—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.—

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# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAGARJUNA'S EXPOSITION OF CAUSAL LINKS</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. A. SASTRI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE SKYABA-MGON</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIRMAL C. SINHA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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4
NAGARJUNA’S EXPOSITION OF TWELVE CAUSAL LINKS
—N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI

Introductory

The Pratitya-Samapada-Hṛdaya-Karika, along with its comment is one of the several treatises composed by Acarya Nagarjuna, the founder of the Madhyamaka school of Buddhism. His authorship of this short tract has been attested more than once by Candrakīrti (v. Śāntideva, pp. 425, 381) and Prajñākaramiti (v. Panjika, pp. 355, 370). Its composition is in a catechetical form further confirms its antiquity. The text consists of originally 5 verses in Aṣṭa metre and two Anustubh verses in its Chinese and Tibetan versions. Of his several metrical compositions we have only two texts in Aṣṭa metre, viz. the present text and the Vipra-bhāṣya.

The explanatory portion of this text is also fathered upon Nagarjuna by the Chinese and Tibetan translators. This fact does not appear improbable when we consider the statement made by Candrakīrti: ‘‘Acarya (Nagarjuna) while composing a short comment on the Vipra-bhāṣya does not employ any pravṛtti, a sentence embodying any logical proposition’’ (Prasūṇa, p. 351). This confirms the fact the author could have credited also with some prose compositions. Of such compositions the Maha-prasūṇa-nāmāntarāṇāṁ prajñākaroṣṭhāna preserved in its Chinese translation ranks the foremost (v. Prof. Et. Lamotte’s ‘‘Buddhist Translative’’ with copious annotations; the first two volumes published so far). We may next notice a small tract both in verse and prose with the same title also preserved also in Chinese translation (v. the present writer’s rendering it into Sanskrit in the Vīra-bhāṣya Anuvals, Vol. XI) claiming him as its author; a claim which has fairly been justified by Chi-sang (v. my Introductory Note, op. cit). The same Chinese authority attributes to Cheong-mu Vipra-bhāṣya the prose portion of the Madhyamaka Sutra. Thus the authorship of the commentary known as Abhidhamma as attributed to Nga by the Tibetan authorities becomes uncertain.

Of his metrical compositions the most important is 1) the Madhyamaka Sutra; it has been revivishly edited by Prof. Léon de Valley Pousin. 2) The Vīra-bhāṣya with its comment has been discovered and published by Rahul Sankrityayan (Bihar Research Society, 1950). 3) The Kanāvali and 4) the Canātāvau have been edited in part by Dr. G. Tucci. 5) The Yuktisamikarita, 6) Sukyata-Saptati and 7) Sabtilika.
are not available to us in their original Sanskrit. Nos. 5 and 7 are translated by Schaeffer and H. Wenzel respectively. (v. my Bibliography in the Sal, sara). No. 6 is known only in quotations, V. Dharmasamuccya, p. 24. a verse pleading for a fundamental text of the author, viz. अनुमोदन non—origination—theory. Two verses are cited from the text in Bodhicaryavatā.

1. The ideas of "I" and "mine" are expressed by the Buddha for some purpose. Likewise skandhas, gunahāra and dhatus are all stated (p. 376).

2. What comes into being due to causes does not exist p. 400; the same in Mādhi, mīnī p. 413.

3. One more line from Yukti is found in Mādhavī, p. 9: What is produced on account of such and such causes originates not in its nature. This cited in full in the Mādhavī-vat. p. 188.

To draw parallels to the ideas of Mādhi-Sastra Candrakīrti cites more frequently verses from the Patañjali (R. hereafter). Since they bear out two marks of Nāgārjuna’s way of thinking we may acquaint ourselves with their gist on this occasion:

1. To the idea of the Sutra: Those who view things as existent and those who do so as non-existent, both of them do not perceive the quitarāta विषय of things (M. Sastra V. 8) R. has: the heterodox reaches the hell and the orthodox the heaven; but the man situated in Non-dualism अद्वैत reaches Release. Meda, because of his realising the true निहितम अवधेयम, p. 113.

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

3. Non-dualism अद्वैत is possible only in Madhyamaka Systen (XV, B); it confirms the same in 3 verses: Approach anyone of the Saṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Nigraṇa, or the advocate of Purgala or Skārīla, and see whether they say anything beyond the existence or non-existence; therefore understand that the Buddha’s dispensation alone is too deep and goes beyond the existence or non-existence (p. 173).
4. The negation of soul intended even in the empirical plane in XVIII, 1, is echoed in R. 4 vv. One's own image is reflected in the mirror, but the image cannot be stated to be either the same with or different from the face; likewise the notion of 'I' arises on the basis of aggregates, but it is not identical with the lābs. The reflection of one's image does not arise in the absence of mirror; likewise the 'I' notion is not in the absence of the aggregate. Listening to this characteristic Dharma, Ananda obtained Dharma, EYe; this fact he himself declared to his fellow monks now and then (p. 144).

5. Candakirti says, In the wake of realizing the Soul-non-substantiality अवयक्तता non-substantiality of things pertaining to the soul वाचकवेदनत्य व स अवयक्तता is also realized. The same is confirmed in R.-2 vv. The aggregates are born from the I-notion आकार which is false in truth; one who thinks the soul is false, how could its sprout be true for him? In the wake of the aggregate being viewed as false the I-notion is extinguished, at the extinction of I-notion the aggregate arises no longer (p. 146). They are cited again on page 438 to confirm the idea of auspicious or inauspicious as false as it is based on the false background विचार.

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

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

8. The object like the blue, etc., (निशाचरण) are non-existent even in the empirical plane. The same is as R.; Ether is only a nominal because of its being devoid of colour, वक्तु In the absence of the great elements where is the colour, वक्तु? (p. 413).
9. Voidness, प्राकृतिकता, being grasped as either an entity or a non-entity destroys the aspirer. So also says R.-When the preacher ill-conceives the voidness, as a result of this, the listener, the ignorant, becomes pitiful and falls downword in the अवरोधित हैll (p.496).

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

Candrabhaira has made only 4 citations from the Catustava:

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

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

3. You have stated: In case a definition is different from the defined, the latter would be devoid of the former; in case they are identical, they would become non-entity (p.66, Catusav. 11).

4. Things that are produced from the causes are non-existent as the latter itself is a non-entity. Is it not plain then that they are similar to reflections? (p.513=Catusav. 4 Bodi. p.185).

The Catustava is more favorite with Prajnakarami who refers to it more frequently on the following subjects:

1. Teaching of voidness-rector is for removal of all wrong conceptions वांचन वारणा p.159-415=Catusav. 38.

2. Sarppane truth falls not within the cognizance of senses (p.365=Catusav. 18).

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

4. The action and its agent are (admissible) in the worldly talk; there is neither agent nor enjoyer in truth. Merit and demerits are dependently produced, and hence unborn (p.476=Catusav. 4-9).
5. Buddha has no Sātānī-idea (in himself) but has it towards the dawn-trodden due to compassion. (p.485 = C.1,8)

6. Things are desireless, non-substantial, dependently originated and void. (p.489 = C.II.12).

7. Things are beginningless and endless; hence असिद्धान्त कर्म (p.528 = C.III.77).

8. Dependent origination तथा शुद्धता = शुद्धिता = तथाधिपत (p.528 = C.II,21, 28).

9. तत्त = प्रमाण = औपचारिक; Buddha is because of realizing this (p.528 = C.III.39).

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

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

12. The same as No. 4 of M.Vrttī above stated (p.585 = C.II.4).

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

14. Buddha is अरुपचातिक; hence no difference between Him and others (p.590 = C.III, 40).

There are some citations of unspecified source made under the heads of Acaryapāda अचार्यपाद resembling Nagarjuna’s ideas:

1. Something being present some other thing is (conceived) to exist (as its relative) e.g. the idea of shore and bed (M.Vrttī.p.10).

2. Mirage appears like water; but it is not so in fact. Likewise five aggregates appear as the Soul; but they are not so in truth (M.V.op. 347, 3 verses).

3. Release is secured because of voidness-vision शून्यताकारण-मुक्ति; for this purpose the contemplation of everything as void (Both.p.4,56).
The whole theory of causation (operates) in the empirical plane (Bodh.p.473).

THE PRESENT TEXT

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

मनोरोधमन: ब्ध्वमून् प्रत्येके नावि नक्तुन्।
प्रत्येकं उपस्ति दृष्टि यावधुन्न वृणा च गर्न।
अनुपातिकतानैव बाप्पायो हि कर्मस्त।
यस्मेव बिलयं व्यत् गूढः: परियुपन्ते।

The idea of these stanzas are made into one in the रत्नगोप्रव-विभुता thus: नावोतकस्थ: ब्ध्वमून स नक्तुन।
प्रत्येकं उपस्ति दृष्टि कर्मस्त वृणा च गर्न।
कर्मस्त नान्दिनैव बाप्पायो हि कर्मस्त॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

क्या आपकी कीवर्धन अभाव ज्ञान में रहित का।

(Attributed to Tathagatas by Candrakirti) The Substance of the utterance may be this: Life and death of elements are conditioned or activated that is the world, आमारा. The same elements become unconditioned or de-activated, i.e. brought to a dead stop अभावमयी, that is preached as Nirvana. It may be clear now that this conception of Nirvana does not in the least touch the fringe of Nihilism.

The Veda verses of this text and its commentary up to 37 verse are adopted from Dr. V.V. Gokhale’s paper published in Studia Indica, 1955, pp.10-106. Luis de Vallee Poussin first translated into French the text शौरिक in his Théories des Douze Causes, p. 122-24. An English translation of the whole text from its Chinese version has also been published by me in 1940.

The Tibetan texts that are published here are copied from Tanjur, Mdo, pl. 200, 4 ff, and collated with the same texts in Mdo, thus, I. 166, ff, noting their important differences in a separate page.

12
प्रतीतमुनाशद्वधकारिका

गलाईकहान

हाण्य ब्राह्मणपीयम् मुनिनेत्रिः सत्त्वस्मृतः।
के कहस्यं रुपेणु हस्तश्रवाणितलः सर्वाम्बः॥ १॥

बाणाध्यनवमः स्यूः कणेः कर्म हिंदुववासी थ।
वेशेः वह भ दुहल तिर्यगहे हाण्य तु भगीः॥ २॥

तिमो भवति हाण्य इन्द्रायनववनि वा शतम्।
तव हंदादन्त मुक्तस्वर्गः [तु] भति मन्वन्यः॥ ३॥

हेषु वज्जतः [हि] वर्ष वर्गीयो नारियो वर्षधिः सच।
पुर्वेको एव शूद्र भावः प्रक्षेत्रधिः प्रथमेऽसवः॥ ४॥

स्वामिनिर्मितमुहुर्मयांगारमपंचाकारसिंहः।
स्वभवसम्प्रियसंतकमुक्तिध्वनिः॥ ५॥

व उपवनं प्रक्षेत्रभवतिसमुहुर्मयात् अस्वः।
प्रतीतमुनाशद्वधकारिकः स न प्रमोऽः॥ ६॥

गदानेवतः निष्कामाय स्यों नाथी निष्कामः।
इत्यथा कृत्यं शूद्यं शूद्याय निष्कामः॥ ७॥

प्रतीतमुनाशद्वधकारिका
अन्धवेशनांमेवानुकरणः
समाख्यः।
प्रतिलोमसुव्याक्तप्रस्तुतायामम्
आधानामगानादृश्यम्

शत कालित शुभायामः भक्तः पवन्यपरामोहादिसत्ततसिद्धः विभावत
आधाराय पादं [ पुलं ] समस्यत तपातसमस्यामांतराय दयं प्रकाशत् —मयंकु अन

आधार वेदाः त्रिपुंस्वयमा शुभायामया आधाराय आमानात

[](https://github.com/wetli/hanumant/gfx/2a.png)
बंदा आत्मजरामणां। न एकः। वव्युषेशेवायायिनं विकृतं वपतुकालमिनी सिद्धिमात्रा।

शिवराय द्राता तु भासः। २४।
अत् चतुः प्रथमः कन्तकोऽकु लः। [भा] वेदार्थम्। [भृगुनः] शिवव- भाषणमांनुमाणु एव। एकः एवेऽ भृगुवनिविद्धा नाद्यविलोकित परिरतिद्वस्तु। २५।

पूर्वातः। कन्ताकामुकु सामा [भृगु]वतः। विसमुहात् दृतः क्यायार्थवत् सापेक्षाः। नामः।

शिवः प्रभवः इन्द्रः।
कन्तकामुक्षविलम्। कमायकं कन्तकमयके ।
हुईमाणुः। प्रियद्रिष्टः।
नन्दास्यतः।
अत् वद्यवािम्
कन्ताप्राणः। चेत्तिष्टयम्। कन्तकोऽन्नुमाणुवातः।
पूर्वातः कन्तकोऽन्नुमाणुवातः॥ ३॥

भवः। कन्तकोऽन्नुमाणुविविद्धतः। [यष्टि यष्टि] अन्नुमाणुविविद्धतः। न दृश्य नेन्मोऽन्नुमाणुविविद्धतः। [यष्टि यष्टि] नेन्मो नेन्मास्य नाद्यविलोकित। ३।

पूर्वातः। यद्य वर्षेभोजः। कपिलप्राणम धर्मेः। तेषु तत्र निभा कृष्णः।

हेतुप्रत्येकं हि वर्णः।
प्रस्तितिनिराय
कस्य नामात्वक वनिधातः॥ ३॥

पुराणोपितः। कपिलस्तरजीवः। कपिलविजयम नानितः।
कपिलमाल्लभाये (काम) रहस्यम् सत्य न पुनः।

पूर्वातः। यथेवः तत्तथं महासाहस्रवतः। परस्येऽचं सत्यात्मकः। नामः।
अन्यप्रकाशादित्योऽस्माऽपुर्वः। तत्समस्मार्थः। तथा च।
वस्त्र दो सोरसी चक्र—

मं' उत्तरें प्रकाशमपथावस्थमोति कारुणि।
प्रतीतिविपरीताकामसिक: दे न नरमिद। ३ ॥

गायनखाना: विक्रिया यक्षोऽभि नायि निरङ्क।
भूतः भूतो दृढः भूताहिः विन्युक्तातः ॥ ४ ॥

आचार्येनागरं गहनं
प्रतीतिपूर्वयात्रं—
व्यक्तं समाहरु।
1. Tibetan has literally: भक्तिव्रत ज्ञानविन् = भक्तिव्रत
t. lit. सदासहि देव (देव)
3. lit. सदासहि
4. ...—सूत्रप्रथम.
6. भक्तिलिङ्गभक्तिर्योगति = हृदनयं, अतुल्यं, यहोसिद्धार्थं = सत्त्वं
कपालं, इवनस्तं, कालं, इवसाध्यं सत्त्वं, यथोसिद्धार्थं = सत्त्वं, यहोसिद्धार्थं = सत्त्वं?
Chinese omiss = परामर्शाचिनी
7. भक्तिलिङ्गभक्तिर्योगति
8. सत्त्वं
9. सत्त्वं न निर्माणस्य व = cp. Sarat Chandra, Das Dic. p. 829:
10. lit. अधिकामृत्युष्ठ्यं दयामृत्युष्ठ्यं = devoid of religion and intellect.
11. ... अर्थेन, अर्थेन जयदाह
12. Here breaks Gokhale’s text.
13. असर्गान्
14. सत्त्वत्वः = सत्त्वं, श्रीर्स = सत्त्वं, श्रीर्स = सत्त्वं, श्रीर्स = सत्त्वं, श्रीर्स = सत्त्वं, 
15. श्रीर्स = सत्त्वं, श्रीर्स = सत्त्वं
16. ... अर्थेन, अर्थेन जयदाह
17. Poplar expression: विषय।
18. See Introduction.
བཟོ་བོད་བཞི་བཞི་མི་དི་ཚེག་
བཟོད་འབུམ་བཞུ་མ་

1. སྣ་ཐང་བཞི་བཞི་མི་དི་ཚིག་

2. སྣ་ཐང་བཞི་བཞི་མི་དི་ཚིག་

3. སྣ་ཐང་བཞི་བཞི་མི་དི་ཚིག་

4. སྣ་ཐང་བཞི་བཞི་མི་དི་ཚིག་

5. སྣ་ཐང་བཞི་བཞི་མི་དི་ཚིག་

6. སྣ་ཐང་བཞི་བཞི་མི་དི་ཚིག་

7. སྣ་ཐང་བཞི་བཞི་མི་དི་ཚིག་

19
FOOT-NOTES


2. Tsa. Ṭhrenpa.

བཟའ་ེ་ཟུན་ཐ་དོག་པས་ཤུགས་ོད་ཐོན་ལས་

བསྐོར།

དེ་ཤིས་བཟོད་པར་ཤུགས་དོན་དེ་ཐོན་བརྟས་

དེ་ཤིས་ཤུགས་བཟོད་པར་ཤུགས་དོན་དེ་ཐོན་

ཐོན་བཟོད་པར་ཤུགས་དོན་དེ་ཐོན་

21
མཐོང་པོ་དངོས་པོ་ཕྱིར་བྱ། བལྟ་པདྨ་ཞེས་བསྡུས། མྲེད་པ་ཡི།

མྱི་མདུན་་བཟོ་བཞིན་པ་མེད་པ་གཟིགས་པ་མེད་པ་

འཁོར་ལོ་མེད་པ་གཟིགས་པ་མེད་པ་

དེ་སོ་གི་གསར་བུ། །

དབང་ཕྲོ་འབྲི་བཞིན་པ་ཐོབ་པ་མེད་པ་

སྤྱི་རིང་ལྡན་མི་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་

དེ་སོ་གི་གསར་བུ། །

དཔྱད་ཕྲོ་འབྲི་བཞིན་པ་ཐོབ་པ་མེད་པ་

སྤྱི་རིང་ལྡན་མི་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་

དེ་སོ་གི་གསར་བུ། །

དཔྱད་ཕྲོ་འབྲི་བཞིན་པ་ཐོབ་པ་མེད་པ་

སྤྱི་རིང་ལྡན་མི་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་

དེ་སོ་གི་གསར་བུ། །

དཔྱད་ཕྲོ་འབྲི་བཞིན་པ་ཐོབ་པ་མེད་པ་

སྤྱི་རིང་ལྡན་མི་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་

དེ་སོ་གི་གསར་བུ། །

དཔྱད་ཕྲོ་འབྲི་བཞིན་པ་ཐོབ་པ་མེད་པ་

སྤྱི་རིང་ལྡན་མི་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་

དེ་སོ་གི་གསར་བུ། །

དཔྱད་ཕྲོ་འབྲི་བཞིན་པ་ཐོབ་པ་མེད་པ་

སྤྱི་རིང་ལྡན་མི་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་

དེ་སོ་གི་གསར་བུ། །

དཔྱད་ཕྲོ་འབྲི་བཞིན་པ་ཐོབ་པ་མེད་པ་

སྤྱི་རིང་ལྡན་མི་མེད་པ་མེད་པ་

དེ་སོ་གི་གསར་བུ། །
ལྷ་ནུ་བླ་ནི་དྲུག་པར་འབྲུག་པ་

ཐོན་ཏོག་མེད། སྐབས་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་དྲུག་པར་འབྲུག་པ་

མང་པོ་ལྟ་ས་མོ་སྐབས་བཀོད་པར་ཐོན་ཏོག་མེད་

བོད་ཀྱིས་བཀོད་པར་ཐོན་ཏོག་མེད།

ཐོན་ཏོག་མེད།

ལྷ་ནུ་བླ་ནི་དྲུག་པར་འབྲུག་པ་

བོད་ཀྱིས་བཀོད་པར་ཐོན་ཏོག་མེད།

བོད་ཀྱིས་བཀོད་པར་ཐོན་ཏོག་མེད།

བོད་ཀྱིས་བཀོད་པར་ཐོན་ཏོག་མེད།

བོད་ཀྱིས་བཀོད་པར་ཐོན་ཏོག་མེད།

བོད་ཀྱིས་བཀོད་པར་ཐོན་ཏོག་མེད།

བོད་ཀྱིས་བཀོད་པར་ཐོན་ཏོག་མེད།

བོད་ཀྱིས་བཀོད་པར་ཐོན་ཏོག་མེད།
བོད་རིག་པའི་ཡིག་གཞི་ལམ་བཅས་པའི་སློབ་དཔེར་བཞིན་གྱི་རྟོན་མོང་སྲུབ་དཔེར་བཞིན་གྱི་རྏས་སློབ་དཔེར་བཞིན་གྱི་རྟོན་མོང་
སློབ་དཔེར་བཞིན་གྱི་རྏས་སློབ་དཔེར་བཞིན་གྱི་རྟོན་མོང་སློབ་དཔེར་བཞིན་གྱི་རྏས་སློབ་
དཔེར་བཞིན་གྱི་རྏས་སློབ་དཔེར་བཞིན་གྱི་སློབ་དཔེར་བཞིན་གྱི་རྏས་སློབ་
ཕྱིགས་པ་མགྱུ་དཔེར་བཞིན་གྱི་སློབ་དཔེར་བཞིན་གྱི་སློབ་
སློབ་དཔེར་བཞིན་གྱི་སློབ་

""
FOOT-NOTES

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

2. Tsa: མ་དུ་མ་

3. བདེ་བ་མ་

4. Tsa. བ

5. " adis: ས་ཉིད

6. " བ་

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

8. Tsa. ཕི་བརྙ་མ་

9. " སྲེང་གྲེང་

10. " སྲེང་གྲེང་

11. " སྲེང་གྲེང་

11a. " སྲེང་" may be a better reading.

12. Xyll. appears to read བ}
AN
ART BOOK
FROM
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY

RGYAN-DRUG MCHOG-GNYIS (Six Ornaments and Two Excellents) reproduces ancient scrolls (1676 A.C.) depicting Buddha, Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dignaga, Dharmakirti, Gunaprabha, and Sakya-prabha; reproductions are as per originals today after 300 years of display and worship with no attempt at restoration or retouching. The exposition in English presents the iconographical niceties and the theme of the paintings, namely, the Mahayana philosophy; the treatment is designed to meet also the needs of the general reader with an interest in Trans-Himalayan art or Mahayana. A glossary in Sanskrit-Tibetan, a key to place names and a note on source material are appended. Illustrated with five colour plates and thirteen monochrome.

April 1961.

28
THE SKYABS-MGON

-NIRMAL C. SINHA

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

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

In Tibet (and Tibetan speaking countries) the Dalai Lama is variously called Gyalwa Rimpocche (rgyal-ba rin-po-che, that is, lam-ra-tana or precious conqueror), Kundun (kun-las, that is, omnipresence), Gong-sa (one on the highest Bhumi, that is, sovereign), Kyanggon Rimpocche (skyabs-mgon rin-po-che, that is, precious lord of refuge) or Kyanggon Bika (skyabs-mgon brag-ga or inmost lord of refuge). The last, that is, Kyanggon appears to be the official designation or lawful title used in State-papers; other titles could be added in official correspondence etc.

British official report about Tibet during the rule of Dalai Lama XIII speak of two titles, Kyanggon and Gyalwa Rimpocche (1). Charles Bell in enumerating the titles (2) give priority to "The Precious Protector" (Kyanggon Rimpocche). The English text of the first Tibetan memorandum to the Simla Conference (1o October 1911) described the Dalai Lama as Precious Protector or Protector (3). In the famous petition (1913) to the Dalai Lama XIII praying for his long life Tibetans addressed him as Kyanggon (4). The present Dalai Lama, that is, Dalai Lama XIV uses the title Kyanggon with prefix Gongna in the Tibetan text of the Constitution promulgated on 10 March 1963 (5).

All dates are in Christian era.

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

Pronunciation of Tibetan words as in Central dialect.

29
"Previous to the Lama even the name of the Buddha did not exist" (6).

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

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

The indispensability of teacher is admitted in the Upanishads. The etymological meaning of the term Upanishad is "sitting down near", that is, sitting down near the teacher. There is an element of esoteric in the Upanishad as there is a process of dialectic therein. Both presume a teacher. This need is so obvious that there may be no need to use the word for teacher even. As in the most famous exhortation for "seeking the best teacher", the actual expression is "seeking the best". Katha 1, 3:14. 

Mandala 1, 2:12 advises search for a Guru who is learned in the scriptures and has realized the Absolute. In Tantra is, 1, 11:2 the pupil on graduation is rejoined to be one to whom the Acharya in the Deva. The concluding verse of Svetasvarama declares that the highest mystery of the Vedanta reveals to the high souled woker who has the highest devotion for the Deva and for his Guru as for Deva (7). 

Katha and Tantra are admittedly pre-Buddhist. Mandala is a post-Buddhist work. The Svetasvarama, according to Nalinaksha Dutta, "is no doubt pre-Buddhist and very likely formed the basis of the teachings of Alara Kalama and Rudraka Ramaputra, the spiritual teachers of Siddharta Gautama" (8).

Beihad-devata, a compendium of the deities and myths of the Rig Veda—composed acc. to Arthur Macfieall after 500 B.C. but in style and diction a Vedic workmanship acc. to the same authority—uses both the terms Acharya and Guru and sometimes synonymously (6). Guru is 30
however an omnibus word connoting any superior while Acharya, unless repugnant to the context, is an intellectual superior like the teacher. It is not relevant to present here the fine distinctions or descriptive classifications of Smrti (like Manu) or Dharmasutra (like Apastamba or Gautama) (16). It is however necessary to notice the steady rise of the priest (Purohita: Brahmana) as a superior (Guru) from early Vedic times. The Purohita was the indispensable authority at the consecration of the king. Horizontal crystallization of society into Varna with Brahmana on the top set the protocol between the priest and the king. Even though the colourful picture of the sacrificial authority electing the temporal power as drawn by Jayaswal and Coomaraswamy cannot be so faithful to facts (11), the legend of Brahmana as the source of Khatri was the reflex of social consensus. While the Rehobotheneh description of the Brahmana as "the womb out of which the Khatri issued" (13) was no doubt metaphorical, the Purohita of the Vedic consecration was the matrix for the Rajaguru in medieval Hindu Rasitra.

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

In the beginning Bhagvana was the most popular form of addressing the Buddha; Sasta, that is, Guru had an intellectual or academic tone. With the growth of Tantra, grew the cult of spiritual preceptor and Sasta or Guru became a popular form for describing the Buddha, the original preceptor. It is not necessary for the present context to trace the beginnings of Tantra and digress into the several theories which profess to cancel each other. It is sufficient to note that in one form or other Tantra was known to the Indian Civilization (c.1500-1500 B.C.) as also to the Vedical Civilization (c. 1500 B.C.-). Tantra was thus in existence in the Buddha's time; it is not known in what form and to what degree the Buddha accepted it.
When Buddhism split into two Vehicles (say in the first century after Christ), Mahayana had fully accepted Tantra. Narejuna, the discoverer of Prajnaparamita, furnished a new philosophy for Tantra by the doctrine of Sunyata, the corpus of legends about Nagarjuna’s alchemy and magic cropped up later when the cult of Guru was in full swing. The second great figure, Asanga (c.350), was the founder of Yoga school in Buddhism. Curiously enough Tantra and Guru-cult characterized contemporary Brahmanical religion. There is positive epigraphic evidence on Śivite hagiology. The Mathura Inscription (c.380) speaks of adoration of Guru, lineage of Guru and even the gallery of Guru images. The Devi Bhagavata—though its extant texts were composed much later—expresses the sentiments of the age of saint Asanga and scholar Amarasinha as if to corroborate the data from the Mathura Inscription. It says “The Guru is Brahma, the Guru is Vishnu and the Guru is Mahesvara. Salutation to the Guru who is the real Absolute” (12).

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

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

“The Guru is Sugata, Buddha and Dharmakaya’’

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

Buddhism in Tibet begins its victorious career with Padmasambhava (c.750-840) and significantly in Tibet he is known as Guru Rinpoche or Mahasiddha. Padmasambhava and Santsurkhita ordained the first ‘Lamas’. The Tibetan word Lama corresponded to the Sanskrit word Guru and as the term Guru was not to be indiscriminately applied to the term Lama has been through centuries used in respect of a few categories of monks and priests and even lay scholars.

Tibetan canonical literature based on Indian sources as well as the tracts and treatises composed by Tibetan scholars and priests bear testimony to the paramount position of the Lama. The tract on the Awakening of Supreme Bliss (bde-nor-lod-by-ngag) says “The Lama is the Bodhika, the Lama is the Dharma and likewise the Lama is the Sangha”.

32
(19). To Nagarjuna is attributed this formula: “Abandon offerings to all others and make your sole offerings to the Lama. When the Lama is pleased you attain the wisdom of the omniscient” (19). Mi'alepa (1046-1123) begins a song on old age and death thus: “I bow at the feet of the teacher, the Buddha of the three tīres” (21). An ancient Tibetan proverb affirms that without the auspices of the Lama even the blessings of the Buddha do not operate (22). Sakya Lama Drags-pa-gyal-mrin (1147-1216) enjoined that the first saluteation should be to the feet of the Lama (13).

Tibetan liturgy and iconography fully reflect the paramount position of the Lama. In the temples and monasteries from the Himalayas to the Atlas, the image of the founder or early preceptor of the sect (Gurud Rinpoche, Jo Atta, Mikhyupa, Sakya Pandita or Tsong-khapa) is conspicuous. Even the most illiterate devotee knows that this practice does not suggest any slight for the Buddha because the Guru is nearer than the Buddha. Besides the more literate is conscious that there is no distinction between a Bodhita and a Buddha. The Yellow Sect (dge-legs-pa) portrayal of the Buddha-field with Tsong-khapa (1357-1419) in the centre and Siddhartha Gautama among the surrounding host of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas has sacriety in this sentiment. Tsong-khapa himself had enjoined (24):

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

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

III

“A hero with Bodhi-chitta takes upon himself the burden of others” (25).

A Bodhisattva thus figures in Tibetan imagery.

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

33
Enlightenment-Being, as Gautama himself was in his numerous previous lives (Jataka aspiring for Bodhi). In Mahayana a Bodhisattva could be either celestial or terrestrial and in each category there could be many as in a way all the Bodhisattvas in different categories and grades were phantom or apparition:1 bodies (Nirmanakayas) of the Absolute (Paramartha or Bodhi).

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

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

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

The Manuski Bodhisattva was in fact "the ideal Man of the Mahayana" as Edward Conze describes him(31). He could be householder or recluse; he could be reborn as a wealthy man or king. Obviously as a Nirmanakaya he could take any shape because his duties and functions would determine the choice. For preaching the Dharma the Bodhisattva would be a recluse or monk(31). The Sangha would therefore be better
described as the Gana of Bodhisattva; an usage traceable in the Siddhasamapundi (33).

The altruism of Bodhisattva found its classic exposition in the Bodhicaryavatara of Santideva (6th century).—A Bodhisattva feels the joys and sorrows of others as if his own; he loves and guards others as he loves and guards himself; he identifies with the poor and the lowly. A Bodhisattva's resolve is of great use in the Samsara or material world (34).

The Bodhissatrabhumi (Asanga c. 350) enumerates the acts of common welfare expected of a Bodhisattva; these include supply of material needs of life and provision of refuge. The grant of refuge is further emphasised as one of the five constant duties of a Bodhisattva (35). Saideva's Sutra Samadhiyana quotes the Gandhara Sutra to say that the resolve of the Bodhisattva in the foundation of all material and moral good, the annihistor of all poverty and the refuge of all beings (36).

Thus for the ordinary man, with ordinary intelligence and ordinary resources, the Bodhisattva could be the patron saint for their material welfare as well. In Tibet "the ideal Man of the Mahayana" became the national ideal. Sanctakshita, the joint founder of the first monastery (Samye), is immortalized under the epithet "Bodhisattva as scholar". The kings propagating the Dharma were recognized as Bodhisattva as well as Nirmankaya. The element of hero in a Bodhisattva was emphasized in translating the term from Sanskrit into Tibetan; the suffix 'dpah' (i.e. 'daph-so' or hero) was added after 'byang-chub-sams-dpah' instead of a simple 'pa' as adjectival termination (37). One might be a great man otherwise but his popularity would be assured only if he was called a Byang-chub-sams-dpah. A Guru (lama) could be one par excellence if he was known to be a Bodhisattva (Byang-chub-sams-dpah). Down to our times a popular heretic for Byang-chub-sams-dpah, in Central Tibet at least, is Srudu-ka (Nirmakaya). This has been so for the simple reason that a Srudu-ka of a celestial or terrestrial being was by and large "the ideal Man of the Mahayana", the Saviour for this world at/ or the other world. The Lama as the custodian of the script, the organiser of schools, the master of occult and the adviser of the king could no doubt be the Bodhisattva for the entire community in times of distress. Besides the lama could come very near the house of Lamas (Bla-brang) as much because of the socio-economic climate of Tibet (38) as for the needs of firm propagation; there was no distance between the monks and common men as was in India or in a Therivada country to-day. Thus in times of distress refuge in the Bodhisattva-gana, the Blama-brang, was in the logic of history.

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

Jnanasrimitra(39)

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

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

His compassion is not a passive virtue or static quality; it is an active personality, full of dynamism; he is “unwavering because of great speed” to use the words of Jnanasrimitra. To the afflicted mortals he is the jewel of the Bodhisattvas: he is the Sangha (Bodhisattva-Gana) Ratu.

In the early Mahayana eight Bodhisattvas are prominent viz. Maṇjūśrī, Vajrapani, Avalokitesvara, Kshitigarbha, Sarvaśravasvabhāvikh, Akaṇḍagalla, Maṇḍrīśa and Sarantabhadrā. These are “a group of equal rank. Perhaps Maṇjūśrī is regarded as prīma inter pares” In the later Mahayana the oligarchy is changed into an absolute monarchy. Avalokitesvara is

36
first and the rest nowhere. He absorbs all the virtues, powers, functions and prerogatives of the other Bodhisattvas, because he is the Lord of Mercy. He occupies the supreme position in the Universe and reigns without rival". (Har Dayal).

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

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

As the begotten of the Tibetan race Swayo-ra-grigs was naturally thought of as its protecting deity. The first great king Songtsen-gampo (c.605-650) was recognized as the Sru-lu (Nirmanakaya) of the Father of the People while his scholar-minister Thonsi Sambhava was found to be Hyan-dpal (Manjushri). Only two of the great king’s successors were found to be Sru-lu of the same. The incarnation of Swayo-ra-grigs, the topmost of ninety one Byang-chub-sens-dpal, could not be a routine affair and his mortal forms were few and far between. The tradition about Swayo-ra-grigs however grew from strength to strength.

In their adoration for the Founder and Protector, the Tibetans moved towards the summit of monotheism (and not mere henotheism with myriad of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Dipamakaras etc) when they described Swayo-ra-grigs as the sole God of the Land of Snows(44). Indian reformer Atisa and his Tibetan disciple Hrom-sten (1063-1064) reckoned with this spirit and enumerated the four Mgon-skabs (Lons of

37
Refugee: Gautama Buddha, merciful Avalokitesvara, goddess Tara and guardian of faith Achala,(46).

The three royal patrons of Dharma — Song-bzan-gsum-po, Khri-srong-de-btsan and Ral-pa-chen — were incarnations of Syan-ras-rgigs and the next was Abron-ston himself. The traditions, recorded in successive centuries, agree on these four names. The next name unanimously agreed in different traditions is that of Wa-chen Kungh-mnyen-po (1092-1158). There was no attempt in any particular lineage (monastic or monastic) to have the incarnation to themselves(47). The followers of Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419) made the bold bid and got approval of all Tibetans to fourteen successive Sperl-skus of the Sole God of Tibet: Dge-de-dun-grub (1391-1475) to Rgyar-mi drung-ba (b. 1935).

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

Dro-chos-pa-ma-dhar-po

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

Each of the roles BLA-MA, BYANG-CHUB-SEMS-DPAH and SPYAN-RAS-GZIG had sanction for exercise of temporal authority and the three roles combined in the hierarch of Yellow Sect could render him the Rex in Western expression. But the monks of Ganden, Drepung and Sera had the genius to seek the status of political power in the fundamentals of the Dharma. They traced this back to the earliest teachings known and accepted over the entire Buddhist world in both Vehicles. They designated their hierarch as SKYABS-
MGGN. From the very beginning the grant of Skyabs (SkT. Saran) has been the right as well as the obligation of Mgon (SkT. Niten). As the Tibetan rendering of the Bodhisattvapradaksinapramitapañca is a devout inscription the Buddha: “Nige Mgon po, Thou art the most excellent Skyabs” (41). The Buddha had offered, as the Sakya Lama (Chos rgyal lha dpags-pa 1741-1786) put it, “Skyabs to one who has no Mgon” (42). Through parables and prophecies the Buddha had promised appearance at the end of the world or in time of distress (43), not unlike that in the Bhagavadgita (44).

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

(Edwin Arnold’s translation in verse)

Such appearance (Nirmanakaya or Turi-skana) was never so badly needed as in times of anarchy.

The kingdom built by Srong btsan-sgam-po (c.641-650) came to an end with the assassination of the apostate Glang-drama (c.842). A process of slow but steady disintegration set in. There was no central power and the rise and fall of numerous principalities did not make for peace and security for the people. The native chronicles are as confused as the events for three centuries and a half (c.850-1200). Two facts stand out clearly: First, after a period of stagnation the Dharma made a full renaissance, a transition, with Atisa’s propagation (1047-1054). Second, both for their own protection as well as for that of their “parish” the nobles of different sects began building monasteries; two sects, Kagyu and Sakya, did well. In grandeur and authority they soon surpassed and replaced the castles of the pastoral and nomadic lords. People oppressed by the decaying aristocrats or the ruling magnates came for refuge to their respective monasteries and the abbots did not disappoint them.

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

The titles of these Lamás, who organized full refuge from
internal disorder and external aggression, are of direct interest in the
the present discussion. A Lama ruler would ipso-facto be Cho-rgyal
(Dharmaraja) and was so in fact and fora. To the devotees in genera;
a Lama ruler was Mgon-skabs (Lord of Refuge) in both temporal and
spiritual sense. These Lamás themselves did not use the epithet Mgon-
skabs or Sk-abs-mgon for reasons not clear today. In oral tradition
down to our day the devotees are known to have called them so. In
correspondence addressed to the Sakya hierarchy down to our day the
title Sk-abs-mgon has been customary.(36)

Thus when the Yellow Sect rose into political ascendancy, from
the Third incarnation Jeonam Rgya-mtsho onwards, Sk-abs-mgon was in
current usage. If the Great Fifth made official use of the title, it was only
appropriate for Sk-abs-mgon: the Sole God and Protector of Tibet. The
Dalai Lama was indeed the Sk-abs-mgon par excellence.(37)
NOTES

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

The various dates for Saddharmapundarika (chs 1-XXI are first century B.C., first century A.C. and second century A.C. The later chapters (XXII-XXVII) are dated fourth century to sixth century.

Karakadya-ka was composed between fourth and seventh centuries.

Nagarjuna’s dates range from 50 B.C. to 150 A.C. Asanga is dated between 350 and 450 A.C.; definitely after Nagarjuna as in Tibetan tradition also.

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

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

The treatises Mani-bkah-bhum (attributed to seventh century) and Padma-bkah-thang (attributed to eighth century) were padded with later events, prophecies etc. till the seventeenth century. (This paper sticks to the position till 1670.)

Likewise Bkhas-gdams-pha-cons and Bkhas-gdams-bu-cons attributed to Atisa and his disciples were enlarged through centuries. (Narrative in this paper guards against anachronism.)

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

1. Military Report on Tibet (Calcutta 1910) lists (p.113) the titles thus: Kyanggon Rimpochhe, Gyalwa Rimpochhe, Bok Lama and Kyanggon Bak. Who’s Who in Tibet (Calcutta 1933) lists (p.1) thus: Gyawa
Rimpoche, Kyanggon Rimpoche or Khandun, My own impression is that during the Reign, when there was no Dalai Lama functioning, the title Gyaljiwa Rimpoche was in greater use. Living Athing Sonam Tobden confirms this.


4. English translation of the petition and the Dalai Lama’s reply will be found in Bell: op.cit pp 337-338.

5. न्यात्तो न्याकानिनकर !

6. गृहम कुनाकुनगंगक !

7. विश्वास बाध्य त्वा। बर्तिकोक्षवृत्त !


13. For the disciplines Guatama learned from Akura Kalama and Rudraka Rasuputra see Dutt: *Early Buddhist Buddhism*, p.88. Radhakrishnan sums up the situation thus: "He possibly learned from them the need for belief, good conduct, and the practice of meditation, though the content of their teaching seemed to him unsound."

14. न शे अन्नमियय अच्छ, साक्षी मे न विनाशित।
सोलक्षिन्ति लोकवर्नित, नसिंह दे नागनुरूपियो।
मातादिनिययो: भम्मवस्तित।

15. दर-नकुलायां शाला।

16. The inscription as read by Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar is reproduced in Epigraphic indices, Vol.XXX.

17. गुप्तां द्वारा गूढ़तिथि हुयियवर्गीयखयः।

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

18. आचार्यभि प्रहारस्यां न नीरसः स्वरूपः।

Adyarai cited in Benoytosh Bhattacharyya; Subhambale (Gangavat Oriental Series), Vol II p. Ivi fo.

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ ६ ॥

वाहनाणि विनिभन्ति भुवनेश्वराश्रयः।

सन्त महोत्तमश्रयोऽस्मि सत्यसत्योऽस्मि ॥ ७ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ ८ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ ९ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ १० ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ ११ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ १२ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ १३ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ १४ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ १५ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ १६ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ १७ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ १८ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ १९ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ २० ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ २१ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ २२ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ २३ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ २४ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ २५ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ २६ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ २७ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ २८ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ २९ ॥

सातै सुपरियांस नमस्कुप्रूवियां।
संयंत्र धृतसन्योग समपूर्ण नमृतस्य ॥ ३० ॥
गुज़रियों अभियुक्त धर्मः वसुप्राप्ति सत्म द्वितीयोऽस्त मावृतम्।
भवानिकिर्मिस्वायमात्रायं मध्यस्तायायं।
स क्रमेऽत् सर्वत्रस्वायमात्रायं शर्मस्वायमात्रायं।
भवसर्वप्रकाशस्वायमात्रायं विभवस्वायमात्रायं।
रश्मिस्वायमात्रायं च वर्णदेण्ये विरास्तम्।
एष एष गुज़रियों अभियुक्त साक्षात्कारकम्।
हत्यारण अभियुक्त धर्मः वसुगुणम् सातम्।
वर्णमात्र तथायां हस्तिः हुस्तिनिहृदी पार्थम्।
सत्सात् सत्साईव नुस्थितेऽविश्वकर्मः।

श्रीनमिदं, श्रीगणेशेऽहः।

cFastingdayashtishad and Janmasthadi are reproduced in Benoytosh Bhattacharya: Two Epic yoga Works (Gaekwal Oriental Series).
For similar sentiments in Brahmanical Tantra, John Woodroffe (Arthur Avalon): Principles of Tantra (Madras 1960), chs XII & XIV and Introduction to Tantra Sutras (Madras 1956), pp 64-65 may be seen.
For the sublime aspects of Guru see also Max Arthur Macauliffe: The Sikh Religion (Oxford 1903).

22. [Text in Tibetan]

23. [Text in Tibetan]

24. [Text in Tibetan]

25. [Text in Tibetan]


28. Gopalnath Kavira: *Aspects of Indian Thought* (Burdon University 1946), pp. 137-47. This subject is involved with another "parallel
development' in Brahmanism and Buddhism: Atman and Tatagatagarbha. Considerations of space forbid any attempt to present the findings of Suzuki, Comze and Gokhale.


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


32. Sādharmapundarika, ch I, verses 13-43

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

34. भौविधवतिर्भवतित्वं संसारिनीं वतु न महो।
   को变动िवार्ता, 9; 10

35. अनालचार्यां नाम: सर्वभावो याविनर्म।
   पारस्पराः च नोत्साह: सर्वकम: एक: च।
   को变动िवार्ता, 9; 11

36. अनालचार्यां नाम: सर्वभावो याविनर्म।
   पारस्पराः च नोत्साह: सर्वकम: एक: च।
   को变动िवार्ता, 9; 12

37. अनालचार्यां नाम: सर्वभावो याविनर्म।
   पारस्पराः च नोत्साह: सर्वकम: एक: च।
   को变动िवार्ता, 9; 13

38. अनालचार्यां नाम: सर्वभावो याविनर्म।
   पारस्पराः च नोत्साह: सर्वकम: एक: च।
   को变动िवार्ता, 9; 12-13

39. अनालचार्यां नाम: सर्वभावो याविनर्म।
   पारस्पराः च नोत्साह: सर्वकम: एक: च।
   को变动िवार्ता, 9; 12

40. अनालचार्यां नाम: सर्वभावो याविनर्म।
   पारस्पराः च नोत्साह: सर्वकम: एक: च।
   को变动िवार्ता, 9; 12

41. अनालचार्यां नाम: सर्वभावो याविनर्म।
   पारस्पराः च नोत्साह: सर्वकम: एक: च।
   को变动िवार्ता, 9; 12

42. अनालचार्यां नाम: सर्वभावो याविनर्म।
   पारस्पराः च नोत्साह: सर्वकम: एक: च।
   को变动िवार्ता, 9; 12


43. तथावत्तमस्मेवतिर्भवतित्वं को变动िवार्ता, 9; 10
   भौविधृष्ट्वं न सर्वभावो याविनर्म।
   पारस्पराः च नोत्साह: सर्वकम: एक: च।
   को变动िवार्ता, 9; 12

44. तथावत्तमस्मेवतिर्भवतित्वं को变动िवार्ता, 9; 10
   भौविधृष्ट्वं न सर्वभावो याविनर्म।
   पारस्पराः च नोत्साह: सर्वकम: एक: च।
   को变动िवार्ता, 9; 12

45. तथावत्तमस्मेवतिर्भवतित्वं को变动िवार्ता, 9; 10
   भौविधृष्ट्वं न सर्वभावो याविनर्म।
   पारस्पराः च नोत्साह: सर्वकम: एक: च।
   को变动िवार्ता, 9; 12

46. तथावत्तमस्मेवतिर्भवतित्वं को变动िवार्ता, 9; 10
   भौविधृष्ट्वं न सर्वभावो याविनर्म।
   पारस्पराः च नोत्साह: सर्वकम: एक: च।
   को变动िवार्ता, 9; 12

47
37. "The hero as Bodhisattva" would be the appropriate English form for Tibetan expression Byang-chub-sems-dpal. A Tibetan dissertation on *Heroes and Hero-Worship* would be out the hero per excellence: Bodhisattva.

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


41. *Saddharmapundarika* ch XXIV particularly the verses at the end. Verse 25 sums up Avalokitesvara as saviour, refuge and recourse in death disaster and calamity.

42. Pp.45-46, *Mahavyutpatti* lists 92 Bodhisattvas with 3avalokitesvara as toppmost

His numerous forms (including a set of 108 as in Nepal) and his two popular forms (a-handed as the Jewel of the Sangha and 11-headed as the Great Companion) express the paramountcy of Avalokitesvara. For these forms see Bhattacharyya: op.cit., Walter Clark: *Two Lamaistic Pandalos* (Harvard 1937/New York 1965) and Alice Getty: *Guil of Northern Buddhism* (Oxford 1918/Tokyo 1965.)


45. एकान्तकरणकारिनी

46. जगदीश सिंह निकै विश्वास 

47. The different traditions recording the lineage ofSpyan-ras-grags are found in Bkah-giims-pa-chos, Lugs-pa-chen-pshi-mde-sod-rnam, Kong-drul gshing bhum etc. Giuseppe Tucci: Tibetan Pashed Scrolls, Vol I may be seen.

Sarat Chandra Das in Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow (Calcutta 1901/1965) presents the current (1880-96) Gelegpa version of Atisha having inspired and Hblo-byor having founded the Gedud Hierarchy (i.e. the lineage of the Dalai Lamas).

For a detailed exposition of the lineage ofSpyan-ras-grags down to Dalai Lama VII as in a set of painted scrolls from Peking, see Tön Semd: Savants of Mankind (Stockholm 1961).

48. ‘Loyalty to the Dalai Lama’ is the subject matter of an elaborate study shortly. It is not capable of presentation within the limits of this paper. Besides brevity is ruled out when ideas and institutions of one language (Tibetan) see expressed in another (English). For a satisfactory account of ‘The Dalai Lama: His function, his associates and his birth’ Marco Pallis had to resort to Sanskrit, Tibetan, Greek and Latin coinage in his The Way and the Mountain (London 1962).

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

49. This is little recognized by even the Tibetologists. Helmut Hoffmann in The Religions of Tibet (London 1961) is an exception; he makes clear reference to Dalai Lama V’s deep interest in Old Sect teachings, pp. 171-4. I have it on the authority of several trustworthy monks and scholars in Central Tibet that Dalai Lama XIII, inspite of the
purita. Pshi-bong-kha, was most deeply tolerant of Old Sect teachings. This is confirmed by Denzong Gyayam Kunzang Dechen Tshonpo, a daughter of the ancient Ralpa's House and a considerable scholar herself.

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

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

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

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

The Chinese (Manchu and Republican) drive to the west and consequent expansion of Inner Tibet (Chinese Tibet) were possible because of the Heavenly Kingdom's loose hold over Khams, where large blocs of Old Sect believers lived. Khampa nationalist reforms programme involving both Old Sects and Gelug had early support from the Chinese; this made the Chinese Liberation of Khams easy. George Patterson: Tibet in Revolt (London 1966) gives some interesting details.

When the Khampas realized that the Liberation would be completed with the end of their Dharma Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara, they did not wait for the word from the Heavenly Kingdom. The Khampa revolt (1956-59) was a typical Khampa affair. They crowned their movement with the escorting of the Incarnation into safety (March 1959) and several in the escort party returned to light and die in typical Khampa fashion.

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

51. [Image]

52. [Image]

53. Bhaav vakshya—"<br>54. Bhaav vakshya—"<br>55. Bhaav vakshya—"

The extract is made from Giuseppe Tucci’s edition (Cuckoo Oriental Series). Harbodara is dated in the eighth century by Bhaav saul Shastri and in the tenth century by Maurice Winternitz.

54. [Image]

55. Giuseppe Tucci: Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Vol 1; and Hugh Richardson: The Karmapa Sect in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1958:59 may be seen. The only Mongol invasion (1240) was a petty raid in comparison with invasions elsewhere.

56. See the model letter for Sakyā Gongma on page 62 in Tharehino (ed.): Letter Writers, Kahon Shadra & Kangyö Nernang (Kalimpong,1919).

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