truth of suffering (Tib, Sdug-bshang bden-pa, Skt. Dukhasatya), (ii) the truth of origin of suffering (Tib, Kun-'byung-bden-pa, Skt. Samudaya-satya), (iii) the truth of cessation of suffering (Tib, 'gog-pa'i bden-pa, Skt. Niruddha-satya) and (iv) the truth of path which leads to cessation of suffering (Tib, Lam-gyi bden-pa, Skt. Margasatya). The truth of suffering is depicted in a human bondage symbolised by the non-substantive belly of the Lord of Death (Tib, Gshin-rje, Skt. Yama) on which stands the impermanent nature of transmigratory existence. The truth of origin of suffering is depicted through the central navel point of Gshin-rje where lies lustr symbolised by a dove, envy symbolised by a snake, and their tails swallowed by ignorance symbolised by a pig. The truth of cessation of suffering, Nirvana, is depicted by a radiant white circle above Gshin-rje which is pointed out by Buddha. The truth of path which leads to cessation of suffering is depicted through two slokas:

Brtsam-pur-byas-shing-dbyung-bur-byas/
Sangs-rgyas-bsten-la-'jug-par-byas/
'dam-bul-buem-la-lung-che-'bras-bzhin/
'chi-bdag-sde-nil-gshom-par-byas/
It means that once human life is attained, every effort must be made to enter into the Doctrine of Buddha and lead a virtuous life after knowing the misery and misfortune of worldly existence. In order to be released from the vicious circle one must practice the Four Noble Truths so that one can overcome all temptations connected with death, just as elephant in a swamp tramples reeds and creepers.

It mainly dwells on how one had entered samsara and how one can be released from it and obtain Nirvana. It is mentioned in the Jataka (Mzad-brgya-dpag-bsam-khris-shing) that during the time of Buddha there was a famous Buddhist King Geogs-can-snying-po (Bimbisara, 562-554 B.C.) of Rgyal-poh-Khab (Rajagriha) in Magadha and another king named U-tra-ya-na (5th century B.C.) of Sgra-sgrogs (Vatsa). Both their kingdoms were very rich and powerful. During this period, however, when one kingdom was prospering the other one was going through a lean period. It was customary for these two kings to exchange the choicest gifts which were sent through their respective traders. One day King U-tra-ya-na presented King Bimbisara a very rare armour studded with jewels having the power to ward off the effects of weapons, poison, fire etc. King Bimbisara was so delighted with the gift that he could not find words to express his happiness at receiving such a gift. The King ordered his ministers to evaluate the gift and was told that it was priceless and was the rarest armour in the world. King Bimbisara could not find a suitable gift to reciprocate King U-tra-ya-na's gift and was very depressed. He called his ministers and discussed as to what gift should be sent. Then his Prime Minister Dbyar-Tshul ('arshakara) suggested that since Lord Buddha was residing in his kingdom and since he was the most precious jewel in the three worlds, it would be a fitting present if a painting of Lord Buddha was presented to King U-tra-ya-na. This present would also bring good fortune to the Kingdom.
of Vatsa and accumulate merits for its people, King Bimbhara was impressed at this suggestion and went at once to meet Lord Buddha. He then explained everything to the Lord and the Lord told the King that he should present the painting as it would have a very beneficial effect on King U-tara-yana. Therefore, as advised by Lord Buddha, the painting of the Wheel of Life was commissioned. From that time the tradition of Thanks-painting was started.

Below the painting are inscribed skyabs-'gro prayers (Shamamagama) of taking refuge in Buddha Sam-due-rgyug- dbon-mchog, Dharma/Chos-dkon-mchog and Sangha Ige-thon- dbon-mchog: Bslab-pa'i gahi (basis of the percepts); Rten-'brel bshu-gnyis (twelve links of causation) and lug-po-byung lug-po-ldog (forward and reverse meaning of twelve links of causation).

In the intermediate circle of the Wheel of Life, the five worlds are drawn as advised by Lord Buddha. In the innermost circle of the Wheel of Life are drawn a pig, a dove and a snake. The pig symbolises ignorance, the dove, lust, and the snake, envy. The Snake's tail is painted in the mouth of the dove (in Bka'-gldams- glegs-bam, a cock is depicted instead of a dove). Most paintings of the twelve dependent origination also depict a cock which follows Bka'-gldams-glegs-bam tradition and the dove's tail in the mouth of the pig. The meaning of this is that envy is caused by lust and lust is caused by ignorance. The rie between the intermediate world and the innermost circle of ignorance, lust and envy, is drawn in half white and half black. White symbolises good deeds and black symbolises sinfu deeds. People are shown going upwards in the white portion, who represent people who have performed good deeds in their life time and are now going to take rebirth in a world of gods (Tib. Lha, Skt. Deva) and human beings (Tib. Mi, Skt. Manushta). People shown going down in the black portion represent people who have sinned and are therefore going to take rebirth in the world of animals (Tib. Dal-'gro, Skt. Tiryak), hungry ghost (Tib. Yi-dvags, Skt. Preta) and hell (Tib. Dmyo-lha, Skt. Naraka).

In the intermediate circle there are five parts.
out of which the two upper parts symbolise virtuous life of the inhabitants of heavenly and human worlds. The remaining three worlds in the lower part symbolise sinful deeds leading to a world of animals, ghosts and hell.

Outermost circle shows twelve different phases of life (Tib. Rten-'brel chu-dgu-nis, Skt. Pratityassamut-pada) from ignorance to death. Ignorance (Tib. Ma-cig-pa, Skt. Avidyā) is depicted as an old and blind woman which means that one cannot see one’s surroundings and, therefore, cannot know the true meaning of all that exist due to ignorance. Karmic formation (Tib. Hdo-byed, Skt. Samskara) is depicted as making a clay pot. As a clay pot can be made into any shapes and sizes, similarly, one’s life is shaped by its former actions. Hence some live in happiness and some live in misery, some are rich and some are poor, and some are high and some are of low status. Consciousness (Tib. Rnam-ses, Skt. Vijñana) is depicted in the form of a monkey, because a monkey never stays in one place and similarly the mind wanders about. Name and form (Tib. Ming-gaus, Skt. Nama-rupa) is depicted by a man and woman in a boat crossing a river. This shows the mind and body is taking the next stage of development without losing continuity. Formation of senses (Tib. Skye-mched, Skt. Ayatana) is depicted by an open house which means one can enter and stay. Similarly, six minds (Rnam-ses-tshogs-drug), which have their base in the six sense organs, are to remain in them. Contact (Tib. Reg-pa, Skt. Sparsha) is depicted by an embracing couple drawn to each other by lust. This symbolises contact between objects and six sense organs leading to more desires. Feeling (Tib. Tshor-ba, Skt. Vedana) is depicted by a man struck by an arrow in the eye which symbolises various feelings of happiness, sorrow and indifference. Craving (Tib. Sred-pa, Skt. Trisna) is depicted by a man drinking wine which symbolises the limitless desires arising out of six sensual pleasures. Craving (Tib. Len-pa, Skt. Upadana) is depicted by a monkey plucking fruit from a tree. This symbolises that this action engenders the seed of rebirth, as the seeds of fallen fruits help to grow other fruits. Becoming (Tib. Srid-pa, Skt. Shava) is depicted by
A pregnant woman symbolising the fruit of accumulated Karma leading to a new Birth (Tib. Skyey-ba, Skt. Rupa-si, J.
ual) is depicted by a woman giving birth which symbolises the act of taking rebirth. Old age and death (Tib. Rpa-si, Skt.
aramituka) is depicted by a person carrying a dead body symbolising the aging process leading to death.

All these twelve links of causation come under four major premises (Tib. Sten-brel-yan-lag-bshl, Skt.

Projecting causes are ignorance, Karma formations, and consciousness. Projected effects are name and form, six sense organs, contact and feelings. Materializing causes are thirst, attachment and becoming. Materialized effects are birth, old age and death.

The Wheel of Life is drawn in the lap of Geshin-rje symbolising that after taking birth, caused by one's Karma and attachment, one cannot escape from the jaws of the Lord of Death. (In Thup-pa'i-dgon-ga-rgyen (Skt.
Munima-samkara), page 119 of Pandita 'Jra-med 'byung-'gros shos-pa (Skt. Ambayakara, 11th century A.D.), which forms the Tangyur Vo1. Ah, it is mentioned that Geshin-rje is also the King of Yi-dvaig (Pretai) On top of the outermost circle of twelve links of causation, a full moon is drawn to illustrate the realisation of Nirvana at the end, Depiction of the raised hand of Buddha towards the full moon beside the Wheel of Life symbolises the Buddha showing the path to Nirvana.

The Wheel of Life can be discerned through the Noble truths and twelve links of causation. Here it is explained from twelve links of causation. Again these twelve links of causation revolve in two different spheres of life - three lower worlds and three upper worlds.

How does twelve links of causation work in three lower worlds (Ngaen-'gro)? By the force of ignorance of one's action, a Karma is accumulated which results
in the formation of consciousness having a distinctive mark of various karmic inclinations (vag-chags). This consciousness frequently cultivated by thirst and clinging, leads to three lower worlds of beasts, hungry ghosts and hell. This suffering will last till the exhaustion of karma accumulated in previous lives. Till the complete ending of various karma caused by mental delusion, one is subjected to rebirth in another world, here also one must endure another round of suffering as a water mill to endure the hardship of turning the water for irrigation.

How does twelve links of causation work in three upper worlds (Bde-gros)? Notwithstanding mental obscuration, caused by the sensual world that prevents one from seeing the true nature of internal and external world, one can still be reborn in upper worlds by the force of virtuous acts of charity (Tib. Shyin-ba, Skt. Dana), moral conduct (Tib. Tshul-khrim, Skt. Sila), contemplation (Tib. Thin-nga-'zin, Skt. Samadhi) and whatever acts that prevent the mind from vacillation. For example, in the realm of human beings, despite lack of penetration into the real nature, one, however, divert ones mind towards the accumulation of other virtuous acts.

The sum result of these virtuous acts is transferred to a formation of distinct consciousness. This consciousness, cultivated and developed by attachment (Tib. Sred-pa, Skt. Trsma) and grasping (Tib. Len-pa, Skt. Upadana), enters into a mother's womb and then appears in the shape of body and mind. When body and mind gradually develop along with other sense organs (Tib. Skye-mchog, Skt. Sadhayatan), these sense organs (Tib. Reg-pa, Skt. Sparsa) come into contact with the physical world and experience the sensations (Tib. Tshor-ba, Skt. Vedana) of happiness, sorrow and indifference. The consciousness from its embryonic stage in the mother's womb gradually takes the shape of six sense organs and at the completion of ten months, would appear in the external world. Then it is subjected to yet another vicious circle of suffering. When the body grows it is drawn towards lust (Tib. 'dor-chags, Skt. Raga), anger (Tib. She-sdang, Skt. Dvesa) caused by mental
obscuration (Tib. Gti-mug, Skt. Moha), and as a result he will be overwhelmed by mental and physical affliction. Then he will go again for fresh accumulation of virtuous and sinful karma. After the completion of previous karma, his present life will come to an end. However, by the force of various moral and immoral acts cultivated in innumerable past and present lives, his life will be confined within the six realms and go through endless suffering from time to time.

These twelve links of dependent origination are further divided under three heads: (1) karmic formation (Tib. Las, Skt. Karma), (2) mental defilement (Tib. Nyon-mongs, Skt. Klesa) and (3) suffering (Tib. Sdug-btse, Skt. Dukkha). (1) Physical and mental elements (Tib. 'du-byed, Skt. Sanaskara) and becoming (Tib. Srbd-pa, Skt. Bhava) are karmic formation. (2) Ignorance (Tib. Ma-rig-pa, Skt. Avidya), Attachment (Tib. Sred-pa, Skt. Trisna) and grasping (Tib. Len-pa, Skt. Upadana) are mental defilement. (3) Causative and resulting phase of consciousness (Rgyu-dus dang 'bras-dus-khyim-rnam-ses), name and form (Tib. Skye-sno, Skt. Sadyayata), contact (Tib. Reg-pa, Skt. Sparrsai), sensation (Tib. Tshor-ba, Skt. Vedana), Birth (Tib. Skye-ba, Skt. Jati), and old age and death (Tib. Rga-si, Skt. Jaramara) are suffering.

Emancipation (Tib. Thorpa, Skt. Moksha) means breaking the cord that binds us to transmigratory existence due to ignorance and its karmic accumulation. By these two factors of ignorance and its consequent karmic formation, we are bound to the three states of the sensual world (Kham-gsum): 'dod-pa'i Khams, Skt. Kaivaloka (the phenomenal world), Gaugs-kyi khams, Skt. Rupaloka (the world of astral forms). Gaugs-med-kyi khams, Skt. Arupaloka (the spiritual world) i.e., the world of formless spirits: five or six worlds: gods and titans, human beings, hungry ghosts, beasts and hell: and four states of earthly existence: born of the womb or oviparous (Mngag-skyes), born out of an egg or oviparous (Srong-skyes), born out of heat and humidity or moisture sprung (Gdrag-ser-skyes), and born in a supernatural way or apparitional (Ruos-skyes). They have a blinding nature and escaping from their cord is called emancipation. Ignorance and its
resulting activities force us to go through this circle of birth and rebirth which is full of suffering. Knowing and contemplating on the Wheel of Life from the standpoint of twelve dependent origination, clearing the fallacies that the six sense organs arise out of nothing (Rgya-med-pa) or that they are a chaotic creation with no agreement between cause and effect (Mi-mthun-pa'-'rgyud), will attain emancipation. A person who has thought on these in his previous life and continues his endeavor to understand this by virtue of his former inclination will reach the sublime state (‘phags-pa’-go-‘phang). This is an excellent method of emancipation from the circle of existence.


BIBLIOGRAPHY

4. Lam-rim-chen-po by Tsun-g-kha-pa page 151, Shol Edition

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Notes & Topics

The article entitled "More Early Inscriptions From Tibet" by Hugh Edward Richardson was published in the Bulletin No. 2 of 18 July, 1988. The author has now written to us regarding an erroneous reference in respect of a date in that article.

Relevant portion of the letter from Mr. Richardson is reproduced below:

"May I make correction to my article "More Early Inscriptions from Tibet" in the Bulletin for 1988 No. 27? On p. 6 in the first para I wrote that the monkey year in which the inscription was made "can only be 804 A.D." I had assumed that Khri Lde-srong-btson died in 813 — a year before the monkey year 816; that date is given also in Tsepo N.D. Shakabpa's "Tibet". But Sa-skya Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan is his Bod-gyi rgyal-rab states that Khri Lde-srong-btson died in a bird year; and in the Tang Annals his death is stated to have been reported in China in 817. That was a Tibetan bird year. It is most likely that the monkey year of the inscription is 816 by which time negotiations for a treaty had been going on since 810 when the Chinese Emperor sent a letter on the subject to the great monk-minister Bran-ka Dpal-gyi yon-tan (See Pelliot, Histoire Ancienne du Tibet, p 125; anC Demleville, Le Concile de Lhassa p. 224)"

Summary of the Wheel of Life

We know that the Karmaic formation and ignorance whose intrinsic nature is misery, produce the afflicted mental and physical aggregates (Phung-po). Here the reason for contemplating on the Wheel of Life from the standpoint of twelve causal factors is to know that all the declining elements have their root in ignorance. This ignorance, which is like an obdurate darkness, has to be conquered.

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How does one conquer this obdurate darkness? First by clearing the erroneous view that all the internal and external elements have no cause or that they arise out of different causes as fire out of water. Having absorbed, contemplated and developed the Buddha’s rich treasure of knowledge, it generates awareness to the path of emancipation after being disgusted with the transient life. One who has endeavoured on this in his past lives is gifted with inborn inclination to progress towards the exalted state.

In Arya-Subahu-pariprccha-nama-sutra (Tib. ’phags-pa dpung-lzang rgyud), it is mentioned that in order to overcome ignorance, one has to contemplate on the twelve dependent origination. Having fully perceived the twelve causal factors, according to Arya-Salistambha-nama-mahayanasutra (Tib. ’phags-pa Sa-li-ijang-pahimo), one will be freed from the retribution of his Karma and can foresee the end of his future rebirth. Moreover, he will not hold on the fallacious views and by virtue of this, no heretical views can arise within him. According to Nagarjuna, the meaning of the twelve dependent origination is the essence of all the teachings of the Buddha. For him the victorious were those who have understood the essence of the doctrine of relative existence and those who have diligently studied its subtle meaning.

- J.K. Rechung
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