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# CONTENTS

	Page
A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF 'GRO-MGON CHOS-RGYAL 'PHAGS-PA TASHI DENSAPA	5
ON ATISA'S ITINERARY IN TIBET BIRESHWAR PRASAD SINGH	15
INDIA AND TIBET NIRMAL C. SINHA	21
NOTES & TOPICS NIRMAL C. SINHA	28
BOOK REVIEWS NIRMAL C. SINHA	30

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## A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF 'GRO-MGON CHOS-RGYAL 'PHAGS-PA

—TASHI DENSAPA

A. 'Gro-mgon Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, a Sa-skyapa bla-ma of the thirteenth century, is not an unfamiliar figure in the history and religion of Tibet. His name appears in almost every historical text, as well as religious works, and it is verbalized daily in the chanting of thousands of Sa-skyapa monks for he is among the lineal teachers of the Sa-skyapa sect. Just as all Tibetan sects trace their origin to an Indian lineage, Virūpa is the Paṇḍita from whom the Sa-skyapa received the teachings of the *Lam-'bras* (Path and Fruit). The lineage of *Lam-'bras* teachers from the Buddha, through the Indian guru, down to 'Phags-pa is as follows :

Rdo-rje-'chang (Vajradhara)  
Bdag-med-ma  
Virūpa  
Nag-po-pa  
Da-ma-ru-pa  
'Brog-mi Śā-kya ye-shes  
Se-mkhar chu-be kun-rig  
Zhang-dgon-pa Ba-chos-'bar  
Bla-ma Sa-skyapa chen-po Kun-dga' snying-po  
Slob-dpon Bsod-nams rtse-mo  
Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan  
Chos-rje Sa-skyapa Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan  
'Gro-mgon Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan.

In addition, 'Phags-pa was a descendant of the 'Khon family who maintain that they are descended from the Gods of Light<sup>1</sup> : the Three Heavenly Brothers<sup>2</sup> (*lha-mched-gsum*). The name 'Khon is said to have originated at a time when the gods were at war with the demons. G.ya'-spang-skyes, one of the descendants of G.yu-ring, son of a god, killed the demon Skya-ring khrag-med and took his wife. The son born from their union was named "Khon-bar-skyes" ("Born during the struggle"). Hence, the family lineage became known as 'Khon.

Historically, tradition traces the 'Khon line back to 'Khon Dpal-po-che<sup>3</sup>, one of the ministers of the eighth century king, Khri-srong lde-btsan. The 'Khon lineage can be traced down to Dkon-mchog rgyal-po, who built a monastery at the place called Sa-skya, from which the sect later derived its name. His son Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po is credited with reforming his father's Rnying-ma-pa teachings and establishing the organized Sa-skyapa sect. Sa-chen's son was Dpal-chen 'od-po who had two sons : one was the Great Sa-skyapa Paṇḍita Kun-dga'<sup>4</sup> rgyal-mtshan; the other Zangs-tsha bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan.

Zangs-tsha's son, Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, at the age of ten, accompanied

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An English translation of the Rnam-thar with critical notes by the author is under publication. Author's introduction to the English translation is published here in the form of an article.

Sa-skya Paṇḍita to the court of the Mongol Khan<sup>5</sup> and there won favor and earned the name of 'Phags-pa ("Noble One").

### SAKYA—MONGOLS

Like Alexander the Great, the Great Mongol chief, Genghis Khan threatened the doorsteps of all his neighbors. Tibet learned of his presence, but was spared raids at first owing to her formidable natural barriers. In the time of Godan, the Mongols first entered Tibet proper (1239), plundering Rwa-sgreng and Rgyal Lha-khang, and leaving the Tibetans in great shock, now well aware of their danger.

It was in the midst of this turmoil that Sa-skya Paṇḍita was invited to the camp of Godan, Khan of the Kokonor region, at the suggestion of two of his generals. There is no evidence as to the nature of this invitation nor to the way in which it was accepted; however most Tibetan scholars hold the view that Sa-skya Paṇḍita willingly accepted the invitation in the hope that his visit would bear fruit both in political and religious affairs.

On the occasion of this visit, Sakya Paṇḍita took with him his two nephews, Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan and Phyag-na-rdo-rje, aged ten and sixteen respectively. According to Professor Tucci<sup>6</sup> however, the two nephews may have been taken as hostages to the Mongol camp as much as two years before the actual meeting between Godan and Sa-skya Paṇḍita. On the other hand, some Tibetan scholars believe that Sa-skya Paṇḍita was already on his way to China, pausing frequently on the journey to deliver sermons and initiations in various places, and he therefore sent his young nephews on ahead of him. The reason for their accompanying him in the first place seems to be that the boys had lost their parents and Sa-skya Paṇḍita had assumed their guardianship.

The newpew 'Phags-pa in winning the favor of Godan Khan, proved to be a great asset to his uncle. And when Sa-skya Paṇḍita passed away in 1251 at the age of seventy, he handed his spiritual authority on to 'Phags-pa. When Godan died, 'Phags-pa won the favor of the young prince, Kublai. When Kublai became Khan, 'Phags-pa received the title of Imperial Preceptor (Ti-shih), along with the temporal and spiritual authority over Tibet as the Khan's present for Buddhist initiations given him by 'Phags-pa. 'Phags-pa remained in China for 15 years, and when he returned to Sa-skya in 1265 he was received warmly and with great honor. The affairs of Tibet were conducted by a Chief Administrator (Dpon-chen) at Sa-skya, appointed by 'Phags-pa and approved by the Khan.

Two years later (1267), the Khan sent representatives requesting the return of 'Phags-pa to the Mongolian imperial court. At this time, following the pattern of Mongol administration, thirteen officials were appointed to govern Tibet.

In 1268, at the request of the Khan, 'Phags-pa created a square-style script which could be used for all the languages of the Mongols' vast empire; and though short-lived as a functional system, the writing is still known today as 'Phags-pa Script.

'Phags-pa left China for the last time in 1274, making a gradual journey to Tibet where he arrived at Sakya in 1276. He passed away in 1280 at the

age of forty-six.

Two accounts<sup>7</sup> relate that his was not a natural death, but that he had been poisoned by his personal servant (Gsol-dpon). The servant, intriguing against the Dpon-chen had written to the Khan in 'Phags-pa's name, charging the Dpon-chen with treason. The Khan sent an army to remedy the situation, at which the intriguer is reputed to have poisoned 'Phags-pa and then committed suicide. The Mongols, thinking 'Phags-pa had been murdered by the Dpon-chen, executed him. But it is said that the Dpon-chen pleaded his innocence and loyalty, and that as proof of his innocence his blood would be white at his execution. And so it was! The Khan, on hearing the full report, is said to have had his own commanders executed for not making a full and proper inquiry.

B. There are two known biographies of Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa in Sa-skyia sources. The first, a fairly detailed biography, is found in the *Sa-skyia-pa'i chos kyi snying-po Bi-ru-pa'i gsung-ngag lam-'bras rin-po-che*<sup>8</sup>. The first seven volumes of this seventeen-volume work contain *rnam-thar* of the lineages of Sa-skyia from the beginning to the present, and Volume Kha (known as *Lam 'bras bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*) has the 'Phags-pa biography composed by Sher-chen Ye-shes Rgyal-mtshan<sup>9</sup>. The second *rnam-thar* is found in the *Sa-skyia gdung-rab chen-po rin-chen bang-mazod* composed by 'Jam-mgon A-myes zhabs Kun-dga' Bsod-nams<sup>10</sup>. There are a few other brief biographies in works like the *Lam-'bras bla-ma brgyud-pa'i tshar snang-ba* by Bla-ma dam-pa Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan<sup>11</sup>. These however are all by Sa-skyia lamas and somewhat colored by the viewpoint of that order.

2. The 'Khon lineage of which 'Phags-pa comes can be found in several Tibetan chronicles apart from those already mentioned, most of them composed by a Sa-skyia-pa lamas. It is interesting to note here the partiality of the writers, not so much in their explicit statements as in the space and stress given to 'Phags-pa's achievements. The closer the writer's sect is in friendly relations with Sa-skyia, the more space and stress placed on 'Phags-pa. Some Dge-lugs-pa authors (e.g., the Fifth Dalai Lama,) give 'Phags-pa rather extensive treatment in their chronicles<sup>12</sup>. Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-shes-dpal-'byor<sup>13</sup> gives a certain amount of information on 'Phags-pa in his *Dpag-bsam ljong bzang*. Blo-bzang Tshe-'phel<sup>14</sup> gives fifteen pages of details of 'Phags-pa's life in the *Hor gyi chos-byung*.

On the other hand most of the Bka'-brgyud-pa authors have all but ignored the Patron-Priest relationship \*(yon-mchod) between the Mongol khans and the Sa-skyia-pa: e.g., Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag 'phreng-ba's<sup>15</sup> *Chos-'byung mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* (1545-1565), Volume Kha, devotes only twelve lines to 'Phags-pa and his allowing freedom to the different sects in Tibet when he might have influenced the Khan to interdict all but the teachings of the Sa-skyia-pa as Tibet's state religion.

The *Chos-'byung*<sup>16</sup> of Padma Dkar-po has only a few lines on 'Phags-pa, with brief mention of the three gifts presented to him when he conferred initiation on the Mongol Khan.

Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje<sup>17</sup> in his *Deb-ther* has only three lines about 'Phags-pa.

The only Rnying-ma-pa *chos-'byung*<sup>18</sup> (religious-history) available is that of Bdud-'joms-sprul-sku 'Jigs-bral Ye-shes rdo-rje, which records exclusively the events and holy men of the Rnying-ma-pa sect, gives the briefest mention of 'Phags-pa and his relationship with the Mongols. According to Sde-gzhung sprul-sku, Kun-dga 'brang, there is nothing relevant to the history of the 'Khon and 'Phags-pa in the various other Rnying-ma-pa religious histories which he had seen in Tibet.

Professor G. Tucci elaborates at some length in his *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* on the Tibeto-Mongol relationship during the time of 'Phags-pa.

Tsepon Shakabpa, in his *Tibet A Political History*, has a quite comprehensive study of 'Phags-pa, using as his sources the Gdung-rab chen-po and the Fifth Dalai Lama's *Chronicle*.

To the best of the present writer's knowledge, the *rnam-thar* translated in this article is the only biography of 'Phags-pa composed by a person not of the Sa-skyapa sect. Most of the material used in it seems to have been derived mainly from the *Sa-skyapa'i gdung-rab chen-po*, as well as from the Fifth Dalai Lama's *Chronicle*. The *gdung-rab chen-po* devotes some forty-three folios to a question-and-answer discussion on the Dharma between 'Phags-pa and Bka'-gdams-pa dge-bshes Nam-mkha'-'bum<sup>19</sup>; however Dkon-mchog 'Jigs-med dbang-po, by omitting this discussion, has presented the essential and important events of 'Phags-pa's life in a precise yet comprehensive manner.

The full title of this book is *Rje-btsun thams-cad mkhyen-pa Lcang-skya Rol-pa'i rdo-rje'i 'Khrungs-rab kyi phreng-ba gtam-du brjod-pa ngo-mtshar dad-pa'i ljong-shing*.

The original xylograph was composed and printed at Bkra-shis-'khyil (A'mdo), and consists of 120 folios and a title page. Nawang Gelek Demo has made photocopies of the original and published them in a book under the title of *The Collected Works of Dkon-mchog 'Jigs-med-dbang-po*, Volume II. (Gadan Sung-rab Mi-nyam Gyunphel Series, Volume 22: New Delhi, 1971). The biography (*rnam-thar*) of Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan is contained in a series of abridged biographies of the predecessors of Rol-pa'i rdo-rje<sup>20</sup> (1717-1786) in the Lcang-skyapa incarnation lineage.

The author, the second 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa Dkon-mchog 'Jigs-med dbang-po, made a condensed book of all the available biographies of the lives of the Lcang-skyapa incarnation at the request of Em-mchi Chos-rje Blo-bzang Rnam-rgyal<sup>21</sup>. The book is divided into fourteen chapters of biographies:

- 1—Dgra-bcom-pa Tsun-da
- 2—Slob-dpon Shakya-bshes-gnyen (Śākyamitra)
- 3—Grub-thob Darpana Ācārya
- 4—Lo-chen Ka-ba Dpal-brtsegs
- 5—Lha-rje Sgro-phug-pa (1074-1134)
- 6—Grub-dbang Si-si-ri-pa
- 7—Glang-ri-thang-pa Rdo-rje-seng (1054-1123)
- 8—Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280)
- 9—Bla-ma Dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375)
- 10—Byams-chen chos-rje Shākya-ye-shes (1354-1435)

11—Sera Rje-btsun Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (1469-1546)

12—'Khon-ston Dpal-'byor lhun-grub (1561-1637)

13—Chos-rje Grags-pa 'od-zer

14—Lcang-skya Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang Chos-ldan (1642-1714)

This biography along with the others in the collection is considered to be among the finest in its genre for Tibetan style. The author, Dkon-mchog 'Jigs-med dbang-po, is well known for his literary ability, and the very fact that he was requested to compose the *rnam-thar* of Pan-chen Rin-po-che, from among thousands of very learned lamas and *dge-bshes* of Ser-'Bras-Dga'-sum attests to his being considered one of the outstanding Dga'-ldan-pa<sup>22</sup> lamas of his time.

The author of this abridged *rnam-thar* is held in the highest esteem by all learned Tibetan scholars as one of the finest writers in Tibetan literature. According to Sde-gzhung sprul-sku Kun-dga' Bla-brang, the importance of this author is attested by his being the chief source of information for most scholars of Ser-'Bras-Dga'-sum in their own compositions. Thus it is only fitting to glance briefly at the life of the well-respected saint, Dkon-mchog 'Jigs-med-dbang-po.

He was born to Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal at a small place in Lang-jan district of Jih-kung, the present J'ung-jen hsien of Ch'ing-hai province<sup>23</sup>. He was born in the Earth-Monkey year (1728) amidst very auspicious signs. When he was only a few weeks old, he clapped his hands and made other gestures of the religious debate. His parents fearing that he was possessed of evil spirits, consulted many saintly lamas and asked their opinion. They were told that he was an incarnation of a high lama. When the child learned to speak, he recounted his past lives very vividly. His mother and his uncle had vision in which they were told that he was the incarnation of 'Jam-dbyangs Bzhad-pa of Bla-brang Bkra-shis-'khyil<sup>24</sup>. When he was six years old he received his first monastic ordination.

When news of this child was circulated, a delegation from Bkra-shis-'khyil came to interview him, taking the belongings of the previous incarnation. The boy passed all the tests, even recognising on the treasures of the previous lama. However, due to internal disagreements within the bla-brang (estate), the boy was not enthroned as abbot until the age of sixteen. The final decision was made only after consulting a number of oracles, including the State Oracle<sup>25</sup> (Gnas-chung chos-skyong).

Having been formally recognised, he then began his spiritual training and studies. He was a very diligent and serious student, and one of his foremost teachers. Dge-bshes Ngag-dbang Bstan-'dzin<sup>26</sup>, remarked that if a person wanted a son, he should want someone like this. At the age of 22, he received the final monastic ordination (dge-slong) from Lcang-skya Rol-pa'i rdo-rje<sup>27</sup>.

At the age of 25 (in 1752), having completed his training in the five sciences<sup>28</sup>, he went to Lhasa on pilgrimage. There he was fortunate in being received by the 7th Dalai Lama Bskal-bzang Rgya-mtsho<sup>29</sup> and the 3rd Pan-chen Dpal-ldan Ye-shes<sup>30</sup> who had come to Lhasa from Bkra-shis lhun-po<sup>31</sup> to receive initiations from the Dalai Lama. Dkon-mchod 'Jigs-med Dbang-po was privileged to receive the same teachings and initiations along

with the Paṅ-chen Lama. He made great offerings and presents to all the monasteries, and remained in Lhasa until he was 32 years old (1759). While in Central Tibet, he entered Sgo-mang college (gra-tshang) of 'Bras-spungs monastery and received instruction from Mkhan-chen Sanga-rgyas Rdo-rje. He completed his Dge-bshes degree at Ne'u-tog.

When he returned to A-mdo, he made great improvements at Bkra-shis 'khyil, setting up new regulation and establishing new institutions and buildings. The relationship between the people of the district and the monastery was excellent. He gave many teachings and explanations of the Dharma to hundreds of monks at his bla-brang.

Then he visited Mongolia and China, his main purpose being a pilgrimage to the Five-Peaks Mountain (ri-bo-rtse-linga). The title of Er-ti-ni no-mi-han (fu-fa Ch'an-shih Hu-t'u-k'u-ta) was conferred on him by the Ch'ien'lung Emperor<sup>32</sup>.

When the Paṅchen Lama was on his way to China, Dkon-mchog 'Jigs-med dbang-po was of great service to him, especially for vaccinating him and his entire company against smallpox. And at Zi-ling Sku-'bum, he arranged a banquet for the Grand Lama which included five hundred courses of delicacies—a display which seems to have been reported to the Emperor of China.

Among more than the thirty great masters from whom he received teaching and initiations, to mention a few, were :

the Seventh Dalai Lama Bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho:  
Paṅchen Dpal-ldan Ye-she:  
Lcang-skya rol-pa'i rdo-rje;  
Sa-skya bdag-chen Kun-dga' blo-gros:  
Phur-lcog Byams-pa rin-po-che;  
Klong-rdol bla-ma Ngag-dbang blo-bzang.

With such vast learning, Dkon-mchog 'Jigs-med also attracted many students, some of whom became great scholars in Tibet:

Sa-skya Khri-chen 'Jam-mgon dbang-sdud snying-po,  
Klong-rdol rin-po-che,  
Gang-thang 'Jam-pa'i dbyangs,  
Dkon-mchog bstan-pa'i sgron-me,  
Thu'u mkhan-po,  
Khri-nam-bzang-mchog,  
A-kya yongs-'dzin: and others.

After completing many labors for the benefit of the Dharma, and composing eleven great works, he passed away at the age of sixty.

## NOTES

1. Light, Tibetan: 'Od-gsal (Skt. ābhāsvara)

2. The Three Heavenly Brothers were: (i) Spyi-ring, (ii) G.yu-ring, and (iii) G.yu-se. The 'Khon claim their descent from G.yu-ring. Cf. *Rgya bod yig tshang*, (ff. 184-a and 186-a): *Gdung* (ff. 36-37)

3. 'Khon dpal-po-che is the earliest mentioned ancestor family and this is the earliest that the 'Khon name appears in Tibetan historical documents. Cf. *Rgya bod yig tshang* (f. 130b—131a); B.A. p. 615.

4. Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan henceforth will be known as Sa-skya Paṇḍita, Chos-rje Paṇ-chen, or Sa-pan.

5. The Mongol Khan referred to here is Godan. He was Khan, at that time, of the Kokonor region, Cf. Tucci (T.P.S.) p. 9

6. This information is given by Professor Tucci in (T.P.S.) p. 9.

7. The two sources which relate the unnatural death of Chos-Rgyal 'Phags-pa are :

(i) *Bod-kyi deb-ther dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu-dbangs*, also known as *Bod-kyi deb-ther rdzog-ldan gzhon nu'i dga'-ston*, by the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang blo-dzang rgya-mtsho, p. 130, Varanasi (1967).

(ii) *Rgyal-rabs 'phrul-gyi lde-mig*, also known as the *Deb-ther dmar-po'i deb-gsar-ma*, by Bsod-nams grags-pa, p. 13.

8. This book is also known as *Gsnug-ngag rin-po-che lam-'bras kyi chos-skor bzhugs-so*. This 17 volume work was collected and edited by 'Jam-dbyangs blo-gter dbang-po, the abbot of ngor E-wam chos-ldan. The first volume contains biographies (rnam-thar) of the various *lam-'bras* lineage Lamas. The 10 remaining volumes contain teachings, initiations, rituals, sadhana and instructions.

9. Sher-chen ye-shes rgyal-mtshan belonged to the family known as Shar-pa, of which the direct unbroken lineage is the present Klu-sding family, whose eldest son inherited the seat of the abbot of Ngor, (DTKN); (SWG).

10. 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhab Kun-dga' bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan was a 'Khon and a Sa-skya Khri-chen. He was a monk, but had to give up his vows as his brothers passed away without any sons to continue the family name. See Glossary:

11. The first seven volumes of the *Lam-'bras* (see note 8). Bla-ma dam-pa Bsod-Mnams rgyal-mtshan is also a 'Khon and Sa-skya Khri-chen. See Glossary.

12. See translation note 7, section (1).

13. *Gangs-can bod-yul dam-chos rin-chen byung-tshul dpag-bsam ljon-bzang*, by Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-shes dpal-'byor, Varanasi, (1963) p. 295-298.

14. *Chen-po Hor-gyi yul-du dam-pa'i chos ji'ltar byung ba'i tshul bshal-pa'i bstan-pa rin-po-che gsal-bar byed pa'i sgron-me zhes-bya bzhugs-so*, by Chos-rje Blo-bzang Tshe-'phel, Varanasi, (1965) p. 80-93.

15. *Chos-'byung mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* (1545-1565), by Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag 'phreng-ba, volume *ba*, p. 761.

16. *Chos-'byung bstan-pa'i Pad-ma rgyas-pa'i nyin-byed ces-bya-ba bzhugs-so*, by Kun-mkhyed Padma-kar-po; alias Ngag-dbang nor-bu (1527-1592), Delhi (1968) p. 406-407.

17. 'Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje mdzad pa'i Hu-lan deb-ther or Deb-ther dmar-po.

18. *Bod snga-rabs-pa gsang-chen rnying-ma'i chos-'byung legs-bshad gsar-pa'i dga'-ston gyi dbu-'dreb gzhung-don le'u'i ngos-'dzin bzhugs*, by Bdud-'joms sprul-sku 'Jigs-bral Ye-shes rdo-rje.

19. See translation note 152.

20. II Lcan-skya Rol-pa'i rdo-rje; *alias* Ye-shes bstan-pa'i sgron-me, (1717-1786). He had tremendous influence in Mongolia, where he revised the *Bstan-'gyur* (translated from Tibetan into Mongolian in 1749). He was very learned and his literary activity is unparalleled. See *Biography of Lcang-skya Rol-pa'i rdo-rje* by Thu-kwan Blo-bzang chos-kyi-nyi-ma (1737-1802).

21. E-mchi Chos-rje Blo-bzang. Rnam-rgyal : unidentified.

22. Ser-'Bras-Dga'-sum is the abbreviation for the three largest Dge-lug-pa monasteries in Tibet. They are all situated in the Lhasa region. Prior to the communist Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950, the monastic population was estimated as follows :

Ser - Se-ra, 5500 monks  
'Bras - 'Bras-spung, 7700 monks  
Dga' - Dga'-ldan, 3300 monks

23. Cf. Margaret M. Shu-yi-Loo, *The Biography of the III Panchenlama, Blo-bzang-dpal-ldan-ye-shes-dpal-bzang-po*, examined in light of Sino-Tibetan relations during the late eighteenth century. (Ph.D. Thesis) p. 83.

24. Bla-brang Bkra-shis-'khyil: this monastery was founded in A.D. 1708 by Kun-mkhyen 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa Rdo-rje ngag-dbang brtson-'grus. For full account of this monastery, the incarnation and his history, see Rock, pp. 29-47. See also TPS, p. 260.

25. The State Oracle (Gnas-chung Chos-skyong) is the tutelary deity of the Dge-lugs-pa sect, and is especially associated with 'Bras-spung monastery. The deity Rgyal-po Pe-dkar, speaks through this oracle. Mediums are selected through (1) heredity, or (2) the spirit of the deity sometimes enter into a person and thus the person automatically becomes the medium. All such mediums are given good positions and held in high respect. The Gnas-chung medium holds the highest place because of the official rank of being the State Oracle and plays an important part in the recognition of the Dalai Lama, and in any other state affairs the final decision is always made with his consultation.

26. Dge-shes Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin: unidentified.

27. Lcang-skya Rol-pa'i rdo-rje: see note 20.

28. See translation note 155.

29. The Seventh Dalai Lama, Bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho (1708-1757) was born at Li-thang in Khams, in the seventh month of the Earth-Mouse

year (1708). Lha-bzang Khan on hearing of the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama sent a delegate to investigate; however, the boy was concealed and the parents were advised to take him to a safe place in the Kokonor region, where certain Mongol tribes offered him recognition and protection. The Manchus seeing an opportunity to extend their influence in Tibet, offered protection and the boy was taken to Sku-'bum monastery in 1716 for education.

Then came the clash between the two Mongol tribes: Tshe-dbang rab-brtan's Dzungar Mongols and the Qoshot-Mongols of Lha-bzang Khan in Tibet.

The Dzungars wanted to bring the Seventh Dalai Lama to Lhasa but he was under Manchu protection. When the K'ang-hsi Emperor heard of his recognition, he sent official confirmation with a seal of the Sixth Dalai Lama in 1720.

On the ninth month of the Iron-Mouse year, he was brought to Lhasa and enthroned in the Potala. Then in the second month of the Iron-Sheep year (1751), the Seventh Dalai Lama assumed full spiritual and temporal powers over Tibet. For details see 'Dad-pa'i snye-ma (A biography of the Seventh Dalai Lama) by Lcang-skya Rol-pa'i rdo-rje. (Also see, Shakabpa, p. 135-156).

30. The third Panchen Lama Dpal-ldan Ye-shes (1737-1780). Following the death of the Second Panchen Lama Blozang yeshe dpal-bzang-po in 1737, at the age of seventyfour, a reincarnation was found a year later at Bkra-shi-rtse in Shangs. The boy was formally recognized by the Seventh Dalai Lama and named Dpal-ldan Ye-shes.

At the invitation of the Manchu Emperor, the Panchen Lama, with permission of the Dalai Lama, proceeded to China by the way of Mongolia in 1779, for the interest of Buddhist religion, in spite of the smallpox epidemic in China. He was warmly received at Jehol by the Ch'ien-lung Emperor in 1780. They proceeded to Peking where the Panchen Lama was accorded a grandiose welcome. During his stay in China at the Yellow Palace (Huang Su), he skillfully influenced the Manchu court and reduced the amount of Manchu interference in Tibet. Unfortunately he did not live long enough to complete his diplomatic and spiritual mission. He contracted smallpox and died in Peking in November of 1780. His remains were returned to Bkra-shis-lhun-po and preserved in a mausoleum there.

31. Bkra-shis lhun-po is the large monastery of the Panchen Lama near Shigatse. It was built in 1447 by Dge-'dun-grub-pa, a disciple of Tsong-kha-pa. He is posthumously known as the First Dalai Lama, because that title was not originated until 1578. For detail on the monastery and its founder, see Bell, p. 101-106; Tucci (TPS) p. 30, and B.A., p. 339.

32. See Loo, The Biography of the III Panchen Lama, Blo-bzang-dpal-ldan Ye-shes-dpal-bzang-po. p. 83.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

BA . . . . . G. N. Roerich, *Blue Annals of gZon-nu-dpal*.

- Das S. Ch. Das *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*.
- DTKN Personal communication : Sde-gzhung sprul-sku Kung da'bal-brang.
- LLP Personal communication : Blo-bzang Phun-tzog Lha-lung pa.
- Rd & Sn Richardson and Snellgrove. *A Cultural History of Tibet*.
- Shakabpa W. D. Shakabpa, Tibet, *A Political History*.
- Skt Sanskrit
- Swg Personal communication : Zur-khang sa-dbang-che mo Dbang-chen-dge-legs.
- TPS G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*.
- Waddell L. A. Waddell, *Lamaism*.
- Wylie T. V. Wylie, "The Geography of Tibet" according to the '*Dzami gling-rgyas-bshad*'.

# ON ATISA'S ITINERARY IN TIBET

—BIRESHWAR PRASAD SINGH

## I

According to Prof. Petech, Sum-pa-mkhan-po-Ye-ses-dPal-'byor, the Mongolian historiographer, completed his encyclopaedic work popularly known as *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzan* in A.D. 1748<sup>1</sup>. The full title of the work is '*Phags-yul-rgya-nag-chhen-po-bod-dan-sog-yul-du-dam-pa'i-chhos-byun-tshul, dPag-bsam-ljon-bzan-ses-bya-ba* (i.e. the history of Buddhism in India, Tibet, China and Mongolia). The *Re'u-mig*, i.e. chronological table, forms part of part III of the aforesaid work as edited by Dr. Lokesh Chandra from the collection of Dr. Raghuvira. Sum-pa was a prolific writer and hardly there is any subject which has been left from the domain of his writing. He wrote on history, grammar, mathematics, astrology, geography and almost all subjects concerning Buddhist religion<sup>2</sup>. Sum-pa was born in Wood-Ape year (A.D. 1704)<sup>3</sup> in the neighbourhood of dgon-luñ monastery of Amdo in ulterior Tibet. The monastery lies to the north east of Hsi-ning in the Ching-hai (Tsinghai or Koko Nor) province of China which is inhabited by Chinese, Tibetans and Mongours<sup>4</sup>. According to Sarat Das, Sum-pa died at the age of 73<sup>5</sup> which should be A.D. 1776 according to Tibetan way of calculating time. Tibetologists, however, are not in agreement about the date of his death<sup>6</sup>.

In *Re'u-mig*<sup>7</sup>, Sum-pa describes the principal events of Tibet year by year beginning from A.D. 1027 to A.D. 1746. He has divided the whole chronology according to Tibetan system into 12 cycles of 60 years each. An English translation of the portion of *Re'u-mig* containing the chronology and chronicle of Atiśa's visit to Tibet and his work there is given below.

## II

### FIRST CYCLE

Fire-Hare  
(A.D. 1027)

*Kalyāṇamitra* Po-to-ba-rin-chhen-gsal<sup>8</sup> was born. The twelfth *Kulikāditya* (Rigs-ldan-bchu-gñis-pa-ñi-ma) sat on the throne of Sambhala. Gyi-jo-lo-tsatshas (lo-tsa-ba) translated *Kālacakra* into Tibetan language. Since Buddha attained *Nirvāṇa* in the Fire-Hare year, this was the 361st year of *Adhidṛṣṭi*. According to some historians who believe that Buddha passed away in the year Iron-Dragon, this was the 408th year of *Adhidṛṣṭi*.

Earth-Dragon  
(A.D. 1028)

According to some Gyi-Jo translated the great commentary of *Kālacakra* into Tibetan in this year<sup>9</sup>.

Earth-Serpent  
(A.D. 1029)

Se-ston-kun-rigs, the spiritual teacher of the sister of Ma-chig-sha-ma-lcham-srin and disciple of 'Brog-mi-lo-tsatsha was born.

Iron-Horse (A.D. 1030)	Nil
Iron-Sheep (A.D. 1031)	Phu-chhuñ-ba-gshon-rgyan was born. According to <i>Deb Sñon-po</i> <sup>10</sup> ( <i>Blue Annals</i> ), Po-to-ba was also born during the year but the year Fire-Hare is certain <sup>11</sup> .
Water-Ape (A.D. 1032)	sTod-luñ-pa-rin-chhen-sñiñ-po, the pupil of sPyan-Sña-ba was born.
Water-Bird (A.D. 1033)	sPyan-sña-ba-tshul-khrim-'bar was born. <i>Deb Sñon-Po</i> ( <i>Blue Annals</i> ), however mentions that he was born in Earth-Tiger year.
Wood-Dog (A.D. 1034)	'Khon-dkon-mchog-rgyal-po of Sa-skya was born.
Wood-Hog (A.D. 1035)	bLa-chhen-po-dgoñs-pa-rab-gsal passed away from this world.
Fire-Mouse (A.D. 1036)	rÑog-chhos-rdo-rje, the pupil of Mar-pa was born.
Fire-Ox (A.D. 1037)	Nil
Earth-Tiger (A.D. 1038)	Nil
Earth-Hare (A.D. 1039)	According to doxology and travel accounts of Jo-bo (Atiśa) <sup>12</sup> , he reached mNa'-ri <sup>13</sup> .
Iron-Dragon (A.D. 1040)	Thos-pa-dga' (Mid-la-ras-pa) was born. Ba-ri-lo-tsa-rin-grags was born <sup>14</sup> . The monastery of Sha-lu <sup>15</sup> was founded. According to written travel accounts, Atiśa left Nepal. Nā-ro-pan-chhen died <sup>16</sup> .
Iron-Serpent (A.D. 1041)	According to some travel books Jo-bo-(Atiśa) reached Nepal.
Water-Horse (A.D. 1042)	sNe'u-zur-pa-ye-'bar, the principal disciple of dGon-pa-pa <sup>17</sup> was born. sMyug-rum-pa-mñar-sgon-brtson-'grus-'bar was born. Atiśa reached Mña'-ris.
Water-Sheep (A.D. 1043)	'Brog-mi-lo-tshas founded the monastery of Myug-luñ <sup>18</sup> .
Wood-Ape (A.D. 1044)	rMa-lo-tsha-Chhos-'bar, a native of La-Stod and famous as the male-partner of Ma-chig-sha-ma was born <sup>19</sup> . 'Brom paid his respects to Atiśa.
Wood-Bird (A.D. 1045)	Nil

Fire-Dog (A.D. 1046)	'Briñ-Ston of rGyal was born. Zla-grags-pa, son of IChe-dal-sgañ-Pa was born. Chhag-khri-mchhog met Atiśa.
Fire-Hog (A.D. 1047)	rGya - 'dul - 'dzin - dbañ - phyug - tshul - khri - 'bar was born. Jo-bo (Atiśa) had the honour of seeing Maitreya and Mañjuḥśa and having religious discussions with them at sÑe-thañ.
Earth-Mouse (A.D. 1048)	Nil
Earth-Ox (A.D. 1049)	Mu-dra-pa founded E-dgon <sup>20</sup> .
Iron-Tiger (A.D. 1050)	gÑal-chhos-'bar was born. 'Brom gave rich presents to Atiśa.
Iron-Sheep (A.D. 1051)	mKhas-grub thinks that Atiśa wrote his work on Buddhist chronology during the year and hence according to him Atiśa was born in Water-Horse year <sup>21</sup> .
Water-Dragon (A.D. 1052)	mDsed Dharma-bodhi ('Dseñ Dharma-bodhi), the pupil of Khams-pa-luñ-pa, Lab-sgron, Yu-mo and sBa-sgom of rÑin-ma sect of later spread (of Buddhism in Tibet) was born <sup>22</sup> .
Water-Serpent (A.D. 1053)	Was sDiñ-po-snubs-Chhos-'bar born?
Wood-Horse (A.D. 1054)	gLañ-ri-thañ-pa-rdo-rje-señge, the disciple of Po-to-ba was born <sup>23</sup> . bLa-ma-gsen, the pupil of Roñ-Zom-lo-tsa-ba-chhos-bzañ, was born. Atiśa attained <i>Parinirvāṇa</i> .

### III

#### Notes

1. *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzañ*, ed. Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi : 1959), Preface, p. XV., cf. *the Geography of Tibet* ed. and trans. Turrel V. Wylie (Roma : 1962), p. 196, note 763 wherein Wylie states that the date should be corrected to 1749.
2. A complete list of his works can be found in *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzañ*, Part III, edited by Lokesh Chandra.
3. S. C. Das incorrectly calculates Wood-Ape year as equivalent to A.D. 1702 (*JASB*, 1889, I.P. 37). For correct Christian equivalents of Tibetan years, see "Table of Tibetan Sexagenary Cycle" *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, Part I, pp. 666-67.
4. *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzañ*, preface, p. XIII.
5. *JASB*, 1889, I, p.39.
6. For example, S. Bira has given A. D. 1788 as the year of his death

- (*Acta Orientalia*, XVII, Part I, p. 77); Cf. Samten G. Karmay, *The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon* (London : 1972), p. 197 where he seems to doubt that Sum-pa died in A.D. 1776 as according to the colophon of a work composed by Sum-pa, it is mentioned that he composed the work in A.D. 1786.
7. We have used the Tibetan text of Re'u-mig as contained in *dPag-bsan-ljon-bzan* edited by Dr. Lokesh Chandra.
  8. Po-to-ba-rin-chhen-gsal.
  9. Here Sum-pa is obviously referring to Bu-ston (See E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism*, p. 217).
  10. *Deb-ther-snoñ-po*. Its full title is : *Bod-kyi-yul-du-chhos-dai-chhos-smra-ba-ji-ltar-byuñ-ba'i-rim-pa-deb-ther-snoñ-po* or the *Blue Annals, the Stages of the Appearance of the Doctrine and Preachers in the land of Tibet*. It was composed by 'Gos-lo-tsa-ba-gZon-nu-dpal (A.D. 1392—A.D. 1481). It is generally referred to by its abbreviated title *Deb-snoñ* or *Blue Annals* (*BA*, I, Intro., i).
  11. See *BA*, I, pp. 263 according to which Po-to-ba was born in Iron-Sheep year (A.D. 1031) and died at the age of 75 in the year Wood-Bird (A.D. 1105).
  12. Atiśa is popularly known in Tibet by the name of Jo-bo or Jo-bo-rje (literally the *Arya* or the noble lord).
  13. The year of Atiśa's reaching mÑa'-ri does not seem to be correct for Sum-pa himself later states that he reached mÑa'-ri in Water-Horse year i.e. A.D. 1042. 'Gos-lo-tsa-ba also holds that Atiśa reached mÑa'-ri in Water-Horse year i.e. A.D. 1042 (*BA*, I, p. 247; Cf. Alaka Chattopadhyaya, *Atiśa and Tibet*, Calcutta : 1967, pp. 307-11 mÑa'-ri is identical with mÑa'-ris which is the westernmost province of Tibet, also known as Ngari khorsum, consisting mainly of the districts of Purang Shangshung and Man-yul (*TED*, p. 362, Cf. *TEJ*, p. 132).
  14. Thos-pa-dga' (meaning delightful to hear) was the name given to Mid-la-ras-pa at the time of his birth by his father. Sum-pa seems to have borrowed the date from 'Gos-lo-tsa-ba who also assigns his death to Water-Hare year (A.D. 1123) and says that he died at the age of 84. Go-lo-tsa-ba has arrived at these dates after making firm calculations (*BA*, II pp. 427-436). In another source, the dates of his birth and death are given as Water-Dragon year (A.D. 1052) and Wood-Hare year (A.D. 1135) respectively. This source, however, also agrees that he died at the age of 84 (W. Y. Evans-Wenz, *Tibet's Great Yogi Milerapa*, London : 1969, pp. 52, 273).
  15. The monastery of Sha-lu was, according to Bu-ston, founded by Lhc-btsan-ses-rab'-byuñ-gnas. There were four primary and six secondary sections here (*Buston*, II, p. 206). The place was a few miles south-west of Tashi-lhun-po, the seat of the famous historian and chronologist Bu-ston Rin-po-che (*TED*, p. 184).

16. Nā-ro-pan-chhen (i.e. Naropa) was born in A.D. 956 (*JBRs* 1967, p. 125).
17. S. C. Das translates this passage : "Ye-śes-bhar of Sneju ssur, the eldest son of Dgon-pa was born". He thus describes the name wrongly and translated the Tibetan word *Bu-chen* to mean "eldest son" incorrectly here. The word means "Principal disciple" (Cf. *BA*, II, p. 311).
18. Cf. *BA*, I, p. 207.
19. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 41), however, translates the crucial text as follows : "Ma-chig sha-ma's husband was born. rMa Lo-chawa Chhos-'bar of La-slod was born." But in our opinion the text refers to only one person named rMa-lo-tsha-Chhos-'bar who was not the husband of Ma-chig-Sha-ma but her male partner.  
  
Ma-chig-Sha-ma was married at the age of 14 but being disgusted with her marriage, she feigned insanity and separated from her husband (*BA*, I, p. 221). rMa-lo-tsa-ba accepted Ma-chig-sha-ma as his Mudrā, i.e. female partner (*BA*, II, p. 219) after she left her husband.
20. Identical with the monastery of Bo-doñ which lies on the route from P'un-tsoḡs-gliñ to bKra-śes-lhun-po (*MBGHC*, p. 156n; Cf. Tucci, *TPS*, p. 205 wherein Tucci places Poton i.e. same as Bodon-e on road between Lha-rtse and bkra-śes-lhun-po i.e. Tashilhunpo in the neighbourhood of Zabs-dge-ldiñ).
21. Here S. C. Das does not give the complete translation of the passage. He simply mentions "Atiśa wrote his work on the Buddhist Chronology" (*JASB*, 1889, p. 41). Water-Horse year, the year of Atiśa's birth given here, is equivalent to A.D. 982 (vide M.P. Pelliot, "Table of Tibetan Sexagenary cycle". *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, part I, pp. 666-67).
22. S. C. Das translates the whole passage incorrectly (*JASB*, 1889, p. 41); Cf. *BA*, I, pp. 175-189 wherein names of the teachers of Dharma-bodhi were given.
23. gLañ-ri-thañ-pa-rdo-rje-señ-ge died in A.D. 1123 (*BA*, I, p. 270).

#### Abbreviations

<i>JASB</i>	— <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> , Calcutta.
<i>BA, I</i>	— <i>The Blue Annals</i> , Part One (Calcutta : 1949) by G. N. Roerich.
<i>BA, II</i>	— <i>The Blue Annals</i> , Part Two (Calcutta : 1953) by G. N. Roerich.
<i>TED</i>	— <i>A Tibetan English Dictionary</i> (Delhi : Patna : Varanasi, 1970) by S. C. Das.
<i>TEJ</i>	— <i>A Tibetan English Dictionary</i> (London : 1968) by H. A. Jaschke.
<i>JBRs</i>	— <i>The Journal of Bihar Research Society</i> , Patna.
<i>TPS</i>	— <i>Tibetan Painted Scrolls</i> by G. Tucci.
<i>MBGHC</i>	— <i>mKhyen-brtse's Guide To The Holy Places of Central Tibet</i> (Rome : 1958) by A. Ferrari and Luciano Petech.

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# INDIA AND TIBET

## —Geographical Considerations—

—NIRMAL C. SINHA

### I

No two scholars or no two explorers would agree about the precise territorial limits of Tibet. This would be as much true in 1900-07 when both Britain and Russia were determined to keep the other power out of Tibet as of 1951-54 when China finally incorporated Tibet into the fold of the Great Han Motherland and made considerable changes in the eastern and northern parts of what was once Tibet. Besides no definition of Tibet could be satisfactory both for the anthropologist and the philologist.

For Tibet in the first half of this century a British military report of 1910 may be quoted: "Tibet lies in the heart of the Asiatic Continent, and extends roughly from the 79th to the 103rd degree of east longitude, and from the 28th to the 37th degree of north latitude. It is bounded on the north and east by the Chinese provinces of Turkistan, Mongolia, Kan-su, Ssu-chuan, and Yunnan; and on the south and west by the British territories or dependencies of Assam, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, British Garhwal, Tehri Garhwal, Bashahr, Kangra, and Kashmir. It will thus be seen that Great Britain and China are the only two countries whose territories are coterminous with those of Tibet."

"The actual boundaries of Tibet, especially to the north and east, are ill-defined and frequently non-existent. It is therefore difficult to estimate the area of the country with any exactitude, but, including all the country south of the Altyn Tagh and Nan Shan mountains, it may be taken as some 600,000 square miles, and may be said to approximate to the areas of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Bombay, put together". [The Indian provinces named here were as in 1910.]

In a well-known Tibetan geographical work composed in 1820 by a Mongol scholar, Bla-ma Btsan-po, occurs the following description of Tibet.

"Figuring roughly north and north east of the country of India or bordering on the north from Bhangga-la is the country of Tibet..... The country of Tibet is the region of Himavat which is the land converted by Avalokitesvara. That country (Himavat) is much higher than the other surrounding countries. It is a region, where both in summer and winter, the heat and cold are minimized, and the fear of famine, beasts of prey, poisonous serpents, poisonous insects, heat and cold are not great.

"(Besides) the snow-mountains and other mountains there are great lakes of clear cool sparkling water in many sections of the country. And various rivers and tributaries, which possess the eight qualities of water .....

This article presents the author's lecture at Calcutta University on 19 July 1977. A synopsis of the author's three lectures entitled "India and Tibet—a study in inter-dependence" is appended at the end.

“There are a great many forests, grassy regions, and alpine meadows there, and although the arable fields and summer pastures are not large in size, there are no desert plains or saline regions”.

Several points in the above description may be noticed. Tibet is located as India's neighbour; India as the Land of Enlightenment is not only the most coveted neighbour but forms also Tibet's high way to the Mahasindhu. Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is, in Tibetan legend, credited with having begotten the man in Tibet, and also credited with converting Tibet into Dharma through incarnations beginning with King Srongtsen Gampo. Later when the Tibetan monarchy collapsed incarnations of Avalokitesvara came to rule Tibet; these incarnations are the Dalai Lamas of Tibet.

The references to temperate climate, grassy regions, arable fields and absence of famine do reflect facts of a highland with sparse population, and significantly enough there is little reference to mines and minerals, which were not unknown. Besides for a Mongolian, with experience of cold in Mongolia and north China and of heat in north India, climate of Tibet was an ideal one. More important than mines and minerals were the food crops: barley, wheat, buck wheat, maize, millet, oats, peas and even rice. Snow mountains, great lakes and mighty rivers indeed made Tibet a happy land. An ancient hymn describes Tibet as “The centre of snow mountains; the source of great rivers: a lofty country and a pure land”.

## II

As the source of great rivers, Tibet, more than any other country, has shaped the history of Asia; it will be fair to describe both India and China as gifts par excellence of the rivers of Tibet. Appropriately much of this paper on ‘Geographical Considerations’ may be devoted to the rivers of Tibet. These are : the Indus, the Sutlej, the Gogra or Karnali—an affluent of the Ganges, the Tsang-po or Brahmaputra, the Hwang Ho or Yellow River, the Yangtse Kiang, the Mekong and the Salween. If the Himalayan and Trans-Himalayan affluents of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, the eastern Tibetan affluents of the Yangtse Kiang, and the inland rivers of the Kun Lun and the Chang Thang are added, Tibet may be counted as the biggest and the most potent hydrographic entity in Asia. The major rivers may be described here. What are the major rivers of Tibet?

In Tibetan imagery, built upon ancient Buddhist lore, the major rivers of Tibet are those that originated in the Kailas-Manassarovar area and flowed over the Himalayas through the Aryabhumi into the high seas. Traditionally four rivers of India are thus associated with snow cliffs or glacial cones which once looked like animal heads from distance. There are several versions of these ‘animal heads’ and the streams pouring out of the ‘animal mouths’. The Lhasa version may be presented here. The Tachok Khabab (Falls from the Horse's Mouth) flows eastward, joins the Kyichu River south of Lhasa—and ultimately becomes the Brahmaputra in Assam and Bengal. The Langchen Khabab (Falls from the Elephant's Mouth) flows southward to become the Sutlej in the Punjab. The Mapcha Khabab (Falls from the Peacock's Mouth) flows south west and becomes the holy Ganga when it reaches Hardwar. The Sengye Khabab (Falls from the Lion's Mouth) flows west and becomes Sindhu in Kashmir, and its estuary is called Sindh.

Tibetan theory about the Ganges originating in the catchment of Kailas-Mansarovar is not merely based on the Sanskrit *Abhidharmakosha* or earlier Pali records. Even as late as the second half of the eighteenth century Tibetan pilgrims and merchants are known to have seen the 'animal head' out of which streamed forth the Ganga. Cho-je Pa-trul and Lama Tsanpo record from hearsay as in ancient tradition as well as from knowledge of pilgrims and other on-the-spot observers. While orthodox Hindus, in both north and south India, would locate this lost source of the Ganges to a sub-terranean glacier connecting with Gangotri glacier, more modern minds would straightway reject the story of the Tibetan origins of the Ganges as a myth. As one humbly claiming to know both the soil and the soul of Tibet, this author would only refer to the peculiarities of the Roof of the World. In Tibet mountains have been rising; depressions have been sinking; lakes, rivers and glaciers have been shifting—and all these even in the historic past within one millennium.

Glacial icefields on the south of the Kailas Mountains are known to have changed very much in dimensions and directions; the great swamp near Lhasa in the mid-17th century provides today the hard landing ground for the heaviest jets. It is thus no wonder that the ancient source of the Ganges is lost today due to diverse and simultaneous processes of dessication, erosion, winds and tectonics.

Under compulsion of events the Hindu pilgrims for Jvalamukhi had to set up a temple in Kangra; likewise a Mount Kailas and a Lake Manas had to be found on the southern slopes of the Himalayas; Sankaracharya is known to have sanctified the Badrinath Temple in place of that near Tholing on the northern slopes of the Himalayas. So when a relentless Nature dried up or buried the first fountain head, the Hindus found the Gangotri as equally hazardous spot for pilgrimage.

It is relevant to point out that unlike Sindhu, Satadru and Brahmaputra, the term Ganga is not of pure or true Indic origin. The word is not known in Vedic period and modern scholars have justifiably traced it to Tibeto-Burman diction. In Tibetan language the river is celebrated as Ganga, and it is derived from terms Gangri (Snow mountain) and Bumo (Daughter). That perhaps settles the issue in favour of Ganga's Tibetan origins.

A major river, in Tibetan tradition, is not necessarily a mighty river as understood in modern terms. What makes a river major in Tibet is its source and the sacred fountain head for major rivers is Kailas-Mansarovar. Thus in ancient times when the Oxus and the Sita rivers—or their principal affluents—streamed out of the Kailas range, these came to be ranked as major rivers. The rivers, Hwang Ho and Yangtse Kiang or Mekong and Salween, rising in the eastern highlands were no doubt as sacred as any rivers in Tibet but did never attain the high sanctity of rivers like the Ganga, the Sindhu or the Brahmaputra.

As if annoyed with this treatment, the mighty rivers—Hwang Ho, Yangtse Kiang, Mekong and Salween—are pushing back their sources ever further westward and this process has been noticed by the Tibetans and Baba elements in eastern Tibet during the last one hundred years or a little more.

In India—till the neighbours on the west and the east claimed share

over the waters of the Sindhu, the Ganga and the Brahmaputra—there was no interest in the origins of the rivers; in China from the time of Emperor Chien Lung a systematic probe into the headwaters of the Hwang Ho and Yangtse Kiang has been carried out on a national scale. The Han colonial pressure in eastern Tibet, both in the north and south, has been a movement of rice-eating population crowding along the river banks. Thus by the second quarter of the twentieth century the Kokonor region, where the present Dalai Lama was born (1935), was a Han dominated area where the only language taught in the schools was Chinese.

With the events of 1950-51 when the People's Republic of China completed the occupation of the entire highlands stretching from 100° degree to 79° degree east longitude, Chinese scientists made a thorough probe into hydrography of what they called the Tibet Region of China and arrived at the following conclusions.

"In the course of the centuries the immense energy of the rivers in Tibet has gone to waste. Only in a few places have the Tibetans adapted it for the turning of millstones powered by water wheels. Possessing huge reserves of power, the Tibetan rivers in the very near future, as the economy is developed in the Chinese People's Republic, including development in Tibet itself, can be used for the production of electric power. A scientific expedition conducting research in Tibet in 1951-53 searched out and estimated the available reserves of hydro-electric power. The Tsangpo attracted the special attention of the researchers, it being in the basin of this river that the economic life of Tibet is concentrated. According to preliminary calculations, the Tsangpo in its middle and lower course can produce 62 million kilowatt hours of electric power. The best prospects of the Tsangpo are two sectors where the river flows in narrows and where it carries large volumes of water and has its maximum energy. The first sector—Yuetszyuy—is situated somewhat to the west of the city of Chushul (Tsyuyshuy). The discharge of water at low water is here equal to 57.5 cubic meters per second. For a distance of 20 kilometers the slope of the river is almost 90 meters. The Tsangpo possesses still greater power; on an average the discharge is 130 cubic meters per second and the slope in a distance of 40 kilometers is 280 meters. Above these sectors are situated broad sections of valley which can be utilized perfectly as natural reservoirs. Further to the east at the bend of the Tsangpo (the Bomi Region) conditions for the construction of a hydro-electric station are still more favourable since the climate becomes moister, more moderate and warmer, the velocity of flow and the level of the water in the river become more stable. For the development of electric power in Tibet the upper courses of the Salween, Mekong and Yangtse Rivers will also take on significance. They are separated by narrow water divides where there are eight suitable sites, which together with one tributary, the Botuy-Tszanbu, possess according to preliminary data, a total complex of power of 1,070,460 horsepower. Three sites have a power potential between 30,000-50,000 horsepower, three between 70,000-100,000 horsepower, one—130,000 horsepower, one 360,000 horsepower and the Botuy-Tszanbu has 15 suitable sites with a total power of 160,000 horsepower".

The above estimate represents the minimum expectations as the development projects and river training projects during the last twenty years have yielded further potentials. The point for interest in any discussion about

“India and Tibet” is simply this: if the course of Tsangpo (as Brahmaputra is called in Tibet), particularly through the sharp bends and steep cataracts in Kongbo, is in the hands of scientists and technologists hostile to India the prospects for India will be indeed gloomy.

### III

A grateful imagination of the ancient peoples in the Indo-Gangetic plains had fixed the fountain head of all the gifts of good living in Mount Sumeru in far north. Chinese Buddhist cosmography would locate Mount Sumeru somewhere along the Kun Lun Mountains. Tibetan tradition would make a more precise identification viz Mount Kailas. Scholars and scientists of modern India should wake up to the historical significance of the mythical mountain.

Scholars and scientists of modern India should also note with gratitude that while, in the medieval times and till the British conquest, our intelligentsia had but vague notions of Indianhood or Indianness, Tibetan intelligentsia—monks and scholars—merchants and officials—had a firm sense of India as a great country and as one country. And this was shared by even the illiterate peasants and nomads.

Two countries loomed large in the imagination of all Tibetans. These were China and India, both great in extent, width or size: rgya or Gya. China was designated Gyanag (rgya-nag), that is, a great country where people dressed in black; India was designated Gyagar (rgya-gar), that is, a great country where people dressed in white and where people's food was mostly white, that is, rice, sugar and vegetarian dishes.

An honorific description for India was Phagyul ('phags-yul), that is, Aryadesha, Noble Land or Land of Enlightenment. Another description, Phagthung ('phags-'khrungs) or Birthplace of the Holy Ones, stretches this Land of Enlightenment much beyond Lumbini, Bodhgaya, Varanasi and Kusinagara and covers the entire sub-continent from Kashmira to Kanchipuram and from Gandhara to Kamarupa.

For Buddhas and Bodhisattvas had blessed all parts of Jamvudvipa. Buddha Sakyamuni was born in Kapilavastu; Asoka was born in Magadha, Kanishka ruled in Kashmir and Punjab; Nagarjuna came from Andhrapradesha; Aryadeva came from Simhala; Asanga and Vasubandhu were natives of Purushapura; Dignaga was from Kanchipuram; Dharmakirti was born in Tirumallapuram; Guru Padmasambhava, born in Suvastu, had visited the Kamarupa Lohit regions; the first monastery of Tibet, Samye or Achintya, was named after the Ajanta in Maharashtra. These and hundred other facts, a modern Indian could learn in the monasteries of Tibet as this author did two decades ago. It was also learned that Gyagar Key (rgya-gar-skad) or the Language of India was Sanskrit.

Earthquakes are frequent in Tibet and Tibetans live with earthquakes but would associate unusual occurrences with tragedies at home. An intense earthquake occurred in Lhasa on 15 August 1947; no less than 40 individual shocks were heard and houses rocked and rattled. That was Tibet's protest against the disruption of the age old unity of the Land of Enlightenment.

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## INDIA AND TIBET

### —A STUDY IN INTERDEPENDENCE—

### SYNOPSIS

The theme will be presented in three lectures under the captions: (1) India and Tibet—Geographical Considerations; (2) India and Tibet—Historical Considerations; and (3) India and Tibet—Material Considerations.

The first lecture presents the theme of India and Tibet being a geographical unit, a unit of physical interdependence; India being more at the receiving end than Tibet. The second lecture presents the fact of India and Tibet in the past being in the same world of cultural, moral and spiritual values; Tibet being more at the receiving end than India. The third and concluding lecture contends that neither India nor Tibet could afford to have a hostile, indifferent or non-cooperative neighbour. Both for economic considerations and security reasons, Tibet and India have to cultivate active mutual aid in the race for survival.

The expressions India and Tibet in these three lectures would generally refer to the two geographical entities as known till the middle of this century. For India the terminal date is 1947 and for Tibet the terminal date is 1951. India and Tibet are, in these lectures, by and large, terms of human and cultural geography and either expression (India or Tibet) stands more for the soul of a people than for the soil of a country. The three lectures in totality, however, trace the inter-relationship between the matter and the spirit.

The pioneer scholars and leading authorities whose works are being drawn upon are listed at the end of each lecture. Specific and detailed references to their works and publications are not made for the simple reason that the author has weighed fully the data provided by these pioneers and authorities with his own findings and therefore this author takes full responsibility for the facts stated and the opinions expressed in these three lectures. This responsibility is entirely personal or individual on the part of this author and no office or institution with which this author is or was ever connected should in any way be associated with the facts and opinions expressed in these lectures. NCS 19.7.77

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## NOTES & TOPICS

### IN MEMORIAM

Ven Rigzing Lharipa whose exquisite workmanship decorates the premises of the Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology passed away in April last. Mr. Motichand Pradhan, a Founder Member of this Institute, passed away in May last. Obituary notices will be published in the next number of this *Bulletin*.

Professor Nalinaksha Dutt passed away in November 1973. It is regretted that no notice of this was made in the *Bulletin*. A notice is made now.

### PROFESSOR NALINAKSHA DUTT

Born on 4 December 1893 Nalinaksha Dutt passed away on 27 November 1973, that is, a week prior to his 80th birth anniversary. His was a life full of years and full of honours.

As an undergraduate student (Chittagong College and Presidency College: Bengal) young Nalinaksha Dutt had changed his interest from Mathematics and Physics to Pali and Sanskrit and when he graduated M.A. with a First Class First his talents were noticed by educationists like Sir Asutosh Mukherjee and specialist scholars like Mahamahopadhyaya Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan. Nalinaksha Dutt had taken a post in Judson College, Rangoon for teaching Pali and Sanskrit there. Asutosh Mukherjee persuaded him to return to Calcutta University and ordered relaxation of the Lecturer's routine to enable Dutt to pursue his studies in Buddhism. Dutt, now introduced to Sarat Chandra Das and Kazi Dawa Samdup, delved deeper into Sanskrit Buddhism since most of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature could be read in Tibetan translation only.

In appreciation of Dutt's researches in both the Schools of Buddhism, Calcutta University awarded him the Premchand Roychand Scholarship and the Doctor's degree. When Dutt sought admission to London School of Oriental Studies for D. Litt.—without the preliminary Ph.D.—he was readily admitted. The strict and honest British Orientalists also admitted that at the moment there was no British scholar equally wellread in both Pali and Sanskrit Buddhism and nominated the Belgian scholar Professor Louis de La Valle Poussin to be Dutt's guide. Dutt had to reside in Brussels for a good part of his time to sit with La Valle Poussin. A major part of Dutt's dissertation for D. Litt. (London) came out in 1930 as *Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism and its Relation to Hinayana*. This was a monumental work in the sense that the book set right the record of split in Buddhism—in both historical and philosophical sequence.

In preparing this book, *Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism*, Dutt had to defend his own readings and conclusions before a good number of Western scholars: R. L. Turner, L. D. Barnett, E. D. Ross, E. J. Thomas, Max Walleser, La Vallée Poussin and Th. Stcherbatsky. The last two, the greatest Western Buddhist scholars of the day, unreservedly admitted that Nalinaksha Dutt had rectified much of the Western notions about Eastern concepts and that they had profited from the debates with Dutt.

Nalinaksha Dutt, long before he held the Professorship at Calcutta University, was known as the leading Indian scholar in Buddhism. Among Dutt's later publications were *The Gilgit Manuscripts* (1939-59), *Pañcaviṃśati Prajñāpāramitā* (1934) and *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka* (1952). The value of these works is well-known to students and scholars of Buddhism. A note about *The Gilgit Manuscripts* may be made here. When Western scholars recommended by Sir Aurel Stein were pressing on the Kashmir Darbar for deciphering and editing the Manuscripts, the Dewan of Kashmir (Sir Gopalaswamy Aiyangar) located Nalinaksha Dutt as the most competent for this assignment.

Dutt held many offices with distinction. He was a Fellow of the Asiatic Society, was its Vice-President for several terms and was its President for a term. He was Senior Vice-President of the Mahabodhi Society for many years. He was Vice-President of this Institute from 1959 till 1973.

The Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology owes much to Professor Nalinaksha Dutt. He was not only the principal adviser and guide about our publications, he was an active contributor to *Bulletin of Tibetology*. While he was an MP (Rajya Sabha) he most warmly lent his support to our applications to the Government of India for grants. He is known to have spoken to the then Prime Minister (Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru) and the then Education Minister (Professor Humayun Kabir) recommending our research and publication programmes.

I had known him first while a student at Calcutta University and later more intimately when I took up studies on Inner Asia and Northern Buddhism. It was indeed a proud privilege to sit at the feet of Professor Nalinaksha Dutt and read the story of Dharma in India and abroad.

NIRMAL C. SINHA

## BOOK REVIEWS

L. AUSTINE WADDELL : *Lhasa and its Mysteries* XXII & 530 pp. London : John Murray 1905. Reprint (photo-mechanic) 1975. Delhi : Sanskaran Prakashak 1975. Rs. 180/\$36.

Lt. Col. L. A. Waddell of the Indian Medical Service was already a specialist scholar in the language and religion of Tibet when he accompanied the British Expedition of 1903-4. He had made painstaking studies of Buddhism in Burma, Nepal and Himalayas and was not undeservedly reputed as an authority on Buddhism. His abilities as an antiquarian and linguist notwithstanding, Waddell's attitude to Buddhism was unsympathetic and to Tibetan Buddhism it was openly hostile. This hostility was sharpened when the Dalai Lama XIII and his Lama advisers refused the British entry into Tibet. The book which Waddell wrote on return from Tibet, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, has ever remained a book of denigration of Tibet: culture, religion, society and people—nothing could escape from the hostile pen of the bigoted scholar. The book today constitutes handy ammunition in the hands of Tibet's critics even though much of what Waddell wrote on religion and culture was later found by objective observers and sympathetic scholars as grossly misinformed and excessively exaggerated.

In the pages of the same book the author even unwittingly contradicts himself. Ill-equipped Tibetans' resistance against British army at Phala and Gyantse evokes the author's unstinted praise.

"... The determination, resource, and bravery shown by the Tibetans in this fight was no surprise to those who had seen them at the attack on our post, and should dissipate, once for all, the absurd delusion that the Tibetans cannot fight. Their daring is superb. Although generally clumsily armed with antiquated weapons, they have some modern firearms and know how to use them. They have little to learn in the matter of fighting behind defences and taking advantage of cover, and they know how to charge. No finer feat of personal bravery could be conceived than the charge made by a party of 15 warriors, mounted on black mules with a party of 40 infantry, who burst out from the fort in a storm of bullets which slew them almost to a man, to carry aid to their comrades at Phala, whom they thought too hardly pressed."

"The bravery of the Tibetans was now beyond dispute. Here they courageously stood their ground when our shrapnels were bursting over them, and pluckily returned shot after shot to our guns for hours, notwithstanding that few of their shots carried far, whilst our shells were seen to be inflicting on them much loss. They have a good eye to positions, and are almost perfect at fighting behind defences, and would make excellent soldiers if trained and led by competent officers."

An anticlimax to the author's anathema for Lamas is provided by his own record of his interview with the Regent, Gaden Ti Rimpoche.

"Talking of the religion of the country, he had heard, he said, of the interest I took in his creed. Then looking fixedly at me for a moment, he leaned forward across the table with a searching gaze, and asked slowly: "Are you a Buddhist, or are you not?" I replied that I was not, but, as Christians, we had very much in common with the teachings of Buddha. He enquired eagerly: "Is Buddha mentioned in your Christian Scriptures?" to which I had to reply in the negative. But I said he would see how similar in many ways were the two creeds when I told him that the mainspring of Christ's doctrine was "peace and goodwill to men", as was Buddha's; that Christ had said, "Love your enemies, and do good as yourself," "Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you, and despitefully use you and persecute you," and that our Christian commandments were of exactly the same number as Buddha's decalogue, and all of them were couched like his in the negative form—"thou shall not" do so and so—and that many of them were identical in their substance."

"On this he exclaimed bitterly, smarting under the defeat inflicted on his country by our troops: "The English have no religion at all!" And on my enquiring why he thought so, he replied deliberately and emphatically: "Because I know it! Because I see it for myself in the faces and actions of your people! They all have hard hearts, and are specially trained to take life and to fight like very giant Titans who war even against the Gods!" I was bound to admit that a military expedition was an inconvenient object-lesson in practical Christianity, and urged that it was not a fair test, as war stirred up the worst passions in men's hearts; and after all we did not want the war, that it was his people who had always fired the first shot; besides, they too had trained their men as well as they could to take life in war. "It is not only your military, but all your people, even those who are not military; you are all the same, except [here he added somewhat apologetically, probably out of deference to my feelings] you doctors, of whose humane work I have heard: but all the others are utterly devoid of religion!" "

"I assured him that the people of England spend enormous sums of money on religion, and everywhere have built beautiful churches, several hundreds of which are much finer and more costly than any temple in Tibet, and that the commentaries and other books on our religion would fill enormous libraries, many times larger than those of the Tibetan monasteries, and that their priests were real ecclesiastics, preaching to and teaching the people, unlike the Lamas, who never teach the people but keep all their education within their order, and are therefore not ecclesiastics. Hereupon he answered with a fine scorn: "But what is the good of all these buildings, and all these books and teachings, if the people do not read them, or, in any case, do not practise their maxims?" As he was so hopelessly biassed, I could only reply that I hoped he would judge us more generously when he knew us better, and that he might discover that, because of our superior strength in war, we could now afford to exercise the Christian principle of showing mercy to the weaker."

"On hearing that Buddha was not mentioned by name in our Scriptures, he did not evince a great desire to know more about other salient points of Christianity, but seemed interested in hearing that one great point of difference was, that man was to be saved, not by his own merits, but by the saving grace of God, his sins being atoned for by the sacrifice made by Christ. This was

quite foreign to all his conceptions, as he had been educated in the strict traditions of Buddhism with its ethical doctrine of retribution or karma, which teaches that each soul has to work out its own salvation, and to counterbalance by a corresponding number of good deeds all his accumulated misdeeds before the latter are forgiven by the inexorable "Judge of the Dead." "

No honest reader can go wrong far with this book if he would care to read another classic on Tibet, *Peaks and Lamas* by Marco Pallis, reviewed below. Waddell's book remains a compulsory reading for many reasons. *Lhasa and its Mysteries* was the first publication in any European language to present a fairly comprehensive account of Lhasa and Central Tibet. Fairly accurate maps and plans numbering 8, and 16 appendices covering Tibetan Year Cycles, Population, Climate and Meteorology, Geology : Mines and Metals, Fertility and Salinity of Soil, Fauna of Central and South Western Tibet, Trade : Imports and Exports besides information about political history and the progress of the British expedition make *Lhasa and its Mysteries* a source-book of highest value. More than a hundred photographs are of great archival interest.

Gaden Ti Rimpoche, Shata Shape, Bhutan Maharaja (Tongsa Penlop), Nepal Consul in Lhasa and members of the British expedition are found here in authentic pictures. No careful reader can miss here the only 'non-martial' element in the Younghusband Expedition : the Bengalee Babu (Mr Mitra).

Photo-mechanic reproduction of such a valuable book could have been much better elsewhere in India.

NIRMAL C. SINHA

MARCO PALLIS : *Peaks and Lamas*, XVII & 433 pp. London : The Woburn Press 1974. £ 6.50 [Originally published in 1939, this is a revised and enlarged edition].

The author, Marco Pallis, is a many splendoured personality. Born of Greek parents in England, the author is wellgrounded in the Classical learning as understood in Europe and began as a historical scholar. Early in his youth he answered the call of mountain. He is a distinguished mountaineer and is equally distinguished in performing early music. He possesses deep on-the-spot knowledge of the Himalayas and of Central Tibet. With a mastery of the language, he could live and converse with the Lamas without any interpreters and was at home in the monasteries. Mysticism, eastern and western, finds expression in the author's writings. High scholarship and deep understanding make *Peaks and Lamas* a work of abiding value to both scholars and pilgrims in search of truth.

This considerably revised edition is substantially supplemented with four Appendixes: Shamanistic Elements in Tibetan Religion, Landed Estates in Tibet prior to 1950, The Criminal Law in Tibet, and The Arts of Tibet. With solid data acquired through sojourns Marco Pallis gives an authentic account of culture and society in traditional Tibet. The author's magnificent photographs, of landscapes and architectural wonders, are here in excellent reproductions. The layout and get up of the book are in unison with the grandeur of the theme. The price, £ 6.50 UK, is not high for such a superb production.

The following extracts on the relationship between different types of Buddhism and between Buddhism and Hinduism will bear out this reviewer's finding that high scholarship and deep sympathy inform, and thrive in, the pages of *Peaks and Lamas*.

"In seeking to determine which is the principle of unity animating the Tibetan civilization one must beware of being satisfied with an easy answer, such as saying that this principle is no other than the Buddhist doctrine itself; for though this statement is correct as far as it goes, it lacks precision, failing as it does to indicate which one, out of a whole body of ideas comprised within the one doctrinal plan, has been recipient of that greater emphasis required for the moulding of an entire traditional structure according to a particular form, and, as it were, in its image. Though one knows that Buddhism, by imposing certain fundamental concepts, has become the rule of life over very wide areas extending from Ceylon to Japan, and that this has produced a certain community of outlook among all the peoples that have come within the Buddhist orbit, one cannot fail to recognize that in this general whole certain clearly distinguishable forms of civilization are to be found, the intellectual frontiers of which are in no wise determined by the Buddhist influence. The common presence of Buddhism does not, for instance, warrant one's placing the Chinese and Tibetan civilizations under one heading, even though they are next-door neighbours; and if Buddhism is admittedly a factor common to both, this fact has been insufficient to produce any very marked likeness in the two points of view, let alone identity.

"The chief difference between them lies in the fact that whereas in Tibet the Buddhist tradition is everything, having completely replaced its Bon-po predecessor, in China Buddhism was something in the nature of a graft, admittedly a most timely and successful one, upon a civilization of which the pattern, in all essentials, had been already set before the arrival of the foreign influences. Since nothing in the existing Chinese form was found to be actually incompatible with the Buddhist point of view, the latest arrival from India found no difficulty in taking its place in the traditional life of the Far East on equal terms with its two other great constituents, namely Taoism, representative of an intellectuality so pure as to be adapted for the use of an exceptionally qualified "elite" only, and Confucianism, which is not, as is commonly supposed, a separate creation, still less a "religion", but which corresponds to that side of the Chinese tradition in which all without exception are able to participate, concerning itself as it does with social institutions and human relationships in general—the later being given expression especially through its characteristic concepts of the race, the family, and the family ancestors. It might also be mentioned, in passing, that in the course of time Buddhism and Taoism engaged in many intellectual exchanges, some of which gave rise to that school, so rich in spiritual initiative, that is commonly known in the West under its Japanese name Zen.

"Similar considerations would have applied in India during the centuries when Hinduism and Buddhism coexisted there as separate currents of tradition: both continued to belong to the same civilization, the form of which had been laid down, under purely Hindu inspiration, at a time long anterior to the specific formulation of the Buddhist teachings. In any case, both in virtue of its origin and by the nature of its thought, Buddhism remains an Indian doctrine, having derived most of the basic conceptions, if not all, from

the common root-stock of the Hindu metaphysic. It is not on that score that Buddhism can be called original; nor indeed, does it put forward any such claim, since the Buddha Himself always was at pains to repudiate, as a monstrous heresy, any suggestion that He had come to teach something new in the matter of doctrine; it is only modern Western writers, themselves imbued with individualistic prejudices, who have been determined at all costs to discover in Buddhism a radical innovation amounting to a revolt against the traditional spirit, and in the Buddha an early revolutionary working on Reformation lines.

“Where Buddhism was highly original, however, was in respect of its methods, affecting both the way of expounding the principles and the form of the spiritual disciplines that went with that knowledge. Indeed, but for a large measure of originality in the manner of restating the eternal truths the Buddhist apostles would have been unable to carry out their appointed task of adapting the Indian metaphysic so as to render it eventually assimilable by non-Indian peoples, especially by the yellow races, whose mentality was so very different from that of the Indians. This task once accomplished, however, Indian Buddhism had little further cause to exist as a separate form and gradually disappeared, gently subsiding back into that Hinduism whence it had sprung and from which, despite controversies on the surface, it had, at heart, never been entirely severed.

“The Tibetan branch was one of the latest offshoots from the main stem of Buddhism, having only come into being during the seventh and eighth centuries after Christ, chiefly through the work of Indian monks from Bengal and Kashmir. While accepting all the basic ideas taught by the Buddha, which it continued to share with all the other peoples of similar spiritual allegiance, Tibet early developed certain clearly marked features of its own, to the point of giving rise to a distinct form of civilization, comparable, on every count, with the other principal traditional forms of the world. This is possibly due in part to the incorporation of such features of the previous Bon-po tradition as could be usefully readapted; it was on the face of it unlikely, however, that any element specific to a form actually in process of replacement by another would retain sufficient intrinsic vitality to provide a whole civilization with its principle of unity, in the sense given to that term at the beginning of this chapter—that is to say, with an idea both distinct and powerful enough to create and nourish its own forms, conferring on them the means for perpetuating their own character through long ages and of impressing it firmly and unmistakably upon the face of things and upon the thoughts of men.

“In fact, the idea that enjoys pride of place in the Tibetan tradition is one that figures in the Buddhist doctrine as originally introduced from India. This presiding idea, colouring the outlook of sage and simple peasant alike (as we were repeatedly enabled to observe during our journeys), is the conception of Bodhisattvahood, the state of the fully awakened being who, though under no further constraint by that Law of Causality which he has transcended, yet freely continues to espouse the vicissitudes of the Round of Existence in virtue of his Self-identification with all the creatures still involved in egocentric delusion and consequent suffering. Such an attitude must not, however, be confused with a kind of sentimental “altruism” in the social sense; indeed, a moment’s reflection will show that he who has finally been set free from the false notion of a permanent “I”, to be individually experienced, is at the same

time automatically rid of its correlative notion of "other". The Bodhisattva behaves as he does precisely because, for him, any kind of conceptual polarization is inoperative, because, to his singleness of eye, all contrasted pairs such as the Round and Nirvana, Bondage and Deliverance, Material Substance and Spirit, together with all the subsidiary oppositions born of such contrasts, are alike resolved in the unity—or, as the Tibetans would say, in the "two-lessness"—of That which he himself realizes as the All-Principle (Tibetan Kun-ji), the eternal Cause and ground of all phenomenal existence."

NIRMAL C. SINHA

RECHUNG RINPOCHE JAMPAL KUNZANG : *Tibetan Medicine illustrated in original texts* VII & 340 pp. London : Wellcome Institute of History of Medicine 1973. £ 6 [Berkeley : California Paperback 1976. \$6.95]

Gautama the Buddha was appropriately apotheosized as Bhaishajyaguru (Sman-gyi-bla or Sman-bla in Tibetan), that is, Master of Medicine: 'Medicine Buddha' is a poor construction in English and hardly conveys the meaning of the epithet Bhaishajyaguru or Sman-bla. In diagnosing the malady of sufferings which afflicts all animate or sentient beings, Buddha spoke of (i) *roga* or *dukha*, (ii) *roga hetu* or *dukha hetu*, (iii) *ārogya* or *dukha nirodha* (*nirvāṇa*), and (iv) *bhaishajya* or *mārga* (*ashtamārga*). Buddha's Four Truths were based on ancient truths preserved and pursued by saints and seers who specialised both in medicine and meditation. The monks and scholars who followed the Path of Buddha took a special interest in developing further the 'science of healing' and during the Kushana period Ayurveda along with Dharma from India travelled into Inner Asia. In later time in Tibet (and Mongolia) Indian medicinal literature was intensively studied and progressed with the learning of Tibetan (and Mongol) scholars. Tibetan (and Mongol) literature preserves for posterity a treasure house of knowledge on medicine and surgery, pharmacology and chemistry, botany and zoology. Russian, German and British scholars have been for several decades probing into this treasure house.

The Wellcome Foundation has sponsored this publication and deserves our thanks. The author, Rechung Rinpoche—an incarnation of the famous monk-scholar who presided over the Rechung monastery in the twelfth century of Christian era and who narrated the story of the great mystic poet Milarepa—is that rare combination of a Tibetan scholar who has gone through a full course of traditional schooling in Lhasa, who took a special course on medicine in Mentsikhang, and who can render Tibetan idiom and imagery into English. He seeks to present a history of Tibetan medicine around the figure of the Great Yuthok (786-911 AD), the reputed founder of Tibetan medicine. A good number of chapters from Yuthok's book and from Yuthok's biography are translated into English for the first time and the author can claim to be a first in the field.

The book is illustrated with 20 plates; 15 plates depict the anatomical and physiological data about human body; 2 plates illustrate the equipment of a Tibetan doctor, medical and surgical instruments; 2 depict, from painted scrolls, the Great Yuthok's life and work; 1 consists of 2 photographs of Heads of Mentsikhang. There is an excellent and useful bibliography of books and articles in European languages. The book is not free from defects and

lacuna, particularly from the point of view of the Orientalist: linguist or antiquarian. The transcription of Sanskrit and Tibetan words has many faults and the Glossary is too inadequate. These defects, it is expected, will be attended to when a new edition is under preparation. Rechung Rinpoche's *Tibetan Medicine* is the most informative work on Tibetan medicine and associated sciences in a European language so far. The book should be of great value to modern and non-Tibetan students of medical sciences all over the world. I take this opportunity to highlight some points about history of medicine in Tibet.

Art of healing was certainly not unknown in one form or other in ancient (that is, pre-Buddhist) Tibet. Shaman and Bon priests were possibly competent doctors and pre-Buddhist knowledge about healing no doubt survived and continued till the middle of the twentieth century when both Bon and Buddhist physicians of Tibet faced the same crisis. Tibetan Medicine or Tibetan Buddhist Medicine does solemnly trace its origins to Bhaishajyaguru but does not deny other influences. Rechung Rinpoche, who writes his introductory "History of Tibetan Medicine" in traditional style, may be quoted in this connection.

"To Tibet during the reign of King Lha-mtho-ri gnyan-brtsan, the twenty-fifth king of Tibet, two doctors came from India: Doctor Bi-byi- dGah-byed and Doctor Bi-lha dGah-mdzes, and taught the populace some branches of Medicine, for instance, how to diagnose diseases. Before the two Indian doctors came, the Tibetans had only known some dietary rules and simple instructions like how to stop bleeding by applying hot butter.

"Three generations later King hBron-gnyan Lde'u was attacked by a disease caused by demons. So he buried himself alive in a hole in the ground to prevent his descendants from contracting the disease caused by demons. His last words to his son, Prince Kon-pa Kra, were an injunction to worship the text gNyan-p gSan-ba which had come down from the sky during the reign of his ancestor King Lha-mtho-ri gNyan-btsan. In this way the Buddhist teaching was believed to have appeared for the first time in Tibet. Kon-pa should invite a doctor from Ha-sha to operate on his eyes which were blind. The father also instructed him how to rule the country. The son did as he said and invited a very learned doctor who operated on his eyes with a golden instrument. Then he saw the demons living on sKyid-shod stag-mo-ri. Since then he was called Stag-ri gNyan-gzigs. During the reign of his son, King gNam-ri Sron-brtsan, medical and astronomical text was believed to have been brought from China, but it is not clear which text it was.

"Under his son, King Sroñ-btsan sGam-po, the Tibetan alphabet was adapted from the Sanskrit Devanagari letters by Thonmi Sambhota who had gone to India and studied there. King Sron-btsan sGam'po's Queen, a Chinese princess, brought the medical text called Sman-dpyad Chen-mo (Great Analytical Treatise on Medicine) from China, and it was translated into Tibetan by Ha-shang Mahadeva and Dharmakośa. He invited the following three great doctors to his Court: from India Bharadhaja, from China Han-wang-Hang and from Persia Doctor Galenos. Each translated a book in their own way into Tibetan. The Indian doctor's texts were called hBu-shag-ma Bu-Chee-chhung (Big and Small Louse Gravel), and sByor-ba Mar-gsar (Preparation of New Butter), the Chinese doctor's text was called rGya-dpyad

Thor-bu Chhe-chhuñ (Treatise of Great and Small Scattered Chinese Surgery), the Persian doctor's were called mGo-snon bs-Dus-pa (Collection of Main Additions) and The Treatment for Cock, Peacock and Parrot. And from the discussion between the three doctors they composed a medical text called Mi-hjigs-pa'i mTs'on-chha (The Weapon of the Fearless One), comprising seven chapters, and presented it to the King. They received presents from the King, took their leave, and went home, except for Galenos who stayed behind as the King's Court Physician. He settled down in Lhasa, married and had three sons: the oldest one he sent to the upper gTsan district where he married a member of the Bibyi lineage, as a result of which it was continued from there. The middle one he sent south of Tibet, to gYor-po, which started the lineage of the Southern doctors. The youngest one stayed with his father and they called him Jo-ron and he continued the lineage at Lhasa."

The Persian doctor Galenos was probably a Hellenistic physician, a Bactrian or Byzantine Greek. Tibet was having scholars and scientists from the west even before the King Sron-btsan, but the study of medicine and other sciences from the west could be possible only after a phonetic alphabet was adopted. The three imports from India—Dharma, Akshara and Bhaishajya—determined the growth of science and civilization in Tibet.

Origin of Objects or Hetu is the basis of Dharma and the same is true of Ayurveda. The theory of three humours: Air, Bile and Phelgm, as the basis of Life Science was accepted and further developed in Tibetan system. In developing Indian medicine Tibetan (and Mongol) scholars and scientists no doubt drew upon their own experiences and findings as they drew upon western (Graeco-Iranian) and eastern (Sinic) traditions. A student of modern medicine can thus profit from Tibetan pharmacology as practised till the middle of this century. I quote Rechung Rimpoche's list of medicinal preparations "still used today".

"(1) glan-chen bcho-brgyad. Medicine with eighteen ingredients : yellow pigment taken from a concretion in an elephant's head or in the entrails of other animals, camphor, coriander seed, olive, black aloewood, bitter re-skon, red sandalwood, white sandalwood, saffron, blue water lily, aquatic insect, medicinal climber, costus speciosus, justicia ganderussa, gold flower, bitumen, chiretta, cloves. A different quantity of each ingredient is specified. When mixed, it helps against convulsions, choleric cramps, swellings and lupus. One teaspoonful should be mixed with boiling water and taken after meals.

"(2) srog-hdzin-bchu-dug, which has sixteen ingredients : cloves, black aloewood, nutmeg, a mineral drug called sho-sha, costus speciosus, saffron, frankincense, sandalwood, lime, rush, yellow pigment, shan-drill, sha-chhen, salt, ginger, piper longum. It is used against nervous diseases and melancholia. To be taken in beer, or about one teaspoonful of hot water.

"(3) tsa-tsi rdo-sbyor, which has ten ingredients : scopolia/praealta Don., saffron, sulphur, sman-chhen, myrobalan, rush, asafoetida, musk, black aloewood, white and black hawthorn. Used against syphilis. To be taken with melted butter.

"(4) sga-lo, which has seven ingredients : herb whose root is used for purple dye, soma plant, justicia ganderussa, camphor, costus speciosus, olive,

in appropriate quantities. Used against tuberculosis. To be taken in a spoonful of boiling water.

“(5) bdud-rtsi-gsum-sbyor, which has three ingredients : Soma plant, syrup, camphor. These three, mixed together, should be taken with beer. Used for vomiting, against bone fractures, tuberculosis and leucorrhoea.

“(6) nor-bu-bdun-than, which has seven ingredients : myrobalan, olive, Solanum jaquinia, Terminalia belerica, Sophor Flavescens, Inula Helenium, Hedychium Spicatum. Three spoonfuls of these should be mixed together and boiled in a pint of water until the water is reduced to two thirds, and then drunk. Used against high blood pressure, fever, colds and influenza.

“(7) gser-mdog bchu-pa, which has ten ingredients : some plant, myrobalan, liquorice, bitumen, ginger, pomegranate, cardamom, piper longum, erycibe paniculata, rock salt from Sindh in Western India. Used against diphtheria and high blood pressure. One spoonful to be taken in boiling water.

“(8) gser-mdog-bchu-gsum, which has thirteen ingredients : piper longum, saffron, blue lily, creeper, olive, justicia ganderussa, costus speciosus, salt, camphor, soma plant, low-growing rhododendron, iron filings, snake meat. It should be made into a tablet the size of a small bean, which should be taken with boiling water. Used against high blood pressure and jaundice, tumours, indigestion, stomach trouble and fever.”

Rechung Rinpoche has, wisely in my opinion, refrained from attempting a modernized version of history of medicine in his own country. His account bristling with legends and beliefs gives the facts of medicine and science as known to Tibetans for generations. A modern student of medical sciences should be able to find out positive and firm data that he is looking for. I write this review as a layman tired of numerous synthetic and anti-biotic recipes, and warmly invite modern physicians to investigate into Tibetan recipes. The Wellcome Foundation no doubt shares my sentiments.

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