—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 fields—

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TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

--- MYNAK R. TULKU ---
ཁྱིམ་ཁྱིམ་བོད་ལྡན་ལྕེའི་མཐུན་འབྲོན་ཆོས་

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এক গান রাখব, একটি কথা বলব।
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Having reached the other side of the ocean of Sciences,
Seized with the treasure island of Sermon,
With reputation decorating the ears of all,
(Thou) Sakyapa wondrous object of praise.

By knowledge (Thou) seized the Truth of all Wisdom,
Out of love (Thou) entertainest the living beings to the
festival of moral lesson,
By deeds always (Thou) pleasest the Conqueror (Jina=Buddha),
Salutation to Thee whose name is hard to describe.

Thy Wisdom free from distinction (moves)
In the space of limitless learning
As the sun on the heaver’s highway;
As my mind beholds (the sun);
In wonder the model of that (learning)
Is sought in Manjusri’s knowledge,
But no distinctions between the two appear,
So I could not find (Thy) model.

(Thou) art Manjusri the Conqueror’s profound Wisdom:
Of the people of perfect white snowy highland (Tibet)
(Thou) art the most beautiful crown ornament;
(Thou) Sakyapa the dispeller of all darkness (ignorance).

With kindness like motherly affection (Thou) art very happy
In leading all beings across the (Wheel of) Existence with
Thy way;
(Thou) subduest the forces of evil by the forces of Wisdom
and love;
Salutation to Thee the upholder of the banner of Doctrine.

By Thee, the gem of Buddha’s Doctrine
Is washed of impurities by the water of (Thy) knowledge
Cleansed by the true command:
(Thou) honourest the banner of meditation on top.

Day and night all the time
Thou thinkest of the Doctrine only:
In degenerate age of refugeless living beings
(Thou) art more generous than the Conqueror.
8. Knowing well the (ordinary) Sciences and through the
Basket (of Doctrine)
All the thoughts of those who attained bliss;
To the people who are stupid, satisfied partly and not
understanding according to Doctrine,
With ever growing affection for them
(Thou) gave them the right meanings,
Sweet to hear, agreeable and easy to understand
By (Thine) infallible speech again and again the Exhorter
Salutation to Thee from the bottom of heart.

9. (Thou) the Lord of Doctrine matchless over the world;
(Thou) art Manjushri the undisputed master of all learning;
(Thou) Padmasambhava the Five Sciences;
Sakyapa the sole refuge of the beings of the snowy country
(Tibet).

10. All day and night prayers are said with respect;
Birth after birth Thy marks of glory, the perfections of
Thy body are seen:
The Great Vehicle proclaimed by Thy celestial voice may
be heard (from world to world).

[The above verses were composed by Tsongkhapa(?)]

11. By the eye of knowledge (Thou) seek all the Wisdom;
Manjushri Kunzrabhukti manifested in yellow (as a monk);
Sakyapa is the crown ornament of Five Sciences;
I salute to the feet of Kong Gyaltso.

[Composed by Gedun Gyatso(?)]

12. By the wisdom, clear and wide as space
(Thou) illuminated all the Sciences, (Thou) the Lion of
Speech (Buddha);
(Thou) the ornament of the Buddha’s Doctrine in the land of snow;
Oh! Kong Gyaltso, salute to (Thy) feet.

[Composed by Kongtrul Yonten Gyatso(?)]

13. Thy faculty of refutation is the true (secret) path;
(Thou) single (stroke of) sword of Wisdom
Cuts the nets of doubts around consciousness;
(Thou) fearless Manjushri of Sakyapa may Thou be victorious,

[Composed by Ja Mipham(?)]
1. These panegyrics in honour of Salwa Pandita (Kunga Cyalchen 1182-1253), by different scholars of different sects, are set in a chronologcal sequence.


PRAJNA or the famous Sanskrit-Tibetan Thesaurus-cum-Grammar was compiled by Tenzing Gyaltset, a Khampa scholar educated in Nyinmapa and Sakya schools of Derge, in 1771 A.D. Though this book was preserved in xylograph few copies of the block-prints are found outside Tibet. The lexicon portions are now presented in modern format with Tibetan words in Tibetan script and Sanskrit words in Sanskrit script with an elaborate foreword by Professor Nalinaksha Dutt.

October 1961.

The entire xylograph (637 pp: 21 inches x 4 inches) containing both lexicon and grammar parts is now presented by offset (photo-mechanic); most clear reproduction of any Tibetan xylograph ever made anywhere. A table of typographical errors etc., found in the original (xylograph), compiled by late lamented Gegan Pelden Gyaltset (Mentsikhang: Lhasa and Enchay: Gangtok) makes the present publication an improvement upon the original.

November 1962.
A description of the traditional Tibetan government (1642-1951) was Chhos-rig-gnyis-lidan, that is, one which is possessed of both Dharma (Chhos) and Samsara (Lidan). While in organizational sense Chhos-rig-gnyis-lidan meant a dynasty of clerical and lay elements, in ideological sense it meant a syncretism. In this view Chhos-legs (the norm of Dharma) and bhi-gstrem-legs (the norm of Samsara) are complementary components of the munkhao norm. Was this concept in accordance with the traditions of Buddhism, Indian and Tibetan? For any discussion of this question, it is essential to underline that the word "religion" is only one and an inadequate rendering of the word Dharma, and that the Tibetan word Chhos expresses the multiple and varied content of the Sanskrit term Dharma.¹

(i)

The Brahmanical (Hindu) goal of liberation (Moksha) is to be attained through a balanced pursuit of virtue (Dharma), wealth (Artha) and pleasure (Kama).² For the man in society there is an inconsistency between Dharma and Artha or between Dharma and Kama as material well-being is the means for moral endeavour.³ In Vaiśeṣika view, material prosperity (Abhisamaya) as well as beatitude (Nirvāṇa) are realized through Dharma.⁴ Right from the Vedic times there has been a quest for harmony between the spiritual and the temporal needs of existence. In time this became the dominant ethos of Brahmanical (Hindu) civilization and had its reflection on the State.

In the Vedic scale of values Dharma was topmost, the pursuit of sacrifices and minda was superior to that of governments and war, and the priest was the kingmaker.⁵ This was soon challenged. In the interests of a frugal existence Rajasatā (science of government) was equated to Dharmasatā: Arthanirita (Economics) and Dushanirita (politics) were duly admitted into the category of sublime sciences.⁶ It was realized that "when the polity becomes lifeless, The Three Vedas sink and all the Dharma completely decay".⁷ Therefore the custodian of the polity, the Kshatriya Varna, effectively shored the supremacy of the Brahmana Varna. By a complex code of legal actions the

Concluding paper of the series 'Prolegomena to Lamaist Policy'.

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Brahmana perpetuated his first place and continued to be the power behind the throne. There was no stigma for the Brahmans to be engaged in Arhatniti or Dameñitni as the Rajasatra was sublimated into Rajadharmā.

"The Rajadharmā is the refuge of the entire world. In Rajadharmā is found every form of renunciation. In Rajadharmā is combined every faculty of learning."

Māhābhārata

These were not altogether idle sentiments or frothy expressions; the ethos for harmony between spiritual and temporal needs created an ideal of philosopher-kings (Rajarsihis). Chandragupta Māurava, who in his youth beat back the battle lines of Seleukos Nikator, ended his days as a Jājā recluse. His grandson Asoka remains the solitary grandeur of a saint-king in the entire history of mankind. In medieval India, Shivāji the Morātha gained the esteem of his people more because of his code of renunciation (bhārata jñānta) than because of his genius in war. When Gandhi in our own time applied the ideal of renunciation in politics he was recalling the traditional polity of India.

An idealistic view of politics as the Rajadharmā not only sanctioned the participation in statecraft by the sages and seers: the priests and monks. The Rajadharmā summoned the philosophers and priests to a high moral obligation.

*(ii)*

Buddhism began with a sharp antithesis between Politics and Ethics. The *Brahma-śāstra* list the wrong means of livelihood and low acts—that is, the occupations forbidden to the monks and recluses—included Kshatriyādā. In Buddhist view Kshatriyādā involved violence and deceit, paricide and cannibalism; and vivid accounts of such crimes characteristic of the Kshatriya are found in *Mahābhārata Jataka, Mahāvaishnava Jataka* and *Mahanāmavaca Jataka*. Kshatriyadharma was in short Mithyājīva.

The Buddhist concept of politics as a divine science was no doubt due to the wars and intrigues rampant in Śodasa Mahājanapada (sixteen principalities in North India struggling for paramountcy) at the advent of Buddhism; Buddhist ethics (non-violence and quietude) reacted sharply to the Brahmanical statecraft elaborated in the *Artha* works. This disapproval of Kshatriyadharma continued into the Malayana literature and the works of *Aryadeva (Chaturvākāta), Aṣaṅghaśaka (Buddha- chārisa) and Aryasutra (Jatakamalam)* abound with exposition and con-
demonion of Kshatra attributes like quest for security (vis-a-vis quiescence), attachment to state (vis-a-vis renunciation) or fantasy for fighting (vis-a-vis forbearance) and above all the recourse to unfair means to realize a fair objective (as in Brahmanical works like Dharma-sutra where slaughter of known or the wrong side is not an offence per se). But the Mahavira literature developed a tendency to portray the application of statecraft within its own sphere."

The reason for this accommodation is not to be traced in the Mahavira literature but in the national ethos which Buddhism could not altogether deny. Buddhism had to seek rapprochement between Politics and Ethics in its own way.

The Buddhist antithesis between Politics and Ethics was all through involved with a quest for temporal authority sublimated into righteous rule. This syndrome, as it may be described in current Western phraseology, is manifest right from the beginning in the Buddhist didactic, CHAKRA and CHAKRAVARTI, SASANA and SASTA are expressions fraught with temporal implications. Chakra is the symbol of power of a dynamic (victorious) ruler while Chakravarti is the world ruler, Sasana is common to Dharma as well as Dendra, while Sasta is master either as teacher or ruler. Before the Buddha, the term Sangha was more used to denote occupational and political groupings and less for a body of religious. When eventually Sangha became "the sacred Gana" it was the Buddha's Sangha. It was then an active participant in social, economic and even political affairs. The Sangha, as the Third Jewel, did not accept Varna or Aryan: it was a corporation partly patronized on the oligarchic republics.

Buddhist hostility to the Varanasiya had the best and the most significant expression in its attitude to the Kshatriya Varna. The Buddhist Book of Genesis, Agama Sutra, records the Buddha's discourse about the creation of social order. It is a highly scientific inquiry into the early history of man: the Buddha's accounts about origin of property and election of king amusingly anticipate the Western philosophers of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this discourse while the monks and recluse are acclaimed as the best of men, the Kshatriya is revealed as the best of the social classes and the Brahmana is placed second.

The people, according to this discourse, fixed their choice for king on the most handsome and capable individual and called him Mahamana (one who is chosen by the multitude), Kshatriya (one who is lord of Kshetra=field) and Raja (one who gratifies others according to Dharma); peers of this man came to be called Kshatriya. Next came the Brahman or the class engaged in Dharma (coordination).
and Adhyayana (teaching the sacred texts), then the Vaisya or the class engaged in trades and last the Sudra or the class engaged in hunting and such low occupations.

The Buddha concluded his discourse thus:19
The Kathariya is the best among this folk
Who put their trust in lineage.
But one in wisdom and in virtue clothed
Is best of all among spirits and men.
(trans. Rhys Davids)

The precedence of the Kathariya over the Brahmana was consistently followed in later literature (e.g. Vasavadatta; Abhidhammakosa and Buddhaghosa; Pujaviligamuva; and daly incorporated into Pali canon. The crux of the sentiment was however not the precedence over the Brahmana but the Kathariya title to reign. Otherwise a democratic order open to merchants, courtesans and untouchables would not be so enthusiastic about Kathariya birth of the Buddha. Nor would the Bhūkshus and Sramanas anxiously record the Kathariya origins of Asoka without such consideration.

While the Brahmanical works like the Puranas and Mādhavakāthas describe the Mauryas as Sudras, the Buddhist works like Mahaparinibbana Sutta, Dīsasavaṇī and Mahāvagga meticulously record details in support of the Kathariya ancestry of the Mauryas.16 It is not unlikely that the Mauryas were not good Kathariyas in Brahmanical view; Chandragupta the founder of the Maurya Empire had no inhibition to enter into matrimonial alliance with the Yavana (Greek) nor did he perform the Aṣvamedha sacrifice. The Brahmanical esteem for Chandragupta was based on an admiration for the low-born while the Buddhist description of Asoka’s father as Kāla Kathariya Muniśāhiṣṭhakha (an esteemed Kathariya king) was to affirm the Maurya entitlement to sovereignty.

The emphasis on the Kathariya birth was so deep that even after Nirvana the Buddha was honoured as a Kathariya. King Milinda, identified with the Bactrian King Menander, is known to have asked Sthavira Nagaena thus: “If Nagaena, the Blessed One were a Brahmana then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a king. But if he were a king then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a Brahmana. He must have been either a Kathariya or a Brahmana. For he could not have belonged in the same birth to two castes. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you which you have to solve”. (trans. Rhys Davids)

The sage was indeed on the horns of a dilemma and had to direct his logic to the common feature between ‘a true Brahmana’
and ‘a true Kshatriya’. Both are righteous beings; one is Emancipated and Enlightened through practice of righteousness and the other establishes himself and his dynasty through righteous rule.15

While any theological contradiction between a Buddha and a Raja was thus solved, Naşana’s answer lifted the Kshatrabhama from the level of Mahaśiva (wrong means of livelihood) to that of Śiva (morality). Naşana’s situation, however unintended, was a logical sequence of the legends about the Buddha’s birth. An immaculate Being was to be born and all prophesies from Mara’s dream till the sage Asita’s visit confirmed that the avatara of Being was to be either a Chakrabhara Raja (Universal Sovereign) or a Sannidit Samboldha (Fully Enlightened).

Thus the edification of monarchy or the subjugation of statecraft in Mahayana literature was a continuation of the tradition expounded by Naşana. In Mahayana thought the king was Dharmaśrī and not a mere Buddhaśrī. The climax was reached in Swamajophāta Sutra which depicted the king as Devaguna. The Buddha’s discourse about elective kingship yielded ground to Manu’s divine creation. The Kshatriya now possessed an aura of divinity.16

Kshatriya-heroes or royalty were meritorious of a Buddhaśrī. The greatest of Indian saints propagating in Tibet were born in the purple: Sarasarākshita, Padmaśambhava and Asita had renounced their temporal heritages to sew the trail of the Buddha. The Kshatriya origins of these teachers, not less than that of the Buddhaśrī and Asita, may due to preconception on Tibetan mind. The Tibetans could comprehend Kshatriya-Brahmana equation of Naşana, from the living examples of the Indian masters preaching on the spot.

States with Buddhaśrī as ‘established church’ were few, if any, in India and not much is on record about the matter of Church and State. The fact of Śramaṇa-Brahmana participation in state business is however known. Few from being a subbasu, participation was a norm. When Buddhaśrī was migrating across the Himalayas, both Buddhist and Brahmanical traditions had accepted Śramaṇa-Buddhaśrī as the foundation of the state.

It will not be out of place to quote here a French scholar (Paul MASON-QUERTY) about the destiny of the Indian concepts of state.

"...the Brahmanic notion of dharma which implies the special constitution of each caste and maintains a social order rather than it encourages the appearance of a political spirit, and the Buddhist notion of dharma, which aims at a law applicable to all mankind"
and makes for unlimited imperialism. The one conception stands
short of monarchy, the other leaps beyond it, and aspires to world
empire . . . . . . . . .

Certain flaws in the above proposition are pointed out by the
leading Indian authority on the subject, Professor Uppendra Nath
Goshal.18 The broad conclusion however stands firm that the
state in Buddhism would be more sovereign than its counterparts
in Brahmanism.

...the Buddhist notion of Dharma facilitated the growth of
state authority this must have been so in the interests of the Dharma.
The Sangha as a body or through individual members would thus have
no inhibition about Katharavahā ( science of government)

"In Tibet Buddhist monks had the same rights as the laymen
to be appointed state officials, both military and civil"
Yuan Shih transl. Tucci19

This statement, from the Chinese chronicle about the 'barbarian'
dynasty (Mongol: Yuan), has an element of surprise since the monks
(particularly the Buddhist monks) could not be in the government of the
Celestial Empire nor could they ever share power with the Confucian
literati. When the Mongols made Tibet a part of their Empire, the
monks of Sakya and Karpo sects were active participants in the politics
of their country; Lamas sharing power with the secular nobles was al-
ready a tradition. Qubilai Khan, resident in Khan Bolyk (later called
Peking), had to reckon with "the vastness, distance and difficulties of that
region inhabited by a wild and war-like population" and "decided to
rule it in accordance with local usage as to suit the people".20 The
acceptance of "local usage"—the Buddhist monks as state officials—was
an imperative need of the Mongol imperialism as three quotes from the
Yuan Shih bear out.

Therefore the justification of the Buddhist monks holding temporal
offices has to be sought not in the 'civilized' code of the Celestial
Empire but in the 'barbarian' tradition of Tibet.

The accepted date for first propagation of Buddhism in Tibet is
about the first quarter of the seventh century and that for the ordina-
tion of Tibetan monks is about the last quarter of the eighth century.
The Drepung (Sangha) was an established fact by about 680; its
activities were not confined within the walls of the monasteries; the
monks were organizing the schools and advising the kings. When king
Gang-darma’s persecution of Buddhism reached the height, a monk assassinated the apostate (c. 842). The regicide was an act of piety for the monk and an act of redemptive compassion to the king. People united people recalled the injunction of the scriptures about retribution from discourses (Sūtras to which the Bodhisattva); forbearance and meditation cannot be practised while harm is done to the Three Gems and the Spiritual Teachers are endangered.21

On the decline of the Central dynasty and the break-up of the country into numerous principalities, the abbots of big monasteries exercised law and order in their respective localities. This became a normal feature long before the advent of the Mongols. Meanwhile Indian works on the role of Brähmana-Shramana were under study; all these texts were not strictly canonical but were found worthy of incorporation into Tantras. One such was Rajanītisūtra attributed to Chanasāya; the translator was Rinchhen Basgo, the great monk-scholar who marked the regeneration of Buddhism in Tibet and collaborated with Atiṣa. Four successive verses of the Tibetan version (Chapter VIII) describing the links of society emphasize the parity between the ruler (rgyal-po) and the monk/priest (rtse-ba’gyong/gren-ge).

The king is the summit of Chhos
The monk/priest is the root
The root bears the fruit
Thus the root may not be hurt.

The king is the fruit of Chhos
The monk/priest is the flower
The flower bears the fruit
Thus the flower may not be damaged.

The king is the tree and the monk is the root
The ministers are the branches and the people the leaves
If the root is preserved, the tree does not perish
The monk/priest has thus to be well preserved.

All (interests/estates) being dependent on each other
The king preserves the monk
The Chhos, wealth and fame are attained
When the monk is ever preserved.22

These words not only affirmed the high status of the monk but also advised a patron-priest relationship between king and monk in the total interest of Chhos.

The Tibetan kings responsible for propagation of Buddhism, appropriately designated as Dharmaśāra (Chhos-rgyal) and later recalled in
Mongolia as Chakravarti, no doubt practiced patron-priest relationship. The regicide (c. 842) and the sequel created a new situation and the priest had to take a larger and a more direct part in temporal affairs. In the 13th century, when the Mongol Emperors and the Sakya Lamas formed patron-priest relations, the monks were more than priests and had added statecraft to their routine. The Sakya Lamas categorically approved such conduct as in the interests of Chos. 23

The Sakya Pandita (c. 1182-1251) made the famous pronouncement that mastery of the acts of this world (byig-bten-bya-ba) led to the path of the Sacred Doctrine. His nephew Chos-kung-lphags-pa (c. 1154-1234) when accused of secular (Mongol) style of dress answered thus, ‘The Buddha had predicted the rise and fall of the Doctrine (according to exigencies of time); the happiness of the people would depend on their own Karma (and not on the style of dress); one (Lama) must behave (preach) in a way that suits (wins over) the other (devotee)’. This elastic conduct (byul-ba) no doubt varied dividends. Ngul-tshen-gye-thong sums up thus; “Under the auspices of the Patron (Chos) and the Priest (Chos-lphags) the riches of Mongolia and China made Tibet the centre of the Sacred Doctrine’.

About the administrative system during the Priest-Patron Regime the same work says; ‘Tibet was happy and the Sacred Doctrine glittered like a mirror because of the Two Laws, the Lama’s Command and Emperor’s Rule’.

As there were two sets of laws—one for the Khadse (domain of the church) and one for the Moande (domain of the state)—there were two sets of officials (monk and lay) not necessarily working exclusive of each other. The monks and the nobles were closely connected and there could not be an absolute separation between spiritual and temporal estates. Besides the Lamas held a good number of civil posts. The 24th, the Sakya hierarch, was the meeting point of both ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions. Here was a government possessed of both Chos (political) and Sera (Jesu). The contemporary Mongol chroniclers noticed “the succession of Indian and Tibetan traditions” in the principle of dual government. The Mongol bias to affiliate much of Linscheid theories and institutions to India is well known. While the gurus of Chos srid-med-sid may be traced to Indian thought, its practical application is no doubt a phenomenon of Tibetan history. While Tibetan scriptures contain sanction for the Sangha to engage itself in Rajadharm, Indian history had no institutional precedent for Tibet.
1. I have discussed the translation of Dharma into Chibos in my Tibet: Consideration on Inner Asian History (Calcutta 1967), pp. 40-54.

2. धार्मिकाना: सम्भव केल्या ते ह्या एकत्व से बनी अभाव:।।

3. धार्यारूप मात्र बनाना गया असामान्य:।।

4. परीतास्विद्यानां: वस्तीतिः: त्र: भवे:।।


6. For Brahmanical (Hindu) attitudes to political science and statecraft see U.N. Ghoshal: A History of Indian Political Ideas (Oxford 1959) and P.V. Kane: History of Dharma-sastras (Poona 1950-67), Vol III, Ch I & X.

7. भवेन्त त्रिया नामस्वरूप हुलार्य सवेच्छ प्रस्तुतिः: प्रवेशस्विद्याहः।।

8. ब्राह्मण प्रतिवेदनरूप राज्यां: परराज्याः।।

9. भवेन्त नामाप्रमुख: रोषानन्दः।।


21

11. Ghoshal locates an instance in *Jatahona* of Aranyaka; *Indian Political Ideas* cited under note 6 above), pp. 139-41.


13. नामादस्ती के नाटी अनधिकारिम, ये गोलपरिधिमानि।

विबंधचरित्रिणाय, सौ सेषों वेमात्रानि फिन।

अभंजकाव्यः सीधनिनाय

Eng. Trans. in Rhyi Davids: *Dialogues*, Pt II, p. 94.

14. The conflicting opinions about the ancestry of the Mauryas may be read in Hara Prasad Sastri's paper in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1930 and Hemchandra Raychaudhuri; *Political History of Ancient India* (Calcutta 1953), pp. 194, 266-8 & 355-6.

15. Eng. Trans. in Rhyi Davids; *The Questions of King Milinda* (Sacred Books of the East), Dilemna no 48. William Tarn; *The Greeks in Sauria and India* (Cambridge 1938/1951) holds that Menander was not a Buddhist but contends or numismatic evidence that Menander proclaimed himself a Chakravarti in a Buddhist srt (pp. 362-63). Ghoshal; *Indian Political Ideas*, p. 363., note 8 and A.K. Narain; *The Indo- Greeks* (Oxford 1937), p. 398 reject this. In my submission the Chakra on Menander’s coin could symbolize either Dharm or Danada and possibly did symbolize both. To substantiate this, it is not necessary to answer whether Menander was a Buddhist in a denominational sense or whether Menander could have claimed Dharma. I contend that Cakra is common to both Buddha (Brahmana) and Chakravarti (Kshatriya). Nagarjuna’s Brahma-Kshatriya equation could have no better motive for a coin or an ensign than Chakra.

16. An exhaustive and critical note on the epithet Desaputra is found in the contribution by F.W. Thomas to B.C. Law *Volume*, Part II, (Pooma 1946). The usage, according to Thomas, may be traced back to Nagarjuna’s time. Re: Desaputra as Kushana title, Raychaudhuri rightly insists on Chinese and Greek influence, *Political History*, pp. 518-9. Divine Right was much in the air; the Brahmana and the Saka-Yavana no doubt communicated the new fangled concept.
As the Brahmanical theorists had to formulate Divine Cretion in accordance with the Brahmanical notion of Deva, the Buddhist theorists had to respect the Buddha notion of Deva. The Mahayana world of gods (Devasakya) is a kingdom ruled by Indra and 32 'royal gods'; this assembly of 33 Devasakya recalls oligarchic republics like Sakya or Lichchavi. Thus the the Devaputra, according to Suvarnaprabhasatantra Sutra, was a Raja made up of the contributions of Indra and his 32 colleagues. Ghoshal finds this an adaptation of Manu's Divine Cretion of the temporal ruler out of the essence of the Regents of the Quarters, Indian Political Ideas, p. 266.

The origin of Devaputra was indeed most high; the word Nandita suggests Nirsakya; a Nirsakaya containing features of more than one Deva or Buddha is well-known significance; Devaputra is the quintessence of the Divine Royalty in its totality. The numerous number of the progenitor (13) or the legend of 10,000 Devaputras does not suggest a numerous clan of similar deities as Thomas thinks; in Mahayana myriads of Buddha's are usual. It is not warranted to equate Devaputra with minor deities (like the Dikpalas) or with kings (like those of Kucha-Khotan). The name 'patra' is not demeaning. Manjusri Kumarathatta is more below than Manjusri, either form Jina (Buddha) or Jina's Jina putra (Buddhapatra) may be used to describe a saint or a hierarch to have experienced in the monasteries of Tibet. Franklin Edgerton regards Devaputra as a synonym of Deva, Dictionary of Buddhism Hybrid Sanskrit. In the above extract from Suvarnaprabhasa both forms Deva and Devaputra are used. Devaputra, in my submission, is not a title characteristic of local or major kings and whatever sported this title was no doubt claiming divinity. Devaputra is not an elective ruler and has divine title, possibly of pluralistic origin (Greek, Ionian, Chinese, Hsiung Nu and Brahmanic).

The point for notice is the apotheosis of the Kshatriya, that is, the progress from popular contract to divine status. In Agganna Sutra the Kshatriya is Mahamastakas. In Vaibhavatagya.
the first Khatriya is none else than Bhagavan Bodhisattva (Gautama Siddhartha). In Swarnaprabha's the Raja, though born of mortal parents, is Devanirnita.


18. Ghoshal: Indian Political Ideas pp.73,314 & 210.


In 1368 the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty in China was overthrown and succeeded by a native (Ming) dynasty. In the beginning of 1369 Emperor Tai-tsu, founder of the Ming dynasty, ordered the the court to compile the official history (Shih) of the Yuan. Sixteen Yuan scholars worked on the Yuan documents and completed the the work in a year; the work was supervised by the Emperor himself. The Yuan-Shih preserves a valuable record of Tibet and Tibetan government during the Mongol (Yuan) period.


21. [abstracts in Chinese]

[Footnote 5]
24. མི་མཐུལ་ཐེམ་ཐུན་པ་ཐུང་མཐུལ་ཐུ་ཐུ་ཐུག་ཐུ་ཐུན་ཐུུ་ རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ།

25. མི་མཐུལ་ཐེམ་ཐུན་པ་ཐུང་མཐུལ་ཐུ་ཐུ་ཐུག་ཐུ་ཐུུ་ རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ།

26. མི་མཐུལ་ཐེམ་ཐུན་པ་ཐུང་མཐུལ་ཐུ་ཐུ་ཐུག་ཐུ་ཐུུ་ རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ།

27. མི་མཐུལ་ཐེམ་ཐུན་པ་ཐུང་མཐུལ་ཐུ་ཐུ་ཐུག་ཐུ་ཐུུ་ རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ། རིི་པ།
A description of the Sakya administrative system is not called for here. Chinese and Mongol chronicles besides Tibetan literature provide data for considerable study. Tucci: op. cit., pp. 11-19 may be seen for a brief notice.

Extracts from two Chinese state papers may be made in corroboration of the Tibetan claims about equality in status between the Mongol Emperor and the Sakya Lama.

The official history (Yuan Shi), compiled immediately after the overthrow of the Yuan, states: "The orders of the Ti-shih, Imperial Master (→ Sakya Lama), and of the Emperor were equally valid in Tibet. For a hundred years the Emperors showed the greatest respect and confidence for the Imperial Master. The Emperors and all the princes took the vow and used to salute the Imperial Master, kneeling to receive his blessing. In the Court gatherings, when the different officials took place allotted according to their rank, the Imperial Master sat next to the Emperor. Each Emperor on ascending the throne, publicly addressed a message of praise and protection to the Imperial Master". (trans. Tucci).

The Manchu Emperor Chien-lung in his famous Dissertation on Lamaism, inscribed in 1792 on a marble stele in Yung-ho-kung (the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking), said: "During the Yuan dynasty the Lamas were worshiped in a way that interfered with the government. This led to abuses which no one dared to question. For instance decrees given by the Teacher of the Emperor had the same force as the decrees emanating from the Court. At official audiences, while all the officials had to stand at places assigned to them according to rank, the teacher of the Emperor alone was allowed to remain seated in his place of honour in the corner. His disciples bore titles such as Minister of Interior, Minister of Finance, Duke of the Empire. There was an unbroken succession of them who carried veils of jade or gold. Presuming on their prestige, they carried themselves haughtily and ostentatiously which resulted everywhere in great vexations difficult to describe here exhaustively". Eng. trans. in F.D. Leising: Yung-ho-kung (Stockholm 1944), p. 19.
The inference is unavoidable that the Patron-Priest relations between the Mongol Emperor and the Tibetan Teacher did not much affect the authority (or sovereignty) of the Teacher in the Teacher’s homeland.

GYAN-DRUG MCHO-GNYIS (Six Ornaments and Two Excellent) reproduces ancient scrolls (1670 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 necteties and the theme of the paintings, namely, the Mahayana philosophy; the treatment is designed to meet also the needs of the general reader with an interest in Trans-Himalayan art or Mahayana. A glossary in Sanskrit-Tibetan, a key to place names and a note on source material are appended. Illustrated with five colour plates and thirteen monochromes.

April 1962.
Notes & Topics

TARANATHA: RGYA-GAR-CHHO-S-HBYUNG

Dam-pahi-chhos-rin-po-chen-pa-dgyu-mog-shul-the-tshul-gsal-bar-ron-pa-dgyou-sod-kun-hbyung, described in brief as Rgya-gar-chhos-hbyung (History of Religion in India) composed in 1608 A.C. by Kun-dgsh-shing-po, celebrated under his monastic name Taranatha, remains a classic source for the history of Buddhism in India. The archaeological explorations and the finds of literary treasures in India and inner Asia during the first half of the current century have not diminished its value as is evidenced by the demand for a fresh translation in English of this work. Professor Nalinaksha Dutt, the doyen of Buddhist scholars in India, has kindly agreed to make the translation for publication by the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology. We have persuaded him to give a synopsis of the work for the Bulletin. The first instalment is published below.

MRT

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTERS I-XIII

Though it is full of superstitious beliefs, fanciful traditions and wild stories, Taranatha’s ‘History’ preserves an indispensable account of the spread of Buddhism in India and particularly of the lives of distinguished Acharyas of India who composed learned philosophical works as also of the missionaries engaged in the spread of Buddhism in India. The ‘History’ lacks any chronological sequence or any systematic narration. This synopsis in English seeks to set in order several events and facts.

CHAPTER 1

In the introductory chapter, references are made to the dynasties of several kings, viz., Kshemadharin (Ajitastu), Asoka, Chandras, Indo-Scythian rulers, Sakus, Guptas and Palaus. Similarly here are references to the kings of the south. It goes back even to Trettayuga and Satrayuga as also to the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and even to Kalidasa,
The first Council was held 15 years after Buddha's death. As Mahakasyapa had then passed away, Ananda presided over the Council. (Note: Apparently this is unsatisfactory).

CHAPTER II

The time of King Subahu

During the reign of King Subahu, son of Ajatasatru, Ven. Sanavasika held the headship of the Sangha (Sanghanayaka). He resided at Sravasti. At that time Mahanyatika resided at Varanasi with a large number of disciples. The alm-givers registered the presence of such a large number of monks, and so Mahanyatika went with his disciples to Usirav mountain near Kashmir and propagated the religion in Kashmir.

CHAPTER III

Events of the time of King Sudhana, son of Subahu

Sanavasika passed over the headship of the Sangha to Upagupta, son of a spice-dealer of Mathura.

CHAPTER IV

Events of the time of Upagupta

Upagupta settled down at Mathura in the Nata-Bhata monastery. He converted a large number of the inhabitants, who suffered at the hands of Mara, who also troubled Bhagavan Buddha. He, however, controlled the Mara. Upagupta lived there till the end of his life. Some of the lay-devotees built Kukkutarama near Usirav mountain or Urumunda.

A Brahmani had three sons, of whom one worshipped Mahesvara, the second Kaplannuni and the third built the Mahabodhi Temple.

CHAPTER V

Events of the time of the Ven. Dhitika

In Ujjayini lived a prosperous and wealthy Brâhmana, who had a son called Dhitika. He met Upagupta in Mathura. He practised the eight Vîrūpaka meditations and propagated the religion in Kamrup, where in the pleasure-garden of the rich householder, Ghoavanta, a great Viha was built by him.
CHAPTER VI

Biography of King Asoka

Asoka’s brothers were ruling in different places, viz., Sarvatthi, Saketa, Varanasi, Champua, Vaishali and Rajagaha. But all of them retired when they heard that Asoka was made the ruler of Magadha. Asoka became proficient in the sixty sciences and eight crafts, art of writing, calculation, etc. One of the brothers was Lokayatika and another worshiped Mahadeva, the third Vinau, the fourth Vedanta, the fifth Nyagrantha Pingala and the sixth Brahmana Kamsika Brahmacarya. Asoka relied on the words of those who believed in Dakinis and Rakshasis and held Uma of the cemetery (i.e. Sasa nakali) in high esteem. He conquered the hill tribes and reigned from them taxes and tributes. He enjoyed all kinds of pleasures, and so he was called Kamasoka. His brothers became his enemies and so he subdued them after a protracted fight. He ruled over the whole of Northern India from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas. He was cruel and ill-tempered, and being guided by Brahmanas he became perverted. He killed 10,000 men. His hangman could not kill a bhikkhu, who by his miraculous power brought forth rain and extinguished the fire consuming human beings. He went out of the city of the dead and met the bhikkhu. The king then heard a discourse from him and became repentant. An Arhat of Pataliputra abolished him of his sins. Thereafter, he supplied food daily to 30,000 monks.

At that time merchants used to go by boats to bring jewels. They took the help of an Arhat. Nagus troubled them and so Asoka conquered them. In this way Asoka’s dominion extended over all the provinces of Jambudipa, i.e. the Himalayas and also the snowy mountain ranges lying on the other side of the Li country and all the countries upto the ocean on the east, south and the west along with the 15 dvipas. He adorned the country with Chatyas, containing the relics of Buddha. Henceforth he became known as Dharma Asoka. The king offered 1000 millions of gold coins to the clergy of Aparanta, Kashiniv and Tukhara.

Asoka’s grandson Vitasoka was given the rulership after him.

Taranatha claims as his sources Khotentak’s Avadanaikalapatita, Asoka-aradana, Vinita-aradana, Naga-aradana, Suta-aradana, Ubara-aradana, Svaroopara and Kanalaradana.

CHAPTER VII

Events contemporaneous with King Asoka (perhaps Kalasoka)

Venerable Dhittika imparted instructions to many disciples. He

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fell sick. The disciples said that correct instructions could not be had from a sickly teacher. But they betook themselves to the ten breaches of the disciplinary rule.

These were:

1. Practice of carrying salt in a horn for use when needed.
2. Practice of taking food after midday, when the shadow was two digits wide.
3. Practice of going to a neighbouring village and taking a second meal there.
4. Observance of paripuṣṭha in different places within the same parish (simā).
5. Performing an ecclesiastical act and obtaining its sanction afterwards.
6. Use of precedents as authority.
8. Drinking of palm-juice, which was not yet toddy.
9. Use of a borderless mat to sit on.
10. Acceptance of gold and silver. (in Taranatha this list is confused and so it has been put here in a correct form.)

The second Buddhist Council was held at Vaisali 118 years after Buddha’s death, to suppress these indulgences but it was not effective on all the monks. Kassapa was the then ruler of Magadha.

CHAPTER VIII

Events at the time of Vitasoka

Asoka’s son Kusala was dwelling in the Himalayas. He was blinded by the machinations of Asoka’s second queen Tishyarakshita.

CHAPTER IX

Events at the time of second Kasyapa

Kasyapa was a native of Gandhara. At this time lived the son of Vitasoka called Sushema, who possessed immeasurable wealth. He maintained the monks of the four quarters for three years and offered gifts to all the Chaityas in India. At that time Yasas was born in Mathura. He erected a monastery on the bank of the river Naravati. He maintained 100,000 monks. Then Mahadeva, son of a mercenary, committed the three deadly sins (saṃskāra-karma). He went to Kashmir and became a monk, and mastered the three Piṇakas. He propounded five unorthodox views. These were:
The Arhats are subject to temptation
2. The Arhats may have residue of ignorance
3. The Arhats may have doubts regarding certain matters
4. The Arhats gain knowledge through others help
5. The Path is attained by an exclamation as “aha!” (These have been put here in a correct form.)

After the death of Kasapa the second, Mahaloma became the lead of the Sangha.

CHAPTER X

Events of the time of Mahaloma and others

After the death of Sarasena, his son Nanda ruled over Central India for 79 years. At this time appeared the four main Buddhist sects.

One of Nanda’s companions was Panini, who was born in Bharukaccha. Panini obtained Sraavakabodhi. According to the Tibetan tradition, Indrayakarana was older than Panini’s work. Chandrayakarana agrees with Panini and Kalaparyakarana agrees with Indrayakarana.

CHAPTER XI

Events of the time of King Mahapadma

In the north, King Agnipidatta maintained 1,000 monks for 30 years. Mahapadma maintained the whole Sangha of Kumapara. Shrinatari, a follower of Naga, proclaimed the panchavasa and thereby increased the discord. (Panchavasa refers perhaps to the above mentioned five points of Mahayana).

The Vibhada suttas were compiled. According to the Vibhashikas their seven Abhidharma texts should be recognised as Buddha-achana. According to the Sautrantikas, the Vibhashas were composed by imperfect Sravakas. Yudhamitra seems to have agreed with the Sautrantikas at a later time. It was contended by some that Sravakas were not able to realise the Truth. In Odivesa Manjuri promulgated the Prajnaparamita texts. This marked the beginning of Mahayana teachings.

CHAPTER XII

Events at the time of the Three Collections

King Kanishka became a devotee of Buddha. The Agoras of the Sautrantikos were Dristantamalakrama, Pitkasatamamaheshti etc. Vesas appeared and propounded the Vyakarana-sutra (texts containing prophecies).
At Kondalavanavihara in Kashmir or Kuvana monastery in Jaredhara the Buddhist Council was held under the auspices of King Kanishka. Further schisms took place in the Sangha. At this time the Mahayana teaching of Anuparatehamahamukti (non-origination and non-decay of all worldly objects) was popularised.

CHAPTER XIII

Events at the time of the propagation of Mahayana

After the Buddhist Council King Kanishka died. At that time a householder Jati maintained Vasumitra and 3,000 monks. In Pushkavati Kanika’s son maintained 100 Arhats and 10,000 Bhikshus for five years. In the east at Kusumapura lived the Brahmana Vidhah, who had made ready 1,000 copies of the Tripitaka and offered them as gifts to the bhikshus. In each Tripitaka there were one lac slokas. In the town of of Pataliputra lived Arhat Asagupata who meditated upon the eight Vimalakirtis. Along with him Nandimitra and other Arhats realised the Truth by various methods. In the west lived Lakishava, who exerted considerably according to the teaching of Buddha. In the south-west Saurabhottara, lived Brahmana Kulika, who invited Arhat Nanda for the teaching of Mahayana doctrines. At this time many Kalyanaviratas appeared and received instructions from Avalokitesvara, Mahayapani and Maitreya and practiced Dharma-vastvakusuma. Among them may be mentioned the names of Mahabhagadhatas Avittaka, Vagasa-rage-dhvaja, Divakaragupta, Ruhulamitra, Jnanatala, the great upaskara Sanghasthala and other teachers of the doctrines, 500 in number. At this time there were existing the following texts:

- Arya Vrikshuhuti-dharmaparyaya in 1,000 sections
- Arya Avatamuka sutra in 100,000 discourses
- Arya Lankavatara sutra in 15,000 slokas
- Arya Ghanavayu in 12,000 slokas
- Arya Dharma-samagati in 12,000 slokas
- a number of other works.

The King was informed that there were several teachers but 30 students. He erected viharas on the top of Mount Abu and from the king’s parshad he sent 500 persons with strong disposition to take ordination. He had copies of the texts made according to the number of students. These were later sent to the Vihara of Sri Nalanda. Thereafter Mahayana spread in all directions. But this did not please the Sramanas, who declared that the Mahayana doctrines were not delivered by Buddha. The Mahayanas took ordination according to the Hinayana schools and lived mostly with them.
Mudgalaragomin Brahmana worshipped Mahesvari but his brother became a devotee of Buddha. Mahesvara showed great veneration to 500 Aratas coming from Manas-avaro and so Mudgalaragomin also became a devotee of Buddha. They became upasakas and composed the Visakha-nava. They made provisions for 300 Sravakas at Vajrasana and for 300 Mahayanists in Nalanda. The fame of Nalanda was raised by Mudgalaragomin and his brother and was further raised by Rahulakshatra and still further by his disciple Nagarjuna.

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